

**ΠΕΠΡΑΓΜΕΝΑ
Θ' ΔΙΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΚΡΗΤΟΛΟΓΙΚΟΥ ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟΥ**

ΑΝΑΤΥΠΟ



ΕΤΑΙΡΙΑ ΚΡΗΤΙΚΩΝ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΩΝ ΜΕΛΕΤΩΝ



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**THE ARCHIVE OF INSCRIPTIONS OF THE RETHYMNO
PREFECTURE: RESULTS AND PROSPECTS**

Cretan epigraphy has fared reasonably well in comparison to other regions of the Hellenic world, and this we owe to the Italian teams working on the island from the end of the 18th century until the publication in 1950 of Margherita Guarducci's fourth and final volume of *Inscriptiones Creticae, opera et consilio Friderici Halbherr collectae*. As will be evident, their work was and still is indispensable and of paramount importance.

Four years ago, in July 1997, the Papyrology and Epigraphy Workshop (Er.P.E.) in the Department of Philology at the University of Crete set about establishing an Epigraphical Archive for Axos and Lappa, two major cities in the Rethymno Prefecture. This was to serve as a test case for extending the research to the other cities in the Prefecture. After a few months' work, however, it became quite clear that the whole of the Rethymno Prefecture should be included in the Archive, as it would provide a more comprehensive database of information, and a pilot project whose results would be reliable. Thus, in close collaboration with the 25th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, permission was granted in 1998 to locate, photograph and make squeezes of all inscriptions in the Rethymno Prefecture which are dated, following Guarducci, from the Archaic to the first Byzantine period, that is from ca 600 BCE to ca 827 CE. The search ended in spring 2000; inscriptions that entered the Ephoreia after that date are not included, while in the spring of this year the Archive was completed and presented to the Ephoreia. The results of this collaborative pilot-project and its prospects are presented here, sixty-two years after Guarducci's publication of the second volume of *Inscriptiones Creticae*.

The goal of the project was to determine the whereabouts of all inscriptions whose provenance was the Rethymno Prefecture: 1) those published by M. Guarducci in volume two of *Inscriptiones Creticae* in 1939; 2) those published after 1939; and 3) inscriptions that may have been unpublished. The methodology followed was the old time-honored epigraphical survey, proposed and outlined by Louis Robert and more recently by John Ma.¹ It involved repeated visits to towns, villages and sites in the Rethymno Prefecture asking and looking for “πέτρες με γράμματα, stones with letters”; and searches in the Storerooms of the Museums in Rethymno, Chania, Herakleion and Athens where inscriptions from the Rethymno Prefecture are housed. The only exceptions are the inscriptions in Teos in the southeast coast of Asia Minor, and the one from *Allaria* in the Berlin Museum, which in the Table are listed as “not yet located”.

The Epigraphical Survey involved the cooperation of a number of people, without whose assistance and encouragement this project would never have seen the light of day. At various times the survey team included Niki Spanou, Stavroula Oikonomou, Dimitris Kritsotakis and Georgia Hourdaki, former and current students at the University of Crete, as well as archaeologists in the 25th Ephoreia in Rethymno: Eva Tegou for Axos, Eleutherna and the eastern region of the Prefecture; Nota Karamaliki for Rithymna, Sybritos and the southern region; and Irene Gavrilaki for Lappa, caves and the northwest region. The Professors in charge of the University of Crete excavations in Eleutherna (Petros Themelis in Sector I, Thanassis Kalpaxis in Sector II and Nicholas Stampolidis in Sector III) gracefully allowed us to include the inscriptions they had unearthed by spring 2000. The staff in the Rethymno, Chania and Herakleion Museums showed great patience and offered needed assistance: Maria Andreadaki-Vlazaki and Vana Niniou-Kindeli for the Epigraphical Collection in the Chania Museum; Eva Grammatikaki, Alexandra Karetsou, Ioanna Serpetsidaki, Maria Kladou, and Vasiliki Marselou for the Epigraphical Collection in the Herakleion Museum. All supported the project and contributed invaluable information. In Athens, Charalambos Kritzas

¹ L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta*, vol. 6, 673-681; id., «Επιγραφική», *Ιστορία και Μέθοδοί της*, vol. B2: *Μεθοδική αναζήτηση των μαρτυριών*, ed. by C. Samaran, transl. E. Στεφανάκη, Αθήνα 1981, 17-66; and John Ma, «The Epigraphy of Hellenistic Asia Minor: a Survey of Recent Research (1992-1999)», *AJA* 104 (2000) 95-121, esp. 99-103 with further bibliography.

offered his unstinting interest in the project and his knowledge and expertise in Cretan Epigraphy at the Epigraphical and National Archaeological Museums. Finally, the people in the villages and towns we visited in Rethymno Prefecture were extremely helpful and facilitated our research in every possible way. I am greatly indebted to all of the above.

The results of this project and the issues raised during the process are presented in summary form in the Table. In it, there are three major sections indicating: the provenance, place of publication and the total number of inscriptions in Rethymno Prefecture. The second section is divided even further into six columns: the first three comprise the inscriptions published in *IC*, i.e. the total, the inscriptions we were n(ot) able to L(ocate) and the ones we did L(ocate). The fourth column comprises published inscriptions, which are included in *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, the fifth those published but not in *SEG*, and the sixth the unpublished inscriptions. The third section gives sum totals of the inscriptions so far known for the Rethymno Prefecture, with the last two indicating again the sum total of inscriptions "not located" and those "located".

The decision to use the words "not located" and "located" rather than "lost" and "found" was deliberate. After endless discussions, it became evident that there was no way in which we could determine definitively whether or not an inscription has been "lost". During the survey, the one major problem we faced that proved to be insurmountable was the fact that the information about the location of the texts in *IC* dated back to the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, when Italian scholars and their teams studied most of the inscriptions *in situ*: in houses, taverns and churches, some of which no longer exist, while others have undergone considerable renovation. Furthermore, Margherita Guarducci published the inscriptions of the Rethymno Prefecture in 1939, one year before the beginning of World War II. Finally, there is on record the fairly recent, albeit unusual and perhaps unique example reported by Charalambos Kritzas in 1994,² of three inscriptions from the Herakleion Museum that turned up in Western Australia. Although there is little if any likelihood that inscriptions designated as "not located" will reappear, in light of the above it is perhaps not unwise to consider these inscriptions as "not yet

² Ch. Kritzas, «Αρχαίων νόστου», *Mentor* 32 (1994) 211-214.

located” rather than “lost”, until definitive information regarding their fate is obtained.

In the first column, provenance of the inscriptions (see Map), there are three major groups in alphabetical order, in which the names of the cities with boldface letters are the ancient ones. The first group comprises the ancient cities appearing in *Inscriptiones Creticae* volume II, and include Allaria (not yet located), Axos, Cranaeum Antrum or Patsos Cave, Eleutherna, Hydramia, Lappa, Phalanna, Rithymna, Sulia, Sybritos, Tallaeum Antrum or Melidoni Cave, and *Loci Incerti* (uncertain cities).

The next group comprises the modern villages which Guarducci included in the epigraphical dossier of Rithymna, as they lie some 10-12 km East of Rethymno: Chromonastiri, Pigi, Sfakaki, Stavromenos and Nea Magnisia. Evidence, however, is lacking for the eastern border of Rithymna's territory, nor can we ascertain if this territory was fixed throughout the centuries. Moreover, the site of Stavromenos has been proposed, not unreasonably, as that of the ancient city of either Pantomatron, Allaria or A(g)rion, which in all likelihood was the seaport of Eleutherna.³

The final group includes villages and locations where inscriptions have been found, but the ancient name of the city is uncertain or has not yet been identified, with one exception: the discovery of ancient Sisai by Stylianos Alexiou,⁴ in the wider area of the modern village. These include the Notiki Tripa (literally “southern hole”) Cave to the east of Nithavris; the Mougri Cave which may have been within Axos' territory, in Roman times, near Axos' northern seaport; the village of Kato Poros to the east of Lappa/Argyroupoli; Viran Episkopi, approximately midway between the north shore and Eleutherna; and the region enclosed by Sulia/Ag. Galini, Melambes to the north, and the hill of Kastri above the eastern bank of the river Platypotamos to the east of Melambes, where ancient *Korion* should probably be placed.⁵

³ N. Chr. Stampolidis, *Ελεύθερνα, Τομέας III: 1. Γεωμετρικά - αρχαϊκά χρόνια και Οδηγός στην Έκθεση «Το γεωμετρικό-αρχαϊκό νεκροταφείο της Ορθής Πέτρας»*, Ρέθυμνο 1993, 21-3, 29-31; id., *Ελεύθερνα. Από τη γεωμετρική και αρχαϊκή νεκρόπολη. Ταφικές πυρές και ομηρικά έπη*, Ρέθυμνο 1994, 142-7, 154-155; and M. Andreadaki-Vlazaki, *Cretologica Grammata* 11 (1995) 369-379.

⁴ S. Alexiou, «Αρχαιότητες και Μνημεία Κεντρικής και Ανατολικής Κρήτης», *AD* 21 (1966) *Chronika* 407-8, pl. 437a-γ.

⁵ S. Hood & P. Warren, «Ancient Sites in the Province of Ayios Vasilios, Crete», *BSA* 61

Finally, no information is available regarding the provenance of thirty-two (32) inscriptions, twenty-five of which have been located in the Storerooms of the Rethymno Museum, though future study of their text may offer some suggestions.

The experience and the results of the project have been quite rewarding. As was to be expected, out of the total of 236 texts published in volume II of *Inscriptiones Creticae*, approximately only one third has been located. This ratio is rather low and no doubt depended on the location of the stones: some were already in a Museum and others were built into houses and churches that have not been renovated or demolished. That two-thirds of the inscriptions published in *IC* have not yet been located is undeniably due to two factors: firstly, the Archaeological Service in the Western part of Crete, especially in Rethymno Prefecture, has consistently been understaffed, and secondly, rebuilding and urban development, especially for tourism, has been uncontrolled.

An extreme example is the epigraphical dossier for Sulia/Ag. Galini and Melambes. As can be seen in the Table, Guarducci published 27 inscriptions from Sulia, most of which were blocks taken from the temple of Artemis and used as construction material in the walls of houses in Melambes, the village to the northwest. Of these 27 inscriptions, only two have been located so far: the Archaeological Service retrieved one five years ago from the house in Ag. Galini where Guarducci had seen it, because the house was to be rebuilt; the other is still in the same place where Guarducci saw it, built into the wall of a house in Melambes, because the owner's descendants have not yet decided on the house's fate.

Since 1939, however, chance finds and rescue excavations by the Ephoreia, as well as systematic excavations at Eleutherna by the University of Crete, and at Apodoulou and Sybritos by the Archaeological Service and the Italian Archaeological School, have increased the number of inscriptions by more than two hundred new texts. To be precise, 213 new inscriptions were added up until Spring 2000, more than half of which are from Eleutherna. So, within the 62-year-period since 1939, inscriptions in the Rethymno Prefecture have almost doubled: we have 449 texts in all, of which 287 have been located so far. Mention of the discovery of one

(1966) 163-191, pl. 35-41, esp.: E. Kirsten, «Phaistos und Kydonia, Korion und Sybrita», *Antichità Cretesi. Studi in onore di Doro Levi* II, Catania 1974, 81-88.

inscription during our searches in Argyroupoli will suffice to show what important and unexpected results an epigraphical survey may produce. During one of our visits to Argyroupoli, we were asked to check “a stone with letters” which had been lying in the garden of a house for some time, but whose provenance was not known, or was not disclosed to us. It turned out that the inscription was an honorary text by the city of Lappa for Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, the first attestation in the Cretan epigraphical record of Augustus’ trusted friend.⁶

The epigraphical survey of the Rethymno Prefecture, which will remain in progress for as long as excavations and urban development continue, has led to the creation of the Archive of Inscriptions of the Rethymno Prefecture. This is housed in the Ephoreia and the Papyrology and Epigraphy Workshop at the University of Crete. It comprises an electronic database holding information on each inscription, as well as an archive of photographs and a collection of squeezes of those stones whose condition permitted one to be made.

The prospects offered by collection of this material are many, but the immediate ones must focus on two goals: 1) publication of the unpublished texts within a reasonable time period, and 2) planning for a Supplementum to, or, as Angelos Chaniotis proposed at the last Epigraphical Congress in Rome,⁷ a re-edition of the *Inscriptiones Creticae* for the Rethymno Prefecture. This will follow the principles set out in *Inscriptiones Creticae*, i.e. presenting all the inscriptions by city, including those on lamps and loom-weights, dated from the Archaic until the first Byzantine period of Crete, while keeping the same numbers for the inscriptions already in *IC*. These two goals, if achieved in the immediate future, will provide an updated corpus of reliable texts for the Rethymno Prefecture, which span a period of more than a thousand years, and will in turn facilitate further study of the area and its ancient cities.⁸

⁶ A. Chaniotis, «The Epigraphy of Hellenistic Crete, The Cretan Koinon: New and Old Evidence», *XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina, Roma, 18-24 settembre 1997, Atti*, Roma 1999, 287-299.

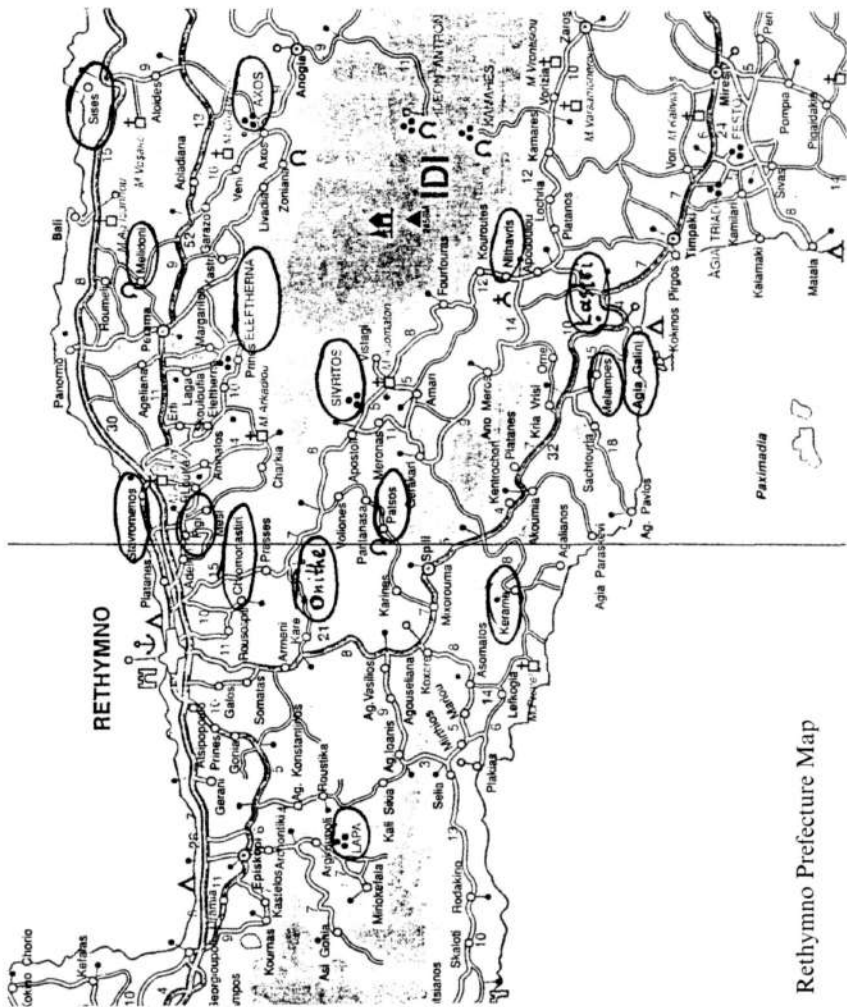
⁷ For their perceptive comments on a draft of this presentation I am grateful to Stavros A. Frangoulidis and Martha W. Bowsky.

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TABLE

n-L. not located
 L. located
 other published NOT in SEG

p r o v e n a n c e	p u b l i c a t i o n s						t o t a l			
	IC	n-L.	L.	SEG	other	unpubl.	SUM	n-L.	L.	
Allaria (i) - ?	2	2					2	2		
Axos (v)	59	47	12	4	1	16	80	47	33	
Cranaeum Antrum (ix) - Patsos Cave	2	1	1				2	1	1	
Eleutherna (xii) (+ Loci Incerti)	48	19	29	42	34	35	159	20	139	
Hydrarnia (xiv) - Dramia	1	1					1	1		
Lappa (xvi) - Argyroupoli	34	26	8	1	1	17	53	27	26	
Phalanna (xviii) - Onithe/Goulediana	1	1				1	2	1	1	
Rhithymna (xxiv)	22	9	13	1		1	24	9	15	
Sulia (xxv) - Agia Galini	27	25	2				27	25	2	
Sybritos (xxvi) - Thronos, Genna, Kalogerou	30	17	13		5	7	42	17	25	
Tallaeum Antrum (xxviii) - Melidoni Cave	3	2	1			1	4	2	2	
Incerti Loci (xxx)	1	1					1	1		
Chromonastiri (Rhithymna?)						1	1		1	
Pigi (Rhithymna?)	1		1				1		1	
Sfakaki (Rhithymna?)					1	1	2		2	
Stavromenos (Rhithymna?)	2	1	1			2	4	1	3	
Stavromenos/Nea Magnisia (Rhithymna?)				1			1		1	
Kastri, location SW of Apodoulou, NE of Sulia (Loci Incerti)	1		1	1			2		2	
Kato Poros (Lappa?)						1	1		1	
Melambes (Soulia?)				2			2		2	
Mougri Cave (Axos?)	1		1				1		1	
Notiki Tripa Cave, Nithavris (Kastri?)				1			1		1	
Pyrgi/Kionia, location in Kerame (Loci Incerti)	1	1					1	1		
Sises				1			1		1	
Viran Episkopi (Eleutherna?)				1	1		2		2	
Unknown						32	32	7	25	
Subtotal		153	83	55	43	115				
T o t a l		2	3	6	2	1	3	449	162	287



Rethymno Prefecture Map