

EARLY CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS OF CRETE

(PLATES 64–65)

A. NEW TEXTS

1. (Pl. 64). A sepulchral plaque of white marble found in May 1959, in Kastelli Kissamou; now in the museum there. The inscription is on the top half of a stone and the letters are carefully and well cut.

Height, 0.45 m.; width, 0.30 m.; thickness, 0.028 m.; height of letters, 0.015–0.03 m.; distance between lines, 0.005–0.015 m.

Σοφία Γορτυνί
α πρεσβυτέρα
κὲ ἀρχισυναγώ
γισσα Κισάμων ἐν
5 θα. Μνήμη δικέας
ἰς ἔωνα. Ἀμήν.

Sophia, of Gortyna, a presbytera and archisynagogissa of Kisamos (lies) within. May the memory of the just woman be for ever. Amen.

This inscription appears to be either Jewish or Judeo-Christian. If it is Jewish, it is the second that has come down to us from Crete. An inscription from Arcades is also apparently Jewish, to judge by the names Ἰώσηφος and Ἰούδας.¹ The above inscription may be of the Roman period or very early Christian period, at a time when there was very little differentiation between Christians and Jews. The letter forms tend to date the inscription as first or second century after Christ.

The adjective Γορτυνία implies that the deceased was either born at, or came from, Gortyna. She is called πρεσβυτέρα and ἀρχισυναγώγισσα of Kisamos. Thus there must have been a synagogue at Kisamos, as there surely must have existed synagogues at Gortyna and other large cities of Crete. This is the only occurrence of the name Sophia in Jewish inscriptions.² The term πρεσβυτέρα implies that the deceased either was the wife of a πρεσβύτερος or she received this as an honorary title, since it was often bestowed upon women. The word ἀρχισυναγώγισσα implies either that her husband was, in addition, an ἀρχισυνάγωγος or that she received this as a second

¹ M. Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae opera et consilio Friderici Halbherr collectae*, I, Rome, 1935, p. 12, no. 17.

² Cf. P. Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum*, I and II, Rome, 1936–1952.

honorary title, since this also was given to women. Even children were granted the title *ἀρχισυνάγωγος*. The feminine form *ἀρχισυναγωγίσσα* for the usual *ἀρχισυνάγωγος* occurs here for the first time. The honorary title *μήτηρ συναγωγῆς* also was bestowed upon women³ and *πατήρ συναγωγῆς* upon men.⁴

It is to be noted that the wives of the clerics of the Christian church were known by the titles of their husbands. *Πρεσβυτέρα* was used to designate the wife of a *presbyteros*⁵ and an abbess of a convent.⁶ The wife of a *presbyteros* was also called *pateressa*,⁷ and from the fourth century, when the term *ιερεύς* began to be used, *ίερισσα*.⁸ Wives of bishops, deacons, and subdeacons were called *episcopa*,⁹ *diaconissa*, and *subdiaconissa*.¹⁰ The wife of an *οἰκονόμος* was probably called *οἰκονόμισσα*, although this title may also have been applied to the nun in charge of the treasury of a convent.¹¹

Epiphanius (*ca.* A.D. 315-403), bishop of Constantia in Cyprus, states that the Judeo-Christians called their places of meeting not *ἐκκλησία* but *συναγωγή* and that the heads of their communities were called *πρεσβύτεροι* and *ἀρχισυνάγωγοι*.¹² By the second century, however, the Judeo-Christian group disintegrated. Since they were separated from the Christians and Jews alike, they gradually drifted into one side or the other, though small Judeo-Christian communities remained in Palestine and Syria until the fourth-fifth century after Christ.¹³ It is of interest also to note that canon 64 of the Holy Apostles applies the word *συναγωγή* not only to the prayer meetings of the Jews but also to those of the heretics. An inscription from Deir-Ali uses it of the Marcionites.¹⁴

The phrase *μνήμη δικέας* in line 5 is reminiscent of the phrase *μνήμη δικαίου* in the Septuagint.¹⁵ It occurs in Jewish inscriptions.¹⁶ The phrase *ἰς ἑὼνα* in line 6 echoes the phrases found in Jewish epitaphs *εἰς εὐλογίαν*¹⁷ and *σὺν ἐγκωμίῳ*.¹⁸ The phrase *εἰς*

³ E. Diehl, *Inscriptiones latinae christianae veteres*, II, Berlin, 1927, pp. 494-495, nos. 4897, 4898; *C. I. Jud.*, I, pp. 117-118, no. 166.

⁴ *Insc. Lat. Ch. Vet.*, II, p. 494, no. 4892; *C. I. Jud.*, I, pp. 250-251, no. 319, p. 360, no. 494, pp. 372-373, nos. 509, 510.

⁵ *C. I. L.*, X(2), no. 8079.

⁶ J. P. Migne, *Patrologia graeca*, XXXI, 1157A.

⁷ *Insc. Lat. Ch. Vet.*, II, p. 495, no. 4900.

⁸ C. M. Kaufmann, *Handbuch der altchristlichen Epigraphik*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1917, p. 256.

⁹ *Insc. Lat. Ch. Vet.*, I, p. 220, no. 1121.

¹⁰ Canon 10, Council of Tours.

¹¹ A. M. Ramsay, *J. H. S.*, XXIV, 1904, p. 283, no. 24.

¹² *Adversus Haereses*, XXX, 18, 2 (*apud* P. G., XLI, 436A).

¹³ *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, VI, New York, 1942, p. 95, s.v. Jewish Christians.

¹⁴ W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis graeci inscriptiones selectae*, II, Leipzig, 1905, p. 304, no. 608.1.

¹⁵ Prov. 10:7.

¹⁶ *C. I. Jud.*, I, p. 60, no. 86. 2-3.

¹⁷ *C. I. Jud.*, I, pp. 287-288, no. 370.

¹⁸ *C. I. Jud.*, I, p. 140, no. 201. 2-3.

αἰῶνα is very common in the Septuagint¹⁹ and New Testament.²⁰ The word *αἰῶνες* is also used in the sense of eternity.²¹ The iota of the preposition *ἰς* in line 6 exhibits a diaeresis.

2. (Pl. 64). A sepulchral plaque of greenish blue marble found on May 19, 1959, on the property of Emmanuel Anousakes in Kastelli Kissamou while foundations of a new house were being laid; now in the museum there. The plaque was mortared on top of several layers of bricks over a tomb, where the skeleton of the deceased was also found almost intact. The inscription is on a disk with a rim, probably a re-used piece, broken at the bottom and slightly along the right rim. The letters are tall and closely inscribed.

Height, 0.57 m.; width, 0.70 m.; thickness, 0.025 m.; height of letters, 0.02-0.035 m.; distance between lines, 0.005-0.008 m.

ΧΜΓ

† † †

† Τὸν δι' ἐλεημοσύνης βίον συνζήσας Ἀνδρέας ἀναγ[(νώστης)]
 ἐνθάδε κατάκιτε καταλιπὼν τὸν μάτερον βίον,
 πρὸς σὲ τὸν φιλόανθρωπον κριτὴν κα[τα]
 δεδράμηκαυ, ἐπιζητῶν ἔλεος παρὰ τῆς σῆς ε[ὐ(σπλαγχνίας)].

5 ἐτελιώθη δὲ μηνὶ Ἀπριλίῳ θ', Ἰϛ Ϟ Ϟ̅

† † †

Andreas, the reader, having lived his life entirely in almsgiving, lies here. Having left behind this delusive life, he has taken refuge with Thee, the benevolent judge, fervently seeking mercy from Thy tenderheartedness. He reached perfection in the month of April, on the ninth, in the sixth (year of the) indiction.

This inscription is one of two early Christian inscriptions of Crete which are inscribed on marble disks,²² and the ΧΜΓ compendium occurs only in one other Christian inscription from Crete.²³ It exhibits more crosses than any other inscription

¹⁹ Gen. 3:22; Ps. 44(45):18(17), 82(83):18(17), 131(132):14, etc.

²⁰ Matt. 21:19; Mark 3:29, 11:14; Luke 1:33, John 6:51, 58, 8:35, 12:34; Heb. 1:8 (= Ps. 44(45):7(6)); I Pet. 1:25 (= Isa. 40:8); I John 2:17, II John 2.

²¹ Tob. 13:4; Wisd. of Sir. 45:24; Rom. 1:25, etc.

²² Cf. *Inscr. Cret.*, II, p. 272, no. 7.

²³ *Inscr. Cret.*, II, p. 99, no. 5 (with reference to another example in a Macedonian inscription). ΧΜΓ has been variously interpreted as Χριστὸς Μιχαὴλ Γαβριήλ, Χριστὸς Μαρία Γαβριήλ, Χριστὸν Μαρία Γεννᾶ, Χριστὸς Μαρίας Γέννα. For the bibliography of those who have expressed various opinions on this compendium, see W. K. Prentice, "ΧΜΓ a Symbol of Christ," *C.P.*, IX, 1914, pp. 410-416.

of Crete: three large crosses above the first line and below the compendium, the second and third of which have open tailed rhos, and three below the last line, the first and third of which have open tailed rhos. A plain cross begins the inscription.

The name Andreas was a popular Christian name. It occurs in another Christian inscription of Crete.²⁴ The letters of the inscription are tall and closely inscribed, which argues for a Byzantine date, possibly seventh-eighth century. All the rhos, with the exception of the rho in line 5, have tails. The second upsilon in line 1 has a cross bar. The sigmas are squared. The stonecutter, however, forgot to cross the second alpha in the last word of line 1 and the first two bars of the first epsilon in the first word of line 2. Both the straight-barred and broken-barred alphas are used. Since the disk was chipped along the right side while being excavated, the use of the *S* symbol to abbreviate the last word in line 1 after the gamma and the last word in line 4 after the upsilon can only be conjectured. Both the letter representing the day of the month and that representing the year of the indiction in line 5 have the horizontal bar.

The chronology at the end of the last line seems to be one of indiction. The iota and nu are in ligature. Over the iota is a diaeresis; the delta has an unusual shape. This inscription exhibits the only instance of the abbreviation of the word indiction by suspension in the early Christian inscriptions of Crete, unless the semi-circular stroke at the bottom of the delta is taken as an abbreviation sign. The letter representing the year of the indiction, although it appears peculiar, apparently is the digamma, with the form of a sigma tau ligature. It is, however, possible that the entire complex is a dating from the beginning of the world.

There are also some items of lexicographical interest. The preposition *διὰ* in line 1 is used to denote manner. The noun *ἐλεημοσύνη* in the same line is used as in the Septuagint,²⁵ the New Testament,²⁶ and Christian literature.²⁷ The use of the verb *ζῆν* in composition with *σύν*, denoting the completion of the verbal concept, is observed chiefly in Christian inscriptions,²⁸ no example from classical literature having been recorded. The phrase *καταλιπὼν τὸν μάτεον βίον* in line 2 must have been very popular in Crete since it occurs in three other Christian inscriptions.²⁹ The word *κριτής* in line 3 is applied in the New Testament both to God³⁰ and to Christ.³¹ The adjective *φιλόανθρωπος* in the same line is not applied in the New Testament to God, although

²⁴ *Inscr. Cret.*, IV, p. 403, no. 469.

²⁵ Tob. 1:3,16, 4:7 (*bis*), 8 (*bis*), 10,11; Wisd. of Sir. 7:10; Dan. 4:24(27).

²⁶ Matt. 6:2,3,4; Luke 11:41, 12:33; Acts 3:2, 9:36, 10:2,4,31, 24:17.

²⁷ Clement of Rome, *Epistle* II, 16,4; *Didache*, 1,6; *Epistle to Diognetus*, 15,4; *Oracula Sibyllina*, II, 80.

²⁸ G. B. de Rossi-A. Silvagni, *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores*, I, Rome, 1922, p. 344, no. 2757.

²⁹ *Inscr. Cret.*, II, p. 99, no. 6, p. 100, nos. 8, 9.

³⁰ Heb. 12:23; Jas. 4:12.

³¹ Acts 10:42; II Tim. 4:8; Jas. 5:9; cf. Clement of Rome, *Epistle* II, 1,1.

pagan writers applied it to God.³² In the Septuagint it is applied to the spirit of wisdom³³ and to God in a Christian prayer preserved in a papyrus.³⁴ The meaning of the verb *κατατρέχειν* as exemplified in lines 3-4 has not been preserved in literary sources. The verb *ἐτελιώθη* in line 5 was a common euphemistic expression for death, occurring in Christian inscriptions.

The ecclesiastical office of *ἀναγνώστης* in line 1 occurs in two other Christian inscriptions of Crete.³⁵ Christ is addressed in this inscription by the living as He is in numerous Christian inscriptions of Crete.

3. (Pl. 64). A sepulchral inscription on a heavy, oblong poros block, found in Hera-kleion in 1957 near the Historical Museum, where the foundations of a house were being laid. The stone is now in the courtyard of the Historical Museum without an inventory number. The inscription is within prominently drawn guide lines, 0.025 m. apart, and the stone has a faced border around the inscription. The letters are crowded at the end of the lines, particularly lines 6 and following.

Height, 0.46 m.; width, 0.29 m.; thickness, 0.21 m.; height of letters 0.015 m.; distance between lines, 0.010 m.

[†]
 [Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς] Χρισ[τός. Εὖ]
 τυχέσ{σ}τα
 τος ἐνθάδε
 5 κῆτε [Ἀ]θανά
 σιο[ς] κα<ι> ὅστ[ις]
 ἄν ἐπι]τηδεύσῃ
 τινὰ ἐνθάψῃ
 9-10 τοῦ Θ(εοῦ) [κα]τάραν Ἰούδα ἔχ[ει]ν.

Jesus Christ. Here lies most fortunate Athanasios, and let whoever attempts to bury anyone herein have God's curse on Judas.

This inscription appears originally to have had ten lines. The first line cannot be read except for a possible alpha in the middle of the line. The alpha may have been balanced by an omega. One or more crosses may also have existed. Although line 2 is also badly damaged, part of the name of Christ can be distinguished and must have been incised in full. There is just enough room in the remainder of the line for the

³² Plato, *Symp.*, 189D; *idem*, *Leg.*, 4,713D; Xenophon Ephesios, 5,4,10 (superl.); Plutarch, *De Pyth. Or.*, 16 (402A); Lucian, *Prom.*, 6 (superl.); Aelian, *N.A.*, IV,33 (superl.).

³³ Wisd. of Sol. 1:6, 7:23.

³⁴ *P. Oxy.*, VI, no. 925.2.

³⁵ *Inscr. Cret.*, IV, p. 406, no. 481, p. 409, no. 489.

diphthong epsilon upsilon of the word that is continued on line 3. Before the name *Χριστός* there is sufficient room for the name *Ἰησοῦς* in abbreviation as iota sigma. These names constitute an exclamatory nominative. One other instance of such a nominative exists in an early Christian inscription of Crete.³⁶

Lines 9 and 10 are transcribed in succession, whereas on the stone the words of these two lines were written in such a way that some of the letters of a particular word are on line 9 and others on line 10. The stonecutter apparently followed no fixed pattern. After the tau in the beginning of line 9 there are faint traces of an omikron upsilon in ligature and above this ligature are the faint traces of a theta which may be taken as the abbreviation for God in the genitive. The omikron upsilon in the name Judas is also in ligature in lines 9-10. We have an unusual instance of two genitives depending upon the word *κατάραν*, the one *Θεοῦ* being a subjective genitive, the other *Ἰούδα* an objective genitive. Two genitives, one subjective and the other objective, occur in a Judas inscription from Delphi.³⁷

This inscription presents two interesting items. It contains a Judas curse to be visited by God upon anyone who would re-use the grave.³⁸ Only one other early Christian inscription of Crete exhibits a curse, in the form of a threat of condemnation against any would-be desecrator of a sacred precinct or area.³⁹ Latin Christian inscriptions also exhibit a Judas curse.⁴⁰ Also of interest is the use of the adjective *εὐτυχέστατος* (a Greek translation of the Latin *felicissimus*) in lines 2-4, for it implies that the deceased was a member of the Roman army.⁴¹ This adjective appeared during the time of Justinian.⁴² A letter of Emperor Heraclius has the phrase *ἐκ τε τῶν εὐτυχεστάτων ἡμῶν στρατευμάτων*.⁴³

4. (Pl. 64). A sepulchral plaque of gray streaked marble of unknown provenance; now in the Epigraphical Museum at Herakleion (inv. no. 251). The stone is broken into six pieces, on the left and right, bottom, and possibly also on top.

Height, 0.165 m.; width, 0.155 m.; thickness, 0.015 m.; height of letters, 0.03-0.035 m.; distance between lines, 0.010-0.015 m.

³⁶ *Inscr. Cret.*, II, p. 121, no. 9.

³⁷ J. Laurent, *B.C.H.*, XXIII, 1899, p. 274.

³⁸ Cf. C. Michel, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, I, pt. II, Paris, 1907, cols. 1926-1940; H. Leclercq, *Dict. d'arch. chrét. et de lit.*, I, pt. I, Paris, 1907, col. 485; *ibid.*, VIII, pt. 1, Paris, 1928, cols. 272-277; J. Martha, *B.C.H.*, II, 1878, pp. 319-320; *I.G.*, III(2), no. 1428.

³⁹ F. Halbherr, *The Athenaeum*, London: John C. Francis, no. 3336 (October 3, 1891), p. 458; G. Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti*, IV, Venice, 1932, p. 513, no. 13.

⁴⁰ *Insc. Lat. Ch. Vet.*, I, p. 246, no. 1273, p. 249, no. 1293; *Insc. Lat. Ch. Vet.*, II, p. 291, nos. 3844, 3846, p. 292, no. 3847, p. 293, nos. 3855, 3856, p. 295, no. 3866.

⁴¹ P. Koch, *Die Byzantinischen Beamtentitel von 400 bis 700*, Jena, 1903, p. 95, s.v. *felicissimus*.

⁴² *Nov. 7 notitia* (535).

⁴³ L. Dindorf, *Chronicon paschale ad exemplar Vaticanum*, I, Bonn, 1832, p. 730.

[† 'Ε]πιφαν[ία ἐκ]
 Θεσσαλον[ίκης]
 ἐλθοῦσα
 ἐνθ[άδε κίτε. †]

Epiphania, who came from Thessalonike, lies here.

This is the epitaph of a woman who had originally come from Thessalonike and died in Crete. It is to be noted that the Church of Crete was transferred to the jurisdiction of the Church of Thessalonike during the period of the Arab Rule in Crete (A.D. 824-960). A Christian inscription of Crete mentions the deceased as an ἀναγνώστης καὶ πακτωτῆς τῆς Θεσσαλονικέων ἀγίωτ(άτης) ἐκ<κ>λη(σίας).⁴⁴

The fairly certain restoration of the name Epiphania is an indication that the inscription is Christian; Epiphania is a common feminine name also in Latin Christian inscriptions.⁴⁵ The masculine form of this name occurs in one Christian inscription of Crete.⁴⁶ If the stone is broken on the top, it is possible that a first line is lost. A fifth line may also have been lost, perhaps giving the date of death. Three other inscriptions of Crete have the expression ἐνθάδε κίτε at the end of the inscription.⁴⁷

B. PUBLISHED TEXTS

5. A sepulchral plaque of common stone found at Argyroupolis, the ancient Lappa; now missing from the Rhethymnon museum, where it originally had been taken.

Height, 0.48 m.; width, 0.25 m.; thickness, 0.12 m.; height of letters, 0.015-0.025 m.

Bibliography: M. Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae*, II, Rome, 1939, p. 204, no. 16..

† † †
 Ἀν<ε>παύσατο ὁ μα
 καριώτατος Ἀβά
 σκα<ν>τος μηνὶ Νω
 ενβρίω κ', ἐνδ(ικτιῶνι) [. .]
 5 γενάμενος δὲ
 [θι]ασίτης ἔν
 θα μοναστηρίω. †

⁴⁴ *Inscr. Cret.*, IV, p. 406, no. 481.

⁴⁵ *Insc. Lat. Ch. Vet.*, I, p. 50, no. 203; *Insc. Lat. Ch. Vet.*, II, p. 64, no. 2816B, p. 480, no. 4822.

⁴⁶ *Inscr. Cret.*, I, pp 266-267, no. 65.

⁴⁷ *Inscr. Cret.*, II, pp. 98-99, no. 3, p. 122, no. 11, p. 271, no. 6 (cf. p. 172, no. 35).

The most blessed Abaskantos went to rest in the month of November, the twentieth, in the . . . (year of the) indiction, having been a member within the monastery.

This inscription is complete except for the loss of one or two letters which express the year of the indiction, at the end of line 4. The word *ἐνδικτιῶνι* was probably abbreviated by means of the S symbol after the delta. The name Abaskantos was not frequently used by the Christians,⁴⁸ although it was frequently borne by pagans as recorded in literature,⁴⁹ pagan inscriptions,⁵⁰ papyri and ostraca.⁵¹

This inscription is of interest because of the word *θιασίτης*, which I offer as a conjecture. This word is applied to a person who had been a follower of the monastic life. It is apparently the only instance of its use in Patristic literature with this connotation, at least so far as I know. The form *θιασώτης* is used in Ecclesiastical Greek of the apostles.⁵²

Of syntactical interest is the use of the demonstrative adverb *ἐνθα* in lines 6-7 governing the dative, whereas it generally governs a genitive.⁵³ In another inscription of Crete it is used solely as an adverb.⁵⁴ The participle *γενόμενος* in line 5 occurs in two other inscriptions.⁵⁵

6. (Pl. 64). A sepulchral plaque of white marble found at Kastelli Kissamou; now in the museum there. The stone is broken in six pieces, one of which apparently belongs to the stone but its place cannot be determined since there are missing parts of the stone. Many of the letters have pronounced apices.

Height, 0.21 m.; width, 0.30 m.; thickness, 0.015 m.; height of letters, 0.015-0.03 m.; distance between lines, 0.005-0.015 m.

Bibliography: V. D. Theophaneides, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1942-44, appendix, pp. 16-17, no. 9, fig. 27; G. Stamires, *Κρητικὰ Χρονικά*, IV, 1950, pp. 77-78, no. 5.

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Σῆμα τόδ' εἰσοράας πινυ
τόφρονος, ᾧ φίλε, κούρης

⁴⁸ *M.A.M.A.*, III, p. 175, no. 515b.

⁴⁹ Pliny, *Tra.* X,11,2; Galen, 13,17, 14,177; *Cod. Iust.*, 7,8,2, 7,71,2.

⁵⁰ *M.A.M.A.*, I, p. 177, no. 338; *M.A.M.A.*, VI, p. 26, no. 71, p. 67, no. 180; *M.A.M.A.*, VII, p. 29, no. 141; *I.G.*, III(1), nos. 194, 1057, 1080, 1120, 1163, 1169, 1190, 1231, 1252, 1264, 1266; *I.G.*, III(2) no. 2960; *C.I.L.*, III(1), nos. 2092, 2494, 2691; *C.I.L.*, III(2), nos. 4821, 5122; *C.I.L.*, VI(2), nos. 8411, 8598, 8599, 8628.

⁵¹ *P. Oxy.*, XXII, no. 2338.21; *Ostr. Strass.*, no. 554.8.

⁵² *Μηρολόγιον*, August 20, α' ἀπόστοιχον τοῦ ἐσπερινοῦ.

⁵³ Sophocles, *Aj.*, 659; Euripides, *Tro.*, 685; Aelian, *V.H.*, X, 18.

⁵⁴ *Supra*, No. 1, lines 4-5.

⁵⁵ *Inscr. Cret.*, I, p. 32, no. 6; *Inscr. Cret.*, IV, p. 406, no. 481.

Θευδώρης λυκάβαντι ἐν
 ἐνδεκάτῳ βεβανίης,
 [ῆς ψυχὴν] διερχῆς ἐκλ(εκτὴν), Χ(ριστ)έ,
 [εἰλη]φας. †

This tomb at which you are looking, O friend, is that of a prudent girl, Theodore, who passed away in her eleventh year. Thou, O Christ, now possess the pure soul of this excellent young maiden.

This is one of three early Christian inscriptions of Crete in dactylic hexameter.⁵⁶ One is in the form of an elegiac distich.⁵⁷ Each of the first four lines of the above inscription consists of three measures. The fifth and sixth feet of the last line are spondaic; and although they do not strictly constitute a quadrisyllable, the elision of the epsilon in the vocative of the name of Christ and the fact that the following word is the verb in the second person could contribute to make these two words equivalent to a quadrisyllable.

The phraseology of the first four lines is common to many pagan epitaphs.⁵⁸ The use of the adjective *πινυτόφρων* in lines 1-2 as an epithet of the deceased maiden is of interest, for it is not of frequent occurrence. When used it is often applied to women,⁵⁹ although not exclusively so. It was an epithet applied to Odysseus.⁶⁰ It occurs in a Christian metrical sepulchral inscription.⁶¹ The word *σῆμα* in line 1 is frequently found in Greek Christian inscriptions in Asia Minor⁶² and elsewhere. *Φίλε* in line 2 replaces the usual *παροδίτα*. The word *λυκάβας* in line 3 is more frequently found in metrical inscriptions than in literature.⁶³ A Jewish inscription from Rome uses it.⁶⁴ The use of the verb *βαίνειν* in line 4 as a euphemism for *θνήσκειν* is of interest since four instances of such a use have been preserved from classical literature.⁶⁵

The last two lines, 5 and 6, are fragmentary and previous commentators have made no attempt to conjecture the lost words. *ΔΙΕΡΗΞ* in line 5 can best be taken as the genitive singular feminine of the adjective *διερός*. This is found in Homer

⁵⁶ *Inscr. Cret.*, II, p. 126, no. 21, pp. 274-275, no. 13 (= *infra*, No. 11).

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 101, no. 11.

⁵⁸ Cf. *C.I.G.*, II, no. 3685.1 (= G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata graeca*, Berlin, 1878, pp. 132-133, no. 339.1).

⁵⁹ *Anth. Pal.*, I, 17, 3.

⁶⁰ Quintus Smyrnaeus, XIV, 630; *Anth. Pal.*, III, 8, 1.

⁶¹ *M.A.M.A.*, I, p. 124, no. 234.

⁶² *M.A.M.A.*, VII, nos. 540, 552, 558, 560, 584.

⁶³ *I.G.*, IV, no. 622 (= *C.I.G.*, I, 1156); Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, no. 228.1, 231.1; *Anth. Pal.*, I, 35, 3.

⁶⁴ *C.I. Iud.*, I, p. 373, no. 510.

⁶⁵ Aeschylus, *Pers.*, 1002; Sophocles, *Ph.*, 494; Euripides, *Or.*, 971; Theocritus, I, 140.

with the meaning "active, alive."⁶⁶ Hesychius gives as its meaning *λαμπρός, ζών, περιφανής*,⁶⁷ the first and third of which fits the connotation in this inscription. The epsilon kappa lambda may well be an abbreviation by suspension of the adjective *ἐκλεκτός*, which can be taken as modifying either *ἡς* or *ψυχῇν*. This adjective is in the New Testament generally applied to those whom God has chosen from among mankind and drawn to Himself,⁶⁸ although it is also used of angels,⁶⁹ and of the Messiah.⁷⁰ It occurs in Greek inscriptions⁷¹ and its Latin equivalent *electus* also occurs in Christian inscriptions.⁷² There is one instance in classical literature of the use of *λαμβάνειν* in the perfect, applied to a deity, to denote a present state.⁷³ Perhaps *πέπομφας* (thou has sent off [to heaven]) might also apply, and it would preserve the meter.

Of epigraphical interest is the use of the apostrophe after the delta in line 1 as a sign of elision.⁷⁴ The name of Christ is abbreviated by chi epsilon without the horizontal bar. Eta and sigma in ligature occur in lines 2, 3, 4, 5. The letter-forms tend to date the inscription in the fifth-sixth century.

7. (Pl. 65). A sepulchral plaque of white marble found at Kastelli Kisamou; now in the museum there. The stone is slightly broken on the top and bottom. The inscription, however, which begins and ends with an ivy leaf, is complete.

Height, 0.21 m.; width, 0.285 m.; thickness, 0.025 m.; height of letters, 0.014-0.025 m.; distance between lines, 0.008-0.010 m.

Bibliography: V. D. Theophaneides, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1942-1944, appendix, p. 16, no. 8.

† † †
 Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, υἱὲ Θεοῦ τοῦ
 ζώντος, μνήσθητι τοῦ {δ}
 δούλου {λου} σου Νίκωνος καὶ
 καταρίθμησον τὴν ψυχὴν αὐ
 5 τοῦ εἰς κόλφους Ἀβραὰμ καὶ
 Ἡσαὰκ † καὶ Ἰακώφ.

⁶⁶ *Od.*, VI,201, IX,43.

⁶⁷ *Lex.*, s.v. *διερός*.

⁶⁸ Mark 13:20,22,27; Luke 18:7; Rom. 8:33, 16:13; Col. 3:12; II Tim. 2:10; Titus 1:1; I Pet. 1:1, 2:9; Rev. 17:14.

⁶⁹ I Tim. 5:21.

⁷⁰ Luke 23:35, cf. 9:35; John 1:34 *v.l.*

⁷¹ *M.A.M.A.*, I, no. 237.9.

⁷² *Insc. Lat. Ch. Vet.*, II, p. 181, no. 3341.

⁷³ Herodotos, IV,79,4.

⁷⁴ For the use of this sign and others, see W. Larfeld, *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik*, I, Leipzig, 1902, pp. 428-429 and II, Leipzig, 1907, p. 564.

O Jesus Christ, son of the living God, remember Thy servant Nikon and number his soul in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

This inscription is noteworthy for the frequent use of ligatures of two to four letters. These ligatures are: in line 1, *ης, ου* (*ter*), *Θεοῦ*, of which theta epsilon is one ligature and omikron upsilon is inscribed over it; in line 2, *ης, ων, ος, μνησ, θη, ου*; in line 3, *ου* (*quater*), *ων, ος*; in line 4, *μνησ, ην, ου*; in line 5, *ου, ους*; in line 6, *ης*.

The name Nikon was a common Greek name. It is interesting to note that in the tenth century, after the Arab Rule of Crete, Nikon ὁ Μετανοεῖτε of Cappadocia, a monk of a monastery in Paphlagonia, was sent to Crete with a group of monks and priests in order to rekindle Christianity. He remained there five years, preaching and erecting numerous churches throughout the entire island.

The expression "Christ, son of the living God," in line 1, is undoubtedly taken from the New Testament.⁷⁵ The expression "into the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob" implies the environment of paradise or the place where the just go and exist after death. The use of *κόλπος* to imply the closest communion is seen in pagan literature⁷⁶ and both the Septuagint⁷⁷ and the New Testament.⁷⁸ In the parable of the Rich Man and poor Lazarus the latter, upon death, was taken by the angels εἰς τὸν κόλπον Ἀβραάμ.⁷⁹ The Christians undoubtedly took over this expression from the Jews. Although this phrase is not found in Jewish sources, including the Talmud, this does not imply that it was not a popular Jewish concept.⁸⁰ It was in common use particularly in the sepulchral inscriptions of Egypt and Nubia⁸¹ and Italy.⁸² It entered into the *Constitutiones Apostolorum*,⁸³ the *Liber Sacramentorum* of Gregory the Great,⁸⁴ and a prayer of the funeral service of the Greek Orthodox Church.⁸⁵ The phrase Θεὸς Ἀβραάμ καὶ Θεὸς Ἰσαάκ καὶ Θεὸς Ἰακώβ occurs in the Septuagint,⁸⁶ New Testament,⁸⁷ and inscriptions.⁸⁸ According to Christ's statement these three will sit

⁷⁵ Matt. 16:16; cf. also Matt. 14:33; 27:54.

⁷⁶ Plutarch, *Cat. Min.*, 33,7 (775E).

⁷⁷ Num. 11:12; Deut. 13:7 (6), 28:54,56; II Kings 12:3; III Kings 17:19; Ruth 4:16.

⁷⁸ Luke 16:23; John 1:18, 13:23; cf. Clement of Rome, *Epistle II*, 4,5; *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, 7b (*bis*).

⁷⁹ Luke 16:22.

⁸⁰ L. Blau, *Hebrew Union College Annual*, I, 1924, pp. 231-232.

⁸¹ F. Preisigke, *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*, I, Strassburg, 1915, nos. 1540, 1600, 2034, 3901-3902, 5716; *Sammelbuch*, III, no. 7190; *Sammelbuch*, IV, nos. 7428, 7430, 7432; *Sammelbuch*, V, nos. 8235, 8237-8241, 8720-8723, etc.

⁸² *I.G.*, XIV, nos. 189.5-6, 536.2-3.

⁸³ VIII, 41.

⁸⁴ J. P. Migne, *Patrologia latina*, LXXVIII, 217C.

⁸⁵ *Εὐχολόγιον τὸ Μέγα*, Athens, 1927, pp. 293-294.

⁸⁶ Exod. 3:6.

⁸⁷ Matt. 22:32; Mark 12:26; Luke 20:37; Acts 3:13; 7:32.

with the just at the banquet to be held in the Kingdom of Heaven;⁸⁹ they are listed among the great men,⁹⁰ and they are often mentioned together.⁹¹

The diamond shape of the phi in lines 5 and 6 and the spellings *κόλφους* and *Ἰακώφ* are worthy of note. The spelling *κόλφους* occurs also in a Christian inscription from Syracuse.⁹² The letter-forms tend to date the inscription in the sixth-seventh century.

8. (Pl. 65). A sepulchral plaque of white marble found at Kastelli Kissamou; now in the museum there. The stone is in three pieces; it is broken below and on the left, but the top and right are intact. The inscription, however, is complete. There is an ivy leaf at the lower left hand corner of the stone.

Height, 0.145 m.; width, 0.36 m.; thickness, 0.02-0.025 m.; height of letters, 0.01-0.02 m.; distance between lines 0.005 m.

Bibliography: V. D. Theophaneides, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1942-1944, appendix, p. 14, figs. 21-22; G. Stamires, *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, IV, 1950, p. 75, no. 1.

Ἰη(σοῦ) Χρ(ιστέ), μνήσθητι τῆς κοιμῆ
σεως τῆς δούλης σου
Ὀλυνπιάδος, πιστῆς
οὔσης εἰς τὸν ἅπαν
5 τα χρόνον.

O Jesus Christ, remember the sleep of death of Thy servant, Olympias, since she was faithful throughout her entire lifetime.

This inscription, which Stamires dates in the second-third century, exhibits one of the earliest forms of the abbreviation of the names *Ἰησοῦς Χριστός*, which were variously abbreviated as iota eta or iota followed by the Constantinian monogram or iota chi.⁹³ The name *Ἰησοῦ* is expressed here by iota eta with the horizontal bar, and the name *Χριστέ*, by the interscription of rho within chi.

Theophaneides' reading of this inscription unfortunately was faulty because of inadequate cleaning of the stone. He rendered the name *Ἰησοῦ* in line 1 as a ligature of iota eta and square sigma. In lines 1-2 he read *κοιμη [θείσης]*, after which he

⁸⁸ W. H. Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Syrie*, Paris, 1870, no. 2635; cf. *P. Mag.*, XIII, no. 817; M. Rist, *J.B.L.*, LVII, 1938, pp. 289-303.

⁸⁹ Matt. 8:11.

⁹⁰ *Oracula Sibyllina*, II, 245-248; *Epistle of Barnabas*, 8,4; Ignatius of Antioch, *Epistle to the Philadelphians*, 9,1.

⁹¹ *Epistle of Barnabas*, 6,8.

⁹² *I.G.*, XIV, no. 189.5 (= *C.I.G.*, IV, no. 9533.5).

⁹³ Leclercq, *Dict. d'arch. chrét. et de lit.*, VII, Paris, 1927, col. 2462-2468.

conjectured ὡσίης, in line 4 δούλης, and in lines 4-5 ἅπαν[τα βί]ον. Stamires, however, read the first three lines correctly except for the name Ἰησοῦ for which he accepted Theophaneides' reading; he accepted the latter's reading for the rest of the stone. Robert's conjecture for the last word is correct.⁹⁴ Μνήσθητι τῆς κοιμήσεως is found in sepulchral Jewish and Christian inscriptions.⁹⁵

The word πιστός has the special Christian connotation "a believer in Christ." In the New Testament it is used both adjectively and substantively.⁹⁶ It can also be used without the article to mean "Christian believer," as in this inscription. The corresponding Latin *fidelis* is so used in many Latin Christian inscriptions.⁹⁷ The phrase πάντα τὸν χρόνον occurs in Demosthenes in the sense "throughout his life-time."⁹⁸ In the New Testament the phrase τὸν πάντα χρόνον occurs once⁹⁹ but not in the same sense. The phrase εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον with the meaning "for ever" occurs also in a Christian metrical inscription.¹⁰⁰ Χρόνος as "life-time" is observed in pagan literature.¹⁰¹

9. (Pl. 65). A large sepulchral plaque of poros stone found in 1948 in the pastophorion of the Christian basilica excavated by Kostas D. Kalokyres at Panormon, the ancient Panormos; now in the storehouse containing the basilica's excavated fragments. The stone is broken in two pieces, but the inscription is complete. It is carefully and handsomely inscribed not only within guide lines, which are about 0.035 m. apart, but also within a border of 0.26 m. by 0.34 m.

Height, 0.73 m.; width, 0.365 m.; thickness, 0.05 m.; height of letters, 0.02-0.03 m.; distance between lines, 0.015-0.02 m.

Bibliography: N. Platon, Πρακτικὰ Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας, 1948, pp. 126-127, fig. 9a; K. Kalokyres, Ἡ Ἀρχαία Πύθμνα, pp. 132-133, no. 5; A. Ferrua, *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, XXX, 1954, p. 138.

† Ἐνθάδε κῆται
Θεόδωρος ψάλ
της, περιμένων
τὰς ἀψευδεῖς

⁹⁴ *R.E.G.*, LXVI, 1953, p. 163, no. 165.

⁹⁵ *S.E.G.*, IX, 1938, p. 75, no. 410; *Sammelbuch*, V, nos. 8717, 8726; *I.G.*, XIV, nos. 119, 152.6-7 (= *C.I.G.*, IV, no. 9461), 191.1-2, 537.3-4 (= *C.I.G.*, IV, no. 9493).

⁹⁶ Acts 10:45, 12:3, 16:1,15; II Cor. 6:15; Eph. 1:1, Col. 1:2; I Tim. 4:3,10,12, 5:16, 6:2 (*bis*); Titus 1:6; I Pet. 1:21.

⁹⁷ *Insc. Lat. Ch. Vet.*, III, pp. 353-354.

⁹⁸ XVIII, 269.

⁹⁹ Acts 20:18.

¹⁰⁰ Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, p. 171, no. 430.13.

¹⁰¹ Sophocles, *Phil.*, 306.

5 τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ ἐπαγγελί
 ας· ἀνεπαύσατο
 δὲ μηνὶ Δεκεμ
 βρίῳ κγ', ἡμέρῃ
 Κυριακῇ ἰνδ(ικτιῶνι) ι' . †

Here lies Theodoros, the chanter, awaiting the truthful promises of Christ. He went to rest in the month of December, on the twenty-third, on the Lord's day, in the tenth (year of the) indiction.

This inscription is the only instance of a Cretan epitaph which records the ecclesiastic office of ψάλτης. Theodoros was probably the ψάλτης of the basilica where the plaque was found. Kalokyres dates the inscription in the fifth century. Robert is probably correct in his assumption that "the truthful promises of Christ" refer to His promises of eternal life to all the faithful.¹⁰² The phrase ἀψευδεῖς ἐπαγγελίαι occurs also in a prayer of the Ἀκολουθία τῆς γονυκλισίας τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς of the Greek Orthodox Church.¹⁰³ Although the meaning of ἐπαγγελία as "promise" did occur occasionally in later pagan writers,¹⁰⁴ it occurs frequently with this meaning in the New Testament.¹⁰⁵ The phrase τὰς ἀψευ[δεῖς] ἀγγελίας τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ occurs in another Christian inscription of Crete.¹⁰⁶

The name of Christ in line 5 is abbreviated by means of the first and last letters but without the horizontal bar. The first day of the week, ἡμέρῃ Κυριακῇ, occurs also in one other Christian inscription of Crete.¹⁰⁷ The letters representing the numeral 23 in line 8 have a bar above and midway between the kappa and gamma, whereas the iota in line 9 lacks the bar but has a diaeresis. The word indiction in line 9 is abbreviated by means of the S symbol. The inscription not only begins but also ends with a cross. The final cross is clearly evident on the stone, although previous commentators failed to note it.

10. (Pl. 65). A small sepulchral plaque of poros stone found at Thronos, the ancient Sybritos; now in the museum of Rhethymnon (inv. no. 60). Although the top, left

¹⁰² R.E.G., LXIX, 1956, p. 157; cf. I Tim. 4:8; Heb. 9:15; Clement of Rome, *Epistle* I, 5,5.

¹⁰³ Εὐχολόγιον τὸ Μέγα, pp. 280-281.

¹⁰⁴ Polybios, I,43,6, I,72,6, VII,13,2, XVIII,28,1; Philostratus Jun., *Im.*, I,4; Diodorus Siculus, I,5,3; F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Die Inschriften von Priene*, Berlin, 1906, no. 123.9; C. Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*, Brussels, 1900, p. 353, no. 473.10 (2c. B.C.).

¹⁰⁵ Luke 24:49; Acts 1:4, 2:33,39, 7:17, 13:23, 26:6; Rom. 4:13 f., 9:9, 15:8; II Cor. 1:20, 7:1; Gal. 3:14,16,17,18,21,22,29, 4:23,28; Eph. 1:13, 2:12, 3:6, 6:2; II Tim. 1:1; Heb. 4:1, 6:12,15,17, 8:6, 10:36, 11:9,13,17,39; II Pet. 3:4,9.

¹⁰⁶ *Inscr. Cret.*, II, p. 270, no. 3.

¹⁰⁷ *Inscr. Cret.*, IV, p. 407, no. 484; for the development of this day of the week, see P. Cotton, *From Sabbath to Sunday: A Study in Early Christianity*, Bethlehem, Pa., 1933.

side, and bottom are somewhat irregular, the stone appears to be in the same state as when inscribed. The inscription is complete. The letters have pronounced apices and the alphas and nus have tails.

Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.21 m.; thickness, 0.045 m.; height of letters, 0.010-0.020 m.; distance between lines, 0.005-0.012 m.

Bibliography. Guarducci, *Inscr. Cret.*, II, p. 293, no. 8; Kalokyres, *Ἡ Ἀρχαία Πίθυμνα*, p. 135, no. 10; Ferrua, *Riv. di arch. crist.*, XXX, 1954, p. 141.

† Ἀνεπαύσατο
ὁ μακαριώτ(ατος) Δη
μητρὶς μη(νὶ) Δεκε
μβρίου εἴ, ἡμ(έρα) εἴ,
5 ἰνδ(ικτιῶνι), σὺν Θ(εῶ), δι'. [†]

The most blessed Demetrios went to rest in the month of December, the fifteenth, on the fifth day (of the week), by the will of God, in the fourteenth (year of the) indiction.

This inscription exhibits the usual sepulchral information. The adjective *μακαριώτατος* is abbreviated by means of the *S* symbol after tau, which is in ligature with omega. The *S* symbol is used also in the word indiction after delta in line 5. There are two instances of abbreviation by suspension. The eta is superscribed over the mu in the word *μηνὶ* in line 3 and the mu is superscribed over the eta in the word *ἡμέρα* in line 4. There is one instance of an omikron upsilon ligature in line 4. The inscription appears to belong to the fifth-sixth century.

In line 5 after the word *ἰνδικτιῶνι* Guarducci reads epsilon as representing the fifth year of the indiction and after this upsilon nu delta iota, all in capitals. A careful examination of the stone reveals that what Guarducci took as epsilon is actually a lunate sigma which is to be taken with the following upsilon and nu as the preposition *σύν*. Above the upsilon there is a theta whose cross bar extends over both the upsilon and the nu ending in a *S* symbol, to represent the abbreviation of the word *Θεῶ*. The final delta and iota, therefore, are to be taken as the year of the indiction. One other inscription of Crete also has the expression *σὺν Θεῶ* between the word indiction and the letters representing the year.¹⁰⁸

The epsilon iota in line 4 exhibits the horizontal bar, whereas the epsilon, representing the day of the week in the same line, and the delta iota in line 5 lack it. The inscription begins and most likely ended with a cross, for which there is room.

11. (Pl. 65). A sepulchral plaque of white marble of unknown provenance; now in the museum at Rhethymnon (inv. no. 10). The stone is rectangular and irregularly

¹⁰⁸ *Inscr. Cret.*, IV, p. 408, no. 487.

broken on all sides, but the inscription is complete. There is a border guide line on the left side of the inscription, which is not visible in the photograph of the squeeze.

Height, 0.21 m.; width, 0.37 m.; thickness 0.018 m.; height of letters, 0.008-0.012 m.; distance between lines, first four lines 0.015 m.; last six lines 0.005-0.007 m. This difference is due to the fact that the inscriber used a separate line for the last word of the first three lines, inscribing these words on the extreme right side of the inscription. This was also done in lines 5, 8, and 9.

Bibliography: F. Halbherr, *A.J.A.*, XI, 1896, pp. 605-606, no. 2; D. Levi, *Studi italiani di filologia classica*, N.S. II, 1922, pp. 397-398, no. 40; G. Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti nell' isola di Creta*, IV, Venice, 1932, pp. 406-407, no. 1; H. Leclercq, *Dict. d'arch. chrét. et de lit.*, III, pt. II, Paris, 1914, col. 3031, no. 2; Guarducci, *Inscr. Cret.*, II, pp. 274-275, no. 13; Kalokyres, 'Η Ἀρχαία Ῥίθυμνα, pp. 130-131, no. 2.

Ἡμετέρης κάλλιστον ἔχεις, Λόγε Χ(ριστ)έ, | χορίης |
 Μάγνον ἐν εὐσεβίεσσιν} πανηγυρίεσσιν | δικέων. |
 Τῷδε πόνος κλυτόκαρπος ἐπουρανίων | ἀνέφξε |
 τιμὴν ἀγγελόεσσιν ἐπὶ σέβας ἱερὸν ἔσχε,
 5 τιμὰς δ' ἐὴν μεγάλῃ βασιλῆϊδα τὴν θεότε|κνον |
 αἰδίδην θεότητα. Τὸ σὸν δ' ὑπεδέχυντο πν(εῦμ)α
 εὐσχολον, ἑκτανύων ψυχῆς πολυχανδέα κόλπον,
 εἶδος ὅπως θεῖκον βροτοείκελον ἀμφιβά|λοιτο |
 σῆς, μάκαρ, ἀντολῆς θεεικὴν δόσιν | ἀγλ<α>οφεγγές.

1. χορίης = χορείης 2. δικέων = δικαίων 4. ἐπὶ = ἐπεί 5. βασιλῆϊδα = βασιλῆίδα 6. αἰδίδην = αἰδίδην 9. θεεικὴν = θεϊκὴν.

Thou hast, O Christ the Word, the best of our band, Magnos, among the pious assemblies of the just. Toil after celestial things, crowned with fruits of glory, has opened for him angelic honor since he revered everything holy and honored Thy great Kingdom and eternal Divinity begotten of God. He received Thy tranquil spirit, extending the capacious bosom of his soul, in order that his mortal form might put on a splendidly shining divine one, a divine gift of Thy resurrection, O Blessed One.

This sepulchral inscription in dactylic hexameter, belonging probably to the fourth-fifth century, addresses Christ in praise of Magnos. The name Μάγνος, a Greek transliteration of the Latin *Magnus*, although apparently not a popular Christian name, occurs occasionally in Christian inscriptions.¹⁰⁹ Magnus was one of the three surnames of Emperor Leo I. The feminine form Μάγνα occurs in Christian

¹⁰⁹ *M.A.M.A.*, V, p. 55, no. 104.2; W. Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften*, I, Berlin, 1955, p. 284, no. 1014 for Μάγνης.

inscriptions¹¹⁰ and was the name of a deaconess to whom Nilus of Ancyra addressed his treatise *De voluntaria paupertate*.¹¹¹

In addition to His usual name Χριστός, here abbreviated by the first and last letters with the horizontal bar over them, Christ is addressed also by Δόγος¹¹² and by μάκαρ in line 9, the latter occurring in classical literature for addressing single gods.¹¹³

The word χορεία in line 1 refers to persons of a special group, and in this case, a monastic group. Χορεία and Χορός are frequently used in ecclesiastical Greek to denote a special group of Christians.¹¹⁴ That Magnos was a monastic is implied by the use of the adjective ἀγγελόεσσαν in line 4, which occurs in this form only in this inscription. It is synonymous with ἀγγελικὴν, often used in patristic literature to refer to monasticism.¹¹⁵ The phrase εὐσεβίεσσιν πανηγυρίεσσι δικέων in line 2 is reminiscent of Paul's statement:

προσεληλύθατε . . . πανηγύρει καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρωτοτόκων ἀπογεγραμμένων ἐν οὐρανοῖς
. . . καὶ πνεύμασι δικαίων τετελειωμένων . . .¹¹⁶

The adjective κλυτόκαρπος in line 3 is here found for the second time in extant Greek literature.¹¹⁷

The interpretation of line 5 by previous commentators is not satisfactory. Halbherr's transcription δὲ ἦν after τιμάς in line 5, which Gerola accepted, and Guarducci's transcription δὲ ἦν seem unlikely. Halbherr interpreted lines 4-5 as follows:

Magnus has been able to attain to heavenly glory because he had as his ἱερὸν σέβας and his τιμαί his great queen (ἦν μεγάλην βασιληίδα, that is, the Mother of God, etc. . . .)

His interpretation of βασιληίδα as queen and θεότεκνον as Mother of God is to be questioned. It is perhaps preferable to interpret σέβας ἱερὸν ἔσχε as an active periphrasis for ἐσέφθη or ἐσεβάσθη τὸ ἱερόν. Such periphrases, both active and passive, were common not only in classical writers¹¹⁸ but also in the New Testament.¹¹⁹ Τιμάς

¹¹⁰ *M.A.M.A.*, I, nos. 302.4-5, 313.3; VII, no. 75.8.

¹¹¹ Migne, *P.G.*, LXXIX, 968-1060.

¹¹² Cf. John 1:1,14; Rev. 19:13.

¹¹³ *Hym. Hom.*, 8,16; Sophocles, *Phil.*, 400; Aeschylus, *Supp.*, 525 (superl.); *I.G.*, XIV, no. 1015; *I.G.*, XII(5), no. 229.

¹¹⁴ Μηναῖον (March 3rd), ὥδῃ θ', 1st hymn and (October 11-17), Δοξαστικὸν τῶν αἰῶνων; Εὐχολόγιον τὸ Μέγα, p. 302.

¹¹⁵ Migne, *P.G.*, XXXI, 629D; XXXII, 1125B; XXXIV, 1009, 1026D; LXV, 444B, 1032B; LXXXVI, 2288B.

¹¹⁶ Heb. 12:23.

¹¹⁷ Pindar, *Nem.*, IV, 76.

¹¹⁸ *Iliad*, VI,362, XIII,517, XVIII,378, XIX,180; Herodotos, II,45,1, II,46,3; Xenophon, *Cyr.*, I,3,8; *idem*, *An.*, VII,1,8; Euripides, *Or.*, 1069; *idem*, *Andr.*, 1281; *idem*, *Med.*, 1301.

¹¹⁹ John 4:44, 13:35, 16:33; I Cor. 8:1; II Cor. 3:4, etc.

in line 5 continues the periphrasis and has the nouns βασιληίδα and θεότεκνον in apposition. Σέβας together with δόξα and τιμή are mentioned as belonging to God through Christ with the Holy Spirit.¹²⁰ It is probably better to interpret ΔΕΗΝ as consisting of the connective δέ with elision of epsilon followed by the possessive adjective of the second person singular, directed to Christ. Although εός was generally the possessive adjective to the third person singular, after Homer it was also used of other persons. Examples of its use for the second person singular exist both in literature¹²¹ and in inscriptions.¹²² Christian metrical inscriptions show a fondness for this adjective.¹²³

Βασιληίδα in line 5 is for βασιλείαν and refers to the Kingdom of Christ.¹²⁴ Θεότεκνον in line 5 is an adjective and occurs in this inscription for the first time as an adjective in Greek literature and inscriptions. It was probably formulated during the fourth century after Christ when the Christological controversy concerning the nature of Christ was current, and it is reminiscent of the expression in article 2 of the Nicaeo-Constantinopolitan Creed (A.D. 325 and 381):

Καὶ εἰς ἓνα κύριον, Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα . . .

That the suffix -τεκνος has a passive verbal connotation can be deduced from the word ἀνεψιότεκνος, which Du Cange renders as ὁ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνεψιοῦ ἢ ἀνεψιᾶς γεγονώς.¹²⁵ Therefore, θεότεκνος means ὁ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ γεγονώς. Θεότεκνος has been used also as a proper name among Christians.¹²⁶ Greek¹²⁷ and Latin¹²⁸ inscriptions, as well as papyri,¹²⁹ record this name.

Halbherr's transcription τόσον in line 6, accepted also by Gerola and Guarducci, does not fit the context. This is best interpreted as the definite article followed by the possessive adjective of the second person singular, modifying πνεῦμα.¹³⁰ The latter

¹²⁰ *Const. Apost.*, VIII, 12, 14, 15, *et al.*

¹²¹ *Batr.*, 23; Theocritus, XVII, 50; Apollonius Rhodius, II, 634, III, 140; *Anth. Pal.*, VIII, 92, 1.

¹²² Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, pp. 195-196, no. 491.7.

¹²³ *C.I.G.*, IV, no. 8633.1 (= Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, p. 479, no. 1067.1); *C.I.G.*, IV, no. 8655.6 (= Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, p. 479, no. 1068.6); J. Anderson, *J.H.S.*, XIX, 1899, p. 287, no. 185; *S.E.G.*, I, p. 117, no. 452; *S.E.G.*, VI, p. 96, no. 560.

¹²⁴ Cf. Eph. 5:5; Clement of Rome, *Epistle* I, 50, 3; Matt. 13:41; John 18:36; Col. 1:13; II Tim. 4:18.

¹²⁵ *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis*, Lugdunum, 1688, p. 77.

¹²⁶ Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, VII, 14, 1; G. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, VI, Florence, 1761, col. 1085; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, IX, 2, 1.

¹²⁷ J. Anderson, *J.H.S.*, XIX, 1899, p. 69, no. 19; *M.A.M.A.*, III, nos. 377.4, 558.3.

¹²⁸ *Insc. Lat. Ch. Vet.*, II, p. 327, no. 4003b.

¹²⁹ *P. Masph.*, II, no. 67212.3, III, nos. 67283.iii.9, 67296.18, 67328.iv.28, v.26, vi.25, vii.26.

¹³⁰ For the concept πνεῦμα χριστοῦ, see Luke 16:7; Rom. 4:6, 8:9; Phil. 1:19; Migne, *P.G.*, XXXI, 612C; XXXII, 332C; XXXVIII, 857; XLI, 1053B; XLII, 480D, 488D, 493B; XLIII, 25C, 28B, 29A; LXVIII, 148A; LXXIV, 417C; LXXVII, 36A, 121B; LXXXV, 1288C; LXXXVI(1), 625B.

is abbreviated by pi nu and alpha with the horizontal bar over the letters. Πνεῦμα is modified also by the adjective εὐσχολον in line 7.

In line 8 both adjectives θεϊκόν and βροτοείκελον use the noun εἶδος, which is nominative with βροτοείκελον and is supplied in the accusative for θεϊκόν. The form βροτοείκελος is not found elsewhere, but it is synonymous with βροτοειδής, the latter being extant only once in literature.¹³¹ In lines 8-9 the composer of this inscription probably had in mind I Cor. 15:35-58, in which Paul contrasts σῶμα ψυχικόν and σῶμα πνευματικόν, the former putting on the latter. The inscription uses ἀμφιβάλοιτο for Paul's ἐνδύσεται, βροτοείκελον for ψυχικόν, θεϊκόν for πνευματικόν, ἀγλαοφεγγές for ἐν δόξῃ, and εἶδος for σῶμα. Ἀγλαοφεγγής is found but once in Greek literature.¹³² Smyth (*apud* Halbherr) was probably right in his assumption that ἀντολίη in line 9 may be equivalent to ἀνάστασις. The noun δόσιν, which is in apposition to the supplied noun εἶδος, is used in the concrete sense of "gift."¹³³

As regards the metrics of this inscription, the dactylic hexameters work out perfectly if the correct spellings indicated in the orthographical apparatus above, the one instance of synizesis of the word ἐήν in line 5, and the incision of nu, most likely inadvertant, in the word εὐσεβίσσιν in line 2, and the omission of alpha in the last word of the inscription are taken into account. That the author of the inscription was imitating epic style is evident by the forms of various words throughout the inscription. Of epigraphical interest is the shape of xi; the iota of ἱερόν in line 4 and θεϊκόν in line 8 exhibit diaeresis.

12. (Pl. 65). A sepulchral plaque of bluish marble found in 1917 at Hagios Ioannes of Khania; now in the museum of Khania (inv. no. 39). Peek gives 44 as its inv. no. However, another stone marked 44 bears a different inscription, so badly eaten away by the sea water which occasionally seeps into the museum that it is unreadable. The confusion may be due to renumbering; the present number of the inscription is 39. The stone is broken on the lower left corner and has many cracks. The letters are not deeply incised.

Height 0.37 m.; width 0.42 m.; thickness 0.04 m.; height of letters 0.025 m.; distance between lines 0.012-0.015 m.

Bibliography: D. Levi, *Historia*, VI, 1932, pp. 597-598, no. 3; G. Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti*, IV, p. 404, no. 2; W. Peek, *Philologus*, LXXXVIII, 1933, pp. 145-146, no. 3; Guarducci, *Inscr. Cret.*, II, p. 126, no. 21; R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs*, Urbana, 1942, p. 305.

¹³¹ Manetho Astrologus, VI, 446.

¹³² Maximus Astrologus, 189.

¹³³ Cf. *Iliad*, X, 213; *Od.*, VI, 208, XIV, 58; cf. Herodotos, I, 90, IX, 93; Aeschylus, *Pers.*, 1041; Sophocles, *O.T.*, 1518, etc.; Plato, *Phlb.*, 16C; *Letter of Aristeas*, 229 and cf. 224; Jas. 1:17.

Κεύθει μὲν μου σῶμα Βαναῶς κατὰ | γαῖα φερίστη, |
 ψυχὴ δ' ἡθέοις συναγάλλεται ἐν | παραδίσῳ |
 μάρτυσιν ἀθλοφόροις, ἐπεὶ βίον | ἔκφυγον ἀγνή,
 τᾶς ψυχῆς ἐνὶ Θεῷ διαφθορὰν Βελείοιο | φυγούσας. |
 5 [Κε]ύθει γαῖα μάκερα δύο σώματα | τᾶν φιλαδέλφων.

The gentlest earth covers the body of me, Banao, but my soul rejoices in paradise with victorious virgin martyrs since I escaped life in a state of purity, my soul, by the power of God, having succeeded in averting corruption by the Devil. Blessed earth covers two bodies of beloved women.

This inscription is also expressed in dactylic hexameters. It is one of two inscriptions recording the burial of two persons in one grave.¹³⁴

There is some doubt as to the name of the deceased. Gerola is probably right in taking Βαναῶ in line 1 as a proper noun, although it is unlikely that it is a dialectical form of Φαναῶ or Φανιώ. Peek, although he admits the existence of a Semitic name Βαναῶ or Ἀβανά, is not convinced that this is the one in the inscription and so renders it without accent. It may well be a feminine form of the masculine Βάννος, which occurs in an inscription from Egypt.¹³⁵

Tmesis of κατακεύθει in line 1 is to be noted. This verb, synonymous with κατακαλύπτειν,¹³⁶ occurs only once in literature.¹³⁷ The expression γαῖα φερίστη¹³⁸ suggests the *pia terra* of Latin inscriptions, which expresses the hope or wish that the earth may not weigh heavily upon the body.¹³⁹

The contrast between σῶμα and ψυχὴ in lines 1 and 2 shows that the Christians accepted the dualistic concept according to which the living person is a composite of a material element, the body, and a spiritual element, the soul, and that death consists in their separation.¹⁴⁰

The epic adjective ἡθέος in line 2, applied to μάρτυσιν in line 3, implies that the deceased was unmarried. That it implies that she was, at the time of her death, between the ages fourteen and eighteen,¹⁴¹ cannot be known. The use of the adjective ἀγνή¹⁴² in line 3 implies that her celibacy may have been intentional and perhaps even monastic. This can be supported by the adjective φιλαδέλφων in line 5. Φιλάδελφος is

¹³⁴ *Inscr. Cret.*, IV, p. 403, no. 470.

¹³⁵ *Sammelbuch*, I, no. 1839.1.

¹³⁶ Cf. *Iliad*, VI, 464.

¹³⁷ *Anth. Pal.*, XV, 29, 3 (Ignatius)

¹³⁸ Cf. Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, nos. 329.2, 551.4, 569.5; *I.G.*, XII(I), no. 148.4; *I.G.*, XIV, no. 329.5, 6; *Sammelbuch*, I, nos. 315, 5829.

¹³⁹ F. Sullivan, *T.A.P.A.*, LXX, 1939, pp. 508-510.

¹⁴⁰ Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs*, p. 304.

¹⁴¹ *Etym. Magn.*, 422, 40.

¹⁴² Cf. Plato, *Leg.*, 740D.

used once in the New Testament,¹⁴³ where it refers to "loving one's Christian brothers." Basil of Caesarea mentions *φιλαδελφία* as well as *εὐσχημοσύνη*, *ἀκτημοσύνη*, *ἡσυχία* as the qualifications of nuns.¹⁴⁴ *Φιλάδελφος* occasionally is found in sepulchral inscriptions.¹⁴⁵

*Ἀθλοφόρος*¹⁴⁶ in line 3 and *ἀθλητής* are used in early Christian literature and inscriptions as epithets of martyrs. *Παράδεισος* in line 2 is used in the technical sense of the abode of blessedness mentioned in both the Septuagint¹⁴⁷ and the New Testament.¹⁴⁸

The middle of line 4 is the only spot in the inscription which is subject to doubt as to the reading. Gerola's conjecture *Θεοτόκω* is highly unlikely since it has no connection with the context. Peek's suggestion of *θεοίλω*, *θεομῶ*, *θεο(φ)ίλω*, and *θεομίλω* as possible readings also do not help the thought of line 4. The fourth word definitely begins with theta followed by epsilon and is followed by what seems to be an *omega*, which is best taken as *Θεῶ*. The phrase *ἐν Θεῶ* is found once in the New Testament.¹⁴⁹

Line 5 implies that the same grave holds the body of the deceased mentioned in the inscription and the body presumably of her sister or someone dear to her or perhaps a fellow nun. It is not necessary to assume, with Gerola, that the last line was added later, after the death of the sister (he says brother or sister) of the deceased. It is equally possible that the sister of the deceased may have predeceased and that the inscription, as it exists, was incised complete at one time.

As regards the metrics of this inscription, the dactylic hexameters break down in a few places. In line 1 there is synizesis of alpha and omega in the name Banao. Such a synizesis is very rare in Classical Greek. In line 3 the first syllable of *ἐπεί* is long according to Homeric practice. In line 4 there is synizesis of epsilon and omega of the word *Θεῶ*. That this word can be monosyllabic by synizesis is shown from classical literature.¹⁵⁰ The iota alpha of the word *διαφθοράν* would also have to have synizesis and the resultant syllable would have to be considered short in spite of the fact that it is before phi theta, which would by classical standards make the short syllable before it long. In line 5 the upsilon omikron of *δύο* is monosyllabic by synizesis. Correct spellings must also be taken into account in working out the meter. The pi epsilon of *ἐπεί* are in ligature.

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¹⁴³ I Pet. 3:8.

¹⁴⁴ Migne, *P.G.*, XXXIII, 888A.

¹⁴⁵ *Sammelbuch*, III(I), nos. 6234, 6235, 6653.

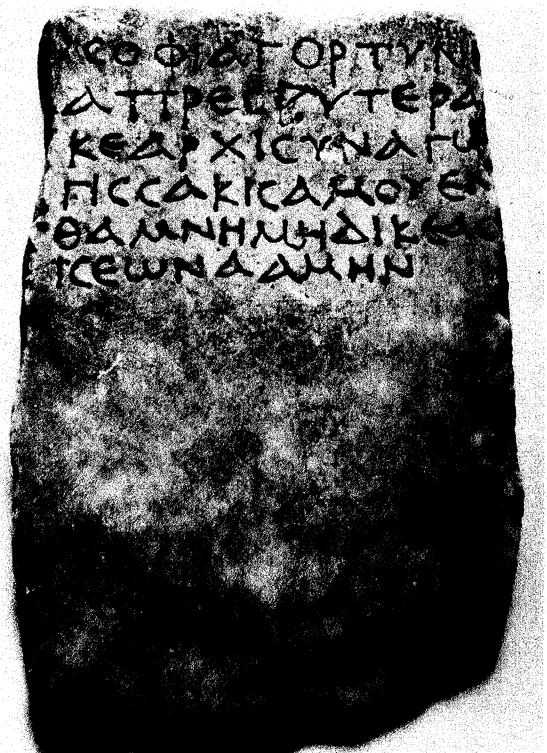
¹⁴⁶ *Anth. Pal.* VIII, 118.2; *C.I.G.*, IV, nos. 8609, 8625, 8626, 8638, 8654 (= Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.*, no. 1063.1); *S.E.G.*, VII, p. 162, no. 865a (*addenda*); *Insc. Lat. Ch. Vet.*, I, p. 221, no. 1124; *M.A.M.A.*, V, no. 104.3.

¹⁴⁷ Gen. 13:10; Ezek. 28:13, 31:8; II Esd. 7:53, 8:52; cf. *P. Mag.*, IV, no. 3027; for the Jewish conception of the "garden" as the abode of the blessed, cf. Enoch 61:12.

¹⁴⁸ Luke 23:43; II Cor. 12:4; Rev. 2:7.

¹⁴⁹ John 3:21; cf. Demosthenes, XVIII, 193.

¹⁵⁰ *Iliad*, I, 18; *Od.*, XIV, 251; *Hom. Hym. Cer.* 55, 259, 325; Theognis, 142, 171 (*bis*), 358; Solon, 1,3; Pindar, *Pyth.*, I,56; Euripides, *Or.*, 399; *idem*, *Her. Fur.*, 347; Menander, *Pk.*, 397.



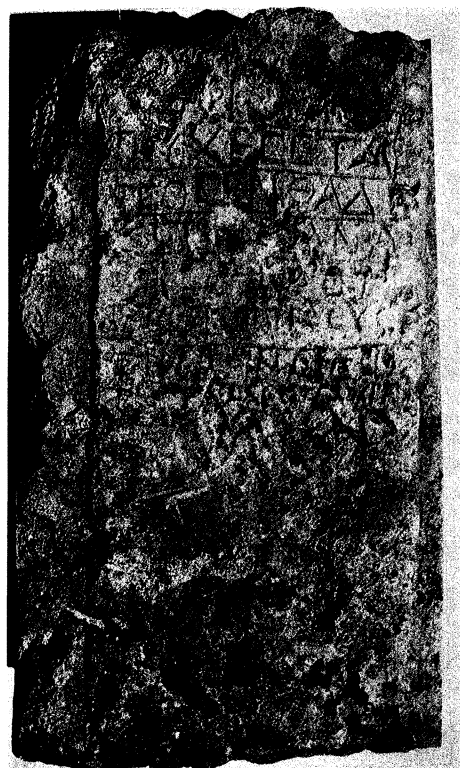
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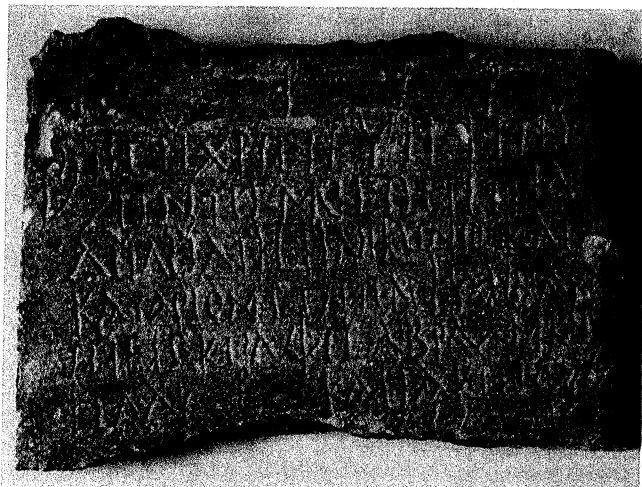
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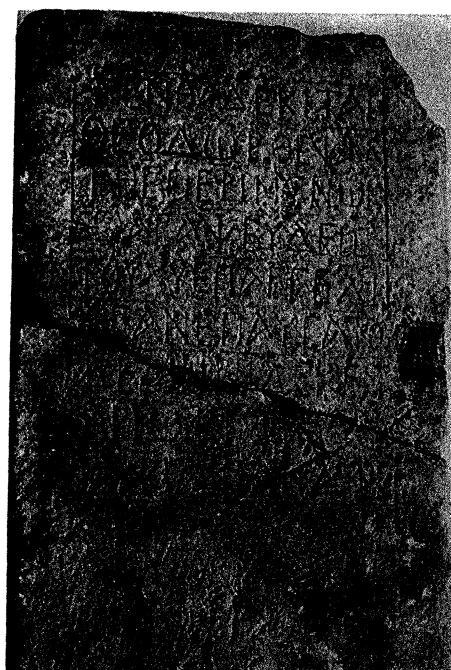
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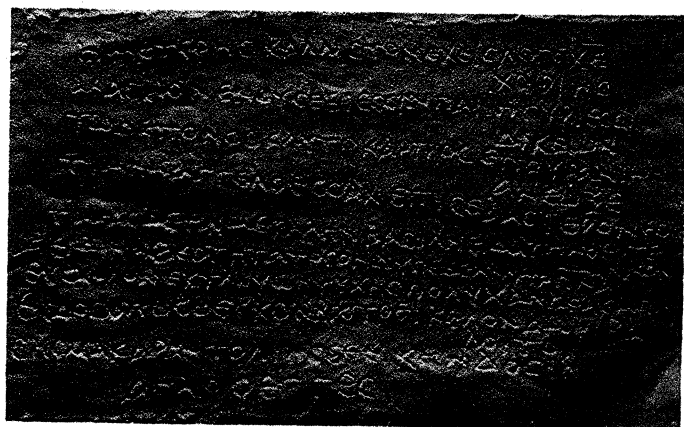
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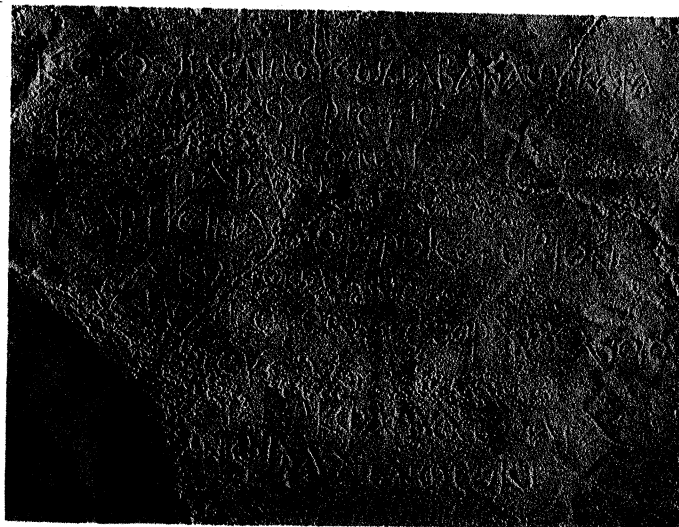
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