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**EIGHT INSCRIPTIONS FROM ROMAN CRETE**

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## EIGHT INSCRIPTIONS FROM ROMAN CRETE\*

### 1. Architrave Naming an Emperor, Hierapetra (IIInd cent.; pl. IX.1)

Block from an architrave, made of fine white marble, with an inscription (Sylloge Hierapetras inv. no. 739). The stone was the property of Mrs. Alexandra Misedaki, resident in Viglia Hierapetras, and was received by the Sylloge in October 1977. One segment of *guttae* is preserved

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\* Let me first express my sincere thanks to the Ephors of Classical Antiquities who secured for me permission to publish the eight inscriptions presented here: Dr. Costis Davaras at Hag. Nikolaos in eastern Crete; Dr. Charalambos Kritzas at Heraklion in central Crete; and Mrs. Maria Andreadaki-Vlazaki at Chania in western Crete. I also thank Mr. Stephanos Alexandrou for the photographs used in Plates X and XII. Finally, I must thank the American Philosophical Society for funding granted to cover the expenses of research travel and data collection in 1990, when these inscriptions were discovered and first studied.

All dates before the common era are so noted (BCE). Full bibliographical citations appear in the notes, with the exception of sources that are frequently used and so noted by the following abbreviations.

<i>Antichità Cretesi</i>	<i>Antichità Cretesi, Studi in Onore di Doro Levi</i> II (Università di Catania, Istituto di Archeologia, 1974).
<i>Camodeca, Puteoli</i>	G. Camodeca, "Una nuova iscrizione senatoria puteolana dell' età di Marco Aurelio", <i>Puteoli</i> 7-8 (1983-84) 79-92.
<i>Ep. e Ord. Sen.</i>	<i>Epigrafia e Ordine Senatorio</i> , Atti dell'Colloquio Internazionale A.I.E.G.L., Roma, 14-20 Maggio 1981 (Roma 1982).
Falkener, "Theaters"	E. Falkener, "A Description of Some Important Theaters and Other Remains of Crete, from a Ms. History of Candia by Onorio Belli in 1586", <i>Mus. Class. Ant.</i> , supplement (London 1854).
Foraboschi	Daniele Foraboschi, <i>Onomasticon alicrum papyrologicum. Supplemento al Namenbuch di F. Preisigke</i> (Milano 1967-71).
Fraser-Matthews	P.M. Fraser and E. Matthews, <i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> I (Oxford 1987).
<i>GVI</i>	Werner Peek, <i>Griechische Vers-Inschriften</i> (Berlin 1955).
Macridy, <i>JÖAI</i>	Th. Macridy, "Antiquités de Notion II", <i>JÖAI</i> 15 (1912) 36-67.
Osborne-Byrne	U.J. Osborne and S.G. Byrne, <i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> II (Oxford 1994).
Panella "Oriente ed Occidente"	C. Panella, "Oriente ed Occidente: considerazione su alcune anfore "Egee" di età imperiale a Ostia", <i>Recherches sur les Amphores Grecques</i> (École Française d'Athènes, 1986) 609-36.
PHI 6	Packard Humanities Institute, CD-ROM #6: Inscriptions, Duke Data Bank for Documentary Papyri (Los Altos CA 1991).
Preisigke	Friedrich Preisigke, <i>Namenbuch enthaltend alle griechischen, lateinischen, ägyptischen, hebräischen, arabischen und sonstigen semitischen und nicht-semitischen Menschennamen</i> (Heidelberg 1922).
Saller, <i>Personal Patronage</i>	Richard P. Saller, <i>Personal Patronage under the Early Empire</i> (Cambridge 1982).
Sanders, <i>Roman Crete</i>	Ian F. Sanders, <i>Roman Crete</i> (Warminster 1982).
Solin, <i>GPNR</i>	Heikki Solin, <i>Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom</i> , 3 vols. (Berlin and New York 1982).
Svoronos	J.-N. Svoronos, <i>Numismatique de la Crète Ancienne</i> (Paris 1890).
Walton, <i>Asklepios</i>	Alice Walton, <i>The Cult of Asklepios</i> (Ithaka NY 1894).

above the inscription. H 0.52 m. at right, and after 0.30 m. decreasing to a point at the upper left corner; W 0.30 m. at bottom, 0.74 at top, with maximum width of 0.825 m; D 0.39-62 m. Visible on the top surface, at the right end, is a cutting that contains traces of an iron fitting. The right hand margin of the stone is in all likelihood preserved. Near the front of the top surface, on the right directly above the *guttae*, there is a line with the letters ΔA. The bottom surface is roughly dressed, apparently intact below the right end of the inscription's second line.

The inscribed face has a flat molding, below which are visible two lines of an inscription, the lower line more damaged than the upper. Monumental letters fill the inscribed face, and are H 0.13 m. in line 1 and 0.11 m. in line 2. Triangular punctuation appears between the two words in each line. The inscription can be dated to the second century, on the basis of letter forms. This date is confirmed below by consideration of Hierapytna's architectural history, and the *floruit* of a prominent Romanized family of Hierapytna.

1                   ] Pontif( ).M(axim )  
                     ]nori publ[

2 ]n : a vertical stroke, H, I, M, or N

The inscription would appear to name an emperor and give his titles, including that as *pontifex maximus*. Without more information about the building from which this block came, one cannot be certain that the marks on the stone's upper surface, which may be mason's marks or builders' instructions, indicate the block's position in the assembled structure. If they do, the block was probably the fourth in the architrave row, which would likely be numbered separately from ordinary blocks since a different shape.<sup>1</sup> To judge from the dimensions of this block, such an architrave would be a minimum of 3.4 m. wide, with room for approximately 25-30 letter spaces to the left of line 1 and somewhat more to the left of line 2. The iron fitting on the right end of the top surface might indicate that there was at least one more block to the right, making the whole architrave as much as 4.225 m. wide, with room for approximately 8-10 more letter spaces to the right of line 1 and a few more to the right of line 2.<sup>2</sup> There is ample room here for full imperial titulature as well as a dedicatory formula.

Relatively few architectural inscriptions survive from Roman Crete, perhaps because of Venetian collecting and the difficulty of identifying such pieces used in palazzi (L Beschi, ASAA 50-51, n.s. 34-35 [1972-73] 488). Turkish collecting also removed a great many antiquities from Crete and Hierapytna in particular.<sup>3</sup> Gortyn is the city from which the greatest number of architectural inscriptions is preserved, and yet only nine survive (*IC* IV.249, 270, 329, 330, 331, 333, 335, 453; *BE* 1978.389). Three are extant from the Roman colony at Knossos (*IC* I.8.50; *SEG* 26 [1976/77] 1048; *Arch. Reports* 1978-79, 58), and from Lyttos

<sup>1</sup> My thanks to Dr. Sara Paton, who kindly suggested this possibility to me in a letter dated 8 January 1992. Other possibilities include the order in which blocks were carved before assembly, or batchmarks for consignment. See the set of blocks which she has published ("A Roman Corinthian Building at Knossos", *ABSA* 86 [1991] 297-318).

<sup>2</sup> Compare, for example, the Gortyn architrave studied by G. Manganaro (*Antichità Cretesi* II, 39-41), of which the first and third blocks of a five-block architrave are extant.

<sup>3</sup> See, for instance, Νίκος Π. Παπαδάκης, *Αμάλθεια* 58-59 (1984) 33-43.

(*IC* I.18. 4 and 49; *SEG* 1986.814). This inscription makes the third known from Hierapytna (together with *IC* III.3.30; *SEG* 32 [1982] 869). Single inscriptions of this type are known from Lebena (*IC* I.17.54), Kantanos (*IC* II.6.2), Polyrrhenia (*IC* II.23.66), and Poecilasion (*IC* II.21.1).

Of these twenty-two, only eight are in Latin, including the inscription published here.<sup>4</sup> Five, including the present text, name an emperor.<sup>5</sup> One more appears to name Augustus in the context of the cult of *Roma et Augustus* (*IC* IV.270). The formulae suggested by these texts incorporate the emperor's name and titles (*pontifex maximus, tribunicia potestas, consulatus, pater patriae*); a phrase indicating the name, extent and nature of the construction or restoration; dative of the name of the city to which the building is donated; a phrase indicating the source of the funds used; a verb such as *dedit, restituit*; a phrase naming the Roman and/or local official in charge. The emperors named in such extant Latin texts are Claudius or Nerva (*IC* I.8.50), Trajan (*IC* IV.331), Hadrian (*IC* II.23.66), M. Aurelius and L. Verus (*IC* IV.333).<sup>6</sup> Architectural inscriptions in Greek instead name only Trajan.<sup>7</sup>

The inscription published here is in fact the first monumental inscription to come to light from Hierapytna, and should be from one of the city's public buildings. The material prosperity of Hierapytna can be dated largely to the second century, when the Larger Theater on the east side and the Smaller Theater on the west were built and adorned with statues of local dignitaries; its beginning can be dated particularly to the Hadrianic period, when a *vavμοχία* was added to the city's harbor and four fine statues of Hadrian graced the city,<sup>8</sup> as well as to the remainder of the century.

The *guttae* visible above line 1 of the text belong to the Doric order, which was used in Roman Crete, though not nearly so much as the Ionic or Corinthian. Belli seems to suggest that the Larger Theater of Hierapytna had three orders of columns, one in each style, and that the *skene* was of white marble and "red-marked" stone.<sup>9</sup> Certainly the Smaller Theater

<sup>4</sup> *IC* I.8.50 and *Arch. Reports* 1978-79, 58 at Knossos; 17.54 at Lebena; and 18.44 at Lyttos; II.23.66 at Polyrrhenia; IV.331 and 333 at Gortyn.

<sup>5</sup> *IC* I.8.50 from Knossos; *IC* II.23.66 from Polyrrhenia; IV.331 and 333 from Gortyn.

<sup>6</sup> *Arch. Reports* 1978-79, 58, appears to have named an emperor whose name was erased when his memory was condemned.

<sup>7</sup> *IC* II.6.2 from Kantanos; *IC* I.7.9 + III.9.10, attributed to Chersonesos by Manganaro in *Antichità Cretesi* II, 39-41; *BE* 1978.389 from Gortyn. An unpublished block in the Herakleion Epigraphical Collection shows the name TPAIANOY and a section of *guttae*.

<sup>8</sup> Sanders, *Roman Crete* 59, for the date of the Smaller theater; Vermeule, "Crete in Hellenistic and Roman Imperial Times", unpublished notes provided by the author, for the attribution of the statue which bears the name of T. Larcius Kydikles (*IC* III.3.23) to the Larger Theater; *IC* III.3, *praef. hist.* 18 for the possible Hadrianic date of the *vavμοχία*.

<sup>9</sup> Sanders, *Roman Crete* 59. For the source of this white marble and "red-marked" stone, see now M.K. Durkin and C.J. Lister, *ABSA* 73 (1983) 69-96. Fine white, virtually unveined marble, suitable for the construction of larger architectural elements, and red variegated marble came from different working areas in this quarry near Sitia (pp. 69-71, 77). Hierapytna is judged a feasible destination for blocks from this quarry, partly because of its position in eastern Crete and the quarry's access to the sea via Sitia, and partly because of the archaeological literature which cites the use of red-veined marble in the buildings of Hierapytna, and perhaps

at Gortyn had columns of the Doric order, in black and white marble (Sanders, *Roman Crete* 63). The Diktyonnaion, perhaps begun under Trajan, had a temple terrace surrounded on three sides by stoas, probably with Doric columns, while the east front of the temple had Ionic columns in blue marble and the rest had white Corinthian columns (*ibid.* 84-87).

Letter forms, the *floruit* of Hierapytna herself, and even the use of the Doric order, alone or mixed with Ionic and Corinthian, all accord with a date in the second century. It may however be possible to date this stone even more closely, to the reign of M. Aurelius and L. Verus, if it indeed comes from the Larger Theater. Prominent Hierapytnans were still resident in Crete, but active in the Panhellenion and Roman senate during this period, and so were in a position to confer personal patronage or to broker imperial patronage.<sup>10</sup> T. Flavius Sulpicianus Dorion was Kretarch in 129 (*IC* IV. 275), but it was his son and grandson who achieved prominence beyond the shores of Crete. His son L. Flavius Sulpicianus Dorion, as well as another Flavius, T. Xenion, were Panhellenic archons in the period 161-69, and enjoyed personal ties as well as the benefits of friendship with L. Verus (Simone Follet, *Athènes au II<sup>e</sup> et III<sup>e</sup> Siècle* [Paris 1976] 127 and 135-36). In the meantime, L. Dorion's son L. Flavius Sulpicianus Dorion Polymnis had been adlected into the ranks of the tribunicians at Rome, and designated for the praetorship after he had served as quaestor in Bithynia, shortly before 161 (*PIR<sup>2</sup>* F 375). Just such personal ties must have also facilitated the rapid rise of Polymnis' young cousin, T. Flavius Sulpicianus, a senator in Rome known to have been co-opted into the distinguished Arval Brotherhood sometime between 169 and 175 (Sanders, *Roman Crete* 179). Either of these two senators could be the one honored by the statue, in the Larger Theater, of a man wearing *calcei senatorii* and dedicated τὸν θεῖον by T. Larcius Kydikles.<sup>11</sup> Certainly a statue of Dorion Polymnis appeared in Hierapytna's Smaller Theater (*IC* III.3.21; Sanders, *Roman Crete* 59). And two statue bases from an unspecified monument of ancient Hierapytna were set up by Polymnis' father Dorion, in honor of M. Aurelius and L. Verus, perhaps in gratitude for benefits conferred upon himself, his family, and city (*IC* III.3.16-17). Descendants of this family are known in Italian Puteoli, while the son and grandson of T. Flavius Xenion made their home in Athens.<sup>12</sup> It was, then, under M. Aurelius and L. Verus that Hierapytnans were most likely to enjoy the

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also at Knossos. One marble artefact preserved at the quarry site could be part of a plain Doric capital (p. 79). Marble was quarried at the Rods of Digenis during the pre-Roman period (p. 83). But buildings within Crete were apparently constructed from this marble in Roman times, too, in Knossos' Villa of Dionysus as well as the Larger Theater at Hierapytna. Either or both might, then, have been built using older materials from this quarry, or else re-built in the second century but using original materials.

<sup>10</sup> See Saller, *Personal Patronage*, esp. "Provincials and their Mediators", 168-87.

<sup>11</sup> *IC* III.3.23; Vermeule, "Crete in Hellenistic and Roman Imperial Times", unpublished notes provided by the author. Presumably T. Larcius Kydikles was the son of a Larcius and a Flavia, sister of the honored senator. See Martha W. Baldwin Bowsky, "Cretan Connections: the Transformation of Hierapytna", forthcoming in *Cretan Studies*.

<sup>12</sup> See Camodeca, *Puteoli* on Polymnis' wife Iulia L.f. Valeria Marciana, her daughters Flavia L.f. Crispinilla and Flavia L.f. Polymnia Marciana, and her son L. Flavius L.f. Cleonaeus. For [T. Fla.] Zenophilos and Fla. Xenion Marathonios, see *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 3676; J.H. Oliver, *Hesperia* 21 (1952) 396; K. Clinton, *The Sacred Officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries* (American Philosophical Society, 1974) no. 32; J.H. Oliver, *Ep. e Ord. Sen.* II, 593; A.J. Spawforth and Susan Walker, *JRS* 75 (1985) 101; *PIR<sup>2</sup>* F 405.

construction or renovation of their Larger Theater, and to honor local and imperial benefactors with statuary there, as well as a traditional inscription on the architrave.

2. Votive table dedicated by P. Aelius Leonas Augg. lib.  
from the Asklepieion at Lisos (IIInd.cent.; pl. IX.2)

Five fragments of an inscribed stone (Chania Museum inv. no. E 132 A-E), made of reddish alabaster. The provenance is not recorded. The upper and lower surfaces are flat and level, the top polished. H of each of the fragments 0.08 m. The inscribed surface of fr. A is W 0.38 m.; B is 0.24 m.; Γ is 0.08 + 0.19 = 0.27 m.; Δ is 0.25 m.; E is 0.075 m., for a total preserved W of 1.215 m. The five fragments are irregularly broken on the sides and at the rear and so vary in their depth measurements: fr. A: D 0.16 m. at most; B: 0.10-12 m.; Γ: 0.04-07 m. and 0.16-18 m.; Δ: 0.22 m. on left side, narrowing to a point on the right; and E: 0.04 m. There also survive other, uninscribed fragments from the same stone, many of which can be assembled as the photographs in Plate IX.2 show.

Letters of H 0.025 m. are inscribed nearer the top surface than the bottom, in one regular and careful line. The letter forms are quite distinctive, showing B, E, H, N, and Ω made with curled and curved strokes separated from their vertical and horizontal strokes. A has a broken bar. Interpuncts are used regularly and take the form of ». The inscription should be dated to the second century on the basis of the name contained therein, and letter forms.

Three of these fragments show a cutting and remains of an iron fitting on the bottom surface. Together with the polished top surface and the inscription on the lateral, these traces suggest that the stone was a table comparable to the unpublished marble table from Lisos, now on display in the Chania Museum.<sup>13</sup> If our alabaster table is indeed comparable to the marble one, its inscription should appear entirely on the front edge, where it could be seen.

The writing on the narrower lateral surfaces can be arranged in the following way:

Πο·Αῖλιος·Λ[ε]ωνᾶς·Σεββ(αστῶν) [ἀπελεύθερος---αλ]γέθηκε[ν --- θεοῖς] πατρίοις ·  
εὐχ[ήν]

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Π---Λ[ε], fr. Δ	]ΩΝΑϹ·CEBB[, fr. G (in two adjoining pieces)	]ΝΕΘΗΚΕ[, fr. B;
before E appears a vertical stroke, and there is the base of a letter stroke to the right of K		]ΠΑ[,
fr. E	]TPIOIC·EYX[, fr. A	

The stone fragments of the table, inscribed as well as uninscribed, do not allow one to determine the length of the text between the dedicant's name and the dedicatory formula. Fragment Δ should be placed first since it preserves the front, left corner of the table. Fragments E and A should be placed last, because of the cutting and traces of an iron fitting on

<sup>13</sup> N. Platon, *Kρ. Xρ.* 11 (1957) 337, 12 (1958) 466, 13 (1959) 377, describes the discovery and collection of many fragments of a reddish crystalline marble table. A table stood by or before the image of Asklepios, to receive individual offerings and be decorated by the temple priest (Walton, *Asklepios* 45 and 80). Such cult-tables, however, usually feature cuttings on the top surface to hold trays, implements, and foodstuffs. See the extensive bibliography given in Sara B. Aleshire, *The Athenian Asklepieion* (Amsterdam 1989) 308. The unpublished Lisos table is by contrast smooth on top, and on its front side bears an inscription that gives the name, patronymic and ethnic of the dedicant, and dedicates the table (in the accusative) to Asklepios *σωτῆρ* (in the dative), as vowed.

the bottom surface, which should mark the right front corner of the table. The dative πατρίοις (fr. E+A) and the accusative εὐχ[ήν] (fr. A) seem to depend on ἀγέθηκε[ν] (fr. B).<sup>14</sup> Alternatively, a lost participle may govern εὐχ[ήν], and ἀγέθηκε[ν] may govern an explicit or implicit object like τὴν/τὰν τράπεζαν. Since this was a cult of both Asklepios and Hygeia (N. Platon, *Kp. Xp.* 11 [1957] 337; 12 [1958] 446) perhaps the dedication is to [Θεοῖς] πατρίοις.<sup>15</sup>

The Greek personal name Λεωνᾶς is attested on Thasos in the third century for T. Αὐρ. Λεωνᾶς, and for a father and son, both named Λεωνᾶς (Fraser-Matthews 287). Outside the part of the Aegean in which Crete is located, Λεωνᾶς is further attested as a Greek personal name in papyri and inscriptions.<sup>16</sup> Since our P. Aelius Leonas is an imperial freedman, however, the best comparisons for his name will come from the city of Rome. This name is borne by 12 men of uncertain status, from the first through third centuries; it is also borne by four men who were slaves, during the same period (Solin, *GPNR* 1056). Particularly notable for our case is *Leonas Augg. verna*, dated between 150 and 250 by Solin;<sup>17</sup> another Leonas, also a *verna*, is more loosely dated between the first and third centuries (*ibid.*, *GPNR* 1056, citing *CIL VI.35667*).

Our imperial freedman's *praenomen* and *nomen* would require that he be a freedman of Hadrian, and not of Antoninus Pius (a T. Aelius) nor Marcus Aurelius (M. Aelius) nor

<sup>14</sup> Another unpublished inscription from Lisos, collected in N. Platon's 1958 excavation, is a tablet also dedicated to Asklepios and ends with the word εὐχάν. The unpublished tablet from Lisos on display in the Chania Museum bears an inscription that includes a form of εὐχόμασι. Dedicatory inscriptions in *IC II*, from western Crete, show the non-Doric form εὐχήν twelve times, from the first century BCE to the Roman period (*IC II.9.1* from the Cranaeum Antrum; 12.24 from Eleutherna; 16.10 from Lappa; 25.4a, 6A, 7B-C and E, 9B, 10A, 14, 19E, 23A, all from Sulia; 26.3 from Sybrita). The Doric form εὐχάν appears seven times, from the second century BCE to the Roman period (*IC II.12.23* from Eleutherna; 25.2, 5A, 19A and D, 24B, 25, all from Sulia; 28.1 from the Tallaeum Antrum).

<sup>15</sup> Walton, *Asklepios* 83, citing Galen (ed. Kühn) VI.41, where Asklepios is called ὁ πάτριος θεὸς ἡμῶν. πάτριος and πατρῷος are equivalent terms (*LSJ* s.v. πατρῷος, II). πατρῷος, in the dative, is also used as an epithet of Asklepios and Hygieia (Walton, *Asklepios* 83, citing *BCH* V, 229, 470, 471). The two terms are used interchangably as epithets for deities in the Greco-Roman world. For πατρία/πάτριος, see inscriptions naming Kore Soteira (*SEG* 28 [1978] 852, cf. *BE* 1969.524); Kybele (*SEG* 28 [1978] 958); Artemis (*SEG* 30 [1980] 1133; 31 [1981] 955; 33 [1983] 893, and *BE* 1972.496); Men (*SEG* 30 [1980] 1504, 31 [1981] 1132, 1210, 1232, 1249); Hestia (*SEG* 31 [1981] 728); Apollo (*SEG* 31 [1981] 1289 and 38 [1988] 1462, and perhaps *BE* 1951.219); Zeus (*SEG* 33 [1983] 783, and *BE* 1939.361); Zeus and Apis (*SEG* 39 [1989] 1565); Dionysus (*SEG* 36 [1986] 615); Athena (*SEG* 37 [1987] 295); Theagenes (*BE* 1968.404); the Gods (*SEG* 36 [1986] 1094, 38 [1988] 1462, and *BE* 1971.601).

<sup>16</sup> Foraboschi 179, citing *P. Strassb.* 184; PHI 6 s.v. Λεωνᾶς, citing five inscriptions from Attica, central Greece, and the Peloponnese, and a papyrus from the Oxyrrhynchus as well as the Strasbourg papyrus cited by Foraboschi. The two inscriptions from Attica are also cited in Osborne-Byrne 283. In three of these six citations, all inscriptions, Λεωνᾶς appears in conjunction with a Roman name: Κλαύδιος in *IG* 11<sup>2</sup> 2068 IV 249; <Τ> Τέρτυλλος in *IG* VII.4173 I 6; and Βῆδιος in *IG* V(2) 55 II 23. The name Λεωνᾶς is apparently “servile” in Rome (Solin *GPNR* 1056), and the Greek citations just may name freedmen.

<sup>17</sup> *CIL VI.10872*. This stone is of second century date, to judge from the names of the deceased mother Aelia Daphne, a *libertus* Aelius Amerinus, and her son Aur. Maecianus Augg. lib. Leonas Augg. *verna* was apparently still of slave status at the time of his mother's death, and if he was ever manumitted might have borne the *nomen* Aurelius not Aelius.

Lucius Verus (L. Aelius) nor Commodus (L. or M. Aelius). The only way, then, to interpret the term Κεββ(ακτῶν), *Augustorum duorum*, is to speculate that he was the freedman of Hadrian and the elder Verus (adopted by Hadrian 136-38) or of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius (adopted by Hadrian only during the last year of his life, 138). Hadrian may or may not have visited Crete while in Greece 122-24, but it is known that he made a gift of the island of Kaudos, off the south-west coast of Crete, to the city of Sparta, and that a Spartan "supervisor" is attested there in 124/25.<sup>18</sup> Perhaps P. Aelius Leonas, freedman of Hadrian and either Verus or Antoninus, was there a decade later, and either on his way to or from Kaudos made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Asklepios at Lisos. Or perhaps he was on his way from the Greek East, as (M. Ulpius) Epictetus was when he and the ship Isopharia put in at Phoinix, opposite Egypt.<sup>19</sup> The south coast of Crete, from Hierapytna to Phoinix, Lisos and Kaudos, lay along one of the empire's east-west shipping lanes.<sup>20</sup>

The lettering style of our inscription appears practically identical to that in *IC* II.27.7 from Syia, near Lisos. The Syia inscription can in fact now be restored to read: [Κε]ββ ἀπελε[ύθερος]. Moreover, the same lettering style is to be found on *IC* II.27.1, likewise found at Syia but featuring the term Λιcίων, which suggests that it could be a stone from Lisos instead. Three of the inscriptions that appear in the Lisos section of *Inscriptiones Creticae* (II.17.2, 3, 4) had also been transported to Syia. It is likely that *IC* II.27.1 and 7, and the inscription published here, should be considered Lisian as well. Since *IC* II.27.7, naming an *Augustorum lib(ertus)* was made of variegated marble, not red alabaster, it is possible that there were not one but two objects, of different materials, dedicated to Asklepios by the same individual.

<sup>18</sup> P. Cartledge and A. Spawforth, *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta. A Tale of Two Cities* (London 1989) 108 and 156.

<sup>19</sup> *IC* II.20.7. Epictetus was a *libertus tabellarius* of Trajan. There may, however, have been other, specifically Cretan purposes for the presence of imperial freedmen on the island. M. Aurelius Euemerus was *tabularius* in the treasury of Crete (*ILS* 1496), and another *lib(ertus) ta[b]ularius?*) was apparently buried at Gortyn (unpublished, but see the notice and photograph in *ASAA* 1979-80, 460-61). There appear to be only ca. 6 letter spaces before the abbreviation *Aug. lib. ta[b.]*, so that a short *nomen* such as Aelius or Ulpius is in order for this freedman, apparently named Iari(n)us. Earinus and Iarinus are names frequently borne by slaves and freedpersons, many of whom were in the imperial household, to judge from Solin, *GPNR* II, 1033-34.

<sup>20</sup> A composite map of the commercial routes that ran east to west is presented in C. Panella, "Oriente ed Occidente", p. 629 Fig. 28. For details of the route see Strabo 10.475, cited in Lionel Casson, *Ships and Seafarers in the Ancient World* (Princeton NJ 1971) 297, and G.E. Rickman, "The Grain Trade under the Roman Empire", in *The Seaborne Commerce of Ancient Rome, Studies in Archaeology and History*, J.H. D'Arms and E.C. Kopf, eds. (Rome 1980), esp. 266. For the position of Crete on the east-west route from the coast of Syria and Palestine—taken by Flavius Josephus, Apollonius of Tyana, and St. Paul—and on the north-south routes from Cyrenaica and Egypt, see Jean Rougé, *Recherches sur l'Organisation du commerce maritime en Méditerranée sous l'Empire Romaine* (Paris 1966) 86-87, 92, and 103. The route of the ship Isis, in Lucian's *Navigium*, passed south of Crete, as it should have even if the ship had not been blown into the eastern Aegean on its way from Alexandria (Lionel Casson, *TAPA* 83 [1950] 43-56, esp. 47-48 and Fig. 1).

### 3. Honorary Dedication to Tib. Claudius Dion, Kydonia (IIInd cent.?; pl. X)

A nearly cubic block (Chania Museum inv. no. E 66), made of the local, yellowish-beige limestone. It was found in 1956, in the Kastelli quarter of Chania, built into a Venetian wall along a sidestreet off Karaoli Street. H 0.71 m., W 0.68 m., D 0.48-51 m. An inscription of five lines begins 0.065 m. from the top and ends 0.27-28 m. from the bottom. The lower 0.024 m. of the stone is roughly dressed. On the back surface, left, there is a protrusion 0.035 deep and 0.15 m. long, perhaps the result of secondary use rather than an original cutting.

The lines of the inscription are roughly centered on the stone, with letters carefully and cleanly inscribed, rounded and squared. Letter forms include A, Δ, and Λ with elongated oblique strokes; lunate E, C, and Ω; several letters have oblique apices; interpuncts between name elements take the form of ivy leaves (l). Decoration in the form of an ivy leaf appears in the upper right corner, and a vase or urn with flowers to the left of lines 2-4. The inscription may be dated to the imperial period, perhaps second century, on the basis of letter forms.

1	Ἡ πόλις
	Τιβ Κλ Δίωνα
	ἀρετῆς καὶ
4	εὐνοῖας
	χάριν

2 Π is written with the horizontal of T and the apex of I meeting

This is the first time the name Δίων is attested for western Crete. The name is well-attested for central and eastern Crete, from 223/22 to the first century BCE,<sup>21</sup> and on into the first century of the common era and the imperial period,<sup>22</sup> and is a very common Greek personal name.<sup>23</sup>

Cretan Claudii, likewise, tend to be from central and eastern Crete, though a few are known from the western portion of the island. From eastern Crete eight Claudii are known at Hierapytna and Praisos, three of them Hierapythan Ti. Claudii.<sup>24</sup> From Gortyn, Lyttos, and Knossos in central Crete are preserved the names of seventeen Claudii, of whom six, all from Lyttos, bear the *praenomen* Tiberius.<sup>25</sup> From Rhithymna, Lappa, Aptera, and Sulia in

<sup>21</sup> Milet 1 (3) 38e.6; OGIS 134; IC III.4.10, and SEG 32.890 from Hierapytna; ID 2598.14 from Lyttos.

<sup>22</sup> IC III.4.1 from Hierapytna; IC I.22.62 from Olous.

<sup>23</sup> For this very common Greek personal name, see Fraser-Matthews 142, Osborne-Byrne 133-34, Preisigke 92, Foraboschi 99, and PHI 6 s.v. Δίων.

<sup>24</sup> From Hierapytna Κλαύδιος Ζηνοφίλου νίος (IC III.3.22), Τιβ. Κλαύδιος Ἀρισταγόρας (IC III.3.7 and 30), Κλ. Καλλ..voc (Macridy, *JÖAI* 15 [1912] 47-48 no. 6), Τιβ. Κλαύδιος Ὑπεράνθης (IC III.3.23 and 30), Κλ. Φαρίών (Macridy, *JÖAI* 15 [1912] 47-48 no. 6), Κλα]ύδιος Σκιθ[ (SEG 32 [1982] 872), Ti. Cla(u)dius Valerius (*AE* 1964.262). From Praisos Κλ. Εύπορᾶς (SEG 32 [1982] 909).

<sup>25</sup> From Gortyn M. Κλ. Χαρμόσυνος Πρατόνεικος (IC IV.306A), Κλ. Φῆλιξ (IC IV.337), Κλ. Μαρκελλεῖνα (IC IV.300 B 13), Κλ. Νείκανδρος and Κλ. Πτολεμαῖος (IC IV.305). From Lyttos Κλαυδία Ἀκεσώ Βάδαο (IC I.18.115), Τιβ. Κλαύδιος Ἀνδρόλαος (GVI 878), Τιβ. Κλαύδιος Βάδας (IC I.18.115), Τι. Κλαύδιος Βοινόβιος (IC I.18.22-26), Κλαυδία Δαμώ Βοινοβίου (IC I.18.113), Τιβ. Κλαυδία Ὁλυμπιάς and her father [Τιβ. Κλαύδιος] Ὁλύμπιος (GVI 878), Κλαυδία Φιλουμένη and Κλαυδία Πανφίλη ἡ καὶ

western Crete are known seven Claudii, one of whom is a Tiberius named at Sulia.<sup>26</sup> Three additional Claudii are known from unspecified places in Crete.<sup>27</sup>

We will never know just what motivated the city of Kydonia to honor Tib. Cl. Dion with this elegant stone, but it may be that we can identify the original location of this dedication. There was a theater in Roman Kydonia, remains of which survived until the late sixteenth century, when the Venetians destroyed it in order to use its materials in the fortress walls they were building.<sup>28</sup> The Kastelli quarter, where this stone was found built into a Venetian wall, possessed Classical-Roman buildings, whose column drums have been reused in the Venetian walls below the hill (Sanders, *Roman Crete* 169). It just may be that Dion was honored as a civic benefactor to the city of Kydonia, in her theater. Second-century Kydonia may have been largely obliterated by Venetian engineers, but Belli's manuscript has preserved for us evidence of the milieu, and perhaps even the physical environment, within which Tib. Claudius Dion was honored for his excellence and benevolence.<sup>29</sup>

#### 4. Honorary Dedication to L. Varius Satrius, perhaps from Knossos (IIInd cent.?; pl. IX.3)

A block of grey, porous stone (Herakleion Museum, no inv. no.). The provenance is unknown. H 0.23 m., W 0.53 m., D 0.31-39 m., broken at the right. A plain, rounded molding W 0.06 m. on top and bottom, and 0.10 m. on the left, surrounds the inscribed field which is H 0.11 and W 0.42 as preserved.

The two-line inscription appears to have been centered on the stone, since it is 0.09 m. from the left in line 1, and 0.18 m. from the left in line 2. Letters in both lines are H 0.025 m. Letter forms include lunate C; A, Δ, and Λ with elongated oblique strokes; A shows both horizontal and oblique bars; B and P slightly attenuated. Interpuncts in the form of small triangles appear between the name elements in line 1. The inscription may be dated to the imperial period, perhaps to the early second century, on the basis of letter forms and the name Satrius borne by the honoree.

1     Λ·Βάριον·Σατρι[...]  
      Χαίριδος

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<sup>26</sup> Αφροδειςιάς (*IC* I.18.114), Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Ῥοῦφος (*IC* I.18.116), Κλ. Τυχικός (*IC* I.18.58). From Knossos Κλαύδια Πρ[ (*IC* I.8.20).

<sup>27</sup> From Rhithymna Κόιντος Κλαύδιος (*IC* II.24.1); from Lappa Κλαύδιος Ζώσιμος (Macridy, *JÖAI* 15 [1912] 46 no. 2); from Aptera Κλαύδιος Ἰλαρος (*IC* II.3.31), Κλαυδία Θόη (*IC* II.3.45); from Sulia Τ. Κλαύδιος Δαφνο[ (*IC* II.25.16), Τι. Κλαύδιος Δημήτριος νε(ώτερος) (*IC* II.25.17A), Κλαυδία Μυ[ (*IC* II.25.8H). Names at Sulia may belong to Gortynians instead (*IC* IV, *praef. hist.* 28).

<sup>28</sup> Κλαύδιος Κρητικός (J. Baillet, *Inscriptions grecques et latines des tombeaux des rois ou Syringes*, 3 vols. [Cairo 1920-26] 497 no. 1914), K. Κρητικός (*CIL* IV.6424), Claudius Timarchus (Tac. *Ann.* 15.20, probably from one of the major Roman centers of Crete such as Gortyn, Knossos, Lyttos, or Hierapytina).

<sup>29</sup> Στέργιος Σπανάκης, “Τὸ θέατρο στὴ Ῥωμαϊκὴ Κρήτη”, *Πρακτικὰ Β’ Διεθνοῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου* (Φιλολόγικος Σύλλογος “Ο Χρυσόστομος”, Ἀθῆναι 1968), τόμ. Β’ 145. See Falkener, “Theaters”, 27.

<sup>29</sup> Roman Kydonia had not only a theater but an aqueduct, a temple with a Doric portico, a second-century bath building with mosaics, a closed harbor, and a second-fourth century fashionable suburb with mosaics in its fine houses (Sanders, *Roman Crete* 169-70). A head of Antinoös was found at Chania by Belli (Falkener “Theaters”, 27), and the Kydonian mint was active well into the mid-second century (Sanders, *Roman Crete* 13).

Βάριος is attested as a name from hellenistic Crete, at Miletos (Fraser-Matthews 99), but the *praenomen* L(ucius) makes it clear that we have here a Roman *nomen*. It is just possible that the *nomen* is Barius rather than Varius.<sup>30</sup> The name Varius is, however, attested for two other Cretans in Roman times: Varius, *duumvir* at Knossos in the reign of Caligula (Svoronos 93 nos. 202-06) and Οὐαρία Ἐπικτήσις, παρθένος from Hierapytna, at Claros in 182 (Macridy, *JÖAI* 15 [1912] 47ff., no. 6). The provenance of this stone is not recorded, but it is quite likely that it came from Knossos, given the proximity of the Herakleion Museum to this Roman site and the fact that a *duumvir* of the colony bore the same *nomen*. L. Varius Satrius was in all probability a descendant of the mid-first-century *duumvir*, just as the Plotius Plebeius of Domitian's time was in all likelihood a descendant of a homonymous Augustan *duumvir*.<sup>31</sup>

The *praenomen* Lucius is, however, unusual for Varii, and so may raise interesting possibilities for the source of this Knossian's citizenship. Varii with the *praenomina* Caius, Marcus, and Publius are known among the Italian traders active in the Greek East (Jean Hatzfeld, *Les Trafiquants Italiens dans l'Orient Hellénique* [Paris 1919] 406). Varii with the *praenomen* Caius are found among traders on Delos (Jean Hatzfeld, *BCH* 36 [1912] 88). Two Varii with the *praenomen* Lucius are, however, known among the senators and equestrians of ancient Rome: the *consul* L. Varius Ambibulus (*PIR*<sup>1</sup> V 183), and the epic poet L. Varius Rufus (*PIR*<sup>1</sup> V 194). Ambibulus was part of a family of L. Varii whose origins can be traced to Capua though they are also known at Nola in Trajanic times (M. Cebeillac-Gervasoni, *Ep. e Ord. Sen.* II, 82-83 and 125). This senatorial and consular family was descended from a *procurator Augusti* active at the end of the first century. Given the well-known connection between Crete and Campania, particularly Capua, it is quite possible that L. Varius Ambibulus and our Knossian share Campanian origins. In that case not only our honorand but also his father Chairis might be L. Varii. Χαῖρις is attested as a name on Amorgos, at Cyrene, and on Paros.<sup>32</sup> The woman's name Χαῖρεστράτη is also attested at second century Knossos (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 9045, a daughter of Glaukos).

Varius' *cognomen* is more elusive. No Greek personal names beginning with the letters CATPI- are attested in this area of the Aegean (Fraser-Matthews 402). Such names are attested only as Greek equivalents of Roman, i.e., Satria, Satriana, Satrinnius (Pape-Benseler

<sup>30</sup> Wilhelm Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen* (Berlin, Zürich, and Dublin 1966) 207, 350, 423.

<sup>31</sup> Plotius Plebeius (*AE* 1969/70.635) was party to a territorial settlement in 84, while his presumed forebear Plotius Pleb(eius) was a *duumvir* together with Aeschines Caes. I. (Svoronos 91 nos. 190-91).

<sup>32</sup> Fraser-Matthews 479. From Crete, see the comparable names Χαῖρημων (*ibid.*, first century, Lyttos); Χαῖριας (*ibid.*, second-first century BCE, Chersonesos); Χαῖρηντάδας (*ibid.*, second century BCE, Lato). For Χαῖρις see Osborne-Byrne 472, citing inscriptions from Athens and Attica (*ARV*p. 1571; *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 900 [*DAA* 177; *Agora* XVII 23, 172; *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 1191, 172; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 10]; Osborne *Naturalization* D 6 B II, 74); and PHI 6 s.v. Χαῖρις, also citing inscriptions from Delphi and the Peloponnese (*FD* III.4, 125, and *IG* IV.1.71 and 102 B I 87). Preisigke 470, cites *BGU* II.659, III.14, and IV 1029.1 with the genitive Χαῖριτος; Foraboschi 339, cites *P. Tebt.* 890, *P. Tebt. Mich.* 123R, and *SB* 7244.

1351). The form Satrius is likewise attested, as a Roman name rather than a Greek one.<sup>33</sup> A Roman *nomen* or *cognomen* is therefore much more likely for this element of Varius' name. The name must, in the accusative case, have only two letters after CATPI-. Only the *nomen* Satrius, used as a *cognomen*, satisfies this requirement. It is, then, surely remarkable that [%] Satrius Q.f. Hor. Sep[pius Ru]fus, from Venusia, was *quaestor pro praetore provinciae Cre-tae et Cyrenarum* under Domitian.<sup>34</sup> Our Knossian's *cognomen* may well be taken from the quaestor's *nomen*, and so reflect some benefit conferred upon him or his father [L. Varius] Chairis. Access to official patronage was more likely in Gortyn than in Knossos, so we may wonder in what capacity Charis or Satrius came to the quaestor's attention.<sup>35</sup> Satrius must himself have been notable back at Knossos, given this dedication in his honor.

### 5. Dedicatory Inscription for Antonius Androgeos, Gortyn (I/II cent.; pl. XI.3)

Base or plinth of a small statuette (Herakleion Museum inv. no. E 221 [Γ 176]), from Gortyn, made of white marble. Of the statuette only the two feet and the base of a tree are preserved. The body was propped or leaning on the tree, and in front of it there was a round or spherical object whose bottom is visible. H 0.055 m., W 0.018 m., D 0.10 m. A simple molding H 0.01 m. adorns the top of the left, front, and right sides. On the bottom of these same sides the molding is H 0.02 m. The back side is unadorned, presumably because the statuette was meant to be seen from the front.

The one-line inscription begins at the left margin of the front side, and is barely accommodated by the right margin. It is aligned along the top margin, 0.035 m. from the bottom. Letters H 0.15 m., with small apices; lunate E and Ω; Δ and A with elongated oblique *hastae*, but A has a straight bar; O slightly smaller, and I slightly larger than other letters; interpunct in the form of a hemicircle between the elements of the name. The inscription may be dated to the imperial period, perhaps first-second century, on the basis of letter forms.

Αντωνίου Ἀνδρογέου

Antonii, some M. Antonii, are known on Crete from the second half of the first century BCE on through the period of the high Roman empire. M. Antonius is a Roman onomastic combination relatively common on Crete, a *praenomen* and *nomen* apparently derived from that borne by M. Antonius the *triumvir*. At Gortyn, though possibly from Knossos instead,

<sup>33</sup> Satrius, as a Roman name rather than a Greek one, is relatively uncommon in Greek nomenclature. See Preisigke 365, citing one ostracon and three papyri; Foraboschi 284, citing one additional ostracon; PH I 6 s.v. Κάτριος, citing one inscription from Attica, two additional ostraca and five additional papyri. Of these thirteen examples, it is notable that four name the prefect of Egypt, Κάτριος Ἀρριανός (*P. Grenf.* II, 78; *Flor.* I, 33,10; *O. Stras.* 801, and *P. Oxy.* 33.30). Yet another six show Κάτριος in combination with other Roman names: Π(όπλιος) *SEG* 19.230; Μάρκος *O. Stras.* 380; Μάρκος *P. Bad.* 4.110; Καπίτων *P. Hamb.* I.13; Ποντίδιος *P. Hamb.* I.30; and Ιονδιανός. *P. Itrash.* 6.531.

<sup>34</sup> *CIL* X.135 and G. Camodeca, *Ep. e Ord. Sen.* II, 147, where his origins are identified as Venusian.

<sup>35</sup> See Saller, *Personal Patronage*, esp. 149–68, on Roman officials as patrons of provincials. M. Sondeius M.f. Ter. Casinas was just such a Knossian colonist who defended his *pupilli* at Gortyn, where they honored him (*IC* IV.295). An unpublished stone at Gortyn honors (in the dative) an Antonius who was *duumvir* of *Colonia Iulia Cnosia*.

see Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος, father of a *pontifex* and *duumvir quinquennalis* (*IC* IV.443, late empire), Μᾶρκος Ἀντώνιος Κρίτωνος νιὸς Κρίτων Ἱεραπύτνιος, πρόξενος καὶ πολίτας (*IC* IV.221 A 1, second half of the first century BCE), and Ἀντώνιος Παραιβάτης, *agoranomos* (*IC* IV.302, before 182). Of these Cretan Antonii, the only one certainly from Gortyn is the second-century *agoranomos*. The other three are certainly or apparently from Knossos and Hierapytna. Other Cretan Antonii are attested not only at Hierapytna (*IC* III.3.7, line 33, III.3.15) and Knossos (S. Ricci, *Mon. Ant.* II [1893] 304-05; *IC* I.8.27), but also at Lyttos (A. Chaniotis, *Tyche* 4 [1989] 26-27; *IC* I.18.105 A 1 and B 2; *IC* I.18.205 A 2), Phaistos (*IC* I.23.6A), and Rhithymna (*IC* II.24.4 *ter*)

'Ανδρόγεος, on the other hand, is a historical Greek personal name heretofore unattested for Crete or elsewhere in the Greek world. 'Ανδρόγεως is well-known as the name of the mythical son of Minos and Pasiphae, who as a hero had an altar in Athens (Pape-Benseler 87). This personal name is likewise unattested among the Greek personal names of Rome, which constitute a veritable onomasticon, especially for the servile population of Rome (Solin, *GPNR* III, 1506). This fanciful name may well indicate former slave status, now borne by a *libertus* belonging to a Gortynian household of Antonii.

#### 6. Funerary stele for Ioulia Lucilla, Kydonia (II/III cent.?, pl. XII)

A funeral stele (Chania Museum inv. no. E 70; Αρχ. Δελτ. 1960, 271), almost complete, made of white marble. It was found at Kydonia in 1960. It shows a seated, veiled woman to the left, shaking hands with another woman, who is seated to the right.<sup>36</sup> They are both facing, both veiled in their ample himations, and both clad in long, girt chitons reaching their feet. Between them, in the background, are a mirror and a jewelry box. The form of the frame is a pediment, frieze, architrave and rough pilasters left and right. There is a pinecone-like akroterion on top and rudimentary akroteria on the corners. The stone is rough, and the carving borders on the rustic. The surface is damaged. H 0.63 m. at the central peak of the pediment, 0.515 m. at the left and 0.465 m. at the right, broken slightly on the lower right. W 0.365 m., and D 0.08 m. The sculpted scene is H 0.31 m. and W 0.29 m., framed by two columns W 0.03 m. and a platform H 0.03-07 m.

Line 1 of the inscription appears on the pediment H 0.05 m., lines 2-3 on a band H 0.07 m. above the sculpted scene. Letters appear irregular and carelessly cut, H 0.02-025 m. in lines 1 and 2, 0.015-02 m. in line 3. O is smaller and Y larger than other letters; A has an oblique cross bar; Ω and C are lunate; K has a space between left and right strokes. The inscription should be dated to the imperial period, perhaps second-third century, on the basis of letter forms.

1	Ιολία
Λουκή-	Νικας-
λλα	ως
⋮⋮	

<sup>36</sup> For this detailed and sensitive description, I am indebted to Prof. Cornelius C. Vermeule III, who examined the photograph of this stele and included it in the update of his working catalog, "Crete in Hellenistic and Roman Times", unpublished notes provided by the author.

Other Iulii are certainly attested on Crete—from Hierapytna, Knossos, Gortyn, Tymbaki/Kamilari, Arkades, and the Idaean Cave—but rarely if ever from western Crete.<sup>37</sup> Compare, however, the *cognomen* Ἰούλιανή/ός, attested at Pantomatrichton (*GVI* 784), and twice at Sybrita, as well as at Gortyn.<sup>38</sup> And for the *cognomen* Lucilla, compare Λούκιλλος, from Tarrha in the first century.<sup>39</sup> Λουκήλλα is an iotaistic spelling for Λουκίλλα/η.<sup>40</sup>

The most unusual feature of this text, however, is the apparent use of a matronymic.<sup>41</sup> The Greek personal name Νικασώ is newly attested for Crete, though it is known from Delos, Karpathos, Kos, and Rhodes.<sup>42</sup> Other names from western Crete, that use the common name element Νικ-, include Νικαρέτα at Kydonia (Fraser-Matthews 330); Νικίας at Aptera, Hyrtakina, and on Kaudos (*ibid.* 333); Νίκων at Aptera and Kisamos (*ibid.* 339). The text, together with the reception scene, suggests that the two figures named are daughter and mother, and perhaps that the mother Νικασώ is welcoming her daughter Ἰολία Λουκίλλα to the afterlife.

#### 7. Funerary inscription for Theaitetos and Marciana, Chersonesos (II/III cent.?, pl. XI.1)

A white marble stele (Herakleion Museum inv. no. E 357), found at Chersonesos in 1972. Almost trapezoid in cross-section, it bears on the front plane an engraved frame with a pediment that occupies half of the whole surface. The lower part of the stele is restored. H 1.03 m., including the restoration, W 0.22 m., D 0.07-18 m. The finished face begins 0.05 m. from the top and ends 0.55 from the bottom. The rest of the surface shows tool marks. The inscribed pediment is H 0.05 m. and W 0.18 m. The rectangular frame is H 0.39 m. and also W 0.18 m., centered 0.025 m. from both left and right edges.

<sup>37</sup> At Hierapytna [Ἰο]ύλι[ος] (*IC* III.3.58), Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ἀντίοχος (*IC* III.3.7); possibly from Hierapytna Iulia L. f. Valeria Marciana Crispinilla (Camodeca, *Puteoli* 91-92). At Knossos (C. Iulius) Aeschines Caes. I. (Svoronos 91 nos. 190-91, a *duumvir*), C. Iulius Antonius (Svoronos 91 no. 192, a *duumvir*), Ἰούλιος Κνώσος (*IG* XIV.1684). At Gortyn Ἰού[λιος ?] (*IC* IV.340), Ἰούλια ἡ καὶ Μωπυργώ (*IC* IV.246), T. Φλ. Ἰούλιος Βολούμνιος Σαβεῖνος (*IC* IV.305). From Tymbaki/Kamilari T. Ἰούλιος Πόρμων (*Kρ.Χρ.* 1957 Χρον. 339). At Arkades Ἰούλλα Νονίου γυνή (*IC* I.5.8). From the Idaean Cave M. Ιόλ(ης) (*ΠΑΕ* 1983, 481, reading confirmed by A. Chaniotis in *Ιδαῖον Ἀντρον* I no. 13, forthcoming). Possibly from Lappa Ἰού. Φαῦντος νέος (Macridy, *JÖAI* 15 [1912] 47 no. 4). From an unspecified place on Crete, Iulius Creticus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 285).

<sup>38</sup> *IC* II.26.15 from Sybrita, and *IC* IV.305 (an Aurelius) from Gortyn.

<sup>39</sup> *RE* 13.2 (1927) 1785-91 s.v. Lukillos. Compare the related *cognomen* Λουκιανός (*IC* I.18.18). For Lucii on Crete, see 8 below.

<sup>40</sup> Lucilla is a Roman name, specifically that borne by M. Aurelius' mother (e.g. *IC* IV.300.8 from Gortyn). For examples of this name borne by women who are not part of the imperial household, see PHI 6, s.v. Λουκίλλα/η, citing *I. Eph.* 2404.2; *MAMA* 6.226.4 (Pisidia); *IChrUR* 9.25998 and *CIJ* 135.2 (Rome); *P. Iand.* 6.95.5, *P. Oxy.* 9.1209 and 46.3296r.4 and 22; *PSI* 4.295. Cf. also Preisigke 198 and Foraboschi 181.

<sup>41</sup> Compare Λαρία Νεικῶς, a Cretan woman, perhaps from Lyttos but buried at Athens (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 9087+ *SEG* 13.148).

<sup>42</sup> Fraser-Matthews 331. Compare Preisigke, 234, citing *Amh.* II.45.7; Foraboschi 208, citing *PCZ* 59335 and *P. Hamb.* 105; PHI 6 s.v. Νικασώ, citing eight inscriptions from Attica (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 7963.I.1 and 11788.3, *Verfluchungstafeln* 7.2), central Greece (*IG* VII.1242), Delos (*ID* 4.1716, 5.2116 and 2117), and the Peloponnese (*IG* IV.1[2] 737).

Within the frame, there is an inscription, and below it two inscribed ivy leaves. The inscription begins at the top of the frame, but ends 0.195 m. from its bottom, with the result that the inscribed field is H 0.20 m. and W 0.18 m. The two ivy leaves are in the lower right and lower left corners of the frame. Letters are H 0.025 - 0.03 m. and include quadrate C; A has a straight bar and, once, an elongated oblique *hasta*; an interpunct in the form of < appears in line 2 and at the end of line 6. The inscription should be dated to the imperial period, perhaps the second-third century, on the basis of letter forms.

1	Θεέτητος
	καὶ < Μαρ-
	κιανὴ ἐ-
4	αυτοῖς κα-
	τεσκεύα-
	caν <

Θεέτητος is another spelling of Θεαίτητος, which is attested on Keos and Kos before the common era.<sup>43</sup> Compare also Θεαίδητος, attested on Rhodes, Thasos, and Thera, all before the common era but the one from Thera.<sup>44</sup>

Μαρκιανή (Latin Marciana) is a name already attested on Crete, in the names of Flavia L.f. Polymnia Marciana and her mother Iulia L.f. Valeria Marciana Crispinilla, one or both from Hierapytna.<sup>45</sup> Μαρκιανή is also known from Cyrene in the second century.<sup>46</sup> The comparable *cognomen* Marcellina is known from Crete, at Gortyn in the name of Κλ. Μαρκελλεῖνα (IC IV.300 B 13). Both Marciana and Marcellina are *cognomina* derived from the *nomen* Marcius, and might be given as *cognomina* in commemoration of a mother's *nomen*. There are a number of Marciae/i attested from Roman Crete, from the first century BCE, when Πόπλιος Μάρκιος Ποπλίου νιὸς Τρωμεντείνος was declared πρόξενος καὶ πολίτας at Gortyn (IC IV.221B), to the second and third centuries, when Κόιντος Μάρκιος Εἰσολανὸς Κρῆς Γορτύνιος was *primus vir* of the province in the time of Trajan (PIR<sup>2</sup> M 239), Μαρκία was buried at Lyttos (IC I.18.139C), and Μαρκία Καρνεάδου may have owned a

<sup>43</sup> Fraser-Matthews 211. For this fairly common name, compare Osborne-Byrne 211, citing fifteen examples from Attica; Foraboschi 133, citing *PSI* 1151 (with the spelling Θεέτητος) and *P. Erlangen* 109; PHI 6 s.v. θεαίτητος, citing twenty inscriptions from Attica (most of which are duplicated in Osborne-Byrne), thirteen from Caria (twelve from Iasos and one from Mylasa), two from Ionia, and one each from central Greece, Delos, and Delphi.

<sup>44</sup> Fraser-Matthews 210. Compare Preisigke 130, citing *SB* 1, 890 and 891; Foraboschi 133, citing *SB* 6425.

<sup>45</sup> Camodeca, *Puteoli*. The name Μαρκιανός is read by Guarducci at Chersonesos, but A. Chaniotis has recently re-read this stone to give the name Μαρίνος (IC I.7.30, cf. Fraser-Matthews 298; A. Chaniotis, *ZPE* 77 [1989] 75).

<sup>46</sup> Fraser-Matthews 298. Μαρκιανά/ή is a Roman name, specifically that borne by Trajan's sister, but it was borne by some non-imperial women as well. In addition to the two Cretan and one Cyrenean women already noted, Μαρκιανή is attested at Athens (Osborne-Byrne, 298, citing *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 13241 (*AM* 67 [1942] 67 no. 114) and elsewhere in the Greek East and Roman West. In the Greek East see PHI 6 s.v. Μαρκιανή, citing *P. Oxy.* 10.721, and inscriptions from the Peloponnese (*IG* 4.678), Ephesus (*I. Eph.* 612,1491 *bi* 9), and Macedonia (*Recueil Macedoine* 115). See Fraser-Matthews 298, citing Cesnola *Cyprus* 433 no. 51, for a Μαρκιανά from Cyprus. In the Roman West see PHI 6 s.v. Μαρκιανή, citing inscriptions from Syracuse (*Strazzulla* 389; *RPARA* 22 [1946] 228, and *I. Porto* 92), and Christian Rome (*iChrUR* I, 1853; IX.25979).

*hortus* at Gortyn (*IC* IV.340). Chersonesos, where our Marciana was buried, was a port of Lyttos, where Marcia was buried, so a connection between these two Romanized women is onomastically possible.

#### 8. Funerary Inscription for Lucius' Wife, Chersonesos (I/II cent., pl. XI.2)

An inscribed block of porous stone, of which the lower part is lost (Herakleion Museum inv. no. 365). It was found at Chersonesos during the 1974-75 excavation season ("Εργον 1974, 121; Αρχ. Δελτ. 29 [1973-74] Β' 3 901). The inscribed face is badly damaged, and probably has been erased. It has been regularly destroyed by diagonal tool marks. Around the inscribed field is a wide, flat molding, decorated above with sculpted triangles, one whole and two half. H 0.075 m., W 0.60 m., D 0.026 m. The decorated section, with the sculpted triangles, is H 0.034 m.; the intact left molding is W 0.115 m., and the right-hand molding would be of equal width if preserved. The stone is broken on the lower right-hand side and bottom, where it is now cemented to the floor of the Epigraphical Collection.

The inscription is nearer the left-hand margin than the right, and begins close to the top of the field created by the moldings; it is unfinished where the stone breaks off at bottom. Guidelines 0.04 m. apart are visible for lines 1 and 2 on the right, for lines 1-3 on the left. Letters in line 1 are just legible and are H 0.04 m. The last letter of line 1 may be a lunate sigma. Other letters are too undistinctive or badly damaged to be described or dated, though lunate sigma would indicate an imperial date, even the late first-early second century date suggested below.

1	Λούκιος
	Ϲ[ω]τοῦ
	τ[ῆ] ιδ[ία]
4	γ[υναικὶ]
	[... μνήμης χάριν]

The restoration is tentative. The stone was found near a number of *stelai* that, in secondary use, formed the sides and covers of a group of graves ("Εργον 1974, 121). One of these graves contained bronze coins with portraits of Lucilla, mother of M. Aurelius. The *stelai* are therefore earlier in date, possibly late first to early second century. They may come from the burial site of a family which had become extinct by the mid-second century. Two of these *stelai*, moreover, show the name Κώτας for the father of Δείτιλος and Ἀβάσκαντος.<sup>47</sup> This name provides a very good restoration for that of Lucius' father too (line 2). Lucius' dedication is, furthermore, remarkably like that of Abaskantos. It has the same ornamentation, with the same wide flat molding and one whole plus two half triangles at the top, and an inscription which records a man's funerary dedication to his wife.

Of the names that appear on this connected group of *stelai*, most are known elsewhere in central and eastern Crete, but some are new to the island's onomasticon. Ἀγαπητός and

<sup>47</sup> Fraser-Matthews 428 gives the nominative Κώτας, citing only these stones from Chersonesos. They show the genitive ΚΩΤΟΥ, which may be interpreted as genitive of the common Κώτας (Preisigke 401). The name Κώτας should, then, be removed from Fraser-Matthews, and these stones cited in the entry for Κώτας, together with individuals already attested at Lyttos and Hierapytna (*BCH* 93 [1969] 844, and *IC* III.3.14).

'Ακίνδυνος are not otherwise attested for Crete.<sup>48</sup> The rest are known elsewhere in central and eastern Crete: Σωτᾶς also at Lyttos and Hierapytna (*BCH* 93 [1969] 844, and *IC* III.3.14, respectively);<sup>49</sup> Πλούστάρχης (in Doric spelling) also at Chersonesos (*IC* I.7.21);<sup>50</sup> Δείτιλος, from Crete, at Lato and Lyttos;<sup>51</sup> and Ἀβάσκαντος, at Lappa.<sup>52</sup> The *oikos* named on these stones would appear to be headed by Sotas, and composed of his sons Deitilos and his wife, Abaskantos and his wife, and Lucius and his. The relationship of Plautarcha, daughter of Agapetos, and Akindunos is not specified.

The fact that Lucius is the only one of this whole group to bear a Roman name, and a *praenomen* at that, suggests that he was not a Roman citizen of Crete but rather a Cretan whose name indicates his response to Roman influence. Other Cretans known simply as Lucius include Λεύκιος Κυδωνιάτας (*IC* II.10 *praef. hist.* 113, first century BCE), Λούκιος from Phaistos (*IC* I.23.23, first-second century), and Λούκιος at Sulia (*IC* II.25.8, religious graffiti of imperial date).



These inscriptions have been collected and published as part of a study of the Roman names attested for Crete and Cretans, from the second-first centuries BCE to 212, when the *constitutio Antoniniana* extended Roman citizenship to all free inhabitants of the empire and forever changed how Roman names might be chosen and borne by non-Romans.

This study adds new examples of certain names already known from this part of the double province Creta-Cyrenae. Antonius (5), Varius (4), Iulia (6), and Claudius (3) are all *nomina* that reflect early patronage, triumviral, Campanian, and imperial. This patronage was exercised at Gortyn, Kydonia and possibly Knossos or Hierapytna, from the first century BCE to the first century of our era. The presence of an imperial freedman at Lisos (2), and the architrave fragment from Hierapytna (1), evince second century interest and benefaction. The *cognomen* Marciana (7), in itself and by its connection to the *nomen* Marcus may reflect Italian patronage, at Gortyn in the first century BCE, and then perhaps

<sup>48</sup> See Fraser-Matthews 4 for 'Αγάπητος (sic), citing this stone from Chersonesos, and two from Thera (*IG* XII[3].668b and 711); and *ibid.* 23 for 'Ακίνδυνος, where this stone from Chersonesos and another from Chersonesos (naming a man from Kos; *IC* I.7.11; Bandy 64) is cited. This rather common name is also known from inscriptions from Attica, the Peloponnese, Caria, and Ephesus (PHI 6 s.v. 'Ακίνδυνος), as well as from the papyri (Preisigke 15, Foraboschi 23, PHI 6 s.v. 'Ακίνδυνος, where seven examples name Σεπτίμιος 'Ακίνδυνος, who was consul in 340).

<sup>49</sup> For this very common name, see not only Preisigke 401, but also Foraboschi 302-03; PHI 6 s.v. Σώτης, and Osborne-Byrne 420 for Σωτᾶς and 422 for Σώτης.

<sup>50</sup> For Πλούστάρχης, also a common name, see Fraser-Matthews 374; Osborne-Byrne 369; Preisigke 333; Foraboschi 261; PHI s.v. Πλούστάρχης.

<sup>51</sup> Δείτιλος would appear to be a personal name distinctive to Crete. See P. Perdrizet and G. Lefebvre, *Graffites grecs du Memnonion d'Abydos* (Nancy-Paris-Strasbourg 1919) 60 and 62 for men from Crete; *IC* I.16.29 at Lato; *IC* I.18.79 at Lyttos. The same Cretan citations are given by PHI 6 s.v. Δείτιλος. See Preisigke 84 for yet another Cretan bearing the name Δείτιλος, also at Abydos (*SB* I, 4966 *bis*).

<sup>52</sup> *IC* II.16.16. For the common name Ἀβάσκαντος, compare Fraser-Matthews 1, Osborne-Byrne 1, Preisigke 1, Foraboschi 15, and PHI 6 s.v. Ἀβάσκαντος.

local patronage, at Gortyn and Lyttos as well as Hierapytna in the second and third centuries. The cognomen Λουκίλλα (in the spelling Λουκήλλα) may also reflect local patronage, in western Crete from the first to the second or third century. Alternatively, the *cognomina* Marciana (7) and Λουκίλλα (6) may reflect very specific expressions of Roman influence, in echoing the names of Trajan's sister and M. Aurelius' mother. The present study also adds a new name, and an unexpected one, to an *index nominum* for Roman Crete. Satrius (4) is a name that appears to reflect official, Roman patronage conferred upon a colonial family that had citizenship in its own right.

Roman names are not, however, the only fruit of this study. A name completely new to the Greek lexicon of historical persons is Ἀνδρόγεος (5), a name that may be the result of Roman fancy more than Greek sensibilities. Names new to Crete are Χαῖρις (4), Νικασώ (6), and Θεέτητος (7); again the family of Λούκιος Σωτοῦ (8) provides two new Cretan names, Ἀγαπητός and Ἀκίνδυνος. Λεωνᾶς (2) is new to Crete, but is best understood in a Roman context rather than a Greek one. New examples of the names Δίων and Σωτᾶς are preserved in 3 and 8; the family of Λούκιος Σωτοῦ (8) includes three more examples of names already known from Crete, Πλουτάρχα, Δείτιλος, and Ἀβάσκωντος.

Even this small set of inscriptions serves to illustrate the variety with which Greeks bore and recorded Roman names. Individuals bearing the full *tria nomina* are relatively rare in Roman Greece, including Crete. We may discount the imperial freedman P. Aelius Leonas (2), as a man whose onomastic formula was determined in Rome rather than Greece or Crete. Yet here we have Τιβ. Κλαύδιος Δίων of Kydonia (3) and L. Varius Satrius (4), who may be from Knossos. The most common combination features a *nomen* and a Greek personal name or *cognomen*. Here we have Ἀντώνιος Ἀνδρόγεος (5) and Ἰολία Λουκηίλλα (6), one from Gortyn and one from Kydonia. Only a *praenomen* is recorded for Λούκιος at Chersonesos (8), and only a *cognomen* for Marciana at Chersonesos (7). Such single names, not *nomina* but *praenomina* or *cognomina*, may indicate not Roman citizenship but more informal Roman influence. Surprisingly, among this set of Cretans, the Roman *cognomina* (Satrius, 4; Lucilla, 6; Marciana, 7); slightly outnumber the Greek personal names (Δίων, 3; Ἀνδρόγεος, 5). This unusual pattern is the result of the fact that two of these names are borne by members of the local elite: Τιβ. Κλαύδιος Δίων (3), who was honored by the city of Kydonia, and L. Varius Satrius (4), who may have been honored at Knossos. If, however, we count all the names of people related to or associated with this set of Cretans, the balance swings back in favor of Greek personal names. Our study includes not only Δίων and Ἀνδρόγεος, but also Λεωνᾶς (2), Χαῖρις (4), Νικασώ (6), Θεέτητος (7), and the whole family discussed in 8: Σωτᾶς, Ἀγαπητός, Ἀκίνδυνος, Πλουτάρχα, Δείτιλος, and Ἀβάσκωντος. While the present study does not pretend to contain enough texts for any type of statistical comparison, this tallying of Roman and Greek names does serve to remind the student of Roman Greece of the dangers inherent in focussing exclusively upon

Roman names without taking into account the context provided by the Greek personal names borne by relatives and associates in the same texts.<sup>53</sup>

Though this study adds no new cities to those known for Roman Crete, western Crete is represented with unusual frequency, in three of the eight inscriptions presented here. This small study may help to counteract the dominant impression of Roman Crete as an island composed of central cities and Hierapytna. It is not only the south coast of Crete, from Lisos to Hierapytna, that lay along one of the well-travelled shipping lanes running from the east to the west of the Roman empire. The northwest portion of the island, from Kissamos to Kydonia and Rhithymna, too, lay along commercial routes, these running west-east (Panella "Oriente ed Occidente", 629 Fig. 29). Without more systematic exploration and study of western Crete, this impression of Crete as an island dominated by its central and eastern centers of Roman influence is as much an artifact of archaeological history as of ancient. Lisos, the apparent provenance of 2, has been a Roman site in particular need of exploration, study and publication, ever since N. Platon's excavation of an Asklepieion of Hellenistic and Roman times. And unlike Kydonia, it does not lie beneath layers of continuing or continuous habitation.

Most notably, this set of new inscriptions, recording Roman names, is consonant with a well-defined and established geographical pattern. This pattern is composed of the provincial capital at Gortyn (5), possibly the Roman colony at Knossos (4), and a series of port cities from Chersonesos (7-8) to Hierapytna (1), Lisos (2) and Kydonia (3, 6). This pattern is consonant with the phenomenon called "backwater provincialism", in which the onomastics of coastal and urban areas appear more progressive, more open to Roman ways and practices, than those of interior and rural areas, or locations that betray in their onomasticon a mixture of conservatism and progressivism. But a complete and informed assessment of the Cretan response to Roman influence, measured by the onomastic record, must await a full, island-wide study of the Roman names attested for Crete and Cretans.

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<sup>53</sup> See Elias Kapetanopoulos, *The Early Expansion of Roman Citizenship into Attica during the First Part of the Empire (200 B.C. - A.D. 70)* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University 1963) 208.

## CORRIGENDUM

Durch ein technisches Versehen bei der Drucklegung sind in Band 108 (1995) in dem Aufsatz von Martha W. Baldwin Bowsky, „Eight Inscriptions from Roman Crete“, auf S. 270 zwei Sonderzeichen verlorengegangen. Wir bedauern das und drucken den Text noch einmal in der korrekten Form:

1                    Ἡ πόλις  
ΤιβᾶΚλᾶΔίωνα  
ἀρετῆς καὶ  
4                    εὐνοίας  
χάριν

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2 Π is written with the horizontal of T and the apex of I meeting.



1)



2a)

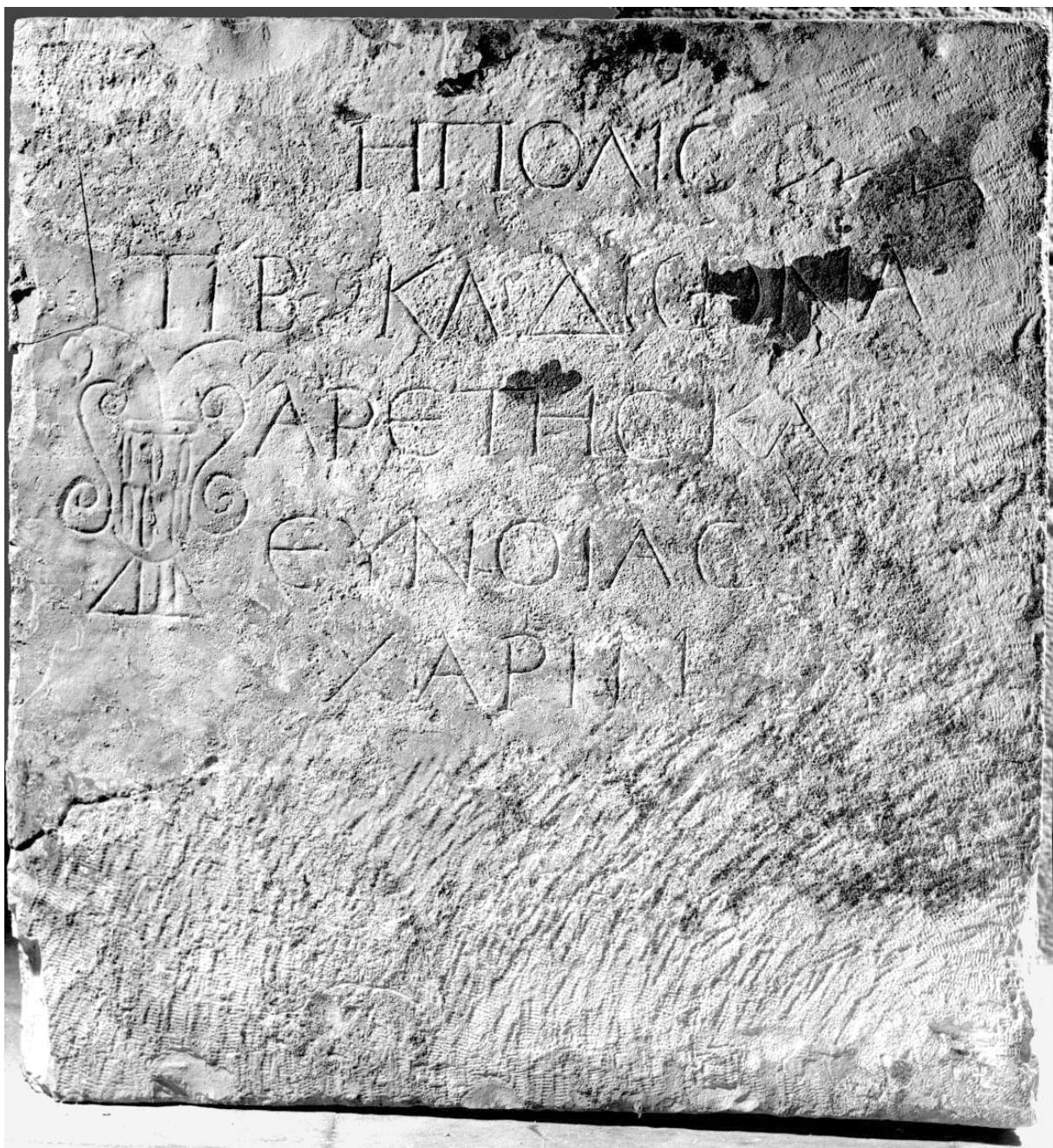


2b)



3)

- 1) Architrave from Hierapytna (II<sup>P</sup>); 2a) und b) Votive table from the Asklepieion at Lisos (II<sup>P</sup>); 3) Honorary dedication to L. Varius Satrius perhaps from Knossos (II<sup>P</sup>?)



Honorary dedication to Tib. Claudius Dion from Kydonia (II<sup>P</sup>?)

TAFEL XI



1)



2)



3)

1) Funerary inscription for Theaitetos and Marciana, Chersonesos (II/III<sup>P</sup>?); 2) Funerary inscription for Lucius' wife, Chersonesos (I/II<sup>P</sup>); 3) Dedicatory inscription for Antonius Androgeos, Gortyn (I/II<sup>P</sup>)



Funerary stele for Ioulia Lucilla, Kydonia (II/III<sup>P</sup>?)