

CNOSSUS AND CAPUA

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All modern travelers to Crete know the great valley that rises south from the bay of Heraclion, sloping up gently some fifteen miles to form a break in the island's central mountain spine, through which one descends into the Mesara, the plain of Gortyn. The valley provides the only convenient north-south passage through Crete. The valley's northern third is an undulating plain, some seven miles across, overlooked by Mt. Iuktas, the tomb of Zeus; further south the mountains begin to encroach, narrowing and subdividing the valley.¹ The ancient cities, like most of the modern villages, stand on the less fertile ridges of the valley and the spurs that penetrate it, their farm lands lying in the valley below, earth too precious to be wasted beneath buildings. The nature of the land and its economy guaranteed that the valley, well watered and fertile, would have few natural boundaries: all that could be removed to make way for the plow would be removed, leaving the cultivated fields and their streams. The task of dividing the property of men and of cities would have been left more to man-made objects—occasional temples and roads, but above all boundary stones, eminently movable and subject to endless disagreement.² Homer's simile would ring true to the inhabitants throughout antiquity (M 422 ff.): "like two men contending over boundary stones in a common field, measuring sticks in hand, each struggling

¹ For descriptions see the bibliographies of M. Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae* I (Rome 1935) xi-xii; A. Philippson and E. Kirsten, *Die griechischen Landschaften* IV (Frankfurt 1959) 353-54; a good short description in Geographical Handbook Series, *Greece* III: *Regional Geography* (1945) 236-37 (with pl. 85, Mt. Iuktas from the valley; also S. Marinatos and M. Hirmer, *Crete and Mycenae* [New York 1960] pl. 40).

² For Cretan boundary resolutions and their reference points, see most recently H. van Effenterre and M. Bougrat, *Kret. Chron.* 21 (1969) 9-53.

for his equal share in a narrow place." The valley is a natural unit and has a history as such. The evidence for that history has been assembled by Margherita Guarducci in *Inscriptiones Creticae* I; to which Pierre Ducrey has added a Latin inscription from Archanes, seven miles from the coast, on the valley's eastern ridge, at the foot of Mt. Iuktas.³ Prof. Ducrey's excellent commentary on the text is so thorough that only speculation of the sort offered here might be added.

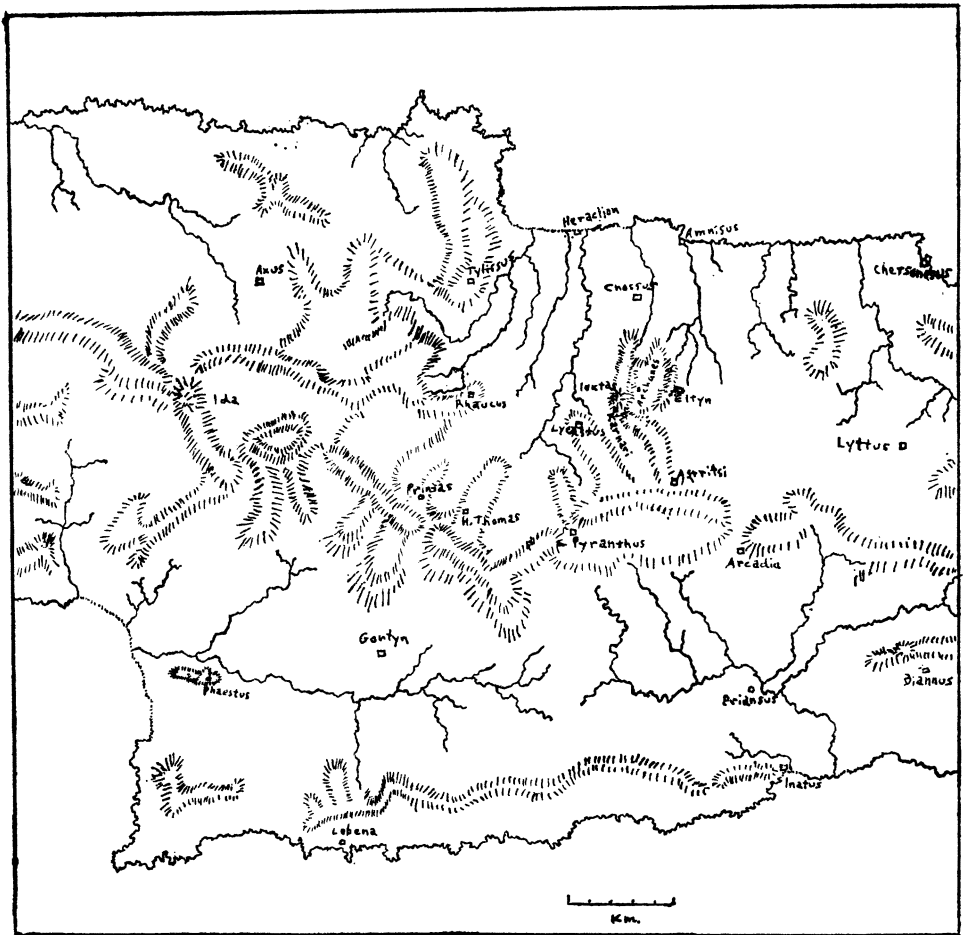
The political history of the valley prior to the Roman Empire came to be shaped by the ambitions of Cnossus and Gortyn. The port Amnisus, which never struck coins and is nowhere attested as a free city, was according to legend the preferred port of Minos: it had been part of the territory of Cnossus from time immemorial.⁴ Heraclion itself, attested as a free city in the third century B.C., is not so known later; by the Roman period at least, it was included in the Cnossia.⁵ To the east, Cnossian territory bordered on the port city Chersonesus and perhaps on Lyttus, and on Lyttus alone after the latter absorbed Chersonesus late in the second century B.C. Flourishing and powerful in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, Lyttus effectively limited any eastern expansion by Cnossus.⁶ To the west, the coastal region beyond Heraclion was apparently Cnossian by at least the middle of the second

³ *BCH* 93 (1969) 846-52; *AE* (1969/70) 635.

⁴ Testimonia in Guarducci, *I. Cret.* I p. 2; on the cave of Eilithyia, cf. Kirsten, *RE* Suppl. 7 (1940) 26-38; late Hellenistic inscriptions dated probably by Cnossian magistrates, S. Marinatos, *PAAH* (1935) 201-02; (1938) 136.

⁵ Cf. M. Guarducci, *Historia* 7 (1933) 363-73. The only certain testimony is Rehm, *Delphinion* 140.37 (*I. Cret.* I viii 6; Schmitt, *Staatsverträge* III [Munich 1969] 482: mid-third century); three [*Ἡρακλ*]ειῶται proxenoi of Aptera in the early second century, *I. Cret.* II iii 11C. Pliny (*NH* 4.12.59) and the *Stadiasmus* (348, p. 514 Müller) call it a city, as they do other places in Crete that had long ceased to be cities; Strabo calls it the port of Cnossus (476, cf. the same phrase of Chersonesus and Lyttus at 479). The Latin inscription *I. Cret.* I xi 6, if it is from the site, would suggest that the port belonged to the Roman colony at Cnossus.

⁶ On the *sympoliteia* of Lyttus and Chersonesus see E. Kirsten (above, note 4) 88; G. Le Rider, *Monnaies Crétoises* (Paris 1966) 280, note 1; for the extensive Roman remains at the two sites, Kirsten 85-87, 89-90, 435-36. On Lyttus' seizure of Drerus to the east in the second century, cf. H. van Effenterre (above, note 2) 36 note 45, retracting an earlier suggestion (*REA* 44 [1942] 43) that Cnossus came to possess Drerus. The material adduced by Le Rider to suggest the good relations of Cnossus and Lyttus may possibly bear the opposite interpretation.



Central Crete

century.⁷ Further west lay the coastal lands of Tylissus and the more formidable Axis.

With great powers to the east and west, it was thus higher in the Heracleion valley that opportunities for Cnossus lay. Certainly the core of its territory had always been the northern several miles of the

⁷ Pliny, *NH* 4.12.59, and Ptolemy, *Geog.* 4.15.5 (p. 566 Müller) assert that there was an Apollonia on the coast west of Cnossus. Whether this was a city and is to be identified with any of the known Apollonias of Crete remains unclear. Cf. Guarducci (above, note 5); Kirsten (above, note 4) 39-43; P. Faure, *Kret. Chron.* 17 (1963) 16-17.

valley. The natural orientation of the small Archanes valley is northward toward Cnossus,⁸ and Archanes was evidently Cnossian already in the fifth century B.C. (see below). Tylissus, overlooking the valley from the first steps of the western ridge, was active in the third century and is well attested, but is unknown thereafter and specifically is absent from the long list of Cretan cities allied with Eumenes II in 183 (*I. Cret.* IV 179). There is thus good reason to follow Guarducci in assuming that Tylissus was seized by Cnossus at the beginning of the second century.⁹ Lycastus, at Kanli Kastelli,¹⁰ one of the spurs that intrudes into the valley from the south, has yielded up no inscriptions, but its end is known from literary sources: Cnossus destroyed this city and annexed its territory (Strabo 479), and this before 184 B.C., in which year Gortyn, having taken from Cnossus "the place called the Lycastion" and given it to Rhaucus, was compelled by a Roman embassy to restore it to Cnossus (Polybius 22.15). From the same passage of Polybius we learn of Cnossian possession of the "Diatonion" (or Tritonion), restored through the same Roman embassy after Gortyn had seized it and given it to Lyttus; this place is most likely the ancient site near Astritsi.¹¹ Probably Cnossian rule over these two areas was still recent and insecure in 184. Eltyn survived a bit longer, beyond the Heraclion valley's eastern ridge and separated from the Archanes valley by a secondary ridge. Still free in 183 B.C., it then vanishes from the documentary record, and it is a fair assumption that it was absorbed by Cnossus.¹² In 165 Gortyn and Cnossus cooperated to seize Rhaucus (Haghios Myron, on a spur west of Lycastus); its

⁸ For the Venetian aqueduct from Archanes to Heraclion see R. Pashley, *Travels in Crete I* (Cambridge 1837) 211; T. A. B. Spratt, *Travels and Researches in Crete I* (London 1865) 83.

⁹ Testimonia in *I. Cret.* I p. 306 ("coligas Cnosios tunc Tylisiorum urbe potitos esse"). J. N. Svoronos, *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne I* (Maçon 1890) 329, preferred a subjugation by Rhaucus, whose cult of Poseidon suggested to him that Rhaucus possessed a port on the north coast; against this see Guarducci, *I. Cret.* I, p. 58. E. Kirsten, *RE*² 7 (1948) 1730, suggests rather that the city may simply have lost importance, but does not offer a reason for this loss.

¹⁰ This identification goes back to C. Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland II* (1868–72) 561; cf. L. Mariani, *Monumenti Antichi VI* (1895) 233–35; A. Evans, *The Palace of Minos II* (London 1928) 74.

¹¹ For the suggestion "Tritonion" and a valuable description of the site, P. Faure, *BCH* 82 (1958) 504–07; cf. *Kret. Chron.* 13 (1959) 89.

¹² Testimonia in *I. Cret.* I p. 89; the city never struck coins, cf. Le Rider (above, note 6) 169 and 245–48.

territory was partitioned between them, and the city is not again heard of until late antiquity.¹³ Somewhere south of Rhaucus and Lycastus, then, was the border between Cnossus and Gortyn, and from this time, if not earlier, the ancient sites at Prinias, Pyranthus, and Haghios Thomas were Gortynian.¹⁴ From the middle of the second century, Cnossus was hemmed by major powers, Gortyn in the south, Axus along the west,¹⁵ and Lyttus and Arcadia¹⁶ along the east, and clearly could not expand further.

In short, for half a millenium the Heraclion valley had been shared, however uneasily, by some half dozen cities; within the first generation of the second century B.C., all this changed, and by 160 the valley, its ancient inhabitants and governments, had been seized and incorporated by two usually hostile cities, the line between their enlarged territories now falling across the upper end of the valley. Expansions of this sort are known throughout Crete in the second century. From a broader viewpoint this age has been labeled "the disintegration of the balance of power and the Roman intervention;"¹⁷ both phenomena are visible in the Heraclion valley in these years.

The results of this territorial expansion can only be surmised. Cnossus itself certainly prospered. The city replaced Gortyn as head of the Cretan League,¹⁸ and its active foreign policy in the second

¹³ Polyb. 30.23.1, with Guarducci, *I. Cret.* I p. 291.

¹⁴ Rhizenia was probably at Prinias, which is Gortynian in *I. Cret.* I xxviii 28 and 29, cf. J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.* 1940, 6 (p. 210): cf. M. Guarducci, *Historia* 8 (1934) 76 ff., *I. Cret.* I pp. 294-95, and *ad I. Cret.* I xxviii 29 and IV 181.10 ff. *I. Cret.* IV 80 of the fifth century B.C. shows Rhizenia as a city but already in an unequal sympolity with Gortyn (cf. Guarducci *ad loc.*). P. Faure has argued that Prinias is the site of the Apollonia of *I. Cret.* IV 181-82, *Kret. Chron.* 17 (1963) 22-24; 21 (1969) 314-22. For Gortynian Pyranthus see J. and L. Robert, *loc. cit.* (pp. 200-01). On Haghios Thomas, cf. Kirsten, *RE* 18 (1949) 626-27. Larcia Artemeis, who in Imperial times dedicated *I. Cret.* I xxxi 2 at Haghios Thomas, was perhaps a dependent of A. Larcus Lepidus Sulpicianus, quaestor of the province and at Gortyn in A.D. 67 (*I. Cret.* IV 292; *PIR*² L 94).

¹⁵ On the ports of Axus see *I. Cret.* II p. 43; a boundary resolution between Cnossus and Gortyn (*I. Cret.* IV 182.11, evidently of the 160's B.C.) mentions what must be the southern extreme of Axian territory.

¹⁶ A fragment of a boundary resolution at Arcadia (*I. Cret.* I v 19B.13, of the late second or early first century) appears to mention its border with the Cnossia.

¹⁷ Thus the title of the fifth chapter of M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford 1953).

¹⁸ *Syll.*³ 654 A, with Diod. 33.10 (adduced by Guarducci, *I. Cret.* I p. 52); cf. M. van der Mijnsbrugge, *The Cretan Koinon* (New York 1931) 20-21; H. van Effenterre, *La Crète et le Monde grec* (Paris 1948) 271.

century is well attested;¹⁹ the material remains suggest wealth,²⁰ in stark contrast to the silence of its former neighbors in the valley. The incorporation of a free city, however, was rarely a happy event for the incorporated. Rostovtzeff in particular painted a dark picture of this phenomenon, with oppressed villagers and a clannish ruling class chary of granting citizenship to the conquered. The emotional side of the situation, the tensions between old and new people in Hellenistic cities, is occasionally in evidence, although the legal and social conditions remain obscure.²¹ One need not subscribe to a class analysis to picture the hostility of the former Tylissians, for example, to their traditional enemies and new rulers. There is no reason to assume that the conquered would have been quickly granted the privileges of Cnossian citizenship, or that they should have wanted to affirm Cnossian rule by accepting those privileges. Without pretending to know the status of the inhabitants under Cnossian rule, we may suspect that antipathy to Cnossus continued, that the distribution of the newly acquired land among Cnossians and the conquered was disputed, and that both the recurrent hostilities between Cnossus and Gortyn,²² now neighbors, and the consequent Roman interference²³ would exacerbate these domestic problems. The large number of inscribed boundary settlements from Crete dating from the first century of the Empire suggests that little was accomplished in this sphere under the Republic, that these local problems waited on larger issues. All this, at any rate, the Romans inherited in 66 B.C. Metellus' conquest of Crete was reputed

¹⁹ Cf. Guarducci, *I. Cret.* I pp. 51–52.

²⁰ Late Hellenistic dedications: *I. Cret.* I viii 16 and 19; grave monuments: 26, 28, 29 31, 33, 34. For the predominance of Cnossian coins in Cretan hoards of the first century B.C., see the interesting study of G. Le Rider in *Humanisme Actif, Mélanges Julien Cain* (Paris 1968) 313–35.

²¹ M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1957) 256–57 with note 4. For such tensions see C. Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*, (Brussels 1900) 458, with L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure* (Paris 1962²) 60 (sympolity of Ceramus with Stratonicea); L. and J. Robert, *La Carie II* (Paris 1954) 309 (Rhodian rule in Caria); a diverse set of material in F. Gschnitzer, *Abhängige Orte im griechischen Altertum* (Munich 1958); some clannish ruling classes in C. B. Welles, *Studies . . . A. C. Johnson* (Princeton 1951) 251–74; *Aegyptus* 39 (1959) 23–28 (Dura-Europus); *MUB* 38 (1962) 43–75 (Tarsus: Dio Chrys. 34.16–23).

²² Cf. Strabo 477 (war between Cnossus and Gortyn in the 120's).

²³ See the classic study of A. Passerini, *Athenaeum* (1933) 309–35; cf. Chr. Habicht, *Ath. Mitt.* 72 (1957) 242–52 (Antioch on the Maeander); L. Robert, *Hellenica* xi–xii (1960) 513–14.

brutal and included a siege of Cnossus, but we know nothing more about the state of the city in the first generation of Roman rule.²⁴

From literary evidence we have always known that the Augustan peace brought an intruder to the valley, who now makes his first appearance in a document from the region, the Latin inscription from Archanes:

[I]mp(eratore) Domitiano | Caesar(e) Aug(usto) Germ(anico) X co(n)s(ule) |
[i]nter col(oniam) Flav(iam) Aug(ustam) Felic(em) | Cap(uam) et Plotium
Plebeium | [ex] senten(tia) Titi Imp(eratoris) Aug(usti) item | [sec]und(um)
decretum col(oniae) Cap(uae) | [ex c]onventione u[tri]usq(ue) | [parti]s
[t]ermini positi su[n]t | a gente P. Mess[i]o Campano | proc(uratore) [C]a[es]-
ari[s].

Imperator Domitian Ceasar Augustus Germanicus being consul for the tenth time [A.D. 84], boundary stones were placed, through the agency of P. Messius Campanus bailif of Caesar,²⁵ between the colony Flavia Augusta Felix Capua and Plotius Plebeius, in accordance with a decision of Emperor Titus Augustus and also a decree of the colony Capua stemming from an agreement between the two parties.

The inscription associates in a striking way the territorial histories of Cnossus and Capua.

Capua's title Flavia, unknown otherwise, may yield information about the rich territory of Caesar's colony, the *ager Campanus* between the Mons Tifata and the coast, over whose distribution to Roman troops the late Republic disputed. After Augustus' settlement of more troops, the city was Colonia Julia Felix Augusta Capua, and so it would be again in the time of Hadrian.²⁶ Something has happened between 70 and 84 to cause the Capuans to replace Julia with Flavia. No settlement of troops is known during these years, and it has been suggested that the title commemorates Vespasian's pardon of the colony for its

²⁴ H. van Effenterre (above, note 16) 272; and in general G. Perl's brilliant study of the Republican administration, *Klio* 52 (1970) 319-54, with 325-27 on the chronology of the organization of the province and 348-49 on Cnossus.

²⁵ For the aberrant use of "Caesar" in place of "Augustus" see H.-G. Pflaum, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 260-61.

²⁶ For the titles of the colony Capua see Mommsen in *CIL* X p. 368. I do not know what benefaction of the Tetrarchs is commemorated in the titles Concordia Julia Valeria Felix (*CIL* X 3867). Perhaps Capua shared in the extensive building activities of Maximian, well attested in Africa and at Rome (cf. W. Ensslin, *RE* 14 [1930] 2506-07).

support of the Campanian Vitellius; or rather, since the name was quickly abandoned after the *damnatio* of Domitian, that it derives from some benefaction of the latter.²⁷ The second view is at first sight more persuasive, since Vespasianic Flaviae normally retained this title, which is found long after Domitian.²⁸ But H.-G. Pflaum has given good reason to think that such matters were not left ambiguous, and that a colony of Domitian was called "Domitiana," of which the emperor's *damnatio* has left little trace.²⁹ Moreover, a Vespasianic Flavia might reject its title as well, as the case of Corinth has recently made clear. This colony, deprived of the right to coin by Vespasian, was by Domitian permitted again to issue coins, on which its titles now included "Flavia;" this title then is gone by the time of Trajan. It had been reasonably deduced that the colony owed its "Flavia" to Domitian and discarded it for that reason,³⁰ but a new text (*Corinth* VIII 3, 182) has shown this title in use already in the time of Vespasian. This confirms a suspicion of A. B. West (*Corinth* VIII 2, no. 20) that the title commemorated aid from Vespasian after the earthquake of 77. Capua's quick loss of "Flavia," then, need not indicate that the name was derived from Domitian.

Moreover, one is inclined to look for some concrete benefaction, something more than a pardon, as the source of the title, a benefaction for which the emperor was seen, however briefly, as a new founder. Nothing of the sort is known in Domitian's first three years, and in general Capua had little for which to thank the Flavii. Vespasian early made over the southern part of its territory to Puteoli, which had supported him against Vitellius; this city commemorated the gift by

²⁷ Ducrey (above, note 3) 849 suggests these possibilities; the commentators on *AE* (1969/70) 635 prefer the second.

²⁸ E.g., Sinuessa in Campania (*CIL* X 4735); Deultum in Thrace (G. Michailov, *IGBulg.* III pp. 204-05; J. Jurukova, *Griechisches Münzwerk: die Prägung von Deultum* [Berlin 1973]; Philadelphia in Lydia (L. Robert, *Monnaies grecques* [Paris 1966] 77). See in general Weyand, *RE* 6 (1909) 2681-84 and 2586-87.

²⁹ Above, note 25, 260-62, citing F(lavia) F(elix) D(omitiana) Scupi (cf. bibliography in B. Josifovska-Dragojević, *Mélanges helléniques G. Daux* [Paris 1974] 183-84). Compare Sala in Lydia, Domitianopolis under Domitian and then Sala again by the time of Hadrian (F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Lydische Stadtmünzen* [Geneva 1897] 131).

³⁰ Bibliography in E. Kornemann, *RE* 4 (1901) 530; cf. B. V. Head, *BMC Corinth* (1889) p. xlv. Note *BMC Corinth* p. 72 no. 580, where "Iulia" has been obliterated to form "Flavia." Even under Domitian, "Flavia" appears only irregularly on the coins (cf. K. M. Edwards, *Corinth* VI 27-28 no. 100, 101, 106).

adding "Flavia" to its titles.³¹ The completion of the Via Domitiana in 95 allowed the traffic from Puteoli to Rome to by-pass Capua,³² whose prosperity visibly declines from the late first century.³³ Nonetheless, one Flavian benefaction to Capua is carefully recorded: in 77 Vespasian restored to Diana Tifatina the lands given her by Sulla in thanks for his victory over Norbanus near the Mons Tifata in 83 B.C.:

Imperator Caesar Vespasianus Aug(ustus) co(n)s(ul) VIII fines agrorum dicatorum Dianae Tifat(inae) a Cornelio Sulla ex forma divi Aug(usti) restituit.³⁴

Evidently this property had long been subject to disagreement, for Augustus' map took care to mark what belonged to Diana. In 59 B.C. the temple became part of the territory of the new colony Capua.³⁵ It has long been thought that the restored lands of Diana had been usurped by private citizens.³⁶ If these were Capuans, Vespasian's restoration was no favor to the city; but if, as the need for imperial intervention may suggest, the usurpers were the wealthy of Rome whose holdings so dominated the life of imperial Campania, the restoration was a serious benefit, making the land available for Capuan use, even if the Capuans had then to rent it from the goddess.

This restored land remains to be found. It cannot lie south of the temple, since Capua itself intervenes and beyond are the Flavian acquisitions of Puteoli; the west was bounded by Volturnum, the east by the Caesarian colony Calatia. The flexible boundary lay to the north, where Capua traditionally possessed land on the far side of the river Volturnus, and where it was given the territory of Urbana during the first century.³⁷ The place called Syllae, at the northern foot of the

³¹ J. Beloch, *Campanien* (Breslau 1890²) 96, 125, and 307; C. Dubois, *Pouzzoles antique* (Athens 1907) 41-42; M. W. Frederiksen, *RE* 23 (1959) 2053-54; J. H. D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples* (Cambridge, Mass. 1970) 101. There is no evidence that Vespasian settled new colonists in Puteoli.

³² Beloch 20; Frederiksen 2044; D'Arms 102-03 and 113.

³³ D'Arms 161 and 163; contrast the continuing prosperity of Puteoli even after the opening of the port at Ostia, D'Arms, *JRS* 64 (1974) 104-24.

³⁴ Dessau, *ILS* 251, cf. 3240 (the precise find-spot of neither is known).

³⁵ So Mommsen, *CIL* X p. 367; cf. *ILS* 5380, a Capuan builds a road to the temple (cf. *CIL* X 3792.9).

³⁶ Mommsen, *CIL* X p. 367; followed by Keune, *Roscher Lexicon* V 954-55.

³⁷ Beloch 15-17 and 308-09. Since Urbana was a colony of Sulla (on which see E. Badian, *Studies in Greek and Roman History* [New York 1964] 62), its territory cannot

Mons Tifata, has naturally been associated with Sulla's victory in 83 B.C.,³⁸ and to it continues the road that connects Capua and the temple. It may be suggested that the land restored to Diana lay in this area, along the Volturnus between Urbana and the vicinity of Sylla. Capua inevitably was involved in imperial politics in a way that a city like Cnossus was not.³⁹ Its territory from the beginning subject to Roman manipulation,⁴⁰ out of political favor under the Flavii, Capua would have welcomed heartily a reestablishment of Diana's right to the river-land north of the sacred mountain.

On the Cretan territory of Capua, Dio Cassius is clear: Augustus, to recompense the city for land taken for new veteran settlements, gave the Capuans an aqueduct and "the territory of Cnossus, which they enjoy still today" (τὴν τε χώραν τὴν Κνωσίαν, ἣν καὶ νῦν ἔτι καρποῦνται, 49.14.5). Dio ought to have known, for he owned an estate at Capua that he liked to visit.⁴¹ Velleius adds that Capua was more than recompensed for the land it lost, since the income from the Cretan property amounted to 1,200,000 sesterces (2.81.2). This overseas possession, of itself, presents no difficulty.⁴² But there was a second intruder to the valley: at the end of the Republic a Roman colony was founded at Cnossus, Colonia Julia Nobilis Cnossus, whose Roman life over the next three centuries is visible in its inscriptions, coins, statuary, and architecture.⁴³ This foundation is a separate act from the attribu-

overlap with the land that Sulla gave to Diana. The attribution of Urbana to Capua, "recent" to Pliny the Elder (*NH* 14.8.62), has been seen as Vespasian's compensation to Capua for its losses to Puteoli (R. M. Peterson, *Cults of Campania* [Rome 1919] 320), or as Nero's compensation for the settling of new veterans in A.D. 57 (G. Radke, *RE*² 9 [1961] 982).

³⁸ Philipp, *RE*² 6 (1931) 1041-42.

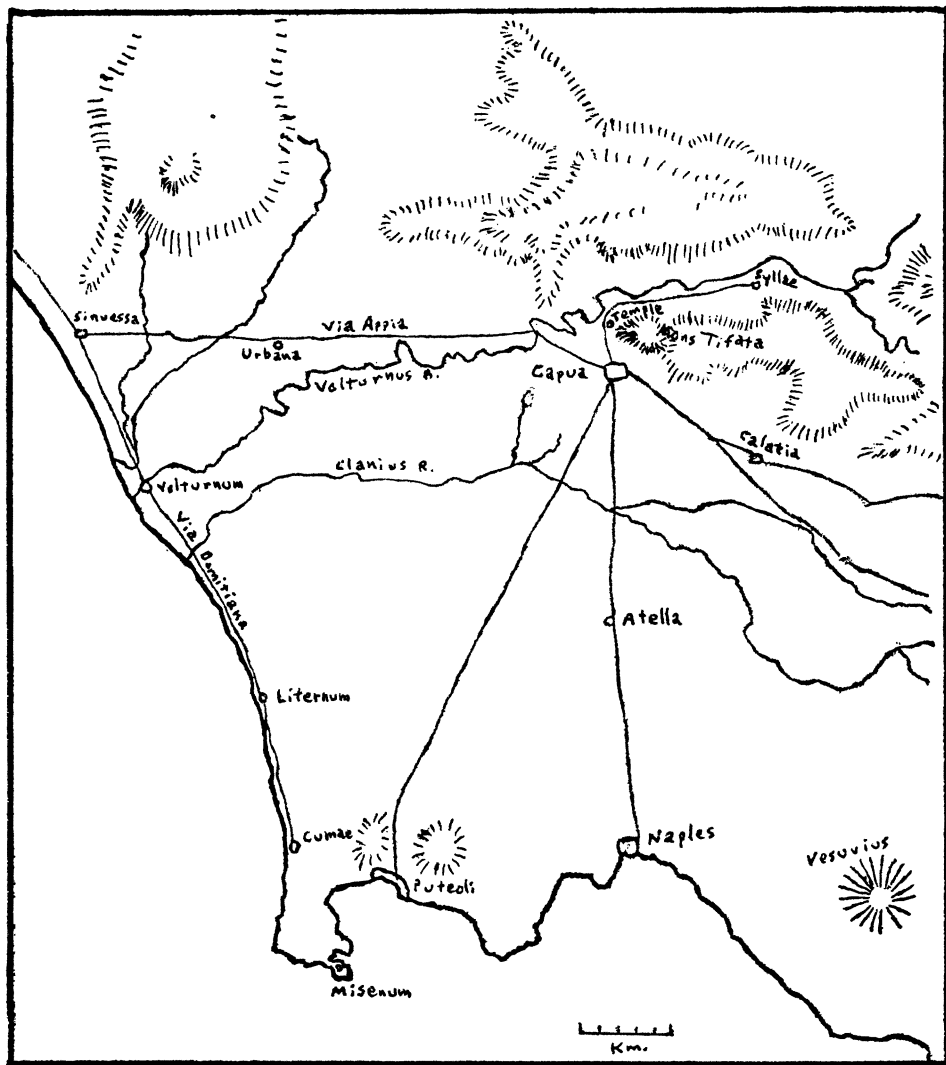
³⁹ See in general D'Arms' valuable *Romans on the Bay of Naples*; cf. L. Richardson, *AJP* 94 (1973) 120.

⁴⁰ The veteran settlements made or attempted at Capua between the Gracchi and Nero are listed by Mommsen, *CIL* X, p. 368.

⁴¹ Dio Cass. 76.2.1, cf. F. Millar, *A Study of Cassius Dio* (Oxford 1964) 10-11; D'Arms (above, note 31) 123 and 107 note 164.

⁴² Cf. Cicero, *ad Fam.* 13.7.1 (Gallic land of Atella), 13.11.1 (Gallic land of Arpinum), 8.9.4 (Cilician lands of unidentified Italian cities); further in Ducrey (above, note 3) 849 note 5; Perl, *Klio* 53 (1971) 375. For convenience I write throughout of Capuan "possession:" for the technical sense of the "enjoyment" of a property (καρπίζεσθαι) see L. Robert, *BCH* 49 (1935) 502 (*Opera Minora* I 315) note 2; *Hellenica* XI-XII (1960) 533-35.

⁴³ Guarducci, *I. Cret.* I viii 48-59; Svoronos (above, note 8) 89-95; S. Alexiou, *Guide to the Archaeological Museum of Heracleion* (Athens 1968) 125-26; cf. *BCH* 96 (1972) 798-801.



Campania

tion of "the territory of Cnossus" to Capua, separately described in our sources, but repeatedly confused or equated by modern scholars, who would picture Capuans settling Cnossus as a sort of colony of their own. Recently Gerhard Perl has cogently refuted this notion:⁴⁴ Cnossus was a colony of Rome, not of Capua. Colonies did not

⁴⁴ Above (note 24) 343; cf. P. A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower* (Oxford 1971) 599.

found or control other colonies, nor do our sources state that anyone was moved from Capua to Cnossus. The purpose of the foundation, to provide land for fresh veterans who needed it, would not be served by moving already settled veterans from one colony to another.⁴⁵ Both legally and demographically, Cnossus owed nothing to Capua, and there is no evidence of a subsequent special relationship between the two.⁴⁶

But this colonial foundation flies in the face of Dio's assertion that "the territory of Cnossus" was given to Capua. For nothing would be more pointless or unattractive than a Roman colony without a territory. Here we are saved and Dio convicted by the Archanes inscription. For we know an ancestor and thus the *origo* of Plotius Plebeius: a coin of Colonia Cnossus, dating from the time of Augustus, names a Plot(ius) Pleb(eius) as one of the duumvirs.⁴⁷ Clearly this man had been one of the most prominent citizens of the new colony, and his descendant named in the inscription is no less so in the time of Domitian, disputing in his own name a boundary with Capua and carrying the dispute to the emperor.⁴⁸ As Capua and the Cnossian Plotius Plebeius laid claim to the same land, this was in effect a boundary dispute between Cnossus and Capua. Cnossus, as it must, had a territory to defend, and Dio is imprecise. The relationship between the two cities, moreover, is not that of colony and mother-city, but the predictable hostility of two neighbors in a valley whose subdivisions can only be arbitrary.

⁴⁵ Octavian did uproot and resettle some veterans of Antony (Dio Cass. 51.4.6, not mentioning Cnossus): cf. G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* (Oxford 1965) 67.

⁴⁶ To Perl's arguments, 343 note 2, may be added the following: *I. Cret.* IV 314, in which the Cretan League in about A.D. 384 honored the governor of Campania, is one of a series of such decrees (313–22 and I xxii 13, with L. Robert, *Hellenica* 4 [1948] 103–06; G. Barbieri, *Terza Miscellanea greca e romana* 21 [Rome 1971] 291–305), voted under the sponsorship of the governor of Crete, honoring various of the great senatorial figures of his day. The series attests not a legal relationship between Cnossus and Capua (which are not mentioned), but the personal ambitions of the governor of Crete. The name Doius, attested now for a duumvir at Cnossus (R. H. J. Ashton, *Num. Chron.* [1973] 40–43), is not especially Campanian, cf. W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte Lateinischer Eigennamen* (Berlin 1933) 90 note 3.

⁴⁷ Svoronos (above, note 8) 71 no. 190, adduced by Ducrey (above, note 3) 849.

⁴⁸ For a contemporary Cnossian in similar circumstances, see Arrian, *Epict. Diss.* 3.9, with F. Millar, *JRS* 55 (1965) 146.

This is the third inscription to be found in the modern district of Archanes. Perhaps, then, it is not an accident that one of the other two mentions another Plotius: a Greek doctor, Plotius Corinthus, in the time of Augustus made a dedication to Zeus at Archanes.⁴⁹ Surely this was a freedman of the Plotii of Cnossus, who would gladly have a doctor in their retinue. From the location of these two inscriptions, I would suggest that the Plotii had a country residence at Archanes for the full century that we hear of them, from the beginnings of the colony to the time of Domitian; and the territory of Roman Cnossus included Archanes.⁵⁰

One may imagine what would have attracted the Plotii to Archanes. It is enough to quote Captain Spratt's description of a century ago. Having praised the fine vineyards, he writes:

Arkhanais is one of those upland valleys or basins that nature has scattered here and there, as an oasis of fertility and richness, throughout the island . . . Possessing the charm of seclusion and of luxuriance, an imagined tranquility and repose to all who live within them is the feeling that first strikes a stranger on beholding these retreats . . . How quiet is the serenity of a calm Levantine night in such a mountain retreat! and how enjoyable is this serenity! For the air then reigns still as death, and all nature seems hushed into repose and peace . . . Such is its usual serenity in such a secluded valley.⁵¹

What better retreat for one of the first families of the new colony? In addition, Archanes has always served as the point of departure for those who would climb Mt. Iuktas, and perhaps it is not a coincidence that virtually the only mention of Zeus in the inscriptions of the Cnossia is the dedication of Plotius Corinthus at Archanes.⁵² Here at the foot of the god's tomb must have been a focal point for the worship of Zeus at Cnossus, so rich in his legends. Ambiance, the pleasure and profit of good wine, reverence for Jupiter—all would be obvious attractions.

⁴⁹ *I. Cret.* I viii 17, dated by Guarducci to the first century B.C. (on our logic it cannot antedate the foundation of the colony); but, as she remarks, the stone is not *in situ* and may have been brought from Cnossus. I viii 1 from Archanes is a fragment of the fifth century B.C.

⁵⁰ Cf. Ducrey (above, note 3) 846; "Archanès, territoire de Cnossos."

⁵¹ Above (note 8) 86–88.

⁵² The sanctuary of Zeus Thenatas has been discovered at Amnisus, cf. *BCH* 62 (1938) 483; *PAAH* (1938) 136 (*AJA* 44 [1940] 240). For the tomb of Zeus, the testimonia are collected in A. B. Cook, *Zeus* II (Cambridge 1925) 940–45.

But what land did Plotius Plebeius dispute with the Capuans? Possibly the small Archanes valley or some part of it was at issue, but this seems unlikely: it had probably been Cnossian for centuries, and the Plotii seem to have been firmly established in Archanes since the beginning of the colony. We may suspect, moreover, that their holdings were more substantial and widespread. From Archanes one may cross the southern foot of Iuktas and descend into the Heraclion valley—this was Pashley's route in 1834, and there is a modern cart-path.⁵³ I would suggest that it was in the Heraclion valley itself, in the area west of Iuktas, that the Plotii had further land, and that here they came into conflict with Capua. The Archanes inscription was found (whether or not *in situ* is unknown) at Karnari, at the south-western foot of Iuktas and overlooking the final descent into Heraclion valley.⁵⁴ The attribution of the Plotii to Archanes is admittedly fragile—Plotius Corinthus could be a dependent of the only other Plotius known on Crete, L. Plotius Vicinas, provincial governor between 2 B.C. and A.D. 7,⁵⁵ and his dedication would be at Archanes because there was the cult of Zeus. But the find-spot of the new inscription suggests of itself that the disputed land, and hence the boundary between Cnossus and the Capuan land, lay in the tributary river valley formed between Iuktas and Kanli Kastelli: Karnari watches over this valley from near the sheer foot of Iuktas and guards the path that winds on around Iuktas up to the Archanes valley.

The interest of this deduction goes beyond correcting Dio. An inscription at Argos of the fifth century B.C. records an alliance between Cnossus, Tylissus, and Argos.⁵⁶ Evidently Cnossus and Tylissus had laid claim to the same land, and the boundary in the disputed area, which must lie in the Heraclion valley, is now defined thus:

Ἡυὼν ὄρος καὶ Αἰετοὶ κ' Ἀρταμίτιον καὶ τὸ τῷ Ἀρχῷ τέμενος κα[ὶ] ὁ
πόταμος κ' ἐλ Λευκόπορον κ' Ἀγάθαια καὶ ὕδωρ ῥεῖ τ' ὄμβριον καὶ Λᾶος
(26–29).

⁵³ Pashley (above, note 8) 221; the path is shown on the U.S. Army map of 1944.

⁵⁴ Nearby have been found a Minoan cave-shrine (S. Marinatos, *PAAH* [1950] 248–57) and a late Minoan dwelling (*Ergon* [1974] 115).

⁵⁵ *I. Cret.* IV 200, 289, and 328.

⁵⁶ *I. Cret.* I viii 4; W. Vollgraff, *Kon. Ned. Wet., Verh. Afd. Letterk.*, Deel 51, 2 (1948), whose text is followed by Bengtson, *Staatsverträge* II 148, and Meiggs and Lewis, *Selection* 42 B; but see the just caution of P. Charneux, *REG* 63 (1950) 273–74.

Pig's Hill and Eagles and Artemisium and the sacred precinct of Archos and the river and to White Pass and Agathoia along where the rain water flows⁵⁷ and Laos.

The administration of certain cults had been at issue, and presumably the land on which they stood. Cnossus now is guaranteed Mt. Iuktas and a cult of Poseidon on it: [τῶ]ι Ποσειδᾶνι τῶι ἐν Ἰυτῶι τὸν Κνωσίο[ν ἱαρέα θύ]εν (14–16). Cnossus also controls Archanes (our only ancient reference to the place) and its cult of the divinity Archos: apparently at a federal festival of the three cities in honor of Archos, all who come to sacrifice to the god are to receive public maintenance, the privilege of ambassadors, from Cnossus, while a chorus is to receive the same from Argos: τὸν Ἀρχὸν τὸ τέμενος ἔχεν τό'ν Ἀχάρναι τοῖς θύουσι ξένια παρέχεν τὸνς Κνωσίοις, τὸνς δ' Ἀργείοις τῶι χορῶι (35–38). Here Tylissus has no role in maintaining the cult of Archos at Archanes, which must have been on the territory of Cnossus.⁵⁸ This is a most difficult and controverted document, but it seems to indicate that while Iuktas and Archanes were now Cnossian, they had been under some Tylissian claim. Now a god of federal interest to the three cities is assured a shrine at Cnossian Archanes, and the other two parties are assured access to it; and a property of the same god (not necessarily contiguous with his precinct at Archanes)⁵⁹ serves to mark the boundary between Cnossus and Tylissus in the Heraclion valley. I would suggest, therefore, that this border lay near Archanes, in the part of the valley west of Mt. Iuktas.

In short, if these suggestions are correct, the fifth-century border

⁵⁷ Cf. *Greece* (above, note 1) 236; "Numerous north-ward flowing streams . . . have cut deep fertile valleys into the general surface . . . The streams are for the most part intermittent with a good flow of water in winter."

⁵⁸ I follow Vollgraff's punctuation (above, note 56), p. 76, and his concept of a federal festival, but not his restoration of the ethnic [τῶ]ν Ἀ[χ]α[ρναίων] in lines 2–3, which would make of Archanes an independent city.

⁵⁹ Vollgraff (p. 58) thought only one *temenos* of Archos involved in the inscription, and that lines 27 and 36 show that "the frontier between Cnossus and Tylissus passed through the suburb Acharna" (p. 42, despite his restoration of lines 2–3); this seemed too far to the east to Kirsten (above, note 9) 1724. In fact there are two precincts: one undisputedly belonging to Archos and invoked as a boundary marker in the Heraclion valley, the other (at Acharna) named subsequently and attributed to Archos only as a result of negotiation. This second act seems a federalist gesture by Cnossus with respect to a temple within its territory. As for Archos and the tribe Archeia in Crete, see Guarducci, *I. Cret.* I. p. 65.

between Cnossus and Tylissus was roughly the same as that between Roman Cnossus and the Capuan land. This, in turn, suggests the logic of the Roman settlement: that Cnossus should have, as nearly as possible, its "ancestral" or "traditional" territory,⁶⁰ specifically the land it had possessed before the encroachments of the second century B.C. What was given to Capua would be the rest of the valley up to the Gortynian border in the south,⁶¹ that is, the former territories of Tylissus, Lycastus, and the others. There would be many in the valley who remembered or claimed to remember what the original boundaries of Cnossus had been, not without disagreements, but disagreements that would now be purely Roman, negotiated between two Roman colonies. And perhaps the inhabitants of the valley resented rule by a distant and unknown master less than rule by their local enemy Cnossus.

The effects of this settlement are reasonably clear. Cnossus through the next two hundred years enjoyed a modest prosperity, shared by the other ports of the north coast; Gortyn, with its vast territory, active commerce, and government business, became the richest city in the Greek islands. What was the nature of the Capuan land, the source of 1,200,000 sesterces? From the time of Cnossian absorption through the end of antiquity, it has yielded up not an inscription, and of buildings only an occasional farm house.⁶² Its urban, public life had ended in the second century B.C. and was not revived. And certainly no Capuan occupied this land, although this has often been imagined. Capua did not distribute the valley to its own citizens as private property, uprooting the original inhabitants: no such upheaval would have been left to Capua's discretion. The valley remained public land of Capua and was simply rented back to the Greek inhabitants, the 1,200,000 sesterces representing the annual rent.⁶³ Perhaps Cnossus had treated the land and its residents in the same way when it had ruled

⁶⁰ For *πάτριος χώρα* in Greek inscriptions, see L. Robert, *Hellenica* XI-XII (1960) 513; cf. similar logic in R. Sherck, *Roman Documents from the Greek East* (Baltimore 1969) no. 1 A.6, B.7; 37.9.

⁶¹ Gortynian possession of the southern extremes of the valley evidently went unimpaired, see above, note 12.

⁶² Houses of Roman date at Tylissus, J. Hatzidakis, *Les Villas minoennes de Tylissos* (Paris 1934) 57.

⁶³ That the money was rent has always been clear, cf. Mommsen, *CIL* X p. 368; T. Frank, *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* V (Baltimore 1940) 103.

this area. There was an *arcarius Cretae* at Capua (*ILS* 6317), a slave who managed this income, but we need not assume that he ever saw the land. Conceivably a Capuan was sent out to watch the borders and collect the rent, but this suggests extraordinary power for an urban magistrate in the Roman Empire. Presumably, rather, the tasks of keeping order, collecting the rent, and crediting it to Capua were part of the office of the provincial governor in Gortyn. Whoever won the advantage in the dispute between Plotius Plebeius and Capua, the affair may well represent an embarrassment to the contemporary governor and his administration.⁶⁴

It would be of the highest interest to know when and under what circumstances this territory in central Crete ceased to be Capuan, and to whom it reverted; probably Capua's rights to the land could not survive the turmoil and the constitutional changes of the third century.⁶⁵ For the beginnings of this *ager Campanus* and the colony Cnossus, a guess may be ventured. Dio Cassius states that the gift of land to Capua took place later than 36 B.C. (when Antony gave Crete to Cleopatra); the colony at Cnossus, often thought Caesarian, cannot be shown to exist before Augustus. Neither can antedate the elimination of Antony.⁶⁶ I would propose that both took place at approximately the same time, and in conjunction with a third. In 27 B.C. Augustus settled affairs in Crete after its Antonian interlude, combining Crete and Cyrene as one province and making Gortyn the capital of the whole. Taken together, these acts reveal a policy, for in a stroke they converted central Crete into a Roman enclave, creating a band of Roman presence or possession that ran from south coast to north—the intensely Roman life of the capital, dominated by the person and activities of the

⁶⁴ The governors during the late years of Vespasian and under Titus (before whom the matter was placed) are unknown; but the resolution was carried out probably during the tenure of the talented and successful A. Julius Quadratus (*PIR*² I 507; W. Eck, *Senatoren von Vespasian bis Hadrian* [Munich 1970] 135 and 240). Doubtless the aggrieved party had the case reconsidered after the death of Titus.

⁶⁵ On the treatment of the province in the third century, see H.-G. Pflaum, *Annuaire Ec. Hautes Etudes*, IV^e Section (1973–74) 271–76: Septimius Severus divided Crete and Cyrene into two imperial provinces, Severus Alexander reunited them as a senatorial province, Maximinus Thrax (probably) reverted to the arrangement of Septimius Severus, which is attested under Gordian III. Since the researches of Dio Cassius coincided with the reign of Septimius Severus (cf. Millar [above, note 41] 28–32), the Capuan land survived this first alteration of the status of the province.

⁶⁶ Cf. Perl (above, note 24) 343–45; Brunt (above, note 44) 599.

governor; the purely Roman life of Cnossus, the only Roman colony in Crete; and, between the two, the farmlands of another Roman colony, Capua, probably administered by the governor. In a stroke, what must have been regarded as the hinterland of the provincial capital was taken out of the legal possession of Greeks, and the inherited tensions of this land must henceforth be channeled through Roman citizens and settled in the context of Roman law and administration. Greek cities were troublesome, and the Augustan settlement in the Heraclion valley, a Romanization of sorts,⁶⁷ was a means of bringing order to a difficult land.

⁶⁷ The notion of an Augustan cultural policy of Romanization is justly discredited, see Bowersock (above, note 45) 69–72.