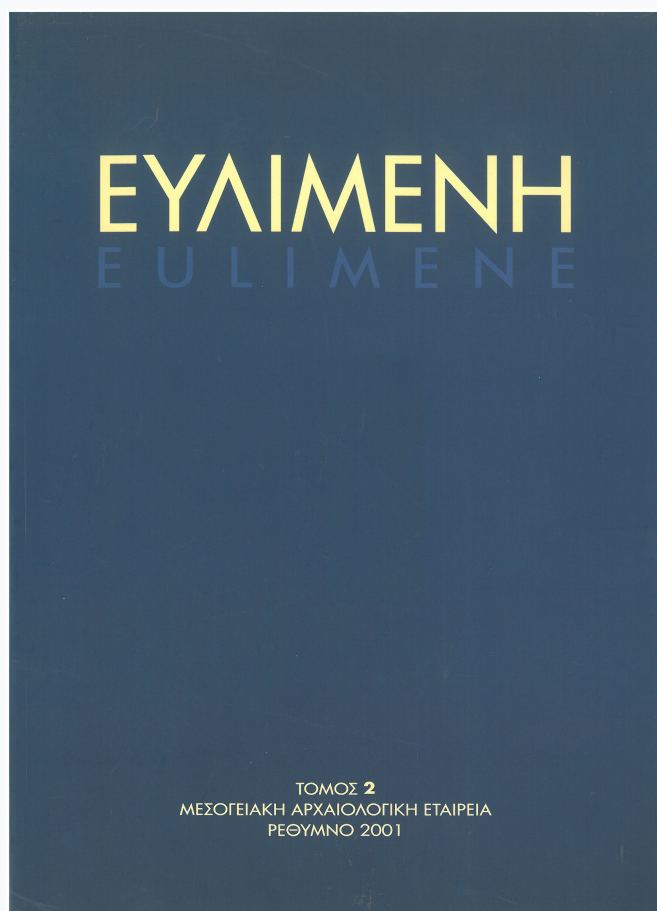


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Gortynians and others: the case of the Antonii

M. W. Baldwin Bowsky

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ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ

ΜΕΛΕΤΕΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΛΑΣΙΚΗ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑ,
ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΙΚΗ, ΤΗ ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΠΥΡΟΛΟΓΙΑ

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EYAIMENH 2 (2001)

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Περίληψεις / Summaries / Zusammenfassungen / Sommaires / Riassunti

Antonio Corso, Attitudes to the Visual Arts of Classical Greece in Late Antiquity, EYAIMENH 2 (2001), 13–51

Attitudini tardoantiche nei confronti delle arti visive della Grecia classica. Argomento del presente articolo è lo studio dei diversi momenti tramite i quali la concezione dell'arte classica è progressivamente cambiata nel periodo che va dall'età dei Severi a quella di Giustiniano. Punto di partenza di questo processo è la tesi, asserita da Flavio Filostrato nella «Vita di Apollonio di Tiana», che l'arte di creare simulacri deve basarsi sulla *phantasia* e non sulla *mimesis*. Sempre a partire dall'età severiana, sale alla ribalta l'idea che i simulacri ottimali possano divenire abitacoli delle divinità rappresentate e siano pertanto magicamente provvisti della vita e delle facoltà di questi: tale concezione può essere appieno apprezzata nel *de statuis* di Callistrato. Inoltre, la concezione idealizzata delle arti visive di età classica, e soprattutto tardoclassica, considerate provviste di un messaggio edonistico, in seno alla seconda sofistica, comporta la condanna di queste produzioni artistiche da parte dei Padri della Chiesa, che ritengono i simulacri antichi corruttori dei costumi, oltrechè privi di valore dal punto di vista teologico. Tale condanna prelude alla distruzione di non pochi simulacri pagani praticata dai seguaci più estremisti del Cristianesimo tra 4 e 5 sec. Inoltre, il gusto cambia e, a partire dalla seconda metà del 4. sec., i palazzi e le ville provvisti di facciate scenografiche, le pitture e i mosaici ricchi di colori e involucranti gli spazi interni, piacciono di più talora delle opere d'arte antiche, in particolare delle statue. Tuttavia, a partire dal 4 sec., matura nella cultura cristiana il principio che si deve distinguere tra il pregio artistico delle statue classiche, che si può ammirare, e il loro contenuto religioso, che invece è inaccettabile. Questa distinzione sta alla base della fioritura di musei di statue antiche, in occidente durante il periodo fra l'ultimo quarto del 4. sec. e la prima metà del 5, a Costantinopoli tra Costantino e Giustiniano. L'articolo è chiuso da alcune note sull'affermazione in tale corso di tempo della convinzione che le statue in marmo di età classica non fossero colorate, ma mostrassero il colore del marmo, della tesi che la scultura era più importante della pittura nella Grecia classica, e infine di interpretazioni ingentilite, edonistiche e idealizzate dell'arte classica.

V. Karageorghis, Some innovations in the burial customs of Cyprus (12th – 7th centuries BC), EYAIMENH 2 (2001), 53–65

Μερικές αλλαγές στα ταφικά έθιμα της Κύπρου (12^{ος}–7^{ος} αι. π.Χ.). Σ' αυτή τη μελέτη γίνεται προσπάθεια να καταδειχθούν οι αλλαγές στην ταφική αρχιτεκτονική και τα ταφικά έθιμα της Κύπρου κατά την περίοδο μεταξύ του 12^{ου} και του 7^{ου} αι. π.Χ., από την εποχή δηλαδή που εμφανίζονται στην Κύπρο οι πρώτες πολιτιστικές καινοτομίες κατά

τις αρχές του 12^{ου} αι. π.Χ. Οι αλλαγές στην ταφική αρχιτεκτονική κορυφώνονται κατά τον 11^ο αι. π.Χ. με την εμφάνιση των τάφων με στενόμακρο δρόμο και μικρό τετράπλευρο θάλαμο, που θα μεταφέρθηκαν στο νησί από το Αιγαίο, με την άφιξη των πρώτων Αχαιών αποίκων. Είναι τότε που παρατηρούνται και τα πρώτα δείγματα καύσης των νεκρών. Γίνεται εκτενής αναφορά στις «ηρωϊκές» ταφές του 8^{ου}-7^{ου} αι. και επιχειρείται σύγκριση με ανάλογα φαινόμενα στο Αιγαίο, ιδίως στην Κρήτη και την Ετρουρία, και συσχετίζονται τα νέα ταφικά έθιμα με τις νέες κοινωνικές δομές που χαρακτηρίζουν τις χώρες τις Μεσογείου, με την εμφάνιση της αριστοκρατικής άρχουσας τάξης και του ανάλογου τρόπου ζωής και συμπεριφοράς.

D. Paleothodoros, Satyrs as shield devices in vase painting, EYΛIMENH 2 (2001), 67–92

Σάτυροι ως επισηήματα ασπίδων στην αγγειογραφία. Περίπου 120 αγγεία της αρχαϊκής και πρώιμης κλασικής περιόδου παρουσιάζουν ασπίδες με τη μορφή του σατύρου ως επίσημα. Τεχνοτροπικά, στον μελανόμορφο ρυθμό επικρατεί το θέμα της ανάγλυφης μάσκας, που εγκαινιάζει ο Κλειτίας, ενώ στον πρώιμο ερυθρόμορφο κυριαρχεί ο Επίκτητος με την εισαγωγή δύο θεμάτων, της μετωπικής μάσκας και της μάσκας σε προφίλ και σκιαγραφία. Η εικονογραφική και αρχαιολογική ανάλυση δείχνει ότι η επιλογή του συγκεκριμένου θέματος υπαγορεύεται από την επιθυμία των ζωγράφων να δημιουργήσουν μια εικονιστική ατμόσφαιρα, όπου κυριαρχούν οι αναφορές στον Διόνυσσο και τον κόσμο του κρασιού.

K. Ρωμιοπούλου, Πτηνοι Έρωτες ύπνω εύδοντες, EYΛIMENH 2 (2001), 93–96

Sleeping Erotes in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens. Hellenistic plastic arts introduced a whole range of sleeping or resting types and styles; among them is the type of sleeping Eros in childlike appearance, which acquired great popularity in Roman times as a decorative statue for gardens or as a funerary statue symbolizing heroisation. The relation of Hypnos (Sleep) and Thanatos (Death) has been suggested as the reason for this subject becoming so popular in literature and art. In this article are presented two unpublished statuettes of sleeping Eros depicting two different types of Eros, products of Attic workshops. They are dated around the end of 1st and in the 2nd cent. AD.

M.W. Baldwin Bowsky, Gortynians and others: the case of the Antonii, EYΛIMENH 2 (2001), 97–119

Οι Γορτύνιοι και οι άλλοι: η περίπτωση των Αντωνίων. Για τη συγγραφή μιας βάσιμης ιστορίας της κοινωνίας στη ρωμαϊκή Κρήτη θα πρέπει στο πλούσιο και διαρκώς αυξανόμενο επιγραφικό υλικό της Γόρτυνας να γίνει μια διάκριση ανάμεσα στους Γορτυνίους και τους μη Γορτυνίους. Το όνομα Άντωνιος, διάφοροι φορείς του οποίου είναι γνωστοί στη Γόρτυνα από τον 1^ο π.Χ. έως τον 2^ο μ.Χ. αιώνα, αποτελεί ενδιαφέρον παράδειγμα ρωμαϊκού ονόματος γένους με εμπορικές αλλά και πολιτικές διασυνδέσεις. Στο άρθρο αυτό δίνεται ιδιαίτερη προσοχή στην παρουσίαση δύο περιπτώσεων. Η πρώτη είναι μια πρωτοδημοσιευμένη επιγραφή από τη Γόρτυνα, η οποία αναφέρεται σε

κάποιον Αντώνιο, αρχικά κάτοικο της Κυρήνης ή της Κυρηναϊκής, πριν αναλάβει πολιτικό αξίωμα στην αποικία της Κνωσού. Η δεύτερη περίπτωση, μια επιγραφή από την Έφεσο, αναφέρεται σε έναν κατά τα άλλα άγνωστο Γορτύνιο που διετέλεσε ιερέας της λατρείας του αυτοκράτορα· η επιγραφή αυτή μας επιτρέπει να τοποθετήσουμε τη λατρεία της Ίσιδας και του Αυγούστου στο πλαίσιο της κοινότητας των εμπόρων που είχαν εγκατασταθεί στην ελληνική Ανατολή πριν από τη μάχη του Ακτίου. Η ένταξη αυτού του αναθήματος του Αντωνίου στο ιστορικό του πλαίσιο, του 2^{ου} μ.Χ. αιώνα, μας επιτρέπει να συνδέσουμε τη συμμετοχή της Κρήτης στο Πανελλήνιον με την εξέλιξη της λατρείας του αυτοκράτορα στη Γόρτυνα και την επάνοδο της συγκλητικής διοίκησης στη Γόρτυνα. Οι Αντώνιοι που μαρτυρούνται στη Γόρτυνα —είτε είναι Γορτύνιοι είτε όχι— αντανakλούν επίσης την εκεί παρουσία πελατών και υποστηρικτών του Μάρκου Αντωνίου, του μέλους της τριανδρίας (όπως και στην Κόρινθο). Θα είναι αναγκαίο να επανεξετάσουμε την καθιερωμένη άποψη, ότι η Γόρτυνα υποστήριξε τον Οκταβιανό, ενώ η Κνωσός πήρε το μέρος του Αντωνίου.

I. Κολτσιδα–Μακρή, Ο θησαυρός Γυθείου IGCH 170, EYAIMENH 2 (2001), 121–128

The Gythion Hoard IGCH 170. IGCH 170 was found at Gythion of Laconia in 1938. It consists of 33 silver coin–issues often occurring in Peloponnesian hoards: 1 drachm of Aegina, 32 triobols of Sikyon, 1 tetradrachm of Antiochus I Soter. The drachm issue, with two dots on the reverse incuse, dates to the second half of the 4th century B.C. The triobols follow the so–called reduced Aeginetan standard, with an average weight of about 2.6 gr. each; these can be attributed to the very last years of the 4th up to the first decades of the 3rd century B.C. The tetradrachm of Antiochus I, minted in Seleucia on the Tigris c. 278–274 B.C., is important for the chronology of the find. In a total of 23 coin hoards found in the Peloponnese, buried in the period between the middle of the 4th and the 2nd century B.C., four include Seleucid tetradrachms (17 in all); see the table in p. 124, of which 8 were minted in Seleucia on the Tigris.

It is probably an emergency hoard connected either with the troubled times of Cleomenes III's war (228–222 B.C.) or the Social War (220–217 B.C.). Thus, the period around the year 220 B.C. is *grosso modo* suggested as the possible burial date. The Gythion find is another important hoard for the dating of the triobols of Sikyon and also provides further evidence for coin circulation in the Peloponnese during the second part of the 3rd century B.C.

V.E. Stefanaki, Sur deux monnaies de bronze inédites d'Hiérapytna. Monnayage hiérapytnien et timbres amphoriques à l'époque hellénistique, EYAIMENH 2 (2001), 129–142

Δύο αδημοσίευστα χάλκινα νομίσματα της Ιεράπυτνας: Ιεραπυτνιακά νομίσματα και σφραγίδες αμφορέων στην ελληνιστική εποχή. Η Ιεράπυτνα, φημισμένο λιμάνι της νοτιοανατολικής Κρήτης, κυρίως κατά τα ρωμαϊκά χρόνια, είχε ήδη αρχίσει να αναπτύσσεται στην ελληνιστική εποχή, από το τέλος του 3^{ου} και στις αρχές του 2^{ου} π.Χ. αιώνα. Το 145 π.Χ., μετά την κατάκτηση της γειτονικής Πραισού, έγινε η πιο δυνατή πόλη της Ανατολικής Κρήτης, όπως μαρτυρούν οι επιγραφικές και φιλολογικές πηγές.

Τα αργυρά της νομίσματα (τετράδραχμα, δίδραχμα και δραχμές), με την κεφαλή της Τύχης ως εμπροσθότυπο, κόπηκαν μεταξύ του 110 και του 80 π.Χ., και μαρτυρούν την οικονομική ευημερία της κατά την εποχή αυτή. Η ευημερία αυτή ήταν αποτέλεσμα τόσο της εδαφικής προσάρτησης της πλούσιας περιοχής της Πραισού όσο και της αύξησης της παραγωγής κρασιού στην χώρα της Ιεράπυτνας (με βλέψεις εμπορικές ή μη), όπως μαρτυρούν οι ενσφράγιστοι ιεραρυτνιακοί αμφορείς που βρέθηκαν στην Αλεξάνδρεια της Αιγύπτου, στην Καλλατία της Μαύρης Θάλασσας και στη μικρή χερσόνησο Τρυπητός στην περιοχή της Σητείας, όπου οι έρευνες έφεραν στο φως τμήμα σημαντικής ελληνιστικής πόλης.

Η μέλισσα που εμφανίζεται σε μία από τις σφραγίδες των αμφορέων ως επίσημο σύμβολο της Ιεράπυτνας, συναντάται επίσης στην οπίσθια όψη δύο χάλκινων ιεραρυτνιακών νομισμάτων, τα οποία βρίσκονται σήμερα στη νομισματική συλλογή του Ashmolean Museum στην Οξφόρδη. Ίσως η επιλογή της μέλισσας ως συμβόλου να είχε σχέση με την κατάκτηση της Πραισού από την Ιεράπυτνα, καθώς ο τύπος είναι χαρακτηριστικός των πραισιακών νομισμάτων.

Η επιγραφή που εμφανίζεται στη σφραγίδα του αμφορέα με τη μέλισσα και στα νομίσματα με τη μέλισσα, είναι το εθνικό των Ιεραρυτνίων σε συντετμημένη μορφή: ΙΕ. Σε άλλες σφραγίδες ιεραρυτνιακών αμφορέων εμφανίζεται ολόκληρο το εθνικό δηλ. ΙΕ(Α)ΡΑΠΥΤΝΙ[ΩΝ] καθώς και ονόματα αρχόντων, επώνυμων ή μη (ΣΩΣΟΣ, ΠΑΣΙΩΝ). Το ίδιο συμβαίνει και στα αργυρά νομίσματα της Ιεράπυτνας με την κεφαλή της Τύχης που αρχίζουν να κόβονται μετά το 110 π.Χ. Το εθνικό των Ιεραρυτνίων δεν εμφανίζεται ολόκληρο σε κανένα νόμισμα πριν το 110 π.Χ. και τα ονόματα των αρχόντων αρχίζουν να αναγράφονται στα νομίσματα της Ιεράπυτνας μέσα στο δεύτερο μισό του 2^{ου} π. Χ. αιώνα. Πρόκειται για την περίοδο κατά την οποία η Ιεράπυτνα αρχίζει να οργανώνει τη νομισματοκοπία της για να διευκολυνθεί ο οικονομικός και διοικητικός έλεγχος. Τον ίδιο έλεγχο άσκησε, πιθανώς την ίδια περίοδο, και στην διακίνηση των προϊόντων της. Από τα παραπάνω προκύπτει ότι οι ιεραρυτνιακοί αμφορείς καθώς και τα νομίσματα με τη μέλισσα, θα πρέπει να χρονολογηθούν μετά το 145 π.Χ. και μάλιστα προς το τέλος του δευτέρου μισού του 2^{ου} π.Χ αιώνα.

M.D. Trifiró, The hoard Αρκαλοχώρι–Αστρίτσι 1936 (*IGCH* 154), *EYΛΙΜΕΝΗ* 2 (2001), 143–154

Il tesoretto Αρκαλοχώρι–Αστρίτσι 1936 (IGCH 154). Il tesoretto *IGCH* 154, rinvenuto a Creta (località Astritsi), consta di emissioni argentee provenienti dalle città cretesi e da Cirene, Corinto e colonie, Argo, Tebe ed Egina. Sono state studiate solo le emissioni non –cretesi che ammontano a cinquantacinque monete d'argento a cui vanno aggiunti altri sei esemplari provenienti da Cirene. Questi ultimi ufficialmente appartengono ad un tesoretto rinvenuto nel 1935 a Hierapytna (*IGCH* 318), ma molto probabilmente fanno parte del nostro ripostiglio, e sono attualmente conservati insieme ad esso presso il Museo Numismatico di Atene.

Unitamente al catalogo numismatico si è fornito un breve commento relativo alle singole emissioni monetali, nel tentativo di contestualizzare le serie e di chiarirne la cronologia assoluta e relativa. Particolare attenzione è stata riservata alla monetazione cirenea nel tentativo di motivarne la presenza nell'isola di Creta, alla luce dei rapporti economici e commerciali testimoniatrici dalle scarse fonti storiche. Per tali serie si è

sostenuta una cronologia «bassa» (300/290–280 a.C.) e si è proposto di identificarne lo standard ponderale con la fase intermedia del peso tolemaico adottato dal 310 a.C., probabilmente in concomitanza con un cambiamento della *ratio* tra oro e argento.

I «pegasi» provengono sia da Corinto che dalle sue colonie (Anactorion, Amphilocheian Argos, Thyrrheion) e presentano simboli e monogrammi differenti, ma cronologicamente appartengono tutti al V periodo Ravel (387–306 a.C.).

Delle emissioni argive, scarsamente studiate, si è presentata la classificazione e si è proposta una cronologia molto ampia, dovendo necessariamente appartenere al periodo precedente l'ingresso della città nella Lega Achea.

David Jordan, Ψήγματα κριτικής, 4–10 [συνέχεια του άρθρου «Ψήγματα κριτικής», *Ευλιμένη* 1 (2000), 127–131], *ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ* 2 (2001), 155–159

Critical Trifles, 4–10 [continuation of «Ψήγματα κριτικής», Eulimene 1 (2000) 127–31].

4. On the curse tablet *DTAud* 41 (Megarid, Roman imperial), at B 1/2 and 4 read [μυ]/ριώνυ[μο]ν and [σ]τρέφης respectively rather than the published [τ]/ριώνυ[μο]ν and [σ]/τρέφης.

5. On the curse tablet *DTAud* 42 (Megarid, Roman imperial), at B 8 read τ|ούς άκραπόδων (for άκρο–) δακτύλους rather than the published ...]ους άκρα ποδών δακτύλους.

6. On the gemstone Religions and cults in Pannonia. Exhibition at Székesfővár, Csók István Gallery, 15 May–30 September 1996 (Székesfővár 1998), no. 240 (Pannonia, III A.D.), read the personal name Φιλοσέραπιν Ἀγάθωνα rather than the published ΦΙΛΟΣΕΡΑΠΙΝΑΓΑΘΜΝΑ.

7. On the silver phylactery *BullMusComRoma n.s.* 13 (1999) 18–30 (Rome, IV/V A.D.), in line 1 read Πρὸς σεληνιαζομένους rather than the published Πρὸς σελ[ήν]ην παζομένους.

8. On the papyrus phylactery *P.Oxy.* VII 1058 = *PGM* 6b (IV/V A.D.) read δὲ/τ|ριλον rather than the published δο/ύλον in lines 3/4. The ὁ κατ[ο] (ὁ καλ[edd.] in line 6 is no doubt from the beginning of LXX Ps. 90.1: Ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν βοθηείᾳ τοῦ ὑψίστου ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀλίσθησεται.

9. The ἐν της ταρταρης in lines 8/9 of the formulary *P.Carlsberg* inv. 52 (31) (VII A.D.; *Magica varia* 1) should be normalized ἐν τοῖς Ταρτάροις rather than ἐν τῆς Ταρτάρου as published.

10. On the parchment amulet *P.Louvre* inv. 7332 bis (VII A.D.; *Magica varia* 2 = *SB XVIII* 13602) at line 13 read τῇ[α]ς τεγούσης (for τεκούσης) (e.g.) Μ[ι]ητρὸς Θ[ε]οῦ rather than the published τῆς' δετετουσης μ[ι]..... I.

A. Agelarakis, On the Clazomenian quest in Thrace during the 7th and 6th centuries BC, as revealed through Anthropological Archaeology, *ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ* 2 (2001), 161–186

Περὶ του Κλαζομενιακού αποικισμού στη Θράκη τον 7^ο και 6^ο αιώνα π.Χ., μέσω της Ανθρωπολογικής Αρχαιολογίας. Παρουσιάζονται τα αρχαιο-ανθρωπολογικά δεδομένα που βασίζονται στη μελέτη του ανθρώπινου σκελετικού υλικού από ανασκαφές στο αρχαϊκό νεκροταφείο των Κλαζομενίων, του ανασκαφικού τομέα «Κ» στα Ἀβδηρα. Τα δημογραφικά και επιδημιολογικά στοιχεία αυτού του δείγματος του πληθυσμού, όπως

υποστηρίζονται από την ταφονομική, αρχαιομετρική, φυσική ανθρωπολογική και παλαιοπαθολογική έρευνα, παρέχουν σημαντικότερα αποτελέσματα στον χώρο της Ανθρωπολογικής Αρχαιολογίας, συμβάλλοντας, σε συνδυασμό με τις καθαρά αρχαιολογικές και σωζόμενες ιστορικές πηγές, στη διαλεύκανση πολλών ερωτημάτων σχετικά για τις εμπειρίες των Κλαζομενίων αποικιστών στη Θράκη και προσφέροντας παράλληλα ένα γόνιμο πεδίο για περαιτέρω προβληματισμό και ερμηνείες όσον αφορά τα αρχαϊκά χρόνια στα Άβδηρα.

C. Bourbou, Infant mortality: the complexity of it all!, ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 2 (2001), 187–203

Παιδική θνησιμότητα: Μια πολύπλοκη υπόθεση. Η αρχαιολογική και ανθρωπολογική έρευνα μέχρι σήμερα δεν έχει στρέψει το ενδιαφέρον της στη μελέτη των παιδικών ταφών. Παρόλα ταύτα, οι ταφές των ανήλικων ατόμων μπορούν να προσφέρουν πολύτιμες πληροφορίες για τη σύνθεση της εικόνας των παλαιότερων κοινωνιών, καθώς τόσο το ποσοστό της παιδικής θνησιμότητας σε κάθε πληθυσμό όσο και οι διάφορες ασθένειες αποτελούν σημαντικές μαρτυρίες για το βιοτικό του επίπεδο. Τα παιδιά, πέρα από τη βιολογική τους υπόσταση προσδιορίζονται και μέσα από το πολιτιστικό πλαίσιο που ορίζει ο κάθε κοινωνικός ιστός. Έτσι, η συμπεριφορά των ενηλίκων απέναντι στα παιδιά είναι διαφορετική, ακόμα και στις περιπτώσεις του θανάτου ή της ταφής τους. Το θέμα της παιδοκτονίας (μέσα στους κόλπους της οικογένειας ή ως θυσία–προσφορά στους θεούς) έχει απασχολήσει περισσότερο τους ερευνητές, ιδιαίτερα στην προσπάθειά τους να αναγνωρίσουν τέτοιες περιπτώσεις από τα αρχαιολογικά και ανθρωπολογικά κατάλοιπα. Στην εργασία αυτή, παράλληλα με το θέμα της ταφονομίας (παράγοντες διατήρησης ή μη των παιδικών οστών) και της παιδοκτονίας στην αρχαιότητα, επικεντρώνουμε το ενδιαφέρον μας στην παιδική θνησιμότητα σε θέσεις της πρωτοβυζαντινής περιόδου (Ελεύθερνα, Γόρτυνα, Κνωσός, Κόρινθος, Μεσσήνη, Αλική). Η πρωτοβυζαντινή περίοδος παρουσιάζει ξεχωριστό ενδιαφέρον καθώς αποτελεί μία αρκετά «ταραγμένη» περίοδο της ύστερης αρχαιότητας για την οποία ελάχιστα μας είναι γνωστά. Η μελέτη των παιδικών ταφών από τις παραπάνω θέσεις μας έδωσε πολύτιμα στοιχεία για τα ποσοστά της παιδικής θνησιμότητας (υψηλότερα μετά τη γέννηση σε κάποιες θέσεις) αλλά και διάφορες μεταβολικές κυρίως ασθένειες (cribra orbitalia, Harris lines, έλλειψη βιταμίνης C).

GORTYNIANS AND OTHERS: THE CASE OF THE ANTONII

The epigraphical corpus of Cretan Gortyn is by far the richest for the Roman period of the island's history, and even in 1950 occupied the entire fourth volume of Guarducci's *Inscriptiones Creticae*. Systematic excavations undertaken by the Italian School of Archaeology —under both Collini and Di Vita— and the rescue and collection activities of the 23rd Ephoreia of Classical Antiquities have significantly augmented the number of inscriptions known from this site and its environs. Gortyn was the premiere center of Romanness for Crete from the first century BCE onward, with the result that many inscriptions preserved there name not Gortynians but Roman governors and other administrative personnel, Italian traders and members of trading families, and individuals from other Cretan cities with Roman populations, notably Knossos and Hierapytna.¹ Gortyn's position as the leading center of Romanness on Crete derives from her role as a center of exchange in the first century BCE to first century of our era, and then as capital of the double province of Creta-Cyrenae, at least from the time of Augustus to that of Trajan and again from the reign of M. Aurelius.²

In such a rich epigraphical context, it is increasingly necessary to distinguish between Gortynians and non-Gortynians, if one is to write a meaningful social history of Roman Crete. It is beyond the scope of this study to distinguish between all the Gortynians and non-Gortynians named in the epigraphical record of Gortyn, but in the meantime the Antonii can serve as an intriguing example of a name that has a commercial resonance as well as a political one when borne by men named at Gortyn.³ Unlike nomina which are likely to be imperial —except in the earliest examples— the name Antonius should retain its original prosopographical significance, at Gortyn as well as elsewhere in the Greek East (Sherwin-White 1973, 309–10). This nomen is borne by three non-Gortynians at Gortyn from the first century BCE to the second–third century of our era: a Hierapytnan who received *proxenia* and *politeia* at Gortyn (1), a Cyrenaican who was *duumvir* at Knossos (2), and another Knossian *duumvir* who also served as *pontifex Cretensium concilii* (3). The same nomen is borne by four Gortynians from the first

¹ The author presented a preliminary study of Gortynians and others at the second colloquium on Post-Minoan Crete, held in Herakleion, September 1998. For traders and members of trading families at Gortyn, see now Baldwin Bowsky 1999, esp 310–16.

² Center of exchange: Rendini 1997, 371; Romeo 1998, 265; Papadopoulos 1999, 202 and 236. Provincial capital from the time of Augustus, on the Antonian model that linked Crete with Cyrenaica: Rémy 1999, 165. Provincial capital to the time of Trajan and again from the reign of M. Aurelius: Pautasso 1994–95, 85–89.

³ See 1. In order to make this material as accessible as possible to the reader, it is presented within the text in a series of numbered, annotated entries (1–7) that present the basic information, citations, and relevant additional material. These numbered entries are referred to throughout the text by numbers in bold print.

century BCE to first century on to the late second century: a dedicator at Gortynian Phaistos (4), a likely freedman (5), a local magistrate (6), and a new priest of the imperial cult (7).

Particular attention will be devoted to the presentation of two cases. A new inscription of Gortynian provenance, which names [M?] Antonius E[---] (2), will be published in this article. This Antonius, of apparent Italian origin and Cyrenean or Cyrenaican residence, may be the descendant of *negotiatores* or of triumviral personnel, or both.

A recently published inscription from Ephesos allows us to identify Antonius Vareius (7) as a hitherto unknown Gortynian who honored a second-century proconsul of Creta-Cyrenae at Ephesos. It will also give us an unexpected opportunity to set the worship of Isis and Augustus in the context of the commercial community resident in the Greek East before and after Octavian's victory at Actium. Setting Antonius' dedication in its second-century social and historical context will further allow us to link Crete's participation in the Panhellenion with the evolution of the imperial cult at Gortyn as well as the return of senatorial administrators to Gortyn.

The Antonii who are named at Gortyn —whether Gortynian or not, especially in the critical period from the first century BCE to the first century— may at the same time reflect the presence of triumviral clients and supporters there, as at Corinth (cf. Spawforth 1996, 170). We need to re-evaluate the canonical notion that Gortyn was on the side of Octavian while Knossos was on that of Antony, with the result that one was rewarded and the other punished by the triumphant Octavian-Augustus.

Antonii from Hierapytna and Knossos

First, let us examine those Antonii at Gortyn who can be identified as non-Gortynians, one from first-century BCE Hierapytna and two from or via first- and second-third century Knossos. M. Antonius Kriton, the son of a Kriton (1) was honored with *proxenia* and *politeia* in first-century BCE Gortyn, and might have been connected with the triumvir who successfully contested Brutus for control of Crete in the region of Hierapytna. The connection may have been as much commercial as political or military, given the business interests of M. Antonius Creticus and his son the triumvir.

1. Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος Κρίτωνος υἱὸς Κρίτων Ἱεραπύτνιος

Honored with *proxenia* and *politeia* in Gortyn, 1st century BCE, from Hierapytna: *ICr* IV 221 A.

Given the onomastic formula employed, M. Antonius Kriton was probably the first in his family to be enfranchised. Cretan Antonii are likely to share the name of M. Antonius Creticus' grandson, the triumvir (cf. Spawforth 1996, 168, 170, 176 for Antonii at Corinth). After the Ides of March Antonius passed legislation on the authority of Caesar's ratified *acta*, including relieving the island of Crete of *vectigalia* and making it no longer a province after Brutus' governorship (Broughton 1952, 316). A coin hoard appears to corroborate the return of Pompeian veterans to Hierapytna after Pharsalus, and conflict during the contest between Brutus and Antony for control of Crete (Raven 1938, esp. 147). A Lepidus won Crete for Brutus and Cassius in late 44 or early 43 BCE but only for a short time (Broughton 1952, 342). In 34 BCE Antonius assigned certain kingdoms and Roman territories, including Crete, to Cleopatra and their children

(Broughton 1952, 411). It may not, however, have been all of Crete, but rather the eastern portion—including Hierapytna—where the Ptolemies had a zone of traditional influence (Rouanet–Liesenfelt 1992, 175).

For other 1st century BCE Antonii, see the Knossian duumvir M. Antonios (*sic*, Svoronos 1890, 90 nos. 188–89; *BMC Crete* 26–27 nos. 75–76). The name C. Iulius Antonius should be deleted from the list of Knossian *duumviri* named on colonial coinage (Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992, 234).

Later Cretan Antonii include the Knossian dedicator M. Ἀντώνιος Κλωδιανός (Ricci 1893, 304–05 no. 13; not in *ICr* I,viii); and [Γ]άιος Ἀντώνιος [Πα]ρμένων (*ICr* I,viii 27). From Lyttos see Ἀντώνιος, [Ἀντώνιος] Καλότυχος, and [Ἀντωνία] Πρεῖμα (*ICr* I,xviii 105 A1, B2). From Hierapytna see Μάρκος Ἀν[τωνί?]ος (*ICr* III,iii 7, 33) and Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος Θεοπόμπου ἀπελεύθερος (*ICr* III,iii 15). At Rethymnon see Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος Λοῦπος, Ἀντώνιος Διονύσιος, and [Ἀντώνιος] Μοσχιανός, *ICr* II,xxiv 4).

See Rauh 1986, 432–41 for the Antonii as a leading plebeian family in the age of Marius that was extensively involved in eastern commerce and eastern affairs. This involvement is the context for not only M. Antonius Creticus' campaign to wage war on the pirates of Cilicia (436), but also the business contacts of his son the triumvir, including those with Greek friends like Kydas of Crete (439–41). See D'Arms 1970, 172–73 for the estate of the triumvir at Misenum, which had belonged to his grandfather the orator and to his father M. Antonius Creticus. Compare Oxé and Comfort 1968, 35 nos. 110–11 for an Antonius (?) and M. Antonius among potters.

In the Greek East, whether the name reflects trade associations or the patronage of M. Antonius the *triumvir*, Antonii are attested from the 2nd century BCE onward. Hatzfeld shows one L. Antonius at Delos (1912, 14, dated before 154/3 BCE; cf. *IDel* 1432, dated ca. 153/2 BCE; and Baslez 1996, 222, dated as early as between 160 and 157 BCE) and an L. Antonius Theodoros at Chalcis (1919, 384, second half of the 1st century BCE). Antonii are attested in Apollonia and Epidamnus–Dyrrhachion (Cabanès 1996, 93 and 95); Macedonia (Tatakis 1996, 107) and Chalkidike (Loukopoulou 1996, 147); Corinth (Spawforth 1996, 168, 170, and 176); Eleia (Zoumbaki 1996, 192, 200, 202, 206); Arcadia (Hoët van Cauwenberghe 1996, 213); and even Syria (Sartre 1996, 242 and 247) and Gerasa (Gatier 1996, 257).

The commercial–political connection between the forebears of [M?] Antonius E[---] of Cyrenaica and Knossos (2) and the triumvir might have been just as complex as those of M. Antonius Kriton of Hierapytna (1).

2. [M?] Antonius E[---]

Named in an honorary inscription as *Cyrenaicus*, *duumvir col(oniae) Iul(iae) Cnosiae*, honored at Gortyn, 1st century.

On 15 May of 1980, I saw and drew an inscription sitting in the yard of the old Phylakeion at Ag. Deka, without realizing how remarkable it was to see a Latin inscription at ancient Gortyn (Sylloge Gortynos inv. no. 394). No. 394 was in the same position again, to be photographed in 1990. In its next home in the New Apotheke in Ag. Deka in 1994, I examined it more closely, especially the remains of line 3. Only in 1996—in the Apotheke of the new Italian School Building—was it possible to photograph this inscription successfully and to receive permission from both the Archaeological Service and the Italian School to publish this stone (fig. 1). Double permission was needed, as the Diary–Catalog of the

Sylloge at Gortyn gives no indication of whether its discovery was the product of Greek or Italian efforts, much less a notation about its findspot or date of discovery. It was catalogued together with a segment of an epistyle found in November 1960 and delivered to the Sylloge at Gortyn (Davaras 1960, 460–61 no. 3; inv. no. 396) and another segment of the same inscription photographed in 1962 in the same Antiquarium (Manganaro 1974, II 38–41; inv. no. 397). Now, after these many years, I would like to thank Prof. Antonino Di Vita —as Director of the Italian School of Archaeology and of its excavations at Gortyn— and Mrs. Alexandrou Karetsoy —as Proistameni of Classical Antiquities and Director of the Archaeological Museum, Herakleion— for granting me permission to publish this inscription. I would also like to thank Miss Joyce Reynolds for her considerate reading and helpful suggestions about the significance of this inscription.

The inscription is on a block of πωρόλιθος, 0.24 m. high, 0.22 m. deep, 0.47 m. wide; broken on both sides and bottom but perhaps close to the left-hand margin. The top surface has a shallow, roughly finished cutting 0.155 m. from the inscribed surface, suggesting that the block may have been a statue base or else made (or subsequently shaped) to fit into a wall or monument for almost half its preserved depth.

Letters of line 1 are 0.03 m. from the stone's top, letters of line 3 are partly broken off with the stone. Letters 0.055–6 m. tall in line 1, 0.045 m. in line 2. Letter forms include T-*longa* in line 1, R with curved tail. All letters are carefully inscribed, with pronounced horizontal apices. Triangular interpuncts separate words in lines 1 and 2.

The inscription can be dated to the imperial period, probably mid-1st century, on the basis of letter forms and the dating of other inscriptions that employ the dative case. Lettering is strikingly similar to *ICr* IV 295, set up in honor of M. Sonteiis M.f. Ter. Casinas, also a *duumvir coloniae Cnosiae* in the first century.

Three lines are preserved from a dedicatory inscription that names the honorand in the dative case.

[M? A]ntonio E[---]
 Cyrenaico II[viro]
 C]ol. Iul. Cnosiae.

1 Final E appears to be followed by a letter with an apex and no vertical stroke, e.g., T, V, X, or Y.

What we appear to have in this new inscription is the Roman name of a Cyrenean or Cyrenaican who was honored for an unknown reason at Gortyn and served as *duumvir* of the Roman colony of Knossos, at the time of or before this honor. *Cyrenaicus* is an ethnic, not a personal name (see Solin 1982, 623–24 for such personal names as Cyrene, Cyren(i)us, and Cyrenicus). Unlike the normal ethnic *Cyrenaeus* (cf. two of the *proxenoi* noted below; *ICr* I,xxii 4 A, 41ff. from Olous; I, xxiii 2 from Phaistos) or the Latin term *Cyrenensis*, which designate Cyrene or one of its inhabitants, the term *Cyrenaicus* can refer either to the city of Cyrene, or to the district around Cyrene, including the whole *provincia Cyrenaica* (*OLD*, s.v. *Cyrenaicus*). Our Antonius might then be from Cyrene or its environs, rather than from one of the other cities in the Roman Cyrenaica, whose ethnic he should otherwise have used. It is quite likely that he belongs to a trading family

naturalized there.⁴ Reynolds has argued persuasively that the Antonii of Cyrene are Italian in origin, most probably *negotiatores* who were naturalized and passed into the local aristocracy, though native families of M. Antonii are also known.⁵

Whether our Antonius' praenomen was M(arcus) or possibly L(ucius) depends upon whether he shares the praenomina of the L. Antonii identified above at Delos and Chalcis and below at Taucheira–Arsinoe and Cyrene, or that of the M. Antonii of Rome, Cyrene, and Ptolemais. From Taucheira–Arsinoe three first-century inscriptions name Λ. 'Αντ. Εὐδαίμων, 'Αν[τ]ώνιος, and a father and son both named 'Αντώνιος.⁶ From Ptolemais come Φλ. 'Αντώνιος Σύλλας and Μ. 'Αντώνιος Φλαβιανός.⁷ In the environs of Apollonia, in the reign of Vespasian, we have the name of Antonius Bathyllus, who put down collateral for the sum Apollonius son of Parabates would pay to the city annually for the use of public lands (*AEpigr* 1967, 531).

To judge from the choice of the term *Cyrenaicus* rather than *Cyrenaeus* or *Cyrenensis*, Antonius might be from Cyrene and environs, a man Italian by origin and a long-term resident of Cyrene but not a citizen thereof, and so not eligible to use the normal ethnic. The Antonii of Cyrene, who belonged to the city's elite, tend overwhelmingly to be Marcii. Only one second-century Cyrenean Antonius bears the praenomen Lucius: Λ. 'Αντώνιος Σεκούνδος, a νεωκόρος (*SEG* IX 176, dated 180). Among the Cyrenean M. Antonii who bear Latin cognomina and therefore are likely to be of Italian origin—all at home in the first century—Reynolds has discussed M. Antonius Flamma, perhaps the same man as Tacitus' homonymous governor of Creta–Cyrenae at the end of Nero's reign, but certainly the father of the M. Antonii Aristomenes, Cascellius, and Gemellus who were priests of Apollo in the second half of the first century; the paternal grandfather of another M. Antonius Cascellius who should have been priest a generation later; and the maternal grandfather of P. Sestius Pollio who was priest of Apollo in 111.⁸ Among the native families of M. Antonii at Cyrene Reynolds notes [Μ. 'Α]ντώνιος

⁴ Reynolds' L. A[---] L.f. Flamma, attested at Delos, is apparently an Audius rather than an Antonius (Reynolds 1982, 678, citing *BCH* 3 [1879] 160 and Groag in *PIR*² A 831; for the name Audius see Hatzfeld 1912, 18, citing *BCH* 8 [1884] 154 [where Andius] and listing a number of Audii at Delos, and *IDel* 1631).

⁵ Reynolds 1982, 677–79; cf. Reynolds and Ali 1991–92, 264. Cf. Reynolds 1988, 483 for Latin names at Teucheira that recall Italian *negotiatores* who operated in the East Mediterranean in the later Roman Republic, with the result that their descendants, or the descendants of their freedmen or native clients, appear in 1st–2nd century ephebic inscriptions.

⁶ Λ. 'Αντ. Εὐδαίμων: *SEG* IX 581 cf. Fraser and Matthews 1987, 173. 'Αν[τ]ώνιος: *SEG* IX 419 cf. Fraser and Matthews 1987, 49. 'Αντώνιος father of 'Αντώνιος and Γράνιος: *SEG* IX 578–79 cf. Fraser and Matthews 1987, 49.

⁷ Φλ. 'Αντώνιος Σύλλας: *SEG* IX 361, 1st century; in Fraser and Matthews 1987, 433 s.v. Τενέδιος. Μ. 'Αντώνιος Φλαβιανός: *SEG* IX 367, 2nd–3rd century; in Fraser and Matthews 1987, 182, s.v. Εὐποριανή.

⁸ M. Antonius Flamma: Tac. *Hist.* iv 45. M. Antonius Aristomenes: Reynolds 1982, 678, citing *IGRR* I 1029; Oliverio, Pugliese Carratelli, and Morelli 1961–62, 361. M. Antonius Cascellius: Reynolds 1982, 678, citing *IGRR* I 1030; Oliverio, Pugliese Carratelli, and Morelli 1961–62, citing *SEG* IX 184; *AEpigr* 1995, 1631. M. Antonius Gemellus: Reynolds 1982, 678, citing Oliverio, Pugliese Carratelli, and Morelli 1961–62, nos. 3a and 110; *SEG* XXXVII 1671. M. Antonius Cascellius (2): Reynolds 1982, 678; her Antonius Maximus is apparently the grandson Cascellius, whose name was read as Maximus by Oliverio but Cascellius in Oliverio, Pugliese Carratelli, and Morelli 1961–62, no. 112 and p.361. P. Sestius Pollio: Reynolds 1982, 677; *BEpigr.* 1960, 199; *SEG* XVIII 744.

[Κερεάλης], priest of Apollo perhaps in 76, and Ἀντωνία Μεγώ, priestess of Artemis in 106–07 and daughter of M. Ἀντ. Σω[κλῆς?] ὁ καὶ Ἰγίσαν.⁹

After the first century, priests of Apollo and ephebes include M. Ἀντ. Εὐτύχης, ephebe together with Γ. Ἀντώνιος Ἀθηνόδορος Ἀντώνις (*sic*) Κτησίας, and M. Ἀντώνιος Πρεῖμος (*SEG* XX 742 II, 21, dated 161). M. Ἀντώνιος Ἰσοκράτης was an ephebe between 172 and 175 (*AEpigr* 1995, 1632). M. Ἀντώνιος Ἀριστίππος νεός was the priest of Apollo when Αἴλιος Ἀντώνιος was an ephebe (*SEG* IX 128, dated 224). Ἀντώνι[ος --] Ἀντωνί[ου] was priest in 286 (*SEG* IX 267). Ἀντ. Εὐόν[υμος?] (*SEG* IX 290 [and 289?]) was a priest of Apollo named in a graffito on a water channel behind the fountain of Apollo, where datable items are Diocletianic.¹⁰ Yet more Antonii from Cyrene are named in inscriptions from the first–second centuries through the third century and broadly imperial period: Ἀντώνις (*sic*) Ἀντωνίω (*SEG* XXXVII 1699, 1st–2nd century); Ἀντώνιος Σεκούνδος (*SEG* XLIII 1190, 2nd century); [Ἀν]τώνιος II[---] (Oliverio, Pugliese Carratelli, and Morelli 1961–62, no. 112, post–Hadrianic to judge from the heading θεὸς Ἀδρ[ιανός]).

Whether our Antonius had a Roman cognomen or a Greek personal name again depends upon whether he belonged to the family of Cyrene’s naturalized immigrants or to one of the native families of Cyrene, Taucheira–Arsinoe, Ptolemais–Barca, or Apollonia. If our Antonius was a member, earlier or contemporary, of the family of the Cyrenean M. Antonius Flamma—who served as proconsul of his native province at just the date suggested by the lettering of our inscription—a cognomen might be likely. Solin and Salomies (1988, 327–28) show a great many cognomina beginning with ET, EV, or EX. If he was from a native Cyrenean family or one of the other cities of the Cyrenaica, a Greek personal name might be in order. Fraser and Matthews show an equally great—or even greater—number of Greek personal names (1987, 152–53 for names that would be transliterated with EX–, 168–92 for names that would be transliterated with ET or EY). In fact three of our Cyrenaican Antonii, two from Cyrene and one from Taucheira–Arsinoe, bear Greek personal names that begin with the popular name–element EY–, consistent with the traces at the extreme right of line 2 of our inscription: Λ. Ἀντ. Εὐδαίμων of first-century Taucheira–Arsinoe (*SEG* IX 581); M. Ἀντ. Εὐτύχης of Cyrene, ephebe in the year 161 (*SEG* XX 742 II, 21); and Ἀντ. Εὐόν[υμος?], priest of Apollo in imperial Cyrene (*SEG* IX 290 [and 289?]).

That a Cyrenean or Cyrenaican is honored at Gortyn is nothing new, especially among the *proxenoi* of the Cretan city. Ἰάφθας Λύσιος Πτολεμαίεύς, and Γ. Λυτάτιος Κρίσπος, στρατιώτης and Πτο(λεμαίεύς), are attested in the inscriptions of Gortyn from the second–first centuries BCE, as are Φιλόξενος Ἀλέξιδος Κυρηναῖος, Τιμαγόρας and Πρόκλος Ἀλέξωνος Ἀπελλωνιάται, and Κόιντος Τήδιος Ἐλενος ὁ πρότε[ρον] Κυρηναῖος.¹¹ A new pair of Cyreneans of late Ptolemaic times, Εὐίππος καὶ Πτολεμαῖος οἱ Πτολεμαίου Κυραναῖοι, is

⁹ [M. Ἀ]ντώνιος [Κερεάλης]: Oliverio, Pugliese Carratelli, and Morelli 1961–62, 224 no. 4 and 361; Reynolds 1982, 679; *AEpigr* 1995, 1631. Ἀντωνία Μεγώ: *SEG* XXVI 1826; Reynolds 1982, 679; Fraser and Matthews 1987, s.v. Μεγώ 7 for the reading and date.

¹⁰ Information about datable items kindly provided by Miss Joyce Reynolds.

¹¹ Ἰάφθας Λύσιος, Πτολεμαίεύς: *ICr* IV 211. Γ. Λυτάτιος Κρίσπος, στρατιώτης, Πτο(λεμαίεύς): *ICr* IV 215 C, cf. *SEG* XLVI 122 for the reading. Φιλόξενος Ἀλέξιδος Κυρηναῖος: *ICr* IV 212. Τιμαγόρας and Πρόκλος Ἀλέξωνος Ἀπελλωνιάται: *ICr* IV 206 I. Κόιντος Τήδιος Ἐλενος ὁ πρότε[ρον] Κυρηναῖος: *ICr* IV 214.

named on an inscription discovered in 1994 (Magnelli 1998, esp. 1291–95). These names appear in the nominative case, as is appropriate in inscriptions granting *proxenia* and/or *politeia*.

The use of the dative case in our dedication, however, is to be compared not with these or other proxeny inscriptions, but with a small number of Latin honorary inscriptions—where the use of the dative is standard—and with one Greek inscription—where the use of the dative is highly unusual—in the Gortynian corpus. We will never know what prompted the dedication to our Antonius, but it is tantalizing to find that three of these four inscriptions that utilize the dative deal with Knossians and perhaps the Capuan lands that lay between Knossos and Gortyn, and all four are to be dated to the first century BCE or the first century of our era. The Latin text dedicated to L. Plotius Vicinas (*ICr* IV 289), an Augustan proconsul, is in the dative while the Greek text of this bilingual inscription is in the accusative. *ICr* IV 290 was dedicated in the first century BCE by the *cives Romani qui Gortynae negotiantur* to Doia L.f. Procilla, whom we can identify as a Knossian.¹² *ICr* IV 295 honors M. Sonteijs M.f. Ter. Casinas, a Knossian like Antonius to judge from his service as aedile, *duumvir*, and augur in the colony. At Gortyn Sonteijs was honored by his wards whom he defended, presumably at the proconsular court. *ICr* IV 201 begins with the name of [---]ἰλιος Α[---], in the dative, and goes on to contain a fragmentary text that just may refer to an imperial possession ([χώραν?] Αὐγούσταν?) that should not be sold or otherwise mishandled without incurring a financial penalty.¹³

What appears truly unusual is the fact that a Cyrenaican was *duumvir* at the Roman colony of Knossos, when or before he was honored at Gortyn in the mid-first century. The identity of the *duumviri* of Colonia Julia Nobilis Cnosus has long been a vexed question. We have several of their names on colonial coinage, which provides little more direct evidence than their very names and a rough date, sometimes relative to another issue. It is clear, however, that some unusual *duumviri* held office in certain circumstances.¹⁴ In the reign of Nero, we might look to one or more events to explain the

¹² Cf. the *duumvir* of early Tiberian date, Doius (Ashton 1973; Grant 1950, 17–18 nos. 50–51).

¹³ Rouanet–Liesenfelt (1992, 183–84) has suggested that there were imperial domains on Crete, where medicinal plants were gathered for shipment to Rome, perhaps around Lyttos and the Lassithi plain. Magnelli 1998, 1300–05 would identify the man named at the head of *ICr* IV 201 as [Γάιος Μαρμ]ῖλιος Ἀ[ντῆς], and a *protokosmos* as well as recipient of *proxenia* and *politeia* at Gortyn. He would also entertain the notion that Αὐγούστα refers to Livia, honored as Iulia Augusta at Gortyn and Lebena (*ICr* IV 273; I,xvii 55) and assimilated with Ceres, even as the cult of the divine Augustus was celebrated, just after his death in 14.

¹⁴ In the reign of Augustus it might be the implementation of the emperor's arrangement concerning the Capuan lands that led to an imperial freedman being named on colonial coinage. One of the earliest pairs of Knossian magistrates was composed of Aeschines Caes.l. *iter(um)* and Plotius Plebeius (Svoronos 1890, 91 nos. 190–91; Grant 1946, 262 for the date). Weaver remarks that Aeschines is the only member of the *familia Caesaris* to appear on a coin legend (1972, 49 n.3). It just may be that Aeschines served his second term in the year that Augustus' arrangement concerning the Capuan lands was put into place, to judge from the presence of an imperial freedman and a Capuan colonist whose *familiaris* and homonymous descendant are known from inscriptions on the border of the Capuan lands, at Archanes and Karnari (*AEpigr* 1969/70, 635; Rigsby 1976).

Also in the reign of Augustus, it might be the destruction caused by two earthquakes that led to the coin legends that name Tiberius and a *prae(fectus) imp(eratoris)*. Coins that could be from late Augustan or early Tiberian times name M. Aemilius and Labeo and Ti. Caesar (Grant 1946, 262 no. 9), an anonymous

fact that a Cyrenaican was Knossian *duumvir* and honored at Gortyn. The circumstance that might best explain the presence of a Cyrenaican Antonius at Knossos is the proconsulate of M. Antonius Flamma of Cyrene, who was accused of malicious extortion by the Cyreneans after his proconsulate in 67/68 (Tac. *Hist.* iv, 45). Just before Flamma's proconsulate, between 61 and 66, a catastrophic earthquake had led to widespread destruction at Knossos and Gortyn alike.¹⁵ It is just possible that the road-restoration of Livi<a>nus and the territorial arbitration of P. Licinius Secundus are also results of the great earthquake of Neronian times. Livi<a>nus is named as the proconsul who restored the road of the colony of Knossos, on the authority of Nero (Chaniotis and Preuss 1990, 200–01 no. 17; cf. Pautasso 1994–95, 97). P. Licinius Secundus was an imperial procurator who restored to the colony at Knossos a parcel of land previously assigned to Aesculapius, most likely on the western border of the Capuan lands, in an unknown year during the reign of Nero.¹⁶ Each of these special circumstances might explain the honoring of a Knossian *duumvir* at Gortyn, as might another judicial proceeding like that which resulted in *ICr* IV 295, in honor of M. Sonteijs M.f. Ter. Casinas.

At any time in the first century BCE and first century, Antonian contacts in the eastern Mediterranean —commercial as well as political— might well include Crete as well as Cyrenaica. Knossian *duumviri* are named Antonius as early as the beginning of the colony under Augustus (see 1) and as late as the second–third century (3). Onomastic comparisons give us some further hints about the identity of other Knossian *duumviri*, as members of families with Aegean-wide trading interests. Soon after the *deductio* coins show the heads of Octavian and Agrippa, and name M. Aimilius (*sic*) and T. Fufius.¹⁷ Another M. Aemilius appears twice more on coins that may date later in the reign of Augustus, once as a *duumvir* and once as a *prae(fectus) imp(eratoris)* (Grant 1946, 262–63; 1950, 137). C. Petronios (*sic*), colleague of M. Antonios (*sic*) at a very early date, shares

duumvir iter(um) serving with an Augustus (Grant 1946, 262–3), and M. Aemilius serving as *prae(fectus) imp(eratoris)*, apparently with an anonymous colleague who was *duumvir iter(um)* (Grant 1946, 262–3; 1950, 137). See Grant 1950, 137–8 for the notion that these coins, ascribed to the principate of Augustus, may conceivably have been issued under Tiberius instead. These extraordinary coins might best fit into the reign of Augustus, when two different earthquakes caused destruction in the colony and perhaps required more direct imperial attention (Paton 1994, 148).

¹⁵ See Di Vita 1979–80, 435–37 for the great earthquake of 66; cf. Paton 1994, 148 for an earthquake recorded in the story of Diktys Cretensis, in the thirteenth year of Nero.

¹⁶ *ICr* I,viii 49. See Baldwin Bowsky 1987, esp. 225–26 on the location of this parcel of land, near Rhaukos on the western border of the Capuan lands. These lands had been assigned to Aesculapius by Augustus, and the assignment confirmed by Claudius, before it was overturned under Nero.

¹⁷ Svoronos 1890, 89–90 nos. 180–83, *BMC Crete*, 26 nos. 72–73, see Grant 1946, 262 for the relative date; cf. Hatzfeld 1912, 11, and Hatzfeld 1919, 282, for Aemilii; Hatzfeld 1919, 391 for Fufii. Compare Oxé and Comfort 1968, 6 nos. 24–26 for Aemilii, including an M. Aemilius. See Rauh 1986, 529–30 for the Aemilii, including L. Aemilius Regillus, as a family who co-operated with the Cornelii Scipiones. L. Aemilius Regillus was honored with proxeny at Aptera in western Crete (*ICr* II, iii 5A). For Fufii among the business families of Roman Italy, see Rauh 1986, 907–10. Aemilii are attested at Thespiiai (Müller 1996, 162); Corinth (Spawforth 1996, 172); Eleia (Zoumbaki 1996, 200 and 204); Mantinea (Hoët van Cauwenberghe 1996, 213); and even in Syria (Sartre 1996, 247).

the family name of attested businessmen.¹⁸ Among the *duumviri* of Knossos, Plotius Plebeius may have come to the new colony from a family with trading interests.¹⁹ During the few years when C. and L. Caesar were heirs-designate to Augustus, D. Acu[---] Tam[---] and M. Acu[---] might be connected with an Italian trading family, and their nomen identified as Acutius rather than Acutilius.²⁰ (Calpurnius) Civis was an Augustan *duumvir* whose name appears to be shared with a prominent Puteolan commercial family and members of the commercial community at Delos.²¹ His colleague Ti. Tarius bears the unusual nomen —if not the praenomen— of Octavian's admiral at Actium, who appears to have produced wine for export.²² Varius was a *duumvir* later, when coins might show Caligula and Germanicus.²³

It would be gratifying to see in our Antonius a man connected by kinship or patronage with M. Antonius Flamma of mid-first century Cyrene, but that is not the only attractive scenario. The Antonii of Cyrene and other cities in the Cyrenaica —as well as Crete— might owe their Roman names to Italian traders, Italian and Cyrenaican personnel involved in the economic, administrative, and military services of the triumviral period (cf. Kraeling 1962, 12, for Ptolemais), or both. Our Antonius should have already acquired his Roman citizenship and name before he came to serve as *duumvir* at the new Augustan colony of Knossos, and was honored at Gortyn.

Another Knossian Antonius (3) —whose father still bore the praenomen Marcus as late as the second–third century— was apparently *pontifex (Cretensium concilii et duumvir) quinquennalis* at Knossos, and honored at Gortyn for an unknown reason.

3. [Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος], the son of Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος

Named as *pontifex (Cretensium concilii et duumvir) quinquennalis* in a dedication at Gortyn, 2nd–3rd century: *ICr* IV 443.

¹⁸ Cf. Hatzfeld 1912, 66, and Hatzfeld 1919, 399 for Petronii. Compare Oxé and Comfort 1968, 330–32 nos. 1294–1302 for Petronii, including L. and C. Petronius Coria of Arezzo and M. Petronius. See Rauh 1986, 239 for the Petronii as a senatorial family that occupied itself chiefly with commerce throughout the Republic, and included the Arretine potters C. and L. Petronius.

¹⁹ Plotius' *familiaris* Plotius Corinthus: *ICr* I, viii 17; his homonymous descendant Plotius Plebeius: *AEpigr* 1969/70, 635. The Plotii, who use the plebeian spelling of the patrician name Plautius, constituted a major oil-trading firm at Delos and Capua and are represented by an *unguentarius* at Puteoli and in brickstamps at Lanuvium (Hatzfeld 1912, 68–69, and Hatzfeld 1919, 400; Rauh 1986, 226). Plotii are attested in Macedonia and Asia Minor (Salomies 1996, 124 and 126).

²⁰ Svoronos 1890, 91–92 nos. 193–95, and Grant 1946, 262 for this duumviral pair. Compare Hatzfeld 1919, 383 for Acutii.

²¹ Ashton 1975, 7–9 (cognomen only); Coldstream 1973, 167 no. 292 (both nomen and cognomen). Cf. D'Isanto 1993, 89; Hatzfeld 1912, 23; Oxé and Comfort 1968, 129 no. 395¹⁻².

²² Ashton 1975, 7–9; Wiseman 1971, 264 no. 419, with note of amphoras from Cisalpine Gaul and Pannonia. For an amphora found at Athens see *SIA* VI 40A, 10, 1 = *CIL* III 6545, 9–10 = 7307. For another at Ostia, see *CIL* XIV 5308, 36 cf. 37, 38.

²³ Svoronos 1890, 93 nos. 202–06; Demargne and van Effenterre 1937, 7; cf. Hatzfeld 1912, 88–89, and Hatzfeld 1919, 406 for Varii. Compare Oxé and Comfort 1968, 511–12 nos. 2233–41 for Varii, perhaps Varius of Puteoli if not the provincial potter Sex. Varius (Niger).

Antonii from Gortyn

Only when we have eliminated these three Antonii as non-Gortynians can we see what sort of onomastic record might reflect the presence of Antonii among the population of Gortyn itself. The examples are too few to be conclusive, and it may be that praenomina are more commonly recorded in the colony of Knossos, but we should note that none of the Gortynian Antonii bear the praenomen Marcus. Only one praenomen is attested among Gortynian Antonii, and it is the one borne by the triumvir's younger brother Lucius.²⁴ In Gortyn and the Gortynian Messara, Antonii include a dedicator at first-century BCE Phaistos (4, a Lucius) and an apparent freedman named on a first-second century statuette (5, without praenomen).

4. Λ. Ἀντώνιος Ἰνβέντος

Named as the giver of a dedication to Artemis at Gortynian Phaistos, 1st century BCE – 1st century: *ICr* I,xxiii 6A.

The Latin cognomen *Inventus* is borne by both slaves and freedpersons, and freeborn persons, and may indicate that the child was a foundling (Kajanto 1965, 298). Cf. Ἰμβέντος, the husband of Πρίμα at Lyttos (*ICr* I,xviii 109).

5. Ἀντώνιος Ἀνδρόγεος

Named in the genitive on the base of a small statuette, at Gortyn, 1st–2nd century: Baldwin Bowsky 1995, 273–74 = *SEG* XLV 1291.

Gortynian Antonii of elite status include a local magistrate (6, again without praenomen), and a priest of *divus Augustus* and *dea Roma* now known from Ephesos (7, without preserved praenomen). This last Gortynian Antonius is attested outside Gortyn and Crete as a result of the role he played in honoring a proconsul of Creta–Cyrenae in his city of origin.

6. Ἀντώνιος Παραιβάτης

Agoranomos who, together with Tettius Macer and Timagenes son of Solon honored P. Septimius Geta when he was *quaestor pro praetore* of Creta–Cyrenae, at Gortyn, before 182: *ICr* IV 302.

7. [Ἀν]τώνιος Βαρήιος [---]λος

Priest of the divine Augustus and Rome, dedicator of an Ephesian inscription in honor of C. Claudius Titianus Demonstratus, a proconsul of Creta–Cyrenae who was a native of Ephesos, shortly after 161: *SEG* XLI, 965.

In September of 1996, the late Sara B. Aleshire and I were graciously allowed to go into the Domitian Depot at Ephesos, to examine and photograph an inscription published by M. Bujükkolancı and H. Engelmann (1991). As this

²⁴ L. Antonius, consul 41 BCE, who clashed with Octavian in the matter of confiscating lands in cities of Italy and distributing them among veterans after Pharsalus, and was besieged in Perugia until he surrendered and was spared, to be sent to Spain where he apparently soon died (Broughton 1952, 370 and 381).

inscription was published without a photograph, I would like to provide one here (fig. 2).

Antonius is a well-known name on Crete and at Ephesos, as elsewhere in the Greek East (see 1). We should nevertheless take special note of Antonius Varus, named as an *agoranomos* on a lead weight from third-century Ephesos (*IEph* 982; *SEG* XXXI 967).

Our Antonius' second name, used in the place of a cognomen, is not Varus but the nomen Vareius, which is as uncommon as Antonius is common. No one instance of a name so rare as this —scattered over the Roman Mediterranean from the Spanish peninsula to Rome itself and to Delos and the Greek East— can be indicative of a bearer's origins. The best explanation for such a distribution would be that provided by Italian traders active from the western to eastern Mediterranean, including Crete.

See Solin and Salomies 1988, 32 and 197 for the permutations of this name: Bareius (*CIL* VI 32416) or Vareius (*CIL* VI 28317 as a nomen, 33332 in the position of a cognomen), and Varae(i)us (Alföldy 1975, 10 no. 17; *CIL* I 2937A = *AEpigr* 1977, 838). Alföldy in turn cites *CIL* II 5141, from Lusitania for the name [V]areius, and *ILLRP* 1150 = *IDel* 2534, 20 (?) for Varaios. In the Greek world see *IG* XII Suppl. 261 (Andros, 1st century BCE) = *BEpigr* 1940, 92 for Γάιος Οὐαρήιος ὁ δημοσιώνης, a *publicanus* to be accused in next *conventus iuridicus* (εἰς τὴν ἀχθήσομένην ἀγοράϊαν), i.e., of Ephesian Artemis; *TAM* V, 766, 11, from Iulia Gordus, for Οὐάρειος.

See Schulze 1966, 376 for Vareius as an old form of name Varius. Cf. the name Varia at Hierapytna ([Οὐ]αρ(ία) Ἐπικτήσις, Macridy 1912, 47 no. 6) and Knossos (Varius, Svoronos 1890, 93 nos. 202–06; Demargne and Van Effenterre 1937, 7; Λ. Βάριος Σάτρι[ος] Χαίριδος, Baldwin Bowsky 1995, 271–73).

Gor[---] is not likely to be a place name in the Ephesian hinterland, as the editors suggest. See Talbert 2000, II 941, for the lack of place names that begin with these three letters in the region of Ephesos. Gordion in Phrygia (Talbert 2000, II 961) was no longer inhabited during this period. Iulia Gordus in the region of Pergamon (Talbert 2000, II 847) —where the rare name Vareius is attested in an inscription that also names two women with the common name Antonia— is not a likely candidate on other grounds.

First, the place name in our inscription should begin with the letters Γορ-. While coins of Iulia Gordos occasionally use the simple place name Γόρδος or Γορδηνῶν, inscriptions use the full title ὁ Ἰουλιέων Γορδηνῶν, Ἰουλεῖς Γορδηνοί, or Ἰουλία Γόρδος (*TAM* V.1, p.224; cf. Robert 1949, 214–15; Hermann 1970, 100–02 no. 3; Hermann 1974, 440). Only one Ephesian inscription names Ἰουλιεῖς Γορδηνοί, in part of a list of all the *conventus* and communities in the province of Asia Minor (*IEph* 13 I 8–9).

Second, Antonii do not appear among the magistrates of this city, who bear overwhelmingly imperial names from Iulius —like the city itself— to Aurelius (*TAM* V.1, p.226).

Third, Iulia Gordus is not known to have had a priest of Rome —much less a priest of the divine Augustus and Rome, as below— despite the appearance of Θεὰ Ῥώμη on the city's imperial coins (*TAM* V, p.226). See Mellor for republican cults of Θεὰ Ῥώμη elsewhere in Lydia —at Sardis, Thyatira, Apollonis, Nierocaesarea, Nysa, and Tripolis, but not at Iulia Gordus (1975, 71–74 and 220–21). See also Price for imperial cults of Rome, Rome and Julius Caesar, Rome and Augustus in Asia Minor —on Samos, at

Pergamon, Ephesos, Mylasa, Nicaea, and Ancyra— but again not at Iulia Gordus (1984, 250, 252, 254, 262, 266, 267–68).

It is thus highly probable that Γορ[---] is Gortyn instead, the capital of Creta–Cyrenae, which does appear in inscriptions with a one–word place name (*ICr* IV *praef. geogr.* 15–16), and did have a cult of Augustus and Rome. Cretan Gortyn is, moreover, the only place name beginning with these three letters, after the preposition ἐν, to be found among the inscriptions collected in PHI 1991–96. The phrase appears mostly in inscriptions of hellenistic date, but continued to be used in the imperial period at Lebena (*ICr* I,xvii 42, a marble epistyle with ἐν Γόρ[τυνι] visible in the first register) and second–century Hierapytna (*SEG* XXXII 871, a fragmentary stele of public nature, with [---]στούντων ἐν Γόρ/[τυνι ? ---] in the fifth line), and at Thespiæ (*IG* VII, 1859, ἐν Γόρτυν[ι] / κοινὸν [Κρητῶν] / τὸν ἰσό[λύμπιο]/ν παγ[κράτιον] / πα[ίδων], without date).

Our Gortynian Antonius can be identified first as ἱερεὺς θεοῦ [Σεβ]αστοῦ, at Gortyn rather than Ephesos or its environs.²⁵ The best restoration is [Σεβ]αστοῦ, despite the fact that it requires four letters and not three as the stone might suggest. The slender B in this inscription (lines 6–8) increases the likelihood that this is the correct reading. A priesthood of the divine Augustus is, moreover, attested at Gortyn and in eastern Crete. *ICr* IV 295 attests the Latin title, *sacerdos divi Augusti* for a Knossian honored at Gortyn, M. Sonteiis M.f. Ter. Casinas. *ICr* IV 278 uses the same title for L. Naevius Exacestas, while labelling Fl. Titianus *sacerdos designatus Divi Traiani*. *ICr* IV 418 has been restored to read [ἀρχι]ε/ρεὺς Θεοῦ Σ[εβ]αστοῦ but the restoration could equally well be simply [ι]ε/ρεὺς. The term ἀρχιερεὺς is attested for a high priest of the Cretan Koinon who set up images in the precinct of Rome and Augustus —we know not where— in the reign of Domitian.²⁶

Antonius was not only priest of the divine Augustus but of a feminine cult figure, καὶ τῆς ἐν Γόρ[τυνι] Ῥώμης]. In Greek a prepositional phrase can be placed between the article and its noun, to modify the noun. As this inscription was erected and no doubt carved in Ephesos, we will look to Ephesian formulae, which are careful to distinguish between that which is in Ephesos and that which is not.²⁷ Here, the formula τῆς ἐν

²⁵ Possible restorations for [---]στοῦ include [Αὐγου]στοῦ, [Μεγί]στοῦ, [Σεβ]αστοῦ, and [Υψι]στοῦ. Of these [Αὐγου]στοῦ is most uncommon, especially at Ephesos and elsewhere in the Greek East where [Σεβ]αστοῦ would be preferred (cf. Magnelli 1998, 1301). [Μεγί]στοῦ almost always refers to a priesthood at Rome, that of *pontifex maximus*, routinely held by the emperor. Dedications to *theos hypsistos* are well attested at Gortyn and elsewhere in Crete, at Chersonesos, Knossos, Sybritos, Lappa and perhaps Eleutherna, but not together with another deity as required here. See Kritzas 1990, 7; from Lato, *ICr* I,xvi 24, hellenistic, Διὸς ὑψίστοιο; from Eleutherna, *SEG* XXXIX 958, as read by Prof. Y. Tzifopoulos (forthcoming) from Lappa, an unpublished inscription communicated by Prof. Y. Tzifopoulos of the University of Crete, Rethymnon.

²⁶ *SEG* XXVIII 758 = *ICr* III,ix 10, which happens to include the term Γόρτυνι. Cf. T. Fl. Sulpicianus Dorion of Hierapytna, who was *pontifex Cretensium concilii* when the Koinon honored Hadrian, at Gortyn, in 129 (*ICr* IV 275).

²⁷ Note the confident, even flamboyant lettering, especially the *upsilon* of line 7 (plate 2). In Crete, the examples are once again mostly hellenistic in date, but from the imperial period see *ICr* IV 299 for the phrase [---]ριανῶν τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ; *SEG* XXVIII 758, from eastern Crete, for the phrase ἐν τῷ τῆς Ῥώμης καὶ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τεμένει]. At Ephesos, inscriptions take care to denote the temples which are in Smyrna (*IEph* 3072), the temple in Pergamon (*IEph* 1393), those singing of the divine Augustus in Pergamon (*IEph* 17, 57), the most famous *demos* of those in Asia (Kos, *IEph* 2055), the Olympian games in Pisa (*IEph* 1133, 1609,

Γόρ[τυνι Ῥώμης] results from a need to distinguish another cult of Roma from Ephesos' own.

Finally, it is the evolution of the Gortynian cult of the divine Augustus and the goddess Roma that provides the critical context for Antonius' dedication in honor of C. Claudius Titianus Demonstratus, shortly after his proconsulate of Creta–Cyrenae.

From Isis to Augustus

What brings together the twin themes of trade and politics that underlie the Roman name Antonius is the evolution of the imperial cult at Gortyn from the Julio–Claudian period to the Antonine. C. Claudius Titianus Demonstratus apparently had an opportunity to earn provincial gratitude during his proconsulate in Creta–Cyrene, after which he was honored back at Ephesos, his family's *domus*.²⁸ At this date the proconsular seat was presumably at Cyrene, where Titianus made a dedication during his proconsulate; a dedication later in the reign of M. Aurelius, to P. Septimius Geta, may be an early signal of its return to Gortyn.²⁹ We may well ask, then, just what Titianus did to earn Gortynian gratitude, in the form of this honorary inscription.

Mellor gives short shrift to the cult of Roma in Crete, but the epigraphical and archaeological record shows something quite different (Mellor 1975, 70). There was a cult of Rome and Augustus or the Augusti, in the Greek agora of Gortyn if not also in the so-called Praetorium complex.³⁰ Certainly some of the inscriptions, sculpture, and portraiture that attest to the imperial cult in Gortyn come from near or within the Praetorium.³¹ Di Vita recently identified Collini's Temple «of the divine Augustus» (or Augusti) as a temple of the Egyptian deities instead, built in that form in the reign of M. Aurelius, and has reminded us that a Roman building containing statues of the Julio–

1615), those in Delphi (*IEph* 1131), the games in Macedonia (*IEph* 2072), the commander of the fleet in Moesia and the bank of the Danube (*IEph* 620, 8–9 in Latin, 18–19 in Greek), and the curator of public works in Rome (*IEph* 3028, 5102).

²⁸ *PIR*² C 104. The proconsul Titianus is otherwise known from an Eleusinian inscription in honor of his niece Menandra (*IG* II/III² 4071). The Eleusinian inscription presents Titianus' full *cursus honorum*, culminating with the proconsulate of Crete and Cyrene. *IG* II/III² 4071 labels C. Claudius Titianus Demonstratus ἡγεμῶν Κρήτης while *AEpigr* 1919, 95 gives the full title ἀνθύπατος Κρήτης καὶ Κυρήνης. See Mason 1974, 148 for this unusual example of the term ἡγεμῶν applied to a proconsul.

²⁹ Titianus' dedication to Cyrene: *AEpigr* 1919, 95; Oliverio 1916, 183–84 no. 3. Dedication to Geta: *ICr* IV 302, dated before 182 by Guarducci; Pautasso 1994–95, 85–89.

³⁰ See Portale 1998, 508 for a distribution pattern in which iconic statues were concentrated in the area of the Odeion, the temple of the Egyptian divinities, and the zone of the Praetorium. Until very recently, a hall or temple located in the eastern portion of the Praetorium complex was thought to be dedicated to the *numen* of the emperor and then to comprise a temple of the divine Augustus or Augusti. See, e.g., Di Vita, La Rosa, and Rizzo 1984, 72; *ASAtene* 66–67, 1988–89, 470–71; *ASAtene* 68–69, 1990–91, 436 and 470; *AR* 1992–93, 67; *AR* 1993–94, 73.

³¹ *ICr* IV 270, has been restored to read [*Romae et Augu[sto?]*], found as it was with the head of a goddess adorned with a mural crown and with *ICr* IV 333, which mentions toppled statues of the emperors at a crossroads near the Pythion which was repaired and refurbished in 169, presumably after an earthquake (see Di Vita 1979–80, 437). In addition to this inscription from near the ruins of the Pythion, three of the inscriptions connected with the imperial cult are from the area of the Praetorium itself (*ICr* IV 277, 287, and 295).

Claudian family was in the Greek agora at the foot of the Acropolis.³² Inscriptions and other finds that attest to the imperial cult in Gortyn also belong to the area of the Gortynian agora.³³ The placement of a religious structure, and one serving the imperial cult, in the Greek agora of a provincial city is consistent with what has been seen in the Augustan agoras of Athens, Ephesos, and Cyrene.³⁴ At Ephesos a temple in the center of the agora, dated to the second half of the first century BCE, contained finds that suggested some association with Egypt, Cleopatra–Isis and M. Antonius–Dionysos–Osiris.³⁵ This temple was initially identified as one dedicated to Isis, and later as a temple of Augustus.³⁶

The Praetorium hall or temple of Gortyn might be a place where the celebration of the imperial cult was connected with the administration of justice. The parallels from Cyrene's Basilica of the Forum–Caesareum suggest that statues of Tyche or Isis–Tyche would be at home alongside images of the imperial family, in a new prestigious public building that symbolized Roman power, situated along one of the principal axes of the Roman city (Luni–Cellini 1999, 29). At Gortyn recent excavations have revealed a Hellenistic stadium and a gymnasium, south and west of the so-called temple of the *divi Augusti*.³⁷ Porro's first campaign in the Praetorium (1912) revealed two marble statues, and on the basis of Porro's discoveries Guarducci supposed the existence of a small Isieion in the Praetorium.³⁸ Both are now identified as Isis–Tyche and Di Vita's campaign of 1999 discovered a section of a female marble statue—identified as a Tyche—that could prove to belong to the original statue of the temple.³⁹ Magnelli has

³² Di Vita 1994–95, 7; cf. *AR* 1997–98, 113; *AR* 1998–99, 113–14.

³³ *ICr* IV 269, east of the ruins of the Odeum; 273, among the ruins of the acropolis theater; 288, found on the acropolis; 278 and 418 found near H. Titos. *ICr* IV 272, dedicated *numini ac providentiae Ti. Caesar. et senatus*, was found between the ruins of H. Titos and the Odeion. *ICr* IV 416, which appears to refer to imperial holidays and even an altar, was found near H. Titos. See Romeo 1998, 44 for the location of the civic center of imperial Gortyn in the area between the basilica of H. Titos and the remains of the Odeion. See Portale 1998, 495–600 for the Julio–Claudian dynastic series, set up in front of a building sacred to Augustus, whose epistyle was found in the Agora. A second-century statue of the Fortuna–Tyche type, favored for the representation of empresses, was also found in this part of Gortyn (Romeo 1998, 44).

³⁴ Cf. Spawforth 1997, esp. 186–88 on the imperial cult in the Athenian Agora and on the Acropolis; 189–91 on the collective cult of the *Sebastoi*, with imperial images concentrated in a particular sacred space in the time of Claudius and Nero. Cf. Walker 1997, 69–71 on religious structures, especially those devoted to the imperial cult, in the agoras of Athens, Ephesos, and Cyrene.

³⁵ The finds that led to the identification of this temple as one of Isis include an Ammon head in black stone, an Egyptianizing terracotta statue, a fragment of a Harpocrates statuette, and bronze bells that may be part of a sistrum (Rogers 1991, 88; Andreae 1982, 69–90; Jobst 1980, 248; cf. Alzinger 1972–73, 283–94).

³⁶ Jobst (1980, 257) concludes that an interpretation of the Ephesian temple as one of Augustus (and Roma) is more likely than one connecting it with Antony–Dionysos–Osiris and Cleopatra–Isis. Cf. Price 1984, 254. Rogers prefers to call it the «disputed temple of Isis» (1991, 90).

³⁷ *AR* 1998–99, 113. In Cyrene a Hellenistic public gymnasium was replaced, at the beginning of the imperial period, by a citizen Forum that included a civil basilica (Luni–Cellini 1999, 27–29).

³⁸ Di Vita 1994–95, 30–31; *ICr* IV *praef.hist.*, 11.

³⁹ *AR* 1998–99, 114. In Cyrene's basilica, the central niche of the apse contained a group of marble imperial images, while niches to each side contained a statue group that included Nemesis, Tyche, possibly Themis, and three other figures likely connected with both the imperial cult and the administration of justice (Luni–Cellini 1999, 31–34 and 44–46).

argued that the second-century Praetorium temple was still dedicated in honor of the *divina domus*.⁴⁰

The material finds at Ephesos, Cyrene, and Gortyn suggest that, whether a building was dedicated to the imperial cult in a city's agora or in a new civic structure or in both, one need not choose between the cults of Isis-Tyche and the imperial family. The human connection between the cult of Isis and that of the deified Julius or Augustus might be the Romans historically resident in each city, given the particular devotion to Isis and Serapis on the part of Italian traders at hellenistic Delos.⁴¹ Textual evidence attests a cult of Dea Roma and Divus Iulius founded by Romans resident in Ephesos, who were acting with Octavian's permission (Walker 1997, 70, citing Dio li 20, 6). At Cyrene, Roman businessmen were organized into a group in 67 BCE at the latest, and perhaps as early as before 75 BCE (Reynolds 1962, 98 no. 4 and 101). At Gortyn, an organized community of *negotiatores* is attested from the first century BCE—in connection with the cult of Isis and Serapis—to the late second century in connection with imperial cult.⁴²

In the mid-second century—after the seismic devastation of the mid-first century and Trajanic reconstruction in the Agora as well as the Praetorium—a third zone of Gortyn began to receive buildings and sculpture of imperial interest.⁴³ There is a neat coincidence of date among four phenomena: yet another earthquake in the reign of M. Aurelius (Di Vita 1979–80, 437); the construction of the temple at the eastern end of the Praetorium complex; the first phase of one of the «twin temples» that may have been connected with the imperial cult;⁴⁴ and *ICr* IV 333, which mentions imperial images at a crossroads near the Pythion.⁴⁵ Di Vita's second-century temple of the Egyptian deities at the east end of the so-called Praetorium complex just may be part of the same program of urban reorganization and redevelopment as the area containing the Megali Porta bath complex and the «twin temples» to the east of the baths. We might press on to ask

⁴⁰ Magnelli forthcoming. The Cyrene statue of Tyche belongs to a type used to represent Tyche-Fortuna and Isis-Fortuna as well as Hygeia in the Hellenistic period, and then princesses of the Roman imperial house, particularly in the Julio-Claudian era (Luni-Cellini 1999, 37, 40, 45).

⁴¹ For first-century BCE relations between Crete and Ephesos, see Metenidis 1998.

⁴² *ICr* IV 290, which names the *cives Romani qui Gortynae negotiantur* in the 1st century BCE, was found in the Isieion; 291, which also names the [*cives Romani*] *qui Gortyna[e negotiantur]* in the 1st century, was found in the modern village of H. Deká; 278, which names the *cives Romani Gortynae c(onsistentes)* in 195—as well as Fl. Titianus as *sacerdos designatus Divi Triani* and L. Naevius Exacestas as *sacerdos Divi Augusti*—was found near H. Titos.

⁴³ Buildings of imperial interest—and sculpture of imperial significance, including a caryatid with a towered crown and a *quadrivium*, to be compared with the *compitum* mentioned in *ICr* IV 333—were now located in the area west of the theater of the Pythion (Romeo 1998, 42).

⁴⁴ Masturzo and Tarditi take particular note of the similarity between the distinctive *trabea* of the Praetorium temple and a marble architrave from the 2nd–3rd century phase of Temple A (1994–95, 284).

⁴⁵ Perhaps the crossroads near the Pythion is to be located along the West Street that runs alongside the Praetorium and on to the Megali Porta baths. See the plan in Masturzo and Tarditi 1994–95, 297. Sculptures were found together with *ICr* IV 333, with which a possible portrait of L. Verus and a head of M. Aurelius may also be associated (Romeo 1998, 42; Portale 1998, 501–02). Masturzo and Tarditi further suggest that the two temples east of the monumental bath complex known today as Megali Porta may have been connected with the imperial cult and were part of a program to monumentalize this sector of Roman Gortyn as well as promote the imperial cult in the 2nd century (1994–95, 291). Cf., perhaps, the double temple of Dea Roma and Divus Iulius at Ephesos (Jobst 1980, 254 and 258; Masturzo and Tarditi 1994–95, 291).

whether the toppled imperial statues of *ICr* IV 333 were re-located to this new double cult complex, and whether the proconsul C. Claudius Titianus Demostratus was involved in this phenomenon and so earned the gratitude of Antonius Vareius, priest of the divine Augustus and the goddess Roma.

There is something else C. Claudius Titianus Demostratus might have done to inspire a Gortynian priest of *divus Augustus* and *dea Roma* to erect an honorary inscription to him at Ephesos. His position in the Greek as well as Roman world may have put him in a position to act as a patron to the Flavii Sulpiciani Doriones of Hierapytna, who fielded a Panhellenic archon from 161 to 165.⁴⁶ Governor of Creta-Cyrenae in 161, Titianus was a new man in the Roman senate who was very well-connected in the Greek East, at Athens, Eleusis, Sparta and in the Panhellenion as well as at Ephesos. Titianus was the son and grandson of Claudii named Demostratus who constituted a prominent Ephesian family, and he was also connected (by the marriage of his brother, yet another Demostratus) with the Athenian family of Ti. Claudius Demostratus, son of Sospis.⁴⁷ In 150 Titianus had served as quaestor of Achaia, and he may be the same Titianus who held the Spartan patronate in the reign of Pius, perhaps out of interest in one of the cities of old Greece in the wake of the Panhellenion's foundation (Spawforth and Walker 1986, 92–93). After his proconsulate in Creta-Cyrenae, the proconsul's cognomen quickly appears among the Flavii Sulpiciani Doriones of Hierapytna, in the name of Flavia Titiana, daughter of T. Flavius Sulpicianus, who became an Arval brother sometime between 169 and 176 and rose to the position of *promagister* 186–93.⁴⁸ This cognomen also appears at Gortyn in the name of Fl. Titianus, priest-designate of the divine Trajan from whose contribution the *cives Romani qui Gortynae consistunt* made a dedication to Pertinax in 195, and who might on these onomastic grounds be identified as Hierapytnan not Gortynian, a brother of Flavia Titiana (*ICr* IV 278).

New developments in the imperial cult at Gortyn may have been one result not only of the earthquake that shook the city during the reign of M. Aurelius but also of the enhanced position of Gortyn, Hierapytna, and Lyttos via the Cretan Koinon in the Panhellenion at Athens. During the co-regency of M. Aurelius and L. Verus, Cretans from Hierapytna—not Gortyn—began holding the prestigious position of Panhellenic archon, just when Titianus became proconsul of Creta-Cyrenae and so possibly through his brokerage or mediation.⁴⁹ Other Cretans from Gortyn and Lyttos were Panhellenes but not Panhellenic archons.⁵⁰ The Panhellenic archonship of L. Flavius Sulpicianus

⁴⁶ Raubitschek 1943, 73–76; Oliver 1970, 101–02; Follett 1976, 127; Spawforth and Walker 1985, 85.

⁴⁷ *PIR*² C 849; see the stemma between pp. 194–95; cf. Halfmann 1982, 628; Spawforth and Walker 1986, 92–93.

⁴⁸ *PIR*² F 444 and 373, respectively; Alföldy 1982, 325; Reynolds 1982, 682; Camodeca 1983–84, 90, where T. Flavius Sulpicianus is identified as a younger cousin of L. Flavius Sulpicianus Dorion Polymnis, the son of the Panhellenic archon, who entered the Roman senate in the time of M. Aurelius.

⁴⁹ See Saller 1982, esp. 168–87 on provincial governors as mediators or brokers between provincials and the emperor.

⁵⁰ (M.) Ulpius Sebon of Gortyn had been a Panhellene sometime between 132 and the end of Hadrian's reign (*ICr* IV 326 and 499; Gasperini 1988, 325–28 no. 340). See Follett 1976, 132; Oliver 1970, 121 no. 40; Spawforth and Walker 1985, 86. Pardalas, for whom a Roman name is not known, was Panhellene sometime between 132 and the edict of Caracalla, and just may be from Lyttos (Oliver 1970, 121 no. 41; Follett 1976, 132–33; Spawforth and Walker 1985, 86). For Pardalas and Pardalides at Lyttos, see *ICr* I,xviii 139B; for

Dorion of Hierapytna (161–65) may be the context for a Gortynian replica of Zeus of the Dresden type.⁵¹ Cretan acknowledgement of this achievement might have taken the form of a statue base with which Dorion was honored, at Gortyn not Hierapytna (Gasperini 1988, 333–34). In Hierapytna’s amphitheater Dorion erected statue bases to M. Aurelius and L. Verus (*ICr* III,iii 16–17). T. Fla(vius) Xenion, who was archon 165–69, was likewise from Hierapytna, even though the Cretan inscription naming him and members of his family was erected at Gortyn, where between 177 and 182 he left a bequest to celebrate the birthdays of Commodus, *divus Antoninus*, and Lucilla Augusta.⁵²

The Case of the Antonii

The Antonii whose names are preserved in the epigraphical record of Gortyn may have a political as well as commercial background, derived from the presence of triumviral clients there as in Cyrenaica (see 2) and at Corinth (cf. Spawforth 1996, 170). From the first century BCE to the second century of our era, Antonii rose to elite status at Gortyn. The earliest Antonii at Gortyn—one from Hierapytna and one attested at Gortynian Phaistos—are an enfranchised Greek (1) and a man with an abbreviated praenomen and a cognomen recorded in Greek in a religious dedication (4). At Gortyn an apparent freedman of a first–second century Antonius (5) was honored with a small statuette that bears his name in Greek. In the later second century Antonii are attested among the Gortynian elite, as an *agoronomos* (6) and a priest in the imperial cult (7).

At Knossos by comparison, in the critical period from the first century BCE to the first century of our era, one Antonius is named on colonial coinage: M. Antonios early in the reign of Augustus (see 1). It may be that with the granting of colonial status to Knossos members of trading families already at Gortyn (cf. 1) moved to Knossos where

Pardalis at Lyttos see *ICr* I,xviii 139A; for Pardalianos at Lyttos see *ICr* I,xviii 56. For other Cretan examples of these related names (at Arkades, Hierapytna, Lato, Setaia, and Sybrita), see Fraser and Matthews 1987, 361. Compare *IG* II² 9087a for Aur. Pardalianos and Laria Neikos, two Cretans at 2nd–3rd century Athens, and the name of (Fl)avia Pardale, a *parthenos* at Klaros from an unknown city in Crete (personal communication from Mme. Jeanne Robert).

⁵¹ Romeo 1998, 267, where the archon is called T. Flavius Sulpicianus Dorion. This Dorion was the grandfather of the Panhellenic archon and held the position of *pontifex Cretensium concilii* in 129, when the Koinon honored Hadrian at Gortyn (*ICr* IV 275).

⁵² *ICr* IV 300. Unfortunately the findspot of this inscription remains unrecorded, from Halbherr (1899, 536) to De Sanctis (1907, 333–38 no. 36) to Guarducci (*ad ICr* IV 300). The other days to be celebrated are his own birthday, that of Rome, and those of his twins Lamprio and Xenophilos, another son Zenophilos, and his wife Claudia Marcellina. For Xenion as Panhellenic archon 165–69 see Oliver 1970, 102–03; Follett 1976, 127–28; Spawforth and Walker 1985, 85.

It is the unusual name Zenophilos that recommends assigning this family to Hierapytna and not Gortyn. Within this part of the Greek world, Fraser and Matthews 1987, 194 shows this name only for Crete, specifically in this Gortynian inscription and in coins and inscriptions from Hierapytna. Hierapytnan coinage shows the name Zenophilos for a moneyer dated ca. 110–67 BCE (Svoronos 1890, 193 no. 42; cf. Le Rider 1968, 321–22; Le Rider 1966, 297 for the date). Hierapytnan inscriptions show this rare name in the 1st century BCE to 1st century (father of Archedikia, *ICr* III,iii 12) and in the 1st century (father of Claudius, *ICr* III,iii 22). See Oliver 1952, 297 for the comment that the name Zenophilos is rare, though not so rare as the name Xenion.

they held this magistracy.⁵³ Back at first-century Gortyn inscriptions name a Knossian *duumvir* (2, originally from Cyrenaica, and the only Antonius named at Gortyn in Latin) and a second-third century *pontifex* (*Cretensium concilii* and *duumvir*) *quinquennalis* (3).

Throughout the imperial period, from the first century to the third, Cretan Antonii continue to be from Knossos and Hierapytna, where Antonii bear the triumviral praenomen Marcus.⁵⁴ The distribution of Cretan Antonii is in fact nearly restricted to Gortyn, Knossos, and Hierapytna. Only two other families of Cretan Antonii are known, one from Lyttos and the other from Rethymnon, and both of late or broadly imperial date.⁵⁵ In the triumviral period there may have been a pattern of personal ties and contact routes that linked Hierapytna on the south coast with Gortyn to her east along the coastline, and then Gortyn with Knossos along a transit corridor that ran from south to north.⁵⁶ If Gortyn joins Hierapytna and Knossos as a city with Antonian as well as Julian clients in its population, we will need to re-evaluate the canonical notion that Gortyn was rewarded for taking Octavian's part while Knossos was punished for taking that of Antony in the civil wars that engulfed the Greek East as well as the Roman West.

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⁵³ I thank Prof. Athanasios Rizakis of the National Foundation for Scientific Research, Athens, for this suggestion. Cf. Viviers 1999, 230, on the Granii of Gortyn and Knossos.

⁵⁴ From Knossos, in addition to 2 and 3, M. Ἀντώνιος Κλωδιανός and [Γ]άιος Ἀντώνιος [Πα]ρμένων (see 1). From Hierapytna, in addition to 1, Μάρκος Ἀν[τ]ώνιος and Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος Θεοπόμπου ἀπελεύθερος (see 1).

⁵⁵ Lyttos: Ἀντώνιος, [Ἀντώνιος?] Καλότυχος and [Ἀντωνία] Πρέιμα (see 1). Rethymnon: Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος Λοῦπος, Ἀντώνιος Διονύσιος and [Ἀντώνιος] Μοσχιανός (see 1).

⁵⁶ Hierapytna–Gortyn: cf. esp. 1. Gortyn–Knossos: see Viviers 1999, 230, taking note of the Granii of Gortyn and Knossos.

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Fig. 1. [M?] Antonius E[---], Sylloge Gortynos inv. no. 394



Fig. 2. [Αν]τώνιος Βαρήιος [---]λος, *SEG* XLI, 965

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