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AN OFFPRINT FROM

ROMAN CRETE

NEW PERSPECTIVES

Hardcover Edition: ISBN 978-1-78570-095-8
Digital Edition: ISBN 978-1-78570-096-5

Edited by

Jane E. Francis and Anna Kouremenos



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Oxford & Philadelphia
www.oxbowbooks.com

Published in the United Kingdom in 2016 by
OXBOW BOOKS
10 Hythe Bridge Street, Oxford OX1 2EW

and in the United States by
OXBOW BOOKS
1950 Lawrence Road, Havertown, PA 19083

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Hardcover Edition: ISBN 978-1-78570-095-8
Digital Edition: ISBN 978-1-78570-096-5

A CIP record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Francis, Jane E., 1962- editor. | Kouremenos, Anna, editor.
Title: Roman Crete : new perspectives / edited by Jane E. Francis and Anna Kouremenos.
Description: Philadelphia : Oxbow Books, 2016. | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2015046548 (print) | LCCN 2015047776 (ebook) | ISBN 9781785700958 (hardback) | ISBN 9781785700965 (digital) | ISBN 9781785700965 (epub) | ISBN 9781785700972 (mobi) | ISBN 9781785700989 (pdf)
Subjects: LCSH: Crete (Greece)--History--67 B.C.-826 A.D. | Romans--Greece--Crete.
Classification: LCC DF261.C8 R64 2016 (print) | LCC DF261.C8 (ebook) | DDC 939/.1809--dc23
LC record available at <http://lcn.loc.gov/2015046548>

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Front cover: *Fragment of a Neo-Attic calyx krater, from Eleutherna (Archaeological Museum of Rethymnon). Photo by E. Moraitaki, by permission of N. Fiolitaki, 28 Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities.*
Back cover: *View of Sphakia, SW Crete. Photograph by Jane Francis.*

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The editors would like to thank the organizers of the Roman Archaeology Conference in Frankfurt (2012), which provided the impetus for this volume. We also extend our gratitude to the enthusiastic audience members at RAC 2012 who encouraged us to publish our research. Academic support was provided by the British School at Athens, the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, the Canadian Institute in Greece, and the Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene. We are also grateful to our colleagues in Crete, especially Athanasia Kanta (23rd Ephorate, Herakleion), Xrysa Sofianou (24th Ephorate, Agios Nikolaos), and Anastasia Tzigounaki (25th Ephorate, Chania and Rethymnon), and also to Stavroula Markoulaki, Vanna Niniou-Kindeli, and Maria Andreadaki-Vlazaki at the Greek Ministry of Culture. The editors at Oxbow, especially Julie Gardiner and Clare Litt, provided much-needed assistance and helpful comments throughout.

The papers benefited greatly from comments by Andrew Wilson, Victoria Leitch, Justin Dombrowski, Tyler Franconi, Michael Vickers, and Sujatha Chandrasekaran. The help of Concordia University student Victoria Eke was invaluable for checking citations, general proofreading, and compiling the index, while Dario Brancato cheerfully came to our rescue with Italian translations. We would also like to acknowledge the help of the librarians at the Sackler Library in Oxford and the Blegen Library at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, whose aid in tracking down (and sometimes purchasing) material has been invaluable.

Last but not least, we would like to dedicate this volume to the memory of Ian F. Sanders, who was the first scholar to tackle the subject of Roman Crete.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations for ancient authors and texts are from *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*.

<i>ABSA</i>	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens.</i>	<i>LIMC</i>	Kahil, L. (ed.) (1981–2009) <i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> . Zurich.
<i>AE</i>	<i>L'année épigraphique.</i>		
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology.</i>		
<i>AR</i>	<i>Archaeological Reports.</i>		
<i>ASAtene</i>	<i>Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiana in Oriente.</i>	<i>MAAR</i>	<i>Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome.</i>
<i>Atlante I</i>	Carandini, A. (ed.) (1981) <i>Atlante delle forme ceramiche, I. Ceramica fine romana nel Bacino mediterraneo (medio e tardo impero)</i> , <i>Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, classica e orientale</i> . Rome.	<i>MdI</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.</i>
		<i>OC</i>	Oxé, A. and Comfort, H. (1968) <i>Corpus Vasorum Arretinorum: A Catalogue of the Signatures, Shapes and Chronology of Italian Sigillata</i> . Bonn.
<i>BAR</i>	British Archaeological Reports.	<i>OCK</i>	Oxé, A., Comfort, H. and Kenrick, P. (2000) <i>Corpus Vasorum Arretinorum: A Catalogue of the Signatures, Shapes and Chronology of Italian Sigillata</i> (2nd edn). Bonn.
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique.</i>	<i>ÖJh</i>	<i>Jahreshefte des Österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien.</i>
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum latinarum.</i>	<i>OJA</i>	<i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology.</i>
<i>Conspectus</i>	Ettlinger, E., Hedinger, B., Hoffmann, B., Kenrick, P. M., Pucci, G., Roth-Rubi, K., Schneider, G., von Schnurbein, S., Wells, C. M. and Zabehlicky-Scheffenegger, S. (eds) (2000) <i>Conspectus formarum terrae sigillatae italico modo confectae</i> . Bonn.	<i>RCRFacta</i>	<i>Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautores Acta</i> .
<i>CP</i>	<i>Classical Philology.</i>	<i>RE</i>	Cancik, H. and Schneider, H. (eds) (1999) <i>Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike, Band 6 (IUL-LEE)</i> . Stuttgart.
<i>IC</i>	Guarducci, M. (1935–1950) <i>Inscriptiones Creticae I–IV</i> . Rome.	<i>SEG</i>	Roussel, P., Salač, A., Tod, M. N. and Ziebarth, E. (1920–) <i>Supplementum epigraphicum graecum</i> . Amsterdam.
<i>IJO</i>	Noy, D., Panayotov, A. and Bloedhorn, H. (eds) (2004) <i>Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis I: Eastern Europe</i> . Tübingen.	<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association.</i>
<i>JdI</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.</i>	<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.</i>
<i>JFA</i>	<i>Journal of Field Archaeology.</i>		
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies.</i>		
<i>JMA</i>	<i>Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology.</i>		
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology.</i>		
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies.</i>		

From Cyrene to Gortyn. Notes on the relationship between Crete and Cyrenaica under Roman domination (1st century BC–4th century AD)

François Chevrollier

In *Roman Crete*, I. F. Sanders wrote: “rather oddly, Metellus or the Senate decided to join Crete with Cyrenaica” (Sanders 1982, 4-5). Thirty years after this important publication, it is still instructive to ask what can be said about the relations between the two regions that formed the double province of Crete and Cyrenaica during the Imperial period (Fig. 3.1). Since Sanders’ book, new excavations as well as new interpretations have allowed for the development of new theories on and ideas about why the Romans chose to join these two areas. Since most scholars are specialists on either Crete or Cyrenaica, but never on both, Sanders’ opinion has been largely shared and developed in other, more recent studies, such as that of Bechert (2011, 99).

This paper provides another reading on the union of Crete and Cyrenaica; the fact that this union lasted for almost four centuries may actually speak in favour of a planned choice. Its objective is also to update Sanders’ ideas about the nature of the double province of Crete and Cyrenaica by raising new elements that have come to light since the publication of *Roman Crete*.

I will begin with a summary of the pre-Roman relations between Crete and Cyrenaica in order to demonstrate that the union was indeed a thoughtful choice. I will then discuss the chronology and the possible reasons why Rome chose this administrative solution. Finally, I will investigate the economic, public and private relations of the two regions during the Roman Empire, before briefly presenting the situation at the time of the separation in the early 4th century AD.

The Pre-Roman relations between Crete and Cyrenaica

Based on Italian excavations in Cyrene and American excavations in Marsa Matruh in Marmarica, Sandro

Stucchi defined a pattern for the Greek presence in North Africa before the 7th century BC colonization and showed that contacts between Crete and Cyrenaica went back to Minoan times (Stucchi 1967; 1985; 1991). Sherds of the Late Bronze Age (15th–14th century BC) were discovered in Marmarica (White 1986; Stucchi 1991), and Stucchi concluded that the people who brought these artefacts to the Libyan shores sailed from Crete to the Gulf of Bomba, and then to Marmarica. These discoveries were enriched by several others in Cyrene itself, where Italian archaeologists brought to light evidence that suggests intensive relations with Crete during the Late Minoan Era. Sherds from the “Casa del Propyleo”, west of the agora (Baldassarre 1987), as well as a kylix depicting an argonaut (Stucchi 1967), a gem with an octopus (Stucchi 1967), and another vase with the same decorative motifs (Bacchielli 1979), led the Italian scholar to argue for the presence of a Minoan population in Cyrenaica. A Minoan-style altar, discovered in the Roman baths in the heart of the Sanctuary of Apollo in Cyrene (Parisi Presicce 2002), recalls Cretan religious traditions and reinforces the idea of an on-going relationship between the Minoan-Mycenaean areas and Cyrenaica in the Late Bronze Age. Archaeology appears to confirm the evidence from texts that Stucchi listed in another study (Stucchi 1985), especially the *Chronici canones* of Eusebius, who dated the foundation of Cyrene to 1336 BC (Helm 1913, 52). This evidence, however, is not universally accepted: Boardman, for instance, argues against the Minoan characteristics of these artefacts on the basis of stylistic observations, and he therefore rejects the theory of prehistoric links between Cyrenaica and Crete (Boardman 1968).

The problem of identifying the nature of relations between Crete and Cyrenaica finds more secure evidence in Herodotos’ *Histories* (4.151–156): Cretans are present, in one way or another, in the myth of Cyrene’s foundation

(Chamoux 1952, 98-103; Harrison 1993). Herodotus states that people from Itanos may have been involved in the original colonization movement: on their way to Libya, the Theraeans encountered Corobios, a fisherman from Itanos in eastern Crete, who helped them to reach the island of Platea just off the coast of Cyrenaica (Herodotus 4.151–153). The fact that one of Cyrene's tribes in the middle of the 6th century BC includes people from the island suggests that an influx of Cretan population arrived at some point in North Africa (Herodotus 4.161). Relations were therefore strongly established, if not during the Bronze Age, at least during the Archaic period, as similarities between houses excavated in Euesperides (Wilson 2006) and the ones discovered at Lato suggest (Gill 2004; Westgate 2007; Glowacki and Vogeikoff-Brogan 2011), as well as the important discovery of Archaic Cretan pottery in the extramural sanctuary of Demeter in Cyrene (Schaus 1985, 10–14, 97–98).

The Classical period saw a tightening of those relations, as the king of Cyrene Arkesilas IV, after his victories in the Pythian Games in the late 460s BC, consecrated two chariots in the Pan-Hellenic sanctuary of Delphi. The first of these is said to have been displayed against the wall of a cypress-made awning previously built by the Cretans in order to expose an Archaic *xoanon* (Pindar *Pyth*, 5.34–42). The second chariot was sculpted by Amphion of Knossos, a major artist of that time, who was active between around 470 and 440 BC (Pausanias 10.15.6). Cretans and Cyrenaeans were not only in contact across the Libyan Sea, but they were also meeting abroad, particularly in the major sanctuaries of the Greek world. The impression is reinforced by several inscriptions of the 4th century BC. The famous 'Grain Stele' discovered in Cyrene (*SEG* 9.2) is a catalogue of numerous Greek cities which received grain from Libya after a severe famine hit Greece and the islands around 330 BC. Several Cretan cities appear on the list, including Kydonia, Knossos, Gortyn, Hyrtakina and Elyros. Diplomatic and political relations are also expressed in the treaty of *sympoliteia* between king Magas of Cyrene and the Confederation of the *Oreioi*, in southern Crete, at the end of the 4th century or in the first half of the 3rd century BC (*IC* II.xvii.1; Chaniotis 1996, no. 70), and by the testimony of the influx of many Cyrenaican coins in Crete after the Thibron War (Sutherland 1942, 5, 15–16; Le Rider 1966, 133–51, 187–9). These coins had been overstruck, especially in the workshops of Gortyn and Phaistos in the last quarter of the 4th century BC. This important phenomenon, combined with the evidence of the 'Grain Stele' and the *Oreioi* treaty, suggests strong relations during the Classical period. These continued in the 3rd century BC, when Antiphilos son of Mnastokles of Cyrene received the titles of *proxenos* and benefactor of the Cretan city of Olous (*IC* I.xxii.4A, lines 41–42).

Evidence diminishes at the beginning of the Hellenistic period, when the city-states of Crete sank into internal conflicts. The inscription bearing the name of the Cyrenaican Semer, son of Diogenes, who made a consecration to Pan in Phaistos in the 3rd or 2nd century BC, may be the only testimony of a direct connection between the two regions during this time (*IC* I.xxiii.2).

The unification of Crete and Cyrenaica

When and why did Rome create the double province? This question has already been discussed by several scholars (Chamoux 1952, 12–14; Perl 1970; Sanders 1982, 3–11; Harrison 1985; 1988; Baldwin 1983, 1–6; Laronde 1988, 1011–15). My point in this section is to clarify what can be said about the date of the union and the reasons why the Romans united Crete and Cyrenaica into a single province. Studies on this aspect have very often produced a negative light on the matter, including that of Sanders, who, like others (Harrison 1988; 1998, 129; Bechert 2011, 99), insists on the inconsistency of the union. What I will present below shows a slightly different perspective.

When?

This question, of course, always arises when one tries to understand the creation of the double province of Crete and Cyrenaica. Several scholars date the union from 67 BC, while others place it under the government of Marc Antony in the east; still others believe it took place only under Augustus (references below with the discussion of the different possible dates). Ancient sources offer the following simplified chronology:

96 BC Apion, the last Egyptian king of Cyrene, bequeathed Cyrenaica to Rome.

74 BC The province of Cyrenaica is organized by the *quaestor* P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus. A period of local tyrannies follows before the region is re-organized as a province in 67 BC by Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, under Pompey's government (Reynolds 1962).

69–67 BC Crete is conquered by Metellus Creticus, after the last three cities of the island (Eleutherna, Lappa and Hierapytna) fall. The first governor of Crete might have been Cn. Tremellius Scrofa (Cicero *Att.* 6.1.13; cf. Bechert 2011, 29).

44 BC Cyrenaica is given to Cassius and Crete to Brutus, but these two never came to their provinces and preferred to fight for power outside their possessions.

30s BC Once Marc Antony governed the eastern Mediterranean, the fortune of Crete and Cyrenaica is unclear. Antony seems to have given Cyrenaica and

the eastern part of Crete to Cleopatra, since they were formerly Lagid possessions.

31 BC Battle of Actium. Augustus' armies occupy Crete and Cyrenaica.

27 BC *Terminus ante quem* for the administrative union of Crete and Cyrenaica, after which the emperor and the Senate shared the provinces. The new province of Crete and Cyrenaica is a senatorial one (Dio Cass. 53.12; Strabo 17.3.25).

As straightforward as it may seem, this outline remains incomplete. Furthermore, it does not show clearly when Crete and Cyrenaica were united for the first time. The answer may be found in the numismatic evidence. According to the *RPC* (Burnett *et al.* 1992, 217–18), the Roman administration issued two series of coins starting in 67 BC. The first Roman issue was used both in Crete and Cyrenaica at the same time. It had two different series:

First issue/first series (Burnett *et al.* 1992, cat. no. 904–906): bust of Rome (right) and bee (reverse) with the legend KPHT KYP. As the bee is a Cretan type that appeared on several issues before the Roman period, this type is likely to have been minted in Crete (see below for references).

First issue/second series (Burnett *et al.* 1992, cat. no. 907): bust of Libya (right)/Artemis (reverse) with the legend ΛΙΒΥΗ ΚΡΗΤΑ and the name of P. Lepidus.

The second Roman issue also had two different series: one in Greek, probably minted in Cyrene and circulating in Cyrenaica, and one in Latin, discovered in Crete and certainly minted in Gortyn or Knossos (Burnett *et al.* 1992, 218–19 and cat. nos 908–918). They all bear the names of L. Lollius or Crassus: these magistrates were therefore active in both regions, as they both issued series in Greek and Latin under their names.

The problem lies in the date of these four series. What we can say for certain is that Crete and Cyrenaica were administratively united when these coins were minted: the legend of the first issue, with the names of both Crete and Cyrenaica/Libya, and the names of the Roman magistrates on both the Greek and Latin series of the second issue are enough to prove this. As stated above, it is not possible to date these coins neither before 67 BC nor after 27 BC. According to the *RPC*, the common issues stopped in 34 BC, probably when Cyrenaica was given to Cleopatra. From 34 to 31 BC, new types were circulating: issues of Pupius Rufus (Burnett *et al.* 1992, 221 and cat. nos 919–923) and issues of Cleopatra and Marc Antony (Burnett *et al.* 1992, cat. nos 924–925). If so, we have to look at a period between 67 BC and 34 BC to place our four series.

Scholars like Robinson (1927) or Romanelli (1936; 1943, 50–1) thought that these issues had been minted since 67 BC, and, consequently, that the union went back to that date. But Perl (1970; 1971) showed on prosopographical grounds that Crete and Cyrenaica were separated between 52 and 49 BC, and again in 44–43 BC. He therefore dated the KPHT/KYP type between 40 and 34 BC, i.e., before the areas were given to Cleopatra (Dio Cass. 49.41). Laronde accepted Perl's opinion of placing the union under the government of Marc Antony (Laronde 1988, 1013).

The latter option could have been accepted if sources were consistent, but in the 30s BC, Crete seems to have been governed by the confederation of the *Kretaiis*, under the supervision of Kydas the Cretarch. The whole 'dossier' (Rouanet-Liesenfelt 1984) shows a person by this name appearing on inscriptions (*IC* IV.250, IV.251), on coins (Svoronos 1890, 334 no. 1 and pl. 32 fig. 1; Raven 1938, 154–8; Burnett *et al.* 1992, 222) and also mentioned in Cicero (*Phil.* 5.13). Rouanet-Liesenfelt believes that Marc Antony created this confederation and chose Kydas to rule it, probably between 43 BC (the end of Brutus' proconsulate) and Actium. If Kydas was ruling Crete, or a part of it, Crete and Cyrenaica were not united, and Perl and Laronde's suggestions for a union between 40 and 34 BC are therefore incorrect. The uncertainty of the date of the coin issues presented above, the vagueness of Kydas' chronology, and the contradiction of sources have led several scholars to date the union between Crete and Cyrenaica only to 27 BC (Harrison 1985; Baldwin 1983, 6; Pautasso 1994–1995), although my suggestion is that the numismatic evidence described above should speak in favour of a union before Augustus' reign, most likely as early as 67 BC.

Why?

Sanders' opinion was forged in the 1970s, at a time when archaeological excavations, as well as studies on Roman Crete and Cyrenaica, were rare and, at least, not thorough – Sanders was indeed the first scholar to write a book on Roman Crete. More recently, Bechert defined the union as a 'superficial', 'arbitrary' administrative decision (Bechert 2011, 99). Harrison (1985) shares this opinion, inherited from Sanders. It is true that the history of the two areas is strictly different. Crete had almost a hundred cities, according to Homer (*Il.* 2.649), Virgil (*Aen.* 3.106) and a late-Roman inscription mentioning the Ἐκατονταπολίται (*IC* IV.373), while Cyrenaica counted only four to six, depending on the period (Sanders 1982, 11–13; Alcock 2002, 102–3; Chaniotis 2004b; 2008). Climate, productions, urbanization development, political evolution, as well as their populations (with strong Libyan and Jewish communities in Cyrenaica)

shaped two separated areas, each with its own cultural or religious features.

But, despite these observations and the *opinio comunis*, I would like to discuss here several positive reasons for the unification of Crete and Cyrenaica. The first, but not decisive one, may have been economic. The two areas were perhaps too small to be economically viable on their own. The main trade routes of the eastern Mediterranean included Cretan and Cyrenaican harbours, and the Republican administration may therefore have wanted to unify an important trade zone by joining an island with the mainland, as it did with Cyprus and Cilicia or Egypt, in order to maximize regional exchanges (Viviers 2004). Inscriptions (*IC* IV.290; Gasperini 1971, 15–16) depict Roman merchants conducting business in both areas: Italian *negotiatores*, as well as publicans, were active and controlled the production of lots of economic goods. The necessity of a unified area for a safe and peaceful trade might have played a role in the union.

A second reason for the unification of Crete and Cyrenaica was the fight against pirates. It is well known that the Libyan Sea was infested with pirates. Florus (1.41) recalls the history of the pirate Isidoros who had been active in the Aegean between *c.* 88 and *c.* 78 BC: “*ac primum duce Isidoro contenti proximo mari Cretam atque Cyrenas et Achaiam sinumque Maleum, quod ab spoliis aureum ipsi vocavere latrocinabantur*”. Laronde (1988, 1010) underlines the importance of the Libyan coasts for pirate activity at the end of the Republic, and Isidoros was more than likely using harbours both in Crete and in Cyrenaica for his lootings. Rome sent Pompey to fight against the pirates and ensure peaceful commercial transactions (Reynolds 1962; Baldwin Bowsky 2001b). The withdrawal of pirates from the Libyan Sea seems to have been of some importance in Roman policy as well as in Pompey’s eyes. This danger cut the southern Mediterranean in two parts, and it may also have impacted trade with Egypt. The union under the authority of a single proconsul was indeed a strategic, military decision taken in order to bring peace to the area. Even if the coin issues of Caesar’s *praefecti classis*, formerly attributed by Alföldy to the Cyrene mint (Alföldy 1966), are now thought to have been minted in Italy (Burnett *et al.* 1992, 157–8), we might still confirm that the new province was a naval basis of utmost importance in the heart of the Mediterranean Sea.

Finally, the third, and perhaps the most obvious reason, is geography, as Crete is the closest land from Cyrenaica northward. If Cyrene and the surrounding cities were too isolated and if the population of the region was too small to make a province on its own, then joining Cyrenaica with Crete was the most efficient option the Republic could have taken. Strabo (17.3.22) reports commercial relations between Cretan and Cyrenaican

harbours and mentions a place called Chersonesos in Cyrenaica, located directly opposite to the Cretan harbour of Kyklos. He adds: “indeed, I might almost say that Crete as a whole, being narrow and long, lies opposite, and parallel, to this coast [i.e. the coast of Cyrenaica]” (ὅλη γὰρ σχεδόν τι τῇ παραλία ταύτη ἀντίκειται παράλληλος ἢ Κρήτη στενή καὶ μακρά). As Chamoux already observed in the 1950s, the distance between Apollonia of Cyrenaica and the south shore of Crete is only 300 km, although one must travel 800 km from Cyrene to Alexandria (Guédon 2012) and 900 km from Berenice to Lepcis Magna through the desert (Strabo 17.3.20; Chamoux 1952, 12–14). Cyrenaica is part of Africa on a geographical basis, but it belongs to the Aegean area from an economic and cultural point of view. The city-states of ancient Cyrenaica were looking toward Crete, Greece, Sicily and southern Italy, more than toward Tripolitania or Alexandria, even if Cyrene was part of the Lagid Kingdom in Hellenistic times.

Roman administration in Crete and Cyrenaica

From 27 BC on, Crete and Cyrenaica were united into a single province. The most obvious change is the new administration that was established at that time. The province belonged to the Senate, and was ruled by proconsuls of praetorian rank, of whom we know a list of almost 70 (Baldwin 1983; Pautasso 1994–1995; Rémy 1999). The governors of Crete and Cyrenaica were not the most famous, high-ranking Roman magistrates, and they pursued middle-range careers. The province was a small to medium one, far behind Asia or Africa in terms of population size and economic wealth.

Whether the procurators were active in both parts of the province has been a disputed question since Pflaum’s important study on equestrian procurators in the Roman world (Pflaum 1960–1961, 104). He argues that the *procuratores provinciae Cretae* were also in charge of Cyrenaica. Reynolds and Laronde, on the contrary, suggest that they were active only in Crete, since the only procurator we know in Libya goes back to the Severan period (Laronde 1988, 1016; Reynolds and Lloyd 1996, 632). Laronde thought that the *procuratores Cretae* did not intervene in Cyrenaica because of the specificities of the two regions, each with its own problems. These observations on the governors and the procurators give the general idea that the Roman administration was flexible. If there was only one proconsul for the province, the administration could very well have been separated when it came to local business, such as the financial affairs under the control of the procurators. The same can be said about the imperial cult: Crete and Cyrenaica each had its own *koinon*, priests and celebrations for the cult of

the emperor. In fact, the Roman administration tried to adapt itself to the specificity of a double province: the unity was formally maintained but this did not forbid flexibility to respect political identities: at that level, the bounds between Crete and Cyrenaica remained a reality.

The same flexibility may have prevailed for the choice of the *caput provinciae*. For years, Gortyn has been considered the capital of the province because archaeologists thought that the so-called praetorium was the residence of the governor. Recent Italian excavations under the supervision of Antonino Di Vita have proved that it became the proconsul's residence only in the 4th century AD, after it had been used as a gymnasium and then as baths (Di Vita 2010, 162–205). This building thus can no longer be considered evidence in the debate of the capital city of the province. Haensch, who makes Gortyn the capital city, shows that Gortyn and Cyrene concentrate almost all testimonies about the governors, probably making one of them the *caput provinciae* (Haensch 1997, 201–7, 512–17). In the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, an ancient map of the Mediterranean world dating from the 4th century AD but only known by a medieval copy, the cities, the geographical features and the road network of Crete are well described (Pazarli *et al.* 2007). Eighteen Cretan city-states appear on the map, four of which are clearly considered larger and more important than the others. These cities are *Cortys* (Gortyn), *Hiera* (Hierapytna), *Cydonea* (Kydonia) and *Cisamos* (Kisamos). According to the map, Gortyn is also the point of convergence of the roads coming from the south, east and west parts of the island, and can therefore be considered the political and economic 'centre' of Crete during Late Antiquity (Lippolis, this volume). Even if Knossos was a colony and also an important city (Strabo 10.4.11), it was less populated than Gortyn. The latter was the largest city of Crete, and the *Tabula Peutingeriana* reflects its probable status of capital-city of the island during the Empire, while in Cyrenaica, Cyrene was clearly the largest and most powerful city (Wilson 2011). Cyrene appeared to have had more privileges than any other cities of the area (*SEG* 28.1566) and was also the place where the governor held his *conventus* (Williams 1982). The proconsul may have shared his year spent in the province between the two regions in order to dispense justice equally, and there must have been two capital-cities, one in each part of the *provincia*. Here again, Crete and Cyrenaica did share a common fate in the context of a flexible, though not loose, administration. Did this context allow Crete and Cyrenaica to develop and intensify their relations?

Trade and economic relations during the Roman Empire

The archaeological evidence: ceramics and lamps

Crete and Cyrenaica belonged to the main trade routes of the eastern Mediterranean during the Principate. One route started in Italy and moved from the harbours of Puteoli and Pompeii to Sicily, Crete and Asia Minor. Another one linked Italy and Cyrenaica with Alexandria, while a third route linked mainland Greece (Athens and the Peloponnese) with the Aegean Islands, Crete and Cyrenaica. The 'Grain Stele', dated to the 4th century BC, gives a clear picture of this trade path (*SEG* 9.2) and demonstrates that Crete, if not Cyrenaica, was located at the heart of the ancient Mediterranean trade. Saint Paul's stop-off in Gortyn also illustrates that Minos' island was an important place on maritime and travel routes (*Acts* 27). In the 5th century AD, Synesios, bishop of Ptolemais, distinguished in one of his *Letters* a major trade route (Alexandria – Paraitonion – Crete – Sicily), which highlights the privileged geographical position of Crete's shores and harbours (*Letter* 5).

Moreover, most of the archaeological artefacts from the Sidi Khrebish (an ancient district of Berenice, modern Benghazi) excavations illustrate commercial exchanges with Italy, Asia Minor and Africa rather than with Crete. The ceramic record cannot prove any links with the island: Kenrick's analyses of fine wares from Berenice show, for the Roman period, a clear predominance of imports from Italy, the Aegean area excluding Crete and, for the late-antique period, a strong increase in trade with Africa (Kenrick 1985). That Berenice looks toward the western Mediterranean is also shown by the trade in glass vessels. Price (1985) underlines the connections of this city with Italy and the West. The same conclusions can be drawn from the study of Roman amphorae from Crete. The last decade has made possible the measurement of Cretan exportations in Italy and the northern provinces during the Roman period. Recent publications of excavations at Monte Testaccio in Rome, of shipwrecks, and of several archaeological sites in modern Russia, Ukraine, Cyprus, Egypt, France and Germany throw light on this phenomenon (Marangou 1999; Vogeikoff-Brogan *et al.* 2004; Chaniotis 2005; Badoud *et al.* 2012; Gallimore in this volume). Cretan amphorae of the Roman era were largely exported throughout the ancient Mediterranean and many of them (complete amphorae or stamps) have been discovered in recent excavations, but again, Cyrenaica seems to be isolated from this exchange pattern (Lloyd 2002; Gallimore 2011, 447–8).

The production of terracotta lamps, however, is of greater assistance for drawing an intelligible picture of commercial relations between Crete and Cyrenaica. The ‘dossier’ of late-Hellenistic and Roman lamps from Crete constitutes an important step in understanding the commercial and cultural exchanges between the two parts of the province. It is based on two distinct groups of lamps. To the first group belongs a series of lamps discovered at Berenice (Bailey 1985). During the reigns of Augustus and Claudius (i.e., from the end of the 1st century BC to the middle of the 1st century AD), Cretan lamps of early Roman date but of Hellenistic type were imported to Cyrenaica (Bailey 1985, pl. I, figs 7–18). Local workshops then imitated this production, especially in Berenice, thanks to the importation of moulds. Bailey counts 34 pieces in Berenice and describes them as follows: they have a “biconical body, long nozzle with swelling, rounded tips, occasionally flanked with nozzle-volutes, applied handles and base rings”. These lamps bear impressed geometrical motifs and have an orange to buff clay and a generally red-brown slip (Bailey 1985, pl. VI, figs 110–15). This Hellenistic type of lamps has also been discovered at Kommos (Shaw *et al.* 1978, pl. 42, figs C265–6, C318; Shaw and Shaw 2000, 321–5, pls 4.70, 4.72). This first group of lamps shows important exchanges in this industry around the Augustan period, precisely when the relations between Crete and Cyrenaica seem to have been the strongest.

The second group is based on the discoveries of lamps of a common style at Sidi Khrebish, in Cyrene (Panico 2006, 96), at the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos (Catling and Catling 1992, 257–322) and in the Idaean Cave in central Crete (Sapouna 1998, 95–103). One workshop has been identified for this group: lamps from the atelier of Gamos have been discovered both in Benghazi and in the Idaean Cave. Sapouna assigns the workshop to Crete because a majority of lamps comes from there; lamps and/or moulds could have then been exported to Cyrenaica and imitated there. It appears that there was a homogeneous Cretan group of lamps exported from the end of the 1st century BC to the 3rd century AD to Cyrenaica, where local workshops could have produced some imitations. Gamos was the head of a Cretan atelier, whose production found success in both parts of the province, with its heyday in the 2nd century AD.

The lamps that bear the inscription ΓΑΜΟΥ are described by Bailey as follows: they have “a circular body with short, rounded nozzles” with “pierced ring-handles and plain, rounded shoulders”; nozzles are often “heart-shaped”. They are made of orange-to-brown clay and have slips of different colours. This description is only an example, since other lamps that do not belong to the Gamos workshop, but which are still parts of the Cretan group, have different shapes and colours. Several

motifs are depicted on the discs of the Gamos lamps. Some of them are also depicted on the lamps found at Benghazi and in the Idaean Cave, such as Artemis with an altar and a dog, a standing Eros, the lion, and the eagle (Sapouna 1998, pl. 1, figs 4–6, pl. 44; Bailey 1985, 32, no. C915, pl. 26).

Finally, it has to be noticed that lamps belonging to this Cretan group (but without the Gamos signature) were discovered in the Unexplored Mansion excavations at Knossos (Catling and Catling 1992), and a few pieces were also found in Cyrene (Panico 2006, 96). They are therefore now known from four sites in Crete and Cyrenaica.

Beyond the interest of this Cretan, high-quality group for the history of lamps, what is of particular interest to us is that “there was a relationship – and a fairly close one – between the lamp industries of Cyrenaica and Crete during the first two and a half centuries CE” (Catling and Catling 1992, 316). The main point here is to show important commercial exchanges between our two regions from Augustus to at least the 3rd century AD. Bailey thought that the atelier was originating in Cyrenaica, although Sapouna, as we have already said, thinks it was located in Crete. Actually, the original workshop may well have had an Italian origin, as some other artefacts discovered outside Crete and Cyrenaica bear the Latin inscription GAMUS. Sapouna assumes that the workshop moved to Crete sometime after the Roman conquest of the island (Sapouna 1998, 95–103). In any case, the Catlings’ impression that “there seems to be more in common between Crete and Cyrenaica than between Crete and other parts of the Roman world” (1992, 318) when studying lamp production should be emphasized.

Coin circulation

Coin circulation is also an important aspect for the study of economic relations, as an abundant circulation could indeed demonstrate intensive exchanges as well as highly linked economies.

After the Thibron War in the late 4th century BC and the looting of Cyrene’s harbour, many Libyan coins made their way to Crete and are found especially at Gortyn and Phaistos, in the Mesara area. These coins were overstruck by Cretan workshops (Sutherland 1942; Le Rider 1966, 133–51, 187–9), and Le Rider, in particular, shows that this occurred for many coins from the Cyrene and Barka workshops from the 5th to 3rd centuries BC. The circulation of these coins in Crete during Classical times illustrates intensive economic relations between the two regions: they could have been brought to Crete by mercenaries working for Thibron and taken from the spoils they made in Cyrenaica. Le Rider (1966,

138) suggests that about 100,000 tetradrachmes could have been brought by 2000 Cretan mercenaries. Even if the total amount should probably be reduced, the large number of Cyrenaican coins found in Crete from the 4th century BC is nevertheless a vivid testimony of their economic relations. Louis Robert indeed confirms that the presence of coins from Cyrene in Crete is normal, either in their integrity or overstruck (1951, 199).

Starting with the annexation of Crete and Cyrenaica by Rome, a group of common coins circulated in both areas (for an overview of Cretan coins from 67 BC to the Arab conquest, see Sidiropoulos 2004). The first issue bears on the right the head of the goddess Rome and a bee on the obverse, with the inscription KPHT and KYPA (Burnett *et al.* 1992, nos 904–6). The bee is a Cretan type that is recorded in previous periods from Aptera (Svoronos 1890, 16 no. 12 and pl. 1 figs 14–16; 19 no. 33 and pl. 1 fig. 32), Elyros (Svoronos 1890, 141–2 nos 1–6 and pl. 12 figs 9–13) and Praisos (Svoronos 1890, 290 nos 36–7 and pl. 28 figs 9–11, 15–16). The second series was issued with the name of P. Lepidius and bears the inscription ΛΙΒΥΗ and KPHTA. The bust of the goddess Libya is depicted on the right and Artemis, who represents Crete, on the obverse (Burnett *et al.* 1992, no. 907). The authors of the *RPC* think that these coins were struck in Crete but with a circulation within the two regions. As stated above, the main question is the chronology of these coins. Even if this problem is not resolved, the issues just described show an intense circulation of coins between Crete and Cyrenaica, in the period between 67 BC and the time of Marc Antony, and prove that the economies of the two regions were largely linked and interdependent during the second half of the 1st century BC.

Coins common to the two areas cease to be struck when Augustus took power in Rome. During the 1st century AD, Cretan and Cyrenaican cities struck their own coins, in spite of the interruption of the Cyrene workshop between Tiberius and Trajan (Asolati 2006, 183–4). As Laronde (2004) notes, coin circulation between Crete and Cyrenaica was important until Actium, and then stops with the Empire. Robinson (1944) published a hoard of 200 bronze coins collected during World War II in Libya by an officer of the Royal Air Force. This rare collection can give an idea of foreign coins circulating in Cyrenaica during the Empire, but only one coin from Knossos and two coins issued by the Cretan *Koinon* during the reigns of Claudius and Nero were part of this hoard. This scarcity of coin circulation between the two parts of the double province can be extended to the whole period of the Principate. In the same article, Laronde (2004, 188 n. 6) testifies that his own (unpublished) research in the numismatic collection of the Cyrene museum confirms this view.

It is difficult to define a pattern of economic relations between Crete and Cyrenaica in the Roman Empire. Trade of ceramics, lamps, and also of local marble (Lazzarini 2004, 1255) shows that quite a lot of goods were imported from Crete to Cyrenaica. On the contrary, exports from Cyrenaica to Crete are not easy to identify. Exportations were mainly perishable goods, among which grain and perhaps oil were the most important ones (Gallimore 2011, 449–52). Lamluda, a site east of Cyrene, was a major oil production centre in the late Roman period with *c.* 50 olive presses (Wilson 2009, 216–17). Even if this trade is difficult to quantify archaeologically, it suggests “that Crete and Cyrenaica shared an intricate economic relationship when they were joined as a province” (Gallimore 2011, 452).

Official and private relations: a prosopography of the Cyrenaicans in Crete

Several meaningful inscriptions relate to both official and private relationships between the Cretans and Cyrenaicans. Most of them come from Gortyn and invite us to focus on the ‘dossier’ of the *proxenoi* of the Cretan city. Around the 1st century BC, five men from Cyrenaica were made *proxenoi* of Gortyn. These texts were discovered at the end of the 19th century or beginning of the 20th century, except for two of them, which have come to light more recently (references below with each text). They are all dated between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD, although their writing and style cannot prove whether they go back to a period before or after Crete was made a province. These inscriptions recall the honour held by these five men, who gained the status of *proxenos* of Gortyn, probably due to services given to that city. The name of the *proxenos* is always followed by his ethnic, and by the usual sentence Γορτυνίων πρόξενος καὶ πολίτας αὐτὸς καὶ ἔκγονοι. Below is a list of these men:

Ἰαφθας Λύσιος Πτολεμαίε[υ]ς (*IC* IV.211)
 Φιλόξενος Ἀλέξιδος Κυρηναῖος (*IC* IV.212)
 Εὐῖππος καὶ Πτολεμαῖος [ο]ῖ Πτολεμαί[ο]υ Κυραναῖοι
 (*SEG* 48.1210)
 Κόντος Τήδιος Ἐλενος ὁ πρότε[ρον] Κυρηναῖος νῦν
 δὲ Γορτυνίων πολίτας (*IC* IV.214)

It is not clear whether the fifth man, named Quintus Tedi-
 us Helenos, was also a *proxenos*, although the similarity
 with the previous texts suggests that this was probably
 the case. He bears the *tria nomina* and it is clear that
 the inscription was erected after he obtained his new
 citizenship.

Doubts arise when we look at two other inscriptions
 that also relate to Gortynian *proxenoi*. One inscription
 (*IC* IV.215c) bears the following text: Γ(άιος) Λυτ(άτιος)

Κρίσπος στρατιώτης ΠΤΟ Γορτυνίων πρόξενος και πολίτας αὐτὸς και ἔγγονοι. The abbreviation ΠΤΟ and its place in the sentence clearly refer to the ethnic of Gaius. Cagnat (Cagnat 1906, no. 1515), Guarducci, and Spyridakis (Spyridakis 1970, 87) translated these letters into Πτο(λεμιαικός). This individual would thus have been a soldier of the Lagid army in Crete and would have come from Itanos, where the last Egyptian troops were stationed until the Roman conquest (Spyridakis 1970). In a more recent paper, Rigsby (1996) argues that Gaius was a man originating from Ptolemais in Cyrenaica. This στρατιώτης Πτο(λεμιαεύς) should consequently be added to our list of Cyrenaicans who became *proxenoi* of Gortyn.

The second inscription whose text is debated (*IC* IV.206i) describes how two brothers, Timagoras and Proklos, sons of Alexon, are declared *proxenoi* of the Gortynians, themselves and their heirs. The inscription states that they are Ἀπελλωνιάται. The Greek world, needless to say, counts a lot of places called Apollonia, in honor of the major God Apollo. Of course, any Apollonia would theoretically be eligible, but in a Cretan context, we can hesitate between the Apollonia of Crete, located on the north shore of the island, west of Herakleion, and the Apollonia of Cyrenaica, the port of Cyrene. The style and content of the inscription clearly refer to the other texts discussed above, and it is also very tempting to date it during the 1st century BC or early 1st century AD, so that they all belong to the same political context. If we are right to place this inscription during this period, Apollonia of Crete must then be discarded since it had been destroyed in the early 160s BC, after its conquest by Kydonia in 171 and the following war between Gortyn, Knossos and Kydonia for the control of its territory, in 170–68 BC (Chaniotis 2004a, 82). On the contrary, Apollonia of Cyrenaica was at that time a flourishing city. Just freed from the authority of Cyrene (Laronde 1996a), Apollonia appears in several inscriptions as an independent city, both in itself (lists of the priests of Apollo) and in its relations with the Greek world. At a time when Apollonia was trying to be recognized as a city, it would not be surprising to find two men becoming *proxenoi* of the Gortynians, and by doing this, developing their city's diplomatic efforts. I share Baldwin Bowsky's opinion in considering Timagoras and Proklos as coming from Apollonia of Cyrenaica after it became autonomous (Baldwin Bowsky 2001a, 102). The three individuals (the one from Ptolemais and the brothers from Apollonia) should then be added to the list of Cyrenaicans in close relations with Gortyn at the end of the Republic-beginning of the Principate.

A Latin inscription from Gortyn quotes a Marcus (?) Antonius E[- - -], from Cyrene, being *duumvir* in the Roman colony of Knossos. Discovered by Baldwin

Bowsky in the early 1980s, the stone was studied in the 1990s and finally published by its discoverer in 2001 (Baldwin Bowsky 2001a, 99–100). Although incomplete, the stone could be interpreted as a panel decorating the base of the man's portrait. Baldwin Bowsky dates the text from the middle of the 1st century AD, and she also sees this man as coming from Italy, living in Cyrenaica and who would have been active as a *duumvir* in Knossos. The fact that several *Antonii* from Cyrenaica are known through epigraphy validates the idea that he could also have been a citizen of Cyrene, and that he may have become one of the most important magistrate of Knossos thanks to his generosity toward this city, in a way that cannot be known for certain. The text itself does not exclude the possibility that Antonius is an Italian but it does not confirm it either (see the commentary of the inscription in *AE* 2001.2058).

At this point of the discussion, eight or nine Cyrenaicans are attested in Crete through inscriptions. Two more can be added to this collection, although they are not official in kind, but private, and may refer to people from a more common social status. The interesting point is that we are here dealing with funerary epigrams. In an inscription from Gortyn (*IC* IV.372) and probably dating to the 1st century BC, a woman called Philo, originating from Teuchira in Cyrenaica, laments that she died on a foreign land: “A foreign dust hides my bones, but my Libyan homeland, Teuchira, did not hide them with its own dust”, as it is said in the last two sentences of the text (ὄστέα δὲ ξίνα κατ[έ]χι κό[ν]ις, ἃ δὲ Λίβυσα πατρις [T]α[υ]χίρων οὐκ ἐκάλυψε κόνει) (Martinez Fernandez 2006, 87–8; Bile 2011). Beyond the interest of this epigram for the history of Greek poetry in Crete, we might notice that we have no proof of Philo being a member of the elite here, although the fact that poetry is used in the epitaph could be interpreted as an example of a high-class *imitatio* by people from a lower status. A second text, from Aptera in west Crete, is the funerary epigram of another Libyan woman, named Sympherousa, who died at the age of 30. The inscription was studied by Guarducci in 1928 and dated to the 3rd or 4th century AD (*IC* II.iii.44). The style and grammar are unique (Guarducci 1929) and the translation is not easy to follow. The style of the text, as well as the name of the dead, which she finds attested in Lambertz's inventory of slave names (Lambertz 1907, 52), led Guarducci to conclude that Sympherousa may have been of servile origin or a freed woman. Travelling to Crete may have not been her own choice, but the fact that she warranted a stele also shows that she must have reached some status in the island.

Based on this material, we can draw a table of Cyrenaican individuals in Crete during the Imperial period (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 Cyrenaican individuals in Crete during the Roman period

Name	Place of origin	Function	Date	Probable social status	Reference (provenience)
Φιλόξενος Ἀλέξιδος	Cyrene	<i>Proxenos</i>	2nd–1st cent. BC	Elite	IC IV.212 (Gortyn)
Ἰαφθας Λύσιος	Ptolemais	<i>Proxenos</i>	1st cent. BC	Elite	IC IV.211 (Gortyn)
Εὐπιπος Πτολεμαί[ο]υ	Cyrene	<i>Proxenos</i>	1st cent. BC–1st cent. AD	Elite	SEG 48.1210 (Gortyn)
Πτολεμαῖος Πτολεμαί[ο]υ	Cyrene	<i>Proxenos</i>	1st cent. BC–1st cent. AD	Elite	SEG 48.1210 (Gortyn)
Κόντος Τήδιος Ἐλενος	Cyrene, then Gortyn	Citizen, maybe <i>proxenos</i>	1st cent. BC	Elite	IC IV.214 (Gortyn)
Γ(άιος) Λυτάτιος Κρίσπος	Ptolemais	Soldier and <i>proxenos</i>	End 1st cent. BC	Elite	IC IV.215c (Gortyn)
Τιμαγόρας Ἀλέξωνος	Apollonia	<i>Proxenos</i>	1st cent. BC–1st cent. AD	Elite	IC IV.206i (Gortyn)
Πρόκλος Ἀλέξωνος	Apollonia	<i>Proxenos</i>	1st cent. BC–1st cent. AD	Elite	IC IV.206i (Gortyn)
M(arcus) [?] Antonius E[- -]	Cyrene (?)	<i>Duumvir</i>	Mid-1st cent. AD	Elite	Baldwin Bowsky 2001a (Gortyn)
Φιλῶ	Teuchira	Unknown	1st cent. BC	?	IC IV.372 (Gortyn)
Συμφέρουσα	Libya	Unknown	3rd–4th cent. AD	Slave (?) or freed woman	IC II.iii.44 (Aptera)

Several observations can be drawn from this list. First, we now have ten or eleven men and women from Cyrenaica attested in Cretan inscriptions during the Roman Empire. This list updates that of Laronde in a 1996 paper (1996b): he listed six testimonies of Cyrenaicans in Crete (2.2% of the total of the Cyrenaicans attested abroad). Prosopographical evidence can now increase the number up to 11 testimonies, even if this does not really modify the percentage.

Second, if we exclude the funerary poem of Sympherousa, the period between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD must be highlighted. These two centuries concentrate ten out of 11 testimonies. Commercial, official and private relations between Crete and Cyrenaica seem to have been dynamic and hectic during this period, as already discussed. The union between the two regions created a context of intensive relations that apparently decreased after the middle of the 1st century AD, although this may also simply reflect archaeological sampling.

Third, epigraphy appears to suggest that we only know Cyrenaicans active in Crete but not Cretans active in Cyrenaica, with the exception of Παρμένων Νικία (SEG 9.196, 4th century BC) and Ζωῖλος Κρής Ἐλευθερναῖος who is mentioned in an unpublished funerary inscription from Apollonia (probably 3rd century BC). It is therefore very curious that we currently do not have any inscriptions mentioning a Cretan in Libya for the Roman period. The observations made above from trade patterns let us think that this is

only a question of documentation, although inscriptions give the impression, anyhow, that it is Cyrenaica which is looking toward Crete rather than Crete toward Cyrenaica. An extract of Philostratos' *Vita Apollonii* (4.34), which describes the visit of Apollonios of Tyana at the sanctuary of Asklepios in Lebena, confirms that many Cyrenaicans made the journey to Crete to worship the God and pray for healing. We can also suggest that the imitation of Gamos Group lamps derives from the pilgrimage of Cyrenaicans to adorn the Zeus of Mt. Ida: they could have brought the lamps back with them to Berenice, where they were imitated by local workshops (Bailey 1985, 128, even if he thinks that the lamps were a Libyan production brought to Crete along with the pilgrims to Mt. Ida). We can also speculate that many Cyrenaicans were taking advantage of the numerous grain ships sailing to Crete to make the journey to the island. Conversely, however, Cretans are not attested in the sanctuaries of Cyrenaica. Cretan religious identity and the worship of local divinities, such as the cave cults, may have played a role in this lack of Cretans attested in Cyrenaica: they may not have felt the need to sail to Cyrenaica to attend celebrations in foreign, non-Cretan shrines.

Last, the *proxenoi* 'dossier' and the Knossian inscription can be interpreted beyond private relations between a few men from Cyrenaica and a few Cretan city-states. They actually prove intensive commercial and political relations. Besides, the Cyrenaicans known in Gortyn and Knossos belong to the upper-classes: it seems that the

wealthiest people of Cyrenaica had more opportunities to become benefactors, and then *proxenoi* and citizens of the Cretan cities, than middle- or lower-class men. This supports Laronde's conclusions (Laronde 1996b) that only the wealthiest men of Cyrene were active and therefore attested abroad, especially in Greece and the Aegean. On the contrary, Sympherousa's epigram may prove the opposite, if Guarducci is right in seeing a slave in this woman. It shows that private, non-official migrations could have taken place outside any political patterns.

Common myths and the construction of a shared civic memory in the Imperial period

Did the fact that Crete and Cyrenaica were united increase the phenomenon of shared myths? Did the Roman administration encourage this trend in an objective to reinforce weakened and virtual relations? The question can be asked when looking at two myths, which may have been rewritten during the Principate.

The sanctuaries of Asklepios at Balagrae and Lebena

After Pausanias (2.26.9), it is accepted that the cult of Asklepios was brought from the sanctuary of Balagrae in Cyrenaica (Fig. 3.2) to the sanctuary of Asklepios in Lebena, on the southern shore of Crete (Fig. 3.3). According to Melfi, Pausanias may have known that story based on the information that Aelius Aristides brought back from his journey in Egypt in AD 142–143 (Melfi 2007, 125–7). And yet, we have no texts that indicate the truth on this matter. Melfi shows that no inscriptions can prove the anteriority of the Libyan sanctuary; she thinks that the filiation is impossible and prefers to see a direct influence from Epidauros on the foundation of the Lebena sanctuary (Melfi 2007, 127–32). My point here is not to discuss this question, but to note that all the information we have about this possible filiation goes back to the Imperial period, with the text of Pausanias. It is therefore not impossible that this myth of a direct translation of the cult of Asklepios from Balagrae to Lebena was a Roman recreation. It would have helped to



Figure 3.2 Balagrae Sanctuary, Cyrenaica. Photo by author



Figure 3.3 Lebena Sanctuary, Crete. Photo by author.

support the political union between Crete and Cyrenaica. This can be compared to several texts from ancient writers of the Augustan period, which precisely refer to the links between Crete and Africa (Virgil, Ovid, Horace: see references and commentary in Braccesi 2004).

Glaukos and the foundation of Aptaera

The 6th century AD lexicographer Stephanus Byzantius, in his chapter on the *polis* of Aptaera, explores the myth of its foundation, and reports that a certain Glaukos from Cyrene founded the Cretan city (Capdeville 1995, 43–4). Glaukos is probably the same person mentioned by Homer, Pausanias and Virgil as the son of Antenor who was shipwrecked on the shores of Cyrenaica with Menelaos on their return from Troy (Weicker 1910, 1414–15). At some point, Glaukos would have left Libya and gone to Crete where he founded Aptaera. The fact that this legend is reported only during late Antiquity might indicate that the story was a Roman recreation based on ancient mythology. There is no clear evidence for this conclusion, but re-assessing their Greek past and developing new myths is a general trend among Greek cities of the Imperial period (Lafond 2006; Konstan and Said 2006; Whitmarsh 2010), especially in Crete (Alcock 2002, 99–131, 179–80). Nothing more can be stated with certainty, but that story may have been a way for both

Cretans and Cyrenaicans to build new ties by creating an original, common civic memory.

Crete and Cyrenaica belonged to the Panhellenion League (Spawforth and Walker 1986; Boatwright 2000; Doukellis 2007). The League reinforced the Doric feeling among the Greeks from Cyrenaica: a letter sent by the emperor Hadrian to the people of Cyrene clearly refers to their old Achaian and Dorian ancestry (*SEG* 28.1566; Jones 1996). Hadrian's wish to unite, from a cultural and 'ethnic' point of view, the cities of Greece in an original network must have influenced mythographers in re-writing a few myths: Crete and Cyrenaica may well have been the subject of such recreations. Through the League and the construction of a shared civic memory in the Roman period, Cretans and Cyrenaicans partially developed a new common identity based on old Doric ties.

The separation of Crete and Cyrenaica

Even before the separation at the end of the 3rd or at the beginning of the 4th century AD, the province of Crete and Cyrenaica might very well have already been subjected to an important administrative change under Septimius Severus or soon thereafter. Between AD 198 and 211, C. Pomponius Cordius was procurator in Cyrenaica only (*AE* 1969–1970.636). L. Fabius Cilo is

said to have been *quaestor Cretae* between AD 204 and 211 (*CIL* VI.1409). It appears that Septimius Severus, sometime between AD 198 and 204, separated the two parts of the province by putting Cyrenaica under the command of a procurator directly appointed by the emperor and in charge of this area only. L. Fabius Cilo was actually *quaestor* of both Crete and Cyrenaica (*CIL* VI.1408), but when the dedication made to him was erected, he kept only the title *quaestor Cretae* in order to update the inscription with the new rules, dismissing his charge in Libya. Suspicion against the Senate, the presence of troops in Cyrenaica – Cordius’ statue was consecrated by Valerius Valens, *pra[e]f(ectus) coh(ortis) [I? M]aced(onicae)* – and the increasing number of imperial lands that needed to be well-managed, as well as the wish to ensure administrative performance are the reasons Laronde cites for explaining this separation (1988, 1060). According to him, Severus Alexander cancelled Septimius’ reform (Laronde 1985, 50–1, 56), as several inscriptions reveal (e.g., *CIL* XI.6338: C. Luxilius Sabinus Egnatius Proculus, *quaestor Cretae et Cyrenae* in AD 233). After Severus Alexander’s reign, the province may have been separated once again. An inscription, carved under Gordian III is the dedication of the statue of Caecilius Felix, procurator of Cyrenaica (*AE* 1969–1970.637). This new separation may have been a decision of the emperor between AD 238 and 244.

Some of the inscriptions mentioned above are badly dated, and a few others I did not mention here also deserve attention. Several scholars (Reynolds 1965; Pautasso 1994–1995) offer more cautious interpretations. Laronde proposed a clear chronology, but the differing dates of these texts may result in a variety of conclusions. This separation-reunion issue calls for a more systematic study, and what needs to be emphasized is that the double province had gone through several administrative modifications in the first half of the 3rd century AD.

That Crete and Cyrenaica were separated under Diocletian is an incontrovertible fact. The emperor reformed the Empire by separating civil and military powers, and by reducing the provinces’ size (Modéran 2003, 82–3). Crete and Cyrenaica were split up between AD 293 and 305, with the former belonging to the diocese of Moesia and then to the diocese of Macedonia, and the latter going to the *dioecesis Oriens*. Cyrenaica was also divided into two smaller provinces: *Libya Superior* and *Libya Inferior*, each with its own capital-city and administration (Roques 1987, 74–5).

General conclusions

Little can be said about the relations between the two parts of the province. The ‘dossier’ of terracotta lamps, coins, a few inscriptions, and an uncertain interpretation of local

myths help to define these relations, but testimonies are too scarce and poorly dated to give a clear picture of whether the union was a success. However, this paper may allow us to draw several general conclusions that I present below:

- First, the chronology remains obscure. Crete and Cyrenaica appeared to have been united sometime in the middle or second half of the 1st century BC until the beginning of the 3rd or even the beginning of the 4th century AD. This issue has been discussed by several scholars but the question remains open.
- Second, commercial exchanges, private migrations, and official relations existed between Crete and Cyrenaica during the Roman era. Evidence for these is limited and based on material such as terracotta lamps and coins. But they should not be neglected, and the two regions were not as ignorant of each other as several scholars thought. Ancient contact, which may go back to Minoan times, explains these relations and supports the fact that the option Rome took to unite them was not arbitrary.
- Third, relations seem strong and dynamic just after the union, i.e. during the 2nd half of the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD. Coin circulation, epigraphy, as well as the exportation and imitation of lamps clearly show that the end of the Republic and the early decades of the Principate have to be highlighted. This new interface seems to be in decline from the end of the 1st century AD onwards.
- Fourth, the examples discussed in this article give the impression that the province of Crete and Cyrene remained calm and peaceful during the Empire. Trade, travels, official relations, as well as the possibility of the building of shared myths, make the two parts of the double province a modest but prosperous land, until it is divided in the 3rd or 4th century AD.

Acknowledgements

The present work benefited from the input of Professor Catherine Dobias, who provided valuable comments. I would also like to express my deep gratitude to Dr Jane Francis and Dr Anna Kouremenos for their useful advice and their patient guidance with my English.

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