

An offprint from

ROMAN COLONIES
IN THE FIRST CENTURY
OF THEIR FOUNDATION

edited by

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6. Between Atticus and Aeneas: the making of a colonial elite at Roman Butrint

Inge Lyse Hansen

Three times during the latter half of the 1st c. BCE the city of Butrint (ancient Buthrotum in Epirus) was shaped directly and unequivocally by the intervention of Rome. On two separate occasions grants of Roman colonial status were conferred upon it, in 44 and 27 BCE, connecting its political foundation to the two most powerful individuals of the late Republic, Caesar and Augustus.¹ By the end of the century long-standing traditions of Epirote links to Troy had been formalised and promoted as a proper Trojan ancestral myth for Butrint in no less than the court-sponsored epic of the *Aeneid*.² In legal and in mythical origin Butrint was, in other words, directly linked to Rome and the Julio-Claudian family, and for the first century of its existence this would shape its very identity as a city.

Situated on the mainland of Epirus close to the narrowest point of the Straits of Corfu, Butrint benefited from its access to the Ionian Sea to the west and to the sheltered Lake Butrint to the east (Fig. 6.1).³ Its location made it one of the nodal points in the routes connecting Italy and Sicily with the eastern Adriatic and mainland Greece. Above all, it offered safe anchorage and gave access to rich natural resources in grazing and fisheries of its hinterland (Figs 6.2–3). Despite its advantageous position, which alone could explain it becoming an object of interest for Roman colonisation in the area, the status and identity of Butrint, until the early Principate, remained overshadowed by its more powerful neighbours, Corcyra and Phoenice. Even historical references to the city remained short and tersely geographical in intent. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, for example, in his account of the travels of Aeneas provides little more information than Butrint is “a seaport of Epirus”; Caesar’s is more laconic still describing Butrint as “a city over by Corcyra”.⁴

With the publication of the *Aeneid*, a fulsome description of the city and its origins was provided by Virgil. Butrint is here portrayed as a mirror image of Troy – with gates, a brook and an acropolis, all a miniature version of the Phrygian city, and its foundation is directly attributed to two of the most exemplary and virtuous Trojans, Helenus and Andromache, who populated the city with their own kin. Crucially, Aeneas not only pays a lengthy visit, but it is at Butrint that he receives the good auspices for his journey towards Rome, an event formerly intimately connected to the great oracular sanctuary at Dodona in inland Epirus.⁵ The tradition of links between Troy and Epirus was well established by the time of Virgil, though for Butrint never as unequivocally expressed as it now became.⁶ Virgil provided the first description and characterization of Butrint as a city, formalized its foundation history linking it implicitly to that of Rome, and conferred on it a participatory role in the heroic narrative of Rome itself. In the *Aeneid* one other important stopover is made by Aeneas in the Ionian: at Actium, where the men celebrate Trojan games.⁷ For a contemporary audience this could not but have invoked Octavian’s recent victory and the foundation of the new city, Nicopolis, by the battle site.⁸ Hence, Butrint was presented not simply as one of the stops along the route of Aeneas but could now appear as *the* urban counterpart to Augustus’ own city of Nicopolis in the Ionian (Fig. 6.1).⁹

This extraordinary singling out of an otherwise seemingly undistinguished city provides the starting-point for my discussion of the colonising effort at Butrint. Could persons – or interests – at Butrint itself have made this mythmaking appropriate? I want to examine the composition of the magisterial elite of the new Roman city and of the Roman patrons with whom they are linked. My main objective is



Figure 6.1. The location of Butrint (Butrint Foundation)

to review the nature of early Roman Butrint and the interests invested in this city, and, drawing on onomastic and artistic evidence, this paper will discuss the social make-up and political loyalties of the new governing class between the Caesarian and Augustan colonial grants.

The discussion is intended as an articulation of the identity of the magisterial elite in Roman Butrint, and with it that of the colonial group as a whole. It will provide a prism for assessing the motivations behind the establishment of the colony (and with it Rome's approach to this region), as well as Butrint's own employment of its new identity – at a local and regional level as well as in its dealings with Rome. Integral to the discussion is the related issue of patronage. Most straightforwardly this comprises the personal relationships that conditioned the choice of the colonists and their access to local power. Conversely, these relationships also

indicate the ability of influential individuals and families to act as patrons in this area: practically and within the contemporary political climate of Rome. Certainly, the fortunes of the local magisterial elite appear to mirror the fortunes of their patrons, and the engagement of the latter in the wider circles of patronage and influence in Rome. In the same manner, Virgil's promotion of Butrint may be read both as furnishing local characteristics and as a discourse of metropolitan Roman interests, and so this paper will start by examining local identities and relationships and close with a discussion of the patrons of the new city.

The material evidence

The physical expansion of Butrint as a result of the grants of colonial status is clear in the archaeological record. In particular, the recent investigations on



Figure 6.2. *Butrint and immediate environs (Butrint Foundation)*

the flat alluvial plain facing Butrint have provided evidence for the establishment of an urban extension, or suburb, to the city here (Fig. 6.4).¹⁰ By the mid 1st c. CE an area along the waterfront and close to the main access point to Butrint had developed into a planned settlement consisting of a mixture of residential, commercial and public structures. Antedating this may conceivably have been the domestic structures associated with the early colonists; unfortunately the raised water level makes deeper excavation impossible.¹¹ Further south, in

the fertile valley evidence of centuriation has been found in landscape features. Differences in the units used (respectively 20×20 actus and 12×16 actus) suggest the centuriation programme was established in two main phases; further research will establish if it conforms to the alignment of the layout of the settlement and are contemporary with this.¹²

What is of interest here is the composition of the colonists and, in particular, the composition of the new magisterial elite. The primary material for colonial magistrates at Butrint is the names



Figure 6.3. Aerial view of Butrint towards the Straits of Corfu (Butrint Foundation, photo by A. Islami)

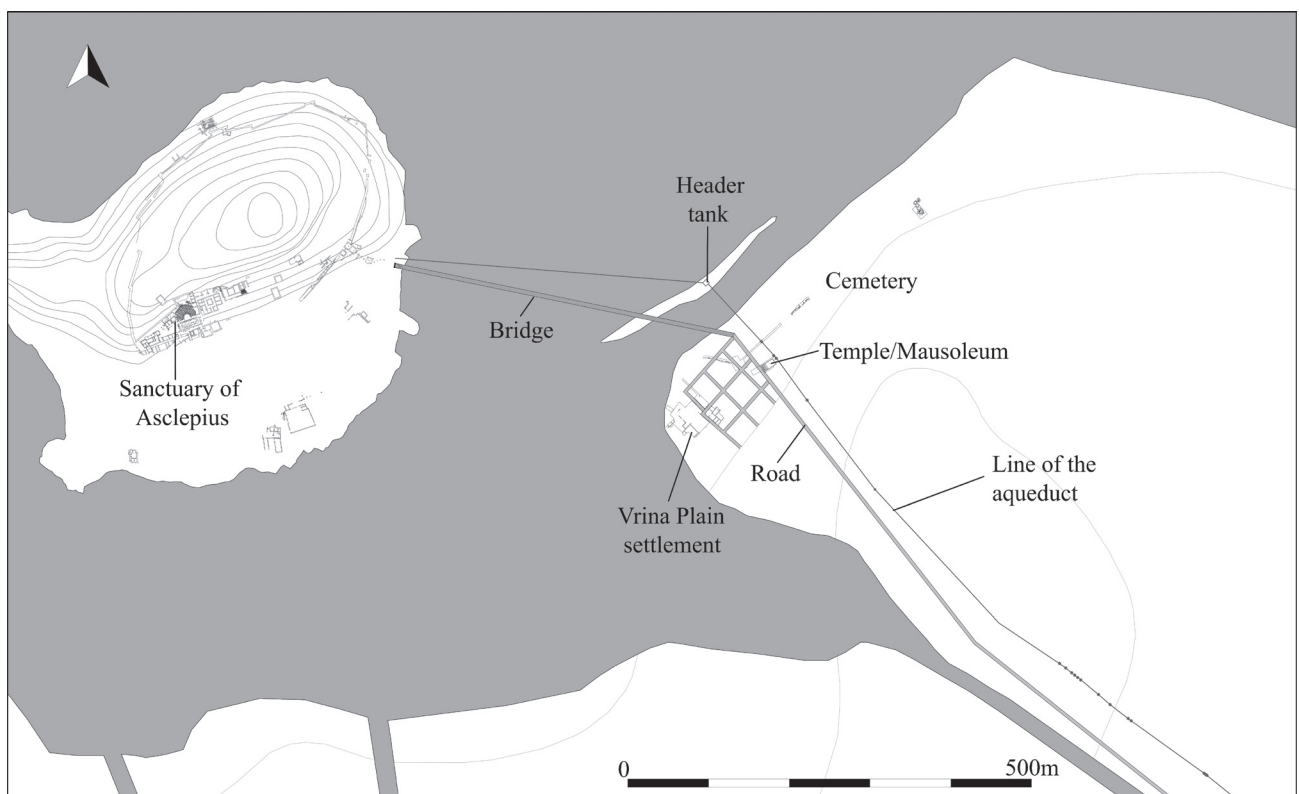


Figure 6.4. Reconstruction of the ancient shoreline with the Vrina Plain settlement and the alignment of the main road and aqueduct (Butrint Foundation)

Table 6.1 Magistrates at Butrint 44 BCE–CE 14

	Name	Magistracy
Triumviral period	Q. CAECILIUS [--]IBUS	Praefectus iure dicundo
	P. DASTIDIUS	Ilvir quaestor aerarii, Praefectus
	L. CORNELIUS	Ilvir quaestor aerarii
	SURA	Ilvir iter
Augustan period	Q NAEVI SURA	Ilvir
	A. HIRTUL. NIGER	Ilvir
	T. POMPONIUS	Ilvir quinq & iter
	C. IULIUS	Ilvir quinq
	A. COCCEIUS	Ilvir iter
	M. PULLIENUS	quinq / [quinq iter]
	L. ATEIUS FUSCUS	quinq
	P. POMPONIUS GRAECINUS	Ilvir /quinq /quinq iter/quinq tert
	MILESIUS	Ilvir
	SILVIUS	Ilvir quin iter
	A. TEIDIUS	Ilvir
	C. IULIUS STRABO	Praefectus

provided in the epigraphic and, in particular, the numismatic material. With colonial status came also the establishment of a mint. This remained active at Butrint during the period between the mid-1st century BCE and the mid-1st century CE, producing a wider range of issues than any other city in the immediate region.¹³ The names of the issuing *duovirs* are included on the Triumviral and Augustan coinage with enough detail to establish a relative chronological order (Table 6.1).¹⁴ Unfortunately the tradition is not maintained in the Claudian or Neronian coinage, and no longer-term evaluation of the magisterial elite can hence be undertaken.¹⁵ However, though the material evidence provided covers a rather short period – only 57 years – 14 different people are named as holding the office of *duovir* or *duovir quinquennal* – five of whom held office over multiple terms. Added to this are three men listed as *praefecti* – one of whom also held the office of *duovir* (Table 6.1). That is, 24 terms of office, shared among 16 individuals, representing roughly 27% of the total number of terms of office in this period. Though far from comprehensive, the sample size is comparative to that of similar studies from Corinth.¹⁶

Corinth, Dyme and Patras in Achaea, with which Butrint shares a common history of colonisation, provide interesting comparative evidence.¹⁷ Like Butrint, Corinth and Dyme were both Caesarian colonies; the colony at Dyme replaced the settlement of pirates installed by Pompey, before being absorbed into the territory of Patras in the Early Tiberian period.¹⁸ The duoviral magistrates in both cities appear mainly to be of civilian background.

Corinth, with its large port and important regional status, presents the most varied social background of its civic elite: provincial Greek notables, veteran families, clients of powerful Romans and, overwhelmingly, clients of Roman *negotiatores*.¹⁹ At Dyme the magistrates appear to be predominantly clients or freedmen of powerful Roman individuals rather than *negotiatores*.²⁰ Patras instead was an Augustan colony founded in the aftermath of Actium, with a second wave of colonist settled in 16/15 BCE coinciding with the travels of Agrippa in the East.²¹ Here, the epigraphic record points to it being a predominantly veteran settlement. As the examination of the Butrint material will show, the colony at Butrint appears overwhelmingly to have been composed of urban freedmen and clients of powerful individuals in Rome. Even accounting for the inherent difficulties in prosopographical investigations, the Butrint sample in composition resembles that of Corinth and, in particular, Dyme. Hence, as at other Caesarian colonies, the colonists must have benefited from the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae Juliae*, which allowed freedmen access to the office of municipal *decurion* and hence the office of *duovir*.²²

To date, only two inscriptions have been linked to a military presence at Butrint. A fragmentary, possibly funerary, inscription from Çuka e Ajtoit in the Pavllas Valley south of Butrint may be dedicated to a veteran of the IX Legion Hispana or Macedonica, which served with Augustus till Actium.²³ A better preserved inscription from Butrint itself, dated to the Claudian–Neronian period, is dedicated to a person celebrated as twice *duovir*, *quinquennal* and patron

of the colony, previously serving with the V Legion Macedonia. Nothing, unfortunately, remains of the person's name.²⁴

Co po
[I]I vir II qui[nq]
[L]eg V Macedoni[c]
[au]guri patrono col
[praef ue]hiclor et
[praef] castr
Orestarum
suo

The legion had belonged to Octavian before Actium and was stationed in Macedonia between 30 BCE and CE 6, and our unknown patron's links with Butrint may have been established then unless he was, as suggested by Deniaux, originally from Butrint.²⁵ To obtain the property assets required to qualify for the local curia, the person to whom the dedication is made must have been an officer, undoubtedly with additional personal funds. Hence, his presence is not *per se* indicative of an organised settlement of veterans post Actium.

A large, but rather damaged, limestone inscription provides details for the very earliest period of the Triumviral colony. It lists the *magistri* and administrators serving the colony, and the mixture of citizen and freedman status of these names support the identification of the early settlement as consisting of civilians.²⁶

Ge[nio coloniae]
c]oll[egium iuuenum]
...]oto[...]
L. Turrano L. l. Attalo ma[g(istro)]
P. Dastidio P. f. Ouf(entina) Rufo pr[ae]f(ecto)]
Q. Caecilio L. n. [Sos]ibio praef(ecto)
i(ure) d(icundo)
L. Licinio L. l. Philoteco lapidario
M'. Otacilio M'. l. Eum[eni]o librar[io]
C. Plaetorio C. l. Phil[ipp]o scalpt[o]re
A. Granio [s]criba [colla]tione [pleb]is

The two most high-ranking persons mentioned, the prefects Publius Dastidius Rufus (son of Publius and of the Oufentina tribe) and Quintus Caecilius [Sos]ibius (grandson of Lucius), are both Roman citizens, as is the Aulus Granus acting as scribe. The remaining four are all freedmen. The scribe, Aulus Granus, may be the same person recorded as being *magister vicus* in two later inscriptions, suggesting that he was a member of the original colonial settlement who maintained local standing into his late middle age.²⁷ His Campanian name, common in Puteoli, is well attested among *negotiatores*

and appears among the magistrates of Corinth.²⁸ Another *magister*, the *libertus* Lucius Turranius Attalus, might, as suggested by Deniaux, instead be a freedman of a person with commercial interests based on landholdings in Epirus; that is, one of the *synepirotae* referred to by Varro.²⁹ The Manius Otacilius Eumenius listed as *libertus* and *librarius* may be linked to a later Manius Otacilius Mystes who appears as dedicator of a shrine to Minerva Augusta in an early 1st-c. CE inscription.³⁰ Various possibilities have been suggested for the presence of Otacilius at Butrint, based on links to Roman generals then active in the Adriatic or to commercial interests in Delos or Sicily.³¹ The background of Licinius and Plaetorius are difficult to establish but may conceivably be linked to the Adriatic.³²

With the exception of the two prefects, the office-holders listed here all appear as having links to patrons with commercial interests in the area. None of these families (again, with the exception of the prefects) appear among those named on the coinage as *duoviri* or in other capacities among the higher echelons of municipal power. Whereas the importance of the port of Corinth provided access to high office for clients of *negotiatores*, at Butrint, by contrast, this seems not to have been the case. Instead, the promotion to power seems to be linked to the patronage of persons of political significance in Rome.

The Triumviral colony

Thanks to the correspondence of Cicero the earliest history of the colonial *deductio* is known in some detail.³³ The first decree designating Butrint as a colony was issued by Caesar using a claim of unpaid taxes as justification. Responding to this threat of land confiscations the inhabitants appealed for help to Titus Pomponius Atticus who had owned major properties in the area since at least 68 BCE.³⁴ Atticus not only paid the outstanding amount on behalf of the city, but lobbied Caesar – through friends and associates in Rome – for a promise that a colony would not be established at Butrint. The promise seems to have been granted but the death of the dictator left its ratification by the senate in the hands of the consuls of 44 BCE, Marcus Antonius and Publius Cornelius Dolabella. Despite the best efforts of Cicero and Atticus, and the expressed support of the consuls, the colonists arrived late in the summer of 44 BCE led by the praetor designate C. Munatius Plancus.³⁵

M. Antonius' failure to redirect the colonist elsewhere must have been influenced by the same

strategic concerns that had originally motivated Caesar: to protect the routes between Italy and the East, and to safeguard access to the important island of Corcyra as well as to supplies for the troops in an area that had been a theatre of conflict in the Civil War.³⁶ For M. Antonius, Caius Plancus must have seemed a safe choice: chosen by Caesar to oversee the settlement in Epirus, he had already proved himself a staunch Caesarian supporter, fighting on his side at Dyrrhachium in 48 BCE.³⁷ Besides, Plancus' more illustrious brother Lucius, the consul of 42 BCE, could – at least until 32 BCE – be counted among the Antonian camp.³⁸

Among the Triumviral magistrates at Butrint, Lucius Cornelius and Sura may equally be linked to political allies (Table 6.1). Cornelius offers various possibilities: the Corneli were one of the oldest patrician families in Rome and is well represented among *negotiatores* in the east; the Buthrotan *duovir* could be linked to Sulla, possibly a descendant of one the 10,000 manumitted by him; or he could be associated with the family of Antonius' fellow consul Cornelius Dolabella.³⁹ The latter appears as a viable possibility given the particular role afforded to Cornelius: with Publius Dastidius he is the earliest recorded *duovir* at Butrint, both men unusually holding the office as *quaestor aerarii*, in recognition, presumably, of their role in organising the new colony.⁴⁰ That matters relating to the establishment of the colony fell within the sphere of interest of the consul is suggested also in an effusive letter from Cicero in June 44 BCE in which Dolabella is thanked for "having put the cause and community of Buthrotum on a secure footing" and requested to take the city "under your perpetual patronage".⁴¹ For the latest of the Triumviral magistrates, a man known only as Sura, it is tempting to see a link with the Catiline conspirator and consul of 71 BCE, P. Cornelius Lentulus, nicknamed Sura. Lentulus had died already in 63 BCE, but leaving no heirs some of his clients would undoubtedly have been inherited by his wife Julia, the mother of Marcus Antonius and kinswoman of Julius Caesar. Twice *duovir*, the link to Antonius' family may account for the long-standing political influence of the Butrint Sura.⁴² Indeed, one may only speculate if the family's link to the respected Julia was a factor in their political survival into the Augustan period.⁴³ The family is the only one of the Triumviral office holders to succeed as magistrates after Actium – undoubtedly by calling on their links with the family of Caesar.

Despite the limited number of names available, there is much to suggest that elite power in the new colony was afforded to individuals with patrons who

could be counted as Caesarian supporters favourable to M. Antonius. In this respect, the greatest surprise is the complete absence of Antonii among the Butrint magistrates, unlike at Corinth and Dyme.⁴⁴ Butrint does not appear to have been a *primary* object of military interest for Antony and his control of the Ionian Sea. Rather, he focussed his interests on the islands of Corcyra and Zakynthus.⁴⁵ It seems likely that the all-important role of Butrint, which warranted the colonial settlement, must instead have been as a supply-base for the troops, as the area had been previously for Caesar.⁴⁶ The Caesarian support evident among the patrons of the colonist must have been considered sufficient to ensure loyalty to the triumvir, and to enable influence at Butrint to be managed obliquely with the city as an appendage to the more important Corcyra.

The most interesting of the magistrates is Quintus Caecilius [Sos]ibius. His name appears on the early Triumviral inscription noted above, together with that of P. Dastidius Rufus – undoubtedly the same person as the *duovir* sharing office with L. Cornelius, confirming the early date of the inscription.⁴⁷ Both magistrates are honoured as *praefectus (iure dicundo)*. The reason for their appointment as *praefecti* rather than *duoviri* is unknown; the details included on the stone suggest a role as eponymous magistrates, possibly replacing the *duoviri* at a moment of exceptional circumstance.⁴⁸ Q. Caecilius carries the formal name of T. Pomponius Atticus after the latter's adoption in 58 BCE – as is the case also for Q. Caecilius Epirota, the teacher of Atticus' daughter Attica, manumitted by Atticus some time after 58 BCE – and there can be little doubt that he gained his position due to Atticus' patronage.⁴⁹ The Butrint Caecilius is not the least interesting by a rather extrovert display of his family's long-standing Roman citizenship. Rather than providing an affiliation to his father he refers to his grandfather, calling himself *Lucius nepos*. It is likely that Caecilius was of an indigenous provincial family, granted Roman citizenship prior to the settlement of the colony, and whose link with Atticus provided the access into the reconfigured elite circle of Butrint.⁵⁰

Despite his opposition to the colonial settlement, Atticus clearly sought influence in its fashioning, and hence to safeguard his interests and affirm his status as a patron of Butrint.⁵¹ What may surprise is that the patronage of Atticus is not more evident: two other members of the Caecilii are known from funerary inscriptions but the name does not appear again among the magistrates.⁵² It is possible that this may be another aspect of Atticus' customary reluctance to get directly involved in politics; it is also possible

that he simply did not need to. His property may not have been affected by any claim made on the *ager publicus* for the colonial settlement; essential instead would have been to protect his business interests and his links to powerful men in Rome. Nicholas Horsfall has suggested that army supply contracts may explain Roman land investments in Epirus, and access to these would need the support of the triumvirs not the local community.⁵³ However, Atticus would need to be able to count on the loyalty of his client base to provide weight in his dealings with the generals, as much as he needed good relations with influential men in Rome to fulfil his obligations as a patron towards the Buthrotians. The support offered to Brutus in Epirus indicates Atticus' continued access to funds and ability to grant support in the area Cicero jokingly refers to as "Atticus' province".⁵⁴ To support Brutus, in Epirus particularly, looks like an implicit counter-measure to the recent Antonian influence at Butrint; a political balancing act almost immediately countered by his support to Fulvia in the face of Antonian military losses at Mutina.⁵⁵ The measures paid off: Atticus neither lost his property in the proscriptions or his influence in Epirus, nor injured his relationships with the triumvirs. It is possible that the long-term influence of Atticus at Butrint depended on just this continuity of presence and the perceived ability to champion the city's cause; on his ability, in other words, to be like Q. Fabius Sanga for the Allobroges "their nation's principal patron".⁵⁶

The Augustan colony

Only a single family, the Surae, is able to maintain high office after 31 BCE and it is on their issues that the change in Butrint's title from *Colonia Julia* to *Colonia Augusta* can be traced (Table 6.1).⁵⁷ It obviously served this family well to advertise its allegiance to the new princeps in an explicit manner; certainly, all other Augustan issues from Butrint simply use the ethic BUTHR. Some of the new magistrates may be mature members of the original colonists, or descendants of these. This may be the case for the two Caius Iulii – one holding the office of *quinquennial*, the other a prefect acting on behalf

of Germanicus honoured as *duovir quinquennial* in CE 12 – whose family must be clients or freedmen of Caesar.⁵⁸ Similarly the *duovir* Aulus Cocceius whose family may be linked to that of the Cocceius Nerva brothers, consul suffectus respectively in 39 and 36 BCE, who – like the Plancii – shifted their support from Antonius to Octavian and similarly may have been able to maintain a client base at Butrint.⁵⁹ It may also be the case of the *duovir* known only as Milesius. His name is known from the coinage and from a substantial stone inscription from a public building, and it has been linked to that of M. Antonius Milesius, who was responsible for the restoration of the Asclepieion in the Roman colony of Corinth.⁶⁰ If this is the case, he may be a first- or second-generation colonist from Corinth – where Antonian clients are well attested – now settled in Butrint.⁶¹

As suggested by the change in its title, Butrint was formally refounded as a colony by Augustus in, or soon after, 27 BCE.⁶² The grant provided the catalyst for investment in the urban fabric of Butrint, most notably in the construction of an aqueduct (the singularly most prominent structure featuring on the coinage of Butrint until the late 60s CE).⁶³ This transported water from springs 4 km away and not only allowed the city to participate in a lifestyle of conspicuous public use of water for bath-houses and fountains, but also provided the conditions for the expansion of the city on the plain facing Butrint to the south (Fig. 6.4).⁶⁴ The refoundation also provided opportunities for new patrons of the city, like the Domitii Ahenobarbi, even conceivably the introduction of new colonists.⁶⁵ A recent find of a new coin type attributed to the mint of Butrint suggests that a particular interim administration was put in place in the period immediately after Actium (Fig. 6.5). The coin in question was discovered at Phoenixe, the old Chaeonian capital 19 km north of Butrint, and depicts on the obverse two antithetic fish and, on the reverse, a legend giving the names of two *praefecti*, Nepos and Siculus.⁶⁶ No ethic for the mint is given and the attribution to Butrint is based on an iconographic similarity to two Neronian issues from here, and on the deliberate use of Latin for the legend. The coin is dated to the late Republic or very early Principate. The date is particularly intriguing, not the least given the correspondence with the name of T. Marius Siculus from Urbino. Marius Siculus held a series of civic and religious offices in his hometown as well as being military tribune of the XII Legion and twice *praefectus* of the fleet in Sicily.⁶⁷ He is usually identified with the T. Marius described by Valerius Maximus as having intended



Figure 6.5. Late Republican coin found at Phoenixe (after Gjongecaj 2005, with permission)

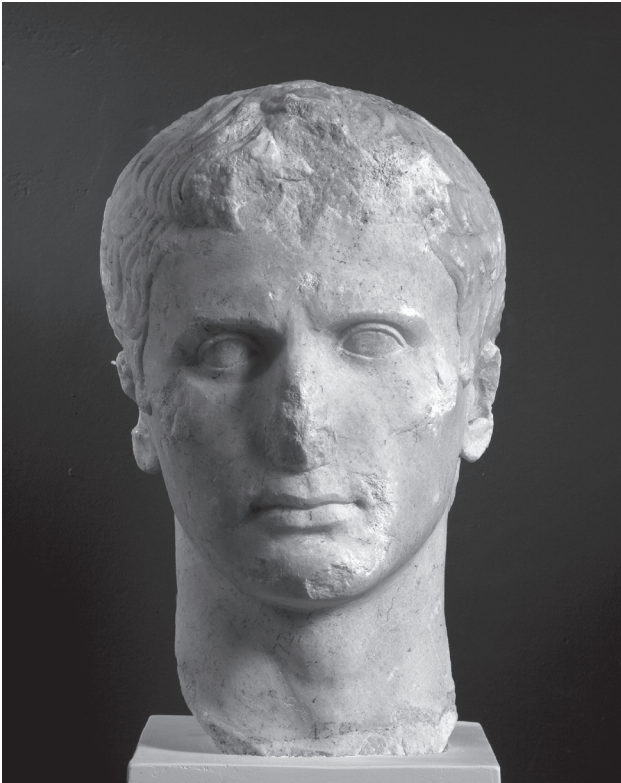


Figure 6.6. Portrait of Augustus from Butrint (Butrint Foundation, photo by J. Barclay-Brown)

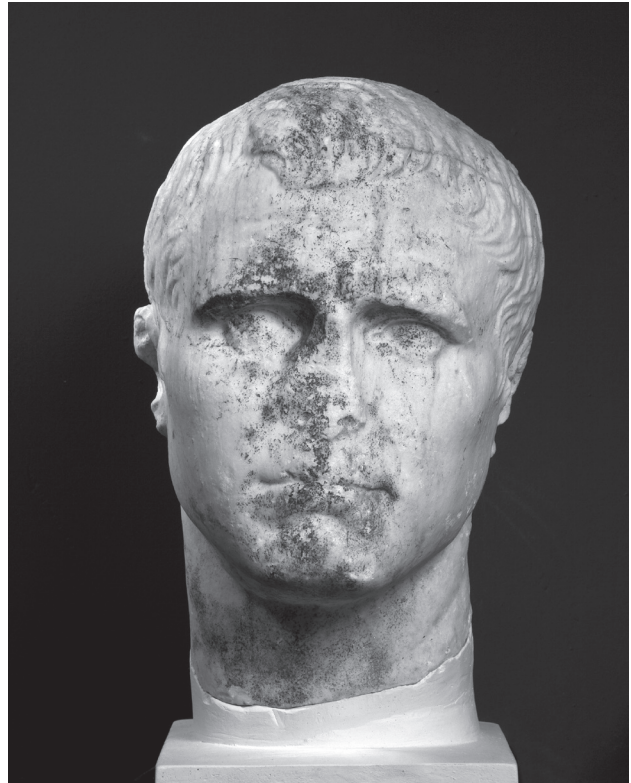


Figure 6.7. Portrait of Agrippa from Butrint (Butrint Foundation, photo by J. Barclay-Brown)

Augustus as his heir in gratitude for the wealth and high office won due to him.⁶⁸ Siculus appears to have fought first on the side of Sex. Pompeius, then against him as part of the joint forces of Octavian and Antonius in 36 BCE.⁶⁹ In his epitaph he carefully avoids mentioning either of the defeated generals by name, but his position within the XII Legion is well advertised indicating that in this case he served with the Augustan forces; that is, with the *XII Fulminata*.⁷⁰ Veterans of this legion, together with those from the *X Equestris*, formed the main body of colonists at Patras, settled in two waves, first immediately after Actium then in 16/15 BCE coinciding with Agrippa's travels in the East.⁷¹ Siculus' political loyalties and military abilities on both sea and land would make him an able choice to administer an area of strategic importance in the immediate aftermath of Actium, and it is possible that he may be the very person mentioned on the coin found at Phoenixe. Parallels for the deployment of a general at sensitive strategic positions in the Ionian can be found in the installation of G. Sosius by Antonius to oversee the fleet-station on Zakynthos at various times during 39–36 BCE, and in the position of C. Proculius on Kephallonia in 30–28 BCE, granted by Octavian.⁷²

The position of Siculus and Nepos may hence have been to manage a local reorganisation required after 31 BCE, with which the re-foundation of Butrint can be associated. A consequence, as already noted, of this at a local level is clearly that the opportunities extended to individual families were by no means equal. The success of particular families after the Augustan re-foundation appears to follow the same general pattern as during the Triumviral period: those who could point to links with supporters of the princeps (or to the family of the princeps as for the C. Iulii) rose to high office. However, for Butrint the influence from the circle around the princeps increasingly became centred on a single person: Augustus' friend and general, Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa.

There can be no doubt that Agrippa was afforded a particular status at Butrint. No less than two portrait statues were erected in his honour, both of which mirror the idealised imperial style established by Augustus more closely than any found in Italy, as if stressing the allegiance and complementary status between the two (Figs 6.6–7).⁷³ In local politics, after 27 BCE the duoviral office became overwhelmingly dominated by persons and families associated with

Agrippa. For the magistrates Marcus Pullienus and Lucius Ateius Fuscus, it is the iconographic choice for one of their joint coin issues that betrays their link to the general. Though a bull, the symbol of Butrint, is normally their preferred image, one issue depicts a dolphin and trident. The motif is strikingly similar to an issue commemorating Agrippa at Nicopolis and must have been modelled on the latter type.⁷⁴ The dolphin motif is one of the symbols most closely associated with Agrippa and his achievements at Actium. The deliberate adoption of this rather than an Augustan type – combined with the relative rarity of the image on the Butrint coinage – must surely characterise the duovirs as clients of the famous general. Another example of the use of the dolphin motif by persons linked to Agrippa is furnished by the issues of the Segestan duovirs M. Vipsanius Athenaeus and C. Iulius Dionysius; the name of the former betrays his links to the Vipsanii but the continuity of the use of the image on several issues may indicate that both men were linked to the general.⁷⁵

However, the most striking aspect of the period is the domination of the *quinquennial* office by the Pomponii. If Q. Caecilius in the Triumviral period had held a single extraordinary office, now both Titus Pomponius and Publius Pomponius Graecinus are multiple office holders: Titus holding the office of *quinquennial* twice, Graecinus holding it three times. In other words, between them they were actively engaged in politics for more than 25 years, and a deliberate repetition of imagery on their coin issues suggests that they are related.⁷⁶ The Pomponii, as suggested by their name, clearly owed their citizen status to Atticus under whose patronage the family prospered. However, it would have owed its present status to Agrippa as the son-in-law of Atticus, through his marriage to Caecilia Attica. In other words, the career of four of the eleven magistrates can be linked directly to the patronage of Agrippa and his family.

Agrippa was not the only powerful general with access to an established client base in this part of the Ionian after 31 BCE. In 16 BCE L. Domitius Ahenobarbus was honoured as the patron of Butrint and a statue was erected to commemorate this.⁷⁷ Lucius' father Gnaeus, the consul of 32 BCE, had been a commanding presence in the Ionian in 42–40 BCE, controlling access in this area in a manner similar to Sex. Pompeius in Sicily.⁷⁸ An ostentatious inscription set in the pavement of the main civic area of Butrint indicates the presence of a continued client base in the area. The refurbishment of the pavement, and possibly of nearby key civic buildings, was undertaken by the freedman Cn.

Domitius Eros, undoubtedly manumitted by Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus the consul of 32 BCE and father of Lucius, the later patron of Butrint.⁷⁹ Eros' status may have prevented him holding office after the revocation of the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae Iuliae* but his display of civic euergetism indicates that he must have amassed enough wealth to make it feasible for a descendent to hold office. However, none appear. Though silence cannot automatically be taken as evidence, the complete absence of Domitii Ahenobarbi from the list of Augustan period duovirs adds weight to the predominant role of Agrippa and the Pomponii at Butrint.

In this connection the absence of duoviral magistrates on the post-Augustan coinage is particularly unfortunate. The marriage of the younger Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (consul CE 32) to Agrippina the Younger, the granddaughter of Agrippa, in CE 28 might have aided the advancement of the Domitii at Butrint.⁸⁰ This possibility must have been accentuated in CE 66–67 when their son, the Emperor Nero, visited Achaea.⁸¹ The imperial visit and the freedom granted to the province by him clearly provided a fresh impetus for development at Butrint, as evidenced by its re-invigorated mint and the emphatic presence of the image of the aqueduct on the issues in the period.⁸² Being able to call upon direct links to several strands of the emperor's family may well have promoted the local standing of the family at Butrint; however, neither the coinage nor epigraphic sources attest to their presence.⁸³

The legacy of Atticus

If Q. Caecilius, as suggested, originated from an indigenous provincial family of longstanding Roman citizen status, the Pomponii could call upon Roman status of even longer standing. As indicated by their name they could trace their links back to the very earliest period of Atticus' involvement in Epirus – that is *prior* to his adoption in 58 BCE. The use of the *praenomen* Titus for the Butrint *duovir* – and for a further three individuals known through epigraphic sources – reveal the continuity and deliberate promotion of the link to Atticus.⁸⁴ Hence, it is possible that this family too may have been of indigenous origins. In this light, the somewhat self-conscious indication of long-standing citizenship status used by the *praefectus* Q. Caecilius in the reference to his grandfather appears as a response not just to an influx of colonists of predominantly freedman status but also as a competitive statement aimed at the Butrint Pomponii. However, no other families are as well represented in the epigraphic

record as the Pomponii and Caecilii. Accepting their provincial background, their presence at Butrint would have formed significant Roman element in the city, even prior to the colonial grant.⁸⁵

At Butrint, the assistance extended to the city by Atticus was recognised in the erection of a statue in his honour.⁸⁶ The Civil War may have forced Atticus to spend most of the 40s in Rome, but repeated offers made to his friends to make use of his property in Epirus as a place of refuge through the 50s and 40s indicate that his engagement with the region continued as unabatedly as his economic interests here.⁸⁷ Atticus had passed away in 32 BCE, but by then Agrippa had been married to his daughter Caecilia Attica for at least five years, and together they had a young daughter, Vipsania Agrippina, already betrothed to Augustus' stepson, the future emperor Tiberius.⁸⁸ The clients of Atticus would hence, at the time of the regional reorganisation in the aftermath of Actium, have passed to Caecilia Attica and Agrippa, and to a system of family alliances distinctly pro-Octavian.⁸⁹

According to Nepos, Atticus, when not able to regain health, decided to put an end to his suffering by starving himself to death, and called his son-in-law, and two intimate friends, to his deathbed to inform them of this decision.⁹⁰ The care and foresight displayed suggest that testamentary issues must have formed part of the discussion too. The scene is reminiscent of the moment of the formal testamentary adoption of Atticus himself by his uncle Q. Caecilius at which he was also made heir to three quarters of the estate.⁹¹ The only securely recorded child of Atticus and Pilia is Caecilia Attica and as a girl the *Lex Voconia* of 169 BCE would have prevented her inheriting more than half her father's wealth. This was a problem faced also by Julius Caesar, and it is possible that the two adopted similar measures to circumvent the law. Caesar adopted his then son-in-law Pompey as his heir, presumably to safeguard his daughter Julia's inheritance by including stipulations that the estate was to be passed to her.⁹² It would seem likely that Atticus' elaborate deathbed scene may have provided the setting to make a similar arrangement, with provisos for Agrippa either to benefit Caecilia Attica directly or to make their child the eventual beneficiary in his will. Certainly, Vipsania Agrippina would, within a few years of her father's death in 12 BCE, have been legally independent and hence able to manage the control of her grandfather's Epirote estates, should this have been part of his will. Not only does the *Lex Voconia* appear to have had little effect by the time of Augustus, but from her marriages to

Tiberius and C. Asinius Gallus she had more than the three children required by the terms of the *ius trium liberorum* (Augustus' law of three children) to exempt her from having a guardian.⁹³ After 28 BCE Agrippa was brought more tightly into the imperial family by marriage first to Augustus' niece Claudia Marcella, then to his daughter Julia.⁹⁴ The continuity of support of the Butrint Pomponii combined with the lack of a single recorded Agrippa or Vipsanius at Butrint suggest that direct patronage was carried out by, or in the name of, the descendants of Atticus with the person of Agrippa appearing rather as a focal point of loyalty for the city as a whole.⁹⁵

The close links with powerful political figures and with families close to the imperial court would explain the remarkable appearance of Butrint in Virgil, and its participation as an agent in the new official mythology of Rome. For Butrint, post-31 BCE was not simply a strategic harbour in the Ionian, but in its political make-up presented a composite web of alliances and links with Rome. The decisive appearance of Butrint in the *Aeneid* also epitomises the changing relationships of patronage that occurred throughout the Roman world between the Republic and the Principate.⁹⁶

In the complex relationships of patronage between individuals, and between individuals and Butrint, during the Triumviral period, public and private interests are virtually indistinguishable. The colonial settlement was one way to secure bases in the Adriatic and Mediterranean for Rome and her ruling generals, and individual relationships of patronage and *clientelae* provided an efficient medium through which the new community was made a participant in the workings of Empire. The city and its citizenry needed strong patrons to champion its cause and to give it an access to the political centre, as well as to provide a framework for its own local aspirations. In the competition for influence, the success of a patron depended as much on an ability to command the loyalty of his clients as on an ability to gain authority in Rome, and hence the 'management' of the Triumviral colony displays a complex network of interpersonal relationships, favours and advancements that explains the diverse links of patronage by powerful Roman families that the city could call upon.

The appearance of Butrint in the *Aeneid*, as a major element in the journey of Aeneas and as a complement to Nicopolis, is an evocative mirror for how the Augustan city was perceived. As a city its purported Trojan ancestry and antiquarian reproduction of Troy highlights the presence of local families already of long-standing citizen status

and well integrated among the new colonial elite, which must have been such a striking element of its civic character. It also deftly – if implicitly – draws attention to its longstanding links to a former patron, a man of exemplary Republican tradition and arguably the progenitor of its loyalty to Rome. However, the inclusion of Butrint on a revised itinerary of Aeneas reserved in its essence the greater compliment for the princeps, for within its language of heroic ancestry the very singling out of the city subtly acknowledged the very real presence here of economic interests and a client base linked directly to members of his immediate circle.

The creation of the Principate did not do away with the system of patronage *per se* but it did trigger a profound transformation of its expression. At Butrint the notable change in the composition of its ruling elite after 31 BCE, as well as the evidence for praetors acting on behalf of Octavian in the period immediately following Actium, denote the continued use of individual patronage as a system of social and political control. However, the identification between the state and the princeps increasingly converged ties of loyalty and networks of patronage around the very person of the emperor. In this transformation Butrint found itself in the fortunate position of being able to conform to an altered world even before the changes had fully taken place, for it could invoke an alliance network belonging to the Octavian camp already by 32 BCE.⁹⁷ There can be little doubt that the city attempted to use this to its advantage in the period following the Actium victory, for with the combined events of the outcome of the battle and the death of its most famous patron the city was suddenly to all intents and purposes an area of authority of persons directly linked to the imperial family itself.

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Notes

1. The details of the Caesarian settlement are summarized in Cic. *Ad Att.* 16.16a. The legends on the Butrint coinage use respectively *Colonia Julia Buthrotum* during the Triumviral period and *Colonia Augusta Buthrotum* in the Augustan period; the latter provides the primary evidence for the Augustan refoundation of the colony. Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992, 275; Deniaux 1987; Deniaux 1993, 362–6.
2. Verg. *Aen.* 3.349–51 is entirely devoted to a description of Aeneas' visit to Butrint, including a description of the city and its history. For a discussion of the use of Trojan ancestry for Butrint in the Julio-Claudian period, see Hansen 2007.
3. Provincial reorganisation meant that Butrint in various periods could count itself as belonging respectively to Macedonia (pre 27 BCE), Achaia (post 27 BCE) and Epirus (early 2nd c. CE). For a discussion of Roman Butrint, see Hansen and Hodges 2007, and, more generally, Hansen 2009.
4. Caes. *B Civ.* 3.16; Dion. Hal. 1.51.1. For the latter the temporary presence of the Trojan camp in the area is further indicated by a hill being called Troy. For the importance of Corcyra prior to 31 BCE, see Deniaux 2007a.
5. Verg. *Aen.* 3.349–51. Ovid provides a similar, if greatly more succinct, description of the city, its origins and its impact on Aeneas, *Met.* 13.715–17.
6. On links between Butrint and Troy, see Dion. Hal. *Ant.*

- Rom.* 1.51.1–2; Serv. *Ad Aeneidem* 3.293, 3.349; Steph. Byz. *Ethnica* s.v. “Troia” and “Buthrotos”. On Epirote links to Troy, see Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.51.2; Eur. *Andr.* 1244–53; Paus. *Description of Greece* 1.11.1–2 and 2.23.6; Procop. 8.22.31; Serv. *Ad Aeneidem* 3.297, 3.349; Varro *Rust.* 2.2.1.
7. Verg. *Aen.* 3.278–90.
 8. Cf. Stahl 1998 58–61. See also Lloyd 1957 for a discussion of Aeneas’ route through the Ionian.
 9. See also Stahl 1998, 44–46.
 10. Crowson and Gilkes 2007; Greenslade forthcoming.
 11. Greenslade forthcoming.
 12. Bescoby 2007, 112–3. See also Giorgi 2006 for evidence of centuriation around nearby Phoenice.
 13. Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992, 274–9 nos 1378–1417. The issues appear to have been interrupted during the period between Tiberius and Gaius (Caligula). No new coinage is minted after the death of Nero; instead the Neronian issues are countermarked and probably staid in official circulation for some time – possibly as late as the reign of Trajan.
 14. Cf. Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992, 275 whose chronological order is followed here. In Table 6.1, the duvuir Aulus Teidius, known only from epigraphic sources, may have held his magistracy in the early Augustan period, but his name has been added at the end of the list given the uncertainty of the date of the inscription.
 15. Neither does the body of published epigraphic material from Butrint add any salient information.
 16. Rizakis 2001; Spawforth 1996, 168. At Corinth the sample constitutes 21% of the total number of terms; here the names of duoviral magistrates are included on the coinage until CE 68/69, though numerically weighted in favour of the Triumviral and Augustan period.
 17. See, in particular, Rizakis 1997, 15–19; Rizakis 2001, 39–41, 46–49; cf. Strabo 8.7.5. Dyme, like Butrint, does not record duoviral names beyond the Augustan period; at Patras no magistrates are named on its coinages and all evidence is epigraphic in nature.
 18. Paus. 7.17.5; Plut. *Pomp* 28.4. Rizakis 2001, 46–47.
 19. Rizakis 2001, 41–6, 49; Spawforth 1996, 169, 171–3, 174–5.
 20. Rizakis 2001, 46–49.
 21. Rizakis 1997, 19–21; Rizakis 2001, 48.
 22. Salmon 1969, 135; Treggiari 1969, 63–64; cf. the *Lex Ursoniensis*, Crawford 1996, 409/428 no. CV. The law was revoked by Augustus already in 24 BCE; however, by then the main part of his own programme of colonisation had been completed.
 23. MAX / VIII / COELIV[S] (‘Max(imus?) / 9 / Coelius’). Bispham 2005 suggests a date in the Julio-Claudian period, perhaps in the reign of Augustus. See Anamali, Ceka and Deniaux 2009, 201 no. 280 for a reading as:] pont(ifex) / max(imus) / trib(unicia) potestate VIII / Coeliu[s].
 24. *AE* 1950.0170; de Franciscis 1941, 284–7 (see also 285 for the mention of another inscription restored as]EG V M[aced; no further details are provided for the latter), and, most recently, Anamali, Ceka and Deniaux 2009, 174–6 no. 236.
 25. Anamali, Ceka and Deniaux 2009, 174–6 no. 236; Deniaux 2006. On the V Legion see Keppie 1984, 207; Keppie 2000, 87, 91.
 26. *AE* 2004.1341 = *AE* 2005.1405; Anamali, Ceka and Deniaux 2009, 209–10 no. 236; Deniaux 2004; Deniaux 2005; Deniaux 2006; Deniaux 2007b, 35–36.
 27. The other two inscriptions with his name are both dated to before 7 BC (A GRANIUS / MAG VICI / LAR VIC SACR and [A GR]ANIUS MAG VICI / STATAE MATRI SAC); *AE* 1987.0904; Deniaux 2007b, 34.
 28. Caes. *B Civ.* 3.71; Cic. *Att.* 2.8; Deniaux 2004, 396; Hatzfeld 1919, 392–3; Jones 2006, 35–36; Spawforth 1996, 172, 177.
 29. Deniaux 2004, 395. Varro *Rust.* 2.5.1
 30. [M]INERVAE / AUGUST(AE) SACR(UM) / M(ANIUS) OTACILIUS MYSTES / ET AEDEM D(E) S(UA) P(ECUNIA) F(ACIENDAM) C(URAVIT) / L(OCUS) D(ATUS) D(ECRETO) D(ECURIONUM), Patterson 2007.
 31. Cic. *Fam.* 13.33; Deniaux 1993, 535–6; Deniaux 2004, 396; Patterson 2007, 42. An association with the Sicilian interests of Otacilius Naso is not the least appealing since the evocatively Macedonian name of his freedman Antigonos, indicates links to the Adriatic mainland.
 32. See Deniaux 2004, 396 who notes the widespread occurrence of the name Licinius, including in Dalmatia, and the possible Illyrian origin of Plaetorius.
 33. The course of events is summarised by Cicero himself in *Att.* 16.16a. See also Deniaux 1987; Deniaux 1993, 362–6.
 34. The date is based on a reference by Cicero (*Att.* 1.5.7) in late 68 BCE to Atticus being pleased with his purchase in Epirus, but business interests may antedate this; cf. Horsfall 1989, 60. His estate is likely to have comprised landholdings on Corcyra, around the river Thyamis on the mainland, as well as at Butrint. No convincing archaeological evidence for the location of the Butrint property has yet been found, but the fertile and airy Pavllas Valley to the south present an attractive possibility.
 35. Cicero *Att.* 15. 29.3, 16.1.2, 16.4.3, 16.16a–d; Deniaux 1993, 362–66.
 36. Deniaux 1999; Deniaux 2007a; Rizakis 1997, 15.
 37. Support to Caesar: Caes. *B Civ.* 3.19.7; authority invested by Caesar: Cic. *Att.* 16.16a.3. Plancus became L. Plautius Plancus by adoption, cf. Wiseman 1971, 252 (no 328).
 38. Lucius Munatius Plancus fought with Caesar in Spain and Africa during the Civil War, held the consulship 42 BCE and was honoured with a statue on the Esquiline hill in Rome, *CIL* 6. 9673; Wiseman 1971, 242 (no 262). Changing to the Octavian side he famously made Marcus Antonius’ will available to the future princeps in 32 BCE, and was the person formally to propose to the senate Octavian’s adoption of the name Augustus in 27 BCE, cf. Plut. *Ant.* 58.2–3; Suet. *Aug.* 7.2, 17; *RE* 16.1, 546–54 (no 30). No magistrates related to this family hold high office at Butrint, but the family may well have had a client-base in the Ionian; cf. a 1st-c. CE inscription from Butrint (CI / A / MUNATI[O] / VIRO) and a tile-stamp from Corcyra with the name Munatius; *AE* 1950.0172; Anamali, Ceka and Deniaux 2009, 177–8 no. 238; de Franciscis 1941, 287–8. The name is also found at Corinth and at Delos linked to negotiatores, though in the particular circumstances of Butrint a link to the senatorial family may be more convincing; Hatzfeld 1919, 397; Spawforth 1996, 172.
 39. Hatzfeld 1919, 389; Treggiari 1969, 171.
 40. For the attribution of their title of ‘duovir q.a.’ as *duovir quaestor aerarii*, see Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992, 275 and Grant 1946, 270 with discussion of office as coincidental with the duovirate. Deniaux 2004, 393 reads their title as *duovir quinquennial*. See also Moorhead,

- Gjongecaj and Abdy 2007, 83 for a new coin type by the two magistrates.
41. Cic. *Att.* 15.14.3 (Loeb Classical Library 1999, translated by D.R. Shackleton Bailey).
 42. Alternatively, a Sura is mentioned by Cicero (*Fam.* 5.11.2) as a friend or freedman of P. Vatinius, the consul of 64 and 47 BCE and triumphator of 42 BCE. In 48/7 BCE Vatinius had defended Brundisium on behalf of Caesar and in 45–43 BCE he was proconsul in Illyricum, cf. *RE* 8 A.1, 495–519 (no 3); see also Cic. *Att.* 11.5.4; *Fam.* 5.9, 5.10a–c. A link to Adriatic command may equally be reflected in the name of the Augustan duovir Q. Naevius Sura, since Q. Naevius Crista in 214 BCE was the general to take Apollonia and force Phillip V out of Illyria, Livy 24.40.8–17; *RE* 16.2, 1563 (no 14).
 43. Julia is by Plut. (*Ant.* 2.1; Loeb 1959, transl. B. Perrin) described as among the ‘noblest and most discreet women of her time’; she died in 39 BCE.
 44. Rizakis 2001, 42–43; Spawforth 1996, 170.
 45. For Corcyra, see Deniaux 2007a, 81, 83. Zacynthus in the southern Ionian was long associated with C. Sosius who issues coins there between 39 and 32 BCE, cf. Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992, 263, nos 1290–3.
 46. Cf. Caes. *B. Civ.* 3.16.1 where Caesar is at Butrint to expedite the food supply; 3.42.3 where two assistants are sent to Epirus to get provisions and set up granaries; and 3.47.3 where meat from Epirus is described as being in large supply and held in high favour by the troops.
 47. *AE* 2004.1341 = *AE* 2005.1405; Deniaux 2004; Deniaux 2006; Deniaux 2007b, 35.
 48. Deniaux 2004, 393; Horster 2004, 335–7.
 49. For Q. Caecilius Epirota see Suet. *Gram.* 16; Treggiari 1969, 123, 248. A Q. Caecilius Niger, duovir at Corinth 34–31 BCE, has been linked to the Sicilian quaestor of 72 BCE whose family was enfranchised by the Caecilii Metelli, Spawforth 1996, 176; Wiseman 1971, 22.
 50. Deniaux 2007b, 36. The name Lucius is common among the Caecilii Metelli, the maternal family of Atticus.
 51. Atticus’ concern to protect his status as benefactor of Butrint is a recurring theme in the appeals made by Cicero to Plancus, cf. *Att.* 16.16a, 16.16e.
 52. Q. Caecilius Epagatus (child died at age 7), 1st c. CE: *AE* 1978.0770; Anamali, Ceka and Deniaux 2009, 174 no. 235; de Franciscis 1941, 284. Caeciliu[s] Nicostratu[s]: *AE* 1978.0776; Anamali, Ceka and Deniaux 2009, 186–7 no. 257; Ugolini 1942, 221, fig. 235. At Butrint the name is recorded in no other contexts.
 53. Horsfall 1989. Could a deal of this nature have formed the basis of the enigmatic meeting between M. Antonius and Atticus in July 44 BCE, referred to by Cicero (*Att.* 16.3.1) with the words, ‘our money will stand by us longer than our liberties’?
 54. Cic. *Att.* 6.3.2.
 55. For support to Brutus: Nep. *Att.* 8.6; for support to Fulvia: Nep. *Att.* 9.4–5, 10.4. See also Millar 1988, 45 and Welch 1996, 454, 470–1.
 56. Cf. Sal. *Cat.* 41 (Loeb 1960, transl. by J.C. Rolfe).
 57. Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992, 275–7 nos 1379–80.
 58. For C. Iulius Strabo acting on behalf of Germanicus see, *AE* 1989.642 and 1990.872; Anamali, Ceka and Deniaux 2009, 196 no. 274; Deniaux 2007b, 35; Horster 2004, 353 (no 86); Pollo 1990. At Corinth two of the earliest duovirs are Iulii; cf. Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992, 250 nos 1116–17; Spawforth 1996, 169.
 59. *RE* 4, 130–1 (nos 12–13). Other mature or second-generation colonists may be the duovirs Silvius, A. Teidius and A. Hirtuleius Niger. The name of the latter carries the reminder of the Hirtuleii brothers respectively recorded as fighting for Sertorius in Spain and participating in the *consilium* of Pompeius Strabo, cf. Criniti 1970, 140–1; Wiseman 1971, 235 no. 208. A relative, A. Hirtuleius Asiaticus, is known from a dedication to Asclepius found inside the shrine/treasury building next to the theatre at Butrint (A. HIRTULEIUS / ASIATICUS / AESCULAPIUS), cf. *AE* 1949.0264; Anamali, Ceka and Deniaux 2009, 179–80 no. 241; Ugolini 1942, 124. Aulus Teidius, known only from a recently published inscription carries a name known from inscriptions in central Italy; he may be linked to the senatorial family whose most famous member was the Sex. Teidius who brought Clodius’ body back to Rome; cf. *RE* 5-A1; Anamali, Ceka and Deniaux 2009, 193–4 no. 270. The name appears among Roman freedmen and is represented on the list of participants at the concilium of 89 BC by an M. Teidius; all of whom may be linked to the senatorial family; CIL 6.37810, 6.36408; Criniti 1970, 119–20.
 60. Melfi 2007, 27. For the inscription see *AE* 1950.0169; Anamali, Ceka and Deniaux 2009, 173 no. 234; Bergemann 1998, 57; de Franciscis 1941, 282–4; cf. note 77.
 61. Spawforth 1996, 176.
 62. Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992, 275.
 63. Wilson forthcoming. For the coin imagery see Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992, nos. 1381, 1388, 1400, 1402, 1404–5, 1407, 1409.
 64. Greenslade forthcoming; Hansen 2009, 41–49; Hansen and Hodges 2007, *passim*.
 65. For the Domitii Ahenobarbi see below and note 78.
 66. Gjongecaj 2005, 161–2, 175 no. 321 (fig. 10.3–321) interprets the obverse as two dolphins. The iconographically similar Neronian issues from Butrint are by Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992 (279, nos 1416–17) described as two fishes. Neronian Butrint issues are largely characterised by types recalling Augustan and Claudian ones and hence it is not unlikely that the type with fishes may have its roots in an earlier period too.
 67. *CIL* 11.6058; Groag 1915, 51–57; *PIR*² M 319; *RE* 14.2, 1822 no 30.
 68. Valerius Maximus 7.8.6.
 69. Groag 1915, 51–57.
 70. For the *XII Fulminata* see, Keppie 1984, 158, 209; Keppie 2000, 85–86. Keppie identifies it as a continuation of the former *XII Antiqua* of Antonius, which was kept in the East, rather than the Octavian *XII Victrix*. The *XII Fulminata* may have been stationed in Egypt immediately after Actium before joining the garrison at Syria.
 71. Keppie 2000, 83–86; Rizakis 2001, 48.
 72. Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992, 263 nos 1290–3 (Sosius) and 271–2 nos 1359–62 (Proculius).
 73. Hansen 2007, 48; Hansen and Pojani forthcoming – both with further bibliography.
 74. Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992, 277 no 1386 (Pulienus and Fuscus) and 273 no 1367. See also Hansen 2007, 50. Pulienus holds the office of *quinquennial* both with Ateius Fuscus and Pomponius Graecinus and hence is listed as ‘quinq iter’ in Table 6.1. A Lucius Pulienus also is mentioned among the *consilium* of Pompeius Strabo and the Butrint duovir may have a military background and

- have served with Agrippa, cf. Criniti 1970, 176, 178.
75. Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992, 174 nos 648–50; the date of the issues is suggested as the Triumviral period, though the possibility of a later (post 21 BC) date is left open. The dolphin symbol can also be found on an Augustan issue by Pomponius Graecinus at Butrint (who may be linked to the family of Agrippa, see below), on anonymous Triumviral issues from Corinth, and on a single issue of Sosios from Zakynthos, Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992, 277 no. 1392, 257 nos 1223, 1229–31 and 263 no. 1293. The control of the sea implied in all of these became intimately linked to the Actian victory.
 76. For the similarity in coinage note especially Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992, 277 nos 1381, 1388. Though no indication of status as *quinquennal* is given for Graecinus in the coinage issued with Mylesius, in a fragmentary dedication from a public building (Butrint Archaeological Museum inv 495) the two appear already to be holding that office (F GRAECINUS / MILESIUS / [IIVIRI Q]UINQUENNAL), cf. *AE* 1950.0169; Anamali, Ceka and Deniaux 2009, 173 no. 234; Bergemann 1998, 57; de Franciscis 1941, 282–4; Hansen 2009, 58.
 77. [L DO]MITIO CN F AHENOB / PONTIF COS / D D PATRON COLONEI; part of the base carrying this honorific inscription is currently on display in the Butrint Archaeological Museum (inv 496). *AE* 1985.0771 no 5 = *AE* 1999.1451; Anamali, Ceka and Deniaux 2009, 196–7 no. 275; Deniaux 2007b, 34; Freis 1985, 224–6; Hansen 2009, 39.
 78. Appian 4.15.115; Deniaux 1999.
 79. CN. DOMITIUS CN. L. EROS. Anamali, Ceka and Deniaux 2009, 198 no. 276; Deniaux 2007b, 35; Melfi 2007, 27, fig. 2.13.
 80. Tac. *Ann.* 4.75; Suet. *Nero* 5.
 81. Alcock 1994.
 82. Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992, nos 1400, 1402, 1404–5, 1407, 1409. See also Hansen 2007, 52–56 for a discussion of Butrint in this period. Stahl (1998, 45–46) attributes the presence of Butrint in the *Aeneid* to the patronage of the Domitii Ahenobarbi; though, on the present evidence that of Agrippa and his family appears more likely.
 83. At Corinth the presence of the Antonii, after disappearing from the magisterial records in the Augustan period, reappear during the reign of Nero, cf. Rizakis 2001, 43. It would seem likely that they called upon their ties to the emperor through the Domitii Ahenobarbi (Marcus Antonius' daughter Antonia the Elder was the mother of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (*cos* CE 32) and grandmother of Nero).
 84. Three funerary inscriptions can be linked to client families of Atticus: T. Pomponius Alkaios; T. Pomponius Lupercus and T. Pomponius Dalmaticus, cf. *CIL* 3.581; Anamali, Ceka and Deniaux 2009, 172 no. 232, 187–8 no. 260; Cabanes 1996, 97, 104; Deniaux 1987, 253, fig. 1; Ugolini 1942, 210, fig. 215, 233.
 85. An example of a provincial family reaching high office at Corinth may be found in P. Caninius Agrippa duovir in CE 21/22 or 16/17 whose father Alexiades may have assisted Octavian. Spawforth 1996, 173–4, 176–7.
 86. [P]OMPONIANI / Q F ATTICO / [ME]RIT; only part of the inscribed statue base survives; *AE* 1950.0168; Anamali, Ceka and Deniaux 2009, 172–3 no. 233; Bergemann 1998, fig. 37; de Franciscis 1941, 281 no. 5; Hansen 2009, 31.
 87. For offers of the use of his villa extended to Cicero and (possibly) Brutus, see Deniaux 1987, 249–50. See Nep. *Att.* 14.3 for the claim that all Atticus' income came from possessions in Epirus and Rome.
 88. Nep. *Att.* 12.1–2, 19.4. The marriage of Agrippa and Caecilia Attica is normally thought to have taken place in 37 BCE; however, see Reinhold 1972, 121 for the suggestion that it took place in 43/42 BCE. For possible other children of Agrippa and Caecilia Attica, see Reinhold 1972; Syme 1986, 145–7.
 89. Though see Millar 1988, 42, 52 for the 'coolness' displayed in Nepos for Octavian.
 90. Nep. *Att.* 21.4–6.
 91. Nep. *Att.* 21.4–6 and 5.2. Cf. Val. Max. 7.8.5, 8 for other examples of the deathbed as venue for inheritance issues.
 92. Treggiari 1991, 365–6. I am grateful to Kathryn Welch for drawing my attention to the legal implications of inheritance for women.
 93. Treggiari 1991, 366, 67–69.
 94. Syme 1986, 36–37, 143–4.
 95. Several Vipsanii and Agrippae are recorded at Corinth where Agrippa was honoured as patron, though none achieve duoviral status until Tiberius or later; the absence at Butrint could conceivably be due to the lack of magisterial names recorded later than Augustus, cf. Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992, 252–6; Spawforth 1996, 168, 181–2.
 96. Braund 1989; Millar 1988; Wallace-Hadrill 1989; Welch 1996.
 97. Presuming that Caecilia Attica was Atticus' only child, after Atticus' death in 32 BCE her inheritance – of clients as well as property – would effectively have been linked to her husband Agrippa, who now – and particularly after Actium – provided a potent link between the family of Atticus and the princeps.