

## THE EPIGRAPHY OF HELLENISTIC CRETE THE CRETAN KOINON: NEW AND OLD EVIDENCE

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### I. The epigraphy of Hellenistic Crete: The nature of the evidence.

If I have chosen to highlight a legal document - an unpublished treaty related to the Cretan Koinon - it is not only because this text is the longest and probably the most important unpublished inscription of Crete, but also because Cretan epigraphy stands out essentially as legal epigraphy. The brief presentation of the new text is incorporated in a more general survey of epigraphic research on Crete<sup>1</sup>.

The epigraphy of Crete can be divided into two periods: The early period (late 8th-late 5th cent.) is characterized by a great number of laws and decrees (ca. 200 texts, most of them fragmented) from only ten cities. In this early period, the number of treaties is extremely small (Staatsvertr., II 147, 148, 203, 216). From the late 5th to the late 4th cent. a negligible number of inscriptions survives - only one treaty (Staatsvertr., II 296) and a handful of laws. The situation changes dramatically around 300, when the laws disappear, with the exception of *leges sacrae*. However, from the three centuries before the common era we have an unparalleled number of treaties, concluded both among Cretan cities and

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to express my thanks to Prof. A. Di Vita (Italian Archaeological School), C. Kritzas (Epigraphical Museum, Athens), N. Litinas (University of Crete), J. Tzifopoulos (University of Crete) for giving me information on recent epigraphic research on Crete. The following abbreviations are used:

Arbitrations: S.L. Ager, *Interstate Arbitrations in the Greek World, 337-90 B.C.*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1996.

Asylia: K.J. Rigsby, *Asylia. Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1996.

Dialecte: M. Bile, *Le dialecte crétois ancien. Étude de la langue des inscriptions*, Paris 1988.

Verträge: A. Chaniotis, *Die Verträge zwischen kretischen Poleis in der hellenistischen Zeit* (Heidelberger Althistorische Beiträge und Althistorische Studien, 24), Stuttgart 1996.

between Cretan cities and states abroad (82 texts, without counting the dozens of indirect attestations of treaties)<sup>2</sup>. In this later period the number of decrees surpasses that of the archaic and classical period (ca. 270 texts from 28 cities and four decrees of the Koinon). The early Cretan legal documents have almost monopolized the interest of scholars<sup>3</sup> and their significance has overshadowed the Hellenistic legal material, with a few notable exceptions. It is essentially within the last decade that the legal epigraphy of Hellenistic Crete has dynamically moved into the foreground, stimulated partly by an increasing interest in the Hellenistic period and partly by new finds.

The treaties, the most important group of Hellenistic inscriptions on Crete, provide an instructive example for this development. 17 treaties (20% of the total number of treaties known from this period) were found after the publication of the *Inscriptiones Creticae*<sup>4</sup>. Today, the Hellenistic treaties between Cretan poleis can be found in a new edition, with translation, commentary, and systematic discussion (*Verträge*). Those treaties which concern international arbitration are also included in the collection of Sh. Ager (*Arbitration*). An analogous collection and analysis of treaties concluded between Cretan cities and foreign powers is urgently needed, since numerous texts are not included in the *Inscriptiones Creticae* or the *Staatsverträge des Altertums*. This gap is partly covered by the books of A. Petropoulou<sup>5</sup> and S. Kreuter (note 2), which touch upon legal issues, without, however offering a systematic analysis of the formal features of the treaties and their clauses. A projected volume in the series *Prozessrechtliche Inschriften der griechischen Poleis* will include texts, translations, historical and juridical commentaries on the Hellenistic inscriptions concerning judiciary matters (G. Thür, A. Chaniotis). Another projected volume will focus on the history of Hierapytna, highlighting again the relevant treaties (F. Guizzi)<sup>6</sup>.

The Cretan psephismata of the Hellenistic period, on the other hand, have never been the subject of a systematic study (analysis of preambles, dating formulas, provisions for the

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<sup>2</sup> For the treaties between Cretan cities see *Verträge*; for the treaties with other states see *ibid.*, 16f. note 57; cf. S. Kreuter, *Außenbeziehungen kretischer Gemeinden zu den hellenistischen Staaten im 3. und 2. Jh. v. Chr.*, Munich 1992.

<sup>3</sup> See most recently R. Koerner, *Inscriptliche Gesetzestexte der frühen griechischen Polis*, Cologne-Weimar-Vienna 1993; H. van Effenterre - F. Ruzé, *Nomima. Recueil d'inscriptions politiques et juridiques de l'archaïsme grec*, Paris 1994 (I), 1995 (II).

<sup>4</sup> *Dialecte*, no. 44; P. Ducrey - H. van Effenterre, *Traités attalides avec des cités crétoises*, «*Kretika Chronika*», 21, 1969, 277-300; SEG, XXIII 547 (*Staatsvertr.* 552), 563; XXVI 1049; XLI 731, 741, 742, 743, 770, 772; cf. SEG, XLI 768. For another five unpublished treaties see below.

<sup>5</sup> *Beiträge zur Wirtschafts- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte Kretas in hellenistischer Zeit*, Frankfurt 1985.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. F. Guizzi, *Conquista, occupazione del suolo e titoli che danno diritto alla proprietà: L'esempio di una controversia interstatale cretese*, «*Athenaeum*», 85, 1997, 35-52.

publication, privileges, etc.)<sup>7</sup>, although the material has increased substantially over the last twenty years. The publication of the inscriptions of Mylasa alone has made 23 decrees of Cretan cities available<sup>8</sup>. A comprehensive study of the Cretan decrees would certainly be fruitful with regard to Hellenistic legal, constitutional, and political history. K. Rigsby's collection of only those decrees which concern the *asylia* of foreign communities is proof enough of this<sup>9</sup>.

Despite the substantial progress indicated above, a history of Crete in the Hellenistic Age still remains to be written. In addition to the gaps I have already mentioned, and others which will become apparent later on, new finds, both in and outside Crete, constantly change the picture. For example, five unpublished treaties could not be considered in my recent book on the treaties between Cretan poleis: a new copy of the treaty between Polyrrhenia and Phalasarna which preserves the entire text<sup>10</sup>; the first lines of the Gortynian copy of the treaty between Gortyn, Hierapytna, and Priansos<sup>11</sup>; a fragment of yet another copy of the treaty between Lyttos and Olous, already known from two other fragmentary inscriptions set up in Athens and Rhodes<sup>12</sup>, found at Chersonesos and preserving the clauses which concern festivals and the treaty oath; a fragment of a treaty oath (possibly from Chersonesos)<sup>13</sup>; and a treaty between Gortyn, Knossos and their allies, which offers new evidence on the Cretan Koinon (below).

## 2. New evidence on an old problem: The Cretan Koinon

It is generally accepted that the Cretan Koinon (Κοινὸν τῶν Κρηταίων)<sup>14</sup> was founded sometime in the 3rd cent.<sup>15</sup>. The Koinon consisted of autonomous poleis. It had a

<sup>7</sup> Cf. M. Muttelsee, *Verfassungsgeschichte Kretas in hellenistischer Zeit*, Hamburg 1925. For dating formulas, see A. Martínez Fernández, *Cretense πρόκορμος*, «*Fortunatae*», 1, 1991, 73-75; A. Chaniotis, *Die Inschriften von Amnisos*, «J. Schäfer (ed.), Amnisos nach den archäologischen, topographischen, historischen und epigraphischen Zeugnissen des Altertums und der Neuzeit», Berlin 1992, 294f.

<sup>8</sup> *Asylia*, nos 187-209; cf. IMylasa 641-659, 720; SEG, XXXIX 1127; XLII 1003-1006.

<sup>9</sup> *Asylia*, nos 42-44 (Kos), 55-60 (Tenos), 65 (Miletos), 118 (Magnesia), 136-152, 154-157, 159-161 (Teos), 175 (Anaphe), 187-209 (Mylasa).

<sup>10</sup> S. Markoulaki, «Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Ἡ' Διεθνoῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου, Ἡράκλειο 1996» (forthcoming); for another copy, see ICret, II, xi 1 = *Verträge*, no. 1.

<sup>11</sup> This text, found during the joint Greek-Italian excavations of an early Christian basilica in Gortyn, will be published shortly by C. Kritzas. For another copy (from Hierapytna?) see ICret, IV 174 = *Verträge*, no. 27.

<sup>12</sup> This text will be published by C. Kritzas. For the copies from Athens and Rhodes, see ICret, I, xviii 9; SEG, XXXIII 134, 638; XXXVII 93, 698; *Verträge*, nos 60 A-B.

<sup>13</sup> Mus. Herakleion Inv. 400, possibly identical with a text mentioned in «*Kretika Chronika*», 10, 1956, 419 (10 lines of a fragmentary treaty).

<sup>14</sup> On the name of the Koinon, see Muttelsee, *o.c.*, 46, who noticed the distinction in our sources between Κρήτες (inhabitants of Crete) and Κρηταῖες (members of the Koinon).

council (synhedrion) and a general assembly which discussed subjects such as the recognition of the *asylia* of sanctuaries, the issuing of proxeny decrees, and military contributions by member states to foreign powers. There is no evidence for federal citizenship, federal magistrates, a federal army, or federal revenues<sup>16</sup>. The Koinon had developed a procedure for solving conflicts, which was recorded in an official document called τὸ διάγραμμα τῶν Κρηταίων. Apparently, the diagramma described judicial procedures and contained a list of offences and the resulting fines. The question of whether the diagramma envisaged legal conflicts between communities or private suits of the citizens of the various communities is a matter of debate<sup>17</sup>. A second institution generally associated with the Cretan Koinon is the κοινοδίκιον, usually interpreted either as the League court or as a joint court consisting of judges appointed by two or more cities, which was responsible for the legal conflicts among their citizens<sup>18</sup>.

Little evidence has become available since the last comprehensive studies of the Cretan Koinon, more than twenty years ago. The expressions Κρηταίεις and πάντες Κρηταίεις (see above, note 14) appear in a dossier of decrees of Cretan cities found in Mylasa (see above, note 8), making it clear that the cities which responded to a Mylasean diplomatic mission were members of the Koinon<sup>19</sup>. However, the very fragmentary preservation of these texts does not permit any inferences other than that the Karian city claimed to have been συγγενής of the Kretaieis and that the Cretan cities recognized certain privileges (probably *asylia* and *aphorologesia*). It is also possible that they signed a treaty of alliance<sup>20</sup>. Several of these texts mention a war, one decree refers to a "common peace", and another text refers to an arbitration<sup>21</sup>. It is not clear if these are references to a current or an

<sup>15</sup> Bibliography in Verträge, 30f.

<sup>16</sup> Verträge, 99f. (with older bibliography).

<sup>17</sup> Legal conflicts between communities: P. Gauthier, *Symbola. Les étrangers et la justice dans les cités grecques*, Nancy 1972, 318, 321f., 324. Private suits of citizens of different communities: S.A. Ager, *Hellenistic Crete and Κοινοδίκιον*, «JHS», 114, 1994, 18; Verträge, 138f.

<sup>18</sup> League court: Gauthier, o.c., 317, 323f.; *Asylia*, 360. Joint court: H. van Effenterre, *La Crète et le monde grec de Platon à Polybe*, Paris 1948, 146f.; Ager, o.c., 7, 12; *Arbitrations*, 298; Verträge, 141-143. For other views see Verträge, 141-143.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. O. Curty, *Les parentés légendaires entre cités grecques*, Geneva 1995, 163; cf. the suggestion made by P. Gauthier and G. Rougemont (BE 1990, 21) that SEG, XXXIX 1127 may have been a decree of the Koinon.

<sup>20</sup> Curty, o.c., 160-163; *Asylia*, 407.

<sup>21</sup> War: IMylasa 650 ll. 7f.: τῷ ἔθνῳ ἐμπετόντος - - - - πόλεμος Κρηταίων πάντων; 642 l. 11; 654 l. 3; 658 l. 6. Common peace: IMylasa 650 l. 6. Arbitration: SEG, XLII 1004 l. 10: [συλλύσεων or [δια]λύσεων.

earlier war. We are equally ignorant of which parties were engaged in the conflict<sup>22</sup>. Also unknown is the exact date of these decrees (sometime in the 2nd cent.)<sup>23</sup>. Given all these uncertainties, these texts have not added anything of substance. The same applies to the fragment of a treaty found in Eleutherna, which H. van Effenterre has reluctantly associated with the Koinon, but which is probably the fragment of a treaty between Eleutherna and Knossos<sup>24</sup>. Finally, an inscription of the 1st cen. copied by M. Segre in Kos and published recently mentions an earlier war between Kos and the Kretaieis<sup>25</sup>, the Cretan War of the late 3rd cent.<sup>26</sup> or (more probably) the Second Cretan War (155-153).

Substantially more light is shed by the text I will present here. It was found in 1955 in Chersonesos, but it was released for publication only in 1992, thanks to the efforts of Ch. Kritzas<sup>27</sup>. The text will be published by Kritzas and myself. Its reconstruction and the commentary are the result of our common efforts. The text is written on both sides of a white marble stele (64 x 46 x 12 cm), broken at the top. 64 lines are preserved (30 lines on side A and 34 lines on side B), but the first 25 lines on both sides are very fragmentary. However, it is certain that the texts on both sides belong together. It is also clear that the text is a treaty between Knossos, Gortyn, and their allies.

The fragmented first 17 lines of side A deal with judicial matters. The matter under consideration is the problem created by the existence of a number of deserters (αὐτόμολοι) during a war. It seems that a great number of these had sought refuge in other cities, where they were being hidden. We recognize references to the people who hid them (A 6: τοῖς κρύποντι) as well as to seizures (A 14f.: [β]ς κα ἀφέληται; A 16: τὰς ἀφαιλέσιος). The procedure described is in accordance with the diagramma of the Cretan Koinon (A 15-17). There can be little doubt that the war referred to by the treaty is the Lyttian War of ca. 220-219, known basically from Polybius (4, 54, 4-8): The Knossians in alliance with the

<sup>22</sup> Cf. IMylasa 642. The Mylaseis are possibly mentioned in a text written in the Cretan dialect and found in Athens (SEG, XXI 484 = Arbitrations, no. 164, IV, l. 3). The text has been associated, with no conclusive arguments, with a conflict between Olous and Lato in the late 2nd cent. (but see Verträge, 51, note 264).

<sup>23</sup> Perhaps during the period of the war between Gortyn and Knossos in 184; see Verträge, 42 note 215. Although all the texts were inscribed at the same time in Mylasa, there is no need to assume that all the decrees were issued at the same time; some of them may be substantially earlier texts, inscribed at some point together with later decrees.

<sup>24</sup> SEG, XLI 743; see Verträge, 191f. (with bibliography).

<sup>25</sup> M. Segre, *Iscrizioni di Cos*, Rome 1993, ED 229 ll. 3f.: ἐν τοῖς συστάσι τῇ πόλει πρὸς Κρη/[ταιέ]ας ἐπὶ πολεμωτάτοις καιροῖς.

<sup>26</sup> C. Habicht, *Neue Inschriften aus Kos*, «ZPE», 112, 1996, 89.

<sup>27</sup> Its discovery was reported by N. Platon, «Kretika Chronika», 10, 1956, 419. In 1992 C. Kritzas, in his capacity as Ephoros of Antiquities at Herakleion, asked to me to publish this text together, knowing of my research on the Cretan treaties.

Gortynians had subjected the whole of Crete with the exception of Lyttos, against which they undertook a war. At first all the Kretaieis took part in it, but soon several cities abandoned their alliance with Knossos and decided to take the part of Lyttos, while Gortyn was in a state of civil war. These internal conflicts can be confirmed by inscriptions which mention a stasis in Gortyn and indicate similar problems in Dreros<sup>28</sup>. The situation the new text describes (alliance between Knossos and Gortyn, a war, desertions) perfectly fits the events of the Lyttian War.

From the last 17 lines of the first side, which are better preserved than the rest, we are informed that the ereutai (a civic body of investigators) imposed and exacted fines, probably for desertion, providing shelter to deserters, and seizures. Following a trial the ereutai had to send notice of the fine, within sixty days, to the city of the deserter. If they could not exact the fine from the property of the convict, they seized him and delivered him to the city, which had been wronged (his city?). If the convicted person escaped seizure, the fine was paid from the public revenues of the city where the trial had taken place; payment was the responsibility of the local magistrates, who were liable to punishment if they failed in this duty. After a gap of an uncertain length, the text continues on the back side, again with references to deserters, plaintiffs, fines, and ereutai and including provisions for the safety of the prosecutors. The treaty concludes with provisions for the oath ceremony, the performance of curses, the reading of the treaty year after year, and the prosecution of magistrates who neglected such duties. The stele was to be erected in the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios in Gortyn. The other places where copies of the document were to be set up must have been written, together with the rest of the text (i.e., the oath and the curse), on one of the narrow sides of this stele or on another stele.

Here, I will comment only on the information that this text provides for the Cretan Koinon. The mention of the artificially constructed ethnic name Κρηταιείς (B 3, 30, cf. above, note 14) leaves no doubt that the text is related to the Koinon. The clause concerning the performance of the treaty-oath (B 14-21) indicates that Knossos and Gortyn had at that point separate allies:

- [..... Τὸς δὲ ῥεκατέρ]ων συμμάχος ὀρκιζάντων [κοινη]  
 15 [Κνωσίοι καὶ Γορτύνιοι πρε]ιγίας ἀποσστήλαντες ἐπὶ τὰ[ς]  
 [πόλις ἐν ἡμέραις τρι]άκοντα ἀφ' ἧς ἂδε ἁ συνθήκα κεκύρωται.  
 [Θέντων δὲ τὰ]ν ὑπογεγραμμέναν ἐπαρὰν κατὰ πόλιν οἱ]  
 [κόσμοι ὑπὲρ?]τῶν συνκειμένων ἥ κα τελεσθῆι ὁ ὅρκος, συν-  
 [άγοντες τὸς π]ολίτας, οἱ μὲν Γορτύνιοι παρίονσας Κνωσίων

<sup>28</sup> Verträge, 36-38, 198-201.

20 [πρειγῆϊας οἱ δὲ Κνωσῖοι Γορτυνίων, οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι Γορτυνίων  
[καὶ Κυωσίων?]....

14, or [τὸς δὲ αὐτῶν or [τὸς δὲ Κυωσίων. 20-21, or οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι Γορτυνίων [πρειγῆϊας].

According to this restoration (cf. below) the text reads: "And they shall make [their respective?] allies swear the oath, [jointly, both the Knossians and the Gortynians?], sending envoys [to the cities?] within thirty days from the day this treaty has been confirmed. And the [kosmoi] shall utter the curse, which is written below, in every city separately, for this agreement, when the oath is sworn, [assembling] the citizens, the Gortynians in the presence of a Knossian embassy, the Knossians in the presence of a Gortynian embassy, and the allies in the presence of an embassy of Gortynians [and Knossians?]. The next clause (B 26-32) concerns the prosecution of magistrates for violation of the previous provision. During the present war any citizen could bring charges against the kosmoi of his own city. The trial took place in the court, which the citizens called to settle disputes related to private contracts. In peace-time any citizen of a member-city of the Koinon (B 30: ὁ λήϊων Κρηταιέων) could bring charges against kosmoi of any city-member; for these trials either the koinodikion or another court was responsible, whose composition would be the object of future σύνβολα to be concluded by the cities. From these clauses we may draw the following conclusions about the Cretan Koinon:

1) This document is not a decree (δῶγμα) of the Koinon (as ICret, IV 197 = Asyilia, no. 175), but a treaty concluded between Knossos, Gortyn, and their respective allies. The restoration [τὸς ἐκατέρων συμμάχος ("their respective allies", B 14) is admittedly one of several possibilities, but can be supported by the fact that separate Knossian and Gortynian alliances are attested before, during, and after the Lyttian War<sup>29</sup>.

2) The new text is the earliest attestation of the diagramma and the koinodikion. The definite article shows that the koinodikion was an already existing, well defined court, an organ of the Cretan Koinon, as Ph. Gauthier had assumed (note 17). Here, the cases brought before the koinodikion were charges against magistrates for violation of the treaty, that is, charges of a public nature. However, the context implies that, in general, no strict distinction was made between public and private disputes; charges against magistrates who violated this treaty were examined in war time by the same court which dealt with legal disputes among citizens. These conclusions are in accordance with what may be inferred from other, more

<sup>29</sup> Verträge, 94-99, 445-449. Gortynian allies: Staatsvertr., III 468 (ca. 280/260), 482 II (ca. 260/250), 498 (237/36); SEG, XIII 563 = Verträge, no. 13 (ca. 240/221); ICret, I, viii 9 (early 2nd cent.). Knossian allies: Staatsvertr., III 482 I (ca. 260/50); IG, II<sup>2</sup> 844 (228); Polyb. 4, 53, 6-8 (ca. 219); Staatsvertr., III 551 (ca. 205); ICret, I, viii 9 (early 2nd cent.).

obscure, references to this organ. (a) In a treaty between Hierapytna and Priansos (ca. 205/200) the koinodikion is referred to as a court which had ceased to exist. There is no doubt now that this koinodikion was the court of the Cretan Koinon, which had ceased to exist because of the Lyttian War<sup>30</sup>. (b) The decree of the Cretan Koinon concerning the asyilia of Anaphe, issued in a period in which both Knossos and Gortyn were members of the Koinon (first half of the 2nd cent.?), envisages offences against private citizens. The trials were to take place in the koinodikion<sup>31</sup>. (c) The reference to a koinodikion in Polybius in connection with the events of the year 184 can now be safely regarded as a reference to the court of the Koinon. In 184 Appius reconciled the Gortynians and the Knossians and reestablished the koinodikion, of which only one city (Kydonia) did not partake. The mention of the Kretaieis in this passage shows that the reconciliation of Knossos and Gortyn meant the reestablishment of the Koinon<sup>32</sup>. (d) A decree of Knossos which concerns its war with Gortyn, probably in the same period (ca. 184), may contain an indirect reference to the koinodikion. The Knossians proposed to let the allies of Knossos and Gortyn resolve their differences. The common court of the allies of Gortyn and Knossos is probably the koinodikion<sup>33</sup>. The new evidence leaves no doubt that the Cretan Koinon did have a court. As the Hellenistic use of the word koinodikion implies<sup>34</sup>, it was a joint court consisting of representatives of the various cities. We should not exclude the possibility that - depending on the nature or the gravity of the offence - the synhedrion functioned as the koinodikion. The koinodikion probably dealt with legal conflicts both between individuals and between cities.

3) The new text, when placed with the other Hellenistic evidence for the relations between Knossos and Gortyn, their separate alliances, and the Koinon, indicates that the Cretan Koinon, unlike other Hellenistic koina, did not have an advanced federal structure, but was simply a bilateral alliance between Gortyn and her allies and Knossos and her allies<sup>35</sup>. Koinon and koinodikion existed whenever the two alliances cooperated and fell apart whenever the two leading powers were in conflict.

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<sup>30</sup> ICret, III, iii 4 ll. 58-64 = Arbitration, no. 67 = Verträge, no. 28. Discussion and earlier bibliography: Arbitration, 179-181; Verträge, 136-144, 262f.

<sup>31</sup> ICret, IV, 197 ll. 17-27 = Asyilia, no. 175.

<sup>32</sup> Polyb. 22, 15, 4 = Arbitration, no. 110 = Verträge, no. 40 Testimonium a. Discussion and earlier bibliography: Arbitration, 297f.; Verträge, 141-143, 283f.

<sup>33</sup> ICret, I, viii 9 ll. 19-22 = Arbitration, no. 127 II = Verträge, no. 40 Testimonium b: "[For this reason] the allies of the [Gortynians] and those of the Knossians should give a judgement jointly with regard to the matters which have forced us [to fight] against the Gortynians". Discussion and earlier bibliography: Verträge, 143, 284f.; cf. Arbitration, 354f. (with a different date: ca. 167).

<sup>34</sup> Ager, o.c., 9-11; Verträge, 142.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Verträge, 99f.



4) This brings us one step closer to dating the origin of the Koinon. The only reason most scholars were reluctant to accept that the Koinon had existed before 222 was the existence of separate Knossian and Gortynian alliances prior to that date. We recognize now that the existence of separate alliances was not an obstacle, but the requirement for the existence of the Koinon. The only safe terminus ante quem for the existence of the Koinon is the earliest attestation of its name, the ethnic Κρηταίης (267)<sup>36</sup>.

The importance of the new inscription from Chersonesos goes beyond its contribution to a better understanding of the Cretan Koinon, since it also provides new information on judicial procedures. It also shows how rewarding the efforts to identify and study the unpublished material, which still exists in the museums and the archaeological sites of Crete, can be. It is to this issue that I now turn.

### 3. Cretan epigraphy: Perspectives

Generally, the state of epigraphic publications on Crete is satisfactory. Unlike other Greek regions which still await the publication of their respective corpora, the *Inscriptiones Creticae*, published by M. Guarducci between 1935 and 1950, still present a comprehensive and reliable collection of the Cretan inscriptions and an invaluable instrument for research. More recently great efforts have been undertaken by both the Greek authorities and by foreign scholars to publish the inscriptions which have been hoarded for decades in the seven major museums and collections on the island and to present the recent finds without delay. Thus, in the 80's and the 90's ca. 200 Greek and Latin stone inscriptions have been published (not including the graffiti on pottery and inscriptions on instrumenta domestica).

Recent finds include important groups of inscriptions from several major sites, such as Gortyn (A. Magnelli)<sup>37</sup>, Knossos (A. Spawforth)<sup>38</sup>, Kommos (D. Geagan)<sup>39</sup>, Eleutherna (J. Tzifopoulos)<sup>40</sup>, Itanos (D. Viviers), Lappa (J. Tzifopoulos)<sup>41</sup>, the sanctuary of Hermes and

<sup>36</sup> Verträge, 30f.

<sup>37</sup> Recent finds: SEG, XXXVII 746; XXXVIII 900-910; XLII 803; XLIII 609-611; cf. above note 11.

<sup>38</sup> Recent finds: XXXVIII 914; XLI 759-761; XLII 807.

<sup>39</sup> See already BE 1982, 274; SEG, XLI 762-767; XLIII 613.

<sup>40</sup> This group consists of ca. 50 dedications, honorific inscriptions, Christian epitaphs, building inscriptions, etc. Cf. the reports of the excavator P. Themelis, «Kretike Hestia», 2, 1988, 298-302; 3, 1989/90, 266-270; 4, 1991/93, 247-257; 5 1994/96, 267-283; cf. SEG, XXXIX 955-959; XLIII 605bis. Other inscriptions from Eleutherna: H. van Effenterre - T. Kalpaxis - A.B. Petropoulou - E. Stavrianopoulou, *Ελεούθερνα. Τομέας II. Ἐπιγραφές ἀπὸ τὸ Πυργὶ καὶ τὸ Νησί*, Rethymno 1991.

<sup>41</sup> For an unpublished proxeny decree cf. «Kretika Chronika», 10, 1956, 422.

Aphrodite at Simi Viannou (Ch. Kritzas)<sup>42</sup>, the Idaean Cave (A. Chaniotis)<sup>43</sup>, Chersonesos (N. Litinas: ca. 70 ostraka of the 1st cen. AD concerning transactions). As one may infer from the various annual archaeological reports, unpublished material exists from a number of sites (e.g., Aptera, Axos, Chersonesos, Elyros, Inatos, Kisamos, Knossos, Lato, Lyttos, Olous, Phaistos, and Sybrita)<sup>44</sup>. The most important group are the inscriptions found at the Asklepion of Lisos fourty years ago<sup>45</sup>.

Important progress has been made, or is expected to be made in fields, to which the contribution of epigraphy is crucial. In the field of historical geography Crete presents a particularly interesting area, both because of the huge number of cities and settlements with a variety of legal statuses<sup>46</sup> and because of the numerous descriptions of borders between the cities of eastern Crete<sup>47</sup>. Two monumental projects, the Atlas of the Greek and Roman World edited by R. Talbert and the Copenhagen Polis Centre will provide solid works of reference compiled by competent scholars (J. Bennet, P. Perlman). In the field of religion a new treatment of the Cretan cults of the historical period is important considering the abundance of new epigraphic finds<sup>48</sup>. Firstly, the number of *leges sacrae* has substantially increased,

<sup>42</sup> Ca. 150 texts, mainly dedications, graffiti on vases, inscribed roof-tiles, one building inscription, and one decree. See already SEG, XXVI 1046; C. Kritzas, Νέα ἐπιγραφικά στοιχεία γιά τήν ἐτυμολογία τοῦ Λασιθίου, «Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Ἡ' Διεθνoῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου, Ἡράκλειο 1996» (forthcoming); cf. the reports of the excavator A. Lebessi: «AAA», 6, 1973, 104; «Ergon», 1972, 125; «Kretika Chronika», 25, 1973, 460f.; «Praktika», 1972, 197, 202; 1973, 191, 196; Τὸ ἱερὸ τοῦ Ἑρμῆ καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης στὴ Σύμη Βιάννου. I.1., Athens 1985, 17 note 4.

<sup>43</sup> Ca. 140 texts, mainly signatures of lamp makers, but also a few dedications and graffiti. For some finds cf. SEG, XXXVI 813; «Praktika», 1956, 225; 1983, 486.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. A. Chaniotis, Some More Cretan Names, «ZPE», 77, 1989, 67-81.

<sup>45</sup> The excavator N. Platon mentions in his reports («Kretika Chronika», 11, 1957, 337; 12, 1958, 466; 13, 1959, 376-378; «Arch. Deltion», 16, 1960, B 273) an unspecified number of proxeny decrees and dedications (including a dedication to Tiberius and the dedication of a female slave to the sanctuary), two tables dedicated to Asklepios (for one of them see now M.W.B. Bowsky, «ZPE», 108 1995, 267-269 no. 2), and an inscribed golden snake. Cf. U. Bultrighini, Divinità della salute nella Creta ellenistica e romana. Ricerche preliminari, «Riv. Cult. Cl. Med.», 35, 1993, 104-107; Bultrighini also mentions an 'Orphic' tablet dedicated to Asklepios (Museum of Chania, Inv. M 264), with a text analogous to ICret, II, xii 31 and xxx 4.

<sup>46</sup> See most recently P. Perlman, Πόλις ὑπήκοος. The Dependent Polis and Crete, «M. H. Hansen (ed.), Introduction to an Inventory of Poleis. Symposium August, 23-26, 1995», Copenhagen 1996, 233-285; cf. Verträge, 160-168.

<sup>47</sup> Verträge, 153-159; cf. H. van Effenterre - M. van Effenterre, La terminologie des bornages frontaliers, «E. Olshausen - H. Sonnabend (edd.), Stuttgarter Kolloquium zur Historischen Geographie des Altertums, 4, 1990», Amsterdam 1994, 111-125.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. R.F. Willetts, Cretan Cults and Festivals, London 1962. On individual aspects see Bultrighini, o.c., 49-118; G. Capdeville, Volcanus. Recherches comparatistes sur les origines du culte de Vulcain, Rome 1995; N. Cucuzza, Considerazioni su alcuni culti nella Messarà di epoca storica e sui rapporti territoriali fra Festòs e Gortina, «Rend. Acc. Linc.», Ser. 9, vol. 8, 1997, 63-93. On the Cretan calendar see: A. Chaniotis, Bemerkungen

by such finds as the sacrificial calendar of Eleutherna - the only known text of its kind from Crete<sup>49</sup>. Secondly, a series of dedications and building inscriptions found in important sanctuaries are not included in the corpus<sup>50</sup>. A recent doctoral dissertation at the University of Heidelberg treats the cults of the Classical and Hellenistic period, in light of the new archaeological and epigraphic finds<sup>51</sup>. The increasing interest in ancient magic spells has also stimulated a series of recent studies on the metrical apotropaic text from Phalasarna<sup>52</sup>. The student of Cretan epigraphy can now rely on a series of important reference works on the Cretan dialect(s), such as the comprehensive monograph of M. Bile<sup>53</sup> and a series of important articles, particularly those by I. Hajnal, C. Brixhe, and A. Martínez Fernández<sup>54</sup>. In the related field of onomastics, Crete is privileged, since

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zum Kalender kretischer Städte in hellenistischer Zeit, «Tekmeria», 2, 1996, 16-41; C. Trümper, Untersuchungen zu den altgriechischen Monatsnamen und Monatsfolgen, Heidelberg 1997, 188-197.

<sup>49</sup> (a) Cult regulations concerning the Pythion, Axos, 4th cen.: SEG, XXIII 566; XXXVII 743 = LSCG 145 = Dialecte, no. 34. (b) Sacrificial regulation, Asklepieion, Lisos, 3rd cent: SEG, XXVIII 750 = Dialecte, no. 56. (c) Lex sacra of the association of the Epilykoi, Knossos, 1st cen.: SEG, XXXV 989; cf. P. Perlman, Inscriptions from Crete, I, «ZPE», 100, 1994, 124f. (d) Regulation concerning the consumption of wine, Eleutherna, arch.: SEG, XLI 739. (e) Sacrificial calendar, Eleutherna, 2nd cen.: SEG, XLI 744; XLIII 605. Cf. also SEG, XXVIII 734 (restoration of ICret, IV 145).

<sup>50</sup> Itanos, metrical dedication to Leukothea: BE 1952, 170 (unpubl.). Lato, building inscriptions. sanctuary of Ares und Aphrodite (Sta Lenika): J. Bousquet, Le temple d'Aphrodite et d'Arès à Sta Leniká, «BCH», 62, 1938, 386-408. Inatos, dedication to Eileithyia: Dialecte, no. 84. Knossos, dedications to Zeus Thenatas (Amnisos): Dialecte, nos. 87-99; SEG, XXXIII 717-729; XXXVIII 894; XLIII 604; dedication to Demeter: Dialecte, no. 13; SEG, XXVI 1047. Lasaia, roof tiles of the Asklepieion: SEG, XLII 804. Lebena, construction of a choros, Asklepieion: C. Kritzas, Nouvelle inscription provenant de l'Asclépiéion de Lebena, Crète, «Preatti dell'XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina», Rome, 1997, 227-234. Kommos: see note 39. Idaean Cave: see note 43. Apollonia?, dedication to Apollon: SEG, XXXIV 913; XXXIX 950. Area of Rethymnon, building inscription of a temple: SEG, XXVIII 753. Sybrita, dedication to Hermes and Aphrodite: «Praktika», 1957, 257. Elyros, dedication to Poseidon (Tsiskiana): V. Niniou-Kindeli, Ὑπαίθριο ἱερὸν στὰ Τσισκιανὰ Σελίνου (N. Χαλίων), «Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Ζ' Διεθνoῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου», A2, Rethymno 1995, 681-689. Kydonia, dedications in the cult caves of Lera and Arkoudia: SEG, XXXI 815-816. Phalasarna, graffito naming Akakallis: F.J. Frost, Akakallis, a Divinity from Western Crete, «Anc. World», 27.1, 1996, 54-57.

<sup>51</sup> K. Sporn, Heiligtümer und Kulte Kretas in klasischer und hellenistischer Zeit, PhD Dissertation, Heidelberg 1997.

<sup>52</sup> ICret, II, xix 7; to the bibliography in SEG, XLII 818 and XLIII 615 add A. Martínez Fernández, Notas sobre una inscripción metrica de Falasarna, «Fortunatae», 2, 1991, 319-330 (particularly on the language, but based on an outdated edition).

<sup>53</sup> Dialecte; cf. M. Bile, Les "homérismes" des lois de Gortyn, «Cretan Studies», 2, 1990, 79-97; Quelques termes religieux en crétais, «P. Goukowsky - Cl. Brixhe (edd.), Hellénika Symmikta: Histoire, archéologie, épigraphie», Nancy 1991, 7-14; Les termes relatifs à l'initiation dans les inscriptions crétoises, «A. Moreau (ed.), L'initiation. Actes du colloque Montpellier 1991», I, Montpellier 1992, 11-18; Dialectologie et cités crétoises, «Cretan Studies», 3, 1992, 55-63.

<sup>54</sup> I. Hajnal, Zur Sprache der ältesten kretischen Dialektschriften, «Indogermanische Forschungen», 92, 1987, 58-84; 93, 1988, 62-87; Y. Duhoux, Les éléments grecs non doriens du crétois et la situation dialectale grecque au IIe millénaire, «Cretan Studies», 1, 1988, 57-72; J.-L. Perpillou, Les deux es Gortyniens, «Hediston

Cretan personal names were already included in the first volume of the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*<sup>55</sup>. Since the publication of the corpus a substantial number of new epigrams has been published<sup>56</sup> and several old metrical texts have been restored and discussed<sup>57</sup>. A welcome contribution to this field is a recent dissertation by Em. Vertoudakis (University of Thessaloniki), which discusses the Cretan epigrams against the background of epigrams with Cretan subjects in the Greek Anthology. A major problem in the writing of Hellenistic history is the chronology of inscriptions, and Cretan inscriptions are no exception. The study of the letter forms of the Cretan inscriptions is, unfortunately, still in a very elementary stage, with the notable exceptions of the archaic and the Christian inscriptions<sup>58</sup>. J. Tzifopoulos (University of Crete) is creating the necessary infrastructure (collection of photographs, squeezes, and drawings, scanning of texts) which will close this gap in the near future. With all these works in progress Hellenistic and Roman Crete, overshadowed for generations by the glamour of Minoan archaeology and the interest in the archaic legal texts, moves dynamically into the foreground.

The *Inscriptiones Creticae* have facilitated research on Crete, but in the sixty years which have elapsed since the publication of the first volume both the number of excavated sites (especially in Western Crete) and the number of new epigraphic finds have increased dramatically. The efforts of generations of scholars have offered new readings, restorations, and interpretations of published texts. However, a projected fifth volume (with addenda) has never been published, and sadly, neither all the new texts nor all the new readings have been recorded in

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Logodeipnon. Logopedies. Mélanges de Philologie et de Linguistic grecques offerts à Jean Taillardat», Paris 1988, 213-220; V. Bubenik, *Hellenistic and Roman Greece as a Sociolinguistic Area*, Amsterdam 1989, 79-90; C. Brixhe, *La langue comme reflet de l'histoire*, «C. Brixhe (ed.), *Sur la Crète antique*», Nancy 1991, 43-77; M. Bile - C. Brixhe, *Le dialecte crétois. Unité ou diversité?*, *ibid.*, 75-136; A. Martínez Fernández, *Nota sobre la construcción μωλέω ἀμφί + Dativo en el dialecto Cretense*, «*Fortunatae*», 1, 1991, 235-240; *id.*, *Sobre el empleo de algunas preposiciones en el dialecto cretense*, «*Fortunatae*», 2, 1991, 77-172; 3, 1992, 99-230; 4, 1992, 61-118; 5, 1993, 55-102.

<sup>55</sup> P.M. Fraser - E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. Vol. 1, Oxford 1987. Cf. Chaniotis, o.c. (note 44); BE 1990, 361 (O. Masson) and 612 (M. Bile). On Cretan onomastics see also O. Masson, *Onomastica Graeca Selecta*, Paris 1990, esp. 36f., 61-73, 206f., 220f., 263f., 275, 331-349, 455-465; *id.*, *Cretica*, «*BCH*», 107, 1983, 383-403.

<sup>56</sup> Kydonia: SEG, XXVIII 746-748; XXXIII 735; XL 775; *Dialecte*, no. 35; CEG, II 846. Lisos: SEG, XXVIII 750. Rethymnon: SEG, XXVIII 756. Lato: SEG, XXXIII 896; SEG, XXXIX 972-973; XLII 808. Hierapytna (?): SEG, XXXIX 967.

<sup>57</sup> I single out: A. Wilhelm, *Griechische Epigramme aus Kreta*, Oslo 1960; W. Peek, *Kretische Vers-Inschriften*, «*Arch. Class.*», 25/26, 1973/74, 502-528; 29, 1977, 64-85; A. Martínez Fernández, *Notas sobre el vocabulario de los epigramas cretenses de época imperial*, «*Fortunatae*», 3, 1992, 231-245; *La mujer en los epitafios métricos de Creta de época helenística*, «*Fortunatae*», 4, 1992, 119-150.

<sup>58</sup> Archaic inscriptions: LSAG<sup>2</sup>; Christian inscriptions: A.C. Bandy, *The Greek Christian Inscriptions of Crete*, Athens 1970, 24-27. Hellenistic inscriptions: Verträge, 452-459.

the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*<sup>59</sup>. The selective supplement prepared by M. Bile<sup>60</sup> has made 114 texts easily accessible, but this is only a small part of the material available. The mass of new texts, the research on several sites (sanctuaries and cities) unknown in the first part of the century<sup>61</sup>, and the bibliographical and editorial contributions which have to be made to virtually every important text contained in the four volumes of the *Inscriptiones Creticae*, make the publication of an *editio minor*, not just the publication of a supplementary volume, indispensable. The task of re-editing the texts which have been published in or after the corpus is not as difficult as the inclusion of unpublished texts. Many new inscriptions are found every year during the excavations and surveys conducted by the three local ephories, the University of Crete, the Institute of Mediterranean Studies at Rethymno, the Archaeological Society at Athens, the Archaeological Institute of Crete, and five foreign archaeological institutes. Thus, the inclusion of new texts in an *editio minor* requires international cooperation. The responsibility for the second edition of the corpus should be borne by a small team of general editors, who should extend an invitation to all the above institutions as well as to scholars who have publication rights for inscriptions. The new texts should appear under the responsibility and the authorship of those scholars who provide them. When F. Halbherr started his seminal work on the collection of the Cretan inscriptions Crete was part of the Ottoman Empire. When M. Guarducci completed the work Halbherr had started, Crete was striving to recover from war and occupation. Things have changed. Crete is now technologically and academically one of the most developed regions of Greece, the seat of an advanced Technological Institute, of a unique Institute of Mediterranean Studies, of a thriving University, and of a pioneering University Press. It is under the auspices of these institutions that this corpus should be placed.

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<sup>59</sup> I single out: S. Marinatos, Le temple géométrique de Dréros, «BCH», 60, 1936, 280-283 (Dialecte, no. 50); J. Bousquet, Le temple d'Aphrodite et d'Arès à Sta Leniká, «BCH», 62, 1938, 386-408 (Dialecte, no. 47); H. van Effenterre, Querelles crétoises, «Rev. Ét. Anc.», 44, 1942, 31-51; id., Documents éditaires de Lato, «Rev. Ét. Anc.», 45, 1943, 29-39; id., Inscriptions archaïques crétoises, «BCH», 70, 1946, 588-606 (Dialecte, nos 3, 4, 6, 8); van Effenterre, o.c. (note 18), 231, 319 (Dialecte, nos 46, 101); L.H. Jeffery, Comments on Some Archaic Greek Inscriptions, «JHS», 69, 1949, 25-38 (Dialecte, no. 27, 61, 68); G. Le Rider, Monnaies crétoises du Ve au Ier siècle av. J.-C., Paris 1966, 258-259; H. Hofmann, Early Cretan Armorers, Mainz 1972 (Dialecte, nos 15-26). The annual reviews in the *Bulletin épigraphique* cover these gaps, at least in part.

<sup>60</sup> Dialecte, 27-68 (nos 115-119 are inscriptions on coins).

<sup>61</sup> The sites Datala (SEG, XXVI 631), Sisai (SEG, XXV 1022), Hieron Oros (Simi Viannou, note 42), and Kommos (note 39) are not included in the ICret. The inscriptions of Amnisos (ICret, I, ii) should be assigned to Knossos.