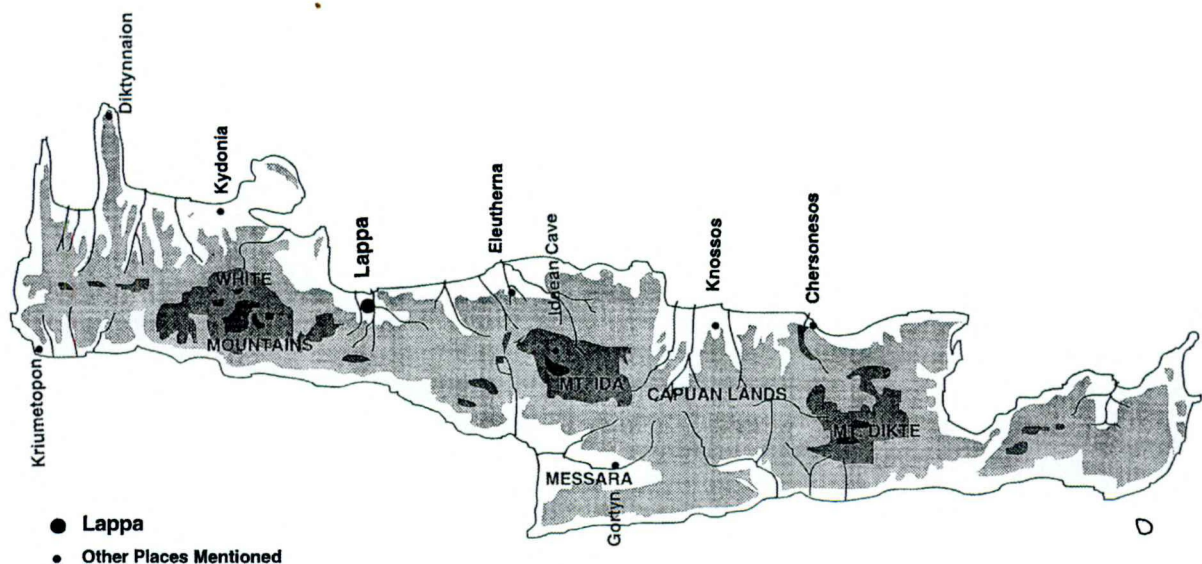


# FROM PIRACY TO PRIVILEGED STATUS: LAPPA (CRETE) AND THE ROMANS

MARTHA W. BALDWIN BOWSKY\*

This study explores the historical context of a newly discovered inscription from the Cretan city of Lappa (see Map 1), which honored M. Agrippa during the time he had tribunician power (18-12 BCE). The dedication, probably from a statue base, was presented to this congress by Prof. Y. Tzifopoulos of the University of Crete, Rethymno. This text is of great historical import, as it is the first time Agrippa is attested in the epigraphical record of Crete and it corroborates Augustan attention to Lappa. Lappa and Kydonia made the same fortunate choice between Antony and Octavian, who awarded both cities free status and sent settlers to a rebuilt Lappa<sup>1</sup>.

The epigraphic record allows us to examine the nature and identity of the Augustan settlers at Lappa. The evidence is derived from inscriptions that attest Roman names for the inhabitants of Lappa, from the first century BCE to the later principate. The goal is to take advantage of the onomastic evidence available from inscriptions, and the unique light shed on the question by prosopography. This study utilizes the cumulative evidence of onomastic patterns found in four, often overlapping contexts: Roman names attested (1) elsewhere in Crete; (2) in the Greek East, especially in the commercial milieu; (3) in the Italian peninsula in the late republic and beginning of the empire, in commercial and other contexts; and



Map 1: Crete, with Lappa between Mt. Ida and the White Mountains.

\* University of the Pacific, Stockton, California (USA).

1. Dio Cassius li 2, 3: Κυδωνιάτας δὲ καὶ Λαππαίου

ἐλευθέρους ἀφῆκεν, ὅτι τινὰ αὐτῷ συνήραντο· καὶ τοῖς γε Λαππαίοις καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνεστῶσαν συγκατῶκισα.

(4) for supporters and clients of Octavian and Antony.

The evidence may be too scanty to be statistically significant, but it still can permit some historical conclusions about trends and probabilities. Eight non-imperial names are examined here, seven nomina and one cognomen, together with one possible Iulius. The small number of Roman names attested for Lappa can be attributed to several reasons ancient and modern. Unlike Kydonia, Lappa did not put the names of civic magistrates on coinage minted under Augustus or Tiberius, and again under Domitian and in the reign of Hadrian<sup>2</sup>. Nor has Lappa been the target of systematic excavation, with the result that new inscriptions from the city are chance finds and the fruit of field survey<sup>3</sup>. Three of the names considered here appear on inscriptions built into houses or a mill at the modern village of Argyroupoli<sup>4</sup>, while a fourth was already in the Chania Museum before World War II<sup>5</sup>. Four or five more names come not from Lappa but from Klaros, where two different choirs were recorded at the temple of Apollo<sup>6</sup>.

Lappa and Kydonia were declared *civitates liberae* in reward for "undertaking certain things" on Octavian's behalf. One thing Lappa could have done for Octavian was to mint coinage, as Knossos did in central Crete. Sideropoulos now argues that one Lappan coin is very late Hellenistic indeed, datable to the decade of the 30s BCE and comparable to the Kydas coins of Knossos<sup>7</sup>. Knossos and Gortyn were both more likely to be on the Antonian side in this dynastic conflict than on the Julian<sup>8</sup>. Lappa by contrast apparently turned

against Antony and toward Octavian during the Roman civil war<sup>9</sup>. Crete may have been effectively split between these two dynasts, with the center and east of the island on Antony's side and the west on Octavian's. Under a victorious Octavian-Augustus, Lappa became a free city, that is, one exempt in principle from visits or the jurisdiction of the provincial governor<sup>10</sup>. Lappa was also rebuilt and its population increased by settlers, not only in reward for Julian loyalties but because the city had been afflicted with great destruction during the Roman conquest (68-66 BCE)<sup>11</sup>.

The new inscription dedicated to M. Agrippa honors him as a patron, a term that implies a less concrete and intimate relationship than such titles as savior or founder<sup>12</sup>. This text is significant for its use of a Latin term transliterated into Greek (πάτρωνα), thus reflecting a blend of Roman and Greek cultural identity even at this early date. Some of Lappa's settlers just may have been led there by Agrippa himself, unless all of them were already there to honor him while he was on his second mission to the Greek East. During this mission Agrippa settled Antonian veterans as colonists at Patras, Heliopolis, and possibly Alexandria Troas though probably not Berytos<sup>13</sup>. The likelihood that Agrippa was personally involved in leading settlers to Lappa is slightly increased by the fact that he is known to have measured the distance from the Cretan promontory of Kriumetopon — at the southwest extreme of the island — to the Cyrenaican promontory of Phykous, west of Apollonia<sup>14</sup>.

The non-imperial nomina attested at Lappa enable us to see the type of individual or family that might have been among the Augustan settlers, whether or not they were led there by Agrippa. Onomastic comparanda suggest that there was some geographical mobility within the Roman

2. BURNETT, A.; AMANDRY, M.; RIPOLLÉS, P., *Roman Provincial Coinage, Volume I, From the death of Caesar to the death of Vitellius (44 BC - AD 69)*, London, Paris 1992, 241 nrs. 1020-21; BURNETT, A.; AMANDRY, M.; CARRADICE, I., *Roman Provincial Coinage, Volume II, From Vespasian to Domitian (AD 69-96)*, London, Paris 1999, 53-54 nrs. 53-57; SVORONOS, J.-N., *Numismatique de la Crète Ancienne*, Paris 1890, 216 nr. 35. Sideropoulos is convinced that the city's coinage ends with Hadrian and not Commodus (personal communication, pace SVORONOS o.c., 216 nr. 36).

3. *AEPHem* 1948-49, 11, n. 5 and fig 21, a waterpipe inscribed ΛΑΠΠΑΙΩΝ; Tzifopoulos, in this congress.

4. *ICret.* II, xvi 20, 23, 25.

5. *ICret.* II, xvi 29.

6. MACRIDY, TH., "Antiquités de Notion II", *ÖJh* 15, 1912, 46-47 nrs. 2-4; J. Robert, personal communication.

7. SIDEROPOULOS, personal communication; cf. SVORONOS, o.c., 212 nr. 11. Knossos minted bronze coins in the period from 37/36 to 31/30, under magistrates who might have held an annual term of office, including Kydas in 34/33 (BURNETT; AMANDRY; RIPOLLÉS, o.c., 223).

8. BALDWIN BOSWKY, M.W., "Reasons to Reorganize: Antony,

Augustus and central Crete", in DABROWA, E. (ed.), *Tradition and Innovation in the Ancient World*, Krakow 2002, 25-65.

9. Cf. *ADelt* 50, 1995, 741-42.

10. MILLAR, F., "Civitates liberae, coloniae and provincial governors under the Empire", *Mediterraneo Antico* 2, 1999, 95-113.

11. *ICret.* II, xvi praef.hist. 194.

12. RODDAZ, J.-M., *Marcus Agrippa*, Rome 1984, 443.

13. KEPPIE, L., *The Making of the Roman Army from Republic to Empire*, Totowa 1984, 130, 134, 208, including Berytos; KEPPIE, L., *Legions and Veterans: Roman Army Papers 1971-2000*, Stuttgart 2000, 91, excluding Berytos in a new study of Antony's veterans.

14. PLINY N.H. iv 47. For the promontory of Phykous at modern Ras Aamer, see ROQUES, D., "Ports et campagnes de Cyrène: d'Apollonia à Phykous", in LARONDE, A; MAFFRE, J.-J. (eds.), *Cités, ports, et campagnes de la Cyrénaïque gréco-romaine*, Paris 1999, 187-95.

population already resident on Crete, especially at Gortyn, a commercial center that became the provincial capital. Some Romans resident at Gortyn are likely to have migrated to Knossos, upon the establishment of the colony<sup>15</sup>. Free cities were, like colonies, a type of provincial city that had a special status in relationship to the Roman administration<sup>16</sup>, and might also attract certain immigrants. At Lappa as at Patras, there could have been Antonian supporters who arrived soon after Actium, and then were joined by settlers from nearby towns or from outside Crete during Agrippa's five-year mission<sup>17</sup>. The onomasticon of Lappa, like that of Corinth, may contain Roman names that persist into the high empire and still echo the early presence of Romans and their dependents<sup>18</sup>.

In the second century or broadly imperial period, four different Roman names — three nomina and one cognomen — may provide onomastic evidence for internal geographical mobility, from Gortyn to Knossos and Lappa<sup>19</sup>. These names are the extremely rare nomen Porsennia, otherwise borne only by a recipient of *proxenia* and *politeia* at first-century BCE Gortyn<sup>20</sup>; Sergius (abbreviated Ser.), attested at the Dikynnaion in 6 BCE, at Knossos and Chersonesos, and also on lamps found in western Crete and in the Idaean Cave<sup>21</sup>; Clodius, a name that may be compared with the cognomen Clodianus at Knossos<sup>22</sup>; and

the cognomen Pollio, borne by an Augustan *duumvir* at Knossos<sup>23</sup>.

Four more of the Roman names attested for Lappans suggest geographical mobility from outside Crete, and can be placed in the commercial milieu of the Italian peninsula and the Greek East even if they are too uncommon, scattered, or common to suggest origins in any one area of Italy. The distribution of these names in the Greek East may reinforce the idea that some of the Augustan settlers at Lappa came directly from the Italian peninsula while others were already resident in the Greek East. Maedius is attested only at Patras<sup>24</sup>; Faleria only at Mysian Parion<sup>25</sup>; Minius at Thessalonica, Ephesos, and Cilician Hieropolis Castabala<sup>26</sup>; and Peducaeus in Macedonia — including the free city of Apollonia — and Asia Minor as well as Laconia<sup>27</sup>.

The non-imperial nomina of Lappa provide a new perspective on the rationale that underlay rewarding Lappa with a Roman population, as part of an island-wide program of territorial reorganization. Reasons for territorial reorganization include restoring areas severely disrupted by military activity, developing more marginal zones, and realigning zones important to communications and trade<sup>28</sup>. Lappa and the zone of Crete between Mt. Ida and the White Mountains had been disrupted during the Metellan conquest of Crete, in part because Lappa and Eleutherna were strategically

15. BALDWIN BOWSKY, M.W., "Reasons to Reorganize...", *o.c.* 27. Cf. BALDWIN BOWSKY, M.W., "Of Two Tongues: Acculturation at Roman Knossos", SALMERI, G.; RAGGI, A.; BARONI, A. (edd.), *Colonie Romane nel Mondo Greco*, Rome 2004, 97-98.

16. RIZAKIS, A.D., "Modèles grammatiques et restitution des territoires: le cas des colonies romaines des provinces d'Achaïe et de Macédoine", SALMERI, G.; RAGGI, A.; BARONI, A. (edd.), *Colonie Romane nel Mondo Greco*, Rome 2004, 69-94.

17. RODDAS, *o.c.*, 431-32.

18. Cf. RIZAKIS, A.D., "La constitution des élites municipales dans les colonies romaines de la province d'Achaïe", in SALOMIES, O. (ed.), *The Greek East in the Roman Context: proceedings of a colloquium organised by the Finnish Institute at Athens, May 21 and 22, 1999*, Helsinki 2001, 43 on the Antonii of Corinth.

19. Compare the movement of Roman traders and their clients to colonies from elsewhere in Achaia, e.g., to Corinth from Thespias (RIZAKIS, *La constitution...*, *o.c.*, 43-44).

20. *ICret.* II, xvi 23; *ICret.* IV 219.

21. While the supplementation *Ser(gius)* is not even close to certain, the presence of Sergii in Crete, including a P. Sergius at the Dikynnaion in 6 BCE, encourages one to pursue this onomastic avenue. See *ICret.* II, xvi 29; *ICret.* II, xi 3, 6; *ICret.* I, viii 30 and possibly 23; *ICret.* I, vii 20; *ICret.* II, xxx 9; CHANIOTIS, A., Οἱ ἐπιγραφῆς τοῦ Ἰδαίου Ἄντρον, nrs. 67-71 (forthcoming).

22. MACRIDY, *o.c.*, 46, nr. 2; RICCI, S., "Miscellanea epigrafica", *MontAnt* 2, 1893, 304-05, nr. 13, not in *ICret.* I, viii.

23. MACRIDY, *o.c.*, 46, nr. 3; BURNETT; AMANDRY; RIPOLES *o.c.*, 237, nrs. 983-84.

24. *ICret.* II, xvi 20; AE 1979, 587; KEPPIE, *The Making of The Roman...*, *o.c.*, 202 and 209-10; RIZAKIS, A.D., *Achaïe II: La Cité de Patras: Épigraphie et Histoire*, Athens 1998, 303-04 nr. 369 (a veteran of *legio XII Fulminata*, a legion that served Antony 41-31 BCE and whose veterans were settled at Patras under Augustus).

25. *ICret.* I, xvi 25; *IPar.* 34.

26. J. Robert, personal communication; *CIL* XVI.1; *IG* X 2,1 637; *IEph.* 689; HICKS, E.L., "Inscriptions from Eastern Cilicia", *JHS* 11, 1890, 251 nr. 26.

27. MACRIDY, *o.c.*, 46-47 nrs. 2-3; TATAKI, A.B., "The Nomina of Macedonia", in RIZAKIS, A.D. (ed.), *Roman onomastics in the Greek East: social and political aspects*, Athens 1996, 109; SALOMIES, O., "Contacts between Italy, Macedonia and Asia Minor during the Principate", RIZAKIS, A.D. (ed.), *Roman onomastics in the Greek East: social and political aspects* Athens 1996, 125; WIEGAND, TH., "Inchrift aus Kyzikos", *AM* 26, 1901, 121-15, line 61; *SEG* XLVII 836 and *Bull.ép.* 1967, 249; *Bull.ép.* 1968, 321; RIZAKIS, A.D., "Roman Colonies in the Province of Achaia: Territories, Land and Population", ALCOCK, S.E. (ed.), *The Early Roman Empire in the East*, Oxford 1997, 16; RIZAKIS, A.D.; ZOUMBAKI, S.; LEPENIOTI, CL. (edd.), *Roman Peloponnese II: Roman Personal Names in their Social Context*, Athens 2004, 395 nr. 605.

28. ALCOCK, S.E., *Graecia Capta: the landscapes of Roman Greece*, Cambridge 1993, 141-43.

located along lines of communication and transit.

Free cities like Lappa might come to serve as both social and economic anchors in their regions. By honoring Agrippa as a patron — whether or not he was physically present — the city of Lappa effectively put itself under the protection of the imperial family<sup>29</sup>. Agrippa's second mission to the East was specifically aimed at re-animating the economic life and reinforcing the municipal institutions of cities affected by the political and military troubles of the triumviral period<sup>30</sup>. The names attested at Lappa that are comparable to those known from elsewhere in Crete — and in Campania — illustrate just how Lappa might be placed in the social and economic network that linked central Crete with the western reaches of the island, and linked Crete with the Italian peninsula. The name Sergius is particularly instructive, as it is attested not only in central Crete but also at the Diktyннаion in the Augustan period and on lamps from a workshop that had moved to or set up a branch workshop in Crete<sup>31</sup>. Sergii are also attested at Corinth as well as at Athens and in the Argolid<sup>32</sup>. A Lappan Clodius would be at home in the wine trade that linked

Campania with Crete<sup>33</sup>, and both he<sup>34</sup> and a Peducaeus<sup>35</sup> might belong to the commercial milieu that linked Roman Italy with the Greek East. Clodius and Peducaeus are names that may have come to cities in Laconia — as to Corinth and the free cities of Cretan Lappa and Macedonian Apollonia — together with traders<sup>36</sup>. All three names — Sergius, Clodius, and Peducaeus — are, notably, attested at Corinth where Roman traders and their clients gathered to take advantage of the city's colonial status<sup>37</sup>.

The onomastic and prosopographical context of the Roman names attested for Lappa encourages us to suspect another rationale for territorial reorganization, that some of these settlers may have been dispossessed Italians, even Antonian supporters<sup>38</sup>. Connections with Campania — an area from which significant numbers of Italians were dispossessed in order to settle Octavian's veterans after Actium<sup>39</sup> — may be one context for

29. RODDAZ, *o.c.*, 441, 449-50.

30. RODDAZ, *o.c.*, 420, 427-29, 431, 449-50.

31. The Sergius workshop is one that may have come to Crete from Italy (CHANIOTIS, *Οι έπιγραφές...*, *o.c.* nrs. 67-71; SΑΡΟΥΝΑ, P., *Die Bildlampen römischer Zeit aus der Idäischen Zeusgrotte auf Kreta*, Oxford 1998, 105).

32. In the Greek East Sergii are attested at Corinth (RIZAKIS, A.D.; ZOUMBΑΚΙ, S., *Roman Peloponnese I: Roman Personal Names in Their Social Context*, Athens 2001, 382 nr. 564); at Hermione in the Argolid (RIZAKIS, ZOUMBΑΚΙ, *o.c.*, 227 nr. 238), and in Athens (BYRNE, S., *Roman Citizens of Athens*, Leuven 2003, 432).

33. At Pompeii, most Clodii descend from a man who married into a wine-producing family and whose descendants engaged mainly in specialized agriculture, producing *vinum Clodianum* (CASTRÉN, P., *Ordo populusque Pompeianus: Polity and Society in Roman Pompeii*, Rome 1975, 154-55). Cf. CÉBÉILLAC-GERVASONI, M., *Les magistrats des cités italiennes de la seconde guerre Punique à Auguste: le Latium et la Campanie*, Rome 1998, 147, 226, on the Clodii as members of the grand aristocracy of Pompeii, proprietors named on amphoras of Pompeii.

34. Clodius is a magistral name at Pompeii, one of those whose economic resources might be explained by the presence of Clodii on Delos and in the Greek East, where Clodii are well attested (CÉBÉILLAC-GERVASONI, "Les magistrats...", *o.c.*, 185; HATZFELD, J., "Les Italiens résidant à Délos", *BCH* 36, 1912, 27-28; HATZFELD, J., *Les Trafiquants Italiens dans l'Orient Hellénique*, Paris 1919, 388-89); SPAWFORTH, A.J.S., "Roman Corinth: the formation of a colonial elite", RIZAKIS, A.D. (ed.), *Roman onomastics in the Greek East: social and political aspects*, Athens 1996, 172 for Clodius as a Corinthian duumviral name that shows links with the milieu of the *negotiatores*; RIZAKIS; ZOUMBΑΚΙ, *o.c.*, 293-96 nrs. 185-97 for Corinth; CABANES, P., "Les noms Latins dans les inscriptions grecques d'Épidamne-Dyrrhachion, d'Apollonia et de Bouthrôtos", RIZAKIS, A.D. (ed.), *Roman onomastics in the Greek East: social and political aspects*, Athens 1996, 92 for Apollonia; RIZAKIS; ZOUMBΑΚΙ, *o.c.*, 474-75 nrs. 169-70 for Eleia; RIZAKIS, *Achaïe II...*, *o.c.*, 158 nr. 94 and 285 nr. 320 for Patras; RIZAKIS; ZOUMBΑΚΙ, *o.c.*, 185 nr. 108 for Troezen in the

Argolid; RIZAKIS; ZOUMBΑΚΙ; LEPENIOTI, *o.c.*, 214-215 nrs. 334-336 for Laconia; RIZAKIS; ZOUMBΑΚΙ; LEPENIOTI, *o.c.*, 526-28 nrs. 166-70 if not also nrs. 171-72 for Messenia.

35. Both Sex. and L. Peducaei were apparently at home in the world of business as well as politics. M. Curtius Peducaenus was a son of Sex. Peducaeus (praetor 74 BCE) who was adopted into the Curtian family (BROUGHTON, T.R.S., *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, vol. III, Supplement, Atlanta 1986, 79; RAUH, N.K., "Senators and Business in the Roman Republic, 264-44 B.C.", Dissertation, Chapel Hill 1986, 256). Rauh notes that Peducaenus took decided measures against Mediterranean piracy while serving as quaestor in 61, and that is to be set in the context of both families' extended interests in eastern business and banking (RAUH, *o.c.*, 256). In addition to the activities of L. Peducaeus at Laodiceia in the 60s BCE, Rauh draws attention to the *tessera nummularia* of Gallio Pedicai in 64 BCE, the unspoken business dealings of the tribune of the plebs in 55 BCE (Sex. Peducaeus) with Atticus, a book-selling freedman Sex. Peducaeus Dionysius in Rome, and other clients recorded in columbarium inscriptions in Rome and Mutina (RAUH, *o.c.*, 256).

36. Clodius is considered one of the names that came to be in the onomasticon of Delos and Elis, Messene, Korone, and Sparta by way of commerce (ZOUMBΑΚΙ, S., "Die Niederlassung römischer Geschäftsleute in der Peloponnes", *Tekmeria* 4, 1998/99, 160 and 164), and Peducaeus one of the names associated with trade and traders that is attested in Laconia, at Gytheion and Sparta (ZOUMBΑΚΙ, *o.c.*, 170 and 172).

37. SPAWFORTH, *o.c.*; RIZAKIS, "La constitution des élites...", *o.c.*, 43-44.

38. Cf. BALDWIN BOWSKY, "Reasons to Reorganize...", *o.c.*, for a cumulative Antonian resonance among the Roman names attested at Gortyn and Knossos, and "Reasons to Reorganize...", *o.c.*, 27 for Knossos as a colony for displaced persons that included some veterans, possibly Antonians.

39. KEPPIE, *The Making of the Roman Army...*, *o.c.*, 129.

40. In Campania, Sergii occur at Pompeii only in the last period of the town's life and probably can be connected with those in other Campanian towns (CASTRÉN, *o.c.*, 219), including Capua (D'ISANTO, G., *Capua romana: Ricerche di prosopografia e storia sociale*, Rome 1993, 223) and Neapolis (LEIWO, M.,

men named Sergius<sup>40</sup>, Clodius<sup>41</sup>, and Minius<sup>42</sup>. Descendants of earlier Italian emigrants to the Greek East — where all the names attested at Lappa are paralleled — might be found among the supporters of Antony rather than Octavian<sup>43</sup>. It may even be possible to identify some veterans on the basis of onomastics, when they share the names of individuals attested at a specifically military colony like Patras<sup>44</sup>. It is particularly intriguing, then, to see that Libanus Maidiou bears a name attested for an Antonian veteran at Patras and also at the city of Thugga in the hinterland of Carthage, where Antonian veterans were likely settled after a refoundation in 29<sup>45</sup>. Clodius Zosimus and his son Serapion bear a name attested not once but twice at Patras. The name Faleria is attested at Mysian Parion, where one might look for colonists who had been Antonian veterans<sup>46</sup>. The question must remain open as new evidence emerges, whether at Lappa or elsewhere on Crete, but we can already note that a significant number of names are shared between Patras and the two cities from which we have seen onomastic evidence of internal mobility within Crete: Gortyn, with her recipients of *proxenia* and *politeia* among

the resident commercial community<sup>47</sup>; Gortyn and then Knossos<sup>48</sup>; and Knossos, with her *duumviri* and earliest colonists<sup>49</sup>.

While the non-imperial names attested at Roman Lappa hint at an Antonian background for some of the Augustan settlers, the imperial names also fail to suggest a palpable Julian connection. Augustus was honored at Lappa with a small statue whose base gives his name as simply Σεβασ[τὸς] Καῖσα[ρ], again a Latin formula rendered in Greek<sup>50</sup>. But if Iul(lius) Faustus *neos* — named at Klaros — is indeed a Lappan, he is the only one known to have borne this imperial nomen<sup>51</sup>. There are three Flavii and one Aurelius known at or from Lappa, but no other imperial names<sup>52</sup>. It is difficult to believe that sheer or

*Neapolitana: A Study of Population and Language in Graeco-Roman Naples*, Helsinki 1994, 184). Compare D'ARMS, J.H., *Romans on the Bay of Naples: A Social and Cultural Study of the Villas and Their Owners from 150 B.C. to A.D. 400*, Cambridge 1970, 18-20; RAIH, *o.c.*, 931-32; and CEBELLAIC-GERVASONI, *Les magistrats des cites italiennes...*, *o.c.* (1998), 156 for C. Sergius Orata as a first-century BCE land developer and pioneer *piscinarius* bearing a tantalizing cognomen apparently relevant to his reputation as a fish-breeder in the Lucrine Lake near Campanian Baiae.

41. The Clodii were one of the most important families of Capua, with interests at Sinuessa and Teanum Sidicinum, and are attested throughout Campania (CEBELLAIC-GERVASONI, M., "Ascesa al senato e rapporti con i territori d'origine: Italia: Regio I, [Campania: la zona di Capua e Cales]", *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio*, Rome 1982, II 80; D'ISANTO, *o.c.*, 104-06).

42. The gentilicium Minius is a name of Oscan derivation, wide-spread in Campania and Lucania (AE 1985, 269 *cf.* 1971, 84, and 1989, 153 = *CIL* X, 5779).

43. KEPPIE, *Legions and Veterans...*, *o.c.*, 82.

44. RIZAKIS, "La constitution des élites...", *o.c.*, 45.

45. *CIL* VIII, 26471 = AE 1904, 116; *CIL* VIII, 27011-12.

46. KEPPIE, *Legions and Veterans...*, *o.c.*, 89.

47. Antonius: *ICret.* IV 221A; RIZAKIS, *Achaïe II...*, *o.c.*, 320, citing *IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 92b*. Granius: *ICret.* IV 216; RIZAKIS, *Achaïe II...*, *o.c.*, 225 nr. 180, centurion of a legion. Livius: *ICret.* IV 213B; RIZAKIS, *Achaïe II...*, *o.c.*, 190-92 nr. 141. Mamilius: MAGNELL, A., "Magistrati e uomini d'affari, tra I secolo a.C. e I d.C. in un'inedita iscrizione gortinia", *L'Africa romana XII*, in KHANOUSSI, M., *et al.* (eds.), Sassari 1998, III 1296-97; RIZAKIS, *Achaïe II...*, *o.c.*, 160 nr. 99; 174-75 nr. 123. Marcius: *ICret.* IV 221B; RIZAKIS, *Achaïe II...*, *o.c.*, 172-73 nr. 119, 174 nr. 122, 178-79 nr. 128, 216-17 nr. 170. Minucius: *ICret.* IV 213A; RIZAKIS, *Achaïe II...*, *o.c.*, 175-76 nr. 124. Octavius: *ICret.* IV 221C; RIZAKIS, *Achaïe II...*, *o.c.*, 299-300 nr. 364. *Cf.* Vibia, probably a member of a trading family: *ICret.* IV 456; HATZFELD, *o.c.*

(1919), 158 n.2; RIZAKIS, *Achaïe II...*, *o.c.*, 302-03 nr. 368 (a veteran of the Antonian *legio XII Fulminata*). *Cf.* also Iunius: *ICret.* I, xxv 3, in the territory of Gortyn; RIZAKIS, *Achaïe II...*, *o.c.*, 171 nr. 116.

48. Doia L.f. Procilla (*ICret.* IV 290), Doius (BURNETT; AMANDRY; RIPOLES, *o.c.*, 238 nrs. 988-89), and M. Doius L.f. Balbus (*CIL* III, 512; RIZAKIS, *Achaïe II...*, *o.c.*, 176-77 nr. 125).

49. Aemilius: BURNETT; AMANDRY; RIPOLES, *o.c.*, 236 nr. 976; BURNETT; AMANDRY; RIPOLES, *o.c.* 237 nrs. 981-82; RIZAKIS, *Achaïe II...*, *o.c.*, 166 nr. 109, 168 nr. 111, 204 nr. 156. At(t)ius (if not Atilius): BURNETT; AMANDRY; RIPOLES, *o.c.*, 237 nr. 979; RIZAKIS, *Achaïe II...*, *o.c.*, 182-33 nr. 132. Licinius: CHANIOTIS, A., "Neue lateinische Inschriften aus Knosos", *ZPE* 89, 1991, 191-95 191-2 nr. 2; RIZAKIS; ZOUMBAKI, *o.c.*, 81 nr. 144. Varius: BURNETT; AMANDRY; RIPOLES, *o.c.*, 238 nrs. 994-98; RIZAKIS, *Achaïe II...*, *o.c.*, 131 nr. 50. Volumnius: BURNETT; AMANDRY; RIPOLES, *o.c.*, 239 nrs. 1005-08; RIZAKIS, *Achaïe II...*, *o.c.*, 219 nr. 174.

50. *ICret.* II, xvi 12. For a likely restoration in the dative or genitive case, see BENJAMIN, A; RAUBITSCHIEK, A.E., "Arae Augusti," *Hesperia* 28, 1959, 70 nr. 47. For the Latin formula — always in the dative — see inscriptions from Knossos (*ICret.* I, viii 48; CHANIOTIS, A.; PREUSS, G.; "Neue fragmente des Preisedikts von Diokletian und weitere lateinische Inschriften aus Kreta", *ZPE* 80, 1990, 200 nr. 16) and Eleutherna (TZIFOPOULOS, Y., "The Inscriptions", in THEMELIS, P.G. (ed.), *Eleutherna, Sector 1. The Numismatic and Epigraphical Evidence*, Rethymno, forthcoming nr. 13).

51. MACRIDY, *o.c.*, 47 nr. 4. Whether Iulius Faustus is a Cretan or not must remain undecided until the monuments of Klaros receive definitive publication. Φαῦστος is a perfectly plausible name for a Cretan with a Roman name. Compare Φαυστέην and Φαῦστος at Lyttos (*ICret.* I, xviii 160) and Φαυστέην at Praisos (SEG XXIII 584). Despite his Greek personal name Iulius Faustus would not appear in FRASER, P.M.; MATTHEWS, E., *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names I: The Aegean Islands, Cyprus, Cyrenaica*, Oxford 1987, as the text does not say explicitly that he was from Lappa. The possibility that Iulius Faustus *neos* was from Lappa is slightly strengthened by the fact that his name appears between two lists of Lappan delegates, lists in which M. Peducaeus Alexandros' name is fully spelled out in the left-hand inscription (MACRIDY, *o.c.*, 46 nr. 2) and not in the right-hand one (MACRIDY, *o.c.*, 46-47 nr. 3).

52. Tzifopoulos, in this congress; MACRIDY, *o.c.*, nr. 2 (Macridy gives the name as Φά(βίος) Ἀντιγένης, but the name is Φλα. instead, J. Robert, personal communication); *ICret.* II, xvi 15; *ICret.* I, xvi 14.

selective survival rates account for the absence of any known Claudii, Ulprii, or Aelii from Lappa<sup>53</sup>. As at Patras as well as Knossos<sup>54</sup>, the names we do not have can reveal as much as those we do have, about the identity and nature of the early Roman settlers and the place Lappa held in the half-province of Crete.

The epigraphical and numismatic record enables us to see that there were not only Dio's vague reasons for Augustus to reward, rebuild, and repopulate Lappa — perhaps through the personal efforts of Agrippa — but three specific reasons: restoring an area severely disrupted by military activity, realigning a zone important to communications and trade, and settling dispossessed Italians, even Antonian supporters.

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53. Cf. BALDWIN BOWSKY, M.W., "Colonia Iulia Nobilis Cnosos (Crete)", in *Proceedings of the 11th International Congress of Classical Studies, Kavala, 24-30 August 1999, Athens 2002*, II 83 on Knossos, where there are Iulii and Claudii but no Flavii, Ulprii, Aelii, or Aurelii.

54. Cf. RIZAKIS, "La constitution des élites...", *o.c.*, 48 on the limited number of Iulii and Claudii at Patras; BALDWIN BOWSKY, "Colonia Iulia Nobilis Cnosos...", *o.c.*, 83 on Knossos.