

Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου

Ο ΜΥΛΟΠΟΤΑΜΟΣ
ΑΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΤΗΤΑ ΩΣ ΣΗΜΕΡΑ

Περιβάλλον - Αρχαιολογία - Ιστορία - Λαογραφία - Κοινωνιολογία

IV: *Ελεύθερα - Αξός*

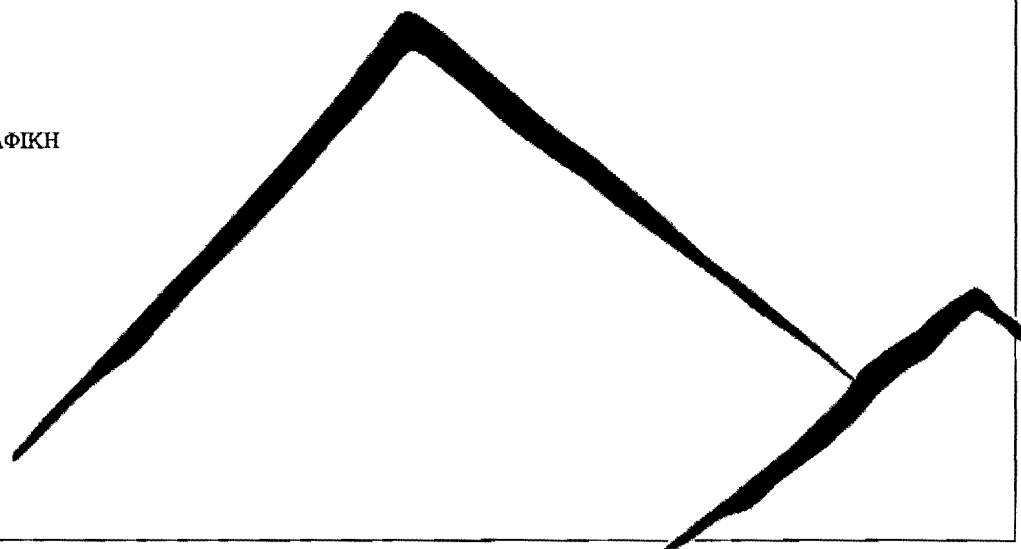
ΕΠΙΜΕΛΕΙΑ

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ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΗ
ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑ ΡΕΘΥΜΝΟΥ

Ρέθυμνο 2006



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Τόμος IV: *Ελευθέρινα - Αξός*

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*The Archive of Inscriptions of the Rethymno Nome:
Results, Prospects and New Discoveries in Axos, Crete*

FIVE years ago the Papyrology and Epigraphy Workshop (E.P.E.) of the Department of Philology of the University of Crete, in close collaboration with the 25th Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, began a pilot-project of relocating, photographing and making squeezes of all the inscriptions of the Rethymno Prefecture¹. This epigraphical survey, a work in progress so long as excavations and urban development are ongoing, has led to the creation of the Archive of inscriptions for the Rethymno Prefecture².

The epigraphical dossier of the Cretan city of Axos, ca 60 kms SE of Rethymno, may serve as a case in point for the experience and the quite rewarding results of this project³. Of the sixty inscriptions published by Margarita Guarducci in 1939 and five more texts after that year—a total of sixty-five published inscriptions— only eighteen inscriptions have been located so far, six of them *in situ* and twelve in the Storerooms of the Ephoreias in Rethymno and Herakleio. Axos' epigraphical survey,

1. I am indebted to Maria Andreadaki-Vlazaki, in charge of the 25th Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, and the archaeologists Irene Gavrilaki, Nota Karamaliki and Eva Tegou for their collaboration in the project; to Niki Spanou and Stavroula Oikonomou, for their important and effective help in our searches in Axos; and to the staff in the Rethymno Museum for facilitating work for this project. For their perceptive comments and criticisms I am grateful to Angelos Chaniotis, Stavros Frangoulidis, Yannis Pikoulas, Steve Tracy and June Allison.
2. For more details on this project see TZIFOPOULOS forthcoming 1; for preliminary results see: TZIFOPOULOS 1999, TZIFOPOULOS forthcoming 2, TZIFOPOULOS forthcoming 3.
3. For Axos and its environs see SPORN 2002, 224-234 with extensive previous bibliography; and also the papers in these Proceedings by Gregorio Aversa, Maria Chiara Monaco, Paula Perlman, Angel Martínez Fernández, Katja Sporn, Martha W. Baldwin-Bowsky, Eurydice Kefalidou, Eva Tegou, Aikaterini Mandalaki, and Kleantlis Sidiropoulos.

however, has also led to the (re)discovery of seventeen new, unpublished inscriptions, four of which have been chosen to be presented here in a preliminary edition, because they present important new evidence for the onomastics and history of Axos and for Cretan Epigraphy.



Fig. 1. *Inv. no. E176.*

1. (Rethymno Museum inv. no E176;) In 1963 Ioannis Dafermos from Axos handed over to the Museum a limestone plaque which is broken at the lower left and bottom. The stone has suffered minor damage on the inscribed surface which is delimited by borders in relief and on top it is crowned by a pediment in relief. Its dimensions are: H. 0.32m. (inscribed surface 0.185m.), W. 0.34m. (inscribed surface 0.27m.), Th. 0.062m. and LH. between 0.034-0.04m.; the space between lines 1-2 is 0.02m. and between lines 2-3 0.018m. The lettering (elongated strokes ending in triangular apices, the lunate epsilon and sigma, the curved shape of mu

and the wide and open-on-top omega) points to the late I-II century CE as the date for the inscription.

Σῶσος Ἐπι-
κράτη τῷ
3 [υἱ]ῷ μνήμ-
[ης χάριν]
[? - - - - - ?]

The restoration in line 4 is rather certain and in line 5 the age of the deceased may also have been inscribed (e.g. ἐτῶν ', or only the number).

The names on this tombstone present an interesting case. Sosos is a very common name, especially in Crete, although this is the name's first instance in Axos. Of the 90 instances in *LGPN* 1 (25 in *LGPN* 2, 22 in *LGPN* 3A, 11 in *LGPN* 3B; cf. Bechtel 1917, 417), more than half (56) are attested in Cretan cities, mainly those in the western half of the island: Aptera, Eleutherna, Elyros, Kantanos, Keraiai, Kydonia, Lappa, Lissos, Phalasarna, Polyrrhenia, Syia and Tarrha (in the eastern half it is attested in Lyttos and perhaps in Hierapytna). The name Epikrates, however, the son of Sosos, although a very common name elsewhere (137

times in *LGPN* 1, 151 times in *LGPN* 2, 46 times in *LGPN* 3A, 62 times in *LGPN* 3B; cf. Bechtel 1917, 257), is so far attested only once in Crete, if Cretans are mentioned in the list of names found in Lyttos (*IC* IIxviii.62 line 4).

2. (Rethymno Museum inv. no E222) Among the inscriptions from Axos brought to the Rethymno Museum by the Ephor Yannis Tzedakis, there was a plaque of dark gray schist in five joining fragments. The plaque is broken all around and it is easily scaled, but its back is the original. Lines 1 and 2 are indented by 0.11m. and in line 3 there is a badly worn drawing (semicircle which opens up with straight lines to the left and right and something drawn in it). The dimensions are: H. 0.425m., W. 0.56m., Th. 0.04m., LH. 0.05-0.06m., and the lettering indicates a date in the II-I centuries BCE.

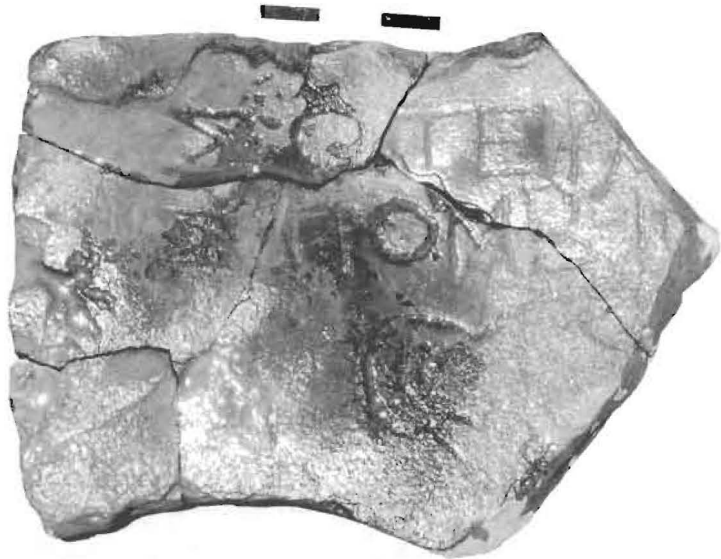


Fig. 2. Inv. no. E222.

Σώτειρα [?.]
 Στρομβι[...]
 3 drawing

Line 2: between beta and iota there is half a letter space vacant; of the vertical only its middle part.

The slab is probably a dedication, but as the right edge is missing the ending of the names is not certain. It may be a dedication by Soteira, wife of Strombi-, or less likely by Strombi- to Soteira (an epithet of Artemis in Lyttos [*IC* I.xviii.12], or Athena in Athens [Bechtel 1917, 570]). The name Soteira is quite common, especially in Crete, and it is not new in Axos (*IC* II.v.44). Of the 23 attestations in *LGPN* 1 (only three in *LGPN* 2 and four in *LGPN* 3A are found), sixteen come from the cities in the western half of the island (Lappa, Rithymna, Sybritos and Eleutherna) and the remaining seven from Gortyn, Lato, Lyttos and Olous in the eastern half.

The name in line 2, however, presents difficulties as after the iota only the middle part of a vertical stroke remains. Names with this sequence of letters are not as common (Bechtel 1917, 605) and the only one attested so far in Crete is Strombichos in Axos (*IC* II p. 46). Other names with this sequence of

letters are: Strombis (*LGN 1 one*), Strombos (*LGN 3B one*), Strombon (*LGN 1 one, LGN 2 one, LGN 3B one*), Strombichos (*LGN 1 two, in LGN 2 twelve, in LGN 3A three, LGN 3B three*), Strombichidas (*LGN 3A one; Strombichidis LGN 2 five*) and Strombylion (*LGN 2 twice*).

3. (Rethymno Museum inv. no E259) Two years ago, the archaeologist of the 25th Ephoreia Eva Tegou saw in the church of Hagia Irene a fragment of local dark gray limestone, 0.104m. thick, broken on all sides and inscribed on both sides.

Side A

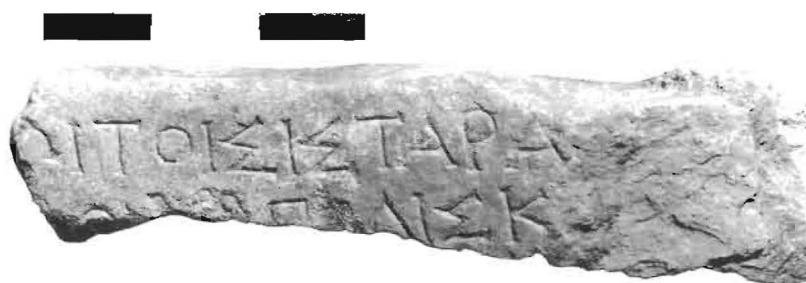


Fig. 3. *Inv. no. E259, side A.*

H. 0.078m., W. 0.245m., LH. 0.016-0.028m. The letters are leaning to the left and the strokes end in triangular apices; their style indicates a date in the third-second centuries BCE.

[- - - - -]
 [- - - - -] [- - - - -]
 3 [- -] ΩΙΤΟΙΣΙΣΤΑΡΑ [- -]
 [- -] ΛΟΙΙΣ ἄ πόλις Κ [- -]
 [- - - - -] .

- Line 2: traces of the bottom tip of a stroke.
- Line 4: of the lambda shape only the upper tip of a stroke slanting to the right; of the omicron or omega only the upper semicircle; of the lambda shape only the upper triangle; of the two verticals (perhaps a nu) only the upper one third; of the sigma only the upper slanting to the left; of the alpha only the right slanting stroke; of the omicron only the upper right semicircle.

Side B



Fig. 4. Inv. no. E259, side B.

H. 0.102m., W. 0.38m., LH. 0.010-0.020m. The lettering indicates the second century BCE.

[-----]
 [- - -] βωλεῦσαι ἢ τὸν θίασ[ον-----]
 3 [- - -] ΑΦΑΙΑΙΟΙΤΟ ἢ τέχνηαι ἢ μ[αχανᾶι - -]
 [- - -] ΔΤΕΠΙΤΑΡΑΙΟΙ τῶι Ἀπέλλων[ι - - - -]
 [- - -] ΠΑΡΓΙΟ...Τ.Ι.ΤΤΟΙΓΓ[- - - - -]
 6 [-----]

Line 2: of the vertical only the bottom tip.

Line 4: of the lambda only the right slanting stroke.

Line 4: of the gamma or epsilon only the upper horizontal and the upper part of a vertical; of the omicron or omega only the upper left semicircle; of the gamma or epsilon only an upper horizontal and the upper part of a vertical; of the vertical only the upper part; of the gamma shape only an upper left corner.

Despite the fragmentary state of the text, it is clear that the inscriptions cut on both sides of this stone dealt with public matters.

Side A line 2 admits of at least three possibilities: -οι τοῖς ταρα[χίν?], or -οι τοῖσι σταρα[τοῖς?], or some new word ΙΣΤΑΡΑ or ΣΤΑΡΑ-, while in line 3 the reading πόλις seems secure.

Side B with smaller letters preserves more lines, but the difficulties persist. In line 1 the verb βωλεῦσαι (or a compound form) and the word θίασ[ον] in combination with the expression ἢ τέχνηαι ἢ μ[αχανᾶι] in line 2 and Apollo's mention in line 3 point rather to a document of an interstate treaty. Specifically, the word *thiasos* is part of a formula that stipulates the mutual obligations for participation in the two cities' specific festivals. In the best example preserved, the treaty between Lato and Olous, after the terms of the treaty are spelled out, it is recorded that a *thiasos*, *dromeis* and those in charge of the sacrifices are to be sent, in

order to perform appropriately⁴. In the beginning of line 2, a form of a verb in the optative must be read —the hypothesis of a conditional clause— followed by the expression ἢ τέχνηαι ἢ μαχανᾶι, which also occurs in a treaty between Dreros and Knossos against Lyttos⁵. The apodosis of the conditional clause should be read in line 3 and following. The sequence of letters -TAPA- is similar to that in line 3 of side A and perhaps the same word should be read. In side B, as the dative τῶι Ἀπέλλωνι follows these letters, perhaps ἀραῖοι, *cursed*, or some similar form should be assumed⁶. Apollo, the guarantor god par excellence of the treaties⁷, is not out of place in Axos, as Oaxos or Oaxes, the eponymous hero of the city, was his son.



4. (Rethymno Museum inv. no E214) Among the inscriptions from Axos in the Rethymno Storerooms a fragment of marble was found which was handed over by K. Dafermos. It is broken all around and its dimensions are: H. 0.123m., W. 0.19m., Th. 0.044m., LH. 0.007-0.016m. The letters are leaning to the right and indicate a date in the third or early second centuries BCE.

Fig. 5. Inv. no. E214.

4. IC Ixvi.5 lines 42, 44-45: [ἐρπόντων] δὲ καὶ [ἐς τὰ]ς ἐ[ορτ]ᾶς ... καὶ θίασον ἀγόν[των ἐκάτεροι κα]ὶ δρομέας ἀ[ποστελλ]όντων καὶ θυόντων [καὶ τᾶλλα κατὸ νομιζόμενον] (the restorations are certain). For these procedures see CHANIOTIS 1996, 126-130 with earlier bibliography and TZIFOPOULOS 1998.
5. IC Iix.1A lines 36-41: μὴ μὰν ἐγὼ | ποκα τοῖς Λυττίοις | καλῶς φρονισεῖν | μίτε τέχνηαι μίτε μαχανᾶι, μίτε ἐν νυκτὶ | μίτε πεδ' ἀμέραν, | κλπ.
6. In the same treaty between Dreros and Knossos against Lyttos (previous note) IC Iix.1B lines 75-84: εἰ δὲ τάδε | μὴ κατέχοιμι, | τοὺς <τ>έ μοι θεοὺς | τοὺς ὄμοσα ἐμμάνας ἦμιν ἦμιν | πάντας τε καὶ πάσας καὶ κακίστω<ι> | ὀλέθρῳ ἐξόλλυσθαι αὐτὸς τε | καὶ χρεῖα τὰμὰ κλπ. For ἔναρος, ὁ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄν, see: IC III.iv [Itanos].6 lines 5-7, dated in the third century BCE: [ὅτι] | [μ]έν κα ἐξέλωμεν μὴ ἔναρον ἔστω μηδὲ ἔνορκον, ὅτι δὲ κα ἐν[γ]ράφομεν ἔναρόν τε καὶ ἔνορκον ἔστω; BILE 1988, 117, 182 with note 130, 185, 352, and CHANIOTIS 1996, 235 with note 1364.
7. For Apollo Pythios in Axos see MANGANARO 1966 (= SEG 23.566) and SPORN 2002, 225 with previous bibliography.

[- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]Λ[- - - - -]
 3 [- - - - -]ΜΑΙΑ[- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]ΜΑΙΔΕΑΝΑ[- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]τι οὐκέτ' ἐπ[[- - - - -]
 6 [- - - - -]πρᾶτοι μὴ ΠΕΙΚΙ[- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]δῶλον αὐτὸς ὑφα[- - - - -]
 [- - - - -]Ρ κα μνάμνι Ο[- - - - -]
 9 [- - - - -]

Line 2: of the lambda shape only the lower part of a right slanting stroke.

Line 5: of the vertical only the lower part.

Line 6: of the vertical only the lower part.

Line 8: before the rho the right part of an upper(?) horizontal of an epsilon, tau or sigma.

The text is a public document which in all probability records either clauses of procedural law or terms of a treaty. The key words for this fragmentary text —provided the readings are correct— are: the prohibition *not to do something first* in line 6; the phrase in line 7 δῶλον αὐτὸς ὑφα[ιρῆται?], (*someone*) *himself steals a slave*; and in line 8 the verb κα μνάμνι (*someone*)? *would / should remember*⁸.

These four new texts from Axos, Crete highlight in a most rewarding way the fact that the epigraphical survey of the Rethymno Prefecture and the creation of the Archive of inscriptions was an indispensable and worthwhile effort. New names are added to the onomasticon of Axos: Sosos, Epikrates and Strombi-, and the last two inscriptions present new, albeit fragmentary, evidence for the socio-political condition of the city during the Hellenistic period.

8. For this verb and the noun μνάμων see BILE 1988, esp. 350-351, 282.

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