The Negotiatores Associations in the Province of Asia During the Late Republican and Early Imperial Periods

by

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To the memory of Adrian C.S. Saunders (1958-2017)

ABSTRACT

The Negotiatores Associations in the Province of Asia During the Late Republican and Early Imperial Periods
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This thesis provides an interdisciplinary study combining history, archaeology and epigraphy to reveal how the negotiatores associations in the province of Asia integrated to the social, political, and economic life in the province of Asia after the Ephesian Vespers in 88 BCE, from the Late Republican (146-31 BCE) to the Early Imperial period (Late 1st century BCE-Late 1st century CE). At first, the emergence of the concept of negotium in the Eastern Mediterranean in the 2nd century BCE as a term for 'Roman' business venture is explained, which is followed by the discussion of the 1st century BCE development of the negotiatores associations in the Eastern Mediterranean with a special attention to the province of Asia. The negotiatores' early settlement strategies in the province are examined with the pivotal event, the Ephesian Vespers in 88 BCE, which changed the collaboration strategies of the businessmen. Consequently, the emergence of societas and collegium is discussed as organizational developments of the negotiatores associations in the province. Furthermore, the continuing role of the negotiatores associations in the 1st century BCE is emphasized by investigating their wholesale business activities through a comparative study of historical and epigraphic sources. Moreover, the thesis examines the development of ethnic self-representation, patronage, and public display of the negotiatores associations to elaborate the integration of the businessmen community in the province. In the end, the thesis shows that the negotiatores associations' transformation in social, economic, and cultural life made them an integral part of the province of Asia as permanently settled communities rather than a temporary trading diaspora of the Roman world.

Keywords: negotium, negotiatores, societas, collegium, Ephesian Vespers, ethnic self-representation, patronage, public display, wholesale trade

ÖZETÇE

Geç Cumhuriyet ve Erken İmparatorluk Dönemleri' nde Asya Eyaleti'nde Negotiatores Cemiyetleri
Yavuz Selim Güler
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Bu tez negotiatores cemiyetlerinin Geç Cumhuriyet (MÖ 146-31) ve Erken İmparatorluk (MÖ Geç 1. yy- MS. Geç 1. yy) dönemleri arasında Efes Olayı'ndan sonra Asya eyaletinde nasıl değişim geçirdiklerini ortaya çıkarmak için tarih, arkeoloji ve epigrafiyi birlikte kullanarak disiplinler arası bir çalışma ortaya koymaktadır. Öncelikle negotium kavramının Doğu Akdeniz'de MÖ 2. yy. da Roma ticari teşebbüsü terimi olarak ortaya çıkmasını MÖ 1. yy. da Asya eyaletindeki negotiatores cemiyetlerine özel önem göstererek tartışılmaktadır. Negotiatores' in eyalette erken yerleşim stratejileri, iş adamlarının iş birliği stratejilerini değiştiren MÖ 88'de gerçekleşen bir dönüm noktası olan Efes Olayı ile incelenmektedir. Böylece, societas ve collegium kavramlarının ortaya çıkışı negotiatores cemiyetlerinin eyalette örgütsel gelişimi olarak tartışılmaktadır. Ayrıca, negotiatores cemiyetlerinin MÖ 1. yy' da devam eden rolü toptan ticaret ile tarihsel ve epigrafik kaynakların karşılaştırmalı çalışmasıyla vurgulanmaktadır. Buna ek olarak, bu tez negotiatores cemiyetlerinin etnik benlik tasarımını, himaye ve kamu temsilinin gelişimini iş adamlarının eyalete entegrasyonlarını detaylandırarak incelemektedir. Sonuç olarak tez, negotiatores cemiyetlerinin sosyal, ekonomik, kültürel hayatta geçirdiği değişimlerin, iş adamlarını geçici ticari diasporalarından çok kalıcı yerleşik toplum olarak Asya eyaletinin ayrılmaz bir parçası yapmasını göstermektedir.

Anahtar sözcükler: negotium, negotiatores, societas, collegium, Efes Olayı, Etnik benlik tasarımı, himaye, kamu temsili, toptan ticaret.

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INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Rome's political and economic impact dramatically changed in the beginning of the 2nd century BCE when Rome was involved in conflicts in the broader Mediterranean. The establishment of the province of Macedonia, as well as the sack of Corinth and Carthage (146 BCE) brought extreme amounts of spoils of war, and thousands of slaves to Rome and Italy. As a self-sufficient economy that mainly depended on agriculture, Rome started to involve in the new opportunities of international trade around the Mediterranean.[1]

Business, however, was limited to a certain group in the society, since Rome had already taken measures to control who could conduct business. According to Livius (59 BCE-17 CE), in 218 BCE a new law, the *Lex Claudia*, proposed by the Plebeian Tribune Quintus Claudius, restricted the involvement of the senatorial class in commercial activities. As the only reference to this law, Livius stated:

…ne quis senator cuive senator pater fuisset maritimam navem quae plus quam trecentarum amphorarum esset haberet—id satis habitum ad fructus ex agris vectandos, quaestus omnis patribus indecorus visus…[2]

'…Neither a senator nor someone whose father had been a senator, should have a maritime ship, which could contain more than 300 amphorae. This was sufficient for carrying the products of his lands. Profit was seen disgraceful for all senators…'[3]

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[1] Morel 2007, 503-5.

[2] Livius. *Epit.* 21.63.3. Unless otherwise stated, all the excerpts from textual sources are from the Perseus Digital Library. http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/collection?collection=Perseus:collection:Greco-Roman.

[3] Unless otherwise stated, all Latin and Greek translations belong to the author.

In theory, the *Lex Claudia*[4] prohibited the senatorial class' involvement in large-scale business such as the profitable overseas trade. By this legal measure, the Romans hoped to restrict the concentration of unlimited wealth at the hands of the most powerful class in the Roman world. As a result, the law marked a boundary between the political and economic business, which was to the detriment of the senatorial class. In theory, the law created a contrast between the senatorial class and the plebeians.[5] In practice, however, the legal change led the senators to find new ways to participate in *negotium* (business): they utilized their freedmen as agents for trade; *amicitia* (friendship) relations with the equestrians came into prominence to involve in business.[6] Consequently, the legal restrictions for the senatorial class[7] as well as the flux of wealth from the Eastern Mediterranean gave rise to the emergence of a new equestrian elite group, some of whom were *negotiatores*, in the Italian towns of central and southern Italy in the 2nd century BCE.[8] The *negotiatores* started to gather in associations and spread around the Eastern Mediterranean, especially in the newly established province of *Asia*.[9] Their settlement strategy provided a significant perspective for how Romans and Italians became an integral part of the region.

[4] Although it was a 3rd century BCE law, the Romans continued to use the *Lex Claudia*. See Cic. *Att*. 5.21; Nicolet 1980, 877-79.
[5] The only senator backing the law was C. Flaminius and he might have influenced Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, who contributed to the development of the *populares* faction in the Late Republican period, see von Ungern-Sternberg 2008, 316.
[6] Burton 2004, 211-35.
[7] Bringmann 2007, 133.
[8] In the beginning, a Roman citizen could be counted as an *eques* (equestrian) if that person served in the army. The *equites* were a group of people subordinate to the senatorial class in terms of land possession. They included people from both senatorial and non-senatorial background —including people ranging from the richest businessmen to persons possessing agricultural land— since the class distinction was based on property possessions. Therefore, the equestrian class was comprised of people from various backgrounds until the *Lex reddendorum equorum* in 129 BCE. After this law, the equites only had the right to possess cavalry horses. This caused a distinction between the two classes, which became evident after Gaius Gracchus' reforms that created an antagonism between the senators and the equestrians, see Gelzer 1969, 4-17; Christ 1984, 29.
[9] For the discussion of the *negotiatores* families dominating the maritime trade in the Mediterranean in the Late Republican period, see Bowsky 2011, 435-37.

This thesis investigates the social, political, economic, and cultural changes in the *negotiatores* associations in the province of *Asia* by studying textual, epigraphic, legal, and archaeological materials. In other words, the study shows how the *negotiatores* associations are important to reveal the transition from temporarily settled adventurist businessmen, who had strong connections in Rome, into one of the local communities of the province of *Asia*, who gathered around associations, which were more connected to the provincial society. After the introductory chapter presenting the state of the art of the research, a geographical and historical background, the availability and limitations of the sources, and the applied research methodology, the second chapter provides a semantical analysis of the Latin word *negotium* as well as an introduction to the financial business of the *negotiatores* to reveal how the term emerged with the connotation of Roman and Italian business activities in the Eastern Mediterranean. Meanwhile, the chapter briefly discusses the *negotiatores*' ethical misconduct in their business activities, which made the local communities in the province to develop an antagonism towards the Romans and Italians who conducted *negotium*. Consequences of this antagonism of the locals might have affected the integration of the businessmen into the province in the Early 1st century BCE. Chapter 3 discusses the problems related to the narratives of a significant event, the Ephesian Vespers in 88 BC, when the Romans and Italians in *Asia* were massacred by the order of Mithridates. This pivotal event is crucial to understand the early presence and the population of the *negotiatores* in the province of *Asia* by providing information for a period for which there is no epigraphic or archaeological information available. In Chapter 4, the importance of the collaboration between businessmen is discussed to explain the creation of *societates* and *collegia* in the province, which helped the *negotiatores* to adapt to the region where they conducted business. Chapter 5 examines the economic significance of the *negotiatores* associations for the province and points out

how they became an integral part of the provincial commercial activities in the Early Imperial period. Chapter 6 investigates the transformation of the ethnic self-representation of the *negotiatores* associations and shows its implications for their integration into the province. Chapter 7 examines different strategies for patronage and political alliances demonstrating the ways in which the *negotiatores* changed their honoring strategies over time; a change which, we argue, is closely linked to their settlement strategies within the province. Building further on all the aforementioned arguments, chapter 8 discusses the presence of the *negotiatores* associations and their public display strategies by means of the epigraphic testimony and indicates that the *negotiatores* went to great lengths to manifest their associations' prestige within urban life. The thesis ends with a conclusion that shows the significant social, cultural, and political transformations of the *negotiatores* associations —namely a metamorphosis into a permanently settled community. At the end an appendix, figures, inscriptions, and a bibliography are included.

1.2 State of the Art of the Research

There has been carried out a considerable amount of research on the topic of the *negotiatores*; so far the studies have tended to focus on general studies on the *negotiatores* in the Roman world with a special attention to the Imperial period. Supported by legal, epigraphic and textual evidence, both Raymond Bogaert's study of bankers in the Greek cities of 1968 and Jean Andreau's research of 1987 revealed that the *negotiatores* became an integral part of the Roman financial business in the Late Republican and Imperial periods.[10] Furthermore, Nicholas Rauh's work, which was published in 1986, focused on *amicitia* (friendship) as a crucial aspect to explain the development of collaborations and

[10] Bogaert 1968; Andreau 1987.

associations (*societates*, *conventus*, and *collegia*) throughout the Roman world.[11] In addition, in 2017, Lisa Pilar Eberle showed the importance of the ne*gotiatores* by studying textual sources to understand how these people became an integral part of the provincial societies; she defined the process with the term "imperial diaspora", which can only be used for the Roman diaspora citizens in the Imperial period.[12]

There have also been studies carried out with a regional scope. Since the early 1990's Koenraad Verboven has studied legal and epigraphic documents in Northwestern provinces of the Roman Empire to reveal the relations between the social classes during the emergence of the *negotiatores* as the new equestrian elite in the Imperial period.[13] Furthermore, Wim Broekaert's work published in 2011 and 2012 examined the rich papyrological material to understand financial business in Egypt as well as its influence in the wider Mediterranean during the Early Imperial period.[14] Moreover, Monika Trümper's research on the archaeological and epigraphic evidence from the island of Delos published in 2011 and 2014 were important case studies for the development of the *negotiatores* as associations and showed how they integrated themselves into the island society.[15] In addition, in 2012, Sophia Zoumbaki studied the *negotiatores* in Western Greece (Patras, Achaia, Elaia) in the Late Republican period based on epigraphic materials, which showed the financial impact of the businessmen on mainland Greece.[16] In 2017, Sailakshmi Ramgopal examined the *negotiatores* associations in Greece in the Late Republican and Early Imperial periods; the author discussed the difference of these

[11] Rauh 1986.
[12] Eberle 2017.
[13] Verboven 1991; 1991; 2007a; 2007b; 2008; 2009; 2011.
[14] Broekaert 2011; 2012.
[15] Trümper 2011; 2014.
[16] Zoumbaki 2012.

associations from contemporaneous *collegia* and the importance of civic patronage for the honoring strategy of these associations.[17]

Until recently, there has been little interest in the *negotiatores* associations who conducted business in the province of *Asia*; the researches on the topic have depended on the onomastics of individual businessmen in the region, which has limited the scope into the study of the ethnic identity of individuals rather than focusing on the associations of the businessmen. As an example, François Kirbihler, whose works were published in 2007 and 2014, conducted onomastic studies based on epigraphic and historical materials; he provided a comprehensive perspective on the presence, social-cultural influence and integration of Italians in Asia Minor.[18] Furthermore, in 2008, Cédric Brélaz pointed out the significance of language preference in *negotiatores* inscriptions by including sporadic examples from the province of *Asia*, which might have given socio-cultural messages to the provincial society.[19] In addition, in 2002 and 2011, Ilias Arnaoutoglou discussed how businessmen — he mainly took retailers and excluded the *negotiatores* into account— had an impact on the social and cultural life in *Lydia* by looking into epigraphic material from the cities of Saittai, Sardis, and Thyateira during the Imperial period.[20] Similarly, in 2013 Peter Thonemann focused on *Phrygia* and revealed the early development of the business associations in the region by examining the onomastics of individuals based on the honorific and funerary inscriptions from the Late Republican and Early Imperial periods.[21] However, neither of these studies provided a comprehensive study of the social, economic and cultural transformation of the businessmen associations but focused on individual businessmen in the province of *Asia*.

[17] Ramgopal 2017.
[18] Kirbihler 2007; 2014.
[19] Brélaz 2008.
[20] Arnaoutoglou 2002; 2011.
[21] Thonemann 2013.

1.3 Geographical Background

1.3.1 Geography of the Province of *Asia*

The province of *Asia* was located at a very strategic place, in western Anatolia (modern Turkey), which was close to the major trade routes. The region was surrounded by *Propontis* in the north, the Aegean Sea in the west and the Mediterranean in the southeast, which were all important for trade activities. Ephesos, Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Kos and Rhodes, which had important ports, were aligned along the seacoast of the region.[22] The Rhyndakos River in the north and the Indos River near Kaunos in the south marked the natural boundaries of the region in the inland. The Rivers Hermos and Maeandros also flew into the sea from this region, providing fresh water to the region. The valleys of these rivers were formed parallel and perpendicular to the seacoast allowing the wind to reach the inland. The average height of the land is between 0-500 meters above sea level, whereas in the inland the mountainous geography has an elevation up to 2000 meters. In general, the land was arable and offered agricultural opportunities,[23] which must have been attractive for the adventurist businessmen of the equestrian class.

1.3.2 Historical Geography of the Province

The borders of this Roman province (Fig. 1) were not stable but constantly changed.[24] Based on his epigraphical studies, Habicht came to the conclusion that the province of *Asia* contained several cities along the coast of the Aegean Sea, from its northernmost point to the south; these were Adramytteion, Smyrna and Ephesos. Some major inland cities of the province included Pergamon, Sardis, Tralleis, Alabanda and

[22] Holden and Purcell 2000, 391-400.
[23] Duran 2001, 16.
[24] For the development of Roman protectorate and the acquisition of the Attalid Kingdom, see Sherwin-White 1977, 62-68.

Mylasa. Thus, the core land of the Late Republican province consisted broadly of *Mysia*, *Lydia*, *Ionia* and *Karia*. However, as Habicht suggested, *Phrygia* (with cities such as Apameia, Laodikeia, Philomelion, and Synnada), was not a stable region of the province: for a time between 56-50 BCE, it fell under the jurisdiction of the province of *Cilicia*. Subsequently, the region became part of the province of *Asia* only after 49 BCE. In 29 BCE, however, the region was given to the Galatians. Finally, after 25 BCE, the region became part of the province of *Asia* again.[25] There has also been discussion whether *Lykia* and *Pamphylia* can be securely considered part of the province. Levick suggested that, while the Roman general Pompeius was dealing with piracy on the Cilician coast in 67 BCE, he might have used Attaleia as a naval base. Consequently, some parts of *Lykia* and *Pamphylia* could also be considered part of the province of *Asia*.[26] This thesis does not include *Lykia*, except for *Kibyra*, which was an important city of the province during the Imperial period and an important source for the *negotiatores* in the region.[27]

Starting with the Early Imperial period, the cities in the regions of *Mysia*, *Lydia*, *Ionia*, *Phrygia* and *Karia* fell under the jurisdiction of the province of *Asia*. The capital of the province was initially Pergamon, but from the Early 1st century BCE onwards Ephesos became a prominent city and certainly in the time of Cicero, when he was traveling to *Cilicia* across Ephesos in 51 BCE, the city was the capital of the province.[28] In the Imperial period, the jurisdiction centers (*conventus Asiae*) were Kyzikos, Adramytteion, Pergamon, Smyrna, Sardis, Ephesos, Miletos, Halikarnassos, Mylasa, Tralleis, Alabanda, Kibyra, Laodikeia, Synnada, Apameia, and Philomelion.[29] However,

[25] Habicht 1975, 68-69.
[26] The first governor of the province of *Asia* was Manius Aquillius; Rome invested in the region of *Pamphylia* and constructed road systems connecting the regions within the province, see Levick 2004, 261.
[27] Kibyra was part of the province of *Asia* until the end of the Early Imperial period, to which the *negotiatores* inscriptions can be dated, see Marek 2010, 331.
[28] Rigsby 1988, 139-40.
[29] Marek 2010, 331.

some scholars included Tralleis within the jurisdiction of Ephesos as well as Miletos and Mylasa within that of Alabanda.[30] Based on the background of the historical geography, this thesis only includes the inscriptions found within the borders of the province of *Asia* between the Late Republican and Early Imperial periods.

1.4 Availability and Limitations of the Sources

Since this thesis primarily focuses on the *negotiatores* associations who conducted business in the Late Republican and Early Imperial periods in the province of *Asia*, the thesis does not conduct an onomastic study of the individual *negotiatores* to reveal their ethnic connections with Italy as this has been discussed by many other scholars before. In this research, instead, the intention is to use primary sources written in Greek and Latin, including both literary and epigraphical sources to understand the associative collaborations of the *negotiatores* leading to a permanent settlement strategy of the businessmen in the province.

The sources used in this thesis could be rather easily accessed as most of the inscriptions are available online. Funded by Cornell and Ohio State University, the *Searchable Greek Inscriptions* website provides all inscriptions from the Eastern Mediterranean that were published until November 1, 2017.[31] When contextual information had been available, it was provided by *L'Année Épigraphique* as well as individual scholarly articles which mentioned the inscriptions with commentaries. Unfortunately, most of the inscriptions are fragmentary and have lost their architectural context since most of the cities in Anatolia were overbuilt in the Roman Imperial period

[30] For the discussion, see Magie 2017, 171.
[31] *Negotiatores* inscriptions in this database are dated to the Late 2nd century BCE to 6th century CE. The data is based on: The Packard Humanities Institute. 2017. *Searchable Greek Inscriptions*. https://epigraphy.packhum.org/search?patt=ρωμαιοι

and in later times. As a result, the archaeological interpretations are based on the available textual, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence.

In the database, I looked for inscriptions that mention either the *negotiatores* or *πραγματευόμενοι*, which could be associated with the Roman and Italian businessmen associations. 54 inscriptions —including identical inscriptions— were found related to the *negotiatores* from the entire province of *Asia* between the Late Republican and Early Imperial periods. In the appendix, the inscriptions are categorized according to their date, dedicator(s), honorand(s)/dedicant(s) type (honorary/dedicatory/funerary/legal), language, and material. If available, the archaeological context is also provided.

The inscriptions share some main characteristics, which are useful to mention as a background. The Roman and Italian businessmen (*negotiatores/πραγματευόμενοι*) were widespread across the province of *Asia*. On the one hand, the epigraphic testimony is mainly concentrated in the coastal cities of the province (39 inscriptions), where important harbors prospered, such as in the regions of *Karia* (Kaunos, Halikarnassos, Iasos), *Ionia* (Erythrai, Smyrna, Ephesos), *Mysia* (Kyzikos), and *Troas* (Assos) (Fig. 2). The concentration of the inscriptions in the harbor cities is caused by the *negotiatores*' role in long-distance trade, which, as explained, depended on maritime trade. On the other hand, the *negotiatores* were also present in the hinterland of the province of *Asia* (25 inscriptions — 16 from Kibyra) including *Lydia* (Sardis, Iulia Gordos, Thyateira), *Lykia* (Kibyra), *Mysia* (Hadrianoi pros Olympon, Adramytteion), and *Phrygia* (Sebaste, Prymnessos, Apameia, Dorylaion) (Fig. 3).

Besides, most of the epigraphic testimony (40 cases) are in Greek. In 10 cases, the inscriptions are in Latin, whereas only 4 inscriptions in the entire province of *Asia* are

bilingual (Greek and Latin).[32] Concerning the dates, only very few inscriptions (6 cases) are dated to the Late Republican Period (133-31 BCE), while the majority of the inscriptions (31 cases) are dated to the Early Imperial period (Late 1st century BCE – 1st century CE). The rest of the inscriptions (10 cases) are dated from the period between the 2nd and 3rd century CE. 7 inscriptions, shown in the appendix as N/A, cannot not be dated to a specific period but belong to the Roman Imperial period. As far as the types of inscriptions are concerned, in most cases, the inscriptions are honorific. Based on the preserved material, the Roman/Italian businessmen left 35 honorary inscriptions in the province of *Asia*. In addition, the businessmen commissioned 4 inscriptions as dedicatory inscriptions. 5 inscriptions are funerary, 6 inscriptions are honorary/funerary inscriptions and 3 inscriptions are honorary and dedicatory inscriptions. Only 1 inscription is a legal text. Concerning the archaeological context of the inscriptions, for 26 inscriptions we have information about the find-spot, whereas for 28 of the inscriptions we do not have any data about their archaeological context; no descriptions concerning the physical appearance of the text are available in the publications.

1.5 Research Question and Methods

The main research question of this thesis is: "How did the *negotiatores* associations integrate to the social, political, and economic life in the province of *Asia* after the Ephesian Vespers?" We answer this question in seven chapters, in which we examine specific social, cultural, and economic aspects of the integration of the businessmen into the region.

[32] Bilingualism could be a reference to the dedicator's double identity (e.g. Greek speaking 'Italian' or 'Romanized' Greek), but this type of inscription was rare in *Asia*. For the discussion of bilingualism in *Asia*, see Bauzon 2008, 126-27.

In chapter 2, we offer a survey of all the references related to the Roman and Italian business and businessmen from the Perseus Digital Library.[33] We also consult Koenraad Verboven's research, which provided the statistics for the contexts in which the *negotiatores* were mentioned by the ancient authors.[34] Then, we use Emile Benveniste's semantical research[35] on *negotium* as a basis; a new semantical analysis is applied to understand the development of *negotiatores* and its Greek version *πραγματευόμενοι.* Finally, we examine the diachronic changes in the meaning of the term *negotiatores* throughout centuries by investigating how it became a Roman concept in a Greek context, specifically by analyzing textual evidence to understand financial and large-scale wholesale business.

In chapter 3, we analyze the historical sources to understand the early settlement and population of the *negotiatores* in the province of *Asia* since there is no epigraphic evidence available for the businessmen associations before the Early 1st century BCE. In the first place, we conduct research to find all the references concerning the Ephesian Vespers. We find 11 prose writers from the Late Republican to the Late Antiquity, who mentioned the Ephesian Vespers, which disrupted the population of the *negotiatores*. To understand the diachronic changes in the narratives, we analyze literary devices in the excerpts by using the methodology of Latife Summerer, which is to analyze the sources within the context when they were written.[36] In addition, we examine the aim of the authors as well as the context in which the Ephesian Vespers is used to reveal possible agendas of the authors. As a challenge, all the references are secondary sources except for Cicero, who lived in the period when the event was happened but recorded the event

[33] For all the literary sources, the thesis utilized the Perseus Digital Library database. http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/collection?collection=Perseus:collection:Greco-Roman.
[34] Verboven 1991.
[35] Benveniste 1951.
[36] See p. 28.

only 23 years later. In addition, it is important to note that all the authors come from an aristocratic background, which limited the analysis to a Roman upper-class historian and male perspective.

In chapter 4, we examine the social and legal changes that increased the collaboration opportunities among the businessmen, namely the development of *societates* and *collegia*. We analyze the *Institutiones of Gaius, Corpus Iuris Civilis* and *Digesta*. Furthermore, we compare these with the known cases from Cicero's works (*Ad Atticum* and *Pro Flacco*) in order to theorize the collaboration strategies of the *negotiatores*, which might have led to an increase in business networks in the province during the 1st century BCE. Since there are no textual sources other than Cicero concerning the *societates* in the province of *Asia*; all the examples are limited to his perspective.

In chapter 5, we define what wholesale trade was for the Romans by looking at the well-studied example of Late Republican Rome; we study all the textual references from the province of *Asia* about the wholesale-trade goods from the Late Republican to the Imperial periods. Furthermore, we compare them with the distribution of the *negotiatores* inscriptions throughout the province to understand the possible commercial activities in different regions of the province and changes in the economic importance of the *negotiatores*. Since there are only 5 inscriptions in which specific wholesale trade activities are mentioned, the argument is based on possibilities of wholesale trade goods, which are supported by textual and archaeological sources.

In chapter 6, we examine the epigraphic material to understand the ethnic changes in the self-representation of the *negotiatores* associations. We conduct a diachronic survey of the dedicators of the inscription. In these 54 inscriptions, we detect various ethnic representations including *Italicei/ἰταλικοί Cives Romani/Ῥωμαῖοι* in different

periods. In this way, we analyze the diachronic alterations in the preferences of appellation of the associations and how they started to disappear in the following centuries, which contributed to the understanding of the usage of an ethnic appellation by the associations for specific social, cultural and economic advantages in the province of *Asia*. It is important to note that out of 54 inscriptions 2 inscriptions lost the part concerning the ethnic representation; the study can only be conducted with limited available materials.

In chapter 7, we investigate the patronage and political relations of the *negotiatores* associations by studying the honorands of the inscriptions, which all appear in the accusative case. The aorist version of 'to honor' (*τιμάω*) is in most cases omitted (*ἐτίμησαν*), but the dedicator(s) in the nominative (*οἱ πραγματευόμενοι*) and honorand in the accusative are adequate to understand the honorific context. We investigate whether there are specific references for honors to the honorands to understand in what sense the *negotiatores* associations sought connections with higher officials. We detect different language and honor strategies, which might have been useful to understand the changes in patronage relations from Roman officials to a more local context.

In chapter 8, we conduct a complementary archaeological study of the inscriptions to reveal the specific selection of contexts for public display of the inscriptions. We search for references related to the specific inscriptions and collect all the contextual evidence. Then, we compare the original date of the inscription with the archaeological context to understand a possible secondary usage. We examine the specific place choice of the *negotiatores* in relation to other variables of the inscriptions (dimensions, material, function) to show possible advertisement strategies of these associations. In addition, we conduct an analysis of the inscriptions themselves and see whether epigraphic formulas can reveal information about the function of the inscriptions. We use Mika Kajava's

approach which stated that if an honorand appears in the accusative case, most probably the inscription was a base for an honorific statue.[37] This approach expands the interpretation of the visibility of the association inscriptions by adding statues that have not been preserved. However, the lack of context for most of the inscriptions as well as the ambiguous descriptions of the available context appear as challenges for this chapter.

[37] Kajava 2011, 563-65.

Chapter 2

NEGOTIUM AND *NEGOTIATORES*

2.1 Introduction

It is difficult to define who the *negotiatores* were in the Roman world, since they constituted a group of people that corresponded to a diverse range of professions, including middlemen, retailers, and consumers. They also came from different classes of the Roman society (e.g. equestrians, freedmen, slaves).[38] Roman authors, accordingly, used the word *negotiatores* as a generic term to refer to the Roman and Italian businessmen who conducted commercial activities and offered financial services around the Mediterranean.[39]

This chapter provides a background to the use of the words *negotium* and the *negotiatores* in the Roman world. First, by providing a semantical analysis of the term *negotiatores* reveals the acculturation of the idea of *negotium* between the Roman and Greek worlds. Secondly, the chapter examines the financial business of the *negotiatores* to show how the concept contributed to the generic usage by the ancient authors. Thirdly, the chapter examines how the Roman authors used the word *negotiatores* to reveal the broader socio-political impact of the businessmen within the Roman world.

2.2 The Semantical Analysis of *Negotium* and *Negotiatores*

The *Lewis and Short's Latin Dictionary* broadly defined *negotiator* as: 'A person who conducted business by means of banking and wholesale trade; an agent who was assigned by someone to deal with a business activity'.[40] *Der Kleine Pauly* provided a

[38] Holleran 2012, 82.
[39] See p. 1-3.
[40] Lewis & Short s.v. '*Negotiator*'.
http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=negotiator&la=la#lexicon.

historical etymology: in the Republican Period the term referred to a person dealing with banking and trade. The entry clearly distinguished the word from *mercator* (merchant) and *publicanus* (tax-farmer). On the other hand, the entry suggested that in the Imperial period *negotiator* mostly defined a tradesman.[41] To understand the development of the term within the scope of Roman socio-economic history, it is important to discuss with semantical analysis.

The *De negotiatoribus Romanis*, written in 1737 by Johann August Ernesti, provided the first scholarly semantical work on the *negotiatores*. After examining Cicero's works, Ernesti concluded that the term *negotium* and its derivatives, *negotiari* and *negotiatores*, primarily referred to the things related to financial business ventures.[42] However, it seems that Ernesti failed to integrate commercial business of the *negotiatores*.

Emile Benveniste's influential article *Sur L'Histoire du Mot Latin Negotium*, published in 1951, corrected Ernesti's mistake by acknowledging diverse meanings denoted by *negotium*.[43] Benveniste focused on the semantics of *negotium* and he suggested that the word was derived from the combination of *nec* ('not') and *otium* ('leisure').[44] According to him, *otium*, on the one hand, referred to leisure or rather the state of leaving business activities. The meaning of *otium*, on the other hand, should not be confined to leisure, since the word also contained the meaning of contemplation and following the pursuits of art and culture.[45] Benveniste provided a more descriptive

[41] Kl. Pauly s.v. 'Negotiator', 2416. Although Cicero's accounts are the most detailed sources, the financial component of *negotium* did not cease in the Imperial period, since the Late Antique *Cod.Iust.* mentions imperial edicts concerning restrictions of the financial relations between Roman *negotiatores* and *peregrini* (foreigners), see *Cod. Iust*. 4.63.2.
[42] *Opuscula Philologica et Critica* 3; Eberle 2017, 324. Interestingly, Roman author Varro (116-27 BCE) did not include the origins of '*negotium*' in his dictionary *De Lingua Latina*, see Varro, *Ling*.
[43] Yet, thus far there has been no argument written to contradict what he stated concerning the origins of the Roman concept of business, see also Verboven 1991; Eberle 2017.
[44] Benveniste 1951, 21-22.
[45] Dench 2014, 133.

definition and pointed out that when a Roman businessman said "*Mihi negotium est.*" ('I have an occupation'), he was referring to a business in a broader sense, and not only to a financial business as Ernesti suggested.[46] Following the argument, the term *negotiatores*, which Cicero used, was a derivative of *negotior* ('I conduct business') and referred to the Roman and Italian businessmen who conducted financial and commercial business. The word *negotiator* continued to be used in the Western regions (e.g. Hispania, Gallia, Germania) of the Roman Empire during the Roman Imperial period.[47]

In addition, Benveniste showed that the signifiers for business in Greek and Latin developed separately, reflecting cultural contacts between the Roman and Greek worlds. In the first place, the Greeks adopted the Latinized form of the word *negotium*. As a result, although the Greek term for *negotium* was *ἀσχολία*, which was the opposite of *σχολή* (leisure), in the Late Republican period the Greek word defining business became *πραγματικός* (business). We argue that this change in the meaning of the word showed the influence from Latin, since the Romans and Italians started to be active in business in the Greek world especially after the 2nd century BCE.[48]

Although Benveniste did not particularly explain the origins of *negotiatores* in Greek, the argument on semantics can be elaborated by revealing how the word derived from *πραγματικός* through the chronological analysis of the inscriptions.

The first epigraphic attestations to Italian and Roman businessmen were on the island of Delos, where a free port was established by the Romans in 166 BCE, provided reduced custom dues; and it attracted Roman and Italian entrepreneurs.[49] Starting in the mid-2nd century BCE, references to Roman and Italian businessmen appeared in

[46] Benveniste 1951, 21-22.
[47] For the olive trade from *Hispania Baetica* to Rome during the Imperial period, see Rico 2003, 413-33. For the commercial and financial enterprises and their relations with the movement of the Roman army in the Northwestern provinces, see Verboven 2007a, 295-313.
[48] Benveniste 1951, 21-25.
[49] Trümper 2014, 84-85.

inscriptions on Delos.[50] When the inscriptions referred to businessmen, they were formulated by specific arrangement of words. The Latin formula for the *negotiatores* was *cives Romani/Italicei quei in + locative* (e.g. *Delei) negotiantur* ('Roman citizens or Italians who are dealing with business at …'), whereas in Greek the formulation was *οἱ ἰταλικοί/Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ + dative (*e.g. *ἐν Δήλωι) πραγματευόμενοι* ('the Romans/Italians who are engaged in business at …').[51] Similar inscriptions of the Roman and Italian businessmen also emerged in the Early 1st century BCE, after the first Mithridatic War (89-85 BCE) and continued to be used as markers of Roman and Italian businessmen associations in the province of *Asia* afterwards.[52] In fact, the Romans in the Eastern Mediterranean derived the form *πραγματευόμενοι* as the present middle voice participle masculine plural nominative of the verb *πραγματεύομαι* ('I am engaged in business'). Thus, it can be argued that the term used for the Roman and Italian businessmen had its origins in the Latin word *negotium*, rather than being the direct translation of *ἀσχολία*. We argue that this acculturation of the concept can also be supported by the impact of intensive Roman financial business on the Greek world.

2.3 *Negotium* as Financial Business

The Roman concept of financial intermediation was not very different from modern practices as the main principle was to negotiate between a borrower and lender.[53] In Raymond Bogaert's words, the banking system revolved around the individuals who were called either *argentarii* (money changer)—later called *nummularii* (money broker)— or *τραπεζῖται* (banker) in the Ancient world for the intermediation of loan

[50] Reger 1994, 55.
[51] Adams 2004 651-58.
[52] For the Mithridatic War and its impact on the *negotiatores*, see Chapter 3 'The Ephesian Vespers'.
[53] Broadly speaking, financial intermediation is a service facilitating exchange between borrowers and lenders. At present day, banks are the integral component of financial intermediation by providing deposit and loan services. For more information about modern banking, see Mankiw and Taylor 2014, 522-23.

services.[54] Contrary to Bogaert, Jean Andreau suggested that the concept of banking should not be confined to financial intermediation, but that the banking system also served as cashier service, which was useful to supply the needs of the ordinary people for their daily expenses.[55] Hence, the aforementioned banking agents provided deposit banking services for clients who were seeking various amounts of credit in the Roman world.

Besides the banks, the *negotiatores* also provided financial services. The financial intermediation conducted by Roman *negotiatores* contained different types of loan services parallel to the banking services provided by *argentarii* and *τραπεζῖται*. But as Andreau showed, they did not conduct exchange of money as if they were banking agents, but provided certain transactions, although there is no reference to a certain *negotiator nummularii* known thus far.[56] These businessmen with financial interest provided cashier services, but cash money was not always available. As a result, the *negotiatores* funded their loan services from deposit bank services or earnings from commercial activities.[57] We can summarize financial *negotium* following Wilson's suggestion: a *negotiator* combined the practices of a *δανειστής* (a money lender and creditor) and a *τραπεζίτης* and in the Late Republican period a *negotiator* worked as "independent banker-moneylender" in the Roman world apart from his commercial ventures.[58]

There are also several examples of *negotiatores* conducting financial business attested in the province of *Asia*. Several Greek cities asked for loans from *negotiatores* to pay debts and high taxes sanctioned by the Romans on account of their support to Mithridates in the Early 1st century BCE. Thus, Tralleis and several other cities and individuals in *Karia* asked for loans. The *negotiatores*, provided loan services through

[54] Bogaert 1968.
[55] Andreau 1987, 17; Verboven 2008, 211-12.
[56] Andreau 1987, 218.
[57] See Verboven 2008, 224-29.
[58] Wilson 1966, 4.

agents such as their freedmen. For instance, A. Sextilius, L. Egnatius Rufus and Scaptius are known to have been significant money lenders.[59]

However, other than bankers in the modern sense, the banking business in the Roman world was not considered a proper profession. In this way, banking business and loan service did not have positive connotations in the Roman world.[60] As Verboven showed, the word *negotiatores* was used by the *faeneratores*, who worked as brokers, to disguise their bad reputation due to ethical misbehavior within a broader term. Thus, the *negotiatores* also included *faeneratores*, who were also *equites* (equestrians) and provided loan services at interest to non-Romans,[61] such as client kings, dependent cities, and other foreign nations. Since the term *faeneratores* had a negative connotation, which even endangered the presence of the Roman and Italian communities in the province of *Asia*, the Roman authors of the Late Republican period ancient authors used the term *negotiatores* as a euphemism.[62]

Although the *faeneratores* did not have a good reputation, as Verboven stated, they were prime financiers for those seeking large-scale credit opportunities. As credit intermediaries, the *negotiatores* created a network of connections in different locations, which both provided loans for wholesale trade and tax-payment of the subjects of Rome

[59] Kirbihler 2007, 28.
[60] Verboven 2008, 211-29.
[61] There were two main sources for the loans. The first stage, 'internal sources', were a group of people providing capital investment among themselves. In other words, loan services were generated by the owners of a firm or farmstead. The investment, as a result, was constrained to the members (*faeneratores*) of a farm or a business firm. Thus, the equity capital was limited to the retained earnings of the members. In this strategy, the members shared the risk of the investment, but enjoyed loan services with interest-free or low interest opportunities in comparison to high interests from banks. Accordingly, internal sources were relying on the people in the same community and its wealth; thus, it was also referred to as 'autarkic business'. Unlike 'internal sources', in the case of 'informal-external sources' people sought capital from family and friends who were not in their own farmstead or firm. Mutual trust between the borrower and lender established a ground for trustable credit contracts and low interest rates. Furthermore, the fear of losing trust was another factor for people to avoid fraudulent agreements. If strangers did not have rich relatives, they had to look for lenders outside their circle for their business venture. However, even if a borrower was trustable, it was a challenge for an investor to distinguish a fraudulent person from a trustworthy person, see Temin 2013, 160-61.
[62] This section is based on Wilson 1966, 5; Verboven 2008, 221-29.

in the Eastern Mediterranean.[63] Claire Holleran exemplified this financial business with the city of Rome in the Late Republican period, which showed that since there was a need for large-scale consumption of goods, there were credit opportunities to purchase large quantities, which were supplied by the networks of the *negotiatores* spread around the Roman world.[64] We can argue that even they caused distress among the people who sought loans for tax-payment, their loans contributed to the wholesale trade in the broader Mediterranean.

2.4 Historical References to the Italian/Roman Businessmen

A study of the historical accounts of the *negotiatores* reveals the broader importance of Italian and Roman businessmen in the Roman world. In the first place, Titus Livius provided the earliest historical events where the *negotiatores* appeared. His mythological-historical accounts of the Roman Kingdom referred to a conflict between the Sabines and the Romans in the reign of Tullus Hostilius (7th century BCE). In Livius' narrative, king Tullus Hostilius mentioned the captured *negotiatores Romani* in the market near the temple of Feronia during the war.[65] In the text, it seems that Livius referred to the people who conducted business by means of commercial activities. We believe that the problem concerning this earlier reference is that Livius was a historian from the 1st century CE, and so when he wrote about the businessmen, he might have influenced from the concept of the *negotiatores* of the Augustan period.[66] Therefore, it can be argued that it is difficult to link this earlier example of the *negotiatores* with the Late Republican and Early Imperial *negotiatores*.

[63] For a detailed discussion, see Verboven 2008, 211-29.
[64] Holleran 2012, 64.
[65] Livius. *Epit.* 1.30.
[66] Chaplin 2007, xxiii-xxiv.

Other historical references to the *negotiatores* were provided by the eye-witness accounts of Cicero concerning the Late Republican *negotiatores*.[67] *In Verrem* ('Against Verres'), written in 70 BCE, presented the *negotiatores* as financial and commercial businessmen.[68] Cicero's *Pro Flacco*, written in 59 BCE, referred to a certain *negotiator*: G. Apuleius Decianus, who conducted financial and commercial business in *Asia* but caused distress among the locals due to his ethical misconduct.[69] In his *Pro Plancio* (54 BCE), Cicero alluded briefly to an instance that had happened in 75 BCE when he was the quaestor, a magistrate responsible for treasury and criminal trials, of the province of *Sicilia*. He saw the *negotiatores* as his counterparts and was on a friendly basis with them due to the *amicitia* relations.[70]

Cicero's *Letters to Atticus*, written in the 50's BCE, referred to certain *negotiatores*, such as Marcus Scaptius and Publius Matinius, who oppressed the local people with an annual high interest rate of 48%, whereas it should not be higher than 12% according to Roman law.[71] In these letters, Cicero also mentioned ethical businessmen such as his friend Atticus' business as a thriving and trustable business in the province of *Asia*.[72]

In Cicero's *Pro Deiotaro*, published in 45 BCE, the *negotiatores* were called as witnesses to support the Galatian client-king Deiotaros against accusations concerning a murder attempt on Caesar.[73] It can be therefore seen that Cicero's usage of the term

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[67] Cicero used the word *negotium* and its derivatives mainly for financial and economic activities. For the analysis of the occurrence of *negotium* and its derivates in Cicero's works, see Feuvrier-Prevotat 1981, 371.
[68] Tran 2014, 111. Cicero continued to mention the *negotiatores* in his later works to strengthen his deliberative speeches. For the prosecution and the importance of witnesses in Cicero's deliberative speeches, see Steel 2014, 222-23.
[69] Cic. *Flac*. 70-80. For Decianus' misbehavior in the province of *Asia*, see Lewis 1991, 127-28.
[70] Paterson 2010, 138.
[71] Cic. *Att*. 6.1.3-5. For the allegiances of Scaptius to Brutus and the importance of friendship while conducting financial businesses in *Cilicia*, on Cyprus and in *Asia*, see Rauh 1986, 3-4.
[72] Cic. *Att*. 5.13. For Atticus' business relations in Ephesos, see Jones 1999, 89-94.
[73] Cic. *Deiot*. 9. The case discussed Cicero's last deliberative speech addressing a problematic case in which Deiotaros was accused to have attempted to assassinate Caesar. The court was taking place at Caesar's

negotiatores was for people who conducted both financial and commercial business and had both positive and negative connotations in different contexts.

Apart from explaining how *negotiatores* conducted business, ancient authors remarked on the close relations between *negotiatores* and the Roman army. In his *Bellum Iugurthinum* (Jugurthine War), the 1st century BCE historian Sallustius pointed out how *negotiatores* who acted as suppliers of the Roman army aligned with the local powers to fight against Jugurtha.[74] In his *De Bello Gallico* (On the Gallic War), Gaius Iulius Caesar mentioned how *negotiatores* became significant agents for the supply of the Roman soldiers in Gaul.[75] Therefore, it can be argued that, these businessmen were an integral part of the logistics of the Roman army in the Late Republican period.

Another reference for historical sources was that the *negotiatores* visited the least-known parts of the world and provided information on these regions. The *Naturalis Historia* (77 CE) of the Roman writer Plinius the Elder (23/4-79 CE) provided this perspective of the *negotiatores*. In his narratives of the geography and the ethnology of the known world, Plinius described the *negotiatores* —our *negotiatores* (*nostri negotiatores*) as Plinius indicated— as being traders or merchants who had contacts with the edges of the Roman world. According to Plinius, they were a group of people who, together with Roman legates disseminated knowledge, such as the description of the remote kingdom of *Charax (Arabia)* and its realm.[76] It seems that Plinius used the *negotiatores* as one of his reliable sources for his discussion of the characteristics of the regions he studied. Thus, *nostri negotiatores* were not only agents of *negotium* (business) in the 1st century CE, but they were also informants for the Roman Empire.

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house *in absentia* of Deiotaros. Emphasizing the problem of judicial processes, Cicero explained the problematic nature of the court. Thus, Cicero used different strategies to acquit Deiotaros, including calling trustable witnesses, in this case Roman resident businessmen, see Arca 2017, 23-31.

[74] Sall. *Iug*. 1; 26.

[75] Caes. *BGal*. 7.3.

[76] Plin. *HN*. 6.46; 6.48; 6.49.

To sum up, the ancient authors attested diverse social and economic functions to the *negotiatores*. However, this was not the case with the financial activities of the *negotiatores* in the provinces since it created a negative impression of the businessmen in the Late 2nd- Early 1st century BCE in the Eastern Mediterranean.

2.5 Discussion

To begin with, *negotium* had diverse meanings for the Romans, some of which were later adopted by the Greeks. As mentioned above, in the Roman provinces where Latin was the primary language, Roman and Italian businessmen were referred to as *negotiatores*, whereas the Greeks used the word *πραγματευόμενοι* as a Greek counterpart for the Latin term. Accordingly, we argue that the term was developed as a Roman rather than a Greek term for business. Thus, it seems that there was Roman/Italian influence on the business conduct in the Eastern Mediterranean. For example, this can be seen on the island of Delos and in the province of *Asia*, where the Romans became active during the 2nd century BCE on account of the socio-economic, military, and political developments in the Roman world.

Second, the *negotiatores*' involvement in the Eastern Mediterranean helped them to develop their financial business. However, due to the ethical misconduct of the *negotiatores*, the businessmen gained a negative reputation. We argue that the financial businessmen might have used the broader meaning of *negotiatores* to hinder their negative perception within the Roman society.

Third, the ancient authors remarked on the importance of the *negotiatores* within the Roman society. We argue that these businessmen were considered an integral part of the socio-economic life of the provinces, army supplies, and Roman expeditions to the least-known lands in the 1st century BCE and 1st century CE. In comparison to the

financial business and early references, the *negotiatores* started to appear with rather impartial connotations in the Late 1st century BCE.

Chapter 3

A TURNING POINT: THE EPHESIAN VESPERS

3.1 Introduction

The *negotiatores*, who were composed of people from different strata within Roman society and had different professions, started to dominate the business ventures in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Late 2nd century BCE. However, according to historical sources, their business conducts and ethical misconduct caused conflict among the people they encountered.[77] This chapter investigates the early history of the *negotiatores* in the province of *Asia* by providing a literary analysis of the ancient authors on the Ephesian (Asiatic) Vespers coordinated by the king of Pontus, Mithridates VI (120-63 BCE), in 88 BCE during the First Mithridatic Wars (89-85 BCE). Since the Ephesian Vespers incident caused the death of the Roman citizens and the Italian *socii*, who were mainly *negotiatores*, in the province of *Asia*, it was an important event for the studies on the population of the businessmen, as well as how they were perceived by the locals in the Early 1st century BCE.[78] The chapter first examines how several scholars in the 20th century placed the Ephesian Vespers in the narrative of "anti-Roman" propaganda by taking the details of the event (e.g. number of casualties) for granted, which might have led to misconception of the early history of the *negotiatores* in the province of *Asia*. In addition, the extent of the Ephesian Vespers is not fully known. We believe that 19th and 20th century scholars did not consider how the Roman historians used the incident in their narratives and elaborated on the massacre to serve their own agendas.

[77] See chapter 2 '*Negotium* and *Negotiatores*'.
[78] Ñaco del Hoyo et al. 2009, 38-39.

The chapter therefore analyzes all known Roman references to the Ephesian Vespers, from the Late Republic to Late Antiquity (1st century BCE-5th century CE), each in their own contemporary context. In other words, the chapter studies whether the Roman authors used literary devices[79] or certain themes to change the narrative of the Ephesian Vespers to fit their program. These interpretations may have led to misinterpretation by the modern scholars.

The chapter particularly follows Latife Summerer's chronological method in approaching the sources. In her study, Summerer analyzed the writings about Mithridates VI between the 15th and 20th century CE to show that the narratives about the king were constantly changing as well as being exaggerated on account of the various trends in the scholarship on Mithridates VI that existed through time.[80] Unlike Summerer, the chapter specifically focuses on the accounts of Roman authors. The diachronic study of the narratives in their context clarifies the changes in the description of the event, and points out exaggerations and embellishments about the massacre and the diaspora population that developed in parallel with the different programs and literary trends the authors followed. Finally, the chapter questions the reliability of the sources from the earliest stage of the Roman and Italian population in the province of *Asia*, which was mainly composed of the *negotiatores.*

3.2 Modern Scholarship and "Anti-Roman" Propaganda

The scholarship on the earliest Roman intervention in Asia Minor during the Late Republican period has notably explained the courses of events within the scope of "anti-Roman" propaganda. In other words, it is generally considered that the Romans

[79] The analysis of literary devices is based on Morwood 2002, 234-40.
[80] For example, Summerer gave a detailed analysis of how the 19th century scholars Mommsen and Meyer exaggerated the narratives of Mithridates VI's cruelty, suggesting that they were influenced by Orientalism, see Summerer 2009, 24-26.

misgoverned the province of *Asia* and the *negotiatores* lacked ethical misconduct in their relations with the locals of the province during this period. Consequently, scholars have suggested that an "anti-Roman" sentiment emerged among the local subjects leading to the Ephesian Vespers. In particular, the scholarship has linked the mismanagement and misconduct of the Roman rule with this incident.

Michael Rostovtzeff, a renowned authority on Hellenistic and Roman history, suggested that there were several reasons for the development of "anti-Roman" sentiments among the local people of the province of *Asia*, which led to the Ephesian Vespers. To begin with, while the Romans had control over the territory of Western Anatolia, they could not prevent piracy activities on the shores, which caused problems to both their own diaspora and the locals. The Roman government was not also well established in the province of *Asia* in the Late 2nd century BCE. Furthermore, the Roman provincial administration failed to investigate unjust measures carried out by governors, who were not particularly interested in the well-being of the locals.[81] For example, these governors were unable to keep the tax farmers (*publicani*) collecting additional taxes.[82] Under those circumstances, Rostovtzeff provided a negative impression of the administration of the Greek world by the Romans in the beginning of the first century BCE. In order to pay their debts to the *publicani* as well as to the governors, the Greek cities started to request for credit services from agents of senators and equestrians, namely the *negotiatores*.[83] In turn, these creditors made credit agreements with very high interest rates, which the locals could not pay. Notably, if the tax collectors could not collect the tribute from a city, they exacted the tribute by military force. As a result, Rostovtzeff's

[81] The Late Republican governor (*proconsul*) was responsible for the administration of financial activities; acted as the supreme judge and the head of army in the province, see *OCD* 'Pro Consule', 731.
[82] The *publicani* gradually lost political power and became less important during the Imperial period for tax-farming, see Brunt 1983, 43.
[83] See p. 1-3.

perception was that the Roman military activities were also used for forcing the locals to pay their debts. For this reason, Rostovtzeff's description of the province of *Asia* was that it was little more than a region "drained dry by senators and knights", and so brought economic decline to the Greek world. Consequently, as Rostovtzeff suggested, the local subjects started to develop anti-Roman feelings, for the reasons he mentioned which led to the ensuing massacre of the diaspora by the locals in the province. The problems of the Roman administration were so innumerable that an event of such brutal and atrocious nature might indeed have been as serious as the Roman authors suggested.[84]

During the Early 1st century BCE socio-political history of the province of *Asia*, many scholars after Rostovtzeff followed the idea of "anti-Roman" propaganda. At the beginning of his book published in 1965, Glen Bowersock paid attention to the fact that, while the *publicani* and the *negotiatores* were busy with maximizing their profit, the Roman governors were unable to improve the administration of the province of *Asia* due to the short time period of their rule. This caused problems with the tax collection and it increased the "anti-Roman" sentiments of the locals.[85] In a like manner, Alan Wilson's article published in 1966 agreed that the brutal Ephesian Vespers was a consequence of the anti-Roman sentiments on account of the mistakes of the Roman administration.[86] In the same fashion, more recently, Toni Ñaco del Hoyo in 2009 pointed out that the Senate proved unable to act against the aforementioned actions of the *negotiatores* against the local subjects, causing anti-Roman sentiments and the massacre of 80-150,000 Roman citizens.[87] Different from these scholars, Christopher Wallace suggested that the anti-

[84] This section is based on Rostovtzeff 1926, 88-89; 160-69.
[85] Bowersock used this introductory section particularly to summarize the Late Republican history and to explain how Augustus came to power, see Bowersock 1965, 2.
[86] Wilson 1966, 9.
[87] For more information about the earliest Roman interventions in the province of *Asia*, see Ñaco del Hoyo et al. 2009, 38-39.

Roman sentiment was not necessarily derived from tax burdens or maladministration, but unjust capture of the lands from the locals by the *publicani*.[88]

Besides maladministration as being the reason for the anti-Roman sentiments and the Ephesian Vespers, other points of view in the scholarship developed, which focused on the politics at Rome itself. For example, in 1980, G. Amiotti did not necessarily support a direct anti-Roman narrative, but he suggested that the people who were supporting the Roman general Gaius Marius (157-86 BCE) caused problems in the province of *Asia* due to their favoritism, corruption and mismanagement of the province. Amiotti suggested that the massacre was conducted, not necessarily against all the Romans, but was intended to eliminate the Marians. Moreover, Amiotti used details from the Roman authors to explain the Ephesian Vespers without considering the period they were written.[89]

In the last decade, a new term developed for the Ephesian Vespers, which was seen as a consequential event of the "anti-Roman" sentiment caused by the *negotiatores*. In 2006, John Thornton introduced the anachronistic concept of "terror" to designate the Ephesian Vespers and to explain how intimidation and violence helped Mithridates to achieve his plan of Greek "freedom". Thornton used details of the massacre to claim that the terror that existed in the Ephesian Vespers was useful for Mihridates to frighten the Romans and to unify his Greek allies by creating the idea of "freedom" from Roman dominion by combining "anti-Roman" propaganda. For Thornton, the brutal details of pro-Mithridatic locals destroying the statues of Roman citizens in Ephesos, including those of *negotiatores*, and other atrocious massacres, helped Mithridates' plan. Thornton stated that during the liberation of the Greek cities of Asia Minor, Mithridates intended to kill the Roman and Italian population. During this massacre, he did not distinguish

[88] Wallace 2014, 70-72.
[89] Amiotti 1980, 138-39.

between pro-Mithridatic and anti-Mithridatic Romans and Italians to eliminate any possible revolt against his actions. That is why Thornton suggested that the massacre was intended to radicalize of the Greek element against the Roman and Italian population by means of violence and intimidation.[90] However, it seems that that the Roman authors did not agree about the extent to which the locals were part of such propaganda, as shown in the following sections.

The above scholarly discussion demonstrates that the Ephesian Vespers and the *negotiatores*' ethical misconduct causing the event is limited to the antagonism between the Romans and Mithridates. However, the chronological development of the narratives concerning the Ephesian Vespers has not yet been discussed. Therefore, the following sections examine how Roman authors developed the Ephesian Vespers' narrative and the antagonism towards the Roman and Italian businessmen by means of literary devices and certain agendas of the authors. We discuss these aspects author by author in a chronological order to show their diachronic development.

3.3 The Ancient Sources and Diverging Perspectives on the Ephesian Vespers

3.3.1 Cicero (106-43 BCE)

The Ephesian Vespers first appeared in forensic speeches of Marcus Tullius Cicero. In general, these deliberative speeches were presented to an audience to approve a certain point of view; thus, they had to be written in a persuasive manner. As a result, the speeches could contain misinterpretations, exaggerations and distortions of the reality to increase the persuasiveness of these speeches.[91] In 66 BCE, when he was serving as a *praetor*, Cicero wrote his work *De Imperio Gn. Pompei/Pro Lege Manilia*. In essence,

[90] Thornton 2006, 187-88.
[91] The section about the deliberative speech is based on Lintott 2008, 3-14. For more information about how useful Cicero is as a historical source, see Lintott 2008.

the speech explained how the command of the army was given to Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (106-48 BCE), renowned for his success in eliminating the pirate threat in *Cilicia* in 67 BCE, to wage war against Mithridates VI during the Third Mithridatic War (73-63 BCE).[92] Besides this work's importance as the earliest surviving deliberative speech in Roman literature, it is also the earliest reference mentioning the Ephesian Vespers, which occurred 23 years before his work in 88 BCE. According to Cicero:

'*…is qui uno die tota in Asia tot in civitatibus uno nuntio atque una significatione omnis civis Romanos necandos trucidandosque curavit…* '[93]

'…He (Mithridates) who within one day ordered with one message and one sign that in entire *Asia* all Roman citizens, scattered as they were in so many cities, should be killed and butchered…'

To explain how Cicero elaborated on the massacre, we should consider the deliberative nature of his text. It seems that, in order to have the tribune Manilius' bill to appoint Pompeius as the commander of the army, Cicero had to write in a persuasive manner with vivid elements such as reminding what had happened to the Roman communities who were mainly composed of the *negotiatores*. Thus, we argue that the most effective way for Cicero could be the manipulation of the course of events by using literary devices.[94] In this case, we argue that the *anaphoric tricolon* of *uno die, uno nuntio* and *una significatione* provide a dramatic effect to the speech. In addition, we believe that the single idea of the massacre against the Roman and Italian population defined in two gerundives with similar meanings, *necandos* and *trucidandos*, created a *hendiadys*.[95]

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[92] This part is based on Berry 2011, 102-8.
[93] Cic. *Leg. Man*. 3. http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0010%3Atext%3DMan.%3Achapter%3D3%3Asection%3D7.
[94] Lintott 2008, 3-14.
[95] For the discussion on the importance of the rhetorical elaboration of this speech for the *negotiatores* in *Asia*, see Eberle 2017, 332.

Thus, it seems that Cicero pointed out the seriousness of the massacre for the diaspora population composed of the *negotiatores* in the province of *Asia*.[96] For this reason, the speech was written in the way Cicero wanted to represent the massacre to strengthen his argument in his deliberative speech. Whether the event occurred in one day and with one letter or not, it can be argued that the literary devices helped Cicero to represent the appointment of Pompeius as a necessary measure for the elimination of the threat caused by Mithridates. It seems that Cicero wanted to stress the ongoing threat to the Roman and Italian population.[97]

Other than changing the course of the incident by literary devices, Cicero might have misrepresented the composition and the extent of the population in the province. He did not refer to the Italians, who were also affected by the Ephesian Vespers, as well as the estimates for casualties.[98] Instead, he only referred to the Roman citizens, which partially showed the composition of the community, which included the Italians who did not fully receive the rights of citizenship in 88 BCE.[99] Cicero's strategy might have been to construct the idea of antagonism between the locals and the diaspora by mentioning 'all Roman citizens'. Cicero's intention might have been to deepen the hostility between the locals and the Romans, since he blamed Mithridates and the locals for having laid the Roman presence to waste as well as for setting the Greeks free from Roman domination,[100] on which we elaborate in the following passage from Cicero. Therefore, we argue that the absence of the Italians did not indicate their non-existence in the

[96] For the discussion about how the literary devices were used for pointing out Mithridates' atrocities, see Berry 2011, 294-95.
[97] For detailed discussion of the threat, see p. 35-36.
[98] For the presence of Italian population in the province of *Asia*, see the onomastic studies of Kirbihler 2007; 2014.
[99] For the discussion concerning the Italian identity, see p. 97-101.
[100] Glew suggested that for the Greeks, Mithridates VI became a figure of freedom and philanthropy, since the Pontic king saved the Greek subjects of the province of *Asia* from their debts and distributed the lands of the Romans to them, see Glew 1977, 255.

province. Instead, the Italians might have been omitted for the sake of presenting an anti-Roman narrative.

If we look to the speech from an intertextual perspective, the passage was used at a critical place. Cicero mentioned the two generals who had fought against Mithridates also in following sections of his deliberative speech: Lucius Sulla and Lucius Murena. Cicero showed that they could not bring a decisive victory for Romans because Mithridates was still being a threat when the speech was written. He criticized these two generals for just bearing the *insignia victoriae*, but not bringing the actual success.[101] To put it in another way, Cicero's primary aim was to convince the senators and the equestrians, who had great investments in *Asia;*[102] Pompeius was well-suited for the generalship to eliminate Mithridates, who had caused such an ill-reputed massacre against the diaspora of the Roman world, but could not be defeated by Pompeius' predecessors.[103] As a result, the Ephesian Vespers seems to work as a reminder of what had happened to the Roman population consisting of the *negotiatores* and what atrocities might have happened against the diaspora in the 60's BCE, if Mithridates was not stopped.

Chronologically, the second reference to the Asiatic Vespers is from Cicero's speech *Pro Flacco*, which was composed in 57 BCE. In this defense speech, Cicero utilized the Ephesian Vespers to show what was done to Lucius Flaccus when he was a consul in 88 BCE. Cicero wrote down:

…revocarem animos vestros ad Mithridatici belli memoriam, ad illam universorum civium Romanorum per tot urbis uno puncto temporis miseram crudelemque caedem…[104]

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[101] Cic. *Leg. Man*. 8.
[102] Berry 2003, 225.
[103] Berry 2011, 102-8; for the nature of Cicero's forensic speeches, see Lintott 2008, 3-14.
[104]Cic. *Flac*. 60.
http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0013%3Atext%3DFlac.%3Achapter%3D25%3Asection%3D60.

'…I should bring your thought to the memory of the Mithridatic War, to that unfortunate and unmerciful massacre of all the Roman citizens, in so many cities at one moment…'

We argue that, in this speech, Cicero elaborated less on the incident; he only mentioned that it happened at one moment, but he focused on the extent of the massacre causing the death of the diaspora population including the *negotiatores*. Different from the previous passage, it could be argued that this excerpt does not contain much rhetorical elaborateness except for the usage of terms with a similar meaning, *miseram* and *crudelem*, stressing the significance of the massacre by referring to the universal character of the event to the Roman citizens.[105]

The depiction becomes clearer if we make intertextual references. To support his argument and increase its persuasiveness, Cicero discredited the accusations from the locals concerning the misadministration of the governor in the previous passages. In this speech, Cicero particularly nullified the accounts from the locals of the province of *Asia*, because he believed that the people from the region were dishonest.[106] According to his view, the people of the *Asiaticus genus* were not qualified to provide credible accounts because of their lack of education and ignorance.[107] We argue that these accusations in the text could be echoed in this excerpt and the text might have suggested an on-going problem between the diaspora and the locals, when the speech was written.

[105] Ñaco del Hoyo et. al. 2009, 33-51 insisted on the fact that Cicero mentioned thousands of casualties in his work, but there is no mention of the extent of the massacre.
[106] For the radical views of Cicero against the locals, see Cic. *Flac*. 66.
[107] Pina Polo explained the fact as 'xenophobic', but we prefer to use a less politicized term, see Pina Polo 2019, 120-21.

3.3.2 Titus Livius (59 BCE-17 CE)

Cicero was a model for later authors, who all agreed upon the fact that one letter sent to the pro-Mithridates cities of *Asia* determined the fate of the Roman citizens. But still, the Roman authors continued to add new elements in their narratives to support their own literary program. After Cicero, the descriptions of the Ephesian Vespers and what had happened to the population in the province of *Asia* were extended with new information and were gradually re-written in the Roman Imperial period.

Chronologically, Livius was the second Roman author, who mentioned the Ephesian Vespers in his Roman history. The influential historian Livius wrote about the Asiatic Vespers in the 1st century CE, but the excerpts from his work were written much later. Scholars have disputed whether the summaries of the non-existing books of Livius are authentic or not and have dated the texts from the 2nd to the 4th century CE.[108] Although his narratives on the Mithridatic Wars are lost, excerpts from Livius' books are preserved in the *Periochae*, which contain summaries of his history books. Clearly, Livius paid attention to the Ephesian Vespers as well as the ensuing incidents, since he allocated an entire book for the events in 88 BCE. In this way, Livius tried to show that the event was so important that it should be mentioned in a book-long narrative.[109] Livius' *Periochae* summarized the incident as follows:

…iussuque eius, quidquid civium Romanorum in Asia uno die trucidatum est…[110]

'…on his order (that of Mithridates), all Roman citizens in *Asia* were butchered within one day…"

Since it was intended to provide a summary, different from the rhetorical eloquence of Cicero's narratives the excerpt only provides brief information, including

[108] Reeve 1988, 477-91.
[109] Chaplin 2007, xxiii-xxiv.
[110] Livius. *Per*. 78.1. https://www.livius.org/sources/content/livy/livy-periochae-76-80/#78.1.

the ethnic group (the Roman citizens) the massacre was targeted, the place and the coordinated nature of Mithridates' plan. It seems that the summary might have misrepresented presence of the Italian population; Livius only considered the Roman citizens in the province, which could reveal an anachronistic view about the population in the Late Republican period.[111] However, we should also consider the fact that the unpreserved text might have included the details of the composition of the population.

There has also been discussion about the authenticity of the work has been disputed. A textual criticism of the medieval manuscripts of Livius showed that it is not easy to tell whether all the narratives were authentic or not.[112] Moreover, there is also the fact that later authors might have been influenced by what Livius had written in his book,[113] but we believe that all these assumptions remain tentative. The other books of Livius showed that he had a strong tendency to foreshadow the imperial rule and the age of Emperor Augustus (27 BCE-14 CE) in his narratives.[114] Then again, we can assume that allocating an entire book to the Ephesian Vespers could help Livius to support his imperial historiography by paying attention to an event. Furthermore, according to him the Ephesian Vespers might have brought abrupt changes to the life of the diaspora population, including the *negotiatores*. This event, we argue, could be useful for Livius to exemplify a turbulent incident of the Roman history and the need to have the upcoming Imperial period with much more stability for the Empire, which would provide the diaspora secure business ventures in the province of *Asia*.

[111] For the presence of Italians, see Kirbihler 2007; 2014.
[112] Reeve 1988, 477-91.
[113] For more information, see Ñaco del Hoyo 2009.
[114] Chaplin 2007, xxiii-xxiv.

3.3.3 Valerius Maximus (1st century CE)

A pivotal point in the narratives of the Ephesian Vespers is Valerius Maximus' *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia*, written before 31 CE. In modern scholarship, Maximus has been criticized on account of his uncritical approach to the sources he employed while writing his works. His forced claims and rhetorical biases in other parts of his works make his accounts questionable for the modern scholars. Besides the unreliable nature of the narratives, Valerius Maximus was a scholar who intended to promote the imperial rule. We could refer, therefore, to the exaggerations and distortions by means of which he intended to show how Rome dealt with such a great problem in such hard times in the Late Republican period.[115] The Ephesian Vespers, in fact, was a notable event for Valerius Maximus to support his idealized Late Republican period in his narrative and to contrast it with his own time. Maximus narrated:

...qui una epistola lxxx civium Romanorum in Asia per urbes negotiandi gratia dispersa interemit…[116]

'…who killed with one letter 80,000 Roman citizens scattered for business purposes throughout the cities of *Asia*…'

In the first place, we argue that Valerius Maximus is the first author who mentioned explicitly the *negotiatores.* Yet, he referred to them as a community composed of Roman citizens. Interestingly, he did not refer to the Italians who settled and conducted business in the province of *Asia*. Therefore, we argue that when Valerius elaborated on the population, he perceived the Roman citizens in his own time and might have had an anachronistic view about the Late Republican period population in the region.[117]

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[115] This section is based on Bloomer 1992, 1-10.
[116] V. Max. 9.2.(ext).3. http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2008.01.0675%3Abook%3D9%3Achapter%3D2(ext)%3Asection%3D3.
[117] For the discussion about Roman citizenship, see p. 101-105.

Secondly, Valerius indicated the number of casualties and the extent of the population in the province of *Asia*. Referring to the previous discussion about his unreliable sources, we believe that the number of casualties remains problematic as historical evidence for the Roman and Italian population including the *negotiatores*. It seems that Valerius Maximus might have particularly mentioned the excessive number as a hyperbole to stress the abrupt change in the province after the Ephesian Vespers. Therefore, the author might have aimed to elaborate on the incident to make it remarkable in the course of Roman history as his work was a composition of memorable occurrences.[118] At the same time one should take into account the medieval manuscript tradition, because the numerals could have been easily manipulated while transmitting the text.[119] As a result, Maximus' hyperbole might have also been the corruption of numbers in the manuscripts' copying process.[120]

Thirdly, the passage is in a section concerning remarkable examples of people with a cruel character. As Bloomer suggested, Valerius Maximus' work presented two different descriptions of cruelty: Roman cruelty, which was less severe and more civil, and non-Roman cruelty, which was heinous and barbaric. Valerius Maximus did not focus much on cases such as Marius and Sulla's cruelty. However, when he explained Mithridates or Hannibal, which were foreign enemies of the Romans, he provided his accounts vividly and filled them with biased lists of impious acts.[121] Following Bloomer's view, we believe that the number of casualties in the massacre was utilized to help to characterize Mithridates' cruelty, which might have helped him to oppose Roman dominion and ignited the antagonism between the diaspora and the locals in the province. In this way, Valerius Maximus elaborated on the details of the massacre to make his

[118] See also p. 35-36.
[119] Oakley 2002, 24.
[120] See p. 38 for the discussion on the medieval manuscript tradition.
[121] Bloomer 1992, 48-49.

argument of the Roman imperial rule clearer; Valerius made this by means of a vivid depiction of the character of Mithridates, which caused distress to the Roman population in the province of *Asia*, and Mithridates' destruction of the Roman and Italian presence in the region in the Early 1st century BCE.

3.3.4 Memnon of Herakleia Pontike (1st century(?)-2nd century CE)

Memnon of Herakleia Pontike was a historian, who followed the tradition of Hellenistic local chronicles, and specifically focused on writing Herakleia's history in his *Περί 'Ηρακλείας*, which is preserved in fragments. His work was later summarized by Photios, Patriarch of Byzantium (810 ca.-893). It is important to note that the surviving excerpts consist of what Photios had summarized.[122]

Since Memnon promoted the history of Herakleia in the global context of the Roman Empire, his narratives put forward Herakleia Pontike as an important city in the politics of the Roman world. In the narrative of the Mithridatic Wars, Memnon showed how the Herakleians tried to remain neutral, except for few instances in which they both gave strategical advices to Rome and provided ships to Mithridates. He tried to show that the city was loyal to its allies and could be involved in politics outside their territories.[123] For the Ephesian Vespers, Memnon narrated:

...Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα μαθὼν Μιθριδάτης, ὡς οἱ κατὰ τὰς πόλεις σποράδες Ῥωμαῖοι τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ διανοουμένων ἐμποδὼν ἵστανται, γράφει πρὸς πάσας, ὑπὸ μίαν ἡμέραν τοὺς παρ' αὐταῖς Ῥωμαίους φονεύειν. Καὶ πολλοὶ πεισθέντες, τοσοῦτον φόνον εἰργάσαντο, ὡς μυριάδας ὀκτὼ ἐν μιᾷ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν διὰ ξίφους ὄλεθρον ὑποστῆναι…

[122] Arslan 2012, 384-85.

[123] In reality, one should also consider that Herakleia was a city allied with Mithridates during the Mithridatic Wars, whereas Memnon claimed that the city was neutral and secretly helped Rome as a strategy during the war. Memnon represented the city, which was involved in 'international' issues, see Yarrow 2006, 138-45.

"After these (events), Mithridates understood that all the Romans dispersed over the cities stood against his plans, he wrote to all (the cities) to kill the Romans among them on one day. And many obeyed (his orders) and performed such a massacre that 80,000 on one and the same day suffered destruction by the sword."[124]

Similar to the previous authors, Memnon might have also misrepresented the composition of the population in the province of *Asia* by excluding the presence of the Italians in the region. Therefore, it seems that Memnon might have had the perception of Roman citizenship in the Imperial period while describing the Late Republican population.

Memnon provided a new perspective to the event, which was not narrated by the previous authors: the intention of Mithridates' action. It seems that the Pontic king took the initiative to eliminate any kind of rebellion after he annexed the province of *Asia*. In contrast to the previous authors, we believe that Memnon did not stress Mithridates' cruelty but the reasons behind the massacre. Similar to Valerius Maximus, it seems that he might have provided the number of casualties as a hyperbole and may have been influenced by the previous authors. There is also the possibility that the numerals could have been manipulated in the manuscript tradition.[125] Concerning the agents of the massacre, we argue that Memnon preferred the circumlocutory way of explaining the killing by sword. This periphrasis might have helped him to bring the attention of his readers to the massacre. In addition, it could be argued that he might have used euphemism to refer to the death of 'the Romans' (*ὑποστῆναι*) rather than using the term *φονεύειν*. Different from Cicero, however, we believe that Memnon did not claim that all the cities obeyed the orders of Mithridates, but only 'several' of them (*πολλοί*). Therefore,

[124]Mem. 31 (22.9). https://books.google.com.tr/books?id=y2RTAAAAcAAJ&pg=PA2&hl=tr&source=gbs_toc_r&cad=4#v=onepage&q&f=false.
[125] See p. 40.

we can argue that Memnon did not emphasize a sharp antagonism between the diaspora and the locals. Instead, the author provided an impartial narrative concerning the issue of pro-Romans during the Ephesian Vespers.

Thirdly, Memnon tried to link this event in a way to the history of Herakleia. Before talking about the Ephesian Vespers, Memnon explained how the conflict between Mithridates and Rome started. He stated that the Herakleians sent two *triremes* to their Roman allies to fight against the people in Libya, after which they were praised by the Romans, which was followed by the narrative of the Ephesian Vespers.[126] In fact, Memnon promoted the role of Herakleia in the Mithridatic Wars. Although he did not mention Herakleia in the Ephesian Vespers, the placement of the incident within the narrative showed that the city might have played a role in the Mithridatic Wars according to his view. Therefore, the context might have implied another role for the Ephesian Vespers, which was to promote the pro-Roman stance of Herakleia Pontike, who supported the diaspora of the Roman world in the province of *Asia*.

3.3.5 Tacitus (56-120 CE)

In the 1st century CE the Roman historian and rhetorician Publius Cornelius Tacitus provided another aspect of the Ephesian Vespers.[127] Generally speaking, Tacitus is known for his longing for the Roman Republic and many of his works condemned what Augustus had brought about, which in his view degraded the institutions of the Republican period.[128] In the *Annales*, written in 66 CE, he mentioned the massacre:

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[126] *Memnon*. 29. The previous narrative is about the relation of the Herakleians with the Galatians before Roman rule in Western Anatolia. Memnon did not provide a detailed account about the history of Roman rule in the region in the Late 2nd century BCE (*Memnon*. 27-8), but only linked the relation between the Herakleians and Romans with the aforementioned naval support. For this reason, Memnon's knowledge of the early Roman rule in the region is questionable, see Yarow 2006, 138-45.

[127] Bowersock 2014, 3. Tacitus served as a proconsul between 112-113 CE in the province of *Asia*. For Tacitus' interest in the province of *Asia* in the *Annals*, see Bowersock 2014, 3-10.

[128] Pagan 2012, 1-13.

…nam civis Romanos templo Aesculapii induxerant, cum iussu regis Mithridatis apud cunctas Asiae insulas et urbes trucidarentur…[129]

'…For they (the people of Kos) had led the Roman citizens into the temple of Asclepius, since by order of king Mithridates, they (the Roman citizens) were butchered on all the islands and in all the cities of *Asia*…'

In the first place, we argue that Tacitus depicted the Mithridatic threat as one that exterminated the population —Tacitus might have also had the anachronistic view of the population excluding the Italians— without distinction. But still, it seems that he provided the other side of the incident by adding the fact that some of the people helped the refugees fleeing from the Mithridatic threat. Therefore, it can be argued that Tacitus diverged from previous authors by his presenting of the pro-Roman sentiment in the region. He gave importance to the support of the locals in his narrative and did not depict a collaborative hatred against the Romans. By the example of Kos, we argue that Tacitus showed that the diaspora might have had close commercial and financial relations with the island's population, thus they might have not involved in Mithridates' plan of destruction.[130]

3.3.6 Plutarkhos (46-120 CE)

About a century later, the biographer Plutarkhos mentioned the Ephesian Vespers in his *Life of Sulla's*, written during the reign of Emperor Hadrian (117-138 CE). In his biographies, Plutarkhos characterized historical figures with certain moral stances. The characters were generally young men who served as models for virtues; through these examples the ancient author explained the history of the human character. Plutarkhos was

[129] Tac. *Ann*. 4.14.2. http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0077%3Abook%3D4%3Achapter%3D14.

[130] The good relations between the *negotiatores* and the locals on Kos continued in the following centuries, see p. 119-20.

interested in history beyond the facts and concerned whether what he wrote entertained or educated the people or not.[131] As a result, he shaped his characters with his oratorical skills.[132]

In the description of the Ephesian Vespers, Sulla and Mithridates were prominent characters.[133] Moron showed that Plutarkhos depicted the Roman general Lucius Cornelius Sulla (138-78 BCE) with both positive and negative traits of a general: Sulla was a person who was bloodthirsty, cruel, and arrogant. Conversely, Moron suggested that in this way Sulla was presented as a character that foreshadowed the end of the Republic and the beginning of the Principate, which was an important theme in Plutarkhos' Roman biographies. By foreshadowing the Principate, Plutarkhos might have also implied a positive side for Sulla.[134] In the case of Mithridates, Stadter showed that in Plutarkhos' text the Pontic king was a bad character who did not possess any positive traits.[135] Thus, we argue that the context of the narrative was based on the character-making of Mithridates and Sulla. Turning back to the Ephesian Vespers, Plutarkhos narrated:

...ὁ δὲ Σύλλας, αἰσθόμενος ἀχθομένους τοὺς στρατιώτας τῇ διαλύσει τὸν γὰρ ἔχθιστον τῶν βασιλέων καὶ δεκαπέντε μυριάδας ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ Ῥωμαίων κατασφαγῆναι παρασκευάσαντα δεινὸν ἡγοῦντο μετὰ πλούτου καὶ λαφύρων ὁρᾶν ἐκπλέοντα τῆς Ἀσίας, ἣν ἔτη τέσσαρα λεηλατῶν καὶ φορολογῶν διετέλεσεν...[136]

'…But Sulla understood that his soldiers were annoyed by the ceasefire which he had made, since they (Sulla's soldiers) considered it a terrible (thing) to see the most hated of kings, who had caused 150,000 Romans in *Asia* to be slaughtered on a single

[131] Hersbell 1997, 230-33.
[132] Harrison 1987, 276.
[133] Stadter 1992, 1-5.
[134] Moron 2000, 454-66.
[135] Stadter 1992, 1-5.
[136] Plut. *Vit. Sull*. 24.4.

day, sailing off with wealth and spoils from *Asia*, which he had for four years continuously plundered and levied taxes on…'

In the first place, Plutarkhos could have provided an exaggerated number for the Roman casualties in the massacre. Given the absence of any mention to the Italians, he might also have had an anachronistic view about the composition of the diaspora population in the province. There is a high possibility that these numbers could have been changed when Plutarch referred to second-hand materials; therefore, the numbers he mentioned seem to be less-likely reliable.[137] As suggested by Stadter, the information taken from Plutarch's biographies cannot be considered an independent source, but can be used to exemplify the biases his narratives included.[138] We think that Plutarkhos used the number as the literary device of hyperbole and that it, therefore, should not be taken as a historical fact of the multitude of the diaspora of the Roman world, which was also composed of the *negotiatores*.

Secondly and most importantly, the narrative could have been crucial for Plutarkhos to support his idea of foreshadowing the Principate. In the following section, Plutarkhos stated that Mithridates, who was mentioned as the most hated king (*ἔχθιστον τῶν βασιλέων*), explained the causes of this war and suggested that it was partly the fault of the Romans and partly the will of the gods.[139] In this case, Plutarch also provided an exaggerated number of casualties to represent Mithridates as a major threat to Rome, which was eliminated but also caused continuous distress among the local people in the province.[140] Accordingly, similar to other events, the divine providence was also effective

[137] For the sources of Plutarkhos see, Stadter 1999, 478.
[138] Stadter 1992, 1-5.
[139] Plut. *Vit. Sull*. 24. http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2008.01.0126%3Achapter%3D24%3Asection%3D4.
[140] See also p. 40.

in this incident.[141] Therefore, we suggest that the excessive number of the massacre may have been an exaggeration, but most importantly, it might have been intentionally exaggerated to support the idea that the responsibility of Sulla was to bring the problematic period in the Early 1st century BCE. However, his soldiers accused Sulla who allowed Mithridates to drain the province with extraordinary measures, which might have led to ongoing problems between the diaspora and the locals. As a result, the Ephesian Vespers could have become an incident, which was useful for Plutarkhos to position Sulla in his teleological program of the imperial rule.[142]

3.3.7 Florus (2nd Century CE)

Lucius Annaeus Florus was another scholar who formed his narrative of the Ephesian Vespers with the depiction of Mithridates. In his *Epitome of Roman History,* Florus showed how great Rome was in its military deeds and achievements. In addition, he supported Roman imperialism by exaggerating the enemies of the Romans, which is, in this narrative, Mithridates.[143] Florus narrated:

Nam quid atrocius uno eius edicto, cum omnes, qui in Asia forent, Romanae civitatis homines interfici iussit? Tum quidem domus, templa, et arae, humana omnia atque divina iura violata sunt.[144]

'For what is more savage than one of his edicts, when he (Mithridates) ordered all the Roman citizens who lived in *Asia* to be killed? At that time, in fact, houses, temples, altars, and all mortal and divine laws were violated.'

In Florus' description, we could argue that he might have had an anachronistic view about the composition of the population by only referring to the Roman citizens and

[141] Moron 2000, 454-66.
[142] Moron 2000, 454-66.
[143] Osgood 2015, 27-28.
[144] Flor. III.5.40. https://archive.org/details/epitomererumrom00fiscgoog/page/n74/mode/2up.

excluding the Italian diaspora. In contrast to 2nd century scholars, he did not refer to the extent of the massacre; similar to many other abovementioned scholars, he might have aimed to create a diaspora-local antagonism by the emphasis of the massacre of the entire community, which might have helped Florus' agenda to praise Rome's previous achievements of eliminating one of the most important threats: Mithridates.[145]

In addition, Florus diverged from aforesaid scholars by mentioning the impact of the Ephesian Vespers in the urban context. In his depiction, Mithridates violated what the diaspora of the Roman world deemed worthy in both religious and domestic life. Therefore, his narrative explained the consequences of the massacre, which might have affected both the locals and the diaspora of the Roman world without distinction. Consequently, these elements might have been added to support the idea of Rome's great achievement of defeating such a nefarious enemy.[146]

3.3.8 Appianos of Alexandria (95-165 CE)

Another historian who used the Ephesian Vespers in his narrative was the 2nd century CE scholar Appianos of Alexandria. Flourishing in the reign of Emperor Hadrian, Appianos also wrote his histories to praise imperial rule, the glory of the Empire and the peace that came after the 'degraded' Late Republican period.[147] He provided the most elaborate description of the Vespers in his *Mithridatic Wars*. Appianos narrated:

ἐν τούτῳ δ' ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐπί τε Ῥοδίους ναῦς πλείονας συνεπήγνυτο, καὶ σατράπαις ἅπασι καὶ πόλεων ἄρχουσι δι' ἀπορρήτων ἔγραφε, τριακοστὴν ἡμέραν φυλάξαντας ὁμοῦ πάντας

[145] For the rhetorical elaboration of Florus' narrative, see Baldwin 1988, 140-41.
[146] For Florus' emphasis on the establishment of principate and the long-awaited peace after the turmoil of the Republican period in his narrative, see Osgood 2015, 27.
[147] The Republican system had already degraded and should be replaced by a monarchic rule as suggested by Appianos, which in his view could eliminate the instability of the political system of 'corrupt' Late Republican politicians as in his view it was clear from the conflicts of the Civil Wars. Consequently, Appianos saw that factionalism among powerful generals brought problems to Rome. See Bucher 2000, 441-42; Osgood 2015, 27-28.

ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς παρὰ σφίσι Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Ἰταλοῖς, αὐτοῖς τε καὶ γυναιξὶν αὐτῶν καὶ παισὶ καὶ ἀπελευθέροις ὅσοι γένους Ἰταλικοῦ, κτείναντάς τε ἀτάφους ἀπορρῖψαι, καὶ τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῖς μερίσασθαι πρὸς βασιλέα Μιθριδάτην.[148]

'In the meantime, Mithridates put together a rather large fleet against Rhodes, and he wrote in secrecy to all his satraps and magistrates of the cities that on the thirtieth day they had to take action at the same time and attack all the Romans and Italians around them as well as their wives and children and their freedmen of Italian origin, to kill and throw their bodies away unburied and to assign all their belongings to king Mithridates.'

Unlike other authors, Appianos seemed to have provided an extremely detailed account about how Mithridates coordinated the massacre. It can be argued that his narrative also stressed the details of Mithridates' plan, which was against the entire Italian and Roman population in the province of *Asia*. In contrast to all the authors, who had written on this incident, he was the only one who indicated the Italian presence, which was mainly composed of the *negotiatores* in the province.[149]

Similar to other authors of the Imperial period, it seems that Appianos also focused on the characteristics of Mithridates as a bloodthirsty person, who caused the death of all Romans and Italians without making a distinction between women (*γυναιξὶν)*, children (*παισί)* or freedmen (*ἀπελευθέροις)*. Yet again, it can be said that he might have preferred to display a contrast between the locals and the diaspora community by showing mutual hatred among the two communities.[150] We argue that the tricolon here might have helped the author to emphasize the event.[151] Finally, it seems that Mithridates was blamed for one of the worst humiliations, which was to leave the bodies of the dead unburied; he

[148]App. *Mith*. 4.22. http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0229%3Atext%3DMith.%3Achapter%3D4%3Asection%3D22.
[149] For the onomastics of the Italian names in Anatolia, see Kirbihler 2007; 2014.
[150] Santangelo 2010, 36-37.
[151] Wallace 2014, 71.

was guilty for the 'liberation' of Greeks from the Roman rule creating an antagonism between the locals and the Romans.[152]

3.3.9 Cassius Dio Cocceianus (3rd century CE)

In Late Roman historiography, Roman authors continued to embellish their narratives of the Ephesian Vespers. Cassius Dio Cocceianus of Nicaea wrote his book on the Roman history, in the 220's CE, which is only preserved in fragments.[153] His interpretations were anachronistic, and he clearly had a limited understanding of the history of the Republican period. However, he still made important contributions to Roman historiography by his comments on the events.[154] For the Ephesian Vespers, Cassius Dio narrated:

ὅτι πάντες τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐφόνευον κελεύσαντος Μιθριδάτου οἱ Ἀσιανοί, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον Τραλλιανοὶ οὐδένα ἀπέκτειναν, Θεόφιλον δέ τινα Παφλαγόνα ἐμισθώσαντο, ὥσπερ που ἧττόν σφων ἀπόλλυσθαι μελλόντων, ἢ καὶ διαφέρον αὐτοῖς ὑφ' ὅτου σφαγήσοιντο.[155]

'Since Mithridates had ordered (it), all Asians began to kill the Romans, except for the inhabitants of Tralleis who did not slay anyone themselves, but hired a certain Paphlagonian called Theophilos, just as if they were somehow less likely to perish themselves or as if it made any difference to the others at whose hands they were being slaughtered'.

It seems that Cassius Dio claimed that all the people in the province of *Asia* were against the Roman presence —yet he did not mention the Italian population. In his

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[152] Thornton 2006, 187.
[153] Cassius Dio served in many positions, including that of governor of *Dalmatia* and *Cilicia* and that of *praetor*. See Barnes 1984, 240-55.
[154] Reinhold 1986, 213-22.
[155] Cass. Dio. 30-35.101.1. http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A2008.01.0593%3Abook%3D30-35%3Achapter%3D101%3Asection%3D1.

perspective, the plan for a massacre had such a support from the locals since they feared the wrath of Mithridates. Thus, we argue that Cassius' narratives might have acknowledged the hatred of the local people against the Romans, similar to how Cicero had created an antagonism between the locals and the Romans in his *Pro Flacco*. Rather than suggesting excessive numbers of casualties, it appears that Cassius Dio focused on the despair of the local population by the example of the people of Tralleis.[156] Therefore, we argue that Cassius Dio used details concerning the Ephesian Vespers to embellish the details of the massacre, which might have created the 'anti-Roman' sentiments of the locals on account of the misconduct of the businessmen and governors.

3.3.10 Eutropius (4th century CE)

In the texts of some authors, brevity or the selection of a specific event might have also implied a certain program. This is also the case with Eutropius who wrote his *Breviarium* in 360/70 CE,[157] in which he briefly mentioned the Ephesian Vespers. Eutropius narrated:

Inde Ephesum contendit et per omnem Asiam litteras misit, ut, ubicumque inventi essent cives Romani, uno die occiderentur.[158]

'Thence, he (Mithridates) marched to Ephesos and he sent letters throughout all *Asia* that wherever Roman citizens were found they should be killed on a single day.'

Concerning the casualties, yet again, there was no mention of the Italian population similar to the previous authors, but he provided a depiction of a common hatred among the locals in the province of *Asia* against the diaspora of the Roman world.

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[156] Amiotti 1980, 132.

[157] Eutropius was a high-ranking court member of Emperor Valens (364-78 CE). He had connections with the province of *Asia* since he was probably born in this province and possessed estates in the region. For a discussion concerning his position as *magister memoriae* (State secretary for general petitions), see Burgess 2001, 76-81.

[158] Eutr. 5.5.2. See the version in Bird 1993.

It seems that Eutropius' account remained limited in the details of the event: There was no rhetorical eloquence concerning the incident. Furthermore, we argue that Eutropius did not mention the number of casualties, whereas in other parts of his book, he did refer to the numbers of killed or captured persons, but not for the Ephesian Vespers.[159] Eutropius might have preferred to describe the incident briefly, because he could have intended to collect important events that had an impact on the Roman world.[160] According to his narrative, it seems that the Ephesian Vespers thus remained an important event that might have helped the creation of an 'Anti-Roman' narrative.

3.3.11 Orosius (5th century CE)

In Late Roman historiography, some authors preferred to write down their work with a religious agenda. Paulus Orosius, a presbyter and a student of St. Augustinus, is a good example for this tradition. He mentioned the Ephesian Vespers in his *Historiae Adversum Paganos*, which was written in 418 CE and might have contained lost excerpts of Livius and Tacitus. Orosius wrote his histories from the perspective of a Christian, describing the disasters on account of the sins of the people. Furthermore, he described his narratives starting from the concept of God's large plan: God only rewarded the faithful; woes mostly happened before Christianity. His narratives were intended to decrease the reliability of historical accounts written in the pagan past, since in his view no account could be written correctly in that era.[161] Orosius adapted the Ephesian Vespers to reinforce his anti-pagan narrative:

...porro autem Mithridates in Asia nobilissimarum urbium principes occidere bonaque eorum publicare animo intenderat. Cumque iam mille sescentos ita interfecisset,

[159] Eutr. 5.4; 5.6; 5.7.
[160] Bird 1993, xxix.
[161] This section is based on Fear 2010, 7-13.

Ephesii exemplum verentes excluso praesidio eius portas obiecerunt; similiter Smyrnaei Sardi Colophonii Trallianique ferunt…[162]

'…However, henceforth Mithridates planned to kill the distinguished men of the most noble cities in *Asia* and to confiscate their goods. And when he had murdered 1,600 in this way, the Ephesians, fearing the example, after they shut out the garrison, closed the gates. The Smyrnaeans, Sardians, Colophonians, and Trallians did the same.'

In the first place, it seems that Orosius did not show his anti-pagan narrative directly. He provided a smaller number of casualties from the diaspora of the Roman world in comparison to the aforesaid Roman historians. Orosius also suggested that there was no common hatred against the diaspora, which many other cities did not follow what Mithridates had ordered. Thus, he did not follow the tradition of 'anti-Roman' propaganda. Orosius is also significant for another reason: Although he did not mention the Roman citizens as *Romani,* Orosius used another word to define the Roman population, which is *principes* (distinguished people) favoring the population as rather faithful people, whereas Mithridates was depicted as a sinful character slaying these people who were living in the noble cities of the province of *Asia*. Furthermore, it seems that Orosius did not provide details of the Mithridatic Wars after the Ephesian Vespers, but he stated that Mithridates was finally punished for his sins by the Roman general Pompeius whom Orosius saw as a *homo Romanorum moderatissimus* (the most moderate men among the Romans).[163] With this strategy, it can be argued that Orosius might have tried to show that in the end God showed mercy to the faithful. As a result, the narrative of the Ephesian Vespers might have particularly selected and elaborated by Orosius to prove his aversion against paganism.[164]

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[162] Oros. 6.2.8. http://www.attalus.org/latin/orosius6A.html.
[163] Oros. 6.5.13. http://www.attalus.org/latin/orosius6A.html.
[164] Cobet 2009, 69-73.

3.4 Discussion

On the one hand it can be argued that most of the Roman authors re-interpreted the earlier narratives of the Ephesian Vespers and extended them with new elements, which might have also been additions from unpreserved sources; these accounts proved their own points of view. On the other hand, modern scholarship has focused on anti-Roman propaganda as the reason for the Ephesian Vespers but it has neither elaborated much on the context of the excerpts nor examined the importance of the event from the perspective of the diaspora of the Roman world in the province of *Asia*, which was mainly composed of the *negotiatores*.[165]

In this chapter, we showed that the Ephesian Vespers appeared as a pivotal point for the presence of the diaspora of the Roman world; it was an abrupt social, economic, political and cultural change for the flourishing business communities in the province of *Asia*. Concerning the population, which was massacred, the authors had different views on account of their reliance to different sources: there were varying estimates by the authors ranging from 1,600 to 150,000 people. It seems that the authors might have indicated these numbers from unknown sources, which have not been preserved today. We should also mention the possibility that the manuscript tradition of the texts might have caused the corruption of numerals of the casualties. Nevertheless, as shown in the analyses of the excerpts, the authors might have used the numbers as a literary device to serve their own social or political agendas within the framework of forensic, imperial historiography, or Christian ethics.

The authors had almost a unanimous view about the composition of the casualties: they were all indicated as Roman citizens except for Appianos' inclusion of Italians and

[165] See the p. 1-3.

Orosius' *principes* as a description of the population. Therefore, we argue that the Roman authors might mainly have had an anachronistic view about the diaspora of the Roman population in the province of *Asia*; they failed to consider the effects of the Social War and granting the citizenship to the Italians. Another important point is that Valerius Maximus is the only author who mentioned the presence of the *negotiatores* community among the casualties. We argue that the authors might have preferred to select a universal Roman citizen identity elaborated with literary devices.

As a socio-cultural effect, we believe that the authors mainly focused on the on-going antagonism towards the diaspora of the Roman people. Although there were different views about the extent of the local hatred, we argue that there was a common view of the significant number of locals who supported Mithridates from Cicero to Orosius' text. In this way, we think that the event might have had echoes in the following years of the 1st century BCE; it might have taken a lot of time to restore the relations between the diaspora composed of the *negotiatores* and the population. For this reason, the study of this event is useful to understand that the *negotiatores* might have preferred to unify in collaborative communities in order to protect themselves against external threats but also to restore their relations with the locals.

Chapter 4

SOCIETAS, *CONVENTUS* AND *COLLEGIUM*: RELIABLE COLLABORATIONS

4.1 Introduction

In the Early 1st century BCE, the Ephesian Vespers caused significant distress among the Roman diaspora in the province of *Asia*. In this period, however, the social and legal developments in the Roman world redefined the *negotium* of the 2nd century BCE and facilitated collaboration for the business ventures. As a result, *negotiatores* could establish business firms and trade organizations to expand their commercial activities and collaborate with each other for external hardship.[166] This chapter examines the benefits of trustable collaborations between the businessmen in the Late Republican and Early Imperial periods, which may have helped the *negotiatores* to adapt to the places where they lived and worked.

Starting with a literature review, the chapter briefly explains the most important element in the development of collaborative activities, which was *amicitia* (friendship). Then, the importance of business partnership (*societas*) is emphasized, which was

[166] Finley argued that using modern concepts to explain the ancient economy leads to generalizations and simplification, for the discussion see Finley 1973, 17-34. Although there are debates about how to theorize Roman economy, in general, scholars agree that the Roman economy mainly depended on agriculture. Roman economy had peasants in the center whose primary interest was to produce crops to meet their own household's needs rather than to look for profit-seeking ventures. The market could be vulnerable for a peasant because of low prices and the burden of taxes. Furthermore, severe effects of crop specialization intimidated the peasants since in case of an unproductive harvest, there would be huge losses. As a result, they only sold a small portion of their agricultural surplus in the Late Republican period and Early Imperial periods. For the Romans, it was important to realize effective ways to mobilize the agricultural surplus to the demand in the Roman market. The Roman businessmen, in response, collected the agricultural surplus and transported it through trade. In reality, along with the impeding factors of transaction costs and the limited knowledge of the market prices, long distance trade was considered risky. The wealth coming from trade, as a result, was seen as unpredictable, but still it was an important opportunity to gain wealth, see Levick 2004, 189; Bang 2007, 25-28.

fundamental for a successful *conventus* (assembly) and *collegium* (association).[167] Furthermore, these major concepts are discussed to emphasize their vitality for the businessmen in the Roman world and their contribution to the establishment of business connections and collaborations between the *negotiatores* throughout the Roman world. The chapter employs selective examples from the province of *Asia* to provide a background for the discussion about the transformation of the businessmen associations in the region by legal and social perspectives.

4.2 Literature Review

The knowledge about Roman *societates* is limited to what was written in the Roman Imperial period. The main legal source is Gaius, the jurist, who wrote his *Institutiones* in the 2nd century CE.[168] Thus, the literature of *societas* mainly depends on legal studies. In 2007, Koenraad Verboven's studies on the northwestern provinces of the Roman Empire, based on the Vindolanda tablets, yielded crucial information about how legal contracts were established for *societates*.[169] Furthermore, in 2011 Barbara Abatino discussed the role of slave agency and the act of legal representation in *societates* in Roman law.[170] In addition, in 2012, Wim Broekaert's study on Roman Egypt revealed important information about the concept of *societas* by studying the papyrological evidence in the Imperial period.[171]

[167] The words *societates* and *collegia* are used here with their economic meaning provided by the Lewis & Short dictionary. A *societas* is a union among the people who intended to conduct some sort of trade activity, which contained legal binding whereas a *collegium* is the association where people united for same goals to help each other, which was in a way similar to guilds without legal obligations. For the differences in legal issues and how these concepts helped the *negotiatores* to connect each other and collaborate, see the discussion in the sections concerning *societas* and *collegium* in this chapter.
[168] The thesis utilizes the edition by Poste 1904.
[169] Verboven 2007a.
[170] Abatino 2011.
[171] Broekaert 2012.

Since the sources available for the *societas* of the *negotiatores* in the province of *Asia* are Cicero's works, the research is limited to textual evidence. Although there are insufficient textual sources on these associations in the province, they are still useful for understanding trustable relations among the Romans, combined with associations such as *conventus* and *collegia*. These associations could have facilitated the *negotiatores'* adaptation to the place where they conducted business and settled later.

Studies on *conventus* and *collegia* have followed a different vantage point than those of *societates*. Since these associations did not have legal binding for the Romans, the studies mainly focused on how these associations controlled their members without legal measures. For the *collegia*, in 2011, Broekaert provided a general outline regarding the reasons for establishing these associations. His argument was supported by papyrological evidence from Egypt and inscriptions from the Eastern Mediterranean.[172] In the same year, for the province of *Asia,* Arnaoutoglou studied the *collegia* of various craftsmen in Saittai and Thyateira in *Lydia*. His discussion was based on the extended epigraphic evidence.[173] However, thus far no studies have been specifically dedicated to the *collegia* or *conventus* of the *negotiatores* in the province of *Asia*.

4.3 *Amicitia* as Initiator of Business Ventures

Amicitia was a basic concept for the formation of *societates* thus *conventus* and *collegia*, since Roman individuals first sought reliable partners from friends and families. *Fides* ('trust') concept was to rely on someone and recognize his/her trustworthiness and loyalty in friendship (*amicitia*) in the Roman world; the concept developed as an act of goodwill among the parties of a relation.[174]

[172] Broekaert 2011.
[173] Arnaoutoglou 2011.
[174] For a comparison of comparative studies on family and friendship in Cicero's works, see Gruber-Miller 2009, 88-92.

As a relation closely related to trust, *amicitia* was temporal in nature, and consisted of four stages: beginning, development, reciprocity, and breakdown. In addition to these stages, parties in a friendship, in theory, should come from similar socio-economic background because friendship should be a 'zero-sum game'.[175] Since the process of reciprocation might have caused over-benefit for one party, which could not be hindered, the Romans preferred friendship with people from similar backgrounds. In other words, the over-benefit could have subordinated the other party's equality and symbolically made one party superior to another.[176] Apart from social status, age, morals, and character were all influential in the establishment of a friendship in the Roman world.[177]

Amicitia, therefore, appeared as an important aspect in financial relations and business ventures,[178] since an individual Roman's financial condition was seen closely related to his moral characteristic (*dignitas*) and his reliability; the concept showed how a person would behave when his friend was in financial difficulties.[179] We believe that the *negotiatores* could also have considered reliability, when they developed complex and large-scale business relations.

4.4 *Societas*

Businessmen, in general, need partners to expand their business. Similarly, in the Roman world, the *negotiatores* came together with their companions and established firms. In the Roman law, this act was the establishment of a *societas*. A Roman *societas*

[175] Cic. *Amic*. 65; Burton 2004, 211-35.
[176] For the political friendship in the Late Republican period, see Gelzer 1969, 101-10.
[177] Cic. *Amic*. 65; Burton 2004, 211-35.
[178] *Amicitia* was not restricted to the Romans but it could also be established with the non-Romans. For a discussion on the friendly relations between Mithridates VI and Sulla before the Mithridatic Wars in the province of *Asia*, see Madden and Keaveney 1993, 138-41.
[179] Burton 2004, 228.

was a business venture, which had no legal personality;[180] it was established among two or more *socii* (partners) for a certain period of time; the partners pooled in one source by creating an asset (*peculium*) of a specific business venture. Furthermore, the contribution of the *socii* included various aspects including capital, transportation, and services.[181]

It can be argued that the legal framework of partnership was helpful for any businessmen in the Roman world including the *negotiatores* to build up connections with legal binding. However, it should be noted that there were individual cases in which Roman law could not avoid misconduct of business partners in a *societas* because Roman jurisdiction was not applied to all cities under Roman dominion.[182] Nevertheless, the legal framework provided basic requirements for business activities including the type of *societates*, liability, partnership and agency.

4.4.1 Types of *Societates*

The Romans defined the business ventures of a *societas* in detail in the Roman law of obligations. Regarding the essence of the venture, there were two types of *societates*.

On the one hand, a *societas unius negotii* concluded a partnership for a business venture in which the partners pooled their sources.[183] For example, that the *negotiatores* Cicero mentioned, Atticus and his partners Scaptius and Decianus, mostly formed a

[180] Since there was lack of legal personality, the *socii* (collaborating members) of a *societas* were all liable to the consequences of their business ventures, see Abatino et. al. 2011, 368.
[181] A *societas unius negotii* could continue as long as the partners wanted. In contrast, in a *societas unius rei*, when the businessmen achieved their goal, the *societas* ceased to exist. But in general, for a *societas* to continue, the Romans preferably concluded partnerships with their family members. Thus, some *societates* may have existed for several years, see Gai. *Inst*. 3.148; Broekaert 2012, 229-30. In general, the continuity could only be guaranteed if the partners existed. Even in case of death of a slave who was a direct agent of a master in a *societas*, the business venture ceased to exist. In case of a master's death, the *societas* was stopped but the consequences had an effect on the hereditary members of the deceased, see Abatino et. al. 2011, 368. However, if the *socii* wanted to continue their business venture with the hereditary members, they could establish new partnerships, see Broekaert 2012, 230.
[182] Tahiroğlu 2016, 6-7.
[183] Broekaert 2012, 230.

societas unius negotii, since they conducted large-scale and long-term business, which were normally not dissolved after every individual business venture.[184] It can be argued that the *negotiatores* mostly used this type of relation due to the extent and time framework of their business ventures.

A s*ocietas unius rei*, on the other hand, had a limited scope, since it was an agreement for a well-defined goal, such as the transportation of a certain good, and could be used in cases that needed transportation leasing or trade know-how for one single business venture.[185] The clear legal distinction between the types of business helped the *negotiatores* solve their disputes and liabilities in the ventures. For instance, leasing a ship of the *navicularii* (ship-master) for long-distance trade was an example for a one single business venture, since the partners renewed contracts for every business venture.[186] We argue that this type of *societates* was useful for the *negotiatores* to ship the cargo through maritime trade for the distribution throughout the Roman world.

4.4.2 Liability

A Roman *societas* guaranteed the liability of partners according to their contributions. Since the law allowed the contribution of different assets by the *socii* of a *societas,* one partner could contribute to *negotium* through capital investment, while the other could lease a transportation vehicle. However, all profits and losses (e.g. in case of *vis maior* (force major) such as shipwreck) were shared among the *socii* of a *societas* according to their contributions to their *peculium*.[187] Furthermore, if a partner of a

[184] Cic. *Flac*. 70-80; Steel 2016, 216.
[185] The discussion about the types of *societates* is based on *Dig*.17.2.5; Broekaert 2012, 230.
[186] In some cases, due to the generic usage of the terminology, the *negotiatores* could have two responsibilities as in the case of the Imperial period shipwreck of Dramont A, where a certain Sextus Arrius was both a *navicularius* and a *negotiator*, see Paterson 2010, 146.
[187] Different from the *peculium* of the *societas*, there was no entity shielding, in which the parties' personal assets were also liable. In addition, on account of the lack of limited liability, the creditors could only confiscate personal assets when there was a sunk credit, see Abatino et. al. 2011, 368-69.

societas or his agent slave made a fault, the *socius* had a different liability for the loss. For example, if a *socius* did not pay the producer to buy products for wholesale business, the fault was the responsibility of the *socius*. In contrast, if that *socius*' fault was known by the other partners, the whole *societas* was liable for the losses of the producer.[188] Thus, it can be argued that the legal measures for liability could have helped the *negotiatores* to compensate their losses in large-scale wholesale business activities.

The Roman law of obligations, therefore, defined all the problematic cases to avoid disputes among *negotiatores*. However, liability was not applicable in all cases. For example, concerning the equestrian businessman Decianus from the province of *Asia*, Cicero stated in his *Pro Flacco* (59 BCE) that he tried to avoid legal restrictions in order to gain more and whitewash his misconduct by establishing business ventures in the free cities where Roman law was not applicable.[189] The Roman law provided protection for the *negotiatores* and the people who conducted business, but it did not prevent misconduct in regions where the Romans had limited jurisdiction as mentioned above.[190]

4.4.3 Partnership

The *negotiatores* get acquainted with their partners in *societates*. From their repetitive transactions, they had information whether a borrower or lender was trustable or not. Thus, they gave reference to the lender to reduce "asymmetric information".[191] For example, in his letter to Manius Acilius Glabrio on Sicily, Cicero stated that a certain

[188] For more information about the sharing of losses, see *Dig*. 17.2; Broekaert 2012, 228.
[189] Cic. *Flac*. 70-71; Lewis 1991, 128; Steel 2016, 216.
[190] See p. 59-60.
[191] To achieve mutual trust, elimination of "asymmetric information" is very crucial. Although this term appeared in the literature of economics in the 70's, the concept is also important to understand the loan services' reliability in the Roman world. In this concept, when the agents of a transaction are not aware of the characteristics of the services and products, the information is asymmetric. In other words, the problem is that the parties do not have same information. Thus, the parties of a business or financial relation should have same amount of information, which makes the information symmetric for both sides, see Mankiw and Taylor 2014, 265.

negotiator, Gnaius Otacilius Naso, was his friend whom he praised his trustworthiness. Besides, Cicero said that his freedmen Hilaros, Antigonos, and Demostratos were also trustable for the agency of Naso's financial activities. In this case, Cicero provided information to give the financial business "symmetric information" to eliminate problems in loan contracts.[192]

Apart from liabilities and consequences of the business venture, a Roman businessman had to consider certain factors to establish a *societas* with other individuals on account of legal constrains in partnership. In theory, the partnership was based on equality among the partners such as *amicitia*. In other words, a *societas* had to consist of partners who were from the same social class and have a legal personality. Yet, a businessman could join in a *societas* with his family members, such as a son or a freedman.[193] If we apply to the case of the *negotiatores*, freedmen of a certain *negotiator* became *institores* ('legal agents') who could establish a partnership with respective businessmen in their commercial ventures.

For example, Atticus' business relation mentioned in one of Cicero's letters from 51 BCE shows that Atticus concluded a partnership with his freedmen dependents Philogenes, Seius and Xeno of Apollonis.[194] He was involved in business by his proxies because he wanted to conclude partnership with his most trustworthy acquaintances. Therefore, collaboration with a close circle of associates was mostly preferred, as it reduced the risk of an unsuccessful *societas* but limited the extent of the *negotium*.[195] As a result, when a businessmen had the aforementioned dependents in a *societas*, he became

[192] Cic. *Fam.* 13.33.
[193] Broekaert 2012, 233.
[194] Cic. *Att*. 5.13; Rauh 1986, 8; Jones 1999, 89-94.
[195] Reliable partners were not limited to family members, but people from the same *collegium* could also be considered trustworthy individuals, see Broekaert 2012, 247. Nevertheless, the Romans tended to prefer inter-*familia* partnerships, which provided more investments. In this way, they could transport goods over a long distance. For examples of *societates* of *negotiatores* established in *Hispania* and *Gallia* in the Early Imperial period, see Broekaert 2012, 227; 246.

the person who had the final say in the business venture.[196] In this case, as it seems in the formation of partnership, Atticus decided upon every act in the business venture conducted in Ephesos, since he utilized his network of freedmen.

Apart from the patron-client *societas*, there were other types of business partnership. Female relatives had a right to conduct business, only as a 'transitionary stage' in which the son of the particular female had to join in a contact before having attained the legal age for making contacts.[197] In addition, two *liberti* (freedmen) could conclude a partnership.[198] The regulations about partnership with a slave, however, were rather complicated in comparison to the aforementioned types of partnership. It can be argued that all these types of the partnership in Roman law provided a variety of options for the *negotiatores* to amplify the quantity of the business ventures and not to conduct one business venture at a time, which could have decreased the economic risks.

4.4.4 Slave Agency

Slaves played a crucial role for the Romans in reducing the direct involvement of partners in a business venture. Since two Romans with full legal personality could not act as direct agents, slaves were used as proxies.[199] Slaves were considered non-persons, but legally they had a capacity to act. As a result, they had no rights to own *peculium* (the

[196] For the influence of patron-client relationships in business ventures, see Broekaert 2012, 233-34. In legal scholarship a partnership between a businessman and his freedmen, is called 'mixed partnership', see Broekaert 2012, 240.
[197] Broekaert 2012, 235.
[198] In some instances, Broekaert suggested that it was a challenge to distinguish the nature of the relations in a *societas*. For example, it is hard to distinguish between *societates* of the patron-freedmen type and those of the freedman patron and his freedmen, see Broekaert 2012, 241.
[199] The new ways of the Roman businessmen to reduce direct agency led in this way to the development of "passive partners". In the case of the involvement of a slave, the master actually became a "passive partner" of the business venture. For example, when a businessman retired, he could become part of a *societas* as a "passive partner". Furthermore, people who could contribute less investment in a *societas* but still wanted to be included in a *societas*, could be involved in the *societas*; they might have become "passive partners" and profited from the business ventures. Although they did not have economic power, they organized the activities of trade, transport, and sale. Therefore, a Roman *societas* was composed of different professions and people from different levels of the society, who aimed to profit from the productive trade in the Mediterranean, see Broekaert 2012, 224-26.

private property of a *societas*) or conclude a contract. Changes in the Roman law in the Late 2nd century BCE, however, led to a new type of business called *negotiatio per servos communes* ('the business run by co-owned slaves'), which proved particularly useful for the Romans who were conducting business in the Eastern Mediterranean.[200] Therefore, it seems that the slave agency could be another option for the *negotiatores* to expand their business activities.

Although the *societas* did not possess legal personality, a business run by slaves of the *socii* provided a "depersonalized" business model.[201] The system increased the liability of the master in case of profit or loss, but, a *societas*, which previously required the direct involvement of the slave owners, could be concluded by co-owned slaves of the parties in the *societas*.[202] Therefore, this model could have helped the master *negotiator* to increase the quantity of their business ventures.

A master could organize his private business through slave agency under certain conditions. The master did not have to be present as a *socius* alongside his slave, who could be his agent in the business venture.[203] To exemplify this case, the fictional character of Trimalchio from first century CE Southern Italy in Petronius' *Satyricon* illustrates that a *negotiator* could give responsibilities to his slaves through a binding partnership in a *societas*. As shown by Trimalchio's case, the master was in the background, whereas the slaves were actively engaged in financial business on behalf of

[200] Du Plessis 2006, 50-55; Broekaert 2012, 240-43.
[201] *Dig*. 41.1.10.1
[202] Abatino et. al. 2011, 387. Before the 2nd century BCE, the master was not liable for the loss of a slave in case of business transaction. Therefore, the changes were an amelioration of the business activities run by slaves, which depersonalized the ventures, see Abatino et. al. 2011, 372. In addition, in case of loss or profit, there were regulations whether the creditor could claim their investment. In Roman law, there were differences between *scientia* (in case the master had knowledge about the act of the slave), *ignorantia* (when the master had no information about the acts of the slave), and *voluntas* (when there was consent of the master and the master was unlimitedly liable to consequences), see Abatino et. al. 2011, 375-77.
[203] *Dig*. 17.2.18; Abatino et. al. 2011, 377; Broekaert 2012, 243.

their masters.[204] It can be argued that most of the *negotiatores* could have applied the same strategy to expand the business ventures in the Eastern Mediterranean.

In essence, the legal developments in the typology, liability, partnership and slave agency in *societates* might have facilitated business transactions. Consequently, the *negotiatores* might have been encouraged to seek out collaborative associations.

4.5 *Conventus*

Associative collaborations were equally important as establishing a partnership for businessmen. Similarly, the *negotiatores* came together with their companions and established associations. The basic form of collaboration among businessmen in the Roman world was *conventus*. Literally, the concept denoted a gathering or a meeting of people. However, *conventus* gained a special meaning to define a group of people who were associated with commercial business.[205] These associations, in the beginning, started to appear in the Early 1st century BCE to provide protection, legal binding as well as to convene people who shared common religious practices and customs. Furthermore, *conventus* brought some of the fundamental legal and social systems for the places where proper *provinciae* were not established. In the Late Republican period, there were sporadic *conventus* which were established in major cities of the Roman world. For example, they were present in the cities where the Latins had a majority such as Capua. However, in most cases, *conventus* started to appear in the places where the Romans settled as diaspora communities and needed security and protection. They were mainly called as '*conventus civium Romanorum*' (the association of Roman citizens).[206] Nevertheless, the Italians also established their own *conventus* which were called '*Italici'*

[204] Smith 2004, 208-9.
[205] Lewis and Short '*conventus'*, 462; Corsten 2018, 384.
[206] Graham 2016, 1-14; For the examples of Roman citizen associations in Greece, see Ramgopal 2017.

in the cities where their population was smaller than the locals. Although there has been discussion about whether the diaspora was temporarily or permanently settled in these locations, both the Roman and Italian *conventus* nevertheless had several generations which were born in these lands.[207] In the beginning, these associations were helpful to designate geographical areas where the Roman provinces were established. After the Early Imperial period the word defined judicial assemblies of specific territories in the provinces of *Dalmatia, Hispania, Sicilia*, *Cilicia,* and *Asia*.[208]

4.6 *Collegia*

Similar to a *conventus*, a *collegium*[209] mainly served as an association for the people who had common interests and shared common culture.[210] In the 2nd century BCE, the *publicani* established prominent *collegia,* which allowed them to control tax-farming of many provinces in the Roman world. These associations became common for organizations such as guilds. However, due to the public disorders, *collegia* were abolished in 64 BCE, and restricted into only professional and religious groups in the following centuries.[211]

In a *collegium*, the members gathered around similar religious identities. Most importantly, they organized banquets for their community and were responsible for the funerals of their members. However, it was also consisted of members coming from different societal background and was not secluded to a specific social class.[212] Nevertheless, people who conducted similar business ventures preferred to convene

[207] See Cic. *Lig*. 8.24; Cic. *Ver*. 2.2.32. Reid 1913, 199-200; Dopico Cainzos 1986, 266. For the discussion about Attalid continuity and Roman innovations in *conventus* in *Asia*, see Kantor 2014, 254-59.
[208] See p. 8 concerning the *conventus* centers in the province of *Asia*.
[209] The business associations in the province of *Asia* will be separately discussed in the following chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8. Therefore, the section about *collegia* is useful to provide a background to the associations in general.
[210] Verboven 2007b, 889; Broekaert 2011, 225-26.
[211] Patterson 1983, 93-94.
[212] Verboven 2009, 159.

around a *collegium* for similar professions.[213] Therefore, it can be argued that a *collegium* was important for the *negotiatores*, who needed social support among their companions to develop their business ventures.

From an economic perspective, a *collegium* was a useful association for business ventures and was a prominent association to collect information about the market.[214] The association might have provided the businessmen information about the possible trustable business partners; the *negotiatores* might have sought references about the possible partners from a *collegium* to conclude better partnerships. The collaborative nature of a *collegium* facilitated the member *negotiatores* to establish a *societas* with his *collegiati*. Furthermore, the *negotiatores* could have generated more financial investment resulting in larger trade while increasing risks.[215] Therefore, it seems that the *negotiatores* as businessmen could have founded these associations to create network of trustable partners for long-distance trade.

There were several other services, which can be related to a *collegium*. To begin with, it provided services such as finding slaves for businessmen who wanted to conduct business through the direct agency of a slave.[216] It was also useful for credit support among members. For example, if a person borrowed money from a *collegiatus*, then he could pay it back to his *collegiati* in a flexible period with a smaller interest rate. Furthermore, Broekaert showed that a *collegium* was useful for businessmen who had financial problems or faced a *vis maior* (shipwreck) and provided help with lower transportation costs. Another economic service was to provide a good balance of competition and rivalry for trade. Outside the *collegia*, the traders might have had

[213] The most diverse range of associations came from the Imperial period in Egypt where the papyrological evidence provided information about all levels of professions from goldsmiths to donkey drivers, see Gibbs 2011, 292.
[214] Broekaert 2011, 233.
[215] This section is based on Broekaert 2011, 226-39.
[216] Abatino et. al. 2011, 377.

rivalries but inside the *collegium* they were encouraged to behave honestly; otherwise the overseers of a *collegium* might have used measures such as exclusion from the association.[217]

One may ask how the control mechanism of the transactions between these *collegiati* from the same community functioned. For example, for the administration of the associations in the province of *Asia*, there is only one example on which we have a *curator* of the *negotiatores* associations, namely T. Camurius Iustus, who previously served in *Legio* XIII *gemina* as *tribunus militum*. He was not mentioned in another document.[218]

However, in general, a *collegium*'s overseer had no legal measure over the members. Since law was not a deterrent in financial problems, *amicitia* and *fides* could be particularly useful during the period when the law of obligations was not developed; the unwritten laws of a *collegium* could have the power to expel a person from the community if he was not paying back a loan.[219] Therefore, the masters were responsible for their freedmen's business activities in order to be present in a *collegium*. Thus, a patron had to monitor his freedmen's actions in order not to be isolated from their respective *collegium*.[220] We argue that the *negotiatores* could have enjoyed the protection of unwritten laws regulating the acts of misconduct; a *collegium* could have encouraged them to have a control on their freedmen concerning their ethics of business, which was a significant problem in the Early 1st century BCE.

[217] For more information, see Broekaert 2011, 236-43.
[218] See the discussion in İplikçioğlu 1993, 98-99. T. Camurius Iustus is mentioned in inscription Ephesos 263.
[219] This section is based on Broekaert 2011, 226-34; Temin 2013, 160-68.
[220] Broekaert 2011, 233-34.

4.7 Discussion

By the social and legal developments in the Late 2nd century BCE, the term *societas* appeared as an important concept for *negotium* to regulate the partnership and the liability of the *negotiatores* in the Roman world. The Roman law of obligations gave detailed descriptions of cases to prevent fraud, misconduct, and misbehavior of partners in a business venture. With the development of legal procedures, the *negotiatores* could use their freedmen or slaves to avoid active participation in a *negotium*. Consequently, they became the decision makers of a *negotium* and considered various large-scale business opportunities. We argue that these changes facilitated the business conduct, increased collaboration, and finally led the establishment of larger associations for business ventures.

Conventus and *collegia*, on the other hand, appeared as economic, cultural, and religious support groups for businessmen, who had common goals and cultural traits as well as those needed loans to conduct long-distance trade. Although the associations did not have legal binding, the Romans gave importance to trust among the partners. The fear of being excluded from the support group led the businessmen to act properly in a *collegium or a conventus*. In addition, a *collegium* and a *conventus* were important associations where people from different levels of society came together. Therefore, we argue that these association strategies might have been representative examples, which could have contributed to the collaborative groups of the *negotiatores* in the province of *Asia* who wanted to develop the extent of their business ventures and secure themselves from external threats such as the distress that happened during the Ephesian Vespers.

Chapter 5

LARGE-SCALE WHOLESALE BUSINESS: A DECLINE IN ASSOCIATIONS?

5.1 Introduction

Trade was an important component of Roman economic growth after agriculture;[221] and the *negotiatores* created an interrelated network in the Mediterranean, which underpinned the basis of Roman trade.[222] This chapter discusses the wholesale trade of the *negotiatores* in the province of *Asia*. After providing general information about wholesale trade in the Roman world as well as the role of the *negotiatores* in this venture, the chapter examines the *negotiatores*' different levels of regional contribution to the economy in the province of *Asia* and how the *negotiatores* might have involved in the transaction of the goods to the Roman world. We also argue that the *negotiatores* associations' importance in the economy of the province did not decline during the transition between the Late Republican and Early Imperial periods. Instead, they seemed to have continued to be part of the large-scale wholesale business by mainly involving in the slave trade to the Roman world; they might have become the integral part of the provincial economy by their dominance in the exports of the province, which could have consolidated the Roman and Italian businessmen's position within the provincial society.

5.2 Literature Review

Several studies have been carried out on the *negotiatores*, who conducted wholesale business in the Roman world. In 1994, Jean Andreau discussed the importance of the *negotiatores* in maritime trade in the Late Republican period. However, Andreau

[221] Levick 2004, 189; Bang 2007, 25-28.
[222] Horden and Purcell 2000, 391-400.

claimed that their importance started to diminish in the 1st century CE due to the regulations of Augustus. In his research, Andreau did not provide a comprehensive study on the decline of the businessmen because he did not provide a comprehensive study of the rich epigraphic testimony of the *negotiatores* around the Roman world.[223] Furthermore, in 2004, Barbara Levick explained the commercial activities of Asia Minor in the Imperial period through a study of the historical sources. However, she failed to consider the role of the *negotiatores* in large-scale wholesale trade business.[224] Moreover, in 2007, François Kirbihler discussed how the *negotiatores* utilized the opportunities of wholesale trade in the Eastern Mediterranean, but he did not conduct a diachronic study of the wholesale trade by the *negotiatores* in the province.[225] In addition, in 2009, Bowman and Wilson provided a general framework for the places of wholesale trade within the Roman economy; they specifically focused on the Imperial period by studying the textual and epigraphic sources.[226] In 2012, Claire Holleran also conducted a study of inscriptions related to businessmen from Rome for an explanation of the wholesale trade in the Late Republican period. Holleran's study, therefore, provided the basis for the definitions of trade concepts in the Roman world.[227] In 2018, Thomas Corsten also conducted a survey on the networks of the *negotiatores* associations in the cities of the province of *Asia* by studying the honorific inscriptions; he demonstrated that the *negotiatores* associations were also integral intermediaries between inland and maritime trade in the province.[228] Although these researches provide significant information about wholesale trade, very few studies specifically pointed out the continuing role of the

[223] Andreau 1994, 204.
[224] Levick 2004.
[225] Kirbihler 2007.
[226] Bowman and Wilson 2009.
[227] Holleran 2012.
[228] Corsten 2018.

negotiatores associations in the entire province of *Asia* in the transition from the Late Republican to the Imperial period.

Ilias Arnaoutoglou, who published his study in 2002, emphasized the significance of the businessmen associations in Asia Minor. He mainly focused on the presence of *collegia* in the Eastern Mediterranean. He suggested that Roman bans or restrictions on the establishment of *collegia* by the Roman State remained temporary; there were only interventions on specific locations, if the *collegia* became dangerous and rebellious. According to Arnaoutoglou, the Romans, enforced restrictive bans on political and religious associations by means of several legislations in 64, 58 and 49-44 BCE: in the reign of Augustus, the Romans restricted the foundation of *collegia* by requiring authorization from the Senate. Arnaoutoglou showed that few associations, which were not well organized, might have caused civil strife, but that most of the *collegia* throughout the Empire were not banned because of the respective economic and social opportunities. As an example, Arnaoutoglou discussed the famous case for the ban of associations. In the reign of Traianus (98-117 CE), Plinius the Younger wrote to the Emperor concerning the authorization for the establishment of a fire brigade association in Nicomedia. The Emperor declined Plinius' proposal because he thought that Bithynia caused constant civil strife because of the poorly organized associations. Although there was a ban for the establishment of a fire brigade, Arnaoutoglou showed that there were several religious and commercial associations established even in Bithynia in the 2nd century CE, which are attested in the epigraphic testimony. As Arnaoutoglou demonstrated, there was no general decision that banned associations in Asia Minor in the Imperial period based on the examination of the epigraphic testimony of associations in western Anatolia.

However, his epigraphic analysis mainly depended on inscriptions —excluding *negotiatores*— of guilds and small-scale merchants in the Imperial period.[229]

Similarly, in 2017, Sailakshmi Ramgopal emphasized the difference of 'Roman citizen' associations from *collegia* and showed that some of these associations were organized by the *negotiatores*. Supporting the view of the difference between the *negotiatores* associations and other groups, Ramgopal stressed the fact that the members of the associations had Roman citizenship. Therefore, the central government might have distinguished them from other, problematic associations and might have permitted them to establish associations.[230] As a result, the study is useful to show the continuity of the *negotiatores* associations in the Early Imperial period.

5.3 Wholesale Trade in the Roman World

Starting from the Late Republican period the harmony of the components of trade, which were production, distribution, and consumption, urged urban development in the hinterland of the cities; redistribution coupled with storage and production made trade opportunities prosperous.[231]

Trade was made possible by the availability of connections between the production centers. For this reason, roads were important for commercial activities. The roads, however, were not primarily constructed for trade. Instead, as Cicero suggested with the example of *Via Egnatia*, which connected South Italy, Illyricum, Macedonia and Trace, roads were developed specifically for military purposes and, as he suggested, commercial activities were secondary in comparison to military usage.[232]

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[229] For fire brigade case in Nicomedia, see Plin. *Ep*. 33-34.This section is based on Arnaoutoglou 2002, 27-44.
[230] Ramgopal 2017, 408.
[231] Bowman and Wilson 2009, 30-31.
[232] Cic.*Prov.Cons*. 2; Belke 2017, 74.

Negotiatores were important agents for the transaction of goods since they controlled wholesale trade and distribution. Normally, goods could be transacted between a producer and a consumer without intermediaries. However, distribution of large-scale products was conducted through intermediaries such as the *negotiatores*.[233] Since the Roman bureaucracy was not adequate to organize such complex and wide-ranging activities in the Late Republican period, trade was more or less monopolized by these Roman and Italian businessmen.[234] As a result, the redistribution of goods was conducted through private suppliers such as the *negotiatores* below market prices. During the Imperial period, the bureaucracy continued to have a limited control over these suppliers who had bargaining power through state officials.[235] Subsequently, when the Principate was established, the State used commercial *collegia* for transaction of goods from the Mediterranean to the harbor of Ostia. This was especially true for the grain trade, which even caused an increase in the market prices.[236] In essence, the *negotiatores* were involved in the redistribution of goods. They even became primary agents of transport in the Early Imperial period.[237] Consequently, the profit from these activities made them influential and wealthy. Since the *negotiatores* were interested in grand-scale commerce, their impact on the distribution was large.[238]

In the Roman world, it is not clear how retailers and wholesale traders of various goods could be distinguished by the help of the ancient sources. If we compare the situation with the well-studied example of Rome in the Late Republican period, there was no clear distinction between wholesale and retail trade in the capital either. In her study of wholesale traders in Rome, Holleran suggested that the intention of the purchase could

[233] Bowman and Wilson 2009, 30-31.
[234] Bang 2007, 25-28.
[235] Bang 2007, 31-32.
[236] Rickman 1980, 270-1.
[237] Morley 2008, 580.
[238] Kirbihler 2007, 25; Tran 2014, 111.

have determined the distinction: business activities could be considered wholesale, whereas purchase for private use (e.g. personal) can be best explained as retail. For example, craftsmen retailed their production on a smaller scale without middlemen and additional costs. For their raw materials, craftsmen, and workshops, which were generally part of a *collegium*, could order wholesale purchases. Nevertheless, the boundaries between the two concepts remained blurry in the Roman world.[239]

Another issue related to the distinction between wholesale and retail trade is the difference in scale. A question that arises from this discussion is why both the terms *mercatores* and *negotiatores* were used in the ancient sources to refer to the people who conducted business. The terms were synonymous in some cases: a person could be a *negotiator*, a *mercator* as well as a *navicularius* in the Roman Imperial period. For example, this seems to be the case in the inscriptions of the *negotiatores* on both anchors and lids of amphoras, which were found in an Imperial period shipwreck.[240]

The ancient sources also fail to demonstrate a distinction between both the sizes and types of trade as discussed in more recent studies. In his study on literary sources published in 1999, Brosa stated that the *negotiatores* conducted large-scale trade, whereas the *mercatores* were only small-scale traders.[241] Holleran pointed out that the wholesale-traders possessed adequate wealth and power, while they had also other advantages such as having the opportunity to store their products and selling at the best price in winter

[239] Holleran 2012, 62.
[240] Morley 2008, 584.
[241] Previously, Yvon Thébert questioned the ambiguity of the meanings of *negotiatores* and *mercatores*, but he did not find a solution for difference, see Thébert 1980, 899-900. However, Brosa showed the difference between *negotiatores* (businessmen conducting large-scale business as well as many businesses) and *mercatores* (small-scale and specialized merchants) and found out that that the word *negotiatores* had a nuance in meaning. However, there was no settled definition in the Roman world as he suggested. Also, he believed that the authors sometimes indifferently used *mercatores* and *negotiatores* to define traders. For more information about the difference between the *negotiatores* and *mercatores*, see Brosa 1999, 171-90.

time.[242] We argue that the *negotiatores* could be responsible for wholesale trade, instead of retail trade on account of the large size of their business.

In terms of wholesale trade, the *negotiatores* supplied a large range of products in the Roman world. Among these supplies, grain, which fed the population in the cities of Italy, was of primary importance. The *negotiatores* collected and transacted agricultural surpluses throughout the Mediterranean and beyond. Although Egypt was an important supplier for grain, the northwestern provinces in Gaul,[243] Sicily,[244] as well as the province of *Asia*, also supplied grain.[245] As a result, it can be argued that grain trade was one of the prominent good for distribution by the *negotiatores*.

The *negotiatores* who transported agricultural surpluses were named with a special term in the Early Imperial period. The Roman historian Tacitus referred to them as *negotiatorum naves* (the ships of the businessmen), which were responsible for large-scale business and carried *frumentum* (harvested grain).[246] Beside this group, *negotiatores frumentarii* (businessmen of harvested grain), who leased ships from *navicularii* (shippers), also distributed grain. They were supervised by the *praefectus annonae* (overseer of grain) in the Roman Imperial period in certain cases, such as writing a contract or establishing a *societas*.[247]

In this distributive economy, the *negotiatores* were also specialized in other types of large-scale wholesale trade of goods and services. For instance, in the West, in Baetica, the *negotiatores* were responsible for large-scale wholesale trade of olive oil to Rome in the Imperial period.[248] However, the *negotiatores* did not only limit their activities to

[242] Holleran 2012, 82.
[243] Verboven 2007a, 295-313.
[244] Zoumbaki 2012, 77.
[245] For the grain trade in the province of *Asia*, see p. 89.
[246] Tac. *Ann*. 13.51.
[247] Lo Cascio 2008, 640.
[248] Rodriguez 2004, 125-36.

food, but also became suppliers of slaves and in this context became known as *mancipiorum negotiatores*.[249] In the Late Republican period, Delos was the epicenter for the Roman slave-market where businessmen traded thousands of slaves. These may have included skilled slaves, such as artists, secretaries, and doctors.[250]

We argue that the *negotiatores* conducted large-scale wholesale trade; they were responsible for the exports to specific regions and transacted a wide range of products. The need for private suppliers for the exchange of goods increased the *negotiatores'* importance in the Late Republican period, while their significance continued in the Imperial period.

5.4 Wholesale Trade in the Province of *Asia*

The province of *Asia* was an important region for the business ventures of the *negotiatores*. If we can believe the extraordinary number of cities mentioned in a later account by Philostratos the Athenian in the 3rd century CE, the province was home to about 500 prosperous cities.[251] There has been discussion about the number of the cities, but recent archaeological surveys showed that the number is in between ca. 130-370; these cities contained basic public facilities, such as gymnasia, theaters, agoras, aqueducts, and administrative buildings.[252] Urbanization, as a result, made the province of *Asia* an advantageous region for the mobility of goods in both the inter-regional and international trade. Since the region had significant ports, the coastal cities served as point of exit for export products from the Anatolian hinterland.[253]

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[249] Koester 2008, 774-75.
[250] Harris 1980, 125-26; Reger 1994, 55; Morel 2008, 504. The relation between Delos and the coastal cities of the province of *Asia* in slave trade is mentioned on p. 83-85.
[251] Philostr. *V S*. 548; Levick 2004, 192.2
[252] Willet 2015, 8-9.
[253] Thonemann 2013, 29.

Apart from the harbors, the cities were interconnected by advanced road systems. There was an important road network, which linked the province with other regions including *Galatia*, *Bithynia*, and *Lykia*, and *Cilicia*.[254] In the province of *Asia*, the coastal cities and the inner regions were also connected with significant routes. For example, Ephesos served as a *caput viae* connecting Smyrna, Tralleis, Sardis, Laodikeia, Apameia, Akmoneia and Kibyra. Furthermore, Smyrna also had connection with the inland via the roads to Sardis and Thyateira. Yet, another road connected the coastal cities of *Ionia* and *Karia* such as Miletos, Mylasa, and Kaunos. The cities of near *Propontis* and *Troas* were also linked with a road crossing Pergamon, Adramytteion, Lampsakos, and Kyzikos. The inland region, Phrygia, was connected to roads passing from Dorylaion, Akmoneia, Synnada and Dokimeion. In addition, *Via Sebaste* built by Augustus in 6 BCE was another significant route in nearby *Pisidia*.[255] As a result, there were many roads, which could be used by the *negotiatores* in the province of *Asia*.

Although the supply to Rome was not comparable to that of Egypt's grain or *Hispania*'s wine,[256] the province supplied much-wanted goods for the Roman market.[257] While the inscriptions do not necessarily contain specific information about the trade goods, the historical sources and archaeology contribute to the understanding of the wholesale trade business in the different regions of the province of *Asia*.

5.5 The Trade Potential of the Major Regions of the *Provincia Asia*

As discussed above, the province of *Asia* also had potential for trade opportunities as well as other regions in the Roman world. There were several regions, *Mysia*, *Ionia*, *Lydia*, *Phrygia*, *Karia* and *Lykia* (Kibyra), which came into prominence and might have

[254] French 1998, 38.
[255] French 2016, 83.
[256] Verboven 2009, 159-65.
[257] Rickman 1980, 270-1.

been places to conduct wholesale trade for the *negotiatores*, who stationed in the region. It seems that associations of *negotiatores* appeared especially in cities, where there was a demand for specific export goods needed to be transported via maritime trade, which can be understood by the study of the location of the inscriptions (Fig. 4).

5.5.1 *Mysia*

Mysia became a prominent region in the province of *Asia* because of various goods, especially marble. The geographer Strabo (63 BCE-23 CE) noted that the Prokonnesos Island in the Propontis flourished as an important source of marble, which was demanded throughout the Roman world.[258] Marble was mainly under imperial ownership and was in ultimate control of the imperial authority. In the Late Republican period and Early Imperial period, the quarries might have included individual businessmen to farm out the commodity. However, by the Late 2nd century CE, all the marble quarries were already under imperial *procuratores'* authority.[259] Therefore, the *negotiatores* in the region might have been the intermediaries for marble trade in the Early Imperial period.

Furthermore, Strabo also provided information about other local products. As he suggested, the snails of Linum, which was a coastal city near Parion, were famous, and were the best in the world.[260] In addition, Strabo portrayed Gergithium in Lampsakos as a city rich in vines,[261] and Astyra in the Troad as a significant location of gold mines.[262] As Levick suggested in her recent studies, these goods were not only for internal use, but were also important for large landowners, who desired to exchange their goods because

[258] Strabo 13.1.16.
[259] Hirt 2010, 1-15; For the organization of the marble quarries in Asia Minor and Egypt, see Russell 2013, 39-42.
[260] Strabo 13.1.15.
[261] Strabo 13.1.19.
[262] Strabo 13.1.23.

of trade opportunities.[263] As mentioned above, the *negotiatores*, who were not directly involved in the production process, but they might have been the active agents of the distribution of these export goods throughout the Roman world. Therefore, their attestations are logically mainly concentrated in coastal cities, where harbors were located.

On the shores of *Mysia*, there were several associations of *negotiatores*; they were concentrated in the harbor cities, which facilitated the transaction of goods for the region and contributed to the large-scale wholesale trade in the Early Imperial period. The city of Mytilene on Lesbos, an island which was connected to the broader Aegean Sea, housed an association of Roman *negotiatores* in the Late Republican period.[264] This association could have been useful to transact the goods from the shores of *Mysia* to the Roman world. Furthermore, several other Roman *negotiatores* associations (*οἱ πραγματευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι*) were also established in the 1st century CE and were located in Kyzikos,[265] Adramytteion,[266] and Assos.[267] With the business ventures of the *negotiatores* associations, *Mysia* could have an important potential in the wholesale trade of various goods such as the above-mentioned ones to the Roman world. Therefore, we argue that the *negotiatores* associations appeared as key suppliers of the wholesale trade through maritime trade in *Mysia*; the *negotiatores* associations continued to flourish in the region in the Early Imperial period.

[263] Levick 2004, 192-93.
[264] CIL III 455.
[265] IMT Kyz Kapu Dağ 1435.
[266] IMT Adram Kolpos 718; IMT Adram Kolpos 720.
[267] IMT SuedlTroas 573; IMT SuedlTroas 603; IMT SuedlTroas 604; IMT SuedlTroas 606; IMT SuedlTroas 610.

5.5.2 *Ionia*

Ephesos, being the largest harbor in the province,[268] was continuously occupied by *negotiatores* associations from the Late Republican period into the 3rd century CE.[269] Thus, the city was an important center for Roman and Italian businessmen for a long period of time. At Ephesus, there are attestations for people who were responsible for the distribution of wholesale trade goods in the *emporium* (place of trade).[270] Although the slave trade comprised the largest share of export in the economy of the province, there were other significant wholesale trade business ventures conducted by the *negotiatores*. For example, Ephesos had such a large fish industry that the Ephesians even established a customs house in the Imperial period.[271] The 2nd century CE inscription was a testimony of the continuation of the fish business by the custom-house of fishermen *negotiatores* association (*οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ τελώνιον τῆς ἰχθυϊκῆς πραγματευόμενοι*).[272] This fishermen association might have had relations with the extensive good-quality salt production site at Kaunos, which was an important component for the preservatives of fish products such as *garum*.[273] The 3rd century CE attestation to a food workers association shows that the *negotiatores* associations continued to conduct business in food industry in this time. However, the associations started to use generic terms rather than individually referring to fishermen.[274]

In Ionia, apart from Ephesos, Smyrna was another important harbor for the transportation of the goods,[275] as there is evidence for a 2nd century CE *negotiatores*

[268] Levick 2004, 185.
[269] Ephesos 788*5; Ephesos 1187; Ephesos 1386; Ephesos 1394; Ephesos 1478; Ephesos 263; Ephesos 981; Ephesos 1078; Ephesos 1303; Ephesos 1320; Ephesos 1509; Ephesos 1578; SE 1320.
[270] Ephesos 1187; L'Annee Epigraphique 1968 (1970), 153.
[271] Levick 2004, 191.
[272] Ephesos 788*5.
[273] Marzano 2013, 5.
[274] Ephesos 1386; Kalinowski 2002, 131.
[275] Horden and Purcell 2000, 392.

association (*οἱ πραγματευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι*).[276] In this period, the city had an important road network, which connected the town with the inland cities, including Magnesia and Sardis.[277]

In addition, there were other cities, which contributed to the *negotiatores* associations' business activities in *Ionia*. According to Plinius the Elder (23-79 CE), Miletian wool ranked third in the Roman world, which was transported via the harbor at the city.[278] Although the inscription is fragmentary, there is an attestation for a *negotiatores* association in Erythrai, where an important harbor was located, which could have contributed to the commercial activities of the *negotiatores* associations in *Ionia*.[279]

In essence, the cities of *Ionia* provided harbors for the products produced in the region. In addition, the *negotiatores* associations continued to prosper in the Early Imperial period mainly in the coastal cities in the region.

5.5.3 *Lydia*

Lydia was another significant region for wholesale trade in the province of *Asia*. In the first place, slaves were one of the most valuable export commodities from the province in the Late Republican period.[280] They were preferred on the Roman market since these slaves came from an urbanized background. Thus they were useful for teaching Greek to the children of their Roman masters (Fig. 5).[281] During the 1st century BCE, the slave supply by the Galatian kings and the enslavement of captives after the Mithridatic Wars made the province an important hub for slave trade. Children were commodified as *θρέπτοι*, who could be defined as either foster-children raised by people

[276] Smyrna 163.
[277] Ersoy 2016, 1-3.
[278] Pliny. *HN*. 8.190 (8.73).
[279] Erythrai 158.
[280] Harris 2008, 532-33.
[281] Adams 2004, 761.

other than their natural families, slave-children, or freed-children.[282] In North-east *Lydia* and *Phrygia*, *θρέπτοι* were common; they were peasants, who were integral part of the regions' agriculture.[283]

Sardis attained prominence in the exchange of slaves throughout the Roman world. Two bilingual inscriptions from Sardis[284] referred to the associations of Italian *negotiatores* conducting trade after the First Mithridatic War (89-85 BCE). Although most of the inscriptions related to the *negotiatores* lack information about their specific commercial occupations, the honorand of these two inscriptions can provide information about the specific trade. The *negotiatores* in Sardis honored Lucius Munatius Plancus, who was one of Sulla's generals during the First Mithridatic War.[285] Plancus was also a significant honorand featuring in two inscriptions by Italian *negotiatores* on Delos in 88 BCE;[286] Delos was an important hub for the distribution of slaves from the province during the Late Republican period.[287] Since the Mithridatic assaults on the province of *Asia* had caused significant financial downfalls and property losses for the *negotiatores*,[288] Plancus might have been seen as a savior and honored on account of his victories over Mithridates with the honorific inscriptions by the Italian *negotiatores* of both Sardis and Delos; the associations in these two cities could have had significant connections due to the slave trade and could have transported the slaves via the port of Ephesos in *Ionia*.[289]

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[282] The meaning of *θρέπτοι* remains controversial. For the discussions, see Kileci, 2019, 341-43.
[283] See Thonemann 2013, 139-41.
[284] SEG 46:1521; SEG 52:1174.
[285] App. *Mith*. 5.34; L'Année épigraphique (1996) 1999, 507-8.
[286] ID 1695; ID 1696; Adams 2004. For the Italian businessmen and the grain trade in Delos, see Reger 1994, 232; 270.
[287] On Delos, the '*Agora des Italiens*' accommodated a slave market among other commercial facilities, see Trümper 2011, 65-66.
[288] Adams 2004, 654-55.
[289] Koester 2008, 784-85.

The slave market remained important in the Early Imperial period in Sardis. In the 1st century CE, the city continued to be an important location for the exchange of slaves from inner Anatolia to the Roman world. For example, the *negotiatores* association in Sardis continued their slave business at the slave market (*οἱ ἐν τῷ σταταρίῳ πραγματευόμενοι*).[290] Another example is from Ephesos, where the Ephesian *negotiatores* involve in the slave business also appeared in the 1st century CE.[291] We argue that these two inscriptions were evidence to the *negotiatores* associations' importance in the exchange of slaves throughout the Roman world, and the continuation of large wholesale-trade since Ephesos in *Ionia* served as the harbor of the Anatolian hinterland including Sardis. In Sardis, an honorific inscription from the Early 2nd century CE showed the presence of businessmen associations, who conducted slave-trade business in the city.[292]

Furthermore, Philadelphia was another significant city in wholesale trade since it housed a flourishing wool industry alongside a significant leather industry.[293] In addition, in the Early Imperial period, there were references to *collegia* related to the wool industry in the cities including Thyateira, Saittai, and Sardis.[294]

The advantage of being close to the Aegean and Mediterranean Seas made local harbors reachable from every direction. Although the Meander and Hermos stretched out to the inner region, they were not navigable, but could be used for smaller transactions. Nevertheless, thanks to the road network, the *negotiatores* could reached the harbors of the region.[295] Although roads were expensive for transportation in comparison to maritime connections, land transportation continued to be the integral infrastructure for

[290] SEG 46:1524.
[291] Ephesos 1303.
[292] SEG 46:1524.
[293] Levick 2004, 190.
[294] Arnaoutoglou 2011, 264.
[295] Levick 2004, 185.

connections to inland regions, which helped the cities to prosper.[296] For example, there are two attestations of *negotiatores* associations in Thyateira[297] from the Early Imperial period which were most probably related to the wool industry in the city. These associations might have transacted the raw material and textile from Ephesos or Smyrna in *Ionia*.

Apart from wool industry, Tralleis had an *emporium* and was an important region for bedding.[298] Most importantly, Lydia was an important supplier of slaves as well as linen industry in the province of *Asia*. The *negotiatores* associations in the region also continued to be an integral part of wholesale trade during the Early Imperial period as their importance did not diminish.

5.5.4 *Phrygia*

As a region that was added to the province of *Asia* as Early as the Late 2nd century BCE,[299] *Phrygia* provided great opportunities for the Roman and Italian businessmen. In the 1st century BCE, the businessmen associations remained active in financial business and the slave trade, as there is evidence for slave business in Apameia Kelainai and Akmoneia.[300]

Wool and linen industry as well as animal husbandry were the most significant productions of *Phrygia*. For example, animal herding and wool were integral to economy in Hierapolis,[301] where textile production was also a vital sector resulting in the establishment of a professional *collegium*.[302] The Greek orator Dio Chrysostom, who

[296] For a discussion on the comparative study of land and maritime transportation in the Roman world, see Laurence 2010, 132-34.
[297] TAM V, 2 862; TAM V, 2 924.
[298] Levick 2004, 194.
[299] For discussion, see p. 7-9.
[300] Thonemann 2013, 29-30.
[301] Levick 2004, 195; Corsten 2018, 385.
[302] Levick 2004, 190.

flourished in the reign of Emperor Traianus (98-117 CE), also emphasized that linen was another significant commodity for Roman trade in the region of *Phrygia*.[303] Apart from linen, the geographer Strabo emphasized the importance of animal husbandry and wool industry in Laodikeia; the industry even surpassed the quality of the Miletian industry on account of its special black color and soft texture.[304]

Recent archaeobotanical research showed that Gordion was another center for intensive wheat production and animal herding.[305] During the Early Imperial period, the city produced a significant amount of bread wheat. Rather than an indication of the payment of tax in kind, this intensification could be related to the increase of the Roman garrisons in Galatia-Cappadocia, which supplied the needs of the soldiers' rations.[306] Since the *negotiatores* were also important for the army supplies,[307] the businessmen associations in the nearby cities might have become the intermediaries in the wheat production intensified for the army's needs.

Marble was another crucial commodity for the region's production for export. According to Strabo, Synnada provided high quality Synnadic/Docimaean marble, which had a variety of colors. Because marble was heavy, it was cut into slabs and columns.[308] Although the marble was under the imperial authority,[309] we argue that in the beginning when imperial *procuratores* were not appointed for marble business yet, the *negotiatores* associations could have been intermediaries for the regions' wholesale economy. They

[303] Dio Chrys. *Or*. 34.21.; Levick 2004, 182. The Roman textile production was conducted by small workshops and individuals in the Imperial period in Asia Minor, see Poblome 2004, 499-501.
[304] Strabo. 12.8.16; Levick 2004, 182; Corsten 2018, 385.
[305] Marston and Miller 2014, 770-73.
[306] For the discussion, see Bennett 2013, 315-43.
[307] See p. 22-23.
[308] Strabo 12.8.14; Levick 2004, 182; For the organization of marble quarries in the eastern part of the Roman word, see Russell 2013, 39-42.
[309] Hirt 2010, 1-15.

might have facilitated the export of marble to the wider Roman world via maritime trade opportunities of the coastal cities in the region.[310]

The *negotiatores* in *Phrygia* used inner roads and transacted the abovementioned commodities to the harbor cities of the province. Apart from exports, Apameia (the second largest *emporium* in the province of *Asia)* [311] was an important *emporium*, where imports from Italy and Greece were transacted.[312] An honorific inscription from the Imperial period attests the presence of a *negotiatores* association in Apameia.[313]

In essence, the continuing presence of the businessmen associations in *Phrygia* showed the importance of the *negotiatores* for the wholesale trade in the province of *Asia*.

5.5.5 *Karia*

Karia's inner cities remained less productive in comparison to the aforementioned regions in the province. The region particularly prospered in the wool industry as well as animal husbandry.[314] Although Miletos in *Ionia* had a significant harbor,[315] there are only attestations of *negotiatores* associations in Halikarnassos[316] and Iasos[317] during the Early Imperial period, which could have facilitated the maritime transaction of wool trade to the wider Roman world.[318]

[310] See p. 79-80.
[311] Levick 2004, 193.
[312] Corsten 2018, 384.
[313] MAMA VI List 146, 109.
[314] Levick 2004, 184;193.
[315] Horden and Purcell 2000, 392.
[316] Halikarnassos 166.
[317] Iasos 233.
[318] For the importance of grain trade to Rome in the Late Republican and Imperial periods, see Kessler and Temin 2007, 315-19.

5.5.6 *Lykia*

In *Lykia*, only Kibyra was part of the province of *Asia*. The remaining part of *Lykia* was not part of the Roman *imperium* until Emperor Claudius (41-54 CE), who annexed the region in 43 CE. There were several reasons for the annexation: some scholars have suggested that in *Lykia* there were continuous civil unrests, so it was necessary to integrate the area into the Empire; other scholars have proposed that it was Claudius' desire to increase his civic patronage and imperial glory by annexing the region. However recently, Bennett has demonstrated that the annexation of *Lykia* might have been caused by financial needs, which was to increase the tax revenues of the Empire.[319]

When the Emperor included the region in the Roman empire, Kibyra also became a prominent city; it came forward in grain production after the reign of Emperor Claudius; the city flourished in his reign and there were references of tax payment in grain.[320] Tax in kind was especially used in regions where the monetary economy was not fully developed. It was also an important supply for military garrisons near the frontiers of the province.[321] Therefore, the *negotiatores* associations might have been useful for military supplies in nearby *Galatia* and *Cappadocia*. Sixteen honorific inscriptions from the 1st century CE[322] indicate the continuing presence of associations of Roman *negotiatores* (*οἱ πραγματευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι*) who could have conducted long-distance grain trade from *Lykia* to the harbor cities of Halikarnassos and Iasos, where the *negotiatores* associations could have distributed the grain to Rome.

[319] For a discussion on Kibyra's integration into the Roman Empire, see Bennett 2011, 119-36.
[320] IGR 4.914.; Levick 2004, 188.
[321] For the example of tax in kind in *Galatia*, see Bennett 2019, 230.
[322] BCH 2(1878) 598,5; IK Kibyra 47; IK Kibyra 48; IK Kibyra 52; IK Kibyra 53; IK Kibyra 51; Heberdey-Kalinka Bericht 2,5; IK Kibyra 49; IK Kibyra 50; IK Kibyra 54; IK Kibyra 56; IK Kibyra 57; IK Kibyra 58; IK Kibyra 59; IK Kibyra 60; IK Kibyra 61.

5.6 Discussion

As it is shown by the epigraphic evidence, *negotiatores* associations did not show a decline in the wholesale trade in the transition from the Late Republican to the Early Imperial period. As an important part of the Roman economy, the 6 regions of the province of *Asia* contributed to the wholesale business of the *negotiatores* at different levels. It seems that, in the Early Imperial period, the *negotiatores* associations did not lose their importance as significant agents for the trade of goods throughout the Roman world. The epigraphic testimony indicates that they were mostly concentrated in the harbor cities of the province, which could have facilitated maritime trade. In this way, the *negotiatores* associations might have maintained their status by distributing goods coming from the province through their presence in the coastal cities of the province. Therefore, it can be argued that the *negotiatores* associations continued to be an integral part of the province's economy. By the presence of associations and the historical attestations one can suggest that they continued to be attested in the region in the 1st century CE and there was no decline of the importance of the *negotiatores* associations making them an integral part of the economy in the province of *Asia*.

Chapter 6

ETHNIC SELF REPRESENTATION: BECOMING A PART OF THE LOCAL ECONOMY

6.1 Introduction

In ancient societies, ethnicity was a significant factor for establishing solidarity communities among people, who shared common values.[323] For the *negotiatores* communities, ethnicity was also a vital aspect for creating their collaborative associations. After a brief discussion of the scholarly studies on ethnic associations in the Roman world, this chapter shows how the *negotiatores* could have used specific strategies of ethnic self-representation to form associations for business and solidarity in the province of *Asia* between the Late Republican and Early Imperial periods, which has not been particularly discussed in the literature. Throughout the chapter, we focus specifically on the language preferences in the epigraphic testimony, but language did not necessarily correspond to a specific ethnic identity. Therefore we also assess the epigraphic materials from the social aspect of ethnic identity.[324] To begin with, the pragmatic usage of identity by the Italian *negotiatores* is discussed in order to show how they continued to use their Italian identity to form associations even after they received full Roman citizenship right after the Social War (91-88 BCE). The indications of Roman citizenship are also assessed with the association inscriptions concurrently and after the disappearance of the Italian associations in the province to understand the significance of the legal aspect of their identity. In addition, the chapter presents evidence for the decline of the ethnic appellation of the *negotiatores* associations in the Early Imperial period, which was replaced by the broad term of *πραγματευόμενοι.* We argue that this could have helped the *negotiatores* to

[323] Boatwright 2012, 8-13.
[324] See a similar discussion in Quinn 2018.

associate themselves with the province rather than their origin in *Italia,* which could be an indication of the adaptation of the businessmen to the province of *Asia.*

6.2 Literature Review

There have been discussions about what ethnic identity was for ancient people throughout the centuries. In her book published in 2012, Mary Boatwright examined Greek and Latin textual sources and suggested that the subject of ethnicity should be approached as a social phenomenon, which was previously claimed as a genetic fact by scholars of 18th and 19th century. As a result, ethnicity became a term that defines people with common beliefs, cultural traits, a shared fatherland and language. Boatwright also showed that words defining ethnic identity including *gens* ('race'), *natio* ('nation'), and *populus* ('people') did not possess clear-cut definitions in the Roman world, which led to ambiguous descriptions in the ancient sources. Therefore, one should consider the strategies that were inherent to the use ethnic identity according to Boatwright. In the case of the Roman citizenship, for instance, it typically represented privileges concerning legal and tax dues, rather than the common genetic traits of people. Thus, her research is useful to understand the social aspect of ethnic self-representation of the Romans. [325]

In 2017, Filippo Carla-Uhink's epigraphic study on the Roman and Italian populations between the 3rd-1st centuries BCE in Greece, *Asia* and Egypt revealed the complexity in the usage of ethnic appellation. He discussed how ethnicity served as an "umbrella term" for different groups of people. The author also showed the importance of social as well as economic implications of the Italian ethnic appellation, which indicated a group of people coming from common geographic origins without any genetic

[325] Boatwright 2012, 8-13.

commonality.[326] Both researches are useful to understand the usage of ethnic appellation as a social phenomenon by the Romans and Italians.

Ethnicity is an important feature for the establishment of trade associations in general. The study of the anthropologist Abner Cohen, published in 1970, suggested that 'trading diaspora' gather people, who share ethnic background and traditions. According to Cohen, the creation of communities based on these traits at different locations leads to an interrelated network of people, who serve the mutual benefit of a community.[327] In 2011, Wim Broekaert's study provided a framework for the *collegia* ('trade associations') of businessmen in the Late Republican and Imperial periods in the Eastern Mediterranean with a special attention to Egypt. The Roman and Italian *negotiatores* collaborated in these associations based on shared values, such as the same belief, ethnic background, and social class. In other words, the members of these associations comprised people, who shared common goals with similar traits.[328]

In 2011, Koenraad Verboven reminded that the members of *collegia* generally shared cultic practices, which he exemplified with foreigners' associations. His study showed that trade associations were not limited to the Romans but extended to foreigner associations throughout Italy. For example, in Puteoli the Tyrians created associations based on their shared religious cults, which were called the *Daphnenses* and *Berytenses* during the 1st and 2nd century CE. Most importantly, Verboven pointed out that when the associations had fewer members, they united with other foreign residents. For example, during the Imperial period, the Galatians created associations with the residents of *Asia*. The people from Noricum, for instance, were represented by only one association in

[326] Carla-Uhink 2017.
[327] Cohen 1971, 267.
[328] For a discussion about how the social networking theory (closure and multiplex theories) can be applied to the *collegium*, see Broekaert 2011, 227.

Rome.[329] Therefore, it seems that the *negotiatores*, who shared common cultic practices, were not necessarily composed of people with a common ethnic identity. Conversely, in 2016, Candace Rice's study on Roman/Italian businessmen showed that the *negotiatores* convened because of their ethnic identity as Cohen suggested in his model of 'trading diaspora'. In the Late Republican period, the *negotiatores* created communities according to their shared beliefs and common ethnical identity.[330] Therefore, there is no common view about the importance of ethnic identity in the composition of the associations. Nevertheless, this chapter approaches ethnic identity as a social phenomenon and does not focus on the discussion concerning the genetic aspect of ethnic identity.

In the scholarship, there have also been suggestions for research to overcome the limits of ethnic identity. Stephanie Maillot's study published in 2015 discussed the foreigner associations on Rhodes in the Late Hellenistic period. The author questioned Cohen's concept of a 'trading diaspora', which had been limited to the study of common cult practices, ethnicity, and profession. Maillot reminded scholars that it is relevant to discuss also the internal organization of associations with the understanding of how foreigners honored their own members.[331] Similarly, David Magie's article which was reprinted in 2017, also suggested that the study of honorary inscriptions and statue dedications could reveal information about the status of the members of associations.[332] However, there is not much information about the internal organization and administration of the *negotiatores* associations in the province of *Asia*. Therefore, these aspects cannot be examined with the available epigraphic testimony.[333]

[329] See Verboven 2011, 337-42.
[330] Rice 2016, 104-5.
[331] Maillot 2015, 137-39; 144.
[332] Magie 2017, 1051.
[333] For the only example in the province of *Asia*, see page p. 69.

The aforementioned studies did not focus on the archaeological evidence, which could provide different perspectives on the associations' ethnic identity. In her book published in 2018, Josephine Quinn showed that the assumptions of modern scholarly studies on ethnic identity did not necessarily reflect the archaeological evidence such as funerary practices and epigraphy. Her case study on the Carthaginian settlements between the 2nd century BCE and 1st century CE on the northwestern shores of Africa showed that inscriptions indicating a specific identity differed in various cities in Numidia. Language was not even the only element to determine a Carthaginian identity. Quinn revealed that the epigraphy exhibited distinctive strategies in separate cities for the display of identities different from the Romans or the Numidian ethnicity. The ethnic identity, as a result, appeared as a remark to reveal local community identities (town or sanctuary) rather than ethnicity. The research, in this way, demonstrated that the Roman and Italian identities expressed by either epigraphy or funerary practices do not correspond to the generalized ethnic identity concepts we have in mind today.[334] Therefore, the study is useful to think about identity from a social and a cultural perspective rather than as a genetic phenomenon.

In archaeology, ethnic concentration has also been one of the most discussed aspect of trading communities (trading diaspora, *collegia*, and *conventus*) in the Roman world. As an example, the French excavations in the *Agora des Italiens* on Delos showed that the earliest occupation of the Roman and Italian residents, who were mostly businessmen, was dated to period between the mid-2nd century BCE and 85 BCE. They created associations based on their common cult practices on the island of Delos. In 2014, Monika Trümper argued that the *Agora des Italiens* was not only a 'national enclave'. Instead, the presence of multi-national benefactors attested in the epigraphical record and

[334] Quinn 2018.

honorary inscriptions in Greek suggest that the Agora was open to a larger community including all multi-ethnic inhabitants of Delos.[335] Thus, the earlier identification of the area as a 'national enclave' started to be questioned. Although there is no evidence for 'national enclaves' in the province of *Asia*, the study showed that the *negotiatores* associations were not so secluded in the Late Republican period as was discussed in the scholarship of 'anti-Roman' propaganda in the past.[336] Therefore, these two articles revealed that the archaeological material might not necessarily indicate an ethnic identity in the modern understanding, and could imply a socio-cultural perspective in identity studies.

There have been limited studies concerning the changes in ethnic self-representation of the *negotiatores* associations in the province of *Asia.* In 2013, Peter Thonemann examined the *negotiatores* in *Phrygia*. Through an onomastic analysis, he showed that as early as in the Late Republican period, most of the individuals honored in the Roman inscriptions appeared to have Italian names. Consequently, he assumed that most of the business associations might have contained Italian members. Moreover, he showed that the *negotiatores* mostly conducted slave trade and financial business in the region.[337] Similarly, François Kirbihler's articles in 2007 and 2014 also focused on the Italian businessmen and their importance for the provincial society. However, he did not provide a comprehensive perspective for the province of *Asia* regarding the changes in ethnic appellation.[338]

Although scholars have discussed the concept of ethnicity for the general Eastern Mediterranean context, they have not discussed the changes in the ethnic self-

[335] Trümper 2014, 84-85.
[336] For a discussion about anti-Roman propaganda and the problems of the textual sources, see chapter 3 'The Ephesian Vespers'.
[337] Thonemann 2013, 29-31.
[338] Kirbihler 2007; 2014.

representation of the *negotiatores* associations in the province of *Asia* during the transition from the Late Republican to the Early Imperial period, which can help to understand the integration of the associations as indispensable communities in the cities of the province.

6.3 The *Negotiatores* Associations of the *Italicei*/*ἰταλικοί*

6.3.1 The Italians and The Social War

Before the Social War (91-88 BCE), the *Italicei* had several disadvantages concerning social affairs with Roman citizens: they had limited rights regulating the inheritance from Romans; they had a disadvantageous position while concluding partnerships (*societates*). There was also limited protection for land ownership since the Romans could confiscate their lands randomly as in the case of the *ager publicus* (public land acquired by warfare), which was in use of the Italians. Regarding their commercial relations, the rights of the Italians and their profits in business ventures were smaller in comparison to those of their Roman partners, although *praetores* (judicial magistrates) provided facilities their business conduct in few sporadic cases.[339]

These disadvantages caused distress and eventually led to the Social War, in which the Italians demanded equal rights to those of the Romans as well as protection from the random confiscation of their lands. As a result, they would be relieved from tax burden and gain more profit in their business ventures. In addition, when the Italians got the Roman citizenship, they could overcome economic, political, and legal inequality. However, the Romans remained reluctant to give equal rights to the Italians even after the Social War; it was not until the census of 70 BCE that the Italians were considered equal citizens and received voting as well as full property rights.[340] Thus, it seems that

[339] For the discussion concerning the Social War, see Sherwin-White 1996, 134-39.
[340] Roselaar 2012, 146-53.

gaining citizenship was a slow process and the Italians only gradually left their Italian identity, as can be seen in the epigraphic evidence of the *Provincia Asia*.

6.3.2 The Italians in the Province of *Asia*

The Italians were the largest trading community in the province of *Asia* in the Late Republican period. When the word 'Italian' was used on inscriptions, it attested the presence of Greeks in Southern Italy, freedmen of Roman citizens, Oscans, Italians from Campania and Southern Italy and even of some Roman citizens who settled outside the city of Rome as we see in 2nd century BCE inscriptions from Delos. Furthermore, there were some sporadic cases in the 2nd century BCE, in which the Roman or Italian appellation were used almost synonymously. However, this synonymity cannot be generalized for every Italian reference in the inscriptions since the legal aspect of Roman citizenship was an important factor to distinguish between the two concepts. Nevertheless, the Italian reference was utilized to indicate an identity which encompassed people from a common region.[341]

Similarly, in the province of *Asia*, the Italian reference did not only consist Italics from the Italian peninsula, but also included Greeks who settled in southern Italy. There were even more *negotiatores* in comparison to Roman citizens in the province of *Asia* in the beginning of the 1st century BCE.[342] Notably, even after the First Mithridatic War (89-85 BCE), the Italian *negotiatores* continued to use their Italian identity. In other words, the epigraphic testimony shows a tendency of using the Italian identity for a long time even after the Italians had received the Roman citizenship. Thus, in the province of *Asia*,

[341] For a discussion concerning the composition of the Italians and epigraphic examples of the synonymous usage of Italian and Roman identityin Ptolemaic Egypt, see Carla-Uhink 2017.
[342] Kirbihler 2007, 19-20.

negotiatores who called themselves 'Italian' continued to exist until the very end of the Republican period (Fig. 6).

Language choice was another significant aspect for the representation and communication of the identity of the *negotiatores* in public. As an example, Adams' study on the Late Republican inscriptions on Delos revealed specific language strategies. Although Adams did not find a strong connection between the usage of Latin and references to the Italians, his study suggested that, when the dedicant/honorand was a Roman, the Italians preferred Latin as one of the languages in their bilingual inscriptions. This specific choice showed that the Italians aimed to represent their Latin speaking aspect of their identity, even if they called themselves Italians in the epigraphic evidence.[343]

This situation could reflect the pro-Roman identity in the Early 1st century BCE before the Social War. The Italians preferred the use of Latin when they needed to underline their connection with the Romans, since they might have needed protection in case of problems, which they might have encountered as resident aliens on Delos. In contrast, when the dedicant/honorand was a local, they preferred to use Greek and did not consider using Latin.[344]

In the province of *Asia*, the Italian community conducting business used similar strategies as on Delos concerning their language choice. As far as we know from the available epigraphic material, except for two identical bilingual inscriptions from Sardis, datable to the 80's BCE,[345] two other inscriptions —one is datable to the 60's BCE[346] and

[343] The discussion about the bilingualism of the *negotiatores* on the island of Delos is based on Adams 2004, 656-58.
[344] For the language strategies, see Adams 2004, 656-58.
[345] SEG 46:1521; SEG 52:1154; L'Année Épigraphique (1996) 1999, 507-8.
[346] Ephesos 1078; Cic. *Flac*.31; Eilers 2002, 224.

the other to 37 BCE[347]— were dedicated by the Italians who used Latin as the only language of their inscriptions. As a result, similar to the language strategy on Delos, it seems that the Italian *negotiatores* used Latin as one of the languages of the honorary inscriptions. Thus, it can be argued that the Italians showed their connection with the Romans by stressing their preference of using Latin in their association inscriptions alongside Greek. Therefore, we argue that they could have continued to represent themselves with their Italian identity even after they received Roman citizenship.

The preference of Latin could also be related to the honorands as in the case of Delos. Although they were coming from different backgrounds, the honorands belonged to the Roman political elites. In the two identical bilingual inscriptions from Sardis, the Italian businessmen (*Italicei quei Sardibus negotiantur/ἰταλικοί οἱ ἐν Σάρδεσιν πραγματευόμενοι*) honored Lucius Munatius Plancus (Λευκίωι Μονατίωι Πλάγκωι), who was one of Sulla's generals during the First Mithridatic War (89-85 BCE).[348] In the Latin honorary inscription from the 60's BCE, the Italian businessmen at Ephesos (*Italicei, quei Ephesi negotiantur*) honored Lucius Agrius Publeianus, who was an equestrian and mentioned as an influential Roman in one of Cicero's deliberative speeches.[349] Yet, in another inscription, *the Italicei quei Ephesi negotiantur* honored another Roman official, Marcus Cocceius Nerva, who was the governor of the province of *Asia* in 36 BCE and had connections with Marcus Antonius.[350] Although these inscriptions did not mention the reason for the honor, the formulation of the dedicators in the nominative and the honorand in the accusative implied the inscriptions' specific honorific usage.[351]

[347] Ephesos 1320; L'Année Épigraphique (1968) 1970, 149-50; see also p. 82-83 for the importance of this association in wholesale trade business in the province.
[348] App. *Mith*. 5.34; L'Année Épigraphique (1996) 1999, 507-8.
[349] Ephesos 1078; Cic. *Flac*.31; Eilers 2002, 224.
[350] Ephesos 1320; L'Année Épigraphique (1968) 1970, 149-50.
[351] For the importance of the accusative case in the honorific practice, see p. 14-15.

In essence, we argue that all these individuals had important connections with Rome in the time when the *negotiatores* settled in both Rome and the province rather than choosing the province as their only settlement.[352] Thus, it seems that throughout the Late Republican period the Italian *negotiatores*' association showed their pro-Roman stance by preferring the Latin language when they honored a Roman official. Although they had already received equal rights during the 1st century BCE, the Italian *negotiatores* continued to use their Italian identity as appeared on the epigraphic testimony.

Concerning this particular phenomenon, Carla-Uhink suggested that the Italians did not give up their regional identity since they might have revealed that their associations were composed of proud communities from the same geographical origin. They may have preferred to empower their Italian identity with their newly-gained Roman identity in order to take advantage in judicial processes.[353] In addition, since the *negotiatores* still continued their relation with the capital, it seems that they did not only rely on the provincial society. However, it might have implied increased connections with the locals of the province of *Asia*. In the end, it can be argued that the Italian identity of the *negotiatores* slowly gave place to the Roman identity in the province of *Asia* in the last half of the 1st century BCE.

6.4 The *Negotiatores* Associations of the *Cives Romani* in the Late Republican Period

Concurrently with the Italian *negotiatores* associations, the Roman *negotiatores* also convened in associations in the province of *Asia* during the Late Republican period. They were composed of businessmen who held the Roman citizenship; thus, the legal

[352] See chapter 3 'The Ephesian Vespers'.
[353] Carla-Uhink 2017.

aspect became the common trait in the establishment of these associations.[354] However, in comparison to the epigraphic testimony of the Italians, there are less attestations for the Roman *negotiatores* in the province of *Asia* in this period. The available epigraphic evidence suggests that the earliest example of a Roman *negotiatores* association comes from the island of Cos. In a Latin honorary inscription from 48-44 BCE, the Roman citizens who conducted business (*Cives Romani quei Coi negotiantur*) honored the citizens of Cos and Gaius Iulius Caesar.[355] At Ephesos the Roman *negotiatores* appeared alongside the Italians. In a Latin inscription from 36 BCE, a *conventus* (association) of the Roman citizens who conducted business (*Cives Romanorum quei Ephesi negotiantur*) honored one of the consuls of that time, Marcus Cocceius Nerva.[356] In another Latin inscription, which is datable to 32 BCE, the Roman businessmen who conducted business in Mytilene (*cives Romani qui Mytileneis negotiantur*) honored Marcus Titius, the governor of the province of *Asia*.[357] It is not clear whether these Roman associations were the previous Italian *negotiatores* associations who started to call themselves Roman associations. However, the Italian ethnic self-representation terminated in the very end of the Late Republican period as no inscription has been found mentioning Italian *negotiatores* associations in the Imperial period.

During the Late Republican period, we argue that the Roman *negotiatores* established associations, which were separate from those of the Italian *negotiatores*. It seems that the Italians and Romans preferred to use Latin as the primary language of their honorary inscriptions because their aim was to communicate with the Roman officials, who had influence in the province. However, the two identities differed: the Italian reference indicated a geographic belonging of the people, whereas the Roman identity

[354] See Ramgopal 2017.
[355] IGXII 2:1026; Buraselis 2000, 146-47.
[356] SE 1320.
[357] ILLRP 433; Hermann 2002, 40.

was mostly related to citizenship and legal rights. In both cases, the available epigraphic material suggests that there were no strategies to communicate their ethnic appellation and association through the Greek language, which most of the local population spoke in the province of *Asia*. It seems that the *negotiatores* associations started to adapt the common language of the province during the last quarter of the 1st century BCE as the bilingual and monolingual Latin inscriptions gave place to monolingual Greek inscriptions.[358]

6.5 The *Negotiatores* Associations during the Early Imperial Period

In the Early Imperial period, most of the honorary inscriptions by the *negotiatores* shows that the associations preferred to use a Roman ethnic reference, which referred to people who enjoyed the rights of the Roman citizenship and did not necessarily indicate a common ethnic background.[359] Most importantly, in this period, the Italian identity ceased to exist, as far as we know from the epigraphic material, but regional references to the Italian background continued in the inscriptions of individuals, which could be understood through onomastic studies.[360]

Notably, in the Early Imperial period, a new identity emerged. 3 of the 30 inscriptions (16 of them are from Kibyra) of the Early Imperial period do not mention any ethnic reference for the *negotiatores* associations. This change might have indicated what Eberle suggested concerning the Imperial period: the Romans started to integrate themselves into the society of the provinces as the citizens of a specific region of the Roman world rather than just referring to the connections to Rome. When Augustus expanded the citizenship among people in the provinces, the *negotiatores* might have not

[358] See Fig. 6.
[359] See Ramgopal 2017.
[360] For an onomastic study, see Carla-Uhink 2017.

needed to have a connection with Rome or with Italian cities to have the feeling of belonging to the respective associations.[361] The people who had both connections with Rome or Italy and new citizens from the province, including the *negotiatores*, became part of the 'imperial diaspora'.[362] They started communicating their identity not necessarily through an ethnic reference, but by means of an already-received Roman identity, which defined a person's belonging to the Empire, rather than to their origin. Thus, there could also be a change in the perception of the Roman businessmen associations in the 1st century CE in the province of *Asia* when they became part of both their province and the Empire (Fig. 7).

In addition, in the Early Imperial period, the *negotiatores* gained another important feature: their social differences in the community were eliminated. Verboven's work on class identity in associations (*collegia*) showed that the use of impersonal categories for members of the associations helped businessmen to decrease the class differences within the associations. Verboven's study emphasized social mobility as a factor that was equally important to ethnic identity in a *collegium*. His study suggested that the associations contained people from different social classes. In a sense, the Roman associations had some sort of order, according to which the members had equal weight in taking decisions concerning the community. The associations started to include subordinate classes into the community and helped businessmen to gain public recognition and prestige in the Imperial period.[363]

The *negotiatores* associations in the province of *Asia* did the same strategies for class differences. In the epigraphic testimony, composed of 54 inscriptions, the *negotiatores* used broader categories such as *πραγματευόμενοι.* We argue that when the

[361] For the changes in the citizenship during Augustan period, see Sherwin-White 1996, 221-22.
[362] Eberle 2017, 362-65.
[363] Verboven 2007b, 888-89; 2009, 159-65.

negotiatores started to use the ethnic self-representation less frequently, the term appeared to integrate much larger community in the province of *Asia*. It seems that the general trend of the *negotiatores* representing themselves as Roman *negotiatores* or simply *negotiatores* in the following centuries showed a strategy of eliminating social differences empowering communal identity in the province of *Asia* without the need of an ethnic appellation, which indicated certain social and legal privileges.[364]

6.6 Discussion

In the province of *Asia*, through time the *negotiatores* showed different strategies when they showed their ethnic belonging. From the Late Republican to the Imperial period, they used Italian and Roman identities, and they ceased to use Italian identity by the end of the Late Republican period. The diachronic survey of their language strategies and ethnic appellation showed that the self-representation of the *negotiatores* changed regarding the social changes in the Roman world. In the case of the Italian *negotiatores* associations, who were dominant in the business ventures of the province, the ethnic reference was used to refer to their regional identity in Italy and to a common origin, which brought the members of the associations together. They utilized the Latin language to show their newly-gained Roman identity while preserving their proud Italian identity in the last decades of the Late Republican period in the province of *Asia*.

In the Imperial period, the ethnic identity (i.e. Roman) was used as a social phenomenon, which indicated the legal, political, and social rights of the members of the associations rather than their origin in a specific place. In this period, there were also cases that showed the replacement of the ethnic appellation in a few inscriptions. This change in epigraphic habit might indicat that belonging to both the Empire and the

[364] For the development of communal identity, see Quinn 2018.

provincial community became important as shown in the case of the province of *Asia*. As a result, the term *negotiatores*, which had already embraced several social classes, could be empowered by the lack of ethnic appellation. Thus, the *negotiatores* might have indicated a larger community embracing different levels of society, which could be a way to include more members from the provincial society in their associations and to increase the relations with the locals in the province of *Asia*.

Chapter 7

PATRONAGE: TOWARDS BECOMING THE NEGOTIATORS OF LOCAL COMMUNITIES

7.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the importance of patronage within Roman social life by studying the *negotiatores* associations in the province of *Asia* between the Late Republican and Early Imperial periods by utilizing the honorific, funerary and dedicatory inscriptions.[365] After a brief literature overview of the patron-client relation the chapter analyses the relations between high ranking Roman politicians and the *negotiatores* associations in the Late Republican period to show how the establishment of patronage bond helped both groups in socio-political life. The chapter then discusses the significance of the allegiance to the imperial family, which empowered the prestige of the *negotiatores* associations in the provincial society. In addition, the chapter points out the role of the *negotiatores* associations in civic patronage since the locals might have seen the businessmen as the communicators of requests of their communities to the higher officials in Rome. Thus, the chapter sheds light to the adaptation of the *negotiatores* associations by changes in respective patronage strategies.

7.2 Literature Review

Thus far, the literature on patronage has focused on general studies and case studies from the Western part of the Roman world with few examples from the Eastern

[365] The appendix on pp 142-154 provides detailed honorific practice on the honorary, funerary and dedicatory inscriptions.

Mediterranean. Only few studies have been carried out on patron-client relations in the province of *Asia*.

Lewis and Short defined the word *patronus* as a protector or defender of individuals (freedmen and slaves), cities and even provinces.[366] In 2012, Dylan Bloy defined the patron-client relation as an asymmetrical relationship based on differences in social status as opposed to *amicitia* (friendship). He pointed out that this asymmetrical relation made a bond that was not enforced by the law, and was respected as a kind of *mos maiorum* (the custom of the ancestors); accordingly, a patron would expect loyalty as in a *collegium* (association), a *sodalitas* (companionship), or a *familia* (household).[367]

There were two types of patronage according to Bloy. The first type is 'automatic patronage' occurring in the case of manumission, for instance, when a master freed his slave. In case of manumission, the freedman became a client of the master as his patron and he offered certain political and social support to his patron. It was customary for clients to show reverence to their patrons during the daily *salutatio*. However, in a 'voluntarily patronage', the second type, a client willingly requested to start a relation with a patron by a ritual.[368] According to what Bloy suggested, we can argue that in the case of the *negotiatores* associations in the province of *Asia*, the patronage seems to have started voluntarily, as Roman and Italian citizens initiated patron-client relations with Roman officials on their own request.[369] The theoretical framework provided by Bloy, therefore, is useful to understand the patron-client relation between Late Republican politicians and the *negotiatores* associations.

Starting with the Imperial period, the nature of the patron-client relation changed. In 2009, Alois Winterling's study offered valuable insights to the continuation of patron-

[366] Lewis and Short '*Patronus*', 1316.
[367] Bloy 2012, 180.
[368] Bloy 2012, 168-71.
[369] See chapter 6 'Ethnic Self-Representation: Becoming a Part of the Local Community' in this thesis.

client relations between higher and lower classes of Romans in the Imperial period. Diverging from the previous research, Winterling did not accept the decline of patronage in the Imperial period. Instead, according to him, for the new type of patronage, the emperor became the focal point of the patronage relations; the clients continued to perform deeds, which were social (support by the imperial court), performative (*salutatio*) as well as symbolic. He pointed out that, the aristocratic ranks declined because of the supremacy of the emperor in the last quarter of the 1st century BCE. Consequently, patron-client relations changed; gaining the friendship of the emperor became prominent regarding power relations.[370] This theoretical framework is particularly important to understand the increase in honorific inscriptions dedicated to the imperial family in the Roman world during the 1st century CE.

Patronage did not only define social relations between Romans, but also between communities with which the Romans came in contact, which urged the development of civic patronage. In 1965, Glen Bowersock explained the Roman perception of honors and the Greek-style patron-client relation. He showed that ascribing the titles *σωτήρ* (savior), *κτίστης* (founder), *εὐεργέτης* (benefactor), and assigning a cult were not practiced as traditions by Roman generals themselves but were initiated by their clients. After the successful campaigns of the Roman general Sulla in the East in the Early 1st century BCE, Roman officials started to accept honors and voluntary patronage of cities.[371] Ramsay MacMullen's article, which was reprinted in 2000, agreed with Bowersock and suggested that the Romans were influenced by these honors. As a result, starting from the 2nd century BCE, they established their own honorific practices similar to the Greek examples.[372]

[370] Winterling 2009, 45-48.
[371] Bowersock 1965, 12.
[372] MacMullen 2000, 23.

As John Nicols discussed in his book, published in 2014, apart from patronage for *suffragio* (political vote) or *salutatio*, there was also civic patronage, which was between an influential person (e.g. general, landowner, or magistrate) and various different groups such as *civitates, peregrini*, and *socii*. The communities may have also asked for security and protection. There are examples of patronage ranging from legal representation in court to civic patronage of Roman generals in the conquered territories. For example, Pompeius was known for his extended number of clients. Caesar also appeared as a benefactor, who showed his civic patronage in the cities in Gaul. In the reign of Augustus, civic patronage became an important aspect and either directly the Emperor himself or through his governors and generals, he supported communities all around the Roman world in economic, political, and social aspects of life. [373] In his article published in 2017, Sailakshmi Ramgopal exemplified the civic patronage of "associations of Roman citizens" in Greece by studying association inscriptions. The study showed that the associations were useful for the local elites to increase their power, which intensified the relations with the Roman officials.[374] Thus, the benefaction of Roman officials is useful for understanding the relation between the *negotiatores* and the local people, as the *negotiatores* became negotiators of requests of the local people to Rome.

7.3 Patronage of Late Republican Generals and Roman Politics

One of the earliest examples for the influence of the *negotiatores* on Roman politics was the case of the Roman general Gaius Marius (157-86 BCE). The Roman politician Gaius Sallustius Crispus (86-35 BCE), who wrote about the Jugurthine War (112-106 BCE) in Numidia, suggested that the Roman equestrians, who were soldiers (*milites*) and businessmen (*negotiatores*), proved useful for Marius' plans to expand his

[373] Nicols 2014, 21-82.
[374] Ramgopal 2017.

political influence. In his work, Sallustius stressed the class identity of the *negotiatores* as equestrians, who had already become a powerful group in Roman politics in the Late Republican period. Marius needed help from the equestrians who were stationed in Numidia for either military or trade purposes, while he ran for the consulship.[375]

According to Sallustius, the equestrians in Numidia wrote letters to their friends in Rome declaring their decision in favor of Marius instead of Metellus, who was one of the consuls. Whether the letters were influential or not, Marius became consul shortly after and took command in Numidia in 107 BCE. Sallustius' narrative showed that Metellus was not popular among the Roman citizens in Numidia due to his mismanagement of army during the war. In addition, Marius' established connections with local Numidian elites, such as Gauda,[376] whom Marius promised to make the king of Numidia; his guarantee to the businessmen (*negotiatores*) in Utica (a seashore city next to Carthage) that he would end the war in a few days,[377] paved his way in Roman politics.[378] Therefore, Marius might have sought the influence of patronage for *suffragio*.[379]

The relation between Marius and the *negotiatores* is also useful to understand how other Roman politicians may have wanted to increase their political power with the support of the *negotiatores* associations in the Late Republican period. In the province of *Asia*, where a large Roman and Italian community resided in the 1st century BCE,[380] the *negotiatores* voluntarily started patron-client relations with significant political figures. In the first quarter of the 1st century BCE, in two identical bilingual (Greek and Latin)

[375] Sal. *Iug*. 65; Dijkstra and Parker 2007, 137.
[376] Gauda, son of Mastanabal, was the heir for the Numidian throne, but Metellus did not want to enthrone him. Instead, Marius intended to gain the support of the Numidians and supported Gauda. For more information, see Sall. *Iug*. 65; Dijkstra and Parker 2007, 143.
[377] Sall. *Iug*. 64-65; Gelzer 1969, 12.
[378] The section related to Marius is based on Sall. *Iug*. 64-65; Eberle 2017, 327-28.
[379] For the civic patronage of other Late Republican generals such as Caesar and Pompeius, see Nicols 2014, 22-24.
[380] See the discussion in chapter 3 'The Ephesian Vespers'.

inscriptions mentioned above,[381] the Italian *negotiatores* association honored Lucius Munatius Plancus, an important general who served in Sulla's army against Mithridates.[382] Plancus was such an important political figure that he was also honored by the *negotiatores* on Delos.[383] By showing him as their honorand, we argue that the *negotiatores* emphasized how influential they were in Roman politics and so they could have tried to influence the higher officials to expand their social and financial rights in the province. In return, they might have shown their support to Plancus in his political life,[384] which their patron-client relation appeared in the epigraphic testimony.

The *negotiatores* associations did not only honor influential generals, but also influential equestrians. For example, in the BCE 60's, the Italian *negotiatores* association in Ephesos honored Lucius Agrius Publeianus, who was an equestrian conducting business ventures and who was influential in Roman politics.[385] Since he was strategically honored by the *negotiatores* associations, they could have sought a chance to negotiate their interests with higher officials in return.[386] Thus, with his statue erected by the *negotiatores*,[387] Publeianus could be seen as a negotiator between the Roman/Italian community and higher officials in Rome.[388] Therefore, the inscription emphasized the asymmetric relation between a patron and his clients, which was integral to Roman politics and business activities in the provincial society.

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[381] SEG 46:1521; SEG 52:1174.
[382] App. *Mith*. 5.34; L'Année épigraphique 1996 (1999), 507-8; Koester 2008, 784. See p. 83-84 for more discussion.
[383] Adams 2004, 654.
[384] Plancus' family continued to be an influential family in the province of *Asia*. For example, his grandson Lucius Munatius Plancus (87-15 BCE) also ruled the province in 40 BCE. In the politics of the capital, he was a friend of Cicero whose relatives were included in the list of the tribunes who were loyal to Pompeius, see Gruen 1995, 185; 200.
[385] Ephesos 1078; Cic. *Flac*.31; Eilers 2002, 224.
[386] Broekaert 2011, 249.
[387] Sänger and Taeuber 2017, 411.
[388] The inscription was only intended for the Latin speaker community as the dedicators omitted Greek version. For the rarity of the bilingual inscriptions in *Asia*, see Bauzon 2008, 122-23.

During the turbulent era of the third quarter of the 1st century BCE, the *negotiatores* again aligned themselves with powerful generals. After the division of the Roman territory during the Second Triumvirate (43-33 BCE), the province of *Asia* came under influence of Marcus Antonius. He had several connections in the Greek cities of the Eastern Mediterranean. He established relations with powerful elites, which both helped them to expand their power and Marcus Antonius to insert his influence within his realm.[389] As far as we know from the epigraphic material, there is no evidence of *negotiatores* associations honoring him as a patron to reach their political ends in the province of *Asia.*[390] Instead the *negotiatores* in the province honored higher officials, who were close to Marcus Antonius, as their patrons.[391]

There are several examples for a voluntarily patronage of the *negotiatores* associations with high Roman officials close to Marcus Antonius. At Ephesos, they used the strategy of including a close associate of Marcus Antonius[392] as their patron. In 37 BCE, the Italian *negotiatores* association honored Marcus Cocceius Nerva when he was a consul designate.[393] Although he was from the *gens Cocceii*, which had earlier connections with the province — for example, C. Cocceius Balbus became a governor of the province of *Asia* in 39 BCE— most importantly, he was legate and prefect of Marcus Antonius.[394] Nerva governed the province in 36 BCE and he was even honored as *imperator* in an inscription found at Lagina in *Karia*.[395] In 36 BCE, the Roman

[389] For the patronage relation between Marcus Antonius Aristocrates and Marcus Antonius in Mainland Greece, see Balzat and Millis 2013, 667-68.
[390] Le Glay et.al. 2009, 165-67.
[391] Since most of the *negotiatores* associations were composed of members that had the legal and social rights of the Roman citizenship, they diverged from other associations, which were banned several times, see Ramgopal 2017.
[392] By a *senatus consultum* (*Lex Saenia*, 30/29 BCE), Augustus made people from various *gentes* patrician —including the *Coceii*—, since according to Tacitus, the lines of Romulus and Lucius Brutus were exhausted, see Tac. *Ann*. 11.25. In his political life, however, Nerva could neither get positions in the East nor get a consular position because of the fact that Augustus did not trust this ambitious man who worked as a praetorian for Marcus Antonius, see Bowersock 1965, 26.
[393] Ephesos 1320.
[394] *L'Année épigraphique* 1968 (1970), 149-50.
[395] ILS 8780.

negotiatores association honored Nerva, when he was one of the consuls.[396] It seems that the *negotiatores* associations in Ephesos hoped to achieve advantageous positions within the provincial society when Cocceius Nerva was consul. Therefore, they might have supported him as a person close to Marcus Antonius testified by these honorific inscriptions.

Marcus Titius, who was a nephew of the governor Lucius Munatius Plancus (the relative of the aforementioned Plancus), is another example of this kind of honors given to politicians. In Mytiline, the Roman *negotiatores* association honored Marcus Titius[397] for his benefaction to the community. He was an important official — the *praefectus* of the fleet and a consul designate— but most importantly, a keen supporter of Marcus Antonius.[398] It could be argued that the *negotiatores* association dedicated an honorific inscription in order to show their support to the politician. They might have sought help from him regarding their interests in the island and might have consolidated their power in the region by showing their connections with Rome through the dedication to Marcus Titius.

In essence, we argue that to consolidate themselves in the provincial society the *negotiatores* association aligned themselves with higher officials. As is clear from the three cases from Ephesos and Mytilene, these strategies might have helped the *negotiatores* to extend their business ventures in the province of *Asia*. In return, the *negotiatores* associations might have supported the politicians in the socio-political life in Rome. Thus, the Late Republican period inscriptions demonstrated the reciprocal patron-client relations between the respective parties. As far as the available epigraphic evidence is concerned, in the Late Republican period, the *negotiatores* associations did

[396] SE 1320.
[397] Later, Marcus Titius sided with Augustus and served as the governor of *Syria* in 13/12 BCE, see Bowersock 1965, 22.
[398] CIL III 455; Eilers 2002, 141.

not indicate local patrons in their inscriptions. Instead, we argue that the inscriptions pointed out the on-going relations of the *negotiatores* with the people in the capital because these businessmen might have still had temporary settlement strategies in the province of *Asia* and depended on the patronage of the higher officials from Rome.[399] Their strong connections with Rome might have helped them to strengthen their position in the provincial society and might have led to an increase in their role in the civic patronage of the cities of *Asia*.

7.4 Patronage of the Imperial Family and the New Hierarchy

In the beginning of the Principate, the Romans adapted themselves to the new political atmosphere, in which the emperor became a superior power. As a result, old types of *amicitia* and patronage relations started to change. For Winterling, the problem of modern scholarship with imperial *amicitia* is the paradoxical nature of the decline of the traditional concept of *amicitia*. The reason was that during the Principate, *amicitia* continued to be an important strategy to gain power in the society. The equality-based friendship changed, after Augustus introduced the supremacy of the emperor; the reciprocal relationship became a hierarchical relation through which aristocrats tried to increase their relations with the upper ranks. As a result, the new system made imperial favor prominent.[400] In other words, if one lost imperial favor, he lost his place at the imperial court.[401] For this reason, the emperor kept an eye on his favor given to aristocrats, because, as Winterling suggested, too much imperial favor could lead to an increase in power of the aristocrats and a decrease of the emperor's own power. In essence, there were two different types of *amicitia* in the Imperial period: imperial favor (loss of this

[399] See the discussion on p. 110-111 concerning the importance of the *negotiatores* in the capital for politics.
[400] The discussion in the paragraph is based on Winterling 2009, 48-56.
[401] The loss of imperial favor was such a serious problem that a person frequently preferred to commit suicide to avoid the confiscation of his assets, see Winterling 2009, 49.

favor meant loss of power and status) and the traditional use of mutual support which was non-utilitarian friendship.[402]

The *negotiatores* might have also aimed to achieve friendship with the emperor to consolidate themselves in the provincial society. In Ephesos, two examples of the patronage of the emperor are known. The Roman *negotiatores* association in *Asia* (*conventus civium Romanorum qui in Asia negotiantur*) honored Emperor Claudius in 43 CE.[403] In another inscription from Ephesos, the same business association dedicated an honorary inscription to Emperor Claudius.[404] Other than these two inscriptions, no other inscriptions that directly honored an emperor as a patron have been preserved. Nevertheless, it could be argued that the Romans *negotiatores* associations tried to establish a relation to gain the esteem of the Emperor to increase their influence among the local population.[405]

In most cases, the *negotiatores* associations honored members of the imperial family in the province of *Asia* instead of the emperor himself. In a Greek inscription from Assos, which is datable to 1 BCE–4 CE, the Assembly and the Roman *negotiatores* (*ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ πραγματευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι*) honored Gaius Caesar. As the grandson and the adopted son of Augustus, he was honored as the leader of the young equestrians (*ἡγεμόνα τῆς νεότητος*) and as one of the consuls.[406] In another Greek inscription from Assos from the Early 1st century CE, the Roman *negotiatores* honored Augustus' wife Livia as the new Hera.[407] It seems that the *negotiatores* associations continued to establish bonds with the imperial family in the Early Imperial period. We argue that the practices of honoring

[402] Winterling 2009, 53-55. For a discussion on the decline of patronage during the Imperial period, see also Eilers 2002, 161-82.
[403] Ephesos 263; Cass. Dio. 51.20.7; İplikçioğlu 1993, 99.
[404] Ephesos 981.
[405] For similar examples in Mainland Greece, see Ramgopal 2017.
[406] IMT SuedlTroas 603; Harland 2014, 77.
[407] IMT SuedlTroas 604; Harland 2014, 76.

higher officials in the Late Republican period were replaced by those honoring the imperial family, which might have helped them to strengthen their image among the public.[408]

In addition to the imperial family, the *negotiatores* associations honored members of the local elites, who had connections with the imperial power. These could be members of the local aristocracy who had political power in the cities.[409] In a Greek inscription from 4-7 CE, the Roman *negotiatores* and the local municipal bodies — *ἡ βουλὴ* (the Council), *ὁ δῆμος* (the Assembly), *οἱ νέοι* (the Association of Young People), and *ἡ γερουσία* (the Council of Elders)— honored Dionysios Melanthios, who was a priest of the cult of Agrippa Posthumus (12 BCE-14 CE).[410] Agrippa was designated as the heir to the throne together with Tiberius after Gaius Caesar's death in 4 CE.[411] Based on this inscription, which showed a connection with the imperial family,[412] we argue that the *negotiatores* followed the changes in politics and dedicated honors to those who were in power in the provincial society to continue their influential position.

In a similar inscription, which is datable to 98-117 CE, the Roman businessmen association (*οἱ πραγματευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι*) honored a local elite member, a certain Gaius Claudius Bion, together with the Greeks (*Ἕλληνες*) in Smyrna.[413] Similar to the previous inscription, the dedicators honored a person, who had connections with the imperial power. In this case, Claudius Bion was related to the imperial power in Smyrna.[414] Although it was not mentioned explicitly, it seems that the *negotiatores* in Iasos and

[408] The imperial family and the local's relations can also be seen in the example on p. 118-119.
[409] Broekaert 2011, 249.
[410] Iasos 233.
[411] Bowersock 1965, 14.
[412] L'Année épigraphique 1974 (1978), 168.
[413] Smyrna 263. For the competition between the associations for benefactions in Smyrna, see Harland 2006, 54. The co-dedications of the *negotiatores* associations with ethnic groups were not common in the province of *Asia*. In the Late Republican period, there were several honorary inscriptions on Delos, which mentioned *Ἕλληνες* together with the Roman or Italian *negotiatores* associations, which might have helped to expand the size of the business venture, see Adams 2004, 646.
[414] Smyrna 263; Harland 2006, 54.

Smyrna might have used the strategy of honoring people related to the Imperial family to reach the emperor and negotiate the needs of the locals. As a result, the imperial family seems to have become the primary party of the patron-client relations.[415] Since the *negotiatores* continued their relations with the higher officials in the Early Imperial period, they might have bolstered their position within the society in the province.

7.5 Civic Patronage and the *Negotiatores*

As discussed above, civic patronage was a useful tool to reach higher officials throughout antiquity. In the Greek world, it was also an important concept.[416] In 2011, Rolf Strootman's argument concerning *φιλία* (friendship), *ξενία* (hospitality), and *φιλοξενία* (hospitality) showed that the friendship relations between Hellenistic cities and the royal courts were like patron-client relations. As Strootman exemplified by means of the court of the Seleucids, the friends of the Hellenistic kings were the people who negotiated the interests between the cities and the king. *Ξένοι* (guest-friend) at the court of the Hellenistic kings were the people who had family links with the cities, whereas *φίλοι* (friends) could be oligarchs of cities and courtiers representing cities. Strootman also pointed out that the *φίλοι* had a more reciprocal relationship, which was based on mutual interests. Thus, they could negotiate on behalf of their cities and ask for petitions. In this way, they were expected to present gifts in exchange.[417]

Following the tradition of *φιλία*, the Greeks adapted their relations with higher officials in the Roman context empowering the civic patronage. In the 2nd century BCE, when the Romans started to dominate the Greek world, the Greeks sought for ways to create contacts with Roman officials. The Greeks believed that the establishment of

[415] The imperial family and the local's relations can be seen in the example on p. 118-119.
[416] For a discussion on the different aspects of patronage, see also Eilers 2002, 2-18.
[417] For information about the court of Antichos III, see Strootman 2011, 150.

relations with Roman senators could help them to negotiate their interests in the Senate. Although they were aware that the patron-client relations between senators and client Greeks were not enough to protect their rights in all circumstances, these honorific practices could provide a chance to reach the Senate.[418] Thus, it seems that in a way the Romans were similar to the Hellenistic courtiers as the Roman generals, politicians and businessmen became negotiators to reach higher officials in the capital.[419] We believe that the *negotiatores* associations were also appeared as significant actors as they became the representatives of the cities by negotiating the needs of the locals with the higher officials in the Imperial period.

As mentioned above, in the province of *Asia*, the local people did not only start civic patronage relationship with higher officials, but they also sought help from distinguished Roman citizens who had influence in Rome in the Imperial period.[420] In this case, the *negotiatores* became prominent agents for the negotiations between the locals and Rome. For example, in 44 BCE, the Roman businessmen honored the citizens of Kos on account of their piety towards Caesar who was *pontifex maximus* (chief high priest). It seems that by showing their loyalty, the citizens might have hoped to guarantee their rights in the Senate.[421] The *negotiatores* also mentioned the benevolence of the people of Kos towards themselves (*benevolentia erga causa*). Thus, benefaction was not only related to strong powers, such as senators, but could also be used for local or foreign elites who were responsible for the act of good-will.[422] In this case, it seems that the *negotiatores* association consolidated themselves in the city as negotiators of local

[418] For examples of civic patronage in Greek cities, see Eilers 161-81; Bloy 2012, 201.
[419] For an example of the importance of the businessmen patronage in Greece, see Ramgopal 2017, 408.
[420] See p. 116-117.
[421] IG XII,4 2:1026; Buraselis 2000, 17.
[422] Bloy 2012, 183.

interests. In exchange, we argue that they seemed to have gained certain benefits to consolidate their position within social life in the important harbor city of Kos.[423]

In the Early Imperial period, the *negotiatores* continued to negotiate the interests of the local people. For example, on a bronze tablet from 37 CE, it was written that when Gnaius Acerronius Proclus and Gaius Pontius Petronius Nigrinus were consuls, the Roman *negotiatores* association, *ἡ βουλὴ* (Council) and the Assembly of *Asia* (*ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀσσίων*) arranged an embassy of distinguished people from Assos to be sent to the Emperor Caligula (37-41 CE). According to the text, the embassy greeted him and asked his favor to take care of the city. The reason for this visit was also explained in the inscription: when Caligula visited the city with his father Germanicus (24 BCE-19 CE) in 18 CE,[424] he promised them to address the local requests of the city. The inscriptions also provided the details of the event: when the embassy, which was composed of a Roman citizen and four local Greeks, reached Rome; they prayed to Jupiter to protect Caligula and performed sacrifices on behalf of the city.[425] In this case, it seems that the embassy revered the Emperor Caligula with performative *salutatio* as discussed by Winterling. In return, they might have sought help for benefaction to Assos. Symbolically, the *negotiatores* might have gained the favor of the local citizens by imperial confirmation, which might have contributed to their prestige in the provincial society. Thus, the *negotiatores* in the province of *Asia* might have adopted the strategy of honoring the emperor and the imperial family to increase the relations of the locals with the higher officials showing their connection with the civic patronage of the Emperor.

[423] For other examples of city patronage in the Roman world, see Eilers 2002, 165-72; Ramgopal 2017, 419.
[424] Powell 2013, xxxii-xxxvii.
[425] For the details of this embassy, see the inscription IMT 573 for a detailed description; Harland 2014, 77-78.

The *negotiatores* also posthumously honored local elites, who were important persons for the cities. In Adramytteion, the *negotiatores* association and the Assembly (*ὁ δῆμος*) honored Alkippides Ksenokleos Phalereus in the last quarter of the first century CE.[426] He was a significant 1st century BCE orator and he defended Adramytteion, when the Romans blamed the city for having helped Mithridates.[427] Since Phalereus was a good example of a *negotiator* who contributed to the city with his civic patronage, it seems that the *negotiatores* might have selected him for a posthumous honor to find support from the higher officials on behalf of the city.

Similarly, in Assos, the *negotiatores* association and the Assembly (*ὁ δῆμος*) honored Hellanikos, son of Athenodotos, and his family posthumously. Referring to each member individually, it seems that the dedicants gave respect to their benefactors. The person might have served the city as a good benefactor for his city by negotiating the needs of the city with the high officials.[428] Therefore, both cases are also useful to understand the significant role of the *negotiatores* associations as the negotiators of cities by showing their connection with the civic patronage of the honorand.[429]

7.6 Discussion

As an integral component of the society, patronage was useful to understand the relations between a province and the capital. As far as the available evidence is concerned, the *negotiatores* became an important component of Roman politics in the Late Republican period. The reciprocal relation, which was the patron-client relation between the two parties may be viewed as a win-win strategy. Patronage might have become a

[426] IMT Adram Kolpos 718. There is also another inscription, IMT Adram Kolpos 720, mentioning the same dedicants and a fragmentary name ending with […]phalereus.
[427] Cic. *Brut*. 91; Strabo XIII.65; Plut. *Vit. Cic*. 4.
[428] IMT SuedlTroas 610.
[429] For the discussion concerning how the Roman officials replaced the Greek elites for the appeal of local disputes to the higher officials, see Preston 2001, 91.

tool for the *negotiatores* to make bonds with higher ranking Roman politicians. In the Late Republican period, it seems that patronage might have been useful for the *negotiatores* to reach higher officials and to consolidate themselves within the provincial society by showing their links with the powerful individuals. In return, they showed their allegiance to the honorand, which would have helped him to increase his power in the politics of Rome. In the Early Imperial period, the relations changed since the emperor and the imperial family became prominent. The *negotiatores* adapted themselves to the changes in patronage relations and honored the imperial family. Both connections with Late Republican high officials and imperial family made the *negotiatores* as indispensable part of the local society in the province of *Asia*. Finally, we argue that the patronage relations with the higher officials might have increased the role of the businessmen associations in civic patronage. The *negotiatores* might have become negotiators of the interests of the local people in the province of *Asia*. They became the agents of civic patronage and consolidated the center and province relation similar to the courtiers who had reached the Hellenistic kings before. Thus, the *negotiatores* and their patronage relations became integral components of the relations between the province of *Asia* and Rome through civic patronage.

Chapter 8

PUBLIC DISPLAY: VISIBILITY IN THE MONUMENTAL LANDSCAPE

8.1 Introduction

"Now you have been frequenting the forum for 30 years, —I mean in Pergamon" said Cicero when he addressed Decianus, the *negotiator*.[430] The orator revealed an important aspect of the *negotiatores* in this excerpt: Decianus and many other businessmen frequently made public appearances in the commercial center of cities; but did they also consolidate their presence with visible inscriptions?

This chapter examines public display strategies of the *negotiatores* associations in the cities of the province of *Asia* by studying honorific, dedicatory and funerary inscriptions of the Late Republican and Early Imperial periods. We argue that the visibility and location of the inscriptions are complementary to understand the discussions in the previous chapters,[431] since the *negotiatores* associations might have emphasized their power among the people through inscriptions that were erected in the most frequented places; they may have associated the inscriptions with buildings. This argument is supported by the study of the way inscriptions were displayed, based on the limited available information about the archaeological context of the inscriptions. This chapter shows how visibility strategies might have helped the *negotiatores* to represent themselves as a part of urban life in the province of *Asia*. Examples of different epigraphic materials in the Roman world are provided to solidify the arguments regarding the importance of the monumental landscape for the *negotiatores* association inscriptions.

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[430] …*annos iam xxx in foro versaris, sed tamen in Pergameno*… Cic. *Flac*. 70.
[431] Dillon and Palmer Baltes 2013, 207.

8.2 Literature Review

There have been several studies on the public display of equestrians and businessmen in the Roman world. However, the *negotiatores* associations have been neglected in comparison to other associations in the province of *Asia* concerning public display by studying the context of the inscriptions where they were erected. In 2002, Angela Kalinowski's article explored the importance of benefaction and patronage by examining the epigraphic commemoration of the Vedii family in Ephesos in the 2nd century CE. The author showed the relation between publicized epigraphic monuments and the political power of the benefactor.[432]

Although he studied the Late Antiquity, in 2012, Robert Chenault provided a useful framework for the public display of Roman higher officials by examining the location of their statues in the Forum of Trajan in Rome. He analyzed the significance of their public display, which transformed the Forum from a place reserved for the senatorial class to an area filled with statues of the emperors and the military officials of the 5th century CE. In this way, the study clarified the socio-political changes in Rome.[433]

Abigail Graham, who published his article in 2013, also emphasized the visual power of Roman inscriptions in Ephesos but questioned the percentage of people who could read the inscriptions and the epigraphic habit. For this reason, Graham examined three monumental inscriptions from the Imperial period in the Tetragonos Agora at Ephesos and suggested that the specific connection with other monuments, visual effects and repeating formulae might have been integral elements to understand the experience of the viewers in Antiquity.[434]

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[432] Kalinowski 2002.
[433] Chenault 2012.
[434] Graham 2013.

Similar studies have been carried out for earlier periods. For Hellenistic Delos, in 2013 Sheila Dillon and Elizabeth Palmer Baltes showed the importance of diachronic changes in the monumental landscape of the sanctuary of Apollo in Delos. They emphasized how the context was useful to understand the changes in the styles of honorific monuments through the method of imaginative reconstruction.[435] Both studies pointed out the significance of associating inscriptions within the monumental landscape.

In 2014, Monika Trümper showed the importance of the visibility and the monumental presence of the businessmen community in the *Agora des Italiens* in Delos. She suggested that the monuments were demonstrations of the powerful political presence of the Romans and Italians on the island after Delos was declared a free port in 167/66 BCE. According to Trümper, the agora became a space open to a wider community welcoming people other than the Romans; the Roman and Italian businessmen also displayed their associations as prestigious and integral communities to the Delian society.[436] In 2012, Claire Holleran's work on the wholesale trade in Rome showed that the use of honorific inscriptions in Rome helped the *negotiatores* to communicate their prestigious associations within the commercial center, including the *emporium*, *Porticus Aemilia*, *Horrea Galbana* and *Horrea Lolliana* in the Late Republican period.[437] Both researches are important to understand the public display during the Late Republican period in the monumental landscape.

Even though the province of *Asia* was an important location for a significant number of associations, there have been no comprehensive analyses for the public display of the associations in the entire province during the Imperial period. On the one hand, in 2006, Philip Harland's research on the businessmen associations in Sardis and Smyrna

[435] Dillon and Baltes 2013.
[436] Trümper 2014.
[437] Holleran 2012.

during the Imperial period showed that the associations strengthened their place within the society of these two cities by erecting honorific inscriptions. As a result, Harland suggested that the businessmen associations advertised their prestigious associations and consolidated the membership of individual associations.[438] On the other hand, in 2011 Ilias Arnaoutoglou's study of the Imperial period businessmen associations in Thyateira and Saittai revealed that the businessmen erected honorific inscriptions for socio-political benefits and that they consolidated solidarity in the city life.[439] Concerning *Phrygia*, in 2013, Peter Thonemann provided a diachronic study of the honorific and funerary inscriptions of the *negotiatores* who honored their Italian-descendent patrons. His research showed that the associations erected these inscriptions in order to promote the immigrant businessmen community in the region.[440] However, none of these studies pointed out the importance of the inscriptions' public display in the city, which may have helped the *negotiatores* associations to show themselves as part of the communities in the cities of the province of *Asia*.

8.3 Limitations of the Archaeological Context in the Province of *Asia*

The most significant problem of the *negotiatores* association inscriptions in the province of *Asia* is the lack of archaeological context; there is little information about the contextual records of the inscriptions. Although the content of the inscriptions was recorded carefully by the scholars of the 19th century, the archaeological context was not clearly documented.[441] For this reason, most of the inscriptions lack a clear understanding of their archaeological context. Thus, 28 of the 54 known inscriptions cannot be

[438] Harland 2006.
[439] Arnaoutoglou 2011.
[440] Thonemann 2013.
[441] See the table in the Appendix.

accurately ascribed to an archaeological context since the scholarly works did not integrate any archaeological data.

For the inscriptions whose archaeological context is known, there is also the challenge of understanding whether they were re-used or not in later periods as *spolia*.[442] 12 of the inscriptions have known archaeological contexts but were utilized as *spolia* in later buildings. Therefore, it is a challenge to ascribe them to specific buildings with visual strategies in the cities of the province of *Asia*.

Concerning the later use of inscriptions as building blocks, the most interesting examples come from Kibyra, where the *negotiatores* inscriptions are abundant due to the long-distance grain trade in the city.[443] These 1st century CE inscriptions were utilized in the Ottoman period. Inscriptions were embedded in mosques in Uluköy,[444] Yusufça[445]and Sorkun;[446] others were used for house construction in Horzum;[447] and some were replaced from the necropolis in Kibyra[448] and utilized in cemeteries in Uluköy[449] and Horzum.[450] In addition, some inscriptions were integrated into modern daily life, such as the marble slab in the bazaar of the Gölhisar district.[451] Since these inscriptions have lost their primary context, it is not clear where the funerary inscriptions were displayed in the Late Republican and Early Imperial periods.[452]

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[442] *Spolia* is a term generally used in scholarly works in order to define the re-utilization of material elements in buildings or re-use of textual elements for various different purposes, see Jevtic 2018, 11.
[443] See p. 89 concerning the grain trade in Kibyra.
[444] BCH 2(1878) 598, 5; IK Kibyra 60.
[445] IK Kibyra 50.
[446] IK Kibyra 59.
[447] IK Kibyra 58.
[448] In the Hellenistic period, the burials were mainly intramural in Kibyra. However, when the city was enlarged during the Early Imperial period, the necropolis was extended to extramural areas and defined with four regions, namely the 'Eastern', 'Western', 'Northern' and 'Southern' necropoleis. The elites of the Imperial period (The Claudii and Flavii families) were in the 'Eastern' Necropolis. For more information, see Kileci and Şimşek 2019, 261-63. The Column of IK Kibyra 47 and the Round Altar of IK Kibyra 51 were also found in the 'Eastern' Necropolis and could be associated with the local elites, but there is no contextual information to elaborate on the visuality of these inscriptions.
[449] IK Kibyra 49.
[450] IK Kibyra 54.
[451] IK Kibyra 48.
[452] For more information about the Kibyra inscriptions, see Corsten 2018, 386-90.

Only 12 of the inscriptions from the entire province readily provide us with contextual evidence about their usage for the public display of the *negotiatores* associations. However, due to the lack of available archaeological context, it is a challenge to understand which cities preferred which types of monuments to honor individuals.

As for the archaeological context, information about the functions of the inscriptions is also limited; neither photographs nor descriptions of their physical appearance are available. Half of the epigraphic material does not have their functions recorded in their publications. The remaining half contains different functions, such as 7 statue bases and 7 round altars. There are also 5 columns, 4 round bases, 3 slabs and one tablet.[453] Therefore, it seems that the *negotiatores* inscriptions had a variety of functions for public display. Most of the inscriptions might have contained sculptures of the honorands as indicated by the use of the accusative in the texts;[454] but there are no remains of sculptures in archaeological context or information of 'footprints' of bronze statues on the statue bases.

In terms of the material that was used, there is no information for 25 of the inscriptions, as only their content was documented. 19 inscriptions were inscribed on marble and other stone types in various colors (blue, grey, white). There are no indications concerning the origin and quality of the marble and colored stone, while at Kibyra limestone was exclusively used as a medium. Only the tablet that indicated the patronage relation between the *negotiatores* in Assos and the imperial family, was made out of bronze.[455] Despite the lack of information about most of the physical characteristics of the inscriptions, it seems that marble and colored stone were mostly utilized.

[453] See the table in the appendix.
[454] See the discussion on p. 14-15 .
[455] See the discussion on p. 120.

In addition, the dimensions of the inscriptions also provide only a limited perspective on the *negotiatores* associations' visibility. Although dimension could strongly influence the degree of visibility, the epigraphic testimony only provides dimensions for 24 inscriptions. Due to the fragmentary condition of most of the inscriptions, we can often not ascribe certain dimensions. However, the available information suggests that the inscriptions could range from 24 cm x 37 cm x 13 cm[456] to 50 cm x 75 cm x 144 cm.[457] Therefore, it seems that the associations might not have had a visibility that can be compared with the honors for high officials or emperors based on dimensions.[458] In addition, it is a challenge to understand whether there was a chronological change in the dimensions of the inscriptions because of the lack of dimensional information of the inscriptions. Nevertheless, we can try to utilize the available information concerning the physical appearance to reveal possible visual strategies of the *negotiatores* association inscriptions with their (now unpreserved) sculptures.

8.4 The Content of the Inscriptions on Public Display

Apart from the archaeological evidence, the content of the *negotiatores* association inscriptions provides limited topographic information about where they were displayed. In co-dedications, the *negotiatores* sometimes used information about the places where they conducted business ventures, which may be helpful to understand how they promoted their associations within the community.

As far as the available evidence is concerned, in the inscriptions of the Late Republican period, the *negotiatores* only mentioned the cities in the province of *Asia* as

[456] All the inscriptions' dimensions follow the order of length, width and height; Smyrna 163.
[457] Ephesos 981.
[458] For an example of diachronic changes in the visibility of inscriptions and statues in Rome during Late Antiquity, see the discussion in Chenault 2012, 129.

topographic references for their presence. Since these cities included port cities such as Ephesos, Kos, Mytilene, where they transported goods throughout the Mediterranean,[459] one may deduce that the *negotiatores* were mainly located in the harbors or *emporia* of the cities. All of the 6 inscriptions from this period contain city names in order to define the location where the *negotiatores* conducted business.[460] Therefore, for this period, apart from the general city names, the content of the dedications does not provide information concerning the specific location in the cities where the *negotiatores* associations were stationed for business ventures.

In contrast, in the Early Imperial period, the *negotiatores* associations referred to specific locations in the cities of the province of *Asia*. Although there were still general indications, such as city names similar to those of the Late Republican period, there are also examples of rather vague additional toponyms and place descriptions, including the province (*Asia*),[461] specific city names,[462] *ἐνταῦθα/ἐνθάδε* (here),[463] and *ἐν τῇ πόλει* (in the city),[464] as well as *παρ' ἡμῖν* (among us).[465] Although the majority of the epigraphic testimony includes these general references, the *negotiatores* associations also started to refer to specific locations within the monumental landscape in the Early Imperial period. For example, in the epigraphic testimony of Ephesos there are references to *negotiatores* who conducted business in *τὸ ἐμπόριον* (marketplace)[466] and *ἐν τῷ σταταρίῳ* (in the slave market) appearing.[467]

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[459] See p. 80-81.
[460] Ephesos 1078; SE 1320; SEG 46:1521; SEG 52:1174; IG XII,4 2:1026; CIL III 455.
[461] Ephesos 263; Ephesos 981.
[462] Iasos 233; Ephesos 1187; Ephesos 1078; Ephesos 1303; SE 1320 (Ephesos); SEG 46:1521 (Sardis); SEG 52:1174 (Sardis); MAMA VI List 146,109 (Apameae); TAM V,1 687 (Iulia Gordos); IMT SuedlTroas 573 (Assos); IK Prusa ad Olympum 229; IK Kibyra 49; IG XII,4 2:1026 (Kos); CIL III 455 (Mytilene).
[463] Halikarnassos 166; IK Kibyra 47; IK Kibyra 48; IK Kibyra 52; IK Kibyra 53; IK Kibyra 51; Heberdey-Kalinka, Bericht 2,5 (Kibyra); IK Kibyra 50; IK Kibyra 54; IK Kibyra 56; IK Kibyra 57; IK Kibyra 58; IK Kibyra 61.
[464] IMT Kyz Kapu Dağ 1435; IMT Kyz Kapu Dağ 1446.
[465] TAM V,1 687 (Iulia Gordos); IMT SuedlTroas 573 (Assos); IMT SuedlTroas 580 (Assos); IMT SuedlTroas 610 (Assos).
[466] Ephesos 1187.
[467] Ephesos 1509; Ephesos 1303; SEG 46:1524 (Sardis).

In 2nd-3rd century CE Ephesos, topographic references to the *negotiatores* appeared as the businessmen who conducted business in *τὸ τελώνιον* (the custom house).[468] There were specific locations, which were indicated with a preposition and the dative case such as *ἐν τῷ τόπῳ* (in the location) on an inscription in Ephesos,[469] *ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ* (in the agora) on another inscription in Ephesos,[470] and *ἐν τῷ σταταρίῳ* (on the slave market) on three inscriptions in Sardis and Ephesos.[471] Although the number of *negotiatores* associations decreased in later centuries, they defined themselves by where they conducted business ventures. The textual content is a complementary aspect for the public display of the *negotiatores*; we argue that the *negotiatores* associations might have started to use a strategy to associate themselves with specific locations in cities. It seems that the topographic references corresponded to the places in the cities where they demonstrated their presence through the display of inscriptions.

There is also another change in the content of the inscriptions, related to the public display of the inscriptions. If we make a diachronic study of the dedicators of the inscriptions, we perceive significant changes in the co-dedicators (Fig. 8). Available epigraphic material suggests that in the Late Republican period, the *negotiatores* associations did not include any civic community as co-dedicators on their inscriptions,[472] whereas after the beginning of the Imperial period, the associations included various associations in the inscriptions. There are three remarkable examples with various local municipal bodies allied together for honorific inscriptions. The Roman *negotiatores* in Iasos (*οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ ἐν Ἰασῶι πραγματευόμενοι*) made the honors along with the *ἡ βουλή* (the Council), *ὁ δῆμος* (the Assembly), *οἱ νέοι* (the Association of Young People), and *ἡ*

[468] Ephesos 788*5.
[469] Ephesos 1394.
[470] Ephesos 1478.
[471] Ephesos 1509; Ephesos 1303; SEG 46:1524 (Sardis).
[472] Ephesos 1078; SE 1320; SEG 46:1521; SEG 52:1174; IG XII,4 2:1026; CIL III 455.

γερουσία (the Council of Elders).[473] In Iulia Gordos, *ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἰουλιέων Γορδηνῶν* (the Council and the Assembly of Iulia Gordos) dedicated the honorific inscription along with the Roman *negotiatores*.[474] In Hadrianoi pros Olympon, *ἡ Προυσάεων γερουσία* (the Council of Elders of Prousa) honored a local elite with the Roman businessmen in Prousa.[475] Therefore, as it is shown in the figure, we argue that the *negotiatores* associations might have had a strategy to include the civic communities in their inscriptions to reveal their strong connections with the cities; the associations might have shown themselves as integral parts of the civic communities in the province of *Asia* as the quantity of inscriptions without co-dedications significantly decreased in all the cities in the Imperial period. We believe that both the changes in toponyms and co-dedications strategies point out an emerging importance of the public display of the inscriptions in the monumental landscape within the cities of the province of *Asia*.

8.5 Display in the Agora

The agoras played an important role in the social and economic life of the cities of the Eastern Mediterranean.[476] Agoras were open spaces in the center of cities, bordered by religious (e.g. temples, shrines) and civic buildings (e.g. civic assemblies) as well as ancestral buildings (*heroon*).[477] In the historical sources, there are no specific references to the presence of *negotiatores* in the agoras. However, we argue that the references from *fora* in the western part of the Roman world can be useful to understand how the businessmen utilized the agoras of cities in the eastern provinces.

[473] Iasos 233.
[474] TAM VI 687.
[475] IMT Olympene 2695.
[476] Dickenson 2017, 3-16.
[477] For the impact of the Romans on the Greek agora, see Evangelidis 2014, 337.

The *negotiatores* were such an important community that the architectural principles of *fora* in the cities of the Western Roman world were structured to facilitate the businessmen's commercial activities. For example, Marcus Vitruvius Pollio (1st century BCE) referred to the *negotiatores*' presence in the monumental landscape. In his book, *De Architectura*, in which he mentioned the businessmen, he demonstrated his influential views about the Imperial Roman architecture.[478]

When Vitruvius described a Roman *basilica* and a *forum*, he stated that the two structures, the one a closed and the other an open space, should be adjoined. The layout was planned in such a way that the *negotiatores* were stationed in the warmest quarter on the ground level of the *basilica*. As a result, the architectural space allowed the *negotiatores* to conduct their business without being challenged by the weather during winter.[479] Vitruvius gave examples from the Italian peninsula, as he built the forum at Fano in Italy for Augustus.[480] In order not to obstruct the businessmen, the tribunal of the basilica was constructed in such a way that the people standing in front of the magistrates would not impede the *negotiatores*' business ventures.[481] Furthermore, the bankers' offices were established in the colonnades surrounding the *forum* showing the separation of the two communities in the architectural space.[482] Consequently, for most of their activities, the businessmen appeared in *fora.* Although it is not easy to transpose the Roman *forum* from Italy to the Eastern Mediterranean context, from Vitruvius' description one may deduce that the *negotiatores* might also have preferred to maximize their presence by choosing the open and the closed spaces in an agora to be protected

[478] For the harmonious arrangement of architectural elements, see the discussion in Lefas 2000, 195.
[479] Vitr. *De. arch.* 5.1.4.
[480] For the structural layouts of a *forum* in Vitruvius' work, see Vitr. *De. arch.* 5.1.1.
[481] Vitr. *De. arch.* 5.1.8.
[482] Vitr. *De. arch.* 5.1.2.

from weather conditions; they used specific strategies in order to not intervene in other people's business. Thus, they erected inscriptions on places they frequented most.

In the province of *Asia*, the cities of Ephesos, Smyrna and Iasos were important for the public display of monuments (Fig. 9).

8.5.1 Ephesos

As the capital of the province of *Asia*,[483] Ephesos provides several examples of the public display strategies of the *negotiatores*. The State Agora or the Upper Agora within the city appears to have been a crucial location for the *negotiatores*. The State Agora was built next to the *στοὰ βασιλικὴ* (the court) during the Imperial period; the *στοὰ βασιλικὴ* was built as a roofed structure and the agora as an open space.[484] With the presence of these facilities, it seems that the *negotiatores* might have had the chance to conduct business without interruption caused by bad weather conditions. The State Agora, therefore, can be seen as one of the spaces, where the *negotiatores* spent most of their time within the city. The agora might have become an important place where the *negotiatores* consolidated the prestige of their association through honorific and dedicatory inscriptions by providing meaningful visual associations with the surrounding buildings. From Ephesos, 6 inscriptions have been preserved, which are useful to understand the public display of the *negotiatores* associations.

A white marble Latin inscription with dimensions of 48 cm x 38 cm x 15 cm, dating to 36 BCE and dedicated to Marcus Cocceius Nerva by the Roman *negotiatores*, was found at the eastern side of the Agora.[485] The State Agora, which was built in the Hellenistic period, contained important buildings that recalled the Roman presence,

[483] Marek 2010, 331.
[484] Kalinowski 2002, 140; Groh 2005, 66.
[485] SE 1320; L'Année épigraphique 1968 (1970), 149-50.

including the sanctuary for the goddess Roma dated to the Late 20's BCE.[486] Therefore, we argue, that although the *negotiatores* had a small inscription, with the visual associations to the Roman high officials, they were one of the associations that appeared in the public display. Marcus Cocceius Nerva's political influence diminished after Augustus' reign.[487] However, the inscription with his (unpreserved) sculpture might have demonstrated the connections of the *negotiatores* association with Rome,[488] which might have increased their prestige within Ephesos.[489]

The available epigraphic material suggests that during the Early Imperial period, the agora seems to have become a focal point where the *negotiatores* displayed the prestige of their associations to the surrounding. A Latin inscription with dimensions of 50 cm x 75 cm x 144 cm dedicated to the Emperor Claudius in 44 CE which was excavated in the western part of the agora.[490] On the north side of the agora, the *στοὰ βασιλικὴ* which was dedicated to the goddess Artemis and built in the Early 1st century CE, had a monumental appearance where sculptures of the Emperors Augustus and Tiberius were excavated.[491] Therefore, it could be argued that the *negotiatores* might have used the visual strategies of not only erecting Latin inscriptions and a sculpture of the Emperor (which has not been preserved) on the most frequented place, where there were civic buildings such as the *πρυτανεῖον* and *βουλευτήριον*, but also by associating themselves with monuments that had connections with the Roman emperors.[492]

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[486] Kalinowski 2002, 139.
[487] See p. 113-14.
[488] For the importance of sculptures within the monumental cityscape in another Late Republican agora, see Dillon and Baltes 2013.
[489] For a discussion about the presence of sculptures related to honorific inscriptions, which could be understood from the epigraphic formulae, see p. 13-14.
[490] Ephesos 263.
[491] This location was important for imperial propaganda because the west section of the agora was reserved for the imperial cult in the Late 1st century CE, see Kalinowski 2002, 141. However, the Temple of Domitian located to the northwest of the State Agora underwent *damnatio memoriae*, and his father Vespasian's name was put instead, see Ladstätter 2019, 11-40.
[492] For the importance of statues of emperors in agoras, see the case study of Rome in Chenault 2012.

Another identical monolingual Latin inscription of Emperor Claudius from 43-44 CE made out of blue marble by the Roman citizen *negotiatores* was also found in the agora.[493] The archaeological context seems to indicate that it was used as a base for the Emperor's statue.[494] By associating themselves with the emperors,[495] the *negotiatores* associations seem to have built up a message which showed their significance in both the Roman society and the city life in Ephesos.[496]

An inscription (51 cm x 30 cm x 12 cm) dedicated by the association of the *emporoi negotiatores* to Gaius Pompeius Gallus, the governor of the province in 59-60 CE, was found in the Eastern portico of the agora.[497] By representing him in the most frequented place with a white marble inscription, which originally had a statue of the governor (now no longer preserved), the *negotiatores* showed their powerful connections in the urban life, although it is a very small inscription on an agora. The location where the inscription was found was next to the *βουλευτήριον* (council house) and the *πρυτανεῖον* (town hall), monuments which were located on the north side of the state agora. Since the excavations also unearthed sculptures of Augustus and Livia at the eastern side of the *στοὰ βασιλικὴ*,[498] it seems that the *negotiatores* associations placed their honorific inscriptions in the center of the city where they could communicate their presence within the monumental landscape by emphasizing their relation with the high officials and the imperial family.[499]

[493] For the relation between Roman citizen associations and the emperors, see Ramgopal 2017.
[494] Ephesos 981.
[495] Kalinowski 2002, 139-41.
[496] For a similar strategy of locating an inscription near sculptures of the imperial family, thus empowering the impact of the inscriptions among the audience, see the example of the Tetragonos Agora in Ephesos in Graham 2013, 396-97.
[497] Ephesos 1187.
[498] Kalinowski 2002, 139.
[499] For another example of an inscription, whose appearance was also supported by the presence of the sculptures of Augustus, see the example from Ephesos provided by Graham 2013, 389-94.

In Ephesos, there was another agora, which was also crucial for the public display of the *negotiatores* associations. The Tetragonos Agora, which was located near the harbor, had foundations going back to the Hellenistic period.[500] During the Augustan period, a new marble road was built on top of the Hellenistic one leading to the harbor. The construction facilitated the movement of people coming from the harbor to the agora passing other significant monuments including the nearby theatre.[501] The 2nd century CE custom house of the fishermen association (*οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ τελώνιον τῆς ἰχθυϊκῆς πραγματευόμενοι*) inscription was found near the harbor.[502] This inscription with statue of the *patrona* Cominia Iunina (not preserved) could either have belonged to the nearby Tetragonos Agora or have been a free-standing monument in the harbor, which helped the *negotiatores* to advertise their prestige in the urban context by displaying their connections with the local elites. As a first point of entry into a city, public display may have targeted both newcomers and the local people.[503]

8.5.2 Smyrna

Smyrna was an important city, where the *negotiatores* conducted wholesale trade business.[504] The basilica in the city was located adjacent to the agora from the north. The building had a roofed colonnaded structure, which gave access to the open space of the agora. There were construction phases dating to as early as the 2nd century BCE, when the *negotiatores* started to expand their business ventures in the Eastern Mediterranean. The basilica had a major enlargement in the Late 1st-Early 2nd century CE.[505] It seems that

[500] Krinzinger and Ruggendorfer 2017, 475.
[501] See the other monumental inscriptions in the theatre of Ephesos, Graham 2013, 389.
[502] Ephesos 788*5.
[503] For the importance of the visual strategies used for inscriptions, see the examples from the Late Republican associations in Rome in Holleran 2012.
[504] See p. 82-83.
[505] Yolaçan 2016, 4-18.

the city expanded the structure in order to fulfill the needs of the city's trade potential, which was expanded by the *negotiatores*.[506]

As in Ephesos, the *negotiatores* associations practiced a similar strategy of placing their honorific structures in Smyrna (Fig. 10). The above-mentioned inscription (24 cm x 37 cm x 13 cm) from Smyrna dedicated to Claudius Bios from the Early 2nd century CE, was also found in the context of an agora.[507] The *negotiatores* erected the statue of this local elite member with an honorific inscription to increase their prestige in the city by showing their associations' connection with the person who had relations with higher officials.[508] The visual messages of the inscriptions by associating the *negotiatores* with the monumental basilica, helped them to monumentalize the status of the dedicators. We believe that this relation could have strengthened their place within the society and increased their power among other associations.[509]

8.5.3 Iasos

Iasos was a significant port city, where the *negotiatores* transported goods to the Mediterranean world.[510] Here too, the *negotiatores* also had strategies to erect honorific inscriptions in places that people frequented (Fig. 11). As in the coastal cities of Smyrna and Ephesos, the *negotiatores* associations were also active in Iasos, where an inscription with unknown dimensions was found in the portico of Artemis Astias, which was an important deity for the city as many dedications to the goddess appeared in several other monuments including the agora.[511]

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[506] For the importance of Smyrna as a harbor city for the *negotiatores*, see p. 82-83.
[507] Smyrna 163; Harland 2006, 57-9.
[508] For the honorific practice related to Gaius Claudius Bios's patronage, see p. 117-118.
[509] For a similar competition among the associations in the western part of the Roman world, see Verboven 2009.
[510] For the discussion about the wholesale trade in *Karia*, see p. 88.
[511] Iasos 233; *L'Année épigraphique* 1974 (1978), 168. It was not uncommon for the *negotiatores* associations to erect honorific inscriptions in temples as there are several examples for similar practices. See another example from Late Republican period Argos in Ramgopal 2017, 415.

In Iasos, in the stoa of the agora, which was located near the temple of Artemis Astias, commercial activities are attested from the Hellenistic period until the 4th century CE. [512] However, major changes were conducted during the reign of Emperor Hadrianus (117-138 CE) as many monumental inscriptions and sculptures were dedicated to Artemis Astias, Hadrianus, Zeus Megistos and the city of Iasos.[513] Since the *negotiatores* honored Dionysios Melanthios with an honorific inscription, supported by an (unpreserved) sculpture of the honorand,[514] it seems that they might have consolidated their association as an integral part of asos, where they transacted export goods from the inland region to the Roman world.[515]

8.6 Other Urban Locations

Apart from the agora inscriptions mentioned above, it is not easy to relocate inscriptions on the places where they were first erected. Nevertheless, several other inscriptions were found in places where the *negotiatores* could promote their associations with the visual strategies of associating themselves with monumental buildings related to the Roman presence. However, there seems to be chronological discrepancies between the buildings and the inscriptions, which make us consider their original context.

In Ephesos, a 1st century BCE statue base inscription for the *eques* Lucius Agrius was found in the southern half of the *λογεῖον* (stage in the theatre).[516] Although the theatre had a Hellenistic construction phase, most of the structure was from the Roman Imperial period. The orchestra, *πάροδοι* (side entrances of the stage) and *κοῖλον* (eating area of the theatre) mostly preserved the Late Hellenistic structure from the 1st century BCE with 1st

[512] Berti 2015, 18-19.
[513] Mellink 1971, 173-74; 1974, 122; 1983, 438; Mitchell and McNicoll 1978-1979, 82.
[514] See p. 117 for the honorific dedication to Melanthios.
[515] See p. 88.
[516] Cic. *Flac*. 31; Eilers 2002, 224.

century CE additions. However, the structure of the *λογεῖον* underwent major alterations and an enlargement in the 2nd century CE.[517] Therefore, we argue that the inscription from the mid-1st century BCE may have been a *spolia* used in the Antonine reconstruction of the *proscenium* (front part of the stage). Therefore, it is not clear whether the inscription was associated with the Hellenistic theatre, or the State Agora near the monument.

In the ancient world, old inscriptions or monuments could be used as building blocks.[518] However, the place, where the inscriptions were found, does not necessarily suggest that they were originally placed near the structure. For example, in Assos, the above-mentioned Early Imperial inscription honoring Gaius Caesar, grandson of Augustus, was found as a re-used building block in the later Roman *βουλευτήριον*.[519] As another example, Late 1st century CE association inscription from Sardis was used as a building block in an Islamic funerary structure near the Roman baths.[520] It seems that the usage as building blocks does not provide significant information about the public appearance of the *negotiatores*.

Similarly, the honorific inscription for Lucius Munatius Plancus in Sardis from the 1st century BCE was also a re-used building block that was previously a white marble inscription. In Sardis, an inscription of the 1st century BCE dedicated to general Lucius Munatius Plancus was utilized as a building block in the building wall of Late Roman 'Building A', which was found to the north of the structure.[521] It was in the area between the gymnasium and the baths in Sardis.[522] This complex was built in the Imperial Period[523] and it was located away from the Roman agora. For this reason, we argue that

[517] Krinzinger and Ruggendorfer 2017, 488-91.
[518] Jevtic 2018, 11.
[519] The inscription is displayed in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, see IMT SuedlTroas 603.
[520] The dimensions are not available. SEG 46: 1524.
[521] The dimensions are not available. SEG 46; 1521.
[522] The dimensions are not available. SEG 46:1521; L'Annee Epigraphique 1996 (1999), 507-8.
[523] Yegül 1986.

when the city was rebuilt in the Imperial period, the inscription could have been moved from the Hellenistic period bath, theatre, agora or even colonnaded streets and used as an architectural element in one of these complexes. Therefore, the location of the public appearance is not clear.

8.7 Discussion

Although there is limited information about the archaeological context of most of the *negotiatores* association inscriptions, it seems that such inscriptions can provide some important insights into the integration of the *negotiatores* associations into the cities in the province of *Asia*. By analyzing the diachronic changes of the *negotiatores* association inscriptions, we find that there were significant alterations in the content of inscriptions related to the visibility of the *negotiatores*. On the one hand, the associations made connections with civic structures in the cities during the Imperial period, but it is not clear whether this practice was started in the Imperial period because there is no sufficient archaeological information to contextualize Late Republican inscriptions. On the other hand, the *negotiatores* associations initiated co-dedications of the inscriptions with municipal bodies in the cities after the Late Republican period. Therefore, we believe that these two changes contributed to the perception of the *negotiatores* associations as integral communities of the cities.

We argue that, throughout the Late Republican and Early Imperial periods, the *negotiatores* associations might have used public display strategies to promote their associations within the cities of the province of *Asia*. In the cities of Ephesos, Smyrna, and Iasos, where we know the archaeological contexts of the inscriptions, the *negotiatores* associations placed the inscriptions with sculptures of the honorands or dedicants (no longer preserved) in the Imperial period at locations, which were related to civic

buildings. We believe that these businessmen associations showed a strategy of showing both the connections of its members with Rome, but they also connected themselves with the monumental landscape as an inseparable part of the urban communities as well as kept good relations with Rome outside the municipal communities. In addition, the visibility of the inscriptions might have helped them to advertise their patronage relations and local networks. In this way, they might have gained more power in the provincial society. The dimensions of the preserved inscriptions are, however, not pointing towards very impressive monuments. Only the largest known inscription (50 cm x 75 cm x 144 cm) from Ephesos is more substantial but this was dedicated to the Emperor. However, the sculptures, which have no longer been preserved, might have strengthened the visual effect of the inscriptions. In essence, the epigraphic testimony supported with the archaeological evidence shows that the *negotiatores* associations might have become more involved in displaying their communities with the local elites, which might have shown changes in their attitude towards the provincial cities, where they conducted business ventures. The inclusion of the locals as co-dedicators as well as the visual strategies of showing their inscriptions with statues, which were associated with the surrounding buildings, helped them to integrate also visually into the communities of the cities in the province. This is in contrast to the Early 1st century BCE businessmen such as Decianus, mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, who did not permanently settle in the province or establish an association with other *negotiatores*.

Chapter 9

CONCLUSION: AN INTEGRATED COMMUNITY

This thesis provided a novel perspective about the integration of a group of Roman and Italian businessmen into the provincial society during the transition from the Late Republican to the Early Imperial period. By examining the *negotiatores* associations we showed how the businessmen suffered socio-economic problems in the 1st century BCE but found solutions to overcome and emerge as diaspora communities which settled and integrated into one of the most important provinces of the Roman world in the Eastern Mediterranean, *Asia*.

We started by investigating the changes in the Roman world. In the 2nd century BCE, a socio-political power-shift in the Eastern Mediterranean encouraged individual Romans and Italians to take advantage of business opportunities. The equestrians emerged as a social class conducting financial and commercial business ventures due to the restrictions on these activities for senators. Consequently, the equestrians, who mainly conducted large-scale wholesale trade, established a new group in their social class and sought new opportunities in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Following the socio-political changes in the Eastern Mediterranean, we argued that the equestrians who sought commercial business emerged as the 'others' in the Greek world by distinguishing themselves from the Greek businessmen. Notably, *negotium* (literally 'no leisure') with a broader meaning appeared as a term, which was adapted to Greek as *πραγματεία* (business) to define 'Roman and Italian' business activities. During the last quarter of the 2nd century BCE, these individual businessmen appeared as collaborative groups on Delos as attested by the epigraphic testimony. They were named *quei negotiantur* ('…who are conducting business in …') in Latin or *πραγματευόμενοι*

('…those conducting business') in Greek. Thus, the appellation for these businessmen distinguished them as the people who conducted Roman and Italian business. For the first time in the 1st century BCE Cicero called them *negotiatores,* a term which is still used in modern scholarly works. The broad meaning of the term has propounded scholarly discussion about their activities. From a social aspect, the word might have been helpful for the *negotiatores* to conceal their negative impression as tricksters or brokers. We showed that the concept also became a euphemism for a diverse community of people conducting various business ventures and coming from different social classes.

The province of *Asia* was one of the regions, which received the attention of the *negotiatores*. They initiated trade and financial business in the province as early as the creation of the province of *Asia* in the 120's BCE. However, the Roman and Italian population may have caused distress among the population due to the ethical misconduct of their business activities and the misgovernment of the province. The presence of the diaspora might have been questioned by the local population. This might have been followed by several socio-political developments such as the pivotal incident, the Ephesian Vespers, in 88 BCE, abruptly changing the presence of the *negotiatores* and other diaspora communities of the Roman world in *Asia*.

Historical sources had conflicting and biased perspectives on the *negotiatores* in the Early 1st century BCE. All the references to the Ephesian Vespers contained different narratives constructed according to the various agendas of the Roman and Greek authors, who had diverging views about the relation of the locals and the diaspora of the Roman world. There were estimates varying from 1,600 to 150,000 casualties in the massacre, about which the Roman authors did not agree whether it was a collective incident, or an action only caused by Mithridates himself. Furthermore, among the diaspora population, most of the authors except for Appianos did not mention the Italian communities due to

the anachronistic view of the Late Republican past perceived by the Roman imperial historiography. In addition, the sources agreed on the antagonism between the locals and the diaspora of the Roman world. From these diverging views, we concluded that the *negotiatores* might have started to take steps not to suffer from the hatred caused by the antagonism towards themselves by establishing associations and developing better relations with the locals.

Few decades before the Ephesian Vespers, the developments in Roman Law in the Late 2nd century BCE facilitated the establishment of partnerships (*societates*) and collaborative associations (*collegia*). These changes might have been useful for the *negotiatores* to overcome social and economic problems in the places where they conducted business. We argued that this was also applicable for the province of *Asia* after the Ephesian Vespers. In the first half of the 1st century BCE, some examples of *societates* were mentioned in Cicero's texts as thriving business communities in the province. We did not elaborate much on these associations since *Asia* did not have rich papyrological evidence and documents as Italy and Egypt. If there are epigraphic and archaeological discoveries supporting the studies of *societates* and *collegia* in the province, this study will provide a basis for further studies concerning the impact of the social and legal changes in the Roman world on the diaspora communities.

Moreover, we discussed the continuing importance of the *negotiatores* associations by showing ongoing trade opportunities in the province of *Asia*. We supported Arnaoutoglou's non-decline theory of *collegia* in the Roman world during the Imperial period by showing the presence of large-scale wholesale trade associations in the cities of the province. We argued that these associations mostly concentrated in the coastal cities of the region, which might have indicated the role of the associations in maritime trade by transacting slaves, textile, wool, marble, and many other raw materials.

We also pointed out that the *negotiatores* associations in the inland might have helped the transportation of the wholesale trade. In a way, these coastal-inland locations of the *negotiatores* associations might have created a network to facilitate commercial activities.

In addition, we showed that different from the early adventurist businessmen, the businessmen between the 1st century BCE-1st century CE might have also considered the importance of good relations with local people, since the *negotiatores* became important agents for trade within the province of *Asia*. Furthermore, they connected the provincial economy with networks of businessmen. We believe that this thesis will be useful for the maritime archaeologists who study the relation between the possible cargo and the destination of the ships between the 1st century BCE-1st century CE from the province.

All these business activities might have made the associations wealthy enough to erect inscriptions to show their presence within the monumental landscape and to enhance their self-representation.

In the earliest epigraphic testimony, the *negotiatores* appeared in two different ethnic self-representations: as Italians and as Roman citizens. Although the inscriptions were erected after the granting of citizenship to the Italians, the Italian associations only gradually included their Roman identity in the inscriptions. They used their specific ethnicity to show their group identity as a community of a specific geographic origin, but they might have also used Latin as the language of the inscriptions to connect themselves with the Roman world. At first, we showed that they did not use inscriptions in Greek, since they might have addressed the Roman higher officials rather than the local communities. We pointed out that during the last decades of the Late Republican period the Italian *negotiatores* associations completely disappeared according to the available epigraphic material, and that the Roman identity became dominant in the epigraphic testimony of the province of *Asia* due to the citizenship's legal and social advantages.

Meanwhile, we saw another aspect concerning the ethnic appellation of the associations: during the Early Imperial period, for some associations the Roman identity of the associations became a redundant aspect of the self-representation of the communities, as we proposed that they might have become much more integrated into the provincial society and appeared as permanent settlers of the province of *Asia*. Therefore, the study will open new interpretations for the social aspect of ethnic self-representation of the businessmen during the 1st century BCE-1st century CE.

In the epigraphic testimony, patronage was another significant part of the self-representation of the *negotiatores* associations to keep relations with the locals. This important Roman concept might have established reciprocal relations between the associations in the province of *Asia* and their respective patrons. We showed that, in the Late Republican period, the *negotiatores* might have honored influential politicians to raise their issues to higher officials, which helped them to consolidate their position within the provincial society. In return, the Roman politicians might have sought support from the diaspora citizens, namely the *negotiatores*, to support themselves in the politics of the capital. After the introduction of the Principate in 27 BCE, the *negotiatores* might have adapted themselves to the new power relations in which the emperor and the imperial family had a prominent role. It seems that the associations might have honored individual members of the imperial family as well as members of the local elites who had connections with them. The associations might have shown their connections with Rome to gain the support of the higher officials. As a result, their image within the provincial society might have been strengthened. The locals might have started to see the *negotiatores* associations as intermediaries between the province and the capital. Therefore, apart from these benefits from the civic patronage relations, the most important role of the *negotiatores* for the cities in the province was to negotiate their needs with the

central government. This thesis is useful for further studies on the agency of businessmen associations and their role in the relations between the capital and the provincial life in the province of *Asia*.

The location of the epigraphic testimony is another significant element showing the transformation of the *negotiatores* associations. We proposed that the *negotiatores* associations used the public display of their inscriptions to consolidate their prestigious associations community within urban life. From the limited archaeological contexts in Ephesos, Smyrna, and Iasos, we found that they placed their inscriptions in the most frequented locations of these cities. Although they did not have larger inscriptions in comparison to richer associations, they monumentalized the status of their benefactors and co-dedicators as well as their presence within urban life by erecting statues of their benefactors and associating the inscriptions with civic buildings. As a result, they might have displayed the fact they became permanent communities in comparison to the temporary adventurist businessmen in the 2nd century BCE. They became part of the local community in the province of *Asia*. In other words, we stated that almost a century of social, political, and cultural change transformed the Roman and Italian businessmen into an integral part of the local communities in the province of *Asia*. Therefore, the study will provide a basis for further studies on the less-studied aspect of the visual strategies of the inscriptions in the province. We believe that new epigraphic discoveries will bring useful information for the contextual studies of the *negotiatores* associations.

In essence, we showed that the *negotiatores* associations underwent significant social, economic, and cultural transformations after the Ephesian Vespers, which made them integral part of the province of *Asia* in the Early Imperial period in contrast to the Late Republican temporarily settled businessmen. At first, they might have developed business collaborations in line with the legal changes in the Late Republican period as a

response to the catastrophic problems occurred in the Early 1st century BCE. Furthermore, they became an integral part of the provincial economy by contributing to both maritime and local wholesale trade. Thus, they might have started to leave ethnic self-representation and preferred a non-ethnic appellation including all businessmen from different classes and professions. In addition, they might have increased their connections with the local high-class rather than completely depending on their relations with Rome. Finally, they might have represented themselves in the center of the monumental landscape for the advertisement of their associations with their local collaborators.

FIGURES

Fig. 1 Borders of the Province of *Asia* (Created by the author based on Google Earth)

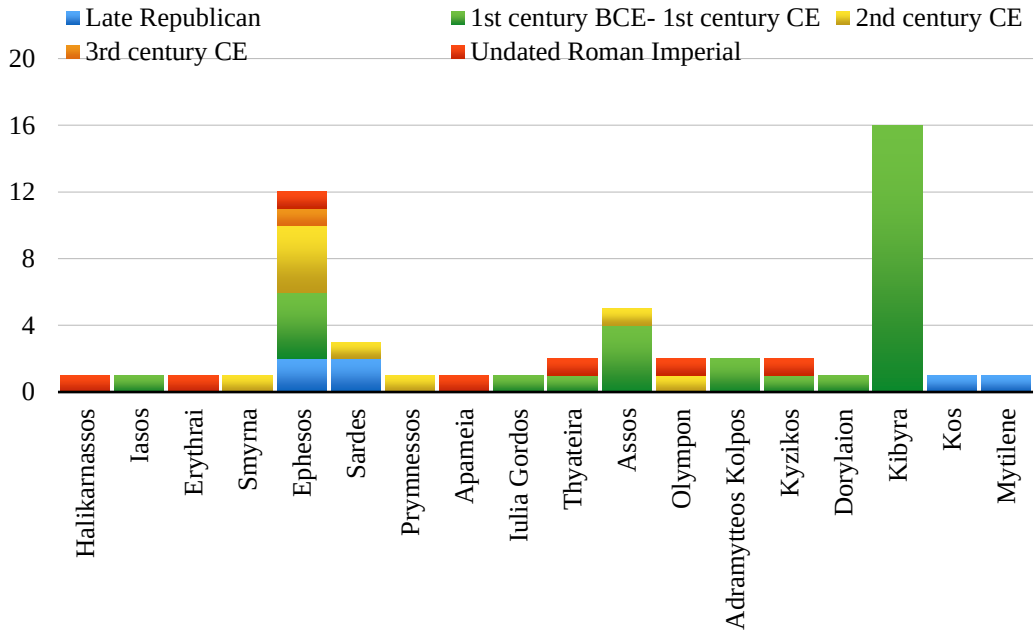

Fig. 2 Distribution of the *Negotiatores* Association Inscriptions Throughout the Cities of the Province of *Asia* (Created by the author based on Google Earth).

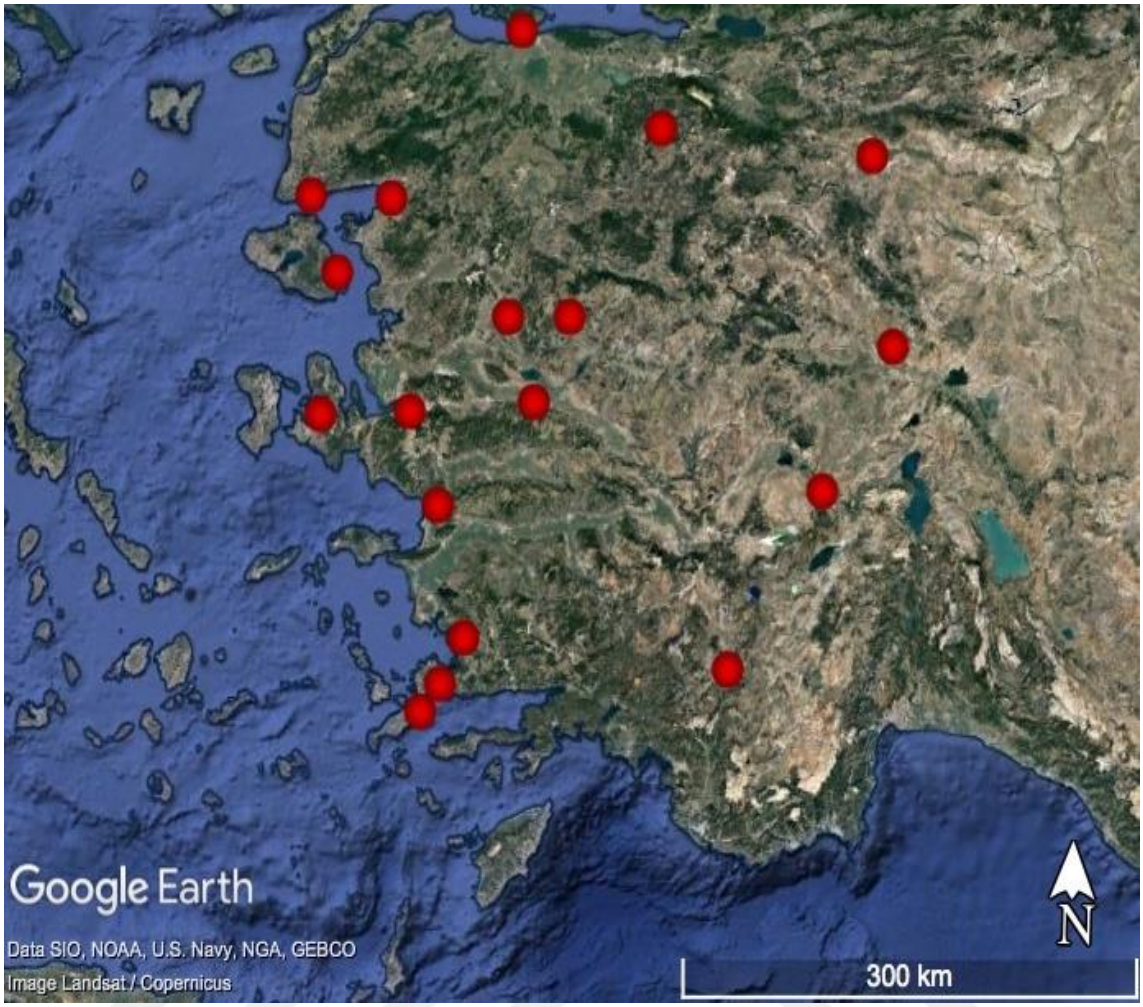

Fig. 3 Find Locations of the *Negotiatores* Association Inscriptions (Created by the author based on Google Earth).

Fig. 4 Wholesale Trade and the Presence of the *Negotiatores* Association Inscriptions (Red Marks) (Created by the author based on Google Earth).

Fig. 5 Important Locations for the Slave Trade from the Province of *Asia* to Rome (Created by the author based on Google Earth).

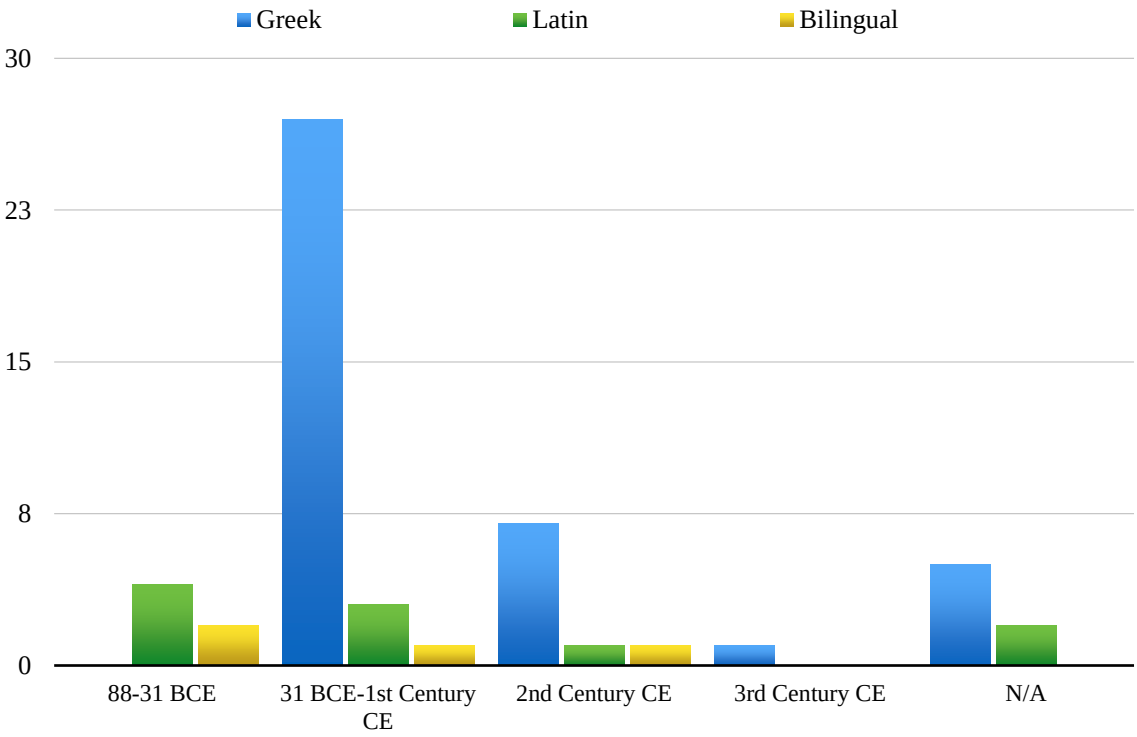

Fig. 6 Diachronic Changes in the Language Preferences of the *Negotiatores* Association Inscriptions.

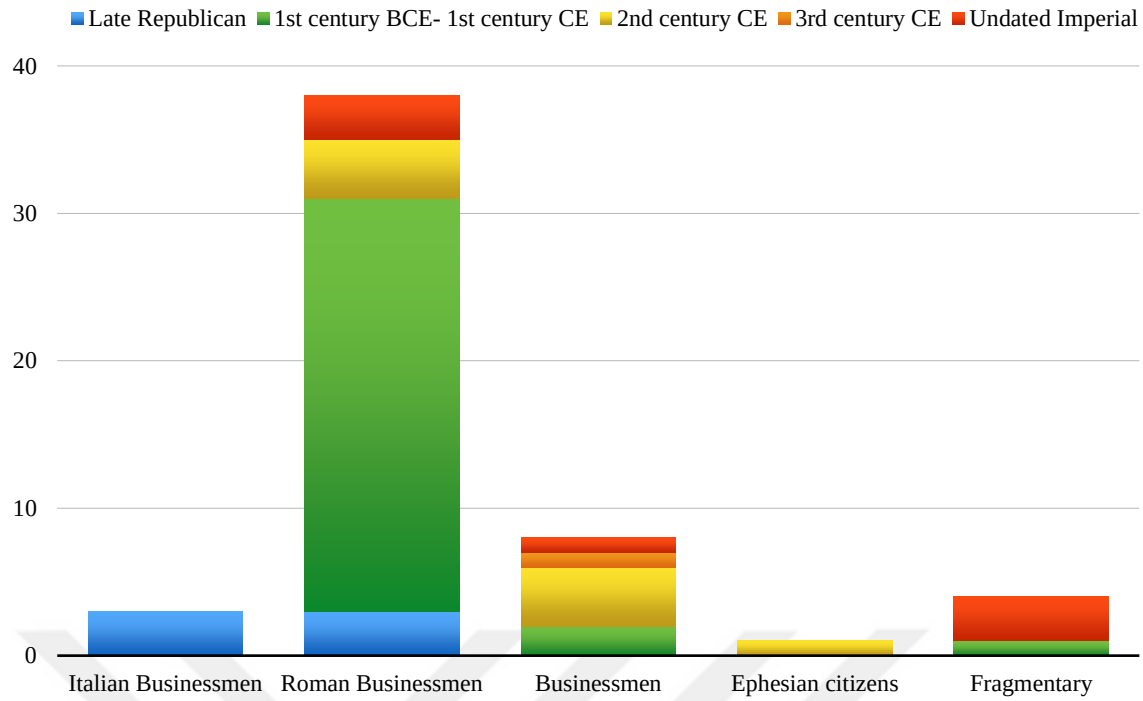

Fig. 7 Diachronic Distribution of the Ethnic Self-Representation of the *Negotiatores* Association Inscriptions.

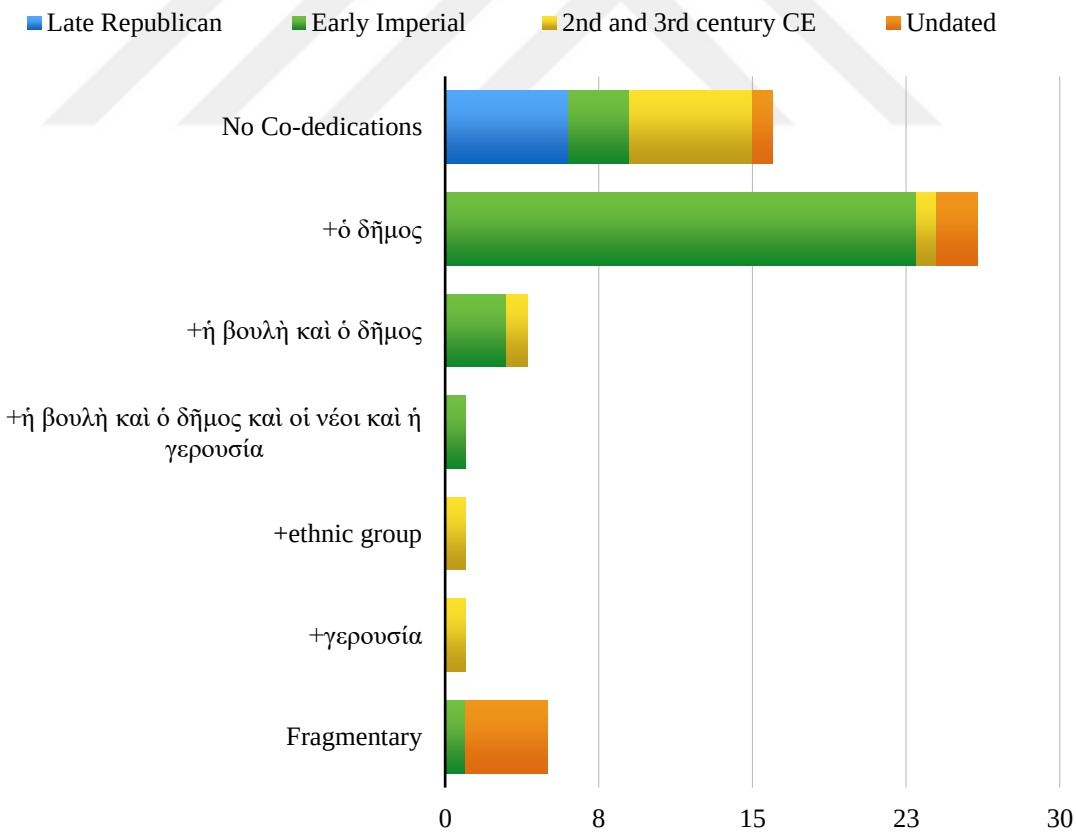

Fig. 8 Diachronic Distribution of the Co-Dedications of the *Negotiatores* Associations Inscriptions Throughout the Centuries.

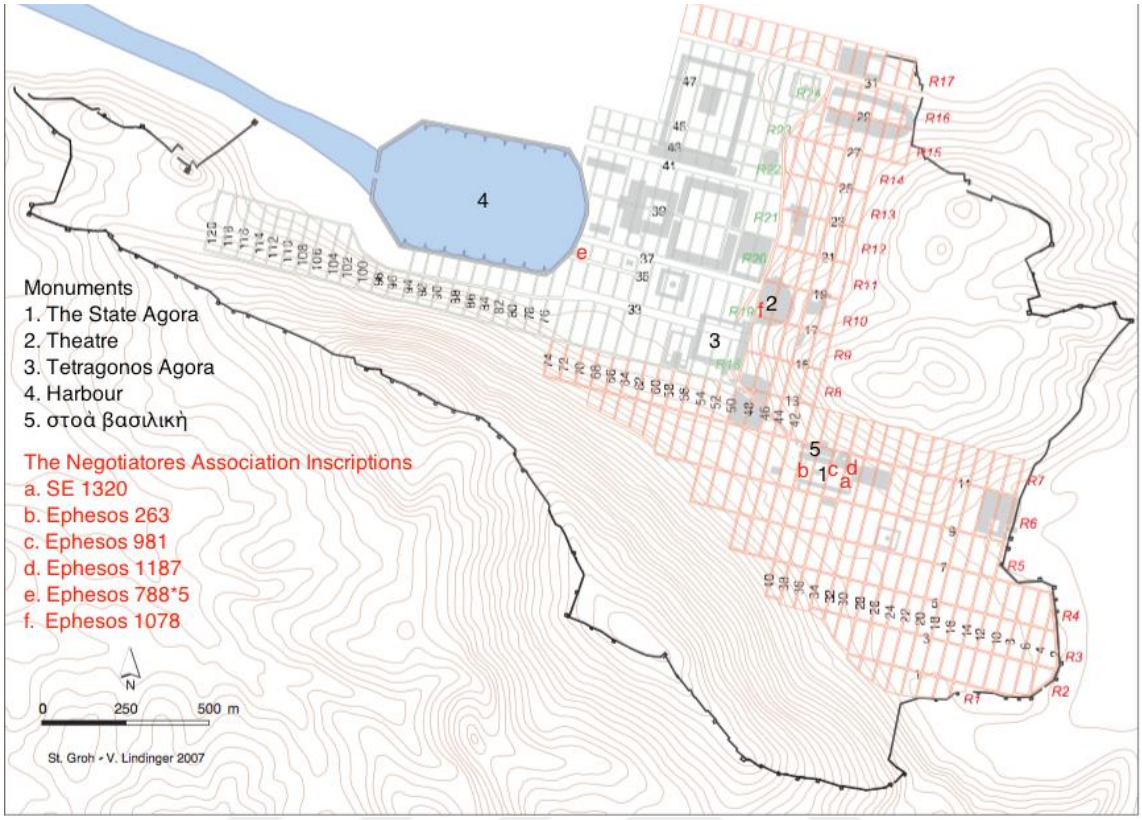

Fig. 9 Find Locations of the *Negotiatores* Associations in Ephesos (After the Plan on Groh 2005, 53, Plan 3).

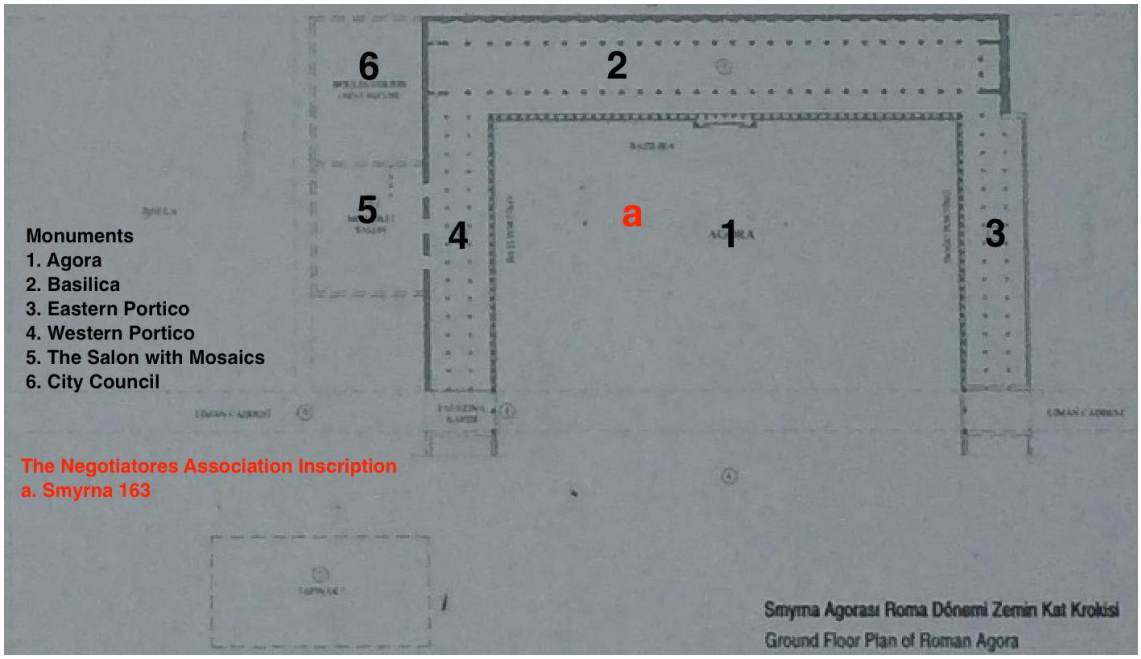

Fig. 10 Location of Smyrna 163 in the Smyrna Agora (After the Plan of Smyrna on the Archaeological Site).

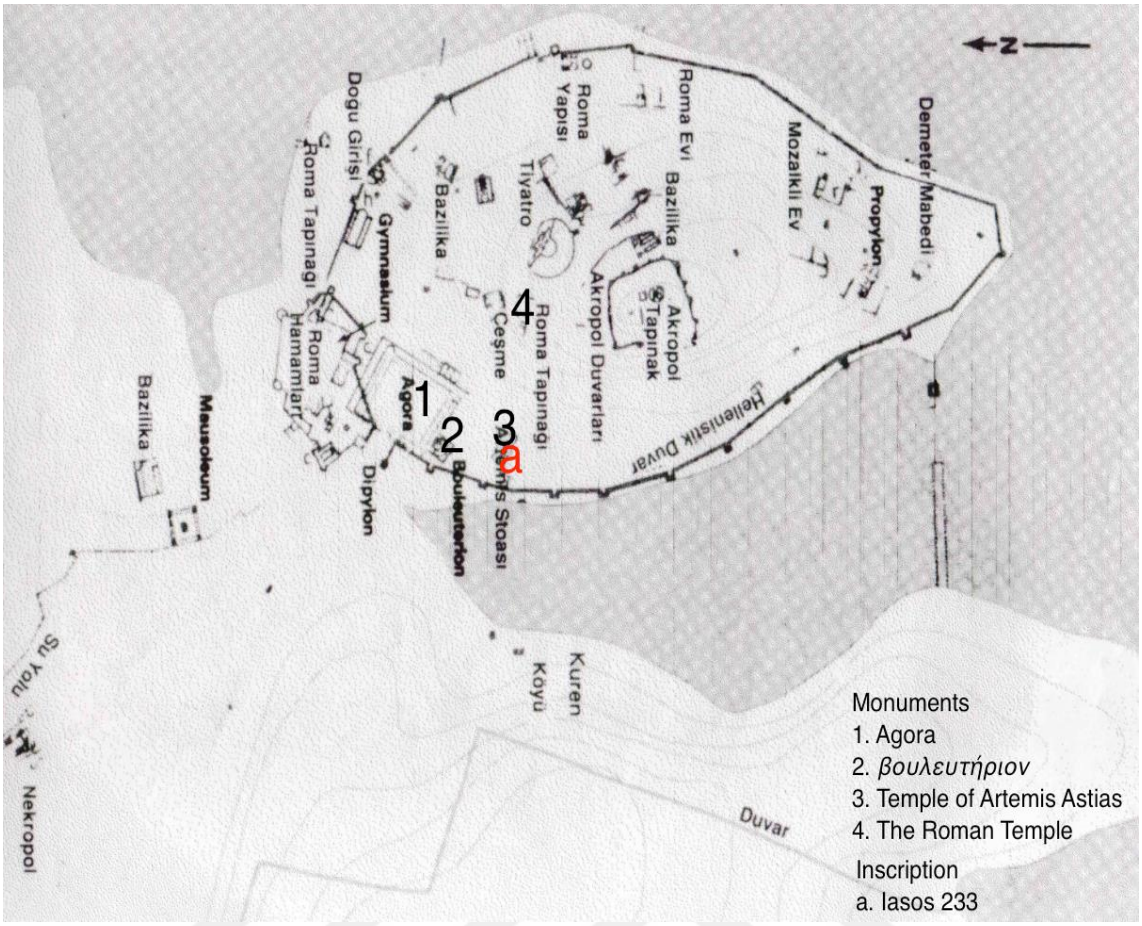

Fig. 11 Location of Iasos 233 and the Important Buildings (After the Plan on http://www.arkeolojidunyasi.com/images/planlar_1/Iasos.jpg).

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APPENDIX A: INSCRIPTIONS

Source	City	Date	Dedicators	Honorand/ Dedicant	Type	Language	Material	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Height (cm)	Archaeological context	Function	Condition	Information
Halikarnassos 166	Halikarnassos (*Karia*)	N/A	ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ πραγματευόμενοι ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαῖοι	Menestrates son of Melanthios	Honorary/ Funerary	Greek	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Iasos 233	Iasos (*Karia*)	4-7 CE	ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ νέοι καὶ ἡ γερουσία καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ ἐν Ἰασῶι πραγματευόμενοι	Dionysios son of Melantos, *hiereus* of Agrippa	Honorary	Greek	marble	N/A	N/A	N/A	Stoa of Artemis Astias	Statue Base	N/A	Fragment of funerary elegiacs
Erythrai 158	Erythrai (*Ionia*)	N/A	οἱ πραγματευόμενοι…	N/A	Funerary	Greek	White marble	51	N/A	35	Aridza	N/A	Broken from left and bottom	N/A
Smyrna 163	Smyrna (*Ionia*)	98-117 CE	οἱ πραγματευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ Ἕλληνες	Gaius Claudius Bios	Honorary	Greek	N/A	24	37	13	Agora	Slab	N/A	N/A
Ephesos 788*5	Ephesos (*Ionia*)	138-161 CE	οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ τελώνιον τῆς ἰχθυϊκῆς πραγματευόμενοι	Cominia Iunina	Honorary/ Dedicatory	Greek	White marble	N/A	N/A	N/A	found near the Harbor at Ephesos	Rounded statue base, with a columnar shape	N/A	N/A
Ephesos 1187	Ephesos (*Ionia*)	59-60 CE	οἱ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ πραγματευόμενοι ἔμποροι	C. Pompeius Gallus Longinus	Honorary	Greek	White marble	51	30	12	Eastern portico of the Agora in Ephesos	N/A	Cut from left and bottom	N/A
Ephesos 1386	Ephesos (*Ionia*)	166-180 CE	οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ γεῦμα πραγματευόμενοι	Publius Vedius Antoninus I	Honorary	Greek	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Statue Base	N/A	N/A

Source	City	Date	Dedicators	Honorand/ Dedicant	Type	Language	Material	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Height (cm)	Archaeological context	Function	Condition	Information
Ephesos 1394	Ephesos (*Ionia*)	2nd century CE	οἱ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ πραγματευόμενοι	Publius Vedius Papianus Antoninus (II ? /III ?)	Honorary	Greek	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Statue Base	N/A	N/A
Ephesos 1478	Ephesos (*Ionia*)	222-235 CE	εἱματιοπῶλαι οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πραγματευόμενοι	Marcus Fulvius Publicianus Neikephoros, Asiarch	Honorary	Greek	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Ephesos 263	Ephesos (*Ionia*)	44 CE	conventus civium Romanorum qui in Asia negotiantur	Emperor Claudius	Honorary/ Dedicatory	Latin	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Western part of the Agora in Ephesos	N/A	N/A	N/A
Ephesos 981	Ephesos (*Ionia*)	43-44 CE	conventus civium Romanorum qui in Asia negotiantur	Emperor Claudius	Honorary	Latin	Blue marble	50	75	144	Agora in Ephesos	Statue Base	N/A	N/A
Ephesos 1078	Ephesos (*Ionia*)	1st century BCE	Italicei quiei in Ephesi negotiantur	Lucius Agrius Publeianus	Honorary	Latin	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	south half of the λογεῖον of the theatre in Ephesos	Statue Base	N/A	N/A
Ephesos 1303	Ephesos (*Ionia*)	100 CE	Civitatis Ephesiorum qui in statario negotiantur	Tiberius Claudius Secundus	Honorary	Latin	Bluish White marble	42	61	24	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Ephesos 1509	Ephesos (*Ionia*)	42-43 CE	qui in statario negotiantur	Caius Sallustius Crispus Passienus, Eques, son of C. Sallustius who is friend of Augustus.	Honorary	Latin	Blue marble	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Statue Base	N/A	N/A
Ephesos 1578	Ephesos (*Ionia*)	N/A	…negotiantur…	N/A	Honorary	Latin	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Source	City	Date	Dedicators	Honorand/ Dedicant	Type	Language	Material	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Height (cm)	Archaeological context	Function	Condition	Information
SE 1320	Ephesos (*Ionia*)	36 BCE	conventus civium Romanorum quei Ephesi negotiantur	Marcus Cocceius Nerva, consul designate	Honorary	Latin	White marble	48	38	15	Eastern side of the Agora in Ephesos (broken from left and bottom)	Slab	N/A	N/A
SEG 46:1521	Sardis (*Lydia*)	before 88 BCE	Italicei quei Sardibus negotiantur	Lucius Munatius Plancus	Honorary	Greek/ Latin	White marble	N/A	N/A	N/A	North of the Roman 'Building A' or 'Vaulted Structure' in Sardis	N/A	N/A	N/A
SEG 52:1174	Sardis (*Lydia*)	after 88 BCE?	Italicei quei Sardibus negotiantur	Lucius Munatius Plancus	Honorary	Greek/ Latin	White marble	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	upper left corner of a block	upper left corner of a block
SEG 46:1524	Sardis (*Lydia*)	Late 1st-Early 2nd century CE	οἱ ἐν τῷ σταταρίῳ πραγματευόμενοι	Iulius Lepidus …	Honorary	Greek	White marble	N/A	N/A	N/A	Islamic funerary wall near the Baths	N/A	N/A	N/A
CIL III 7043	Prymnessos (*Phrygia*)	1st half of the 2nd century CE	cives Romani qui ibi negotiantur/ ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ῥωμαῖδι	Lucius Arruntius Scribonianus	Honorary	Greek/ Latin	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
MAMA VI List 146,109	Apameia (*Phrygia*)	N/A	qui Apameae negotiantur	N/A	Dedicatory	Latin	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
TAM V,1 687	Iulia Gordos (*Phrygia*)	75/76 CE	ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἰουλιέων Γορδηνῶν καὶ οἱ πραγματευόμενοι παρ' ἡμῖν Ῥωμαῖοι	Menendros son of Demetrios, grammateos	Dedicatory	Greek	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
TAM V,2 862	Thyateira (*Lydia*)	N/A	οἱ πραγματευόμενοι	N/A	Dedicatory	Greek	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Source	City	Date	Dedicators	Honorand/ Dedicant	Type	Language	Material	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Height (cm)	Archaeological context	Function	Condition	Information
TAM V,2 924	Thyateira (*Lydia*)	50/51 CE	ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ πραγματευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι	Quintus Baebius Fuscus Κόϊντον Βαίβιον Φοῦσκον	Honorary	Greek/ Latin	Grey Marble	66	61	16	N/A	Slab	N/A	N/A
IMT SuedlTroas 573	Assos (*Troas*)	37 CE	ἡ βουλὴ καὶ οἱ πραγματευόμενοι παρ' ἡμῖν Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀσσίων	ἐπὶ ὑπάτων Γναίου Ἀκερρωνίου Πρόκλου καὶ Γαΐου Ποντίου Πετρωνίου Νιγρίνου	Honorary	Greek	Bronze	54	N/A	38	N/A	Tablet	N/A	N/A
IMT SuedlTroas 580	Assos (*Troas*)	Late 2nd century CE	ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ πραγματευόμενοι παρ' ἡμῖν Ῥωμαῖοι	Tiberius Claudius Neikasin	Honorary/ Dedicatory	Greek	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
IMT SuedlTroas 603	Assos (*Troas*)	1 BCE-4 CE	ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ πραγματευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι	Gaius Caesar of Augustus	Honorary	Greek	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Reused in Bouleterion	N/A	N/A	N/A
IMT SuedlTroas 606	Assos (*Troas*)	1st century BCE-1st century CE	ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ πραγματευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι	Goddess Roma	Dedicatory	Greek	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
IMT SuedlTroas 610	Assos (*Troas*)	1st century CE	ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ πραγματευόμενοι παρ' ἡμῖν Ῥωμαῖοι	Ellanikos son of Athenodotos, hero	Honorary	Greek	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
IK Prusa ad Olympum 229	Hadrianoi pros Olympon (*Mysia*)	N/A	οἱ πραγματευόμενοι ἐν Προύσῃ Ῥωμαῖοι	Trofimos	Honorary	Greek	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Source	City	Date	Dedicators	Honorand/ Dedicant	Type	Language	Material	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Height (cm)	Archaeological context	Function	Condition	Information
IMT Adram Kolpos 718	Adramytteion (Ören) (*Mysia*)	Last quarter of the 1st century CE	ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ πραγματευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι	Alkippides Ksenokleos Falereus, hero	Honorary	Greek	marble	118	N/A	60	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
IMT Adram Kolpos 720	Adramytteion (Ören) (*Mysia*)	Last quarter of the 1st century CE	ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ πραγματευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι	…Falereus	Honorary	Greek	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
IMT Kyz Kapu Dağ 1435	Kyzikos (Hamamlı) (*Mysia*)	Second quarter of the 1st century CE	ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ πραγματευόμενοι ἐν τῇ πόλει Ῥωμαῖοι	Apollonis, daughter of Prokles	Funerary	Greek	White marble	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
IMT Kyz Kapu Dağ 1446	Kyzikos (Hamamlı) (*Mysia*)	N/A	ὁ δῆμος ὁ Κυζικηνῶν καὶ οἱ πραγματευόμενοι ἐν τῇ πόλει Ῥωμαῖοι	Sextus Iulius…	Honorary	Greek	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
IMT Olympene 2695	Hadrianoi Pros Olympon (*Mysia*)	1st -2nd century CE	ἡ Προυσάεων γερουσία/ οἱ πραγματευόμενοι ἐν ΠρούσῃῬωμαῖοι	Trofimos	Honorary	Greek	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
MAMA V Lists I(i): 183, 154 (2)	Dorylaion (*Phrygia*)	Tiberius Cl. Cor.	ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ πραγματευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι	Claudia daughter of Ermothestos, arhiereus of Asia, wife of Gaius Julius Saturninus, arhiereus of Asia	Honorary	Greek	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Source	City	Date	Dedicators	Honorand/ Dedicant	Type	Language	Material	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Height (cm)	Archaeological context	Function	Condition	Information
BCH 2(1878) 598,5	Kibyra (*Lykia*)	1st century BCE-1st century CE	ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ πραγματευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι	…Gantos, iereus Apollon	Funerary	Greek	N/A	N/A	48	85	Column in front of the mosque in Uluköy	Column	N/A	N/A
IK Kibyra 47	Kibyra (*Lykia*)	1st century BCE-1st century CE	ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ πολιτευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ πραγματευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι	Apollonius son of Polydeukes	Honorary/ Funerary	Greek	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Eastern necropolis of Kibyra	Column	N/A	N/A
IK Kibyra 48	Kibyra (*Lykia*)	1st century BCE-1st century CE	ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ πραγματευόμενοι ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαῖοι	Astrania Prima	Honorary	Greek	marble	111	N/A	53	bazaar of the modern Gölhisar	Column	N/A	N/A
IK Kibyra 52	Kibyra (*Lykia*)	1st century BCE-1st century CE	ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ πραγματευόμενοι ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαῖοι	Tateis Daughter of Diogenes Τατην Διογένους, φύσει δὲ Ζωσαμμιου	Honorary/ Funerary	Greek	marble	68	N/A	50	Village of Sorkoum, house next to the mosque	Column	N/A	N/A
IK Kibyra 53	Kibyra (*Lykia*)	1st century BCE-1st century CE	ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ πραγματευόμενοι ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαῖοι	Troilos son of Orestes	Honorary	Greek	limestone	105	N/A	55	South of the great theatre	Round altar	N/A	N/A
IK Kibyra 51	Kibyra (*Lykia*)	1st century BCE-1st century CE	ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ πραγματευόμενοι ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαῖοι	Pankrates son of Kallikles	Honorary	Greek	limestone	90	N/A	61	Eastern necropolis	Round altar	N/A	N/A

Source	City	Date	Dedicators	Honorand/ Dedicant	Type	Language	Material	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Height (cm)	Archaeological context	Function	Condition	Information
Heberdey-Kalinka, Bericht 2,5	Kibyra (*Lykia*)	1st century BCE-1st century CE	ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ ἐνταῦθα πραγματευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι	Apollonius son of Polydeukos, Troilos	Honorary	Greek	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
IK Kibyra 49	Kibyra (*Lykia*)	1st century BCE-1st century CE	ὁ δῆμος /οἱ ἐν Κιβύρᾳ πραγματευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι	Ge son of Nearkhos, and Meleagros son of Meleagros	Honorary	Greek	limestone	109	N/A	62	cemetery between Chorus and Uluköy	Round base	N/A	N/A
IK Kibyra 50	Kibyra (*Lykia*)	1st century BCE-1st century CE	ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ πραγματευόμενοι ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαῖοι	Mithres son of Euthyches	Honorary	Greek	limestone	94	N/A	64	Yusufça, near the entrance to the mosque	Round base	N/A	N/A
IK Kibyra 54	Kibyra (*Lykia*)	1st century BCE-1st century CE	ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ πραγματευόμενοι ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαῖοι	Mas, daughter of Aristophanes	Honorary	Greek	limestone	102	N/A	60	Cemetery in Chorzum	Round altar	N/A	N/A
IK Kibyra 56	Kibyra (*Lykia*)	1st century BCE-1st century CE	ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ πραγματευόμενοι ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαῖοι	Magas, Σακέρδωτος Διαγόρου υἱὸν	Honorary/ Funerary	Greek	limestone	114	N/A	59	Chorzum	Round altar	N/A	N/A
IK Kibyra 57	Kibyra (*Lykia*)	80/81 CE	ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ ἐνθάδε πραγματευόμενοι	Menippos Chryseros, son of EutychesΧρυσέρωτα ἀγορανομήσαντα	Honorary/ Funerary	Greek	White marble	N/A	N/A	110	Chorzum	Round altar	N/A	N/A

Source	City	Date	Dedicators	Honorand/ Dedicant	Type	Language	Material	Length (cm)	Width (cm)	Height (cm)	Archaeological context	Function	Condition	Information
IK Kibyra 58	Kibyra (*Lykia*)	1st century BCE-1st century CE	ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ πραγματευόμενοι ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαῖοι	Ofellius Alexandros, and commemoration of Gaius and Alexandros	Honorary/ Funerary	Greek	white limestone	62	N/A	36	a private house in Chorzum	Round altar	N/A	N/A
IK Kibyra 59	Kibyra (*Lykia*)	1st century BCE-1st century CE	ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ πραγματευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι	Sosos II, son of Mykos	Funerary	Greek	marble	98	N/A	58	Mosque in Sorkun	Column	N/A	N/A
IK Kibyra 60	Kibyra (*Lykia*)	1st century BCE-1st century CE	ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ πραγματευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι	Kallikles, son of Magas, iereus of Apollo	Funerary	Greek	limestone	48	N/A	53	Mosque in Uluköy	Round base	N/A	N/A
IK Kibyra 61	Kibyra (*Lykia*)	1st century BCE-1st century CE	ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ ἐνταῦθα πραγματευόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι	N/A	Honorary	Greek	limestone	113	N/A	65	N/A	Round altar	N/A	N/A
IG XII,4 2:1026	Kos	48-44 BCE	cives Romani qui Coi negotiantur	The city of Kos	Dedicatory	Latin	White marble	32	37	42	N/A	Round Base	N/A	N/A
CIL III 455	Mytilene (*Lesbos*)	32 BCE	Cives Romani qui Mytileneis negotiantur	Marcus Titius	Honorary	Latin	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

APPENDIX B: INSCRIPTION LINKS

BCH 2(1878) 598,5 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/283571?hs=141-159

CIL III 7043 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/268885?hs=363-382

Ephesos 263 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/247971?hs=234-246

Ephesos 788*5 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/248503?hs=401-417

Ephesos 981 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/248699?hs=271-285

Ephesos 1078 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/248799?hs=168-179

Ephesos 1187 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/248909?hs=136-153

Ephesos 1303 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/249026?hs=226-237

Ephesos 1386 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/249108?hs=1177-1200

Ephesos 1394 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/249116?hs=449-467

Ephesos 1401 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/249124?&bookid=490

Ephesos 1478 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/249202?hs=388-408

Ephesos 1509 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/249233?hs=304-317

Ephesos 1578 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/249304?hs=83-98

Erythrai 158 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/251733?hs=194-217

Halikarnassos 166 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/258157?hs=111-127

Heberdey-Kalinka, Bericht 2,5 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/283692?hs=163-181

Iasos 233 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/259091?hs=172-188

IG XII,4 2:1026 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/350600?hs=179-190

IK Kibyra 47 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/341131?hs=228-246

IK Kibyra 49 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/341133?hs=265-281%2C542-562

IK Kibyra 50
https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/341134?&bookid=869&location=1397

IK Kibyra 51 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/341135?hs=200-224

IK Kibyra 52 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/341136?hs=219-237

IK Kibyra 53 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/341137?hs=194-212

IK Kibyra 54 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/341138?hs=115-136

IK Kibyra 56 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/341140?hs=112-130

IK Kibyra 57 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/341141?hs=119-141

IK Kibyra 58 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/341142?hs=114-134

IK Kibyra 59 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/341143?hs=121-139

IK Kibyra 60 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/341144?hs=174-192

IK Kibyra 61 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/341145?hs=130-149

IK Prusa ad Olympum 229 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/278719?hs=254-272

IMT AdramKolpos 718 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/288198?hs=162-185

IMT Adram Kolpos 720 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/288200?hs=173-197

IMT Kyz Kapu Dağ 1435 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/288713?hs=167-183%2C4759-4777

IMT Kyz Kapu Dağ 1446 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/288726?hs=149-177

IMT Olympene 2695 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/289815?hs=199-233

IMT SuedlTroas 573 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/288053?hs=595-611

IMT SuedlTroas 580 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/288060?hs=867-884

IMT SuedlTroas 603 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/288083?hs=124-141

IMT SuedlTroas 606 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/288086?hs=148-164

IMT SuedlTroas 610 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/288091?hs=179-199%2C591-610

ISmyrna 731-32 http://philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/190-subscriptions-of-the-initiates-of-dionysos-with-imperial-dedications/

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MAMA VI List 146,109 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/272494?hs=111-122

SE 1320 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/256057?hs=225-237

SEG 46:1521 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/348268?hs=129-141

SEG 52:1174 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/348658?hs=145-157

SEG 46:1524 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/348271?hs=552-562

Smyrna 163 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/255063?hs=163-186

TAM V,1 687 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/264114?hs=563-579

TAM V,2 862 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/264292?hs=144-162

TAM V,2 924 https://epigraphy.packhum.org/text/264354?hs=121-139