

UNIVERSITY OF CRETE

# ANCIENT ELEUTHERNA

SECTOR I

Volume One

Petros G. Themelis (ed.)

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## ABBREVIATIONS - BIBLIOGRAPHY

Unless otherwise specified, abbreviations of periodicals, series volumes, and standard reference works follow the usage of the *American Journal of Archaeology* (*AJA*) and ancient authors are cited according to the abbreviations in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (eds. S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. 1996, Oxford and New York).

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# THE INSCRIPTIONS

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Yannis Tzifopoulos



## ELEUTHERNA, SECTOR I: THE INSCRIPTIONS<sup>1</sup>

### Introduction

In 1985, excavations conducted by members of the Department of History and Archaeology of the University of Crete began at Eleutherna, which is about 25 km south-south-east of Rethymnon; they are still in progress.<sup>2</sup> The excavations in Sector I, located at the Katsivelos site on the eastern side of Prines hill and directed by Petros Themelis, Professor Emeritus of Classical Archaeology at the University of Crete, have brought to light structures that significantly increase our knowledge of Eleutherna's history. Among the numerous rich finds, a great number of inscriptions have been unearthed. Most are now in the Rethymnon Museum, while a few are still in situ. The majority have appeared in the preliminary excavation reports published by Themelis in *Κρητική Εστία*, the Archaeological Receipts Fund guide, and the exhibition catalogue *Eleutherna: Polis - Acropolis - Necropolis*.<sup>3</sup> So far, 62 inscriptions have been uncovered, spanning a period of over a thousand years, a strong indication of nearly continuous habitation on the eastern, lower side of Prines hill from at least the late Classical period until the end of the early Byzantine period. Eleutherna's boundaries extended considerably to the east, and the city's settlement pattern emerges as one composed of many neighborhoods situated some distance from one another; van Effenterre has described it as "un habitat polynucléaire."<sup>4</sup>

Sixteen inscriptions dated to the Early Byzantine period have already been published (*SEG* 50, 888-896), to which one more, no. 17 following the existing numbering, has been added at the end of this article (Addenda to the Early Byzantine Inscriptions).<sup>5</sup> Of the remaining 45 inscriptions, 37 are presented here. Although most are in a fragmentary state,

<sup>1</sup> This work would not have been completed without the generosity of Professor Petros Themelis. I am indebted to him for constant encouragement, perceptive comments and criticisms, and invaluable assistance at all stages of the undertaking: he entrusted me with the material for study, placed the archives of the excavation at my disposal, and generously offered excellent photographs of the inscriptions which he (nos. 12, 13, 15, 17, 37) and V. Stamatopoulos (nos. 1-8, 10-11, 16, 18-26, 28, 32-36) had taken for this publication. I would also like to record my grateful appreciation to Ms. Maria Andreadaki-Vlazaki, the head of the Rethymnon Ephoreia, and to the staff in the Rethymnon Museum for permission to study the inscriptions and for providing ideal working conditions; to Ms. Amalia Giannakopoulou, Mr. Kleanthis Sidiropoulos, and Ms. Stella Kalogeraki for the time and energy they enthusiastically devoted to my queries and searches in archives and storerooms; to Ms. Anna Lekka and Dr. Kyriakos Psaroudakis for their diligent care in practical matters; to Nikos Tsivikis and Stefanie Kennell for their time and energy in the last phase of the manuscript's preparation; and to Mr. George Motakis for his computer expertise and creativity. Prof. Stephen V. Tracy, Prof. Angelos Chaniotis, Prof. Vassa Kontorini, Philip Forsythe, Stavros A. Frangoulidis, and Angelos Matthaïou have read the entire manuscript with a discerning eye; I am indebted to all of them for generous comments, suggestions, and criticisms.

<sup>2</sup> See the reports by the excavators: for Sector I, Themelis 1988, 1989-1990, 1991-1993, 1994-1996; for Sector II, Kalpaxis 1988, 1989-1990, 1991-1993, 1994-1996; and for Sector III, Stampolidis 1990a, 1990b, 1994a. In addition, see van Effenterre et al. 1991; Themelis 1992, 1994, 2004a; Kalpaxis et al. 1994; Kalpaxis 2004a; Tzifopoulos 2004a; Stampolidis 1993, 1996, 2004a, 2004b.

<sup>3</sup> Themelis 2002; Themelis 2004a, 157-158; Themelis and Matthaïou 2004.

<sup>4</sup> van Effenterre 1991, 29. See also Perlman 1996, 252-254; Perlman 2004a; Perlman 2004b; Themelis 2002; 2004a.

<sup>5</sup> Themelis 2000, 237-259.

they have been grouped into two broad chronological categories: the Archaic-Classical periods (nos. 1-5) and the Hellenistic and Roman periods (nos. 6-36), of which nos. 29-32 are masons' marks, no. 33 a dipinto and nos. 34-36 inscriptions on clay objects. Most of them were not found in their original place, but their findspots may nevertheless help us to understand the site generally.<sup>6</sup> Six of these inscriptions (nos. 4, 7, 8, 17, 28, and 35) were chance finds in the vicinity of the Katsivelos site that were handed over to the excavator. Of the remaining 31, 14 were found near or inside the Basilica. Five were in the Basilica proper (nos. 1, 2, 15, 19, and 25); one was in the area immediately adjoining the Basilica's south wall in the Hellenistic sanctuary where a number of graves have been uncovered (no. 9); six were in the three-room annex abutting the southern wall of the narthex, where graves were also excavated in Room I, and further south of the Hellenistic sanctuary (nos. 13, 14, 21, 22, 24, and 37); and two (nos. 3 and 18) were uncovered in the road that runs north-south along the Basilica's west side then turns west-northwest at the northern corner of the stairway up to the Basilica entrance.

Of the remaining 17, 12 inscriptions were found in the extensive complex comprising the two Roman houses and the large Hellenistic-Roman bath to the west of the Basilica and to the south of the east-west road (nos. 6, 11, 16, 20, 23, 27, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, and 36), one was found in the east-west road (no. 12), and four were found in the buildings immediately to the north of the east-west road (nos. 5, 10, 26, and 32).

## THE ARCHAIC-CLASSICAL INSCRIPTIONS

**1** (Inv. No. E 147, Pl. 1). A fragment of local poros limestone, found in 1990 in the Basilica's northern aisle, where it was used as building material; only the top and the upper surface are preserved.

Themelis 1991-1993, 251 fig. a, 256; *SEG* 45,1256.

H. 0.105 m, W. 0.23 m, Th. 0.237 m, Letter height 0.043-0.055 m.

ca. 500 B.C.

[ - - ]KIBON[- - ]  
[ - - - - - - - - - - ]

Remains of Dotted Letters: of the nu, only the left and the middle diagonal.

Commentary: The date of this inscription is based exclusively on the letter shapes, characteristic of which are β2, ι3, ν2 (after Jeffery 1990, 308). Themelis (1991-1993, 251) has suggested the late Archaic period. The inscribed surface is damaged along the extreme left edge and below the omicron, but the kappa and the omicron are certain. Perhaps this is a personal name, as the names Κύβις, Κιβᾶς, or Κίβυς are attested, the first two in Thasos and the third in Euboia (*LGPN* 1, 255). Bechtel (1917, 499) and Masson (1967, 27-30) classify them among those characterizing their bearers' intellect since, according to Hesychius, κίβον is τὸ ἐνεόν (see also below no. 2). We may therefore read in line 1: [- -] Κίβον [- -].

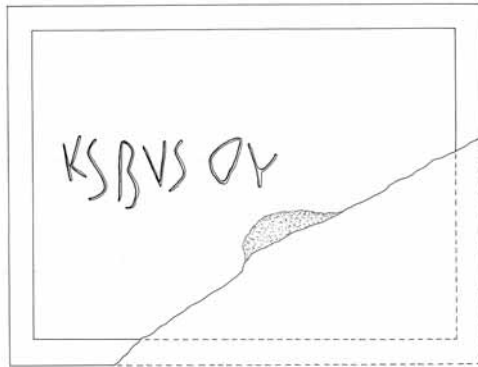
<sup>6</sup> See also Themelis 2002b and 2004a.



**2** (Inv. No. E 248, Pl. 2). A cornerstone of local limestone, missing its lower right corner, found in 1990 in the Basilica.

Themelis 1991-1993, 251 fig. d, 256; *SEG* 45,1272.

H.0.305 , W. 0.232 m, Th. 0.215 m, Letter height 0.025-0.042 m.  
ca. 500 B.C.



KIBYIOY

Commentary: The letter-shapes β2, ι1, υ3 suggest the late Archaic or Classical periods (after Jeffery 1990, 308). The letters of this graffito are scratched in a sloppy, careless manner. Themelis (1991-1993, 251) correctly read this as the genitive form of a name, Κιβύϊος; although this form is not attested, it may be a form of Κίβυς, a name attested in a fifth century B.C. inscription from Styra on Euboeia.<sup>7</sup>

**3** (Inv. No. E 135, Pl. 3). Found in 1988 in the area to the north of Rooms 23+26 of Roman House 2, a small fragment of local limestone, broken on all sides.

Themelis 1989-1990, 269; *SEG* 39, 955.

H. 0.068 m, W. 0.087 m, Th. 0.047 m, Letter height 0.026-0.027 m.  
ca. 500 B.C.

3

[- - - - -]	
[- -]!!^[- -]	—>
[- -]ΠΟΝ[- -]	<—
[- -]ΡΟΛΣ[- -]	—>
[- - - - -]	

Remains of Dotted Letters:

Line 2: of the first vertical only the bottom tip, and of the second only the lower part; of the two diagonals of a delta, gamma, or san only the lower parts.

Line 3: the nu may also be a mu or even a san.

Line 4: of the rho only the right part of the pointed curve; after the omicron two diagonals remain of a gamma or delta; of the san only the left diagonal that curves on top, which can

<sup>7</sup> *IG* XII.9, 176; Bechtel 1917, 499; Masson 1967, 27-30; *LGP* 1, 255.

also be a digamma or even an epsilon (Jeffery 1990, 308, W2 and ε4; van Effenterre et al. 1991, pl. 1, E1).

Commentary: The date is based on the letter-shapes – elegantly and sharply cut in boustrophedon between guidelines 0.027m in height – of which characteristic are (after Jeffery 1990, 308) γ2, δ1 or δ2, ν2, ο4, π5, ρ1, and M1 (but more like the one in van Effenterre et al. 1991, pl. 1 E1). The rhomboid omicron (ο4) occurs already at Eleutherna (Jeffery 1990, 309; *ICr* II. xii 3, 14a, 16), sometimes open at the top and/or bottom and with a more pointed right curve.

4 (Inv. No. E 134, Pl. 4). A small fragment of local limestone, broken on all sides, found by Mr. K. Apostolakis at the site called Flamouri and handed over to the excavator in 1988. Themelis 1989-1990, 270; *SEG* 39, 957.

H. 0.17 m, W. 0.215 m, Th. 0.105 m, Letter height 0.03-0.036 m.  
ca. 500 B.C.

3           [- - - - - - - - -]  
             [- -] ΣΤΟΡ[-] →  
             [-] ΟΝΠ[-] ←  
             [- - - - - - - - -]

Remains of Dotted Letters:

Line 2: of the san only the right half, that could also be a mu (Jeffery 1990, 308: μ3); of the rho the vertical, the lower slanting and a faint trace of the upper slanting.

Line 3: of the pi only the left vertical and part of the crossbar; it could also be a lambda (Jeffery 1990, 308: λ3).

Commentary: The date is based on the letter-shapes, characteristic of which are ν2, ο3, M1, ρ1 (after Jeffery 1990, 308). The tau is tall, with a very small crossbar (0.015m). The letters are cut in boustrophedon and resemble those of *ICr* II. xii 19. In line 2, we should perhaps read [- fī]στορ[ανς -] as Angelos Chaniotis has suggested.<sup>8</sup>

5 (Inv. No. E 236, Pl. 5). In 1995, a fragment of local limestone, broken on all sides, was found in Room 32 to the north of the east-west road; the top and bottom surfaces are partially preserved, while the inscribed surface is weathered.

H. 0.317 m, W. 0.335 m, Th. 0.15 m, Letter height 0.055-0.09 m.  
ca. 500 B.C.

5           [- - - - - - - - -]  
             [- - -] .Ι.ΟΛ.[- -]  
             vacat ca. 0.10 m  
             [- - -] ΟΝΥ[- - -] ←  
             [- - - - - - - - -]

Remains of Dotted Letters:

Line 2: of the vertical, only the lower half; after the omicron only the left diagonal of a

<sup>8</sup> For this word, see Chaniotis 1996, 382-383 and n. 1804, with relevant bibliography.

gamma, delta, nu, or san (Jeffery 1990, 308: γ2, δ2, ν2, Μ1).

Line 4: of the epsilon only the extreme upper left part of a diagonal; the nu can alternatively be read as mu if the following stroke is not an epsilon but part of the preceding letter.

Commentary: The date is based on the letter nu or mu in line 4 (after Jeffery 1990, 308, ν1 or μ1). The letters were cut either retrograde or in boustrophedon, since only the direction of the letters in line 4 is conclusive. Line 3 seems to have been left unscribed, though the surface of the stone is worn away.

## HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS

**6** (Inv. No. E 77a-b, Pl. 6). Two joining fragments of a pedimental stele of local limestone. The larger of the two, fragment A, found in the stoa of the great peristyle of House 1, is missing the left, extreme right and bottom sides; the smaller, fragment B, found in the atrium of House 2, is broken on all sides. The pediment and the upper part of the surface are abraded. The original width of this stele is estimated to have been 0.415 m (Themelis and Matthaïou 2004, 156). Themelis (2004a, 50 fig. 8) provides a reconstruction drawing of the original. The cutter used guidelines 0.01-0.013 m in height and left an interlinear space of 0.003-0.005 m. Themelis and Matthaïou 2008; Tzifopoulos 2008; Themelis and Matthaïou 2004; Themelis 2004a, 50-51 and fig. 8; Themelis 2002b, 15-16 and fig. 5; *SEG* 52, 852 and 54, 841.

Frag. A: H. 0.40 m, W. 0.237 m, Th. 0.081 m, Letter height 0.01-0.005 m.

Frag. B: H. 0.122 m, W. 0.093 m, Th. 0.081 m, Letter height 0.005 (omicron)-0.012 m.  
post 250 – ante 167 B.C.

[- ----- -]  
 [- -----] Ἐλευ[θερναί] -----  
 [- ----- τ]άδε ὤμοσαν [ο]ί Ἐ[λευθερναῖοι]  
 [τοῖς Ῥαυκίοις χοῖ Ῥ]αύκιοι τοῖς Ἐλευθερναῖ[οις ?..?]  
 5 [- ----- καὶ] Ζῆνα Φιδάταν καὶ Ζῆνα Θεγ[άταν]  
 [- ----- τὰν Ἡ]ραν καὶ τὸμ Ποτειδᾶ καὶ τὰ[ν ?..?]  
 [- -----] καὶ Ἄρια καὶ Ἀφροδίταν καὶ Ἀθαν[αίαν]  
 [- -----]αν καὶ Ἀπέλλωνα τὸν Δελ[φίνι]-  
 [ον -----] καὶ Ἄρτεμιν καὶ τὸν Γέλχα[νον]  
 10 [- ----- κ]αὶ Λύμφας καὶ θιὸν πάντ<α>[νς]  
 [- -----] σύμμαχοι τέλεσθαι τοῖς Ῥα[υκί]-  
 [οις -----] τὸμ πάντα χρόνον χοῖ Ῥαύκιοι [?..?]  
 [τοῖς Ἐλευθερναῖοι]ς ἐπίπανσι ἀπλόως καὶ ἀδόλ[ως]  
 [- -----]η[.]ιν τῶι αὐτῶι χίρηνησεῖν κοῦ[..?]  
 15 [- -----]ω τ[ὸς] Ῥαυκίος οὔτ' ἰμ πολέμωι οὔτ' [ἰν]  
 [ἱρήναι οὔ]τ' αὐ[τὸς] ἐγὼ οὔτ' ἄλλωι ἐπιτραψί[ω οὔ]-  
 [δενὶ κατὰ τὸ δυν]ατόν• καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐμμένοιεν Κνω[σίοι]  
 [- -----]γ τᾶς χώρας καὶ τᾶν ἐπιγαμιᾶ[ν .?]  
 [- -----] ὠμολ[όγη]σαν τοῖς Ῥαυκίοις πεδὰ τ[...?]  
 20 [- -----]αν τὸς Ῥα[υκί?]-  
 [ος -----]

Translation:

[- - - - -] Eleu[thern- - - - -]  
 [- - - - - to t]he following swore th[e] E[leuthernians]  
 [with the Rhaukioi and the Rh]aukioi with the Eleutherni[ans]  
 5 [- - by - - *deity* - - - - - and] Zeus Idatas and Zeus Then[atas]  
 [- - - - - and He]ra and Poseidon and [*female*]-  
 [*deity* - - - - -] and Ares and Aphrodite and Athena  
 [- - - - - *female* *deity* and Apollo Del[phini]-  
 [os - - - - -] and Artemis and Velcha[nos]  
 10 [- - - - - a]nd the Nymphs and all the gods  
 [- - - - -] to be allies with the Rhaukioi  
 [- - - - -] for all time and the Rhaukioi  
 [with the Eleuthernian]s, one and all, simply and honestly;  
 [- - and to make] w[a]r against the same (people) and to make peace and not  
 15 [will I - - - - -] the Rhaukioi neither in war nor [in]  
 [peace, neith]er I my[se]lf, nor will I allo[w any]-  
 [one as far as pos]sible; and if the Kno[ssians] do not abide by  
 [- - - - -] of the land and of the intermarriages  
 [- - - - - con]ceded to the Rhaukioi as regards  
 20 [- - - - -] the Rha[uki]-  
 [oi - - - - -]

Remains of Dotted Letters:

- Line 3: of the alpha only the right diagonal.
- Line 4: of the iota the lower half of a vertical stroke.
- Line 5: of the nu the left vertical stroke.
- Line 7: of the nu the left vertical and the upper part of the diagonals.
- Line 10: of the alpha the right diagonal.
- Line 11: of the sigma the tip of the upper crossbars; of the alpha the left diagonal.
- Line 13: of the first sigma the extreme parts of the upper and lower crossbars; of the second the upper crossbar and the left part of the lower one.
- Line 14: of the iota the upper part of a vertical stroke; of the upsilon the tip of the left diagonal.
- Line 16: of the sigma the extreme parts of the upper and lower crossbars; of the iota a vertical stroke.
- Line 17: of the alpha the right diagonal; of the omega the left tip of the crossbar.
- Line 18: of the gamma the extreme right of an upper crossbar; of the alpha the left diagonal.
- Line 20: before the alpha traces of the upper part of a stroke.

Restorations (from Themelis and Matthaïou 2008, based on Petros Themelis, Angelos Chaniotis, Charalambos Kritzas, and Angelos Matthaïou):

Line 2: [- - ο]ἱ Ἐλευ[θερναῖοι - -] Matthaïou; [Συμμαχία Ῥαυκίων καὶ Ἐλευ[θερναίων - -] *ex-empli gratia* Chaniotis.

Line 4: [χοῖ] Chaniotis; καὶ οἱ Themelis. At the end: [ναὶ] Themelis, Chaniotis; [ὀμνύ]ω τὰν Ἰστίαν καὶ] Kritzas.

Line 5: [Ζῆνα Ἄγοραῖον] Themelis.

Line 7: [Βριτόμαρτιν] Kritzas.

Line 8: [καὶ Ἐλευθυ]ίαν Themelis; [καὶ τὸν Ἑρμᾶν] Kritzas.

Line 9: [καὶ τὰν Λατῶν] Themelis, Kritzas.

Line 10: [καὶ (τὸς) Κωρῆτας] Kritzas. At the end ΠΑΝΤΕ on the stone.

Line 11: [Ἐλευθερναῖοι] Themelis; [οἱ Ἐλευθερναῖοι] Matthaïou; [καὶ πάνσας Kritzas. τέλεσθαι = ἔσεσθαι (LSJ) s.v. τέλομαι].

Lines 11-12: Ῥα[υκί|οις καὶ φίλοι ἐς] τὸμ πάντα χρόνον Matthaïou; Ῥα[υκί|οις οἱ Ἐλευθερναῖοι] Kritzas, Chaniotis.

Line 13: [τοῖς Ἐλευθερναῖοι]ς Matthaïou.

Line 14: [πολεμ]η[σε]ῖν Matthaïou.

Lines 14-15: κοῦ[κ | ἀδικησί]ω Matthaïou; κοῦ[κ ἐν|καταλειψί]ω Kritzas.

Lines 15-17: [ἰν | ἱρήναι οὔ]τ' αὐ[τὸ]ς ἐγὼ οὔτ' ἄλλωι ἐπιτραψί[ω οὐ|δενὶ κατὰ τὸ δυν]ατόν Matthaïou.

Lines 18-19: [ἐν ταῖ περι τῶν ὄρω]γ τᾶς χώρας καὶ τᾶν ἐπιγαμιῶ[ν ὁ|μολογίαι ἄν ὠμολ]όγη[σ]αν Matthaïou.

Commentary: The date is based on the internal evidence of the text and the elegant, very careful lettering. The cutter employed two guidelines for each line, but followed only the top one carefully, so that some of the letters appear to be hanging (note especially the theta, omicron and omega inscribed on the upper part of the line-space). Characteristic letter-shapes are (after Chaniotis 1996, 452-459) α1 (with the middle bar higher), ε5 (with the middle crossbar half the size), η3, ζ1 (smaller in height), ο4 (as is the theta with dot), π4 (with the right vertical as in π2), ρ4, σ5, ω2, F2 (with the second crossbar half the size of the first and closer to the top).

The text is a treaty, heretofore unknown, between the cities of Eleutherna and Rhaukos. Even though a number of similar texts are known, the difficulties in restoring the missing left part of the text persist.<sup>9</sup> The possible exceptions are lines 4, 13, 16, and 17, whose restorations, if certain, give an estimate of 34-38 letters per line (the iota, omicron and rho are consistently narrower than the other letters). The text is clearly divided into three sections: lines 1-4, the introductory statement; lines 5-10 (or 11), the catalogue of the gods to whom the two parties swore; and from line 11 onwards, the clauses of the treaty agreed upon.

A perusal of similar texts in Angelos Chaniotis' indispensable study of the Cretan treaties (Chaniotis 1996) indicates that at the beginning something like "treaty between Eleutherna and Rhaukos" is to be expected. In the next section (lines 5-10 or 11), the catalogue of the gods comprises divinities that were agreed upon by both Eleutherna and Rhaukos.<sup>10</sup> The criteria for choosing the gods were specific, and in general the cities throughout the island signed treaties in which they appear to have shared common beliefs in a number of divinities.<sup>11</sup> These were always mentioned according to the Olympian hierarchy, with a few exceptions, particularly when local deities were involved. To the catalogue of the gods as preserved on the stone, which includes Zeus Idatas and Thenatas, Hera, Poseidon, Ares,

<sup>9</sup> Chaniotis 1996; Capdeville 1997, *SEG* 47, 1375, *BE* 1999, 432.

<sup>10</sup> The space on the stele suggests that the oath was inscribed once and not twice, as is the case in other treaty inscriptions; cf. Chaniotis 1996, 241-255, nos. 26 and 27.

<sup>11</sup> Chaniotis 1996, 68-76.

Aphrodite, Athena, Apollo Delphinios, Artemis, Velchanos, the Nymphs, and all the gods, the most likely additions would be Hestia or Zeus with another epithet (for example Oratrios) at the beginning, Apollo with another epithet (Pythios, for instance), Lato, Hermes, and another goddess (in line 6-7 after Poseidon and in line 8 before Apollo). The question of exactly where these deities should be restored and whether the possibility of more names should be entertained must at present remain open.

Of the divinities listed in the oath, interesting instances are Zeus Thenatas, a god worshiped at Knossos with a sanctuary east of the city, and Poseidon, a god at home in Rhaukos and also present in the oath of the treaty between Eleutherna and (most probably) Knossos, whereas Velchanos appears for the first time among the deities of a treaty-oath.<sup>12</sup> His placement almost at the end of the list implies that in this case Velchanos is not another epithet of Zeus, and should therefore not be identified with Zeus, as in the cities where his cult is attested, in Phaistos (*ICr I.xxiii nummi*, p. 270), Gortyn (*ICr IV 3*) and Lyttos (*ICr I.xviii 11*).<sup>13</sup>

From line 11 onwards, the text of this bilateral treaty consists of the terms agreed upon by the two cities and employs phraseology that is not unparalleled: in it, the citizens of Eleutherna and Rhaukos, one and all, swear to be allies for all time, simply and honestly (lines 11-13).<sup>14</sup> This general statement is further qualified, first in lines 14-17, where both parties declare their agreement in matters of war and peace to have common friends and enemies as far as is possible, then in lines 17-19, where reference is made to a specific problem that had been causing anxiety to Rhaukos. It would seem that Rhaukos had already reached an agreement with Knossos (by signing another treaty) which most likely settled land disputes, if Matthaïou's compelling restoration in lines 18-19 is accepted, and allowed or encouraged intermarriage between the citizens of Rhaukos and Knossos. Although according to that agreement, referred to in lines 17-19, Knossos conceded certain rights to Rhaukos, Knossos had second thoughts, as it turned out, so that the implementation of the treaty's terms became problematic. Rhaukos therefore sought to check Knossos' aggressiveness and to enforce the implementation of the agreement with Knossos by signing the present treaty with Eleutherna.

Even if the treaty with Eleutherna worked, it did not endure. Rhaukos' fears and anxieties regarding her neighbors, primarily Knossos to the northeast and also Gortyn to the southeast, were not unreasonable. In 167/6 B.C., Knossos and Gortyn wrote the final chapter of Rhaukos' story, when they agreed to annihilate it and in the following year divided up its land between them.<sup>15</sup> Before annihilation, Rhaukos, located in modern Agios Myron, appears only twice in the historical record, both times in relation to Knossos, first as a member of the Knossian coalition, then as an ally of Gortyn against Knossos.<sup>16</sup> Its earliest appearance is in the treaty between Knossos and her allies with Miletos, dated to 259-250 B.C.; the 19 cities mentioned in the inscription as allies of Knossos, among them Rhaukos, Eleutherna, and Axos, must therefore have signed treaties with Knossos in the period prior

<sup>12</sup> Chaniotis 1992, 88-103 (Zeus Thenatas); Chaniotis 1996, 190-195 no. 6 (Poseidon) and 68-76 (Velchanos); see also Sporn 2002, 143-145.

<sup>13</sup> Capdeville 1995, 165-169; Sporn 2002, 101 (Phaistos), 173-174 (Gortyn), 202-203 (Lyttos); Themelis and Matthaïou 2008.

<sup>14</sup> Chaniotis 1996, 87-94; Themelis and Matthaïou 2008; Capdeville 1997.

<sup>15</sup> Chaniotis 1996, 296-300 no. 44; Marginesu 2003.

<sup>16</sup> Sporn 2001 and 2002, 143-145; Perlman 2004a, 1185 no. 986.

to 260 B.C.<sup>17</sup> The other attestation is in Polybius (22.15.1-6), who tells of Gortyn's aggression against Knossos by taking the lands of Lykastos and Diatonion away from Knossos and giving them to Rhaukos and Lyttos respectively. That treaty, dated either to 200-189 or 216-204 B.C., was soon superseded by a new settlement reached in 184 B.C. through the intervention of Appius, whereby the lands were restored to Knossos.<sup>18</sup>

The evidence is scanty and perplexing, as it vividly portrays the volatile political relations between Cretan cities and the ephemeral nature of the treaties they drew up. What is surprising is that, although her immediate western neighbor was Axos, Rhaukos signed a treaty with Eleutherna, a city further to the west that had also signed a treaty with Knossos sometime before 260 B.C., when Eleutherna, Rhaukos, and Axos participated in the Knossian coalition's alliance with Miletos.<sup>19</sup> Eleutherna's alliance with Knossos came to an end in 220/219, when Polyrrhenia forced Eleutherna, Kydonia, and Aptera to join her and Lyttos' coalition during the so-called Lyttian War.<sup>20</sup> It is unlikely that Eleutherna could have signed a treaty with Rhaukos before 220-219, in which Eleutherna would guarantee Rhaukos' borders against Knossos. If not during the Lyttian War, then such an agreement could have been reached as a result of the aftermath of the Lyttian War, when Rhaukos was caught in the middle of the struggle between Knossos and Gortyn before it was annihilated in 167/6 B.C.

7 (Inv. No. E 133, Pl. 7). A small column of local limestone, broken at the bottom, found by Mr. A. Parasiris at the Katsivelos site and handed over to the excavator in 1988. The upper surface is partly preserved, though weathered; in the middle there is a hole 0.019 m in diameter and 0.01 m deep, perhaps for mounting something on top. The inscribed surface is weathered and covers almost half the column's circumference.

Themelis 1989-1990, 269, pl. 5; *SEG* 39, 956; Themelis 2004a, 158 no. 15.

H. 0.115 m, Diameter at top 0.089 m, at bottom 0.07 m, Circumference: 0.27 m, Letter height 0.011-0.015 m.

ca. 150 B.C.

ΚΛΗΠΑΤΡΑ  
ΠΑΥΣΩΣ  
ΑΡΤΥΜΕΑΙΣ  
'ΙΛΙ

3

Κληπάτρα  
Παυσῶς  
ΑΡΤΥΜΕΑΙΣ  
[εύχ]ήν.

<sup>17</sup> Chaniotis 1996, 448-449 no. 79 and 281-285 no. 40.

<sup>18</sup> Chaniotis 1996, 264 no. 29 and 281-285 no. 40.

<sup>19</sup> Chaniotis 1996, 190-195 no. 6. This document is in all likelihood a treaty between Eleutherna and Knossos, possibly the very treaty implied in the inscription for Miletos and Knossos together with the latter's allies.

<sup>20</sup> Polyb. 4.55.4; Chaniotis 1996, 450-451 nos. 81-82.

## Translation:

Klepatra (daughter) of Pauso (offered this as her) prayer/vow <sup>3</sup>to ARTYMEAIS<sup>2</sup>.

Remains of Dotted Letters: in line 4 of the eta only the extreme upper parts of two vertical strokes are extant.

## Restorations:

Line 2: the cutter appears originally to have inscribed ΠΑΥΣ[[ΟΥ]]Σ (the right part of the upsilon, especially the upper right diagonal, is clearly visible), which he later nicely corrected into an omega; the strokes of the omega are moreover only half the depth of the other letters.

Line 3: A. Matthaiou has suggested the plausible emendation Ἄρτυμε<λ>ίς, or Ἄρτυμέ<λ>ίς, a proper name in its feminine or masculine form; the former would be the first choice, albeit not necessarily, because of Klepatra in line 1. Although mistakes of this kind are easy to make, the cutter's emendation in line 2 may indicate that he read the text after he inscribed it, and that he would have caught another mistake in line 3 had there been one.

Line 4: [εὐχ]ήν is the most probable restoration, as indicated by other Cretan parallels. Dedications to, or graffiti in caves for, deities which employ the word εὐχήν /εὐχάν in the accusative are numerous throughout the island, especially for Zeus and Artemis: Zeus at Chersonesos (*ICr* I.vii 7), Knossos (*ICr* I.viii 18), the Idaion Antron (*ICr* I.xii 1A), Sybrita (*ICr* II.xxvi 3), Hierapytna (*ICr* III.iii 14 and Hera), and Gortyn (*ICr* IV 241, 242); Artemis at Arkades (*ICr* I.v 7), Chersonesos (*ICr* I.vii 6), Phaistos (*ICr* I.xxiii 6A), Eleutherna (*ICr* II.xii 23, 24), and Soulia (*ICr* II.xxv 4A, 5A, 6A, 6B, 7B, 7C, 7E, 8C, 9A, 9C, 10A, 10B, 14, 19A, 19B, 1919D, E, 24B, 25).<sup>21</sup> The formula is also used with Hermes at the Kraniaion Antron (*ICr* II.ix 1) and Tallaion Antron (*ICr* II.xxviii 1); Athena at Soulia (*ICr* II.xxv 2); Persephone at Lappa (*ICr* II.xvi 10); Demeter at Knossos (*ICr* I.viii 16); at Lato, Pan (*ICr* I.xvi 7A) and Hestia (*ICr* I.xvi 23); Diktynna at Diktynnaion (*ICr* II.xi 4); the Kouretes at Pyloros (?) (*ICr* i.xxv 3); Isis and Sarapis at Gortyn (*ICr* IV 247, 249); and the *theoi patrioi* at Lissos (Baldwin Bowsky 1995, 267-269, *SEG* 45, 1239).

Commentary: The date is based exclusively on the letter-shapes, characteristic of which are (according to Chaniotis 1996, 452-459) α5, η4, π6 (with the crossbar not extended), σ5; Themelis (1989-1990, 269) has suggested the second or first century B.C. The lettering is elegant and the strokes sharply and rather deeply cut; below line 3 is a trace of a guideline.

Although the text of this dedicatory inscription is preserved almost intact, all three names in lines 1-3 present interesting prosopographical cases. The name Κληπάτρα, which is not attested elsewhere, is probably the contracted form of Κλειοπάτρα, not uncommon in the Aegean.<sup>22</sup> In Crete, the name occurs twice at Lyttos and at Rhithymna.<sup>23</sup> Παισώ occurs only in Euboeia, while its genitive form in -ς is not unknown in Crete, as Chaniotis has suggested for another female name, Τιδῶ or Τιλώ (?) occurring on a loomweight from Phaistos.<sup>24</sup> What is interesting, although not unexpected for Crete, is the use of the mother's

<sup>21</sup> Dedicatory expressions in Cretan texts: Ghinatti 2001, 102-107. See also Baldwin Bowsky 1995, 267-268 (*SEG* 45, 1239) and n. 14 for the word in inscriptions from western Crete.

<sup>22</sup> See Pape-Benseler 1959, 675-676 and 670 for the poetic form Κλειοπάτρα; Bechtel 1917, 241, 248; *LGPN* 2, 266; 3.A, 248.

<sup>23</sup> *LGPN* 1, 262 nos. 2-4.

<sup>24</sup> Παισώ in Euboeia: *LGPN* 1, 367 (twice); Pape-Benseler 1959, 1151; Bechtel 1917, 365. Genitive in -ς: Bile 1988, 76 and 97. Phaistos loomweight: Chaniotis 1989, 79.



name in addition to or instead of that of the father. The mother held a highly esteemed position in Cretan society; her rights and privileges are documented in inscriptions, since only she could truly testify to her child's father and therefore her child's status, as Chaniotis has conclusively demonstrated.<sup>25</sup>

In line 3, Ἀρτυμεαῖς is problematic. After the name of the dedicant and her mother's name, the deity in the dative is usually to be expected, and the ending in -αῖς seems to indicate the dative plural of the first declension, probably feminine. What is on the stone, however, is unintelligible, unless it is some corrupted form of Artemis, for whom there is evidence at Eleutherna (*ICr* II.xii 23, 24), or less likely of Eleutherna's Artemitai (*ICr* II.xii 22B, C).<sup>26</sup> Since the name of the deity was not always required in these inscriptions, as the deity would be immediately implicit in the offering's location, the other alternative for line 3 is another personal name, a second, probably also female, dedicant. In that case, the word should be emended as a compound from ἀρτύω, from which a number of names are derived: either -με<λ>ίς, or -με<ν>ίς, or even perhaps some unattested name ending in -αῖς or -<ν>ίς.<sup>27</sup>

**8** (Inv. No. E 136, Pl. 8). The upper part of a very small, almost miniature, rectangular altar of local limestone, found in 1985 by chance in the surface survey of the property of Mr. M. Apostolakis northeast of the Basilica and handed over to the excavator. This *bomiskos* is crowned by a protruding band 0.031 m high, and its upper surface (width 0.060 m) is hollowed out. The inscribed surface is weathered; the right edge and bottom right corner have been chipped away.

Themelis 1989-1990, 270, fig. 2; *SEG* 39, 958.

H. 0.083 m (inscribed surface 0.052 m), W. 0.06 m (inscribed surface 0.051 m), Th. 0.014 m, Letter height 0.009-0.011 m.

II-I cent. B.C.



Θεῶ Ὑ-  
ψί<σ>τ[ω].

<sup>25</sup> Chaniotis 2002a (*SEG* 52, 827, 862); cf. Chaniotis 1988, 1992, 315-317. See also Baldwin Bowsky 2000 (*SEG* 45, 1239) for continuity and change in the status of Cretan women from Classical to Roman times.

<sup>26</sup> For cults of Artemis at Eleutherna, see Sporn 2002, 237 with relevant literature.

<sup>27</sup> For ἀρτύω-compounds, see Bechtel 1917, 77-78 and 304. Names ending in -ίς: Dornseiff and Hansen 1978, 105-106, 180.

Remains of Dotted Letters: the psi is dotted, because the stone is very weathered and there seem to be traces (of strokes?) just above the top of the letter that may suggest a phi or perhaps even a rho.

Restorations:

Line 1: on the stone ΘΕΩΥ, a common omission of the iota adscript in the dative case; Θεῶι Themelis and *SEG*.

Line 2: on the stone ΨΙΕΤ[.] is unintelligible. Most probably the stone-cutter inscribed an epsilon instead of a sigma by mistake, although the epsilon is clear and similar to the one in line 1, only larger. Themelis read ετ[ίωι]; for this epithet of Zeus in Crete, unattested epigraphically, see Verbruggen 1981, 144-145.

Commentary: The date indicates the late Hellenistic or early Roman periods and is based exclusively on the letter-shapes, characteristic of which are ε<sup>2</sup> and ω<sup>3</sup> (after Chaniotis 1996, 452-459). The letters are not carefully cut, and those of line 1 are smaller than the letters in line 2. The stone is broken just below line 2 and it is not at all certain that a third line was inscribed, where the dedicant's name and/or some form of the word εὐχή would usually occur (see no. 7 above). The upper part of this small altar is preserved almost intact; the inscribed surface seems to have allowed for 4-5 letters.

This miniature altar's text is very similar to a few other dedicatory inscriptions to Θεὸς Ὑψιστος of the Roman period in Crete: one from Chersonesos (*ICr* I.vii 7, Sporn 2002, 107), two from Knossos (*ICr* I.viii 18; Kritzas 1990, 7 no.1; *SEG* 41, 759; Chaniotis 1994, no. 175; Sporn 2002, 126), one from Lato (*ICr* I.xvi 24; Sporn 2002, 73), one from Sybrita (*ICr* II.xxvi 3; Sporn 2002, 249), three from Gortyn (*ICr* IV 241, 242; Rizzo 2004; Sporn 2002, 171) and one from Lappa (Tzifopoulos 2007a). None of these ten dedications is to Zeus Hypsistos, as is the case elsewhere.<sup>28</sup> Because of the distinguishing epithet ὕψιστος, however, which specifically denotes supremacy and actual worship on mountaintops, Zeus may be implied.<sup>29</sup> The best evidence – sanctuaries, statues, and inscriptions – for the cult of Zeus Hypsistos, a weather god associated with rain and storms, comes mainly from Macedonia, leading Chrysostomou to suggest that the cult originated in Macedonia, whence it spread throughout the Greco-Roman world.<sup>30</sup> As Mitchell (1999) has cogently and convincingly argued, however, Θεὸς Ὑψιστος may equally imply the Jewish or even the Christian God, not to mention the pagans who on account of their worship of Theos Hypsistos were called Hypsistarians (*Hypsistiani*) or *theosebeis*. The texts to Theos Hypsistos, which date from the Hellenistic period through to the fifth century A.D. and are found throughout the eastern Mediterranean and the Near East, defy conclusive classification as pagan, Jewish, Hypsistarian, or even (crypto-)Christian.<sup>31</sup> Religious and intellectual interaction during this period must have left its mark even on the most revered of local traditions, and influences must have been reciprocal. Theos (Zeus?) Hypsistos and his cult would not be out of place at Eleutherna, as the site is in close proximity to Mt. Ida, where another mystery cult of an Orphic-Dionysiac type thrived from the Hellenistic period until the middle of the

<sup>28</sup> Mitchell 1999, 97-110 and 128-147, with extensive bibliography and documentation for the texts; Tačeva-Hitova 1978, for Thrace and Macedonia; Chrysostomou 1989-1991, especially for Macedonia and Thessaly; and for the Bosphorus area, Ustinova 1999, 177-283.

<sup>29</sup> Verbruggen 1981, 152; Kritzas 1990, 7-8, no. 1.

<sup>30</sup> Chrysostomou 1989-1991, 64-67.

<sup>31</sup> Mitchell 1999; Ustinova 1999, 177-283. Chaniotis (2002b, 224 *et passim*; 2002c) presents cogent arguments for the interactive, confrontational relations among these religious groups at Aphrodisias.

fourth century A.D.<sup>32</sup> Whether these cults were related or not remains to be seen, but their obstinate survival must have caused the early establishment of a bishopric and the consecration of a basilica at Eleutherna.<sup>33</sup>

**9** (in situ, Pl. 9). A block of local limestone, broken on all sides, found in 1992 built into the north wall of vaulted grave no. 19, to the south of the Basilica below the floor of Temple 2. The inscribed surface has suffered weathering and in places is chipped away.

H.0.195 m, W.0.603 m, Letter height 0.055-0.09 m.

late I-II cent. A.D.

[-----]  
 [----]ΟΛ[<sup>1-2</sup>.]α πρεσβυ[<sup>5-6</sup>.]Ιε[-----]  
 3 [--- πρ]ωτ[ό]κοσμος ἐπεμελήθη[σαν<sup>2</sup>---]  
 [----]εσ αὐτῷ πολλά. ΒΗΣ<sup>ν?</sup>[-----]  
 [--- Σάτ]υρος Ἀριστέα, Χαρμάδ[ας-----]  
 6 [-----]ΕΝ[-----]Λ[-----]

Remains of Dotted Letters:

Line 2: of the omicron only the bottom left of the curve; of the lambda, alpha or mu only the lower part of the left diagonal; of the alpha only the lower part of the right diagonal.

Line 3: of the sigma only the bottom crossbar and the vertical.

Line 6: of the epsilon only the upper crossbar; of the nu only the upper left triangular part; of the lambda only the upper triangular part, which could also be an alpha.

Restorations:

Line 2: πρεσβύ[ται] *vel sim.* Chaniotis.

Line 4: if the restoration at the end of line 3 is correct and the verb is in the third person plural, then the ending [-]εσ is probably that of a participle; after ΒΗΣ there is room for a letter space on the stone, but apparently no trace of a stroke; because the surface there is weathered, it cannot be determined whether or not the space after the sigma was left unincised. Perhaps it is the beginning of a name that continued in the next line(?), hence the period after πολλά.

Commentary: The date is based on the letter-shapes, especially the sigma, and the use of the term *protokosmos*, which seldom occurs in Cretan inscriptions before the late first century A.D. (Gschnitzer 1965, 673-675). Characteristic letters are α5, β3, ε5, μ5, π7 and ω5 (after Chaniotis 1996, 452-459). The letters were inscribed with the help of guidelines.

The text cannot be restored with certainty, but what is preserved indicates either an honorific inscription by a *protokosmos*, or for someone holding that office, and a board, probably of *kosmoi* (the *presbytai*?), who successfully supervised and completed a task assigned to them in Eleutherna; this is in fact the first instance in Eleutherna of a *protokosmos*.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Tzifopoulos 1998; Gavrilaki and Tzifopoulos 1998; Tzifopoulos 2008.

<sup>33</sup> Tzifopoulos 2000, 242-243. For Christian reuse of pagan sanctuaries free of anti-pagan motives, see Foschia 2000; cf. Chaniotis (2005, 146-147), who notes that the reasons for turning pagan temples into churches are not related to the sacredness of their sites, but to their pagan and anti-Christian symbolism, from which they have to be cleansed and reconsecrated. Lalonde (2005) argues against continuity, borrowing, or contact between ancient polytheism and Christian cult and ritual.

<sup>34</sup> For this office, see Gschnitzer 1965; Rhodes and Lewis 1997, 309; Martínez-Fernández 1999; *SEG* 49, 1211.

What they supervised cannot be surmised, since the several inscriptions from Crete that record supervision, excepting those that specifically mention the board of the ἐπιμεληταὶ τοῦ ἐμπορίου in Knossos (*ICr* I.viii 6), Phaistos (*ICr* I.xxiii 1), and Gortyn (*ICr* IV 161), include a variety of tasks, for instance the (re)construction of damaged buildings, altars, or temples (*ICr* I.v 5; xvii.4B; xviii 12, 13; xxiii 4; xxv 2; II.iii 21; vi 2; III.iii 9, 10; IV 258; Chaniotis 1992, 294-296); restoration of statues (*ICr* III.ii 1); distribution of produce to the *star-toi* (*ICr* I.xviii 11); supervising the inscription and erection of a stele (*ICr* I.xvi 4A, 4B) and even the acquisition of sacrificial animals (*ICr* IV 260).

In lines 4 and following, the names of this board's members were probably inscribed; however, the size of such a board at Eleutherna is not known. Aristeas and Satyros are very common names throughout the Aegean and Asia Minor.<sup>35</sup> In Crete, Satyros is attested at Arkades and Gortyn, while Aristeas appears in Gortyn, Lappa and Soulia.<sup>36</sup> The name Charmadas is less common.<sup>37</sup> In Crete, it is attested in inscriptions dated to the Hellenistic and Roman periods from Anopolis, Itanos, and Lappa, but is recorded only once outside the island, on Karpathos.<sup>38</sup>

**10** (Inv. No. E 246, Pl. 10). Two joined fragments of a slab of local limestone, broken on all sides, found in 1992 in the apsidal Room 33 in the Early Byzantine building complex to the north of the east-west road; a horse's head looking towards the left is incised ca. 0.025 m below line 2.

Themelis 2004a, 159 no. 17; *BE* 2006, 42; *SEG* 54, 842.

H. 0.133 m, W. 0.203 m, Th. 0.109 m, Letter height 0.01-0.012 m.

ca. A.D. 100

Πόπλιος Σαβέλλιος  
Ποπλίου <υ>ἰὸς ἐποί<η>σεν.

Translation:

Publius Sabellius, the son of Publius, made (this).

Restorations:

Line 2: On the stone ΠΟΠΛΙΟΥΙΟΣΕΠΟΙΣΕΝ; the cutter omitted the second upsilon probably as a result of haplography, although he was careful to inscribe the two sigmas in line 1, and mistakenly left out the eta in the verb form.

Commentary: Although the unabbreviated form of the praenomen and the absence of the cognomen point to the first century B.C., the lettering, especially the lunate forms of the sigma and the epsilon, suggests a date in the second century A.D. The letters are carefully but not deeply cut.

*Publius Sabellius Publi filius* is not attested, though the praenomen Po(u)plios/Publius is a common name.<sup>39</sup> In Crete, the form Πόπλιος is attested at Lebena (*ICr* I.xvii 17, 18), Diktyn-

<sup>35</sup> Aristeas: *LGPN* 1, 62; 2, 52; 3.A, 56-57; Satyros: *LGPN* 1, 402-403; 2, 394-395; 3.A, 389-390.

<sup>36</sup> Satyros: *LGPN* 1, 402, nos. 5, 6 (no. 4 is a Cretan attested in Miletos); Aristeas: *LGPN* 1, 62, nos. 15, 16, 17.

<sup>37</sup> For names with the root Χαρμα-, see Bechtel 1917, 468-469.

<sup>38</sup> *LGPN* 1, 483, nos. 1, 2, 3; Karpathos, at least according to *LGPN* 1, 483, no. 4.

<sup>39</sup> See Löwy 1976; Marcadé 1953, 1957; *RE* IA.2, 1920, 1567-1568; *LGPN* 1, 382; 2, 376; 3.A, 372-373.

<sup>40</sup> Solin and Salomies 1988, 159.

naion (*ICr* II.xi 1), and Gortyn (*ICr* IV 216A, 221B), the form Πούπλιος at Hierapytna (*ICr* III.iii 726), and the abbreviated form at Chersonesos (*ICr* I.vii 20), Knossos (*ICr* I.viii 23, 30), and Lyttos (*ICr* I.xviii 142A, 142B). Σαβέλλιος is the transliteration of the attested Latin *nomen gentilicium* Sabellius.<sup>40</sup> According to the *OLD*, *Sabellus-a-um* is the “collective name for the Oscan-speaking Italic peoples, app[arently] Sabine in origin and including the Samnites, etc.,” with the masculine employed as a substantive to denote “a Sabellian.” The name appears to be that of an Italian, but “the orthography and style of filiation ... make it less likely that he is an artist from Italy working at Eleutherna,” according to Martha Baldwin Bowsky.<sup>41</sup>

Although it is not certain whether he was an artist or a craftsman, this Cretan with the Roman name *Publius Sabellius Publi filius* presents an interesting specimen: either someone else brought his work to Eleutherna or, more likely, Sabellius worked as a craftsman or artist at Eleutherna, where since the third and second centuries B.C., and apparently later as well (see no. 35 below), local workshops of artists and craftsmen must have existed, as the case of the itinerant artist from Eleutherna Timocharis indicates.<sup>42</sup>

**11** (Inv. No. E 146, Pl. 11). A dedicatory altar of local limestone, broken only at the bottom right corner and on the extreme left, found in 1990 in secondary use as building material for a Roman wall between Rooms 17 and 23 in Roman House 2 west-northwest of the Basilica. The sides of the altar are slightly curved, and its top is crowned with a protruding band 0.065 m high. The back and the base, which were not visible, are roughly worked, while the upper surface has been hollowed out.

Themelis 1991-1993, 250-252, pl. 4 fig. b; *SEG* 43, 605bis, 45, 1263. Themelis 2002b, 20, fig. 8; *SEG* 52, 851. Themelis 2004a, 158 no. 16.

H. 0.385 m (inscribed surface 0.185 m), W. 0.190 m (inscribed surface 0.180 m), Th. 0.145 m, Letter height 0.019-0.032 m.

29 B.C.- A.D. 14



3

Καίσαρι  
Θεῶι  
Θεοῦ  
υἱῶι Σε-  
βαστῶι.

<sup>41</sup> Baldwin Bowsky 1999, 326, *SEG* 49, 1207.

<sup>42</sup> Löwy 1976, 136-140, nos. 166-173.

## Translation:

To the Divine Caesar Augustus, the son of the (a) god.

Commentary: The years 29 B.C. and A.D. 14 represent the *termini post* and *ante quem*, the years of Augustus' acclamation as god in the East and the year of his death respectively, although the possibility of a date after A.D. 14 should not be excluded.<sup>43</sup> The text was laid out with the aid of guidelines, and between the lines two additional vertical guidelines are cut, one for the end of each line and the other for the beginning of the next. The letters are inscribed on the upper part of the line-space, so that they appear to be hanging; while the cutter utilized all the available space on the stone, he left the space after the words in the first three lines uninscribed. The strokes, very carefully cut, end in triangular apices. Characteristic letter-shapes are the broken-bar alpha, the very large rectangular sigma and epsilon, and the theta, omicron, and omega, in all of whose centers survives the mark of the compass (in the case of the theta, it is also its middle dot); especially in line 3, although the center of the omicron shows minor damage, the theta and the omicron seem to be distinguished only by their placement in the word, not by their shape.

This inscribed altar may have stood in a Sebasteion nearby, or in the late Hellenistic sanctuary that was in use until it was destroyed for some unknown reason and its materials used for the building of the Roman House and its adjacent structures.<sup>44</sup> The Roman imperial cult, especially in the East, was a fairly early institution that at least in Asia Minor thrived until the middle of the third century A.D., as Simon Price's invaluable study has shown.<sup>45</sup> Although the text of this inscription may appear inconclusive as regards its dedicatee, since the titles "Caesar," "Augustus," and "Divine" may refer to either Augustus or Tiberius, Augustus is nevertheless the most likely candidate, and the evidence corroborates such an identification.<sup>46</sup>

As Benjamin and Raubitschek have suggested, the expression θεοῦ υἱός is purposefully ambiguous in Greek, as it may be understood as "the son of (the) god," meaning Caesar or Augustus, or "the son of a god," one of the divinities of the Olympic pantheon, although the former would be the expected translation.<sup>47</sup> But, as Suetonius relates especially for Tiberius' titles (Suet. *Tib.* 26.2; cf. Cass. Dio 57.2):

*praenomen quoque imperatoris cognomenque patris patriae et ciuicam in uestibulo coronam recusauit; ac ne Augusti quidem nomen, quanquam hereditarium, nullis nisi ad reges ac dynastas epistulis addidit.*

This piece of information holds true as far as Crete is concerned. Apart from Eleutherna, only two inscriptions survive for Tiberius in which the praenomen αὐτοκράτωρ /*imperator* does not occur, and σεβαστός /*augustus* is found in one of them (*ICr* I.vii 8, from Chersonesos: Τιβ. Καίσαρα ἡ / πόλις; *ICr* I.xxii 12, from Olous: Τε[βέρι]ον Καίσαρα Σεβα[σ] / τοῦ υἱὸν Σεβαστὸ[ν] ἃ πόλις κ.λπ.).

For Augustus, four inscriptions survive, of which two contain the praenomen αὐτοκράτωρ /*imperator* and all four the title σεβαστός /*augustus*: *ICr* I.xvi 36 from Lato,

<sup>43</sup> Kienast 1990, 61-68.

<sup>44</sup> Themelis 1991-1993, 252, Themelis 2002b, 20, 44, 48. For the difficulty of identifying places of imperial worship in municipal contexts, see Witschel 2002.

<sup>45</sup> Price 1984, 59, 156-162 *et passim* (for altars).

<sup>46</sup> For Tiberius and Crete, see van Effenterre 1990. Augustus: Kneissl 1969, 27-33; Kienast 1990, 61-68, 76-79.

<sup>47</sup> Benjamin and Raubitschek 1959, 71.

Αὐτοκράτορα / Καίσαρα Θεο<ῦ> / υἰὸν Σεβαστὸν / Λατίων / ἅ πόλις; *ICr* II.xvi 12 from Lappa, Σεβασ[τῶι] / Καίσα[ρι θεῶι];<sup>48</sup> *ICr* II.xxiii 12B from Polyrhena, ἅ πόλις / Αὐτοκράτορα καίσαρα Θεο<ῦ> υἰὸν / Σεβαστόν; and Chaniotis and Preuss 1990, 200 no. 16 from Knossos, [C]aesari / Augusto. The imperial nomenclature is known to have been established and fixed by 27 B.C.; from then on Octavian consistently employed the names *Imperator Caesar Divi (Iulii) filius Augustus*, to which *divus* was added officially after his deification in Rome.<sup>49</sup> In the eastern provinces, however, he had already granted permission to acclaim him as *deus* and worship him together with *dea Roma* as early as 29 B.C., which was extended to Gaul from 13 B.C. (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> 4.3 215 [p. 164]; *RE* Suppl. 4, 820-832).

What distinguishes the first two emperors, then, is the use of the titles *imperator* / αὐτοκράτωρ, and of *divus* / θεός, which Augustus preferred but Tiberius, according to Suetonius and Dio, refused to accept. This distinction appears to continue even later, as a Latin inscription on an obelisk, dedicated by Caligula to both Augustus and Tiberius, indicates (*ILS* 115):

*Divo Caesari Divi Iulii f. Augusto*  
*Ti. Caesari Divi Augusti f. Augusto*  
*sacrum.*

Of the three imperial inscriptions from Eleutherna published by Guarducci, two are dedications to Augustus and Tiberius. Tiberius' dedication uses language similar to the inscription from Olous quoted above, although the text may not necessarily be complete and may have continued on the left: Τιβέριον Ἰούλιον / Σεβαστοῦ υἰὸν (*ICr* II.xii 27). Augustus' dedication (*ICr* II.xii 28), which Themelis (1991-1993, 250-252) rightly associated with the new text, reads:

Θεῶι  
 Σεβασ-  
 3 τῶι Κα[ι]-  
 σαρι.

This text, Guarducci explained, apparently refers to Augustus after his deification on September 17 of A.D. 14. It should be pointed out, however, that the title *imperator*/αὐτοκράτωρ is not used here and that this dedication need not be dated after Augustus' official deification in Rome. The new inscription from Eleutherna employs almost the same language with the addition of the divine father of the dedicatee again without the imperial title, and it is plausible that it may also have been a dedication to the deified Augustus *vivo*, or *defuncto* in the first years of Tiberius' reign.

Inscriptions on altars employ either the genitive case ("the altar of or belonging to so-and-so"), or the dative ("the altar for or in honor of so-and-so").<sup>50</sup> In addition, there is usually no clause specifying the city or group that dedicated the altar. Interestingly, of the three altars from Crete included in Benjamin and Raubitschek's checklist, one is from Eleutherna (*ICr* II.xii 28, quoted above), another from Lappa (*ICr* II.xvi 12, quoted above), the city which Augustus set free together with Kydonia, and the third from Gortyn, the Roman capital of

<sup>48</sup> Guarducci (*ICr* II.xvi 12) read Σεβασ[τὸς] / Καῖσα[ρ], but Benjamin and Raubitschek (1959, 75 no. 47) correctly suggested a restoration either in the dative or the genitive, with the addition in line 2 of θεῶι/θεοῦ.

<sup>49</sup> Kienast 1990, 63, 65.

<sup>50</sup> Benjamin and Raubitschek 1959, 65-75.

the island (*ICr* IV 268: *Caesa[ri] / D(ivi) f(ilio) / Augusto*; cf. *ICr* IV 295, a Latin inscription honoring a priest of Augustus).<sup>51</sup> The evidence is not overwhelming, but these few altars clearly signal the ruler cult of Augustus and later emperors, particularly in these three cities. That cult may have been local, or may betoken the concerted Panhellenic efforts of Augustus after Actium to establish a cult, a festival, and perhaps games, but especially sacrifices to be offered on these very altars dedicated to him, perhaps honoring his birthday on a monthly or yearly basis, as a decree from Athens shows (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1071).<sup>52</sup>

This new inscribed altar, the second one for Augustus, brings the total of imperial dedications in Eleutherna to seven: in addition to the Augustus and Tiberius dedications mentioned above, we have the dedication to Septimius Severus and Caracalla (*ICr* II.xii.29) and the three dedications for Trajan, Hadrian and Augustus (nos. 11, 12, and 13 below). These imperial inscriptions, three of them altars, indicate firstly the importance of Eleutherna and the special imperial attention this city received – attention otherwise reserved only to Gortyn, Hierapytna and Lyttos, according to the Cretan epigraphical record – and secondly the early date of the imperial cult’s establishment at Eleutherna (see also nos. 12, 13, 14 and 15 below).

**12** (Inv. No. E 74, Pl. 12). A cylindrical Ionic base of local limestone, found in 1996 on the east-west road in front of the entrance of Room 37 of the Roman public building. Over half of it is preserved, as two joining fragments of it have been recovered; its top is crowned by a cymation, the greater part of it missing.

Themelis 2002b, 48, pl. 40; *SEG* 52, 854.

H. 0.77 m, Diameter 0.39 m, Circumference 1.065 m, Letter height 0.027-0.035 m.

A.D. 102-116

Αὐτοκράτορι <sup>hedera</sup>  
 Νέρβα Τραϊανῶ <sup>hedera</sup>  
 3 Καίσαρι Σεβαστῶ <sup>hedera</sup>  
 Γερμανικῶ Δακικῶ. <sup>hedera</sup>

Translation:

To the Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus Dacicus.

Commentary: The date indicates the *termini post* and *ante quem* for this dedication, as Trajan was acclaimed Dacicus for his first triumph over the Dacians in late 102 (he finally annexed their territory in A.D. 107) and was proclaimed Parthicus 20 or 21 February 116.<sup>53</sup> The text is laid out below the cymation and covers almost half of the altar’s circumference. Although guidelines were cut that run all around, except for line 1, the cutter did not follow them; in line 2 the crossbar of the omega is cut below the guideline, and in lines 3 and 4 the lower one-third and the lower half of the letters respectively are inscribed below the guideline. The letter-shapes are elongated and gradually become smaller, with some of the strokes ending in triangular apices. Characteristic letters are the broken-bar alpha, the mu

<sup>51</sup> Benjamin and Raubitschek 1959, 75, nos. 46-48.

<sup>52</sup> Panhellenic efforts: Benjamin and Raubitschek 1959, 73-75; for sacrifices, cf. Price 1984, 207-233. On the ritual praxis of the imperial cult, see Chaniotis 2003; Stevenson 1996 offers an assessment of interpretations of Greco-Roman religion.

<sup>53</sup> Kienast 1990, 122-4; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> 3.2, 464-5 no. 575; Kneissl 1969, 70-84.



with slightly slanting outside verticals and inside verticals of equal height, and the two different shapes of omega (end of line 3 and perhaps the first omega in line 4, with a horizontal line below the circle whose ends curl inside; the other omega shape with a similar opening at the bottom and with ends curling inside the circle but below each end two small crossbars connected with two small verticals). This cutter is consistent in not using the iota adscript for the dative case and transliterates the Latin *u* in Nerua with β, not with -ου- as in no. 13 below. At the end of each line, ivy-leaves are inscribed so close to the last letter as to be almost attached to it.

This is the first instance of a dedication for Trajan in Eleutherna (for the imperial inscriptions of Eleutherna, see the discussion of no. 11 above and nos. 13, 14, and 15 below). The text stops after the two titles Trajan won due to his military successes against the German tribes in November 97 and the Dacians in late 102 and 107.<sup>54</sup> Several inscriptions in Crete were set up for or refer to Trajan, a fact that may at least imply that emperor's attention to the island, if not a personal visit by Trajan himself on his way to Syria and Palestine.<sup>55</sup> Most of these inscriptions (20) come from Lyttos (*ICr* I.xviii 17-19, 21-34, 37-39), with one from each of the following cities: Gortyn (*ICr* IV 331), Arkades (*ICr* I.v 9), Chersonesos (*ICr* I.vii 29), Kantanos (*ICr* II.vi 2), and Phoinix (*ICr* II.xx 7). Interestingly, none of these texts records the titles *optimus*, voted to him by the Senate in A.D. 114 and incorporated into his titlature, and *Parthicus*, voted in A.D. 116.<sup>56</sup> Another significant absence in this text is the title *divus*, which Trajan avoided employing in his titlature, however, perhaps because of the excesses of Domitian, who called himself *dominus* and *divus*.<sup>57</sup> Trajan nevertheless deified both his natural and adoptive fathers as well as his sister Marciana, and his arch at Beneventum powerfully demonstrates his views on deification.<sup>58</sup>

In many of these texts, Trajan's titlature also includes his tribunician power, his consulships, his priesthood as *pontifex maximus*, and at Lyttos the title *pater patriae*, as well as one title, κτίστης τῆς οἰκουμένης, that appears to be specific to him because of the many building constructions and repairs he funded and supported, the most famous in Crete being Gortyn's Odeion.<sup>59</sup> All of these, however, are private or public honorific inscriptions. Even in Athens, where a great number of imperial inscriptions have survived, only two are for Trajan (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 3284, 3285); he apparently did not attract or made no effort to attract more widespread and numerous dedications in the manner of Augustus and Hadrian.

**13** (Inv. No. E 231, Pl. 13). A block from a statue base of local limestone, smooth on all sides except the back, found in 1994 built into a wall near the southernmost enclosure of the site. The edges are chipped away and a small fragment is missing from the top; the inscribed surface is weathered in places.

Themelis 1994-1996, 281 no. 8, pl. 18 b; *SEG* 45, 1264. Themelis 2002b, 44, pl. 35; *SEG* 52, 851. Themelis 2004a, 159 no. 18.

<sup>54</sup> Plin. *Pan.* 9.2; Kienast 1990, 122-124; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> 3.2, 464-465 no. 575; Kneissl 1969, 58-74; Bennett 1997, 48, 85-96.

<sup>55</sup> Harrison 1993, 222-244 (imperial attention); Halfmann 1986, 38-40, 184-188 (visit); Højte 2000.

<sup>56</sup> Kienast 1990, 123; Bennett 1997, 104-117, 183-204. *Parthicus* has been partially restored in only one Latin inscription, *ICr* IV 274, a dedication for Hadrian.

<sup>57</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> 3.2, 464-465 no. 575; Kneissl 1969, 84-90; den Boer 1975.

<sup>58</sup> Bennett 1997, 205-209.

<sup>59</sup> *ICr* IV 331; see further Bennett 1997, 138-160 (construction project in Rome), 161-182 (provinces of Dacia and Arabia); MacMullen 1959. κτίστης τῆς οἰκουμένης was also accorded to Trajan's successor Hadrian: Follet 1992.

H. 0.565 m, W. 0.71 m, Th. 0.25 m, Letter height 0.035-0.06 m (except for the last omicron in line 2 which is only 0.017 m, to fit the last syllable into the space).

August 117/118 A.D.

3            Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι  
               Θεοῦ Νέρουα Τραϊανοῦ  
 6            υἱῶι, Θεοῦ Νέρουα υἱῶ-  
               νῶι, Τραϊανῶι Ἀδριανῶ[ι]  
               Σεβαστῶι, ἀρχιερεῖ  
 9            μεγίστωι, δημαρχι-  
               κῆς ἐξουσίας, ὑπάτωι  
               τὸ β', πατρι πατρίδος  
               ἡ Ἐλευθερναίων  
               πόλις.

Translation:

To the Emperor Caesar, son of the divine Nerva Trajan, grandson of the divine Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, (exercising) tribunician power, consul for the second time, *pater patriae*, the city of Eleutherna (dedicated this statue).

Remains of Dotted Letters: in line 1 of the iota only a trace of the middle part of a vertical stroke.

Commentary: The date is the year of Hadrian's second consulship (lines 7-8), from 11 August 117, when he became emperor and *consul designatus* for the next year, to 30(?) July 118.<sup>60</sup> The text has been laid out carefully with the use of guidelines on which the bottoms of the letters rest. The difference in height is due to the cutter's care in fitting the text into the available space. For example, in line 7 the height of the letters is considerably less than in line 8, where the letters grow to cover the entire space from one end of the stone to the other, while he crams the letters together in lines 4-7, where some of the strokes join with those of the letters in the adjacent lines. At the beginning of lines 9 and 10, where the formula containing the dedicant's name is inscribed, the cutter indented by one and five letter spaces respectively. At the end of lines 5 and 6 he leaves one and two empty spaces, so as not to divide the words awkwardly. In line 8 a superscript line that extends to the left and the right letter space is inscribed above the number β.

The lettering is typical of the Hadrianic period. All the strokes end in conspicuous triangular apices, are cut deeply and with the widest possible contours, and some preserve traces of red color. In addition to the broken-bar alpha, characteristic letters are the epsilon with the top and bottom crossbars extending to the left of the vertical and the middle being half their size; the pi with slightly slanting verticals of equal size and overhanging crossbar; and the two shapes of omega that resemble those of the cutter of no. 11 above. The first omega in line 4 and the one in line 7 lack the bottom crossbar (in line 4 perhaps for lack of space) and the circle's ends curl inside and join like a bow-tie; the other omega's shape has a crossbar cut on the guideline and the circle's ends curl inside without necessarily joining like a bow-tie.

<sup>60</sup> Chaniotis, *SEG* 45, 1264; Kienast 1990, 128-130. See also *PIR*<sup>2</sup> 1, 28-31 no. 184; Kneissl 1969, 91-96.

This is the first instance of a dedication for Hadrian at Eleutherna, and a very early one at that.<sup>61</sup> In Crete, dedications to Hadrian are attested, but all date from A.D. 119 onwards: eight at Lyttos (*ICr* I.xviii 40-44, plus three new ones published in Chaniotis and Rethemiotakis 1992; see also Chaniotis 1986), one in Rhytion (*ICr* I.xxix 1), two(?) in Diktyннаion (*ICr* II.xi 5(?), 6), one in Lappa (*ICr* II.xvi 13), one in Viran Episkopi (*SEG* 23, 581 and Tzifopoulos 2004b) and two in Gortyn (*ICr* IV 275, 276). Throughout the Roman Empire, only eight inscriptions that mention Hadrian can be dated to the year A.D. 117/8.<sup>62</sup> Even in Athens, where a great number of Hadrianic inscriptions has survived, only one inscription is dated prior to Hadrian's *dies imperii* on August 11, A.D. 117 and his visits to the East in A.D. 123 and 128: the honorary inscription by the Areopagos, the 600-member Boule, and the demos for Hadrian's archonship in A.D. 112/3 that lists his complete *cursus honorum* in Latin (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 3286).

The Eleutherna dedication for Hadrian displays the normal imperial titulature, but none of the military titles – Germanicus, Dacicus, Parthicus, or even *optimus* – that Hadrian possessed upon becoming emperor.<sup>63</sup> Instead, the title *pontifex maximus*, his tribunician power, and his second consulship are inscribed, as well as the intriguing title *pater patriae* that, according to the sources, Hadrian employed publicly from A.D. 128, a statement rightly suspected on numismatic and epigraphical grounds; the Eleutherna inscription is only the third earliest attestation for its use.<sup>64</sup>

This inscription is one of the very few (nine in all) early dedications to Hadrian, who was proclaimed emperor by the troops in Antioch where he was governor of Syria when the news of Trajan's death reached him in August 117. Although he did not arrive at Rome until 9 July, A.D. 118, it is rather unlikely that Hadrian visited Crete on his way back to Rome from Syria.<sup>65</sup> As Højte has recently suggested after comparing the inscriptions on statue bases of the emperors Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius, an inscribed statue base of an emperor is by no means a secure indication of an imperial visit; other factors, such as imperial policy and benefactions towards a given province, should also be taken into account for a dedication of this type. Hadrian's attention to the provinces, motivated primarily by military and political reasons, followed in the tradition of Trajan, only more intensely, as his trips testify.<sup>66</sup> Particularly in Crete, the two Hadrianic milestones from Rhodopou and Viran Episkopi attest to the construction of a road funded by Diktyнна's treasury, in all likelihood in order to connect the Diktyннаion with Gortyn via Eleutherna and Sybrita.<sup>67</sup> Imperial interest in this north-south transit corridor from Eleutherna via Sybrita to Gortyn dates back to Domitian's reign, however, as Baldwin Bowsky has convincingly argued in her publication of a dedication of a temple of Hermes at Sybrita during the tenure of a known Domitianic proconsul.<sup>68</sup>

Although this is not conclusive evidence, the probability that Hadrian did visit the island does appear less remote. Several decades ago, Beschi discussed Hadrian's interest in Crete

<sup>61</sup> For other imperial dedications, see the discussion in nos. 11 and 12 above, and nos. 14 and 15 below; and Harrison 1993, 222-244.

<sup>62</sup> Kneissl 1969, 93 with nn. 11 and 12; Højte 2000, 228-229, 233.

<sup>63</sup> Kneissl 1969, 91-96; Kienast 1990, 128-131.

<sup>64</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> 1, 30; Kneissl 1969, 92-93 with nn. 9 and 10; Kienast 1990, 129.

<sup>65</sup> Halfmann 1986, 40-50, 188-195; Højte 2000, 234-235.

<sup>66</sup> den Boer 1955; MacMullen 1959; den Boer 1975; Follet 1992; Birley 1997, 123-141, 152-161, 219-234, 254-258.

<sup>67</sup> Tzifopoulos 2004b; Baldwin Bowsky 2001 (*SEG* 51, 1180) and 2006a; Baldwin Bowsky and Niniou-Kindeli 2006.

<sup>68</sup> Baldwin Bowsky 2001.

and possible visit in 122/3, which Halfmann ruled out for lack of sufficient evidence.<sup>69</sup> More recently, Birley considered Hadrian's visit to Crete before June 123 to be probable, while Dräger, although accepting Halfmann's reconstruction of Hadrian's itinerary through the provinces for the years 117-118 and 128-132, argued that his reconstruction of the years 121-125 needed several modifications, among them the chronology of Hadrian's visit to Crete in 125.<sup>70</sup> Be that as it may, the dedication to Hadrian strongly suggests that the city of Eleutherna reacted quickly and with goodwill not because of an upcoming or potential visit by the new emperor, but in order to win imperial favor, or perhaps to ensure that the favor already shown by Trajan would continue under his successor.

**14** (in situ, Pl. 14). An Ionic base of local limestone, 0.775 m in diameter, with a single concave molding found in 1992 in Room III, the southernmost division of the long hall adjoining the southern wall of the Basilica's narthex, which in its last phase (sixth/seventh century A.D.) was used as a dwelling. The base's top is broken and its bottom has been hollowed out (diameter 0.47 m, depth 0.18 m). On the hollowed-out surface, a millstone was also found, indicative of the base's secondary use. This base is preserved in good condition, although chipped away at the edges. The letters were inscribed on the concave molding, probably while the base was in its original position before it was turned into a millstone, perhaps during the Byzantine period. Themelis 1991-1993, 253, fig. 5; Themelis 1994-1996, 274-275, fig. 7.

H. 0.19 m (inscribed surface 0.05 m), circumference: 2.05 m, Letter height 0.01-0.005 m.  
29 B.C. - A.D. 14

vacat Imperatori Caesari vacat  
vacat Imperato[ri Caesari?].

Translation:

To the Emperor Caesar.

Commentary: Augustus employed the name *Imperator Caesar Divi Filius* since late in 40 B.C., but it is rather improbable that this inscription could date from before the victory at Actium (see also no. 11 above).<sup>71</sup> The letters are carefully scratched with very thin strokes. Below line 1 the same words seem to have been cut again, only in smaller but similarly shaped letters. Characteristic letter-shapes are the M with all four strokes slanting and the middle ones longer and the R with a long vertical and the diagonal below the loop, which is not completely closed, extending below the vertical.

This graffito seems to be the first Latin inscription from Eleutherna (see also nos. 25 and 37 below, which may also be Latin inscriptions).<sup>72</sup> The graffito's two words can refer to none other than Augustus, since the spaces before and after the two words have been left vacant. What is interesting, in light of the discussions of no. 11 above and no. 15 below, is that the text, inscribed on the molding of an Ionic base before it was reversed and hollowed out, is in the dative case and therefore the base must have been used originally in Eleutherna's Sebasteion.

<sup>69</sup> Beschi 1974, 219-226, esp. 219-220; see also Harrison 1993, 239. Halfmann 1986, 197.

<sup>70</sup> For Birley's view, see Halfmann 1986, 153. Reconstructed itinerary in Halfmann (1986, 40-50, 188-195) critiqued by Dräger (2000). See also Højte 2000, 234-235.

<sup>71</sup> *divi filius*: Kienast 1990, 61-62.

<sup>72</sup> For another Latin text, perhaps from Eleutherna, see Tzifopoulos 2007b, no. 1. Latin as the language of political communication in the eastern provinces: Eck 2000. Bilingualism and acculturation in Roman Crete: Baldwin Bowsky 2002b and 2004; SEG 52, 826.

**15** (in situ, Pl. 15). A stele of local limestone, found in 1993 built into the doorway of the southern aisle of the Basilica as a threshold. It is broken on top and its surface is very worn. Themelis 1994-1996, 272-273; *SEG* 45, 1262; Themelis 2002b, 92-93, fig. 108; *SEG* 52, 853. H. 0.93 m, W. 0.62 m, Th. 0.165 m, Letter height 0.052-0.055 m. late I - II cent. A.D.

[-----]  
 [. . .] κρον φιλοκαί-  
 3 σαρα καὶ φιλόδημον  
 [κ]αὶ πρῶτον ἐκ τῶν ..  
 [-----]

Remains of Dotted Letters:

Line 2: of the kappa only the lower one third of a vertical and a slight trace of the lower part of a diagonal; of the rho only the lower half of a vertical stroke that may also be a tau, but not an iota, because there is a large empty space before the next letter; of the iota only the lower half of a vertical stroke.

Line 3: of the nu only the upper left of the vertical and the diagonal, which could also be mu.

Line 4: of the nu only the upper left part of a vertical stroke.

Restorations:

Line 2: most probably the name of the person honored; the ending and the preceding letter space may suggest, for example, the following names already attested in Crete: [Βάλα]κρον, [Φάλα]κρον.<sup>73</sup>

Commentary: The epithet φιλοκαῖσαρ (see the discussion below) and the lettering, which is carefully and deeply cut, suggest the late first or second centuries A.D. (cf. nos. 11, 12, 13 above). All the strokes end in triangular apices and the letter-shapes are elongated. In addition to the broken-bar alpha, characteristic letters are the delta with its crossbar overextended; the eta with small middle crossbar that does not join the verticals; the pi with verticals of equal size and the crossbar overextended; and the phi with two ovoid semi-circles that do not join the vertical.

This honorific inscription for a private individual, although fragmentary, preserves a unique combination of the titles φιλοκαῖσαρ and φιλόδημος; Φιλόδημος is a common name around the Aegean and attested in Crete, but in this case it seems to be an epithet characterizing the person honored.<sup>74</sup> Φιλοκαῖσαρ, “someone well-disposed towards the Caesar(-s),” was employed by and for persons associated in some way with the imperial cult, for example as priests or high priests (a priest of Augustus is honored in a Latin inscription from Gortyn: *ICr* IV 295), officials, supporters, and building contractors. Although φιλοκαῖσαρ is attested in numerous inscriptions throughout the eastern provinces, this is its first appearance in Crete and, furthermore, nowhere else is it found coupled with φιλόδημος, “a person well-disposed towards the demos,” as Chryssoula Veligianni has shown in her study of these epithets; instead, other epithets accompany the title of φιλοκαῖσαρ, such as φιλόπατρις, φιλορωμαῖος, φιλοσέβαστος, and the like.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>73</sup> For the ending, cf. Dornseiff and Hansen 1978, 281. Names ending in - κρον: *LGPN* 1, 99, 453; Pape-Benseler 1959, 194 and 1595; Bechtel 1917, 437. See also *LGPN* 2, 86, 440; 3.A, 88, 443.

<sup>74</sup> Φιλόδημος: *LGPN* 1, 465.

<sup>75</sup> Veligianni 2001.

This fragmentary text is the first evidence that an important citizen of Eleutherna was associated with the imperial cult in some way, as the three Roman inscriptions indicate (nos. 11, 12, 13, and 14 above), and the first instance of honors for a φιλοκαῖσαρ and φιλόδημος in Crete.

**16** (Inv. No. E 78, Pl. 16). Fragment of local limestone from the cornice of the western pier in the aula of the monumental Hellenistic bath complex. Only the left and bottom sides are preserved, and the letters are inscribed deeply with the help of guidelines 0.045 m in height. Themelis 2004a, 65 fig. 27.

H. 0.59 m, W. 0.33 m, Th. 0.14 m, Letter height 0.045 m.

post A.D. 54

3 [- - - - -]  
 !!v![- - - - -]  
 Κλαυ[διο - -]  
 [- - - - -]

Remains of Dotted Letters:

Line 2: the lower half of a vertical; the lower part of a vertical; the lower tip of a vertical (or horizontal). Themelis read: ΥΓ.[- -] and tentatively suggested ὑγε[ῖα], or the beginning of a name.

Commentary: The dating, after A.D. 54, indicates that the name is either that of the emperor Claudius or, more probably, of an Eleuthernian by that name who, according to the excavator, covered the expenses for repairs in the Large Bath.<sup>76</sup>

**17** (house of Mr. K. Zacharakis, Pl. 17). A fragment of local limestone, broken at the top and on the left side and chipped away along the right edge, found in 1987 by Mr. Kostas Zacharakis ca. 150 m south of the excavation area, where the church of Agia Irini once stood. The inscribed surface has suffered minor damage, especially in the center and the right edge; the back is smoothed.

H. 0.59 m, W. 0.33 m, Th. 0.14 m, Letter height 0.04-0.06 m.

I-II cent. A.D.



5 [- - - - -]  
 [- - - - -] ούλιον  
 [- - - - -] ου υιόν  
 [- - - - -] ος • ΑΓΙΠ-  
 [- - - - -] υσας ἐκ τ-  
 [ὦν - - -] νημάτων  
 [- - - - -] τερον.<sup>vacat</sup>  
 vacat

<sup>76</sup> For Claudii in Crete, see Baldwin Bowsky 2002a, 2002b (SEG 52, 826), 2006b and 2006c.

## Remains of Dotted Letters:

Line 2: of the omicron only the lower left curve.

Line 4: of the pi only the extreme left part of an upper crossbar, which can also be a gamma, an epsilon or a tau.

Line 5: the tau is certain; in addition to the left part of the upper crossbar, a trace of the lower part of the vertical is clearly visible on the stone and the squeeze.

Line 6: of the first nu only the upper two thirds of the right vertical; of the second nu only the left vertical.

## Restorations:

Line 2: the name [- 'I]ούλιον is not certain; a name ending in -ουλιον need not be Roman (Dornseiff and Hansen 1978, 236).

Line 3: the father's name in the genitive.

Line 4: the name of the dedicant in the nominative, and after the punctuation perhaps his cognomen Ἄγιπ/[πος], a name attested on Kalymnos (*LGPN* 1, 11), in Lakonia and Messenia and on Zakynthos (*LGPN* 3.A, 12), and at Megara (*LGPN* 3.B, 10) and Delphi (*FdD* III.1 156).

Line 5-6: perhaps [ἀρχιερατε-, (or even θ), or ερατε]ύσας ἐκ τ/[ῶν ιδίων δαπα<sup>2</sup>]νημάτων; the noun, although fairly common, does not appear in the epigraphical corpus of Crete.

Line 7: perhaps [πρό]τερον, or more probably [τὸ δεύ]τερον.

Commentary: The date is based on line 2, where the letters that survive suggest the ending of a *nomen gentile*, and on the lettering, which points to the imperial period. No key words are preserved that would help in categorizing this fragmentary text, but the accusatives in lines 2-3 and the nominatives in lines 4-5 indicate a honorific inscription. The letters are carefully and deeply cut in the space between the guidelines, ca. 0.07 m in height, which the cutter employed for inscribing the text, except for the last two lines (6-7). The cutter also used interpuncts, as is suggested by line 4, where a triangular shaped dot has been cut after the sigma, in the middle of the letter space. All the strokes end in conspicuous triangular apices. In addition to the broken-bar alpha with its diagonal projecting past the top, characteristic letters are the epsilon with the top crossbar longer than the bottom and the middle stroke half their length; the eta with short middle crossbar that does not join with the verticals; the kappa with its two diagonals half the length of the vertical; the mu with the two slanting verticals; the omicron smaller in size and cut in the upper two-thirds of the letter space; the sigma with long crossbars and upper diagonal overextended; the tau with the crossbar of equal size to the vertical; and the omega with its oblong shape ending in two small crossbars.

**18** (Inv. No. M 2487, Pl. 18). A very small thin fragment of bronze, found in 1992 in the east-west road to the west of the Basilica in very good condition, but from what kind of object it may have come cannot be determined.

H. 0.015 m, W. 0.033 m, Th. 0.003 m, Letter height 0.004-0.006 m.  
late IV-II cent. B.C.



3  
[-----]![- -]  
[- -]ONHT![- -]  
[-----]![- -]

Remains of Dotted Letters:

Line 1: there is a trace of a stroke above the eta of line 2; of the vertical only the lower part.

Line 2: of the vertical only its lower half.

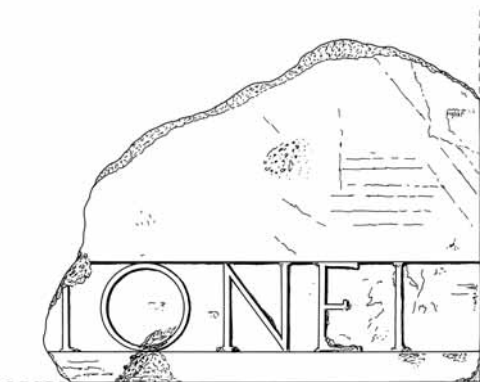
Line 3: of the vertical only the upper tip.

Commentary: The lettering indicates the Hellenistic period. The cutter utilized double guide-lines (interlinear space ca. 0.002-0.003 m high) above and below the letters which he cut very carefully. Characteristic shapes of the preserved letters are the eta with overextended right vertical and central crossbar slanting slightly to the right; the nu with its right vertical smaller than the left and the diagonal in the middle projecting past the left vertical; and the tau with vertical and crossbar of almost equal length. In line 2, as Matthaiou has suggested, perhaps [- -] Ὀνήτη[- -] should be read, a name attested in Euboeia.<sup>77</sup>

**19** (Inv. No. E 149, Pl. 19). A fragment of local limestone, found in the Basilica in 1990; the right and bottom edges are preserved.

Themelis 1991-1993, 256, fig. 4g; *SEG* 45, 1260.

H. 0.12 m, W. 0.164 m, Th. 0.066 m, Letter height 0.034-0.037 m.  
I cent. B.C. - II cent. A.D.



*vacat*<sup>2</sup>  
[- - -]!ONEI.<sup>v</sup>

<sup>77</sup> Bechtel 1917, 349; *LGPV* 1, 352.



Remains of Dotted Letters: of the vertical only the extreme upper part is missing.

Commentary: The lettering points to the late Hellenistic or Roman periods. The cutter utilized guidelines on which the letter strokes end (except for the upper curve of the omicron); the verticals end in apices. Characteristic shapes of the preserved letters are the elongated epsilon with upper crossbar overhanging on the left; and the nu with slightly curved verticals. It is not certain that the entire space above line 2 was empty, hence the question mark. The preserved line was apparently the last one, as the bottom edge of the stone seems to be original.

**20** (Inv. No. E 151, Pl. 20). The upper right corner of a small pillar of local limestone, found in 1991 in Room 23 of Roman House 2, crowned with a band of curved and convex cymatia 0.062 m in height.

H. 0.145 m, W. 0.088 m, Th. 0.125 m, Letter height 0.019 m.

II cent. B.C. - II cent. A.D.



3

*vacat?* ca. 0.045 m

[---]ΥΠΝ

[-----]

Remains of Dotted Letters: of the upsilon only the upper right diagonal is legible; the letter could also be a chi.

Commentary: The lettering points to the late Hellenistic or Roman periods. Two guidelines were cut: one of them is in the empty space, while the other has the upper ends of the three preserved letters cut along it. Characteristics of the two preserved letters are the pi's almost rectangular shape, and the nu's diagonal, which does not join with the vertical. It is not certain that the entire space above line 2, 0.045 m in height, was empty, as the guideline that has been cut may indicate the presence of letters on the missing left part.

**21** (Inv. No. E 153, Pl. 21). A fragment of local limestone, broken on all sides, found in the area immediately to the south of the Basilica in 1993; only a small part of the bottom middle surface, which has been smoothed, is preserved.

Themelis 1994-1996, 280-281, no. 7; *SEG* 45, 1261.

H. 0.17 m, W. 0.17 m, Th. 0.109 m, Letter height 0.04-0.042 m.

II cent. B.C. - II cent. A.D.



3  
 [- - - - -]  
 [- - -]NI[- - -]  
 [- - -]EKN[- - -]  
 vacat?

Remains of Dotted Letters: of the vertical, the squeeze shows a very clear trace of its lower part which coincides with the surface break.

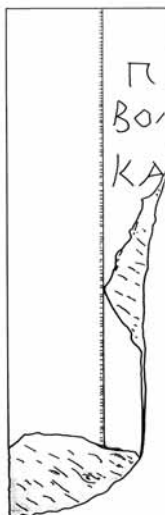
Commentary: The lettering points to the late Hellenistic or Roman periods. The letters are elegant, reminiscent of monumental imperial inscriptions, and the strokes are deeply cut (ca. 0.004 m in width) and end in conspicuous triangular apices. The vacant space between lines 2 and 3 is ca. 0.015 m. Line 4 was left uninscribed in the part that is preserved, but some letters may have been inscribed to the left on the part now missing. In line 3, Themelis proposed ἐκ ν[-] by way of example; the epsilon very probably began a new word, as the preserved empty space before that letter is ca. 0.025 m, whereas the distance between the preserved letters is less than 0.01 m, which may indicate a punctuation mark or uninscribed letter space (the width of the letters is 0.025-0.03 m).

**22** (Inv. No. E 230, Pl. 22). A very small fragment of a capital of local limestone with Lesbian cymation, broken at the right and the bottom, found in the area to the south of the Hellenistic sanctuary in 1994. The inscribed surface is smoothed.

Themelis 1994-1996, 280-281.

H. 0.145 m, W. 0.045 m, Th. 0.080 m, Letter height 0.01 m.

III-I cent. B.C.



3  
 Π[- - -]  
 BOΛ[- -]  
 KA[- - -]

Remains of Dotted Letters: in line 2 of the lambda only the lower part of the left diagonal; this letter could also be an A.

Commentary: The lettering points to the Hellenistic or early Roman periods. The letters were very carefully inscribed, with all the strokes slightly curved and very thin. Characteristics of the preserved letters are the alpha with crossbar slanting to the left; the kappa with diagonals that are shorter than the vertical and do not join with it; and the pi with a curved right vertical that is half the size of the left one.

**23** (Inv. No. E 232, Pl. 23). A fragment of local limestone, broken on all sides, found in Room 26 of Roman House 2 in 1994; its surface bears horizontal striations caused by a sharp tool.

H. 0.17 m, W. 0.165 m, Th. 0.06 m, Letter height 0.015-0.018 m.

II cent. B.C. - II cent. A.D.

[- - ]ΙΙ.ΕΕ.Ι.ΙΝ[- -]  
[- - - - - - - - - - -]

Remains of Dotted Letters: of the first vertical the upper tip; of the second vertical the upper half; the epsilon shape has no middle crossbar, and so may be a sigma; after the epsilon there is a diagonal slanting to the left; after the vertical there are two diagonals that may belong to a kappa, or perhaps form a kappa in combination with the previous vertical.

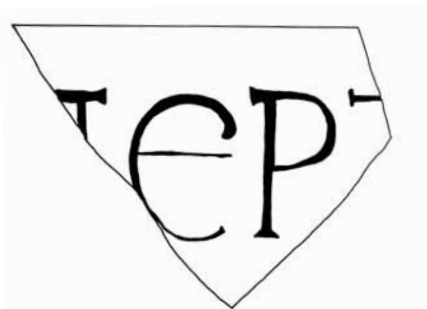
Commentary: The lettering points to the Hellenistic or Roman periods. The letters are practically scratches, betraying the carelessness and clumsiness characteristic of graffiti, although the stone is worn, which makes any reading difficult.

**24** (Inv. No. E 154, Pl. 24). A fragment of a plaque of white marble, with the top and back surfaces preserved, found in Room III of the hall adjoining the south wall of the Basilica's narthex in 1993; the inscribed surface is smoothed.

Themelis 1994-1996, 280 no. 6; *SEG* 45, 1268.

H. 0.083 m, W. 0.105 m, Th. 0.018 m, Letter height 0.045 m.

late I cent. B.C. - II cent. A.D.



[- - ]ΤΕΡΤ[- -]  
[- - - - - - - - - - -]

Remains of Dotted Letters: of the tau only the extreme left end of the crossbar.

Commentary: The lettering points to the late Roman republican or imperial period. The letters are elegant, with deeply cut strokes (ca. 0.004 m in width) that end in conspicuous tri-

angular apices similar to the letters of no. 21 above. There is an empty space of ca. 0.02 m from the top edge. Characteristics of the preserved letters are the lunate epsilon and the rho with extended curve. All the strokes display variations in width, a type of shading characteristic of Latin inscriptions of the late first century B.C. and later. In line 1 Themelis reads, by way of example, [- - ú]πέρ τ[οῦ/ῆς - - -]. In Crete, this formula is attested not only in Byzantine inscriptions (*ICr* I.xxii 65A, 65B, 65bis), but also in Hellenistic and Roman ones (*ICr* I.viii 20; xviii 59; II.xii 23; xix 2; xxv 2; III.iii 11, 12, 14; iv 13, 23; IV 241), as well as a few specifically for Roman emperors (*ICr* I.v 9; vii 9; III.ix 10; IV 438).

**25** (Inv. No. E 243, Pl. 25). A fragment of local limestone, broken on all sides, found in 1992 in the narthex of the Basilica; the inscribed surface is smooth.

H. 0.11 m, W. 0.17 m, Th. 0.105 m, Letter height 0.075 m.

late I-II cent. A.D.

[- - - - - - - - -]  
 [- - -] E![- - -]  
 [- - - - - - - - -]

Remains of Dotted Letters: of the vertical only the lower half.

Commentary: The letter epsilon and the interpunct are indicative of the imperial period. The letters vary in width (see no. 21 above) and are elegant, with deeply cut strokes (ca. 0.008 m in width). In line 2 the raised dot represents a triangular punctuation mark in the middle of the letter space. The only preserved letter, the epsilon, is elongated, with all cross-bars of almost equal length. This may be the second Latin inscription from Eleutherna (see no. 14 above and no. 37 below).

**26** (in situ, Pl. 26). A rectangular pillar with base, cornice, and convex cymatia of local limestone, found in 1990 standing at the north opening of cistern A, probably in secondary use. The upper left half of the cornice and of the base are missing. The pillar (H. 0.665 m, W. 0.555 m, Th. 0.545 m) was turned sideways so that its inscribed surface, after having been violently effaced, would not be visible.

Inscribed surface: H. 0.342 m, W. 0.435 m, Th. 0.435 m, Letter height 0.02-0.035 m.

II cent. B.C. - A.D. II cent.

5      Λ[[.]]N[[ - - - - - - - - -]]<sup>v?</sup>  
       [[ - - - - - - - - -]]Θ  
       [[ - - - - - - - - -]]λ  
       [[ - - - - - - - - -]]Μ  
       [[ - - - - - - - - -]]ΥΨ[[ - - - ]]  
       [[ - - - - - - - - - ]]  
       [[ - - - - - - - - -]]<sup>vestigia</sup>[[ - - - ]]

Remains of Dotted Letters:

Line 1: of the lambda shape only a stroke slanting to the left; the *vacat* at the end is not definite.

Line 3: the shape λ is preserved.

Line 4: of the mu the right vertical, slightly slanting and the upper half of the middle diagonal.

Line 5: on the stone the shape V and the upper part of psi(?).

Line 7: traces of vertical strokes.

Commentary: The traces of letters point to a date between the late Hellenistic and Roman imperial periods. The inscribed surface has not simply been erased, but obliterated with such force that only certain strokes of letters and the right end of the guidelines, which were deeply cut, escaped. The preserved strokes are thin; in line 5 they preserve a bright red color, traces of which are also evident in the strokes of lines 3 and 4.

**27** (Inv. No. E 110, Pl. 27). A fragment of a column (?) of local limestone, broken on all sides, found in 1988 in Roman House 2 (Rooms 23+26). The inscribed surface bears tool marks.

H. 0.343 m, W. 0.15 m, Th. 0.095 m, Letter height 0.14 m.

!NΛ

Commentary: The nu is clear, although its size and shape are unusual, almost 0.15 m in height and similar in shape to Jeffery's ν1 (Jeffery 1990, 308 fig. 45). That this fragment is an Archaic or Classical inscription is not at all certain, however, because the remains of the letters before and after the nu are equally doubtful: before the nu is a vertical with two strokes slanting to the left cut into the upper half of the letter space, and after the nu is the lower part of a diagonal.

**28** (Inv. No. Λ 686, Pl. 28). A fragment of a small, ovoid pebble, found in the 1988 surface survey of Mr. M. Apostolakis' property. Its shape and condition indicate that it was probably used as a pestle; almost half of it is broken off and its circumference is 0.335 m.

Themelis 1989-1990, 267-268.

H. 0.013 m, W. 0.015 m, Th. 0.085 m, Letter height 0.056 m.

II cent. B.C. - A.D. II cent.

K

Commentary: The letter form points to the late Hellenistic or Roman imperial period. The strokes of the kappa on this fragmentary grinding tool are cut fairly deeply (ca. 0.007 m wide) with the diagonals shorter than the vertical. What it signified is uncertain; the kappa may have indicated the number 20 as the weight (?) of the pestle.

## MASONS' MARKS

**29** (in situ, Pl. 29). An Ionic column base of local limestone, found in 1989 built into the wall separating Rooms 2 and 14 as part of the filling of a doorway opening on the east side of the Roman House 1's atrium (Room 2) that must have taken place in the second construction phase after the earthquake of A.D. 360-370. The base's height is 0.495 m, the un-inscribed surface's diameter 0.56 m. In the middle of each side is a rectangular hole measuring 0.075 m.

Themelis 1991-1993, 247-248, fig. 2.

Diameter of inscribed surface 0.435 m, Letter height 0.045 m.

I cent. B.C. - II cent. A.D.

III Γ

Commentary: This is a rare instance of a mason's mark for the number three in both Latin and Greek. Probably the number indicated the position of the column (see nos. 30, 31 below). The need for a bilingual mark may imply that the mason(-s) and/or the workers involved were of different backgrounds. Equally possible, however, as Angelos Matthaiou has suggested, is the reading III Γ[ωνία ος), indicating the position of column no. 3 on the corner. As Angelos Chaniotis informs me, unpublished mason's marks of almost all the letters of the Greek alphabet, forming a nearly complete series, have been found on the back side of the columns of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias.<sup>78</sup>

**30** (in situ, Pl. 30). A column of local limestone, found in 1989 in excellent condition near the west wall of the atrium of Roman House 1 (Room 2). Its height is 2.225 m and the un-inscribed surface's diameter 0.43 m, while there is a rectangular hole 0.08 x 0.05 m on one side.

Themelis 1991-1993, 247-248, fig. 2.

Diameter of inscribed surface 0.395 m, Letter height 0.04 m.

I cent. B.C. - II cent. A.D.

#### IV

Commentary: A mason's mark in Latin representing the number four; see also no. 29 above and no. 31 below.

**31** (in situ, Pl. 31). An Ionic column base of local limestone, found in 1989 on the north wall of Room 4, adjacent to the east-west road. H. 0.51 m, Diameter of the un-inscribed surface 0.50 m, Circumference 1.635 m. In the middle of the inscribed surface is a rectangular hole measuring 0.075 m.

Diameter of inscribed surface 0.435 m, Letter height 0.032-0.04 m.

I cent. B.C. - II cent. A.D.

#### IIIIII

Commentary: Apparently a mason's mark in Latin representing the number six. The empty space between the second and third verticals is 0.03 m, whereas it is 0.015-0.020 m between all the others; this, as well as the slightly slanting position of the first two verticals may indicate that the number nine (VIIII) may have been intended (cf. nos. 29 and 30 above).

**32** (Inv. No. Λ 2050, Pl. 32). An architectural fragment of local limestone, broken on all sides, found in 1994 in Room 33 in the Early Byzantine building complex to the north of the east-west road. The inscribed surface has been smoothed.

H. 0.15 m, W. 0.17 m, Th. 0.115 m, Letter height 0.029 m.

II cent. B.C. - II cent. A.D.

#### Ψ

Commentary: The psi is somewhat carelessly inscribed and may be a hastily made mason's mark (see nos. 29, 30, 31 above).

<sup>78</sup> For masons' marks and their function, see MacDonald and Driessen 1988, 254-255; Paton 1991.

## A DIPINTO AND INSCRIPTIONS ON CLAY OBJECTS

**33** (Inv. No. Π 10516, Pl. 33). Four joined fragments from the shoulder of an amphora made of reddish clay, found in 1986 in Rooms 6/7 of Roman House 1 south of the east-west road. The dipinto was painted on the outside with darker paint after the amphora was fired. Markoulaki et al. 1989, 574; *SEG* 39, 959; Marangou-Lerat 1995, 150 no. P106, fig. 93; *SEG* 45, 1244; Matthaïou 1992-1998 (ed. pr. with extensive invaluable commentary); *SEG* 48, 1205; Themelis 2002b, 70, pl. 77; *SEG* 52, 851; Themelis 2004a, 59-60 with fig. 18. H. 0.195 m, W. 0.120 m, Th. 0.008 m, Letter height 0.006-0.008 m. II-III cent. A.D.



3

ἐπὶ Ἰέρωνος  
ἀθάλασ<σ>ος  
Ἡρ[α]κλῆς.

Line 1: ΕΠΙΕΡΩΝΟΣ on the clay.

Line 2: ΑΘΑΛΛΑCOC on the clay; as Matthaïou points out, we should understand ἀθάλασσοC (sc. οἶνος).

Line 3: Ἡρ[α]κλῆς Matthaïou, Ἡρ[ακ]λῆς Marangou-Lerat with a question mark in her commentary and no explanation for Herakles' name in this context. In the drawing of the inscription (fig. 93 P106), which she publishes and for which see Matthaïou's comments, the theta in line 2 should have a middle crossbar instead of a dot.

Commentary: The letter forms in combination with data from Marangou-Lerat's study of wine amphoras in Crete suggest the second to third centuries A.D. The letters, painted on the upper part of the shoulder, are clearly visible, although the fragment's surface has been chipped away in several places. The shapes of the letters are curved and betray the influence of handwriting, characteristic of which are the lunate epsilon and sigma, the omega (ω), and the lambda and alpha.<sup>79</sup>

This is one of the very few amphora inscriptions that survives almost complete and confirms that this type of amphora was used for wine. Marangou-Lerat includes this fragment among the examples of type 3 of Cretan amphoras (AC3), a type originating in the Augustan age that was abandoned sometime around the beginning of the third century A.D.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>79</sup> See Bandy 1970, 24: α16, λ9.

<sup>80</sup> Marangou-Lerat 1995, 82-84.

In line 1 the date of the wine's production is given. Although Hieron is a very common name, on Crete it occurs only in an inscription of Kydonia, dated ca. 225 B.C.<sup>81</sup> We cannot be certain that the Hieron mentioned on this amphora was an eponymous archon at Eleutherna and therefore that "...ce personnage a exercé ses fonctions à Eleutherna."<sup>82</sup> The wine and the amphora may or may not have been both locally produced at Eleutherna; Hieron may thus be the eponymous archon of the place of the wine's production but not necessarily of the amphora's place of origin, although that perhaps would be expected.

In line 2 the epithet ἀθάλασ<σ>ος indicates the kind of wine inside the amphora: "not mixed with sea-water."<sup>83</sup>

The hero Ἡρ[α]κλῆς in line 3 may appear to be out of place on a shoulder of a wine amphora. It was perhaps the name of the wine producer, merchant, or vineyard owner, since it is attested in Crete, although the genitive rather than the nominative case would be expected to modify ἀθάλαστος (οἶνος).<sup>84</sup> As Matthaïou has cogently argued, however, the word is employed here as another epithet for an additional quality of the wine, its strength. This was vintage wine ἀθάλαστος, with no preservatives or additives, and Ἡρακλῆς, extremely strong.

**34** (Inv. No. Π 10588, Pl. 34). A fragment of a Laconian-type roof tile, broken at the top and the left side, found in 1987 in Roman House 2 (Rooms 23+26). The orange clay is well fired, with the letters inscribed after firing.

H. 0.182 m, W. 0.158 m, Th. 0.028 m, Letter height 0.03-0.031 m.

II cent. B.C. - II cent. A.D.

IHY

Commentary: The lettering suggests a date in the late Hellenistic or Roman imperial period. The eta and the upsilon form a ligature with the right vertical inscribed higher than the left. The three letters are undoubtedly an abbreviation that could denote either the manufacturer of the tile, or its purpose (the initial iota may be an abbreviation for ἱερός), or in certain contexts even the contractor or the date of production and use (see, for example, *IG* V.1 850-917; *IG* V.2 170).

**35** (Inv. No. Π 5152, Pl. 35). A fragment of a clay mold of a figurine, found in 1985 on the surface in the area of the retaining wall to the west of Roman Houses 1 and 2. It is broken at the top and the left side; the color of the clay is red with applied yellow slip. The inside surface bears marks of the coroplast's fingers, which may indicate that this mold was for the back side of the figurine. The letters were inscribed before firing, either with a finger or a splinter of wood.

H. 0.016 m, W. 0.069 m, Th. 0.023 m, Letter height 0.02-0.028 m.

II cent. B.C. - II cent. A.D.

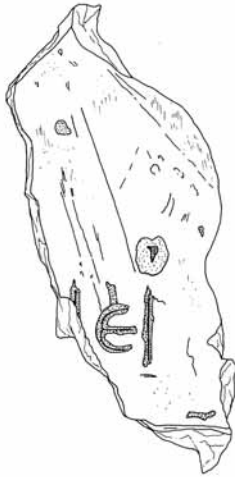
<sup>81</sup> *LGNP* 2, 233-234; 3.A, 217. *LGNP* 1, 232 refers to another Cretan Hieron recorded in an inscription of the same date from Miletos.

<sup>82</sup> Marangou-Lerat 1995, 150; cf. Matthaïou 1992-1998.

<sup>83</sup> For this practice, see Matthaïou 1992-1998, an excellent discussion with older scholarship and modern examples.

<sup>84</sup> *LGNP* 1, 205; so in *SEG* 45, 1244; see also *LGNP* 2, 206-207; 3.A, 196.





[- nomen - ἐπο]ίει.

Commentary: Of the dotted vertical only the upper part is preserved. The date range proposed is only tentative, spanning the late Hellenistic to Roman imperial periods. As Petros Themelis has proposed, the three preserved letters suggest the signature of the coroplast as the most probable restoration. Coroplasts do not always employ the verb ἐποίει or ἐποίησε when signing their work, but simply their name in the genitive.<sup>85</sup>

**36** (in situ, Pl. 36). A large pithos, broken into pieces, found in 1989 by the north wall of Room 5a of the Roman House complex adjacent to the east-west road. The two letters are inscribed on its preserved rim, which has a diameter of 0.67 m.

Width of rim's surface 0.08-0.10 m, Letter height 0.019 m (omega), 0.03 m (sigma).

late IV-III cent. B.C.

Σω(-).

Commentary: The letter forms indicate the Hellenistic or early Roman republican period and may represent an abbreviation of the name of the pithos' owner. Although attested names with the prefix Σω- are numerous in Crete (*LGPN* 1, 417-428), only four names are known at Eleutherna: Σωσθένης (*LGPN* 1, 420), Σωσίβιος (*LGPN* 1, 421), Σῶσος (*LGPN* 1, 424), Σώχορος (*LGPN* 1, 428).

**37** (Inv. No. E 150, Pl. 37). A fragmentary plaque of local limestone, with only the lower part of the right side preserved, found to the south of the Basilica in 1991. The inscribed surface is damaged on the left side; the back is rough.

H. 0.159 m, W. 0.148 m, Th. 0.043 m, Letter height 0.03-0.035 m.

I-IV? cent. A.D.

<sup>85</sup> See Dakaris 1964, 311-312, pl. 350-351; Sampson 1980, 136-166, esp. 139-140, pl. 49-62; *SEG* 32, 394 and 1381; 33, 1045.

[- - - - -]  
 [- - - -]IV[- -]  
 [- - -]O<sup>vvv</sup>T  
 [- - -]RMMM.  
 5 [- - -]IIII<sup>vacat</sup>  
 [- - -]TAY.[..]  
 [- - - - -].

Remains of Dotted Letters:

Line 2: of the vertical only the lower tip; of the V shape only the lower part of an upsilon(?).

Line 3: of the omicron only the lower right oval-shaped stroke; after the approximately three vacant spaces the left tip of an upper crossbar of a tau(?).

Line 4: after the mu is a trace of the left half of a circle and, just above it, the left half of a diagonal.

Line 5: of the second vertical the lower tip; of the third, the lower part.

Line 6: of the tau(?) only the right tip of an upper crossbar; of the mu only the upper corners, which could be two lambdas; of the lambda the upper corner; of the upsilon only the upper part, which could otherwise be a chi.

Commentary: The date is not at all certain, although the first preserved letter in line 4 seems to be a Latin R, an sign that this is a Latin text. The letters are carelessly cut, with very thin strokes. The two M's in line 4 are similar in shape, topped by plain apices; the second mu's diagonals are slightly curved. What is preserved is very problematic; these letters may represent numbers and this fragment may thus be some sort of account.

**ADDENDA TO THE EARLY BYZANTINE INSCRIPTIONS (SEG 50, 888-896; BE 2002, 609; 2000, 805)**

**17** (Inv. No. 12234, Pl. 38). A fragment of a small funerary plaque of local limestone, found in the Early Byzantine building complex west-northwest of the Basilica's entrance. Only the right and bottom sides are preserved.

Themelis 2002b, 107-108, fig. 136.

H. 0.18 m, W. 0.175 m, Letter height 0.025-0.027 m.

VI-mid-VII cent. A.D.

[- - - - -]  
 [- - - -] μηνι 'λο]υλίω  
 3 [- - - - - ήμ]έρα Σαββ(άτω)  
 [- - ινδ(ικτιώνι) ζ]ζζ' †

Translation:

[- - -] month of July, the day Saturday [- - -] in the seventh year of the indiction.

Remains of Dotted Letters:

Line 2: of the upsilon only the lower part of the vertical.

Line 3: of the epsilon the tips of the upper and lower crossbars. After the second beta the abbreviation mark S is used (Bandy 1970, 11-12).

Commentary: For the date, A.D. 500-650, see the discussion in Tzifopoulos 2000, 241-243, no. 1, and 245-247, no. 4; Themelis 2002b, 105-108; and Themelis 2004a, 69-80. The letters are carefully inscribed within guidelines 0.034-0.037 m high. Characteristic letter-shapes are α7, β9 (but with smaller bottom loop), ζ1, ρ1, σ1, cross b (after Bandy 1970, 24-25, 27). For the triple repetition of the indiction, see Tzifopoulos 2000, 247-248 no. 5.

**Ad Tzifopoulos 2000, 241-243, no. 1:**

Andrianakis (2006, 47-48 with n. 3) points out that Hierocles' *Synekdemos* is not a catalogue of bishoprics, as Petros Themelis and I have implied, but a catalogue of important poleis, in which case the mere appearance of Eleutherna in the *Synekdemos* need not imply that Eleutherna was an episcopal see by that time. Indeed, it does not. In the *Synekdemos*, however, the important cities of the empire (22 in Crete, 923 in all) are all grouped according to the geographical units – the 64 provinces – to which they belonged and which from the fourth century to the reign of Justinian (before the year 535) facilitated imperial administration. It is not unlikely, therefore, that the division of the empire into provinces, each containing one or more significant cities, could also coincide with ecclesiastical administrative units and that such cities could be chosen as new episcopal sees (cf. Jones 1964, 1:373-375, 2: 874-883).

Andrianakis (2006, 51-52 with n. 17) further argues that, because the majority of the finds in the Basilica at Eleutherna, which was most likely a cemetery church (Tsigonaki 1998, 2007), are potentially datable to the sixth century A.D., the dating of the Basilica itself cannot be absolute, for it is based primarily on the identification of the bishop Euphratas mentioned in the Basilica's mosaic inscription with Euphratas, the bishop of Eleutherna who participated in the Ecumenical Council at Chalcedon in 451. The Euphratas in the mosaic inscription may very well have been a sixth-century bishop; for a see to have more than one bishop with the same name is very common in ecclesiastical history. The date "A.D. 451" is an absolute chronological marker for the bishopric of Eleutherna, which must have been founded earlier in the fifth century, if not before, in order for its bishop to be invited to participate in an ecumenical council, but it is only a *terminus ante* or *post quem* for dating the Basilica's foundation or refurbishment. The rare name Euphratas makes the possibility of identifying the two bishops with the same name stronger but not completely secure; until more evidence comes to light, A.D. 430-450, 452-472, and even the sixth century are plausible dates for the church's original construction.

**Ad Tzifopoulos 2000, 244-245, no. 3:**

SEG 44, 721: Pleket restored τύχ[ης κα]ὶ νείκης, and for the beginning of the text suggested that "one expects the name plus titles of a Roman emperor: [Υπερ - - - ἀρ]ίστου (=optimi) etc."

SEG 45, 1265: Chaniotis restored [Υπερ - - - μεγ]ίστου τύχ[ης κα]ὶ νείκης καὶ αἰωνίου δ[ιαμονῆς], suggesting μεγ[ίστου] = maximi, instead of Pleket's ἀρ[ίστου] = optimi.

SEG 50, 888bis: Chaniotis notes the text in Tzifopoulos 2000, and also the restoration by Follet and Salomies (in *AEpigr* 2000, no. 1583) [ἀρχιερέως or Παρθικοῦ μεγ]ίστου, the titulature of an emperor of the late Empire.

*SEG* 52, 851: Chaniotis notes on Themelis 2002b, 93 the restoration proposed in *SEG* 45, 1265.

For more Cretan examples of this expression, see now Kritzas 2002 (*SEG* 52, 848) and Baldwin Bowsky 2001 (*SEG* 51, 1180); for a similar, albeit secular, inscription in Aphrodisias, see Roueché 1989, 36 no. 19.

Even if the original text was inscribed for the well-being of an emperor or high official, the stone's findspot indicates that during the Early Byzantine period, when the Basilica was constructed, the stone was reused as building material for the wall to the left of the entrance to the narthex of St. Michael's Basilica and the original inscription was "appropriately" recut so as to become either less offensive or more Christian. In this case, the original inscription could also be read as a Christian text after "correction." Here, both texts — the original and its "corrected version" — are likely. Compare nos. 9 and 15 above, which for similar reasons but with less success were recut on the inscribed rather than the uninscribed side in order to be reused as building material. Even so, the truncated, "corrected" texts could not accommodate a Christian reading, which most probably determined their ultimate use: no. 9 ended up in the wall of a grave, while no. 15 became a stepping-stone.

THE INSCRIPTIONS, PLATES 1-38



*Pl. 1*



*Pl. 2*



*Pl. 3*



*Pl. 4*



*Pl. 5*



Pl. 6



Pl. 7



Pl. 8



Pl. 9



Pl. 10

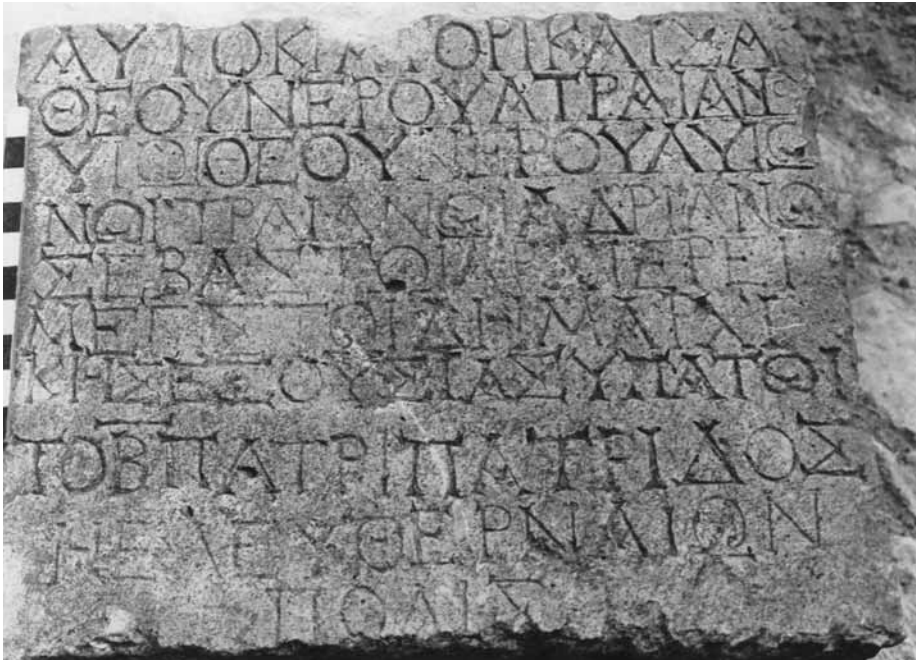


Pl. 11



Pl. 12





Pl. 13



Pl. 14



Pl. 15



Pl. 16



Pl. 17



*Pl. 18*



*Pl. 19*



*Pl. 20*



*Pl. 21*



Pl. 22



Pl. 23



Pl. 24



Pl. 25



Pl. 26



Pl. 27



Pl. 28



Pl. 29



Pl. 30



Pl. 31



Pl. 32



Pl. 33



Pl. 34



Pl. 35



Pl. 36



Pl. 37



*Pl. 38*





