

Πόλις Ὑπήκοος. The Dependent *Polis* and Crete¹

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I. Introduction

One of the fundamental tasks of the contributors to the inventory of Greek *poleis* is to decide which of the communities within each region were and which were not *poleis*. Doing so for Crete is less straightforward than I foresaw when I first contemplated the project. I had anticipated that this task would be complicated for me by the paucity of evidence – literary, epigraphic, and material – for the fifth and early fourth centuries B.C. In many cases it would be necessary to argue from Hellenistic and later evidence that a particular *polis* had existed earlier. Whether or not a community was a *polis* seemed to me to be an uncomplicated question. Was the community independent, did it mint coins, sign treaties, enjoy its own laws and courts?² If so, it was a *polis* and would claim its place in the inventory. In fifty-seven cases, the weight of the combined numismatic, epigraphic, and literary evidence endorses such a conclusion (Fig. 1). But for another two dozen or so Cretan toponyms, appeal to these criteria fails to yield an unequivocal answer to the question, *polis* or not? For example, Stephanus of Byzantium (585.12) identified Στήλαι as a *polis*. Yet the political and economic independence of the Stalitai is quite clearly compromised in the only other evidence for the community, the well-known third century B.C. agreement between Stalai and Praisos (*I.Cret.* III.vi [Praisos].7).³ The agreement sets forth the terms by which the Praisians promised the Stalitai enjoyment of their chora, *polis*, islands, and a share of the revenue from harbor taxes and from the purple-dye and fishing industries (*I.Cret.* III.vi.7A, lines 4-8 ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἔδωκαν Πραΐσιοι Σταλίταις τὰν χλῶραν καὶ τὰν πόλιν καὶ νάσους τὰς καὶ νῦν ἔχον[τι κ]αὶ ἐλλιμενίου καὶ πορφύρας καὶ ἰχθύων δεκά[τα]ς, τούτων πάντων τὸ ἥμισσον, ἰχθύωμ μὲν καθάπε[ρ] | [κ]αὶ πρότερον; lines 19-20 ἐάσομεν ἔχειν . . . καὶ οὔτε ἀφαιρησόμεθα).⁴ The Stalitai agreed as well to provide the Praisians with rowers (B, lines 12-25). Of course, one might claim that Stephanus (or his source) used the word *polis* in its topographical sense

(as must be the case in the lines of the decree quoted above) or one might suggest instead a diachronic solution; Stephanus' source reflects an earlier moment in the history of Stalae which by the third century B.C. was controlled by Praisos and so could no longer fairly be called a *polis*.⁵ Yet, the sheer number of problematic cases recommends a reevaluation of the criteria.

Clearly, we must agree upon what a *polis* was, and perhaps as importantly what was not essential to *polis*-ness, before we can determine whether or not a particular community was one. I doubt that there would be much opposition to the minimalist position that a *polis* was *at the least* a community of citizens. Unfortunately, for many communities there is no explicit, unequivocal evidence that they were or were not so constituted. If we move beyond this minimalist approach in search of more substantial signs of the *polis*, we discover as did Pausanias at Panopeus (Paus. 10.4.1-2), that not only can a community be a *polis* despite the absence of government offices, gymnasia, theaters, market-places, or public fountains, but that such accoutrements did not a *polis* make. Indeed, the papers and responses presented at the second annual symposium of the Copenhagen Polis Centre in August 1994, served to remind us how difficult it is to establish a list of criteria or indicia of *polis*-ness: decrees, ethnica, coinage, fortification walls, public buildings, officials, community cults, league membership, as each category was addressed the list of essential features of the *polis* seemed to shrink.

The present essay explores one criterion which has, at least in England and the United States, been privileged as fundamental to the definition of the *polis*, namely political independence. In recent papers, M. H. Hansen has argued against the position that without political independence a community was not a *polis*.⁶ The ancient record, Hansen observes, nowhere premises *polis* status upon political independence. If such were the case, many of the ancient Greek communities we accept uncritically as *poleis* would not pass the test,⁷ and hundreds of communities actually called *poleis* in contemporary sources would have to be denied the status of *polis* on the assumption that even good sources are hopelessly inconsistent in the way they use the term *polis* whereas modern historians know better how the term ought to be used.⁸ Rather, we should recognize that a community often remained a *polis* even if it happened to be politically subordinate to another *polis*. In short, the dependent or *hypekoos polis* was not an oxymoron.⁹ I expect that Hansen's position will meet with considerable resistance. If a *polis* was not an independent community of citizens then what, exactly, was it? Yet not only

are the arguments adduced by Hansen convincing, but, against the view that a community must be independent in order to be a *polis*, the ancient record for the status of many communities quite simply *makes better sense*. One example from beyond the shores of Crete will serve to illustrate this final point.

J. M. Cook introduces his recent study of the political geography of the Troad with a definition of *polis*: "The word πόλις (city) is generally regarded as having a specific meaning in classical and Hellenistic times. It implied a community, often small but normally ranking as Greek, which was autonomous and not subordinated to another city. A community which was so subordinated, and therefore did not have city status was often spoken of as, for instance, a πολίχνιον, πολισμάτιον, χωρίον, or more explicitly κατοικία, κώμη, or the like."¹⁰ The focus of Cook's article is the use of the *theorodokia* in determining political status, a practice which he rejects, but he begins the essay with a brief exploration of local patriotism and self-definition, suggesting, it would seem, that a community might call itself a *polis* (and be so called by others) when its dependent status did not entitle it to do so. Marpessos is invoked as one example of this phenomenon. Pausanias (10.12) remarked that the nearly-deserted remains of the πόλις of Marpessos were extant in his day and quoted an oracle of the sibyl Herophile, whose portrait has been identified on the fourth century and early Hellenistic coinage of neighboring Gergis, in which she claimed to come from Marpessos.¹¹ Cook suggests that the adoption of the sibyl's portrait by Gergis for its coins indicates that Marpessos was a dependency of Gergis and so not a *polis*. He seems to attribute Pausanias' description of Marpessos as a *polis* to the inflated rhetoric of a community which was proud of its standing as the birthplace and home of the sibyl. He notes, finally, that Lactantius I, 6 described the home of the sibyl as "in agro Troiano, vico Marpesso, circa oppidum Gergithum." In his seminal study of the Troad, Cook had described the remains identified as the site of Marpessos (modern Dam Dere) as those of a village or small town which probably belonged to Gergis.¹² Without the testimony of Pausanias (and Stephanus who also identified Marpessos as a *polis*¹³) there would be no reason to suggest that Marpessos was anything but a κατοικία or κώμη of Gergis.

Marpessos emerges from the ancient record as a modestly sized community situated within eight kilometers of the polis Gergis.¹⁴ The community claimed to be the birthplace of the sibyl Herophile, whose portrait appeared on the coins of neighboring Gergis, and a cult of the

Mother was probably located there.¹⁵ Pausanias and Stephanus identified Marpessos as a *polis*. To be sure, Cook may well be right to identify Marpessos as a dependent community of Gergis, but several points in his argument require additional comment. (1) The numismatic argument is weak. The adoption of the portrait of the sibyl by Gergis might just as well reflect contested claims to her birthplace rather than to political status. Indeed, there were several traditions concerning the sibyl's birthplace and home. If Cook's point is rather that Gergis minted while Marpessos apparently did not, it should be noted that while coinage is a good indication of *polis* status, the failure to mint in and of itself does not indicate the opposite.¹⁶ (2) Pausanias and Stephanus may have erred in their identification of Marpessos as a *polis*, but that their usage of site-classification terms was loose must be demonstrated rather than simply asserted. (3) There is no doubt that communal traditions helped to constitute the *polis* as they did all types of community. That the ancient geographers and periegetes included local foundation legends in their descriptions of cities reflects not only their antiquarian interest in such matters, but also the fact that these traditions were as much a constitutive element of the *polis* as its buildings, monuments and institutions. Thus, if we are willing to admit the category of the dependent *polis*, the evidence for the status of ancient Marpessos may well lead us in that direction.

Still, the question what exactly was a *polis* if not an independent community of citizens remains. In answer to this question, Hansen proposes three criteria which may be used to distinguish the (even dependent) *polis* from other types of communities:¹⁷ (1) the presence of *prytaneia*, *bouleuteria* or *ekklesiasteria* and the institutions which these buildings accommodated, *viz.* magistrates having common meals, a council and an assembly;¹⁸ (2) the possession of a hinterland in the form of a territory bordering on neighboring territories; and (3) self-governance in questions of citizenship, land ownership, inheritance and so on.

The essay which follows explores the evidence from Crete for the *hypekoos polis*. Earlier studies have addressed the question of dependent communities on Crete.¹⁹ This study differs from them not only in its interpretation of particular documents and categories of evidence, but also in its theoretical approach as a test case for the historicity of the dependent or *hypekoos polis*. It must be admitted at the outset that only seldom does the evidence carry us back into the classical or archaic periods. For the most part we must rest content with the Hellenistic record. Furthermore, there is very little evidence for the first of Hansen's

criteria, the architectural expression of the fundamental political institutions of the *polis*, for the communities with which I will be concerned. The evidence is somewhat better for the two remaining criteria, hinterland and self-governance. Finally, I do not pretend to have accomplished here a comprehensive study of the evidence for the *hypekoos polis* on Crete. Rather, I begin with studies of the Cretan terminology of dependency (II) and the use by Cretans of sub-regional *ethnika* as part of the personal name and their collective use as well (III and Fig. 2). The two inquiries function in part as a preface to the fourth and final section of this paper, a study of the communities in the Mesara and the contiguous mountain highlands where the evidence for the political and social hierarchy of settlement is best (IV).

II. Terms for Dependent Communities

II.1. Introduction

J. A. O. Larsen was the first scholar to give full weight to the epigraphic evidence for dependent communities on Crete.²⁰ Earlier discussions had concentrated upon two passages in Aristotle's *Politics* in which Aristotle equated the *perioikoi* of Crete with Sparta's helots (Aristot. *Pol.* 1271b40-72a1, 1272b18-19), and upon a passage from Athenaeus on Cretan terms for servile and dependent status (Athen. 6, 84). Athenaeus quoted a passage from Sosicrates' *Κρητικά* wherein the Cretan *perioikoi* were defined as *hypekooi*, and added that the views of Dosiades on Cretan terms for various categories of servile status were "nearly equal".²¹ Appealing chiefly to the epigraphic evidence, Larsen identified fourteen Cretan towns as "perioikic": Aulon, Rhitten, Kaudos, Amyklai, Lebena, Bene, Boibe, Rhytion, and Matalon (all *perioikic* communities of Gortyn), the Kransopeioi (*perioikoi* of Phaistos and Gortyn),²² Herakleion (perioecic community of Knossos), Stalai and Setaia (perioikic communities of Praisos), and the Kerines (*perioikoi* of Eltynia). The closest he came to defining precisely what he intended by the term is found in his assessment of the status of Kaudos: "...the community (sc. Kaudos) is seen to have been completely under the control of Gortyn but to have had local self-government. It certainly would have as good a claim to be called a polis as the perioecic communities of Sparta."²³ With few exceptions, subsequent discussions of dependent communities on Crete have focused upon just one type of community, the perioikic, and have appealed to an essentially Spartan model.²⁴ While I

shall argue below that the evidence does support the identification of a number of these communities as dependent,²⁵ the approach of Larsen is flawed on two counts.

The perioikic communities of Sparta have not received the scholarly attention they deserve. Fundamental questions about their internal structure and their relationship with Sparta remain unanswered.²⁶ Furthermore, what we do know about the settlement history of Laconia and the development of the Spartan state should lead us to anticipate that the organization of the perioikic communities of Laconia, not to mention Messenia, varied considerably from one to the other.²⁷ The settlement history of Crete was if anything more complex and so we should expect greater variation in community organization and in the structure of inter-community hierarchies. As is becoming increasingly clear, remnants of the pre-Greek and Mycenaean populations continued to flourish on the island following the destructions of the thirteenth century B.C. (LMIIIB).²⁸ The material record of dark age Crete reveals considerable regional diversity.²⁹ We should expect that the conditions encountered by the later colonists to the island varied considerably from place to place and recognize that different conditions pose different problems and different problems demand different responses. Indeed, the dark age communities of Crete seem to have followed different paths toward *polis* development. For example, the abandonment of the three dark age settlements at Hagios Ioannis, Profitis Ilias and Charkιά Pervoli at the northern edge of the Mesara suggests that the foundation of Gortyn at the end of the eighth century B.C. was the result of a synoikism of these and possibly other villages.³⁰ Knossos, on the other hand, evidently survived the destruction of the Mycenaean palace and persisted as a nucleated settlement without interruption into the age of the city-state.³¹ In such case, not only should we avoid appealing to a mainland model for the dependent communities of Crete, but we should anticipate considerable variation in the social, political and economic relations enjoyed by the autonomous and independent *poleis* with their dependent communities.

The discussion which follows explores the evidence provided by the Cretan epigraphic corpus for terms used to identify free but dependent populations and communities on the island. It must be noted at the outset that the term *perioikos* is not securely attested on the island. Larsen invoked *I.Cret.* IV, 65, lines 7-10, a sacrificial law from Gortyn of the fifth century B.C., for the use of the term on Crete: τοι Ἀλλίοι οὐν ἔρ-σεν[α -] | [-]α ταδε παρθυμιαται περιΦοι[-]. He suggested that the

clause established special regulations for the *perioikoi*. But M. Guarducci suggested as an alternative the reading τὰ δὲ παρθύματ' αἱ περὶ Φοι[χείον].³² Otherwise there is only the reference to ταῖς περιοίκους in a poorly preserved decree of a Cretan *polis* which forbids its citizens from pillaging Attica (*IG* II², 1130, early 2nd century B.C.).³³ Too little of the text survives to deduce the meaning of the term. The feminine form suggests that we might supply πόλεις (or χώραι), but if so it is impossible to determine whether these perioikic communities were located on Crete or elsewhere.

II.2 ὑπόβοικος

Terms for the citizen and for the servile populations are abundant.³⁴ Only one, *hypoboikos*, probably refers to a member of a free but dependent population. The term occurs in a poorly preserved agreement between Lato and Gortyn of the late third century B.C. (*I. Cret.* I.xvi [Lato].1) which provides for the settlement of private law-suits between Gortynians and Latoans. A plaintiff from Lato was to choose a Gortynian judge and vice versa (lines 9-12). If the plaintiff prevailed, penalties were to be decided in accordance with those specified in the *diagramma* of the Cretans (lines 36-38).³⁵ The final provision extends the terms of the agreement to a group called the ὑπόβοικοι (lines 38-40 κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ καὶ οἱ ὑπόβοικοι ὑπεχόντων τὸ δίκαιον τοῖς Λατίοις Γόρτυνι). Opinion is divided as to whether the ὑπόβοικοι were members of the community of Lato or Gortyn.³⁶ The answer depends in part upon how one construes τοῖς Λατίοις: construed with κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ the provision required that the ὑπόβοικοι *in the same way as the Latoans* were to be tried at Gortyn;³⁷ construed with ὑπεχόντων τὸ δίκαιον the ὑπόβοικοι *shall defend themselves against charges brought by Latoans* at Gortyn.³⁸ In the first alternative, the ὑπόβοικοι were Latoan defendants who would be tried by Latoan judges chosen by the plaintiff in the plaintiff's hometown of Gortyn. In the second, the ὑπόβοικοι were Gortynian defendants who would be tried by a Gortynian judge chosen by the Latoan plaintiff in the defendant's hometown of Gortyn. Both constructions are grammatical, but are the legal procedures outlined in the two alternatives equally likely?

We know that the choice of judge was left up to the plaintiff. The principle clause concerning venue was apparently lost in the lacuna at lines 13 and following. Several observations suggest that the second alternative proposed above is the more likely of the two. There are no close parallels, and none on Crete, for the procedure envisioned in the first al-

ternative (judges traveling to another town to try a case).³⁹ Indeed, venue would have little effect upon the outcome of the case which was probably decided on the basis of the testimony and oaths of the parties and their witnesses.⁴⁰ The procedure for the selection of judges in this agreement (*viz.* the plaintiff selects a judge from the defendant's *polis*) seems intent to strike a balance between the interests of the two parties. In sum, the weight of the evidence favors the second alternative; the ὑπόβοικοι, members of the *polis* of Gortyn who belonged to neither the citizen class (otherwise the provision would be redundant) or servile class (otherwise the master would represent the ὑπόβοικος in court),⁴¹ were the prospective defendants in cases brought by Latoan plaintiffs. Such cases would be tried at Gortyn by a Gortynian judge who himself had been chosen by the Latoan plaintiff.

Granted that the ὑπόβοικοι were a free but dependent segment of the population of the *polis* of Gortyn, did they form communities and, if so, what, if anything, may be concluded about the political status of those communities? Larsen compared the Gortynian ὑπόβοικοι to the Spartan *perioikoi* and from this we may conclude that he would have assigned the status of ὑπόβοικος to the members of the ten perioikic communities of Gortyn, although he nowhere said this in so many words.⁴²

Furthermore, Larsen argued, the Gortynians used the term *perioikos* to refer to the same social group as *hypoboikos*, adding that the two terms may have been in use at different times, or used synchronically with varying emphasis.⁴³ Neither of these claims has been received with great enthusiasm. Guarducci preferred Aristotle's statements that the Cretan *perioikoi* constituted a serf class comparable to the Spartan helots. Rather, ὑπόβοικος was the term used at Gortyn (and elsewhere on Crete?) for a class comparable to the Spartan *perioikoi*.⁴⁴ Support for this suggestion was sought in the fragment of Sosicrates for which Guarducci proposed the emendation ὑποικοι (= Cretan ὑπόβοικοι) for ὑπήκοοι; οἱ Κρηῖτες καλοῦσι...τοὺς δὲ περιοίκους ὑποίκους.⁴⁵

In all of this discussion, little attention was given to the historical context of the treaty or to the question why the provision concerning the ὑπόβοικοι was included in it. The inscription may be dated epigraphically to the end of the third or first half of the second century B.C. This suits the chronology suggested by the provision that damages be assessed in accordance with the *diagramma* of the Cretans, an instrument of the Hellenistic Cretan κοινόν.⁴⁶ The agreement proper commences with a provision concerning the cessation of hostilities, the establishment of peace for all time, and the peaceful resolution of disputes (lines

5-7 [- τ]ᾱσπονδᾶνς ἄγεν | [καὶ τὰν εἰράνα]ν αἰεὶ καὶ τὰ δίκαια δια[κρίενεν ἐν ἀλλάλα]οις). A stipulation concerning the return of property follows immediately upon the promise to resort to the courts for conflict resolution (lines 7-9 τὰ μὲν φανερὰ προῖα[ντας αὐ-θαμερὸ]ν ἀποδόμεν, τῶν δὲ ἀφα[νέων δόμεν προ]ῖα[ντας]). A precise context for the hostilities which this agreement sought to resolve cannot be identified.⁴⁷ But it is clear that raids were conducted and property was stolen.

The western border of Lato was close to sixty kilometers east of the *asty* of Gortyn as the crow flies.⁴⁸ A number of *poleis* lay between the two. The northern route between Gortyn and Lato passed through the territory of Knossos and Lyktos with whom Lato shared her western border. To the south of Mt. Dikte were a number of small communities including (from east to west) the independent *poleis* Biannos and Priansos, as well as Inatos, Pyranthos and Rhytion whose political status is unclear. Inatos does not concern us here as it seems to have belonged to the *polis* of Priansos.⁴⁹ Stephanus identified Pyranthos (modern Pyrathi) as a small *polis* or *kome* located in the vicinity of Gortyn, referring to its inhabitants as οἱ κατοικοῦντες rather than πολῖται.⁵⁰ Rhytion (modern Rotassi) he identified as a *polis* and its inhabitants as πολῖται.⁵¹ Strabo, on the other hand, claimed that Rhytion, like Phaistos, belonged to Gortyn.⁵² I suspect that small communities such as these located at the eastern edge of the Mesara participated with Gortyn in the hostilities against Lato which were concluded by our agreement, and in the raids which lie at its heart, and that they were, as the geographers suggest, *poleis* dependent upon Gortyn, or in Gortynian terms ὑπόβοικοι.

Gortyn possessed a number of such communities which were as a rule located at the edges of the Mesara and so could be called, as Pollux suggests, neighbors of Gortyn.⁵³ In other circumstances they were αὐτόδικοι, but Lato requested and Gortyn conceded that in this instance all cases arising from the hostilities which were brought by Lato against members of these several dependent *poleis* would be heard in Gortyn. It is possible to suggest why Lato might request this concession. Not only would the establishment of a single venue have simplified the process of trial and recovery for the Latoans, but it would no doubt have been easier for them to find a sympathetic ear among Gortyn's much larger population. In conclusion, the ὑπόβοικοι were the dependent *poleis* of Gortyn. One of the rights which they enjoyed was the operation of courts. As we have seen, in special circumstances Gortyn could abrogate this right. Finally, Larsen's suggestion that the ὑπόβοικοι should be num-

bered among the ἀπέταιροι, a term from the Gortyn Law Code (*I.Cret.* IV, 72, ii, lines 5, 25, 41) which has been understood to refer to free non-citizens, has been uniformly accepted despite the absence of supporting evidence.⁵⁴

II.3. ἔποικος

The term ἔποικος appears in an inscription of the late third century B.C. from Eleutherna (*I.Cret.* II.xii [Eleutherna].22). The term appears in an uncertain context on the poorly preserved Face A of a block which is inscribed on three of its faces. The text on Face B, the best preserved of the three, regulates the relations between Eleutherna and the Artemitai. The text seems to be continued on the third face where Guarducci restored [τὰ]ς συνθ[ήκας-τῶν Ἀρ[τε]μιτᾶ[ν-]. Guarducci proposed that ἔποικος was a synonym for ὑπόβοικος and that the ἔποικοι mentioned on Face A of this stone should be identified with the Artemitai mentioned on Faces B and C.⁵⁵ However, ἔποικος should probably be understood to mean “new settlers” or the like rather than taken as a social status term.⁵⁶ In such case, the term does not concern us, although the Artemitai may have been a dependent community of Eleutherna.⁵⁷

II.4. χώρα/χωρίον

The term χώρα in the sense of hinterland is ubiquitous in the texts of the Hellenistic period.⁵⁸ Earlier, it appears only in the toponym Κεσκόρα = Κεσχωρά? in a fifth century B.C. law from Gortyn concerning the use of public lands (*I.Cret.* IV, 43B, a).

θιοί; τὰν ἐ[ν] Κησκόροι καὶ ἰ τὰν ἐμ Πάλαι πυταλιὰν ἔειδο-
καν {ἔδοκαν} ἃ πόλις πυτεῦσαι. αἰΐ τις ταύταν πρίαιτο ἢ
καίταθε[ι]το, μὴ κατέκεθαι τῶι πριαμένοι τὰ[ν] ὀνὰν μηδὲ
[τὰ]ν κα[τά]θεσιν· μηδ' ἐνεκλυράδδεν αἰ μὴ ἐπι[μ]ετρ[ῆ]ι τὰν
ἐπικαρπίαν. *vac.*

Gods. The city leases the orchard? vineyard? at Keskora and at Pala for cultivation. If someone puts it up for sale or mortgage, neither the purchase price nor the mortgage shall he keep. Nor may he pledge it as security if he has not measured out the profit.

Keskora and Pala were probably located in the Mesara. Nothing further may be said about their location. Nor do we know to what precisely these toponyms referred (villages, districts, *vel sim.*). At issue here, as in

several inscriptions which were issued by *poleis* concerning their dependencies, is the use of land owned by the *polis*. In marked contrast to the provisions concerning the use of public land by the Rhittinians (*I.Cret.* IV, 80) these orchards were not alienable.⁵⁹

χωρίον appears in two classical texts from Gortyn in the sense of parcels of privately owned land (*I.Cret.* IV, 46B, lines 7-8; *I.Cret.* IV, 52A, line 7). At the end of the second century B.C. the term was used in the Magnesian arbitration for Itanos and Hierapytna in reference to the settlement which Hierapytna established on sacred land belonging to the sanctuary of Zeus Diktaios (*I.Cret.* III.iv [Itanos].9, line 86). As A. Chaniotis has demonstrated, this unnamed settlement or village was both agricultural and military in character.⁶⁰ Bile maintained that this use of χωρίον was unknown on Crete before the Hellenistic period,⁶¹ but Ptolemy (3.15.2) preserves the toponym Ἰνα χωρίον "village of Ina" which has been identified with the substantial remains at Perivolia in west Crete.⁶² The settlement achieved its period of greatest prosperity only in Roman times, but ceramic evidence proves that it dates back to at least as early as the fifth century B.C. Gondiccas suggests that the village of Ina belonged to Phalasarna during the classical and Hellenistic periods. Finally, there is the Cretan toponym Κόριον (Cretan for Χώριον?) mentioned by Stephanus, Κόριον; τόπος ἐν Κρήτῃ (Steph. Byz. 374.12-15).⁶³

II.5 κώμη

The term κώμη occurs in a single inscription from Crete, a third century B.C. list of the leases of presumably public real property (land and houses) to seven *proxenoi* and one *euergetes* of Kydonia "to farm for so long as the lessors remain useful to the *polis*" (*I.Cret.* II. x [Kydonia]. 1, lines 2-3: τάδε ἐπρίατο ἡ πόλις τοῖς προξένοις καρπεύειν ἅς καὶ ἐπιτάδειοι ὄντι). The Kydonian *proxenos* at Arkades, Misgolas, was permitted to lease six plethra of grapes in the plain, another two plethra of grapes in Schinouris, and a house in the κώμη Λαχανία. Lachania has been identified with the substantial fortified site (archaic through Byzantine) on Kastellos Varypetro about seven kilometers southwest of Chania at the edge of the coastal plain.⁶⁴

Lachania is the only toponym in the inscription for which the type of community is indicated. This in itself is of some interest to us. In addition to the five parcels of land all planted in grapes located "in the plain" and the single parcel "on the island", the *proxenoi* were sold vineyards ἐμ Μολοχάντι, ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κατὰ Βάθειαν, ἐν Μινώιαι ποτὶ τῷ

πόρωι ἐσχάτω[ι], ἐπὶ Λιπάραι, and ἐν Σχινούροι, fallow land ποτὶ τῷ Κομικοῦ, and a house ἐν τῷ Ἡραΐδι. Heraïs, like Lachania, is distinguished by the use of the definite article and by the nature of the property conveyed (a house). It was most likely a settlement of some sort (e.g. a district or suburb of the *asty* or a *kome*). Little may be said about Molochas, Vatheia, Lipara and Schinouris. The observation that they, like Minoa, are referred to without the definite article may provide a clue to their nature.

Pliny included Minoa in his list of coastal *oppida insignia* (Pliny *NH* 4.12.59). The toponym has been identified with the remains (archaic through Roman) of a large settlement at the southwestern corner of Akrotiri peninsula (modern Marathi).⁶⁵ A second, smaller coastal settlement (classical to Roman) with the remains of houses and a guard tower or lighthouse connected to the shore by a fortified road, is located a short distance to the west at Limnai (south of modern Sternes).⁶⁶ Stephanus included a Cretan Minoa in his lemma for the toponym, but it is unclear whether he intended the Kydonian Minoa (there was a second Minoa on the northeast coast of Crete) and whether he meant to identify the Cretan Minoa as a *polis*.⁶⁷ At the least, we are entitled to conclude that the toponym Minoa referred to a sizeable coastal settlement with perhaps a dependent village and farmland, the latter including vineyards owned by Kydonia.

I suspect that the *polis* of Kydonia consisted of the *asty* (with Heraïs?) and its *chora* (the plain and the anonymous island) and at least two different types of sub-units: κῶμαι like Lachania and a second category of community of which Molochas, Vatheia, Lipara and Schinouris are examples. These latter consisted, like Minoa, of a settlement and agricultural lands including some state owned parcels. Lipara has been identified with one of the small islands located in Souda Bay opposite Marathi, although to the best of my knowledge no remains of a Greek settlement have been found on them.⁶⁸

Πασίθεμης Μαλτάδα Λιπαράιος Κρής, a Cretan mercenary of the second century B.C., is probably to be identified as a resident of this same Lipara.⁶⁹ Does the use of this sub-regional *ethnikon* as part of his personal name by a mercenary soldier in the Ptolemaic army suggest that Lipara enjoyed a political identity distinct from that of Kydonia? It is to this question that I turn next.

III. Sub-regional *ethnika*

III.1 Introduction: Patterns of Use of Sub-Regional Ethnika on Crete

The following discussion focuses on two uses of what I will refer to for the time being as sub-regional *ethnika*: (1) the sub-regional *ethnikon* used as part of the personal name either alone or in conjunction with the regional *ethnikon* Κρής/Κρησσα (III.2); and (2) the collective use of the sub-regional *ethnikon* (III.3).⁷⁰ M.H. Hansen and T.H. Nielsen have determined that in Boiotia (Hansen) and in Arcadia (Nielsen) city-ethnics (ethnics that refer to towns) are very good evidence for the *polis*-ness of the city in question.⁷¹ May the same be said for the sub-regional *ethnika* of Crete? If so, this category of evidence may prove to be very important in determining the political status of communities which otherwise appear to be subject communities.

Evidence for the use by Cretans of the sub-regional *ethnikon* as part of the personal name is for the most part Hellenistic (Fig. 2, columns II-VII). Examples in the archaic and classical periods are known only for individuals from Chersonesos, Dattalla, Gortyn, Kydonia and perhaps Priansos.⁷² The collective use of the plural sub-regional *ethnikon* on Crete was somewhat more common during the archaic and classical periods and ubiquitous thereafter (Fig. 2, column VIII).⁷³ Two factors, the uses to which writing was first put by the Cretans and the increased mobility of the island's inhabitants during the late classical and Hellenistic periods, help to explain this pattern. Sub-regional *ethnika* as part of the personal name for the most part appear on Crete in one of two contexts: (1) to identify *proxenoi* and *euergetai*; and (2) to identify the dead who died and were buried away from home. Before the fourth century B.C., writing on Crete, at least on stone and metal, was used almost exclusively for the publication of laws. There are very few examples of other types of public inscriptions (agreements between communities, honorary decrees and the like) or of private texts such as funerary monuments or dedications.⁷⁴ The occasions which later prompted the publication of *ethnika* in personal names simply were not very often recorded on stone or metal in the archaic and classical periods. Additionally, common sense recommends what the evidence for the Hellenistic period confirms, that we are more likely to find the regional and sub-regional *ethnika* in personal names in references from outside of the individual's home.⁷⁵ Not only are more Cretans known to have left Crete during the late classical and Hellenistic periods than are known to have done so

earlier, but both the regional and the sub-regional *ethnika* were used as part of the personal name on more occasions beyond the shores of Crete than on the island itself: by victorious athletes, mercenaries, immigrants who struggled to keep or exchange the civic status of their birth and so on.

III.2 The Political Significance of the Use of the Sub-Regional Ethnika as Part of the Personal Names of Cretans

III.2.a Introduction

The foregoing discussion has sought to make some sense out of the chronological and geographical patterns apparent in the evidence for the personal use of sub-regional *ethnika* by Cretans and by others in referring to Cretans. But what, if anything, does the use of the sub-regional *ethnikon* contribute to the matter at hand, the political status of the dependent communities of Crete? Of the forty-one Cretan sub-regional *ethnika* which were used in this way, thirty-five or roughly eighty per cent represent communities which were quite clearly autonomous and independent *poleis* (Fig. 2, nos. 2-5, 7-8, 10-11, 13-15, 19-26, 29-31, 33-34, 37, 39-48).⁷⁶ The political status of the communities represented by the remaining six *ethnika* is more difficult to determine (Fig. 2, nos. 51-52, 54-56, 60).⁷⁷ The fact that over eighty-five per cent of the *ethnika* used as part of the personal name represent independent and autonomous *poleis* provides a strong presumption in favor of a direct correlation between this use of the *ethnikon* and the identification of a community as a *polis*. This presumption is strengthened by the observation that there is almost no evidence from Crete for territorial civic subdivisions within the Cretan *poleis* like the Argive *komai* or the Attic *demoi*.⁷⁸ Rather, with the exception of a single reference to the *pentekostys*,⁷⁹ the only civic subdivisions known from Crete are the *phylai* and in all but one of the *poleis*, Axos, the names of the *phylai* suggest personal rather than territorial units.⁸⁰ On Crete the names of the *phylai* appear only in the dating formulae of public inscriptions and never as part of the personal name and so are easily distinguished from the sub-regional *ethnika* which are our concern. The evidence for the political status of the six communities of the second group tends to support this preliminary conclusion concerning the significance of this use of the sub-regional *ethnika* on Crete. As will be demonstrated below there are sound reasons apart from the attestation of a sub-regional *ethnikon* to argue that at least three of these communities were *poleis* even though they may not have

been independent and autonomous. We turn next to a brief review of the evidence for the political status of each of the six communities.

III.2.b.i Detonnion/Diatonion

Early in the second century B.C., the Gortynians attacked Knossos, cut τὸ Διατόνιον from her territory and handed it over to Lyktos. The territory was later restored to Knossos as part of the settlement arranged by Appius Claudius between Gortyn and Knossos.⁸¹ Guarducci located Diatonion near the modern village Astritsi, thirteen kilometers southeast of Knossos, where remains of an ancient settlement have been identified.⁸² In 1976, M. Dothan reported the discovery of a funerary stele from Akko, Israel, for Hypergenes, son of Eurymedes, Cretan from Detonion Ὑπεργένης | Εὐρ[υ]μήδ[ο]υς [Κ]ρής | Δη[τό]ννιος [χ]αῖρ[ε].⁸³ The inscription has been dated to the second century B.C. on the basis of letter forms and the deceased has been identified as a mercenary soldier who fell “in one of the many battles of the 2nd century B.C.E. in the vicinity of Akko-Ptolemaïs”.⁸⁴ S. Alexiou suggested that this inscription provides the correct spelling of Polybius’ Διατόνιον.⁸⁵

III.2.b.ii Kourtolia

The unattested toponym Kourtolia has been deduced from the *ethnikon* Κουρτωλιαῖος which appears in a third century B.C. dedication from the Redesieh, Egypt: Ἀκέστιμος Κρής Κουρτωλιαῖος Πανὶ σωθεὶς ἐκ Τρωγοδυτῶν.⁸⁶ P. Faure identified the proposed ancient toponym with τὸ Κουρταλιώτικο φαράγγι and the Κονταλιώτης ποταμός in Hagios Vasilios province.⁸⁷ Faure reported abundant remains on both sides of the river between the two villages Hagios Vasilios and Koxares at a spot which dominated the valley of the ancient Messalias river (modern ὁ Μέγας ποταμός). S. Hood and P. Warren reported their discovery in 1965 of the remains of a “small Greco-Roman “city” on a flat-topped ridge which forms a natural acropolis” south of Koxares at the northern end of the gorge.⁸⁸ The remains of buildings on the top of the acropolis and of building terraces and walls on its slopes were visible. The acropolis may have been protected by a circuit wall. This is not Faure’s location for Kourtolia, but it is perhaps a better candidate insofar as Hood and Warren do not report Greek remains in the region which lies between Hagios Vasilios and Koxare. There is no evidence for the political status of Kourtolia, but if Faure is right to locate the ancient community in the vicinity of the modern homonymous gorge it should be observed that the modern eparchy of Hagios Vasilios seems not to have

been dominated by a single large *polis*. Rather, the region appears to have been home to several small *poleis* including ancient Biannos and Psycheion?, as well as the unidentified settlements at modern Melambes, Koxare (ancient Kourtolia?) and Pantanassa.⁸⁹

III.2.b.iii Lebena

An early fifth century inscription from Gortyn seems to preserve part of an agreement between Gortyn and Lebena (*I.Cret.* IV, 63). Five inscriptions dating to the third and second centuries B.C. concerning the administration of the Asklepieion at Lebena where they were found were probably published by Gortyn and so indicate that Gortyn managed the sanctuary during the Hellenistic period.⁹⁰ These five inscriptions have been understood as decisive evidence in favor of the political absorption of Lebena by Gortyn early in the Hellenistic period.⁹¹ Polybius identified Lebena as the port of Gortyn in his narrative of the civil war at Gortyn which seems to have run its course during the Lyktian war (221-219 B.C.). Lebena was seized by the exiled faction, the νέοι, who continued to make war upon the party in Gortyn from there.⁹² In the final decades of the third century B.C. (ca. 230-210 B.C.) Ἐπαιθος Καρ[-] was appointed to serve as *theorodokos* for the ambassadors sent by Delphi to announce the celebration of the Pythia and Soteria (*SEG* 26 624 col. 4.8). K. Rigsby suggested that the Delphic *theoroi* visited Lebena precisely at the moment when the port was held by the Gortynian exiles and so freed from Gortynian control.⁹³ The *ethnikon* Λεβηναῖος appears in the cure inscriptions from the sanctuary of Asklepios at Lebena (*I.Cret.* I.xvii.8, 9, & 15), in a late dedication also from Lebena (*I.Cret.* I.xvii.27), and in the personal name of a Cretan mercenary in Egypt who scratched his name, Σωτάδας Λεβηναῖος, on a noble's tomb in the Thebaid.⁹⁴

III.2.b.iv Lipara

The toponym Lipara occurs in *I.Cret.* II.x (Kydonia).1, line 15 (ἐπὶ Λιπάραι ἀνπέλων τετραπλήθειαν), the third century B.C. decree of Kydonia providing for the lease of land and houses to *proxenoi* and *euergetai* of the *polis*. As previously discussed (II.5) several of the toponyms found in this decree are best understood to represent sub-units but not necessarily civic sub-units of the *polis* of Kydonia. Although the site of ancient Lipara has not been identified, the location of another of these sub-units, Minoa, has been and may serve as a model. Minoa consisted of a sizeable conurbation with perhaps a dependent village and agricul-

tural land including public land which could be disposed of by the state. If the framers of the decree were consistent and careful in their descriptions of the location of the real estate made available to the benefactors of the *polis*, unlike Λαχανία (line 22-23) neither Minoa nor Lipara was a *κώμη*. Lipara may be identified as the hometown of Πασίθεμις Μαλτιάδα Λιπαραῖος Κρής, a Cretan mercenary who scratched his name on the Memnonion in Abydos during the second century B.C.⁹⁵

III.2.b.v Lykastos

Lykastos appears in the *Catalogue of Ships* (Il. 2. 647, ἀρρινόεντα Λύκαστον) and has long been identified with the ancient site at Kanli Kastelli twelve kilometers southwest of Knossos in the foothills of Mt. Ida.⁹⁶ Stephanus quoted the *Catalogue of Ships* and identified Lykastos as a *polis* (Steph. Byz. 421.1-5). Strabo described Lykastos as a former *polis* which had been destroyed and its territory taken by Knossos.⁹⁷ These events had surely taken place by the early second century B.C. when Gortyn cut off from Knossos τὸ Λυκάστιον and handed it over to Rhaukos. The territory was restored to Knossos in 184 B.C. in the short-lived settlement arranged by Appius Claudius.⁹⁸ A *terminus post quem* for the destruction of Lykastos is more difficult to determine. Two funerary epigrams for the Cretan Πραταλίδας Λυκάστιος appear in the Greek Anthology where they are attributed to Leonidas of Tarentum.⁹⁹ Gow and Page doubted that the epigrams, particularly the second, were inscriptional,¹⁰⁰ but O. Masson has demonstrated that the name Πραταλίδας (and so perhaps his *ethnikon* as well) is genuine.¹⁰¹ If genuine, we are still left with the uncertainty concerning the *floruit* of Leonidas in the early, middle or even late third century B.C.¹⁰²

III.2.b.vi Pergamos

Aristoxenos of Tarentum and the fourth century B.C. periplus attributed to Skylax provide the earliest references to Pergamos. Aristoxenos claimed to have been shown the tomb of Lykourgos περὶ τὴν Ξενικήν ὁδὸν τῆς Περγαμίας (Plut. *Lyk.* 31). Ps.-Skylax listed the territory of Pergamos (τῆς χώρας Περγαμίας) between Diktynnaion (Cape Spatha) to the north and Hyrtakina (modern Temenia) across the White Mountains to the south (Ps.-Skylax 47). Pliny numbered Pergamos among his Cretan *oppida insignia* and listed the toponym between Kydonia and Kisamos (Pliny *NH* 4.12.59). The toponym is clearly to be located in northwestern Crete, but precisely where remains contested.¹⁰³ Augustan authors variously attributed the foundation of the Cretan *urbs* to Aga-

memnon (Velleius Paterculus *HR* 1.1) or Aeneas (Vergil *Aen.* 3.131-134). Finally, there is the third century B.C. funerary monument of Pasmnasta, daughter of Sosarchos, Pergamene by birth, found at Hyrtakina.¹⁰⁴ No Greek author explicitly identified Pergamos as a *polis* nor are there any references which suggest that Pergamos was a dependent community. The claim of Aristoxenos to have traveled the Ξενική ὁδός of Pergamos provides our best evidence for its political status. Elsewhere on Crete, the phrase seems to have been used of special routes leading beyond the territory of a city.¹⁰⁵ Thus, if Pergamos were merely a sub-unit of a *polis* with no political identity of its own the road would have been named after that *polis* rather than Pergamos. On the other hand, Pergamos appears in none of the Hellenistic treaties of Crete. On current evidence, two interpretations of the testimonia for the political status of Pergamos are recommended. Pergamos, a classical *polis*, lost her status as a political entity sometime after the fourth century B.C. Alternatively, Pergamos was a dependent *polis* of another state, perhaps Polyrrenia, and as such enjoyed her own territory and defined borders but did not participate as a political entity in interstate affairs.

III.2.c Conclusions

This review of the evidence for the six communities whose *ethnika* were used as part of the personal name but whose political status is uncertain was prefaced by the observation that in general the evidence from Crete for this use of sub-regional *ethnika* recommends a presumption in favor of a direct correlation between their use and the status of the community as a *polis*. Has the foregoing discussion confirmed this presumption? Of these six, the case for the political status of Lykastos as a *polis* is perhaps the best. While one might dismiss the evidence from the *Catalogue of Ships* and Stephanus, the testimony of Polybius and Strabo is more difficult to ignore. Lykastos was destroyed and her territory absorbed by Knossos. Clearly what was destroyed was Lykastos as a political entity. The events of the first two decades of the second century B.C. provide the *terminus ante quem* for this destruction. Thus, it is certainly possible that Πρωταλίδας Λυκάστιος died (if indeed ever he lived!) without having seen the destruction of his community. At the other end of the spectrum, there is no evidence apart from the sub-regional *ethnikon* for the political status of Kourtolia.

The evidence for Detonnion, Lipara and Pergamos permits the conclusion that each of the toponyms referred to a territory (seized from and returned to Knossos in the case of Detonnion, including state-owned

vineyards in the case of Lipara, and with a defined border in the case of Pergamos). For Detonnion there is no further evidence as to her status, but I believe that the arguments presented above concerning Lipara and Pergamos indicate that these toponyms refer to communities which enjoyed a separate territorial identity. They were not simply parts of the territory of Kydonia and Polyrrenia? respectively. For Pergamos, the evidence for a separate territorial identity suggests a separate political identity as well. I would tentatively identify Pergamos as a dependent *polis*.

There remains the case of Lebena. The evidence for Gortyn's administration of the Asklepieion recommends the position that by the third century B.C. Lebena was in some sense a dependency of Gortyn. Thus, it was as a member of dependent Lebena that Σωτάδας Λεβηναῖος left his name on the tomb of an Egyptian noble. The question remains whether Lebena was a *polis*, albeit a dependent one? The early fifth century B.C. fragment of an agreement between Gortyn and Lebena proves that Lebena was recognized at that time as a political entity by her more powerful neighbor to the north. I suspect that between this fifth century agreement and the third century evidence for Gortyn's administration of Asklepieion the political relationship between Gortyn and Lebena had changed, but it must be admitted that we do not have the evidence required for proof. We may only speculate that the relations between Gortyn and Lebena were perhaps re-negotiated in the course of the fourth century B.C. when the *poleis* of Crete became more active in international affairs and when the earlier sanctuary of Acheloos and the nymphs at Lebena was rededicated to Asklepios.¹⁰⁶ The appointment of a *theorodokos* at Lebena suggests that Lebena remained a *polis*, albeit a dependent one, until late in the third century B.C.

To conclude. For two of the forty-one communities represented by sub-regional *ethnika* used as part of the personal name (Detonnion and Kourtolia) we are unable to draw any independent conclusions concerning their political status. For Lipara we may draw the independent conclusion (independent of the appearance of the sub-regional *ethnikon*) that the community was at least a territorial entity. Lykastos is identified tentatively as a *polis* (type unknown) and Pergamos and Lebena as dependent *poleis*, at least during the Hellenistic period, again on the basis of evidence independent of the sub-regional *ethnika*. One final observation and four conclusions will complete this discussion. First the observation. Of the group of six communities discussed in some detail above, all examples of this use of the *ethnikon* occurred in what I have called

private contexts. (1) Most importantly, we may conclude that the use of the sub-regional *ethnikon* as part of the personal name is a good indication of *polis*-ness on Crete. (2) We may note further that whether the context of the *ethnikon* is public or private does not seem to affect its use as evidence for political status. (3) We may appeal to the sub-regional *ethnika* of Detonnion, Kourtolia and Lipara as strong if not conclusive evidence for their status as dependent *poleis*. (4) Finally, we may substitute the term *polis-ethnikon* for sub-regional *ethnikon* when used as part of the personal name.

III.3 The Collective Use of the Sub-Regional Ethnikon

III.3.a Introduction

I turn next to the collective use of the sub-regional *ethnikon* which is attested for forty-seven of the fifty-seven independent *poleis* of Crete (Fig. 2, 1-40, 42-48, all save Rhithymna [no. 41]). The precise classification of the communities represented by another twelve collective sub-regional *ethnika* is less clear (Fig. 2, nos. 49-50, 53-54, 57-59, 61-65). These twelve are studied in detail below.

III.3.b.i Amyklai

The evidence for the political status of Amyklai is discussed below (IV.2.i). The sub-regional *ethnikon* οἱ Ἀμυκλαῖοι occurs in what appears to be an agreement between them and the Gortynians (*I.Cret.* IV, 172, 2nd-3rd century B.C.). While the evidence is not sufficient to determine that Amyklai was a *polis*, it is important to note that there is no good reason to deny Amyklai *polis* status (as I have indicated in Fig. 2, no. 49).

III.3.b.ii Artemitai

The collective οἱ Ἀρτεμίται occurs in the late third century B.C. text from Eleutherna discussed already in II.3 above (*I.Cret.* II.xii [Eleutherna].22). Earlier I rejected the suggestion of M. Guarducci that ἔποικος was a social status term and was synonymous with ὑπόβοικος. Rather, the term ἔποικος should probably be understood to mean “new settlers” or the like. I return now to the further suggestion of Guarducci that the Artemitai were a dependent population of Eleutherna.¹⁰⁷

The Artemitai are mentioned on Face B and on the poorly preserved Face C of the stone. Face B preserves two provisions. Chaniotis¹⁰⁸ has convincingly argued that the first provision (lines 1-7) concerned the

military obligations of men older than twenty and younger than an age grade identified as τὸς προσηγίας.¹⁰⁹ Those who failed to comply when ordered to do so by the *kosmos* of Eleutherna were punished by a fine of five staters. The second provision (lines 7-13) required those who left τὰν πολ[ι]τήϊαν τῶν Ἀρτεμιτᾶν to notify the *kosmoi* of Eleutherna. In this case, failure to comply cost the individual his right to participate in public ritual.¹¹⁰ Of immediate interest to us is the term πολιτήϊα which is attested in the sense of “citizenship” and “constitution” elsewhere on the island.¹¹¹ The latter meaning, “constitution”, is difficult to construe in this context, “whoever abandons the constitution of the Artemitai must advise the *kosmoi*”, and should probably be rejected.¹¹² The former meaning, “citizenship”, might be understood in this context to suggest that the individual intended to relinquish his citizenship in this community presumably in order to become a citizen of another. Chaniotis rejects both of these two attested meanings of the term in favor of a third. He suggests that πολιτήϊα here means “Ort” (*vel sim.*), “whoever moves out of the territory of the Artemitai must advise the *kosmoi* etc.”¹¹³ This last suggestion for the use of the term is extremely attractive, although admittedly without parallel. Which meaning of the term one prefers (citizenship or “Ort”) has important ramifications in the context of the present study.

Several points may be made about the relationship of the Artemitai and Eleutherna regardless of the meaning of the term πολιτήϊα. If we assume, as I believe we must, that both provisions of Face B treat the same population – that is, the Artemitai –, then we may certainly deduce that the Artemitai were organized by age grades and that they were obligated to serve in the army of Eleutherna. The officials of Eleutherna had the authority to fine the Artemitai and to restrict their participation in public cult. If we take the term πολιτήϊα in the sense of “citizenship” then surely we are obliged to view the political status of the community as a dependent *polis* of Eleutherna; *polis* because the Artemitai formed a community of citizens, dependent because they were obliged to serve in the army of Eleutherna and were subject to the authority of the *kosmoi* of that *polis*. That a member of this *polis* who wished to abandon his citizenship and relocate must inform the *kosmoi* of Eleutherna makes good sense insofar as Eleutherna stood to suffer the loss of a soldier. If this interpretation of the text and its ramifications is sound, we have at least one parallel from Crete for the military role of the Lakonian *perioikoi*.

If, on the other hand, we follow the suggestion of Chaniotis and understand πολιτήϊα to mean “Ort”, then we must add the power of the

officials of Eleutherna to restrict the movement of the Artemitai to our list of points concerning their legal relationship to Eleutherna. Taken together with their service in the army of Eleutherna and the authority of the officials of Eleutherna to fine them and to restrict their participation in public cult, I would suggest that the πολιτῖα τῶν Ἀρτεμιτᾶν was a civic unit of the *polis* of Eleutherna. If so, the *polis* of Eleutherna was comprised of civic units called πολιτῖαι which like the *demoi* of Athens and the *komai* of Argos were geographic units as well. These πολιτῖαι provided the organizational basis for the army of Eleutherna. The picture of Eleutherna as polynucleated settlement which is emerging from the excavations of the University of Crete perhaps provides some slight support for this suggestion.¹¹⁴ On the other hand, the traces preserved on Face C undermine this view. Lines 7-8 have been restored [τὰ]ς συνθ[ήκας – τῶν Ἀρ][τε]μιτᾶ[ν – –]. If correctly restored and if the συνθήκα joined Eleutherna and the Artemitai it is difficult to argue that the Artemitai were a civic unit unless this συνθήκα marked the addition of a new πολιτῖα to the *polis* or some similar occasion. Reference to a συνθήκα would be easy to understand if the Artemitai were the members of a dependent *polis*. On balance it seems preferable to take the term πολιτῖα to mean “citizenship” and I tentatively identify the Artemitai as the members of a dependent *polis* of Eleutherna.

III.3.b.iii *Latosion*

The collective Λατόσιοι occurs in a fragmentary law of Gortyn (*I.Cret.* IV, 58, 5th century B.C.). M. Guarducci identified the Latosioi as the inhabitants of a quarter of the *asty* of Gortyn called the Latosion. This toponym appears in a Gortynian law which grants a particular category of non-citizens the right to reside there and extends to them certain guarantees including the freedom from seizure (*I.Cret.* IV, 78, 5th century B.C.). Guarducci suggested that the group in question were freedmen (τοὶ ἀπελεύθεροι, line 1), and on the basis of this suggestion located Latosion in the vicinity of Mitropolis a half kilometer or so to the southwest of the Odeion where the majority of the manumission texts from Gortyn have been found.¹¹⁵ The proximity of Mitropolis to the *asty* of Gortyn provides considerable support for its identification as a neighborhood. More recently H. van Effenterre proposed instead that the group permitted to reside in Latosion were repatriated Gortynians (τοὶ ἀπελευ[σόμενοι]).¹¹⁶ If van Effenterre is right, there is no reason to locate Latosion at Mitropolis and so the site-classification argument from proximity must be abandoned as well.

III.3.b.iv *Lebena*

The evidence for the political status of Lebena as a dependent *polis* is discussed elsewhere in this essay (III.2.b.iii and IV.2.ix). The collective οἱ Λεβενᾶῖοι occurs in a *lex sacra* concerning the cults of Acheloos and the nymphs and of Asklepios at Lebena (*I.Cret.* I.xvii [Lebena].7, lines 2-3 ὅπῃ οἱ Λεβηναῖοι ἔτι καὶ νῦν θύο[ντι κ]ατὸς ἀρχαίος νόμος, 2nd century B.C.).

III.3.b.v *Mitoi*

The eastern frontier of Lato passed καὶ τουτῷ κατ[ὰ τὰς κεφαλᾷς τῶν ναπᾶν] τῶν ἐμ Μίτοις (*I.Cret.* I.xvi [Lato].5, lines 53-54, 2nd century B.C.). Faure identified Μίτοι as the demotic or ethnic of a village (ville) controlled by Hierapytna.¹¹⁷ The Souda identified Μίτος as the name of a *polis*, but did not indicate in what region of Greece Μίτος was located.¹¹⁸ There is no further evidence for either the toponym or the “ethnikon”, if indeed it is one.

III.3.b.vi *Modaioi*

The collective Μωδαίων appears on two silver didrachm issues and a third small bronze issue. The small bronze was found in northwest Crete in the vicinity of the modern village Phaleliana in the Kolenis river valley.¹¹⁹ Faure suggests that the collective Μωδαῖοι refers not to a single community (*polis* vel sim.), but to a federation consisting of the several small settlements located along the Kolenis river. Faure doubts that the modern village Modi, located on the coastal plain between Chania and Cape Spatha, was the site of an ancient community of that name.¹²⁰ On present evidence it is impossible to endorse the views of Faure either as to the precise nature of the Μωδαῖοι (single community or federation) or as to their location. At most on the bases of the numismatic evidence and the modern toponym Modi we may conclude that the Μωδαῖοι were located somewhere in northwest Crete.

III.3.b.vii *Oreioi*

The collective *ethnikon* οἱ Ὀρεῖοι occurs in Polybius (4.53.6, Ὀρεῖοι), and in an alliance made by this group with king Magas, king of Cyrene (*I.Cret.* II.xvii [Lisos].1). M. Guarducci demonstrated that this collective referred not to a *polis* vel sim., but to a federation of small *poleis* located on the southern side of the White Mountains in southwest Crete.¹²¹ Members included Tarrha, Lisos, Elyros, and Hyrtakina and perhaps Poikilasion.¹²² Coins of the late fourth or early third century B.C. pro-

vide the earliest evidence for the existence of the federation.¹²³ Towards the middle of the third century B.C. the Oreioi formed an alliance with Magas καθάπερ Γορτυνίοις [συμμαχ]ίαν ποιήσασθαι (*I.Cret.* II. xvii. 1).¹²⁴ An inscribed text of the alliance (our inscription) was to be displayed at Lisos in the Diktynnaion from which Guarducci and others deduced that Lisos served as the federal capital.¹²⁵ The federation is last heard of in 221/0 B.C. when it fought against Knossos in the Lyktian war (Polyb. 4.53.6). Two further attestations of this adjectival form indicate that the federation probably derived its name from the name of the region. The earlier of the two references occurs in a third century B.C. funerary epigram, probably of a Cretan mercenary, which was found in Laconia (*IG* V.1, 723, πατρίς μοί ἐστίν Ὀρειοί). The second appears in the decree of an unknown Cretan *polis* which forbids its citizens from pillaging Attica (discussed briefly *infra* II.1) in a clause which seems to concern (Athenian?) ambassadors who had been seized, πρεσβευτὰνς συγκεκλειμένονς ἐν τᾷ Ὀρείῳ (*IG* II², 1130, lines 12-13, early 2nd century B.C.).¹²⁶

III.3.b.viii Prepsidai

The collective Πρεπσίδαι occurs in an archaic inscription from Dreros ([–] δε αἱ οἱ Πρεπσίδαι κοῖ Μιλάτιοι ἄλqσαν “from the time when [or “as”] the Milatioi and the Prepsidai began”, *BCH* 70 [1946] 588-590, no. 1, 6th century B.C.). Milatos, mentioned already in the *Catalogue of Ships*, was certainly an independent *polis* throughout the Hellenistic period. There is no reason to conclude that she had not enjoyed the same status in earlier times. This text suggests that οἱ Πρεπσίδαι referred to a community of the same type as Milatos. Yet, *ethnika* in -ιδης are otherwise unattested on the island.¹²⁷ Van Effenterre suggested that οἱ Πρεπσίδαι inhabited “une de ces bourgades...un de ces hameaux isolés dans la montagne.”¹²⁸

III.3.b.ix Rhitten

The evidence for the political status of Rhitten as a dependent *polis* is discussed below (IV.2.iv). The collective οἱ Ῥιττένιοι appears in the 5th century B.C. agreement between them and the Gortynians (*I.Cret.* IV, 80).

III.3.b.x Rhytion

The political status of Rhytion is discussed elsewhere in this essay (II.2; IV.2.vii; IV.3). Certainty in this case is not possible, but I favor the iden-

tification of Rhytion as a dependent *polis* of Gortyn. The collective *ethnikon* Ῥυτιάσιος occurs in a decree of 120 A.D. which mentions Rhytion with Pyrgos as part of a *kome* of Gortyn (IC I.xxix [Rhytion].1, lines 6-8 Ῥυτιάσιος ὁ [κατασ]ταθεὶς ἰερεὺς Διὸς [Σκυλίω]υ τῆς Ἰ Ῥυτιασίων κώ[μης καὶ Πύργου]).

III.3.b.xi Setaia

The collective Σηταῖται occurs in the agreement of Praisos with the Stalitai (*I.Cret.* III.vi [Praisos].7B, lines 12-17, 3rd century B.C.). The terms of this agreement regulated the use by Praisos of the ships and crew of the Σταλίται and the Σηταῖται both of whom were responsible for supplying the crew and their provisions on voyages to Delphi and Olympia. Ancient Setaia is presumably to be located in the vicinity of the modern port of the same name in northwest Crete.¹²⁹ Ps.-Skylax indicated that the territory of Praisos extended to the north and south coasts of Crete and it is probably the case that by the time of this agreement both Setaia and Stalai were subjugated to Praisos.¹³⁰ Unlike the case for Stalai (see *infra*), there is little evidence that Setaia was regarded as a *polis*, albeit a dependent one, at the time of this agreement or that she had been one in the past. Only the use of this collective *ethnikon* and the testimony of late authors suggest otherwise. Both Stephanus and Diogenes Laertius (*Life of Myson*) identified Setaia as a *polis*.¹³¹

III.3.b.xii Stalai

The decree of Praisos concerning the Σταλίται (*I.Cret.* III.vi.7, 3rd century B.C.) has been discussed previously in several contexts (I and III.3.b.xi). The collective ethnic occurs as well in the Magnesian arbitration of the dispute between Itanos and Hierapytna (*I.Cret.* III.iv [Itanos].9, line 123, 112 B.C.). At that time Hierapytna claimed to control the (*polis?*, *chora?*, island?) of the Stalitai (τῆς τῶν Στηλιτῶν).¹³² The toponym Στῆλαι is preserved by Stephanus who identified the community as a *polis* (Steph. Byz. 585.12-13). Ancient Stalai has been identified with the remains just south of the modern village Makrigialos on the southwest coast of the island.¹³³

The political status of the Stalitai has been discussed in detail in the past, most recently by F. Gschnitzer who maintained that in consequence of this decree the Stalitai can not be said to have formed a *polis*.¹³⁴ They were not sovereign in their territory, they did not participate either as a community or through their representatives in the oath ceremony by which the provisions of this decree were first ratified nor would they do

so in the future when the oath was renewed each year in the month of Dionysios, no officials of the Stalitai are mentioned, and the Stalitai enjoyed no reciprocity in any one of the decree's several provisions. In light of these observations, I agree that it is impossible to accord the Stalitai the political status of even a dependent *polis* at the time of this decree according to the criteria enumerated by Hansen. To the extent that the decree suggests that they had at one time apparently enjoyed the sovereign possession of their *polis* and *chora*, which was now theirs only by leave of the Praisians, and retained full enjoyment of the public revenue derived from their harbor taxes and from the purple-dye industry and so must have appointed officials and maintained the institutions required to tax, collect and allocate such revenue, the Stalitai may be understood to have met two of the *sine qua non* of *polis*-ness put forward by Hansen: (1) the possession of a hinterland in the form of a territory bordering on neighboring territories; and (2) self-governance in questions of land ownership and so on. This observation lends some weight to the suggestion that the Stalitai had earlier formed a *polis*, although whether of the dependent or independent type is unknown. What is significant for us, however, is that in this case the collective *ethnikon* was used of a community which was not a *polis* of either type.¹³⁵

III.3.c. Conclusions

In contrast to the use of the sub-regional *ethnikon* as part of the personal name, the foregoing study demonstrates that the collective sub-regional *ethnikon* should not be taken as an indication of *polis*-ness. Of the twelve collective *ethnika* studied in detail above, one (Ἀμυκλαῖοι) may represent a *polis* (type unknown), two (Λεβηναῖοι, Ῥιπτένιοι) were probably and two others (Ἀρτεμίται, Ῥυτιάσιοι) were perhaps used of the members of dependent *poleis*, two (Μώδαοι, Ὀρεῖοι) represent federations, and one (Λατόσιοι) was most likely used of the residents of a neighborhood of a *polis*. The evidence for the remaining four (Μίτοι, Πρεποῖδαι, Σηταῖται, Σταλῖται) is not sufficient to determine their site-classification.

IV. The Dependent Communities of Gortyn

IV.1 Introduction

We know more about the settlement of the Mesara and about the political and social history of its dominant power, Gortyn, than about any

other region and *polis* of Crete. The material remains, epigraphic, and literary sources allow us to trace the development of the *polis* of Gortyn from the eighth century B.C. to its establishment as the capital of the Roman province of Crete and Cyrene. The productivity of the Mesara is too well-known to require discussion here. It goes without saying that the Mesara was very desirable agricultural real estate. The ancient record has preserved for us the names and the remains of many settlements which depended upon the fertility of the Mesara for their livelihood. Considerations of defense, climate and economics led the majority of the settlements to locate not on the plain itself but on the northern slopes of the Asterousia mountains which separate the Mesara from the Libyan sea and on the southern slopes of the foothills to the west of Lassithi and the east of Psiloriti (Mt. Ida). In the course of the last two centuries, scholarly travelers and traveling scholars have explored these hills and documented the remains of the ancient settlements which dot them.

Among these ancient settlements of the Mesara are a number which for reasons beyond the simple fact that they shared the plain with Gortyn have been regarded as her "dependencies".¹³⁶ The general question of terminology and of the Gortynian *hypoboikoi* as well as the evidence for the political status of several of these communities have already been considered in earlier sections of this paper. The discussion which follows explores the evidence for the political status of nine communities located along the perimeter of the Mesara, which have for one reason or another been identified as Gortynian dependencies, with the goal of developing a regional picture of settlement hierarchy.¹³⁷ I cannot make the claim that the situation in the Mesara was representative of other regions on Crete as well, but several patterns do emerge which seem to have parallels elsewhere on the island.

Seven of the settlements (Fig. 3) which have been identified as dependencies of Gortyn form a chain extending across the length of the southern edge of the Mesara plain (*ca.* sixty kilometers) from Kommos (ancient Amyklai) on Mesara bay east to Boibe (modern Pobia), Pyloros (modern Plora), Rhitten (in the vicinity of Apessokari), Bene (modern Panagia), Aulon (modern Pírgos) and Rhytion (modern Rotassi).¹³⁸ The Asterousia mountains lie to their south and separate them from the coast. Today, convenient routes south connect the modern villages of Pobia, Plora, Apessokari, Panagia, Pírgos and Rhytion to the sea and we should imagine that ease of access to the sea was one of the factors which prompted the establishment of the ancient settlements. To the best

of my knowledge there is no evidence that the Asterousia mountains were themselves settled in any substantial way.¹³⁹ Three Greek settlements were located along the coast between Tsoutsouros Bay in the east and Cape Lithinos to the west: Inatos (modern Tsoutsouros), Lebena and Lasaia (modern Kali Limenes). Of these, only Lebena appears to have been attached to Gortyn. The territory belonging to the small *polis* of Lasaia extended west to Cape Lithinon and inland to the watershed which divides this part of the coast from the Mesara.¹⁴⁰ To the east of Rhytion lay the territory of the *polis* of Priansos (modern Kasteliana) and east of Priansos the Lasithi massif. Inatos, recognized as a *polis* by Xenion (Steph. Byz. 261.17-18 s.v. Εἰνατος) and Ptolemy (*Geog.* 3.15.3), has been identified as the harbor of Priansos and part of her territory.¹⁴¹ To the north, only one community has been identified as a Gortynian dependency, Pyranthos (modern Pyrathi), which commanded one of the two principle routes between the north coast and the Mesara. These nine communities are discussed in geographical order beginning in the west with Amyklai and proceeding east counterclockwise along the hilly rim of the Mesara.

IV.2 The “Dependent” Communities of the Mesara

IV.2.i Amyklai

There was a tradition, preserved by Conon ([*FGrHist* 26] fr. 1.xxxvi), that under Spartan leadership a group of Imbrians and Lemnians from Lakonian Amyklai immigrated to Gortyn in the third generation after the conquest of Amyklai by Sparta (early in the eighth century B.C.).¹⁴² Some support for the tradition preserved by Conon is offered by references to the Amyklaioi (οἱ Ἀμυκλαῖοι) in the third or second century B.C. inscription which seems to preserve the text of an agreement between Gortyn and the Amyklaioi (*I.Cret.* IV, 172).¹⁴³ Although twenty-two lines of the text are preserved, the stone is broken at both edges (as well as at the bottom) leaving only a portion from the middle of each line. The agreement seems largely to concern judicial procedure, the role of *kosmoi* and the assessment of fines, but it is not possible to conclude anything about the political status of the Amyklaioi from what survives. Taken together, from Conon’s account of the foundation of Gortyn which links its founders with the toponym Amyklai and *I.Cret.* IV, 172 which attests the existence of a homonymous community with formal relations with Gortyn we may conclude that the Amyklaioi were closely linked to the *polis* of Gortyn. But how, exactly? The *opinio com-*

munis identifies Amyklai as a perioikic town of Gortyn, but in truth there is no evidence for this.¹⁴⁴

Stephanus described the *polis* of Amyklaion as a harbor town and its location has been sought on the coast to the southwest of Phaistos, perhaps in the vicinity of Kommos.¹⁴⁵ Sir Arthur Evans long ago suggested that the topographical details in *Odyssey* 3.293-296, recommended the vicinity of Kommos as the place on the outskirts of the territory of Gortyn (ἐσχατιῇ Γόρτυνος) where Menelaus' fleet was driven ashore.¹⁴⁶ Malkin suggests that the Homeric and post-Homeric accounts of the *nostos* of king Menelaus provided Sparta with "a precedent of presence in the areas (particularly North Africa and the western Mediterranean) in which colonists of Lakonian origins would settle."¹⁴⁷ Most recently, D. Viviers has suggested that the plan of rooms A1 and A2 of Temple C at Kommos (classical period) recommends their function as *andreia*, adducing as well the statement of Dosiades ([*FGrHist* 458] fr. 2) that everywhere on Crete there were two *syssitia*, one for citizens called the *andreion* and one for visitors called the *koimeterion*.¹⁴⁸ Vivier does not himself propose this, but if he is right about the function of these rooms we might conclude that Kommos was the center of a harbor town which enjoyed its own social institutions. The identification of Kommos and ancient Amyklai has now become standard in the literature and is attractive save for the fact that *I.Cret.* IV, 172 was found in the modern village of Apesokari (reused in the wall of the church of the Panagia), some nineteen kilometers east of Kommos. There are, to be sure, substantial ancient remains which extend from Apessokari west to Plora (ancient Pyloros?). But Apessokari-Plora is inland and the only harbor in the vicinity is that of Lebena. The decision rests on whether to prefer the evidence suggested by the provenience of a reused block or the evidence provided by mythological tradition and Stephanus.

IV.2.ii Boibe

Stephanus provides the only ancient reference for the Cretan Boibe. The full lemma for the toponym reads:

Βοίβη, πόλις Θεσσαλίας. Ὅμηρος "Βοίβην καὶ Γλαφύρας καὶ ἔνκτιμένην Ἰαωλκόν". ἔστιν οὖν καὶ πόλις καὶ λίμνη Βοιβιάς, ἀπὸ Βοίβου τοῦ Γλαφύρου τοῦ τὰς Γλαφύρας κτίσαντος. ἔστι καὶ ἐν Κρήτῃ Βοίβη τῆς Γορτυνίδος. καὶ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ λίμνη Βοίβη. τὸ ἐθνικὸν τῆς Βοίβης Βοιβεύς καὶ Βοιβίς θηλυκόν. εἰ δὲ καὶ Βοιβαῖος, οὐ κωλύει. ἔστι καὶ

Βοιβήιον πόλις. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Βοιβία ἡ λίμνη. (Steph. Byz. 172, 9-15).

Two aspects of this passage call for comment. Stephanus does not explicitly refer to Cretan Boibe as a *polis*, although we may infer as much from his language: there is also the (*polis*) Boibe which belongs to Gortyn. His use of τὸ ἐθνικόν rather than ὁ πολιτῆς to refer to the inhabitants of Boibe should not be regarded as politically significant.¹⁴⁹ Ancient Boibe has long been identified with the modern Pobia although with little supporting evidence beyond the similarity of their names.¹⁵⁰ The suggested location does, however, suit the geographical pattern which emerges from this study of the “dependent” communities of Gortyn.

IV.2.iii Pyloros.

Pliny provides the only ancient reference for Pyloros which he included in his list of Cretan *oppida insignia* (Pliny NH 4.12.59). The ancient toponym has been associated with the modern Plora and the location of Pyloros has been sought in the vicinity of the modern village which is in a good position to control the most convenient route from Gortyn to Lebena. Faure included Pyloros in his list of Roman foundations, but an epichoric inscription (grave marker?) written retrograde was found in Plora (*I.Cret.* I.xxv.1).¹⁵¹ Indeed, evidence for human occupation extends the entire distance between the villages of Plora and Apessokari two kilometers to the east.¹⁵²

IV.2.iv Rhitten

The location of ancient Rhitten¹⁵³ is central to the interpretation of the most important evidence for its political status, namely the fifth century B.C. agreement between the Gortynians and the Rhittenians (*I.Cret.* IV, 80), and so will be addressed first.¹⁵⁴ Guarducci identified ancient Rhitten with the remains of the important settlement at Patela Prinias and the majority of scholars have followed her lead.¹⁵⁵ In support of this identification she adduced (1) a fragment of an epichoric inscription preserving ZENIA in the first of two lines of text, which Guarducci following Xanthoudides and Pernier restored as [P]ιζενία (*I.Cret.* I.xxviii.2); and (2) the provisions for publication of an agreement between Gortyn and Knossos Πι[ττ]ηνίαι ἐν τῷ ναῶι τᾶς Ἀθαναίας (*I.Cret.* IV, 182, lines 20-21, ca. 166/5 B.C.) in combination with the inscriptional evidence for a sanctuary of Athena on Patela Prinias (*I.Cret.* I.xxvii.19 & 20). Fa-

ure, on the other hand, has argued strenuously against what has become the *opinio communis*.¹⁵⁶ Faure contended that the epichoric inscription *I.Cret.* I.xxviii.2 was better understood as a reference to Zeus, Ζεὺ ἀγοραῖος, ἄναξ, ἀθάνατος, ἄριστος vel sim. (it is not certain that the scribes of Prinias used a divider between every word), while Guarducci's reading of Πι[ττ]ηνία in *I.Cret.* IV, 182 was simply wrong.¹⁵⁷ Faure located Apollonia at Patela Prinias preferring a location south of the Mesara for Rhitten. He suggested that Rhitten be sought on the northern foothills of the Asterousia mountains near Apessokari, at the foot of a chain of hills called ἡ Κάτω Πίζα, a location already proposed by F. Halbherr at the end of the last century.¹⁵⁸ In favor of Faure's reluctance to identify Rhitten with the settlement at Patela Prinias is the observation that Patela Prinias, does not appear to have been inhabited during the fifth century B.C. when *I.Cret.* IV, 80 was inscribed. The current excavations at Prinias indicate that the settlement was abandoned towards the middle of the sixth century and not reoccupied before the Hellenistic period.¹⁵⁹ The material record as currently understood would seem to rule out the identification of Rhitten with the settlement at Patela Prinias.

Despite differences of detail, in broad outline the provisions of *I.Cret.* IV, 80, have been interpreted by most as demonstrating that Rhitten was a dependent community of Gortyn.¹⁶⁰ H. van Effenterre has recently proposed a fundamentally different interpretation of this text and of the political status of Rhitten.¹⁶¹ He argues that *I.Cret.* IV, 80 should be understood within the context of hostilities between Gortyn and Knossos. Rhitten (Patela Prinias) occupied a strategic position along the main route linking the Mesara and the north coast. Gortyn had defeated Rhitten but was unable to push any further towards the north in the direction of Knossos. Rather than incorporating Rhitten into the *polis* of Gortyn, Gortyn established a military district on Rhittenian territory close to the border shared by these two *poleis* to guard the northern approach into the Mesara. With this decree Gortyn agreed to respect the sovereignty of Rhitten and established the rules and judicial procedures which were to govern relations between the occupation forces of Gortyn and the Rhittenians, particularly as concerned the military district held by Gortyn on Rhittenian land. For van Effenterre, then, the focus of *I.Cret.* IV, 80, was the occupied territory rather than the status of Rhitten and the Rhittenians. This is an important distinction, particularly in the context of this essay, and one which I cannot endorse insofar as it is premised upon three problematic points: (1) the archaeological difficulty raised by the

settlement history of Patela Prinias; (2) the interpretation of the *startagetas* as a military official¹⁶² and (3) the interpretation of the problematic passage in line 6 as having to do with frontiers or borders.¹⁶³ I prefer instead to view the application of the provisions of this text in broader terms than does van Effenterre and to understand them to reflect the status of Rhitten and the Rhittenians vis-à-vis Gortyn.

A detailed explication of *I.Cret.* IV, 80 lies beyond the scope of the present study. The following four points must suffice.

(1) *I.Cret.* IV, 80 is a decree of Gortyn concerning Rhitten and Rhittenians. It is not an agreement between two independent *poleis*, even two *poleis* of unequal size and power. One sign of this is the absence of reciprocity in this decree. Only Rhittenians are envisioned as the wrongdoers who if convicted will be assessed a fine of one drachma (lines 4-8), only Gortynians as defendants in cases concerning security seized from Rhittenians (lines 9-12), and only Rhitten as the plaintiff in the final provision (lines 12-15)

(2) Gortyn's recognition that the Rhittenians were ἀντ[ι]νόμου[οι] καὶ ἀντόδικοι may have a more specific reference point than is usually entertained. The majority of the provisions which follow concern judicial procedure. I suspect that the initial general reference to Rhittenian judicial authority may have been made with the specific provisions which followed and limited this authority in mind.

(3) At least some of the land occupied by Rhittenians was owned by Gortyn (or by Gortynians). I can see no other reason for the provision in lines 3-4 which provided for the Rhittenian who built a house or planted trees the right to sell the products of his labor.¹⁶⁴ We may compare this with the contemporary decree of Gortyn concerning the lease of public land in Keskora and Pala (*I.Cret.* IV, 43 B,a) and the much later inscription from Kydonia (*I.Cret.* II. x. 1) which prove that some at least of the land within a dependent or constituent community of the *polis* was state-owned.¹⁶⁵

(4) Several of the judicial and executive procedures provided for by this decree were to take place in Rhitten. Officials from Gortyn traveled to Rhitten and there in conjunction with the Rhittenian kosmate judged (κοσμεῖν) a particular category of wrongdoer and assessed a fine if the accused was found guilty (lines 4-8).¹⁶⁶ Complaints arising from the fine (size or application) were to be decided according to the laws pertaining to foreigners κασενεία δίκαι[ι δι]κάδδεθαι. We hear of *Φαστίαι δίκαι*, suits pertaining to citizens, at Gortyn (*I.Cret.* IV, 13, g-h, line 2)¹⁶⁷ which implies their use of a separate category for foreigners, as does the exist-

ence there of a magistrate for affairs concerning foreigners, the *κσενίος* (*kosmos*) (*I.Cret.* IV, 14, g-p, lines 1-2). Does this decree then require the use of Gortynian procedure in Rhitten? Or in such cases was the venue transferred to Gortyn? Furthermore, the Rhittenians were to be *αὐτόδικοι*. Are we to understand, then, that the Rhittenians had a separate procedure for suits pertaining to foreigners or *κσενεῖαι δίκαι*? If so, by extension they had citizen suits and so they had citizens. A further provision required that fines assessed against a Gortynian who lost a suit concerning security taken from a Rhittenian be collected by the Rhittenian *kosmoi* and in the event that they failed to do so the responsibility fell to τοὺς πρεῖν[ίσ]τονς, presumably also Rhittenian officials (lines 8-12). The venue of the hearing to determine guilt or innocence is not specified, but one would suspect Rhitten. A third procedure was outlined for public, as opposed to private, complaints, brought by Rhitten against Gortyn (lines 12-15).¹⁶⁸ Such complaints were to be heard before the full assembly, but whose? The text is not clear. Were the Rhittenian complainants or their proxies required to travel to Gortyn in order to present their charges before the Gortynian assembly (so van Effenterre), or were the Gortynian officials?, defendants? or their proxies required to appear before the assembly of Rhitten in order to hear the charges against them (so Guarducci)? At the least we can conclude from the phrase τὸ κοινὸν οἱ Ῥιττένιοι that the community of the Rhittenians was regarded as a legal entity with the ability to initiate claims at law against a *polis* and its citizens.

Even if we adopt the position that *κσενεῖαι δίκαι* refers to Gortynian procedure, and that such cases were heard in Gortyn as were suits against Gortynian creditors and public complaints against Gortyn and the Gortynians, we are still left with a community which was regarded as a legal entity by at least one other *polis*, and which employed its own public officials who were responsible for executing fines assessed against the citizens of another *polis*. On the other hand, at least one category of delict fell under the joint jurisdiction of Gortynian and Rhittenian officials while other complaints against Gortyn and individual Gortynians were heard in Gortyn. Finally, at least some territory occupied by Rhittenians was apparently owned by Gortyn or perhaps individual Gortynians and it was within Gortyn's jurisdiction to determine the rights of the Rhittenian occupants. Stephanus, our only other ancient source for Rhitten, identified the community as a *polis*.¹⁶⁹ On balance, the evidence suggests that Rhitten was a *polis* with her own laws, courts, magistrates, council and assembly, but a dependent *polis* of Gortyn who

controlled land within the territory of Rhitten and could under certain circumstances abrogate the judicial and executive authority of the state.

IV.2.v Bene

Stephanus is our only ancient source for Bene: Βήνη; πόλις Κρήτης ὑπὸ Γόρτυν τεταγμένη. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Βηναῖος. Ῥιανὸς γὰρ ὁ ποιητὴς Βηναῖος ἦν ἢ Κερεάτης ἢ Κρής (Steph. Byz. 167. 4-5). Faure suggested that the remains at Kastellos just south of the modern village of Panagia should perhaps be identified as those of ancient Bene.¹⁷⁰ Faure described remains of the archaic, classical and Hellenistic periods extending some 1000 m. across the summit and slopes of Kastellos where there was also discovered a cave sanctuary with remains from the classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods. K. Rigsby, on the other hand, has presented a good case in support of his suggestion that Stephanus or his source (probably Herodian?) mistook Λεβήνη for Βήνη.¹⁷¹

IV.2.vi Aulon

Aulon, identified as a *polis* or a *topos* by Stephanus (Steph. Byz. 147.8 Αὐλών; τρίτη πόλις Κρήτης ἢ τόπος), has long been located at Hagii Deka, just two kilometers east of Gortyn.¹⁷² It would be difficult to imagine a separate village or sub-unit of the *polis* situated in such close proximity to the *asty*, and Guarducci identified Aulon as a suburb.¹⁷³ Apart from Stephanus, evidence for ancient Aulon comes from the earliest honorary decree yet known from Crete, *I.Cret.* IV, 64 (early fifth century B.C.).

- θεοί, θυγάθαῖ. δοριὰν ἔδοξαν Διονυσί[οι τῶ]ι Κο[-]
 [- ἀρετᾶς ἐμ πολέ[μοι καὶ ἐ]Φεργεσίας ἔνεκα Γόρτυνς ἐ-
 πίπανσα
 ὃ' οἱ ἐν Ἀφλῶνι Φοικίοντες ἀτέλειαν [πάντον ἀ]F.τῶ[ι καὶ ἐ-
 σγόνοις -]
 [- Fα]σίαν δίκαν καὶ Φοικίαν ἐν Ἀφλῶνι ἐ-
 5 νδος Πύργο καὶ Φοικόπεδον ἐκσοι γᾶν κ[-]
 [-]κον καὶ γ[υν]ασίω. vac.

Gods! Good Fortune! The Gortynians and those who live in Aulon give to Dionysios Κο[-] on account of his virtue in war and his benefactions to Gortyn tax exemption in all matters for himself and his descendants, the right to sue as a citizen, a house in Aulon inside of Pyrgos and a parcel of land outside ... and the gymnasium.

Most editors have construed πύργο (line 5) as fortress (a house in Aulon within the fortress). Manganaro has suggested that πύργο in line 5 is a toponym, Pyrgos, a small fortified community within the territory of Aulon, itself a small *polis* which by the time of this decree had fallen under the control of Gortyn. Manganaro proposed that Pyrgos (and Aulon) were in the vicinity of modern Pírgos located twelve kilometers east of Panagia.¹⁷⁴ To the best of my knowledge no ancient remains have been found in the vicinity of modern Pírgos, but Pyrgos is mentioned as part of a *kome* with Rhytion in a Hadrianic decree of 120 A.D. (*I.Cret.* I.xxix [Rhytion]. 1).

Of perhaps greater interest to us is the use of the phrase rather than a collective *ethnikon* to describe the group which joined with all Gortyn in granting the honors to Dionysius. This usage is repeated several centuries later in the second century B.C. agreement between Gortyn and οἱ τὰν Καῦδον Φουκίονσι (*I.Cret.* IV, 184). Was this usage meaningful and if so what did it suggest about the social and political status of the group so referred to and the place where they lived? Most have followed J. A. O. Larsen who denied the phrase a significance different from that of the simple *ethnikon*. For Larsen, Aulon was a perioikic community with its own local government and taxes. I do not believe that the evidence is sufficient to answer this question, but it should be observed that the phrase Γόρτυνς ἐπίπανσα in the sense of the community of citizens is unparalleled at Gortyn or elsewhere on Crete. There is little doubt that this phrase was used synonymously for the collective *ethnikon* of Γορτύνιοι and this perhaps provides some support for the position of Larsen *et al.* regarding the significance of οἱ ἐν Ἀφλῶνι Φουκίοντες. However, as demonstrated above (III.3) the collective use of the sub-regional *ethnikon* should not be adduced as evidence of *polis*-ness.

There is no way to determine conclusively whether the honors granted Dionysius allowed him to sue as a citizen in the courts of Gortyn or Aulon, or made him exempt from taxes imposed by Gortyn or by those who lived in Aulon, but I suspect that the rights pertain to Gortyn rather than Aulon. This need not mean that Aulon was not a political entity with its own courts and perhaps its own taxes. Rather, the inhabitants of Aulon, like those no doubt of Rhitten, were subject to the procedures of *κσενεῖα δίκαια* in the Gortyn courts. Dionysius, on the other hand, was granted the right to sue as a citizen of Gortyn subject to the procedures there of the *Φαστίαι δίκαια*, suits pertaining to citizens (*I.Cret.* IV, 13, g-h, line 2). The fact that the inhabitants of Aulon were required to join in the grant to Dionysius suggests first of all that they

were legally responsible for the disposition of real property within their community and secondly that they had a political or institutional apparatus which was capable of making decisions such as the current one on behalf of the community. In conclusion, the status of the inhabitants at Aulon seems quite similar to that of the Rhittenians and I would suggest that Aulon, like Rhitten, was a dependent *polis* of Gortyn.

IV.2.vii Rhytion

Rhytion (modern Rotassi) is the easternmost of the chain of seven small communities of the southern Mesara. We have already noted that Stephanus referred to Rhytion as a *polis* and its inhabitants as *politai* while Strabo claimed that Rhytion, like Phaistos, belonged to Gortyn (*supra* II.2). T.B.S. Spratt described a very large settlement whose remains extended for nearly a mile.¹⁷⁵ Rhytion is mentioned as part of a *kome* (with Pyrgos) in a decree of 120 A.D. (*I.Cret.* I.xxix [Rhytion]. 1).

IV.2.viii Pyranthos

Ancient Pyranthos was situated about ten kilometers northeast of Rhytion near the modern village Pyrathi. The remains of the settlement have been identified on Kefala Kirathiani.¹⁷⁶ We have previously noted that Stephanus identified Pyranthos as a small *polis* or a *kome* belonging to Gortyn (*supra* II.2). J. D. S. Pendlebury *et al.* called the site “insignificant”, but described seeing much cut stone and many Greco-Roman sherds.¹⁷⁷ A proconsular boundary stele of 63 A.D. found in the vicinity of Pyrathi mentions public lands and indicates that under Roman rule Pyranthos was a *kome* of Gortyn.

IV.2.ix Lebena.

For the political status of Lebena, see the discussion *supra* III.2.b.iii and III.3.b.iv

IV.3 Conclusions

What general conclusions about the political hierarchy of settlement in the Mesara might we draw from these several brief studies of the individual communities which have in the past been recognized as Gortynian dependencies? For seven of the nine communities there is explicit or readily deduced evidence of political subjugation to Gortyn. For Boibe, Bene, Pyranthos and Rhytion there are the explicit statements of the Hellenistic and Roman geographers who defined the relationship between these communities and Gortyn with the phrases ἔστι καὶ ἐν

Κρήτη Βοίβη τῆς Γορτυνίδος (Boibe), Γορτυνίων δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Ῥύτιον, and πόλις Κρήτης ὑπὸ Γόρτυν τεταγμένη (Bene), πόλις μικρὰ ἢ κόμη Κρήτης περὶ Γόρτυνα (Pyranthos), Γορτυνίων δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Ῥύτιον (Rhytion). For the others the case must be made by (1) the decree of Gortyn which resolves certain issues without reciprocity *for*, rather than *with*, the Rhittenians, (2) the gift of property in Aulon to a benefactor of Gortyn and (3) Gortyn's administration of the sanctuary of Asklepios at Lebena. Nothing certain may be said about the relationship between Gortyn and the two communities Amyklai and Pyloros, although the location of Pyloros along the route between the Mesara and Lebena surely requires that it belonged to Gortyn in some sense.

The inscriptions which preserve the provisions regulating the relations between these communities and Gortyn suggest that two areas were of overriding concern, the disposition of public land and judicial authority. In the cases of Rhitten and Aulon it appears that Gortyn owned and regulated the use of public property within their territorial limits (cf. Keskora and Pala). This land was leased by Gortyn to members of the community (Rhitten, cf. Keskora and Pala) or given to public benefactors (Aulon, cf. Kydonia "leased for so long as the benefactors were useful to the *polis*"). The disposition of improvements was regulated as well. Lessees could dispose of improvements (houses and orchards) which they themselves had produced (Rhitten; cf. Keskora and Pala: pre-existing improvements belonged to the state and could not be disposed of by the lessee). Rhitten and the other communities of *hypo-boikoi* had their own laws and courts, were *autonomoi* and *autodikoi*. In exceptional circumstances Gortyn could abrogate their judicial sovereignty, for example at the request of a treaty partner (Lato). At Gortyn, suits involving members of these communities as plaintiffs (Aulon) and defendants ? (Rhitten) came under the jurisdiction of *κσενεῖαι δίκαι*.

On the other hand, at least four of these communities did possess many of the features indicative of *polis*-ness. They possessed a hinterland with recognized boundaries (Aulon, Rhitten; cf. *I.Cret.* II.x [Kydonia].¹ and Pergamon in west Crete) and a conurbation together with smaller settlements (e.g. Aulon and Pyrgos; cf. Minoa and the small settlement south of Sternes on Akrotiri peninsula in west Crete). Their own laws concerning property as well as those imposed by Gortyn were enforced and executed by their own political officials (the Rhittenian *kos-moi*, *presbantai* and τὸ κοινὸν οἱ Ῥιττένιοι; the assembly of οἱ ἐν ῬΑῤῥῶνι Φοικίοντες). The member of one of these communities added the *polis-ethnikon* of his hometown to his personal name (Lebena). Fi-

nally, two-thirds of these communities were identified by Stephanus as *poleis* (Boibe, Rhitten, Bene, Aulon [or *topos*], Rhytion, Pyranthos [or *kome*]). Clearly these communities were not independent *poleis*, but the arguments adduced in this paper have presented a reasonably strong case for identifying three of the group of nine Mesara communities as dependent or ὑπήκοοι πόλεις (Rhitten, Aulon, and Lebena), at least according to the criteria suggested by Hansen.¹⁷⁸ And if my interpretation of the agreement between Lato and Gortyn is correct, then we may include the easternmost of these communities, namely Pyranthos and Rhytion, among the dependent *poleis* of Gortyn. Finally, it should be noted that the appearance of the dependent *polis* in the Mesara was not a purely Hellenistic development. At least in the cases of Rhitten and Aulon the evidence for their status as such extends back into the fifth century B.C. Beyond the Mesara our evidence for the political hierarchy of settlement is poorer, yet it has been possible to identify parallels between the situation in the Mesara and in other parts of Crete and to suggest that the ὑπήκοος πόλις on Crete was not a phenomenon unique to the development of one region of the island.

Notes

1 * Full bibliographical citations appear in the notes with the exception of sources that are frequently used and so noted by the following abbreviations.

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|----------------|--|
| Bile | M. Bile, <i>Le dialecte Crétois ancien. Étude de la langue des inscriptions. Recueil des inscriptions postérieures aux IC</i> (Paris 1988). |
| Chaniotis 1992 | A. Chaniotis, 'Ο Κρής τὸν Κρήτα. <i>Die Verträge zwischen kretischen Städten in hellenistischer Zeit. Ein Beitrag zur politischen Geschichte Kretas</i> (Ph.D. diss. Heidelberg 1992). |
| Chaniotis 1995 | A. Chaniotis, "Problems of "Pastoralism" and "Transhumance" in Classical and Hellenistic Crete," <i>Orbis Terrarum</i> 1 (1995). |
| Faure 1959 | P. Faure, "La Crète aux cents villes," <i>KrChr</i> (1959) 171-217. |
| Faure 1963 | P. Faure, "Nouvelles localisations de villes crétoises," <i>KrChr</i> 17 (1963) 16-26. |
| Gschnitzer | F. Gschnitzer, <i>Abhängige Orte in griechischen Altertum</i> (Munich 1958). |
| Gondiccas | D. Gondiccas, <i>Recherches sur la Crète occidentale. De l'époque géométrique à la conquête romaine. Inventaire des sources archéologiques et textuelles, position du problème</i> (Amsterdam 1988). |
| Guarducci | M. Guarducci, "Intorno ai perieci di creta," <i>RivFil</i> 15 (1936) 356-363. |

- Hansen (ed.) 1995 M. H. Hansen (ed.), *Sources for the Ancient Greek City-State*. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 2. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 72 (Copenhagen 1995)
- Larsen J. A. O. Larsen, "Perioeci in Crete," *CP* 31 (1936) 11-22.
- Le Rider G. Le Rider, *Monnaies crétoises du V^e au I^{er} siècle av. J.-C.* (Paris 1966).
- Nomima H. van Effenterre and F. Ruzé, *Nomima. Recueil d'inscriptions politiques et juridiques de l'archaïsme grec I* (Rome 1994).
- Perlman P. Perlman, "ΘΕΩΡΟΔΟΚΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΠΟΛΕΣΙΝ: Panhellenic *Epangelia* and Political Status," in Hansen (ed.) 1995, 113-164.
- Sanders I. F. Sanders, *Roman Crete. An Archaeological Survey and Gazetteer of Late Hellenistic, Roman and Early Byzantine Crete* (Warminster, Wilts 1982). Numbers refer to sites in the gazetteer, pp. 135-175.
- Svoronos J.-N. Svoronos, *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* (Bonn repr. 1972).
- van Effenterre H. van Effenterre, *La Crète et le monde Grec* (Paris 1948).
- Willetts 1955 R. F. Willetts, *Aristocratic Society in Ancient Crete* (London 1955).

I wish to thank Pierre Ducrey for his stimulating response to this paper and to all members of the Copenhagen Polis Centre for the lively discussion which followed. Special thanks are due to Mogens Hansen for reading and commenting upon an earlier draft of this paper. I am particularly thankful for his time.

2 For the use of these criteria to determine *polis* status on Crete, see Faure 1959; Chaniotis 1995, 16-17 n. 93.

3 For Stalai, see most recently F. Gschnitzer, 'Επί τοῖσδε ἔδωκαν Πραῖσιόι Σταλίταις τὰν χώραν...Zu einem Geschäftstyp des griechischen Völkerrechts," *Symposion* 1971 (1975) 79-102 and *infra* III.iii.

4 The phrase ἰχθύου μὲν καθάπε[ρ] ἰ [κ]αὶ πρότερον suggests that the subordinate position of the Stalilai was not new.

5 For the reliability of site-classification terms in Stephanus, see D. Whitehead, "Site-Classification and Reliability in Stephanus of Byzantium," in D. Whitehead (ed.), *From Political Architecture to Stephanus Byzantius*. Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 1. *Historia Einzelschriften* 87 (1994) 99-124. Whitehead has demonstrated that Stephanus was a fairly faithful copyist and so the question of his sources becomes more than an interesting exercise in antiquarianism (117-120). Stephanos names eleven sources for his Cretan entries: Hellanikos, Herodotos, Ephoros, Demetrios (of Kallatis?), Polybios, Xenion, Artemidoros of Ephesos, Strabo, Claudius Julius, Herrenius Philo of Byblos, and Herodian of Alexandria. Xenion was clearly his most important source. Not only did Stephanus cite him more often than any of the others, but on several occasions he preferred Xenion's account to those of his other sources. We know nothing about Xenion apart from the title of his work which was consulted by Stephanus, Περὶ Κρήτης, in which Xenion gave the name (and presumably said something further about) each of the one-hundred cities of Crete ([*FGrHist* 460] fr. 2). His *floruit* is set in the Hellenistic period "before Polybios" (K. Ziegler, *RE A:2* [Stuttgart 1967] 1479-1480 s.v. Xenion, suggests between Ephoros and Kallisthenes). P. Faure has demonstrated that Stephanus not only turned to Xenion more often than to other authorities, but that he more or less incorporated Xenion's work wholesale into his own (Faure 1959, 178-180). Two questions about Xenion's methods are of central importance. (1) Did Xenion approach his task with a specific definition of *polis*

in mind and if so was it a topographical or a political one? (2) Did Xenion pad his list in order to reach Homer's fabled one-hundred? In answer to the first question I believe there is a strong case to be made for the position that Xenion approached his task with *polis* in the political sense in mind. But I do fear that he was compelled to pad his list in order to reach his goal. Thus, in those cases where Stephanos provides our only evidence for *polis* status his testimony should be regarded as doubtful at best. On the other hand, the fact that in several cases Stephanos provided site-classification alternatives (*polis* or *kome*; *polis* or *topos*) suggests that Xenion was a conscientious scholar who refused to sacrifice accuracy in order to reach his goal.

6 M. H. Hansen, "The *Polis* as Citizen-State," in M.H. Hansen (ed.), *The Ancient Greek City-State*. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 1. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 67 (Copenhagen 1993) 18-20; "The 'Autonomous City-State'. Ancient Fact or Modern Fiction?" in M.H. Hansen and K. Raaflaub (eds.), *Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*. Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 2. *Historia Einzelschriften* 95 (Stuttgart 1995) 21-24.

7 For a list of those communities which would not be regarded as *poleis* if the test were political independence, see Hansen (*supra* n. 6) 36-37.

8 See in this volume M. H. Hansen, "ΠΟΛΛΑΧΩΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ (Arist. *Pol.* 1276a23). The Copenhagen inventory of *Poleis* and the *Lex Hafniensis de Civitate*," 7-72.

9 Hansen (*supra* n. 6) 22.

10 J. M. Cook, "Cities in and around the Troad," *BSA* 83 (1988) 7. It is worth pointing out that in the first footnote of this article Cook states that the city status of Ilium was not in doubt from about 425 B.C., "even when under the control of imperial Athens, Persia, or a despot." This would seem at the least to undercut Cook's definition of the *polis* as an *autonomous* and independent community.

11 Steph. Byz. 203.24-25 s.v. Γέργης identified the sibyl on the coins of Gergis as the Gergithian sibyl (Head *HN*³ 545-6).

12 J. M. Cook, *The Troad* (Oxford 1973) 280-282.

13 Steph. Byz. 445.15-17 s.v. Μερμησός.

14 It is not possible to quantify the size of the site of ancient Marpessos from Cook's description (*Troad*, 280-281). On Crete a number of small *poleis* are clustered within ten kilometers of one another. See *infra* IV and Fig. 3.

15 As suggested by the final line of the oracle quoted by Pausanias (10.3).

16 T. R. Martin, "Coins, Mints and the *Polis*," in Hansen (ed.) 1995, 257-291, esp. 282.

17 For these three criteria, see M. H. Hansen, "Boiotian *Poleis*. A Test Case," in Hansen (ed.) 1995, 38-39.

18 M. H. Hansen and T. Fischer-Hansen, "Monumental Political Architecture in Archaic and Classical Greek *Poleis*. Evidence and Historical Significance," in Whitehead (ed.) (*supra* n. 5) 23-90 esp. p. 86.

19 Larsen; Guarducci; Willetts 1955; Gschnitzer.

20 Larsen.

21 Sosikrates ([*FGrHist* 461] fr. 4): Σωσικράτης δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ Κορητικῶν "τὴν μὲν κοινήν, φησί, δουλείαν οἱ Κοῆτες καλοῦσι μνοίαν, τὴν δὲ ἰδίαν ἀφαμιώτας, τοὺς δ' περιοίκους ὑπηκόους." τὰ παραπλήσια ἱστορεῖ καὶ Δωσιάδας ἐν δ' Κορητικῶν. Editors have by and large adopted Dobree's emendation. I follow Guarducci in preferring the text of manuscript (A), a collection of excerpts from the *Deipnosophistae* probably from the 10th century.

22 For the “Kransopeioi”, attested in an agreement between Gortyn and Phaistos (*I.Cret.* IV, 165, lines 4-5), see now Chaniotis 1992, 441-442, who restores κ<ό>ρυ[ο]ς ὀπεῖοι.

23 Larsen, 14-15.

24 See, for example, Willetts 1955, 37-40 *et passim*. Cf. Gschnitzer and Guarducci. Guarducci argued that the Spartan model was not appropriate because there was no evidence that Cretan *perioikoi* were required to serve in the army of the sovereign *polis*. This may or may not be true (see *infra* III.3.b.ii on the Artemitai), but several observations should be noted in this connection: (1) the Spartan army was a topic of tremendous interest to the authors of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.; (2) we know very little about the Spartan *perioikoi* apart from their military obligations; and (3) we know practically nothing about the composition of the army of any one of the Cretan *poleis*. The epigraphic evidence discussed by Larsen concerns for the most part judicial and economic matters. I would guess that on a day to day basis similar matters were of central importance to the Spartan *perioikoi* (and to the *Spartiatiai*). In short, the distinction may be illusory and a product of our sources.

25 The evidence suggests that Aulon, Rhitten, and Lebena were most likely dependent *poleis* of Gortyn and the same may have been true of Bene, Boibe, and Rhytion. There is insufficient evidence, on the other hand, for determining the status of Amyklai. For these, see *infra* IV. Matalon and Herakleion were probably independent *poleis* despite the testimony of the late Hellenistic and Roman sources who refer to them as the harbors or ports of Phaistos and Knossos respectively. See *infra* III. On current evidence I regard neither Stalai nor Setaia as *poleis* of even the dependent type. See *infra* III.3.

26 For a review of the scholarship on the *perioikoi* of Sparta and a preliminary study of the political and economic implications of the geography of perioikic Lakonia, see G. Shipley, “*Perioikos*: The Discovery of Classical Lakonia,” in J. M. Sanders (ed.) ΦΙΛΟ-ΛΑΚΩΝ. *Laconian Studies in Honor of Hector Catling* (London 1994) 211-226. Shipley promises a comprehensive study of the Spartan *perioikoi* in the future.

27 On the question of the origins of the Lakonian *perioikoi*, see Shipley, (*supra* n. 26) 214.

28 A. Lebesi, ‘Η συνέχεια τῆς κρητομυκεναϊκῆς λατρείας. Ἐπιβιώσεις καὶ ἀναβιώσεις, *AE* 1981 (1983) 1-24. For Crete during the twelfth century B.C. (LMIIIC), see A. Kanta, *The Late Minoan III Period in Crete. A Survey of Sites, Pottery and their Distribution. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* 58 (Göteborg 1980).

29 For regional variation on dark age Crete, see most recently the comments of K. Nowicki, “A Dark Age Centre near Pefki, East Crete,” *BSA* 89 (1994) 235-268, esp. 237-239.

30 See P. Perlman, “Without Kings: Public Authority and Social Organization in Early Gortyn,” in T. Palaima (ed.) *Kingship and the Organization of Power* (forthcoming, University of Texas Press).

31 J. Nicholas Coldstream, “Dorian Knossos and Aristotle’s Villages,” in C. Nicolet (ed.) *Aux origines de l’Hellénisme: la Crète et la Grèce. Hommage à Henri van Effenterre* (Paris 1986) 311-322; “Knossos: An Urban Nucleus in the Dark Age?” in D. Musti *et al.* (eds.) *La Transizione dal miceneo all’alto arcaismo. Dal palazzo alla città. Atti del Convegno Internazionale. Roma, 14-19 marzo 1988* (Rome 1991) 287-299.

32 Larsen, 12-13; M. Guarducci, *I.Cret.* IV, p. 120.

33 For the general thrust of the decree, see W. K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War*. Part V (Berkeley/Los Angeles/Oxford) 145-146.

34 For the terms for social status on Crete, see R. F. Willetts, *The Law Code of Gortyn* (Berlin 1967) 10-17; H. van Effenterre, “Terminologie et formes de dépendance en Crète,”

in L. Hadermann-Misguich and G. Raepsaet (eds.) *Rayonnement Grec. Hommages à Charles Delvoye* (Brussels 1982) 35-44; Bile, 342-347.

35 For the diagramma of the Cretans, see J. Vélissaropoulos, "Remarques sur le 'diagramma des Crétois'," *RHD* 1975, 36-47.

36 ὑπόβοιοι were members of the *polis* of Lato: E. Kirsten, *Das dorische Kreta. I. Die Insel Kreta im fünften und vierten Jahrhundert* (Würzburg 1942) 85-86; P. Brulé, *La piraterie crétoise hellénistique* (Paris 1978) 153; Bile 273. ὑπόβοιοι were members of the community of Gortyn: Larsen, 13; Guarducci, 358; Willetts 1955, 38-39; P. Gauthier, *Symbola. Les étrangers et la justice dans les cités grecques* (Nancy 1972) 293.

37 For a parallel use of this construction in Cretan diplomacy, see *I.Cret.* III.iii (Hierapytna).3C, lines 5-6.

38 For the meaning of ὑπέχειν δίκαιόν τι (poenas dare, iudicium subire), see M. Guarducci, *I.Cret.* IV, p. 232.

39 Neither the deme dicasts of Peisistratid Athens nor the appeal in public cases to a third party to supply arbitrators or judges is apposite. In this regard, see the remarks of Gauthier (*supra* n. 36) 293 n. 22.

40 M. Gagarin, "The Function of Witnesses at Gortyn," *Symposion 1985. Akten der Gesellschaft für griechische und hellenistische Rechtsgeschichte* (Köln 1989) 29-54. Cf. Vélissaropoulos (*supra* n. 34) 38, "Ce but (restitution des saisies illicites) sera plus facilement atteint si le dommage causé est examiné sur place, en l'occurrence dans la cité meme du demandeur..."

41 On this point, see Willetts 1966, 13.

42 Larsen, 12-13; cf. *supra* n. 25 (list of perioikic communities of Gortyn).

43 Larsen, 13: "It is possible that the usage may have varied at different times, but it is also possible that both terms were used at the same time, depending on whether one wished to emphasize that the perioeci dwelt round about or that they were subjects."

44 Guarducci.

45 Quoted *supra* n. 21.

46 The date of the foundation of the Cretan κοινόν and its subsequent development continue to be vigorously disputed. For a recent study which discusses much of the earlier bibliography, see S. L. Ager, "Hellenistic Crete and the KOINODIKION," *JHS* 114 (1994) 1-18. Vélissaropoulos (*supra* n. 35) argues that the *diagramma* was instituted at the very end of the third century B.C. following the conclusion of the First Cretan War.

47 Chaniotis 1992, 123-124, dates this treaty to the period shortly after the end of the Lyttian War in 219 B.C..

48 For a map showing the borders of Lato based upon their description in the late second century B.C. treaties of Lato and her neighbors, see P. Faure, "Aux frontières de l'État de Lato: 50 toponymes," in *Europa. Festschrift für Ernst Grumach* (1967) 94-112 with map facing p. 97.

49 For Inatos, see *infra* IV.1.

50 Steph. Byz. 541.1-2 πόλις μικρὰ ἢ κώμη Κρήτης περὶ Γόρτυνα. οἱ κατοικοῦντες Πυράνθιοι.

51 Steph. Byz. 548.6-7 Ῥύτιον; πόλις Κρήτης. ὁ πολίτης Ῥυτιεύς.

52 Strabo 10.14, 479.13 Γορτυνίων δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Ῥύτιον σὺν τῇ Φαιστῶ "Φαιστόν τε Ῥυτίον τε".

53 Pollux 6.113 included ὑποικοῦντας among his glosses for ὁ γείτων. For these communities, see *infra* IV.

54 Larsen, 18-19.

- 55 M. Guarducci, *I.Cret.* II, p. 163.
- 56 M. Casewitz, *Le vocabulaire de la colonisation en grec ancien. Étude lexicologique: les familles de κτώ et de οἰκῶ-οἰκίζω* (Paris 1985) 153-160. Cf. *I.Cret.* III.iii (Hierapytna).31, a statue base bearing the signature of the Itanian sculptor Damokrates, son of Aristomedes, known only from the text of H. Belli (1594). Belli recorded the second line of the text as ἡ [-]. Guarducci restored this line of the text to read Ἰτάνιος ἐποί(η)σε, but L. Beschi has recently argued in favor of Belli's reading, suggesting that Damokrates of Itanos was allowed to live and work in Hierapytna (L. Beschi, "La nike di Hierapytna, opera di Damokrates di Itanos," *RAL* 40 [1985] 131-143). 261j
- 57 See *infra* III.3.b.ii
- 58 M. Bile, "Le vocabulaire du village dans les inscription crétoises," *Ktema* 11 (1986) 140-141.
- 59 See *infra* IV.2.
- 60 A. Chaniotis, "Habgierige Götter, habgierige Städte. Heiligtumsbesitz und Gebietsanspruch in der kretischen Staatsverträgen," *Ktema* 13 (1988) 21-39; 1995, 35.
- 61 Bile (*supra* n. 58) 141.
- 62 Gondiccas, 74-78; Faure, 1988, 93.
- 63 For the possibility that there was a Cretan *polis* by this name, see *infra* p. 276 n. 79.
- 64 Faure, 1988, 90; Sanders, 168 (18/9).
- 65 See most conveniently D. J. Blackman, *PECS* 550 s.v. The settlement possessed an important cult of Diktynna? at Marathospelios (P. Faure, *Fonctions des cavernes crétoises* [Paris 1964] 186-187).
- 66 Blackman, (*supra* n. 65) l.c., suggests that this settlement was perhaps dependent upon the larger community at Marathi.
- 67 Steph. Byz. 454.9. For the second Minoa in northeastern Crete (at Pachy Ammos), see Faure 1959, 196 no. 61.
- 68 M. Guarducci, *I.Cret.* II, p. 117.
- 69 F. Preisigke and F. Bilabel, *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten* I (Berlin/Leipzig 1918) no. 4057.
- 70 The use of the regional *ethnikon* Κρής/Κρησσα as part of the personal name is interesting, but not strictly relevant to this essay. To the best of my knowledge no example of the use of the regional *ethnikon* as part of the personal name has been found on Crete, but it was used in almost one-half of the extra-Cretan references to Cretans.
- 71 Hansen (*supra* n. 16) appendix 2; T. H. Nielsen, "Arkadia City-Ethnics and Tribalism," *supra* pp. 117-132.
- 72 Chersonesos: Φιλωνίδης Ζωΐτου (*IvO* 276, 336-323 B.C.); Dattalla: Δαμόθετος (D. Viviers, "La cité de Dattalla et l'expansion territoriale de Lyktos en Crète centrale," *BCH* 118 [1994] 240, 6th BC); Gortyn: Βρόταρχος (*AP* 7.254 [Simonides], 6th-5th BC), Ἐντυμος (Athen. 2.48d-f, 5th BC), Νυξίας (Thuc. 2.85, 429 BC), Πόλυβος Μενεσθέως (*IG* I² 125, 405/4 BC), Σωσίνοος (*IG* II² 8464, late 5th BC); Kydonia: Ὀνασάνδρος (*Inscriptiones Graecae Aegypti* III. *Abydos*, no. 405, ca. 400 BC), Κρησίλας (*IG* IV, 683, ca. 450 BC); Priansos: Θεόδωρος (*FD* III.5, 75, col. I, line 6, mid-4th BC).
- 73 Early examples of this use of the collective sub-regional *ethnikon* are known for Dattalla (*SEG* 27 631), Eltynia (*I.Cret.* I.x.2), Gortyn (*I.Cret.* IV, 78, 80), Lebena (*I.Cret.* IV, 63), Lyktos (*I.Cret.* I.xviii.4; *SEG* 35 991A & B), Knossos (*I.Cret.* I.xxx.1), and Tylisos (*I.Cret.* I.viii.4). The plural *ethnikon* appears as well on the classical coins of Axos (= Ὀαξος), Eleutherna, Gortyn, Itanos, Knossos, Lyktos, Phaistos, Praisos, Rhaukos? and

Sybrita. The classical coins of Kydonia use the toponym rather than the *ethnikon*. For the classical Cretan mints, see Le Rider, 194-197.

74 For a regional comparison of the uses to which writing was first put, see S. Stoddard and J. Whitley, "The social context of literacy in archaic Greece and Etruria," *Antiquity* 62 (1988) 761-772. Groups of archaic and classical inscribed dedications are known from Aphrati (H. Hoffmann and A. E. Raubitschek, *Early Cretan Armorers* [Mainz 1972]) and from the sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite at Kato Syme Viannou (unpublished). Vi-viers (*supra* n. 71) 229-259, suggests that the inscribed bronzes from Aphrati came from a large public building excavated there and that this site should be identified as ancient Dattalla. A. Lebesi, "A sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite in Crete," *Expedition* 18 (1976) 13, indicates that the dedications from Kato Syme Viannou record several sub-regional *ethnika* including those for Dattalla, Lyttos, Knossos, Tylissos, Hierapytna and Arcades, but apart from the signature of Δαμόθετος of Dattalla (*supra* n. 71) no further information about them has been published.

75 See the Fig. 2, Totals for columns II + III (181 extra-Cretan references) and column V + VI (57 intra-Cretan references).

76 For the supporting evidence, see Fig. 1.

77 I remain uncertain about the authenticity of the toponym Κρής Μαρωνείτης which is found in the Souda s.v. Σωτάδης. The passage is generally regarded to be corrupt with Κρής an intrusion. In his interesting but highly speculative study of the Eteocretan language, P. Faure interpreted *I.Cret.* III.vi.3 (Praisos, 6th century BC) to read ἱ(ε)ρε(ῖ) (Ἐ)ρεμία Μαρφ[νειαι] where φ = ω/υ (?) and to refer to Hermes at Maroneia (P. Faure, "Les sept inscriptions dites "Étéocrétoises" reconsidérées," *KrChr* 28-29 [1988-1989] 103-105). Faure identifies ancient Maroneia with the "sites archéologiques considérables" in the vicinity of modern Maronia, ten kilometers south of Sitia (P. Faure, "Nouvelles identifications d'antiques localités crétoises," *Kadmos* 32 [1993] 68).

78 For the possibility that the *polis* Eleutherna was so constituted, see *infra* III.3.b.ii.

79 The pentekostys is attested in an inscription from Voulgari Armokastella near the modern village Melambes a few kilometers north of Hagia Galini (ancient Soulia). The inscription, a dedication of the custodians of a temple, has been dated to the 3rd-2nd century B.C. (*SEG* 28 753). N. Platon, *KrChr* 13 (1959) 391, read for lines 4-5 ἀ πεντεκοστὸς ἀ πόλιος Κωρίων. S. Hood and P. Warren, "Ancient Sites in the Province of Ayios Vasilios, Crete," *BSA* 61 (1966) 169, identified the location of the *polis* Korion with two nucleated settlements, one 2 kilometers northeast of Melambes and a second and earlier cluster 4 kilometers to the northeast at Kastri. The ceramic material they collected was classical and Hellenistic. Cf. Steph. Byz. 374.12-15 Κόριον: τόπος ἐν Κρήτῃ, and G. Huxley, "Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. KOPION," *GRBS* 11 (1970) 53-55. However, G. Manganaro, "Epigrafia e istituzioni di Creta," in *Antichità Cretesi. Studi in onore di Doro Levi* vol. 2 (Catania 1977-1978) 41-50, read for lines 4-5 ἀ πεντεκοστὸς ἀπὸ Διοσχωρίων, and argued that the pentekostys was a unit of the *polis* of Rhethymna. Manganaro suggested that the village of Melambes was incorporated into a pentekostys of Rhethymna. *SEG* presents the text and interpretation of Manganaro. A dedication to Athena Adia (Ἀδία) probably also comes from Voulgari Armokastella (*I.Cret.* II.xxx.2). Manganaro suggested that the ancient name of the settlement at Melambes was Γάδιον or Ἰάδιον. I have not seen the inscription myself and I am unable to endorse one or the other reading on the basis of the photograph published by Manganaro (p. 42, Fig. 4). Lines 4-5 of this text were reinscribed and the surviving traces of the earlier letters render the photograph difficult to read. If Platon's reading proves to be the correct one, then the *polis* Korion must be added to the inventory of Cretan *poleis*.

- 80 N. F. Jones, *Public Organization in Ancient Greece: A Documentary Study* (Philadelphia 1987) 219-231, esp. 220-222.
- 81 Polyb. 22.15. For the mission of Appius Claudius to Crete in 184 BC, see F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* III (Oxford 1979) 200-201.
- 82 M. Guarducci, *I.Cret.* I, p. 46.
- 83 M. Dothan, "Akko: Interim Excavation Report First Season, 1973-1974," *BASOR* 224 (1976) 39-40 (*SEG* 26 1679). The stele was reportedly found in the vicinity of a "massive stone structure" although Dothan did not indicate a connection between the stele and this structure.
- 84 I profess no experience with letter form dating of inscriptions from the Levant, but I see no reason to exclude the third century B.C. on the basis of the photograph published by Dothan.
- 85 As reported by Dothan (*supra* n. 83).
- 86 *OGIS* I, 71. The inscription apparently reads Κουρτωλῖαιος. Dittenberger proposed that the correct form of the *ethnikon* was Κουρτωλῖας. Faure's Κουρτωλῖας is probably preferable (P. Faure, "Sept nouvelles villes de la Crète antique," *KChr* [1965] 226 n. 21).
- 87 Faure (*supra* n. 86) 226-227; 1988, 87-88.
- 88 Hood and Warren (*supra* n. 79) 180, no. 19.
- 89 See Hood and Warren (*supra* n. 79) 169-170 no. 2 (Melambes), 170 no. 3 (Psycheion), 173-174 no. 8 (Bionnos), and 188-189 no. 36 (Pantanassa). For Melambes, cf. *supra* n. 78.
- 90 *I.Cret.* I.xvii.2, 4A & B, 5, 6, 8. The attribution of these inscriptions to Gortyn is based chiefly upon prosopographic grounds. See Perlman, 136-137.
- 91 See e.g. M. Guarducci, *I.Cret.* IV, p. 118.
- 92 Polyb. 4.55.6. Van Effenterre, 165-172, noted that the civil strife need not have been precipitated by the Lyktian war, but may have begun sometime earlier for entirely different reasons.
- 93 K. Rigsby, "Notes sur la Crète hellénistique," *REG* 99 (1986) 353, n. 13.
- 94 J. Baillet, *Inscriptions grecques et latines des Tombeaux des Rois ou Syringes* III (Cairo 1920-1926) 816.
- 95 F. Preisigke and F. Bilabel, *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten* I (Berlin/Leipzig 1918) no. 4057.
- 96 For the location of Lykastos and its possible identification with Mycenaean Ru-ki-to, see J. K. McArthur, *Place-Names in the Knossos Tablets. Identification and Location*, *Minos*. Supp. 9 (Salamanca 1993) 145-146 with earlier bibliography.
- 97 Strabo 10.4.14 αἱ δὲ συγκαταλεχθεῖσαι πόλεις οὐκέτ' εἰσί, Μίλητός τε καὶ Λύκαστος, τὴν δὲ χώραν τὴν μὲν ἐνεῖμαντο Λύττιοι τὴν δὲ Κνώσσιοι κατασκάψαντες τὴν πόλιν.
- 98 Polyb. 22.15. For the mission of Ap. Claudius, see *supra* n. 80.
- 99 *AP* 7. 448 & 449.
- 100 A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology. Hellenistic Epigrams* II (Cambridge 1965) 323-324.
- 101 O. Masson, "Cretica VI-IX," *BCH* 109 (1985) 197-198. Masson reported the suggestion of P. Faure (per ep.) that Lykastos was perhaps located at Astritsi rather than Kastelli. If so, another location for Diatonion must be sought.
- 102 Gow and Page (*supra* n. 100) 308.
- 103 Gondiccas, 280-285.

- 104 *I.Cret.* II.xv (Hyrtačina). 3 Ἐρμαίαιμ παριδόντα ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἰ κεῖμαι· Σωσάρχου θυγάτηρ Πασιμνάστα Περγαμίλα τὸ γένος.
- 105 Chaniotis 1995, 29.
- 106 For a recent study of the history of the sanctuary of Asklepios at Lebena, see A. Savelkoul, "Sur une épigramme de Lébéné (Incr. Creticae, I, 17, 21)," *BIBR* 55/56 (1985/1986)[1987] 47-56.
- 107 M. Guarducci, *I.Cret.* II, p. 163.
- 108 Chaniotis 1992, 410-417.
- 109 *I.Cret.* II. xii. 22, lines 1-7 [. .] τῶι τὸς κα α .[-] ἰ Φ.ικατιετίας καὶ πρεσγη[ί]ας. αἱ δέ κα μὴ ἀποφάνηι ἰ [ὅ]χ' ὁ κόσμος κέληται ὁ Ἐλλ[ου]θερναῖος, πέντε στατήρας ἀποτίνεν ἕκαστον [τ]λὸν μὴ [π]αρεχόμενον. Chaniotis suggests that τὸς πρεσγήας are those of sixty years and over.
- 110 *I.Cret.* II. xii. 22, lines 7-13 ὅς[τ]ι[ς] δέ κ' ἀπολείπει τὰν πολ[ι]τιήαν τῶν Ἀρτεμιτᾶν [ἐ]π[α]γγηλάτω τοῖς κόσμοις[ς] ἰ τοῖς Ἐλουθερναῖοις· αἱ δέ κ[α] ἰ μὴ ἐπαγγήλῃ, τὰ θῖνα μὴ ἰνῆμεν τῶινυ.
- 111 Citizenship: *I.Cret.* I.xix [Malla].3A; *I.Cret.* III.iv. [Itanos].1; *I.Cret.* III.vi [Praisos].8, *I.Cret.* IV, 168 (restored). Constitution: *I.Cret.* I.xxv [Priansos].2; *I.Cret.* III.iv [Itanos].8. All citations are Hellenistic (3rd-2nd B.C.) and so provide good parallels for our text.
- 112 It must be admitted that the closest parallel to our text is found in the civic oath of Itanos and has precisely this meaning: καὶ ο<ὕ> πρ[ο]λειπέω τὰν πολιτε[ί]αν οὔτε ἐ[ν] πολέμῳ οὔτε ἐν εἰ[ρ]ῇ ἵκναι κατὰ τὸ δ[ι]ν[α]τόν (*I.Cret.* III.iv [Itanos].8, lines 36-38). If the two verbs προλείπω and ἀπολείπω are indeed synonyms, we would be forced to imagine a law requiring a traitor to advise the authorities of his intentions!
- 113 Chaniotis (1992), l.c.
- 114 See the statement to this effect by H. van Effenterre, "Les deux inscriptions de Nési," in H. van Effenterre et al. (eds) ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΝΑ II.1 (Rhethymnon 1991) 29.
- 115 M. Guarducci, *I.Cret.* IV, p. 79.
- 116 H. van Effenterre, "Nouvelles lois archaïques de Lyttos," *BCH* 109 (1985) 157-188, esp. 187-188.
- 117 Faure (*supra* n. 86) 229.
- 118 Souda s.v. Μίτιος, Μίτος; ὄνομα πόλεως.
- 119 For the silver issues, see J.-N. Svoronos, *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* (Bonn repr. 1972) 243-244; for the bronze coin, see Faure (*supra* n. 76) 72-73. An example of one of the silver issues (Svoronos, pl. XXII 20) was found in the hoard of 1936. Le Rider suggests that the hoard was uncovered at Siwa, a village to the south of Phaistos, and dates its deposition to ca. 280-270 B.C. (Le Rider, 18, 41-49).
- 120 Faure, l.c. Cf. Gondiccas, 272-274.
- 121 M. Guarducci, "Una nuova confederazione a Creta, gli Orii," *Riv.Fil.* (1938) 50-55.
- 122 Van Effenterre, 119-127.
- 123 Van Effenterre, l.c.
- 124 Van Effenterre, l.c., argued contra Guarducci (*supra* n. 120), that the terms of the agreement were fully reciprocal.
- 125 Guarducci, l.c.
- 126 Cf. also Steph. Byz. 354.11-12 Κάντανος, πόλις Κρήτης, ὡς Ξενίων ἐν περιορίῳ (for [τῷ] περὶ Ὁρίῳ) Κρητικῷ τόπῳ. For the location of ancient Kantanos in the vicinity of modern Kadre or Kantanos, see Gondiccas, 26-31, 44-48.
- 127 Indeed, the patronymic suffix occurs in the name of only one of the Cretan *phylai* ([-]τιδᾶν, *I.Cret.* II. v [Axos].28).

128 H. van Effenterre, "Inscriptions archaïques crétoises," *BCH* 70 [1946] 588-590, no. 1. Cf. P. Faure, "La Crète aux cent villes," *BAssBudé* (1960) 244, οἱ Πρεπσιδαί "forment ... un village descendant d'un même ancêtre ... et non un État." J. Bennet suggests (per ep.) that the geometric-archaic settlement at Anavlochos is perhaps to be identified as the home of the Prepsidai. See P. Demargne, "Recherches sur le site de Anavlochos," *BCH* 55 (1931) 365-407.

129 For the location of Setaia, see Sanders, 16 and 136 (1/12).

130 Ps. Scylax 47 Πραῖσος διήκει ἀμφοτέρωθεν.

131 Steph. Byz. 305 Ἦτις; δῆμος Λακωνικῆς, καὶ τῆς Κρήτης πόλις; Diog. Laert. 1.107 Εὐθύφρων δ' ὁ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ποντικοῦ, Κρητὰ φησιν εἶναι Ἡτεῖαν γὰρ πόλιν εἶναι Κρήτης. Unfortunately, nothing is known about Euthyphron, the son of Herakleides.

132 The subjugation of Stalai by Hierapytna must have occurred at the time of Hierapytna's conquest of Praisos several decades earlier (145-140 B.C.). For the date of the conquest, see M. Guarducci, *I.Cret.* III, pp. 91-92; S. Spyridakis, *Ptolemaic Itanos and Hellenistic Crete* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1970) 56-57.

133 For the location of Stalai, see Sanders, 136 (1/10); Faure (1963) 25-26.

134 Gschnitzer (*supra* n. 3).

135 Mention must be made of the suggestion of A. Inglese, "Itinerario cretese dei *theoroi* di Delfi: proposta di integrazione nel percorso orientale," *MGR* 16 (1991) 165-171, that the toponym Στάλαι should perhaps be restored to the list of Cretan toponyms in the grande liste of *theorodokoi* from Delphi (*SEG* 26 624 col. 4.1). I regret that I was not aware of this article when I prepared my discussion of this same section of the Delphic list for publication (Perlman). This reading does not suit the traces as recorded by J. Oulhen to whom I am indebted for providing me with a copy of his text of this inscription in advance of his much awaited publication of it.

136 Views vary as to which communities should be regarded as members of the list of Gortynian dependencies. For Larsen, Aulon and Kaudos, Amyklaion, Lebena, Bene, Boibe, and Rhytion "can be identified with more or less certainty as perioikic communities subject to Gortyn" (Larsen 16). The list of Manganaro includes Lebena, Rhittenia, Pyranthos, Aulon and Rhytion (Manganaro [*supra* n. 79] 54-56).

137 I have omitted from this discussion the well-known decree of Gortyn for Kaudos (*I.Cret.* IV, 184) for reasons of topography and chronology. The island of Kaudos lies well to the west of the shores of the Mesara. Gortyn's interest in the island was probably prompted by somewhat different historic and economic factors from those at play closer to home. Furthermore, the agreement dates to the second century B.C. Those pertaining to the Mesara settlements are for the most part earlier and so provide us with a rare glimpse of the situation during the archaic and classical periods.

138 As will be made clear in the discussion which follows, the location of several of these ancient toponyms is either uncertain or controversial.

139 On the settlement history of the Asterousia mountains, see P. Faure, "Recherches sur le peuplement des montagnes de Crète: sites, cavernes et cultes. iii. Massif des Asterousia," *BCH* 89 (1965) 37-40.

140 For the settlement history of this watershed, see D. J. Blackman and K. Branigan, "An Archaeological Survey of the Lower Catchment of the Ayiofarango Valley," *BSA* 72 (1977) 13-84.

141 For Inatos, see M. Guarducci, *I.Cret.* I, p. 98. Εἰλείθυα Βινατία, whose cult at Inatos was mentioned by Stephanus, was included last in the list of oath gods in a treaty of

Gortyn, Hierapytna and Priansos (*I.Cret.* IV, 174, lines 60-61, 76, 2nd century B.C.). This suggests that at least at the time of this agreement Inatos was part of the *polis* of Priansos.

142 The role of Sparta as colonizer has been doubted in the past, but Irad Malkin has recently argued not only that Sparta was a colonizer but that she was somewhat precocious in this regard. He locates the most active period of Spartan colonization before the First Messenian War in the eighth century B.C.. For the date, see I. Malkin, *Myth and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean* (Cambridge 1994) 111-113.

143 In addition to this reference to the Amyklaioi, there was a cult of Apollo Amyklaios at Gortyn (*I.Cret.* IV, 72, col. III, 8) and a month name Amyklaios in the Gortynian calendar (*I.Cret.* IV, 182).

144 Larsen, 16; M. Guarducci, *I.Cret.* IV, p. 173; Willetts 1955, 119.

145 Steph. Byz. 88.3 ἔστι καὶ πόλις Ἀμύκλαιον ἐν Κρήτῃ καὶ ὄρηος. For the identification of Amyklai and Kommos, see J. Shaw, "Excavations at Kommos (Crete) during 1977," *Hesperia* 47 (1978) 150-154. For the settlement history of the Kommos area as revealed by surface survey, see now R. Hope Simpson et al., "The Archaeological Survey of the Kommos Area," in J. W. Shaw and M. C. Shaw (eds.) *Kommos. An Excavation on the South Coast of Crete*, vol. I, part 1 (Princeton 1995) 325-402.

146 Sir Arthur Evans, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* II.1 (New York 1964 repr.) 85-88.

147 Malkin (*supra* n. 142) 47.

148 Viviers (*supra* n. 72) 245.

149 Whitehead (*supra* n. 5) 123-124.

150 See Guarducci, *I.Cret.* I.xxiii (Phaistos).20.

151 Faure 1959, 198 no. 19. See also Sanders 159 (10/15).

152 J. D. S. Pendlebury, M. B. Money-Coutts, and E. Eccles, "Journeys in Crete, 1934," *BSA* 33 (1932/1933)[1935] 88-89, describe the remains which they identify as "Greco-Roman".

153 Modern scholars variously refer to this community as Rhittenia, Rhitten, Rhizenia or Rhizen. The toponym is attested only in Stephanus who used the spelling Ῥιζηνία (Steph. Byz. 544.20). *I.Cret.* IV, 80, the only certain epigraphic source for the name of this community, preserves the collective form of the *polis-ethnikon* Ῥιτιτένιος and the adverbial form Ῥιτιτενάδε. This adverbial form suggests that the toponym was either Ritten or Rizen. For Gortynian ττ = ζ, see Bile, 145.

154 For the date of this text, see *Nomima*, 46 (beginning of the fifth century B.C.); M. Guarducci, *I.Cret.* IV, p. 123 (480-450 B.C.); Gschnitzer, 41 (second half of the fifth century B.C.); B. Bravo, "Sulan. Représailles et justice privée contre des étrangers dans les cités grecques," *ASNP* 10 (1980) 816 (late fifth or early fourth century B.C.).

155 M. Guarducci, *I.Cret.* I, p. 294; IV, pp. 184-185, and most recently H. van Effenterre, "Le pacte Gortyne-Rhittèn," *Cahiers du centre G. Glotz* 4 (1993) 13-21, and *Nomima*, 48-50.

156 Faure 1963, 22-24.

157 Faure 1992, 70, reports the following reading based on autopsy: EN APO ^2[N]AI ἐν τῷ ναῶι τᾶς Ἀθαναίας (ἐν Ἀπολλῶ[ν]ίαι ἐν τῷ ναῶι τᾶς Ἀθαναίας in the sanctuary of Athena at Apollonia) for *I.Cret.* 182, lines 20-21.

158 F. Halbherr, "Epigraphical Researches in Gortyna," *AJA* 1 (1897) 204-205.

159 G. Rizza, "Priniás. La città arcaica sulla Patella," in D. Musti et al. (eds.) *La transizione dal Miceneo all'alto arcaismo. Dal palazzo alla città* (Rome 1991) 331-347.

160 See e.g. M. Guarducci, *I.Cret.* IV, 80; Willetts 1955, 110-114; Gschnitzer, 41-43. B.

Bravo (*supra* n. 154) argued that with *I.Cret.* IV, 80 Gortyn's subjugation of Rhitten was weakened if not ended.

161 Van Effenterre (*supra* n. 155) ; *Nomima*, 48-50.

162 For van Effenterre's own doubts, see van Effenterre (*supra* n. 155) 17 n. 27.

163 Line 6 (sinistrograde): τὸν μὲ πειθόμενον το πο[. . .]. Halbherr's facsimile drawing shows a vertical stroke at the right edge of the first letter space after the omikron and a slightly oblique stroke at the right edge of the third letter space after the omikron (Halbherr [*supra* n. 158] 206). Van Effenterre restores the lacuna τὸν μὲ πειθόμενον το 'πορίσμι[ο] and proposes the unattested form (ἡ)φορισμός (*vel sim.*) "frontier" or "border". He admits that the restoration seems too long for the lacuna, but suggests that the mu was written as a single vertical line, an orthography attested only at Axos. This seems an unlikely solution insofar as elsewhere in this text the five bar mu is used. For the phrase "the one who disobeys the frontier", see *infra* n. 165.

164 Lines 3-4: στέγαν δ' ἄν κα Φοικοδομέσαι . . .]ς ἔ δένδρεα πυτεύσει, τὸν Ἰ Φοικοδομέσαντα καὶ πυτεύσαν[α] καὶ πρίαθαι κ' ἀποδοῦναι. Attempts to restore the subject of the provision to the lacuna in line 3 have not been successful. See Halbherr (*supra* n. 158) 207-208 (τις is too short and ἄτερος does not suit the traces of letters which remain). Understanding this clause to provide for the reciprocal right of ἔγκτησις (for a Gortynian in Rhitten and for a Rhittenian in Gortyn) is unlikely in light of the absence of similar clauses elsewhere in this text. I believe that the Rhittenians must be the subject of this clause. For van Effenterre (*supra* n. 155), "Le pacte" 18, this clause concerns the rights of Rhittenians who owned (or used to own!) land now occupied by Gortyn.

165 For *I.Cret.* IV, 43B,a, see *supra* II.4; for *I.Cret.* II. x. 1, see *supra* II.5.

166 For this use of the term κοσμεῖν, see Bile, 282. The precise nature of the delict is uncertain. The accused is referred to as τὸν μὲ πειθόμενον. The object of πειθόμενον has been variously emended and interpreted: πολέμι[ο] Halbherr 'πορίμι[ο] "does not obey the ephorate" (M. Guarducci, *I.Cret.* IV, p. 80); 'πορίσμι[ο] "does not respect the border" (van Effenterre [*supra* n. 155] 17-20); πορίμι[ο] "does not pay the tax" (Bile, 171 n. 70).

167 Van Effenterre and Ruzé (*Nomima*, 32) suggest that *dika* should be translated "droit" rather than "procès".

168 ὅτι δέ [κα αὖ]τ[ι]ς ἀνπιπαίσοντι τὸ κοινὸν οἱ 'Ριπτένιοι πορτὶ τὸν Γορτυνίον[ς ...ca. 6...]ν τὸν κάρυκα 'Ριπτενάδε ἐν ταῖδ <δ>έ ἴκα παρέμεν ἔ αὐτὸνς ἔ ἄλλωνς π[ο]ῶ [τοῦτον ἀπ]οκρίνεσθαι κατ' ἀγορὰν Φευμέν ἰαν τὰς αἰ[ῖ]τίας ἄς κ' αἰτι[ῖ]α[ς]ονται κ.τ.λ. 261j

169 Steph. Byz. 544.21 'Ριζηνία; πόλις Κρήτης. ὁ πολίτης 'Ριζηνιάτης.

170 P. Faure, "Nouvelles recherches de spéléologie et de topographie crétoises," *BCH* 84 (1960) 200-201.

171 K. Rigsby, "Notes sur la Crète hellénistique," *REG* 99 (1986) 350-355.

172 The identification of Aulon with Hagii Dekka was made on the basis of the account of the ten Cretans (the Hagii Dekka) who were martyred (249 or 250 AD) ἔξοθεν δὲ τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὸ καλούμενον ...'Αλώνιον (see M. Guarducci, *I.Cret.* IV, pp. 30-31).

173 Guarducci, 361.

174 Manganaro (*supra* n. 79), 54-56.

175 T. B. S. Spratt, I 333; Pendlebury et al. (*supra* n. 152) 86.

176 Faure (*supra* n. 170) 196.

177 Pendlebury et al. (*supra* n. 152) 85.

178 Amyklai was likely a *polis*, but whether it was a dependent *polis* remains uncertain.

Figure 1.1 The Independent *Poleis* of Crete

I *polis* (* nominal form is not attested), (modern place name)
 II explicit attestation as a *polis* in an archaic or classical source
 III explicit attestation as a *polis* in a Hellenistic source
 x(i) = citation of Hellenistic source by Roman or later source
 IV explicit attestation as a *polis* in a later source
 V *polis* status confirmed by:

coins:
 C(i) = 5th B.C.
 C(ii) = 4th-3rd B.C.
 C(iii) = unknown
theorodokoi:
 Th = late 3rd B.C.
 treaties:
 Tr(i) = archaic
 Tr(ii) = classical
 Tr(iii) = Hellenistic

political institutions:
 Pl(i) = archaic
 Pl(ii) = classical
 Pl(iii) = Hellenistic
 laws:
 L(i) = archaic
 L(ii) = classical
 L(iii) = Hellenistic

	I	II	III	IV	V
1	* Αἰναεῖς (-ναοί) (Kastelli)				C(ii)
2	* Ἀλλὰρία (Chamalevri)		x	x	C(ii), Tr(iii), Pl(iii)
3	* Ἀνώπολις (Anopolis)			x	C(iii), Th, Tr(iii), Pl(iii)
4	* Ἀπολλωνία (Prinias) ¹		x	x	C(iii), Tr(iii), Pl(iii), L(i)
5	* Ἀπτὰρα (-τερα) (Megala Chorafia)		x	x	C(ii), Th, Tr(iii), Pl(iii)
6	* Ἀραδίην (Aradaina)			x	Th, Tr(iii)
7	* Ἀρισαῖοι (Arvi)				C(iii), Tr(iii)
8	* Ἀρκάδες (Inion: Kefala)		x	x	C(ii), Th, Tr(iii), Pl(i,ii,iii)
9	Βιάννος (Ano Biannos: <i>Chorakia</i>)		x	x	C(iii), Tr(iii), Pl(iii)
10	Βιζώννος (Kerame: <i>Pyrgos</i>)				Th
11	Γόρτυνς (Gortyna)	x	x	x	C(i,ii), Th, Tr(i,ii,iii), Pl(i,ii,iii), L(i,ii,iii)
12	Δαττάλλα (Aphrati)				Pl(i), L(i)
13	Δραγμός (Koutsouloupetres: <i>Kastri</i>)		x(i)	x	Tr(iii)
14	Δρῆρος (Neapolis: <i>Hag. Antonios</i>)	x		x	Tr(i,iii), Pl(i,iii), L(i)
15	* Ἐλευθέρινα (Prines)		x	x	C(ii), Th, Tr(iii), Pl(i,iii), L(i,iii)
16	* Ἐλτινία (Kounavoi: <i>Ellinika</i>)				Tr(iii), Pl(i,iii), L(i)
17	* Ἐλυρος (Rhodovani)		x	x	C(ii), Th, Tr(iii), Pl(iii)
18	* Ἐρταῖοι (Melidochori: <i>Kasteriotis</i>)				Tr(iii)
19	* Ἐρώνιοι (Ἐράννιοι) (Agios Georgios)				Tr(iii)
20	* Ἡράκλειον (Irakleion)				Tr(iii), Pl(iii)
21	* Ἱεράπτυνα (Hierapetra)		x	x	C(ii), Th, Tr(iii), Pl(iii)
22	* Ἰστρώων (Kalo Chorio: <i>Pyrgos/Nisi Panteleimon</i>)		x	x	Th, Tr(iii), Pl(iii)
23	* Ἰτανός (Erimoupolis)	x	x	x	C(ii), Tr(iii), Pl(iii)
24	Κεραία (-ρέα) (Meskla)				C(ii), Th
25	Κνωσός (Knossos)		x	x	C(i, ii), Tr(ii,iii), Pl(ii,iii), L(iii)
26	Κυδωνία (Chania)		x	x	C(i,ii), Th, Tr(iii), Pl(iii)
27	Λάππα (Λάμπη) (Argyroupolis)		x	x	C(ii), Th, Tr(iii), Pl(iii)
28	Λασσαία (Λάσσοια) (opposite Trafos Isl.)			x	Th
29	Λατώ (Goulas) + Λατο Pros Kamara (Hag. Nikolaos)		x	x	C(iii), Tr(iii), Pl(iii), L(iii)

¹ For the identification of the settlement at Prinias as Apollonia, see Faure 1963, 16-17.

Figure 1.2 The Independent *Poleis* of Crete

30	Λισ(σ)ός (Λίσσα) (Hagios Kyrkos)		x	x	C(ii), Th, Tr(ii), Pl(iii)
31	Λύκτος (Askoi-Xidas)		x	x	C(i, ii), Tr(ii,iii), Pl(i,ii,iii), L(i)
32	Μάλλα (Malles)		x		C(iii), Tr(iii), Pl(iii)
33	Μάταλον (Matala)				Th, Tr(iii), Pl(iii)
34	Μίλατος (Milatos)			x	Tr(i,iii)
35	Όαξος (Όαξος) (Axos)	x	x	x	C(ii), Th, Tr(iii), Pl(i,ii,iii), L(i,ii,iii)
36	Όλους (Elounda)			x	C(ii), Tr(iii), Pl(iii)
37	Παντομάτριον (Stavromenos)			x	C(iii)
38	Πέλκις (Πέλκιν) (Kontokynigi)				Th
39	Πέτρα (Liopetra)				C(iii), Tr(iii)
40	Πολίχνα 1 (Cape Trypitos)			x?	C(iii)
41	Πολίχνα 2 (Vryses: Hag. Georgios)			x	C(ii), Th, Pl(iii)
42	Πολυρρηγία (Epáno Palaiokastros)		x	x	C(ii), Th, Tr(iii), Pl(iii)
43	Πραισός (Praisos)		x	x	C(ii), Tr(iii), Pl(iii)
44	Πριανσός (Kasteliana)		x	x	C(ii), Th, Tr(iii), Pl(iii)
45	Ραΰκος (Hag. Myron)		x	x	C(ii), Tr(iii), Pl(iii)
46	Ρίθυμνα (Rhethymnon)			x	C(ii), Th
47	Σύβριτα (Thronos)		x	x	C(ii), Th, Tr(iii), Pl(iii)
48	Τάνος (Almyrida/Castel Apicorno)			x	C(iii)
49	Τάρρα (Hag. Roumeli)			x	C(ii), Th, Tr(iii), Pl(iii)
50	Τύλισ(σ)ος (Tylisos)		x		C(ii), Tr(ii,iii), Pl(ii,iii)
51	Όρτακίνα (Temenia: Kastrí)		x		C(ii), Tr(iii), Pl(iii)
52	Φαιστός (Phaistos)			x	C(i, ii), Th, Tr(iii), Pl(iii), L(i)
53	Φάλαννα(ι) (Onithi)			x	Th
54	Φαλάσαρνα (south of Cape Koutri)		x(i)	x	C(i, ii), Th, Tr(iii), Pl(iii)
55	Ψυχέιον (Cape Melissa)			x	Th, Tr?(iii)
56	Χερσόνασος (Limen Chersonisos)		x(i)	x	C(ii), Tr(iii), Pl(iii)
57	Όωλερος (Meseleroi)		x(i)	x	Th

Figure 2.1 Use of Sub-Regional *Ethnika* (independent *poleis*)

- I toponym (* indicates nominal form is not attested)
- II private¹ extra-Crete: number of individuals (? = ethnikon restored in one or more examples)
- III public² extra-Crete: number of individuals (? = ethnikon restored in one or more examples)
- IV private and public extra-Crete: chronological range (all references to centuries B.C.)
- V private¹ intra-Crete: number of individuals (? = ethnikon restored in one or more examples)
- VI public² intra-Crete: number of individuals (? = ethnikon restored in one or more examples)
- VII private and public intra-Crete: chronological range (all references to centuries B.C.)
- VIII substantive ("polis of the" or "of")
- IX political status
- X change in political status (Sym = synpolitēia; D = destruction; Sub = subjugation)

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IXa (ind. <i>poleis</i>)	X
1	* Αἰναεῖς							x		
2	Ἀλλασία		1	iii				x		
3	Ἀνώπολις	2		iii-ii		1	iii-ii	x		
4	Ἀπολλωνία ³					3	iii-ii	x		
5	Ἀππαρα	1	4	iii-ii		2	iii	x		
6	Ἀραδῖν							x		
7	* Ἀριατοί	1		ii				x		
8	Ἀρκάδες		3	iii		1	iii	x		
9	Βιάννος							x		
10	Γόρτυς	9	23	vi-i	4	2	iii-ii	x		
11	Δαττάλλα				1		vi	x		
12	Δραγμός							x		
13	Δρήρος	1	2	ii-i				x		
14	Ἐλευθέρινα	3	8	iii-i		2?	iii-ii	x		
15	Ἐλυνία	1		ii		1	iii-ii	x		

¹ I have considered as private the following: funerary monuments, graffiti, artists' signatures, and soldiers not of the officer class. In cases where an official title is given for the deceased, the reference has been regarded as public.
² I have regarded as public the following: recipients of public honors (*proxenoi*, *theorodokoi* etc.), individuals in citizen lists (Miletus), athletes, military officers.
³ I agree with Faure 1963, 16-17, on the question of Apollonia. This Apollonia, then, is to be identified with the settlement at Prinias.

Figure 2.3 Use of Sub-Regional *Ethnika* (*varia*)

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IXb varia	X
49	Ἀμύκλαι							x	<i>polis?</i>	
50	* Ἀρτεμίται							x	<i>dependent polis?</i>	
51	Δετόνιον	I		i					unknown	Sub (Knossos), (?); D (Gortyn) 184 B.C.
52	* Κουρτολιάσιος	I		iii					unknown	
53	Λατόσιον							x	neighborhood?	
54	Λεβίνα	I		?	3?		ii	x	<i>dependent polis</i>	Sub? (Gortyn)
55	Λίπαρα	I		ii					unknown	
56	Λύκαστος				I		iii		<i>polis?</i>	Sub (Knossos)?; D (Gortyn) 184 B.C.
57	* Μίτοι							x	unknown	
58	* Μωδαίοι							x	federation	
59	* Ὀρειοί							x		
60	Πέργαμος					I	iii		<i>dependent polis</i>	
61	Πρεπτοῖδαι							x	unknown	
62	Ῥιττέν							x		
63	Ῥύτιον							x	<i>dependent polis</i>	
64	Σηταία							x	<i>dependent polis?</i>	
65	Στάλαι							x	unknown	
								x	unknown	
	TOTALS	68	113		16	41				

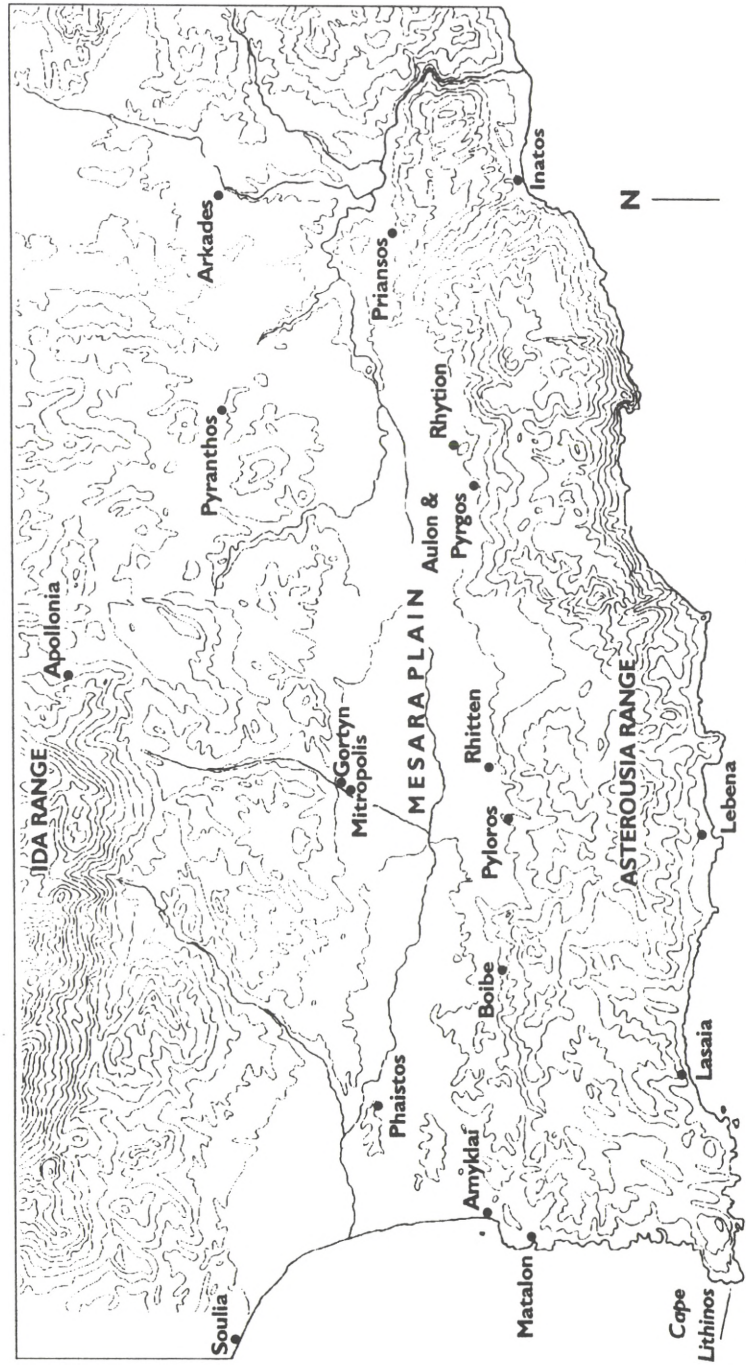


Figure 3 (Map of the Mesara)