Imperial Properties and Civic Territories: Between Economic Interests and Internal Diplomacy

Alberto Dalla Rosa

▶ **To cite this version:**

Alberto Dalla Rosa. Imperial Properties and Civic Territories: Between Economic Interests and Internal Diplomacy. Franco Luciani; Elvira Migliario. Boundaries of Territories and Peoples in Roman Italy and Beyond, Edipuglia, pp.105-120, 2020, 978-88-7228-923-5. halshs-02615660

HAL Id: halshs-02615660
https://shs.hal.science/halshs-02615660

Submitted on 23 May 2020

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

BOUNDARIES OF TERRITORIES AND PEOPLES IN ROMAN ITALY AND BEYOND

edited by
Franco Luciani and Elvira Migliario

O F F P R I N T

ISSN 1720-4984
ISBN 978-88-7228-923-5
DOI http://dx.doi.org/10.4475/923

EDIPUGLIA
Bari 2019

L’autore ha il diritto di stampare o diffondere copie di questo PDF esclusivamente per uso scientifico o didattico. Edipuglia si riserva di mettere in vendita il PDF, oltre alla versione cartacea. L’autore ha diritto di pubblicare in internet il PDF originale allo scadere di 24 mesi.

The author has the right to print or distribute copies of this PDF exclusively for scientific or educational purposes. Edipuglia reserves the right to sell the PDF, in addition to the paper version. The author has the right to publish the original PDF on the internet at the end of 24 months.

IMPERIAL PROPERTIES AND CIVIC TERRITORIES: BETWEEN ECONOMIC INTERESTS AND INTERNAL DIPLOMACY

Alberto Dalla Rosa
(Université Bordeaux Montaigne)

1. *An empire of cities*

Cities were the backbone of the Roman Empire, and civic elites were a fundamental component of the imperial administration, as they contributed, to a large extent, to the control and the fiscal exploitation of the Empire's vast territory. The limited amount of public and imperial officials who were present in the provinces at any given point in time generated the need for a large number of intermediaries, recruited from among local dignitaries within an increasingly complex system of personal and patrimonial obligations (Lat. *munera*, Gr. λειτουργίαι). In exchange for lasting social and political privileges, local aristocracies were made responsible for collecting direct taxes, drawing on their own resources if needed to meet Roman demands on time. This burden fell each year on the 10 most prominent members of the local council (Lat. *decemprimi*, Gr. δεκάπρωτοι) and was gradually codified as a civic liturgy from the end of the first century CE onwards. [1]

As a rich body of literary and epigraphic documentation shows, city councillors more or less spent large sums on their communities, financing the construction or the adornment of public buildings, or providing oil and grain distributions to the local populations on particular occasions. [2] These contributions were part of the moral and social duty of an aristocrat towards his city, but they became more and more regu-

[1] Lo Cascio 2000c, 183-184; Burton 2001, 202-209; cf. also Burton 2004, 314-315; Merola 2001, 108-109; France 2003, 210-211; Dmitriev 2005, 197-200. On the evolution of the system during the transition from the Republic to the Empire, cf. Le Teuff 2014.

[2] Zuiderhoek 2009.

BOUNDARIES OF TERRITORIES... - ISBN 9788872289235 - ISSN 1720-4984 © 2019 Edipuglia srl - www. edipuglia.it

lated as liturgies under the Empire. As we can infer from some passages of Trajan's correspondence with Pliny the Younger and from later legal texts, the emperors were particularly concerned by the risk of exhausting local public finances and by the excessive reliance on the same wealthy individuals to perform liturgies. [3] Starting from the reign of Trajan, *curatores civitatum* or *logistai* were frequently appointed to review civic finances, strengthen the flow of income in the local treasury, and validate the introduction of new taxes or liturgies. Yet, as our documentation clearly shows, this supervision never assumed the form of strict imperial control. Every aspect was instead the focus of intense negotiations between the local and the central levels. Rivalries for prestige and imperial favour among prominent families within one city or between different cities of the same province could lead to uncontrolled lavish spending and therefore to imperial intervention. However, the demands of a city were often much more modest, such as the institution of a publicly funded teacher position or the redirection of the revenue of a foundation for a different purpose. [4]

One aspect that, so far, has not attracted enough attention concerns to what extent the presence of imperial estates within the territory of a city could entail potential financial losses for the community. A few passages of the Digest make reference to exemptions from local taxation granted to imperial farmers and lessees because of their importance in assuring a continuous flow of revenues to the imperial treasury, the *fiscus*. What is often overlooked is that our sources state that such privileges were not automatically granted: indeed, they required the intervention of the governor or the provincial procurator. The presence of imperial estates within city territories was a potential source of problems for the local authorities, since it could have a negative impact on their public revenues. Hence, there was a theoretical need for the imperial administration to strike the right balance between the protection of its own interests and the integrity of city finances. This situation has been recently acknowledged by Marco Maiuro in his monograph about imperial land in Italy, but many aspects of the question remain unexplored. [5]

The aim of this paper is, first, to offer a critical overview of the different interpretations of the legal status of imperial estates vis-à-vis local municipalities, as presented at the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th, which have never been properly reassessed. This will allow us to understand to which *munera* imperial tenants could be liable and thus determine which privileges they could seek and how they were granted. The resulting picture will provide us with a clearer gen-

[3] Salmeri 2005, 187-206. This attention is particularly clear in Titus' letter to the city of Munigua in Baetica, indebted for more than 50,000 sesterces to a private individual (AE 1962, 288); from Augustus onwards, a number of inscriptions attest the existence of limits imposed by Roman authorities on municipal loans. Cf. Andreau 2013, 109-110.

[4] Hostein 2012, who also proposes the concept of *diplomatie intérieure* to define this continuous process of negotiation between cities and emperors.

[5] Maiuro 2012, 108-109.

eral framework within which to understand how far the presence of imperial estates could harm civic finances and, secondly, to establish how this factor influenced the geographical development of the *patrimonium Caesaris* in different local contexts.

2. *Imperial landholdings, civic territories and Schulten's* fundi excepti

Boundary disputes were among the most common controversies that a municipal or an imperial official had to settle. [6] Property rights, jurisdiction, imposition of liturgies and tolls all depended on the correct identification of private, public and territorial limits. Imperial estates did not escape this rule. A passage of the treatise *De controversiis agrorum*, probably composed by Agennius Urbicus in the fourth century, [7] considers the typical disputes that could arise between cities and private landowners whose estates had an extraterritorial status, i.e., they did not belong to any city. As Urbicus remarks, this scenario was uncommon in Italy, but it was well attested in the provinces and particularly in Africa, where some estates (*saltus*) could be even more extended than the *perticae* (territories) of some cities. Moreover, many of these extraterritorial *saltus* belonged to the emperor, who *in provincia non exiguum possidet*. Urbicus identifies three main controversial topics: the imposition of civic liturgies, the recruitment of soldiers, and the requisition of animals and vehicles in the areas adjacent to the limits of a city's territory. [8] A number of boundary stones from Africa confirms that the Roman administration had to intervene more than once in (re)defining the limits between a city and privately owned property, or between a city and an imperial estate, thus trying to clearly establish where municipal magistrates could exercise their authority and where not. [9]

Between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, numerous scholars inferred from this documentation that most of the large estates in the prov-

[6] For a general overview of the resolution of boundary disputes by Roman officials, cf. Burton 2000, 195-215. Further considerations on the epigraphic habit and on some institutional aspects can be found in Cortés Bárcena 2013a; Dalla Rosa 2007, 235-246.

[7] The work is wrongly assigned to Iulius Frontinus in Lachmann's 1848 edition. For discussion on the attribution to Agennius Urbicus, cf. De Nardis 1994, chapter 3; Campbell 2000, xxviii-xxix and Guillaumin 2005, 129-130.

[8] Agenn. *contr. agr.* 53.3-15 La. = 45.16-46.7 Th. = 42.10-21 Ca.: *inter res p. et privatos non facile tales in Italia controversiae moventur, sed frequenter in provinciis, praecipue in Africa, ubi saltus non minores habent privati quam res p. territoria: quin immo multi saltus longe maiores sunt territoriis; habent autem in saltibus privati*[*s*] *non exiguum populum plebeium et vicos circa villam in modum municipiorum. R(es) p(ublicae) controversias de iure territorii sole<nt> movere, quod aut indicere munera dicant oportere in ea parte soli, aut*[*em*] *legere tironem ex vico, aut vecturas aut copias devehenda indicere », aliquando et ex quadam parte soli.* [...] *eius modi lites non tantum cum privatis hominibus habent, sed et plerumque cum Caesare, <qui> in provincia non exiguum possidet*. Cf. also Behrends *et al*. 2005, 128, 244.

[9] AE 1907, 19 = ILAlg I 2988 and AE 1907, 20 = ILAlg I 2989 (boundary stone between the Musalamii and an imperial estate); ILAlg I 2939b (between the Musalamii, the city of Ammaedara and an imperial *saltus*); AE 1923, 26 = ILTun 1653 (between the Musalamii and the properties of Valeria Atticilla); *CIL* VIII, 21663 (between the municipium of Regiae and a private or imperial property).

inces were not included in any city territory and were therefore self-administered entities. [10] This view has been defended particularly by Adolf Schulten, who described these *saltus* as *Gutsbezirke*, a term used in Prussia to define large rural communities directly managed by the landowner. [11] Schulten recognized that, in some parts of the Empire, such as Italy, a higher degree of urbanization meant that such autonomous estates must have been an exception. He proposed nevertheless that many *latifundia*, despite being included in a municipal territory, were not subject to the jurisdiction of local magistrates and were considered *fundi excepti*. [12] Hyginus Gromaticus and Siculus Flaccus define an *ager exceptus* as a tract of land that the founder of a colony had the right to keep for himself, or to assign to whomever he wanted. Hyginus' passage states that *fundi excepti* were private property in every respect and did not owe any contribution to the nearby colony. According to Schulten's interpretation of this text, the estates of powerful landowners – mostly senators or rich *equites* – were not only freed of any fiscal obligation toward the colony, but also placed outside the jurisdiction of local magistrates. They thus constituted independent administrative entities. In Schulten's words, imperial estates were *eo ipso* considered *agri excepti*. [13]

Schulten's idea of a widespread extraterritorial status for private and imperial *saltus* was sharply criticized at the time, particularly by Rudolf His, who produced a long list of (mostly late antique) evidence of imperial estates included in the territory of a city. [14] His shared Schulten's interpretation about the autonomy of *fundi excepti* vis-à-vis the nearest urban community, but reckoned that they must have been few. Furthermore, he did not accept that imperial estates would automatically qualify as *agri excepti*, as the disparate patterns of growth of imperial properties from inheritances and confiscations must have frequently resulted in the acquisition of many small plots scattered throughout the territory of a given city. Such fragmentation constituted, in his view, a major obstacle to the systematic formation of large extraterritorial *saltus*. [15]

[10] This view was influenced by the discovery of the first epigraphic texts from Roman Africa that refer to the *lex Manciana* and to the extraterritorial *saltus* of the ancient Bagradas Valley. Among the most important contributions, see: Weber 1891, 119-278; cf. also Weber 1909[3]; Sickel 1896, 119-120; Schulten 1896; Beaudouin 1899, 7-21; Rostovtzeff 1901, 295-299; Rostovtzeff 1910, 375-376. Cf. Hirschfeld 1902, 284 n. 3, who dates the development of extraterritoriality to the late second and third centuries.

[11] Schulten 1896, 1-3.

[12] Schulten 1896, 5-6.

[13] Schulten 1896, 8: 'Ebenso ist der kaiserliche Grundbesitz *eo ipso* eximirt.'

[14] His 1896, 115-117. Mommsen 1903[9], 648-649, had also expressed doubts about the wide diffusion of autonomous estates, which he saw as being inconsistent with the general Roman provincial order. In his view, large estates were present everywhere, but normally consisted of many different plots scattered across one or more city territories. Africa did not have a higher overall number, only a bigger proportion of properties made of contiguous land tracts.

[15] His 1896, 16: 'Viele der kaiserlichen Güter waren ja rein zufällig, etwa durch Proskription oder Erbschaft, in den Besitz des Kaisers gelangt und konnten in kleinen Parzellen zerstreut liegen: ich glaube nicht, daß man solche Güter, nur weil sie kaiserlich geworden waren, nun zu einem selbstständigen Bezirk machte.'

Despite our still-fragmented knowledge of the geography of imperial properties throughout the Empire, we now have sufficient evidence to dismiss the assumptions of Schulten and other scholars about the general extraterritoriality of the *latifundia*, as they were in fact based almost exclusively on evidence from North Africa, where such properties are well attested. Extraterritorial estates surely existed elsewhere, but the evidence is scant in most cases. Their presence is attested or can reasonably be proposed for Pannonia, Thrace, Syria and some regions of Asia Minor, where a combination of low urbanization and the vast availability of land offered the best conditions for their development. [16] Another important reason for refuting Schulten's systematic interpretation is his lack of consideration about the various patterns of acquisition of the properties, an aspect already noted by His. In fact, we cannot discuss the relations between imperial properties and civic territories without considering that the *patrimonium Caesaris* was formed and constantly increased by way of inheritances and confiscations. This issue has been thoroughly analysed in the above-mentioned study of Maiuro, who confirmed the view that, particularly in Italy, imperial properties largely followed the same distribution patterns as senatorial ones. [17] Senators mostly used to leave a significant part of their estates to the emperor, but they were also affected by the most spectacular confiscations. In addition, the systematic acquisition of *bona caduca* and *vacantia* – initially destined by the Augustan marriage laws to pass into the *aerarium* of the Roman people – guaranteed a constant flow of resources, as did the inheritances received from many imperial freedmen across the Empire. Now, the properties acquired through that route lay, for the most part, within civic territories and did not necessarily constitute large contiguous estates. In other words, since imperial properties derived from private ones, their size and patterns of distribution must have been mostly similar to those belonging to other types of landowners.

In Schulten's view, imperial properties included in a civic territory did not in fact belong to the city, because they were automatically declared *agri excepti*. [18] As seen above, these consisted in land tracts that the founder of the colony could keep for himself or freely assign to others, at least according to the rather general definition of Siculus Flaccus (second century CE). [19] In his treatment of this category of land, Hyginus offers more detail, observing that 'excepted land plots were those

[16] For Pannonia, cf. *CIL* III, 3774 = 10694. An extraterritorial private estate has been identified by Corsten 2005, 1-51. The *agri Blaesiani* near Deultum in Thrace were probably an extraterritorial imperial estate (AE 1965, 1-2). On Syria, cf. Aliquot 2015, 111-138. In Asia Minor, extraterritorial imperial domains were present on the border between Galatia and Pisidia (*IGR* III, 335 from Tymbrianassos, κώμη Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ). Cf. Broughton 1938, 649; Dalla Rosa forthcoming.

[17] Maiuro 2012, 38-88; cf. Lo Cascio 2015, 64.

[18] Schulten 1896, 15: 'Keine *saltus* im eigentlichen Sinn [...] aber wohl eximirter Grundbesitz sind die kaiserlichen Domänen, die in den Alimentarurkunden mit 'adfine Caesare', 'adfine imperatore' bezeichnet werden.'

[19] Sic. Flacc., *cond. agr.* 157.7-8 La. = 121.14-15 Th. = 124.3-4 Ca.: *inscribuntur quaedam EXCEPTA, quae aut sibi reservavit auctor divisionis et assignationis, aut alii concessit.*

awarded to people who performed good service, with the provision that they should be entirely subject to the law relating to private individuals, should not owe any obligations to a colony, and should remain within the land of the Roman people'. [20] In analysing the two passages, we should resist the temptation to simply combine the texts and produce a single definition. Hyginus' passage treats the *fundi excepti* together with the *fundi concessi*, while specifying that these two categories were treated differently in the assignations of Augustus (*in assignationibus enim divi Augusti diversas habent condiciones fundi excepti et concessi*). This simply means that Octavian/Augustus introduced a clearer distinction between these two denominations, rather than indicate that these two denominations never existed before. The two terms might, therefore, have been used as synonyms under the Republic, since both designate a personal privilege bestowed by the founder of the colony, who either left an existing possessor on his estate or recompensed a new colonist with a larger portion of land. The *bene meriti* in Hyginus' text were perhaps veterans, but could also have been members of the local elite who sided with Octavian during the civil war. [21] The possessors of *fundi excepti* enjoyed full property rights and enjoyed *immunitas* from all local taxation (*ullam coloniae municifentiam deberent*), but remained liable to every obligation that the Roman state could have imposed. [22] *Fundi excepti* were located within the assignation area, but were not affected by the centuriation grid. [23] On the contrary, *fundi concessi* were part of the grid and subject to colonial *munera*.

[20] Campbell 2000, 155.34-37. For the entire passage, see Hygin. Grom. *const. limit.* 197.7-19 La. = 160.8-21 Th. = 154.25-33 Ca.: *concessos fundos aeque similiter ostendemus, ut FVNDVS SEIANVS CONCESSVS LVCIO MANLIO SEI FILIO. In adsignationibus enim divi Augusti diversas habent condiciones fundi excepti et concessi. excepti sunt fundi bene meritorum, ut in totum privati iuris essent, nec ullam coloniae munificentiam deberent, et essent in solo populi Romani. concessi sunt fundi ei quibus indultum est, cum possidere unicumque plus quam edictum continebat non liceret. quemadmodum ergo eorum veterum possessorum relicta portio ad ius coloniae revocatur. omnium enim fundos secundum reditus coemit et militi adsignavit. Inscribemus ergo concessus sic ut in aere permaneant*. Cf. also Guillaumin 2005, 111; Hygin. Grom. *const. limit.* 13.4-8.

[21] See Guillaumin 2005, 204 n. 237. Cf. Castillo Pascual 1996, 177-178; Chouquer - Favory 2001, 135.

[22] This is probably the meaning of the phrase *et essent in solo populi Romani* (see text above in n. 20). Chouquer - Favory 2001, 135, rightly note that this means that the *fundus exceptus* was located in a territory subject to Roman rule, but not on *ager publicus*; the owner (here implied as a Roman citizen) did not have simple *possessio* of the estate, but had a full *dominium ex iure Quiritium*. Less convincing is the interpretation of Campbell 2000, 394, who suggests that 'perhaps Augustus as representative of the *res publica*, when founding colonies and allocating land, maintained that land acquired for distribution belonged to the Roman people. So, if he chose to revoke any special grants, such land would revert to the Roman people in the same way as *bona vacantia*.' This view would correspond more precisely to what happened in the Hellenistic monarchies (cf. Boffo 2001, 233-255), but is not attested in the Roman evidence.

[23] An illustration in the text of Hyginus in the Palatine manuscript depicts the *fundus exceptus* of Seius surrounded by the centuriation grid. This seems to show that *fundi excepti* were not necessarily located at the fringes of the centuriation and/or of the territory of a city. In other words, they did not comprise marginal land.

Both passages are difficult to interpret and do not convey the same idea. According to Hyginus, Augustus did not apparently reserve any of the 'excepted land' for himself, while Flaccus does not mention any special status vis-à-vis the colony. As Mommsen already pointed out, the fact that *fundi excepti* were freed from any fiscal contribution to the colony did not necessarily imply that these estates escaped the jurisdiction of local magistrates. [24] If this was the case, it would then have been wise to limit the diffusion of this kind of land tenure; otherwise, not only would Augustus have harmed the revenues of his newly founded colonies, but he would also have made the control of the territory more difficult, due to the multiplication of self-administered estates. Moreover, we do not know if privileges similar to those attached by Augustus to the *fundi excepti* were also granted in the foundations of his successors, because Flaccus does not mention them. Ancient exemptions were normally maintained, and we have one possible epigraphic attestation of *praedia excepta* coming from the territory of Carthage, which dates to the second or third century CE. [25] However, the available data are so meagre that it is impossible to even guess how widely these 'exceptions' were granted.

3. *Imperial lessees and civic taxation*

After reviewing the extant evidence, it seems preferable not to make use of the concept of *fundi excepti* to describe the status of imperial properties in relation to civic territories – but does this mean that imperial estates did not enjoy any privilege at all? The writings of the jurists from the late second and third centuries CE refer to a series of immunities and protections attached to imperial properties. The range and the chronology of these grants are difficult to reconstruct, and it is probable that a number of individual measures was passed over a long period of time.

The Principate of Augustus proclaimed the political message of the *restitutio rei publicae*, that is, the restoration of the Republican order and the rule of law after a long period of civil war. Augustus publicly refused monarchical powers and preferred to govern the Empire as consul and later proconsul with tribunician powers. In his *Res gestae*, he proudly states that he never had more power than his colleagues in each office that he occupied and that he prevailed in *auctoritas* only. [26] This attitude also meant that the estates of Augustus could not appear to be treated in a privileged way in comparison to those of his fellow senators. A passage of Cassius Dio informs us

[24] Mommsen 1903[9], 648 n. 2.

[25] ILTun 800. I do not think that the *ex(cepta) Zocliana CC(aesarum) NN(ostrorum) iug(era) CXXXIII* belonged to Gaius and Lucius Caesars, as proposed by Beschaouch 1997, 363-374; the two Caesars were probably Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus or Septimius Severus and Caracalla (but other solutions in the second and third centuries are possible). Moreover, we cannot be sure that the meaning of *excepta* in this document corresponds to that of the texts of the land surveyors.

[26] *Res gest.* 34.3. This passage continues to provoke discussion among historians. For a historiographical overview, cf. Hurlet 2015, 247-251.

that, during the general census of 11 BCE, Augustus declared his properties like any other private citizen.[27] One could dismiss this episode as a simple act of propaganda, but Augustus could not simply pretend to appear to be like any other senator without accepting the consequences implied by a census registration. By following normal practice, the *princeps* wanted to show that his properties did not enjoy any special privilege. He was no king; hence, his estates were not 'crown land'. It is, therefore, likely that, at least in the first half of his Principate, the properties of Augustus – if included in the territory of a city – fell within the jurisdiction of local magistrates and were subject to both municipal and Roman taxation like those of any other senator.

In relating this episode, Cassius Dio implicitly tells us that such practice had gone out of fashion by his time. This evolution was inevitable, since the Augustan fiction could not last forever and the emperor gradually came to be considered as the head of the state, exercising sovereign power over the entire Empire in the name of the Roman people. At some point after 11 BCE, imperial properties outside Italy must, therefore, have been exempted from direct Roman taxation. This probably happened through an official act of the senate, who accorded the immunity as a counterpart to the fact that the personal revenues of the *princeps* were largely used for public utility purposes.[28] No source mentions this act, but I would not be surprised if such an exemption had already been granted during the latter part of the reign of Augustus, when his Principate became more autocratic and centralized.[29] Our later sources present the imperial *fiscus* as a de facto public treasury; and, since the revenues from imperial estates also went to it, it would be absurd to think that the emperor paid a *tributum* on properties that already contributed to public funds.[30]

If imperial estates soon acquired a privileged status in relation to Roman taxation, the position vis-à-vis municipal impositions is more complex. As opposed to today's practice, citizens were not expected to pay direct taxes on income or property to their respective cities. A city's revenues were chiefly generated by leases of public land, market concessions, concessions for the exploitation of water and other resources, custom duties, fines, *summae honorariae* and patrimonial *munera* of lesser importance.[31] Other *munera* did not involve the payment of sums of money, but consisted in providing forced labour (*operae*) or animals for the construction and the maintenance of public

[27] Dio 54.35.1: ὁ Αὔγουστος ἀπογραφάς τε ἐποιήσατο, πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντά οἱ καθάπερ τις ἰδιώτης ἀπογραψάμενος.

[28] The public function of the *patrimonium Caesaris* was emblematically, yet implicitly, determined by the testament of Augustus (Suet. *Aug.* 101). A series of passages from the *Historia Augusta* confirms this for the time of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, on which cf. Lo Cascio 2000b, 102-104.

[29] On the autocratic turn of Augustus' Principate in the period after the adoption of Tiberius (4 CE), see Dettenhofer 2000, 185-204; Dalla Rosa 2018, 84-100.

[30] *Dig*. 39.4.9.8 Paul. 5 *sent*.: *fiscus ab omnium vectigalium praestationibus immunis est*. Cf. Lo Cascio 2000b, 127.

[31] The observation of Liebenam 1900, 22, is still valid: 'Inwieweit eine direkte Kommunalsteuer eingeführt war, entzieht sich unserer Kenntnis; ich habe keine sicheren Spuren finden können.' On the subject, see also Corbier 1999, 285-293; Lo Cascio 2006, 673-699.

BOUNDARIES OF TERRITORIES... - ISBN 9788872289235 - ISSN 1720-4984 © 2019 Edipuglia srl - www. edipuglia.it

roads and buildings. Not only did citizens have to contribute, but residents (*incolae*) did too. This liturgical system was governed according to the city's statute and different decrees that the local authorities may have passed. The *leges Ursonensis* and *Irnitana* define some of the basic *munera* that citizen and *incolae* must provide, but intentionally do not define all possible forms of imposition that the city may want to adopt.[32] Later legal sources show that a steadily increasing number of imperial interventions regulated this sector during the second and third centuries CE, establishing more clearly – among other things – the definition of the status of an *incola* in relation to his *domicilium*.

Under the Severans, the jurists Callistratus and Ulpian elaborated a general framework with different categories of *munera* in order to define precisely liabilities and exemptions.[33] In a passage from his work *de cognitionibus*, Callistratus distinguishes between *munera publica* (imposed in the context of an official administrative task other than a magistracy) and *munera privata* (for example, a *tutela*), according to the beneficiary of the *munus*: the citizen body or a private person. Both kinds of *munera* do not necessarily imply the expenditure of a sum of money (*sive cum sumptu sive sine erogatione*). Callistratus then introduces a second distinction, that between *munera personae*, deriving from a personal condition (and from which one can claim immunity for different reasons, such as age, sex, infirmity and citizenship status) and *munera locorum* imposed on immovables.[34] To this second category are ascribed *viarum munitiones*, the money and/or the labour due for the maintenance of roads, and *praediorum collationes*, a generic term indicating all other burdens and obligations eventually tied to an estate.[35] No exemption was apparently allowed from such *munera,* which were also automatically passed to the new owner in cases where an estate was sold.[36]

Ulpian approaches the question of *munera* from a different perspective. He contrasts *munera personae*, liturgies that needed a personal engagement, with *munera patrimonii*, those that only required a financial contribution. This category is further divided in two: on the one hand, there are burdens that fall on every *possessor*, no matter whether he is a citizen, a resident or neither of the two; on the other, there are *munera* that must be paid by citizens or *incolae* only. Ulpian thus explains that *intributiones, quae agris fiunt, vel aedificiis, possessoribus indicunt*.[37] These financial

[32] Grelle 1999, 137-153.

[33] Horstkotte 1996, 233-255. On the exemptions, cf. Drecoll 1997, 51-74.

[34] *Dig*. 50.4.14pr.-2 Call. 1 *de cogn.*: *honor municipalis est administratio rei publicae cum dignitatis gradu, sive cum sumptu sive sine erogatione contingens. munus aut publicum aut privatum est. publicum munus dicitur, quod in administranda re publica cum sumptu sine titulo dignitatis subimus. viarum munitiones, praediorum collationes non personae, sed locorum munera sunt.*

[35] The *munitio* is, with the *munus legationis*, the only liturgy mentioned in the Flavian municipal laws; cf. also *CIL* XI, 948. On the term *collation*, see *TLL* III/7 *s.v.*, 1577-1580.

[36] For example, *fundi* given as security for loans taken in the context of the *alimenta* programme were not freed from any pending obligation if sold by the owner. Cf. Maganzani 2014, 157-167. Similarly, if revenues from plots of land had been reserved for financing public or religious events, this obligation also passed to the new owner. Cf. *Dig*. 19.1.13.6 Ulp. 32 *ad ed*.; *Dig*. 39.4.7pr.-1 Papir. 2 *de const.*

[37] *Dig*. 50.4.6.5 Ulp. 4 *de off. procons.*: *sed enim haec munera, quae patrimoniis indicuntur, duplicia*

contributions (*intributiones*) are not better specified, but surely included *viae collationes* and any kind of *vectigal* that could be imposed on the plot of land concerned. It is, therefore, likely that Ulpian's *munera patrimonii* referred to the same burdens as Callistratus' *munera locorum*.

Without going into the detail about every facet of Ulpian's terminology, it seems clear that imperial properties located within city territories must have been concerned by the *munitio viarum*, since the acquisition by the emperor of a former private estate could hardly have changed the public character of the roads that passed through or near it. Moreover, *munera locorum* were, by nature, tied to the land and not to the owner, whoever he might have been. The real question rather concerns who bore the liability and was entitled to collect the sums. One could imagine either that the imperial procurator could step in as the responsible authority or that local magistrates remained competent in this matter. The answer is not straightforward. Procurators were surely involved in the construction or maintenance of roads when imperial funds were used, but rarely appear on milestones or road dedications. [38] We have no proof that they could be responsible for local roads, but this is an activity that hardly leaves traces in our epigraphic documentation. Roads are neither mentioned in the African lease regulations nor in the Vipasca tablets, but we can reasonably assume that the imperial administration oversaw their maintenance in these extraterritorial districts. Within city territories, local magistrates must have had their say, but they probably tried to act in coordination with the procurators.

It is worth noting that, when they refer to liability for payments, our juridical sources always speak of *possessores* and not strictly of owners. In Roman law, the *possessor* is the person having factual, physical control over a corporeal thing. He is often the owner of that thing, but not necessarily so. [39] In the texts regulating the leases of imperial estates from the Bagradas Valley, the tenants who rented the plots under perpetual leaseholds are defined as *possessores*. They could indefinitely remain on their plots as long as they continued to cultivate them and pay the rents, and this right was passed to their descendants. Despite the exceptionality of the documentation coming from Africa, it is very likely that similar rights were accord-

sunt: nam quaedam possessoribus iniunguntur, sive municipes sunt sive non sunt, quaedam <quadam> non nisi municipibus vel incolis. intributiones, quae agris fiunt vel aedificiis, possessoribus indicuntur: munera vero, quae patrimoniorum habentur, non aliis quam municipibus vel incolis. Cf. Horstkotte 1996, 238-241. For the nature of the *intributiones quae agris fiunt*; cf. n. 36 above. Those concerning buildings (*aedificia*) could consist, for example, of annual fees due to the city for having built a house on public soil without permission (*Dig*. 43.8.2.17 Ulp. 68 *ad ed.*). Cf. Maganzani 2014, 162.

[38] Cf. AE 1992, 1594a (Ceramus); IEphesos 3157 (Amyzon); *ILS* 4052 = *IC* IV, 333 (Gortyna); *CIL* III, 346 = *IGR* III, 15 = IK IX, 13 (Nicaea); *CIL* III, 6993 = *ILS* 253 (Prusa ad Olympum); AE 1986, 646 (Sinope); *CIL* XVII/2, 7 (Dinia).

[39] *Dig*. 2.8.15.1 Macer 1 *de appellat.*: *possessor autem is accipiendus est, qui in agro vel civitate rem soli possidet aut ex asse aut pro parte. sed et qui vectigalem, id est emphyteuticum agrum possidet, possessor intellegitur. item qui solam proprietatem habet, possessor intellegendus est. eum vero, qui tantum usum fructum habet, possessorem non esse Ulpianus scripsit.*

ed to imperial tenants in other provinces of the Empire, that is, in regions where extraterritorial estates were less common.[40] The lessees were hence those who had a duty to pay for the *viae collationes* attached to the *fundus* they were cultivating, which they did under the supervision either of the municipal magistrates or of the procurator, or perhaps of both.

Various obligations could be attached to a property and imposed on the finances of the *possessores*. Direct taxes on properties imposed by local administrations were unusual, even though they are attested in a few cities.[41] Other *intributiones* could also be present: this depended on the history of the property before its acquisition by the emperor and could vary from case to case.

Depending on their status as full citizens or residents and on their social condition, tenants could be held accountable for many other public or personal *munera*. As numerous studies have already pointed out, imperial *coloni* were often relatively well off, even more so if they were also *conductores*, the middlemen who collected the rent for the patrimonial administration from the other tenants of the estate.[42] Since they were liable with their own assets, they must have had sufficient resources and properties outside the imperial estate. They could, therefore, count among the most distinguished citizens, compete for honours and, most importantly, perform liturgies. This is not the place for a global discussion about the social and financial status of imperial *coloni* and *conductores* and their relationship with the cities' economic and institutional life.[43] The various regional contexts are so different and unevenly documented that it would be hard to provide a standard picture. In approaching this question, however, we should avoid simple generalizations, based on what we know from the texts of land surveyors discussed above and from the documentation of the province of Africa. This evidence mainly concerns extraterritorial *saltus* and thus can more easily give the impression of a separation between urban society and that of the villages that were located on imperial estates; elsewhere, however, the situation could have been significantly different.

The papyrological evidence from Egypt attests to the fact that γεωργοί cultivating plots belonging to the οὐσία of the emperor or of one of the members of his family also possessed land of their own or leased parts of private estates that were located in the same νομή.[44] This configuration is typical of this province, where the traditional

[40] Kehoe 2007, 79-88; France 2014, 89-96, with further bibliographical references.

[41] Antoninus Pius authorized a city in Macedonia to impose a poll tax of one *denarius* on its citizens (*IGBulg* IV, 2263). On another possible case, cf. Guizzi 1999, 275-284.

[42] For a recent assessment of the topic, cf. Lo Cascio 2009, 91-113.

[43] Cf. Kehoe 1988, 92-95.

[44] Cf. Rowlandson 1996, 124-130. In P. Mich. 9, 540 (53 CE), from Karanis, Petheus, *georgos* on the *ousia* of Germanicus declares to own 'a productive olive grove, in which the trees are old, amounting in all to 11 and ½ arouras; and in the village a house and courtyard in which I dwell, and the half share of a privately owned oil press and storehouse, and in another place another house and buildings and dovecotes; [and] near Psenarpsenesis a catoecic allotment of five arouras and an olive grove'. Cf. P. Mich. 9, 539, for a similar declaration. The archive of Harthotes is also particularly interesting, since this *demosios georgos* also rented land from others; cf. Casanova 1975, 70-158; Geens, *Harthotes and*

fragmentation of landed properties meant that even large estates actually consisted of many different plots scattered over a wide area. Despite the unique territorial and administrative configuration of Egypt, such cases must have been common in other regions as well, particularly those with a higher density of urbanization, such as Italy or Asia. Private and imperial *fundi* can be found alongside each other in the *Tabula Alimentaria* of Veleia. This document gives no clear sign of the presence of *latifundia*, while the average size of each property (including that of the emperor) was relatively moderate.[45] Fourth century CE tax registers from Tralles and Magnesia on the Meander clearly attest that decurional estates mostly consisted of small and medium-sized landholdings, and it is very likely that such a configuration did not constitute an innovation in relation to earlier imperial periods.[46]

Even where large contiguous estates are attested or were likely present, we can find evidence that *conductores* and *coloni* were not cut from civic life. Two μισθωταί (*conductores*), one of a private estate and another of an imperial one, erected dedications in the urban centre of the city of Nakoleia in Phrygia, while a group of *conductores* honoured a former imperial procurator at Hippo Regius in Africa.[47] The *coloni* of Aïn-el-Djemala petitioned the emperor in order to protect their right to cultivate vines and olives on forestland and swampland on an imperial estate in accordance with the *lex Manciana*.[48] Now, as Jérôme Carcopino already pointed out, in order to be able to pay for the planting of olive trees and vines, then waiting until these new cultivations became economically viable, the *coloni* must have had resources of their own and possessed land within the territory of a city.[49] In 342, a constitution of Constantius and Constans stated that citizens who owned more than 25 *iugera* of land could not claim any exemption from civic *munera* on the basis that they were also tenants (*coloni*) on an imperial estate. The measure clearly aimed to prevent decurions from avoiding the performance of liturgies in their cities and punish those who were caught selling their own land in order to circumvent the law.[50]

4. *Protecting the resources of the lessees*

The combined evidence presented above seems to point to a much more complex and nuanced picture than that imagined at the beginning of the 20th century, which was never properly reconsidered in a general way. For the first two centuries of the

His Brother Marsisouchos, Public Farmers, Trismegistos – Archives, accessed 21 June 2018: www.trismegistos.org/archive/99.

[45] Duncan-Jones 1982², 296, 323-324.

[46] Thonemann 2007, 435-478.

[47] *MAMA* V, 218 and *IGR* IV, 592 (Nakoleia); ILAlg I, 3992 = AE 1922, 19 (Hippo Regius).

[48] *CIL* VIII, 25943.

[49] Carcopino 1906, 403. Cf. Peyras 1995, 107-128; Cherry 2007, 725.

[50] *Cod. Theod.* 12.1.33.0 (342 CE, 5 April: *Imperatores Constantius et Constans AA. Rufino com. Orientis*). Cf. Rosafio 2002, 149-149.

Empire, we have no trace whatsoever of any special status that pertained to imperial land in relation to municipal impositions. It is likely that such privileges did not exist or were minimal under Augustus, while we have no idea of how the situation evolved under his successors. If they were citizens or residents of a city, the *possessores* cultivating plots of land belonging to the emperor must have been liable to *munera personae* (both civic and private) according to their status and resources, but were probably also concerned by *munera locorum* and particularly by the need to contribute to the maintenance of local roads.[51] Even when imperial estates were located outside civic territories, it is likely that, in many cases, tenants also owned land within the *pertica* of the nearest civic community or that *coloni* living exclusively on the imperial estate crossed its boundaries to sell their products or participate in festivals and other civic events. It is, therefore, not difficult to imagine how cities could feel the right to impose liturgies on those extraterritorial tenants, as they were profiting from civic amenities and infrastructures.[52]

It was not until the second half of the second century CE that emperors began to issue some general instructions. In a rescript cited by Papirius Iustus, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus stated that *coloni praediorum fisci* must generally remain subject to liturgies, but they could be exempted if the obligation might, in some way, damage the revenues of the *fiscus* (*sine damno fisci*).[53] However, it is important to point out that the immunity was not automatically granted, but needed to be validated by the provincial governor after consultation with the provincial procurator. This privilege – like many others – was, therefore, subject to intense negotiations between civic and imperial authorities, and the emperors intentionally left the actual evaluation of the claim to provincial instances.[54] The same rescript is commented upon by Callistratus, who similarly stresses the role of the governor and the procurator, while specifying that the exemption was granted chiefly to *conductores*, certainly because they were liable, as part of their own assets, for the rents they collected from the tenants in the name of the *fiscus*.[55]

[51] With respect to these liturgies, the juridical sources do not make any distinction between *possessores* cultivating private, municipal, public or imperial land. In Ulpian's opinion, *munera locorum* also fell on those who enjoyed the simple usufruct of the land (*Dig*. 7.1.27.3 Ulp. 18 *ad Sab.*).

[52] Cf. *Dig*. 50.1.27.1 Ulp. 2 *ad ed.*, where the *domicilium* is linked to the city in which a person conducts his business and enjoys urban facilities (theatre, baths etc.) and not to his administrative residence.

[53] *Dig*. 50.1.38.1 Papir. 2 *de const.*: *imperatores Antoninus et Verus … rescripserunt colonos praediorum fisci muneribus fungi sine damno fisci oportere, idque excutere praesidem adhibito procuratore debere.* On this passage, cf. Kehoe 2007, 85-86; Rosafio 2002, 139-140. Documents from Egypt seem to point out that immunities were granted to farmers of imperial οὐσίαι already under the Julio-Claudians. P. Gen. 2, 91 (49-50 CE), apparently connects the personal status of ἀπολύσιμος to the fact of cultivating imperial land. The exact nature of the immunity is unclear, but the text contains a reference to the office of πράκτωρ or tax collector for the village. Cf. Parassoglou 1978, 57-58; Kehoe 1992, 51. I thank Yanne Broux for bringing this text to my attention.

[54] On the general imperial practice of leaving decisions to the discretion of the governor, cf. Hurlet 2010, 231-253.

[55] *Dig*. 50.6.6.10-11 Call. 1 *de cogn.*: (10) *conductores etiam vectigalium fisci necessitate subeun-*

The regulations became more restrictive under the Severans. A fragment of Modestinus refers to an order of Septimius Severus, who prohibited imperial *conductores* from becoming *tutores* or *curatores* before the expiration of their contract with the *fiscus*.[56] No role is given to provincial governors and procurators, who probably had no discretion in the matter, but were only tasked with enforcing the ruling. A rescript of Caracalla confirmed the decision,[57] but Severus Alexander reversed it, stating that *coloni* or *conductores* could not claim immunity from *munera civilian* simply because they had a financial obligation to the *fiscus*.[58] As Pasquale Rosafio rightly pointed out, the passage means that *conductores* did not enjoy any special personal status per se (*hoc nomine*); only their assets were protected in order to guarantee their own solvency.[59]

Conclusions

In addressing disputes between cities and imperial tenants over liability to civic *munera*, emperors implicitly confirmed that such problems were, by no means, uncommon. When they were located within city territories, imperial estates did not form an institutional enclave; and, even when cultivating plots on extraterritorial domains, *coloni* and *conductores* could well be citizens or residents of a nearby city, where they might own land, sell their products, participate in festivals, and hold office. It was only relatively late that emperors started to issue general orders on the matter, which leaves us in the dark as far as the first two centuries of the Empire are concerned. Exemptions were probably common before Marcus Aurelius, but no general pattern must have existed and perhaps *coloni/conductores* were relieved of their civic obligations, albeit only temporarily. The gradual extension of imperial estates meant that such issues must have presented themselves more frequently after the middle of the second century CE. The massive confiscations that followed the civil war of 194-197

dorum municipalium munerum non obstringuntur: idque ita observandum divi fratres rescripserunt. ex quo principali rescripto intellegi potest non honori conductorum datum, ne compellantur ad munera municipalia, sed ne extenuentur facultates eorum, quae subsignatae sint fisco. unde subsisti potest, an prohibendi sint a praeside vel procuratore Caesaris etiam si ultro se offerant municipalibus muneribus: quod propius est defendere, nisi si paria fisco fecisse dicantur. (11) coloni quoque Caesaris a muneribus liberantur, ut idoniores praediis fiscalibus habeantur. It is worth pointing out that, in the interpretation of Callistratus, the governor and the procurator could prevent the *conductor* from performing a liturgy even if he had voluntary chosen to perform it.

[56] *Dig*. 19.2.49 pr. Mod. 6 *excus.*: οἱ ἐπίτροποι γενόμενοι ἢ κουράτορες πρὶν ἐκτίσαι τὰ τῆς κηδεμονίας μισθωταὶ Καίσαρος γενέσθαι κωλύονται· κἂν τις ἀποκρυψάμενος τοῦτο προσέλθῃ τῇ μισθώσει τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος χωρίων, ὡς παραποιήσας κολάζεται· τοῦτο ἐκέλευσεν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ Σεβῆρος.

[57] Cod. Iust. 5.41.1 Imp. Antoninus A. Sexto (213 CE): *competens iudex non ignorat non esse admittendos ad vectigalia conducenda eos, qui pupillorum vel adulescentium tutelam seu curam administrant vel eius administrationis rationem nondum reddiderunt.*

[58] Cod. Iust. 5.62.8 Imp. Alexander A. Maximo (225 CE): *coloni (id est conductores) praediorum ad fiscum pertinentium hoc nomine excusationem a muneribus civilibus non habent ideoque iniunctae tutelae munere fungi debent.*

[59] Rosafio 2002, 143-144.

CE increased the size of the *patrimonium Caesaris* even further, and the fact that Severan jurists twice commented the rescript of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus should not come as a surprise. That said, imperial interventions rarely assumed the form of a general order, with discretion left to the highest provincial authorities, i.e., the governor and the provincial procurator. As later constitutions show, quite a few of the *conductores* did in fact belong to the decurional elite: their resources were important to the *fiscus*, but they were also crucial to the cities, which needed financially healthy members of the council in order to find enough candidates for magistracies, embassies and other liturgies.

As a landowner, the emperor was interested in maintaining a constant flow of revenues from his properties; but, as head of state, he had also to protect the finances of the cities. This conflict helps to explain the reluctance to legislate on the matter and the largely *ad hoc* approach taken in treating these cases, but other consequences likely followed from it. The emperors must have paid particular attention to the issue when deciding to keep or sell a property recently inherited or confiscated. As has already been noted, an excessive concentration of land in the hands of the emperor would have reduced the amount available to the rest of the citizenry, and particularly for decurions. [60] Such a scenario would also have augmented the number of *coloni*/*conductores*, thus increasing the chance of conflict with cities over grants of immunity to tenants. The awareness of this problem likely had an effect on the geographic distribution of imperial properties, since, on many occasions, the emperor might have preferred not to incorporate an estate into his *patrimonium*, rather than putting the city's finances in danger.

As we have seen above, the potential for growth in imperial properties in a given region is linked to the presence of high-ranking senators, imperial freedmen and Roman citizens subject to the Augustan marriage laws. If the presence of imperial estates where senatorial ones are also attested – as in Africa – do not surprise us, we need to further scrutinize the reasons why we do not find such evidence in contexts that would likely have produced it. It is remarkable, for example, that rich cities such as Aquileia or Ephesus, despite the abundance of their documentation and the presence of a wealthy civic elite including several senatorial families, present practically no evidence for imperial landholdings. [61] The reasons behind cases like this need be determined with respect to the local context; but, since it is very unlikely that the emperor never inherited or confiscated land belonging to citizens of these two cities, we need to admit the possibility that those properties were immediately auctioned and made available again to the local elite. [62]

[60] Maiuro 2012, 108-109.

[61] On Aquileia, see Maiuro 2002, 337-340. On Ephesus, see Dalla Rosa forthcoming.

[62] Another aspect to be considered is the fact that estates in the vicinity of large cities with a large body of decurions could be sold more easily; this allowed the *fiscus* to convert into money a part of the real estate it regularly acquired. On this aspect, see also Dalla Rosa forthcoming.

Imperial properties played their role, alongside many other aspects, in the complex relationship between the central power and the cities. The choice to keep, increase or sell a property did not happen in isolation from a wider context in which the emperor could not only look to his economic interests, but also had to protect those of his subjects. The patrimonial choices of a ruler are never purely economic or practical ones; rather, they are political and symbolical, and those of the Roman emperors were no different.

BOUNDARIES OF TERRITORIES... - ISBN 9788872289235 - ISSN 1720-4984 © 2019 Edipuglia srl - www. edipuglia.it

BOUNDARIES OF TERRITORIES AND PEOPLES IN ROMAN ITALY AND BEYOND

edited by
Franco Luciani and Elvira Migliario

O F F P R I N T

ISSN 1720-4984
ISBN 978-88-7228-923-5
DOI http://dx.doi.org/10.4475/923

EDIPUGLIA
Bari 2019

L’autore ha il diritto di stampare o diffondere copie di questo PDF esclusivamente per uso scientifico o didattico. Edipuglia si riserva di mettere in vendita il PDF, oltre alla versione cartacea. L’autore ha diritto di pubblicare in internet il PDF originale allo scadere di 24 mesi.

The author has the right to print or distribute copies of this PDF exclusively for scientific or educational purposes. Edipuglia reserves the right to sell the PDF, in addition to the paper version. The author has the right to publish the original PDF on the internet at the end of 24 months.

Abbreviations

AE = *L'Année Épigraphique*, Paris 1888-.
CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin 1862-.
EConfines = Cortés-Bárcena 2013a.
EDCS = Clauss-Slaby Datenbank Epigraphische, <http://www.manfredclauss.de/>.
Elliot = Elliot 2004
FIRA = Bruns K. G., *Fontes Iuris Romani Antiqui*[7], I, Gradenwitz O. (ed.), *Leges et negotia*, Tübingen 1909.
HEp = *Hispania Epigraphica. Archivo Epigráfico de Hispania. Universidad Complutense*, Madrid 1989-.
IC = M. Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae*, Rome 1935-1950.
IGR = René Cagnat *et al.*, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*, Paris 1901-1927 (reprint: Chicago 1975).
IK = *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*, Bonn 1972-.
ILNAix = Gascou 1995.
ILN V.2 = Rémy 2005.
ILLRP = Degrassi A., *Inscriptiones Latinae liberae rei publicae*, I, Firenze 1957; II, Firenze 1963.
ILS = Dessau H., *Inscriptiones latinae selectae*, Berlin 1892-1916.
Imagines Italicae = Crawford M. *et al.*, Imagines Italicae. *A Corpus of Italic Inscriptions*, London 2011.
InscrIt = *Inscriptiones Italiae*, 1931-1986.
MAMA V = Cox C. W. M. - Cameron A. (eds.), *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, V, *Monuments from Dorylaeum et Nacolea*, Manchester 1937.
Pais, *SupplIt* = Pais E., *Corporis inscriptionum Latinarum Supplementa Italica, consilio et auctoritate Academiae Regiae Lynceorum edita, Fasciculus I. Additamenta ad vol. V Galliae Cisalpinae*, Roma 1888.
SupplIt = *Supplementa Italica. Nuova serie*, Roma 1981-.

Abascal J. M. 2008, *La epigrafía de los límites de las ciudades romanas de Hispania. Una revisión*, in Iglesias J. M. - Rodà I. (eds.), *Actas de los XVIII Cursos Monográficos sobre el Patrimonio Histórico*, Santander, 77-94.

Agnesotti L. 1984, *Il territorio di Cremona tra il 218 a.C. e il 41/40 a.C.*, in *Misurare la terra. Centuriazione e coloni nel mondo romano. Il caso mantovano*, Modena, 102-105.

Aichinger A. 1982, *Grenzziehung durch kaiserliche Sonderbeauftragte in den römischen Provinzen*, Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, 48, 193-204.

Aliquot J. 2015, *Le domaine d'Untel. Toponymie et propriété foncière dans le Proche-Orient romain et protobyzantin*, in Lerouxel F. - Pont A.-V. (eds.) 2015, *Propriétaires et citoyens dans l'Orient romain*, Bordeaux, 111-138.

Almagor E. 2005, *Who is a Barbarian? The Barbarians in the ethnological and cultural Taxonomies of Strabo*, in Dueck D. - Lindsay H. - Pothecary S. (eds.) 2005, *Strabo's Cultural Geography: The Making of a* Kolossourgia, Cambridge, 42-55.

Ando C. 2004, *Vergil's Italy: ethnography and politics in first-century Rome*, in Levene D.S. - Nelis D. P. (eds.) 2004, *Clio and the Poets. Augustan poetry and the traditions of ancient historiography*, Leiden - Boston - Köln, 123-142.

Andreau J. 2013, *Existait-il une dette publique dans l'Antiquité romaine ?*, in Béaur G. - Grenier J.-Y. (eds.) 2013, *La dette publique dans l'histoire : « Les Journées du Centre de Recherches Historiques » des 26, 27 et 28 novembre 2001*, Vincennes, 101-114.

Andreu Pintado J. 2010, *Censura, derecho latino y gestión territorial en el principado de Vespasiano: una perspectiva epigráfica*, Latomus, 69, 745-757.

Angeli Bertinelli M. G. - Donati A. (eds.) 2004, *Epigrafia di confine, confine dell'epigrafia. Atti del colloquio AIEGL - Borghesi 2003*, Faenza.

Annibaletto M. 2010, *Il paesaggio suburbano di* Iulia Concordia, Rubano.

Antico Gallina M. 2012, *Da "*Treitio" a "Trecio". La gestione del territorio tra romanità e medioevo*, in Lusuardi Siena S. - Giostra C. (ed.) 2012, *Archeologia medievale a Trezzo sull'Adda. Il sepolcreto longobardo e l'oratorio di San Martino, le chiese di Santo Stefano e San Michele in Sallianense*, Milan, 8-26.

Aounallah S. - Maurin L. 2012, *Remarques sur la topographie rurale et urbaine du* pagus *et de la* ciuitas *de* Thugga *(Dougga, Tunisie)*, in Pimouguet-Pédarros I. *et al.* (eds.), *Hommes, cultures et paysages de l'Antiquité à la période moderne: Mélanges offerts à Jean Peyras*, Rennes, 27-55.

Aounallah S. 2010, Pagus, castellum et civitas: *études d'épigraphie et d'histoire sur le village et la cité en Afrique romaine*, Bordeaux.

Ariño Gil E. - Gurt J. M. - Palet Martinez J. M. 2004, *El pasado presente. Arqueología de los paisajes en la Hispania romana*, Salamanca.

Ariño Gil, E. 2005, *La Hispania Citerior occidental y la Lusitania septentrional entre Augusto y los Flavios: el* ager per extremitatem mensura comprehensus*,* in *L'Aquitaine et l'Hispanie septentrionale à l'époque julio-claudienne. Organisation et exploitation des espaces provinciaux*, Bordeaux, 95-112.

Arnaud P. 2001, Varus, finis Italiae*. Réflexions sur les limites occidentales du territoire d'*Albintimilium *et la frontière de l'Italie impériale*, Journal of Ancient Topography, 11, 49-68.

Arnaud P. 2006, *Des documents méconnus du bornage:* determinatio*,* depalatio*,* definitio, in Gonzales A. - Guillaumin J.-Y. (eds.), *Autour des* Libri coloniarum*. Colonisation et colonies dans le mode romain*, Besançon, 67-79.

Arslan E. A. 2000, *La monetazione con legende leponzie e la monetazione preromana dell'area leponzia e insubre*, in De Marinis - Biaggio Simona 2000, 223-233.

Baggio Bernardoni E. - Zerbinati E. 1985, *Este*, in *Misurare la terra: centuriazione e coloni nel mondo romano. Il caso veneto*, Modena, 144-148.

Bagnara M. 1969, *Le Alpi orientali in epoca classica: problemi di orografia storica*, Florence.

Balbo M. 2017, *Attività economiche e popolamento rurale nella Cisalpina occidentale in età romana*, in Lo Cascio - Maiuro 2017, 357-369.

Bandelli G. 2009, *Parma durante la repubblica. Dalla fondazione della colonia a Cesare*, in Vera D. (ed.) 2009, *Storia di Parma. II: Parma romana*, Parma, 181-217.

Bandelli G. 2015, *La romanizzazione della* Venetia *fra immigrati e indigeni (225-49 a.C.)*, in Cresci Marrone G. (ed.) 2015, *Trans Padum…usque ad Alpes. Roma tra il Po e le Alpi: dalla romanizzazione alla romanità*, Rome, 287-303.

Barchiesi A. 2008, Bellum Italicum*: l'unificazione dell'Italia nell'*Eneide, in Urso G. (ed.) 2008, Patria diversis gentibus una*? Unità politica e identità etniche nell'Italia antica. Atti del convegno internazionale (Cividale del Friuli, 20-22 settembre 2007)*, Pisa, 243-260.

Barroul G. 1969, *Les peuples préromains du sud-est de la Gaule. Étude de géographie historique*, Paris.

Bassignano M. S. - Boscolo F. 2007, *Particolarità amministrative, sociali e religiose in alcuni centri veneti*, MEFRA, 119/2, 387-396.

Bassignano M. S. 2004, *Regio X. Venetia et Histria. Bellunum. Pagus Laebactium. Feltria*, in *SupplIt*, 22, 197-254.

Bassignano M. S. 2016, *Regio X. Venetia et Histria. Patavium*, in *SupplIt*, 28, 9-458.

Beaudouin É. 1899, *Les grands domaines dans l'empire romain d'après des travaux récents*, Paris.

Behrends O. - Capogrossi Colognesi L. (eds.) 1992, *Die römische Feldmesskunst: interdisziplinäre Beiträge zur ihrer Bedeutung für die Zivilizationsgeschichte Roms*, Göttingen.

Behrends O. *et al.* (eds.) 2005, *Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum VI. Agennius Urbicus, Controverses sur les terres*, Luxembourg.

Bekker-Nielsen T. 2017, *Strabo's roads*, in Dueck 2017, 125-136.

Beloch K. J. 1880, *Das italische Bund unter Roms Hegemonie: staatsrechtliche und statistische Forschungen*, Leipzig.

Benner M. 1975, *The Emperor Says. Studies in the Rhetorical Style in Edicts of the Early Empire*, Göteborg.

Berthelet Y. 2013, *Expiation, par Rome, de prodiges survenus dans des cités alliées du* nomen Latinum *ou des cités alliées italiennes non-latines*, L'Antiquité Classique, 82, 91-109.

Bertolazzi R. 2012, *Regio X. Venetia et Histria. Arusnatium Pagus*, in *SupplIt*, 26, 189-285.

Bertrandy F. - Chevrier M. - Serralongue J. 1999, *La Haute-Savoie (Carte archéologique de la Gaule, 74)*, Paris.

Bertrandy F. 2003, *Recherches sur les voies secondaires dans les Alpes occidentales entre Mont-Genèvre et Grand-Saint-Bernard à l'époque romaine: approche méthodologique*, Preistoria Alpina, 39, 289-298.

Beschaouch A. 1997, *Territoire de Carthage et* agri excepti, Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 141.2, 363-374.

Bispham E. 2007a, *From Asculum to Actium. The Municipalization of Italy from the Social War to Augustus*, Oxford.

Bispham E. 2007b, *Pliny the Elder's Italy*, in E. Bispham, G. Rowe, E. Matthews (eds.) 2007, Vita vigilia est. *Essays in honour of Barbara Levick*, London, 41-67.

Bispham E. H. 2014a, *The Lucanians: Historical Perspective. Missing in Action? Oinotrians, Leukanoi, Lucani, Lucanians*, in Aberson M. - Biella M. C. - Di Fazio M. - Wullschlager

M. (eds.), *Entre archéologie et histoire: dialogues sur divers peoples de l'Italie préromaine*, Bern, 311-330.

Bispham E. H. 2014b, Roma *iudex*, in Dubouloz J. - Pittia S. - Sabatini G. (eds.), *L'*imperium Romanum *en perspective. Les savoirs d'empire dans la République romaine et leur heritage dans l'Europe médiévale et moderne*, Besançon, 231-242.

Bispham E. H. forthcoming, *The* Regiones *of Italy: between Republic and Principate*, in Aberson M. - Biella M. C. - Di Fazio M. - Wullschlager M. (eds.), Nos sumus Romani qui fuimus ante*. Memories of Ancient Italy*, Geneva.

Boekohlt C. - Serralongue J. 1993, *Chronique des découvertes archéologiques dans le département de la Haute-Savoie: Cordon, et La Giettaz, col de l'Avenaz*, Revue Savoisienne, 133, 29-32.

Boffo L. 2001, *Lo statuto di terre, insediamenti e persone nell'Anatolia ellenistica: documenti recenti e problemi antichi*, Dike, 4, 233-255.

Bosio L. 1991, *Le strade romane della* Venetia *e dell'*Histria, Padua.

Bourdin S. 2012, *Les peuples de l'Italie préromaine. Identités, territoires et relations inter-ethniques en Italie centrale et septentrionale (VIIIe-Ier s. av. J.-C.)*, Rome.

Bourdin S. 2014, *Problèmes d'identités ethniques en Cisalpine: sociétés multi-ethniques ou identités multiples?* in *Les Celtes et le Nord de l'Italie (Premier et Second Âges du fer). Actes du XXXVI*e *colloque international de l'A.F.E.A.F. (Vérone, 17-20 mai 2012)*, Dijon, 63-74.

Bradley G. J. 2007, *Romanization. The End of the Peoples of Italy?*, in Bradley G. J. - Isayev E. - Riva C. (eds.), *Ancient Italy. Regions without Boundaries*, Exeter, 295-322.

Breton J.-F. 1980, *Les inscriptions forestières d'Hadrien dans le Mont Liban* (*Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie*, VIII, 3), Paris.

Briscoe J. 1973, *A Commentary on Livy. Books XXXI-XXXIII*, Oxford.

Briscoe J. 2012, *A Commentary on Livy. Books 41-45*, Oxford.

Broughton T. R. S. 1938, *Roman Asia*, in Frank T. (ed.), *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, IV, Baltimore.

Brun J.-P. 1999, *Le Var (Carte archéologique de la Gaule, 83/1-2)*, Paris.

Brun J.-P. 2007, *Olbia romaine dans son contexte historique et archéologique*, Etudes Massalietes, 9, 21-28.

Buchi E. 1989, Tarvisium *e* Acelum *nella Transpadana*, in Brunetta E. (ed.) 1989, *Storia di Treviso*, I, *Le origini*, Venice, 191-310.

Buchi E. 1992, *Le iscrizioni confinarie del Monte Civetta nel Bellunese*, in Gasperini 1992, 117-149.

Buchi E. 2000, *Fonti per l'organizzazione romana dello spazio agrario in area veneta*, in Volpato G. (ed.) 2000, *Agricoltura, musei, trasmissione dei saperi. Atti del 2° Congresso Nazionale dei musei agricoli ed etnografici (Verona 13-14 febbraio 1998)*, Verona, 45-73.

Bunbury E. H. 1870, *Reate*, in Smith W. (ed.) 1870, *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Dictionary*, II, London, 695-696.

Buonopane A.1992, *La duplice iscrizione confinaria di Monte Venda (Padova)*, in Gasperini 1992, 207-223.

Buonopane A. 1994, *Regio X. Venetia et Histria. Ausugum*, in *SupplIt*, 12, 150-168.

Buonopane A. 2011, Civis Anaunus*: integrazione e identità etnico-culturale in area alpine. Un caso emblematico*, in Sartori A. - Valvo A. (eds.) 2011, *Identità e autonomie nel mondo occidentale. Iberia-Italia - Italia-Iberia. III Convegno Internazionale di Epigrafia e Storia Antica (Gargnano (BS), 12-15 maggio 2010)*, Faenza, 141-150.

Buonopane A. 2015, *Le* formae publicae agrorum*: alcuni aspetti*, in Cresci Marrone 2015, 55-65.

Burton G. P. 2000, *The resolution of Territorial Disputes in the Provinces of the Roman Empire*, Chiron, 30, 195-215.

Burton G. P. 2001, *The Imperial State and Its Impact on the Role and Status of Local Magistrates and Councillors in the Provinces of the Empire*, in *Administration, Prosopography and Appointment Policies in the Roman Empire. Proceedings of the First Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire, Leiden, June 28-July 1, 2000*, Amsterdam, 202-214.

Burton G. P. 2004, *The Roman Imperial State, Provincial Governors and the Public Finances of Provincial Cities: 27 B.C.-A.D. 235*, Historia, 53, 312-342.

Cagnat R. 1909, *Les* Nugbènoi *de Ptolémée*, Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 8, 568-579.

Calderazzo L. 1996, *Arbitrati romani in Cisalpina (197-89 a.C.): problemi e* status quaestionis, Rivista di studi liguri, 62, 25-46.

Calzolari M. 1981, *La pianura modenese nell'età romana. Ricerche di topografia e di toponomastica*. Modena.

Calzolari M. 2000, *Alcune osservazioni sui miliari di età romana dell'Italia settentrionale*, Quaderni di Archeologia del Polesine, 1, 249-277.

Calzolari M. 2004, *Il Po in età romana. Geografia, storia e immagine di un grande fiume europeo*, Reggio Emilia.

Calzolari M. 2011-12, *La misura delle distanze nei miliari dell'Italia romana: alcune osservazioni*, Geographia Antiqua, 20-21, 71-81.

Camodeca G. 2001, *I pagi di Nola*, in Lo Cascio - Storchi Marino 2001, 413-433.

Campbell J. B. 2000, *The Writings of the Roman Land Surveyors. Introduction, Text, Translation and Commentary*, London.

Campbell J. B. 2005, *'Setting up True Boundaries': Land Disputes in the Roman Empire*, Mediterraneo Antico, 8/1, 307-343.

Campbell J. B. 2012, *Rivers and the Power of Ancient Rome*, Chapel Hill.

Capogrossi Colognesi L. - Gabba E. (eds.) 2006, *Gli statuti municipali*, Pavia.

Capogrossi Colognesi L. 2002a, Pagi, vici *e* fundi *nell'Italia romana*, Athenaeum, 90, 5-48.

Capogrossi Colognesi L. 2002b, *Persistenza e innovazione nelle strutture territoriali dell'Italia romana. L'ambiguità di una interpretazione storiografica e dei suoi modelli*, Naples.

Capogrossi Colognesi L. 2006, *Le forme gromatiche del territorio e i vari regimi giuridici dell'*ager Romanus *e dell'*ager colonicus*. Il complesso mosaico della romanizzazione italica*, in Capogrossi Colognesi - Gabba 2006, 579-604.

Carcopino J. 1906, *L'inscription d'Aïn-el-Djemala. Contribution à l'histoire des saltus africains et du colonat partiaire*, MEFRA, 26, 365-481.

Carlà-Uhink F. 2017, Alteram loci patriam, alteram iuris*: "Double Fatherlands" and the Role of Italy in Cicero's Political Discourse*, in Cecchet L. - Busetto A. (eds.) 2017, *Citizens in the Graeco-Roman World. Aspects of Citizenship from the Archaic Period to AD 212*, Leiden - Boston, 259-282.

Casanova G. 1975, *Theadelphia e l'archivio di Harthotes: ricerche su un villaggio egiziano fra il III^{a} e il I^{p}*, Aegyptus, 55, 70-158.

Castillo Pascual M. J. 1996, *Espacio en orden: el modelo gromático-romano de ordenación del territorio*, Logroño.

Cavada E. 1992, *L'iscrizione confinaria del Monte Pèrgol in Val Cadino nel Trentino orientale*, in Gasperini 1992, 99-115.

Cavalieri Manasse G. - Cresci Marrone G. 2015, *Un nuovo frammento di forma dal* Capitolium *di Verona*, in Cresci Marrone 2015, 21-54.

Cavalieri Manasse G. 2000, *Un documento catastale dell'agro centuriato veronese*, Athenaeum, 88, 5-48.

Cherry D. 2007, *The Frontier Zones*, in Scheidel W. - Morris I. - Saller R. P. (eds.) 2007, *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World*, Cambridge, 720-740.

Chouquer G. - Favory F. 2001, *L'arpentage romain. Histoire des textes, droit, techniques*, Paris.

Clarke K. J. 1999, *Between Geography and History. Hellenistic Constructions of the Roman World*, Oxford.

Coarelli F. 1988, *Strabone: Roma e il Lazio*, in Maddoli 1988, 73-91.

Coarelli F. 1989, *Vescia: una proposta di localizzazione*, in Coarelli F. (ed.) 1989, *Minturnae*, Rome, 29-33.

Conti E. 1965, *La formazione della struttura agraria moderna nel contado fiorentino*, Rome.

Cooley A. E. 2012, *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy*, Cambridge.

Corbier M. 1991, *Cité, territoire et fiscalité*, in *Epigrafia. Actes du colloque international d'épigraphie latine en mémoire de Attilio Degrassi pour le centenaire de sa naissance*, Rome, 629-665.

Corbier M. 1999, *Comment les villes romaines finançaient-elles leurs dépenses ? Quelques réflexions pour conclure*, in *Il capitolo delle entrate nelle finanze municipali in occidente ed in oriente. Actes de la X^e Rencontre franco-italienne sur l'épigraphie du monde romain, Rome, 27-29 mai 1996*, Rome, 285-293.

Corsten T. 2005, *Estates in Roman Asia Minor: The Case of Kibyratis*, in Mitchell - Katsari 2005, 1-51.

Cortés Bárcena C. 2013a, *Epigrafía en los confines de las ciudades romanas. Los* termini publici *en Hispania, Mauretania y Numidia*, Rome.

Cortés Bárcena C. 2013b, *Límites territoriales monumentalizados: los* termini publici *de la* Gallia Narbonensis, in Iglesias Gil J. M. - Ruiz Gutiérrez A. (eds.) 2013, *Paisajes epigráficos de la Hispania romana. Monumentos, contextos, topografías*, Rome, 267-285.

Cortés Bárcena C. 2015, *Riflessioni del cippo di confine di Bevke (*AEp *2002, 532) alla luce di termini tra comunità appartenenti a province diverse*, Epigraphica, 77, 117-132.

Cracco Ruggini L. 1987, *Storia totale di una piccola città: Vicenza romana*, in Broglio A. - Cracco Ruggini L. (eds.) 1987, *Storia di Vicenza, I, Il territorio, la preistoria, l'età romana*, Vicenza, 205-303.

Cracco Ruggini L. 1990, *Approcci e percorsi di metodo nella storia di una piccola città: Vicenza romana*, in *La Città nell'Italia settentrionale in età romana. Morfologia, strutture e funzionamento dei centri urbani delle Regiones X e XI Atti del convegno di Trieste*, Rome, 1-28.

Crawford M. H. (ed.) 1996, *Roman Statutes*, London.

Crawford M. H. 2002, Tribus*, tessères et régions*, Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 146, 1125-1135.

Crawford M. H. 2003, *Land and People in Republican Italy*, in Braund D. - Gill C. (eds.) 2003, *Myth, History and Culture in Republican Rome. Studies in Honour of T. P. Wiseman*, Exeter, 56-72.

Crawford M. H. 2006, *I confini dei Vestini, dei Marrucini e dei Peligni*, in Mattiocco E. (ed.) 2006, Itinera Archaeologica*. Contributi di archeologia abruzzese*, 135-144. Lanciano.

Crawford M. H. 2014, *From* Italìa *to* Viteliù, in *Da* Italìa *a Italia* 2014, 369-376.

Cresci Marrone G. - Luciani F. - Pistellato A. 2012, *Gestire una crisi a* Iulia Concordia*: aspetti finanziari, giuridici e politici*, in Berrendonner C. - Cébeillac-Gervasoni M. - Lamoine L. (eds.) 2012, *Le quotidien municipal dans l'Occident romain II. Gérer les territoires, les patrimoines et les crises*, Clermont-Ferrand, 473-487.

Cresci Marrone G. 1990, *Regio IX. Liguria. Vallis Tanari superior*, in *SupplIt*, 6, 83-108.

Cresci Marrone G. (ed.) 2015, Trans Padum ... usque ad Alpes*. Roma tra il Po e le Alpi: dalla romanizzazione alla romanità*, Rome.

Criniti N. 1991, *La Tabula Alimentaria di Veleia*, Parma.

Criniti N. (ed.) 2003, Ager Veleias*. Tradizione, società e territorio sull'Appennino Piacentino (con nuova edizione e traduzione della Tabula Alimentaria di Veleia)*, Parma.

Da Italìa *a Italia* 2014, *Da* Italìa *a Italia. Le radici di un'identità*. *Atti del LI Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia (Taranto, 29 settembre-2 ottobre 2011)*, Taranto.

Dalla Rosa A. 2007, *Sulle fonti relative alle dispute confinarie nelle province romane*, Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, 160, 235-246.

Dalla Rosa A. 2015, *P. Silius Nerva (proconsul d'Illyrie en 16 av. J.-C.) vainqueur des Trumplini, Camunni et Vennonetes sous les auspices d'Auguste*, Revue des études anciennes, 117/2, 463-484.

Dalla Rosa A. 2018, *Gli anni 4-9 d.C.: riforme e crisi alla fine dell'epoca augustea*, in Segenni S. (ed.) 2018, *Augusto dopo il bimillenario. Un bilancio*, Firenze, 84-100.

Dalla Rosa A. forthcoming, *La géographie de la propriété impériale en Asie Mineure : hasard ou rationalité économique ?*, in Dalla Rosa A. (ed.) forthcoming, *Études sur la propriété impériale et la vie économique dans l'Asie Mineure romaine*, Bordeaux.

Dandrow E. 2017, *Ethnography and identity in Strabo's* Geography, in Dueck 2017, 113-124.

Dauge Y.A. 1981, *Le Barbare. Recherches sur la conception romaine de la barbarie et de la civilisation*, Brussels.

De Marinis R. - Biaggio Simona S. (eds.) 2000, *I Leponti tra mito e realtà: raccolta di saggi in occasione della mostra (Locarno, 20 maggio - 3 dicembre 2000)*, Locarno.

De Marinis R. - Spadea G. (eds.) 2004, *I Liguri. Un antico popolo europeo tra Alpi e Mediterraneo. Catalogo della Mostra (Genova, 23 ottobre 2004 - 23 gennaio 2005)*, Milan.

De Nardis M. 1994, *The Writings of the Roman Land Surveyors: Technical and Legal Aspects*, PhD thesis, University College London.

De Simone C. 2014, *Italia: il nome e la sua origine*, in *Da* Italìa *a Italia* 2014, 27-54.

Dettenhofer M. H. 2000, *Herrschaft und Widerstand im augusteischen Principat: die Konkurrenz zwischen* res publica *und* domus Augusta, Stuttgart.

Di Cocco I. - Viaggi D. (eds.) 2003, *Dalla scacchiera alla macchia. Il paesaggio agrario veleiate tra centuriazione e incolto*, Bologna.

Di Stefano Manzella I. 2015, *La* locatio operis figulini *assegnata* nomine domini et conductoris *a* Celer *in* Casilinum *(228 d.C.)*, Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, 196, 261-271.

Di Vita-Evrard G. 1979, *Quatre inscriptions du Djebel Tarhuna: le territoire de* Lepcis Magna, Quaderni di archeologia della Libia, 10, 67-98.

Dmitriev S. 2005, *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*, Oxford.

Donati A. 2010, *I cippi di confine: alcune considerazioni*, in Navarro F. J. (ed.) 2010, *Pluralidad e integración en el mundo romano*, Pamplona, 215-220.

Drecoll C. 1997, *Die Liturgien im römischen Kaiserreich des 3. und 4. Jh. n. Chr.: Untersuchung über Zugang, Inhalt und wirtschaftliche Bedeutung der öffentlichen Zwangsdienste in Ägypten und anderen Provinzen*, Stuttgart.

Dueck D. (ed.) 2017, *The Routledge Companion to Strabo*, London-New York.

Duncan-Jones R. 1982[2], *The Economy of the Roman Empire: Quantitative Studies*, Cambridge.

Duval P.-M. 1971, *La Gaule jusqu'au milieu du V^e^ siècle*, Paris.

Eck W. - Pagerl A. - Weiss P. 2014, *Edikt Hadrians für Prätorianer mit unsicherem römischen Bürgerrecht*, Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, 189, 241-253.

Eck W. 1998, *Documenti amministrativi: Pubblicazione e mezzo di auto rappresentazione*, in Paci G. (ed.), *Epigrafia romana in area adriatica. Actes de la IX^e^ rencontre franco-italienne sur l'épigraphie du monde romain*, Macerata, 342-366.

Eck W. 1999, *L'Italia nell'Impero romano. Stato e amministrazione in epoca imperiale,* Bari.

Eck W. 2016, *Die* lex Troesmensium*: ein Stadtgesetz für ein* municipium civium Romanorum, Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, 200, 565-606.

Elliot T. 2004, *Epigraphic Evidence for Boundary Disputes in the Roman Empire*, PhD. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Encarnação J. 1997, *Epigrafia e territorio*, Espacio, Tiempo y Forma. Serie II, Historia Antigua, 10, 79-89.

Faoro D. 2008, *Neues zu den ritterlichen Fasten der Statthalter Raetiens*, Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblätter, 73, 5-27.

Faoro D. 2014, M. Appuleius, Sex. Filius, legatus. *Augusto,* Tridentum *e le Alpi orientali*, Aevum, 88, 99-124.

Faoro D. 2015a, *Adtributi a divo Augusto*, in G. Cuscito (ed.) 2015, *Atti della XLV settimana di studi aquileiesi. Il bimillenario augusteo*, Trieste, 89-108.

Faoro D. 2015b, Gentes *e* civitates adtributae*. Fenomeni contributivi della romanità cisalpina*, Simblos, 6, 155-199.

Faoro D. 2016, Res publica Camunnorum: ius Latinum *e municipalità nell'Italia imperiale*, in Solano 2016a, 135-144.

Faoro D. 2017, Delatio *fiscale e proprietà imperiali nella* Tabula Clesiana*. Una rilettura*, CCG, 28, 177-196.

Faoro D. *et al.* 2018, *L'amministrazione dell'Italia romana. Dal I secolo a.C. al III secolo d.C. Fondamenti*, Florence.

Farney G. 2007, *Ethnic Identity and Aristocratic Competition in the Roman Republic*, Cambridge.

Favory F. *et al.* 1995, *Témoignages antiques sur le bornage dans le monde romain, II*, Revue archéologique du Centre de la France, 34, 261-281.

Fedeli P. 2014, *L'idea d'Italia negli autori augustei*, in *Da* Italìa *a Italia* 2014, 393-409.

Ferretti F. 2000, *La romanizzazione del Pago Agamino*, in *Milano* 2000, 339-360 (in appendice: Monferrini S., *L'epigrafia del* Pagus Agaminus, 351-353).

Fiz I. - Gorostidi D. - Cartes A. 2014, *GIS y los* divergia aquarum *o como poner límites a un territorio*, in Álvarez Martínez J. M. - Nogales Basarrate T. - Rodà de Llanza I. (eds.) 2014, *XVIII CIAC: Centro y periferia en el mundo clásico / Centre and periphery in the ancient world*, Mérida, 281-283.

Forni G. 1985-90, *I confini tra le aree occupate da Marsi, da Peligni e da Atinati nell'Italia appenninica antica*, Abruzzo. Rivista dell'Istituto di Studi Abruzzesi, 23-27, 531-538.

Forni G. 2006, *Le tribù romane*, IV, *Scripta Minora* (ed. by Forni G. M.), Rome.

Fraccaro P. 1939, *I* Dripsinates*,* Dripsinum *e Trissino*, Athenaeum, 27, 171-177.

Fraccaro P. 1940, *Intorno ai confini e alla centuriazione degli agri di* Patavium *e di* Acelum, in *Studi di antichità classica offerti a E. Ciaceri*, Rome, 100-117.

Fraccaro P. 1957, Opuscula III.1, *Studi di topografia e di epigrafia*, Pavia.

France J. 2003, *Les rapports fiscaux entre les cités et le pouvoir impérial dans l'Empire romain : le rôle des assemblées provinciales (à propos d'une dédicace de Tarragone,* CIL*, II, 4248)*, Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz, 14, 209-225.

France J. 2014, *La* lex Hadriana *et les incitations publiques à la mise en valeur de terres dans l'Empire romain au II*e *siècle p.C.*, in Apicella C. - Haak M.-L. - Lerouxel F. (eds.) 2014, *Les affaires de Monsieur Andreau : économie et société du monde romain*, Bordeaux, 89-96.

Francovich R. 1973, *Geografia storica delle sedi umane. I castelli del contado fiorentino nei secoli XII e XIII*, Florence.

Fraschetti A. 1996, *Indice analitico della* Consolatio ad Liviam Augustam de morte Drusi Neronis filii eius qui in Germania de morbo periit, Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Antiquité, 108/1, 191-239.

Frézouls E. 1981, À *propos de la* tabula Clesiana, Ktema, 6, 239-254.

Gabba E. 1983, *Per un'interpretazione storica della centuriazione romana*, in *Misurare la terra. Centuriazione e coloni nel mondo romano*, Modena, 20-27.

Gabba E. 1984, *Ticinum: dalle origini alla fine del III sec. d.C.*, in *Storia di Pavia. Primo volume. L'età antica*, Pavia, 205-247.

Gabba E. 1985, *Per un'interpretazione storica della centuriazione romana*, Athenaeum, 73, 265-284.

Gabba E. 1986, *I Romani nell'Insubria: trasformazione adeguamento e sopravvivenza delle strutture socio-economiche galliche*, in *Atti del II Convegno Archeologico Regionale (Como, 13-15 aprile 1984)*, Como, 31-41.

Gabba E. 1990, *Dallo stato-città allo stato municipale*, in Momigliano A. - Schiavone A. (eds.) 1990, *Storia di Roma*, II.1, Turin, 697-714.

Gabba E. 1994a, *Italia romana*, Como.

Gabba E. 1994b, *Rome and Italy: The Social War*, in Crook J. A. - Lintott A. - Rawson E. (eds.) 1994, *The Last Age of the Roman Republic, 146-43 BC*, *CAH*^{2} vol. 9, Cambridge, 104-128.

Gabba E. 2007, *Riflessioni storiografiche sul mondo antico*, Como.

Gallo A. 2015, *Una 'fistula aquaria' della 'res publica Cumanorum' a San Marino*, ACME, 68, 101-128.

Gallo A. 2018, *Prefetti del pretore e prefetture. L'organizzazione dell'agro romano in Italia (IV-I sec. a.C.)*, Bari.

Gambari F.M. 2016, Valletellina quae coniungitur*: le genti della Valtellina dalla protostoria alla storia*, in Mariotti 2016, 5-8.

García Quintela M. V. 2007, *Estrabón y la etnografia de Iberia*, in Andreotti C. - García Quintela M. V. - Espelosín J. C. (ed.) 2007, *Estrabón. Geografia de Iberia*, Madrid, 67-112.

Garzetti A. 1974, *Epigrafia e storia di Brescia romana*, in *Atti del convegno internazionale per il XIX centenario della dedicazione del 'Capitolium' e per il 150 anniversario della sua scoperta*, Brescia, 19-61.

Garzetti A. 1988, *Problemi di romanizzazione della Valtellina*, in *Il parco delle incisioni rupestri di Grosio e la preistoria valtellinese. Atti del I Convegno archeologico provinciale (Grosio, 25-27 ottobre 1985)*, Grosio, 167-174.

Garzetti A. 1998, *Tribù romane e confini municipali*, in Kneissl P. - Losemann V. (eds.) 1998, Imperium romanum. *Studien zu Geschichte und Rezeption. Festschrift für Karl Christ zum 75. Geburtstag*, Stuttgart, 275-287.

Gascou J. 1995, *Inscriptions latines de Narbonnaise (I.L.N.) III. Aix-en-Provence*, Paris.

Gasperini L. (ed.) 1992, Rupes loquentes*. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio sulle iscrizioni rupestri di età romana in Italia (Roma - Bomarzo, 13-15 ottobre 1989)*, Rome.

Geus K. - Thiering M. 2014, *Common Sense Geography and Mental Modelling: Setting the Stage*, in Geus K. - Thiering M. (eds.) 2014, *Features of Common Sense Geography: Implicit Knowledge Structures in Ancient Geographical Texts*, Munich, 5-15.

Giardina A. 1997, *L'Italia romana. Storie di un'identità incompiuta*, Rome - Bari.

González J. - Crawford M. H. 1986, *The* Lex Irnitana*: A New Copy of the Flavian Municipal Law*, JRS, 76, 147-243.

González J. 2004, *Límites entre provincias, ciudades y territorios*, in Angeli Bertinelli - Donati 2004, 49-64.

Goodman P. 2016, *The Urban Peripheries*, in Cooley A. (ed.) 2016, *A Companion to Roman Italy*, Malden - Oxford, 308-329.

Gregori G. L. 1993, *L'epigrafia del territorio bresciano*, in Calbi A. - Donati A. - Poma G. (eds.) 1993, *L'epigrafia del villaggio*, Faenza, 333-354.

Gregori G. L. 2004, *Da* civitas *a* res publica*: la comunità camuna in età romana. Vicende storiche, società, attività economiche, culti*, in Mariotti V. (ed.) 2004, *Il teatro e l'anfiteatro di Cividate Camuno. Scavo, restauro e allestimento di un parco archeologico*, Florence, 19-36.

Gregori G. L. 2008, *Il funzionamento delle amministrazioni locali a* Brixia *e nella* res publica Camunnorum, in Berrendonner C. - Cébeillac-Gervasoni M. - Lamoine L. (eds.) 2008, *Le quotidien municipale dans l'Occident romain*, Clermont-Ferrand, 53-66.

Grelle F. 1999, *I* munera civilia *e le finanze cittadine*, in *Il capitolo delle entrate nelle finanze municipali in occidente ed in oriente. Actes de la X^e Rencontre franco-italienne sur l'épigraphie du monde romain, Rome, 27-29 mai 1996*, Rome, 137-153.

Grelle F. *et al.* 2017, *La Puglia nel mondo romano. Storia di una periferia. L'avvio dell'organizzazione municipale*, Bari.

Gribaudi D. 1928, *Il Piemonte nell'antichità classica. Saggio di corografia storica*, Torino.

Grimmeisen R. 1997, *Raetien und Vindelikien in julisch-claudischer Zeit. Die Zentralalpen und das Alpenvorland von der Eroberung zur Provinzialisierung*, Essen.

Gruen E. S. 2010, *Rethinking the Other in Antiquity*, Princeton.

Guillaumin J.-Y. 2005, *Les arpenteurs romains*, 1, *Hygin le Gromatique. Frontin*, Paris.

Guillaumin J.-Y. 2010, *Les arpenteurs romains*, 2, *Hygin. Siculus Flaccus*, Paris.

Guillaumin J.-Y. 2014, *Les arpenteurs romains*, 3, *Commentaire anonyme sur Frontin*, Paris.

Guizzi F. 1999, *Sissizi a Creta in età imperiale? Forme di imposizione tradizionali e finanze cittadine a Lyttos*, in *Il capitolo delle entrate nelle finanze municipali in occidente ed in oriente. Actes de la X^e Rencontre franco-italienne sur l'épigraphie du monde romain, Rome, 27-29 mai 1996*, Rome, 275-284.

Gurt J. M. - Rodà I. 2005, *El Pont del Diable. El monumento romano dentro de la política territorial augustea*, Archivo Español de Arqueología, 78, 147-165.

Harris W. V. 2007, *Quando e come l'Italia divenne per la prima volta l'Italia? Un saggio sulla politica dell'identitá*, Studi Storici, 48, 301-322

Harris W. V. 2017, *The Indispensable Commodity. Notes on the Economy of Wood in the Roman Mediterranean*, in Wilson A. - Bowman A. (eds.) 2017, *Trade, Commerce and the State in the Roman World*, Oxford, 211-233.

Häussler R. 2013, *De-Constructing Ethnic Identities: Becoming Roman in Western Cisalpine Gaul?*, in Gardner A. - Herring E. - Lomas K. (eds.) 2013, *Creating Ethnicities and Identities in the Roman World*, London, 35-70.

Häussler R. 2017, *The Galli*, in Farney G. D. - Bradley G. (eds.) 2017, *The Peoples of Ancient Italy*, Berlin, 719-754.

Hinrichs F. T. 1979, *Histoire des institutions gromatiques*, Paris (orig. ed. Wiesbaden 1974).

Hirschfeld O. 1902, *Der Grundbesitz der römischen Kaiser in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, Klio, 2, 45-72; 284-315.

His R. 1896, *Die Domänen der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Leipzig.

Horstkotte H. 1996, *Systematische Aspekte der* munera publica *in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, 111, 233-255.

Hostein A. 2012, *La cité et l'empereur : les Éduens dans l'Empire romain d'après les Panégyriques latins*, Paris.

Hurlet F. 2010, *Tra giurisdizione cittadina e giurisdizione imperiale: la sfera di competenza del proconsole*, Studi classici e orientali, 56, 231-253.

Hurlet F. 2015, *Auguste : les ambiguïtés du pouvoir*, Paris.

Iasiello I. M. 2001, *I* pagi *della Valle del Tammaro: considerazioni preliminari sul territorio di* Beneventum *e dei* Ligures Baebiani, in Lo Cascio - Storchi Marino 2001, 474-499.

Iglesias Gil J. M. - Ruiz-Gutiérrez A. 1998, *Epigrafía romana de Cantabria*, Santander - Bordeaux.

Ijsewijn E. 1987, *Il territorio di* Mediolanum *in epoca romana. Uno* status quaestionis *della ricerca*, in Sordi M. (ed.) 1987, *Il confine nel mondo classico*, Milan, 301-308.

Jehne M. 2005, *Diplomacy in Italy in the Second Century BC*, in Eilers C. (ed.) 2005, *Diplomats and Diplomacy in the Roman World*, Leiden and Boston, 143-170.

Kay P. 2014, *Rome's Economic Revolution*, Oxford.

Kehoe D. P. 1988, *The Economics of Agriculture on Roman Imperial Estates in North Africa*, Göttingen.

Kehoe D. P. 1992, *Management and Investment on Estates in Roman Egypt during the Early Empire*, Bonn.

Kehoe D. P. 2007, *Law and the Rural Economy in the Roman Empire*, Ann Arbor.

Laffi U. 1966, Adtributio *e* contributio*: problemi del sistema politico-amministrativo dello stato romano*, Pisa.

Laffi U. 1992, *La provincia della Gallia Cisalpina*, Athenaeum, 80, 5-23.

Laffi U. 2001, *Studi di storia romana e di diritto*, Rome.

Laffi U. 2007, *L'organizzazione dell'Italia sotto Augusto e la creazione delle* regiones, in Laffi U. 2007, *Colonie e municipi nello stato romano*, Rome, 81-117.

Lamboglia N. 1933, *Topografia storica dell'Ingaunia nell'antichità*, Albenga.

Le Roux P. 1982, *L'armée romaine et l'organisation des provinces ibériques d'Auguste a l'invasion de 409*, Paris.

Le Roux P. 1994, *Cités et territoires en Hispanie: l'épigraphie des limites*, Mélanges de la Casa Velázquez, 30/1, 37-51.

Le Teuff B. 2014, *Les recensements augustéens, aux origines de l'Empire*, Pallas, 96, 75-90.

Lefebvre S. (ed.) 2014, Monumenta*. Du centre du pouvoir aux confins de l'Empire*, Dijon.

Lega C. 1999, *Stationes municipiorum*, in Steinby E. M. (ed.) 1999, *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*, IV, Rome, 350-352.

Letta C. 2015, *Augusto e le guerre alpine*, Segusium, 52, 37-52.

Leveau P. 1993, Territorium urbis*. Le territoire de la cité romaine et ses divisions : du vocabulaire aux réalités administratives*, Revue des études anciennes, 95, 459-471.

Liebenam W. 1900, *Städteverwaltung im römischen Kaiserreiche*, Leipzig.

Liu J. 2007, *The Era of* Patavium *Again*, Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, 162, 281-289.

Lo Cascio E. - Maiuro M. (eds.) 2017, *Popolazione e risorse nell'Italia del nord dalla romanizzazione ai Longobardi*, Bari.

Lo Cascio E. - Storchi Marino A. (eds.) 2001, *Modalità insediative e strutture agrarie nell'Italia meridionale in età romana*, Bari.

Lo Cascio E. 1996, *Pompei dalla città sannitica alla colonia sillana: le vicende istituzionali*, in Cébeillac-Gervasoni M. (ed.) 1996, *Les élites municipales de l'Italie péninsulaire des Gracques à Neron*, Naples - Rome, 111-123.

Lo Cascio E. 2000a, *Il* princeps *e il suo impero. Studi di storia amministrativa e finanziaria romana*, Bari.

Lo Cascio E. 2000b, Patrimonium*,* ratio privata*,* res privata, in Lo Cascio 2000a, 97-149.

Lo Cascio E. 2000c, *La struttura fiscale dell'impero romano*, in Lo Cascio 2000a, 177-203.

Lo Cascio E. 2004, *A proposito di L. Capogrossi Colognesi,* Persistenza e innovazione nelle strutture territoriali dell'Italia romana*, Napoli, Jovene 2002*, in Pani M. (ed.) 2004, *Epigrafia e territorio. Politica e società. Temi di antichità romane*, VII, Bari, 301-305.

Lo Cascio E. 2006, *La dimensione finanziaria*, in Capogrossi Colognesi - Gabba 2006, *Gli statuti municipali*, Pavia, 673-699.

Lo Cascio E. 2009, *Considerazioni sulla struttura e sulla dinamica dell'affitto agrario in età imperiale*, in Lo Cascio E. (ed.) 2009, *Crescita e declino: studi di storia dell'economia romana*, Rome, 91-113.

Lo Cascio E. 2015, *The Imperial Property and Its Development*, in Erdkamp P. - Verboven K. - Zuiderhoek A. (eds.) 2015, *Ownership and Exploitation of Land and Natural Resources in the Roman World*, Oxford, 62-70.

Lomas K. 2004, *A Volscian Mafia? Cicero and His Italian Clients in the Forensic Speeches*, in Powell J. - Paterson J. (eds.) 2004, *Cicero the Advocate*, Oxford - New York, 97-116.

López Paz P. 1994, *La ciudad romana ideal*, 1, *El territorio*, Santiago de Compostela.

Luciani F. 2016a, Berua*,* Raeticum oppidum *dei* Beruenses, Geographia Antiqua, 25, 101-129.

Luciani F. 2016b, *Tegole con bolli dei* Messii*: una produzione laterizia in Veneto tra romanizzazione e romanità*, Instrumentum, 43, 16-21.

Luciani F. 2016c, *"*Tituli viarum vicinalium*"? Riflessioni in margine ad alcuni cippi paganici da* Iulia Concordia*, dalla* Gallia Narbonensis *e dal* Samnium, in Solano 2016, 327-349.

Luciani F. 2017, *Cittadini come* domini*, cittadini come* patroni*. Rapporti tra* serui publici *e città prima e dopo la manomissione*, in Dondin-Payre M. - Tran N. (eds.) 2017, *Esclaves et maîtres dans le monde romain. Expressions épigraphiques de leurs relations*, Rome, 45-64.

Luciani F. forthcoming, *Indigeni e integrazione in Cisalpina: il caso dei Dripsinates*, Scienze dell'Antichità, 26.

MacBain B. 1982, *Prodigy and Expiation*. *A Study in Religion and Politics in Republican Rome*, Brussels.

Maddoli G. (ed.) 1988, *Strabone e l'Italia antica*, Perugia.

Maddoli G. 2014, *Strabone e le 'Regioni' d'Italia*, in *Da* Italìa *a Italia* 2014, 221-234.

Maganzani L. 1997, *Gli agrimensori nel processo privato romano*, Rome.

Maganzani L. 2014, *L'*obligatio praediorum *nella* tabula alimentaria *veleiate: profili tecnico-giuridici*, in Dall'Aglio P. L. - Franceschelli C. - Maganzani L. (eds.) 2014, *Atti del IV convegno internazionale di studi veleiati. Veleia-Lugagnano Val d'Arda, 20-21 settembre 2013*, Bologna, 157-167.

Mainardis F. 1994, *Regio X. Venetia et Histria. Iulium Carnicum*, in *SupplIt*, 12, 67-150.

Mainardis F. 2008, Iulium Carnicum*. Storia ed epigrafia*, Trieste.

Maiuro M. 2012, Res Caesaris*. Ricerche sulla proprietà imperiale nel Principato*, Bari.

Maiuro M. 2014, *Regionalismo del patrimonio del fisco e sue implicazioni teoriche e pratiche*, SCO, 60, 279-293.

Maiuro M. 2016, *Forme dell'economia rurale*, in Capogrossi Colognesi L. - Lo Cascio E. - Tassi Scandone E. (eds.) 2016, *Vespasiano e l'Italia*, Rome, 121-137.

Maiuro M. 2017, *Conclusions*, Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz, 28, 249-260.

Malnati L. 2004a, *Galli, Liguri Veleiati e Friniati nell'Emilia occidentale*, in De Marinis - Spadea 2004, 361-365.

Malnati L. 2004b, *L'insediamento dei Liguri nell'Appennino emiliano*, in De Marinis - Spadea 2004, 466-467.

Malnati L. 2004c, *Lo scontro con Roma. Il fronte dell'Appennino emiliano*, in De Marinis - Spadea 2004, 395-396.

Manuwald G. 2007, *Cicero, Philippics 3-9*, Berlin and New York.

Marcone A. 2017, *Tota Italia*, Mélanges de l'École française de Rome - Antiquité, 129, 55-64.

Mariotti V. (ed.) 2016, *Dinamiche insediative nelle Alpi centrali tra antichità e medioevo. Atti del Convegno (Sondrio, 29 novembre 2014)*, Quingentola.

Marotta V. 2009, *La cittadinanza romana in età imperiale (secoli I - III d.C.). Una sintesi*, Turin.

Marzatico F. - Endrizzi L. 2016, *Dalla protostoria alla storia: Reti e Romani alla luce delle fonti archeologiche*, in Solano 2016a, 147-173.

Marzatico F. - Migliario E. 2011, *Il territorio trentino nella storia europea*, I, *L'età antica*. Trento.

Marzatico F. 2001, *La seconda età del Ferro*, in Lanzinger M. - Marzatico F. - Pedrotti A. (eds.), *Storia del Trentino, I. La preistoria e la protostoria*, Bologna, 479-573.

Marzatico F. 2016, *Prima di Roma: modelli d'abitato ed edilizia nel mondo retico*, in Mariotti 2016, 37-48.

Mengotti C. - Bortolami S. 2012, *Antico e sempre nuovo. L'agro centuriato a nord-est di Padova dalle origini all'età contemporanea*, Sommacampagna.

Mennella G. - Melli P. 2004, *Regio IX. Liguria. Genua; ora a Luna ad Genuam*. *Supplementum*, in *SupplIt*, 22, 191- 235.

Mennella G. 1987, *Regio IX. Liguria. Genua; ora a Luna ad Genuam*, in *SupplIt*, 3, 225-240.

Mennella G. 1999, *Appendice I. I monumenti epigrafici del Broletto*, in Biancolini D. - Pejrani Baricco L. - Spagnolo Garzoli G. (eds.) 1999, *Epigrafi a Novara. Il Lapidario della Canonica di Santa Maria*, Turin, 205-213.

Mennella G. 2017, *Latifondi imperiali nella riviera ligure orientale: il cippo confinario del Monte Ramaceto*, in Evangelisti S. - Ricci C. (eds.) 2017, *Le forme municipali in Italia e nelle province occidentali tra i secoli I a.C. e III d.C. Atti della 'XXI Rencontre franco-italienne sur l'èpigraphie du monde romain' (Campobasso 24-26 settembre 2015)*, Bari, 290-302.

Merola G. D. 2001, *Autonomia locale, governo imperiale. Fiscalità e amministrazione nelle province asiane*, Bari.

Migliario E. 1988, *Strutture della proprietà agraria in Sabina dall'età Imperiale all'Alto Medioevo*, Firenze.

Migliario E. 2012, *Etnografia e storia delle Alpi nella geografia di Strabone*, in Bargnesi R. -Scuderi R. (eds.) 2012, *Il paesaggio e l'esperienza. Scritti di antichità offerti a Pierluigi Tozzi in occasione del suo 75° compleanno*, Pavia, 107-122.

Migliario E. 2015, *Popoli e spazi alpini nella descrizione etnogeografica di Strabone*, in Cresci Marrone 2015, 329-340.

Migliario E. 2017a, *Popolamento, demografia, urbanizzazione nell'età della romanizzazione: quale modello per le valli prealpine?*, in Lo Cascio - Maiuro 2017, 307-327.

Migliario E. 2017b, *Strabo, Italy and the Italian peoples*, in Dueck 2017, 79-92.

Migliario E. 2018, *I popoli alpini tra rappresentazioni antiche e nuovi dati*, Geographia Antiqua, 27, 17-24.

Milano 2000, *Milano tra l'età repubblicana e l'età augustea (Milano, 26-27 marzo 1999)*, Milan.

Millar F. 1977, *The Emperor in the Roman World (31 BC-AD 337)*, London.

Mitchell S. - Katsari C. (eds.) 2005, *Patterns in the Economy of Roman Asia Minor*, Swansea.

Momigliano A. 1932, *L'opera dell'imperatore Claudio*, Milan^{2}.

Mommsen T. 1870, *Edict des Kaisers Claudius über das römische Bürgerrecht der Anauner vom J. 46 n. Chr.*, Hermes, 4, 99-131 = *Gesammelte Schriften von Theodor Mommsen*, IV, *Historische Schriften*, 1, Berlin 1906, 291-322.

Mommsen T. 1903^{9}, *Römische Geschichte*, Berlin.

Morandi A. 2016, *Epigrafia e lingua in Valtellina tra camuno e retico*, in Mariotti 2016, 29-35.

Moreau P. 1994, *La mémoire fragile : falsification et destruction des documents publics au I^{er} siècle av. J.-C.*, in Demougin S. (ed.) 1994, *La mémoire perdue*, Paris 1994, 121-147.

Moret P. 2014, *La Gaule de Strabon peut-elle être cartographiée ?*, in Boube E. - Bouet A. - Colleoni F. (eds.), *De Rome à Lugdunum des Convènes. Itinéraire d'un Pyrénéen par monts et par vaux. Hommages offerts à Robert Sablayrolles*, Bordeaux, 273-282.

Moret P. 2015, *Strabon et les fleuves gaulois*, in Olmer F. - Roure R. (eds.), *Les Gaulois au fil de l'eau. Actes du 37e Colloque international de l'AFEAF (Montpellier, 8-11 mai 2013)*, Bordeaux, 217-234.

Moret P. 2017, *Strabo: from maps to words*, in Dueck 2017, 178-191.

Moret P. 2018, *Des noms à la carte. Figures antiques de l'Ibérie et de la Gaule*, Alcalá de Henares.

Moretti L. 1958, *Sulle '*stationes municipiorum*' del Foro romano*, Athenaeum, 46, 106-116.

Motta F. 2000, *La documentazione epigrafica e linguistica*, in De Marinis - Biaggio Simona 2000, 181-222.

Muñiz Coello J. 2017, *Ríos, riadas y política. La comisión senatorial del año 54 a.C.*, Klio, 99, 130-148.

Naddari L. 2008, *Entre* coloni *et* Musulamii *: une opération de délimitation des terres sous Trajan dans la vallée de l'Oued Sarrat*, in *Actes du 5e colloque international sur l'Histoire des Steppes tunisiennes, Sbeitla, 5-7 mai 2006*, Tunis, 157-183.

Nenninger M. 2001, *Die Römer und der Wald*, Stuttgart.

Nicolet C. 1991, *L'origine des* regiones Italiae *augustéennes*, Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz, 2, 73-95.

Nicolet C. 1996, *L'inventaire du monde. Géographie et politique aux origines de l'Empire romain*, Paris (1988[1]).

Oakley S. P. 2005, *A Commentary on Livy, Books VI-X. Volume IV: Book X*, Oxford.

Oller Guzmán J. 2011, *La ciudad sin ciudad: la* ciuitas sine urbe *como elemento de control territorial*, Estrat crític: revista d'arqueologia, 5/1, 190-203.

Orestano R. 1968, *Il 'problema delle persone giuridiche' in diritto romano*, Turin.

Paci G. 1999, *Proventi da proprietà terriere esterne ai territori municipali*, in *Il capitolo delle entrate nelle finanze municipali in Occidente ed in Oriente (Actes de la Xe Rencontre franco-italienne sur l'epigraphie du monde romain, Rome 27-29 mai 1996)*, Rome, 61-72.

Panciera S. 1974-75, *Altri pretoriani di origine veneta*, Aquileia Nostra, 45-6, 163-182.

Panciera S. 1999, *Dove finisce la città*, in Quilici L. - Quilici Gigli S., *La Forma della città e del territorio: esperienze metodologiche e risultati a confronto, Atti dell'Incontro di Studi (S. Maria Capua Vetere 1998)*, Rome, 9-15.

Panciera S. 2006, *Epigrafi, epigrafia, epigrafisti. Scritti vari editi e inediti (1956-2005) con note complementari e indici*, Rome.

Panero E. 2000, *Il problema della duplice centuriazione di* Novaria *e le relazioni con la rete stradale per* Ticinum *e* Mediolanum, in *Milano* 2000, 425-438.

Panero E. 2003, *Insediamenti celtici e romani in una terra di confine. Materiali per un Sistema Informativo Territoriale del Verbano, Cusio e Ossola nell'antichità tra culture padano-italiche e apporti transalpini*, Alessandria.

Pani M. 1999, *L'Italia, Roma e la fine della democrazia antica*, in Pani M. (ed.) 1999, *Epigrafia e territorio, politica e società. Temi di antichità romane V,* Bari, 227-249.

Pappalardo U. 2003, *Boscoreale*, *Boscotrecase*, in *Brill's New Pauly. Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World*, 2, Leiden - Boston, 732-733.

Parassoglou G. M. 1978, *Imperial Estates in Roman Egypt*, Amsterdam.

Pasquinucci M. 1988, *Strabone e l'Italia centrale*, in Maddoli 1988, 45-59.

Peyras J. 1995, *Les grands domaines de l'Afrique Mineure d'après les inscriptions*, in *Du* latifundium *au latifondo : un héritage de Rome, une création médiévale ou moderne ? Actes de la table ronde Bordeaux, les 17-19 décembre 1992*, Paris, 107-128.

Piccaluga G. 1974, Terminus*. I segni di confine nella religione romana*, Rome.

Poinssot L. 1907, *Note sur la* Fossa regia, Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 8, 466-481.

Polverini L. 1998, *Le regioni nell'Italia romana*, Geographia Antiqua, 7, 23-33.

Polverini L. 2010, *L'estensione del nome Italia fino alle Alpi e la provincia Gallia Cisalpina*, Geographia Antiqua, 19, 115-121.

Pothecary S. 1997, *The expression "our times" in Strabo's Geography*, Classical Philology, 92, 236-246.

Prontera F. 1984a, *Prima di Strabone: materiali per uno studio della geografia antica come genere letterario*, in Prontera 1984b, 187-259.

Prontera F. (ed.) 1984b, *Strabone. Contributi allo studio della personalità e dell'opera*, I, Perugia.

Prontera F. 1988, *L'Italia meridionale di Strabone. Appunti tra geografia e storia*, in Maddoli 1988, 93-109.

Prontera F. 2000, *Dall'Halys al Tauro. Descrizione e rappresentazione nell'Asia Minore di Strabone*, in Biraschi A.M. - Salmeri G. (eds.), *Strabone e l'Asia Minore. Incontri perugini di storia della storiografia antica e sul mondo antico, X (Perugia, 25-28 maggio 1997)*, Naples, 93-112.

Prontera F. 2014, *L'Italia degli storici greci: Polibio e Antioco di Siracusa*, in *Da* Italìa *a Italia* 2014, 203-212.

Radt S. (ed.) 2007, *Strabons* Geographika *Band 6, Buch V-VIII: Kommentar*, Göttingen.

Ramage E. S. 1998, Augustus*' propaganda in Spain*, Klio, 80, 434-490.

Redentor A. - Carvalho P. C. 2017, *Continuidade e mudança no Norte da Lusitânia no tempo de Augusto*, Gerión, 35, 417-441.

Rémy B. 2004, *Les limites de la cité de Vienne*, in Rémy B. 2004, *Inscriptions latines de Narbonnaise (ILN)*, V, 1, *Vienne*, Paris, 21-35.

Rémy B. 2005, *Inscriptions latines de Narbonnaise (ILN)*, V, 2, *Vienne*, Paris.

Rich J. W. 2008, *Treaties, Allies, and the Roman Conquest of Italy*, in De Souza P. - France J. (eds.) 2008, *War and Peace in Ancient and Medieval History*, Cambridge, 51-75.

Roddaz J.-M. 2004, Tropea in finibus*: L'épigraphie et l'exaltation de la conquête aux confins de l'Empire*, in Angeli Bertinelli - Donati 2004, 33-47.

Roller D. W. 2014, *The* Geography *of Strabo: An English Translation with Introduction and Notes*, Cambridge - New York.

Roller D. W. 2018, *A Historical and Topographical Guide to the Geography of Strabo*, Cambridge.

Rosafio P. 2002, *Studi sul colonato*, Bari.

Roselaar S. T. 2010, *Public Land in the Roman Republic. A Social and Economic History of* ager publicus *in Italy, 396-89 BC*, Oxford.

Rostovtzeff M. 1901, *Der Ursprung des Kolonats*, Klio, 1, 295-299.

Rostovtzeff M. 1910, *Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Kolonates*, Leipzig and Berlin.

Rowlandson J. 1996, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt: The Social Relations of Agriculture in the Oxyrhynchite Nome*, Oxford.

Ruffo F. 2010, *La Campania antica. Appunti di storia e di topografia*, I, *Dal Massico-Roccamonfina al Somma-Vesuvio*, Naples.

Ruiz-Gutiérrez A. 2016, *Ritmos y límites de la monumentalización en las ciudades de la* regio Cantabrorum, in Bouet A. (ed.), *Monumental ! La monumentalisation des villes de l'Aquitaine et de l'Hispanie septentrionale durant le Haut-Empire*, Bordeaux, 125-140.

Salama P. 1987, *Bornes milliaires d'Afrique proconsulaire*, Rome.

Salmeri G. 2005, *Central Power Intervention and the Economy of the Provinces in the Roman Empire: The Case of Pontus and Bithynia*, in Mitchell - Katsari 2005, 187-206.

Santangelo F. 2006, *Confini di città e confini di pagi nell'Italia romana. Il problema del "dualismo limitaneo"*, in Capogrossi Colognesi L. - Gabba E. 2006, 615-626.

Santangelo F. 2016, *Le élites locali e il centro del potere nell'Italia dei Flavi*, in Capogrossi Colognesi L. - Lo Cascio E. - Tassi Scandone E. (eds.) 2016, *L'Italia dei Flavi*, Rome, 57-86.

Santangelo F. 2017, *Inquadramento storico*, in Arslan Pitcher L. (ed.) 2017, Amoenissimis... aedificiis. *Gli scavi di Piazza Marconi a Cremona*, I, *Lo scavo*, Quingentole, 25-37.

Sartori F. 1960, *Verona romana. Storia politica, economica, amministrativa*, in *Verona e il suo territorio*, I, Verona, 159-259.

Sartori A. 2001, *Le iscrizioni rupestri: perché e per chi*, in Saxa scripta. *Actas do III Simposio Ibero-italico de Epigrafia Rupestre (Viseu 1997)*, Viseu, 59-73.

Šašel Kos M. 2002, *The Boundary Stone between Aquileia and Emona*, Arheološki vestnik, 53, 373-382.

Šašel Kos M. 2015, *The Problem of the Border between Italy,* Noricum*, and* Pannonia, Tyche, 29, 153-164.

Šašel Kos M. 2016, *Boundary between* Aquileia *and* Emona *Reconsidered*, Epigraphica, 78, 221-233.

Schillinger-Häfele U. 1967, *Das Edikt des Claudius* CIL *V 5050*, Hermes, 95, 353-365.

Schulten A. 1896, *Die römischen Grundherrschaften. Eine agrarhistorische Untersuchung*, Weimar.

Scuderi R. 1991a, *Decreti del senato per controversie di confine in età repubblicana*, Athenaeum, 79, 371-415.

Scuderi R. 1991b, *Sul concetto di frontiera nell'Impero Romano: confini naturali e artificiali*, RIL, 125, 41-60.

Sereni E. 1955, *Comunità rurali nell'Italia antica*, Roma.

Sickel W. 1896, *Die Privatherrschaften im fränkischen Reiche*, Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst, 15, 111-171.

Sisani S. 2015, *L'*ager publicus *in età graccana. Una rilettura testuale, storica e giuridica della* lex agraria *epigrafica*, Rome.

Smith R. R. R. 1988, *Simulacra Gentium: The Ethne from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisia*, JRS, 78, 50-77.

Smith R. R. R. 2013, *The Marble Reliefs from the Julio-Claudian Sebasteion (Aphrodisias VI)*, Darmstadt-Mainz.

Solano S. (ed.) 2016a, *Da Camunni a Romani. Archeologia e storia della romanizzazione alpina. Atti del Convegno (Breno - Cividate Camuno, 10-11 ottobre 2013)*, Rome.

Solano S. 2016b, *La romanizzazione della Valtellina nel contesto alpino centrale*, in Mariotti 2016, 49-59.

Soricelli G. 2002a, *I proprietari fondiari e gli alimenta traianei: Una partecipazione forzata?*, Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, 140, 211-226.

Soricelli G. 2002b, *Saltus*, in Storchi Marino A. (ed.) 2002, *Economia, amministrazione e fiscalità nel mondo romano. Ricerche lessicali*, Bari, 97-123.

Spagnolo Garzoli G. 2007, *Ghemme,* vicus *degli Agamini. Aggregazione spontanea o agglomerato pianificato?*, in Brecciaroli Taborelli L. (ed.) 2007, *Forme e tempi dell'urbanizzazione nella Cisalpina (II secolo a.C.-I secolo d.C.). Atti delle Giornate di Studio (Torino, 4-6 maggio 2006)*, Sesto Fiorentino, 333-334.

Spagnuolo Vigorita T. 1984, *Exsecranda pernicies*. *Delatori e fisco nell'età di Costantino*, Naples.

Stevens S. 2017, *City Boundaries and Urban Development in Roman Italy*, Leuven - Paris - Bristol.

Talbert R. 1987, *The Senate of Imperial Rome,* Princeton.

Talbert R. 2004, *Rome's provinces as framework for world-view*, in *Roman Rule and Civic Life: Local and Regional Perspectives*, Amsterdam, 21-37.

Tarpin M. *et al.* 2000, *Sources écrites de l'histoire des Alpes dans l'antiquité*, Bulletin d'études préhistoriques et archeologiques alpines, 11, 9-220.

Tarpin M. 1990, *Frontières naturelles et frontières culturelles dans les Alpes du Nord*, in Fabre G. (ed.) 1990, *La montagne dans l'antiquité. Actes du Colloque de la SoPHAU (Pau, mai 1990)*, Pau, 97-119.

Tarpin M. 2002, Vici *et* pagi *dans l'Occident romain*, Rome.

Tassi Scandone E. 2017, *Terre comuni e pubbliche tra diritto romano e regole agrimensorie*, Naples.

Thollard P. 1987, *Barbarie et civilisation chez Strabon. Étude critique des livre 3 et 4 de la Géographie*, Paris.

Thonemann P. 2007, *Estates and the Land in Late Roman Asia Minor*, Chiron, 37, 435-478.

Todisco E. 2004, *Testimonianze sui* paganici*?*, in Pani M. (ed.) 2004, *Epigrafia e territorio. Politica e società. Temi di antichità romane*, VII, Bari, 185-209.

Todisco E. 2008, *La strategia dei* praesidia *romani nelle città italiche*, Electrum, 14, 85-93.

Tozzi M. 2002, *L'editto di Claudio sulla cittadinanza degli Anauni*, Pavia.

Tozzi P. 1972, *Storia padana antica. Il territorio fra Adda e Mincio*, Pavia.

Tozzi P. 1988, *L'Italia settentrionale di Strabone*, in Maddoli G. (ed.), *Strabone e l'Italia antica. Incontri perugini di storia della storiografia antica e sul mondo antico, II (Acquasparta, 25-27 maggio 1987)*, Naples, 23-43.

Tozzi P. 2003, *Gli antichi caratteri topografici di Cremona*, in Tozzi P. (ed.) 2003, *Storia di Cremona. L'età antica*, Bergamo, 96-129.

van der Meer B. 2015, *Ostia's Visual Connection with Rome*, Analecta Praehistorica Leidensia, 45, 107-111.

van der Vliet E. C. 1984, *L'etnographie de Strabon: idéologie ou tradition ?*, in Prontera 1984b, 27-86.

van der Vliet E. C. 2003, *The Romans and Us: Strabo's Geography and the Construction of Ethnicity*, Mnemosyne, 56/3, 257-272.

Vattuone R. 1987, *Polibio e la Cispadana*, in *Cispadana e letteratura antica. Atti del Convegno di studi (Imola, maggio 1986)*, Bologna, 73-98.

Vavassori M. 2003, *Particolarità epigrafiche del* pagus Fortunensis, in De Marchi P. M. - Lelio Pagani L. (eds.) 2003, *Le fasi antiche del territorio. La Lombardia orientale tra Adda e Oglio*, Bergamo, 51-56.

Vedaldi Iasbez V. 2000, *I* Lepontii *e le fonti letterarie antiche*, in De Marinis - Biaggio Simona 2000, 243-259.

Vinci M. 2004, Fines regere. *Il regolamento dei confini dall'età arcaica a Giustiniano*, Milan.

von Premerstein A. R. 1924, *Legatio*, in *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* XII.1, 1133-1149.

Weber M. 1891, *Die römische Agrargeschichte in ihrer Bedeutung für das Staats- und Privatrecht*, Stuttgart.

Weber M. 1909[3], *Agrarverhältnisse im Altertum*, in Conrad J. (ed.) 1909[3], *Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, I, Jena, 52-188.

Williams J. H. C. 2001, *Beyond the Rubicon. Romans and Gauls in Republican Italy*, Oxford - New York.

Woolf G. 2011, *Tales of the Barbarians. Ethnography and Empire in the Roman West*, Chichester.

Zuiderhoek A. 2009, *The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire: Citizens, Elites and Benefactors in Asia Minor*, Cambridge.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Edipuglia srl, via Dalmazia 22/B - 70127 Bari-S. Spirito
tel. 080 5333056-5333057 (fax) - http://www.edipuglia.it - e-mail: info@edipuglia.it

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Edipuglia srl, via Dalmazia 22/B - 70127 Bari-S. Spirito
tel. 080 5333056-5333057 (fax) - http://www.edipuglia.it - e-mail: info@edipuglia.it