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ASSOCIATIONS OF ROMAN CITIZENS FROM THE SECOND CENTURY BCE TO THE THIRD CENTURY CE

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for my parents

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INTRODUCTION

I. ROMANS ABROAD

In the third century BCE and onward, thousands of Romans and Italians began to leave Italy to fight Rome's wars and fill their coffers. Many settled in non-Roman communities as minority populations and formed groups that went by names like Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ κατοικοῦντες and *conventus civium Romanorum*. Epigraphic and literary sources indicate that these associations convened to practice religion, socialize, and facilitate business, with members ranging from individuals of servile origin to those of equestrian rank. Sallust's account of the Jugurthine War attests to the earliest of these associations. According to Sallust, a group of Italians (*Italici*) involved in defending the city of Cirta advised Adherbal in 112 BCE to surrender to his brother in exchange for his life. Adherbal doubted he could make a deal that Jugurtha would honor:[1]

> *Ea postquam Cirtae audita sunt, Italici, quorum virtute moenia defensabantur, confisi deditione facta propter magnitudinem populi Romani inviolatos sese fore, Adherbali suadent, uti seque et oppidum Iugurthae tradat, tantum ab eo vitam paciscatur; de ceteris senatui curae fore. At ille, tametsi omnis potiora fide Iugurthae rebatur, tamen, quia penes eosdem, si aduersaretur, cogendi potestas erat, ita, uti censuerant Italici, deditionem facit. Iugurtha in primis Adherbalem excruciatum necat, deinde omnis puberes Numidas atque negotiatores promiscue, uti quisque armatus obvius fuerat, interficit.*
>
> When news of this result was brought to Cirta, the Italians, by whose exertions the city had been defended, and who trusted that, if a surrender were made, they would be able, from respect to the greatness of the Roman power, to escape without personal injury, advised Adherbal to deliver himself and the city to Jugurtha, stipulating only that his life should be spared, and leaving all other matters to the care of the senate. Adherbal, though he thought nothing less trustworthy than the honor of Jugurtha, yet, knowing that those who advised could also compel him if he resisted, surrendered the place according to their desire. Jugurtha immediately proceeded to put Adherbal to death with torture, and massacred all the inhabitants that were of age, whether Numidians or Italians, as each fell in the way of his troops.

[1] *Italici*: Sall. *BJ* 26.

The final attestation for an association of Roman citizens derives from a fourth century CE dedication from Brigetio to the town's Roman citizen population, which included a *conventus civium Romanorum*.[2]

This dissertation examines epigraphic and literary evidence for associations of Roman citizens between the second century BCE and third century CE. Examining their cultural practice, behavior, and organization, I focus on their interactions with provincial communities. Past scholarship has examined associations of Roman citizens within restricted geographic or temporal contexts; by contrast, this project presents a pan-Mediterranean analysis.[3] In doing so, it provides new information on the similarities and discrepancies that characterized their interactions with provincial communities. It suggests that non-Romans may have generated new organizational forms in response to their contact with the associations, and that the associations in turn adopted some of the practices of their non-Roman neighbors.

Through this dissertation runs the question of how the associations responded to broader cultural and political shifts that occurred at Rome. For example, the religious practice of association citizens focused on the emperor following the establishment of the imperial cult in 29 BCE. They proceeded to use emperor worship as a way to construct a Roman identity and claim their place in the Roman political community. Similarly, Augustus' decision to reorganize the administration of the Gallic territories at the end of the first century BCE may have motivated the associations of Roman citizens in the region to form a tripartite form of organization that may not have existed elsewhere in the Empire.

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[2] CIL 12, 94; W. van Andringa, "Cités et communautés d'expatriés installées dans l'empire romain: le cas des cives Romani consistentes," in *Les communautés religieuses dans le monde gréco-romain*, ed. N. Belayche and S.C. Mimouni (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 51.

[3] See below for a detailed discussion of scholarship on these associations.

A fuller understanding of associations of Roman citizens requires that we dig deeper into evidence for their activities by looking at how they responded to non-Roman contexts and how non-Romans responded to their presence. This will allow us to recognize the differences that characterized associations across contexts and to move away from past scholarship's tendency to speak of them as identical in form, function, and behavior. The data that ultimately emerges from this study permits a broader understanding of the Roman empire's cultural diversity and the channels through which imperial power spread.

II. A Scholarly History of Associations of Roman Citizens

Scholars in the late nineteenth century began to distinguish associations of Roman citizens from other kinds of voluntary associations in their study of three separate but related topics: the internal organization of associations of Roman citizens; the legal status of association members in their host cities; and the terminology that literary and epigraphic sources used to signal their presence. The three major contributors in this era were Theodor Mommsen, Ernst Kornemann, and Adolf Schulten. In his 1873 article, "Die Römischen Lagerstädte," Mommsen focused on associations of Roman citizens that were located alongside military camps and located them as being distinct from other voluntary associations in the ancient world.[4] In addition, he rightly argued that the term *consistere* ("to dwell") in inscriptions that referred to groups of Roman citizens indicated an association, since the term always appeared to describe Romans who had not originated from the city in which they were residing and who maintained a collective identity.[5]

[4] Theodor Mommsen, "Die Römische Lagerstädte," *Hermes*, no. 7 (1873): 299–326.
[5] See Chapter One for further discussion of the term.

In his 1891 dissertation, *de civibus Romanis in provinciis imperii consistentibus*, Kornemann compiled literary and epigraphic references to associations of Roman citizens. He argued that the members of associations of Roman citizens were *incolae*, one of several terms in Roman law that concerned an individual's legal status and the obligations their status imposed on them.[6] He also observed that while the majority of association members were traders and merchants, they did not share the same profession.[7] This feature distinguishes associations of Roman citizens from other kinds of associations in antiquity. Schulten's *de Conventibus Civium Romanorum*, published in 1892, addresses many of the same issues. His most significant contribution was the argument that associations of Roman citizens existed only outside of Roman territory. He also argued that associations of Roman citizens developed into Roman colonies, though as Chapter Two indicates, our evidence does not clearly indicate such a relationship between the two.[8]

Twentieth and twenty-first century research on associations of Roman citizens has focused on the nature of their internal organization and legal status in Roman law. In *Les trafiquants italiens dans l'Orient hellénistique et à l'époque imperial*, Jean Hatzfeld argued that associations of Roman citizens differed from each other in respect to their organization.[9] This argument rightly challenged implicit assumptions that associations of Roman citizens were necessarily alike in function and that their impacts on local communities were alike across contexts. The nature of their functions has, however, been the subject of some debate. For example, in his four-part *Histoire de la Gaule*, Camille Jullian suggested that associations were

[6] E. Kornemann, *de civibus Romanis in provinciis imperii consistentibus* (Berolini: Martin Oldenburg, 1891), 11. Chapter One discusses this term in relation to associations of Roman citizens in greater detail.
[7] Ibid., 15.
[8] A. Schulten, *de conventibus civium Romanorum* (Berlin: Weidemann, 1892), 1.
[9] I elaborate on this issue below. Hatzfeld, *Les trafiquants italiens dans l'Orient hellénistique et à l'époque impériale*.

established as a means to integrate those who had recently received Roman citizenship. As I discuss in Chapter One, this is a claim that many scholars have rightly challenged.[10]

Amable Audin, Pierre Wuilleumier, and Julien Guey have contributed the most important arguments to the question of how associations of Roman citizens were organized. On the basis of epigraphic evidence from France, they suggested that associations of Roman citizens in the Three Gauls formed a tripartite network at the level of the city; of each of the three provinces that composed the Three Gauls (Aquitania, Belgica, and Lundunensis); and of the federacy that superseded the three provinces.[11] As Chapters One details, the authors made these claims by comparing the terminology that second and third century CE inscriptions from Lugdunum used to describe the officers of these associations. Through this terminology, they reconstructed a hierarchy of offices in the Three Gauls. Officers called *summi curatores* operated at the level of the province, and officers called *curatores* operated at the level of the city.

Audin, Wuilleumier, and Guey could not clinch their argument without an ancient source that contained both the terms *summus curator* and *curator* and which might have clearly shown the hierarchy of the positions relative to each other. However, their interpretation of the evidence is viable in light of the nature of Rome's administration of the Gauls: by maintaining an internal organization that mirrored the administrative structure of the Three Gauls, associations of Roman citizens in the area would likely have facilitated their activities and efforts for honor and influence. In this way, Audin, Wuilleumier, and Guey showed that these associations could form sophisticated networks and maintain them in the long term.

Following their study, in 1994, Gogniat Loos reassessed what was known of these

[10] Camille Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule* (Paris: Hachette et cie, 1908), 713, 792–793.
[11] A. Audin, J. Guey, and P. Wuilleumier, "Inscriptions latines découvertes à Lyon dans le pont de la Guillotière," *Revue des études anciennes*, no. 56 (1954): 297–346.

associations in his article "Les associations de citoyens romains." He agreed that the associations in Gaul existed at the levels of the city and the province on account of Gaul's distinctive federated structure. He also speculated that the survival of the term *cives Romani consistentes* (a term known to refer to associations of Roman citizens) beyond the Antonine Constitution was due to the associations' close relationship to the imperial cult. The term may have become inextricably linked to their religious behavior, even if the citizenship of members was identical to that of everyone else in the empire.

William van Andriga's wideranging work on associations of Roman citizenship examines their functions, status in Roman law, and the origin of their members. In "Observations sur les associations de citoyens romains dans les Trois Gaules," he acknowledges that we remain in the dark about whether associations of Roman citizens played a role in Roman provincial administration.[12] In the same article, he observes that associations of Roman citizens in Gaul could include individuals drawn from the local elite.[13] This evidence suggests that associations of Roman citizens included individuals who had obtained citizenship through imperial benefaction. Their membership in these associations provided provincials with a way to express their loyalty to the emperor.[14]

Crucially, van Andringa disagrees with Kornemann and Schulten's claims that members of associations of Roman citizens were *incolae*, or permanent resident aliens.[15] I take up this question in greater detail in Chapter One, where I discuss the range of terminology that ancient sources use to describe associations of Roman citizens. As van Andringa observes, the *Digest*

[12] W. van Andringa, "Observations sur les associations de citoyens romains dans les Trois Gaules," *Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz* 9 (1998): 167.
[13] Ibid., 170–172.
[14] Ibid., 170.
[15] Ibid., 171–173.

indicates that individuals described with the term *consistentes* and who formed an association of Roman citizens did not possess *domicilium*, which *incolae* possessed. These *consistentes* were required to address issues that pertained to their business in accordance with local law.[16] Van Andringa also suggests that Roman law viewed *consistentes*, unlike *incolae*, as temporary settlers, even if they ultimately never left the city in which they were considered to have settled temporarily. He also takes issue with Jullian's claim that associations of Roman citizens were formed to integrate individuals who had recently received Roman citizenship into the Roman political community. They likely formed to facilitate trade and business and maintain their privileges in the local community.[17] The inclusion of local elites in their ranks likely was not related to a desire to inculcate them in Roman behavior, bur rather to take advantage of their local influence and potential ability to facilitate dialogue between association and city. In turn, by joining such associations, local elites had a new way to express their loyalty to the emperor.[18]

Van Andringa resumes these themes in "Cités et communautés d'expatriés installées dans l'empire romain: le cas des *cives Romani consistentes*," where he argues that associations of Roman citizens cannot be considered equivalent to other kinds of voluntary associations due to their exceptionally high degree of influence on their host cities. On the basis of the term *consistentes*, he also reemphasizes that these associations were not initially formed with the intent to integrate provincials who had recently received Roman citizenship into the Roman political community. Rather, expatriate Romans formed them so that they and individuals like themselves could marshal their collective resources to maintain their privileges and grow

[16] *Dig*. 5.1.19.2 (Ulpian, third century CE); van Andringa, "Observations sur les associations de citoyens romains dans les Trois Gaules," 167; translation: A. Watson, ed., *The Digest of Justinian*, trans. A. Watson, 4 vols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985).
[17] van Andringa, "Observations sur les associations de citoyens romains dans les Trois Gaules," 170–172.
[18] Ibid., 170.

influence in their local communities.[19] Further, local communities may have used associations of Roman citizens as intermediaries in their communications with the emperor. He points to two instances as evidence for this claim. The first is an inscription indicating that the people of Prymnessos once partnered with the local association of Roman citizens to install a statue of L. Arruntius Scribonianus. The second is an inscription revealing the Romans and the people of Pergamon erecting a statue of Augustus. Van Andringa reads these partnerships as attempts to show Rome conscious efforts at cooperation.[20] Agreeing with this claim, Chapter Three below builds upon this theme.

While the bulk of scholarship on associations of Roman citizens focuses on evidence from the Gauls, several researchers have examined their presence and activities in other parts of the Mediterranean. Jean Hatzfeld's "Les Italiens résidants à Delos" and *Les trafiquants italiens dans l'Orient hellénistique et à l'époque impériale* remain the most important compendia of epigraphic evidence for associations of Roman citizens in the Greek East in the Hellenistic period.[21] Peter Scherrer's article "Der *conventus civium Romanorum* und kaiserliche Freigelassene als Bauherrn in Ephesos in augusteischer Zeit" considers how associations of Roman citizens may have shaped the urban layout of their communities by looking at how the association at Ephesos built new structures like the Augustan-era Tetragonos Agora.[22] Taco Terpstra shows that associations of Roman citizens in Asia formed networks that closely

[19] van Andringa, "Cités et communautés d'expatriés installées dans l'empire romain: le cas des cives Romani consistentes," 50–51.
[20] Ibid., 56.
[21] J. Hatzfeld, "Les Italiens résidant à Delos," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 36 (1912): 5–218; Hatzfeld, *Les trafiquants italiens dans l'Orient hellénistique et à l'époque impériale*.
[22] Peter Scherrer, "Der conventus civium Romanorum und kaiserliche Freigelassene als Bauherrn in Ephesos in augusteischer Zeit," in *Neue Zeiten, neue Sitten: zu Rezeption und Intregration römischen und italischen Kulturguts in Kleinasien*, ed. Marion Meyer (Wien: Phoibos, 2007), 63–75.

resembled those that immigrants in Roman Italy formed in order to protect business interests.[23] Examining evidence from the same region, Peter Thonemann presents detailed analysis of how the chronological moment at which Roman and Italian migrants arrived may have lent special influence to the associations they eventually formed.[24] Chapter Three builds on their work, as well as Scherrer's and Hatzfeld's, by contextualizing their conclusions within a discussion of associations of Roman citizens in the East more broadly.

Gilbert-Charles Picard and Azedine Beschaouch have paved the way with regard to evidence for associations in Africa, though their work has mostly focused on individual inscriptions. In "Le *conventus civium* Romanorum de Mactar," Picard argues that a fragmentary dedication to by an association of Roman citizens and the local community of Mactar was likely made out to one of the Flavians, Nerva or Trajan.[25] Beschaouch similarly comments on select inscriptions concerning these associations over a series of articles. For example, in "Le *conventus civium Romanorum* en Afrique: Á propos de la lecture de l'inscription CIL, VIII, 15775," he argues that the inscription's reference to a *conventus Romanorum et Numidarum* describes an association containing both Romans and Numidians, rather than two separate associations, one of Romans, one of Numidians.[26] Beschaouch does not offer substantive evidence for this claim, and limits himself to the statement that the phrase *civium Romanorum* is a determinative genitive, whereas as *Numidarum* is partitive. While this may be true, it seems equally possible that the local community contained separate associations of Romans and

[23] T. Terpstra, *Trading Communities in the Roman World: A Micro-Economic and Institutional Perspective* (Boston: Brill, 2013), 171–222.
[24] P. Thonemann, "The Women of Akmoneia," *Journal of Roman Studies* 100 (2010): 163–78; P. Thonemann, "Inscriptions from Baris and Apameia-Kelainai," *Epigraphica Anatolica* 10 (2011): 99–116.
[25] Gilbert-Charles Picard, "Le conventus civium Romanorum de Mactar," *Africa*, no. 1 (1966): 65–83.
[26] Azedine Beschaouch, "Le conventus civium Romanorum en Afrique: Á propos de la lecture de l'inscription CIL, VIII, 15775," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 153, no. 4 (2009): 1537–42.

Numidians; Chapter Three considers these possibilities. Similarly, in "La découverte de trois cités en Afrique Pronconsulaire (Tunisie)," Beschaouch examines a series of inscriptions from Alma dedicated to a deity called Frugifer. He argues on the basis of comparative evidence from the region that the term Frugifer should be identified in Africa with Saturn, Pluto, or Neptune.[27]

Scholarship on associations of Roman citizens in Moesia Inferior is more limited. The most important investigators of the subject are Scarlat Lambrino and Alexandru Avram. Lambrino examines inscriptions from villages in Histria such as Quintio and Secundinus. These communities have yielded several joint dedications by associations of Roman citizens and non-Romans called Lai and Bessi. Lambrino argues that each village maintained its own form of administrative organization. One village seems to have been headed by a single *magister*, another by two; a third possesses a *quaestor* where the others do not. Lambrino sees this as evidence for evolutionary phases of administrative development. However, it is also possible that the towns simply used different names to refer to individuals who bore the same administrative responsibilities. He also compiles evidence showing that offices in these towns were shared between Romans and non-Romans, and points to evidence for intermarriage between the two. Most importantly, Lambrino observes that in at least one of these towns, Romans and non-Romans not only convened to celebrate the Rosalia and worship the emperor, but did so annually.[28] Avram, rather than examining the cultural and social context of these associations, presents an updated record of the epigraphic dossier for associations of Roman citizens in

[27] Azedine Beschaouch, "La découverte de trois cités en Afrique proconsulaire (Tunisie): Alma, Vrev et Asadi. Une contribution à l'étude de la politique municipale de l'Empire romain," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 118 (1974): 222.
[28] Scarlat Lambrino, "Le vicus Quintionis et le vicus Secundini de la Scythie mineure," in *Mélanges de philologie, de literature et d'histoire anciennes, offerts à J. Marouzeau par ses collègues et élèves étrangers*, ed. Alfred de Musset (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1948), 320–46.

Moesia Inferior. He speculates that the persistence of these associations after 212 CE reflects special tax privileges, though he cannot marshal positive evidence for the claim.[29]

III. Goals and Methodology

This project focuses on associations of Roman citizens in Africa, Spain, Gaul, Moesia Inferior, Greece, and Asia. It examines the 306 epigraphic attestations for associations of Roman citizens outside of Delos that compose the bulk of evidence for their activities, organization, and membership. It also examines literary sources for these associations. Though fewer in number than their epigraphic counterparts, literary sources are important for studying associations in the Republic. The project will also examine archaeological evidence from Delos in order to discuss the kinds of physical structures that these associations may have used for their activities, since there are no archaeological remains of the physical structures in which they met, practiced cult, and socialized outside of the island. However, I will not focus on the Roman and Italian population on Delos. The large numbers of foreigners settled there rendered the island's demographic composition anomalous within the Mediterranean. Consequently, we must not extrapolate too much from the Delian evidence when discussing minority Roman populations in other parts of the Mediterranean without good reason.[30]

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[29] A. Avram, "Les cives Romani consistentes de Scythie mineure: État de la question," in *Étrangers dans la cité romaine (Actes du colloque de Valenciennes (14-15 octobre 2005) "Habiter une autre patrie": des incolae de la République aux peuples fédérés du Bas-Empire)*, ed. R. Compatangelo-Soussignan and C.-G. Schwentzel (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2007), 91–109.

[30] On the population of Delos: Hatzfeld, "Les Italiens résidant à Delos"; Pierre Roussel, *Délos, colonie athénienne* (Paris: Fontemoing Icie, 1916), 72–84; M.-F. Baslez, "Déliens et étrangers domiciliés à Délos," *Revue des études grecques* 89 (1976): 343–60; ibid.; N.K. Rauh, *The Sacred Bonds of Commerce: Religion, Economy and Trade Society at Hellenistic Roman Delos, 166-87 B.C.* (Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 1993); Claire Hasenohr, "Les collèges de magistri et la communauté italienne de Délos," in *Les Italiens dans le monde grec (IIe s. av. J.-C. – Ier s. ap. J.-C.), Actes de la table ronde de Paris (14-16 mai 1998)*, ed. Christel Müller and Claire Hasenohr, BCH Suppl. 41 (Paris: École française d'Athènes, 2002), 68–76; Claire Hasenohr, "Les 'Compitalia' à Délos," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 127 (2003): 167–249; C. Hasenohr, "Italiens et Phéniciens á Délos: organisation et relations de deux groupes d'étrangers residents (IIe-Ier siècles av. J.-C.)," in *Étrangers dans la cité romaine (Actes du colloque de Valenciennes (14-15 octobre 2005) "Habiter une autre patrie": des incolae de la République aux*

The work of past scholars has assembled key primary sources and presents important analyses about the nature of membership in associations of Roman citizens and their legal status in different parts of the Mediterranean. These studies have produced invaluable information about the position of these groups in Roman law, their structural organization, and their membership. This dissertation concurs with many of their assessments in respect to these problem, such as the likeliehood that associations of Roman citizens in the Three Gauls were organized at the local, provincial, and federal levels. I similarly agree that Romans did not form associations to integrate provincials, but rather to facilitate their business interests.

However, scholars have yet to explore the associations' interactions with non-Roman individuals and cities, and how these interactions shaped cultural practices in the empire and facilitated Rome's political hegemony. But such a study, and particularly one that comprehensively assesses the role of associations of Romans citizens in this process, is necessary. As Nicholas Purcell and Peregrine Horden have observed, large-scale population movements in colonial contexts inevitably shape the contours of relations between the metropole and those who leave it.[31] The features of these contours vary from context to context, depending on the cultural practices and political systems of communities that receive new populations.[32] As Chapter One discusses, migrants from Italy were the first to form associations of Roman citizens. Athanasios Rizakis observes, for example, that the migration of large numbers of Italians and Romans into the Greek east likely shaped the economic and social structures of cities and

peuples fédérés du Bas-Empire), ed. R. Compatangelo-Soussignan and C.-G. Schwentzel (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2007), 91–109.

[31] P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 383–391.

[32] N. Foner, "West Indians in New York City and London: A Comparative Analysis," in *Caribbean Life in New York City: Sociocultural Dimensions* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1987), 117–30; Laura Ann Stoler, "Rethinking Colonial Categories: European Communities and the Boundaries of Rule," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31, no. 1 (1989): 126–137.

provoked changes of whose processes and details we are often ignorant. Others have similarly observed that such groups were involved in the distribution of Roman cultural practice.[33] The same was undoubtedly true in the West.

Associations of Roman citizens, by virtue of their presence in non-Roman communities, formed what Richard White called "middle grounds" in his research on interactions between native and white colonial populations in North America from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries.[34] He conceived of the middle ground as a zone of interaction in which colonial and native populations used their respective cultural, social, and political practices and forms of organization to reach what Irad Malkin has called "a mutually comprehensible world."[35]

White's middle ground was originally intended to describe zones of interaction in places and periods of time that lacked an easily articulable political authority. Consequently, the concept is applicable to a study of contact between associations of Roman citizens and non-Romans. Contact between associations of Roman citizens and non-Romans is attested in areas in which Rome's political hegemony was far from established, such as Spain and Dalmatia in the Late Republic. Even where Rome's political authority was certain, such associations were often on their own when it came to negotiating their personal safety and influence in their host cities. Likewise, middle grounds were zones of cultural change and accommodation, given that interacting parties often came from very different cultural systems. The cultural practices of the newer, more mobile population tended to acquire new, site-specific meaning in their new homes. As I show in this dissertation, associations of Roman citizens impacted their local communities

[33] Hatzfeld, *Les trafiquants italiens dans l'Orient hellénistique et à l'époque impériale*; P.A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower, 225 B.C. – A.D. 14*, reprint (London: Oxford University Press, 1987), 220.
[34] I follow Irad Malkin's adoption of the term for studies of culture contact. R. White, *The Middle Ground* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991); I. Malkin, *A Small Greek World: Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).
[35] Malkin, *A Small Greek World: Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean*, 45–46.

by worshiping the emperor alongside non-Romans, reshaping civic landscapes with new buildings, and even making foreign policy decisions on behalf of their neighbors.

This dissertation employs a series of approaches aimed at uncovering information about associations of Roman citizens. One is the use of voluntary associations as a source of comparative evidence, since the paucity of direct evidence for associations of Roman citizens can limit our knowledge of their activities and the physical structures they may have utilized. Sources describe voluntary associations with a range of terms, such as *thiasos*, *collegium*, and so on.[36] Over the course of this dissertation, I employ the general model of voluntary associations that Jinyu Liu has developed based on the analyses of scholars like John Kloppenborg and Philip Harland.[37] Liu, who uses the term *collegium* to refer to voluntary associations in general, suggests:

> …it seems that a full-fledged *collegium* should have had at least the following features: the minimum size was three; it had structural features such as magistrates, a name, by-laws, membership requirements, and/or some sort of common treasury (*pecuniae communes*); and a collegium could formally take a patron or patrons. A *collegium* would have been a durable rather than an ephemeral organization. Other terminologies such as *sodalitas* may also be used. Nominative plurals such as *fabri*, *centonarii* or *cisiarii* may also refer to a formally structured association, provided that such formal features as collegial magistrates and so on are also attested. Studies of voluntary associations have shown that group longevity and success depended on the basis of trust-based relations between association members.[38]

As the following chapters unfold, our evidence suggests that associations of Roman citizens were often organized in a manner that resembles Liu's definition above. Voluntary associations were

[36] On the diverse terminology used to describe voluntary associations: J.S. Kloppenborg, "Collegia and Thiasoi: Issues in Function, Taxonomy and Membership," ed. J.S. Kloppenborg and Stephen G. Wilson (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 16–30.
[37] Ibid.; P. Harland, *Associations, Synagogues, and Congregations: Claiming a Place in Ancient Mediterranean Society* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2013); Jinyu Liu, *Collegia Centonariorum: The Guilds of Textile Dealers in the Roman West* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).
[38] Liu, *Collegia Centonariorum: The Guilds of Textile Dealers in the Roman West*, 10. She disagrees with Tran's argument that nominative plurals did not represent associations. N. Tran, *Les membres des associations romaines: le rang social des collegiati en Italie et en Gaules, sous le Haut-Empire* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2006).

distinct from associations of Roman citizens in certain important respects. However, they also shared many characteristics with them. Like associations of Roman citizens, voluntary associations convened on the basis of shared traits, such as profession. They also practiced cult, facilitated trade, and created trust-based networks.[39] Finally, professional associations and associations of Roman citizens were often organized around similarly articulated internal structures.[40] As such, this dissertation takes it as axiomatic that the modes of internal organization and social differentiation utilized in these groups would have been more alike than unalike, despite distinctions in the terminology they sometimes employed to describe themselves and their activities.

I also use an anthropological framework to better understand the cultural exchanges that may have occurred between associations of Roman citizens and non-Romans. As of yet, scholars have not used such an approach in considering how associations of Roman citizens contributed to cultural change. But studies of cultural interpenetration, for example, offer valuable information for our understanding of cultural production and change. They allow us to assess the similarities that instances of cultural contact possess across periods of time and locations and also how environmental and other factors produce the differences that give instances of contact their own identities.[41] The dissertation also draws on anthropological studies which privilege the importance of local cultural, political, and social factors to the nature of interactions and the consequences they produce. Such an approach can help us understand why, for example, joint worship of the emperor appears to play a greater role in interactions between associations of

[39] Kloppenborg, "Collegia and Thiasoi: Issues in Function, Taxonomy and Membership."
[40] J.S. Kloppenborg and S.G. Wilson, eds., *Voluntary Associations in the Graeco-Roman World* (New York: Routledge, 1996); K. Verboven, "Resident Aliens and Translocal Merchant Collegia in the Roman Empire," in *Proceedings of the Ninth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire*, ed. O. Hekster and T. Kaizer (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), 335–48.
[41] For example: Michael Dietler, *Archaeologies of Colonialism: Consumption, Entanglement, and Violence in Ancient Mediterranean France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

Roman citizens and non-Romans in Moesia Inferior than interactions between the associations and non-Romans in Asia. By drawing on anthropological scholarship, this dissertation contributes to growing scholarly interest in the social lives of members of voluntary associations in the Mediterranean world.[42] It also presents a study with broad heuristic value, with the potential to transcend its particular chronological and geographic limits.

Finally, this project synthesizes scholarship on associations of Roman citizens from distinct periods of time and geographic locations. The goal of this synthesis is not to present an ideal-type association of Roman citizens. Rather, by comparing the conclusions of scholars who have looked at these associations in different contexts, and by using the approaches outlined above, I tease out how they were similar and different in their organization and local impacts.

The dissertation is also heavily indebted to Nicholas Purcell's article "Romans in the Roman World," which contextualizes associations of Roman citizens within what Purcell calls the "Roman diaspora," that is, the population of Romans who resided outside of the Italian peninsula. By contextualizing these associations in a diaspora, he implicitly accounts for many of the strategies they employed for influence and power, such as their adoption of "a formal body politic" that assumed "almost parallel status with the host cities."[43] Purcell does not delve further into how associations assumed or tried to assume parallel status; I attempt to fill that gap.

V. Roman Identity

The Roman Political Community

[42] For a historiography of voluntary associations: J.S. Perry, *The Roman Collegia: The Modern Evolution of an Ancient Concept* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).
[43] Nicholas Purcell, "Romans in the Roman World," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus*, ed. Karl Galinsky (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 85–105.

Roman identity was intrinsically tied to the possession of Roman citizenship. This citizenship could be inherited by birth and was consequently tied to descent. However, individuals could acquire Roman citizenship in a variety of ways that were separate from descent, such as emancipation from slavery, service in the Roman army, and as a reward for providing Rome or powerful Romans like Caesar with valuable services. Regardless of the circumstances under which a person acquired it, Roman citizenship obliged Romans to share in a wide range of political and cultural institutions and behaviors; often, it also implied a shared set of linguistic practices. Cicero articulates these commonalities in the Second *Verrine*:

> *Homines tenues, obscuro loco nati, navigant, adeunt ad ea loca quae numquam antea viderunt, ubi neque noti esse iis quo venerunt, neque semper cum cognitoribus esse possunt. hac una tamen fiducia civitatis non modo apud nostros magistratus, qui et legum et existimationis periculo continentur, neque apud civis solum Romanos, qui et sermonis et iuris et multarum rerum societate iuncti sunt, fore se tutos arbitrantur, sed, quocumque venerint, hanc sibi rem praesidio sperant futuram.*
>
> Men of no importance, born in an obscure rank, go to sea; they go to places which they have never seen before; where they can neither be known to the men among whom they have arrived, nor always find people to vouch for them. But still, owing to this confidence in the mere fact of their citizenship, they think that they shall be safe, not only among our own magistrates, who are restrained by fear of the laws and of public opinion, nor among our fellow citizens only, who are joined with them by an association of language, of law, and of many other things; but wherever they come they think that this will be a protection to them.[44]

According to Cicero by possessing certain features of language, law, "and many other things," an individual was revealed to be Roman and a member of the wider Roman political community.[45] The orator refers to this community with the term *societas*, which can also describe to a voluntary association. The tension between the term's literal meaning and the way Cicero employs it here merits attention, since membership in the Roman political community was not

[44] Cic. *Verr*. 2.5.167; translation: L.H.G. Greenwood, trans., *Cicero: The Verrine Orations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935).

[45] The opposite, of course, was not necessarily true: it was not enough to wear Roman dress or speak Latin to be considered Roman.

voluntary at all: it was the necessary consequence of possessing Roman citizenship. Moreover, Romans were – or should have been – motivated to assist each other solely on the basis of shared juridical status, rather than friendship, kinship, or any other kind of relationship.

As Clifford Ando has shown, the Roman political community maintained its self-awareness through participation in compulsory and voluntary repetitive administrative and religious rites. He argues:

> Reconciliation to Roman rule took place at the level of the individual, as each person incorporated the Roman emperor into his personal pantheon and accommodated himself to the bureaucratic rituals and ceremonial forms that endowed meaning to membership in the Roman community… Romans characterized membership in their community through participation in political and religious rituals that were variously open to or required of people of differing legal ranks.[46]

The participation of Romans in similar cultural behaviors and forms of political organization across the Mediterranean produced a direct relationship, or sense of a direct relationship, with the Roman state and the many Romans who inhabited the Mediterranean.

One of those behaviors was participation in the census, whose implementation also shows how Rome construed the overseas Roman population as a single demographic entity on the basis of juridical status and through compulsion by Roman law. The census determined the tribe in which one voted and confirmed one's membership in the civic community, and consequently, exclusion from it could be construed as a form of disenfranchisement.[47] Cicero suggests that participation in the census notionally rested on the premise that Romans outside of Rome returned to the capital for that very purpose:

> *non committam ut tum haec res iudicetur, cum haec frequentia totius Italiae Roma discesserit, quae convenit uno tempore undique comitiorum ludorum censendique causa.*

[46] C. Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 337–339.
[47] The census enabled the state to assess its manpower and acquire information it needed to determine each citizen's liability for the property tax and obligation to service in the army. Brunt, *Italian Manpower, 225 B.C. – A.D. 14*, 16.

> I will not permit the decision to be given when this crowd collected from all Italy has departed from Rome, which has assembled from all quarters at the same time on account of the *comitia*, of the games, and of the census.[48]

Cicero's encouragement of a speedy judgment before the departure of Rome's expatriate citizen population suggests their recurring appearance in the capital for the census. In addition, the implicit urgency of his demand reflects the assumption that the population of Romans overseas was fundamentally linked to the population of the capital: the outcome of the trial bore implications for Romans everywhere.

Velleius Paterculus similarly suggests an underlying assumption that the registration of expatriates in Rome or Italy reinforced the sense of a broader community and its relationship with Rome:

> *In legibus Gracchi inter perniciosissima numerarim, quod extra Italiam colonias posuit. Id maiores, cum viderent tanto potentiorem Tyro Carthaginem, Massiliam Phocaea, Syracusas Corintho, Cyzicum ac Byzantium Mileto, genitali solo, diligenter vitaverant et civis Romanos ad censendum ex provinciis in Italiam revocaverant.*
>
> In the legislation of Gracchus I should regard as the most pernicious his planting of colonies outside of Italy. This policy the Romans of the older time had carefully avoided; for they saw how much more powerful Carthage had been than Tyre, Massilia than Phocaea, Syracuse than Corinth, Cyzicus and Byzantium than Miletus – greater, in short, than those that bore them – and had summoned all Roman citizens from the provinces back to Italy that they might be enrolled upon the census lists.[49]

Velleius' use of the term "summoned" (*revocaverant*) suggests that there existed a legal requirement for provincials to return regularly to Italy for the census.[50]

In reality, registration outside of Rome and the Italian peninsula likely predated Cicero's lifetime. For one thing, the logistics and expenses that travel to the capital demanded would have

[48] Cic. *In Verrem* 1.1.45
[49] Vell. Pat. 2.7.7.
[50] The identification of Italy, rather than Rome, as the point of return may reflect the practical necessity of accommodating the large expatriate population that resided overseas. Vell. Pat. 2.7.7; C. Ando, "The Administration of the Provinces," in *A Companion to the Roman Empire*, ed. D. Potter (Malden: Blackwell, 2006), 184.

posed considerable obstacles to Romans in the provinces.[51] The mid-first century BCE *Tabula Heracleensis* indicates that local communities possessed and utilized machinery for registering citizens and sending their records to the censors at Rome.[52] According to the *Tabula*, the chief magistrates of Italian towns were required to compile census-relevant data about each individual, place this information in their own archives, and send copies to Rome, which was to receive this data within sixty days of completing its own census.[53] Even so, Cicero and Velleius suggest that there existed a normative belief at Rome that Romans abroad remained members of the Roman political community. Their membership was further affirmed through the repetitive ritual of participating in the census.[54]

Like iterative administrative actions, cult was vital to the production of a shared sense of community and the ability of Roman provincials to see themselves as part of that community.[55] As Chapter One details, the voluntary practice of cult and especially the imperial cult played an important role in how associations of Roman citizens claimed a place in the Roman political community.[56] By engaging in particular forms of emperor worship, sometimes alongside non-Romans and sometimes in their absence, associations of Roman citizens asserted their own relationship to Rome and sometimes informed that of non-Romans around them. Moreover, as these observations suggest, the orientation of the Roman overseas community's identity did not remain static. Cicero spoke of the community in relation to the Italian peninsula and the city of Rome. But from the late first century BCE onward, associations of Roman citizens came to use

[51] Brunt, *Italian Manpower, 225 B.C. – A.D. 14*, 35–40.
[52] For the text: Michael Crawford, ed., *Roman Statutes*, vol. 2 (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1996), 355–391. For the date: M.E. Mueller, "The Date of the 'Tabula Heracleensis,'" *The Classical Journal* 60 (1965): 256–58.
[53] ILS 6085, l. 142-148.
[54] Brunt, *Italian Manpower, 225 B.C. – A.D. 14*, 35–37; Saskia Hin, "Counting Romans," in *People, Land, and Politics: Demographic Developments and the Transformation of Roman Italy 300 BC-AD 14*, ed. Luuk de Ligt and Simon Northwood (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 215–148.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire*, 444–445.

the worship of the emperor to construct an identity increasingly focused on a person, rather than a place.

THE ROMAN DIASPORA

Though the Roman political community was composed of the totality of individuals who possessed of Roman citizenship, we can also understand it in the frameworks of ethnicity and diaspora. Cicero indicates that Romans sometimes describes the relationship between disparate Romans across the Mediterranean in terms of kinship:

> *nam civium Romanorum omnium sanguis coniunctus existimandus est, quoniam et salutis omnium ratio et veritas postulat.*
>
> For it is necessary for us to hold the opinion that there is common blood among all Roman citizens, since both consideration of the common safety and the truth require it.[57]

By describing the relationship between Romans in Italy and Romans in Sicily in terms of kinship, rather than as a consequence of shared juridical status, Cicero presented the Roman political community as an ethnic group, even though the Romans did not possess the notions of ethnicity that modern theoreticians employ today. By viewing the Roman political community as a kind of ethnicity, we can better understand the motivations behind the behaviors of Romans who lived outside of Roman Italy and, where this dissertation is concerned, associations of Roman citizens in particular.

In *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, Fredrik Barth presented a dichotomy for thinking about ethnicity that is useful when considering Roman identity and the self-awareness of the Roman political community.[58] One part of this dichotomy was formed by the perennialist (or

[57] Cic. *Verr*. 2.5.172.
[58] I rely here on Claudia Arno and Hyun Jin Kim's summaries of the historiography of ethnicity. Hyun Jim Kim, *Ethnicity and Foreigners in Ancient Greece and China* (London: Duckworth, 2009); C. Arno, "How Romans Became 'Roman'" (University of Michigan Ann Arbor, 2012), 22–24.

primordialist) school. Advocates of this form of thinking emphasize common descent: genetic commonality defines the boundaries of an ethnic group. The belief of shared ancestry is included in the category of common descent: if people believe they share a line of descent, it is as good as actually sharing it.

The modernist school forms the second part of Barth's dichotomy. Advocates of this approach argue that individuals can be members of a given ethnicity if they define membership through participation in certain shared social and political institutions and cultural practices. These individuals may or may not share descent lines.[59] By sharing in political institutions, individuals could identify themselves as part of a given ethnicity. This, in turn, enabled them to prevent others from claiming the same ethnicity. As Barth argued:

> …categorical ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of mobility, contact and information, but do entail social processes of exclusion and incorporation whereby discrete categories are maintained despite changing participation and membership in the course of individual life histories… [V]itally important social relations… are maintained across such boundaries, and are frequently based precisely on the dichotomized ethnic statuses.[60]

Moreover, ethnic groups can both define themselves in contradistinction to those whom they view as "other" while taking on certain characteristics – cultural, political, or otherwise – of the "other" without harming their identity as a group.[61]

I refer to the entire Roman overseas population as a diaspora over the course of this dissertation, given the similarities between traditional definitions of ethnicity and the Roman political community, as well as the dispersed nature of that political community. I identify a displaced or mobile population as a diaspora by considering two factors: the existence or

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[59] F. Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969), 9–10.
[60] Ibid.
[61] E. Dench, *From Barbarians to New Men: Greek, Roman, and Modern Perceptions of Peoples from the Central Appennines* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 1–21; Arno, "How Romans Became 'Roman,'" 22–24.

perception of a shared place of origin that is not the population's current place of residence, and the maintenance or perceived maintenance of cultural distinctiveness in respect to the population within which that population lives.[62] Even so, definitions of diaspora must acknowledge that membership in a given diaspora does not necessarily imply that individuals desire to participate in their community's social and cultural practices. As Stuart Hall observes in "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," members of diasporas do not necessarily identify themselves as such.[63]

Diasporas are also identified by a shared sense of homeland among individuals. This homeland might be a territorial reality or a mythological construct. Through political and cultural activities, members of a diaspora can express their relationship with a homeland through the development of repatriation movements; the economic support of relatives in the homeland; religious practices affiliated with the homeland; and other economic, cultural, or psychological behaviors.[64]

There are many benefits to recognizing Romans outside of Roman Italy as a diaspora. Investigators can usefully employ modes of interpretation from the field of anthropology to trace out the role of mobility in the spread of Roman imperial power; to illuminate the motivations that fueled the social practices of associations of Roman citizens; and to identify the features that distinguished them from the wider population of Romans abroad. By recognizing certain ancient populations as diasporas, we can provide structure to our interpretation of data by employing comparative analysis when ancient evidence becomes particularly scarce. This analytic framework also allows us to better understand the nature of real, imagined, and claimed relations

[62] Richard Marienstras, "On the Notion of Diaspora," in *Minority Peoples in the Age of Nation-States*, ed. Gérard Chaliand, trans. Tony Berrett (London: Pluto Press, 1989), 1999.
[63] S. Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," ed. J. Rutherford (London: Lawrences and Wishart, 1990), 222–37.
[64] On criteria for identifying diasporas: Safran, "Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return"; Cohen, "Diasporas and the Nation-State: From Victims to Challengers."

between subpopulations of the Roman overseas community and Rome: the Roman overseas population was highly differentiated, since it composed of Romans in colonies, municipalities, associations, and more, and cannot be discussed in general terms. Finally, by recognizing certain ancient populations as diasporas, researchers can identify the processes by which these populations contributed to cultural production through contact with individuals or communities that did not share their place of origin. This methodology is especially helpful for the study of colonial contexts, which present complex variables in regard to local power asymmetries and the forms of human mobility that are particular to empire.[65]

The disciplines of classics and ancient history tend not to employ the term diaspora when investigating human mobility and colonialism in the ancient world. This may be due to the perception that the term should be used for the conceptual analysis of populations that have experienced forcible displacement through economic hardship or persecution. By consequence, the term diaspora continues to be primarily associated with Jewish, Armenian, Irish and other so-called paradigm diasporas. However, anthropologists like William Safran and David Cohen have long acknowledged the need for flexibility in the identification and assessment of diaspora communities.[66] Accordingly, they developed elastic rubrics in the early nineties for the identification of populations as diasporas. Their criteria include – but are not limited to – dispersal as a consequence of trauma, trade, or colonial enterprise. Classicists and historians

[65] On trade and colonial diasporas: P. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Stoler, "Rethinking Colonial Categories: European Communities and the Boundaries of Rule"; Robert Bickers, "Shanghailanders: The Formation and Identity of the British Settler Community in Shanghai, 1843-1937," *Past and Present* 159 (1998): 161–211; Dietler, *Archaeologies of Colonialism: Consumption, Entanglement, and Violence in Ancient Mediterranean France*.

[66] William Safran, "Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return," *Diaspora* 1 (1991): 83–99; D. Cohen, "Diasporas and the Nation-State: From Victims to Challengers," *International Affairs (Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1944-)* 72, no. 3 (1996): 507–20.

would benefit their respective and overlapping fields by adopting the term as a tool for their own research.

It would be a stretch to claim that Romans maintained an ideology wherein Romans in the provinces viewed the city of Rome as a homeland in the modern sense of the word. For one thing, Romans do not appear to have ever referred to themselves collectively as a *natio* or *tribus*, though as Chapter One details, the ethnonyms *Italus* or *Italicus* were sometimes used to describe a given set of individuals, populations, and their associated cultural practices in the second and first centuries BCE to indicate that the noun in question was a counterpoint to *Romanus*. More common was the collective term *populus*, which could refer the entire Roman political community. Even so, I do not consider the existence of the modern nation-state necessary for identifying an ancient population as a diaspora. The history of the Jewish diaspora is instructive. Following the destruction of the Jews' temple in 586 BCE, their enslavement in Babylon, and subsequent subjugation to Rome, Jewish art and literature in ancient and modern periods have featured themes of displacement, the desire to return to Jerusalem, and self-awareness as a single community. These phenomena preexist the creation of the modern nation state of Israel in 1948.[67] Furthermore, homelands can often be construed in addition to or even instead of territorial realities: claims of origin or autochthony are often erroneous, but they are not meaningless. These claims shaped how individuals constructed their identities and their relationships with those whom they perceived as similar to themselves and unrelated to them.[68]

Even if Romans did not refer to themselves as a *natio*, despite the fact that thousands of Romans would never see the Italian peninsula, they remained cognizant of their relationship to

[67] The temple was rebuilt in the sixth century CE and destroyed by the Romans in 70 CE: J. Clifford, "Diasporas," *Cultural Anthropology* 9 (1994): 302–38; Cohen, "Diasporas and the Nation-State: From Victims to Challengers."
[68] J. Hall, *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

Rome. This suggests that they possessed what Benedict Anderson called an "imagined community":[69]

> I propose the following definition of the nation: it is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.... Nations can be invented where they don't exist. Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined.... Finally, [the nation] is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately, it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willing to die for such limited imaginings.[70]

Benedict Anderson spoke of imagined political communities as a phenomenon of the early modern era. However, the concept is useful for a discussion of the Roman diaspora because of its structural makeup. The Roman diaspora, like the communities Anderson describes, was heterogeneous. In its early history, the people who formed the Roman diaspora were differentiated as much as they were united by particularities of language, administration, religious practice, and social status.[71] The inclusion of enfranchised provincials introduced further diversity to the Roman diaspora population. Despite these discrepancies, Roman citizenship united the Roman diaspora.[72] For this reason, I do not accept biological descent as a necessary factor in the promulgation of a diaspora community. Possession of the juridical status

[69] The flexibility of identity also suggests that individuals would have come to express multiple identities, perceiving themselves, for example, as both Gallic and Roman, or Scythian and Roman. C. Ando, "Imperial Identities," in *Local Knowledge and Microidentities in the Imperial Greek World*, ed. T. Whitmarsh (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 17–45.
[70] B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1982), 15–16.
[71] Purcell, "Romans in the Roman World," 95–96; A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome's Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).
[72] van Andringa, "Cités et communautés d'expatriés installées dans l'empire romain: le cas des cives Romani consistentes," 50.

of a Roman citizen, for example, fused the Roman population together in a manner that ethnic or biological identifications did and could not.[73]

Who composed the Roman diaspora? The answer to this question depends on the period. It also bears implications for our knowledge of the juridical status of the members of associations of Roman citizens, which Chapter One addresses. The Roman diaspora was composed of Romans and Italians from Italy as well as enfranchised provincials and their descendants. Before the spread of Roman citizenship across the Italian peninsula, the diaspora was composed of Romans living in colonies on Italian soil and, eventually, Romans living outside of Italy.

Italians abroad should also be viewed as part of the Roman diaspora, since they formed associations akin to those of the Romans and may have been part of the same associations as these Romans. In fact, most Italians in these contexts would have spoken Latin in addition to the languages of their cities of origin. They also engaged in religious and social practices closely associated with Rome.[74] Consequently, we may view the Italian overseas community as possessing multiple centers that included their native towns in Italy in addition to Rome. Their religious and linguistic practices indicate that they were closely affiliated with Romans and Rome. At the same time, as inscriptions from Delos, Asia, and elsewhere suggest, they appear to have employed the terms *Italici* and Ἰταλικοί when they described themselves in permanent media. This consistency suggest that the Italian overseas community saw itself as population that was distinct from the Roman political community.[75]

VI. Dissertation Outline

[73] This fusion does not imply that Romans who originated in provincial communities did not possess multiple identities: they did, and they expressed them.
[74] J. Adams, "Bilingualism at Delos," in *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language, Contact and the Written Text*, ed. J. Adams, M. Janse, and S. Swain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 103–27; Hasenohr, "Les 'Compitalia' à Délos."
[75] Adams, "Bilingualism at Delos."

The first chapter, "Building Networks and a Roman Identity," presents the evidence for associations of Roman citizens. It examines the diverse terminology with which sources describe them. I argue for the analytic utility of the phrase "association of Roman citizens" to discuss the groups in question. The term is flexible enough to account for the similarities and differences in their organization and activities, and firm enough to indicate what kinds of groups are under investigation. In addition, by building on the work of van Andringa, Terpstra, and others, the chapter pinpoints two, related reasons for why Romans outside of Italy formed associations: to protect themselves in potentially hostile environments and to facilitate business goals by forming trade networks. To achieve these goals, the associations developed strategies to build group cohesion and cultivate a good relationship in the local community. They also established relationships with Roman officials and local elites. The chapter also examines how Octavian's creation of the imperial cult transformed the religious practices of associations of Roman citizens. They used emperor worship to construct a Roman identity and assert their place in the Roman political community.

The second chapter, titled "Associations and Local Governments in the Late Republic," examines the influential role of associations of Roman citizens in the governments of select western cities in the Late Republic as they responded to the exigencies of the civil wars. The chapter also observes that while the associations were politically powerful, they were likely not, as some scholars have claimed, a factor when their local communities received new statuses.

Chapters Three and Four examine contact between associations of Roman citizens and non-Romans in the first three centuries CE. Using an anthropological framework that privileges the role of local variables in the outcomes of cultural contact, the chapters identify possible reasons for which associations of Roman exhibit distinctive behavioral patterns and forms of

organization across the Mediterranean. Thus, the third chapter, "Associations of Roman Citizens in the West and Black Sea Region," argues that sustained contact between associations of Roman citizens and non-Romans produced networks that both groups used to address political and social changes in the empire. The chapter also suggests that the associations in Gaul likely contributed to the creation and maintenance of its provincial elite. The channels through which they made this contribution extended beyond the local community, since the associations of Gaul were also organized at the provincial and federal levels. Shifting focus from Gaul, the chapter then considers evidence from Africa and Moesia Inferior by focusing on instances of joint action by associations of Roman citizens and non-Romans. Building on the work of Ando, I show that worship of the emperor in conjunction with associations of Roman citizens may have enabled non-Romans to express their own relationships with Rome and the emperor.

Chapter Four examines contact between associations of Roman citizens and non-Romans in mainland Greece and Asia. Whereas cult played an important role in interactions between associations of Roman citizens and non-Romans in the Black Sea region, associations of Roman citizens can be clearly identified within networks of honorific exchange in Greece and Asia in which cult played a smaller role. Further, as their authorship of local decrees suggests, associations of Roman citizens appear to have enjoyed some degree of influence in the governments of their host cities. In addition, they may have interacted directly with the emperor. In Asia, they also may have enhanced the ability of individual Romans to hold office in non-Roman communities. Drawing on the work of Terpstra, Peter Thonemann, Thomas Drew-Bear, and Arnold Ivantchik, the chapter also examines why associations in Phrygia seem to have achieved a greater degree of political agency in their local communities than associations located elsewhere in Asia and the Mediterranean world.

CHAPTER ONE

BUILDING IDENTITY AND NETWORKS OF TRUST

I. INTRODUCTION

This chapter develops a working definition for the phrase "association of Roman citizens." Using literary and epigraphic sources and drawing on the research of William van Andringa, it discusses the legal status and profession of their members and the extent to which we can assess the longevity of individual associations in different Mediterranean contexts. In addition, by building on the research of Taco Terpstra, Koenraad Verboven, Cameron Hawkins, and others, I assess their functions and the strategies they employed to maintain group cohesion. I agree with van Andringa that associations of Roman citizens may have been formed primarily by Romans who did not have the legal status of *incolae* in their host communities, and that we cannot identify a pattern in their legal status across contexts with precision. Further, like van Andringa and others, I suggest that Romans formed associations to enhance their safety, facilitate trade, and create a sense of community among other Romans abroad. To achieve these goals, the members of associations of Roman citizens formed relationships with Roman officials and powerful patrons in their local communities. They also employed a range of strategies to build trust and cohesion within individual associations. Ultimately, they established networks that would have enabled Romans abroad to further their business ventures over long distances.[1]

The chapter goes on to examine the religious practice of associations in response to the establishment of the imperial cult in 29 BCE. Drawing on the work of Clifford Ando, I argue that they used the worship of the emperor to enhance group cohesion and assert their place in the Roman political community. The chapter concludes by drawing on Taco Terpstra's and Monika

[1] C. Tilly, *Trust and Rule* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 4.

Trümper's analyses of evidence from Delos and Ostia to consider the kinds of buildings that associations of Roman citizens may have used for their social and religious activities.

II. Terminology

As I stated in the dissertation's introduction, the subjects of this study are groups of Roman citizens – and Italians, depending on the date – that resided in non-Roman towns and their territories between the second century BCE and fourth century CE. These groups maintained a restrictive form of membership and appear to have operated within the administrative confines of the cities in which they were located (though it is likely that Romans in the territories of those cities were also included in the associations' ranks).[2] I do not consider terms like *cives Romani*, *Rhomaioi*, *Italici*, and Ἰταλικοί as references to associations of Roman citizens when they indicate the entire Roman political community, as in the phrase *populus Romanus*. Rather, the groups I analyze represent a subset of the Roman diaspora. The need for such specification arises from the fact that in certain contexts, some of the terms that describe associations of Roman citizens can be used to describe all Romans/Italians or groups of Romans and Italians who are intended as representations of them.

Based on these criteria, I identify associations of Roman citizens in a wide range of terms in literary and epigraphic sources that are presented in the list below. This taxonomy includes the terms that the associations used to describe themselves as well as terms that others used to describe them. These terms indicate one or more of the following characteristics: the juridical status of association members; the fact that members were not from the local community; and

[2] As Chapter Three indicates, however, this was not always the case. In the Three Gauls, for example, associations of Roman citizens appear to be organized at the local, provincial, and federal levels.

that they were involved in trade. I have also provided notes about geographic distribution. In Latin, these terms are:

Italici/Italicei
qui negotiantur/negotiatores (Cilicia et Cyprus, Greece, Republican Sicily)

cives Romani
qui negotiantur/negotiatores (Africa, Aquitania, Asia, Cilicia et Cyprus, Creta et Cyrenaica, Germaniae, Greece, Hispania Citerior, Lusitania,)
consistentes/qui consistent (Aquitania, Asia, Creta et Cyrenaica, Dacia, Germaniae, Lugdunensis, Moesia Inferior, Pannonsiae, Raetia)
morantur (Africa Proconsularis)
qui in…habitant (Asia, Africa Proconsularis, Greece)

conventus civium Romanorum (Alpes Cottiae, Africa Proconsularis, Asia, Republican Sicily, Narbonensis, Germaniae)

ordo civium Romanorum (Germaniae)

These terms are often accompanied by the name of the city where the association is located and the preposition *in*.

The Greek forms are as follows:

οἱ Ἰταλικοί
πραγματευόμενοι (Asia, Greece)

οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι
πραγματευόμενοι (Asia, Greece, Bithynia)
συμπραγματευεόμενοι (Greece)
γεωργεῦντες (Asia)
κατοικοῦντες (Asia, Greece)
ἐνκεκτημένοι (Asia, Greece)
παραγιγνομένοι (Asia, Greece)
ἐγγαιοῦντες (Greece)
οἱ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ὄντες (Greece)
συμπολιτευόμενοι (Asia)
ἔμποροι (Asia)
τηβεννοφοροῦντες (Greece)
κονβέντος (Asia)

τὸ συνέδριον τῶν Ῥωμαίων (Asia)[3]

I employ the term "association of Roman citizens" to describe these groups to overcome the hurdles that terminology presents in a discussion of what emerge as diverse groups of Romans and Italians in non-Roman environments. The phrase is not without its problems. It elides, for example, the juridical distinction between Romans and Italians in the second and first centuries BCE and, as I observed in the dissertation's introduction, the fact that these groups viewed themselves as distinct from each other. In fact, the question of who composed these associations before the conclusion of the Social War in Italy raises a complicated, overlapping set of issues that concern juridical status and place of origin. In some cases, the terms οἱ Ἰταλικοί and οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι were probably accurate representations of the juridical status of their members. In others, they seem to indicate instances in which the creators of the inscriptions failed or declined to express difference between the populations concerned.[4]

Use of the ethnonym *Italus* or *Italicus* to describe a set of individuals, populations, and their associated cultural practices in the second and first centuries BCE often indicated an intentional contrast with the term *Romanus*. We can perceive these terminological distinctions in evidence from Delos, whose Italian population originated from all parts of the Italian peninsula.[5] Italians on the island sometimes described themselves as *Rhomaioi* or *Italikoi*/*Italici*, but did not

[3] This list is based on van Nijf's compilation in a conference paper. His list does not include *cives Romani morantur* and τὸ συνέδριον τῶν Ῥωμαίων. O. van Nijf, "Staying Roman - Becoming Greek: The Roman Presence in Greek Cities," 2009.

[4] Understanding why groups of Italians chose to describe themselves with the term *Italikoi* instead of *Rhomaioi* (or vice versa) and to use Latin, Greek, or both in their dedications offers insight into the identities they desired to project. On the distinction between *Rhomaioi* and *Italikoi* and the tensions in identity these terms can produce: H. Solin, "Appunti sull'onomastica romana e Delo," in *Delo e l'Italia: raccolta di studi*, ed. F. Coarelli, D. Musti, and H. Solin (Rome: Bardi, 1983), 101–17; Adams, "Bilingualism at Delos."

[5] Hatzfeld, "Les Italiens résidant à Delos"; Rauh, *The Sacred Bonds of Commerce: Religion, Economy and Trade Society at Hellenistic Roman Delos, 166-87 B.C.*; Adams, "Bilingualism at Delos"; Baslez, "Déliens et étrangers domiciliés à Délos"; Hasenohr, "Italiens et Phéniciens á Délos: organisation et relations de deux groupes d'étrangers residents (IIe-Ier siècles av. J.-C.)."

use the two words interchangeably. Adams argues that the choice of term seems to have depended on two factors: the language of the intended inscription and whether it referred to individuals or groups. While groups composed of both Roman and Italian traders tend to use the terms *Italikoi* or *Italici*, the plural *Rhomaioi* indicates Roman citizens. Moreover, the terms *Italikos*/*Italici* are not used to describe Roman citizens from the Italian peninsula unless they were in a group that included Italians.[6]

As Gary Farney argues, the use of the terms *Italus*/*Italicus* came to refer to Romans after the Social War as a way to distinguish the Roman citizen residents of peninsular Italy from Roman citizens in the provinces.[7] Vergil, for example, writes, "Here is Augustus Caesar driving the Italians (*Italos*) into war, with senators and the people, with the Penates and mighty gods."[8] A similar distinction arises in Pliny the Younger's account of a conversation between Tacitus and another Roman. The latter asks Tacitus, "Are you an Italian (*Italicus*) or a provincial (*provincialis*)?" Tacitus responds, "You know me from your literary studies," presumably avoiding a precise answer that would identify him as someone who came from the provinces.[9] A similar distinction of Italy from the provinces that describes Romans as Italians appears when Statius reassures an African friend of equestrian rank that his comportment at Rome was appropriately like that of an Italian, or *Italus*.[10]

With the exception of Delos, we lack proof that multiple associations of Italians and Roman citizens existed simultaneously in the same city, so we cannot be sure they did. We can,

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[6] Solin, "Appunti sull'onomastica romana e Delo"; Adams, "Bilingualism at Delos"; E. Dench, *Romulus' Asylum: Roman Identities from the Age of Alexander to the Age of Hadrian* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 331–332.
[7] G. Farney, *Ethnic Identity and Aristocratic Competition in Republican Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 229–246.
[8] *hinc Augustus agens Italios in proelia Caesar cum patribus populoque, penatibus et magnis dis* Verg. *Aen*. 8.678-679.
[9] Plin. *Ep*. 11.23.2-3.
[10] *non sermo Poenus, non habitus tibi, externa non mens: Italus, Italus.* Stat. *Silv*. 4.5.45-56.

however, assume that associations of Italians became associations of Roman citizens after the Social War. If associations of Roman citizens and associations of Italians existed in the same city, they likely merged to form a single group. Nevertheless, I employ the phrase "associations of Roman citizens" for the sake of efficiency and to reflect the fact that for the majority of their history, the groups in question consisted of Roman citizens, not Romans and Italians or Italians alone.

By employing the phrase "association of Roman citizens," I seek to avoid creating a composite picture of associations of Roman citizens: as I show below, these associations varied in size, organization, and membership; their impacts on local populations varied, too. I also eschew the phrase *conventus civium Romanorum*, which appears in some sources and which some scholars use as a catchall to describe these groups.[11] The word *conventus* usually describes the assize districts into which provinces were divided and which governors visited on annual tours and correlates with the Greek term διοίκησις. In addition, it is related to the verb *convenire*, which refers to the act of assembling or forging agreements.[12] While the literal definition of the term *conventus* ("assembly") could technically apply to all associations of Roman citizens, as Gogniat Loos observes, the noun *conventus* is less frequently applied to corporations or societies. When the term *conventus* is applied to associations of Roman citizens, it is uncommon.[13] In fact, while some associations of Roman citizens, like the groups at Aventicum and Lugdunum, used

[11] For examples of use of the term *conventus* as a catchall: F. Gogniat Loos, "Les associations de citoyens romains," *Études de Lettres*, no. 2 (1994): 25–36; Christel Müller, "Les nomina romana à Thespies du IIe s.a. C. à l'édit de Caracalla," in *In Roman Onomastics in the Greek East: Social and Political Aspect* (Athens: Kentron Hellenikes kai Romaikes Archaiotetos, 1996), 157–67; van Andringa, "Observations sur les associations de citoyens romains dans les Trois Gaules"; Hasenohr, "Les collèges de magistri et la communauté italienne de Délos"; van Andringa, "Cités et communautés d'expatriés installées dans l'empire romain: le cas des cives Romani consistentes"; Scherrer, "Der conventus civium Romanorum und kaiserliche Freigelassene als Bauherrn in Ephesos in augusteischer Zeit."
[12] *OLD*: 438-439.
[13] Kornemann (1901b) col. 1182, 1183; Hatzfeld, *Les trafiquants italiens dans l'Orient hellénistique et à l'époque impériale*, 261–262; Brunt, *Italian Manpower, 225 B.C. – A.D. 14*, 210; Gogniat Loos, "Les associations de citoyens romains," 28.

the term *conventus* to describe themselves in the imperial period, the term tends to appear in sources for associations that formed in the West during the Republic.[14] It seems at least possible that some of these western groups were early forms of the assize districts that are attested in Spain, Asia, and other parts of the empire. The only example of the term in the east comes from a dedication to the presiding official of an association of Roman citizens at Hierapolis, which describes him as κονβενταρχήσαντα τῶν Ῥωμαίων.[15]

Other terms, like συνέδριον, for example, similarly discourage us from privileging any particular term in the list above as a descriptor for all of the groups under consideration. The term συνέδριον appears in the inscriptions from Hierapolis mentioned above and refers to Roman citizens (τὸ συνέδριον τῶν Ῥωμαίων). The inscription honors a Roman citizen named Gaius Ageleius Apollonides, whom it describes with the phrase κονβενταρχήσαντα τῶν Ῥωμαίων (likely the equivalent of the Latin *curator conventus civium Romanorum*). The presence of the term *synedrion* in the inscription and its reference to the Latin *conventus* in the participial form of κονβενταρχέω suggests that its authors did not see a meaningful distinction between the two.[16]

The term *cives Romani* similarly discourages us from assuming that all associations were identically organized. Nicolas Tran proposes that nominative plurals like *fabri* that referred to the

[14] Epigraphic attestations of the term: IK-17-1, 3019 (Ephesos, *conventus civium Romanorum*); IK-12, 409 (Ephesos, *conventus civium Romanorum*); IK-13, 658 (Ephesos, *conventus civium Romanorum*); IGRR 4.1255 (Thyateira, τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κονβέντου); IGRR 4.1169 (Thyateira, τοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κονβέντου); IGRR 4.818 (Hierapolis, κονβενταρχήσαντα τῶν Ῥωμαίων); CIL 8, 15775 (Masculula, *conventus civium Romanorum et Numidarum*); CIL 12, 94 (Brigetio, *civibus Romanis de conventu civium Romanorum*); CIL 13, 5013 (Germania Superior, *curatori conventus civium Romanorum*); CIL 13, 5026 (Germania Superior, *curatori conventus civium Romanorum*); CIL 13, 1147 (Aventicum, *curatori civium Romanorum conventus Helvetici*); CIL 12, 261 (Geneva, *curator civium Romanorum conventus Helvetici*). Literary attestations: Cic. *Ver*. 2.2.32, 2.2.34 (twice), 2.2.44, 2.2.70, 2.2.189, 2.3.32, 2.3.136, 2.4.55, 2.4.70, 2.5.10, 2.5.94, 2.5.113; Cic. *Lig*. 24; Cic. *Sest*. 9; Caes. *B Civ.* 1.14, 2.19.3, 2.20.5, 2.36.1, 3.9.2, 3.21.5, 3.29.1, 3.32.6, 3.40.6; *Bell.Alex.* 56.4, 57.5, 58.4, 59.1; *B Afr.* 68.4, 97.2 (twice).
[15] IGRR 4.818.
[16] For Greek transliterations of *conventus*: TAM 5,2 1002; TAM 5,2 1003 (first century CE).

practitioners of specific professions did not indicate associations. And it is certainly true that the phrase *cives Romani* may have been used to similar effect in some instances: perhaps it did not always represent citizens organized into a group that had officers and a common fund.[17] However, I agree with Liu's argument that it is difficult to distinguished between nominative plurals that refer to a loosely grouped individuals who shared a profession from more structured associations.[18] As the following chapters show, groups of Romans that described themselves or were described with terms like *cives Romani* expressed a collective political agency and social impact that are hard to differentiate from the actions of Romans who described themselves or were described as *conventus civium Romanorum*, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πραγματευόμενοι, and so on. Furthermore, we can point to instances in which the phrase *cives Romani* was used interchangeably with the phrase *conventus civium Romanorum*. Caesar, for example, describes the Romans living Salona with both terms.[19] Consequently, I include the phrase *cives Romani* under the umbrella term associations of Roman citizens.

The term τηβεννοφοροῦντες similarly discourages us from assuming all associations were identically organized. In this case, it seems to be a general term for Roman citizens. The term τηβεννοφοροῦντες translates to "the ones who wear the *tebenna*," a lunate cloak typical of Etruscan dress (the Greek term came to refer to the Roman *toga*).[20] Its participle appears in the form of τηβεννοφορούντων in a decree from Larisa that dates between 200 and 170 BCE.[21] The Larisan decree does not clarify the identity of the τηβεννοφοροῦντες. Scholarly arguments range

[17] Tran, *Les membres des associations romaines: le rang social des collegiati en Italie et en Gaules, sous le Haut-Empire*.
[18] Liu, *Collegia Centonariorum: The Guilds of Textile Dealers in the Roman West*, 10, n. 35.
[19] Caes. *B Civ.* 3.9.
[20] The noun τήβεννος, τήβεννα first appears in Polybius (τήβενναν) in references to togate costume. Polyb. 10.4.8; 26.10.6. On the *tebenna* in Etruscan costume, its subsequent adoption by the Romans, and for further bibliography on the subject: Larissa Bonfante, *Etruscan Dress*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2003), 15, 39, 45, 48–55, 124.
[21] The decree's precise date remains unresolved. Larisan decree: *IG* 9.2.1015.

from claims that the τηβεννοφοροῦντες were a group of Roman and Italian traders to the possibility that they constituted a military garrison.[22]

We can glean some information about the legal statuses of the individuals who formed associations of Roman citizens. As I stated in the introduction of the dissertation, Kornemann argued that their members were *incolae*.[23] The term *incola* originated as a descriptor for non-Roman, native populations that were settled in areas that became Roman colonies and were excluded from their civic framework. It ultimately came to describe individuals who maintained their domicile (*domicilium*), or residence, in a town that was not their place of origin and citizenship (*origo* and *patria*) and where they did not hold citizenship.[24] Cornelius Nepos outlines the distinctions between one's place of origin and citizenship when he reports that Atticus, by choosing to keep his Roman citizenship rather than adopt Athenian citizenship, maintained his citizenship and domicile in the same place.[25]

Van Andringa's recent analysis of this legal terminology offers insight into the question of whether the members of associations of Roman citizens were, in fact, *incolae*, since it illuminates some of the motivations behind the formation of the associations.[26] As mobility became an increasingly important issue for cities from the second century BCE onward, the relationship of *incolae* to their local communities varied as jurists tried to define the precise categories into which mobile inhabitants fell. Under the Republic, *incolae* could access urban facilities and were registered in the archives of their city in which they lived and possessed

[22] For a summary of the debate and bibliography: S. Zoumbaki, "In Search of the Horn of Plenty: Roman Entrepreneurs in the Agricultural Economy of the Province of Achaia," *Meletemata* 68 (2013): 16, n. 36–37.
[23] Kornemann, *de civibus Romanis in provinciis imperii consistentibus*, 11.
[24] For an overview of concepts pertaining to *incolae*, *domicilium*, and *origo*: Yan Thomas, *Origine et commune patrie: étude de droit public romain (89 av. J.C.-212 aétudep. J.C.)* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1996).
[25] Nep. *Att*. 3.
[26] van Andringa, "Observations sur les associations de citoyens romains dans les Trois Gaules," 171–173.

domicilium.[27] The Caesarian law of the Spanish colony at Urso specifies these in terms of construction-related obligations:[28]

> *Qui in ea colon(ia) | intrave eius colon(iae) fin<e>s domicilium praedi/umve habebit neque eius colon(iae) colon(us) erit, is ei/dem munitioni uti colon(us) pare{n}to.*
>
> Whoever in that colony or within the boundaries of that colony shall have a domicile or estate and shall not be a colonist of that colony; he is to be liable to the same construction work as a colonist.[29]

Moreover, Gaius states that *incolae* were also subject to the laws of both:

> *Incola et his magistratibus parere debet, apud quos incola est, et illis, apud quos civis est: nec tantum municipali iurisdictioni in utroque municipia subiectus est, verum etiam omnibus publicis muneribus fungi debet*.
>
> An *incola* must obey both the magistrates of the place where he is an *incola* and those of the place where he is a citizen; nor is he subject only to municipal jurisdiction in both municipalities, but he must also perform all public *munera*.[30]

In the first and second centuries CE, *incolae* were increasingly permitted to participate in the civic life of their cities of domicile.[31] This permission could include the right to vote.[32] In the east, their children were permitted to attend local gymnasiums.[33] From the end of the second century CE onward, *incolae* could hold civic office.[34] This development accompanied an

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[27] Historians continue to debate how and when the concept of *domicilium* developed. Thomas argues it emerged as a consequence of the Social War's resolution, but Licandro argues it existed by the second century BCE. Thomas, *Origine et commune patrie: étude de droit public romain (89 av. J.C.-212 aétudep. J.C.)*, 25–40; O. Licandro, "Domicilium e incolae tra repubblica e principato," in *Étrangers dans la cité romaine (Actes du colloque de Valenciennes (14-15 octobre 2005) "Habiter une autre patrie": des incolae de la République aux peuples fédérés du Bas-Empire)*, ed. R. Compatangelo-Soussignan and C.-G. Schwentzel (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, n.d.), 43–76.

[28] C. Moatti, "Mobility and Identity: The Cosmopolitization of the Identities in the Roman Empire," in *City-Empire-Christendom: Contexts of Power and Identity from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, ed. C. Rapp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 130–52.

[29] *Lex coloniae Genetivae Iuliae*, 98.32; translation: Crawford, *Roman Statutes*, vol. 2, no. 25.

[30] Dig. 50.1.29 (Gaius, second century CE).

[31] Thomas, *Origine et commune patrie: étude de droit public romain (89 av. J.C.-212 aétudep. J.C.)*, 26–30.

[32] *Lex Munic Malacitana* 53; Moatti, "Mobility and Identity: The Cosmopolitization of the Identities in the Roman Empire," 136.

[33] *Inschr. von Priene*, nr. 113.43; 123.8; A. Mastrocinque, "Gli Italici a Iaso," in *Emigrazione E Immigrazione Nel Mondo Antico*, ed. M. Sordi (Milan: Vita e pensiero, 1994), 240; Moatti, "Mobility and Identity: The Cosmopolitization of the Identities in the Roman Empire," 136.

[34] L. Gagliardi, *Mobilità e integrazione delle persone nei centri cittadini romani: aspetti giuridici* (Milan: Giuffrè, 2006), 402.

increase in obligations to their local communities and, under Hadrian, *munera* were uniformly extended to *incolae*.[35] From that point onward, *incolae* were required to fulfill the *munera* of both their city of residence and their *origo*.[36]

At first glance, it would be reasonable to argue that Roman law would have considered the members of associations of Roman citizens as *incolae*: they seem to have been uniformly composed of Romans whose *origo* was not their community of residence. But as van Andringa has argued, this conclusion may not apply to associations of Roman citizens described with the term *consistentes*, which sometimes accompanies the phrases *conventus* or *cives Romani* and recurs in epigraphic attestations for associations of Roman citizens and other trade groups in the first three centuries CE.[37] Van Andringly relies on Ulpian to substantiate this claim. According to the jurist, individuals who were *consistentes* were expected to address local problems pertaining to their business in accordance with local law, even if they did not possess *domicilium* in the local community:

> *at si quo constitit, non dico iure domicilii, sed tabernulam pergulam horreum armarium officinam conduxit ibique distraxit egit: defendere se eo loci debebit.*
>
> But if he has established himself anywhere, I do not mean made his home there, but if he has leased a shop, stall, barn, storeroom, or workshop, and sold and done business there, he will be obliged to defend himself there.[38]

In the passage above, Ulpian appears to indicate that the term *consistere* was, like *incola*, a legal designation for those who lived in a city that was not their city of origin. He also seems to indicate that *consistentes* and *incolae* were not equivalent. As van Andringa argues, the key

[35] CIL 5, 875; Moatti, "Mobility and Identity: The Cosmopolitization of the Identities in the Roman Empire," 136–137.
[36] *Dig*. 50.16.239.2. (Pompon., second century CE).
[37] For example, immigrant Berytians and Tyrians at Puteoli in the second century CE. Berytians: CIL 10, 1635; Tyrians: OGIS, 595.
[38] *Dig*. 5.1.19.2 (Ulp., third century CE); van Andringa, "Observations sur les associations de citoyens romains dans les Trois Gaules," 171–173. Translation: Watson, *The Digest of Justinian*, 168.

distinction appears to have been that *consistentes*, unlike *incolae*, were considered to be temporary settlers. Those whom sources call *consistentes* could not access the protections that *incolae* possessed.[39] An undated inscription from Brigetio bears out this analysis, since it distinguishes the Romans in the town's *conventus civium Romanorum* from the Romans in the town's population of *incolae*.[40] The term *consistentes* frequently accompanies the phrase *conventus civium Romanorum*. We can also infer that Romans who are described πάροικοι were *incolae* and not *consistentes* from Pomponius's statement about the term πάροικος, which is known to refer to a group of Romans living at Thespiae:

> *incola est, qui aliqua regione domicilium suum contulit: quem graeci paroikon appellant.*
>
> An *incola* is someone who has established his domicile in any region; the Greeks call such a person *paroikos*.[41]

In addition, the ownership of property was not sufficient for fulfilling the criteria for being an *incola*. Papinian states that property ownership did not necessitate the status of *incola*, nor did it indicate that someone was permanently settled in that town.[42] At the same time, we should consider the strong likelihood that many individuals who fell into the category of *consistentes* never left their host communities; some may have maintained their status as

[39] This characterization becomes important to the discussion of the functions of associations of Roman citizens below. van Andringa, "Cités et communautés d'expatriés installées dans l'empire romain: le cas des cives Romani consistentes," 171–173.

[40] *…civib]us Romanis / de conv[entu civi]um Romanorum / [civibus] Romanis qui municip[ii Brigantionis incolae sunt]:* CIL 12, 94; van Andringa, "Cités et communautés d'expatriés installées dans l'empire romain: le cas des cives Romani consistentes," 172.

[41] Dig. 50.16.239.2 (Pomp., second century CE); IThesp 352; F. Papazoglu, *Laoi et paroikoi: Recherches sur la structure de la société hellénistique* (Beograd: Université de Belgrade, 1997), 201–232; A.D. Rizakis, "Incolae-Paroikoi: Populations et communautés dépendantes dans les cités et les colonies romaines de l'Orient," *Revue des études anciennes* 100 (1998): 599–617.

[42] *Dig*. 50.1.17.13 (Pap. second to third century CE): *Sola domus possessio, quae in aliena civitates comparator, domicilium non facit.* "The mere possession of a house, which is acquired in another community, does not constitute domicile." Translation: Watson, *The Digest of Justinian*, 905.

consistentes. Others may have become *incolae* if the legal procedures of the local community permitted it.[43]

Furthermore, individuals described with the term *consistentes* may have shared the status of those described with the term *morantur* ("to delay"), which appears in a single reference to associations of Roman citizens:

> *Divo Hadriano / ex testamento / P(ubli) Sextili / Felicis Sulpiciani / cives Romani / [q]ui Ureu morantur.*
>
> The Roman citizens who stay at Ureu to the deified Hadrian in accordance with the will of Publius Sextilius Sulpicianus, son of Felix.[44]

The verb *morari* suggests temporary stay, just as *consistere* does; consequently, it seems reasonable to suggest that these Romans were not *incolae*. The temporary nature of those who "dwelled" at a given location seems underlined by Gaius' use of the verb *morari* at 40.9.10 to describe freedmen dwelling temporarily in a given location to conduct business affairs on behalf of their patrons.

At this juncture, it is important to acknowledge a caveat: namely, that I have ascribed a Roman law framework in analyzing the legal status of members of associations of Roman citizens. As Ando argues of the second century CE:

> In developed Roman theory of the second century, local politics recognised by Rome as legislative authorities over particular landscapes generated their own codes of law. In matters of other than those related to the Roman *familia*, practice in the high Empire largely observed a principle of territoriality in choice of law.[45]

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[43] van Andringa, "Observations sur les associations de citoyens romains dans les Trois Gaules," 172. On the process of becoming an *incola*: H. Pavis D'Escurac, "Origo et residence dans le monde du commerce sous le Haut-Empire," *Ktèma* 13 (1988): 66–70; Thomas, *Origine et commune patrie: étude de droit public romain (89 av. J.C.-212 aétudep. J.C.)*, 25–50; Moatti, "Mobility and Identity: The Cosmopolitization of the Identities in the Roman Empire," 135–140.
[44] AE 1975, 875.
[45] C. Ando, "Legal Pluralism in Practice," in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Law and Society*, ed. P. du Plessis, C. Ando, and K. Tuori (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 16.

In light of this proposition, we must admit at least two observations about the legal status of association members and their experience of this status in different communities around the empire. First, variations in local legal practice would have been multifold, since each community would have possessed its own code of law. Second, a lack of evidence for local law codes necessarily limits what we can say about these variations and their impact on associations of Roman citizens.

The terminology describing associations of Roman citizens also provides information about the privileges and limitations that Roman law afforded to Romans abroad. Such is the case for Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ ἐγγαιοῦντες. Sophia Zoumbaki, for example, has compared the appearance of this phrase alongside the term ἐπιδημήσας in inscriptions from the Hellenistic Peloponnese, arguing that that Romans called Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ ἐγγαιοῦντες were a subcategory of those whom sources describe with terms like *conventus civium Romanorum* and ἐπιδημοῦντες.[46] These Romans were ἐνκεκτημένοι, that is, Romans who possessed the right to own land in Late Hellenistic Greece. They did not necessarily constitute the entire Roman population in a given town.[47]

As I have observed, the varied terminology of associations of Roman citizens discourages the creation of a composite, ideal-type picture of them (though, once again, I acknowledge that the picture presented so far is composite in that it presents the association from a Roman, rather than a non-Roman perspective). The organization and membership of discrete associations likely varied. This variation, in turn, has implications for how we understand their influence in local communities and the relationships between association members. For example, the terms used to indicate association of Roman citizens could be generalizing, as in the case of *cives Romani*,

[46] S. Zoumbaki, "Rhomaioi engaiountes: römische Grundbesitzer in Eleia," *Tyche* 9 (1994): 213–18; Zoumbaki, "In Search of the Horn of Plenty: Roman Entrepreneurs in the Agricultural Economy of the Province of Achaia."
[47] Zoumbaki, "Rhomaioi engaiountes: römische Grundbesitzer in Eleia"; Zoumbaki, "In Search of the Horn of Plenty: Roman Entrepreneurs in the Agricultural Economy of the Province of Achaia."

ἔμποροι, and τηβεννοφοροῦντες, or specific, as in the case of οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι γεωργεῦντες. In the case of umbrella terms τηβεννοφοροῦντες, membership may have been contingent.

Similarly, the longevity of associations of Roman citizens, like the legal status of their members, would have varied from group to group. In some cases, the Romans in question likely gathered on an *ad hoc* basis and survived for only as long as there were enough Romans in the town to maintain a loosely organized group. In general, it is difficult to identify which associations had these characteristics. But evidence for periodic action in some instances can determine which associations were relatively stable, long-term institutions. One example comes from a set of seven, almost identically worded altar dedications from the Moesian village of Quintio that date to between 139 CE and 177 CE. The regularity with which these dedications were made implies the existence of an organizational infrastructure designed to facilitate recurrent activity.[48]

Moreover, we cannot trace the influence of individual members or that of their families through onomastic and prosopographic studies.[49] Records for associations of Roman citizens usually describe them with generalizing, anonymous language, such as οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι or *cives Romani*, and lists of Roman and Italian names that are thought to indicate these associations do not include explicit references that refer to them as such.[50]

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[48] On the corpus from Moesia Inferior: Lambrino, "Le vicus Quintionis et le vicus Secundini de la Scythie mineure"; Avram, "Les cives Romani consistentes de Scythie mineure: État de la question."

[49] On Greek elites in Roman Greece: G.W. Bowersock, "Eurycles of Sparta," *Journal of Roman Studies* 51 (1961): 112–18; A.J.S. Spawforth, "Roman Corinth: The Formation of a Colonial Elite," in *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East: Social and Political Aspects*, ed. A.D. Rizakis (Athens: Research Center for Greek and Roman Antiquity, 1996), 167–82; J.-L. Ferrary, "De l'éuergétisms hellénistique á l'éuergétisme romain," in *Acts du Xe congrés international d'épigraphie grecque et latine. Nîmes, 4-9 Octobre 199*, ed. M. Christol and O. Masson (Paris: Publications of the Sorbonne, 1997), 199–225; S. Zoumbaki, "Die Niederlassung römischer Geschäftsleute in der Peloponnes," *Tekmèria* 4 (1999 1998): 112–76.

[50] An example of such a list comes from *gymnasion* at Thespiae: IG 7, 1777. I discuss this dedication in Section III below.

Associations of Roman citizens and other voluntary associations are sometimes described with similar terminology, which can suggest similarities in organization and behavior. One shared term is *consistentes*: at Lugdunum, for example, there was an association of wine purveyors who used the term to describe themselves in the phrase *negotiatores vinarii Luguduni in canabis consistentes*. The same group is described with the term *negotiatores*, which also appears in descriptions of associations of Roman citizens.[51] The term *morantur*, which describes an association of Roman citizens in Africa, appears in descriptions of other voluntary associations, such as a group of cloak sellers at Thuburbo Maius.[52] The noun συνέδριον appears, for example, in a context describing a collectivity of doctors at Ephesos (τῆς σοροῦ κήδονται τὸ συνέδριον, οἱ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μουσείου ἰατροί).[53] The term κατοικοῦντες also appears in references to other kinds of voluntary associations, such as the Tyrians settled at Puteoli.[54] The generic term ἔμποροι (merchants) has appeared in references to traders since the Greek classical period.[55] As for πραγματευόμενοι, at Ephesos, we have a group which describes itself as "the people engaged in wine-tasting (?)" (οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ γεῦμα πραγματευόμενοι).[56] Another is an association of Alexandrian businessmen based at Perinthos (Ἀλεξανδρεῖς οἱ πραγματευόμενοι ἐν Περίνθῳ).[57]

Several terms appear to be exclusive to one or other type of association. Descriptors like *collegium*, *sodalicium*, and *thiasos*, for example, are not attested for associations of Roman

[51] CIL 13, 1954.
[52] *sagari(i) qui | Thub(urbo) Maius | morantur*, CIL 4, 753; Liu, *Collegia Centonariorum: The Guilds of Textile Dealers in the Roman West*, 77–78.
[53] IEph 2304, undated.
[54] OGIS 595 (second century CE).
[55] C.M. Reed, "Coming to Terms" (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 6–14.
[56] IEph 728 (late second century or early third century CE). For commentary: Philip Harland, *Greco-Roman Associations: Texts, Translations, and Commentary. II, North Coast of the Black Sea, Asia Minor* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 280282.
[57] IPerinthos 27 (second century CE).

citizens, but are relatively common references for other kinds of voluntary associations.[58] Still other terms seem to be specific to Roman citizens, such as *conventus* (with a possible exception at Masculula in Africa, which Chapter Three discusses), and the term τηβεννοφοροῦντες. Terms such as παρεπιδημοῦντες and ἐπιδημοῦντες, which indicate information about the legal status of the individuals concerned, do not lend themselves to a comparison between associations of Roman citizens and other voluntary associations.[59] The term ἐνκεκτημένοι, which refers to those who maintained the legal right to own land, is similarly inappropriate for a comparison between associations of Roman citizens and other voluntary associations.

III. Membership, Function, and Organization

Membership

As Section II observed, by the end of the Social War, the associations in question were composed of Roman citizens, rather than Romans, Italians, or Romans and Italians. Their composition underwent another series of shifts following the Italians' receipt of Roman citizenship. As Roman citizenship spread under the empire and as Romans became increasingly mobile, associations of Roman citizens eventually included individuals who originated in the provinces. A second century CE inscription acknowledges this shift with the phrase "the Roman citizens from Italy and other provinces dwelling in Raetia" (*cives Romani ex Italia et aliis provinciis in Raetia consistentes*).[60] The shift is also apparent from Gallic sources that indicate that some association members were locals who possessed Roman citizenship. Another

[58] It is impossible to list all the terms and patterns in their usages, since they are multifold. On the problem: Kloppenborg, "Collegia and Thiasoi: Issues in Function, Taxonomy and Membership."
[59] In the classical and Hellenistic periods, these terms referred to individuals who were considered temporary dwellers in their local communities. David Whitehead, "Immigrant Communities in the Classical Polis: Some Principles for a Synoptic Treatment," *L'Antiquité Classique* 53 (1984): 54.
[60] CIL 3, 5212 (157–162 CE). On the spread of Roman citizenship: A.N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship* (Oxford: Oxford Clarendon Press, 1939); A.N. Sherwin-White, "The Roman Citizenship: A Survey of Its Development into a World Franchise," *Aufstieg Und Niedergang Der Römischen Welt* 1, no. 2 (1972): 32–58.

development in the composition of associations of Roman citizens would have resulted from the implementation of the Antonine Constitution in 212 CE. In the Three Gauls, associations of Roman citizens may have become so involved in maintaining the provincial cult, which was based at Lugdunum, that the term *cives Romani consistentes* clung to them permanently, even if it no longer distinguished their juridical status from that of the empire's other denizens.[61]

The individuals who formed associations of Roman citizens were likely engaged in a range of trades and professions. A mid-first century CE dedication from an association at Mogontiacum indicates that all members were involved in the manufacture of wallets.[62] For the most part, though, we are in the dark about the specific trades in which association members were engaged.[63] Some sources describe their business orientation with general phrases such as "those who do business" (*qui negotiantur*, πραγματευόμενοι) along with the name of the city or province in which they were located.[64] Other sources only describe the Romans as co-residents in the community in question, using phrases like *cives Romani qui consistunt* or οἱ παρ' αὐτοῖς ὄντες, "the Romans who are here."[65] They say nothing about the involvement of these individuals in trade.

From at least the Late Republic onward, and likely before that, though we lack evidence, the members of associations of Roman citizens varied in status. Some were equestrian, like the Publius Atrius whom the *de Bello Africo* names as a member of Roman citizens at Utica.[66]

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[61] ILTG 221 (220/221 CE).
[62] Wallet manufacturers: CIL 13, 6797.
[63] For example: CIL 8, 1900. On the finer distinctions between terms like *negotiator* and *mercator*: A.J.N. Wilson, *Emigration from Italy in the Republican Age of Rome* (Manchester: Manchester Univerity Press, 1966), 4–5; J. d'Arms, *Commerce and Social Standing In Ancient Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 22–39.
[64] For example: *cives Romani qui Thinissut negotiantur*; *cives Romani qui Mythileneis negotiantur*; and *cives Romani qui Gortynae negotiantur*. Thinissut: ILAfr. 306; Mytilene: CIL 3, 7061; Gortyna: I.Cret. 4, 290; I.Cret. 4, 291. Literary sources indicate the same: At *BJ* 25, Sallust describes the Italians (*Italici*) at Cirta as merchants (*negotiatores*).
[65] See below on the term *consistentes.*
[66] Caes. *B Afr.* 68.4.

Others had servile origins. An inscription from Thespiae that may provide the names of some of the people who formed the town's association of Roman citizens includes several that suggest servile origin.[67] Servile origins are similarly reflected in epigraphic evidence from imperial Gaul that indicates that some association members held positions as *seviri* and *Augustales*.[68]

Regardless of status, members were likely to have been men of means. Caesar's demand that the association of Roman citizens at Utica pay a fine of two hundred million *sesterces* "to the Roman people" (*populo Romano*) on account of its loyalty to Pompey suggests it had large funds at hand. The associations were also likely to have imposed fees on their members who wanted influence within their ranks (a topic to which I return below). This money would have funded association events, the construction of buildings, and the cost of members' funerals.

The terms that describe associations of Roman citizens rarely include information about the names of the individuals who formed them. There are a few, notable exceptions. One is Publius Atrius, mentioned above. In Gaul, several dedications to or by officers of associations of Roman citizens indicate the names of the officers in question.[69] This is assuming, of course, that officers were members of the associations they served. Van Andringa suggests that they were not, but he does not offer evidence to the contrary.[70] There is no reason to think that association officers did not enjoy the benefits that accrued to the rest of the association. We can also assume the membership of named Romans whom the associations honored but who are not explicitly described as members.

FUNCTION AND INTERNAL STRUCTURE

[67] IG VII, 1777; Christel Müller, "Les Italiens en Béotie du IIe siècle avant J.-C.-Ier siècle après J.-C.," in *Les Italiens dans le monde grec, IIe siècle avant J.-C.-Ier siècle après J.-C.*, ed. Christel Müller and Claire Hasenohr (Paris: École française d'Athènes, 2002), 98.
[68] For example, a Julio-Claudian dedication from Aventicum which refers to an *Augustalium magister*. CIL 13, 11478.
[69] For example: CIL 13, 11478, Julio-Claudian (Aventicum).
[70] van Andringa, "Observations sur les associations de citoyens romains dans les Trois Gaules," 169–171.

In his indictment of Verres, Cicero presented an ideal world in which Romans traveled the Mediterranean freely because they believed they could trade on their status as Roman citizens, thereby invoking the idea that Rome could protect citizens overseas.[71] The confidence of Romans abroad was also founded on the perception that they could expect, *qua* Romans, safety and privilege as strangers in strange lands. The benefits of citizenship were also derived from Roman administrative infrastructure in the provinces, such as the protective authority of provincial magistrates and the expansion of Roman legal structures in the late republic and early empire.[72] Moreover, the foundation of new towns and the transformation of geographical space with long-distance highways and centuriation offered visible proof of the power that backed Roman citizens.[73]

Yet by making this claim in a speech about Verres, Cicero acknowledged that the lived experience of Romans abroad was more complicated and that the possession of Roman citizenship was a flawed privilege. The presence of peaceful traders could provoke violence if they were seen as being closely aligned with a hegemonic entity or colonizing agents with a

[71] Cic. *Verr*. 2.5.167. See dissertation introduction for text and translation.
[72] The *lex de provincii praetoriis* of the second century BCE offers an example of Roman international regulations that oversaw the wellbeing of Roman and Italians abroad. On the *lex*: M. Hassall, M.H. Crawford, and J. Reynolds, "Rome and the Eastern Provinces at the End of the Second Century B.C.," *Journal of Roman Studies* 64 (1974): 195–220; S.T. Roselaar, "Mediterranean Trade as a Mechanism of Integration between Romans and Italians," in *Processes of Integration and Identity Formation in the Roman Republic*, ed. S.T. Roselaar (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012), 141–58. On the procedure of Roman law courts and knowledge of Roman law in the provinces: Richard J. Hoffman, "Civil Law Procedures in the Provinces of the Late Roman Republic," *The Irish Jurist* 11 (1976): 355–74; H. Galsterer, "Roman Law in the Provinces: Some Problems of Transmission," in *L'Impero Romano E Le Strutture Economiche E Sociali Delle Province* (Como: New Press, 1986), 13–27; Ando, "Imperial Identities," 183–185; A. Bryen, "Judging Empire: Courts And Culture in Rome's Eastern Provinces," *Law and History Review* 30 (2012): 771–811.
[73] On the West: N. Purcell, "The Creation of a Provincial Landscape," in *The Early Roman Empire in the West*, ed. T.F.C. Blagg and M. Millett (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010), 7–29. On the East: Barbara Levick, "Urbanization in the Eastern Empire," in *The Roman World*, ed. J.S. Wacher, vol. 1 (New York: Routledge & K. Paul, 1988), 15–51; Stephen Mitchell, "The Administration of Roman Asia from 133 BC to AD 250," in *Lokale Autonomie Und Römische Ordnungsmacht in Den Kaiserzeitlichen Provinzen Vom 1. Bis 3. Jahrhundert*, ed. Werner Eck and Elisabeth Müller-Luckner (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1999), 17–20.

reputation for malpractice.[74] Of course, ordinary Romans (and Italians) were not always innocent: extortion by tax collectors in the second and first centuries BCE, for example, may have been common. Governors sometimes sided with the tax collectors, which increased the anger of provincials.[75] Such abuses provoked the Mithridatic massacres and violent episodes in later periods, such as the crucifixion of Roman students and tourists in Rhodes and the assault of citizens in Lycia during Claudius' reign.[76] The adoption of Roman patrons by many cities in Asia suggests that some members of associations of Roman citizens may have been *publicani*, the tax-collecting population notorious for its attempts to extort money from Asia's populations. As a source of tension, the associations may have motivated Asian cities to take action by adopting patrons.[77]

These forms of violence are likely to have been among the reasons that Romans abroad, especially those who were not *incolae*, formed associations. Another reason would likely have been the danger that Roman officials like Verres posed to Romans and non-Romans alike. The vulnerability of Romans abroad was deepend by the fact that as powerful as Rome was, it was too distant to offer speedy assistance to citizens abroad. Sallust describes a group of Italian traders at Cirta who believed they could help Adherbal without risking their lives at the hands of Jugurtha's men because the latter respected the power of Rome (*propter magnitudinem populi Romani inviolatos sese fore*).[78] As their deaths at the hands of Jugurtha's men indicate, this was

[74] On the suspicion of local communities toward alien trade groups: Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*. For a detailed presentation of instances of malfeasance by Roman officials: P.A. Brunt, "Charges of Provincial Maladministration under the Early Principate," *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 10 (1961): 189–227; Wilson, *Emigration from Italy in the Republican Age of Rome*, 125–145.
[75] Iunius Silanus and Gaius Verres are two examples. Iunius Silanus: Diod. Sic. 35.25.1; Gaius Verres: Cic. *Verr*. 1, 2.
[76] Rhodes: Dio Cass. 60.24.4; Lycia: Dio Cass. 60.17.3.
[77] Sometimes non-Roman communities went straight to the Senate. This was the case in 171 BCE, when non-Roman representatives from Spain arrived before the Senate to complain of provincial authorities' oppressive behavior and extortion. Livy 43.2.
[78] Sall. *Bell. Jug*. 26.

not the case. Further, as Rome's unwillingness to assist enslaved Roman and Italian prisoners at Cydonia suggests, Rome did not necessarily want to help.[79] It was the responsibility of the individual to find ways of manifesting the power that citizenship was alleged to confer.

As I have noted, Roman officials could be dangerous to Romans because they were powerful. This was precisely why associations of Roman citizens tried to establish their safety by building relationships with them. The *quaestor* Publius Rutilius Nudus was one example:

> *Italicei / quei Aegei negotiantur / P(ublium) Rutilium P(ubli) f(ilium) Nudum / q(uaestorem)*.
>
> The Italians who do business in Aigion honored the *quaestor* Publius Rutilius Nudus, son of Publius.[80]

Quintus Caecilus Metellus and Quintus Marcius Rex, in-laws and former consuls, were honored by associations of Roman citizens at Argos in 69 and 67 BCE.[81]

> *Q(uinto) Caecilio C(ai) f(ilio) Metelo / imperatori Italici / quei Argeis negotiantur.*
>
> The Italians who do business at Argos dedicated this to the *imperator* Quintus Caecilius Metellus, son of Caius.[82]
>
> *Q(uintum) Maarcium Q(uinti) [f(ilium) Regem] / Italicei quei ne/gotian[tur Argeis]*. // Κόϊντον Μαάρκιο[ν Κοΐν]/του υἱὸν Ῥῆγα Ἰταλ[οὶ οἱ] / [ἐν Ἄργει πραγματευόμενοι].
>
> The Italians who do business at Argos honored Quintus Maarcius Rex, son of Quintus.[83]

Similarly:

> *Cives Romani qui / Mytileneis negotiantur / M(arco) Titio L(uci) f(ilio) proco(n)s(uli) / praef(ecto) classis / co(n)s(uli) desig(nato) patrono / honoris causa.*

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[79] Livy 37.60.2-5; Roselaar, "Mediterranean Trade as a Mechanism of Integration between Romans and Italians," 148.
[80] CIL 1, 2955, 74 BCE. Publius Rutilius Nudus was the father-in-law of Piso Gaesonius, consul in 58 BCE. For commentary on this inscription: J. Bingen, "Inscriptions d'Achaïe," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 78 (1954): 74–88; Spawforth, "Roman Corinth: The Formation of a Colonial Elite," 173.
[81] On Romans and Italians at Argos: D. van Berchem, "Les Italiens d'Argos et le déclin de Délos," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 86 (1962): 305–13.
[82] ILS 867.
[83] IG 4, 604.

> The Roman citizens who do business in Mytilene to Marcus Titius, son of Lucius, proconsul, prefect of the fleet, consul, designate patron, on account of a benefaction.[84]
>
> *M(arco) Cocceio [3 N]ervai(!) co(n)s(uli) / conventus c(ivium) R(omanorum) quei(!) Ephesi / negotiantu[r].*
>
> The association of Roman citizens who do business in Ephesos set this up for M. Cocceius Nerva, consul.[85]

These expressions of gratitude reinforced the dedicating associations' relationship with Roman officials who had done them the favor of clearing the seas and were positioned to help them in other ways. The services of Q. Marcius Rex and Q. Caecilius Metellus in this regard had benefited the interests of Roman and Italian traders in the East.[86] Such dedications also reminded officials that associations of Roman citizens had services of their own to offer. As Chapter Two discusses in detail, Julius Caesar and other Republican generals relied on them for support in Spain, Dalmatia, and Africa. The associations' ability to help them was a double-edged sword, since these generals often punished them for choosing the wrong side.

In addition to providing an avenue of protection, associations of Roman citizens also benefited the business interests of their members. As van Andringa points out, Ulpian indicates that foreigners were legally obliged to follow the laws of their host cities in respect to all things business:

> *Si quis tutelam vel curam vel negotia vel argentariam vel quid aliud, unde obligatio moritur, certo loci administravit: etsi ibi domicilium non habuit, ibi se debebit defendere et, si non defendat neque ibi domicilium habeat, bona possideri patietur.*
>
> Anyone who has carried on a tutelage, a curatorship, business activities, banking, or anything else which gives rise to legal obligations in a particular place, even if he does not have his *domicilium* there, will be obliged to defend himself there, and if he does not

[84] CIL 3, 455.
[85] IK-13, 658.
[86] On Q. Maarcius Q. f. Rex: T.R.S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, vol. 1 (New York: American Philological Association, 1951), 146; P. de Souza, *Piracy in the Graeco-Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 162. On Q. Caecilius C. f. Metelus: Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, 1:102, 114, 131, 139, 145, 154, 159, 163, 168–69, 176, 185.

> defend and does not have his home there, he will become subject to the seizure of his property.[87]

Membership in an association would have helped individuals to defend their business interests, maintain privileges, and deal with their problems through pooled resources. We see glimpses of such actions by associations of Roman citizens. An association located at Mytilene, for example, sought an exemption from municipal taxes from Caesar.[88] Another at Chios similarly demanded exemption from local tributes.[89] On Delos, several associations formed a coalition to pool funds for commercial shipping ventures.[90]

As Verboven, Terpstra, and others have observed, associations of Roman citizens and other voluntary associations likely formed broad trade networks.[91] Associations that shared a network could give each other financial assistance, as in the case of the association of Tyrians in second century CE Puteoli, which at one time received financial support from an association of Tyrians based at Rome.[92] Associations could also provide each other with safety, as when the association of Roman citizens at Utica received and aided Romans fleeing Julius Caesar from other parts of Africa.[93] Traveling businessmen could also rely on associations formed by individuals from their place of origin, too.[94] Visiting traders likely faced many practical

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[87] *Dig*. 5.1.19.1 (Ulp., third century CE); translation: Watson, *The Digest of Justinian*, 168.
[88] Hatzfeld, *Les trafiquants italiens dans l'Orient hellénistique et à l'époque impériale*, 322.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Rauh, *The Sacred Bonds of Commerce: Religion, Economy and Trade Society at Hellenistic Roman Delos, 166-87 B.C.*, 251–287.
[91] K. Verboven, "The Associative Order: Status and Ethos among Roman Businessmen in Late Republic and Early Empire," *Athenaeum* 95 (2007): 870; Terpstra, *Trading Communities in the Roman World: A Micro-Economic and Institutional Perspective*, 9–94.
[92] IGRR 1.421. For commentary on this inscription: Joshua D. Sosin, "Tyrian Stationarii at Puteoli," *Tyche* 14 (1999): 275–84.
[93] *B.Afr.* 88.
[94] We could think of this phenomenon as a version of what social theorists call "chain migration," whereby individuals are motivated to move in part because the population at their projected destinations can provide them with various forms of social and economic assistance. Chain migration typically occurs through networks. On the networks formed by migrants communities in antiquity: Verboven, "Resident Aliens and Translocal Merchant Collegia in the Roman Empire"; Terpstra, *Trading Communities in the Roman World: A Micro-Economic and Institutional Perspective*. For detailed discussion of chain migration: John MacDonald and Leatrice MacDonald,

challenges in respect to local custom, local law, and current information about trade.[95] As Terpstra shows in his study of immigrant trade groups in Roman Italy, traders from a particular city probably benefited immensely from the permanent, local presence of individuals from their place of origin.[96] If the settled group developed a good reputation in the foreign city, it likely had robust relationships and local contacts, too. In this way, associations of foreigners could provide valuable assistance to those who visited from their city of origin.[97] Locals were likelier to trust those whom they knew through preexisting contacts.[98] Together, these factors improved access to reliable business partners, information, and the odds of contract enforcement.[99]

The same is likely true of associations of Roman citizens, since they were commonly located in trade hubs like Cirta, Ephesos, and Lugdunum. Members who were located more or less permanently in these cities could assist more mobile Roman traders as they came through town. An inscription from Delos by a group of Italians who traveled and worked together between Alexandria and Delos this animates scenario:

> *[C(aium) Marium C(ai) f(ilium) lega]tum Alexandreae Italicei quei fuere / [virtut]is beneficique ergo*.
>
> Ἀγασίας Μηνοφίλου / Ἐφέσιος ἐποίει // [Γάιον Μάριον πρεσβευ]τὴν οἱ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι [παρα]/[γενόμενοι Ἰταλικ]οὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐεργεσίας [ἕνεκα].

"Chain Migration, Ethnic Neighborhood Formation, and Social Networks," *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly* 42 (1964): 82–97; C. Tilly, "Migration in Modern European History," in *Human Migration: Patterns, Implications, Policies*, ed. William McNeill and Ruth Adams (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978), 48–72. For a brief historiography of chain migration: C. Lesger, L. Lucassen, and M. Schrover, "Is There Life Outside the Migrant Network?: German Immigrants in XIXth Century Netherlands and the Need for a More Balanced Migration Typology," *Annales de démographie historique* 2 (2000): 29–30.

[95] *Dig.* 5.1.19.2 (Ulp., third century CE); van Andringa, "Observations sur les associations de citoyens romains dans les Trois Gaules," 171–173.

[96] Terpstra, *Trading Communities in the Roman World: A Micro-Economic and Institutional Perspective*, 70–79.

[97] Ibid., 23–100.

[98] Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*; A. Greif, *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy: Lessons from Medieval Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 213–216; Terpstra, *Trading Communities in the Roman World: A Micro-Economic and Institutional Perspective*, 67–68.

[99] W. Broekart, "Partners in Business: Roman Merchants and the Potential Advantages of Being a Collegiatus," *Ancient Society* 41 (2011): 223, 233, 243; Terpstra, *Trading Communities in the Roman World: A Micro-Economic and Institutional Perspective*, 51–66.

> The Italians who were at Alexandria dedicated this to the legate Gaius Marius, son of Gaius, because of his *virtus* and benefactions.[100]

This inscription was installed in the Agora of the Italians, which I discuss below. Its location suggests that the Italians from Alexandria must have taken advantage of the structures on the island known to have been associated with its local Roman and Italian population. It is likely that the Romans and Italians on Delos expected to be able to do the same in Alexandria.

Prestige and influence were important sources of leverage for associations that wanted to negotiate the privileges outlined above. To achieve prestige and influence, associations of Roman citizens, like other voluntary associations, engaged in repeated acts of benefaction and monumentalization.[101] Studies of other voluntary associations in the east and west indicate that it was common practice for them to engage in local networks of honorific exchange.[102] In these networks, voluntary associations could act as benefactors by establishing new local festivals, constructing buildings for the benefit of the community, and more.[103] Voluntary associations also received benefactions from local patrons, and they expressed gratitude by installing statues, honorific inscriptions, and even cults in the patron's honor.[104] The visibility these exchanges produced could give their participants new or renewed access to influence. In addition, their reciprocal quality structured social relations and reinforced preexisting personal and collective networks. They also enhanced the social importance of their leaders by providing them with the

[100] ID 1699.
[101] On the practice of monumentalization by other voluntary associations: P. Harland, *Dynamics of Identity in the World of the Early Christians: Associations, Judeans, and Cultural Minorities* (New York and London: T & T Clark International and Continuum Press, 2009), 150.
[102] O. van Nijf, *The Civic World of Professional Associations in the Roman East* (Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 1997); Harland, *Dynamics of Identity in the World of the Early Christians: Associations, Judeans, and Cultural Minorities*.
[103] van Nijf, *The Civic World of Professional Associations in the Roman East*; Harland, *Dynamics of Identity in the World of the Early Christians: Associations, Judeans, and Cultural Minorities*.
[104] Ferrary, "De l'éuergétisms hellénistique á l'éuergétisme romain," 112.

social capital required for public esteem and, in turn, paved the way to other prominent positions.[105]

The monuments and attendant inscriptions that emerged from these exchanges stood in *fora*, ἀγοραί, and other well trafficked urban spaces. These functional forms of art publicly emphasized the relationship that the recipients of the initial benefaction claimed to have with their benefactor and highlighted the patron's ability to be a benefactor.[106] They also enabled beneficiaries to broadcast the relationship they possessed or claimed to possess with other populations in the local community. These populations included other private associations, local civic institutions, or even the local population of non-Romans. By pooling resources in the framework of an association, individuals could engage in bigger, more prominent, and perhaps more frequent expenditures over time.[107]

To facilitate meeting their social and economic goals, associations of Roman citizens likely developed an internal structure with officers with differentiated sets of responsibilities. We know little about the internal organization of associations of Roman citizens in the Republican period. The majority of our evidence comes from imperial evidence in Gaul, where the associations seem to have possessed an articulated internal hierarchy of officers who went by terms such as *curator civium Romanorum*, *decurio civium Romanorum*, and *quaestor civium Romanorum*.[108] Some have argued that associations in the ancient world borrowed the

[105] On patronage and voluntary associations: Verboven, "The Associative Order: Status and Ethos among Roman Businessmen in Late Republic and Early Empire."
[106] Harland, *Greco-Roman Associations: Texts, Translations, and Commentary. II, North Coast of the Black Sea, Asia Minor*; J. Ma, *Statues and Cities: Honorific Portraits and Civic Identity in the Hellenistic World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 9, 67–74.
[107] Sometimes individuals funded honorific gestures that were attributed to a group, thereby bringing prestige to both financier and group and giving the financier a humble appearance. This may have been the case for altar dedications attributed to associations of Roman citizens in the Black Sea Region.
[108] On the *curator*: Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, 405, n. 4; Gogniat Loos, "Les associations de citoyens romains," 32–33; van Andringa, "Observations sur les associations de citoyens romains dans les Trois Gaules," 170–171. On the *curator designatus*: Gogniat Loos, "Les associations de citoyens romains," 32. On the renewal of the position of

institutional language of the city of Rome and the associations based there.[109] However, another source may have been the titles of magistrates of Roman colonies and municipalities. Decurions, for example, formed city *curiae* and were responsible for a range of duties that included participating in making decisions about municipal law and the distribution of offices.[110]

Van Andringa and others suggest that the *curator* represented the primary line of communication between the association and local community.[111] His claim is consistent with evidence from Gaul, which suggests that many of these *curatores* appear to have been enfranchised locals who would have possessed long term relations with important individuals in the local community. Voluntary associations offer further insight. Officers called *curatores* in voluntary associations are attested as responsible for overseeing association activities and screening would-be members.[112] This was likely true of associations of Roman citizens, too.

Some officials were Roman citizens who had originated in the same community in which the association was located. One was Decimus Iulius Consors of Aventicum:

> *D(ecimus) Iul(ius) C(ai) f(ilius) Fa[b(ia)] / Consors sac(rorum) / Augustal(ium) mag(ister) / cur(ator) c(ivium) R(omanorum) conven(tus) / Hel(vetici) ex v[ot]is*.
>
> Decimus Iulius Consors, son of Caius, of the tribe Fabia, *magister* of the sacred *Augustales*, *curator* of the Helvetian assembly of Roman citizens, dedicated this in accordance with vows.[113]

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the *curator*: René Sanquer, "Une nouvelle lecture de l'inscription à Neptune trouvée à Douarnenez," *Annales de Bretagne* 80 (1973): 215–36; Gogniat Loos, "Les associations de citoyens romains," 32.

[109] J.E. Lendon, *Empire of Honour: The Art of Government in the Roman World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 97–102; J.-J. Aubert, "La gestion des collegia: aspects juridiques, économiques et sociaux," *Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz* 10 (1999): 49–69; Verboven, "The Associative Order: Status and Ethos among Roman Businessmen in Late Republic and Early Empire," 870.

[110] *Tab. Heracl.* 126; *Cod. Iust.* 10.32.2; Christian Gizewski and Brian J. Campbell, "Decurio, decuriones," ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider, *Brilly's New Pauly*, 2006, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com.proxy.uchicago.edu/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/decurio-decuriones-e312510.

[111] Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*; Gogniat Loos, "Les associations de citoyens romains," 32–33; van Andringa, "Observations sur les associations de citoyens romains dans les Trois Gaules," 170–171.

[112] For example, an individual named D. Caecilius Hospitalis, *curator* of the *negotiatores olearii ex Baetica*, for example, was responsible for dedicating an honorary inscription for a former *praefectus annonae*. Similarly, the *curator* of a group of *negotiatores eborarii et citrarii*, was responsible for screening would-be members. D. Caecilius Hospitalis: CIL 14, 4458. The *curator* of the *negotiatores eborarii et citrarii*: CIL 6, 33885.

[113] Aventicum, CIL 13, 11478 (Julio-Claudian).

Another was C. Iulius Marinus, a *curator civium Romanorum* and recipient of a dedication originating from Mediolanum Santonum in Aquitania:

> *C(aio) Iulio C(ai) Iuli Ricoveriugi f(ilio) Vol(tinia) Marino [IIIIIIviro?] / Augu[s]tali primo c(uratori) c(ivium) R(omanorum) quaestori verg[obreto] / Iulia Marina filia p[osuit?].*
>
> Iulia Marina, daughter to Caius Iulius Marinus, son of Iulius Ricoveriugus, IIIIIIvir, of the tribe Voltinia, *Augustalis* for the first time, *curator* of the association of Roman citizens, *quaestor*, *vergobret*, erected (this).[114]

Frei-Stolba and van Andringa link Decimus Iulius Consors to the Camilli, a family of local elites with direct ties to the emperor Claudius.[115]

Romans who were native to the surrounding region, rather than the local community, could also be association members. One was Caius Verenius Voltinius:

> *Sacr(um) Aug(usto) / Neptuno Hippio(?) p(atrono) c(ollegii?) n(ostri) / C(aius) Varenius Voltin(ia) / Varus c(urator) c(ivium) R(omanorum) IIII / posuit.*
>
> Caius Verenius Varus, of the tribe Voltinia, four-time *curator* of the Roman citizens, made a dedication to Augustus and Neptune Hippius, patron of our association.[116]

René Sanquer traces this four-time *curator* in Armorica to Narbonensis, where the name is epigraphically well attested.[117] He also proposes that the family of Varenius had roots stretching all the way to the Black Sea, where two salt farmers bear the name Varenius. This could suggest a family network involved in the salt trade, since Armorica itself was an important region in the ancient salt trade and Neptune was a deity closely associated with it.[118]

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[114] CIL 13, 1048.
[115] Regula Frei-Stolba, "Claude et les Helvètes: le cas de C. Iulius Camillus," *Bulletin de l`Association Pro Aventico*, no. 38 (1996): 59–72; van Andringa, "Observations sur les associations de citoyens romains dans les Trois Gaules," 169.
[116] ILTG 00338. On the restoration of the inscription and for further commentary on this inscription: Sanquer, "Une nouvelle lecture de l'inscription à Neptune trouvée à Douarnenez."
[117] Narbonensis: CIL 12, 153, 2760, 2789, 3020, 4004.
[118] Dacia: CIL 3, 1209 and 1363; Sanquer, "Une nouvelle lecture de l'inscription à Neptune trouvée à Douarnenez," 225–226.

Caius Agileius Primus, *curator* of the Roman citizens at Avaricum in the middle of the first century CE, was also foreign to the local community but native to the surrounding region:

> *Pro salute / Caesarum et / p(opuli) R(omani) / Minervae / et divae / Drusillae sacrum / in perpetuum / C(aius) Agileius Primus / IIIIIIvir Aug(ustalis) c(urator) c(ivium) R(omanorum) d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) d(edit).*
>
> For the health of the Caesars and the Roman people, Caius Agileus Primus, *IIIIIIvir*, *Augustalis*, *curator* of the Roman citizens, to Minerva and the deified Drusilla through his own funds in perpetuity.[119]

The election of individuals who originated from the local community or nearby communities to positions in associations of Roman citizens was probably motivated by the need to facilitate communication with the local government.[120] Individuals from the local community or region would have possessed high-ranking contacts in the local community. Inscriptions show that many had served in municipal offices and had acted as *sacerdos divi Augusti*, *pontifex perpetuus, quaestor*, and *duumvir*, to name a few examples from epigraphic sources. A well connected individual who was familiar with the local language and customs was equipped to negotiate with the local council about privileges, acquire permission to dedicate statues, and coordinate activities with other local bodies. As I noted above, van Andringa argues that enfranchised locals who served in leadership roles in associations of Roman citizenship did not enjoy membership in the associations. But it is doubtful that native-born citizens should have assisted the association in the capacity of *curator* or *summus curator* without enjoying the benefits of membership.

At Utica in the Late Republic, we discern from Caesarian texts that the city's association of Roman citizens maintained a tiered form of membership. The author of *de Bello Civili* reports

[119] CIL 13, 1194 (38-41 CE) from Avaricum in modern Bourges. On Agileius Primus: additional commentary: C. Gmyrek, *Römische Kaiser und Griechische Göttin: die religiös-politische Funktion der Athena/Minerva in der Selbstund Reichsdarstellung der römischen Kaiser* (Milan: Ennerre, 1998), 39.
[120] van Andringa, "Observations sur les associations de citoyens romains dans les Trois Gaules," 170–171.

the presence of a group called "the Three Hundred" (*CCC*), which appears to have influenced the local community's policy decisions during the civil wars.[121] But the association was divided into at least two groups:

> *Postero die mane in oppidum introit contioneque advocata Uticenses incolas cohortatus gratias pro eorum erga se studio agit, cives autem Romanos negotiatores et eos qui inter CCC, pecunias contulerant Varo et Scipioni multis verbis accusat et de eorum sceleribus longiore habita oratione ad extremum ut sine metu prodirent edicit: se eis dumtaxat vitam concessurum; bona quidem eorum se venditurum, ita tamen qui eorum ipse sua bona redemisset, se bonorum venditionem inducturum et pecuniam multae nomine relaturum, ut incolumitatem retinere posset. Quibus metu exsanguibus de vitaque ex suo promerito desperantibus subito oblata salute libentes cupidique condicionem acceperunt petieruntque a Caesare ut universis CCC uno nomine pecuniam imperaret. Itaque bis miliens sestertio his imposito, ut per triennium sex pensionibus populo Romano solverent, nullo eorum recusante ac se eo demum die natos praedicantes laeti gratias agunt Caesari.*
>
> Early the following morning [Caesar] entered the town and summoned an assembly, at which he addressed the citizens of Utica in a stirring speech and thanked them for the zealous support they had given him. As, however, for the Roman citizens who were engaged in trade and those members of the Three Hundred who had contributed sums of money to Varus and Scipio, he brought a very detailed accusation against them and elaborated at some length upon their crimes, but finally announced that they could come out into the open without fear: their lives at any rate he would spare: their property indeed he would sell, yet on the following condition, that if any man among them personally bought in his own property, he himself would duly register the sale of the property and enter up the money paid under the heading of a fine, so as to enable the man in question to enjoy full security thereafter. For these men, pale with fear and, considering their deserts, with little hope of saving their lives, here was an unexpected offer of salvation. Gladly and eagerly they accepted the terms and besought Caesar to fix a lump sum of money to be paid by the entire Three Hundred as a whole. Accordingly, he required them to pay to the Roman people the sum of two hundred million *sesterces* in six installments spread over three years; and this they accepted gladly and without a single murmur, expressing their gratitude to Caesar and declaring that this day finally marked for them the start of a new life.[122]

The author describes the targets of Caesar's public remonstration as "the Roman businessmen and those who were among the Three Hundred" (*cives autem Romanos negotiatores et eos qui*

[121] Caes. *B Afr.* 88.
[122] Caes. *B Afr.* 90; translation adapted from A.G. Way, trans., *Alexandrian War. African War. Spanish War.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955).

inter CCC).[123] This claim indicates that the Romans in the city were divided into two groups. One consisted of a council of wealthy and elite leaders who represented and formed policy on behalf of the other.

If we look to voluntary associations for comparative evidence, we gain a sense of how associations of Roman citizens achieved their goals of maintaining the safety of members and facilitating business interests.[124] Wim Brokaert observes, "A merchant often had to rely on the mere assumption or promise that he would not be deceived by his agent or customers."[125] Trust could not be taken for granted among the members of an association; consequently, associations deployed a range of strategies to maintain it.

Voluntary associations employed several strategies to build trust and maintain internal cohesion. One was the imposition of membership fees to encourage members to fulfill their obligations to the group. By rendering membership a privilege, they better ensured that members would fulfill obligations toward the group.[126] Limiting group membership facilitated the association to function as a strong, reputation based trust network: if anyone in the local community could join, the group ran the collective risk that someone would jeopardize its

[123] Caes. *B Afr.* 90.

[124] On the subject of trust and reputation in voluntary associations, see recently: P.F. Venticinque, "Family Affairs: Guild Regulations and Family Relationships in Roman Egypt," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 50 (2010): 273–94; Broekart, "Partners in Business: Roman Merchants and the Potential Advantages of Being a Collegiatus"; C. Hawkins, "Manufacturing" (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 4, 16–20.

[125] Broekart, "Partners in Business: Roman Merchants and the Potential Advantages of Being a Collegiatus," 226.

[126] On paying membership fees in associations of Roman citizens: V. Allamani-Souri, "The Province of Macedonia in the Roman Imperium," in *Roman Thessaloniki*, ed. Dimitrios V. Grammenos, trans. David A. Hardy (Thessaloniki: Thessaloniki Archaeological Museum, 2003), 93. On the use of fees to ensure that members fulfilled obligations: A.E.R. Boak, "The Organization of Gilds in Greco-Roman Egypt," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 68 (1937): 212–20; Verboven, "The Associative Order: Status and Ethos among Roman Businessmen in Late Republic and Early Empire," 887; Broekart, "Partners in Business: Roman Merchants and the Potential Advantages of Being a Collegiatus," 238; Venticinque, "Family Affairs: Guild Regulations and Family Relationships in Roman Egypt"; Hawkins, "Manufacturing," 189–199. When associations constructed temples, altars, and similar kinds of structures, the money probably came from a patron, as was the case for other kinds of voluntary associations: Verboven, "The Associative Order: Status and Ethos among Roman Businessmen in Late Republic and Early Empire," 872.

reputation. Associations also limited admission to specific groups of people. For associations that were mainly concerned with the practice of a particular cult, membership would, unsurprisingly, have been limited only to those who were committed to the practice of the cult in question. Voluntary associations concerned with trade may have limited membership to individuals practicing specific trades, such as associations of *navicularii*, or traders from a specific place, like the *corpus negotiantium Malacitanorum* attested at Rome or the *collegium utriclariorum Nemausensium* at Nemausus.[127]

The possession of Roman citizenship would have been a fundamental requirement of membership, and it is therefore possible that all Romans in a given city were nominally members of the local association, whether or not they formally wished it. To that end, such associations were non-voluntary. But I would like to raise the possibility that the possession of citizenship entitled all Romans to membership in such associations. If these associations were concerned with building strong, positive reputations in their local communities, then like other voluntary associations, they would have limited membership by admitting select members of the local Roman community. In addition, not all members may have had a right to influence group decisions. As the situation at Utica suggests, perhaps only individuals who could afford to pay could make decisions on behalf of the rest.

Voluntary associations also required members to comply with their internal codes for behavioral and other standards. An ordinance of an association of *negotiatores eborarii et citrarii* required *curatores* to conduct background checks on of potential members.[128] The same

[127] Associations of *navicularii* are known throughout the Mediterranean: Lietta De Salvo, *Economia privata e pubblici servizi nell'impero romano: i corpora naviculariorum* (Messina: Samperi, 1992). *Corpus negotiantium Malacitanorum*: CIL 6, 9677; *collegium utriclariorum Nemausensium*: 11, 3351. On associations of foreign merchants (Roman and non-Roman): Verboven, "Resident Aliens and Translocal Merchant Collegia in the Roman Empire."
[128] CIL 6, 33885.

association also had mechanisms to ensure these officials performed their job adequately: if someone was improperly inducted into the group, the *curator* responsible for the error would have his name expunged from the association's membership registry.[129] Yet another strategy was to enforce attendance at association events. By appearing at religious events and the funerals of members, members demonstrated their good faith to the group and produced lasting bonds of trust.[130] Associations of Roman citizens most likely utilized such strategies too. Further, as in the case of professional associations, feasting and the practice of cult would have provided opportunities for members to reestablish old contacts and forge new ones.[131] While direct evidence for their participation in feasting is lacking, we do possess several inscriptions that attest to their practice of cult, such as the dedication to Elagabalus by the Romans in the Three Gauls.

IV. Cult and the Construction of a Roman Identity

The discussion above examined the terminology with which sources describe associations of Roman citizens with respect to their legal status, composition, and the professions of their members. It also examined the strategies they employed to ensure the safety of members, facilitate their business interests, and maintain group cohesion. Here, I examine the religious practice of associations of Roman citizens. Here, I investigate how the establishment of the

[129] On screening procedures: Broekart, "Partners in Business: Roman Merchants and the Potential Advantages of Being a Collegiatus," 228–230.
[130] Venticinque, "Family Affairs: Guild Regulations and Family Relationships in Roman Egypt." On the subject of religion and associations: V. Gabrielsen, "Brotherhoods of Faith and Provident Planning: The Non-Public Associations of the Greek World," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 22 (2007): 188–189. Like Terpstra, I disagree with Rauh's claim that fear of the gods encouraged those who swore to maintain contracts to stand by their promises. Such oaths were likely made served as a way to produce good social standing among individuals who swore them: Rauh, *The Sacred Bonds of Commerce: Religion, Economy and Trade Society at Hellenistic Roman Delos, 166-87 B.C.*, 129–188; Terpstra, *Trading Communities in the Roman World: A Micro-Economic and Institutional Perspective*, 25–26.
[131] Harland, *Associations, Synagogues, and Congregations: Claiming a Place in Ancient Mediterranean Society*, 45–70.

imperial cult transformed the religious practice of the Roman diaspora and aligned it with that of Romans in Italy. I argue that associations of Roman citizens used emperor worship from the late first century BCE through at least the fourth century CE to establish group cohesion and claim a place in the Roman political community. As the introduction to the dissertation indicated, repetitive activity such as the practice of cult could reflect the community in which one was or sought to be a member.

Evidence for the religious practice of associations of Roman citizens emerges in 29 BCE, when Octavian arrived in Asia after his victory at Actium. Their practice of cult, like that of Romans and non-Romans across the Mediterranean, changed irrevocably thereafter. Cassius Dio describes Octavian's actions at this time with the following account:

> τῶν γράψαι ἔχω. Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τά τε ἄλλα ἐχρημάτιζε, καὶ τεμένη τῇ τε Ῥώμῃ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, ἥρωα αὐτὸν Ἰούλιον ὀνομάσας, ἔν τε Ἐφέσῳ καὶ ἐν Νικαίᾳ γενέσθαι ἐφῆκεν· αὗται γὰρ τότε αἱ πόλεις ἔν τε τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Βιθυνίᾳ προετετίμηντο. καὶ τούτους μὲν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τοῖς παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐποικοῦσι τιμᾶν προσέταξε· τοῖς δὲ δὴ ξένοις, Ἕλληνάς σφας ἐπικαλέσας, ἑαυτῷ τινα, τοῖς μὲν Ἀσιανοῖς ἐν Περγάμῳ τοῖς δὲ Βιθυνοῖς ἐν Νικομηδείᾳ, τεμενίσαι ἐπέτρεψε. καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἐκεῖθεν ἀρξάμενον καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἄλλων αὐτοκρατόρων οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀκούει, ἐγένετο. ἐν γάρ τοι τῷ ἄστει αὐτῷ τῇ τε ἄλλῃ Ἰταλίᾳ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις τῶν καὶ ἐφ᾽ ὁποσονοῦν λόγου τινὸς ἀξίων ἐτόλμησε τοῦτο ποιῆσαι· μεταλλάξασι μέντοι κἀνταῦθα τοῖς ὀρθῶς αὐταρχήσασιν ἄλλαι τε ἰσόθεοι τιμαὶ δίδονται καὶ δὴ καὶ ἡρῷα ποιεῖται ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι ἐγένετο, καὶ ἔλαβον καὶ οἱ Περγαμηνοὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν ἱερὸν ὠνομασμένον ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ναοῦ αὐτοῦ τιμῇ ποιεῖν.
>
> Caesar, meanwhile, besides attending to the general business, gave permission for the dedication of sacred precincts in Ephesos and in Nicaea to Roma and to Caesar, his father, whom he named the hero Julius. These cities had at that time attained chief place in Asia and in Bithynia respectively. He commanded that the Romans resident in these cities should pay honor to these two divinities; but he permitted the aliens, whom he styled Hellenes, to consecrate precincts to himself, the Asians to have theirs in Pergamum and the Bithynians theirs in Nicomedia. This practice, beginning under him, has been continued under other emperors, not only in the case of the Hellenic nations but also in that of all the others, in so far as they are subject to the Romans. For in the capital itself and in Italy generally no emperor, however worthy of renown he has been, has dared to do this; still, even there, various divine honors are bestowed after their death upon such emperors as have ruled uprightly, and, in fact, shrines are built to them. All this took

> place in the winter; and the Pergamenians also received authority to hold the sacred games, as they called them, in honor of Caesar's temple.[132]

According to Dio, two cults were established in Asia Minor at this time. One was devised for the Roman citizens of Ephesos and Nicaea and was dedicated to the deified Julius Caesar and the goddess Roma. The other was devised for the Greeks in Pergamon and Nicomedia. This cult was dedicated to Octavian and Roma. In this manner, Octavian established the basic parameters for emperor worship.

The episode in Asia Minor occurred at a moment in which populations throughout the Mediterranean sought appropriate means of representing and responding to the new power structure.[133] The forms that these attempts took often depended on whether their agents were Greek or Roman. This was also true of the responses they evoked. Dio's account describes Octavian as giving commands and permissions, which suggests that the Romans and the Greeks voluntarily approached Octavian with identical requests to establish cults that worshiped him. In the Greeks' case, their request to establish a cult to Octavian may have been initiated by their respective provincial assemblies and, as Price has argued, likely drew on the Hellenistic practice of worshiping living kings.[134] Hellenistic ruler cults had developed to define and understand the position of tyrants, who represented a new power structure, in the framework of the Greek city-state. Cults dedicated to the goddess Roma accompanied the spread of Roman power, particularly after the bequest of the Attalid kingdom in 133 BCE. By 29 BCE, Roman officials were already the recipients of similar cults in the East. Emperor cult developed in turn to

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[132] Dio Cass. 51.20.6-7; translation: E. Cary, *Dio Cassius: Roman History, Volume VI: Books 51-55 (Loeb Classical Library)* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1917).
[133] Fergus Millar, "State and Subject: The Impact of Monarchy," in *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects*, ed. Fergus Millar and Erich Segal (Oxford: Oxford Clarendon Press, 1984), 40–41; Simon Price, *Rituals and Power* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 53–77.
[134] Price, *Rituals and Power*, 53–77; Steven J. Friesen, *Twice Neokoros: Ephesus, Asia, and the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 9–10.

articulate the position of the emperor in the world. Its position in a tradition long known among the Greeks rendered it unproblematic to the new leader of the Roman world.[135]

The worship of Octavian by Romans was a different matter, due to a preexisting distinction between Roman public and private religion. Private religion can be broadly understood as having consisted of rites that pertained to household cult and any other religious practices that individuals chose to pursue on their own and for themselves. By contrast, public religion may be understood as having consisted of ritual action that the state had organized and financed. The practice of this ritual action represented the community's fulfillment of its duties towards the gods and was performed by its magistrates and priests.[136] Furthermore, Roman citizens were obligated to participate in Rome's public religion.

The cults that Octavian established fell into the category of public cult, though this may not have been clear at the time of their formation. Dio, who wrote with hindsight, states that the public cult of Rome only permitted the worship of the traditional gods and the deified dead, not living persons. This was the case even though Romans in Italy were already paying private cult to the living emperor by this time.[137] The worship of a living Roman by Romans as a part of public cult would, however, have represented a departure from practice in Rome. Only the deceased could receive divine treatment in Roman public religion.

Consequently, Octavian commanded the Romans in Asia to dedicate their cult to his adoptive father. He thereby maintained his identity of divine descent without inviting the

[135] Like the Romans in Ephesos and Nicaea, they, too, must have made a formal request of him, probably through their provincial assembly. Fergus Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Pres, 1977), 386; Magdalena Moravovà, "Official Imperial Cult in Dacia and Comparison of Its Character with Other Danube Provinces," *Graecolatina Pragensia* 21 (2006): 211.
[136] Ittai Gradel, "Mamia's Dedication: Emperor and Genius: The Imperial Cult in Italy and the Genius Coloniae in Pompeii," *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 20 (1992): 43–58; J. Rüpke, *A Companion to Roman Religion* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007), 22–24.
[137] Gradel, "Mamia's Dedication: Emperor and Genius: The Imperial Cult in Italy and the Genius Coloniae in Pompeii"; Ittai Gradel, *Emperor Worship and Roman Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 74–75.

resentment that Caesar's assumption of divine honors had provoked. At the same time, he standardized the religious practice of Romans abroad and Romans in Italy. The cult of Julius Caesar had been legislated into Rome's public religion in the months that immediately preceded his death and was implemented soon thereafter.[138] Its promulgation included the enforcement of the *Lex Rufrena*, which was passed by popular vote in 42 BCE, two years after Caesar's death. The law regulated the use of Caesar's image for worship by overseeing the installation of his statue throughout Italy. It also prohibited the inclusion of his image with those of other human ancestors at the funerals of relatives.[139] In this manner, says Dio, Caesar was treated "as if he were truly a god."[140] Physical structures followed the establishment of the new cult of Caesar in Asia. The same year he established the cult of Julius Caesar in Ephesos in Nicaea, Octavian completed construction of the temple to the Divus Iulius in the Roman Forum. In their turn, the new cult to Caesar in Asia gave way to new precincts, or τεμένη, as Dio calls them.[141]

By aligning the religious practices of Romans in Italy and Romans in Asia, Octavian stressed two distinctions. One was the geographic discontinuity between Romans within and beyond Italy. The establishment of a common cult overrode this physical disjunction by affirming the juridical status of Romans abroad as representative of their membership in the totality of the Roman civic body. A second distinction accompanied the first: through cult, the juridical status of the Roman diaspora was identified in contradistinction to that of the local, non-

[138] S. Weinstock, *Divus Iulius* (Oxford: Oxford Clarendon Press, 1971), 392–393.
[139] ILS 73; ILS 73a: *divo Iulio iussu populi Romani statutum est lege Rufrena*, "To the divine Julius by order of the Roman people, the monument has been installed in accordance with the *lex Rufrena*." Weinstock argues that these new statues received the power to provide asylum, but this is conjecture. Weinstock, *Divus Iulius*, 395; C. Ando, "Praesentia Numinis Part 2: Objects in Roman Cult," *Asdiwal* 6 (2011): 67. On images of deified leaders in the Late Republic: J. Pollini, *From Republic to Empire: Rhetoric, Religion, and Power in the Visual Culture of Ancient Rome* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 2012), 133–161.
[140] Dio Cass. 47.19.2.
[141] Scherrer has identified a small temple in the State Agora as the one of these. Peter Scherrer, "The City of Ephesos from the Roman Period to Late Antiquity," in *Ephesos, Metropolis of Asia: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Its Archaeology, Religion and Culturs*, ed. Helmut Koester (Valley Forge: Trinity Press International, 1995), 4.

Roman population. Octavian bridged distinctions that geography imposed on Romans in the Mediterranean by linking Romans in Italy to Romans abroad through a cult that stressed the juridical distinctions between of Romans abroad and non-Romans.[142] As I discuss in below, that distinction was to be short-lived: the cult of Augustus soon overshadowed the cult of Julius Caesar, and Romans abroad came to worship living emperors, too.[143]

Naturally, the establishment of the imperial cult impacted associations of Roman citizens. From 29 BCE onward, when their activities concerned cult, they nearly always focused on the person of the emperor. This is apparent in evidence from across the Mediterranean. At Ephesos for example, the local association (which may have been involved in the original request to establish a cult) constructed a precinct for Julius Caesar with permission from Octavian.[144] At Masculula in the Julio-Claudian period, an association of Roman citizens paid cult to the deified Augustus alongside Numidians:

> *Divo Augusto / sacrum / conventus / civium Romanor(um) / et Numidarum qui / Mascululae habitant.*
>
> The assemblies of Roman citizens and Numidians who live at Masculula dedicated this to the deified Augustus.[145]

At Mactar, an association of Roman citizens made a dedication to Nerva:

> *[---] Caes(ari) Aug(usto) [---] | [--- ci]ves Rom(ani) et civit(as) p(ecunia) s(ua) f(aciundum) c(uraverunt).*

[142] The distinction between Romans and non-Romans was short-lived: it became standard practice for all provincials, regardless of juridical status, to take a vow of loyalty to the emperor every year on January 3.
[143] Duncan Fishwick, "The Development of Provincial Ruler Worship in the Western Roman Empire," *Aufstieg Und Niedergang Der Römischen Welt* 2, no. 16 (1978): 1201–53; Friesen, *Twice Neokoros: Ephesus, Asia, and the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family*, 11.
[144] Dio Cass. 51.20.6-7. I discuss this episode in detail below.
[145] CIL 8, 15775. For commentary: Mustapha Khanoussi, "Présence et rôle de l'armée romaine dans la région des Grandes Plaines (Afrique Proconsulaire)," in *L'Africa romana. Atti del IX convegno di studio. Nuoro, 13–15 dicembre 1991*, ed. Attilio Mastino (Sassari: Edizioni Gallizzi, 1992); Beschaouch, "Le conventus civium Romanorum en Afrique: Á propos de la lecture de l'inscription CIL, VIII, 15775."

> To Caesar Augustus…the Roman citizens and the *civitas* (of Mactar) took care to do (this) with their own funds.[146]

At Alma in Africa, an association of Roman citizens dedicated a sanctuary and portico on behalf of Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius to Frugifer Augustus.

> *Frugifero Aug(usto) sacrum / pro salute Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M(arci) Aureli An/tonini Aug(usti) Armeniaci Medici Par/thici maximi et Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) L(uci) Aureli / Veri Aug(usti) Armeniaci Medici Par/thici maximi cives Romani Al/menses aedem et porticus s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecerunt) / L(ucio) Volussenio Pastore et C(aio) Iulio Rogato / curatoribus.*
>
> Dedication to Frugifer Augustus. For the health of the emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Maximus and the Commander Caesar Lucius Aurelius Verus Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Maximus, the Roman citizens at Alma constructed a sanctuary and porticoes at their own expense. Lucius Volussenius Pastor and Caius Iulius Rogatus oversaw this.[147]

Inscriptions from Quintio in Moesia Inferior from the second and third centuries CE provide the most striking indication of the narrow focus of these associations' religious practice. The village has produced a series of dedications that regularly honor the emperor and/or Jupiter Optimus Maximus on his behalf. Juno Regina occasionally accompanies Jupiter, but she never receives a dedication in isolation.[148] The following example is representative of the series:

> *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / et Iunoni / Regin(a)e c(ives) R(omani) / et Bessi con/sistentes vi/co Ulmeto p/ro salute imp(eratoris) / Ael(ii) Antonini Ca/es(aris) per mag(istrum) L(ucius) Val(erius) / Maxellius (sic) pos/{s}uit de suo v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) / imp(eratore) Antonino / III co(n)s(ule).*
>
> To Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Juno Regina, the Roman citizens and the Bessi residing in the village of Ulmetum, for the health of the Emperor Aelius Antoninus Caesar, through the direction of Lucius Valerius Maxellius, who made this dedication out of his own means, gladly fulfilling a vow. During the third consulship of the Emperor Antoninus.[149]

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[146] AE 1966, 514. For commentary: Picard, "Le conventus civium Romanorum de Mactar."
[147] AE 1974, 69 (166 CE).
[148] I rely here on Avram's updated corpus. Avram, "Les cives Romani consistentes de Scythie mineure: État de la question."
[149] CIL 3, 14 214, 26 (Ulmetum, ca. 140 CE).

Exceptions to the associations' focus on the emperor as an object of worship bear the stamp of local contexts. At Turda in Romania, an association of Roman citizens dedicated an altar to a deity called Terra Mater in the last half of the second century CE.[150] Another exception is Frugifer, a deity to whom the Romans at Alma consecrated a temple and portico on behalf of Antoninus Pius and Lucius Verus. The term Frugifer was used adjectivally in Africa to reference Saturn, Pluto or Neptune.[151] Furthermore, as Caius Verenius Varus' dedication to Neptunus Hippius indicates, individual association members sometimes elected to worship other deities. Similarly, a designate *curator civium Romanorum* at Lousonna made a dedication to Hercules in the second century CE.[152] A *decurio civium Romanorum* at Mogontiacum made a dedication in the late third century CE to the goddess Luna.[153] A fragmentary inscription suggests that a *curator civium Romanorum* at Vesunna oversaw the construction of a large temple complex dedicated to at least one Celtic deity.[154]

Despite these differences, it seems to be the case that when associations of Roman citizens gathered to pay cult, they virtually always chose to pay cult to the emperor, regardless of time and place. This homogeneity represents a voluntary choice to pay cult to the emperor rather than other members of the imperial family and other kinds of deities, and it is underscored by the cult practice of individual members of associations, as in the case of Caius Verenius Varus' dedication to Neptunus Hippius: individual Romans may not have chosen to worship the emperor privately, but when they convened as an association, they typically did.

[150] AE 1993, 1332 = AE 1992, 1469.
[151] On the identity of Frugifer Augustus: Beschaouch, "La découverte de trois cités en Afrique proconsulaire (Tunisie): Alma, Vrev et Asadi. Une contribution à l'étude de la politique municipale de l'Empire romain," 222.
[152] Armorica: ILTG 00338; Lousonna: Ness-Lieb 25. See Chapter Two for a detailed discussion about the officers of associations of Roman citizens.
[153] CIL 13, 6733.
[154] CIL 13, 950, 951, 952, 953, and 954 = ILA-Petr 19.

The choice to worship the emperor may have been motivated by the perception that such an act expressed its practitioners' membership in the Roman political community, regardless of their geographical location.[155] In this way, worshipers claimed their Roman identity. As the dissertation's introduction observed, iterative activities like the census could create a shared sense of community and identity among participants, especially when those participants constituted a heterogeneous population.[156] By paying cult to the emperor to the near exclusion of all other objects of worship, associations of Roman citizens expressed what they perceived as a relationship with the emperor unique to them, just as other individuals, groups, and communities across the empire found their own ways to express similar sentiments.[157] Iterative cult action was a particularly important component of this strategy at Quintio. The periodicity of its inscriptions suggests the development of a practice that permitted the Romans involved to express and emphasize their identities as citizens and subjects of the emperor. This identity joined them with the rest of the Roman citizen population.[158]

The choice of the emperor, rather than a deity from the traditional Roman pantheon, may have been motivated by the early affiliation of the imperial cult with Romans abroad. Dio describes the Romans in Ephesos and Nicaea who approached Octavian as τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐποικοῦσι. We know from inscriptions from Ephesos that the city had an association by the first century BCE.[159] The consistency of the Romans' worship of the emperor, rather than local or syncretized deities, distinguished them or was meant to distinguish them from their non-Roman neighbors.

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[155] Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire*, 277–405.
[156] Ibid., 337–339.
[157] On the many and varied forms these took: Ibid., 362.
[158] Chapter Three discusses how these instances of joint worship contributed, paradoxically, to the establishment of an avenue for non-Romans to claim a place in the Roman civic community.
[159] Scherrer, "Der conventus civium Romanorum und kaiserliche Freigelassene als Bauherrn in Ephesos in augusteischer Zeit," 70–72.

It was of course a paradoxical strategy. Non-Roman provincials worshiped the emperor too, and the emperor became an increasingly significant focus for expressing a relationship with Rome.[160] This is evident not just in the spread of the emperor cult, but also in the context of the annual oath to him. As a corpus of sources indicates, it became standard practice for provincials – Roman and non-Roman alike – to swear an annual oath of loyalty to the emperor on January 3.[161] Associations of Roman citizens are clearly indicated among the oathtakers. A sandstone stele from Phazimon records an oath of loyalty sworn in Paphlagonia to Augustus and his descendants by "the inhabitants of Paphlagonia and the Romans who did business there" (τῶν πραγματευομένων παρ' αὐτοῖς 'Ρωμαίων) on March 6, 3 BCE.[162] The oath of allegiance to Gaius that the people of Assos swore in 37 CE was preceded by a decree of the local senate and confirmed by the Romans in that city.[163] In the moment of oath-taking, Romans expressed a relationship with Rome.[164] At the same time, they expressed a fundamental similarity with the empire's non-Roman population: their position as subjects of the emperor.[165] Even so, it would seem that the persistence of the associations' worship of the emperor, especially in Moesia Inferior in the second and third centuries CE, remained an important way to assert a place in the Roman political community.

V. Physical Structures

[160] Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire*, 337–339.
[161] The language of the loyalty oaths paralleled formulae in the texts of the Arval Brothers at Rome, and their characteristically Roman pattern was closely followed even in Greek-speaking provinces such as Cyrenaica. Pliny *Ep*. 10.35, 10.36, 10.52, 10.100; Plut. *Vita Ciceronis* 2; J. Reynolds, "Vota Pro Salute Principis," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 20 (1962): 33–35; Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire*, 359–362.
[162] ILS 8781.
[163] IGRR 4.251.
[164] On the use of ritual action as an expression of one's relationship with Rome: K. Hopkins, "From Violence to Blessing: Symbols and Rituals in Ancient Rome," in *City-States in Classical Antiquity and Medieval Italy*, ed. A. Molho, K. Raaflaub, and J. Emlen (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991), 479–98.
[165] Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire*.

Many of the activities of associations of Roman citizens, such as meetings and events, would have occurred in a range of physical structures. The nature of these structures offers insight into the associations' access to money and even the degree to which their cohesiveness as a group permitted completing goals like the construction of a new building. For example, small associations may not have had the means to own large buildings for meetings, so members would have convened at each other's homes or in rented spaces. By contrast, large and wealthy associations could purchase or lease large properties and fund the construction of edifices for meeting and dining. The structures themselves are indicated in epigraphic evidence.

To date, only three structures can be attributed directly to associations of Roman citizens outside of Delos and the other Greek islands. One is a *gymnasium* built for Thespiae's association of Roman citizens in the second or first century BCE.[166] This structure does not survive. The other is the Augustan-era Tetragonos Agora of Ephesos, which I mentioned in the introduction to the dissertation.[167] The same association was likely also involved in building the temple to Roma and Augustus following the emperor's visit in 29 BCE. Similarly, the association of Roman citizens at Alma in Africa constructed a sanctuary and porticoes, presumably for its own use.[168]

Aside from the Tetragonos Agora, remains of the buildings that associations of Roman citizens built and/or used do not survive. But we can fill in the blanks using comparative material from sites around the Mediterranean. The most important is Delos, which was home to numerous cult associations composed of Romans and Italians (in addition to individuals from other parts of

[166] IThesp 373.
[167] Scherrer, "Der conventus civium Romanorum und kaiserliche Freigelassene als Bauherrn in Ephesos in augusteischer Zeit."
[168] AE 1974, 690 (166 CE).

the Mediterranean).[169] The Agora of the Italians is a particularly good candidate for a meeting place for Romans and Italians.[170] It consisted of a peristyled courtyard with a *propylon* and three large *exedrae* that opened onto the square. Subsequent additions included a bath complex at its northwestern corner and niches behind its porticoes.[171] The building was built in multiple phases and was funded by Italian donors whose names are attested in inscriptions from the structure's site.[172] In fact, all of the epigraphic material from the site concerns individuals called *Italici* or *Italikoi*, which strongly indicates that they constituted the primary community that used facility.[173]

Fig. 1. Agora of the Italians, Delos, Greece (photo by author)

[169] Hasenohr, "Les collèges de magistri et la communauté italienne de Délos"; Hasenohr, "Les 'Compitalia' à Délos."
[170] Hasenohr, "Italiens et Phéniciens á Délos: organisation et relations de deux groupes d'étrangers residents (IIe-Ier siècles av. J.-C.)," 84.
[171] M. Trümper, *Die "Agora des Italiens" in Delos: Baugeschichte, Architektur, Ausstattung und Funktion einer späthellenistischen Porticus-Anlage* (Rahden/Westf: Verlag Marie Leidorf GmbH, 2008), 13–192.
[172] Hasenohr, "Italiens et Phéniciens á Délos: organisation et relations de deux groupes d'étrangers residents (IIe-Ier siècles av. J.-C.)," 84.
[173] Ibid. On non-Italian and non-Roman users of the site: Trümper, *Die "Agora des Italiens" in Delos: Baugeschichte, Architektur, Ausstattung und Funktion einer späthellenistischen Porticus-Anlage*, 293–350.

The function of the Agora of the Italians has been a source of debate among Delian specialists. The traditional view, which Hatzfeld, Homolle, and others proposed, argued that the site was a meeting place for the Roman and Italian population of the island.[174] Others, such as Coarelli, have argued that the Agora of the Italians was used to house and sell slaves.[175] Others reject both identifications on the grounds that the architecture was not conducive to housing or selling human beings. Rauh, for example, claims that it functioned as a multifunctional recreational facility that offered spaces for bathing, exercising, feasting, and even gladiatorial activity based on architectural similarities to sites in Italy.[176] The most recent, comprehensive assessment of the site is that of Monika Trümper. She is probably right to argue that it was initially built to house informal meetings and display honorific inscriptions, but that its purpose became multidimensional through additions like a bath complex at its northwest corner. The Agora does not appear to have been used for the practice of cult, since archaeologists have not found altars or other cult-related remains in its vicinity.[177]

The Maison de Fourni, located at the southern end of Delos, offers another glimpse into the facilities such associations utilized. Identification of the building with Romans and Italians is tentative, though Trümper is right to suggest it. *Opus signinum*, which was not often used in eastern Mediterranean contexts, was found among the pavement types in the remains of the

[174] T. Homolle, "Statue de Caius Ofellius: sur une oeuvre signée des artistes Dionysios et Polyclès," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 5 (1881): 390; T. Homolle, "Les Romains à Délos," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 8 (1884): 116; Hatzfeld, "Les Italiens résidant à Delos," 118; Roussel, *Délos, colonie athénienne*, 305.
[175] F. Coarelli, "Agora des Italiens a Delo: Il mercato deglia schiavi?," in *Delo e l'Italia: raccolta di studi*, ed. F. Coarelli, D. Musti, and H. Solin (Rome: Bardi, 1983), 119–46.
[176] N.K. Rauh, "Was the Agora of the Italians an Établissement Du Sport?," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 116 (1992): 293–333.
[177] On the architectural, social, and chronological aspects of the Agora of the Italians: Trümper, *Die "Agora des Italiens" in Delos: Baugeschichte, Architektur, Ausstattung und Funktion einer späthellenistischen Porticus-Anlage*. On the honorific practices that occurred within: M. Trümper, "The Honorific Practice of the 'Agora of the Italians' in Delos," in *Polis Und Porträt*, ed. P. Zanker, Studien Zur Antiken Stadt 13 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2014), 69–86.

building.[178] Building remains have also yielded paintings associated with the cult of the *lares compitales*, typically practiced by the slaves and freedmen of Romans and Italians.[179] The cult, in addition to representations of it, underwent several permutations on Delos. At the Maison de Fourni, the paintings are inside the buildings and not on its facades, as is typical of cult-oriented frescoes of the period on Delos. In addition, some of the sacrificiants they depict are unveiled, suggesting performance of the sacrifice in accordance with Greek, rather than Roman or Italian custom.[180]

The entire complex appears to have been built at more or less the same time. It was composed of separate sections, which included a central core building that had an east-west orientation, a northern section with a latrine, water supply, and simple rooms, and a courtyard at the southern end that was attached to a series of rooms on a raised terrace to the east.[181] Based on finds from these spaces, Trümper concludes that some were used as workshops, others as living and storage quarters.[182] The courtyard appears to have ben the site of cultic activity.[183] The presence of three separate latrine areas, each with entryways at different parts of the complex, suggests that a combination of group occupied distinct parts of the building. Some may have been permanent residents and others temporary.[184]

Another example for the kind of buildings that associations of Roman citizens used comes from the imperial-era Piazzale delle Corporazioni at Ostia. Terpstra argues that non-

[178] M. Trümper, "Negotiating Religious and Ethnic Identity: The Case of Clubhouses in Late Hellenistic Delos," *Hephaistos* 24 (2006): 126.
[179] Hasenohr, "Les 'Compitalia' à Délos," 206–207; P. Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale* (Paris: Boccard, 1970), 589–620.
[180] If the structure was not used by Italian and Roman immigrants performing a modified version of the cult, its occupants may have been Greeks who had adopted it. Hasenohr, "Les 'Compitalia' à Délos," 207–209.
[181] Trümper, "Negotiating Religious and Ethnic Identity: The Case of Clubhouses in Late Hellenistic Delos," 123.
[182] Ibid.
[183] Ibid.
[184] Ibid., 125.

Roman trade groups used the facility. Portions of the structure date to the early first century CE, mid-first century CE, and Hadrianic era.[185] It consisted of a U-shaped colonnade that is connected to Ostia's theater at its southern end and which centered on a large, roofless space that may have been used as a garden. The colonnade was divided into sixty-one small rooms that opened up onto the central square. The pavement of the colonnade was comprised of black and white floor mosaics depicting maritime themes.

Fig. 2. Mosaic, Piazzale delle Corporazioni, Ostia, Italy (photo by author)

Dedications to local benefactors from the site refer to several provincial cities, most of which were located in Proconsularis.[186] One bears the initials *M.C.*, which may refer to the province of Mauretania Caesariensis. If the mosaics reflect how the space was used, then it is possible that its users were traders who originated from outside of Italy and even from the cities attested epigraphically.[187] The stalls that lined the portico probably did not function as shops,

[185] Terpstra, *Trading Communities in the Roman World: A Micro-Economic and Institutional Perspective*, 110.
[186] Ibid.
[187] Ibid., 106.

since there is ample archaeological evidence for the architectural features of Ostian shops.[188] They were likely intended to organize the building around a central pedestrian area and to provide just enough room for representatives of trade associations to coordinate affairs with contacts and potential members.[189] Associations of Roman citizens may have maintained stalls in similar structures at port cities and trade hubs. At Ephesos, for example, archaeologists have found a street that ran between the city's harbor and theater complex. Philip Harland suggests it may have been lined with stalls that associations of Roman citizens used, given that we already know that silversmiths and other groups maintained similar structures along its route.[190]

VI. Conclusion

This chapter developed a working definition for the phrase "association of Roman citizens." It argued that the diversity that characterized the organization, composition, legal status, and function of groups of Roman traders outside of Italy requires a general, flexible term. Relying on the arguments of van Andringa, van Nijf, and others, the chapter also discussed some of the legal and professional characteristics of associations of Roman citizens in different parts of the Mediterranean world.

Though evidence for associations of Roman citizens never explicitly indicates why they formed, we can look at contextual clues to infer the reasons. I argued that associations of Roman citizens were established in the Republic for two primary purposes. One was to maintain the safety of members; the other was to facilitate the business interests of members by negotiating for privileges with local communities. To achieve these goals, the associations likely employed

[188] Ibid., 108.
[189] The remains of the structure stand directly opposite Ostia's theater and may have been originally built for alternate purposes. For an extended discussion on the structure and use by Africans: Ibid., 110–119.
[190] Harland, *Associations, Synagogues, and Congregations: Claiming a Place in Ancient Mediterranean Society*, 4.

many of the strategies that other voluntary associations used, such as building relationships with powerful officials, imposing membership fees on constituents, screening candidates for membership, and requiring attendance at events. In this way, they created group cohesion by building relations of trust between members and produced social capital in their local communities. They also established networks in which individual associations assisted each other in a variety of ways. The chapter concluded with a discussion of the associations' religious practices. Under the empire, the practice of emperor worship became an important means of constructing a Roman identity. Through exclusive worship of the emperor, I argued that associations of Roman citizens asserted a place in the geographically fractured Roman community.

CHAPTER TWO

ASSOCIATIONS OF ROMAN CITIZENS AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IN THE LATE REPUBLIC

I. INTRODUCTION

The involvement of Cirta's Italian association in the city's political troubles attests to the early influence of Roman and Italian merchants and businessmen on the foreign policy decisions of their host cities. The same observation emerges from evidence for associations of Roman citizens in the late first century BCE. Caesarian accounts paint a vivid portrait of their ability to steer local governments toward supporting one or another of the generals who vied for primacy in the Roman world in the decades leading up to Actium. At times, the associations seem powerful enough to have forced locals to support a general they preferred to oppose and may have pivotal roles in certain theaters of war.

This chapter builds on Chapter One's discussion of the trust-based networks that associations of Roman citizens produced to examine their impact on the cities of Corduba, Utica, Lissus, Salona, and Utica in the Late Republic. The ability of associations of Roman citizens to intervene in local political life suggests, once more, that they functioned as tightly knit trust networks. In *Trust and Rule*, Charles Tilly argued that such networks achieved influence by becoming either directly or indirectly integrated in the public politics of their local communities:

> *Indirect* integration occurs when trust networks extend into politically engaged actors such as local organizations, churches, or labor unions that in turn bargain with each other and with governments over the allocation of politically mediated costs and benefits. *Direct* integration occurs when trust networks extend into government itself, for example through the incorporation of kin group members into national armed forces, establishment of state churches exercising monopolies over political participation, or government creation of social security systems tying the futures of workers to governmental performance and the reliability of government-employed providers of services. Obviously many intermediate locations open up along the continuum, for example privileged or disadvantaged communities enjoying connections with governmental agencies committed to their protection.[1]

[1] Tilly, *Trust and Rule*, 7.

The choice of Corduba, Utica, Lissus, Salona, and Utica as places of focus in this chapter stems from the patchy state of evidence for associations of Roman citizens in the Late Republic. Furthermore, given its state, we lack a privileged view of the process by which associations of Roman citizens became embedded in the public politics of these cities. We can, however, come to a better understanding of the possibile routes by which such associations came to power. As I discuss below, Corduba may have been initially founded as a double community populated by non-Roman locals and Romans. It could be that the descendants of Corduba's first Roman inhabitants (whom I describe below) formed a tightly knit association whose longevity provided them with a clout they may not have possessed had they arrived at the city at some other point in time.

This chapter's chronological focus is partly due to the fact that this is the earliest period for which we have chronologically concentrated evidence for associations of Roman citizens. In turn, this evidence is limited to the writings of Caesar and Pseudo Caesar; by contrast, evidence for associations of Roman citizens in later periods is primarily epigraphic. In addition, as I show below, the nature of this evidence lends itself to a study focused on the associations' role in local government. My focus on the Late Republic also establishes context for Chapter Three and Chapter Four's discussions of interactions between associations of Roman citizens and local communities in the first three centuries CE. By starting with the Republic, we gain a long term historical view of their activities across the Mediterranean.

In examining factors which may have facilitated the associations' achievement of local influence, I touch upon an observation that many scholars have shared: that associations of Roman citizens in the Late Republic became so powerful that they motivated either or Caesar or

Octavian to elevate their host communities to colonial status.[2] The association at Salona, for example, proved influential during the Late Republican civil wars through its support of Julius Caesar. By 27 BCE, its host city had received colonial status.[3] But as I discuss below, there is no tangible link between associations of Roman citizens and the statuses of their host cities. Nor is there reason to privilege colonial status as literature on this subject has tended to do. Utica, for example, received municipal status in the years leading up to Actium, and it is not clear that municipal status was better or worse than colonial status.

II. Spain: Corduba

The Late Republic saw the population of Italy torn by property confiscations, death, and exile. The Roman diaspora's experience was no different. As Caesar's account of associations of Roman citizens in Spain attests, these groups were torn between the demands of Pompey, Caesar, and their agents:

> *M. Varro in ulteriore Hispania initio cognitis eis rebus, quae sunt in Italia gestae, diffidens Pompeianis rebus amicissime de Caesare loquebatur: praeoccupatum sese legatione ab Cn. Pompeio teneri obstrictum fide; necessitudinem quidem sibi nihilo minorem cum Caesare intercedere, neque se ignorare, quod esset officium legati, qui fiduciariam operam obtineret, quae vires suae, quae voluntas erga Caesarem totius provinciae. Haec omnibus ferebat sermonibus neque se in ullam partem movebat. Postea vero, cum Caesarem ad Massiliam detineri cognovits, copias Petreii cum exercitu Afranii esse coniunctas, magna auxilia convenisse, magna esse in spe atque exspectari et consentire omnem citeriorem provinciam, quaeque postea acciderant, de angustiis ad Ilerdam rei frumentariae, acceptit, atque haec ad eum latius atque inflatius Afranius perscribebat, se quoque ad motus fortunae movere coepit*.
>
> M. Varro, at first in further Spain, when he learned of the events that had happened in Italy, mistrusting the fortunes of Pompeius, began to speak in the friendliest terms of Caesar. He pointed out that, having been previously secured by Gn. Pompeius as his legate, he was held bound by a pledge of loyalty, yet that no less strong a tie of intimacy existed between himself and Caesar, and that he was not unaware what was the duty of a

[2] Wilson, *Emigration from Italy in the Republican Age of Rome*, 14–15, 72–75; Purcell, "Romans in the Roman World," 97.
[3] On the town's colonial status: Caes. *B Civ* 3.9.2; Wilson, *Emigration from Italy in the Republican Age of Rome*, 15, 38, 72-74; J.J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia* (London: Routledge, 1969), 163–200.

> legate who held a post of trust, what his own strength was, and what was the feeling of the whole province towards Caesar. But afterwards, when he learned that Caesar was being detained at Massilia, that the forces of Petreius had been united with the army of Afranius, that large auxiliary forces had assembled, that other large reinforcements were in prospect and constantly expected, and that the whole hither province was unanimous; and when he heard of what had afterwards happened about the dearth of provisions at Ilerda, and when Afranius kept writing to him about this in a large and exaggerated style, he began himself to move in response to the movements of fortune.[4]

Caesar goes on to describe Varro's extortive behavior toward associations loyal to the former:

> *…quibus rebus perterritos cives Romanos eius provinciae sibi ad rem publicam administrandam HS \CLXXX\ et argenti pondo XX milia, tritici modium CXX milia polliceri coegit. Quaes Caesari esse amicas civitates arbitrabatur, his graviora onera iniungebat praesidiasque eo deducebat at iudicia inprivatos reddebat qui verba atque orationem adversus rem publicam habuissent: eorum bona inpublicum addicebat. Provinciam omnem in sua et Pompei verba iusiurandum adigebat. Cognitis eis rebus, quae sunt gestae in citeriore Hispania, bellum parabat.*
>
> He compelled the Roman citizens of his province, terrified by such proceedings, to promise him for the administration of public affairs 18,000, 000 sesterces and 20,000 pounds of silver and 120,000 measures of wheat. On all the communities that he thought friendly to Caesar he proceeded to impose very heavy burdens, to move garrisons into them, and to deliver judgments against private persons who had uttered words or made speeches against the commonwealth; their property he confiscated for public purposes. He went on to compel his whole province to swear allegiance to himself and Pompeius. When he had ascertained what had happened in nearer Spain he began to prepare war.[5]

The contrast between Hispania Ulterior's support for Pompey with neighboring Hispania Citerior's support for Caesar reveals the proximity of expatriate provincials with opposing loyalties. While some of this choosing of sides was voluntary, compulsion was a factor too: Varro's actions suggest that many were forced to choose and also to prove the integrity of their choice with an oath of loyalty. Thus, associations of Roman citizens found themselves making the same calculations as their brethren in Italy, not to mention non-Romans across the Mediterranean. As sources of money and military support for the warring generals of the period,

[4] Caes. *B Civ.* 2.17-18; translation adapted from A.G. Peskett, trans., *Caesar: Civil Wars* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914).
[5] Caes. *B Civ.* 2.17-18; translation adapted from Peskett, *Caesar: Civil Wars*.

they were powerful and vulnerable in equal measure. Supporting the wrong general could spell financial disaster or worse.

Spain proved to be a significant theater of war in this period. Caesar's account of the events of 45 BCE reveals that the association of Roman citizens at Corduba, one of its economic hubs, dominated the town's policymaking. After the association promised its loyalty to Pompey via Varro, Caesar began to fear that Pompey was on the cusp of gaining so many followers in Spain (*quod magna esse Pompei beneficia et magnas clientelas*) that he would gain control over the region. Caesar promulgated an edict that demanded that the "magistrates and chief men of all the communities" in Spain (*magistratus principesque omnium civitatum*) meet him on a specified date at Corduba.[6] The communities obeyed and the town's association pursued the following policy:

> *Simul ipse Cordubae conventus per se portas Varroni clausit, custodias vigiliasque in turribus muroque disposuit, cohortes duas, quae colonicae appellabantur, cum eo casu venissent, tuendi oppidi causa apud se retinuit.*
>
> At the same time the association of Roman citizens at Corduba of its own accord shut the gates against Varro, set outposts and sentries on the towers and walls, and retained for the defense of the town two cohorts called "Colonial," which had come there by chance.[7]

Like the episodes involving Varro, this account illustrates the ambiguous position between power and weakness that associations of Roman citizens occupied in this period. Caesar describes the newfound support of the association at Corduba as voluntary (*per se*), though it is hardly likely that the association had other option.

At the same time, we can infer the extent of their influence when Caesar attributes the decision to shut Corduba's gates to its association Roman citizens, rather than to its non-Roman,

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[6] Caes. *B Civ.* 2.18-19.
[7] Caes. *B. Civ.* 2.19; translation adapted from Peskett, *Caesar: Civil Wars*. Brunt suggests they were migrant businessmen from Italy, like those at Utica, rather than the descendants of an previously settled group of Romans: P.A. Brunt, *The Fall of the Roman Republic and Related Essays* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 215.

native population or even the town as a whole. Caesar's expression of thanks to Corduba similarly reveals the influence of the association of Roman citizens on local policymaking:

> *Caesar contione habita Cordubae omnibus generatim gratias agit: civibus Romanis, quod oppidum in sua potestate studuissent habere; Hispanis, quod praesidia expulissent; Gaditanis, quod conatus adversariorum infregissent seseque in libertatem vindicassent; tribunis militum centurionibusque, qui eo praesidii causa venerant, quod eorum consilia sua virtute confirmassent. Pecunias, quas erant in publicum Varroni cives Romani polliciti, remittit; bona restituit eis, quos liberius locutos hanc poenam tulisse cognoverat. Tributis quibusdam populis publicis privatisque praemiis reliquos in posterum bona spe complet biduumque Cordubae commoratus Gades proficiscitur…*
>
> Caesar held a public meeting at Corduba and thanked all classes separately: the Roman citizens for their zeal in keeping the town under his control, the Hispani for having cast out the garrisons, the Gaditani for having crushed the attempts of his adversaries and having vindicated their own liberty, the military tribunes and centurions who had come there on garrison duty, for having strengthened the assemblies of the others by their own valor. He returned the sums of money that the Roman citizens had promised to Varro for public purposes; he restores their property to those whom he understood to have been thus penalized for their freedom of speech. Having bestowed on certain communities public and private rewards, he filled the rest with good hope for the future and after a stay of two days at Corduba sets out for Gades…[8]

Caesar's speech describes a town composed of at least three distinct populations that were effectively led by the Romans. He uses the term *concilia*, or resolutions, to refer collectively to the political decisions of the different groups at Corduba. The term *concilia* suggests that these decisions were the outcome of a voting procedure. Moreover, the Roman votes seem to have carried more weight than those of the locals: Caesar pinpoints the Romans as responsible for keeping the town in his control (…*gratias agit: civibus Romanis, quod oppidum in sua potestate studuissent habere*). One has the impression that if the two groups reached opposing outcomes, the Romans would have prevailed.

How did Corduba's Roman population achieve so much influence? We are likely to find the semblance of an answer in the muddled accounts of its foundation. Romans and Italians

[8] Caes. *B Civ.* 2.21; translation adapted from Peskett, *Caesar: Civil Wars*.

began arriving in Spain in the second century BCE. According to Strabo, M. Claudius Marcellus founded Corduba in 152 BCE:

> ᾤκησάν τε ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἄνδρες ἐπίλεκτοι· καὶ δὴ καὶ πρώτην ἀποικίαν ταύτην εἰς τούσδε τοὺς τόπους ἔστειλαν Ῥωμαῖοι.
>
> In addition to this, it has been from its commencement inhabited by picked men, whether natives or Romans; and it was the first colony planted by the Romans in these parts.[9]

Strabo describes the town as an ἀποικία, or colony. The term can be used as the legal equivalent for the Roman citizen colony.[10] Strabo's information conflicts with information from other sources that suggest Corduba was not a colony when Marcellus founded it. Velleius claims, for example, that the first overseas citizen colony was Narbo Martius, which was founded in 118 BCE.[11] While Velleius is not the most reliable source of information, but Caesarian sources do not call Corduba a colony either. The presence of an association of Roman citizens in Caesar's lifetime further suggests that the town did not enjoy colonial status when Marcellus founded it.[12] Strabo likely used the term ἀποικία in a non-technical sense, the way other Greek authors of the Roman period used the term: to refer to towns that underwent dramatic changes to their administrative infrastructure and demographic composition. His comments suggest there may have been a preexisting native settlement that Marcellus replaced with a synoecism of area Romans and non-Romans.[13]

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[9] Strabo 3.2.1; translation adapted from Horace Leonard Jones, trans., *Geography*, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1923).
[10] R.C. Knapp, *Roman Córdoba* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 11.
[11] Vell. Pat. 2.6.
[12] Knapp, *Roman Córdoba*; A.T. Fear, *Rome and Baetica: Urbanization in Southern Spain C. 50 BC – AD 15* (Oxford: Oxford Clarendon Press, 1996), 39.
[13] Canto relies on the analysis of Casevitz. *Contra* García, who argues that the term indicates a Caesarian foundation. M. Casevitz, *Le Vocabulaire de La Colonisation En Grec Ancien. Étude Lexicologique: Les Familles de κτίζω et de οἰκέω-οἰκίζω* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1985); A. Canto, "Colonia Patricia Corduba: nuevas hipótesis sobre su fundación y nombre," *Latomus* 50 (1991): 147; E. García, "Observaciones Jurídicas Sobre La Fundación de Corduba Y La Tribus Sergia," in *Scripta Antiqua in Honorem Ángel Montenegro Duque et José María Blázquez Martínez*, ed. S. Crespo et al. (Valladolid: S. Crespo Ortiz, A. Alonso Avila, 2002), 268; A. García, "Reflexiones Sobre La Latinización de Hispania En época Republicana," in *Hispaniae: Las Provincias Hispanas En El Mundo Romano*, ed. I. Rodá, J. Andreu, and J. Cabrero (Tarragona: Institut Català de Arqueologia Clàssica, 2009), 385;

Knapp and others suggest that Marcellus founded Corduba as a double community.[14] By the term "double community," I refer to a town that non-Romans initially populated and which Romans eventually came to occupy too. Such towns differed from non-Roman cities that happened to have Roman inhabitants. In those cases, the Roman populations would have been subject to local law. By contrast, in double communities, Romans and non-Romans possessed juridical, constitutional, and administrative institutions that functioned independently of each other: each was subject to its own legal codes.[15] We can infer institutional divisions of this kind

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Alicia Jiménez and José R. Carrillo, "Corduba/Colonia Patricia: The Colony That Was Founded Twice," in *Roman Colonies in the First Century of Their Foundation*, ed. R. Sweetman (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2011), 55–56. Bendala suggests that these "non-Romans" were elites from the nearby settlement of Colina de los Quemados. M. Bendala, "El plan urbanístico de Augusto en Hispania: precedentes y pautas macroterritoriales," in *Stadtbild und Ideologie: die Monumentalisierung hispanischer Städte zwischen Republik und Kaiserzeit* (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, in Kommission bei C.H. Beck, 1990), 32; M. Bendala, "De Iberia in Hispaniam: El Fenómeno Urbano," in *"De Iberia in Hispaniam". La Adaptación de Las Sociedades Ibéricas a Los Modelos Romanos*, ed. L. Abad (San Vicente del Raspeig: Universidad de Alicante, 2003), 38. The *Rhomaioi* of whom Strabo speaks may well have constituted a mixed population of Romans and Italians, given the time period. Knapp, *Roman Córdoba*, 138; A.U. Stylow, "De Corduba a Colonia Patricia. La fundación de la Córdoba romana," in *Colonia Patricia Corduba: una reflexión arqueológica*, ed. P. León (Seville: Junta de Andalucía, 1996), 78. Some propose that these Rhomaioi were in fact drawn from a Roman camp's *canabae*, though not all agree: Bendala, "El plan urbanístico de Augusto en Hispania: precedentes y pautas macroterritoriales," 33; J.F. Rodríguez Neila, "Corduba," *Conquista y modos de intervención en la organización urbana y territorial, Dialoghi di Archeologia* 1–2 (1992): 178, 186; J.F. Murillo and D. Vaquerizo, "La Corduba prerromana," in *Colonia Patricia Corduba: una reflexión arqueológica*, ed. P. León (Seville: Junta de Andalucía, 1996), 42; J.J. Ventura Martínez and P. León, "El origen de la Córdoba romana a través del estudio de las cerámicas de barniz negro," in *Colonia Patricia Corduba: una reflexión arqueológica* (Seville: Junta de Andalucía, 1996), 56; J.R. Carrillo et al., "Córdoba. De los orígenes a la Antigüedad Tardía," in *Córdoba en la Historia: La Construcción de la Urbe* (Corduba: Ayuntamiento de Córdoba, 1999), 37–74; J.F. Murillo and J.L Jiménez Salvador, "Nuevas Evidencias Sobre La Fundación de Corduba Y Su Primera Imagen Urbana," in *Valencia Y Las Primeras Ciudades Romanas de Hispania*, ed. J.L. Jiménez Salvador and A. Ribera i Lacomba (Valencia: Ayuntamient de Valencia, 2002), 184–187; J.F. Murillo and X. Dupré, "Topografía y evolución urbana," in *Las capitales provinciales de Hispania. I. Córdoba. Colonia Patricia Corduba* (Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2004), 39–40; D. Vaquerizo, "Arqueología de la Corduba republicana," in *Julio César y Corduba: tiempo y espacio en la campaña de Munda (49–45 a.C.). ctas del Simposio organizado por la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad de Córdoba y el Departamento de Ciencias de la Antigüedad y de la Edad Media, Áreas de Historia Antigua y Filología Latina, Córdoba, 21-25 de abril de 2003*, ed. E. Melchor, J. Mellado, and J.F. Rodríguez Neila (Corduba: Fundación Prasa, 2005), 171–172. On the possible location of this camp: Jiménez and Carrillo, "Corduba/Colonia Patricia: The Colony That Was Founded Twice," 56–58.

[14] Latin colony: Knapp, *Roman Córdoba*, 11; Stylow, "De Corduba a Colonia Patricia. La fundación de la Córdoba romana," 80; García, "Reflexiones Sobre La Latinización de Hispania En época Republicana"; Jiménez and Carrillo, "Corduba/Colonia Patricia: The Colony That Was Founded Twice," 56.

[15] P. Quoniam, "Á propos des communes doubles et des coloniae Iuliae de la province d'Afrique. Le cas de Thuburbo Majus," *Karthago* 10 (1960 1959): 67–79; S. Mitchell, "R.E.C.A.M. Notes and Studies No. 5: A Roman Family in Phrygia," *Anatolian Studies* 29 (1979): 13–22; Nicholas Purcell, "The Nicopolitan Synoecism and Roman Urban Policy," in *Nicopolis I. Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Nicopolis (23-29 September 1984)*, ed. E. Chrysos (Preveza: Municipality of Preveza, 1987), 71–90; E.W. Haley, "Clunia, Galba and the Events

from evidence that, for example, each population possessed the right to mint its own coinage and issue its own decrees.[16]

There was probably a range of towns that could fall under the notion of the double community. Knapp, for example, sees towns like Minturnae which contained walls that partitioned resident populations as examples of double communities.[17] Communities that were physically and administratively partitioned in the way Knapp suggests of Corduba were not uncommon to the city's region when Marcellus founded it.[18] This was also true of towns that were established *ex nihilo*.[19] A well known example is Emporiae, which was located on Spain's northeastern coast and was the site of a Greek colony dating back to the fifth century BCE. Strabo describes the city as a *dipolis*, or "double city," with a wall running through an area inhabited by Greeks and native Indiketans:[20]

> ᾤκουν δ'οἱ Ἐμπορῖται πρότερον νησίον τι προκείμενον, ὃ νῦν καλεῖται παλαιὰ πόλις, νῦν δ' οἰκοῦσιν ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ. δίπολις δ' ἐστὶ τείχει διωρισμένη, πρότερον τῶν Ἰνδικητῶν τινας προσοίκους ἔχουσα, οἳ καίπερ ἰδίᾳ πολικητῶν τινας προσοίκους ἔχουσα, οἳ καίπερ ἰδίᾳ πολιτευόμενοι κοινὸν ὅμως περίβολον ἔχειν ἐβούλοντο πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀσφαλείας χάριν, τῷ χρόνῳ δ' εἰς ταὐτὸ πολίτευμα συνῆλθον μικτόν τι ἔκ τε βαρβάρων καὶ Ἑλληνικῶν νομίμων, ὅπερ καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων πολλῶν συνέβη.
>
> The Emporitai formerly lived on a small island that is now called the old city but now live on the mainland. The city is a double city, divided by a wall because in the past it had some Indiketans as neighbors, who, although they had their own regime, also wished to have a walled enclosure together with the Greeks for the sake of security. This is a double enclosure, divided in its middle by a wall. In time, they came together under the

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of 68-69," *Zeitschrift Für Papyrologie Und Epigraphik* 91 (1992): 162; L. Ruscu, "Actia Nicopolis," *Zeitschrift Für Papyrologie Und Epigraphik* 15 (2006): 247–55.

[16] Mitchell, "R.E.C.A.M. Notes and Studies No. 5: A Roman Family in Phrygia"; Purcell, "The Nicopolitan Synoecism and Roman Urban Policy"; Ruscu, "Actia Nicopolis."

[17] Knapp, *Roman Córdoba*, 14.

[18] C. González Román, "Ciudad y privilegio en la Bética," in *"Romanización" y "reconquista" en la Península Ibérica: nuevas perspectivas*, ed. M.J. Hidalgo, D. Pérez, and M.J.R. Gervás (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1998), 61; Jiménez and Carrillo, "Corduba/Colonia Patricia: The Colony That Was Founded Twice," 56.

[19] González Román, "Ciudad y privilegio en la Bética," 61; Jiménez and Carrillo, "Corduba/Colonia Patricia: The Colony That Was Founded Twice," 56.

[20] A.J. Dominguez, "Greeks and Non-Greeks in the City of Emporion and the Construction of Their Different Identities," *Electrum* 20 (2013): 23–36.

same regime, mixing barbarian and Greek customs, as has happened in many other cases.[21]

Livy provides further distinguishes between the town's Greek and non-Greek population and what happened to them in the Late Republic:

> *Iam tunc Emporiae duo oppida erant muro diuisa. unum Graeci habebant, a Phocaea, unde et Massilienses, oriundi, alterum Hispani; sed Graecum oppidum in mare expositum totum orbem muri minus quadringentos passus patentem habebat, Hispanis retractior a mari trium milium passuum in circuitu murus erat. tertium genus Romani coloni ab diuo Caesare post deuictos Pompei liberos adiecti. nunc in corpus unum confusi omnes Hispanis prius, postremo et Graecis in ciuitatem Romanam adscitis.*
>
> Even at that time Emporiae consisted of town towns divided by a wall. One of the towns was inhabited by Greeks from Phocaea (which was also the original home of the Massilians), the other by Spaniards. The Greek town was open to the sea, and the whole extent of its wall was less than four hundred yards in length; whereas the Spaniards who were further removed from the sea, had a wall with a circumference of three miles. Roman colonists later formed a third class of inhabitants; these were added by the divine Caesar after the final defeat of Pompey's sons, and at the present time all the inhabitants have been amalgamated into one body, after the granting of Roman citizenship, first to the Spaniards and finally to the Greeks.[22]

Scholars have detected the existence of double communities in different parts of the empire, in part because such communities controvert traditional taxonomies that include terms like *colonia*, *municipium*, and *vicus* that describe the range of Roman towns.[23] But these taxonomies are often ahistorical in their rigid definitions of what a colony or municipality was. As Crawford and Bispham argue, Late Republican and Augustan sources have shaped much of

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[21] Strabo 3.4.8; translation adapted from Malkin, *A Small Greek World: Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean*, 168.

[22] Livy 34.9.1; translation: H. Bettenson, trans., *Rome and the Mediterranean* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics, 1976).

[23] Among those who argue that such communities did not exist: Leo Teutsch, "Gab es 'Doppelgemeinden' im römischen Afrika," *Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité* 3 (1961): 152–156; L. Teutsch, *Das Städtewesen in Nordafrika in der Zeit von C. Gracchus bis zum Tode des Kaisers Augustus* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1962); Brunt, *Italian Manpower, 225 B.C. – A.D. 14*, 254; F. Millar, "Local Cultures in the Roman Empire: Libyan, Punic and Latin in Roman Africa" Journal of Roman Studies, no. 58 (1968): 218–224. On the need to reconsider these taxonomies: Michael H. Crawford, "La storia della colonizzazione romana secondo i romani," in *L'incidenza dell'antico. Studi in memoria di Ettore Lepore*, ed. A. Storchi Marino (Naples: Luciano, 1995), 187–92; E. Bispham, "Coloniam Deducere: How Roman Was Roman Colonization during the Middle Republic?," in *Greek and Roman COlonization: Origins, Ideologies and Interactions*, ed. Guy Bradley and John-Paul Wilson (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2006), 74–160.

what we know about town foundation (and specifically the establishment of colonies) in the Early and Middle Republic. Writers like Cicero, Livy, and Velleius likely tried to establish a normative account of Roman colonization that departed from historical fact. In reality, early towns probably came in a range of shapes and sizes, whose implications may not have been as clear to contemporaneous Romans as later authors claimed.[24] Moreover, epigraphic and numismatic evidence from the Republic and Empire suggests that colonial foundations did not necessarily wipe out preexisting settlements. Rather, they could coexist alongside the original native settlement. These mixed settlements gave way to a range of administrative forms that would have included what scholars now call double communities.[25]

Several sources suggest that Corduba was initially organized as a double community. Strabo, for example, describes of the town's first inhabitants as composed of two groups, namely, "picked natives and Romans" (Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἄνδρες ἐπίλεκτοι). While such a description does not necessitate the formation of a double community, it seems possible in light of numismatic evidence that suggests the town's Roman population minted its own coins. The coinage in question dates to the period between 120-100 BCE and is signed by a Cn. Iulius L.f. *q(uaestor)*.[26] Knapp offers the intriguing, though admittedly conjectural, suggestion that this individual served as the *quaestor* of the city's local association of Roman citizens. No local *quaestor* is attested for the town's subsequent history. When *quaestores* do appear on Corduban coinage, they are indicated as minting in conjunction with the native town.[27]

[24] Crawford, "La storia della colonizzazione romana secondo i romani"; Bispham, "Coloniam Deducere: How Roman Was Roman Colonization during the Middle Republic?"
[25] Mitchell, "R.E.C.A.M. Notes and Studies No. 5: A Roman Family in Phrygia," 417.
[26] F. Chaves Tristán, *La Córdoba hispano-romana y sus monedas* (Seville: Escuela Gráfica Salesiana, 1977), 43–88; Knapp, *Roman Córdoba*, 15–16.
[27] Chaves Tristán, *La Córdoba hispano-romana y sus monedas*, 43–88; Knapp, *Roman Córdoba*, 15–16.

A pair of inscriptions from Corduba that honor a man named L. Axius Naso from Corduba throw additional weight behind the suggestion that the town was founded as a double community.[28] One lists the dedicant as a *vicus Forensis*; the other lists the dedicant as a *vicus Hispanus*.[29] The term *vicus* is often used to represent administrative subdivisions, or neighborhoods, of a town.[30] But these *vici* may, in fact, indicate the constitutional separation of the town's Roman and non-Roman population: city neighborhoods usually assumed the names of geographical locations or deities. Moreover, while the adjective *Hispanus* could refer to the entire region of Spain, *Hispani* is the term Caesar uses to describe Corduba's non-Roman, non-Gaditanian residents in his speech of thanks above.[31]

What was the status of the Roman town that formed part of this double community? The question has proved thorny, since there are epigraphic attestations for two Roman voting tribes that date to both the Caesarian and post-Caesarian period. One is the Galeria voting tribe, which is thought to be pre-Augustan in date, and the Sergia tribe, which is Augustan in date.[32] A potential solution to the problem is that Marcellus founded Corduba as a Latin colony, and that it received colonial status from Caesar, and then once again from Octavian, after Caesar attacked

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[28] AE (1981): 495; Carmen Castillo, "Hispanos y romanos en Corduba," *Hispania Antiqua*, no. 4 (1974): 191–197; Robert C. Knapp, "L. Axius Naso and Pro Legato," *Phoenix* 35 (1981): 134–41.

[29] Vicus Hispanus: *L(ucio) Axio L(uci) f(ilio) Pol(lia tribu) Nasoni | q(uaestori)trib(uno) milit(um) | proleg(ato) Xvir(o) stlit(ibus) iud(icandis) | vicani vici hispani.* Vicus Forensis: *L(ucio) Axio L(uci) f(ilio) Pol(lia tribu) Na[s]o[ni] | q(uaestori) trib(uno) | militum pro l[eg(ato)] | X vir(o) stlitibus iu[d(icandis)] | vicani | vici forensis.* For commentary: Castillo, "Hispanos y romanos en Corduba," 191–197; Knapp, "L. Axius Naso and Pro Legato"; Rodríguez Neila, "Corduba," 101–118.

[30] See, for example, the *vici* of Pisidian Antioch, likely modeled on the Augustan *vici* of Rome: Barbara Levick, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 76–77. On the Augustan *vici*: J. Bert Lott, *The Neighborhoods of Augustan Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). On townships called *vici*: A.G. Poulter, "Townships and Villages," in *The Roman World*, ed. J.S. Wacher (London: Routledge, 1987), 388–411.

[31] Caes. *B Civ.* 2.21, quoted above in full. Archaeologists have excavated the remains of a wall that some have suggested served to divide the community's non-Roman inhabitants from their Roman neighbors. But Fear may be right to suggest that the wall may have formed part of the fortifications constructed when Marcellus founded the town. Knapp, *Roman Córdoba*, 13, 54–55; Fear, *Rome and Baetica: Urbanization in Southern Spain C. 50 BC – AD 15*, 214.

[32] Daniel E. Woods, *Carteia and Tartessos* (Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona, 1969); Knapp, *Roman Córdoba*, 11–12; Jiménez and Carrillo, "Corduba/Colonia Patricia: The Colony That Was Founded Twice." See also note 280.

it. This is hard to reconcile with Caesar's silence about the town's status as a colony in his lengthy discussions of the city. Any Caesarian grant of colonial status must have occurred after 45 BCE, since he describes the presence of an association of Roman citizens in the town at that time.

III. Africa: Utica, Zama, Thapsus, Hadrumetum

As Chapter One indicated, the fine Caesar later imposed on Utica's association implies that the group had access to large sums of money. This wealth is unsurprising, since Utica was a significant port city and its association was likely involved in local and supralocal trade. It also appears to have been sufficiently powerful to override the political wishes of the Uticans themselves:

> *Postero die mane in oppidum introit contioneque advocata Uticenses incolas cohortatus gratias pro eorum erga se studio agit, cives autem Romanos negotiatores et eos qui inter CCC, pecunias contulerant Varo et Scipioni multis verbis accusat et de eorum sceleribus longiore habita oratione ad extremum ut sine metu prodirent edicit: se eis dumtaxat vitam concessurum; bona quidem eorum se venditurum, ita tamen qui eorum ipse sua bona redemisset, se bonorum venditionem inducturum et pecuniam multae nomine relaturum, ut incolumitatem retinere posset…*
>
> Early the following morning he entered the town and summoned an assembly, at which he addressed the foreigners (*incolae*) of Utica in a stirring speech and thanked them for the enthusiastic support they had given him. However, as for the Roman citizens who were engaged in trade and those members of the Three Hundred who had contributed sums of money to Varus and Scipio, he brought a very detailed accusation against them and expounded at some length upon their crimes, but finally announced that they could come out into the open without fear: their lives at any rate he would spare: their property indeed he would sell, yet on the following condition, that if any man among them personally bought in his own property, he himself would duly register the sale of the property and enter up the money paid under the heading of a fine, so as to enable the man in question to enjoy full security thereafter…[33]

The account above suggests that local preference was negligible compared to the will of the Romans in the town. Furthermore, the text's description of Utican locals as *incolae Uticenses*

[33] Caes. *B Afr.* 90; translation adapted from Way, *Alexandrian War. African War. Spanish War.*

strengthens the impression that the Romans in the town held a politically superior position relative to the locals.[34] Though Utica was a free city at this time, the author of the *Bellum Civile* uses legal language to describe non-Roman Uticans as if they were foreign to the town, pointing to the discrepant forms of privilege enjoyed by the town's Roman and non-Roman populations.

A similar set of circumstances appears at Zama:

> *Caesar interim Zamae auctione regia facta bonisque eorum venditis qui cives Romani contra populum Romanum arma tulerant, praemiisque Zamensibus qui de rege excludendo consilium ceperant tributis, vectigalibusque regiis irrogatis ex regnoque provincia facta atque ibique Sallustio pro consule cum imperio relicto ipse Zama egressus Uticam se recepit. Ibi bonis venditis eorum qui sub Iuba Petreioque ordines duxerant, Thapsitanis HS XX, conventui eorum HS XXX, itemque Hadrumetinis HS XXX, conventui eorum HS L multae nomine imponit; civitates bonaque eorum ab omni iniuria rapinisque defendit.*
>
> Meanwhile, at Zama, Caesar held an auction of the royal property and sold the goods of those who, albeit Roman citizens, had borne arms against the Roman people. He bestowed rewards upon the inhabitants of Zama, who had adopted the policy of barring their gates to [Juba] the king, farmed out the collection of the royal taxes, and turned the kingdom into a province. Then, leaving C. Sallustius behind there in military command with the powers of proconsul, he himself left Zama and returned to Utica. There he sold the property of those who had held military commands under Juba and Petreius, and exacted the following payments under the title of fines: from the men of Thapsus — two million sesterces; from their association – three million; likewise from the men of Hadrumetum — three million; and from their association – five million. But he protected their cities and property from all injury and looting.[35]

Brent Shaw goes so far as to suggest that Caesar granted Zama free status at this stage, despite the association's behavior, to reward its non-Roman population for supporting him.[36]

While we do not have clear evidence for the implication of associations of Roman citizens in the governments of Hadrumetum and Thapsus, their treatment at Caesar's hands suggests that they, too, influenced political decision making in their host communities. It is

[34] On *incolae* and associations of Roman citizens: Chapter One.
[35] Caes. *B Afr.* 97.1; translation: Way, *Alexandrian War. African War. Spanish War.*
[36] Caesar turned Zama into the administrative capital of Africa Nova. B.D. Shaw, "Fear and Loathing: The Nomad Menace in Roman Africa," in *Roman Africa/L'Afrique Romaine: The 1980 Vanier Lecture*, ed. C.M. Wells (Ottawa: Ottawa University Press, 1981), 25–26.

possible to interpret the account quoted above as an indication that Caesar fined the towns' Roman associations, and not their native inhabitants, for their behavior. If that is true, then the organization of political power at Hadrumetum and Thapsus may have resembled what is more clearly attested at Utica and Zama.

IV. Dalmatia: Lissus and Salona

The influence of the associations of Roman citizens at Lissus and Salona reflects what we see in Africa and Spain. At Lissus, the town's association of Roman citizens was politically powerful and militarized. Wilkes even goes so far as to suggest that it succeeded in maintaining Caesar's control of the Dalmatian coast to its south.[37] According to Caesar:

> *Quo facto conventus civium Romanorum, qui Lissum obtinebat, quod oppidum eis antea Caesar attribuerat muniendumque curaverat, Antonium recepit omnibusque rebus iuvit.*
>
> After this had taken place the association of Roman citizens who were in occupation of Lissus, a town which Caesar had previously made over to them and for the fortification of which he had arranged, admitted Antonius and assisted him in every way.[38]

Caesar uses the verb *attribuere*, "to assign to, to put under the jurisdiction of," to describe the relationship between the local community and the association of Roman citizens. It brings to mind the term *attributio*, a legal process whereby low-status communities like tribes, *pagi*, and *vici* were placed under the administrative control of nearby, higher-status centers like colonies or municipalities. The practice is well documented for Transalpine and Cisalpine Gaul, and has also been attested in late Republican Africa, Spain, and Greece, and it involved Roman and non-Roman towns alike.[39]

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[37] Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, 220.
[38] Caes. *B Civ.* 3.29, 40.5; translation: Peskett, *Caesar: Civil Wars*.
[39] On attribution: *tabula Clesiana*; Pliny *NH* 3.134, 3.138; U. Ewins, "The Enfranchisement of Cisalpine Gaul," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 23 (1955): 73–98; U. Laffi, *Adtributio e contributio: problemi del sistema politico-amministrativo dello Stato romano* (Pisa: Nistri-Lischi, 1966); Charles Ebel, "Pompey's Organization of Transalpina," *Phoenix* 29 (1975): 358–73; A.D. Rizakis, "Les colonies romaines des côtes occidentales grecques. Populations et territoires," *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 22 (1996): 255–324; A.N. Sherwin-White, "The Tabula of

The precise nature of relationships between communities subjected to attribution varied from context to context. Sometimes, the leader of the lower status community, such as a tribal *princeps*, was incorporated into the political structure of the new administrative hub and acquired Roman citizenship.[40] In other instances, the denizens of *attributi* received the Latin right. In still others, they remained *peregrini* and lacked these privileges. Uses of the term *attribuere* to describe administrative relations typically represent the subordination of smaller, less powerful communities – which could be small settlements or even dispersed tribes – to more developed centers.

The verb *attribuere* usually appears in the *Bellum Civile* in one of two contexts. One portrays the legal practice I have described above:

> *Principes vero esse earum partium Cn. Pompeium et C. Caesarem patronos civitatis; quorum alter agros Volcarum Arecomicorum et Helviorum publice iis concesserit, alter bello victos Sallyas attribuerit vectigaliaque auxerit.*
>
> [They said that] the leaders of the two parties (of the Roman people) are Gnaeus Pompeius and Gaius Caesar, patrons of our state, one of whom has officially granted us the lands of the Volcae Arecomici and of the Helvii; the other, after conquering the Sallyes, has assigned them to us and increased our revenues.[41]

Otherwise, the verb *attribuere* appears in the *Bellum Civile* in relation to the assignation of tasks – usually military in nature – to soldiers, community members, or entire communities:

> *Dextra pars attribuitur Massiliensibus, sinistra Nasidio.*
>
> Operations on the right are assigned to the Massilians, on the left to Nasidius.[42]

Banasa and the Constitutio Antoniniana," *Journal of Roman Studies* 63 (1973): 356–359; Brunt, *The Fall of the Roman Republic and Related Essays*, 170–172. As Sherwin-White indicates, "the coexistence in one area of two self-governing communes of differing status on equal terms is a rarity." Conversely, some communities underwent *contributio*, whereby two adjacent Roman communities were conjoined through synoecism. Laffi, *Adtributio e contributio: problemi del sistema politico-amministrativo dello Stato romano*; Sherwin-White, "The Tabula of Banasa and the Constitutio Antoniniana," 356–359. On *vici* and *castella*: Poulter, "Townships and Villages."

[40] D. Whittaker, "Integration in the Early Roman West: The Example of Africa," in *Integration in the Early Roman West: The Role of Culture and Ideology* (Luxembourg: Musée national d'histoire et d'art, 1995), 24.

[41] Caes. *B Civ.* 1.35; translation: Peskett, *Caesar: Civil Wars*.

[42] Caes. *B Civ.* 2.4; translation: Peskett, *Caesar: Civil Wars*.

> *Interim suos cohortatus tormenta in muris disponit certasque cuique partes ad custodiam urbis attribuit.*
>
> Meanwhile, after he exhorted his men, he places engines on the walls and assigns each man a definite duty for the protection of the town.[43]

Caesar's use of *attributio* in *B Civ.* 1.35 neatly combines the term's military connotations with its legal implications by indicating that the association, and not Lissus, was the primary political body in the town. Though unusual, the attribution of a community to one of lower status was not impossible. By controlling the town's political alliances and having access to significant military resources, the association had become the town itself. At the same time, the attribution of Lissus to its association of Roman citizens, which Caesar calls a *conventus*, underscores the ambiguous position that these associations could occupy in this era, since it had become a political institution in addition to (or perhaps instead of) a trade focused group.

Evidence for the association of Roman citizens at Salona mirrors the evidence from Lissus. Salona, which was located in Dalmatia about 450 miles southwest of Lissus, had attracted Roman and Italian businessmen since the late second century BCE.[44] Caesar's account of the activities of the association at Salona clearly indicates its local clout:

> *Discessu Liburnarum ex Illyrico M. Octavius cum eis, quas habebat, navibus Salonas pervenit. Ibi concitatis Dalmatis reliquisque barbaris Issam a Caesaris amicitia avertit; conventum Salonis cum neque pollicitationibus neque denuntiatione periculi permovere posset, oppidum oppugnare instituit.*
>
> On the departure of the Liburnian galleys from Illyricum, M. Octavius comes to Salona with the ships under his command. There he diverts Issa from its friendship with Caesar, stirring up the Dalmatians and the rest of the barbarians. Failing to influence the association [of Roman citizens] at Salona by promises or by threats of danger, he set himself to besiege the town.[45]

[43] Caes. *B Civ.* 3.17; translation: Peskett, *Caesar: Civil Wars*.
[44] Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, 220.
[45] Caes. *B Civ.* 3.9; translation: Peskett, *Caesar: Civil Wars*.

The rest of the passage describes the military actions of the association, which the text first calls a *conventus civium Romanorum* and subsequently *cives Romani*. It constructed defensive towers and, due to limited manpower, recruited the energies of their slaves, wives, and even children. The association managed to withstand Octavius' siege almost to the point of starvation and finally attacked his camps:

> *His expugnatis eodem impetu altera sunt adorti, inde tertia et quarta et deinceps reliqua omnibusque eos castris expulerunt et magno numero interfecto reliquos atque ipsum Octavium in naves confugere coegerunt. Hic fuit oppugnationis exitus. Iamque hiems appropinquabat, et tantis detrimentis acceptis Octavius desperata oppugnatione oppidi Dyrrachium sese ad Pompeium recepit.*
>
> Having soon forced these, they advanced to the next; thence to a third, a fourth, and so on through the rest; till having driven the enemy from every post, and made great slaughter of their men, they at length compelled them, and Octavius their leader, to betake themselves to their ships. Such was the issue of the siege. As winter now approached, and the loss had been very considerable; Octavius, despairing to reduce the place, retired to Dyrrhachium, and joined Pompey.[46]

Here, the evidence points to an instance in which an association of Roman citizens in the Late Republic had achieved so much influence and military power that it could be rightly viewed as having become as powerful as its counterpart in Lissus. Such associations were likely to have been key factors in the ability of Caesar to gain and maintain his control along the Dalmatian coast. Such associations were no longer just trade groups. They were powerful – yet vulnerable – political institutions.

V. Associations and City Status

Investigators have suggested that the political influence of some associations of Roman citizens motivated Roman authorities to change the statuses of their host cities. Wilson, for example, states that some associations "achieved full control" of their host cities, as at Salona,

[46] Caes. *B Civ.* 3.9; translation: Peskett, *Caesar: Civil Wars*.

which became a colony by the Battle of Actium. He implies that such associations were important contributing factors to the status changes of their local communities.[47] Purcell echoes this observation when he states that "the *conventus* cities of Dalmatia were replaced by *coloniae*" in the years leading up to and immediately following Octavian's victory, implying that their influence led to this transition.[48]

It is true that Republican associations of Roman citizens are attested in cities that received new statuses in this period. For example, Salona, as I noted above, became a colony. Similarly, Utica became a municipality. But as powerful as these associations were, there is no pattern for which cities underwent changes in status during or soon after the civil war, and evidence a causal link between the presence of an association and the status of their host communities is scant. Many factors contributed to a town's change in status. Certain statuses may have been granted to meet local and regional needs, such as resource management and the administration of populations, that are invisible to us now. In addition, as Purcell himself states, grants of status were manipulations of privilege, and since some communities did not want to become colonies, we should not view colonial status as more important than any other status.[49] As I observed earlier, Shaw suggests that Caesar granted Zama free status to reward the town's non-Roman population for supporting him.[50]

Moreover, while good behavior could lead to a new status, bad behavior could, too. As I observed, Corduba may have been a double community when M. Claudius Marcellus founded it in 152 BCE. It seems to have received colonial status from Octavian after Caesar attacked it as

[47] Wilson, *Emigration from Italy in the Republican Age of Rome*, 14–15, 72–75.
[48] Purcell, "Romans in the Roman World," 97.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Caesar turned Zama into the administrative capital of Africa Nova. Shaw, "Fear and Loathing: The Nomad Menace in Roman Africa," 25–26.

punishment its disloyalty to showed him.[51] From that time onward, it was known as the *colonia Patricia*, a name thought to reflect a veteran settlement.[52] It is difficult to link its elevation to the Romans in the town. For one thing, they had demonstrated inconsistent loyalty: they were Pompeians before and after their short lived stint as Caesarians. For another, it is not even clear that many survived Caesar's attack, which allegedly decimated 22,000.[53]

A link between the association of Roman citizens at Salona and its elevation to colonial status is similarly elusive.[54] Caesar may have elevated its status between 47 and 44 BCE, but Wilkes argues that Octavian elevated it between 34 and 33 BCE.[55] The confusion partly stems from the town's epigraphic dossier.[56] It attests to the presence of the Tromentina and the Sergia, the two voting tribes with which Romans in the city were affiliated. The presence of two tribes suggests two stages of settlement, one by Caesar, then another by Octavian. Members of the Tromentina tribe may have been linked to the Caesarian phase, since those who were settled in the Caesarian colonies of Narona and Epidaurum – both in Dalmatia, too – were members of that tribe.[57] By contrast, Romans in the Sergia tribe may be linked to an infusion of colonists by Octavian. The tribe is attested in nearby Augustan foundations, such as the colony of Iader and the municipality at Risinium.[58] Another problem is the presence of an association of Roman citizens and the fact that Caesar never refers to the town as a colony. But an elevation date

[51] *Bell.Hisp*. 33-34. Corduba's status in the Late Republic has been the subject of debate: Knapp, *Roman Córdoba*, 10–16.
[52] For a summary of events and bibliography: Jiménez and Carrillo, "Corduba/Colonia Patricia: The Colony That Was Founded Twice," 58.
[53] Caes. *BHisp.* 34. On the physical damage to the town: R Hidalgo, "Nuevos datos sobre el urbanismo de Colonia Patricia Corduba excavación arqueológica en la calle Ramírez de las Casas-Deza 13," *Anales de Arqueología Cordobesa* 4 (1993): 105; Jiménez and Carrillo, "Corduba/Colonia Patricia: The Colony That Was Founded Twice," 73.
[54] On the town's colonial status: Caes. *B Civ.* 3.9.2; Wilson, *Emigration from Italy in the Republican Age of Rome*, 15, 38, 72–74; Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, 167–223.
[55] There is no evidence of a veteran deduction in either case. Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, 221.
[56] Ibid., 224.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.

between 34 and 33 BCE would accord well with the period during which Octavian was garnering all the resources he could in the run up to his confrontation with Antony.[59] Furthermore, he may have sought to fortify the town against Dalmatian tribes who attacked it in the years following Caesar's death.[60] In any case, we cannot attribute the elevation of the town's status to its association of Roman citizens. In fact, Narona, a town that received colonial status under Caesar, is not known to have an association of Roman citizens: clearly, associations were not necessary for status changes.

Utica received municipal status from Octavian in 36 BCE.[61] Again, there is no documented link between the town's association of Roman citizens and its new status. This is similarly apparent in the cases of Thapsus, Zama, and Hadrumetum.[62] The situations at the port towns of Hadrumetum and Thapsus remain more mysterious. Both had received free status after the defeat of Carthage, but we do not know their statuses in the period between 45 BCE, when Caesar fined their associations of Roman citizens, and the Hadrianic period, when they received colonial status from the emperor.[63] The precise reasons for their elevation to colonial status under Hadrian are equally mysterious. Boatwright suggests that Hadrian elevated Thapsus and Utica in part to acknowledge their historic importance, but she does not pinpoint the period in

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[59] Ibid., 221.
[60] Lissus is usually called *colonia Salonitana* in epigraphic sources. On the debate: Ibid., 220–227.
[61] The city received free status as a reward for siding with Rome in the Third Punic War. For a summary of the problems surrounding the identification of Utica's status: Shaw, "Fear and Loathing: The Nomad Menace in Roman Africa," 453, n. 84. The presence of the association of Roman citizens in the 40s BCE indicates that Utica did not possess colonial status at that time. Augustan elevation: CIL 1^2 585, 79.
[62] Trajan granted colonial status to Hadrumetum and Zama; Hadrian granted it to Utica and Thapsus. On Hadrian's elevation of Utica: Y. Le Bohec, "Inscriptions Inédites," *Antiquités Africaines* 25 (1989): 191–226; Xavier Dupuis, "Nouvelles promotions municipales de Trajan et d'Hadrien: A propos de deux inscriptions récemment publiées," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 93 (1992): 129; M.T. Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 38–39.
[63] On their status after the Carthaginian Wars: *Lex Agraria* 46. Pliny the Elder refers to Thapsus as an *oppidum liberum*, but what this denotes is unclear. *NH* 5.3. On the term *oppidum liberum*: Shaw, "Fear and Loathing: The Nomad Menace in Roman Africa." On Thapsus during the wars: *Bell.Afr.* 28.1; 79.1-2; 80.1-4; 85-1; 97. 2; Strabo 17.3.12. On the port of Thapsus: Ameur Younes, "L'installation portuaire à Thapsus," *Cahiers du C.E.R.E.S. série Géographique* 21 (1999): 181–93.

which they were important.[64] While they may have supported Rome during the Carthaginian wars, they failed to support Caesar, so it is not clear why an emperor would want to acknowledge exhibitions of loyalty that occurred in the third century BCE.[65]

VI. Conclusion

This chapter presented an overview and analysis of evidence for associations in the Late Republic, the first era for which concentrated evidence for their activities has survived. Literary sources demonstrate that by the Late Republic, they maintained strong positions in the political systems of their local communities. This influence enabled them to steer the resources of these local communities in support of Caesar or Pompey during the final decades of the civil wars, sometimes in direct opposition to the preferences of locals. At the same time, influence rendered the associations vulnerable. As Caesarian accounts convey, Republican generals targeted them to access their manpower and money, sometimes clearly differentiating between non-Roman locals to teach a lesson to an association whose behavior did not please. The chapter also indicated that the statuses of cities by the Battle of Actium were unlikely to have been determined by the activities of the associations.

By the fall of the Republic, many associations in cities that received colonial status would have disappeared. Their dissolution stemmed directly from the growth of Augustan power and Roman political hegemony. But associations in Republican towns that did not receive colonial status, such as Ephesos, likely survived into the imperial period. Inversely, associations that are only attested for the imperial period may well have been continuations of Republican founders.

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[64] Boatwright, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, 38–39.

[65] It could be that Utica's change in status and the lack of status changes for Thapsus, Zama, and Hadrumetum reflect the desires of local populations, but again, there is no evidence to indicate this. If this is true, though, then we are confronted with intriguing situations in which city status depended on the desires and behavior of non-Romans, rather than Romans.

This was likely the case for the association at Mactar in Africa, where Romans are attested as early as the second century BCE.[66] And, while associations of Roman citizens in the imperial period seem not to exert the kind of local control that many of their Republican predecessors enjoyed, as Chapters Three and Four indicate, they continued to employ a range of strategies as they sought, gained, and maintained influence to respond to a changing imperial world.

[66] Gilbert-Charles Picard, *Civitas Mactaritana*, Karthago 8 (Paris: Boccard, 1957), 20–40.

CHAPTER THREE

ASSOCIATIONS OF ROMAN CITIZENS IN THE WEST AND BLACK SEA REGION

I. INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines interactions between associations of Roman citizens and non-Romans in Gaul and the Black Sea. As a framework for these analyses, I look to the work of anthropologists James Cusick, Nancy Foner, and Laura Stoler. Though their research subjects are migrant populations from periods more recent than that of the Roman empire, their conclusions are illuinating for researchers of ancient and modern culture contact alike.

Writing of archaeology's potential to contribute to the study of culture contact, James Cusick argues that immigrant groups that are geographically scattered frequently exhibit discrepancies in categories like economic wellbeing, cultural practice, and social mobility. He adds:

> …contact situations are structured but not deterministic. Cross cultural contact between groups of people is shaped or channeled partially by institutional policies, factional interests, and noncultural variables (e.g., distances, demography) and partially by widespread, informal kinds of interaction involving large numbers of people.[1]

Anthropological studies bear out Cusick's observation that local factors shape contexts of cultural contact (by local, I refer to factors in the city or geographic region that a given association was located). A useful example is Nancy Foner's study of West Indian populations in the United Kingdom and New York area. Foner aimed to identify similarities and differences between in the economic wellbeing and social mobility that West Indian populations in the United Kingdom and New York experienced in the 1950s. She argues that the New York

[1] James G. Cusick, "Historiography of Acculturation: An Evaluation of Concepts and Their Application in Archaeology," in *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change and Archaeology*, ed. James G. Cusick (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1998), 137.

population fared significantly better than its British counterpart, even though both populations shared linguistic, cultural, and social practices.[2] She traces the differences in their experiences to certain determining factors in New York and in the U.K. In the United States, for example, West Indians tended to be second-generation or migrants who had joined a preexisting West Indian community. The presence of established networks may have facilitated the economic goals of these individuals. West Indians in the United Kingdom tend to have been first generation. Consequently, they were forced to navigate new cultural and political waters mostly on their own.[3] Moreover, immigrants from the West Indies to the United States in this period tended to have had educational backgrounds suited to white collar and consequently high paying jobs. Immigrants to the U.K. did not arrive with similar backgrounds.[4]

Foner also points to what she describes as "the social contexts of the two receiving societies."[5] Race relations represent one aspect of the social contexts she examines. West Indians in the States tended to move to cities with large African Americans populations. By contrast, West Indians in the U.K. inhabited a more homogeneous, white society. Foner argues that West Indians in the New York area in particular possessed "a ready made, rather large constituency they could cultivate for their [business] enterprises: the American, as well as the West Indian, Black community." West Indians in the U.K. are not observed to have had this opportunity, given that there are fewer African Americans in the U.K. than in New York.[6] Furthermore, prior to the institutionalization of affirmative action, West Indians in the United States benefited from the country's independent system of higher education for African Americans. Institutions like

[2] Foner, "West Indians in New York City and London: A Comparative Analysis."
[3] Ibid., 121–124.
[4] Ibid., 123. These factors are distinct from those that affected the Roman diaspora population, for which education, for example, was probably not within the reach of many.
[5] Ibid., 124.
[6] Ibid., 124–126.

Howard University, which were established with the explicit purpose of providing African Americans with professional training, admitted large numbers of West Indians between the 1860s and 1930s. Such a system did not exist in the U.K. at this time.[7]

It should be acknowledged that the populations and power relations that characterize the phenomena Foner studied are different from those that I examine below. For example, while Romans and West Indians are both diaspora populations, an empire served as the motor behind and often protecting the migratory practices of the former. This was not the case for the latter.[8] Likewise, Black and West Indian populations have historically been the subjects of racist and oppressive challenges that would have been significant different from any that Roman migrants encountered.

Nevertheless, Foner's research provides clear-cut case studies that show the range of difficulties that a fragmented diaspora groups faced in new countries of residence. It also illustrates the potential use of an approach that privileges the role of local factors when examining associations of Roman citizens in different contexts. Foner shows that immigrant status alone does not account for how a transplanted population fares in a new environment.[9] Educational background, for example, can have far reaching consequences for how an immigrant population fares socially and economically. The outcomes of contact with a new set of cultural and political institutions also depend on local factors like the receptivity and ethnic diversity of local populations in the migrants' new home. They also depend on whether the migrant group can rely on individuals from their place of origin there. Above all, Foner's study underscores the

[7] Ibid., 125–126.
[8] On identifying who constituted individuals known as West Indians: C. Hall, "What Is a West Indian?," in *West Indian Intellectuals in Britain*, ed. B. Schwarz (Manchester: Manchester Univerity Press, 2003), 31–50.
[9] Foner, "West Indians in New York City and London: A Comparative Analysis," 126.

notion that subgroups of a single diaspora population do not necessarily have the same experiences when it comes to identity, social mobility, and financial success.

These concepts are appropriate to consider when examining interactions between associations of Roman citizens and non-Romans across a range of geographic and chronological contexts. By the first century BCE, though likely even before that, associations of Roman citizens were composed of Romans from all over the Mediterranean who represented a range of backgrounds. As the dissertation's introduction and Chapter One indicated, Roman citizenship imbued the Roman diaspora population with a shared sense of identity. This shared identity likely motivated the establishment of origin based associations and, as I show below, particular expressions of identity. But these expressions were by no means consistent across the empire. Anthropological concepts about culture contact can help us identify the sources of these differences if we realize from the start that some were rooted in local variables.

Such an approach is useful when examining colonial diasporas like the Roman overseas population: not all members of this population were necessarily aware that it was complicit in extending Rome's political hegemony. As Laura Stoler observes in her study of colonial East Sumatra in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,

> [European c]olonial cultures were never direct translations of European society planted in the colonies, but unique cultural configurations, homespun creations in which European food, dress, housing, and morality were given new political meanings in the particular social order of colonial rule.[10]

If we recognize that the cultural practices of associations of Roman citizens bore site-specific meaning, we better understand the motivations behind those practices and the variations to which they gave rise.

[10] Stoler, "Rethinking Colonial Categories: European Communities and the Boundaries of Rule," 136–137.

In this chapter, I take these concepts as a starting point to examine associations of Roman citizens in Gaul, Africa, and Moesia Inferior between the first century CE and third century CE and, in particular, their interactions with non-Romans. In Section II, I discuss the organization and membership of associations of Roman citizens in Gaul. In Sections III and IV, I examine evidence for the activities of associations of Roman citizens in Africa and Moesia Inferior and show that through cooperative action, they established a mutually beneficial network of trust against a contemporaneous backdrop of imperial coercion and violence. I also suggest how they may have contributed to the creation of similar associations among non-Romans in the African interior, far from the urbanized cities of the North African coast. In keeping with Cusick, I stress the role of local variables in the divergent behaviors that associations of Roman citizens appear to express. For example, whereas the associations in Moesia Inferior appear to be exclusively focused on emperor worship, their counterparts elsewhere in the Mediterranean world seem to have been less concerned with publicizing their practice of emperor worship. This information can reveal some of the motivations behind the behavior of Romans in non-Roman towns and illuminate those of the non-Romans with whom they interacted.

As I observed in the introduction of the dissertation, we do not possess any cross-contextual, comparative analyses of interactions between associations of Roman citizens and non-Romans or whether those interactions impacted provincial communities. This is primarily due to the difficulty of aggregating evidence for so many eras and places. As a result, most scholars have focused on specific contexts. In a forthcoming article, van Nijf presents analyses of joint dedications by associations of Roman citizens and local civic institutions in the province of Asia. He argues that the ability of associations of Roman citizens to join civic institutions as co-

grantors of major civic honors indicates their high level of integration in their host cities.[11] Lambrino and Avram consider a corpus of mostly joint dedications by associations of Roman citizens and non-Romans in Moesia Inferior. They make important observations about intermarriage and organization in respect to these associations, but do not compare their findings to evidence for similar associations elsewhere.[12] The same is true of Beschaouch's study of associations of Roman citizens in Africa.[13] By synthesizing this evidence as well as regional studies about contact between associations of Roman citizens and non-Romans, my study fills a gap in scholarship about the former and presents possibilities for new research on cultural production in the Roman Empire.

II. Associations of Roman Citizens in Gaul

This section examines associations of Roman citizens in the Three Gauls by considering epigraphic sources, the best and only source of information for these groups. Given the nature of our sources, I do not examine the impact of local factors on membership in Gallic associations of Roman citizens, and return to that topic in Section III. Here, I look at the organization and membership of associations in these provinces. First, I show that desired to acquire influence and prestige in their host cities. Further, since individuals could derive social prestige by joining associations and especially by presiding as the officers of associations, we see evidence of individuals of servile origin among their ranks. Drawing on the work of van Andringa; Kornemann; and Audin, Guey, and Wuilleumier, I also suggest that the distinct, tripartite

[11] van Nijf, "Staying Roman - Becoming Greek: The Roman Presence in Greek Cities."
[12] Lambrino, "Le vicus Quintionis et le vicus Secundini de la Scythie mineure"; Avram, "Les cives Romani consistentes de Scythie mineure: État de la question."
[13] Beschaouch focuses on the genitive of the phrase *conventus Numidarum* in ILS 6774/5. Beschaouch, "Le conventus civium Romanorum en Afrique: Á propos de la lecture de l'inscription CIL, VIII, 15775."

organization of Roman citizens in the Three Gauls created opportunities for social advancement and prestige at the provincial and federal levels.[14]

By the first century CE, associations in the Gauls possessed officers with titles like *curator civium Romanorum*, *decurio civium Romanorum*, and *quaestor civium Romanorum*. The formula of dedications that mention these officers suggests that their duties were limited to their local communities, since they only mention cities or regions that sat below the administrative level of the province, such as the *civitas Helvetiorum* in the following example:

> *[3]dio Quir(ina) [Fl]avo magis[t]r[o sacrorum] / [Aug]us[t(alium) cu]ratori civium R(omanorum) sacerd[oti 3]i / [c]ivitas Hel(vetiorum)*.
>
> The *civitas* of the Helvetii (dedicated this) to…Flavus, of the tribe of Quirina, magister of the sacred *Augustales*, *curator* of the Roman citizens, priest.[15]

The same is true for the *decurio* of an association of Roman citizens, as a second or third century CE inscription from Mogontiacum shows:

> *C(aius) Val(erius) Leu/cadius / d(ecurio) c(ivium) R(omanorum) M(ogontiaci) / colleg(is) / d(ono) d(edit).*
>
> Caius Valerius Leucadius, *decurio* of the Roman citizens of Mogontiacum, made a gift to his colleagues.[16]

The administrative boundaries of the duties of *quaestores* of associations of Roman citizens are apparent in the following undated dedication from Bagacum in Belgica:

> *D(is) M(anibus) / Q(uinto) Pomp(eio) Crispo e[t] / Tarq(uiniae?) Secund[ae] / Pomp(eius) Victo[r] / parentib(us) fec[it] // D(is) M(anibus) / M(arcus) Pomp(eius) Victor / q(uaestor) c(ivium) R(omanorum) c(ivitatis) N(erviorum) / sibi et Ocratiae Secundae uxori / viv<u=O>s f(ecit).*

[14] Kornemann, *de civibus Romanis in provinciis imperii consistentibus*; Audin, Guey, and Wuilleumier, "Inscriptions latines découvertes à Lyon dans le pont de la Guillotière"; van Andringa, "Observations sur les associations de citoyens romains dans les Trois Gaules"; van Andringa, "Cités et communautés d'expatriés installées dans l'empire romain: le cas des cives Romani consistentes."
[15] AE 1967, 326 = IAvenches 1.
[16] AE 1990, 745. For a similar dedication by a *decurio civium Romanorum*: CIL 13, 6733.

> To the gods of the underworld. Pompeius Victor made this for his parents Quintus Pompeius Crispus and Tarquinia (?) Secundae. // To the gods of the underworld. Marcus Pompeius Victor, quaestor of the Roman citizens of the city of the Nervii, made this while living for himself and his wife, Ocratia Secunda.[17]

Official positions in voluntary associations of all kinds, not to mention any other kind of organization, facilitated group activities and addressed the concerns of members. In addition, office holding was desirable due to the prestige generated by the incumbent's willingness to invest his time, energy, and personal funds into the association's wellbeing.[18] Moreover, on account of the contributions that voluntary associations made to civic life, the members of voluntary associations were thought to have been respectable individuals and could expect to enjoy esteem and influence beyond the association.[19]

Though we do not have direct evidence for the influence of officials in associations of Roman citizens on local political affairs, it seems likely that they did. The perception that being an officer in an association of Roman citizens generated social currency comes across in references to these offices in dedications that broadcast the achievements of the individual to whom they were attached. This is the case in the dedication by Pompeius Victor, quoted above. Similarly:

> *Herculi / sacr(um) / C(aius) Maec(ius) Firm[u]s / IIIIIIvir Aug(ustalis) / c(urator) c(ivium) R(omanorum) desi[g(natus)] / ex voto d(e?) [s(uo?)] p(osuit?)*.
>
> Caius Maecius Firmus, IIIIIIvir, Augustalis, *curator* designate of the Roman citizens, placed this to Hercules after a vow at his own expense.[20]

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[17] CIL 13, 3573.
[18] Verboven, "The Associative Order: Status and Ethos among Roman Businessmen in Late Republic and Early Empire"; K. Verboven, "Magistrates, Patrons and Benefactors of Collegia: Status Building and Romanisation in the Spanish, Gallic and German Provinces," in *Transforming Historical Landscapes in the Ancient Empires*, ed. B. Antela-Bernárdez and T. Hoyo (Oxford: John and Erica Hedges Ltd., 2009), 159–65.
[19] Those contributions came in various forms, such as funding the construction of temples or establishing new festivals. Verboven, "Magistrates, Patrons and Benefactors of Collegia: Status Building and Romanisation in the Spanish, Gallic and German Provinces."
[20] Ness-Lieb 25 (second century CE).

If office holding could lead to influence, then the existence of offices likely created status divisions within associations and generated internal competition in turn. This seems to have been true of associations of Roman citizens. The inscription above from Lousonna suggests that Roman associations held internal elections to determine who would hold what office: it describes its author, a Caius Maecius Firmus, as *curator civium Romanorum designatus*. The adjective *designatus* often indicated the status of an individual who has been appointed to an office but has yet to hold it.[21]

In addition, the potential for office holders to acquire influence likely attracted individuals of servile origin to join these associations. This may have been the case for the freedman Caius Afranius Graphicus:

> *C(aio) Afranio Clari lib(erto) Graphico / doctori librario lusori latrunculorum cur(atori) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et Tertullae / coniugi ex testamento ipsius.*
>
> To Gaius Afranius Graphicus, freedman of Clarus, master copyist, player of chess, *curator* of the association of Roman citizens, and to Tertulla his wife, in accordance with his will.[22]

The servile origins of members suggest that associations of Roman citizens provided freedmen with a way to acquire social distinction. Many association officers were current or former *seviri* and *Augustales*. Examples are not especially common in the evidence from the Gauls: from 36 inscriptions which have survived from Gaul, 6 indicate association members who held positions as *seviri* or *Augustales*. Still, they bear implications for how associations of Roman citizens functioned in local communities. One freedman officer was Decimus Iulius Consors of Aventicum, mentioned in Chapter One, whom a dedication identifies as *magister* of

[21] For example: AE 1946, 255. On the *curator designatus*: Gogniat Loos, "Les associations de citoyens romains," 32.
[22] CIL 13, 444 (likely first century CE). For commentary on this inscription: A. Allmer, *Revue épigraphique du midi de la France*, vol. 1, 1878, 306–308; H. Geist, *Römische Grabinschriften* (Munich: E. Heimeran, 1969).

the town's *Augustales*; another was Caius Agileius Primus, also mentioned in Chapter One.[23] An inscription from Lousonna indicates that the *Augustalis* Publius Clodius Primus had also served as *curator* of the association of Roman citizens at Aventicum.[24] The same was true of Caius Maecius Firmus, *curator* designate of the same association during the second century CE.[25]

While associations of Roman citizens allowed people with servile backgrounds into their ranks, they did not constitute atypically inclusive groups. As Chapter One discussed, they, like other kinds of voluntary associations, placed many restrictions on membership. Presumably, as long as they were Romans and could afford membership fees, individuals of servile origin could join their ranks. The members of associations of Roman citizens in the Gauls (and elsewhere in the Mediterranean) would have been able to pay these fees because of their business endeavors. They were also likely to have been part of prominent families in the region's emergent provincial elite in the first century BCE. This seems to be the case with Decimus Iulius Consors of Aventicum, who may be a descendent of the Camilli, a family with direct links to the emperor Claudius.[26]

If Gogniat Loos and others are right to view associations of Roman citizens in Gaul as closely involved in maintaining the provincial cult by the first and second centuries CE, then controvert the pattern observed by Ando about cult communities in the third century.[27] Ando

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[23] CIL 13, 1194 (38-41 CE). On *seviri* and *Augustales* generally: Lily Ross Taylor, "Augustales, Seviri Augustales, and Seviri: A Chronological Study," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 45 (1914): 231–53; A.D. Nock, "Seviri and Augustales," *Mélanges Bidez* 2 (1934): 627–38; Steven E. Ostrow, "'Augustales' Along the Bay of Naples: A Case for Their Early Growth," *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 34 (1985): 64–101. As Ostrow points out, a small proportion of freeborn individuals (*ingenui*) also joined.
[24] Publius Clodius Primus: CIL 13, 5026 (150-250 CE).
[25] Caius Maecius Firmus: Ness-Lieb 25 (second century CE).
[26] Frei-Stolba, "Claude et les Helvètes: le cas de C. Iulius Camillus"; D. van Berchem, *Les routes et l'histoire: Études sur les Helvètes et leurs voisins dans l'empire romain* (Durcey & Paunier: Geneva, 1982); van Andringa, "Observations sur les associations de citoyens romains dans les Trois Gaules."
[27] Audin, Guey, and Wuilleumier, "Inscriptions latines découvertes à Lyon dans le pont de la Guillotière"; Gogniat Loos, "Les associations de citoyens romains."

points out, "the individual who held the highest rank and presumably also the greatest wealth *outside* the culture context was granted, undoubtedly by virtue of that rank and wealth, a place of extreme prominence *within* the cult." He goes on state, "[cultic communities] came to mimic or echo, and thus to support, the systems of social differentiation at work in the population at large."[28] It is hard to be sure if associations of Roman citizens upheld those wider patterns of social differentiation: we would, for example, require a more robust data set with the names of many more individuals before being sure that what we see is not the results of randomly surviving evidence. But we can see that individuals with enslaved ancestors and even those who had only recently received their freedom could achieve high rank within them. Associations of Roman citizens may not have upheld those wider patterns of social differentiation. In this regard, the Gallic evidence appears to mirror the inscription from Thespiae mentioned in Chapter One which seems to provide the names of members of the city's association of Roman citizens and include people with servile origin in the same list.[29]

Even so, voluntary associations that were established to facilitate members' business ventures provided frameworks in which businessmen could convert the wealth they acquired into social capital.[30] Roman elite society in this period (and previously) was relatively open to accepting wealthy individuals despite low birth. Membership in an association could endow lowborn businessmen with resources that augmented their wealth and, in turn, their ability to participate in elite society.[31] Moreover, holding important positions in associations could enhance one's local prestige.[32]

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[28] C. Ando, *Imperial Rome AD 193 to 284: The Critical Century* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 132–133.
[29] IG 7, 1777.
[30] Verboven, "The Associative Order: Status and Ethos among Roman Businessmen in Late Republic and Early Empire."
[31] Ibid., 863.
[32] Ibid., 871.

So far, I have discussed how associations of Roman citizens at the local level may have provided a channel by which individuals of servile origin could acquire local prestige. This was likely true of associations of Roman citizens throughout the empire. However, where groups in the Three Gauls were concerned, that channel extended beyond the local level to the provincial and federal levels. Local factors and the involvement of the emperor likely affected the associations in this regard.

As Audin, Guey, and Wuilleumier have shown, the most important evidence is a dedication to Elagabalus found near the Altar of the Confluence at Lugdunum:

> *[I]mp(eratori) Caes(ari) div[i] / Antonini Magn[i] / [[[fi]l(io)]] divi Sever(i) [[n[ep(oti)]]] / [[[M(arco)] Aurel(io) Anton[i]]]/[no] Pio Felici Aug(usto) / [pont]if(ici) max(imo) trib(unicia) p[ot(estate)] / [I]II co(n)s(uli) III proco(n)s(uli) pa/tri patriae // [c]ives Romani in tri/[b]us provincis Gallis / [c]onsistentes public(e) / posuerunt curantib(us) / allectis isdemq(ue) sum/[m]is curatoribus Iulio / [S]aturnino prov(inciae) Lugud(unensis) / [---]ilio Sabino provinc(iae) / [Belgic]ae Aventinio Veris/[simo pr]ovinc(iae) Aquitanic(ae).*
>
> The Roman citizens dwelling in the Three Gauls installed this at public expense to the Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus, son of the deified great Antoninus, grandson of the deified Severus, pontifex maximus, with the tribunician power for the third time, consul for the third time, proconsul, father of the fatherland, son of Antoninus Magnus, grandson of the deified Severus, with the very same recruited *summi curatores* Iulius Saturninus of the province of Lugdunensis, ... Sabinus of the province of Belgica, Aventinius Verissimus of the province of Aquitania.[33]

The inscription above suggests that the network that associations of Roman citizens established at the local level in the Three Gauls also extended to the provincial and federal levels. Using the phrase *cives Romani in tribus provincis Gallis consistentes*, it describes its authors as members of associations throughout the Three Gauls. In addition, the dedication uses

[33] ILTG 221. For commentary on the inscriptions from Lugdunum: Audin, Guey, and Wuilleumier, "Inscriptions latines découvertes à Lyon dans le pont de la Guillotière."

the phrase as *summi curatores*, or "highest officers," to describe the individuals responsible for its installation on their behalf. As Kornemann, Audin, and others have argued, the pairing of the *summi curatores* with "the Roman citizens dwelling in the three provinces of Gaul" suggests that each *summus curator* oversaw the activities of the associations of Roman citizens in his respective province, and that the three *summi curatores* met at Lugdunum.[34]

Organization at the provincial level seems even likelier when we consider two additional late imperial inscriptions that provide the names of *summi curatores*. One is Sextus Vagirius Martianus, the *summus curator* of all the Romans in Aquitania (*summo curatori civium Romanorum provinciae Aquitanicae*); the other names a Sextus Ligurius Marinus, described as the *summus curator* of the Roman citizens in Lugdunensis (*summus curator civium Romanorum provinciae Lugudunensis*).[35] Each inscription places the Roman citizens in the provinces of Aquitania and Lugdunensis, rather than in a particular city, and under the purview of a single *summus curator*.

Mention of the *summus curator* and *curator* in a single source would clarify whether associations of Roman citizens in the Three Gauls maintained a hierarchical structure that operated at the levels of the city, province, and federacy, or whether some associations used the title *curator* and others *summus curator* to describe official positions that had the same set of obligations. Though we lack that kind of evidence, we can probably assume that in Gaul, at least,

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[34] Dalmatia: CIL 3, 2733; Lugdnunum: CIL 13, 1921; CIL 13, 1900; CIL 13, 7222. Kornemann, *de civibus Romanis in provinciis imperii consistentibus*, 15; Audin, Guey, and Wuilleumier, "Inscriptions latines découvertes à Lyon dans le pont de la Guillotière"; van Andringa, "Observations sur les associations de citoyens romains dans les Trois Gaules."

[35] Sextus Vagirius Martianus also had links to Rome, since the same dedication describes him as a prefect of manufacturers at Rome (*praefecto fabrum Romae*). Sextus Vagirius Martianus: CIL 13, 1900. Sextus Ligurius Marinus: CIL 13, 1921. Audin, Guey, and Wuilleumier, "Inscriptions latines découvertes à Lyon dans le pont de la Guillotière"; Gogniat Loos, "Les associations de citoyens romains," 33; P. Herz, "Zur Geschichte des Kaiserkultes in Kleinasien," in *Neue Forschungen zur Religionsgeschichte Kleinasiens*, ed. G. Heedeman and E. Winter (Bonn: Habelt, 2003), 2003.

curatores were subordinate to *summi curatores*, since the latter are never directly linked to specific cities. Moreover, as Kornemann argued, organization at the local, provincial, and federal level on the associations' part of would mirror the organizational form that characterized the provincial cult and assembly, as well as Roman administration of the Three Gauls.[36]

Such a structure likely came about when Augustus' reorganized the Gallic territories in the wake of Caesar's regional colonization schemes.[37] Part of the reorganization involved, for example, depriving certain larger communities of power over communities they previously controlled and having others absorb smaller towns.[38] In addition, the provinces of the Three Gauls each received governors who replaced the Republican proconsul and were directly answerable to the emperor.[39] Moreover, governors traveled from their respective capitals along major roads to conduct the assize at the urban centers of their respective provinces.[40] In addition, Augustus conducted a census in 27 BCE and an assize at Narbo to settle disputes.[41]

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[36] Kornemann, *de civibus Romanis in provinciis imperii consistentibus*, 16; Audin, Guey, and Wuilleumier, "Inscriptions latines découvertes à Lyon dans le pont de la Guillotière." On the assembly as a consequence of Augustus' reorganization of the Gauls A.J. Christopherson, "The Provincial Assembly of the Three Gauls in the Julio-Claudian Period," *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 17 (1968): 351–66.

[37] Suet. *Tib*. 4; Aug. *RG* 16; Cass. Dio 54.23; C. Goudineau, "Le Reséau Urbain," in *Histoire de La France Urbaine. I La Ville Antique*, ed. P.A. Fevrier et al., 1980, 88–91; Brunt, *Italian Manpower, 225 B.C. – A.D. 14*, 588–589.

[38] J.F. Drinkwater, *Roman Gaul: The Three Provinces, 58 BC - AD 260* (Ithaca: Cornell University Pres, 1983), 93–94. On dating the reorganization of Gaul: Ibid., 95.

[39] As Haensch points out, given that governors exercised their powers and fulfilled their duties by traveling, the modern idea of a provincial capital is anachronistic in current thinking about Roman provincial administration. The governor of Lugdunensis was likely based at Lugdunum and that of Belgica at Augusta (Treverorum). The governor of Aquitania may have been based at Lugdunum, too. On the organization of the Gauls by Augustus into the Three Gauls: Drinkwater, *Roman Gaul: The Three Provinces, 58 BC - AD 260*. On the governors' residences: R. Haensch, *Capita provinciarum. Statthaltersitze und Provinzialverwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern, 1997), 18–36, 130–138.

[40] As Drinkwater indicates, this is a composite picture of the governor's duties, drawn from evidence throughout the empire. On the administrative structure of the Gauls: Drinkwater, *Roman Gaul: The Three Provinces, 58 BC - AD 260*, 93–118; F. Jacques and J. Scheid, *Rome et l'intégration de l'empire*, vol. 2 (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1990), 143–180. The procurator of the province handled the collection and disbursement of imperial moneys. The position of the procurator was presumably created to place limits on the power of the governor. Drinkwater, *Roman Gaul: The Three Provinces, 58 BC - AD 260*, 93–118.

[41] Livy *Epit*. 134; Dio 53.22; G. Woolf, *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 39.

Drusus, probably at Augustus' behest, followed up by conducting a census in 12 BCE and establishing the provincial cult and assembly of the Three Gauls at Lugdunum:[42]

> τῶν τε γὰρ Συγάμβρων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτῶν διά τε τὴν τοῦ Αὐγούστου ἀπουσίαν καὶ διὰ <τὸ> τοὺς Γαλάτας μὴ ἐθελοδουλεῖν πολεμωθέντων σφίσι, τό τε ὑπήκοον προκατέλαβε, τοὺς πρώτους αὐτοῦ, προφάσει τῆς ἑορτῆς ἣν καὶ νῦν περὶ τὸν τοῦ Αὐγούστου βωμὸν ἐν Λουγδούνῳ τελοῦσι, μεταπεμψάμενος…
>
> The Sugambri and their allies had resorted to war, owing to the absence of Augustus and the fact that Gauls were restive under their slavery, and Drusus therefore seized the subject territory ahead of them, sending for the foremost men in it on the pretext of the festival which they celebrate even now around the altar of Augustus at Lugdunum.[43]
>
> *Civitates Germaniae cis Rhenum et trans Rhenum positae oppugnantur a Druso, et tumultus, qui ob censum exortus in Gallia erat, componitur. Ara dei Caesaris ad confluentem Araris et Rhodani dedicata, sacerdote creato C. Iulio Vercondaridubno Aeduo.*
>
> The Germanic tribes living on this side of the Rhine and across the Rhine were attacked by Drusus, and the uprising in Gaul, caused by the census, was suppressed. An altar was dedicated to the divine Caesar at the confluence of the Saône and Rhône, and a priest was appointed, Gaius Julius Vercondaridubnus.[44]

The priest of the provincial cult was to be elected from the provincial assembly, which was composed of delegates that the tribes of the provinces had dispatched to Lugdunum.[45] The value

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[42] Suetonius dates this event to 10 BCE, the year of Claudius' birth, but Fishwick argues for the earlier date: *Claud*. 2; Duncan Fishwick, *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West: Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2002), 13–19.

[43] Cass. Dio 54.31.1; translation: E. Cary, trans., *Dio Cassius: Roman History, Volume V: Books 46-50* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1917).

[44] Livy *Per*. 138; translation: A. Schlesinger, trans., *Livy, with an English Translation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961).

[45] On the utility of the cult in quelling Gallic rebellion: J.W. Rich, "The Foundation of the Altar of Roma and Augustus at Lugdunum," in *Tria Lustra: Essays and Notes Presented to John Pinsent Founder and Editor of Liverpool Classical Monthly by Some of Its Contributors on the Occasion of the 150th Issue* (Liverpool: Liverpool lcassical Monthly, 1993), 200. On provincial assemblies: J. Deininger, *Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit. Von Augustus bis zum ende des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* (Munich and Berlin: Beck, 1965); J.A.O. Larsen, "The Position of Provincial Assemblies in the Government and Society of the Late Roman Empire," *Classical Philology* 29, no. 1934 (1934): 209–20; J.A.O. Larsen, *Representative Government in Greek and Roman History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955); Christopherson, "The Provincial Assembly of the Three Gauls in the Julio-Claudian Period." On procedural issues concerning the provincial priest and assembly: J.A.O. Larsen, "Signandi Ius in the Charter of the Provincial Assembly of Narbonensis," in *Studies in Honor of Ullman, Presented to Him on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Lillian B. Lawler, Dorothy M. Robathan, and William C. Korfmacher (St. Louis: St. Louis University Press, 1960), 142; C.H. Williamson, "A Roman Law from Narbonne," *Athenaeum* 65 (1987): 173–89.

of establishing a cult to quell restive Gauls was likely ensconced in the prestige that its priests could bring to their native tribes as well as the potential to become members of Gaul's nascent provincial elite.[46] It provided a channel for prestige that extended far beyond the level of the local community. Prestige similarly accrued to members of the provincial assembly.[47]

The provincial cult and the assembly were not part of Rome's administrative structure, which included assize districts, to govern the Three Gauls. Instead, they gave provincials a mechanism for conveying concerns to the emperor and engaging in honorific exchanges with Roman officials. This appears to have been true in subsequent periods. For example, an inscribed version of Claudius' speech at the Confluence could indicate that the Gauls appealed to him through the assembly for election to the senate in 48 CE. In the third century CE, a priest named T. Sennius Sollemnis dissuaded the provincial assembly from going forward with a motion to censure Tiberius Claudius Paulinus, governor of Lugdunensis.[48] Above all, the cult and assembly established a tradition of support for Rome.[49]

Evidence for the foundation of the provincial cult and assembly suggest a tripartite structure at the local, provincial, and federal levels.[50] This structure resembled that of Roman administration in Gaul, which was organized such that the governor operated at the provincial

[46] On Gaul's provinicial elite: Woolf, *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul*, 48–141.
[47] Larsen suggested that the assembly is thought to have revived an old Gallic tradition wherein tribes elected leaders to local councils, but it is likelier that it was modeled on similar leagues known in the Hellenistic east. J.A.O. Larsen, "Representative Government in the Panhellenic Leagues," *Classical Philology* 20 (1925): 142.
[48] CIL 13, 3162. On Titus Sennius Sollemnis: Duncan Fishwick, "The Provincial Priesthood of Titus Sennius Sollemnis," *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 25 (1976): 124–28.
[49] On the Gallic assembly in general: Rich, "The Foundation of the Altar of Roma and Augustus at Lugdunum," 198–200; Deininger, *Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit. Von Augustus bis zum ende des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.*, 104–107. On its advisory role: Larsen, *Representative Government in Greek and Roman History*, 144; Deininger, *Die Provinziallandtage der römischen Kaiserzeit. Von Augustus bis zum ende des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.*, 191; Christopherson, "The Provincial Assembly of the Three Gauls in the Julio-Claudian Period." The provincial assembly in Gaul may have become responsible for delivering to Rome all the taxes of the Three Gauls: Drinkwater, *Roman Gaul: The Three Provinces, 58 BC - AD 260*, 114. On worshiping the emperor and consenting to his rule: Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire*.
[50] Audin, Guey, and Wuilleumier, "Inscriptions latines découvertes à Lyon dans le pont de la Guillotière."

level and the emperor above him. Associations of Roman citizens in the Three Gauls appear to have maintained a similar tripartite structure, with *summi curatores* at the heads of the provinces and *curatores* operating below them. Procedural details of the structure remain unclear. For example, the sum total of Roman citizen associations in a given province may have elected a single *summus curator*. Alternatively, the associations elected provincial heads whom the *summi curatores* led and represented in turn. If so, the inscriptions imply the existence of an intermediate office that sources have yet to attest. In addition, as Audin, Guey, and Wuilleumier argue, the development of a tripartite internal structure by associations of Roman citizens in Gaul could be linked to the persistence of the phrase *cives Romani* beyond the implementation of the Antonine Constitution. In Gaul, it became an outdated term that designated a council for Romans who were not native to the area.[51]

The tripartite organization of Gaul's association of Roman citizens was in place by the first century CE, since the earliest attestations to association officers date to that era. Kornemann argued that Augustus was enacted this organization when he made changes to the region's administration in the last half of the first century BCE.[52] Their active involvement in Caesar and Pompey's competition for power may have motivated their inclusion in what amounted to an unofficial, shadow framework for administering the Gauls. By rendering their organizational structure similar to that of the provincial cult and the provincial assembly, the emperor could promote their organizational integrity if he required their help in gaining the cooperation of local elites in the ongoing challenge of pacifying Gaul and facilitating his relations with its elites.[53]

[51] Audin, Guey, and Wuilleumier argue that the associations had become solely concerned with the imperial cult, though this qualification appears unnecessary. Ibid.
[52] Kornemann, *de civibus Romanis in provinciis imperii consistentibus*, 16.
[53] Contra van Nijf, who argues that the emperors did not meddle in the affairs of associations of Roman citizens. van Nijf, "Staying Roman - Becoming Greek: The Roman Presence in Greek Cities."

Augustus was not necessarily the author of the associations' tripartite organization. The associations themselves may have been responsible for it. Perceiving and desiring the prestige that the provincial cult and assembly could offer, they may have developed an organizational structure to mirror that of the cult and assembly to establish and acquire similar honors. In addition, they may have desired a mechanism of their own for communicating with the governor and, through him, the emperor. If the *curator civium Romanorum* negotiated on behalf of associations of Roman citizens with their local communities, then it is plausible that the *summus curator* communicated messages from Roman citizens in his province to the provincial council.[54]

In addition, if they were involved with trade as van Andringa suggests, then their business activities likely extended beyond their host cities.[55] Superalocal organization would, in that case, have been a practical way to address their needs. Other kinds of associations followed just this principle. Evidence from imperial Gaul shows that trade oriented associations whose activities extended beyond their local communities sometimes developed organizational structures at the local level with headquarters set up at Lugdunum.[56] Nevertheless, given that we lack direct evidence for the associations' authorship of their tripartite form of organization in Gaul, it is safer for now to conclude that Augustus was responsible, given that he reorganized the Gauls and that Drusus established its provincial assembly and cult.

III. Associations of Roman Citizens in Africa Proconsularis

[54] van Andringa, "Observations sur les associations de citoyens romains dans les Trois Gaules," 171.
[55] Bounegru argues that groups that used the term *consistentes* were likely traders. van Andringa, "Observations sur les associations de citoyens romains dans les Trois Gaules"; Octavian Bounegru, "Über die cives Romani consistentes von Skythia Minor," *Münsterische Beiträge zur Antike Handelgeschichte*, no. 5 (1986): 76.
[56] Jean Rougé, *Recherches sur l'organisation du commerce maritime en Méditerranée sous l'Empire romain* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1966); De Salvo, *Economia privata e pubblici servizi nell'impero romano: i corpora naviculariorum*, 128–144.

The epigraphic dossier for Africa Proconsularis consists of twelve inscriptions for associations of Roman citizens. They date from the second century BCE through the second century CE.[57] The asociations were present in communities that ranged from remote settlements in the Tunisian steppe, like Masculula, to urbanized cities that had been in contact with Rome since at least the third century BCE, like Cirta. As we see below, in contrast with Gaul's epigraphic dossier, the African corpus offers no evidence for officers, probably because the relevant material has not survived. It does, however, include dedications that associations of Roman citizens made jointly with groups of non-Romans or entire non-Roman towns. Such evidence is lacking from Gaul, and is, again, likely due to the uneven preservation of our sources.

In this section, I examine joint acts of dedication by associations of Roman citizens and non-Romans in the African interior in the first and second centuries CE. In doing so, I bear in mind the role of local factors in the behavior of the associations. I suggest that associations of Roman citizens and non-Romans in Africa participated in joint dedicatory acts to build and strengthen mutual business interests, despite the violence that often characterized broader regional social and political relations, and identify the structural demands of joint acts between parties that represented distinct cultural systems and forms of social organization. Further, the chapter suggests that associations of Roman citizens encouraged the formation of similar kinds of associations among non-Romans in the African interior. Finally, I argue that worship of the emperor alongside associations of Roman citizens served as a mechanism by which non-Romans asserted their place in the Roman political community.[58]

[57] ILAfr 30; AE 1975, 87; AE 1974, 690; AE 1966, 514; AE 1909, 158; ILTun 682; AE 1894, 63; AE 1997, 1642; CIL 8, 15775; CIL 8, 17143; CIL 8, 25850; CIL 8, 1269.
[58] As Section IV discusses in detail, this phenomenon reemerges in evidence for joint dedications by associations of Roman citizens and non-Romans in Moesia Inferior.

Centuries of migration between Rome and North Africa produced a diverse population in coastal Africa that would have included an array of Roman, Greek, Phoenician, and other origin-based trade associations.[59] The Italians at Cirta during the Jugurthine War are the earliest known association of Roman citizens.[60] As Chapter Two indicated, such associations are also attested at Thapsus, Hadrumetum, and Utica under the Republic.[61] They likely formed in these cities before they appear in our sources, though perhaps not long before the second century, if Rome and Carthage enforced the treaty of 348 BCE.[62]

In light of the contact between diverse trade populations along coastal Africa, we would expect that associations of non-Romans formed in tandem with those of Romans, and in fact, Phoenician trade associations are attested as far back as sixth century BCE.[63] Moreover, accounts of the Numidian kingdom of Massinissa and his acts of territorial reorganization and inter-tribe negotiations evince the establishment of articulated administrative and social institutions in this

[59] On connectivity between Rome and Africa most recently: D. Stone, "Africa in the Roman Empire: Connectivity, the Economy, and Artificial Port Structures," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 2014, 118 (n.d.): 565–600; P. van Dommelen, "Colonial Constructs: Colonialism and Archaeology in the Mediterranean," *World Archaeology* 28 (1997): 305–23; P. van Dommelen, "Colonial Interactions and Hybrid Practices: Phoenician and Carthaginian Settlement in the Ancient Mediterranean," in *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounters: Comparative Perspective*, ed. Gil J. Stein (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 2005), 109–42; Michael Sommer, "Networks of Commerce and Knowledge in the Iron Age: The Case of the Phoenicians," in *Greek and Roman Networks in the Mediterranean*, ed. Irad Malkin, Christy Constantakopoulou, and Katerina Panagopoulou (London: Routledge, 2009), 94–108.

[60] Adherbal refused, and the Italians who took up arms against Jugurtha were eventually slaughtered. Scholars have tended to exaggerate the severity of the "massacre" at Cirta. Kallet-Marx argues that the conditional relative clause in Sallust's account indicates that Jugurtha's men did not kill Italians and Numidians indiscriminately, only those who were armed and who resisted his takeover of the city. Sall. *BJ* 26; R. Kallet-Marx, "The Alleged 'Massacre' at Cirta and Its Consequences (Sallust Bellum Iugurthinum 26-27)," *Classical Philology* 95 (2000): 468–76. On Italian traders in Numidia: H.-C. Schneider, "Italische negotiatores in Numidien," in *Migratio et commutatio: studien zur alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben: Thomas Pekáry zum 60. Geburtstag am 13. September 1989 dargebracht von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*, ed. Thomas Pekáry, Hans-Joachim Drexhage, and Julia Sünskes Thompson (St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercaturae Verlag, 1989), 224.

[61] Caes. *B Afr.* 90, 97; *B Civ.* 2.36. On Thapsus: M.H. Fantar, "La Cité Punique de Thapsus," in *Actes Du Deuxième Congrès International D'étude Des Cultures de La Méditerranée Occidentale*, ed. Micheline Galley (Alger: Société nationale d'édition et de diffusion, 1978), 59–70.

[62] Polyb. 3.24; 16.39.1; Livy 7.27.2. On the authenticity of Rome's treaties with Carthage: Polyb. 3.26; J. Serrati, "Neptune's Altars: The Treaties between Rome and Carthage (509-226 B.C.)," *Classical Quarterly* 56 (2006): 113–34; D. Hoyos, "The Outbreak of War," in *A Companion to the Punic Wars* (Malden: Blackwell, 2011), 231–233.

[63] M.E. Aubet, *The Phoenicians and the West: Politics, Colonies and Trade*, trans. M. Turton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 161.

region by the second century BCE.[64] But what of the African interior? Joint dedications by associations of Roman citizens and non-Romans from the Tunisian high steppe offer a glimpse of how contact between associations of Roman citizens and non-Romans produced new networks of interaction and trust in their local communities in the African interior. They also suggest that exposure to associations of Roman citizens may have motivated the production of similar groups among non-Romans in those communities.

The towns that have produced the three inscriptions in question were Sua, Mactar, and Masculula:

> *Divo Augusto | sacrum | conventus | civium Romanor(um) | et Numidarum qui | Mascululae habitant.*
>
> The association/associations of Roman citizens and Numidians who live at Masculula dedicated this to the deified Augustus.[65]
>
> *C(aio) Iulio Maeandro | Socero | L(uci) Popili Primi | Afri et cives | Romani Suenses | ob meritum | d(onum) d(ederunt).*
>
> To Gaius Iulius Maeandrus, father-in-law of Lucius Popilius Primus, the Africans and Roman citizens of Sua gave this as a gift because he deserved it.[66]
>
> *[---] Caes(ari) Aug(usto) [---] | [--- ci]ves Rom(ani) et civit(as) p(ecunia) s(ua) f(aciundum) c(uraverunt).*

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[64] On civil institutions and pre-Roman administration in Africa: J.A. Ilevbare, "Some Aspects of Social Change in North Africa in Punic and Roman Times," *Museum Africum*, 1972, 30; G. Camps, "Massinissa ou les débuts de l'histoire," *Libyca* 8 (1960): 1–320; D.J. Buck, "The Role of States in the Eastern Maghreb, 500-B.C.-A.D. 500," *The Maghreb Review* 9 (1984): 1–11. We should not overstate the situation: the Numidian kingdom does not appear to have possessed strong administrative structures at this time. Elizabeth Fentress, *Numidia and the Roman Army: Social, Military, and Economic Aspects of the Frontier Zone* (Oxford: B.A.R., 1979), 50; D.J. Mattingly, "War and Peace in Roman North Africa: Observations and Models of State-Tribe Interaction," in *War in the Tribal Zone: Expanding States and Indigenous Warfare*, ed. R.B. Ferguson and N.L. (Santa Fe: SAR Press, 1992), 34–35.

[65] CIL 8, 15775, Tiberian era. Beschaouch argues that *conventus* should be taken as singular in this case. Beschaouch, "Le conventus civium Romanorum en Afrique: Á propos de la lecture de l'inscription CIL, VIII, 15775."

[66] CIL 8, 25850 (first to second century CE). For commentary on the inscription: T.R.S. Broughton, *The Romanization of Africa Proconsularis* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1929), 217; Beschaouch, "Le conventus civium Romanorum en Afrique: Á propos de la lecture de l'inscription CIL, VIII, 15775"; Hans-Georg Pflaum, "La romanisation de l'ancien territoire de la Carthage punique à la lumière des découvertes épigraphiques récentes," *Antiquités africains* 4 (1970): 100.

> To Caesar Augustus…the Roman citizens and the *civitas* (of Mactar) took care to do (this) with their own funds.[67]

The identity of the *Afri* in the dedication from Sua is unknown. The term may denote individuals from several regional tribes as Desanges argues, but Fentress, who does not offer supporting evidence, counters that it indicates a specific tribal entity.[68] The inscription from Masculula is the sole attestation for the town's existence. We do not know anything about the Numidians it mentions, aside from the fact that they probably did not originate from Masculula: otherwise they would not be listed as the members of a *conventus*.[69] Beschaouch argues that the term *conventus* should be taken as singular in this case, so that the Romans and Numidians in question maintained an association together. However, it seems equally plausible that the dedication indicates the presence of two separate associations in the town. Both interpretations present interesting possibilities for the influence of the Romans in Masculula, and I return to the matter, along with case of Mactar, the third town, below.

The institutional language in the inscriptions above dates to between the first and third centuries CE and records aspects of contact between Romans and non-Romans in Africa that had commenced much earlier. But in remoter areas like the Tunisian steppe, populations lived in

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[67] AE 1966, 514. For commentary on this inscription: Picard, "Le conventus civium Romanorum de Mactar." On Mactar in general: Picard, *Civitas Mactaritana*; J. Gascou, *La politique municipale de l'Empire romain en Afrique proconsulaire de Trajan à Septime-Sévère* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1972), 147–151; A. M'Charek, *Aspects de l'évolution démographique et sociale à Mactaris aux IIe et IIIe siècles ap. J.C.* (Tunis: Publications of the University of Tunis, 1982). On features of Mactar's religious life and administrative organization: Duncan Fishwick, "A Sacred Edict (?) at Mactar," *Zeitschrift Für Papyrologie Und Epigraphik* 73 (1988): 113–15; Z. Várhelyi, "What Is the Evidence for the Survival of Punic Culture in Roman North Africa?," *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 38 (1998): 391–403; Azedine Beschaouch, "Aspects du droit latin en Afrique romaine," *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France*, 1996, 252–62. M'Charek argues that up to 75% of Roman citizens in Mactar in the first century CE were descendants of Italian immigrants at Cirta. These numbers suggest that Roman immigrants to Mactar were a minority within the town's Roman population: M'Charek, *Aspects de l'évolution démographique et sociale à Mactaris aux IIe et IIIe siècles ap. J.C.*, 158–159.

[68] J. Desanges, "Permanence d'une structure indigene en marge de l'administration romain: la Numidie traditionnelle," *Antiquités Africaines* 15 (1980): 75–76; Elizabeth Fentress, "Romanizing the Berbers," *Past and Present* 190 (2006): 16.

[69] On the term *Numidae*: Desanges, "Permanence d'une structure indigene en marge de l'administration romain: la Numidie traditionnelle."

decentralized political and social configurations that need not have mirrored forms the Romans employed.[70] The steppe was well-disposed to arboriculture and pastoralism, and many tribes practiced nomadism for part of the year. In the first and second centuries CE, Roman rule transformed the regional practice of semi-nomadic pastoralism to specialized forms of pastoral production.[71] In addition, the fractured and often shifting social and political arrangements of the tribes in question would have presented practical challenges to communication.[72] How did these groups come to engage in collective acts with Roman citizens, despite discrepancies in social organization and the asymmetries that may have characterized their respective local statuses? What did these Romans and non-Romans have to gain from interacting in this manner?

Roman diplomatic contexts shed light on the structures that underlay joint collective action between autonomous groups that did not share cultural or legal frameworks. In such cases, Rome tended to assume institutional homeomorphism within the counterparty, whether or not it existed.[73] Here, I briefly examine comparative examples from contexts in which the Romans struggled to control and maintain diplomatic relations with tribes living in mountainous environments. The first comes from Volubilis in Mauretania Tingitana. A series of imperial altar

[70] Mela 1.41-48; Pliny *NH* 5.1, 5.22, 10.201; C.R. Whittaker, "Land and Labour in North Africa," *Klio* 69 (1978): 331–62; Fentress, *Numidia and the Roman Army: Social, Military, and Economic Aspects of the Frontier Zone*, 43–57.

[71] R.B. Hitchner, "Image and Reality: The Changing Face of Pastoralism in the Tunisian High Steppe," in *In Landuse in the Roman Empire*, ed. J. Carlsen, P. Ørsted, and J.E. Skydsgaard (Rome: L'Erma Bretschneider, 1994), 27–43; Fentress, "Romanizing the Berbers." *Contra* Whittaker, "Land and Labour in North Africa"; David Cherry, *Frontier Society in Roman North Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 74.

[72] On fluid concepts of borders in Roman Africa: Christine Hamdoune, "Frontières théoriques et réalité administrative: le cas de la Maurétanie Tingitane," in *Frontières terrestres, frontières célestes dans l'antiquité*, ed. A. Rousselle (Perpignan: Presses Universitaires de Perpignan, 1995), 237–53; R. Rebuffat, "Mobilité des personnes dans l'Afrique romaine," in *La mobilité des personnes en Méditerannée de l'antiquité á l'époque modern: Procédures de contrôle et documents d'identification*, ed. C. Moatti (Rome: École française de Rome, 2004), 155–203. On pastoralism in Africa: Hitchner, "Image and Reality: The Changing Face of Pastoralism in the Tunisian High Steppe." Whittaker argues that the means of production in the North African economy changed little in the Roman period: Whittaker, "Land and Labour in North Africa."

[73] Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire*; Ando, *Imperial Rome AD 193 to 284: The Critical Century*, 101.

dedications from the town attest to the renewal of a peace treaty by the provincial governor, or *procurator*, with the Baquates, a tribal group that inhabited the mountains around Volubilis and resisted Roman attempts at regional dominance.[74] They largely follow the format of the inscription below:

> *I.O.M. | Genio et Bonae Fortun. | Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Probi | Invicti Aug. N. | Clementius Val. Marcellinus | v.p. praeses p. M. T. conloquio | habito cum Iul. Nuffuzi Filio Iul. Matif. | regis g. Baq. Foederata pac[e] | aram statuit et dedicavit die viii | kal. Novembr. d. n. Probo aug. et Paulino cos.*
>
> To Jupiter Optimus Maximus: To the *genius* and good fortune of *Imperator* Caesar Marcus Aurelius Probus, our unconquered Augustus, Clementius Valerius Marcellinus, *vir perfectissimus,* governor of Mauretania Tingitana, having held a *colloquium* with Iulius Nuffuzi, the son of Iulius Matif, the king of the *gens* of the Baquates – peace having been established by treaty – set up and dedicated this altar on the ninth day before the *kalends* of November, when our lords Probus and Paulinus were consuls.[75]

Inscriptions from this corpus provide the name of the leader of the Baquate counterparty and label him as "chief" or "king" of the Baquates: *princeps* or *rex gentis Baquatium*. Instead of using the term *procurator*, the Baquate leader receives a term consistent with Roman conceptions of individuals who stood at the head of finite, sovereign populations.[76]

If the Romans or their non-Roman counterparts could not assume structural homology, joint action could become difficult. Rome's attempts to pacify the Ligurian tribes of Northern Italy in the second century BCE suggests why this was so. Like the Baquates, the Ligures were a semi-nomadic tribe that inhabited the mountains of Liguria. Livy does not mention any organized, mediated negotiations. His silence suggests that the Ligures possessed an acephalous

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[74] B. Shaw, "Autonomy and Tribute: Mountain and Plain in Mauretania Tingitana," *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de La Méditerranée* 41–42 (1986): 72; Mattingly, "War and Peace in Roman North Africa: Observations and Models of State-Tribe Interaction," 54.
[75] IAM 360, third century CE. Translation: C. Ando, "Aliens, Ambassadors, and the Integrity of the Empire" Law and History Review, no. 26 (2008): 508.
[76] Shaw, "Autonomy and Tribute: Mountain and Plain in Mauretania Tingitana"; F. Millar, "Government and Diplomacy in the Roman Empire During the First Three Centuries," *International History Review* 10 (1988): 245–77; Ando, "Aliens, Ambassadors, and the Integrity of the Empire," 508.

form of political organization. In addition, they did not share Rome's investment in the validity of verbal agreements. Livy describes a scene in which the Ligurian Friniates claimed to surrender to the Roman troops and, instead of setting aside their arms, disappeared into the mountains at the first opportunity.[77] After decades of military conflict, Rome finally deported forty thousand Ligurian men and their families to the lowlands of Samnium, where they could be controlled more easily.[78]

The episodes in Mauretania Tingitana and Northern Italy occurred in chronological and geographic contexts that were distinct from each other and that of the Tunisian steppe. They also instantiate relations between Rome and populations that Rome conceived of and treated as finite, sovereign totalities. Yet we can usefully apply their structural and theoretical underpinnings to the study of the joint dedications from Africa, particularly with rebellion and conquest occurring in the background. The dedication from Masculula, for example, dates to the reign of Tiberius. Tacfarinas' rebellion was underway at this time, provoked in part by Rome's imposition of profound social and economic strain on local populations.[79] When dedicating with the locals of Sua, members of the association of Roman citizens in the town must have assumed that non-Romans possessed internal leadership that corresponded to their own. Similarly, while we cannot know if the Numidians at Masculula thought of themselves as a *conventus*, their Roman counterparts chose to represent them as one. This phenomenon is foreshadowed in the first

[77] Livy 39.2.
[78] Livy observes later that even this failed to permanently solve the problem. Livy 40.38.
[79] The most famous of African rebellions against Rome was likely that of Tacfarinas: Tac. *Ann*. 2.52; 3.20-21; 3.73. As Syme points out, while Tacitus' account exaggerates the severity of the rebellion, it indicates that Rome's pacification of Africa was a long, slow process. Commentary on Tacfarinas' rebellion and the Roman military presence in Africa: R. Syme, "Tacfarinas, the Musulamii and Thubursicu," in *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History, in Honor of Allan Chester Johnson*, ed. P.R. Coleman-Norton (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), 113–30; S. Dyson, "Native Revolt Patterns in the Roman Empire," *Aufstieg Und Niedergang Der Römischen Welt* 20 (1975): 239–74; Shaw, "Fear and Loathing: The Nomad Menace in Roman Africa," 41, 46; Mattingly, "War and Peace in Roman North Africa: Observations and Models of State-Tribe Interaction," 40, 45–46, 50.

century BCE, when Caesar fined the towns of Thapsus and Hadrumetum in addition to their associations of Roman citizens.[80] By doing so, he temporarily rendered the town's Roman and non-Roman populations equivalent corporate entities.

Associations of Roman citizens may have served as a model for how their non-Roman neighbors organized themselves to participate in Roman cultural forms. The behavior of non-Roman groups in the African interior in isolation from associations of Roman citizens suggests that some of the homologous structures that the Romans had assumed remained in place. The Afri who dedicated jointly with the Roman citizens of Suo are twinned, for example, in a second century altar dedication to a local patron from Uccula to the south.[81] The shift to *de facto* homology was rooted in sustained contact between Roman citizens and non-Romans, and it was motivated by the benefits that such a shift could provide. To acquire trade connections, access to Roman authorities, and other benefits that could ensue from joint actions with Roman citizens, non-Roman communities would have had to develop structures that facilitated it. In turn, the Roman associations improved their access to their co-dedicants' personal networks and information about local markets.

We may compare these effects of exposure to different organizational systems with evidence for the nomadic empires in the Mongolian steppe that bordered northwest China in the third century BCE. Despite the obvious cultural, geographic, and chronological differences, heuristic value, it shows how diffusely organized populations responded to proximity to empires

[80] Caes. *B Afr.* 97.
[81] *CIL* 8, 14364. For comments: Pflaum, "La romanisation de l'ancien territoire de la Carthage punique à la lumière des découvertes épigraphiques récentes," 99. Similar examples are *AE* 1973, 616 and, from Mauretania Caesariensis under Trajan, *AE* 1904, 150. On these: C. Hamdoune, "Un aspect particulier des relations entres les Romains et les 'gentes': le patronat," *Antiquités Africaines* 37 (2001): 157–66; Christine Hamdoune, "Témoignages épigraphiques de L'acculturation Des Gentes En Maurétanie Césarienne," in *L'Africa Romana. Ai Confini dell'Impero: Contatti, Scambi, Conflitti. Atti Del XV Convegno Di Studio Tozeur, 11–15 Dicembre 2002*, ed. Mustapha Khanoussi, Paola Ruggeri, and Cinzia Vismara (Rome: Carocci, 2004), 278–81.

in the pre-modern era. Peripheral tribes such as the Xiongnu, through their exposure to the institutions of the Chinese empire and the desire to exploit that empire's wealth, ceased to operate as cellular units. Instead, they united under a single set of leaders to form what anthropologist Thomas Barfield describes as a "tribal confederacy." Its multiple levels of organization possessed the necessary structures to make economic demands of the Chinese state.[82] Threatening violence if the Chinese did not produce the goods they demanded, the nomads terrorized the borderlands of Han China and presented a genuine challenge to its border security. The Chinese army could not effectively crush an enemy that could disappear easily into the frontier. Nor could the state sustain the economic disruption a protracted war would cause at home.[83]

In Africa, the gradual transition of native political organization to Roman forms of governance over the first three centuries CE would have also contributed to the development of associations of non-Romans that engaged in forms of Roman cultural expression. As I noted earlier, the local populations of Africa practiced pastoralism and agriculturalism to various degrees. The structure and nature of their civil institutions varied in concert. Local communities that developed institutional structures through exposure to Punic institutions, prior to the arrival of Roman traders, may have adapted more quickly to the collective agency of the latter.

At this point, we may turn to Mactar, the third African town to have produced a joint dedication by an association of Roman citizens and non-Romans. Though it, too, was situated in the Tunisian steppe like Masculula and Sua, Mactar seems to have been administratively and culturally distinct from them. The town was likely founded in the 3C BCE by Carthaginians, and

[82] T.J. Barfield, "The Shadow Empires: Imperial State Formation along the Chinese-Nomad Frontier," in *Empire: Perspectives from Archaeology and History*, ed. S.E. Alcock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 10–41. See also Ando, *Imperial Rome AD 193 to 284: The Critical Century*, 101.
[83] Barfield, "The Shadow Empires: Imperial State Formation along the Chinese-Nomad Frontier."

it soon became the site of a Punic colony. As the chief administrative unit of a district called Thuscae, it quickly came to play an important economic and administrative role in the region.[84] Massinissa annexed the town and it came under Roman power in 46 BCE.[85] It was at this time that the town received an influx of Roman migrants.[86]

Despite their presence, Mactar maintained a strong sense of its pre-Roman past well into the imperial period. The town's site has yielded, for example, 132 Punic inscriptions that date from the early to high empire.[87] Tombstones reflect Punic, rather than Roman, epigraphic patterns into the second century CE, even in the case of burials of Roman citizens.[88] In addition, Roman triumvirs did not replace traditional Punic *sufetes* until around 150 CE, two decades before it received colonial status between 175 and 180.[89] Nevertheless, before its elevation to a colony, Mactar maintained a strong, public relationship with its local association of Roman citizens, as evinced by their joint dedication to the emperor between the mid-first and mid-second centuries CE.[90]

The inscription's late date suggests how sustained contact between Romans and non-Romans may have developed the homeomorphic structures indicated above. If African co-dedicants engaged in trade like their Roman counterparts – and they almost certainly did – then

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[84] M'Charek, *Aspects de l'évolution démographique et sociale à Mactaris aux IIe et IIIe siècles ap. J.C.*, 11.
[85] Ibid., 11–12.
[86] Ibid., 13.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Picard, *Civitas Mactaritana*, 23, 33–41; M'Charek, *Aspects de l'évolution démographique et sociale à Mactaris aux IIe et IIIe siècles ap. J.C.*, 182; Elizabeth A. Meyer, "Explaining the Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire: The Evidence of Epitaphs," *Journal of Roman Studies* 80 (1990): 86.
[89] On the *sufetes* of Mactar: J.A. Ilevbare, *Carthage, Rome, and the Berbers: A Study of Social Evolution in Ancient North Africa* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1980); Várhelyi, "What Is the Evidence for the Survival of Punic Culture in Roman North Africa?," 39–400. For a list of cities that retained *sufetes* in the imperial period: Claude Poinssot, "Suo et Sucubi," *Karthago* 10 (1959): 93–130. On the *triumviri*: CIL 8, 630 – 11827 (162 CE) and 23599 (159 CE). Inscriptions also record *quinquennales*, a *flamen perpetuus*, and *duumviri*: CIL 8, 11827; CIL 8, 631. On Mactar's status as a colony: CIL 8, 11801; Hans-Georg Pflaum, "Les flamines de l'Afrique romaine," *Athenaeum* 54 (1976): 152–63; Meyer, "Explaining the Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire: The Evidence of Epitaphs," 85, n. 51.
[90] Picard, "Le conventus civium Romanorum de Mactar."

joint action benefited everyone's business. Joint acts enhanced solidarity among participants through a shared ritual language. By convening, perhaps regularly, individuals established and reconfirmed a network of trust and unity that crossed cultural, linguistic, and perhaps religious boundaries.[91] As the *conventus* of Numidians suggests, non-Romans also overlooked the contemporaneous expropriation of land to Roman settlers and Rome's other administrative changes to employ Roman models to their own ends. Cooperating gave them access to a range of benefits that could include exposure to Roman language and custom and, in turn, communications with Roman authorities. Furthermore, local populations may have seen the Romans associations themselves as a channel through which those authorities could be accessed.[92]

In addition, the act of dedicating with Roman citizens placed participants in a position of equal subordination to the local patron whom the dedication honored and, above all, the emperor. This temporary unification occurred despite the asymmetries that characterized Roman and non-Roman in the local communities and the broader discrepancies of privilege that distinguished

[91] On the role of trust in trade networks, see Chapter One.

[92] On the conquest of Africa and the effects of reorganization of land and resources on local communities: Whittaker, "Land and Labour in North Africa"; Fentress, "Romanizing the Berbers." Extensive centuriation in Tunisia, for example, established new configurations of land ownership in regions crossed by routes that transhumant populations traditionally employed. A strand of scholarship has argued vociferously in favor of concerted and conscious resistance against Roman colonial enterprise: P. Leveau, "Paysans maures et villes romaines en Maurétanie césarienne centrale (la résistance des populations indigènes à la romanisation dans l'arrière-pays de Caesarea de Maurétanie," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Antiquité* 87 (1975): 857–71; M. Speidel, "Africa and Rome: Continuous Resistance?," *Proceedings of the African Classical Association*, 1975, 36–38; M. Bénabou, *La Résistance Africaine à La Romanisation* (Paris: F. Maspero, 1976); P. Leveau, "La Situation coloniale de l'Afrique romaine" Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations (1978): 89–92; Y. Thébert, "Romanisation et déromanisation in Afrique: Histoire décolonisée ou histoire inversée," *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 33 (1978): 64–92. Some historians have argued that the worship of syncretized deities or continued worship of native deities reflects nativist sentiment: S. Dyson, "Native Revolts in the Roman Empire," *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 20 (1971): 239–74; J. Webster, "Translation and Subjection: Interpretatio and the Celtic Gods," in *Different Iron Ages: Studies on the Iron Age in Temperate Europe*, ed. J.D. Hill and C. Cumberpatch (Oxford: Tempus Reparatum, 1995), 175–83. Others have criticized this view: P.D.A. Garnsey, "Rome's African Empire under the Principate," in *Imperialism in the Ancient World*, ed. P.D.A. Garnsey and C.R. Whittaker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 223–54; James Boykin Rives, *Religion and Authority in Roman Carthage from Augustus to Constantine* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 132–153.

Romans from non-Romans in the Mediterranean. As Ando observes, ritual acts that expressed what he calls "the ideology of governance" could be interpreted in more than one way. Provincials could employ the same rituals that Roman citizens used as a way to join the Roman political community, even if juridical status technically placed them beyond it.[93] Consequently, by expressing loyalty to the emperor and solidarity with the local Roman population, joint acts, like acts in isolation, enabled non-Romans to assert their membership within the Roman civic community.[94] As a focal point for associations of Roman citizens, the cult of the emperor became a site for peaceful interaction between potentially hostile entities. This phenomenon is especially apparent in Moesia Inferior, which I discuss below.

IV. Moesia Inferior: Loyalty on the Danube

Sources for associations of Roman citizens in Moesia Inferior come from a region now known as Dobrudja, which has produced thirty-four dedications attesting to their presence there. These inscriptions date to the period between the second and third centuries CE.[95] Romans first

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[93] Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire*, 339.

[94] On provincials' alternative interpretations of rituals: Ibid. On the replication of ritual practice throughout the empire: Ibid. On the replication of ritual practice throughout the empire: Hopkins, "From Violence to Blessing: Symbols and Rituals in Ancient Rome"; Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire*, 408.

[95] Callatis: IScM 3, 83 (107-117); Troesmis: CIL 3, 6166 = IScM 5, 154 (117-139); IScM 5, 141 (142-144 CE); CIL 3, 6175 = IScM 5, 134 (151-154 CE); CIL 3, 6167 = IScM 5, 157 (139-161 CE); IScM 5, 135 (163 C.E). Durosturum CIL 3, 7474 = ILS 2475 (145-147 CE). *Vicus classicorum*: Suceveanu and Zahariade, 1986, p. 110, n. = AE 1988, 986 = Suceveanu and Zahariade, 2003, p. 116, n. 3 (171 CE); Suceveanu and Zahariade, 1986, p. 111, n. 4 = Suceveanu and Zahariad, 2003, p. 117, n. 6 (181, 183, 186, 190 or 192 CE); Suceveanu and Zahariade, 1986, p. 110, n. 2 = AE 1988, 987 = Suceveanu and Zahariade, 2003, p. 116, n. 4 (2C); Suceveanu and Zahariade, 1986, p. 112, n. 5 = AE 1988, 989 = Suceveanu and Zahariade, 2003, p. 118, n. 7 (2C); Suceveanu and Zahariade, 1986, p. 112, n. 6, AE 1988, 990 = Suceveanu and Zahariade, 2003, p. 118, n. 8 (200 CE); Suceveanu and Zahariade, 1986, p. 111, n. 3 = AE 1988, 988 = Suceveanu and Zahariade, 2003, p. 117, n. 5 (post 200?). Vicus [--]STRO[--] (*regio histriae*): IScM 1 138 (2C). *Vicus U*[--] (*regio histriae*): CIL 3 14 442 (139-161). Vicus Nov(-) (*territorium Noviodunense*): CIL 3 14 448 = IScM V 233 (178 CE). Vicus BAD[--] (*territorium Noviodunense*?) *Titulus ineditus* (2C): - - - *v[et(erani)] et c(ives) R(omani) / consist[entes] / vico Bad[- -. Vicus* (*primus*?) URB[- -] (*regio Tomitana*?): CIL 3, 14 441 (139 CE-161 CE). Ulmetum: CIL 3, 14 214, 26 = IScM 5 62 (140 CE); IScM 5, 631 (163 CE). *Vicus Quintionis* (*regio histriae*): IScM 1, 324 (139-161); IScM 1, 326 (149 CE); IScM 1, 327 (167 CE); IScM 1, 328 (169 CE); IScM 1, 330 (175 CE); IScM 1, 331 (176 CE); IScM 1, 332 (177 CE). *Vicus* Secundini (*regio Histriae*): IScM 1, 343 (198-211 CE); IScM 1, 344 (202 CE); IScM 1, 345 (220 CE); IScM 1, 346 (237 CE); IScM 347 (238 CE); IScM 349 (246 CE). Vicus [T]URRIS MUCA[- -} (*regio Tomitana*): IScM 2 141 (2 C.E). For a summary of the subject of Romans in Moesia: Bounegru (2006): 76-82.

entered the area in the middle of the first century BCE to confront Mithridates. Marcus Terentius Varro Lucullus, the proconsul of Macedonia, conquered the coastal Greek towns in this period. In 46 CE, following a series of intermittent campaigns, Claudius reorganized the area and added the area between the Balkans and Danube to Moesia. Vespasian reorganized the Moesian *limes*, after which Roman auxiliary units begin to be attested in what became Moesia Inferior under Domitian.[96] Roman activity in the Lower Danube area intensified under Trajan. Petculescu estimates that from the reign of Trajan to the reign of Marcus Aurelius, the garrison population of Dobrudja fluctuated between 12,000 and 13,000 troops. Additional legions, such as the *legio V Macedonica*, were transferred to it in the second century CE, but the number of troops appears to have dropped to around 8,000 after the Marcomannic Wars. They remained at this level through the course of the third century CE.[97]

As Chapter One indicated, the inscriptions from Moesia Inferior are almost uniformly made out to the emperor. As a focal point for associations of Roman citizens, his person signified their membership in the broader Roman political community.[98] Of these, sixteen inscriptions from the corpus are dedications made in conjunction with non-Roman populations. These non-Romans were groups called Bessi or Lai. Dedications with Bessi come from the village of Quintio. The following examples are representative of the corpus:

> *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | et Iunoni | Regin(a)e c(ives) R(omani) | et Bessi con|sistentes vi|co Ulmeto p/ro salute imp(eratoris) | Ael(ii) Antonini Ca|es(aris) per mag(istrum) L(ucius) Val(erius) | Maxellius (sic) pos|{s}uit de suo v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) | imp(eratore) Antonino | III co(n)s(ule).*
>
> To Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Juno Regina, the Roman citizens and the Bessi residing in the village of Ulmetum, for the health of the Emperor Aelius Antoninus Caesar,

[96] Liviu Petculescu, "The Roman Army as a Factor of Romanization in the North-Eastern Part of Moesia Inferior," in *Rome and the Black Sea Region: Domination, Romanisation, Resistance*, ed. T. Bekker-Nielsen (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2006), 31.
[97] Ibid., 32.
[98] Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire*, 277–412.

through the care of Lucius Valerius Maxellius, who made this dedication out of his own means, gladly fulfilling a vow. During the third consulship of the Emperor Antoninus.[99]

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / sa]crum pro / sal(ute) imp(eratoris) vet(erani) / et cives R(omani) et Be/ssi con(sistentes) vico / Quintionis / cur(am agentibus) ma(gistris) Ae/lio Bellico et / Mucatralo / Doli et qu(a)es(tore) Do/tu Zinebti idi/bus Iuni(i)s Piso/ne et Iuliano / co(n)s(ulibus).

To Jupiter Optimus Maximus, the Roman citizens and Bessi dwelling in the village of Quintio made a sacrifice on behalf of the emperor through the care of the *magistri* Aelius Bellicus and Mucatralus (?) son of Dolus (?) and the *quaestor* Dotu Zinebti on the Ides of June when Piso and Iulianus were consuls.[100]

Ancient sources characterize Rome's relationship with the Bessi as violent. Herodotus describes them as part of a larger religious sect called the Satrai.[101] Livy and Pliny agree that they constituted a large tribe. According to Pliny, they occupied the left bank of the Strymon River, though Strabo puts them further inland.[102] The Bessi eventually came into conflict with Rome, which suppressed them in 72 BCE and again in 60 BCE.[103] Between 29 and 28 BCE, Marcus Licinius Crassus confiscated their Dionysian sanctuary in Thrace and entrusted it to the care of the Odrysai, which occasioned another revolt. This was followed by the assassination of Rhaskyporis, a client king of the Romans, by the Bessi between 15 and 11 BCE. Subsequently, they went on a raid all the way to the Chersonese under the leadership of a Dionysian priest named Vologaesus before L. Calpurnius Piso crushed them in 8 BCE.[104] Florus reports that Poppaeus Sabinus put down a group of Thracians, likely Bessi, with the help of a Thracian king in 26 CE.[105] By the early first century CE, they were settled in the the Black Sea region.[106]

[99] Ulmetum; CIL 3, 14 214, 26 = IScM 5, 6 (ca. 140 CE).
[100] IScM 1, 330 (175 CE).
[101] Hdt. 7.3.22.
[102] Livy 39. 53; Pliny *NH* 4.40.
[103] J. Vanderspoel, "Provincia Macedonia," in *A Companion to Ancient Macedonia*, ed. J. Roisman and I. Worthington (Malden: Blackwell, 2010), 262, 263, 268.
[104] Cass. Dio 54.34; Tac. *Ann*. 6.10.
[105] Florus 2.27
[106] Ovid *Trist*. 3.10.5; 4.1.67.

However, not all contact between Romans and the Bessi was hostile. Renowned for their ferocity in battle, Bessi formed a contingent in Pompey's infantry. Likewise, Thracians are recorded among the peregrine cavalry at Philippi in 42 BCE and supported Antony and Cleopatra at Actium in 31 BCE.[107] This continued to be the case over the next three centuries.[108] The only visual representation we possess of this tribe comes from one of the marble panels from the great *sebasteion* at Aphrodisias, which was constructed between 20 CE and 60 CE. The relief shows a figure that an accompanying inscription identifies as Bessian. She wears a belted dress, veil, long cloak, and a distinctive headband that probably reflects the tribe's worship of Dionysos.[109]

Whereas all dedications by associations of Roman citizens and Bessi come from Quintio, those by the associations and Lai come from a *vicus* in Dobrudja called Secundinus:

> *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | c(ives) R(omani) et Lai cons(istentes) | vico Secundini | po(suerunt) pro salute im|peratorum dom(inorum n(ostrorum) L(ucii) S(eptimii) | Severi et Marci (Aurelii) | Antonini cura(m) | ag(entibus) mag(istris) Artema | Dioscoridentis | et Iust(i)no Valeri(i) | imp(eratoribus duobus) Severo | III et Ant(onino) co(n)s(ulibus).*
>
> To Jupiter Optimus Maximus, the Roman citizens and Lai residing in the village of Secundinus, for the health of the Emperors, our lords Lucius Septimius Severus and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, through the care of the *magistri* Artemas son of Dioscoridens and Justinus son of Valerius during the consulship of the two emperors Severus (for the third time) and Antoninus.[110]
>
> *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / c(ives) R(omani) et Lai consistentes / vico Secundini po/suerunt pro salu/te Imperatoris M(arci) / Aur(eli) A[[ntonini]] Pii F[e]/licis Aug(usti) cur(am) age[n]/tibus mag(istris) Fl[avio) Valen/te et Valerio Cosenis / Imp(eratore) domino n(ostro) [[M(arco) Aur(elio)]] / [[Ant(onino)]] Aug(usto) III et Vale/rio Comazone / cons(ulibus)*
>
> To Jupiter Optimus Maximus, the Roman citizens and Lai residing in the village of Secundinus, for the health of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus, through the care of the *magistri* Flavius Valens and Valerius Cosenis during

[107] Caes. *B Civ*. 95; Val. Flacc. 2.229; Strabo 7.5.12.
[108] S. Casson, "Thracian Tribes in Scythia Minor," *Journal of Roman Studies* 17 (1927): 97.
[109] R.R.R. Smith, *The Marble Reliefs from the Julio-Claudian Sebasteion* (Darmstadt: Philipp von Zabern, 2013), 95.
[110] IScM 1, 344 (ca. 202 CE).

> the consulship of our emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus (for the third time) and Varlius Comazone.[111]

The Lai are more mysterious than the Bessi. The term appears to be a contraction of variants found in other sources.[112] One is a tribe which Thucydides calls *Laiaioi* and whom Stephanus of Byzantium, in a nod to Thucydides, calls the *Lainoi*. The ethnonym also appears on Thraco-Macedonian coins from fifth century BCE Ishtip.[113] Like the Bessi, they, too, were regularly conscripted into the Roman army in the empire.[114]

Despite our ignorance about the Lai and Bessi, it is clear they were not Roman. In addition, the inscriptions uniformly describe them with the participle *consistentes*, which also describes their Roman co-dedicants. This could indicate that they did not originate in the communities in which they made these dedications. If so, we possess a body of inscriptions that record joint religious worship by three distinct diaspora groups.

To understand how local factors contributed to interactions between associations of Roman citizens and non-Romans, we may look to *canabae* and military *vici* in Moesia Inferior for insight into how associations of Roman citizens and non-Romans interacted in other kinds of settlements, such as the non-military *vicus* of Quintio, in the same region. As in the case of the African joint dedications, Romans, Bessi, and Lai may have undertaken joint collective action to strengthen inter-group relations to promote trade connections and business relations. We can infer the dedicants' affiliation with trade from the fact that they were located in *canabae* and military *vici*, which were settlements that formed just beyond the walls of military bases. One example was the *vicus* Secundinus, which lay in close proximity to Roman legions and military

[111] IScM 1, 345 (220 CE).
[112] Casson, "Thracian Tribes in Scythia Minor," 100.
[113] Ibid., 99.
[114] Ibid., 97.

sites of the second and third centuries CE. Others were present in *canabae*. Similar settlements existed at Troesmis, where the *legio V Macedonica* was installed before the camp and surrounding settlements became a municipality at the end of the second century CE, and at Durosturum, where the *legio XI Claudia* was located.[115]

Extramural military communities like the ones that associations of Roman citizens inhabited date back to the Augustan era and were composed of Roman and non-Roman merchants and craftsmen drawn to the construction of Roman military sites.[116] Often, veterans moved from the camps to the settlements in their vicinity to be near their former military colleagues and families.[117] Consequently, *canabae* and military *vici* were ideal grounds for interaction between groups of various origins. *Canabae* and military *vici* provided soldiers at the base with food and other goods they could not acquire themselves.[118] By the Principate, some had become urbanized settlements in their own right. Commercial and military in nature, civilian

[115] Scholars argue that *canabae* were the settlements that formed outside of legionary camps and that military *vici*, by contrast, were settlements that developed outside of auxiliary camps. It is not clear to me that distinguishing between the two provides much in the way of meaningful data, though an updated is wanting. On *canabae* and military *vici*: François Bérard, "Vikani, Kanabenses, Consistentes: Remarques sur l'Organisation des Agglomérations Militaires Romaines," in *L'Epigrafia del Villagio* (Faenza: Fratelli Lega, 1993), 61–90; N. Hanel, "Military Camps, Canabae, and Vici. The Archaeological Evidence," in *A Companion to the Roman Army*, ed. P. Erdkamp (Malden: Blackwell, 2007), 395–416. On the date of Troesmis' municipalization: CIL 3, 6199; Werner Eck, "La loi municipale de Troesmis: données juridiques et politiques d'une inscription récemment découverte," *Revue historique de droit français et etranger* 2 (2013): 200; Werner Eck, "Das Leben Römisch Gestalten. Ein Stadtgesetz Für Das Municipium Troesmis Aus Den Jahren 177–180 N. Chr.," in *Integration in Rome and in the Roman World: Proceedings of the Tenth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Lille, June 23-25, 2011)*, ed. Gerda de Kleijn and Stephane Benoist (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 75–88. Examples at associations of Roman citizens at *canabae*: IScM 5, 154 (Troesmis) and CIL 3, 7474 (Durosturum).

[116] A. Tomas, "Inter Moesos et Thraces. A Contribution to the Studies on the Rural Hinterland of Novae in Lower Moesia," *Archaeologia (Warsaw)* 58 (2009): 31–47; Hanel, "Military Camps, Canabae, and Vici. The Archaeological Evidence," 412.

[117] In the Augustan era, the Roman state did not recognize the legality of relationships between soldiers and women. According to Herodian, however, in 197, Severus granted soldiers permission to live with their wives. Phang, Campbell, and others have interpreted his provision as a sign that soldiers could cohabit outside the walls of their camps or even contract legitimate marriages. Herodian 3.8.4-5; B. Campbell, "The Marriage of Soldiers under the Empire," *Journal of Roman Studies* 68 (1978): 160; Sara Elise Phang, *The Marriage of Roman Soldiers (13 B.C.-A.D. 235): Law and Family in the Imperial Army*, Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 24 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2001), 18.

[118] Tomas, "Inter Moesos et Thraces. A Contribution to the Studies on the Rural Hinterland of Novae in Lower Moesia," 139.

communities also possessed qualities we would typically associate with towns. In addition to industrial installations that the traders and craftspeople utilized, they could possess temples, road networks, and even amphitheaters.[119] The economic dependence of *vici* and *canabae* on the nearby base often resulted in their abandonment if the unit withdrew from the base.[120]

Though they were likely subordinate to the command of the base, *canabae* and military *vici* developed some of the structures needed to handle their own administration, though we currently lack physical or documentary evidence for the buildings they would have utilized in this capacity.[121] Veterans often appear in important positions in the administration of *vici* and *canabae*.[122] Some *canabae* possessed their own city councils, described in inscriptions as *ordines decurionum*, and magistrates. This was the case at Troesmis, where associations of Roman citizens are attested. Before the base became a municipality during the reign of either Marcus Aurelius or one of the Severans, its *canabae* were under the jurisdiction of the *legatus legionis*. Even so, these *canabae* seem to have possessed a council called a *curia* and magistrates who went by names like *magistri*, *quinquennalis*, and *aediles*.[123] A second settlement of unknown

[119] Hanel, "Military Camps, Canabae, and Vici. The Archaeological Evidence," 407, 412.
[120] Ibid., 412.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Hanel, "Military Camps, Canabae, and Vici. The Archaeological Evidence," 412.
[123] *Curia*: IScM 5, 155; *magistri*: IScM 5, 154 and 156; *quinquennalis*: IScM 5, 155 and 158; *aediles*: IScM 5, 156. Second settlement at Troesmis: *ordo Troesmensium*: IScM 5, 143-145; *magistri*: IScM 5, 157. The dedications predate the elevation of Troesmis to municipal status. There does not appear to be a link between the presence of associations of Roman citizens and the elevation of military camps to municipalities or colonies. As I mentioned above, Troesmis received colonial status under Marus Aurelius or one of the Severans; the Severans were also responsible for granting colonial status to Aquincum and Carnuntum, which had associations of Romans in their vicinity. These towns underwent changes in status as part of a broader Severan program that saw the colonial elevation of a large number of African and Danubian towns and army camps. This process was accompanied by a series of major building programs around the Mediterranean and Rome itself. But the Severans were likely more interested in the soldiers and veterans who populated the Danubian region than in the Roman traders who lived by them, on account of the need to consolidate military support after an era of civil strife. On Severan colonies and building programs: Richard M. Haywood, "The African Policy of Septimius Severus," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 71 (1940): 165–186; Zsolt Mráv, "Septimius Severus and the Cities of the Middle Danubian Provinces," in *Studia Epigraphica in Memoriam Géza Alföldy*, ed. W. Eck, Bence Fehér, and Péter Kovács (Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt GMBH, 2013), 205–40; A. Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia: A History of the Middle Danube Provinces of the Roman Empire* (London: Routledge, 1974), 218, 225–227.

name near the base at Troesmis possessed an *ordo Troesmensium* and two *magistri*. An association of Roman citizens is attested there, too.

As it turns out, the administrative architecture of Quintio may have resembled that of extramural military settlements like the one at Troesmis. They reveal that Romans and non-Romans alike could hold positions of *magistri* and *quaestor*. The joint sacrifice by Romans and Bessi and Quintio, quoted above, was overseen by a *magister* and *quaestor* with the distinctive, non-Roman names of Mucatralus and Dotu Zinebti.[124] In fact, when dedications from Quintio name more than one presiding officials from the local community, they record two *magistri*. One was always a Roman citizen; the other could be a Roman citizen with Bessian ancestry or a non-Roman Bessian. The inscriptions further indicate that the town's *quaestor* could be either Roman or Bessian.

Table 1 presents this pattern with data from Lambrino and Avram. I follow Avram's dates and provide Lambrino's in parentheses where the two diverge.[125]

Table 1. Officials in Inscriptions from Moesia Inferior

CITATION	DATE	ROMAN *MAGISTER*	BESSIAN *MAGISTER*	*QUAESTORES*
Suceveanu and Zahariade, (1986): 110, n.1	June 13, 181, 183, 186, 190 or 192 CE (139-161 CE)	Sulpicius Narcissus	Derzenus Aulupori	Cocceius Phoebus
IScM 1, 326	June 13, 149 CE	Claudius Gaius	Durisse Bithi	Servilius Primigenius
IScM 1, 327	June 13, 167 CE	Aelius Bellicus	Mucaporo Ditugenti	Claudius Ianuarius

[124] IScM 1, 330 (175 CE).
[125] Lambrino, "Le vicus Quintionis et le vicus Secundini de la Scythie mineure"; Avram, "Les cives Romani consistentes de Scythie mineure: État de la question."

(Table 1, continued)

IScM 1, 328	June 13, 169 CE	Iulius Gemini	Genicius Brini	Cocceius Firmus
IScM 1, 330	June 13, 175 CE	Aelius Bellicus	Mucatralus Doli	Dotu Zinebti
IScM 1, 331	June 13, 176 CE	Tiberius Firmus	Valerius Cutiunis	Flavius Secundus
IScM 1, 331	June 13, 177 CE	Iulius Florus	Derzenus Biti	Fronto Burtsitsinis

The division in leadership suggests that Quntio's Bessian population possessed a mechanism by which they could communicate with the local council. The Bessi seem to have constituted a sufficiently important and influential population in Quintio for the Romans to want or be compelled to establish what seems to be a relatively equitable administrative structure. The Bessi's importance in the local community seems to be compounded by the fact that they sometimes co-dedicated with army veterans in addition to associations of Roman citizens.[126] Furthermore, names like Valerius Cutiunis, Genicius Brini, and Fronto Burtsitsinis suggest a history of intermarriage between Romans and Bessi in the area.[127] The town's population may have established a mixed administrative structure to reflect the multivalent identities that many residents possessed.

Cult appears to have been the language with which Romans and Bessi at Quintio expressed a relationship of harmony and cooperation. All seven dedications above were made out to the emperor to commemorate sacrifices made at the town's annual celebration of the Rosalia on June 13. The Rosalia was a festival at which celebrants honored the dead with roses, and it may have had some relation to the cult of the military standards. It was particularly

[126] For example, IScM 1, 330 (175 CE).
[127] Lambrino, "Le vicus Quintionis et le vicus Secundini de la Scythie mineure."

popular in the West, where individuals set up funds for associations in which they were members were to use to perform rites at their tombs.[128]

Observation of the Rosalia is attested in Moesia outside of Quintio, too.[129] At Quintio itself, dedications made by associations of Roman citizens and Bessi for the Rosalia exhibit virtually identical verbiage from 149 to 177 CE, as in the following example:

> *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) // sac(rum) pro salute Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) / Titi Ael(i) Antonini Had(r)iani / Aug(usti) Pii et M(arci) Aureli Veri C/aes(aris) vet(erani) et c(ives) R(omani) et Bessi / consistentes vico / Quin(tion)is cura(m) agen/tibus mag(istris) Cla(udio) Gai/us [sic] et Durisse Bithi / Idibus Iunis Orf/ito et Prisco co(n)s(ulibus) / et quaestore Servi/lio Primigenio.*
>
> The veterans and Roman citizens and Bessi dwelling in the village of Quintio (made a dedication) to Jupiter Optimus Maximus on behalf of the health of the emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Antoninus Hadrianus Augustus Pius and Marcus Aurelius Verus Caesar through the care of *magistri* Claudius Gaius and Durisse Bithi on the Ides of June, when Orfitus and Priscus were consuls and Servilius Primigenius was *quaestor*.[130]

As Chapter One indicated, through the repetitive practice of emperor worship, associations of Roman citizens constructed a Roman identity with which they established and asserted their membership in the wider Roman community. However, this type of behavior was not limited to Romans, since the emperor became an increasingly important focus as a site for expressing a relationship with Rome.[131] As in Africa, non-Romans in the Black Sea region seem to have used the joint practice of cult with associations of Roman citizens to confirm the emperor's legitimacy to rule them and to assert their place in the Roman political community, even though they were non-Romans.[132] The notion that non-Romans and citizens across the empire engaged in the emperor's worship served as a powerful motivation to maintain the

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[128] On the Rosalia: Donahue, *The Roman Community at Table during the Principate*, 134–136. On the Rosalia's connection to the military standards: A.S. Hoey, "Rosaliae Signorum," *Harvard Theological Review* 30 (1937): 15–35.
[129] For example: CIL 3, 7526.
[130] IScM 1, 326 (Quintio, June 13, 149 CE).
[131] Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire*, 337–339. See also Chapter Four.
[132] Ibid., 362.

practice.[133] In Quintio, joint acts tacitly reaffirmed an empire-wide network by temporarily erasing distinctions of status and privilege between Romans and non-Romans. Their periodic nature deepened this erasure.

The predominance of Jupiter in these inscriptions likely reflects their cultural context. Nicole Belayche observes that the cult practice of diverse military communities in the Germanies were preoccupied with the worship of Jupiter, and especially Jupiter Dolichenus. This practice is not perceptible in the civil communities located in the same areas. A similar phenomenon may have developed at this time in Moesia Inferior at this time. Though the *vici* and *canabae* that the associations of Roman citizens I study here were technically civil communities, many (and perhaps all) were populated by individuals who had once served in the army and whose religious worship would have been conditioned by that experience.[134]

The choice to worship the emperor and observe the Rosalia suggests a link to the Feriale Duranum, a Latin document on papyrus that has been dated to the period between 225 and 227 CE.[135] It records the festival calendar of an auxiliary unit stationed at Dura Europos and suggests an empire-wide standardization of the army's religious practices. It includes the date of each festival, the reason for its observance, and information about the animal to be sacrificed. The emperor's worship was central to the calendar in order to promote loyalty among the troops and render the army an adequate representation of Roman power at the frontiers.[136] The same document includes observance of the Rosalia. While the inscriptions from Quintio and

[133] On provincial loyalty: Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire*.
[134] Nicole Belayche, "Les cultes syriens dans les Germanies (et les Gaules voisines)," in *Religion in den germanischen Provinzen Roms*, ed. Wolfgang Spickermann (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 285–316.
[135] Darby Nock, "The Roman Army and the Roman Religious Year," *Harvard Theological Review* 45 (1952): 187–252; R.O. Fink, A.S. Hoey, and W.F. Snyder, *The Feriale Duranum* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940). On its date: Herbert W. Benario, "The Date of the 'Feriale Duranum,'" *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 11 (1962): 192–96.
[136] J. Rüpke, *From Jupiter to Christ: On the History of Religion in the Roman Imperial Period*, trans. David M.B. Rchardson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 273–274.

Secundinus predate the document found at Dura-Europos, the document probably represents a modified version of a standardized set of norms dating back to Augustus.[137] It would seem that associations of Roman citizens, non-Romans, and veterans in Moesia Inferior during the second century CE took inspiration from a similar, contemporaneous set of regulations.

Like the dedications from Quinto, the dedications by Romans and Lai at Secundinus indicate periodic worship of the emperor between the late second century CE and mid-third century CE. These inscriptions do not reflect the observance of the Rosalia. Nor do they indicate that Romans and Lai shared leadership in the village the way Romans and Bessi did at Quintio. Lambrino suggested the following reasons for this discrepancy: perhaps relations between Romans and Lai at Secundinus were less amicable than those between Romans and Bessi at Quintio. It could also have been the case that very few Lai lived in Secundus.[138] Both situations could have motivated Romans at Secundinus to leave their Lai neighbors out of local administration. A third possibility is that Romans and Bessi at Quintio in second century CE. Moesia exploited their long, embattled history with each other to make a show of unity in their host community. The solution is unsatisfactory, however, since we cannot make a productive comparison without knowing more about the history of contact between Romans and Lai.

V. Conclusion

This chapter's investigation of associations of Roman citizens in Gaul, Africa, and Moesia Inferior shows they created networks through their interactions with local communities. In Gaul, that network worked as it would have for other kinds of voluntary associations: through the admission of individuals whose origins ranged from high born to servile. In Africa and

[137] Duncan Fishwick, "Dated Inscriptions and the 'Feriale Duranum,'" *Syria* 65 (1988): 349–350.
[138] Lambrino, "Le vicus Quintionis et le vicus Secundini de la Scythie mineure," 333.

Moesia Inferior, joint action temporarily equated RomanS and non-RomanS, regardless of juridical status or discrepancies in privilege. In Moesia Inferior, cult emerges as a particularly important site of interaction between associations of Roman citizens and non-Romans by establishing cohesion between groups with a history of conflict.

The presence of cultural distinctions across different contexts is unsurprising. Local variables determined the nature of interactions between associations of Roman citizens and others. They would have also shaped how the associations responded to political shifts at Rome, such as Octavian's ascension to power and his reorganization of the provinces. As such, the range of interactions between associations of Roman citizens and non-Romans is consistent with the experience of geographically fractured early modern and contemporary diasporas like the populations Foner studied. This could explain why the tripartite organizational structure of associations of Roman citizens in the Three Gauls is not reflected in surviving evidence for associations in Africa and Moesia Inferior. Its administrative organization was rooted in local conditions.

In addition, the social milieu of Moesia Inferior, which was shaped by the presence of several military installations, likely contributed to the distinctiveness of interactions between associations of Roman citizens and non-Romans therein.[139] In fact, associations of Roman citizens in Moesia Inferior are only attested in epigraphic evidence for their practice of cult, probably because of its site-specific meaning: worship of the emperor and traditional Graeco-Roman deities provided a useful and known ritual language that was available to the parties

[139] Petculescu, "The Roman Army as a Factor of Romanization in the North-Eastern Part of Moesia Inferior," 37.

involved. So far, evidence for associations of Roman citizens in Africa suggests that cult did not dominate their interactions with non-Romans. The same is true for our evidence from Gaul.[140]

The absence of joint dedications between associations of Roman citizens and non-Romans in Gaul probably does not indicate that such acts did not occur. Developing long-term business ties would have been a common interest to association members throughout the empire, so the lack of evidence is probably the result of uneven preservation, a lower interest in creating physical records of these interactions, or both.[141] One shared characteristic emerges clearly from the evidence for associations of Roman citizens in Gaul, Africa, and Moesia Inferior: the complicity of non-Romans and non-Roman communities in the generation of new organizational forms and practices. We observe it, for example, in the representation of Numidians at Masculula as a *conventus*, and in the repeated participation of Lai and Bessi in religious worship alongside Romans in Quintio and Secundinus. Narrowly, this evidence emphasizes the relationship between local structures and the outcomes of interactions between associations of Roman citizens and non-Romans interacted. Broadly, it draws attention to the complex diversities that characterize cross-cultural interactions in empires.

[140] Associations of Roman citizens are involved in the practice of cult in the absence of non-Romans, as in the dedication by the *summi curatores* at Lugdunum. Association members are also attested in the practice of cult outside of the association, such the dedication by the four-time *curator civium Romanorum* in Armorica: ILTG 338.
[141] The lack of epigraphic evidence for associations of Roman citizens in Spain, for example, is consistent with fact that other kinds of voluntary associations are recorded with less frequency there and in the Gallic and German provinces. Verboven, "Magistrates, Patrons and Benefactors of Collegia: Status Building and Romanisation in the Spanish, Gallic and German Provinces," 165.

CHAPTER FOUR

VISIBILITY IN THE *POLIS*

I. INTRODUCTION

This chapter extends the inquiries of Chapter Three by examining interactions between associations of Roman citizens and their host cities in the Greek East between the first century BCE and second century CE. The chapter begins by discussing their organization in Asia. Subsequently, it examines their involvement in networks of patronage and honorific exchange. I argue that their interactions with local elites mirrored interactions between Roman generals and extremely wealthy Greek elites, and that their influence as collectivities was paralleled by, and likely related to, the influence that individual Romans enjoyed. The chapter also examines the role of associations of Roman citizens in the diplomatic activities of Asian cities. It suggests that they shaped relations between local cities and the emperor, and also differentiates the strategies that associations of Roman citizens used for local influence from those that other voluntary associations employed. These strategies depended on members' possession of Roman citizenship and thereby contributed to their prominent position in eastern cities relative to that of other groups.

Throughout this chapter, I stress the role that local variables played in the motivations and actions of associations of Roman citizens at different points of time. For example, while we have little evidence that associations of Roman citizens sent embassies to Rome in the Late Republic, evidence for this behavior begins to emerge in sources from the first century CE. This is the same period in which the practice of sending embassies becomes more commonly attested in evidence the east (though this may or may not be a reflection of an increase in the epigraphic habit itself). The chapter also examines how local variables affected the actions of associations

of Roman citizens in different eastern contexts and focuses particularly on Phrygia in this regard. Many scholars have observed that associations of Roman citizens in Phrygian cities enjoyed a degree of influence that other kinds of voluntary associations along the Asian coast may not have enjoyed.[1] Relying on Peter Thonemann's work, I suggest that this discrepancy resulted from the particular local conditions under which Romans and Italians arrived in Phrygia in the second century BCE.

By focusing on the Greek East, this chapter shares many of the themes present in "Roman Traders in the Province of Asia," the final chapter of Terpstra's *Trading Communities in the Roman World*. Terpstra rightly argues that Rome's superior position in the Mediterranean world during the Late Hellenistic period did not guarantee Roman traders superior position for Asia. To address this problem, they employed local cultural practices like issuing decrees and participating in local networks of honorific exchange.[2] However, since Terpstra limits his analysis to evidence from the cities of Ephesos, Tralles, and Apameia, this chapter incorporates evidence from the rest of Asia and from mainland Greece. It also draws on the analyses of Claude Eilers to discuss whether Greek cities adopted Roman patrons on account of associations of Roman citizens.[3]

II. The Organization of Associations of Roman Citizens in Asia

Sources for associations of Roman citizens are mainly epigraphic and date to the period between the first century BCE to the fourth century CE, though the majority cluster between the

[1] Thonemann, "The Women of Akmoneia," 169–178; Thonemann, "Inscriptions from Baris and Apameia-Kelainai," 1–129; Terpstra, *Trading Communities in the Roman World: A Micro-Economic and Institutional Perspective*, 171–222.
[2] Terpstra, *Trading Communities in the Roman World: A Micro-Economic and Institutional Perspective*, 171–222.
[3] C.F. Eilers, *Roman Patrons of Greek Cities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

first century BCE and second century CE.[4] Evidence for associations of Roman citizens is concentrated in the Greek East. From 306 epigraphic attestations for associations of Roman citizens outside of Delos, 148 record their presence in the Greek East; the rest are scattered elsewhere across the Mediterranean.

The eastern cities in which these associations are attested reflect a range of characteristics regarding economic importance, urbanization, and position in Roman provincial administration. For example, several associations of Roman citizens were located in assize centers.[5] Some were small communities like Akmoneia in Phrygia. Others were urbanized trade hubs like Laodikea, Ephesos, and Thespiae.[6] Still others, like Prymnessos, were little more than large agrarian communities. Some, like Apameia, were ecomonic centers that experienced increased periods of economic activity when the governor visited to conduct the assize.[7] Cities that are known or thought to have been important trade communities and which have not produced evidence for associations of Roman citizens are nevertheless likely to have contained them: many ancient sites sit directly below their modern Turkish counterparts and consequently cannot be excavated. Similarly, we should remember that many factors have affected the preservation of evidence

[4] An inscription from Pisidia is the latest surviving epigraphic attestation for associations of Roman citizens in Asia: SEG 2, 744.

[5] On the assize system: Anthony Marshall, "Governors on the Move," *Phoenix* 20 (1966): 231–56; Christian Habicht, "New Evidence on the Province of Asia," *Journal of Roman Studies* 65 (1975): 64–91; G.P. Burton, "Proconsuls, Assizes and the Administration of Justice Under the Empire," *Journal of Roman Studies* 65 (1975): 92–106; Mitchell, "The Administration of Roman Asia from 133 BC to AD 250"; Ando, "The Administration of the Provinces."

[6] The following Asian cities are known to have been assizes: Adramytteion, Apameia, Kibyra, Synnada, Philomelius, and Kyzikos. Of these, Ephesos, Sardis, Smyrna, Tralles, Adramytteion, Synnada, Apameia, Kibyra, Kyzikos, and Halicarnassos are attested as possessing associations of Roman citizens. On the economic assets of Akmoneia: T. Drew-Bear, "The City of Temenouthyrai in Phrygia," *Chiron* 9 (1979): 275–179; Thonemann, "The Women of Akmoneia," 171–173. On Ephesos: Scherrer, "The City of Ephesos from the Roman Period to Late Antiquity."

[7] On Romans in Apameia: Cic. *Pro Flacco* 66-9; Cic. *de imperio Cn. Pompeii* 14, 18; Strabo 12.8.13-18; Thonemann, "Inscriptions from Baris and Apameia-Kelainai," 99–129; P. Thonemann, *Roman Phrygia: Culture and Society* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 31–32, 35; L. Summerer, A. Ivanchik, and A. von Kienlin, eds., *Kelainai-Apameia Kibotos: Développement urbain dans le context anatolien* (Bordeaux: Ausonius, 2011).

even from cities in which the associations are attested. At Apameia, for example, local idiosyncrasies in the reuse of stone in the medieval period and beyond have mostly left us with funerary inscriptions from the imperial period and few from the Republican era.[8]

Audin, Guey, and Wuilleumier argue that associations of Roman citizens were not organized at the provincial level in Asia as in Gaul, since Asia did not have a federal structure like the one that administered the Three Gauls. In addition, competition between Greek cities would have prevented Roman associations from fostering the cooperation required for a broad provincial network.[9] However, by the Battle of Actium, associations of Roman citizens existed in at least a dozen Asian cities; by the second century, they appear in nearly a dozen more. It seems likely that the presence of so many associations in an area as large as Roman Asia would have led to a form of organization that paralleled the region's many assemblies, much as their organization in the Three Gauls echoed the structure of that region's imperial cult and assembly.

In addition, inscriptions from Asia that date to the first centuries BCE and CE echo the language of the third century CE inscription from Lugdunum quoted in Chapter Two, which referred to Roman citizens in entire provinces. One inscription from Ephesos reads, "The association of Roman citizens engaged in business in Asia set up this statue of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Germanicus" (*conventus civium Romanorum qui in Asia negotiantur*).[10] Another refers to a dedication to Tiberius Claudius Drusus by "the association of Roman citizens engaged in business in Asia" (*conventus civium Romanorum qui in Asia negotiantur*).[11] As van Nijf suggests, the inscriptions' references to associations in Asia, rather than associations in discrete

[8] Alain Bresson, "An Introduction to the Funerary Inscriptions of Apameia," in *Kelainai Apameia Kibotos: Développement Urbain Dans Le Context Anatolie*, ed. Lâtife Summerer, Askold Ivanchik, and Alexander von Kienlin (Bordeaux: Ausonius, 2011), 295–297.
[9] Audin, Guey, and Wuilleumier, "Inscriptions latines découvertes à Lyon dans le pont de la Guillotière," 324.
[10] IEph 3019.
[11] IEph 409.

cities, suggest that they were sufficiently organized at the level of the province to coordinate provincial dedications to the emperor.[12] This form of organization may have emerged in 29 BCE or soon after, when Octavian established the provincial cult in Ephesos and set about reshaping Asia's administrative framework.

The importance of Ephesos to the early imperial cult also suggests that Asia's associations of Roman citizens formed a network centered at Ephesos, just as those of Gaul appear to have been centered at Lugdunum. If the associations of Roman citizens in Asia were organized at the provincial level, they likely maintained a subordinate level of organization. This may have been structured at the level of the assize centers to facilitate communication with the governor. Cities were often selected as centers because of their economic importance; that importance would have drawn Romans to them, too.

One problem with this argument, however, comes from a Rhodian inscription that refers to "the Roman citizens who do business in Asia" (*cives Romani qui in Asia negotiantur*).[13] It is difficult to know what to make of this inscription. It likely does not indicate that associations of Roman citizens in Asia were headquartered at Rhodes, given that the island's importance declined significantly when Rome made Delos a free port. A possible explanation is that Romans from different parts of Asia had convened in Rhodes to make a dedication like the Italians from Alexandria who had convened on Delos. Perhaps they chose the phrase *qui in Asia negotiantur* to describe their common origin?

III. Influence and Prestige in Greece and Asia

Benefactions to Associations of Roman Citizens

[12] van Nijf, "Staying Roman - Becoming Greek: The Roman Presence in Greek Cities."
[13] CIL 3, 12266.

Associations of Roman citizens resembled other voluntary associations in that they engaged in honorific exchanges with individual members of their host cities and the cities themselves. Patrons assisted voluntary associations in a number of ways. Their benefactions came in many forms, such as feasts, reserved theater seats, and even infrastructure like buildings or harbor facilities.[14] Patronage did not necessarily take material form, though. Patrons sometimes gave associations legal and other kinds of advice.[15] They could also intervene with a given city council on behalf of an association to help it acquire building permits, as in the case of Tiberius Claudius Severus, who served as an assistant to a magistrate (*decurialis lictor*) and was honored by an association of fishermen and divers (*corpus piscatorum et urinatorum*) of the Tiber River for securing its business license. His success may have relied on his connections.[16] Patrons sometimes also maintained direct economic relationships with the associations to which they made benefactions, as in the case of Marcus Minatius, a Roman banker who was honored by the association of Berytian Poseidoniasts on Delos.[17] Providing a benefaction to an association with which one already had a relationship would have facilitated future business ventures.[18]

Memorialized expressions of gratitude from recipients of patronage likely motivated individuals to be benefactors in the first place.[19] These expressions took the form of inscriptions, statues, and painted images. Their prominent location was perceived as giving the patron lasting visibility in the civic community and, hopefully, more visibility than his peers in the community. This visibility was not just literal. The monuments reflected the political processes that permitted

[14] van Nijf, *The Civic World of Professional Associations in the Roman East*, 83.
[15] Ibid., 95.
[16] CIL 6, 1872; van Nijf, *The Civic World of Professional Associations in the Roman East*, 99.
[17] IDelos 1520; van Nijf, *The Civic World of Professional Associations in the Roman East*, 103.
[18] van Nijf, *The Civic World of Professional Associations in the Roman East*, 103.
[19] On this, see Chapter One.

their existence, since the city's political institutions – that is, the *boule* and the *demos* – would have had to approve the installation of the monument.[20]

In turn, voluntary associations that received gifts generally benefited from more than the gifts themselves. As beneficiaries, they could claim positions of authority in relation to other groups in the local community. For associations of Roman citizens in particular, these other groups would have included the other voluntary associations in their local communities. The association at Thessaloniki, for example, which is attested for the period before the first century CE, likely coexisted with some of the voluntary associations that are attested for the second century CE. The same was true for the associations of Roman citizens at Hierapolis and Apameia, which existed alongside other voluntary associations.[21]

Even if benefactors were socially superior to individuals who formed the associations, they were, at the same time, dependent on the associations in bids for prestige.[22] Beneficiaries were not obligated to accept benefactions. Moreover, any ensuing monument would have required the approval of the local assembly.[23] Consequently, inscriptions that broadcast honorific exchanges between patrons and associations of Roman citizens structured the asymmetrical relationships they memorialized. Benefactors broadcast the wealth that enabled them to make benefactions and, in turn, their benefactions broadcast the honorands as desirable individuals or

[20] van Nijf, *The Civic World of Professional Associations in the Roman East*, 118–119.
[21] Thessalonican association of Roman citizens: IG 10, 2 1 32. On voluntary associations in Thessaloniki: Pantelis M. Nigdelis, "Voluntary Associations in Roman Thessalonike: In Search of Identity and Support in a Cosmopolitan Society," in *From Roman to Early Christian Thessalonikē: Studies in Religion and Archaeology*, ed. Laura Salah Nasrallah, C. Bakirtzes, and S.J. Friesen (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 13–46. On voluntary associations at Hierapolis: P. Harland, "Acculturation and Identity in the Diaspora: A Jewish Family and 'Pagan' Guilds at Hieropolis," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 57 (2006): 222–44. On voluntary associations at Apameia: Ibid., 60; Harland, *Associations, Synagogues, and Congregations: Claiming a Place in Ancient Mediterranean Society*, 29, 40.
[22] van Nijf, *The Civic World of Professional Associations in the Roman East*, 119.
[23] Ibid.

groups with which to have a relationship.[24] Benefactors and beneficiaries acquired – or hoped to acquire – prestige in a process that was ongoing and subject to change. Most importantly, each needed the other.

From the tone and language of the dedications they made or received, we can perceive similarities between the involvement of associations of Roman citizens in these exchanges and that of other voluntary associations. However, members' possession of Roman citizenship constituted an important difference. This distinction could, for example, render benefactions to associations of Romans, rather than an association of fullers, especially beneficial to benefactors. To show this, I begin with the Late Hellenistic evidence before examining material from the empire, though I will occasionally move forward and backward in time where the argument warrants it.

As Chapter One indicated, some of the honorific activities of associations of Roman citizens in the Hellenistic period involved expressing gratitude to and cementing relationships with Roman officials who were responsible for clearing the seas of pirates and promoting the safety of Romans and Italians abroad. These dedications also reminded Roman officials of the services that the associations had performed or could perform on their behalf. In some cases, the patrons in question were symbolic, since the inscriptions do not indicate specific benefactions like feasts or legal aid. Rather, the associations in question saw these officials as patrons in an abstract sense. This is brought out by the dedication to Marcus Titius, which calls him a "designate patron."[25]

Other patrons of associations of Roman citizens were Greek elites who did not possess citizenship. Polykratides of second or first century B.C.E Thespiae was one of these elites. He

[24] Ibid., 73–130.
[25] CIL 3, 455. See Chapter One for text and translation.

has been identified as the *rogator* of an undated honorary decree for the proconsul Futius Longus and may have served as the priest of the cult of Theos Tauros, which may have been established in honor of his Roman patron, T. Statilius Taurus.[26] At some point, he received a dedication from Thespiae's association of Roman citizens:

> Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ πραγματευόμενοι ἐν Θεσ|πιαῖς Πολυκρατίδην Ἀνθεμίωνος | πρῶτον ἀναθέντα καὶ αὑτοῖς γυ|μνάσιον καὶ ἄλιμμα διὰ βίου.
>
> The Romans who do business in Thespiae honored Polykratides, son of Anthemion, who was the first to provide for them both a *gymnasion* and oil for life.[27]

Another example is a late second century BCE inscription from Aigiale that was installed in honor of a feast funded by Kritolaos, a wealthy local:

> ... καὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἀποδιδότωσαν [το]ῖς τε πολίταις πᾶσιν τοῖς παρα|[γε]νομένοις εἰς τὴν Αἰγιά[λη]ν [καὶ παροίκοις κα]ὶ ξένοις τοῖς παρα|[γε]νομένοις, Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν…
>
> ...provide a meal to all citizens who happened to be in Aigiale and the residents and the foreigners and those of the Romans who happened to be present...[28]

Inscriptions like the examples above depict civic elites trying to augment their local visibility by providing benefactions to various local groups. They may have included associations of Roman citizens because local elites were beginning to view Roman citizenship as increasingly desirable.

In addition, by acting as benefactors toward associations of Roman citizens, their behavior mirrored that of Greeks who were wealthy enough to provide services to the Roman

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[26] *Rogator*: IThesp 35. On Polykratides and his family's prominence: C.P. Jones, "A Leading Family of Roman Thespiae," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 74, no. 1970 (1970): 223–55; M. Kajava, "Cornelia and Taurus at Thespiae," *Zeitschrift Für Papyrologie Und Epigraphik* 79 (1989): 144–145. On the cult of Theos Tauros and his role in it: F. Marchand, "The Statilii Tauri and the Cult of the Theos Tauros at Thespiai," *Journal of Ancient History* 1 (2013): 145–69.

[27] Members of the association in Late Hellenistic Thespiae may have been merchant refugees who fled Delos in 88 BCE. But many would have migrated to Thespiae at an earlier stage to exploit its economically advantageous location. Müller, "Les nomina romana à Thespies du IIe s.a. C. à l'édit de Caracalla," 162–163.

[28] IG 12, 7 515. These Romans may or may not have been organized into an association with officers, but I include this inscription because it clearly refers to these Romans (and perhaps Italians) as a locally organized group, however loosely formed. For commentary on this inscription: P. Gauthier, "Études sur des inscriptions d'Amorgos," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 104 (1980): 210–218.

state and receive Roman citizenship as a reward. Such grants of Roman citizenship in the Greek East prior to the triumviral period were rare: we have no records for them before Pompey's campaign against Mithridates in the 60s BCE.[29] This absence of evidence may, as Raggi argues, partly reflect Greek hostility toward Rome.[30] It could have also been due to the perception that Roman citizenship was not viewed as valuable. Diodorus Siculus, for example, relates an episode in which the consul L. Julius Caesar offered Roman citizenship to a Cretan. The man laughed and said he would prefer the more useful reward of cash.[31] But his response likely also reflected that receipt of a new citizenship may have required these individuals to surrender their local citizenships and even their local property rights.

Nevertheless, over the course of the first century B.C.E, Greeks began to view Roman citizenship as a valuable asset, and their desire for it may have had implications for their relationships with associations of Roman citizen. Roman citizenship afforded privileges like freedom from tribute. It was also a source of prestige. Seleucus of Rhosos who received Roman citizenship from Octavian as a reward for providing his fleet with valuable assistance, illuminates this phenomenon. His native city likely selected him to be an ambassador to Octavian on account of the fact that he received Roman citizenship from the emperor on account of his services to him.[32] This selection would have enhanced his already high profile.

We can also look at the case of Theopompus of Cnidos, a Greek who received Roman citizenship from Caesar and secured from him free status for his city.[33] The city's association of

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[29] Andrea Raggi, *Seleuco di Rhosos: cittadinanza e privilegi nell'Oriente greco in età tardo-repubblicana* (Pisa: Giardini editori e stampatori, 2006), 196.
[30] Ibid., 195.
[31] Raggi attributes the story to 90 BCE Diod. Sic. 37.18; Raggi, *Seleuco di Rhosos: cittadinanza e privilegi nell'Oriente greco in età tardo-repubblicana*, 194.
[32] IgLS 3, 718; Raggi, *Seleuco di Rhosos: cittadinanza e privilegi nell'Oriente greco in età tardo-repubblicana*, 192.
[33] Theopompus also interceded on behalf of Delphi, Rhodes, and Syrian Laodikea. Strabo 14.2.15; Plut. *Caes*. 48; Cic. *Ad Att*.13.7.1; Gustav Hirschfeld, "C. Julius Theupompus of Cnidus," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 7 (1886): 286–90; R.R.R. Smith, *Aphrodisias I. The Monument of C. Julius Zoilos* (Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern, 1993), 9.

Roman citizens counted him among their patrons too, as we know from a dedication they made in the Doric dialect:

> [Γάϊον Ἰούλ]ιον Ἀρτεμιδώρο[υ] | [υἱὸν Θεύπομπ]ον τοὶ κατοικ[εῦντες] | [ἐν] [τᾶι πό]λει Ῥωμαῖοι εὐν[οίας] | [ἕνεκεν κα]ὶ καλοκαγαθίας [τᾶς] |[εἰς αὐτο]ύς· Ἀπόλλωνι Κα[ρνείωι].
>
> The Romans living in the city (made a dedication to) Gaius Iulius Theopompus, son of Artemidoros, on account of his benefaction and goodness toward themselves; to Apollo Karneios.[34]

A similar example is offered by Caius Iulius Eurycles of the Peloponnese, whom an association of Roman citizens honored with the following bilingual dedication from the first half of the first century CE:

> *C(aium) Iulium Lacharis f(ilium) Euruclem / cives Romani in Laconica / qui habitant negotiantur / benefici(!) ergo*.
>
> Γάϊον Ἰούλιον Λαχάρους / υἱὸν Εὐρυκλέα Ῥωμαῖοι / οἱ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν τῆς / Λακωνικῆς πραγματευό/μενοι τὸν αὐτῶν εὐεργέτην.[35]
>
> The Roman citizens who live and work in the territory of Laconica honored Caius Iulius Eurycles, son of Lachares, their benefactor.
>
> The Roman citizens who live among the citizens of Laconica honored Caius Iulius Eurycles, son of Lachares, on account of a service.

Eurycles had supported Octavian prior to the Battle of Actium and eventually received Roman citizenship.[36]

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[34] IKnidos 1, 701. Theopompus was the recipient of other honorific inscriptions, such as IKnidos 1, 51-55. On the Doric dialect of IKnidos 1, 701: Nikitas D. Chaviaras, "Epigraphai Knidias Chersonisou," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 34 (n.d.): 28.

[35] SEG 11, 894, first half of the first century CE. Here, the Latin and the Greek versions do not exactly mirror each other.

[36] Eurycles is the earliest attested Greek local with Roman citizenship in the Peloponnese. Augustus banished Eurycles towards the end of the first century BCE. On his relationship with Augustus: Bowersock, "Eurycles of Sparta"; H. Lindsay, "Augustus and Eurycles," *Rheinisches Museum Für Philologie* 135 (1992): 290–297. On his early attestation: S. Zoumbaki, "The Composition of the Peloponnesian Elites in the Roman Period and the Evolution of Their Resistance and Approach to the Roman Rulers," *Tekmèria* 9 (2008): 25–52. On Romans in Laconia: C. Le Roy, "Richesse et exploitation en Laconie au 1er siècle av. J.-C.," *Ktèma* 3, no. 261–66 (1978).

Publius Caninius Agrippa is yet another example of a Greek who likely received Roman citizenship for his services to Rome. He was honored by the city of Pellene and its association of Roman citizens in the first half of the first century CE:

> ἡ πόλις τῶν Πελλη|νέων καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ κ[α]||τοικοῦντες Πόπλιο[ν] | Κανείνιον Ἀγρίπ[παν] | τὸν ἐκ προγόν[ων εὐερ]|γέτην.
>
> The city of the Pellenians and the Romans dwelling there dedicated this to Publius Caninius Agrippa, benefactor, as were his ancestors by family tradition.[37]

Publius Caninius Agrippa had served as imperial procurator of Achaia under Augustus and his family may have supported the emperor when he was a triumvir.[38]

The life of C. Julius Zoilos offers particularly good evidence for the prestige a Greek with Roman citizenship could acquire. He did not receive Roman citizenship as a reward for helping Roman authorities, since he was a native of Aphrodisias and freedman of either Octavian or Caesar. Zoilos is thought to have played a role in acquiring privileges for the Aphrodisias in 39 BCE as a reward for its loyalty to Rome against Labienus.[39] His success in this regard would have increased his prestige and visibility at Aphrodisias, where he held two priesthoods for life and at least ten consecutive stephanephorates. Zoilos also established new boundaries for the city's sanctuary of Aphrodite and organized major building projects at the temple, theater and northern corner of the city's agora. He was also awarded at least two public statues and, most importantly, a large monument in his native Aphrodisias. It consisted of a series of marble frieze

[37] SEG 11, 1269.
[38] Zoumbaki suggests he was the first Peloponnesian to achieve equestrian rank. On P. Caninius Agrippa: Spawforth, "Roman Corinth: The Formation of a Colonial Elite," 173–174; Zoumbaki, "The Composition of the Peloponnesian Elites in the Roman Period and the Evolution of Their Resistance and Approach to the Roman Rulers."
[39] Strabo 12.8.13-18; Plut. *Caes*. 48; Cic. *ad*. *Att*.13.7.1; Smith, *Aphrodisias I. The Monument of C. Julius Zoilos*, 60; L. Robert, "Inscriptions d'Aphrodisias," *Antiquité Classique* 35 (1966): 422.

panels that overtly celebrate his possession of Roman citizenship and depict him in the company of a series of deities and personified attributes.[40]

Citizenship grants increased gradually until they peaked during the civil wars of the Late Republic.[41] Pompey, Caesar, Octavian, and Antony, for example, used them to motivate support in the form of troops and military goods.[42] The Greeks who received Roman citizenship must have been extraordinarily rich if they could afford to supply Roman armies with boats and other expensive equipment. Providing this kind of assistance was likely beyond the means of Polykratides and many other wealthy Greeks who did not have and never acquired Roman citizenship. If he and men like him wanted to maintain and grow their influence, they would have to cultivate and publicize relationships with the Romans in their local communities.[43] This seems to have been the motivation for his benefactions to the Romans of Thespiae.

The prestige that Roman citizenship could grant to Greeks who received it may have been a motivating force behind benefactions of men like Polykratides, though it is not altogether clear he or others like him had any real hope of acquiring it. Even so, the city's population of Roman and Italians would have appreciated Polykratides' gym, since they were likely barred from using the town's existing *gymnasion*. Christel Müller argues that Polykratides financed the construction of a *gymnasion* for the Romans and Italians in Thespiae because they were barred from using the city's *gymnasion*.[44] Individuals in the Greek East who were not resident aliens were typically barred from using facilities like *gymnasia*.[45] We know that the Romans of

[40] Smith, *Aphrodisias I. The Monument of C. Julius Zoilos*.
[41] Raggi, *Seleuco di Rhosos: cittadinanza e privilegi nell'Oriente greco in età tardo-repubblicana*, 191–196.
[42] Ibid., 194.
[43] Zoumbaki, "The Composition of the Peloponnesian Elites in the Roman Period and the Evolution of Their Resistance and Approach to the Roman Rulers," 51.
[44] IG 7, 1777; Müller, "Les Italiens en Béotie du IIe siècle avant J.-C.-Ier siècle après J.-C.," 98–99.
[45] Mastrocinque, "Gli Italici a Iaso," 240; Müller, "Les nomina romana à Thespies du IIe s.a. C. à l'édit de Caracalla," 161.

Thespiae were probably not resident aliens from a first century BCE inscription from the "sons of the Thespians and the *paroikoi* and the Romans who do business in Thespiae."[46] While providing a Roman population with a gymnasium of its own would not have led to Roman citizenship, Polykratides must have expected that a public dedication would have followed his benefaction in Thespiae. Likewise, Kritolaos, the benefactor from the inscription from Aigiale, publicly underscored his relationship with the city's Roman residents by explicitly referring to them among the rest of the city's resident foreign population.

Polykratides' benefaction also epitomizes the complexity of local patterns of exchange that involved associations of Roman citizens and how these exchanges could be mutually beneficial. We also see how the *gymnasion* may have facilitated Roman aims at prestige. The inscription that bears a catalog of names associated with a *gymnasion* includes the term *archontes*. Roesch and Müller suggest the Romans used to describe the judges of their athletic competitions.[47] If so, the construction of the *gymnasion* for the city's Roman and Italian population permitted its guests to devise an office whose title possessed a prestigious veneer. Officeholders could add it to their lists of past accomplishments and use it as a stepping-stone to influential positions.

Associations of Roman citizens also appear to have presented benefactions to them as being parallel to services to Rome or its leaders: by favoring the local Roman population, local elites and Greek cities could express real or desired relationships with Rome. With the term Ῥωμαῖοι, associations of Roman citizens distinguished themselves from the other associations with which they jockeyed for visibility and in a way that was particular to them. As the following

[46] Θεσπι[έω]ν οἱ παῖδες καὶ παροίκων [κα]ὶ Ῥωμα[ίω]ν τῶν πρα[γματευ]|ομένων ἐν Θεσπιαῖς. IThesp 352.
[47] Roesch points out that the function of the office is unknown: Paul Roesch, *Thespies et la confédération béotienne* (Paris: Boccard, 1965), 157–162; Müller, "Les Italiens en Béotie du IIe siècle avant J.-C.-Ier siècle après J.-C.," 98–99.

first century BCE dedication from Kos suggests, Roman citizenship was key to relationships between associations of Roman citizens, local elites, and cities, since it could place the associations in an advantageous position that they alone could occupy:[48]

> *[C(ives) R(omani) qui C]oi negotiantur | [civitatem] Coam pietatis in | [C(aium) Iulium Cae]sarem ponti|[ficem maxim]um [pa]trem [pa]|[triae divum]que et benevol|[entiae erga] se caus{s}a [------.*
>
> The Roman citizens who do business in Kos honored the city on account of its piety toward Caius Iulius Caesar, *pontifex maximus*, father of the fatherland and a god, and on account of its benevolence toward themselves.[49]

The association at Kos places the city's unnamed benefaction toward it on par with its reverence to Caesar himself. That benefaction accompanied privileges that the island's Roman population was just beginning to enjoy. Unlike other foreigners in the city who did not hold Koan citizenship, some Romans possessed the right to own Koan land.[50] Further, by the last decade of the first century BCE, Romans were holding the priesthood of Apollo in his cult at Halasarna. Admission to the office was traditionally exclusive. That Kos did not extend it to other foreigners suggests its acknowledgement of Roman ascendance and desire to be affiliated with it.[51] In the dedication above, Romans on Kos represented themselves as a conduit of Roman power and asserted a claim of local dominance that was, at that moment, becoming a reality on the island.

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[48] Kos was a free city until the end of the republic. Susan M. Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos: An Historical Study from the Dorian Settlement to the Imperial Period* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1978), 131.
[49] ILGR 14
[50] On the right to own land in Kos: Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos: An Historical Study from the Dorian Settlement to the Imperial Period*, 251–255; Kostas Buraselis, *Kos between Hellenism and Rome: Studies on the Political, Institutional, and Social History of Kos from Ca. the Middle Second Century B.C. until Late Antiquity*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 90 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2000), 145–146.
[51] On the cult of Apollo at Halasarna: Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos: An Historical Study from the Dorian Settlement to the Imperial Period*, 255; Buraselis, *Kos between Hellenism and Rome: Studies on the Political, Institutional, and Social History of Kos from Ca. the Middle Second Century B.C. until Late Antiquity*, 147; G. Kokkorou-Alevras, "New Epigraphical Evidence on the Cults of Ancient Halasarna in Cos," in *The Hellenistic Polis of Kos: State, Economy and Culture : Proceedings of an International Seminar Organized by the Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Uppsala University, 11-13 May, 2000*, ed. Kerstin Höghammar (Uppsala: Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Uppsala University, 2004), 119–27.

By the first century CE, Greek benefactors were recognizing associations of Roman citizens as entities that were parallel to the emperor. This evidence suggests, in turn, that Greek elites and Greek cities used benefactions to associations of Roman citizens as symbolic representations of real or desired relationships with Rome:

> Αὐτοκράτορι Τιβε|ρίωι Καίσαρι καὶ τοῖς | κατοικοῦσιν ἐν | Πρειζει Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Ἕλλη|σιν Διονυσόδωρ[ο]ς Ξενί|ου τὸν βωμὸν ἐκ τοῦ[ν] | ἰδίον.
>
> Dionysodoros son of Xenios dedicated this altar at his own expense to the emperor Tiberius Caesar and the Romans and Greeks living in Preizos.[52]

The case of Thespiae also suggests that associations of Roman citizens in this period shaped relations between local cities without directly intervening between the two. In 172 BCE, the city turned itself over to Rome at the beginning of the war with Perseus and appears not to have joined the Boiotian cities that supported the Achaean League's war against Rome.[53] Moreover, Thespiae was the sole Boiotian city to abstain from supporting Mithridates, a decision for which Rome granted it free status in return.[54] It is tempting to connect Thespiae's departure from the political tendencies of its neighbors to the influence of Romans and Italians in the city: it could be that the city's Roman population persuaded it to resist an urge to support Mithridates.

If Müller is right about the fact that Thespiae's Romans were barred from using the local *gymnasion*, then our evidence illuminates localized patterns of interactions between associations of Roman citizens and local communities and the contradictions that could characterize them. Apparently, it was possible for a city to show friendship to Rome without permitting its Roman and Italian inhabitants access to all its public buildings.[55] It is also particularly interesting in light

[52] Drew-Bear. *Nouv. Inscr. Phr.* 12,6.
[53] Polyb. 21.1.1-2.
[54] Hatzfeld, *Les trafiquants italiens dans l'Orient hellénistique et à l'époque impériale*, 69; Jones, "A Leading Family of Roman Thespiae"; Marchand, "The Statilii Tauri and the Cult of the Theos Tauros at Thespiai."
[55] Even if Thespiae did not prohibit its Roman and Italian population from using the *gymnasion*, my argument regarding the importance of Polykratides' benefaction still holds. For these Romans and Italians, having a *gymnasion* of their own would have been cause for celebration.

of the fact such an exclusion, if it existed, would have stood in tension alongside at least one instance of cooperation between the town's association of Roman citizens and locals: the first century BCE dedication of a statue by the town's association of Roman citizens and local population to a Greek patron.[56]

ASSOCIATIONS OF ROMAN CITIZENS AND ROMAN PATRONS OF GREEK CITIES

The evidence from Thespiae suggests that Greek cities had complicated relationships with associations of Roman citizens because of the antipathy Rome aroused in the east (not to mention elsewhere in the Mediterranean world) and the ensuing need to take advantage of Rome's growing power to secure their own safety. By making benefactions to associations of Roman citizens, cities and local elites could express real or desired relationships with Rome and eventually the emperor. However, this does not mean that associations of Roman citizens and Greek cities and elites necessarily liked or got along with each other. In *Roman Patrons of Greek Cities*, Eilers offers the intriguing suggestion that tensions with Roman and Italian businessmen in the Late Hellenistic period motivated some Greek cities to adopt Roman patrons following the wake of Asia's annexation and the Gracchan reforms.[57] These geopolitical and social changes paved the way for the arrival of thousands of Romans and Italians in the east, many of whom formed or joined the associations under study.[58] The new immigrants introduced a model of

[56] Θεσπι[έω]ν οἱ παῖδες καὶ παροίκων [κα]ὶ | Ῥωμα[ίω]ν τῶν πρα[γματευ]|ομένων ἐν Θεσπιαῖς: Roesch, IThesp 352 = IG VII 1862.
[57] Eilers, *Roman Patrons of Greek Cities*, 141.
[58] Hatzfeld, *Les trafiquants italiens dans l'Orient hellénistique et à l'époque impériale*, 17–19, 45–49; S.G. Wilson, "Voluntary Associations: An Overview," in *Voluntary Associations in the Graeco-Roman World*, ed. J.S. Kloppenborg and S.G. Wilson (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 85–125; Eilers, *Roman Patrons of Greek Cities*, 140–145.

patronage that some Asian cities chose to follow, possibly because they thought patrons could offer them valuable benefits in this time of political and economic change.[59]

Attestations for Roman patrons of Greek cities are few in the second century BCE. After that, they increase sharply in number until the middle of the first century CE, after which the phenomenon fades almost entirely from view.[60] Roman patrons of Greek cities were expected to provide a wide range of services, sometimes leveraging requests by emphasizing the loyalty of the cities they represented.[61] They acted as legal advocates and intermediaries, and also negotiated or reconfirmed special privileges. They could also help cities address disagreements with other Greek cities and even Roman provincial governors.[62] The efficaciousness of Roman patrons of Greek cities is hard to gauge, since the evidence privileges success stories rather than failures. Likewise, the vagaries of preservation make it difficult to give a precise, numerical indication of how commonly Asian cities utilized the services of Roman patrons.[63]

As I stated above, cities with associations of Roman citizens could also maintain Roman patrons. One example was Akmoneia:

> ὁ δῆμος | ἐτίμησεν Κόιν[τον] | Δέκμιον Κοίντου [υἱὸν] | Ῥωμαῖον πατρῶν[α] | τῆς πόλεως.
>
> The people honored Quintus Decimus, son of Quintus, Roman, the patron of the city.[64]

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[59] Eilers, *Roman Patrons of Greek Cities*, 14–145. *Contra* J. Touloumakos, "Zum römischen Gemeindepatronat im griechischen Osten," *Hermes* 116 (1988): 304–24.
[60] While Roman patronage of Greek cities becomes less common in Asia after the Augustan period, it becomes increasingly common in Bithynia. On its increased incidence in the Late Republic and Augustan era: Eilers, *Roman Patrons of Greek Cities*, 108–144. On its rise in Bithynia: ibid., 161. On its disappearance from Asian sources: John Nicols, "Patrons of Greek Cities in the Early Principate," *Zeitschrift Für Papyrologie Und Epigraphik* 80 (1990): 1–20.
[61] Eilers, *Roman Patrons of Greek Cities*, 21–25, 84–85; J. Nicols, *Civic Patronage in the Roman Empire* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).
[62] Eilers, *Roman Patrons of Greek Cities*, 140–145.
[63] By contrast, such patrons are uncommon in mainland Greece: ibid., 149.
[64] We do not know anything about Quintus Decimus. MAMA VI, 258; Thonemann, "The Women of Akmoneia," 173.

The *demos* of Kibyra, also home to an association of Roman citizens, dedicated a statue to Q. Aemilius Lepidus in 71 BCE, a former proconsul of Asia under Augustus:[65]

> ὁ δῆ[μ]ος ἐτείμησεν καὶ καθιέρωσεν Κόϊ[ντον] | Αἰμίλιον Λέπιδον δίκαιον ἀνθύπατον | σωτῆρα καὶ εὐεργέτην καὶ πάτρωνα τῆς πόλεως | ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἐπιμεληθέν{η}τος || τῆς μετακομιδῆς καὶ ἀναστάσεως τοῦ ἀνδρίαντος | κατὰ τὰ {υα} δόξαντα τῇ βουλῇ καὶ δήμῳ, Μ. Κλ. | Πηλοκλέους Κασιανοῦ τοῦ γραμματέως τῆς πόλεως, | ἔτους ζμρ΄, μηνὸς Γορπιαίου εἰκάδι.
>
> The people honored and dedicated (this statue of) Quintus Aemilius Lepidus, a just proconsul, savior and benefactor and patron of the city, because of his excellence and justice. The transport and erection of the statue according to a decree of the council and the people was overseen by Marcus Claudius Philocles Casianus, *grammateus* of the city, on the 20th day of the month Gorpiaios, in the year 147.[66]

Two building architraves from Assos, the location of an association of Roman citizens, celebrate its Roman patron Sextus Appuleius, who served as Asia's proconsul in the late 20s BCE:[67]

> ἐπὶ Σέξτου Ἀππολῄου ἀνθυπ[άτου] καὶ πάτρωνος τῆς πόλε[ως], ἐκ τῶν ἀποκατασταθειῶν [ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τῇ πόλει προσόδων ἀποκατεστ]άθη.
>
> [ἐπὶ Σέξτου Ἀππολῄου ἀνθυπάτου κ]αὶ πάτρωνος τῆς πόλεως, [ἐκ τῶν ἀποκατα]σταθειῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τῇ πόλε[ι προσό]δων ἀποκατεστάθ[η].
>
> In the time of Sextus Appuleius, proconsul and patron of the city, (this building was) rebuilt from the revenues refunded by him to the city.[68]

In addition, as the following inscription to a governor of Macedonia reveals, associations of Roman citizens and cities sometimes shared Roman patrons:

> Λεύκιον Καλπόρνιον Πίσωνα | ἀνθύπατον Βεροιαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἐνκεκτημένοι | Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν ἑατῶν πάτρωνα.

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[65] Aemilius Lepidus is also attested as patron of Colophon and Halicarnassus. Eilers, *Roman Patrons of Greek Cities*, 245.
[66] IGRR 4.901. Translation adapted from Eilers, *Roman Patrons of Greek Cities*, 245.
[67] He is also attested as a patron of Samos. Eilers, *Roman Patrons of Greek Cities*, 222.
[68] CIG 3571; LBW 1034; IGR 4.253; I.Assos 24a; translation: Eilers, *Roman Patrons of Greek Cities*, 222. The associations are attested in the following inscriptions: IMT SuedlTroas 573 (the embassy); IMT SuedlTroas 580; IMT SuedlTroas 603 = IGRR 4.248; IMT SuedlTroas 606 = IHR 4.250; IMT SuedlTroas 610 = IGR 4.255; IGRR 4.254; IAssos 19.

The Beroians and the Romans living there (dedicated this) to the proconsul and their patron Lucius Calpurnius Piso.[69]

Table 2 lists eastern cities with patrons that had associations of Roman citizens:

Table 2. Eastern Cities with Associations of Roman Citizens and Patrons at Rome

CITATION ASIAN CITIES WITH ASSOCIATIONS OF ROMAN CITIZENS * denotes assize center[70]	CITATION DATES OF ATTESTATION FOR ASSOCIATION OF ROMAN CITIZENS	DATES OF ATTESTATION FOR ROMAN PATRON
Adramytteion *	1C BCE	*unattested*
Akmoneia	1C CE	1C BCE
Amisos	1C BCE – 1C CE	*unattested*
Apameia *	1C CE – 2C CE	2C CE
Mylasa*	*attested; date unknown*	1C BCE
Assos	1C CE	1C BCE
Attaleia	1C BCE – 2C CE	1C BCE – 1C CE
Ephesos *	36 BCE – 3C CE	1C BCE
Erythrai	1C CE	*unattested*
Halicarnassos	1C CE?	1C BCE
Hierapolis	1C – 2C CE	1C BCE
Kibyra *	1C CE	1C CE
Cyzicus	1C C.E	*unattested*
Cnidos	1C BCE	48 BCE
Laodikea	1C BCE – 1C CE	*unattested*
Vicinity of Caunos (modern Göcek)	1C CE	*unattested*
Blaundos	88 CE	*unattested*
Hyrkania	1C CE?	*unattested*
Iasos	1C CE	*unattested*

[69] SIGLM 58 (57-55 BCE). J.M.R. Cormack, "L. Calpurnius Piso," *American Journal of Archaeology* 48 (1944): 76–77; Eilers, *Roman Patrons of Greek Cities*, 140–145.

[70] Eilers observes that twenty patrons are attested for seven of Asia's twelve assize centers in the Late Republic: Pergamon, Tralles, Ephesos, Miletus, Synnada, Alabanda, and Mylasa. The other five (Adramyttium, Sardis, Smyrna, Apameia, and Laodikea) have yet to yield records of patrons. I have provided a range of centuries for cities that have produced concretely or conjecturally dated evidences. For the assize centers, I follow Habicht's tabulation. Eilers, *Roman Patrons of Greek Cities*, 140–145; Habicht, "New Evidence on the Province of Asia."

(Table 2, continued)

Pergamon *	27 BCE – 2C CE	1C BCE– 1C CE
Ioulia Gordos	1C CE	*unattested*
Pisidia	2C CE – 4C CE	*unattested*
Priene	2C BCE – 1C BCE	*unattested*
Prymnessos	1C CE	*unattested*
Lagina	1C CE	*unattested*
Sardis *	88 BCE – 70 BCE	*unattested*
Smyrna *	1C CE – 2C CE	*unattested*
Synnada *	1C CE	2 C CE
Teos	2C CE	1C BCE – 1C CE[71]
Thyateira	1C BCE – 1C CE	1C BCE
Tralles *	2C CE	1C BCE
Samos	1C BCE	*unattested*
Stratonicea	1C CE?	1C CE
Ilium	2C CE	1C BCE – 1C CE
Olympene	1C-2C CE	*unattested*
Neoklaudiopolis	4/3 BCE	*unattested*
Dorylaion	1C CE?	*unattested*
Sebaste (Phrygia)	88/89 CE	*unattested*
Kyme	2C BCE – 2C CE	*unattested*
Isaura Palaia	1C CE	*unattested*

Eilers' suggestion is difficult to prove, since we lack direct evidence for a Greek city lodging complaints about an association of Roman citizens through a Roman patron. In addition, the evidence for Roman patrons of Greek cities with associations of Roman citizens uniformly predates records of associations in the same cities. But we should not make arguments from silence. It is possible, for example, that associations of Roman citizens existed in cities like Pergamon and Pisidia in the Late Hellenistic period, when we know they maintained Roman patrons. We can probably attribute the fact that the associations of Roman citizens attested for

[71] On the date for the attestation for a patron: Eilers, *Roman Patrons of Greek Cities*, 239.

those cities did not emerge until the imperial period because it was only then that they become sufficiently important to appear in more inscriptions.

Ultimately, evidence for hostilities between cities in the East and Romans and Italians abroad strengthens Eilers' suggestion that the presence of these immigrants motivated cities in the Greek East to adopt Roman patrons. It is wholly possible that Republican era tax collectors in Asia were also members of the associations in question, lending strong support for the argument that local factors shaped particularities in the behavior and local effects of associations of Roman citizens. If Eilers is right, then his theory has implications for our knowledge of relations between associations of Roman citizens and cities and non-Romans in the Greek East. For one thing, it suggests that associations of Roman citizens became players in diplomatic relations between Greek cities and the emperor. We can perceive this in joint dedications by associations of Roman citizens and local civic institutions to local patrons. The majority of evidence for this comes from Phrygia between the first century BCE and the first century CE and it resembles the following examples from Kibyra and Hierapolis:

> ὁ δ[ῆ]μος καὶ οἱ πρ|[α]γματευόμενο[ι ἐν]|ταῦθα Ῥω{ι}μαῖοι {Ῥωμαῖοι} ἐτείμη|σαν Πα̣νκράτην Καλλικλέ||ους χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ κα̣[ὶ] | ε̣ἰκόνι χρυσῇ, ζ̣[ή]σαντα̣ | vac. ε̣ὐτά̣κ̣τως.
>
> The people and the Romans engaged in business here honored Pankrates son of Kallikles, who lived a well-disciplined life, with a gold crown and a gold image.[72]
>
> [ἡ λαμπροτάτη βουλὴ(?)] | [καὶ] ὁ λαμπ̣[ρ]ό[τατος] | [δῆ]μος Ἱεραπόλε[ως] | κ̣αὶ ἡ γερουσία | καὶ τὸ συνέδριον | τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ ο[ἱ ν]||έοι καὶ αἱ σύνοδο[ι] | πλεονάκις ἐτίμ[η]||σαν Γ(άιον) Ἀγελήιον [Ἀ]||πολλωνίδην Ἀν[ι(ῆνσις)] | ἄνδρα τῶν ἀρίστων βο/υλευτῶν, στρατη[γή]||σαντα τῆς πόλεω[ς] | καὶ ἀγορανομήσ[αν]||τα καὶ/δ<ε>καπρωτε[ύ]||σαντα καὶ κονβεντα̣[ρ]||χήσαντα τῶν Ῥωμα̣[ί]||ων καὶ ἐλαιοθετή|σαντα καὶ ἐξεταστὴ̣[ν] | γενόμενον καὶ ἐρ[γε]|πιστατήσαντα | καὶ εἰς χρίας κυρ[ια]||κὰς εὔχρηστο[ν] | γενόμενον.
>
> The most distinguished Council (?), the most distinguished people of Hierapolis, the elders' council, the council of Roman citizens, the young men, and synods honored on

[72] IK Kibyra 51 (Kibyra, first century BCE to first century CE).

> several occasions Gaius Ageleius Apollonides of the Aniensis tribe, member of the virtuous councilors, commander of the city, market-overseer, member of the Board of Ten, leader of the assembly of Romans, provider of the oil, auditor of public accounts, director of public works, and useful in meeting imperial needs.[73]

Furthermore, by exhibiting themselves as participants in acts of broad-based civic cooperation – especially in the case of the inscription from Hierapolis, which implicates synods (σύνοδοι) in addition to five discrete corporate bodies – and not just as the recipients of benefactions from local patrons, associations of Roman citizens broadcast their position as prominent civic actors to the community.

Another example is an Apameian dedication to Proclus Manneius Ruso, a man who had served the city as an ambassador. It was installed by voluntary associations responding to a joint decree by the city's *boule*, *demos*, and association of Roman citizens.

> [ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες] | Ῥωμαῖοι ἐτείμησαν | Πρόκλον Μαννήιον | Ποπλίου Ῥωμιλία | Ῥούσωνα, ἀγομένης | πανδήμου ἐκκλησίας, ἄν|δρα ἀγαθὸν καὶ μεγαλόφρ[ο]|να δι<ά> τε τὰς ἐκ προγόνων | αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἰδίας εἰς τὴν πα|τρίδα συνκρίτους εὐεργεσί|ας, θρέψαντά τε τὴν πόλιν ἐν | δυσχρήστοις πολλάκις και|ροῖς καὶ πρεσβεύσαντα πρὸς | τοὺς Σεβαστοὺς περὶ τῶν | συνφερόντων πραγμάτων | καὶ ἐπιτυχόντα τὰς παρὰ τῶν | ἀρχιερέων φιλοδοσίας, | [ὑπὲ]<ρ> τε τῆς πόλεως ἐν παντὶ | [και]ρῷ δημοφελέως {[26]δημωφελῶς / δημωφελῆ}[26] γενομε|[νο]ν καὶ συναυξήσαντα τὰς | [δημ]οσίας προσόδους, ἀνασ|[τη]σάντων τὸν ἀνδριάντα τῶν | ἐπὶ τῆς Θερμαίας πλατείας ἐργασ|τῶν ὑπὸ ἐπιμέλειαν Εὐμένου[ς] | Διονυσίου καὶ Ἰουλ. Δουβασσίωνο[ς] | κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ψήφισμα.
>
> The *demos* and the *boule* and the people and the Roman who live (in Apameia) honored Proclus Manneius Ruso, son of Publius, of the Romilia tribe, a good and generous man, because of his ancestors' and his own incomparable benefactions toward the homeland. He fostered the city in many difficult circumstances, he served on embassies to the Augusti concerning important matters, and he was successful in gaining favors from the high priests. On behalf of the city, he acted in a manner that was advantageous for the people on every occasion and increased the revenues of the people. Those working on Thermaia Street have set up the statue under the care of Dionysios and Julius Doubassion and in accordance with the decree of the city.[74]

[73] IGRR 4.818 (Hierapolis, 2C CE).

[74] IGRR 4.791; translation adapted from Harland, *Greco-Roman Associations: Texts, Translations, and Commentary. II, North Coast of the Black Sea, Asia Minor*, 159–161. On the date: Thomas Drew-Bear and A. Ivanchik, "Honneurs à Apamée pour Proclus Manneius Ruso," in *Kelainai-Apameia Kibotos: développement urbain*

Akmoneia provides an unusual example of this phenomenon which dates to 6/7 CE:

> [- - - - - - - - - γυ]|ναῖκες Ἑλληνί|δες τε καὶ Ῥωμαῖ|αι ἐτείμησαν Τα|τίαν Μηνοκρίτου |τὴν καὶ Τρυφῶσαν, γυναῖκα δὲ Μηνο|δότου Μενελάου | τοῦ καὶ Σίλλωνος, | τὴν ἀρχιέρηαν, εὐ| ν. εργέτιν ἐμ παν|τὶ καιρῷ γενηθεῖ|σαν αὐτῶν, πάσ|ης ἀρετῆς ἕνε|κεν. vac. | τὴν ἐπιμέληαν | ποιησαμένου Κρά|τητος Μηνοκρίτου | τοῦ καὶ Μενελάου καὶ | Ποπλίου Πετρω|νίου Ἐπιγένους καὶ Μηνοκρίτου | Ἀγαθοκλέως. | ἔτουςν.αν.Ϙ΄
>
> … the wives, both Greek and Roman, honored Tatia, daughter of Menokritos, also called Tryphosa, wife of Menodotos, son of Menelaos, also called Sillon, the high-priestess, having acted as their benefactor in all circumstances for the sake of all her virtue. The following were responsible: Krates, son of Menokritos, also called Menelaos, and Publius Petronius Epigenes, and Menokritos, son of Agathokles. Year 91.[75]

Thonemann suggests that this particular inscription is extraordinary because it shows a corporate body of women presenting themselves as active political agents by making a public dedication to a priestess instead of limiting their benefactions to banquets, which were more typical of women in this period.[76]

The repetitive quality of joint dedications in some contexts offers further insights. The following set of dedications represents three of seventeen separate instances in which the association of Roman citizens at Kibyra joined up with local institutions to present crowns or other honors between the first century BCE and CE:

> ὁ δῆμος ἐτεί|μησεν Γῆν Νεάρχου | χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ καὶ | εἰκόνι χρυσῇ. || οἱ πραγματευόμενοι | ἐν Κι<βύ>ρᾳ Ῥωμ<αῖ>οι ἐτεί|μησαν Γῆν Νεάρχου | χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ καὶ | εἰκόνι χρυσῇ. | vac. || ὁ δῆμος ἐτεί|μησεν Μελέαγρον | Μελεάγρου | χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ καὶ | εἰκόνι χρυσῇ. || οἱ πραγματευόμε|νοι Ῥωμαῖοι ἐν Κ|βύρᾳ ἐτείμησαν | Μελέαγρον Μελε|άγρου χρυσῷ στε||φάνῳ καὶ εἰκόνι | vac. χρυσῇ. Vac
>
> The people honored Ges, son of Nearchos, with a gold crown and a gold image. The Romans engaged in business in Kibyra honored Ge son of Nearchos with a gold crown and a gold image. The people honored Meleager son of Meleager with a gold crown and

dans le contexte anatolien: actes du colloque international, Munich, 2-4 avril 2009, ed. Lâtife Summerer, Askold Ivantchik, and Alexander von Kienlin (Bordeaux: Ausonius, 2011), 287.

[75] Ballance Archive no. 1955/109; translation and commentary: Thonemann, "The Women of Akmoneia."

[76] Ibid., 175.

> a gold image. The Romans engaged in business in Kibyra honored Meleager son of Meleager with a gold crown and a gold image.[77]
>
> ὁ δ[ῆ]μος καὶ οἱ πρ|[α]γματευόμενο[ι ἐν]|ταῦθα Ῥω{ι}μαῖοι {Ῥωμαῖοι} ἐτείμη|σαν Πα̣νκράτην Καλλικλέ||ους χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ κα̣[ὶ] | ε̣ἰκόνι χρυσῇ̣, ζ̣[ή]σαντα̣ | vac. ε̣ὐτά̣κτως. vac.
>
> The People and the Romans engaged in business here honored Pankrates son of Kallikles, who lived a well-disciplined life, with a gold crown and a gold image.[78]
>
> ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ πραγμα|τευόμενοι ἐνταῦθα | Ῥωμαῖοι ἐτείμησαν | χρυ<σ>ῷ στεφάνῳ Τατ||ειν Διογένους, φύσ|ει δὲ Ζωσᾶ, μνή|μης ἕνεκα.
>
> The people and the Romans engaged in business here honored Tatis, daughter of Diogenes, by blood daughter of Zosias, as a memorial.[79]

The inscriptions from Kibyra present an image of an association of Roman citizens firmly embedded in the city's civic landscape as a powerful entity.

These examples offer a strong impression that associations of Roman citizens had gained prominence in many cities in the East by the second century CE. That impression is strengthened by evidence that implicates them in communications with the emperor through embassies. The following example from Assos records an instance in which the city's association of Roman citizens made a joint decree with the local *boule* and *demos* to send the city's "foremost Romans and Greeks" to Rome to congratulate the new emperor Gaius. It concludes with an oath of loyalty:

> ἐπὶ ὑπάτων Γναίου Ἀκερρωνίου | Πρόκλου καὶ Γαΐου Ποντίου Πετρω|νίου Νιγρίνου | ψήφισμα Ἀσσίων γνώμηι τοῦ δήμου || ἐπεὶ ἡ κατ᾽ εὐχὴν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐλπισθεῖσα Γαΐου | Καίσαρος Γερμανικοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἡγεμονία κατήνγελται, | οὐδὲν δὲ μέτρον χαρᾶς εὕρηκε ὁ κόσμος, πᾶσα δὲ πόλις | καὶ πᾶν ἔθνος ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ὄψιν ἔσπευκεν, ὡς ἂν τοῦ | ἡδίστου ἀνθρώποις αἰῶνος νῦν ἐνεστῶτος, || ἔδοξεν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τοῖς πραγματευομένοις παρ᾽ ἡμῖν | Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τῶι δήμωι τῶι Ἀσσίων κατασταθῆναι

[77] IK Kibyra 49; translation: P. Harland, "Honors by Roman Businessmen for Ge and Meleager (I BCE-I CE) ‖ Kibyra - Lycia," Database, *Associations in the Greco-Roman World: A Companion to the Sourcebook*, accessed September 13, 2015, http://www.philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/?p=9663.
[78] IK Kibyra 51; translation: P. Harland, "Funerary Honors by Roman Businessmen for Kallikles (I BCE-I CE) ‖ Kibyra - Lycia," Database, *Associations in the Greco-Roman World: A Companion to the Sourcebook*, accessed September 13, 2015, http://www.philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/?p=9695.
[79] IK Kibyra 52.

πρεσ|βείαν ἐκ τῶν πρώτων καὶ ἀρίστων Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Ἑλλή|νων τὴν ἐντευξομένην καὶ συνησθησομένην αὐτῶι, | δεηθησομένην τε ἔχειν διὰ μνήμης καὶ κηδεμονίας || τὴν πόλιν, καθὼς καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς Γερμανικοῦ | ἐπιβὰς πρώτως τῆι ἐπαρχείαι τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως | ὑπέσχετο· | ὅρκος Ἀσσίων | ὄμνυμεν Δία Σωτῆρα καὶ θεὸν Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν καὶ τὴν || πάτριον ἁγνὴν Παρθένον εὐνοήσειν Γαΐωι Καίσαρι Σεβασ|τῶι καὶ τῶι σύμπαντι οἴκωι αὐτοῦ, καὶ φίλους τε κρίνειν, | οὓς ἂν αὐτὸς προαιρῆται, καὶ ἐχθρούς, οὓς ἂν αὐτὸς προβά|ληται· εὐορκοῦσιν μὲν ἡμῖν εὖ εἴη, ἐφιορκοῦσιν δὲ τὰ ἐναν|τία· || πρεσβευταὶ ἐπηνγείλαντο ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων | Γάϊος Οὐάριος Γαΐου υἱὸς Οὐολτινία Κάστος | Ἑρμοφάνης Ζωΐλου | Κτῆτος Πισιστράτου | Αἰσχρίων Καλ<λ>ιφάνους || Ἀρτεμίδωρος Φιλομούσου | οἵτινες καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Γαΐου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ | σωτηρίας εὐξάμενοι Διὶ Καπιτωλίωι ἔθυσαν τῶι τῆς πόλε|ως ὀνόματι.

During the consulships of Gnaius Acerronius Proclus and Gaius Pontius Petronius Nigrinus, decree of the Assians on the resolution of the People: Since the announcement of the rule of Gaius Caesar Germanicus Augustus, which all men had hoped and prayed for, the cosmos has found no way of measuring its joy, and every city and each people has been eager regarding the appearance of the god, as if the happiest age of men had now begun. It was resolved by the *demos*, the Romans engaged in business among us, and the *demos* of Assos to arrange an embassy consisting of the foremost, virtuous Romans and Greeks to visit him and express joy, and to beg him to remember and care for the city, just as he also promised our city on his first visit to the province with his father Germanicus.

Oath of the Assians: We swear to Zeus Soter, god Caesar Augustus, the ancestral holy maiden to have good will towards Gaius Caesar Augustus and his whole household and to consider as friends whoever he may choose as friends and to consider as enemies whoever he attacks. If they swear truly may it go well for us, but if they swear falsely the opposite will happen. Ambassadors from among them were announced: Gaius Varius Castus, son of Gaius, of the Voltinia tribe, Hermophanes son of Zoilos, Ktetos Pisistratos, Aischrion son of Kalliphanes, Artemidoros son of Philomousos, namely those praying to Capitoline Zeus on behalf of the salvation of Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, sacrificed in the name of the city.[80]

From Tralles comes a fragmentary Hadrianic inscription that suggests the city's association of Roman citizens was in direct communication with the emperor:

[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) Traia]nus Hadrianus I[—] | [—]a Trallibus consisten[tes —] | [—]ntinianum leg[—] | [—ne] quid desiderar[ent —]…

The Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian…to the association of Roman citizens (?) dwelling at Tralles…whatever they desired…[81]

[80] IMT SuedlTroas 573; translation adapted from Harland, *Greco-Roman Associations: Texts, Translations, and Commentary. II, North Coast of the Black Sea, Asia Minor*, 77–78.
[81] CIL 3, 444.

The phrase *Trallibus consisten* likely refers to an association of Roman citizens in Tralles, which other inscriptions call οἱ ἐν Τράλλεσι κατοικοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι, οἱ ἐν Τράλλεσι, and Ῥωμαῖοι. As we know, the terms *consistentes* and κατοικοῦντες correlate with each other.[82] Another indication is its Latin text. Whereas other epigraphic records of the association are Greek and consequently befit their local context, the contrasting language of *ITrall* 19 suggests its special relevance for the city's Roman population.[83]

There is no evidence for the involvement of associations of Roman citizens with embassies or ambassadors before the first century BCE.[84] This is consistent with the growing importance of sending embassies to the emperor after the Republic's demise and the continuation of the social and political changes that preceded it.[85] Foreign cities, especially in the east, had been in the habit of sending embassies to the Senate at Rome long before the conclusion of the Roman civil wars, likely because it seemed to be the primary entity in the Roman governing apparatus.[86] Embassies from provincial and allied communities also addressed themselves

[82] For example: ITralles 100; ITrall 93; ITralles 94.
[83] Terpstra, *Trading Communities in the Roman World: A Micro-Economic and Institutional Perspective*, 201–202.
[84] According to Marcian, the duty of conducting an embassy passed from one city council member to another in the order in which they had joined the council, though there could be exceptions to this procedure based on the particular demands of the embassy. The city's *demos* could be involved in the selection process, too. Though burdensome, Plutarch observed that by conducting embassies, individuals had a chance to garner civic distinction in an era with few opportunities for it. Individuals who conducted embassies were honored on account of the physical demands of the act, not to mention the fact that social pressure urged them to conduct the embassy at their own expense. This was the case for Quintus Pomponius Flaccus of Laodikea, though, as Terpstra observes, curiously not true for Proclus Manneius Ruso. Terpstra, *Trading Communities in the Roman World: A Micro-Economic and Institutional Perspective*, 205. On the procedures of selecting ambassadors: *Dig*. 50.7.5.6 (Marcian. third century CE); Philostratus *Or*. 45.3; Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World*, 385. On the burdens that embassies imposed: Plut. *Mor*. 602 C; 805 A; Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World*, 384-385.
[85] Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World*, 456–463.
[86] This perception was not wholly accurate. It was not just the Senate that was concerned with making decisions in relation to foreign affairs: generals were often decision makers in this regard, too. Polyb. 6.13.7-8; Arthur M. Eckstein, *Senate and General: Individual Decision-Making and Roman Foreign Relations, 264-194 B.C.* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1987); Millar, "Government and Diplomacy in the Roman Empire During the First Three Centuries," 348. On the Republican Senate in particular: Marianne Bonnefond-Coudry, *Le sénat de la république romaine: de la guerre d'Hannibal à Auguste: pratiques délibératives et prise de décision* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1989).

directly to individual Roman commanders in the field.[87] After the Battle of Actium, communities became aware that authority in the Mediterranean now rested in the hands of one person. Consequently, even though embassies continued to appear before the Senare, their number decreased in the Augustan era as they began to turn in the direction of the emperor, wherever he was.[88]

The amount of evidence for embassies suggests that their dispatch to the emperor became a vital feature of life in the empire's eastern cities.[89] Cities in the east sent so many embassies that emperors began to limit them in order to reduce the expenses they caused their initiators and, presumably, to make room for other tasks in their own schedules. Tiberius delayed the reception of embassies to discourage cities from sending them. Vespasian issued an edict stating embassies should contain no more than three members, presumably to lower the financial burden they placed on the members and cities alike. Pliny terminated Byzantium's annual embassy for similar reasons.[90]

Through embassies, cities and provinces expressed congratulations, condolences, expressed loyalty, and asked for rulings on local legal disputes. They also sought privileges like tax exemptions and freedom from visits from the provincial governor.[91] The accession of a new emperor was a particularly important event, since it motivated cities to send embassies that congratulated the new emperor and attempted to renew preexisting privileges.[92] The dedication

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[87] Millar, "Government and Diplomacy in the Roman Empire During the First Three Centuries," 354.
[88] Richard J.A. Talbert, *The Senate of Imperial Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 425–430; Millar, "State and Subject: The Impact of Monarchy"; Millar, "Government and Diplomacy in the Roman Empire During the First Three Centuries," 349, 366–367.
[89] Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World*, 385; Gabriele Ziethen, *Gesandte vor Kaiser und Senat: Studien zum römischen Gesandschaftswesen zwischen 30 v. Chr. und 117 n. Chr.* (St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercaturae Verlag, 1994), 195–263.
[90] Jos. *Ant.* 18.6.5; *Dig*. 50.7.5.6 (Marcian., second century C.E).; Plin. *Ep*. 10.43; W. Williams, "Antoninus Pius and the Control of Provincial Assemblies," *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 16 (1967): 470–83.
[91] Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World*, 411–412.
[92] Ibid., 353–354.

to Gaius above reveals this anxiety in the lines that precede the oath of Assians by recording that the Romans and Greeks who formed the embassy appealed to him to remember the kindness he and his father had once paid the city.

The relative success of associations of Roman citizens in the pursuit of prestige and influence is difficult to gauge if we seek a diachronic picture. But their involvement in issuing decrees and initiating embassies suggests that they became genuinely influential. Cities and provincial assemblies were the most common initiators of embassies. Voluntary associations typically were not, and the exceptions we know concern associations of athletes, performers, and the Judaeans.[93] As Harland warns, we should not extrapolate too much from epigraphic silence on this matter.[94] But that does not mean we can ignore the involvement of associations of Roman citizens in the embassy-related activities of Asian cities. The associations are involved in the processes by which Greek cities tried to form and shape their relationships with the emperor; as a result, they had the potential to impact those relationships.

Associations of Roman citizens were also decision-makers in their local communities. The phrase πανδήμου ἐκκλησίας suggests that the Roman and Greek authors of the decree that produced it had formed a joint assembly to do so. Similarly worded inscriptions indicate that statues of Manneius Ruso were installed all over Apameia. The base of each bears an inscription which reproduced the original decree and lists the names of those who paid for the base.[95] It is evident that the association in Apameia had succeeded in positioning themselves as separate from other private associations in the city: it was a group on par with the city's governing institutions. The same dedication suggests that the influence of associations shaped relations

[93] Jews: Jos. *Ant. Jud.* 16.172-173; Philo, *Embassy to Gaius*; Harland, *Greco-Roman Associations: Texts, Translations, and Commentary. II, North Coast of the Black Sea, Asia Minor*, 163–165.
[94] Ibid.
[95] For texts and analysis: Drew-Bear and Ivanchik, "Honneurs à Apamée pour Proclus Manneius Ruso."

between Asian cities in the first and second centuries CE. Drew-Bear and Ivantchik take up an interpretation proposed by Louis Robert by suggesting that the inscription celebrates his procurement of authorization from Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus for Apameia's priests of the imperial cult to organize gladiatorial games at their own expense.[96] Such high profile events could raise a city's status among other cities in the province. Associations of Roman citizens seem to have been participants in that process.[97]

The Ruso dedication also suggests the local dominance that associations of Roman citizens could gain over other associations. The dedication to Proclus Manneius Ruso is distinctive because civic decrees that required certain associations in the local community to put up monuments are infrequently attested in Asia.[98] It could be that the Thermaia Street association at Apameia volunteered itself to be a participant among the associations that responded to the decree of the Romans, *boule*, and *demos*.[99] The Thermaia Street groups seem to have been subordinate to the association of Roman citizens whose decree they were following. If they

[96] By contrast, Doublet and Bérard argued that the priests in the inscription are priests of the provincial cult, and Ramsay, who assumed that the money was for the construction of a temple for the provincial cult. However, strong evidence for these hypotheses has yet to emerge. As Drew-Bear and Ivantchik point out, since the embassy came from the city, it is likelier that it concerned the city's local cult: embassies that lobbied for temples of the provincial cult usually came from the provincial assembly or the various leagues of Asia Minor. Moreover, Apameia is not recorded in any sources as a neokorate city. On the inscription: G. Doublet and V. Bérard, "Inscriptions de Dinair," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, no. 17 (1893): 315; L. Robert, *Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec* (Paris: E. Champion, 1940), 276–277; Drew-Bear and Ivanchik, "Honneurs à Apamée pour Proclus Manneius Ruso," 288–289. On neokorate cities: Barbara Burrell, *Neokoroi: Greek Cities and Roman Emperors* (Boston: Brill, 2004); Friesen, *Twice Neokoros: Ephesus, Asia, and the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family*.

[97] Drew-Bear and Ivantchik argue that the victory was all the more special because emperors of this era preferred that local benefactors fund the construction of new buildings, rather than events, presumably because cities in the East have been thought to have relied heavily on local benefactors to fund the construction of new buildings or repair preexisting structures. But Greek cities of the empire probably did not rely on the benefactions of wealthy locals as heavily as has been thought: such benefactions were likely to have been sporadic and random at best. On the association at Apameia: Drew-Bear and Ivanchik, "Honneurs à Apamée pour Proclus Manneius Ruso," 289. On benefactions by associations in the east: A. Zuiderhoek, *The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire: Citizens, Elites and Benefactors in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 37–52.

[98] Harland, *Greco-Roman Associations: Texts, Translations, and Commentary. II, North Coast of the Black Sea, Asia Minor*, 163–165.

[99] Ibid.

volunteered themselves as respondents to the decree, perhaps they were trying to piggyback on the prestige of the Romans.

It is also possible that the influence of associations of Roman citizens positively impacted the influence of individual Roman citizens or vice versa. A causal relationship in either direction is difficult to prove, but we can detect a positive correlation at Apameia, where the influence of individual Romans was mirrored by the influence of their association. Under Claudius, Romans in Apameia held all five posts in the city's civic archon-college. Four were expatriates from the Italian peninsula, and all five are likely to have been members of the city's well attested association:

> Δῆμον τὸν Ἀπαμέων| καθιέρωσαν| Λεύκιος Μουνάτιος Λευ|κίου υἱὸ<ς> Καμιλία Τέρτιο[ς] | Λεύκιος Ἀτίλιος Λευκίου | υἱὸς Παλατίνα Πρόκλος, | Πόπλιος Καρουίλιος Μάρκου | υἱὸς Κολλίνα Πωλλίων, | Μᾶρκος Οὐίκκιος Μάρκου υἱὸς | Τηρητίνα Ῥοῦφος, | Μᾶρκος Πόρκιος Ὀνησιμίων, | ἄρξαντες ἐν τῷ λ′ καὶ ρ′ ἔτι {ἔτει} Ῥω|μαῖοι πρώτως, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων | ἀνέστησαν.
>
> Lucius Munatius Tertius, son of Lucius, of the Camilia tribe, Lucius Atilius Proclus son of Lucius of the Palatina tribe, Publius Carulius Pollion son of Marcus of the Collina tribe, Marcus Viccius Rufus son of Marcus of the Teretina tribe, and Marcus Porcius Onesimon dedicated this (statue of) the people of Apameia, having held office in the 130th year as Romans for the first time, and they erected it from their private resources.[100]

From Neronian Akmoneia, the city with a patron at Rome in the republic and whose female Greek and Roman populations honored a local priestess, comes evidence for a Marcus Iunus Lupus, a Roman who served as *dogmatographos* once and *archon* twice.[101]

The evidence above shows the associations participating in broad-based, public acts of cooperation. Moreover, it presents them as entities on par with local civic institutions like the

[100] MAMA 6 List 146,104; IGR 4.792; Thonemann, "The Women of Akmoneia." The duties of incumbents remain unclear: Terpstra, *Trading Communities in the Roman World: A Micro-Economic and Institutional Perspective*, 203.
[101] Μᾶρκος Ἰούνιος Μάρκου Σαβατείνα Λοῦπος δογματογραφῶ, AE 2006, 1427.7, 16–17; Μᾶρκος Ἰούνιος Μάρκου Σαβατείνα Λοῦπος ἄρχων τὸ β΄ ἰσηνγέλαμεν, AE 2006, 1426.26–7; Ballance archive n. 1956/61; Thonemann, "The Women of Akmoneia,"170.

boule and *demos*, which suggests that the associations were among the local community's governing bodies. This was undoubtedly because these associations were marked by their members' possession of Roman citizenship. As the dedication by Dionysodoros of Preizos suggests, this made the associations desirable objects of benefactions for those who wished to express real or desired relationships with Rome and emperor. As the first century BCE dedication by the association on Kos suggests, the associations chose to represent themselves that way, too. The Ruso dedication suggests that influence could help their competitive bids to have more influence than other associations in their local communities.[102]

Associations of Roman citizens and local communities certainly wished to present a face of broad-based cooperation. This is especially evident in the embassy from Assos to Gaius, which consisted of both Romans and Greeks. It could have been organized this way to represent the city's two constituencies as separate, yet capable of forming a whole that was sufficiently united to speak to the emperor with one voice. To some extent, we can interpret the near absence of evidence for Roman patrons of Greek cities from the first century onward as a sign that cities ceased to have the kind of troubles with their local Roman populations that would merit a patron's intervention. Moreover, Rome had become more consistent about holding officials accountable for malfeasance. Even so, we should avoid uncritically accepting the picture of harmony that joint decrees and dedications suggest. It is possible that there were tensions between locals and the Roman citizens who represented a long history of abuse by tax-collecting ancestors, not to the mention the Roman army. As Chapter One noted, Romans could be targets of local violence in the Greek East in the imperial period. Cassius Dio reports that locals

[102] For an example of this competition between other kinds of voluntary associations: P. Harland, "Spheres of Contention, Claims of Preeminence: Rivalries among Associations in Sardis and Smyrna," in *Religious Competition and Coexistence in Sardis and Smyrna*, ed. Richard S. Ascough (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2005), 53–63.

crucified Roman students and tourists in Rhodes and assaulted Romans in Lycia during Claudius' reign.[103] Perhaps public demonstrations of cooperation were meant to assuage concerns about tensions that never made it into the public record.

PHRYGIA

As Terpstra, Thonemann, and others have observed, associations of Roman citizens appear to have enjoyed an unusually prominent role in the civic life of cities in Phrygia.[104] This role is epitomized in joint dedications like the following example from Akmoneia:

> [ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος] | κ[α]ὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντ[ες Ῥω]||μαῖοι ἐτείμησαν | Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Θεμισ|ταγόρου [υἱ]ὸν Κυρείνα Ἀσ||κληπι[άδη]ν, υἱὸ[ν] τῆς πόλ[ε]||ως, [ἄνδρα(?) ἐκ πρ]ο[γ]όν[ων ε]ὐε[ργε]||τηκό[τ]α τήν τε πόλι[ν καὶ] | [τ]ὸν δῆμον, π[ρ]ε[σβε]ύ[σαντα(?)] | [πρὸς τὸν Σεβαστόν — — —].
>
> The council, the people, and the Romans honoured Tiberius Claudius Asklepiades son of Themistagoros of the Quirina tribe, son of the city, descending from ancestors who have been benefactors of the city and the people, ambassador . . . to Augustus(?)…[105]

By contrast, associations of Roman citizens do not seem to have enjoyed such prominence in coastal Asia. Their influence in Phrygia was likely rooted in the region's social context when they began to arrive in the second century BCE. As Thonemann has argued, Phrygian communities were, at this time, in the process of establishing civic institutions modeled on those of coastal cities like Ephesos.[106] They expressed their identities in a variety of ways through these civic institutions.[107] One was the minting of bronze coinages in their own name in the latter half of the first century BCE.[108] They also began to memorialize civic processes with Greek

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[103] Rhodes: Cass. Dio 60.24.4; Lycia: Cass. Dio 60.17.3.
[104] Terpstra (2013): 171-222; Thonemann (2011): 1-129; Thonemann (2010): 169-178.
[105] CIG 3874 = IGRR 4.632; translation: P. Harland, "Honors By Roman Settlers for a Roman (undated) ‖ Akmoneia Area [Ahat] - Phrygia," *Associations in the Greco-Roman World: A Companion to the Sourcebook*, accessed September 13, 2015, http://www.philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/?p=5821.
[106] Thonemann, *Roman Phrygia: Culture and Society*, 29.
[107] Ibid., 16.
[108] This practice was novel: no such coinages were minted in Phrygia before the second century BCE. By the middle of the first century BCE, about twenty Phrygian communities were producing more or less regular issues of bronze

inscriptions on stone.[109] As Thonemann argues, the motivation to effect these changes must have been rooted in the perception that establishing these institutions could produce economic advantages theretofore unseen and not yet experienced. These changes were first fueled by the Macedonian conquests and subsequently by Rome's exploitation of human and material resources in the region, which had been incorporated into the province of Asia between 122 and 116 BCE.[110]

By adopting these civic institutions when they did, Phrygian cities may have created situation that enabled immigrants from Italy to establish themselves in local networks in a way that permitted the long-term success of their activities in associations. Recalling Foner's "social contexts" of receiving societies, we might posit that this success was facilitated by the willingness of towns like Apameia and Akmoneia to include Romans in their political constitutions as a way to join the broader imperial discourse with Rome that cities like Ephesos already maintained.[111] These immigrants may have also contributed to some of the civic procedures that Phrygian communities were developing. Thonemann notes that the presence of Roman and Italian immigrants coincides with the emergence of the epigraphic habit in the region.[112] Furthermore, the influence of Romans and Italians in the region could have been strengthened by their early involvement in the nascent economic systems of Phrygian

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and brass coinage. Apart from Apameia, none of these towns had struck coins at any earlier date. From the mid 2C BCE onwards, Attalid and then provincial cistophoric tetradrachms were struck at Apameia, Laodikea and possibly a few other small central Phrygian cities. *Cistophoroi* were minted at Synnada at some point in the 1C BCE Ibid., 28.

[109] Thonemann observes that by the early Roman Imperial period, many Phrygian towns were regularly installing honorific monuments that took the distinctive Hellenistic form of bronze and marble statues placed on inscribed cylindrical or rectangular bases. Ibid., 28–30.

[110] Ibid., 16.

[111] Foner, "West Indians in New York City and London: A Comparative Analysis," 124.

[112] As Thonemann observes, many of the earliest extant inscriptions from Phrygian cities concern the activities of these Roman and Italian businessmen. The first extant public inscription from Prymnessos is the bilingual dedication to Lucius Arruntius Scribonianus by the *demos* and local association of Roman citizens. IGRR IV 675; Thonemann, *Roman Phrygia: Culture and Society*, 29-30.

communities and role in tax collection. The wealth they derived in Asia, not to mention the eventual conversion of cities like Apameia to assize centers, would have provided additional resources and incentives for maintaining influential positions in Asian cities.

The dynamics of relationships between Romans and non-Romans in Phrygian cities was likely to have varied. Akmoneia is a case in point. As I noted above, it possessed a patron at Rome as early as the late first century BCE and was the site of an unusual dedication by the Greek and Roman women. Thonemann suggests that Livia, the wife of Augustus, inspired the the behavior of Akmoneia's Greek and Roman women.[113] As the family of Augustus came to possess an increasingly important role in the Roman state, the empress came to enjoy a prominent public role that included benefactions on behalf of the women at Rome. The new conceptualization of women that she presented could have trickled down to provincial cities and had a strong impression on those like Akmoneia, which had already invested effort into maintaining contacts at Rome.[114] Perhaps the wives of Akmoneia decided it was time to emulate their husbands' associations and collectively honor one of their own.[115]

Even so, we must consider the fact that we have lost evidence for similar behavior among Greek and Roman women in Asia, given van Bremen's broader arguments about benefaction in the Greek East in the Roman period. She argues that the Augustan conceptualization of the identity of benefactors as being inextricable from their family groups contributed to the growing proclivity of elites to present themselves as members of families or part of an elite group of

[113] Thonemann, "The Women of Akmoneia," 177–178.
[114] Another example of this trickle-down could be the minting of a coin by a female magistrate at Eumeneia in southern Phrygia. Thonemann (2010): 177-178.
[115] Thonemann, "The Women of Akmoneia," 177.

families. This, in turn, placed new pressures on women in regard to seeking priesthoods and other honors in their civic communities.[116]

As embedded as Romans appear to be in the local communities of the east, they also found ways to differentiate themselves from their non-Roman neighbors. We can infer some of these strategies from the tomb of Marcus Iunus Lupus, who served as *dogmatographos* and *archon* at Akmoneia:

> *hed.* V(ivi) *fed.* | *L Aelius I f Fab Ve|nustus Tyrrani|ae Veneriae uxo|ri suae et sibi [[et]]* | *[[M Iuni]] et M Iuni|us M f Sab Lupus* | *Aeliae L f Marc|cellae uxori hed.* | *suae et sibi.*
>
> While still living, L(ucius) Aelius Venustus, the son of Lucius, of the Fabia tribe, for his wife, Tyrannia Veneria, and himself; a Marcus Iunius Lupus, son of Marcus, of the Sabatina tribe, for his wife, Aelia Marcella, daughter of Lucius, and himself.[117]

Though Iunius Lupus worked alongside non-Roman Akmoneians in a city that seems to have welcomed Romans, he married the daughter of another Roman, Tyrannia Veneria, daughter of L. Aelius Venustus. His epitaph, whose words he had prescribed before his death, is the only monolingual Latin inscription to have been found for Akmoneia so far.[118] Its use of Latin, rather than Greek or the combination of Latin and Greek that is typical of the Akmoneian epigraphic dossier, emphasizes his concern to emphasize his Roman identity.[119]

IV. Conclusion

ASSOCIATIONS OF ROMAN CITIZENS IN GREECE AND ASIA

[116] These pressures would have been controlled, ultimately, by their families and particular the men in their lives. As van Bremen notes, "The great paradox is rather than the apparent increase in female civic office-holding, and a multiplication of civic honours for women was accompanied by a loss in citizen-status and a public image that emphasize, above all, the familial aspects of womanhood." Riet van Bremen, *The Limits of Participation: Women and Civic Life in the Greek East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 1996), 114–193, 296–300.
[117] Ballance archive n. 1956/61; translation: Thonemann, "The Women of Akmoneia," 165.
[118] Thonemann, "The Women of Akmoneia," 170.
[119] Ibid.

This chapter examined the evidence for associations of Roman citizens in the Greek East by investigating the role of associations of Roman citizens in local networks of honorific exchange. I argued that Greek elite patronage of associations of Roman citizens mirrored the behavior of Greeks who were wealthy enough to render services to the Roman state or Roman officials and consequently acquire Roman citizenship. Though making benefactions to associations of Roman citizens probably did not lead to Roman citizenship, it set up the associations as representative of Rome. In this way, local elites expressed their relationships to Rome and acquire local influence and the associations benefited from enhanced prestige and influence.

The chapter also examined whether cities with associations of Roman citizens also tended to adopt Roman patrons. The evidence indicates that it was not uncommon for cities with associations of Roman citizens to have maintained a Roman patron at some point in their past, though a causal relationship between the two remains elusive. However, if Eilers is right to suggest that problematic associations of Roman citizens were the reason cities adopted Roman patrons in the Late Hellenistic, then our evidence potentially charts the evolution of tense local relations to interactions of broad based cooperation.

I also investigated the participation of associations of Roman citizens in the diplomatic activities of Greek cities. Their involvement in sending embassies to the emperor and honoring Roman ambassadors to the emperor suggests an active role in shaping relations between local communities and the emperor and, in turn, their influence. This influence is underscored by their relatively superior position to other local associations in cities like Apameia, and their implication in prominent kin groups. It also correlated with the influence of individual Romans, like Marcus Iunius Lupus at Akmoneia.

Through their links to Rome, evidence for associations of Roman citizens in Asia and Greece sheds light on how diasporas can contribute to the colonial agendas of their homelands while acquiring influence in contexts in they lacked a direct line back home. In this way, the behavior of associations of Roman citizens is consistent with what we know of other ancient voluntary associations. It calls to mind associations of actors, or Dionysian *technitai*, of the Hellenistic period. These associations formed a multi-branch network that spanned Egypt, Teos, Athens, and the Peloponnese. The branch at Teos maintained its own court, enjoyed a unique form of citizenship in the city, and even issued coinage. It eventually quarreled with the city, evidently over competing claims to festival revenues. Eumenes II of Pergamon intervened with the recommendation that the parties merge via a *synoikismos*. Mergers of this kind were typical of towns, but the king's suggestion implies that the differences between the city-state and the *technitai* could be negligible in certain circumstances.[120]

ASSOCIATIONS OF ROMAN CITIZENS IN THE EAST AND WEST

Evidence for associations of Roman citizens in Gaul, Africa, Moesia Inferior, Greece, and Asia indicates that local and regional dynamics placed before associations of Roman citizens cultural expressions that they could selectively adopt, modify, or reject. These dynamics varied from region to region, even city to city. As a result, associations of Roman citizens exhibited broad diversity at the local level. This is also true of their interactions with non-Romans, which suggest structural similarities across contexts, but which came into being in a variety of ways. At

[120] Lorber and Hoover suggest dating the coin to 155-154 B.C.E,. C.C. Lorber and O.D. Hoover, "An Unpublished Tetradrachm Issued by the Artists of Dionysos," *The Numismatic Chronicle* 163 (2003): 58–68, pl. 15–17. For an overview and bibliography for the Tean associations: B. Le Guen, *Les associations de technites dionysiaques à l'époque hellénistique*, 2 vols. (Nancy: Association pour la diffusion de la recherche sur l'antiquité, 2001); S. Aneziri, *Die Vereine Der Dionysischen Techniten Im Kontext Der Hellenistischen Gesellschaft. Untersuchungen Zur Geschichte, Organization Und Wirkung Der Hellenistischen Technitenvereine* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2003).

Masculula, for example, these interactions may have motivated non-Romans to form associations like those of their Roman neighbors. Similarly, the Roman and Italian migrants to the East may have imported Roman practices of patronage that Greek cities came to employ to address the problems the migrants caused. Sometimes, the Roman associations became implicated in preexisting local practice, such as the dispatch of embassies to the emperor.

Though our evidence is uneven, it highlights how associations of Roman citizens used religious practice and political involvement to establish cohesion and networks among different populations. The discrepancies we discern across contexts are consistent with the experience of early modern and contemporary diasporas that are fractured by geography. The linguistic characteristics of the corpora from the east and west offer one example of this phenomenon. In the second century BCE, dedications by associations of Roman citizens in Greece and Asia are in Latin, Greek, or both. Towards the early first century CE, however, the dedications are made exclusively in Greek. The inscription from Cnidos indicates that Romans went so far as to adopt the local dialect for inscriptions. This shift suggests that as far as memorializing inscriptions was concerned, associations of Roman citizens in Asia utilized the language of the local community to assimilate themselves to the culture of the context in which they sought to operate. This practice was consistent with the internal use of Greek within and between eastern communities, as well as the declining use of Latin in Roman colonies in Asia.[121] By contrast, dedications from Africa, Gaul, and Moesia Inferior are exclusively Latinate.

The varying role of cult in interactions between associations of Roman citizens and non-Romans also raises important, even unexpected observations. Chapter Three identified cult as the

[121] On the use of Greek in and between Greek cities: Bruno Rochette, "Greek and Latin Bilingualism," in *A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language*, ed. E. Bakker (Chichester and Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 289. On the decline of Latin in Roman colonies in Asia: Levick, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor*, 130–162.

focal point of interaction between associations of Roman citizens and non-Romans in Moesia Inferior. In this regard, the nature of interaction between associations of Roman citizens and non-Romans in Moesia Inferior contrasts starkly with the corpus of inscriptions from Asia and Greece. From nearly three hundred epigraphic attestations to associations of Roman citizens in the east and outside of Delos, less than twenty indicate religious worship, in or outside the company of non-Romans. This is surprising in light of Asia's relationship with the imperial cult, since Octavian established the imperial cult there and it later developed the tradition of the neokorate city.

We may consider the presentation of gold crowns by associations of Roman citizens in Asia in the same vein. The tradition was inherited from the Hellenistic period, when eastern cities granted them to victorious kings and eventually Roman generals. It spread westward as early as the Augustan period, after which emperors became frequent recipients.[122] Its absence from epigraphic records that concern associations of Roman citizens outside of Asia could reflect its relatively greater importance within Asia, though as Eck warns, this could simply reflect the fact that "the epigraphic culture of the west and the east is substantially different." Moreover, we should consider patterns in the reuse of inscribed material in the Middle Ages and beyond. For

[122] Crowns were usually presented via embassy. Examples from the west: the colonies and municipalities of Italy offered Augustus gold crowns upon his triple triumph in 29 BCE, and Gallia Comata and Hispania Citerior presented Claudius crowns after his invasion of Britannia in 43: *RG* 21.3; Dio 51.21.4; Pliny *NH* 33.16, 54. On the practice of presenting individuals with gold crowns: T. Klauser, "Aurum Coronarium," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, römisches Abteilung* 59 (1944): 129–53; Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World*, 140–142; E. Bickerman, "Consecratio," in *Le culte des souverains dans l'empire romain*, ed. Willem den Boer (Geneva: Fondation Hardt, 1973), 111–112. On the process of voting someone a crown in the Hellenistic era: P. Gauthier, *Les Cités Grecques et Leurs Bienfaiteurs* (Athens: École française d'Athènes, 1985), 112–117; A. Scafuro, "The Crowning of Amphiaros," in *Greek History and Epigraphy: Essays in Honour of P.J. Rhodes*, ed. Lynette Mitchell and Lene Rubinstein (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2009), 59–86.

example, imperial letters in the west were usually engraved on bronze, which has tended not to survive its reuse in subsequent periods.[123]

Even so, our evidence suggests that associations of Roman citizens attempted to advance themselves by adopting preexisting models of cultural practice. We probably do not see associations of Roman citizens involved in embassies from western cities since the latter appear not to have taken up the practice of sending them to the emperor as enthusiastically as cities in the east.[124] In addition, we acquire some sense of why associations of Roman citizens seem to dedicate to prominent, wealthy Greeks who did not possess Roman citizenship than they do to wealthy locals in Spain or Gaul: by retaining local rights, these Greeks resisted (consciously or not) the encroachment of their political power by the associations.

[123] Werner Eck, "Diplomacy as Part of the Administrative Process in the Roman Empire," in *Diplomats and Diplomacy in the Roman World*, ed. C.F. Eilers (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 198–199.
[124] Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World*, 418, 433; Millar, "Government and Diplomacy in the Roman Empire During the First Three Centuries," 354.

EMPIRE AND DIASPORA: A CONCLUSION

Over the course of this dissertation, I examined evidence for the organization, function and membership of associations of Roman citizens in a range of geographic and chronological contexts with a focus on their interactions with non-Roman individuals and cities. In Chapter One, I argued they were the product of voluntary initiative from at least the second century BCE. Romans abroad likely formed them to secure their safety in potentially hostile non-Roman environments, in part because Rome was not always in a position to assist them when required. Associations also attempted to grow their influence in host cities, facilitated members' business goals, and enabled members to construct and express a Roman identity. To meet these goals, they employed strategies that included the communal practice of cult and forms of socialization that established trust among members.

Chapter One also examined how associations of Roman citizens used cult to express their Roman identity. Paradoxical as it seems, while non-Roman provincials worshiped the emperor too, associations of Roman citizens may have viewed their practice of the imperial cult as representative of a different, special relationship with the emperor. By nearly always focusing on the emperor rather than other deities or members of the imperial family, it would seem they aimed to assert their special place in the Roman world by virtue of their juridical status.

In Chapter Two, I examined the activities of associations of Roman citizens in the West during the final decades of the Late Republic. Literary sources represent the primary evidentiary regime for this period, and they reveal that some associations of Roman citizens became entwined in the governance of their host cities and sometimes played definitive roles in their foreign policy decisions. The chapter also argues that despite the influence they could enjoy in

this period, we cannot link them directly to changes in status that their local communities underwent in the years leading up to Actium despite a scholarly willingness to do so.

Chapters Three and Four examined epigraphic material from the imperial period to assess the structure, organization, and membership of associations of Roman citizens in the Gauls, Africa Proconsularis, Moesia Inferior, Greece, and Asia. I suggested that in Gaul, and likely elsewhere in the empire, the associations did not reproduce wider patterns of social differentiation in regard to individuals of servile descent: inscriptions indicate that such individuals could hold prominent positions within them. Through membership in these associations, people with servile backgrounds may have been able to augment their wealth and social capital in their local communities. In Asia, associations of Roman citizens emerge as important players in civic exchanges of honor and privilege through their involvement with embassies. In addition, they may have been involved in malfeasances of Roman officials and tax collectors. Such ties may may have motivated Asian cities to adopt Roman patrons as a strategy for self-protection, though a direct link between the associations and the adoption of Roman patrons by Greek cities remains wanting.

The value of a cross-contextual study of associations of Roman citizens is multifold. It reveals how local factors produced variations in cultural and religious practice among members of the Roman diaspora who formed minority populations in non-Roman contexts. In many cities, associations of Roman citizens seem to have successfully carved a place for themselves in local political systems while maintaining a public identity as Romans through different combinations of cult, honorific exchange, and ambassadorial activity.

Such a study highlights what Michael Dietler has termed the "unintended consequences" of empire. In his study of ancient Mediterranean France, Dietler examines interactions (or

"entanglements") between distinct cultural groups, especially those that involved the consumption of foreign goods, produced long-term social and political change. Dietler is particularly interested in how the conditions of interaction led to unplanned yet transformative outcomes.[1] For example, the site-specific importance of imported objects, rites, and forms of organization can be perceived in all manner of colonial contexts. This is true of the ancient world. Dietler points to the range of significance that the wine drinking ritual known as the *convivium* or *symposion* bore in the ancient Mediterranean. The Greek version was a modified form of Near Eastern feasting practices; the Etruscans and Romans adopted it in turn. The differences that characterized the Greek, Etruscan, and Roman versions are meaningful, since they reflect conscious and unconscious reactions to how each of these peoples viewed each other.[2] Likewise, we saw variation in the practice of cult by associations of Roman citizens in different parts of the empire, which tended to focus on the imperial cult regardless of their location or the period of time. Emperor worship seems to have taken on a particular significance for Roman traders in Moesia Inferior, perhaps because of their proximity to Roman legionary and auxiliary camps.

Another outcome is the penchant for those whom we might term as colonizers and colonized to adopt each other's cultural practices and forms of organization. Evidence for associations of Roman citizens conforms to this expectation: their presence in the African interior may have motivated the formation of similarly organized groups among non-Romans. Likewise, Roman and Italian immigrants in the Greek East in the second and first centuries BCE may have imported Roman forms of patronage that Greek cities elected to adopt. But cultural

[1] Dietler, *Archaeologies of Colonialism: Consumption, Entanglement, and Violence in Ancient Mediterranean France*, 74; 336–344.
[2] Ibid., 64.

exchange was two-way. At Mactar, for example, some association members may have buried their dead according to local, non-Roman customs. At Thespiae, the desire of the local association to have its own gymnastic facilities may have been only partly rooted in the influence and visibility that such a facility could produce. Such a building would grant these Romans a chance to participate in activities of great cultural importance in the Greek East.

Privilege remains paramount throughout our evidence, and it is for this reason that that Stoler concludes her analysis of colonial Sumatra in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with a warning to avoid rigid distinctions between categories like "colonizers" and "colonized":

> [My discussion] points to a major problem with accounts that speak of *the* British in Malaya or *the* Dutch in the East Indies. It forces our attention to internal differences peculiar to each of these European colonial communities and to their idiosyncratic membership requirements. Something as apparently basic as who could legally be deemed a European differed across the colonial context, revealing discrepant and *changing* criteria by which racial superiority and attendant European privilege were assigned… The distinctions which set the colonized apart from the colonizer are further complicated when we look at the movement of "Europeans" from one colonial context to another. In British-ruled Malaya in the 1930s, for instance, those designating themselves European outnumbered those who were considered part of the colonizing community proper. The sons and daughters of mixed marriages in Indochina and the Netherlands Indies – persons often regard as part of the native populations in their home countries – listed themselves as French, Dutch, or Portuguese when resident outside the colonies from which they came. Such shifting and arbitrary definitions should make us wary of taking "Europeans" and "colonizers" as synonymous categories.[3]

Romans in the provinces formed associations that were distinctive from other kinds of voluntary associations on account of their connection to Rome. This connection rendered them simultaneously vulnerable and privileged, which ultimately blurred the boundaries between them and non-Romans. The Romans – the so-called colonizers – were by no means all-powerful. Juridical status technically ensured the presence of distinctions between Romans and non-

[3] Stoler, "Rethinking Colonial Categories: European Communities and the Boundaries of Rule," 153–154.

Romans in respect to privilege and power. In practice, privilege was under constant negotiation. In the second century BCE and beyond, the status of Romans abroad rendered them vulnerable to dangerous degrees of local resentment. This state of affairs likely motivated the formation of associations by Romans living in non-Roman towns: through such groupings, they negotiated with local governing bodies to protect their business interests and physical safety. Likewise, the ongoing involvement of associations of Roman citizens in local networks of honorific exchange in Asia during the first and second centuries CE suggests an ongoing need to negotiate and claim influence, even among populations at peace with Roman domination. The willingness of non-Romans – that is, the colonized – to brook attempts by associations of Roman citizens to garner influence and privilege suggests that they viewed interactions with the Romans as opportunities for negotiating privileges for themselves. Ultimately, associations of Roman citizens offer insight into the complexity of colonial situations and their implications for cultural change, identity, and mobility in antiquity and beyond.

In stressing the importance of local variables to gaining a clearer picture of how diaspora communities operate, the analytical framework of this dissertation ultimately resists the broad theorizing that such studies typically undertake. As a result, we can account for the diversity of the Roman diaspora's lived experience and that of other diaspora populations. It also makes a contribution to the study of the history of metropolitan diasporas: its heuristic value lays in the light it can shed on the complex factors that differentiate the subpopulations of other diaspora communities, ancient or modern. At the same time, this project's insistence on particularism does, admittedly, leave some questions unanswered. Were associations of Roman citizens early forms of the assize districts that took on the name *conventus* or διοίκησις, for example? Terpstra's *Trading Communities in the Roman World* implicitly raises this question by arguing

that associations of foreigners in Roman Italy formed as a way to enforce Roman legal practice between business partners.[4] Currently, we lack the evidence to posit a direct link between voluntarily formed associations and the administrative units known as *conventus* or διοίκησις. In fact, many assize centers have yet to yield evidence for the presence of the associations. Yet the question tantalizes.

As I have noted, there are many cases in which we cannot clinch certain arguments without the discovery of inscriptions. We are not certain, for example, if associations of Roman citizens required members to pay fees, or the extent to which they were voluntary in any given context. Aside from evidence for the Three Gauls, we know little about how associations of Roman citizens were organized at the provincial level. Chapter Four suggested that associations of Roman citizens in Asia may have been headquartered at Ephesos, but the inscription from Rhodes prevents a firm conclusion.

As an epiphenomenon of Rome's growing political and cultural hegemony over the course of the Republic and Empire, associations of Roman citizens emerge clearly as sites of cross-cultural interaction with the potential to transform local power structures. They were both products and producers of colonial systems that gave way to overlapping phases of migration, displacement, and the reconfiguration of power balances. The story of associations of Roman citizens is the story of the Roman Empire writ small.

[4] Terpstra, *Trading Communities in the Roman World: A Micro-Economic and Institutional Perspective*.

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