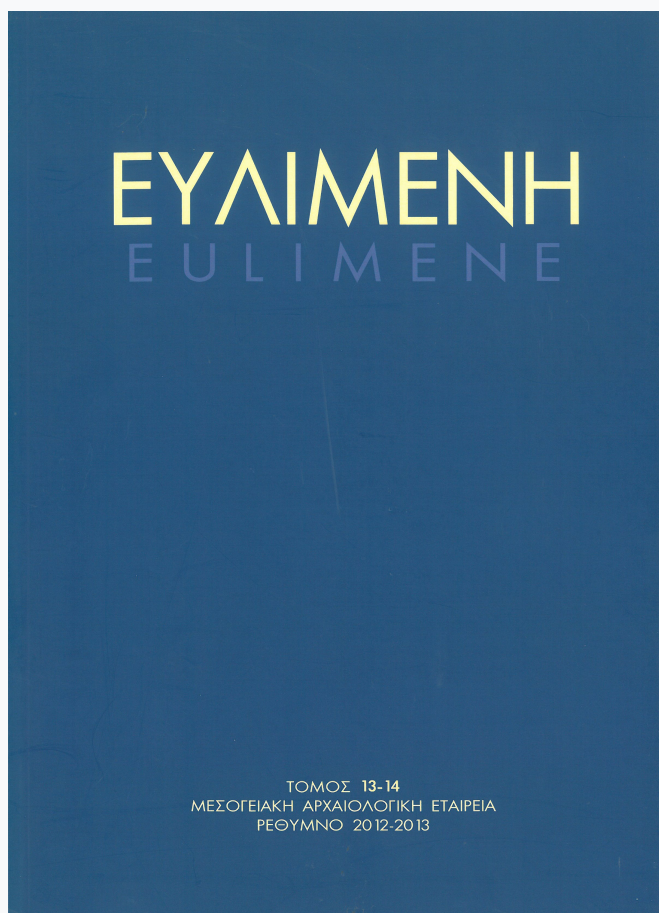# ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ

Τόμ. 13 (2012)

ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 13-14 (2012-1013)

Three New Inscriptions from Late Roman and Early Byzantine Eleutherna

Martha W. Baldwin Bowsky

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ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ

ΜΕΛΕΤΕΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΛΑΣΙΚΗ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑ,
ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΙΚΗ, ΤΗ ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΠΥΡΟΛΟΓΙΑ

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2. Accepted abbreviations are those of *American Journal of Archaeology, Numismatic Literature*, J.F. Oates *et al.*, *Checklist of Editions of Greek and Latin Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets, ASP*.

3. Illustrations should be submitted in .jpg or .tiff format of at least 1,200 dpi (dots per inch) for line art and 400 dpi for halftones (grayscale mode) resolution. All illustrations should be numbered in a single sequence.

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Περιεχόμενα
ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 13-14 (2012-2013)

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EULIMENE 13-14 (2012-2013)

Περιλήψεις / Summaries / Zusammenfassungen / Sommaires / Riassunti

Petros Themelis, Sculpture from Eleutherna, *ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ* 13-14 (2012-2013), 9-44.

Γλυπτική από την Ελένθερνα. Δημοσιεύονται σε μορφή καταλόγου, χρονολογικά, όλα τα γλυπτά που είχαν έλθει στο φως κατά τη διάρκεια της πανεπιστημιακής ανασκαφής στον ανατολικό τομέα Ι της αρχαίας Ελεύθερνας, μεταξύ των ετών 1985-2003. Κατά την περίοδο των ελληνιστικών χρόνων η κρητική πόλη παρουσιάζει οικονομική άνθηση και κάνει δυναμικά την εμφάνισή της τόσο στο ιστορικό όσο και στο καλλιτεχνικό προσκήνιο. Η ακμή της συνεχίζεται και στα χρόνια της ρωμαιοκρατίας. Ανάμεσα στα πολυάριθμα περίοπτα, ανάγλυφα και αρχιτεκτονικά έργα γλυπτικής ξεχωρίζουν, χάρη στην ποιότητα και την εικονογραφική τους σπανιότητα, τα εξής: η «Σανδαλίζουσα Αφροδίτη με τον Πάνα», του 2ου αι. π.Χ., το ανάγλυφο ζεύγος «Ερμής και Αφροδίτη», του 1ου αι. π.Χ., και η αμφιπρόσωπη ιανική στήλη που εικονίζει τον Διόνυσο και την Αριάδνη, προϊόν νεοαττικού εργαστηρίου του 2ου αι. μ.Χ. που ανάγεται σε πραξιτελικό πρότυπο.

Γιώργος Μπροκαλάκης, Πρωτοβυζαντινά γεωργικά εργαλεία: Η μαρτυρία των τεχνέργων από την Ελεύθερνα, *ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ* 13-14 (2012-2013), 45-131.

Strumenti agricoli di età protobizantina. Le testimonianze dall'antica Eleuftherna. Da una casa parzialmente scavata nell'antica Eleuftherna nella Creta centrale proviene un piccolo gruppo di strumenti agricoli, databili con precisione in relazione al sisma del 365 d.C. Per inquadrare questi manufatti in un contesto geografico e cronologico più ampio si è cercato di raccogliere tutte le testimonianze di strumenti analoghi dalla Grecia e dall'Asia Minore, datate tra il IV e la metà del VII sec., enfatizzando il valore dei manufatti archeologici, finora non considerati in modo adeguato dalla ricerca, senza trascurare la capacità informativa, ma anche i limiti, degli altri tipi di documentazione (le fonti scritte e iconografiche, l'etnoarcheologia e l'archeologia sperimentale) per ricostruire la funzione, l'uso e la denominazione di questa classe di materiali. Seguendo questa impostazione, nello studio si è messa in evidenza l'importanza della forma, delle dimensioni e del peso dei manufatti, mostrando che gli strumenti dal contesto chiuso di Eleuftherna erano destinati alla coltivazione dei giardini.

Nonostante ci si sia basati su un campione complessivamente limitato di manufati di età protobizantina, è stato possibile descrivere la diffusione di certi tipi di attrezzi e il numero finora esiguo degli strumenti specializzati, interrogandosi sul conservatorismo delle forme ed evidenziando anche alcuni miglioramenti tecnologici.

Lo studio si conclude con una riflessione sulla produzione e la circolazione delle parti in ferro degli strumenti, mettendo in luce la rete di relazioni tra i fabbri e gli agricoltori.

Τρεις νέες επιγραφές από την ύστερη ρωμαϊκή κσι πρώϊμη βυζαντινή Ελεύθερνα. Στη μελέτη παρουσιάζονται τρεις νέες επιγραφές από την ύστερη ρωμαϊκή και πρώιμη βυζαντινή Ελεύθερνα, υπό το φως τεσσάρων άλλων ήδη δημοσιευμένων επιγραφών. Καμία δεν βρέθηκε στην αρχική της θέση, αλλά προσφέρουν σημαντικά στοιχεία για την Ελεύθερνα πριν και μετά τον σεισμό του 365 μ.Χ., που προκάλεσε στην πόλη μεγάλη, αλλά όχι ολοκληρωτική, καταστροφή. Οι ανασκαφές τον Τομέα I της Ελεύθερνας έχουν φέρει στο φως τον μεγαλύτερο αριθμό αυτοκρατορικών αφιερώσεων και λατινικών επιγραφών από μία μόνο πόλη στο δυτικό μισό του νησιού. Πέντε επιγραφές που σχολιάζονται στο παρόν άρθρο είναι λατινικές, και μαζί με μία ακόμη αποτελούν το σύνολο των έξι γνωστών λατινικών επιγραφών από την Ελεύθερνα. Οι λατινικές επιγραφές είναι σχετικά σπάνιες στη ρωμαϊκή Κρήτη, και η πιο πιθανή εξήγηση για τον εξαιρετικά μεγάλο αριθμό αυτοκρατορικών αφιερώσεων και λατινικών επιγραφών στην Ελεύθερνα ή οπουδήποτε αλλού στη δυτική Κρήτη φαίνεται να ήταν η ανάπτυξη του ρωμαϊκού οδικού δικτύου.

Σημείωμα των εκδοτών

Ο τόμος 13-14 της *Ευλιμένης* αποτελεί ένα αφιέρωμα στον ανατολικό τομέα I της αρχαίας Ελεύθερνας, που ανασκάφτηκε συστηματικά από τον καθηγητή Πέτρο Θέμελη από το 1985 έως το 2003. Στα τρία εκτενή άρθρα που δημοσιεύονται παρουσιάζονται από τον ίδιο τον ανασκαφέα, τον Γιώργο Μπροκαλάκη και την Martha W. Baldwin Bowsky, γλυπτά, εργαλεία και επιγραφές αντίστοιχα, που ήρθαν στο φως κατά τις ανασκαφές των παραπάνω ετών και χρονολογούνται από τους ελληνιστικούς χρόνους (2ο αι. π.Χ.) μέχρι και την πρωτοβυζαντινή περίοδο (μέσα 7ου αι. μ.Χ.). Πολλά από αυτά τα αντικείμενα εκτίθενται πλέον στο Μουσείο Αρχαίας Ελεύθερνας, που ιδρύθηκε χάρη στο όραμα και τις προσπάθειες του καθηγητή Ν. Σταμπολίδη και το οποίο εγκαινιάστηκε από τον Πρόεδρο της Ελληνικής Δημοκρατίας στις 19 Ιουνίου 2016.

Οι διευθυντές έκδοσης
Νίκος Λίτινας – Μανόλης Ι. Στεφανάκης

Editorial Note

Volume 13-14 of *Eulimene* is devoted to the east sector (I) of ancient Eleutherna, which was dug systematically by prof. Petros Themelis from 1985 until 2003. In three extensive articles, Petros Themelis, Yorgos Brokalakis and Martha W. Baldwin Bowsky, publish sculptures, tools and inscriptions respectively, found during the excavations conducted during that period and dating from the Hellenistic period (2nd century BC) to the early Byzantine era (mid-7th cent. AD). Many of these artifacts are now exhibited in the Museum of ancient Eleutherna, founded thanks to the vision and the efforts of prof. N. Stampolides and inaugurated by the President of the Hellenic Republic in June 19, 2016.

The publishing directors
Nikos Litinas – Manolis I. Stefanakis

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THREE NEW INSCRIPTIONS FROM LATE ROMAN AND EARLY BYZANTINE ELEUTHERNA

This study presents three new inscriptions from late Roman and early Byzantine Eleutherna (**fig. 1**), in light of four others already published. The three new inscriptions were discovered in excavations of the Basilica of Euphratas (nos. 1-2, below) and the Large Bath (no. 3, below). None of these seven inscriptions were found in their original location, but together they can tell us a great deal about Roman Eleutherna, before and after the earthquake of 365 that dealt the city a severe but not fatal blow.

Two Latin inscriptions (nos. 1-2, below), discovered in the north and south courtyards of the Basilica of Euphratas, are datable to the time before the building of the basilica –which incorporated materials, inscriptions, and statuary from earlier times– by the mid-5th century.[1] A Greek inscription (no. 3, below) –found in a cistern in the southeastern corner of the Large Bath– is likely to have belonged to the period after the destruction and abandonment of the structure in the late third century.[2] This Greek inscription joins six Christian inscriptions from Prines Mylopotamou published by Guarducci and Bandy.[3] All three inscriptions join those from Roman-Byzantine Eleutherna published by Tzifopoulos.[4]

The new inscriptions can be combined with four inscriptions already published by Tzifopoulos but reconsidered here, inscriptions found in an olive grove east of the Public Building (no. 4, below), in the Basilica of Euphratas (no. 5-6, below), and south of the Basilica (no. 7, below).[5] These seven inscriptions can be set into a series of contexts, from the celebration of the imperial cult and the Cretan wine trade, to language choice at Eleutherna. Two of the inscriptions discussed here add to the evidence currently available for the wine trade (no. 4, below) and the celebration of the imperial cult (no. 6, below) at Eleutherna. Five (nos. 1-2, 4-5 and 7, below) are in Latin –a language seldom attested in

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[1] Themelis 2004, 78. Let me express my heartfelt thanks to Prof. Themelis, for entrusting the publication of these new inscriptions to me.

[2] Themelis 2009, 72-75.

[3] *I.Cret.* II, xii 32-33, 35-36, 41-42 = Bandy 1970, nos. 81-86.

[4] Tzifopoulos 2000; 2009 no. 37.

[5] Tzifopoulos 2007, no. 1; Tzifopoulos 2009, 131 no. 23; Tzifopoulos 2000, 244-45 no. 3 and fig. 5; Tzifopoulos 2009, 137-38 no. 37.

western Crete– and enable us to assess language choice at Roman Eleutherna for the first time.

THREE NEW INSCRIPTIONS

The first two inscriptions presented here have remarkably similar lettering –but differ in the thickness of the stones– and together hint at concrete imperial involvement in juridical issues confronting Eleutherna in the third-fourth century.

1. Inscription of uncertain type, perhaps juridical (fig. 2)

Fragment of local limestone with only the left margin preserved at bottom. Found between N1 and space I –which contained graves 6 and 7– of the South courtyard of the Basilica, in 2002 (ΕΛ 2002, I/3, Επ./20; see **fig. 1** no. 1). Rethymno Museum inv. no. E264.

Stone broken on all sides; inscribed surface badly damaged at lower left. Stone very pale brown (M10R 8/2). Max. H 0.24 m, max. W 0.27 m, max. Th. 0.065 m.

Field of inscription begins 0.125 m from the upper peak of the stone. Guidelines visible above line 1, below lines 2 and 3, above line 4, and below lines 5 and 6. Intervals 0.016 m (above and below line 1; from below line 1 to below line 2); 0.014 m (from below line 2 to below line 3); 0.01 m (from below line 3 to above line 4); 0.025 m (from above line 4 to below line 5); 0.018 m (from below line 5 to below line 6). LH 0.001 m. Latin letters cursive; A, V, M slanted to the left; A without crossbar; D with lower stroke straightened and slightly below guideline; G with crossbar curving backward and slanting downward below the line; L with stroke extending below guideline; M with pronounced diagonals, central stroke below guideline; O slender; R with small high loop, concave diagonal extending below guideline; S very slender.

Date: third-fourth century, on the basis of letter forms. See **Table 1** for the date of Cretan inscriptions that display the distinctive form of L, with horizontal stroke slanting downward below the line of writing.

1.1. maiuscule text

       [- - -]TL *hedera* NISVS[- - -]
       [- - -]VMNOSTROR[- - -]
       [- - -]DVLGENTIARVM[- - -]
       [- - -]CONTRA | | | | ND | | [- - -]
5   [- - -]ISTIASQVASPROG[- - -]
       [- - -]R[.[1].]ITIA^MSIV[- - -]

1.2. Letter traces

Line 1: initial T with vertical extending from right of horizontal; S with an angular lower stroke extending below the line

Line 2: vertical stroke before V

Line 3: vertical stroke before D

Line 4: before C a right diagonal stroke; after A four vertical strokes; after D two vertical strokes

Line 5: after G the left diagonal of V

Line 6: before upper loop of R the upper part of a curved letter preceded by a vertical stroke; upper verticals and upper horizontal of ITI; diagonals of A in ligature with M (or vice versa)

1.3. Transcription

[- - -]T^{i?}. l(ibertus) *hedera* Nisus [- - -]
[- - -]VM nostror[um - - -]
[- - -in]dulgentiarum[- - -]
[- - -] CONTRA | | | | ND | | [- - -]
5   [- - -]istias quas pro GU[- - -]
[- - -]R[.¹.]ITIA^MSIV[- - -]

1.4. Commentary

This inscription may belong to the category of juridical or legal inscriptions in Latin, displayed in the Greek East to project Roman authority and to confirm that what was transcribed was an authentic copy of the official document, often set up by staff working for the provincial governor or emperor.[6]

The text names a freedman –of a Titus or possibly a Tiberius– whose personal name is given in the nominative case. Nisus was a personal name derived from Greek mythology and attested among Greek names in Rome from the first century to the fourth.[7] There it is attested for slaves, freedmen, and men of uncertain status, including a *libertus tabularius* of Iulia Augusta and a *ser(vus) vic(arius)* of Messalina Augusta in the first century, as well as a *servus tabularius* of Caes. II (two Caesars?) between 50 and 150.[8] As a Greek personal name Νῖσος is attested in Epirus and Messene, and Latinized as Nisus at Pompeii.[9]

The possibility that Nisus was a freedman involved in benefits conferred upon the city of Eleutherna is raised and then strengthened by the words *nostror[um]* in the next line and *[in]dulgentiarum* in the third. *Nostrorum* is a word commonly paired in inscriptions with *Augustorum, dominorum, Caesarum,* and *imperatorum*.[10] The imperial context is strengthened by the word *[in]dulgentiarum* in the third line. *[In]dulgentiarum* is a rare genitive plural form of *indulgentia* (kindness, favor, bounty, vel sim.), particularly that of a superior, such as the emperor. In such a context the term suggests a particular emperor's concrete imperial involvement in a single case, often or usually together with a *legatus*, governor, or some other representative.[11] The genitive plural form is attested in a phrase proposed by Mommsen, *[ob indu]lgentiarum ei[us im]mortalem memo[riam]*.[12] In Cretan inscriptions singular forms of this word are attested in inscriptions that refer to the emperor, at second-century Gortyn and fourth-century Lyttos.[13]

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[6] Cooley 2012, 168-71.
[7] Solin 1982, 505; 1996, 340.
[8] Solin 1982, 505; 1996, 340.
[9] *LGPN 3.a*, 329.
[10] PHI.
[11] Horster 2001, 72.
[12] *CIL* XIV 2071, from Lavinium, dated 301-330.
[13] *I.Cret.* IV 333, 9-10 with the phrase *indulgentia sua*, dated 160; *I.Cret.* I, xviii 189, 21 and 22-23 with the phrase *indulgentia nostra*, dated before 340.

Such an imperial context might even be connected with fiscal provisions meant to help Crete in the wake of the earthquake of 365. In the third-fourth centuries *indulgentia*, particularly benevolence, was a virtue of the emperor that played a role not only in private law but in social and administrative politics, especially in the fiscal field, e.g., in favor of provinces struck by natural calamity or damaged by invasions.[14] *Indulgentia* became a technical term used to indicate a provision authorized by the emperor.[15] Plural forms of the word are attested in fiscal contexts that indicate remission of taxes.[16] In the third to fourth centuries, the natural calamity that immediately comes to mind is the earthquake of 365, which dealt a serious blow to the urban landscape of Eleutherna.

2. Inscription of uncertain type, perhaps juridical (fig. 3)

Fragment of local limestone with only upper part of left side and lower part of right side preserved. Found in 1992 in the South courtyard of the Basilica, between N1 and space I, where graves 6 and 7 were located (ΕΛ 1992, I/3/N.ΑΙΘΡΙΟ/0/01, Επ. 1/9, ΑΕ 1294; see **fig. 1** no. 2). Rethymno Museum, inv. no. E242.

Stone broken all around but apparently preserving the left margin of the text, and the right margin in lines 9-12. Inscribed surface damaged on lower left side, in upper and lower center. Stone pale yellow (M5Y 8/2). Max. H 0.275 m, max. W 0.23 m, max. Th 0.8 m.

On inscribed surface a horizontal line 0.035 m below hypothetical top edge and another 0.14 m below it. Vertical line 0.05 m from left edge, another 0.067-0.073 m to its right, and yet another 0.018-0.02 m to the right of the latter. LH 0.001 m. Latin letters attenuated. A without crossbar (?); B, P, and R with small high loop; E, O, and S very slender; lower horizontal of L diagonal, descending sharply below baseline; M with pronounced diagonals that meet the baseline and sometimes cross; N with pronounced diagonal that sometimes extends above the left vertical; V with right stroke more vertical than diagonal.

Date: third-fourth century, on the basis of letter forms. See **Table 1** for the date of Cretan inscriptions that display this distinctive form of L, with horizontal stroke slanting downward below the line of writing.

2.1. maiuscule text

```
      [.².]NI[- - -]
      NEPOTIB[.¹.]N[.³.] | [- - -]
      BENEFICIIN[.¹.]MIN[- - -]
      NVM[.³.]V[..³..] | | S[- - -]
5     A[.¹.]MO[..⁴⁻⁵..]ONITIIVI[- - -]
      MENSOL[..⁴..] | | POR[- - -]
      VISIONVMNOSTR[- - -]
      CANSIO | | MIN | | A | [- - -]
      DISFORTVNISINNOCEN
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14 Pietanza 2010, 61.

15 Pietanza 2010, 62-63.

16 Pietanza 2010, 30-31 and 53-56.

10   [.³.]BIMOV[.¹.]OVINMI
        [...⁶...]VM[..³⁻⁴..] | | | | AOV
        [..⁵..]VMNALO[.¹.]POB |
        [..⁴..]TAN | | | SMAXI[- - -]
        [...⁶...]MA[.².]IT[- - -]

2.2. Letter traces
Line 1: traces of only two letters visible above the uppermost horizontal line
Line 2: after NEPOTIB a vertical stroke; after N and three letter spaces a vertical stroke
Line 3: after MIN a diagonal or slightly curved stroke
Line 4: after NVM a right curve, vertical, and left curve; before | | S a possible M
Line 5: between A and M a possible O
Line 6: after MENSO a vertical stroke and lower stroke that may be part of L; before final P the lower curve of O
Line 7: after NOSTR a vertical stroke
Line 8: after CANSIO two vertical strokes; after MIN two vertical strokes followed by A and another vertical stroke
Line 9: of T only the vertical stroke
Line 11: before VM a right diagonal
Line 12: after LO a left curve; after B a vertical stroke
Line 13: of T only the vertical stroke; after N three vertical strokes
Line 14: after M the right diagonal of a letter; after two letter spaces part of a vertical stroke before T

2.3. Transcription
        [.².]NI[- - -]
        NEPOTIB[.¹.]N[.³.] | [- - -]
        beneficiIN[.¹.]MIN[- - -]
        NVM[.³.]V[.².]MIIS[- - -]
5   A[.¹.]MO[..⁵..]ONITIIVI[- - -]
        MENSOL[..⁴..] | | POR[- - -]
        visionum nostr[arum - - -]
        CANSIO | | MIN | | A | [- - -]
        DIS fortunis innocen-
10   [.³.]BIMOV[.¹.]OVINMI
        [...⁶...]VM[..³⁻⁴..] | | | | AOV
        [..⁵..]VMNALO[.¹.]POB |
        [..⁴..]TAN | | | SMAXI[- - -]
        [...⁶...]MA[.².]IT[- - -]

2.4. Commentary
While most of this text remains undeciphered, there are a number of words that suggest identifying it as a possible juridical inscription. In such a context NEPOTI or NEPOTIB- can be a form of the kinship term *nepos,* which appears in imperial titulature.

In the third line *benefici* or *beneficii* is a form of *beneficium,* a word appropriate to an inscription with a juridical context. The most common form of the word *beneficium* with two "I"s is *beneficiis,* which would not accommodate the N clearly visible in our inscription. This phrase could be transcribed as either *benefici in [-]MIN[---]* or *beneficii N[.¹.]MIN[---].* The genitive singular *benefici* is attested in bilingual honorary inscriptions of the republican-Augustan period, with the postpositive prepositions *causa*[17] and *ergo*;[18] and with *causa* in an Antonine dedication to the *numen Caesaris Augusti patri patriae*.[19] In the imperial period it appears in honorary inscriptions with *memor*, *largitio*, and *plus*.[20] In none of these inscriptions does the next word begin with N or go on to include the letters MIN.

The form *beneficii* is attested before words that begin with N and before words that do not, but not with words that accommodate the MIN that is visible one letter space after N. The phrase *beneficii nostri* appears in a letter or edict of Gallienus, emperor 253-68[21] and a letter addressed to the emperors Valentinianus, Valens, and Gratianus who were co-rulers between 367 and 375.[22] *Beneficiis* is followed by the word *non* in an imperial letter dated 201.[23] Otherwise the form *beneficii* appears in an honorary inscription dated 221/22; another honorary inscription dated 227; an imperial edict concerning Macedonia possibly dated to the second-third century; and a sepulchral inscription of the first century.[24]

After the Republican period it was the emperor above all who granted *beneficia* to individuals or communities.[25] *Beneficia principis* are further connected with his *indulgentia*;[26] various imperial *beneficia* are most often characterized as *indulgentia*.[27] The *Digest* specifies that a *beneficium imperatoris* arises from his divine *indulgentia*.[28] Imperial building inscriptions use the terms *beneficium* or *indulgentia* to reflect an emperor's concrete imperial involvement, in a single case, often or usually in tandem with a governor, imperial legate, or other representative.[29]

In line 7 *visionum* could belong to a form of *divisio* or *provisio,* again words appropriate to an inscription that can be set in an imperial context. The word *provisionum* occurs in an inscription in honor of Petronius Probus from Rome.[30] We can note that Petronius Probus was honored twice in Greek at Gortyn in the fouth century.[31]

In line 9 the word *fortunis* is neither a personal name[32] nor part of a curse.[33] It is the appearance of this word in inscriptions of the third-fourth centuries that again encourages

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[17] *ID* 1802.

[18] *ID* 2009; *ILS* 33; *AE* 1955, 70; Sasel Kos 1979, 30 no. 40.

[19] *ILS* 112.

[20] *ILS* 946; *AE* 1993, 468; and *CIL* V 532, respectively.

[21] *AE* 2001, 1758.

[22] *IEph* Ia, 264-70 no. 42.

[23] *ILS* 423.

[24] *ILS* 1329; *CIL* V 56 and 61; *AE* 1998, 1214 and 2001, 1757; *CIL* XIII 7088, respectively.

[25] Willvonseder 2003, 596.

[26] Pietanza 2010, 10; see no. 1 above.

[27] Cotton 1984, 254-55; cf. Pliny *Ep.* X 106 and *Pan.* 39.2; Seston and Euzennat 1971, 470.

[28] *Dig.* I 4, 3.

[29] Horster 2001, 72.

[30] *CIL* VI 1751, dated 378.

[31] *I.Cret.* IV 312 and 318, dated between 372 and 376 and after 384, respectively.

[32] *AE* 1976, 275; 1991, 250.

[33] *AE* 1961, 181; 1998, 999.

us to suggest that this inscription is possibly juridical. *Fortunis* appears in an imperial rescript of 224/26 found in Numidia;[34] in Diocletian's Price Edict of 301;[35] Constantine's edict *de accusationibus*, to be cited below; and in an imperial constitution of the late empire –probably of Valentinian I, in power 368-75– concerning collection of taxes.[36]

Even the next word, *innocen[---]*, can appear in non-funerary and non-onomastic contexts, in a *tabula defixionis*,[37] and an Iberian cult inscription,[38] but particularly in the Iberian peninsula in honorary inscriptions, where it designates "scrupulous honesty." [39] At Leptis Magna the local *ordo* proclaimed to the emperors Valens and Gratianus the innocence of Virius Nichomachus Flavianus, *vicarius* of Africa.[40]

Both the words *fortunis* and *innocen[---]* appear in Constantine's edict *de accusationibus*, though not in succession as here. The most complete of the several inscribed copies of Constantine's edict *de accusationibus* was found at Cretan Lyttos;[41] others were found at Italian Patavium; Greek Corcyra;[42] Ephesos in Asia Minor; Lycian Tlos; and Sinope in Bithynia-Pontus.[43] The copy from Corcyra contains both words in the same line (line 11) but not in consecutive position. That from Lyttos contain both the words *fortunis* and *innocentium*, far apart from each other (lines 2 and 36, respectively). Other copies have one word or the other, or neither, as they preserve different parts of the edict: *fortunis* appears in the copies from Sinope, Corcyra; *innocentium* in copies from Patavium and Ephesos; neither word appears in the copies from Patavium and Tlos.

3. Greek graffiti[44] (figs. 4-5)

Fragment of local limestone with bottom and right edges preserved, top and left broken. Found in Room 96, a cistern south of Room 101 of the Large Bath, in 1992 (ΕΛ 1992, I/4/ΔΕ Λ02, Λ5/7, Επ1/1, AE1228; see **fig. 1** no. 3**).** Rethymno Museum, inv. no. E245.

The stone appears to have already been broken before any of the following graffiti were written, to judge from the relief on the reverse (**fig. 5**). The back surface is incised with stylized flora and two eyes (one with lashes) below a single brow bone. The inscribed surface is encrusted with mortar on the lower left corner, in the upper center, and the lower right corner, possibly from the original use of the stone as a decorative element. Stone white (M2.5YR 8/1-2); mortar light brownish gray (M2.5YR 6/2). Max. H 0.23 m, max. W 0. 175 m, Th 0.035 m.

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[34] *CIL* VIII 17639.

[35] Lauffer 1971, 91 *praef.* 7 (I 9).

[36] *AE* 1984, 250; 2003, 359.

[37] *CIL* II² 5, 510a.

[38] *AE* 1995, 932.

[39] *CIL* II 1180, 1183, 4115, 4610; *AE* 1960, 188; 1952, 116.

[40] *AE* 1950, 188.

[41] *I.Cret.* I, xviii 188, included in **Table 1**.

[42] *AE* 1995, 1386 and 2002, 1302;

[43] *CIL* V 2781; *AE* 1996, 1469; *CIL* III 12133; and *AE* 1957, 158, respectively.

[44] I am heavily indebted to Dr. Nikos Litinas, of the Workshop of Epigraphy and Papyrology at the University of Crete, Rethymno, for his reading of this complex text. All misunderstandings and mistakes are my own.

On the inscribed surface a horizontal guideline runs horizontally, 0.185 m from the top left corner.[45] A four-line graffito (graffito A) appears below this guideline, whose orientation it follows. Above the guideline three graffiti (graffiti B-D) are visible: graffito B runs obliquely downward from left to right, roughly parallel to the broken top edge of the stone; graffito C occupies the right third of the stone and is composed of two lines above the guideline and parallel to it; graffito D is composed of three lines, begins above the guideline and runs obliquely below it to overlap graffito A. It is not unusual for Byzantine graffiti to show no respect for earlier writing.[46] Graffito D appears to be later than graffito A but there is no way to determine which of the three upper graffiti (graffiti B-D) is earlier or later. Graffito A will be discussed first; graffiti B-D will be discussed in order of their appearance on the stone, from top to bottom.

Date for graffiti A-D: early Byzantine, probably between the earthquake of 365 and the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century. The *crux* that appears at the end of graffito A suggests that this graffito dates to the beginning of the fifth century or later.[47] As a group, with the possible exception of graffito C, these might be liturgical texts, perhaps euchological (prayer) texts.[48] In this case they are so short (1-4 lines each) as to resist criticism or interpretation.[49] In fact, it is difficult even to establish the exact text involved in any of the four graffiti presented below.[50] We can still note that prayer texts were not created to be written, as here, but fundamentally to be spoken.[51]

3A. Graffito A

Below the guideline the field of inscription is H 0.045 m. The graffito begins 0.02 m from the preserved left margin of the stone, and ends 0.005-0.015 m from the right margin. Letters include both peaked and cursive A; cursive B, H and Y; lunate E, C, and ω; long verticals for K, P, Φ; ligature of H^N, Π^P. LH 0.004-0.005 m.

3A. 1. maiuscule text

[..³..]ΝΑΓΙΓΝω[.².]ΟΝΤΕCΤΗΝ[.]ω[.]ΗΝΜΟΫ̣
Φ[.².]ΟΫCΙΝ[.]ωΡΙ[[.³.]Ν[....⁸⁻⁹....]ΦΙΛ[.]ΗΝ[.¹⁻².]
ΠΡΕCΒΥΤΕΡωΝΔΙΑΚΟΝωΝ[.²⁻³.]Π̣Η[...⁴⁻⁵...]ω̣Ν
[...⁶...]ω[.².]Ν[.]Η[.³.]ΒΗC[.².] *vacat?* ΧΗ[.¹⁻².] *crux*

3A. 2. Letter traces

Line 1: It is possible that this text begins with a *crux,* as it ends with one. Before N, a possible round letter followed by a vertical stroke and diagonals of a peaked A; after ω lower curve of lunate C and vertical of K; after ΤΗΝ vertical and lower curve of Φ; after ω, the diagonal of N

[45] For such guidelines in Christian inscriptions, see Bandy 1970, 7.
[46] Litinas, pers. comm.
[47] *IKPessinous* 146.
[48] Litinas, pers. comm.; De Zan 1997, 331.
[49] De Zan 1997, 351 n. 41.
[50] See De Zan 1997, 342-43 for this as the first methodological step.
[51] De Zan 1997, 343.

Line 2: after Φ a lightly curved stroke followed by a vertical stroke; after OYCIN, [.]ѠPI[.3.]N may be MAPTYPѠN with a cursive MA and T rather than I; lettering before ΦIΛ is obscured by graffito D but there may be traces to suggest [..5..]NO[.2.]

Line 3: after ΔIAKONѠN a vertical stroke; after П̣H a widespread cursive M or IM or YM; before ѠN a lunate stroke and a vertical stroke or T

Line 4: possible upper strokes of a broad Π in the sixth letter space, followed by [.2.]BHT and three letter spaces before BHC; possible *vacat* of 7 letter spaces before XH

3A. 3. Transcription

[crux? οἱ ἀ]ναγιγνώσκοντες τὴν φωνήν μου
φ[-]ρουσιν [.]ѠPI[[.3.]N[..5..]NO[.2.] ΦIΛ[-]HNO
πρεσβυτέρων διακόνων [.2-3.]П̣H[..4-5..]Ѡ̣N
[…6…]Ѡ[.2.]N[.]H[.3.]BHC [.2.] *vacat?* XH[.1-2.] *crux*

3A. 4. Commentary

The phrase [οἱ ἀ]ναγιγνώσκοντες addresses those reading the text to come. At Eleutherna compare the graffito on a plaque found in the Basilica of Euphratas, which may have intended to say ἀναγιγνώ⟨σ⟩κον⟨τ⟩[ες].[52] The participle of ἀναγιγνώσκω appears in the nominative in sepulchral inscriptions, to ask the reader(s) to pray for the deceased or to hail the reader.[53] The notion of an exchange between reader and text is continued with the phrase τὴν φωνήν, as though the stone is speaking to the reader.

The verb φ[έρ?]ουσιν or φ[ορ?]οῦσιν appears to indicate what the reader should do in response to the words of the text to come. Unfortunately it is difficult to determine the contents of the rest of this line even if letter traces suggest the word μαρτύρων.

For another πρεσβύτερος at Eleutherna, see the inscription naming ὁ θεοτίμητ(ος) Νικάσιος.[54] For the combination of forms of πρεσβύτερος and διάκονος see the *topos* inscription from Ephesos that lists *psaltanagnostai, diakonoi* and *presbyteroi*.[55] This inscription includes the abbreviation MAPT, which might be comparable to the word μαρτύρων̣ –if it can be read in line 2.

3B. Graffito B

The uppermost graffito (graffito B) begins 0.105-0.11 m below the uneven top margin of the stone and 0.02 m from the left margin, then ends 0.02 m from the right margin. Letters are difficult to read after the first word or two. Cursive A, Λ, N; lunate ѡ; Byzantine ligature of Y^P. LH varies greatly from 0.014 m (K), and 0.010 m (Y^P) or 0.008 m (Ψ?) to 0.003 m (A, I, M, ѡ).

3B. 1. maiuscule text

KY^PIѠTѠN[.1-2.]AṂ[.2.]Λ[.2.]ѠIA

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[52] Tzifopoulos 2000, 251-52 no. 11.

[53] Plural: Robert 1940, 35 [bis]. Singular: *IKPessinous* 146; Lefebvre 1907, 12 no. 51; *MAMA 8*, 204.

[54] Tzifopoulos 2000, 245-47 no. 4.

[55] *IEph* 543.

3B.2. Letter traces

After ΤѠΝ a small stroke followed by possible Ν and a long vertical stroke that may be part of a Ψ plus another vertical stroke; after cursive Λ a slender curved stroke and a vertical stroke.

3B. 3. Transcription

Κυρίῳ τῶν [.¹⁻².]ΑΜ[.².]Λ[.2.]ѠΙΑ

3B. 4. Commentary

This line may be addressed to the Lord of something or someone (in the plural) difficult to identify, or else to the Lord with an epithet equally difficult to decipher. The phrase Κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων is attested in inscriptions and papyri, with Κύριος in the nominative, genitive, and vocative –dominantly on lintels but also on other stones, in a mosaic inscription, a lead roll, and graffiti, some inspired by biblical texts (psalms)– but this phrase would not accommodate the letters after ΑΜ.[56]

3C. Graffito C

This two-line graffito begins 0.13 m from the broken top of the stone and 0.10 m from the left margin; it ends 0.05 m from the right margin. Letter forms include cursive Α, Μ, Ν; lunate Ε, Ѡ. LH varies from 0.01-0.11 m (Δ) to 0.007 (Ι), and 0.005-0.006 cm (Α, Μ, Ο, Τ, Χ).

3C. 1. maiuscule text

ΔΑΜѠ[.¹.]Μ[.².]Η
ΔΕΝ̣[.².]ΑΤΙΜΟΙ

3C. 2. Letter traces

Line 1: between Ѡ and Μ traces that look like Υ; between Μ and Η two curved vertical strokes

Line 2: after ΔΕ, the next letter might be Μ rather than Ν, followed by a lower vertical and diagonal, followed in turn by a curved stroke; Litinas reads ΔΕΝΟΣ

3C. 3. Transcription

ΔΑΜѠ[.¹.]Μ[.².]Η
δεν̣[ος] ἄτιμοι

3C. 4. Commentary

These two lines might preserve two personal names. The letters ΔΑΜѠ are attested in personal names and in forms of the word δᾶμος, the Doric form of δῆμος.[57] Feminine names from Crete that begin with ΔΑΜѠ –a Dorian variant of ΔΗΜΟ– include Δαμώ and

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[56] Nominative in inscriptions from Syria and Cyrenaica: *IGLSyr* II 525; IV 1428, 1453, 1687, 1723. Genitive in an inscription from Syria (*IGLSyr* 1678). Vocative in inscriptions from Illyria, Rhodes, Syria, and Egypt: *SEG* XXXIII 489; Hiller von Gaertringen 1898, 583 Taf. 11; *SEG* XXXVII 1460 no. 14; *IGLSyr* IV 1757 and V 2684; *SB IV* 7511.

[57] PHI.

Δαμώι.[58] Beyond Crete the name Δαμώ is attested as late as the second-third century at Athens; the first-second century and imperial period in Aigina, Elis, Kerkyra, and Lakonia; the imperial period at Delphi; and the third century in Ionia.[59] The only other feminine name that begins with these letters is Δαμώνασσα, attested on Rhodes and Thera.[60] Feminine names that begin with ΔΗΜΟ are Δημώ on Crete and Δημώνασσα, a fictional name attributed to Corinth.[61] It is unexpected, however, to find a name like Δαμώ or Δαμώι –or a form of δᾶμος– in an early Byzantine inscription.

The letters ΔΕΝΟΣ are not attested at the ends of Greek personal names. If we read ΔΕΜΟΣ instead, these letters could suggest the ending of a Greek personal name or the word δὲμος, a variant of δῆμος that is highly unexpected in an early Byzantine inscription. Should this be a Greek personal name, it might begin in line 1 or be complete in line 2. One name preserves the M[.².]H of line 1, but not all the letters required for M[ελ]η[σί]δημος.[62] The name Δῆμος is attested at Chios and Samos, Athens, Bithynia, and Egypt, as late as the second-third centuries.[63] In any case an ending in –ΟΣ appears to be in the nominative singular case.

The letters ΑΤΙΜΟΙ can be a nominative plural form, in the masculine or feminine, of the adjective ἄτιμος or less likely the third singular of the verb ἀτιμόω. It is tempting to see in this inscription two personal names, each in the nominative singular, followed by an adjective that in inscriptions most frequently means "dishonored/unhonored" rather than "without price/value".[64]

3D. Graffito D

Graffito D is a three-line inscription that is largely illegible, as it is lightly incised and superimposed on the guideline above graffito A and two lines of graffito A. Visible letter forms include cursive Α, Β, Ν; lunate С, ω; ligature Π^ω. LH where visible varies from 0.005 m (Α, Ν, Ο, ω) to 0.008 m (Ν, С, Π^ω, ω), 0.009 m (Β, Τ), and 0.17 m (Η).

3D. 1. maiuscule text
E̱X̱[.....¹⁰⁻¹².....]ΧΡΥ[..⁵..]ς[..³..]ΒΑ
Ν[.³.]Υ[....⁸⁻⁹....]СΟΥ[---]
vac ΝΟСωΝΑΥ̣ΤωΝ[.]ΠωΗ[---]

3D. 2. Letter traces
Line 1: in the third letter space after EX possible fork of Υ; before ΧΡΥ a rounded stroke followed by a vertical; after long slender ς –which could be an abbreviation sign[65]– a vertical stroke followed by a rounded one

Line 2: after ΗΥ[..³..] a long slender ς, which could again be an abbreviation sign

[58] *LGPN I,* 118, as late as the 2nd century at Sybrita and the imperial period at Lyttos.

[59] *LGPN 2,* 99; *LGPN 3.a,* 115; *LGPN 3.b,* 104; *LGPN 5.a,* 117.

[60] *LGPN I,* 118.

[61] *LGPN I,* 239; *LGPN 3.a,* 124.

[62] *LGPN I,* 303.

[63] *LGPN I,* 128; *LGPN II,* 110; *LGPN V.a,* 126; *P.Rein.* 97.

[64] *LSJ* s.v.

[65] Bandy 1970, 12.

Line 3: after NOCωN a letter space and the fork of a Υ

3D. 3. Transcription
EX̣[.....$^{10\text{-}12}$.....]ΧΡΥ̣[..^{5}..]ϛ[..^{3}..]ΒΑ
Ν[.^{2}.]ΗΥ[..^{3}..]ϛ[---]
vac νόσων [α]ὐτῶν [.]Π^ωΗ[---]

3D. 4. Commentary
The two words legible in line 3 appear to refer to "their diseases." The phrase ἀπὸ τῶν νόσων αὐτῶν appears in *Luke* 6:18. Bioarchaeological analysis of skeletons from early Christian Eleutherna reveals a number of diseases that may or may not be referred to here. Excavations of the mid-fifth century basilica of Euphratas provides evidence of dental, joint, metabolic, and infectious diseases as well as displasia.[66] Bourbou notes the frequency of epidemics, mainly the plague, in the early Byzantine period, e.g., the plague of 524 which spread from Egypt to the eastern Mediterranean, including Crete.[67] Her study of skeletons from the sixth-seventh centuries also notes continued evidence of dental, joint, metabolic, and infectious diseases.[68]

FOUR ELEUTHERNAIAN INSCRIPTIONS RECONSIDERED

4. Monumental funerary or honorary inscription
A limestone fragment broken on all sides was located in the Rethymno Museum Storeroom (E207).[69] This inscription is in all likelihood from Eleutherna, to judge from Platon's report that St. Alexiou collected antiquities from a place north of the acropolis of Eleutherna and inside the deep valley along the river running by it.[70] These antiquities included two marble statues, a *himation*-clad male taken to the Rethymnon Museum and a female of the Herculanean type left *in situ*. Further exploration at the site revealed that the female statue had been set up in front of a retaining wall; it also revealed sections of paving, part of a column and geison with molding and dentils, as well as a Corinthian column capital, clay roof tiles, and a Latin inscription. These items were found in an area north of the Basilica, east of the public building, and south of the Small Bath; the retaining wall is still identifiable (see **fig. 1** no. 4).[71]

The statue Alexiou found was of a type called the Small Herculanean Woman, used to represent daughters rather than matrons.[72] Six other statues of the Small Herculanean Woman type are known from Crete: three from Gortyn;[73] one from Aptera;[74] the lower

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[66] Bourbou 2000, 294-302.
[67] Bourbou 2004, esp. 59.
[68] Bourbou 2000, 50-58.
[69] Tzifopoulos 2007, no. 1.
[70] *Kr.Chr.* 10 (1956) 421-22; Tzifopoulos 2007, 113.
[71] Sideropoulos, pers. comm.
[72] Bieber 1977, 155-57.
[73] Ghedini 1985, 180-84 nos. 39-40; Portale 1998, 479-81 no. 55; Lagogianni 2002, 105-07 nos. 99, 101, 102.
[74] Bieber 1977, 203, in the Istanbul Museum.

half of a statue at the Herakleion Museum;[75] and two fragments reportedly in the Rethymnon Museum, apparently not belonging to the statue found by Alexiou.[76]

In 1967 this statue was transferred to the Rethymnon Museum, where it joined another similar statue brought there two years earlier, in 1965.[77] The other statue was of a type called the Large Herculanean Woman, used for matrons rather than daughters.[78] Themelis traced the discovery of the Large Herculanean Woman statue to an olive grove south of the Small Bath in Sector I; in 1990 or 1991 a male statue, wearing a *pallium* was found built into a field wall in the same olive grove.[79] The male statue, work of the third-fourth centuries, should belong to the same Roman building as the two Herculanean women.[80]

The Small and Large Herculanean Woman were the type of draped woman most often copied in Roman times.[81] These two types were used frequently for honorary and funerary monuments of Roman ladies, the smaller representing younger and even unmarried ladies as Kore and the larger representing matrons as Demeter.[82] It may be that the Latin inscription presented below pertains to the matron represented by the Large Herculanean Woman, given its reference to childbirth.

4.1. Letter forms and date

Re-examination of the stone reveals that there is no space between the vertical stroke and the E at the beginning of line 1, and in line 3 there is no space between I and V. Letters between guidelines are lightly carved and have no apices; punctuation takes the form of small dots. M has oblique right and left strokes with diagonals reaching the line of lettering; R has a high rounded tail; S has an angular upper curve to the right of center, and a slight lower curve to the left of center; V has a pronounced diagonal left stroke and a vertical right stroke.

Date: second-third century.

4.2. New transcription

vacat

    [- - -] |E • partu et • [- - -]
    [- - -]mpus • vin(arius?) • *vacat?*
    [- - -]IV • praemia [- - -]
    [- - -]N[- - -]
5   [- - -]

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[75] Lagogianni 2002, 106 no. 100.

[76] Kruse 1968 [1975] 295 no. 74.

[77] *Arch.Delt.* 22 (1967) 501, and *Arch.Delt.* 20 (1965) 570, respectively.

[78] Bieber 1977, 156.

[79] Themelis 2009, 78 with figs. 46-47; Sideropoulos, pers. comm.

[80] Themelis 1991-93, 257.

[81] Bieber 1977, 148.

[82] Bieber 1977, 156-57.

4.3. Commentary

The combination of *partu, [ca?]mpus,* and *vin(arius?)* led Tzifopoulos –who cites Chaniotis and Souris– to suggest that this is an inscription of economic import.[83] There are, however, other possibilities such as a monumental sepulchral or honorary text. The noun *partus* tends to appear in sepulchral inscriptions for women, particularly those who died in childbirth. The ablative *partu* appears in epitaphs for such women but none with the preposition *e(x)*.[84] Non-sepulchral inscriptions also use this word to refer to women and childbirth.[85] The letters -MPUS could be part of the word *tempus* as well as *campus,* or part of such names as Olympus or Theopompos, attested on Crete.[86] The letters -MPUS might be part of the personal name of a man in the nominative, the person who erected this inscription, rather than part of the word *campus*. The letters *vin* are an abbreviation for *vinarius,* a man dealing in wine or a wine-merchant, perhaps the occupation of the man who erected this inscription. Even the word *praemia* is dominantly attested in sepulchral inscriptions.[87] It also appears in a more technical sense in epitaphs of soldiers.[88]

Interpretation remains hazardous but the combination of statues of Small and Large Herculanean Woman types –and statues representing two men– near a Latin inscription that contains words attested in sepulchral or honorary texts, might suggest honors paid to a prominent family, in front of a retaining wall that runs along the 277-279 m contour line. This retaining wall supported the eastern edge of a space east of the Public Building, one that might have served as a free, open space as no architectural remains have been located therein. It is just possible that the two women represented by these statues and our Latin inscription were patronesses, honored for their contribution to this feature of the urban landscape of Eleutherna.

This inscription provides indirect evidence for the consumption and possibly the production of wine in the zone west of Mt. Ida. Marangou-Lerat's study of Cretan amphoras included Hellenistic coins from Eleutherna and Sybritos that suggest wine production; six-eight Cretan amphoras discovered at Roman Eleutherna, of types AC1b, 2a, and 3, as well as a probable Cretan amphora type.[89] Yangaki's study of the ceramics of fourth-seventh century Eleutherna, which takes advantage of the work of Romeo and Portale on transport vessels from Gortyn, included examples of ARC ("antico-romano-

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[83] Tzifopoulos 2007, 114.

[84] In chronological order where dating is available: *AE* 1972, 40 (71-130); Bosch 1967, 224, 173 (ca. 165); *AE* 1997, 823 and 1998, 736 (2nd century); Egger 1926, 142 (4th century); *AE* 1919, 46 (4th century); *AE* 2001, 1168 (2nd half of the 4th century); *AE* 1973, 326 (probably 4th century); *AE* 1991, 1076 (imperial).

[85] *ILS* 8393, the so-called *laudatio Turiae* (triumviral)*;* Eck, Caballos and Fernandez 1996, the *s.c. de Pisone* (20); *CIL* VI 2043 I, 18 and 20, a vow by the Arval Brethren (63); *AE* 1989, 75, which reproduces *Aeneid* I, 274-78 (5th-6th century).

[86] *LGPN I*, 217 and 349, respectively.

[87] Pagan: *AE* 1997, 946 (beginning of the 1st century); *AE* 1927, 28 (4th century?); *AE* 1999, 775 (5th century); *CIL* III 1760; *CIL* III 9061; *CIL* VI 6592; *CIL* XIII 7105; *CIL* XIV 510; *AE* 1903, 23; *AE* 1980, 231. Christian: *AE* 1975, 115 (393); *ICI* 6, 72 (4th-5th centuries); *CIL* V 6722 and 6724; *CIL* X 1194; *CIL* XIII 5251; *AE* 2000, 666.

[88] *AE* 1982, 1074 and 1997, 945 (353-60), for two charioteers (*IGUR* III 1171).

[89] Marangou-Lerat 1995, 34. For a Hellenistic amphora production center at Loutra, northwest of Eleutherna, see Tsatsaki and Nodarou 2014.

cretese") types for amphoras of Augustan to Severan date and MRC ("medio-romano-cretese") types for amphoras of the third and fourth centuries.[90]

The dates Marangou-Lerat proposed for AC amphora types found at Eleutherna cover the period from the mid-first century to the third.[91] The known production centers for the amphora types found at Eleutherna are located on both the north and south coasts of Crete.[92] Overland distribution patterns for the amphora types found at Eleutherna run dominantly from the north coast of Crete with the exception of Makry Ghialos on the south coast.[93] Seaborne distribution patterns, conversely, might be suggested by the discovery of comparable amphora types along the south coast more than the north.[94]

Yangaki's study showed that amphoras were produced at Eleutherna in the Hellenistic period at Nisi and beginning in the fourth century, if not within the civic center of Eleutherna at least in the region of Mylopotamos, in well-organized workshops that made both cooking pots and common ceramics.[95] An Eleuthernaian example of type ARC1c –morphologically distinct from that produced at Dermatos in the third century– was made from the local fabric for Cretan amphoras and produced at a workshop in the region of Mylopotamos.[96] Multiple examples of MRC2 –the most common amphora type at Eleutherna– include MRC2a (comparable to Marangou-Lerat's AC1d) and MRC2b (comparable to Marangou-Lerat's AC1b and 1d) began to be produced around the end of the third century and were most common in the fourth; both the fabric and chemical analysis suggest local production at or in the region of Eleutherna.[97] The number of examples of MRC2a or b found at Eleutherna suggest that these amphoras were produced not only for local usage but also en masse, e.g., for export.[98] Amphoras of type MRC3 (a late variant of ARC1) are also made of the local fabric and produced in or around Eleutherna in the fourth century.[99]

For the Roman period between the first century BCE and the fourth century CE, study of the pottery found at Eleutherna might provide evidence of local or regional production. There is already circumstantial evidence for the production of wine or amphoras in the zone of Crete west of Mt. Ida. Kelly associates the production of spacer pins –used for the heating of baths at Vizari, Eleutherna, Alpha, and Stavromenos– with that of amphoras, a hint that there may be an undiscovered facility in the area.[100] The name Tonnius –attested at Eleutherna, Sybritos, and on a Cretan amphora found at

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[90] Yangaki 2005; Portale and Romeo 2001, 261.

[91] Marangou-Lerat 1995, 112 nos. A101-102 and 79 for AC2a; 115 nos. A118-19 and 83 for AC3; 104 nos. A51-52 and 75 for AC1b; 122 nos. 154-55 and 91 for a probable Cretan amphora.

[92] Heraklion, Chersonesos, and Trypitos on the north; Tsoutsouros-East, Dermatos, Keratokambos-West, and Lagada on the south (Marangou-Lerat 1994, 77-78 for AC2a; 82 for AC3; 71 for AC1b; 91-92 for a probable Cretan amphora).

[93] Kissamos, Nopighia, Chania, Aptera, Lappa, Heraklion, Knossos, Hag. Nikolaos (Marangou-Lerat 1995, 78 for AC2a; 83 for AC3; 71-72 for AC1b; 91 for a probable Cretan amphora).

[94] Loutro, Kaloi Limenes, Matala, and Kouphonisi, on the south coast; Hag. Nikolaos, Palaikastro on the north (Marangou-Lerat 1995, 78 for AC2a; 82 for AC3; 72 for AC1b).

[95] Yangaki 2005, 283-85.

[96] Yangaki 2005,184.

[97] Yangaki 2005, 185.

[98] Yangaki 2005, 186.

[99] Yangaki 2005, 188.

[100] Kelly 2006, 245.

Pompeii– further hints at an undiscovered amphora production facility at Eleutherna or at least in the transit corridor west of Mt. Ida.[101]

5. Acclamation

Found not in Room 26 of Roman House 2 but on the surface of grave 1, in front of the entrance to the basilica, in 1994 (ΕΛ 1994, Τ/1/Επιφ., Λ-1348; see **fig. 1** no. 5). Rethymno Museum, inv. no. E232.[102]

The inscription begins 0.125 m from the upper peak of the stone, and is not parallel to the broken bottom margin; there is a space of 0.015 m below the right end of the inscribed line. Left of the inscribed word a wreath composed of a round shape with a long concave stroke extending far upward, and another short stroke extending to the right. Guidelines visible above and below lettering, at an interval of 0.025 m, with another possible guideline 0.02 m above the first.

Date: third-fourth century, on the basis of letter forms.[103] Comparable lettering – particularly the lower stroke of L– is visible in Cretan inscriptions that date from 195 to before 340 (**Table 1**).

5.1. New maiuscule text
(Wreath) FELICITE[---]

5.2. Letter forms
What looks like a vertical stroke after the wreath is a scratch in the stone rather than a letter. Latin letters somewhat attenuated. C angular; lower horizontal of L diagonal, descending sharply below guideline; N with right vertical shorter than left, diagonal crossing it, slight apices on right vertical and diagonal after they cross. Diagonal scratch between T and E.

5.3. New transcription
(Wreath) felicite[r ---]

5.4. Commentary
Felicite[r] appears to be the first word in this text, to judge from the uninscribed space above and to its left. With only one word to work with, we can only examine what kind of inscription this might have been. *Feliciter* was an acclamatory word, often used within or at the end of Latin texts to call for or wish for good luck or fortune. One inscription that consists of this word alone –on a fragment of a statuette– comes from *municipium Montanensium* in Moesia Superior.[104] Nearly as lacunose is an inscription from Dea Augusta Vocontiorum in Gallia Narbonensis, dated to the period between 71 and 130.[105]

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[101] Baldwin Bowsky 2009a; *I.Cret.* II,xxvi 18, dated to the 2nd-3rd century; Marangou-Lerat 1995, 139, citing *CIL* IV 6566 from Pompeii.

[102] Tzifopoulos 2009, 131 no. 23 and pl. 23, read and printed upside down.

[103] Roueché 1989, 254 cf. Kaufmann 1917, 448 and 453.

[104] *AE* 1987, 892.

[105] *AE* 1969/70, 361, a fragment of pottery stamped with *[Felicit]er? vob[is ---]*.

Feliciter appears at the beginning of dedications to deities, to an unspecified entity, to prominent Romans, to Roman emperors, and even on a milestone. Two altars were dedicated to Diana [Reg(ina)] and Apollo Sanctus from T. Flavius Iulius together with his associates, at *municipium Montanensium* in Moesia Superior in the first half of the third century.[106] Another dedication to an unspecified recipient was made by Faustus, near Mactaris in Africa Proconsularis, at the end of the first or the beginning of the second century.[107] In Egypt, a *beneficiarius* commemorated the safety of a prefect of Egypt, M. Ulpius Primianus, in 196.[108] In Rome in 321 the African *civitas Faustianensis* honored their patron Q. Aradius Val(erius) Proculus.[109] Dedications for the health of an unnamed emperor and to the emperor Valerian were made by an imperial freedman and a tribune, respectively, at *municipium Montanensium* between 151 and 250 and in 253-54.[110] In the reign of Valerian (253-60) a milestone was set up along the road between Capsa and Tacape in Africa Proconsularis.[111]

At Eleutherna a Latin inscription beginning with *feliciter,* even in second use, could be a sacred dedication or possibly one to or on behalf of an emperor. A sacred dedication would have been appropriate in the sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite which functioned until the mid-fourth century earthquake that destroyed parts of Roman Eleutherna.[112] Alternatively this text could have gone on to name a Roman emperor even later than any of those currently attested in inscriptions from Eleutherna.

The tone suggested by two inscriptions that have imperial overtones (nos. 1 and 2, above) and this acclamation can now be set into the context of two more inscriptions found in or near the Basilica of Euphratas.

6. Dedication on behalf of an emperor
One-line inscription on a block built into the left post of the staircase leading to the northern entrance to the Basilica of Euphratas (see **fig. 1** no. 6), broken to the left and right.[113]

[- - -]ίστου τύχ[ης κα]ὶ νείκης και αἰωνίου δ[- - -]

The date and nature of this inscription have been debated from 1991 to 2009, beginning with Themelis' first reading: [Ὑπὲρ ἀρ]ίστου τύχ[ης …]ινείκης καὶ αἰωνίου μ[νήμης].[114] In Pleket's notice of this reading, he commented that he expected the name plus titles of a Roman emperor, and suggested restoring [Ὑπὲρ ἀρ]ίστου τύχ[ης …]ινεικης etc.).[115] Themelis then suggested that the text preserved a prayer on behalf of the good fortune and eternal

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[106] *AE* 1975, 743, and 1979, 548, to Diana [Reg(ina)]; 1987.844 to Apollo Sanctus.

[107] *AE* 1993, 1731.

[108] Bernand 1960, 142-44 no. 58.

[109] *CIL* VI 1688 cf. p.4734; *ILS* 6111b.

[110] *AE* 1987, 880; 1957, 340.

[111] *AE* 1905, 183.

[112] Themelis 2009, 56-60.

[113] Tzifopoulos 2000, 244-45 no. 3 and fig. 5.

[114] Themelis 1991-93, 255.

[115] *SEG* XLIV 721.

memory of a woman ([---]νείκης) who perhaps contributed to the construction of the Basilica's main entrance.[116] In Chaniotis' notice of this new reading, he cited Pleket's recognition of the character of the inscription (where ἀρίστου = *optimus*) and added the possibility of restoring [μεγ]ίστου = *maximus*.[117] In his formal publication of this text, Tzifopoulos dated the inscription to the fifth-sixth century, by comparison with the date of the construction of the Basilica Euphratas and gave the text as [- - - - -]ΙСΤΟΥΤΥΧ[..⁴..]ΙΝΕΙΚΗС καὶ αἰωνίου δ[ιαμονῆς or –όξης - - -].[118] Chaniotis cited Follet and Salomies, who continued to recognize the titulature of an emperor of the late imperial period, and suggested restoring [ἀρχιερέως or Παρθικοῦ μεγ]ίστου.[119] In his publication of the inscriptions from Roman Eleutherna, Tzifopoulos took note of all the above comments and cited comparable expressions in inscriptions referring to Roman emperors.[120] He then argued that "even if the original text was inscribed for the well-being of an emperor or high official" it was subsequently recut so as to be more acceptable in a Christian context.[121] Tzifopoulos' description of the stone says that it was broken left and right, which would allow for re-use without deliberate recutting.[122]

The construction of the Basilica of Euphratas is better taken as a *terminus ante quem* for this text,[123] whose letter forms belong to the second or third century. The letters are carefully and elegantly cut, with triangular apices at the end of strokes.[124] The apices and the highly rounded form of the letters suggest an earlier rather than later date. Specific letter forms include *alpha* with broken crossbar and top slanting strokes, and a mixture of lunate and quadrate sigma with an omega composed of a circle ending in two small horizontals.[125]

This text should have contained the name of a Roman emperor, or at least a reference to an emperor or emperors. Such a name might even have appeared before the preserved text given the tendency of letters to become smaller towards the right edge of the stone.[126] For –ίστου before τύχης compare *I.Cret.* IV 438 from Gortyn, a text restored to read [ὑπὲρ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Νερούα Τραϊανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερ]μανικοῦ Δ[ακικοῦ ἀρχιερέως με[γίστου τύχης etc.] and so dated after 102. This date is the same as that for a Greek inscription in honor of Trajan, which shows quite different letter forms.[127]

Inscriptions that contain elements of the formula τύχης καὶ νείκης καὶ αἰωνίου all support restoring δ[ιαμονῆς] and are dated to the later second century or the third century, a date consistent with the letter forms in our inscription. For the phrase τύχης καὶ νείκης, compare *IGBulg.* V 5600, dated between 212 and 222, perhaps 214. For the entire phrase

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[116] Themelis 1994-96, 273.
[117] *SEG* XLV1265.
[118] Tzifopoulos 2000, 241.
[119] *SEG* L 888bis, citing *AE* 2000, 1583.
[120] Tzifopoulos 2009, 140, citing Baldwin Bowsky 2001 and Kritzas 2002.
[121] Tzifopoulos 2009, 140.
[122] Tzifopoulos 2000, 244 no. 3.
[123] *AE* 2000, 1583.
[124] Tzifopoulos 2000, 245.
[125] See Guarducci 1967, I 376-79.
[126] Tzifopoulos 2000, 245.
[127] Tzifopoulos 2009, 120-21 no. 12.

τύχης καὶ νείκης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς, compare *SEG* VI 616 (dated 161-80); *IGBulg* IV 2012 (dated 221-22); and *SERP* 333-34 no. 12 (dated to the third century).

7. Imperial titulature

Re-examination of this stone –found to the south of the Basilica of Euphratas (see **fig. 1** no. 7)– suggests that it is inscribed entirely in Latin and not mostly in Greek.[128] Letters include A without bar; G cursive with a cursive crossbar; I slender, slanted or even slightly convex; M and A composed of slanting or even slightly curved diagonal strokes, left strokes taller than right; R with small high loop, diagonal extending far to right. Punctuation in form of small dots (lines 3 and 4).

Date: second-third century, from letter forms and tentative identification of the emperor.

7.1. New maiuscule text

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        [---]IV[---]
        [---]G vac. T[---]
        [---]RM·MAX·[…]
        [---]IIII· vacat
5       [---]TMAX[---]
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7.2. Letter traces

Line 1: lower part of IV visible
Line 2: lower apices of T visible as well as the left tip of the upper crossbar
Line 3: RM followed by a dot for punctuation; MAX followed by another dot for punctuation
Line 4: IIII followed by a dot for punctuation
Line 5: upper right horizontal of T, upper diagonals of MAX

7.3. New transcription

```
        [---Aurel]iu[s?---]
        [--- Au]g. vac. t[r.p.?---]
        [--- Ge]rm. Max. [---]
        [---] IIII vacat
  5     [---Pon]t. Max. [---]
```

7.4. Commentary

The text as preserved is insufficient to suggest what grammatical case was used. Given the cumulative elements of imperial titulature that are preserved, we might suggest that the emperor named was Caracalla (Imp. Caesar. M. Aurelius Antoninus Augustus), who held the *tribunicia potestas* from the autumn of 198; was *pontifex maximus* as of 4 Feb. 211; *co(n)s(ul) IV* as of 1 January 213; *Germanicus Maximus Arabicus Adiabenicus* as of Oct. 213; and *imp(erator) IV* as of 214, three years before he died in 217.

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[128] *Pace* Tzifopoulos 2009, 137-38 no. 37.

Some years earlier Caracalla had been honored, together with his father L. Septimius Severus and possibly his ill-fated brother Geta, at Eleutherna in 209 or 210.[129] Caracalla was honored alone at Gortyn in 213; together with his father Septimius Severus at Itanos before 210; and together with Septimius Severus, his mother Iulia Domna, and Geta at Hierapytna in 209.[130]

These two inscriptions (nos. 6-7, above) join eight more that provide evidence for celebration of the imperial cult at Eleutherna, even if not in a Sebasteion. All –except the epistyle that names Tiberius– were found in re-use in Roman House I or II, the Basilica of Euphratas, the southern wall of archaeological site, and Prines (Archaia Eleutherna). As a group they provide evidence for celebration of the imperial cult from Augustus and Tiberius to Trajan and Hadrian, Septimius Severus and his son(s) –at a city that was neither capital nor colony nor *civitas libera*. Octavian is named in a double graffito found on an Ionic base in second use in the narthex of the Basilica of Euphratas, east-southeast of the Roman House complex (see **fig. 1** no. 8).[131] As Augustus he was honored on a *cippus* found at modern Prines and with a stone altar in second use in Roman House II (see **fig. 1** no. 9).[132] Before he became emperor, Tiberius was honored with an epistyle found built into a wall on the west edges of the acropolis near the cisterns.[133] A new fragment of another inscription –the older fragment found just south of the excavation area, where the church of Ag. Irini once stood, and the new fragment found on the acropolis– names Agrippa Postumus.[134] Trajan was honored with a cylindrical base found on the western road, in front of the entrance to the Public Building (see **fig. 1** no. 10).[135] Hadrian is named on a statue base found built into wall near southernmost enclosure to archaeological site, apparently a sacred enclosure (see **fig. 1** no. 11).[136] Septimius Severus, Caracalla and perhaps Geta are named on a *tabula* found near the modern village of Prines.[137] In addition to these imperial dedications we can take note of a stele found in second use as the threshold of the doorway of Basilica of Euphratas, one dedicated in honor of a private individual described as *philokaisar* (see **fig. 1** no. 12).[138]

Bilingualism/diglossia at Roman Eleutherna

Of the seven inscriptions discussed above, five are in Latin, a language relatively rare in the inscriptions of Roman Crete. Together with one more, apparently dedicated to Octavian as *imperator* before he took the honorific name Augustus,[139] a total of six Latin inscriptions are now known from Eleutherna, thanks to the excavations undertaken in

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[129] *I.Cret.* II,xii 29.

[130] *I.Cret.* IV 280; *I.Cret.* III,iv 20; and *I.Cret.* III,iii 19, respectively.

[131] Tzifopoulos 2009, no. 14, in Latin.

[132] *I.Cret.* II,xii 28, in Greek; Tzifopoulos 2009, no. 11.

[133] *I.Cret.* II,xii 27; Kotsonas, pers. comm. from consultation of the *I.Cret.* notebooks.

[134] Tzifopoulos 2009, 126-27 no. 17; Karanastasi 2015, 421-3. Tiberius and Agrippa Postumus were Augustus' joint heirs between 4 and 14.

[135] Tzifopoulos 2009, no. 12.

[136] Tzifopoulos 2009, no. 13.

[137] *I.Cret.* II,xii 29.

[138] Tzifopoulos 2009, no. 15, dated to the 1st-2nd century.

[139] *Pace* Tzifopoulos 2009, 124 no. 14, who dates this inscription to the Augustan period.

Sector I.[140] When volume II of *Inscriptiones Creticae* was published, 13 Greek inscriptions of Roman date were known from Eleutherna, whether from the site of the ancient city,[141] in the Rethymno Museum,[142] or at modern Prines.[143] One more Greek inscription of Roman date was discovered during excavations at Nisi (Sector II), in a rockpile (λιθοσωρός) that hid part of the peribolos of the late Roman phase of a building.[144] Excavations undertaken in Sector I, by comparison, have brought to light 17 inscriptions of Roman date, 11 in Greek and six in Latin.

Only now can we offer a working analysis of bilingualism/diglossia at Roman Eleutherna. As at Knossos, inscriptions from Eleutherna can show us whether one language had more prestige than the other (diglossia) or whether Latin and Greek were of equal prestige (bilingualism).[145] This is a technical definition of bilingualism, not the more common concept of bilingualism that would require a comfortable reading knowledge of inscriptions in both languages.

We can now look for the intentional choice of Greek or Latin in different genres of Eleuthernaian inscriptions, from the most private to the most public: relatively simple funerary texts, monumental funerary texts, inscriptions of unknown type, inscriptions related to cults and religion, honorary inscriptions, and imperial dedications. Appendix I tabulates the inscriptions currently known for Roman Eleutherna, in order of social prestige and in chronological order within each category (no. 4, above, is not included as it is of Byzantine date). The Latin inscriptions now known from Eleutherna span the range from a text that may be funerary or honorary, two inscriptions of uncertain type that may be juridical, an acclamation, an imperial dedication and one preserving imperial titulature. In the context of the current epigraphical record, however, what is most visible is a strong preference for Greek rather than Latin, even in the most prestigious genres (**Table 2**).

This synchronic pattern is, not surprisingly, quite different from that found for the Roman colony at Knossos, where one would expect a stronger preference for the use of Latin. The inscriptions of Eleutherna reveal a marked preference for Greek over Latin, while those from Roman Knossos evinced some preference for Latin over Greek. At Eleutherna Greek was the language used exclusively for simple funerary inscriptions, those relating to cults and religion, those naming artisans or appearing on ceramics. Greek was favored in inscriptions of unknown type; in honorary inscriptions; and in inscriptions naming an emperor. The Latin used in a single monumental funerary or honorary text at Eleutherna (no. 3, above) can be profitably compared with a single monumental tomb inscription at Knossos.[146]

If we also take into account the chronology of the Latin inscriptions at Eleutherna, it is interesting to see that –with the exception of an imperial inscription of the first century BCE– they belong to later rather than earlier periods in the history of the city (**Table 3**).

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[140] Another Latin inscription found in Sector II has just been published, too late to be taken into account here (Karanastasi 2015, 424-25).

[141] *I.Cret.* II,xii 27 and 38.

[142] *I.Cret.* II,xii 39 and 44.

[143] Now called Archaia Eleutherna, *I.Cret.* II,xii 24, 28, 29, 30, 34, 37, 40, 43, and 46.

[144] Kalpaxis 1991, 69-71 no. 7; for the findspot see Kalpaxis 1991, 13-14.

[145] Baldwin Bowsky 2004, esp. 95.

[146] Baldwin Bowsky 2004, 104-12 no. 5.

This diachronic pattern is comparable with that found for the Roman colony at Knossos, where an early second-century linguistic shift in favor of Greek over Latin appears to have taken place, except in public or official inscriptions.[147]

Even if the use of Latin in imperial dedications is predictable, we should ask why Latin was chosen at Eleutherna for a monumental funerary or honorary inscription of the second-third century. The most economical explanation appears to be the development of the major Roman road that passed Eleutherna on the way between Gortyn and the Diktynnaion, from the reign of Trajan to that of Septimius Severus and Caracalla. The development of this road provides an economical explanation for the distribution of imperial dedications and Latin inscriptions in western Crete (**fig. 6**).

Just west of Mt. Ida this road ran from Sybritos to Eleutherna and then Lappa, rather than from Sybritos to Phalanna to Lappa.[148] In the second century BCE Delphic *theoroi* followed a west-east route from Lappa to Rhithyma and Phalanna on the way to Sybritos; they then proceeded north from Sybritos to Eleutherna and Axos.[149] In the Roman period –from Gortyn westward– M. Aurelius and L. Verus repaired a Gortynian crossroads with funds from the Diktynnaion in the late second century, and M. Aurelius' son Commodus opened a road to the Nymphaion alongside the so-called Praetorium at the end of the second century.[150] At modern Phaneromene –up the Koutsoulidis River, which joins the Geropotamos (ancient Lethaios) to flow into the Bay of Mesara west of Gortyn– a newly published milestone named Hadrian and specified the Diktynnaion as the source of funding.[151] From there the road ran toward Eleutherna, via Sybritos.[152]

North of Eleutherna, at modern Viran Episkopi, another Hadrianic milestone gave one travelling away from Eleutherna and Gortyn the mileage to a point at which the road turned to run east-west again, at modern Stavromenos on the coast north of Eleutherna.[153] At modern Mousela Episkopis, toward the sea from ancient Lappa, a Latin inscription attests an unspecified role for the aediles of Gortyn in the time of Septimius Severus and Caracalla.[154] Inland from Aptera, a Trajanic milestone gave the mileage to a point on the coast at Apteraian Kisamos, where the road turned to take the traveler westward.[155] A third Hadrianic milestone preserved at modern Rhodopou is likely to have given the mileage from the foot of the Diktynnaion peninsula to Kisamos, where the road turned from east-west to north-south, on its way to Kantanos and Lissos.[156] From Lissos the *tabula Peutingeriana* indicates that the road ran eastward for another 30 Roman miles, to an

[147] Baldwin Bowsky 2006, 417.

[148] Tzifopoulos 2004, 100.

[149] Plassart 1921, 19 lines 115-20.

[150] *I.Cret.* IV 333; *I.Cret.* 334.

[151] Chaniotis 2013; Baldwin Bowsky, autopsy. A second, lower fragment of the milestone preserves the mileage figure and therefore confirms the milestone's location at a crossing of the Koutsoulidis River, which was being dammed when the milestone was discovered. There the Roman road changed from an east-west route west of Gortyn to a north-south route leading to Eleutherna.

[152] *Arch. Delt.* 56-59 (2001-2004) B´5, 466.

[153] *SEG* XXIII 581; Tzifopoulos 2004, 96; Baldwin Bowsky and Niniou-Kindeli 2006, 430.

[154] Tzifopoulos 2007, 114-18 no. 2.

[155] Baldwin Bowsky and Niniou-Kindeli 2006, 426-28.

[156] *I.Cret.* II,xi 6; Tzifopoulos 2004, 95; Baldwin Bowsky and Niniou-Kindeli 2006, 430-31.

unnamed place Miller identifies as Aradena, in the vicinity of the port of Phoenix;[157] Phoenix itself might be more likely, as a port like Apteraian Kisamos.

The development of this articulated road system is also the most economic explanation for the extraordinary number of imperial dedications and Latin inscriptions at Eleutherna or elsewhere in western Crete. Along this route nine imperial dedications are known from Eleutherna, while one or at most two are known from other cities: Sybritos, Lappa, Kydonia, the Diktynnaion, Polyrrhenia, Kantanos, and Lissos.[158] Latin inscriptions from western Crete also lie almost exclusively along this same route: not only the six from Eleutherna but one or two known from other cities or locations: the Tallaian Antron, Lappa, Aptera, Kydonia and Polyrrhenia.[159] At Phoenix the Latin dedication to Iuppiter Sol Optimus Maximus Sarapis and all the gods and Trajan may have been the result of a sea voyage rather than a journey along the Roman road, even though it ran there or nearby.[160]

Milestones, imperial dedications, and Latin inscriptions all lay along the route of the Roman road, which gave Eleutherna new vitality from the second century to the fourth and beyond. Kydonia may have had a temple of the imperial cult,[161] but it is excavations at Eleutherna that have yielded the greatest number of imperial dedications and Latin inscriptions from a single city in the western half of the island. The Roman equivalent of the railroad came to Eleutherna and Latin road the rails.

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AE = L'Année Épigraphique, Paris 1888-.

Arch.Delt. = Archaiologikon Deltion, Athens, 1 (1915)-.

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[159] Tallaian Antron: *I.Cret.* xxviii 3. Lappa: *I.Cret.* II,xvi 33; *I.Cret.* II,xvi 34, cf. *AE* 2001, 2061. Aptera: *AE* 2001, 2056. Kydonia: *I.Cret.* II,x 26. Polyrrhenia: *AE* 2006, 1641.

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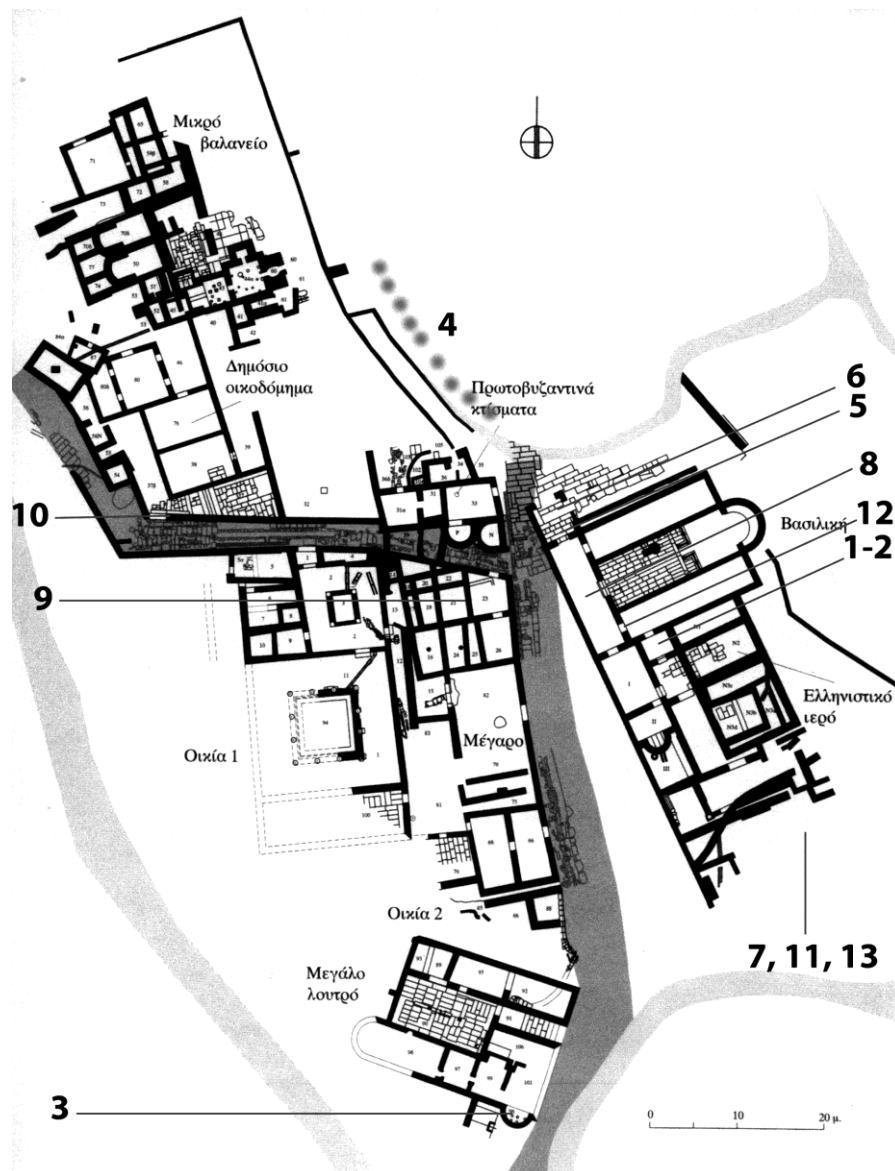**Stockton, California (USA)**

Fig. 1. Plan of Eleutherna with findspots of inscriptions noted in the text
1) no. 1, here; 2) no. 2, here; 3) no. 3, here; 4) no. 4, here; 5) no. 5, here;
6) no. 6, here; 7) no. 7; here; 8) dedication to *Imperator Caesar;* 9) dedication to
Augustus; 10) dedication to Trajan; 11) dedication to Hadrian; 12) imperial
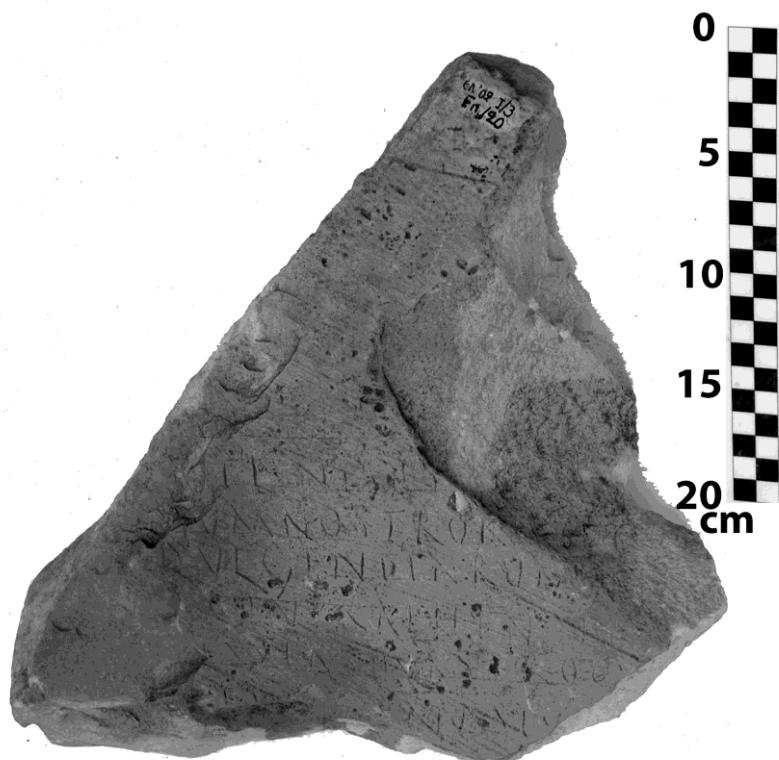dedication; 13) part of the inscription naming Agrippa Postumus.

Fig. 2. MR E264 (photo author)

Fig. 3. MR E242 (photo author)

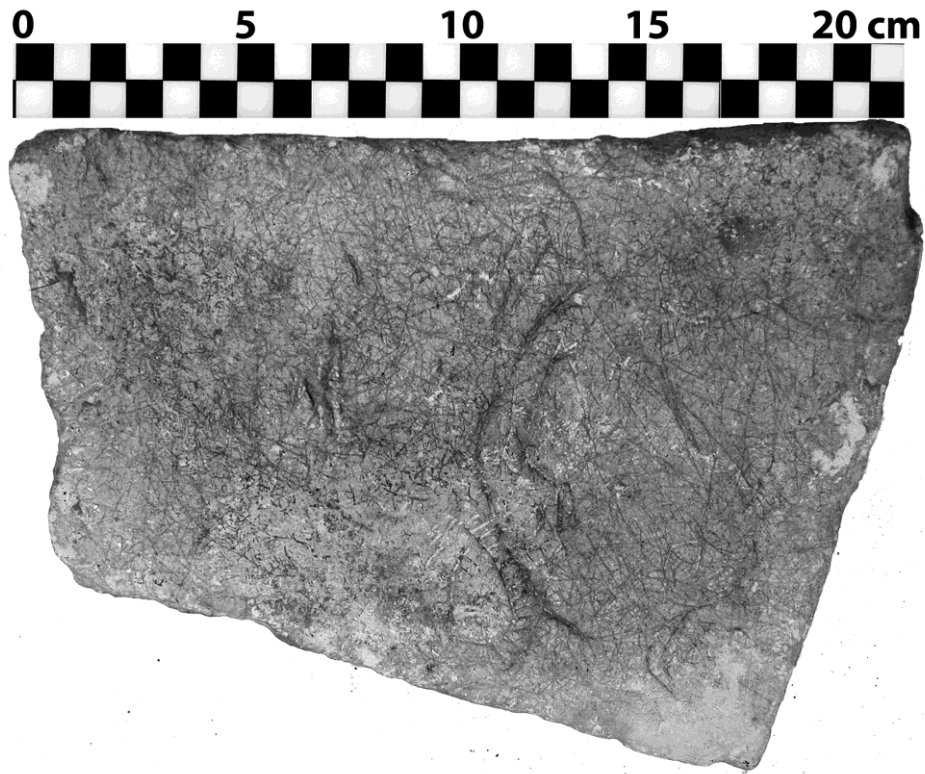Fig. 4. MR245, inscribed surface (photo G. Bdokakis, Sybritos Archaeological Project, 2011)

Fig. 5. MR245, relief surface (photo author; rotated 90° from Fig. 4)
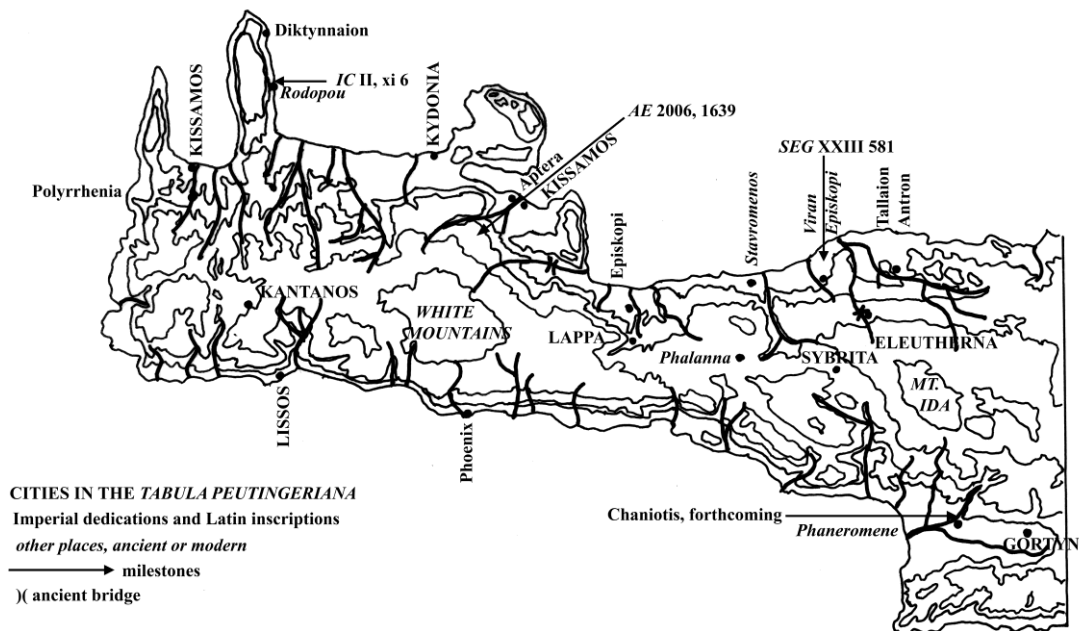

Fig. 6. Imperial dedications and Latin inscriptions along the Roman road in western Crete

Table 1: Cretan inscriptions with distinctive form of L

date	reference	place	description	lower stroke of L
195	*I.Cret.* IV 278	Gortyn	dedication to Septimius Severus	slanted downward, below line
198-209	Tzifopoulos 2007, 114-17 no. 2	Lappa	imperial rescript, *subscriptio*, *libellus*, edict, *mandata*, or *iussa* by Septimius Severus	slanted downward, above line
290-300	Chaniotis and Preuss 1990, 195-97 no. 11	Knossos	fragment of an edict	slanted downward, below line
3rd–4th century	here, no. 1	Eleutherna	inscription of uncertain type, perhaps juridical	slanted downward, below line
3rd–4th century	here, no. 2	Eleutherna	inscription of uncertain type, perhaps juridical	slanted downward, below line
3rd–4th century	here, no. 5	Eleutherna	acclamation	slanted downward, below line
301	*I.Cret.* I,viii 52	Knossos	fragment of Diocletian's Price Edict	slanted downward, below line
301	Chaniotis and Preuss 1990, 190-92 nos. 1-3	Knossos	fragments of Diocletian's Price Edict	slanted downward, below line
305-306	*I.Cret.* I,xviii 188	Lyttos	edict of Constantine *de accusationibus*	slanted downward, below line
before 340	*I.Cret.* I,xviii 189	Lyttos	imperial constitution	slanted downward, below line
4th century	*I.Cret.* IV 336a/b	Gortyn	two statue bases that decorated the Basilica of the Praetorium	slanted downward. lightly curved

Table 2. Latin and Greek in Eleuthernaian and Knossian inscriptions of increasing public nature and social prestige

Category	Eleutherna					Knossos (from Baldwin Bowsky 2006, 413 Table 1)				
	Latin inscriptions		Greek inscriptions		total	Latin inscriptions		Greek inscriptions		total
	number	percentage of total	number	percentage of total		number	percentage of total	number	percentage of total	
simple funerary			6	100%	6	4	57%	3	43%	7
monumental funerary or honorary	1	100%			1	1	100%			1
unknown or uncertain type	2	40%	3	60%	5	1	25%	3	75%	4
cults and religion			2	100%	2	3	23%	10	77%	19
artisans, ceramics			2	100%	2	5	56%	4	44%	7
statuettes								3	100%	3
land ownership						3	60%	2	40%	5
honorary, acclamation	1	20%	4	80%	5	4	80%	1	20%	4
architectural dedications						3	75%	1	25%	4
imperial	2	20%	8	80%	10	6	55%	5	45%	11
transit, communications						3	100%			3
edicts						6	100%			6
	6	19%	25	81%	31	39	57%	29	43%	68

Table 3a. Languages of choice in Eleuthernaian inscriptions, over time

date	simple funerary	monumental funerary or honorary	unknown or uncertain	cults, religion	artisan, amphora	honorary, acclamation	imperial	total
1st century BCE			1 Greek			1 Greek	*1 Latin*	3
1st century BCE or 1st century	1 Greek							1
1st century	1 Greek						4 Greek	5
1st–2nd century				1 Greek		3 Greek		4
2nd century	1 Greek		1 Greek		1 Greek		2 Greek	5
early empire	1 Greek							1
2nd–3rd century		*1 Latin*			1 Greek		1 Greek	3
2nd–4th century				1 Greek				1
3rd century	1 Greek						1 Greek *1 Latin*	3
3rd–4th century			2 Latin			*1 Latin*		3
Roman period	1 Greek		1 Greek					2
total	6	1	5	2	2	5	10	31

Table 3b. Languages of choice in Knossian inscriptions, over time (from Baldwin Bowsky 2006, 418-19 Table 2)

date	simple funerary	monumental funerary	unknown, uncertain	cults, religion	artisans, ceramics	statuettes	land ownership	honorary, acclamat.	architectural dedicatio	imperial	transit, communications	edicts	total
1st century BCE				1 Greek									1
1st c. BCE or 1st c.	1 Latin			2 Greek						3 Latin			6
1st century		1 Latin	1 Latin 1 Greek	2 Latin 2 Greek	1 Latin 2 Greek	1 Greek	3 Latin		3 Latin	1 Latin	1 Latin		19
1st–2nd century				2 Greek	2 Greek			1 Latin					5
2nd century	1 Latin 1 Greek			1 Greek	1 Greek			2 Latin 1 Greek	1 Greek	1 Greek			9
early empire	1 Latin		2 Greek	1 Greek	1 Greek	2 Greek							7
2nd–3rd century													
2nd–4th century													
3rd century											2 Latin		2
3rd–4th century												5 Latin	5
4th century												1 Latin	1
Roman period	1 Latin 2 Greek			2 Greek	2 Greek		2 Greek	1 Latin		2 Latin 1 Greek			13
total	7	1	4	13	9	3	5	5	4	8	3	6	68

Appendix: Inscriptions of Roman Eleutherna, from lowest to highest level of social prestige

language	type of inscription	date	reference
simple funerary			
Greek	funerary for Sotericha	1st BCE or 1st century	*I.Cret.* II,xii 38
Greek	funerary for man with unpreserved name	1st century	*I.Cret.* II,xii 39
Greek	funerary to Eide, from Kataplous	2nd century	*I.Cret.* II,xii 34
Greek	funerary for L.f. Clu. from mother Soteira	early empire	*I.Cret.* II,xii 40
Greek	funerary for Sosibius son of Primos	3rd century?	*I.Cret.* II,xii 37
Greek	funerary (Symposi---)	undated	*I.Cret.* II,xii 43
monumental funerary or honorary			
Latin	monumental funerary or honorary	2nd-3rd century	Tzifopoulos 2007, 113-14 no. 1; here, no. 4
unknown or uncertain			
Greek	unknown	1st BCE	*I.Cret.* II,xii 44
Greek	unknown but larger letters (4.5 cm)	2nd century?	Tzifopoulos 2009, 131-32 no. 22
Latin	uncertain type, perhaps juridical	3rd-4th century	here, no. 1
Latin	uncertain type, perhaps juridical	3rd-4th century	here, no. 2
Greek	unknown	Roman period	*I.Cret.* II,xii 46
cults and religion			
Greek	dedication to Artemis from Seteria (Soteria?)	1st or 2nd century	*I.Cret.* II,xii 24
Greek	altar dedicated to an unnamed god, on behalf of Alexandros *tou kuriou*	2nd-4th century	*SEG* XLI 745
artisans, ceramics			
Greek	artisan's signature of P. Sabellius P.f.	2nd century?	Tzifopoulos 2009, 116-17 no. 10
Greek	dipinto on wine amphora, in magistracy of Hieron, strong wine without sea water	2nd-3rd century	Tzifopoulos 2009, 135-36 no. 33

Appendix: Inscriptions of Roman Eleutherna, from lowest to highest level of social prestige (continue)

language	type of inscription	date	reference
honorary, acclamation			
Greek	statue base in honor of Ofillia Procla	1st BCE	*I.Cret.* II,xii 30
Greek	honorific inscription naming Agrippa Postumus (accusative)	1st–2nd century	Tzifopoulos 2009, 126-27 no. 17; Karanastasi 2015, 421-23
Greek	stele in honor of local notable (*philokaisara, philodemon*) (accusative)	late 1st–2nd century	Tzifopoulos 2009, 125-26 no. 15
Greek	honorific inscription for or by *protokosmos* and board of elders for task undertaken	late 1st–2nd century	Tzifopoulos 2009, 115-16 no. 9
Latin	acclamation	3rd–4th century	here, no. 5
imperial			
Latin	*Imperatori Caesari*	before 27 BCE [not 29 BCE-CE14]	Tzifopoulos 2009, 124 no. 114
Greek	*cippus* to Augustus (dative)	after 14	*I.Cret.* II,xii 28
Greek	altar to divine Augustus (dative)	after 14 [not 29 BCE - CE 14]	Tzifopoulos 2009, 117-20 no. 11
Greek	epistyle in honor of Tiberius (accusative)	4-14	*I.Cret.* II,xii 27
Greek	cornice fragment, with name of Claudius	mid-1st century?	Tzifopoulos 2009, 126 no. 16
Greek	base dedicated to Trajan	102-116	Tzifopoulos 2009, 120-21 no. 12
Greek	statue base dedicated to Hadrian (dative)	117/18	Tzifopoulos 2009, 121-24 no. 13
Greek	on behalf of the good fortune, victory and eternal …. of an emperor	2nd–3rd century [not 5th-6th century]	Tzifopoulos 2000, 244-45 no. 3; here, no. 6
Greek	*tabula* in honor of Septimius Severus and son(s) (accusative)	209 or 210	*I.Cret.* II,xii 29
Latin	plaque with imperial titulature	3rd century [not 1st-4th century]	Tzifopoulos 2009, 137-38 no. 37; here, no. 7