

EPIGRAMS TO AN ELDER STATESMAN AND A YOUNG NOBLE FROM LATO PROS KAMARA (CRETE)

(PLATES 27, 28)

LATO PROS KAMARA was the name used to distinguish the port of Lato, beneath modern Hagios Nikolaos in eastern Crete, from its mountain metropolis, which was some 5.5 kilometers inland and commanded the strategic height of Katharo (Fig. 1).¹ The lower city and its name are attested in inscriptions beginning with the year 201 (*IC* I 16.5 and 19). During the 2nd century the upper city was gradually abandoned in favor of the port with its seaside advantages. Lato pros Kamara became very prosperous indeed by the end of that century, when funerary inscriptions like the two published here began to be erected not at upper Lato but in a cemetery on the southwest side of Lato pros Kamara, the side toward the older city.²

The two inscriptions presented below were discovered in 1983 when Dr. Costis Davaras, then Ephor of Antiquities for Eastern Crete, was excavating at the Potamos location, just to the south of Hagios Nikolaos, where a dry river bed flows into the bay near a bridge carrying the road to Ierapetra and Sitia (Fig. 2, lower left). On the last day of the excavation season, workers digging for the foundations of a house discovered two inscribed blocks in a dirt pile some 20 meters southwest of Davaras' site, on the plot of J. Siganos. The stones were 0.50 m. below ground level and had clearly been displaced from their original location by previous construction activity. The Siganos plot lies only 20 m. from the Potamos location proper, where another funeral stele had already been discovered, along with its rectangular base, near a poor tile grave.³ In 1978 this Potamos location was identified as the site of

¹ I wish to express my gratitude to the American Philosophical Society for the funding which made this research possible; to Costis Davaras of the Archaeological Institute of Crete for permission to study and publish these inscriptions; and to Henry Immerwahr and Henri van Effenterre for reading preliminary versions of this article. All dates in the text are B.C. unless otherwise noted.

Works frequently cited are abbreviated as follows:

- Alexiou = S. Alexiou, *Δελτ* 23, 1968, B' 1 (1969), p. 404
- Barkowski = O. Barkowski, *RE* II A.2, 1923, cols. 2242–2264, s.v. Sieben Weise
- Buck, *Greek Dialects* = C. D. Buck, *The Greek Dialects*, Chicago 1955
- Kaibel = G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata graeca*, Frankfurt 1879, repr. Hildesheim 1965
- Lattimore, *Themes* = R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs*, Urbana 1962
- Peek, 1973–1974 = W. Peek, "Kretische Vers-Inschriften I," *ArchCl* 25–26, 1973–1974, pp. 502–528
- Peek, 1977 = W. Peek, "Kretische Vers-Inschriften II," *ArchCl* 29, 1977, pp. 64–85
- Peek, *GV* I = W. Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften, I, Grab-Epigramme*, Berlin 1955
- Van Effenterre, 1974 = H. van Effenterre, "Inscription funéraire métrique de Lato," *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 26, 1974, pp. 23–31
- Van Effenterre and Bougrat = H. van Effenterre and M. Bougrat, "Les frontières de Lato," *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 21, 1969, pp. 9–53
- Willets = R. F. Willets, *Aristocratic Society in Ancient Cretre*, London 1955

² See Guarducci, *IC* I 16.praef.; Van Effenterre and Bougrat, pp. 49–52.

³ Alexiou, dated 1st century, and naming Hylas son of Euagoros and Timolas son of Lattygos.

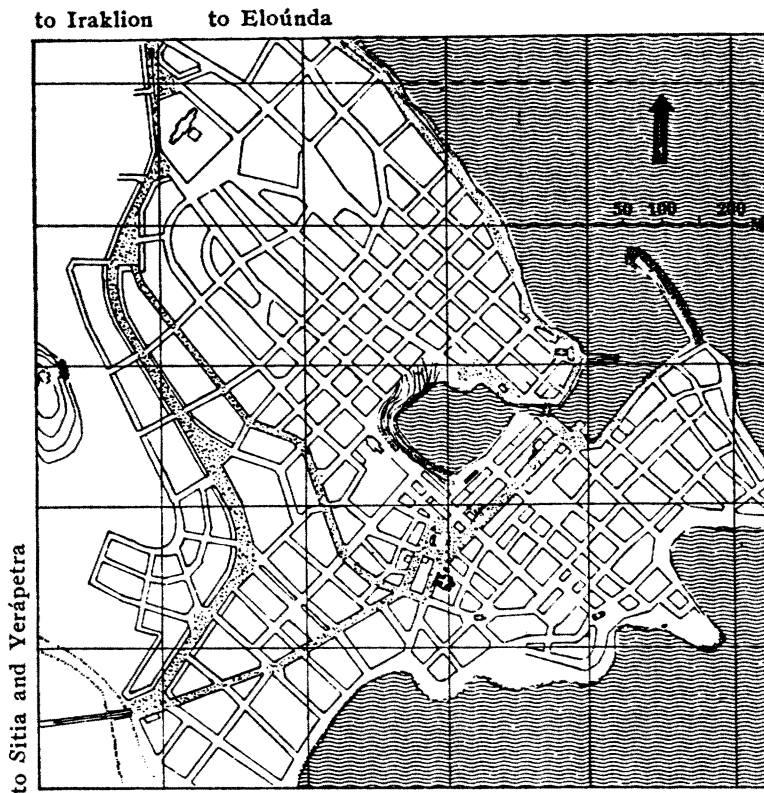


FIG. 2. Plan of Hagios Nikolaos (after S. G. Spanakis, *Crete: A Guide*, Heraklion 1964, p. 87)

a cemetery of Hellenistic and Roman times; the Roman part of the graveyard included five tile graves.⁴ The inscriptions presented below are funerary and could well be from the Hellenistic cemetery, despite the fact that it lies 3 meters below ground level and 20 meters from the findspot of the inscriptions. They could, however, be from a family or clan burial area near the Hellenistic cemetery, since the Potamos inscription recorded by Alexiou in 1968 names an individual, Euagoros, who is very probably related to the man of that name in the second 1983 inscription. Regardless of whether the two monuments are from the Hellenistic cemetery, as circumstantial evidence would strongly suggest, or from some other funerary or commemorative location, their chance discovery has yielded two new funerary inscriptions, both from Lato pros Kamara and both in elegiac couplets, new members of the Cretan corpus of *epigrammata*. Lato and Lato pros Kamara have yielded five of the roughly 46 epigrams known thus far from the island. With this publication seven epigrams can be attributed to this pair of cities, a number equaled only by Itanos.⁵

⁴ For C. Davaras' report on the Roman part of the cemetery, discovered when emergency excavations were undertaken so that a building could be erected on the site, see «Νεκροταφείο Ποτάμου», *Δελτ* 33, 1978, B' 1 (1985), pp. 385–388. His report on the Hellenistic part of the cemetery is forthcoming in *Δελτ* 1983.

⁵ See Guarducci, *IC* I 5.40, 41, 42 (Arkades); 8.33, 34 (Knossos); 16.7, 48, 50, 53 (Lato and Lato pros Kamara); 17.177, 178 (Lytos); 22.58, 59 (Olous); 27.2 (Rhaukos). *IC* II 5.49, 50, 51 (Axos); 6.10

1 (Pl. 27)

Gray-blue block of equal width and depth, most likely of the hard local limestone used in most inscriptions from Lato and its environs and particularly in the magistral inscriptions of Lato (*lapis calcarius subcaerulus*, σιδερόπετρα).⁶

H. 0.62 m., W. 0.38 m., Th. 0.38 m.

An inscription of fifteen lines begins 0.07 m. from the top of the stone and ends 0.24 m. from the bottom, producing a field 0.31 m. high; the inscription runs from the left to the right edge, line 14 and apparently line 5 running off the stone at the right. The surface clearly preserves the claw marks which distinguish the lower, undressed part of the stone, some 0.215 m. of which was apparently intended to be below ground.

L.H.: Line 1, 0.04 m.; lines 2–3, 0.035 m.; lines 4–15, uniformly 0.01 m. Letters are clean, regular, carefully incised with apices.

End of the 2nd century B.C., by identification of the honorand.

- Κλητώνυμος
Μναστοκλείος
χαῖρε
εἰ Λίνδος Κλεόβ[ο]υλον ἐθρέψατο Σισυ[φί]δων δὲ
5 χθῶν [Π]ε[ρί]ανδρον, ἄκρους ἐπὶ σοφῶν κανόν[as],
οὐ μέγα· κάματος γὰρ ἐνέγκατο τόνδ[ε] σοφιστήν
ὅ[γ]δον [ε]ὐμαθοῦς κοίρανον ἱστορίας,
πιστὸν ἔρ[εισ]μα νόνων Κλητώνυμον αἰνετὸν νῖα
Μναστ[οκ]λέους δὲ [ὁ] πᾶς δῆμος ἐπωκτίσατο.
10 οὐ γὰρ [οὖν] ἥρως ἐν γήρῃ βίον ὥς δέ τις ἀστήρ
λάμψας ἐσβέσθη δαίμονος ἀκρισίαις
πατρίδα ῥνόμενος βουλαῖς· ἀγαθῇ δὲ προνοίᾳ
οἰκονόμοι δοξῆς κίονες ἐκράτεσαν.
τρισοὺς γὰρ λίπε παιδὰς ἐοῦς. ἀρετὴ δὲ τὰ τρύ[φ]α
15 τείμια κηρύξει κῆν Ἀΐδαο δόμοις.

Kletonymos, son of Mnastokles, farewell. If Lindos nourished Kleoboulos, if the land of the Sisypheidai (nourished) Periander, highest models of the seven wise men, it is no matter; for toil brought forth this statesman as the eighth learned master of historical inquiry, a faithful upholder of the laws, Kletonymos the praiseworthy son of Mnastokles, whom the whole city lamented. The hero certainly did not extinguish his life in old age glowing like some star, through the imprudence of his *daimon*, while protecting his country with his counsels. Rather the *oikonomoi*, pillars of his reputation, prevailed in good foresight. For he left three sons of his own. Excellence on the other hand will proclaim the honors of this man even in the halls of Hades.

(Kantanos); 7.5 (Kaudos); 8.11 (Kissamos); 10.19, 20, 21 (Kydonia); 21.1 (Poikilasion); 23.10, 21, 22 (Polyrrhenia). *IC* III 3.50 (Hierapytna); 4.36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42 (Itanos). *IC* IV.372, 374 (Gortyn). See also *SEG* XVI, 532 (Polyrrhenia); XXIII, 532 and XXIV, 1163 (Gortyn); Peek, 1977, pp. 80–85, nos. 10–14 (Lissos, Kydonia *ter*, Rethymnos); C. Davaras, «Κρητικὲς Ἐπιγραφές III», *Ἀρχ'Εφ* 1980 (1982), pp. 31–35, no. 41 (Lato pros Kamara).

⁶ H. van Effenterre, "Documents éditaires de Lato," *REA* 45, 1943, p. 30.

Line 5. The apparently incomplete word *κανον-* has been restored as *κανόνας*. There may be traces of a letter above the end of the line, which appears to have run off the stone, as did line 14 below. For syntactical and metrical purposes the final syllable is required at the end of the line.

Line 6. *κάματος* may not be the most predictable reading, but it best fits the traces visible on the stone and the context. Vestiges of KA are followed by a vertical stroke on the left side of the next letter space, before ΑΤΟΣ.

Line 8. The restoration *ξρ[εισ]μα* best fits both the context and the physical space where traces of EP are followed by 2 or 3 letter spaces, then traces of mu and a clear alpha.

Line 10. The particle *οὖν* best fills the three letter spaces that are completely illegible after *οὐ γάρ*.

Line 14. The second syllable of *το[ύ]το[υ]* is inscribed above the line, which reached the right-hand edge of the stone before it finished. Both taus are clear and traces remain of the omicrons.

Κλητώνυμος Μναστοκλείος (lines 1–2). This epigram to Kletonymos son of Mnastokles is almost certainly dedicated to the *kosmos* of the same name listed on the board of *IC I* 16.26 and 32. Both names, Kletonymos and Mnastokles, are well attested in the prosopography of Lato's elite. Kletonymos was the name of at least two magistrates of this *polis*. The Kletonymos son of Mnastokles just mentioned was *kosmos* in 116/15 (M. Guarducci, "Appunti di cronologia cretese: la guerra del 114 av. Cr. fra Lato e Olunte," *Epigraphica* 9, 1947 (pp. 31–35), p. 33, comparing *IC I* 16.4B, 26, and 32 with Text B of the inscription published by H. van Effenterre in "Querelles crétoises," *REA* 44, 1942, pp. 34–35). Kletonymos son of Polytimos was *kosmos* perhaps in 113/12 (*IC I* 22.2 and *BCH* 62, 1938, p. 399, no. 3). For a date of 114/13 see Van Effenterre and Bougrat, pp. 31–32 and Van Effenterre, 1974, p. 29. Since *IC I* 16.33 is better dated 114/13, the date 113/12 has been given here for *IC I* 22.2 and *BCH* 62, 1938, p. 399, no. 3. Polytimos son of Kletonymos served as secretary to the board of *IC I* 22.2 (see Van Effenterre, 1974, p. 29). This funerary epigram has also been published by W. Peek (1977, pp. 64–66); he there revised the text he had given previously in a study of *IC I* 16.48 (Peek, 1973–1974, pp. 507–508). Van Effenterre justifies restoring the name of the deceased as Polytimos by the following argument: *IC I* 22.2 names not one but two secretaries for this particular board of *kosmoi*, thus indicating that Polytimos son of Kletonymos died while in office in 114 or 113. He notes, however, that the name Polytimos may be one or two letters too long. Peek (1977, p. 66), on the other hand, offers no justification and admits that the name Aichmaios, which he finds in the text of the epigram, is alien to the Cretan onomasticon.

The name Mnastokles is attested in the filiation of both Kletonymos and his younger brother Mnaston, who served as secretary to the board on which Kletonymos was *kosmos* (*IC I* 16.26 and 32). Only a few years later we hear of another Mnastokles, son of Pyron and *kosmos* in *IC I* 16.33. In yet another text, this time from a frontier sanctuary of Aphrodite and Ares at Sta Lenikà, Mnastokles son of Lattygos appears among the *kosmoi* of Lato (*BCH* 62, 1938, p. 389, no. 1). In a private funerary text of the same era, Mnastokles is named as the father of two children, [Hippi]as and Phyla, to whom an epigram, now illegible, was dedicated (*IC I* 16.51).

Λίνδος Κλεόβ[ο]υλον ἐθρέψατο (line 4). See Barkowski on the Sieben Weise, one of whom was Kleoboulos of Lindos.

Σισυ[φί]δων δὲ χθών [Π]ε[ρί]ανδρον (lines 4–5). *Σισυφίδαι* was one of a small number of patronymic adjectives formed from the name of Sisyphe, in his role as founder of

Corinth. The adjective was used to denote Corinthians of various chronological periods, including that of the Kypselid tyranny (Roscher IV, p. 966 [Wilisch], citing Athanadas in Antoninus Liberalis, 4). Adjectives such as *Σιυφήν*, modifying *γαῖα* or *χθών*, could be used to denote the city of Corinth (*ibid.*; cf. *SEG XXIX*, 308, *Σιυφήν <χθών>* = *SEG XXXI*, 291, [*γαῖα*] *Σιυφήν*). Periander of Corinth was another of the Seven Sages of the Greek world, but far more controversial than Kleoboulos. Periander was admitted to or omitted from the canon, depending on the political attitude of a given writer or on a desire to enroll someone entirely new in this august body. See Barkowski (cols. 2243–2244) on the inclusion or exclusion of Periander from the canonical seven.

ἄκρους ἐπτὰ σοφῶν κανόν[ας] (line 5). Cf. Peek, *GV I*, p. 617, no. 1974, *ἄκρον ἔχων σοφίης*, and pp. 634–635, no. 2003, *τὴν Μουσῶν γυνῶσ' ἐπ' ἄκρον σοφίην*. The accusative plural here is best taken in apposition with the objects of *ἐθρέψατο*, Kleoboulos and Periander. For epigraphical references to the Seven Sages see Peek, *GV I*, p. 107, no. 435, *σοφοῖς ἐπιείκελος ἀνὴρ κεῖμαι*, and Lattimore, *Themes*, p. 286, *σοφιστῆς, εἰς μετὰ τῶν σοφῶν*.

It may not be an accident, or even a matter of metrical considerations, that Kleoboulos and Periander were chosen for specific mention here. The Seven Sages were notably law-givers and statesmen, these two tyrants in their respective towns (Barkowski, col. 2262). What distinguished Kleoboulos and Periander from their fellows? Kleoboulos' reputation rested in part on his renovating the temple of Athena Lindia (*RE Suppl.* V, 1934, col. 757 [v. Gaertringen]). *IC I* 16.35 records an early 2nd-century Rhodian dedication to Athena Lindia at Lato pros Kamara. Kleoboulos could have been cited in the present text because of local connections with Rhodes: *IC I* 22.4A, B from nearby Olous names some 40 Rhodians as *proxenoi* in the 3rd and 2nd centuries. Moreover, Kleoboulos may have been chosen because he was a temple restorer and as such was particularly appropriate for comparison with Kletonymos, one of a number of *kosmoi* of Lato pros Kamara involved in a massive program to renovate and rededicate temples and statues throughout the city and her territory (*IC I* 16, p. 136, *ad nos.* 21–34). Periander, on the other hand, could possibly have been named because of his reputation for advocating simplicity, moderation, and work (*RE XIX*, i, 1937, col. 709 [Schachermeyr]), an idea echoed in the *κάματος* of line 6.

τόνδ[ε] σοφιστήν (line 6). For other uses of this term see Lattimore, *Themes*, p. 286; Peek, *GV I*, p. 99, no. 403; Kaibel, nos. 877 *initium*, 944, and Add. 772a.

The word *σοφιστής*, in the sense in which the Seven Sages were called *σοφισταί*, denotes a wise, prudent, or statesmanlike man (*LSJ*, s.v. *σοφιστής*). Hard work and statesmanlike conduct appear to have been what earned Kletonymos the affectionate admiration of his fellow citizens and family.

ὁ[γ]δοὺν [ε]ὐμαθοῦς κοίρανον ἱστορίης (line 7). See Barkowski, col. 2247, for other attempts to add an eighth to the Seven Sages: Kallimachos, fr. 307 Schn., *ἐπτὰ σοφοὶ χαίρουτε τὸν ὀγδοὺν ὥστε Κόροιβον*; Horace, *Sat.* II.3.296, *haec mihi Stertinius, sapientium octavos, arma dedit*; Ausonius, xviii.26, *mercator: septemviros octavus accessit sophos*. Compare, without the number eight, the phrase *εἰς μετὰ τῶν σοφῶν* cited above (Lattimore,

Themes, p. 286). For Kletonymos as the “learned master of historical inquiry”, cf. Kaibel, *praef.* no. 877b, in which a Pergamene is saluted as *θείας κοίρανον ἱστορίας*.

For the kind of historical inquiry possibly referred to here, see the “Chronicle” of Lindos, dated 99 B.C., which mentions Lindos’ ties with Crete and Kleoboulos’ reconstruction of the temple (*FGrHist*, no. 532 [vol. III B, pp. 506–514; III b 1, pp. 443–451; III b 2, pp. 259–266]). The inventory of votive gifts, compiled long after many of them had been lost, required considerable research on the part of Timachidas son of Agesitimos (M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca* II, Rome 1970, pp. 302–303). It is just possible that during or after Kletonymos’ kosmate he provided Timachidas with material on Cretan and specifically Latoan ties with Lindos (cf. again *IC* I 16.35).

πιστὸν ἔρ[εισ]μα νόνων (line 8). See *LSJ*, s.v. ἔρεισμα (2) for a metaphorical use denoting a person as pillar of his community or country, and Peek, *GV* I, p. 235, no. 858, [κλεινὸν ἔρεισμα πόλει. In this case Kletonymos is the upholder of the laws, where νόνων = νόμων. For this identical orthographical pattern in line 13 below, see Buck, *Greek Dialects*, p. 120, § 151.1 on the assimilation of non-contiguous consonants.

With this accolade we seem to have passed into the area of Kletonymos’ local significance. We have only hints concerning specific laws he might have upheld. During his kosmate a six-month extension was granted to the arbitration team from Knossos that was adjudicating Lato’s quarrel with Olous (Guarducci, *Epigraphica* 9, 1947, p. 33). It is perhaps more likely that Kletonymos held the line during the next year when the Knossos decision was delivered and enforced. Olous had to pay damages but appears to have retained possession of contested monies and other movable goods (Van Effenterre, *REA* 44, 1942, p. 40). From September–October 115 to April 114, and even for some time thereafter, the mood may have been ugly in Lato, but Kletonymos, as an ex-magistrate, may well have stood on the side of abiding by the terms of the Knossos arbitration.

Μναστ[οκ]λέους (line 9). A different genitive form from that shown in Μναστοκλείος (line 2) is employed here. The stem κλε-, when inflected with the genitive ending -ος, can result either in -κλείος, the more typically Cretan formation, or -κλέους: see Buck, *Greek Dialects*, p. 90, § 108; cf. pp. 21–22, § 9. The genitive in -κλέους satisfied metrical needs in this line, whereas meter was not a consideration in the opening formula.

δν [ό] πᾶς δῆμος ἐπωκτίσατο (line 9). Notice that the iota in the diphthong of ἐποικτίζω has been omitted in the aorist form ἐπωκτίσατο, as it also seems to have been in ἀγαθῇ δὲ προνοίᾳ in line 12 below. See Buck, *Greek Dialects*, p. 35, § 38 for the very common omission of iota.

οὐ γὰρ [οὖν] ἥρως ἐν γήρῳ βίον . . . ἐσβέσθη (lines 10–11). If the restoration here is correct, this text vigorously denies a presumed interpretation of Kletonymos’ death, that is, that he died in a blaze of foolish glory, without further influence on the affairs of this life. In life it was κάματος that distinguished him (line 6); in death there will also be quieter, less brilliant proofs of his role as a benefactor of the city.

ὥς δέ τις ἀστήρ λάμψας ἐσβέσθη (lines 10–11). Cf. Peek, *GV* I, p. 202, no. 763, τὸν αἰδίως ἀστέρα λαμπόμενον; p. 280, no. 1002, ἐσβέσθη δ’ ἑπτακαιεκοσέτης; p. 440,

no. 1483, ἐσβέσ[θη]s; Peek, 1973–1974, p. 512, supplementing *IC* I 25.7 to read ἦ [γὰρ μάλ' ἄωρος ἐσβέσθ]η δακρυθεῖς in lines 1–2. While σβέννυμι in the passive is a relatively common metaphor for “die” (*LSJ*, s.v. σβέννυμι II, 1), it is a particularly apt metaphor here because a comparison between Kletonymos and a star has just been implied.

δαίμονος ἀκρισίαις πατρίδα ῥνόμενος βουλαῖς (lines 11–12). Cf. Peek, *GV* I, pp. 385–386, no. 1298 for ἀκρισία δὲ Τύχης. For πατρίδα ῥνομένους see *LSJ*, s.v. ἐρύω (B), citing Aeschylus, *Eleg.* 3; Peek, *GV* I, p. 31, no. 100, πατρίδα ῥυσάμενος, and pp. 441–442, no. 1486, πάτρην ῥνομένην.

We do not know the date or circumstances of Kletonymos' death, but phrases such as these suggest critical moments in Lato's history. To modern eyes, the years 115/14 and 114/13 appear most significant, as Lato preserved her territorial rights despite renewed war with Olous and through arbitration by Knossos. The Roman intervention of 113/12 and Lato's treaty with Hierapytna in 111/10 (Van Effenterre and Bougrat, pp. 11–15 and 32) pale by comparison. Kletonymos probably died within a year or two of his kosmate.

οἰκονόνοι δοξῆς κίονες (line 13). Οἰκονόνοι can only be a variant of οἰκονόμοι: managers or administrators, almost certainly financial, of Lato. This group of subordinate officials is practically unknown from the inscriptions of Crete. The only clear attestation is in an inscription from Arkades published by P. Ducrey and H. van Effenterre (“Un règlement d'époque romaine sur les bains d'Arcades,” *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 25, 1973, pp. 281–290). After a list of three *kosmoi* and their secretary appear the names of two *oikonomoi*, probably officials at Arkades itself rather than two from nearby Knossos. Compare *IC* I 7.5 from 1st-century Chersonesos, where after a list of *kosmoi* an *oikonomos* may well be named. These *oikonomoi* would seem to be financial magistrates, second in rank to the *kosmoi* of both Arkades and Chersonesos (cf. D. M. Pippidi, “Notes de lecture,” *StClas* 21, 1983, pp. 108–109, no. 68 for Histrian *oikonomoi*, ranking below *meristai* but above *tamiai*). At Gortyn there were *agoranomoi* (*IC* IV.250–255, 302) and a *gynaikonomos* (252) in the 1st century; 496 names an *oikonomos* of the Most Holy Church in the 5th century after Christ. The nominative κίονες is in apposition to οἰκονόνοι; see *LSJ Suppl.*, s.v. κίων for this word applied to persons.

If one interpretation of Kletonymos' death arouses spirited denial then another must be offered in its stead. The *oikonomoi* proved just as capable of foresight as the late Kletonymos, with the result that Lato continued to benefit from intelligent and able leadership. The counter-argument is not concluded, however, until the next line of the poem.

τρίσσοις γὰρ λίπε παιδὰς εἰός (line 14). The link between Kletonymos, his reputation, and the *oikonomoi* is clarified in this line, where the γὰρ suggests that the *oikonomoi* were actually Kletonymos' own three sons. The three Kletonymidai thus provided continuity in the government of Lato, as well as continuity of the family line.

τὰ τοῦ[το]υ τείμια (lines 14–15). See Buck, *Greek Dialects*, p. 27, § 21 for τὰ τείμια = τὰ τίμια. See *LSJ*, s.v. τίμιος for τὰ τίμια = αἱ τιμαί.

κῆν Ἀῖδαο δόμοις (line 15). See *Iliad* III.322, etc., for Ἀῖδος δόμος; *Iliad* XXII.52, *Odyssey* IV.834 and Kaibel, no. 235 for εἰν Ἀῖδαο δόμοισι. See *LSJ*, s.v. καί for crasis

yielding such Doric forms as *κῆγῶ*, *κῆππειτα* which result from the combination of *καί* with *ε*; here *καί* followed by *ἐν* becomes *κῆν*.

The last sentence of this text addresses the concerns of the deceased and his family rather than those of the bereft city. 'Αρετή personified will proclaim Kletonymos' honors in the halls of Hades while his sons perpetuate them in the senate, as well as in their own homes and at Kletonymos' grave site. The poem as a whole has moved from Kletonymos' "international" achievements to his local ones and from there smoothly to his family context and personal deserts.

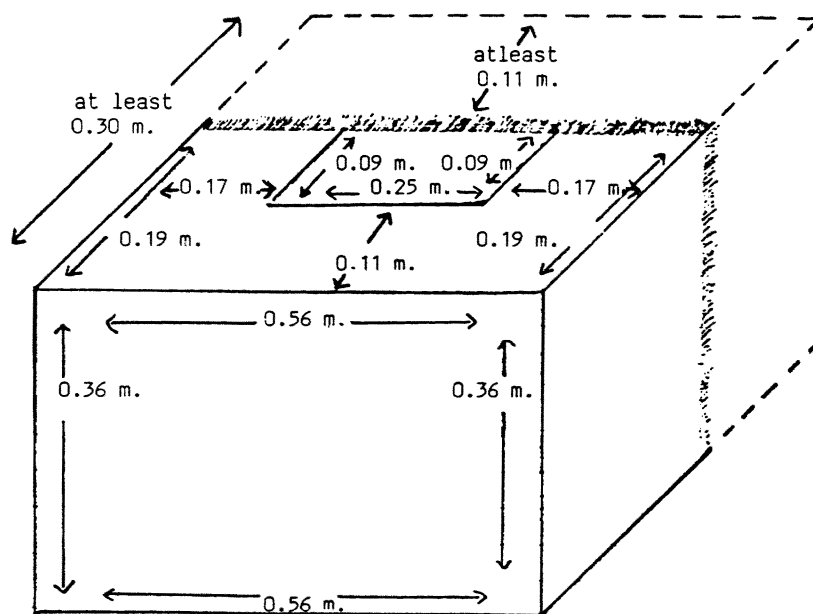


FIG. 3. Sketch diagram showing dimensions of 2

2 (Pl. 28)

Gray base, again of the hard local limestone but not so high in quality as that employed in 1.

H. 0.36 m., W. 0.56 m., Th. 0.19 m.; on the top surface a rectangular cutting 0.25 m. wide, 0.09 m. long, and 0.06 m. deep. The stone is clearly broken, to judge from the fact that this cutting (0.11 m. from the inscribed face of the stone and 0.17 m. from each side) continues to the rear of the top surface (Fig. 3). If the cutting was centered between the front and rear of the stone, as it is centered between the left and right sides, the original block would have been 0.11 m. deeper, and in its total dimensions would have been 0.56 m. wide, 0.36 m. tall, and at least 0.30 m. deep. The entire monument was apparently composed of this base and a stele (itself rectangular or square) or some other kind of sepulchral sculpture.⁷ Despite the breakage visible at the rear of the base, the inscribed face was preserved intact.

⁷ Compare monuments with the same components (base with rectangular or square cutting and stele to fit into it): *IC* I 16.11 from upper Lato, erected in honor of Thiodotos son of Lattygos; Alexiou, from Lato pros Kamara, which names Hylas son of Euagoras and Timolas son of Lattygos. See M. Guarducci, *Epigrafi greca* III, Rome 1974, pp. 185–186, for some of the possible objects to be mounted on such an inscribed base.

An inscription of nine lines begins 0.03 m. from the top of the stone and ends 0.11 m. from the bottom, producing a field 0.22 m. high. The lower part of the surface is badly weathered, but it is possible that the text ended with the last partially visible line. The lowest 0.09 m. of the block shows substantial flaking and may well have been below ground level. The inscription is effectively centered on the stone but appears to drift toward the left margin as lines progress: letters are 0.08 m. from the left margin in line 1, 0.075 m. in lines 2–3, 0.05 m. in lines 4–6, and 0.04 m. in lines 7–9.

L.H.: Line 1, 0.025 m.; lines 2–3, 0.02 m.; lines 4–9, 0.01 m. Letters are fairly regular, but a few are awkwardly formed, tending toward a cursive shape. Several are written so closely together that they connect and almost appear to be in ligature. No apices are visible.

Early 1st century B.C., on the basis of genitive forms and iota adscripts in the text, as well as identification of the family to which the deceased probably belonged.

Θιόδωτος Θιωδ[ότ]ω
 Βιάννω Εὐαγόρω Ἀρι[σ]τ[ο-]
 νῶι Θιωδότῳ ^{vv} χαῖρε
 νήπιον ἄδε κέκευθε [α]ῦτα κόνις ὑέα ἄδ[έ]α [τὸν]
 5 εὐγενέταν κυδᾶντα ἑπταετῇ βι[ότο]ν
 μοῖραν ἐλόντ' ὀλοήν στρυγερὸν δ' ἐπὶ [πέ]νθος τ[ι]θ[έντα]
 πατρί τε καὶ μελέαι μ[άτ]ρι σέο θ[αν]ά[του].
 Μίνως παρθένοι ἀγναί. . ΕΚΛ. . . ΑΝ — — — —
 ΑΤΑ ταῦτα ΠΑΘ. . . . ΗΤΟ ΝΤ. . . ΜΕΝ —

Thiodotos, son of Thiodotos, grandson of Biannnos, great-grandson of Euagoros, farewell (says) Aristono daughter of Thiodotos. A child this earth here has hidden, a sweet son, well-born, glorious, seven years of age, having received a terrible portion of life and imposing sorrow upon father and hapless mother, (sorrow) for your death. Minos (and?) chaste maidens . . . these things. . . .

Line 8. Only vestiges of letters appear after the word ἀγναί: Ξ before EK, then lambda or alpha, followed by three letter spaces and either omicron or alpha before nu. The heavy damage in this last line and a half, and in fact at the end of lines 4–7, probably results from the long burial of the stone, which appears to have fallen partially onto its right side.

Line 9. Either ΠΑΘ or ΠΛΟ could be read from the remnants of the letters at the top of spaces 13–15; possible traces of an alpha follow ΝΤ.

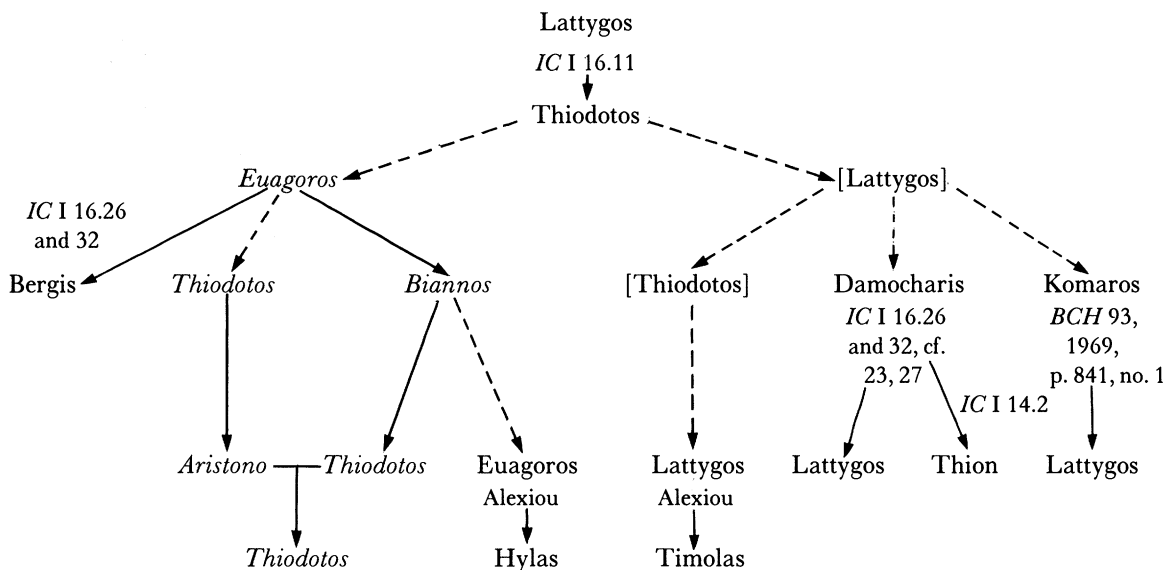
Θιόδωτος Θιωδ[ότ]ω Βιάννω Εὐαγόρω (lines 1–2). This epigram to Thiodotos was apparently dedicated to a boy born into one of Lato's better houses. The name Thiodotos appears among the aristocracy of Lato, as the name of the father of the *kosmos* Lamyros and also as the name of Lattygos' son on a private funerary monument from upper Lato (IC I 16.25 and 11). Euagoros, in turn, is known as the name of the father of the *kosmos* Bergis (IC I 16.26 and 32) and also as the name of Hylas' father (Alexiou). Iota before omicron, as in Thiodotos, is a normal feature of the Cretan dialect (see Buck, *Greek Dialects*, pp. 21–22, § 9). Likewise the genitive in -ω is a common formation (*ibid.*, p. 88, § 106; cf. pp. 28–29, § 25).

While the name Biannos is unusual to the point of anomaly, it is entirely plausible and best taken as the name of the younger Thiodotos' grandfather, that is, the father of the elder Thiodotos. Biannos appears to be a personal name containing the same base as the place name Biannos some 50 kilometers southwest of Lato. See A. Maiuri, "Studi sull'onomastica cretese," *RendLinc* 19, 1910, p. 347 and 20, 1911, pp. 645 and 656–658 for such personal names as Phaistionnas, Kydannos, and Pyleros, of which Kydannos and Pyleros are names attested at Lato (*IC* I 16.4, 26, and 32 for the former; 16.5 for the latter). Some names like Phaistionnas, Kydannos, Orthonnas, Monnas, and Biannos, which show stems ending in double consonants, reflect pre-Dorian patterns for forming personal and place names (Maiuri, *RendLinc* 19, 1910, p. 347 and 20, 1911, p. 656).

Euagoros was Biannos' father, that is, grandfather of the elder Thiodotos and great-grandfather of the younger Thiodotos. (I thank Professor Henri van Effenterre for bringing to my attention this interpretation of this series of names.) Euagoros certainly appears to have come from Lato, to judge from the fact that his name is attested only there as the name of a native of Crete. It was not uncommon at Lato to give more than a single filiation, in order to identify persons precisely when homonyms were employed. See *BCH* 62, 1938, p. 399, no. 3, and *IC* I 22.2, for [Theoph]eides Agaglyto Byscho; *IC* I 14.2 for Pagon Pagonos Thiopheidios; *BE* 1966, no. 359 for Pagon Pagonos ho Pa. . . . This family line spanned the 2nd and 1st centuries. The polyonym is question here is one degree more elaborate in that a great-grandfather is named, possibly because he was a prominent aristocrat of Lato in the late 2nd century or even conceivably because he was still alive to head his *oikos* (see Willetts, p. 59). Another reason to include his grandfather might be the desire of Thiodotos senior, as one of the dedicators of this stone, to give his own full name.

Ἀρι[σ]τ[ο]νῶι Θιοδότῳ (lines 2–3). Aristono has been read here as the name of young Thiodotos' mother. See C. Davaras, «Ἐπιγραφὰὶ ἐκ Κρήτης II», *Δελτ* 18, 1963 (1964), p. 153, no. 4, from Lato pros Kamara, for Aristono daughter of Pagon. The Doric feminine name Aristo is attested in inscriptions from Olous (*IC* I 22.22 and 23) and Itanos (*BE* 1952, no. 135). Feminine names ending in -ῶι are quite common in Cretan inscriptions, particularly those from Olous (see L. Robert in *BE* 1946, no. 116; 1950, no. 170; 1951, no. 186; 1952, no. 135; 1966, no. 359; 1980, no. 383; 1981, no. 377; 1983, no. 308; and *IC* I 22.17, 21–23, 29–30, 32, 42, and 58 for such names from Olous).

It is clear from the text which follows that a single young person was buried beneath this stone and that it was a male child (νήπιον, ὕεα, line 4). Since the boy died at a young age (line 5) and his mother survived to grieve (line 7), Aristono is best identified as his mother. The name of the deceased can appear in the nominative as well as in the vocative with the formula χαῖρε (M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca* I, Rome 1967, p. 150). What is unusual here is to have the name of the dedicator as well, also in the nominative. Ἀριστονῶι is perhaps best understood as the subject of an unexpressed λέγει, with the whole salutation thereby put into implied indirect discourse. By means of this construction, and the elaborate filiation, both dedicators, mother and father of the deceased Thiodotos, are effectively identified. Aristono was herself daughter of a Thiodotos, perhaps an heiress married



Names in brackets are supplied for prosopographical purposes; broken lines indicate proposed lines of descent. The family lines attested in 2 appear in italics.

FIG. 4

to her paternal cousin, also named Thiodotos, with the result that her inheritance was kept within the *oikos* (see Willetts, p. 70, and the stemma in Figure 4). This combination of factors best explains the family pride indicated by tracing the young Thiodotos' descent from three generations of local notables, since it was Aristono's lineage as well as that of her husband.

ἄδε κέκευθε [α]ῦτα κόνις (line 4). See Peek, *GV* I, p. 147, no. 601 for οὔτος ὅδ' ἐστὶ τύπος; p. 125, no. 515, κόνις ἥδε . . . κέκευθεν; p. 127, no. 521 and p. 199, no. 75 for ἄδε κέκευθε κόνις.

ῥέα ἀδ[έ]α (line 4). See *LSJ*, s.v. *νίος*, citing Euphorio and Arrian, *Cyn.* for the accusative form *νίέα*, and *IG* IV² 1, 244, line 4 for ῥέα; Homer is also cited for both *νίέα* and *νία*. See Buck, *Greek Dialects*, p. 32, § 31 on the omission of iota after upsilon and before a vowel. See *LSJ*, s.v. *ἡδύς* for the irregular accusative ἄδέα.

[τὸν] εὐγενέταν κυδᾶντα (lines 4–5). For *εὐγενέτης*, which usually refers to parents or children, see particularly Peek, *GV* I, p. 202, no. 761, *νία τὸν εὐγενέτην*. For *κυδᾶντα* see *LSJ*, s.v. *κυδήεις*, -εσσα, -εν. The masculine accusative singular, to agree with [τὸν] *εὐγενέταν*, would be *κυδήεντα*, except in the Doric dialect where it would be *κυδᾶντα* (cf. *κυδάεσσα* in *IG* IV² 1, 134, line 12; see H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, Cambridge, Mass. 1965, p. 80, § 299, note, for Doric -ās = -άεις and -άντος = -άεντος, as in *φωνᾶντα* [= *φω-νάεντα*]).

The love and grief of the elder Thiodotos and Aristono for their son shows through this collection of formulae, many in Dorian dialectical form (ἄδε, αὐτα, εὐγενέταν, κυδᾶντα) and perhaps chosen by the grieving parents themselves. The sheer number of affectionate terms is given special poignancy by the bald statement that little Thiodotos lived only seven years.

μοῖραν ἐλόντ' ὀλοήν (line 6). See Peek, *GV* I, p. 273, no. 981 for ἐλοῦσα δὲ Μοῖρα; p. 314, no. 1107 from Polyrrenia, δόξαν ἐλ(ών). The formula μοῖρα ὀλοή appears in Cretan inscriptions: *IC* IV.374 from Gortyn; Peek, *GV* I, p. 116, no. 472 from Lyttos (cf. Peek, 1973–1974, p. 510); and Peek, *GV* I, p. 233, no. 853 from Lato itself.

What we lack here is any indication of the cause of little Thiodotos' death. Without mention of childhood illness or a fatal accident, we are told only that he was fated to die when and however he did. It is just possible that the ΠΑΘ of line 9 alludes to suffering, but perhaps in the generic sense of bearing up under one's life portion.

στνυγερόν δ' ἐπὶ [πέ]νθος[ι]θ[έντα] πατρί τε καὶ μελέαι μ[άτ]ρι (lines 6–7). For στνυγερόν πένθος see Peek, *GV* I, p. 137, no. 561 and p. 180, no. 701. See also *Iliad* xvii.27, τοκεῦσι γόον καὶ πένθος ἔθηκας. We have here a case of tmesis where the prefix has been separated from its base by the object of the verb in the accusative case; the dative indirect object common with ἐπιτίθημι follows immediately. For the phrase πατρί τε καὶ μελέαι μάτρι, cf. Peek, *GV* I, p. 434, no. 1462, πένθος πατρί λίπες μητρί τε τῇ μελέαι. This phrase confirms the interpretation presented above, that by manipulation of formulae the stone has been inscribed so as to show that Thiodotos senior and Aristono dedicated it to Thiodotos junior.

σέο θ[αν]ά[του] (line 7). See *LSJ*, s.v. σὺ for σέο = σοῦ. Again parental love breaks through the veneer of formulae as the text switches to the second person, rather than the more distant third, to refer to the late little boy.

Μίνως (line 8). See *IC* II 23.21, III 4.37 and 38 for Cretan funerary inscriptions which refer to Minos. See Guarducci, *IC* I, p. 54 and III, p. 124 for the Cretan phenomenon of venerating Minos as well as Idomeneus as heroes and invoking them as benefactors.

παρθένοι ἀγναί (line 8). While Kaibel, no. 402 shows that παρθένος ἀγνή can refer to a grave stele, in the plural the phrase should have its more ordinary meaning, "chaste maidens". See M. N. Tod, "Laudatory Epithets in Greek Epitaphs," *BSA* 46, 1951, p. 188 and the comments of Robert (*BE* 1952, no. 31) on παρθένος ἀγνή as an epithet for a young girl. See Peek, *GV* I, p. 630, no. 1997 and Lattimore, *Themes*, p. 193 for additional examples.

The text seems to have come to a striking conclusion, after what has thus far been a standard though affecting expression of grief over the loss of a dear child. It is possible that the final distich of this epigram claimed or asked heroic honors, extraordinary privileges, or special care for this boy in the afterlife. The role of Minos, and of the chaste maidens, however, has been obscured for eternity by the damage to this part of the stone, as has been the nature of "these things" (line 9).

ταῦτα ΠΑΘ (line 9). See Peek, *GV* I, pp. 340–341, no. 1166, ταῦτ' ἔπαθον; Peek, 1973–1974, p. 515, no. 16, ὡς ἄνθρω[πος ἐοῦσ' ἴσ]θ[ι δὲ τοῦτ' ἔπαθες], citing M. Fränkel, *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* II, Berlin 1895, no. 577, line 5, ταῦτα δὲ πάντα μίτοις Μοιρῶ πάθον ὡς ἄνθρωπος.

The two inscriptions published here illustrate in different ways how families prospered and continued regardless of the vagaries of life in 2nd-century Lato. Kletonymos son of Mnastokles is a fine example of a man born into one of the ruling clans of Lato, the Hylleis, and a man who achieved sufficient maturity and political experience to become a *kosmos*. The text of **1** implies that after his term of office Kletonymos served in the *Boule*, a council of *gerontes*, men who had held the kosmate and who were also considered otherwise qualified to advise on matters of the greatest import.⁸ Kletonymos' three sons, about thirty years old or perhaps forty at the time, were apparently working toward their own kosmates by holding the lower office of *oikonomos*. **1** suggests that commissions of *oikonomoi*, like *kosmoi*, were drawn from a single clan, but a different clan from that of the *kosmoi* of the year and their secretary. In the years after Kletonymos' kosmate the Hylleis are not known to have filled this office again until after 111/10 (*BCH* 93, 1969, p. 841, no. 1).

This information is tantalizing in its isolation, for we do not know who was Mnastokles' father and Kletonymos' grandfather, nor do we know the names of Kletonymos' three sons, although one should have been named Mnastokles.⁹ We can only say that Kletonymos son of Mnastokles, of the clan Hylleis, was not the father of Polytimos (*IC* I 22.2; *BCH* 62, 1938, p. 399, no. 3) since Polytimos' father is clearly named Kletonymos son of Polytimos and since both father and son appear to have belonged to the clan Echanoreis. *IC* I 16.48 is a funerary epigram dedicated to a son of Kletonymos, but Van Effenterre has plausibly identified him as Polytimos, thus connecting him with another family and clan.¹⁰ The view is obstructed for both the earlier and the later generations of Kletonymos' family by the fact that we are endowed with rich information for only a short period, two or sometimes three generations in Lato's history. This is owing partly to the shift of the city in the 2nd century from its inland acropolis to the port¹¹ and partly to the briefness of its spectacular building and refurbishing program in the last two decades of the 2nd century. Unless private funerary inscriptions survive to attest earlier or later members of a household, we are limited to a single portrait of high society at Lato pros Kamara.

Thiodotos son of Thiodotos, an aristocrat hitherto unknown, was scion of a house which would, like many others, have passed briefly into and out of historical view, except that private funerary texts have survived to provide information on earlier and later generations. A set of six inscriptions (*IC* I 14.2; 16.11, 23, 26, and 32; Alexiou), taken together with **2**, enables us to reconstruct a plausible stemma for this family over six generations.

⁸ Willetts, p. 156.

⁹ Willetts, p. 59. Mnastokles son of Pyron (*IC* I 16.33) was contemporary with Kletonymos son of Mnastokles and probably belonged to the Echanoreis rather than the Hylleis. Mnastokles son of Lattygos (*BCH* 62, 1938, p. 389, no. 1) was *kosmos* a few years later and also belonged to a different clan, the Synaneis.

¹⁰ Van Effenterre, 1974, p. 29.

¹¹ Van Effenterre and Bougrat, pp. 49–52.

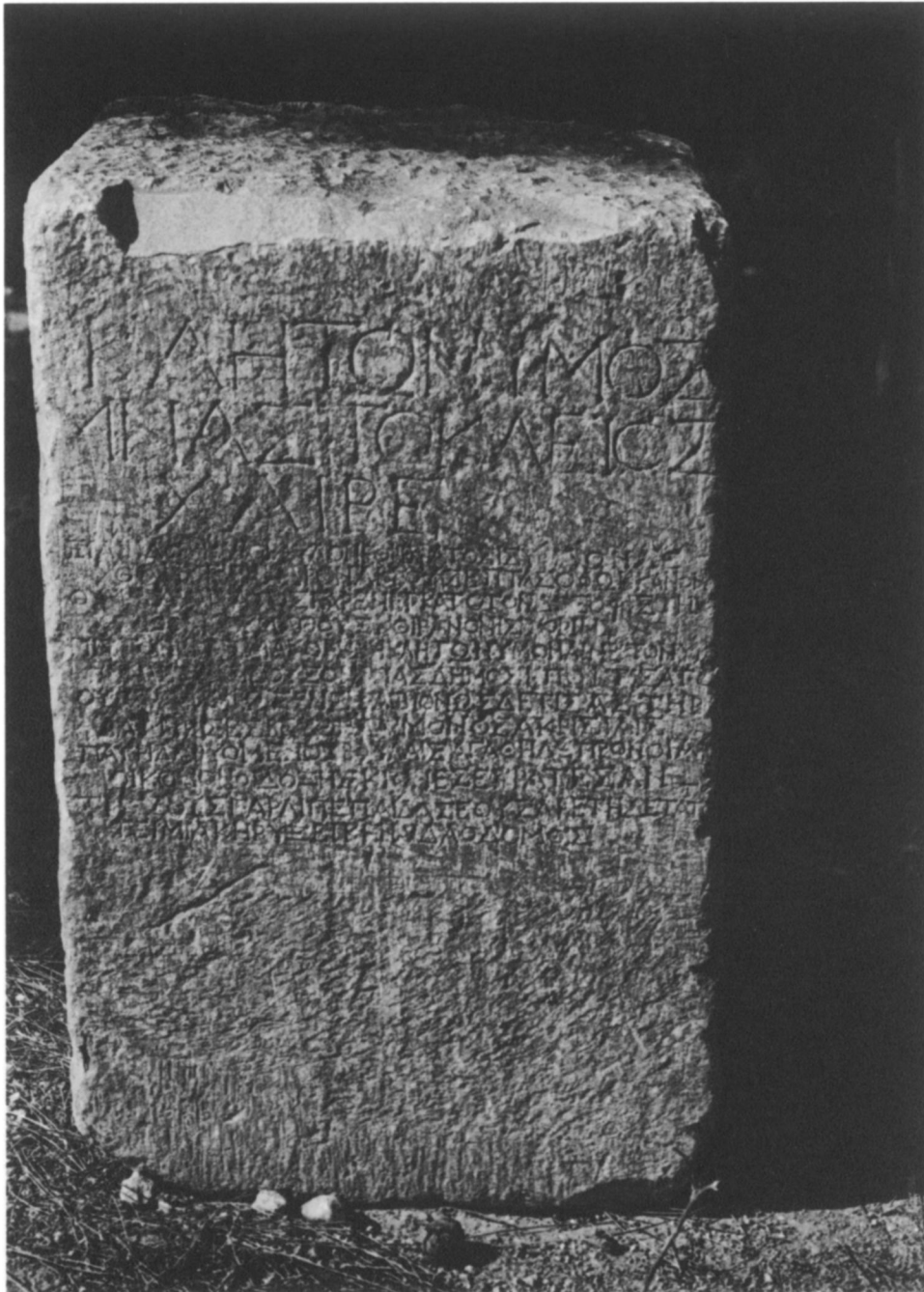
On a stele discovered by chance at Potamos in 1968 appear the names of Hylas son of Euagoros, and Timolas son of Lattygos (Alexiou). If we can speculate that Hylas and Timolas, as well as their fathers, were connected (as this text surely indicates), then the Thiodotoi of 2, descendants of Euagoros, could possibly be connected with another Lattygos, whose son Thiodotos is named in *IC* I 16.11. Lattygos, in turn, is attested as the name of the son of Damocharis in *IC* I 16.26 and 32 and as the name of the son of Komaros in *BCH* 93, 1969, p. 841, no. 1. Both these individuals named Lattygos and their father belonged to the clan Hylleis, to which Kletonymos son of Mnastokles also belonged (*IC* I 16.26 and 32). Despite the fact that *BCH* 62, 1938, p. 389, no. 1 names Mnastokles son of Lattygos as a *kosmos* from the clan Synaneis, the evidence thus far suggests that Mnastokles, Kletonymos, Lattygos, and Thiodotos as a group were likely to belong to the Hylleis.

Given these onomastic and clan connections we can trace Thiodotos' family line back to upland Lato, just before the city shifted definitely to its seaside location. The earliest known member of the family is Lattygos of upper Lato, followed by his son Thiodotos (*IC* I 16.11). From there the line continues through Damocharis, whose son Lattygos was *kosmos* in 116/15 (*IC* I 16.26 and 32), and Komaros, whose son Lattygos was a *kosmos* in an unknown year late in the 2nd century (*BCH* 93, 1969, p. 841, no. 1), and even on to Timolas and Hylas (Alexiou) as well as our young Thiodotos, these last three buried in the first quarter of the 1st century (Fig. 4).

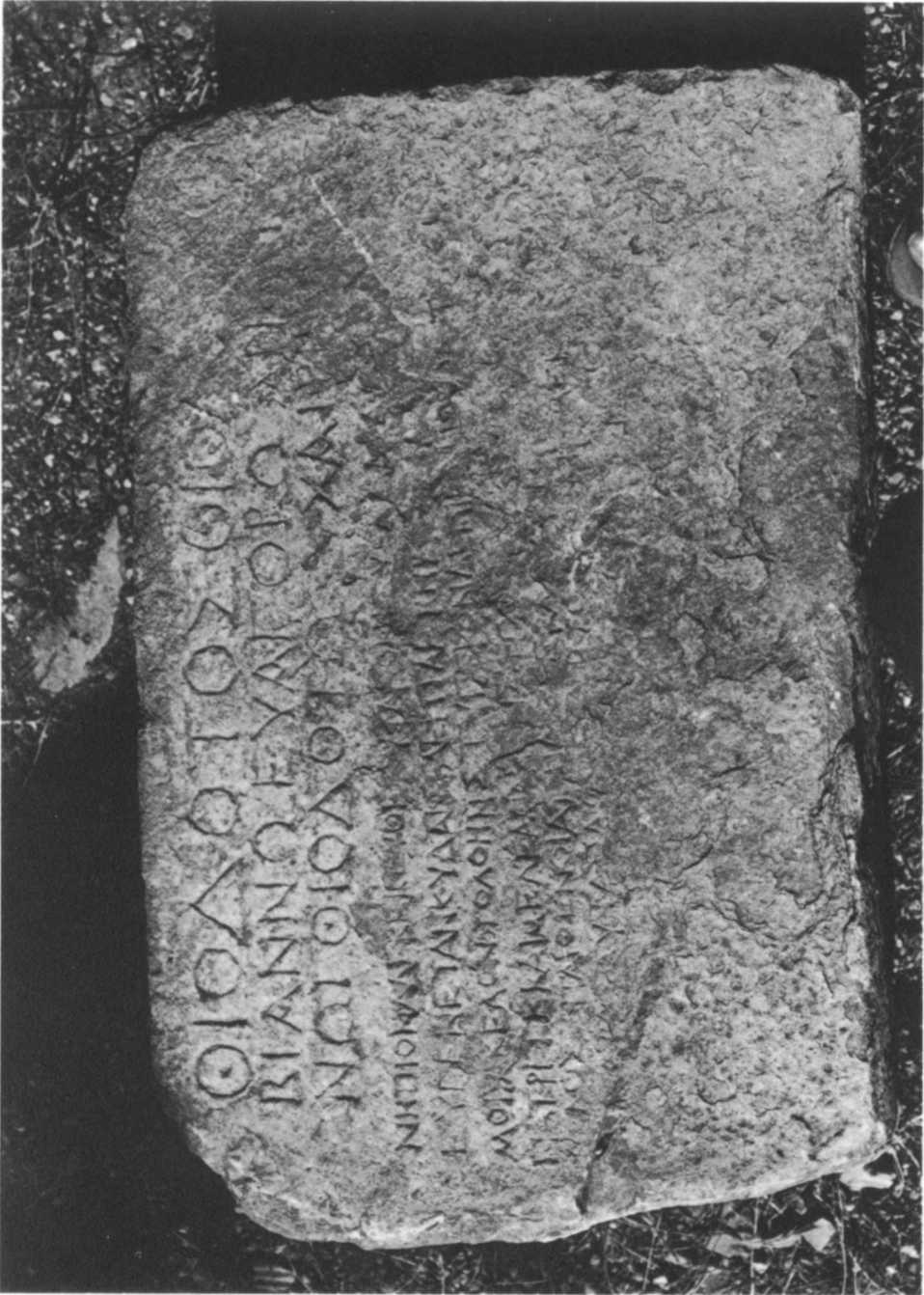
It was perhaps not mere chance that juxtaposed our two stones and the only other funerary inscription to be found thus far at the Potamos location. Rather it may well be that Kletonymos and Thiodotos were members of families which belonged to the same clan, the Hylleis. Caution is in order, of course, when identifying clan membership on the basis of names, given the widespread use of homonyms and the occasional absence of patronymics in Latoan inscriptions. Nevertheless, the evidence is sufficient to warrant consideration. We may well have here funerary inscriptions honoring members of two broadly related families, one by accident better known than the other but both part of the aristocracy of late Hellenistic Lato pros Kamara.

MARTHA W. BALDWIN BOWSKY

UNIVERSITY OF THE PACIFIC
Department of Classics
Stockton, CA 95211



Funerary inscription for Kletonymos, son of Mnastokles



Funerary inscription for Thiodotos, son of Thiodotos