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AN ATTICIZING STELE FROM WESTERN CRETE

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AN ATTICIZING STELE FROM WESTERN CRETE (PL. V)*

Upper part of a funerary stele of white marble (Chania Museum inv. no. 142). The stone has a well-defined pediment and a frieze resting on two broad Doric pilasters, left and right. Measures: Stele (with pediment) H 37 cm., W 59 cm., D 12 cm.; pediment H 12 cm. at peak, W 48 cm. at base. There are acroteria at the peak and both corners. Right and left sides are finished with profiles of acroteria; there are two planes below the pediment, and columns.

Of the figures all that is preserved are the head of a man at the extreme right, who is looking to the left and downwards. In the middle, almost completely destroyed, appears to be a head of a woman, facing the viewer. She appears to be veiled. Of the possible position or action of the third figure, probably a small standing girl at the left nothing survives.¹

* I express my gratitude to Mrs. M. Andreadaki-Vlazaki, the Ephor of Classical Antiquities for western Crete, who secured for me permission to publish this inscription; to Mrs. V. Niniou-Kindeli, who brought this stone to my attention; and to Mr. S. Alexandrou, who provided the photograph used in Plate V. I also thank the American Philosophical Society for funding granted to cover the expenses of research travel and data collection in 1990, when this inscription was discovered and first studied. Finally, I acknowledge the gracious assistance afforded me by the late Dr. S.B. Aleshire of the Center for the Study of Greek Epigraphy (Berkeley CA), who searched both PHI 6 and her own database, and Ms. P.M.W. Matheson who kindly searched the ATHENIANS database. I am in particular indebted to Prof. C.C. Vermeule III for his kind assistance in evaluating and describing this stele.— Abbreviations:

ATHENIANS database ATHENIANS database, compiled by Mr. J. Traill of the University of Toronto, Victoria College, and the American School of Classical Studies in Athens.

Bagnall	Bagnall, R. S., <i>The administration of the Ptolemaic possessions outside Egypt</i> (Leiden 1976).
CAT	C.W. Clairmont, <i>Classical Attic Tombstones</i> , 8 vols. (Kilchberg 1993).
Dow	S. Dow, "The Egyptian Cults in Athens", <i>HTHR</i> 30 (1937) 183-232.
Dunand	Dunand, Fr., <i>Le culte d'Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée</i> (Leiden 1973).
van Effenterre	Effenterre, H. van, <i>La Crète et le monde grec de Platon à Polybe</i> (Paris 1968).
Foraboschi	D. Foraboschi, <i>Onomasticon alterum papyrologicum. Supplemento al Namenbuch di F. Preisigke</i> (Milano 1967-71).
Fraser	P.M. Fraser, <i>Ptolemaic Alexandria</i> (Oxford 1972).
Fraser-Matthews	P.M. Fraser and E. Matthews, <i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names I</i> (Oxford 1987).
Kirsten	E. Kirsten, <i>Die Insel Kreta im fünften und vierten Jahrhundert</i> (Würzburg 1936).
Koenen	L. Koenen, "The Ptolemaic King as a Religious Figure", in <i>Images and Ideologies: Self-definition in the Hellenistic World</i> , ed. A. W. Bullock et al. (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1993) 25-115.
Memnonion	P. Perdrizet and G. Lefebvre, <i>Les Graffites grecs du Memnonion d'Abydos</i> (Nancy-Paris-Strasbourg 1919).
Osborne-Byrne, LGPN	M.J. Osborne and S.G. Byrne, <i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names II</i> (Oxford 1994).
Osborne-Byrne, FRA	M.J. Osborne and S.G. Byrne, <i>The Foreign Residents of Athens: an annex to the Lexicon of Greek Personal Names: Attica</i> (Leuven 1996).
Papaoikonomou (1)	Y. Papaoikonomou, "L'enfant aux astragales: a propos d'une stèle funéraire Crétoise", <i>BCH</i> 105 (1981) 255-63.
Papaoikonomou (2)	Y. Papaoikonomou, "Deux nouveaux reliefs classiques en Crète", <i>BCH</i> 105 (1981) 667-71.
Peek Att. Grabschr. II	W. Peek, <i>Attische Grabschriften II</i> , Abh. Berl. Ak. fasc. 3, 1956.
Perlman	P.J. Perlman, "Κρητες αϊει Ληϊταϊ? The Marginalization of Crete in Greek Thought and the Role of Piracy in the Outbreak of the First Cretan War", <i>Hellenistic Rhodes</i> (Aarhus University Press, forthcoming).
PHI 7	Packard Humanities Institute, CD-ROM #7: Greek Documentary Texts: (1) Inscriptions, (2) Papyri (Los Altos CA 1991-1996).
Pope	H. Pope, <i>Non-Athenians in Attic Inscriptions</i> (New York 1935).
Preisigke	F. Preisigke, <i>Namenbuch enthaltend alle griechischen, lateinischen, ägyptischen, hebräischen, arabischen und sonstigen semitischen und nichtsemitischen Menschennamen</i> (Heidelberg 1922).
Sanders	I. F. Sanders, <i>Roman Crete</i> (Warminster 1982).
Vermeule	C. C. Vermeule III, "Greece: Crete in Hellenistic and Roman Imperial Times", unpublished notes provided by the author.

¹ For the possible composition, when only two heads survive without gesture or pose, we might be able to compare CAT 3.408, of unrecorded provenance, now in the University of Philadelphia Museum; and C. Vermeule, *Greek and Roman Cyprus: Art from Classical through Late Antique Times* (Boston 1976) 34-35 fig. 24, from Ambelia (the classical site on the Bay of Morphou, Cyprus). This latter is called, in Vermeule's notes (unnumbered pages of photographs), an "Attic-Cretan export stele". In personal correspondence Prof. Vermeule has noted the strong connection between Crete and Cyprus, together with Attica. On the basis of his work on Cyprus as well as Crete, Vermeule suspects that sculptors travelled from

This stele is of unrecorded provenance, though presumably from western Crete, to judge from its presence in the Chania Museum. It is just possible, however, that it is from either Kantanos or Aptera, where men named Πυρ(ρ)ίασ are named in the third-second centuries BCE. Arguments presented below will support the further speculation that this stele may have come from Kantanos or one of the cities on the southwest coast such as Elyros, Lissos, or Hyrtakina.

Letters in line 1 are 1.5-2 cm. high; in line 2 they are 1-1.5 cm. high. Letter forms include slightly cursive B and P; A with straight bar; Ω with rounded top section and a bar beneath that is straight or slightly curved; Φ as a pair of small semi-circles with a long vertical between; Π with two vertical strokes nearly equal. Slight serifs (apices) appear throughout, used to adorn and accentuate horizontal and vertical strokes and the meeting of diagonal strokes in A and Λ. This combination of curved letter forms and serifs (apices) is described in M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia Graeca I* (Roma 1967) 371-72 for inscriptions of the fourth-third centuries. The lettering is consistent with a date between 360 and 275 (cf. W. Larfeld, *Hb. d. griech. Epigr. II. Die Attischen Inschr.* [Leipzig 1902] 457-70).

1 Βεροῦς Τρυφωνᾶ
Φιλωτέρα Πυρία, Τρυφωνᾶς Ἀλεξῶ

The inscription names three individuals, corresponding to the figures in the representation. The deceased, veiled and facing the viewer, is Berous daughter of Tryphonas, mourned by her father Tryphonas son of Alexas, and her daughter Philotera daughter of Pyrias. The stele may be an Attic import, the work of an Attic sculptor active on Crete, or a Cretan imitation of an Attic stele of about 340-325 BCE.²

The Names

This family group bears two names that not only are new to the Cretan onomasticon, but also are unattested anywhere in Greece at such an early date. The feminine name Βεροῦς is, however, attested in papyri, all from the common era and all from Egypt,³ while the particular form of the male name Τρυφωνᾶς, by itself Greek, is attested only in Asia Minor (Pergamon and Ephesos) and once in Egypt.⁴ However, different forms based on the stem Τρυφ- occur in Crete: Τρύφαινα at Gortyn (*IC IV 355*, I c. BCE), Τρύφων at Gortyn (Fraser-Matthews 448 *ad IC IV 338*, I-II c.), Τρυφέρα at Lyttos (*IC I 18. 186B*, perhaps II c., and 63, II-III c.) and Matala (*SEG 25.1018*, II-III c.), and Τρυφηνία at Lasaia (*IC I 16.5*, perhaps of imperial date). The name Τρυφωνᾶς is perfectly Greek and might convey, in its most literal sense, parental delight in the birth of a male child so named. But it might also have an oriental

Athens and Attic to Crete and Cyprus with blocks of Pentelic and Hymettan marble roughly worked or perhaps nearly finished, and ready for the addition of inscriptions. This would handily explain the number of unscribed Atticizing stelai noted below.

² Vermeule (p. 103) compares other stelai in the Chania and Herakleion Museums which are Cretan imitations of fourth-century BCE Attic stelai, and notes that the distinction between Attic import, Attic sculptor working on Crete, and local imitation can be very slight.

³ See Preisigke (p. 74), Foraboschi (p. 79), PHI 7, all s.v. Βεροῦς, citing *P. Amh.* II 75.43 and 49 (Hermoupolis, 161-8), *P. Oxy.* IV 736, r. 5 and 744, r. 2 (Oxyrrhynchus, I c. and I c BCE, respectively), and *PSI I 79.2* (Oxyrrhynchus, 216); *P. Princ.* I 8. 6, 12 and 17 (Philadelphia, 27-32); dated 41-48/9 in *P. Congr.* XV 14.4.49; 46/7 in *Atti XVIIe Congr.* III, 1108 n.5), *P. Harr.* I 72 (now attributed to Philadelphia and dated to the reigns of Claudius and Nero by L.C. Youtie, *ZPE* 10 [1973] 187 n.5), *O. Wilb. Brk.* 41 (Thebes, 187); cf. *P. Princ.* 123 (Philadelphia, naming Βερῶς, in the same hand as *P. Harr.* I 72, according to *P. Congr.* XV, 67 n. 1); *P. Petaus* 62.26 and 63.1.9 (Ptol. Horm., 185); *SB I 81 [IGRR I 1139, 2* (Akoris, 22-3)]; *SEG* 36.1451, a 3 (Thebes, without date); *Memnonion* 266 (Abydos, without date).

⁴ Pergamon: VIII 2, 568, 4 (of imperial date).— Ephesos: *I. Eph.* Ia.20 A 47 (Ἐπαφρῶς Τρυφωνᾶ, between 54 and 59); III 634 and 634a (Α. Καστρίκιος Τρυφωνᾶς φιλοδέβαστος, γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου); IV 1044.12 (Γα. Ἰούλιος Κοκίννιος Τρυφωνᾶς, βουλευτὴς and νεποιοῦς in the time of Antoninus Pius); V 1578a (Δημήτριος Μηνοφίλου Τρυφωνᾶς Βορέυς, one of the νεποιοί of an unidentified year); and VI 2293 ([Νέρτιος Τ]ρυφωνᾶς.— Egypt: see Foraboschi 323, citing *SB VI 9564 [CIJ I 141*, first century BCE) and *P. Corn.* 21 (Philadelphia, now dated 33 by A.E. Hanson, *ZPE* 37 [1980] 242; a register of tax payments that names, in a genitive, Τρυφωνᾶτο(ς), the father of Μέλλας).— It may be possible, then, to suggest that *CIL VI 27688*, from Rome, which reads TRYP(H)ONĀ HAVE (sc. *ave*), is a tombstone addressed to a dead man named Tryphonas (see Solin *GPNR* 787, where the sex is considered unknown).

flair, to judge from the dynastic cult name Τρύφων borne by Ptolemy III Euergetes (246-21 BCE) and Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (145-16).⁵

The other names borne by members of this family group are, by contrast, attested on Crete from hellenistic times. Ἀλεξῆς is a name known from Chersonesos in hellenistic-imperial times and from Gortyn in the second-third century (*IC* I 7.5 and *SEG* 24.1163, respectively). It is in fact a rather common name,⁶ as is Φιλωτέρα,⁷ attested from Crete, in the mid-third century BCE (*BGU* VI 1463.1.6-8), but not again until our inscription. Πυρία is attested in Crete on a stele from Kantanos that dates to the third or second century BCE (*IC* II 6.7): Πυρία Πυρία.⁸

Atticizing Stelai on Crete

We shall now examine other, similar stelai from Crete, to see what patterns of place and time might provide the historical context for the stele published here. There are, fortunately, not nearly so few examples of Atticizing stelai as van Effenterre lamented in 1968, on the basis of Kirsten's 1936 study of late-classical Crete.⁹ We have now, in fact, some twenty stelai known from Crete, almost half of which are from western Crete. To these should be added our stele, in all likelihood also from western Crete.

Kirsten's pioneering study of fifth- and fourth-century BCE Crete shows knowledge of seven published Atticizing stelai, three from Gortyn and one each from Aptaera, modern Stavromenos, Elyros, and the modern Bay of Achlada near Heraklion.¹⁰ Papaoikonomou's two 1981 articles added three stelai from Lissos to this *corpus* (Papaoikonomou [1] and [2]). Gondicas' detailed study of western Crete, a region much-neglected even in the scholarship devoted to Crete after the Minoan period, located one stele not otherwise listed among those from Crete, a stele from Kydonia.¹¹ Clairmont's *Classical Attic Tombstones* has surveyed the publications and the museums to add no fewer than eight stelai, three from Lasaiia, two from Kydonia, and one each from Hyrtakina, Gortyn, and Heraklion.¹² Vermeule's notes on the art of Crete in Hellenistic and Roman times contain two more stelai, both from Elyros.¹³

⁵ See Koenen, esp. 65 for the great care with which Greek dynastic cult names like Tryphon were chosen, to sound Greek to Greeks and yet enable Egyptians to recognize their Pharaoh. For the figurative meanings behind the term τρυφή, see H. Heinen, "Die Tryphè des Ptolemaios VIII. Euergetes II. Beobachtungen zum ptolemäischen Herrscherideal und zu einer römischen Gesandtschaft in Ägypten (140/39 v. Chr.)", *Historia Einzelschriften* 40 (1983) 116-30, esp. 119-20, where for Greeks the term signified wealth, prosperity, delight and bliss to the point of luxury and revelry, and so underlined the Ptolemies' special connection with Dionysus.

⁶ See the inscriptions known from Cyrenaica, Delos, Euboia, Kos (?), and Syros (Fraser-Matthews 26); Athens (Osborne-Byrne, *LGP*N 20); the references given in Pape-Bensseler (56); and the papyri noted in Preisigke (18), Foraboschi (25); and the many references in PHI 7 s.v. Ἀλεξῆς.

⁷ See Fraser-Matthews 474 for inscriptions not only from Crete but also Kos and Rhodes; Osborne-Byrne, *LGP*N 464 for Athens; Pape-Bensseler 1632; Preisigke 464; Foraboschi 333; and PHI 7 s.v. Φιλωτέρα.

⁸ Πυρία in *IC* II 3.42 (Aptaera; III c. BCE) is ambiguous, either nom. Πυρία (fem.) or gen. Πυρία (masc.).

⁹ van Effenterre 112, citing Kirsten 21-24 and 57-58.

¹⁰ See Kirsten 57-58, citing fourth-century stelai: Pernier *Annuario* 8 (1925) 22-24, figs. 19-21 all from Gortyn's Odeum; *Mon.Ant.* 11 (1901) 295 and 430 from Aptaera and Elyros, respectively. For the fifth-century BCE stele from modern Stavromenos, see Kirsten 21, citing *Arch. Delt.* 6 (1920-21) 163 pl.13. See Sanders 162 for the possible identification of modern Stavromenos as the site of ancient Allaria. For the stele from the modern Bay of Achlada, dated to the first half of the fourth century BCE, see Kirsten, 22-24, citing Bendorff *JÖAI* 6 (1903) pl. 1. See Sanders 154 for the possible identification of modern Ag. Pelagia, inland from the Bay of Achlada, as Apollonia.

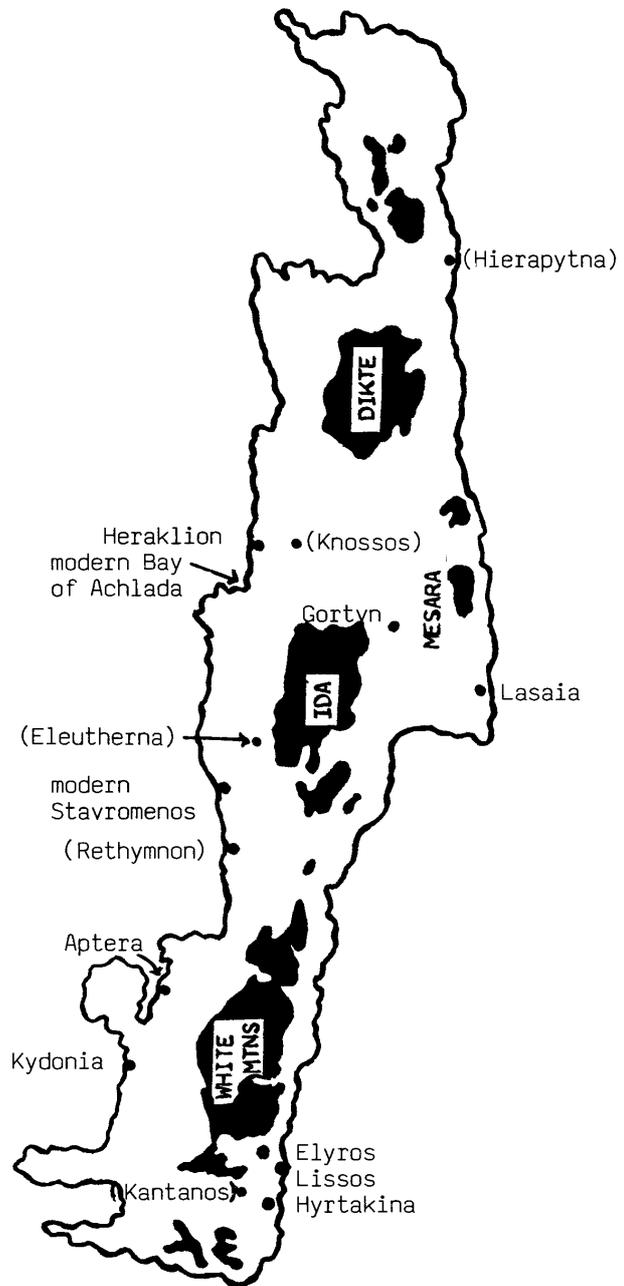
¹¹ D. Gondicas, *Recherches sur la Crète Occidentale* (Amsterdam 1988), 104, where the stele is attributed to Phalasarina. The notice in *Mon.Ant.* 11 (1901) 383-86 fig. 71, however, clearly states that it was found in a necropolis of Kydonia.

¹² *CAT* 1.708, 2.371c, and 2.893b from Lasaiia; 2.298 and 3.387c from Kydonia; 2.433b from Hyrtakina; 1.216 from Gortyn, and 2.897 from Heraklion.

¹³ Vermeule, 108, citing *Ergon* 1964, 150 nos. 1 and 4 from Elyros (for no. 1 cf. *Arch.Delt.* 20 [1965] B, 570 pl.720a, and *SEG* 25 [1971] 1031).

The composite geographical pattern shown in the Figure to the right suggests much about patterns of cultural and material exchange in Crete in the end of the fifth century and throughout the fourth century BCE. The distribution of these stelai lies, first, along a line running along the northwest coast, beginning perhaps at Kydonia but extending eastward to Aptera and modern Stavromenos near Rethymnon.¹⁴ Such stelai also appear at a cluster of sites at the foot of the White Mountains on the south coast, at Lissos, Hyrtakina, and Elyros. Developing trade routes and city foundations in the fifth-fourth centuries BCE link Lissos and Lasaiia, two of the seaside cities founded in the late-classical period (Perlman). From Lasaiia, these *stelai* follow a pattern of trade and cultural influence that linked the south coast with the north, running northward through Gortyn in the Mesara and through the northcentral plain to Heraklion and the nearby modern Bay of Achlada. This composite geographical pattern reflects, essentially, patterns of material and cultural exchange that took advantage of the sea lanes that ran along the north coast, and along the south coast of the island, as well as a north-south passage between the Mesara and the Heraklion plain. Our stele, in all likelihood from western Crete, could still be either from Aptera or Kantanos, depending upon whether it belongs to the northwest coastal pattern identified here, or the pattern seen south of the White Mountains.

Figure: Atticizing Stelai of Crete, 5-4th cent. BCE



(Modified from: L.V. Watrous, *Lasithi. A History of Settlement on a Highland Plain in Crete* [Princeton 1982], map 1).
Other sites mentioned in the text appear in parentheses.

¹⁴ See Kirsten 18-20, van Effenterre 42-43, and Papaiconomou (1) 262-63 and (2) 671 on the Athenian connections of Kydonia, and artistic influences via the workshop of Cresilas of Kydonia. See also H. van Effenterre, I. Papaiconomou, and A.-M. Liesenfelt, *BCH* 107 (1983) 405-19, esp. 416 on the importance of Attic influence on Cretan sculpture of the fifth century BCE, especially in the western part of the island.

Compare R. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford 1972), 217 for Kydonia as the best harbor on a direct route from Sparta and the Peloponnese to Egypt and Libya during the Peloponnesian War. During the Peloponnesian conflict, Athenian

Table: Atticizing stelai from Crete; 5-4th cent. BCE.
Patterns of Time and Place

	NW Coast	SW Coast	N-S Central Corridor
mid-5th c.	modern Stavromenos		
end of 5th c.		Elyros (2)	
beginning of 4th c.	Aptera		
400-375	Kydonia	Lissos	Lasaia, Gortyn
375-50	Kydonia		Lasaia (2), Gortyn, Heraklion
1st part of 4th c.	Kydonia		
1st half of 4th c.			modern Bay of Ach- lada
360-275	Western Crete (?; Berous Stele)		
350-300		Lissos, Hyrtakina	
later part of 4th c.		Elyros	Gortyn
4th c.			Gortyn

By taking into account patterns of time as well as place, we can show that the distribution of Atticizing stelai in Crete is subtly consonant with changing trade and settlement patterns in the course of the fifth-fourth centuries BCE.¹⁵ The Table above shows that the five stelai that suggest a northwestern coastal pattern are to be dated from the mid-fifth century (modern Stavromenos) and to the first part of the fourth century BCE (Kydonia and Aptera). Those that appear along the southwest coast are to be dated from the end of the fifth century (Elyros) to the first quarter of the fourth century BCE (Lissos) and the second half of the fourth century BCE (Lissos and Hyrtakina) or the later fourth century BCE (Elyros). And the stelai that appear in the north-south corridor that runs through the island's center are to be dated from the beginning of the fourth century BCE (Lasaia, Gortyn, and Heraklion) or the first half of the fourth century BCE (the modern Bay of Achlada) to century's end (Gortyn). It may be that the Kydonia-Rethymnon area and Elyros provided not one but two, simultaneous points of origin for the fashion of Atticizing stelai in late classical Crete, linked by the same route running west of the White Mountains that the Delphic *theoroi* used in the early third century BCE.¹⁶ Our stele, dated by letter forms to the mid-fourth to early third century BCE and stylistically to the third quarter of the fourth century BCE, might be best placed in the context not of Aptera, whose lone stele is dated to the early fourth century BCE, but that of Hyrtakina, Lissos, and Elyros, whose stelai fall in the second half of that century.¹⁷ This speculation is further encouraged by the fact that Kantanos, where Πυρρίας Πυρρίας was buried in the third or second century BCE (*IC* II 6.7; above, "The Names"), is conveniently located

convoys bound for Egypt went by way of Syria and Cyprus (van Effenterre 37), and an Athenian foothold at Kydonia would have constituted a continuing threat to Peloponnesian merchantmen (Meiggs 217). After the Peloponnesian War, there were perhaps no such obstacles to Athenian contact and influence in western Crete.

¹⁵ Perlman. Notably absent from this pattern is the eastern site of Hierapytna, like Lissos and Lasaia founded in the fifth-fourth centuries BCE. Perhaps its trading orientation was toward Egypt alone rather than Attica, to judge from the hellenistic stamped amphoras from Hierapytna that have been found in Alexandria (mentioned most recently in A. Marangou-Lerat, *Le vin et les amphores de Crète de l'époque classique à l'époque impériale* [Athens 1995] 123-4).

¹⁶ The route of the Delphic *theoroi* in the early third century BCE passed from Kythera to Crete, beginning at Phalassarna and going on to Polyrrhenia, and then west of the White Mountains through Pelkis in the territory of Kantanos before reaching Lissos and Elyros (A. Plassart, *BCH* 45 [1921] 19, col. III, lines 102-05). For the location of Pelkis along a river that leads from the foothills of the White Mountains to the south coast just west of Lissos and Hyrtakina, see Plassart 59 n.4; *IC* II 6 *praef. hist.* 84; and Sanders 171.

¹⁷ In 316/5 BCE, Demetrius of Phaleron imposed sumptuary laws on Athens which among other things discouraged the production of elaborate grave stelai. It just could be that an Attic workshop moved partially or entirely from Athens to Cretan Elyros and environs.

at the head of a river valley, which led from the foothills of the White Mountains to the south coast just west of Lissos and Hyrtakina.

Cretan Multiculturalism

For whom, then, were these Atticizing stelai sculpted, Athenians resident on Crete, who died there and wished to be commemorated in the Attic style, or Cretans living in port cities and trading centers and thereby more receptive than some of their fellows to Attic artistry? Most of the Atticizing stelai of Crete are uninscribed, or else illegible. But two from Lissos and Elyros are both inscribed and at least partially legible. They record two names that are already attested for late-classical and hellenistic Crete, though they are also most commonly attested in Athens and Attica. The stele from Lissos (Papaoikonomou [2]) names Μελίτ(τ)α, whose name is known from Axos in the early second century BCE (*IC* II 5.19 B, 10). Other names based upon the stem Μελιτ- or Μελιτ- are also attested in the fifth-third centuries BCE, at Kydonia (Μελιττίς), Gortyn (Μελιττίκα), and from Crete in general (Μελιττίων, Μελίτεια), but forms with a *tau* rather than a *sigma* are distinctively Attic.¹⁸ The stele from late-classical Elyros (*Arch.Delt.* 20 [1965] B, 570; *Ergon* 1964, 150 no. 1; *SEG* 25 [1971] 1031) names Εύφρων, whose name is likewise known from Crete: from Elyros in the hellenistic period (*IC* II 13.11) as well as the late-classical; as the name of a Herakliote at Aptera in the first half of the second century BCE (*IC* II 3.11C); and as the name of Cretans at Miletus in the third century BCE (Fraser-Matthews 190). This name too is otherwise attested most commonly in Attica.¹⁹

The stele published here provides five different names, to add to just two known from other Atticizing stelai on Crete. Together these seven names fail to evince the presence of Athenians in western Crete in the fifth-fourth centuries BCE.²⁰ The numbers are too small to draw any conclusion, and as we just saw, the names Melita and Euphron were used in Crete as well as in Attica and in the rest of the Greek world. Nevertheless, the presence on Crete of a woman with a name familiar in Egypt, Berous, may be significant. Living with this name in Crete's Greek environment, and at this early date, she was either Egyptian or else a Cretan whose father gave her an Egyptian name for reasons we cannot speculate upon. Her father, however, had both a Greek name and patronymic, as did her daughter. In Egypt, at the beginning of Ptolemaic rule, one might be able to suggest ethnicity on the basis of a personal name.²¹ On Crete, before or at the beginning of the hellenistic period, the case for Berous' Egyptian

¹⁸ See L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* (Berlin New York 1980) 537-41 on the Attic preference for -ττ- where other Greek dialects show -cc-, and 516 for -τ- in the place of -ττ-, including the name Μελίττα (*IG* II² 12066, dated to the fourth century BCE). For Cretan names based upon the stem Μελιτ/τ-, see Fraser-Matthews 304. See Osborne-Byrne, *LGPN* 302-03 for Μελίττα and comparable names in Attica; also Preisigke 212 and PHI 7 s.v. Μελιτ(τ)α/η for names that are attested most commonly in Attica, though also from Egypt, Crete, elsewhere in Greece, Ionia, and even Rome; and PHI 7 s.v. Μελιτ(τ)α/η for names attested in Greece, Delos, Ionia, Caria and even Rome, but never in Attica.

¹⁹ See Osborne-Byrne, *LGPN* 190 for Εύφρων as the name of thirteen men from Attica. Compare Preisigke 116, Foraboschi 117, and PHI 7 s.v. Εύφρων for this name attested most commonly in Attica but also in Egypt, elsewhere in Greece, Delos, Ionia, Asia Minor and Caria.

²⁰ A search of *IC*, *SEG* and *BE*, Fraser-Matthews, PHI 7, and the ATHENIANS database has likewise failed to reveal the presence of Athenians on Crete in the fifth-fourth centuries BCE. The name Φανυλίς (cf. Osborne-Byrne, *LGPN* for Φανύλη, Φάνυλλα, and Φάνυλλος), which appears on a ring from Crete and is dated to the fourth-third centuries BCE, need not attest her personal presence on the island. The name Ἀνακλις (G.M.A. Richter, *Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Catalogue of Engraved Gems, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman* [Rome 1956] 48 no. 46) is found on a ring from near Heraklion but belongs to an Attic gem engraver who need not have been personally on Crete ca. 480-70 BCE. And the name Θρακυμήδης (A. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium* [Berlin 1885] II 2870) appears on an Attic red-figured vase found on Crete but of Attic origin, so that he too need not have been on Crete in the fourth-third centuries BCE.

²¹ See Koenen, esp. 31 and n.19. Later on, Egyptians often assumed Greek names when dealing with Greeks, and Greeks assumed Egyptian names when dealing with Egyptians, with the result that from the second century BCE onward, names are not sufficient to indicate ethnicity. For the significance of a name at an early rather than late date, compare Dunand II, 5-6 on onomastic evidence of families that practiced the cult of Isis in the fifth-fourth centuries BCE, before it was official in Athens.

identity can only be stronger. Be this as it may²² a woman with a name used in Egypt is mourned by her Cretan daughter and is commemorated with a stele of Attic type. These facts reflect the multiculturalism of the times and illustrate for us the close personal as well as economic linkage between Athens, Crete, and Egypt.

The historical background of this linkage is not just a matter of the importance of Kydonia as a harbor between the Peloponnese and Egypt during the conflict between Athens and Sparta, nor of Athenian connections via Nikias the *proxenos* at Gortyn in 429 BCE.²³ In the fifth century BCE it is not only reflected by Attic export vases, Attic or Atticizing grave reliefs, and coins.²⁴ It is also reflected by the presence of Cretans in Athens beginning with the second half of the fifth century BCE.²⁵ And though there are no Egyptians attested on Crete in the fifth or fourth centuries BCE,²⁶ there were Cretans in Egypt beginning with the second half of the fifth century BCE.²⁷

Our stele, from the following century, illustrates the continuity of these ties between Athens, Crete and Egypt, ties that link the late classical period with hellenistic and Ptolemaic times.²⁸ Crete lay in a strategic position along hellenistic north-south routes that ran between Egypt and Athens (Lionel Casson, *Ancient Trade and Society* [Detroit 1984] 70-95, esp. 72). Atticizing grave reliefs and vases are to be found on Crete in the fourth century BCE as in the fifth, and Cretans are to be found in Athens as well as Egypt.²⁹ There is, moreover, a striking similarity between the *polis*-origins of those Cretans who

²² It hardly needs to be said that the preceding argument is tentative. Every Greek parent could have given a foreign name to a son or daughter. But even this would be significant, indicating a positive response to foreign influence if not actual ethnicity. The historical context detailed below, for example, might support a scenario in which Tryphonas was a Cretan mercenary serving in Egypt in the fourth century BCE, before he returned to Crete and gave his daughter an Egyptian name.

²³ See Kirsten 18 on the incident of 429 BCE, when an Attic ship landed freely but briefly in Crete, and on Nikias' position as an Attic *proxenos* at Gortyn as a result of strong connections between Athens and Crete, and frequent Athenian visits to the island. See further van Effenterre 35-38 on Crete's strategic position at the crossroads of maritime routes of primary importance in the late-fifth century BCE, and modest commercial traffic and artistic exchanges between Crete and Athens.

²⁴ See Kirsten 20-21 on Attic export vases at Gortyn, Polyrrhenia, Heraklion, and Praisos. In the decades since his pioneering work, many more have no doubt come to light. See pp. 21-24 on Attic grave reliefs, and 25ff. on coins.

²⁵ See Pope 197 for Πόλυβος Μενεθέως [Γορτύνιος ?], *proxenos* 405/4 BCE (*IG I³ 126.2, 7*). To her study should be added not only the sculptor Κρησίλας of Kydonia and the *proxenos* Νικήτας of Gortyn, but also the slave-trader Κοιτιμένης of Crete (*IG I³ 422*), the copper-smelter and metic Κοκίνο(υ)ς of Gortyn (*IG II² 8464*), and the alien Κλεώνυμος of Crete who was honored in an Athenian decree (Isaeus V 37). A *proxenos* and *euergetes* named ..τος Ἀνδρομένο[υς] (*IG II² 240*) may be either Chian or Cretan according to the restoration by A.J. Heisserer in *ZPE* 41 (1981) 216-18 [*SEG* 31.77.10].

²⁶ A search of *IC*, *SEG*, *BE* and *PHI* 7 has revealed no Egyptian names on Crete before the third century BCE.

²⁷ See the mercenaries Δαμόκριτος (*SEG* 26.1708) and Ὑπερβάλλων (*SEG* 26.1709), and dedications at the Memnonion beginning with that of Ὀνάκανδρος (*Memnonion* 405) and continuing with those dated around 400 BCE which name Μενοκλῆς ὁ καὶ Θαρόκλειος son of Ἀμαχέτας, Εὐφράντιος and Περιανδρίδας (*ibid.*, 446), as well as Θαρυθένης and Θιόκριτος (*ibid.*, 445). Cretan mercenaries were common in the Ptolemaic Army and among the settlers. For Cretans in the Ptolemaic army see Fraser on the predominantly Cretan city garrison (66, 70); a Cretan from Malia as a Ptolemaic official at Thera (101); a Cretan soldier from Lyttos who served in a Cyrenean expedition against Berenike (582); a highly-placed Cretan from Anopolis who served in the Ptolemaic garrison of Gaza (614); the 1000 Cretan mercenaries in Alexandria on whose loyalty Cleomenes III of Sparta could rely (70); and the 1000 Cretans enrolled, probably from the κοινὸν τῶν Κρηταίων, by Ptolemy VI Philometor (70). Large groups of mercenaries like the Cretans do not, however, recur after the middle of the second century BCE (*ibid.* 89). Compare Bagnall 118 for a Gortynian soldier who served the Ptolemies in the mid-II c BCE and returned to Gortyn to dedicate *IC* IV 243-4. For Cretans among the settlers of Ptolemaic Egypt, see F. Uebel, *Die Kleruchen Ägyptens unter den ersten sechs Ptolemäern* (Berlin 1968): in the Arsinoe nome, where the πολιτεύμα Κρητῶν ἀνδρῶν is attested (71-2, 106, 122, 127, 139, 159, 160, 178, 224); in the Oxyrrhynchus nome (332), and perhaps at Memphis (122 n.4). The famous Cretan cavalry commander Dryton is considered a settler but not a cleruch at Ptolemais (27). Most recently, see R. Duttonhöfer, *Chron. d'Ég.* 71 (1996) 297-309, esp. 307-9 for the Cretan Ἐρτάιος, a *strategos* of the Hermopolites whose daughter Βεπενίκη was an eponymous priestess in 145 BCE.

²⁸ For Crete and her contacts within the hellenistic world, see Angeliki Petropoulou, *Beiträge zur Wirtschafts- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte Kretas in hellenistischer Zeit* (Frankfurt am Main 1985) 35-45, esp. 39 on Cretan soldiers in the service of Ptolemaic Egypt, 40 on Athenian honorary decrees for Cretan slavetraders and for Eumaridas from Kydonia.

²⁹ Kirsten 57-59 on grave reliefs, and 59-60 on vases. For Cretans in Athens see Pope 141: Εὐρύλοχος Κυδ[ωνιάτης], a non-citizen honored in 320/19 (*IG II² 399.6, 10*). An update of her study should include Γλυκέρα daughter of Ἀντίοχος (*IG*

are attested at Athens during the fifth and fourth centuries BCE and the geographical and chronological pattern identified above for the Atticizing stelai of Crete: Kydonia, Gortyn, and Rethymnon³⁰ are places where Atticizing stelai have been found; Knossos is new to the pattern but lies within the north-south central corridor, and Eleutherna lies 25 km. east of Rethymnon in the shadow of Mt. Ida.³¹ Despite the presence of these Cretans in Athens, fourth-century Athenian historical and philosophical literature exhibits a limited, idealized image of Crete,³² an image that became more detailed and realistic only with Cretan involvement in mainland politics around 340 BCE.³³ Crete's full entrance into the larger politics of hellenistic times, albeit as an "other", is dated after the battle of Issos (333 BCE).³⁴ Her incorporation into the hellenistic world began with the Ptolemies of Egypt, by 266 BCE if not before.³⁵ Hierapyntan amphoras at Alexandria (see n. 15 above) and the many Cretans named in hellenistic papyri illustrate one direction of material and personal movement, from Crete to Egypt, while the Ptolemaic garrison at Itanos and Ptolemaic contacts and influence across the island illustrate the other.³⁶

Our stele provides precious evidence from a transitional period in Cretan history. The context for Berous' death and commemoration on Crete, in the fourth century BCE, is not the Ptolemaic period but the late classical to early hellenistic, which saw the emergence of Crete as a participant in Athenian and Egyptian life and as a player in the politics of the Greek mainland. The matrix for Berous' presence on Crete is the developing trade patterns of the late classical period, which began in north- and southwest Crete, and were oriented as much towards Athens and Attica as towards Egypt.³⁷ In the fourth century

Π² 9044), [Τιμ]οῦχος, *IG* 9090), Ἀριτοδική Κρήτη (*IG* Π² 9085), Κρήττα (*IG* Π² 11910; Peek, *Att. Grabschr.* II 36 no. 126), Ἀκέανδρος (*IG* Π² 399), Διοπείθης (*IG* Π² 3844), Κράγων son of Κραντιάδης (*IG* Π² 8484), Τίμων (*IG* Π² 9091), and Cώτειρα daughter of Δαμάρετος (*IG* Π² 10135). Κρήτη (*IG* Π² 8516) is listed as Ἐφεσία in Osborne-Byrne, *FRA* 69 no.1608. For Cretans in Egypt, see Γνάφαλλις (*Memnonion* 428), Νικίας and Cωκράτης (*Memnonion* 292). For those specifically in Ptolemaic Egypt see Fraser 613 (Νικώ, wife of Ἄρχων, and daughter of Ἀριτοκράτης), 580 (Θήρις, son of Ἀριταῖος), 180 (Cωτήριος, son of Ἰκαδίων, from Gortyn; Ἐχέφυλος of Polyrrhenia).

³⁰ Kydonia: the sculptor Κρησίλας, second half of the fifth century BCE; Εὐρύλοχος Κυδ[ωνιάτης] (*IG* Π² 399.6, 10); and Ἀκέανδρος, 320 BCE (*IG* Π² 399).—Gortyn: the *proxenos* Νικίας, 431 BCE; Πόλυ[β]ος Μενεθεώς [Γορτύνιος ?], 405/4 BCE (*IG* I³ 126.2,7); and Cωκίνο(υ)ς ca. 400 BCE (*IG* Π² 8464).—Rethymnon: Cώτειρα daughter of Δαμάρετος (*IG* Π² 10135).

³¹ Knossos: Γλυκέρα daughter of Ἄντιοχος (*IG* Π² 9044); and Κλεινίας, Plato *Leg.* 629c. — Eleutherna: Κράγων son of Κραντιάδης (*IG* Π² 8484).

³² See Kirsten 63-67 on Athenian literary interest in Crete throughout the fourth century BCE, and esp. Κλεινίας of Knossos, one of the two interlocutors in Plato's *Laws*.

³³ See Kirsten 61-62 and 68 on Knossian mercenaries, Lyttian sympathies, and Kydonian involvement in the conflict between Sparta and Phokaia, and the new understanding of Crete that resulted from these experiences.

³⁴ See Kirsten 69 on Crete as a refuge for Spartans and Persians in 333 and 332 BCE, even though Cretan archers had been deployed by Alexander.

³⁵ For the beginning of Ptolemaic involvement in Crete, see Fraser 66 on the earliest Ptolemaic officials known to have served on Crete, at Itanos and Olous in the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus; compare Bagnall 121-2 for a date of 266 for Patroklos' intervention at Itanos, and the question of whether Ptolemy I planted a garrison there, to judge from Ptolemy III's claim that he received Itanos from his father and forefathers. Spyridakis had dated the first Ptolemaic involvement to 270-60 if not before (S. Spyridakis, *Ptolemaic Itanos and Hellenistic Crete* [Berkeley CA 1970] 69-103, esp. 70 and 72).

³⁶ See Fraser 66 on Ptolemaic officials continuing to be active at Itanos and also at Gortyn; 89 on the Egyptians who formed the bulk of the troops sent to assist Gortyn in the mid-II c BCE; 79 on the garrison point at Itanos as one of the few places in the Cyclades that remained subject to the Ptolemies by the early II c BCE. Bagnall 121-2 reviews the evidence for the garrison at Itanos, which remained there until around 195, only to be reintroduced in the second part of Ptolemy VI Philometor's reign (163-45); and the evidence for Ptolemaic diplomatic and military involvement with Gortyn under Ptolemy IV Philopator and Ptolemy VI Philometor (118). Bagnall further gathers the elusive evidence for a refounding of Rethymnon under the name Arsinoe in the III c BCE (119), and interprets the evidence for an apparent treaty of mutual assistance between Philometor and the Cretan cities who sent allies to him, perhaps as members of the Cretan *Koinon* (119-20; above n. 27). Bagnall's conclusion is that although there is abundant testimony to the expenditure of Ptolemaic energy and money in Crete, and to its long-lasting and wide-spread effects, there is no trace of Ptolemaic control except at Itanos (120).

³⁷ For the presence of Egyptians and a temple of Isis in mid-fourth century Athens, see Dow, esp. 187 and 227. Dunand II, 3, and L. Vidman, *Isis und Sarapis bei den Griechen und Römern: epigraphische Studien zur Verbreitung und zu den Trägern des ägyptischen Kultes* (Berlin 1970), 34-5, have assembled the evidence for the introduction of Egyptian cults into

BCE, there were not only Cretans in Athens and Egypt, but also Athenians in Egypt,³⁸ and Egyptians in Athens,³⁹ even though neither group is attested on Crete. It is no surprise that in the fourth century both Cretans and Egyptians are commemorated with Attic stelai, in Athens.⁴⁰ But it remains remarkable that an Atticizing stele was used in Crete to commemorate Berous, daughter of Tryphonas, wife of Pyrias and mother of Philotera, if, indeed, she was Egyptian. Berous was in all likelihood buried on Crete, perhaps at Kantanos,⁴¹ but more likely at one of the cities on the southwest coast such as Elyros, Lissos, or Hyrtakina, with their contacts with Cyrene and their openness to Egyptian religion and influence.⁴² All

mainland Greece: the cult of Ammon in Athens in the fourth century BCE, via Cyrene; an Isis inscription from fourth-century Pellene (Achaia); the cult of Isis and Sarapis at Eretria (Euboea) in the end of the fourth century, via Egyptians who brought the cult there. The cult of Isis first appeared at the Piraeus in 333/2, via Egyptian merchants resident there (Dunand II, 5 and Vidman 10-12), while that of Sarapis was introduced to Athens in the first half of the third century BCE, out of political motivations (Dunand II, 8). The cult of the Egyptian deities was officially adopted at Athens in the second half of the third century BCE, as a result of Lagid propaganda (Dunand II, 8), and only after that are theophoric names common in Athens (Dunand II, 6). Compare S. Takács, *Isis and Sarapis in the Roman World* (Leiden 1995) 29 for the process by which, first in Athens and then at Delos, Egyptians served as priests early in the life of the cult of Isis while later priests are recognizable as Athenians and Delians. To date, little attention has otherwise been paid to Egyptian names in the Greek world. In addition to Dow's study of the theophoric names attested in Athens, see M. Guentch-Ogloueff, "Noms propres imprécatoires", *Bull. Caire* 40 (1941) 117-33 on popular names from the twenty-second dynasty to the Roman period, of which a certain number are transcribed in Greek; and *BE* 1963.300, 1964.532, 1973.504 on ethnics of Egyptian towns mentioned in the Greek world. Egyptian names are, unfortunately, excluded by design from both Fraser-Matthews and Osborne-Byrne, *LGPN*. Robert has suggested that, despite the number of phantom names contained in Foraboschi, it could provide a precise base for the anthroponymy of Greco-Roman Egypt in all its diversity (*BE* 1971.192). For the ethnic diversity of Athens, see now Osborne-Byrne, *FRA*.

³⁸ A search of the ATHENIANS database reveals a group of Athenians who apparently were part of an expedition to Egypt led by Chabrias of Athens and Agesilaus of Sparta ca. 360 BCE: Δημήτριος Ἀθηναῖ(ος), Λυκίκρατος Ἀθηναῖ(ος), ᾘωκικ[λ]ῆς Ἀθηναῖ(ος), Πυθόδωρος Ἀθηναῖ(ος), and Ἀριετόβουλος Ἀ[θ]ην(αῖος), all victims of a shipwreck and named in *CIG* 4702; and Νικίας, apparently a survivor (Demosthenes 19.287).

³⁹ Pope's study of non-Athenians in Attic inscriptions includes three Egyptian diplomats in Athens 367/6-360/59 BCE (Ἀπολλόδωρος, Ζώπυρος, and Πίγρης, *IG* II² 119.6 and p. 658). See, however, S. Du-anic, "Athens, Crete, and the Aegean after 366/5 B.C.", *Talanta* 12-13 (1980-81) 7-29 esp. 14-15, for the suggestion that these three diplomats are not Egyptians but Anatolians on the basis of name comparisons that point to Caunus and Xanthus. Pope's study also includes an Αἰγύπτιος who was a non-citizen named in an Eleusinian inscription (*IG* II² 1672.178); and an Αἰγυπτία whose former master dedicated a silver phiale upon her manumission (*IG* II² 1567). A search of PHI 7 and the ATHENIANS database adds to this list Ἐρμαῖος Αἰγύπτιος ἐξ Θηβῶν (*IG* II² 7967 [*Agora* XVII 396]), Εὐθηθίς Αἰγυπτία (*IG* II² 7968); and a group of women (probably slaves) named Αἰγυπτία (*IG* II² 4584, 10596, 10596a; *SEG* 29.241; *AM* 67 [1942] 117 no. 241; and *Agora* XVII 698). Osborne and Byrne, *FRA* 11, have identified six additional Egyptians in Athens in the 5-4th cc BCE: Ἀθηνογένης (Hyperides v. *passim*), Δεινίας (Strattis fr. 34 [*PCG* 7 p.639]); another Ἐρμαῖος (Athenaeus 227, quoting Archippos, *PCG* 2 p.546 fr.23); Μέλας (Isaeus V.7f.; 40); Πάμφιλος (Demosthenes XXI.163); and Καίτις (Αἰγύπτιος? *CIG* II² 7968).

⁴⁰ For Cretans commemorated with Attic stelai at Athens, see ᾘωκίνο(υ)ς of Gortyn, ca. 400 (*IG* II² 8464 [*CAT* 1.202]), and Κρήττα, fourth century BCE (Peek, *Att. Grabschr.* II 36 no. 126), a lekythos indexed in *CAT* as no. 167, an entry which presents instead the stele of Rodon son of Aristion of the deme Aixone (cited correctly as *IG* II² 5443 and *SEG* 21.883, but wrongly as Peek, *Att. Grabschr.* II 36 no. 126). For possible Egyptians commemorated with Attic stelai at Athens, see two women with the name Αἰγυπτία (*SEG* 29.241 [*CAT* 2.881a]; and *AM* 67 [1942] 117 no. 241 [*CAT* 121]).

⁴¹ It is at second century BCE Kantanos that we find one of the Egyptian-influenced names attested for Crete, [Εἰ]κίδωρος, as well as the third-second century BCE stele that names Πυρρία Πυρρία (*IC* II 6.7, above, "The Names"). Compare Dow, esp. 184, 216, and 228 and Dunand II, 6 on the introduction of Egyptian-influenced names in Athens, from the third century BCE onward (with the sole exception of Isigenes of Rhamnous, born in the late fifth century BCE (*IG* II² 1927, lines 148-50, where his son Diodoros is attested as a *diaitetes* of ca. 325 BCE).

⁴² For contacts with Cyrene see P. Perlman, "Πόλις Ὑπήκοος. The Dependent Polis and Crete", in M.H. Hansen, ed., *Introduction to an Inventory of Poleis* (Copenhagen 1996) 233-87, esp 255-6 on the *Oreioi*, a federation of cities on the southern side of the White Mountains in southwest Crete that included Tarrha, Lissos, Elyros, Hyrtakina, and perhaps Poikilasion. This federation struck a treaty with King Magas of Cyrene (*IC* II.17.1, Lissos) in the mid-third century BCE. Coins attest the existence of this federation from the late fourth to early third century BCE, and epigraphical and historical sources document its continuation till the late third to early second century BCE.—For openness to Egyptian religion and influence, see Dunand II, 73 and 79 on the Egyptian cults of Crete, limited to the south coast facing Egypt, from Hierapytna in the east to Gortyn, Lasaia, and Timbaki in the Mesara, and Poikilasion in the west. Poikilasion lies just to the east of Elyros, Lissos, and Hyrtakina.

this took place at a time when Crete was coming out of the isolation of what is called "the classical period" from the perspective of Athens, and into the multicultural world that produced the hellenistic period. Berous' is the earliest Egyptian name attested in Crete, if not in all Greece, and it seems clear that the Cretans moved outward, e.g., to Athens and Egypt, long before others made their way to the island. In the fifth to mid-fourth centuries BCE, Cretans are attested at Olympia, Delphi, and Epidaurus.⁴³ In the mid-fifth to late fourth centuries BCE, they were mercenaries in the service of Persian kings, and then of Philip II and Alexander the Great.⁴⁴ And in the fourth to third centuries BCE, Cretans were at Cyprus (Ονάκανδρος, *SEG* 28.1302), Cyrene (Παρμένων Νικία, *SEG* 9.196), and Iasos (Θεόδωρος Κωτάδα, *I. Iasos* 53). Literary references do not reveal the destinations of two Cretans.⁴⁵ In sum, fifth-fourth century BCE Crete constituted a cultural, personal, material, and economic crossroads between Athens and Egypt, and a homeland for Cretans abroad in the post-classical world.

The multiculturalism of late classical-early hellenistic Crete is, however, not to be placed only in the context of developing patterns of contact and exchange identified by Perlman,⁴⁶ or the linkage between Athens, Crete, and Egypt that spans the classical-hellenistic periods. It continues to be visible in the pattern referred to in the Roman period as "backwater provincialism", a pattern in which coastal and urban areas appear more progressive, more open to other ways and practices, than those of interior and rural areas. What we have here is evidence that in the late-classical period the same areas were culturally progressive, and that it was not just a "band of Roman presence or possession" (K.J. Rigsby, *TAPA* 106 [1976] 329-30) that made the great central corridor of Crete one of the areas most influenced by Rome and Romans. It was also, or perhaps more, the progressiveness of the Cretans themselves, who were open to Attic and Egyptian cultural fashions long before they proved receptive to Roman influence.

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⁴³ A search of Fraser-Matthews for Cretans elsewhere in Greece in the fifth-fourth centuries BCE shows that in the fifth to mid-fourth centuries BCE Cretans at Olympia included Ἀκέτωρ (*RE* I 1 [1893] 1167 no. 5); Αἰγεΐδακ (L. Moretti, "Olympionikai, i vincitori negli agoni olimpici", *Memorie della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, ser. 8 vol. 8 no. 2 [Roma 1959] 101 no. 296); Διόγνητος (*ibid.*, 84 no. 181); Ἰώνιος Κρής (*ibid.*, 113 no. 367b); and Ἐργοτέλης Φιλάνορος (*RE* VI 1 [1907] 436 no. 3; Pindar *Ol.* 12; Pausanias VI 4.11, though he went to Olympia from his new home in Himera and not from Knossos whose political strife he had fled).— Cretans at Delphi include Ἀμφίων son of Ἀκέτωρ (*RE* I 2 [1894] 1948 no. 9); Ἀπολλώνιος Διονυσοδώρου (*FD* III 5.9 II B 22). — For a Cretan at Epidaurus see *IG* IV (I)² 102, 26, Τυχαμένης.

⁴⁴ In the mid-fifth to late fourth centuries BCE, Cretans who served as mercenaries with Persian kings include Ἐντιμος (*RE Suppl.* 4 [1924] 276 no. 1a); Ζήνων (*RE* XA [1972] 214 no. 20); Στρατοκλής (*Xen. An.* IV 2.28). Cretans in the service of Philip II and Alexander the Great include Ἀνδρότιμος (*Arr. An.* 3.6.5, *Ind.* 18.4; M. N. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions, vol. II, from 403 to 323 B.C.* [Oxford 1948] 239 no. 182) and his son Νέαρχος (*RE* XVI 2 [1935] 2132-54 no. 3; H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* [Munich 1926] II 269-72 no. 544; *FGrH* 133); Εὐρυβότακ (*RE* VI 1 [1907] 1321; Berve II 158 no. 320); Μνακικλής (*RE* XV 2 [1932] 2254; Berve II 264-5 no. 533); Ὀμβρίων (Berve II 288 no. 582); Φιλωνίδης Ζώϊτου (Berve II 392 no. 800; *SEG* XIV 376; Pausanias VI 16.5).

⁴⁵ Literary references name Βρόταρχος (*AP* VII 254b) and Ἐχεκρατίδακ (*HE* 667).

⁴⁶ Perlman argues that certain parts of Crete participated in such contact and exchange, while others engaged in the piracy for which Hellenistic Crete was so infamous. It would appear, from the evidence of our study, that the south coast and the central corridor of Crete engaged in cultural exchange while the north coast participated in the piracy that made the Golden Sea between Crete and Achaia so dangerous (P. Green, *Alexander to Actium* (Berkeley-Los Angeles 1990) 655) and inspired Metellus' three-year campaign along the north coast from Phalasama and Kydonia to Lyttos, and to a final departure from Hierapytna.



An Atticizing Stele from Western Crete