

ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 68

VILLAE RUSTICAE

FAMILY AND MARKET-ORIENTED FARMS IN GREECE UNDER ROMAN RULE

Proceedings of an international congress held at Patrai, 23-24 April 2010

Edited by

A.D. RIZAKIS, I.P. TOURATSOGLU



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RURAL STRUCTURES AND AGRARIAN STRATEGIES IN GREECE UNDER THE ROMAN EMPIRE*

Athanasios Rizakis

The economy of Greece during the Roman domination was primarily a rural economy based essentially on cereal production complemented by viticulture and in some areas by oleiculture supported by husbandry which represents an exchange pole within the village economy and that of the urban market. The complementarities of cultures were determined not only by the imperatives of food economies but also by the norms imposed by fiscal necessities. A large number of middle-scale and mostly small farms excavated in different parts of Greece prove that traditional forms of rural settlement and of land exploitation continued during this period. The lack of economic specialization was certainly the situation in the majority of these cases but it doesn't mean that there aren't changes at all in the domain of land's propriety and wealth. Changes in the rural landscape and agrarian strategies are clearly visible in many areas, especially in the context of Roman colonies where the arrival of Roman colonists led to the remodelling of spatial organization responding to the needs of the new circumstances but also into the context of some privileged large traditional urban centres; in both cases beside traditional practices, other strategies were applied and evidence is mainly for intensive cultivation as well as for a kind of specialization, both connected with the diffusion of a new model of space organisation and cultural strategy, *i.e.* the *villa rustica* which appears in the Greek landscape from the end of the first century onwards. The principal goal of these new rural structures is not subsistence farming but rather production of agricultural surplus products that are marketable and produce a profit. As any kind of this surplus was transferred from the peasantry of the countryside to wealthy absentee landowners the gap which separated town and country, city dwellers and peasants was further widened.

Land property, land division and agrarian strategies in Greece under the Romans

The economy of Greece during the Roman domination, in spite of its sophistication in some respects, was predominantly a rural economy based essentially on cereal production complemented by viticulture and in some areas by oleiculture supported by transhumant husbandry which along with stable husbandry represent an exchange pole within the village economy and that of the urban market or of the regional markets, whose products were predestined for the former. The complementarity of cultures was determined not only by the imperatives of food economies but also by fiscal necessities¹. The first requirement for an economy is to provide enough subsistence for its population to survive², an aim which is not always achieved. Solutions adopted by cities in times of crisis, especially following grain shortages, varied according to time and place. In some special cases (*e.g.* during festivals) cities introduced fixed prices and frequently popular assemblies or magistrates (*e.g.* *agoranomoi*) tried to convince rich proprietors to lower the price of grain or even to sell it at a loss³. In spite of the effort to rationalize rural strategies and practices urban centres did not completely solve the problem of securing food and goods provision. Food shortages were not a rare phenomenon in the Greek world even for areas with fertile lands⁴.

* I would like to warmly thank John Bintliff, Eeva-Maria Viitanen for their remarks, Ruth Gounelas for translating, Daphne Dimitriadou for revising my english and M. Aymard for the bibliography cited in the n. 116. Any remaining shortcomings are my responsibility alone.

1. See O. KARAGIORGOU, *Urbanism and Economy in Late Antique Thessaly (3rd-7th century A.D.)*. *The Archaeological Evidence*, Unpublished PhD, Christ Church and Institute of Archaeology, Oxford 2001, p. 168.
2. In its simplest form subsistence may be equated with the calories necessary for the survival of an average person, see details in N. MORLEY, "The Early Roman Empire: distribution", in W. SCHEIDEL, I. MORRIS, R. SALLER (eds), *The Cambridge economic history of the Greco-roman world*, Cambridge 2007, p. 570-591, espec. p. 597-600.
3. See D. RATHBONE, "The Grain Trade and Grain Shortages in the Hellenistic East", in P. GARNSEY, K. HOPKINS, C.R. WHITTAKER (eds), *Trade and famine in classical antiquity*, Cambridge 1983, p. 45-55; P. GARNSEY, *Famine and food supply in the Graeco-roman world: responses to risk and crisis*, Cambridge 1988. T.W. GALLANT, *Risk and Survival in Ancient Greece. Reconstructing the Rural Domestic Economy*, Cambridge 1991. For grain production, see M.-Cl. AMOURETTI, *Les céréales dans l'antiquité: espèces, monture et conservation. Liaisons et interférences dans la Grèce classique*, Paris 1979.
4. See M.H. JAMESON, "Famine in the Greek world", in GARNSEY, HOPKINS, WHITTAKER, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 3) p. 6-16; GALLANT, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 3); GARNSEY, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 3); A. ZUIDERHOEK, *The politics of munificence in the Roman Empire: citizens, elites, and benefactors in Asia Minor*, Cambridge/New York 2007, p. 159-180.

A. Rizakis

The concept of the “subsistence crisis” recurs with an unimaginable regularity in the ancient world, where famine or food shortages were common facts. As investments in land, technology and structural changes of production and commercialization were extremely feeble and the threats to the food supply were permanent especially for some large cities⁵. Even in rich areas, as Thessaly, traditionally associated with wheat produce, farmers were helpless during climatologically bad years⁶. The crisis became greater when the land was concentrated in the hands of the local aristocracy which led to various social rebellions and demands for land distribution⁷, especially during the 3rd-2nd c. BC, for example, the revolutionary agrarian reforms in Sparta by King Cleomenes III and later by Nabis, but also in Boeotia⁸.

It seems that the rural situation becomes worse from the beginning of the 2nd century BC owing to warfare and the disruptive political influence of Rome⁹. Furthermore Roman conquest and rule in Greece (since 146 BC) definitely provoked instability and some desperate revolts, firstly at Dyme (in old Achaia), in 145/144 BC, and two generations later in Athens and other places that certainly had economic and social causes¹⁰. In any event, Rome’s involvement in

5. GARNSEY, HOPKINS, WHITTAKER, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 3); GARNSEY, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 3).
6. See KARAGIORGOU, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 1). For the various ecological constraints or threats of the Greek agriculture, see A. BRESSON, *L'économie de la Grèce des cités (fin VI^e-I^{er} siècle a.C.)*. I. *Les structures de la production*, Paris 2007, p. 42, 165-169.
7. On the social conflicts of this period see J. BRISCOE : “Rome and the class-struggle in the Greek states 200-146 B.C.”, *Past and Present* 36 (1967), p. 3-20 (= in M. FINLEY [ed.], *Studies in Ancient society*, London 1976, p. 53-73); E. WILL, “Le monde hellénistique”, in E. WILL, Cl. MOSSÉ, P. GOUKOWSKY (eds), *Le monde grec et l’Orient*, Paris 1975, p. 337-645, espec. p. 554-565; G.E.M. DE STE CROIX, *The class-struggle in the Ancient Greek world*, London 1981, p. 518-21, 523-29. A. FUKS, *Social conflict in ancient Greece*, Leiden 1984, p. 40-51 [= “Social revolution in Dyme in 116-114 B.C.”], *Scripta Hieros* 23 (1972), p. 21-27]; S.E. ALCOCK, *Graecia Capta: The Landscapes of Roman Greece*, Cambridge 1993, p. 72-73 and n. 51 and G. MARASCO, *Economia, commerci e politica nel Mediterraneo fra il III e il II secolo a.C.*, Firenze 1988, p. 112, n. 24 with further references on this question.
8. For the social problems and the reforms in Sparta, see P. OLIVA, *Sparta and her social problems*, Prague 1971; on disastrous economic and social situation in Boeotia, see Polyb. 20.6, 1-6; cf. M. FEYEL, *Polybe et l’histoire de Béotie au III^e siècle avant notre ère*, Paris 1942, p. 281; also D. HENNIG, “Der Bericht des Polybios über Boiotien und die Lage von Orchomenos in der 2. Hfte des 3. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.”, *Chiron* 7 (1977), p. 119-148; F.W. WALBANK, *A historical commentary on Polybius*, Oxford 1979, p. 72-73; MARASCO, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 7), p. 111 and particularly L. MIGEOTTE, “Endettement des cités béotiennes autour des années 200 av.J.-C.”, in J. FOSSEY, A. SCHACHTER (eds), *La Béotie antique. Actes du II^e Congrès international sur la Béotie antique, Montréal, Québec 2-4 novembre 1973*, *Teiresias Suppl.* 2 (1979), p. 103-109.
9. This situation had very bad consequences for agricultural production, food supplies and commerce, see MARASCO, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 7), p. 112-123.
10. For the political and social aspects of the revolt of Dyme, see J.A.O. LARSEN, “Roman Greece”, in T. FRANK, *An economic survey of Ancient Rome* IV, New York 1938 (reprint 1975), p. 261-498, espec. p. 307-311; M.I. ROSTOVITZEFF, *The social and economic history of the Roman Empire*, Oxford, rev. ed. by P.M. FRASER, Oxford 1957 (first edition 1926), p. 757 and n. 25; STE CROIX,

Greece was not followed, during the first half of the second century, by any major change in land property and it is generally admitted that before the Corinth's destruction there is nothing to show that the conqueror kept a title to any estates belonging to private individuals¹¹. There are certainly some exceptions: the earliest change in this domain came as a result of the Achaean war (146 B.C.) when all the land of Corinth (Zonaras 9, 31) was confiscated, most of it handed over to Sikyon (Strab. VIII, C381) and the rest was still *ager publicus* in 63 B.C. (Cicer. 1, 5; 2, 51). On the other hand, the only private property confiscated was that of the Achaean leaders, Diaios and his supporters (Pol. 39, 4). Confiscations as a result of Roman military victories reached their peak in the first c. B.C. and Sulla is a notorious violator of established territorial rights¹².

It appears that the impact of these isolated interventions was limited; written sources and material evidence generally show, though not with much precision, that during the late Hellenistic period (until 44 BC to be exact) no massive alienation of land into foreign hands observed in other provinces occurs in Achaia¹³. Land property, land division and agrarian strategies did not witness major changes in the Greek countryside in the first generations after Rome's conquest. Some scholars¹⁴ identify three periods and three ways in which the Roman conquest affected the rural landscapes of the provinces of Achaia and Macedonia. During the first period, from the end of the Second Macedonian war to the sack of Corinth (197-146 BC), Romans were primarily concerned with arbitrations in territorial conflicts and occasionally with reassignment of territories¹⁵. In the second period (146-48 BC), they were more actively engaged in the redistribution of land whereas in the third, under Caesar and Augustus, a policy of colonization resulting in confiscations and expropriations was applied in large areas, such as the Ionian coast, the Corinthian gulf and along the Via Egnatia in Macedonia.

op. cit. (supra, n. 7), p. 307, 344-345, 525 and 611 n. 14; FUKS, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 7); J.-L. FERRARY, *Philhellénisme et impérialisme: aspects idéologiques de la conquête romaine du monde hellénistique, de la seconde guerre de Macédoine à la guerre contre Mithridate*, Rome 1988, p. 190-199; R. KALLET-MARX, *Hegemony to Empire: The development of the Roman imperium in the East from 148 to 62 B.C.*, Berkeley 1995, p. 72-82. On Attica, it is known that two generations later a slave revolt in Laureion provoked the suspension of the mining activity: Ath. 6, 272ef; cf. J. DAY, *An economic history of Athens under the Roman domination*, New York 1942, p. 156-158; K.R. BRADLEY, *Slavery and rebellion in the Roman world 140 B.C.-70 B.C.*, Bloomington/Indianapolis/London 1989.

11. On the other hand there are records showing that such land were released: Chyretiae: *Syll.*³, 593, ll. 8-10 and 13-17 (196/4 BC).-Delphoi: D. ROUSSEL, "Delphes et l'Amphictionie après la guerre d'Aitolie", *BCH* 56 (1932), p. 1-36; G. DAUX, *Delphes aux II^e et au I^{er} siècles depuis l'abaissement de l'Étolie jusqu'à la paix romaine, 191-31 avant J.-C.*, Paris 1936, p. 225-233; LARSEN, *loc. cit.* (supra, n. 10), p. 311-312 (194 BC.). The instability of land ownership resulted, according to Alcock (ALCOCK, *op. cit.* [supra, n. 3], p. 76) from the human losses during the battles but also from the proscriptions of men who opposed the Roman policy. A good example, cited by Alcock, is Thisbe in Boeotia: *IG VII*, 2225 (170 BC.) = R.K. SHERK, *Roman documents from the Greek East. Senatus consulta and epistulae to the age of Augustus*, Baltimore 1969, p. 211-213 no 33; cf. L. ROBERT, *Études épigraphiques*, Paris 1938, p. 287-292. On this question see also D. ASHERI, *Distribuzioni di terre nell'Antica Grecia*, Torino 1966, p. 43-60.
12. Sulla offered to the Cappadocian Archelaus two thousand acres of confiscated land on the island of Euboea, see Plut. *Sulla* 23, 2.
13. See S. ALCOCK, "Roman imperialism in the Greek landscape" *JRA* 2 (1989), p. 5-54, espec. p. 8.
14. See P.N. DOUKELLIS, S. ZOUMBAKI, "De Flamininus aux Antonins. Conquête et aménagements de l'espace extra-urbain en Achaïe et Macédoine", *DHA* 21.2 (1995), p. 205-228.
15. See F. CAMIA, *Roma e le poleis. L'intervento di Roma nelle controversie territoriali tra le comunità greche di Grecia e d'Asia Minore nel secondo secolo a.C.: le testimonianze epigrafiche*, *Tripodes* 10, Atene 2009.

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The arrival of Roman colonists led to the remodelling of spatial organization responding to the needs of the new situation. The new rural structures were adapted to Roman models and required confiscation and redistribution of land holding, which radically changed the previous economic and social structures¹⁶. Slow changes in land property are also known in reference to free or peregrine cities; the only violent one was that of the seizure by Domitian of the estates of Hipparchus, grandfather of Herodes Atticus at the end of the first century AD¹⁷. In general, occasions for leasing or acquiring land, by small groups or individuals, were offered now by cities which were demographically and economically exhausted. Local elite families but also wealthy Greek landowners of neighbouring cities and Roman and Italian 'immigrants' chose to invest on land, already from the 1st c. BC¹⁸. The acquisition of land was made possible

16. See A.D. RIZAKIS, "Les colonies romaines des côtes occidentales grecques. Populations et territoires", *DHA* 22.1 (1996), p. 255-324; P.N. DOUKELLIS, "Pour une approche des cadastres romains en Grèce: remarques rétrospectives", in K. ASCANI *et al.* (eds.), *Ancient History Matters, Studies presented to Jens Erik Skydsgaard on his seventieth birthday*, Rome 2002, p. 101-116; A.D. RIZAKIS, "Expropriations et confiscations des terres dans le cadre de la colonisation romaine en Achaïe et en Macédoine", in A. BERTRAND et Y. RIVIÈRE (eds.), *Expropriations et confiscations en Italie et dans les provinces (République-Haut Empire)*, Actes du colloque de Rome, 6-7 juin 2011, Collection de l'École française de Rome (under press1).
17. See Suet., *Vesp.*, 13, 3: "Quid ad Caesarem, si Hipparchus sestertium milies habet?" Philostr. *Vitae Sophistarum* 2, 547. F.F. ABBOT, A.C. JOHNSON, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire*, Princeton 1926, p. 412-413 consider that the confiscated Hipparchus's land by Domitian formed an imperial estate within the territory of Attica despite the fact that Athens was in possession of the status of a *civitas foederata et libera*. Pleket (H.W. PLEKET, "Domitian, the Senate and the Provinces", *Mnemosyne Suppl.* IV, 14 (1961), p. 296-315, espec. p. 305-306) sees noble intentions in Domitian's decision to confiscate Hipparchus's great estates that were destroying the small farmers in Attica; he suggests that the Emperor sold off to poor farmers small plots thus breaking up the *latifundia*. According to him, the owners of these lands were still receiving financial protection in Hadrian's time because his oil law specified that the owners of the Hipparchus-estates had to deliver only one-eighth of the oil crop to the state while the other oil-farmers one-third of it; cf. J. TOBIN, "Herodes Atticos and the city of Athens. Patronage and conflict under the Antonines", *ΑΡΧΑΙΑ ΕΛΛΑΣ* 4 (1997), p. 16, who believes that this is a plausible hypothesis. On this confiscation, see also P. GRAINDOR, *Un Milliardaire Antique: Hérode Atticus et sa famille*, Le Caire 1930, p. 14; DAY, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 10), p. 242; W. AMELING, *Herodes Atticus, I, Biographie*, Hildesheim 1983, p. 18; J.H. OLIVER, *The ruling power: A study of the Roman Empire in the second century after Christ through the Roman oration of Aelius Aristides*, Philadelphia 1953, p. 960-963; *id.*, *The Civic Tradition and Roman Athens*, Baltimore 1983, p. 102; ALCOCK, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 3), p. 74 n. 54.
18. For investments on land by Greek aristocrats during the Empire outside of the civic limits (in Peloponnesus), see A.D. RIZAKIS, "Supra-civic landowning and supra-civic euergetic activities of urban elites in the Imperial Peloponnese", in Chr. GALLOU (ed.), *Being Peloponnesian. Cohesion and diversity through time, International conference, University of Nottingham, 31 march-1 april 2007*, electronic version published in http://www.nottingham.ac.uk/csps/events/pelo09_abstracts.php. University of Nottingham, 2009, chap. six, p. 1-15. The Roman or Italian immigrants investing in land are presented in our sources as ἐγκρατῆμενοι or ἐνγαλιούντες Πρωμαῖοι and belong to the local *conventus civium Romanorum*.

thanks to the privileges of the ἔγκτησις and, in some cases, the πολιτεία, which was granted more easily by the cities¹⁹. Otherwise, leases of land for exploitation in form of grazing and cultivation are attested in Methana and Megalopolis but also in Messene²⁰. The possibility to both own and exploit land outside the civic limits was now less difficult than in the past and what we observe is precisely the extension of interaction to include specific economic rights. Such liberality shows a new type of contacts and of an economically-based cultural interaction between individuals from different regions²¹.

Regional and intra-regional variation in landowning is obvious in many areas although the evidence on this point is extremely poor. In fact, concentration of land into the hands of the local aristocrats is rooted in the late Classical and Hellenistic era²² when the Aristotelian principle (*Oecon.* 11.66, 26), based on the small and medium-sized property, was gradually abandoned. This trend becomes more obvious in Athens where from the middle of the second century BC many *nouveaux riches* were incorporated in the local aristocracy²³. This phenomenon of land accumulation was

On land estates, belonging to Romans, see ALCOCK, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 3), p. 73-78; Chr. HOËT-VAN CAUWENBERGHE, “Onomastique et diffusion de la citoyenneté romaine en Arcadie”, in A. RIZAKIS (ed.), *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East, Proceedings of the International Colloquium, Athens 7-9 september 1993*, MEAETHMATA 21, Athens 1996, p. 207-214, espec. p. 207-208 and 211; A.D. RIZAKIS, “Grands domaines et petite propriété dans le Péloponnèse sous l’Empire”, in *Du latifundium au latifundo. Un héritage de Rome, une création médiévale ou moderne? Actes de la Table ronde internationale du CNRS, Bordeaux 17-19 décembre 1992*, Paris 1995, p. 229-238; S. ZOUMBAKI, “Ρωμαῖοι ἐνγαιοῦντες, Römische Grundbesitzer in Eleia”, *Tyche* 9 (1994), p. 213-218; S. ZOUMBAKI, “Die Niederlassung römischer Geschäftsleute in der Peloponnes”, *Τεχνήριον* 4 (1998/1999), p. 112-176; *ead.*, “The presence of Italiote Greeks and Romans in Aetolia, Acarnania and the adjacent islands from the 3rd c. BC to the beginning of the Imperial Age”, in G. DE SENSI SESTITO, M. INTRIERI (eds), *Sulla rotta per la Sicilia: L’Epiro, Corcira e l’Occidente*, Venezia 2011, p. 523-538 and *ead.*, in this volume. p. 56-77; P. THEMELIS, “The economy and society of Messenia under Roman rule”, in A.D. RIZAKIS, Cl. LEPENIOTI (eds), *Roman Peloponnese III. Society, Economy and Culture in the Imperial Roman Order: Continuity and Innovation*, MEAETHMATA 63, Athens 2010, p. 89-110, espec. p. 99-100.

19. For the privilege of ἔγκτησις, see J. PECIRKA, *The Formula for the Grant of ‘enktesis’ in Attic Inscriptions*, Prague 1966; there are many examples of this grant in Peloponnese (see *IG* IV, 853 [Methana]; V.1, 936 [Kythera]; *loc. cit.*, 976, 1227 and 1146 [Laconia] as well as of that of proxenia) and in other areas of the province of Achaia (see ZOUMBAKI, in this volume. p.56-77). The grant of *politeia* was now easier than before (cf. A. HELLER, A.-V. PONS, *Patrie d’origine et patries électives: les citoyennetés multiples dans le monde grec d’époque romaine. Actes du colloque international de Tours, 6-7 novembre 2009*, Paris/Bordeaux 2012, p. 19 and especially B. PUECH, “Derniers affichages de l’octroi de droit de cité à l’époque impériale”, in HELLER, PONS, *op. cit.* (*supra*), p. 195-212) and some cities sold it to the foreigners: see L. ROBERT, “Sur un dicton relatif à Phasélis. La vente du droit de cité”, *Ἑλληνικά* I (1940), p. 37-42.
20. See *infra* p. 36 and n. 63
21. Cf. St. HODKINSON, “Animal husbandry in the Greek polis”, in C.R. WHITTAKER (ed.), *Pastoral economies in Classical Antiquity*, Cambridge 1988, p. 35-73, espec. p. 51-55 and particularly Stewart (D. STEWART, “Rural Peloponnese: continuity and change”, in RIZAKIS, LEPENIOTI, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 18], p. 217-232, espec. p. 226-228) who explains these changes.
22. The common goal of endeavor is repeatedly said to be «ἀῶξαι τὸν οἶκον», already from the Classical period: Xen., *Oecon.* I, 4, I, 16, 3, 15; II, 12, 21, 20; cf. J.K. DAVIES, “Classical Greece: production”, in SCHEIDEL, MORRIS, SALLER, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 2), p. 333-361, espec. p. 361 and n. 152.
23. See A.K. SCHILLER, “Multiple Gentile Affiliations and the Athenian Response to Roman Domination”, *Historia* 55 (2006), p. 264-284, espec. p. 264 (a little later according to DAY, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 10], p. 100). Old aristocracy was then displaced by men whose interests lay within the sphere of commerce and had probably earned their wealth in the aftermath of Rome’s grant of Delos to Athens (see SCHILLER, *supra*). This fact was one of the reasons of the social conflicts of this period and Stewart believes (STEWART, *loc. cit.* [*supra*, n. 21], p. 228-229) that the pressure

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reinforced during the late Hellenistic period and the Early Empire and it was probably facilitated by countryside's abandon²⁴. The four Athenian families, *i.e.* the Flavii of Paiania, Aelii of Phaleron, Claudii of Melite and Claudii of Marathon, who, according to Woloch²⁵, monopolized the political and religious offices, shared with Atticus a large proportion of the cultivated land in Attica. The case of Atticus in Athens is certainly an extreme illustration of this situation²⁶. In agreement on this point with Day, based on one inscription (register

among the civic elites to maintain their position contributed in the concentration of land ownership within fewer families (see R. OSBORNE, "Counting the cost. Comments on David K. Pettengrew, Chassing the classical farmstead", *JMA* 14.2 [December 2001], p. 212-216 and R. OSBORNE, "Price and prejudice. Sense and subsistence: exchange and society in the Greek city", in W. SCHEIDEL, S. VON REDEN [eds], *The Ancient economy*, Edinburg 2002, p. 114-132).

24. For this question see the texts from Messene (*IG* V.1, 1432, 1433, 1434; A. WILHELM, "Urkunden aus Messene", *JAÖI* 17 [1914], p. 1-120; the date is controversial, as the documents have been dated between 90 BC and 37 AD; see particularly L. MIGEOTTE, "L'organisation de l'*oktobolos eisphora* de Messène", in C. GRANDJEAN (ed.), *Le Péloponnèse d'Epameinondas à Hadrien. Colloque de Tours 6-7 octobre 2005*, Paris/Bordeaux 2008, p. 229-246; THEMELIS, *loc. cit.* [*supra*, n. 18], p. 93, n. 37) and the more indirect evidence coming from some other Peloponnesian towns (cf. P. BALADIÉ, *Le Péloponnèse de Strabon*, Paris 1980, p. 328-329, n. 181-184; RIZAKIS, *loc. cit.* [*supra*, n. 18], p. 229-238). More enigmatic but similar to Messenian documents is an Athenian one, dated between AD 130 and 140 (*IG* II², 1774; cf. P. GRAINDOR, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, Le Caire 1934, p. 184-191; DAY, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 10], p. 221-230; S.G. MILLER, "A Roman monument in the Athenian agora", *Hesperia* 41 [1972], p. 50-95). For large estates in Greece, see ALCOCK, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 7], p. 63-88; *ead.*, "The Eastern Mediterranean", in SCHEIDEL, MORRIS, SALLER [eds], *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 2], p. 671-697, espec. p. 678 and n. 20 [for other provinces]). A parallel situation is observed in Macedonia (M. HATZOPOULOS, "A list of sales from Mieza and the constitution of extensive landed properties in the central macedonian plain", *TEKMHPIA* 10 [2011], p. 47-69) and Asia Minor (S. MITCHELL, *Anatolia. Land, men and gods in Asia Minor*, vol. I. *The Celts in Anatolia and the impact of Roman rule*. Oxford 1993, p. 143-164; H.W. PLEKET, "Urban elites and the economy in the Greek cities of the Roman Empire", *MBAH* 3.1 [1984], p. 3-35; D.P. KEHOE, *Law and the rural economy in the Roman Empire*. Michigan 2007, p. 29-52) but unfortunately our knowledge on this point remains speculative because of the lack of evidence as well as our ignorance of the response of small landowners to changing circumstances (see ALCOCK, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 7], p. 78-80).
25. M. WOLLOCH, "Four leading families in Roman Athens", *Historia* 18 (1969), p. 503-510, espec. p. 506; see also ALCOCK, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 7), p. 18; C.L. GRAY, "The bearded rustic of Roman Attica", in R.M. ROSEN, I. SLUITER (eds), *City, Countryside, and the Spatial Organization of Value in Classical Antiquity*, Leiden/Boston 2006, p. 349-368.
26. Williams (H. WILLIAMS, *Athens without democracy: the oligarchy of Phocion and the tyranny of Demetrius of Phalerum, 322-307 B.C.*, Ann Harbor 1995, p. 94) defined the propertied class as an "urbanized oligarchy of wealth, leisure and culture". Atticus defined by Alcock (ALCOCK, *loc. cit.* [*supra*, n. 13], p. 32) as an "extravagantly atypical landlord" is an exception since he possessed big estates in many places in Attica (Philostr. VS 2, 562: Marathon and Kiphissia) and in other cities; cf. TOBIN, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 17), p. 241-271; J. RIFE, "The burial of Herodes Atticus: elite identity, urban society and public memory in Roman Greece", *JHS* 128 (2008), p. 92-127, espec. p. 94-96; D. D'ACO, *L'epigrafe IG II², 2776: proprietari, proprietà e sistemi insediativi dell'Attica tra l'età Adrianea e l'età Antonina*, Unpubl. PhD, Scuola archeologica italiana di Atene, Atene 2010, p. 78-81.

of landholdings)²⁷ MacMullen²⁸ correctly maintains that during the second century BC seventeen individuals owned fifty-eight properties in Attica and five of them owned thirty-one. This fact does not mean that the formation of large estates led to the abolition of the small and medium-sized properties. The above mentioned Athenian document along with other similar from Messene²⁹ attest to their survival; it also shows that landownership was fragmented and landowners possessed land and farms in different places, which reminds us of Jardé's successful formula, "we have great owners but small properties". This situation was not necessarily negative because it could help landowners to better exploit the different soils and thus diversifying the cultivations³⁰.

The principal means of transfer of wealth appear to have been inheritance and to a lesser extent marriage. Accumulation of wealth by other means, during the two first centuries, became fashionable not only for landowners, as it is evident, but also for traders, merchants and even for individuals of juridical inferior status such as the freedmen who often exploited the opportunities provided by profitable economic activities to accumulate wealth and reinvest it in land. Agriculture was socially respectable and frequently the means to improve one's social standing; in fact, there is an interrelation between sub-elite categories (lesser landowners, traders/merchants, freedmen) and investments in land³¹. Otherwise, land was considered a more secure investment especially when compared to the uncertainties of commerce. Unfortunately we completely ignore the land value which could indicate the value of the investments. Neither can we compare the land prices with the harvest amount which we ignore. In any case the investment on land does not seem to have as a consequence the complete monetisation³² of the economic relations in the context of big landholdings through the use of *main-d'oeuvre* of tenants, because the kind of cultures practiced in Greece requires mostly seasonal workers, who are usually itinerants and are paid in kind.

The impact of the Roman conquest in the type of cultivated crops is indeed poor³³. As it concerns culture practices Mediterranean triad and in fact diversification and intercropping seem to be common practices³⁴. There is no doubt that in this period farming as well as craft and commercial

27. *IG II²*, 2776 ; cf. D'ACO, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 26), p. 41 n. 159 and in this volume, p. 440-465.

28. DAY, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 10), p. 232 ff.; R. MACMULLEN, *Roman social relations, 50 B.C. to A.D. 284*, New Haven/London 1974, p. 5.

29. For the Messenian documents, see *infra* n. 24.

30. On this question, see D'ACO, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 26), p. 41.

31. See R.P. DUNCAN-JONES, *The economy of the Roman Empire: quantitative studies*, Cambridge 1974, p. 324. Within the category of *liberti*, a further subgroup consists in imperial freedmen (see G. FABRE, *Libertus: recherches sur les rapports patron-affranchi à la fin de la République romaine*. Rome 1981), *i.e.* those *liberti* who held functions in the imperial administration and whose privileged relationship with the imperial power put them in an advantageous position. Only poor peasants' households had little capital at their disposal to invest in land, see P. ERDKAMP, *The grain market in the Roman Empire: A social, political and economic study*, Cambridge 2005, p. 15-16.

32. For the monetisation of the Roman economy, see Chr. HOWEGO, "The supply and use of money in the Roman world, 299 B.C. to A.D. 300". *JRS* 82 (1992), p. 1-31; D.M. SCHAPPS, *The invention of coinage and the monetization of Ancient Greece*, Ann Arbor 2007.

33. BRESSON, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 6), p. 164-172.

34. For the Mediterranean triad, see F. BRAUDEL, *The Mediterranean and the world in the age of Philip II* (translated from French by Sian Reynolds), in 2 vol., Berkeley 1995, p. 236: "Everywhere can be found the same eternal trinity: wheat, olives, and vines, born of the climate and history; in other words an identical agricultural civilization,

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activities continue to be present in the Greek cities³⁵. The latter however, due to their different size, did not contribute in the same way to the local economy. Agriculture was the most important activity in most cities³⁶; nonetheless it experienced an undeniable decline that was due above all to two interdependent phenomena that characterize the first generations following the Roman conquest: the demographical crisis and the abandonment of land. Survey work³⁷ confirms this picture of slow change in the Greek landscape during the late Hellenistic and early imperial periods. In fact the increase in cultivated land observed in most of the Greek areas during the Classical and early Hellenistic period was gradually replaced by a less intensive exploitation during the late Hellenistic and early Imperial periods, as many rural settlements of the previous period were abandoned. Unfortunately we cannot estimate the surface area of cultivated land³⁸ and it is also extremely difficult to know the real causes of

identical ways of dominating the environment. The different regions of sea are not, therefore, complementary. They have the same granaries, wine-cellars and oil presses, the same tools, flocks, and often the same agrarian traditions and daily preoccupations"; cf. also C. RENFREW, *The Emergence of Civilisation: The Cyclades and the Aegean in the Third Millennium BC*, London 1972; P. GARNSEY, *Food and Society in Classical Antiquity*, Cambridge 1999, p. 13; D'ACO, *infra* p. 442, n. 6.

35. See M.H. JAMESON, "Agricultural labor in Ancient Greece", in B. WELLS (ed.), *Agriculture in Ancient Greece. Proceedings of the Seventh International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 16-17 May 1990*, Stockholm 1992, p. 135-146, espec. p. 135 n. 1 with rich bibliography and *infra* notes 92 and 127.
36. In fact, most of the wealth comes from this source: see A.H.M. JONES, *The Late Roman Empire 284-602*, Oxford 1963, p. 769; K.D. WHITE, *Roman Farming*, London 1970; M.I. FINLEY, *The Ancient economy*, London 1973; DUNCAN-JONES, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 31), p. 33 and n. 2.
37. On the different types of survey, the pros and cons of its methods, see A. SNODGRASS, "Survey archaeology and the rural landscape of the Greek city", in O. MURRAY, S. PRICE (eds), *The Greek city: from Homer to Alexander*, Oxford 1990, p. 113-136; ALCOCK, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 7), p. 33-37; *ead.*, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 24), p. 673 n. 5. A constructive criticism on the shortcomings of this method can be found in C. KOSSO, *The archaeology of public policy in late Roman Greece*, Oxford 2003, p. 33 Tab. 3; for another opinion, expressed in a more severe and partly unfair way, see J.-N. CORVISIER, "Le bilan des Land surveys pour la Grèce", *Pallas* 64 (2004), p. 15-33; D. ROUSSET, "La cité et son territoire dans la province d'Achaïe et la notion de "Grèce romaine"", *Annales HSS* (2004), p. 363-383. See also the nuances brought to this question by J. Bintliff (J. BINTLIFF, "Regional survey, demography and the rise of complex societies in the Ancient Aegean: core-periphery, neo-Malthusian and other interpretative models", *JFA* 24 [1997], p. 1-38; *id.*, "The Peloponnese in Hellenistic and Early Roman imperial times: the evidence from survey and wider Aegean context", in GRANDJEAN [ed.], *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 24), p. 21-31); *id.*, *The Complete Archaeology of Greece, from Hunter-Gatherers to the Twentieth Century AD.*, Oxford/New York, Blackwell-Wiley, 2012.
38. See WELLS, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 35), p. 10. The only information that we have about the total land holdings of the rich in classical Athens comes from an assessment for the *eisphora* in 388/387 BC, when the total capital value of the property assessed was 5 750 talents. It is possible that the 2000 richest Athenian citizens owned between one quarter and one third of the cultivable land in Attica (see J.K. DAVIES, *Wealth and the power of wealth in classical Athens*, New York 1981, p. 35 ff.; P. HARDING, *From the end of Peloponnesian war to the battle of Ipsus. Translated documents of Greece and Rome* 2, Cambridge 1985, p. 54-56; cf. R. OSBORNE, "Is it a

land abandonment in the Late Hellenistic period which is mostly responsible for the economic ruin of the cities. Certainly depopulation and apparent abandonment of land followed by agricultural recession could be due not only to traditional causes, but also to climatic changes, soil erosion or the lack of labour force and the small size of estates³⁹.

This situation was changed little by Roman emigrants (either isolated or grouped in *conventus*) who established land investing in some places in the Greek mainland and the islands, already since the Late Hellenistic period⁴⁰. It seems that demographic decline and rural crisis persisted in some areas, even during the Imperial era, by forced mass population transfers towards certain major urban centres (Patrai and Nicopolis are the most known examples)⁴¹ and the growing preference for nucleated residences which mostly marks the Early Imperial rather than the Hellenistic period⁴². Dio's description of Euboea (in the "Euboean Discourse"), at the end of the 1st century

farm? The definition of agricultural sites and settlement in Ancient Greece", in WELLS, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 35], p. 21-27, espec. p. 23-24). The total amount of cultivable land of Attica is estimated at between 35% and 50% of the total area of this region, but Athens represents a special case that cannot be generalised; see D'ACO, *infra*, p. 446-447 ns 27-32). A similar document from Messene, the famous *Octovolos eisphora*, permits the evaluation of the cultivable land of Messene during the late Hellenistic period (see *supra*, n. 24). Roman cadastres discovered in the territory of the Roman foundations (Dyme, Patrai, Nicopolis and Corinth) can offer a general idea but unfortunately no precision (see bibliography in A.D. RIZAKIS, "Town and country of the Greek cities during the early imperial period", in J. BINTLIFF [ed.], *Recent developments in the long-term Archaeology of Greece, Netherlands Institute at Athens, 13-15 December 2011, Pharos*, vol. XX [under press]).

39. Literary sources and modern scholars connect directly or indirectly the demographic and economic decline to the political context, namely the civil wars, the piracy, the exactions from Roman commanders (see H.A. ORMEROD, *Piracy in the ancient world: an essay in Mediterranean history*, London 1924, *passim*; ROSTOVITZ, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 10], p. 544 n. 7; P.A. BRUNT, *Italian manpower 225 BC-AD 14*, Oxford 1971, p. 455; RIZAKIS, *loc. cit.* [*supra*, n. 19]), or the lack of political freedom and Roman indifference for the misfortune of the Greek cities. For other explanations of these phenomena, see RIZAKIS, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 38). It seems that the findings' quantity and quality permits a better approach, as regards the case of Athens, see for example M.H. HANSEN *et alii*, "The demography of Attic demes. The evidence of sepulchral inscriptions", *AnalRom* 19 (1990), p. 25-44; C.L. GRAY, *Self-representation of the Milesioi on the sculpted gravestone of Roman Attica*, Ann Arbor 2003, p. 60; cf. D'ACO, *infra* p. 440-465.
40. See ZOUMBAKI, in this volume, p. 56-77
41. It is these or other population's transfers that give, according to Alcock (ALCOCK, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 7], p. 49) «the impression of a deserted and empty landscape»; land's abandon characterizes, in her view, mostly rocky and mountainous areas, while some fertile lands (*e.g.* Argolis) resisted better and continued to be cultivated and to attract people; on this point, see the interesting remarks of STEWART, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 21), p. 222-227.
42. On the urbanization during the Hellenistic period, see J.L. BINTLIFF, A.M. SNODGRASS, "The Cambridge/Bradford Boeotian Expedition: The First Four Years", *JFA* 12 (1985), p. 123-161, espec. p. 145; M.D. CAMPANILE, "La vita cittadina nell'età ellenistica", in S. SETTIS (ed.), *I Greci* II.3. *Una storia greca-Trasformazioni*, Torino 1998, p. 379-403, espec. p. 379. P. CARTLEDGE, "Introduction", in P. CARTLEDGE, P. GARNSEY, E. GRUEN (eds), *Hellenistic Constructs, Essays in Culture, History and Historiography*, Los Angeles 1997, p. 10; S.E. ALCOCK, "The Roman territory of Greek cities", in M. BRUNET (ed.), *Territoires des cités grecques. Actes de la Table Ronde internationale organisée par l'École française d'Athènes, 31 Octobre-3 Novembre 1991*, *BCH Suppl.* 34 (1999), p. 167-173, espec. p. 167. R. BILLOWS, "Cities", in A. ERSKINE (ed.), *A Companion to the Hellenistic World*, Malden 2003, p. 196-197; A.J.S. SPAWFORTH, "Roman Sparta", in P. CARTLEDGE, A.J.S. SPAWFORTH, *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta: A Tale of Two Cities*, London/New York 2002² (first edition 1989), p. 141-142; F. COARELLI, "Graecia Capta", in E. CARANDO, A.G. BENVENUTI *Patrasso colonia di Augusto. Atti del Convegno internazionale, Patrasso, 23-24 marzo 2006*, *Tripodes* 8, Atene 2009, p. 11-15, espec. p. 12-13; V.D. DAVIS, *The Other Greeks, The family farm and the agrarian roots of Western civilization*, New York 1995,

AD⁴³, doubtless shares the rhetoric of the contemporary sources regarding the negative presentation of Roman Greece. Certainly this “literary topos”⁴⁴ should not be taken literally⁴⁵, since demographic crisis and abandoned lands were not, even in Euboea, the general rule⁴⁶. In fact, geographical and qualitative

- p. 394; L. GALLO, “La polis e lo sfruttamento della terra”, in E. GRECO (ed.), *La città greca antica: istituzioni, società e forme urbane*, Roma 1999, p. 37-54, espec. p. 38; P. GREEN, *Alexander to Actium: the historical evolution of the Hellenistic age*, Los Angeles 1993, p. 382; D. MUSTI, “L’urbanesimo e la situazione delle campagne nella Grecia classica”, in *Storia e civiltà dei Greci. La crisi della polis, arte, religione, musica*, Milano 1979, p. 523-568, espec. p. 524-555; G.J. OLIVER, *War, food, and politics in early Hellenistic Athens*, Oxford 2007, p. 77; G. SHIPLEY, *The Greek world after Alexander 323-30 BC*, London/New York 2000, p. 31; *id.*, “Hidden landscapes: Greek field survey data and Hellenistic history”, in D. OGDEN (ed.), *The Hellenistic World, New Perspectives*, Swansea 2002, p. 177-198, espec. p. 190; *id.*, “Between Macedonia and Rome: political landscapes and social change in Southern Greece in the early Hellenistic period”, *BSA* 100 (2005), p. 315-330, espec. p. 328; WILLIAMS, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 26), p. 71 and 86. Demographic growth of new towns was encouraged or even imposed, in the beginning of the Imperial era, through the synoecism of the adjoining *komai* or redistribution of the population by transferring inhabitants from one region to an urban nucleus in another region (see LARSEN, *loc. cit.* [*supra*, n. 10], p. 469-471; S.E. ALCOCK, “Archaeology and imperialism: Roman expansion and the Greek city”, *JMA* 2.1 (1989), p. 87-135, espec. p. 116; ALCOCK, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 7), p. 133-137; Y. LAFOND, *La mémoire des cités dans le Péloponnèse d’époque romaine (I^{er} siècle avant J.C. - III^e siècle*, Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2006, p. 291; RIZAKIS, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 16), p. 298; *id.*, “La colonie romaine de Patras dans le cadre de la colonisation augustéenne”, in CARANDO, BENVENUTI, *op. cit.* (*supra*), p. 17-38, espec. p. 19).
43. Dio Chrysostom (7. 34-6) observes “a wilderness because of neglect and lack of population” which can be partly explained by the growth in estate size and by a greater concentration of land ownership, probably in part at the expense of smaller proprietors: “I too own many acres, as I imagine some others do, not only in the mountains but also on the plains, and if anybody would till them, I should not only give him the chance for nothing but gladly pay money besides”.
44. On Dio’s Euboicus, see G. HIGHET, “The huntsman and the castaway”, *GRBS* 14 (1973), p. 35-40; F. JOUAN, “Les thèmes romanesques dans l’Euboicos de Dion Chrysostome”, *REG* 90 (1977), p. 38-46; Chr. JONES, *The Roman world of Dio Chrysostom*, Cambridge Mass 1978, p. 56-64; D.A. RUSSELL, *Dio Chrysostom. Orations VII, XII, XXXVI*, Cambridge 1992, p. 8-13; S. SWAIN, “Dio and Lucian”, in J.R. MORGAN, R. STONEMAN (eds), *Greek fiction. The Greek novel in context*, London 1994, p. 166-180, espec. p. 166-172; P. DESIDERI, *Dione di Prusa: un intellettuale greco nell’Impero romano*, Messina/ Firenze 1978; *id.*, *Dione di Prusa uomo religioso*, Huelva 2000, p. 99f. and *id.*, “City and country in Dio”, in S. SWAIN (ed.), *Dio Chrysostom. Politics, letters, and philosophy*, Oxford 2000, p. 93-117; Gr. ANDERSON, “Some uses of storytelling in Dio”, in SWAIN (ed.), *op. cit.* (*supra*), p. 143-160.
45. Some scholars thought in the past that this sad picture of demographic crisis, empty countryside and large estates, was factual and characterized generally the social and economic history of Greece (see e.g. E. MEYER, *Kleine Schriften*, Halle 1924, p. 164-168) but others considered this kind of descriptions as stereotyped perceptions rather than actual facts (J. DAY, “The value of Dio Chrysostom’s Euboean discourse for the economic historian”, in P.R. COLEMAN-NOTON [ed.], *Studies in Roman economic and social history in honour of Allan Chester Johnson*, Princeton 1951, p. 209-235; J.-M. BERTRAND, “Le chasseur dans la ville”, in M.-F. BASLEZ *et alii* (eds), *Le monde du roman grec*, Paris 1992, p. 85-92; ALCOCK, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 7], p. 30).
46. Unlike what Dio’s tale seems to imply, Carystus may have been a prosperous urban centre in the relevant period, notably because of the proximity of quarries, that satisfied the Roman desire for coloured marble (ALCOCK, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 7], p. 39, 101, 111).

nuances should be applied to this simplified “rhetorical picture”, whose somehow exaggerated character is revealed by a more careful investigation and analysis of written sources and by the surveys conducted in several areas of the Greek peninsula⁴⁷.

To begin with, there are poor free holding peasants as those known in Egypt or described in Dio Chrysostomus’ VII Oration and Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses*. Dio presents two such rustics living in two small huts one for themselves and one for their stores, happily tilling a small piece of land, keeping a few goats, a cow and a pig. They completed their resources by hunting deer and boar⁴⁸. The description in Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses* showing various aspects of the family from the very simple to the very complex could be used to describe, according to Millar, the medieval England, “a capitalistic-market economy without factories”⁴⁹. It is extremely difficult to estimate the number of these small landholders but we can assume that they were present –in various scales– in the Greek landscape; this presence is confirmed by archaeology. A large number of such structures excavated in different parts of Greece prove that traditional forms of rural settlement and of land exploitation continued during this period⁵⁰. It seems that in some areas the countryside was still principally structured by nucleated settlements and isolated small traditional family farms whose main aim was self-sufficiency and subsistence farming⁵¹. As subsistence agriculture was largely practiced, farms tend to be dispersed (the inheritance system favours this aspect). The tendency was more to conserve than to introduce ambiguous and expensive changes but this was not the general rule⁵².

47. Surveys in Euboea, as in other parts of Greece, reveal a decrease in the number of rural sites during the Late Hellenistic and the Early Imperial period. According to Alcock (ALCOCK, *op. cit.* [supra, n. 7], p. 72) “not until the third or fourth c. AD do site numbers increase significantly again” but it seems that there are significant geographical variations, to this rule: see the case of Patrai, M. PETROPOULOS, A.D. RIZAKIS, “Settlement patterns and Landscape in the coastal area of Patras. Preliminary report”, *JRA* 7 (1994), p. 183-207; A.D. RIZAKIS, “Επιφανειακή αρχαιολογική έρευνα στην πατραϊκή: η πόλη και η χώρα της Πάτρας κατά την αυτοκρατορική περίοδο”, in *Αρχαιολογική Σύνοδος Νότιας και δυτικής Ελλάδος, Patras 9-12 juin 1996*, Athens 2006, p. 101-110 and supra, p. 28 and n. 37). For regional variations, see in general BINTLIFF, *loc. cit.* (supra, n. 37). On the Realien of economic, administrative or even cultural life of the Greek cities during the first centuries of the Roman Empire see the sketch by F. MILLAR, “The Greek city in the Roman period”, in M.H. HANSEN (ed.), *The Ancient Greek city-state*, Copenhagen 1993, p. 232-260.
48. See Dio 7, 44; cf. G. SALMERI, *La politica e il potere. Saggio su Dione di Prusa*, Catania 1982, p. 82-83, and 85-87; J.-M. BERTRAND, *loc. cit.* (supra, n. 45), p. 85-92, espec. p.88 n. 54; RUSSELL, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 44). On the agriculture and husbandry being complementary to each other, as suggested by Varro (*e.g. R.R.*, I.2, 19-20), see R. MARTIN, *Recherches sur les agronomes latins et leurs conceptions économiques et sociales*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1971, p. 219-220.
49. F. MILLAR, “The world of the golden ass”, *JRS* 71 (1981), p. 63-75, espec. p. 73; Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses* are discussed by K.R. BRADLEY, “Fictive families. Family and household in the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius”, *Phoenix* 54 (2000), p. 282-308, *passim*; cf. also H.W. PLEKET, “Agriculture in the Roman Empire in comparative perspective”, in H. SANCISI-WEERDENBURG *et al.* (eds), *De agricultura. In memoriam Pieter Willem de Neeve (1945-1990)*, Amsterdam 1993, p. 317-342, espec. p. 334.
50. In this volume, *passim*.
51. Subsistence farming produces use values as opposed to commodities sold on the market that produce exchange values, see Roé PANAYOTOPOULOU, “Στοιχεία για την αυτοκατανάλωση των οικογενειών γεωργικών εκμεταλλεύσεων”, in *Πρακτικά του Ελληνογαλλικού Συνεδρίου: ο αγροτικός κόσμος στον Μεσογειακό χώρο, 4-7 December 1984*, Athens 1988, p. 502-512.
52. See STEWART, *loc. cit.* (supra, n. 21), p. 227-228 who explains this adherence to tradition as the result of a conscious

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Self-sufficiency has been a common practice in the Greek countryside since centuries ago and up until modern times; this kind of social and economic philosophy was perfectly summed up by Hamish Forbes⁵³ in the phrase of a peasant from the peninsula of Methana, which became the title of one of his papers: «‘We have a little bit of everything’: the ecological basis of some agricultural practices in Methana, Trizinia»⁵⁴. Smallholders tend to diversify crop production and farm the land intensively for their protection in the case of bad year, but self-sufficiency was frequently an unrealizable ideal. The supply of necessary goods is made by the exchange of surplus products, a practice – known as barter – that operates in parallel in the context of close personal networks outside the market and the monetary economy but this practice was not the general rule. Millar⁵⁵ points out that all transactions in Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses* are monetary, which confirms the theory that money was a normal form of exchange for goods in the Roman world, at least in the towns⁵⁶, but these arguments did not exclude, in other contexts, transactions in kind⁵⁷.

Demographic decline and the abandon of lands, observed in some areas, favoured the development of husbandry which was introduced by large landowners maybe for tax reasons⁵⁸. In fact, the *census* offered more possibilities

reaction (*i.e.* a resistance) to the spread of Roman power or ignorance, *i.e.* by choice “to ignore anything beyond the bounds of their own communities or their own cultural group”. This is, in my view, an anachronism because it is extremely difficult to know what they really thought.

53. H. FORBES, “‘We have a little bit of everything’: the ecological basis of some agricultural practices in Methana, Trizinia”, in M. DIMEN, E. FRIEDL (eds), *Regional variation in modern Greece and Cyprus: towards a perspective on the ethnography of Greece*, New York 1976, p. 236-250.
54. This principle characterizes mostly the mountain economy: see P. GARNSEY, “Mountain economies in Southern Europe. Thoughts on the early history, continuity and individuality of Mediterranean upland pastoralism”, in M. MATTMÜLLER (ed.), *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in Berggebieten. Itinera* 5/6 (1986), p. 1-25; M.H. JAMESON, “Mountains and the Greek city-states”, in J.-F. BERGIER (ed.), *Montagnes, fleuves, forêts*, St. Katharinen 1989, p. 7-17; G. ROUGEMONT, “Complémentarité entre les différentes parties du territoire dans les cites grecques de l’Antiquité classique”, in M.-Cl. CAUVIN (ed.), *Rites et rythmes agraires*, Lyon/Paris 1991, p. 127-133; FABRE, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 31); J. ROY, “The economies of Arcadia”, in T.-H. NIELSEN, J. ROY (eds), *Defining Ancient Arkadia. Symposium, April 1-4, 1998. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Center*, vol. VI, Copenhagen 1999, p. 320-381.
55. See MILLAR, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 49), p. 73.
56. See MORLEY, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 2), p. 574; cf also HOWEGO, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 32). The existence of a monetary economy in Greece is attested now by the coin finds in farms, studied by I. TOURATSOGLOU, “Coin production and coin circulation in the Roman Peloponnese”, in RIZAKIS, LEPENIOTI, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 18), p. 235-252.
57. See ERDKAMP, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 31), p. 115-117.
58. See ALCOCK, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 7), p. 87-88. According to Snodgrass’ (A. SNODGRASS, *La Grèce archaïque. Le temps des apprentissages*, tr. fr. d’A. Schnapp-Gourbeillon, Paris 1986) theory, there existed a fundamental opposition between husbandry and agriculture and between

for speculation to wealthy landowners than to the small peasant-farmer who lived from his land⁵⁹. Husbandry's development at the expense of agriculture is observed for example in Arcadia and Laconia; although written evidence comes mostly from these regions⁶⁰ survey's work show that this phenomenon is present in other areas too⁶¹. Two epigraphic documents seem to support Alcock's argument⁶² about Achaia's elite interest on animal husbandry in the form of large flocks or specialty herds of horses or cattle. In the first document (1/2 p.C.)⁶³, L. Licinnius Anteros, a wealthy Corinthian freedman is praised by the city of Methana for his services to the inhabitants of this city who in return honour him with the privilege of *enktesis* and *epinomia* i.e. the right to own land and to graze flocks on Methana⁶⁴. According to the second bilingual text the city of Megalopolis bestows to a Roman, T. Arminius Tauriscus, "the right of pasturing and screwing around in Megalopolis for the funding of the construction of a bridge on the *Helisson* river"⁶⁵. This text shows that the city maintains the fiscal control over pastures and that she can exchange this right in return for the generosity she expects from the notables.

Alcock's hypothesis that "the development of larger landholdings and of elite relationships facilitated more extended transhumant movements" has been considered extremely weak by Denis Rousset⁶⁶ who instead thinks that the cities maintained the control over their pastures⁶⁷. This is suggested by the inscription of Megalopolis and by another from Boeotia (a letter of Antoninus Pius to Coroneia dated to AD 155), showing the persistence of taxes on rangelands levied by the Greek cities during the imperial period. As has been noted, rightly in my view, by Christophe Chan-

cattle-breeders and farmers. This opposition explained the cyclical alternation of phases of population decrease or increase in the country, in the Early Archaic period, with a corresponding development of husbandry or cereal-culture and arboriculture.

59. The big landowner was far more in liberty to leave land fallow or turn it over pasture in the year of the census; for the possibilities offered to him, see M. CORBIER, "City, territory and taxation", in J. RICH, A. WALLACE-HADRILL (eds), *City and country in the Ancient world*, London/ New York 1991, p. 211-239, espec. p. 227-228.
60. Commented by Chr. CHANDEZON, "Les spécificités pastorales du Péloponnèse à l'époque hellénistique et sous le Haut-Empire", in GRANDJEAN (ed.), *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 24), p. 101-119.
61. For the Argolis, see T.H. VAN ANDEL, C. RUNNELS, *Beyond the Acropolis. A Rural Greek Past*, Stanford 1987, p. 104 and 112; M.H. JAMESON et alii, *A Greek countryside: the southern Argolid from prehistory to the present day with a register of sites by Curtis N. Runnels and Mark H. Munn*. Stanford, CA : Stanford University Press 1994, p. 298-299. The turnaround for breeding in Methana indicates to some scholars (see D. GILL, L. FOXHALL, H. BOWDEN, "Classical and Hellenistic Methana", in Chr. MEE, H. FORBES, *A rough and rocky place: the landscape and settlement history of the Methana Peninsula, Greece: results of the Methana Survey Project*, sponsored by the British School at Athens and the University of Liverpool, Liverpool 1997, p. 62-76), that «the wasteland was converted into pastures, thus limiting the possibility for expansion of small landholders».
62. ALCOCK, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 7), p. 87-88; cf. also CHANDEZON, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 60).
63. *IG* IV, 853; cf. GILL, FOXHALL, BOWDEN, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 61), p. 273-274, no 15.
64. For the inscription, see *IG* IV 853; AD 1/2; cf. *Corinth* VIII.2, 70; cf. MEE, FORBES, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 61), p. 80-81; CHANDEZON, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 60); STEWART, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 21), p. 224-227.
65. *IG* V 2, 456; cf. CHANDEZON, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 60).
66. ROUSSET, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 37). For a detailed analysis of husbandry in Greece during the Hellenistic and Imperial periods, see Chr. CHANDESON, *L'élevage en Grèce (fin v^e-fin i^{er} s.a. C.)*, *Ausonium Scripta Antiqua* 5, Bordeaux 2003 and CHANDEZON, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 60), p. 117-118.
67. CHANDEZON, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 60).

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dezon⁶⁸, although the provincial space created by the Empire offered to the elites the possibility of transhumance development beyond city's frontiers⁶⁹, the existence of this practice cannot be ascertained by the existing evidence. What is absolutely certain is that pastoral economy was very important and typical in many areas of Greece. This activity primarily involved the rearing of sheep, goats and cattle for both dairy products and wool; yet it is not known who processed or traded this wool⁷⁰. In fact, testimonies dated to the imperial period are poor or ambiguous. We know for example that in the Theoxenia games in Pellene, held in honour of Apollo, celebrated woollen chitons were awarded as prizes. Although in imperial times these chitons were replaced by a monetary sum (Strab. VIII.7, 5), this should not be taken to suggest that the pastoral economy of Pellene had declined in importance⁷¹.

Land ownership, land division as well as agrarian strategies show that the various regions of Greece developed at a different pace. A great number of farms found in the Greek countryside show that there are small and middle-size estates which do not break with tradition and could correspond to the so-called (by the recent literature) 'family farms' (less than 100 m²)⁷². It is thus possible that in some more remote or less wealthy areas land tenure and agricultural strategy did not change much⁷³; however, as has been stated by Mee and Forbes, «underused land would have been an attractive place for members of the local elite to graze their flocks which it seems was the common practice in other periods and places»⁷⁴. This does not mean that there were not changes at all in the economic and social organization. In fact a reordering of land tenure system and of agricultural strategy was more needed when land was situated near populous *metropoleis* (colonies or privileged free and peregrine cities) with noteworthy markets. Archaeological remains of farms discovered in several regions (Arcadia, Messenia, Laconia, Eleia, Achaea, Corinthia, Argolis, Attica, Boeotia, Phokis, Thessalia and finally Aetolia and Acarnania) show that these rural settlements varied considerably in size and luxury level reflecting not only economic differences but also deliberate displays of wealth.

68. See CHANDEZON, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 60), p. 117-118.

69. For causes explaining these practices, especially pastoral activity and the Achaean élite, see ALCOCK, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 7), p. 86-88.

70. See HODTKINSON, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 21); CHANDEZON, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 66) and CHANDEZON, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 60), *passim*.

71. See the bibliographical references in RIZAKIS, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 18), p. 259 and 348 n. 72.

72. See J. GALLEGÓ, "Farming in the ancient Greek World: How should the small free producers be defined?", *STUDIA HUMANIORA TARTUENSIA* 8 (2007), A.3., p. 1-21.

73. For the classical period, see H.J. GEHRKE, *Jenseits von Athen und Sparta: das dritte Griechenland und sein Staatenwelt*, München 1986, R. BROCK, S. HODKINSON, *Alternatives to Athens. Varieties of political organization and community in Ancient Greece*, Oxford 2000.

74. See MEE, FORBES, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 61), p. 81 and n. 39-40 with reference to the case of the Corinthian Anteros.

The widespread of a new model of farm (*villa rustica*)

The dissemination in the Greek countryside, probably from the first century AD onwards, of a new model of settlement pattern, space organisation and cultural strategy, the so-called *villa rustica*⁷⁵, reflects changes in land property, tenancy and perhaps the mode of rural exploitation in addition to increasing social stratification and growing economic polarization; along with other types of monumental structures (*e.g.* mausoleums), it shows a new form of ostentation of wealth and power which lacked before⁷⁶. We know from Italian examples how these new rural establishments structured the landscape and how they applied their new rural strategies. Their wide diffusion in the western provinces of the Empire is connected with the Romanisation process⁷⁷. In the past some scholars thought that the amplitude of this phenomenon was the same in Greece. The map created for this purpose by Kahrstedt gives the impression that the dissemination and distribution of *villae rusticae* were impressive in almost all the rural areas of Greece. He believed that both the structure of Greek countryside and the rural strategies were completely changed during the Roman Empire by Roman capitalists, who invested on land⁷⁸. This “capitalistic” evolution, in Rostovtzeff’s opinion, would be general and would have led to the ruin and disappearance of the small property and to its substitution by large estates (*latifundia*)⁷⁹. This point of view is completely arbitrary and is not confirmed for Greece, albeit exceptionally, by the most recent findings. The majority of Roman type farms located on Greek soil are medium scale villas (200 m²-600 m²)⁸⁰

75. The term *villa rustica* is used for commodity reasons although its precise sense is not clear, even for the ancient authors; see Ph. LEVEAU, “Les incertitudes du terme villa et la question du vicus en Gaule Narbonnaise”, *RAN* 35 (2002), p. 5-26. A. MARZANO, *Roman villas in Central Italy. A social and economic history*, Leiden/Boston 2007, p. 2-5, 85-101. In fact, the size and the cultural practices varied enormously from *villa* to *villa* (for architectural typology of *villae*, in general, see MARZANO, in this volume, p. 8 n. 2; in Greece, ZARMAKOUPI, in this volume, p. 753-761, for production practices, see N. PURCELL, “The Roman villa and the landscape of production”, in T. CORNELL, K. LOMAS (eds), *Urban Society in Roman Italy*, London 1995, p. 151-179.

76. ALCOCK. *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 7), p. 79.

77. This purely imported monument, owned by the acculturated civic elites, reflects the influence over the rural regions of Roman culture and civilisation: LEGLAY 1975, p. 209, cited by Van Ossel (P. VAN OSSEL, “La romanisation des campagnes de la Gaule septentrionale”, *PALLAS* 80 [2009], p. 373-384, espec. p. 376 and n. 8).

78. Kahrstedt (Ul. KAHRSTEDT, *Das wirtschaftliche Gesicht Griechelands in der Kaiserzeit*, Zurich 1954, *passim*) tried to substantiate this interpretation by assigning to Roman villas almost all of the archaeological evidence pertaining to residential structures that had been unearthed in the countryside of Greek cities. Similar points of view are expressed by some modern scholars: Small farms are argued by MEE, FORBES, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 61), to be tenant farmers on large estates. Boeotian landscapes show, according to John Bintliff (*per epistulam*); cf. J.L. BINTLIFE, P. HOWARD, A. SNODGRASS, *Testing the hinterland: The work of the Boeotia Survey [1989-1991] in the southern approaches to the city of Thespiai*, Cambridge, MacDonald Institute Monographs, University of Cambridge, 2007) a massive disappearance of small farms and the rise of villas, despite the absence of colonies, and considerable evidence for Italian presence in the towns, as Chr. Muller has shown (Chr. MULLER, “Les Italiens en Béotie du II^e siècle av. J.-C. au I^{er} siècle ap. J.-C.”, in Cl. HASENOHR, Chr. MÜLLER (éds), *Les italiens dans le monde grec, II^e siècle av. J.-C. - I^{er} siècle ap. J.-C. Circulation, activités, intégration. Actes de la table ronde, École Normale Supérieure, Paris 14-16 mai 1998*, Paris 2002, p. 89-100).

79. ROSTOVITZEFF, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 10), p. 344-346. The same scholar thinks (*supra*, p. 254) that Plutarch’s general description of the country “must therefore be taken *cum grano salis* and that Greece had gone forever”.

80. This estimation is highly hypothetical because so few buildings have been completely excavated. According to

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that could correspond to the figures of middle size land (equivalent to 25he or 50he) given by Cato and devoted partly to specialized cultures⁸¹. Large rural structures, over 700 m², which point to big estates (over 100 he) run by slaves or tenants were much less diffused in the Greek countryside⁸² where the differentiation between landholdings was more due to the economic specialization than to their size⁸³. Large structures and big rural exploitations called by Carandini “slave *villae*”, *i.e.* farms using slave labour⁸⁴, which were the rule in Italy and in other western provinces during the Imperial period⁸⁵, are rare in the Greek countryside.

Dohr (M.H. DOHR, *Die italischen Gutschöfe nach den Schriften Catos und Varros*, Köln 1965) there are three distinctive categories of rural exploitation: *uinea*, *oletum* and *praedium suburbanum* on which semi-specialized cultures were practiced, every domain been organized around a dominant culture (viticulture and oleiculture being the most frequent). On the Catonian villa, see also L. CAPOGROSSI COLOGNESE, *Padroni e contadini nell’Italia repubblicana*, Roma 2012. It is interesting to note that Nicola Terrenato (N. TERRENATO, *Roman Republican villas*, edited by Becke, 2011), came to the conclusion that the so-called Catonian villa did not exist! As has been mentioned to me by Eeva-Maria Viitanen (by letter), if Terrenato is correct the calculations based on the size of the building, the number of production facilities and the size of the farm are not necessarily valid.

81. Cato, *De agricultura* I, 7 and 12-13; cf. MARTIN, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 48), p. 89-90; DUNCAN-JONES, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 31), p. 325-326; MARZANO, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 75), p. 107 n. 21. For such examples in Greece, see STEINHAEUER, *infra*, p. 467-485; DAKORONIA, BOUGHIA (*infra*, p. 55-57); PSAROGHIANNI (*infra*, p. 583-591); INTZESILOGLOU (Pherai, *infra*, p. 617-631).
82. According to MEE, FORBES, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 61), p. 81, some *villae* found in the countryside of Methana correspond to this model but this is difficult to prove; more certain are the examples presented in this volume, in Boeotia (VLACHOGIANNI, *infra*, 487-521; PETROCHEILOS, *infra*, p. 543-553), Attica (STEINHAEUER, *infra*, p. 470: villa of Acharnai), maybe one in Eleia (VIKATOU, *infra*, p. 423-439) and at Zeugoliteio in Arcadia (PETROPOULOS, *infra*, p. 486-327); certainly the villa of Atticus at Loukou, in Arcadia (ca 350he; see G. SPYROPOULOS, *Η έπαυλη του Ηρώδη του Αττικού στην Εύα Λουκοῦ Κυνουρίας*, Athens 1995), one in Lakonia (ZAVOU, *infra*, p. 363-397), in Aetolia (GEROLYMOU, *infra*, p. 683-701); in Messenia (KOSMOPOULOS, *infra*, p. 399-421); in Leucas (PLIAKOU, *infra*, p. 735-751), finally in Corinth (ASLAMATZIDOU, *infra*, p. 187-199) and Achaia (ALEXOPOULOU, GATSI, *infra*, p. 89-153). It is clear that the size of a farm is not the only factor which defines it as an agricultural enterprise; labour and invested capital were equally important, see ERDKAMP, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 31), p. 18-22. Large estates, though as exception, existed in some Greek areas (*e.g.* Macedonia, Peloponnesos) already from the Late Classical period (see *infra*, p.44, n. 104).
83. See for example G. TATE, *Les campagnes de la Syrie du nord*, vol. I, Paris 1992, p. 289 (Syria).
84. “Villa schiavistica” model derived by Carandini’s work at Settefinestre (A. CARANDINI, *Schiavi in Italia. Gli strumenti pensanti dei Romani fra tarda Repubblica e medio Impero*, Roma 1988, *id.* “La villa romana e la piantagione schiavistica”, in A. SCHIAVONE (ed.), *Storia di Roma* IV, Torino 1989, p. 101-200).
85. Such huge exploitations were divided in many minor estates sometimes remote from each other; for estates in different localities, see Plin., *NH* 18, 35; Pliny the Younger, *Letters* 3.19, 1-5; Colum., *De r.r.* I.3, 12; cf. MARTIN, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 48), p. 90; DUNCAN-JONES, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 31), p. 323. On the fragmentation of landholdings in Greece, see *supra*, p. 27 and n. 30.

These new structures substantiate, by their size and agricultural practices, an alternative economic strategy with respect to the traditional form of exploitation of the rural landscape because, in contrast with smallholders, large-scale proprietors can adopt very different exploitative strategies⁸⁶. In fact, the principal goal of the *villae* of Roman type is not subsistence farming but rather production of agricultural surplus products that are marketable and produce a profit⁸⁷. This fact explains why the majority of these farms are situated on easily drained sites, near towns, on main or secondary roads, along rivers or near lakes and sea. In case of large farms, used for recreation rather than production, quite high elevations were preferred with panoramic views and great visibility for the buildings. It is known that the size of an estate, its position as well as the status of its landowner directly affect decisions about the nature of its use. Distance can lead, sometimes, to a total abandonment of land on the outskirts, as is suggested in Euboean Discourse, which represents an extreme possibility.

In other cases, distant landholdings could be devoted to increasingly less labour-intensive activities, such as cereal cultures or pastoral activities⁸⁸. Grain was obviously the most important product in the ancient world but cereal culture, in contrast with olive and vine cultivation, is only known from literary, documentary and artistic sources because it leaves, as Stephen Mitchell put it⁸⁹, “a frustrating small imprint on the archaeological record”. It is possible that in Athens, which represented a large territory, as well as in some other areas, flat and more fertile lands were reserved for the cultivation of cereals but less fertile and semi-mountainous lands for vineyards and olive trees, although this was not a general rule⁹⁰. Intensive levels of cultivation could be applied, in contrast, in areas close to big urban centres and in appropriate soils, as for example in many Peloponnesian areas but also in Attica and central Greece⁹¹.

Specialization and intensification arose in the production of oil and wine but also with other agricultural products such as *honey* in Attica and on the islands or flax and hemp (*byssos*), in the plain

86. L. FOXHALL, “The depended tenant: land leasing and labour in Italy and Greece”, *JRS* 80 (1990), p. 97-114, espec. p. 108; P. HALSTEAD, “Traditional and Ancient rural economy in Mediterranean Europe: plus ça change?”, in SCHEIDEL, VON REDEN (eds), *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 23), p. 53-70. (See also *infra*, n. 153).
87. D.P. KEHOE, “The Early Roman Empire: production”, in SCHEIDEL, MORRIS, SALLER, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 2), p. 543-569, espec. p. 553-557; N. BROCKMEYER, “Die *villa rustica* als wirtschaftsform und die Ideologisierung der Landschaft”, *AncSoc* (1975), p. 213-228.
88. For causes explaining these practices, especially pastoral activity and the Achaean elite, see ALCOCK, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 7), p. 86-88.
89. St. MITCHELL: “Olive cultivation in the economy of Roman Asia Minor”, in St. MITCHELL, K. KATSARI (eds), *Patterns in the economy of Roman Asia Minor*, Swansea 2005, p. 83-114, espec. p. 83-84.
90. Sources like Strabo and Pausanias attest to an undeniable development of these cultivations, at least in some areas (see BALADIÉ, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 24] *passim*); in some cases this is also confirmed archaeologically. For different strategies applied in rocky and mountain places, see for example H. FORBES, *Strategies and Soils: Technology, Production and Environment in the Peninsula of Methana, Greece*, PhD, Univ. of Pennsylvania 1982.
91. On the other hand, Stewart’s (STEWART, *loc. cit.* [*supra*, n. 21], p. 225) opinion that there is enough material evidence for intensification and specialization of agricultural production in some other regions, like in southeast Peloponnese (*i.e.* Methana, southern Argolis and Laconia and perhaps Berbati), and central and western Peloponnese (*i.e.* Pylos, Asea and perhaps Achaea) appears to be quite interesting and requires a more systematic study on this topic.

of Elis, used for the textile industry of Patrai⁹². The olive-tree is recognized as a plant well adapted to poor soils and low rainfall⁹³; olive growing and vine cultivation are supplementary and competitive cultures, yet vines are considered the most profitable crop⁹⁴. Evidence already has been cited for the production of oil in Phokis and Attica, and it can be taken for granted that districts not specifically mentioned also contributed their quota⁹⁵. No doubt most parts of

92. On intensification (the maximization of returns on traditional crops through a greater investment of labour), diversification and specialization (the concentration on a restricted but valuable range of crops)", see M.H. JAMESON, "Agriculture and slavery in Classical Athens", *CJ* 73 (1977-1978), p. 122-145, espec. p. 128-130. For the Roman period, see ALCOCK, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 7), p. 80; D. D'ACO, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 26), p. 32 n. 115. On the cultivation of *byssos* in the plain of Elis, see Paus. 7.21, 14; cf. *also loc. cit.* 6.26, 6; V. 5, 2; Plin., *Nat. Hist.* 19, 20; cf. LARSEN, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 10), p. 484-485; A.D. RIZAKIS, *Achaïe I. Sources textuelles et histoire régionale*, MEΛETHMATA 20, Athènes 1995, p. 185 no 274; *id.*, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 16), p. 301 n. 157; M. PETROPOULOS, *Τα εργαστήρια των ρωμαϊκών λυχναριών της Πάτρας και το Λυχνομαντείο*, Athens 1999, p. 42. For rural activities in general, see L. FOXHALL, "Cultures, landscapes, and identities, in the Mediterranean world", *MHR* 18.2 (2003), p. 75-92; *ead.*, "Small, rural farmstead sites in Ancient Greece: A material cultural analysis", in F. KOLB (ed.), *Chora und Polis. Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, Kolloquien* 54, München 2004, p. 249-270, espec. p. 260-265; STEWART, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 21), p. 224 and n. 42; B. LEVICK, "The Roman Economy: Trade in Asia Minor and the Niche Market", *G&R* 51.2 (2004), p. 180-198; ERDKAMP, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 31), p. 90-91. For intercropping practices in Greece, see GARNSEY, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 4), p. 49; GALLANT, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 3), p. 36-41; R. SALLARES, *The ecology of the Ancient Greek world*, London 1991, p. 304; L. GALLO, "Lo sfruttamento delle risorse", in S. SETTIS (ed.), *I Greci. II.2. Una storia greca: storia - cultura - arte - società. - Definizione* 1997, p. 423-452, espec. p. 425; GALLO, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 42), p. 37-54, espec. p. 39; A. MORENO, *Feeding the democracy: the Athenian grain supply in the fifth and fourth centuries BC*, Oxford 2007, p. 24; D'ACO, *op. cit.* (*supra*), p. 33 n. 116, 43 n. 165. S. MORRIS, J. PAPADOPOULOS, "Greek Towers and Slaves: An Archaeology of Exploitation", *AJA* 109 (2005), p. 155-205, espec. p. 157, 164, rightly think that farms "are one sign of this intensification".
93. SALLARES, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 92), p. 304; M.-Cl. AMOURETI, "Oléiculture et viticulture dans la Grèce antique", in WELLS (ed.), *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 35), p. 77-86, espec. p. 78 and 86; FORBES, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 90), p. 90; A. SARPAKI, "The Palaeoethnobotanical Approach. The Mediterranean Triad or Is It a Quartet?", in WELLS (ed.), *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 35), p. 61-76, espec. p. 70 (on olive and vine cultivation).
94. Cato (I.7) places vines first in the list of crops arranged in order of profit (see DUNCAN-JONES, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 31], p. 34-48). Viticulture is reported four times more than that of wheat and more than twice than oleiculture (cf. A. JARDÉ, *Les céréales dans l'antiquité grecque*, Paris 1925, p. 186-187). For oil and vine cultivation and their various uses in Greece, see J.-P. BRUN, M.-Cl. AMOURETTI (eds), *La production du vin et de l'huile en Méditerranée*, *BCH Suppl.* 26 (1993); L. FOXHALL, *Olive cultivation in ancient Greece: seeking the ancient economy*, Oxford/New York 2007 (cf. DAVIES, *loc. cit.* [*supra*, n. 22], p. 343).
95. Pausanias (10. 32, 19: Τὸ δ' ἔλαιον τὸ ἐν τῇ Τιθορέων ἀποδοεῖ μὲν πλήθει τοῦ τε Ἀττικῆ καὶ τοῦ Σικυωνίου) gives the first place to Attica, Sicyon and Tithorea for the quantity of oil production. The famous law of Hadrian (*IG* II², 1100; cf. GRAINDOR, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 24], p. 74-79; S. FOLLET, *Athènes au I^{er} et au III^e siècle. Études chronologiques et prosopographiques*, Paris 1976, p. 117; GARNSEY, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 4], p. 75-76; M.T. BOATWRIGHT, *Hadrian and the cities of the Roman Empire*, Princeton 2000, p. 91) which regulates the export of this product shows that Attica exported large quantities. For the quality and the exportation for special uses (manufacture of unguents), see LARSEN, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 10), p. 484.

Greece produced the wine consumed locally by the average person but in most cases oil and wine were produced in sufficient quantity not merely to make most Greek communities self-sufficient but also to generate a surplus⁹⁶. As has been stated by Hanson⁹⁷, the rise of viticulture demanded, more than cereal or even olive farming, “a novel type of intensified agriculture and with it a new rural ideology that emphasized farm residency, investment in land beyond that commensurate with actual return”. Better productivity, especially in oil and wine, was now possible thanks to the new technology⁹⁸ and the great demand of the nearest urban centres or more remote markets.

Given their size, their different spatial organization, and the quantitative and qualitative distribution of rural activities, the impressive appearance of these rural settlements represents something completely different from the traditional self-sufficient family farmhouse that was familiar until that time to the Greek countryside. Their presence testifies not only to a more rationalistic organization in the exploitation of the countryside, but also to a tendency towards ‘externalization’, as the various rural, handicraft and maybe also commercial activities and the products of these activities aim at satisfying the consumer needs mainly of neighbouring urban centres but also of markets further away⁹⁹. The disposal of surplus production to the market contributes also to a developed

96. See LARSEN, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 10), p. 484. Naturally agricultural surplus was subjected to weather vagaries, so the volume of surplus fluctuated from one year to another (see ERDKAMP, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 31], p. 51-54).
97. See V.D. HANSON, “Practical aspects of grape-growing and the ideology of Greek viticulture”, in WELLS, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 35), p. 161-166, espec. p. 161.
98. For the contribution of technology to rural productivity, see KEHOE, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 87), p. 552-553; H. SCHNEIDER, “Technology”, in SCHEIDEL, MORRIS, SALLER (eds), *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 2), p. 144-171. Technology and population were the two key factors for the economic development of agriculture in the ancient world, see VON REGEN (Sitta), “Classical Greece: consumption”, in SCHEIDEL, MORRIS, SALLER, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 2), p. 385-406; W.M. JONGMAN, “The Early Roman Empire: consumption”, in SCHEIDEL, MORRIS, SALLER, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 2), p. 592-618; W. SCHEIDEL, “Demography”, in SCHEIDEL, MORRIS, SALLER (eds), *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 2), p. 38-86; E. LO CASCIO, *Crescita e declino. Studi di storia dell’economia romana*, Roma 2009, p. 11 and n. 15 (with previous bibliography on this issue). The fact that cultivation of these crops required more investment in equipment and labor worked against the poor free holding peasants participating in market-orientated production, see ALCOCK, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 7), 81ff; D.P. KEHOE, *Investment, profit, and tenancy. The jurists and the Roman agrarian economy*, Ann Arbor 1997, p. 198ff; ERDKAMP, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 31), p. 24-25.
99. Weber’s (M. WEBER, “Die Stadt: eine soziologische Untersuchung”, *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* 47, 1920-1921, 621-772 [reprinted in Max Weber Gesamtausgabe, ed. W. Nippel, I 22.5, Tübingen 1999, p. 67] three categories of «consumer city», «producer city», and «trading city» are ideal types and it seems that the majority of the cities have elements of all three types. Hansen (HANSEN, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 39], p. 90-97) prefers Weber’s model than that of the ruling orthodoxy (*i.e.* Finley’s theory) according to which the typical *polis* has a «subsistence economy» (FINLEY, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 36], p. 138; K. HOPKINS, “Introduction”, in GARNSEY, HOPKINS, WHITTAKER [eds], *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 3], p. IX-XXV, espec. p. XI; F. KOLB, *Die Stadt im Altertum*, Munich 1984, p. 74-75; W.M. JONGMAN, *The economy and society of Pompeii*, Amsterdam 1988, p. 15-62; *id.*, *loc. cit.* [*supra*, n. 98]; J.K. DAVIES, “Ancient economies. Models and muddles”, in H. PARKINS, C. SMITH [eds], *Trade, traders and the Ancient city*, London 1998, p. 225-256, espec. p. 237-238). M.H. HANSEN, ‘*Polis*’. *An introduction to the Ancient Greek city*, Oxford 2006, p. 95) thinks that “not just the big *poleis* but also small ones seem to have fulfilled Weber’s requirement that in a city the inhabitants have to get a significant part of their need by purchase in the market”. The preferred model for many historians is that of a consumer city, see Ph. LEVEAU, “La ville antique, ville de consommation. Parasitisme sociale et économie antique”, *Études rurales* 89-91 (1983), p. 275-289; C.R. WHITTAKER, “The consumer city revisited”, *JRA* 3 (1990), p. 110-118; N. MORLEY, *Metropolis and hinterland. The city of Rome and*

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division of labor of which Plato had already spoken in the *Politeia*. The division of the activities allowed improving both the quantity and quality of produced goods. The decrease in subsistence farming is a key objective for economic development because it is considered as an obstacle to the rational use of the factors of production as well as to its specialization and the creation of economies of scale. Moreover, it was also considered as a major cause of low productivity in agriculture.

A key case: the rural area of the *colonia Patrensis*

The changes in the countryside of Patrai are of special interest. Survey work indicates that the pattern presented by the *Patraiki*, during the imperial period, is extremely interesting¹⁰⁰. It is clear that the new Roman land organisation, introduced with the *deductio* of the colony, brought radical changes to the distribution of traditional settlement patterns and land ownership as well as to the rural structure. The *centuriatio* of the coastal plain in Patrai indicates a reordering of the rural landscape that reflected a new social structure¹⁰¹. Although isolated farmsteads existed in the previous period¹⁰², a great number of a new type, the *villa rustica*, appears in the countryside of the colony since the end of the 1st c. AD, whereas, following the crisis of the third century, a rapid renaissance is observed during the fourth century¹⁰³. The presence of such a pattern implies a new rural strategy and a new relation between the city and its countryside.

the Italian economy 200 B.C.-A.D. 200, Cambridge 1996, p. 13-32; P. HORDEN, N. PURCELL, *The corrupting sea: a study in Mediterranean history*, Oxford 2000, p. 105-108; P. ERDKAMP, "Beyond the limits of the 'consumer city'. A model of the urban and rural economy in the Roman World", *Historia* 50.3 (2001), p. 332-356; SCHEIDEL, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 98), p. 38-86; KEHOE, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 24), p. 5-6. On the concept, see RICH, WALLACE-HADRILL, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 59), XV-XVII but this model is criticized by some scholars (see D.J. MATTINGLY, J. SALMON, *Economies beyond agriculture in the Classical world*, London 2001; cf. HANSEN, *op. cit.* (*supra*), p. 90-95; BRESSON, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 6), p. 133 [n. 32] and 199). Engels (D. ENGELS, *Roman Corinth. An alternative model for the Classical city*, Chicago 1990) challenges also this model and presents, for Corinth, an alternative model, that of the «service city».

100. See PETROPOULOS, RIZAKIS, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 47); Rizakis, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 47).

101. On the *centuriatio* on Patrai's territory, see A.D. RIZAKIS, "Peloponnesian cities under Roman rule: the new political geography and its economic and social repercussions", in RIZAKIS, LEPENIOTI (eds), *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 18), p. 1-18, espec. p. 12 n. 49.

102. FOXHALL, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 86), p. 108. In Classical and Hellenistic times nucleated settlement was the main form of rural occupation in the country of Patrai, see PETROPOULOS, RIZAKIS, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 47). For the exceptional case of one large size farm of the Late classical and Early Hellenistic period in Macedonia and northern Peloponnese, see *infra*, p. 41, n. 104.

103. The *villae rusticae* appear in Italy much earlier, in the 2nd c. BC, see W.V. HARRIS, "The Late Republic", in SCHEIDEL, MORRIS, SALLER, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 2), p. 511-539, espec. p. 525. According to Petropoulos (M. PETROPOULOS, "Αγροικίες της Πατραϊκής", in P.N. DOUKELLIS, L.G. MENDONI [eds], *Structures rurales et sociétés antiques, Actes du colloque de Corfou, 14-16 mai 1992*, Paris 1994, p. 405-424), 68 of the *villae* of the countryside of Patrai (*i.e.* 39%) are iden-

The diffusion of *villae rusticae* reflects, here as in other areas, a quantitative and qualitative change in the rural economy that took place during the Early imperial period. These *villae* are integrated into the centuriated landscape which is managed through wise taxation. They are the symbol of new methods of land exploitation and new agrarian practices that are now made possible through the adoption of technical innovations in the rural sphere. These innovations were imported from outside and represented a sort of ‘colonial’ superstructure concealed within local realities. This important new residential structure broke with the Greek tradition¹⁰⁴, as Greek traditional farms can be compared with them neither by their size and their functions nor in terms of their economic and social role. The villa system brought a kind of agricultural revolution although its impact was different in time and space¹⁰⁵.

Although some building remains appear to be quite substantial, considerably more substantial than most other such vestiges of buildings from the rest of the surveyed areas of Greece, unfortunately none of them has been completely excavated. Some of these structures have in addition to the *pars rustica* a *pars urbana* for short sojourns of the landowner as well as baths or private cemeteries. Many of the *villae* discovered in the countryside of Patrai show some continuity for two periods, much less for more than two periods. In fact only a few sites continue to be occupied from Roman to early Christian times, whilst extremely few sites continue to be occupied from Hellenistic to Byzantine times. One site is occupied continuously from Classical to Late Roman times¹⁰⁶.

tified as Roman and 45 (*i.e.* 26%) as Late Roman. Kahrstedt (KAHRSTEDT, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 78], p. 246-248), obviously unaware of the new finds, offers a completely erroneous image of the colony’s countryside [p. 251]: «Felhen von Villen bei Patrai selbst»). He thought, incorrectly, that animal husbandry prevailed in order to furnish with raw materials the important textile industry of the city mentioned by Pausanias (see *supra*, n. 92).

104. Some farmhouses (of Late Classical and Early Hellenistic times) recently unearthed in Macedonia represent an exception to this rule (P. ADAM-VELENI, “Αγροικίες στη Μακεδονία: οι απαρχές της ‘φρουδαρχίας’”, *AEMΘ* 20 χρόνια [2009], p. 1-16, P. ADAM-VELENI, E. POULAKI, K. TZANAVARI, *Αρχαίες αγροικίες σε σύγχρονους δρόμους. Κεντρική Μακεδονία. Κατάλογος της έκθεσης*, Athens 2003; E. POULAKI, “Κομπολόι. Πιθεών και αγρέπαυλις στη χώρα των Λειβήθρων”, in G. PIKOULAS [ed.], *Οἶνον ἱστορῶ III, Τ’ Αμπελανθίσματα. Πρακτικά Επισημονικού Συμποσίου, Κτήμα Γεροβασιλείου, Επανομή Θεσσαλονίκης 15 Μαΐου 2004*, Athens 2004, p. 45-56). We can find some similar examples in the south, especially in northern Peloponnese (see B. ΑΡΓΥΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, “Νέα δεδομένα για την οργάνωση του χώρου στην πεδιάδα της δυτικής Αχαΐας κατά την Κλασική-Ελληνιστική περίοδο”, in *Το αρχαιολογικό έργο στην Πελοπόννησο. Διεθνές Συνέδριο, Τρίπολη 7-11 Νοεμβρίου 2012*, [under press]). Their impressive size with respect to farmhouses of southern Greece (*e.g.* in Attica) as well as their economic and social features give to these villas a particular character that brings them nearer to the type of the Roman *villa rustica*.
105. See K. GREENE, *The archaeology of the Roman economy*, London 1986, p. 98-123; W. LIEBESCHUETZ, “Unsustainable development: the origin of ruined landscapes in the Roman Empire”, in L. DE BLOIS, J. RICH (eds), *The transformation of economic life under the Roman Empire. Proceedings of the second workshop of the international network Impact of empire (Roman Empire, c.200 B.C.-AD 476) Nottingham, July 4-7, 2001*, Amsterdam 2002, p. 232-243.
106. According to Petropoulos (PETROPOULOS, *loc. cit.* [*supra*, n. 103], p. 408) only 26 (*i.e.* 14%) are Hellenistic and only 7 (*i.e.* 4%) are Classical. Very few (only 4) sites continue from Classical to Hellenistic times, whilst more (11) continue from Hellenistic to Roman, and especially (17) from Roman to Late Roman and 16 from Late Roman to Early Christian. This evaluation has now changed because their number has actually increased. Alexopoulou and Stavropoulou-Gatsi (STAVROPOULOU-GATSI, ALEXOPOULOU, in this volume, p. 129-138) count 259 villa-sites but it is possible that adjacent ruins belong to the same complex; these authors estimate that the total number of *villae rusticae* in the countryside of Patrai should be around 80.

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What is very important is that a great number of the *villae* of the imperial period lie within a radius of about five or six km from the town¹⁰⁷, a distance which corresponds to the principle of nearest neighbor analysis and site exploitation territory analysis¹⁰⁸. They are situated along the three necropolis-roads of the town – particularly the ancient road parallel to the modern national road to the northeast – but also along minor roads. Other ones are situated near the sea or grouped together around a focal point or along rivers. Furthermore, this close concentration of farmsteads around the city and situated on roads radiating from the city does not seem to occur, with the same density, in other areas surveyed in Greece (*e.g.* Corinth, Sparta, Athens, Nicopolis)¹⁰⁹. The absence of traditional *kômai* in the area around the town of Patrai confirms Pausanias' (VII.18, 7) information that Augustus, “brought back to Patrai”, at the moment of the *deductio*, the people from villages around the city. There are several more farm-sites scattered in the foothills on the edge of the coastal plain to the south, most of which are Roman or Late Roman, together with a number of coastal settle-

107. See PETROPOULOS, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 103); PETROPOULOS, RIZAKIS, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 47), no 42, 43 and 45; RIZAKIS, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 16), p. 301 n. 155 with map and now STAVROPOULOU-GATSI, ALEXOPOULOU, in this volume, p. 88-153, espec. p. 150-153 (maps).
108. See C. RENFREW, P. BAHN, “Archaeology: theories, methods, and practice”, in RICH, WALLACE-HADRILL (eds), *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 59), p. 224-225; E. GRECO, “Abitare in campagna”, in A. STAZIO, St. CECCOLI (eds), *Problemi della Chora coloniale dall'Occidente al Mar Nero. Atti del 40. convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia. Taranto 2000*. vol. 1, Taranto 2001, p. 171-201, espec. p.181.
109. For the *villae* in the vicinity of Rome, see E.-M. VIITANEN, *Locus Bonus. The Relationship of the Roman Villa to its Environment in the Vicinity of Rome*. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Helsinki, 2010. Available online: <http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-952-10-6450-0>.

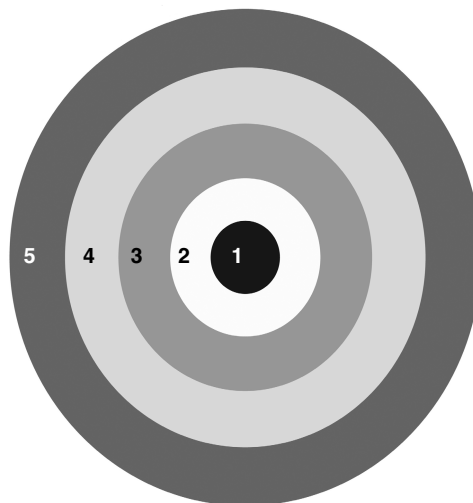


Fig. 1. – Thunen's rings model.

- 1: Urban centre
- 2: Vegetables and dairy products
- 3: Forest for firewood
- 4: Cereals
- 5: Large-scale husbandry

ments¹¹⁰. This choice reminds us of the advice of Varro and of Cato, which explains the advantages of this option¹¹¹.

The economy of the region may have been more tightly bound to Italy than to the east and the unique fluctuations in settlement numbers in the countryside of Patrai may be a result of these possible links. The pattern of so many farmsteads clustering so closely around a city in the Roman period is offering, on the basis of the existing data, the evidence for the economic centralization performed by Romans generally in the Empire and particularly in the province of Achaia. The obvious conclusion is that these farmsteads are dependent on the city, as a market and perhaps as a source of supplies. If this differs from the preceding disposition of farmsteads in the area, in Classical and Hellenistic times, then it could mean that a centralizing Roman economy made farmers more dependent upon the main urban centers.

It is obvious that the new structure of the rural landscape reflects a degree of rational conception, the primary goal of which was the effect on the urban center's needs and demand. This form of rural organization is reminiscent of Johann Heinrich von Thunen's theory¹¹² of the subdivision of a city's rural space in cultivation zones. According to von Thunen's theory (Fig. 1), each producer seeks to maximize production and profit from the exploitation of his land. Profit is a function of two factors, the optimal exploitation of a given agricultural area and the cost of transporting goods for disposal from the countryside to the city market that is the town which is located theoretically in the centre. This theory was inspired by the idea of the *homo oeconomicus* and the role of profit that had been developed some time earlier by Adam Smith¹¹³. According to this theory, the perishable products and those with very high transport costs (e.g. vegetables) are cultivated in the zone which is the closest to the city; here the profit obtainable from cultivations is very high¹¹⁴. On the contrary, non-perishable products that do not require daily care and whose transport costs are low (cereals, timber, husbandry) are localized in zones which are further from the market¹¹⁵.

110. Some larger settlements identified as 'villas' are located on the edge of the *chora* (χώρα), also on the foothills of the mountains northeast, northwest and southwest of the city's territory (see PETROPOULOS, *loc. cit.* [supra, n. 103], p. 414; PETROPOULOS, RIZAKIS, *loc. cit.* [supra, n. 47]) and now STAVROPOULOU-GATSI, ALEXOPOULOU, in this volume, p. 118-121 no 1-28 and p. 142-149 no 203-256 with maps p. 150-153).

111. Varron, *R.R.*, 1. 16, 6; Caton, *De agricultura* 1, 1-3; Lucullus I.13, 4; I.18, 8; cf. MARTIN, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 48), p. 104-105; LO CASCIO, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 98), p. 26-29 for further bibliographical references on this subject.

112. Johann Heinrich von Thunen published in 1826 in Hamburg a book entitled *Der isolierte Staat in Beziehung auf Landwirtschaft und Nationalökonomie*. Von Thunen's model has been applied to the study of the economic relations between Rome and Italy in P.W. DE, NEEVE, *Peasants in peril. Location and the economy in Italy in the second century B.C.*, Amsterdam 1984 and more recently in MORLEY, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 99). On the other models of rural development, see LO CASCIO, *op. cit.* (supra, n. 98), p. 50-55.

113. A. SMITH, *An inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations*. Edinburg/London 1825.

114. Varro (*R.R.* I.8, 1) and Colum. (III.3, 1-2), as well as von Thunen, who however did not know the Latin agronomists, thought that cultivation of vegetables was a par excellence suburban intensive cultivation.

115. Based on this principle, von Thunen divided the countryside surrounding the urban centre into homogeneous zones known as von Thunen's rings model. The black ring represents the urban centre, the white one the area of vegetables and dairy products, the green one the forest for firewood, the no 4 one the area for cereals, the no 5 the area for large-scale husbandry while the last dark area represents the zone where agriculture is unprofitable. For the cultivation of cereals in the countryside of Patrai, see M. PETROPOULOS, "Η αρχαία Άνθεια της Πάτρας",

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This rationalistic organization in cultivation zones of the large urban centers' rural landscape reflects the typical structure of the Mediterranean city throughout the centuries and does not seem to have changed much, at least until the nineteenth century that is before the industrial revolution¹¹⁶. It also reflects the ideas of the Latin agronomists, who at a theoretical level proposed the schematic layout of a city's countryside in three cultivation zones following the classical scheme *ager, silva, saltus*¹¹⁷. This scheme found many practical applications in many regions of the Empire (e.g. Mauretania, Etruria in Italy but also in other provinces as Britain and Spain) but the closest parallel to that of Patrai is Caesarea of Mauretania, studied by Ph. Leveau¹¹⁸. Similar applications can also be found in the Greek peninsula, primarily in cities founded by Rome (Corinth and Nicopolis) and, even to a less degree, in other cities as well, such as Sparta

in T. GRITSOPOULOS, *Πρακτικά 7ου Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών, Πύργος-Γαστούνη-Αμαλιάδα, 11-17 Σεπτεμβρίου 2005*, Athens 2007, p. 49-62; *id.* "Η λατρεία της Δήμητρας στην Αχάια", in I. LEVENTI, Ch. MITSOPOULOU (eds), *Ιερά και λατρείες της Δήμητρας στον αρχαίο ελληνικό κόσμο, Πρακτικά του Επιστημονικού Συμποσίου*, Βόλος 4-5 Ιουνίου 2005, Volos 2010 and *id.*, in this volume, p. 153-175.

116. This theoretical model has had very few complete practical applications (e.g. Chicago) but many European cities before the industrial revolution had a similar organization; for Paris area, see J. JACQUART, *La crise rurale en Île-de-France 1550-1670*, Paris 1974; *id.*, *Paris et l'Île-de-France au temps des paysans (XVI^e-XVII^e siècles)*, Paris 1990; J.-M. MORICEAU, G. POSTEL-VINAY *Ferme, entreprise, famille: grande exploitation et changements agricoles: les Chartier: XVII^e-XIX^e siècles*, Paris 1992; J.-M. MORICEAU, *Les fermiers de l'Île-de-France: l'ascension d'un patronat agricole: XV^e-XVIII^e siècle*, Paris 1994; *id.*, 1999; J.M. CHEVET, *La terre et les paysans en France et en Grande-Bretagne du début du XVII^e siècle à la fin du XVIII^e siècle*, vol. 1, *Les hommes et les structures foncières*, vol. 2, *Les hommes et la production*, Paris, Messène, 1998-1999.
117. On *ager, silva, saltus*, see WHITE, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 36); J.M. FRAYN, *Subsistence farming in Roman Italy*, London 1979; S. APPLEBAUM, "Agriculture in Roman Britain", *Agricultural History Review* 6, 2 (1958); D. PUPILLO, "La problematica del saltus in età romana. Inquadramento storico generale e possibilità applicative", in S. CREMONINI (ed.), *Romanità della pianura. L'ipotesi archeologica a S. Pietro in Casale come coscienza storica per una nuova gestione del territorio. Giornate di studio, S. Pietro in Casale 7-8 aprile 1990*, Bologna 1991, p. 303-320; L. CAPOGROSSI COLOGNESI, "Dalla villa al saltus. Continuità e trasformazioni", in *Du latifundium au latifondo. Un héritage de Rome, une création médiévale ou moderne? Actes de la table ronde internationale du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, Bordeaux les 17-19 décembre 1992*, Paris 1995, p. 191-211; G. SORICELLI, "Saltus", in A. STORCHI MARINO (eds), *Economia, amministrazione e fiscalità nel mondo romano. Ricerche lessicali*, Bari 2004, p. 97-123; L. ZERBINI, "Militari e gestione dei saltus", in *Le proprietà imperiali nell'Italia romana. Economia, produzione, amministrazione. Atti del Convegno, Ferrara/Voghera, 3-4 giugno 2005*, Firenze 2007, p. 355-364.
118. LEVEAU, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 99), p. 920-942; *id.*, *Caesarea de Maurétanie. Une ville romaine et ses campagnes*, *MEFR* 70, Rome 1984, p. 465-468. Millett (M. MILLETT, "Roman towns and their territories: an archaeological perspective", in RICH, WALLACE-HADRILL, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 59], p. 169-189) shows how both in Britain and Spain a relatively powerful urban center generates a penumbra of villas and settlements, becoming denser with the proximity to the town. Similar are the remarks for Etruria by Potter (T.W. POTTER, "Towns and territories in Southern Etruria", in RICH, WALLACE-HADRILL, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 59], p. 191-209) who, however, finds out that the pattern varies widely across Italy.

(see also Messene and Athens), which confirms the impression that the presence of a strong urban centre favors the development of a bulk of farms and rural settlements which become denser as they get closer to the urban center. This type of organization favors, as has been observed by Tony Spawforth in the case of Sparta, “the increasing of the orientation of the Spartan farming, at least within the immediate vicinity, to the needs of the city”. This is suggested too by the observation based on the Laconian survey that “small farms of Roman date tend to cluster closely at the bottom of the valleys and along natural lines of communication”¹¹⁹.

The dense presence of rural settlements in Patrai’s suburban zone (*villae suburbanae*) is evidence that the area closest to the town was generally used for the cultivation of vegetables, as is usually the case in many Mediterranean cities. The presence of these cultures in proximity to the city, precisely in the suburban area, is explained by the necessity of furnishing the city market with fresh and perishable products “immediately at disposal”¹²⁰. Viticulture in particular, as suggested by the archeological finds, was also practiced in the agricultural zone near the city, less the cultivation of oil which was developed also in other zones. These two cultures became widely diffused in Patrai during the imperial period, as is also evident in literary sources¹²¹. Indeed the existence of these cultivations has also been proved archaeologically, as many farms which have been unearthed in Patrai’s countryside have wine and oil presses and cellars. Many farms have one or two wine-presses; in some cases, however, complexes with many wine-presses have been found, without any residential building, which might mean that these complexes were purely productive units¹²². Unlike the garden produce, viticulture and oil cultivation have left more hints and are thus more ‘visible’. Indeed, archaeological finds leave no doubt that viticulture was more widespread than oleiculture, for which there is far less evidence¹²³.

The ruins of some buildings suggest that they may have had a second floor and in most of them have been identified facilities associated not only with the production or processing of wine and oil but also with wheat, flour, meat, lambs’ wool, bulls, pigs and fish¹²⁴. The large numbers of pignots

119. Cf. SPAWFORTH, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 42), p. 170; W. CAVANAGH *et alii*, *The Laconia survey. Continuity and change in a Greek rural landscape*, vol. 1/ *Methodology and interpretation*, ABSA Suppl. 26. London/Athènes 2002, p. 288-297, 326-337 120. See O. LONGO, “Agricoltura nell’antica Grecia”, *Rivista di storia dell’agricoltura* 43 (2003), p. 1-17, espec. p. 3.

121. See BALADIÉ, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 24), p. 158, 182-183; PETROPOULOS, in this volume, p. 160-163.

122. PETROPOULOS, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 103), p. 407 and 413. Especially for wine production, see M. PETROPOULOS, “Οι ρωμαϊκοί ληνοί της Πάτρας”, in G.A. ΠΙΚΟΥΛΑΣ (ed.), *Οἶνον ἱστορῶ I. Ἀμπελοοινική Ἱστορία καὶ Ἀρχαιολογία τῆς ΒΔ Πελοποννήσου, Πρακτικά Ἐπιστημονικοῦ Συμποσίου. Κτήμα Μερκούρη, Κορακοχώρι Ηλείας, 26 Αυγούστου 2000*, Athens 2001, p. 37-51; M. PETROPOULOS, “Κρασί καὶ λάδι: πῆλινοι κινητοὶ ληνοὶ καὶ διαχωριστήρες”, in G.A. ΠΙΚΟΥΛΑΣ (ed.), *Οἶνον ἱστορῶ IV. Θλιπτήρια καὶ Πιεστήρια. Ἀπὸ τοὺς ληνοὺς στα προβιομηχανικά τσιπουρομάγγανα. Πρακτικά Ἐπιστημονικοῦ Συμποσίου, Κτήμα Εὐχαρις, Μούρτζα Μεγάρων 23 Οκτωβρίου 2004*, Athens 2005, p. 33-45; *id.*, “The Achaian wine”, in E. MARGARITI (ed.), *Πρακτικά του Διεθνoῦς Συνεδρίου τῆς Ἰκαρίας γιὰ τὸ κρασί* (forthcoming). For all kind of olive-pressing and particularly wine-pressing equipment, found during the excavations of the *villae* of Patrai area, see PETROPOULOS, “Κρασί καὶ λάδι...” *supra*, p. 38-40 and in this volume, p. 163-174.

123. See RIZAKIS, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 16), p. 300 et n. 154 with references.

124. Querns, cisterns, mills as well as grain-cellars (*dolia*) have been found in some villas, see PETROPOULOS, in this volume, p. 158.

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that have been found during excavations attest to the presence of weaving workshops¹²⁵. This information unfortunately is not confirmed in the case of Patrai where, we know from Pausanias, women were engaged in the textile industry and used the *byssos* as raw material, cultivated on the plains of Elis¹²⁶. Such activities were developed in many cities¹²⁷, which once more found themselves engaged in regional and international trade and, certainly produced a profit¹²⁸, thus contributing to the development of transactions in the Mediterranean area. The archaeological finds suggest that a part of the production was carried out in factories in the city, and another part in the countryside's farms¹²⁹. Some villas have pottery and other workshops and there is a preponderance of amphoras and other vases for storing and probably also transporting products to various markets¹³⁰. It is thus possible that a part of the production by these farms was probably destined for the internal market, while another part was perhaps for exportation; a road network connects the farms with the sea and the harbor of Patrai¹³¹.

In a more distant zone from the centre of the colony (*e.g.* the valleys of the rivers Peiros and Glaucos), climatic and soil differences as well as distance produced other less profitable crops of a more seasonal character, that did not require rapid transport, as for example cereals. In this area farms are much rarer and,

125. Such finds are known from many places, the most important being these of Arcadia, see SOUHLERIS, in this volume, p. 345-361. For fish farm, in a *villa maritima* discovered west of Patrai (near the sea), see G. ALEXOPOULOU: "Ακτή Δουμαίων 12-14", *ΑΔ* 50 (2000), Β'1, Chron. [1995], p. 205; PETROPOULOS, in this volume, p. 160. For these *villae*, see in general MARZANO, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 75], p. 13-81; *ead.*, *Harvesting the sea: the exploitation of marine resources in the Roman Mediterranean*, Oxford 2013. For various finds from *villae*, connected with rural or animal husbandry activities, see PETROPOULOS, in this volume, p. 287-227; other examples, SOUHLERIS, *infra*, p. 345-361.

126. See *supra*, n. 92.

127. For handicraft production and workshops in Sparta, Argos and Corinth, see M. PIERART, "Ο έλληγνισμός στη Χερσόνησο του Αΐμου: Πελοπόννησος", in G. CHRISTOPOULOS, I. BASTIAS (eds), *Ιστορία του Έλληνικού έθνους. Έλληγνισμός και Ρώμη (30 π.Χ.-324 μ.Χ.)*, vol. VI, Athens, 1976, p. 157-165, espec. 160-161; G. ZIMMER, *Griechische Bronzegusswerkstätten: zur Technologieentwicklung eines antiken Kunsthandwerkes*, Mainz am Rhein 1990, p. 120-125. For textile industry and production in farms' context see MARZANO, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 75) 2007, p. 121-124.

128. This transpires from the literary and epigraphical sources as well as from the circulation of coins and the archaeological finds in a certain region, and calls for further research.

129. This can be seen in the large number of shuttles found in the *villae rusticae* in the territory of Patrai; see PETROPOULOS, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 99), p. 42; M. PETROPOULOS, A.D. RIZAKIS, "Ancient Patrai", in Tr. SKLAVENITIS, K. Sp. STAIKOS (eds) *Patras. From Ancient times to the present*, Athens 2005, p. 2-55, espec. p. 27. For other handicraft activities in the colony of Patrai and the corresponding workshops, see PETROPOULOS, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 103) and *id.* 1999.

130. See PETROPOULOS, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 103), p. 413-414 and *infra*, p.158.

131. To this day there is no tangible evidence of this sound hypothesis formulated by PETROPOULOS, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 103), p. 414-415.

as already mentioned, are characterized by a different cultivation strategy and by a preference for products which do not require frequent and great care. Animal husbandry was not absent from the colonial *territorium* but it was mostly practiced in some *villae* situated in semi-mountainous areas or on hills where there were abundant grazing areas, as well as in more mountainous, less fertile and less densely populated areas. Flat land, especially with marshes, was also exploited¹³²; thus, the distant and wet areas of Peneios and Larissos River's valley, in the west, were used for the cultivation of the plant of *byssos*, as we have seen above. Others activities carried out were those associated with hunting and exploitation of forests, but also beekeeping, the collection of grapes, etc. In any case the exploitation of the marginal areas was connected with population growth and with the necessity of extending cultivated land or finally with the exclusion of a part of the population from access to better land¹³³. The fact that some *villae rusticae* have also a *pars urbana* decorated with mosaics¹³⁴ and offering urban facilities (*i.e.* thermal baths, rooms with mosaics, etc.) shows that the owners could also use them as permanent or temporary dwellings. Finds from excavated farms show that, generally¹³⁵, there are no luxury goods imported from remote areas. It seems that most consumers' needs could be satisfied by local markets which furnished them with goods they did not produce. Nonetheless, there is a very close relationship between the owners of the farms located in the city periphery and those of the luxury city dwellings¹³⁶. Both belong to the same urban elite whose identity is known in a limited number of cases¹³⁷. On the contrary, we do not know the exact relationship existing between the big landowners and the rural population, that is the way work and exploitation of land were organized. Pliny's correspondence shows

132. The marshy lands were not deprived of any economic value; they were used in husbandry offering summer pastures for sheep, goats and cattle, see ROUGEMONT, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 54), p. 132: "les marécages, les côtes trop basses, les bassins fermés mal drainés, les deltas, les basses plaines inondables servent à l'élevage : les plaines basses et les deltas inondables offrent des pâturages d'été pour bovins et chevaux." On the exploitation of marshy lands, see E. ARRIGONI, "Elementi per una ricostruzione del paesaggio in Attica nell'epoca classica", *Nuova rivista storica* 53 (1969), p. 265-322, espec. p. 306-307 (on Marathon); see A. BURFORD, *Land and labour in the Greek world*, Baltimore/London 1993, p. 144-159 (on Attica); G. TRAINA, *Le Valli Grandi Veronesi in età romana: contributo archeologico alla lettura del territorio*, Pisa 1983; *id.*, *Paludi e bonifiche del mondo antico. Saggio di archeologia geografica*, Rome 1988; U. FANTASIA, "Aree marginali nella Grecia antica: paludi e bonifiche", in D. VERA (ed.), *Demografia, sistemi agrari, regimi alimentari nel mondo antico. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Parma 17-19 ottobre 1997*, Bari 1999, p. 65-116, espec. p. 67-68; J. KRASILNIKOFF, "On the Gardens and Marginal Lands of Classical Attica", in S. ISAGER, I. NIELSEN (eds) 2000, *Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens* 3 (2000), p. 177-193, espec. p. 183-184; S.B. POMEROY, *The Murder of Regilla*, Cambridge/London 2007, p. 74-75 (on Marathon); BRESSON, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 6), p. 41 n. 7; RIZAKIS, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 16).
133. ALCOCK, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 13), p. 25; *ead.*, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 7), p. 81; GALLO, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 92), p. 432-433; *id.*, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 92), p. 44 and 51.
134. On the mosaics found in the *villae* of Patrai, see I. PAPAPOSTOULOU, "Παρατηρήσεις σε ψηφιδωτά των Πατρών", in CARANDO, BENVENUTI, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 42), p. 211-256 and I. PAPAPOSTOULOU, "Mosaics of Patras. A review", *AE* (2009), p. 1-84.
135. This is a provisional hypothesis due to the lack of detailed studies.
136. On the *domus* found at Patrai, see P. BONINI, *La casa nella Grecia romana. Forme e funzioni dello spazio privato fra I e VI secolo*, Roma 2006 and H. WURMSER, *Étude d'architecture domestique: la maison en Grèce à l'époque impériale*, vol. I-II, unpubl. PRD, Paris IV-Sorbonne, 2008.
137. *SEG* 45, 1995, 418 [Patrai]

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that the big absentee landowners had a variety of choices for the exploitation of their estates, and in some cases they could entrust the administration of their property to a big tenant farmer or to a *procurator* or *vilicus*. The different choices depended on the size and quality of the rural estate, factors which largely determined also the character of the rural economy. The hypothesis that, at least in some of the big *villae rusticae* found in the Greek countryside the methods of exploitation were analogous to those practiced in the large *latifundia* in Italy, where slaves as well as free smallholders were used for seasonal agricultural needs¹³⁸, is based only on the indirect evidence of sporadic epigraphic references to ‘managers’ of these large estates who have different names depending on the work they undertook to carry out (e.g. *vilici*, *actores*, *procuratores*, *oikonomoi*, *phrontistai* etc.)¹³⁹. The famous passage of Dio Chrysostomus, in the seventh *oratio*¹⁴⁰, shows that the lack of adequate employment on tiny farms was an important factor contributing to compel some members of the family “to hire out or find some work”, but wage labor seems to have been, for various reasons, an ephemeral phenomenon in the Greek world. Peasant families certainly performed rural labor outside the direct cultivation of their farm in nearby villages or neighboring estates but it seems that the proletariat cannot have been numerous in many rural regions¹⁴¹.

Given the demographic density and concentration of the rich social classes, Patrai as well as other big urban centers had been the first destination for the disposal of agricultural goods produced in the countryside¹⁴². Naturally, the town of Patrai was not only a market for consuming rural products but also a centre where a variety of handicraft activities (metallurgy, weaving, pottery, leather, luxury goods such as perfume) took place. This production not only supplied the countryside but it also took part in a wider network of exchanges that offered profits sufficient to pay for imported commodities such as the agricultural products¹⁴³.

138. D. VERA, “Dalla “villa perfecta” alla villa di Palladio: Sulle trasformazioni del sistema agrario in Italia fra principato e dominato”, *Athenaum* 83.1 (1995), p. 189-211; KEHOE *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 24), p. 47-48.

139. See KEHOE, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 24), p. 81; CAMIA, RIZAKIS, *infra* p. 75-87.

140. 7.12, 15-16 and 21.

141. See ERDKAMP, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 31), p. 79-95. Alcock (ALCOCK, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 7], p. 108 ff.) thinks that «the growth of large estates and the increase of taxation and rent in cash forced the class of smallholders in Greece to rely increasingly on non-agricultural work».

142. See ERDKAMP, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 31), p. 110-114, 118-120 and 134-142; BRESSON, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 6), p. 199.

143. For the various workshops found in the city of Patrai, see A.D. RIZAKIS, “*Colonia Augusta Achaica Patrensis*. Réaménagements urbains et constructions édilitaires. La nouvelle identité patréenne”, in RIZAKIS, LEPENIOTI (ed.) 2010, p. 129-154, espec. p. 148 n. 117.

Conclusion

The arrival of the Romans was progressively followed in some areas by changes in the rural structure, land division or land ownership which are more visible in the frame of colonies and less in some other big cities. Such revolutionary interventions, unknown in the majority of the cities in spite of some minor changes, are invisible in the landscape. In a great number of cases rural division and agrarian practices did not meet with major changes and what we observe is not a rupture with past practices but rather an adaptation process of economic techniques precisely through redistribution of the components of the general economy¹⁴⁴. The division of cultures and the fundamental activities present a secular regularity. The lack of economic specialization was certainly the norm in the majority of rural or mountain communities. The bulk of the labour force, perhaps 80-90%, as in other areas in the Roman Empire, was primarily peasants who produced most of what they themselves consumed and consumed most of what they produced¹⁴⁵. Indeed, this was not a general rule but there were many variations. In fact, in a number of places we observe the coexistence of a subsistence economy represented by the small plots of peasants and of a surplus economy based on medium or large landholdings that are generally owned by absentee landlords, urban dwellers belonging to the civic 'bourgeoisie'. In some plains, located close to large urban centres, other strategies were applied and evidence is mainly for intensive cultivation as well as for a kind of specialization.

It is absolutely certain that the concentration of wealth and power in some privileged *poleis* (Nicopolis, Athens, Corinth, Patrai, Argos, Messene and Sparta) changed the structure of economic production but also the cultivation strategy, as the agricultural production was intended now to supply the neighbor city but also some regional markets. This new structure replaced the relatively balanced relationship existing in the period of freedom with a new hierarchical and asymmetrical structure between the city and the countryside that had already begun to take shape during the late Classical and Hellenistic period¹⁴⁶. Unfortunately, the accumulated surplus was used by the elites either for their personal consumption or for unproductive investments such as the construction of prestigious buildings or the financing of games and festivals which proliferated enormously during the Empire¹⁴⁷. Investments on agriculture or other productive activities were

144. On the variety and degrees of continuity in a Mediterranean context, see the interesting discussion in N. PURCELL, P. HORDEN, *The corrupting sea: A study of Mediterranean history*, Malden Mass 2000, ch. X-XI.

145. K. HOPKINS, *Conquerors and slaves*, Cambridge 1978, p. 101; MILLAR, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 49), p. 73; ERDKAMP, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 31), p. 12-13.

146. For this change, see RIZAKIS, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 38).

147. This evolution had already begun in the Hellenistic age, L. ROBERT, "Discours d'ouverture", in A. KALOGEROPOULOU (ed.), [= OMS VI, p. 709-719] *Actes du VIII^e Congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine, Athènes, 3-9 octobre 1982*, Athens 1984, p. 35-45; Cl. VIAL, "A propos des concours de l'Orient méditerranéen à l'époque hellénistique", in F. PROST, *L'Orient méditerranéen de la mort d'Alexandre aux campagnes de Pompée. Cités et royaumes à l'époque hellénistique*, Rennes 2003, p. 311-328. For the role of notables see F. QUASS, *Die Honoratiorenschaft in den Städten des griechischen Ostens. Untersuchungen zur politischen und sozialen Entwicklung in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit*, Stuttgart 1993, p. 270-303. According to Erdkamp (ERDKAMP, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 31], p. 97-98) social survival «required continuation of consumption at a certain level and social status had to be confirmed at community events such as weddings».

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indeed poor and this situation did not help to resolve the chronic agricultural and economic problems, for example in order to extend the cultivated space and thus to produce more goods and ameliorate the bad economic situation of the mass of the peasantry living in the countryside. Local authorities tried to alleviate the situation by taking measures to redress this threat but it was the Roman authorities (the Emperor and in some cases the governor) who were in a position to take more important decisions for grain-market regulation¹⁴⁸. The abandonment of land (*agri deserti*), documented in many provinces of the Empire, is a wellknown phenomenon also in Greece¹⁴⁹. It led both imperial authority and civic authorities to take drastic measures in order to limit this tendency. Since the Flavians they financed or encouraged draining and land reclamation works in marshy areas for extending the cultivated land (e.g. in the lake Kopais in Boeotia)¹⁵⁰, they offered uncultivated lands not only by δωρεά (endowment, donation) to the landless peasantry (e.g. Vespasian, Hadrian, the Severan dynasty)¹⁵¹ but also through the system of *emphyteusis* which involved the concession of lease-holdings to cultivators with the obligation to upgrade them with new plantations or cultures¹⁵².

These measures were designed to gradually encourage the cultivation with a view to augmenting the agricultural production to better meet both the increase

148. For the marketing across space, see ERDKAMP, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 31), p. 175-205 and the ch. 6: urban food supply and grain intervention, p. 258-328; for market regulations and prices fixing: see ERDKAMP, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 31), p. 283-306. (See also *supra*, n. 3).
149. On this matter, see C.R. WHITTAKER, "Agri deserti", in M.I. FINLEY (ed.), *Studies in Roman Property*, London 1976, p. 137-207 [= *id.*, *Land, City and Trade in the Roman Empire* (1993) chap. III].
150. See J.H. OLIVER, *Greek constitutions of the Early Roman Emperors from inscriptions and papyri*, Philadelphia 1989, p. 253-273 no 108-118 (with all previous bibliography); J.M. FOSSEY, *The cities of the Kopais in the Roman period*, BerlinNew York 1979. Some hints of Roman efforts to drain marshy lands are still observable in western Achaia: see A.D. RIZAKIS, "Entreprises coloniales et espace rural", in A.D. RIZAKIS, R. DALLONGEVILLE, M. LACAKIS, *Paysages d'Achaïe. Le bassin du Peiros et la plaine occidentale. MEΛETHMATA* 15, Athènes 1992, p. 125-135, espec. p. 130-131.
151. The best known examples of this practice come from Africa and are attested by two unique epigraphic texts, the *lex Manciana* and the *lex Hadriana* (KEHOE, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 24], p. 56-62 with previous bibliography). Similar imperial interventions are known for the 2nd c. AD in central Greece, more precisely at Delphi (J.-L. FERRARY, D. ROUSSET, "Un lotissement de terres à Delphes au II^e siècle apr. J.-C.", *BCH* 122 [1998], p. 277-342) where the land was distributed for free to the citizens. The most significant monograph on the rural leasing is the book of P.W. NEEVE, 'Colonus'. *Private farm-tenancy in Roman Italy during the Republic and the Early Principate*, Amsterdam 1984a and W. SCHEIDEL, *Grundpacht and Lohnarbeit in der Landwirtschaft des römischen Italien*, Frankfurt am Mein 1994; see also E. LO CASCIO, *The early Roman Empire: The state and the economy*, Cambridge 2007, p. 19-70.
152. See A.D. RIZAKIS, "L'emphytéose en pays grec", in S. FOLLET (ed.), *L'Hellénisme d'époque romaine: nouveaux documents, nouvelles approches (I^{er} s.a.C.-III^e s.p.C.)*, Colloque international, Paris 7-8 juillet 2000, Paris 2004, p. 55-76.

in the food demand of the cities due to population growth (a phenomenon confirmed by several sources) as well as to respond to the pressure that this population growth exerted for the extension of cultivated land or for the intensification of land exploitation, according to Ester Boserup's model¹⁵³. The central authority was convinced that these interventions could favour cultivators as well as those who benefited from the land taxation. Unfortunately the traditional problem of abandonment of the countryside did not find any durable solution and remained a serious headache for the imperial administration, which did not succeed in resolving the issue of *agri deserti* particularly in the context of the small marginal communities. This failure was one of the many causes which provoked the economic crisis and breakdown of the system in the third century AD¹⁵⁴.

The abandonment of a number of rural farms as well as of rural sites, during the period of the crisis of the third century, aggravated these threats to the urban population because the civic elite did not have the means (or was less disposed) to help their fellow citizens. The famous exodus to the countryside is a phenomenon which at the time took on new dimensions and changed completely the spatial structure and the relation between city and countryside¹⁵⁵. To this phenomenon may be perhaps connected the renaissance of the villa-system during the fourth century with a peak in the fifth century, during the reign of Justinian and his successors. However, this brief revival was followed by a continuous decline until the abandon of the *villae* and the definitive collapse of the villa system at the end of the 6th century¹⁵⁶.

153. E. BOSERUP, *The conditions of agricultural growth*, London 1965 and E. BOSERUP, *Population and technology*, Oxford 1981. (See also *supra*, n. 86-87). It seems that the small holdings contribute to the increase of productivity; from a structural point of view they are also indispensable for the development of the villa system (concerning Italy, see LO CASCIO, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 98], p. 176 and n. 49). Unfortunately there are no studies on the demography of Greece during this period. Generally for the demography during the imperial period, see LO CASCIO, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 98), p. 139-164 with bibliography on this subject on p. 139 n. 2. For the negative influence of swine on the demographic economic sector of cities see LO CASCIO, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 98), p. 66 n. 102.

154. See RIZAKIS, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 152). The various aspects of the third century crisis (AD 249-284) have been summarized by G. Alföldy (G. ALFÖLDY, *Die Krise des Römischen Reiches: Geschichte, Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbetrachtung, ausgewählte Beiträge*, Stuttgart 1989, p. 328-333); see now the interesting approach by L. DE BLOIS, "The crisis of the third century A.D. in the Roman Empire. A modern Myth?", in L. DE BLOIS, J. RICH (eds), *The transformation of economic life under the Roman Empire. Proceedings of the second workshop of the international network Impact of empire (Roman Empire, c.200 B.C.-AD 476) Nottingham, July 4-7, 2001*, Amsterdam 2002, p. 204-217.

155. For the impact of the economic troubles and social changes of this period, see R. REECE, "The third century crisis or change?", in A. KING, M. HENNIG (eds), *The Roman west in the third century*, BAR Inter. series 109 (I-II), London 1981; A. CAMERON: *The later Roman Empire, AD 284-430*, Cambridge Mas. 1993.

156. See LIEBESCHUETZ, *loc. cit.* (*supra*, n. 105), p. 232-243; A.G. POULTER, "Economic collapse in the countryside and the consequent transformation of city into fortress in Late Antiquity", in DE BLOIS, RICH, *op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 154), p. 244-259.

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ΤΟ ΒΙΒΛΙΟ
VILLAE RUSTICAE
FAMILY AND MARKET-ORIENTED FARMS IN GREECE UNDER ROMAN RULE
ΜΕΛΕΤΗΜΑΤΑ 68
ΤΥΠΩΘΗΚΕ ΣΤΟ
ΤΥΠΟΓΡΑΦΕΙΟ Ν. ΖΩΡΖΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΙΑ Ο.Ε.
Η ΒΙΒΛΙΟΔΕΣΙΑ ΕΓΙΝΕ ΑΠΟ ΤΟ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΔΕΤΕΙΟ
ΜΠΟΥΝΤΑΣ, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΔΗΣ Ο.Ε.
ΣΧΕΔΙΑΣΜΟΣ, ΣΕΛΙΔΟΠΟΙΗΣΗ, ΕΚΔΟΤΙΚΗ ΕΠΙΜΕΛΕΙΑ:
ΣΗΜΑΕΚΔΟΤΙΚΗ

As that of other provinces of the Empire, the rural economy of Greece underwent many changes as well, with important implications for the strategies and organization of the production, as well as for the distribution and consumption of goods. Thanks to the extraordinary mass of archaeological data collected in Greece in the last decades, and to the possibility of applying both more sophisticated research instruments and more profitable methods of approach and analysis of these data, a re-examination of a regional case study such as Roman Greece is now more feasible. The publication in this volume of material remains –remarkable both for number and quality, from various in size productive complexes– and the synthetic studies on the other hand will provide students of the ancient world with an invaluable material which will greatly contribute to a better understanding of the economic organization of this part of the Roman Empire. It will also represent a point of reference for the study of both the rural world and more specific the economy of the cities of a small but not insignificant Roman administrative unit.

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