

Martha W. Baldwin Bowsky

LISSOS

INSCRIPTIONS FOUND IN EXCAVATIONS
OF THE ASKLEPIEION



AURA SUPPLEMENT 7 • ΣΕΙΡΑ ΜΟΝΟΓΡΑΦΙΩΝ AURA 7

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	15
CATALOG OF FIGURES AND PLATES.....	16
ABBREVIATIONS.....	17
THE INSCRIPTIONS: INTRODUCTION AND ANALYSIS.....	19
A. INTRODUCTION.....	19
B. DISCOVERING THE INSCRIPTIONS.....	20
C. CATALOGING THE INSCRIPTIONS.....	24
C1. ARCHITECTURAL INSCRIPTIONS (1-3).....	25
C2. IMPERIAL INTERVENTION (4).....	26
C3. CIVIC DECREES (5-17).....	27
C4. DEDICATIONS AND A SACRED LAW (18-20).....	29
C5. MANUMISSION INSCRIPTIONS (21-24).....	30
C6. <i>INSTRUMENTUM DOMESTICUM</i> (25).....	30
D. DISPLAYING THE INSCRIPTIONS.....	31
E. DATING THE INSCRIPTIONS.....	33
F. TYPES OF WRITING OVER TIME.....	35
G. INSCRIPTIONS FOUND IN EXCAVATIONS OF THE ASKLEPIEION.....	36
CATALOG OF INSCRIPTIONS.....	37
A. ARCHITECTURAL INSCRIPTIONS.....	37
1. LINTEL FROM A PORTICO (STOA SOUTH OF THE TEMPLE?).....	37
2. INSCRIBED BLOCK WITH POSSIBLE MENTION OF A WATER CHANNEL.....	39
3. BUILDING INSCRIPTION WITH A CIVIC DECREE (EAST FAÇADE).....	41
B. IMPERIAL INTERVENTION.....	44
4. INSCRIBED DOORJAMB (NORTH SIDE OF PRINCIPAL ENTRANCE).....	44
C. CIVIC DECREES.....	51

5. CIVIC DECREE (EAST FAÇADE).....	51
6. CIVIC DECREE (EAST FAÇADE).....	53
7. CIVIC DECREE (EAST FAÇADE).....	55
8. CIVIC DECREE (EAST FAÇADE).....	56
9. CIVIC DECREE (EAST FAÇADE).....	58
10. CIVIC DECREE (EAST FAÇADE?).....	59
11. CIVIC DECREE (EAST FAÇADE).....	60
12. CIVIC DECREE (EAST FAÇADE).....	61
13. CIVIC DECREE (EAST FAÇADE?).....	63
14. CIVIC DECREE (EAST FAÇADE?).....	65
15. CIVIC DECREE (EAST FAÇADE?).....	67
16. CIVIC DECREE FRAGMENT (EAST FAÇADE?).....	68
17. CIVIC DECREE FRAGMENT (EAST FAÇADE?).....	69
D. DEDICATIONS AND A SACRED LAW.....	70
18. BASE OF CULT STATUE WITH A SACRED LAW.....	70
19. FRAGMENT OF A DEDICATION TO ASKLEPIOS.....	73
20. FRAGMENT OF A DEDICATION TO ASKLEPIOS.....	74
E. MANUMISSION INSCRIPTIONS.....	75
21–24A. TYPES OF EVIDENCE FOR MANUMISSION.....	76
21–24B. MODES OF MANUMISSION.....	76
21–24C. <i>PARAMONE</i> AND OTHER OBLIGATIONS OF MANUMITTED SLAVES.....	78
21–24D. THE CRETAN EVIDENCE.....	79
21. STELE WITH MANUMISSION OF A FEMALE SLAVE WITH <i>PARAMONE</i>	80
22. STELE FRAGMENT WITH <i>APOLYSIS</i> OF THE SAME FEMALE SLAVE.....	83
23. MANUMISSION (?) STELE FRAGMENTS.....	86
24. MANUMISSION (?) STELE FRAGMENTS.....	89
F. <i>INSTRUMENTUM DOMESTICUM</i>	91
25. INSCRIBED LOOMWEIGHT.....	91
G. INSCRIPTION OF UNIDENTIFIED TYPE.....	93
26. FRAGMENT WITH ONE INSCRIBED LETTER.....	93

H. UNLOCATED FRAGMENTS.....	94
27. CIVIC DECREE FRAGMENT (EAST FAÇADE?).....	94
28. CIVIC DECREE FRAGMENT (EAST FAÇADE?).....	95
29. CIVIC DECREE FRAGMENT (EAST FAÇADE?).....	96
30. STELE FRAGMENT (FOUND IN AREA EAST OF THE TEMPLE).....	97
APPENDIX.....	99
ABSTRACT.....	103
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	105
INDICES	111
PLATES 1-15.....	115

Dedicated to the memory of Nikolaos Platon

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CATALOG OF FIGURES AND PLATES

(numbers in bold refer to the Catalog of Inscriptions; photographs not reproduced to scale)

Fig. 1. Southeast corner as visible today (photograph: E. Eliadis; numbers refer to the Catalog of Inscriptions).

Fig. 2. Inscribed block with possible mention of a water channel (photograph: N. Platon, July 1960).

Fig. 3. Sites sacred to Asklepios across Crete (adapted from Talbert 2000, Map 60).

Fig. 4. Distribution of epigraphic genres.

Fig. 5. Joining of E269A–B and E273 (photograph: the author, 1980).

Fig. 6. Displaying the inscriptions (modified from Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1; numbers refer to the Catalog of Inscriptions).

Fig. 7. Dating the inscriptions.

Pl. 1. Lintel from a portico (**1**) (stoa south of the temple?) (photograph: E. Eliadis).

Pl. 2a–b. (a) Inscribed block (**2**) with possible mention of a water channel; (b) building inscription (**3**) with civic decree (east façade) (photographs: E. Eliadis).

Pl. 3a–b. (a) Inscribed doorjamb (**4**) (north side of principal entrance); (b) detail of inscribed doorjamb (**4**) (north side of principal entrance) (photographs: E. Eliadis).

Pl. 4a–b. Civic decrees (east façade): (a) **5**; (b) **6** (photographs: E. Eliadis).

Pl. 5a–b. Civic decrees (east façade): (a) **7**; (b) **8** (photographs: E. Eliadis).

Pl. 6a–c. Civic decrees: (a) **9** (east façade); (b) **10** (east façade?); (c) **11** (east façade) (photographs: E. Eliadis).

Pl. 7a–b. Civic decrees (a) **12** (east façade); (b) **13** (east façade?) (photographs: E. Eliadis).

Pl. 8a–b. Civic decree (east façade?): (a) fragments E269A–B of **14**; (b) fragment E273 of **14** (photographs: E. Eliadis).

Pl. 9a–c. Civic decree and civic decree fragments (east façade?): (a) **15**; (b) **16**; (c) **17** (photographs: E. Eliadis).

Pl. 10a–c. (a) Base of cult statue with a sacred law (**18**); (b) fragment of a dedication to Asklepios (**19**); (c) fragment of a dedication to Asklepios (**20**) (photographs: E. Eliadis).

Pl. 11a–d. Stele with manumission of a female slave with *paramone* (**21**): (a) E112; (b) E148A; (c) E148B; (d) E148A+ E112+E148B (photographs: E. Eliadis).

Pl. 12. Stele fragment with *apolyxis* of the same female slave (**22**) (photograph: E. Eliadis)

Pl. 13a–e. Manumission (?) stele fragments (**23**): (a) E111C, (b) E111B, (c) E111D–E, (d) E111F, (e) E111A (photographs: E. Eliadis).

Pl. 14a–b. Manumission (?) stele fragments (**24**): (a) inscribed surface; (b) reverse with decoration (photographs: E. Eliadis).

Pl. 15a–b. (a) Inscribed loomweight (**25**); (b) fragment with one inscribed letter (**26**) (photographs: E. Eliadis).

ABBREVIATIONS

D: depth

Diam: diameter

est.: estimated

H: height

km: kilometer(s)

L: length

M: Munsell Soil Color Charts

M.Ch. inv. no.: Museum of Chania inventory number

max.: maximum

m: meter(s)

Th: thickness

W: width

Abbreviations for ancient authors, standard reference works, and periodicals follow the guidelines of the *American Journal of Archaeology*. Abbreviations for standard epigraphical works not included in the *AJA* guidelines are given in the Bibliography below.

THE INSCRIPTIONS: INTRODUCTION AND ANALYSIS (FIGS. 1–7)

A. INTRODUCTION

This study presents the *editio princeps* of a group of inscriptions, and a summary and updated edition of an inscription already published, all revealed during excavations at the temple of Asklepios at Lissos, on the southwest coast of Crete. The Asklepieion was a focus of public life at ancient Lissos and, as a result, it preserved inscribed texts of varying content, such as (1) texts pertaining to institutional life, for which maximum publicity was required or desired, e.g., architectural inscriptions, decrees of proxeny, and imperial communications; and (2) texts pertaining to the Asklepieion's main function as a cult center, e.g., dedications and acts of sacred manumission. The proxeny decrees could be called a dossier rather than an archive, given their subjective and selective nature; such public inscriptions were chosen to project the way a city and region represented itself, rather than to preserve a complete epigraphic record.¹ The dedications and manumission inscriptions were more private genres that could embody the way individuals or their families represented themselves to god and man.

This group of inscriptions was completely unknown when Margarita Guarducci published the second volume of *Inscriptiones Creticae* in 1939. When Robert Pashley visited Ai Kyrkou (ancient Lissos) in 1834, he saw no inscriptions, only the churches of Ag. Kirykos and of the Panagia, together with evidence that each seemed to stand on or near a temple. Additionally, he found the remains of a theater, in a small plain that fanned out from the sea inland.²

The nine inscriptions attributed to Lissos in *Inscriptiones Creticae* II had been seen and drawn at the end of the nineteenth century and in the beginning of the twentieth by British and Italian epigraphists and archaeologists. These inscriptions came from the necropolis of Lissos, an ancient wall, the Byzantine church of Ag. Kirykos, and unknown locations at Ai Kyrkou.³ The first visitor, Sir John Myres, travelled in western Crete in the summer of 1893 and published a number of inscriptions, including three from Prodrumi, Trialonia, and Ai Kyrkou.⁴

Between 1896 and 1899, Gaetano De Sanctis revisited the inscription seen by Myres in 1893 at the modern village of Prodrumi –4 km north and upland of Lissos– where it was in the possession of G. Minotakis, after it had been transferred from the necropolis located at Trialonia.⁵ De Sanctis searched for but did not find the other two of Myres' inscriptions: one laid as a doorsill in one of the last buildings at Trialonia, along the path toward the (unnamed) Hellenic site;⁶ and another found at the graves on the west hillside at Ai Kyrkou.⁷ De Sanctis also saw an inscription at Souyia that can be attributed to Lissos.⁸ He then re-examined the inscription he had

1. Cooley 2012b, 222.

2. Pashley 1837, 2: 88–9. Here, “Ag. Kirykos” will be used to designate the saint and the church; “Ai Kyrkou” will be used for the modern place name.

3. Necropolis: *ICr* II, xvii 5, 7, and 8. Ancient wall: *ICr* II, xvii 9. Church of Ag. Kirykos: *ICr* II, xvii 1 and 3. Unknown locations at Ai Kyrkou: *ICr* II, xvii 2, 4, and 6.

4. Myres 1896, 184 nos. 16–17, 187 no. 26.

5. *ICr* notebook 54, 18 reverse; Myres 1896, 184 no. 16; *ICr* II, xvii 5.

6. *ICr* notebook 54, 18 reverse; Myres 1896, 184 no. 17; *ICr* II, xvii 7.

7. *ICr* notebook 54, 24 reverse; Myres 1896, 187 no. 26; *ICr* II, xvii 8.

8. *ICr* notebook 54, 24 reverse; *CIG* 2582b; Pashley 1837, 100; Myres 1896, 186 no. 25; *ICr* II, xvii 1; Baldwin Bowsky 1995, 269.

already seen at Prodrumi,⁹ and another at Ai Kyrkou, which was transported to Chania to be placed in a museum.¹⁰ De Sanctis saw yet another inscription that might be attributed to Lissos, on the basis of its distinctive letter forms, even though it was found at Souyia, in the location *Stas Tholous* and moved to the house of I. Daudakis.¹¹ During the same expedition, Luigi Savignoni saw an X on two stones of an ancient wall at Ai Kyrkou.¹²

In 1913–1914 Gaspare Oliverio drew the treaty between the Oreioi and King Magas of Cyrene, which was built into the door of the church of Ag. Kirykos and then removed and transferred to the Chania Museum.¹³ In the tavern of I. Kosmadakis at Souyia he drew three inscriptions attributed to Lissos: one that had been found at Ai Kyrkou and taken to the house of Arist. Skataki at Prodrumi;¹⁴ one that had been built into the wall of the church of Ag. Kirykos;¹⁵ and one that had been somewhere at Ai Kyrkou.¹⁶

B. DISCOVERING THE INSCRIPTIONS

These nine inscriptions constituted the epigraphical corpus for the maritime city until the late 1950s, when Nikolaos Platon first identified the ruins of the temple of Asklepios northeast of the church of Ag. Kirykos. In the absence of a documentary record, the Asklepieion of Lissos was completely unknown until excavation in 1957–1960.¹⁷ In November 1957 Platon received word –while in the area of Viannos, in the southern foothills of Mt. Dikte– that antiquities were being trafficked, after they had been found at Ai Kyrkou by private individuals seeking water where local tradition said it would be.¹⁸ Even in antiquity the spring, alongside which the Asklepieion was built, was the only source of water in the Ai Kyrkou valley.¹⁹ When Platon went to Ai Kyrkou, he saw a whole series of statues and worked stones that had been stashed in an area between the cliffs and the plain.²⁰ During his investigation there, he found the source of these antiquities buried under massive rocks thrown down onto the site by an earthquake.²¹ A retaining wall, constructed of the local gray limestone, was entirely visible in the 1950s,²² as was a small corner of the temple and a piece of the foundation wall built of worked stone.²³ Platon soon recognized a relatively large statue as one of Asklepios; inscribed bases for statues and statuettes confirmed that the temple belonged to Asklepios.²⁴ The rocks that had tumbled down from high above the temple in antiquity sealed the small sacred building and its contents for centuries.²⁵ After three seasons of excavations, between 1958 and 1960, Platon had unearthed not only the temple and its surroundings, but many if not all its inscriptions.

Thirty inscriptions are presented here; in the following discussion these inscriptions will be referred to by catalog numbers in bold (**1–30**). The catalog is followed by an Appendix, which presents the requisite information concerning the discovery, current location, and bibliography for inscriptions to be published by other

9. *ICr* notebook 56, 52; *ICr* II, xvii 5.

10. *ICr* notebook 56, 106; De Sanctis 1901, 510 no. 47; *ICr* II, xvii 6.

11. *ICr* notebook 56, 95; De Sanctis 1901, 512–13 no. 52; *ICr* II, xvii 7; Baldwin Bowsky 1995, 269.

12. Savignoni 1901, 450. Given Platon's later discovery of crosses incised in the environs of the Asklepieion, it is possible that these were crosses rather than the letter X.

13. *ICr* notebook 64, 42–3; *ICr* II, xvii 1.

14. *ICr* notebook 64, 45; *ICr* II, xvii 2.

15. *ICr* notebook 64, 45; *ICr* II, xvii 3.

16. *ICr* notebook 64, 47; *ICr* II, xvii 4.

17. Riethmüller 2005, 345 no. 162.

18. Platon 1959b, 19; cf. 1962, 12.

19. Kanellopoulos 2019, 97.

20. Platon 1959b, 19; cf. 1962, 12.

21. Blackman 1976, 520.

22. Kanellopoulos 2019, 42 and pl. 1, Space R–R'; cf. fig. 6 here.

23. Platon 1959b, 19; cf. 1962, 12.

24. Platon 1959b, 19–20; cf. 1962, 12.

25. Markoulaki [2006].

scholars, together with the statue(tte)s, votive tables, gold offerings, and stele on which they were inscribed.²⁶

Platon's initial visit in 1957 yielded many inscribed statue(tte) bases, which were transferred to the Chania Museum,²⁷ including one that refers to the erection of the cult statue and details of sacrificial rules at Lissos (18), as well as pieces of a variegated marble table with a dedicatory inscription.²⁸ Another inscription in the storerooms of the museum was deposited there in 1957, according to information on its inventory card (24).

Systematic excavation began in 1958, with the small southwest corner and the south foundation wall of the temple.²⁹ Platon's excavation continued and the excavated area was expanded, in an attempt to find the four corners of the temple, beginning with the north wall.³⁰ On the north side of the temple, two inscribed blocks of *porolithos* were found, in all likelihood where they had fallen from the east façade of the temple (16–17).³¹ Another inscription on *porolithos* was found while large, heavy stones were placed by the excavation team on the highest part of the north wall of the temple (29). Fragments of an alabaster votive table were found during the excavation of the east wall of the temple.³² Furthermore, a dedication to Asklepios was found in the west part of the temple (19), and part of a manumission stele was found somewhere inside the temple (part of fragment E112 of 21). Outside the separation between the front and rear parts of the cella, in the southwest corner, one fragment of another manumission (?) stele came to light (fragment A of 23).³³ A mosaic covered almost all of the front part of the cella;³⁴ the pit at the rear of the cella yielded an inscribed dedication on gold foil.³⁵ This pit is one of a number of carstic voids in the bedrock on which the temple was constructed.³⁶

When the east side of the temple was freed, two more inscribed blocks of *porolithos* were revealed in situ (5–6) and another was found in the vicinity (8); when the east wall was further cleaned, yet another block was discovered (7). These four inscribed blocks are visible on site today, to the south of the entrance on the eastern end of the temple (fig. 1).

Even more inscribed blocks of *porolithos* were found when the front part of the cella was excavated (10, 13, fragments E269A–B of 14, 15); two more inscribed fragments were found when this area was excavated more deeply (27–28). Platon believed that the temple was Doric, of a simple type that featured two columns with *parastades* (doorjambs) in front of an open room, but neither the main entrance nor what he thought would be its *prodromos* had been excavated by the end of the 1958 season.³⁷ It is noteworthy that the Asklepieion of Lissos may have been the first temple on Crete that employed a recognizable Greek order.³⁸

During the second season of excavations, in 1959, Platon focused on the temple and its east façade, including the monumental doorway, as well as the area on the south side of the temple, the stoa south of the temple, and the spring of healing water on the north side of the forecourt, in front of the eastern entrance to the temple, as detailed below. During the first few days of excavation, a stele referring to the manumission of a female slave was handed over to Platon by A. Lougiakis (22). Inside the temple, to the northeast, another fragment of the alabaster table was found, fragments of which had been found during excavation of the east wall of the temple in

26. Appendix nos. 1–18.

27. Appendix nos. 2–14.

28. Appendix no. 17.

29. Platon 1959b, 19; Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Space U; cf. fig. 6 here; Platon (forthcoming). For Platon's photo of the site before excavations began see Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 49.2. Kanellopoulos' survey and publication of the monumental architecture on site (Kanellopoulos 2019, 23 and pl. 1; cf. fig. 6 here) shows that what Platon sometimes called the south façade of the temple is eastern rather than southern, oriented 17 degrees south of east. Our discussion will refer to the directions established in Kanellopoulos 2019.

30. Platon 1959b, 20; Platon (forthcoming).

31. These two blocks of *porolithos* must not have come from the north wall of the temple, which was a megalithic trapezoidal retaining wall made of the local, conglomerate stone against which the temple was built (Kanellopoulos 2019, 97).

32. Appendix no. 16.

33. Kanellopoulos (2019, 62) has determined that a wooden gate separated the rear part of the cella from the front part.

34. Sweetman 2013, 247; to be published by S. Markoulaki.

35. Appendix no. 1.

36. Kanellopoulos 2019, 18–9 and fig. 5.

37. Platon 1959a, 376; 1959b, 22.

38. Kanellopoulos 2019, 23 and 97.

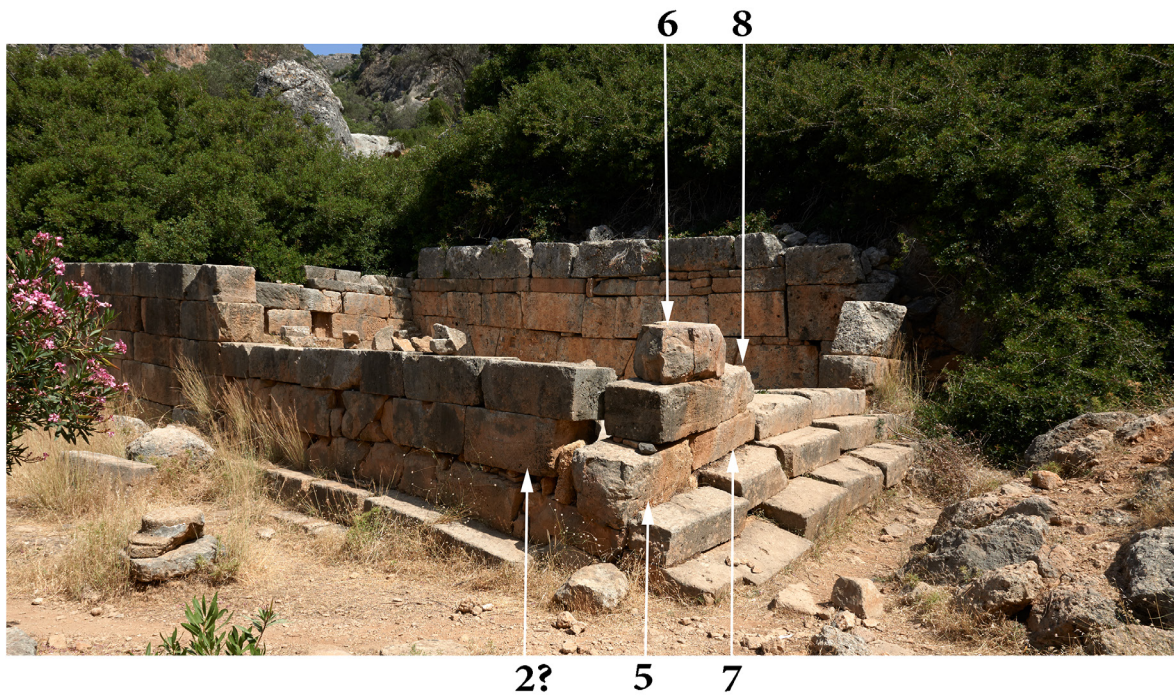


Fig. 1. Southeast corner as visible today (numbers refer to the Catalog of Inscriptions).

1958.³⁹ Outside the temple large stones from an area Platon called the *plateia* – a paved road parallel to the south wall of the temple – were moved, including **12**.⁴⁰ An inscribed loomweight was unearthed in an area southwest of the temple, where Platon saw an opening in the *peribolos* wall for a narrow ramp leading upward (**25**).⁴¹ Inscribed blocks, which probably came from the temple's façade, were collected from the wall of an improvised buttress, south of the paved road to the south of the temple (**9**, fragment E273 of **14**).⁴² In excavations of the stoa, a lintel of conglomerate stone came to light (**1**).⁴³ At the eastern end of the temple, two more inscribed blocks of *porolithos* were brought down by the excavation team into the area in front of the temple (**3**, **11**).

An inscribed block of the monumental doorway was discovered when stones and earth were removed from the area in front of the temple (**4**). The door with the frames of the entrance was found nearly intact, carved from monolithic blocks of *porolithos*;⁴⁴ the principal entrance to the temple was formed by two doorjambes, an architrave and the threshold.⁴⁵ The principal entrance led to two steps that rose to the front part of the cella.⁴⁶ Platon eventually concluded that the temple had not a *prodomos* but a *proaulion*; as is typical in Crete, it lacked a colonnaded porch.⁴⁷ The small paved area in front of the temple was bounded by low walls to the east and south.⁴⁸ Access to a spring of healing water lay on the north side of this forecourt.⁴⁹ The temple itself bounded the west side of the forecourt.

39. Appendix no. **16**.

40. For the paved road, see Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Space H; cf. fig. 6 here.

41. For the *peribolos* see Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Space N, the probable propylon to the greater sanctuary, and the spur of wall that extends northwest from it; cf. fig. 6 here.

42. Platon (forthcoming). See Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Space H for the paved road south of the temple; cf. fig. 6 here.

43. For the stoa, see Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Space J; cf. fig. 6 here.

44. Platon 1959a, 376.

45. Daux 1960, 852; Platon 1996, 397.

46. Platon 1996, 397.

47. Platon 1959a, 376; 1996, 397; Kanellopoulos 2019, 97.

48. Myers et al. 1992, 170; Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Space K; cf. fig. 6 here. Large rocks now hide the eastern part of Space K but paving is visible in front of the temple (Kanellopoulos 2019, 37).

49. Platon 1996, 15.



Fig. 2. Inscribed block with possible mention of a water channel.

The third season of excavations in 1960 focused on the ancient fountain and cistern, the cleaning of the mosaic floor inside the temple, and the reconstruction of the temple.⁵⁰ An inscribed block of *porthos* was found where it had fallen onto the upper cistern (2; fig. 2). It could be one of the blocks from the temple that was re-used in a later stage of the cistern.⁵¹ In reconstructing the temple, Platon appears to have placed this inscription –which may well have mentioned a water channel– in the south wall of the temple, near the southeast corner and not far from the spot where a channel brought water from the spring to and out from the krepis of the temple.⁵²

Inside the temple, during cleaning of the mosaic, another fragment of a manumission stele was found (another part of fragment E112 of 21).⁵³ In the earth between the temple's krepis and a later wall to the east of the temple the excavation revealed a fragment of an inscription; that fragment comes from another inscription, more fragments of which were discovered the previous year, but have not been identified in Platon's excavation diaries (30). Platon planned to continue the excavation the following year; he did not, evidently due to the discovery of the Minoan palace at Zakros.

Platon's excavation diaries record the discovery of nearly 40 inscriptions;⁵⁴ additional inscriptions, not drawn in his diaries, are stored in the Chania Museum. They bear texts of several different types and constitute a significant group, nearly as large as that long known for the Asklepieion at Lebena on the south coast in central Crete. In order to determine just how characteristic or distinctive the inscriptions of the Asklepieion of Lissos are within Crete, where Lebena has long dominated the record, throughout the following discussion we will take note of the nature of the inscribed texts attested at and for sites sacred to Asklepios across the island.

From the beginning we can note that the Lissian group of inscriptions is distinctive for being displayed at the only known temple of Asklepios in Crete west of the Mesara (fig. 3).⁵⁵ Sporn suggests that in western Crete Artemis and Diktynna may have filled the function of the healing divinity.⁵⁶ At Lissos, the treaty with

50. Platon 1960.

51. Kanellopoulos 2019, 42.

52. For the block's current location, see fig. 1.

53. Platon (forthcoming).

54. Platon (forthcoming).

55. Unless there was one in the extra-urban territory of Aptaera (Baldwin Bowsky 2009, 320). See Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 143–52, for groups of inscriptions from Cretan sites sacred to Asklepios –from east to west– at Itanos, Lato, Olous, Eronos, Arkades, Chersonesos, Knossos, Gortyn, Pyloros, Lebena, and Lasaia, as well as Lissos.

56. Sporn 2002, 336.

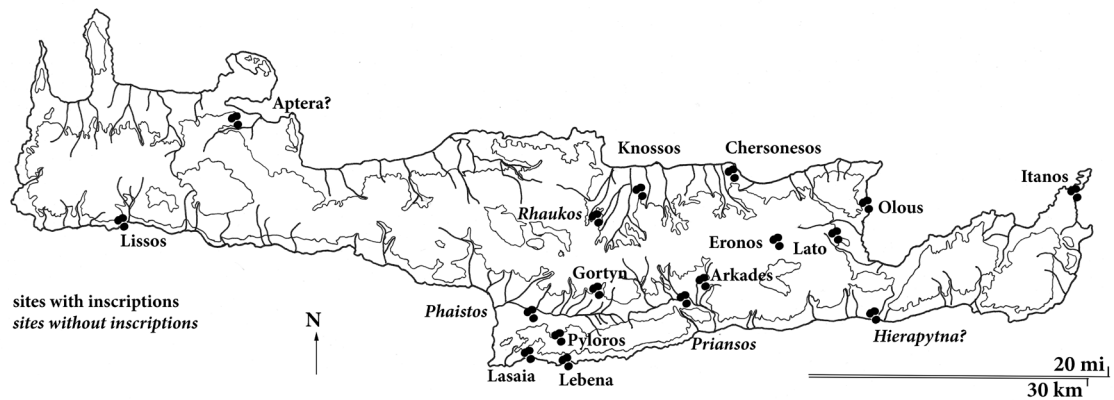


Fig. 3. Sites sacred to Asklepios across Crete.

Magas of Cyrene, during his reign 278–50 B.C., specified publication in the Diktyinnaion of Lissos and referred to Diktyinna's ὁμοτεμένεος.⁵⁷ Bultrighini suggests that Asklepios and Hygieia might have shared Diktyinna's *temenos*, but Sporn finds this unlikely.⁵⁸ The temple of Asklepios was, moreover, built upon bedrock rather than the ruins of an earlier built sanctuary;⁵⁹ perhaps the area beneath it, with the same orientation as the later Asklepieion, was an open-air sanctuary connected with the sacred spring. One attractive possibility is that the Diktyinnaion of Lissos lies beneath the early Christian basilica that lies, in turn, beneath the Byzantine church of Ag. Kirykos, in which the treaty with Magas of Cyrene cited above was preserved.

Some of the inscriptions from the Asklepieion of Lissos have already been published and will be re-considered here. In 1977, well after Platon's discovery and excavation of the Asklepieion, Peek published the statue base that bore the *lex sacra* of the temple (18). Bultrighini mentions this inscription –collected in 1957, when Platon first visited Lissos– and a handful of additional inscriptions from the Asklepieion, which were evidently taken directly from Platon's annual reports, as well as one on a marble table found in the excavations of the Asklepieion and transferred to Chania, to be displayed in the museum.⁶⁰ In the storerooms of the same museum in 1990, the author studied the inscribed fragments of an alabaster table whose provenience has since been confirmed as the Asklepieion of Lissos.⁶¹ Most recently, Martínez Fernández published a dedication to Asklepios and Hygieia on gold foil, also from excavations of the Asklepieion and now on display in the Chania Museum.⁶²

C. CATALOGING THE INSCRIPTIONS

Between 2008 and 2015, the author conducted an epigraphic survey of the inscriptions to be found on site, and searched for inscriptions in the storerooms of the Chania Museum, with the invaluable assistance of archaeologists from the Ephorate of Antiquities of Chania (then the 25th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities at Chania). The catalog presented here does not include 13 inscribed statue(tte) bases, to be published by V. Machaira, nor two votive tables and two gold dedications, to be (re)published to S. Markoulaki; these bring the

57. *ICr* II, xvii 1, found built into the church of Ag. Kirykos, southwest of the Asklepieion.

58. Bultrighini 1993, 113; Sporn 2002, 311.

59. Kanellopoulos 2019, 23 and 97.

60. Platon (forthcoming); Appendix no. 17.

61. Appendix no. 16.

62. Appendix no. 1.

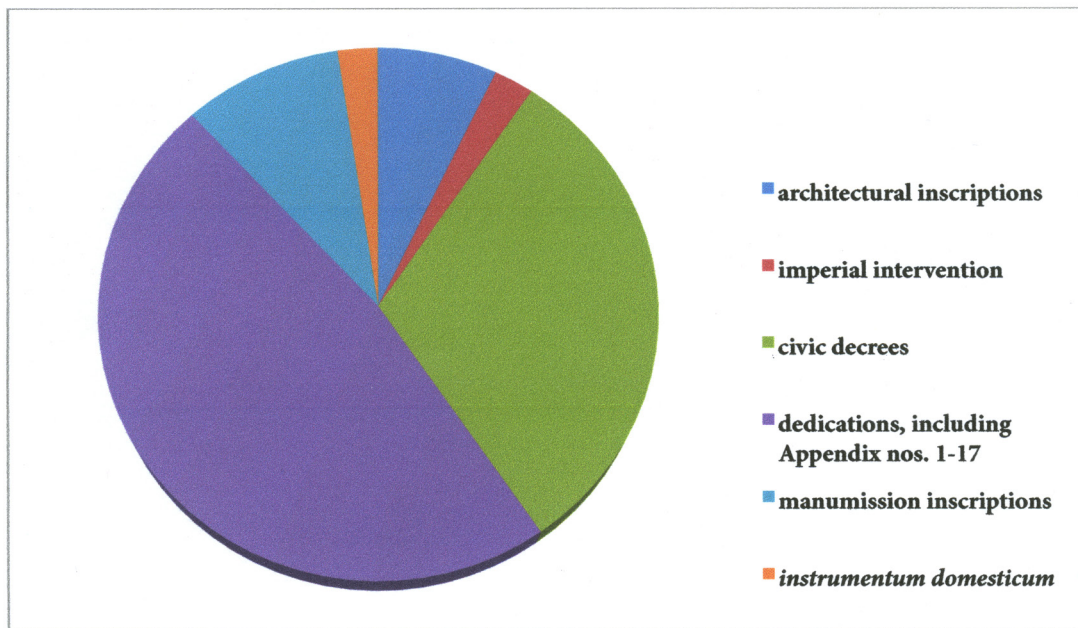


Fig. 4. Distribution of epigraphic genres.

total number of inscriptions found in excavations of the Asklepieion to 47.⁶³

The catalog of inscriptions provided at the end of this text is organized by type of inscription, from public to private genres, as chronologically as possible within each genre (fig. 4). All the inscriptions from the Asklepieion of Lissos are in Greek, even the part of one that reproduces a Roman emperor's response to a Cretan decree (4). The catalog begins with architectural inscriptions (1–3) and an imperial intervention (4), before presenting civic decrees (5–17), dedications and a sacred law (18–20), manumission inscriptions (21–24), an inscribed loomweight (25), an inscription of unidentified type (26), and unlocated fragments (27–30). Two texts of unidentified type (26, 30) will not be discussed further in the following sections of this study.

C1. ARCHITECTURAL INSCRIPTIONS (1–3)

These three inscriptions appear to record the construction of an early stoa or portico south of the Hellenistic temple, the water channel that ran beneath the floor of the temple, and the temple itself. As a group, they provide information about building materials, civic magistrates and decrees including the name of a Lissian month, and the names of structures and builders.

Two different building materials were used and inscribed at the Asklepieion of Lissos. The lintel found during the excavation of the stoa, along the south side of the temple (1), is carved from the local gray breccio-conglomerate stone used for the earlier structures in the sanctuary, dated by Kanellopoulos to the 4th–3rd century B.C.⁶⁴ This is the only inscribed block not assigned to any visible structure in the Asklepieion; it may have come from a stoa or portico, where *iamata* were prescribed and applied.⁶⁵ Two more architectural inscriptions published here (2–3) are carved from blocks of tan *porolithos*, the stone from which the temple of Asklepios was constructed in the 3rd–2nd century B.C., when it was built against the pre-existing retaining wall on its north

63. Appendix nos. 1–17. The funerary stele handed over by A. Louyiakis during excavations (Appendix no. 18) will not be included in our analysis of the Asklepieion inscriptions.

64. Kanellopoulos 2019, 19. For the local gray breccio-conglomerate stone, see Seidel et al. 2007.

65. Kanellopoulos 2019, 25, 88; pl. 1, Space M; cf. fig. 6 here. This area has been completely destroyed since antiquity, to a level significantly lower than the temple terrace (Kanellopoulos 2019, 39–40).

side.⁶⁶ It may be that –in preparation for the building of the temple– a closed channel was constructed, to carry water from the spring and small fountain north of the temple’s forecourt and beneath the temple floor to the south krepis; across the street, stoa and northwest corner of the staircase; and along the south side of Building A.⁶⁷

All three architectural inscriptions appear to cite civic magistrates and decrees as sources of authority for the construction undertaken. The badly damaged text of the early lintel (1) may well preserve the title of a magistrate in charge of the temple or religious matters (ιερομνάμων), a man whose name headed a list of personal names that could be those of other magistrates, i.e., the *kosmoi*. The inscription that appears to refer to a water channel (2) has sustained even worse damage, but enough is preserved to suggest that it named a series of men, in all likelihood *kosmoi*, perhaps in a civic decree. The building inscription from the temple (3) preserves the beginning of a civic decree, with the names of three Lissian *kosmoi*, as well as the month name Ἀθαναῖος. This month name is attested for the first time on Crete; Athena is not heretofore known to have been worshipped at Lissos.⁶⁸

Two of these three inscriptions preserve the names of the structures constructed; one or two even record the name of builders. The lintel (1) preserves a phrase that indicates that someone –perhaps Sositimos, named later in the nominative– raised a structure called an ἀελιδρόμος, an unparalleled word for a stoa or portico. The water channel block (2) may well have referred to the closed system (περιοχή) that carried water from the spring by which the temple was built to its south krepis and beyond. The building inscription (3) gives the name of the builder, apparently of the Asklepieion itself: Serion, son of Dexios, from Elyros, the inland city whose port was Lissos.⁶⁹ Serion’s name is followed by the verb ἐποίησε, which –together with the position of the block on the east façade of the temple of Asklepios– makes it clear what was built: the temple of Asklepios, constructed along the same orientation as an earlier, unpreserved sanctuary.⁷⁰

The Asklepieion of Lissos is now one of three sites sacred to Asklepios along the south coast of the island, together with two in the Mesara plain that preserve architectural inscriptions. The inscriptions preserved at Lebena contain a continuous series of such texts that refer to walls and a stoa, places to sleep, a marble revetment, structures dedicated to Roman emperors, and one unidentified structure.⁷¹ At Gortyn –the city in the Mesara that Lebena served as a port– two fragments of Hellenistic epistyles may well contain part of the name of the god.⁷²

C2. IMPERIAL INTERVENTION (4)

A long, detailed inscription carved on the north doorjamb⁷³ of the principal, monumental entrance to the temple preserves nearly all of the text of a decree of the Cretan Koinon and a brief reply by the emperor Tibe-

66. Kanellopoulos 2019, 19. Kanellopoulos calls the *porolithos* imported (2019, 97); the source of this stone has not been identified. The *porolithos* (calcitic sandstone), with which the east, south, and west walls of the Asklepieion are built, could have come from the headland on the west side of the ancient site (E. Repouskou, Th. Markopoulos, and E. Manoutsoglou, of the Technical University of Crete, Chania, pers. comm.). The calcite alabaster used for Appendix no. 16 could have come from a deposit wherever *porolithos* was found; it was, however, a large, single piece that must have come from a significant deposit, whose location remains undetermined. For the stone types in the area of Lissos, see Seidel et al. 2007, 40 fig. 1; cf. Seidel 2003, 8 fig. 4, and 16.

67. Kanellopoulos 2019, 19 and fig. 5; pl. 1, Spaces (in topographical order) T (spring and fountain), U (temple), H (paved road), J (stoa), L (staircase), and A (Building A); cf. fig. 6 here. Platon had suggested two routes for the water from the sacred spring to flow: (1) to a fountain beside the low base at the west end of the temple (Platon 1959a, 377; 1959b, 22; 1962, 15; 1996, 397); and (2) to a cistern found on the terrace below that on which the temple stood (1962, 15; 1996, 397).

68. For month names see Chaniotis 1996, 503–4. For the worship of Athena see Sporn 2002, 382; in far western Crete, Athena is known to have been worshipped at Kydonia and Polyrrhenia.

69. This is not an honorary inscription as indicated in *SEG XLV 1315*.

70. Kanellopoulos 2019, 23.

71. See Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 145, citing *ICr I*, xvii 4, 6, 13, 37, 40, 42, and 54; Camia and Melfi 2004.

72. See Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 145, citing *ICr IV* 239–40.

73. Kanellopoulos 2019, 48 and pl. 30.

rius, written beneath it in a Greek translation. Three levels of authority are provided for the subject of the text: the Cretan Koinon, the Roman emperor, and the Lissian *kosmoi*.⁷⁴ The Cretan decree requests authorization to add rituals to the celebration of the imperial cult on a monthly basis, in honor of the birth of Tiberius' twin grandsons in A.D. 20.⁷⁵ Tiberius' reply directs the magistrates of each city to inscribe this decree and his reply in the temples of Augustus, charges the Koinon with continued oversight of the imperial cult, and specifies sources of funding for these rituals.⁷⁶ The names of three Lissian *kosmoi* in charge of inscribing this *libellus-subscriptio* appear at the end of the inscription.⁷⁷

Official interventions and restorations are also attested at sites sacred to Asklepios at Arkades, Pylorus and Lebena in the Mesara, and at Knossos, in the homonymous valley in north central Crete.⁷⁸ At Lebena in particular, a Roman official appears to be named in one inscription and an empress in another.⁷⁹ At Knossos, former temple lands had been taken away from Aesculapius by Augustus –a decision confirmed by Claudius– and then restored by Nero.⁸⁰

C3. CIVIC DECREES (5–17)

Like the archaic building at Gortyn, whose *spolia* were later incorporated into the Mavropapas basilica, the Asklepieion at Lissos was not significantly restored or reconstructed during its long life.⁸¹ Blocks from the walls of the Lissian temple were in their original position until its destruction by one or more earthquakes; there is no sign of later inscriptions replacing earlier ones,⁸² only one example of a decorative stone being re-used for an inscription (**24**). Like the so-called Mavropapas building at Gortyn, the Asklepieion at Lissos was a place of publication for inscriptions that pertained to international relations in the form of honors conferred on individuals, in the context of relations between Lissos and other cities as well as commercial relations.⁸³ The substantial number of civic decrees among the inscriptions from the Asklepieion at Lissos is the result of an attempt to anthologize proxeny decrees, to create a register of *proxenoi* in a place of civic as well as religious importance.⁸⁴

Fourteen civic decrees, including the one preserved on the building inscription already discussed (**3**), are preserved from the east façade of the Asklepieion of Lissos. Proxeny decrees are a subclass of honorific decree, in which a city like Lissos could express its gratitude to a citizen of another polis, who would offer hospitality to one of its own citizens.⁸⁵ No one inscription survives from its beginning to its end; **5** is the most complete text to be preserved. We can join M.Ch. inv. nos. E269A–B and E273 to produce **14**, on the basis of a photograph taken by the author in 1980 (fig. 5). Platon noted that **6** probably fell from the area above or atop **5**,⁸⁶ but no join can be made, as the beginning of **5** is intact. The end of the text of **7** appears to be intact. Additionally, it is possible to join two fragments (**27–28**) with **14**. Finally, another fragment of a civic decree (**29**) does not preserve enough

74. Baldwin Bowsky 2017, 432–36.

75. Thanks to this inscription, the two portrait heads found in front of the entrance to the temple (Katakis 2009, 298–99) can now be identified as Tiberius and his son Drusus (Baldwin Bowsky 2017, 424–25).

76. Baldwin Bowsky 2017, 426.

77. Baldwin Bowsky 2017, 427.

78. See Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 143–46, citing the following sources. Arkades: *ICrI*, v 20B. Pyloros: *ICrI*, xxv 22. Hellenistic Lebena: Kritzas 1992–1993; *ICrI*, xvii 6, 21, and 44.

79. See Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 146, citing *ICrI*, xvii 34 and 55 for Roman Lebena.

80. See Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 144, citing *ICrI*, viii 49 and 55.

81. Cf. Marginesu 2013, 265.

82. Cf. Marginesu 2013, 265.

83. Cf. Marginesu 2013, 266. In the first part of the 2nd century B.C. a Lissian served as *theorodochos* for Delphic ambassadors (*ICrII*, xvii *praeatio historica* 211, citing Plassart 1921, 19 column III, 105); in the 2nd century B.C. a Lissian or Lappaeian was *proxenos* at Gortyn (*ICrII*, xvii *praeatio historica* 211, citing the inscription that became *ICrIV* 387). The onomastic evidence now available favors a Lissian origin for the Gortynian *proxenos*. His Greek personal name, Menoitios, is attested on Crete at Kydonia and Polyrrhenia (*LGPNI*, 309); the name of his father, Tychemenes, is attested at Lissos as well as at Kantanos, Polyrrhenia, Aptaera, Lappa, and Sybrita in western Crete (*LGPNI*, 449, citing *ICrII*, xvii 5 for Lissos).

84. Cf. Marginesu 2013, 269–70.

85. McLean 2002, 183–84.

86. Platon (forthcoming).



Fig. 5. Joining of E269A–B and E273.

letters even to determine what part of a decree it might belong to.

Together these proxeny inscriptions illustrate various parts of the formulae adopted at Lissos. Divine cooperation, if not authorization, is invoked in the phrase *ἀγαθαὶ τύχαι*, which exists in the beginning of three texts (**12–13**, **15**), as well as the one preserved on the building inscription already discussed (**3**).

The authorities responsible for these proxeny decrees include the *kosmoi*, the city, and the sovereign assembly. The dating formula *ἐπὶ κόσμων* followed by three names of *kosmoi* and their fathers appears in **12–13** and **15**, as well as **3**. Three was apparently the regular number of *kosmoi* in Lissian inscriptions throughout the Hellenistic and early Roman periods. The name of the month is preserved in two or possibly three texts: *Ἀθαναῖος* in **3**, *Φυλλιών* in **5**, and perhaps an unpreserved month name in **13**. The formula *ἔδοξε Λισίων τοῖς κόσμοις καὶ τῇ πόλει* is the one most commonly preserved, in whole or in part, in **5–6**, **11–14**, **16**, and **28**. One text (**5**) tells us that this decree was passed in the sovereign assembly *–ἐν ἐκ(κ)λησίαι κυρία–* of Lissos.

The decrees then pass from Lissian authorities to the recipient(s) of the privileges of public friendship. The name of the *proxenos*, his patronymic and ethnic, are preserved, to a greater or lesser degree, in **4**, **11**, and **14–16**. Two of these preserve an ethnic derived from the name of the home city of the *proxenos*: Athens in **5** and Cretan Aptera in **14**. The formula that grants proxeny to the man himself and his descendants appears in **5–6**, **9**, **14**, and **16**. The privileges of proxeny are mentioned in **5** and **14**, and they are detailed in **7**. Another decree preserves mention of the courtesies accorded to other public friends (**9**).

The series of decrees preserved on the east façade of the Asklepieion at Lissos is remarkable, yet predictable at sites sacred to Asklepios, to judge from those preserved at other Cretan sites sacred to the god. Arkades is the site of the Asklepieion most comparable to that at Lissos, in terms of the number of treaties or decrees known to have been inscribed there, even though the number surviving from Arkades falls short of that preserved at Lissos.⁸⁷ Decrees and treaties are also attested at temples of Asklepios elsewhere in eastern and central Crete: Itanos, Olous, Eronos, and Lebena.⁸⁸

87. See Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 143–44, citing five inscriptions: *ICr I*, v 10A and 52–53; III, iii 1B and 5.

88. See Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 143 and 146, citing the following sources. Itanos: *ICr III*, iv 3 and 7. Olous: *ICr I*, xxii 4A and C.

C4. DEDICATIONS AND A SACRED LAW (18–20)

The dedications published here fall into a number of categories, each with its own conventions.⁸⁹ There are common elements, nevertheless, beginning with the names of dedicators, the god or gods to whom the dedication is made, and the dedicatory verb or noun. After discussing these common elements, we will address elements distinctive to the cult statue base (18).

Beginning with the names of dedicators, a father and son pair –Thymilos and Tharsytas, possibly both priests– dedicated a base for a cult statue (18). On one votive table the dedicator is a Roman imperial freedman, P. Aelius Augg. [lib.] Leonas.⁹⁰ Another votive table gives the name of the dedicator as Agathemeros, son of Eucharistos, from Kos.⁹¹ On *stelai* a man gives his own name and his father's name (19) –Kleo[...] son of Mel[...]– while another dedicator's name is barely preserved, M. M[...] (20). On a dedication of gold foil, Kanopos gives his name without patronymic or filiation;⁹² this raises questions about his legal status, perhaps as a freedman or slave. A golden snake bears the single personal name of the dedicator, Asklas, again one that might belong to a freedman or slave.⁹³

The dedications are most often to Asklepios (19–20 cf. 21). One votive table is dedicated to Asklepios Soter,⁹⁴ while a rectangle of gold foil is dedicated κυρίῳ Ἀσκληπιῶ καὶ τῇ κυρίᾳ Ὑγείᾳ.⁹⁵ Dedicatory wording takes the form of the verbs ἀνέθηκα or ἀνέθηκε⁹⁶ and ἀπέδωκα,⁹⁷ or the noun εὐχάν/εὐχὴν (19).⁹⁸ On his votive table, Agathemeros specifies that he dedicated the table as promised (ὡς εὐξάμην).⁹⁹ The rectangle of gold foil was dedicated to Asklepios ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας,¹⁰⁰ and a votive table was dedicated as a thank-offering for cures in lieu of money (ιατροίσις εὐχ[ήν]).¹⁰¹

By comparison with this single reference to cures at Lissos,¹⁰² a large number of texts at Lebena detail cures and prescriptions.¹⁰³ This need not mean that Asklepios was less a healing god at Lissos than at Lebena, only that epigraphic accounts of cures were not the extant result. One explanation for the numerous bases for statue(tte)s found at Lissos is that this cult was particularly concerned with the health of women, infants and the young.¹⁰⁴ Southwest of the Asklepieion, a 4th–5th century A.D. Christian basilica underlies the church of Ag. Kirykos, the patron saint of Lissos, who was believed to restore health to sick children.¹⁰⁵ This function is hauntingly reminiscent of that of Asklepios in antiquity.

We can now take special note of the particular elements of the cult statue base (18). The base records two things of particular interest: (1) that Thymilos was the first to set up this (statue of) Asklepios and that his son Tharsytas dedicated the statue, and (2) a sacred law specifying who can sacrifice and what happens to the meat and hide of the sacrificial victim. The provision for the hide of the sacrificial victim may also constitute evidence for healing rituals in its mention of the skin, which could be used during incubation.¹⁰⁶ This single sacred law

Eronos: Rigsby 1996, 318–19 no. 155. Lebena: *ICr* I, xvii 1 and 38.

89. The inscribed bases for statue(tte)s (Appendix nos. 2–14) are not taken into account here, pending publication by Machaira (forthcoming).

90. Appendix no. 16.

91. Appendix no. 17.

92. Appendix no. 1.

93. Appendix no. 15.

94. Appendix no. 17.

95. Appendix no. 1.

96. Ἀνέθηκα: Appendix no. 1. Ἀνέθηκε: Appendix no. 16.

97. Appendix no. 17.

98. Also used in Appendix no. 3.

99. Appendix no. 17.

100. Appendix no. 1.

101. Appendix no. 16; for this wording, see Markoulaki (forthcoming). Let me express my gratitude to Mr. Charalampos Kritzas, for his patient assistance in understanding this text.

102. Appendix no. 16. Kanellopoulos (2019, 25) suggests that Space M, south of the temple and stoa, may have been utilized for *iamata*; cf. fig. 6 here.

103. See Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 146–47, citing *ICr* I, xvii 8–12, 14–15, 19–20.

104. Sporn 2002, 310–11; Kanellopoulos 2019, 24.

105. Spanakis 1991, 482.

106. *CGRN* no. 128.

preserved at Lissos can be set alongside the series of sacred laws and narratives preserved at the sanctuary of Asklepios at Lebena over the course of 500 years or more.¹⁰⁷

The series of statue(tte)s of children, votive tables, and gold offerings makes Lissos distinctive among sites sacred to Asklepios on Crete.¹⁰⁸ Statue bases are attested at Lebena, Olous, and Arkades but they are statues dedicated to the god or else erected in honor of mortals, but not children.¹⁰⁹ Other dedications from Chersonesos, Lebena and Lasaia include no votive tables or gold offerings, but dedications that range from a statue or shrine to stone altars, a base and a column, *stelai*, and a clay tablet.¹¹⁰

C5. MANUMISSION INSCRIPTIONS (21–24)

The manumission *stelai* are also distinctive among the inscriptions at Lissos, and in fact in Crete in general, as they are the first known examples of sacred manumission on the island. Two of them concern the same female slave, first manumitted with obligations (21) and then released from those obligations upon their fulfilment (22). Two more *stelai*, surviving only in fragments, preserve comparable wording (23) or wording compatible with a manumission inscription (24). We learn from 21 that a female slave was dedicated to Asklepios and was obligated to produce five children in order to be free and at the same time a freedwoman of the god, who is to do whatever is necessary for the worship of Asklepios. The second stele (22) begins with the formula ἀγαθῆ τύχη before naming the manumittor or a letter sent to temple authorities as the source of the stele. Now that the former slave has produced five children, it appears she will have no other obligation or need to bear another child; the fate of her children is obscured by the breakage of 22, but we can note that her children are now called τέκνα rather than παιδία, which may suggest free rather than slave status. Similarly, fragments of a third stele (23) suggest that the freed slave was a woman who will bear children, and that she was obligated to serve the god or to supervise the god's shrine and cult. Fragments of a fourth stele (24) preserve wording compatible with manumission, including a prescription either that no one have power to infringe on the freedom of the manumitted, or that the manumitted abide by requirements laid down by the manumittor, as well as a monetary fine for violation. In the context of manumission inscriptions, we can note again that the names Kanopos and Asklas, which appear on golden offerings, would be appropriate to freedmen or slaves.¹¹¹

C6. INSTRUMENTUM DOMESTICUM (25)

A single loomweight preserves the name of the woman who owned or used it, perhaps in the genitive (25); its discoid form is indicative of a Hellenistic date. It probably provides the name of a woman active in the early Hellenistic house southwest of the temple,¹¹² or that of a woman on her way to dedicate the loomweight in the temple of Asklepios, given the opening in the *peribolos* Platon saw nearby.¹¹³ The latter interpretation might be slightly strengthened by the fact that *instrumenta domestica*, albeit not loomweights, have been found at sites sacred to Asklepios at Lebena and Lasaia in the Mesara.¹¹⁴

107. See Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 146, citing *ICrI*, xvii 2–3, 8, 14, and 37.

108. Appendix nos. 1–17.

109. See Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 143–44 and 147, citing the following sources. Lebena: *ICrI*, xvii 24–25, 33, 35–36, 39. Olous: Petrou-Mesogeites 1937–1938, 194 no. 2. Arkades: Platon 1956, 420.

110. See Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 144 and 148, citing the following sources. Chersonesos: *ICrI*, vii 5. Lebena: *ICrI*, xvii 17–18, 26–27, 29, 31–32, 34, 38, 41, 46. Lasaia: *ICrI*, xv 3.

111. Appendix nos. 1, 15.

112. Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Spaces D–E; cf. fig. 6 here.

113. Platon (forthcoming). The opening is no longer visible but cf. Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, for the spur of wall northwest of the propylon (Space N); cf. fig. 6 here.

114. See Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 148, citing the following sources. Lebena: *ICrI*, xvii 1 and 30. Lasaia: Hadzi-Vallianou 1979, 383.

D. DISPLAYING THE INSCRIPTIONS

These inscriptions are best studied not only as documents but as monuments, as many of them appeared on the east façade of the temple of Asklepios and one on the doorway of the entrance.¹¹⁵ We can proceed as a Hellenistic or Roman worshipper might have –possibly along a processional route– beginning with the propylon southwest of the temple, and proceeding up the staircase to the stoa and the paved road between the stoa and temple, before finally reaching the forecourt east of the temple and the principal entrance thereto (fig. 6).¹¹⁶ After the worshipper climbed the staircase to the temple terrace, at least one inscription may have been on display in the south wall of the temple: a block that appears to refer to the water channel that exited through an opening in the temple krepis (2). Another, older block (1) may have still been visible at the entrance to the portico, south of the temple.¹¹⁷

A visually striking number of inscriptions were prominently displayed on the east façade of the temple. The building inscription that names the Elyrian Serion, son of Dexios (3), appeared there. Below the building inscription, the stone bears part of a civic decree that names three Lissian *kosmoi* but breaks off before telling us the subject of the decree, which in all likelihood recorded the dedication of the temple of Asklepios. Five more civic decrees were prominently displayed on the east façade of the temple (5–8, 11). Fragments of four additional proxeny inscriptions were found inside the temple, perhaps where they had fallen inward from the east façade during an earthquake (10, 13–15). Three additional inscriptions were found near the north side of

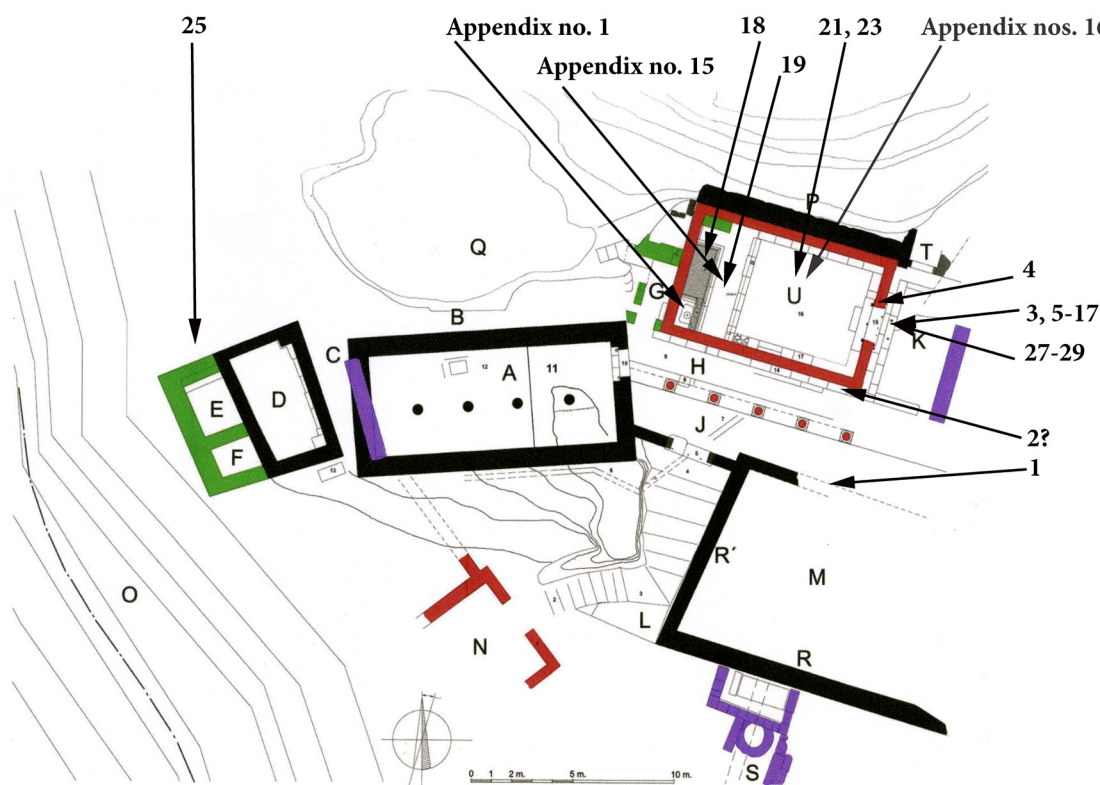


Fig. 6. Displaying the inscriptions (numbers refer to the Catalog of Inscriptions).

115. For this approach see Cooley 2012a.

116. Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Spaces (in topographical order) N (propylon), L (staircase), J (stoa), H (paved road between the temple and the stoa), K (forecourt east of the temple), U (temple); cf. fig. 6 here.

117. Kanellopoulos 2019, 88.

the temple, surely from the east façade rather than from the megalithic trapezoidal retaining wall against which the temple was built (**16–17, 29**). Platon records the discovery of two fragments (**27–28**) that could be joined with **14**, to produce a text from the names of Lissian *kosmoi* to the formula that granted proxeny to Hellagoras of Aptaera and his descendants. The north doorjamb of the principal entrance to the temple was inscribed with a copy of a decree of the Cretan Koinon and Tiberius' reply written below it (**4**); it was inscribed high on the doorjamb, where the visitor could see but not read it.¹¹⁸

Our hypothetical worshipper is not likely to have passed beyond the metal gate fixed at the doorway to the temple, even though it was possible to view the interior when the door leaves were open.¹¹⁹ The front part of the cella, separated from the rear part by a wooden gate,¹²⁰ contained votive tables and dedicatory *stelai*. Two inscribed votive tables were apparently set along the north wall of the front part of the cella, along one side of the mosaic floor:¹²¹ the alabaster table dedicated by the imperial freedman P. Aelius Leonas may have been set into the northeast corner while the marble table dedicated by Agathemeros son of Eucharistos, of Kos, could have been set into the northwest corner. Fragments of a marble stele recording the manumission of a female slave were found first during cleaning of the mosaic in the front part of the cella and then in the rear part (**21**). Two fragments of another manumission stele (fragments A and D of **23**) were also displayed in the southwest corner of the front part of the cella. Traces of a mortar on the rear surfaces of **21–23** may suggest they were attached to interior walls.

The small rear part of the cella contained the cult statue and its base, as well as other dedications. A low base that held the statue base and cult statue of Asklepios was found in the back of the rear part of the cella, perhaps in situ; it is likely that the marble inscribed statue base dedicated to Asklepios was erected there (**18**). A marble stele dedicated to Asklepios was found in the rear part of the cella (**19**). The inscribed snake of gold dedicated by Asklas was found in the area of the base, leaning against a small pillar.¹²² A small rectangular sheet of gold foil dedicated to Asklepios and Hygeia was collected from the pit at the rear of the cella, beside the base; this pit was a carstic void used for libations.¹²³ The inscribed statue bases were found in front of the base in the cella,¹²⁴ but destruction renders it impossible to determine in which part of the cella –front or rear– they were displayed.

We simply do not know where three *stelai* and a fragment were displayed. A marble stele (**22**) –with traces of a mortar on its rear surface, like **21** and **23**– refers to the manumission of the same female slave named on a separate stele, displayed in the front or rear part of the cella (**21**); the phrase ἡ πρὸ ταύτης στήλη could refer to the chronological or physical relationship between *stelai* **21** and **22**. Another marble stele, collected in 1957, refers to the penalty to be paid to the imperial treasury for violation of a manumitted slave or the terms of a manumission (**24**). A third marble stele –this one possibly dedicatory– has yet to be identified in Platon's diaries (**20**). The marble fragment that bears a single A has no known provenience (**26**).

118. Kanellopoulos 2019, pls. 21, 24, and 30.

119. Kanellopoulos 2019, 97 and pls. 29, 45.

120. Kanellopoulos 2019, 54 and pl. 43.

121. Appendix nos. **16–17**.

122. Appendix no. **15**.

123. Appendix no. **1**. Carstic void used for libations: Kanellopoulos 2019, 66.

124. Machaira, pers. comm. The rear part of the cella would seem far too small to contain the many statue(tte)s to which the bases belonged.

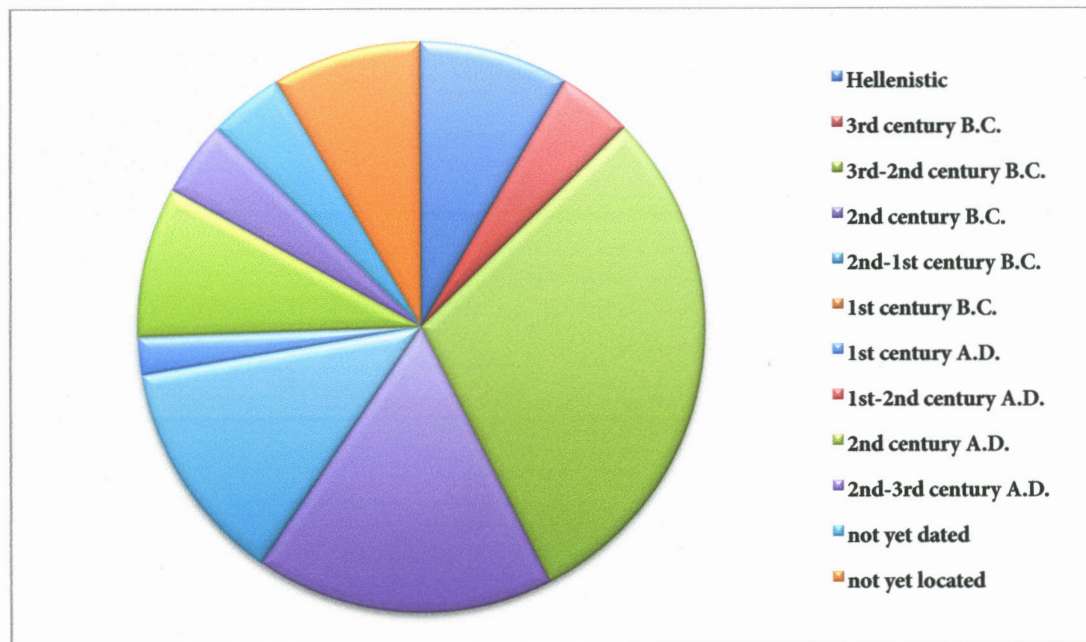


Fig. 7. Dating the inscriptions.

E. DATING THE INSCRIPTIONS

We can now add a chronological element to the spatial display of writing, to suggest how writing contributed to the appearance of the temple and sanctuary over time (fig. 7). Letter forms are a notoriously difficult basis for dating inscriptions; they can, nevertheless, suggest relative if not absolute dating. It is critical to note that the inscriptions we have are those that survived not only in the context of the Roman temple we see today, but also the abandonment and destruction of the temple in antiquity.

The datable inscriptions of the Hellenistic period –both private and public– date from the 3rd century B.C. to the 2nd/1st century B.C. Three inscriptions can be dated to the Hellenistic period, but a more specific date cannot be provided. The lintel, possibly belonging to the stoa (1), as well as the block that appears to refer to the water channel (2), are both so badly damaged as to prohibit dating, even by letter forms. The stone type of 1 supports a date in the 4th–3rd century B.C. Platon's drawing of the water channel block (2) preserves a form of Ξ that suggests a date in the earlier rather than the later part of the Hellenistic period.¹²⁵ The single letter visible on 26 might be dated to the later Hellenistic period.

The earliest inscriptions for which letter forms are datable come from the rear part of the cella of the temple now visible; they are consistent with the suggestion that the temple and stoa were active as early as the 3rd century B.C.¹²⁶ The inscribed statue base that records the dedication of a statue of Asklepios bears letters that are Hellenistic, probably of 3rd century B.C. date (18). Letters of the 3rd century B.C. are also preserved on a dedicatory stele (19). A funerary stele with 3rd century B.C. letters was handed over to Platon during the 1960 excavations.¹²⁷

The 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. continued to be characterized by dedications to Asklepios in the cella of the temple. Letters of the 3rd–2nd century B.C. were incised on a rectangle of gold foil dedicated to Asklepios and

125. Platon (forthcoming).

126. Platon 1960 (end of the 4th or beginning of the 3rd century B.C.); Kanellopoulos 2019, 40 (end of the 3rd to mid–2nd century B.C.).

127. Appendix no. 18.

Hygeia, which was found in the carstic void or pit used for libations, in the rear part of the cella.¹²⁸ The inscribed statue(tte) bases can also be dated to the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C.¹²⁹

It is the 2nd century B.C. that saw public inscriptions begin to appear on the eastern entrance façade of the temple. Letter forms without apices appear on the east façade (**5–8**, probably **9**; likely **10–11**), including the building inscription of Serion (**3**). In the 2nd–1st centuries B.C., inscriptions that feature letter forms with apices –some pronounced– again appear on the eastern entrance façade (probably **12**; likely **13–17**).

The latest public inscription in this group is the *libellus-subscriptio* inscribed on one doorjamb of the temple entrance in the early 1st century A.D. (**4**). Other than this *libellus-subscriptio*, the inscriptions of Roman date are all dedications or acts of manumission, from the 1st/2nd to the 2nd/3rd century A.D.; the 2nd century A.D. appears to have been particularly active in epigraphic terms. The gold snake dedicated by Asklas that was found in the rear part of the cella may bear letters of the 1st/2nd century A.D.¹³⁰ Dedications large and small were found inside the temple, in the front and rear parts of the cella, mostly of 2nd century A.D. date. In the northwest corner of the front part of the cella sat a votive table bearing 2nd century A.D. letters.¹³¹ One or both 2nd century A.D. *stelai* recording the manumission of a female slave appear to have been displayed in the cella; the letters of **21** are larger and more carefully cut than those of **22**, but the fact that they refer to the same manumission should mean that they are very nearly of the same date. The one recording release from obligations (**22**) is less carefully inscribed than the one recording manumission with obligations (**21**). A fragment of another stele of unknown provenience (**20**) bears the same careful 2nd century A.D. lettering as **21**.

The latest inscriptions preserved in or from the Asklepieion of Lissos belong to the 2nd/3rd century A.D. Two fragments of a manumission stele, with 2nd/3rd century A.D. lettering, were found in the front part of the cella (**23**); another stele with lettering of a comparable date is of unknown provenience, but is likely to have come from the Asklepieion, as it appears to be another act of manumission (**24**). A second votive table, in the northwest corner of the front part of the cella, can be dated to the 2nd/3rd century A.D. on the basis of letter forms.¹³²

It would appear that in or after the 2nd/3rd century A.D. the Asklepieion of Lissos ceased to be a place for the display of various types of writing. Statues and inscriptions were clearly inside the temple when a natural disaster –probably an earthquake earlier than the cataclysm of A.D. 365¹³³– caused stones from the north wall to fall into the temple's interior. Crosses incised by early Christians have been seen atop the south wall and on other fallen stones in its vicinity; they have also been seen on a bronze object found in the area outside the temple to the south, on nearly all the large worked stones of the fountain and cistern beside the stairway and below the retaining wall that supports the temple terrace, and on sherds of vessels found between the east krepis and a late wall farther to the east.¹³⁴ Platon suggested that the area could already have been deserted when the temple was finally destroyed; it was the earthquake of A.D. 365 that completely buried the temple, which effectively exploded to the south.¹³⁵

The chronological distribution of the Lissian inscriptions is often comparable to that at Lebena, even while it is distinctive in a number of ways. Its chronological range –from the Hellenistic period to the 2nd/3rd century A.D.– is greater than that preserved for any other cult of Asklepios, save the one at Lebena.¹³⁶ Each of these two groups first peaked in and around the 2nd century B.C., contemporary with those elsewhere in Crete

128. Appendix no. **1**.

129. Machaira, pers. comm.; Appendix nos. **2–14**.

130. Appendix no. **15**.

131. Appendix no. **16**.

132. Appendix no. **17**.

133. Ambraseys (2009, 137–38) considers spurious the report of an earthquake that struck Crete on July 9, A.D. 251. It just may be possible to link the earthquake of A.D. 262, which destroyed Cyrene, with one in Crete (Ambraseys 2009, 138).

134. Platon (forthcoming).

135. Platon 1958, 466; Kanellopoulos, pers. comm.

136. See Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 133–34.

that show significant activity in the same century.¹³⁷ Between the 1st century B.C. and the 2nd century A.D., the inscriptions of the Asklepieion at Lissos are unusual, as they include only one or two texts: the imperial *libellus-subscriptio* presented above (4) and a dedication in the form of a golden snake.¹³⁸ During this period, Lebena preserves a number of inscriptions, as do sites sacred to Asklepios in the Mesara at Gortyn, Lasaia, and Arkades, as well as on the north coast at Knossos and Chersonesos.¹³⁹ The group of inscriptions from Lissos is once again comparable to that at Lebena in the 2nd century and 2nd/3rd centuries A.D., while Arkades provides a single inscription of Roman date, and other groups have failed to yield any inscriptions of Roman or imperial date.¹⁴⁰ Lebena continues to display inscriptions in the 3rd–4th century A.D., when the Lissian inscriptions fall silent, possibly due to the abandonment of the temple.¹⁴¹

F. TYPES OF WRITING OVER TIME

The inscriptions presented here were preserved in the sanctuary of Asklepios, which served as a place of display for writing of various types.¹⁴² These inscriptions provide evidence for not one but two broad types of writing: (1) public texts pertaining to institutional life, possibly on display at the entrance to the portico south of the temple and stoa, as well on the east façade and perhaps the south wall of the temple, and (2) private texts on display in the front and rear parts of the cella.

The public texts acted as both physical proof and demonstration of the community's will, negotiated through the orderly working of political institutions.¹⁴³ Architectural inscriptions proclaimed not only the name of a builder from Elyros, Lissos' upland counterpart, but the resources and will of the Lissian people, their assembly, council, and magistrates in constructing the stoa (1), water channel (2), and temple (3). Decrees of proxeny celebrated and commemorated not only Lissian connections of public friendship with other cities, but the power of the Lissians to grant the rights entailed and the value of those rights (5–17). Even the imperial *libellus-subscriptio*, inscribed on the north doorjamb of the monumental entrance, made visible the power of the Cretan Koinon, the city of Lissos, and its *kosmoi*, whose names appear at the end of the text, just below the imperial response and a *vacat*, which gave prominence to what came after it on the inscribed stone (4).¹⁴⁴

The private texts allowed dedicators –not only the city and its male elite, but also individuals both Lissian and non-Lissian, of both genders, and multiple socio-legal statuses¹⁴⁵– to display their resources, will and piety. Dedications of gold foil, alabaster and marble were set up in the sight of the god(s), in the front and rear parts of the cella. Two men, Asklas and Kanopos, named in dedications of gold bear personal names that could belong to slaves as well as to freedmen.¹⁴⁶ An alabaster votive table was dedicated by a former slave, now an imperial freedman, P. Aelius Leonas.¹⁴⁷ Females as well as males, slaves as well as free, are named on Hellenistic statue(tte) bases,¹⁴⁸ on a loomweight (25), and in Roman manumission inscriptions (21–24).

137. See Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 133.

138. Appendix no. 15.

139. See Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 144–48, citing *ICr I*, xvii 5–6, 17–21, 32, 35–36, 39–40, 44, 46, 54, and Kritzas 1992–1993 for Lebena; *ICr I*, xv 3 for Lasaia; *ICr IV* 239–40 for Gortyn; *ICr I*, v 20B for Arkades; *ICr I*, viii 49 and 55 for Knossos; *ICr I*, vii 4 for Chersonesos.

140. See Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 144, citing Platon 1956, 420.

141. See Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 146 and 148, citing *ICr I*, xvii 27 and 37.

142. Parker 2012, 18.

143. Ma 2012, 148–49.

144. Cooley 2012a, 169; Baldwin Bowsky 2017, 411.

145. See Chaniotis 2004, 81–4 and 86 for changes in the epigraphic habit from Hellenistic to Roman Crete. For Lissians and non-Lissians, see the index of names below.

146. Asklas: Appendix no. 15. Kanopos: Appendix no. 1.

147. Appendix no. 16.

148. Appendix nos. 2–14.

The gradual preponderance of texts of a more private nature is partly a result of changes in the institutional life of the ancient city of Lissos, particularly the fate of the institution of proxeny, which was no longer pertinent in the Roman period. Nevertheless, the civic decrees granting proxeny that are inscribed on the east façade of the temple remained visible and commemorated the historical power of Lissos and the Lissians. Even the imperial *libellus-subscriptio* inscribed on the north doorjamb of the temple entrance (4) continued to project the power and image of the Cretan Koinon and the city of Lissos.

G. INSCRIPTIONS FOUND IN EXCAVATIONS OF THE ASKLEPIEION

The Asklepieion at Lissos was no less important than that at Lebena in many respects,¹⁴⁹ including the group of inscriptions discovered there. Public inscriptions suggest that this cult of Asklepios had a markedly political character, like the one at Messene,¹⁵⁰ and even that the temple may have been in part a temple of Augustus. Private inscriptions provide evidence that this Asklepieion had a focus on the health of women, infants and the young, and that the Asklepieion at Lissos was one of two sanctuaries –together with that at Lebena, also on the south coast– that continued to play an important role in the religious life of the island.

149. Platon 1959b, 20.

150. Camia and Kantiréa 2010, 380; Kanellopoulos 2019, 24.

CATALOG OF INSCRIPTIONS (PLS. 1–15)

The entries in this catalog are organized by epigraphical genre, as chronologically as possible within each genre. Entries are numbered sequentially, across epigraphical genres, from **1** to **30**. Each entry contains sections on the discovery and current location of the inscription (A); bibliography (B); description and measurements (C); letter forms (D); estimated date (E); text, including underlined letters seen by Platon and dotted letters described in the *apparatus criticus* (F); and commentary (G).

A. ARCHITECTURAL INSCRIPTIONS

1. LINTEL FROM A PORTICO (STOA SOUTH OF THE TEMPLE?)

1A. DISCOVERY AND CURRENT LOCATION

Found in the eastern part of the stoa south of the temple, July 9, 1959.¹⁵¹ Now lying outside the temple; M.Ch. inv. no. E275 (pl. 1).

1B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Platon 1960, without line breaks; Bultrighini 1993, 106; *SEG XLV* 1173, where the inscription is called a “dedication of Sositimos”; Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 149; Kanellopoulos 2019, 13 and 87–8, where the block is identified as a lintel in the form of an abbreviated entablature.

1C. DESCRIPTION AND MEASUREMENTS

A worked block of dark gray conglomerate stone with Ionic molding and capitals.

At the top of the molding, max. preserved H 0.36 m, W 1.86 m, Th 0.42 m; at the inscribed face, max. preserved H 0.25 m, W 1.66 m, Th 0.29 m. Field of inscription H 0.15 m, W 1.61 m. Letter H varies slightly from line to line: 0.018–0.023 m (line 1), 0.015–0.02 m (line 2), 0.015–0.019 m (line 3), 0.018–0.02 m (line 4). Line spacing is close: 0.015 m (lines 1–2), 0.01 m (lines 2–3, 3–4).

If there were letters to the left and right of the central portion of the stone, they are now completely illegible. The inscription might have been roughly centered on the stone, to judge from measurements from the left and right margins of the stone. The first legible letter of line 1 (I) is 0.61 m from the left margin; the last (Λ) is 0.57 m from the right margin. In line 2, the first legible letter (M) is 0.44 m from the left margin, the last (Σ) 0.81 m from the right margin. The first legible letter of line 3 (T) is 0.69 m from the left margin, the last (O) 0.51 m from the right margin. In line 4, the first legible letter (Σ) is 0.60 m from the left margin, the last (O) 0.565 m from the right margin.

151. Platon (forthcoming). For the stoa south of the temple, see Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Space J; cf. fig. 6 here.

1D. LETTER FORMS

Lettering widely spaced, apparently to accommodate the rough conglomerate stone; A with broken bar; M and N widely spaced; Ω with wings; no apices.

1E. DATE

Hellenistic, possibly 4th–3rd century B.C.

1F. TEXT

[...] | ἱερομνάμων Ι[.¹]ΕΛ | | [...]

[...]ΜΙΚΡ[.²]ΤΙΜΩ ΕΔΗΣ[...]

[...]ΙΕΑ ἔστασε ἀελιδρόμο[ν ...]

[...] | Σ Σωσίτιμος ΕΛ[.⁴]Ο[...]

Line 1	lower part of a vertical stroke visible before lower vertical of Ι; lower horizontal and most of vertical of Ε; diagonals of Α; all but upper peaks of Μ; lower curve and right wing of Ω; upper horizontal and vertical of Ε; all but the right apex of Λ; two vertical strokes visible after Λ
Line 2	lower vertical stroke of Ι; vertical and upper diagonal of Κ; half letter space between Κ and Ρ; vertical of Ρ; all but upper peaks of Μ; all but left wing of Ω; all but middle horizontal of Ε; all but the upper left diagonal of Δ
Line 3	diagonals but not peak of Α; diagonals and peak of third Α; vertical of Ρ; all but upper right curve of Ο
Line 4	possible vertical stroke before Σ; all but the upper horizontal of initial Σ; all but the lower horizontal of second Σ; upper and lower horizontals and vertical of Ε; all but apices of Λ; rounded letter four letters spaces after Λ

1G. COMMENTARY

Civic magistrates (?) (lines 1–3)

The first lettering visible may well belong to the title or the name of a magistrate, in the nominative. As a title, the word ἱερομνάμων was an archaic and Doric form of ἱερομνήμων, which designated a magistrate in charge of a temple or religious matters.¹⁵² It is also attested as a title, especially at Delphi, for a representative sent by each Amphictyonic state to the Delphic Council.¹⁵³ Alternatively, this was a Greek personal name, attested on Euboeia, at Athens, in Thessaly, Caria and Pamphylia.¹⁵⁴ A number of names that begin with Ἱερο- or Ἱερω- are attested on Crete: Ἱερογένης and Ἱέρων at Kydonia, and Ἱερόνυμος at Arkades.¹⁵⁵ Chaniotis had suggested the phrase [ἐκ τῶν] ἱερομναμονι[κῶν χρημάτων],¹⁵⁶ but the Ω visible on squeezes rules out this reading and suggests a name or title, while the other letters visible after this title or name suggest other wording entirely. If Hieromnamon is a personal name, Ι[.¹]ΕΛ[...] could be part of his patronymic. Ἴκελος is a Greek personal name, attested at Athens and Corinth in the imperial period.¹⁵⁷

152. LSJ⁹ s.v. ἱερομνήμων II 2.

153. LSJ⁹ s.v. ἱερομνήμων II 1.

154. *LGPNI*, 232; II, 233; IIIB, 206; VB, 211. Compare the name of an Athenian *proxenos* in 5.

155. *LGPNI*, 231–33.

156. *SEG XXXVI* 814.

157. *LGPNI* II, 234; IIIA, 218.

Lines 2–3 appear to contain a series of names, perhaps those of Lissian *kosmoi*. A number of names that begin with ΜΙΚΡ- or ΣΜΙΚΡ- are attested in Athens, the Aegean Islands, and Caria: Μικρήης, Μικροφῶν, Μικρίων; Σμικρίας, Σμικρίων, Σμῖκρος, Σμίκρων.¹⁵⁸ The letters -ΤΙΜΩ in line 2 appear to be the end of a genitive form, perhaps a patronymic. The letters ΕΔΗΣ[...] are difficult to interpret as a name, if they are the beginning of one. [...]ΤΕΑ could be the final three letters of a personal name in the genitive singular, such as Ἀριστέας, attested at Gortyn, Lappa and Soulia.¹⁵⁹

Architectural construction

We are on somewhat firmer ground once we reach line 3, where the text appears to refer to the construction of a portico, perhaps the stoa to the south of the temple, to judge from the type of stone.¹⁶⁰ The word used to refer to the stoa or portico is an unparalleled one: ὁ ἀελιδρόμος.¹⁶¹ A meaning such as “stoa” or “portico” is to be expected for a building inscription on a lintel.¹⁶² The verb ἔστασε is the causal aorist of ἵστημι, especially used for raising buildings, etc.¹⁶³

We then have another name in the nominative, possibly that of the builder, Σωσίτιμος; one of the inscribed statue bases from the Asklepieion records the same name.¹⁶⁴ Elsewhere on Crete, the name is attested at Gortyn and Olous; a Cretan migrant to Miletos also bears this name.¹⁶⁵ The remaining letter traces should belong to Sositimos’ patronymic: from Crete, see the names Ἐλενος, Ἐλευθέρις, Ἐλεύθερος at Aradena, Ἐλληνας, Ἐλπιδᾶς and Ἐλυρος,¹⁶⁶ or the ethnic Ἐλύριος as in the name of the builder of the Hellenistic temple of Asklepios (3). None of these names, nor the ethnic Elyrios, contains four letters between ΕΛ and Ο.

2. INSCRIBED BLOCK WITH POSSIBLE MENTION OF A WATER CHANNEL

2A. DISCOVERY AND CURRENT LOCATION

Found fallen upon the upper cistern at the east end of the Byzantine fountain, below and in front of the polygonal wall that supports the temple terrace, July 20, 1960; complete excavation of the upper cistern revealed that an older, smaller cistern had been enlarged with stones taken from the Asklepieion and marked with crosses.¹⁶⁷ This block has tentatively been identified with one now built into the southeast corner of the temple wall, with letters facing south, without inventory number (fig. 2 cf. fig. 1; pl. 2a).

2B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Platon 1959a, 376; 1960; 1962, 13; 1996, 397; Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 149.

158. *LGPNI*, 314 and 408; II, 314 and 400–1; VB, 386.

159. *LGPNI*, 62.

160. Kanellopoulos 2019, 20, 88, and pl. 1, Space M; cf. fig. 6 here.

161. LSJ⁹ Supplement s.v. ἀελιδρόμος, citing Daux 1960, 852, for this inscription.

162. In *SEG XLV* 1173 Chaniotis had cited ἡλιοδρόμος – a variant compound of which he took ἀελιοδρόμος to be – and suggested that ἀελιδρόμος here refers to a sundial (“the sun’s orbit”), by comparison with σεληνοδρόμιον, “moon orbit” (*SEG XLV* 1173, citing *PKellis I* 82; see Diethart 1998, 175). While this suggestion makes etymological sense, it remains difficult to reconcile with a building inscription.

163. LSJ⁹ s.v. ἵστημι A I.

164. Machaira, pers. comm.

165. *LGPNI*, 427.

166. *LGPNI*, 149–51, omitting Ἐλβιος and Ἐλπιδιανός, which are Roman names.

167. Platon (forthcoming). For the Byzantine fountain, see Kanellopoulos 2019, 42 and pl. 1, Space S; cf. fig. 6 here.

2C. DESCRIPTION AND MEASUREMENTS

An ashlar block of *porolithos*, with the inscription toward one end.

Max. preserved H 0.51 m, W 0.56 m, Th 1.01 m. Field of inscription H 0.51 m, W 0.56 m, as preserved. Letter H 0.02 m.

2D. LETTER FORMS

This stone is so destroyed as to make it difficult to photograph or to evaluate letter forms or the presence/absence of apices. Traces of lettering are just visible to the naked eye in strong, slanting light. Platon's drawing, however, preserves a datable form of Ξ in line 1, with a vertical connecting the three horizontals.¹⁶⁸ This is an older form of Ξ , at least earlier than the 1st century B.C.¹⁶⁹ See fig. 2 for the condition of the stone in 1960.

2E. DATE

Hellenistic, perhaps 2nd century B.C.

2F. TEXT

[...] Ξ O N O Σ [...]
 [...] E N E [...]
 [...] Λ O N O [...]
 [...] Π O [...]
 5 [...] Ξ [...]
 [...] π ϵ ρ ι σ χ η ς [...]
 [...] Π [...]

Line 1	vertical of Ξ ; lower right curve of O ; lower right curve of second O
Line 3	left diagonal and peak of Λ ; diagonal and right vertical of N ; all but the upper left curve of O
Line 4	left vertical and horizontal of Π ; lower curve of O
Line 5	vertical and upper horizontal of Ξ

2G. COMMENTARY

This text is as difficult to decipher as it is to discern. It appears to have come from one of the walls of the temple, perhaps the south wall, where a channel brought water from the spring on the north side of the temple's forecourt, beneath the floor of the Hellenistic temple cella, out through the krepis and across the paved road, stoa and stairway, and finally along the south side of Building A.¹⁷⁰ It might commemorate the construction or dedication of the water channel; it may also contain the names of magistrates in charge or in office, by comparison with **1** and **3**.

168. Platon (forthcoming).

169. Guarducci 1967, 382; McLean 2002, 41.

170. Kanellopoulos 2019, 17–9 fig. 5 and pl. 1, Spaces (in topographical order) T (spring), K (forecourt), U (temple), H (paved road), J (stoa), L (stairway) and A (Building A); cf. fig. 6 here. Kanellopoulos' plan (2019, 24 fig. 7) of the earlier phase of the sanctuary shows the water channel passing from the head of the stairway to the south side of Building A.

Civic magistrates

The letter combination in line 1 (ΞΟΝΟΣ) is in all likelihood the genitive singular ending of a name ending in -ξων, probably the name of a *kosmos* or his father. In the absence of any way to further identify this name, we will note only that Πράξων is a name attested at Cretan Lato during the imperial period.¹⁷¹ The name element Πραξι- is also attested at Phalasarna (Πραξικράτης) and Polyrrhenia (Πραξις).¹⁷²

The vertical, upper and lower horizontals seen by Platon at the beginning of line 2 could belong to Ε, Ξ, or Σ; these letters appear to belong to the name of another *kosmos* or his father. In conjunction with the letters ΝΕ, the most attractive possibility is Μενεκράτης, a Lissian name attested for a *kosmos* in 3. Again we will take further note only of names attested in Crete: Μενεσθένης at Hellenistic Elyros as well as Hierapytna;¹⁷³ Μενεδάμιος, at Polyrrhenia as well as Lebena and Lyttos; Μενέδημος, at Polyrrhenia; and Μενεκάριος, at Kantanos.¹⁷⁴

The letters ΛΟΝΟ in line 3 could also be part of a personal name –of a third *kosmos* or his father– that contains these three letters in a genitive singular form, e.g., Φίλων, attested at Polyrrhenia around 219 B.C., as well as from Hellenistic Crete at Gortyn, Heraklion and Knossos, and at both imperial Lyttos and Phaistos;¹⁷⁵ Τέλων, attested for a Cretan enfranchised at Miletus in 228/7 B.C.;¹⁷⁶ or Τίλων, attested at 5th century B.C. Arkades.¹⁷⁷

It is very tempting to see ΠΟ in line 4 as a form of the word πόλις, as in many of the civic decrees presented here. It is equally tempting to see the Ξ in line 5 as part of the word ἔδοξε, but too little of this text is preserved to make either suggestion.

Architectural construction

The letters ΟΧΗΣ in line 6 just could be the genitive singular ending of περιοχή, a word that can designate a containing or enclosing,¹⁷⁸ used here to denote the water channel that ran from the spring north of the temple's forecourt, under the temple, and out through the krepis on the south side of the temple. It is tantalizing to see in this text a reference to an architectural construction that prepared an area of unknown function in the earlier phase of the sanctuary, one that may have been a shrine on whose site the Asklepieion was later built.¹⁷⁹ Otherwise the letters ΟΧΗΣ might be part of a name, or a number of other words that end with ΟΧΗ. It remains impossible to determine what word the Π in line 6 belongs to.

3. BUILDING INSCRIPTION WITH A CIVIC DECREE (EAST FAÇADE)**3A. DISCOVERY AND CURRENT LOCATION**

Brought down into the eastern area in front of the temple, July 9, 1959.¹⁸⁰ This block now lies outside the temple; M.Ch. inv. no. E276 (pl. 2b).

3B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Platon 1959a, 377; Daux 1960, 852; Bultrighini 1993, 107; Chaniotis 1989, 71 and 79; *SEG* XLV 1315, where this

171. *LGPNI*, 385.

172. *LGPNI*, 384–85.

173. *LGPNI*, 307.

174. *LGPNI*, 305 for each.

175. *LGPNI*, 472.

176. *LGPNI*, 433.

177. *LGPNI*, 435.

178. *LSJ*⁹ s.v. περιοχή I.1.

179. Kanellopoulos 2019, 20, 28, and pl. 1, Space U; cf. fig. 6 here.

180. Platon (forthcoming). For the eastern area in front of the temple, see Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Space K; cf. fig. 6 here.

inscription is called an honorary decree for Serion of Elyros; Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 149.

3C. DESCRIPTION AND MEASUREMENTS

An ashlar block of *porolithos*, broken on the bottom right margin.

W 1.135 m, H 0.44m, Th 0.045 m. The inscription begins 0.05 m from the top. Letter H 0.04 m line 1, 0.03 m lines 2–3, 0.028–0.035 m line 4, 0.03 m lines 5–8. Lines drift upward to the right.

3D. LETTER FORMS

A with broken crossbar; Α, Δ, Λ, Μ with crossing diagonals; Θ with straight bar; Ρ with smaller loop; Ω open with horizontal bars; no apices.

3E. DATE

2nd century B.C.

3F. TEXT

Σηρίων

Δεξιῶ Ἐλ[ύ]ριος

ἔποίησε.

Ἀγαθαὶ Τύχαι.

5 ἐπὶ κόσμων Σώσω τῶ Μενεκράτη καὶ
 Τλάσιος τῶ Ῥασθέννα καὶ Νευκάνο-
 ρος τῶ Νευκάνορος μηνὸς Ἀθανα[ί]ω ἔδ[ο]-
 ξε τοῖς κόσμο[ις καὶ τ]ῆ πόλει ΠΠ[...]

Line 2	horizontal and right diagonal of initial Δ
Line 3	horizontals of initial E
Line 4	diagonals and point of broken bar of initial A
Line 5	upper horizontal and vertical of initial E; upper horizontal of third Σ; left diagonal of A; diagonals of K; right diagonal of final A
Line 6	right diagonal of Λ; all but lower diagonal of second Σ; peak and right diagonal of A; peak of fourth A; vertical of K
Line 7	vertical and lower horizontal of E; diagonals of K; peak of A; left peak and right vertical of N
Line 8	horizontals of Σ; all but right vertical of M; lower right diagonal of A; most of vertical of I; vertical and upper horizontal of E; vertical stroke of I faintly visible; ΠΠ on a line 0.01 m lower than preceding letters

3G. COMMENTARY

Building inscription

The name Σηρίων is attested here for the first time in Greek onomastics.¹⁸¹ Another personal name that begins with ΣHP- was popular in western Crete in the Hellenistic period and the 1st century A.D.: Σήραμβος, attested from Crete at Miletus; in western Crete at Aptera, Aradena, Kantanos, Polyrrhenia, and Souyia; and in central Crete at Knossos.¹⁸²

Serion's father was named Δέξιος, a Cretan name attested twice at Miletus in 223/2 B.C., once for the father of Etearchos and Samos and another time for a man from Priansos, the father of Mikka; on Crete the name is attested at Biannos in the Hellenistic period and at Gortyn, Knossos, and Lappa in the Roman period.¹⁸³

Serion, son of Dexios, was from Elyros, the upland city Lissos served as a harbor. The verb ἐποίησε tells us that he built something, i.e., the Hellenistic temple of Asklepios.

Civic magistrates

After the opening phrase invoking divine cooperation, the names of three Lissian *kosmoi* are nearly intact. The first, Σῶσος, son of Μενεκράτης, bears a name already attested at Lissos in the 2nd century B.C.¹⁸⁴ and at Elyros in the 2nd–1st century B.C.¹⁸⁵ Sosos is a Cretan name attested at Miletus, as well as across Crete from east to west: Hierapytna, Lyttos, Eleutherna, Lappa, Aptera, Kydonia, Keraia, Polyrrhenia, Phalasarna, Kantanos, Elyros, Souyia, and Tarrha.¹⁸⁶ The name of Sosos' father, Menekrates, is attested at Gortyn.¹⁸⁷

The second *kosmos* named is Τλάσις, son of Ῥασθέννας. Tlasis' name is also attested at Lissos in a 3rd century B.C. funerary inscription.¹⁸⁸ The name Τλήσις –with H rather than A– is attested on Delos; Τλήσιμος is attested for a Cretan at Miletus in 223/2 B.C.¹⁸⁹ Tlasis' father, Rhasthennas, bears a name hitherto unattested on Crete or in the Greek onomasticon. Names that begin with both PA and PH are attested on Crete, including Ῥανθύλος at Tarrha.¹⁹⁰ For the second element of this name, compare Σθενίη and Σθένιος from imperial Gortyn and Keraia.¹⁹¹ Several such names with spontaneous gemination are attested, including Σθεννίδας and Σθεννίδης in the Aegean Islands.¹⁹²

The third *kosmos* named in this inscription is Νευκάνωρ son of Νευκάνωρ. Both father and son appear to bear a name that is a variant of Nikanor, attested on Crete at imperial Biannos and Lyttos.¹⁹³ A name that begins with NEY- is attested on Kydonian coinage dated 320–270 B.C.¹⁹⁴

Month name

Ἀθαναῖος is now attested as the name of a month at Lissos, as at Epizephyrian Locri in southern Italy.¹⁹⁵

181. See Chaniotis 1989, 79 for Σηρίων, compared with Θηρίων, attested in 5th century B.C. Styra (Euboea), 3rd century B.C. Miletos (Caria), and 2nd century B.C. Antaies (Lokris) (*LGPNI*, 225; IIIB, 198; VB, 200).

182. *LGPNI*, 405.

183. *LGPNI*, 122.

184. *ICr* II, xvii 5.

185. *ICr* II, xiii 17.

186. *LGPNI*, 424.

187. *LGPNI*, 306.

188. Appendix no. 18.

189. *LGPNI*, 447 for each.

190. *LGPNI*, 398.

191. *LGPNI*, 405.

192. *LGPNI*, 405.

193. *LGPNI*, 329.

194. *LGPNI*, 326.

195. Costabile 1992, no.1, line 5 and no. 39, line 15, dated 350–250 B.C.

Authorization

The authorities responsible for this decree include not only the *kosmoi* already named, but also the city. This phrase is used in a number of the Lissian decrees presented here, in whole or in part (cf. **3, 6, 11–14, 16, 28**).

B. IMPERIAL INTERVENTION

4. INSCRIBED DOORJAMB (NORTH SIDE OF THE PRINCIPAL ENTRANCE)

4A. DISCOVERY AND CURRENT LOCATION

Found in the area in front of the temple, at some depth, July 11, 1959.¹⁹⁶ Now lying outside the temple; M.Ch. inv. no. E263 (pls. 3a–b).

4B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Platon 1959a, 376; 1959b, 22; 1996, 397; Daux 1960, 852; Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 149; 2017; *EBGR* 2017, 14.

4C. DESCRIPTION AND MEASUREMENTS

Block of *porolithos*, broken at top and bottom;¹⁹⁷ molding on the side that faced the forecourt.

H 1.07 to 1.20 m from left to right; W 0.555 m; Th 0.30 m at right edge. Inscribed surface beveled throughout, including field of inscription; beveling not centered but 0.245 m from left edge and 0.315 m from right. Field of inscription H 0.42–0.46 m, W 0.555 m, beginning at the top of the block and ending 0.58 to 0.67 m from the bottom of the block, from left to right. Letter H 0.015 m throughout, somewhat crowded in lines 13 and 15.

4D. LETTER FORMS

Letter forms include A with broken bar; B and P with pronounced round loops; Θ with bar; K with shorter diagonals; M with straight verticals, diagonals meeting halfway down height of letter; N with diagonal beginning above the bottom of the left vertical; Σ with straight horizontals but shallow diagonals; Φ with rounded loop; Ω with pronounced wings.

4E. DATE

Around A.D. 20.

196. Platon (forthcoming). For the area in front of the temple, see Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Space K; cf. fig. 6 here.

197. The top preserves none of the intact surface, *pace* Baldwin Bowsky 2017, 404; see Kanellopoulos 2019, 48 and pl. 30.

4F. TEXT

- [.....²³⁻²⁴.....]ΙΔ[....⁸....]
 [.....¹⁴⁻¹⁵.....]ΕΥΜΑΩΘΕΞΗ[....⁸....]
 [..⁴..]ΤΑΣ ἐπειδ[ῆ ².]ΕΥ ἡμέρας καὶ [....⁸....]
 [³.] τὰς ἡμέρας ἐντείμους ἀφιερῶμ[εν ..⁵..]
 5 [.¹.]ωμεν *vac* διὸ κατὰ πάντας μῆνας τὴν [θιότ-]
 ητα τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ[....⁹....]ΠΗ καὶ τᾶ[ν ¹⁻².]
 Καλανδᾶν ἐκάστου μηνὸς [¹⁻².]να ἱερᾶς ἀπ[ὸ? ².]
 ΠΑΚΗΣ πάσης ἀπεχώμεθα εὐχὰς τε τελῶμ[εν]
 μετὰ τέκνω(ν) καὶ γυναικῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς αἰδίου[ν]
 10 καὶ εὐτυχε[στά]της τεκνοποιήσεως Τιβερί[ου]
 Καίσαρος τοῦ ἡ[γεμόν]ος ἡμῶν ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ οἱ ἀλ[λο-]
 εθνεῖς ΑΝΤ[.².]Τ[..⁴..]ΟΝΤΟΟΣΟΝ τούτω τῷ πρά[γ-]
 [μ]ατι [.....¹⁴.....] καὶ ἡμεῖς οἵτινες ἔμπροσ-
 θεν [.....¹⁵.....] γεννηθῆναι τῆ[ι] χάριτι τῆς
 15 θίας οἰκίας εἰς τὴν ἐτέραν διαδοχὴν ἀύξηθήσογ-
 ται *vac* καλῶς ἔχοντι ἄρχοντας πάσης πόλεος
 τοῦτο ἐμὸν διδὲν δ' ἐνχαρᾶξαι ἐν ἱερ[ῶ]σιν θεοῦ Σε-
 βαστοῦ τῆ[δε] ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐπιμελὲς ἡγησάσθω [π]αντὸ[ς]
 πράγματος ἐπιμέλιαν ἰδεῖν καὶ δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἰ-
 20 διωτικῶς παραγγέλλω *vac* ἐπὶ κόσμων *vac*
vacat
 Ἀριστοδάμω Θάρσωνος καὶ Ἀρίστονος Κυίντ-
 ονος καὶ Ποτίτου Δημητρίου *vacat*

Lines 1–23	For an account of letter traces preserved, see the <i>editio princeps</i> . ¹⁹⁸
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4G. COMMENTARY

For the detailed commentary, a summary of which appears below, see the *editio princeps*.¹⁹⁹

Monument

This inscription was displayed at the principal entrance to the Asklepieion, a monument of both religious and civic significance. It can be examined first as a monument and then as a text,²⁰⁰ as it appears on one fragment of a doorjamb. In 1959 Platon found the principal entrance to the temple, formed by two doorjambs, an architrave and a threshold. This doorway was 3.96 m high.²⁰¹ The bottom line of the inscription was 2.46 m above threshold level, not at a height to be read.²⁰² The position of the inscription is not as surprising as it would seem, given

198. Baldwin Bowsky 2017, 408–9.

199. Baldwin Bowsky 2017, 410–27.

200. Cooley 2012a, 220.

201. Kanellopoulos 2019, 50 and 53.

202. Kanellopoulos 2019, 48 pls. 30, and 51 cf. pls. 21, 24, 30.

comparanda in the Greek East, from the 4th century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D.²⁰³

This inscribed doorjamb need not yield the date for an architectural phase of the temple visible today, which is an imperial phase of an earlier monument.²⁰⁴ It is possible, however, that there was a Tiberian phase, to judge from the mosaic in the cella floor²⁰⁵ and two portrait busts found in front of the entrance to the temple.²⁰⁶ These portrait busts can be identified as Tiberius and his son Drusus –rather than his adopted son Germanicus– thanks to the inscription presented here.

Text

As a text, this inscription preserves an imperial *libellus-subscriptio* of very early, specifically Tiberian, date. It is identified as a *libellus-subscriptio* rather than a copy of letters to and from the emperor, in light of the brevity of the emperor's reply (lines 16–20). It is, however, much earlier than the period when the use of petitions was strictly formalized, from Trajan-Hadrian onward.²⁰⁷ Nevertheless, it is not unknown for an emperor as early as Augustus or Tiberius to write an answer directly below a petition. Augustus' use of *libelli* –closed documents stamped with a wax seal, to be sent to the provinces– and his writing a *subscriptio* in the presence of a petitioner are documented by Suetonius and Plutarch.²⁰⁸ Inscriptions further report an Augustan *subscriptio*, written to the Samians and recorded at Aphrodisias, and preserve Tiberius' handwritten *subscriptio* to the *senatus consultum de Pisone*.²⁰⁹ In its nearly complete state, this early text gives what only one other 3rd century A.D. text does: both sides of the exchange of petition and response.²¹⁰

Given the local, Doric character of the language used in the decree or petition and the apparent Latinisms in the decree and especially in the imperial answer, this is likely to be a *libellus-subscriptio* of particular date and context. Doric forms –appropriate to a decree from Crete– include θιότητα for θειότητα (lines 5–6), Καλανδᾶν for Καλανδῶν (line 7), and θίας for θείας (line 15). At the same time, the representation of the date in line 7, Καλανδᾶν ἐκάστου μηνός, “the Calends of each month,” is a striking Latinism, here as in other Roman documents of the Greek East.²¹¹ In the translation of Tiberius' reply, the Doric form ἐπιμέλιαν for ἐπιμέλειαν (line 19) corroborates the argument to come, that the Latin original was locally translated into Greek.

The imperial answer appears to have been composed in Latin and translated into Greek. It is quite possible that the imperial reply in Latin was preserved in a copy kept in the Koinon archives at Gortyn.²¹² Such a copy may well have been kept in an archive available to the proconsul of Creta–Cyrenae and his successors.²¹³ The Koinon was responsible for communicating Tiberius' wishes to other cities on the island; the archons of each city were then responsible for engraving the imperial reply in temples of Augustus.

In a province in the Greek East, the Latin might be translated to convey the overall meaning, to imitate the Latin word for word, or to adapt the Latin original to its new provincial context.²¹⁴ Some aspects of the Greek translation could even be highly influenced by the Latin model, not by mistake but to make the Greek text sound more Roman.²¹⁵ Here, the opening phrase καλῶς ἔχοντι reflects the Latin use of the dative, without a phrase of

203. Pamphylian Sillyon, 4th century B.C.: Lanckoronski 1890, 172–73 no. 54, cf. 79 fig. 60E and F; Brixhe 1976, 167–85 no. 2. Hadrianic Athens: *IG II²* 1100; Hoff 1988, 119; Travlos, *Athens*, 22 fig. 41, cf. 32 fig. 40 with a standing figure. Aphrodisias, 3rd century A.D.: Reynolds 1982, 177–78 doc. 50. Aphrodisias, again 3rd century A.D.: Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987, 19, 14 fig. 1 and 17 fig. 4.

204. Sporn 2002, 307–8.

205. Myers, Myers, and Cadogan 1992, 170; Sweetman 2013, 248. Kanellopoulos (2019, 25) identifies as Roman not only the mosaic floor, but the northwest corner of the shrine; concrete in the layer that the doorjambs belong to might also suggest a Roman intervention in the shrine's architecture (Kanellopoulos 2019, 47).

206. Katakis 2009, 298–99.

207. Hauken 1998, iii.

208. Suet. *Aug.* 50; Plutarch *Mor.* 207B.

209. *SEG XXXII* 933; Rowe 2002, 21–2, citing lines 172–76.

210. Hauken 1998, iii.

211. Sherk 1969, 14.

212. Cooley 2012a, 162.

213. Haensch 1992, 254–63 and 295.

214. Cooley 2012a, 172–73.

215. Cooley 2012a, 173.

salutation. The Greek word ἄρχων is regularly used to render *magistratus*.²¹⁶ A particularly jarring expression in this decree is τοῦτο ἐμὸν διδέν. What one expects is: “this my (edict? letter? order? διάταγμα? δόγμα?).”²¹⁷ Διδέν, however, is the present active participle –here in the accusative singular– of δίδημι, a reduplicated form of δέω, which in its metaphorical sense means “bind.”²¹⁸ At this early date, Tiberius appears to have felt it necessary to say that his response was binding or obligatory.

Imperial pronouncements survive in inscriptions because a provincial community, city or private person took the initiative to have them inscribed, as they had a direct interest in them or saw something therein to their own advantage.²¹⁹ To judge from the reference to “every city” (πάσης πόλεως, line 16), this is likely a copy of a decree of the Cretan Koinon.²²⁰ Pre-existing Greek *koina* provided a ready-made administrative machinery to propagate the imperial cult.²²¹ A special motive, such as imperial approval for proposed rituals (lines 5–15), could explain the transfer of an imperial response to stone.²²² As a decree of the Cretan Koinon, a Gortynian version of this text should be sought in the epigraphic corpus of the capital city; none has yet been identified, despite comparison with four Gortynian inscriptions.²²³

The structure of decrees such as the one contained in this *libellus-subscriptio* tends to combine certain features, albeit in varying combinations and order.²²⁴ Our text has an address or enactment clause (lines 1–3), preamble (lines 3–5) and motivation clause (lines 5–16), followed by the imperial rescript (lines 16–20) and a local dating formula that gives the names of three *kosmoi* (lines 20–23). The layout of our text marks these rhetorical transitions with a *vacat* between the address or enactment formula and the preamble (line 5), between the motivation clause and the rescript (line 16), before and after the phrase ἐπὶ κόσμων (line 20), and before the names of the magistrates responsible for engraving and publicly exhibiting the text (line 21).²²⁵ The discussion that follows is organized according to these features, and concludes with remarks about the group of Lissian inscriptions to which our text belongs.

Address or enactment

This feature (lines 1–3) is badly damaged and it is only possible to suggest what these lines could have contained. The inscription may well have begun not with an enactment formula but with an address to the emperor by the petitioners.²²⁶ Surviving petitions in Greek can start with the emperor’s names in the dative, and the names of the petitioners in the genitive with or without παρὰ.²²⁷ In this case the I preserved in our line 1 might be the end of a name of word in the dative, and the Δ the beginning of another word, e.g., δέησις, the Greek term for a *libellus* or διά and the name of a mediator in the genitive.²²⁸ In this reconstruction, the Δ could also belong to the titles or names of one of the petitioners.²²⁹ In the Greek East, elites transported such decrees to the Roman senate or to the emperor.²³⁰ Petitions had to be delivered by hand, either by the petitioner personally or by a representative or an embassy, e.g., representatives sent by the Cretan Koinon.²³¹ The letters preserved in lines 2–3 might belong to the names of other representatives sent by the Koinon.²³²

216. Sherk 1969, 16.

217. Chaniotis, pers. comm.; see Mason 1974, 127–28 on various Greek terms used to convey the Latin word *edictum*.

218. LSJ⁹ s.v. δέω A 3.

219. Millar 1977, 25.

220. Cf. Spawforth 1994, 21 and 221 for Achaia.

221. Fishwick 1987, 93.

222. Souris 1982, 239.

223. *JCrIV* 415–18.

224. McLean 2002, 218–19.

225. Hauken 1998, 261.

226. Millar 1977, 242.

227. Williams 1976, 238.

228. Hauken 1998, 106.

229. Cf. *SEG* XLI 328 from Messene.

230. Zoumbaki 2008, 32.

231. Hauken 1998, 302 and 237; Millar 1977, 363.

232. Millar 1977, 363.

Alternatively, but less satisfactorily, this inscription could have begun with an enactment formula that named the Cretan Koinon itself. The phrase ἔδοξε τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Κρητῶν would nicely fill the 23–24 letter space at the beginning of our line 1, but it would be difficult to account for the next two preserved letters, ΙΔ.

What might also be useful here is a dating formula for the original decree, perhaps using the name of a high priest in a genitive absolute rather than with ἐπί. Cults and festivals dedicated to Augustus and some but not all later emperors became one of the principal matters managed by the Koinon, with the result that the president of the Council acquired the title ἀρχιερεὺς.²³³ The position of a high priest of the Cretan Koinon is attested as early as A.D. 62, when Claudius Timarchus boasted that it was in his power to determine whether gratitude be expressed to proconsuls.²³⁴

Preamble

This section (lines 3–5) begins with ἐπειδ[ή], a word highly appropriate for a civic decree and for one concerning celebration of the imperial cult. A decree of the province of Asia, concerning a new calendar that began with the birthday of Augustus, contains both an ἐπεὶ and a διό clause, as in lines 3 and 5 of our text.²³⁵ In a decree concerning religious ritual, the preamble is likely to refer to existing rituals, while the motivation clause (lines 5–16) is likely to refer to untraditional rites that necessitated the inscription.²³⁶ The evidence available for rituals celebrated in the imperial cult on Crete under Augustus is sketchy but does include documentation for priests, altars, temples and other architectural forms, statues and portraiture, images on coin reverses, and festivals.²³⁷ The earlier rituals referred to in our inscription featured a period of days rather than a specific day (line 3). The days referred to in the ἐπειδ[ή] clause of our text are further called ἡμέρας ἐντείμους (line 4), days in honor of someone, i.e., one or more members of the imperial family.²³⁸ It is possible that the Cretans, in the first person plural, hallowed or consecrated something and made sacrifices (e.g., ἀφιερῶμ[εν καὶ θύ]ομεν, lines 4–5).²³⁹ The use of the first person plural emphasizes the group in whose name the petition was drawn up.²⁴⁰

Motivation clause

This part of the decree (lines 5–16) suggests that the rituals to be added to the imperial cult take place on a monthly basis (κατὰ πάντας μῆνας, line 5). In the Greek East, imperial festivals were celebrated both in response to particular events and as part of a regular cycle assigned to specific days during the year.²⁴¹ Ἡμέραι Σεβασταί were days that marked monthly and yearly commemoration of specific events in the life of the *domus imperatoria*; monthly celebrations constituted a continuation of a Hellenistic practice.²⁴²

One thing to be celebrated in these additional rituals was the divinity of the emperor Augustus (τὴν [θιότη]-τητα τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, lines 5–6). The anomalous nature of our text makes it difficult to suggest a supplement for the rest of line 6. The burning of incense or the slaying of an animal is suggested by evidence of long-established Greek ritual practices that often corresponded with Roman practice.²⁴³ Procession, sacrifice and competitions were the three essential elements of a festival in the Greek East.²⁴⁴ Prayer was one of the forms of address employed in rituals of the imperial cult; it established a complex relationship between the worshipper, the emperor

233. Millar 1977, 387.

234. Tac. *Ann.* XV 20.

235. Ehrenberg and Jones 1955, 81–3 no. 98b, lines 33–39 and 49–52 respectively.

236. Parker 2012, 19–21.

237. Baldwin Bowsky 2017, 417.

238. Chaniotis speculates, on the basis of Platon's 1959 drawing, that the text reads ἐπεὶ Σεβαστῶν ἡμέρας ἐντείμους ... (*EBGR* 2017, 14) but the letters given here are quite clear on the squeeze.

239. Chaniotis wonders, on the basis of Platon's 1959 drawing, whether the text goes on to read ἀφιερῶσ[αντες θύ]ομεν (*EBGR* 2017, 14) but squeezes preserve traces of the verticals of M after ΑΦΙΕΡΩ.

240. Williams 1986, 201.

241. Fishwick 1991, 492.

242. Fishwick 1991, 105 and 494; Kantiréa 2007, 105.

243. Fishwick 1991, 512–13.

244. Chaniotis 2003, 5–6.

and the gods.²⁴⁵

Epigraphic evidence for festivals and rituals in the Augustan-Tiberian period –from Crete, Achaia, Asia Minor, Cyprus, and Lycia, as well as Italian Naples– suggests what could have appeared in our text: festivals and festival days, altars, sacrifices, incense and libations, oaths and vows, crowns or crowning, and competition and games.²⁴⁶ The proposed rituals appear to have been celebrated before the Calends of each month ([τᾶν .¹⁻².] Καλενδᾶν ἐκάστου μηνός, lines 6–7).²⁴⁷ Imperial anniversaries in festival calendars were modelled on the official Roman state calendar.²⁴⁸

Each month, worshippers were to refrain entirely from something (ἀπ[ὸ? .².] ΠΑΚΗΣ πάσης ἀπεχόμεθα, lines 7–8)²⁴⁹ and to perform prayers (εὐχάς τε τελεῶμ[εν], line 8) with their children and wives (μετὰ τέκνω(ν) καὶ γυναίκων, line 9), on behalf of the eternal and successful child-begetting of Tiberius Caesar (ὕπερ τῆς αἰδίο[υ] καὶ εὐτυχε[στά]της τεκνοποιήσεως Τιβερί[ου] Καίσαρος, lines 9–10). Τεκνοποίησις (line 10) refers to Tiberius' begetting of his son Drusus, compounded by Drusus' begetting of twin sons.²⁵⁰ On these grounds alone, our text appears to be dated between A.D. 4 –when Drusus became a Caesar on Tiberius' adoption by Augustus– and A.D. 23, when Drusus died. Tiberius is then called τοῦ ἡγεμό[ν]ος ἡμῶν (line 11), as ἡγεμόν was the natural Greek equivalent for the Latin term *princeps*, when it designated the emperor.²⁵¹

At this point our text becomes lacunose as well as anomalous. Lines 11–12 appear to refer to something or someone upon which/whom members of other *ethne* (ἄλλοεθνεῖς, lines 11–12) –i.e., the inhabitants of other provinces– do something that has yet to be identified.²⁵² Oaths of fidelity, for example, were sworn to the emperor and the imperial family.²⁵³ The words preserved in lines 12–13 remain completely resistant to interpretation. An adverbial usage of ὅσον would do little to suggest what the dative τούτῳ τῷ πράγματι might refer to. Lines 13–14 may well refer, however, to the culmination of a procession, perhaps in front of the imperial portraits erected at the entrance of the Asklepieion at Lissos (καὶ ἡμεῖς οἵτινες ἔμπροσθεν [...], lines 13–14). The high point of a procession was its arrival at the altar and the sacrifice of the victim led there; the concluding banquet gave benefactors an opportunity to contribute to the aesthetic pleasure of the ritual experience for the whole people.²⁵⁴ The singing of paian was especially connected with the cult of Asklepios, a traditional ritual that could come to honor the emperor as well as the god with words.²⁵⁵ Our text appears not to go on to discuss competitions or games, even though they are documented in Augustan-Tiberian Crete.²⁵⁶

The date of our text becomes even clearer when we hear of the birth of one or more persons, to the joy of the divine household (γεννηθῆναι τῆ[ι] χάριτι τῆς θίας οἰκίας, lines 14–15). One time when more elaborate honors were decreed was when a birth in the imperial family was announced.²⁵⁷ The concept of the divine household of the emperors was used at least as soon as the second half of the reign of Tiberius.²⁵⁸ The imperial household founded by Augustus featured a series of pairs of young men as potential successors from 25 B.C. to A.D. 23; these pairs of princes were seen to incarnate the future stability of the regime, Augustan or Tiberian.²⁵⁹ To these princely pairs we can now add Tiberius' grandsons by his natural son Drusus, Germanicus Gemellus and Tibe-

245. Price 1984, 89–92.

246. Baldwin Bowsky 2017, 420–21.

247. Chaniotis points out that the expression α' Καλενδᾶν is attested (*EBGR* 2017, 14, citing *IG XII* 5, 132). Such an expression would allow for a date 1–9 days before the Calends; cf. the date of Augustus' birth, 9 days before (πρὸ θ') the Calends of October.

248. Fishwick 1991, 483; Camia and Kantiréa 2010, 382.

249. Chaniotis suspects that the text reads ἀπὸ [τα]ραχῆς πάσης ἀπεχόμεθα (*EBGR* 2017, 14) but squeezes show a clear K rather than X.

250. LSJ⁹ s.v. τεκνοποίησις = τεκνοποιία.

251. LSJ⁹ s.v. ἡγεμόν II c; Mason 1974, 144–45.

252. Chaniotis, pers. comm.

253. Camia and Kantiréa 2010, 377.

254. Chaniotis 2003, 8.

255. Chaniotis 2003, 13.

256. Baldwin Bowsky 2017, 421.

257. Zanker 1988, 302.

258. Fishwick 1991, 423.

259. Rowe 2002, 2, 4, and 17.

rius Gemellus, who were born in A.D. 20.²⁶⁰ In our text, the imperial family will be increased to another (line of) succession (εις ἑτέραν διαδοχὴν ἀξιοθήσονται, lines 15–16). For a brief time in A.D. 23 Tiberius could count two different lines of succession, one through the twin sons of Drusus and another through the sons of Germanicus.²⁶¹ It would be most economical to think that the Cretan petition recorded in our text is dated soon after the birth of Tiberius' grandsons –perhaps in A.D. 21, when Drusus was Tiberius' co-regent– and before A.D. 23, when both Drusus and the twin named Germanicus Gemellus died.²⁶²

Imperial rescript and publication clause

After a *vacat*, this section begins abruptly with the phrase καλῶς ἔχοντι (line 16). The dative singular modifies an understood recipient, perhaps the Cretan Koinon, or else the person who acted as the Koinon's agent in delivering the *libellus* to Tiberius.²⁶³ Together with the coming indirect statement, it conveys the message that it is well that the archons of every city inscribe Tiberius' binding response in sanctuaries of the divine Augustus (ἄρχοντας πάσης πόλεος τοῦτο ἐμὸν διδὲν δ' ἐνχαρᾶσαι ἐν ἱερῶσι θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, lines 16–18). The Asklepieion at Lissos now appears to have been, in some part, a sanctuary of Augustus, a fact hitherto unsuspected.²⁶⁴

What is to be inscribed is the following:²⁶⁵ the imperial order that the recipient –i.e., the Koinon– again take the lead to see to the care of every thing, both publicly and privately (ὅτι αὐτὸ ἐπιμελὲς ἡγήσασθω παντὸς πράγματος ἐπιμέλιαν ἰδεῖν καὶ δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἰδιωτικῶς παραγγέλλω, lines 18–20).

Dating formula

After another *vacat*, this feature of our decree (lines 20–23) begins with the phrase ἐπὶ κόσμων, followed by yet another *vacat* (lines 20–21). The text concludes with the names and patronymics of three *kosmoi*: Aristodamos, son of Tharson; Ariston, son of Quinto(n); and Potitus, son of Demetrios. The number of *kosmoi* is consistent with all the other Lissian decrees, where the names of civic magistrates are preserved in whole or in part (particularly **5**, **12**, **13**). The three *kosmoi*, likely in charge of inscribing this *libellus-subscriptio* on the doorjamb of the Asklepieion, are named at the end of the text, just below the imperial response and a *vacat*, which gives prominence to what comes after it on the inscribed stone.²⁶⁶

The imperial cult and the inscriptions from the Asklepeion of Lissos

The Asklepieion at Lissos is the first extant Cretan temple²⁶⁷ in which one or more elements of the imperial cult are attested: two imperial portraits and the inscription presented here. Lissos was not only an important urban center in southwestern Crete, but a city further integrated into the broader religious, social, and political networks of the Greek East, including the celebration of the imperial cult.

In the Greek East, there was no one defined building type associated with the imperial cult, which could be accommodated by a temple as here, or a sanctuary without a temple, an altar, a single suite of rooms or an attachment to a portico, or even a complete structure not in temple form.²⁶⁸ Here we should focus on places where the imperial cult was celebrated in another deity's temple, as at Lissos, or in a pre-existing structure: the Metroön at Olympia; former temples of Dionysos at Thessaloniki and on Thera; a pre-existing building at

260. *PIR*² I 224; Rowe 2002, 180, *pace* Tac. *Ann.* II 84.1, dated A.D. 19.

261. Hurler 1997, 536–37.

262. *RPC* I, 50.

263. Williams 1986, 189 and 201.

264. Cf. the reference to the imperial *aerarium* in **24**.

265. *LSJ*⁹ s.v. ὅδε IV 1 b for τῆδε, meaning “thus,” and followed by ὅτι.

266. Cooley 2012a, 169.

267. For the Gortynian remains of a prostyle, podium temple originally built in the 1st century B.C. to 1st century A.D., in the eastern reaches of the so-called Praetorium complex, see Lippolis 2016, 169; Cigaina 2016, 517; 2020, 246–47, 258, 272, 309.

268. Hoff 1994, 114.

Eretria; and the temple of Apollo Klaros at Kolophon.²⁶⁹ Special attention can be paid to Asklepieia at Messene, Gytheion, Epidauros, and Athens, as well as Kos and Pergamon.²⁷⁰

The common function of a Kaisareion/Sebasteion was to serve as a repository for letters and decrees, like the one on our inscribed doorjamb.²⁷¹ There are no other known versions of this decree, which was likely presented to the emperor by the Cretan Koinon, upon the announcement of the birth of Tiberius' twin grandsons. Memorialization and commemoration were the key functions of inscriptions like this one, which might be proclaimed regularly by a herald in the hearing of worshippers.²⁷²

C. CIVIC DECREES

5. CIVIC DECREE (EAST FAÇADE)

5A. DISCOVERY AND CURRENT LOCATION

Found on the south side of the eastern entrance to the temple, May 30, 1959.²⁷³ Now to the left of the entrance to the temple, beside **7**, below **6** and **8**; M.Ch. inv. no. E264 (pl. 4a, cf. fig. 1).

5B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Compare Platon 1959a, 376–77, reporting that proxeny inscriptions were revealed in continuation of last year's discoveries, inscribed on the stones of the east façade of the temple; Platon 1996, 397, citing proxeny inscriptions on the south part of the east façade; Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 149–50.

5C. DESCRIPTION AND MEASUREMENTS

Ashlar block of *porolithos*, nearly intact though the inscription might have continued onto another block to its right.

H 0.43 m, W 1.02 m, Th 0.50 m; inscription begins 0.36 m from left edge. Letter H 0.03 m, except O sometimes 0.028 m.

5D. LETTER FORMS

A with broken bar; H very broad; Θ with dot; M widespread; P with somewhat smaller loop; Σ with straight horizontals; Φ with vertical 0.035 m; Ω open with horizontal wings; no apices.

5E. DATE

2nd century B.C.

269. Baldwin Bowsky 2017, 431–32.

270. Baldwin Bowsky 2017, 432.

271. Hoff 1994, 115.

272. Cooley 2012b, 225.

273. Platon (forthcoming). For the temple and its eastern entrance, see Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Space U; cf. fig. 6 here.

5F. TEXT

[Α]γαθ[ᾶι Τύχαι].
 ἐπὶ κόσμων Εἰσιλάω [τῶ^{ca.10}.....]
 [Νι]κάρχω τῶ Μαρύλω Διοσ[....^{ca.9}....]
 τῶ Πυρία μηνὸς Φυλλιῶ[νος ...^{ca.7}...]
 5 ἔδοξε Λισίων τοῖς κόσμ[οις καὶ τᾶι]
 πόλει ἐν ἐκκλησίαι κυρίαι [...^{ca.7}...]
 μον Ἱερομνήμονος Ἀθη[ναῖον ..^{ca.5}..]
 πρόξενον ἤμεν αὐτὸν καὶ [...^{ca.8}....]
 ἤμ[εν] ὄ[σα] δὲ αὐτοῖς ΑΤΑ[.....^{ca.10}.....]

Line 1	horizontal and upper vertical of Γ; left and lower curve of Θ
Line 2	upper horizontal of Ε; horizontal and part of left vertical of Π; all but upper horizontal of Σ; all but upper peaks of Μ; lower horizontal and vertical of Ε; all but upper horizontal of Σ; lower vertical stroke of Ι; diagonals of Λ and Α; upper curve of Ω
Line 3	all but the lower right wing of Ω
Line 4	left vertical and diagonal of Μ
Line 5	lower vertical and diagonal of Κ; left vertical and diagonal of Μ
Line 6	lower vertical of Ι
Line 7	diagonals of Α
Line 8	horizontal and lower right vertical of Η; lower verticals of Μ; lower vertical of Ι
Line 9	upper verticals and cross bar of Η; upper left vertical and diagonal of Μ; diagonals of Δ; upper horizontal and vertical of Ε; diagonal of Α, Δ, or Λ; upper horizontal and vertical of a possible Τ; diagonals of Α, Δ, or Λ

5G. COMMENTARY

Civic magistrates

After the opening formula, three *kosmoi* are named, beginning with Εἰσιλάος, son of a man whose name is not preserved. An inscription from 3rd or 2nd century B.C. Phalasarna preserves the letters ΕΙΣΙΛΑ.²⁷⁴ See Pape and Bensseler for names in Εἰσι-, as variants of names in Ἴσι-.²⁷⁵

The second *kosmos* named is Νίκαρχος, son of Μάρυλος. Neither the name Nikarchos nor its variant Neikarchos is hitherto attested on Crete, but the spelling Nikarchos is well-attested in the Aegean islands and the Greek world.²⁷⁶ Nicharchos' father Marulos bears a name attested in the 6th century B.C. at Megara Hyblaia.²⁷⁷

The third *kosmos* named is Διοσ[....^{ca.9}....], son of Πυρίας. Hellenistic names that begin with ΔΙΟΣ-, such as Διοσκοριάς, Διοσκουρίδας, Διοσκουρίδης, Διοσκορίς, or Διοσκωρίδας, are all theophoric names derived from the Dioskouroi; Διοσκωρίδας is attested at Olous.²⁷⁸ The father of this *kosmos* was Pyrias, a name attested at 3rd

274. *ICr* II, xix 4, where Guarducci suggests these letters might be part of the name Teisilas. The Lissian inscription adds the possibility that the Phalasarnian name be Εἰσιλα[ος].

275. Pape and Bensseler 1959, 337.

276. *LGPNI*, 330; II, 331; IIIA, 318; IIIB, 300–1; IV 251; VA, 333; VB, 316; VC, 316.

277. *LGPNI* I, 289; given its date, there is no way of knowing whether this is a form of Μάρυλλος without notation of the double consonant or indeed a Greek name, Μάρυλλος. Μάρυλλα/ος appears to be a Greek transliteration of the Latin cognomen Marulla/us, though it need not be a cognomen itself (*LGPNI*VA, 223; VA, 284; VB, 274; VC, 272).

278. *LGPNI*, 140.

century B.C. Aptera.²⁷⁹ The name can also be spelled with double P, as in the case of a man and his homonymous father, Πυρρία Πυρρίας, at 3rd century B.C. Kantanos.²⁸⁰

Month name

Φυλλιών was the name of a month at Iasos.²⁸¹

Authorization

This decree was authorized not only by the *kosmoi* and city of Lissos but by the regular meeting of the assembly.²⁸² The specific phrase ἐν ἐκ(κ)λησίαι κυρίαι is attested on Kos and Amaseia.²⁸³ References to the sovereign assembly of a city are particularly well documented at Athens; they are also preserved at Epidauros, Oropos, and Delos.²⁸⁴ The citizen assembly is regularly attested in Cretan grants of territorial inviolability from west to east: at Kydonia, Lappa, Eleutherna, Axos, Allaria; in a treaty between Tyliossos and an unknown Cretan city; and at Rhaukos, Biannos, and Malla.²⁸⁵

Grant of proxeny

The personal name of the man granted proxeny does not survive, only his patronymic and ethnic. His father, Hieromnemon, bears a name attested at Athens;²⁸⁶ his ethnic confirms an Athenian origin.

The καί that appears after αὐτόν suggests that the privileges of proxeny were also extended to descendants of the *proxenos*. Compare an Apteraian decree for a doctor from the Koan shrine of Asklepios, and a 2nd century B.C. Knossian decree for the *grammaticus* Dioskourides of Tarsus.²⁸⁷

The formula ἤμ[εν] ὄ[σα] δὲ αὐτοῖς refers to the privileges granted other *proxenoi*, as in **9** and fragment E273 of **14**. Many proxeny decrees end with a provision that the *proxenos* be extended all other courtesies accorded to other public friends and benefactors.²⁸⁸ Compare an inscription from Aptera for the phrase with the singular αὐτῶι.²⁸⁹

6. CIVIC DECREE (EAST FAÇADE)

6A. DISCOVERY AND CURRENT LOCATION

Found fallen from the south side of the eastern entrance to the temple, May 20, 1958.²⁹⁰ Now to the left of the entrance to the temple, atop **8**; M.Ch. inv. no. E267 (pl. 4b).

6B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Compare Platon 1959a, 376–77, reporting that proxeny inscriptions were revealed in continuation of last year's

279. *ICr* II, iii 42, in the masculine genitive or feminine nominative.

280. *ICr* II, vi 7.

281. Reinach 1893, 170–77 no. 7 lines 17–18, showing the dative Φυλλιώνι.

282. McLean 2002, 36, 222, 304.

283. Segre 1934, 172 and 175; *St. Pont.* III, 141.

284. PHI s.v. ἐκ(κ)λησία.

285. Rigsby 1996, 300 no. 139, 305 no. 143, 309 no. 149, 162 no. 60, 312 no. 151, 160 no. 57, 299 no. 138, 319 no. 156, 321 no. 157.

286. *LGN* II, 233; compare the title or name discussed in the commentary to **1**.

287. *ICr* II, iii 3, lines 32–34; *ICr* I, viii 12, lines 31–33.

288. McLean 2002, 236.

289. *ICr* II, iii 4C, line 10, dated after 217–16 B.C.

290. Platon (forthcoming). For the temple and its eastern entrance, see Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Space U; cf. fig. 6 here.

discoveries, inscribed on the stones of the east façade of the temple; Platon 1996, 397, citing proxeny inscriptions on the south part of the east façade; Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 149–50.

6C. DESCRIPTION AND MEASUREMENTS

An ashlar block of *porolithos*, badly damaged. H 0.44 m, preserved W 0.81 m, Th 0.555 m. Letter H 0.03 m, except O 0.02 m.

6D. LETTER FORMS

The damage to the stone obscures the type of bar A has; wide H and Π; Ω with straight horizontals; no apices.

6E. DATE

2nd century B.C.

6F. TEXT

[.².]Ο[...]
 [.²⁻³.] ἔδοξε Λισίων τοῖς κόσμοις
 [κ]αὶ ταῖ πόλει [...]
 [..⁴..]ΟΛΑΡΗ[...]
 5 ἦ[μεν δὲ] αὐτῶν [...]

Line 1	rounded letter in the third space, e.g., Θ, Ο, or Ω
Line 2	vertical of Ε; left diagonal of Δ; left curve of Ο; right diagonal of Λ; lower vertical of Ι
Line 3	diagonals of first Α; diagonals of second Α; lower vertical of final Ι
Line 4	rounded letter in the fifth space, possibly Ο; two diagonals of possible Λ; two diagonals of possible Α
Line 5	lower left vertical and horizontal of Η; diagonals of Α; left vertical and diagonal of Ν

6G. COMMENTARY

Authorization

Before ἔδοξε Λισίων τοῖς κόσμοις καὶ ταῖ πόλει, we could expect the formula ἐπὶ κόσμων and the names of the *kosmoi*, as in **5**.

Grant of privileges

After this formula we should have the name of a group of *proxenoi* or benefactors, given the genitive plural in line 5.²⁹¹ The identity of the *proxenoi* or benefactors named here is, however, difficult to discern in what is preserved of line 4. After the formula ἦ[μεν δὲ] αὐτῶν, we might expect something like [ὄ]σα καὶ τοῖς, as in **5 and 9**.

291. See *IMagn* 54 for the equivalent of this phrase in a 3rd/2nd century B.C. decree of the *koinon* of Dionysiac *technitai*, in which they accepted the invitation of Magnesia on the Maeander to the festival of Artemis Leukophryne, and gave honors to the *demos* of Magnesia and ambassadors from Magnesia.

7. CIVIC DECREE (EAST FAÇADE)

7A. DISCOVERY AND CURRENT LOCATION

Found outside the eastern wall of the temple, May 31, 1958.²⁹² Now left of the entrance to the temple, beside **5**, below **6** as well as **8**; M.Ch. inv. no. E266 (pl. 5a, cf. fig. 1).

7B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Compare Platon 1959a, 376–77, reporting that proxeny inscriptions were revealed in continuation of last year's discoveries, inscribed on the stones of the east façade of the temple; Platon 1996, 397, citing proxeny inscriptions on the south part of the east façade; Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 149–50.

7C. DESCRIPTION AND MEASUREMENTS

An ashlar block of *porolithos*, nearly intact, with the inscription apparently continued from another stone that does not survive.

W 1.11 m, H 0.42 m, Th 0.50 m; inscribed text stops 0.36 m from the right edge, 0.11 m from the bottom. Letter H 0.03–0.032 m; Ξ and Π 0.035 m.

7D. LETTER FORMS

A with broken bar; Θ with bar; Σ somewhat slanted to right with straight horizontals; Ω open with straight horizontals; no apices.

7E. DATE

2nd century B.C.

7F. TEXT

[.....^{ca. 36}..... ἐν πολ-]
 [έ]μῳ καὶ ἐν [έ]ρή[να]! κατ[ὰ γὰρ καὶ]
 [κατὰ] θάλασσαν καὶ χρή[μ]ασιν τοῖς
 [τούτ]ων ἀσυλεῖ καὶ ἀσπονδεῖ καὶ δίκαν
 5 δίκων καὶ πράξιν ὧν καὶ πράξοντι [...]

Line 2	lower right vertical of M; right curve and wing of Ω; right vertical and upper diagonal of N; left vertical and horizontal of H; vertical of I; lower vertical and diagonal of K; diagonals of A; vertical of T
Line 3	all but upper left diagonal of X; diagonals of A
Line 4	left curve and wings of Ω
Line 5	horizontal and right diagonal of Δ; most of vertical of I; right vertical of Π

292. Platon (forthcoming). For the temple and its eastern wall, see Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Space U; cf. fig. 6 here.

7G. COMMENTARY

This text appears to involve the grant of a number of privileges to multiple *proxenoi* and/or benefactors, to judge from the genitive plural in line 4.²⁹³ At Aptera in western Crete, two men from Hierapolis were granted *isopoliteia*, the right to purchase land and a house, exemption from duties for imports and exports on land and sea, and immunity from the right of reprisal in war and peace without a formal treaty.²⁹⁴ At Arkades in central Crete, after 170 B.C., a decree that –according to the text– was to be inscribed on the walls of the *hiaron* of Asklepios granted to the Teians *asylia* on land and sea.²⁹⁵ At 2nd century B.C. Olous in eastern Crete, a decree for a doctor from the island of Kasos specified exemption from duties on imports and exports, and immunity from reprisals without a formal treaty on land and sea.²⁹⁶ An inscription from Itanos in the easternmost reaches of Crete specifies privileges on land and sea, for imports and exports, both in war and peace.²⁹⁷

The specific privileges listed here include immunity from forcible seizure of property without a formal treaty.²⁹⁸ Compare a 2nd century B.C. Knossian decree for the *grammaticus* Diokourides of Tarsus, for the phrase καὶ χρήμασι τοῖς τούτων ἀσυλεῖ καὶ ἀσπονδεῖ.²⁹⁹ For *asylia* without a formal treaty, compare a set of inscriptions honoring Rhodians at 2nd century B.C. Olous.³⁰⁰

They also include the right to seek redress in Lissian courts and execution of judgments. Compare the privileges granted in treaties between Knossos and Dreros before the mid–3rd century B.C.;³⁰¹ Axos and Gortyn in the mid–3rd century B.C.;³⁰² and Lato and Olous at the end of the 2nd century B.C.³⁰³

The list of privileges granted breaks off with a reference to someone who is going to collect, e.g., penalties imposed by Lissian courts.

8. CIVIC DECREE (EAST FAÇADE)

8A. DISCOVERY AND CURRENT LOCATION

Collected in the vicinity of the eastern wall of the temple, May 31, 1958.³⁰⁴ Now left of the entrance of the temple, below **6**, atop **5** and **7**; M.Ch. inv. no. E265 (pl. 5b, cf. fig. 1).

8B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Compare Platon 1959a, 376–77, reporting that proxeny inscriptions were revealed in continuation of last year’s discoveries, inscribed on the stones of the east façade of the temple; Platon 1996, 397, citing proxeny inscriptions on the south part of the east façade; Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 149–50.

8C. DESCRIPTION AND MEASUREMENTS

An ashlar block of *porolithos*, badly damaged; some letters are nevertheless visible on the left-hand side of the

293. Rigsby 1996, 19.

294. *ICr* II, iii 9, lines 6–12.

295. *ICr* I, v 53, lines 40–41.

296. *ICr* I, xxii 4C, lines 50–56.

297. Kalpaxis et al. 1995, 731–32 and fig. 13.

298. McLean 2002, 235–36.

299. *ICr* I, viii 12, lines 35–39.

300. *ICr* I, xxii 4B, lines 56–59.

301. *ICr* I, ix 1; Chaniotis 1996, 195–201 no. 7, lines 44–46.

302. *ICr* IV 170; Chaniotis 1996, 204–5 no. 9, A3.

303. *ICr* I, xvi 5; Chaniotis 1996, 358–76 no. 61, Copy A, line 81.

304. Platon (forthcoming). For the temple and its eastern wall, see Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Space U; cf. fig. 6 here.

inscribed face. Max. preserved W 0.62 m, H 0.42 m, Th 0.50 m. Letter H 0.03 m.

8D. LETTER FORMS

Ω open with small diagonal wings; no apices.

8E. DATE

2nd century B.C.

8F. TEXT

[.².]M[...]
 [...¹⁰.....]O[...]
 [...]
 [...⁴.]N[...]
 5 [.^{2?}.]ΑΚΑΙΩΙΜ[...]
vacat
 ΕΚΓ[...]
 ΑΕΙ[.¹.]Ν |

Line 1	possible left vertical and upper diagonal of M, 0.02 m from the upper margin of the block, 0.05 m from the left margin
Line 2	possible rounded letter (O or Θ, probably not Ω) 0.08 m from the top margin of the block, 0.265 m from the left margin
Line 4	left vertical and diagonal plus lower right vertical of a possible N 0.14 m from the upper margin of the block and 0.10 m from the left margin.
Line 5	line of letters 0.18 m from the top margin of the block, 0.055 m from the left margin: right diagonal of A or Δ or Λ; diagonals of A; left vertical and diagonal of possible M
Between lines 5 and 6	apparent <i>vacat</i> of 0.135 m
Line 6	three letters 0.34 m from the top margin of the block, 0.05 m from the bottom margin, just on the left margin: upper horizontal of E; all but upper vertical of K
Line 7	five letters 0.395 m from the top margin of the block, just on the bottom and left margins: diagonals of possible A; all but lower horizontal of E; vertical stroke after N

8G. COMMENTARY

Even though this block is badly damaged, the letters that are visible or possible indicate that it may have borne the ends of two different inscriptions, one in lines 1–5 and the other in lines 6–7, after a substantial *vacat*. Line 6 may begin with a form of the word ἔκρονοϛ, as would be appropriate in a proxeny inscription. These two inscriptions were perhaps the ends of inscriptions that began on a block to the left of this one.

9. CIVIC DECREE (EAST FAÇADE)

9A. DISCOVERY AND CURRENT LOCATION

Collected from the wall of the improvised buttress south of the paved road between the temple and the stylobate of the stoa, July 7, 1959.³⁰⁵ Now inside the southeast corner of the temple; M.Ch. inv. no. E270 (pl. 6a).

9B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 149–50.

9C. DESCRIPTION AND MEASUREMENTS

An ashlar block of *porolithos*, broken on all four margins.

Max. preserved W 0.40 m, H 0.32 m, Th 0.47 m; inscribed face max. preserved W 0.25 m, preserved H 0.14 m. Letter H 0.025 m.

9D. LETTER FORMS

A with broken bar; Δ with longer right diagonal; Σ with straight horizontals; no apices.

9E. DATE

2nd century B.C.

9F. TEXT

[...]Λ[.¹⁻²]Ο[...]
 [...]ῆ]μεν δὲ αὐτ[...]
 [...] ὄφα καὶ τοῖς [...]

Line 1	lower diagonals of a possible Λ; lower right curve of a possible Ο
Line 2	right vertical of Μ; horizontal of Τ faintly visible
Line 3	upper right curve of Ο; all but lower horizontal of Σ

9G. COMMENTARY

Grant of proxeny

Compare fragment E273 of **14** from the wall of the façade –also collected from the wall of the improvised buttress south of the paved road– between the temple and the stylobate of the stoa, with very similar wording.³⁰⁶

Line 1 should have given some part of the name, patronymic, and ethnic of a *proxenos*; line 2 preserves the now familiar phrase used to grant proxeny to him; line 3 preserves the equally familiar phrase used to grant privileges customarily granted to other *proxenoi*.

305. Platon (forthcoming). For the paved road between the temple and the stylobate of the stoa, see Kanellopoulos 2019, 37 and pl. 1, Space H; cf. fig. 6 here.

306. For the paved road, see Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Space H; cf. fig. 6 here.

10. CIVIC DECREE (EAST FAÇADE?)

10A. DISCOVERY AND CURRENT LOCATION

Found in the front part of the cella of the temple, May 31, 1958.³⁰⁷ Now inside the southeast corner of the temple; M.Ch. inv. no. E272 (pl. 6b).

10B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 149–50.

10C. DESCRIPTION AND MEASUREMENTS

An ashlar block of *porolithos*, preserving the top edge, broken on other three sides. Max. preserved H 0.085 m, W 0.395 m, Th 0.08 m. Letter H 0.03 m.

10D. LETTER FORMS

A with broken bar; N with diagonal meeting right horizontal half way up; O rounded; Σ with straight horizontals; no apices.

10E. DATE

2nd century B.C.

10F. TEXT

[...]ΙΕ[...]
 και [.³.]ΛΞ[...]
 ΝΕΟΣΙ[... ἔδοξε Λισίω-]
 υ τοῖς κ[όσμοις και τᾶι πόλει ...]

Line 1	vertical of Ι; vertical and middle horizontal of Ε
Line 2	diagonals and lower vertical of Κ; Λ less widespread than Α
Line 3	wide space between Ε and Ο
Line 4	right vertical and diagonal of Ν; upper horizontal and diagonal of Σ

10G. COMMENTARY

Authorization

Judging from the texts presented above, this inscription contained the names of the three *kosmoi*, with their patronymics linked by *καί*, followed by the now familiar phrase *ἔδοξε Λισίων τοῖς κόσμοις και τᾶι πόλει*.

307. Platon (forthcoming). For the front part of the cella of the temple, see Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Space U; cf. fig. 6 here.

11. CIVIC DECREE (EAST FAÇADE)

11A. DISCOVERY AND CURRENT LOCATION

Brought down into the eastern area in front of the temple, July 9, 1959.³⁰⁸ Now lying outside the temple; M.Ch. inv. no. E278 (pl. 6c).

11B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 149–50.

11C. DESCRIPTION AND MEASUREMENTS

An ashlar block of *porolithos*, broken on all sides.

Max. preserved W 1.01 m, H 0.40 m, Th 0.46 m; inscription begins 0.20 m from top edge; field of inscription W 0.43 m, H 0.16 m. Letter H 0.03 m.

11D. LETTER FORMS

Widespread M; slightly open Σ; Ω open with horizontal bars; no apices.

11E. DATE

2nd century B.C.

11F. TEXT

[.².]Ω μηνός ΚΑΙΤΑ[...] ἔδ]
 [οξε] Λισίων τοῖς κ[όσμοις καὶ]
 [ταῖ πόλε]ι Νέαρ[χον ...]

Line 1	right curve and wing of Ω; diagonals of Α; diagonals of final Α faintly visible
Line 2	part of diagonals of Λ; lower curves and wings of Ω; all but upper diagonal of Σ; parts of vertical and diagonals of Κ
Line 3	upper and lower horizontal of Ε; right diagonal and lower left diagonal of Α

11G. COMMENTARY

Month name

The word μηνός is usually part of a dating formula that can include the name of a magistrate (with patronymic?), as well as the month name and perhaps the day.³⁰⁹ The first visible letter in line 1 might be the ending of a month name, in the genitive; the name of the month can appear before rather than after μηνός, as at Delphi.³¹⁰

308. Platon (forthcoming). For the temple and the eastern area in front of it, see Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Space K; cf. fig. 6 here.
 309. Chaniotis 1996, 280 *ad* no. 38.

310. *FdD* III 1, 294, col. VI.1, lines 8–9, from 4th–3rd century B.C. Delphi, where the word is followed by καὶ τοῦ and the name of a second month. In *CID* IV 76 from 3rd century B.C. Delphi the name of the month appears before μηνός, which is followed by the phrase κατὰ θεόν.

No month names that begin with KAITA are to be found in the PHI database.³¹¹

Grant of proxeny

After this part of a dating formula, we can restore the familiar formula ἔδοξε Λισίων τοῖς κόσμοις καὶ τᾷ πόλει, followed by the name of a *proxenos* in the accusative. On Crete the name Νέαρχος is attested at Hellenistic Lato and Herakleion.³¹²

12. CIVIC DECREE (EAST FAÇADE)

12A. DISCOVERY AND CURRENT LOCATION

Transferred from the area of the paved road south of the temple, July 4, 1959.³¹³ Now lying outside the temple; M.Ch. inv. no. E277 (pl. 7a).

12B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Platon 1959b, 377; Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 149–50.

12C. DESCRIPTION AND MEASUREMENTS

An ashlar block of *porolithos*, broken on the right margin.

Max. preserved W 0.72 m, H 0.44 m, Th 0.50 m. Field of inscription W 0.60–0.66 m, H 0.17 m. Inscription begins 0.05–0.06 m from left edge; ends 0.26 m from bottom edge. Letter H 0.03 m in lines 1–2, 0.02 m in lines 3–5 (vertical of Φ 0.04 m).

12D. LETTER FORMS

A, Δ, Λ with crossing diagonals; wide-spread M and N; quadrate Σ; Φ with oval loop; Ω open with prominent; some apices.

12E. DATE

2nd–1st century B.C.

311. The month Καλαμαιῶνος is attested at 2nd century B.C. Olympia (*IvO* 52, col. II, lines 41–42). At 2nd–1st century B.C. Athens, the word μηνός is followed by κατασ[ταθ(?) ...] (*Agora* XVI 330, line 14).

312. *LGPNI*, 325.

313. Platon (forthcoming). For the paved road, see Kanellopoulos, 2019, pl. 1, Space H; cf. fig. 6 here.

12F. TEXT

Ἀ[γ]αθαὶ Τύχαι. Ἐπὶ [κόσμων ...]
 [.^{1-2?}.] | ΝΩΝΙΚΩ τῷ Νιχ[... καὶ]
 Ἐπαμένω τῷ ΑΠ[.².]ΑΝ[... καὶ]
 [Τρ]ύφωνος τῷ Σὺνα[.².]ανῶ
 5 [.³.] ἔδοξε Λισίων τοῖς κόσμοις καὶ τᾶ[ι]
 [πό]λε[ι ...]

Line 1	diagonals of initial A; lower right diagonal of second A; upper right curve of Θ; vertical and right horizontal of Τ
Line 2	lower part of a vertical stroke before Ν; verticals and part of diagonal of Ν; all but left wing of Ω
Line 3	part of horizontal and verticals of Π; crossed diagonals and part of broken bar of Α; upper left vertical and horizontal of Π
Line 4	vertical and right diagonal of Υ; lower horizontal and vertical of quadrate Σ; vertical stroke of Υ; diagonals of Α; right diagonal of second Α; right vertical, upper diagonal and left vertical of final Ν
Line 5	upper and lower horizontals of Ε; upper and lower horizontals of Ζ; vertical of first and second quadrate Σ; vertical and upper diagonal of Κ; left diagonal of Α; left diagonal of final Α
Line 6	upper peak of Λ; Ε faintly visible

12G. COMMENTARY

Civic magistrates

The first *kosmos* is named in the genitive: -ΝΩΝΙΚΩ τῷ Νιχ[...]. In the nominative his name should end in -ΝΩΝΙΚΟΣ; no names in *LGPNI* contain this letter combination.³¹⁴ The name of his father begins with Νιχ-, which is a variant of Νικ-.³¹⁵

The second *kosmos* named is Ἐπαμένω son of ΑΠ[...]. Compare the name Ἐπαμείνων from Crete, including Eleutherna.³¹⁶ Ἐπαμείνων is also attested at Athens and in Boiotia and Thrace, as well as Ionia, Pontos, and Troas.³¹⁷ Both Ἐπαμείνων and Ἐπαμένης are attested on Sicily.³¹⁸ The name of Epamenos' father is more difficult to determine. From Crete, Ἀπολλώνιος and Ἄπουλος are attested at Polyrrhenia,³¹⁹ but neither of these has the AN seen by Platon. One name that does is Ἀπήμαντος from Athens;³²⁰ Delos, Euboa, Tenos, Thasos;³²¹ Messenia and southern Italy;³²² Phokis and Thessaly;³²³ Cimmerian Bosporos, Macedonia, Tauris;³²⁴ Pontos and Troas.³²⁵ Another name that includes the AN seen by Platon is Ἀπημαντοκλῆς from Athens.³²⁶ Unlikely supplements include the Roman names Ἀπιανός (or Ἀφιανός), attested in Athens, Boiotia, Thrace, Ionia and

314. There are names that end in -ΝΩΝΙΚΟΣ, but squeezes clearly show the right wing of Ω, as noted above.

315. E.g., Νιχόμαχος and Νιχομήδης from Egypt; Νιχάσιος at Egyptian Thebes; Νιχ- from Kos; Νίχεκος from the Northern Black Sea; Νιχαροπληξ (accent uncertain) from imperial Rome (PHI s.v. Νιχ-).

316. *LGPNI*, 153.

317. *LGPNI* II, 194–95; IIIB, 134; IV, 118; VA, 156.

318. *LGPNI* IIIA, 144.

319. *LGPNI*, 54 and 56.

320. *LGPNI* II, 41.

321. *LGPNI*, 50.

322. *LGPNI* IIIA, 48.

323. *LGPNI* IIIB, 46.

324. *LGPNI* IV, 33–4.

325. *LGPNI* VA, 42.

326. *LGPNI* II, 41.

Lydia;³²⁷ and Ἀπριανός, attested in Ionia.³²⁸

The third *kosmos* named is Τρύφων son of Συνα[.².]αννος. The name Tryphon is attested at Gortyn and Malla, in the imperial period.³²⁹ The name of Tryphon's father may begin with ΣΥΝΑ, to judge from the quadrate Σ followed by an Υ, e.g., Σύναν(ν)ος, attested at Hellenistic Hierapytna.³³⁰ Other names that begin with Συνα- are Συναμάτη, Συναρχία and Συνάρχων at Athens;³³¹ Σύναρχος in Akarnania;³³² and Συναπόδημος in Thessaly.³³³ Tryphon's father, however, appears to have had a longer, compound name that ended in –ΑΝΝΟΣ. Of the names given in Dornseiff and Hansen that end in –ΑΝΝΟΣ, only one (Ἐραννος) contains two letters before –ΑΝΝΟΣ;³³⁴ it would be difficult to combine ΣΥΝΑ- with it.

Authorization

The text breaks off with the familiar formula ἔδοξε Λισίων τοῖς κόσμοις καὶ τᾶ[ι] [π]όλε[ι] [...].

13. CIVIC DECREE (EAST FAÇADE?)

13A. DISCOVERY AND CURRENT LOCATION

Found in the front area of the cella of the temple and placed inside the temple, May 31, 1958.³³⁵ Now inside the southeast corner of the temple; M.Ch. inv. no. E268 (pl. 7b).

13B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 149–50.

13C. DESCRIPTION AND MEASUREMENTS

An ashlar block of *porolithos*, with left edge intact and probably top edge, broken right and bottom. Max. preserved W 0.36 m, H 0.40 m, Th 0.495 m. Letter H 0.03 m, except O 0.025 m in lines 6–7.

13D. LETTER FORMS

A with broken bar; Δ, Ε, Ε, and Μ widespread; Ρ with small round loop; Ω with closed loop and pronounced wings; some apices.

13E. DATE

2nd–1st century B.C.

327. *LGPNI* II, 48; III B, 49; IV, 39; VA, 56 and 57.

328. *LGPNI* VA, 56.

329. *LGPNI*, 448.

330. *LGPNI*, 416.

331. *LGPNI* II, 410.

332. *LGPNI* IIIA, 406.

333. *LGPNI* III B, 416.

334. Dornseiff and Hansen 1978, 274.

335. Platon (forthcoming). For the front part of the temple's cella, see Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Space U; cf. fig. 6 here.

13F. TEXT

[Ἀγαθαῖ] Τύ[χαι. ... Ἐπί]
 [κό]σμων Κ[...]
 [.².]ΡΟΜΩ καὶ Α[...]
 [.².]ΛΕΟΣ καὶ Η[...]
 5 [.².]ΑΝΔΡΩ Μ[...]
 Ρ[.¹-².]ΛΑΙΩ ἔδο[ξε Λισί-]
 [ων] τοῖς κόσ[μοις καὶ]
 [τ]ᾶι πόλ[ε]ι [...]
 [.¹.]ΕΞ[...]

Line 1	vertical and left horizontal of T; vertical and fork of Y
Line 4	upper diagonals of Λ; upper vertical, upper and middle horizontals of E; upper vertical and diagonal crossbar of possible H
Line 6	lower vertical and loop of P; all but upper left curve of Ω; horizontal and lower right diagonal of Δ
Line 7	lower horizontal and left diagonal of Σ; most of the curve of Ο
Line 8	upper vertical and horizontal, middle horizontal of E; upper apex of Ι
Line 9	upper vertical and horizontal, middle horizontal of E; upper and middle horizontals of Ζ

13G. COMMENTARY

Civic magistrates

Lines 2–5 should contain the name of three civic magistrates. Lines 2–3 ought to contain the name of one *kosmos* and his patronymic ending in –POMΩ. Of the names ending in –POMOS, *LGPNI* shows two from Hellenistic Crete: Καλλίδρομος from Tyliisos and Φιλόδρομος from Malla.³³⁶ Lines 3–4 should contain the name of another *kosmos* and his patronymic ending in –ΛΕΟΣ; the nominative should have ended in –ΛΙΣ.³³⁷ Lines 4–5 should contain the name of a third *kosmos* and his patronymic ending in –ΑΝΔΡΩ. Of the many names from Hellenistic Crete that end in –ΑΝΔΡΟΣ, one is attested at 4th century B.C. Lissos: Ἀλέξανδρος, on a small coin.³³⁸

Month name?

Judging from the parallels offered by **3** and **5**, a Lissian month might be named in lines 5–6. Cretan month names attested in 2nd century B.C. treaties include Ἀμυκλαῖος at Gortyn;³³⁹ Ἀπελλαῖος at Olous;³⁴⁰ Ἡραῖος and Θερμολαῖος(?) at Olous.³⁴¹ Outside Crete the month Εἰλαῖος is attested at Delphi.³⁴²

336. *LGPNI*, 244 and 465, respectively.

337. See the Reverse index for *LGPNI* for 22 names ending in –ΛΙΣ; 24 names ending in –ΛΛΙΣ; 1 name ending in –ΜΟΛΙΣ; 60 names ending in –ΠΟΛΙΣ; 1 name ending in –ΠΑΙΣ; 15 names ending in –ΥΛΙΣ; and 3 names ending in –ΩΛΙΣ (lgpn.ox.ac.uk/online/downloads/v1rev.pdf).

338. *LGPNI*, 24, citing Svoronos 1890, 223 no. 5; Le Rider 1966, 183 n.6; Head 1897, 471.

339. Chaniotis 1996, 300–1 no. 45, line 3.

340. Chaniotis 1996, 325–32 no. 56, Copy A line 17.

341. Chaniotis 1996, 358–76 no. 61, Copy B, lines 210–11; Chaniotis 1996, 358–76 no. 61, Copy B, line 208.

342. *SGDI* II 1694, line 11.

Authorization

This text breaks off with the familiar formula ἔδο[ξε Λισίων] τοῖς κόσ[μοις καὶ τ]ᾷ πόλει.

14. CIVIC DECREE (EAST FAÇADE?)

14A. DISCOVERY AND CURRENT LOCATION

Fragment E269A–B

Found in the front part of the cella of the temple, May 31, 1958.³⁴³ Now inside the southeast corner of the temple; M.Ch. inv. no. E269A–B (pl. 8a).

Fragment E273

Collected from the wall of the improvised buttress south of the paved road, between the temple and the stylobate of the stoa, July 7, 1959.³⁴⁴ Now inside the southeast corner of the temple; M.Ch. inv. no. E273 (pl. 8b).

Fragment E269A–B joined with E273

Photographs taken by the author in 1980 (fig. 5) show fragment E273 fitted onto the lower right corner of fragment E269A–B.

14B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 149–50.

14C. DESCRIPTION AND MEASUREMENTS

Fragment E269A–B

Two fragments of an ashlar block of *porolithos*, with part of the left edge and molding intact; broken right and bottom.

Max. preserved W 0.59 m, H 0.42 m, Th 0.42 m. Lettering begins 0.05 m from molding on left margin; field of inscription max. W 0.34 m, H 0.29 m. Letter H 0.03 m, except O 0.027 m.

Fragment E273

Part of an ashlar block of *porolithos*, possibly preserving the bottom margin but otherwise broken on all sides. Max. preserved W 0.19 m, H 0.19 m, Th 0.16 m. Letter H 0.025 m.

14D. LETTER FORMS

A with broken bar; H with diagonal crossbar; M open; P with small loop; Σ with straight horizontals or slightly open; some vertical and horizontal strokes slightly convex; apices pronounced.

343. Platon (forthcoming). For the front area of the cella of the temple, see Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Space U; cf. fig. 6 here.

344. Platon (forthcoming). For the paved road, see Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Space H; cf. fig. 6 here.

14E. DATE

2nd–1st century B.C.

14F. TEXT

	ἔδοξε Λισ[ίων τοῖς κόσ-]	Fragment E269A–B
	μοις καὶ τᾶ[ι πόλει]	
	Ἐλλαγόραγ [...]	
	Ἀπτεραῖον π[ρόξενον]	Fragments E269A–B + E273
5	ἡμεν αὐτό[ν ...]	
	ἡμεν δὲ αὐτ[οῖς...]	
	[...κ]αὶ τοῖς [...]	Fragment E273

Line 1	all but right part of upper horizontal of Ζ; lower corner of Ε
Line 2	all but right part of horizontal of Τ; lower left diagonal of Α
Line 3	left diagonal and crossbar of Α; horizontal of Γ; lower left vertical of Ν
Line 4	lower horizontal and vertical of Ε; most of vertical of Ρ; all but upper left peak of Ν; left vertical and horizontal of Π
Line 5	right vertical and diagonal of Μ; all but upper right apex of Υ
Line 6	all but lower left vertical of Η; left vertical of Μ; all but left diagonal of Δ; left horizontal of Τ
Line 7	diagonals of Α; all but lower apex of Ι; horizontal of Τ; all but lower left curve of Ο; all but lower horizontal of Σ

14G. COMMENTARY

Authorization

This text begins with the familiar formula ἔδοξε Λισ[ίων τοῖς κόσ]μοις καὶ τᾶ[ι πόλει].

Grant of proxeny

The name of the *proxenos*, his patronymic and ethnic occupy lines 2–4. The name of the *proxenos*, Ἐλλαγόρας, is attested on Melos in the 5th century B.C.;³⁴⁵ on Cyprus in the 5th–4th century B.C.;³⁴⁶ and on Rhodes at an unknown date.³⁴⁷ Line 3 should also contain Hellagoras' patronymic. Line 4 preserves the ethnic of the city of Aptaera on the north coast of western Crete.

The formulae for granting proxeny appear in lines 5–6. After ἡμεν in line 5, αὐτό[ν] has been restored to agree with the accusative singular in line 3. Line 6 appears to preserve part of the formula that grants to more than one individual the customary privileges granted to other *proxenoi* and/or benefactors. See **28** for a possible join between **14** and **27–28**.

345. *IG* XII 3, 1164.

346. *IG* II² 10217; cf. *ICS* 423 no. 398, father of Ἐλλομένης.

347. *IG* XII 1, 609.

15. CIVIC DECREE (EAST FAÇADE?)

15A. DISCOVERY AND CURRENT LOCATION

Found in the front part of the cella of the temple, May 31, 1958.³⁴⁸ Now inside the southeast corner of the temple; M.Ch. inv. no. E274 (pl. 9a).

15B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 149–50.

15C. DESCRIPTION AND MEASUREMENTS

Fragment of ashlar block of *porolithos*, broken on all sides.

Max. preserved H 0.245 m, W 0.24 m, Th 0.30 m; inscribed face H 0.10 m, W 0.085 m. Letter H 0.025–0.035 m (O 0.025 m, Σ 0.03 m, P 0.035 m in line 2).

15D. LETTER FORMS

A with broken bar; K with open diagonals; O round; P slightly attenuated with high rounded loop; apices pronounced.

15E. DATE

2nd–1st century B.C.

15F. TEXT

[...]ΑΡΙΣ[...]

[...]πρόξ[ενον ...]

[...]Κ[...]

Line 1	right diagonal and broken bar of Α; all but the upper horizontal of Σ
Line 2	right vertical and horizontal of Π; right ends of upper and lower horizontal of Ζ
Line 3	upper vertical of Ι appears slightly slanted to the right; upper vertical and diagonal of Κ

15G. COMMENTARY

The letters in line 1 may be part of the name of the *proxenos*, in the accusative, to judge from the supplemented word πρόξ[ενον] in line 2.

348. Platon (forthcoming). For the front part of the cella of the temple, see Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Space U; cf. fig. 6 here.

16. CIVIC DECREE FRAGMENT (EAST FAÇADE?)

16A. DISCOVERY AND CURRENT LOCATION

Found on the north side of the temple, May 22, 1958.³⁴⁹ Now in the Chania Museum; M.Ch. inv. no. E131 (pl. 9b).

16B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Platon 1958, 466; cf. 1959a, 376; Bultrighini 1993, 106–7; *SEG* XLV 1314; Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 149–50.

16C. DESCRIPTION AND MEASUREMENTS

Upper right corner of a block of porolithos, preserving the right edge and top surface; broken at left and bottom; about half the inscribed surface and half the depth, to judge from measurements and comparable blocks from the temple.

Max. H 0.255 m; max. W 0.25 m; max. Th 0.23 m. Letter H 0.02–0.03 m (line 1, O 0.02 m, vertical of Φ 0.04 m), 0.025–0.03 m (lines 2–3), 0.02–0.025 m (lines 4–5), 0.02 m (line 6).

16D. LETTER FORMS

A with broken crossbar; broad, round Ω with wings that have apices.

16E. DATE

2nd–1st century B.C.

16F. TEXT

ΟΣΦΟΥ[... ἔδοξ-]
 ε Λισίων [το-]
 [ἴς κόσμο]ις καὶ τ[ᾶι πόλει ...]
 ΝΤΙΔΑΟ[...]
 5 δα ἦ[μεν ... αὐτ-]
 οἷ[ς ...]

Line 4	after A the left curve of a round letter, e.g., Ο or Θ
Line 5	left vertical and horizontal of Η

16G. COMMENTARY

Civic magistrates

In a civic decree like this one, the letters ΟΣΦΟΥ could be the genitive ending of one personal name (-ος) and the beginning of another (Φου-), i.e., the name and patronymic of one of the *kosmoi* of Lissos. Most Greek

349. Platon (forthcoming). For the north side of the temple, see Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Space U; cf. fig. 6 here.

names that begin with the letters ΦΟΥ are Roman names transliterated into Greek, e.g., Φουλβία, attested twice on Crete at Gortyn and Poikilasion.³⁵⁰ It is possible, however, that ΦΟΥ is a variant of ΦΥ; of the six names beginning with ΦΥ attested on Crete,³⁵¹ one is attested at Lissos: Φῦλος, named on a 2nd century B.C. stele once built into the church of Ag. Kyrikos, southwest of the Asklepieion.³⁵²

Authorization

The letters ΕΛΙΣΙΩΝ suggest that this inscription contained the well-known formula ἔδοξε Λισίων τοῖς κόσμοις καὶ τᾷ πόλει.

Grant of proxeny

The letters ΝΤΙΔΑ could be part of a personal name such as Λεοντίδας³⁵³ or Μενοντίδας,³⁵⁴ this might be the name of a *proxenos*, as it appears after the formula of authorization.

17. CIVIC DECREE FRAGMENT (EAST FAÇADE?)

17A. DISCOVERY AND CURRENT LOCATION

Possibly found on the north side of the temple, May 22, 1958.³⁵⁵ Now in the Chania Museum; M.Ch. inv. no. E205 (pl. 9c).

17B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

This may be one of the proxeny inscriptions –bearing the name of the city of the Lissians– that was found built into the dividing wall (the east façade?) toward what Platon thought would be the temple's *prodromos*,³⁵⁶ Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 149–50.

17C. DESCRIPTION AND MEASUREMENTS

Fragment of *porolithos*, broken on all sides. Max. H 0.65 m; max. W 0.05 m; max. Th 0.061 m. Letter H 0.03 m.

17D. LETTER FORMS

M appears to be wide-spread with slanting rather than vertical strokes; pronounced apices.

17E. DATE

2nd–1st century B.C.

350. *LGPNI*, 475.

351. *LGPNI*, 476–77.

352. *ICr* II, xvii 3.

353. Attested from Crete in the 3rd century B.C. (*LGPNI*, 284).

354. Attested on Crete at 4th century B.C. Lasaia (Alexiou 1969, 415), as well as 2nd century B.C. Olous and 2nd–1st century B.C. Gortyn (*LGPNI*, 309).

355. Platon (forthcoming). For the north side of the temple, see Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Space U; cf. fig. 6 here.

356. Platon 1958, 466.

17F. TEXT

[...]**ΜΙΓ**[...][...]**Ν**[...]

Line 1	long left diagonal with shorter diagonal of M, shorter diagonal meeting longer diagonal 0.01 m from the top
Line 2	of N the upper left vertical, nearly all the diagonal, and the uppermost part of the right vertical with pronounced apex

17G. COMMENTARY

So little of this inscription is preserved that it defies interpretation, except to say that ΜΙΓ could be part of a personal name, even though none of the names accessible through *LGPNI* are attested on Crete. Of those names attested in the Aegean islands, Θωμίγγων is attested on Euboia, Μιγαλάνθης on Cyprus, Μίγκη and Μιγκυλίζ on Kos, Πριμιγένεια on Amorgos and Cyprus, and Πριμιγένης on Peparethos and Thasos.³⁵⁷

D. DEDICATIONS AND A SACRED LAW

18. BASE OF CULT STATUE WITH A SACRED LAW

18A. DISCOVERY AND CURRENT LOCATION

Collected in 1957; in his annual report, Platon notes that inscribed statue bases were taken to Chania, including one concerning the erection of the cult statue and details of sacrifice.³⁵⁸ In his most synthetic article on the Asklepieion at Lissos, Platon writes that in the rear of the cella there was a marble base with *anathyrosis*, on which the cult statue was placed.³⁵⁹ Now in the Chania Museum, on display, M.Ch. inv. no. E72 (pl. 10a).

18B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Platon 1957; 1996, 397; Peek 1977, 80–1 no. 10; *SEG* XXVIII 750; Bile 1988, no. 56; Bultrighini 1993, 104–6; Lupu 2005, 337–40 no. 24; Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 150; *CGRN* no. 128.

18C. DESCRIPTION AND MEASUREMENTS

Statue base of light bluish gray to bluish gray marble (M Gley2 5–7/5PB). Cutting on top an ellipse, 0.52 m by 0.31 m. More roughly worked on back than on sides, sides less worked than than top.

W 0.655 m, H 0.175 m, D 0.44 m, from autopsy; cf. Peek 1977, 80–1 no. 10 for W 0.65 m, H 0.17 m. Field of inscription not centered. Inscription begins 0.015 m from top margin, ends 0.08 m from bottom margin. Line 1 begins 0.02 m from left margin, meets right margin. Line 2 begins 0.015 m from left margin, ends 0.14 m from right margin. Line 3 begins 0.18 m from left margin, ends 0.23 m from right. Line 4 begins 0.18 m from left

357. *LGPNI*, 228, 313, and 387.

358. Platon 1957.

359. Platon 1996, 397. For the rear of the cella, see Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Space U; cf. fig. 6 here.

margin, ends 0.275 m from right margin. Line 5 begins 0.18 m from left margin, ends 0.28 m from right margin. Letter H decreases from left to right. Line 1 decreases from 0.014 m at left to 0.009 m at right; Θ and O from 0.011 to 0.007 m. Line 2 decreases from 0.012 m at left to 0.011 m at right; Θ and O 0.009 m, Ω 0.007 m. Line 3 decreases from 0.013 m at left to 0.011 m at right; Θ and O 0.007 m, Ω 0.006 m. Line 4 0.01 m; Θ and O 0.007 m, Ω 0.006 m. Line 5 0.009-0.01 m; Θ and O 0.008 m, Ω 0.007 m.

18D. LETTER FORMS

A has straight crossbar; Θ with dot; some Θ, O, Ω small; Ω with widespread loop and small wings; K with curved diagonals; M with diagonals spread apart, middle strokes high off line of inscription; some strokes curved; Σ with curved horizontals, spread apart like M; Π with right vertical stopping well above line; light apices on some vertical and horizontal strokes, especially A, E, I, Λ, T, Υ.

18E. DATE

Early Hellenistic, quite possibly 3rd century B.C.³⁶⁰ Pleket dates the inscription to the early Hellenistic period, on the basis of letter forms: small O and Ω; A without broken crossbar; no apices.³⁶¹

18F. TEXT

Θυμίλος ἴσατο τόνδ' Ἀσκληπιὸν ἐνθάδε πρῶτος·

Θαρσύτας δ' υἱὸς τόνδ' ἀνέθηκε θεῶι.

θύην τὸν βωλόμενον.

κρεῶν οὐκ ἀποφορά.

5 τὸ δέρμα τῶι θεῶι.

18G. COMMENTARY

Dedication

This inscription is composed of a rare combination of dedication and cult regulations; the precise context of its inscribing remains elusive, as does the authority any individuals who set up and dedicated a statue to a god would have to issue or codify rules.³⁶² Its laconic nature can be attributed to the fact that sacrificial rules and practices were very well known to worshippers, who need not have a priest to help them with ritual.³⁶³

Lupu notes that line 1 is in hexameter while line 2 is in pentameter, and that the law is non-metrical; for comparison, she cites a document from the Attic precinct of Asklepios and Hygeia.³⁶⁴ Thymilos and Tharsytas may both have been priests of Asklepios, the father erecting the statue of Asklepios and the son dedicating it.³⁶⁵ Peek had identified them as foreigners, whose names are attested at Athens and Rhodes.³⁶⁶ Bultrighini noted, however, that the name Tharsytas is well attested in the onomasticon of Crete – in a list of Cretan names at Hermione – and attested particularly in western Crete (at Aptera) and especially in the area along Libyan sea (at Anopolis and Aradena).³⁶⁷ He went on to speculate that there was a great sacerdotal family, not only at Lissos

360. Guarducci 1967, 371.

361. *SEG* XXVIII 750.

362. *CGRN* no. 128.

363. *CGRN* no. 128.

364. Lupu 2005, 337–40 no. 24, citing Sokolowski 1969, 105–6 no. 54.

365. Peek 1977, 80–1 no. 10; Bultrighini 1993, 104–6. Cf. *CGRN* no. 128, citing Peek, for the possibility that Thymilos and his son Tharsytas held a hereditary priesthood, even though they do not explicitly refer to themselves in this capacity.

366. Peek 1977, 80–1 no. 10.

367. Bultrighini 1993, 104–6.

but in a homogeneous zone in western and southwestern Crete.³⁶⁸

An updated onomastic search reveals that, thus far, the name Θυμίλος remains attested only at Lissos.³⁶⁹ The name Θαρσύτας is attested equally on Crete and Rhodes, but also in Athens, the Argolid, and Caria.³⁷⁰ Tharsytas is a name attested among Cretan migrants to Miletus in 273–70 or 219–17 B.C.;³⁷¹ from Aptera, at the Eleusinion in the Athenian Agora in the 2nd century B.C.;³⁷² at Anopolis in the first half of the 2nd century B.C.;³⁷³ and at Aradena in the 1st century B.C.³⁷⁴

This dedication reveals a mixture of Doric and non-Doric forms. Bile included this inscription in her study of the ancient Cretan dialect, for its middle aorist ἴσσατο – a form of ἔζομαι, ἴζω– which ought to be Dorian, as it is encountered in Corcyra, at Corinth, Argos, and Cyrene.³⁷⁵ The name of the god represented by the cult statue is given in the non-Doric form Ἀσκληπιός.

Sacred law

The sacred law specifies that anyone who wishes to sacrifice has the capacity to do so, while using the Doric forms θύην rather than θύειν and βολόμενον rather than βουλόμενον. This provision can be compared with other inscribed texts in which worshippers were explicitly allowed to make a sacrifice themselves, without the supervision of a priest, e.g., if the a priest were absent.³⁷⁶

The law goes on to regulate use of the altar, by prohibiting the removal of the meat of a sacrificial animal,³⁷⁷ and specifying that the animal's skin go to the god.³⁷⁸ The first of these provisions can be compared with those in other texts that require the meat not to be carried away but consumed on the spot.³⁷⁹ The skin of a sacrificial animal might have been placed on a cult table, of which two inscribed examples have been discovered in excavations of the Asklepieion at Lissos,³⁸⁰ and was most probably a priestly perquisite.³⁸¹ Lupu suggests that the skin went to whoever controlled the sanctuary.³⁸²

Another possibility is that the skin was consecrated to the god or sold for his benefit, after use in incubation.³⁸³ If the sacrifices mentioned in this sacred law were related to incubation in the sanctuary of Asklepios at Lissos, perhaps performed at the discretion of worshippers,³⁸⁴ this is an early and precious piece of evidence for the therapeutic aspect of the cult of Asklepios at Lissos.³⁸⁵

368. Bultrighini 1993, 104–6.

369. *LGPNI*, 228, citing the present inscription.

370. *LGPNI* II, 210; IIIA, 199; VB, 191.

371. *LGPNI*, 210.

372. *SEG* XIX 105; *BÉpigr* 1961, 264; Merritt 1960, 20 no. 26 and pl. 6.

373. Plassart 1921, 19 column III, line 109.

374. *ICr* II, iv 2.

375. Bile 1988, nos. 56 and 233.

376. *CGRN* nos. 36 and 50 from Chios, end of the 5th century B.C. and ca. 400–350 B.C. respectively; no. 75 from Oropos, ca. 386–74 B.C.

377. Sokolowski 1962, 150–52 no. 88, text a.

378. Lupu 2005, 337–40 no. 24.

379. *CGRN* nos. 32 from the Attic deme of Thorikos, ca. 440–30 B.C. (or 380–75 B.C.); 59 from Thera, ca. 400–300 B.C.; 75 from Oropos, 386–74 B.C.; and 85 from Kos, ca. 350 B.C.

380. Appendix nos. **16–17**.

381. Cf. *CGRN* nos. 36 and 50, both from Chios, end of the 5th century B.C. and ca. 400–350 B.C., respectively.

382. Lupu 2005, 337–40 no. 24.

383. *CGRN* no. 128; cf. *CGRN* no. 75 for this possibility at the Amphiareion of Oropos.

384. Lupu 2005, 337–40 no. 24; *CGRN* no. 128.

385. Cf. the cult table dedicated by P. Aelius Augg. lib. Leonas, which appears to refer to cures (Appendix no. **16**), and Kanellopoulos' suggestion (2019, 25) that Space M, south of the temple and stoa, may have been utilized for *iamata*; cf. fig. 6 here.

19. FRAGMENT OF A DEDICATION TO ASKLEPIOS

19A. DISCOVERY AND CURRENT LOCATION

Found in the west part of the temple, May 26, 1958.³⁸⁶ Now in the Chania Museum; M.Ch. inv. no. E106 (pl. 10b).

19B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 151.

19C. DESCRIPTION AND MEASUREMENTS

Flat fragment of white marble (M 2.5Y 8/1), from the lower left corner of a stele; broken top and right; back lightly finished at left and bottom, elsewhere unfinished.

Max. H 0.164 m; max. W 0.135 m; Th 0.028 m. From the left edge letters begin 0.03 m (line 1), 0.028 m (line 2), 0.026 m (line 3), 0.03 m (line 4). Letter H 0.015 m with the exception of O 0.011 m, X 0.012 m, vertical of K 0.015 m, Σ and Y 0.018 m.

19D. LETTER FORMS

Letters finely, carefully, but lightly inscribed. A widespread with concave crossbars; Λ slightly more curved than A; E with horizontals of three different lengths (longest on top, shortest in middle); K with short diagonals meeting long vertical; M with straight verticals, diagonals meeting midway; O small and highly rounded; Σ with all strokes diagonal, slightly curved; Y widespread, even more curved than Λ; X broader than tall.

19E. DATE

3rd century B.C.

19F. TEXT

Κ̣λεο[.4-5..]

Μελ[...5-6...]

Ἀσκλ[απιῶνι or απιῶν]

εὐχά[ν]

Line 1	bottom of lower diagonal of K; lower diagonals of Λ
Line 3	left diagonal of Λ
Line 4	lower left diagonal and part of concave bar of A

19G. COMMENTARY

Dedicant

The name in line 1 ought to be in the nominative, to designate the dedicant of this inscription; there might have

386. Platon (forthcoming). For the west part of the temple, see Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Space U; cf. fig. 6 here.

been four–five letters after ΚΛΕΟ, to judge from the letters needed to supplement line 3 and depending on whether the I of the god’s name was written on the line or not. Five masculine names from or on Crete begin with these four letters: Κλεόβουλος, Κλεόδαμος, Κλεόδωρος, Κλεοσθένης, and Κλεοσθεσίλας.³⁸⁷ Of these, Κλεόδαμος and Κλεόδωρος are a father and son pair from Polyrrhenia, attested at Aetolian Thermos around 210 B.C.³⁸⁸ Both of these names, in the genitive, would have five letters after ΚΛΕΟ. Κλεοσθένης of Kydonia is attested on Ios around 200 B.C.³⁸⁹

The patronymic in line 2 should be in the genitive; there might have been five–six letters after ΜΕΛ, again depending on whether the I of the god’s name was written on the line or not, in line 3. Seven masculine names from or on Crete begin with these three letters: Μέλανδρος, Μελάνθης, Μέλανθος, Μελάνθυρος, Μέλανος, Μελήσανδρος, and Μελισσίων.³⁹⁰ Of these Melanos is attested at Hyrtakina –a member of the Oreioi– in the 3rd/2nd century B.C.³⁹¹ and at Hellenistic Polyrrhenia;³⁹² Melandrus is attested at Polyrrhenia in the 2nd century B.C.³⁹³ Melanthes and Melanthos, in the genitive, would contain six letters after ΜΕΛ.

Dedicatory formula

The Doric form of the god’s name –probably Ἀσκληπιῶι rather than Ἀσκληπιῷ– might be preferable here, given the Doric form to come, εὐχά[v]. The noun εὐχά[v] is a term that makes this an *ex-voto*, a dedication made in fulfillment of a vow, a laconic text in which no mention is made of the occasion for thanksgiving and the verb is omitted.³⁹⁴

20. FRAGMENT OF A DEDICATION TO ASKLEPIOS

20A. DISCOVERY AND CURRENT LOCATION

This inscription is not identified in any of Platon’s excavation diaries.³⁹⁵ The Chania Museum inventory card attributes it tentatively to Lissos, given the similarity in lettering with **21**. Now in the Chania Museum; M.Ch. inv. no. E194A–B (pl. 10c).

20B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 151.

20C. DESCRIPTION AND MEASUREMENTS

Two fragments –apparently the upper left corner– from the left side of a marble stele, preserving a molding and a shield-like motif on the left side; broken at top, right and bottom; line of top molding visible just below the top break. Marble white (M 5Y 8/1).

Max. combined H 0.135 m (fragment E194A 0.04 m, fragment E194B 0.095 m); max. W 0.015 m; Th 0.029 m. Letters 0.007 m from molding (line 1) and 0.015 m (line 2). Letter H 0.02–0.021 m.

387. *LGPNI*, 260–63.

388. *IG IX I* 1, 31, 86.

389. *IG XII Suppl* p.97 no. 170 line 10.

390. *LGPNI*, 302–4.

391. *ICr II*, xv 7.

392. *ICr II*, xxiii 28; Martínez Fernández 2012, 137–38 no. 33.

393. *ICr II*, xxiii 52; Martínez Fernández 2012, 158–59 nos. 57 and 169–71 no. 76.

394. McLean 2002, 254.

395. Platon (forthcoming).

20D. LETTER FORMS

Letters rounded, very much like **21**, perhaps even inscribed by the same cutter. Lunate E and Σ; Θ with bar all the way across; M with curved verticals, inner curve meeting the line; small decorative sign after M.

20E. DATE

2nd century A.D.

20F. TEXT

Θεῶ [Ἀσκληπιῶ ...]

M. M[...]

Ç | | [...]

Line 1	tip of left wing of ω
Line 2	left curved stroke of M
Line 3	upper strokes of lunate Σ or E; tops of two vertical strokes

20G. COMMENTARY

Dedication

This stele appears to begin with a dedication to the god Askepios, like **21**.

The dedicator?

The decorative sign after M suggests that this might be a Roman praenomen, M(arcus), followed by a nomen that began with M.

E. MANUMISSION INSCRIPTIONS

The four inscriptions presented below provide, certainly or in all likelihood, hitherto unsuspected evidence for the manumission of slaves at the Asklepieion. Two *stelai* involve the manumission of the same female slave, after the birth of five children (**21–22**). The other two are composed of fragments preserving language that recommends understanding them as manumission inscriptions (**23–24**). In order to analyze the contents and import of these four *stelai*, we need to take into account a number of fundamental issues that illuminate their texts: types of evidence for manumission, together with their geographical and chronological distribution (21-24A); modes of manumission, especially sacred manumission with particular attention to dedication to Asklepios (21-24B); the thorny issue of *paramone* and other obligations of manumitted slaves (21-24C); and the Cretan evidence, to which these inscriptions from the Asklepieion at Lissos are to be added (21-24D). The four Lissian inscriptions presented here are the first and only examples to date of sacred manumission on Crete; they are also the first to mention the status of children born to a manumitted slave during or after *paramone*.

21–24A. TYPES OF EVIDENCE FOR MANUMISSION

Evidence for the manumission of slaves in ancient Greece derives from literary, epigraphical and papyrological sources; epigraphical evidence dominates by its sheer numbers and geographical and chronological range.³⁹⁶ Manumission inscriptions were summaries of original documents deposited with private persons and/or in sanctuaries³⁹⁷ like the Asklepieion at Lissos.

Here we will focus on the epigraphical evidence, which records manumissions from northern to central and southern Greece, as well as Magna Graecia and the Greek East: Thrace, Macedonia, Phokis, Thessaly, Boiotia, Athens, the Peloponnese, Sicily, Lemnos and the Aegean islands, Egypt, Asia Minor, and around the Black Sea.³⁹⁸ The epigraphical evidence for Cretan manumissions will be presented in some detail at the end of this introduction and in four catalog entries (**21–24**). This geographically diverse epigraphical record reveals both the mixed nature of manumission acts, and also a common conceptual and legal ground for modes of manumission practice distant from each other in space and time.³⁹⁹

The chronological distribution of the epigraphical evidence begins with the 5th century B.C.; it is concentrated in the Hellenistic period, due to the number of inscriptions –more than 1200– preserved at Delphi from the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. to the 1st century A.D.⁴⁰⁰ The Delphic acts of manumission from 201/0 B.C. to the end of the 1st century A.D. are the most coherent, homogeneous, numerically important collection of such inscriptions.⁴⁰¹ Hundreds more are preserved in Aetolia, Thessaly and Macedonia, and at Kalymnos in the eastern Aegean, from the 2nd century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D.⁴⁰² Manumission inscriptions known from Aetolia as well as Delphi date mostly to the last two centuries B.C.; Thessaly and Boiotia provide more evidence than Delphi from the 1st century A.D. onwards.⁴⁰³ Manumission inscriptions from Leukopetra, Beroia, and lower Macedonia date mostly to the Roman period, between the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D., and even to the end of the 4th or beginning of the 5th century A.D.⁴⁰⁴ The four manumission inscriptions presented below belong to the later period for which such texts are preserved, in the 2nd (**21–22**) and 2nd–3rd centuries A.D. (**23–24**).

21–24B. MODES OF MANUMISSION

Manumission could take one of a number of forms, depending on the status of the manumittor as a private citizen or a public entity, the involvement of one or more deities or of political institutions, and the degree to which the manumission was publicized.⁴⁰⁵ The resultant acts might be outright manumission, sale for the purpose of release, sale or dedication to a deity, or manumission by testament; a unique mode of manumission attested in Thessaly freed slaves by *xenikei lysei*, a term whose interpretation remains under discussion.⁴⁰⁶

396. Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 62.

397. Zelnick-Abramovitz 2018, 379–80.

398. Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 52; Sosin 2015, 325.

399. Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 99.

400. Canevaro and Lewis 2014; Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 64. *CID V* will present the most up-to-date corpus of Delphic manumission inscriptions, beginning with those from 200/199 B.C. to 139/8 – ca. 122 B.C. in *CID V* 1.

401. Mulliez 1992, 31.

402. Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 64; Zelnick-Abramovitz 2018, 381.

403. Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 64.

404. Gounaropoulou and Hatzopoulos 1998, nos. 48–57; Petsas et al. 2000, 21–2; Gounaropoulou et al. 2015, nos. 143–73 and 175–77.

405. Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 69.

406. Outright manumission: Sosin 2015, 353 and 378. Sale for the purpose of release: Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 81; declared non-existent in Sosin 2015, 359. Sale to a deity: Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 86; Mulliez 1992, 32; not a fiction according to Sosin (2015, 348). Consecration to a deity: Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 86; Sosin 2015, 350. Manumission by testament: Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 75; Sosin 2015, 353–55. Manumission by *xenikei lysei*: Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 76–81.

Here, we should focus on sacred manumission, also called sacral manumission or manumission by consecration, as it is the best context for the four inscriptions discovered in excavations of the Asklepieion (21–24). One type of sacred manumission involved slaves being consecrated by their manumitters as private citizens, for the purpose of freedom.⁴⁰⁷ Slaves freed by consecration tend to be from the familial sphere, those employed in domestic and artisanal tasks; over time, they were more and more homeborn.⁴⁰⁸ Sacred manumission is well-attested among Greeks, before and during the Roman imperial period; from the end of the 1st to the 4th centuries A.D., it became the norm.⁴⁰⁹ The view that sacred manumission placed slaves under a god's ownership or protection is based on inscriptions that seem to imply the god's right to their labor.⁴¹⁰ Sacred manumission might provide a religious guarantee for the act of manumission; the manumission inscription itself could even be enough to constitute publicizing the contract.⁴¹¹ Sometimes, belonging to a god(dess) served as a warning against any attempt to re-enslave the manumitted person rather than binding ex-slaves to shrines.⁴¹²

Sacred manumission often occurred in the religious context of the mystery cults of savior deities, who might actively intervene in manumission.⁴¹³ Asklepios was one of three “helper gods,” together with Apollo and Sarapis.⁴¹⁴ He was, moreover, the most famous of the healing gods, gods thought particularly appropriate for effecting a slave's transition to freedom.⁴¹⁵ In some cases manumitted slaves were consecrated to Asklepios in particular,⁴¹⁶ or to Asklepios and Hygeia as noted below. Beginning with sanctuaries of Asklepios, a group of 3rd century B.C. inscriptions from Macedonian Beroia in all likelihood come from a sanctuary of Asklepios.⁴¹⁷ In the inscriptions of Thespieae –also published in a sanctuary of Asklepios– the divinity was apparently involved as a guarantor of manumitted slaves or as a witness to the act.⁴¹⁸ Manumission could also be proclaimed in a sanctuary like that of Asklepios at Thespieae, to judge from the text of a 3rd–2nd century B.C. stele.⁴¹⁹ Slave owners might manumit slaves outside their own polis, presumably because of religious sanctions afforded them or due to personal preference for certain gods and cults, e.g., sanctuaries of Asklepios in Naupaktos and nearby Krounoi.⁴²⁰ The four manumission inscriptions presented here (21–24) were found in excavations of the sanctuary of Asklepios at Lissos. Beyond sanctuaries of Asklepios, Delphic manumissions associate Apollo with Asklepios once.⁴²¹ Inscriptions further document consecration to Asklepios at Chaeronea, Orchomenos, Stiris, Elatea and Buthrotum, as well as Thespieae;⁴²² and consecration to Asklepios and Hygeia at Chaeronea in the beginning of the 2nd century B.C.⁴²³ We can take special note of manumitted female slaves dedicated to Asklepios at Buthrotum, in the 3rd–2nd century B.C. (cf. 21–23): Sphragis, manumitted and consecrated as *hiera*;⁴²⁴ Sotia and her daughter Hiero;⁴²⁵ Leaina;⁴²⁶ Erato as *hiera*;⁴²⁷ and Dorea as *hiera*.⁴²⁸

407. Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 86.

408. Mulliez 1992, 40.

409. Petsas et al. 2000, 36; Youni 2005, 187.

410. Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 92.

411. Mulliez 1992, 33–4.

412. Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 233.

413. Petsas et al. 2000, 37; cf. the epithet Σωτήρ in Appendix no. 17 and Kanopos' dedication ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας in Appendix no. 1.

414. Kamen 2012, 183.

415. Kamen 2012, 188.

416. Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 83.

417. Youni 2005, 183.

418. Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 87.

419. Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 72.

420. Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 141–42.

421. *SGDI* 2002, cited in Mulliez 1992, 32.

422. Darmezin 1999, 183.

423. Darmezin 1999, 75–6 no. 107.

424. Darmezin 1999, 132 no. 177.

425. Darmezin 1999, 150–51 no. 186.

426. Darmezin 1999, 152 no. 188.

427. Darmezin 1999, 153 no. 190.

428. Darmezin 1999, 154 no. 191.

21–24C. *PARAMONE* AND OTHER OBLIGATIONS OF MANUMITTED SLAVES

If it is difficult for the modern mind to reconcile dedication to a deity with being completely free,⁴²⁹ the thorny issue of *paramone* is even more perplexing. The greatest incidence of *paramone* occurs, in fact, in sacred manumission.⁴³⁰ Whether a document does or does not mention *paramone*, the manumitted slave was often bound by various obligations and compelled to remain with or near the manumittor;⁴³¹ *paramone* can be inferred from the very conditions expressed in a manumission document.⁴³² Both Zelnick-Abramovitz and Sosin provide useful reviews of the scholarship concerning *paramone*, which ranges from one extreme to the other.⁴³³ The debate focuses on whether slaves manumitted under *paramone* were (1) free persons who agreed to conditions stipulated by the manumittor in a sort of labor contract; (2) persons of full and legal servile status for the duration of *paramone*; (3) persons free regarding third parties but slaves toward manumittors; or (4) persons who fell somewhere between slave and free on a graded spectrum of statuses.⁴³⁴ Sosin particularly disagrees with the scholarly consensus that slaves under *paramone* were halfway or conditionally free; Zelnick-Abramovitz argues that they were both servile vis-à-vis their manumittors and at the same time free vis-à-vis all other persons.⁴³⁵ Both scholars draw attention to the use of the aorist, whether in an imperative or participial form, to specify the conditions of *paramone*; Zelnick-Abramovitz further recommends that the modern scholar notice the order of various clauses in a manumission document.⁴³⁶ Manumissions of the Roman period, moreover, belong to a different social context than that of the classical or Hellenistic Greek world,⁴³⁷ one where manumission made ex-slaves and their former owners into clients and patrons with mutual obligations.

One of the conditions of *paramone* that is particularly relevant here is the requirement that female slaves produce or rear one or more children (cf. **21–23**).⁴³⁸ A recurrent condition attached to *paramone* clauses was an obligation to raise children for the manumittor, apparently to replace the freed slave.⁴³⁹ Bearing children, who might be seen as the price of manumission for a female slave, was a way to pay for liberty.⁴⁴⁰ Female slaves were set apart from male at Delphi by requirements that they hand over offspring at release from *paramone*, as a way of providing a replacement for themselves.⁴⁴¹ In the Delphic inscriptions, children born while their mother was in *paramone* were sometimes to be free, sometimes handed over to the manumittor; at other times in the Delphic inscriptions, the mother was released on the birth of a child and the child became her replacement.⁴⁴² At Delphi, over time, manumitted females were increasingly required to provide offspring at release from *paramone*; as the cost of release grew, it was figured more often in human lives.⁴⁴³ Outside Delphi, release from *paramone* apparently needed to be paid for in coin or by providing a replacement slave, as at Kalymnos.⁴⁴⁴ Children born to a female slave in *paramone* could be required to remain with the manumittor.⁴⁴⁵ In other instances, the familial relationship between mother and offspring was particularly recognized at the time of manumission, with *paramone* applying to some but not others manumitted together.⁴⁴⁶

Release from manumission with *paramone* (*apolyxis*, as in **22**) is well-attested at Delphi, albeit in only ca. 10% of the inscriptions attesting *paramone*; the percentage at Delphi and elsewhere depends on publication and

429. Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 91.

430. Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 239.

431. Darnezin 1999, 187; Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 23–5.

432. Zelnick-Abramovitz 2018, 380.

433. Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 239–45; 2018, 378–98; Sosin 2015, 325–27.

434. Sosin 2015, 376; Zelnick-Abramovitz 2018, 390–94.

435. Sosin 2015, 348; Zelnick-Abramovitz 2018, 377.

436. Sosin 2015, 335, 350, 353; Zelnick-Abramovitz 2018, 378.

437. Petsas et al. 2000, 37.

438. Sosin 2015, 373–76.

439. Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 229–30.

440. Tucker 1982, 235.

441. Tucker 1982, 233.

442. Tucker 1982, 233.

443. Tucker 1982, 233 and 235–36.

444. Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 235–36.

445. Zelnick-Abramovitz 2018, 386–87.

446. Tucker 1982, 228.

survival of the relevant documents.⁴⁴⁷ At Delphi, there are pairs of inscriptions that survive, pairs composed of manumission with obligation(s) and *apolyxis* from *paramone*;⁴⁴⁸ there are also *apolyxis* inscriptions with no corresponding manumission documents.⁴⁴⁹ At the Asklepieion of Lissos, a valuable pair of inscriptions has been discovered, one for manumission with *paramone* (**21**) and the other for *apolyxis* (**22**).

Even after release from *paramone*, ex-slaves were sometimes still subject to various intrusions on their lives, in the form of continued obligations.⁴⁵⁰ They might be freed into a life with constraints, as manumitters could require what they would, in non-normative, extraordinary stipulations.⁴⁵¹ Here, we will focus on the religious obligations of manumitted slaves (cf. **21**, **23**). Sacred manumissions frequently required freed slaves to serve the god(dess) to whom they were dedicated; to supervise the deity's shrine and cult, perhaps on particular days; or to be involved with familial cult.⁴⁵² Greek freed(wo)men maintained ties with their former masters and the sanctuary in which they were manumitted.⁴⁵³

It is safe to conclude that many if not all *poleis* charged –in kind or in cash– for registering manumissions.⁴⁵⁴ At Athens, the *phialai exeleutherikai* tablets are a prime source of information on the manumission of slaves there; each slave offered a 100 drachma silver bowl (a *phiale*) after acquittal in a fictitious action brought by the former owner.⁴⁵⁵ At Macedonian Beroia, in the third quarter of the 3rd century B.C., the mandatory dedication of vessels of a certain value –*phialai*, *skyphoi* or *kerata*– was a way to impose on the freed a sort of state tax, payable to a sanctuary under royal control.⁴⁵⁶

21–24D. THE CRETAN EVIDENCE

In light of the information presented above, the Cretan evidence for manumission is intriguing. At Gortyn and generally in Crete, documents concerning manumission are relatively scarce.⁴⁵⁷ Until now, they consistently mention payment to the manumitter as the price of freedom. Eight documents are thus far known from Gortyn;⁴⁵⁸ a ninth, initially attributed to Pyloros, may have come from Gortyn as well.⁴⁵⁹ As a group, they are dated to the 5th century B.C., between the 4th–3rd century B.C., and to the 2nd century B.C. A tenth inscription from the late 1st century B.C. Diktyннаion, in northwestern Crete, also refers to manumission.⁴⁶⁰

Hellenistic Gortyn apparently had greater control of manumission than is known in other *poleis* in the Greek world; Gortynian inscriptions provide the only explicit evidence of such formal regulations, pointing to direct involvement of the state in private transactions.⁴⁶¹ An early 2nd century B.C. inscription records not only the manumission of a female slave but also payment from the freedwoman to the polis in the event of manumission; another payment to a treasurer is due 12 days after manumission.⁴⁶² A Gortynian decree to regulate the procedure of manumission and establish the financial obligations of manumitted slaves, dated 150 B.C., mentions payments in both cash and vessels.⁴⁶³ The manumission inscription attributed to Pyloros, in the Gortynian

447. Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 235 and 237.

448. Tucker 1982, 226, citing 12 pairs of inscriptions and one trio.

449. Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 235.

450. Sosin 2015, 344.

451. Sosin 2015, 344–45.

452. Darmezis 1999, 219–22; Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 232.

453. Youni 2005, 193.

454. Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 201.

455. Cohen 2015, 53.

456. Youni 2005, 186.

457. Magnelli 1998, 95–6.

458. *JCr* IV 62, early 5th century B.C. (date in Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 113–14); 231–36, dated to the 4th–3rd century B.C. (236), the 3rd century B.C. (231, 233–34) and the 2nd century B.C. (232, 235); Magnelli 1998, dated to the 2nd century B.C.

459. *JCr* I, xxv 4; *JCr* IV ad 231–36, where dated to the 3rd–2nd century B.C.

460. *JCr* II, xi 3, line 12.

461. Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 90.

462. *JCr* IV 235; Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 85.

463. Magnelli 1998 cf. *SEG* XLVIII 1208; Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 87.

Messara, records the payment of an unpreserved sum in the presence of the manumitters, to be received by a treasurer.⁴⁶⁴ The inscription from the Diktynnaion mentions a slave who paid 250 *denarii* and dedicated himself to temple life and service.⁴⁶⁵

The following four inscriptions from Lissos (21–24) are not only the sole examples of sacred manumission thus far known for Crete but also the only ones that mention children born to a female slave. Three of them refer not to payment in kind or cash, but to children born during or after *paramone*.

21. STELE WITH MANUMISSION OF A FEMALE SLAVE WITH *PARAMONE*

21A. DISCOVERY AND CURRENT LOCATION

One fragment collected from inside the temple, May 27, 1958; another found during cleaning of the mosaic, July 26, 1959.⁴⁶⁶ The discovery of the fragments containing the first three lines (fragment E148A) and those containing the rest of line 7 and all of lines 8–12 (E148B) are not noted in Platon's diaries.⁴⁶⁷ Now in the Chania Museum; M.Ch. inv. nos. E112 and E148A–B (pl. 11a–d).

21B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 151.

21C. DESCRIPTION AND MEASUREMENTS

A marble stele, consisting of fragment E112 (composed of three joining fragments) and fragment E148A–B (composed of two sections, each comprising smaller fragments). Fragment E112 has a pediment with pinecone on top, a raised shield in the middle, and small acroteria on the right. The full width of fragment E148A is preserved. Marble white (M 5Y 8/1). Rear surface unfinished, with traces of mortar on the left-hand fragment. Left, right and bottom edges with molding preserved. Th 0.023–0.028 m. Letter H 0.025–0.032 m throughout.

Fragment E112

Max. H 0.16 m, max. W 0.232 m. Letters begin 0.013 m from molding. Vertical of Φ 0.05 m tall; guidelines faintly visible at the top of lines 2–3, bottom of line 2, with intervals between lines.

Fragment E148A

Max. H 0.425 m, W 0.48 m. Letters begin 0.025 m from left molding and 0.01 m from right (line 1), 0.01 m from left molding and up to right molding (lines 2–3), letters at the left molding (line 4); 0.008 m from left (line 5), 0.01 m (line 6), 0.015 m (lines 7–8).

Fragment E148B

Max. H 0.41 m, max. W 0.395 m. Letters begin 0.005 m from the left molding in line 7; on the molding in line 8; 0.003 m in line 9; 0.004 m in line 9; 0.02 m in line 10; 0.005 m in line 11.

464. *ICr* I, xxv 4.

465. *ICr* II, xi 3, line 12, dated 6 B.C.

466. Platon (forthcoming). For the temple, see Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Space U; cf. fig. 6 here.

467. Platon (forthcoming).

21D. LETTER FORMS

Letters cleanly, carefully cut, with some apices. Pronounced diagonals for Α, Δ, Λ, sometimes curving, sometimes with crossing top strokes; lunate Ε, Σ, Ω; Θ with crossbar both short and long; Μ with curved verticals and inner strokes; Ρ with high, round loop; Υ with flaring diagonals.

21E. DATE

2nd century A.D.

21F. TEXT

	Θεῶ Ἀσκληπιῶ Δη-	E148A
	μοσθένης Σώσου	
	ἐχαρίσατο [.².]ΝΕ	
	ΚΗΝ τὴν Σ[...⁵-⁶...]	E148A + E112
5	καὶ Συμφο[...⁴-⁵..]	E112 + E148B
	ἰδίαν δούλ[την .³.]	
	παραστῆσα[.². παι]	
	δία πέντε τ[...⁵..]	E148B
	ἐλευθέρᾱ, ἀπ[ελευ-	
10	θέρᾱ τοῦ θεο[ῦ ποι-]	
	οὔσα ὅσα δεῖ πρ[ὸς]	
	θηρησκείαν τοῦ θε[οῦ].	

Line 3	at the end of the line, upper part of Ν; upper curve of lunate Ε; upper vertical of Ι
Line 4	two widely spaced verticals of Η
Line 5	left curve of Ο
Line 6	lower left diagonal of Λ
Line 7	upper peak of Α; upper curve of lunate Σ; lower diagonal of second Α
Line 8	all but horizontal of Π
Line 9	vertical of Π
Line 11	left vertical and horizontal of Ρ
Line 12	all but the lower curve of both first and final Ε

21G. COMMENTARY

Sacred manumission

Like most manumission inscriptions with a type of dedicatory formula, this one was written on a stele, which was to be thought of as a dedication in its own right. In Macedonian inscriptions, setting up *stelai* with acts of sacred manumission was so common that the verb στηλ(λ)ογραφῶ was used as a synonym of “consecrate.”⁴⁶⁸ In the Roman period, for Greek freed(wo)men without Roman citizenship, *stelai* were inscribed in sanctuaries.⁴⁶⁹

468. See, e.g., the many examples of στηλ(λ)ογραφῶ in the indices of Gounaropoulou et al. 2015.

469. Youni 2005, 193.

At Thespieae, two manumission inscriptions refer specifically to *stelai* (cf. **22**).⁴⁷⁰ Another text provides evidence that such *stelai* were to be periodically renewed.⁴⁷¹

This text begins with a clear statement of dedication to the god Asklepios. The dedicator's full name is preserved: Δημοσθένης, son of Σώσος. The personal name Δημοσθένης is attested here for the first time on Crete; Δημοσθένης –with A rather than H– is, however, attested for a man from Crete in the mid–3rd century B.C.⁴⁷² The name of Demosthenes' father, Sosos, is attested at 2nd–1st century B.C. Elyros.⁴⁷³ The verb χαρίζομαι is one of the standard verbs used for the consecration of slaves by owners for the purpose of freedom.⁴⁷⁴

The manumitted slave

After ἐχαρίσατο an accusative is in order,⁴⁷⁵ a need satisfied by [.².]NEIKHN. These letters are almost certainly part of a Greek personal name, ending in –νείκη or –νεική and modified by τὴν Σ[...⁵⁻⁶...] καὶ Συμφο[..⁴⁻⁵..]. NEIKH is best taken as the second element of the manumitted slave's name.⁴⁷⁶ Lewis argues persuasively that slaves, in classical Athens and beyond, tended to bear not foreign or ethnic names but Greek personal names, like those of the society in which they served.⁴⁷⁷ Both Σ[...⁵⁻⁶...] and Συμφο[..⁴⁻⁵..] appear to be the Greek personal names of the slave's former owners. It is tempting to restore Σ[ῶσου] at the end of line 4, but the four characters are not quite enough to fill out the line. For Συμφο[..⁴⁻⁵..], compare the masculine name Σύμφορος at Elyros in the 2nd–3rd century A.D., which would leave room for τὴν at the end of the line.⁴⁷⁸ It is tantalizing to entertain the possibility that Demosthenes was an heir of two kins(wo)men, one discharging his responsibility to manumit a family slave. The female slave manumitted here is further identified as (τὴν) ἰδίαν δούλην, perhaps Demosthenes' personal slave. Δούλη is an unusually accurate term, rather than one of the more ambiguous terms more often employed;⁴⁷⁹ what we may see here is Roman influence in using δούλη as the equivalent of *serva*, rather than a term such as σῶμα.⁴⁸⁰

Manumission with obligation(s) (paramone)

The text goes on in lines 7–8 to attach an obligation to the slave's manumission, that she bear five children. The three letter spaces at the end of line 6 could be filled with the conjunction ἵνα, to express the purpose for which the slave was dedicated to Asklepios.⁴⁸¹ Παραστησα- in line 5 could be supplemented as an aorist participle in the nominative (παραστήσασα, like [ποι]οῦσα in lines 10–11) or the accusative (παραστήσασαν, to agree with δούλην) or else as an aorist imperative (παραστησάτω).⁴⁸² The first possibility is encouraged by the wording of **22**, which uses the participle ποιήσασα in line 5; either this nominative form or the imperative would leave three

470. Darmezis 1999, 102–3 no. 137 = *IG VIII* 1780; 1999, 103–4 no. 138.

471. Darmezis 1999, 83–4 no. 118.

472. *LGPNI*, 117, citing *IG V* 2, 368, 34.

473. *ICr II*, xii 17.

474. Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 86.

475. Cf. Petsas et al. 2000, nos. 47, 82 and 134.

476. NEIK is a variant of NIK; feminine names that have the requisite two letters before NIKH include Γενική (*LGPNI* IIIA, 98); Εὐνική (*LGPNI*, 180; II, 178; IV, 133; VA, 179; VB, 164; VC, 156); Ἰονική (*LGPNI* II, 235) and Ἰωνική (*LGPNI* IIIA, 226; VA, 234; VB, 221 for a *threpte*; VC, 203); Λανική (*LGPNI* II, 279); Ξενική (*LGPNI* IV, 259); and Πανική (*LGPNI* IIIA, 350).

477. Lewis 2017, 189 (classical Athens), 191 (Delphi), 196 (Rhodian gravestones), 200 (Rheneia, next to Delos), 205.

478. *ICr II*, xiii 16. Σύμφορον and Σύμφορος are widely attested names. Both are cataloged in *LGPNI*, 416; II, 409–10; IIIA, 406; IIIB, 388; and VB, 393. Σύμφορος is also listed in *LGPNI* IV, 320; VA, 415; and VC, 400. Longer names would require omission of τὴν at the end of line 5. Should the second former owner of our slave be the wife of the first, we can look to the name Συμφορίζ (*LGPNI* IIIA, 406; IV, 320; VA, 414; VC, 400). Longer masculine names include Συμφοριανός (*LGPNI* VB, 393) and Συμφοριών (*LGPNI* II, 409; IIIB, 388; IV, 320; VA, 414; VC, 400).

479. Petsas et al. 2000, 37.

480. Paluchowski 2016, 111–12.

481. Cf., e.g., Petsas et al. 2000, nos. 22 and 34, where the purpose of manumission is service to the goddess on festival days; Goumaropoulou et al. 2015, no. 143, where the purpose is that the slave remain at the side of her manumitters.

482. For forms of παρίστημι in manumission inscriptions, see *SEG XXXIII* 430 cf. Dunant 1951, 311–12 no. 3 from mid–1st century A.D. Delphi; and Segre and Pugliese Carratelli 1952, 199 from mid–1st century A.D. Kalymnos.

letter spaces for the beginning of *παιδία*. Five is a rather high number of children,⁴⁸³ but not an extraordinary one. In a manumission inscription from 4th century B.C. Olympia, to cite an extreme example, the eleven children of a slave named Sphinga were freed and made *hiaroi* to Zeus.⁴⁸⁴ The end of line 8 is resistant to restoration; if the conjunction *ἴνα* appeared in line 6, a verb form such as *ῆ* might appear, in order to say that the purpose of the dedication was that the slave be free after bearing five children.

By lines 9–12 the text clearly uses the nominative, as it describes the manumitted woman as free, a freed-woman of the god who is to do what is necessary for the worship of the god. The term *ἐλευθέρρα* leaves no doubt that sacred manumission and fulfillment of her obligations has resulted in her being truly, legally free.⁴⁸⁵ The combination *ἐλευθέρρα* and *ἀπελευθέρρα*, which might seem odd at first glance, is loosely paralleled by combinations of *ἐλεύθερον* and *ιερόν* at Hellenistic Kos and in Boiotia.⁴⁸⁶ The nominative participle in lines 9–12 is almost certainly *[ποι]οῦσα*, as part of a clause requiring the freed slave to offer services to the sanctuary of her manumission on fixed days, e.g., festival days.⁴⁸⁷

22. STELE FRAGMENT WITH *APOLYSIS* OF THE SAME FEMALE SLAVE

22A. DISCOVERY AND CURRENT LOCATION

Handed over to Platon during excavations by A. Louyiakis, June 27, 1959.⁴⁸⁸ Now in the Chania Museum; M.Ch. inv. no. E108 (pl. 12).

22B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

In his annual report on excavations at Lissos in 1959, Platon mentions an inscription on a stele concerning a female slave dedicated to the temple with a reference to childbearing;⁴⁸⁹ Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 151.

22C. DESCRIPTION AND MEASUREMENTS

Left half of the upper part of a marble stele with pediment and upper register formed by carved moldings; left edge intact, including the left pediment, except broken at upper left corner; broken at right and bottom. Marble light gray (M 5Y 7/1) with gray veins (M 5Y 6/1). Line 1 inscribed in register of pediment, begins 0.208 m from left; lines 2–6 inside a field created by carved moldings above and to left; line 7 broken at left but tops of letters visible; line 7 resumes after breakage.

Max. H 0.183 m; max. W 0.30 m; Th 0.018 m. Back semifinished, with remnants of mortar. Letter H 0.012–0.015 m (line 1), 0.019–0.023 m (lines 2–3), 0.009–0.012 m (lines 4–6).

22D. LETTER FORMS

Letter forms somewhat attenuated, red color preserved in channels. A with straight or diagonal crossbar; Δ, Λ narrow and tall; lunate E, Σ, Ω; Θ with straight crossbar and with dot; cursive M, P, Υ.

483. Kamen, pers. comm.

484. Guarducci 1975, 274.

485. Youni 2005, 187–88.

486. *IG XII 4 1*, 349 (Kos); Darnezin 1999, 181–82 (Boiotia). See also Rizakis and Touratsoglou 1985, no. 59, for the phrase *ἐλευθέραν ναοῦ* at early–2nd century A.D. Elimeia.

487. Youni 2005, 189.

488. Platon (forthcoming).

489. Platon 1959a, 376.

22E. DATE

2nd century A.D., by comparison with **21**.

22F. TEXT

Ἀγαθῆ Τ[ύχη.]
 παρὰ Δημοσθένους [Σώσου^{ca. 10} ἡ]
 πρὸ ταύτης στήλη ΔΕΔ[.....^{ca. 16}.....]
 ΣΑΚΛΗΝ θεῶ Ἀσκληπιῶ δούλην Δ[.....^{ca. 24}.....]
 5 ΤΛΑΣ ὅπως ποιήσασα τέκνα πέντε [.....^{ca. 24}.....]
 ἄλλο ἀνάγκην ἔχουσα ὑπακού[ειν^{ca. 21}.....]
 [.....¹².....]καὶ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῆ[ς τέκνα^{ca. 18}.....]

Line 1	at the right margin, all but the right apex of T preserved
Line 2	at the right margin the left curve of lunate Σ
Line 3	at the right margin, all but the right angle of Δ
Line 4	at the right margin, all but the right corner of final Δ
Line 6	from the left margin, upper peaks of ΛΛ; left curve of Ο; upper peak of Α; all but lower right of Ν; upper peak of third Α; horizontal and upper vertical of Γ; upper vertical and diagonal of Κ; all but the lower verticals of Η
Line 7	upper vertical and diagonal of Κ; upper peak of Α; upper vertical of Ι; horizontal and upper vertical of Τ; upper diagonals of Α; all but the lower horizontals of Ε and Ζ; the upper peak of Α; diagonals of Υ; horizontal and upper vertical of Τ; upper verticals of Η

22G. COMMENTARY

Invocation

An invocation to good fortune, for what is to follow, appears in the upper register of the stele.

The manumittor

The manumittor was Demosthenes, son of Sosos, whose full name appears in fragment E148A of **21**. Here, he is named in the genitive, after the preposition παρὰ, which suggests either that the stele originated with him or that it is the result of a letter he sent to the authorities of the sanctuary;⁴⁹⁰ in either case the stele publicizes the *apolyxis* of the slave manumitted in **21**.

The stele

The phrase ἡ πρὸ ταύτης στήλη (line 3) can be taken, most simply and economically, to refer to a pre-existing stele or else one physically in front of this one in the temple (**21**?). The letters ΔΕΔ in line 2 might belong to a form of δίδωμι. At Thessalian Pherai, a manumission inscription of the second half of the 1st century B.C. includes an active participle in the phrase οἱ δεδωκότες.⁴⁹¹ Here, what is needed is not an active form that would

490. See Petsas et al. 2000, 57–9 for a discussion of the written documents, kept in the archives of the sanctuary under the eye of the priest(ess) and temple personnel, to whom they had been sent. Cf. Gounaropoulou and Hatzopoulos 1998, nos. 53, 54, and 56 for deposited deeds of donation.

491. Guarducci 1975, 288.

require a direct object, but a passive one to modify στήλη.

The manumitted slave

At first sight, the letters ΣΑΚΛΗ in Greek inscriptions lead only to an elite masculine name, Σακλής, attested four times in 4th century B.C. Arkadia⁴⁹² and twice in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. in the Cimmerian Bosphoros.⁴⁹³ Should the Σ belong to the end of a word from line 3, see the masculine name Ἀκλής, attested for a possible sculptor at Telos in the 2nd–3rd century A.D.⁴⁹⁴ On further investigation, it emerges that this stele may record a Greek personal name for the manumitted slave. Σακλέα was the name of a woman from Arkadian Megalopolis in the 2nd/3rd century A.D.;⁴⁹⁵ Σακλήν could be a Doric variant of Σακλέαν.⁴⁹⁶

This name, different from that recorded in **21**, could be understood as one the slave bore after manumission.⁴⁹⁷ Lewis takes note of the possibility that –in classical Athens, at hellenistic Delphi and elsewhere– some slaves may have altered their names after they were freed.⁴⁹⁸ He draws particular attention to the difference between public documents, which are more likely to preserve the types of name slave-owning citizens bestowed upon their slaves, and private documents such as dedications and epitaphs, which are more likely to give the names employed by slaves for themselves and in reference to each other.⁴⁹⁹ Here, the Greek name [.².]νεϊκή or [.².]νεϊκή appears in the manumission inscription in which Demosthenes dedicated the slave to Asklepios, subject to *paramone* (**21**), while the name Σακλή may appear in the inscription in which she is released after the fulfillment of her obligations (**22**).

It is difficult to interpret the letters ΤΛΑΣ at the beginning of line 5. The name Τλᾶσις is attested at Lissos in the 2nd century B.C. (**3**). These letters can also be the end of a masculine name in the nominative, Ἄτλας⁵⁰⁰ or Πολύτλας.⁵⁰¹ An amphora stamp at Syracuse bears the letters ΤΛΑ, tentatively supplemented to read Τλα[σ...];⁵⁰² an archaic inscription from Cretan Rhizenia includes the letters ΤΛΑΣ.⁵⁰³ Alternatively, these letters could preserve the end of the masculine nominative singular form of the aorist participle of ἀνατλήναι,⁵⁰⁴ attested in one honorary inscription⁵⁰⁵ and in two funerary epigrams.⁵⁰⁶

Paramone and release therefrom

It is again difficult to interpret the word ἄλλο, at the beginning of line 6, but it is possible that the slave manumitted here is to be subject to nothing else –or to bearing no other child (sc. τέκνον?)– after bearing her five children. The latter interpretation is supported by the text of **21**, which tells us that she is to become a freed-woman of the god Asklepios and to do whatever is necessary for the worship of the god.

The vocabulary used in this text is somewhat different from that employed in **21**: the participle ποιήσασα –in the feminine and so modifying the manumitted slave– is in the aorist tense, like that employed in **21**, where a form of παρίστημι is used; the manumitted slave's five children are called τέκνα rather than παιδιά (as in **21**), the latter a word that can mean a young slave as well as a small or young child.⁵⁰⁷

492. *LGN* IIIA, 387.

493. *LGN* IV, 303.

494. *LGN* I, 23.

495. *LGN* IIIA, 387 cf. n. 492 above.

496. Smyth 1956, §51b.

497. Kamen 2012, 174–75.

498. Lewis 2017, 186 (Athens), 195 (Delphi), 206.

499. Lewis 2017, 203–4.

500. *IG* IV² 1, 354, a freedman at Epidauros; *IIG* Bulg I² 318 at Mesambria.

501. *IG* XII 9, 245, 274 and 276 at Eretria. Compare the adjective πολύτλας, meaning “much-enduring” (LSJ⁹ s.v. πολύτλας).

502. *IG* XIV 2393, 496.

503. *ICr* I, xxviii 1.

504. LSJ⁹ s.v. ἀνατλήναι, meaning “enduring.” An aorist participle of the poetic verb τλάω would be surprising in a manumission inscription.

505. *SEG* XVIII 195.

506. *IGUR* III 1385; *SEG* XLI 939.

507. LSJ⁹ s.v. παιδίον.

The text breaks off in line 7 with a reference to the manumitted slave's children, without telling us whether they were to be freed together with their mother, or handed over to Demosthenes. For the phrase τὰ ἐξ αὐτῆς τέκνα, compare **23**. The use of the word τέκνα rather than παιδιά, as in **21**, raises the possibility that, after the mother's manumission, her children were likewise free. The possibility that they were freed together with their mother is paralleled in an inscription from the sanctuary of Asklepios in Krounoi in the 2nd century B.C.;⁵⁰⁸ the fact that children eventually born by a manumitted slave share her status is very often mentioned in the manumissions from Macedonia.⁵⁰⁹

23. MANUMISSION (?) STELE FRAGMENTS

23A. DISCOVERY AND LOCATION

Fragment D found in the southwest corner of the temple, May 28, 1958; fragment A also found in the southwest corner of the cella, May 30, 1958.⁵¹⁰ Now in the Chania Museum; M.Ch. inv. no. E111A–F (pl. 13a–e).

23B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 152.

23C. DESCRIPTION AND MEASUREMENTS

Six fragments of a marble stele, with molding on the right side of Fragments A and F; compare, possibly, the molding visible in Platon's drawing of **30**. Fragments D and E can be joined, with E to the right of D. Marble light gray to gray (M 2.5YR 7/2 to 5Y 6/1). Th of all fragments 0.008 m. Letter H 0.015 – 0.017 m on all fragments.

Fragment A

H 0.095 m, W 0.143–0.15 m, Th 0.008 m. This fragment comes from the right side and end of the inscription, to judge from the molding preserved on its right margin and the *vacat* below the last line. The molding is 0.03 m from the right edge; after line 2 an unscribed space of 0.04–0.05 m. Letters run up to the molding in line 1, end 0.017 m before the molding in line 2. The back is semi-finished, with traces of mortar.

Fragment B

Max. H 0.055 m, max. W 0.045 m.

Fragment C

Max. H 0.035 m, max. W 0.03 m.

Fragment D

Max. H 0.09 m, max. W 0.075 m.

508. Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 163.

509. See, for example, the indices of Gounaropoulou et al. 2015, s.v. ἐπιγεννῶ.

510. Platon (forthcoming). For the temple and its cella, see Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Space U; cf. fig. 6 here.

Fragment E

Max. H 0.065 m, max. W 0.05 m. Line 2 ends 0.012 m from the broken margin, and so may be part of the right side of the inscription, even without the molding preserved.

Fragment F

Max. H 0.047 m, max. W 0.05 m. This fragment comes from the right side of the inscription, to judge from the molding preserved on the right margin. Line 1 ends 0.017 m before molding; line 2 ends 0.005 m before molding.

23D. LETTER FORMS

Letters attenuated, somewhat cursive, with lunate E, Σ, and Ω; red coloring preserved; faint guidelines visible on fragments A, C, D, E.

23E. DATE

2nd/3rd century A.D.

23F. TEXT

Fragment A

[...τήν] προειρημένην δού-
[λην ... τὰ ἐξ αὐτ]ῆς ἐσόμενα
vacat

Fragment B

[...]Ο[...]
[...]ΗΝΤΗ[...]
[...]ΚΕΙ | | [...]

Fragment C

[...]ΝΕΙC[...]

Fragments D+E

[...]ΚΙΝΝ[Α...]
[...] θρησκείαν Η[...]
[...] καὶ οἱ κληρονό-
[μοι ...] *vacat?*

Fragment F

[...]ΙΟ
[...]ΚΑΙ

Fragment A

Line 1	right vertical of Π; between Δ and Υ a small, raised Ο
--------	--

Fragment B

Line 3	upper vertical and diagonal of Κ; top of two verticals after ΕΙ
--------	---

Fragments D+E

Line 1	lower vertical and diagonal of Κ; all but upper right vertical of second Ν
Line 2	right lower curve of Θ; all but upper left peak of Ν; all but upper verticals of Η
Line 3	upper vertical and diagonal of Κ; all but lower left diagonal of Α; all but lower apex of Ι; all but lower curve of Ο; all but lower verticals of Η; small space after final Ο

Fragment F

Line 2	apex of upper diagonal of Κ
--------	-----------------------------

23G. COMMENTARY

Sacred manumission

Fragments D and E, which can be joined, preserve a possible name and two words that contribute to our understanding them as part of a manumission stele. Fragment E, moreover, may be from the right side of the inscription, to judge from the vacant space at the end of line 2. In line 1 the letters KINN[A] are, in all likelihood, the beginning or end of a Greek personal name that might belong to a woman of free, freed, or servile status.⁵¹¹ Five of the eight or nine names that contain these letters are feminine: Γλαύκιννα, Γλύκιννα, Κινναμής, Λύκιννα, and Μίκιννα.⁵¹² We can take note that Γλύκιννα is a name attested for freedwomen.⁵¹³

Lines 2–3 certainly preserve two recognizable terms: θρησκεία in the accusative singular –a word that appears in 21– and the phrase καὶ οἱ κληρονόμοι. The word θρησκεία points to the manumission of a slave obligated to serve the god to whom she was consecrated, or to supervise the god’s shrine and cult. Judging from the term οἱ κληρονόμοι, the manumission could have been testamentary, an act of sacred manumission put into effect according to the will of the deceased former owner of the slave;⁵¹⁴ alternatively, this could be a reference to the consent of other family members, such as the heirs of the manumittor, who might consent to the dedication or be prohibited from re-enslaving the freedwoman.

The manumitted slave and her future children

Fragment A appears to come not only from the right side of the inscription, but from its end, to judge from the *vacat* below the last line of letters. It contains two recognizable, diagnostic phrases that continue to suggest these are fragments of a manumission stele. The remnants of the word δού[λην] are the clearest indication; the whole phrase [τήν] προειρημενήν δού[λην] is compatible with an act of manumission. It is quite common in more elaborate acts of manumission to avoid using the name of the slave a second time, when a provision for her/

511. Cf. *LGPVC*, 219 for KINNA(?) as a possible Greek personal name.

512. Γλαύκιννα: *LGPNI*, 93. Γλύκιννα: *LGPNI*, 109; *IIIA*, 100; *IIIB*, 93; *IV*, 81; *VA*, 110–11; *VB*, 91. Κινναμής: *LGPNI* *IIIA*, 241. Λύκιννα: *LGPNI* *IIIB*, 262; *VA*, 273. Μίκιννα: *LGPNI* *VA*, 317.

513. Γλύκιννα in southern Italy: *LGPNI* *IIIA*, 100.

514. See Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 75 and Sosin 2015, 353–55 on manumission by will and testament.

him is noted⁵¹⁵ The phrase [τὰ ἐξ αὐτ]ῆς ἐσόμενα (cf. **22**) can be read as a prescription that future children –sc. τέκνα as in **22** rather than παιδία as in **21**– of the female slave will share her new status.⁵¹⁶

24. MANUMISSION (?) STELE FRAGMENTS

24A. DISCOVERY AND CURRENT LOCATION

According to the Chania Museum inventory card, this inscription came to the museum from Lissos in 1957, the year when Platon first came to Lissos in response to reports of antiquities found at the site.⁵¹⁷ Now in the Chania Museum; M.Ch. inv. no. E109A–B (pl. 14a–b).

24B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 152.

24C. DESCRIPTION AND MEASUREMENTS

Two fragments of a light gray marble plaque (M 2.5Y 7/1), joining at the right, in the seventh preserved line of the inscription. Fragment A: left and right edge of bottom of inscribed surface. Fragment B: the upper right part of the same plaque, but top broken. Possibly a re-used stone, to judge from the decorative motif on the rear surface; rear surface finished with borders 0.035 m from the left edge and 0.03 m from the right edge. Letter H 0.017 m.

Fragment A

Max. H 0.122 m, W 0.22 m, Th 0.008 m. From the left edge, letters begin 0.012 m (line 1), 0.01 m (lines 2–3), 0.013 m (line 4); from the right edge, letters end 0.012 m (line 1), 0.01 m (line 2), 0.003 m (line 3), 0.067 m (line 4). Uninscribed space of 0.013–0.041 m below line 4.

Fragment B

H 0.145 m, max. W 0.065 m, Th 0.08 m. From the right edge letters end 0.03 m (line 1), go up to and over edge (lines 2–6), 0.013 m from edge (line 7).

24D. LETTER FORMS

In both fragments, letter forms attenuated, cursive; Δ and Λ with pronounced left diagonal; K with broad diagonals; M with curved inner strokes extending to the line; Ξ of a form similar to Bandy's no. 107;⁵¹⁸ O thin and angular; P with high small loop; quadrate Σ; Φ with diamond-shaped loop; lunate Ω.

515. Compare, e.g., inscriptions from late 3rd century B.C. Boiotian Koroneia (Darnezin 1999, 100 no. 135, τὰ προειρημέ[να]) and Delphi around 129 B.C. (*FdD* III 1, 566, τοὺς προειρημένους ὡς ἐλευθέρους ὄντας).

516. Sosin 2015, 339–42. For the present participle of εἰμί in phrases denoting the children of a female slave, compare Gouaropoulou et al. 2015, nos. 157 and 164. For the preposition ἐκ/ἐξ, compare **22**, here; Gouaropoulou et al. 2015, nos. 157 and 164; for the phrase τὰ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐπιγεννώμενα, cf. Gouaropoulou et al. 2015, no. 65.

517. Platon 1959b; cf. 1962, 12.

518. Bandy 1970, 25.

24E. DATE

2nd/3rd century A.D.

24F. TEXT

B1	[..... ^{ca. 13}]ΥΚΕ
	[..... ^{ca. 11}]ΝΙΤΑΥ
	[..... ^{ca. 11}]ΦΟΡΟΝ
	[..... ^{ca. 11}]ΤΑΣΤΗ
5	[..... ^{ca. 11}]Υ δ' ἐγὼ
	[..... ^{ca. 11}]Α ἔξου-
B7-A1	σῖα. εἰ δὲ μὴ γε, ὁ ἐπιχει- ρήσας δώσει εἰς τὸ κυρι- ακὸν ἀράριον ὑπὲρ ἐκάσ- του <i>vac</i> * δισχειλία

Line B1	upper right diagonal of Υ
Line B3	all but the lower right diamond-shaped loop of Φ
Line B4	right horizontal and lower apex of Τ
Line B5	upper right diagonal of Υ
Line B6	right diagonal and peak of Α
Line B7-A1	lower vertical and horizontal of quadrate Σ; all but upper apex of Ι; all but upper horizontals of Ε and Π

24G. COMMENTARY

Too little is preserved from Fragment B to support commentary, except for the apparent pronoun ἐγὼ at the end of line 5. A first person pronoun would not be out of place in a sacred manumission act, where dedicant(s) often speak in the first person.⁵¹⁹ In combination with the wording to come, we can interpret these as fragments of a manumission stele.

Prescription

Given the phrase εἰ δὲ μὴ γε in line A1, what could have appeared before it is a prescription, that no one have power to infringe on a manumitted slave's freedom.⁵²⁰ Alternatively, this phrase could have been preceded by a clause concerning *paramone*, the slave's obligation to abide by the requirements laid down by the manumittor.⁵²¹ The first of these possibilities is suggested by the coming substantive, ὁ ἐπιχειρήσας. Either of these possibilities leads naturally to clauses concerning violation of the prescription and the penalty for violation.

519. See, e.g., manumissions from Edessa that use the first person pronoun in oblique forms (Gouaropoulou et al. 2015, nos. 143–44, 161, 165, 171) or first person verb forms (Gouaropoulou et al. 2015, nos. 143–44, 150, 152, 156–57, 161, 165, 169, 171).

520. With the nominative form ἐξουσία –in the phrase ἐξουσία δὲ ἔστω– see *SGDI* II 1951 from Delphi, 194 B.C.; *SGDI* II 2296 from Delphi, 150–40 B.C.; and *IG IX* 1, 190 and 194 from Tithora in the beginning of the 2nd century A.D.

521. Cf. examples with the accusative ἐξουσίαν (*FdD* III 2, 233; III 3, 386; III 6, 11; *SGDI* II 2171).

Violation

The substantive ὁ ἐπιχειρήσας is the masculine nominative singular of the aorist participle of ἐπιχειρέω; forms of this verb are more common in funerary inscriptions, but the meaning is also compatible with a manumission inscription. A mid–3rd century A.D. manumission inscription from Leukopetra includes both the verb form ἐπιχει[ρήση], and three lines later a provision that the penalty for infringement be paid to the imperial fisc ([... δώσει τῷ ἱερωτά]τῳ Καίσαρος φίσκῳ).⁵²²

The imperial aerarium (α(ι)ράριον)

The phrase εἰς τὸ κυριακὸν ἀράριον specifies that the penalty be paid to the imperial treasury;⁵²³ elsewhere the adjective κυριακός appears in inscriptions not with αἰράριον but with either ταμεῖον (treasury) or φίσκον (fisc).⁵²⁴ The noun αἰράριον is a transliteration of the Latin *aerarium*, a public treasury, a term used especially for the Roman fiscus or for provincial treasuries.⁵²⁵ For the increasingly common confusion between the imperial fiscus and the public (senatorial) *aerarium*, see the comments of Crawford and Schneider.⁵²⁶

The penalty

The symbol * stands for for *denarii*, 2000 of which are to be paid to the imperial *aerarium* on each occasion or for each person violated (ὕπερ ἐκάστου). This is a substantial penalty, yet well within the range of such penalties in manumission inscriptions.⁵²⁷ The phrase ὕπερ ἐκάστου raises the possibility that, if more than one slave were manumitted by this act, any attempt to re-enslave them would legally result in a separate fine for each of them.⁵²⁸

Display in the Asklepieion

Without information about the discovery of this inscription, we cannot be completely certain it was from the Asklepieion. The marble used for this stone and the decoration on the reverse suggest, however, that the stone originated in the Asklepieion. The possibility that it was a manumission inscription, like **21–23**, also makes display in the Asklepieion more than likely.

F. INSTRUMENTUM DOMESTICUM

25. INSCRIBED LOOMWEIGHT

25A. DISCOVERY AND CURRENT LOCATION

Found in the area of an opening in the *peribolos*, north of the early Hellenistic–Roman house and southwest of the temple, July 5, 1959.⁵²⁹ Now in the Chania Museum, in box 5, Lissos 1958–1959, without inventory number (pl. 15a).

522. Petsas et al. 2000, no. 104.

523. Cf. **4** for another indication that the Asklepieion at Lissos was in part a temple of the imperial cult.

524. PHI s.v. κυριακ-. See, e.g., Rizakis and Touratsoglou 1985, no. 116.

525. LSJ⁹ Rev.Suppl. s.v. αἰράριον, also spelled ἐράριον.

526. Crawford 1996, 190; Schneider 1998, 190.

527. For penalties for infringement in amounts from 2500 to an extraordinary 50,000 denarii, see Gounaropoulou et al. 2015, nos. 161 (2500 denarii), 144 (2750 denarii), 159 (5000 denarii), 157 (5500 denarii), and 168 (50,000 denarii).

528. See, e.g., IG IX 2, 548 for the manumission of four male slaves at Larisa around A.D. 131/2, with the phrase ὕπερ ἐκάστου.

529. Platon (forthcoming). For the early Hellenistic–Roman house, see Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Spaces D–F; cf. fig. 6 here.

25B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

In his annual excavation report Platon wrote that, immediately north of the building with three rooms, there was a narrow ramp leading upward through the wall of the *peribolos* and that sherds with inscriptions were found in the area of the *peribolos*;⁵³⁰ Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 151.

25C. DESCRIPTION AND MEASUREMENTS

Lower half of a loomweight, no holes preserved; broken at right then worn smooth. Clay very pale brown (M 10YR 8/4); no slip; white inclusions; gray discoloration not original.

L 0.0555 m, W 0.083 (back) to 0.092 m (front), Th 0.021–0.023 m; est. Diam 0.09 m; 56% preserved; preserved weight 131 gr. (total est. weight 234 gr.). Letter H 0.016–0.038 m (A 0.028–0.038 m, P 0.015–0.038 m, Ω 0.0.6 m as preserved).

25D. LETTER FORMS

Letters not centered, but beginning well to the right of the left margin, and running up to the right margin. A with longer left diagonal, wedge-shaped cross bar unconnected to diagonals, shorter right diagonal terminating in deep incision; P with tall vertical, high attenuated loop, formed in a single motion from bottom of vertical to top and loop, raised piece of clay where loop joins vertical; Ω lunate, broken at top, with left curve separate from slightly slanted central stroke.

25E. DATE

Hellenistic.

25F. TEXT

Ἀρῶ or Ἀρω()

Line 1	left curve and center stroke of lunate Ω
--------	--

25G. COMMENTARY

A feminine name

On a loomweight, and well to the right of the left margin, APΩ is likely to be the genitive of a feminine name, mostly likely the owner/user of the loomweight. The only name in *LGPN* that can account for these letters is Ἀρῶ, a feminine name attested at Thessalian Azoros in the first half of the 3rd century B.C.⁵³¹ Arvanitopoulos argues that Ἀρῶ cannot be a variant of Ἡρῶ, but appears to be an endearing form of Ἄροσις; this name is attested once at Miletus in 223/2 B.C., but for a Cretan man, son of Eustathes.⁵³²

Connection with the Asklepieion?

Given the discovery of this loomweight in the area of a narrow ramp leading upward through the wall of the

530. Platon 1959a, 378.

531. Ἀρῶ Διαπύρου (Arvanitopoulos 1923, 125 no. 358; *LGPN* III B, 73).

532. *LGPN* I, 81.

peribolos, north of the early Hellenistic–Roman house, this may or may not have been a loomweight destined for dedication in the Asklepieion.

G. INSCRIPTION OF UNIDENTIFIED TYPE

26. FRAGMENT WITH ONE INSCRIBED LETTER

26A. DISCOVERY AND CURRENT LOCATION

The Chania Museum inventory card for this fragment notes that it may be from Lissos, possibly because of the letter A that appears on it. Now in the Chania Museum; M.Ch.inv. no. E196 (pl. 15b).

26B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

This inscription appears in none of the bibliography to date.

26C. DESCRIPTION AND MEASUREMENTS

A fragment of marble broken on all sides. Marble light gray (M 2.5Y 7/1). Max. H 0.085–0.09 m; max. W 0.065 m; Th 0.02 m. Letter H 0.05 m.

26D. LETTER FORM

A with broken cross bar, with prominent apices at the top of the letter, on the broken crossbar, and at the foot of the right diagonal.

26E. DATE

The letter form, particularly the style of apices combined with the broken crossbar, may suggest a date in the Hellenistic period, between the 3rd century B.C. and the 1st century B.C.⁵³³ The prominent apices suggest a date in the 2nd–1st century B.C., by comparison with **13–17**.

26F. TEXT

[...]A[...]

26G. COMMENTARY

This is not a table, as suggested by the Chania Museum inventory card, as its single letter appears not on the edge but on the flat surface. The letter height suggests, moreover, that it belonged to a substantial object of unidentified type.

It is also difficult to tell whether one or more letters appeared before or after A. For stones with a single letter on them, compare the sanctuary complex of Apollo Pythios at Gortyn, where three blocks of the Hellenistic

533. Guarducci 1967, 373.

foundation row of the *pronaos* bear the letter A, displayed in different orientations.⁵³⁴ The excavators suggest they might indicate the quarry, the position of the blocks, or their destined place, the temple of Apollo (*Apolloinos*).⁵³⁵

This inscription is likely to be architectural, perhaps part of an otherwise preserved public inscription not necessarily from the Asklepieion. The large letter preserved –significantly larger than the architectural inscriptions (1–3) or civic decrees (5–17) above– would be visible at a considerable distance.

H. UNLOCATED FRAGMENTS

27. CIVIC DECREE FRAGMENT (EAST FAÇADE?)

27A. DISCOVERY AND CURRENT LOCATION

Found in the front part of the cella of the temple, May 31, 1958.⁵³⁶ Not yet located, neither on site nor in the Chania Museum.

27B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

This fragment does not appear in any of the bibliography to date.

27C. DESCRIPTION AND MEASUREMENTS

Neither description nor measurements are possible, as the stone has not been located.

27D. LETTER FORMS

Platon's drawing does not show any notable letter forms.⁵³⁷

27E. DATE

No date can be suggested until this fragment is located; if it is part of a proxeny inscription, as suggested in **28**, it can be dated to the 2nd–1st century B.C., like **14**.

27F. TEXT

ΑΠ[...]

ΜΕ[...]

ΦΑ[...]

534. Bonetto et al. 2016a, 533–34; Bonetto et al. 2016b, 48 fig. 10.

535. Bonetto et al. 2016b, 534.

536. Platon (forthcoming). For the front part of the cella of the temple, see Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Space U; cf. fig. 6 here.

537. Platon (forthcoming).

27G. COMMENTARY

Platon's drawing does suggest that these letters belong to three lines on the left margin of the inscribed block, like the lines preserved on fragments E269A–B of **14**, also found May 31, 1958. In that case, these could be parts of the names of the *kosmoi*, named before the formula ἔδοξε Λισ[ίων τοῖς κόσ]μοῖς καὶ τᾶ[ι πόλει], cf. **13** and **14**, also found inside the front part of the cella. See **28** for a possible join with the text of **14**.

28. CIVIC DECREE FRAGMENT (EAST FAÇADE?)

28A. DISCOVERY AND CURRENT LOCATION

Found in the front part of the cella of the temple, May 31, 1958.⁵³⁸ Not yet located, neither on site nor in the Chania Museum.

28B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

This fragment does not appear in any of the bibliography to date.

28C. DESCRIPTION AND MEASUREMENTS

Neither description nor measurements are possible until this fragment is located.

28D. LETTER FORMS

Platon's drawing shows no notable letter forms.

28E. DATE

No date can be suggested until this fragment is located; if it is part of a proxeny inscription, as suggested below, it can be dated to the 2nd–1st century B.C., like **14**.

28F. TEXT

[...] NO *vacat*?

[...] ΩΝ [...]

[...] ΠΟΛ [...]

Lines 1–3	Platon's drawing suggests that this was a rather deep block; it looks as though there may have been a <i>vacat</i> after O in line 1 of this fragment. ⁵³⁹
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It might be possible to re-assemble this fragment together with **14** and **27** –all found in the front part of the cella on May 31, 1958– to produce the following text:

538. Platon (forthcoming). For the front part of the cella of the temple, see Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Space U; cf. fig. 6 here.

539. Platon (forthcoming).

	<u>ΑΠ</u> [..... ^{ca.16}]	27
	<u>ΜΕ</u> [..... ^{ca.16}]	
	<u>ΦΑ</u> [... ^{ca.7} ...] <u>ΝΟ</u> <i>vacat?</i>	27+28
	ἔδοξε Λισ[<u>ι</u> <u>ων</u> [τοῖς κόσ-	fragment E269A–B of 14+28
5	μοις καὶ τᾶ[<u>ι</u>] <u>πρόλ</u> [εἰ .. ⁴ ..]	14
	Ἑλλαγόραν [... ^{ca.9}]	
	Ἄπτεραῖον π[ρόξενον]	
	ἡμεν αὐτὸ[ν ^{ca.9} ...]	
	ἡμεν δὲ αὐτοῖς [... ^{ca.7} ...]	

28G. COMMENTARY

In such a combined text, **27** appears to contain letters from the names of three *kosmoi* and their patronymics, followed by the text already analyzed (**14**) and this fragment.

29. CIVIC DECREE FRAGMENT (EAST FAÇADE?)

29A. DISCOVERY AND CURRENT LOCATION

Found while placing stones on the highest part of the north wall of the temple, May 23, 1958.⁵⁴⁰ Not yet located, neither on site nor in the Chania Museum.

29B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

This fragment does not appear in any of the bibliography to date.

29C. DESCRIPTION AND MEASUREMENTS

Neither description nor measurements are possible, as the stone has not been located.

29D. LETTER FORMS

Platon's drawing shows no notable letter forms.

29E. DATE

No date can be assigned until this fragment has been located.

29F. TEXT

[...] ΕΠΑ[...]

[...] ΙΠ[...]

[...] ΥΣ[...]

540. Platon (forthcoming). For the north wall of the temple, see Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Space U; cf. fig. 6 here.

Line 1	at the left margin Platon saw a lower horizontal, e.g., of E, Z, Ζ, or Σ, but did not note an upper horizontal
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29G. COMMENTARY

If this is part of a civic decree, it is tempting to see in line 2 part of the phrase [τᾶ]ι π[όλει]. It is difficult, however, to re-unite this fragment with either of the two other fragments found during reconstruction of the north wall of the temple (16–17).

30. STELE FRAGMENT (FOUND IN AREA EAST OF THE TEMPLE)

30A. DISCOVERY AND CURRENT LOCATION

Found between the krepis of the temple and a late wall to its east, June 20, 1960.⁵⁴¹ Not yet located, neither on site nor in the Chania Museum.

30B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

This fragment does not appear in any of the bibliography to date.

30C. DESCRIPTION AND MEASUREMENTS

Neither description nor measurements are possible until this fragment is located.

30D. LETTER FORMS

Platon's drawing shows no notable letter forms.⁵⁴²

30E. DATE

No date can be assigned until this fragment is located. If the molding matches that of **23**, it could be dated to the 2nd/3rd century A.D.

30F. TEXT

I[...]

IA[...]

II[...]

30G. COMMENTARY

Platon's drawing shows a molding on the left margin, which suggests that it is a fragment from the left edge of an inscription.⁵⁴³ The excavation diary for 1959, cited in Platon's 1960 entry, shows the discovery of two in-

541. Platon (forthcoming). For the area between the krepis of the temple and a late wall to its east, see Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Space K; cf. fig. 6 here.

542. Platon (forthcoming).

543. Platon (forthcoming).

scriptions with moldings on the left margin: (1) fragment E112 of **21**,⁵⁴⁴ whose left margin has been completely restored by combination with fragment E148; and (2) **22**,⁵⁴⁵ of which a single large fragment is preserved, with what appears to be a different molding. Neither is a candidate for the inscription to which this fragment belonged; the text continues to remain elusive. It is tempting to link this fragment with **23**, which has a comparable molding; fragments A and D of **23** appear in the excavation diary for 1958, but four more fragments (B–C and E–F) found in the storerooms of the Chania Museum are not noted in Platon's excavation diaries.

544. Platon (forthcoming).

545. Platon (forthcoming).

APPENDIX

INSCRIPTIONS TO BE (RE)PUBLISHED TOGETHER WITH THE OBJECTS INSCRIBED

A. DEDICATIONS

1. DEDICATION TO ASKLEPIOS AND HYGEIA ON GOLD FOIL

1A. DISCOVERY AND CURRENT LOCATION

Collected from the lower level of the pit at the rear of the cella, May 31, 1958.⁵⁴⁶ Now in the Chania Museum, M.Ch. inv. no. M264.

1B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bultrighini 1993, 107 n.137; Martínez Fernández 2003 (with text); Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 151; to be republished in Markoulaki (forthcoming).

2–14. INSCRIBED BASES FOR STATUE(TTE)S

2–14A. DISCOVERY AND CURRENT LOCATION

Some bases collected during Platon's initial visit to Aï Kyrkou in 1957, from antiquities discovered by locals seeking water; others found during excavations in 1958, heaped in the cella of the temple, in front of the area of the low base at the west end of the temple.⁵⁴⁷ Now in the Chania Museum, M.Ch. inv. nos. in Machaira (forthcoming).

2–14B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Platon 1957, 337; 1958, 466; 1959b, 21; 1962, 12 and 14; 1996, 397; Daux 1958, 798; 1959, 754; Machaira 2011, 437–38; Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 150–51; to be published in Machaira (forthcoming).

⁵⁴⁶ Platon (forthcoming). For the pit at the rear of the cella, see Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Space U; cf. fig. 6 here.

⁵⁴⁷ Platon (forthcoming). For the low base at the west end of the temple, see Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Space U; cf. fig. 6 here.

15. SMALL SNAKE OF GOLD

15A. DISCOVERY AND CURRENT LOCATION

Found leaning against a small square pillar in the west end of the temple, May 24, 1958.⁵⁴⁸ Now in the Chania Museum, M.Ch. inv. no. M263.

15B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Platon 1959b, 21–2 (with text); Bultrighini 1993, 107; *SEG* XLV 1318; Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 151; to be republished in Markoulaki (forthcoming).

16. ALABASTER VOTIVE TABLE DEDICATED BY AN IMPERIAL FREEDMAN

16A. DISCOVERY AND CURRENT LOCATION

Fragments A, C, and D found during excavations of the east wall of the temple, May 23, 1958;⁵⁴⁹ fragment G found inside the temple to the northeast, June 29, 1959.⁵⁵⁰ Now in the Chania Museum, M.Ch. inv. no. E132 A-R.

16B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baldwin Bowsky 1995, 267–69 no. 2 (with text); *AEpigr* 1995, 1622; *SEG* XLV 1323; Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 151; to be republished in Markoulaki (forthcoming).

17. MARBLE TABLE DEDICATED TO ASKLEPIOS SOTER

17A. DISCOVERY AND CURRENT LOCATION

Fragments found in the northwest corner of the temple, May 22, 1958.⁵⁵¹ Now in the Chania Museum, M.Ch. inv. no. L261.

17B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Platon 1957; Bultrighini 1993, 107 (with text); Baldwin Bowsky 2016, 151; to be republished in Markoulaki (forthcoming).

548. Platon (forthcoming). For the western end of the temple, see Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Space U; cf. fig. 6 here.

549. Platon (forthcoming). For the east wall of the temple, see Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Space U; cf. fig. 6 here.

550. Platon (forthcoming). For the northeast part of the temple, see Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Space U; cf. fig. 6 here.

551. Platon (forthcoming). For the northwest corner of the temple, see Kanellopoulos 2019, pl. 1, Space U; cf. fig. 6 here.

B. FUNERARY INSCRIPTION

18. FUNERARY STELE

18A. DISCOVERY AND CURRENT LOCATION

Handed over to Platon during excavations by A. Lougiakis, July 22, 1960.⁵⁵² Now in the Chania Museum, M.Ch. inv. no. L290.

18B. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Platon 1960 (with partial text); Bultrighini 1993, 107; *SEG* XLV 1320; to be published in Markoulaki (forthcoming).

552. Platon (forthcoming).

ABSTRACT

This study presents the *editio princeps* of a group of 29 inscriptions, and a summary and updated edition of one already published in full, all revealed during excavations at the temple of Asklepios at Lissos, on the southwest coast of Crete. This group was completely unknown when Margarita Guarducci published the second volume of *Inscriptiones Creticae* in 1939; Guarducci's nine inscriptions constituted the epigraphical corpus for the maritime city until the late 1950s, when Nikolaos Platon excavated the temple and its environs. After an initial visit to the site in 1957, Platon undertook systematic excavations in 1958–1960, three seasons during which he unearthed not only the temple and its surroundings but many if not all its inscriptions.

The catalog of inscriptions presented here is organized by type of inscription, from public to private genres, as chronologically as possible within each group: three architectural inscriptions and an imperial intervention; 13 civic decrees; three dedications, one of which includes a sacred law; four manumission inscriptions; an inscribed loomweight; one inscription of unidentified type; and four unlocated fragments, two of which might be joined with one of the civic decrees. In order to determine just how characteristic or distinctive the inscriptions from the Asklepieion at Lissos are within Crete, where Lebena has long dominated the record, the discussion consistently addresses the nature of inscriptions attested at and for sites sacred to Asklepios across the island.

These inscriptions are best studied not only as documents but as monuments. Two inscribed stones may have been on display to the public on the south wall of the temple and at the entrance to the portico south of the temple and its stoa. Fourteen texts appeared on the eastern entrance façade of the temple of Asklepios. The imperial petition and response found on a doorjamb of the monumental entrance to the temple was inscribed at a height where worshippers could see but not read it. Inside the cella, out of public view, were six *stelai* as well as the base of the cult statue. To these should be added 17 dedications to be published by other scholars, together with the statuettes, votive tables, and golden offerings on which they appeared.

Adding a chronological element to the spatial display of writing can suggest how writing contributed to the appearance of the temple and sanctuary over time. Inscriptions of Hellenistic date, private and public, date from the 4th–3rd century B.C. to the 2nd–1st century B.C. It is the 2nd century B.C. that saw public inscriptions begin to appear on the eastern entrance façade of the temple. The latest public inscription is an imperial intervention of the early 1st century A.D. The remaining inscriptions of Roman date are dedications and manumission *stelai*, from the 1st/2nd to the 2nd/3rd century A.D.; the 2nd century A.D. appears to have been particularly active. Sometime after the 2nd/3rd century A.D., the Asklepieion of Lissos apparently ceased to be a place for the display of various types of writing, possibly due to abandonment after one or more earthquakes.

The inscriptions presented here reveal not one but two types of writing: (1) public texts pertaining to institutional life and (2) private texts pertaining to the Asklepieion's main function as a cult center. As public texts the architectural inscriptions, civic decrees, and an imperial intervention acted as physical proof and demonstration of the community's will, negotiated through the orderly working of political institutions. As private texts the dedications and manumission *stelai* allowed dedicators and manumitters –Lissian and non-Lissian, of both genders, and multiple socio-legal statuses– to display their personal resources, will, and piety. The gradual preponderance of texts of a more private nature is partly the result of changes in the institutional life of the ancient city of Lissos, particularly the fate of the institution of proxeny, which was no longer pertinent in the Roman period. These documents, nevertheless, remained visible and commemorated the historical power of Lissos and the Lissians.

The Asklepieion at Lissos was no less important than that at Lebena in many respects. Public inscriptions suggest that this cult of Asklepios had a markedly political character and that the temple may even have been in part a temple of Augustus. Private inscriptions show us that the cult of Asklepios at Lissos was particularly concerned with the health of women, infants, and the young. The Asklepieion of Lissos was one of two sanctuaries –together with that at Lebena– that continued to play an important role in the religious life of the island in the Roman period.

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INDICES TO THE INSCRIPTIONS

(numbers in bold refer to the Catalog of Inscriptions)

A. NAMES OF MEN AND WOMEN

1. LISSIANS

- Ἀριστόδαμος (κόσμος) son of Θάρσων: **4**
Ἀρίστων (κόσμος) son of Κυῖντων: **4**
Ἄρω or Ἄρω(): **25**
Δημήτριος father of Ποτῖτος (κόσμος): **4**
Δημοσθένης son of Σῶσος: **21-22**
Διοσ[...] (κόσμος) son of Πυρία: **5**
Εἰσίλαος (κόσμος): **5**
Ἐπάμενος (κόσμος): **12**
Θαρσύτας son of Θυμίλος: **18**
Θάρσων father of Ἀριστόδαμος (κόσμος): **4**
Θυμίλος father of Θαρσύτας: **18**
Ἴερονάμων (unless title of a magistrate v. below): **1**
Κλεο[...] son of Μελ[...]: **19**
Κυῖντων father of Ἀρίστων (κόσμος): **4**
M. M[...]: **20**
Μάρυλος father of [Νί]καρχος (κόσμος): **5**
Μελ[...] father of Κλεο[...]: **19**
Μενεκράτης father of Σῶσος (κόσμος): **3**
[.².]νείκη or [.².]νεική: **21**
Νευκάνωρ I father of Νευκάνωρ II (κόσμος): **3**
Νευκάνωρ II (κόσμος) son of Νευκάνωρ I: **3**
[Νί]καρχος (κόσμος) son of Μάρυλος: **5**
Ποτῖτος (κόσμος) son of Δημήτριος: **4**
Πυρίας father of Διοσ[...] (κόσμος): **5**
Ῥασθένας father of Τλάσις (κόσμος): **3**
Σακλή: **22**
Συμφορ[..⁴⁻⁵.]: **21**
Συνα[.².]αννος father of Τρύφων (κόσμος): **12**
Σῶσος father of Δημοσθένης: **21-22**

Σῶσος (κόσμος) son of Μενεκράτης: **3**

Σωσίτιμος: **1**

Τλαῖσις (κόσμος) son of Ρασθέννας: **3**

Τρύφων (κόσμος) son of Συνα[².]αννος: **12**

2. NON-LISSIANS

Δέξιος father of Σηρίων: **3**

Ἐλλαγόρας (πρόξενος): **14**

Ἴερομνήμων (πρόξενος): **5**

Νέαρ[χος] (πρόξενος?): **11**

Σεβαστός: **4**

Σηρίων son of Δέξιος: **3**

Τιβέριος Καῖσαρ: **4**

B. GREEK WORDS AND PHRASES

ἀγαθή τύχη: **3, 5, 12–13, 22**

ἀελιδρόμος: **1**

Ἀθηναῖος: **5**

ἀλλοεθνής: **4**

ἀπελεύθερος: **21**

Ἀπτεραῖος: **14**

ἀράριον: **24**

ἄρχων: **4**

Ἀσκλαπιός, Ἀσκληπιός: **18–22**

ἀσπονδεῖ: **7**

ἀσυλεί: **7**

ἀφιερῶ: **4**

γῆ: **7**

δέρμα: **18**

δηνάριον: **24**

δίδημι: **4**

δοῦλος: **21–23**

διαδοχή: **4**

δίκη: **7**

ἔζομαι, ἔζω: **18**

εἰρήνη: **7**

ἐκ(κ)λησία: **5**

ἐλεύθερος: **21**
Ἐλύριος: **3**
ἐξουσία: **24**
ἐπιμέλεια: **4**
ἐπιχειρέω: **24**
εὐχή: **4, 19**
ἡγεμών: **4**
ἡμέρα: **4**
θάλασσα: **7**
θειότης: **4**
θρησκεία: **21, 23**
θύω: **18**
ἱερομνάμων (unless a personal name, v. above): **1**
ἱερός: **4**
Καλάνδαι: **4**
κληρονόμος: **23**
κόσμος: **3–6, 10–14, 16**
κρέας: **18**
κυριακός: **24**
Λίσιμοι: **5–6, 10–14, 16**
μῆν: **4, 11**
Ἀθανάϊος: **3**
Φυλλιών: **5**
οἰκία: **4**
παιδίον: **21**
παρίστημι: **21**
πόλεμος: **7**
πόλις: **3–6, 10–14, 16**
πράξις: **7**
πρόξενος: **5, 14–15**
στήλη: **22**
τέκνον: **4, 22**
τεκνοποίησις: **4**
ὑπακούω: **4**
χαρίζομαι: **21**
χρῆμα: **7**

C. ENGLISH AND TRANSLITERATED WORDS AND PHRASES

apolysis: **22**

building inscription: **3**

doorjamb: **4**

east façade: **5–17**; possibly **27–29**

imperial cult: **4**

imperial household: **4**

Koinon, Cretan: **4**

libellus-subscriptio: **4**

lintel: **1**

loomweight: **25**

manumission: **21–24**

paramone, obligations: **21–22**

sacred law: **18**

sacred manumission: **21–23**

stoa, portico: **1**

water channel: **2**

PLATES



Pl. 1. Lintel from a portico (1) (stoa south of the temple?).



Pl. 2a. Inscribed block (2) with possible mention of a water channel.



Pl. 2b. Building inscription (3) with civic decree (east façade).



Pl. 3b. Detail of inscribed doorjamb (4) (north side of principal entrance).



Pl. 3a. Inscribed doorjamb (4) (north side of principal entrance).



Pl. 4a. Civic decree (5) (east façade).



Pl. 4b. Civic decree (6) (east façade).



Pl. 5a. Civic decree (7) (east façade).



Pl. 5b. Civic decree (8) (east façade).



Pl. 6a. Civic decree (9) (east façade).



Pl. 6b. Civic decree (10) (east façade?).



Pl. 6c. Civic decree (11) (east façade).



Pl. 7a. Civic decree (12) (east façade).



Pl. 7b. Civic decree (13) (east façade?).



8a.



8b.

Pl. 8a–b Civic decree (14) (east façade?): (a) E269A–B; (b) E273.



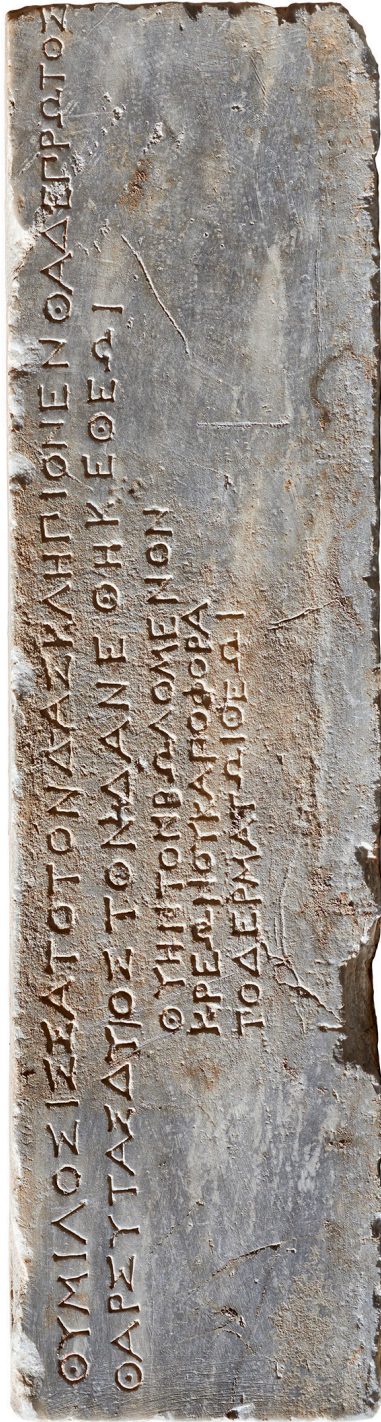
9a.

9c.

9b.



Pl. 9a–c. Civic decree and civic decree fragments (east façade?): (a) **15**; (b) **16**; (c) **17**.



10a.



10b.



10c.

Pl. 10a-c. (a) Base of cult statue with a sacred law (18); (b) fragment of a dedication to Asklepios (19); (c) fragment of a dedication to Asklepios (20).



11a.



11b.



11c.



11d.



Pl. 11a-d. Stele with manumission of a female slave with *paramone* (21): (a) E112; (b) E148A; (c) E148B; (d) E148A+ E112+E148B.



Pl. 12. Stele fragment with *apolyxis* of the same female slave (22).



13a.



13b.



13d.



13c.



13e.



Pl. 13a–e. Manumission (?) stele fragments (23): (a) E111C, (b) E111B, (c) E111D–E, (d) E111F, (e) E111A.



Pl. 14a-b. Manumission (?) stele fragments (24): (a) inscribed surface; (b) reverse with decoration.

15a.



15b.



Pl. 15a–b. (a) Inscribed loomweight (25); (b) fragment with one inscribed letter (26).

