

# THE ARCHIVE OF INSCRIPTIONS OF THE RETHYMNO PREFECTURE: RESULTS, PROSPECTS AND NEW DISCOVERIES IN LAPPA, CRETE

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Four years ago the Papyrology and Epigraphy Workshop (Er.P.E.) of the Department of Philology of the University of Crete, in close collaboration with the 25th Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, began a pilot-project of relocating, photographing and making squeezes of the inscriptions of the Rethymno Prefecture<sup>1</sup>. The inscriptions, which are dated from ca 600 BCE to ca 827 CE, include: a) those published by Margarita Guarducci in *Inscriptiones Creticae*, volume II, 1939; b) those inscriptions published after 1939; and c) those which may have been unpublished. These inscriptions come from the ancient cities of Allaria, Axos, Eleutherna, Hydramia, Lappa, Phalanna, Rithymna, Sulia/Melambes, Sybritos, the Melidoni and Patsos Caves, and cities in the southern area of the Prefecture, whose location is still unknown.

The goal of the project was to determine the whereabouts of the inscriptions, not only in the Museums and their storerooms in Rethymno, Chania and Herakleion where inscriptions from the Rethymno Prefecture are housed, but also *in situ*<sup>2</sup>. The methodology followed was the old,

time-honored epigraphical survey, proposed and outlined by Louis Robert and more recently by John Ma<sup>3</sup>.

As was to be expected, the majority of the total of 236 texts, published by Margarita Guarducci in *Inscriptiones Creticae*, has not been located. The inscriptions that have survived the turbulent intervening years were already housed in a Museum, or were built into houses and churches which have not been renovated or destroyed. Since 1939, however, chance finds and rescue excavations by the 25th Ephoreia, as well as systematic excavations at Eleutherna by the University of Crete, and at Apodoulou and Sybritos by the Archaeological Service and the Italian Archaeological School, have increased the number of inscriptions from the Rethymno Prefecture considerably, by more than two hundred new texts. To be precise, by Spring 2000, 214 new inscriptions have come to light — more than half of them from Eleutherna, and others indicating new sites at Sises<sup>4</sup>, Melambes and to the south of Apodoulou. Within the 63-year-period since 1939, the inscriptions of the Rethymno Prefecture have almost doubled, 450 texts in all, of which 288 have been located so far.

The epigraphical survey of the Rethymno Prefecture, a work in progress so long as excavations

1. For more details on this project see TZIFOPOULOS, Y.Z., "The Archive of Inscriptions of the Rethymno Prefecture: Results and Prospects", *Πεπραγμένα Θ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου, Ελούντα 1-7 Οκτωβρίου 2001*, forthcoming. I am indebted to Maria Andreadaki-Vlazaki, in charge of the 25th Ephoreia, and the archaeologists Irene Gavrilaki, Nota Karamaliki and Eva Tegou for their collaboration in the project to Niki Spanou, Stavroula Oikonomov, Stelios Manousakas, Andreas Manousogiorgakis, Charalambos Kassotakis and Nikolaos Tsagaralexakis for their important and effective help in our searches in Argypoupoli; and to the staff in the Rethymno Museum for facilitating our work. For their perceptive comments and criticisms I am grateful to my colleagues Martha Bowsky, Stavros Frangoulidis and Irene Gavrilaki.

2. The only inscriptions from the Rethymno Prefecture for which there was no search are the ones in Teos in the southeast

coast of Asia Minor, and the one from *Allaria* in the Berlin Museum.

3. ROBERT, L., *Opera Minora Selecta*, vol. 6, Amsterdam 1969-1990, 673-681; ROBERT, L., "Επιγραφική", *Ιστορία και μέθοδοι* rns. vol. B2. *Μεθοδική αναζήτηση των μαρτυριών*, SAMARAN, C. (ed.), transl. ΣΤΕΦΑΝΑΚΗ, Ε., Αθήνα 1981, 17-66; and MA, J., "The Epigraphy of Hellenistic Asia Minor: a Survey of Recent Research (1992-1999)", *AJA* 104, 2000, 95-121, esp. 99-103 with further bibliography.

4. ΑΛΕΞΙΟΥ, Σ., "Αρχαιότητες και μνημεία Κεντρικής και Ανατολικής Κρήτης", *ADeltion* 21, 1966, Chronika 407-408, pl. 437α-γ.

<i>Inscriptiones Creticae</i>			<i>Post Inscriptiones Creticae</i>			<i>SUM</i>	<i>not Located</i>	<i>Located</i>
<i>Total</i>	<i>not Located</i>	<i>Located</i>	<i>SEG</i>	<i>other than SEG</i>	<i>unpublished</i>			
34	26	8	1	1	18	54	27	27

and urban development are ongoing, has led to the creation of the Archive of Inscriptions for the Rethymno Prefecture. The Archive is housed in the 25th Ephoreia and the Workshop of Papyrology and Epigraphy at the University of Crete and comprises an electronic database, which contains information for each inscription, and also an archive of photographs and a collection of squeezes of the stones whose condition allowed one to be made.

The immediate prospects presented by the collection of this material include: (1) publication of the unpublished texts in a reasonable time-frame, and (2) planning for a Supplementum to, or a re-edition of the *Inscriptiones Creticae* for the Rethymno Prefecture, as Angelos Chaniotis has proposed in the last Epigraphical Congress in Rome<sup>5</sup>. These two goals, if achieved in the immediate future, will provide an updated corpus of reliable texts for the Rethymno Prefecture, which span a period of more than a thousand years, and will in turn facilitate further study of the area and its ancient cities.

The experience and the results of the project have been quite rewarding. The epigraphical dossier of the Cretan city of Lappa, modern-day Argyroupoli, W-SW of Rethymno, may serve as a case in point (see the Map, Photo 1)<sup>6</sup>. Of the thirty-four inscriptions published by Margarita Guarducci in 1939 and two more texts after that year — a total of thirty-six inscriptions — only ten inscriptions have been located, five of them *in situ* and five in the Ephoreia's Storerooms.

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

6. For Lappa and its environs see the summary by SPORN, K., *Heiligtümer und Kulte Kretas in klassischer und hellenistischer Zeit (Studien zu antiken Heiligtümern 3)*, Heidelberg 2002, 255 with extensive previous bibliography and also GAVRILAKI, I., "Αργυρούπολη, οικόπεδο Μανωλόπουλου", *ADeltion* 50 B2, 1995, 741-742; GAVRILAKI, I., "Από το ρωμαϊκό νεκροταφείο της αρχαίας Λάππας στη θέση Πέντε Παρθένες", *Creta romana e protobyzantina. Congresso Internazionale, Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene, Herakleio, 23-30 settembre 2000*, forthcoming; PERLMAN, P., *An Inventory of Poleis in Crete*, forthcoming.

This search, however, has also led to the (re)discovery of eighteen unpublished inscriptions, four of which have been chosen to be presented here in a preliminary edition, because they add important new evidence to the history of Lappa and to Cretan Epigraphy.

1. In 1956 Nikolaos Platon noted the discovery of "a partly preserved proxeny inscription referring to the citizens of Anopolis, built-in a small church, recently repaired" (*KretChron* 10, p. 422). The stone of local limestone is built into the West wall, to the right of the entrance, of the church of the "Entry of the Mother of God into the Temple", located in Hagia Dynamis, which was reconstructed in 1957 by Phaedra Deligiannaki. The stone has suffered minor damage on the inscribed surface and is chipped away on top and bottom right. Its dimensions are: H. 0.26m., W. 0.395m. and LH. between 0.032-0.036m. The lettering (strokes ending in triangular apices and the broken middle bar of alpha) points to the late Hellenistic period as the date for the inscription that runs as follows (Photo 2):

Καρτίας ΙΙΝΝΙΟ  
'Ανωπολίτας Λα-  
3 ππαιών πρόξεν-  
ος αὐτός καὶ ἔγ-  
γονοί.

The text of this proxeny decree is unlike the nine other ones from this Cretan city, awarded to individuals from places such as Megalopolis, Alexandria, the Syrian or Phrygian Hieropolis, Perge and the islands of Thera and Kasos, all of which begin with the formula ἔδοξε Λαππαιῶν τᾷ πόλει<sup>7</sup>. The formula employed in the new text—name, patronym and city-ethnic of the proxenos—seems to be a later simplification, which also appears in the proxeny-decrees of Sybrita<sup>8</sup>.

7. IC II.xvi.6-9. For grants of proxeny together with rights to use one's harbor for trading and/or tax-exemption see PERLMAN, P., "Kretes aei Leistes? The Marginalization of Crete in Greek Thought and the Role of Piracy in the Outbreak of the First Cretan War", GABRIELSEN, V.; BILDE, P.; ENGBERG-PEDERSEN, T.; HANNES-TAD, L.; ZAHLE, J. (edd.), *Hellenistic Rhodes: Politics, Culture and Society*, Aarhus 2000, 132-161, esp. 146-147.

8. LE RIDER, G., *Monnaies crétoises du Ve au Ier siècle av. J.C. (Études Crétoises, XV)*, Paris 1966, 258-259, pl. XLVII.

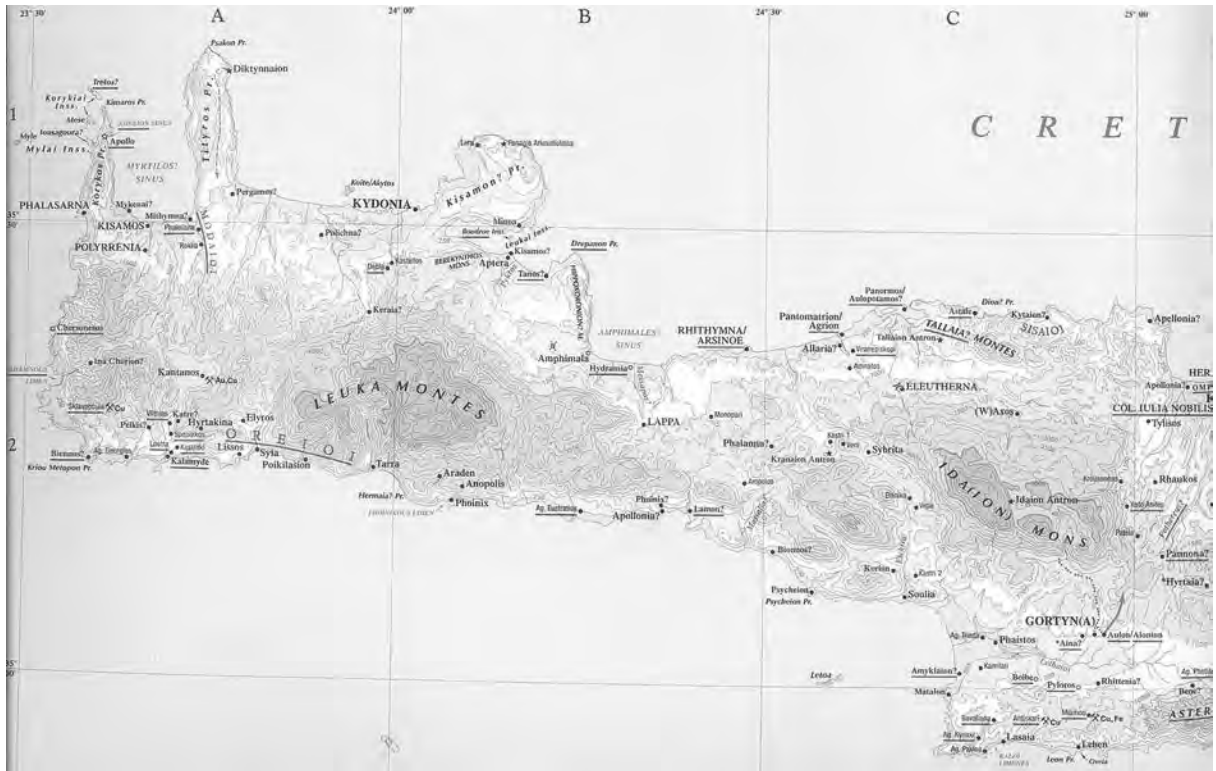


Photo 1: Map of Western Crete, *Barrington Atlas*, pl. 60.



Photo 2: Proxy decree.



The proxenos' name is attested in Styra, Euboeia<sup>9</sup>, but his patronym, perhaps Πιννίο (or Βιννίο or Κιννίο), is problematic<sup>10</sup>. Interestingly enough, the city of this proxenos, Anopolis is located on the southwestern shore of Crete, at a considerable distance from Lappa (see the Map in photo 1). This may indicate that Lappa's interests for seaports were not limited to the more accessible north shore, where Hydramia served as Lappa's port, or to the south, where Lappa was already in control of the port of Phoenix, but also to the farther SW, where Lappa's territory neighbored with that of Anopolis<sup>11</sup>.

2. In one of our many visits to the village we were taken to the Storeroom of the local High School building to check a few stones. Among them there was a small altar of local limestone of unknown (or not disclosed to us) provenance, now in the Rethymno Museum (E72). The altar with protruding base and crown with horn-like corners is hollowed on top (0.024 × 0.024m.) and its back is rough. Its dimensions are: H. 0.72m. (inscribed surface 0.29m.), W. 0.313m. (inscribed surface top 0.285m., bottom 0.275), Th. 0.316m. (inscribed surface 0.298m.). Guidelines of 0.03m. in height were used for cutting the letters, whose height varies between 0.027-0.03m. The lettering indicates a date in the Imperial period and the text runs as follows (Photo 3):

Θεῶ · Ὑψίστ(ω)  
· ΠΕΡΒΟΝΑΞΟ.

Line 2, where the name of the dedicator is expected, presents difficulties as the second dotted letter may be either a xi or an epsilon. It may be read either as a name and patronym, perhaps Ὑπέρβον Ἄξο, or as the preposition ὑπέρ followed by the name in the genitive, perhaps [ὑ]πὲρ Βονάξο<sup>12</sup>. This is the first attestation in Lappa of a dedication to Theos Hypsistos. The altar's text is very similar to a few other dedicatory inscriptions to Θεὸς Ὑψιστος of the Roman and Imperial period in Crete: one from Chersonesos, two from



Photo 3: Altar to Theos Hypsistos.

Knossos, one from Lato, one from Sybrita, one from Eleutherna and three from Gortyn<sup>13</sup>. Although only one of these ten dedications in Crete is to Zeus Hypsistos, unlike similar dedications elsewhere<sup>14</sup>, Zeus may be implied, because

9. BECHTEL, F., *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*, Halle, 1917, 260 s.v. Καρτίης, and LGPN (<http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/>), s.v. Καρτίης?

10. BECHTEL, o.c., 480, s.v. Πινίας, and LGPN (<http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/>), s.v. Πινίας.

11. IC I.xvi.praefatio, pp. 191-192; GAVRILAKI, o.c., 741-742; CHANIOTIS, A., "Κλασική και Ελληνιστική Κρήτη", ΠΑΝΑΥΙΟΤΑΚΗΣ, N.M. (ed.), *Κρήτη Ἱστορία και Πολιτισμός*, vol. 1, Herakleio 1987, Χάρτης και Πίνακες Κρητικών πόλεων; and SPORN, o.c., 255.

12. BECHTEL, o.c. and LGPN (<http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/>).

13. Chersonesos: IC I.vii.7 and SPORN, o.c., 107. Knossos: IC I.viii.18 and KRITZAS, CH.B., "Κρητικές ἐπιγραφές", *KretChron* 30, 1990, 7-8 no.1, pl. 1 (=SEG 41.759); CHANIOTIS, A., "Epigraphic Bulletin for Greek Religion 1990", *Kernos* 7, 1994, no. 175; and SPORN, o.c., 126; Lato: IC I.xvi.24 and SPORN, o.c., 73. Sybrita: IC II.xxvi.3 and SPORN, o.c., 249. Eleutherna: ΤΖΙΦΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Y.Z., "The Inscriptions", THEMELIS, P. (ed.), *Ελεύθερα Τομέας I*, forthcoming, with discussion of the problems presented by the dedications to Theos Hypsistos found in Crete. Gortyn: IC IV.241, 242; RIZZO, M.A., "L'altare di Gortina al Θεῶι Ὑψίστωι", *Creta romana e protobyzantina. Congresso Internazionale, Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene, Herakleio, 23-30 settembre 2000*, forthcoming; and SPORN, o.c., 171.

14. MITCHELL, S., "The Cult of Theos Hypsistos between Pagans, Jews, and Christians", ATHANASSIADI, P.; FREDE, M. (edd.), *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity*, Oxford 1999, 97-110 and 128-147 with extensive bibliography and documentation for the texts; ТАЧЕВА-НИТОВА, M., "Dem Hypsistos geweihte Denkmäler in den Balkanländern", *Balkan Studies* 19, 1978, 59-75 for Thrace and Macedonia; CHRYSOSTOMOU, P., "Ἡ λατρεία τοῦ Δία ὡς καιρικοῦ θεοῦ στὴ Θεσσαλία καὶ τὴ Μακε-



Photo 4: Honorary statue-base to Flavios.

of the characteristic epithet ὑψιστος which denotes in particular supremacy and worship literally on mountaintops.<sup>15</sup> This, however, may not be the case, as Stephen Mitchell has convincingly argued in his study of the dedications to Theos Hypsistos<sup>16</sup>. The interaction and influence among Pagans, Jews and Christians only recently has attracted attention, which will elucidate further the issues presented by these dedications.

3. Two years ago, the archaeologist of the 25th Ephoreia Irene Gavrilaki discovered built into the left post of the entrance to a local tavern located in Hagia Dynamis, owned by Nikolaos Tsagaralexakis, the upper part of a statue-base of local limestone. It preserves the upper half of the first line of its inscription. It is crowned with a concave and convex cymation, broken in the two cornices, and on top there was a hole, while its back is flat. Its dimensions are: H. 0.29m. (inscribed surface 0.125m.), W. 0.83m. (inscribed surface 0.63m.), Th. 0.90m. and the upper half of the letters is 0.04m., except for the phi 0.075m. (Photo 4):

Φλάβιον  
[- - - -].

This honorary inscription for Flavius may refer to one of the two known Flavii in the epigraphic dossier of Lappa<sup>17</sup>, or it attests a third person with

that name. Other Flavii on Crete are also found in Sybrita, Lyttos, Chersonesos, Hierapytna, Gortyn and Rhytion<sup>18</sup>.

4. Finally, during one of our visits in Argypoli in 1998, we were asked to check “a stone with letters” in the house of Charalambos Kassotakis, whose provenance was not known, or was not disclosed to us. It is a block of local limestone, now in the Rethymno Museum (E256), probably from a statue-base, broken at the left and chipped away at the edges and the bottom. The top is rough but the bottom is smooth and preserves two holes at each end, whereas the two sides suffered minor damage. Black sediment is visible everywhere and on the upper right above the first line the word τριάκοντα is scratched in sloppy letters of a later date. Its dimensions are: H. 0.212m., W. 0.719m., Th. 0.423m. and LH. 0.032-0.038m. (Photo 5):

[Μᾶρ]κον Ἀγρίππαν Λευκίου υἱὸν Ἴ  
[τρὶς] ὑπάτου καὶ δημαρχικῆς ἔξουσι-  
3 [σίης] Λαππαίων ἀ πόλις τὸν ἑατᾶς  
πάτρωνα.

This honorary inscription by the city of Lappa for Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, Augustus’ admiral and his trusted friend until his death in 12 BCE, is the first time Agrippa is attested in the epigraphical record of Crete.<sup>19</sup> The inscription should be

δοῖα”, *ADeltion Meletes* 44-46, 1989-91, 21-72 especially for Macedonia and Thessaly; and for the Bosphorus area USTINOVA, Y., *The Supreme Gods of the Bosporan Kingdom. Celestial Aphrodite and the Most High God (Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, 135)*, Leiden, Boston, Köln 1999.

15. VERBRUGGEN, H., *Le Zeus Crétois*, Paris, 1981, 152; KRITZAS, o.c., 7-8 no. 1; and SPORN, o.c., 126.

16. MITCHELL, o.c. and SPORN, o.c., 171.

17. *IC* II.xvi.15 and a Lappan at Klaros (MACRIDY, TH., “Antiquités de Notion II”, *ÖJh* 15, 1912, 46 no. 2). See also BALDWIN

BOWSKY, M.W., “From Piracy to Privileged Status: Lappa (Crete) and the Romans”, in the present volume.

18. Sybrita: BALDWIN BOWSKY, M.W.B., “A Temple of Hermes at Sybritos: on the Road from Gortyn to the Diktynnaion (Crete)”, *ASAA* 79 (2001) 263-276; Lyttos: *IC* I.xvii. 32-36, 40, 55, 37-39, 121, 161, 162; Chersonesos: *IC* I.vii.10bA; Hierapytna: *IC* III.iii. 16-17, 18 and 20-21; Gortyn: *IC* IV 249, 275, 278, 300, 305, 425; and Rhytion: *IC* I.xxix.1.

19. For Agrippa see: *PIR*<sup>2</sup> 439-442 no. 457; REINHOLD, M.,



Photo 5: Honorary inscription to Vipsanius Agrippa.

dated during Agrippa's second trip to the Greek East, which began in 17/16 BCE until the first half of 13 BCE. Agrippa held his last, third consulship, in 28-27 BCE and tribunician power in 18 BCE and became 'co-regent' and virtually heir-designate of Augustus.

The city of Lappa honors Agrippa as its *patron*, a term usually to be found in other honorary inscriptions for Agrippa coupled with the term *evergetes*. As J.M. Roddaz has shown,<sup>20</sup> *patron* and *evergetes* indicate only the first and more general step towards awarding honors to Marcus Agrippa, while the more specific terms *soter*, *ktistes* and *theos* imply a more concrete and intimate relationship, which Lappa may have lacked.

Although an honorary inscription need not imply the honorand's presence in person, Agrippa may have been in Lappa either in his way to Syria during his second trip eastwards, or on the occasion of his measuring the distance between the southernmost promontory of Crete Criumetopon and the northernmost promontory of Cyrenaica Phykous<sup>21</sup>, mentioned by Pliny, in order to use it in his map of the empire on the *porticus Vipsania*<sup>22</sup>,

or perhaps for some other, by far more challenging reason, suggested by Martha Bowsky in this Congress<sup>23</sup>. Either way, this inscription corroborates Augustan attention to Lappa, which together with Kydonia made the right decision and supported Octavian who, in return, awarded them free status, as Cassius Dio narrates (51.2.3): Κυδωνιάτας τε καὶ Λαμπαίους ἐλευθέρους ἀφῆκεν, ὅτι τινὰ αὐτῷ συνήραντο· καὶ τοῖς γε Λαμπαίοις καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνεστῶσαν συγκατῶκισε.

These four new texts from Lappa, Crete highlight in a most rewarding way the fact that the epigraphical survey of the Rethymno Prefecture and the creation of the Archive of inscriptions was an indispensable and worthwhile effort. The list of Lappa's proxenoi is enriched, as is the number of dedications to Theos Hypsistos found in the island, while the Roman period of the city of Lappa is enhanced by new evidence. Even a much-studied place, such as the island of Crete, will always reveal new inscriptions *in situ* or in Museum storerooms that will corroborate or clarify long-standing views, open-up new paths for research, or even, occasionally, add new and exciting evidence.

Marcus Agrippa, *a Biography*, New York, 1933, rpt. Roma 1965; RODDAZ, J.-M., *Marcus Agrippa* (BEFAR 263), Rome 1984, esp. 419-450; and the recent study for Agrippa's stay and honors in Mytilene by KAJAVA, M., "Eresian Memories", *ZPE* 139, 2002, 89-107.

20. RODDAZ, *o.c.*, 440-449.

21. This spelling, different from Phycuns in Pliny's text below in note 22, in TALBERT, R.J.A., *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, Princeton 2000.

22. HN 4.60: *ipsa abest promunturio suo, quod vocatur Criu Metopon, ut prodit Agrippa, a Cyrenarum promunturio Phycunte CXXV.*

3. BALDWIN BOWSKY, *o.c.*, "Piracy".