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## ESTRATTO

YANNIS Z. TZIFOPOULOS

LATIN INSCRIPTIONS OF CRETE  
TWO UNPUBLISHED TEXTS FROM THE RETHYMNO PREFECTURE

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<sup>2</sup> For preliminary results of, and more details on, this project see Y.Z. TZIFOPOULOS, *The Archive of Inscriptions of the Rethymno Prefecture: Results and Prospects*, Πεπραγμένα Θ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, Ελούντα, 1-7 Οκτωβρίου 2001, vol. A5, Herakleion 2006, 207-214. For corrections to inscriptions or new texts see: Y.Z. TZIFOPOULOS, *Παρατηρήσεις σε τέσσερις επιγραφές στηλαίων του Νομού Ρεθύμνης* (IC II.v.37, 38, XXVIII.1, SEG XXXVI.808), *Horos* 13 (1999) 213-224; ID., *Pecunia sacra deae Dictynnae: τα μιλιάρια από τη Βιράν Επισκοπή και τη Ροδοπού και άλλες επιγραφικές μαρτυρίες*, *Creta romana e protobyzantina*. Congresso Internazionale, Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene, Herakleion 23-30 September 2000, vol. I, Padova 2004, 94-108; ID., *The Archive of Inscriptions of the Rethymno Prefecture: Results, Prospects and New Discoveries in Axos, Crete*, Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου «Ο Μυλοπόταμος από την αρχαιότητα ως σήμερα: περιβάλλον, αρχαιολογία, ιστορία, λαογραφία, κοινωνιολογία», Πάνορμο Ρεθύμνης, 24-30 Οκτωβρίου 2003, vol. IV, Rethymno 2006, 137-145; ID., *The Archive of Inscriptions of the Rethymno Nome: Results, Prospects and New Discoveries in Lappa, Crete*, XII Congressus Internationalis Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae, Barcelona, September 3-8, 2002, Barcelona, forthcoming; ID., *Επιγραφές από τη Σύβριτο του Νομού Ρεθύμνης*, *HOROS*, forthcoming; ID., *The Inscriptions*, Π.Γ. ΘΕΜΕΛΗΣ (επιστ. επιμ.), *Ελεύθερα Τομέας I, Ρέθυμνο*, forthcoming; Y.Z. TZIFOPOULOS and NOTA KARAMALIKI, *Νέες επιγραφές Συβρίτου Νομού Ρεθύμνης*, *HOROS*, forthcoming.

<sup>3</sup> For the statistical numbers and a cogent presentation of the issues of diglossia and bilingualism see: M.W. BALDWIN BOWSKY, *Of Two Tongues: Acculturation at*

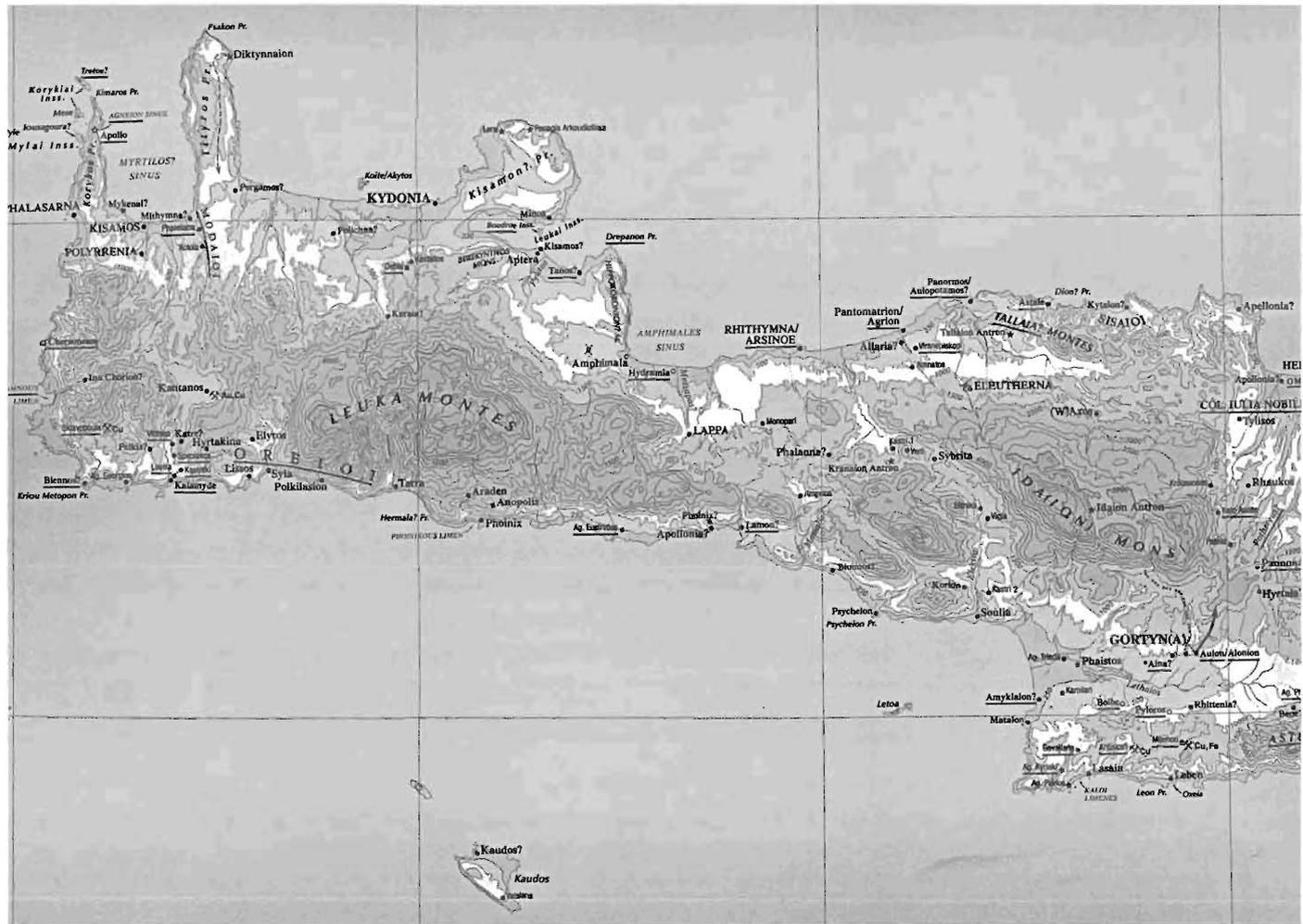


Fig. 1. Barrington Atlas map of Western Crete.

sues not only about the provincial administration and the micro-history of the local elite, but contribute in a significant way to understanding language choice between Greek and Latin in inscriptions and consequently to understanding the acculturation process of Romans and the inhabitants of the island.

The provenance of only one of the two new Latin inscriptions is known. The

*Roman Knossos*, G. SALMERI, A. RAGGI, A. BARONI (eds.), *Colonie romane nel mondo greco*, *Minima Epigraphica et Papyrologica*, Separata III, Roma 2004, 95-150; EAD., *Colonia Iulia Nobilis Cnosus (Crete)*, *Praktika*, 11<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Classical Studies, Kavala Greece, 24-30 August 1999, vol. B, Athens 2002,

only information available was a very brief note by Nikolaos Platon that in 1956 a Latin fragmentary text from Eleutherna, Crete was taken to the Rethymno Museum.<sup>4</sup> This laconic statement is of no help in deciding which of the two texts came from Eleutherna. The recent excavations by the University of Crete at Eleutherna have brought to light evidence that shows that during the Roman period Eleutherna was one of the most important cities of the entire Rethymno Prefecture and received special Imperial attention, in all probability because of its location at the E-W and N-S road-communications-system of the western part of the island (fig. 1: Barrington Atlas map of Western Crete). Secure indication as to the provenance of one of the two Latin inscriptions was kindly provided very recently by Prof. Martha Baldwin Bowsky who had visited the Storeroom of the Rethymno Museum on July 8th, 1980 and noted the provenance for one of the inscriptions (no. 2 below). Thus, by default the other Latin inscription (no. 1 below) should probably be the text referred to by Platon in 1956, although its provenance must perforce remain open.



Fig. 2. Rethymno Museum E207.

1. (Rethymno Museum E207, fig. 2). A limestone fragment of unknown provenance (Eleutherna?) and broken on all sides was located in the Rethymno Museum Storeroom. The small letters are inscribed with the help of guidelines of 0.01m. in height. H. 0.08 (inscribed surface 0.06), W. 0.105 (inscribed surface 0.075), Th. 0.20, LH. 0.007-0.008.

*vacat*

[ - - - ]! e partu et [ - - - - ]  
 3 [ - - ca<sup>2</sup> ]mpus · vin(arius<sup>2</sup>). [ - - ]  
 [ - - - ]! u · praemia [ - - - - ]  
 [ - - - - ]n[ - - - - - - ]  
 6 [ - - - - - - - - - - ].

75-89; and EAD., *From Capital to Colony. Five New Inscriptions from Roman Crete*, forthcoming. In general on the issues of bilingualism see: J.N. ADAMS, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, Cambridge 2003; J.N. ADAMS, M. JANSE and S. SWAIN (eds), *Bilingualism in Ancient Society. Language Contact and the Written Text*, Oxford 2002; and the cogent review of these two books by E. DICKEY, *Ancient Bilingualism*, JRS 93 (2003), 295-302.

<sup>4</sup> N. PLATON, *Kritika Chronika* 10 (1956), 422.

Line 2: the upper tip of a vertical stroke. Line 3: after S and N a middle dot as abbreviation or punctuation. Line 4: the upper tip of a vertical stroke; after V a middle dot as abbreviation or punctuation.

The text is very fragmentary and restorations would be hazardous. The two words which can be read with certainty, in line 2 *e partu* «from the produce of plants, land, etc.» (OLD s.v.), and in line 4 *praemia* «payment, inducement, reward, prize» (OLD s.v.), may indicate that this fragmentary text was probably



Fig. 3. Rethymno Museum E158.

<sup>3</sup> For the archaeological remains see the report by I. ΓΑΒΡΙΛΑΚΗ and N. ΚΑΡΑΜΑΛΙΚΗ, *Επισκοπή, οικόπεδο Τριπολιτάκη*, *ADeltion* 50 B2 (1995), 739-741. For Lappa and environs see: K. SPORN, *Heiligtümer und Kulte Kretas in klassischer und hellenistischer Zeit*, *Studien zur Antiken Heiligtümern* 3, Heidelberg 2002, 255 with extensive previous bibliography; and add N. ΦΑΡΑΚΛΑΣ et al., *Οι επικράτειες των αρχαίων πόλεων της Κρήτης, Ρίθυμνα 6. Ρέθυμνο*, 65-67; I. ΓΑΒΡΙΛΑΚΗ, *Νεκροταφεία ρωμαϊκών χρόνων στην Αργυρούπολη Ρεθύμνης Creta romana e protobyzantina. Atti del congresso internazionale (Iraklion, 23-30 settembre 2000) organizzato dalla Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene*, vol. II, Padova 2004, 301-312; P. ΠΕΡΛΜΑΝ, *Crete*, M.H. HANSEN, T.H. NIELSEN (eds), *An Inventory of Archaic and Greek Poleis. An Investigation Conducted by The Copenhagen Polis Centre for the Danish National Research Foundation*, Oxford 2004, 1172-1173 no. 970.

of an economic nature. If so, in line 3 a plausible restoration may be *campus vin(arius)*, the produce from the vineyard, as Angelos Chaniotis and Giorgos Souris have suggested.

2. (Rethymno Museum E158, fig. 3). A fragment of limestone found at the site Mousela Episkopis, near the so-called church of Agios Patapios, ca 10 kms N from the ancient city of Lappa (modern Argyroupoli), according to information kindly provided by Prof. Martha Baldwin Bowsky. The remains that have been unearthed at this site during rescue excavations suggest not a church but rather a large public building of two phases dated to the Roman period.<sup>5</sup> The stone preserves only the top; it is broken on its three sides and has suffered minor damage on the inscribed surface. The letters are inscribed inside two guidelines of 0.017m. in height and the interlinear space is 0.01m. This mason's lettering is elegant but idiosyncratic; the letters are elongated and crowded and the strokes of one letter at times touch those of the next, giving the impression of cursive handwriting style, characteristic of late second early third centuries CE: the A is without a middle bar; the horizontal of L crosses over to the left and slants to the right; the lower loop of the S is either vertical or very small in comparison to the upper loop which is larger and extends into the interlinear space, as also the upper right slanting of Y *graecum* in line 4.



in line 6 of the word ending in *-cibus* (e.g. *[porti]cibus*, *[prae]cibus*, *[iudi]cibus*, *[mer]cibus*) and *augeri nume[r]²*- is difficult to understand, because the context is missing: prohibited or by prohibitions, to load literally or metaphorically and to increase in/by number. In line 7, *in vos constit[is]* perhaps refers back either to the Gortynian aediles or to those who made the petition.

Even though fragmentary, this text may be easily classified: either a) as an Imperial rescript, a *scriptio*, in which a solution is decreed to some specific problem presented in a formal petition, a *libellus*, or orally, by the local administration of the province or the inhabitants of Lappa; or b) as an edict, *mandata* and *iussa* (in Greek διατάγματα), which were usually in the form of an epistle and of a more general application;<sup>8</sup> in this case the new Lappa inscription should be understood as referring to the whole island of Crete, but less likely to the whole province.

Rescripts or edicts were official documents, public in nature and the most prestigious ones, as they were products of the emperor himself and/or his close advisers. From Augustus onwards, imperial administration increased considerably by the creation of special bureaus, among them the bureau *ab epistulis* for foreign affairs and the bureau *a libellis* for internal and private affairs. The amount of bureaucracy gradually increased, as Hadrian opened himself and/or the bureau *a libellis* to various private petitions and everybody could take his/her case to the emperor. The increase was so great that from the Severans onwards the responses, *apokrimata*, to these petitions began to be published in collections, as a perusal of Justinian's *Digesta* may show, where much of what is recorded belongs to the jurists of Severus' time.<sup>9</sup>

Even though the classification of the new text is rather easy, the problem that warranted the emperor's solution and the reason for its being set up in the vicinity of ancient Lappa cannot be gleaned from what is preserved. The *aediles Gortyniorum* present an interesting case, despite the fragmentary nature of the text. They may be a body of Gortynians serving as aediles on the governor's staff at Gortyn together with the quaestor, legates and other junior officers.<sup>10</sup> In that case, however, another title or other officers/officials than the aediles Gortyniorum might be expected. Moreover, Lappa, if Cassius Dio, a contemporary to Septimius Severus and his praetor and consul-suffect, is to be trusted,<sup>11</sup> is one of only two cities of the island to which Augustus awarded free status and settled Romans there, because the city made the right decision and supported him in the civil war with Antony.<sup>12</sup> Therefore, as a free city Lappa would be exempt from the governor's intervention and would probably have had its own ἀγορανόμοι. The *aediles Gortyniorum* are probably οἱ ἀγορανόμοι τῶν

<sup>8</sup> For these distinctions see J.H. OLIVER, *Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri*, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society 178, Philadelphia 1989, 1-24. For *petitiones* and *subscriptions* see T. HAUKEN, *Petition and Response. An Epigraphic Study of Petitions to Roman Emperors 181-249*, Monographs from the Norwegian Institute at Athens 2, Bergen 1998, esp. 258-317; ID., *Structure and Themes in Petitions to Roman Emperors*, D. FEISSEL et J. GASCOU (eds), *La pétition à Byzance*, Centre de recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance Monographies 14, Paris 2004, 11-22; R.W. MATHISEN, *Adnotatio and Petitiō: the Emperor's Favor and Special Exceptions in the Early Byzantine Empire*, *ibid.*, 23-32. For a recent rescript of Septimius Severus and Caracalla to the *coloni* of the Imperial estates in Tymion and Simoen[...] see: T. HAUKEN, C. TANRIVER, K. AKBIYIKOGLU, *A New Inscription from Phrygia*, *Epigraphia Anatolica* 36 (2003) 33-44; I am grateful to Cumhur Tanriver for the reference.

<sup>9</sup> OLIVER, above note 8, 23-24; and HAUKEN, TANRIVER and AKBIYIKOGLU, above note 8.

<sup>10</sup> F. MILLAR, *The Roman Empire and Its Neighbours*, second edition with contributions by R.N. FRYE, D. BERCIU, T. TALBOT RICE, G. KOSSACK, London 1981, 52-80 and 195-220.

<sup>11</sup> Dio Cassius 51.2.3: Κυδωνιάτας τε καὶ Λαμπαίους ἐλευθέρους ἀφῆκεν, ὅτι τινὰ αὐτῶ συνήραντο· καὶ τοῖς γε Λαμπαίοις καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνεστῶσαν συγκατάωκισε.

<sup>12</sup> M.W. BALDWIN BOWSKY, *From Piracy to Privileged Status: Lappa (Crete) and the Romans*, XII Congressus Internationalis Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae, Barcelona, September 3-8, 2002, Barcelona forthcoming.

<sup>13</sup> H.J. MASON, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions. A Lexicon and Analysis*, American Studies in Papyrology 13, Toronto 1974, 175.

Γορτυνίων,<sup>13</sup> to whom, for some reason, was delegated a kind of action or supervision away from Gortyn and whose jurisdiction, for this particular case, was extended beyond Gortyn and her territory. As there is no indication, however, in what survives on the stone, as to who made the petition to the emperor—the governor, the citizens of Lappa, or somebody else—the inscription from Lappa may have dealt not with specific affairs in the city, but with a more general issue. If so, the text was set up in the vicinity of Lappa because it would have been of interest to the Roman inhabitants of the city.

The number of these Gortynian aediles is missing from the inscription. At least in this period, the body of *agoranomoi* consisted of three individuals, as another inscription in Greek indicates: the honorary text by the three aediles in Gortyn for none other than the elder brother of Septimius Severus, Publius Septimius Geta, on whose staff they apparently served when Geta was appointed *quaestor pro praetore* (ταμίας καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος) of Crete and Cyrenaica,<sup>14</sup> sometime after 169<sup>15</sup> and before 182 CE.<sup>16</sup> The only other Latin text in which the word *aedilis* appears in Crete is the honorary inscription from Gortyn for M. Sonteius Casina, an aedile at Cnossos.<sup>17</sup>

Unfortunately, the duties the three aediles had under Geta are not mentioned in the honorary inscription and the new text from Lappa is too fragmentary to be of much help. General public administration with policing authority appears to be the main and persistent duty of an aedile, the ἀγορανόμος of the Greek cities, the minor administrative officials who continue to serve in Greek cities of the Roman provinces. Even so, the presence of the Gortynian aediles in a text found away from Gortyn is quite striking and may be associated with the inscription's provenance. The location is very close to Lappa's harbor at the N

shore, Hydramia, and at a juncture where the road from the W would turn S towards Lappa whence it would continue E-NE to Rithymna. The setting up of the inscription in this area may be related to the duties of the aediles, among which was supervision of the road-system and of various economic activities.<sup>18</sup> In that case, the Gortynian aediles would have been in charge of something related to the road-network in the W half of the island.

What may shed some light on the context of the new text from Lappa is the evidence for Septimius Severus' provincial policies. The African emperor from Leptis Magna,<sup>19</sup> emulated Hadrian in visiting the provinces and spending there most of his time in office. His principate is characterized by: economic, administrative and army reforms; attention to the frontiers of the empire with construction of public buildings and roads, especially in the African provinces; and an exceptional interest in legal matters and the administration of justice, as he appointed the famous jurist Aemilius Papinianus as Praetorian Prefect, and later he made the jurists Paulus and Ulpianus members of the *consilium principis*.<sup>20</sup> Severus showed a keen interest in the welfare of the provinces. In Crete there is evidence to suggest that certain cities tried to court imperial favor. Although there is ample evidence for Severus' presence in almost all of the provinces of the empire, such evidence is lacking at present for Cyrenaica and Crete. A visit to Cyrenaica at least may have been occasioned by Severus' official visit in 202 to

<sup>14</sup> IC IV.302: Πούπλιον Σεπτίμιον | Γέταν, ταμίαν καὶ | ἀντιστράτηγον | Κρήτης καὶ Κυρήνης, | Ἀντώνιος Παραί|βάτης καὶ Τέττιος | Μάκερ καὶ Τειμα|γένης Σόλωνος | οἱ ἀγορανόμοι τὸν | φίλον.

<sup>15</sup> A.R. BIRLEY, *Septimius Severus: the African Emperor*, London and New York 1988, 45.

<sup>16</sup> See also the inscriptions, dated to the early first century BCE: IC IV 253 where Guarducci assumes that the three persons mentioned before the *mnamon* and the *spseudos* are *agoranomoi*; and IC IV 254 which is fragmentary but the space missing would require a restoration of three names.

<sup>17</sup> IC IV.295 (post 18 CE): M. Sonteio M. f. Terentina Casinae, | [s]acerdoti Divi Aug. quater, | [a]edili et duumviro colonia[e] | [C]nosiae, auguri eiusdem | coloniae, | [p]upilli Publeili C. f. Campanu[s] | [e]t Procilla et Tertulla | [de]fensi ab eo honoris | caussa.

<sup>18</sup> OCD s.v. and MILLAR, above note 10, 52-80.

<sup>19</sup> BIRLEY, above note 15, 200.

<sup>20</sup> BIRLEY, above note 15, 164.

Egypt and Africa, the two adjoining provinces. However, well before becoming emperor, Septimius Severus may have traveled to Cyrenaica and perhaps Crete, sometime after 169 when he went from Rome to Africa and very probably, according to Birley,<sup>21</sup> paid a visit to his brother, P. Septimius Geta, the *quaestor pro praetore* of the province.<sup>22</sup>

In the epigraphical corpus of Crete, besides the new inscription from Lappa, nine inscriptions are known so far from Cretan cities, all of them honorary statues for Severus and members of his family. In the eastern part of the island: two texts from Itanos, dated between 200 and 210, one for Severus<sup>23</sup> and the other for Caracalla who is called *energetes tes poleos*;<sup>24</sup> two inscriptions from Lyttos, dated between 199 and 210, one to Julia Domna<sup>25</sup> and the other to Septimius,<sup>26</sup> in which the unusual title Olympios is also attested;<sup>27</sup> an inscription from Hierapytna to Severus, Caracalla, Geta and Julia Domna, dated in 209-210, where they are called *energetai tes oikoumenes kai ktistai*;<sup>28</sup> and two texts from the capital Gortyn, one in Latin dated very early, in 195,<sup>29</sup> and the other in Greek very late, sometime after Severus' death in 211.<sup>30</sup> In the western part of the island only two texts are known: a very fragmentary one from Kantanos,<sup>31</sup> and a fragmentary dedication to Severus and Caracalla, dated between 197 and 211, from Eleutherna.<sup>32</sup>

The particular occasions that produced all these texts are unknown, and in the text from Hierapytna the titles *energetai tes oikoumenes kai ktistai* are so common that nothing concrete can be surmised. They may have been mere blandishments in order to win imperial favor, or thanksgiving repayments of some action by the emperor. The topographical distribution of the inscriptions, however, reveals

found in a Gortynian dedication to Caracalla, dated however to 213 CE.

<sup>28</sup> Hierapytna III.III.19 (date 209-210 CE): [Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Λούκιον Σεπτίμιον Σεβήρον] Εὐσεβῆ [Περτίνα]α Σεβαστὸν <sup>folium</sup> | [Ἀραβικὸν Ἀδιαβηρικὸν Παρθικὸν Μέγιστον κ]αὶ Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Μ(ἄρκον) Αὐρήλιον | [Ἄντωνεῖνον Εὐσεβῆ Σεβαστὸν καὶ Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Π(όπλιον) Σεπτίμιον Γέταν] καὶ Ἰουλιαν | [Δόμναν Σεβαστὴν Αὐγούσταν Μητέρα Κάστρων το]ὺς εὐεργέ[τας τῆς οἴκου]μένης καὶ κτί[στας - - ] ὑπὸ τῆς θείας [- - ].

<sup>29</sup> Gortyn IV.278 (date 195 CE): Imp(eratori) Caesari L(ucio) Se[ptimio] | Severo Pertinac[i] Aug(usto) p(ontifici) m(aximo) |, | tr(ibunicia) p(otestate) III, co(n)s(uli) II, imp(eratori) III, p(atri) p(atriciae), | c(ives) R(omani) q(ui) G(ortynae) c(onsistent), ex summa quam | intulit pro decurionatu suo, | Fl(avius) Titianus sacerdos designatus Divi Traiani, curante | L(ucio) Naevio Exacesta sacerdote | Divi Aug(usti) et o(mnibus) c(ivibus) R(omanis) G(ortynae) c(onsistentibus) (sc. curantibus).

<sup>30</sup> Gortyn IV.279 (date 210-211 CE): Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα | θεῖον Σεπτίμιον | Σεβήρον Εὐσεβῆ | Ἀραβικὸν Ἀδιαβηρικὸν | Παρθικὸν Μέγιστον | Πρετανικὸν Μέγιστον.

<sup>31</sup> Kantanos IC II.vi.3 (date 197-211 CE): Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Λ(ούκιον) | Σεπ[ε]τίμιον Σεουήρον [- - -].

<sup>32</sup> Eleutherna IC II.xii.29 (date 209-210 CE): [- - Λούκιον Σεπτίμιον] Σεουήρον Εὐ[σεβῆ - -] | [- - δη]μαρχικῆς ἐξο[υσίας τὸ - -] | [- - Μᾶ]ρκον Αὐρήλιο[ν Ἄντωνεῖνον - -] | [- -] ἀνθύπατον [- - -] | [- - Π]αρθικῶς μεγίστου [- -] | [- - Περτίν]ακος Σεβαστοῦ ε[- -].

<sup>21</sup> BIRLEY, above note 15, 45.

<sup>22</sup> IC IV.302, above note 14. For the state of the province during the Severan period and the administrative rearrangements see A. PAUTASSO, *ANΘΥΠΑΤΟΙ ΚΡΗΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΥΡΗΝΗΣ. Osservazioni sull'attività dei proconsoli nella provincia nei primi secoli dell'impero*, ASAA 72-73 (1994-95) 89-91.

<sup>23</sup> Itanos III.IV.20A (date 200-210 CE): Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Λούκιον | Σεπτίμιον Σευήρον Ἀραβικὸν Ἀδιαβηρικὸν Παρθικὸν Μέγιστον Εὐσεβῆ Εὐτυχῆ Σεβαστὸν ἄ πόλις ἄ τῶν | Ἰτανίων ἀνέστησε ἐπὶ πρωτοκόσμῳ | Σωτηρίῳ Παιδέρωτος.

<sup>24</sup> Itanos III.IV.20B (date 200-210 CE): [Αὐτοκράτορα Καί]σαρα Μ(ἄρκον) Αὐ(ρήλιον) | [Ἄντωνεῖνον Εὐ]σεβῆ Σεβαστὸν | [ἡ πόλις ἡ τῶν Ἰ]τανίων τὸν τῆς | [πόλεως εὐ]εργέτην.

<sup>25</sup> Lyttos I.XVIII.47B (date 199-210 CE): Ἰουλιαν Σεβαστὴν Αὐγ[ούσταν] | Μητέρα Κάστρων.

<sup>26</sup> Lyttos I.XVIII.47A (date 199-210 CE): Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Λ(ούκιον) Σεπτίμιον | Σεβήρον Εὐσεβῆ Εὐτυχῆ Περτίνακα | Σεβαστὸν Ἀραβικὸν Ἀδιαβηρικὸν Παρθικὸν | Μέγιστον Ὀλύμπιον.

<sup>27</sup> Gortyn IC IV.280 (date 213 CE): Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα | Μ(ἄρκον) · Αὐρήλιον Ἄντωνεῖνον | Εὐσεβῆ Σεβαστὸν | Παρθικὸν Μέγιστον | Πρετανικὸν Μέγιστον | Γερμανικὸν Μέγιστον | Ὀλύμπιον. The title Olympios is also

<sup>33</sup> For these communication networks see: D. VIVIERS, *La cité de Datalla et la politique d'expansion territoriale de Lykios en Crète orientale*, BCH 118 (1994) 229-259; ID., *Economy and Territorial Dynamics in Crete from the Archaic to the Hellenistic Period*, A. CHANIOTIS (ed.), *From Minoan Farmers to Roman Traders: Sidelights on the Economy of Crete*, HABES 29, Stuttgart 1999, 221-233; MARTHA W. BALDWIN BOWSKY, *A Temple of Hermes at Sybritos: on the Road from Gortyn to the Diktynnaion (Crete)*, ASAA 79 (2001), 263-276; EAD., *Territorial Reorganization West of Mt. Ida: from Worry to Worship*, Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Ο Μυλοπόταμος από την αρχαιότητα ως σήμερα: περιβάλλον, αρχαιολογία, ιστορία, λαογραφία, κοινωνιολογία, Πάνορμο Ρεθύμνης, 24-30 Οκτωβρίου 2003, vol II, Rethymno 2006, 253-275; EAD., *On the Road Again: a Trajanic Milestone and the Road Connections of Aptera, Crete*, Hesperia 75 (2006) 405-433; and EAD., above note 12.

<sup>34</sup> According to Martha Baldwin Bowsky (personal communication), the priest-designate of the Divine Trajan, Flavius Titianus may be from Hierapytna (a city that has also produced official documents), as he shares the *cognomen* with Flavia Titiana, daughter of Flavius Sulpicianus. Titiana was married to the emperor Pertinax, and Sulpicianus served as his father-in-law's *praefectus urbis*. After Pertinax's murder, Sulpicianus put himself up with the praetorians to be emperor, but was beaten by Didius Iulianus. Sulpicianus' grandson P. Helvius Pertinax junior reached the suffect consulship in 211 or 212, but eventually he was killed by Caracalla for being Pertinax's son.

<sup>35</sup> Pace GUARDUCCI, IC IV 279. See KIENAST, above note 5, 157.

<sup>36</sup> S. CORCORAN, *A Fragment of a Tetrarchic Constitution from Crete*, ZPE 133 (2000), 251-255.

<sup>37</sup> Augustus (IC II.xvi.12), Agrippa (Tzifopoulos, *The Inscriptions*, above note 2, forthcoming), Vespasian (SEG 38.915= HOROS 6 (1988) 61-62), Hadrian (IC II.xvi.13) and an unknown emperor (IC II.xvi.33).

that the cities, wherefrom these honorary inscriptions come, are strategically located throughout the island and therefore may have received the governor's and the emperor's special attention. In the western part of the island, Kantanos lies to the S, Lappa controls two ports, Hydramia at the N and Phoenix at the S shores, and Eleutherna is located at the crossroads for communication from N-NW to the S-SE towards Gortyn. In the eastern part, Itanos in the extreme NE and Hierapytna in the S were cities with harbors and Lyttos lies at the crossroads for communication from N-NE to the S-SW towards Gortyn.<sup>33</sup>

Moreover, the majority of these texts, including the new one, are dated in the period after Severus consolidated his power, from 197 until his death in 211. The two exceptions are from Gortyn, the island's capital, both of which indicate that the Roman citizens in Gortyn and Gortynians were quick to act both before Septimius became emperor and after his death in Britain. The first, an honorary text in Latin, is dated early in Severus' reign, in 195 if not in late 194, a few months after his victory against his opponent Pescennius Niger in the East (the text in note 29). Interestingly, the base and statue are set up by the *cives Romani qui Gortynae consistunt* from the sum collected by Flavius Titianus, the priest-designate of Divine Trajan,<sup>34</sup> with the assistance of the priest of Divine Augustus L. Naevius Exacesta and of all Roman citizens residing at Gortyn. It is the priests of the imperial cult whom the Roman citizens at Gortyn entrust with the collection of the money for setting up the statue. The second Gortynian inscription (the text in note 30) is in Greek and more general, but the word *divus* strongly suggests that Gortyn again reacted quickly after Severus' death in 211 in Britain and offered a last, post mortem dedication to the emperor.<sup>35</sup>

These honorary inscriptions and their accompanying statues suggest that during Severus' reign certain Cretan cities tried to win the favor of the emperor and some of them appear to have succeeded. The new text from Lappa, Crete is certainly not of this kind, but very probably one among a number of edicts and rescripts, produced by Severus' judicial and administrative cabinet. Such texts are not absent from the island and the new inscription from Lappa is not the only official, public document found in this city. M. Guarducci (IC II.xvi.34) had already published a fragment, which, as Simon Corcoran has shown recently,<sup>36</sup> is part of the tetrarchic constitution *de Caesarianis*, dated in 305 or 314 CE. The epigraphical dossier of Lappa also includes a few imperial inscriptions, mainly honorary to Augustus, Agrippa, Vespasian and Hadrian,<sup>37</sup> which, together with the archaeological remains that have been unearthed so far,<sup>38</sup> portray a picture of

a rich and thriving city under the empire. What may seem striking is that texts such as the tetrarchic constitution and the new rescript, or better copies of them, are found at some distance from the seat of government at Gortyn. This is hardly surprising, as edicts, rescripts and other administrative documents have also been found in other Cretan cities, in addition to Gortyn and the Roman colony at Cnossos, the two places where one would most likely expect them. Chersonesos and Hierapytna have produced fragments of the Price edict, and Lyttos two *edicts*, the *de accusationibus* and the *de Caesarianis*.<sup>39</sup> The discovery of official documents in major cities of the island suggests that the imperial administration's effort was to set up Latin texts at cities whose population would be able to read them.<sup>40</sup>

The distribution of these Latin texts throughout the island of Crete was probably caused by the considerable number of Latin-speaking inhabitants, acculturated Romans or vice versa, in these cities. Other interesting questions arise, was the jurisdiction of the Gortynian aediles over the whole island permanent, or did it last only for this particular case? Were these aediles in charge of some public construction or were they supervisors and inspectors of the roads-communication-system? Clearly, on present evidence, there can be no answer to these questions, but the new text from Lappa adds another small piece of evidence to the puzzle of the imperial administration of Crete during the late second and early third centuries CE.

<sup>38</sup> See above note 4.

<sup>39</sup> For the Latin texts of Crete see: A. CHANIOTIS, *Eine neue lateinische Ebnenschrift aus Knossos*, ZPE 58 (1985) 182-188; A. CHANIOTIS-G. PREUSS, *Neue Fragmente des Preisedikts von Diokletian und weitere lateinische Inschriften aus Kreta*, ZPE 80 (1990) 189-202; A. CHANIOTIS-G. PREUSS, *Neue lateinische Inschriften aus Knossos*, ZPE 89 (1991) 191-195; and Corcoran, above note 36.

<sup>40</sup> Diocletian's *Price edict* for example was set up throughout the empire both in Greek and in Latin.