


THE *PROCURATOR CAMPANIAE* AND THE ‘LANDS OF CAPUA’ ON CRETE

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This paper presents a new edition of a boundary stone between Capua (on Crete) and Knossos. I identify the post of Publius Messius Campanus as procurator Campaniae rather than procurator Caesaris. The appearance of the procurator Campaniae on Crete is linked to a dispute between the colony of Capua and a private citizen called Plotius Plebeius. This new reading has several important historical consequences: first, it is the earliest attestation of a procurator Campaniae (and the first outside Italy); second, it offers a new interpretation of the juridical category of Knossian lands as part of the ager vectigalis of the Italian colony of Capua in the form of a praefectura Campana or Capuensis; third, it proposes a reinterpretation of the process of arbitration between a public entity (Capua) and a private owner.

INTRODUCTION

The boundary-stone studied here, a well-known inscription from Karnari (Archanes, Crete), provides the best evidence of the so-called ‘Lands of Capua’ on Crete. Attention has thus far focussed upon it as evidence for an Italian colony possessing land on the island. However, the reading of its text proposed here makes it possible to resolve the question about the designation of the procurator in charge of the arbitration to which it refers. This enables us to revisit the wider juridical process and compare it with information provided by Roman land surveyors. It also sheds new light on the juridical category of the ‘Lands of Capua’ (*praefectura Campana*) on Crete and the fiscal situation, administration and management of these Cretan lands that belonged to Capua. The Roman prefecture system provided a way of administering communal land leased in exchange for rent (*ager vectigalis*). This article is divided into two parts: the first concerns the Karnari boundary stone and its relationship with the ‘Lands of Capua’; the second concerns the judicial process surrounding this boundary dispute.

THE ‘LANDS OF CAPUA’ ON CRETE AND THE KARNARI INSCRIPTION

The pre-Augustan and Augustan context for the relationship between Campania and Crete

The Karnari inscription dates to the era of Domitian. That was the time of the final resolution of a long-term problem that began with Augustus’ assignation of land on Crete to Capua. Indeed, the special situation of the ‘Lands of Capua’ on Crete began with Augustus, and it is worth looking first at the links between Campania and Crete and the reasons behind his decision to give these lands.

The relationship between the region of Campania in Italy and the Greek islands of the Aegean Sea is well known (Fig. 1). Capua was one of the most important towns in Campania, and there is a significant body of evidence regarding the Campanians’ enormous commercial interests in Greece from at least the second century BCE. For instance, numerous inscriptions reveal the permanent residency of Campanians on Delos, as evidenced by the presence of religious organisations known as *collegia* (Díaz Ariño 2004, 464) devoted to Apollo, Hermes, Poseidon or the *lares compitales*, as well as trade associations of olive oil and wine merchants (cf. Salviat 1963; Flambard 1982; Díaz Ariño 2004). Onomastics reveal the Italian and specifically Campanian

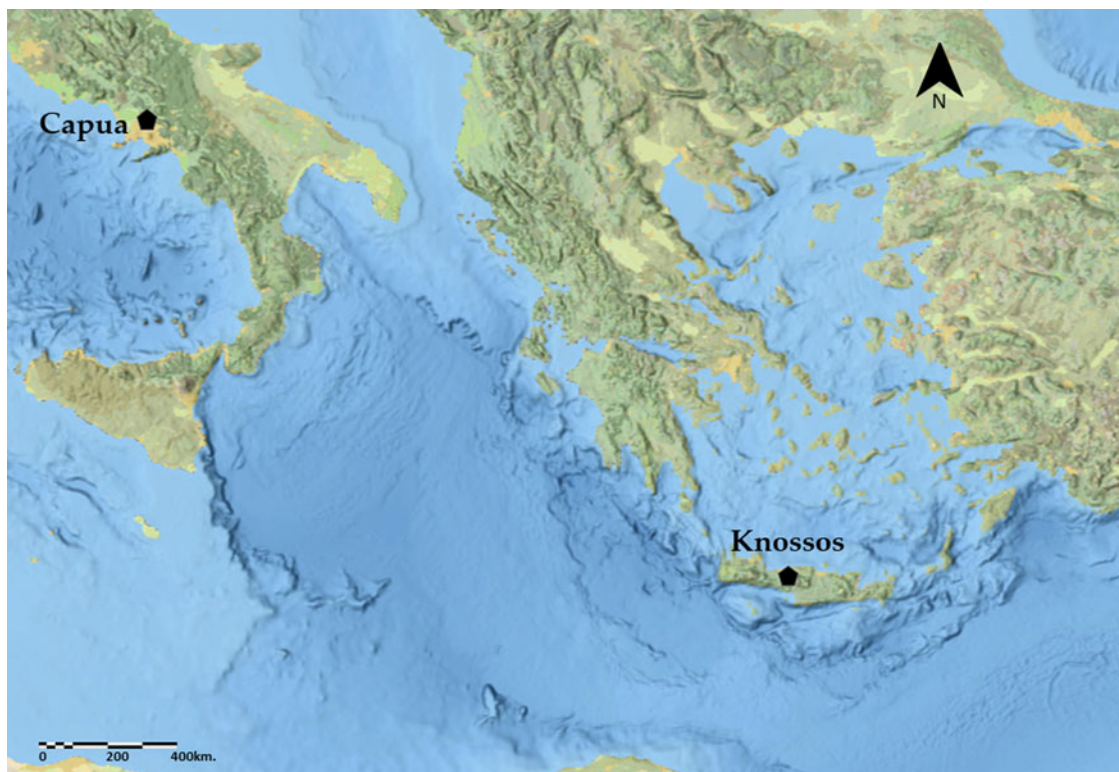


Fig. 1. Map of Capua and Knossos (author).

origins of the magistrates of these organisations (D’Isanto 1993, 20). In addition, a *conlegium* (!) *mercatorum* (traders’ association) linked to long-distance trade (Salviat 1963; Flambard 1982; Díaz Ariño 2004, 453, n. 48) appears to have been related to commercial expeditions to Delos.¹

Following the fall of Delos in 88 BCE, Italian business people settled on Crete, and specifically Gortyn. They did not form a large community, but some of them had permanent residence there.² These permanent Italian residents maintained their bonds with Italy through trade, fulfilling a Cretan demand for Italian goods (Baldwin Bowsky 1999; 2002a; 2006). At this time, Roman campaigns between 69 and 67 BCE concluded with the conquest of the island and the settlement of Metellus in 66 BCE.³

It is difficult to determine whether the Roman colony at Knossos was founded by Caesar or Augustus: scholarly opinion in this respect is divided. Biundo (2003, 135; 2004, 402; also Perl 1970, 342, and Pautasso 1994–5) suggests that it was founded in Caesar’s time and that the confiscation was made from its divided and allocated land (called *subseciva*). There is, however, no evidence for a Caesarean foundation. Lefebvre (2013, 262 and n. 149; Rigsby 1976, 329) also believes in an Augustan foundation, suggesting that the colony was founded by Augustus after the battle of Actium in 31 BCE.⁴ It would not have been possible to found the colony earlier, as this part of the Empire was controlled by Mark Antony, and Knossos and other parts of Crete had openly pro-Antonine sympathies. Thus, the foundation was probably carried out after the recovery of the island from the influence of Cleopatra, but before 27 BCE, when Octavian

¹ Solin, Coarelli and Musti 1982, 67–77; Müller and Hasenohr 2002; Ferrary, Hasenohr and Le Dinahet 2002; Poccetti 2016; Coarelli 2016; Nonnis 2017.

² In the words of Eberle and Le Quéré 2017, 27: ‘these Italians owned more land than has previously been assumed and many of these Italian landowners practiced a highly commercialized form of agriculture that focused on high-end products.’ See also Tran 2014. For Italians in Asia Minor, see Kirbihler 2007; 2016.

³ On this period, see Gallimore 2019.

⁴ A view held also by Tzamtzis 2006, 359–62; 2020, 257.

became Augustus. The appointment of Marcus Nonius Balbus as governor of Crete,⁵ the appearance of the first colonial coins after Actium, the (theoretical) date of the assignation of the Capuan lands and the evident change in the epigraphy of the Augustan context point to it being an Augustan colony associated with the political reorganisation of the rest of this province.⁶

In the Augustan period, the relationship between Campania and Crete became stronger. Velleius Paterculus (2.81.2) and Cassius Dio (49.14.5) explain that after the battle of Philippi in 42 BCE, in which Octavian and Mark Antony fought against Brutus and Cassius, Octavian settled his veterans in Italy. He ordered some public lands in Capua to be confiscated in return for the gift of an aqueduct (Aqua Iulia) and declared that Capua would possess new public lands on the island of Crete. Dio tells us that these lands were at Knossos. They are normally referred to as the 'Lands of Capua' on Crete. It is hard to believe that Octavian would have been able to assign any lands on an island that was under Mark Antony's control up until the time of the battle of Actium in 31 BCE.⁷ Accordingly, the assignation of these lands must also be placed only after Actium.⁸

It is difficult to pinpoint the beginning of the relationship between Capua and Crete but the proxeny inscriptions at Gortyn (*ICr* IV 216; cf. Baldwin Bowsky 2006, 386) suggest an earlier interest. However, the epigraphic repertoire of Italians on Crete prior to Octavian is not as explicit and revealing as that for Delos and has its origins only at Gortyn, not Knossos.⁹ There is no definite evidence of Roman names at Knossos before the Augustan period (cf. Baldwin Bowsky 2001). From the time of Augustus onward, the evidence of Italian onomastics dates to just before, or the time of, the foundation of the colony of Knossos.¹⁰ These immigrants probably came from the south of the Italian peninsula, a region where Greek was still commonly used in daily life and where there were important wine traders (Marangou-Lerat 1995, 13–18; 1999). Similarly, there is plenty of evidence of Greek wine in Italy and specifically in Campania from the first century CE.¹¹ However, Campanian ceramics were very popular imports at a lot of sites around the Aegean at this time, and therefore their presence does not necessarily indicate a special connection or a permanent Italian community living there. It does, however, indicate close trading links and strong interregional network connections.

The island of Crete underwent territorial reorganisation at some point between the mid-first century BCE and the mid-first century CE (Baldwin Bowsky 2001; 2002b; Papaioannou 2007; Hayden 2004; Hingley 2005, 10–15; Sweetman 2011; 2013; Gallimore 2019, 611–12). However, during the Augustan period we can identify several specific and important political and

⁵ Baldwin Bowsky 1987, 223–4, also proposed that the appointment of Marcus Nonius Balbus to Crete cannot be an example of a clean *sortitio* and was decided probably by Augustus. Balbus had supported Octavian when he was tribune and so was rewarded for his loyalty.

⁶ See Cassius Dio 49.14.5. Capua's income from the Cretan property is noted in Velleius Paterculus 2.8. See Baldwin Bowsky 1987, 224; 2002b, 42–4; also Biundo 2004, 417–18.

⁷ It is impossible to confirm the exact date of the assignment of lands on Crete to Capua on the basis of these literary texts, cf. Sanders 1982, 5 and 14, and Tzamtzis 2006, 360–1.

⁸ Baldwin Bowsky 2006 accepts the dating of both events to 36 BCE. For different interpretations, see Bicknell 1977, 342; Harrison 1993, 55–7; Tzamtzis 2006, 360–1; 2020, 256–8.

⁹ There is another important aspect to take into account when considering the epigraphic evidence: the fact that the expansion of the Latin epigraphical habit (in both the east and west of the Empire) came about under Augustus and not before. I do not, however, wish to suggest that Campanians migrated before Augustus and that the absence of epigraphical evidence is not strong enough to disprove this (as is the main hypothesis of Baldwin Bowsky 2001). But it is a possibility.

¹⁰ Baldwin Bowsky 2001; 2006, 398; for the integration of the Roman communities in the Greek colonies, see Brélaz 2016.

¹¹ The best example is in Pompeii (Mau 1907, 504–7), where more amphorae have been identified, although Cretan amphorae have also been found in other parts of Campania (De Caro 1992–3; Marangou-Lerat 1999) and elsewhere in Italy (Marangou-Lerat 1995, 59). Moreover, archaeological surveys have revealed Campanian ceramics at Knossos (oil lamps: Baldwin Bowsky 2002b, 43–4; craters, sigillata: Eiring 2000; 2004; sigillata stamps: Baldwin Bowsky 2011; 2016; amphorae: Marangou-Lerat 1999) that suggest they were imported, albeit only in the context of Augustan chronology (Sackett 1992; Paton 1994; Baldwin Bowsky 1999; 2002a; 2017).

administrative decisions: as we have seen already, it may be at this time that the colony of Knossos was founded, the 'Lands of Capua' were assigned and Gortyn became the provincial capital (Baldwin Bowsky 2002b; Lefebvre 2013, 264; Chevrollier 2016, 14). The province was restructured after Actium (the island of Crete and the mainland of Cyrenaica were joined to create the province of Crete and Cyrenaica).¹²

Why did Octavian decide to give these lands to Capua? It is relevant that the part of Crete where Capua enjoyed possession of land was, and still is, a famous wine-producing region particularly well-suited to producing income. The associated objectives of punishing¹³ Crete and Knossos for pro-Antonine sympathies, the need to compensate Capua for the expropriation, and the importance of the wine trade in both Campania and Knossos could have been reasons for Octavian to assign Knossian lands to Capua. Classical sources speak of this as compensation for the lands confiscated in order to settle a new veteran colony in Campania, in Capuan territory (again, Velleius Paterculus 2.81.2 and Cassius Dio 49.14.5). But why did Capua not receive other lands on the Italian peninsula or the Italian islands instead of this distant Cretan exclave? We know of the complexity of the public lands of Capua.¹⁴ This colony had other properties, also in the form of prefectures,¹⁵ that were much more proximate than Knossos. The decision to assign these Cretan lands to Capua was motivated not only by the interests of Capua, but also by Octavian's political plan. This project had two phases: the first was the foundation of a colony called *Iulia Nobilis Cnossus*¹⁶ after the battle of Actium but before Octavian became Augustus (between 31 and 27 BCE);¹⁷ this was a civilian Roman colony that included some veterans (Baldwin Bowsky 2001; 2002a; note that partisans of Antony were specifically settled away from Italy); secondly, the assignation of lands to Capua was due to the commercial and particularly the viticultural interests of Capuan traders in the Aegean.

Lefebvre (2013, 262–4) has suggested that this foundation was not a simple settlement, but part of a complete territorial restructuring when Crete and Cyrenaica were joined into a single province, along with the restructuring of other eastern provinces after the battle of Actium. Before the battle, the eastern provinces were under the control of Mark Antony. Cicero provides useful information about how the commander awarded fiscal exemption to the Cretan towns and wished to free the island of Crete: 'But how blind avarice is! An official notice was posted late in time exempting the richest communities in Crete from taxation and decreeing that, after the proconsulship of Marcus Brutus, Crete should cease to be a province' (Cicero, *Philippics*, 2.38.97, tr. Shackleton Bailey 2010).

Other sources, such as Plutarch (*Life of Antony* 36.3) and Cassius Dio (49.32.5), explain that Mark Antony gave Cleopatra and her children some possessions on Crete.¹⁸ Lefebvre proposed that the choice of Marcus Nonius Balbus (*PIR*^I N 102) (already governor of the island) as patron of the province was a way for the Cretan towns to reconcile with Augustus. This title was awarded to a person close to the *princeps* and was given to Nonius because he had supported Octavian during the period when the latter had been tribune of the plebs in 32 BCE (see Lefebvre 2013). His activities can be seen in some arbitrations in central Crete (Baldwin Bowsky 1987), and he is honoured on five inscriptions found at Herculaneum dedicated by Knossos, Gortyn and the Cretan Koinon (*CIL* X 1430; 1431; 1432; 1433; 1434). Biundo (2004, 402–3) proposed

¹² Chevrollier 2016, 14, proposes a union before Augustus' reign.

¹³ Baldwin Bowsky 2002b, 25–44, has demonstrated that Octavian's strategy concerning the central reorganisation, and reward, of Gortyn and punishment of Knossos was not as simple as has been thought.

¹⁴ We know that in 44 BCE, Mark Antony founded the colony of Casilinum in the *ager* of Capua. Also, the evidence from *CIL* X 3750 = *ILS* 8351 would demonstrate that this part of the territory was given by Augustus to Aversa and the southern part to Puteoli. See Biundo 2004, 387–8.

¹⁵ The definition of Roman prefecture is 'land taken in from a neighbouring district and added to a Roman colony'. There are public lands of Capua in the territory of Minturnae (Pagano and Villucci 1985, 49–50 n. 1).

¹⁶ Strabo (*Geography*, 10.4.9) preserves the only extant account of its foundation. See also Paton 1994.

¹⁷ Baldwin Bowsky 1987; see the more recent discussion in Tzamtzis 2020, 253–5 and n. 105. Tzamtzis says there was no direct link because of the dates, but in fact all these phases were complementary.

¹⁸ I.e. Itanos according to Lefebvre 2013, 252; cf. Tzamtzis 2006, 363–5, also suggesting it may have been the island of Leuke.

that this fiscal exemption given by Mark Antony to Cretan towns (including Knossos) was still valid for the whole province of Crete and Cyrenaica on the basis of Augustus' edict (*FIRA* 1.68), dated 3–6 CE and found on an inscription in Cyrene (see Purpura 2012, 433–86, no. 6.4, lines 55–62). The 'Lands of Capua' were likewise exempt from fiscal obligations owing to the status of Capua as an Italian colony privileged under Italian law, as was the revenue (*vectigalia*) deriving from public property that was partially or totally rented out to Knossian colonists or the Greek inhabitants of Knossos (who had the status of *incolae*: see Brélaz 2017) that accrued to the towns and colonies.

A new reading of the inscription identifying a boundary between Capua and Plotius Plebeius

Having discussed the origins of the 'Lands of Capua' and the reasons for their assignment, we turn to the Karnari inscription. Pierre Ducrey (1969, 846–52, no. 3 = *AE* 1969–70, 635) published this inscription, which had been found in Karnari near Archanes, less than ten kilometres from Knossos. It is the most important piece of archaeological evidence for the 'Lands of Capua' on Crete. The most recently published picture of the inscription was taken by Géza Alföldy in 1993 and can be seen in the Epigraphic Database Heidelberg.¹⁹ There is, however, no evidence that the epigraphist revisited the text or reconsidered its implications.²⁰

In my Empire-wide study of the boundary stones of Italy and Italian towns, I included the boundary stone²¹ from Karnari (Archanes) (Fig. 2). In November 2018, I had the opportunity to carry out an epigraphic autopsy of the inscription and observed some differences from Ducrey's reading.

It is a boundary stone made of brown limestone from local quarries in Knossos,²² height 71 cm, width 47.5 cm, thickness 15.5 cm. The inscribed area of the front face has been smoothed and polished while the lower area and other faces are rough. The front face is weathered. Some erosion has affected mainly the upper corners. There are minor chips on some of the letters, as well as various minor nicks, scratches and areas of incrustation.

Eds Ducrey 1969, 846–52, no. 3 (= *AE* 1969–70, 635 = Šašel Kos 1979, no. 3). Roman square capitals. Letter height: line 1: 4 cm; lines 2 to 10: 2–3 cm. The inscription is currently kept at the portico of the store room of the Archaeological Museum of Heraklion (epigraphic store, catalogue number E 324). Autopsy España-Chamorro, 20th November 2018.

1 IMP(ERATORE) · DOMITIANO
 CAESAR(E) AUG(USTO) · GERM(ANICO) · X · CO(N)S(ULE)
 I(N)TER · COL(ONIAM) · FLAV(IAM) · AUG(USTAM) · FELIC(EM)
 ÇAP(UAM) ET PLO(T)IUM · PLEB[E]IUM
 5 [EX]SENTEN(TIA) TI(T)I · IMP(ERATORIS) · AUG(USTI) · ITEM
 [SEC]UND(UM) · DECRETUM · COL(ONIAE) · CAP(UAE)
 [EX] CONVENTIONE · UT[R]IUSQ(UE)
 [PAR]T[I]S TERMINI POSITI SUN(T)
 AG[E]NTE · P(UBLIO) · [M]ESS[I]O CAMPANO
 10 PROC(URATORE) ÇAMP(ANIAE)

¹⁹ <https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD012421>.

²⁰ The geographical area of the *praefectura*, which was only studied by Rigsby in 1976, 326–7, and, again, although more meticulously, in 1987 by Baldwin Bowsky, 218–20.

²¹ For the definition of this particular epigraphic medium, see Gregori 2019.

²² For the Greco-Roman quarries at Knossos, see Hood and Smyth, 1981, 54 nn. 264 and 266, 61 n. 363; Talbert 2000, Map 60 D2.



Fig. 2. Boundary stone between Capua and Knossos (author, Nov. 2018).

1. [I]mp(eratore) Ducrey || 3. [i]nter Ducrey || 4. Plotium Plebeium Ducrey || 5. Tiŕi Ducrey
 || 7. [c]onventionone u[tri]usq(ue) Ducrey || 8. Partis [t]ermini positi Ducrey || 8. agente
 Ducrey; Mess[i]o Ducrey || 10. [C]a[es]ariŕ Ducrey
 Interpuncts in lines 1, 2, 5 (between *Titi* and *Imperatoris*) and 7 omitted in Ducrey's edition.

Translation:

When the emperor Domitian Caesar Augustus Germanicus was consul for the tenth time.
 Between Colonia Flavia Augusta Felix Capua and Plotius Plebeius, according to the
 decision of the emperor Titus Augustus and following the decree of Colonia Capua,
 according to the agreement of both parties, boundary markers were placed, through the
 agency of Publius Messius Campanus, procurator of Campania.

The most important change suggested by this new interpretation of the inscription is in the final line (Fig. 3). Ducrey proposed reading it as *proc(uratore) [C]a[es]aris*.²³ This is the least visible part of the text, but a physical autopsy undertaken with different light orientations and by touching the letter traces leaves no doubt that the new reading is correct: the *procurator Caesaris* (imperial procurator; see Faoro 2011) becomes a *procurator Campaniae* (procurator of Campania; see Faoro 2017) with historical consequences for the interpretation of the so-called 'Lands of

²³ Aichinger 1982, 195, notes that this procurator is otherwise unknown and was surely there on a special mission ordered by Domitian. See also Campbell 2000, 463.



Fig. 3. Corrected text (detail, author, Nov. 2018).

Capua'. The title of this office is similar to others (i.e. *tractus Campaniae* – Campania region), only the abbreviations differ (*Camp.*,²⁴ *Campan.*²⁵ or without abbreviation).²⁶

This new reading is important for several reasons. It is the only evidence of this post outside Italy and the first in chronological terms; it also gives us more information about the function of these magistracies. Furthermore, it enhances our understanding of the juridical aspects of the 'Lands of Capua' on Crete and their historical consequences, including types of land exploitation.

The *procurator Campaniae* on Crete

The 'Lands of Capua' were managed by a *procurator Campaniae* who would have been in charge of administering Campanian lands and solving the problems related to this region, including the extraterritorial possessions of the colonies.²⁷ By contrast, a *procurator Caesaris* would have been primarily in charge of the imperial financial interests within a specific province²⁸ and thus should not be linked to the 'Lands of Capua'. The ancient land surveyor Siculus Flaccus tells us that a temporary magistrate, not a permanent one, managed praefectures,²⁹ which suggests that the 'Lands of Capua' would have been the responsibility of the *procurator Campaniae*. This is another indication that the model of the prefecture was deeply embedded and long-term (cf. España-Chamorro 2019, 256–8).

We do not know the exact origin of the office-holder, Messius: his cognomen Campanus is very common in Campania and specifically in Capua (*AE* 1987, 260; *CIL* X 3803, 3903, 4158, 4233, 4338, 4425; and in general Kajanto 1982, 190), but the name Messius is only attested once in

²⁴ *Camp.*: this inscription, and also *CIL* X 1795 (171–230 CE); *AE* 1908, 206 (221–40 CE); Caldelli 1992, 83 (138–61 CE).

²⁵ *Campan.*: *CIL* XI 378 (138–61 CE); *CIL* X 6081 (100–200 CE).

²⁶ Not abbreviated: *AE* 2013, 217 (138–61 CE); *AE* 2011, 267 (221–80 CE); *AE* 1922, 122 (100–50 CE); *CIL* XIV 2922 (180–92 CE); *CIL* VI 3862 (71–130 CE).

²⁷ As we can see in this inscription, Campania was part of the Italian region I (Regio I: Latium et Campania) in which a number of extraterritorial forms of land management were used as a political payment/punishment in several periods during the Republic and Early Roman Empire. See Paci 1999; Biundo 2003; 2004.

²⁸ See the general treatment in Dalla Rosa 2018, 498–505; for other questions related to the *procuratores* of the Augustan regions, see Faoro 2011; 2017, 185. For imperial properties in the joint province of Crete and Cyrenaica, see Girdvainyte (forthcoming).

²⁹ Siculus Flaccus, *De Conditionibus Agrorum* in Lachmann 1848, 160.5–7.

Capua at the end of the second century, in the name of the *magister P. Messius Q.l.* [---] (*CIL* I², 2506 = *ILLRP* 713), who shares the praenomen Publius even though they were a century apart. The assignment of this post not to an imperial freedman, but to an *equus* (a member of the Roman equestrian order)³⁰ in the first years of Domitian's reign can be analysed in light of the later *comparanda*. The inscription says nothing of the specific role of Publius Messius.³¹ There is, however, evidence for procurators of other regions in Italy who did not have a specific task, such as the procurator of Calabria (M. Bassaeus Axius) or the procurator of Lucania (Q. Calpurnius Modestus). Both were *equites*, but the second-century CE date is significantly later than the Karnari stone (see *CIL* X 1795 = *ILS* 1401; *CIL* XIV 161 = *ILS* 1427). Many differences can be detected between this Domitianic procurator and other examples from the second and third centuries. These regional procurators specialised in the different Augustan regions of Italy (Campania as part of Region I with Latium; Calabria as part of Region II with Apulia; Lucania a part of Region III with Brutii), and their geographical names were frequently preceded by the words *pars*, *regio* or *tractus*, meaning that this procurator was in charge of only part of the region (Camodeca 2007, 161 n. 27; cf. Arnaldi, Cassieri and Gregori 2013, 67–8, and also Nonnis 2014, 189–91).

The designation of an *equus* as *procurator Campaniae* in the Flavian period appears to have been part of a response to a generalised problem; it can be understood in the context of the land restitution programme carried out by Vespasian in order to return the occupied *subseciva* (unused land) to the colonies. Land surveyors³² tell us that this was a widespread problem. Vespasian's son (Domitian) allowed the land users to keep the land through the practice of *usucapio* (acquisition of the ownership of something by virtue of uninterrupted possession). In this context, Messius Campanus probably had to apply the same regulation as in Italy and also probably in other land disputes related to Capua.³³

One of the most interesting aspects of this new reading is that it is the first chronological attestation of a *procurator Campaniae*. This office must have differed greatly in status from the procurators attested in the second and third centuries CE. The fact that Publius Messius was not a freedman but an *equus* must have corresponded to his special mission, as it could not have been entrusted to a freedman or a senator. Fiscal and patrimonial issues were regulated by an equestrian, whereas senators were sent on special missions where civil and criminal cases needed to be resolved; an interesting example is the case of Iulius Planta in the Tabula Clesiana (see Faoro 2017). The equestrian status of our procurator is, therefore, perfectly comprehensible within the problematic case of the *praefectura Campana*.

In the specific case of Campania, we know of only three more examples of this position; the title is different, but again this could be due to their different dates. All are dated to the second century CE and were imperial freedmen: Ismarus, *procurator Campa[niae]*; Acastus, *procurator provinciae Mauretaniae Tingitanae et tractus Campaniae* (procurator of the province of Mauretania Tingitana and the region of Campania); and T. Aelius Aug.l. [---], *procurator tractus Campaniae* (procurator of the region of Campania: see Ward-Perkins 1961, 87, no. 3; *CIL* X 6081; Lanciani 1883, 237, no. 669). Publius Messius Campanus is, therefore, the first known *procurator Campaniae*. This is a very valuable piece of evidence because it sheds light on the earlier phase of these regional procurators and shows remarkable differences with those of the second and third centuries, indicating the evolution of this post.

The 'Lands of Capua' as the *praefectura Campana*

The 'Lands of Capua' have been barely studied from the administrative point of view. The direct link of the procurator with Capua makes it possible to review the juridical category and administration of

³⁰ For a definition of *equus Romanus equo publico* or *equus equo publico*, see Demougin 1988, 205–7.

³¹ For a list of equestrian procurators in Italy, see Pflaum 1961, 1036–41. More recently, see Faoro 2011.

³² Agenius Urbicus, *De controversia agrorum* in Lachmann 1848, 81.17–82.4 = Thulin 1913, 41.9–26; Hyginus Gromaticus, *De limitibus constituendi* in Lachmann 1848, 111.6–8; Hyginus Gromaticus, *De generibus controversiarum* in Lachmann 1848, 132.24–133.8 = Thulin 1913, 96.11–97.8; see also Suetonius, *Life of Domitian* 9.3.

³³ For the territory of Capua, see de Nardis 2019, 141–8.

these lands. Taking the information provided by land surveyors into consideration, we can link this special piece of land as a prefecture and have a better idea of this engagement with the Italian colony, its context in Roman territorial administration, and its legal and fiscal aspects.

The question of the juridical category of these lands has yet to be investigated. From the moment they were transferred from Knossos to Capua, they had to be assigned as part of the public lands (*ager publicus*) of the colony of Capua, categorised in a way defined by the land surveyors. The general scholarly consensus is to think of this kind of exclave as lands subject to Roman taxation (*ager vectigalis*) and a part of the public places (*loca publica*) of Capua, based on information from Velleius Paterculus, who only indicates that the expropriated lands of Capua had been public lands (Velleius Paterculus 2.81.2). In line with this, the lands assigned to Capua on Crete could also have been public. However, these public lands must have been under special administration, as they belonged to the type of extraterritorial unit described by the land surveyors as ‘prefecture’ (*praefectura*). This was a special model³⁴ used to administer scattered plots outside the boundaries of the land assigned to a colony at the time of its foundation (represented in the work of Hyginus Gromaticus; see Fig. 4). Any land could have fallen into this category³⁵ when it was taken from another town, either when the territory granted to a colony was insufficient or, as in other scenarios such as the case here, it was compensation for a confiscation. The so-called Lands of Capua could, therefore, be called a *praefectura Capuensis* or better still *praefectura Campana*.

Some authors (Laffi 1975, XLII; Keppie 1984, 91 n. 25) have claimed that the use of prefectures as an administrative tool was a temporary solution for land management (see Biundo 2004). In the case of Crete, however, this does not hold, as is demonstrated by evidence from the time of Augustus through to Domitian. Cassius Dio (cf. Biundo 2003, 136) wrote about this topic in the third century CE without mentioning any change in the juridical situation and stating that it was still used in his time. Thus, the *praefectura Campana* was apparently managed by Capua for at least three centuries.

This system of external landed property was common to Italian towns. In some cases, we also know of land that belonged to Italian towns (mainly colonies like Capua) in provincial contexts far away from their assigned land. One famous case is that of Teanum and its properties and *pagus* (an extra-urban community linked to the colony) in the *ager* of Carthage (Proconsular Africa, *CIL VIII* 25966). Other Italian cases are mentioned by Cicero (*Letters to Friends* 13.7–11): the towns of Atella and Arpinum had lands in Gallia Cisalpina, while the town of Regium had properties outside Italy, although we do not know where they were located (see Biundo 2004, 374–6). We also find interesting cases involving provincial towns: Augusta Emerita (Lusitania) is one of the best studied examples because we know of at least four prefectures from literary sources and epigraphy.³⁶ There is another example relating to the prefecture of Ucubi³⁷ (Baetica), again far away from the main colony. Other examples could be the colony of Arelatum (Gallia

³⁴ *Liber Coloniarum* in Lachmann 1848, 242.5–6. The same is indicated by Frontinus (*De controversiis agrorum* in Lachmann 1848, 55.17 = Aegenius Urbicus in Lachmann 1848, 21.20), see also Siculus Flaccus, *De Conditionibus Agrorum* in Lachmann 1848, 159.26–9; Siculus Flaccus, *De Conditionibus Agrorum*, Lachmann 1848, 160.7–11.

³⁵ Lopez Paz 1993, 742 is based on the evidence of the land surveyors: Frontinus *De limitibus* in Lachmann 1848, 26.6. E fig. 25; Frontinus, *De controversiis agrorum* in Lachmann 1848, 49.7 = Aegenius Urbicus in Lachmann 1848, 16.8; Siculus Flaccus *De Conditionibus Agrorum* in Lachmann 1848, 159.29–33 and 160.5–7. López Paz 1993, 741–52, however, indicates that there were diverse kinds of *praefecturae*. Not having enough land was not the only cause of this judicial procedure. For example, the colony Augusta Emerita had at least 4 *praefecturae* and the land surveyors say that after the respective assignments there was still free land available (*‘Multis enim locos adsignationi agrorum immanitas superfuít, sicut in Lusitania finibus Augustinorum’*: Frontinus, *De controversiis agrorum* in Lachmann 1848, 22.6–7).

³⁶ Hyginus Gromaticus, *De limitibus constituendi*, in Thulin 1913, 136.1–10 = Lachmann 1848, 171.4–172.4. These prefectures were placed in several locations but mainly on the borders between the provinces of Lusitania and Baetica. See the discussion in España-Chamorro 2019, 256–8.

³⁷ *Terminus* from Valencia de Ventoso (Badajoz, Spain) (*CIL II* 6337); *termini* from Valdecaballeros, the first between the town of Laci(ni)murga and Ucubi (*CIL II*²/7, 870; *HEP I*, 115; *AE* 1986, 323) and another between Ucubi and Augusta Emerita (*CIL II* 656; *ILS* 5972; *CIL II*²/7, 871).

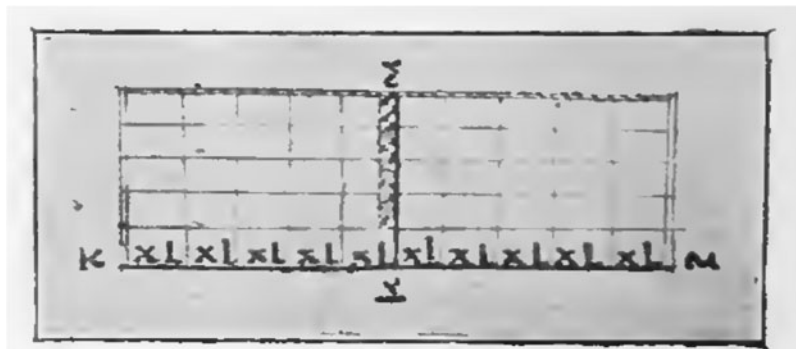


Fig. 78. A 118. p. 136,7. (La. fig. 139.)

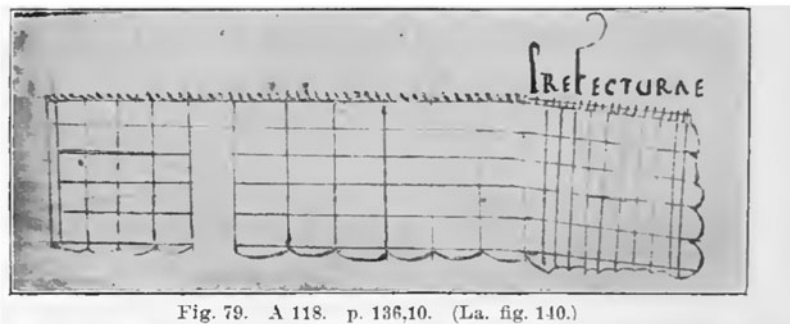


Fig. 79. A 118. p. 136,10. (La. fig. 140.)

Hyg. Gro Thul. 136 = Lach 171,4-172,4.

Fig. 4. Diagram of *praefecturae* according to Hyginus Gromaticus (Thulin 1913, Lam. 16, figs 78, 79).

Narbonensis) and the town of Serdica (Moesia Inferior), which had external properties within the juridical system of the prefecture far from their urban centre (España-Chamorro 2017, 121–5).

What exactly is a Roman prefecture? Based on evidence from land surveyors, we can envisage two different systems of prefectures:³⁸ (a) land divided and assigned to veterans with a cadastral map showing the assignation and (b) public properties that belonged to the colony within the juridical responsibility of a public person.³⁹ This system envisaged the colony as a juridical entity that could receive lands in the form of a prefecture. There are contradictory indications in Siculus Flaccus' texts (*De Conditionibus Agrorum* 160.5–7), but we can observe that sending magistrates to the prefectures reveals a jurisdictional and administrative dependency, but not a patrimonial one. A patrimonial dependency is only possible in the case of forests and pasture lands, not public rented land as in this case. These properties can be considered as public places and would have been governed under public law. As for the *praefectura Campana*, these lands were not simply directly assigned to veterans by means of a colonial foundation, as happened for example in Augusta Emerita. Consequently, we can consider that they were divided in order to rent them out.⁴⁰ Renting them subject to Roman taxation was one way of exploiting these distant lands because it ensured a long-lasting system of rental yields. So as to avoid boundary disputes, the plots were probably recorded on a cadastral map⁴¹

³⁸ This distinction is provided by López Paz 1993, 750. She indicates, however, that the public land was mainly forest and pasture lands. It is possible, but this is not the only juridical form.

³⁹ The situation would have been one of judicial and administrative dependence.

⁴⁰ Tzamtzis 2020, 253, has also recently proposed this kind of land management.

⁴¹ They were known as *forma*. See Hyginus Gromaticus, *De Conditionibus Agrorum*. In Lachmann 1848, 116.24 = Thulin 1913, 80. This could imply the cadastral category as an entire lot of land rented to a community or another juridical person; see Castillo Pascual 1996, 266; also 1998, 40 n. 20.

kept in the Capua archive.⁴² The maps allowed these new lands to be controlled, even if they were not measured like the divided and assigned plots. Indeed, there is no sign of a grid in the topography of the Knossos valley. In the context of a boundary dispute, the cadastral map of the Knossos territory was probably consulted by the proconsul and presented to Titus in order to secure the restoration of taken lands. The procurator would probably have consulted his Capuan counterpart to gain a broader, clearer idea before going to Crete.

This model of prefecture does not conflict with considering these lands as public property of the colony divided as communal land leased in exchange for rent (*ager vectigalis*). On the contrary, this was a very common arrangement for land division in provincial towns (Paci 1999, 64) and a common way of managing extraterritorial lands.⁴³ Biundo (2003, 134–5) wondered whether these lands were considered in the same terms as the Italian properties, which would mean that they had fiscal exemption. In this way, lessors would pay not only the incomes to Capua, but also the tribute as in rent-paying land. The new link with the *procurator Campaniae* as opposed to *Caesaris* proves that these lands were considered Italian land from the administrative, juridical and fiscal points of view, and explains why Publius Messius Campanus was involved in order to protect the interests of Capua on Crete. As previously mentioned, the general problem of the restitution of *subseciva* in the Flavian period probably involved Messius Campanus in other similar Italian problems due to its charge.

Another important aspect is the management of these lands. Perhaps the famous inscription found in Capua (CIL X 3938 = ILS 6317) that mentions a treasurer and controller of public revenue from Crete is key to understanding this aspect. The function of this person was certainly related to the collection of the income due to the *praefectura Campana*. Velleius Paterculus indicates that these lands produced 1,200,000 sesterces annually (Panciera 2006, 756–7; cf. Paci 1999, 71 n. 44).

THE BOUNDARY DISPUTE AND ROMAN LAW

The juridical process and the property dispute between a public entity and a private owner

Having analysed the procurator and the juridical category of lands, it is now time to explore the dispute. The new interpretation enhances our understanding of the whole legal process by enabling a reconstruction of its chronological development from Augustus to Domitian. Contextualising this specific dispute within Roman law and the information provided by land surveyors, we can categorise the Karnari inscription as a boundary dispute between a public entity (Capua) and a private owner (Plotius Plebeius). This allows us to further evaluate the historical significance of the Karnari inscription.

The juridical process

Unique aspects of the Karnari boundary stone inscription enhance our understanding of the juridical process. Normally, such inscriptions mark the final stage of a long property dispute process. We rarely find any information in them about the judicial process prior to the resolution. In this case, however, some clues allow us to reconstruct that process and in particular the role of the arbiter (the Emperor Titus) and the public pleader (who both represented Capua and carried out Domitian's verdict). The new reading demonstrates the latter's position as an Italian magistrate specific to Campania. The chronology of this dispute can be reconstructed as follows:

- The dispute took place around 79–80 CE, if not before, to judge from the date of Titus' brief reign;

⁴² There was probably another *forma* of the Knossos territory in the Knossos archive where the *praefectura Campana* were indicated.

⁴³ This can be seen, for example, in the colony of Arpinium and Atella, which had some land in Gallia (Cicero, *Letters to Friends* 13.7.1–2 and 13.11.1), and the colony of Aquinum, which had some lands outside Italy (known from Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 3.116).

- Plotius Plebeius brought his complaint to the provincial governor of Crete-Cyrenaica, who remitted the case to the Emperor Titus;
- Consequently, Capua promulgated a decree delegating the juridical power to Publius Messius Campanus, who was *procurator Campaniae*;
- The arbitration took place over the following years and the resolution occurred in the summer of 81 CE at the latest, again to judge from the date of Titus' brief reign;
- The boundaries were established during the tenth consulship of Domitian (84 CE). Publius Messius Campanus applied the imperial decision at that time.

It is interesting that the date of this boundary stone, 84 CE in the tenth consulship of Domitian, matches that of another found on the opposite side of the Mediterranean in Cisimbrum, Hispania.⁴⁴ The boundary stones from Karnari (Archanes) and Cisimbrum (Priego de Córdoba) are the first such examples in Domitian's reign.⁴⁵ Presumably, Domitian first resolved old, unfinished cases before moving on to other territorial disputes. We also know of Domitian's involvement in issues surrounding recurrent boundary disputes. One is the sacred land of the temple of Artemis in Ephesus (Engelmann 1999, 143–6 no. 4; Elliot 2004, 172 no. 61.9), a conflict that began in the time of Augustus and ended under Trajan. Another unresolved case was that of the prefecture of Ucubi, which began under Vespasian.⁴⁶ Two later pieces of evidence under Domitian seem to be unrelated to previous cases.⁴⁷ Finally, another interesting inscription from Rhytion (*ICr* I 49.1, in Greek), also on Crete, records a resolution under Hadrian concerning another arbitration that was active in the reign of Domitian and goes back as far as Augustus and probably Metellus in the mid-first century BCE.

The Cretan boundary stone states that both parties came to a mutual agreement. This is preceded by the expression 'according to the verdict', the most common method throughout the Empire of referring to boundary verdicts (Elliot 2004, 28). However, mutual agreement does not seem to be the case here, as the imperial authority became involved in the judicial process. Aichinger (1982, 195) proposed that the presence of two different jurisdictions was a reason to involve the emperor. In fact, disputes between two different provinces or jurisdictions, as we see in this case, had to involve the emperor.⁴⁸ We can see this from other boundary stones, including those from Augusta Emerita, for example. The new reading goes a step further as it shows that the agreement was not literally made by local people,⁴⁹ but required the *procurator Campaniae* to travel from Italy to Crete, and also involved the emperor. Messius was also sent to Crete by the emperor himself on a special and atypical mission concerning a longstanding problem. For arbitration trials between towns, the resolution (*sententia*) had to do with the substance and the effects, while the *decretum* indicated who performed the arbitration and how it was carried out, with prior knowledge of all the circumstances from both parties (Cortés Bárcena 2013b, 275).

⁴⁴ *Imp(eratore) Domitiano Ca[es(are) Aug(usto)] / Aug(usti) f(ilio) X co(n)s(ule) term[inus] / Augustalis munici[pi] Fla[vi] C[isim]brensis [ex] / decreto L(uci) Antisti [Rus]/tici proc(o)n(s)ulis*. *AE* 1982, 544 = *CIL* II²/5, 302; Cortés Bárcena 2013b, 71–5 no. 14).

⁴⁵ A bronze letter found in Falerium (*CIL* X 5420) is not a boundary stone, but nonetheless provides information about a territorial dispute in which Domitian recognised the right of the claiming owners. However, the dispute appears to have concerned property rights rather than boundaries.

⁴⁶ *Imp(eratore) Domitiano Caes(are) Aug(usto) / Divi Aug(usti) Vesp(asiani) f(ilio) / Augustalis telrminus c(olonorum) c(oloniae) C(laritat[is]) Iul(iae) Ucubitanor(um) / inter Aug(ustanos) Emer(itenses)*. *CIL* II 656 = *ILS* 5972 = *CIL* II²/7, 871.

⁴⁷ A boundary stone marking the territorial restitution of the public lands of Ptolemaenses (*AE* 1954, 188) in Cyrenaica seems to have involved a different process, if we compare it to the other boundary stones from Cyrenaica relating to the restoration of public lands by Lucius Acilius Strabo (special legate of Claudius, *PIR*² A 82); see Elliot 2004, 172–8, no. 62. Another case is that between the nation of Miuduciivi and Zamucii (*IRom. Trip.* 854; *AE* 1940, 70) in Africa Proconsularis.

⁴⁸ The cases of Vienna (Gallia Narbonensis) – present-day Vienne in modern France – and Forum Claudii Ceutronum Axima (Alpes Graiae) provide good examples; see Cortés Bárcena 2013a, 275–8.

⁴⁹ It would not have been made by 'local people' anyway, as one of the disputing parties was the town itself: the expression *ex conventione utriusque partis* is often invoked in such inscriptions, regardless of whether there was an actual 'agreement', and it could simply mean that the parties agreed to comply with the judge's verdict. I am grateful to Lina Girdvainyte for discussion of this matter.

Further peculiarities are illustrated in this text. Firstly, it is a Latin inscription in a region that predominantly used Greek for both public and private epigraphy,⁵⁰ and it shows once again that Latin was the language used for inscriptions involving imperial authority. Secondly, this boundary stone is related to an exclave, which means it involved non-contiguous territory. This piece of land is in fact more than 1150 km from the juridical centre to which it belonged (see Fig. 1). Thirdly, and most importantly, is the relationship between the two parties of the dispute. New studies⁵¹ of boundary stones allow us to divide them into different juridical categories. This example can be included among the disputes between a public entity (Capua) and a private owner (Plotius Plebeius) (cf. Castillo Pascual 1996, 184–5; Cortés Bárcena 2013b, 244), discussed by the land surveyors (Aegenius Urbicus in Lachmann 1848, 84.29–85.4 = Thulin 1913, 45.16–22) in the Roman treatise on land surveying. However, compared to other kinds of disputes (between a public entity and a private owner), the epigraphic evidence for these is scarce because disputes among such parties usually reached a resolution without the intervention of imperial officials (*arbitri*).

We can see a great deal of variety in the relatively few examples of boundary stones related to this kind of dispute that features imperial involvement. The closest parallel is a dispute from the province of Macedonia between the colony of Philippi and a private landowner, Claudianus Artemidorus,⁵² which was also resolved by the Emperor Trajan himself (judging by the expression used in the text).⁵³ Another very similar boundary dispute is that of Kalaat-es-Senam (Le Kef, Tunisia) in Africa Proconsularis.⁵⁴ This territorial dispute between the territory of the Musulamii, an imperial assignation of land to an ethnic group (España-Chamorro 2018), and the landowner Valeria Atticilla is remarkably similar to that of the Karnari (Archanes) boundary stone. Not so far away, in Sidi Bouzid⁵⁵ (Fedjana, Algeria), in the province of Mauretania Caesariensis, there is yet another boundary stone between a community of Tabianenses (the town of Tabia or the *castellum Tabianense*) and land attributed to the veteran Surus. It presents a similar juridical category, but with a very different text. The last piece of evidence is from *Dalmatia*, between a territory assigned to a legion and a private forest.⁵⁶ In all of these cases, the texts and their chronology vary considerably. The only aspect in which they concur is the order in which the parties to the dispute are mentioned: the public party is mentioned first and the private party second (cf. Gascou 1992, 60 n. 22).

The public party: a hitherto unattested cognomen Flavia for the colony at Capua

This document is also very important as it contains the only attestation of the cognomen Flavia in the official name of Capua. Ducrey (1969, 848–9) and Rigsby (1976, 320) believed that this could

⁵⁰ On bilingualism at the colony, see Baldwin Bowsky 2004. A census of Latin inscriptions and the role of Latin in Crete is discussed in Chaniotis 1985, 187–8; Baldwin Bowsky 2006; and Sweetman 2007. Greek inscriptions make up the majority of the epigraphic repertoire. Latin inscriptions were used primarily (but not exclusively) for legal texts, such as this *terminus*, as well as on the epitaphs of some Roman citizens.

⁵¹ Mainly the study of boundary stones from the Western Roman Empire in Cortés Bárcena 2013a; 2013b.

⁵² *Ex auctoritate / imp(eratoris) Nervae Traia(mi) Caesaris Aug(usti) / Ger(manici) fines dere(cti) inter rem [pu]blicam col(oniā) Philippiensem et / Claudianum Ar(temidorum) / S(- - -) P(- - -) C(- - -) (CIL III 14206.4 = AE 1898, 89 = ILS 5981 = España-Chamorro 2017, CoTIR-MAC-7). This inscription is probably linked to another that reads *ex auctor(itate) / imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) / Hadriani Aug(usti) / fines dere(cti) / [int]er pop(ulum) Phil(ippensem) [et] / her(edes) Span(---) (CIL III 14406d).**

⁵³ All territorial disputes involving Roman colonies had to be resolved by the emperor/imperial legates, because colonies were, strictly speaking, outside the governor's jurisdiction. Cf. also CIL III 591, c. 101 CE, a boundary stone between the colony of Dion and the town of Olosson placed *ex auctoritate imp(eratoris)* and *ex conventionē ipsorum*.

⁵⁴ *Ex auctoritate / imp(eratoris) Nervae Traiani Caesaris / Augusti Germanici Dacici pontif(ici)s / maximi trib(unicia) potest(ate) VIII imp(eratoris) IIII co(n)s(ule) V p(atris) p(atriciae) / L(ucius) Mimicius Natalis leg(atu)s Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) inter Musulamos et Valeriam Atticillam LXXXX a(d) p(roximu)m p(assus) CXVI CD (ILTun 1653 = Cortés Bárcena 2013b, 166–9, no. 64 = España-Chamorro 2017, CoTIR-NAF-9).*

⁵⁵ *Terminu(m) i(n)ter Tabianeses et Suru(m) veter(e)an(um) (AE 1975, 956 = Cortés Bárcena 2013b, 204–7, no. 80 = España-Chamorro 2017, CoTIR-MAU-9).*

⁵⁶ *[Termini] p[ro]s[er]vati inter p[ro]p[ri]etate[m] leg[ion]is [et] fines / roboreti Fla(vi) / Marc(iani) per Augu[st]ianu(m) Belli(c[i]?)u(m) p[ro]c(uratore[m]) / Aug(usti) (CIL III 13250 = ILS 5968 = España-Chamorro 2017, CoTIR-DAL-14).*

be testimony to a commemorative title symbolising the *pietas* of Vespasian after he had pardoned the colony for their support for Vitellius. Another theory also mentioned by Ducrey (1969, 848–9) is that, for some reason, this title was given to Capua by Domitian and was removed after he died and was condemned to oblivion by the Senate.

Keppie (1984, 96), however, has proposed that it is not possible to consider the clemency of Vespasian after he sent the *legio III Gallica hiemandi causa* there, in order to contain possible riots and any subsequent damage in the colony. Pliny, however (*Natural History* 14.62), tells us that Vespasian⁵⁷ gave the Sullan colony of Urbania to Capua in the form of a *contributio* (see Laffi 1966). This demonstrates a Vespasianic programme to settle veterans from the Jewish Wars in Capua, aimed at strengthening his position as emperor, as Augustus did. This would have been a good reason for giving Capua the cognomen Flavia. This new evidence makes Capua the third colony with the cognomen Flavia in Campania. The others were Puteoli, colonia Flavia Augusta, and Paestum, colonia Flavia Prima. There is no Flavia cognomen for Nola, colonia Felix Augusta, but thanks to the land surveyor's information we know of a new colonial re-foundation in the age of Vespasian.⁵⁸

Why, then, is the cognomen Flavia present for Capua only in this inscription? It is not necessarily the case that its disappearance indicates Domitian's intervention.⁵⁹ We can see other cases of erased *cognomina*, e.g. Puteoli, named colonia Neronensis Claudia Augusta Puteoli before Vespasian (Ginsberg 2019, 30), or Arausio, colonia Iulia Firma Secundanorum, renamed colonia Flavia Tricastinorum by Vespasian (Gilman Romano 2000, 102 n. 64). The closest example of this kind of name change is at Corinth, where we can see the same process (Gilman Romano 2000, 104 n. 79): initially named colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis, it was re-founded and thus renamed by Vespasian as colonia Iulia Flavia Augusta Corinthiensis. This was the official name only for a short time (70/77–96 CE). After Domitian's death, the colony reverted to its earlier name. Accordingly, it seems that the cognomen Flavia present in this Cretan inscription corresponds to Vespasian, as in the other colonies in Campania and Corinth. The reason for the disappearance of the title in Capua and Corinth is not clear. Gilman Romano (2000, 104 n. 79; 2003, 291) has proposed that, in the case of Corinth, its re-foundation was never completed, and therefore it reverted to its former name. Given the absence of other evidence, we might entertain the notion that the process was the same for Capua.

The private party: Plotius Plebeius

We do not know exactly where the property of Plotius Plebeius was situated, but apparently the boundary stone was found on the limit between the private property of Plebeius and the public property of Capua. The nearest town in the area is Knossos, and the other party in the dispute was the colony of Capua, whose public lands were located in the former territory of Knossos, according to classical authors. Thus, there is no doubt that the property of Plotius⁶⁰ belonged to the territory of Knossos. Further evidence is the prosopography of the area. One of the first magistrates (*duumvir*) of the Augustan colony of Knossos was a homonymous Plotius Plebeius, known from the numismatic evidence (see Münsterberg 1911, 125 = *RPC* 1.978) (Fig. 5).

According to the inscription, the second Plotius Plebeius was a member of the colonial elite, nearly a century after the magistrate named on colonial coinage. Both seem to have been from the same family, and they apparently did not move away from Knossos. There is further evidence for two other landowners in and around the Capuan lands: closed water pipes from Rhaukos and Asites that name a Va(r)ro (*ICr* I xxvii.4; *SEG* XXIII 531), and an inscription

⁵⁷ The authorship is doubtful. Others indicate that Nero could have done this. See Biundo 2004, 387 n. 75.

⁵⁸ *Liber Coloniarum* 1, in Lachmann 1848, 236.

⁵⁹ Rigsby 1976, 320. Quoting Pflaum (1975), he holds that other colonies of Domitian, such as Scupi, used the cognomen *Domitiana* instead of *Flavia*.

⁶⁰ Another epigraphical document from Archanes (Διὶ Σωτήρι Πλωτίου Κόρινθου ἱατροῦ: *ICr* I viii.17) shows a dedication by Plotius Corinthus, a Greek doctor, who was a freedman of the Plotii from Knossos; the chronology is probably Augustan. This is one piece of evidence for the link between the Plotii family and the area at the time of Octavian. Rigsby 1976, 325, has proposed that the Plebeii owned private rural property in the Archanes area.



Fig. 5. Coin of the Augustan *duumvir* Plotius Plebeius (RPC 1.978) (Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin).

naming a slave of M. Claudius Thettaliskos at Karnari (Kritzas 2011). There is no evidence of problems with them or other landowners in the area.

The territorial area of the *praefectura Campana* (Lands of Capua)

By comparison, the extent of the *praefectura Campana* is not well defined (Fig. 6). Nevertheless, the proposal put forward by Rigsby (1976, 326–7) with some clarification from Baldwin Bowsky (1987) gives us some idea. Such problematic pieces of land had to be limited mainly by natural features.⁶¹ The northern border is relatively clear: it stretches from Mount Iuktas and the Archanes valley,⁶² Karnari (the findspot of the boundary stone of this article) and Lycastus;⁶³ Asites and Rhaukos could mark the possible maximum extension to the north-western border. It is probable that the prefecture was limited by the Giofiros River to the west, and also by a natural corridor that directly linked Knossos to Gortyn. Perhaps both, river and corridor, were taken as boundary elements.⁶⁴ We have no epigraphic or archaeological evidence to fix a limit in the southern part, although the mountains between Roukani and Arkadi would have been a good natural feature. The eastern border is also complicated, but perhaps the mountains next to Partheni would have been a suitable limit. Thus, the fertile parts of the valley and the plateaux amount to around 50–60 km². This calculation roughly coincides with Biundo's (2003, 136) calculation, which estimated that 1,200,000 sesterces a month could correspond to c. 20,000 *iugera* of productive land, i.e. around 50 km² (Figs 7 and 8).

CONCLUSIONS

This new reading allows me to propose a different version of this important text with a number of significant historical consequences. This first attestation of a *procurator Campaniae*, and also the first one outside of Italy regarding the management of the Lands of Capua, gives us a clue as to the extent of the jurisdiction of these *procuratores* and their involvement in the arbitration processes. It also proves that these lands had the juridical status of Italian land from the administrative, legal and fiscal points of view. There are, however, many differences between this early equestrian procurator and the already-known second- and third-century procurators who were imperial freedmen.

The new approach helps us to understand this unprecedented situation and also makes it possible to reconstruct the legal process. This boundary dispute must be understood in the

⁶¹ Rivers, mountains and anepigraphic boundary stones, as land surveyors explained. We can see this in the practical case of the famous *Sententia Minuciorum* – CIL V 7749 = CIL I 584

⁶² As already noted, the *terminus* between Capua and Plebeius was found near Karnari. This means that the Archanes valley and Mount Iuktas were the most easily traceable parts of the boundary.

⁶³ Rigsby 1976 identified the former territories of some urban centres such as Tylissus and Lycastus as the valleys assigned to Capua.

⁶⁴ For the corridor, see Talbert 2000, Map 60; Baldwin Bowsky 2002b, 44.

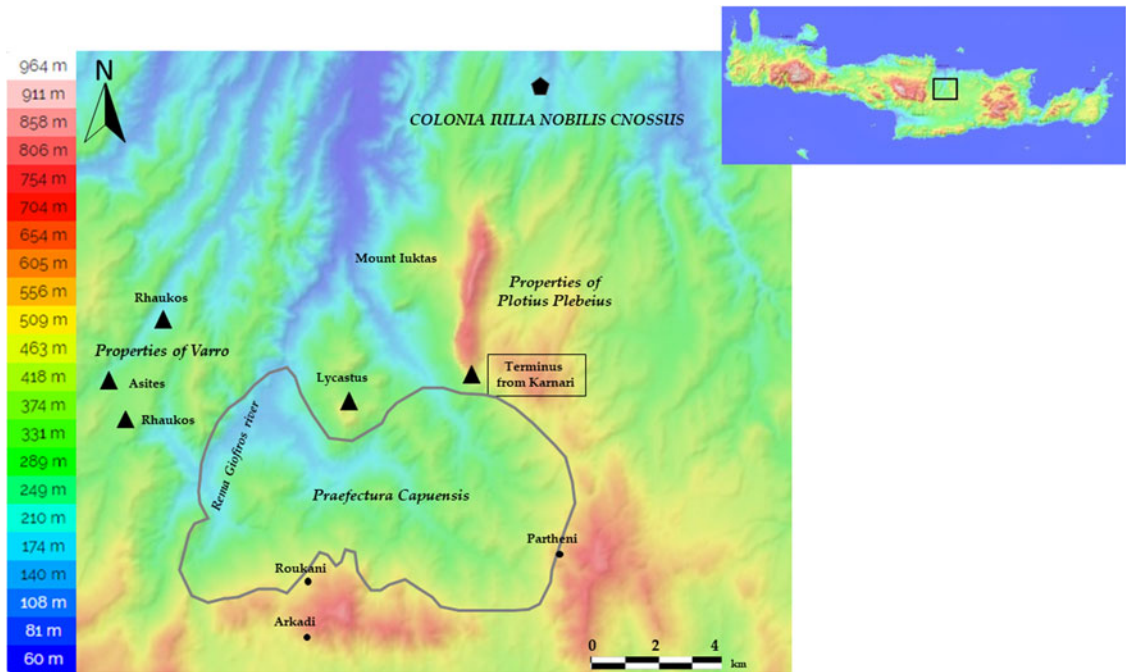


Fig. 6. The extension of the *praefectura Campana* (author).



Fig. 7. Archanes valley landscape looking south (author, Nov. 2018).

category of a dispute between a public entity and a private owner, and also of one between a province and Italian land. Comparing this dispute with the information provided by land surveyors, we must think of the juridical management of a prefecture, which could have been



Fig. 8. Archanes valley landscape looking north towards the coast (author, Nov. 2018).

called *praefectura Capuensis*, *praefectura Campana* or, from the Capuan point of view, *praefectura Cnosiensis* or *Cretensis*.⁶⁵

As we have seen above, the Roman prefecture system ensured the correct administration of the new public land and converted it into communal land leased in exchange for rent (*ager vectigalis*). No fixed settlement of veterans has been attested in these lands; instead, it was rented to Greek citizens from Knossos (Tzamtzis 2020, 253). The assignation of these distant lands was linked to Cretan wine production. In fact, archaeological evidence in Campania has demonstrated an active trade in these wines from the first century CE, and this may have been a very good way of compensating the colony of Capua for the expropriation of its land. This constituted a continuation of late Hellenistic trade and transshipment, one that may have been put to new uses in the imperial period. Gallimore (2019) has shown that infrastructure development and increased economic connectivity by the mid-first century CE had an impact upon not only Knossos but also all of Crete.⁶⁶ Perhaps the *praefectura* was, in the end, a long-lasting factor in the maintenance of the Campanian–Cretan and/or Capuan–Knossian relationships.

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⁶⁵ This is so in the Lusitanian case of the *praefectura Turgaliensis* mentioned by the *agrimensores*. In the case of Augusta Emerita, there is one enclave called *praefectura Turgaliensis* that received this name because it consisted of the lands confiscated from the town of Turgalium (Hyginus Gromaticus, *De limitibus constituendi*, in Thulin 1913, 136).

⁶⁶ Gallimore 2019, 612, argues that Knossos' relationship with Capua was the primary stimulus behind Crete's economic connections with Italy. See also Horden and Purcell 2000, 219.

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Ο *procurator Campaniae* και οι ‘Lands of Capua’ στην Κρήτη

Το άρθρο παρουσιάζει μια νέα έκδοση μιας επιγραφής που αναφέρεται σε οριοθέτηση μεταξύ της Καπύης και της Κνωσού. Ταυτίζεται και διερευνάται το αξίωμα του Publius Messius Campanus ο οποίος πλέον θεωρείται *procurator Campaniae* αντί *procurator Caesaris*. Η παρουσία ενός *procurator Campaniae* στην Κρήτη συνδέεται με μια διαμάχη μεταξύ της αποικίας της Καπύης κι ενός ιδιώτη, του Plotius Plebeius. Αυτή η νέα ανάγνωση συνεπάγεται ορισμένα σημαντικά ιστορικά συμπεράσματα. Πρώτον, αυτή είναι η παλαιότερη μαρτυρία ενός *procurator Campaniae* και η πρώτη εκτός Ιταλίας. Δεύτερον, προσφέρει μια νέα ερμηνεία για το νομικό καθεστώς των γαιών της Κνωσού ως τμήματος του *ager vectigalis* της ιταλικής αποικίας της Καπύης με τη μορφή μιας *praefectura Campana* ή *Capuensis*. Τρίτον, προτείνεται μια νέα ερμηνεία της διαμάχης ανάμεσα σε μια δημόσια οντότητα (Καπύη) κι έναν ιδιώτη.

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