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ΑΝΑΤΥΠΟ



ΕΤΑΙΡΙΑ ΚΡΗΤΙΚΩΝ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΩΝ ΜΕΛΕΤΩΝ



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**MODEL FOR THE LONGEVITY OF PAGANISM
IN ROMAN CRETE: AESCULAPIUS**

Although he sub-titled his article 'Preliminary Research', Umberto Bultrighini left little for himself or for anyone else to add.¹ The 69 pages of his article make thorough use of the collection of testimonies for Aesculapius throughout the Mediterranean by the Edelsteins² as well as Nikolaos Platon's³ seminal publication on the observance of the rites of Aesculapius. Much more recently, Milena Melfi has written her thesis on the Aesculapium at Lebena and given a series of impressive presentations, including one last year at Heraklion⁴ and another at this congress.⁵ Serious study of the remains had not been undertaken for decades⁶ and thus it is most welcome that she has engaged in such detailed research of a site whose importance had made it too long ignored.⁷

¹ Umberto Bultrighini, 'Divinité della salute nella Creta ellenistica e romana. Ricerche preliminari', *RCCM* 35 (1993) 49-118. I should particularly like to thank Milena Melfi for her assistance, as well as my Research Assistant, Rebecca Muich. This paper, as so much else, would not have been possible without Jane Francis.

² Edelstein, Emma J. and Ludwig, *Asclepius: A Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies*. New York, Arno Press, 1975 [Reprint of 1945].

³ Platon, Nikolaos, *Τὰ Ἀσκληπιεῖα στήν Κρήτη*. Athens, Periegetike, 1962.

⁴ Milena Melfi, 'Il santuario di Lebena e la rinascita del culto di Asclepio nel II sec. d. C', Congresso internazionale su Creta romana e protobizantina, 23-30 settembre 2000.

⁵ Milena Melfi, 'The topography of Lebena according to A. Taramelli (1894)', *IX International Congress of Cretan Studies*, 1-6 October 2001.

⁶ For a history of the excavations by Halbherr and Taramelli, see M.A. Rizzo, 'Lebena' in *Creta Antica: Cento anni di archeologia italiana (1884-1984)*, A. di Vita (ed). Rome: di Luca, 1984, 117-20.

⁷ Their understanding clearly goes well beyond my own earlier work, primarily on the

It is thus possible to extrapolate from their work to address an issue raised by the Edelsteins in discussing the veneration of Aesculapius as a god, rather than as a hero (II. 108):

The cult of Aesculapius ... is first to be found in such cities of Greece as were of small influence in the religious or political affairs of the ancient world. Nevertheless the god soon lost his merely provincial character. His worship spread everywhere; it became one of the most renowned among the many ancient cults; it outlasted most of them; it was the hated enemy and dreaded competitor of Christianity.

They then investigate the cult of Aesculapius in terms of what features the pre-basilica⁸ Christian community found objectionable.⁹ It would seem that they are looking retrospectively, that is, from the end of the process towards its beginning with all of the dangers of anachronism it entails.¹⁰ One might learn more if instead the inscriptions, architecture, statues, and literary references were sifted for what features gave resilience and flexibility to the cult of Aesculapius at a time when other pagan practices proved brittle.

1. Multi-purpose facility

The Edelsteins point out correctly that the cult of Aesculapius was found first in small and politically unimportant centers. The testimonies they collected over-look a significant aspect of the cult of Aesculapius which

metrical inscriptions of the sanctuary; cp., George W.M. Harrison, *The Romans and Crete*. Amsterdam, Hakkert, 1994, 170-76.

⁸ My term, not theirs, but the Edelsteins are careful to distinguish between the actions and creed of the Christian church during its formative centuries from its creed and actions after it became the exclusive religion of the empire and before the Catholic schism.

⁹ Investigation of this topic has additionally proven difficult since it has attracted unusual theories. One need only cite a study which claims the bearded Christ was in imitation of Aesculapius; cp. Erich Dinkler, *Christus und Asklepios: Zum Christustypus der polychromen Platten im Museo Nazionale Romano*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1980.

¹⁰ One might note especially the preface to volume I; to be fair to the Edelsteins, one must acknowledge the historical circumstances in which their texts were gathered and the book written, and also that a considerable amount of information has come to light on Aesculapius in the last fifty years. Johns Hopkins is to be congratulated for giving sanctuary not only to the Edelsteins but also to Doro Levi, Antonino di Vita's predecessor as Director of the Scuola archeologia italiana di Atene.

made it particularly appealing to the civic life of the late Classical/Hellenistic πόλις, and ultimately to the Roman bureaucracy. Treaties were often put on public display in front of Temples to Apollo, one need only think of Gortyna, yet smaller centers seem to have used the Sanctuary to Aesculapius for the exhibition of treaties, such as Lebena itself, Arcades, Olus, Ierapetra, and Itanos. Inscriptions found in Aesculapeia in Cretan centers other than Lebena tend to be treaties, rather than *sanationes*. For Lebena, however, almost all inscriptions from 67 B.C. on record cures; the exceptions are all decrees honoring donors of funds for reconstruction.¹¹

2. *Compatibility with imperial outlook*

The cult of Aesculapius also benefitted from practices within the cult from the Hellenistic period which harmonized with imperial policy and initiatives. These were observances which were already in place; if the cult had consciously changed to make itself more compatible with imperial propaganda, reasonably it would have undermined support among its core adherents at the time and it would as likely have drawn Christian ire even earlier than it did.

One notes in passing, for example, that Aesculapius, like numerous of the emperors, was deified. Even though the model for deification of the emperors was Romulus and Julius Caesar, it certainly would not have bothered the emperors that there was a tradition of divine kingship among their eastern possessions and that even the Greeks had several examples of apotheosis. The Edelsteins make much of the change in status for Aesculapius from hero to god without drawing the further conclusion that

¹¹ So *IC* I.xvii.54 from the Empire in Latin. The evidence, however, is not as decisive as one might wish since the number of inscriptions falls off dramatically after the earthquake of 46 BC. One would be tempted to take this as a sign of the decay of the cult, except for the number of Roman repairs, and more significantly improvements. There must be the suspicion that during the Roman Empire dedications were more frequently *pinakes* (wooden votive tablets, *sanides* in the Cretan dialect). The pattern for inscriptions on stone at Lebena closely parallels that at Epidaurus: the second century BC is the high point with a steady decline after that. Even so, the vitality of the cult and sanctuary at Epidaurus during the Roman Empire is beyond question. One can make similar comparisons between the high point of inscriptions (ii BC) and high point of the influence of the cult (AD ii) with the Aesculapium at Athens; cf. Sara B. Aleshire, *The Athenian Aesculapium: Their people, their dedications, and the inventories* (Amsterdam: Gieben, 1989) 16-19.

such a deification would have been to the liking of Augustus and his successors.¹² As someone who forfeited his life in the service of mankind, Aesculapius would have been an extremely sympathetic figure in contrast to heroes such as Hercules.¹³

Secondly, there was a tradition which received emphasis starting about the time of the Severans which stressed the connection between Apollo as father/mentor healer and Aesculapius as his son and successor as healer.¹⁴ It would seem inescapable that statue groups with Hygieia, Apollo, and Aesculapius would have brought to mind immediately dynastic coinage and groups which emphasized the connection of the emperor and his heir through the presence of his wife. At a later date, Apollo and Aesculapius could have been a subliminal affirmation of the tetrarchic system of an Augustus with his Caesar protege.¹⁵

One should not make a claim that there was ever a concerted and officially sanctioned attempt to link the emperor to Aesculapius, or later the junior Caesar with Aesculapius; even so one might observe that Aesculapius as a human who became a god would have been attractive to imperial apologists. Much more interesting than the emperor and Aesculapius was imperial propaganda which linked the empress with Hygieia, devoted daughter of Aesculapius. Mary T. Boatwright¹⁶ notes that the iconography of several statues of imperial women is that of Hygieia. There are indications¹⁷ that Livia liked to have statue busts of herself as a

¹² Hercules had similarly been admitted among the gods but his cult was associated with Marc Antony. Coins of Marc Antony heralded his claim of descent from Hercules, and the Hercules fighting Amazons on the pediment of the Temple to Apollo as repaired by Sosius in 33 BC is transparently Antony opposing the women who (so Antony's faction claimed) dominated the young Octavian.

¹³ Recorded significantly in Hippocrates, *Epistula* 17 [Edelsteins T463].

¹⁴ The statuary is adduced by Marguerite Bieber, 'A Bronze-Statuette in Cincinnati and his place in the history of Asklepios-Types', *AmerPhilSoc* 101 (1957) 70-92. The possible link between art and policy was not drawn by her.

¹⁵ Groups, rather than individual statues, are typical in the later Empire, although most often Aesculapius and Hygieia or Apollo and Hygieia. For a discussion, see Sobel (1990) 48-53.

¹⁶ Mary T. Boatwright, 'Just Window Dressing? Imperial Women as Architectural Sculpture', in Kleiner and Matheson (edd.) *I Claudia II: Women in Roman Art and Society*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000, 62.

¹⁷ Rolf Winkes, 'Portrait and Propaganda', 31 and 38, and Diana E.E. Kleiner, 'Family

mature woman placed on types identifiable by attributes as *Salus* (i.e. *Hygeia*),¹⁸ *Iustitia*, *Pietas*, and *Felicitas*.

Testimonia to *Hygeia* belongs overwhelmingly, although not exclusively, to the Empire.¹⁹ No single author makes a specific statement linking the empress to *Salus/Hygeia*, and so it is to physical evidence that one looks for support. Nearly every emperor minted coins to *Salus*,²⁰ and beyond the use of coins announcing imperial policy, during the Empire coins could be and were punctured and worn as talismans.²¹ An *aureus* of the reign of Marcus Aurelius has Faustina Augusta as *Hygeia* with the caption *Salus Augusti*, while a denarius of Hadrian has Sabina as *Hygeia*, and a sestertius of Commodus of AD 180/183 has Crispina, his wife, as *Hygeia*.²²

3. Expansion of Cult. Syncretism, absorption, synergasia with other deities

Parallel to the depiction of female members of the imperial family as *Salus/Hygeia*, one observes that *Aesculapius* and *Hygeia* in the Empire become tutelary deities of cities, side by side with *TychelFortuna*, or sometimes perhaps replacing them.²³ Inscriptions to *Aesculapius* as

Ties: Mothers and Sons in Elite and Non-Elite Roman Art', 49, in Kleiner and Matheson, *supra*. N. 16.

¹⁸ Macrobius, *Saturnalia* I.20.1-4 in referring to statues makes it clear that the Romans identified *Salus* with *Hygeia* and that the two were not merely equivalents of one another. His astral symbolism equating *Aesculapius* with the sun and *Hygeia* with the moon is very typical of his time which saw a syncretism of sun worship with numerous male deities, as well as the emperor himself.

¹⁹ There are exceptions: Benseddek claims that the cult of *Hygeia* in the western part of North Africa is Hellenistic in origin and disappears with the coming of the Romans; cp. Nacra Benseddek, 'Esculape et Hygie en Afrique: classicisme et originalité', *AntAfr* 33 (1977) 143-54.

²⁰ See Gerald M. Hart, *Asclepius, the God of Medicine*. London: Royal Society of Medicine Press, 2000, 29-30 with fig. 13, a coin of Maximinus with caption *Salus Augusti*; p. 117 lists in a table 46 emperors with known *Salus* coinage.

²¹ *Ibid.* 24 fig. 10 (AD 207) identified by Hart as *Apollo Medicus*, but coin type is closely similar to the 'Aesculapius adolescens' type, known from Cyrene (Hart 25 fig. 11) and elsewhere. For his discussion of coins as good luck pendants, see pp. 104-107.

²² Sobel (1990) catalogue 122.4, 122.15, and 122.5 respectively. The case is not proven and it is right to note the reservations of Melfi on this point.

²³ I take this as a sign not so much of syncretism and winnowing of the number of pagan deities as an indication of the increasingly unsettled conditions of the Empire and an

*Soter*²⁴ and *Polioukhos* are known in other parts of the Greek-speaking Mediterranean²⁵ and a statue type of Hygieia in the posture of *Tyche* is found in parts of the Roman Empire which were not formerly Greek possessions.²⁶

More informative are a number of syncretisms in which the cult of Aesculapius and Hygieia is renewed and strengthened by taking on the *numina* or *nomina* of other deities.²⁷ One very intriguing statue from Epidauros, which Sobel dates to the Antonine period,²⁸ depicts Hygieia with her legs together with a single snake winding around her body in a manner very suggestive of the lion-headed god statuary in the cult of Mithras.²⁹ Such an identification, if credible, is much more significant than Hygieia types in which she has replaced a closely analogous native healing goddess, such as Gallic Sirona.³⁰

increase in the number of mass disasters such as earthquake and plague. This certainly would be consistent with the testimonies in Edelsteins T 463-466.

²⁴ *Cp.*, e.g., *IC* Lxvii.19 and 26. The vocative Σῶτερ in *IC* Lxvii.24 in Guarducci's translation refers to the deity of Dreams (*Onar*), and she would place a small statue to *Onar* on top of the inscribed plinth. In the inscription, however, Ὀνειρούς introduces a genitive absolute as the last word of the hexameter which then is completed in the distich. It would be highly unusual for the antecedant of the dative reflexive σοι and its vocative also to be the subject of a genitive absolute. In my view *Soter* and *soi* should refer to Aesculapius, and the statue on the plinth should be that of Aesculapius. Guarducci herself seems to have had reservations since her note indicates that there are no other known surviving statues to *Onar*.

²⁵ See Giacomo Manganaro, 'Divinitù salvatrice e protettrice della città a Messina', *ZPE* 113 (1996) 82-84. The small altar has Ἀσκληπιῶ | καὶ Ὑγείᾳ | Σωτηροσιν | Πολιοῦχος on one side and Α_λί_ Ἀδριαῶ | Ἀντωνείῳ | Σεβαστῶ Εὐσεβεῖ | π<ατρι> on the other.

²⁶ See Sobel (*supra* n. 25) 29 and catalogue 98-99. She dates the prototype of the group to the fourth century BC, but most of the 14 items in her catalog are imperial. Unfortunately Sobel (88 #7) places the Hygieia statue associated with the altar in Messina (n. *prior*) in her Hope type. The one possible inscription in Lebena (*IC* L.32 --] I ΘΕΟΙΣ | -]ΟΙΣ) is imperial in date but too fragmentary to be useful or even certain.

²⁷ Paganism would seem to be moving in the direction of monotheism (or at the least trinitarianism) much as Isis had absorbed the attributes of the Memphitic Egyptian deities by the time of the composition and recording of the Phylae hymn.

²⁸ Sobel (1990) 32, catalogue 104e8, and pl. 14a.

²⁹ See David Ulansey, *The Origins of the Mithraic Mysteries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 11-12, 32-34 and 116-24.

³⁰ Sobel (1990) 11.

The cult of Aesculapius absorbed numerous other local cults during the middle Empire, particularly healing ones, and so inscriptions are known to Imhotep Aesculapius in Egypt, Eshmun Aesculapius in Phoenicia, Zeus Aesculapius at Pergamum and even Jupiter Aesculapius at Rome.³¹ In this regard the small inscribed column to Serapis Aesculapius at Lebena (*IC* I.27) is indicative of a process apparently taking place throughout the Empire. Dated to the third or fourth centuries AD, it was apparently an end of office dedication by Vedius Alkisthenes, accountant (*συνήγορος*) to the sanctuary.

4. *Au courant/Consistent with contemporary values. Magic, mysticism, cures*

Performing miracle cures was one of the signs of a divinely sanctioned ruler. Examples span the centuries from Perikles in the *Life* by Plutarch through Vespasian (Tacitus, *Histories* 4.81-83). While Vespasian was watching political events unfold in Italy from the safety of Alexandria, his cure of a blind man and a cripple was the event which made him determined to declare himself *princeps*, since he was informed that it was a sign of the favor of Serapis, god of healing. Although writing about the fifth century BC, Plutarch was the early major figure in the Second Sophistic and a contemporary of Tacitus. His writing as much as that of Tacitus reflects contemporary values, among which is a strong interest in magic, mysticism, and miracle cures.

It is within the lifetimes of Plutarch and Tacitus that Apollonius of Tyana visited the Sanctuary to Aesculapius at Lebena as recorded by Philostratus (*Vita Apollonii* 4.34) during the reign of Claudius. Increasing interest in magical cures resulted in a number of other pagan cults discovering medical benefits bestowed by a particular god or goddess, or touting ones already known but not perhaps widely celebrated.³² Such an increased interest would doubtless have benefitted the sanctuary of Aesculapius at Lebena, as well as healing sanctuaries everywhere.

It is during this time too that mantic dreams, which had always been part of the rite of Aesculapius in his several centers,³³ became an

³¹ Hart, *op. cit.*, n. 20 178.

³² *Ibid.*, 16. He lists thirteen deities with therapeutic skills: Hera-childbirth, Demeter-nutrition, Apollo-eye, plague, Artemis-pregnancy, Hermes-epidemics, leg, Athena-bath therapy, Aphrodite -libido, Dionysus- tonic, analgesia, Hades-death, Helius-thermal springs, Asclepius-soter, Hygieia-salus, Hestia-heating.

³³ *Cp.*, e.g., *IC* I.xvii.14a of the second century BC.

increasingly popular part of folk medicine. Stories abound in the *Historia Augusta* and histories of the reigns of the last pagan and first Christian emperors. The one inscription at Lebena (*IC* I.xvii.24) to ἹΟυαρ is datable to the third century AD, and is one of the few metrical inscriptions on the site. The small plinth once carried a statue, below which was inscribed a couplet giving thanks for the restoration of sight.³⁴

Changing within the framework of continuity allowed the sanctuary to respond to the tastes of the Romans, and perhaps also afforded an opportunity to introduce new and different cures.³⁵ Comparison of inscriptions from the Hellenistic period which name *farmacopia* and medical instruments compare closely with ones from the Roman period. This makes sense since once a cure was found for an ailment it should cure that ailment regardless of the epoch in which it occurred. Nevertheless, there are some important distinctions to which attention has already been drawn in the past such as Roman penchant for wine in potions, pepper, and heated water. All of these items occur in inscriptions from Lebena.

5. *Geographical Placement*

Location might be the greatest reason for the importance and long duration of the cult of Aesculapius at Lebena. At first it might seem a fairly out-of-the way place but it had proximity to a considerable number of medicinal herbs which notoriously lose potency during transport and other favored medical products. Pliny the Elder made a list of the most effective medicinal ingredients and which areas of the Mediterranean had the best sources. For seventeen of the items he listed, Crete was one of the three best sources, and significantly adjudged best for the two most used products, honey and anise.³⁶ An apothecary at the source of the medicines would have stood a chance to enrich itself greatly and attract pilgrims from all over.

³⁴ An abaton is mentioned in *IC* I.xvii.11B.2, in which pilgrims would sleep in order to receive a vision of their cure, and potentially should be understood for ἄδυτον at *IC* I.xvii.15.7 since an adyton is not normally a feature of a temple to Aesculapius.

³⁵ M. Guarducci, 'Guarigioni miracolose (*sanationes*)', *TITLE OF* mag 158.

³⁶ Harrison, *Romans and Crete*, 109-18. Many of these herbs would appear to have grown wild in the maquis of Crete and were made economically viable through price supports and subventions established by Augustus who recognized the need for plentiful and inexpensive medicine.

Further, each of the *Aesculapeia* which prospered the longest had a distinct geographical niche, and dominated its region: Pergamum in Anatolia, Cos in the Aegean, Epidauros in the Peloponnese, Rome in Italy, and Lebena, which served not just Crete but the north African littoral opposite to Crete.³⁷ One dedication at Lebena (*ICI.33*) is by someone from Alexandria, but this would not seem unusual since its second century BC date makes it contemporary with *hadra* of Cretan mercenaries serving in Egypt.³⁸ More informative are the three statues, one statuette, and one group of Aesculapius and Hygieia from Cyrene, all of imperial date.³⁹ The statues and statuette are of types known in Lebena and Gortyn and there might thus be reason to connect them to Lebena. Pausanias (II. 67. 9) records a tradition that the sanctuary of Aesculapius at Balagrai in the Pentapolis came from Epidauros and in turn Balagrai colonized Lebena. The information is given in the context of indicating the different animals for sacrifice at Epidauros and Balagrai; Pausanias had noted elsewhere that the Cretan choice was the same as the Libyan one, hence his supposition. Such a filiation rather than direct colonization from Epidauros goes against the normal practice and flies in the face of two inscriptions from Crete. Philostratus in his *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* makes a direct comparison of the markets served by the *Aesculapeia* at Pergamum and Lebena, and mentions prominently πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ Λιβύων as second in number of pilgrims only after Cretans. One would posit that the Cyrenaican *Aesculapeion* had either declined in importance or that the renown of the sanctuary at Lebena overshadowed it.

Because of evidence of the popularity of the *Aesculapium* at Lebena by citizens of the Libyan Pentapolis, it would seem fairly obvious that the *Aesculapion* at Lebena was a point of unity and exchange with Greeks in the Cyrenaica, and thus an important consideration in the decision to combine Crete and Cyrenae into a province. By way of confirmation one might observe that the decline of the sanctuary at Lebena gains great

³⁷ Athens is substituted for Cos in the lists of Aleshire and Maria Girone, but importantly Lebena, with Rome, Epidauros, and Pergamum is on all of the lists of the most important *Aesculapeia* during the Empire.

³⁸ See P.J. Callaghan and R.E. Jones, 'Hadra Hydriae and Central Crete: A Fabric Analysis', *BSA* 80 (1985) 1-17, and P.J. Callaghan, 'The Trefoil Style and Second-century Hadra Vases', *BSA* 75 (1980) 33-47.

³⁹ Sobel (1990) catalogue 88#6, 90#10, 90#11, 91#4, and 108#3

momentum after the re-organization of the provinces by Diocletian. At that moment when Crete and the Cyrenaica were split into separate provinces dedications in Lebena from the north African littoral cease.

6. *Secular and embracing*

There may be reason to believe that in small centers veneration of the cult of the emperor could happen in the vicinity of Temples to Aesculapius. If true, this could be one explanation of an extremely fragmentary inscription at Lebena (*IC I. 40*), dated to the first century AD, which preserves little other than Αὐγουστῆ]ων.⁴⁰ If one views the cult of *Roma et Augustus* as a focus of civic loyalty and patriotism, as Ando⁴¹ rightly does in his recent book, then the inclusion of it within the precinct of Aesculapius in small towns would emphasize the essentially secular and inclusive nature of the cult of Aesculapius.

Conclusion

Two points seem to become clear: first, the cult of Aesculapius at Lebena enjoyed a popularity out of proportion to the political importance of Crete and the cult of Aesculapius in general seems to have survived longer and stronger than most of its pagan relatives. These unquestionable observations need an explanation. For that a model is needed which brings together six factors, no one of which is sufficient in and of itself, to explain the two observations. But when the advantages which accrued either intentionally or passively to (1) having a facility with several uses, not just one, (2) having a cult which was compatible with imperial dogma, (3) having a cult which was more likely to absorb other cults than be absorbed, (4) having a cult whose core practices were very conducive to folk practices

⁴⁰ *IC I. 39* is by a certain slave of Rufus, a chaser of metal, from Selinus (as I would emend and read Σελένιος as a attributive nominative adjective instead of -του). Since by a law of Claudius slaves left at a sanctuary of Aesculapius were freed, this inscription could possibly be construed as equivalent to one of manumission. *IC I. 39* has been dated by Guarducci to the first century BC, although a later date is not impossible.

⁴¹ Clifford Ando, *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 36, 38. Coins and inscriptions he cites are conform to what little survives of *IC I. 40*; cp. Ja_ Elsner, *Imperial Rome and Christian Triumph* (Oxford, 1998, 131) who notes that the Aesculapeion at Pergamum held a statue of Hadrian in its cult to Rome and Augustus.

and beliefs of the early and middle empire, (5) having geographical positioning both for transport of pilgrims and supply of essential materials, and (6) having a cult which was largely secular and unifying – when all these advantages are added, the special position enjoyed by the healing sanctuaries of Aesculapius becomes explicable.

Second, it has been written in all of the handbooks⁴² that Crete was one of the most conservative regions of the Roman Empire. This statement has been printed and reprinted without argument or documentation. When, however, one compares what was occurring at Lebena with other sanctuaries to Aesculapius, and when one compares the society of visitors and officials at Lebena with the rest of the Empire, the conclusion must be that at least the central, commercial part of Crete was as prosperous in social, material, and spiritual aspects as any part of the rest of the Mediterranean.

⁴² I am myself an offender; *Romans and Crete* 294-365. For a more balanced view, cp. 'The Byzantine Efflorescence of Crete', *Journal of Ancient Civilizations* 15 (2000) 43-50.