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Writing the History of Augustan Foundations: Roman Interventions and the Role of the Past at Knossos and Actian Nikopolis

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Abstract

The aftermath of the battle of Actium saw the proliferation of Augustan city foundations across the Mediterranean. Whether these were veteran or civilian colonies, refoundations of Caesarian undertakings, victory cities, entirely new creations, or anything in between, all-encompassing studies of their history, identity, local and/or regional impacts remain largely absent. This dissertation aims to initiate this endeavour by providing a model through which one can study the history and impacts of these foundations, by focusing on two major case studies: the Colonia Iulia Nobilis Cnossus in its Cretan landscape, and Actian Nikopolis in its regional context, surrounded by a plethora of formerly glorious cities and other newly established Augustan foundations. Inspired by recent scholarly trends and vocabularies emerging from studies on globalisation, localism, identity, networks and connectivity, the dichotomous approach presented below can be applied to all Augustan city foundations, so long as there is sufficient literary and material evidence.

As, such it will be shown that the history of these cities is not only inseparable from its immediate region, but it can be traced back to a period long before their foundation. To demonstrate this, a dual approach will be proposed. On the one hand, chapters one and three will highlight what will be defined as the 'imagined' or 'literary' city and its surroundings: how did authors write about them, what themes survived, and how much of it was 'new' or 'Augustan' per se. On the other, chapters two and four will focus on a more tangible, or 'real', approach that will establish the history of connectivity between each case study and Rome throughout the Hellenistic Period, leading up to the foundation itself. Through both approaches, the importance of the past will resurface as the driving force, or currency of exchange, of all interactions and traditions, whether real or imagined. Chapter five will cement this by undertaking an analysis of the literary and archaeological evidence from the early days of each foundation, as it will be shown that Augustus' endeavours and decisions were deeply entrenched and/or built upon past traditions, histories, and customs.

Furthermore, two epiphenomena emerge from this approach. Firstly, the local and regional impacts of these foundations cannot be understood without a thorough understanding of local contexts, histories and traditions, and of intra and extra regional connectivity. Secondly, it will become apparent that we must reconsider our understanding of Roman *coloniae* and other city foundations, and of the nomenclature associated with them during the time of Augustus. These were malleable, adaptable, and contextually tailored to fit the needs of the landscape and environment they were placed in.

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It might be cliché to say that none of this would have been possible without the help and support of countless individuals, but this is only an understatement, especially when considering that more than half of the dissertation was spent in the midst of a global pandemic. I cannot possibly do justice in only a few lines to how grateful I am for all those who have helped me reach this stage, and to how they each contributed to this dissertation – but try I shall.

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On this note, I would also like to express my gratitude to the communities I have been fortunate to be a part of in Oxford, whether it was in my college, faculty, or elsewhere. To all the new and old friends and colleagues, thank you for always being available to have a talk about history, epigraphy, numismatics, or just about anything. Your suggestions, encouragements, and presence along each step of my DPhil kept the torch lit, even in the darkest days of the pandemic.

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discuss the Greek clauses in an inscription, find an obscure reference, or just to play a game of catch after a long day of writing, I hope you know that I am forever grateful for your friendship and support in these years.

Thank you also to my colleagues, and professors, both at Oxford and elsewhere, who have generously provided feedback or advice on parts of my dissertation, given me the chance to present some of my work in various formats, or even sent some of their own results and forthcoming writings. While I do not have the space to cover each, I would like to thank especially Dan Stewart, Milena Melfi, and Nino Luraghi. In addition, I am grateful to the people I met in Osakikamijima who graciously welcomed me and showed interest in my research, while helping me develop a new understanding of insularity and glocalisation. I also want to extend my gratitude to Peter Haarer for his guidance and support in my early teaching endeavours, and to my former supervisor, Michael Fronda, who was always available to share his knowledge and advice, whether it was related to teaching, or research.

Lastly, I would like to dedicate the remainder of this section to my family, as I certainly would not exaggerate if I said that without their support, sacrifices, and comfort, I would not be in this position today. To my parents, Louise and Cristinel, and my brother, Robert, thank you for believing in me and for your unconditional love and support. And to my two favourite people in the whole world, who have had to put up with me every single day, Saori and Akira – I would have to write a new dissertation to adequately express my gratitude for all that you have done for me. You always listened, helped, supported, and cared about everything I did, and I am lucky to have you by my side throughout this journey. Most importantly, thank you for always giving me a reason to smile, this is to you.

List of Abbreviations

AE = L'Année épigraphique

AR = Archaeological Reports

BAtlas = Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World

BMC = British Museum Catalogue

BNJ = Brill's New Jacoby

CIG = Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum

CIL = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum

CINC = Colonia Iulia Nobilis Cnossus

I.Apollonia = Corpus des inscriptions grecques d'Illyrie méridionale et d'Épire (CIGIME), Cabanes and Drini, eds. (1995)

I.Bouthrotos = Corpus des inscriptions grecques d'Illyrie méridionale et d'Épire vol. 2, pt. 2 (CIGIME), Cabanes and Drini, eds. (2007)

I.Epidamnos-Dyrrhachion = Corpus des inscriptions grecques d'Illyrie méridionale et d'Épire (CIGIME), Cabanes and Drini, eds. (1995)

IC = Inscriptiones Creticae

ID = Inscriptions de Délos, Dürrbach, ed. (1923-37)

IG = Inscriptiones Graecae

ILGR = Inscriptiones Latinae in Graecia Repertae

ILS = Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae

IMagn = Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander, Kern, ed. (1900)

FGrH = Fragmente der griechischen Historiker

MRR = *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, Broughton, T. R. S. (1952)

Nikopolis I = Nikopolis I: Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Nikopolis (23-29 September 1984), ed. Chrysos, E. K. (1987)

Nikopolis B = Nikopolis 2 B: Proceedings of the Second International Symposium on Nikopolis (11-15 September 2002), ed. Zachos, K. (2007)

Oikonomidou = *Η Νομισματοκοπια της Νικοπολεως*, Oikonomidou (1975)

Page = *Greek Literary Papyri; in two volumes*, Page (1942)

RE = Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft

REA = Revue des études anciennes

Reynolds = *Aphrodisias and Rome*, Reynolds (1982)

RPC = Roman Provincial Coinage (1992 and online database)

RIC = Roman Imperial Coinage (2018)

Samsaris = *Η Ἄκτια Νικοπόλη και η 'Χόρα' τῆς (νοτιά Ήπειρος -Ακαρνάνια). Ιστορικογεωγραφική καιεπιγραφική σθμβολή*, Samsaris, (1994)

SIG^3 = Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum (3rd edition)

SEG = Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum

Svoronos 1890 = *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne*, Svoronos, (1890)

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Introduction

On September 2nd, 31 B.C., Imperator Caesar, formerly known as Gaius Octavius and soon to become Augustus, stood on the verge of consolidating his power over a political entity that spread across three continents. To immortalise his victory at Actium, he ordered a city to be built on the site of his camp that would simply be called Nikopolis, the victory city. Augustus' city would become the most famous and prosperous of its namesake predecessors built by equally famous leaders: Alexander and Pompey, both called 'the Great'. Over 500 kilometres to the southeast, another 'famous´ foundation would see the light of day around the same time as Augustus' victory city: the *Colonia Iulia Nobilis Cnossus* (CINC henceforth). While the *nobilis* of its name might not accurately depict the fame of this *colonia*, the Greek city of Knossos was not only one of the most famous in Crete, but in the entire ancient world.[1] The infamous minotaur, labyrinth, and the tale of Daedalus and Icarus continue to captivate the imagination and to be reproduced in various media to this day. With these two foundations, Augustus cemented his authority and status as patron/founder of two famous cities at the peripheries of the Greek world.[2] That said, these two were not unique, as Roman *coloniae* and new cities sprouted across the empire at an unprecedented rate during the late Republic. Veterans needed settling, civilians had been ravaged by the civil wars, and newly conquered territories necessitated infrastructure to support the imposed provincial administration. Near Nikopolis alone, Dyrrhachium, Buthrotum, Byllis, Philippi, and Patrae are but a few of the Roman colonies that emerged at this time, yet in Crete the CINC stood alone amongst Greek cities. In addition to this, the development and

[1] Flor. 1.42 refers to the island as *nobilem insulam*. Alternatively, Philostr. VA. 4.34, recalls the travels of Apollonius of Tyana to Crete alongside his companions who wanted to visit the island and its (in)famous labyrinth, whereas the philosopher preferred to visit Mount Ida and other sacred sites. We will return to these examples and many others in our first two chapters, but it is safe to say Crete was famous for a variety of reasons.

[2] Regarding the 'periphery of the Greek world', Strabo does not include Nikopolis' description in his books on Greece, but rather in his description of Epirus, which he considered just outside of it. Other authors followed suit, but this is a discussion to be held in later chapters.

local needs of each city could not have been more different in certain aspects. After all, they are not even considered the same type of foundation: one was a *colonia* imposed upon a Greek city (Knossos), whereas the other was a forced synoecism that saw the coming together of populations from Epirus, Akarnania, and even Aetolia. Knowing this, how are Nikopolis and Knossos intrinsically connected?

If a brief 'autobiographical' excursus may be permitted as integral to the understanding of this dissertation, the association and comparison between these two cities originated from a broader initial inquiry that sought to define the impacts, or lack thereof, of Augustan foundations upon the connectivity of a larger array of regions and provinces. Connectivity here was meant to include the sum of 'exchanges' - economic, cultural, religious, etc. Thus, not only was the initial scope wider, but so was the timeframe, as I sought to track the changes and impacts into Trajan's reign. However, it quickly emerged that in order to understand such outcomes, one must have a much better grasp of the past (pre-Augustus) than of the present (i.e. the early days of the foundations), as changes were subtle, and both these *and* continuity could not be defined without highlighting what had already existed for centuries. Moreover, and most importantly, it became clear that the pre-Roman past had never left, it was omnipresent in local transactions, diplomatic exchanges, honorary decrees, coinage, infrastructure, legends; even the Romans started adapting and adopting it. The past and the connections it facilitated were used as currencies for intercommunity relations, both regional and beyond, as we will detail throughout this dissertation. As such, the number of case studies needed to be reduced and Nikopolis and Knossos emerged as ideal candidates, as their differences not only complemented and informed one another well, but they were also two distinct types of foundations, in two traditionally underappreciated and undervalued provinces. They were 'no provincial

backwater', as Baldwin Bowsky already showed of Crete.[3] The richness of their history and of the surviving evidence also marked them as ideal case studies.

Thus, we reached the point of asking once again, what exactly are we aiming to uncover through a study of the 'impacts' of Nikopolis and the CINC, and how can this be achieved? It is at this stage that the dissertation reached its current state, as the evidence met my initial interest in applying theories of globalisation, networks, and identity to the study of the impacts of Augustan foundations. What emerged was a dissertation with a twofold purpose. Firstly, it seeks to establish a new model through which to write and understand the history of Caesarian and Augustan foundations: a model that is inspired by theories of globalisation, local history studies, and identity formation. Secondly, the dissertation will demonstrate that the past was a catalyst for both change and continuity in the cities' early days both from an 'imagined' and a 'real' perspective (more on this below). This past could be referred to, but it was also adaptable and malleable to each individual context, event, or exchange. For instance, King Minos, although widely popular in local Cretan traditions, had been victimised by an Athenian tradition that depicted him as a cruel tyrant and vilified the (in)famous Cretan labyrinth; meanwhile, the conquering Romans, and especially Augustus, sought to align themselves with the island's local hero.[4] From a more real, or tangible perspective, past relations also came in the form of arbitrations. Prominent Roman magistrates, such as Quintus Fabius Labeo or, later, Mark Antony, played a pivotal role in Cretan land organisation and warfare, as part of their broader personal interests and goals that would impact geopolitical landscapes on the island and across the Mediterranean.[5]

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[3] Baldwin Bowsky (2005): the title of this work alone is illustrative: *Roman Crete: No Provincial Backwater*; cf. Harrison (1998): 129 for similar views.

[4] A full discussion of these traditions will be provided in chapter 1. For reference, the Athenian tradition is explicitly stated at Plut. Thes. 15-6, who cites the examples of Philochorus and Euripides. For more on Minos' revived role in the Roman period, see especially Alcock (2002): 99-131 and chapters 1 and 5 below.

[5] For Labeo's incursions, see Liv. 37.60 with Harrison (1993): 26-7, Raab (2001): 56, Gallimore (2011): 11 and (2019) *passim*, Lippolis (2016): 157-8. More on this in chapter 2.

A by-product of our analysis has also led us to tentatively venture into proposing a new approach towards the study of Late Republican Roman city foundations. While this is not the crux of the dissertation, it will nevertheless be seen that both the CINC and Nikopolis paint a picture of Roman *coloniae* and other types of cities that are adaptable, and without rigid ground-rules, aside from the typical magistracies and institutions (i.e. *duumviri*) – a far-cry from Aulus Gellius' famous depiction of a Roman colony.[6] Furthermore, by eliminating these expectations, we are able to offer a more objective analysis of each city's development. In some ways, the need to place each city under an umbrella term (i.e. *colonia*, *civitas libera*, etc.) for the sake of analysis and comparison has limited the potential of such case studies and comparative approaches. This has been evident in the historiography of Nikopolis, as scholars have rarely ventured to compare it to other *coloniae* simply because most agree that it was either not one itself, or that it was a complex double Greek and Roman community.[7] For instance, some of the more recent works on Roman colonies in the Greek world do not include Nikopolis amongst their case studies. The two most important examples are the edited volumes *Colonie romane nel mondo Greco* (2004) and Brélaz's more recent *L'héritage grec des colonies romaines d'Orient* (2017) to which we will return shortly.[8] As such, the city is often compared only with neighbouring *coloniae* that share numerous other similarities on account of their proximity and history of connectivity – particularly Patrae and Buthrotum.[9] From the perspective of globalisation,

[6] Aul. Gell. NA. 16.13.8-9.
[7] The details of this debate are covered in chapter 5. Here, it suffices to highlight that Purcell (1987) was the originator of the double community idea, which was met with initial suspicion, but later found supporters, with none greater than Ruscu (2006). Older scholars, and at times even more recent ones, advocated strictly against the idea of Nikopolis being a Roman colony, or a double community, including Kahrstedt (1950), Larsen (1958), Bowersock (1965), Sarikakis (1970), Wolff (1977).
[8] By contrast, both volumes provide a contribution on the CINC.
[9] For the Nikopolis-Patrae ties, see esp. Kahrstedt (1950), Larsen (1958), Bowersock (1965), and Purcell (1987); for arguments promoting similar developments at Nikopolis and Buthrotum, see esp. Bowden (2007) and (2011). One could add to this Trillmich's (2009: 428, 432) identification of Emerita as the 'western counterpart to Actium-Nikopolis', but this comparison comes primarily from a symbolic perspective. A quick word regarding spelling choices is also appropriate here. The Greek spelling of cities has been prioritised, unless a city has a

there is no reason that Nikopolis cannot provide valuable comparative analysis with other contemporary more distant foundations, in the same vein that Sweetman has shown differing developments and impacts of globalising trends at Knossos, Corinth and Sparta.[10] Thus, the dissertation will seek to remedy this situation and set a path for future research.

This approach is inspired by recent trends in scholarship that study individual cities and the impacts of Rome upon them by tracing these developments to a period well before the conquest itself and to the broader legacy of the Greek past. Brélaz's aforementioned edited volume is a case in point, with each contribution demonstrating how the Greek past not only survived in each colony's early days, but also helped dictate developments and decision-making.[11] In the Cretan context, Gallimore's recent contributions, and to a certain extent Chaniotis' economic discussions, have all shown the merits of retracing the history of interactions with Rome and amongst Cretan cities to demonstrate the origins of the Cretan 'boom' in the early Imperial Period.[12] Meanwhile, in northwest Greece, the archaeological publications published in recent years have shown the extent to which Nikopolis had incorporated not only pre-existing traditions and customs (see for example the worship of Apollo discussed below), but also routes and connections that its dependencies had forged over the course of centuries.[13]

That said, an important issue in any study of Nikopolis and its surrounding region's past is the nature of the available scholarly resources and archaeological publications. This may have deterred many interested researchers, as acquiring a full picture of this region

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common English transliteration (i.e., Corinth). However, for colonial (re)foundations, the Latin name is used if referring specifically to the *colonia* (i.e., Buthrotum vs. Bouthroton)

[10] Sweetman (2007) with similar views and comparisons in Kouremenos (2013 and forthcoming), although the latter compares Knossos with Corinth and Patrae, rather than Sparta.

[11] Another major ongoing project seeking to answer similar questions is the 'Anchoring Innovations' OIKOS research group across Dutch universities, whose publications are gradually coming to light. Further details on this can be accessed at https://anchoringinnovation.nl/.

[12] These will be covered in detail in chapters 1 and 2. See esp. Chaniotis (1999), (2008), and Gallimore (2017), (2019).

[13] See esp. Isager, J. (ed.), (2001), Wiseman and Zachos, eds. (2003), as well as the 1987 and 2007 edited volumes *Nikopolis I* and *Nikopolis B* respectively, as numerous contributions within them remain to this day seminal in terms of archaeological and literary analysis.

necessitates a mastery of English, French, Greek, German, Italian, and Albanian to various extents; the archaeological schools and institutions that have operated within the region's sites have all employed a combination of these languages in their publications on account of their origins.[14] The Nikopolitan chapters will address this issue in further detail, but it is worth highlighting that a by-product of our analysis has been a reconciliation of many of these publications under one 'roof' so to say, which should provide a useful resource for future research.

It is also worth mentioning that despite the differences in the available evidence, we are nevertheless able to ask and answer similar questions about each site: what role did the past play in their earliest days, were different approaches taken vis-à-vis the mythological past as opposed to the 'real' past, did the geographical location affect the developments and impact(s) of the new cities? Many other foundations can be added to this list, as organisational, cultural, and institutional changes could be analysed in the context of hundreds of cities where 'Roman' elements were variable; however, although the dissertation began with the wish to cover a plethora of such sites, it was clear that a satisfying and complete analysis could not be undertaken for each of them. As such, a case study in a primarily maritime environment (Crete) and another in a more terrestrially focused territory (Epirus) were chosen. That said, it quickly emerged that both land and sea played an equally prominent role in Nikopolitan and Knossian history. In addition, it was

[14] The references here are endless and will be detailed in chapters 3 and 4. To highlight but a few of the most important resources: the German and Italian collaborations from the project *La terza Grecia e l'Occidente* expand on the Classical and Hellenistic history of Akarnania and Epirus, and are published under the *Diabaseis* series. In English, there are two obligatory resources that gather preliminary archaeological reports and discussions from Nikopolis, namely Isager (2001) and Wiseman and Zachos (2003), although unfortunately we are still waiting for the volume dedicated to the finds from the Roman period. The *Nikopolis I* and *B* edited volumes, as well as the conference publications of *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'Antiquité* gather contributions that necessitate knowledge of all the above-mentioned languages. Lastly, as regrettably Albanian is not amongst the languages I master, these publications have not been included in this dissertation. Thankfully for our purposes, many of the relevant Albanian scholars have also published or translated some of their works in other languages, many of which can be found in the bibliography and the Nikopolitan chapters, including Ceka, N. and Ceka O., Gjongecaj, S. This list is by no means exhaustive, but nevertheless reflects the predicament.

also a tantalising prospect to identify one city that was near other contemporary Roman foundations, as opposed to one that was isolated. Crete only holds one Roman colony, whereas Nikopolis is 'surrounded' by them depending on how far one travels: Dyrrhachium, Buthrotum, Byllas, Dyme, Philippi, Dion, Patrae, Corinth, etc.

Having established both the origins and the purpose of this dissertation, the remainder of the introduction will be divided into five sections. The first will set out the organisation of the thesis, with a chapter breakdown to clarify our approach. The second will briefly open the discussion on the importance of the past in conjunction to these case studies, which will be expanded in subsequent chapters. The final three sections will then provide a 'dialogue' with various theoretical frameworks and authors that helped develop a vocabulary for our own analysis. These stem from the initial approach described above and will highlight the advantages of globalisation studies (i.e., in contrast to ideas such as Romanisation), the complementary nature of the various types of evidence and how they will be used, and finally the role that identity studies played in revealing the importance of the past.

1. Organisation and Presentation: 'Imagined', 'Real', and in-between

Our approach in writing the local history and the impacts of Augustan foundations highlights that their stories began long before the new cities were established. Knossos had been a Cretan powerhouse since Minoan times, whereas Nikopolis incorporated inhabitants from Ambrakia, Anaktorion, Leukas, Kassope, Thyrreion and many other cities that had centuries of pre-existing origins, connections, customs, and sources of local pride. As such, to cover as much of this past as possible, and to show how it affected an Augustan foundation, a dual approach is proposed in this dissertation. In the first instance, what we

will identify as the ‘imagined’, or ‘literary’, past explores the development of the image of both cities and their surroundings. As it will become apparent, the Roman conquest had little impact on the legacy of either the mythological or historical Greek past, although these were used in varying contexts. The imperial descriptions of the Augustan foundations from both a Greek and Roman perspective draw heavily upon past references going back to the *Iliad*, the Trojan Epic Cycle, the age of heroes and demigods, and so forth. The Romans even followed in the footsteps of many of their predecessors that had occupied and governed these regions. In Crete, Minos is at the forefront of Augustan literature and even coinage; in Epirus, emulating and outdoing the Molossians and Pyrrhus’ accomplishments appears to be at the top of the agenda.

Thus, chapters one and three will deal with these aspects for each city’s past. Nikopolis at first glance might be an outlier in this approach, as the city was a *tabula rasa* as a brand-new foundation. Yet, upon closer examination, the cities that were forced into this synoecism are a staple in both the foundation tales and later references to the Augustan city. Even the materials of some of the city’s best preserved public buildings are repurposed from the surrounding cities’ infrastructure. Nikopolis, through its name, its foundation, and symbolism is a constant reminder of the past, of Augustan triumph, of the fall of ‘the Greeks’, of territorial reorganisation, and of the migration of entire populations. However, it is also a preserver of Hellenism, local and regional traditions, and a model for studies that seek to understand the Roman and Augustan self-inclusion within centuries-old traditions and interactions.

All of this applies to Knossos and the CINC as well, despite the apparent ‘segregation’ between the Roman and Greek populations. Both Knossian and Epirote pasts played pivotal roles in the island’s incorporation into the Roman Empire and vice versa. Meanwhile, the CINC, as the sole Roman *colonia* on an island that had remained

independent far longer than most of the Greek world, is a unifier of past and present. While Roman magistrates and Italian traders had long since been attested in Crete, their gathering under the Knossian 'banner' is a reminder of both past connections and of the power that Rome now held over the Greek cities, with the ability to reorganise territories, displace populations, and impose restrictions and regulations. Yet, despite these new developments, descriptions of Crete and Knossos continued to be deeply entrenched in the past, with literary tropes, parallel traditions, and allusions to a long-gone past all being omnipresent in Imperial literature. The colony itself chose to employ numerous local motifs on its coinage, or even in the private sphere through mosaics, or other visual representations. Furthermore, the Greek language continued to thrive in private affairs, as was the case in numerous other Roman colonies in the Greek world.

Another aspect that will emerge from these two chapters, and further confirmed in chapters two and four, is the inseparability of the local and the regional worlds. That said, the dangers in setting artificial boundaries for a region are recognisable, as this is a subjective process that can be moulded in such a way to fit our own benefits. Thus, we must define the regions chosen and the reasons behind this selection. In the case of the CINC, the island of Crete as a whole has been chosen as the most logical delineator, although a case could have been made to also include Cyrenaica.[15] Not only was Knossos' mythological and imagined past in constant discourse with other Cretan traditions, but the Romans continued this trend and, as we will see in chapters two and five, at times they did not even distinguish between what was local (i.e. Knossian) and what was regional (i.e. Cretan). Cretan wine is the obvious example in this case: do written sources referring to 'Cretan' *passum* refer to any/all production centre(s) in Crete? Or is it more about a local product that had left a poor taste in one author's mouth, yet is not distinguishable enough to be identified? In many ways

[15] As a result of the Roman creation of the dual-province Crete-and-Cyrenaica.

this is a phenomenon that is still observed to this day. If we take the production of maple syrup as an example, many might identify this as a staple of *Canadian* production, export, and even identity. Yet, of the 11.3 million gallons of maple syrup produced in 2021, 10 million came from the province of Quebec.[16] Thus, nearly 90% of the entire production comes from one province with its unique history and local pride, thus by that logic, can we truly speak of this commodity as *Canadian*? The same can be applied to the case of Cretan exports of wine and even medicinal herbs, but we will turn to these in due course.

As far as Nikopolis is concerned, we encounter a different set of issues as it becomes more difficult to establish the extent of its surrounding 'region'. Decades of studies on this city have not clarified the matter, as we will see that scholars continue to debate whether to include it within studies of Epirus, Illyria, Kassopaea, Aetolia, Achaea, Akarnania, or a combination of these. To give but one example, the six edited volumes *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'Antiquité* include a negligible amount of material dedicated solely to this Augustan foundation despite these being staples of any study on Epirote or Illyrian cities. In addition, the various schools that have studied the city's past and archaeological remains had different goals and perspectives in mind, while the modern Graeco-Albanian border crossing through Nikopolis' neighbouring territories has added layers of complexity that are entirely foreign in the Cretan context. As such, the most compelling approach for our own analysis has been to study Nikopolis in the context of a series of interconnected harbours across the western Greek coast ranging as far north as Dyrrhachium and as far south as Corinth. This is an approach championed by many, but perhaps none more convincingly than Purcell, whose Nikopolitan contribution offers in many ways a foreshadowing to his broader analysis in his later seminal publication alongside Horden on Mediterranean connectivity (more on this

[16] See the statistics provided by the Government of Canada at https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/211208/dq211208b-eng.htm.

below and in chapter five).[17] Not only are these ports interconnected in the Imperial period and facing the 'west' (i.e. Italy), but it emerges from a study of both their imagined and real pasts that they had been intrinsically tied from the moment they were founded. For example, Dyrrhachion, Apollonia, Anaktorion, Leukas, and Ambrakia were all Corinthian colonies, and each played a pivotal role in Nikopolis' early expansion, traditions, and connectivity. A study of the cults of Apollo, the role of Dodona, the *nostoi* traditions, and many other elements will thus reconcile both past and present.

The second approach taken will be reflected in chapters two and four, which will complement the study of the imagined past by providing a picture of the 'real' past through the lens of the interactions that each city and region had with the Romans and with their neighbours. It will become apparent that the Romans played a role in shaping and reorganising geopolitical affairs for at least a century prior to the conquest of each region, and nearly two prior to the foundation of the Augustan cities. In turn, this allowed them to accumulate what we might refer to as past 'leverage' or 'credit', as they were able to use past interactions as a currency of exchange. By the time Augustus had decided to establish his cities, he and his advisors had access to knowledge of complex local and regional histories, interactions, and conflicts, which in turn they could use to adapt each of the foundations to best fit the population's needs and ensure its success and integration within the empire's wider networks of connectivity. In many ways, Augustus was only another of a series of prominent Roman magistrates and businessmen that had shaped the history of each region. Most of the 'changes' and decisions taken in the aftermath of Actium are thus deeply rooted in past precedents, which in turn allowed for a seemingly smooth transition and the preservation of a status quo in more than one domain.

[17] Purcell (1987): 72 and Horden and Purcell (2000); cf. Bowersock (1965).

Lastly, chapter five provides the culmination of the analysis by establishing a comparison of the CINC and Nikopolis and of the impacts felt within the cities and their surrounding regions in the aftermath of their foundations. The imagined-real approach is preserved in this chapter, as we can observe a clear parallel in both cases. On the one hand, the Augustan literature and contemporary archaeological evidence reveal an image of each city that is tailored to the local needs and that incorporates centuries-old local traditions. On the other, the 'real', more tangible impacts, such as the expansion of economic opportunities, the reorganisation of road and trade networks, and the imposition of Roman colonial and provincial rule, all developed and were incorporated smoothly due to the familiarity that the Romans and the locals had with one another through centuries of interactions. In turn, it will also be revealed that this local approach to writing the history of an Augustan foundation and of its interactions demonstrates the malleability and adaptability of a Roman foundation.

2. The Past Matters: Local Histories, Memory, and Commemoration

The importance of the past and the legacy of Hellenism within the Roman world are both concepts on which considerable ink has been spilled. As such, for the sake of brevity, we will only initiate the discussion here, as further analysis will ensue in the chapters. The age of Augustus has long since been identified as either a formative or 'revolutionising' period that would set the stage for a new chapter in the history of the Mediterranean. Syme's *The Roman Revolution* remains to this day a seminal work in terms of establishing the origins of a certain Augustan 'revolution', although it has not been without its share of critics over the years.[18] That said, Wallace-Hadrill and Spawforth reused this concept through the guise

[18] Syme (1939). One such critic is Gruen, particularly with his 1974 and 1992 publications, the latter of which seeks to analyse a sense of cultural identity in Republican Rome.

of a more specific 'cultural' revolution that emerged in the reign of Augustus.[19] And yet, while all are correct in identifying Augustus as a catalyst for change, our analysis will show that at least in our two case studies we can hardly speak of a 'revolution', or even attribute many of the changes and decisions to a specifically Augustan endeavour.

Alcock's seminal works on Roman Greece also play a pivotal role in the interpretations adopted throughout this dissertation.[20] She rightly warns in the introduction of her 1993 publication that 'it would be a grave mistake to accept the formal creation of the province of Achaia (generally agreed to have occurred in 27 B.C.) as the starting point for a history of Roman Greece', as she traces Roman interest in the region to 'at least' the Second Macedonian War.[21] Similarly, our own approach will trace the history of these cities to at least the Pyrrhic Wars. Alcock's caution also extends to assigning too much weight to the role that Augustus played in shaping and reorganising Roman Greece. Instead, it will become clear that the past mattered to Augustus. Without it, Nikopolis and the CINC would be unrecognisable. Both the imagined and real past fuelled not a revolution, but rather a consolidation of pre-existing ties, networks, and traditions. Nearly every decision, every action, and every item of legislation were deeply rooted in past precedents and interactions – one can simply look at Flamininus and Nero awarding 'freedom' to the Greek cities, Pyrrhus and Augustus founding cities in Epirus, Philip II of Macedon and Augustus meddling with the Delphic Amphictyony, and many others.[22]

Beck has recently published a compelling study of Classical Greek *poleis* through the lens of localism in which he has highlighted the emergence of local pride and of a sense of belonging in city-states, while also highlighting the differences in reception of 'global' trends

[19] Wallace-Hadrill (2008) and Spawforth (2012). This also must be interpreted in conjunction with other works on cultural, collective, or social memory and related concepts that have emerged both within and outside of the Classics. See for instance Halbwachs (1925), Fentress and Wickham (1992), Assmann (2011), or Thomas (2019).
[20] Primarily, but not limited to Alcock (1993), (1997) and (2002).
[21] Alcock (1993): 9.
[22] Plut. Flam. 10.3-5, Suet. Ner. 24, Diod. Sic. 16.1, 59-60, Paus. 10.8.4 respectively to name but a few instances.

and in how they impacted each of them differently.[23] This is an image that we should not lose sight of at the time of the Principate. As we will see, local pride, history and identity did not diminish over time or because of the Roman conquest; instead, they developed, acquired new facets, and were enriched over time. Local histories and the past more broadly became a currency that the Romans sought to exploit to their own advantage, as it would help incorporate cities within the wider narratives circulating across the empire.

Grigoropoulos et al. have best described the situation, inspired by Spawforth's aforementioned work, when stating that 'in the course of the early empire, control of the past and its representations became a key element in the creation of a provincial socio-political order' - the past had become what could be identified as 'cultural capital'.[24] Moreover, the importance of this past was equally relevant to both Greeks and Romans, although for different reasons, as we will see. The common past, whether mythological or through tangible interactions, preserved multiple episodes of the two cultures coming together. It was also an element that could be referred to and recalled time and again.[25] Greeks and Romans alike at Knossos and Nikopolis continued to commemorate the local past and preserve traditions and connections. That said, each case and context was unique, and to identify the impacts of such interactions, we must understand them in the context of distinctly local experiences. It is here that we ought to turn towards the final sections of this introduction, as a 'dialogue' with recent scholarship will demonstrate how the concepts of globalisation, local studies, and identity have helped inform our interpretation of the past, of its local importance, and of its impacts.

[23] Beck (2020): *passim* and esp. 211-2.
[24] Grigoropoulos et al. (2017): 30; cf. Spawforth (2012) more broadly, and more recently Kouremenos (2022a) on the 'collective historical nostalgia' in 2nd century Achaea.
[25] To name but one example, Chaniotis (2016) offers a vivid discussion of the case of Aphrodisias and the role that memory played over the course of its occupation by the Romans, but see also Kouremenos (2022a).

3. The Global, the Local, and in-between: From the Fall of Romanisation to the Rise of Globalisation

As we will reiterate throughout the following three sections, this dissertation does not aim to define globalisation or its merits in the ancient world. Instead, we are merely drawing on a model that Witcher has already proposed in a different context. He wrote: 'I wish simply to suggest that globalisation offers a vocabulary and a series of models with which to explore identities in Roman Italy'.[26] While Roman Italy is not our focus, the lexicon and conclusions emerging from recent globalisation studies can inform both our understanding of local histories and identities. Moreover, the emphasis on material evidence in these studies will support and fill the gaps in our written sources that rarely offer us a full picture of both the 'imagined' and 'real' pasts. For instance, institutions and decrees are clarified through inscriptions, customs and religious traditions can be emphasised on coinage, whereas the extent of the production and dispersion of local and regional commodities might be better understood through amphorae and ceramic studies. Thus, by combining elements from the study of globalisation, localism, and identities, we can bridge the gap between our sources, between the local, regional and the global, as well as between two seemingly unrelated Augustan foundations at opposite corners of the Greek world. Lastly, regarding the 'global', we must note that while the term cannot be understood in its current modern state, the Roman world helped develop interactions reaching well beyond anything meaningfully Roman – a global world in the ancient sense.

To begin, let us consider why it is unfruitful to place this dissertation under one umbrella term, whether globalisation, Romanisation, or anything else. Romanisation must immediately be dismissed as both outdated and unsatisfactory considering the past decades of

[26] Witcher (2000): 213.

scholarly discussions.[27] Meanwhile, globalisation, and other '-isations', do offer insightful vocabularies, but at times fall into the same trap as Romanisation once did: they promote a subjective approach that makes us seek and interpret only concepts that neatly fit our arguments. Moreover, authors tend to foreground these approaches to analyse how they can be used or applied, which leaves little room for others to use them without spending considerable time dissecting them – as if there are certain expectations that come with the use of these terms. That said, the promotion of a simultaneous global-local analysis *can* be done objectively. This approach was championed by Versluys (*Archaeological Dialogues* 2014) and has become a catalyst for new studies that focus on material culture, 'its agency and materiality'; they promote studying material culture systematically within the Roman world, on global and local scales simultaneously through the concept of globalisation.[28]

Versluys' proposition and the responses to it, however, revealed major issues in our ability to discuss these concepts. While each author can make a unique contribution to the topic, their own agendas, field of study, and/or area of expertise can impact their views, definitions, and of course bibliographies. Take for instance 'Romanisation'. It can be agreed that certain seminal works *must* be a part of any study: the early days of Romanisation as defined by Mommsen and Haverfield, Millett's more recent work in Roman Britain, or the rise of a new 'Romanisation 2.0'.[29] From here, however, each author, including the responders to Versluys' proposition, might target different issues with the term or its applicability, which in turn affected the historiography and bibliography of each article. Although some conclusions might be similar, this highlights a major reason why this

[27] See esp. n. 29 below for relevant texts addressed here, but esp. Millett (1990), Woolf (1998), Hingley (2005), Wallace-Hadrill (2008), Versluys (2014) and other responses to him in *Archaeological Dialogues* 2014, and the contributions in Pitts and Versluys (2015).

[28] Versluys (2014): 1-7. He claims to have been inspired by Veyne's (2005) 'mondialisation' in this approach.

[29] On historiography of Romanisation see, Van Dommelen (2014): 41, Woolf (2014): 48-50; see also Le Roux (2004): 287-8 who attributes the start of Romanisation to both Mommsen and Haverfield and claims that Keay and Terrenato's edited volume (2001) was a good first step away from Romanisation; cf. MacMullen (2000), Krausse (2001): 108-15. For individual works, see Haverfield (1912), Millett (1990), Woolf (1998), Wallace-Hadrill (2008). The term 'Romanisation 2.0' was discussed as an alternative by Versluys (2014) and Woolf (2014).

dissertation seeks to step away from strong associations with any such concept: they tend to develop into a subjective entity, built to fit our own arguments and conclusions.[30] A perfect example of this is Purcell's analysis contra De Vries' discussion on the limits of 'early modern globalisation'.[31] While the Dutch scholar did not allow for what he calls 'soft' globalisation even in the pre-modern era, Purcell used a brief study on incense and its circulation to demonstrate that Antiquity can contribute to modern discussions on globalisation and global history.[32] It is well acknowledged that not all criticisms and competing views can be answered, but neither the *Archaeological Dialogues*, nor the now seminal Pitts and Versluys volume on globalisation in the Roman world include De Vries in their bibliography – a telling sign of the limits of all-encompassing concepts when such a prominent scholar and critic is omitted.[33]

In addition to this, concepts such as 'Romanisation' and 'globalisation' have been heavily criticised for trying to accomplish too much at once and holding too many definitions.[34] Thus, more recent trends have attempted to target smaller fields within these greater concepts, such as identity, most notably through the edited volumes of Goldhill, Howgego, Heuchert and Burnett, as well as Whitmarsh.[35] Admittedly, not all have been successful, as the broader concepts of globalisation and localism remained more appealing due to their malleability and greater reach.[36] For our purposes too, both offer the most

[30] For similar criticism, see Nederveen Pieterse (2015): 237 who argues that as with Romanisation, globalisation comes with its own set of issues that simply relocate the discussion from one major concept to another. See also Versluys (2014): 10-1, stating that scholars have different views on Romanisation based upon their area of study, as it makes sense to discuss colonial exploitation in the context of the first century A.D. Britain, but not in Greece within the same time period.
[31] Purcell (2016): 66-7 citing De Vries (2010): 710-33.
[32] Purcell (2016): *passim*, esp. 77-9.
[33] Pitts and Versluys (2015).
[34] Woolf (2014): 46-8, Stek (2014): 32. Mattingly (2011): 38-9, 206 claims that Romanisation was a term used to describe 'both process and outcome' in such a way that it became its own explanation, leading to a circular argument.
[35] Woolf (2014): 48; cf. Goldhill (2001), Howgego, Heucher and Burnett (2005), Revell (2009), Whitmarsh (2010). Many similar discussions can be observed in the Greek world in the pre-Roman period within Hall (1997 and 1999), and Malkin (2003 and 2011).
[36] Another such concept is that of 'Mediterraneanization', which was proposed by Morris (2003): esp. 30-1 as an alternative for past views on rigid structures, contra Finley (1973), Hopkins (1983).

impactful methodology and frameworks in studies on connectivity and identity development, as we will see throughout this introduction. This aligns with Hingley's observation that a scholarly consensus exists to draw inspiration from ideas taken from globalisation, which we shall extend to all other abovementioned concepts regardless of their applicability in the ancient world, as there is something to learn from both past failures and successes.[37]

Globalisation also remains the most applicable concept in our case, as there is arguably not a more informative concept to demonstrate that time, place, and context matter: the Roman World had vastly changed, expanded, and developed between the end of the Pyrrhic Wars and the days of the early Principate, which mark the extremities of our chosen timeframe. We will see this unfold 'first-hand' in chapters two and four in the context of Roman interactions and ties with both of our case studies. Yet, while the world had changed, much remained the same, including how interactions were conducted with the Greek world. As such, while the late third and early second century revealed increased connectivity amid geopolitical machinations across the Mediterranean and other adjacent seas, this only reached its full expansion in the aftermath (and partly as a consequence) of the biggest disruption the Roman world had seen to date: the Late Republican civil wars.

Thus, for the purpose of this dissertation, our analysis of events and outcomes at the end of the Republic and in the first century of the Principate will be the ones that are most informed by 'globalisation'. This is in line with many earlier works that have chosen this period as the focal point both in studies of Romanisation and globalisation.[38] The reign of Augustus is often highlighted as the beginning of a fundamental change in Roman attitudes and approaches towards their own world, with a gradual culmination over a century later in

[37] Hingley (2014): 23; furthermore, similar to Morris' (2003) warnings against the dangers of static definitions in studies of the Mediterranean, Hingley (2015): 42 advises against consensus on 'sensitive' topics, as globalisation. For more recent studies on the applicability of globalisation in pre-modern times, see especially the contributions in Holmes and Standen, eds. (2018).

[38] This includes Bénabou (1976) on resistance in Roman Africa, Millett's work in Britain (1990), Alcock's analysis of Greece (1993), Woolf's case study in Gaul (1998), Pitts' studies in Roman Britain (2007) and (2008).

the Roman panegyric written by Aelius Aristides that many cite in support of the presence of globalisation within the Roman world.[39] Hitchner and Sommer remind us that between the worlds described by Strabo and Aristides, there is a major difference: far less of it needed to be discovered, or secured, as connectivity had increased to such an extent that the world itself was shrinking.[40] We must therefore recall that it is in the midst of this development and transitory period that the foundations of Nikopolis, the CINC, and other Augustan cities are placed.

Considering this discussion, we have now reached further evidence why this dissertation cannot be identified as a study on 'Romanisation'. The concept implies forced change following conquest and diminishes the accomplishments of the local past in favour of a 'new and 'improved' present and future under the empire.[41] One of the most cited works on resistance against this change is Bénabou's *La Résistance africaine à la romanisation*, which came in the earlier days of post-colonial approaches.[42] Yet, as we will see throughout each chapter, while it must be acknowledged that local resistance against 'Romanisation' or Roman rule can occasionally be identified, there are more efficient ways to tackle the question of change and continuity.[43] Thus, our analysis will show that change should not always be qualified as strictly negative or positive, as the grey zone between the two becomes

[39] Ael. Ar. Orat. 26. On the late Republic as a process of cultural formation that resulted in the Augustan world see Versluys (2013): 440; see also Zanker (1990), Nicolet (1991), Woolf (1994), Wallace-Hadrill (2008), Spawforth (2012). For the importance of Aristides' text and its influence in globalisation studies, Hitchner (2008): 7-8, Sommer (2015): 175, Pitts and Versluys (2015): 18, Arnaud (2016): 133.
[40] Hitchner (2008): 7-8, Sommer (2015): 175; cf. Witcher (2000): 215 and Pitts and Versluys (2015): 18 on the Romans' awareness of this phenomenon and of their perception of their own world as a global one.
[41] For such change, see Brunt (1976), Alcock (1993), Woolf (1994, 1998). Yet, as Le Roux (2004): 291 highlights, there was never any discussion about a 'uniform process of Romanisation', as the degree of change was always measured based on differing criteria.
[42] Bénabou (1976). To this day, he is recognised as a pioneer in the resistance approach against Roman influence and/or rule. On this, see Woolf (1997): 340-1, Van Dommelen (2007): 58, Versluys (2014): 3. See also Alcock (1997) for a discussion of resistance in the Greek context, but especially for Roman relationship with Greek history, which will become important later in our discussion.
[43] To give but one example of resistance, Pausanias tells us that during the foundation of Nikopolis, most settlers had refused to accept Augustus' forced relocation to his new city and chose rather to flee to Amphissa. On this, see Paus. 10.38.4 and chapter 3. See also Bendlin (1997): *passim*, but esp. 56-7 on firmly dismissing the use of a 'romanisation-resistance dichotomy'.

a more fruitful and objective approach.[44] To this, Hodos has proposed that discussions of the global and the local must inevitably take into account the 'active nature of changes', as individuals and groups made conscious choices in how they decided to represent themselves and their milieu vis-à-vis their local, regional, and global involvement.[45]

That said, we must also not fall into the trap set by the initial zeal to step away from Romanisation and completely distance local and regional studies from Rome ('decentring' Rome as many have call it); a consequence of this was undermining the effects that Rome had upon its provinces.[46] Thus, one approach saw an exaggeration of Roman influence, whereas the other had the opposite effect. This is where globalisation studies provide an advantage, as they 'decentre Rome', while also keeping Rome as one of the major parties involved in all matters of connectivity, though not necessarily as the leading force in all such interactions.[47] As we will see in chapters two and four, the high degree of connectivity between both regions and Rome is a primary reason we are able to not only uncover a picture that closely resembles 'reality', but also to demonstrate the degree to which past interactions became something akin to currencies of exchange. Thus, by studying both the global and the local simultaneously, it is impossible to neglect the role of Rome, as this approach inevitably implies that the global Roman world can be experienced in different ways based on the individual locale that is studied.[48]

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[44] This is not to say that these are not important notions worth studying; resistance (both silent and active) to conquest and usurpers is a vital field both in modern and ancient times that has allowed us to return voice and agency to those who were not as fortunate as the victors and who experienced the rise of empires and kingdoms from a vastly different standpoint than their rulers.

[45] Hodos (2015): 247-48.

[46] Stek (2013): 343 and Stek (2014): 37; cf. Morshed (2020): 198-208 for more recent thoughts on this topic through the lens of architecture historiography.

[47] Nederveen Pieterse (2015): 225. For the notion of decentering Rome, see also Stek (2013): 342-3 and Versluys (2014): 53 who argues that 'globalizing the Romans' is one of the most efficient ways to decentre Rome.

[48] See Versluys (2014) and Pitts and Versluys (2015) more broadly; Pitts (2008): 494 reminds us that globalisation can include local experience and diversity into the grand narrative; on similar arguments, see also Witcher (2000): 217-8, Hingley (2005): *passim*, Naerebout (2006/7): 151.

In the same vein, globalisation theory allows us to analyse the same event from multiple perspectives; for instance, Sweetman uses the example of the foundation of the CINC to show the difference between how the Romans and Knossians perceived this event.[49] These approaches are similar to the process known as 'glocalisation', a term derived from the Japanese *dochakuka* (土着化) that can be translated as 'global localisation'.[50] Not only is glocalisation a useful concept for approaching the global-local dichotomy, but, as it will be seen later, it provides an avenue for the study of local identities since it implies that global elements impact and are received differently within local cultures, which are in turn affected by this process – thus, 'Roman' and/or 'global' elements would have had different effects upon the development and identity of Nikopolis vis-à-vis Knossos, or any other city.[51]

Though so far the emphasis has been placed upon the advantages of globalisation over Romanisation or other approaches, we must acknowledge that not all scholars have supported this, with many criticising the concept of a globalised world or globalisation prior to the 1500s, let alone during the Roman Period: for them, this is strictly a modern phenomenon.[52] Thus, for the remainder of this section, this debate will be addressed and it will be shown that regardless of the modernity of this term and of its applicability to the ancient world, the vocabulary that emerges from its usage is an important asset to any ancient study on connectivity and even identity.

As stated above, many studies on globalisation, global history and connectivity have chosen a more modern timeframe to initiate the discussion; after all, Braudel's seminal work

[49] Sweetman (2007): 66.
[50] Pitts and Versluys (2015): 14; Laurence and Trifilò (2015): 116 and 122 n. 68; for one of the earliest uses of the term, see Robertson (1992 and 1995). Versluys (2014): 14 also sees the 'reconception' of Romanisation through glocalisation in the works of Witcher (2000), Pitts (2008) and Mol (2012). The term has also been translated as 'indigenisation' from Japanese publications, particularly within religious contexts. See Yoshino (2008) for one such example.
[51] See Woolf (2021): 26-7 on the merits of glocalisation so long as the concept '[helps] the creative process or the explanatory one'; cf. Pitts and Versluys (2015): 14-5, Witcher (2017).
[52] Some of the more sceptical views are Giddens (1990), Osterhammel and Petersson (2005), Naerebout (2006/7), De Vries (2010), Gardner (2013), Morley (2015); we have already alluded to several responses to these, such as Purcell (2016), Holmes and Standen (2018); cf. Alonso-Nuñez (2004).

on connectivity focused upon the reign of Philip II of Spain at the height of the Spanish Empire in the 16th century.[53] That said, there are still some, even outside the field of Ancient History, such as Robertson and Appadurai, who are willing to admit that the process of globalisation has been under way for centuries, if not millennia.[54] Conversely, Naerebout, perhaps the bluntest of critics, wrote that 'there is no serious support to consider the Roman world as a period of globalisation' in his critique of Hingley's pioneering work on globalisation within the Roman world.[55] Despite this strong sentiment, most other scholars have been more tentative, regardless of their stance. Morley for instance, argued that we should not discard the idea from an economic perspective, although there may be other terms more useful than globalisation that can promote Roman studies, such as reflexivity, networks, or integration.[56] That said, he admits it is possible to talk about 'Roman globalisation'.[57] Similarly, even Witcher, who was an early advocate of globalisation, cited Giddens and Waters in warning that 'globalisation is itself intimately associated with the condition of modernity'.[58] A major reason behind the abundance of caution can be attributed to the context of these debates. They emanated in the 1990s, when the study of globalisation was seen as potentially leading to a 'dangerous homogenisation' through processes such as 'McDonaldisation' or 'Coca-colonisation' that would in turn negatively impact local and

[53] Braudel (1995); cf. Giddens (1990), Castells (1996 and cf. 2006), Osterhammel and Petersson (2005), Naerebout (2006/7), Gardner (2013). Against this, see Nederveen Pieterse (2015): 231 and (2009) more broadly, as he claims that there are multiple phases of globalisation, starting as early as 3000 B.C. Hitchner (2008): 1 also believes that we have slowly moved away from the preconception of globalisation as a modern concept for modern times alone.
[54] Robertson (1992), Appadurai (1996) and (2001) and cf. Pitts and Versluys (2015): 12-4 for similar observations and call(s) to address these concepts; cf. Nederveen Pieterse (2004): 61.
[55] Naerebout (2006/7): 150-3, 161; cf. Hingley 2005. Naerebout also criticised Hingley for what he saw as replacing a handful of issues rising from Romanisation with another from globalisation.
[56] Morley (2015): 52-3 and 65 for a full list and explanation of alternative terms.
[57] Morley (2015): 52-3; this echoes Witcher (2000): 213 who focused on the vocabulary drawn from the concept of globalisation and applied it to studies of local identities.
[58] Witcher (2000): 213 citing Giddens (1990) and Waters (1995), but cf. Hopkins (2002).

regional identities.[59] Considering this, how then can we move away from these pitfalls and criticisms to project this approach onto the Roman world?

One way to answer this is by simply stepping away from the debate surrounding its applicability in antiquity, and to solely focus upon its vocabulary and the notions it generates. [60] Hingley, Hitchner and others have already attempted to showcase this opportunity based upon several definitions of the term globalisation, which demonstrate its wide applicability in the Roman world.[61] More importantly, Sweetman argues that it is 'the desire to maintain or generate culture identities that makes globalisation applicable in the Roman period'.[62] In addition, globalisation seeks to integrate regions and continents, while simultaneously compressing space and time (see below).[63] It also implies a considerable increase in transregional interactions and other changes associated to a 'global' world, which is a view that has become the norm since Horden and Purcell's publication.[64] We can also add a certain 'reorientation' of the world that emerged during Augustus' reign, with local goods and commodities being produced and spread on unprecedented scales. The existence of literature ranging the entirety of the known world, such as Strabo's *Geographica* or Pliny's *Historia Naturalis* also implies that this thought process was already in place: the whole world was interconnected (to a certain extent), with Rome acting as their centre. A case in point of these processes from our own analysis will be the development of Cretan industries,

[59] Revell (2009): 2, Witcher (2015): 203; cf. Hobsbawm (2000): 62-6. See also Osterhammel and Petersson (2005): 7 for an initial reaction to the dangers of homogenisation through globalisation and the rise of studies in defence of local uniqueness and identity.
[60] There are, of course, many ways to achieve this, as seen through the works of the already cited promoters of globalisation.
[61] Witcher (2000 and 2015); Hingley (2005); Hitchner (2008): esp. 3-5; Pitts and Versluys (2015): esp. 5-8.
[62] Sweetman (2007): 65.
[63] Hitchner (2008): 1 and cf. Hopkins (2002): *passim*; for space-time compression see also Rutherford (2007), Laurence and Trifilò (2015): 110, Versluys (2015): 163; cf. Hodos (2015): 244-5 who argues that space-time compression as defined today may not necessarily be essential or applicable in the processes of ancient globalisation.
[64] Horden and Purcell (2000). See also Jennings (2011): 13, Pitts and Versluys (2015): 17-8; cf. Witcher (2000): 215. For an overview of the extent of Roman trade from the Mediterranean into the Indian Ocean, see Fitzpatrick (2011): 38-42.

particularly of wine and medicinal herbs, as they shift from regional goods whose production rarely went beyond self-sufficiency to becoming staples of Roman medicine and cuisine.[65]

Returning to the notion of space-time compression (and awareness of it), it can be agreed that it reached its greatest extent in modern times, but this is primarily if we view it from an economic sphere. As such, Waters and Witcher have both suggested that this compression reached its highest peak through the cultural sphere, which is something that can equally be applied to the Roman world.[66] Economic exchanges in the Roman world were rarely integrated above the local and regional levels, and had fewer chances to showcase space-time compression than cultural and religious exchanges.[67] In this way, although economic exchanges are the most evident signs of interaction between two cities or regions (at least from an archaeological perspective), they are not necessarily the most efficient markers of globalisation or identity formation, and do not represent the primary type of analysis in this dissertation. Indeed, the local populations can encounter 'non-local' elements through many avenues outside the markets. It is for this reason that we propose instead to look at all types of interactions between the Augustan foundations, their immediate regions, and Rome: economic, cultural, athletic, religious, diplomatic, etc. Thus, while material culture is a prime component of globalisation studies as highlighted by Versluys (see above), it must not be used on its own, but rather as a complementary asset to our surviving ancient authors.

This in turn leads us into our subsequent section that will clarify how the studies on globalisation have aided those on networks and connectivity to better understand the dynamics between the global, local and regional spheres, which in turn has led to an increase

[65] Without using the 'globalisation', this is an approach championed especially by Chaniotis (1999) and (2008), and to a certain extent Gallimore (2017) and (2019), but we will turn to these interpretations in chapter 5.
[66] Waters (1995): 7-10; Witcher (2000): 217-8.
[67] For this argument see Waters (1995) and Witcher (2000); on Roman markets being integrated mostly at the local and regional levels, see Woolf (1992): 289 and (2021): 27, as well as Temin (2001): 181 who argues that there was no such thing as one empire-wide market for goods, but rather that local markets were connected around the Mediterranean; cf. Temin (2012).

in studies on identity based upon increased interactions and connectivity.[68] Thus, as Morris suggested, the globalisation agenda must be pushed 'harder' (sic): we should look at all aspects that it impacts, but especially in the realm of connectivity and identity studies, which is a shift that Pitts and Versluys have already highlighted within recent Roman studies (i.e. away from the 'Roman versus Native' dichotomy).[69] Yet, although much of this section has been influenced by these two scholars' edited volume, it should not be understood that it follows their work zealously. In fact, we must highlight that whereas the global and local dichotomy is emphasised by the volume's contributors, the regional sphere, which this dissertation *does* address, is far more neglected. As will be shown, both Crete and 'northwest Greece' (as we will later define it) play an important role in the history of the two Augustan foundations studied. To conclude this section, we must reiterate that one of the strongest advantages that globalisation holds over Romanisation, Creolisation, or resistance, is that it provides what Pitts has called a 'culturally neutral interpretive framework'.[70]

4. Past and present collide: source usage amidst global, regional, and local connectivity

As stated, the empire under Augustus expanded to an unprecedented extent, in terms of its territory and connectivity. This section will show that through the amalgam of these new and old interactions we can gather a clearer picture of life in the early days of an Augustan foundation. A simple glance at the *Res Gestae* suffices to remind us of the scope we are dealing with, as major Roman conquests are highlighted: Caesar's campaigns in Gaul, Augustus' additions in Egypt, Spain, Armenia and Germany, and even expeditions into

[68] Witcher (2015): 203. One such example is Malkin (2011) who argues in favour of the emergence of a Greek identity in light of the Greek dispersion overseas during the Archaic Period. More on this below.
[69] Morris (2003): 33; Pitts and Versluys (2015): 22.
[70] Pitts (2008): 494.

Ethiopia and Arabia.[71] New commercial links were established with India and Southeast Asia more broadly through the Red Sea, as a system of interactions slowly developed between the world of the empire and the rest of the world, as Nicolet reminds us that exploration went well beyond previous borders.[72] These changes naturally did not occur in a vacuum, but were part of a pre-existing, well developed system of connectivity that was in turn affected by these new developments.[73] This is a key aspect even in our own case studies, as many of the developments observed in the early days of Nikopolis and the CINC are deeply entrenched in past connections, interactions, and history. The early inhabitants of Nikopolis brought with them customs, connections, and personal identities from each of their respective hometowns. Meanwhile, early 'Roman' settlers at the CINC may have had their roots in the Delian disaster at the hands of Mithridates, while others were gathered from across Crete to now coexist alongside a Greek population that had occupied Knossos for over two millennia.[74] The past mattered, pre-existing ties mattered, as did local history. Thus, for the remainder of this section, a brief overview of connectivity studies through the lens of globalisation will be laid out. This will help us understand how this dissertation aims to analyse the effects of each foundation upon regional interactions (and vice versa), which in turn will lead us into identity studies since each interaction and each connection established between cities, groups, or individuals would inevitably impact and shape the locals' general livelihood and self-image. In many ways, this combines Pitts and Versluys' pleas to go beyond recent concerns with identity with their wish to focus upon concepts of connectivity, as seen in the works of

[71] Aug. RG. 25-30.
[72] Fitzpatrick (2011): 31 and 37-49 on a broader discussion of the expansion of the Roman trading routes in the first century of the Principate and into the reign of Trajan with Nicolet (1991): 85-8 and Hitchner (2008): 4-5; cf. Woolf (1995): esp. 9-15 on the changing role of provincial societies and their new opportunities at the time of Augustus. Even Strab. 2.5.12 and 17.1.13 references the interactions with India, while modern studies continue to broaden our understanding of these ties – see De Romanis and Tchernia (1997), or Seland (2008).
[73] On this, see Morley (2015): 54 and more broadly on the degree of connectivity within the empire see Horden and Purcell (2000): 123-72, 342-400; for the importance of connectivity in the early expansion of Rome, see for instance Laurence (1999).
[74] See chapter 2 for the discussions on Delos and Mithridates.

Horden and Purcell, or Malkin.[75] The two Augustan foundations studied here will therefore combine these concepts.

Studies on connectivity in antiquity, particularly around the Mediterranean world, have multiplied in the two decades since Horden and Purcell's publication.[76] The importance of the sea as a catalyst and facilitator for connectivity is also a concept as old as time itself, as both Greeks and Romans were aware of it. The seas facilitated network formation and expansion, and their benefits were well known to the ancients. The Greeks referred to the Mediterranean as ἡ ἡμετέρα θάλασσα, and looked from inside (i.e. from their nodes on the shores) towards a shared sea, whereas the Romans observed it from the centre (i.e. Rome itself) outward according to Malkin.[77] Braudel also added that the influence of the sea was felt within cities and by humans, and the Mediterranean provided 'unity, transport, means of exchange and intercourse', while also warning that at times it could become a divider, or an obstacle.[78] And thus, even though these are all concepts now taken for granted, they should be used as a springboard for new studies, as opposed to a foregone conclusion.[79] Of course, the sea was just one such marker of connectivity, with another being the famous Roman road system, which has been described as a 'greater facilitator for cultural integration' than the sea and which impacted urban development based upon the city's proximity to the road network.[80] These concepts will be further expanded in chapters two, four, and five where we will see the development and impact(s) of both maritime and terrestrial connectivity and road

[75] Pitts and Versluys (2015): 7; see also Horden and Purcell (2000) and Malkin (2011).
[76] Horden and Purcell (2000) with relevant bibliography above and below.
[77] Hecataeus F302c; cf. Hecataeus F18b with Harris (2005): 15. See also Malkin (2011): 4-5 and for a visual representation his figures 1.2 and 1.3, pp. 6-7; cf. Horden and Purcell (2000): 10-2. A word of caution is necessary here, as Malkin's model focuses upon the Archaic Greek world and therefore the situation would have been vastly different at the time of the Roman Empire. Nevertheless, this distinction is important, as it illustrates that the ancients did plan based on their surroundings and had a good understanding of the benefits of the seas. Clarke has also tackled this question with an eye towards Strabo's work, especially in (1999) and (2008), but we will return to this analysis primarily in chapter 1, as we will discuss the geographer's role in the preservation of Cretan history.
[78] Braudel (1995): 276.
[79] Pitts and Versluys (2015): 6.
[80] Laurence and Trifilò (2015): 112-3; for a broader discussion on the roads and their importance within connectivity and interactions, see Laurence (1999) and Pitts (2008).

networks. By the end of our analysis, it will become apparent that while the Romans had a heavy hand in shaping these in the aftermath of their conquest, many of their decisions were based upon each region's own history and pre-existing connectivity. After all, the northwest modern Graeco-Albanian coast had been the home of several harbour towns that were constantly in contact with Magna Graecia and beyond: Dyrrhachion, Apollonia, Bouthroton, etc. The Via Egnatia further connected these sites with other interior centres, and the Ambrakian Gulf and various other local rivers further helped facilitate the spread of goods and people (fig. I). Crete on the other hand was an island, which as we will see, has been identified by scholars as being at the 'crossroads' of three continents, with strong maritime connections established as early as the Minoan times. Moreover, Cretan mythological thalassocracy under Minos and more recent delving into piracy had 'attracted' Roman interest by the Late Republic.

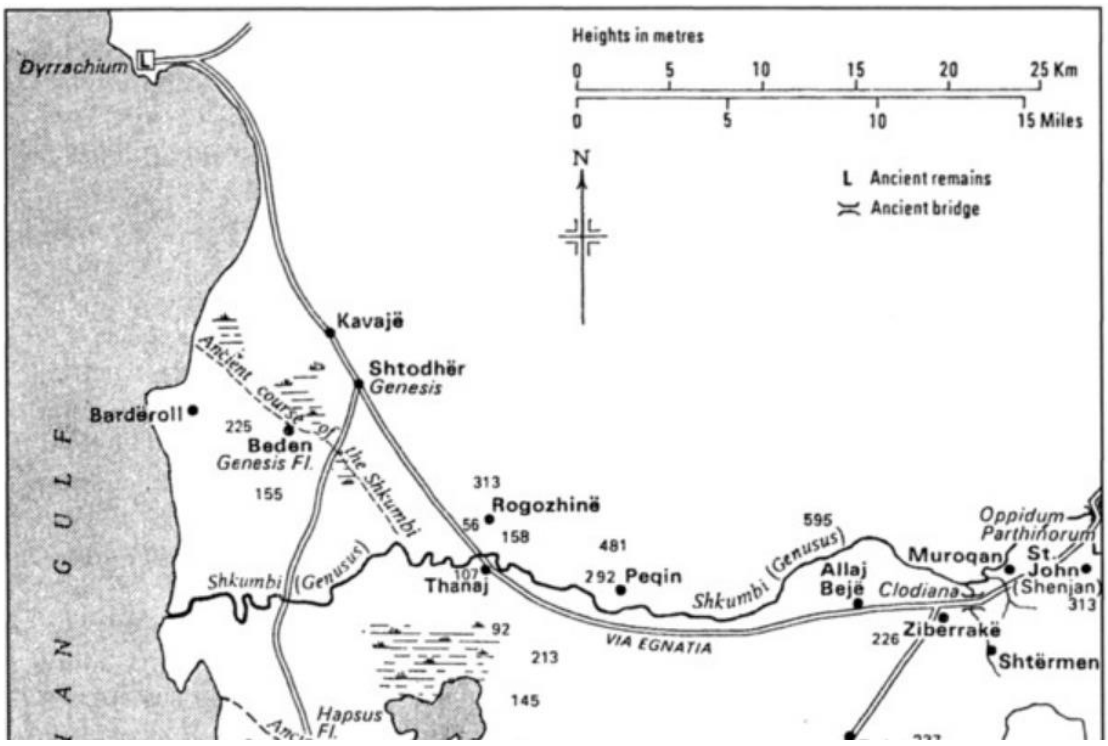


Fig. I Detail of the Via Egnatia (Deniaux 1999 via Hammond 1972)

This is also where globalisation and glocalisation studies come into play since connectivity implies sharing/exchanging goods, customs, and ideas, but we must remember that each of these is incorporated and adopted differently by local cultures.[81] Moreover, whereas Pitts and Versluys' model focuses upon the study of 'global' goods and their impact upon local cultures, and vice versa, this dissertation will take into account a wide variety of interactions and material evidence. Such analyses have already been attempted in broader regions, such as Pitts' study in Roman Britain that traced the movement of goods and its impact upon the formation of local and regional cultures, which he claims to have '[provided] an invaluable means of illuminating how bigger networks impacted on everyday life'.[82] Similarly, Woolf's analysis of Gaul revealed that although the recently conquered province saw an initial influx of imports, regional and then local production took over, as inter-regional distribution of goods started to decrease.[83] This will also be seen when analysing the situation at Nikopolis, since its earliest days are marked by numerous imports from its nearby region, but also from the benefaction of famous patrons, such as Augustus himself and Herod the Great, which would then presumably lead to another period of local and regional dependence.[84]

In many ways, it has been accepted recently that networks do impact local lives and affairs, although taken alone they do not necessarily promote globalisation, as Hodos remarks.[85] However, globalisation *is* a type of connectivity and it *does* promote the role of all exchanges, whether cultural or economic, while also analysing diversity and power structures

[81] Pitts and Versluys (2015): 14; cf. Robertson (1992). Sweetman (2007) also concludes this in her analysis of Knossos, Corinth, and Sparta, as she demonstrates through the study of globalisation that each city developed and incorporated changes at different speeds that were affected by local needs and contexts; cf. Kouremenos (forthcoming).
[82] Pitts (2015): 88; cf. Pitts (2008): 494-5 for the summary of his investigation in artefact supply and production within Britain and its relationship to the everchanging networks, pre and post conquest.
[83] Woolf (1998): 194-202; cf. Morley (2015): 57-8 who claims it was natural to organise affairs as such considering the time and cost of an alternative inter-regional distribution.
[84] Furthermore, as Howgego (1992): 19 points out, newly established towns in recently conquered provinces were not necessarily self-sufficient and therefore they were accompanied by an initial monetary 'injection' (sic) from other provinces or through veteran soldiers.
[85] Hodos (2015): 243.

with a particular emphasis on communication and connectivity.[86] This is precisely why this dissertation seeks to identify as many types of interactions as possible within each individual case study, as this is one of the soundest methods to rebuild local and regional life and interactivity. Related to these matters, Morley stated that being part of a network brought an individual into contact with 'new information, interpretations and practices, whether they like it or not'.[87] This statement is therefore a reminder of the importance and effects of connectivity upon a local population: each type of network and interaction introduced something new, whether it was a person, a building material or technique, or simply a more efficient fishing method. Moreover, each of these interactions could then be brought up in future conversations and dealings, as a type of 'currency' as it were. These could be either mythical (i.e. "Remember how our ancestors fought side by side against the Trojans?"), or real (i.e. "Remember how my great-grandfather arbitrated in favour of your family in an earlier land dispute?"). Chapters one to four will attempt to establish these links, both real and mythical, whereas chapter five will then demonstrate how they played a pivotal role in the history of each city and region, and in the early days of the Augustan foundations.

Barabási put it most bluntly when he claimed that networks are present everywhere, to which one has to reiterate that they do not solely rely on commercial exchanges, although these tend to be the most visible and distinguishable contacts between regions.[88] They also include cultural exchanges, such as artistic influences and common cult activities or festivals, military networks (through veteran colonies or expeditions), client-patron networks, athletic competitions (i.e. via the networks of θεωροί and θεωροδοκοί, of athletes and trainers, etc.), and many more. Furthermore, whereas Malkin and Collar have used the amalgamation of networks to situate the rise of a common Greek identity and the spread of religious networks

[86] Pitts (2008): 504, Versluys (2014): 14; cf. Osterhammel and Petersson (2005): 2-3 who argue that globalisation summarises a wide variety of experiences that are shared by many people thanks to consumption or communication.
[87] Morley (2015): 64.
[88] Barabási (2002): 7. Woolf (1992): 283-4.

respectively, this present work will use them to highlight the importance of the 'past' more broadly and to understand the impacts (or lack thereof) that each Augustan foundation had upon its immediate region (which was tightly connected throughout its history).[89]

Each type of connection can therefore be attested through different evidence, whether literary or archaeological, hence the widespread source usage that will be presented throughout the dissertation. Economic or trade networks appear most frequently and can be identified from most types of sources. To give a brief example of each type from Nikopolis, Strabo (10.2.2) tells us of the cities under Nikopolitan control (the so-called περιοικίδες), ceramic evidence from the Nikopolis Survey Project reveals that 45% of the finds of the Roman Period were imported, whereas stamped roof tiles preserve the names of builders, suppliers, or other persons who played a role in the erection of public buildings.[90] As such, despite our best attempts to distance ourselves from an economically centred approach, the economic exchanges were particularly prominent in the city's early days and will resurface in each chapter.

The other major traceable types of interactions are those related to cultural and religious exchanges and influences. There is a plethora of available evidence, as archaeological remains reveal ties to various hubs, both regionally and transregionally. For instance, the cult of Apollo, through multiple local and regional variations, is a staple of Epirus, Illyria and Akarnania, with many then transferred to Nikopolis by the displaced inhabitants.[91] Some of the evidence from the victory city and its dependencies unveils the worship of Apollo Leukatas from Leukas, Apollo Archegetes, Agyieus and Pythios Soter

[89] Malkin (2011), Collar (2013); on issue of agency and having a voice within the empire see Mattingly (2011): 42.
[90] On local and imported pottery, see Moore (2001), 80. On tiles, see Zachos (2001), 38 who identified at least nine series with whole names or abbreviations.
[91] According to Pausanias, Augustus even forced other cities to transfer their cult images to Nikopolis to ensure they would not return. On this, see Paus. 7.18.3 and Höepfner (1987): 131-2, Schwandner (2001): 112 for the archaeological evidence.

from Ambrakia and Apollonia, and Actian Apollo at Anaktorion and Nikopolis.[92] Furthermore, the revival of the Delphic Amphictyony included 30 seats, six of which were given to Nikopolis – tied for most with the Thessalian and Macedonian Leagues.[93] Thus, Augustus gave his recently founded city more prevalence in this league than nearly any other member. In addition, Nikopolis was one of only three members that were allowed to be represented at every meeting, thus enabling it to establish its own position as a new central hub in western Greece, but also to forge new connections and/or reinforce interactions that would otherwise be limited due to distance between *poleis*, lack of affinity, or other reasons.[94]

Moreover, with the foundation of Nikopolis, Augustus also revitalised the Actian games as a quinquennial event that was now Olympian in nature and overseen by the Lacedaemonians.[95] The decision to place the Spartans in charge warrants a study of its own and provides ample opportunities to establish new ties and rekindle old ones; however, even more important is the network of θεωροί and θεωροδοκοί that would be created as a result of these games (and by extent of other panhellenic games as well). Before certain games and festivals, a group of delegates, or sacred ambassadors, the θεωροί, would set out to all Greek cities within the Mediterranean in order to announce the upcoming event and they would be hosted in each city by at least one θεωροδόκος.[96] Though their roles and denominations varied greatly from the Classical, to the Hellenistic, and into the Roman Period, there are still

[92] For Apollo Leukatas on Nikopolitan coinage dated to the reign of Trajan, see Pliakou (2001), 157; cf. Dörpfeld (1965): 325 for pottery and coins from the area of his sanctuary. For Apollo Archegetes, Agyieus and Pythios Soter, see Tzouvara-Souli (2001), 233, or Dunbabin (1948): 181, 194 for the worship of Apollo Archegetes in a Sicilian context - the connection between Southern Italy/Sicily and Epirus will be explored in subsequent chapters. For Actian Apollo, see Tzouvara-Souli (2001), 242; cf. Franke (1976): 159-63, Sutherland (1976): 151 and esp. Prop. 3.11.69. See chapter 3 for full discussion on each of these.

[93] Paus. 10.8.4. This represents five more seats than Athens and four more than Delphi itself.

[94] On Nikopolis within the Amphictyony, see Larsen (1958): 129, Bowersock (1965): 98, Ruscu (2006): 255. Purcell (1987): 87 states that thanks to its role as chief member of the Amphictyonic League, Nikopolis' position within the network of leagues was equivalent to that of Tarraco and Lugdunum in the West. This is worth highlighting since Ulf (2009): 229 reminds us that local and regional sanctuaries functioned as places of exchange, which in turn led to the creation of networks.

[95] Strab. 7.7.6; cf. Suet. Aug. 18. For earlier Akarnanian Actian games as a celebration of Actian Apollo, see Tzouvara-Souli (2001): 242-3.

[96] Dillon (1997): 1-26, Malkin (2011): 115-7, and more broadly, Perlman (2000), Rutherford (2013).

attestations of the use of θεωροί up until the fourth century A.D. This includes evidence from Nikopolis, where Eupolemos of Rhodes is mentioned as θεωρός to the Actian games during the reign of Augustus.[97] In addition to this, entire contingents of trainers and athletes, including emperor Nero, visited the site of the Actian games every four years in order to participate in these panhellenic games, whose popularity increased at a frantic pace, thus contributing to and mirroring the bustling Akarnanian region.[98] A final note on these institutions: the study of earlier lists from the Classical and Hellenistic periods will also provide important evidence for inter-city relations and other past affinities in northwest Greece.

Alternatively, prosopography can help trace several types of networks created by groups or individuals within a city, namely in military, religious and athletic contexts, as well as through patron-client relationships. In Crete, we will see that many prominent Roman families had established connections and stamped their 'patronage' in the biggest cities, including Knossos. From Quintus Fabius Labeo to Marcus Antonius (both father and Triumvir son), and many others in between, Roman magistrates shaped local history down to the foundation of the CINC. Alternatively, military networks can also be identified from the movement of troops in the region, camps and garrisons, regular recruitment and/or mercenary hiring, and from settled veterans that populated every corner of the Greek world by Augustus' reign. Nikopolis alone is surrounded by a plethora of veteran colonies and foundations. To give one example of military connectivity from Nikopolis, there is evidence of settled soldiers who belonged to the *tribus* Sergia.[99] These few men would have brought their own personal ties and experiences established in previous campaigns, which would in turn

[97] SEG 39.752. On this, see Rutherford (2013): 68, 262, and Erskine (1991): 271-5 for dating and discussion.
[98] Ruscu (2006): 255. Purcell (1987): 87 observes that the games had become so important that Joseph. AJ. 16.5.3 used them as a marker of time. For the importance of athletics in studies of Greek identity and local customs, see Van Nijf (2001), esp. 319, 334.
[99] CIL VII 51, CIL VI 375, CIL III 6144. On these, see Ruscu (2006): 253-4, and chapters 4 and 5 for further analysis.

influence and impact the local community that they inhabited and integrated. Buthrotom is another famous example of such developments, as we see Agrippa establishing patronage ties with the local elite in the aftermath of his success in the region during the civil wars, but we will return to this in chapters four and five. That said, regardless of these individuals' respective roles, it remains undeniable that the 'Romans' were vastly outnumbered by the 'Greeks' both at Nikopolis and Knossos, therefore marking the soldiers' and civilians' rapid integration as a natural outcome, as we will see in chapter 5.[100] While defining what qualified as 'being Roman' or 'being Greek' goes beyond the scope of our discussion here, it must nevertheless be clarified that the dichotomy is not as clear as some interpretations have suggested (see also below for further development). In this context, it is implied that the outnumbered 'Romans' were the newly arrived, Latin speaking, people that could not compete numerically with the local populations that were established in these regions for centuries.

As far as the patron-client relations and networks are concerned, these social interactions were present in the Greek world for over a century prior to the foundation of Nikopolis and the CINC, and we will highlight the most prominent ones in chapters two and four. However, Eilers' work on Roman patronage of Greek cities has shown that this was a phenomenon that was in decline in the early Imperial period. The names of patrons are mentioned in inscriptions in the Greek East and they are often either conquering generals or senators who played a significant role in the affairs of a particular city following the Achaean War.[101] This would be beneficial for both parties, as senators would increase their prestige and locals could appeal to them for various favours or dispute settlements, although with the

[100] Ruscu (2006): 255 states it is impossible to know how many people Octavian gathered from Akarnania and Aetolia. Based on the remarks in Strab. 7.7.6, the city should be far larger in size than the typical Augustan veteran colony, which Brunt (1971): 261 estimated at ca. 2000-3000.
[101] Eilers (2002): 17-8 for a list of examples.

introduction of emperors, it was now possible to send an embassy directly to the emperor.[102] While Augustus did indeed replace many of these, the past ties ought not to be neglected, as they undoubtedly helped smoothen the transition to imperial rule and imposition of both colonial and provincial offices – Knossos alone was the location of a series of territorial disputes arbitrated by prominent Romans in the second century B.C. that would set precedents for Augustus to follow. Meanwhile, at Nikopolis, the emperor may have acted as primary benefactor and founder, but the ties established by prior Roman magistrates and businessmen with the cities associated with the synoecism would have been a major factor in bringing the region under Nikopolis' control.

To the list of benefactors must also be added Roman businessmen who saw an opportunity for profit in Epirus and Crete following their subjugation in 168 and 67 B.C. respectively. The Akarnanian and Epirote regions saw an influx of investors prior to Nikopolis' foundation thanks to their prominent location within major routes, and to the pre-existing ties to Southern Italy via the harbours along the Ionian Sea and Ambrakian Gulf.[103] Both Varro and Cicero offer ample evidence of Romans owning property and purchasing land in these areas, with none more famous than Cicero's good friend Atticus. While we will return to this, archaeological evidence confirms this view, as it includes pottery remains from various ports, countryside farmhouses and wealthy complexes, which indicate both that regional commercial opportunities were enhanced by these ventures, but also that new links were formed with the Italian peninsula and other areas holding ties to these investors.[104] Similarly, from the Cretan perspective, Baldwin Bowsky's onomastic research has uncovered the impact that the massacre at Delos by Mithridates had on Crete, as many of the Italian

[102] Revell (2009): 100-1 reminds us that emperors could now also be patrons of cities, using the example of Hadrian and Wroxeter. Alternatively, see Eilers (2002), 180-1 who counts 70 senatorial patrons of Greek cities in the 75 years preceding A.D. 14, but only 15 in the following 75 years.
[103] Purcell (1987): 89. More on this in chapters 3 and 4.
[104] Purcell (1987): 74, Ernst (1987): 96-7, Doukellis (1988): 161, Pliakou (2001): 158. See also Varr. RR. 2.1.28, 2.5.1, 2.5.18; Cic. Att. 1.5.7; Cic. Fam. 7.29 with Deniaux (1987), (2007) and (2017) for Atticus' role.

negotiatores fled to Crete in the aftermath, and were later gathered under one Roman city: the CINC.[105]

Thus, from this overview alone, we can see the many ways in which connectivity and the various types of networks can help build a clearer picture of both the intricate interactions that shaped the history of each city, but also of how the past could then be used to fuel present exchanges and decision-making. That said, a full systematic recovery of all nodal connections within Nikopolis or Knossos will never be possible due to the nature of our sources and is beyond our scope. Nevertheless, this research will analyse, at the very least, most of the strong ties established by both cities, as well as several weak ones. Here, a sociologically inspired definition of strong ties can be used: these are the links that are established between individuals who have close, repeated, and regular contact.[106] Since it is not always clear what the criteria were for being part of a network or what the power dynamics entailed (if anything), it is therefore best to focus upon interactions that had tangible impacts upon the locals or later development(s), such as the Roman arbitrations in Crete.[107] As Hodos puts it, 'connectivity should not be taken as a synonym for proximity or intimacy', since networks allow us to experience distances differently.[108] As we will see, the regional connections will be more numerous and common, yet connectivity on the wider scale of the Roman Empire cannot be neglected, as several long-distance ties with other provinces or cities formed strong bonds, particularly with the Romans. Furthermore, the amalgamation of these networks and of a city's connectivity will in turn allow us to build a

[105] App. Mith. 4. Baldwin Bowsky (2002): 42-4, with Alcock (2002). For onomastic analysis see Baldwin Bowsky (1999): *passim* and (2011): 431-40.
[106] Collar (2013): 10. Osterhammel and Petersson (2005): 26 state that by repeating an interaction at regular intervals, it is possible for participants to create a tight network from what had originated as simply a variety of interactions.
[107] On power dynamics and network 'membership' see Morley (2015): 62-4 who follows Grewal (2008): 17-43 on the latter's definitions of 'network power'. Individuals also had mixed advantages from their city's connections, as Versluys (2015): 155 points out that a farmer in Nubia in 50 B.C. had less access to and benefitted less from the Hellenistic *koine*.
[108] Hodos (2015): 248-9.

more complete picture of its local life – one that would be incomplete if we were to focus solely upon one particular type of evidence or interaction.

Yet, in spite of the importance of networks, caution remains necessary, particularly in light of Terrenato's reminder that although long-distance trade and connectivity had been present in various capacities across the Mediterranean for centuries prior to Augustus' reign, it had only impacted a small minority of people (i.e. unlike regional and local interactions).[109] Moreover, the degree to which each community was affected by the 'negotiation process between the global and the local' varied from case to case depending on their own history and relations, thus emphasizing the importance of focusing upon *local*, individual case studies as much as possible, as the ancients themselves had a good understanding of their own local differences and similarities.[110] Thus, due to these differences, it is only normal that the concept of 'Romanness' or 'being Roman' would have been understood differently in each case study, and that the Augustan foundations can at times reveal mixed impacts.[111]

To summarise this section, during the reign of Augustus, local populations across the empire developed unprecedented opportunities for exchanges and interactions, especially if situated near the sea or a major road network. In turn, the increased ties offered by the empire helped develop new local and regional commercial identities, as well as accelerate a city's growth and its impact upon its immediate region.[112] Networks and interactions came in many forms and multiplied over time, with their amalgamation eventually shaping the early life and development of the Augustan foundations. Thus, in order to satisfy this dissertation's purpose, when looking at case studies such as Nikopolis and Knossos, it will be equally important to

[109] Terrenato (2005): 71; see also Arnaud (2011): *passim* and Versluys (2015): 148 on the role that 'human factors' played in trade patterns.
[110] Hitchner (2008): 4; see also Clarke (2008): 369 for how the Greeks had a clear concepts of their common past, shared history and traditions, as well as of the diversity existing in various *poleis*; on this see also Malkin (2011) and Beck (2020): *passim*; cf. Mattingly (2004): 1.
[111] Laurence and Trifilò (2015): 107 for this difference between Italy and the provinces; cf. Arno (2012): 203-4.
[112] This is even more important to consider when thinking in terms of Arnaud's claims (2016: 166) that cities were an integral part of the networks upon which the Roman Imperial maritime trade depended.

analyse their respective regions' history of connectivity prior to their foundation, as well as in the immediate aftermath of their foundation: as such, Crete and northwest Greece more broadly will feature prominently throughout.[113] The region would impact a foundation's earliest days, as the city would rely upon external help for its development. In turn, they would presumably 'return the favour' by contributing to the region's growth and prosperity. Similarly, the mythical past would be seized by Augustus and the Romans to introduce themselves within local discourses and facilitate the mutual incorporation and assimilation of the two co-existing populations. Thus, as the previous section showed, although globalisation studies are essential, we must provide a fine balance between the emphasis upon the 'global' Roman influence and the alternative, which is to completely undermine its importance in a community's daily life. Globalisation provides the vocabulary for this study, but it should not be taken as the catch-all phrase that contains the solution to all our questions.

5. 'This is how we do things here': If I am from Nikopolis/Knossos, so what? – The Complexity and Benefits of Identity Studies

While we may not fully uncover what it meant 'to be Knossian/Nikopolitan', this dissertation nevertheless heavily draws upon recent developments in identity studies to unveil elements of local pride and issues/stories that would be classified as 'important' by the locals. In this section, we propose a brief dialogue with recent scholarship on identity to showcase how this influenced subsequent chapters. The title of this section is inspired from two authors' approaches to identity that resonate closest to this dissertation, namely Goldhill and Höschele. The former's study is especially applicable as he highlights several leading questions regarding the 'rhetoric of the local', with one being the question of perception: is the local being described from the inside or the outside; in other words is it a matter of 'this is how we

[113] This approach is similar to Ando (2010): 36 who argues that the provinces also played a role 'in the formation of identity and conception of the local', which can be extended to a pre-Roman period when regional boundaries mattered just as much.

do things here' or 'this is how they do things there'?[114] The former question is of greater interest since this provides us with the locals' own perception of themselves and of their identity, as opposed to what others say, write, or believe about them. For our own approach, material culture and written evidence ought to be seen as complementary to answer this question. While we have lost the majority of local Cretan and Epirote local histories, material culture can help supplement some of the gaps – although admittedly, reconstructing a full picture of Nikopolitan or Knossian identity is not remotely possible. In turn, snippets of a real and imagined identity will emerge through references and connections to the past, with an unfortunate overreliance on external sources, perceptions, and tropes due to the nature of the sources.

On this note, Höschele's translation of Anth. Pal. 7.417 provides an equally useful approach to local identity. In this poem, the Hellenistic poet Meleager detailed his life's journey in an epitaph. Her translation of εἰ δὲ Σύρος, τί τὸ θαῦμα; is 'If I am from Syria, so what?' – in other words, since Meleager believed that we all inhabit one country (the world), what did it mean to be an inhabitant of Syria?[115] Moreover, Meleager is an excellent example of an author living in an early Hellenistic globalised world, as he has a different idea and understanding of 'cosmopolitanism' than Diogenes Laertius, who is credited with the adoption of this word.[116] Thus, we see that from this early stage, well before Augustus' reign, authors began understanding the expansion of their world, supporting Versluys' claims that the Hellenistic Era was the 'global' world that the Romans inherited – a truth that we will also further illustrate in our analysis.[117] Thus, returning to Höschele's translation, the same question

[114] For the questions and approach see Goldhill (2010): 46-51.
[115] Höschele (2013): 21 and 31-2 for translation. For Meleager's other self-epitaphs, see Anth. Pal. 7.418-9.
[116] Diog. Laert. 6.63, see also Höschele (2013): 20 for an analysis and 25 for a warning on Meleager's cosmopolitanism - even though he appears to attempt to reach out to a broader audience (i.e. Greek, Syrian, Phoenician), the text is nevertheless in Greek, thus only Hellenophones and Hellonophiles would be able to fully 'access' it.
[117] Versluys (2014): 12, Versluys (2015): 155; cf. Sommer (2015): 194 and 194 n. 18. See also Veyne (1979): 8 who points towards the conquests of Alexander as the catalyst for Hellenism as a driving force.

could be asked about the member of any city, or region: if I am from Nikopolis, Knossos, or even Rome, so what? While the full extent of these questions may not be possible to address, we will nevertheless demonstrate that there were at least two avenues through which one could answer them, both fueled by a distinct pride and knowledge of the local past: a mythological/imagined sense of belonging (chapters one and three), and a more realist approach highlighted by the interactions with the Romans and their impacts in chapters two and four.[118]

Yet, to discuss identity at the time of the early Principate, we must return to the notion of connectivity that will become ubiquitous throughout this work. We are analysing a period that not only underscores an unprecedented level of connectivity, but that also incorporates centuries of interactions, identity formation and local histories. Looking at the Greek world alone, Malkin places the rise of a common Greek identity around the Archaic Period, at the time of their dispersion and colonisation overseas.[119] Furthermore, both he and other scholars, most notably Goldhill and Hall, have highlighted the importance of opposition and contrast to identity, that is, how 'Greekness' stood in contrast to something else, whether it was the native populations they came in contact with, or the Persians later on, or perhaps even the Romans in our period.[120] However, not only did this occur centuries before our studied period, but as we have already highlighted in previous sections, we are aiming to align ourselves with more recent discussions that have shifted away from Roman-Native or Greek-Native dichotomies. Both in Crete and Epirus the situation is far more complex than a mere clash of

[118] Beck (2020): 42 highlights the distinct sense of local pride that Classical Greek *poleis* demonstrated; many of these would continue to exhibit these same traits for centuries to come, as we will aim to pinpoint them in our own analysis of the Augustan foundations.
[119] See Malkin (2003) and (2011).
[120] Malkin (2003): 58-9 states that colonisation informed and strengthened the idea of 'Greekness' due to the newly perceived differences with the 'Others' they came in contact with in Italy, France and North Africa; cf. Hall (1997) and esp. (2002): 172-89 for Hellenic identity standing in opposition to the Persians within the context of the Persian wars; cf. Goldhill (2010): 51 on the importance of identifying against what identity is 'localness' being defined. After all, even Hdt. 1.1 began his work by relating what he called the deeds of the Greeks and βάρβαροι - see the 'Other'. This suggests that the Greeks already had an understanding of a collective identity, and Goldhill (2010): 53 points that Herodotus often uses *epikhorios* in the sense of 'as the locals say', thus showing a clear understanding of local differences.

the Greeks vs. the Romans; also, if Greek identity began emerging in the Archaic Period as Malkin places it, we are left with centuries of adaptations and changes that we must consider by the time our foundations see the light of day. Thus, the remainder of this section focuses upon the most recent proposed alternatives, and on the roles played by globalisation and connectivity within identity studies.

The first definition that should be iterated is that identity is fluid, permeable, constantly developing, and, usually, hybrid.[121] Highlighting this, Kowalzig has illustrated that community identities are constantly redefined, while myths and rituals are not codified, but rather adapted to their new context(s).[122] These aspects of identity reinforce several areas in which Romanisation falls well short of globalisation studies, as we cannot talk about a forced imposition of 'Roman' identity upon the locals, especially in the Greek world, and even more so since Roman identity itself is hybrid and contains a plethora of elements.[123] This framework identifies crucial aspects that will become apparent by the end of our analysis in chapter five: Roman colonies and other foundations are also hybrid, as they redefine and incorporate myths, customs, and even networks on a case-by-case basis. Despite what Aulus Gellius' definition of *coloniae*, the cases of Nikopolis and Knossos reveal that Augustan foundations were malleable, established to meet case-specific needs, and then left to fend for

[121] Preston (2001): 87 for the idea of identity as a concept actively constructed and contested based on subjective criteria with support in Howgego (2005): 1; cf. Hall (1997). On this and on the inefficiency of clear-cut dichotomies between Romans and Natives, see also Versluys (2014): 7-8 and Bendlin (1997). However, see Versluys (2013): 434 who warns against the word 'hybrid', as he claims that everything can be hybrid, or a patchwork (contra Terrenato: 1998). For this concept and the theory of global mélange through 'hybridisation', see Nederveen Pieterse (2009) and Pitts and Versluys (2015): 28 n. 68 contra this concept.

[122] Kowalzig (2007): 399.

[123] For this and what he calls 'cultural innovation' as the process of Roman identity formation through foreign influences and territories absorbed, see Versluys (2015): 148-53. Similarly, Sommer (2015): 182 believes that while the provinces slowly adopted more 'Roman' features, Rome itself became increasingly provincial through the adopted customs and other local cultures. Pitts (2007): 693 argues that an advantage of identity studies can be precisely an escape from the Roman-Native dichotomy if we can encourage regional or local research on identity. See also Hodos (2015): 243 who adds that not only is 'Roman' a hybrid concept, but it is locally constructed and thus it can differ based upon one's location. Furthermore, Terrenato (2005): 66, 69 argues that the homogeneity of small-scale communities was never under severe threat, while Roman citizenship was entirely compatible with the citizenship of local towns; cf. Whitmarsh (2001): 272.

themselves.[124] There are nevertheless important similarities: both cities adopt, adapt, and rediffuse past interactions, whether they are mythical ties to the Trojans and famous Greek heroes, or real road networks, patronage ties, and so forth.

The recent attempts to 'decentre Rome' discussed above have arguably led to some extreme conclusions, from which we seek to distance ourselves. For instance, Hingley pointed out that Versluys' focus upon material culture seems to decentre Roman identity to such an extent that the empire appeared to be Roman in name only.[125] Indeed, this is not what the dissertation seeks: Roman presence in both regions shaped present and future interactions and decisions, as demonstrated in chapters two and four. Rome had been playing a part in local Greek identities for centuries prior to these foundations, and a fine balance must be established between initiating a *damnatio memoriae* of Rome and writing its panegyric. Furthermore, as already seen, studies in recent years, both in Italy and in the provinces, have gradually moved towards local and ethnic identities under the growing Roman influence, with a particular focus on mobility and connectivity, which is precisely the route taken here as well.[126] In the same vein, since it has been established through globalisation and glocalisation that certain phenomena, events, or objects are interpreted and adopted differently from locale to locale, the same can be said about how artefacts or customs are defined based on local needs.

We have already established the ancients' understanding of local and regional differences, as these are sprinkled throughout our surviving literary sources – a quick glance at the works of Pliny, Pausanias, or Strabo can make the point, as we will see in our chapters.[127] That said, we must add that it was commonly accepted that one could simultaneously hold multiple identities that were mutually inclusive and differed based upon

[124] Aul. Gell. NA. 16.13.8-9 for description of *coloniae*.
[125] Hingley (2014): 23; cf. Hingley (2005): 102.
[126] Stek (2014): 36.
[127] Elsner (1992): 3 argues that Pausanias reveals how the locals saw themselves and even established their personal, collective, and cultural identities.

each person's *ethnos*, regional identities, belonging, and even city origins.[128] Thus, based upon context, one's identity can change, be redefined, and adapted.[129] This can also be explained through code switching, in the sense that identity can be performed differently based upon context.[130]

Even beyond our timeframe, studies have shown that Greek identity continued to adapt and make use of past references. Whitmarsh has aptly shown this through a study of the Second Sophistic, which revealed an awareness by the authors of these phenomena, which are certainly not exclusive to the Second Sophistic and can be traced both back and forward in time.[131] References to past are constant in all types of interactions and can be distinctly local and/or personal, with connections and past interactions acting as currencies of intercommunity relations. This is arguably one of the most impactful ways in which identity studies have shaped this dissertation, as the notions of malleability, perception, and inclusivity all help highlight the role that the past played in the early days of the Augustan foundations and in impacting their surroundings. Furthermore, if we use the post-colonial concept of 'discrepant identities', we can see how the Roman-Native dichotomy is inefficient, as it can now be argued that individuals and even groups can use identity in order to emphasise difference, but also to stress unity.[132] To use but one example: if language is used as one marker of identity, then colonial and provincial magistrates aptly portray the

[128] Malkin (2003): 68-9 and (2011): 19 uses the example of a Syracusan who is simultaneously Greek, Dorian, Sikeliote, a colonist of Corinth, and a Syracusan citizen. For a similar view see also Arno (2012): 171, Versluys (2013): 431. Alternatively, Goldhill (2010): 51 states that identity constantly changes through time. See also Ando (2010): *passim* for the role played by 'the province' in identity formation.
[129] Versluys (2013): 431 argues that we must always speak of multiple identities (i.e. the term must always be used in the plural).
[130] Versluys (2013): 434. For the performance of local identity more broadly, see Goldhill (2010); cf. Witcher (2000): 214 who claims that although it was commonplace to hold two or more identities, they were hierarchically ordered.
[131] Whitmarsh (2001): 296 who uses the work of Favorinus, the Corinthian Oration, as an example of this. See also Plutarch's approach to identity and Preston (2001): 91-3 who claims that the most obvious example of his approach to identity are the *Parallel Lives*, as he divides them between Greek and Roman. This is also an argument developed by Wallace-Hadrill (2008): esp. 73-143, although in an earlier period.
[132] Preston (2001): 87, Witcher (2015): 204; cf. Malkin (2003 and 2011) more broadly, as well as Mattingly (2004 and 2011) for analysis on how the Greek dispersion overseas both highlighted their individual differences, but also their similarities in light of their new encounters and especially through their common colonial associations to Delphi.

dichotomy of difference and unity, as Latin can be found in official decrees and coinage, while religious dedications were normally made in Greek to local deities.

This adds layers of complexity upon the Augustan foundations since they are established within regions with hundreds of years of pre-existing history and connectivity. While admittedly not all survived or even mattered by the Roman Period, the transmission of traditions surrounding Minos, or the Trojan War contains a proverbial gold mine for the legacy of the distant past – one that we will explore in chapters one and five. Similarly at Nikopolis, the inhabitants came from various *poleis* in multiple regions, including Akarnania, Aetolia, Epirus, Molossia and Thesprotia, thus absorbing a plethora of local customs and features that would give birth to a new local identity.[133] It is therefore crucial to compare the evidence systematically across Nikopolis' and Knossos' respective regions, both before and after their Augustan foundations, as it is the most efficient avenue towards assessing change and continuity.[134] It is also in light of this analysis that the dissertation took its present shape, as it became clear that due to each city's rich past, the period preceding their foundations ought to receive much more consideration. Chapters one through four highlight the extent to which the present was shaped by the past, both intentionally and otherwise, as Augustus followed in the footsteps of his predecessors who set a model for using the past as currency for furthering their own goals, developing intercommunity relations, influencing complex geopolitical landscapes, and more.

It is also here that the notion of connectivity comes into play, as identity can be affected by many interactions that do not occur solely within an economic context. Yes,

[133] See Gravani (2007) and Riginos (2007) on these regions' effects upon Nikopolis; cf. Elsner (1992): 15 who uses the example of Corinth to show that although it was now a Roman city, Pausanias could demonstrate that simply due to the city's location upon the previous Greek *polis*, the place gave them both its past and present identity.

[134] This model is inspired by Van Dommelen's approach to Sardinia (2007: 61), and by his arguments in favour of systematic evidence comparison and analysis. On change and continuity within this approach, see Van Oyen (2013): 88 and *passim*, arguing in favour of studying how things are used, exchanged, and consumed in order to see the types of patterns that emerge; cf. Woolf (2014): 48.

markets and ports were prime locations for encountering new trends, unfamiliar faces, and other foreign elements. However, from the most basic local levels (i.e., the household and neighbourhood), to shrines and temples, to military campaigns, and finally to long-distance trade across the world, interactions and networks can be formed everywhere, to paraphrase Barabási's aforementioned statement.[135]

This approach highlights the importance of globalisation theory, and local/regional studies, as each case produces different conclusions due to how they incorporated these exchanges, influences, and even the Roman presence. For instance, Witcher uses the example of Italy to show that Roman presence gave rise to a new range of identities, such as regional ones, whereas in Greece, these had already existed for centuries.[136] In our own, more focused approach, we will see that Roman presence had different effects and impacts both in the past and present of Crete and Epirus, whereas the locals adapted and reacted based on their individual circumstances. But did they 'become Roman' at any point following their conquest, or the imposition of Augustan foundations? Woolf has shown that the process of 'becoming Roman' had very different approaches and results based on local and regional desires to maintain a sense of being Greek, Turdetanian, or Batavian, to use some of his examples.[137] His work on the rise of provincial cultures and identities has also shown that the Greeks had a different understanding and conception of material culture and ethnic identity from the Romans.[138] Be that as it may, what must be highlighted from his arguments and the discussion to this point is the importance of dedicating sufficient time and analysis to local and regional approaches.

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[135] Barabási (2002): 7. Meanwhile, Williams (2005): 70 reminds us that human identity relies just as much upon personal and social aspects as it does upon ethnicity, city, or polity, as we often must wrestle with questions such as "who am I" or "what groups do I belong to".
[136] Witcher (2000): 222-3 contra Alcock (1993).
[137] Woolf (1995): 15.
[138] Woolf (1994): 118. Some differences include the greater importance of descent for the Greeks, or the minimal role (according to Woolf) of material culture in Greek self-definition since there was already so much local diversity amongst the Greeks, as Beck (2020) has also shown. See also Howgego (2005): 6 for the importance of Greek descent in coinage and Millar (1993): 230, 257 for the importance of coinage as symbols of a city's identity.

Furthermore, Roman understanding of such differences will also become apparent as we will see magistrates, and even Augustus, adapt to individual contexts, while also demonstrating a high degree of understanding and respect of past traditions and interactions. Even complex concepts that were common in the Greek world, such as synoecism and federalism, not only played a crucial role before the Roman conquest, but they also continued and were adapted to the new situation under the empire.[139] Augustus was able to 'smoothly' borrow these concepts, demonstrating a clear understanding of these differences and perhaps even an attempt to bridge them – after all, Nikopolis was not only a synoecism, but in many ways acted as a federal overseer after its foundation. Once again, this underpins the importance of both a local and regional systematic analysis of connectivity prior to and after the Augustan foundations since we cannot simplify and label the local identity as 'Greek', whereas the broader one is 'Roman'; rather, we ought to reflect upon both the imagined and real interactions that helped shape these differences and similarities.[140]

Thus, these discussions played a pivotal role in how subsequent chapters and analysis came to be. As already highlighted, the ancients understood these complexities and it is our role to retrace them. It is no coincidence that Strabo begins so many of his Greek chapters with references to the *Iliad*, that Pausanias alludes to countless local customs, or that Roman works such as *Noctes Atticae* or *Varia Historia* preserve so many seemingly foreign curiosities and unique local stories. This was a tool of exchange that when all else failed, anyone could appeal to. When the 'itinerant historians' discussed so aptly by Clarke arrived in any given *polis* to sing or tell famous tales of local histories, they were praised for their knowledge and decrees could be passed in their honour.[141] When a city wished to wage war

[139] Walbank (1951): 55.
[140] Whitmarsh (2001): 272.
[141] Clarke (2008): 346-8 and (2005): *passim*. An illustrative example used by Clarke, is the case of Herodotus and Menecles of Teos at IC I. 24.1 who are honoured by both Priansos and Knossos after telling local tales and histories; see also Rigsby (1996) and Erskine (2002). Conversely, see Thomas (2019): 29-73 for the importance

upon another, treaties that were centuries old could be resummoned, as could grudges related to petty kings or heroes. Rome's centuries of interactions with the Greek world allowed it to not only master these crafts, but also to take advantage of the adaptability and inclusivity of traditions and identities to introduce itself within these discourses. The *Aeneid* is perhaps the best example, as chapter five will unveil how the Augustan foundations and their surroundings were incorporated in the Roman discourse and vice-versa.

To conclude this discussion, if there was one sentence to summarise the main takeaways from the studies on globalisation and identity, it would be the following: change and continuity are analogous, and whether status quo reigned, or a new Roman settlement was established, we must not interpret these with preconceived notions, but rather study them within the context of their local and regional pasts and the sum of their interactions. There are motives, circumstances, and correlations behind a 'lack of change', while 'continuity' requires and deserves as much analysis as innovation. It is at this stage that we ought to turn towards the first of our two case studies: Knossos and the island of Crete.

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of local histories within the framework of the *polis*, but especially 68-9 for a different approach to the two honoured individuals whom she studies from a diplomatic angle (more on this below).

Chapter 1

A Land Frozen in Time: Knossos within Crete's 'Imagined' Landscape

1.1 Introduction and Methodology

Crete under the Roman Empire has often been described as lying at the crossroads of the Mediterranean.[142] In terms of the globalised perspective that we have discussed, an island that has traditionally spread its commercial and cultural networks across three continents is an ideal case study in terms of connectivity and identity formation.[143] In addition, arguably its most famous city, Knossos had such an illustrious past that writers continued to preserve its traditions even during the Roman period and beyond – the cases of the Labyrinth, Minotaur, and Minos are ample evidence for this, as they survive to this day even in popular culture. Thus, the extent to which the past mattered and continues to matter cannot be overstated. Despite this, or perhaps *because* of this, a distinct feature of the CINC is the complete absence of any foundation myth or story associated with it (in stark contrast with Nikopolis). The only preserved literary reference is *one sentence* in Strabo's account, which does not even give the colony's name: νῦν δὲ Κνωσσὸς καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀποικίαν ἔχει.[144] In addition, the *deductio* and *lex coloniae* are nearly entirely absent, although the colonial coinage at the time of Augustus at the very least allows for a tentative *terminus post quem* dating. While these matters will be detailed in chapter 2, they must be highlighted here, as the present chapter will unveil an image of Crete and Knossos that was deeply entrenched in

[142] Paton and Schneider (1999): 279 for Crete at the crossroads of Roman trade in the Mediterranean, Baldwin Bowsky (2011) and esp. 2016: 27-8 for a similar view through the analysis of sigillata stamps, with Viviers (2004): 23 perhaps most eloquently describing early Roman Crete as playing a pivotal role as a 'carrefour of Mediterranean traffic'.
[143] Sweetman's study (2007) of the 'globalised' Knossos in conjunction with brief comparisons with Sparta, Corinth and Gortyn is the obvious indicator of similar research interests and approaches in recent scholarship; cf. Kouremenos (forthcoming).
[144] Strab. 10.4.9.

allusions to the past and tropes, even well after the colony's foundation. Moreover, the traditions that survived into the empire were also noteworthy for their antiquity, going even further back than what we will see at Nikopolis, where past allusions were equally common, but not on a comparable scale to say Minos, or the labyrinth.

Ancient authors even under the empire relied upon centuries-old references to the island that in turn preserved an image that could be described as 'frozen in time'. Strabo alone in his Cretan chapter uses for example Eudoxus, Sosicrates, Staphylus, Andron and Ephorus.[145] While this was not an uncommon feature in either Strabo's work or elsewhere, it is particularly noteworthy in light of our discussion of the CINC as it is clear that either the colony's impacts were little to non-existent, or that there was a conscious attempt by either the Romans, or the authors themselves to excise its presence in order to preserve a centuries-old image of this famous island and city. After all, Florus does refer to Crete as *nobilem insulam*, whereas *Nobilis* is even part of the colony's name.[146] As such, although this goes beyond the timeframe of our analysis, we will see that references to Crete follow consistent patterns well into the Severan period. To illustrate this, we will turn towards the two most complete 'contemporary' accounts of Crete under Augustus, namely Strabo and Diodorus Siculus to analyse which aspects interested these authors, and how they presented them – what was being said about Crete at the time of Augustus? This is in attempt to counterbalance the lack of foundational stories and other contemporary references to Knossos, which we do possess in Nikopolis' case, and which form the crux of chapter 3. Once complete, we will cover the elements of local pride and fame that are attested in our sources, and in turn adapted by the Romans to fit their own agendas, similar to Alcock's review of the Roman interest in Crete's ancient traditions.[147] This will give us an idea of the image that the Romans

[145] See Clarke (1999): 374-8 for an appendix of the geographer's sources. However, it does not contain a separate list for Crete; by my count, the chapter references 14 different authors.
[146] Flor. 1.42, more on this below.
[147] Alcock (2002): 99-131.

sought to preserve of the island, which will be further expanded in chapter 5 via a discussion of Crete's inclusion in the *Aeneid*. Lastly, the literary tropes surrounding the Cretans that survived into the empire will be analysed as they provide an ideal segue into chapter 2 and our discussion of the 'real' Crete, as past events and interactions further fueled this distorted image of Crete.

1.2 Setting the Stage: Strabo's and Diodorus' 'Same Old' Crete?

If we look at the accounts compiled in the aftermath of the Cretan conquest, leading up to the reign of the Flavians who have been characterised as great benefactors of the island, readers might be perplexed to remark that very little can be described as 'contemporary' to these writers, or even 'Roman'.[148] The accounts of Strabo and Diodorus Siculus, in spite of the numerous gaps, are oddly complementary to one another, and serve as a good foundation to build upon.[149] In contrast to what we will see at Nikopolis, Strabo only briefly alludes to the colony, choosing instead to focus on what he considered the most famous Cretan past events and institutions. As elsewhere in his Greek chapters, he describes the local institutions as having been replaced or disappeared following the Roman conquest: οὐ πολλὰ δὲ διαμένει τούτων τῶν νομίμων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων διατάγμασι τὰ πλεῖστα διοικεῖται, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις συμβαίνει.[150]

Diodorus is equally problematic when attempting to uncover traces of his contemporary Crete. His account focuses upon the island's mythological past, origin stories,

[148] See below for Domitian's construction of a road from the sanctuary of Diktynna to Central Crete, or Suet. Vesp. 2 for the origins of the Flavians care for Crete, as Vespasian served as quaestor of Crete-and-Cyrenaica. On the latter, see Romeo (2010): 75.
[149] Strab. 10.4 and Diod. Sic. 5.64-80.
[150] 10.4.22. It is also only at 10.4.10 that Strabo first acknowledges that the Romans were in possession of the island, but he never expands on Crete's conquest, or the events that led to the foundation of a colony at Knossos. Similarly, it is only revealed at Strab. 17.3.21 and 25 that Crete-and-Cyrenaica were paired into a senatorial province; on this latter point, see Harrison (1985): *passim* for a summary.

and especially the Cretan traditions regarding the birth of most Panhellenic divinities – Zeus especially, but also Athena, Aphrodite, Eileuthyia, Artemis, Ares, Apollo, Hermes, Dionysus, Herakles, and so forth. Nevertheless, he does highlight centuries-old traditions that allegedly continued to his date. This is, however, a methodological conundrum since the author presents his sources at the beginning of his Cretan description, and, as readers, we cannot identify whether 'νῦν' refers to his own present day or reflects the time of the source he is using for that particular paragraph.

He claims only to cite sources 'held in high esteem': περὶ ὧν ἡμεῖς ἐν κεφαλαίοις τὰ παραδεδομένα διέξιμεν ἀκολούθως τοῖς ἐνδοξοτάτοις τῶν τὰς Κρητικὰς πράξεις συνταξαμένων.[151] Yet, unlike Strabo, he rarely identifies these sources and instead simply teases that although many had written and disagreed about Crete, he chiefly followed the accounts of Epimenides, Dosiadas, Sosicrates, and Laosthenidas – with the first two especially worth remembering.[152] Each of these authors wrote centuries before Diodorus' own time and therefore claims of festivals still occurring, or other local markers are difficult to situate in time – were they still present during the Augustan period, or was Diodorus simply paraphrasing his sources? For example, at 5.79.4, we learn that Idomeneus' and Meriones' tombs were still visible in Knossos, and that you could allegedly read the following epitaph: Κνωσίου Ἰδομενῆος ὅρα τάφον. αὐτὰρ ἐγώ τοι πλησίον ἵδρυμαι Μηριόνης ὁ Μόλου. There is no mention in this account of a hero cult for the two Homeric heroes, but one cannot help but wonder if such a tomb or potential worship would have survived the Roman occupation, especially when considering the disappearance of Glaukos' cult

[151] Diod. Sic. 5.64.2.

[152] Diod. Sic. 5.80.4. We can also add Ephorus, whom he cites at 5.64.4 in reference to the birthplace of the Idaean Dactyli. Note that of the authors cited here, only Sosicrates and Ephorus also appear in Strabo's account. By contrast, Pliny's brief Cretan account at NH. 4.20 only cites Dosiadas from this list, perhaps hinting towards Diodorus' and Strabo's works not being held in high esteem. Similarly, we learn from Athen. 4. 143b that Dosiadas wrote a 'History of Crete', whom Athenaeus copies to give his readers a description of the Cretan syssitia (more on this below). By contrast, Strabo prefers to follow the account of Ephorus regarding this practice.

following the conquest (see below with n. 212, 340). Similarly, at 5.72.4, we are told that there was 'now' (νῦν) in Knossos a temple where the locals made yearly sacrifices and commemorated the marriage between Zeus and Hera, which had taken place in their territory according to local traditions.

Yet, regardless of these customs' continuation into the Roman period, the simple fact that they were preserved by various authors (both local and otherwise) offers an intimate glimpse into the diversity of local and regional customs; it also hints at Cretan pride in these traditions, as well as at their antiquity and numerous diversions from those that had developed in mainland Greece, as we will see most notably with the portrayal of Minos and Zeus. Diodorus' account offers readers a window into an image of Crete that had been built over the course of nearly an entire millennium. Romeo has observed that he 'pay[s] homage to the existence of proud Cretan sagas, avidly spread by local intellectuals and priests', but arguably took her analysis too far when claiming that the alleged 'Cretan pre-eminence in all human and divine matters may have appeared potentially dangerous' for the Augustan regime.[153] As we will see, this would instead have provided an ideal tradition for the Romans to latch onto, and act as its successors, which could in turn facilitate Crete's incorporation within the Roman view of the Mediterranean. Although we will continuously refer to Strabo's and Diodorus' accounts throughout this piece, we highlight in this section that they provide a good example for the main trends that emerge from our surviving sources: a heavy interest in old, pre-Roman traditions, and an emphasis on source material equally old. While we may never know the true motives behind the two authors' choices in their writings, they at least highlight their (or their readers'/audience's) greater interest in Cretan past than present. As we will see, this practice will continue even in the works of second and third century writers, such as Plutarch, Pausanias, and Diogenes Laertius.

[153] Romeo (2010): 71.

1.3 Local and Regional Pride: Past, Present, and in-between

Pride in local traditions and customs is a theme that is not unique to the Cretans, as every region and city to this day can make similar claims whether through local festivals, food, clothing, or anything that inspires them. Beck's recent work has highlighted that Greek *poleis* in the Classical Period grew increasingly proud of their own local distinctions, thus developing a certain form of localism.[154] In Crete, however, this development can be traced to a much earlier time, which in turn makes us question the extent to which the Romans were aware of this post-conquest. To answer this, we will return to the previous question: 'What was being said/written about Crete at the time of Augustus?' A quick glance at the surviving excerpts reveals myths, traditions, and tropes whose origins are easily traceable to both the mythical and historical past – allusions that most ancient readers could easily make themselves, as we will see. In turn, not only will the analysis reveal elements of local pride that had survived through the centuries, but also show how they could be exploited by the Romans and the Imperial family to their own benefits.

While we highlighted the use of Classical and Hellenistic sources above, the Homeric epics continued to influence writers and debates into the Imperial period. Strabo's Greek chapters are no exception, as they are cluttered with Homer's *Iliad* (particularly the Catalogue of Ships), which is his most cited source overall, and is at the heart of numerous debates regarding origin stories, or discussions of accuracy.[155] The Cretan account falls along these lines, as the geographer preserves a historiographic debate on why Homer claimed that Crete had 100 cities in the *Iliad*, as opposed to 90 in the *Odyssey* (more on this below).[156] Furthermore, the description of each major city is also accompanied by Strabo's call back to Homer's own allusions. Knossos' case is illustrative for our purposes, as Strabo uses Homer

[154] Beck (2020).
[155] Clarke (1999): 374-8.
[156] Strab. 10.4.15, citing Hom. Il. 2.649 and Hom. Od. 19.174.

and other poets to describe it as 'great' and 'the kingdom of Minos': Ὅμηρος ὑμνεῖ μεγάλην καλῶν καὶ βασίλειον τοῦ Μίνω καὶ οἱ ὕστερον.[157] While he makes no reference to it, we will see that this image will appeal to the Romans, as they could integrate themselves in such a glorious past, which would only enhance their own conquests' glory. Moreover, regarding Homer, Strabo provides us with striking evidence of just how important the past was in both the daily life and in the upbringing of any learned individual, suggesting many could make these inferences:

λέγω δὲ ταῦτα συμβάλλων τά τε νῦν καὶ τὰ ὑφ᾽ Ὁμήρου λεγόμενα: ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἀντεξετάζεσθαι ταῦτα ἐκείνοις διὰ τὴν τοῦ ποιητοῦ δόξαν καὶ συντροφίαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τότε νομίζοντος ἑκάστου κατορθοῦσθαι τὴν παροῦσαν πρόθεσιν, ὅταν ᾖ μηδὲν ἀντιπῖπτον τοῖς οὕτω σφόδρα πιστευθεῖσι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λόγοις […][158]

Let us, however, return to the notion of local pride and how the Homeric Epics fit within Cretan traditions and/or Roman interests. While the importance of the Trojan saga for the Romans will only be fully detailed in chapter 5, we must highlight here the Epic Cycle's local and regional variations, as Cretan alternatives to Homer emerged in an apparent desire to originate a plethora of both human and divine events on their island. A case in point for this might be inferred from a contested reference to the number of Cretan ships offered in support of Agamemnon. In the *Iliad*, Idomeneus is said to have brought 80 ships, but Diodorus' account states that he had 90 ships – a correction that is worth briefly exploring.[159] Diodorus undoubtedly had access to the *Iliad*, given its role in children's upbringing highlighted by Strabo, and as such should not make such mistake, suggesting that the Cretan tradition promoted a version where they brought 10 additional ships – a noteworthy alteration in my opinion. Raising the number to 90 meant that the Cretans would have brought the second most ships (tied with Nestor), behind only Agamemnon's contingent. More

[157] Strab. 10.4.7.
[158] Strab. 8.3.3. Thus, by explaining his own methodology, Strabo offers a glimpse into his, and presumably his readers', upbringing, as he uses the first person: συντροφίαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς.
[159] Diod. Sic. 5.79.4, Hom. Il. 2.652.

importantly, however, it is part of a common trend of (presumably) Cretan accounts correcting the *communis opinio*, which may not have sat well with their Greek counterparts.

Another example comes from the accounts of the legendary Cretan Epimenides. While the myths and stories surrounding him go beyond our scope, the conflicting versions are noteworthy. Plutarch, for instance, claims that Epimenides had travelled to Athens to meet Solon and was admired by the Athenians, whereas Diogenes Laertius recounts the anecdote in which the Cretan left to search for his sheep, only to end up sleeping in a cave for 57 years.[160] Moreover, Diogenes' account reveals a debate regarding his lifespan: Phlegon wrote that Epimenides lived 157 years, while Xenophanes of Colophon claimed it was 154, and the Cretans themselves argued he was 219 years old when he died. In addition to this, we are told that according to Myronianus, the Cretans referred to him as one of the Curetes, while some even claimed that the islanders worshipped him and offered him sacrifices, as they did to the gods.[161] Regardless of the veracity of these claims, it is important to note that the Cretans had their own version of the story and that it undermined the others by tracing his origins from the Curetes *and* giving him a more advanced age – markers of both local historiography, and perhaps one of many motives behind the depiction of Cretans as liars that will be pervasive throughout this chapter.

Presumably, these *were* tales told by the Cretans, if we are to take Diodorus' 'the inhabitants of Crete say' (Κρήτην κατοικοῦντές φασιν at 5.64.1) or 'the myths told by the Cretans' (μυθολογοῦσι γὰρ οἱ Κρῆτες at 5.66.1) at face value, which is unfortunately never a

[160] Plut. Solon. 12, Diog. Laert. 1.109-15. Plutarch and Strabo (10.4.14) claim he came from Phaestus, though Diogenes ties him to Knossos. Alternatively, Aristot. Const. Ath. 1 simply refers to him as a Cretan. Alternatively, Paus. 2.21.3 gives us yet another tradition from the Argive perspective: while the Lacedaemonians were at war against the Knossians, they captured Epimenides and killed him for not prophesying their good fortune. However, at 3.11.11 and 3.12.11, while calling him a Cretan, he states that the Lacedaemonians 'housed' his tomb, but that they did not agree with the Argive version above, denying having ever fought the Knossians. For Epimenides' importance in pastoral motifs, see Chaniotis (1999): 193.
[161] Diog. Laert. 1.114-5 who writes λέγουσι δέ τινες ὅτι Κρῆτες αὐτῷ θύουσιν ὡς θεῷ.

guarantee.[162] While the small detail of the 10 ships may not have mattered greatly, it is the culmination of all these local changes and variations that led to the image of the Cretans as liars, which the Romans seemed to fully embrace, particularly by emphasising traditions surrounding Zeus and Minos, as especially Alcock has highlighted (cf. n. 163 and discussion below).

Zeus and Crete were inseparable. The god was born, raised, and even died on the island according to local traditions – with the latter being used by Callimachus as evidence for the Cretans lying.[163] Other stories had similar effects upon the image of Crete, although some were more positive. The most famous reference is arguably the story of the baby Zeus that was raised and nourished in Crete, or Zeus Kretagenes more specifically. Diodorus treats us to two separate stories that hint at the extent of the Cretans' jubilation in having been chosen as the protectors of the young Zeus.[164] Not only did they consecrate the place where his umbilical cord fell as he was carried by the Curetes and name it Omphalus, but they also named the plain around it Omphaleion.[165] In addition, the cave where he was nourished by the goat Amaltheia had become sacred. Both references are presumably what Diodorus refers to when he states that many traces recalling the upbringing of Zeus on Crete remain 'to this day' (νῦν): σημεῖα δὲ πολλὰ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν διαμένειν τῆς γενέσεως καὶ διατροφῆς τοῦ θεοῦ

[162] It is acknowledged that any reference to 'as the Cretans say' may not accurately reflect the source, or the validity of the claim, as Luraghi (2001): 138-60 has aptly discussed in his reflection of Herodotus' use of similar phrases. More importantly, it is impossible to tell how critical ancient readers were and to what extent (if at all) they would have questioned the validity of these 'local' traditions – unless of course they belonged to that locale. While textual criticisms, such as Plutarch's *On the Malice of Herodotus*, do exist, we are here primarily concerned with the culmination of the accounts attributed to local/regional Cretan traditions and the picture they portray of the island – regardless of their veracity. See also Thomas (2019): 153-4 on this topic.

[163] Call. Hym. 1; cf. Willetts (1962): 219, Perlman (1999): 138 for view that this was one of the beliefs that had perpetrated the image of Cretans as liars. Alcock (2002): 123 identifies the birth and death of Zeus on Crete amongst the three most popular myths promoted by the Romans, alongside Minos and the island's role in the Trojan Epic Cycle. See also Hom. Od. 14.199-359 where Odysseus claims to be a Cretan and thus is not only lying, as a Cretan would be expected, but gives some of the most stereotypical portrayals of a Cretan (more on this below); on this, see Willetts (1962): 128-30.

[164] Diod. Sic. 5.70.4.

[165] This story is also preserved in Call. Hym. 1.42-54. See also Rackham and Moody (1996): 105.

τούτου κατὰ τὴν νῆσον.[166] Even the Romans understood the importance of this tradition and continued it, as seen most notably from one of Martial's epigrams in which he refers to Crete as the birthplace of Zeus – or Jove in this case.[167]

The sanctity of caves would eventually become a staple of Cretan worship, with the one dedicated to Zeus on Mount Ida being the most prominent, as attested by Apollonius' alleged preference to visit Ida's sacred sites instead of the (in)famous labyrinth.[168] Thus, the importance of Mount Ida for the Cretans was also recognised by outsiders, with Euripides even calling them Ἴδας τέκνα, further emphasizing its importance in their folklore.[169] Returning to the caves, however, it should already be clear that landmark events occur within them according to Cretan mythology: Zeus' birth, Epimenides' aforementioned 'nap', and even Minos' interaction with Zeus. On the latter, authors preserve a tradition regarding the legendary Knossian king going to the cave of Zeus every ninth year and returning with laws to pass down from Zeus himself, which was supposedly a custom later emulated by Lycurgus after he had visited Crete.[170] Thus, whether others considered these traditions as lies or not, it remains that for the Cretans, they were a source of local pride, or even a feeling of being a 'chosen' people.

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[166] Diod. Sic. 5.70.3. The use of νῦν reveals usual concerns as to whether it refers to Diodorus' own time, or to the time of the source he is using in this passage. For a similar reference, cf. Hes. Theog. 477 mentioning Zeus' upbringing in a cave in the 'rich' land of Crete (see abundant with goods): Κρήτης ἐς πίονα δῆμον. Strabo, however, does not mention Zeus' time in Crete, though he does acknowledge at 10.3.7 (cf. 10.3.11) the role of the Curetes in raising him – in his chapter on Aetolia! See also Paus. 8.38.2 for an Arcadian version where Zeus was reared in Cretea on Mount Lycaeus – an Arcadian variation and interpretation of the event.

[167] Mart. 9.20. We will return to the importance of Zeus Kretagenes for the Romans below and especially in chapter 5.

[168] Philostr. VA. 4.34. Rackham and Moody (1996): 179 count 19 sacred caves and 25 peak sanctuaries in Crete, the most famous of which being the cave above the Nidha Plain, housing the cult of Idaean Zeus; cf. Willetts (1962): 141-8 on Cretan sacred caves.

[169] Eur. Cret. fr. 472f (5). By contrast, see Hom. Od. 17.523, where Crete is described as Κρήτῃ ναιετάων, ὅθι Μίνωος γένος ἐστίν, thus emphasising Minos' local and regional importance, which will be further discussed below. On the *Odyssey*'s contrasting depictions of Minos, see Willetts (1962): 120-2.

[170] Strab. 10.4.9, 19. The second part of the account regarding Lycurgus (10.4.19) comes from Ephorus and appears to be part of a tradition that argued that the Spartans copied the Cretan constitution (see more on this below). On the association between Crete and Sparta, see also Strab. 10.4.9, 17, where Strabo claims that many of the institutions he is referring to were invented by the Cretans, but perfected by the Spartans. For other references to Minos' trek see Diod. Sic. 5.78.3, Hom. Od. 19.178 and Plat. Laws. 1.624a-b. In addition to this, the fact that Minos, arguably the most famous Cretan, is intimately related to Zeus, and is referred to as 'close friend' of the god by Homer (see below) is further evidence of how highly the Cretans think of this association, almost as if they are a 'chosen' people; for more on this, see Huxley (1994).

However, Zeus' conflicting Cretan interpretations are not alone, with another famous example being the tale of Britomartis, called Diktynna. The Cretans claimed that she was born on their island from Zeus and Carme and that she invented fishing-nets, hence her second name (from Diktya); she also spent time with Artemis, explaining why some claim that they are worshipped as the same goddess.[171] An alternative version also circulated claiming that she was pursued by Minos and managed to escape into some fishermen's nets, once again explaining the name Diktynna. This, however, appears to stem from an Athenian anti-Minos tradition, but we will return to this issue shortly. Both Diodorus and Strabo nevertheless reject this version on grounds that Minos would never do such a thing, nor would a goddess allow this to happen.[172] Strabo, however, does not tell us why his sources disagree with this version, but we do learn that Callimachus was one of the originators of this tradition, which in fact survived as late as the second century A.D. as it resurfaces in Pausanias' work.[173] Whatever the case may be, we do know that Artemis Diktynna continued to be worshipped into the Roman Period and that her

[171] Diod. Sic. 5.76.3. See also Willetts (1962): 179-93, Sonnabend (2004): 28 , Lippolis (2016): 159.
[172] Diod. Sic. 5.76.3 and Strab. 10.4.12
[173] Strab. 10.4.12 for the discussion. See also Call. Hym. 3.108-205 for an alternative version where Minos chased Diktynna, causing her to fall into the fishermen's nets. Paus. 2.30.3 also recounts Callimachus' version: Μίνω δὲ ἐρασθέντα φεύγουσα ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὴν ἐς δίκτυα ἀφειμένα ἐπ᾽ ἰχθύων θήρᾳ. Interestingly, Pausanias seems to suggest that this account was perpetrated by the Cretans themselves since a few sentences prior to the story, he writes φασὶ δὲ οἱ Κρῆτες— τούτοις γάρ ἐστι τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν ἐπιχώρια—. The use of ἐπιχώρια on its own also implies that this was a distinctly local tradition; for more on the use of ἐπιχώριος in various sources, see introduction.

sanctuary near Kydonia was one of the most important and visited sacred sites on the i sland, as implied by Domitian's works in connecting the sanctuary to central Crete, and her ongoing presence on late-Republican and later Imperial Cretan coinage (fig. 1.1).[174]



Fig. 1.1 L. Lollius' coin depicting Artemis Diktynna (RPC I 909a, cf. n. 174)
Obv: head of Artemis Diktynna, r.; with bow and quiver at shoulder
Rev: L LOL/LI-VS; stag, r.

While the worship of Zeus and Diktynna continued into the Roman Period, the case of Minos is perhaps the most illustrative example of proud local traditions that could be adapted by the Romans to fit their own needs. Even more so than the previous two cases, Minos is at the centre of diverging traditions throughout the Greek world, with the most obvious example being the Athenian vilification of the Cretan king. Before even turning to the Athenians, the case of the Tegeans emulates the discussion thus far. Pausanias claims that the Tegeans believed that the sons of Tegeates went to Crete and founded cities named after themselves, such as Kydonia, Gortyn and Katreus. The Cretans, however, do not follow this version and claim that Kydon was the son of Hermes and Akakallis, a daughter of Minos, while Katreus

[174] Stefanakis (1999): 250, Sonnabend (2004): 28, Romeo (2010): 75; Willetts (1962): 179-93 also points out that during his reign, coins were minted with Diktynna represented on the reverse and ΔIKTYNNA ΣEBAΣTH (i.e., RPC II.34), or even simply ΔIKTYNNA personified as a stag on the obverse (RPC II.44), further highlighting the goddess' continued importance even at this time. Similarly, in the late Republic, Roman magistrates employed these motifs: see RPC I 909a-o (fig 1.1) for L. Lollius' coinage depicting Diktynna on the obverse and the stag on the reverse, or, related to this, RPC I 908a-g for his coinage displaying Zeus Diktaios (obv.) and the *sella curulis* (rev.).

was the son of Minos and Gortys the son of Rhadamanthys. In addition to depicting yet another deviation in traditions, this anecdote reveals the importance of Minos and his descendants in Cretan mythology and tradition.[175] In fact, I would argue that Minos fits perfectly as a bridge between this section and the next, as he could fall in either category: a staple of local pride and a literary trope moulded by a plethora of authors. Not only are there centuries of traditions assigned to Minos that were passed down into the Roman period and culminating in the Romans adapting him to their own needs, but he is also the victim of an anti-tradition that portrayed him in a negative light. The legendary Cretan king can, however, be encountered in multiple contexts, and as such is not only prevalent in the island's mythology and aetiologies, but he is also at the origin of more negative associations, including the associations of the Cretans with liars, pirates, and/or cruelty.

Both Diodorus' and Strabo's accounts demonstrate that Minos must have become a source of island-wide pride, especially for cities such as Knossos, Phaestus and Kydonia that he is said to have founded.[176] Not only, is he described as one of 'the most renowned of heroes' (ὧν ὑπάρχειν ἐπιφανεστάτους)[177], but also as 'most kingly' (ὃς βασιλεύτατος γένετο θνητῶν βασιλήων)[178], and a 'close friend' of Zeus (Διὸς μεγάλου ὀαριστής).[179] The list of his accolades is extensive, but so are his pitfalls.

Firstly, as we saw above through his visit(s) to the cave of Zeus that Minos played a prominent role in the promulgation of the Cretan laws and constitution, which would have been distinguishable markers of local and regional identity and pride, in addition to being

[175] For the story, see Paus. 8.53.4. See Fernández (2006) on importance of Minos and his descendants in Cretan worship and foundation stories.
[176] Diod. Sic. 5.78.2. Strab. 10.4.8, 14 also talks of Minos' island-wide interventions and of the foundation of (at least) Knossos and Phaestus, though the passage is corrupt in some sections.
[177] Diod. 5.78.1; cf. Hes. Cat. 68.
[178] Plat. Minos 320d; cf. also Plut. Thes. 16, Hes. Cat. 74.
[179] Hom. Od. 19.179; by contrast, at Hom. Od. 11.321-5, Minos is described as ὀλοόφρονος, only for this to change to Διὸς ἀγλαὸν υἱόν at 11.567-8 – perhaps on account of the context, as in the former it contrasts with Theseus' journey to Crete to save Ariadne, whereas in the latter Minos is judging the souls of the deceased. For more on this see Willetts (1962): 120-1.

renowned throughout the Mediterranean world.[180] Not only are Plato's *Laws* centred around Crete, but he praises them for their high repute amongst all the Hellenes at several occasions, most notably stating οἱ Κρητῶν νόμοι οὐκ εἰσὶν μάτην διαφερόντως ἐν πᾶσιν εὐδόκιμοι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.[181] In addition, the ambition of the dialogue's characters to travel from Knossos to the cave of Zeus is reminiscent of Minos' own legendary journey, which is acknowledged in the work's early stages.[182] Klinias, the Knossian character, also states that this story is said 'by us' (i.e. the Cretans) - λέγεται γὰρ οὕτω παρ᾽ ἡμῖν.[183] Admittedly, this is a fictional dialogue, but there is no reason to doubt the veracity of these claims considering how widespread the tradition appears to be. In addition to this, the survival of references to Cretan laws and its constitution into the Roman period is telling. Despite the fact we have already seen Strabo express that most olden Cretan institutions had been replaced by Roman ones, their reputation and association to Minos endured.[184] Tacitus recalls their severity when writing *quarum civitatum severissima disciplina et severissimae leges traduntur*, while also citing them in his (very) brief history of famous laws and lawmakers starting with Minos in Crete, leading to Lycurgus in Sparta, Solon in Athens, and then transitioning into Rome's mythical kings and their additions to Roman law.[185]

We can, however, identify that as early as the Classical Period, and culminating with Polybius, a tradition emerged portraying in a negative light both Minos and the Cretans as a whole. Although, we shall discuss Polybius and his tropes later, it is worth highlighting here

[180] On the role played by Minos in building the legacy of the Cretan *politeia*, see Thomas (2019): 378-9 following Perlman (2005): 282-334 for proposing the idea that 'the 'Cretan *Politeia*' began with the 'Age of Minos' (299). Perlman's contribution is also aptly titled 'Imagining Crete' although she focuses on a much earlier period with the accounts of the Cretan *politeia* and the Archaic/Classical periods.
[181] Plat. Laws. 1.631b but also 3.693e for further praise alongside the Laconians, and 12.950c. In addition, Strab. 10.4.22 even excuses his lengthy digression into the Cretan constitution through its unique character and fame: ἀξίαν δ᾽ ἀναγραφῆς τὴν τῶν Κρητῶν πολιτείαν ὑπέλαβον διά τε τὴν ἰδιότητα καὶ τὴν δόξαν.
[182] Plat. Laws. 1.624a-625b: μῶν οὖν καθ᾽ Ὅμηρον λέγεις ὡς τοῦ Μίνω φοιτῶντος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἑκάστοτε συνουσίαν δι᾽ ἐνάτου ἔτους καὶ κατὰ τὰς παρ᾽ ἐκείνου φήμας ταῖς πόλεσιν ὑμῖν θέντος τοὺς νόμους; cf. Hom. Od. 19.178, Strab. 10.4.8, and Diod. Sic. 5.78.3 for the episode, as well as notes 169-70 above.
[183] Plat. Laws. 1.624b.
[184] Strab. 10.4.22 and Perlman (2005): *passim* for further discussion on the origins of the pre-Roman 'Cretan *politeia*' traditions.
[185] Tac. Dial. 40 and Tac. Ann. 3.26, with Harrison (1993): 3.

those revolving around Minos. The stories of the Labyrinth, Minos' cruelty and sacrifices, the Minotaur aptly named after him, Daedalus and Icarus, as well as Theseus' heroic exploits require no introduction. They remain immensely famous to this day and therefore it should come as no surprise that this seemingly Athenian tradition was still widespread during the Roman occupation of Crete. The Labyrinth itself is subject to much curiosity and one would imagine that the eventual settlers of the Knossian colony would have been intrigued by the prospect of living on the same grounds as this mythical tradition – after all, as we will see in chapter 5, the earliest colonial coinage depicted the labyrinth. Apollonius' visit to Crete is in itself an example of travellers' curiosity, as his companions were eager to visit the labyrinth.[186] In addition, unlike Diodorus and Strabo who nearly entirely omit the Labyrinth in their accounts, Pliny does briefly mention its features, but his account is puzzling, mostly on account of the following half-sentence: *hinc utique sumpsisse Daedalum exemplar eius labyrinthi, quem fecit in Creta*.[187] Not only does he not acknowledge its construction in Knossos, simply referring to it as a 'Cretan labyrinth' (*Cretico labyrintho*) a few lines later, but he does not mention Minos or any of the traditions associated with him, besides citing the famous architect, Daedalus. One could argue that this was not relevant to Pliny's section and overarching goals, but it is known that the association of Daedalus and Minos continued well into the second century, with Pausanias for example writing ἡ δὲ δίαιτα ἡ ἐν Κνωσσῷ Δαιδάλῳ παρὰ Μίνῳ συμβᾶσα ἐπὶ μακρότερον δόξαν τοῖς Κρησὶ καὶ ἐπὶ ξοάνων ποιήσει παρεσκεύασε.[188] In spite of this omission by Pliny, both his and Pausanias' works make it abundantly clear that whether they wanted to or not, the Knossians (and the Cretans more

[186] Philostr. VA. 4.34. For fascination with Crete's mythological past across time, Francis (2016a): 3-6.
[187] Plin. NH. 36.19. Alternatively, Strab. 10.4.8 makes a brief remark on the myth of the labyrinth (more on this below), whereas Diodorus, following a more Cretan-centric account, does not touch upon it at all. Similarly, there is a physical description of it in the *Aeneid* at 5.575-600, although there is no mention of Minos or the Minotaur, but we will further explore this association in chapter 5. For the labyrinth as coin type, see Jackson (1973): 108-9, Paton (2001): 454, Romeo (2010): 72.
[188] Paus. 8.53.8; cf. 9.40.3 for more evidence of Knossian 'wooden images'. Pliny may also have omitted this since he was following Dosiadas in his Cretan account, whose *History of Crete* could have followed a more Cretan-friendly tradition, thus ignoring Minos' cruel associations, but this is purely *ex silentio*.

broadly) had become associated with this negative tradition that had become an integral part of any learned person's image of Crete. Furthermore, Pliny's lack of specification is also reminiscent of themes we will see later regarding a tendency to omit specific origins in favour of grouping anything coming from the island as 'Cretan' – particularly common in the context of viticulture.

Plutarch is yet another author who adds more proverbial fuel to the fire while preserving hints of an earlier anti-Cretan sentiment. He details in his *Life of Theseus* (esp. 15-18) the atrocities committed by Minos, the abomination of the Labyrinth, as well as Theseus' heroics.[189] He also tells us that Philochorus, an Athenian writer of the late fourth and early third century B.C., claims that the Cretans deny the use of the Labyrinth for a Minotaur or cruel purposes, but rather that it simply served as an inescapable prison.[190] Not only is this evidence of Cretan dissatisfaction with this version, but it also implies that the tradition had been circulated well before the fifth and third centuries B.C. when Euripides (see n. 189) and Philochorus lived, as attested by Plutarch's own claims that Minos had been completely ridiculed by Athenian tragedians and that this version had become more popular than the positive lawgiver and king portrayed by Hesiod and Homer.[191] This is something that Strabo had already hinted at in his brief reference to the Cretan Labyrinth. In fact, through Strabo's account, we are able to witness a gradual progression of Minos' tradition, as he recalls the aforementioned myth of Minos consulting Zeus in his cave every ninth year, claiming to follow the account of Ephorus, who wrote in the fourth century B.C. This is key since he then states that those before him characterised Minos as tyrannical, in addition to disfiguring his

[189] Plut. Thes. 15 also cites an excerpt from a now lost play of Euripides, further reinforcing the myth's popularity in Athens and marking Euripides as one of the perpetrators of Minos' poor image.
[190] Plut. Thes. 16. See also a slightly different tradition in Plut. Quaest. Graec. 35 where it is stated that Minos did not kill those sent by the Athenians, but rather kept them as his servants.
[191] Plut. Thes. 16 for this opinion. See also Perlman (2005): 292-300 for a detailed overview of Minos as lawgiver and founder.

character in tragedies focusing on the Minotaur and the Labyrinth, Theseus and Daedalus.[192] Infuriatingly, neither Strabo nor Plutarch give any specific offenders, though Euripides is a clear candidate; despite this, it is nevertheless clear from their phrasing that this was primarily an Athenian endeavour.[193]

Thus, while a timeline may never be reconstructed, we may at least observe some general trends: Cretan traditions were often at odds with other mainland interpretations, none perhaps more different than the Athenian portrayal of Minos and his reign. By the Roman Period, however, there are tantalising hints that suggest a preference to preserve local variations by the conquerors. If nothing else, at least contemporary Imperial (mainly Greek) writers seemingly prefer to focus on an olden pre-Roman version of Crete, rather than their contemporary island, whether out of personal/audience interest, as a didactic tool for the new rulers, or as a melancholic allusion to a once glorious past that could in turn aggrandise the Roman achievement of conquering it – the latter being the case for northwest Greece, as we will see in chapter 3. Although over half a millennium divides the numerous authors we have referenced so far, the descriptions of Crete and Minos were in many ways frozen in time: there was little new information added to them beyond the acknowledgement of various traditions circulating.

The literary tropes that emerged around the Cretans are perhaps the best such example, and Minos' traditions may be responsible for promulgating at least some of them. While we cannot deny that Cretan piracy had become a serious issue in the Mediterranean prior to the Roman conquest, the image of Cretans as fierce mercenaries and/or pirates may have its roots

[192] Strab. 10.4.8.

[193] For the Athenian associations, see Romeo (2010): 74; cf. Perlman (2005): 292-300. However, it should be reiterated that this was not solely an Athenian tradition. Negative depictions of Minos also survive elsewhere, such as hinted by Diod. Sic. 5.84.2 where Minos is characterised as envious of his brother Rhadamanthys whom he chased away, as the latter eventually went to the islands near Caria and Ionia. Although at first glance this might seem strange considering this account immediately follows his Cretan-centric approach, this passage comes in the context of the Cyclades and therefore one might propose that this is a tradition that stemmed from one of the islands, rather than from Crete itself. Similarly, see Paus. 7.2.5 for Miletus fleeing Minos with an army and ending up in the city that would then change its name to honour him.

in Cretan mythology and be linked to Minos and the aftermath of his reign. The reason for this is first and foremost his depiction as the first of the Greeks to become 'master of the sea', or θαλαττοκρατῆσαί, by Classical (Herodotus and Thucydides) and early Imperial (Strabo and Diodorus Siculus) sources alike.[194] From here stems a tradition of Cretans ruling over (or founding) a plethora of islands and cities that we simply cannot fully cover. It should suffice to list at least some of the Cretan colonies, if only just to depict the extent of their reach, as well as their role in spreading goods and uniting the Greeks across the Mediterranean into what would eventually resemble Malkin's 'small Greek world'.[195] Places such as Brundisium, Cyrene, the Cyclades, Kaunos, Magnesia-am-Meander, Miletus, Aegina, and Sicily all have references to Cretan occupation at some point in their history, and the list is far from exhaustive (cf. fig. 1.2 displaying the referenced areas revealing Cretan presence and influence across three continents).[196] Of course, the Cretans would not be the only ones to accomplish such 'feats', with the Corinthians providing an obvious parallel in our discussion of northwest Greece. Unlike the Corinthians, however, the Cretans sailing the seas (often with an army, or with mercenaries) quickly became a constant trope in numerous stories even after Minos' (mythical) time as a ruler ended.

[194] Hdt. 3.122 and Thucyd. 1.4 who writes that Minos was the first to acquire a naval force, which he used take over the Hellenic Sea. The other references are Strab. 10.4.8, Diod. Sic. 5.54.4, 5.78.3, 5.84.1.
[195] Malkin (2011).
[196] In order of mention: Luc. 2.611, Thucyd. 1.4 and Diod. Sic. 5.84.1, Hdt. 1.172.1, Strab. 14.1.11, Paus. 7.2.5, Strab. 8.6.16, Thucyd. 6.4, . For a discussion of these passages, see Harrison (1993): 6-7 in the context of Cretan colonisation leading to the spread of Cretan goods across the Mediterranean from an early stage.



Fig. 1.2 Map of referenced Cretan colonial presence, cf. n. 196 (author's map via Ancient World Mapping Centre)

Starting with an example of colonisation, Pausanias mentions that the city of Miletus was once called Anaktoria after their indigenous leader Anax, but then the name changed on account of a certain Miletus arriving *with an army* from Crete after fleeing from Minos.[197] Firstly, we must acknowledge that this is a common trend in colonisation tales, as the *oikistes* is often seen in conflict with the pre-existing indigenous population. Take Phalanthus, the founder of Taras, as an example; he was foretold by the Delphic oracle that he would become a 'bane' to the local Iapygians and pro ceeded to fight them immediately upon arrival.[198] Secondly, the references in our case go beyond an *oikist* and *apoikia*, as it quickly becomes apparent that Cretans are naturally associated with sailors and travellers in various contexts. For instance, in Cyrene's foundational myth, messengers are sent from Thera to Crete to find anyone who had travelled to Libya, until they eventually find a fisherman from Itanos who

[197] Paus. 9.2.5 and n. 193 above.
[198] Strab. 6.3.2 and Diod. Sic. 8.21 for the oracular visit, though only Strabo's version claims that Phalanthus was the recipient of the message.

had done so: perhaps the first (literary) Cretan mercenary/pirate? [199] Realistically, an argument could be made for the proximity between Crete and Cyrene being the main reasons for the Theraeans' visit, in the same vein that the Romans chose to unite the two into one province, although this discussion goes beyond our scope here. However, one might also argue that the Theraeans expected to find someone in Crete who had travelled to Libya because of their association with sailing and 'mastering the sea', which is even more evident in the following example.

In the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, the god is described as noticing a Knossian ship on the sea heading towards Pylos, but he intercepts them and makes them the founders, and by extent presumably first priests, of Delphi – an immense honour for the Knossians, who already prided themselves in housing the location of Apollo's birth.[200] Thus, not only are Cretans once again associated with foundational tales abroad, but this time they are not fleeing Minos or sent forth by him; the king is simply referred in association to Knossos as Κνωσοῦ Μινωίου (l. 388), perhaps implying a more prestigious association. In addition, the Cretans are once again depicted in the context of sailing, a potential effect of Minos' mastery of the sea and his brothers' spread beyond the island.

The issue with such representations, however, is that while the locals might perceive them as a source of pride in their glorious past, outside observers could be inclined to highlight the negative connotations associated with the mastery of the sea, especially since the Cretans eventually became associated with piracy and mercenaries. We must therefore ask ourselves: how and when did the transition take place, from heroic sailors to pirates and mercenaries? The exact answer is unfortunately impossible to uncover, but Strabo does offer helpful hints. After praising the Cretan constitution and its effects upon the Lacedaemonian one, he immediately changes tone and states that after the Tyrrhenians ravaged the

[199] Hdt. 4.151.
[200] Hymn. Hom. Ap. 388-545; for Apollo's birth in Crete, see Diod. Sic. 5.77.4.

Mediterranean, the Cretans succeeded them in piracy, only for their 'enterprise' to be squashed by the Cilicians, and for all piracy to be eventually quelled by the Romans.[201] In similar fashion, Plutarch's *Life of Pompey* adds that Crete was still a source of pirates, but only second to Cilicia.[202] Florus, however, clarifies the situation by stating that shortly before the Cretan war, Cilician pirates roamed between Crete and Cyrene and states that the reason for the Romans to conquer Crete was solely their desire to take hold of such a famous place (in addition to them siding with Mithridates, though this is listed more as a pretext).[203] Florus' reference is especially noteworthy, as it simultaneously aggrandises the Roman achievement in conquering such a 'famous' island, while also showcasing that the 'image' of Crete could still be a positive one in spite of its piracy issues. Moreover, it can safely be assumed that the peak of Cretan piracy occurred during the Hellenistic Period, coinciding with the spread of their mercenaries (more on this below and in chapter 2).[204]

As hinted above, piracy can also be seen as a form of 'mastering' the sea, although an illegal one; therefore, one can easily see how this tradition could be tied into those established around Minos and many others. The Cretans were the first to rule the sea and, although greater powers and kingdoms had risen since, their position ought not be undermined. Moreover, the ties between Cretans, raiding, and plundering long predates their piracy acts in the Late Republic. Odysseus pretending to be a Cretan in book 14 of the *Odyssey* is the embodiment of this argument and of the discussion above: he lies about his origins (lying being a Cretan habit), pretends to have been a strong fighter who loved to wage war (mercenary allusions), claims to have fought and sailed abroad nine times, plundering

[201] Strab. 10.4.9.
[202] Plut. Pomp. 29: δευτέρα γάρ τις ἦν αὕτη τῶν πειρατηρίων πηγὴ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Κιλικίᾳ.
[203] Flor. 1.41-2; cf. App. Sic. 6.1. See also Gallimore (2011): 16-20.
[204] For an early discussion of Cretan mercenaries, see Van Effenterre (1948): 184-94, with Harrison (1988): 140, Viviers (2004): 17, Chevrollier (2016): 15 and broader bibliography in chapter 2.

and gaining wealth (piracy and thalassocracy), etc.[205] Regardless of the origin of these trends, Cretan pride in Minos and their seacraft clearly came with a dangerous reputation.

In addition, this image endured after the conquest of Crete because it fit the interests of the Romans to perfection – first to rid themselves of piracy, but then to promote their emperors' association with a legendary ruler who was a lawgiver, founder and thalassocrat. This can also explain their adoption of Minos' positive image over the Athenian one. In many ways, Minos represented their own ambitions, as they were masters both on land and sea, and his spread across the continents via colonies or otherwise depicted their own goals and accomplishments. This would in turn make it easier for the Cretans to accept their rule and allow for a peaceful, uneventful transition period, as attested by the lack of destruction and conflicts in the archaeological record, particularly in the aftermath of the island's conquest.[206] A culminating point of these associations arguably came from Galba's claims to be descended from Pasiphaë, Minos' wife, on his mother's side, purposely associating himself and embracing the entire island's entire mythology.[207] Thus, returning to Romeo's claims that the Cretan-centric stories were 'dangerous' in the eyes of the Romans, I would argue that they offered them an opportunity to embed themselves even more into the mythology of the Greek heroic past, and in return to incorporate a recently conquered province into their own version of the Epic Cycle, as we will see in chapter 5.

Furthermore, if there ever was uncertainty over the ability to continue such complex associations for centuries, Kouremenos' study of the 'double-axe' motif in Roman Crete iconography has clearly demonstrated that the presence of the labrys on common locally made daily items (lamps) or luxurious ones (mosaics), reveals the buyers' understanding of

[205] Hom. Od. 14.199-360, with Myres (1930): 123-5 and Willetts (1962): 128-31 on Odysseus embodying the trope of Aegean raiders wreaking havoc on the Egyptian coast in the 12th century B.C.
[206] See chapter 2.
[207] Suet. Galb. 2. Benediktson (1997): 170 and n. 12 however notes that the association might be made to highlight the emperor's negative traits, such as being 'gluttonous'; cf. Baldwin (1983): 548: 10.

this symbol often held by local deities or heroes well into the Roman Period.[208] Not only do centuries-old symbols and traditions continue under the empire, but they thrived having been given new life through ongoing adaptations, promotions, or associations. While local pride may have given way for some negative depictions, the Romans were able to play upon both in their own favour, and occasionally even in the favour of the locals by helping them regain, continue, or further promulgate their traditions.

1.4 Being a 'Cretan': The Development of Literary Tropes

In the same way that we traced the beginnings of pirate and mercenary depictions to the times of Minos' mastery of the sea and to Cretan oikists, we may be able to identify the antiquity of many of the tropes most often associated with the island and its inhabitants. We can also once again distinguish the self-promoted depictions that stem from proud local traditions from those promulgated by resentful authors with various agendas, namely through Polybius, Livy and Plutarch, though presumably also through a great number of others whose works we no longer have. We will therefore revisit elements that are attested to have originated in Crete (i.e. beekeeping, weaponry, etc.), archery and other martial themes, the constitution, and the characteristics of the inhabitants themselves.

As it was the case with all major Greek *poleis*, the local populations of Crete promulgated a series of aetiologies and genesis myths that illustrated not only a local pride, but also activities, practices and events of which they believed their ancestors to be the authors. The examples chosen here are not exhaustive but are meant to highlight that some of the later tropes have their roots in the island's mythology and folklore. Minos' role in depicting the Cretans as travellers, seafarers, and later even as pirates and mercenaries has

[208] Kouremenos (2016): 43-58.

already been established, but we can add to this several other themes that were established during the Roman occupation or shortly prior to it, beginning with the increased fame of Cretan local produce, particularly honey and wine. Also, it must be highlighted that not all tropes must be negative: being associated with luxurious production can imply wealth and stability for instance.

The presence of bees, beekeeping and honey in Cretan folklore is a common trend in literary allusions and can be traced as far back as Minos. Diodorus refers to it on multiple occasions en-passant, and states that the Curetes who resided in Crete were the first to domesticate animals, as well as to discover the making of honey.[209] Adding to this, we are told that Zeus was fed by the nymphs with a mix of honey and milk, both products that were staples of Cretan daily life (i.e., via shepherding and beekeeping).[210]

In addition, there is a series of distinctly local pre-Roman myths that imply honey was a prominent local product. Not only is Zeus fed honey by the nymphs, but he was apparently so eager to continue his association with the bees that he turned their colour into copper with traces of gold, forever tying their appearance to his deed.[211] Moreover, Glaukos, one of Minos' children according to one tradition, and a hero worshipped by the Cretans (at least until the Roman conquest ceased this practice) is said to have drowned in a vat of honey, suggesting its cultivation and consumption, if only at the elite level.[212] It should be noted, however, that the context in which honey appears in these myths is very specific, as the product is associated either with a divinity, or the royal family, implying either that it was a luxury good, or that its dispersal had not yet reached its peak at the time these myths were promulgated – a noticeable change from the Roman occupation as we will see in chapter 5.

[209] Diod. Sic. 5.65.2.
[210] Diod. Sic. 5.70.3; for studies on Cretan beekeeping and its economic impact, or lack thereof, see esp. Homann-Wedeking (1950), Hanson (1972), Chaniotis (1999), Sweetman (2010), Francis (2016b). See also Col. 9.2.4 who cites Nicander placing Crete as the birthplace of bees. We will return to this evidence in chapter 5.
[211] Diod. Sic. 5.70.5.
[212] Hyg. Fab. 136. For evidence from the so-called Shrine of Glaukos and its activity halting after the conquest, see Callaghan (1978): *passim*, Paton (1994): 146-7, Sweetman (2010): 356.

That said, Athenaeus preserves a recipe from Chrysippus of Tyana recalling a Cretan desert called 'gastris' that required boiled honey, implying that if this was a widespread sweet, more people had access to honey – although, it also asks for Thasian and Pontic nuts, which presumably not everyone could readily acquire, and as such reasonable doubts could be raised about the recipe's legitimacy.[213]

The lack of an abundance of honey might also be reflected by Strabo's omission of Cretan honey from his account. Although an *ex silentio* argument at first glance, this is noteworthy, as this omission lies in contrast to his references to Attic honey, which both he and others describe as being the best, and to numerous other regional products that he lists throughout the course of his work.[214] Shortly after him, however, Pliny does list Crete as one of the places where honey is found in abundance: *aliubi copia mellis, ut in Creta, Cypro, Africa*.[215] Could a boom in honey production realistically have happened in the span of a single generation? It is perhaps not so unlikely given what we will see regarding wine production and sale.

Moreover, even later writers such as Plutarch and Aelian preserve some oddly specific tales of Cretan bees that can be traced back in time. Whereas the former simply talks about their peculiar flight, Aelian cites a legend that he claims to have copied from a certain Antenor's 'History of Crete' (λόγοις Κρητικοῖς).[216] In it, Antenor says that a Cretan city was attacked by a divinely-led swarm of bees and was thus forced to relocate, before concluding that a small number of these dangerous bees could still be encountered to his day. Unfortunately, we are unable to fully retrieve this reference, but we can recover some of the

[213] Athen. 14.247f-248a. Unfortunately, it is nearly impossible to trace this recipe into the Cretan past, or identify whether it was an innovation following the Roman conquest. For more on this, see the edited volume of Braund and Wilkins (2000).
[214] Strab. 9.1.23; for other references to Attic honey superiority, see Plin. NH. 11.32, Colum. 9.3. Strabo also talks about local honey in other contexts (i.e., 10.5.19 where he talks about the honey produced in the Sporades as rivalling that of Attica). However, as Clarke (1997): 99 rightfully warns, there is little to be said about Strabo's omissions, as most becomes speculation.
[215] Plin. NH. 11.14.
[216] Plut. Mor. 967, Ael. NA. 17.35.

details thanks to Plutarch and Ptolemaeus Chennos(=Hephaestion) who wrote around A.D. 100 and is preserved in summary in Photius' *Bibliotheca*. We know that he was a Cretan and that both he and his work were embraced by the Cretans, thus his reference to bees further highlights their association to Crete both by locals and outsiders alike.[217]

This analysis also makes Strabo's omission even more puzzling, considering that some of his successors, basing themselves upon much older sources, were able to unearth both unique and local tales of Cretan bees, and of the island's production. To these, we can add Pliny's and Celsus' acknowledgments of the Cretan 'miraculous' honey (*aliud in Creta miraculum mellis*) that was highly sought after for its medicinal purposes, as was Cretan beeswax for joint pain.[218] Thus, could it be that interest in Cretan honey, as with Minos above, was (re?)ignited by the Romans who facilitated the spread of such goods throughout the Mediterranean, opening new opportunities for commerce and exchange? Chapter 5 will certainly suggest so, but for the time being, it is evident that there was indeed a tradition associating bees with the island, constantly using them or honey products in the retelling of various myths. In a way, this association must have constantly been present in the minds of the locals, but it was primarily with the arrival of the Romans that the Cretans came to be known externally as prominent beekeepers and honey producers, but we will return to these.

The same argument can be made with the spread of Cretan wine across the Mediterranean following the island's conquest. Roman references to Knossian/Cretan *passum* (or glukus) and to its quality are numerous, but as with honey, this is not to say that the Cretans never consumed wine prior to the arrival of the Romans; they of course did, and daily at that. Athenaeus writes in his recalling of the Cretan syssitia that on each table there was a cup filled with water-diluted wine that was shared by all those sitting around it, in addition to a second one after the meal – yet another detail omitted by Strabo in his own description of

[217] Plut. Mor. 860b-c and Phot. Cod. 190.
[218] For the quote, see Plin. NH. 21.46.70; for the medicine reference, Cels. 5.18.31. See also Peña (2007): 105 and Gallimore (2017): 143 on potential evidence of honey transported in Cretan wine amphorae.

the syssitia via Ephorus.[219] Nevertheless, later authors, in their attempts to qualify the best types of wine do make allusions to Knossian or Cretan wine more broadly, such as Pliny and Aelian who include it amongst the best available wines alongside those of Cilicia and Africa, and Martial who recalls a Knossian vineyard that produced *passum*, though he argues it is of lesser quality than the Attic one.[220] While we will turn to the archaeological evidence in chapter 5, from the literary references it appears that amongst the Roman elite and wine connoisseurs, Cretan wine had become a known 'brand'. However, as was the case with honey, it is not unlikely to think that the Cretans would have been promoting their wine long before the arrival of the Romans, with the latter simply giving them the opportunity to expand their economic horizons for a variety of reasons we will explore later. Regarding more ancient traditions, similar to the ones on bees and honey, we can add Diodorus' account. He recalls that Dionysus was born in Crete, to Zeus and Persephone according to their traditions, and that he was credited with the 'invention' of wine and viticulture – clearly wine also mattered well before the Romans arrived.[221]

Taking these brief discussions of Cretan honey and wine, we must now return to the initial purpose of this section, which was to identify the literary tropes that had either survived or emerged about the island and its inhabitants. While, the presence of these products are not tropes on their own, they fit within a broader depiction of Crete as rich, bountiful, and even bucolic. Hesiod calls it the 'full' (see wealthy) demos of Crete (Κρήτης

[219] Athen. 4.143c-d; cf. Strab. 10.4.16. The use of ὑδαρῶς suggests that little wine was placed in each cup, but nevertheless implies the presence of local wine production that at the very least sufficed for the provision of communal meals. The most in-depth archaeological study of the spread of Cretan wine remains Marangou-Lerat (1995), though see also Harrison (1993), Marangou (1999), and Gallimore (2016 and 2017).

[220] Plin. NH. 14.11 (cf. 20.79 for its usage in a mixture as cough syrup), Ael. VH. 12.31, Mart. 13.106-8. See also Juv. 14.270-1 who writes *qui gaudes pingue antiquae de litore Cretae passum et municipes Iouis aduexisse lagonas*, thus reuniting both Zeus and Cretan wine production in one sweep. Athen. 14.645d also writes about a typical Cretan desert called 'glykias', citing Seleucus: γλυκίνας ὁ διὰ γλυκέος καὶ ἐλαίου πλακοῦς παρὰ Κρησίν, ὥς φησι Σέλευκος ἐν Γλώσσαις. Unfortunately, little is known about this author barring a few references from Athenaeus and it is doubtful that he is the same as Seleucus Homericus (of Alexandria), as Γλώσσαις is not listed as one of his works in the Suda.

[221] Diod. Sic. 5.75.4 for the myth. Diod. Sic. 3.63-4 confirms that this Dionysus is one part of three major traditions revolving around the god: in one, he was Indian, in another he was the son of Zeus and Persephone (though some say Demeter), and in the last, he was born in Boeotian Thebes to Zeus and Semele, the daughter of Cadmus.

ἐς πίονα δῆμον), while Strabo and Diodorus allude to its dense woods (ἔστι δ᾽ ὀρεινὴ καὶ δασεῖα ἡ νῆσος and κατοικεῖν δ᾽ αὐτοὺς τῶν ὀρῶν τοὺς συνδένδρους καὶ φαραγγώδεις τόπους respectively); meanwhile Virgil refers to *desertaque litora Cretae* before Aeneas wishes to set sail there, thus making it not only the ideal setting with the absence of human activity, but also a perfect location to be moulded as the travellers pleased.[222]

Furthermore, the prominence of the mountains (Ida above all) for the locals and outsiders, not only adds to this scenery, but also begins to build an image of a Crete defined by its own land and surroundings – Euripides did refer to the inhabitants as the 'children of Ida' after all. Moreover, the sacred caves within the mountains played a prominent role in their worship customs, as we have already seen with the one dedicated to Zeus. Even Strabo acknowledges the 'white' (Leuka) mountains and Ida in his physical description of the island, though he bizarrely states that around the latter lied the best cities: περιοικεῖται δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρίστων πόλεων.[223] This is somewhat difficult to explain, as some of the most important Cretan *poleis* were quite far from the sanctuary at Mount Ida, including Knossos and Gortyn, with the characters in Plato's *Laws* acknowledging that the trek to Ida was rather lengthy (cf. fig. 1.3).[224] Even today, an estimated journey on foot takes well over 12 hours and that is with the advantage of modern-day conditions and amenities. Regardless, we have seen that these depictions often intermingle and combine (i.e. the bees in the mountains to give but one example) as it had become seemingly accepted to depict Crete in this light. Many other examples can be added to support this depiction, including full lists of references to the

[222] Strab. 10.4.4, Diod. Sic. 5.65.1, Hes. Theog. 477, Verg. Aen. 3.122; cf. Verg 4.69-70 for an allusion to Cretan groves, marking their literary prominence. For a discussion on how wooded Crete was in the first millennium B.C., see Moody (1997), but esp. Rackham and Moody (1996): 128-30, who mostly rely upon the mistranslation of δασεῖα in Strabo's account to 'thickly wooded' to suggest that thick forests are associated with the island in modern discussions more often than they should. Nevertheless, if we look at Diodorus' use of συνδένδρους, as well as the reference to trees along the road in Plat. 1.624b-625b, it is safe to say the 'imagined' version of Crete did feature dense woods/groves.

[223] Strab. 10.4.4. On 'children of Ida' depiction, see esp. Chaniotis (1999): 181-2.

[224] Plat. Laws. 1.625a-b: πάντως δ᾽ ἥ γε ἐκ Κνωσοῦ ὁδὸς εἰς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἄντρον καὶ ἱερόν, ὡς ἀκούομεν, ἱκανή, καὶ ἀνάπαυλαι κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν. Furthermore, Strabo's account is especially puzzling when considering that a few paragraphs later he names Knossos, Gortyn and Kydonia as the most important cities of Crete at 10.4.7.

island's fauna and flora, and most notably the widespread references to Cretan pastoralism in Hellenistic poetry, but this is a topic that would require a dissertation on its own to fully elaborate.[225]

Leaving aside this pleasant image of Crete, we must inevitably return to the associations already discussed in quite some detail: Cretans as pirates and as mercenaries. While there is no denying that they partook in these activities, there are other related themes that we must address. Some were positive, such as the islanders choosing to self-promote their martial prowess (especially in archery), while others were far less flattering and survived even amongst early Christian writers, such as Saint Paul and Eusebius – namely that the Cretans were liars or deceivers.



Fig. 1.3 Cretan landscape around Knossos (Detail of BAtlas 60)

The Cretan love for archery and various military activities emerged at an early stage as both a source of local pride and possibly even the envy or ire of the Greek world. Meriones

[225] Unfortunately this topic has been one of the casualties of the global pandemic, as I was forced to cancel research travels to Crete and northwest Greece that were designed to further explore the importance of the landscape within each region's traditions and interactions.

winning the honours of the archery competition at Patroclus' funeral is perhaps the earliest such indication. In addition to this, with Apollo also being born in Crete according to their traditions, the Cretans could boast to have housed the discoverer of the bow, whom Diodorus claims to have taught all there is to know to the inhabitants, with the weapon even named after them: εὑρετὴν δὲ καὶ τοῦ τόξου γενόμενον διδάξαι τοὺς ἐγχωρίους τὰ περὶ τὴν τοξείαν, ἀφ᾽ ἧς αἰτίας μάλιστα παρὰ τοῖς Κρησὶν ἐζηλῶσθαι τὴν τοξικὴν καὶ τὸ τόξον Κρητικὸν ὀνομασθῆναι.[226] Furthermore, Diodorus and Strabo share a slightly different tradition in which they claim that it was the Curetes who introduced this craft, in addition to swords, helmets and the war-dance that was practised by the young Cretan boys.[227] Regardless of whether it was Apollo or the Curetes, it remains that they traced back these traditions to time immemorial, in addition to legitimizing their prowess in them as divine infused – would the Romans not have been overjoyed at the thought of associating themselves with such a people and/or incorporating them within their own genesis?

Many of these traditions survived even into Roman sources, with Pliny claiming it was the Idaean Dactyli who discovered iron (as per Hesiod), in addition to the Cretans introducing the war-dance (see n. 227), as well as a hunting-spear and the scorpion.[228] Furthermore, in the *Aeneid*, Iulus' sword is said to have been crafted by Lycaon of Knossos, to which can be added the prevalent references to Cretan archery throughout the poem, which by extent all highlight the Cretan military prowess. To list some, at 5.306, two Cretan arrows are considered as part of a prize, later at 11.773 Chloreus is seen shooting Gortynian arrows, and at 12.858 Cydonian arrows are used as a metaphor for swiftness.[229] Pliny offers us an

[226] Diod. Sic. 5.74.5.
[227] Diod. Sic. 5.65.3 and Strab. 10.4.16, though Strabo only talks about the war-dance being introduced by the Curetes and about archery: ἀσκεῖν δὲ καὶ τοξικῇ καὶ ἐνοπλίῳ ὀρχήσει, ἣν καταδεῖξαι Κουρῆτα πρῶτον. Plin. NH. 7.56 also preserves this tale. See also Call. Hym. 1.42-54 for the Curetes performing this war-dance for Zeus.
[228] Plin. NH. 7.56.
[229] Virgil also uses the metaphor elsewhere at Eclog. 10.59 and Ciris. 155, though simply referring to them as Cretan arrows, as opposed to Gortynian or Kydonian (cf. Verg. Ciris. 299). See also Harrison (1993): 14-7 for an overview of Cretan archery tropes in ancient literature.

explanation for their prominence, as he claims they became famous archers on account of a particular type of reed that grew on the island.[230] That said, Cretan archers do seem to have been in demand even after the Roman conquest, as Lucan claims that both Knossos and Gortyn provided archers to Pompey in the civil wars and offers high praise both to the island itself and to their abilities: *iam dilecta Iovi centenis venit in arma / Creta vetus populis Gnososque agitare pharetras / docta nec Eois peior Gortyna sagittis*.[231] Further evidence of their continued importance can also be taken from Plutarch's reference to the worship of Apollo Dromaios taking place in Crete and Sparta, which Harrison has interpreted as a sign of the archers' prominence as late as the second century A.D.[232] Thus, to summarise: Cretans were not only renowned archers, but they claimed to have drawn this skill from the gods themselves, in addition to being innovators in several other aspects of warfare.

Unfortunately, however, it is here that the image turns sour for the islanders, as their mercenary activities would come to complicate this, in addition to the overall negative character traits depicted by ancient authors in relation to their constant warmongering, both amongst themselves and while hired by foreign rulers. Allegedly, even before the island of Crete was inhabited, its mythology tells us of a conflict of cosmic proportions between Zeus and Cronos, as the former survived thanks to the island's Curetes and nurtured himself to eventually take over the heavens (i.e. by force). In addition, during Minos' reign, we have seen that there were seeds of jealousy between the king and his brother Rhadamanthys, which subsequently led to conquests abroad. From that stage onwards, Cretan history is littered with conflicts between the island's *poleis*, from the return of Idomeneus from Troy until the forced peace established by the Roman conquest. Strabo gives us an insight into an early tradition of conflict, as he disagrees with Ephorus over Homer's inconsistency between the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*: in the former, the poet claims that Crete had 100 cities, whereas in the latter it was

[230] Plin. NH. 16.65-6: *praecipuus hic usus in Creta bellatores suos nobilitavit […]*.
[231] Luc. 3.184-6.
[232] Plut. Mor. 724C; see Harrison (1993): 157 for analysis.

90.[233] Ephorus argued that the enemies of Idomeneus had raised 10 of those cities while he was away in Troy, although Strabo refutes this for reasons that are beyond our purposes. Nevertheless, the episode is worth mentioning because Ephorus (or his source) assumed that Idomeneus had enemies back in Crete, despite how fond the Cretans appear of him afterwards, with the Knossians even setting up the aforementioned tomb in his honour. It is possible that these alleged enemies were outsiders, but as a grandson of Minos, it is plausible that even if Idomeneus was beloved by all, there may have been some traditions that saw him inherit his grandfather's foes or jealous rivals. Thus, mythologically speaking, from the early days of Zeus' stay on the island, to Minos' jealousy, to Idomeneus' enemies, the Cretans established a legacy of conflict and constant struggle for supremacy/hegemony of the island.

Considerable ink has already been spilled on the wars that ensued over the following centuries between the powerhouses of Knossos, Gortyn, Kydonia, and Lyttos, and we will turn to some in the next chapter in light of the numerous Roman interventions and arbitrations within these regional squabbles. For now, however, it must be highlighted that not only did these set up crucial precedents, but they also began to shine a gradually negative light upon the Cretans who, one might argue, could now be seen as weak, incompetent, and unable to regulate their own conflicts in spite of their so-called famous constitution. Furthermore, the Roman interventions not only became a trope of its own, but they set dangerous precedents that allowed them to gain intimate knowledge of the island, its history, and its politics long before they were in possession of it. They also had the opportunity to fight both alongside and against Cretan mercenaries on more than one occasion, allowing them to witness the full extent of the literary tropes. The campaign against Perseus is arguably the most infamous example, as Livy casually mentions in two separate paragraphs that mercenaries from Phalasarna and Knossos had joined Perseus, whereas some Cretan

[233] Strab. 10.4.15; Hom. Il. 2.649, Hom. Od. 19.184.

archers (of unknown provenance) were counted amongst the Roman forces fighting against him.[234]

Polybius does not mince his words regarding the Cretan attitude and actions in such events and, by extent, neither do those who use him as a source, including Livy, and especially Plutarch. The latter writes in his *Life of Aemilius Paullus* that the Cretans were the last to abandon Perseus, though not because of their loyalty, but because they cared about his wealth and presumably their payment, as he writes: τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἐπηκολούθησαν οἱ Κρῆτες, οὐ δι᾽ εὔνοιαν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς χρήμασιν, ὥσπερ κηρίοις μέλιτται, προσλιπαροῦντες.[235] The choice of comparison in the final clause is especially crafty by Plutarch, as he knew fully well the association between bees and Cretans (as we saw from his bee references in the *Moralia* above). Furthermore, in the same paragraph, he reveals an expression revolving around κρητίζων, which was traceable to Idomeneus' time, but still used in Plutarch's days, as the author reuses it in his *Life of Lysander*: πρὸς Κρῆτα δὲ ἄρα, τὸ τοῦ λόγου, κρητίζων ἠγνόει τὸν Φαρνάβαζον. [236] This implies that the Cretans had maintained a reputation for greed and disunity for centuries, as they did not care if they had to slaughter each other so long as profit could be made.

As far as Polybius is concerned, some of the low lights that he promotes include the Cretan war against Rhodes (more on this in chapter 2), in which he refers to 'Cretan corruption/vulgarity' when describing the average person (Κρητικὴν ἀναγωγίαν), and the same point of view that Plutarch later adopted: that the Cretans shunned loyalty in favour of personal gain.[237] Polybius is particularly pointed in his description of the Cretans as cowardly, and in his

[234] The two passages are Liv. 42.51 (cf. Plut. Aem. Paul. 23) and Liv. 42.35 respectively. See also chapter 2.
[235] Plut. Aem. Paul. 23.
[236] Plut. Lys. 20; cf. Plut. Aem. Paul. 23. On the expression, see Perlman (1999): 138, as she claims it can be traced as far back as Idomeneus, by citing Zenob. 4.62 who archives the origins of 'κρητίζων' and other associated verbal forms; cf. Harrison (1993): 23.
[237] Polyb. 33.8.16; cf. Polyb. 8.16.5 for Cretans preferring personal gain with a similar episode in Diod. 37.18 where a Cretan shuns Roman citizenship to further advance his own goals. See also Van Effenterre (1948): 283-312 (and esp. 285-92, 308-12) for a broader discussion on Polybius, Crete, and the negative tropes which enveloped the island.

denouncement of their use of ambushes or other tricks.[238] Moreover, as jealousy was a theme between Minos and his brothers, so too does it appear to be between the major Cretan cities, if one looks at Polybius' over-the-top descriptions.[239]

Paul's Letter to Titus is further indication that this image prevailed even outside traditional literary accounts, and could arguably be reminiscent of Paul's own experiences in Crete, which he describes elsewhere in the context of his navigation around the island on his journey to Rome.[240] In the epistle, he writes regarding the Cretans: *sunt enim multi et inoboedientes vaniloqui et seductores maxime qui de circumcisione sunt* (cf. Εἰσὶν γὰρ πολλοὶ ἀνυπότακτοι, ματαιολόγοι καὶ φρεναπάται, μάλιστα οἱ ἐκ τῆς περιτομῆς), further reinforcing the image of jealousy and deception associated with them.[241] Moreover, another early Christian writer, Eusebius, preserves a letter from the bishop of Corinth, Dionysius, to Pinytos, the bishop of Knossos in the second century A.D. In it, Dionysius asks the Knossian bishop not to be too strict in enforcing chastity upon the inhabitants: ταύταις ἄλλη ἐγκατείλεκται πρὸς Κνωσίους ἐπιστολή, ἐν ᾗ Πινυτὸν τῆς παροικίας ἐπίσκοπον παρακαλεῖ μὴ βαρὺ φορτίον ἐπάναγκες τὸ περὶ ἁγνείας τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐπιτιθέναι, τῆς δὲ τῶν πολλῶν καταστοχάζεσθαι ἀσθενείας.[242] Although, the religious connotations are heavy here, Pinytos' severity and the Cretan alleged debauchery fit all too well both with Paul's criticism of the Cretans and with the other negative associations discussed above and below.[243]

Returning to Polybius, his anti-Cretan agenda is perhaps none more evident than in his dismantling of the island's constitution, although he acknowledges that many others had praised it: σχεδὸν δὴ πάντες οἱ συγγραφεῖς περὶ τούτων ἡμῖν τῶν πολιτευμάτων παραδεδώκασι

[238] Polyb. 4.8.
[239] Esp. Polyb. 4.53.
[240] For the stops in Crete, notably at Kydonia and Phoenix, see Acts. 27.
[241] Paul. Titus. 1.10.
[242] Eus. Hist. 4.23.7.
[243] For more on this episode, see Paton (2001): 454, though she seems to translate ἁγνείας as 'austerity' as part of her argument showcasing the great wealth the Knossians had in the second century A.D., and their inability to manage it.

τὴν ἐπ᾽ ἀρετῇ φήμην, περί τε τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Κρητῶν καὶ Μαντινέων, ἔτι δὲ Καρχηδονίων.[244] As far as these unnamed authors are concerned, we can easily identify some, as we have already alluded to them above. Plato, especially through his *Laws*, is a standout reference, but others include Aristotle, who lauds the Cretan constitution's arrangements of the syssitia over the Lacedaemonian one, and Strabo, whom we have already seen comparing the two constitutions.[245] However, Strabo, citing Plato's and Ephorus' praises betrays a gradual shift in outside perspective of Cretan laws, marking a clear difference between the 'good' olden days when the constitution was established and later developments that saw the Cretans be associated with the piracy crisis.[246] Comparatively, Polybius is puzzled at how so many of his predecessors held the Cretan constitution in such high regard and on par with the Spartan one, adding also Xenophon and Callisthenes to his list of sources: ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν Κρηταιῶν μεταβάντας ἄξιον ἐπιστῆσαι κατὰ δύο τρόπους πῶς οἱ λογιώτατοι τῶν ἀρχαίων συγγραφέων, Ἔφορος, Ξενοφῶν, Καλλισθένης, Πλάτων, πρῶτον μὲν ὁμοίαν εἶναί φασι καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων, δεύτερον δ᾽ ἐπαινετὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἀποφαίνουσιν.[247] Considering the vast number of authors (and their sources) we have identified in this chapter, it is clear that the Cretan case was well-documented, and built upon centuries of traditions to such an extent that so many references to the island read as literary tropes.

Polybius goes on to list the reasons for his criticism, and it should come as no surprise that some of them include claims that some Cretan laws reveal evidence of the inhabitants' own greed, and constant desire for self-benefit and wealth that we have already alluded to.[248] He then concludes by adding one final low-blow to the entirety of the Cretan population, whom he

[244] Polyb. 6.43.
[245] Aristot. Pol. 1271b-1272a, esp. τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν συσσιτίων ἔχει βέλτιον τοῖς Κρησὶν ἢ τοῖς Λάκωσιν, followed by his analysis of the reasons why he believes one to be better than the other. For the rest, see n. 170 and Perlman (2005): *passim*.
[246] Strab. 10.4.9.
[247] Polyb. 6.45.1-2, for a detailed analysis of the ancients' interests in the Cretan *politeia* during the Classical period, including Plato and Aristotle's works, see esp. Perlman (2005).
[248] Polyb. 6.45.2-3.

describes as the most untrustworthy of all, in addition to their laws being described as unjust, thus completing his dismantlement of centuries of traditions: καὶ μὴν οὔτε κατ᾽ ἰδίαν ἤθη δολιώτερα Κρηταιέων εὕροι τις ἂν πλὴν τελείως ὀλίγων οὔτε κατὰ κοινὸν ἐπιβολὰς ἀδικωτέρας.[249] Thus, although both the positive and negative elements appear to survive well into the second century A.D., it is worth noting that Polybius is projecting his criticism on the entirety of Crete's history, as he deems nothing to be redeemable about its past or present laws, bemoaning the opinions of the prominent fourth century B.C. writers that he cites. Admittedly, however, his reproach of the Cretans betrays his own agenda that laments the lack of Greek unity against the Romans, with the Cretans being the recipients of his wrath in this case. They were some of the primary offenders, as they provided mercenaries to all parties involved, as opposed to uniting against a common threat as the Greeks had done against the Persians for instance – a theme that will resurface in chapter 2.[250]

We see therefore both with Polybius and the Athenian anti-Minos tradition the constant presence of a negative Cretan image that attacks all aspects that the Cretans themselves spent centuries promulgating as markers of their local pride and identity: Minos, the prowess in warfare, their just laws and constitution, and so forth. It is worth noting that although this negative tradition continues into the Roman period, we see it coexist alongside pro-Cretan sources and accounts, and although the people are constantly under fire, the land itself remains a staple of wealthy production and perhaps even bucolic scenery – all of which will become clearer in chapter 5. An outsider's perception of Crete and its cities can therefore easily be moulded without them ever setting foot on the island. Yet, it is important to note that so many of the traditions we have noted to survive into the Imperial period are deeply entrenched in centuries of Cretan history and are often more accurate representations of the olden days of Minos, or Idomeneus, or even of Hellenistic pirate/mercenary Crete than of

[249] Polyb. 6.47.5.
[250] For further analysis of Polybius' criticism of the Cretans, and of his agenda more broadly, see Van Effenterre (1948): 283-312, Harrison (1993): esp. 10-4, 20, Gallimore (2011): 8-9, 68.

Roman times. Few authors take more than a few sentences to describe the islanders and their territory after the Roman conquest, preferring to preserve an image frozen in time, so to say.

Clarke, using Strabo's own views, makes it clear that through Homer and other authors, although cities or regions might disappear or decay, 'significant elements of their past can override their current demise'.[251] Crete is no different in this regard, as both negative and positive past traditions fuel a literary image of a vibrant island whose primary characteristics are deeply entrenched in centuries-old myths, depictions, and tropes. A similar story will emerge in the following chapter, as we will see that many decisions taken by Augustus, and outcomes of the colonial foundation at Knossos are intrinsically connected with past precedents that fuelled interactions and exchanges for decades, if not centuries. Furthermore, as we will see in our final chapter, if nothing else, at the very least these traditions that had survived for centuries continued to serve as currency of exchange, which in turn might help explain their survival.

1.5 From an 'Imagined' Crete to a 'Real' Knossos: Concluding Thoughts

The discussion in this chapter was purposely restrained to an analysis of the literary sources in an attempt to uncover how the island and the city that is at the crux of our study were depicted throughout the years and around the time of the colonial foundation (i.e., since we do not possess the same foundational tales as at Nikopolis). What emerged were interests in episodes, traditions and anecdotes that shared one major common feature: they were all centuries old yet survived well into the Roman occupation. Even the Romans' associations to the island were entrenched in its past, such as Galba's (dubious) claims to Minoan descent, the interest in the labyrinth and local deities (as we will see with Knossos' colonial coinage),

[251] Clarke (2017): 3, citing Strab. 2.5.17.

and the connection between Crete, Troy and Rome in the *Aeneid* that we have reserved for chapter 5. It will emerge that while the Romans, and especially Augustus, consciously preserved and cared for such old traditions, they were particular in choosing the ones that best fit their interests; once these are uncovered, a clearer picture of the impacts of the CINC will also emerge as a result.[252] Our expansion upon these themes in chapters 2 and 5 will further elucidate the arguments here, as we must now to turn towards a more linear and chronological approach that can trace a timeline and developments over specific periods.

That said, a by-product of our analysis here has been the grouping of the 'island of Crete' as a whole in literary accounts, with only seldom regard for local customs and traditions. As such, similar to the forthcoming regional analysis in northwest Greece, it is essential to highlight the importance of the 'region', however it may be defined, and its role in local identities, customs, and 'image-making'. The importance of 'insularity', 'provinces', and other artificial and natural boundaries have all been highlighted as intrinsically affecting local developments and must continue to be emphasised even in subsequent chapters.[253] However, while the literary 'image' of Knossos may be inherently tied to that of Crete, the analysis of 'real' local, regional and 'global' interactions and exchanges will help further differentiate between the two. For now, it is clear that one cannot write the history of the CINC and of its impacts without writing (or at least being familiar with) the history of Crete.

[252] As noted, Alcock (2002) has preserved at least three such elements, but we will soon add others to this list.
[253] On these, see Ando (2010), Kouremenos, A. (ed.), (2016).

Chapter 2
The History of a Roman *colonia*: The CINC Nearly Two Centuries in the Making

2.1 Introduction and Methodology

Not without debate, it is now agreed that the Colonia Iulia Nobilis Cnossus came into existence shortly in the aftermath of Actium.[254] Unlike what we will discuss in chapters 3 and 4 at Nikopolis, however, the CINC, although being a new foundation per se, was attached to a city more famous and older than most other Roman foundations. As such, as this chapter will demonstrate, in light of the absence of foundation myths for the CINC itself, we might argue that its history begins around the time of the first Roman interventions in Crete's geopolitical affairs in the early second century B.C. The culmination of interactions with Rome, along with Knossos' own local developments paved the way for fundamental shifts in the island's political and social organisation. As in chapter one, we will see that the foundation of the CINC is deeply entrenched in Crete's past, with a major difference being that we can now establish a clearer timeline. Its end point is the first and only instance in Cretan history when one of the island's famous cities was forced to accept a Roman *colonia* and the paraphernalia that came with it. Furthermore, while in the previous chapter we could scarcely distinguish between the image of Crete and that of Knossos, we are now able to identify interactions and events that affected and altered the famous city's history both prior to and after the Roman conquest.

As such, what we have identified as the 'real' Knossos will be portrayed through a series of interactions, local and otherwise, that would have a profound effect on its historical

[254] See below and. n. 383-4, for main debate on the CINC as a Caesarian or Augustan colony. To name a few, see esp. Paton (1994): 143, Eiring (2000): 197 and Baldwin Bowsky (2002): 77 favouring an Augustan date contra Grant (1946), Rizakis (1996) for Caesarian plans.

development. More specifically, the instances of Roman intervention in Knossian (and Cretan) affairs will be studied to highlight how they culminated in the colonial foundation and even impacted it. For the sake of clarity, a chronological approach is proposed with a timeline divided into three major sections: (1) Roman-Knossian relations and interactions prior to the conquest, (2) the Roman conquest of Crete and the immediate aftermath in Knossos and its surroundings, and (3) the relationship between Antony, Kydas and Imperator Caesar at the time of the Second Triumvirate, which is an episode that encompasses all themes we will have discussed. In each of these, we will highlight a multitude of concepts and events ranging from the Roman arbitrations of Knossian conflicts, to the Cretans' piracy and their involvement with Mithridates, to the Roman justification for the conquest, and even to the Romans' internal bickering over the island's affairs (see Metellus vs. Pompey, Antony vs Octavian). Covering two hundred years of Cretan history is an ambitious and dangerous endeavour, but the importance, use, and malleability of the past as a token to justify geopolitical manipulations, self-promotion, and other interventions will become increasingly evident. Moreover, by the end of this chronological analysis, the concluding section will recreate a picture of the origins of the CINC, which will in turn lead us to our final analysis of its local and regional impacts in chapter 5.

2.2 Rome, Crete, and Knossos: A Love-Hate Relationship

Before the conquest, Roman interactions with the Cretans, and Knossians more specifically, can be divided into two major categories: those related to Roman arbitrations, both requested or forcefully imposed, and those initiated by virtue of various conflicts across the Mediterranean (wars against Perseus or Mithridates, mercenary hiring, piracy, etc.). Although this is not a comprehensive list of arbitrations, for the sake of this discussion it

should suffice to set the stage with the incursions of Quintus Fabius Labeo (MRR 91), Appius Claudius (Pulcher = MRR 294) and Quintus Minucius (MRR 23).[255] We will then conclude this section with a more in-depth analysis of two events that perfectly illustrate the degree of authority the Romans held in Cretan affairs, long before their conquest: the request to put an end to the Rhodian War and the arbitrations related to Itanos and Hierapytna. Overall, the events covered will establish a pattern of Roman intervention, but also give a hint of occasional preferential treatment towards Knossos' interests and hegemonic aspirations. Figure 2.1 below attests the majority of locations referenced in the various conflicts discussed in this chapter.

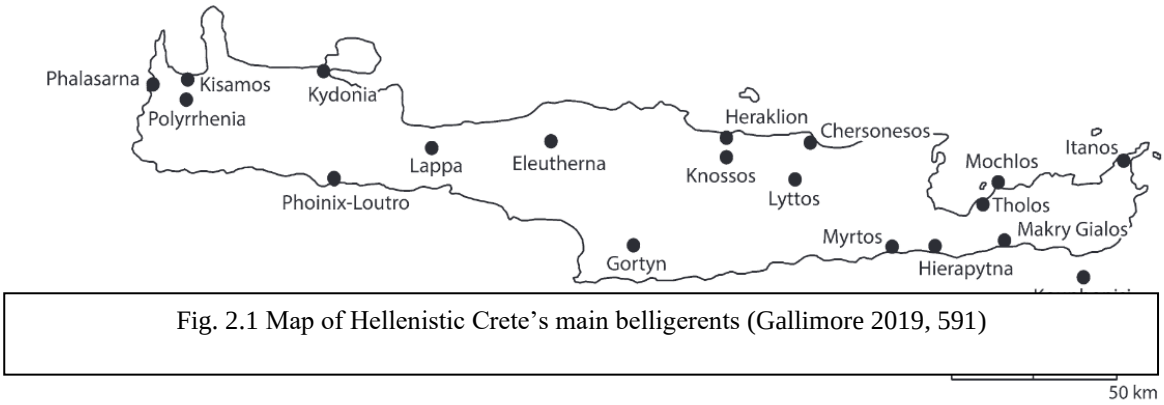


Fig. 2.1 Map of Hellenistic Crete's main belligerents (Gallimore 2019, 591)

As early as 189 B.C., Quintus Fabius Labeo ventured to Crete in an attempt to recover Roman and Italian prisoners held on the island in the midst of a war between Kydonia and a coalition of Gortyn and Knossos: *Cydoniatae bellum adversus Gortynios Gnosiosque gerebant, et captivorum Romanorum atque Italici generis magnus numerus in servitute esse per totam insulam dicebatur*.[256] Labeo ordered all cities to lay down their arms and asked them to send representatives to 'settle common affairs pertaining to both Romans and Cretans': *cum quibus de rebus ad Cretensis pariter Romanosque pertinentibus ageret*. Only

[255] On Minucius' uncertain origins and potential association with Q. Minucius Rufus (cos. 197 B.C.), see MRR: 405

[256] Liv. 37.60. For more on the war and Labeo's mediation, see Harrison (1993): 26-7, Raab (2001): 56, Lippolis (2016): 157-8, Gallimore (2011): 11, with Briscoe (2016) commentary.

Gortyn heeded his call and returned its prisoners, which is worth keeping in mind going forward with our analysis of Roman-Knossian relations (i.e. in contrast to Roman-Gortynian).[257] However, the passage from Livy (esp. *Italici generis magnus numerus*) more importantly implies that already at such an early time there may have been some economic interest in Crete or its surroundings, similar to how we will see Italian traders in northwest Greece and Illyria as early as the third century B.C., although it is possible that these Italians were captured by pirates elsewhere before being brought to Crete.[258]

Only five years after these events, another prominent Roman figure, Appius Claudius Pulcher, arrived in Crete with a new contingent to 'settle the island's quarrels'.[259] It is unclear what prompted the Romans to send them to Crete, as Polybius' phrasing suggests they had not been invited or summoned, particularly when stating: καὶ ποιησαμένων λόγους ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐν τῇ Κνωσίων καὶ Γορτυνίων, πεισθέντες οἱ Κρηταιεῖς ἐπέτρεψαν τὰ καθ᾽ αὑτοὺς τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἄππιον. It will rapidly become clear that this was a precedent that the Romans followed down to the reign of Augustus, as Cretan affairs continued to be settled under their 'watchful' eye. Whatever the case may be, considering Livy's statement that only the Gortynians had returned the Roman prisoners to Labeo, one might have expected a decision in their favour, yet this was not to be. According to Polybius, they were asked to return the territory they had taken from the Knossians, which had sparked the quarrel: οἱ δὲ [πεισθέντες] Κνωσίοις μὲν ἀποκατέστησαν τὴν χώραν. Furthermore, the reason why this territory had been taken by the Gortynians in the first place appears to have been a desire to

[257] It should, however, be added that Livy does cite in the same passage a certain Valerius Antias who supposedly claimed that a total of 4000 prisoners were restored from 'the whole island' amidst threats of an outbreak of hostilities between the Romans and Cretans, which could also include Knossian-held prisoners. Nevertheless, Livy's presentation of these episodes makes it clear that only Gortyn's image was preserved in this instance, at least in Roman imagination*: nihil magnopere ea Cretenses moverunt; captivos praeter Gortynios nulli reddiderunt*. Baldwin Bowsky (2002): 75 highlights that Roman intervention between the two cities began (as far as we know) with Labeo's incursion – a key moment given the importance that the corridor between Knossos and Gortyn held for the Romans with the Capuan lands eventually established there (see below).

[258] On the latter, see commentary by Briscoe (2016) on Liv. 37.60; cf. Ducrey (1968).

[259] Polyb. 22.15. His embassy also made several stops before reaching Crete – see esp. his requests to the Achaean League at Polyb. 22.12.9-10, Liv. 39.33.5-8, 35.5-37.21, Paus. 7.9.3-5.

diminish Knossian power and influence by any means necessary – or so claims Polybius.[260] While the territorial disputes between Knossos and Gortyn will resurface throughout our analysis, it is clear that at this stage in Cretan history, the Romans appeared content to keep all parties at each other's throats and not diminish one in favour of another – this is not only a common Roman strategy, but we will see a similar pattern emerge in northwest Greece around this time with the Aetolians, Akarnanians and Epirotes in constant turmoil.

Ten years later, in 174 B.C., more Roman magistrates sailed to Crete, led by Q. Minucius and 10 ships that seem to have sufficiently scared the Cretans into ceasing hostilities: *idem furor et Cretenses lacerabat. adventu deinde Q. Minuci legati, qui cum decem navibus missus ad sedanda eorum certamina erat, ad spem pacis venerant.*[261] Unfortunately, as with the other two Roman incursions, the description of events is particularly vague and offers more questions than answers. We are told that a six-month peace was signed, but that hostilities resumed afterwards to an even greater degree than before. Livy regrettably ends the account by claiming that these foreign wars were not worth his, or his readers' time: *sed externorum inter se bella, quo quaeque modo gesta sint, persequi non operae est satis superque oneris sustinenti res a populo Romano gestas scribere.*[262]

Although these events highlight the early stages of Roman intervention in Crete, they are seldom discussed or expanded upon either in ancient or in modern literature alike, on account of their brevity and lack of clarity.[263] Before turning to the Cretan-Rhodian war of the mid-second century B.C., it might be useful to situate the aforementioned arbitrations in the broader context of the Roman world. Firstly, the arbitrations helped set a precedent for

[260] For more on this dispute in relation to other ones mediated by the Romans, see Harrison (1993): 26-7, Baldwin Bowsky (2002): 75-6.
[261] Liv. 41.25.7.
[262] Liv. 41.25.8.
[263] Gallimore (2019): *passim* but esp. 590-1 does take a chronological approach with these mediations in his analysis of the formation of Roman Crete. A few other works highlighting the later impacts of the early Roman intervention include Chaniotis (2004, 2008), Sweetman (2007), Tzamtzis (2020).

Roman intervention in an area that was not yet nominally under their control – a precedent that would especially become significant at the time of the Second Triumvirate (see below). Secondly, they were not just any Roman interventions – each incursion was led by a member of a prominent Roman family (i.e., Minucii, Claudii etc.), which would have later repercussions, as more decorated families would join this list, most notably the Antonii and the Julii, as we will see when discussing the aftermath of the Cretan conquest. Can we thus perhaps hint at early client-patron social networks being established? A case in point in favour of this is the so-called Cretarch Kydas during the Second Triumvirate, but we will turn to him shortly.

Returning to the broader context, the three cases discussed here occurred between the Second and Third Macedonian Wars, conflicts in which Crete played both direct and indirect roles. It was arguably due to events in both wars that Crete first crept onto Rome's proverbial radar, with more attention being paid to the island's affairs than ever before. Even prior to the Second Macedonian War, Hannibal, Rome's eternal rival, had sought refuge at Gortyn according to Nepos' account and it is not unlikely that this may have been one of the catalysts for increased Roman interest in Crete.[264] It is also a fascinating parallel with another (in)famous Roman enemy, namely Pyrrhus of Epirus, who as we will see in the following chapters, will have a similar effect in placing northwest Greece and Epirus on the Roman horizon.

The increasing number of Cretan mercenaries in various Hellenistic contexts also facilitated this outcome, as they had become staples of the armies of most belligerents, including those of the Second and Third Macedonian Wars. This should come as no surprise considering we have already discussed their infamy at length in the previous chapter and even established that they were an integral part of the 'stereotypical' literary description of

[264] Nep. Hann. 9-10.

the Cretans. To give some concrete numbers, the army of Philip had 300 Cretans facing the Romans.[265] That of Nabis had 2000.[266] The Achaeans fighting *against* Nabis had 500 Cretans of their own.[267] Perseus employed 3000 Cretans against the Romans. Interestingly, and once again fitting with the literary depictions of Cretans, they appear to have held no allegiance outside of the highest bidders, and their widespread presence on both sides of a conflict is revealing. Even the Roman army could count on an unidentified number of Cretans against Perseus, thus pitting them against their own kinsmen.[268] We can add to these the 500 Cretan archers in Syracuse, and those at the battle of Magnesia in 189 B.C. against Antiochus, as the list goes on, with Willetts accurately describing the Cretan mercenaries as 'bec[oming] as familiar as Cretan pirates, especially during the course of the Hellenistic Period'.[269] Being able to call upon the famous Cretan archers and hiring them as mercenaries had thus become a trend that we saw continue even as late as the battle of Pharsalus with Knossos and Gortyn providing them for Pompey's army; in fact, this trope is so widespread that scholars have been comfortable to attribute a coin hoard from Hierapytna as being introduced to Crete by returning Pompeian mercenaries.[270]

This list is not exhaustive, but it should suffice to highlight the constant appearance of Crete on the Roman radar during the late third and early second century B.C., which could help explain the increased desire to mediate the island's affairs around this time and even

[265] For a full list of numbers and allegiances, see Willetts (1965): 146 and below.
[266] Liv. 34.27 writes: *sed a Creta mille delectos iuventutis eorum excivit, cum mille iam haberet*.
[267] Polyb. 33.8.16.
[268] Liv. 42.51 (cf. Plut. Aem. Paul. 23) and Liv. 42.35 for the mercenaries against Perseus. See also Polyb. 33.8.16 for the Cretans sending 500 mercenaries to the Achaeans against Nabis, once again highlighting the widespread and indiscriminate use of Cretan mercenaries. For more on Cretan mercenaries and their infamy across the Mediterranean discussed in the previous chapter, see also Van Effenterre (1948): 184-94, Willetts (1969): 113-4, 146-8, Spyridakis (1992): 131-7, Chaniotis (1999): 182-3, Viviers (1999): 228-9, Chaniotis (2004): 77-8.
[269] Willetts (1965): 146.
[270] See ch. 1 and esp. Luc. 3.184-6. The Hierapytna hoard included some 200 denarii and 60 proconsular cistophori from Pergamum, Apamea and Tralles struck between 58/7 B.C. and 49/8 B.C., which were instrumental in the analysis of the Kydas cistophoric coinage that we will discuss below. For the hoard, see Raven (1938): 146, and for other interpretations, particularly related to Kydas, see Sanders (1976): 136, Rouanet-Liesenfelt (1984): 349, Baldwin Bowsky (2002): 31-2, Paluchowski (2003): 210-1, and Metcalf (2017): 75.

later.[271] The conclusion of Rome's war against Nabis and the Roman-Spartan alliance of 195/4 B.C. perfectly illustrates this, as Karafotias has suggested that Nabis wished to 'exploit the island as a base for mercenaries and pirates'. [272] This is implied by one of the treaties' clauses highlighted by Livy: *in Creta insula ne quam urbem haberet; quas habuisset, redderet Romanis; ne quam societatem cum ullo Cretensium aut quoquam alio institueret neu bellum gereret*.[273] The fact that Nabis was no longer allowed to exercise his influence and hold upon the island implies that the Romans understood the strategic importance of Cretan mercenaries (and clearly others did as well) and sought to re-establish a certain degree of equilibrium. Livy's phrasing *in Creta insula ne quam urbem haberet* is also reminiscent of Strabo's reference to the Romans having a colony at Knossos and as such might imply a Spartan tight grip on some of the island's cities, treating them like colonies. Whatever the case may be, Livy's passage implies that Romans and others had already identified at an early stage the strategic importance of the island of Crete, despite the author's aforementioned claims that their foreign wars were not worth his attention.

Thus, as the years went by, the Cretans constantly found themselves immersed in conflict, fighting alongside or against the most famous Roman names, while the Romans themselves continued their manipulation of Greek politics, including in Crete. A loaded episode preserved by Diodorus gives us some insight into the Cretan mercenary mentality, but also highlights why it was important for the Romans to keep a close eye on Cretan affairs. He recalls a Cretan coming of his own will to the consul Julius Caesar and offering to act as a traitor in exchange for a reward, but when he is offered Roman citizenship, he scoffs at the

[271] For a more complete discussion of Cretan mercenaries, their history, development, and role in spreading Cretan traditions, developing the island's economy and acting as a middle-ground agent (i.e. such as in the case of Hadra vases seen below or the Hierapytna coin hoard above), see , Callaghan (1980): 33-8, (1981): 68-9, (1994): 135-40, Harrison (1993): 11-3, 69, Karafotias (1998): 105-6, Perlman (1999): 148, Chaniotis (1999): 184-5, (2004): 77, 84-5, Wieland (2009): 343, Lippolis (2016): 160-1.
[272] Karafotias (1998): 105-6, 110. Karafotias argues that Nabis' relations with Crete may have been more influential in the western part of the island, and that Knossos' degree of cooperation is unclear. Nevertheless, it remains that the Romans sought to sever these ties.
[273] Liv. 34.35.

notion, claiming Cretans only care about material wealth from their mercenary services.[274] Firstly, a word of caution is needed here as Diodorus' description of Cretan greed fits perfectly with our previous discussions of Cretan stereotypes and clichés. In addition, it is unclear whether this accurately reflects the islanders' mentality in the early first century B.C., or whether this was simply (1) the Romans' perception of them, or (2) Diodorus' own anachronistic perspective, or even (3) a commentary on the importance of citizenship within the context of the brewing Social War within which this passage is situated. Nevertheless, as the Cretan suggests that his people would always be willing to join the highest bidder, it does imply that their mercenary presence continued well after the Macedonian Wars and would remain a thorn in the Roman side. Conversely, however, this mentality also made life easier for the Romans, as they were able to manipulate and pitch the Cretans against each other. As a final side note, if this episode does indeed preserve an accurate interaction between Lucius Julius Caesar, the father of the famous dictator, and a Cretan, it would be the earliest literary evidence of a connection between the Iulii and Crete, which would intensify over the following decades, and which could have marked the beginning of a quasi-patron-client relationship. However, due to the fragmentary nature of Diodorus' 37th book, much of the context of this interaction has been lost and remains pure speculation.

At any rate, we may now return to our chronological overview of the Roman-Cretan/Knossian interactions, with the mysterious Rhodian-Cretan War of the mid-first century B.C., which is described in sparse detail by Polybius, and in far more depth by many others before me.[275] For our purposes, however, it is the passage that immediately precedes Polybius' description of the war that interests us most:

καὶ Ἀστυμήδης ὁ Ῥόδιος, πρεσβευτὴς ἅμα καὶ ναύαρχος καθεσταμένος, παρελθὼν ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον διελέγετο περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Κρηταιεῖς. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος

[274] Diod. Sic. 37.18.
[275] Polyb. 33.16-17. For a modern reconstruction and discussion of the conflict, see esp. Perlman (1999), but also Willetts (1969), Callaghan (1994), Viviers (1999), Raab (2001).

προσέχουσα τὸν νοῦν ἐπιμελῶς παραχρῆμα πρεσβευτὰς ἐξαπέστειλε τοὺς περὶ Κόιντον λύσοντας τὸν πόλεμον.

Polyb. 33.15

The Romans once again meddled in Cretan affairs, but this time it is clearly stated that they had done so at the request of the Rhodians. Yet, as it is the case with far too many references to Cretan history throughout ancient literature, it is unclear what is understood by 'Cretan' in this context, and the degree to which Knossos participated in the conflict. Considering the shaky relations between Gortyn and Knossos throughout the second century B.C., it seems unlikely that a coalition of all Cretan major cities had joined this war, but not impossible considering Labeo had already experienced a rare occasion of a Knossian-Gortynian alliance (see above). Knossos, however, had traditionally been highlighted as a Rhodian ally, bringing into question its involvement in any conflict involving Rhodes, yet a closer look at the evidence might suggest further caution.

To understand these connections, and Roman interest(s) in this conflict, we must briefly turn to the First Cretan War of 205/4 B.C., which coincides with the aforementioned early stages of increased Roman interest in Cretan affairs. According to Diodorus, the outbreak of this war was caused by seven 'Cretan' ships engaging in piracy by plundering vessels, which encroached upon Rhodian interests, and thus spurring them into conflict against Crete.[276] Perlman, however, whose work remains the de facto authority on this conflict, believed that previous Rhodian-Knossian favourable relations made it unlikely for the Cretan *polis* to have been involved in this first war, as she highlights Hierapytna as the most likely Rhodian opponent.[277] To support this, she cites (1) the Knossian contingent sent to help Rhodes against Demetrios Poliorketes in 305/4 B.C., (2) the Rhodian force sent in support of Knossos in 220 B.C., as well as (3) a clause in the treaty signed between

[276] Diod. 27.3; cf. SIG^3 567 for potential confirmation of the outbreak of the war with commentary from Brulé (1978): 35-9 and Perlman (1999): 134-5.
[277] Perlman (1999): 151-3.

Hierapytna and Rhodes, in which the latter refused to help the former against Knossos.[278] In addition, she argued that Rhodian interests in Crete 'correspond with the cities that also have relations with Egypt as the patterns of their trade routes significantly overlap', which would certainly also affect Roman economic interests by the time of the second Cretan-Rhodian war, thus playing a role in their decision to intervene.[279]

A closer look at this evidence, in light of the discussion above on Cretan loyalties and mercenaries, however, reveals less conclusive evidence than the conclusions of Perlman and others might suggest.[280] As we have seen, Cretan mercenaries did not hesitate to support either side of a conflict so long as the payment was sufficient, which makes the small contingent of 150 sent to Rhodes in 305/4 B.C. hardly representative of strong Knossian ties to Rhodes. Both Nabis and Perseus counted Cretans amongst their ranks *and* amongst their enemies, as did the Romans and many others. In fact, just a few paragraphs prior to mentioning Rhodes' Knossian support, Diodorus tells us that Demetrios himself employed Cretan archers, though admittedly of unknown provenance, referring to them simply as τοξότας Κρῆτας.[281] More famously perhaps, during the conflict against Perseus, the Romans complained that the Cretans had also supported Perseus and requested that they recall these mercenaries to demonstrate their allegiance to the Roman cause.[282]

The second element in favour of the Rhodian-Knossian good will is a passage from Polybius: τὸ τέλος: κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον Κνώσιοι πρεσβεύσαντες πρὸς Ῥοδίους ἔπεισαν τάς τε μετὰ Πολεμοκλέους ναῦς καὶ τρία τῶν ἀφράκτων προσκατασπάσαντας αὐτοῖς ἀποστεῖλαι.[283] For context, this episode occurred at some point after the Cretan-wide war that

[278] Diod. 20.88.9, Polyb. 4.53.1-2 and IC. III.iii.3 74-78.
[279] Perlman (1999): 151. For a similar view, see Viviers (1999): 228-30, as he argues that Rhodes sought to have partial control of trade across Crete.
[280] For instance, Callaghan (1994): 139 also mentions the Knossian support against Demetrios Poliorketes in an attempt to show their anti-Macedonian policies, but does not make note of the Cretan troops in Demetrios' army at Diod. Sic. 20.85.3.
[281] Diod. Sic. 20.85.3 for their role in his formation.
[282] Liv. 43.7 with Raab's (2001): 57-8 brief discussion of this passage.
[283] Polyb. 4.53.1-2.

saw a complex system of alliances and betrayals (with and against the Knossians) eventually lead to the destruction of Lyttos.[284] Considering that it is the Knossians who had requested help from the Rhodians, it does indeed seem as if the two parties enjoyed a good relationship, but it is unfortunately unclear for what purpose these Rhodians had been called. Polybius' phrasing at 4.53.3 implies that it occurred either after or during the conflict that saw the end of Lyttos since he writes περιέπεσον δὲ καὶ Λύττιοι βραχὺ πρὸ τούτων τῶν καιρῶν ἀνηκέστῳ συμφορᾷ, with πρὸ τούτων referring to the aforementioned Knossian appeal to Rhodes. The timeline becomes further complicated by the fact that Eleutherna is said to have declared war against the Rhodians because Polemokles, the man sent to aid the Knossians was suspected to have killed an Eleutherian citizen, Timarchos, 'to please the Knossians' (χαριζόμενοι τοῖς Κνωσίοις).[285] As for Polybius' account of the Cretan conflict itself, he tells us that the Eleutherians only abandoned their alliance with Knossos at a much later stage in the conflict, when the Achaeans and Philip V sent an army to support the Polyrrhenians, Lappaeans and their allies, which even swiftly took over Eleutherna, Kydonia and Aptera.[286] Thus, the arrival of the Rhodians must have occurred at a time when Eleutherna and Knossos were still allies, which begs the question why would the Knossians be pleased with the murder of one of their allies' citizens? Or was this yet another of Polybius' many jabs directed at the Cretan character and his general mistrust of them? Whatever the case may be, if Polemokles arrived in the middle of the war on Lyttos, could this be around the time when Knossian allies started abandoning them in favour of Lyttos' cause, and Knossos desperately needed external support, as seen from the 1000 reinforcements sent by their Aetolian allies?[287] If so, how could Eleutherna afford to declare war on Rhodes, as Polybius says, while simultaneously being preoccupied by other pressing affairs? Furthermore, it is unclear why the Knossians

[284] Polyb. 4.53.3-4.55.6.
[285] Polyb. 4.53.2.
[286] Polyb. 4.55.1-5.
[287] This event is described at Polyb. 4.53.6.

sought Rhodian help of all places – were they truly allies? Did they invoke the help they had offered Rhodes against Demetrios Poliorketes? Was Knossos simply desperate? Could it appeal to some sort of kinship diplomacy established with the Rhodians? Was Rhodes its only choice? These are all questions that are impossible to answer from the account preserved by Polybius and therefore on account of the general confusion regarding these events, it is difficult to conclude with certainty either that Rhodes and Knossos had a pre-existing alliance, or that Knossos had stayed out of the Cretan-Rhodian war of 205/4 B.C.

The final piece of evidence, and perhaps the most compelling argument for favourable Knossian-Rhodian relations, comes from one of the clauses of the treaty marking the end of the first Cretan War signed between Hierapytna and Rhodes.[288] Refusing to assist the Hierapytnians against Knossos could indeed be a way to reaffirm their ties with Knossos, but it is by no means explicitly suggested in the inscription, and the reasons for this clause could be numerous, including, but not limited to, a desire to avoid further conflicts with Crete.[289] Furthermore, a different inscription dated to 183 B.C., and recalling the alliance between the Cretan *poleis* and King Eumenes II, a Rhodian neighbour, sheds light on yet another occasion when Knossos sided with its Cretan brethren in a cause that might be seen as anti-Rhodian, or at the very least one that does not take Rhodes and its interests into account at a time when relations between Eumenes II and Rhodes were particularly unstable.[290] The first 10 lines of

[288] IC III.iii.3.74-76. The text reads: [Ῥοδίους, ἀποστελλόν]των συμμαχίαν ἄγ κα δυνατὸν ἦι εἰ δέ κα πόλεμον ἐξενέγκωντι Ἱεραπύτνιοι / [ποτί τινας ἄνε]υ τᾶς Ῥοδίων γνώμας, μὴ ἐπάναγκες ἔστω Ῥοδίοις ἀποστέλλει<ν> συμμαχίαν. τὰν δὲ συ[μ]- / μαχίαν ἀποστελλόντων Ῥόδιοι ἐν ἀμέραις τριάκοντα ἀφ' ἃς κα παραγγείλωντι Ἱεραπύτνιοι χωρὶς ἢ εἰ[ς] / τὸν ἐνεστακότα Ἱεραπυτνίοις πόλεμον ποτὶ Κνωσίους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους· εἰς δὲ τοῦτον μὴ συμμα- / χούντων Ῥόδιοι Ἱεραπυτνίοις.

[289] Willetts (1969): 113-4 suggests that it was Philip V who promoted war between the two parties, while only a few Cretan cities raided Rhodes on account of their lack of unity. Philip V infamously ordered Herakleides of Tarentum to incite the Cretans to wage war on the Rhodians in addition to carrying out an attack on the Rhodian fleet during the First Cretan War (Polyb. 13.4.1-2 and Diod. Sic. 28.2). He also sent Dicaearchus of Aetolia along with 20 ships to help the Cretans in the war on Rhodes in 204 B.C. (Diod. Sic. 28.1). Philip, however, was also behind the dissolution of the Knossian alliance during the war on Lyttos, which once again does not help us decipher how likely it was for Knossos to participate in the raids and war on Rhodes, as former allegiances do not guarantee future alliances.

[290] IC. IV.179. The treaty of Apamea of 188 B.C. and its implications are complex topics beyond our scope. For a good overview of the treaty, with relevant historiography and ancient sources, see McDonald (1967). For the settlement, see Polyb. 21.45 and Liv. 38.38-9. Lawall (2002): 306-7 points out that in the years preceding the

the treaty identify a vast majority of Cretan *poleis* as signatories, including Gortyn and Knossos, which were listed first. Thus, despite whatever traditional affinity may have existed towards Rhodes, the Cretan *polis* can be seen acting against Rhodian interests, though admittedly not taking up arms against them directly.[291] Yet, considering the Second Cretan War ignited barely 30 years after this treaty, it is therefore not implausible to see Knossos actively fighting against Rhodes as well.

At any rate, as already stated, Perlman makes a compelling case for Rhodes' desire to protect its relations with other cities that had favourable ties to Egypt.[292] It is not difficult to find a plethora of Egyptian influence throughout Crete, especially in the eastern and central parts of the island: amphorae scattered throughout, a temple of Isis and Sarapis at Gortyn from as early as the reign of Ptolemy V (with their warship spreading throughout the island by the Imperial period), Ptolemies helping to rebuild Gortyn's walls, the implementation of a Ptolemaic garrison at Itanos, and so forth.[293] Moreover, the appearance of Cretan Hadra vases in Egypt, especially Alexandria, has been well-documented and directly related to the spread of Cretan mercenaries and their ties to Egypt.[294] Thus, although Perlman might be correct in

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peace of Apamea, both Liv. 37. 53 and Polyb. 21.10, 19 preserve moments of tension and dissent between Eumenes II and the Rhodians, as their interests clashed, including later on in Eumenes' war against Pharnakes (183-179 B.C.), when Rhodes openly opposed him (Polyb. 27.7). Thus, we already have evidence of Knossos openly siding with a Rhodian 'enemy' in 183 B.C., in addition to joining a great majority of Cretan cities, including its arch-rival Gortyn, in an alliance with an external figure that greatly encroached upon immediate Rhodian interests. This makes their participation in either Cretan-Rhodian war entirely possible.

[291] The history of Eumenes II's activity in Crete is equally convoluted, as Kydonia sought his help according to Polyb. 28.15, which led to the king sending an envoy to Crete and temporarily occupying the city as part of his assistance to Kydonia's struggle against Gortyn. On this episode, see Raab (2001): 55-60. Alternatively, this also suggests that although the Cretan cities had signed this pact with Eumenes, it would not be excluded that he could support one of the *poleis* against another (unless Polybius is referring to a different treaty than the one surviving to us). If it is the same, it would therefore not exclude the possibility that Knossos could have ratified separate treaties and understandings with Rhodes, though no such reference survives.

[292] Perlman (1999): 148-53.

[293] For a more detailed discussion, see Spyridakis (1970): esp. 69-104 for 'Ptolemaic Itanos'; Willetts (1962): 293-3 and Harrison (1993): 158 for Sarapis and Isis, Di Vita (1979-80, 2004 and 2010), Di Vita et. al. (1984) for Gortynian archaeology, and for a broader discussion of Egyptian presence and influence in Crete see Willetts (1965): 153-4 Rouanet-Liesenfelt (1992), Magnelli (1994-1995), Perlman (1999), Chaniotis (1999). We also have evidence of Ptolemaic mediation, similar to the Roman ones, between Knossos and Gortyn at IC IV 176 and 181.

[294] For more on Knossian Hadra Vases and their vast presence in Egypt, see Callaghan (1980): *passim*, (1983): 32-7, (1984): 789-94, Cook (1984): 795-6, Callaghan and Jones (1985), Eiring (2001): 445, Whitley (2001): 433-42. Chaniotis (1999): 184 and (2004): 84-5 identifies the presence of Hadra vases abroad as a direct result

suggesting that Rhodes wanted to prevent further disruptions and bickering with cities that did hold strong Egyptian ties, this does not necessarily imply or presume an alliance with Knossos. Instead, this should be seen as a conflict for which the Rhodians understood they were ill-equipped for reasons well outside the scope of this study. The connection between Crete and Egypt, however, must be kept in mind, as it will resurface through Antony's land donations to Cleopatra and their children.

Where does this leave us then? At first, it leaves us with a muddled Knossian-Rhodian relationship and with a strong case for Knossos potentially being one of the belligerents in the Second Cretan War (if not also in the First). The picture, however, becomes even more fragmented when looking at the accounts of this second conflict between the two islands. The key passage for our analysis comes from Polybius, and reflects events taking place towards the end of the war:

καὶ Ἀστυμήδης ὁ Ῥόδιος, πρεσβευτὴς ἅμα καὶ ναύαρχος καθεσταμένος, παρελθὼν ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον διελέγετο περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Κρηταιεῖς. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος προσέχουσα τὸν νοῦν ἐπιμελῶς παραχρῆμα πρεσβευτὰς ἐξαπέστειλε τοὺς περὶ Κόιντον λύσοντας τὸν πόλεμον.[295]

Upon listening to the Rhodian tale, the Romans decided to put an end to the war, although it is unclear from Polybius' language whether this was Rhodes' intention. Interestingly, the Romans acted contrariwise to what Philip V had done in the first war, when he had stirred conflict between the two belligerents. Of course, even in 205/4 B.C., the Romans had opposed Philip V's policies and his meddling in the Greek islands (see n. 289), which partly led to the Second Macedonian War, but it is noteworthy that the Romans continued their policy to preserve these islands' freedoms and removed them from each other's throats. Admittedly, selfish interests could be cited as one of the reasons for this approach. For

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of the high degree of Cretan mercenary presence in Egypt, with Knossos acting as a major producer, but argues that until more evidence is uncovered, we cannot speak of these as concrete evidence of large scale Cretan exports in the same way that we will see wine become during the Roman Period. Coldstream, Eiring, and Forster (2001): 117-9 counted the total corpus of Hadra Vases at 350 with the major production centres at Knossos and the Mesara Plain.

[295] Polyb. 33.15.

instance, during the Imperial period, certain trading routes in the *annona* distribution from Alexandria to Italy would pass through Crete, while others came through Rhodes running along the southern Cretan shores.[296] It is likely that the Romans understood these routes' importance well before their occupation of Egypt and Crete, and they could not benefit from either Crete or Rhodes falling in combat to each other, or stirring up a larger Mediterranean-wide conflict. Furthermore, the decision to end the Cretan War also came at a time when Rome had become a habitual mediator in Cretan affairs, as we have seen, and the seemingly rare display of Cretan unity against Rhodes may have ignited this verdict: a divided Crete was far less dangerous and easier to manipulate than a unified one.[297]

We can thus conclude this overview with two final examples of Roman arbitration from the late second century B.C. that will help connect many of the themes already observed. Three separate inscriptions (IC. 3.4.9-10 and IC. 1.16.3) discussed at length by Ager, Chaniotis and others, preserve the outcome of mediations regarding two separate cases: Hierapytna vs. Itanos and Olous vs. Lato.[298] Both of these are concluded with the help of



Fig. 2.2 Map of the parties involved in the late second century B.C. arbitrations (Author's map via the Ancient World Mapping Centre's 'À la Carte' tool)

[296] For these, see Fulford (1989): *passim*, Haggis (1996): 203-4, Baldwin Bowsky (2011): 124-5.
[297] On a more unified Crete during the second war, see Willetts (1969): 113-4; cf. Raab (2001): 58-9 and Perlman (1999) with discussion above.
[298] On Hierapytna and Itanos see IC. 3.4.9-10, on Olous and Lato see IC. 1.16.3, ID. 1513A, B and 1514, and REA 1942.34. For discussion and analysis, see Van Effenterre (1942): 31-51, Spyridakis (1992): 135, Ager (1996): no. 164, Chaniotis (1996): esp. 318-9 but also ff. and (2004b): 185-213, Camia (2009): 106-132.

Roman envoys, most famously through Quintus Fabius Maximus (MRR 110/111) and others that were sent to Crete in the 110s B.C. to settle lingering issues.[299] As Camia pointed out, these settlements can be seen as part of a series of Roman arbitrations between Knossos and Gortyn in the second century B.C., as Itanos and Lato were allies of the former, while Hierapytna and Olous were allied to the latter (fig. 2.2 above).[300]

Beginning with the case between Hierapytna and Itanos, the main events can be summarised as follows: the two cities came into conflict over control of territory near the temple of Diktaian Zeus and over the island Leuke and, in 140 B.C., the Romans asked Magnesia to arbitrate between the two, which they did, but after their initial decision was disputed by Hierapytna, the Itanians asked Rome to 'enforce the court's decision' as Spyridakis puts it; after the arbitrator Q. Fabius favoured the Hierapytnians, the Itanians once again referred to the Magnesian decree and, in 112 B.C., the consul Lucius Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus (MRR 88) referred this case to another Magnesian arbitration for a final decision.[301] The decision of the Magnesians favoured Itanos, the Knossian ally, and it is clear that the Romans, although pro-Hierapytna initially, respected the decision and more importantly demonstrated that they had become 'unofficial' arbitrators in Cretan affairs.

As far as Leuke is concerned (the other place of interest in the dispute), its importance has been highlighted in the past, namely as an 'economic asset for the networks of East

[299] IC 3.4.9 l.74: τοῦ γραφέντος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐληλυθότων εἰς Κρήτην π[ρ]εσβευτῶν τῶν περὶ Κόϊντον Φάβιον […]. It remains unclear which Q. Fabius this is, as two possibilities are raised in MRR, namely Allobrogicus (cos. 121) or Eburnus (cos. 116). See also MRR for references to the other members of this embassy and dating of the inscription. For a summary of the complex Cretan disputes, particularly between Hierapytna and Itanos, see Spyridakis (1992): 134-6.

[300] Camia (2009): 127 following Chaniotis (1996): 50-6 and Guizzi (2001): 373-82 on the disputes between Knossos and Gortyn, their respective alliances, and their allies' involvement in the latter half of the second century B.C. The arbitrations, Camia concludes, are part of the conflict's conclusions between Gortyn and Knossos described at Strab. 10.4.10. See also Spyridakis (1992): 134-6, Perlman (1995): 164-5, and Guizzi (2001): 383-4 for a discussion of Knossos-Hierapytna-Itanos relationships during this period (cf. Chaniotis 1996).

[301] IC. III.4.9 l.50-52 reminds the readers of the Magnesian appointment: δοθείσης δὲ τῆς ἡμετέ/ρας πόλεως πρότερόν τε καὶ νῦν καὶ τοῦ δόγματος περιέχοντος ὃν τρόπον ἑκάτεροι ταύτην τὴν / χώραν καὶ τὴν νῆσον […]. See also Spyridakis (1992): 135. Interestingly, Strab. 14.1.11 writes that Magnesia on the Maeander was in fact a joint colony of Cretans and Magnesians from Thessaly, thus making the appointment of Magnesia one rooted in deep mythological roots and connections between them and the Cretans.

Crete', as Viviers puts it, thanks to its purple-dying industry that had existed since Minoan times.[302] Moreover, we know that the temple of Diktaian Zeus, part of whose territory was claimed in the dispute, was a place of common worship for multiple Cretan *poleis*; it had been under the control of Praisos for some time, as Strabo mentions, but was later under Hierapytna's, as suggested by an inscription of the second half of the second century B.C., only to be contested by Itanos, which led to the conflict and arbitrations stated above.[303] Taken together, control of the island and temple would have greatly enhanced the winning city's wealth and prestige, while diminishing that of their rivals. Thus, this dispute that had lingered for such a long time was not a minor one, and the decision by the Magnesians (and acceptance by the Romans) to favour Itanos would have presumably also benefitted Knossian interests.

Turning to the second mediation, namely the one concerning Lato and Olous, it had been arbitrated by the Knossians themselves, though the decision was ratified and confirmed by the Romans:

ἀπόκριμα τῶν ἐγ Ῥώμης πρειγεύταν, Κοίντω Φαβίω Μαξίμω, Κοίντω
υἵω, Γαίω Φαννίω, Γαίω υἵω, Ποπλίω Ροτιλίω, Ποπλίω υἵω, Κοίντω Πλω-
[τ]ίω, Ἀὔλω υἵω, Μαάρκω Δομετίω, Ποπλίω υἵω· κρίματος
Λατίοις καὶ Ὀλοντίοις καὶ τῷ ἰαρεῖ· ἡμεῖς ὃ Κνώσιοι ἔκριναν
Λατίοις καὶ Ὀλοντίοις διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν εἰς ἀκέραιον ἀποκατεστήσ[α]-
[μ]εν ὅτι ὁμόλογον ἦν ἑκατέροις τοῦτο τὸ κρίμα κατὰ τὸμ πόλεμον γεγενη-
μένον, ὧι καιρῶι Λάτιοι Κνωσίων, Ὀλόντιοι Γορτυνίων σύμμαχοι ἦσαν·

(REA 1942: 34 l. 63-69)

The background of this verdict is as follows: a border dispute raged between Lato and Olous towards the end of the second century B.C. and was arbitrated on several occasions by the Knossians, with evidence of these decisions preserved in a series of inscriptions from Delos,

[302] Viviers (1999): 222-6 who adds that the 'asset' of Leuke was purely economic, as there was little deemed strategic about the island; cf. Perlman (1999): 148-9. See also Hdt. 4.151 who mentions a πορφυρεύς from Itanos, which Perlman associates to Leuke. Even the Magnesian decree confirms that the Itanians had indeed sought Ptolemaic support to protect their Leukian possession against the Praisians.

[303] Strab. 10.4.6 for Praisos and IC. III.2.1 for Hierapytna, as well as Willetts (1962): 209-12 for interpretation of the inscription and argument that the temple of Diktaian Zeus was a common centre of worship based on his reading of line 57 of the Hymn of the Kouretes – θόρ' ες πόληας ἀμῶν; cf. Spyridakis (1992): 134. See also West (1965) for commentary and translation, as well as Perlman (1995).

another from Venice (brought over from Crete), one from Agios Nikolaos, and finally, the most recently uncovered (1937), from the village of Stà Lénikà.[304] The latter is the most complete and reveals a territorial dispute regarding *chora* between the two cities – the territory of Kresa, the island of Pyrrha, and the temple at Dera, which the Knossians judge in favour of Lato:

ἦμεν Λατίων καὶ τὰν νᾶσον Πύρραν καὶ
τὸν πορτίοντα σκόπελον καὶ τὰν χώραν τ[ὰ]ν [Κρ]ᾶσαν καὶ τὸ ἰαρὸν τὸ Δέ-
ραι καὶ τὰ θιγγάνοντα τῶι ἰαρῶι τεμένια πάν[τα], […]

(REA 1942: 34 l. 49-51)

As we have noted above, Lato was a Knossian ally, and once again the decision regarding the territorial dispute favours both of them entirely, with the Romans placing their stamp of approval on it.[305] The request to place the decrees in multiple locations also emphasises both the magnitude of this dispute, and may act as a precedent in the future, with easily accessible locations if it needed to be referred to: it was to be displayed in the temple of Apollo Delphidios in Knossos, in the temple of Ares at Dera, in the temple of Eleuthyia in Lato, in the temple of Zeus Tallaios in Olous, and finally in the temple of Apollo at Delos.[306] Once again, the Roman decision, whether willingly or not, helped maintain Knossian interests and hegemonic aspirations by siding with its allies in both disputes discussed here (albeit perhaps unwillingly in the Itanos decree).[307] Yet, as Harrison has already stated, the Knossian expansion never seemed 'particularly impressive', which might help explain why

[304] These are respectively ID. 1514 (= IC I. 16.3), ID 1513A (= IC I.16.4A), ID 1514B (=IC I.16.4B), IC I.16.5, IC I. 16.18, and REA 1942: 34. See Van Effenterre (1942): 32-3 for chronological reconstruction and analysis.

[305] That said, Van Effenterre (1942): 40 was correct to indicate that the Knossians did judge in favour of the Olountians when it came to certain material claims, but this section of the inscription is particularly fragmentary and difficult to reconstruct. See lines 55-61 for this. Nevertheless, for our purpose, we must note that Lato had full gain of cause with respect to the territorial claims.

[306] IC. I. 16.3-4. Willetts (1962): 263 argues that many of these temples must have coincided with their respective cities' chief places of worship. For instance, he cites regarding the temple of Apollo Delphidios at Knossos the decree of Teos from 201 B.C. (IC I. 8.12f.) and a proxeny decree of the late second century B.C.

[307] See Diod. Sic. 33.10 on the Knossians claiming hegemony over the island, but we will return to this in our concluding discussion. Rigsby (1976): 317 argues that this shows Knossos had dethroned Gortyn as the leader of the Cretan League in the second century B.C. For a more complete summary of Knossian diplomatic activities prior to the Roman conquest, see Callaghan (1994): *passim*. The latter even adds that the Knossian rise to power 'came simultaneously to the rise of Lyttos and Gortyn', which may have in turn simultaneously led to a decline of Knossian island-wide influence, which could explain why the Romans were not afraid to occasionally support the city's interests.

the Romans did not hesitate to mediate in its favour, or try to influence the Magnesian decrees.[308] These boundary disputes continued even into the Imperial period, but for the purpose of this discussion we have focused solely on the matters related to the period preceding the Cretan conquest.[309]

At the end of this first section, we can now reiterate and summarise the main points teased from the Roman interventions in Crete during the second century B.C. As far as Knossos is concerned, it saw several of its disputes and interests mediated by various Roman magistrates. Decisions for the most part were in its favour, and although at certain times the Cretans were ordered to cease hostilities (i.e. Rhodian wars, or civil wars), it is unclear whether these affected the Knossians positively or negatively. If we look at the larger scale, we can also identify a number of prominent families establishing ties, as weak as they may have been at this time, within Crete, which will become an important factor when we analyse the foundation of the CINC: Quintus Fabius Labeo, Appius Claudius Pulcher, Quintus Minucius, Lucius Calpurnius Piso, Quintus Fabius Maximus, Lucius Julius Caesar, and eventually Marcus Antonius would all set their mark on Cretan history to various degrees before the island's official conquest. Moreover, with other events transpiring in the Greek world in the first half of the second century B.C. (i.e. Macedonian Wars and other conflicts), it is not surprising that Crete was increasingly pulled into the Roman radar on account of their mercenaries' presence across the Mediterranean, their intra-island conflicts, and other incursions abroad through piracy or warfare (i.e. with Rhodes). Knossos' light shone perhaps brightest on this radar, as one of the chief aspirants for Cretan hegemony and on account of

[308] Harrison (1993): 42-3, though his argument is mostly based on the size of Knossos' two main ports at Amnisos and Heraklion being 'neither larger nor better than those of the other leading cities'.
[309] To name but one example, see IC I.8.49 for Nero's decision regarding lands tied to the temple of Asklepios from Knossos. On this, see Willetts (1962): 225, Harrison (1993): 98-9.

its already discussed famous history.[310] In spite of this, it seems as if it was in the Romans' interest to support this *polis* for the time being, though this would quickly change after the turn of the century.

2.3 Roman and Cretan Disasters: Mithridates, the Fall of Crete, and its Aftermath

At this stage, let us reiterate a second century A.D. excerpt from the Roman historian Florus that we have already mentioned: *Creticum bellum, si vera volumus, nos fecimus sola vincendi nobilem insulam cupiditate*, which is followed by the somewhat contradictory remark *favisse Mithridati videbatur: hoc placuit armis vindicare*.[311] Thus, it appears that Florus gives us both embellishment of the conquest and actual motivation for a war that is often attributed to piracy and pro-Mithridatic stances. The island's fame, or *nobilitas*, is a key feature in this passage, as we should recall that the Roman colony at Knossos also used this epithet. Arguably the island's most famous city, Knossos played a key role in the events that led to the Cretan conquest, and it should not be excluded that the placement of the colony at Knossos out of all cities had both a pretext and an actual motivation in the same vein as Florus describes the conquest itself – on account of its fame, and because of certain transgressions. At any rate, using Florus' epitome as a starting point, we will use this section to understand how the Roman involvement in Crete changed after one century of 'peaceful' diplomacy, how Mithridates played a larger role in Crete than our sources reveal at first glance, how the conquest transpired, and what it meant in the short term for our Knossian case study.

[310] As Paltiel (1979): 38, n. 53 writes, throughout the second century B.C., 'Rome was in a position to exert overwhelming diplomatic pressure upon all eastern states, including independent *amici*'. This is true of Crete as well, as we have seen Romans act out of their own will or interest.
[311] Flor. 1.42.

We will go into each of these events in detail, but for the readers' convenience, a brief timeline can be summarised as follows: in the 80s B.C., Crete appears to side with Rome against the threat of Mithridates, but in the 70s accusations arise against Cretan piracy and Mithridatic support, with a first campaign launched by Marcus Antonius with one legion. After partial disaster and mediocre success, he nevertheless receives the title of Creticus, while the Cretans send an envoy to seek peace and renewed alliance with the Romans, which is refused unless drastic conditions are met; finally, Metellus alongside three legions brutally completes the island's conquest, though not without controversy that would set the stage for future similar issues.[312]

Roman diplomacy since the arrival of Quintus Fabius Labeo in Crete had been primarily favourable to the Knossians as we have seen in the previous section. Thus, what changed, if anything, in the first few decades of the first century B.C.?[313] We have seen that although the Romans had previously complained to the Cretans about their simultaneous support of Perseus, this had not led to a pretext of war and violent conquest, as it would with Mithridates.[314] Our main sources for the Cretan conquest are Appian and Cassius Dio, both writing at a much later time, with the latter's account being unfortunately fragmentary.[315] As such, only one of the two, Appian, preserves an account similar to that of Florus regarding the outset of the war, though he does not mention any desire to conquer the island on account of its fame: ὅτι Κρήτη ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχειν ἐδόκει Μιθριδάτῃ βασιλεύοντι Πόντου, καὶ αὐτῷ μισθοφορῆσαι πολεμοῦντι Ῥωμαίοις ἐλέγετο. ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς πλεύσασι τότε λῃσταῖς ἐς χάριν τοῦ Μιθριδάτου συλλαβεῖν καὶ συμμαχῆσαι σαφῶς διωκομένοις ὑπὸ Μάρκου

[312] Plut. Luc. 2.3, App. Sic. 6, Diod. Sic. 40.1, Cass. Dio 36.17-19, Flor. 1.41-2 cover these events. See also Harrison (1988): 140, Viviers (2004): 17, Gallimore (2011): 16-21 for an overview of the relevant sources.
[313] Or, as De Souza (1998): 112-3 puts it, why were the Cretans not penalised earlier for helping Mithridates – why did it take so long for this to be used as a justification for war, unless it was but a pretext?
[314] Liv. 43.7.
[315] App. Sic. 6 and Cass. Dio 36.17-9.

Ἀντωνίου.[316] Two main elements once again stand out from these claims: the infamous Cretan piracy and the ill-fated association with Mithridates.[317]

While we discussed Cretan piracy in the previous chapter, Strabo's brief overview at 10.4.9 must be reiterated:

μετὰ γὰρ τοὺς Τυρρηνούς, οἳ μάλιστα ἐδήωσαν τὴν καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς θάλατταν, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ διαδεξάμενοι τὰ λῃστήρια: τούτους δ᾽ ἐπόρθησαν ὕστερον οἱ Κίλικες: κατέλυσαν δὲ πάντας Ῥωμαῖοι τήν τε Κρήτην ἐκπολεμήσαντες καὶ τὰ πειρατικὰ τῶν Κιλίκων φρούρια. νῦν δὲ Κνωσσὸς καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀποικίαν ἔχει.

Cretan and Cilician piracy were ongoing issues on the eve of the Cretan conquest, which is further confirmed by Florus and Plutarch who depict both areas as sources of piracy. Plutarch, for instance, writes: δευτέρα γάρ τις ἦν αὕτη τῶν πειρατηρίων πηγὴ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Κιλικίᾳ.[318] Justin's 'Epitome of Pompeius Trogus' also associates the conquest of Crete with piracy in a nonchalant, offhand comment, which does not even make any reference to Marcus Antonius' or Metellus' incursions and honours gained from their wars: *postea Creta Ciliciaque piratico bello perdomitae in formam prouinciae rediguntur.*[319] This is reminiscent of Strabo's own passage, in which no mention is made of the conquerors, as he simply associates the fall of Crete with their brigand activities. However, recalling our previous discussion of Cretan piracy within the context of literary tropes developed over centuries of negative depictions, this was an image that was not a novelty on the eve of Crete's conquest. Yet, unlike in the past, the Romans had now taken it upon themselves to clear the seas, particularly through Pompey and, unlike when they chastised the Cretans for siding with Perseus, the Mithridatic association remained unacceptable.[320]

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[316] App. Sic. 6.
[317] These two claims have been highlighted by many others beforehand, such as Harrison (1998), Viviers (2004), Gallimore (2011).
[318] Plut. Pomp. 29. See also Flor. 1.41 for a description of the Roman war on the Cretan and Cilician pirates.
[319] Just. 39.5.
[320] Baldwin Bowsky (2011): 440. See also Diod. 40.1, claiming that the Cretans' activities as pirates were a major reason for the demands made prior to Metellus' invasion. For brief allusions to the Roman sentiment and praise for Pompey's dealings with the pirates see Cic. Leg. Man. 28-35.

Furthermore, the ties between Crete (especially Knossos) and Mithridates' family can be traced back to at least Mithridates V Euergetes thanks to a personal aside in Strabo's Cretan chapter where he traces his own family's ties to Knossos and the king.[321] Appian's passage above already made it clear that the Romans were unhappy that the Cretans provided Mithridates VI with mercenaries, but it seems that his father before him had also made use of them:

οὗτος διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἐμπειρίαν ξενολογεῖν ἀποδειχθεὶς πολὺς ἦν ἔν τε τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ τῇ Θρᾴκῃ, πολὺς δὲ καὶ τοῖς παρὰ τῆς Κρήτης ἰοῦσιν, οὔπω τὴν νῆσον ἐχόντων Ῥωμαίων, συχνοῦ δὲ ὄντος ἐν αὐτῇ τοῦ μισθοφορικοῦ καὶ στρατιωτικοῦ πλήθους, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὰ ληστήρια πληροῦσθαι συνέβαινεν. [322]

Strabo then goes on to give us the story of his Knossian grandmother's ties to Mithridates' household, which one can only imagine spread across other aristocratic families in the Cretan *polis*.[323]

Despite this, as is often the case with Cretan allegiances, they appear to be fluctuating. Plutarch implies that the Cretans had offered their support to Lucullus who was sent to the East on behalf of Sulla to gain allies in the First Mithridatic War of 88-85 B.C.: οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Κρήτην κατάρας ὠκειώσατο.[324] Once again, as with the issue of piracy, the reasons given for the war against Crete are looking increasingly like pretexts rather than justifications, perhaps giving justice to De Souza's claims that the Cretan invasion was a 'deliberate act of imperialism, motivated principally by the desire to plunder the island and exploit its [Late Hellenistic] economy'. [325] That said, the memory of Mithridates' actions against the *negotiatores* in Asia Minor was still fresh in the minds of most Romans and therefore even if

[321] Strab. 10.4.10.
[322] Strab. 10.4.10.
[323] For this excursus, Strabo's shortcomings, and his few autobiographical inclusions, see Clarke (1997): 98-100, as well as (1999) more broadly.
[324] Plut. Luc. 2.3.
[325] De Souza (1998): 112-3, perhaps supported by Luc. 3.162-3: *quod dites Asiae populi misere tributum, victorique dedit Minoia Creta Metello*. For a more recent approach, similar in a chronological sense to the one proposed in this chapter, see especially Gallimore (2019): 590-3, though his overview of interactions prior to the conquest is even more skeletal. For the status of Crete's economy prior to the Roman conquest, see esp. Chaniotis (1999) and (2008), Hadjisavvas and Chaniotis (2012).

he was used as merely a pretext to attack Crete, it was one that was easy to defend and justify.[326] By the time Metellus took up command, and even during Antonius' less successful campaign, Rome was in the middle of a third gruelling war against Mithridates with patience and tempers running thin, and a desperate need for a victory – which again reinforces De Souza's suggestion that the conquest of Crete was more of a necessity to bolster the Roman economy (and perhaps morale) and one that was inevitable once initiated according to Sallust's alleged letter by Mithridates: *Cretenses inpugnati semel iam neque finem nisi excidio habitur<i>*.[327]

Before turning to the two commands of Marcus Antonius (72/1 B.C.) and Quintus Caecillius Metellus (69-67 B.C.), both named Creticus, we must make a brief diversion to one of Mithridates' actions that would have repercussions directly associated with the foundation of the CINC: the fall of Delos at his hands in 88 B.C.[328] Baldwin Bowsky's extensive studies of Cretan onomastics and prosopography have shown that there appears to be a direct correlation between this event and the arrival of Italians and Romans in Crete, most likely traders fleeing Delos and Mithridates, who would eventually settle there.[329] Their presence would have repercussions that would reverberate for decades, ultimately playing a role in the decision to create a colony for Roman settlers under Augustus, to gather them in one location, but this is a story for the following section and only worth mentioning here in the context of the events described.

Returning to the Cretan conquest, ancient sources are critical of Marcus Antonius' expedition in Crete, perhaps none more than Appian, who writes of his successor, Metellus:

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[326] This refers to events of 88 B.C. when Mithridates massacred some 150 000 Italians in Asia Minor according to Plut. Sull. 24.4 (cf. Val. Max. 11.2.4, citing 80 000), in what was the worst massacre of an Italian civilian population to date; cf. App. Mith. 4. Mithridates' massacres also occurred at Delos, which would have a direct impact upon Cretan affairs, as we will see below.
[327] Sall. Hist. 4.67.
[328] App. Mith. 4.
[329] See Baldwin Bowsky (1999): esp. 306 and Baldwin Bowsky (2011): 431-40 for correlation between later Cretan names shared with others from Delos, which she judges to be a direct effect of the events of 88 B.C.

καὶ ἐθριάμβευσε, καὶ Κρητικὸς ἐκλήθη ὅδε δικαιότερον Ἀντωνίου, τὴν νῆσον ἐξεργασάμενος.[330] Florus also does not mince his words, when describing Antonius: *primus invasit insulam Marcus Antonius, cum ingenti quidem victoriae spe atque fiducia, adeo ut pluris catenas in navibus quam arma portaret. Dedit itaque poenas vecordiae.*[331] Although he secured a peace with the Cretans and received the title of Creticus, the shame is palpable in the surviving sources.[332] His naval defeat and subsequent treaty signed with the Cretans were short lived, but not without controversy and hesitation on the part of the Roman senate – this is a legacy that his Triumvir son will seek to remedy as we will see shortly.

Appian and Diodorus preserve slightly different versions of the events that transpired after this initial Cretan 'success'. According to the former, the Romans declared war on Crete for their its transgressions and demanded that Lasthenes be surrendered (the man responsible for Antonius' defeat), the Roman prisoners be freed, as well as 300 hostages be given alongside 4000 talents of silver.[333] Diodorus, on the other hand, although he preserves the same conditions imposed by the Romans, claims that the Cretans had first sent an embassy to Rome to defend themselves against accusations brought against them, though these accusations are never specified.[334] It appears that their defence even sparked a positive initial response from the Roman senators, as Diodorus (40.1) writes:

εἰσαχθέντες δὲ εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον καὶ περί τε τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἐμφρόνως ἀπολογησάμενοι τάς τε ἰδίας εὐεργεσίας καὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀκριβῶς διελθόντες, ἠξίουν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν προγεγενημένην εὔνοιάν τε καὶ συμμαχίαν ἀποκαταστῆναι. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἀσμένως τοὺς λόγους προσδεξαμένη δόγμα ἐπεβάλετο κυροῦν δι' οὗ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων τοὺς

[330] App. Sic. 6; cf. Diod. Sic. 40.1. Cassius Dio's account is incomplete in his description of the Cretan conflict and any potential references to Antonius are lost.
[331] Flor. 1.42.
[332] De Souza (1999): 112 suggests that avenging Antonius' defeat may have been one of the reasons for the Cretan conquest largely omitted by our sources. De Souza could be justified by Appian's (Sic. 6) statement: ψηφισαμένων δὲ Ῥωμαίων Κρησὶ πολεμεῖν διὰ τάδε, οἱ Κρῆτες ἐπρέσβευσαν ἐς Ῥώμην περὶ διαλλαγῶν. It is, however, unclear here as to what διὰ τάδε refers to since this passage comes immediately after a reference to Marcus Antonius' more famous son and his war with Octavian. Presumably it should refer to the Cretan piracy, mercenary assistance to Mithridates, and direct resistance towards Antonius discussed to in the introduction of his chapter, but again, this remains open to interpretation.
[333] App. Sic. 6.
[334] Gallimore (2019): 594 believes that this embassy suggests the presence of a '*koinon* of Hellenistic city-states'. See also Diod. Sic. 40.1.

Κρῆτας ἀπολύουσα φίλους καὶ συμμάχους τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀνηγόρευεν ἄκυρον δὲ τὸ δόγμα ἐποίησε Λέντλος ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος Σπινθήρ.

Thus, had it not been for Lentulus' veto, the Cretans may have preserved their independence and avoided the wrath of Metellus, rather than deciding against accepting the conditions proposed by the Romans.[335] This, however, would not be the last time that Cretan affairs would spark dissent amongst the Romans. Florus, Appian, Cassius Dio, and Plutarch all preserve details of Metellus' merciless behaviour in Crete and indicate that some of the Cretans even sent word that they would surrender to Pompey, who at that time was dealing with the piracy issue – something that even Cicero recalls in an attempt to demonstrate Pompey's qualities.[336] Cassius Dio claims that Cornelius Sisenna, the governor of Greece, had asked Metellus to spare the towns of Crete before the latter captured Eleutherna and Lappa.[337] Furthermore, perhaps the most damning piece of evidence reflecting that the conquest of Crete was the enterprise of one man seeking glory, similar to how Labeo desperately sought a triumph by heading to Crete, comes from the same author: ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως καὶ ἄκοντος Πομπηίου τῷ Κρητικῷ πολέμῳ τέλος ὁ Μέτελλος ἐπιθεὶς θρίαμβόν τε ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κατήγαγε καὶ Κρητικὸς ἐπεκλήθη.[338] Pompey, however, did get the proverbial last laugh, as he managed to extract Lasthenes and Panares, the Cretan leaders, before they could be paraded and killed in Metellus' triumph.[339] This came after Lasthenes fled from Kydonia to Knossos, where he burnt down his own house and then fled again as the city was besieged by

[335] Diodorus claims Lasthenes convinced them against this, fearing that he would be captured, but Appian preserves no such statement and rather states that the Cretans refused the offer: οὐ δεξαμένων δὲ ταῦτα Κρητῶν ᾑρέθη στρατηγὸς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς Μέτελλος.
[336] Flor. 1.42, App. Sic. 6, Cass. Dio 36.17-19, Plut. Pomp. 29, Cic. Leg. Man. 35.
[337] Cass. Dio 36.18-9 adds that Octavius, Pompey's officer, who was occupying Lappa, used the armies of the now deceased Sisenna to fight Metellus in a quasi-civil war until they ran off from Hierapytna, which gave free reign to Metellus to complete his conquest; cf. Plut. Pomp. 29.2-5 who is very critical of Pompey's actions in these events and accuses him of acting out of jealousy to prevent Metellus' triumph, while also favouring a common enemy.
[338] Cass. Dio. 36.17; cf. App. Sic. 6 who highlights that Pompey had ordered Metellus to leave Crete, only to be ignored.
[339] Cass. Dio. 36.17; cf. App. Sic. 6.

Metellus.[340] And thus, Knossos officially acted as the battleground for one of the final conflicts of the war, and saw a hundred years of favourable diplomatic relations crumble along with their own freedom. The loss of freedom was particularly noteworthy as it would have been the last bastion of 'Greece' to be conquered – a detail that may not have escaped the alleged Cretan ally Mithridates, or even the Romans, as Sallust identified the island's inhabitants as *solos omnium liberos* in the letter composed in Mithridates' name.[341] One of the leading cities of the Cretan coalition, a final bastion of Cretan resistance, and the home of the general Lasthenes: this may have been Knossos' final legacy prior to the conquest. As such, many have pointed towards these events as precursors to Augustus' decision some 40 years later to send a colony of Romans to Knossos and offer some of its lands to the Capuans: punishment for this comprehensive list of ill-advised actions, but we will turn towards these arguments shortly.[342]

Furthermore, the Cretans' pleas to Pompey in light of Metellus' actions also provide a crucial precedent for events preceding Actium. Plutarch and Cassius Dio both claim that the Cretans appealed to Pompey as a result of their interpretation that their island was actually part of his jurisdiction.[343] In the same vein, when Imperator Caesar promised the Capuans some Knossian land as compensation, Crete was clearly under Antony's jurisdiction, as

[340] App. Sic. 6. Scholars agree that the siege at Knossos appears to have had no major repercussions on the city itself, as the archaeological record shows no signs of major damage during this period, except for small hints such as a Hellenistic house holding a wine press that was abandoned around the time of the conquest. For more on this, see Paton (1994): 146-7 with evidence in Hood and Smyth (1981): 49, n. 200. The main signs of change come from a few cult sites, such as the shrine of Glaukos, where activity was halted following the conquest, presumably on account of its military nature and associations to the coming-of-age ceremonies. For this, see Callaghan (1978) and discussion in chapter 1.

[341] Sall. Hist. 4.67. Alternatively, if this was Sallust's own creation, it also suggests that the Romans acknowledged this fact.

[342] Unlike at Gortyn, where there was a small pro-Roman contingent. For more on these two cities' attitudes in the war, see Sanders (1982): 3-4, Baldwin Bowsky (2002): 26. Alternatively, Metenidis (1998): 118-9 suggests that it is not fruitful to divide the Cretan cities into pro and anti-Roman states at the time of the conquest since none of them were brutally punished and presumably both pro-Roman Gortyn and anti-Roman Knossos maintained coining privileges afterwards; cf. Jackson (1971): 292 and IC II.14.

[343] Plut. Pomp. 29.2, Cass. Dio. 36.17. For these, see Sanders (1982): 4 and Baldwin Bowsky (2011): 26.

emphasised by his ability to appoint Cretarchs and grant portions of it to his children by Cleopatra around the same time (more on this below).[344]

In many ways, this parallel provides an ideal segue into the next section that will tie the events discussed to this point with the activity in Crete on the eve of the Roman civil wars and during their aftermath. I will thus hope to show that the conquest of Crete should not diminish the positive effects of Roman diplomacy upon Knossian affairs prior to 67 B.C., but should rather be seen as another building block, or the next episode in Rome's territorial ambitions and reorganisations in Crete, which would continue under both Antony and Augustus. Whereas piracy and Mithridatic associations were used as pretexts for the conquest, the result reveals a hunger for glory and economic advantages on the part of a small party of Romans that was not unanimously approved, and that nearly sparked its own civil war.[345] That said, Knossos' actions and role in these events would eventually play a role in Augustus' decisions, whether as a pretext, or on account of its *nobilitas*.

2.4 The Second Triumvirate and the Culmination of a Century of Interactions

The years immediately following the Roman conquest are marked by an unfortunate dearth in our sources, with little archaeological and literary evidence to go by. Aside from Metellus' brutal treatment of prisoners and the introduction of Roman offices as part of the island's inclusion within the empire, there appear to have been very few physical repercussions in the major cities and few punitive impositions (see n. 340, 342). It follows that the final corpus of evidence that we will explore in our chronological approach

[344] Cass. Dio. 49.32.5. See Viviers (1999) and (2004) for economic implications of these grants with more detailed discussion in the subsequent section. See also Baldwin Bowsky (2011): 25-7 for repercussions of both Antony's and Octavian's Cretan-related actions in 36 B.C.

[345] Luc. 3.160-5 hints at great wealth gained from Metellus' conquest, but see also discussion in chapter 1 regarding the image built of a rich, bucolic Crete. Cf. Armstrong (2006) and De Souza's arguments above regarding the conquest of Crete.

reconstructs a moment in Cretan history involving the Late Republic's greatest figures and a little-known Cretan magistrate – an episode that brings together many of the themes seen thus far.

Audacissimus et perditissimus - these are not the characteristics any Roman magistrate or official wishes to be known by. Yet, these are some of the few surviving words that describe a little-known Cretan magistrate and *iudex* known as Kydas (the Cretarch).[346] The small corpus of evidence associated with him is beneficial not only for our understanding of how Roman-Cretan relations developed and were impacted by past interactions and decisions, but as an epiphenomenon, it helps us untangle the complex and poorly understood relationship between the two most prominent Triumvirs in the 30s B.C.

There are four series of sources associated with Kydas the Cretarch, namely two passages from Cicero's *Philippics*, two inscriptions from Gortyn, a cistophoric coin, and a series of bronze coins from Knossos (figs. 2.3-4).[347] Individually, each source has multiple limitations, but together in the context of contemporary developments, they provide essential information. Cicero's tirade(s) against Kydas come from 43 B.C., the cistophoric coin is dated to ca. 48-39 B.C., while the bronze Knossian specimens are dated as late as 34 B.C. – thus, there is no guarantee that these all refer to the same person.[348] While Kydas may seem like an unusual name, it would appear that at least towards the end of the Republic, several prominent Cretans shared this name, and as such, we must remain cautious when employing this corpus of evidence; as a side note, one of the aforementioned inscriptions from Gortyn preserve three different individuals named Kydas, namely the Cretarch, his father and the

[346] Cic. Phil. 5.13-4; cf. Cic. Phil. 8.27.
[347] The two references in Cicero are Cic. Phil. 5.14 and 8.27; see IC IV 250-1 for the inscriptions; Svoronos (1890): 334, n. 1 for the cistophoric coin and Svoronos (1890): 83-5 n. 142-51, with Chapman (1961): 21, Le Rider (1966): 224 for the bronze coins. On our poor understanding of Kydas, his role and office, see Rouanet-Liesenfelt (1984): 346, following Deininger (1965): 43, 85.
[348] While it goes beyond our purposes to discuss each source's dating, it must be stated that the date of the cistophoros remains somewhat uncertain; we will follow the one proposed by Rouanet-Liesenfelt (1984): 349, whose article remains the de facto authority on any Kydas study. This is also followed by Metcalf (2017): 64 in his study of late Republican cistophori, as he highlights the coin's rarity.

author/agoranomos (see below).[349] Be that as it may, for our purposes it matters little whether this corpus refers to one individual, his lineage, or multiple unrelated figures, as we are mostly interested in what they reveal about past Roman-Cretan relations affecting contemporary ones.

The two passages from Cicero's *Philippics* must be understood within the context of contemporary events and a broader scandal that involved Caesar, Brutus, Antony, and the island of Crete. Cicero accuses Antony of fabricating lies when the latter had supposedly freed the Cretans from paying tribute and claimed that Caesar had intended to grant them their independence after Marcus Brutus' proconsulship (i.e. 43 B.C.).[350] The text also implies that the Senate had agreed upon these measures, thus effectively not only placing Crete under Antony's influence and control, but also 'losing' the island, as Cicero dramatically bemoans.[351] More problematic, however, is the claim that Caesar wanted to grant the Cretans their freedom after Brutus' proconsulship since by the time Caesar had died, no one could have known that Brutus would be appointed to the office in the upcoming allocations. So, why then did Antony go to such extremes to seek Cretan freedom and/or support?

While we may never know his true motives, part of the answer lies in the aforementioned interactions between Rome and Crete. We must firstly recall the arbitrations and impositions made by the Romans prior to the conquest and discussed above. There are clear precedents for Roman magistrates intervening in Cretan affairs and arbitrating territorial

[349] IC IV 250 referenced above. Rouanet-Liesenfelt (1984): 345 argues that this was a common Cretan name, however, a glance through the *Inscriptiones Creticae* might suggest otherwise, with the RE also preserving only three entries for Kydas and the Lexicon of Greek Personal Names compiling 16 entries on 'Kydas', although only six of them come from Crete. Ramsey (2005): 27, citing Liv. 33.3.10 and Polyb. 22.15 believes that Kydas the Cretarch may have been related to another Kydas attested in 197 B.C. as leading mercenaries to fight alongside Flamininus, and holding the office of protocosmos (the highest Gortynian office). If true, then Kydas' family had established close ties with the Romans from an early date, which would explain Antony's association with them, but we will return to this shortly.

[350] Cic. Phil. 2.38. A similar account survives in Cass. Dio. 45.32.4, which should be read in conjunction with Cass. Dio. 46.23.3, where Antony is defended by Calenus over these matters, reminding us that Antony still had numerous supporters and allies who defended his actions.

[351] Paluchowski (2003): 205, 213 hypothesises that Antony may have altered the status of the island to such an extent that Cicero was convinced it was or would have been completely lost to the Romans: *At huius venditione decreti, ne nihil actum putetis, provinciam Cretam perdidistis* (Cic. Phil. 2.38).

disputes to further pursue their own interests and agendas: Antony's intervention in Crete simply continues this trend at a time when it was more easily achievable considering the island had been fully conquered. Most importantly, however, Antony's father's disastrous campaign on the island cannot be excluded as a source of motivation for restoring family pride by appealing to past ties and relationships that the Triumvir's father must have established on the island – after all, we have seen that the Romans and Cretans had reached a peace treaty following his invasion and had it not been for Lentulus' veto, Metellus' campaign may have never taken place.

Contemporary events must have also influenced Antony's decision to further meddle into Cretan affairs, going beyond the grants of freedom bemoaned by Cicero and further granting privileges to Kydas, as we will see. We must recall that Brutus was indeed appointed to Crete, and Cassius Dio and Appian do imply that he was able to wrestle some support throughout the island, even though he may have never set foot on it himself.[352] As such, Antony's grant and promises may have played a dual role in both cleansing his father's legacy and having the foresight to dwindle potential future Brutus supporters.

It is therefore in this context that we must understand the rise to prominence of Kydas the Cretarch and his association with Antony. We have already stated that his origins are unknown, but there is a tantalising proposition put forth by Ramsey, which also fits our discussion up to this point: there was at least one other Kydas in the early second century who brought 500 Gortynian mercenaries to fight alongside Flamininus in 197 B.C., and who

[352] For Brutus' appointment in Crete, see Cass. Dio. 47.21.1, App. 3.8, Plut. Brut. 19.3. Regarding Brutus' own presence in Crete (or lack thereof), see Cass. Dio. 47.21.1 (cf. App. 5.1.2), but also Raubitschek (1957): 4-10 who brilliantly maps out the events at the end of 44 B.C. and in the first half of 43 B.C., when Brutus would have been expected to take up his office in Crete, but due to a series of events that are not relevant to our discussion, Brutus sought to forcefully take control of Macedonia instead of going to Crete. For Brutus gathering support in Crete through a certain Lepidus, see Cass. Dio. 47.21.1; cf. also Appian's en-passant remark (App. BC. 5.1.2) in the aftermath of Philippi, specifying that Brutus' legate Lepidus had taken at least some of Crete 'by force', although it is unclear what this entailed or which parts of Crete may have come under their control: προσλαβόντες δὲ καὶ Λέπιδον μεθ᾽ ἑτέρας δυνάμεως, ᾗ Βρούτῳ καθίστατο Κρήτην. Baldwin Bowsky (2002): 30-1 identified the legate Lepidus with either L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus who was proscribed in late 43 B.C., or his son Paullus Aemilius Lepidus; cf. MRR: 342 and Grant (1946): 35.

was protocosmos of Gortyn around 184 B.C., when Appius Claudius Pulcher had arrived for the aforementioned dispute settlements.[353] If this Kydas is indeed related to the Cretarch, then we have a clear indication of his family's close ties to some of the most prominent Roman magistrates – a link easily exploitable by someone of Antony's status. Even without the kinship tie, it can nevertheless be argued that the Romans would not have forgotten the support received in 197 B.C., or the magistrate in charge of one of Crete's most prominent cities at the time of one of their famous arbitrations, thus marking the Kydas of Antony's time as an easy target for association and/or manipulation. After all, the greatest wars Rome fought constantly resurface in Late Republican rhetoric, as do smaller episodes and anecdotes – Cicero being a case in point through his speeches.[354]

Let us therefore turn to the corpus of evidence itself and untangle the roles of Kydas and Antony. Of the two Ciceronian passages, one in particular reveals important detail on Kydas' career. Cicero refers to Kydas, the Cretan, as *audacissimus et perditissimus*, while mocking his acquisition of Roman citizenship and appointment as *iudex*. Cicero claims that Kydas knew so little about Rome and its customs that even Crete was more known to the Roman senators he was addressing than Rome was to Kydas.[355] Both Rouanet-Liesenfelt and Ramsey have argued that the Cretan must have been in Antony's entourage as early as 44 B.C. since he first appears in the fifth *Philippic* dated to January 1st 43 B.C. and since Antony had passed judicial reforms in 44 B.C., which had lowered the social standing required to be eligible to stand as juror.[356] This may have been the context in which Kydas received his

[353] Ramsey (2005): 27 citing Liv. 33.3.10 (Flamininus episode) and Polyb. 22.15 (Appius Claudius intervention).
[354] To give but two brief examples, Lepidus' speech to the Romans preserved by Sallust (1.48) recalls the 'ancestors' fighting against Pyrrhus, Hannibal, and Philip, while Cicero (Leg. Man. 14) also alludes to disputes with Philip, Antiochus, Aetolians, and Carthaginians.
[355] Cic. Phil. 5.13-14; cf. 8.27, as Cicero writes: *Est enim Creta vobis notior quam Roma Cydae*. We also know that Cicero complained about the poor state of Roman courts from a much earlier time, including in his In. Ver. 1.1 where he states: *his iudiciis quae nunc sunt pecuniosum hominem, quamvis sit nocens, neminem posse damnari.*
[356] Rouanet-Liesenfelt (1984): 345, Ramsey (2005): 20-1. This clearly must not have stood well with Cicero, given the aforementioned remarks (see n. 355). Furthermore, Ramsey (2005): 23-4 reminds us that in light of these reforms, out of 75 jurors, if 1/3 were Antonian supporters (i.e., 25), then he would only need 13 more

appointment (perhaps even shortly after receiving his Roman citizenship?), thus establishing a clear client-patron relationship between himself and Antony, who would thus earn a valuable agent and ally in Crete.[357]

That said, while Cicero's invective focused on Kydas' poor character and the Roman benefits granted upon him, it must be highlighted that he did not once refer to Kydas' role and magistracies in Crete, which implies that either he was unaware of them, or that they had not yet been taken up as of 44/3 B.C. – although, it is also possible that Cicero ignored them as they did not fit his rhetoric. Nevertheless, this is an important moment in our timeline as we may recall that Brutus had taken up his proconsulship in 43 B.C. and had even acquired some Cretan support via his legate Lepidus (see n. 352). In turn, it is likely that Antony either appointed, or 'strongly recommended' Kydas to receive the highest offices in Crete as a response to Brutus' efforts to secure his own province, or at least a foothold on it. As such, it also implies that Antony meddled in affairs that were nominally not his jurisdiction, which is a strategy that will later be mimicked by Octavian in 37/6 B.C., as we will see shortly.

This is where the two inscriptions and coinage allow us to build a more complete picture of both Kydas' role and of Antony's machinations. The two inscriptions from Gortyn likely refer to the same 'Kydas', as Halbherr and Guarducci have shown that both were written by the same hand.[358] They read:

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votes to reach the plateau of 38 required for acquittal, which should have made it an easy task for Antony to avoid any charges brought up against him or his supporters.

[357] It is unclear when Kydas acquired his citizenship; Ramsey, via his personal conversation with Ernst Badian, suggests that Antony could not have granted Kydas Roman citizenship until he had become a Triumvir, unless it was via 'a posthumous grant from Caesar', which was not unprecedented. On this, see Ramsey (2005): 28, n. 41, 29. Caesar's role in Crete is also a heavily debated topic, with some even arguing that the eventual Roman colony at Knossos was a Caesarian project, as we even have evidence of a Caesarian freedman as one of the colony's first duumvirs, but we will turn to this shortly.

[358] Guarducci (1933): IC IV 250-1 with Halbherr's original drawings and Rouanet-Liesenfelt (1984): 343.

ἐπὶ Κύδαντος τῶ
Κύδαντος Κρητάρ-
χα καὶ ἀρχῶ ὅκα τὸ ι΄
Κύδας Ἀπνάτω | τῶ Π|οντι|κῶ
ἀγορανομήσας
Εὐετηρίᾳ.

(IC IV. 250)

ἐπὶ Κύδαντος vac. τῶ Κ[ύδαντος — —]
Ζηνᾶς Ἀπελλωνίω .[— — — — — —]
τᾶς ἐπισκευᾶς τῶ .[— — — — — — —]
μνάμων vac. ἀγορανομ[— — — — —]
τας vac. Ἰάσων vac. Καν[— — — — —]

(IC IV. 251)

While the second is too fragmentary to discuss at length, the first one confirms that Kydas held the position of 'Cretarch', as most scholars now agree that this was the title reserved to the 'leading magistrate' of a newly revived Cretan confederation, or *koinon*; this is an interpretation that is in line with other denominations and similar roles elsewhere in the Roman world, such as Asiarchos, or Bithyniarchos.[359] In Crete, however, this title marks a unique moment in its history, as it disappears during the reign of Augustus and does not resurface until the fourth century A.D. when it is alluded to in an inscription from Aphrodisias, with a role and responsibilities far different than the ones that Kydas must have held.[360] This implies that this was either an Antonian or Kydian innovation, and that Augustus sought to abolish any precedents related to his Triumvir rival after his victory at Actium, but we will return to these matters later on.[361]

Moreover, if we accept that Kydas took up his Cretarchate sometime in 43 B.C., then his 10 year rule alluded to in the inscription marked a considerable period of stability in Cretan affairs, as well as the presence of a loyal Antonian at the head of the island for an

[359] Paluchowski (2003): 218 n. 103 with relevant bibliography.
[360] Rouanet-Liesenfelt (1984): 343 and Paluchowski (2003): 218. For the Aphrodisian reference, see CIG 2744, l. 7.
[361] Rouanet-Liesenfelt (1984): 352 and (1994): 9 believes that the title of Cretarch must have been invented by Antony and assigned to Kydas amidst his reorganisation of the island's affairs during his time in control of the Eastern part of the empire. Later works, such as Paton (1994), Di Vita (2010): esp. 60-1 and Lippolis (2016) all follow and accept these arguments.

extended period of time.[362] While the inscription is somewhat problematic, Chaniotis has argued that ὅϙα τὸ ι΄ (l. 3) refers to the position of Cretarch, suggesting Kydas held it for *at least* 10 years.[363] Meanwhile, Rouanet-Liesenfelt has highlighted that ἀρχῶ (l. 3) is the first and only time the formulation appears in Cretan inscriptions, as she suggested that while Κρητάρχα refers to Kydas' title, the ἀρχῶ indicates that he held the highest magistracy in Crete during this time, similar to an obscure example from Locris.[364]

The appointment of Cretarch around 43 B.C. can be further confirmed by the cistophoric coin, which is generally dated to this year and preserves on the reverse the markings ΚΥΔΑΣ ΚΡΗΤΑΡΧΑΣ along with ΚΡΗ-ΤΑΙ/Ε-Ω/Ν in the field (fig. 2.3).[365] The denomination ΚΡΗ-ΤΑΙ/Ε-Ω/Ν is particularly interesting, as earlier scholars such as



Fig. 2.3 Specimen of Kydas' cistophoros (RPC I 926)
Obv: cista mystica with half-open lid, from which a serpent issues to l.; all within ivy wreath
Rev: ΚΥΔΑΣ ΚΡΗΤΑΡΧΑΣ; ΚΡΗ-ΤΑΙ/Ε-Ω/Ν (in field); Zeus standing facing, head r., holding thunderbolt in r. hand and eagle in l. hand between two coiled serpents with heads erect

[362] For more on this, see Guarducci (1933): IC IV, p. 38 who originally dated them to ca. 67-31 B.C., with Paluchowski (2003): 206-7 for a review of this dating. For Kydas' 'regency', as Lippolis calls it, see more broadly Rouanet-Liesenfelt (1984), Chaniotis (1992) and Paluchowski (2003), and Lippolis (2016).
[363] Chaniotis (1992) with Rouanet-Liesenfelt (1984): 351-2, Paluchowski (2003): 206-7; cf. Guarducci IC IV. p. 38 who argues that this formulation typically refers to the office of protocosmos, and therefore should be taken as such here as well.
[364] Rouanet-Liesenfelt (1984): 351 who highlights that 'archos' was also used in the confederation formed by Myana and Hypnia in Locris to designate the confederacy's leading magistrate. For this, see Bousquet (1965).
[365] Svoronos (1890): 334, n. 1 = RPC I 926. The dating is still somewhat debated, with Rouanet-Liesenfelt (1984): 349 suggesting 48-39 B.C.

Chapman and Perl had read this as 'Cretarch of the Cretans'; however, Rouanet-Liesenfelt, followed by Paluchowski later on, corrected this interpretation by stating that KPH-TAI/E-Ω/N simply referred to the minting authority – the Cretan *koinon*.[366] Thus, this marked a revival of the Cretan *koinon*, or perhaps even birth of a new one that was overseen and promoted by Antony, as well as a quasi-independence observed by the island – perhaps lending some truth to Cicero's claims that Crete had been lost.

Yet, as involved as the Triumvir was in Cretan affairs at this time, by 37/6 B.C. he made the dubious choice to include portions of Crete as part of his initial territorial donations to Cleopatra and her children, although this may also be a sign of how comfortable he felt his position was in Crete.[367] It is unclear which portions of the island were included, or how this affected Kydas and his role, if at all.[368] Grant for instance believed that this act had put an end to the *libertas* and *immunitas* gained in 43 B.C., which would only be regained in 34 B.C., when the Cretan land grants did not feature on the 'official' so-called Donations of Alexandria.[369]

[366] Chapman (1961): 21, Perl (1970): 346-8, Rouanet-Liesenfelt (1984): 348, Paluchowski (2003): 211.
[367] Cass. Dio. 49.32.4-5.
[368] The consensus is that it was the eastern portions of Crete that were included on account of their past connections to Egypt, including a Ptolemaic garrison at Itanos, large quantities of Egyptian goods, and other evidence we have discussed above. On this, see Rouanet-Liesenfelt (1992): 175, Baldwin Bowsky (2002): 33, Armstrong (2006): 307, and Tzamtzis (2020): 259-60 who believes that this was a decision hated by the Cretans, as he links an overstruck coin of a Roman official (see below) with their attempts to demonstrate their displeasure.
[369] Grant (1946): 55 followed by Chapman (1961): 14, 22 and Perl (1970). However, these arguments are mainly *ex silentio*. This is nevertheless in line with more recent approaches by Tzamtzis (2020): 259-60 who sees Crete in a unique position from 43-37 B.C., as a client of Antony, yet benefitting from *immunitas* and *libertas*. That said, recent interpretations also lie on shaky grounds, as they claim that Kydas continued to act as Cleopatra's 'agent' alongside other prominent pro-Antonian magistrates both in Crete and abroad, including L. Lollius and Crassus, who feature on the coinage of both Crete and Cyrenaica around this time (see also their role in preserving local motifs and traditions on coinage in chapter 1); cf. Rouanet-Liesenfelt (1984): 346, Paluchowski (2003): 209. On the disparities between the two donations to Cleopatra, see Buchheim (1960), Schrapel (1996), Strootman (2010).

It is in this context that we should then turn towards our final pieces of evidence from the Kydas dossier, namely the bronze coinage from Knossos that is dated to ca. 37-34 B.C.[370] Two of them (cf. fig. 2.4) are of particular interest to our study, as they were overstruck onto the coins of yet another Roman official and alleged Antonian supporter, a certain [P. Canidius?] Crassus (= MRR 2).[371] The coins of Crassus also had a crocodile on the obverse, which is the emblem of the Ptolemies and as such has been seen as clear evidence of Egyptian influence and/or 'occupation' even if only nominally, while the overstriking has not been without debate.[372] If this is the same Kydas that we have discussed throughout, then this is evidence of a remarkable symbol of stability for an island that had overseen multiple



Fig. 2.4 Specimen of Crassus' 'Egyptian Coinage'. (RPC I 914)
Obv: crocodile, r.
Rev: CRAS, prow, r. on which six rays star and dolphin

[370] Svoronos (1890): 83-5, n. 142-51; cf. Chapman (1968): 21.
[371] For the first attempts at identifying this Crassus, see Svoronos (1904), and more recent efforts by Chapman (1961): 21, Rouanet-Liesenfelt (1984): 352, Baldwin Bowsky (2002): 33, Paluchowski (2003): 206, Chevrollier (2016): 14. See also association with M. Licinius Crassus (cos. 30) at MRR: 397 and Grant (1946): 55-8. Also, a quick note on the dating: since the Crassus coins are dated to ca. 37 B.C., it follows that the Kydas coins must have occurred later, though not after 34 B.C. according to Baldwin Bowsky (2002).
[372] RPC I 914-5, Rouanet-Liesenfelt (1984): 352, Paluchowski (2003): 206. Chapman (1968): 22 believed that Crassus, as leading Roman magistrate in Crete at this time, had reappointed Kydas as Cretarch, leading to the overstriking, but Paluchowski's (2003): 219, 352 propositions are more tantalising: this was a deliberate act by Kydas to reject Antony's donation, and (re)affirm Cretan independence. Kydas' overstruck coins depicted the laureated head of Zeus on the obverse, with KYDAS and an eagle on the reverse, underneath which the prow on Crassus' coin can be seen; cf. fig. 2.4.

usurpers and attempted acts of patronage over the course of less than a decade: from Antony and Brutus, to Cleopatra, and perhaps even to Octavian. Kydas' act to overstrike Crassus' coin may also be a symbol of Cretan resistance or displeasure towards these donations, as Tzamtzis and Paluchowski have argued, but this is a discussion beyond our scope (cf. n. 372).[373]

It is thus in this specific context that yet another history-altering event took place, which emanates behaviours and decisions entrenched in recent precedents. In 36 B.C., Imperator Caesar was faced with a mutiny of disgruntled veterans. To solve this crisis, he allocated them public lands in Capua and, to compensate the Capuans for their loss, he offered them wealthy lands in Knossos – and not just the 'imagined' wealthy lands we alluded to in chapter 1, but a territory that would yield 1.2 million sestertii in annual revenue.[374] Conversely, this was a significant loss for the Knossians, who up to this point in our analysis had mostly benefitted from Roman-led territorial arbitrations and reorganisations.

At any rate, as one can imagine, there were numerous logistical issues with such a grant. Firstly, this could not be brought to fruition until the end of the civil wars, as Crete nominally belonged to his rival, Antony.[375] Secondly, the timing of this donation coincided with Antony's aforementioned grant of Cretan territory to his children by Cleopatra. While the order of events is somewhat unclear, there is sufficient evidence in Cassius Dio's narrative suggesting that Antony made the first step by granting the territories in the winter of 37/6 B.C., while Imperator Caesar gave away the Knossian lands afterwards, some time in 36

[373] Tzamtzis (2020): 259-60; cf. Paluchowski (2003) who reads the overall Kydas coinage as a symbol of resistance against the Roman presence.
[374] The events are described in Cass. Dio. 49.14 and Vell. Pat. 2.81.2 with Velleius providing the revenue. The complete absence of any discussion of these passages in Woodman's oft-cited commentary (1983) of Velleius Paterculus is a testament to our poor understanding of these events. Instead, Woodman focuses upon Campania and the importance of the aqueduct given to Capua.
[375] Paton (1994): 143 and esp. Armstrong (2006): 307-8 for arguments that the land promised in 36 B.C. relied entirely upon Imperator Caesar winning the war; cf. Lintott (1981): 60 on Roman impositions undertaken even before a province was clearly delineated or pacified.

B.C.[376] Thus, given this chronology, it is tantalising to argue that Imperator Caesar seized the moment of a decrease in Antony's popularity in order to set his foot within his rival's territory and allocate some of it to one of the most prominent Italian cities (i.e. in stark contrast to Antony allocating it to a foreign Egyptian monarch and their children). Moreover, in the same way that Antony granted 'freedom' to the Cretans to both restore his family's legacy and inconvenience Brutus who was nominally in charge, Imperator Caesar both restored his veterans' trust and inconvenienced Antony's grasp on Crete. The precedent had been clearly established less than a decade prior, or perhaps even more than a century prior if we consider all other instances of Roman intervention and territorial reshuffling on the island. After all, Briscoe wrote of Quintus Fabius Labeo's interventions in Crete in 189 B.C. that 'Rome had no *locus standi* for interfering in Crete', and the same could be said over a century later about Pompey accepting the Cretans' surrender, and even more so about the bickering Triumvirs.[377]

Furthermore, Imperator Caesar's ability to grant territory that was nominally under his fellow Triumvir's jurisdiction is also not without precedent elsewhere in the Roman world, in spite of Tacitus' best attempts to describe the rule of the Triumvirs as *non mos, non ius.*[378] To cite but one example, the documents from Aphrodisias offer ample evidence for Octavian acting in his own name, rather than as Triumvir, and protecting local interests or ordering Antonian agents to undertake specific actions. Reynolds rightly remarks that the documents present 'an implication of acceptance (by Antony and by at least some cities of Asia) that Octavian had a right to make formal interventions in Antony's area' and even to deal with

[376] The main passages are Cass. Dio. 49.1-18, 32-33, Plut. Ant. 36.3-4. See also Perl (1970): 346, Rouanet-Liesenfelt (1984): 345, Schrapel (1996): 259-86, Strootman (2010): 142 for the dating of Antony's donations. A major reason for the winter 37/6 dating is Plutarch claiming that the donations were made when Cleopatra visited Antony in Syria while he was preparing for his Parthian invasion (Plut. Ant. 36.3-4).
[377] Briscoe (2016) in reference to Liv. 37.60.
[378] Tac. Ann. 3.28.1.

Antony's agents.[379] This, in turn, can also shed light on the abrupt disappearance of Kydas and the Cretarchate after 34 B.C., and to significant changes in the Cretan *koinon*; Paluchowski has compared this with a silent 'proscription', as it would take decades, and in the case of the Cretarchate even centuries, before they would resurface again.[380] Similarly, Ramsey has noted that Antony's judicial reforms discussed earlier were completely reversed once Augustus took sole control of the empire, as were any other major Triumviral decisions.[381] As such, in an ironic turn of events, Antony and Kydas, who themselves had followed in the footsteps of 150 years of Roman-Cretan exchanges, helped establish precedent after precedent for Augustus to follow and improve upon. They lay the building blocks for the Cretan reorganisation, which under Augustus lost all form of independence as the island was paired with Cyrene to form a Roman province.

Perhaps even more ironic is the fact that Augustus' own reorganisation came through the acts of his own agent, namely Marcus Nonius Balbus - a Roman from a respectable family and not someone described as *audacissimus et perditissimus*.[382] We will return in greater detail to Balbus' role and impact in the early days of the CINC in chapter 5. For now,

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[379] Reynolds (1982): 39-40 and nos. 6, 10, 11, 12 and 13 as the best comparative examples of Imperator Caesar dictating orders in the absence of Antony. These documents are dated to late 39 B.C., early 38 B.C., with Reynolds even concluding that 'it is not difficult to accept a direct link between Octavian and Plarasa/Aphrodisias, bypassing Antony, in 39-8' (pp. 105). Thus, if bypassing the powers of one triumvir was entirely plausible prior to our events in 37/6 B.C., there is no reason to believe that Imperator Caesar could not have done the same when he granted the Knossian lands to Capua, even though the island nominally belonged to Antony's 'sphere of influence'. In addition, Reynolds (pp. 100) reminds us that it was common for Antony to use 'local tyrants or dynasts as subordinate administrators in the east', which both makes Kydas a not-so-unusual figure in the Antonian approach, and also shows that Imperator Caesar could indeed bypass Antony and his lackeys, or address them directly as he does with Stephanus in doc. 10; cf. Ferriès (2007) for a detailed list and discussion of Antonian agents. On these documents, see also Millar (1973). Octavian's letter to Ephesus (Reynolds (1982): no. 12 and Millar (1973): 56) further elucidates this dynamic, as he personally writes to Ephesus to relate what he had requested from Antony to help them recover from the damages caused by Labienus' war.

[380] Paluchowski (2003): 216. For a new type of Cretan *koinon* under Tiberius or Caligula, see discussion in chapter 5 with Rouanet-Liesenfelt (1994) and Tzamtzis (2020); cf. also Svoronos (1890): 334, Sanders (1982): 38, Alcock (2002): 128-9. See above for the title of Cretarch resurfacing in Aphrodisias. For *koinon* coinage before the imperial period, see esp. Le Rider (1968) and Stefanaki (2007-2008).

[381] Ramsey (2005): 34-5 with Vell. Pat. 2.89.3 praising Augustus for restoring the prestige of the courts and senate previously tainted by the figures allowed within them by Antony (i.e. Kydas among others).

[382] For discussions on Balbus' role in Cretan reorganisation, see especially Baldwin Bowsky (1987) and (2002), Pagano (2004), Lefebvre (2013) and Tzamtzis (2020), with the honorary Cretan inscriptions found in Herculaneum, namely CIL X 1430-4 (see chapter 5).

while the first Roman emperor might take credit for these endeavours, this is a process that had been initiated long before him, long before Kydas, and even long before the island was brutally conquered by Metellus. In fact, the latter's conflict with Pompey over the island's surrender is itself yet another Cretan precedent set for Antony and Augustus. As for Kydas, while his story remains shrouded in more questions than answers, we are overdue for a reopening of his corpus of evidence in the same way that Rouanet-Liesenfelt had done nearly four decades ago, except this time we must contextualise it within nearly two centuries of Roman-Cretan relations and interventions and read Augustus' actions as a continuation of the legacy left by his predecessors. Lastly, by placing Kydas alongside Antony's other cronies, we might be able to shed further light on Triumviral relations and regulations, but we must now turn towards the birth of the colony that has been alluded to for nearly two chapters.

The context in which the *Colonia Iulia Nobilis Cnossus* was founded has never been without controversy. While it is agreed these days both that Augustus was its founder and that this event is separate from the grant of Capuan lands discussed previously, we must once again highlight its quasi-absence from our sources and especially from Augustus' *Res Gestae*, which has led some to argue in favour of the CINC being a Caesarian project that was only enacted posthumously by his adoptive son.[383] Some, such as Baldwin Bowsky and Paton see it as strictly an Augustan endeavour, whereas Rizakis claimed it was conceived by Caesar but undertaken by Augustus, and earlier scholars such as Grant even believed that it was a Caesarian project that was carried out in the earliest of stages by Antony – perhaps not too different from what we will see at Bouthroton.[384]

[383] On the absence from the *Res Gestae* and the dating issues of the exact foundation of the CINC, see Harrison (1993): 55, Rizakis (1996): 282, n. 94, Paton (2001): 451, Baldwin Bowsky (2004a): 101, Armstrong (2006): 309, n. 35, Gallimore (2011): 27.

[384] Paton (1994): 143, Eiring (2000): 197 and Baldwin Bowsky (2002): 77 contra Grant (1946), Rizakis (1996) to name but a few. We also discussed above the possibility of Caesar granting Kydas Roman citizenship either personally, or posthumously via Antony. If this is the case, this event would at least support the notion that Caesar already had plans in motion with respects to Crete that Antony and/or Octavian may have been made aware of before or after his death.

Whatever the case may be, the name of the colony survives to us via coinage (fig. 2.5) and inscriptions, but none of our prominent literary sources refer to this event, with the exception of Strabo's aforementioned νῦν δὲ Κνωσσὸς καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀποικίαν ἔχει.[385] His use of ἔχει, or 'holds', is especially puzzling considering elsewhere he describes Roman colonisation of Greek cities quite differently. Most notably, in the case of Corinth, he specifically identifies Caesar 'sending', or πέμψαντος, settlers (ἐποίκους) to Corinth: πολὺν δὲ χρόνον ἐρήμη μείνασα ἡ Κόρινθος ἀνελήφθη πάλιν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τὴν εὐφυΐαν, ἐποίκους πέμψαντος τοῦ ἀπελευθερικοῦ γένους πλείστους.[386] Alternatively, when talking of Patrae, Strabo writes καὶ διαφερόντως εὐανδρεῖ νῦν ἀποικία Ῥωμαίων οὖσα, once again leaving aside the ἔχει and rather identifying Patrae as an *apoikia* of Romans.[387] Thus, in Knossos' case, it appears that Strabo implies a somewhat segregated Roman colony, separate



Fig. 2.5 Specimen of the CINC's early coinage (RPC I 976)
Obv: C I N C EX D D, bare head of Agrippa (?), r., labyrinth, r.
Rev: M AIMI(LI) T FVFIVS (or FVFIO) IIVI(R)(I), bare head of Augustus, r.

[385] Strab. 10.4.9. For coinage see Svoronos (1890): 90 no. 185; cf. Hood and Smyth (1981): 22, Sanders (1982): 24, Rizakis (1996): 282 n. 94; cf. Baldwin Bowsky (2002): 75-7 for a discussion of the potential colonial *deductio*. See also IC I. 8.49-50 and AR 30 (1984): 61 for possible epigraphic reconstructions of 'CINC'.
[386] Strab. 8.6.23. Roller's commentary, (2018): 615-6, also does not provide any clarification or remarks on the use of ἔχει. Cf. discussion in epilogue.
[387] Strab. 8.7.5.

from the Greek city, which 'held' it. To a certain extent, this is confirmed by archaeological evidence with multiple scholars suggesting the Archanes district as the original location of the first Roman settlers, in addition to pointing towards the lack of evidence of typically 'Roman' elements (i.e., centuriation) and the survival, see even dominance, of Greek in the private and religious spheres. That said, we will return to this evidence in detail in chapter 5 when discussing the impacts of the colonial foundation.[388]

Furthermore, both due to a lack of extensive systematic archaeological excavations and to the vague nature of our sources, the relationship between the Capuan lands and the colony remains unclear. Whereas earlier scholars believed the two to have occurred simultaneously and even to be related, the last few decades have shown a consensus completely separating the two: one was an Augustan colony, and the other were Knossian lands that had been acquired throughout the Hellenistic period and that would now be owned by Capua and worked for a hefty annual income.[389] Whatever the case may be, it is clear that Roman/Italian settlers were present in a certain capacity at Knossos in the late 30s and early 20s B.C. Whether Caesarian, Antonian, or Augustan, we will see below that that the colony's exact founder matters little in the grand scheme of things, as the foundation of the CINC and the Capuan grant were products of a century and a half of Cretan-Roman relations. Thus, it is in this context of constant conflicts, arbitrations, and uncertainty that we can now conclude the lengthy chronological excursus.

[388] For the time being, some of the key on these issues are Maton (1957), Hayes (1971 and 1983), Coldstream (1973), Rigsby (1976), Sackett and Jones (1979), Hood and Smyth (1981), Warren (1981, 1983, 1985 and 1988), Harrison (1993), Paton (1994, 1998 and 2004), Rackham and Moody (1996), Alcock (2002), Wardle and Wardle (2004), Sweetman (2007 and 2010), Kotsonas (2016). Regarding the Archanes valley, Rigsby (1976): 324 marks it as the most possible location on account of its opportunities in vineyard production and due to a dedication found there to Zeus Soter by Plotius Korinthos, who is most likely a freedman of the Plotii family from Knossos (IC. I. 8. 17). More on this in chapter 5.

[389] On this, see Hood and Smyth (1981): 22, with Brunt (1971): 599 and Rigsby (1976): 323-4, claiming they were not necessarily the same. For more recent, yet similar views, see Paton (1994): 143, Baldwin Bowsky (2002): 76-7, with Sweetman (2007) and Concannon (2017) more broadly, and discussion below.

2.5 Concluding Thoughts: Why Knossos?

Now that we have established a working timeline of Roman-Cretan relations and interactions, we may conclude our discussion with a question that will set the ground for our analysis of the colony's impacts in chapter 5, and hint at further parallels with northwest Greece: why was Knossos chosen for the colony? At Nikopolis, this answer was simple, the site was the location of Augustus' camp and of the most famous victory of his career, however, even there we will see multiple reasons for establishing a city in that region. Territorial, economic, and social (re)organisation were at the centre of Augustan policies, but what is more striking is how much of a role the past played in these decisions - and Crete and Knossos were no different.

The history of Roman interventions vis-à-vis Knossos, and that of Knossian attempts to establish an island-wide hegemony provide an initial answer that draws a fine line between viewing the CINC as punishment or reward. In addition, as we will see, from a strategical point of view, Knossos simply 'made sense'. Not only had other prominent cities already secured strong Roman ties, but Knossos was the last remaining piece of the puzzle to strengthen the island's north-south axis of communication and trade to ultimately link the two sea routes: one facing the Greek peninsula and the other Africa. Lastly, the third major reason alluded to is a rather simple one: Knossos was famous, and this fit the Roman agenda. The *colonia* was called *Nobilis*, the Knossians acknowledged this through their past, and so did the Romans.

One of the most cited reasons for the foundation of the CINC is the desire to punish the Knossians, both for its resistance against Antonius and Metellus, and for its favourable stance towards Antony. Harrison claims the CINC was a severe punishment since Augustus only founded a total of 28 veteran colonies, yet this presupposes that the CINC was a colony

for veterans, which is not immediately apparent from our evidence.[390] Whereas we have already seen above that the support for Antony appears to have dwindled by the late 30s B.C., Baldwin Bowsky has commendably compiled lists of potential Antonian and Octavian supporters in Crete through her onomastic studies.[391] More importantly, the lists reveal what she calls the 'commercial flavour' of the Cretan population during the first century B.C., which is due to the arrival of numerous Italian and later Roman tradesmen on the island in the aftermath of Mithridates' massacres – especially the one at Delos discussed above.[392] Furthermore, supporting Antony was not necessarily a death sentence, nor did it always call for punishment. Rizakis has accurately pointed this out within the Cretan context by reminding us that some even received lands in Macedonia, or financial compensations once they were expropriated from Italy.[393] Paton and Baldwin Bowsky support this view based on the available onomastic record, as they both argue in favour of the CINC being a civilian colony that gathered both Antonian and Octavian supporters alongside other Roman businessmen roaming around the island in a single convenient location.[394] The evidence for veterans is negligible, as the sole possible attestation of a legionary comes from a fragmentary inscription of a member of the Legio VI Ferrata.[395]

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[390] Harrison (1993): 57-8. For evidence against this, see discussion below.
[391] Baldwin Bowsky (2002): 25-66, esp. 34-40 for the lists of names; cf. the lists provided in Baldwin Bowksy (1999) and (2004).
[392] Baldwin Bowsky (2002): 42-4. Among the names attested at Knossos, she highlights 'Fufius' which is also attested in Campania and Olous, as well as names appearing on various commercial products such as wine amphorae (Caecilius, Calpurnius, Minucius), loom weights (Vibia), lamps (Celer), other land ownership-related inscriptions (Caecilius, M. Claudius, Cl. Felix, Marcius, Tiburtia), and so forth.
[393] Rizakis (1997): 18-9 with Cass. Dio 51.2.3-4 as an example of an Antonian supporter, Marcus Crassus, obtaining the consulship alongside Augustus, and Cass. Dio 51.4.6 on those who were dispossessed for siding with Antony being allowed to settle in places such as Dyrrhachion and Philippi.
[394] Paton (2001): esp. 451 and Baldwin Bowsky (2004a): 101, (2004b): *passim*. See n. 392 for some examples. See also Purcell (2011): 96-7 as he argues that oftentimes new communities could attract settlers from pre-existing Roman diasporas (which we have identified in Crete from the aftermath of Delos). Most importantly, however, he writes: 'many of the Caesarian and Augustan foundations are manipulations of the geography of the diaspora.' This holds true in our case study as well.
[395] IC. I. 8.30. Moreover, Bowersock (1965): 67-8 believed that Knossos was a colony of dispossessed Romans, much like Dyrrhachion had been, whereas Paton (2001): 451, Baldwin Bowsky (2002) and (2004) and Concannon (2017) see this as a predominantly civilian colony. Baldwin Bowsky (2004a): 103 argues in favour of an early date for the inscription, as it is in Latin, and the language had gradually fallen out of use by the second and third centuries A.D.

If we follow this analysis, we have direct evidence of the past (in this case via Mithridates and Delos) impacting 'real' developments in post-Actium Knossos, and further emphasising that writing the history of an Augustan colony also means writing the history of its immediate region *prior* to the foundation. This will also be reminiscent of how a synoecism led to the foundation of Nikopolis, and while this was a forced imposition in northwest Greece, we cannot assume that this was not the case in Crete as well. While the Roman settlers may not have been forced to relocate, at the very least Knossos was forced to accept them, reminding us that despite the respect shown towards the local/regional past(s) and antiquity, Rome had the final say in all matters, as it arguably did even before the island was conquered.

Our sources also do not explicitly condemn Knossos for being pro-Antonian per se, although we do have a reference to Kydonia and Lappa being rewarded for their assistance to Augustus in the aftermath, which might suggest that Knossos fell in a different camp: Kydonia became a *civitas libera*, while Lappa was rebuilt by Augustus after its destruction in the wars.[396] In addition to these, Gortyn was already the capital of Crete-and-Cyrenaica, while Lyttos would eventually attract even more Roman settlers than Knossos, most likely thanks to the opportunities in viticulture.[397] Thus, of the major traditional powers of central Crete, Knossos was the only one missing concrete, and more importantly *organised* Roman presence, marking it as a prime target for the *colonia*; this would in turn help secure the north-south corridor and create stronger links with the other Roman communities and

[396] Cass. Dio 51.2.3. Viviers (2004): 22 warns against seeing this as Kydonia and Lappa supporting Augustus out of affinities. Instead, he argues it was done out of necessity since they had lost much of their southern traffic after the Roman conquest and supporting Augustus might allow them to regain it.

[397] For archaeological evidence from Lyttos, see Baldwin Bowsky (2002): 45; cf. Rouanet-Liesenfelt (1992). In addition, Baldwin Bowsky (1995): 54 points towards the mix of conservatism and progressivism at Knossos and Kydonia, whereas other cities such as Gortyn, Hierapytna, Lyttos and Lappa all appear more 'sophisticated' and 'open to the Roman ways'.

families of central Crete by providing them with institutions and even coinage that was more familiar to and convenient for them.[398]

In fact, Knossos would become the only imperial mint in Crete not to strike coins in Greek, as the colonial coin production was entirely in Latin (as expected), which continued until its halt under Nero.[399] We have discussed in chapter 1 that a reason for this may have been the imperial family's desire to appropriate the city's famous mythology, particular by associating the emperor with Zeus Kretagenes (and other local deities/myths) on coinage, but there is another factor worth considering.[400] Harrison has suggested that the Knossian coins may have been intended for circulation primarily for the colonists, which must receive more attention.[401] At first glance it seems inconvenient to mint coinage for such a small community that is barely preserved in our sources, however, when we consider the Capuan lands nearby, as well as the large number of Roman businessmen on the island, it leads to a compromise both for the colonists and the Capuans who collected the revenue off their Knossian lands. If this is indeed the case, then it is even more so remarkable that they preserved local imageries on the coinage, which we will discuss these in greater detail in chapter 5.

In terms of further strategic decisions, it has also been suggested that the land offered to the Capuans had actually been stripped from the Knossians after Metellus' conquest as part of his punishment for their stark resistance.[402] Although we cannot confirm this, it offers an

[398] Rigsby (1976): 329-30 and Baldwin Bowsky (1995): 54 see this newly created area as a 'zone of Roman presence' based on the abundant Roman onomastic evidence, in addition to the centuries of territorial arbitrations and settlements. Moreover, considering Knossos' continuing growth and prominence in the early principate, one might argue that the CINC and the Capuan lands may have acted as support to help secure the city's importance in the north-south axis (from Knossos northern port to the Mesara plain) and in the now-strengthened partnership with Gortyn. Similarly, Alcock (2002): 100-5 highlights that the conquest and imposition of the colony had helped Knossos establish new ties, build new structures, and squash centuries of warfare and resistance vis-à-vis the other Cretan *poleis*.

[399] Harrison (1993): 61, cf. Ashton (1973): 42. For the colonial coinage and provincial mint in the Imperial period, see Baldwin Bowsky (2004a): 126-37 and for a 'revival' of the *koinon* coinage under Julio-Claudian emperors, see Coldstream (1973): 108-9, Rouanet-Liesenfelt (1992), Wardle and Wardle (2001): 476, Chevrollier (2016): 18, Tzamtzis (2020), and discussion in chapter 5.

[400] See chapter 5 for discussion of the early colonial coinage's imagery.

[401] Harrison (1993): 56-7.

[402] Baldwin Bowsky (2002): 26-7 offers this proposition, suggesting the territory acquired by Knossos from Tylissos and Lykastos had been stripped by Metellus; cf. Sanders (1982): 3-4. See also Concannon (2017): 140-

important point regarding the numerous disputes over the territories between Gortyn and Knossos. As we have seen in the previous Roman arbitrations, the two cities faced constant jostling for positioning in the territory separating them, with the Romans intervening on several occasions. Augustus' CINC and especially the Capuan lands helped break this tension and provided another moment of 'arbitration' that would dictate the two cities' fortunes in a list that began with Quintus Fabius Labeo, Appius Claudius Pulcher, and many others in our chronological overview; this was presumably overseen by Balbus and, unsurprisingly, it would not be the final arbitration upon this territory, as we will discuss later. Moreover, this reorganisation aimed to prevent future conflicts and resistance between the Knossians and Gortynians, as suggested by Alcock and Rizakis.[403]

Thus, from a Roman perspective, this was an endeavour that not only followed earlier patterns, but also provided new business and economic opportunities for its citizens both in Italy and abroad, as the 1.2 million sestertii of revenue were not negligible, and we will see in chapter 5 that Crete oversaw a significant economic boom after Actium. Despite the loss in territory, Knossos and its surroundings were also expected to profit from these developments, as we will see similar expectations arise with the foundation of Nikopolis, although this also had the effect of reducing or replacing smaller settlements. Knossian goods, especially wine and to a certain extent honey, became more prominent and famous than ever following Actium, as the city enjoyed an economic renaissance for at least two centuries.[404] Moreover,

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1 for importance of the land granted to Capua, arguing that it was the same land that had been under dispute for well over a century and which the Romans had even arbitrated on more than one occasion, beginning with Appius Claudius Pulcher in 184 B.C.

[403] Alcock (1993): 141-3 and Rizakis (1997): *passim*; cf. Baldwin Bowsky (2002): 45-6 for a strong defence of this theory.

[404] To these exports, we can add numerous imports coming into the city that reveal its wealth throughout the late first and early second century A.D. From the Unexplored Mansion alone, there are 212 pieces of marble used in domestic houses, including *marmor Pentelicum*, *Numidicum*, *Thessalicum*, *Phrygium*, and *Scyreticum*. For the evidence, see Sackett (1992): *passim*, Paton and Schneider (1999): 286-7, Concannon (2017): 145-6, with Tambakopoulos et al. (2017) for similar conclusions in the Nikopolitan context. Scholas now agree that Crete at that time was from a backwater province; see Baldwin Bowsky (1995), Paton and Schneider (1999), Gallimore (2011), and esp. (2019) for an economic approach using the model of globalisation, which will resurface in chapter 5.

from a network perspective, whereas the foundation of Nikopolis will tie Epirus through a chain of other recently founded Roman colonies (i.e. Buthrotum, Dyrrhachium, Patrae), the CINC and Capuan lands helped connect the final dots between Knossos, the increasingly Roman capital at Gortyn, and the island's other centres of Roman influence/presence. This is in line with Purcell and Rizakis who, among others, have already demonstrated the interconnected coast of northwest Greece following the foundation of Nikopolis, and similar phenomena can be observed across the Greek world.[405]

Lastly, Knossos' *nobilitas* should not be neglected when considering the decision to found a colony here. As we saw in chapter one, and will further detail in chapter five, both the Imperial family and the colonists themselves took great pride in associating themselves with centuries-old traditions and incorporating them within the Roman mythology and perception of the Mediterranean. Florus was the prime example used in favour of this, but perhaps a passage from Diodorus Siculus describing Knossos' aspirations best encapsulates the decision to establish a colony here and promote its olden traditions:

Ὅτι οἱ Κνώσιοι τῶν πρωτείων ἀντείχοντο. προῆγεν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς ἡγεμονίας φιλοτιμίαν τὸ παλαιὸν ἀξίωμα τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν προγόνων ἡ διαβεβοημένη δόξα κατὰ τοὺς ἡρωικοὺς χρόνους· τόν τε γὰρ Δία παρ' αὐτοῖς τεθράφθαι μυθολογοῦσί τινες καὶ Μίνω τὸν θαλαττοκρατήσαντα Κνώσιον ὄντα παιδευθῆναι ὑπὸ Διὸς καὶ πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῇ διενεγκεῖν.[406]

Greeks, Cretans, and Knossians all must have acknowledged the ancestral claims described by Diodorus in this passage. As for the Romans, the association with such a city wrote itself. Augustus had already surpassed all the previous Cretan arbitrators and could now mint his image in this famous city and island where it was claimed that the Romans' Trojan ancestors and Zeus himself were descended from – or even associate himself with the famous lawgiver

[405] Purcell (1987) and Rizakis (1996): esp. 255-8.
[406] Diod. Sic. 33.10.

Minos, should he choose to.[407] As seen throughout these first two chapters, prior to the CINC, the island's 'crown jewel' (Knossos) had no notable Roman features: almost everything about it was Greek (and continued to be for the most part) and reminded visitors and locals of a distant past. While a few more visibly noticeable Roman elements would surface in the colony's first century, adapting the past to fit a Roman or Imperial agenda, and incorporating oneself within it simply 'made sense', but we will return to this.

[407] Verg. Aen. 3.104-120. On how this association came to be, and especially on how Teucer eventually claimed Cretan descent, as opposed to the more traditional Attic descent seen in Strab. 13.1.48 and Dion. Hal. 1.61.4. see chapter 5.

Chapter 3

Something 'Old', Something 'New', Something 'Borrowed': 'Past' and 'Present' Collide at Actian Nikopolis

As much as Actium played an important role in the lives of the Knossians with the establishment of the CINC and the officialisation of the Capuan land grants, the situation must have been equally, if not more chaotic in northwest Greece with the foundation of Nikopolis. That said, while the former occurred in the territory of one of the oldest Mediterranean cities, the latter could be advertised as a *tabula rasa* with 'new' infrastructure, inhabitants, and territory. Yet, as this chapter will reveal, this could not be farther from the truth. Not only did the past matter, but its inhabitants would have clung to it as the final remnants of their previous lives, history, and traditions. This is due to the nature of the city's foundation, as it was established as a synoecism of a plethora of neighbouring cities and inhabitants that would have brought their customs and traditions to Nikopolis. Amongst Augustus' victory city's many scholars, Bowden best summarised its essence: 'the built environment of [Nikopolis] and its cults would in fact have acted as a constant reminder to the city's inhabitants of their former towns.'[408] While we will thoroughly investigate these claims in this present chapter, it is also worth noting that the very nature and symbolism of Nikopolis and its purpose as a victory city for one of Augustus' greatest successes also acted as another constant reminder of sorts: a reminder of Roman presence and domination of Epirus for nearly two centuries, of the civil wars that took place at its doorstep, of Augustus' triumphs and subsequent grasp over the Roman Empire. Thus, for a city that would forever be known for its past, it follows that any understanding of its impacts and role must begin with a time well before its foundation. Writing the history of Nikopolis is thus also writing

[408] Bowden (2011): 109.

the history of Epirus, Molossia, Aetolia, Achaea, Kassope, Thesprotia, Illyria, and even Rome. In this chapter, we will therefore analyse how the history of Nikopolis has been transmitted to us by the ancients, and how the so-called 'imagined' Nikopolis came to emphasise its richly diverse past.

In our Cretan analysis, we established that in order to understand both the context and effects of the CINC, we must first place this foundation within its historical and geopolitical context(s). The situation at Nikopolis is no different and it is arguably even more important to establish the importance of the past, of local/regional pride and traditions, and of the tropes that emerged in ancient literature. The main difference is of course that whereas in Knossos we could place the CINC within a clearly delineated regional boundary (i.e., the island of Crete itself), Nikopolis encompassed not only a multitude of cities and their former inhabitants, but many of them also corresponded to historically different regional demarcations. Thus, I propose to begin by analysing the accounts of its foundation and establishing the cities and regions that came under Nikopolitan control and/or influence, as well as the tropes that emerged regarding these cities and their immediate regions. From here, we will turn to the recent history of three of the major cities that were forced to take part in the synoecism and attempt to uncover their main sources of local pride and prominent traditions (especially those that influenced or were transferred to Nikopolis). Lastly, we will conclude with an aperçu of arguably the most important image associated with Nikopolis: the victory monument commissioned by Augustus, which celebrates his victory over his fellow triumvir, while also acting as a definitive symbol of the Epirote conquest.

3.1 Beyond the Inescapable Dichotomy: Between Greek and Roman

Methodologically, the foundation of Nikopolis is a proverbial headache with both ancient and modern accounts offering an incomplete picture.[409] Furthermore, as with most themes explored in this chapter, there is an inescapable dichotomy tied to the establishment of this city: from a Roman perspective, Nikopolis represents among others Augustus' triumph over his great rival, and marks the beginning of the end of the civil wars.[410] Conversely, for the local northwest Greek populations, this is the culmination of a nightmare that began with Aemilius Paullus' devastation in 167 B.C. when he razed 70 Epirote cities.[411] Thus, already our perspective of an 'imagined' Nikopolis is inevitably affected by matters of positionality. The picture, however, becomes increasingly complicated when considering the ramifications

[409] The most cited sources on the foundation of Nikopolis are Strab. 7.7.5-6, 10.2.2, Anth. Pal. 9.553, Suet. Aug. 18, Paus. 5.23.3, Paus. 7.18.8, Paus. 10.38.4 and Cass. Dio 51.1.1-3. Some passing references to the city are also worth highlighting, as they will resurface, namely Virgil's unnamed reference in Aen. 3.276, Servius' commentary of the same passage, Tac. Ann. 2.53 and 5.10, Plin. NH. 4.1.5, Paneg. Lat. 11.9 and Zon. 10.30. As far as modern sources are concerned, Leake (1835) is still referenced as a pioneer in Nikopolis' rediscovery in the 19th century, whereas Philadelpheus' archaeological study in the early 20th century (1913-1926), published in 1933, remained for a long time the de facto archaeological reference to the site to its victory monument dedicated by Augustus, which was quickly discussed by Gagé (1936), with renewed interest sparked by more recent archaeological discoveries from the reports of Murray and Petsas (1989), and especially Zachos (2001 and 2003). It was only in the 1970s that a numismatic compilation of Nikopolitan coins was published by Oikonomidou (1975), with an important review by Kraay (1976), as well as later comments in the RPC volumes. Despite the recent archaeological survey in the region, a first comprehensive numismatic update to Oikonomidou and the RPC was published only in 2011 by Calomino. Arguably the most significant contributions to this site came from two conferences organised with Nikopolis as the sole purpose of study. Both led to seminal publications that are now referred to as *Nikopolis I* (1987) and *Nikopolis B* (2007), and many of the papers are still regarded as the outright authority on certain topics. With the Nikopolis Survey Project that covered more than 1200 km^2 in the 1990s, one would have expected much progress to be made in this region, but unfortunately many of the finds have yet to published, including a plethora of Nikopolitan evidence from both the Augustan period and beyond. Two edited volumes are nevertheless available, *Foundation and Destruction: Nikopolis and Northwestern Greece* (2001) and *Landscape Archaeology in Southern Epirus, Greece I* (2003), as well as more recent reports from the city's theatre, stadium, or other monuments identified in the bibliography. Lastly, the issues with studies of the Epirote and Akarnanian past(s), as well as the linguistic struggle accompanying them have already been identified in the introduction.

[410] Wolff (1977): 229 and Ruscu (2006): 253 have commented on the peculiarity of the image of Romans being connected with the foundation of a seemingly Greek *polis*.

[411] Strab. 7.7.3, Polyb. 30.15.1, Liv. 45.34, Plut. Aem. Paul. 29-1-3 for the literary accounts of this devastation. Although we will touch upon this theme later, Aemilius Paullus' destruction is also seen as the catalyst for a century and a half of complete desolation in Epirus, which has led our sources to portray the region as one in constant decline. On this see Isager (2001): 17; cf. Funke (1991), Alcock (1993), Rousset (2008), Karambinis (2018): esp. 280-1 for discussions on Strabo's 'Greece in decline' during the early Roman occupation and other related tropes.

and developments of the synoecism that led to this foundation, as our sources imply that it may have affected tens of pre-existing cities and smaller settlements (fig. 3.1). Let us therefore begin with this issue.

Two themes emerge from an initial survey of our sources: firstly, the authors themselves appear unsure as to which cities took part in the synoecism, and secondly, they use a vocabulary conveying a portrait of desolation and (forced) abandonment that had engulfed Epirus both in the past and present. In terms of contemporary evidence from Nikopolis, little can be gathered about the city's earliest days beyond Strabo's account that leaves us with more questions than answers.[412] He paints a bleak, yet vague, picture stating that Ambrakia and unspecified ἄλλαι had degraded to such an extent that Augustus, upon seeing the 'abandonment' of these cities, decided to incorporate the few remaining inhabitants into his new foundation:

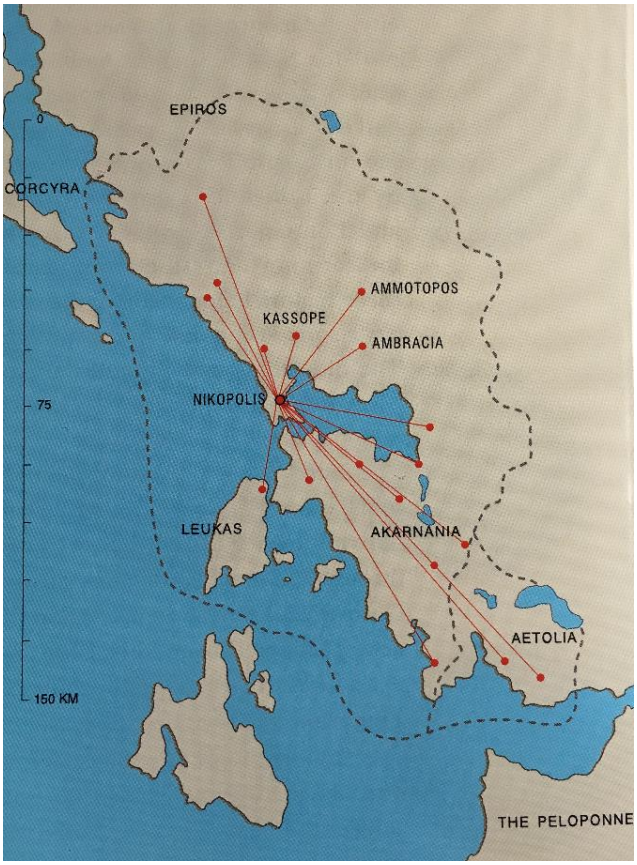


Fig. 3.1 Map of the region gathered under Nikopolis, as seen by Chrysostomou and Kefallonitou (2011): 12

> Μακεδόνες δ' ὕστερον καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ταύτην καὶ τὰς ἄλλας κατεπόνησαν τοῖς πολέμοις διὰ τὴν ἀπείθειαν, ὥστε τὸ τελευταῖον ὁ Σεβαστὸς ὁρῶν ἐκλελειμμένας τελέως τὰς πόλεις εἰς μίαν συνῴκισε τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κληθεῖσαν Νικόπολιν ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τούτῳ, ἐκάλεσε δ' ἐπώνυμον τῆς νίκης.[413]

[412] Strab. 7.7.5-6 and 10.2.2. Many, including Isager (2001): 17-8 and Karambinis (2018): 269-70, 81-2 have aptly shown that recent archaeological evidence does not confirm Strabo's view of a 'desolate' Epirus. As we will see, however, the two do not need to be mutually exclusive, as an image of 'desolation' can co-exist alongside one of wealth – it is a matter of context and agenda.

[413] Strab. 7.7.6. Furthermore, the word Strabo uses for the abandonment of the Epirote cities is ἐκλελειμμένας, and is also used by Herodotus with similar meaning at 6.13 and 8.24; however, complete abandonment is highly unlikely, both because Strabo himself claims that at least some inhabitants were left (cf. 10.2.2), but also because, as we will see, Epirote cities did not disappear even after the Nikopolitan synoecism. Thus, 'forsaken' is perhaps a better translation to portray the desolate state of the region.

Pausanias, over a century later, emulates this imagery when he states that Kalydon and the rest of Aetolia were forcefully laid waste or 'abandoned' in order to include their inhabitants into the synoecism.[414] Adding to this language and unclarity, yet another century later, Cassius Dio follows in Pausanias' footsteps and implies that many of the first settlers of Nikopolis were forced to relocate from unidentified neighbouring cities, πλησιοχώρων: πόλιν τέ τινα ἐν τῷ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τόπῳ, τοὺς μὲν συναγείρας τοὺς δ' ἀναστήσας τῶν πλησιοχώρων, συνῴκισε, Νικόπολιν ὄνομα αὐτῇ δούς.[415] Further emphasis in this account should be placed on συναγείρας and ἀναστήσας, as it becomes noteworthy that in the case of the former the tone of the word seems gentler in the sense that Augustus may have gathered in a first instance those who were willing to participate in his project, whereas later, others were ἀναστήσας – forced to relocate.[416] The imposed relocation seems likely when considering that Pausanias uses similar language in a different passage, namely through ἀναστάτους in reference to the Aetolians who were allegedly forced into the synoecism: ὅτε βασιλεὺς ὁ Ῥωμαίων ἀναστάτους ἐς τὸν Νικοπόλεως συνοικισμὸν ἐποίησεν Αἰτωλούς, ἀποχωρῆσαι τοῦ δήμου τὸ πολὺ ἐς τὴν Ἄμφισσαν.[417] The second part of the sentence is equally important, as it shows resistance and dissent since many (πολὺ) of these people fled to Amphissa rather than accepting to settle at Nikopolis – an episode reminiscent of our discussion in the introduction on the resistance to 'Romanisation'. Were the terms and conditions unbearable in Nikopolis, or was this simply an act of defiance against a leader they did not support? Whatever the case may

[414] Paus. 7.18.8 Καλυδῶνος γὰρ καὶ Αἰτωλίας τῆς ἄλλης ὑπὸ Αὐγούστου βασιλέως ἐρημωθείσης διὰ τὸ ἐς τὴν Νικόπολιν τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀκτίου συνοικίζεσθαι καὶ τὸ Αἰτωλικόν. The language is similar to Strabo's account and, although Aetolia is not described as having been nearly as desolate as Strabo's Epirus is, by using ἐρημωθείσης, Pausanias makes it clear that the region was heavily affected by Augustus' actions.
[415] Cass Dio. 51.1.3.
[416] As we will see both in this chapter and chapter 4, the idea of a forced relocation is not only present in the literary accounts, but is also hinted at in the archaeological record with cults being forcefully transferred.
[417] Paus. 10.38.4.

be, it is noteworthy that none of the 'Roman-centric' sources, barring Cassius Dio's later account, mention the forced relocation or the population's refusal to settle at Nikopolis.[418]

The only other quasi-contemporaneous source that ventures to identify some of the affected cities is an epigram sometimes attributed to Antipater of Thessaloniki:

Λευκάδος ἀντί με Καῖσαρ, ἰδ᾽ Ἀμβρακίης ἐριβώλου,
Θυρρείου τε πέλειν, ἀντί τ᾽ Ἀνακτορίου,
Ἄργεος Ἀμφιλόχου τε, καὶ ὁππόσα ῥαίσατο κύκλῳ
ἄστε᾽ ἐπιθρώσκων δουρομανὴς πόλεμος,
εἴσατο Νικόπολιν, θείην πόλιν· ἀντὶ δὲ νίκης
Φοῖβος ἄναξ ταύτην δέχνυται Ἀκτιάδος.[419]

Here, the author uses the simple phrasing ἀντί, 'instead of' or 'in place of', to identify which cities Nikopolis had 'replaced' (the word used by Paton in the Loeb translation). The cities mentioned are Leukas, Ambrakia, Thyrreion, Anaktorion, Amphilochian Argos, in addition to yet another vague, uncertain claim: καὶ ὁππόσα ῥαίσατο κύκλῳ ἄστε᾽ ἐπιθρώσκων δουρομανὴς πόλεμος – and as many surrounding cities that the raging war destroyed. Furthermore, the ambiguous δουρομανὴς πόλεμος makes it unclear whether the author is referring to the idea of previous war(s) in general, thus referring to the past few centuries of warfare in the region (i.e., dating back at least to Aemilius Paullus' devastation), or simply *the* war between Antony and Imperator Caesar, culminating at the battle of Actium.[420] In his version, Strabo also blamed the wear and tear (κατεπόνησαν) of Epirote cities on a similar issue, but in his statement, both the

[418] Höepfner (1987): 130-2 believed that Augustus purposely destroyed city circuits in Epirus, Aetolia and Akarnania in order to discourage any return to the native towns (more on this below); cf. Murray and Petsas (1989): 5-6.

[419] Anth. Pal. 9.553. For those attributing it to Antipater, see Murray and Petsas (1989): 5, Chrysostomou and Kefallonitou (2001): 13 and for those preferring the anonymous authorship see Lange (2009): 104, Reitz-Joosse (2016): 283. Nevertheless, Lange (2009): 104 admits the epigram is 'most likely of Augustan date'. Alternatively, the Loeb edition of the Palatine Anthology offers Philippus (of Thessaloniki) as a potential author, as the epigram is anonymously assigned to his collection, known as the Garland (or *Stephanus*) of Philip; to add to this, Anth. Pal. 6.236, another epigram attributed to Philippus, indirectly references Nikopolis by referring to the beaks displayed on the victory monument at Nikopolis. Regardless, it remains that the dating of 9.553 cannot be later than Nero's reign, based on Gow and Page (1968) and Cameron's (1980 and 1993) analyses of the surviving epigrams collected by Philippus. Cameron has pushed Gow and Page's dating of the Garland from A.D. 40 to the end of Claudius' reign, or perhaps even that of Nero – on this, see Cameron (1980): 43 and (1993) more broadly. Be that as it may, it remains that this is one of our earliest pieces of evidence on the situation in Nikopolis and its surroundings, aside from Strabo.

[420] As we will see in chapter 4, Caesar and Pompey's struggle at Dyrrhachion is but one recent episode dragging many Epirote cities into the war, with the former stationed at Apollonia and receiving supplies from the Epirotes. There is therefore no shortage of warfare (old and new) to justify this statement.

Macedonians and Romans are mentioned as culprits in the Epirote misery: Μακεδόνες δ' ὕστερον καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ ταύτην καὶ τὰς ἄλλας κατεπόνησαν τοῖς συνεχέσι πολέμοις διὰ τὴν ἀπείθειαν.[421] Yet, the aforementioned epigrammatist deems worthy of mention some of the affected cities, possibly because these were the ones he considered most prominent. Be that as it may, even our sources are unsure about the effects and the implications that the synoecism had upon the region's population, or about the specific cities involved.

In terms of establishing an early 'image of Nikopolis' there seems to be an indication that the city was designed to 'replace', mend, or triumph over the misery and desolation allegedly reigning in Epirus. Unfortunately, as we have seen, this barely considers, if at all, the local and regional perspectives, with populations being forced to relocate; in other words, the imagined Nikopolis described as such is entirely a Roman fantasy – even in the case of descriptions preserved by Greek authors. As such, it is no coincidence that Suetonius' all too brief mention of Nikopolis is placed immediately after Augustus' conquest of Egypt: *quoque Actiacae victoria memoria celebratior et in posterum esset, urbem Nicopolim apud Actium condidit ludosque illic quinquennales constituit et ampliato vetere Apollinis templo*.[422] From an Augustan perspective, Nikopolis was exactly what its name suggested: a victory city. Yet despite this, Sarikakis has rather convincingly argued that the lack of references to Roman settlers means that the city was seen as a 'Greek city', although there is always the possibility that a double community may have been established, with one being more successful than the other.[423]

That said, there is an additional layer of complexity and unclarity that must be added, namely the possibility that Nikopolis was perceived as a *colonia* by the Romans, which rests on two references in Pliny and Tacitus, who refer to it as *colonia Augusti* and *Nicopolim*

[421] Strab. 7.7.6.
[422] Suet. Aug. 18. This will become increasingly clear as we will analyse the city's most famous monuments and their imagery, particularly the victory monument.
[423] Sarikakis (1970): 92; cf. Purcell (1987) and Ruscu (2006) who proposed the idea of a double community with two different settlements, one Greek, one Roman. See chapter 5 for a full-fledged discussion on this.

Romanam coloniam respectively; the latter, however, also refers to it as *urbs Achaiae* in a separate passage, thus revealing a potentially telling duality.[424] This has naturally raised numerous issues and debates as to whether Nikopolis ever was, or had become, a *colonia* at some point in its history, with earlier scholars arguing strictly in favour of a Greek city; more recently, however, thanks to the analyses of Purcell and Ruscu, the proposition of a double community has gained some traction (see previous note). While we will fully explore this possibility in chapter 5, it is important to note here that at the very least, in an 'imagined' sense, Nikopolis could fit both as a Roman colony and Greek city. If nothing else, we highlight the fact that Tacitus, in two separate instances in his *Annales*, refers to it as *urbs Achaiae* at first, and later as *colonia Romana*, thus allowing for the possibility that at least in a Roman mindset, the city could fulfil both purposes.

Returning to the sources' unclarity, it should be highlighted it continues beyond the details of the synoecism, as it is equally difficult to situate Nikopolis in a specific region. Strabo clearly places his discussion of Nikopolis near Epirus, though he is careful to distinguish between what is Epirote and what is not, as he writes: ἡ Νικόπολις καὶ τῶν Ἠπειρωτῶν οἱ Κασσωπαῖοι.[425] By contrast, Pliny situates Nikopolis amongst Akarnanian towns; meanwhile, as we have seen, Pausanias adds Aetolia to the mix, whereas Dio and Antipater do not provide

[424] Plin. NH. 4.1.5, Tac. Ann. 5.10; cf. Tac. Ann. 2.53, during Germanicus' visit Tacitus only refers to Nikopolis as *urbs Achaiae*, dropping the alleged colony. On the issues raised by these references and discussions regarding the presence or lack thereof of a Roman colony at Nikopolis, see Kahrstedt (1950), Larsen (1958), Bowersock (1965), Sarikakis (1970), Wolff (1977), Purcell (1987), Jones (1987), Ernst (1987), Doukellis (1988), Ruscu (2006). The possibility of a Roman colony has also been explained through CIL III 7334 (= AE 1975, 23), which honours D(ecimus) Furius Octavius as a *duovir* in several *coloniae*, including *Actia Nicopolis*. Earlier scholars who had argued in favour of solely a Greek city, however, had used, among others, a numismatic comparison with the Roman colony Patrae, which minted coins in Latin, whereas Nikopolis' had only been in Greek from Augustus until Gallienus. Sarikakis claims that no Roman colony was founded in the same vein as Nikopolis (i.e. through a synoecism or by forcefully moving multiple population to one city). However, based on our Knossian analysis in chapters 1 and 2, we have seen that the CINC would have mostly been composed of Romans that were spread across Crete and 'conveniently' gathered in one location – an excellent parallel with the situation at Nikopolis.

[425] Strab. 7.7.6. For Strabo's exclusion of Epirus from Greece, see Strab. 7.7.1 and 8.1.3, as well as Isager (2001): 18-20. Similarly, for Pseudo-Skymnos and Pseudo-Skylax, Greece began with Ambrakia, whereas the Epirote and Macedonian tribes were not part of it. On this, see Hammond (1997): 60.

any context.[426] This emphasises the necessity of a systematic study of Nikopolis' immediate surroundings, particularly in light of more recent archaeological trends. Bowersock and Purcell have long-since established that the synoecism both replaced and inherited the former Akarnanian, Aetolian, and parts of the Achaean and Epirote Leagues, while acting as a federal centre.[427] In addition, Gravani has shown that Molossia, Kassopaea and Thesprotia also played a role in the synoecism, thus including major centres beyond the Ambrakian Gulf and the immediate Nikopolitan vicinity.[428] Kassope in particular has gathered traction in these discussions, which is due to more than Strabo's claims that Nikopolis lay either in or in the immediate vicinity of this city.[429] Cabanes argued that Kassope had conceded to Nikopolis 'some of the best land in Epirus',[430] while Moore and Schwandner stated that the foundation of Nikopolis was within Kassopaea, with the first inhabitants being drawn both from the towns of Kassopaea and Akarnania.[431] Thus, not only does this skeletal historiographic overview highlight the importance of studying each of these centres if we are to understand the development of both the 'real' and 'imagined' Nikopolis, but it also reveals another side of the 'imagined': one that is mysterious, vast, nearly endless, almost a miniature of the empire

[426] Strab. 7.7.6 with Plin. NH. 4.1.4-5 for comparison, as he writes: *Acarnaniae, quae antea Curetis vocabatur, oppida Heraclia, Echinus, et in ore ipso colonia Augusti Actium cum templo Apollinis nobili ac civitate libera Nicopolitana*. In a later book, Strabo discusses the area and cities of the Aetolians and Akarnanians (10.2.1-3). Interestingly, he chooses not to place the discussion of Nikopolis in these regions, with the sole exception being a brief reference to Akarnanian cities that had become περιοικίδες of Nikopolis (see below on this). This suggests that in his categorisation, Nikopolis is better suited geographically in his chapter on Epirus and the Ambrakian Gulf. The confusion amongst the surviving sources could also be due to their own sources, as Epirus, Achaea, Aetolia, and most of Greece underwent considerable administrative changes during both the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The Nikopolitan region was no different, as it even continued to undergo reconfigurations during the reigns of Augustus and Trajan. In the former, Nikopolis was in the province of Achaea, which had incorporated much of old Akarnania and some of Epirus, whereas in the latter it became the capital of the new province of Epirus. For more on the territorial reorganisations, see Kirsten (1987): 92-93, Pliakou (2001): 147-48; Karatzeni (2001): 164.

[427] Bowersock (1965): 92-4, Purcell (1987): 72, 80. They highlight that Augustus also chose Patrae as the new guardian of the Achaean League, replacing Olympia; cf. Ruscu (2006): 255.

[428] Gravani (2007): 101-22. Alternatively, in their archaeological guide on Nikopolis, Chrysostomou and Kefallonitou (2001): 12 identify the populations who took part in the synoecism as the 'Kassopaians and Ambraciots from Epiros, Akarnanians, Aetolians, and the inhabitants of the island of Leukas' in addition to Roman colonists and other landless citizens who had supported Octavian in Italy.

[429] Strab. 7.7.6: ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ ἡ Νικόπολις καὶ τῶν Ἠπειρωτῶν οἱ Κασσωπαῖοι μέχρι τοῦ μυχοῦ τοῦ κατὰ Ἀμβρακίαν.

[430] Cabanes (1997): 132.

[431] Moore (2000): 17-8, Schwandner (2001); cf. Cabanes (1997): 132.

carefully crafted by Augustus in his *Res Gestae* and elsewhere as *sine fine.*[432] It is also suggestive of an image showcasing extraordinary will and power to (re)organise the legacy of history itself. Nikopolis towered over all these once glorious bastions of north-western Greece that now lent their former lustre to this new Augustan foundation, as we shall see.

It is therefore imperative that any study on Nikopolis' early days, identity, or imagery should stem from a joint analysis of the city itself and, at the very least those settlements mentioned by our sources as having been replaced by the Augustan foundation. The epigram preserved in the Palatine Anthology enumerates one such list, but it is not alone. For instance, Strabo identifies Anaktorion as an ἐμπόριον of Nikopolis, whereas Palaerus, Alyzia, Leukas, Amphilochian Argos, and Ambrakia had supposedly become περιοικίδες of Nikopolis, with the insinuation that they were dependent upon or subordinate to the latter.[433] Although the literal meaning of περιοικίδες would be 'those living around', the term is often used by Strabo with the added implication that the cities it is referring to were dependent upon a bigger centre.[434] The language is therefore quite different from the Anthology epigram since the cities in this case are not 'replaced', but rather continue to be inhabited after the synoecism, even if some of its inhabitants had been relocated.[435] This is an echo of the earlier passage from Strabo, in which he states that those living around (περιπόλιοι) 'belonged' to Nikopolis: αἱ δ' ἄλλαι κατοικίαι περιπόλιοι τῆς Νικοπόλεώς εἰσιν.[436] Thus, Nikopolis brought order both to the

[432] Yet, as with the CINC, Nikopolis is absent from the *Res Gestae*. It is perhaps worth restating that both foundations are directly connected to Augustus' conflict(s) with Antony and may portray him as a usurper against another fellow Roman, but this discussion goes beyond our scope. See also fig. 3.1 for a visual representation of the territory discussed.
[433] Strab. 10.2.2.
[434] Other examples include 5.3.4, 5.3.10, 6.1.6, 8.3.2, 9.5.18 and even 10.5.2 in reference to the Cyclades as neighbouring dependent isles. Though the word is seldom used by other authors in this context, one notable similarity is Xenophon, who uses it five times, including in Xen. Hell. 3.2 in reference to Sparta's surrounding dependent towns. For a further investigation of such themes and discussion of the various types of synoecism presented by Strabo, see Lippman (2004) *passim*, but esp. 509-11. See also brief discussion of 'perioikos' and similar terms in non-Spartan contexts in Shipley (1997): 196-8, as he warns that local contexts might change the way the terms are read, and that they must be interpreted from a topographical viewpoint, rather than subordinate. He writes that περιοικίδες generally 'denotes outlying settlements around a major centre' (pp. 198).
[435] Purcell (1987): 82, n. 52 has already warned that a synoecism does not necessarily imply the complete disappearance of cities, but rather a reduction and/or subordination.
[436] Strab. 7.7.6.

Roman world (by marking the decisive Augustan victory) and to north-western Greece (by re-arranging a region that was allegedly in shambles). However, this order is betrayed by the insecurity, uncertainty, and inconsistency reflected in the accounts discussed. It is thus at this stage that we must turn towards these other cities to understand how they helped build the image of Nikopolis aside from the obvious contribution of land, inhabitants, and/or manpower.

3.2 The 'Corinthian Treble': Nikopolitan Image Centuries in the Making?

Although the analysis of the related cities and regions will continue in subsequent chapters, some deserve closer analysis in the context of the present discussion. Amongst these, there are two cities that resurface in several sources as being part of the synoecism, namely Ambrakia and Anaktorion. In the case of the former, a sense of past glory and lost (and now recovered) wealth will become apparent, whereas the latter will lend its olden-day traditions to two themes closely associated with the nascent Nikopolis: the Actian Games and the increasing emphasis on the cult(s) of Apollo.

Ancient authors had not forgotten the glory days of Ambrakia when it stood as the capital of Pyrrhus' empire, since it is referred to as Ἀμβρακίης ἐριβώλου, as well as having been εὐτυχής.[437] However, Pausanias reveals the fate of the Ambrakiotes and Anaktorians after discussing an inscription mentioning the Greeks fighting against the Persians at Plataea: Ἀμβρακιώτας δὲ καὶ Ἀνακτορίους ἀποίκους Κορινθίων ὄντας ἐπηγάγετο ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς ἐς Νικοπόλεως συνοικισμὸν πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ.[438] Note that this is the first mention of Nikopolis in his account, and he does not even specify the name of the founder, instead giving us a broad ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς; this could suggest that it was common knowledge that this was a

[437] Anth. Pal. 9.553: Ἀμβρακίης ἐριβώλου; Strab. 7.7.6: ηὐτύχει μὲν οὖν καὶ πρότερον ἡ πόλις αὕτη διαφερόντως (τὴν γοῦν ἐπωνυμίαν ἐντεῦθεν ἔσχηκεν ὁ κόλπος), μάλιστα δ᾽ ἐκόσμησεν αὐτὴν Πύρρος, βασιλείῳ χρησάμενος τῷ τόπῳ·

[438] Paus. 5.23.3.

reference to Augustus and, by extent, that the two cities were part of the synoecism.[439] When considering the sentence immediately preceding this account, regarding the fate of Mycenae and Tiryns which were supposedly deserted or uninhabited (ἔρημοι), it is tempting to argue that he implies the same fate for Ambrakia and Anaktorion after the synoecism.[440] Regardless of Ambrakia's later decline, its role in the early Nikopolitan days is undeniable, and its rich history of connectivity undoubtedly facilitated Nikopolis' transition into the new leading city of the Ambrakian Gulf. A more cynical view could also depict this transition as the elimination of a former capital associated with one of Rome's oldest and most dangerous enemies in Pyrrhus, and its forced replacement with a Roman foundation, although mostly populated by Greek inhabitants (more on this in subsequent chapters).

[439] In fact, only at Paus. 7.18.8 does he mention Augustus by name in relation to him laying waste to Aetolia; in 10.38.4, when discussing the Aetolians fleeing to Amphissa rather than Nikopolis, he once again refers to an unnamed Roman *basileus* who had driven the Aetolians away: ὅτε βασιλεὺς ὁ Ῥωμαίων ἀναστάτους ἐς τὸν Νικοπόλεως συνοικισμὸν ἐποίησεν Αἰτωλούς.

[440] Considering that Pausanias wrote in the second century A.D., it is possible that between Strabo's days and his own time, both Ambrakia and Anaktorion may have become increasingly abandoned, as more inhabitants trickled into Nikopolis, or elsewhere. We do however know that Plin. NH. 4.1.4 cites both cities in his description of Epirus, suggesting that they were still very much alive, though Pliny did not benefit from first-hand experience and travels, as Pausanias did. Archaeological evidence reveals that Ambrakia was still inhabited into the fourth century A.D.; for instance, a Roman building dated to the first century A.D. was still in use by the third or early fourth centuries A.D. For other evidence from 14 graves dated from Roman Ambrakia, see Karatzeni (1999): 243-5. In addition, there are some inscriptions that mention the *polis* and its people, such as the undated SEG XXXIX 1868 found at Nikopolis, which references πόλις τῶν ‘Αμβρακι[ωταν] in the first line. More importantly, CIG 1801 is dated to Trajan's reign and mentions the *demos* of the Ambrakiotes offering honours to the emperor; this confirms the (institutional) survival of the city into Trajan's reign.

In addition, the history of Ambrakia requires further elucidation. Strabo and Pseudo-Skymnos reveal that it was founded by the Corinthians around the same time as Anaktorion and Leukas, or more specifically, by Gorgus, the son of Kypselos.[441] The Corinthians, when choosing the location for their new foundation, fell upon a proverbial gold mine at Ambrakia, with archaeological evidence revealing that the site's prime location had been identified from an earlier time, as there may have been an emporion here as early as the ninth century B.C. (fig. 3.2).[442] Ambrakia itself had modest beginnings, as was generally the case for Greek

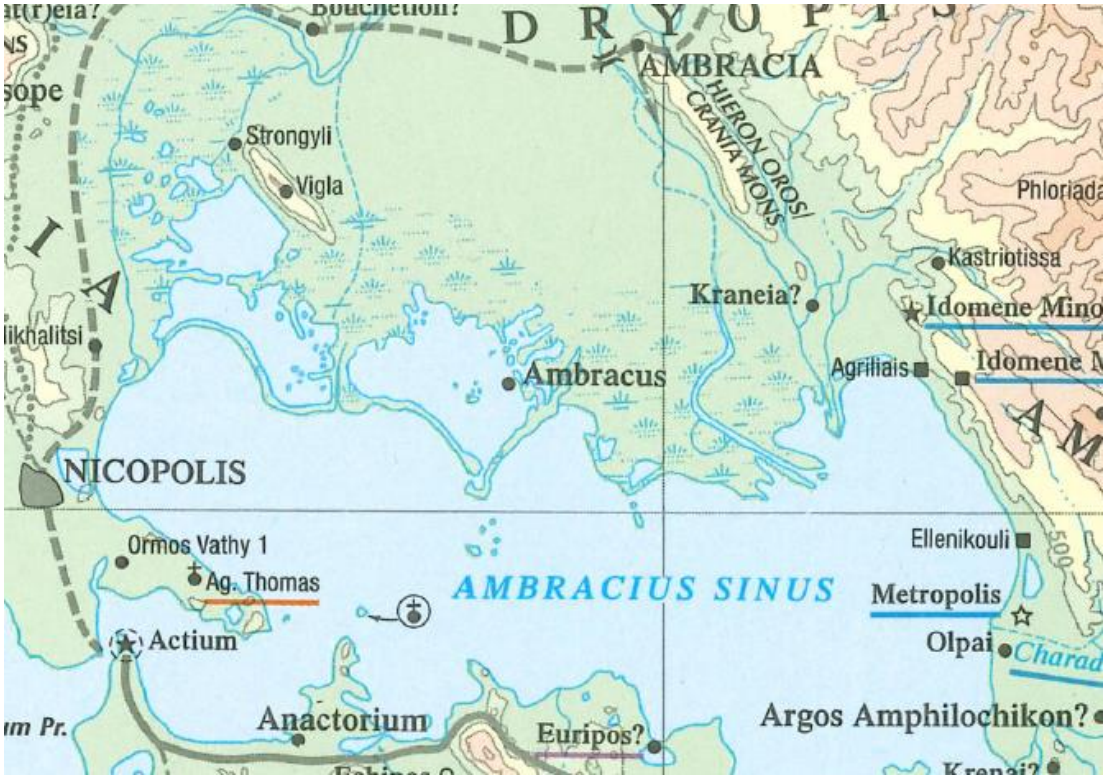


Fig. 3.2 Map displaying Ambrakia's strategic location near the Ambrakian Gulf and future Nikopolis (Detail of BAtlas 54)

[441] Strab. 7.7.6 and 10.2.8, Ps. Scymn. 450. For a more specific geographic location of Ambrakia, see Ps. Scy. 33.

[442] Andréou (1993): 91; Runnels and Tjeerd (2003): 131; Jing and Rapp (2003): 157. See also Moore (2000): 6-7 and Andréou (1999): 341 who argues that its foundation by the Kypselids proves the commercial significance of the Ambrakiote region. Furthermore, Pliakou (1999): 40-2 reveals that among the material found in the city dated to the 7th century B.C., the majority is by far of Corinthian origin or type, including amphorae, which further confirms the early commercial relations between the two cities; cf. Karatzeni (1999): 241.

colonies, and heavily relied upon ties to the metropolis in its earliest days.[443] It was located near the sea, by the rivers Aphas and Arakhthos, which was navigable as far as Ambrakia in antiquity.[444] In addition to this strategic location, Pseudo-Scylax states that the city had both an enclosed harbour and a fort by the sea, which is likely the 'Ambrakos' that Polybius refers to during his recounting of Philip V's capture of the city.[445] Though the modern location of this fort has been debated, it remains that this gave the city an undeniable advantage against its enemies, as ships could not sail directly to Ambrakia during an attack.[446] While this mattered little by the time Nikopolis had been established as the whole region had long fallen under Roman control and local/regional squabbles for hegemony had gradually diminished, the image of an impregnable and opulent capital city must have remained an element of pride for the local population that continued to inhabit it, and even for those that chose, or were forced, to move to Nikopolis. In addition to this, as we have seen, Ambrakia had housed its share of tumultuous events and controversial figures, ranging from Pyrrhus, to Philip V, to eventually becoming a *civitas libera* and surviving the destruction of 167 B.C.[447] Thus, the foundation of Nikopolis could be seen as the culminating chapter in the history of a formerly

[443] On this, see Burgers (1998): 194. Andréou (1999): 344 argues that the finds in the tombs at Vitsa, Pogoni and Ioannina clearly reveal that the inhabitants of the region had more varied commercial relations in the 6th and 5th centuries B.C., as opposed to the 7th, when most of their relations were with Corinth and its colonies. For the Archaic finds of Ambrakia, see also Pliakou (1999): 40-3.

[444] Karatzeni (1999): 241 and (2011): 146; cf. Andréou (1993): 91 for Aphas' role in Ambrakia's connectivity.

[445] Ps. Scy. 33, Polyb. 4.61. For the association see Karatzeni (2011): 145-6, cf. Leake (1835), Hammond (1967): 137-9.

[446] On these advantages and the modern potential location of the fortified fort 'Ambrakos', see Karatzeni (2011): 145-8. She identifies it with the site at Rogoi, rather than Phidokastro, contra Leake (1835) and Hammond (1967) 137-9. Furthermore, as Karatzeni points out, the city was also surrounded by other fortresses that formed a strategic defence network, namely at Koroneia and Herakleion. Rougé (1987): 255, however, rightfully remarks that these advantages were not beneficial for Nikopolis, as the latter had supplanted Ambrakia due to its superior accessibility.

[447] One could say that Ambrakia went from being a Corinthian colony, to becoming an Epirote/Molossian city, to an Aetolian ally and member of the Aetolian League, and eventually a Roman *civitas libera*, all in large part due to its desirable location. On this, see Oberhummer 1887: 151-2, Murray (1982): 332. For Ambrakia as a *civitas libera*, see Liv. 38.44 and Karatzeni (1999): 241. See Thuc. 2.80-82, 2.68, 3.102; 3.105-113 for disputes involving Ambrakia and related territorial aspirations. On Corinthian, Leukadian and Ambrakiote naval cooperation see Hdt. 9.28, 31, Thuc. 1.26.1-2, Xen. Hel. 6.2.3 with Bakhuizen (1987): 188-9. There is little literary evidence from Ambrakia between 167 B.C. and the foundation of Nikopolis, but we will cover these in chapter 4. See, however, Cabanes and Andréou (1985) 511, Karatzeni (1999): 242 with Polyb. 21.26-31, Liv. 38.3.10 for the siege and conquest of Ambrakia by Marcus Fulvius as the final major episode in our sources.

prominent city that would now step into the shadows and become part of what Strabo called one of the περιοικίδες.

However, while the sources on the Nikopolitan synoecism do allude to Ambrakia's wealthy past, they rarely name any of the historical figures associated with it, even Pyrrhus, who had made it his capital. It is simply Ἀμβρακίης ἐριβώλου, not Pyrrhus' Ambrakia, not the Epirotes', nor the Molossians'. While we will see in the next chapters that Pyrrhus may have been responsible for placing Ambrakia on the Romans' radar through his intervention in Southern Italy, it is no secret that both Greek and Roman sources are hostile to him throughout the centuries.[448] Rivalled perhaps only by Hannibal in terms of damage caused to the Italian peninsula by external forces, Pyrrhus had inflicted devastating defeats upon the Romans and recalling his memory in association with Ambrakia, and within the context of establishing an 'imagined' Nikopolis are both difficult to justify. That said, Strabo is the exception, as he is the only author reminding us of Pyrrhus' importance for the Ambrakiotes, just a few lines before introducing Nikopolis' foundation: μάλιστα δ᾽ ἐκόσμησεν αὐτὴν Πύρρος βασιλείῳ χρησάμενος τῷ τόπῳ.[449] Could this be the first hint towards Augustus and the Romans supplanting Pyrrhus and his legacy? We will return to this in due course.

This brings us back to the Graeco-Roman dichotomy, as some may have recalled Pyrrhus in a positive light, and appreciated his deeds in Ambrakia, whereas others (particularly the Romans) had a different experience with the Hellenistic monarch. One could, however, also argue that this was a missed opportunity by the authors to recall Rome's 'glorious' eventual victory against Pyrrhus and show how they had reduced his capital city to a mere dependency, but perhaps his *damnatio memoriae* served this exact purpose. While this discussion is *ex silentio*, it is nevertheless noteworthy to highlight the complete absence of details about each of

[448] On source hostility towards Pyrrhus, see Lomas (1993): 14 who highlights Pyrrhus' poor figure for being associated with Taras in Plut. Pyrrh. 13-16, App. Samn. 7.1-3; cf. Brauer (1986): 153 with Plut. Pyrrh. 22.3 for anti-Pyrrhic sentiment within Taras itself.
[449] Strab. 7.7.6.

the cities coming together in the synoecism. By using simple associative words such as ἐριβώλου or ηὐτύχει with Ambrakia, ancient authors would have nevertheless raised memories and images of this past Ambrakia that had prospered as a Corinthian colony, as Pyrrhus' capital, and as a commodity disputed by Epirotes, Aetolians, and Romans alike.[450]

While the focus in this present chapter is indeed on the picture portrayed by our literary sources, a few archaeological notes will help highlight the previous points and reveal how crucial Ambrakia had been for this region. We have already established that the city was founded ca. 15km from the sea, by the river Arakthos, and held at least a harbour and a fort, making it a difficult area to breach.[451] Its location also happens to be the easiest crossing point of the Arakthos river, and was situated on the main roads that connected Epirus with Akarnania, and the Ambrakian Gulf with Thessaly – not to mention its proximity to future Nikopolis, which will become of utmost importance, as we will see in the final section of this chapter. Andréou has argued that from the earliest stages, the Corinthians recognised these benefits, as they colonised Ambrakia, Leukas and Anaktorion in order to maintain a route towards the coast of the Adriatic in light of the rapid rise of Corcyra.[452] This allowed the metropolis to maintain relations with the west, while also providing its colonies with their earliest point of contact with the west, and further facilitating their growth.[453] Ambrakia's enviable location is further highlighted by Antonetti's remapping of the city's main known roads, as these connected Epirus, Southern Greece, and even more isolated areas, such as Orrhaon.[454] Andréou adds that the northern road led towards the centre of Epirus to the sanctuary of Dodona and into Illyria, whereas the southern road crossed the country of the

[450] Anth. Pal. 9.553, Strab. 7.7.6 for ἐριβώλου and ηὐτύχει respectively.
[451] See n. 444. On the sea, and Arakthos in ancient sources, see Strab. 7.7.6, Liv. 38.3.11, 38.4.2-3; Polyb. 21.26.4; Dion. Call. 43.
[452] The Corinthian origin of these three centres is also worth highlighting, as we will return to this theme. The shared past and origins of many of the settlements affected by Nikopolis would have a significant impact on Augustus' territorial reorganisations and in the development of a common identity in the post-Augustan world, as we will see in chapter 5.
[453] Andréou (1999): 341.
[454] Antonetti (1987): 99-102; for route to Orrhaon, see Andréou (1999): 344.

Amphilochians, Akarnanians and Aetolians, while leading into the Corinthian Gulf. Lastly, the eastern route went into Thessaly and Macedon, while the western route linked all other interior *poleis* to the Ionian Sea, Corcyra, and the Adriatic.[455] These advantages remained in the Roman period, as the city also lay on a route leading directly to the Via Egnatia.[456] This extensive road network not only allowed it to maintain strong regional ties, but also provided easy access to major sanctuaries and cities, and even facilitated the creation of transregional connections – all of which were eventually inherited by Nikopolis, which was itself part of a vast network of cities, harbours and settlements that ranged as far north as Illyria and as far south as Corinth, as our analysis will show in due course.

While this has been a lengthy excursus into the history and location of Ambrakia, it was indispensable, as it highlighted a different picture from desolate Epirus, while also showcasing the kind of city, and more importantly legacy, that Nikopolis was supplanting both in reality and in the imagined depiction of our sources. Here we must reiterate the notes of Bowden, Purcell, Bowersock, and others: Nikopolis would inherit not only the territory of the cities that it engulfed, but also their traditions, history, and customs. Ambrakia is therefore one such example, but arguably one of the most important ones, as not only did most of our sources confirm its role in the synoecism, but it also possessed a famous history that Greeks and Romans alike could recall.

[455] Andréou (1993): 91.
[456] Purcell (1987): 74.

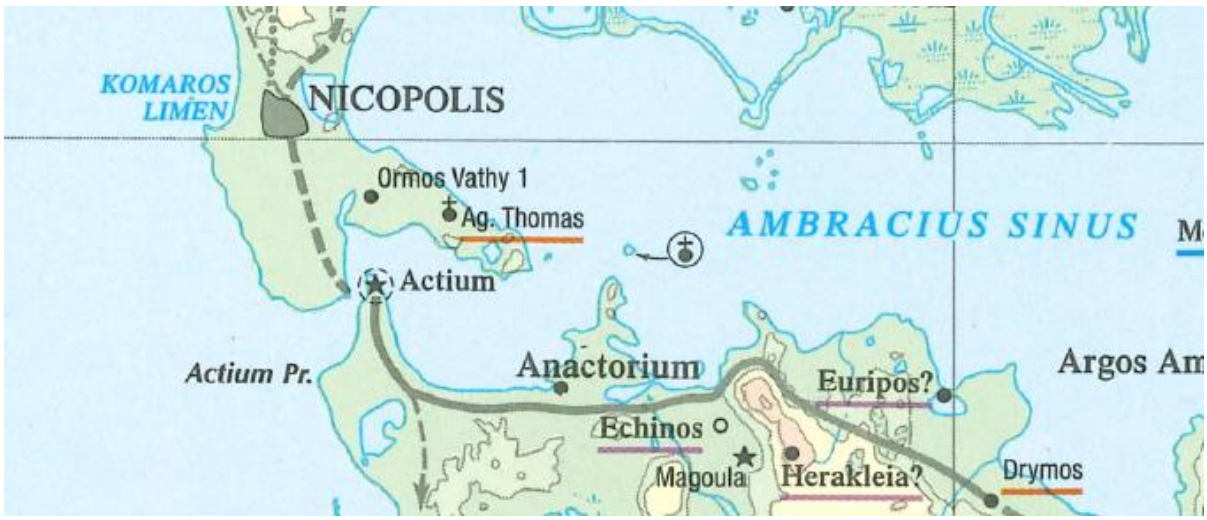


Fig. 3.3 Map displaying Anaktorion's location near the Ambrakian Gulf and future Nikopolis (Detail of BAtlas 54)

Turning our attention towards Anaktorion, the inherited image here differs slightly from Ambrakia's, yet it complements it with religious, cultural, and traditional themes. Although Strabo claims that this city had become an emporion when he was writing, its importance to the region should not be diminished based on this status (fig. 3.3).[457] Anaktorion's origins are also intrinsically related to Ambrakia considering both were Corinthian colonies serving a similar purpose, as seen above – although the two cities' histories followed divergent paths, with one overshadowing the other.[458] Founded around the same time as Ambrakia (ca. 620s B.C.), Anaktorion is best known for harbouring a famous temple of Apollo (ca. 40 stadia from the city according to Strab. 10.2.7), which itself is dated to the first half of the sixth century B.C., with the sanctuary perhaps as old as the foundation of the city itself.[459] While this may have given the city greater prominence than Ambrakia in its earliest days, the importance of this temple goes beyond the competition between the two Corinthian colonies. This was the birthplace of

[457] Strab. 10.2.2.

[458] According to Thuc. 1.55, there was a time when Anaktorion was a common Corinthian and Corcyraean possession, but the former had taken it for themselves, thus further strengthening the influence of Corinthian foundations in this region as a counterbalance to their rivals. On this idea, see Andréou (1999): 341. See also Bakhuizen (1987): 185-94 for comprehensive references to and discussion of the Corinthian-Corcyraean 'colonial zone' as the author calls it, including many of the cities we will see in this present analysis: Ambrakia, Leukas, Anaktorion, Apollonia, Dyrrhachion.

[459] On the foundation of the city alongside Ambrakia, see Strab. 10.2.8; cf. FGrH 90 Nicolaus F 57.7. See also Murray (1982): 17, Moore (2000): 6-7; cf. Habicht (1957): 100 on this and on the foundation and dating of Apollo's temple.

the worship of Actian Apollo, with the sanctuary growing in prominence over the centuries, and eventually becoming common to the entire Akarnanian ἔθνος by 216 B.C., when we learn from a lengthy inscription that Anaktorion was able to retain control over the harbour taxes collected at this site (with some exceptions).[460] Considering the importance that Actian Apollo came to have at Nikopolis, both in terms of Apollo's overall worship (more on this below), and with the revival of the Actian Games by Augustus, it is unsurprising that some authors preserved the references to this city, despite its apparently reduced role as an emporion.[461] Furthermore, the games themselves, as suggested by Isager and Heuchert, also highlight a 'connection to the historical past', and further emphasise the notion that although Augustus' city was new, much of its image and early days heavily relied upon a borrowed past.[462]

The location of both the city and the sanctuary are also significant in Anaktorion's history, although perhaps not on the same scale as Ambrakia's. The city benefitted from active harbours and was located at important crossroads. More notably, Strabo mentions a road that connects the commercial harbour of Anaktorion with Stratos and Alyzia, with the latter being one of the Nikopolitan dependencies according to Strabo; Flamig has proposed that this road may have continued least as far south as Astakos, thus highlighting Anaktorion's connectivity.[463]

Despite these references, the city's history remains poorly documented with only a handful of mentions, which follow a similar pattern to the ones from Ambrakia. The city's 'rulers' changed hands on a number of occasions from the moment it had been a joint

[460] IG IX I^2 583, which reveals that the Anaktorians were unable to collect harbour taxes during the period of Apollo's festival when the revenues were shared with the *koinon*, as the festival appears to have had a strong economic component. On the procedures of the festival and the worship of Actian Apollo at Anaktorion, see ; Habicht (1957): 102-9, Murray (1982): 266-71, Tzouvara-Souli (2001): 241; cf. Collignon (1886): 234-43 for earliest evidence of his worship.
[461] For Augustus' restoration of the Actian Games previously held at Anaktorion since the fourth century B.C. and of the sacred temple of Apollo, see Strab. 7.7.6, Suet. Aug. 18, Plin. NH. 4.1.5 and Cass. Dio 51.1.3; for the earlier games, see Tzouvara-Souli (2001): 242-3. On their importance, as 'Olympic' games under Augustus, see Bowersock (1965): 94, Purcell (1987): 87. Furthermore, Heuchert (2005): 51 underlines the significance of the games through their representation on Nikopolitan coinage (i.e., RPC III 501).
[462] Isager (2007): 30, Heuchert (2005): 51 (see note above).
[463] Strab. 10.2.2, Flamig (2007): 327, n. 24.

Corinthian and Corcyraean possession.[464] After the Corinthians took the city and established their own settlers, the latter were eventually dislodged by a coalition of Athenians and Akarnanians who settled new colonists from παντων [...] χωριον.[465] When the city eventually fell to Epiros, the Akarnanian *koinon* of which Anaktorion was a part, was forcibly dissolved and, although later revived, the region never appeared to present any major threat again.[466] With this, Anaktorion fell out of the picture along with Akarnania, until it was mentioned by both Strabo and the epigram from the Palatine Anthology as a dependency of Nikopolis.[467]

Thus, we might conclude that Anaktorion's greatest 'contribution' to the Nikopolitan synoecism came in the form of adding the temple of Actian Apollo to the latter's territory and via the revived games formerly associated with it. The importance of Apollo, both to Actium and to Augustus, is a topic that needs no introduction – after all, Suetonius' previously cited references to Augustus' activity in this region include both the Actian Games and the aggrandisement of the temple of Apollo.[468] That said, the worship of Apollo in Akarnania and Epirus is a topic that goes beyond Anaktorion, although its epicentre could be located here (more on this below). Moreover, it should be added that Augustus' revival of these old Actian Games is in line with policies restoring past traditions and rekindling ties – an echo of the Cretan case.[469]

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[464] Thuc. 1.55 and discussion above.
[465] Thuc. 1.55.1, Thuc. 4.49; cf. Thuc. 5.30.2.
[466] On broader discussions of the league's history, see Habicht (1957), Murray (1982); on attempt to restore the shrine of Aktian Apollo as a League sanctuary in 217/6 B.C., see IG IX I^2 583, and Oberhummer (1887): 145-6.
[467] Murray (1982): 359-61 suggests that the league persisted at least until the mid-second century B.C.
[468] Suet. Aug. 18. The sanctuary of Apollo at Actium was notably recently plundered along with the one at Leukas by pirates, as told by Plut. Pomp. 24. For more on Apollo's importance both in Augustan and Epirote contexts, see chapter 4.
[469] This observation was made by Bowersock (1965): 93 in a different context, as he argued in favour of a solely Greek city at Nikopolis by demonstrating that much about it, including Augustus' impositions and 'innovations' were mere copies of Epirus' once glorious past. This will become even more apparent in chapters 4 and 5, as we will obtain a clearer picture of how vast of a role the 'past' played within Nikopolis. Along these lines, Larsen (1958): 130 presented Augustus' policy in Greece as one that both preserved and used the prestigious elements of the Greek past (which often also included a subtle Roman presence) to create the semblance of something 'new'. He concluded that Augustus' intention with Nikopolis was 'to appear not as a foreign conqueror, but as a patron of things Greek and as a statesman under the special protection of Apollo' – all of which very much fit within the analysis of this chapter. In similar fashion, Paschalis (1987): 63-9 believes that the unnamed *parva urbs* at Verg. Aen. 3.276 was a reference to Nikopolis, and concludes his analysis by stating that both this

Before turning to a more detailed analysis of Apollo's role in Nikopolis' past and present, the island of Leukas must be introduced here as it completes the Corinthian 'treble' and highlights more of the same. Leukas shares not only a metropolis with Ambrakia and Anaktorion, but also a founding figure and purpose, as seen above.[470] Furthermore, much as Ambrakia benefitted from its position at the edge of its gulf, Leukas prospered thanks to a canal (Dioryktus) cut through a north-eastern isthmus that connected the island to the mainland (fig. 3.4). This enabled ships to sail through the area between the island itself and the Akarnanian coast.[471] Opened some time in the 7th or 6th century B.C. by the Corinthians,



Fig. 3.4 Map displaying Leukas' location and potential location of the canal, as well as their proximity to Nikopolis (Detail of BAtlas 54)

unnamed city and Nikopolis were 'Greek only in appearance because from an ideological point of view they are Augustan'.

[470] For the foundation of Leukas, see Ps. Scy. 34 who claims it was a refoundation of a settlement previously named Epileukadioi, a story which is further detailed by Strab. 10.2.8 who writes that the same Gorgus and other Corinthians sent by Kypselos took possession of the (i.e., as seen at Ambrakia); cf. also Posidon. FGrH 87 F 87, 18

[471] For some references to the canal and its advantages, see Ps. Scy. 34 and Thuc. 3.81.1 who states that the Peloponnesians sailed through the isthmus to avoid circumnavigating the entire island (cf. Thuc. 4.8). Polyb. 5.5.12 writes that the canal was named Dioryktus (which is later confirmed in Dion. Hal. 1.50.4 and Plin. NH. 4.1.5). Liv. 33.17 also offers a geographical description of Leukas' position and of the isthmus that was

the canal facilitated crossing the Ionian Sea and secured a safer and shorter journey than sailing around the western coasts of Leukas.[472] Though it was not always navigable, it nevertheless promoted the mercantile importance of the *polis*.[473] Murray has shown that the 'South Mole' at Leukas served as a commercial dock for the city and also provided a protected anchorage point for coasters and local trading vessels that did not wish to circumnavigate the island, which was an advantage highlighted as early as Thucydides.[474] In addition, in a separate description of the 426 B.C. siege of Leukas, Thucydides confirms the importance of the seas for the inhabitants, as the Akarnanians wanted to impose a blockade to cut it off from the sea.[475] Furthermore, Strabo mentions a bridge linking Leukas to the Greek mainland and Akarnania, further emphasizing its connectivity with this region.[476] Thus, despite its apparent seclusion on an island, Leukas easily incorporated itself within the Akarnanian *koinon*, its diplomatic ties, and even regional cult activity due to these factors. In addition, as the eventual seat of this *koinon*, it was able to oversee affairs and interactions between various *poleis*, further adding to its historical importance and unveiling how Nikopolis' image (and connectivity) benefitted from including Leukas as its dependency.

It should therefore be unsurprising to note strong Akarnanian features in early Nikopolis, in part due to Leukas' prominence in this region in the centuries leading up to the synoecism. That said, Leukas experienced a similar fate to Ambrakia, as it became a *civitas libera* and continued to mint its own coins, but perhaps more importantly lost its status as the

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supposedly only half a mile long. Lastly, Strab. 1.3.18 notes both the canal and a bridge connecting Leukas to the mainland.

[472] Murray (1982): 223-4; Pliakou (2001): 148.

[473] The reference to Leukas in Ov. Met. 15.289-290 is often interpreted as a remark on the canal's unnavigability, as he wrote *Leucada continuam veteres habuere coloni: nunc freta circuent*; a few decades later, Plin. NH. 4.1.5 tells us that though the island was once cut off from the mainland (i.e. the canal was navigable), the canal had now silted: *reddita ventorum flatu congeriem harenae adtumulantium;* similarly, at Plin. NH. 2.92, he writes: *ad hoc perrupit mare Leucada*. On the canal's navigability prior to the Roman conquest, see Oberhummer (1887): esp. 8-9, Murray (1982) and Pliakou (2001).

[474] Thuc. 3.81.1 with n. 464-5.

[475] Thuc. 3.94-5 and similarly see Liv. 33.17 who pinpoints the city's disadvantage, as it was allegedly weak to both land and sea attacks. On these, see Murray (1982): 237, n. 25.

[476] For the conquest and contemporary events see Liv. 33.16-7, Strab. 1.3.18 and 10.2.8. The existence of the bridge can be confirmed, as it was located by travellers in the 19th century, including Leake (1835): 11. For a full discussion, see Murray (1982): 251-3.

seat of the *koinon* in favour of Thyrreion, who in turn would also become part of Nikopolis' territory.[477] As with the others, very little survives between this time and the foundation of Nikopolis with arguably the two most important mentions being the aforementioned plunder of the temple of Apollo at Leukas (n. 468) and Agrippa's final conquest at Cass. Dio 50.13.5.

Furthermore, given the references to the Leukadian canal from the Roman period (see n. 471, 473), it is clear that the city survived the synoecism and was not 'replaced' by the new foundation, as the Palatine Anthology suggested.[478] Furthermore, in spite of the canal's occasional issues that were attested in Ovid and Pliny, archaeological evidence suggests that the city continued to be inhabited until at least the fourth century A.D., with Murray pushing this date to the sixth century.[479] Literary evidence supports the post-Nikopolitan survival, as both Athenaeus and Claudius Aelianus make reference to the Leukadians when alluding to their excellent wine, and particular local fishing methods respectively.[480] Thus, having established that Ambrakia also survived long after the synoecism, we ought to be careful when considering the image of desolation being 'restored' or 'mended' by Nikopolis' foundation discussed above: while the importance of the older settlements undoubtedly further diminished after Augustus' foundation, they continued to co-exist alongside Nikopolis. We will turn to these issues in further depth in the following two chapters as we will consider the impacts and effects of the Roman intervention.

[477] Murray (1982): 360 argues that this benefitted the Romans since they could keep control of Leukas for themselves, while placing the most pro-Roman *polis* at the head of the League; see also Oberhumer (1887): 191-2. For evidence of Leukas as a *civitas libera* see examples of its coinage in Imhoof-Blumer (1878): 41, 174, Head (1911): 330 with discussion in Murray (1982): 360-1; cf. Pliakou (2001): 147.
[478] Anth. Pal. 9.553.
[479] Murray (1982): 241 claims that the pottery found along the South Mole can be dated from the 5th century B.C. to the 6th century A.D; cf. Pliakou (2001) for an analysis of the sites inhabited until the 4th century A.D.
[480] Athen. Epit. 1.33b; Ael. NA. 13.19.



Fig. 3.5 Specimen of Ambrakiote coinage, ca. 238-168 B.C.
Obv: Head of Dione l., laur. and veiled. Rev: Obelisk, all in laurel-wreath. (Calomino 2011 = BMC 1, pl. XVIII)

We have seen thus far common themes at Ambrakia, Anaktorion, and Leukas that helped shape the initial image of Nikopolis gathering under its umbrella settlements that had a long history of affiliation(s) and connectivity of various degrees. Moreover, these centres served as key hubs in north-western Greece, economically (i.e., as a gateway to the west and/or north) on land and sea(s), or religiously through the worship of Apollo, among others.

It is therefore at this stage that we ought to turn to this last topic and highlight the spread of Apollo's worship from, to, and through the three Corinthian foundations. While Anaktorion's role has already been underlined as essential, Leukas' and Ambrakia's should not be understated. Beginning with Ambrakia, the city most notably helped spread the cults of Apollo Agyieus and Apollo Pythios Soter throughout its vicinity, with the latter also serving as a central hub for the city itself.[481] In addition, the baetyl, the symbol of Agyieus, became a significant type on Ambrakiote coins during the third century B.C., and can even be seen on two marble fragments from Nikopolis, thus suggesting that the cult may have been

[481] The temple of Apollo Pythios Soter dominated the public area at Ambrakia, as shown in the city's reconstruction in Andréou (1997): 97. His worship is also attested in the third century B.C. from a fragment of Athanadas (=Jacoby, FGrH IIIb 303); for more on this, see Tzouvara-Souli (2001), 233-6.

transferred by the early inhabitants (cf. fig. 3.5).[482] Antoninus Liberalis also preserves a myth told by Nikander and Athanadas sometime in the third century B.C.: Apollo, Artemis and Herakles had asked Kragaleus to arbitrate regarding who should own Ambrakia, with Apollo claiming it as his since he had honoured it, while his son, Melaneus, had conquered Epirus and also had a son named Ambrakias after whom the city was named.[483] All this had in turn sparked a chain of events that led the Corinthians through Gorgos, Kypselos' brother, to bring colonists to Ambrakia with Apollo continuing to oversee affairs in the city, as he was worshipped as Apollo Pythios Soter. After hearing Artemis' and Herakles' arguments, Kragaleus then judged in favour of the latter and was thus turned into stone by an angry Apollo. Thus, not only is this a distinctly local tradition, but it also shows the great influence that Apollo and his cults had within the city. Though it is possible that not every divinity worshipped in these cities was transferred to Nikopolis, many of them would have been, as Pausanias recalls that Augustus ordered for the ἀγάλματα to be relocated from Aetolian and Akarnanian cities to Nikopolis.[484]

Apollo Leukatas is another prominent cult following these lines, and is even attested at Nikopolis on coinage dated to Trajan's reign, thus highlighting not only his importance for Leukas and the region as a whole, but also potential survival and presence of the cult at

[482] Tzouvara-Souli (1993): 65-6 and (2001): 236-7 for a discussion of the baetyl on Ambrakiote coinage post 238 B.C. when it became one of the city's main coin types. In addition, Apollo Agyieus was also worshipped at Apollonia since at least 280 B.C. when the baetyl also started appearing on its coinage; for further discussions, and on the origins and spread of Agyieus' worship, on the use of the baetyl on Ambrakiote and Apollonian coinage, see Gjongecaj and Picard (1999): 91-2, Quantin (2011): 219; cf. Sutherland (1976): *passim*.

[483] Anton. Lib. 4 = Athanadas (=FGrH 303 F1) and Nikander (=F 38 Schn). See also Tzouvara-Souli (2001): 233-56 for a chronological overview of Apollo's worship in northwest Greece; cf. Nilsson (1909): 20 for an early view that this tradition was in reference to the baetyl.

[484] This is confirmed by numismatic evidence, with Calomino suggesting that the Nikopolitan coin repertory has one of the richest displays of Greek divinities of the entire Roman provincial production, as the whole pantheon is represented in addition to other regional and local variations, such as Artemis Laphria, Asklepios as Phinaios, Apollo Leukatas, Archegetes, and Aktios: Calomino (2012): 109 with Oikonomidou (1975): 46-60. In addition, Katsadema (2007): 97 highlights architectural terracotta from numerous sites at Nikopolis, which were dated as early as the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., thus leading the author to focus on typological parallels from Ambrakia and Leukas, and suggesting these fragments would have been brought in along with the cult statues from the cities affected by synoecism.

Nikopolis, long after the city's foundation.[485] Moreover, considering Propertius refers to Actian Apollo as *Leucadius*, there is a strong possibility that the two became interchangeable by the time of his writing, as suggested by Tzouvara-Souli, and even based on comparative accounts from papyrological evidence.[486] This not only highlights the region's hyperconnectivity and tight-knit relations, but also perhaps the confusion and lack of understanding from an outsider perspective of the numerous local and regional interactions and habits, which is similar to the confusion and uncertainty expressed by the sources discussing the foundation. Moreover, Plutarch's reference to the plundering of the temples of Apollo Leukatas and Aktios at the hands of the pirates highlights both their wealth and local importance, as well as their continued worship between the Late Republic and early Principate.[487]

While we will return to the religious network and the spread of various cults throughout north-western Greece in subsequent chapters, we ought to underline at least one other famous example to demonstrate that the worship of Apollo is not alone, although it was a favourite of Augustus. Both Ambrakia and Leukas were known for a rather uncommon cult that oversaw the worship of Aphrodite Aeneas. Given Ambrakia's extensive terrestrial and maritime connectivity, and Leukas' position at the western edge of Greece and its own maritime access, it should come as no surprise that the two are suspected to have played a major role in not only the spread of various cults, but also in importing new trends from Magna Graecia. While the ties between the two regions could be traced back to the early Corinthian involvement in north-

[485] Franke (1976): 159-63; Tzouvara-Souli (2001): 243; Pliakou (2001): 157; the finds of Dörpfeld (1927): 325 also show that the sanctuary of Apollo Leukatas was in use as late as the second century A.D. thanks to coinage and pottery found in the area. See RPC III 487 for Apollo Leukatas on Trajanic coinage.
[486] Tzouvara-Souli (2001): 242; cf. Franke (1976):159-63, and especially Sutherland (1976): 151 who uses Ov. Her. 15.165-166 as evidence that the two cults were the same: *Phoebus ab excelso, quantum patet, adspicit aequor: Actiacum populi Leucadiumque vocant*. We can also consider an anonymous literary papyrus (Page 1942, no. 113), dated to the Augustan period by Lange (2009). In it, Apollo is referred to as 'master of Actium', and 'lord' Leukatas within the same epigram, per Page's translations (no. 113, p. 471) – Ἀκτίον ἀμ[φιέπων] and μάκαρ Λευκατα respectively. Although this was an epigram to a statue of Actian Apollo from Alexandria, it remains nevertheless that the epithet 'Leukatas' appears to already be associated with the battle of Actium (and thus by extent Nikopolis) and perhaps even Actian Apollo from as early as A.D. 1, if we accept Page's dating. For a longer discussion of this epigram and its implications within Nikopolis' wider worship of Apollo, see Lange (2009): 104, 106 esp. n. 45, 55.
[487] Plut. Pomp. 24.

western Greece, they were undoubtedly accentuated by Pyrrhus' interest in Southern Italy, and eventual involvement with the Tarentines against the Romans.[488] The introduction of Aphrodite Aeneas appears to be one such example, as it is believed the cult originated at Egesta or on the peak of mount Eryx, with the deity later worshipped in sanctuaries at Ambrakia, Actium, Leukas and even Bouthroton (possibly having been transferred there through Ambrakia). While the origin of the cult remains heavily debated with dates ranging from predating the Corinthians to the Late Roman Republic, it remains that its temples are confirmed near Leukas, Actium and Ambrakia in the Augustan period.[489] Whatever the case may be, with temples in three of the major cities engulfed by the Nikopolitan synoecism, the worship of Aphrodite Aeneas fits within the same context and discussion as that of Apollo, and others that we will continue to discuss throughout the Nikopolitan analysis. It also goes without saying that both Aphrodite (Venus) and Aeneas are central to Augustus' Rome and to his own image given Venus' importance in his descent, and the endless comparisons emerging between Augustus and Aeneas.

To put this into the context of our previous section, when reading the Nikopolitan foundation accounts in Strabo, Cassius Dio, or in the Palatine Anthology, it is important not to view the list of cities taking part in the synoecism only as a list, or as 'replaceable'. Each city

[488] One of the earliest ties to Magna Graecia are the traces of *cadastres* left by the Corinthian founders, as these resembled those from Italiote colonies, rather than the typical organisation seen in the Greek mainland colonies. On this, see Andréou (1999): 344 and especially her reconstruction of the city plan of Ambrakia and comparison to Italiote cities in Andréou (1997): 97-104.

[489] Dion. Hal. 1.50.4 mentions that Aphrodite Aeneas was worshipped at Ambrakia, Leukas, and Actium; cf. 1.53.1 as he claims that there was an altar on the summit of Mount Eryx and a temple to Aeneas in Egesta. At Leukas, he claims it lay between the canal Dioryktus and the city, though Oberhummer (1887): 10 believed the temple would have been located on one of the two ends of the bridge mentioned by Strabo. Hammond (1967): 413, 647 thought that the cult of Aphrodite Aeneas was much older and that it even predated the Corinthian colonists who later spread it across Epirus; Tzouvara-Souli (1993): 72 supports this view through terracotta evidence from Ambrakia representing Aphrodite. Others, however, believe that the association of Aphrodite and Aeneas originated much later, specifically after the Roman conquest as an attempt by the inhabitants of this region to establish a closer connection to Rome and its mythical founder. This interpretation does not have to diminish the ties to Southern Italy and how they may have played a role in this adaptation, but it would suggest that Pyrrhus' role was not as grand. On this, see Galinsky (1969): 64-70, and Themelis (1998): 175-6 who argues that the switch between Aphrodite and Aeneas occurred as late as the middle of the first century B.C. Be that as it may, Dionysius of Halicarnassus' report reveals important interactions between Ambrakia and Leukas, and perhaps even a joint decision or common worship of Aphrodite Aeneas.

contributed to and lent its former and present image, legacy, and history in its own uniquely local way, regardless of their allegiance towards either the Aetolians, Epirotes, Molossians, or any other ethnos. While our sources fail to capture a detailed image of each of these, they leave us with a lasting image of the local and regional complexity, and repercussions felt with the foundation of Nikopolis. We must not forget that the role of Rome still looms large in the sense that this was a Roman endeavour by its most powerful figure. However, one could easily be made to think that the image we have painted in this section was largely a Greek one, which is indicative of how blurred the lines must have been vis-à-vis this dichotomy.

3.3 Augustus' *Tropaeum*: Physically Greek, Symbolically and Ideologically Roman?

In his attempt to establish the identity of the early Nikopolitans, Bowden concluded that the available evidence is not suited to address questions about the reality of the every-day experiences; yet, he did highlight the importance of the transferred cult imagery and other items brought into the city by both its settlers and its builders.[490] This is a reminder that we have only begun to scratch the surface with the evidence from the three case studies above, while more is yet to be discussed from other cities that played both a direct and indirect role in the synoecism. Moreover, Bowden's statement in many ways only considers the Greek population that would be settled in Nikopolis, but as we have alluded, we cannot neglect or undermine the importance of the Roman imagery associated with the city, or the potential presence of a small contingent of Roman settlers. Coincidentally, one of the city's most studied landmarks, the Augustan victory monument, is the perfect embodiment of this dichotomy, as it not only represents a constant reminder of Augustus' victory, but it also, more subtly, contains the regional Greek influences that poured into the city's early days.

[490] Bowden (2011): 108-14, esp. 108-9.

Located some three kilometres to the north of the city, supposedly on the spot of Augustus' tent, this Tropaeum was aligned with the *cardo maximus*, which suggests that the city's landscape was directly influenced by the battle of Actium, as the city's north-south axis was in line with the victory monument itself. In addition, its elevated location allowed it to overlook not only the area where the Actian Games would be held, but also the vast territory that had fallen under Nikopolitan control.[491] Its grandiose style and scale have pushed some to suggest that it may have inspired the Ara Pacis, as it surpassed any of the monuments set up in the Roman forum.[492] Dedicated in the summer of 29 B.C., the Tropaeum marks one of the first signs of the spread of Roman influence on Greek architecture, as Malacrino claims it is the first example of the export of *opus reticulatum* in a provincial setting.[493] In addition, Zachos argues that the architecture resembles the layout of the Asklepieion at Kos and the Late Republican sanctuaries in Italy, particularly at Tibur and Praeneste, whereas the set frieze may have been inspired by Pergamon's Athena sanctuary.[494] The other finds in its proximity also emphasise the 'cosmopolitan' nature of the monument. In the area inside the

[491] Noteworthy references to the monument include Strab. 7.7.6, Anth. Pal. 6.236, Suet. Aug. 18, 96, Tac. Ann. 2.53, Plut. Ant. 65.3, Cass. Dio 51.1.3, Paneg. Lat. 11.9, Zon. 10.30. Picturesquely, Zachos (2001): 30 states that the location chosen by Augustus for his landmark was understandable as you can see the coastline of the Ionian Sea in the distance, as well as the shores of the Ambrakian Gulf, and on a clear day, one can even spot the 'promontory of Actium and the mountains of Akarnania and Leukas'. Thus, one could observe the most famous landmarks of Nikopolis' newly gained territory from the city itself: a fitting view for a new regional 'hegemon'. See Murray and Petsas (1989): 71 for a discussion of the victory monument being part of an enormous sacred area which included the sacred hill of Apollo, as well as a *temenos* of Neptune and Mars (to whom Augustus had dedicated the spoils), and the nearby area hosting the Actian Games. For studies of the city's topography and the monument's place therewithin, see Zachos (2003): 65, 69; Bowden (2007): 137-8; Malacrino (2007): 372; Isager (2007): 30; Tsakoumis (2007); Andréou (2007), and Zachos (2016) and (2018) more broadly.

[492] Isager (2007): 30; cf. Zachos (2003): 86-9 for a small comparison with the procession scene on the Ara Pacis. Murray and Petsas (1989): 123-4 add that outside of Rome, Augustus did not have the same restrictions, thus he did not need to dedicate small scale monuments or smaller ship rams as he had done at the Rostra Aedes Divi Iulii - they measured the front of the Rostra Augusti in Rome at 24m whereas the front of the victory monument was 62m.

[493] On its dating, see Malacrino (2007): 373 who uses the monument's inscription to highlight *pace parta terra marique* and *consul septimum*, thus marking the termini post and ante quem as 11 January 29 B.C. and 16 January 27 B.C.. with the accepted dating being the summer of 29 B.C.; cf. Gagé (1936): 52-8, Murray and Petsas (1989): 125-30 for a broader discussion; for the *opus reticulatum* analysis see Malacrino (2007): *passim*. We will discuss in chapter 5 other early Nikopolitan buildings and how they incorporated both Greek and Roman architectural trends, particularly for the stadium and theatre.

[494] Zachos (2003): 6, 85. See also Zachos (2007) for a discussion of the frieze that included Augustus' triple triumph of 14, 15 and 16 August 29 B.C. over his victories in Illyria, Actium, and Egypt.

court, near the stylobates, were found terracotta flower-pots similar to those from the courtyard garden of the Hephaestaeum in Athens and the gardens of Pompeii, whereas architectural terracotta show typological parallels with those from Ambrakia and Leukas.[495]

While these borrowings and the adoption of the most recent trends are unsurprising considering the importance of this monument for Augustus, it is perhaps the regional touch that is most interesting for our purposes, particularly the role played by the neighbouring cities in building this monument. Studies have shown that some of the monument's blocks were reused from the buildings of nearby cities, with the most probable place of origin being Ambrakia. Not only did one of the blocks have an inscription in the Corinthian alphabet, but it seems natural for the blocks to have been transported via the river Arakhthos into the Ambrakian Gulf.[496] The aforementioned architectural terracotta also reveal similarities to those found in Ambrakia and Leukas, whereas Kappa has argued that their floral types come from the Epirote Hellenistic tradition and may have been brought by the populations from this region.[497] Lastly, it is worth mentioning Augustus' decision to set up statues for Eutychos and Nikon – an old man he encountered and his ass that he perceived as good omens prior to Actium due to their fortuitous names.[498] Regardless of Augustus' motives for setting up these statues, this was arguably an appreciated gesture towards local tradition(s), as this figure and his animal companion became local 'heroes' that were praised, or at least featured in the city's greatest monument. Furthermore, the relatively large number of references to this

[495] Zachos (2003): 81; on the terracotta from Ambrakia and Leukas, dated to the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., see Katsadema (2007).
[496] Murray and Petsas (1989): 127-8 and Zachos (2003): 77. The former add that the construction would have been quite rushed, as it needed to be completed before Augustus returned to Nikopolis in August 29 B.C.
[497] Katsadema (2007): 97, Kappa (2007): 408.
[498] Plut. Ant. 65.3; for other references to the statues, see Suet. Aug. 96 and Zon. 10.30 who claims that the statues were in Constantinople in his time. On Eutychos and Nikon, see Murray and Petsos (1989): 153, Zachos (2003): 81, Isager (2007): 31. Cf. Paus. 10.18.4 for a statue of a bronze ass dedicated by the Ambrakiotes after a victory against the Molossians, as the animal helped them spot an ambush. Could Augustus have known these local traditions and identified a distinctly local offering associated with Apollo? On the latter point, see Quantin (2011b): 222.

monument in our surviving literary sources highlights how intrinsically tied the Tropaeum was with the image of Nikopolis – for all the obvious reasons.

Furthermore, in a second building phase, possibly before Nero's tour of Greece, a recently unearthed altar was built using local limestone.[499] It was most likely dedicated to Apollo and it shares similarities with the altar of Dionysus at Kos, that of the Nymphs at Knidos, and Hera Epilimenia at Thasos.[500] This is similar to the original construction phase, as it incorporates local and regional elements through the worship of Apollo with long-distance influences. In a way, by the end of its construction period, the Tropaeum had become a reflection of Nikopolis itself. With the help of the regional elements (i.e., building material, various cults of Apollo, etc.) and the transregional artistic connections, this monument would become the most imposing presence of any north-western Greek *polis*, as did Nikopolis itself.[501]

Before continuing, the words of Cabanes seem most appropriate to conclude this discussion: 'the lavish designs of Augustus, and [the] obligatory concentration of the population created an artificial island of prosperity in a land that had been devastated as never before.'[502] This statement also reconciles and helps explain our views that the images of a previously devastated northwest Greece and of a Nikopolis incorporating the region's wealthiest elements and history are not mutually exclusive.

[499] Malacrino (2007): 379-80; Zachos (2001): 31-2.
[500] Zachos (2003): 82.
[501] Bowden (2007): 135 has suggested that part of Nikopolis' topography reveals a city carefully built with a blend of ideas that were tailored to fit the special circumstances surrounding its foundation.
[502] Cabanes (1997): 120.

3.4 Concluding Remarks

We began this chapter by describing the Nikopolitan foundation as somewhat trapped in the middle of a Graeco-Roman dichotomy attested by ancient and modern scholars alike. Regardless of the possibility of a double community, we have seen that many believe Nikopolis to be veiled as a Greek city, while also holding *very* obvious Augustan components, both physical and ideological. That said, as Purcell critically highlights, one ought to be careful when thinking of Nikopolis as merely a victory city, or a celebration of Actium - this was an endeavour that was also 'designed to alter for the better the social geography [of Epirus]'.[503] Although this statement will not become apparent until we fully cover the effects of the synoecism, it nevertheless offers a valuable warning. Ancient authors themselves also picked up on this issue, albeit clumsily, as we have seen them describing Nikopolis as a city replacing previous settlements and inheriting their territories and/or legacies. Yet, this must not to be taken literally, as many of the cities continued to exist well into the Imperial period, but rather as a comment on the conceptual and practical aspects of the foundation.

Our analysis of the foundation tales has also revealed that to fully grasp the essence of Nikopolis, we must understand the past of the cities that came to shape (again, both physically and ideologically) its territory. Isager has already neatly described Nikopolis at the time of Germanicus' visit as 'the memorial city' and 'a city of memories' due to its various 'attractions', and constant reminders of the past.[504] This is also in line with our Knossian analysis, with the labyrinth preserving another obvious memorial during the Imperial period. While we cannot cover each such element, we must reiterate that each adds its own 'flavour' to the new city. 'Wealthy-Pyrrhic-strategic' Ambrakia, Anaktorion and its ties to Apollo and

[503] Purcell (1987): 76.
[504] Isager (2007): 30; cf. Low (2016): esp. 222.

the games, Leukas and the combination of all of the above: they all contributed to give Nikopolis an immediate jolt of fame, wealth (through their lands and inhabitants), and most importantly a past it did not possess. We have seen in Crete a desire to reconnect the island with the Trojan myths, preserve old local and regional divinities and festivals, and an image of the island that was rooted in nearly a millennium of traditions. Although it might seem counterintuitive, a similar, albeit shorter, history can be written about Nikopolis, as even though the city completely eclipsed its dependencies, it also preserved and/or adapted some of their most prestigious elements both physically and ideologically. The victory monument perfectly incorporated these ideas and embodied everything Greek *and* Roman about the city, as well as all things past *and* present.

Chapter 4

Nikopolitan Interactions and Connectivity: The Legacy of Epirote, Akarnanian and Illyrian past(s)

While chapters one and three asked and answered similar questions of our two case studies, local and regional differences inevitably trickled in, none perhaps greater than the lack of foundational stories at the CINC and the antiquity of the chosen sites. That said, chapters two and four follow similar patterns, but while the conclusions are visibly similar, the process has one major difference: there is a one century gap between the conquests of Crete and Epirus. As such, between the wars of the early to mid-second century B.C. and the foundation of Nikopolis there were many occasions for the Romans and the local Greek populations to interact; these exchanges reflect an equally intense interest in this region as we had seen in Crete, with the geopolitical landscapes of Macedonia and Epirus serving as a constant battlefield for settling the interests of some of the empire's most famous figures.

In this chapter, we will expand our view of Nikopolis' surroundings and seek to understand how the many regions and cities that have been confirmed to have played a role in the synoecism, developed a history of interactions with Rome's most prominent figures leading up to the foundation of the victory city itself. As we will see, whereas the imagined Nikopolis described in the previous chapter focused on a handful of specific elements of Epirote past, carefully chosen to augment its glory, the reality of the situation in fact demonstrates a far wider area affected by the synoecism. This includes what Strabo referred to as:

δὲ καὶ ἕκτην τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος τὴν πρὸς τῇ Ἠπείρῳ καὶ Μακεδονίαν, ἑβδόμην δ᾽ Ἀχαΐαν μέχρι Θετταλίας καὶ Αἰτωλῶν καὶ Ἀκαρνάνων καί τινων Ἠπειρωτικῶν ἐθνῶν ὅσα τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ προσώριστο.[505]

[505] Strab. 17.3.25.

The history of interaction between the Romans, the Illyrians, the Epirotes, Thessalians, and northwest Greece in general will reveal both tremendous familiarity between each of these groups, as well as a highly connected and constantly evolving/adapting area of the Greek world. We will begin our analysis by chronologically assessing the major events that brought together the Romans with and/or against the 'Greeks' of this region.[506] From here, we will reveal how this history of connectivity and interaction(s) was not restricted only to geopolitical or diplomatic relationships, with religious networks playing an important role and revealing a wider region affecting the Nikopolitan synoecism.[507] Lastly, we will discuss how this region's past (esp. 168 B.C. – 27 B.C.) was used as the setting for the various Roman civil wars and economic investments, which in turn inadvertently helped Nikopolis (very) quickly establish itself as a major city in the Roman Empire.

4.1 A History of Roman Interventions: Past Meets Present

Considering the far reaches of the Nikopolitan synoecism established in this chapter, giving even a brief account of each city's interaction with Rome and with each other becomes a titanic task, even in a region that is infamous for the lack of attention received in ancient accounts. That said, we will focus on a set of cities that have admittedly been chosen based

[506] We have already highlighted in the previous chapter that there is much debate within our Greek sources about the inclusion of areas such as Epirus and Southern Illyria into 'Greece' proper, with the former especially lying at the very edge of the Greek world according to authors such as Strabo. While this is an important discussion to be had, for the sake of clarity and to avoid repetition, the inhabitants of the Roman provinces of Macedonia, Epirus, Achaea, and (parts of) Illyricum will often be referred to as 'Greek speakers' or simply 'Greek' to differentiate them from the later Roman traders or settlers that arrived in the region via business opportunities, city foundations, or veteran settlements. It is understood that in terms of local (and regional) identity, inhabitants from Macedonia, Epirus, Illyria would have had differing opinions that were influenced by local customs and pride, regional affinities, and historical events, among others. However, as we have highlighted in the introduction of this dissertation, the works of Malkin, Hall, and others, have proposed the idea of holding hybrid, or mutually inclusive identities; using Malkin's analysis (2003 and 2011) of Greek identity, an Ambrakiote may think of themselves as Ambrakiote, Epirote and Greek, while someone from Apollonia might be Apollonian, Illyrian, and Greek, thus giving the two at least the 'Greek' component in common.

[507] Ruscu's (2006: 248) estimate of the Nikopolitan territory is of ca. 130 ha within its city walls, with over 4000 km^2 overall territory.

on a few select criteria (fig. 4.1). In the first instance, we must include those specifically referred to by our sources in connection to the synoecism: Ambrakia, Anaktorion, Leukas, Thyrreion, and Amphilochian Argos (leaving out Palaerus and Alyzia that are alluded to in Strab. 10.2.2). Next, we will include the region known as Kassopaea, while focusing on its most prominent city: Kassope. As seen in the previous chapter, it is now a foregone conclusion that this area was heavily impacted by the synoecism and given that it has been more carefully studied in the context of Nikopolis than say Molossia or Thesprotia, it will therefore also provide a case study for one of the major regions affected, yet not cited by the ancient sources.[508] Lastly, we will include a brief survey of three important settlements at the very edges, or even outside of Epirus proper: Apollonia, Dyrrhachion, and Bouthroton. This is not necessarily because the synoecism had reached their doors, but rather for their historical ties to Epirus and role in establishing links between Epirus and Illyria, and in becoming part of a network of Roman settlements that we will discuss in the next chapter. A final methodological note before turning to the analysis itself: for the sake of clarity and to avoid repetition, a chronological approach will be favoured over a city-by-city analysis, beginning with the reign of Pyrrhus, and culminating with the foundation of Nikopolis itself.

[508] Gravani (2007): 101-22 on impacts of the synoecism on Molossia and Thesprotia.

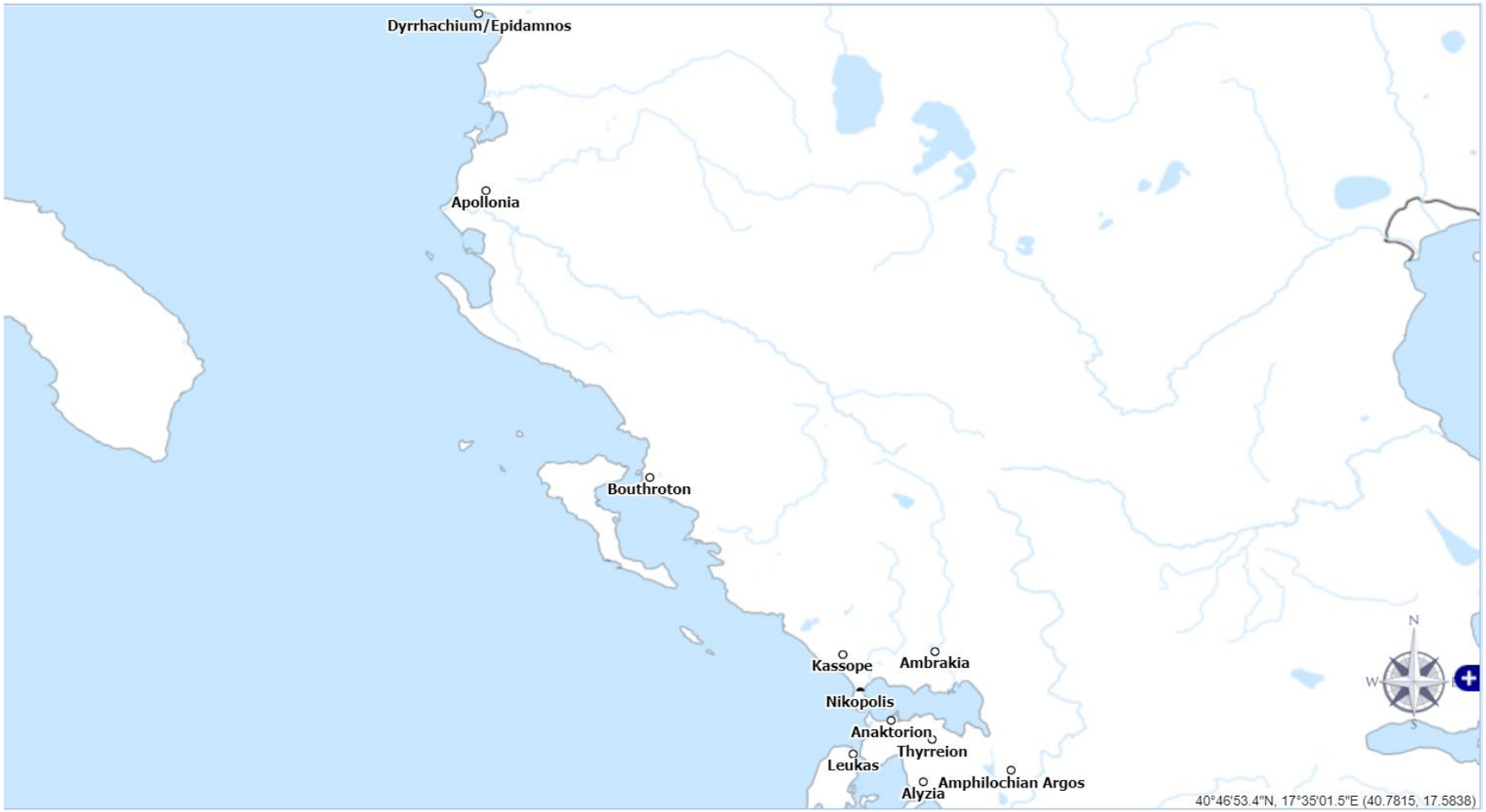


Fig. 4.1 Extent and spread of the chosen region. (Map of author, via the Ancient World Mapping Centre À la Carte tool)

We established in chapter 3 that, at the very least, a faint image of Pyrrhus may have resurfaced amongst those reading or telling the tales of the Nikopolitan foundation. It was also shown that the Hellenistic monarch, through his connections to Southern Italy, may have enhanced connectivity and exchanges between this region and northwest Greece.[509] His role in Epirote affairs must be reiterated, as he not only moved his capital to Ambrakia, but also affected other centres mentioned above. To give but one example, Thiry believes that as early as 295-290 B.C., Pyrrhus played a pivotal role in establishing significant links between Leukas and the mainland Akarnanian confederation, which may have set the stage for Leukas to become the leading city of this league, and even act as a host for their meetings.[510] In addition, Tzouvara-Souli has identified the reign of Pyrrhus as a time when numerous religious cults and festivals either spread or sprang up; amongst these, we briefly discussed a potential influence in the cult of Aphrodite Aeneas, but we should add to this Zeus Dodonaeus being introduced at Leukas, possibly during his reign, as there is no surprise that Pyrrhus had sought to establish mythological links to the nearby Dodona (more on this below and in chapter 5).[511]

For our purposes, however, Pyrrhus' control of and machinations in Epirus are overshadowed by his 'ability' to place both Epirus and his newly established capital on the proverbial Roman radar – similar to how various events had brought the Romans to Crete. While the Romans would not yet intervene in north-western Greece after Pyrrhus' defeat, they would not soon forget the memory of Pyrrhic victories.

Pyrrhus' actions in Magna Graecia go beyond our scope here, but the background of his arrival is at least noteworthy. He was the last in a list of illustrious *condottieri* called upon

[509] Hammond (1967): 587-8, Dakaris (1971): 65-7, Moore (2000): 12, for the increased trade with Southern Italy under Pyrrhus, as well as Lévêque (1957): 74-9 for a discussion of Pyrrhus' vision to unite Greece and use Epirus as a link between Magna Graecia and Greece.
[510] Thiry (2004): 230-2 with Liv. 33.16.3 and 33.17.1 confirming Leukas as the 'capital' of Akarnania at this stage.
[511] Tzouvara-Souli (1993): 72 and (2004): 539-40. For Pyrrhus' interests in Dodona, see also Mylonopoulos (2012): 226 in response to Dieterle (2007).

by Taras, arguably the hegemon of Magna Graecia at this time, which included Archidamus and Cleonymus from Sparta, as well as Alexander the Molossian: Pyrrhus' uncle.[512] The latter had maintained peaceful relations with the Romans, but there is no telling if he intended to keep these had he not met an untimely death or been more successful against Taras' enemies: the Samnites, Bruttians, Messapians and Lucanians.[513] Be that as it may, Pyrrhus thus had a precedent in Taras within his own family, and more importantly a precedent in establishing 'contacts' with the Romans – contacts that would sour with the Pyrrhic Wars.[514]

From the reign of Pyrrhus onwards, Epirus and Macedonia experienced a tumultuous century and a half, which saw them dragged into some of the Mediterranean's deadliest conflicts. While a full review of these events would require an entire dissertation, let us highlight those that either demonstrate clear interactions (either positive or negative) with the Romans, or that would have direct repercussions in future events and decisions. One of the simplest ways to proceed is therefore through the 'eyes' of three key figures that led to the fall of the Greeks: Philip V, Titus Quinctius Flamininus, and Lucius Aemilius Paullus Macedonicus.

Much like Pyrrhus, Philip V can be attributed both with Epirote reorganisation and unfortunate direct contact(s) with the Romans. After the fall of Pyrrhus and the Molossians, Ambrakia fell into the hands of the Aetolians, and Polybius tells us that the Epirotes asked

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[512] On Tarentine hegemony, see Fronda (2010): 188-233; cf. Astour (1985): 27, Burgers (1998): 199, 222 Poulter (2002): 82. For other *condottieri*, see Strab. 6.3.4; Plut. Agis. 3; Athen. 12.536; Diod. Sic. 16.62.4; Just. 12.2; Gell. NA. 17.21; Diod. Sic. 20.104.4.

[513] Liv. 8.3 claims that the war may have reached Rome, had he been more successful, cf. Liv. 8.17. See also 8.24 for his assassination at the hands of a Lucanian; cf. Strab. 6.3.4, Just. 12.2, Gell. 17.21. The last of these is perhaps the most intriguing, as the author suggests that Alexander the Molossian even intended to wage war upon the Romans, making no reference to his affairs in Taras: *alter autem Alexander, cui cognomentum Molosso fuit, in Italiam venit, bellum populo Romano facturus*. For a brief history of the *condottieri* and their influence in Tarentine history, see Laistner (1957), Moretti (1971), Brauer (1986): 62-75, Lomas (1993), Fronda (2010): 189-99.

[514] Although much ink has been spilled on the history, background, and impacts of the Pyrrhic Wars, these topics go beyond the scope of our chapter – to name but a few: Lévêque (1957), Brauer (1986), Lomas (1993), Burgers (1998), Andréou (1999), Moore (2000), Poulter (2002), Fronda (2010).

Philip to recapture the city, which he obliged.[515] However, Philip's conflicts and attempts to mediate between Aetolians, Akarnanians, and others also placed him in a precarious position at the time of his alliance with Hannibal against the Romans. He needed the northwestern Greeks against the Romans, but they needed him in their own regional squabbles. For instance, Domingo-Forasté has shown that Philip's treaty with Hannibal was only reluctantly accepted by the Akarnanians, who relied on him for military protection against Aetolia and would have been left vulnerable if he were absent fighting against Rome; in turn, when neighbouring Aetolia entered the war as a Roman ally, Akarnania by extent was forced into hostilities against the Romans.[516]

While Akarnania's regional concerns triumphed in this episode, by the Second Macedonian War, more cities were gradually willing to openly side against the Romans. Leukas, as the meeting point of the Akarnanian League at this stage, held an assembly and, according to Livy, initially had agreed to side with the Romans, but upon pressures from Philip's allies, the Akarnanians Androkles and Echedemus, continued their support for the Hellenistic king and thus pushed aside the Roman *amicitia*.[517] The outcome of the war is well known, culminating with Flamininus' siege and capture of Leukas, but two details provide remarkable information for our purposes. Firstly, if we believe Livy's account of the siege, the city fell due to a group of Italian exiles living in the city who granted entry to the Romans, leading to the city's fall shortly prior to the rest of Akarnania following suit at Cynoscephalae: *diutiusque spe Romanorum obsidionem eam extraxissent, ni exules quidam Italici generis Leucade habitantes ab arce milites accepissent.*[518] While the trope of internal

[515] Polyb. 4.61 with 4.63 for details of the siege and rapid capture of the city. See also Murray (1982): 332 citing Oberhummer (1887): 151-2 for discussions on the Aetolian capture of former Epirote possessions after Alexander II's death, including Ambrakia, Amphilochia and Thyrreion.
[516] This is a view championed by Domingo-Forasté (1988): 67-75 contra Oost (1954); cf. Habicht (1957): 94-6. Domingo-Forasté uses the treaty between Philip and Hannibal at Polyb. 7.9 to argue that Philip had acted independently from his allies, as there is no mention of the Akarnanians being consulted or agreeing to the treaty; cf. Plut. Arat. 50 for an allusion to Philip's grasp over Akarnania.
[517] Liv. 33.16-7 for these events. See also Pliakou (2001): 147-48.
[518] Liv. 33.16.

traitors is pervasive throughout Roman history, the origin of those here indicates that as early as 197 B.C., it was not out of the ordinary to have Italians (admittedly of unknown origins), living in Akarnania's leading city.[519] The second key detail is the favourable treatment of Leukas post-war, in spite of its role in holding off the Romans: no garrison was imposed upon it *and* it was allowed to remain the seat of the Akarnanian League.[520]

The rest of the future Nikopolitan dependencies also received few impositions at this stage, but the constant shifting of allegiances and regional squabbles only continued in the decade after Flamininus' famous declaration of freedom to all Greek *poleis*. The Epirotes, as they had done with Philip V, urged the Roman consul Marcus Fulvius Nobilior (=MRR 91) to attack and capture Ambrakia on their behalf as it had once again fallen into Aetolian control.[521] After a brutal siege and following the intervention of king Amynander who had himself spent time in exile at Ambrakia, the Ambrakiotes finally capitulated, as Livy reports the plunder of all of the city's riches (i.e., adorned by Pyrrhus!) by the Romans, thus in many ways bringing a new conclusion to the Pyrrhic saga that had begun nearly a century prior.[522] A similar conclusion will be reached under Augustus, who will follow in the footsteps of these precedents, as he had in Crete, but we will turn to this in chapter 5. For now, it is easy to see some truth in Strabo's aforementioned claims that the wars between the Macedonians and the Romans caused the region's devastation, although we must add to this the wars amongst the Greeks themselves. That said, the Roman senate eventually voted to allow Ambrakia to become a *civitas libera*, and even recover their property, marking yet another lenient conclusion, as with Leukas.[523]

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[519] For a detailed study of the role of Italians in the Greek East in the second and first centuries B.C., see Eberle and Le Quéré (2017).
[520] Murray (1982): 341-60 believes that the Romans did this to preserve the animosity between Akarnania and Aetolia, while also keeping Leukas to themselves as a *civitas libera* and ally due to its strategic location.
[521] Liv. 38.3.9.
[522] Liv. 38.9.12-3.
[523] Liv. 38.44 and Karatzeni (1999): 241. The final clause of this passage, *dum eorum immunes Romani ac socii nominis Latini essent,* is also revealing of one of the first economic agreements between Rome and Ambrakia, perhaps reminiscent of the Cretan arbitrations discussed in previous chapters.

Thus, in these years, many cities that eventually became Nikopolitan dependencies played a certain role or was affected by the Aetolian-Epirote-Akarnanian-Roman power struggle. Even a small city that otherwise sees little attention in our sources, Amphilochian Argos, served as a camp for M. Fulvius Nobilior (after having been recaptured and then lost by the Aetolians), with Thyrreion more than likely following a similar pattern, though appearing mostly pro-Roman (more on this below).[524] The sheer proximity, as well as the past history of connectivity and aggression throughout this region thus make it very likely that they were all affected by any major event or conflict taking place in their vicinity, as Domingo-Forasté has suggested in the case of Anaktorion, Leukas, Alyzia and Amphilochian Argos.[525] Moreover, as we saw in Crete, the early second century B.C. marked a period when prominent Romans began leaving their mark in the history of Greece, and using certain regions to further their own goals and agendas, while also establishing precedents for future generations to follow: for Crete this was Quintus Fabius Labeo and Appius Claudius Pulcher, while for northwest Greece, Titus Quinctius Flamininus and Marcus Fulvius Nobilior fit the description.

Unlike Crete, however, northwest Greece did not manage to maintain its independence much longer, as the Third Macedonian War and the conflict between Lucius Aemilius Paullus and Perseus marked the end of a 'free' Greece. We have already highlighted the devastation caused by the Roman consul in the aftermath of the war, when he razed 70 Epirote cities and enslaved 150 000 individuals, thus launching a century and a half of complete desolation and devastation – or at least so our sources claim.[526] While the cities that were involved in the Nikopolitan synoecism did not suffer this fate, they experienced their own repercussions, and with a few exceptions nearly disappeared from our sources until

[524] Liv. 38.10.
[525] Domingo-Forasté (1988): 3.
[526] Strab. 7.7.3, Polyb. 30.15.1, Liv. 45.34, Plut. Aem. Paul. 29-1-3 and see chapter 3 for arguments against the complete desolation of Epirus, with Giorgi (2018): 1022-3 advocating for continuity across Epirus, particularly at Buthrotum and Phoinikè.

new wars would engulf them at the end of the Republic, leading to the famous Augustan revival.

Thyrreion and Leukas are perhaps the two most directly affected by the Roman conquest, as the former's alleged pro-Roman stance earned it the right to replace the latter as the leading city of the Akarnanian League after Perseus' defeat, with Ernst going as far as calling it 'the capital of the last free part of Akarnania.'[527] Polybius tells us that during this third war, there had been an assembly already meeting at Thyrreion, where a pro-Roman contingency asked the Romans to impose garrisons in Akarnania so that it may not fall to Perseus; this was allegedly rebuked by a certain Diogenes who claimed that this kind of 'punishment' was reserved for enemies of Rome – although we know from Livy that Ambrakia, a *civitas libera* itself, did previously have a garrison imposed upon them and thus there was a precedent set (see below).[528] Murray has argued that shifting the seat of the Akarnanian *koinon* from Leukas to Thyrreion greatly benefitted the Romans since they did not need to punish Leukas further (in fact it was made a *civitas libera*), while they could continue to use its geographically advantageous position; in turn, they also placed the most pro-Roman *polis*, Thyrreion, at the head of the Akarnanian League.[529] Leukas was thus 'removed' from Akarnania and would seemingly not re-join it until the Nikopolitan synoecism when it would once again be included in the mainland's territories – the history of Roman territorial reorganisation is thus gradually taking shape along similar patterns to Crete.

Lastly, Ambrakia, which we saw receiving the status of *civitas libera*, was subjected to a garrison of 2000 soldiers led by Q. Mucius, suggesting dissent within the city, and/or a recognition on the part of the Romans of its strategical location and the importance to

[527] Ernst (1987): 98. See Liv. 45.31 for the lack of impositions on the Akarnanians, aside from the removal of Leukas as a member (and leader) of its league. For more on these events, see Imhoof-Blumer (1878): 41, 174, Pliakou (2001): 147, Murray (1982): 360.
[528] Polyb. 28.5; cf. Liv. 42.67.9 for the Ambrakiote case. See also Murray (1982): 356-60, Domingo-Forasté (1988): 128.
[529] Murray (1982): 360, with discussion and references in chapter 3.

maintain hold of it: *Q. Mucium legatum cum duobus milibus ad obtinendam Ambraciam misit*.[530] Thus, in the span of three decades, from around 197 to 167 B.C., the Romans would become intimately familiar with Ambrakia and all of Akarnania, their history and traditions.

Yet, unlike what some might argue, Akarnanian history does not end here, as the region began a slow process of recovery following the Third Macedonian War.[531] It is true that literary references (and even archaeological evidence) are few and far between until the foundation of Nikopolis, but there is sufficient material to indicate both revival, and continued interest from Roman businessmen and investors in this side of the Adriatic. Before turning to these, we ought to analyse one final aspect that will cement the hyperconnectivity that existed within this region, which will in turn reveal an even bigger Nikopolitan territory and sphere of influence.

4.2 Interactions Beyond Akarnania and Ambrakia: Religious Networks and Other Ties

We have seen in the previous chapter that the worship of Apollo, under his many variations, was integral to Epirote and Akarnanian life, both prior to and after the foundation of Nikopolis – perhaps as important as Zeus Kretagenes in Crete. This also stretched into Illyria, with evidence presented from areas such as Apollonia and Dyrrhachion, and while it is expected that the studied cities would have worshipped the majority (if not entirety) of the Greek pantheon, with numerous local and regional variations, it is the spread of these cults that attracts our attention. A few examples should suffice to demonstrate the region's hyperconnectivity, exchanges, and the survival of many of these traditions even in Nikopolis

[530] Liv. 42.67.9.
[531] Domingo Forasté (1988): 129. By contrast, Murray (1982): 284 states that it is 'unarguable that the age of Korinthian colonisation is the beginning of Akarnanian history'.

proper.[532] Pausanias tells us that many of the cults were transferred (forcefully) from the affected cities to Nikopolis (probably to ensure cooperation and prevent a later return), and archaeological evidence further supports this statement, as we will see shortly: ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἀγάλματα ἔκ τε Αἰτωλίας καὶ παρὰ Ἀκαρνάνων.[533] Thus, given this evidence, we must attempt to identify these cults and reveal the region's long history of worship and association with them.

Let us therefore begin with Ambrakia and Leukas, the two most prominent cities of our analysis thus far. While we will not reiterate the prominence of Apollo and Aphrodite Aeneas, we must at least add that of Zeus under his various epithets, though perhaps none more 'local' than Dodonian Zeus. While we cannot fully detail the importance of Dodona for both the local populations and the Graeco-Roman world more broadly, at least a brief mention is necessary to illustrate its role in facilitating connectivity and acting as a prime religious centre, much like Delphi, or Ida and its caves in Crete (fig. 4.2 for some roads leading to it). Lhôte's seminal *Les lamelles oraculaires de Dodone* is indicative of how far pilgrims travelled to submit their enquires to the oracle, with some even coming from Magna Graecia; his work covered 167 of nearly 1300 preserved lamellae, which abruptly disappeared after Paullus' destruction in 167 B.C.[534] Furthermore, while Dodona itself did not lie on any of the major Epirote roads, it was nevertheless near routes connecting the most prominent cities and future Nikopolitan dependencies, which might explain the vast amount

[532] This is a discussion initiated in chapter 3, particularly through the cults of Apollo and Aphrodite Aeneas.
[533] Paus. 7.18.9, see Höepfner (1987): 130-32, Murray and Petsas (1989): 5, Schwandner (2001): 112-6 and discussion in chapter 3. Cf. Houby-Nielsen (2001): 258, following Alcock (1993: 172-214), who claims that 'cult transfer accompanied both Greek and Roman synoecism and was a tactic of domination', but the more practical aspect of the cult transfer should be placed at the forefront, as these cults would have very much been part of the inhabitants' traditions, daily lives, and in some cases even identity.
[534] Lhôte (2006); cf. Dieterle (2007)'s compilation of the site's archaeological works with Mylonopoulos' review (2012). See also Antonetti (2011): 399-400 for brief discussion of the Italiote names preserved in Lhôte (nos. 5. 6, 17, 75, 103, 111, 114, etc.), marking further evidence of Pyrrhic and Epirote ties to Magna Graecia. Strab. 7.7.9 implies that the sanctuary had been nearly deserted by his time, but see Piccinini (2013): 178-9 for evidence against this.

of oracular consultations.[535] That said, much like in other Epirote cities, there is little literary evidence regarding Dodona post-167 B.C., with Cassius Dio reporting that the sanctuary of Zeus Naios was pillaged when the Thracians ravaged Epirus in 88 B.C., which suggests activity had resumed since Paullus' days, with Piccinini convincingly arguing that it continued uninterrupted even into Augustus' reign.[536] We will discuss the Romans' interest in Dodona in more detail in chapter 5, when analysing the impacts of Nikopolis' foundation.



Fig. 4.2 Reconstruction of routes to Dodona by Chapinal-Heras (2021: 138)

[535] Dausse (2018): 995-6; cf. Hammond's (1967) road reconstructions.
[536] Cass. Dio. 31.101.2, with Piccinini (2013): 179-90 and discussion in chapter 5.

Returning to Zeus, Ambrakia also oversaw the popular worship of Zeus Soter attested throughout the Greek world. Its origins here are tied to either Corinth, Kassopaea, or the colonists of Elis or Corinth, with the cult spreading north to Bouthroton.[537] The same can be said about the worship of Dionysus with numismatic evidence indicating his worship since at least the third century B.C., with numerous parallels in Kassopaea, Apollonia and Bouthroton. [538] Furthermore, Tzouvara-Souli's and Cabanes' epigraphic analyses from Hellenistic Ambrakia and elsewhere have also led to the identification of an important cult of Zeus Prytanis at Ambrakia, given the references we have to Prytaneis and co-Prytaneis (sic) from this city, as well as the evidence of a prytaneion highlighted by Andréou's archaeological presentation.[539] The cult can also be found at Anaktorion, Syracuse, Apollonia, and Thyrreion, and would have spread from Akarnania into Kassopaea, Byllis and Amantia according to the aforementioned Tzouvara-Souli. While local variations undoubtedly existed throughout, as Kindt emphasises in her rethinking of Greek religion, the spread and ability to adapt of both cults and local populations mark an important asset in our analysis: as we will see in chapter 5, the same process will take place at Nikopolis when centuries-old traditions will adapt and be adapted to their new context by Greeks and Romans alike.[540]

To these, we can add the worship of the nymphs that is attested prominently, particularly at Ambrakia and Apollonia through terracotta figures, but also in Leukas,

[537] Franke (1961): 59, Dakaris (1971): 86, Tzouvara-Souli (1993): 74. The ties to Kassope can be further established from archaeological evidence, as Moore (2000): 233 suggests that the import of luxury foodstuffs into Kassope was facilitated by its relations with and the trade between Corinth, Corfu, and Ambrakia.
[538] Tzouvara-Souli (1993): 74-6, n. 106. A similar analysis can be made with the Asklepieion in Ambrakia since at least the 3rd century (referenced in Polyb. 21.27, Liv. 38.58), and there is also evidence of his worship at Apollonia (SEG II 361) and Bouthroton, where there is a dedicated temple in his honour (more on this below).
[539] Tzouvara-Souli (1993): 73 and (2004): 528-9; see Cabanes (1976): 548, n. 19 (= SEG 24.412) for the reference to Φίλιππος [πρύτανις] καὶ συνπρυτάνιε[ς], as well as SEG 26.694 for a reference to the συνπρυτάνι⟨ε⟩ς and Philip V, as both inscriptions confirm the dedications made to Hestia and Zeus by the Prytaneis or co-Prytaneis, with the former dated ca. 209/7 B.C. and the latter to ca. 150 B.C.; for other references, see IG XIV n. 7, p. 5; IG IX 1 n. 518, p. 126; IG IX, I^2 II, p. 4 n. 212 with Hammond (1967): 611. Lastly, see Andréou (1997): 98 for archaeological evidence related to the prytaneion. There was also a prytaneion in Kassope, which fell victim to the devastation of Aemilius Paullus, as per Schwandner (2001): 112 – nevertheless, this does fall in line with suggestions that the cult spread from Ambrakia into Kassopaea and elsewhere.
[540] Kindt (2012): 23; cf. Kowalzig (2007): 399 for myths and rituals constantly adapting in light of 'redefined' identities.

Corcyra and Corinth, with a festival in their honour held at Apollonia.[541] There is also evidence of two so-called Nymphaea from Nikopolis, located in a prominent position along the *decumanus maximus* at the city's western gate. Possibly dated to the second/third centuries A.D., they played a significant role in the city's water distribution alongside the aqueduct stretching across Nikopolis' countryside and ending in this complex.[542] It should be noted that a similar structure existed in Buthrotum and has been extensively discussed in the context of the city's archaeological publications.[543] While the worship of the nymphs may not necessarily resurface through these fountains, the similarities between these two potentially contemporary structures can only speak of the region's connectivity and the attention received by these Roman foundations.

Similarly, it should be noted that Apollonia also had an equally prominent nymphaeum, which was famous for hosting an eternal fire, and widely attested in ancient accounts, such as Plutarch's narrative of Sulla's passage through Illyria.[544] Thus, arguably by the second century A.D., the strong connections between Apollonia, Buthrotum and Nikopolis had been all but cemented. In turn, this follows centuries of ties established between Illyria and Epirus, as we will further discuss below. Archaeological evidence also confirms the presence of similar cults at Bouthroton, both prior to and after the foundation of

[541] Tzouvara-Souli (1993): 77. More on the festival and prominence of the nymphs at Apollonia below.
[542] Bowden (2007): 136-7. The author also dates the nymphaea based on a personal communication with Susan Walker, placing it under Hadrian's rule; cf. Doukellis, Dufaure, Fouache (1995): *passim*, esp. 232-3 and Zachos (2013): 261-2. The presence of the aqueduct, which remains poorly dated, can also be seen as a symbol of territorial reorganisation, as it stretches over territories such as Kassopaea and Berenice, which would have been integral parts to Nikopolis' new peripheries. On this, see Doukellis, Dufaure, Fouache, (1995): 230-2, who believe that this construction is revealing of the Romans' desire to promote Nikopolis' (and by extent Rome's) influence and presence to the far reaches of its periphery.
[543] Ricciardi (2007): 168-9, but esp. Wilson (2007): 87-91 and *passim* who calls it 'a major water-drawing point as well as a vehicle for the public display of the city's water supply'.
[544] For more on the Apollonian Nymphaeum see Lamboley (1987): 197, Vrekaj (2011): 199-207. Other sources on the Apollonian Nymphaeum include: Strab. 7.5.8, Plut. Sull. 27 and Plin. NH. 3.23 who refers to it as *celebre Nymphaeum* (cf. Plin. NH. 2.110), and many others who allude to its eternal flames and location, including ps.Aristot. Mir. 842B, Ael. VH. 13.16, Cass. Dio 41.45, Ampelius 8.

a Roman colony, which further confirms the themes discussed thus far and the continuity seen in this region both in terms of worship and connectivity.[545]

Based on these brief examples, the picture of the later reality at Nikopolis becomes increasingly clear. Given the connectivity within this region and the number of times areas such as Kassope, Apollonia, and Bouthroton resurface in attesting similarities between the worships of various iterations of Apollo, Zeus, the nymphs, and others, their past and history must be included in a study of Nikopolis, as they played as much of a role in the early development of the city as any of the dependencies mentioned by our sources.



Fig. 4.3 Map displaying Kassopaea and its surroundings (Detail of BAtlas 54)

[545] For the evidence from Buthrotum, see Deniaux (2011): 284, Cabanes (2007): 188, Quantin (1999): 61-98.

Of these, Kassope provides a fascinating case study despite its absence from literary references to the synoecism.[546] We have already seen that Kassope itself benefitted from relationships with the Ambrakiotes and Apollonians, amongst others. Its most important role in the synoecism, however, seems to lie in Cabanes' aforementioned argument: it gave Nikopolis some of the best land in Epirus, and we should consequently add 'connections' to his statement in the sense that the inclusion of Kassope further connected the region and helped it look northwards towards Illyria on account of its ancient ties.[547]

Already from the beginning, Nikopolis and Kassope had one common feature: they were both founded through a synoecism – perhaps a feature that the locals would have clung to.[548] Scholars also agree that a majority of Kassope's inhabitants were transferred to Nikopolis, which may have been quite forceful, based on the available archaeological evidence: out of more than 40 preserved anathema bases from Kassope's agora and from its temple to Aphrodite, there are no fragments of statues left. Schwandner and Höepfner, persuasively, have argued that this was due to the goddess' relocation to Nikopolis, as implied by Pausanias' statement regarding Augustus' order to transfer all cult images.[549]

Kassopaea's role does not stop here, as the inhabitants who were relocated would have brought along more than their cults – they had over three hundred years of history and connectivity. In the most basic sense, a major difference from the Akarnanian Leukadians, or the Ambrakiotes is that the Kassopaeans were considered through and through Epirote, or

[546] See fig. 4.3 for its location and surroundings, but compare this to the maps and drawings inspired by Doxiadis' 'Ancient Greek Cities' project (1963-77), and adopted in the Kassopaean region by Dakaris (1971). On the project's overall history, goals, and results see Zarmakoupi (2015).
[547] Cabanes (1997): 132.
[548] Ps. Scy. 31 underscores small unfortified villages that populated the area of Kassopaea; one of the first epigraphic references to Kassope as a city can be found in IG IV^2 I 95, l. 73, dated to c. 356 B.C., as part of an itinerary of *thearodokoi*. Moore and others believe that the Elean colonies within Kassopaean territory, namely Bouchetion, Batiai, Elatria and Pandosia, played a pivotal role in the decision to enforce a synoecism, with Philip II even intervening some time in 343/2 B.C. to defeat these colonies and turn them over to the Kassopaeans. On this, see Moore (2000): 10; cf. Dakaris (1971): 65, Dominguez (2017): *passim*, Lasagni (2018): esp. 172-80. Hammond (1967): 557 argues that an 'advantage' of this victory was that the Molossians gained access to the Ionian Sea.
[549] Paus. 7.18.3, Schwandner (2001): 112. Höepfner (1987): 131-2 states that all of the nearly 100 monuments from Kassope's agora were deprived of their statues and destroyed to such an extent that no stones remained on top of them, in a 'categorical enforcement' of the synoecism; cf. Murray and Petsas (1989): 127.

perhaps Thesprotian to be more specific, thus adding to the complex picture of Nikopolis' early reality and perhaps even identity.[550] In terms of similarities, we return to its connectivity, as Kassope enjoyed a vast network at its height, which spread in all directions, in addition to its close-knit Epirote connections. Moreover, as we will see, it held such close ties to many other centres, including Ambrakia, that their differences may have been overshadowed by commonalities.

Locally, it was an important producer of relief bowls in the third and second centuries B.C., marking it as a significant production centre within Epirus.[551] These became the main drinking vessels within the *polis* from the end of the third century and into the first half of the first century B.C., after which more imported cups and bowls appeared. Nevertheless, the production of these bowls coincided with Kassope's 'international' spread, as the city held important relations with Attica and Taras among others – not too different from the ties discussed for Ambrakia and Akarnania.[552] The connections with Illyria and Magna Graecia are also particularly prominent, though at times they were indirect, as Illyrian cities acted as distributors of Southern Italian goods. Even before the Hellenistic Period, there is evidence of trade routes going from Brundisium to Apollonia and Dyrrhachion, and from Otranto into Corcyra and to the southern Epirote coast. Evidence from Kassope supports this, as it includes Roman and Italian coinage, pottery, wine, and other goods.[553] Other imports also

[550] Strab. 7.7.5 states that the Kassopaeans were Thesprotian; cf. Strab.7.7.1. Scholars have yet to agree on the inclusion of the Kassopaeans within the federal Epirote League, thus leaving their Epirote identity in question. Hammond (1967): 644-6, 656-7 argues in favour of the city as a member of the League and part of the Molossians, though primarily after 200 B.C., as he claims that the city had remained independent prior to this, as its coinage suggests; cf. Dakaris (1971), Cabanes (1997): 84-9, Moore (2000): 10-4, Gravani (2001): 130.
[551] Gravani (2001): 122. Zachos (2016): 548 reveals that excavations from Nikopolis' stadium unearthed bowls that shared 'features with the moulded relief bowls from workshops in nearby Kassope' in terms of decorative motifs – this could be evidence of continued usage of such bowls in the region, of Nikopolitan-Kassopaean ties, and/or of inhabitants bringing these along during their (re)settlement.
[552] Moore (2000): 7; Gravani (2001): 127.
[553] Moore (2000): 8-13, 233 discusses the evidence of increased interactions with Magna Graecia post-Pyrrhus, including south Italian coins and wine amphorae found at Kassope, and Italian cult imagery depicted on its coinage. She also adds that the trade between Corinth, Corfu and Ambrakia may have also played an important role in Kassope's imports, similar to what we saw at Ambrakia. See also Hammond (1967): 645-6 who remarks that this 'prosperity' and connectivity would be 'inherited later by Nicopolis'; cf. Dakaris (1971): 67-9.

included wines and oil from the Aegean, namely from Thasos, Knidos and Rhodes, thus revealing the eastern network of the *polis*.[554]

As such, although at first the 'country of the Kassopaeans' may seem an isolated area given its absence from major events or the lack of prominent figures or Roman magistrates within Kassope proper, its reconstructed history via archaeological evidence reveals patterns which resemble the cities discussed thus far – a brief reminder of why and how our approach of combining different types of evidence can be fruitful and revealing of a city's 'reality'. Moreover, considering the amount of time the Romans spent in Epirus in the first half of the second century B.C., they would have inevitably become familiar with the Kassopaeans given their prominence in the region, as this Thesprotian group may have simply fallen victim (as many others) of our ancient authors' unfortunate tendency to group them, and others, under the umbrella terms 'Epirotes' or 'Epirote ethnos'. Could the Kassopaeans for instance then have been part of the groups that had urged Philip or the Romans to reconquer Ambrakia from the Aetolians? Perhaps, but even though we might never reconstruct the full picture, this analysis identifies the importance of including them within reconstructions of the 'Nikopolitan past', despite our sources' silence in their regard.

Furthermore, in terms of the aforementioned local production, according to Moore's systematic study of Kassopaean pottery finds, the cookware used in Kassope, from the mid-third century into the late first century B.C., was produced in the regional Greek cookware fabric that closely resembled forms found in Greece rather than Italy during this time period, in spite of the great Italiote influences discussed.[555] Yet, even the locally produced bowls reveal traces of connectivity with the broader Greek world, most notably as they feature

[554] Moore (2000): 176. Other eastern ties could be seen from Kassope's participation in the Leukophryena at Magnesia in 206 B.C. in honour of Artemis, as they are listed at the end of IMagn. 32, separate from the Epirote (on the very last line of the inscription as [Κα]σ[σ]ωπαῖοι) *and* Akarnanian cities (listed in IMagn. 31 including Thyrreion, Leukas, Anaktorion, and Alyzia). On the significance of this inscription, see Hammond (1967): 656; Gravani (2001): 130-1. See also Ceccarelli (2018): 148-84 for a new reading of this inscription.
[555] Moore (2000): 211.

artistic similarities with Tarentine, Peloponnesian, Macedonian and Thessalian bowls.[556] It should be mentioned, however, that although these vessels are found throughout Epirus, including at Dodona, they have not been retrieved outside of it, marking this as distinctly local and regional commercial goods, which at the very least promotes intensive Kassopaean participation in regional exchanges.[557]

Thus, we see from this brief overview that Kassope would have played an important role in Nikopolis' early networks. In addition to granting Nikopolis more land and inhabitants, Kassope also provided a natural connector between the victory city and the Balkans, particularly Illyria. In fact, Epirus often looked towards the Balkans and Southern Italy in terms of connectivity and artistic influences, and Nikopolis would eventually do the same.[558] It is precisely for this reason that any systematic study of Nikopolis' early reality and influences must include Illyrian cities, to which we will turn shortly. The Kassopaean case study also highlights a significant methodological conundrum and the importance of assessing all major hubs that played a key role in the Nikopolitan foundation. Why were its role and inclusion in the synoecism ignored by our ancient sources? How many others were omitted? Only by understanding the complex regional interconnectivity leading up to the Nikopolitan foundation can we establish Nikopolis' own effects upon Augustus' Epirus, and understand the composition of this victory city.

[556] Gravani (2001): 130 indicates that the shape of these bowls closely resembled those produced at Taras; cf. Wuilleumier (1932): 130. In addition, Gravani adds that the acanthus leaves hint at influences from Macedon and Thessaly, whereas the floral decoration resembles that of Peloponnesian workshops. See also Lamboley (1987): 195-202 for the common decorations between Kassopaean and Italian bowls.
[557] Gravani (2001): 131.
[558] Karatzeni (2001): 170, Moore: (2001): 84. Runnels and Tjeerd (2003): 131 claim that due to the position and landscape of Epirus, it was a natural development for their inhabitants to be independent or more culturally oriented towards the Balkans and Italian Peninsula as opposed to the rest of Greece and the Aegean.



Fig. 4.4 Hammond's reconstruction of what he calls 'The Roman Roads in Epirus' (Hammond 1967)

This leads us into the final case studies of this section, as we must assess the role(s) played by the cities at the very edge of Epirus, or right outside of it, prior to the Nikopolitan foundation. We will focus here mainly on Apollonia, Dyrrhachion, and Bouthroton as the three cities resurface both in terms of their connectivity with their southern neighbours, but also, as we will see in chapter 5, because they will eventually be part of a north-south axis of Caesarian and Augustan foundations and colonies that would rekindle ancient ties, 'heal wounds', and promote a new age of prosperity and exchange on the western Greek coast.

From their foundation, Apollonia and Dyrrhachion share an important similarity with Ambrakia, Anaktorion and Leukas: all were Corinthian colonies, thus showing that as early as the seventh century B.C., the Greeks understood the importance of controlling these

regions, and promoting connectivity along the coast – an idea that the Romans under Caesar and Augustus would conveniently copy and arguably improve, as they revived these Corinthian *apoikia* networks.[559] By the second century A.D., there was no denying that Nikopolis, much like its predecessors, proverbially looked towards the north, as both archaeological work and the Peutinger table indicate at least two roads linking Apollonia to Nikopolis along a series of Roman sites (figs. 4.4-5), which include settlements, isolated graves and more. One of them, coastal, goes from Dyrrhachium, through Apollonia, to Nikopolis, whereas the other, internal, goes from Apollonia to Nikopolis.[560] Already from this evidence, we see that these roads do not connect any of the *poleis* associated with the synoecism presumably since Nikopolis had supplanted them; we can also highlight Nikopolis' importance within its region, as travellers could then take another road from here leading all the way to Corinth, but this is an effect better suited for our analysis in chapter 5, as we must first establish how this point was reached.[561]

Apollonia's fame throughout the Greek world has already been alluded to with respect to its Nymphaeum. The city and its inhabitants are referred to in a plethora of sources across the Greek world. To name but a few, these include the mention of an Apollonian monument at Olympia from around 450 B.C., two Athenian honorific inscriptions for two Apollonians from 321-317 B.C., oracular lamellae from Dodona, and many more.[562] Also, given the city's name and Apollo's alleged role in its foundation, it should come as no

[559] For the references to their foundation, see Plut. Mor. 552E. Paus. 5.22.3-4, Strab. 7.5.8, Thucyd. 1.24-26, Ps. Scymn. 425-440. Pausanias' version, however, claims that Apollonia was a colony of Corcyra and it is perhaps unsurprising that Corcyra also desired this prominent coastal location, given the history of competition with Corinth discussed in the case of Ambrakia, Leukas, and Anaktorion. While this is a debate beyond our scope, it is also telling that the Romans also chose to refound Corinth itself as a *colonia*, thus perhaps offering a glimpse into their understanding of its glorious past and place within the Greek world and networks of exchanges, but we will expand upon this in chapter 5.

[560] Angeli and Katsadema (2001): 91, Flamig (2007): 327; Pikoulas (2007): 213-8. See also Lamboley (1987): 195 on the importance of the road system prior to the Via Egnatia in addition to the Otranto Canal that tied Apollonia to Taras (and eventually to the Via Appia), or heading upwards towards the Apulian coast (i.e. along the future Via Traiana), with Rome as the final destination.

[561] Shpuza (2011): 609.

[562] Anamali (1993): 163-4, Dakaris and Vokotopoulou (1993): 56, Quantin (2011): 229; IG II^2 350; Hdt. 9.93 for Apollonians consulting the oracle at Dodona.

surprise that his worship was as prominent here as it was in Epirus – often even worshipped under similar circumstances. Apollo Agyieus is one of the most popular epithets at Apollonia, as two stone baetyls were the symbols of the town and appeared on its coinage from at least 280 B.C. and into the Roman period (cf. chapter 3). In addition, along with Ambrakia, Apollonia most likely helped spread his worship into Bouthroton, and even at Nikopolis.[563] As seen above, the cult of Agyieus was equally prominent at Ambrakia, where the baetyl appeared on its coinage.[564] The ties between the two cities were also strengthened by the presence of a cult of Artemis Pergaia in both, as well as the aforementioned Nymphaea and worship of the nymphs.[565]

By the time of Aemilius Paullus' destruction of Epirus, however, it appears that the ties to Epirus saw a period of decline with Sasianu arguing that Dyrrhachian and Apollonian drachmae along with the Roman denarii were the most popular monetary issues in the Balkan-Carpathian market after the fall of Epirus in 168/7 B.C., as the two *poleis* sought Dacian markets as new major trading partners.[566] In fact, Podini claims that as early as the second half of the 3rd century B.C., we may argue that Italian merchants preferred to travel further north to Oricum, or Apollonia since they were both safer and flourished more than most Epirote cities.[567] According to Gjongecaj's timeline of the economic relationship between Epirus and Illyria, a third and final phase, dated to 168-148 B.C., is only represented by 82 Epirote coins, further emphasizing how unbalanced the relationship had become –

[563] Tzouvara-Souli (2001): 236-7; Tzouvara-Souli (1993): 67 adds that the worship influence came from Corinth, Ambrakia and Apollonia, which was then spread to and accepted by the Epirote tribes; cf. Quantin (2011): 219. See above for the spread of Apollo's worship in Epirus and Paus. 5.22.3-4 for the city's foundation by Apollo.
[564] Quantin (2011): 219; for longer discussion, see Tzouvara-Souli (2001). For further numismatic examples, see Gjongecaj and Picard (1999): 91-2 who argue that there may have been a monetary alliance as all foreign coins prior to the monetary reform were of the Agyieus type.
[565] Quantin (2011): 226, n. 26. Tzouvara-Souli (1993): 70 for a discussion on the worship of Artemis at Apollonia, including Artemis Agrotera; cf. Hammond (1967): 130, Quantin (1999): 237.
[566] Sasianu (1987): 209.
[567] Podini (2011): 599.

although this is an argument that relies on a small sample of evidence and is *ex silentio*.[568] Alternatively, this became evidence in favour of great devastation in Epirus, as one of its major trading partners and suppliers recognised this downfall and sought opportunities elsewhere. However, the earlier Roman preference for Illyria rather than Epirus should come as no surprise, as Appian suggests that Apollonia had become a *civitas libera* as early as the end of the First Illyrian War alongside Corcyra (much earlier than its Epirote counterparts): ἡ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα πάντα ἐδέχετο, καὶ γίγνονται Ῥωμαίοις αἵδε πρῶται πρὸς Ἰλλυριοὺς πεῖραί τε καὶ συνθῆκαι: Ῥωμαῖοι δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐταῖς Κόρκυραν μὲν καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν ἀφῆκαν ἐλευθέρας.[569] Moreover, the Romans had come to the city's aid by sending troops to defend it in the preamble of the First Macedonian War, as Philip had threatened to capture it.[570] As we will see in the next section, the relatively strong ties between Rome and Illyrian cities between 168 B.C. and Actium are far more prevalent in our sources than any counterpart in Epirus, which would have made the eventual decision to (re)connect the two regions all the more sensible for everyone's benefit.

Dyrrhachion/Epidamnos experienced a similar fate, as it is no coincidence that some have referred to it as the 'sister' city of Apollonia, with the two sharing important diplomatic and monetary alliances, as well as similar historical patterns.[571] It was also founded by a joint Corinthian and Corcyraean endeavour and was originally named Epidamnus, only to be later

[568] For all stages, see Gjongecaj (1987): 223-5; for minting stages at Apollonia, see Masson (1999): 81-4. Gjongecaj's analysis also highlights that even in the first phase (mid-4th to mid-3rd century B.C.), Epirus could not compete with the more powerful cities of Apollonia and Dyrrhachion, as the number of Epirote coins found in Illyria was modest, with an increase only observed from the mid-3rd century to 168 B.C.

[569] App. Ill. 8. Around the same time, Polyb. 2.11 recounts how the Apollonians and Epidamnians came under Roman protectorate and, as we will see below, this marked the beginning of a long history of interaction between the Romans and these two cities.

[570] Liv. 24.40. Moreover, Livy's books preserve multiple references to Roman consuls wintering or simply camping at, or near Apollonia – Liv. 29.12 for Philip's attempts to attack Apollonia where P. Sempronius Tuditanus had camped and cf. Liv. 31.7, 18, 27, 40. In both instances, the Romans are also attested to have held camp at (or near) Dyrrhachion, which is a theme that will continue into the civil wars.

[571] Gjongecaj and Picard (1999): 92-3; cf. Bakhuizen (1987): 189-90.

officially changed to Dyrrhachium by the Romans.[572] In spite of its distance from Epirus, lying well north of Apollonia (ca. 30 miles), ties between it and the Epirotes were well-established throughout both Classical and Hellenistic periods.

Since it was also a Corinthian colony, its strong ties to the other previously discussed foundations and to the worship of Apollo are natural and need no repetition. Its connectivity and spread was also facilitated thanks to its access to the rivers Erzen and Ishem, which enhanced its agricultural produce and economic capacities, on top of acting as facilitators for communication with its surroundings.[573] Moreover, Dyrrhachion benefitted from aforementioned trade routes from Brundisium to Apollonia and Dyrrhachion itself, as well as from Otranto to the Epirote



Fig. 4.5. Map locating Apollonia and Dyrrhachion with their interconnected coastal contexts (Detail of BAtlas 49)

[572] For its foundation and early days, see Thucyd. 1.24-26, Ps. Scymn. 435-439. For the name change, see Plin. NH. 3.145 and Cass. Dio. 49.1-3 who both allude to Epidamnus being too close to an unfortunate Latin word that might hold ill-omens.

[573] Shpuza (2011): 608 adds that it is also around these rivers that the rural sites of the Roman period were first installed at Kryemedhenj, Shijak, Cete, Golem, Spitalle, Kryevidh, Gose.

coast that many have highlighted would have included Kassope, which participated in these exchanges with Southern Italy via these Illyrian strongholds (as discussed above).[574] In addition, if we trust Aelian's reference as genuine, the Apollonians once had a law that prohibited foreigners from establishing themselves in their city, whereas Dyrrhachion allowed them to settle there: ὅτι Ἀπολλωνιάται ξενηλασίας ἐποίουν κατὰ τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον νόμον, Ἐπιδάμνιοι δὲ ἐπιδημεῖν καὶ μετοικεῖν παρεῖχον τῷ βουλομένῳ.[575] This suggests that Dyrrhachion played a more active and inclusive role in allowing the Epirotes greater access to their city, and it might also explain why by the time the Romans wrote about it, it had gained an infamous reputation. Plautus used it as a model of a commercial, depraved port, whereas Catullus later referred to it as the tavern of the Adriatic: *Durrachium Hadriae tabernam.*[576]

Thus, although the examples were brief, this section should have provided ample evidence for the great degree of exchange and connectivity experienced in the various cities and regions affected by the Nikopolitan synoecism. The inclusion of cities outside Nikopolis' sphere of influence and list of dependencies should also have highlighted their importance and presence in Epirote history, which will be further explored and rekindled with the foundation of Augustus' victory city – and arguably even earlier with Caesar's own foundation at Bouthroton, as we will see in the subsequent section. Furthermore, this section should serve as a reminder of the reality of the early Nikopolitan days: the sphere of influence and area affected by it (and vice versa) was far wider than our sources imply. Places such as Kassope played a significant role in the prosperity of Nikopolis, yet one would

[574] Hammond (1967): 644-6, Dakaris (1971): 67-9, Cabanes (1997): 114, Moore (2000): 8.
[575] Ael. VH. 13.16 with Cabanes (1993): 150, 152 on the contrast between Apollonia's oligarchic and exclusive past and Epidamnos' merchant-friendly approach. He also surveyed the onomastic evidence from the two cities (587 texts from Epidamnos-Dyrrhachium and 368 from Apollonia) and showed that the names were far more Greek, with only a small number of Roman and Illyrian names; cf. Matthews (1993): 175-81.
[576] Plaut. Men. 258-264; Catull. 36.15. See also Cabanes (1993): 151-3. See fig. 4.5 for a map locating the two cities within the Illyrian contexts and their proximity to the Adriatic. We must also highlight that in addition to overseas connections, Dyrrhachion held strong inland ties, particularly with the Macedonians in the early Hellenistic period, as shown by Guimier-Sorbets (1993): 135-41.

be hard pressed to find any reference to it, leaving us to ponder on how many other settlements had a similar fate.

4.3 The 'Silent' Days: Epirus and Illyria from 167 B.C. to 27 B.C.

We have thus reached the most problematic, and arguably most important, period of Epirote history for our purposes: the years between the conquest and the foundation of Nikopolis. The problematic nature comes from the relative dearth of information from most of the cities studied thus far, with some exceptions particularly at the time of the civil wars at the end of the Republic.

In fact, there is so little literary evidence, most cities can be discussed relatively thoroughly. Starting with Ambrakia, after it was declared a *civitas libera*, it virtually disappears from our sources until its inclusion in the synoecism tales, and in Pliny's later lists of cities.[577] Anaktorion is similar, with no mentions barring the already discussed plunder of its temple of Apollo at the hands of the pirates, and its inclusion in the synoecism. Leukas is also one of the cities that continued to function as a *civitas libera* while also suffering from pirate raids during Pompey's glory days, thus perhaps indicating the vulnerability and weakness of the region, as it had gone from mounting incessant warfare in the third and second centuries B.C. to easy prey for the pirates by the first. It was also swiftly captured by Agrippa along with Patrae and Corinth, revealing little resistance.[578] The Leukadian canal's navigability issues may have been one of the reasons for Leukas' fall from grace, despite its prominent location. For instance, while we know that Cicero sailed through it during his time in northwest Greece, we have already discussed above Ovid and Pliny's references, which

[577] Plin. NH. 4.1.4, 4.2.6. There is also evidence from Ambrakia dated post-Nikopolis, but this will be studied in chapter 5. The same can be said about Amphilochian Argos, which only appears in Pliny's lists and the synoecism tales.
[578] Cass. Dio. 50.13.5, perhaps reminiscent of Flamininus' capture of the island in 197 B.C.

have been understood as comments on the unnavigability of Dioryktus at various points in its history.[579] Despite this, Pliakou highlights sufficient archaeological evidence to suggest significant Roman presence on the island around the first century B.C., with farmhouses in the plain areas, graves, and even a wealthy Roman building that shows signs of habitation from the first century B.C. to the second century A.D.[580]

Interestingly, Thyrreion, despite its relatively small role to date, does preserve a few allusions from the first century B.C., perhaps on account of the role bestowed upon it by the Romans, as leader of the Akarnanians (see above). In a first instance, there is a συμμαχία between the Romans and Thyrreians dated to 94 B.C., while a few decades later we know that Cicero visited an acquaintance that lived in the city, thus providing evidence both of Romans being interested and residing in the city, and of course of Cicero's own presence – even if only for a mere two hours.[581] Ernst suggests a rather grim and categorical end to the history of Thyrreion, as she claims that all inhabitants had all but abandoned their city for Nikopolis, thus providing for a drastic shift in merely two decades; it is also a remarkable end to a city that had received favourable treatment from the Romans in the aftermath of the Macedonian Wars.[582]

Lastly, Kassope's absence from our sources largely continued after 168/7 B.C., leaving us with mostly archaeological evidence that suggests a modest resurgence in terms of local production, with only one workshop identified as beginning production after Epirus'

[579] Cic. Fam. 16.5, Ov. Met. 15.289-290 (this one is particularly difficult to interpret since it is impossible to know which periods Ovid is referring too), Plin. NH. 4.1.5 with notes in section 4.1 above. Similar to Ambrakia, however, there is extensive evidence for Leukas' survival and recovery late into the Imperial period (see below).
[580] Pliakou (2001): 154-5, the building's opulence has been identified from the archaeological evidence, namely terra sigillata, relief lamps and glass vessels. She also highlights the attestation of Roman names on tombstones, namely Iulia Alexandra and a certain Poplius from IG X.1, 596. This should come as no surprise given Cicero's own presence in the region and overall knowledge of Epirote affairs amongst late Republic Roman businessmen and/or officials.
[581] For the treaty, see IG IX I^2 242 and Murray (1982): 360; for Cicero's friend, Cic. Fam. 16.5.
[582] Ernst (1987): 96-7 uses archaeological evidence to suggest that even during the imperial period, the tombstones at Thyrreion, and even Anaktorion, were erected by 'inhabitants (citizens) of Nicopolis', but her general conclusion that 'all' the Thyrreians 'had abandoned their native town for Nicopolis after 30 B.C.' will always be difficult to prove with complete accuracy.

destruction.[583] That said, Roman businessmen and property owners are attested in both Epirus and Illyria well before the foundation of Nikopolis and there is no reason to believe this did not include Kassope. Cicero's correspondence with Atticus regarding his property at Bouthroton has been thoroughly discussed by scholars, but many other references survive, particularly in Varro's *De Re Rustica*.[584] This should come as no surprise given the strategic location of many of the cities discussed, with most having access either to the Adriatic, the Ambrakian Gulf, or a plethora of rivers.[585]

Thus, given the dearth of evidence, it is towards northern Epirus and Illyria that we must once again turn in order to further understand Roman intervention in the area prior to the Nikopolitan foundation. One of the reasons for this is that scholars tend to pinpoint the Roman foundations at Dyrrhachion and Bouthroton by Julius Caesar and Augustus as turning points for Epirote fortunes.[586] That said, Italian merchants had been present in this region for nearly two centuries at this stage, with Polybius providing one of the first references to Italians dealing (difficultly) with Illyrians and/or Epirotes: οἱ δ᾽ Ἰλλυριοὶ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἀνωτέρω μὲν χρόνους συνεχῶς ἠδίκουν τοὺς πλοϊζομένους ἀπ᾽ Ἰταλίας: καθ᾽ οὓς δὲ καιροὺς περὶ τὴν Φοινίκην διέτριβον, καὶ πλείους ἀπὸ τοῦ στόλου χωριζόμενοι πολλοὺς τῶν Ἰταλικῶν ἐμπόρων […].[587] It is also around this time that Polybius and Appian preserve the account of Apollonia and Dyrrhachion falling under Roman protection during the First Illyrian War (ca. 229 B.C.), as the consuls Gnaeus Fulvius and Aulus Postumius set out for

[583] Gravani (2001): 140 on evidence of the sole Kassopaean workshop that began production post 167 B.C.; cf. Karatzeni (2001): 163; Riginos (2007): 171.
[584] For Cicero and Atticus' conversation regarding Buthrotum, see Cic. Att. 4.8 with further references below. Varro's account includes conversations with cattle-owners in Epirus, with Atticus even making an appearance – see Varr. RR. 2.1.2, 2.2.1, 2.2.20, 2.5.1. In the latter, one of the Roman senators interestingly refers to those gathered as *Synepirotae*, in contrast to Varr. 2.1.2 where Atticus and Cossinius are referred to as *semigraecis pastoribus*.
[585] Purcell (1987): 75 highlights this for Ambrakia and Buthrotum, stating that 'these areas were scarcely less accessible or more foreign to a Roman senator than the more Hellenic parts of Southern Italy'.
[586] Moore (2000): 17, Flamig (2007): 327; cf. Alcock (1993). Murray (1982): 361 adds that the destruction of Corinth in 146 B.C. would have further negatively impacted Akarnanian trade, while the increase of Roman landowners and investors helped turn the tide.
[587] Polyb. 2.8; see also Deniaux (1987): 245-54 for a brief history of Roman and Italian presence in Epirus and Illyria leading up to Atticus' arrival. The city of Phoinikè referenced in the Polybius passage could also have easily fit into our analysis, as he identifies it as the wealthiest city in Epirus at this time.

Illyria and conquered the cities; scholars have seen this moment as the starting point of increased connectivity and exchanges between the Illyrians and Romans, with Apollonia and Dyrrhachion arguably benefitting most.[588]

By the time of the civil wars, however, the situation was not ideal, as the prominent Illyrian cities became victims of the Roman political machinations and jostling for supremacy, similar to what we have seen in the previous Cretan chapters. Aside from Atticus, Cicero and Caesar also became involved in colonial controversy (more on this below), whereas Cicero's speech against Piso offers us a first glimpse into Illyria at the end of the Republic. According to this account, not only did Piso flee Dyrrhachion to avoid paying his soldiers, but this alarmed them to such an extent that they laid waste to parts of the city: *illi autem statuam istius persimilem, quam stare celeberrimo in loco voluerat ne suavissimi hominis memoria moreretur, deturbant, adfligunt, comminuunt, dissipant.*[589] The power that Roman officials held to sway the fortunes and decisions of Illyrian cities reached its climax in the two civil wars, with Caesar and Pompey inadvertently laying waste to Illyria, and Augustus and Antony to Akarnania and Epirus, only for both victors to add further impositions in these areas in the form of city foundations. Wilkes best describes the locals at that time as 'witnesses and unwilling participants in the civil wars', which echoes the Antony-Kydas-Imperator Caesar episodes in Crete.[590]

Thus, with both Apollonia and Dyrrhachion serving as Caesarian and Pompeian strongholds and bases of operation, the two 'sister cities' were indirectly pitted against each other in a struggle for Roman supremacy. Moreover, given the Illyrian close connections to Epirus and the Roman presence in both regions that we have previously discussed, it is no surprise that the Epirotes were also dragged into this matter. Caesar, on two separate

[588] Polyb. 2.11-12, App. Ill. 8. See Bakhuizen (1987): 191, Wilkes (2004): 384, and more broadly Ceka (1972), Poenaru (1983).
[589] Cic. Pis. 38. Deniaux (1993): 268-70 on the financial burden of the civil wars on Apollonia and Dyrrhachion.
[590] Wilkes (2004): 384.

occasions, looked to Epirus for supplies while mounting his attack on Dyrrhachion, once even implying that there was an abundance of cattle that they happily received, which is in line with Varro's discussion of Epirote prowess in breeding: *pecus vero, cuius rei summa erat ex Epiro copia, magno in honore habebant.*[591] This also suggests that in spite of the increasing Roman incursions, there is evidence of revival by this stage, as this industry seemingly prospered even in the midst of a civil war (or at the very least that our sources had exaggerated the region's devastation).[592]

Furthermore, it is well documented that Augustus himself spent significant time in Apollonia with Agrippa in 45 B.C., as he studied under Apollodorus of Pergamon at Caesar's request, with the dictator perhaps still holding fond memories of Apollonia from his own time there; the city clearly maintained a respectable reputation considering Cicero referred to it as *magna urbs*.[593] Thus, both Caesar and Augustus had extensive first-hand knowledge and experience with Epirus and Illyria, and although they may not have realised it at the time, this would have undoubtedly influenced their decisions in the reorganisation of these areas.

A similar account can be given of Dyrrhachion, which was as much of an unwilling participant as Apollonia throughout its history. The pattern is similar, as Cicero spent some time in the city during his exile, sending letters to Atticus, Metellus Nepos and his wife Terentia, while even highlighting the city's crowded nature.[594] After this, Dyrrhachion served as either a constant base of operations or battlefield in the Civil Wars. More significantly, however, unlike Apollonia, Dyrrhachion also became a Roman colony. Cassius Dio adds that Antony's supporters were allowed to settle at Dyrrhachion, among others. Wilkes argues that at this stage in the history of the two Illyrian cities, Apollonia would pass 'into a gentle

[591] Caes. BC. 3.42, 47 with Varro references above.
[592] Shpuza (2011): 614 for a discussion of Epirus' prominent cattle raising in the Roman period. See also Verg. Georg. 1.59 for reference to Epirote mares and their potential supply to Rome.
[593] References to Augustus' presence in Apollonia include Suet. Aug. 8, 89, 94, Vell. Pat. 2.59.4, Cass. Dio. 45.3.1, Plut. Brut. 22; cf. Cic. Phil. 11.26 for *magna urbs*.
[594] Cic. Fam. 14.1 for description of Dyrrhachion; cf. Cic. Att. 3.26, Cic. Fam. 5.4.

obscurity', whereas Dyrrhachion was 'profoundly changed' by the colonial settlement.[595] This change is in fact quite dramatic in the epigraphic habit with the entirety of the Latin corpus beginning only after the colonial foundation.[596]

Lastly, the Epirote city of Bouthroton, follows a similar pattern to Dyrrhachion. It is also largely absent from our literary sources, but thanks to significant archaeological excavations, it is possible for its history and development to be reconstructed.[597] While we will reserve its detailed study for the following chapter, as it will play a significant role in the discussions of Nikopolitan impacts, it is nevertheless important to at least establish the details of its foundation as a Roman colony (Colonia Iulia Buthrotum, later Colonia Augusta Buthrotum) as planned by Julius Caesar in 44 B.C. and re-founded by Augustus.[598]

We have already mentioned Atticus' properties at Bouthroton and concerns that a Caesarian colony might lead him to lose these. The details of the dispute have long since been analysed elsewhere and do not necessarily add further depth to our present analysis.[599] It is noteworthy, however, that Hansen dates his acquisition of Epirote lands as early as 68 B.C., marking him as an influential figure in the region considering he may have been successful in petitioning Caesar to abandon his plans to establish a colony – although the dictator's untimely death meant that the senate nevertheless approved the settlement, as colonists arrived in 44 B.C.[600] Following themes that have emerged throughout this chapter, Buthrotum

[595] Cass. Dio. 51.4.6. Wilkes (2011): 93-5, who argues that the combined number of the settled Antonian supporters in these areas was over 30 000, although it is impossible to know how many went to Dyrrhachium.
[596] Ceka (2011): 233 dates this and other stylistic and iconographic changes primarily to ca. 30 B.C.; cf. Wilkes (2011): 95.
[597] For the extensive archaeological work from Butrint, see Ugolini (1927) and (1942), Bowden, Hodges and Lako (2002), Ceka (2006), Hernandez and Çondi (2008), Reynolds, Hernandez and Çondi (2008), and especially Hansen and Hodges (2007) and subsequent 'Butrint' publications (seven in total).
[598] It should be noted that Caesar had also been at Bouthroton during his time in north-western Greece, briefly camping there in the build up to the clash at Dyrrhachion (Caes. BC. 16).
[599] See Deniaux (1987) and (1993,) Hansen and Hodges (2007), Hansen (2011). See Cic. Att. 16.16a for the Caesarian plans.
[600] Hansen (2011): 90 and n. 34 dates Atticus' acquisition based on the date of Cic. Att. 1.5.7 (68 B.C.) and admits that Atticus' interests in the region may have predated this year. For the letters discussing Buthrotum's settlement and related issues, see Cic. Att. 15.29.3, 16.1.2, 16.4.3, 16.16a. Deniaux (1987): 246 citing Carcopino (1947): 267 also highlights that it is impossible to reconstruct the size of Atticus' territories since the distance from Rome allowed him to hide the extent of his possessions.

is yet another foundation established in a strategically sound location, with direct access and a quick journey to Brundisium, and Southern Italy. It also lies on important roads leading from Apollonia down the coast and, as we will see in the next chapter, will act as an intermediary between the Roman Epirote settlements and those in (Greek) Illyria (see fig. 4.4 for Buthrotum's location within the road network).

The early numismatic evidence from the city is also indicative of the city's past, with coinage from the Triumviral period displaying the club and staff representing Asclepius, which Çondi and Hernandez believe to suggest that the early colonists had embraced this cult that was so prominent in the city before their arrival – similar to the labyrinth at Knossos.[601] There is even evidence of Roman names from as early a s the second century B.C. from the theatre complex dedicated to Asclepius, which is both indicative of earlier Roman presence in the city, and of their participation in local cults and worship.[602] The numismatic evidence also confirms that the city was re-dedicated or re-founded by Augustus considering the name on the coinage changes to Colonia Augusta Buthrotum.[603] Given Buthrotum's 'busy' early days, Shpuza has argued that the region's dynamism was due to the 'active role' that the Romans had in cities such as Buthrotum, Hadrianopolis and Phoinikè as they were integrated into the road network between Apollonia and Corinth.[604] Moreover, the credit should not only be given to the Romans, as they conquered and inherited a region that had already displayed a remarkable degree of connectivity and exchange, which only facilitated later integration and success of Roman colonies – in other words, continuity must be highlighted. Yet, we must

[601] For some examples, see RPC I 1379, 1387, as there are also Augustan coins that depict Asclepius, further emphasizing his importance for the locals. See also Bergemann (1998): 46-67, Deniaux (2007): 33-9, Hansen (2009): 31-4, Çondi and Hernandez (2011): 250 on the colony's early days. The latter also highlight that the Hellenistic theatre complex at Bouthroton was dedicated to Asclepius (cf. Melfi: 2007 for a longer discussion of the theatre and the finds associated to it).
[602] Cabanes (1974): 105-209, Deniaux (1987): 248.
[603] See RPC I 1378b, 1380 (in this case C A BUT), 1381, 1383, 1388.
[604] Shpuza (2011): 609; cf. Giorgi (2018): 1022-3 for continuity at Buthrotum, with the Romans only 'remodeling' the city and region.

acknowledge that, similarly to Crete, Epirus had acted as a venue for prominent Romans to play out their rivalries and push their respective agendas.

4.4 Concluding Remarks

In chapters 1 and 2, we were fortunate that our analysis could be restricted (mostly) to one city. However, the situation in northwest Greece and southern Illyria has proven a more complex endeavour, as the Nikopolitan synoecism both affected and was affected by many cities and settlements of all sizes. While we have surveyed the evidence from Ambrakia, Anaktorion, Leukas, Kassope, Apollonia, Dyrrhachiom, and Bouthroton, many others could have been added to our analysis: Alyzia, Palaerus, Corcyra, Patrae, parts of Aetolia, Chaonia, and possibly even Corinth. Nevertheless, the evidence presented in this chapter indicates that Nikopolis was founded in a region that was 'littered' with Roman machinations and intervention(s) in its geopolitical landscapes, with clear parallels observable in Crete. These incursions were traced as far back as Pyrrhus' reign in Epirus, or at least the First Illyrian War, with increasing Roman presence and interest in the region from these moments onwards. That said, the Akarnanian-Epirote-Illyrian connectivity and interactions should not be neglected, as it is abundantly evident from literary and archaeological evidence alike that they endured despite the endless wars that had decimated their lands and people – a call back to Horden and Purcell's display of the Mediterranean being connected even during its greatest disruptions. This analysis should therefore serve as the preamble for the reality of Nikopolis' early days, as the city would not only inherit these connections, but it would reinforce them, relying on these past links to establish a 'new' Epirus that was arguably not so new. It also highlights that while each city preserves different types and quantities of evidence, as well as distinctly different pasts and legacies, similar questions can be answered.

While we did not trace traditions and tropes to a mythological time as old as Minos in Crete, the following chapter will reveal antiquity and associations to it that are at least comparable to the Cretan case.

Chapter 5

Past and Present Collide…and Coexist? Graeco-Roman Landscapes in Augustan Cities

The chapters leading up to this point have yielded a complementary duality. On the one hand, the foundations of both Nikopolis and the CINC were described as deeply entrenched in the imagined, historical, and mythological past of their respective regions. Augustus, and the Romans more broadly, showed a significant degree of understanding and knowledge of Crete and northwest Greece, and even our ancient sources made their own comparisons between the past and present that were clashing in the early years of these foundations. On the other hand, our analysis of the so-called reality of both regions prior to the Augustan period has demonstrated a significant degree of contact and interactions between the Romans and the local populations long before our studied foundations. Figures of the most prominent Roman families, such as Quintus Fabius Labeo, Titus Quinctius Flamininus, Aemilius Paullus, Marcus Antonius, and Julius Caesar all paved the way for Augustus to pursue his own interests and geopolitical interventions in both Crete and northwest Greece, as he followed upon precedents established well before his victory at Actium. Thus, while the familiarity with each region is not surprising, the constant accentuation on the local and collective past(s), as well as the role that past figures, events, and traditions played in the early days of these foundations should all be highlighted as moments in which both past and present collide.

Thus, this present chapter will be divided into two major sections that will not only help us understand the events that unfolded in the aftermath of Augustus' foundations, but also provide a framework for future research focusing on the legacy of the Julio-Claudian Greek foundations. Firstly, we will briefly review and compare the evidence from chapters one and three, where an 'imagined' Nikopolis and CINC emerged. This will highlight the

importance and continuation of the legacy of each region's historical and mythological 'pasts'. Our analysis will then delve into the tangible impacts that each foundation had locally and regionally. In other words: what changed? While admittedly this could be interpreted from many angles, an attempt will be made at a comprehensive overview of some of the biggest changes, whether they are in matters of connectivity, language usage, trade and economy, or religious worship. The will demonstrate that while tangible 'change' can be identified, much of it is deeply entrenched into historical and mythological patterns and traditions that Augustus and his immediate predecessors (and successors) sought to revitalise, adapt and expand upon – the 'perfect storm' of past and present.[605] These two sections will then lead into an epilogue, where we will place Nikopolis and the CINC within the broader scope of Augustus' and Caesar's other Greek foundations, as these will demonstrate that a similar pattern is observable elsewhere, and more importantly will help us rethink the definition of these cities and of their roles within the broader Greek provincial landscape.

5.1 Here Today, Gone Never: The 'Past' and its Legacy in the Aftermath of Augustus' Foundations

As seen, the CINC and Nikopolis share the dubious distinction of mostly falling out of reference in our surviving literary sources. The two Augustan foundations are seldom mentioned, with the primary focus being to recall their establishment and little beyond it. Because of this, the study in previous chapters had to be adapted to the nature of these references. While Nikopolis' foundation was preserved by different authors, the CINC survived merely as an afterthought in the accounts of Strabo, Velleius Paterculus and Cassius Dio. As such, although our two individual discussions differed in source material, there were

[605] Augustus establishing something 'new' via olden traditions is an idea that has spilled much ink. Some works cited here regarding this argument include Alcock (1993) and (2002), Howgego (2005), Kowalzig (2007), Clarke (2017), as well as older contributions by Larsen (1958) and Bowersock (1965).

nevertheless important similarities observable in the two, which we can now develop. In many ways, accounts of each show a heavy reliance upon past traditions and literary tropes both in contemporary and later authors. Aside from the foundation references which we have studied, this is perhaps most evident in the inclusion of both Crete and northwest Greece in Virgil's *Aeneid* and within Rome's broader view of the Trojan Epic Cycle. Moreover, a brief numismatic review of each city's early coinage will also help cement this view, as 'Trojan' overtones blended with numerous other local and regional allusions. All in all, this section should demonstrate that emphasis on and allusions to the past not only continued under Augustus, but were even strengthened by conscious Roman attempts to promote or adapt them. This 'constructed' past was at the centre of political, social, and perhaps even economic exchanges of the present, in such a way that the 'imagined' and the 'real' past(s) could blend and coexist.

The third book of the *Aeneid* provides a unique moment for our case studies and ideal springboard for this section, as both Crete and northwest Greece feature in the travels of Aeneas and his companions. In addition, this is the longest contemporary account depicting a strictly Roman perspective and approach to each region. In the case of Crete, the island's depiction both picks up on local Cretan traditions discussed in depth in chapter one, and also highlights it as a suitable and worthy location for an Augustan colony. This is telling from Anchises' description: *Creta Iovis magni medio iacet insula ponto, / mons Idaeus ubi et gentis cunabula nostrae.*[606] The use of *nostrae* is noteworthy as it places the Romans, Trojan and Cretans firmly within a common mythology, is further enhanced by the description of Teucer in subsequent verses:

centum urbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna,
maximus unde pater, si rite audita recordor,
Teucrus Rhoeteas primum est advectus in oras,
optavitque locum regno. nondum Ilium et arces

[606] Verg. Aen. 3.104-5.

Pergameae steterant.[607]

Thus, within a few lines, we witness not only the integration of Crete within Rome's version of the Epic Cycle, but also identify the island as the progenitor of Rome itself since the Romans claimed descendance from the Trojans, who in turn identified Crete as their own point of origin. Moreover, Anchises declares *Cnosia regna petamus*: let us seek the Knossian kingdom.[608] This not only implies that Knossos' glory and fame is seen as on par and interchangeable with that of Crete, but also diminishes the prowess of other Cretan cities that are not even named in this account. It also further highlights the Roman preferential treatment for Knossos seen in previous chapters, as well as a first hint towards Augustus' justification for choosing this city as the site of his colony, and in turn giving the colonists additional *nobilitas*.

Regarding Teucer's relationship with Crete, Braccesi identified two shifts in the mythology, one occurring in the 6th century B.C., when the Athenians promoted Teucer's Attic origins, and another in the Imperial period as part of an attempt to incorporate the relatively new province, Crete-Cyrenaica, into the empire.[609] Moreover, by preserving a divergent tradition regarding the Teucrians' Cretan origins (n. 609), Strabo suggests that this version of the myth existed even before the Roman conquest and the occupiers simply borrowed a pre-existing tradition and incorporated themselves within it.

Thus, while book three of the *Aeneid* might seem at first glance as a Roman attempt to incorporate Crete within its foundation tale, it is perhaps more accurate to describe Crete's

[607] Verg. Aen. 3.106-10.
[608] Verg. Aen. 3.115.
[609] Braccesi (2004): 3-6; cf. Romeo (2010): 75. The tradition of an Attic Teucer is also preserved in Strab. 13.1.48, where he states that, in this version, the Teucrians did not come from Crete: ἄλλοι δ᾽ ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀφῖχθαί τινα Τεῦκρόν φασιν ἐκ δήμου Τρώων, ὃς νῦν οἱ Ξυπετεῶνες λέγεται, Τεύκρους δὲ μηδένας ἐλθεῖν ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης. Attic Teucer also appears in Dion. Hal. 1.61.4 who cites Phanodemus as the source and does not even mention Crete in his discussion of the hero. Thus, although the Cretan origins of Teucer may have been highlighted in the *Aeneid*, the Attic tradition continued to co-exist alongside it amongst 'contemporary' writers. Although outside of the scope of this discussion, for the 'birth' of Crete-Cyrenaica as a double province, see Harrison (1985): 365-73 with Millar (1966): 156 on the poor state of sources on the provincial divisions in 27 and 23 B.C.

inclusion as mutual incorporation, with the Romans borrowing from (very) old local and regional traditions (discussed in chapter 3), while the Cretans were in turn now able to identify themselves as the progenitors of the Romans, or at least so the Romans may have hoped. Armstrong's compelling study of the island's role within the *Aeneid* has highlighted numerous comparisons between the Trojans' desire to establish a city in Crete and later in Carthage, with equally clear Dido-Ariadne parallels that only strengthen her analysis.[610] More importantly for our purpose, she also points towards a balanced approach by Virgil who is able to highlight both the negative and positive stereotypes that surround the island, many of which we have already discussed – the two most important ones for this chapter being the Knossian Labyrinth and the healing capacities of Cretan herbs made popular under the empire.

Regarding the Labyrinth, its negative association with Minos and the Athenian traditions have already been established, but, as Armstrong rightly remarks, the *Aeneid* completely erases any trace of this, with no mention of Theseus, the Minotaur, or its architect, Daedalus.[611] The negative connotations would not have fared well with Augustus' recently founded CINC, preferring instead to observe Minos' positive local influence and tradition. The same could be said about other tropes associated with the Cretans, such as their fame in archery and mercenary activity, as well as the island's abundance in healing medication. While we have already highlighted the numerous references to Cretan archery in the *Aeneid*, Armstrong rightly observed 'a fitting symmetry that the island so famous for its archers should also provide a famous cure for arrow wounds', as Venus sought a healing herb for

[610] Armstrong (2002): *passim* but esp. 322-32; cf. Armostrong (2006) on the role of Cretan women in Roman literature. On Dido's connection to Crete see Braccesi (2004): esp. 3-4.
[611] Armstrong (2002): 335, with Verg. Aen. 5.588-91 for the Labyrinth's description. She claims Virgil's labyrinth resembles a playful sporting event, rather than the ominous prison it was, in contrast to Homer's description of the shield of Achilles (esp. Hom. Il. 18.590-2), where Knossos is mentioned as the location of the labyrinth, with Daedalus being identified as its builder.

Aeneas' wound from Crete's Mount Ida.[612] This is in line with Crete's increasing association with medicinal plants during the Imperial period, which is a feature that has already been highlighted by Chaniotis and others as a direct effect of the Roman conquest (see also section 5.2).[613] Thus, while certain negative features survive within the *Aeneid* (none perhaps greater than the plague that ended Aeneas' attempts to establish a city on the island), they seem muffled in most cases, as the author chose to grant a greater role to the positive ones, which may have also been a source of local/regional pride: Crete's Trojan ties, its famous archers, and the healing properties of Mount Ida.[614] As Clarke eloquently remarks, 'the past does not vanish, but remains embedded in the identity of a place and enhances its current status and appeal'.[615] This is particularly true for the Roman intervention in Crete as well, as they chose to embrace Crete's past and 'exploit'/adapt it for their purposes.[616]

The role of northwest Greece in book three of the *Aeneid* follows similar patterns in the sense that Virgil inspires himself from centuries of myths, tropes and traditions, although the account is far more detailed and filled with unexpected turns.[617] To summarise, after leaving Crete, the Trojans eventually sail up the western Greek coast, past Ithaca and Leukas, landing near Actium where games are held - an obvious parallel with the olden Actian Games

[612] Verg. Aen. 12.411-14 with Armstrong (2002): 339-40. See also our analysis in chapter 1 on Cretan archers and other archery/martial themes from the *Aeneid* as a nod towards the long-attested association between the islanders and marksmanship/mercenaries. In contrast, Romeo (2010): 75 highlights the negative influences of the *Aeneid*, particularly the association between the island and deception.

[613] Chaniotis (1999): 219-20 has a complete catalogue of all ancient references to Cretan medicinal herbs and their uses; cf. Kouremenos (2022b). As section 5.2 will show, the famous Cretan wine was also used for non-drinking purposes, such as enhancing the taste of cough syrup (Plin. NH. 20.208). For other uses, see especially Gallimore (2017), but also Marangou-Lerat (1995) and discussion below. On the many medicinal references in Crete, see also Rouanet-Liesenfelt (1992), Harrison (1993): 66-7, and especially Chaniotis (2008): 88-9 who counts over 1200 different plants in Crete.

[614] This is in line with Alcock's (2002: 122-9) suggestion that Roman rule brought an emphasis on prominent local and regional myths and figures, such as Minos and the island's role in the Trojan War and its aftermath. To this, she adds an increased reference to Zeus Kretagenes, but we will turn to this shortly as we discuss the CINC's early coinage.

[615] Clarke (2017): 4 with Clarke (2008): 140-50, but also Gehrke (2001) for a similar approach, although in an earlier time period; cf. Kowalzig (2007): 24 against whom Clarke is arguing.

[616] Armstrong (2006): 301 claims that this development of the literary tradition led the Cretan myths to become 'fully Roman' based on their integration in Roman literature. While this may be the case in certain contexts, we simply cannot ignore that the past continues to be present even in the most Roman versions of the Cretan myths, as we have discussed throughout. On this, see Alcock (2002): 122-3.

[617] The section discussed corresponds broadly to Verg. Aen. 3.274-505.

that were reinstated by Augustus. From here, they travel through Epirus and reach Buthrotum, another Augustan (re)foundation, where they hear of Andromache and Helenus' presence, meet them, learn their fates, and receive Helenus' prophecy. While a whole chapter could be dedicated to these events and encounters, the focus will be on the continuity of themes that allude to past Epirote traditions that we have highlighted in chapters three and four, namely the prominence of Trojan and *nostoi* traditions in Epirus, the presence/absence of Pyrrhus, and the Nikopolis-Actium-Buthrotum connection.

As in the Cretan analysis, Augustus and the Romans (via Virgil) are able to introduce themselves within local and regional traditions, many of which must have undoubtedly been closely familiar to the emperor on account of the time he spent studying in Apollonia and fighting in its vicinity during the civil wars.[618] It would not have escaped him that Epirote traditions were deeply connected with the *nostoi* and the aftermath of the Trojan war, as this has also not eluded ancient and modern authors alike.[619] The landscape itself was dominated by references to Troy, while Hellenistic monarchs had long since seized the opportunity to introduce themselves within this tradition. For instance, the accounts of Varro, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and even an obscure reference preserved by Stephanus of Byzantium all highlight the Trojan elements of the surroundings: a region named Pergamis, a hill called Troy at Buthrotum, a port named Onchesmos in honour of Anchises, and a city named Troy in Kestrine, which was itself named after Cestrinus, the son of Andromache and Helenus.[620]

[618] For Augustus' time in Apollonia, see discussion in chapter 4.

[619] On the *nostoi* traditions in Epirus, see Malkin (1998), Lamboley and Castigliano (2011) and Kowalzig (2007): 32 who aptly remarks that the 'cultic landscapes' of Epirus and Southern Italy were deeply impacted by the *nostoi*, who scarcely had a role across mainland Greece.

[620] For Pergamis, Varr. RR. 2.2.1, for the hill and port, Dion. Hal. 1.51.1, for the city Troy in Kestria in Chaonia, see Steph. Byz. S. v. Τροΐα; cf. Serv. Aen. 3.349. See also Paus. 1.11.1-2 who preserves the lineage of Molossus and his brother Pergamus, and even Cestrinus. See also Procop. 8.22.30-1 for a detail on the Goths plundering Corcyra, Nikopolis and Anchialos, as the author writes that the locals claimed Anchises had passed away at Anchialos, thus highlighting the longevity of the Trojan traditions in Epirus, even centuries after the Roman conquest. The association between Onchesmos, Anchialos and Anchises is of course not without problems, but these go beyond the scope of this discussion; see for instance the commentary of Horsfall (2006): 359 suggesting that Virgil 'preferred to attach Anchises more closely to the Trojans' arrival in Italy than to their departure from Epiros'. For more on these references overall, see Hammond (1967): 412, Hansen (2007): 45-6,

Virgil recognised and highlighted this prominence in his account, explicitly alluding to the 'Trojanisation' of Epirus and famously identifying Buthrotum as a *parva Troia*:

morte Neoptolemi regnorum reddita cessit
pars Heleno, qui Chaonios cognomine campos
Chaoniamque omnem Troiano a Chaone dixit,
Pergamaque Iliacamque iugis hanc addidit arcem.[621]

Dakaris also highlights that hero shrines and monuments to the Trojan heroes were a common sight in northwest Greece, alluding to a heroon of Helenus near Actium, another of Aeneas at Leukas and Ambrakia, and potentially even one of Neoptolemus at Ambrakia, which is referred to as the 'Pyrrheum'.[622] Thus, the Romans' intervention in Epirus could be legitimised by virtue of their connection with the Trojans, who had in turn also been responsible for regional colonisation and/or territorial reorganisation, as were other regional rulers, namely the Molossians and Pyrrhus.[623] Whether it was intended or not, one can see how the present reality could be justified and explained via references to an 'imagined' or mythological past.

Modern scholars have long since identified the Epirote and South Illyrian traditions associating themselves closer to the Trojan heroes (as opposed to the Achaeans) and

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Lamboley and Castiglioni (2011): 12, and more broadly Malkin (1998) on the importance of the *nostoi* and the Epic Cycle for non-Greek populations. It should be added that the *nostoi* were also responsible for renaming the landscape in Amphilochia, which was another Nikopolitan dependency as noted. Fantasia (2011a): 254-5 provides a helpful summary and discussion of Amphilochus and Alcmaeon, who are credited with the foundation of Amphilochian Argos, with references in Strab. 6.2.4 (for Amphilochus) and 7.7.7 (for Alcmaeon), and Thucyd. 2.68 claiming that Amphilochus was not pleased with the state of affairs after retuning from Troy and founded Argos – clearly there was a long tradition of territorial reorganisation in this region that long predated Augustus' Nikopolis; cf. Antonetti (2011): 391-2 for another discussion on the origins of the Amphilochians and their relationship with neighbouring Ambrakia.

[621] Verg. Aen. 3.333-6, cf. 3.349-51 for the description of *parva Troia* with Serv. Aen. 3.349.

[622] For archaeological evidence and discussion see Dakaris (1971): 123 and (1964) more broadly.

[623] While it is not the focus of this dissertation, the role of the Molossians in Epirote reorganisation and territorial disputes has been discussed by many. In one such discussion, De Sensi Sestito (2011): *passim*, but especially 381-84, proposes that in the fourth and third centuries B.C., a multitude of myths and traditions circulated around Epirus particularly due to Alexander the Molossian and Pyrrhus. These included tales of the Pelasgians, Thessalian origin myths, Epirote cults, cults of the Homeric heroes, and so forth, as each tradition was re-elaborated in accordance with the goals and propaganda of those in power. Lamboley and Castigliano (2011) conclude that the myths put forth by Pyrrhus regarding his ancestry (see below) had also served to legitimise his rule over Epirus and the Molossians, thus marking a direct precedent for Augustus' claims in Epirus; see also Hammond (1997): 46 and Beaumont (1952): 65 who even claims that the Athenian-Molossian friendship led the Athenians to make use of the oracle at Dodona as justification for the Sicilian expedition (cf. Paus. 8.11.12).

protective divinities as early as 450 B.C.[624] Moreover, Lamboley and Castiglioni have argued that myths in this region served a dual role, namely in legitimising a dynasty, and in the context of colonial foundations – both of which appear to be aims that Augustus also took interest in achieving.[625] As established in chapter three, the Molossians had already set the groundwork for Augustus in this regard, most notably through Pyrrhus and his Aeacid lineage.[626] Alexander the Great, through his mother Olympias, sought descent from Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, and a passage from Arrian clearly highlights the duality of his origins, as well as the struggle to reconcile the two: θῦσαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Πριάμῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἑρκείου λόγος κατέχει, μῆνιν Πριάμου παραιτούμενον τῷ Νεοπτολέμου γένει, ὃ δὴ ἐς αὐτὸν καθῆκεν.[627] A distant cousin of Alexander, Pyrrhus was no different and shared these pains, as he sought ancestry from both Achilles and Priam, while also naming one of his sons Helenus, and having a sister named Troas, both being obvious Trojan

[624] Cabanes (1993): 145-8 proposes the 450 B.C. dating as he cites Paus. 5.22.2-4 for the Apollonian dedication at Olympia of statues depicting both Greek and Trojan heroes (i.e., Helenus, Aeneas, Deiphobus) in combat. More importantly perhaps for our purposes, Cabanes suggests that it was on account of Apollonia's close connections to Epirus that they went as far as highlighting their foundation by Apollo – one of the primary Trojan supporters, as according to Pausanias the dedication read μνάματ᾽ Ἀπολλωνίας ἀνακείμεθα, τὰν ἐνὶ πόντῳ Ἰονίῳ Φοῖβος ᾤκισ᾽ ἀκερσεκόμας; cf. Kunze (1956): 149 for the monument itself and Lamboley (2005) for more on the Trojan imagery at Apollonia. Hansen (2007): 45, following the conclusions of Biraschi (1981/82), places these ties to the fifth century B.C. by highlighting the emergence of classical literature referencing these, namely Euripides' *Andromache* in which the Molossians are related to Andromache, Neoptolemus and Helenus. While we have already alluded to the importance of the *nostoi* for the Molossians, a word of caution is needed for this argument. While the Athenian-Molossian complicity and favourable ties of this period have been well-documented, we have already seen how the Athenian tradition of this time had distorted the Cretan image of Minos. Undoubtedly the Graeco-Trojan mixed origins of the Molossians were an integral part of their self-promotion, yet we must remember that other depictions would have existed at the time in addition to Euripides'. For the Athenian-Molossian ties of the fifth century B.C. and the importance of Euripides' *Andromache* in Epirus' place within Greek literature and imagination, see Lamboley and Castigliano (2011): 10-1.

[625] Lamboley and Castiglioni (2011): 16.

[626] It is worth restating that certain traditions claim Molossus was himself the son of Neoptolemus (Achilles' son) and of Andromache (i.e., Paus. 1.11.1). Thus, while the Molossians could therefore claim ancestry from both camps, it is noteworthy that Virgil chose to leave out the name of Andromache's son (Molossus) when she was recounting her fate – although an astute reader would have no doubt made the connection when Andromache said *nos patria incensa diversa per aequora vectae stirpis Achilleae fastus iuvenemque superbum servitio enixae tulimus* (Verg. Aen. 3.325-7). Augustan writers would therefore continue the Trojan emphasis, while also cleverly incising any explicit reference of the Molossians or previous dynasties, as Epirus was now under renewed Trojan (see Roman) occupation and control.

[627] Arr. An. 1.18.8. See also commentary by Lamboley and Castiglioni (2011): 9, as they highlight the continuity of the dual Graeco-Trojan descendance for the Molossians after Alexander, particularly under Pyrrhus. They also point towards Lycophr. Alex. 1434-9 as foreshadowing the Aeacid descent and to the claims by Olympias and her children to be associated with the dynasty; cf. Serv. Aen. 3.297. See also Just. 7.3 for Olympias' descent.

references.[628] On the other hand, Pyrrhus' western interests are described in a different light by Pausanias, as the Hellenistic monarch is depicted as more interested in his ties to Achilles and in waging war on an *apoikia* of the Trojans as justification for lending his aid to the Tarentines.[629]

Of his relatives' Trojan names, Troas, or Troias, has been identified by Antonetti, as being a dynastic name characteristic of Pyrrhus' family, as she attests one other regional allusion in a funerary inscription from Amphilochian Argos claiming that it may have spread there when Pyrrhus annexed Amphilochia.[630] As she highlights, in addition to Pyrrhus' lineage provided by Plutarch (n. 628), we also learn from a fragment of the scholia on Euripides' *Andromache* (24) that while Euripides claimed that Neoptolemus and Andromache only had one son, others such as Proxenos (a third century B.C. Epirote historian) and Nikomedes of Akanthos via Lysimachos of Alexandria claim they had four, including a daughter named Troas.[631] If Antonetti's argument is correct and Pyrrhus' Trojan 'propaganda' was spread across Epirus including into Amphilochia (one of the Nikopolitan dependencies), then the Augustan *Aeneid* was notably similar in scope as it sought to disperse the newly adapted tradition across Epirus and the empire more broadly.

Thus, while the *Aeneid* taps into familiar mythological stories and imperial methodology/ideology, key elements are omitted: Pyrrhus of Epirus, the Molossians, and

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[628] Plut. Pyrr. 1 and 9, with the former serving as an excellent summary of Pyrrhus' descent with a comparative account by Paus. 1.11.1-2 who states that Pyrrhus's lineage claimed descent from Pielus, Molossus' younger brother, rather than Molossus himself. See also Lévêque (1957): 255, and Lamboley and Castigliano (2011): 9-10 on Pyrrhus' 'Trojan propaganda'.

[629] Paus. 1.12.1. Lamboley and Castiglioni (2011): 15 discuss this passage in the context of Pyrrhus' ability to reconcile Greek and Trojan traditions, as the two seemingly co-exist without clashing despite Pyrrhus identifying the war on Rome as a new Trojan War. On Pyrrhus' Trojan 'ties' see also Erskine (2001): 157-61.

[630] Antonetti (2011): 394-7 studies the inscription as part of five funerary Amphilochian inscriptions and dates it between the fourth and third century B.C. It simply reads Σιμάκας and Τρωϊάδος on two separate lines, and she identifies only one other regional Troias from Trichonion in Aetolia at IG IX I^2 1, 118, which reads Τρωιὰς ἀνέθηκε on two lines. Antonetti believes that this spread would have occurred around the same time as Pyrrhus reorganised his Epirote territory and shifted his capital to Ambrakia, thus providing even further ties with our previous analysis.

[631] Sch. ad. Andr. 24, Lysimachus BNJ 382 F 10a, and Proxenos BNJ 703 F2. For further reflection on this passage and Pyrrhus' mythological origins, see Lévêque (1957): 83-6, Cabanes (1976): 39-44, Antonetti (2011): 396-7, and more broadly Lepore (1962).

even Nikopolis itself are entirely absent. This is similar to our analysis in chapter three, where we argued that although Ambrakia's illustrious past was identified by the literary sources as ἐρίβωλος or εὐτυχής, only Strabo recalled Pyrrhus' role in adorning the city as his capital.[632] Yet, as argued previously, an astute reader would have immediately made the connection from the Ambrakiote description to its prosperous Corinthian past and Pyrrhic glory days, in the same vein as they would have associated Virgil's Pyrrhus who had been the cause of Andromache's sorrows with the namesake Molossian monarch.[633] Hansen has already put forth a similar argument in relation to the *Aeneid*'s role in the foundation of Buthrotum, and even argued that Virgil had shifted the meeting spot of Aeneas and Helenus from the traditional location at Dodona, to the newly established Roman colony; according to the scholar, this 'may be seen as an effective way of obscuring a continuing association (real or perceived) of the Molossian King Pyrrhus with this part of Epirus'.[634]

[632] Anth. Pal. 9.553, Strab. 7.7.6.
[633] Aen. 3.294-330.
[634] Hansen (2007): 48, but cf. Piccinini (2013): 181-2 who demonstrates that Dodona continued to be an important site even under Augustus, through a dedication to Livia in the sanctuary's temenos from the reign of Augustus. See also the Dion. Hal. 1.51 for the previous tradition, expanded in greater detail than the one in the *Aeneid*. It is however uncertain to what degree this would have resonated with either Greek or Roman audiences. Piccinini's study (2018: 171-92) on the Greek tradition of consulting multiple oracles might be informative here, as there appears to be no competition amongst the oracles even in cases where a hero is asked to seek a second opinion elsewhere. The author provides numerous such examples, including Agesilaos in Plut. Mor. 208F-209A consulting both Zeus Dodonaeus and Apollo Pythios, or Agesipolis in Xen. Hel. 4.7.5. While Dodona is absent from the *Aeneid*, there is no clear indication that the famous oracle was targeted for removal from all traditions.



Fig. 5.1 Hammond's map of Epirus displaying the location of Berenice (Hammond 1967)

While this may be the case, the Romans also followed in Pyrrhus' footsteps in more ways than mere legitimisation of rule via the *nostoi* traditions – whether intentionally or not. They did so through the reorganisation of Epirote and Illyrian landscapes within a new, Augustan provincial system, and also by founding a series of cities or small settlements throughout the region: Dyrrhachium, Byllis, Buthrotum, Nikopolis, Patrae, etc. Not only did Pyrrhus' kingdom also stretch more or less from Epidamnos/Dyrrhachion to Corinth, but archaeological evidence has shown that during his reign numerous citadels and other hilltop fortifications were established as a means to control valleys, rivers and other important routes in places such as Elea, Kassopaea, and Thesprotia.[635] Thus, not only were synoecisms common in this region (see chapter 3), but so was strategic territorial shuffling, as Nikopolis was fittingly built just a few kilometres to the south of Berenice – which is believed to have been built by Pyrrhus some two and a half centuries prior, which would have certainly not escaped Augustus' vision and attempts to

[635] For this argument, and specific site locations see Lazari and Kanta-Kitsou (2010): 36-7, as well as Dakaris (1971): *passim* on Kassope and the Eleans, and (1972) on Thesprotia. See also Hammond's initial discussions (1967), Moore (2000): esp. 9-12, Riginos (2010).

outdo the Romans' nemesis.[636] Moreover, Dakaris even once believed that Berenice (near modern day Michalitsi) was the probable location of one of Nikopolis' two main harbours, although perhaps erroneously (fig. 5.1).[637] While this interpretation may not be plausible, Pyrrhus' foundational legacy remains pertinent as it creates a clash between past and present: on the one hand, Pyrrhus' endeavours were mimicked by Augustus in choosing a new capital (Ambrakia vs Nikopolis) and founding smaller settlements with similar purposes (i.e. to enhance trade routes and connectivity), while on the other they were supplanted by the Romans' more successful foundation of Nikopolis.

Although some of this could come down to pure coincidence, a comparative example from Armenia might suggest otherwise. Both Plutarch and Strabo highlight Hannibal's role in building the famous city of Artaxata.[638] While Tacitus and Cassius Dio do not provide this tradition in their accounts of the city's conquest at the hands of Corbulo in A.D. 58, Dio later points out that Nero allowed the newly appointed king Tiridates to rebuild Artaxata and (briefly) rename it Neronia.[639] In similar fashion to the Epirote traditions we have seen to date, upon (or after) the conquest, the traditions associated with Rome's most bitter enemies are suppressed in favour of a new beginning, condoned and promoted by the Romans; however, despite this, the past associations would not escape many knowledgeable readers. The devastation of Epirus from Aemilius Paullus to Augustus, culminating with the territorial organisation led by the Nikopolitan synoecism and other foundations thus marked the

[636] Hammond (1967): 579-80 and Dakaris (1971): 94 for the foundation of Berenice ca. 297/6 B.C., as well as Moore (2000): 12 who highlights its foundation's role in facilitating access to the Ionian Sea and Ambrakian Gulf.
[637] Unfortunately, as Moore (2000): 9 underscores, there are no remains found in the vicinity to suggest a harbour settlement was present there. For the potential association of Berenice with Nikopolis' harbour, see Dakaris (1971): 100 and cf. Hammond (1967): 579-80. Alternatively, for the more recent identification of Ormos Vathy as Nikopolis' main harbour, see Wiseman (2001): 49, Jing and Rapp (2004): 162-4, Milan (2018): 102.
[638] Plut. Lucull. 31-2 and Strab. 11.14.6 who writes πόλεις δ' εἰσὶν τῆς Ἀρμενίας Ἀρτάξατά τε (ἣν καὶ Ἀρταξιάσατα καλοῦσιν, Ἀννίβα κτίσαντος Ἀρταξίᾳ τῷ βασιλεῖ) […]. On these traditions, see Hoyos (2008): 136-8, who highlights that Hannibal's stay in Bithynia also resulted in him designing a city, Prusa, for the king Prusias, possibly because he had heard of his success with Artaxata (cf. Plin. NH. 5.148 for the episode).
[639] Tac. Ann. 13.41, Cass. Dio. 62.19 and 63.6-7.

definitive conquest over the memory of Pyrrhus' achievements. Similarly, the destruction of Artaxata put an end to Hannibal's legacy in this city, as it was rebuilt solely through the special permission given by the emperor himself.

Another question that remains to be answered is to what extent was the Augustan emphasis on the commonalities between Roman and Epirote traditions an 'innovation' given that we have already seen Augustus tap into past references and precedents. Oost's appendix provides a vital contribution to this discussion, as the scholar analysed Rome's alleged favourable treatment of the Akarnanians in the 190s and 180s B.C. in light of three passages from Justin (possibly referring to events in the 230s), Strabo, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[640] Both Justin and Strabo claim that the Akarnanians appealed for favours from the Romans by stating that they, alone of all Greeks, had abstained from the Trojan War, thus not damaging the Romans' ancestors, while Dionysius of Halicarnassus alludes to Leukas' and Anaktorion's favourable treatment on account of their role in Aeneas' travels. A recent publication by Melfi and Martens regarding three statues found in Buthrotum's countryside has also provided compelling evidence of Roman and Greek acknowledgement of their common ties as early as the Macedonian Wars.[641] They identify one of them (dated to the second century B.C.) with the Mother of the Gods and propose that the locals had set it up 'in order to maintain the protection and support of the Romans' even after the conquest by embracing the cult that had assisted Aeneas' travels.[642] Gruen, however, has argued that the

[640] Oost (1954): 92-7. The passages are Dion. Hal. 1.51.1-2 who acknowledges favours for the Leukadians and Anactorians for their role in the Aeneas myths, Just. 28.1 who writes that the Akarnanians asked the Romans for help against the Aetolians by recalling that they were the only people of Greece who had not sent troops against Rome's progenitors, the Trojans - as does Strabo at 10.2.25 in greater detail. Oost dates the events in Justin's passage ca. 240-230 B.C., while Strabo and Dionysius of Halicarnassus appear to allude to events around 191-189 B.C., with other references provided at Polyb. 21.32 and Liv. 36.11. For the authenticity of the Justin passage, see Holleaux (1935): 5-22 who highlights Polyb. 2.12.7 as evidence that Rome had not yet interfered in Greek affairs in the 230s B.C., but also Gruen (1992): 45, n. 184 for more extensive bibliography on the topic, and for highlighting that the episode would most likely not have been fabricated by the Romans as they do not appear in a positive light in it. Thus, he favours Oost's conclusion that this was part of complex Aetolian propaganda.

[641] Melfi and Martens (2020): *passim*, esp. 581-6, 594-6.

[642] Melfi and Martens (2020): 595.

Romans had no intention to make use of Trojan connections in these interactions, or act upon them, as the Greeks were always the ones initiating them.[643] Whatever the case may be regarding the authenticity of these passages, for our purposes it is important to highlight that Virgil and/or Augustus' view of common Epirote and Roman traditions and descent was by no means an innovation. It was deeply entrenched in traditions that could be traced back to the Greeks themselves, at least two centuries prior.[644]

Before turning away from the *Aeneid*, a final aspect needs further development: Nikopolitan anonymity. We already indicated that Virgil had slightly shifted an earlier tradition, by changing Aeneas' meeting with Helenus from Dodona, to Buthrotum. Moreover, we saw that Buthrotum was granted special treatment in the *Aeneid*, as it was eloquently portrayed as a *parva Troia*, whereas the city of Nikopolis is nowhere to be found. Paschalis has argued in favour of the *parva urbs* where the Trojans land (l.276) to be identified with Nikopolis; he claims this must have been the location of Actium, whereas events such as the *ludi Troiae* and the dedication of Abas' shield would mirror Augustus' actions at Nikopolis, namely the dedication of Antony's ships' beaks and the revival of the Actian games.[645] An argument could be made that unlike Buthrotum, Nikopolis held a distinctly Greek name with dangerous connotations, which pushed Augustus to self-censor the victory he had achieved over his fellow Romans, hence the city's absence from this account. Yet, considering that Vulcan's shield in book eight explicitly names Antony as Augustus' and Agrippa's opponent at Actium, it is perhaps more accurate to argue in favour of Virgil preserving the 'historicity' of Aeneas' travels in Epirus, as Nikopolis did not trace its origins to those times, and the

[643] For other comparable evidence see Gruen (1992): 44-6. Oost (1954): 95 highlights Syll.[3] 591 as another example in the form of Lampsakos seeking help from the Romans in 197/6 B.C. when they alluded to their common descent from the Trojans, suggesting that this was common occurrence in these years.
[644] Hansen (2007): 45 also identifies the importance of this statement, particularly considering the Romans' foundation of Buthrotum and the numerous Trojan references associated to it (see below).
[645] Paschalis (1987): 62-3, 69 and *passim*.

parva urbs rather foreshadowed its eventual foundation.[646] Virgil's innovation merely lies in the order of the itinerary, as the Trojans are made to land near Actium, as opposed to Buthrotum, only to then travel to the Roman refoundation to encounter Helenus and the other Trojans, rather than Dodona.[647] Thus, not only did this alteration potentially undermine Pyrrhus, as we saw above, but it also connected the two Caesarian and Augustan foundations, as much in an imagined sense, as it did in reality, as we will discuss shortly. Thus, although Nikopolis would remain nameless, as it gained prominence and fame, readers would have undoubtedly made the connection between Aeneas' landing and actions at Actium and those of Augustus. Furthermore, as noted in chapter four, the two foundations were intrinsically connected for a multitude of reasons, including Bouthroton's past ties with Epirote *poleis* that would become Nikopolis' holdings, with Bowden observing that 'Butrint is inextricably linked with the foundation of Nicopolis'.[648]

The duality of Greek and Trojan traditions that existed in Epirus for centuries must have appealed to the Romans, but also facilitated the integration of Rome within this dichotomy, perhaps even as the new Troy. As Malkin eloquently put it, 'the *nostoi* mediated and informed cultural, ethnic, and political encounters among Greeks, in relation to non-

[646] Paschalis (1987): 68 astutely highlighted that Pallantium was also referred to as *parva urbs* at Verg. Aen. 8.554 and therefore there may be a parallel between how great both Rome and Nikopolis would become one day. Furthermore, as Hansen (2007): 45-6 argues, the ties between Bouthroton and Aeneas existed long before the *Aeneid*, with Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.51) demonstrating the older tradition. Another key example is Teuc. Cyz. BNJ 274 F1a and b (cf. Steph. Byz. Βουθρωτός) preserving the story of Bouthroton's foundation at the hands of Helenus, highlighting once again both the antiquity and longevity of the Trojan tradition, as Stephanus of Byzantium chooses to preserve this version, rather than any reference from the *Aeneid*; cf. Serv. Aen. 3.293, who in turn does not credit Teukros of Cyzicus for this account. Moreover, Teukros' account is traditionally dated to the 1st century B.C., marking it as somewhat of a contemporary of the *Aeneid*, which reveals how widespread this account must have been around the time of the city's refoundation. See also Lamboley and Castiglioni (2011): 11-2 on these accounts.

[647] Cf. Dion. Hal. 1.51 and Hansen (2007): 46-8 for further commentary and proposition that the shift in tradition may also have acted as a 'promotion' of Buthrotum 'on a par with that of Actium'.

[648] Bowden (2007): 190. See also Hansen (2007): *passim* for similar arguments on the Romans creating a new 'axis of influence' going between Buthrotum (i.e. Helenus' city) and Nikopolis (i.e. Augustus') and comparisons in Bergemann (1998): 88-9. Furthermore, as discussed in chapter 4 and below, it has long since been observed that Buthrotum, like Nikopolis, was situated on a prominent coastal route from Apollonia. On this, see Deniaux (1987): 249. Thus, the two cities were connected both in an imagined and real sense.

Greeks, and in the relations of non-Greeks to Greeks'.[649] The *Aeneid* fits within this narrative, as Augustus engaged with the local populations through a means that was familiar to them, both in Crete and Epirus. Thus, not only is he able to legitimise the Roman presence in the region, as so many have alluded to, but also to demonstrate a deep familiarity with each region's traditions due to centuries of interactions and exchanges. While it may be tempting to dismiss these as literary tropes, the early Imperial coinage all but confirms the conscious attempts by Augustus and his appointed magistrates to tap into this mythological past and into the commonalities between the Romans and the conquered Greeks.

The early coins of the CINC and Nikopolis are marked by peculiarities that are uniquely related to their foundations, and are not reflected elsewhere in their respective regions. As highlighted, not only was the CINC the sole colony in Crete, but Knossos also became the only Cretan city to mint Latin coinage, presumably to fuel the needs of the recently arrived settlers and Capuan investors.[650] That said, we have seen that non-Greek coinage had started appearing on the island even prior to the CINC's foundation, with Lollius and Crassus, whom we have identified as Antonian supporters; furthermore, more importantly in the case of the former, we saw in chapter 1 that he is attributed coins preserving distinctly local traditions, such as Artemis Diktynna and Zeus Diktaios, revealing the continued presence and acknowledgement of local customs (see n. 174).[651] Thus, while Augustus' colonial coinage was not necessarily a novelty, imposing it solely on Knossos was.[652] Conversely, Nikopolis minted its coinage in Greek, although there was a break in activity between the reigns of Augustus and Trajan, when no new coins were minted aside

[649] Malkin (1998): 7.
[650] See chapters 1 and 2 for discussion. For brief introduction, see Harrison (1993): 56.
[651] Chevrollier (2016): 14-5; cf. RPC I 218-19, 908-918. We also notice from 34 to 31 B.C. a brief issue from Pupius Rufus (RPC I 919-23) and Cleopatra and Antony (924-5). Admittedly, however, prior to the establishment of the colony, some of the coins also depicted magistrates' names in Greek, such as Aristion, but numerous others have survived in the Knossian context even in the late 30s B.C. For more on this Knossian coinage, see the discussion on Kydas in chapter 2.
[652] On this, see Baldwin Bowsky (2004a): 125-38 and Gallimore (2011): 77-80. Alternatively, Garaffo (2004): 185 sees this as a potential sign of broader economic difficulties for the island during Augustus' early reign, seeing as they needed to mint additional coinage for the colony.

from a brief commemorative series under Nero.[653] Unfortunately for the Nikopolitan case study, even the Augustan coinage provides limited evidence, as very few specimens have survived for reasons that go beyond our purpose.[654] Thus, in light of this brief review of the numismatic material, we must turn towards the coins' imagery.



Fig. 5.2 Nikopolitan coin depicting Agrippa without Augustus (RPC I 1366)
Obv: ΚΤΙΣΜΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ, head of Agrippa, l.
Rev: ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΙΕΡΑ, acrostolium in wreath

[653] See Calomino (2011a), (2011b) and (2012) for an attempted explanation for this anomaly, as the details go beyond the purpose of this chapter, but could be explained by Caligula's ban on the Actian Games (Suet. Cal. 23) perhaps also resulting in a coin ban, and mostly because Vespasian had completely outlawed the right to mint coins in all of Achaea (cf. Sarikakis 1966: 155). In addition, the coinage must have been designed for local and regional use only and the quantity minted must have sufficed for this purpose if we also include the Greek bronze coins dated to the late Republic that would have continued being in use; cf. Burnett (1987): 92-3, Howgego (1990): esp. 11-15, Burnett (1993): 146-8 for the circulation of old coinage, with Hammond (1967): 717-25 for the Epirote coinage. In fact, Calomino has only been able to identify 31-33 specimens from Nikopolis outside of the region itself in places such as Olympia, Corinth, Patrae, and Athens, highlighting the regionality of this currency. On this, see esp. Calomino (2011a): 570 n. 5 and (2012): 107 for updated references; cf. Oikonomidou (1975): 16-7.

[654] For Nikopolis' early Augustan coinage see Oikonomidou (1975), Kraay (1976), Calomino (2011a and b), and RPC I 1363-7.

Howgego has already discussed the importance of myth and of the past on provincial imperial coinage, highlighting that the past was mostly absent on Imperial coinage, but of noticeable importance for the civic coins – both of which are clearly attested on Nikopolitan and Knossian coinage respectively.[655] That said, the present cannot be neglected, with the emperor and sometimes even the entire Imperial family being paralleled with past traditions and motifs. As such, coinage, which lacks in narrative linearity provides a vehicle allowing for juxtapositions that leap-frog time itself. This is apparent in the Augustan coinage at Knossos where we see Gaius and Lucius, Tiberius, and Livia, whereas at Nikopolis Agrippa makes an appearance on two coins where Augustus is not even present (fig. 5.2).[656] On the other hand, past elements that have already been identified in previous chapters also resurface on this coinage, most notably the labyrinth in Knossian Crete, which is reminiscent of Classical and Hellenistic Knossian coinage.[657] The most glaring difference on the Knossian coinage, however, is undoubtedly the quasi-absence of Zeus Diktaios or Kretagenes, considering the former was a staple of Knossian late Republican coinage, and the latter was prominent under the early empire elsewhere in Crete, especially under Tiberius.[658] Considering Alcock and Romeo have both made persuasive arguments in favour a Roman revival and appropriation of the cult of Zeus Kretagenes in the Early Imperial period, the

[655] Howgego (2005): 5, but also *passim* Howgego (1987), (1990) and (1992).
[656] RPC I 979 for Gaius and Lucius; for Tiberius, 982a and b, 983; for Livia, 986, 988. See RPC I 1366-7 for Agrippa, whose role in northwest Greece and in the outcome of Actium is unsurprising, as we also see him greatly involved in affairs at Buthrotum (more on this below); cf. RPC I 976 in Knossos which identifies the figure on the obverse with Agrippa. For a study of figures on Knossian coinage, see Baldwin Bowksy (2004).
[657] If we follow Howgego (2005): 4, who notes that monuments on coinage in the Roman Empire signify 'communal heritage', there is an argument to be made regarding the moneyer's intention with the inclusion of the labyrinth on the coins. While this was a motif that had existed for centuries in Knossos, we saw ample attempts by both Greeks and Romans to promote a common heritage in the previous section. To give but one example, Jackson points out in the analysis of the finds from the Sanctuary of Demeter in Coldstream (1973): 110, that the most common coin types found at this site were those of Zeus on the obverse, with the labyrinth on the reverse; cf. Oikonomidou (2004), Sideropoulos (2004).
[658] Examples of Zeus on late Republican Knossian coinage include RPC I 908a-g, 929, 930, 932, 934-937; for Zeus Kretagenes see RPC I 955, 957, 961A. For an analysis of how Zeus Kretagenes gained the epithet Diktaios from the Diktaian Cave, see Willetts (1962): 216 with Call. Hymn 1.4. Considering Willetts in his overview of all Cretan cults and festivals counted 22 different epithets and traditions for Zeus, and given the prominence of the divinity on earlier Knossian coinage, it is nonetheless safe to state that this is a significant shift. Regardless, the cult of Zeus continued to be observed under various traditions at Knossos well after the Roman conquest, irrespective of what the colonial coinage chose to portray.

Knossian case is puzzling.[659] Yet, when considering our analysis of the Kydas coinage and Augustus' attempts to move away from the Late Republican Knossian trends, it should not be surprising that the colonial coinage chose a different motif to emulate the local past.

Meanwhile, the situation at Nikopolis is somewhat more complicated and may reflect the novelty of this foundation. On its coin types, the reverse highlights more general imagery and themes, rather than specific past allusions, such as a thunderbolt, Nike with a wreathe (which was the standard type and an obvious allusion the city's name), Tyche, and tripods.[660] The title chosen for the city on the coinage, however, highlights not only Augustus' close relation to Apollo and the hill/complex dedicated to the god at Nikopolis, but also the importance of this divinity for the inhabitants: ΙΕΡΑ ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΣ or ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΙΕΡΑ (fig. 5.3).[661]



Fig. 5.3 Early Nikopolitan coin with ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΙΕΡΑ (RPC I 1363)
Obv: ΚΤΙΣΜΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ, head of Augustus, r.; all in wreath
Rev: ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΙΕΡΑ, thunderbolt with caduceus

[659] Alcock (2002): 122-9; cf. Romeo (2010): 73, on Zeus being 'quasi-assimilated' to the emperor on coinage by Tiberius' reign.
[660] That said, if we are to look at later coinage in Nikopolis, Tzouvara-Souli (2004): 537 has pointed out that Zeus striking with the thunderbolt on the coins of Valerian and Gallienus shows remarkable resemblance with a type of Zeus from Ambrakiote silver staters from 360 and 338 B.C., thus showing once again a significant amount of continuity and respect for the past of one of Nikopolis' most prominent dependencies.
[661] Tzouvara-Souli (1987): 170, Purcell (1987): 88, Calomino (2012): 105-6. Tzouvara-Souli (2001): 243-3 believes that there were coins of Actius Apollo as early as 28 B.C., citing the coins at Oikonomidou (1975): 46 and 63, pl. 1. While this would indeed provide phenomenal evidence for continuity and a blend of past and present on the city's first coinage, Kraay's review (1976): esp. 240-5 has already argued that Oikonomidou 46 resembles more the Trajanic coinage, as does 63, thus dating these as posthumous dedications of early second century A.D.

Another key aspect of this early coinage is the reference to Nikopolis as ΚΤΙΣΜΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ – an *unicum* in the provincial repertoire according to Calomino.[662] In many ways, while this was indeed a new foundation, Augustus' actions fit into the picture we have portrayed of past Epirote kings both above and in chapter 3. The motif of Augustus as a founder follows in the footsteps of Hellenistic predecessors in Epirus; also, this imagery would continue over the years, as it has been argued that the Neronian coinage depicting Apollo Ktistes is an allusion to Apollo as the founder, and as such a direct comparison to the Augustan foundation as the two were intrinsically linked.[663] The theophoric nature of the foundation and other allusions were not lost on its inhabitants, and arguably would have fit both their own interests (i.e. by focusing on a familiar local/regional deity) and Augustus' (by further promoting his association with Apollo and appealing to local customs). By contrast, the early colonial coinage at Knossos that does depict the emperor does not award him any particular titles, or honours as the alleged colonial founder, but rather portray him in a more modest, bare-headed fashion.[664] In many ways, this speaks to the intended audience of this coinage: a colonial founder, or *oikistes*, would have had deeper resonance with a Greek audience used to such associations and for whom this figure would become an integral part of an *apoikia*'s traditions. Thus, in both cases the coins can provide a seemingly smooth blend of past and present to various degrees, similar to the *Aeneid*: Roman colonial magistrates identified in Latin vs. Minos' traditions at Knossos, and an *oikist* (albeit Roman) identified in

[662] Calomino (2012): 105 with RPC I 1363-7.
[663] Calomino (2012): 105-6; cf. Kraay (1976): 239-4. In fact, the denomination ΚΤΙCΜΑ CΕΒΑCΤΟΥ continues well into the second and third centuries A.D., as Trajan and his successors mint numerous series with Augustus' head and this title. There has also been a proposal for Augustus and Apollo being associated on the city's early coinage, particularly Ruscu (2006): 252, following Kraft (1968), argues that RIC I 60 (=BMC no. 638) depicts Augustus as Apollo laureate drawing 'the sacred first furrow', yet the RIC compilation by Sutherland (2018): indicates that 'these coins are certainly Italian in style [and] fabric'. Whatever the case may be, the association between Augustus, Apollo, Actium, and Nikopolis would have been abundantly clear even to the most ignorant observers, as discussed in chapters 3 and 4. After all, Clarke (2008): 370 rightly remarked that members of the *polis* were accustomed to laughing at jokes, or listening to speeches that relied on complex political and historical knowledge and subtleties. Thus, such connections would not have escaped them. Moreover, as seen in previous chapters, Apollo, as either Agyieus, Leukatas and/or Actian Apollo continued to play a prominent role in the region, well after Nikopolis' foundation.
[664] RPC I 977-82.

Greek promoting past prominent traditions vs. a newly established type (and city) at Nikopolis.[665]



Fig. 5.4 Sample of Buthrotian early colonial coinage (RPC I 1378)
Obv: P DASTIDIUS L CORNELIUS, laureate head of Jupiter, r.
Rev: DD, II VIR Q A (in exergue), bull, r.

We must, however, highlight that these conclusions should not be taken as general for *all* Greek Augustan foundations and/or colonies. While they shed light on general trends, comparative evidence from other *coloniae* such as Buthrotum and Dyrrhachium also offer important warnings. For instance, the latter of the two did not issue any coins for local circulation, with Wilkes and others suggesting that the famous Apollonia-Dyrrhachion coinage alluded to in chapter four had ceased by the time of Pompey and Caesar's

[665] Calomino (2012): 110 argues that the Nikopolitan coin repertoire throughout the centuries was 'hardly influenced by Roman iconographic tradition' aside from the presence of the emperor. This follows Kraay (1976): 16 who has argued that, instead, Nikopolitan coinage was influenced at various points in time by the types of many, if not most, of the cities it had engulfed in the synoecism. A similar case has been made for Augustus' refoundation of Patras by Rizakis (1989): 184, (1998): 35-8 and Dikjstra (2017): *passim*, as the authors showed how Augustus' refoundation was embedded into local foundation myths, while the local cult of Artemis Laphria was used to connect the new settlers and old inhabitants – after all, the already discussed passage on the transfer of cults to Nikopolis (Paus. 7.18.9) specifies that Patras received, amongst others, Laphria. On Artemis' prominence in Patras, see Houby-Nielsen (2001): 257, Ellinger (2011): *passim*.

struggles.[666] On the other hand, Buthrotum does have a rich corpus of colonial coinage that offers a satisfying connection between the observations we have made regarding the CINC and Nikopolis. Its imagery is especially telling: *duoviri* or other magistrates on the obverse, a bull on the reverse (fig. 5.4).[667] The presence of the bull is an allusion to the myth relating to Helenus founding the city, and it prevailed as a coin type at least until Nero's reign, further highlighting the Trojan-Roman-Buthrotian connection observed above.[668] Moreover, it is also not a novelty, as coins of the Epirote alliance from 329/5 and 300 B.C. had already employed the bull, as did those of the Epirote League after 234/3 B.C., as Hansen highlighted via Franke.[669]

Among the colony's earliest coinage (ca. 44 B.C.), imagery of club and staff are also noteworthy, as these are the symbols of Asclepius, whom the colonists appear to have embraced (in the same way that they had done with the Knossian Labyrinth?), as a call towards one of the city's most prominent sanctuaries.[670] Thus, through the associations to Asclepius and the bull, we see at Buthrotum similar themes observed both at Nikopolis and at Knossos even though arguably all three of these foundations can be classified differently: Buthrotum was Augustus' Caesarian refoundation, Nikopolis was a brand new synoecised city, and the CINC was Augustus' own colonial project if we follow the current consensus.[671] While many other examples from the Roman provinces could illustrate these points, Buthrotum is particularly revealing given its importance in Nikopolis' immediate region and Augustus' personal experiences. As such, while the Epirotes may have traded one monarchy

[666] Wilkes (2004): 385; cf. Gjongecaj (1987), (1997), Gjongecaj and Picard (1999), Santoro (2011).
[667] See RPC I 1378; cf. 1378A and Pollo (1993): *passim* on colonial coinage at Buthrotum.
[668] Hansen (2007): 44 and Abdy (2012): 92 on the importance of the bull for Buthrotum. The city is named after the bull that died on its premises in the aftermath of the Trojan Wars. Moorhead, Gjongecaj and Abdy (2007): 79 also identify an early Augustan coin potentially depicting Aeneas, which would further strengthen the connections.
[669] Franke (1961): 125, 161-4, Hansen (2007): 55 (cf. 2011).
[670] Deniaux (2007): 33-9, Çondi (2011): 250; cf. Melfi (2007): *passim* for an introductory discussion of the Sanctuary of Asclepius at Buthrotum. This sanctuary would have already been known to the Roman and Italian inhabitants and traders that were in the area from as early as the third century B.C. (cf. Cabanes 1976: 199-202).
[671] On the debate of the CINC's foundation, see chapter two.

for another, and the Cretans had lost their long-lasting freedom, much of the imagined depictions of both cities and regions continued to draw upon centuries-old traditions, with the 'new' elements subtly being portrayed under the guise of widespread local traditions.

5.2 The 'Reality': A New World?

While the past was omnipresent in the cases studied above, it is needless to say that from a human perspective the inhabitants of both Nikopolis and Knossos were subjected to new impositions, expectations, and in both cases their entire livelihood changed. In the former, Greeks and Romans from across Akarnania, Kassopaea, Amphilochia, Aetolia, Thesprotia, and who knows where else were forcefully gathered in the new victory city, with some even choosing to flee their former homelands for better opportunities elsewhere.[672] As for the inhabitants of Knossos, in the span of less than a decade, they saw their city lose valuable lands to an Italian colony across the sea, while also being forced to receive a colony of Romans. Thus, despite the numerous attempts to recall a once glorious past, to argue that Roman intervention and foundations had no impacts on a given region's inhabitants, or even landscape, is disingenuous and simply untrue. The changes and impacts, however, do have their roots in numerous past events and decisions that highlight previous Roman interventions within these regions seen in chapters two and four. Thus, as we have explained elsewhere, impacts can be analysed from a plethora of angles, but we have chosen a 'social history' approach to discuss changes in the lives of these inhabitants in light of both foundations. We will analyse here in the first instance the most tangible and observable of changes: colonial and/or provincial offices, the arrival of Roman settlers, and the gradual increase in Latin usage that accompanied both outcomes. Secondly, we will turn towards changes in and

[672] See chapter 3, and Liebeschuetz (1979) on human trauma post-civil wars.

impacts on landscape and connectivity, from the basic changes of centuriation, to agricultural and economic shifts impacting the landscape, and of course to the increased connectivity and regional (even global) spread that came with the inclusion within the Roman Empire.

The status of Nikopolis in the aftermath of its foundation has been a controversial topic that has yet to reach a satisfying conclusion in the eyes of many. While we have already alluded to our problematic sources in chapters three and four, a closer analysis is necessary here to understand if we are dealing with a *civitas libera* or *foederata*, a *colonia*, or perhaps even a double Greek and Roman community, as Purcell has suggested.[673]

The general confusion lies in two problematic references by Tacitus and Pliny who refer to Nikopolis as a *colonia*.[674] In addition to this, at least two inscriptions allude to duumvirs as potential offices at Nikopolis.[675] One of them was found near Serrhae, is dated to ca. 141-159, and details the career of a certain Octavius, who among other honours, claims to have been duumvir at Actia Nikopolis and Ulpia: *or[n]am(entibus) [I]Iv[i]ralib(us) / hon(oratus) Actiae Nicopoli et Ulpia(e)*.[676] The problem with these sources, however, is that with the exception of Pliny, they all come from the end of the first century or late second century A.D. Thus, even if Nikopolis was a colony or held a small Roman community, it is impossible to tell if this was an Augustan endeavour or if a later emperor chose to intervene 'stealthily', so as to not tarnish or take away from Augustus' reputation as city founder, which was clearly a staple in the city given our analysis. Mitchell's arguments on the double

[673] Purcell (1987), followed by Ruscu (2006), see chapter 4 for full bibliography.
[674] Tac. Ann. 5.10.4 and Plin. NH. 4.1.5; the latter calls it *colonia Augusti Actium cum templo Apollinis nobili ac civitate libera Nicopolitana* and in the same book explicitly refers to several other Augustan and Caesarian *coloniae* including Buthrotum at 4.1.4, Corinth and Patrae at 4.4, Dyme at 4.5 – all of which are undoubtedly colonies; Tacitus in turn refers to it as *colonia Romana* when discussing events revolving around Poppaeus Sabinus in the reign of Tiberius.
[675] We will only discuss one here, as the others are attributed to Nikopolis on shaky grounds. Ruscu (2006): 251 refers to two manumissions from Thermos (IG IX 1^2 92) which mention *duoviri* as well as the letters CN, which one could interpret as Colonia Nicopolitana/Nicopolis: ἐπὶ δύ' ἀνδρῶν CN(?). However, as many have already commented, CN can allude to a wide range of possibilities, and most likely Colonia Neronia, which has been identified with Patrae, as the CN was also found on its coinage. For the latter argument, see Antonetti (1996): 154-5 who studies the same two manumissions and follows the interpretation of Levy (1989) and Agallopoulou (1989); cf. Rizakis (1996). Also worth considering: if the reading is indeed CN, does this imply a hybrid Greek/Latin inscription?
[676] CIL III 7334 (= AE 1975, 23) with discussion in Ruscu (2006): 248, contra Wolff (1977) 229, n. 84.

community at Ninica Claudiopolis are relevant here, as Claudius is credited with the creation of a *polis* on the site of a Roman colony (hence the name), which is highlighted on the city's coinage and demonstrates the flexibility of a city's status under the empire.[677] Thus, the opposite outcome should not be excluded at Nikopolis, where veterans could have been gathered or chosen to settle within the city in their own small Roman community – similar to what we would see Augustus do in Knossos where it has been agreed that the CINC helped gather Crete's Roman settlers in one 'convenient' location.[678] The degree of flexibility of such definitions and the lack of rigid denominations meant that Nikopolis could simultaneously be multiple things for its Graeco-Roman inhabitants that came from a plethora of backgrounds.[679]

Whatever the case may be, at the end of the day, whether gathered under colonial administration or not, Nikopolis and its surroundings would have hosted a wide range of Romans, which was not an unusual sight given our analysis of the Roman presence in this region well before the Augustan foundation.[680] Moreover, by the reign of Augustus, Epirus and Southern Illyria held several Roman colonies that settled both veterans and civilians, marking an influx in Roman presence in the area, or at least settlement.[681] The epigraphic evidence points towards nearly one third Roman names from Nikopolis itself, although many are still preserved in Greek and/or without the *tria nomina*.[682] Also, as we will see below,

[677] Mitchell (1979): esp. 432-5, but also *passim*.
[678] If we follow Brunt's estimates (1971: 261) for the size of Roman colonies, this was a small contingent of a few thousand inhabitants, as he claims that Augustan colonies did not exceed 2000-3000 inhabitants. Yet, as highlighted, it is difficult to tell if they arrived under Augustus or at a later stage.
[679] Bowden (2007): 205-6 claims this was 'drawn straight from the manual of Hellenistic kingship'.
[680] This would continue into the second century A.D. and beyond, with Ruscu (2006): 253-4 pointing towards the *tribus Sergia* as evidence of veteran settlers in the city, namely from CIL VII 51, CIL VI 375 and CIL III 6144, which indicate Nikopolis as the soldiers' hometown. However, these inscriptions are dated to 71-300, 148 and 151-200 respectively. We can also add the inscription of C. Eppius Ferox, who was part of the Ravenna fleet cited in the undated inscription ILGR 160 and discussed at Wilkes (2018): 173-4.
[681] Hernandez and Hodges (2020): 303; cf. Alcock (1993) and (2002), as well as Spawforth (2012) more broadly on this topic.
[682] Ruscu (2006): 253 citing Samsaris (1994): 65-70 highlights 182 individuals named in 178 inscriptions with a third having 'Roman names'; cf. Sarikakis (1970), Strauch (1996): esp. 45-51. Alternatively, Wilkes (2018): 176-7 provides one of the most recent compilations of Nikopolitan epigraphic evidence, as he counts 183 total

despite the strong Greek appearance and ties, Roman presence is felt throughout the surroundings through aqueducts, baths, centuriation, and others. Thus, whether an Augustan double community or merely a *polis*, Roman presence alone ought not to be counted as a major impact on the local population, which had grown accustomed to it and was able to subtly incorporate it within their daily lives.

That said, some of the arguments that have been proposed *against* the case of a *colonia* at Nikopolis must also be revisited. For instance, Sarikakis suggested that 'a Roman colony had never before been founded through the same process as Nikopolis, meaning through the displacement of populations from the surrounding regions'.[683] Yet, as our analysis of the CINC has shown and will show below, this was precisely how the Cretan colony was established, as the numerous settlers left without homes after the disaster at Delos and 'wandering' around Crete for decades, were then gathered at the CINC. Moreover, Purcell adds an important contribution to this matter, as he highlights that colonisation should not be seen as a 'colonizing effort' (sic), but rather 'as another strategy of status, deployment of favour, or rearrangement of rights and privileges in the geography of Romans overseas'.[684] This implies that the colonisation was not necessarily the end goal, but rather a by-product of other endeavours, which in turn suggests that even if the victory against Antony was won elsewhere other than Actium, a Roman foundation may have nevertheless been placed in Epirus/Akarnania to tackle a number of already discussed issues plaguing both the region and the Romans – a discussion worth returning to in our conclusion. On these issues, Doukellis also proposes a vital follow-up question to the authors of the aforementioned *Nikopolis I* volume. He highlighted the necessity to review what both Tacitus and Pliny meant by *colonia* – i.e. was this a legal denomination such as the idea of a *colonia* defined by Aulus Gellius, or

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inscriptions from Actian Nikopolis, with 120 epitaphs in Greek, four in Latin and four bilingual, highlighting how widespread Greek remained despite the omnipresent Roman influence.

[683] Sarikakis (1970): 96.

[684] Purcell (2011): 96.

could it be some broader, more flexible use of the word.[685] While it may be beyond the scope of this dissertation to answer this question, our analysis of both the CINC and Nikopolis should demonstrate that at least in these two cases, the definition of a foundation or *colonia* must remain flexible, as their development differed based on a plethora of regional and local factors, in spite of the numerous similarities attested. Whatever the case may be, most scholars at the very least will agree that Nikopolis functioned as a *civitas libera*, following in the footsteps of some of its dependencies, most notably Ambrakia and Leukas.[686]

Leaving this aside and turning towards the epigraphic evidence from the city, the scholarly consensus is that Greek dominated in all spheres, which has of course been used against the case of a *colonia*.[687] That said, Latin *gentilicia* are far from absent, with Wilkes providing the most recent compilation (to my knowledge) of the evidence from Nikopolitan epitaphs.[688] In addition to Roman names totalling nearly a third of all names, we find the 'usual suspects' in the city's repertoire, albeit mostly in Greek: Iulii, Antonii, Claudii, Fabii, Pomponii, Ulpii.[689] We must remember, however, that these *nomina* identify citizenship, and as such they could also be 'Greek' individuals, or more likely freedmen as we will show of the Pomponii below. This does not diminish the importance of this evidence, as it demonstrates clear Roman presence, interactions, and most likely the establishment of patronage ties. Secondly, this evidence spans the entirety of Nikopolis' existence and as such,

[685] Doukellis (1990): 400. See Aull. Gell. NA. 16.13.8-9 for the famous description of a *colonia Romana*. This is a topic that has gained some traction recently, with an increase in local case studies, with arguably the most important contribution in recent years being the edited volume of Brélaz (2017), covering 17 case studies.
[686] Most recently Zachos (2018): 721, citing Sarikakis (1970) as the originator of this theory.
[687] See above and chapter 4.
[688] See appendix at Wilkes (2018): 176-80, esp. 187 for Nikopolis, with most evidence coming from Samsaris (1994) and the ILGR.
[689] Some examples include Samsaris 56, 50-54, 64, 90, 113, 124, 140. This compares relatively well with other evidence from more attested sites, such as Buthrotum, Apollonia and Dyrrhachion (more on this below). Moreover, as we will see, some of these names are also attested at other settlements in Nikopolis' surroundings that have not received as much attention in this work, such as Alyzia, Thyrreion, or Stratos. For instance, Antonetti (1996): 152-3 identifies a certain Κό(ϊντος) Φάβιος as one of the last Roman names attested in Akarnania from a fragmentary inscription from Stratos vaguely dated to the imperial period (IG IX,1² 2:413b). This supports Cabanes (1997): 136 and others claiming that Roman presence was mostly felt in coastal sites during the first two centuries A.D., as we will see below.

it is extremely difficult to identify the composition of the Augustan city's population, although it would have at least included 'some' Romans.

Comparative evidence from other nearby Roman settlements at Buthrotum, or the slightly more northern Dyrrhachium, and even Apollonia also sheds light on the impacts of the Roman foundations on the epigraphic habit in this region. In the first place, a significant shift towards Latin inscriptions becomes noticeable around 30 B.C. in both Illyrian cities, but the χαῖρε/χαίρετε epitaphs remain a staple in Greek inscriptions well into the later centuries: a continuous blend of past and present, or perhaps an indication of the new reality.[690] This is also noticeable at Nikopolis, as we should not expect a heavy load of Latin inscriptions in a region with no previous Roman cities.[691] That said, the synoecism does have an epigraphic impact, particularly in being identified as the reason behind the decline in the surviving evidence from Akarnania and Amphilochia; Wilkes highlights 17 different locations yielding inscriptions from the Hellenistic Period with total numbers as high as 127 in Thyrreion (a Nikopolitan dependency), but only a handful recorded from the entirety of the Roman period - none of which were in Latin.[692] This large disparity and especially the omnipresence of Greek has pushed Antonetti to argue that 'Akarnania had a direct dependence upon Nikopolis', which will be further highlighted by the road networks that primarily pass

[690] Wilkes (2004): 386; cf. Ceka (2011): 233-4 highlighting that the χαῖρε/χαίρετε formulae had been in use since at least the third century B.C. and demonstrating that in addition to some epigraphic changes, we also see stylistic changes inspired from Roman/imperial fashion on funerary stele, such as hairstyles, togas, and so forth. Similarly, Antonetti (1996): 150 underscores that this formula was widespread even under the Republic in Akarnania, making their dating very difficult; cf. Kahrstedt (1954): 279-80. Wilkes (2011): 95 also underlines that Dyrrhachium shows signs of an independent or at least separate indigenous community living alongside the *colonia*, as attested by the Greek epitaphs found in the city's northern cemeteries. This is further evidence that our sources did not focus on the practicalities of these *coloniae*, and that it was highly probable that many had two separate communities, as with Nikopolis and even the CINC where we have much better evidence to suggest that the two communities lived separately (see below).

[691] By contrast, certain neighbouring citiesp reserve a wealthier Latin corpus, with Buthrotum as the most obvious due to the influence of Atticus and other wealthy Roman investors in the city.

[692] Wilkes (2018): 173 also highlights that Ambrakia demonstrates a similar pattern, as of the 32 Greek epitaphs surviving from the pre-Roman period, only one had a Roman name (a certain Publius Rubrius Archias at SEG 24 415). On this, see also Antonetti (1996): *passim* but esp. 150-1; cf. Zoumbaki (2011): 534 who makes a similar argument for both Akarnania and Aetolia.

through Nikopolis, leaving the smaller towns on the periphery.[693] This also makes sense when considering that not only do building materials get transferred from neighbouring cities to erect Augustus' city (see below and chapter three), but so does the actual population itself, both elite and otherwise. An inscription found near the Odeon at Nikopolis provides further evidence of this. It relates to a couple that helped finance the construction of the city's gymnasium, which Faklari believes to have occurred in the aftermath of the city's foundation:

Μνασιλαΐδας Ἀρχωνίδα, Πολυκρίτα Εὐξιθέου
ὑπὲρ τὸν υἱὸν Ἀρχωνίδαν
τὸ γυμνάσιον τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τᾶι πόλει[694]

While there is some debate regarding the origins of these two figures (n. 694), a funerary monument found near the gymnasium has been presumed to be that of the mentioned Archonidas, thus highlighting the importance of the local Greek elite, who would dedicate works in their native tongue even during the Augustan building process, suggesting there had been no linguistic or other related impositions upon the early settlers.[695]

Returning to the three other cities, however, the largest corpus of evidence comes from the funerary inscriptions at Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, but also from the manumission acts from Buthrotum that record the liberation of nearly 600 slaves.[696] At Apollonia, we see an important increase in the number of Latin names in the second century A.D., marking a shift from the city's previous aversion to foreigners that we had discussed previously (by

[693] Antonetti (1996): 153. She discusses this in contrast with the other side of the Achelous, in Aetolia, where Latin is predominant in the imperial period, as the Patrae evidence suggests.
[694] SEG 57, 542 with presentation and commentary in Faklari (2007): 563-9. See also Zachos (2016), but especially Zachos (2018): 722-3, with proposition by Kalliontzis and Papathanasiou (2015) that this inscription might belong to Ambrakia, as the building blocks used in the construction would have arrived from this city (see chapter 3). For our purposes, both possibilities highlight the importance of nearby cities in the early days of Nikopolis, in terms of supplying material, funds, and/or inhabitants.
[695] See also Chaniotis et al. (2007) in SEG 57, 542.
[696] On this, see Cabanes (1976): 445-9, (1996): 89, and (2010): 327, Hernandez and Çondi (2008): 281-2, Bowden and Perzhita (2020): 195. Cabanes (2004): 83 highlights that comparatively at Apollonia and Dyrrhachium there are fewer acts of enfranchisement.

contrast in the Hellenistic period we only have two inscriptions with a Latin name).[697] Conversely, Buthrotum to date has been identified as the best connected city with the Roman (and Imperial) elite, perhaps explaining its prominence in the *Aeneid*. In addition to the usual Iulii and Claudii, we also have a considerable number of Pomponii, who were most likely freedmen of Atticus or generally related to him.[698] To this can be added the famous cases of Agrippa, Domitius Ahenobarbus, and even Germanicus.[699] Thus, when considering the evidence seen elsewhere, it appears that each of these cities followed similar patterns based on their populations and relations to Rome. Dyrrhachium (a veteran colony) and Buthrotum had closer ties to Rome, as well as commercial prominence (see below), hence Latin was more widespread, although Greek had hardly disappeared. By contrast, Apollonia and Nikopolis had preserved a heavier Greek 'flavour' to their epigraphic habit, although Latin was not altogether absent. In Nikopolis' case, the most important impact for our purposes, however, must be the shift in the quantities of epigraphic evidence surviving in the city itself vis-à-vis its dependencies that had been the dominant *poleis* of this region for centuries prior.

[697] Cabanes (1996): 92-3 with I.Apollonia. 29, 38, 108-9, 145, 148, 166. By contrast, he counts 40 Roman names in Apollonia in the second century A.D., including the aforementioned popular names also attested at Nikopolis such as Iulii, Claudii, Flavii, etc., even though there is no indication that they were related. Cabanes' totals include 63 people of 979 known names having at least one Latin name in Dyrrhachium and 70 of 566 in Apollonia (see his page 98 for his conclusions, although the numbers will have slightly changed over the years as more archaeological evidence has been published). Wilkes (2018): 174-5 remarks that multiple Roman *gentilicia* exist in Greek inscriptions as well, highlighting a common trend with Nikopolis.

[698] Wilkes (2018): 174 and 177-8 for the names.

[699] On these, see Bowden (2007a), Deniaux (2007), (2011). See especially the works of Deniaux for an analysis of the epigraphic evidence, which showcases the *colonia* offering its most important office to Germanicus (i.e., the quinquennial duumvir). It is unclear whether Germanicus was present for this offer, but we do know that Germanicus was in Nikopolis in A.D. 18 (Tac. Ann. 2.53), which he reached by following the Illyrian coast from Dalmatia. Was a pitstop at Buthrotum on the schedule? See also Low (2016) for Germanicus' 'tour', as she calls it.



Fig. 5.5 Early CINC colonial coinage (RPC I 977)
Obv: C I N CN, bare head of Augustus, r.
Rev: C PETRONIO M ANTONIO(S) IIVIR EX D D, labyrinth

The situation at the CINC mirrors in many ways our discussion above, as we have already alluded to similarities in terms of population settlement and early impacts. A major difference, however, is the presence of the Capuan lands in the Knossian countryside and the supposed early Campanian impacts upon the city and its surroundings. Aside from this, we have established that unlike the confusion at Nikopolis, the CINC can safely be identified as a *colonia*, with its coinage preserving evidence of numerous *duoviri* (fig. 5.5) from the Augustan period alone, and even a *praefectus* (M. Aemilius).[700] In addition to this, aediles, augurs, and a priest of the imperial cult have all been identified to various degrees, thus highlighting standard offices expected from a Roman colony and province, with none more prominent than M. Sonteius Casina.[701] We can thus highlight that from a basic observational point, the first impact of this foundation was the establishment of new local offices that 'competed' with the city's previous organisation and/or Greek elite, justifying Strabo's

[700] RPC I 977-84. See also introduction in Sweetman (2007). Furthermore, while the *lex coloniae* has not survived, there is nevertheless a small provision that has survived at IC I. 8.51: *dedit. in hoc muner[e] (denarii) D sunt, quos e lege Coloniae pro ludis dare debuit*. For a brief discussion of this provision, see Paton (2001): 452. In total, 27 individuals with Roman names have survived on coinage between the reigns of Augustus and Nero.

[701] M. Sonteius Casina (IC IV 295) held most of these positions, and even that of duumvir *coloniae Cnosiae* (l. 3-4). On this, see Harrison (1993): 56, Tzamtzis (2020): 257. The location of the imperial cult at Knossos, however, has yet to be identified archaeologically, as Paton (1994): 146-7 points out in her discussion of IC I. 8.54, which potentially refers to an individual who was jointly *flamen* of Vespasian and *patronus coloniae*. On this heavily fragmentary inscription, cf. Millar (1965): 141, Nicols (1990): 93, Rouanet-Liesenfelt (1994): 19, Tzamtzis (2020): 257.

laments: οὐ πολλὰ δὲ διαμένει τούτων τῶν νομίμων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων διατάγμασι τὰ πλεῖστα διοικεῖται, καθάπερ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις συμβαίνει.[702]

However, a closer look at some of these figures paints a rich picture of the CINC's early days that is quite different from what we saw at Nikopolis. The most fascinating pair of *duoviri* is undoubtedly Aeschinus Caesaris libertus and Plotius Plebeius.[703] The former is a freedman of (presumably) Julius Caesar and has been at the heart of arguments in favour of a Caesarian date for this foundation, as only Caesarian colonies had previously been known to allow freedmen to become duumvirs, unlike their Augustan counterparts.[704] Plotius Plebeius on the other hand would become a prominent member of the local aristocracy, as his descendants continue to be mentioned in local affairs. His namesake is attested taking up a boundary dispute to Domitian in A.D. 84.[705]

This, among other reasons, has led some to believe that Plotius was an indispensable figure in Augustus' early territorial reshuffling. This suggests that his freedman colleague was also instrumental, as perhaps he may have had extensive prior knowledge of Knossos if he was indeed freed by Caesar in the years preceding the foundation of the CINC. More importantly, alongside these figures, M. Nonius Balbus has been identified as arguably the most influential in the city's territorial reorganisation under Augustus.[706] As such, it is essential to also study his role in the context of an alleged increased Campanian 'presence' and influence on the island. Unfortunately, we do not know the extent of his role in Crete

[702] Strab. 10.4.22.
[703] RPC I 978 = Svoronos (1890): 190-1.
[704] On this suggestion, see Baldwin Bowsky (2002): 77-8, following Brunt (1971): 265, 599, and Spawforth (1996): 169 who cites Treggiari (1969): 62 for discussion on this privilege being revoked from freedmen by Augustus. However, Aeschinus' appearance comes on Augustan coinage, marking his office clearly under the reign of the first emperor.
[705] For the boundary dispute, see AE 1969/70 635 (= ILGR 3). On this, see Rigsby (1976): 324-6 who discusses the details of the dispute between Capua and Plotius Plebeius, as they fought over the same land. Rigsby even highlights IC I. 8.17, which mentions a certain Plotius Corinthus, whom the author claims would have been a freedman of the Plotii, further highlighting their wealth and local prominence. See also Baldwin Bowsky (1987): 227-8, (2004a): 116, and Kelly (2013): 144-5, on this descendant and on the boundary dispute that demarcated the Capuan lands from the *colonia*.
[706] On this proposition, see Baldwin Bowsky (2002): 38-9, and discussion in chapter 2 on Augustus continuing the works of his predecessors in reorganising and reshaping the Cretan and especially Knossian landscape.

aside from five honorary inscriptions set up for him both by the *commune Cretensium* and potentially even specifically by the CINC in Herculaneum sometime between 20 B.C. and A.D. 10.[707] The *commune Cretensium* is an interesting denomination, as we highlighted in our Kydas discussion that the Cretan *koinon* may have been subjected to changes in denomination, but Balbus' actions in Crete were seemingly so appreciated by the Cretans that they chose this common denomination to thank him.[708] Moreover, the specific allusion to the CINC (if the reconstruction is correct) at *CIL X 1433* signifies that his actions had affected the new Augustan settlement, placing him as the successor of Metellus, Antony, and other prominent Romans that settled Knossian affairs:

M(arco) Nonio M(arci) [f(ilio)] / Balbo pr(aetori) proc[o(n)s(uli)] / [coloni]a Iulia C[nosus.

As he would have been personally chosen by Augustus, it meant he was entrusted with undoing Antony's actions and promoting Augustus as the new benefactor of the island in the early 20s B.C.[709]

M. Nonius Balbus' role in Cretan affairs was felt for decades, if not centuries, with Baldwin Bowsky suggesting he was tasked with establishing the boundary between the Capuan lands and the CINC (n. 705-6), but also through ties of patronage and acts of enfranchisement, which impacted the local elite – similar to Atticus in Buthrotum. Specifically, Nonia Ancharia and Nonia Ioulla have been identified as potential recipients of

[707] The inscriptions in question are CIL X 1430-4 with 1433 being perhaps the most important for our purposes if the reconstruction is correct: M(arco) Nonio M(arci) [f(ilio)] / Balbo pr(aetori) proc[o(n)s(uli)] / [coloni]a Iulia C[nosus. For some discussions on his early role in Crete and on these inscriptions as one whole, see Harrison (1993), Baldwin Bowsky (2002), (2011), Pagano (2004), Lefebvre (2013), Tzamtzis (2013), (2020).
[708] For changes in denomination in the Cretan *koinon*, from *koinon of the Cretans* to *koinon of Crete* after Augustus, see Rouaenet-Liesenfelt (1994): 11-7 and Tzamtzis (2020): 260-1.
[709] CIL X 1433-4, with Baldwin Bowsky (2011): 122 and Lefebvre (2013): 249-50, 264-5. Lefebvre marks Balbus' proconsulship in Crete to ca. 28 B.C., contra Baldwin (1983): 83-8 who had placed it in 25 B.C., which was followed by Rouanet-Liesenfelt (1994): 10. Baldwin Bowsky (1987): 223-5 also believed that Balbus' intervention must have been hugely influential, for both the *colonia* and the Capuan lands, as he may have settled the boundary between the two.

Roman citizenship from Balbus.[710] In addition to this, Campanian, and in general Roman, ties from the Knossian onomastic repertoire are numerous, as shown by Baldwin Bowsky's extensive onomastic studies, but this goes beyond the purposes of our present section.[711] There are, as in northwest Greece, the 'usual suspects' that we alluded to, with Antonii, Varii, Iulii, and Claudii all attested in various capacities throughout the biggest Cretan cities, including Knossos.[712] However, as stated above, we must be cautious of using these names as evidence of 'Roman' presence, as many could have been freedmen, or locals who received citizenship. Nevertheless, there are some probable exceptions, such as for example M. Antonius identified as one of the colony's first duumvirs.[713] Taking a step back from more specific figures and looking at the general epigraphic picture, it is evident that Latin coexisted alongside Greek in the early days of the colony, with the coinage using Latin, whereas Greek private dedications and inscriptions continued as previously.[714] Furthermore, as with Nikopolis absorbing the bulk of the regional epigraphic evidence, Chaniotis in his aptly titled article 'What difference does Rome make?' has shown that a major outcome of the Roman

[710] See IC I 8.21 and IC I. 5. 8 respectively. For the arguments, see Harrison (1993): 88-9, Paluchowski (2003): 61, Lefebvre (2013): 263-4; cf. Baldwin Bowksy (1987): 220 highlighting the rarity of Cretan names bearing the name of a proconsul in the Julio-Claudian period. She points towards two Suelii and a Vibia as the only other examples at IC I. 18.149 and IC. IV. 456.

[711] Baldwin Bowsky (2004a): 109-10 highlights the Cluvii who are present in Cretan epigraphy, but have also been attested to have settled at Neapolis and Puteoli; cf. Frederiksen (1959) and Cébeillac-Gervasoni: (1998). See also Baldwin Bowsky (1999): 306 identifying numerous Cretans sharing names with Roman envoys present on the island between 189 and 67 B.C. Alternatively, Harrison (1993): 55 warns that the evidence remains inconclusive regarding the extent of Campania's influence in Knossian epigraphy and numismatics, with the most obvious example being IC. I. 8.22: [Λ]ουκίου Καμπανίου [Σ]υμφόρου Εὐκάρπου; cf. Tzamtzis (2020): 253-4 who emulates this by arguing that there is no evidence of an en-masse arrival of Campanians related to the grant of Capuan lands. The one undeniable influence of the Capuan lands is the presence of the *arcarius Cretae* in Capua attested in an inscription of the first half of the second century A.D. (CIL X 3938 = ILS 6317), but little is known about this office, aside that it would have been designated to collect the revenue from the Knossians who paid the *vectigal* to cultivate the Capuan lands. On this interpretation, see Tzamtzis (2020): 253-4, as well as earlier thoughts by Baldwin Bowsky (1987): 223-4, Pagano (2004): 29, and Baldwin Bowsky (2002): 81 following Izzo (1993): 273.

[712] See Baldwin Bowsky (1995): 278 for additions to this corpus. To expand upon at least one, the Antonii are unsurprisingly present in the colony's early days given our discussion of Antony's role on the island during the civil wars. They appear on coinage (RPC 977) as a duumvir, in an inscription from Gortyn, and once again as duumvir (published in Baldwin Bowsky 2001); as onomastic studies have shown, the Gens Antonia is by far the most attested in Crete, but a word of caution is necessary because they do not automatically presuppose association or affinity with the Triumvir.

[713] RPC I 977 with M. ANTONIO(S) on the reverse.

[714] Baldwin Bowsky (2004a): *passim* makes a strong case for a categorical division between the use of Latin in public matters, such as coinage and honorary inscriptions, and Greek predominating in the private sphere, such as the dedications of Nonia Ancharia (see above).

conquest has been the concentration of the epigraphic evidence in three cities: Gortyn, Knossos and Lyttos.[715] Thus, as far as Knossos is concerned, while Latin was inevitably introduced, we do once again see a high degree of leniency for previous practices and the use of Greek. In fact, Tzamtzis has argued that throughout Crete it was common to engrave legislative texts on the walls of temples or public buildings, which also continued under the Romans as part of their tolerant approach.[716] That said, while cohabitation may have existed, we have already alluded to a certain division between the Greek city and Roman colony, as Sweetman has highlighted that archaeological evidence has shown a heavy concentration of Roman tombs in the north of the city, with inscriptions showing that these were dedicated to/by Latin speakers.[717]

All in all, the evidence does point towards an initial prominence of Latin inscriptions with a later decline in the second century A.D., but this latter date goes beyond the scope of our dissertation. That said, many changes that came with the foundation of the CINC can be traced to decisions and events that took place decades prior. While a colony may have gathered many of these inhabitants in one location, it did not highlight the end of local customs and traditions. There were of course some minor changes, with the biggest perhaps coming in the form of increased honorary personal/private inscriptions, as Chaniotis has rightly observed that the abolition of the syssitia and other common Cretan practices meant that individuals were now allowed to promote their deeds and benefactions within the island itself, whereas previously these were only found outside of it.[718] Most strikingly, and related

[715] Chaniotis (2008): 84 claims that the evidence was more evenly distributed among 50-60 *poleis* in the Hellenistic period, of which only 15-16 had survived in the Roman period. The arrival of refugees in the aftermath of Delos (see chapter 2) also contributed to this important shift, as seen in Baldwin Bowsky (1994), (1999), (2001 a and b), (2002) and 2004.
[716] Tzamtzis (2020): 255-6, with Youni (2011): 19-20, 49-92 for this practice outside of Gortyn.
[717] Sweetman (2010): 355-6. See also Rigsby (1976): *passim* on attempts to locate the early Roman colony and on the boundary disputes discussed above.
[718] On this, see Chaniotis (2004): *passim*, but esp. 81-7; cf. Guizzi (1999): 236-40. We can also associate some of these minor onomastic changes to the increasing Roman population, which in turn led to intermingling, mixed names, and so forth. On this, see Baldwin Bowsky (1995): 45-50 for a list of novelties in Cretan onomastics from the Roman period, as she highlights 'a mix of Cretan and Roman identity', as the assimilation

to our analysis below, there was a notorious absence of typical Cretan names associated to economic endeavours, as they are largely absent from wine amphorae.[719] Whatever the reason for this might be, as we will see below, our sources have not highlighted this as an anomaly, in the sense that they attributed Cretan wine and other local products to the Cretans and not to Roman settlers, or businessmen. This is perhaps indicative that by the time authors promoted (or complained about) *passum*, Cretans and Romans on the island were seen as one and the same, which speaks to the extent and speed of Cretan integration within the Roman Empire. This can no doubt be attributed to the pre-existing high degree of Roman engagement within this area set out in previous chapters.

Thus, turning towards viticulture, it must be said that the economic impact of the Roman conquest and of the CINC is arguably one of the most studied topics in Roman Crete to this day. That said, it will be difficult to do justice to such an extensive topic in such a short span, and our analysis will focus solely on a (very) brief overview of three categories that most heavily affected the Cretan economy due to the island's integration within the Roman Empire's wider networks in the early Imperial period: viticulture, apiculture, and medicinal products.

As we have seen in chapter one, both wine and honey had been staples of Cretan production and even religious traditions since Minoan times, and were thus hardly a novelty of the Roman period. That said, before the Roman period, Cretan wine is rarely attested outside the island, with viticulture seemingly designed to support local needs rather than promote a global product.[720] By the Imperial period, however, Cretan wine was exported to

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went both ways, with Greek names also being used as Roman cognomina, as seen above. Chaniotis promotes a similar view for economic endeavours as he argues (Hadjisavvas and Chaniotis (2012): 168-9) that the abolition of the syssitia led the Cretans to concentrate their wine production for other endeavours and profit.

[719] Chaniotis (2008): 85-6 highlights this point via the archaeological evidence in Marangou-Lerat (1995): 152-4; cf. Chaniotis (2005).

[720] See Marangou-Lerat (1995): 89-91 on the issues of Archaic through Hellenistic sources, as well as Marangou (1999). She highlights that no ancient authors talk about Cretan wine until the middle of the second century B.C., aside from a problematic reference in the Hippocratic Corpus, *de Victu Acutorum* 37.2. Coldstream, Eiring and Forster (2001): 123-4 do highlight, however, that 3rd and 2nd century B.C. wine amphorae from Hierapytna have

the far corners of the Mediterranean and beyond, with evidence attested in Rome, Africa, Asia Minor, and even Britain (fig. 5.6).[721]

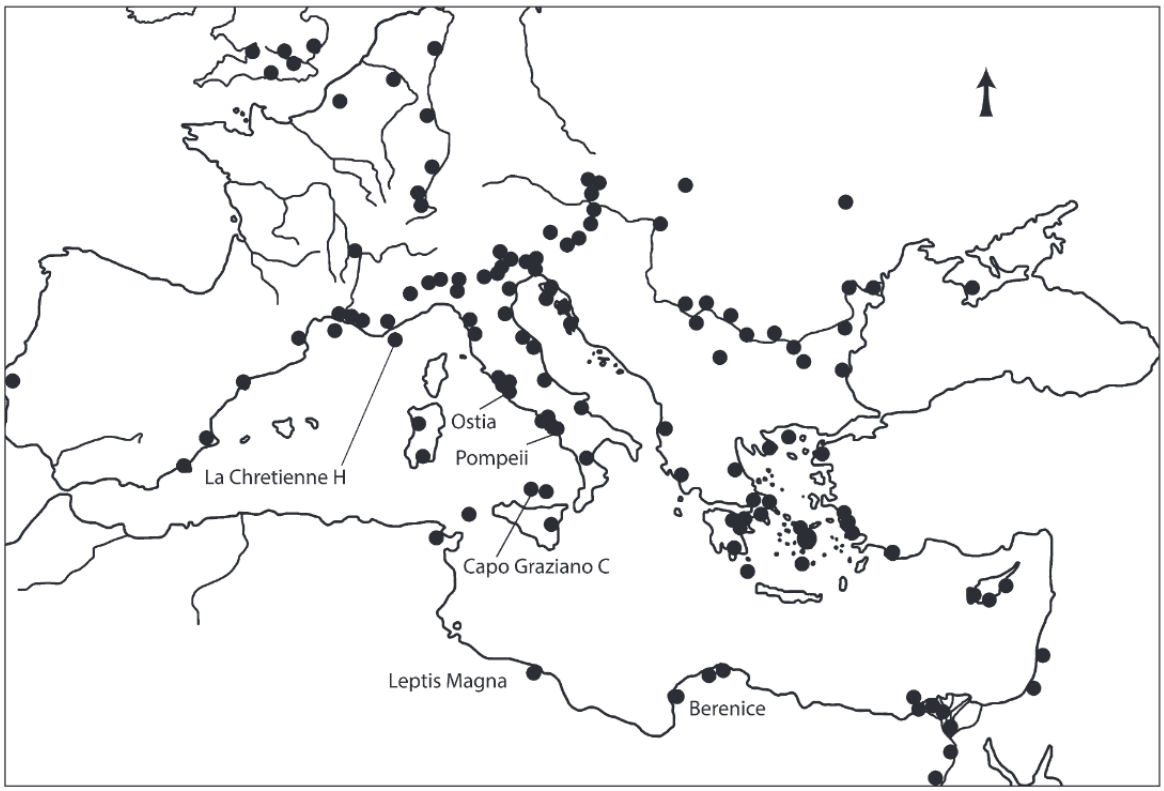


Fig. 5.6 Map of distribution of Cretan amphorae in the Roman Empire in the first two centuries A.D. (Gallimore 2019, 602).

As far as Knossos was concerned, while it may not have been the most important producer, the number of examples of Cretan wine imports to Capua and Southern Italy does suggest that Knossos via its Capuan ties may have played a role in the promotion of exports

been found in Alexandria, suggesting that these were part of the exports associated with Cretan mercenaries (cf. Marangou-Lerat 1995: 123-4), comparable to the Hadra Vases previously discussed. That said, Chaniotis, (1999), (2004) and esp. in Hadjisavvas and Chaniotis (2012): 168 is categoric in revisiting the evidence to demonstrate that no significant exports were undertaken during this period, as he argues against the idea of 'market-oriented wine production' prior to the Roman period; cf. Chaniotis (2008): 85-6.

[721] Harrison (1993): 66; cf. Chaniotis (2004): 85, (2008): 89-91, Gallimore (2016): 38, and esp. Marangou (1999): 271 with see her fig. 4 at 277 for a list of cities and regions where Cretan wine amphorae have been found, such as Cyprus, Athens, the northern Adriatic, Lyons, Vindonissa, Carthage, Leptis Magna, Cyrenaica, and of course Southern Italy. For the evidence from Britain, see Gallimore (2016): 45, (2019): 610 and esp. Williams (2003): *passim*. An AC4 (Cretan) amphora found around London has also yielded a titulus pictus with the inscription SORVI SEC, alluding to dried sorb apples, possibly from Crete.

and of the Cretan wine market.[722] From the city more specifically, we have literary and archaeological evidence of the sweet dessert wine *passum* or glukus, but most references allude to 'Cretan wine' more broadly, without local provenance.[723] However, its reviews are mixed, although praises are noted. Aelian includes it as one of the best available wines, while Martial references a Knossian vineyard producing this honey-wine, though he claims it is of lesser quality than the Attic one; likewise, Pliny and Juvenal praise *passum* from Crete more broadly and suggest it was a common export.[724]

Moreover, Cretan wine and grapes were especially versatile as they fulfilled several roles beyond the average drinking. Pliny claims this wine could be used in a cough syrup, while Athenaeus tells us of a dessert, glykias, and of the water-diluted wine served at the syssitia.[725] All in all, regardless of its local provenance, the fact that the Romans did not seem to distinguish the local production centres and instead endorsed 'Cretan wine' does provide encouraging news for Crete's reputation under the empire: a far cry from its days of mercenaries, lies and piracy (although some of these tropes also survived, as we have seen). The various uses of Cretan wine have even been identified by Gallimore as integral to Cretan identity.[726] Regardless of how far we choose to push this association, we must highlight the

[722] For wine attested to be destined for Capua, see CIL IV 5526, as well as amphorae of *passum* with the mark Kap (CIL IV 6299), or Kontanites and Kanteneites (CIL IV 6448, 6449), which refers to Campania, as per Harrison (1993): 67; cf. Pagano (2004): 29, Chaniotis (2004): 85. We also have evidence of individuals associated with this trade, such as SEG XLV 1244. Other destinations include Puteoli, Naples and Herculaneum. In addition, we know that Cretan wine was highly praised in antiquity, including from an inscription (CIL IV 5526) stamped: [vinum] Cre[ticum] exc[ellens] – although as with modern advertisements, we cannot be certain of how accurate this claim was. As far as Knossian wine is concerned, although the largest body of evidence comes from Lyttos, it is possible that Herakleion may have served as a production area, as per Marangou (1999): 273-4. Sweetman (2010): 357 highlights a wine press excavated in the Knossos Survey project, but she argues that this most likely represented a local business, rather than a sign of large-scale production – see n. 340 for bibliography; cf. Chaniotis and Rethemiotakis (1992): 27 for massive production at Lyttos.

[723] In total, Marangou-Lerat (1995): 9-27 preserves 66 references to Cretan wine; cf. Gallimore (2017): 146.

[724] Ael. VH. 12.31, Mart. 13.106-108, Plin. NH. 14.11.81 (cf. 20.79.208), Juv. 14.270-1. Whatever the case may be, as Gallimore (2016): 39 points out, Rizzo's study (2003: 204-5) has estimated that by the Antonine period, nearly 20% of wine consumed in Rome was Cretan (based on number of litres from evidence at Ostia) – although the number was much smaller at the end of the Julio-Claudian and Flavian times (ca. 4 and 10 percent respectively). While the figure may understandably be controversial, it at least reveals a high concentration and gradual influx of Cretan wine at 'Rome', if nothing else; cf. Gallimore (2017): 142-3.

[725] Plin. NH. 20.79.208; Athen. 14. 645d, 4.143c-d.

[726] Gallimore (2016): 36-7. He highlights that wine production was the sole cash crop that was focused upon by ancient sources, whereas olive oil did not have a single such reference. Honey would be an exception to this (see

island's increased production as a major impact of the Augustan period. The degree to which the CINC itself or the Capuan lands are responsible for this remains debatable, but the Capuan connection and ties of patronage born out of it could only have benefitted its spread, as we see a clear sign of the effects of 'globalisation' within an ancient context.

A similar case can be made about an increase in the production of honey and its by-products across the island. As with wine, we have evidence of the importance of honey and its local production since the Minoan period, but it is only under Augustus that honey and wax production truly took off.[727] We have seen myths include references to honey, such as Zeus who was fed milk and honey on Mount Ida, and Glaukos who drowned in a vat of honey; meanwhile, Linear B tablets mention beekeepers, a profession that was continuously attested on the island into the periods of Venetian and Turkish occupation.[728] Furthermore, according to a story preserved in Diodorus Siculus, the Cretans were the first to discover how to make honey, while Columella adds the possibility that bees may have originated from Crete.[729] Imperial sources also reveal more contemporary mentions of bees in Crete, such as Plutarch's *Moralia* and Aelian's *De natura animalium*. In the latter, Aelian cites Antenor's lost history of Crete and his claims of a certain type of bees that existed on Mount Ida.[730] More importantly, Pliny includes Crete in the list of regions where honey is found in abundance, alongside Cyprus and Africa.[731] These references suggest that, consciously or not,

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below), as would other smaller allusions, such as quinces at Plin. NH. 13.24 and Mart. Ep. 10.42 – perhaps unsurprising considering Kydonia is named after this fruit.

[727] There is some debate over this, as Francis (2016b): 97, contra Chaniotis (1999) and (2008), believes that there were at least some exports prior to the Roman Imperial period, citing the evidence from Eleutherna and Knossos showing that ceramic beehives were used at least in the 2nd century B.C., as well as a Ptolemaic papyrus mentioning Cretan honey, supposedly imported for medical purposes; cf. Hanson (1972): 164-5 and Peña (2007): 105.

[728] Call. Hym. 1.42-54, Hyg. Fab. 136. To this could be added the story of Icarus using beeswax to glue his wings. For arguments in favour of production as early as the Minoan period, see Rackham and Moody (1996): 86-7, Chaniotis (1999): 209, Harissis and Harissis (2009): *passim*, Francis (2016b): 85-6.

[729] Diod. Sic. 5.65.2; Col. 9.2.4.

[730] Plut. Mor. 967, Ael. NA. 17.35.

[731] Plin. NH. 11.14.33

honey was a staple of Cretan identity and of regional production from an early period, much like the island's wine.

Unfortunately for our purposes, little can be said with certainty about beekeeping at Knossos. There are some preserved ceramic beehives, but the majority of the evidence comes from Central and Western Crete, as it is unclear whether Knossos was a major producer; nevertheless, as with the wine, this product would have circulated through its port and into the major trading routes.[732] The earliest securely dated evidence of ceramic beehives from Knossos comes from a late second century B.C. collection of pottery that was found near a kiln.[733] However, Francis has shown that the bulk of the material is dated to the Roman and later periods, with Knossos, Gortyn and Eleutherna providing evidence for constant beekeeping in Central Crete, though at a much smaller scale than in the areas of the Akrotiri peninsula and Sphakia.[734]

Honey and beeswax also had multiple utilities, especially in the medical field. According to Pliny, Crete excelled in this field, as there was a place on the unidentified mount 'Carina' where honey was pure and ideal for medicinal purposes, while Celsus provides a cure for joint pain involving Cretan wax among other ingredients, and an inscription from the Asklepieion at Lebena cites Cretan honey in the context of a cure.[735] All in all, honey and beeswax, may very well have been but one of many medicinal products that could be acquired from Crete, though perhaps on a greater scale than elsewhere.[736] Our analysis of the *Aeneid* above also points towards an early recognition of the island as a location associated with cures.

[732] Francis (2016b): 83-4; cf. Chaniotis (1999): 210. See also Baldwin Bowsky (2011a), (2014) and (2016) for possibility that Knossos, via its port at Herakleion, acted as a redistributor of goods for the rest of the island.
[733] Francis (2016b): 86-7 on issues of dating; cf. Homann-Wedeking (1950): 165-92.
[734] Francis (2016b): 90; for evidence of beekeeping from the Knossos Survey project, see Sweetman (2010): 357.
[735] Plin. NH. 21.46.79, Cels. 5.18.31, IC I.17.17; cf. Girone (2004): 119 and Melfi (2009) on the Asklepieion.
[736]See aforementioned compilation in Chaniotis (1999).

When combining this with the evidence for medicinal plants discussed in the context of the *Aeneid*, it is clear that Crete, and thus by extent Knossos, experienced a shift in identity (as perceived from the outside) very early in Augustus' reign. While in the Hellenistic Period, their sought after commodities came in the form of mercenaries, the abolition of the syssitia and of other Cretan 'common' practices paired with the opportunities arising from the integration within the vast networks of the Roman Empire meant that new opportunities arose.[737] While the evidence from Knossos pales in comparison to other cities, there is nevertheless sufficient material to suggest at the very least local self-sufficiency, with the primary changes in the landscape coming in the form of the Capuan lands and *colonia*, both of which significantly reduced Knossos' prosperous lands. We have already discussed in chapter two that the arrival of the colony did not impact the entire city, as Paton, Sweetman and others have shown minimal impacts in the western end of the city, or for example in the excavation of the Unexplored Mansion, or Sanctuary of Demeter.[738] In the northern end, however, we can identify a multitude of Roman burials (a clear change post-CINC foundation), but we can also add statues of Pan and a dedication to Apollo Lykeios in the north valley, which Sweetman believes to be a sign of the presence of Roman shrines in the area.[739] The Roman burials are particularly noteworthy, as they not only avoid Minoan tombs (perhaps out of respect for their ancestry), but they appear to occupy spaces never before used.[740] Despite this, there is evidence of tomb pillaging from the early Imperial period,

[737] Chaniotis (1999): 210-11 adds that the Roman conquest also put an end to the intra-insular squabbles between the major *poleis*, which allowed the bigger cities to shift focus on non-military endeavours; cf. Harrison (1993): esp. 40-120 and Baldwin Bowsky (1995).
[738] See discussion with bibliography in chapter 2.
[739] Sweetman (2010): 348; cf. Perlman (1994): 125. We can add the evidence from Herakleion that shows an amphora production facility dated from the 1st century A.D. to mid 2nd century A.D. – see Baldwin Bowsky (2011): 126.
[740] For the archaeological evidence, see Caitling (1979): 61, Grigoropoulos (2004): 64-5; cf. Harrison (1993): 1-2 for the Romans avoiding Minoan sites.

which is in line with evidence attested in other colonies, including Corinth.[741] Lastly, there is also a slight expansion to be noticed outside of the city's former limits during the early Imperial period, with suburban homes and villas identified, which is a phenomenon observable elsewhere as well, including in our Epirote case study below.[742]

That said, there is limited evidence for the impact of the roads and road networks for which the Romans were so famous. The Peutinger Table does show that all roads led to Gortyn, as Chevrollier has commented, which speaks to the city's prominence in Late Antiquity as a result of its role as capital of the province.[743] However, the general state of continuation between Minoan times and later antiquity makes it difficult to identify whether a road leading towards Knossos was related to the Minoan or Roman city.[744] Thus, our analysis to this stage points towards an agreement with previous conclusions that while economically the Roman period marked one of the most significant changes in Cretan history, there is also a remarkable degree of continuity fitting the theme prevalent in this chapter.[745] Baldwin Bowsky's conclusion on this topic provides one of the most accurate images of Knossos under the Roman period and ought to be quoted in full:

> 'over the long term, Knossos experienced not so much Romanization as normalization, a return to the status quo ante after a century of

[741] Coldstream and Caitling (1996); cf. Grigoropoulos (2004): 66-7 with 54 early Greek tombs showing signs of plunder, 16 of which they date to the Roman period. The author uses Strab. 8.6.23 for evidence of tomb pillaging by the early colonists of Corinth.
[742] On this, see Raab (2001): 3-4. Similarly, the author (pp. 27-8) points towards the incorporation of smaller settlements (i.e. Lykastos, Eltynaia) into Knossos' territory, a phenomenon that was common throughout the island. This is reminiscent of our northwest Greece analysis, where Nikopolis engulfed its neighbouring cities, with only a few surviving (on a much smaller scale). There is, however, some debate regarding the evidence surrounding these 'villas', as Kelly (2013): 144 rightfully points out in her argument contra Baldwin Bowsky (2002) that 'luxury villas have yet to be secured architecturally as penumbra sites around Knossos.'
[743] Chevrollier (2016): 16.
[744] On this issue, see Rackham and Moody (1996): 155, with lament about the poor state of our knowledge of Greek and Roman roads. The Romans themselves recognised and respected the antiquity and ancestry of Knossos' past, speaking perhaps to the great survival of the Minoan remains; on this, see Harrison (1993): 1-2.
[745] Sweetman (2007) and (2011) and others (see chapter 2 for discussion) have shown that change in Knossos was slower than elsewhere in Crete, most notably Gortyn. While Sweetman sees this as a normal outcome from the perspective of globalisation, as different cities progress and adapt at different rates, many of the observable changes at Knossos come from outside our period of study, particularly in the second century A.D., where we see a high degree of luxury imports (especially marbles), architectural and stylistic expansion, and aggrandisement via baths or mosaics. For the latter two, see Kelly (2013), and Sweetman (2001, 2003, 2004 and esp. 2013) respectively.

> development by fits and starts. Knossos was both a simulacrum Romae in its houses as well as cemeteries and public spaces and also an Aegean city in its taste for regionally-produced fine wares and preference for the Greek language.'[746]

One final aspect that we have yet to discuss in relation to a direct impact on Knossos' landscape is the evidence, or lack thereof, of centuriation that is otherwise a staple of Roman *coloniae*. Here, we witness a direct contrast with northwest Greece, as we have evidence of centuriation where we do not expect it (i.e. in a non-colonial environment), and vice versa (i.e. absent in the colony) – perhaps further evidence of the need to reconsider the definition and flexibility of Roman *coloniae* and foundations at the time of Augustus. At Knossos, or anywhere else in Crete for that matter, there is no significant evidence for this, which might be a testament to the high quality of lands available on the island.[747] Although there is some debate as to whether or not the Capuan lands exhibit signs of centuriation, the lack of concrete evidence (as seen in Nikopolis for instance) is telling of the small degree of impact on the landscape, which is not to say that the Capuan lands had no impact on the inhabitants themselves.[748] We must nevertheless acknowledge that boundaries were established between the CINC and the Capuan lands, which significantly impacted the landscape – as attested by the boundary dispute of Plotius Plebeius briefly discussed above (n. 705).

Conversely, Nikopolis, while not a Roman *colonia* per se, has yielded clear signs of centuriation, as have nearby settlements and other Epirote Roman colonies, such as Buthrotum. South of Nikopolis' walls, we can observe a clear grid in the countryside, with the Ayios Thomas peninsula identified as most affected by this new organisation, whereas old settlements such as Ambrakia also show signs of centuriation being imposed.[749] This falls

[746] Baldwin Bowsky (2011): 129.
[747] This was proposed by Harrison (1993): 63-4; cf. Dyson (1978): 258-9.
[748] On the debate and lack of agreement, see Baldwin Bowksy (2011): 81-3, cf. Alcock (1993): 114-8. See also Kelly (2013): 144 for aerial photography, and citing personal observations by Doukellis' report on land divisions in Knossos; cf. Baldwin Bowsky (2002): 81.
[749] Doukellis (1988): *passim*, Doukellis and Fouache (1992), Stein (2001): 65, Ruscu (2006): 250. For Ambrakia, see Karatzeni (1999): 244-5 who believes this would have occurred after the foundation of Nikopolis. See also

in line with Purcell's and Rizakis' observations that it was common practice for smaller settlements to be reorganised and/or restructured in light of a colonial foundation, or in this case the foundation of a victory city that clearly came with the same effects as a *colonia*.[750]

Nikopolis' impact on its landscape has already been alluded to on numerous occasions, although not explicitly. It goes without saying that a new city that engulfed its surrounding region's inhabitants and territories under its 'protectorate' had an unparalleled impact, from deep human trauma, to an absorption of smaller settlements, to a shift in the balance of power and interactions in its surroundings. As discussed above, there was a shift by the Roman period in preference for coastal sites over the Epirote interior, as many scholars have highlighted.[751] More importantly for our purposes, these coastal sites all have either strong connections to the Romans, or were themselves Caesarian and Augustan foundations/refoundations, marking a new strong network of connectivity dictated by Roman settlement patterns.[752] The Cretan parallel to this is arguably the Roman intervention in each of the city's major cities: establishing a capital at Gortyn, a *colonia* at Knossos, free cities at Augustan-friendly Kydonia and Lappa, and so forth.

Rizakis (1997): 27 who dates the Nikopolis centuriation to the same time as that of Patrae. For Buthrotum, see Bowden (2007): 203.

[750] Rizakis (1997): 33, Purcell (2011): 96.

[751] Purcell (1987) underlines that the network went from Dyrrhachium as far south as Corinth (see fig. 5.8 for a reconstruction); cf. Stein (2001): 72 and Hernandez and Hodges (2020): 305 who highlight the finds of the Nikopolis Project that reveal a lack of inhabitation of the highland areas in Roman times, with settlements appearing instead on coastal and lowland areas (particularly at Arta and Acheron, but also across multiple river basins), leading to a departure from the Epirote emphasis on tribal systems and pastoralism. On this, see esp. Karatzeni (2001). Meanwhile, Ernst (1987): 95 proposes that the original inhabitants of Nikopolis might have stayed in the bordering fortresses until their new settlements were established, yet the evidence for this is difficult to reconstruct. Whatever the case may be, there is an observable distancing from hilltop fortifications that was so prevalent in the Hellenistic period in areas such as Kassopaea and Thesprotia as we discussed in section one in the context of Pyrrhus' settlements. For these, see also Rizakis (1997): 15.

[752] See especially Rizakis (1997): 15-6 on his analysis of how Caesarian and Augustan foundations fundamentally reshaped and broke down any potential discontent in this region.



Fig. 5.7 Hammond's mapping of the two major roads referenced here (Hammond 1967)

The major road networks of northwest Greece (fig. 5.7) strongly support this analysis and have understandably been used to highlight this shift. Two of the major north-south roads crossing across Epirus both pass through Nikopolis and connect some of the major Roman hubs: Dyrrhachium, Apollonia, Phoinikè, Buthrotum and Nikopolis as a coastal route, as well as Apollonia, Amantia, Dodona and Nikopolis as an inland route.[753] Nikopolis' own territory was heavily connected to smaller road networks inherited by engulfing so many territories, thus uniting former Akarnania, Amphilochia, and portions of Epirus that had fallen under its constituency.[754] It is also extremely likely that there would have been a well-travelled road

[753] Angeli and Katsadima (2001): 91, Flamig (2007): 327; cf. Pikoulas (2007): 213-8 for attempted reconstructions of the Roman road network. See also Purcell (1987): 72-3 for the importance of the coast and the interconnected harbours. For an earlier reconstruction, relying on the Peutinger table and archaeological observations, see Hammond (1967): 690-700, Dakaris (1971): 98-9. Flamig also highlights that Strabo's itinerary of the Nikopolitan dependencies at 10.2.2 is indicative of a road connecting Stratos, Alyzia and Anaktorion: κεῖται δ' ὁ Στράτος κατὰ μέσην τὴν ἐξ Ἀλυζίας ὁδὸν εἰς Ἀνακτόριον. It has already been discussed that the coastal road would go as far as Corinth, which was of course the founder of many of Nikopolis' dependencies, as well as Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, marking a restoration of ancestral ties whether consciously or not.

[754] For one such road, see Strab. 10.2.2. In addition, we have discussed in chapter 4 how each of the former independent *poleis* overshadowed by Nikopolis lied on prominent road networks, crossroads and other natural boundaries, which meant that the Augustan city was able to inherit all of these. See also Dakaris (1971): 99-100 for a reconstruction of the Kassopaean roads that highlight the region's ties to Nikopolis.

connecting Nikopolis to its main harbours, especially that at Ormos Vathy, with what Stein qualified as 'likely almost continuous settlement' between the two.[755] Thus, while it is difficult to pinpoint when these road network shifts occurred, it is unsurprising that the prominent coastal road would have played a significant role in regional connectivity. Nikopolis' foundation would have thus impacted local, regional, and even extra-regional connectivity.

The links between the clustered harbours alongside the north-western Greek coast also need to be highlighted in terms of 'maritime roads', with Purcell warning us that 'nothing is more dangerous' than to omit their interdependence and to treat them individually – cf. fig. 5.8 for mapping of Purcell's coastal 'interconnected harbours' in northwest



Fig. 5.8 Map depicting Purcell's proposed interconnected northwest Greek harbours (author's map via Ancient World Mapping Centre)

[755] Stein (2001): 69. For the identification of Ormos Vathy as the main harbour, see n. 637.

Greece.[756] The sheer density of these port cities, from Dyrrhachion in the north all the way to Corinth in the south, and their survival along the centuries also suggests that they were all used and necessary in their own way, whether as part of the *annona* routes, as a smaller regional redistributor, or in rekindling and restrengthening the ties to Southern Italy that we have also identified in Pyrrhus' reign, and that were visible in the *nostoi* traditions and later on in the *Aeneid* (i.e., Trojans sailing from Epirus to Italy). As such, Crete and Knossos, as well as northwest Greece and Nikopolis were all intrinsically connected to the sea.

The Romans, however, did undoubtedly influence the general layout of Nikopolis, and not only in terms of centuriation. We have seen in chapter three that the *cardo maximus* was aligned with the victory monument, which in turn was placed on the site of Octavian's camp at Actium.[757] Thus, the outcome of the civil wars directly impacted this region, but especially the city itself, with most of its early monumental infrastructure being dedicated to the god that had helped secure Augustus' victory: the sacred hill of Apollo. While both Actium (via the games) and Apollo have been discussed as fundamental to Akarnanian and Epirote traditions and identity, this Augustan endeavour presents a clear blend of the past being reshaped to fit the Roman purpose.

Leaving aside the changes in the landscape and economic opportunities that came with these, there are two other Augustan occurrences that demonstrate the city's fame in its early days – or at least attempts to further its renown and prominence. In the first case, we must underline Herod's benefactions in sponsoring the city's construction.[758] While Zachos correctly observes that Herod was but one of numerous other building sponsors, including especially members of the local elite (such as the aforementioned couple near the Odeon), it

[756] Purcell (1987): 72, which foreshadows his later contributions in Horden and Purcell (2000), as part of a Braudelian approach to Mediterranean connectivity; cf. n. 753.
[757] See chapter 3 for the victory monument, with bibliography and archaeological reports. For the *cardo maximus* argument see especially Zachos (2003): 69, Bowden (2007a): 136, and (2007b): 190-1.
[758] Bowersock (1965): 55 highlights that he contributed to many other Greek cities, thus Nikopolis was not an *unicum*. On this, see also Purcell (1987): 87, Netzer (1987): 121-8, Chrysostomou and Kefallonitou (2001): 25. On Herod, see Joseph. AJ. 16.5.3 and Joseph. BJ. 1.21.11.

is noteworthy that a distant foreign monarch (or a loyal Augustan supporter) chose to assist Nikopolis.[759] This in turn would proverbially 'put the city on the map', as the recipient of such respectable benefactions, which he had also conferred upon other well-known cities, such as Athens, Sparta, Tripoli, Damascus, Tyre, Rhodes, Pergamum and others.[760] As such, while Nikopolis was not a unique benefactor of his euergetism, it is noteworthy that a foreign monarch had understood the city's importance for Augustus' reign from an early stage. To this, we can add Augustus' revival and subsequent manipulation of the Delphic Amphictyony, as among its 30 members, 18 were chosen in equal numbers from Nikopolis, the Thessalian League, and the Macedonian League, while Nikopolis was granted special permission to send members to each meeting of the Amphictyony.[761] While neither of these events may have directly impacted the daily lives of the average inhabitant, the fame it brought to the city and the building projects that accompanied Herod's support would have come with their own sets of impacts: new job opportunities, inclusion amongst new trade routes and wider markets beyond Epirus, and a general increase in the city's cosmopolitan nature. All of these were practices and institutions attested in the Hellenistic period as well, but as Larsen points out, as elsewhere in Greece, Augustus 'created something new largely by preserving and utilising the old'.[762]

Before concluding this section, a few words are necessary on a more concrete Roman impact on economic trends, produce, and other related questions. Unfortunately, unlike in Crete, we do not have nearly the same degree of archaeological material published and as such, it is difficult to identify the major economic activities in the region. Educated guesses

[759] Zachos (2016): 546; cf. Faklari (2007). Perhaps Herod's actions also sought Augustan support and praise, but this discussion goes beyond our scope here.
[760] Joseph. AJ. 16.5.3 and Joseph. BJ. 1.21.11.
[761] See Paus. 10.8.3-5 for the evidence of Augustus' actions and the numbers during his time. The other 12 members came from Boeotia (2), Phocis (2), and Delphi (2), while the rest are split with one member each from areas such as Locris, Euboea, and so forth. Bowersock (1965): 98 sees this revision as Augustus' attempts to consolidate the numerous leagues and *poleis* existing in Greece during his time, with an equal attempt to undermine formerly prominent centres such as Athens in favour of his Nikopolis. For similar arguments, see Larsen (1958): 129, Purcell (1987): 87, Doukellis (1990): 404-5.
[762] Larsen (1958): 130. This is a conclusion reached by many others, as discussed in section one.

point towards a continuation in cattle breeding, as we have already identified this as a staple of the late Hellenistic Epirote economy, which continued into the late years of the Republic, with horses being supplied to the Romans. Furthermore, as in Crete there is a consensus that the biggest economic boom would have occurred in the second century A.D., when Trajan restructured the Epirote province, removing it from Achaea and making it an independent province with the capital at Nikopolis.[763] Roman sites also significantly multiplied in the city's surroundings at this stage, and other Roman staples begin appearing, such as baths at both Nikopolis and Buthrotum – once again, comparable to the Cretan case.[764] The synoecism also led to an increase in imported products across southern Epirus, as Moore's overview of Epirote pottery has shown with the early preference for Italian forms that gradually shifted towards North African imports in late Antiquity.[765] The early connections to the west are unsurprising when considering (1) the region's past ties to Southern Italy, (2) the longstanding presence of Roman settlers and other ties to the other side of the Adriatic, and (3) the increased number of Roman settlements in the region, whether veteran or civilian.[766]

We also suggested above that one of the first impacts of this foundation may have been the creation of numerous employment opportunities with so many monumental buildings being prepared in such a short time: the sacred site, the victory monument, theatre,

[763] Karatzeni (2001): 164; cf. Antonetti (1986): 42-3 and Moore (2000): 18. Alternatively, Gravani (2007): 117-8 suggests that the biggest shift in Epirote urbanism and other major changes occurred at the time of the Nikopolitan synoecism based on recent archaeological findings. Crowson and Gilkes (2007): 125 compare the evidence from the Vrina Plain near Buthrotum with developments perceived at Nikopolis, as they claim that 'planned city did not reach its full development' until at least a century after its foundation.

[764] See also Karatzeni (2001): 169 for some preliminary evidence of the Roman pottery and other late first century evidence; cf. Flamig (2007): 328 with Baccin and Ziino (1940). See also Greenslade and Çondi (1993), Bowden (2007), Crowson and Gilkes (2007), Bowden and Perzhita (2020) for evidence from Buthrotum.

[765] Moore (2000): 178, 248. She underlines the increase in the import of Italian wines and oils, with wine from across the empire appearing in Epirus, including the famous Cretan wine found at Buthrotum. Zachos (2018): 722 claims that Italian influence can also be seen in the private sectors as houses and burial monuments reveal similarities with those in central Italy; on this evidence, see also Zachos (2007).

[766] See also discussion above on the potential role of Nikopolis in rekindling links across the Adriatic, with the *Aeneid* showcasing the arrival of the Trojans in Italy via Epirus. For more on this topic, see esp. Doukellis (1990): 403, but also Lamboley (1987): 195-208 and Paschalis (1987): *passim*.

stadium, odeon, and so forth.[767] While architects, artisans, and benefactors from abroad were also involved, these new buildings came with direct Roman influences never before seen in this region. Zachos' archaeological reports of these structures has yielded a considerable amount of relevant evidence, some of which we have discussed in the context of the victory monument, which was identified as the first example of the export of *opus reticulatum* in a provincial setting.[768] The Nikopolitan theatre also reveals traces of *opus reticulatum*, but also *opus testaceum* and *opus incertum*, whereas the stadium also has *opus vittatum* as well as evidence of *spolia* being used in its construction – similar to the victory monument and even the theatre.[769] Thus, the influx of influences, but also of people would have arguably been one of the biggest impacts that the local population noticed in the city's early days. Although it is undeniable that the past was omnipresent in the region, nothing of this scale had been undertaken for centuries – in fact one is hard pressed to find a direct parallel in Epirote Hellenistic history that had similar profound impacts on both landscape and people, apart from the wars against Rome. Augustus' undertaking had completely overshadowed anything that Pyrrhus, the Molossians, or any of their predecessors had accomplished in terms of city foundation and building programme(s). In a way, Augustus took a region that no longer had a major city and created one to fill this gap, which is one of many reasons why the foundation of Nikopolis can be highlighted as far more ambitious and significant than most other cities that held a *colonia*. Carthage and Corinth would be notable parallels with Nikopolis in this sense, as Cassius Dio elaborately describes Caesar's plans to restore them to their former glory.[770]

[767] There may be an argument to be made connecting the unusually high number of manumissions in this region (especially from Buthrotum) with the construction of various sites at Nikopolis and other Roman settlements, but this goes beyond the scope of our discussion.
[768] Zachos (2003), (2007), (2016) and (2018) for some of this evidence, but also Malacrino (2007) on the *opus reticulatum* argument, with discussion in chapter 3.
[769] On the theatre, see Zachos (2018): 727-8, and Zachos (2016): *passim* for the stadion. As discussed, Ambrakia and the nearby settlement at Michalitsi have been identified as potential origins of these building materials.
[770] Cass. Dio. 43.50.

5.3 Concluding Remarks

Both from an imagined perspective, and from reconstructions of the early reality of both cities, it emerges that the past had shaped most decisions made by the Romans. A large factor in this is the series of interactions between the locals and the Romans, culminating with the presence of multiple Roman aristocrats in the late Republic in both Crete and northwest Greece. They had familiarised themselves with their surroundings, while also shaping them and impacting them through various acts of patronage, investments, or simply by sharing their knowledge with more influential Romans that had the power to make concrete landscape and/or territorial changes, particularly Caesar, Antony, and Augustus. There is of course a legitimate question to be asked regarding the extent to which the Romans recognised or consciously pursued policies that sought to restore links and ties that were half a millennium old. While the Pyrrhus case study in this chapter and in chapter three provides significant evidence in favour of conscious parallels being made, others are not so clear. For instance, to what degree did the coastal prioritisation in northwest Greece represent a restoration of Corinth's (and Corcyra's) old *apoikia* trade routes and networks ranging from Dyrrhachion to Apollonia, to Ambrakia, Anaktorion, and Leukas, and finally back to the metropolis? To answer this: a small error in an already studied passage from Dionysius of Halicarnassus indicates that these thoughts were not uncommon amongst the Romans, and perhaps even the Greeks. In his account of Aeneas' travels, he claims that the assistance that Leukas and Anaktorion gave to the Trojans was recognised by the Romans and treated them favourably after capturing them from *the Corinthians*:

ταύτης ὑπομνήσει τῆς εὐεργεσίας Ἀκαρνᾶσι Ῥωμαῖοι Λευκάδα καὶ Ἀνακτόριον ἀφελόμενοι Κορινθίους ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐχαρίσαντο Οἰνιάδας τε ἀποκαταστῆσαι βουλομένοις ἐπέτρεψαν καὶ τὰς Ἐχινάδας νήσους καρποῦσθαι κοινῇ μετ᾽ Αἰτωλῶν ἔδωκαν.[771]

[771] Dion. Hal. 1.51. An observation poignantly highlighted in the Loeb marginalia.

By the time these events had taken place, both Leukas and Anaktorion were firmly Akarnanian rather than Corinthian cities, as we discussed in chapter three, but the memory and legacy of the *metropolis* lived on to such an extent that Dionysius makes it seem as if the Romans are taking them from Corinth. As such, while they do not explicitly revive Corinthian networks, they at the very least acknowledge Corinth's ancestral role in the region, which may even be reflecting the locals' hybrid identities. Furthermore, the Romans confirm the strategic choice for the location of these *apoikia* by placing their own foundations upon the same territories or nearby. They also, whether intentionally or not, can appeal to local traditions by preserving local customs and histories in these regions, while simultaneously benefitting the empire's broader goals: ensuring peace and cooperation in the provinces, revitalising local/regional exchanges, etc.

On the other hand, in the Cretan case, the acknowledgement, veneration, and adaptation of the past are much more explicit, as Alcock, Sweetman, Romeo, Armstrong, Gallimore and many others have strongly emphasised. Similar to Nikopolis, in the case of the CINC and Capuan lands, one must first place their establishment in the context of nearly two centuries of boundary disputes, regional crises, and Roman intervention to understand their role and impacts. The culmination of these factors could in turn explain why and how even the more obvious changes do not seem more impactful or widespread, until well into the second century A.D. Thus, this should exclude previous explanations that sought to define Knossos as conservative, or pro-Antonian, or Epirus as deserted, or both provinces as 'backwater'. Change and continuity are delicately connected and just because status quo prevailed, or because a new Roman settlement was established, we must not interpret these from preconceived notions, but rather study them within the context of their local and regional pasts. Both the Romans and the Greeks showed a high degree of flexibility and mutual integration and/or assimilation that strongly promoted the importance of both local

and social histories, as global impacts must be understood through each city's lens – or at least to the degree to which our sources allow us to.

Epilogue

The Mediterranean world during the reign of Augustus was 'littered' with the emperor's foundations and other loyal cities that emerged during the Civil Wars. Whether established as a *tabula rasa*, *colonia*, refoundation, or simply granted the status of *civitas libera*, there are many Nikopoleis, *coloniae Iuliae*, and brand-new cities sponsored by the emperor. While our study of the CINC and Nikopolis has shown that similar questions can be answered of two fundamentally different foundations with fundamentally different local histories and available evidence, one cannot help but wonder: would this dissertation have yielded diverse results if we had chosen other case studies? After all, we are spoiled for choice: Philippi, Byllis, the Colonia Concordia Iulia Carthago, Alexandria Troas, Augusta Emerita, and *many* more. For the most part, the answer should be 'no', as recent publications have taken approaches similar to our own across the Mediterranean with comparable results, which in turn suggests that we are now overdue for a monograph analysing the legacy and impacts that the past held in Caesarian and Augustan colonies. While we championed local approaches, contexts, and histories, it is undeniable that overarching patterns have been identified. Our contribution to these has been to highlight not only the importance of the past as a vehicle for exchanges and adaptation, but also to reignite the debate as to what a Roman *colonia* entailed at the end of the Republic.

Brélaz's extensive works on the Caesarian and Augustan foundation at Philippi have yielded similar results and demonstrated that colonies were 'far from the static image of Rome that Aulus Gellius would claim'.[772] While he benefitted from an extraordinary epigraphic corpus that we simply do not possess at Knossos and Nikopolis regarding the colony's magistrates, it remains noteworthy that similar conclusions were reached by other

[772] Brélaz (2018): 333.

means, both within a context that is similar to Philippi (i.e. Nikopolis, which is surrounded by Roman foundations) and in an entirely different one, at the 'isolated' colony at Knossos.

Meanwhile, the comparisons with the colony at Carthage simply write themselves. Firstly, for the Romans, the city was as famous as Knossos (if not more, as identified by Cassius Dio above), and the eternal enemy associated with it must have resonated even stronger than Pyrrhus did at Nikopolis. The city also features prominently in the *Aeneid* through Dido's story, as did our case studies. However, perhaps the greatest comparison of all comes from Appian. After Caesar's death that led to the initial colonisation plans not fully coming to fruition, Augustus took it upon himself to complete these: οἰκήτοράς τε Ῥωμαίους μὲν αὐτὸν τρισχιλίους μάλιστα πυνθάνομαι, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐκ τῶν περιοίκων συναγαγεῖν.[773] Not only does Appian imply this was a synoecism, but τῶν περιοίκων clearly emulates the situation at Nikopolis, while carefully settling the colony near the old city, much as would have been the case at Knossos. Hoyos has recently published a 'biography' of Carthage, analysing the colonial (re)foundation in light of a city that he first identified as 'Dido's city' (cf. our discussion of Minos), while then covering centuries of Carthaginian history that greatly featured Roman interactions.[774] While his scope was far broader than ours, the parallels are obvious.

Furthermore, Carthage is nowhere near the 'Greek world' that we focused upon, which should hint that the past mattered throughout the Mediterranean and not just in the context of the legacy of the Greek world. The Romans had crafted interactions with the cities (or regions) that predated their foundations, which they could in turn exploit and adapt as currencies of exchange, as we have seen at Knossos and Nikopolis.

We must nevertheless acknowledge that not all cities can follow our pattern, as the literary and/or archaeological evidence is simply insufficient at times. For instance, the case

[773] App. Pun. 20.136.
[774] Hoyos (2020): esp. ch. 9; cf. Morwood (1991): 219 for further parallelism between Dido, Aeneas, and Augustus.

of Augusta Emerita in Lusitania is telling. At first glance, some parallels are observable: it is a brand-new foundation that has already been described as the 'western counterpart to Nikopolis' and that would serve as the capital of a new(ly) reorganised province.[775] While the situation is more complicated than space permits, some of the impacts and outcomes are tantalisingly similar to our case studies, but we must not jump to conclusions since the evidence is of a different nature, primarily archaeological, and lacking in terms of allowing us to establish patterns of 'past' interactions and histories of exchange.

Nogales Basarrate and Alvarez Martínez's chronological overview of the city's development has shown both great attention towards the carving of an image for the city in its earliest days (perhaps similar to Nikopolis), and establishing or strengthening intra and extra regional interactions, which is equally unsurprising.[776] For the latter, the nearby 800m long bridge built over the Guadiana river in the earliest stages of the city's foundation (or perhaps even prior to it) is indicative of the desire to facilitate communication.[777] As such, while literary sources are lacking, archaeological evidence might at the very least help illuminate the case for a Roman reliance upon local knowledge and past history of connectivity.[778] Furthermore, Cassius Dio's allusion to the city's foundation provides a potential parallel, as he writes: καὶ πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἐν Λυσιτανίᾳ τὴν Αὔγουσταν Ἠμέριταν καλουμένην κτίσαι ἔδωκε.[779] The language is evocative since κτίσαι ἔδωκε implies that the agency came from the province, or the veterans who wished to settle there, although it is Augustus who awarded final permission for this project and supposedly acted as the 'Ktistes'. This reminds us of the Nikopolitan coinage discussed in chapter 5, where Augustus acted as

[775] On the comparison, see Trillmich (2009): 428, 432.
[776] Nogales Basarrate and Alvarez Martínez (2014): 222-5.
[777] Richmond (1930): 104-5, Nogales Basarrate and Alvarez Martínez (2014): 225, Trillmich (2009): 436-7 and appendix at 465 ff., as he discusses the scholarly debate on whether the bridge came before or after the city's foundation. If it was before, then this is yet another case of the Romans building upon past amenities and routes; cf. Rodriguez Martin (2004): 365-406.
[778] For instance, common ware production remained primarily local and regional, with the second most common provenance being Baetica. On this, see Bustamente Alvarez (2014): 145-6 for the numbers and the contexts; cf. Perez Outeriño (1990): 140.
[779] Cass. Dio. 53.26.1; see also Canto (1989): 166 for discussion of the use of κτίσαι in Cassius Dio.

Ktistes – an image that survived long after his death. While more can be made about the archaeological evidence from the Augustan period, or the debate surrounding the city's Caesarian or Augustan origins, it remains that a systematic analysis as the one we have proposed is not a realistic proposition. As such, we return to the importance of local contexts and reactions in light of a recently globalised Roman world. We are at the mercy of our sources, but even in less attested cities, we can use our evidence to at the very least anecdotally highlight comparative trends and outcomes.

Alexandria Troas falls within similar lines, as Strabo preserves yet another famous one-liner with respect to an Augustan colony, oddly reminiscent of the CINC: νῦν δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀποικίαν δέδεκται καὶ ἔστι τῶν ἐλλογίμων πόλεων.[780] The city itself dates back to the reign of Antigonus in the late fourth century B.C., and Strabo's use of ἐλλογίμων suggests it had preserved its fame, as had Knossos, although little to no references to it are preserved from the reign of Augustus.[781] We also could go at length about its harbour's importance in terms of connectivity, rekindling past ties, forming new ones, and so forth.

On this note, let us return to our original question and goal of covering more cities across the empire: how different would the dissertation have looked? In many ways, a similar result would be a reasonable expectation considering the publications and conclusions that have emerged in recent years on Augustan foundations. While cities with poorly attested literary references and incomplete archaeological records might provide only anecdotal comparisons, other foundations such as Corinth, Carthage, or Philippi can be held as direct comparisons, as they all preserved images from a distant past in the colonies' early days, and were influenced by centuries of interactions (both positive and negative) with the Romans and their immediate neighbours. Thus, while we have contributed to these new developments

[780] Strab. 13.1.26, unlike at Knossos, he uses δέδεκται in this case. On the literary evidence see Laffi (2004): 153.

[781] See Feuser (2011): 256-73 for a brief archaeological survey of the Roman harbour and the short discussion in Laffi (2004): 151-64 and Schwerteim (2018) on recent archaeological developments, highlighting how little evidence there is to go by for the Augustan period.

in the field by adding our own case studies and conclusions, it is now imperative to take the next step and establish an overarching analysis of the past's legacy across the Augustan foundations. The many cities briefly studied in the dissertation in conjunction with Knossos and Nikopolis, and the allusions from the epilogue should be ample evidence for the need for such a compilation, which will simultaneously depict common trends regarding the role, usage, and adaptability of the past, and different methods that were adopted to preserve and make use of this past. These methods would in turn have been directly drawn from local and regional contexts, and an intimate knowledge that the Romans had of their provinces on account of these. This should also reveal, as Brélaz has, and as we have briefly shown as well, that Roman *coloniae* and other city foundations under Augustus were anything but uniform, or copies of Rome – yet another topic that is in desperate need of update.

To conclude, an inscription already alluded to in our introduction and the debate surrounding it (n. 141) might reflect our position. In this decree, the Priansians honoured Herodotus, son Menodotus, and Menecles, son of Dionysius, (both from Teos) for their retellings of Cretan history, and of the gods and heroes born on the island. For Clarke, the scenario could be defined as a 'professional poetic performance of local history' amid a 'diplomatic mission', as she identifies them as independent 'itinerant historians.' Thomas on the other hand believes this is strictly 'diplomacy via the presentation of poetry, myths and history', and argues that we should 'see these historians as part of the enhanced cultural activity of the Hellenistic cities'.[782] Whatever the role of these historians may be, or their ties to individual *poleis* or diplomatic mission, the sheer number of similar dedications discussed by Rigsby, Clarke, Thomas, Erskine, Rutherford, and many others indicates that by the time Caesar or Augustus built their cities, they too could follow in the footsteps of these poets and historians. By preserving, adapting, and promulgating local histories through their new

[782] IC I. 24.1 with debate in Thomas (2019): 68-73 contra Rigsby (1996): 281-9 and Clarke (2008): 346-50.

foundations, they could interact in a language that had been familiar to the old inhabitants for centuries. Augustus did not sing Cretan or Epirote myths, but through his circle, poets, and related decision-makers, he (re)wrote them, depicted them on coinage and in inscriptions, as local officials and inhabitants alike took part in this exchange in their own unique ways. These were uniquely tailored to each context, as were the decisions made and the impacts they had. Thus, the Romans adapted (to) local and regional variations, the provincials were forced to adapt to their new context(s), while past and present (mostly) coexisted.

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