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OF BATTLE, BOOTY, AND (CITIZEN) WOMEN: A "New" Inscription from Archaic Axos, Crete  
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# OF BATTLE, BOOTY, AND (CITIZEN) WOMEN

## A “NEW” INSCRIPTION FROM ARCHAIC AXOS, CRETE

### ABSTRACT

The author proposes a join between two previously unassociated inscribed blocks from Axos, Crete. These Archaic inscriptions (*IC* II v 5 and *IC* II v 6) are now lost, but published descriptions and drawings of the blocks, along with the text that results from this virtual join, strongly support their association. The new, composite text preserves part of a law or interstate agreement and appears to concern rituals attendant to war; it is examined here in the broader context of Cretan dedicatory habits and society during the Late Iron Age and the Archaic period.

### INTRODUCTION

Ancient Axos was located in north-central Crete in the foothills of Psiloritis (Mt. Ida), roughly midway between the modern cities of Herakleion and Rethymnon.<sup>1</sup> Excavations on the acropolis of the polis-town late in the 19th century revealed the remains of a large public building dating to the Archaic period. A number of blocks believed to have come from the walls of this building bear inscriptions in the epichoric alphabet of Axos. This article focuses on two of these inscriptions, *Inscriptiones creticae* (*IC*) II v 5 and *IC* II v 6. Although autopsy is not possible, as the current location of the blocks is unknown, the published descriptions and drawings of them, as well as the text that results from their proposed association, suggest that *IC* II v 5 and *IC* II v 6 belong together, perhaps even “joining” along the right edge of *IC* II v 6 and the left edge of *IC* II v 5. The new text that results from this “join” seems to concern rituals attendant to war, possibly

1. See Perlman 2004b, pp. 1153–1154, no. 950.

Early versions of this paper were presented at the international conference “Ο Μυλοπόταμος από την αρχαιότητα ως σήμερα” (Panormo, Crete, October 24–30, 2003) and at the 135th

Annual Meeting of the American Philological Association (San Francisco, January 2–5, 2004). I would like to thank the members of both audiences for their remarks and Constanze Witt for delivering the paper for me in San Francisco. I am grateful to Michael

Gagarin, David Hill, Charalambos Kritzas, Mark Southern, and the two anonymous *Hesperia* referees for their insightful comments, and to Beth Chichester for preparing Figures 1 and 2. All translations are my own.

including sacrifice and the tithing of booty. Of particular interest is a reference to *φάσται* ("citizen women") in this context, a reference that may shed light on the cults of goddesses at several Cretan sanctuaries, including one at Axos itself, with votive assemblages consisting of arms, armor, and terracotta figurines of naked and clothed females. I begin with a brief history of the discovery and subsequent fate of the Archaic epichoric inscriptions from Axos before turning to a close study of the 19th- and early-20th-century drawings on which the new composite text is based. I conclude with an exploration of the broader historical implications of the composite text for Late Archaic Axos and Crete.

## DISCOVERY AND LOSS OF THE EPICHORIC INSCRIPTIONS OF AXOS

Modern study of the Archaic epichoric inscriptions of Axos began with the publication in 1865 of Colonel T. A. B. Spratt's *Travels and Researches in Crete*. In his account of the remains of ancient Axos, Spratt described a slab of marble bearing a "very curious inscription in characters partially reversed and of very early date."<sup>2</sup> Spratt discovered this inscribed block at a spring near the modern village of Axos.<sup>3</sup> Although local women had used it as a surface for scrubbing their clothes, thus wearing away much of the original surface, Spratt managed to transcribe parts of the text.

In the fall of 1879, the French epigrapher Bernard Haussoullier visited Axos and transcribed an additional five epichoric inscriptions (Table 1, nos. 5–8, 10A). These were published in 1885.<sup>4</sup> At about the same time (1884–1887), the Italian archaeologist and epigrapher Federico Halbherr included Axos in his itinerary when he explored Crete on behalf of the Ministero dell'Istruzione Pubblica.<sup>5</sup> Although he was unable to locate the inscribed "marble slab" that Spratt had transcribed, Halbherr discovered four previously unknown Archaic inscriptions (Table 1, nos. 1–3, 10B) and reexamined the ones that Haussoullier had already studied.

In the final decades of the 19th century, Domenico Comparetti published the 11 Archaic inscriptions of Axos that were then known, incorporating Halbherr's notes and drawings and adding some commentary of his own (Table 1, nos. 1–10B).<sup>6</sup> Eight of these 11 texts (nos. 1–8) were inscribed on blocks of local limestone. Comparetti concluded that seven

2. Spratt 1865, pp. 77–78 (with quote on p. 78), 424–425, pl. II:5. It is very unlikely that the block was marble. All other inscribed blocks from Axos are of the local limestone. For the inscription to which Spratt refers, see Table 1, no. 9.

3. Spratt was not, as it turns out, the first to have studied this inscription. The Venetian Francesco Barozzi (1537–1604) included a transcription of the text in his 1577 manuscript,

*Descrittione dell'isola di Creta*. See Teza 1883; Comparetti 1884. Barozzi did not indicate where at Axos he saw the inscribed block.

4. Haussoullier 1885. Haussoullier briefly described a sixth inscription (Table 1, no. 4), but did not include a drawing or a transcription of it.

5. For an account of the pioneering research of Halbherr and other Italian scholars at Axos, see Aversa 2006.

6. Comparetti and Halbherr 1888,

pp. 131–162; Comparetti 1893, pp. 381–418. Halbherr's notes appear in identical form as the critical apparatus in both publications. Comparetti revised his own commentary of 1888 in the later publication. The four new inscriptions included no. 10B in Table 1, inscribed on the back of the block bearing one of the inscriptions first published by Haussoullier (no. 10A).

TABLE 1. CONCORDANCE OF THE ARCHAIC INSCRIPTIONS FROM AXOS

<i>Inscription</i>	<i>IC II v</i>	<i>Haussoullier</i> 1885	<i>Comparetti and</i> <i>Halbherr</i> 1888	<i>Comparetti</i> 1893	<i>SGDI</i>	<i>Bile 1988,</i> <i>pp. 28–69</i>	<i>Koerner</i> 1993	<i>Nomima</i>
1	1		1, 2	183	5125a		no. 101	1.28
2	2		3a + b	184	5125b		no. 102	1.28
3	3		4	185	5125c		no. 103	
4	4	(no drawing)	5	186	5125d		no. 104	
5	5	3	6	187	5126a, b			
6	6	1	7	188	5126a, b			
7	7	2	8	189	5126c			
8	8	5	9	190				
9	9		10	191	5128		nos. 106, 107	
10A	10A	4	11a	192a	5126d, 5129a, b			
10B	10B		11b	192b				
11a–f	11a–f							
12A, B	12a + a', b + b'						no. 108	
13a–d	13a–d							
14a–h	14a–h							
15	15							
16						no. 27	no. 105	1.29
17						no. 45		2.18

of them (nos. 1–7) came from the walls of the Archaic building whose remains were visible on the ancient acropolis.<sup>7</sup> During the fall of 1899, Halbherr and Gaetano de Sanctis excavated the Archaic building on the acropolis, which they identified as a temple, and a temple in the saddle below and to the east of the acropolis site.<sup>8</sup> Their excavations yielded an additional six fragments of inscribed blocks from the acropolis site and 16 from the vicinity of the temple in the saddle. The 22 inscriptions from the excavations of 1899, together with one additional fragment of an early text inscribed on a block reused in a village house that de Sanctis had transcribed in 1899, were first published in 1939 in the second volume of Margherita Guarducci's *Inscriptiones creticae*.<sup>9</sup> Since then, the texts of two new epichoric inscriptions from Axos have been published.<sup>10</sup>

7. Comparetti 1893, p. 383. The case for associating these inscribed blocks with the Archaic structure on the acropolis is not conclusive; see Perlman 2004a, pp. 191–192.

8. Halbherr 1899; Savignoni 1900, pp. 311–312; Levi 1930–1931, pp. 44–48, figs. 3, 4; Aversa and Monaco 2006. The acropolis building, if it was indeed a temple, may have belonged to Apollo and the one below it to a goddess; see Perlman 2000, pp. 73–74; 2004a, pp. 188–191; and below, pp. 104–105.

9. Table 1: no. 11 (six fragments from the acropolis); nos. 12–14 (16 fragments from the saddle); no. 15

(de Sanctis). Guarducci appears to have studied nos. 12 and 13 after they had been transferred to the museum in Herakleion. Although the facsimile drawings of the remaining Archaic inscriptions of Axos that she presents in *IC II v* are not identical to the drawings in the earlier publications of Haussoullier, Halbherr, and Comparetti, to the best of my knowledge Guarducci did not herself examine the stones. I suspect that these drawings depend upon the unpublished notes and drawings of Halbherr and de Sanctis, or upon their personal communication. Even so, I shall refer to the drawings in

*Inscriptiones creticae* as Guarducci's.

10. Jeffery 1949, pp. 34–36, no. 8 (= Table 1, no. 16); *SEG XXIII* 565A and B (= Table 1, no. 17). Jeffery noted that the local family from whom the Greek Archaeological Service acquired the two joining fragments of no. 16 indicated that the fragments had come from the acropolis. She suggested that the inscription came originally from the temple in the saddle. The details of the discovery of no. 17 are not published. Yannis Tzifopoulos (pers. comm.) reports the recent discovery at Axos of at least one additional epichoric inscription.

The 20th century was not kind to the Archaic inscriptions of Axos. Of those studied by scholars in the preceding century, including the ones discovered by Halbherr and de Sanctis during their excavations in 1899, I have ascertained the current locations of only two.<sup>11</sup> Among the unlocated,<sup>12</sup> early inscriptions from Axos are *IC II v 5* and *IC II v 6* (Table 1, nos. 5 and 6), the focus of this article.

## THE “NEW” INSCRIPTION: *IC II v 5 + IC II v 6*

In the fall of 1879, Haussoullier discovered *IC II v 5*, reused in a house in the modern village, and *IC II v 6*, on the acropolis of Axos.<sup>13</sup> The blocks were examined by Haussoullier and Halbherr, and published by Haussoullier, Halbherr, and Comparetti in the final two decades of the 19th century.<sup>14</sup> Anne Jeffery examined *IC II v 5* (hereafter, Axos 5) in June 1947 and is likely to have examined *IC II v 6* (hereafter, Axos 6) then as well; she noted that the block bearing Axos 5 was located “in the inner stable of the house Πισάκης,” and was “nearly illegible.”<sup>15</sup> The drawings of Axos 5 of Halbherr (Fig. 1:2b, 3b), Guarducci (Fig. 1:4b), and Jeffery (Fig. 1:5b) depict a roughly rectangular block, broken across the top, with preserved edges at the left, right, and bottom. Because of the later reuse of Axos 5, we cannot conclude that these edges were original, although, as I argue below, I think that they were. Axos 6, too, is inscribed on a block that is roughly rectangular, except for a notch that extends left from the lower right corner slightly more than halfway along the bottom edge of the block (Fig. 1:2a–5a). There is no reason to suspect that the block was recut for reuse following its inscribing.

The texts of both Axos 5 and Axos 6 begin at the right and proceed in continuous boustrophedon for seven lines. The fact that Axos 6, the only one of the acropolis texts with a preserved upper edge, begins with a line running from right to left is significant, as I discuss further below. An eighth line of text is inscribed on the “tab” at the bottom left of Axos 6, but it is not possible to determine its direction.

11. Table 1, no. 1 (on the acropolis, near the remains of the Archaic building) and no. 12A, B (Herakleion Museum 98). Jeffery (*LSAG*, p. 316, nos. 21, 22) indicated that nos. 2–8, 11, 13, and 14 were also in the Herakleion Museum, but I was not able to find them there in 2007 or 2009. It appears that Jeffery examined many, perhaps all, of the Archaic inscriptions from Axos in 1947. For digitized images of her notes and drawings of these texts, see *Poinikastas*. No. 16 is also in the Herakleion Museum (inv. no. 279), not in the Rethymnon Museum as Jeffery (*LSAG*, p. 316, no. 23) stated.

12. Tzifopoulos (2006) notes the

difficulty in proving that unlocated inscriptions are actually lost.

13. Haussoullier 1885, pp. 1–2.

14. *IC II v 5* (Table 1, no. 5): Haussoullier 1885, p. 2, no. 3; Comparetti and Halbherr 1888, pp. 145–146, no. 6; Comparetti 1893, pp. 401–402, no. 187. *IC II v 6* (Table 1, no. 6): Haussoullier 1885, p. 2, no. 1; Comparetti and Halbherr 1888, pp. 147–148, no. 7; Comparetti 1893, pp. 403–404, no. 188.

15. *Poinikastas*: “notes, dwgs and transliterations of 316.22 (IC 2.5.4, IC 2.5.5, IC 2.5.6, IC 2.5.7).” See <http://poinikastas.csad.ox.ac.uk>, accessed under *LSAG* reference number 316.22.

Halbherr and Guarducci recorded the size of the letters in both Axos 5 and Axos 6 as 0.07–0.08 m.<sup>16</sup> The scale drawings of Guarducci<sup>17</sup> suggest that the spacing of the letters and the spacing between lines are very similar on the two blocks, as are the shapes of the letters. For example, the crossbars of all alphas that are not horizontal slope down from left to right, regardless of the direction of the line. Furthermore, the same variations in the forms of individual letters appear in both Axos 5 and Axos 6 (e.g., alpha with a horizontal or an oblique crossbar, epsilon with horizontal or oblique arms, tau with either a short or a long horizontal stroke).<sup>18</sup>

In light of the similarities in the size and shape of the letters, Comparetti's suggestion that the two blocks might belong to the same inscription is not surprising.<sup>19</sup> If any attempt was ever made to determine whether a physical join of the two blocks was possible, there is no mention of it in the publication record.<sup>20</sup> But when the left edge of the scale drawing of Axos 5 is placed next to the right edge of the drawing of Axos 6, so that the lower left corner of Axos 5 aligns with the lower right corner of Axos 6, the similarities in the layout of the text across the two blocks are striking (Fig. 2). Not only does the text align perfectly across the two blocks, but the letters appear to be slightly larger and more widely spaced in the first three lines on both blocks than they are in the four lines that follow. Furthermore, the letters in line 7 on Axos 5 and the pi at the right in line 7 on Axos 6 appear to rest on the lower edges of the blocks, while the lower portions of the six letters to the left of the pi (on Axos 6) are lost as the notch in Axos 6 rises slightly from right to left. This suggests that the lower edge of Axos 5 served as a horizontal guide for line 7 across the join. The orientation of line 7 was maintained on Axos 6, even though the join between Axos 6 and the block immediately beneath it forced the mason to inscribe the lower tips of the letters on the block below.

An observation of a different kind also recommends associating these two inscribed blocks. The term πόλεμος occurs once in Axos 5, line 2, and

16. Halbherr in Comparetti and Halbherr 1888, pp. 146–148, and Comparetti 1893, pp. 401–404; Guarducci in *IC* II, p. 54.

17. Halbherr (Comparetti and Halbherr 1888, pp. 129–130; Comparetti 1893, p. 383) claimed that his drawings were to scale (1:10). At the scale of 1:10, the drawings should measure as follows (as they do in Guarducci, *IC* II, and in Fig. 2, below): Axos 5: H. 0.063, W. 0.073 m; Axos 6: H. 0.076 (at left), W. 0.094 m. However, Halbherr's drawings were not reproduced at 1:10 in either publication (1888, 1893). See Comparetti and Halbherr 1888: Axos 5: H. 0.059, W. 0.072 m; Axos 6: H. 0.055 (at left), W. 0.076 m; Comparetti 1893: Axos 5: H. 0.064, W. 0.077 m; Axos 6: H. 0.060 (at left), W. 0.082 m. The

scale for these drawings has been restored here to approximately 1:15 (Fig. 1:2a, 2b, 3a, 3b).

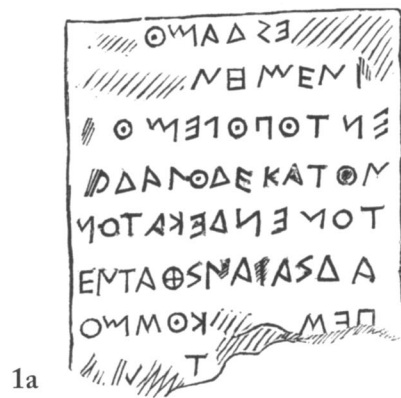
18. The same observations concerning the size and shape of the letters are true of an additional six of the Archaic inscriptions from the acropolis (Table 1, nos. 1–4, 7, and 11). It is possible that the same mason inscribed all of these inscriptions, although Ikonomaki (2005) discerns sufficient variation in their letter forms to attribute them to different masons working during the period ca. 550–475 B.C. Jeffery (*LSAG*, p. 316, nos. 21–23) attributed the Archaic inscriptions from Axos to one of three legal "codes": Table 1, nos. 12–14, belonged to a legal code of the early 6th century B.C.; nos. 1–8 and 11 belonged to a second code of ca. 525–500 B.C.; and no. 16 belonged to a third

legal code of ca. 525–500 B.C. It is not clear whether Jeffery meant the term "code" in the sense of an organized collection of laws, or to indicate laws inscribed together on the walls of the same building by the same mason. The evidence is not sufficient to support the first of the two alternatives.

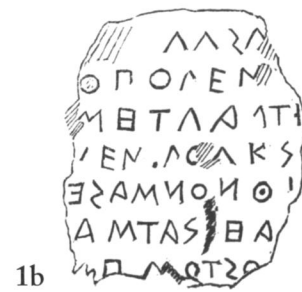
19. Comparetti and Halbherr 1888, p. 147; Comparetti 1893, p. 403.

20. It is important to keep in mind the considerable size (and so weight) of the blocks (for measurements, see p. 87), as well as the fact that they were not found together; as noted above, Axos 6 was discovered on the acropolis, whereas Axos 5 was reused (as building material?) in a house in the modern village, where it was studied in situ by Haussoullier, Halbherr, and Jeffery.





1a



1b



2a



2b



3a



3b

**Figure 1. Drawings of Axos 6 (left column) and Axos 5 (right column).**

1a, 1b (not to scale): Haussoullier 1885, p. 2, top left (Axos 6) and bottom (Axos 5);  
 2a, 2b (scale ca. 1:15): after Comparetti and Halbherr 1888, pp. 147–148 (Axos 6), pp. 145–146 (Axos 5); 3a, 3b (scale ca. 1:15): after Comparetti 1893, pp. 403–404 (Axos 6), pp. 401–402 (Axos 5)



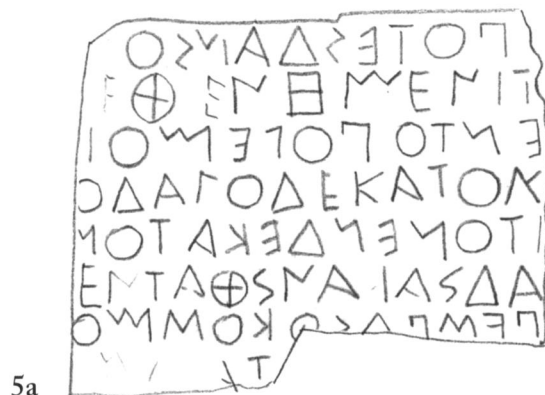
4a

-----  
 -- Ποτειδᾶνι ὁ --  
 -- τ]εθὲν ἤμεν | τ[ --  
 -- ἐν τῷ πολέμο | --  
 -- τ]ὸ δ' ἄλλο δεκάτο φ[ --  
 5 -- τὸν ἐνδέκατον --  
 -- ]εν τὰ θίνα | αἰ δα --  
 -- ]πεσπαῖ ὁ κόσμος[ --  
 -- . . . ατ[ ----  
 -----



4b

-----  
 -- αἰ δ' αἰ κα --  
 -- τ]ὸ πολέμ[ο --  
 -- | τα ἄφτη μ[ --  
 -- ]κεν· λοφκ· [ --  
 5 -- ]ονονς αἰε[ --  
 -- ]ασται ἡ α[ --  
 -- ]οιτο· α· πε[ --  
 -----



5a



5b

**Figure 1 (continued).** Drawings of Axos 6 (left column) and Axos 5 (right column). Scale 1:15. 4a, 4b: after Guarducci in *IC II*, p. 54, bottom (Axos 6) and top (Axos 5), with text of Guarducci below; 5a, 5b: after *Poinikastas*, courtesy L. H. Jeffery Archive of the Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents, Oxford University





Figure 2. Axos 6 + Axos 5.  
Scale 1:10. After Guarducci in *IC II*, p. 54

once in Axos 6, line 3. The term is attested in just one other epichoric Cretan inscription, an early-5th-century law from Gortyn exempting from seizure certain kinds of property, including equipment used in war (*IC IV 75B*, lines 1–3). A second lexical feature of the inscribed wall blocks from Axos underscores the significance of this observation. Of the 13 texts that preserve more than a few letters (Table 1, nos. 1–7, 9–11a, 16), five (nos. 1–4, 16) include various forms, both nominal and verbal, of the root *\*werg*.<sup>21</sup> The coincidence that Axos 5 and Axos 6 do *not* preserve *\*werg*/terms but *do* share a term that is otherwise extremely rare in the Archaic Cretan lexicon is striking.

With two exceptions (Axos 6 and Table 1, no. 12B), the first line of all multiline epichoric texts from Axos that are inscribed on blocks with a preserved upper edge begin at the left.<sup>22</sup> Again with two exceptions (Table 1, nos. 12A and 14g), the same is true of texts of only one line.<sup>23</sup> These observations suggest that inscriptions from Axos usually began at the left. Our original text, then, is likely to have started with a line running from the left to the right on a block higher up the wall. The distance between the top of the letters in line 1 of Axos 6 and the upper edge of that block appears to be about the same as the interlinear space elsewhere in Axos 5 and Axos 6. The final line inscribed on the blocks immediately above Axos 5 and Axos 6 may, then, have rested directly on the lower edge of those blocks, as does line 7 on Axos 5. The text must have continued onto a block (or blocks) to the left of Axos 6. On the other hand, as I argue below, it is likely that the text is complete at the right. It is not possible to determine if line 8, on the “tab” at the bottom of Axos 6, is the final line of the text.

21. Table 1, no. 1, lines 6–7: *φεργασάσται*; no. 2, line 9: *τὸ φέρων*; no. 3, line 4: *φεργαζε[- -]*; no. 4, line 5: *το φεργο[- -]*; no. 16, lines 3–4: *τὸν φ[εργα]στάν*, line 5: *φεργαστάς*,

line 7: *[- - φε]ργαστᾶ*.

22. Table 1, nos. 1, 4, 7, 9, 10B, 13a, 13b. It is not possible to determine the direction of no. 10A, line 1, or no. 14a, line 1.

23. Table 1, nos. 8, 11b, 14f, 15. No. 14c preserves one line of text that begins at the right, but it is not possible to determine if the upper edge of the block is preserved.

## TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Axos 6

Fig. 1:1a–5a

H. 0.76 (at left), W. 0.94, Th. 0.36 m

L.H. 0.07–0.08 m

Limestone block, roughly rectangular except for a notch that extends left from the lower right corner slightly more than halfway along the lower edge of the block. Found by Haussoullier in 1879 on the acropolis of ancient Axos. Dimensions from Guarducci, *IC* II, p. 54.

Axos 5

Fig. 1:1b–5b

P.H. 0.63, W. 0.73, Th. ca. 0.23 m

L.H. 0.07–0.08 m

Roughly rectangular limestone block. Left, right, and lower edges preserved. Found by Haussoullier in 1879 reused in a house in the modern village of Axos. Dimensions from Guarducci, *IC* II, p. 54.

The underlined letters are inscribed on Axos 5.

ca. 500 B.C.

boustrophedon

[ - - - - - ]  
 [ἐν] ῥίδαι, καίι Ποτειδᾶνι ο[ - - ] ←  
 [ - - ]εθεν ἡμεν | τῷ πολέμ[ο].  
 | τὰ ἀφτῇ μὲν τῷ πολέμο | [ - - ]  
 [ - - ]τ]δ' ἄλλο δεκάτο ῥίεν ἢ λογκί-  
 5 ον ὄνς αἰέ. | τὸ μὲν δέκατον [ - - ]  
 [ - - ]εν τὰ θίνα. | αἱ δ' α' ἄσται ἢ ἄ-  
λοιτο ΑΠΕΙ. ΠΕΣΠΑΙ ὁ κόσμος [ - - ]  
 Σ . ΑΤ[ - - ]

[ - - - - - ]  
 [ - - on] Mt. Ida, and to Poseidon [ - - ]  
 [ - - ] from the war shall be [ - - ].  
 The things from the war here [ - - ]  
 [ - - ] from the other *dekaton* a *wien* or a spear  
 5 the ones who at the time. The *dekaton* [ - - ]  
 [ - - ] the sacred things. But if the citizen women, after  
 it was seized, [ - - - - - ], the *kosmos* [ - - ]

## EPIGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY

The majority of the difficult readings occur in Axos 5. Haussoullier's drawing of that block (Fig. 1:1b), which is the earliest documentation of the inscription, represents the left, right, and lower edges as jagged, rather than the straight edges depicted in the later drawings of Halbherr (Fig. 1:2b, 3b), Guarducci (Fig. 1:4b), and Jeffery (Fig. 1:5b), and he records considerably fewer letters than they do. It is likely that at the time Haussoullier examined the block, some material (stucco, mortar, or perhaps paint) associated with its reuse obscured portions of the text, particularly at the edges of the block. Halbherr must have cleaned the stone before drawing it. Even so, the letters along the left and right edges of Axos 5 appear to have been difficult to read (Fig. 1:1b–5b).

Line 1:  $\zeta$  Halbherr (Fig. 1:2b, 3b) records the lower two-thirds of the oblique strokes and what looks like a bit of a crossbar at the right. Haussoullier (Fig. 1:1b), Guarducci (Fig. 1:4b), and Jeffery (Fig. 1:5b) show only the oblique strokes. Guarducci records the letter as a dotted alpha.

$\delta$  Halbherr (Fig. 1:2b, 3b) records two oblique strokes and traces of the base of the delta. Haussoullier (Fig. 1:1b), Guarducci (Fig. 1:4b), and Jeffery (Fig. 1:5b) record only the oblique strokes.

Restoring an iota where the stone has broken away at the proposed join between Axos 5 and Axos 6 yields  $\kappa\alpha[\iota]$ . At the end of the line (Axos 6), possibly  $\delta[\iota\nu - -]$ .

Line 2:  $\epsilon$  Apart from Haussoullier's (Fig. 1:1a), the drawings depict traces of the vertical stroke and of the upper and middle horizontal strokes ( $\eta$  is also possible); e.g.,  $[- - \tau\acute{o} \epsilon\kappa\sigma\alpha\iota\rho]\epsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  ( $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ )  $\eta\mu\epsilon\nu \tau\acute{o} \pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu[\omicron]$  "the (share) that has been set aside from the war shall be  $[- - -]$ ";  $[- - \mu]\epsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu \eta\mu\epsilon\nu \tau\acute{o} \pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu[\omicron]$  "from the war shall be invalid" ( $\mu\epsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  or  $\mu\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  for  $\mu\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ ; cf.  $\mu\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$  [IC II xii 20, line 6]). For  $\mu\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu \eta\mu\epsilon\nu$  "shall be invalid," see SEG XXVII 620; IC IV 72x, lines 24–25. Comparetti and Halbherr 1888 and Comparetti 1893  $[\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau]\epsilon\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ , Guarducci  $[- - \tau]\epsilon\theta\epsilon\nu$ .

$\mu$  All of the drawings record the first three strokes of the mu. For the ablative use of the genitive ( $\tau\acute{o} \pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu[\omicron]$  "from the war"), see Bile 1988, pp. 302–303.

The end of line 2 coincides with the end of a sentence.

Line 3:  $\acute{\alpha}\phi\tau\eta$  =  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon$  (adv., "[just] there/here"). See IC IV 87, line 9; 172, lines 1, 3.

Line 4:  $\iota$  Haussoullier (Fig. 1:1b) and Jeffery (Fig. 1:5b) record a short oblique stroke high in the letter space. Halbherr (Fig. 1:2b, 3b) and Guarducci (Fig. 1:4b) record what looks like a small chi with the right half drawn with greater certainty than the left. Comparetti (Comparetti and Halbherr 1888, Comparetti 1893) and Guarducci interpret the letter as  $\kappa$ , but the oblique strokes of the fully preserved kappas appear to be longer and to form a more acute angle than do the two strokes in question.

The term  $\phi\acute{\iota}\epsilon\nu$  is not attested elsewhere. It can be explained as a nominal derivative of Indo-European  $*wiH-$  "pursue," from which both  $\zeta\varsigma$  "strength" and  $\eta\mu\iota$  "send" derive. It is most likely either a nominalized neuter participle meaning "pursuing/being strong thing," or a nominalized possessive adjective meaning "pursuit-full/force-full thing." This derivation suggests that the term perhaps refers to a projectile weapon (arrow or javelin).

$\eta$  Halbherr (Fig. 1:2b, 3b) records an abraded vertical stroke and two abraded horizontal strokes extending to the right of the vertical, one at the top and one at the bottom, with a short horizontal stroke that does not attach to the vertical between the two longer ones. Guarducci (Fig. 1:4b) and Jeffery (Fig. 1:5b) record a vertical stroke and a nearly horizontal stroke that extends to the right from the top of the vertical ( $\epsilon$  is also possible).

$\gamma$  All drawings represent the two legs. Halbherr (Fig. 1:2b, 3b) indicates the tail of a digamma in a rough spot on the stone. Comparetti (Comparetti and Halbherr 1888, Comparetti 1893) prints a digamma (no dot) in the edited text. Guarducci (Fig. 1:4b) represents the tail as a dotted line and prints a dotted digamma. Neither Haussoullier (Fig. 1:1b) nor Jeffery (Fig. 1:5b) records the tail.<sup>24</sup>

24. Haussoullier does not record the digamma's tail anywhere in Axos 5 or Axos 6 (Fig. 1:1a, 1b).

‡ Haussoullier (Fig. 1:1b) records an unambiguous iota. Halbherr (Fig. 1:2b, 3b) and Guarducci (Fig. 1:4b) record a short oblique stroke high in the letter space and a yet shorter oblique stroke that intersects it to form a Y-shaped mark. Jeffery (Fig. 1:5b) records nothing to the right of the kappa.

Line 5: Apart from Jeffery’s (Fig. 1:5b), the drawings record traces of a letter at the right edge of Axos 5. Haussoullier (Fig. 1:1b) records the upper part of a vertical stroke; Halbherr (Fig. 1:2b, 3b) records a short vertical stroke and a curved stroke that joins the vertical at top and bottom creating a small loop to the right; Guarducci (Fig. 1:4b) records the joining upper tips of a vertical and oblique stroke. Halbherr’s remark that this “letter” is inscribed very deeply suggests that it did not resemble the inscribing of the other letters.<sup>25</sup> Perhaps what was interpreted as part of a letter was instead deep pitting in the stone that forced the mason to inscribe the omicron some distance to the left of the right edge of the stone (cf. the *vacat* in line 6 of Axos 5 between iota and eta). In this case, the text could be understood to wrap around lines 4–5 to form the word λογκίον “(small) spear.” For  $\epsilon/\nu$ , compare σπορδδάν for σπονδήν (Table 1, no. 1, line 9); for the -ιον suffix, rare before the Hellenistic period,<sup>26</sup> compare παιδίον (IC IV 72iv, line 5); ἐπενιαύτιον “annual sacrifice”? (SEG XXVII 631B, line 13). If the text does wrap around from line 4 to line 5, the right edge of Axos 5 is the right edge of the inscription and there should not be any text missing between the end of the lines reading from the left (lines 2, 4, and 6) and the beginning of lines reading from the right. This works for lines 2–3, where we can restore the final omicron of πολέμ[o] at the end of line 2. Line 3, as indicated by the vertical dividing line and the postpositive μέν following τὰ ἀφτῇ, begins a new unit of text. For lines 6–7, see below.

ὄνς = οὗς. ὄνσαι = οὐσαι is also possible, perhaps referring to the ἀστὰί in line 6. But what follows on Axos 6 (punctuation and postpositive μέν) suggests the beginning of a sentence (see below, p. 91), thus making it difficult to construe the epsilon at the end of the sentence (ὄνσαι ε).

αἰέ = αἰεί/ἀεί (Herodian GG 3.1.497 [Lentz]). The adverb occurs in only one other early inscription from Crete, where it is spelled αἰεί (IC IV 72xi, line 25).

‡ Halbherr (Fig. 1:2a, 3a) and Jeffery (Fig. 1:5a) record a vertical stroke consistent with a vertical dividing line; Guarducci (Fig. 1:4a) draws a stroke that tilts slightly toward the right and resembles a leg of a san. Comparetti 1893 records the sign as a vertical dividing line. Guarducci does not suggest a letter in her edited text. The vertical dividing line here marks the division between sentences.

μ The drawings of Halbherr (Fig. 1:2a, 3a) permit the reading of a mu. Comparetti and Halbherr 1888 and Comparetti 1893 record τὸ (μ)ὲν δέκατον in the edited text. The drawings of Haussoullier (Fig. 1:1a), Guarducci (Fig. 1:4a), and Jeffery (Fig. 1:5a) record a clear nu. Guarducci, who notes that Halbherr confirmed the reading of nu here, has τὸν ἐνδέκατον in her edited text.

Line 6: [- - -]εν perhaps an infinitive ending, e.g., [- - - τέλλ]εν τὰ θῖνα “fulfill the sacred obligations” (IC IV 72x, line 42); [- - - μὴ ἰνῇ]μεν

25. In Comparetti and Halbherr 1888, p. 146, and Comparetti 1893, p. 402: “Il segno prima dell’O è scolpito assai profondamente.”

26. Bile 1988, pp. 171–172.

τὰ θῖνα “shall not be eligible to participate in rituals” (cf. *IC* II xii 22 with Chaniotis 1996, pp. 402–403).

The vertical dividing line here marks the division between sentences.

α' for αἰ. The first letter in line 6 on Axos 5 is an alpha inscribed some distance to the right of the left edge of the stone. The drawings of Haus-soullier (Fig. 1:1b), Guarducci (Fig. 1:4b), and Jeffery (Fig. 1:5b) record nothing to the left of this initial alpha. Halbherr (Fig. 1:2b, 3b) suggests a short oblique stroke high in the letter space that would be consistent with ι or κ.<sup>27</sup> Comparetti records this as a κ; Guarducci asserts that there are no traces of the kappa. Reading an iota does not alter the meaning of the text: αἰ δ' αἰ ὄσταί. For the spelling ὄσταί without an initial digamma, compare *SEG* XXIII 566, line 7, a law of the 4th or 3rd century B.C. from Axos that mentions ὄσταίς in the context of the dedication of *aparchai*. All drawings indicate that there is a flaw in the stone following ὄσταί that was left uninscribed.

ῆ = temporal adverb “after”/“when” or adverb of place “where” (Bile 1988, pp. 211–212). In its temporal sense ῆ usually appears with κα + subjunctive; see Willetts 1967, pp. 67–68. For the use of the optative (ἄλοιτο) through assimilation in temporal clauses, see, e.g., *SEG* XXVII 620; *IC* IV 72iv, line 10, with Willetts 1967, p. 63, and Bile 1988, pp. 256–257. The adverb of place seems to be ruled out by the optative.

Line 7: λ Halbherr (Fig. 1:2b, 3b) and Guarducci (Fig. 1:4b) record a short horizontal stroke high in the letter space. Haus-soullier (Fig. 1:1b) and Jeffery (Fig. 1:5b) record no traces to the right of the initial omicron. The short strokes of the other lambdas in Axos 5 (lines 2 and 4) form a more acute angle than the abraded trace of the stroke in line 7, but reading a dotted lambda yields ἄλοιτο, aor. opt. ἀλίσκομαι (τ is also possible).

Α Halbherr (Fig. 1:2b, 3b) records the upper part of two intersecting oblique strokes and the crossbar; Guarducci (Fig. 1:4b) and Jeffery (Fig. 1:5b) do not show the crossbar.

Π All drawings record the upper part of two vertical strokes and a horizontal between their upper tips (Η is also possible).

Ε Halbherr (Fig. 1:2b, 3b), Guarducci (Fig. 1:4b), and Jeffery (Fig. 1:5b) record a horizontal stroke at the top of the letter space and a bit of the vertical stroke. There is room for one letter following Ε.

Π All drawings but Haus-soullier's (Fig. 1:1a) record the upper part of two vertical strokes and a connecting horizontal.

Α Halbherr (Fig. 1:2a, 3a), Guarducci (Fig. 1:4a), and Jeffery (Fig. 1:5a) record the upper parts of two intersecting oblique strokes.

There may be one letter lost (on Axos 5) between the second omicron and Α and another lost between Α and Π, although it is also possible that here, too, the stone was pitted and the mason left the spaces uninscribed.

Line 8: Guarducci (Fig. 1:4a, following Halbherr?) records the two central oblique strokes and part of the right leg of san (Σ) and an oblique stroke in the letter space to the right of the Σ. The α.σατ she suggests in the *apparatus criticus* does not tally with her drawing.

27. The letter Ϝ is ruled out by the position of the stroke so close to the left edge of the stone. No letters are

inscribed across the proposed join between the two blocks.



## PUNCTUATION

Punctuation (a vertical line) is preserved in all but one of the early inscriptions from Axos.<sup>28</sup> It occurs five times in the eight preserved lines of our “new,” composite inscription: once each in lines 2, 5, and 6, and twice in line 3. In line 3, the postpositive μέν, which is inscribed across the proposed join between the two blocks, indicates that τὰ ἀφτῇ is phrase-initial and follows a pause, as is also suggested by the punctuation immediately in front (to the right) of τὰ at the beginning of the line on Axos 5. Punctuation is used in a similar position in lines 5 and 6, where the postpositives μέν (line 5) and δ’ (for δέ, line 6) indicate that τό and αἰ are phrase-initial. I suggest that in all three cases, the punctuation denotes the pause between sentences.<sup>29</sup> The same claim cannot be made for the punctuation in line 2 following the verb ἤμεν. As understood here, the genitive τὸ πολέμο is a nominal dependent of the subject noun phrase (e.g., [- - τὸ ἐκσαίρ]εθὲν (μέρος) τὸ πολέμ[o] “the [share] that has been set aside from the war”). The punctuation that precedes the genitive might represent a pause reflecting the appositional force of the nominal dependent and its dislocation from the noun it depends upon. In line 3, in contrast, the nominal dependent (τὸ πολέμο) is adjacent to the subject noun phrase upon which it depends (τὰ ἀφτῇ), and an interpunct follows rather than precedes it. The lacuna after the second punctuation mark in line 3 makes it impossible to determine if it represents a pause following the complete subject. In the other four occurrences in the “new” text where the use of the punctuation can be analyzed, it occurs where we might expect it, and so presents no challenge to the proposed join of these two blocks. As a final observation on the use of punctuation in the “new” text, it is worth pointing out that here as elsewhere on Crete the vertical dividing line occurs both between and within sentences.

## DATE

Features of the writing itself (letter forms, layout of the texts on the blocks, and use of punctuation) provide the only clues for dating the “new” inscription from Axos.<sup>30</sup> Scholars agree, albeit for slightly different reasons, that the inscribed blocks from the acropolis belong to the late 6th or early 5th century B.C. Guarducci emphasized the absence of the letter qoppa and the fact that the inscriptions from Axos, unlike the epichoric inscriptions from elsewhere on the island, begin at the left.<sup>31</sup> The letter qoppa, however, does not appear to have been included in all of the 7th–6th-century alphabets used by various Cretan communities (it is not attested, for example,

28. The exception is Table 1, no. 3. The vertical dividing line is the most common form of punctuation in the early inscriptions (public and private) from Crete and is widely attested on the island. For discussion, see Bile 1988, pp. 73–74; Jeffery *LSAG*, pp. 308 (esp. fig. 45), 309; Perlman 2002,

pp. 189–190; Gagarin 2008, p. 48.

29. The vertical dividing line occurs in this position in Table 1, no. 1, lines 4, 12, and 14.

30. The archaeological context is of little help in dating the inscription. Even if it could be demonstrated that Axos 5 and Axos 6 came originally

from the walls of the building on the acropolis, the date of that structure is not known. Cult activities appear to have taken place in its vicinity from the 7th century B.C. onward; see Prent 2005, p. 248.

31. *IC* II, p. 48.

in the laws of the 7th–6th century B.C. from Dreros), and so its presence or absence is not a good criterion for dating.<sup>32</sup>

Furthermore, the preference for beginning a text from the left may be a practice peculiar to Axos rather than an indication of date. Masons working in other communities on the island, where writing began from the right during the 7th and 6th centuries, continued to begin their inscribing from the right until well into the 5th century B.C.<sup>33</sup> Unless the masons of Axos were precocious in switching to retrograde writing, or the earliest inscriptions from Axos are one to two generations later than commonly proposed, it would seem that writing from the left was a peculiarity of this Archaic community. Jeffery assigned the acropolis inscriptions to the period ca. 525–500 B.C., adducing the late forms of several letters (ε3, ι2, ρ3, υ3) and the absence of “archaic paragraphing.”<sup>34</sup> If developed letter forms and the absence of archaic paragraphing suggest a Late Archaic or Early Classical date, the use of the vertical dividing line—which seems to go out of use, at least at Gortyn, before the beginning of the 5th century—cautions against taking the acropolis inscriptions too far into the Classical period.<sup>35</sup> In sum, then, the admittedly weak criteria of letter forms, layout, and punctuation recommend a Late Archaic date for the acropolis inscriptions.

## COMMENTARY

### LINE 1: SACRIFICES TO POSEIDON AND TO ZEUS

As noted earlier (p. 86), the direction of line 1 suggests that the inscription began higher up on the wall. It is not possible to estimate how much text is missing. What survives in line 1 clearly belongs to a provision concerning sacrifices, perhaps including a sheep (ὄ[ι]),<sup>36</sup> or some other form of gift to at least two gods: Zeus, inferred from the mention of his famous cave sanctuary on Mt. Ida, and Poseidon. Apart from this reference to Poseidon, the only other evidence for the god’s cult at Axos is a six-letter fragment of an Archaic inscription that has been restored [ - - Ποτε]ιδῶν ΑΘ[- -] (Table 1, no. 11b).<sup>37</sup>

The reference to Zeus’s sanctuary on Mt. Ida in the “new” inscription is by far the earliest evidence from Axos for his cult;<sup>38</sup> other sources for his cult there are no earlier than the end of the 4th century or beginning of the 3rd. A sacred law of the Late Classical or Early Hellenistic period required the officials of Axos (the *kosmos* or the *apokosmos*) to sacrifice a

32. Bile 1988, p. 75.

33. Guarducci (*IC IV*, p. 40) dated the earliest inscriptions from Gortyn that are certain to have begun at the left (*IC IV* 78, 80) to the period ca. 450–400 B.C. Cf. *Nomima* 1.7 and 1.16, early 5th century.

34. Jeffery *LSAG*, pp. 308–309, 314. “Archaic paragraphing” refers to the practice of beginning a new unit of text with a line from the right regardless of the boustrophedon pattern; see Jeffery *LSAG*, pp. 44, 311.

35. Perlman 2002, pp. 189–190; Gagarin 2008, p. 123.

36. Cf. *IC IV* 3 (Gortyn, 7th–6th century B.C.) for the sacrifice of ewes (ὄις θήλεια) to Apollo, Hera, and Demeter.

37. For the worship of Poseidon on Crete, see Willetts 1962, pp. 289–290; Sporn 2002, p. 388, table 13.

38. An engraved bronze mitra (abdominal armor) from Axos (late 7th–early 6th century B.C.) depicts a long-haired beardless figure emerging(?) from a tripod cauldron. The figure

wears a peplos and holds a shield and a sword. Levi (1925–1926, pp. 124–134; 1945, pp. 293–313) identified the figure as Apollo. Hoffmann (1972, pp. 23–24, 37) confirmed (on the basis of the figure’s peplos) the suggestion of Guarducci (1937) that the figure is a female, most likely Athena. Capdeville (1990, pp. 94–95), who does not mention Hoffmann, identifies the figure either as Zeus himself, or as the youthful pre-Hellenic god with whom Zeus was later assimilated.

hekatomb to Zeus Agoraios if they failed to perform their duties as the law prescribed.<sup>39</sup> The god’s thunderbolt was depicted with a tripod on the reverse of one of the city’s silver issues (with Apollo’s head on the obverse) of about the same period (ca. 320–270 B.C.).<sup>40</sup> On later issues (3rd–2nd century), the head of Zeus replaces that of Apollo on the obverse, while on the reverse the god’s thunderbolt is shown either alone or with a tripod.<sup>41</sup>

The worship of Idaian Zeus is not otherwise attested at Axos until later still, in a decree of the 1st century B.C. that mentions the god in a provision concerning Axioi (or perhaps the officials—*proedroi* and *kosmoi*—of Axos) who violate the terms of the decree.<sup>42</sup> Although the clause mentioning Zeus Idatas is not fully preserved, the occurrence of his name in the accusative suggests that he was invoked as a divine guardian of this public enactment: “let Zeus Idatas punish the wrongdoer.”<sup>43</sup>

Worship at the Idaian Cave began in Middle Minoan III or Late Minoan I (ca. 1700–1425 B.C.) and continued without interruption until the 5th century A.D.<sup>44</sup> Although the earliest secure evidence for the worship there of Idaian Zeus is late,<sup>45</sup> there is general agreement that his cult was introduced by the Early Iron Age (ca. 970–630 B.C.), supplanting the older Minoan worship of an annually dying and rising vegetation god.<sup>46</sup> Notable among the dedicatory objects are the bronze tripod cauldrons and the bronze armor and weapons (the decorated bronze shields in particular) that began to appear in the 9th century and continued through the end of the 7th.<sup>47</sup> The cult celebrated there has been variously identified as a vegetation/fertility cult associated with the dying and rising god, an initiatory cult of male maturation, or an initiatory cult for male warriors.<sup>48</sup> The presence of dedicatory offerings that imply a female clientele (e.g., gold jewelry) suggests that the cult of Idaian Zeus was of broader appeal, or that the male god was worshipped there together with a female deity.<sup>49</sup>

39. SEG XXIII 566, lines 13–16. Zeus, whom Hesychios identified as the god of the hekatomb in Arcadia and Crete (s.v. Ἑκατόμβαιος· Ζεὺς ἐν Γορτύνη καὶ παρ’ Ἀρκάσι καὶ Κρησίῳ), has been proposed as the recipient of the “great hekatomb” mentioned in another of the early laws from the acropolis (Table 1, no 1, lines 12–13, ca. 500 B.C.); see Sporn 2002, p. 227.

40. Svoronos [1889] 1972, p. 38, no. 1, pl. III:1; Le Rider 1966, p. 97; Sideropoulos 2006, pp. 152–154.

41. Svoronos [1889] 1972, pp. 39–41, nos. 25, 26, 33–36, pl. III:5, 10–13; Sideropoulos 2006, pp. 154–157. Capdeville (1990, pp. 96–97) identifies both the youthful divinity on the earlier silver issues and the bearded god represented on the later bronze ones as Zeus.

42. IC II v 35, line 11: Δῆνα Φιδάταν.

43. Cf., e.g., IC III iii 3B, lines 17–18: ἐπιορκόντι μὲν ἦμεν τὸς θεὸς ἐμμάνιας καὶ γίνεσθαι πάντα τὰ ὑπεναντία, and with very slight rewording, lines 23–24; IC III iii 5, lines 22–23: αἱ δὲ τι ἐπιορκήσαιμι τῶν ὅμοσα ἢ τῶν συν-εθέμαν, τὸς τε θεὸς τὸς ὅμοσα ἐμμάνιας ἦμεν.

44. For the history of scientific exploration of the cave sanctuary on Ida, see Prent 2005, p. 158. For evidence of worship there by the Minoans, see Sakellarakis 1988a, pp. 211–212.

45. IC I xii 1, a 2nd–3rd-century A.D. clay plaque dedicated Δι’ Ἰδαίῳ.

46. Sakellarakis 1988a, pp. 212–213; Prent 2005, pp. 592, 603. Prent suggests (p. 603) that Zeus’s cult was introduced toward the end of the 2nd millennium B.C.

47. For the bronze votives from the cave sanctuary on Ida and shifts in

dedicatory habits at the sanctuary, see Prent 2005, pp. 314–318, 367–388, 571–572.

48. Robertson 1996, pp. 251–252; Prent 2005, pp. 594–601; Chaniotis 2006b, pp. 202–203. Prent notes that the votive armor and weapons suggest that the celebrants were adult warriors rather than adolescents. She presents the case for a mystery cult. For the cave as an oracular center, see Capdeville 1990; Chaniotis 2006a.

49. For the votive jewelry from the sanctuary, see Sakellarakis 1988b, pp. 182–187. For the possibility that a goddess (Rhea? Hera?) was worshipped together with Zeus, see Robertson 1996, pp. 251–253; Prent 2005, pp. 375, 603. Robertson concludes that before Zeus’s arrival the sanctuary hosted a cult of Mater.

The cave's remote location, just below the summit on the north side of Mt. Ida at an altitude of 1,500 m, and the types, quality, and quantity of the objects dedicated there suggest that during the Early Iron Age and Archaic period the cave was an interregional sanctuary and a locus of aristocratic display.<sup>50</sup> Axos is the closest substantial settlement known to have been occupied in the Early Iron Age and subsequent periods.<sup>51</sup> The "new" inscription from Axos provides the earliest evidence for state interest in the cult. Such interest on the part of Gortyn is attested in the mid-5th century B.C. in a provision of the agreement between Gortyn and the Rhittēnioi stipulating that the Rhittēnioi were to contribute "to Ida" sacrificial animals worth 350 staters for the trieteric sacrifice.<sup>52</sup> Later, state interest in the cult of Zeus Idaios is attested beyond the immediate vicinity of Mt. Ida. Zeus Idatas was numbered among the oath gods in alliances not only of Gortyn and its neighbor Priansos, but also of Olous, Lyktos, and Hierapytna in central and eastern Crete.<sup>53</sup> State interest in the cult is attested as well in western Crete, at Kydonia (modern Chania).<sup>54</sup>

If line 1 does refer to sacrificial offerings rather than to some other form of gift, what, if anything, does this suggest about the nature of the "new" inscription from Axos? The early inscriptions from Crete mention sacrifices in several different contexts. They are prescribed for expiation or purification in one early law, listed in what appear to be fragments from sacrificial calendars, and required of treaty partners in interstate agreements and of individuals in agreements between the polis and members of the community, and their performance is regulated in laws that appear to be largely sacred in content.<sup>55</sup> Some texts specify the sanctuary where the

50. Prent (2005, pp. 159, 314, 567–569) discusses the location of the sanctuary and its likely function as a regional (or interregional) gathering place during the Early Iron Age and the Archaic period (ca. 970–480 B.C.). See also Chaniotis 2006b, pp. 202–203. For the function of (inter)regional sanctuaries as loci of elite display and competition, see Prent 2005, pp. 216, 560–566.

51. Capdeville (1990, pp. 93–94) suggests that the cave lay within the territory of Axos.

52. *IC IV* 80, lines 1–3: τὰ θύματα παρέκοντες ἐς Βίδαν τρι[τ]οί [φέ]τει τριακατῖος <σ>[τ]ατήραν καὶ πεντέκοντα. Chaniotis (1988, pp. 34–35) suggests that an amphictyony of which Gortyn was a leading member may have managed the sanctuary and cult. A somewhat later law from Gortyn preserves part of a provision that appears to regulate public sacrifice at the sanctuary on Mt. Ida (*IC IV* 146, line 6, late 5th–early 4th century B.C.: [- -] αἱ [κ'] ἐν Φίδαί ἀ πόλις θύωντι τὸν ἐνα[- -]). This later law goes on to mention a "trieteric" (τριετηρίαν,

line 7). "Trieteric" probably does refer to a festival or sacrifice, but it is not at all certain that this ritual took place on Mt. Ida. Another of the early laws from the acropolis at Axos refers to a trieteric sacrifice (Table 1, no. 9), but again there is no reason to associate it with the cave sanctuary on Ida.

53. Alliance of Gortyn and Hierapytna with Priansos (*IC IV* 174, lines 57 [restored] and 72–73, late 3rd century B.C.); alliance of Olous and Rhodes, 201/200 B.C. (*SEG XXIII* 547, line 51); alliance of Olous and Lyktos, 111/110 B.C. (*IC I xviii* 9C, line 5). Zeus Idatas has been restored in the oaths of several other Cretan treaties: Eleutherna and ? (*SEG XLI* 743, line 6, early 3rd century B.C.); Gortyn and Arkades (*IC IV* 171, line 12, ca. 250 B.C.); Gortyn and Sybrita (*IC IV* 183, lines 19–20, late 3rd–early 2nd century B.C.). For the restorations in the latter two texts, see Chaniotis 1996, p. 201, no. 8 (Gortyn and Arkades), and p. 268, no. 32 (Gortyn and Sybrita).

54. Polybios (28.14) took as a measure of the impiety of the Kydoniatai

the fact that although they had deposited with Idaian Zeus a copy of the treaty of *sympoliteia* that they had sworn with the Apolloniatai, the Kydoniatai nevertheless destroyed Apollonia and its inhabitants. The episode is dated to the period ca. 184–170 B.C.; see Chaniotis 1996, pp. 285–287. It is likely that the sanctuary in question was the famous one on Mt. Ida, but it should be noted that another sanctuary of the god was located on the border between Gortyn and Priansos (*IC IV* 174, line 23; for the location of the sanctuary, see Chaniotis 1996, pp. 251–252).

55. Expiation/purification: *SEG XV* 564. Sacrificial calendars: Bile 1988, no. 8 (Dreros); *IC IV* 3 and 65 (Gortyn). Interstate agreements: *IC IV* 80, lines 1–3 (Gortyn and the Rhittēnioi); *ML* 42B, lines 14–17, 29–31, 34–38 (Knossos, Tylosos, and Argos). Agreements between the polis and members of the community: Table 1, no. 1, lines 12–13 (Axos); *SEG XXVII* 631B, lines 4–6, 11–16 (Datala). Sacred laws: Table 1, no. 9 (Axos); *Nomima* 2.27 (Dreros); *SEG XLI* 739 (Eleutherna).

sacrifice is to be offered, as appears to have been the case here;<sup>56</sup> others name the god to whom the sacrifice is offered, as here for Poseidon.<sup>57</sup>

The 5th-century agreement of Knossos, Tylisos, and Argos (ML 42) prescribed in great detail not only the divine recipients of the sacrifices, but also specifics of the rituals, including where, when, and by whom they were to be performed. The first of the provisions in this agreement that concern sacrifice required the priests of the Knosioi to sacrifice to Poseidon on Iutos.<sup>58</sup> Apart from the “new” inscription from Axos, this is the only secure evidence for the worship of Poseidon on Crete before the Hellenistic period. The identification of Ἰυτός as the ancient name for Mt. Juktas, located 13 km southwest of Knossos, has been widely accepted despite the fact that a sanctuary to Poseidon has not been located there.<sup>59</sup> If Iutos is Mt. Juktas, we may regard Poseidon’s sanctuary there as an extraurban one, and compare it with the cave sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Ida.<sup>60</sup>

#### LINES 2–5: THE DEKATON

The term πόλεμος occurs in lines 2 and 3 of the “new” inscription. We do not know how much text has been lost between the end of line 1 and the beginning of line 2, but if lines 1 and 2 belong to the same or to two related provisions, the offerings to Poseidon and to Zeus on Mt. Ida should be understood in the context of warfare. In light of the references to divine offerings and to war, it is tempting to understand τὸ δέκατον (lines 4 and 5) either as a share of the booty distributed to the participants, or as a synonym for *dekate* (ἡ δεκάτη), the portion of the booty set aside for the gods.<sup>61</sup> The latter (ἡ δεκάτη) occurs in another provision of the agreement of Knossos, Tylisos, and Argos (ML 42B, lines 4–11):

λό τ[ι]  
[δέ κα ἐκ δυσμενέ]ον ἡέλομες συνανφότεροι, δα[σ]-  
[μοῖ τὸν κατ γ]ᾶν τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἔχεν πάντον, τ[δ]-  
[ν δὲ κατ] θάλασσαν τὰ ἡέμισα ἔχεν πάντον· τὰν δὲ [δ]-  
[εκ]άταν τὸνς Κνοσίονς ἔχεν, λό τί χ’ ἔλομες κοι[ν]-  
[ᾶ]ι· τὸν δὲ φαλύρον τὰ μὲν καλλ<ι>στεῖα Πυθόδε ἀπ[ά]-  
γεν κοινᾷ ἀμφοτέρωνς, τὰ δ’ ἄλλα τῷ [Ἄρει Κνοσ]-  
οῖ ἀντιθέμεν κοινᾷ ἀμφοτέρωνς.

56. See, e.g., Bile 1988, p. 31, no. 8 (Dreros); *IC* IV 80.

57. See, e.g., *IC* IV 3, 65; ML 42B.

58. ML 42B, lines 14–16: [τῷ] Ποσειδᾶνι τῷ ἐν Ἰυτῷ τὸν Κνοσίονς [ν] ιαρέα θύ]εν.

59. The peak sanctuary on Mt. Juktas appears to have gone out of use before the end of the 7th century B.C.; see Prent 2005, pp. 160–162, 319–320.

60. Prent (2005, p. 311) defines an extraurban sanctuary as one that “cannot be easily connected with one particular settlement.” Extraurban sanctuaries “may . . . have had close

ties with a certain community, but the implication is that a regional or even interregional function should at least be considered a possibility for many of them.” She distinguishes the function of Early Iron Age suburban sanctuaries, such as the lower sanctuary at Axos, in integrating the elite into the political community (Prent 2005, pp. 476–502) from the function of extraurban sanctuaries, such as the one on Mt. Ida, in establishing interregional elite networks (pp. 559–606).

61. For the *dekate*, see Pritchett 1974–1991, vol. 1, pp. 93–100.





our possession right now?], [something shall be done with one of them]; from another *dekaton*, let those who are [in office dedicate?] a *wien* or a spear”).<sup>67</sup> Alternatively, perhaps line 4 is part of the provision that answers τὰ ἀφτῇ μὲν in line 3 and concerns property seized in war that is not ἀφτῇ. The neuter plural τά in line 3 might equally well refer to spoils (σκῦλα), booty (λάφυρα), or *dekata*. In that case, lines 3–4 would concern (1) the disposition of property seized in war that is in some sense ἀφτῇ, and (2) the disposition of *dekata*, possibly from goods that are not ἀφτῇ.

If we understand *dekaton* as a synonym for *dekate*, I know of no case where one community set aside more than one *dekate*, although it is perhaps possible that Axos set aside one *dekate* for each of two (or more) gods (e.g., Zeus and Poseidon). Thus, if *dekaton* is used here for the share of the booty reserved for the gods, the evidence for two or more *dekata* might imply that the “new” inscription from Axos regulated the behavior of two or more communities. A provision concerning the distribution of booty in a Hellenistic treaty between two east Cretan *poleis*, Hierapytna and Priansos, provides some support for this interpretation of multiple *dekatai*:

αἱ δὲ τι θεῶν βωλομένων ἔλοιμεν ἀγαθὸν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων,  
ἢ κοινᾷ ἐξοδούσαντες ἢ ἰδίαι τινὲς παρ’ ἐκατέρων ἢ κατὰ γᾶν  
ἢ κατὰ θάλασσαν, λανηχανόντων ἐκάτεροι κατὰ τὸς ἄνδρας τὸς  
ἔρποντας | καὶ τὰς δεκάτας λαμβανόντων ἐκάτεροι ἐς τὰν ἰδίαν  
πόλιν.

If, gods willing, we capture from the enemy booty (ἀγαθόν) by land or at sea, having marched out either on an official expedition or as privateers, each of us shall have a share of the booty in proportion to the number of men who go along, and each of us shall take the *dekatai* for our own polis.<sup>68</sup>

This Hellenistic treaty, like the earlier one for Knossos and Tylisos, includes provisions concerning both booty (here simply ἀγαθόν) and the tithe (δεκάτη) for the gods.<sup>69</sup> Here, however, each of the treaty partners was to receive its own *dekate*.

Allowing the possibility that *dekaton* means *dekate* in the “new” inscription from Axos, are we justified in appealing to measures in the Hellenistic treaty as evidence for earlier practice? Provisions concerning the distribution of booty are found in other Hellenistic treaties from Crete.<sup>70</sup> In two of these, regulations concerning the profits of war and those concerning import and export occur in succession.<sup>71</sup> This same pattern is found in the

67. For the interpretation of ὄνς αἰέ (line 5), see below, p. 98.

68. *IC* III iii 4, lines 53–58 (shortly after 205 B.C.).

69. The lexicon of the Hellenistic treaties from Crete reflects common usage throughout the Greek world. The use of the term δεκάτη in these late treaties from Crete for the share of the booty set aside for the gods should not be taken as proof that the same term

was used in the Archaic period on Crete.

70. *IC* I xix 1, lines 4–8 (Malla and Lyttos, mid-3rd century B.C.); *IC* III iii 3A, lines 56–58 (Hierapytna and Rhodes, late 3rd century B.C.); *IC* III iii 3B, lines 7–8 (Hierapytna and Rhodes, early 2nd century B.C.); *IC* IV 180 (Gortyn and ?, early 2nd century B.C.); *IC* IV 182, lines 14–16 (Gortyn and Knossos, ca. 167/6 B.C.); *IC* I

xvi 5, lines 17–18 (Lato and Olous, ca. 110–108 B.C.); *SEG* XXVI 1049, lines 23–25 (Hierapytna and Lato, 111/110 B.C.). For discussion, see Pritchett 1974–1991, vol. 5, pp. 363–368; Chaniotis 1996, pp. 93–94.

71. *IC* I xvi 5: distribution of booty (lines 17–18), import-export (lines 15–17); *SEG* XXVI 1049: distribution of booty (lines 23–25); import-export (lines 20–23).

5th-century agreement of Knossos, Tylisos, and Argos,<sup>72</sup> which suggests that at least in this respect the later treaties attest some conservatism in both content (regulations for the distribution of booty and regulations for interstate commerce) and structure, the latter implying that booty and interstate commerce were linked conceptually as sources of public and private revenue.<sup>73</sup> Thus, the use of later Cretan treaties to shed light on earlier practices finds some support.<sup>74</sup>

In conclusion, then, the references to *dekaton* in the “new” inscription most likely concern the distribution of the profits of war, either as shares of the booty for the men who seized them or as shares of the booty set aside for the gods. In either case, the reference to “the other *dekaton*” suggests that there were two or more of them, perhaps implying that the text concerned at least two communities.

#### LINES 5–6: PUBLIC OFFICIALS AND THE DEDICATION OF WEAPONS

The phrase ὄνς αἰέ (line 5) may refer to individuals (possibly officials) who were responsible for some future, and presumably repeated, action. The context suggests that the action involved the separating out of items—a *wien* and a spear—from one *dekaton* for special treatment, possibly as dedications to a god, e.g., ὄνς αἰέ (κοσμίοντας τιθέμεν) “those who (serve as *kosmoi*) at the time (shall dedicate).” We might compare this with the phrase οἱ κόσμοι οἱ τοκ’ ἀεὶ κοσμίοντες (“the *kosmoi* who are serving at the time”), which occurs in *asylia* decrees enacted by several of the Cretan poleis for Teos.<sup>75</sup> This latter phrase is found, albeit partially restored, in a decree from Malla in an accusative/infinitive construction similar to that suggested here (*IC* I xix 3, lines 39–41, 2nd century B.C.):

ἄγεν δὲ καὶ εὐάμερον τὸς κόσμος τὸς [ἀεὶ κοσ]μίοντας κατ’  
ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τῷ ἔκται τῷ Βακ[ινθίῳ] μηνός κτλ.

Each year the *kosmoi* who are serving at the time shall hold the festival on the sixth day of the month of Hyakinthios.

A shortened form is preserved in one of the early laws from Axos: τοῖ τόκα κοσμίον[τι] (“to the one who serves as *kosmos* at the time”).<sup>76</sup>

72. ML 42B: distribution of booty (lines 4–11), import-export (lines 11–14).

73. The practices attested in ML 42 differ in detail somewhat from those in the Hellenistic treaties. For example, the later treaties adopted a policy for distributing the booty that is essentially per capita, unlike the distribution described in ML 42.

74. The implications of the observation made above (n. 66) concerning the foreign (Argolic) alphabet and the dialect of ML 42 need not carry over to

the substance and organization of the agreement. The former (alphabet and dialect) suggest that the treaty was inscribed in Argos, or, for the inscription from Tylisos (ML 42A), by an Argive mason working in Crete (or at least a mason working from an Argive exemplar). Even so, the communities of Tylisos and Knossos no doubt contributed to the formulation of the agreement. Thus, the substance of its provisions and its structure might well reflect local, Cretan practices.

75. *IC* I vi 1, line 8; *IC* I viii 8,

lines 9–10; *IC* I xiv 1, line 38; *IC* I xvi 2, line 29; *IC* I xvi 15, lines 32–33; *IC* II xxvi 1, lines 24–25; *IC* III iii 2, line 9. Cf. *SEG* XXIII 563, lines 22–23, a 3rd-century B.C. alliance between Axos and Gortyn.

76. Table 1, no. 16. Cf. the provisions in a decree of Itanos providing that τοῖ τόκα ἄρχοντες shall in the future administer the new civic oath to citizens who were not present when it was first sworn (*IC* III iv 7, lines 10–11, 16–17, 19).

The occurrence of the hapax legomenon *φίεν* at the join between Axos 5 and Axos 6 is, admittedly, worrisome. Yet, the incidence in the epichoric inscriptions of Crete of both hapax legomena and strings of letters that defy comprehension is noteworthy,<sup>77</sup> as is the incidence of otherwise unattested terms identified as “Cretan” in the lexicographers.<sup>78</sup> The etymology for *φίεν* proposed above (from *ῥημι*; see p. 88) and the context of its appearance as an alternative for a spear (*λοφκίον*) imply that *φίεν* refers to a projectile weapon (i.e., an arrow or perhaps another kind of spear). The word *ιός* (arrow) occurs in an epichoric inscription from the central Cretan village of Aphrati.<sup>79</sup> Even so, this should not rule out the use of other non-Greek, local, or Archaic terms for “arrow” elsewhere on the island.<sup>80</sup> The diminutive *λογχίον* was used both for a short spear (or spearhead) and for pendants that were spear-shaped.<sup>81</sup> Both objects (spear/spearhead and pendant) are attested as votives.<sup>82</sup>

The inscription from Aphrati that mentions arrows (*ICI v 4*) is of great interest to us.<sup>83</sup> Although the limestone stele is broken across the top and the beginning of the text is lost, it is clear that the inscription concerned a dedication. The public nature of the dedication is indicated by the use of the dating formula, *[ἐ]πι κοσμιόντων Θαμυνδά[ρι]ος τῷ Τηλεγνότῳ καὶ Παντανδρίδῳ τῷ Νικολάῳ* (“during the kosmate of Thamundaris, the son of Telegnotos, and Pantandridas, the son of Nikolaos”). This formula is common in public inscriptions, including dedications, but is not attested in private inscriptions.<sup>84</sup> The dedication from Aphrati concludes with an imprecation against would-be thieves: *ὅστι[ς] ἀποστερί[δδ]οι τῶν ἰὼν ἔμῃν ἡμεγ αὐτῷ Ἀθ[α]ναίαν* (“Whoever might remove arrows, may Athena

77. Bile (1988, pp. 361–362) remarks upon the frequency of Greek hapax legomena in the Cretan lexicon. Two hapaxes are attested at Axos in Table 1, no. 1: line 3, *το ἰνυμεν[- -]* (cf. Hesych. s.v. *ινύεσθαι· κοσμεῖν, ἰδρύνεσθαι*); line 8, *διάλσιος* (gen. sing. *\*διάλσις*?). Comparetti (in Comparetti and Halbherr 1888, pp. 135–136) entertained the possibility that letters are missing at the end of line 8 and/or at the beginning of line 9, and proposed *[Ϝ]ιδία[ι αἰ καλ]έοι*. Comparetti (1893, pp. 390–391) and Baunack (apud Comparetti) associated *\*διάλσις* with *ἀλδαίνω* “cause to grow,” suggesting “provisions” for *\*διάλσις*. Van Effenterre (1946, p. 592) associated *\*διάλσις* with *ἴλλω* (*\*εἴλω*), aor.<sup>2</sup> pass. *έάλην*, in the sense of “assembly/assemble.”

78. For terms identified as Cretan in the lexicographers, see below, n. 80. For non-Greek terms in the Cretan vocabulary, see Duhoux 1982; Brown 1985.

79. *ICI v 4*, late 6th–early 5th century B.C. Halbherr (1901, pp. 397–398)

discovered the inscription in the village church.

80. Cf. Hesych. s.v. *ιόβλης· κάλαμος παρὰ Κρησίν*. Brown (1985, p. 64) notes that *κάλαμος* here probably means “arrow shaft” and that the glossed term means “arrow.” Other words for arrow (e.g., *βέλος, οἰστός, τόξευμα*) are not attested on Crete, but compare Artemis’s epithet *Τοκσία* in the Great Code from Gortyn (*IC IV 72iii*, line 9). Hesychios identifies as Cretan three otherwise unattested terms for arms and armor: s.vv. *κάδμος· δόρυ, λόφος, ἀσπίς Κρήτες; λαίας· ἀσπίδας. Κρήτες; ῥυστόν· δόρυ. Κρήτες*. The first two (*κάδμος, λαίας*) appear to be of non-Greek derivation; see Brown 1985, pp. 65–66, 76.

81. Spear: *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1541*, line 17 (Athens, 357/6 B.C.); *SEG XLVI 185*, lines 14–15 (Panakton, 343/2 B.C.); pendant: *IG XI.2 161B*, lines 23–24 (Delos, 278 B.C.). The most common term for a javelin or throwing spear (*ἄκων*) is not attested in the inscriptions from Crete.

82. E.g., spear: *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1541*, line 17; pendant: *IG XI.2 161B*, lines 23–24.

83. Levi (1925–1926, pp. 15–23) identified the ancient settlement on the ridge (Ayios Elias) above the village of Aphrati as ancient Arkades; Viviers (1994, pp. 234–241) as ancient Datala. For the history of the settlement (9th–late 5th/early 4th centuries B.C.), see Erickson 2002; Prent 2005, pp. 278–280.

84. *ICI v 4* preserves the earliest example of this dating formula. For the use of the formula in public dedications (all Hellenistic or later), see, e.g., *IC I xvi 26*; *IC I xviii 12*. These later texts include the name of the tribe that held the kosmate in the dating formula; the name of the tribe first appears in the dating formula in the Great Code from Gortyn (*IC IV 72v*, lines 5–6): *ὅκ’ ὁ Αἰθ[α]λεὺς ἑταρτὸς ἐκόσμιον οἱ σὺν Κύ[λ]λοι*; for the identification of *startos* as tribe, not *genos*, see most recently Kristensen 2002.

be angry with him"). Halbherr suggested that the dedication was a battle trophy, or perhaps a bunch of arrows dedicated to the goddess from booty seized in war.<sup>85</sup>

Arrowheads and spearheads/spear butts have been found in votive contexts at a number of sanctuaries in Crete, most notably at Axos itself, where two bronze spear butts were recovered from the late-7th- or 6th-century B.C. deposits of bronzes (primarily armor and arms) that were discovered in the lower sanctuary.<sup>86</sup> The dedication of weapons, both as part of a battle trophy and by themselves, was common throughout the Greek world during the Archaic period.<sup>87</sup> Inscriptions on the butts of spears indicate that both individuals and poleis were responsible for these offerings.<sup>88</sup> In some cases, the inscriptions proclaim that the weapons were seized from an enemy;<sup>89</sup> the dedications inscribed on three bronze spear butts found at Olympia identify the objects as spoils (σκῦλα) taken by the Tarantinoi from the Thourioi and dedicated to Zeus Olympios as a *dekate*.<sup>90</sup>

None of the arrow or spearheads/spear butts from Crete were inscribed, so there is nothing to indicate whether they were public gifts, as appears to have been the case for the arrows dedicated to Athena at Aphrati, or private ones. Assuming that the provision in the "new" inscription from Axos does concern the dedication of weapons, we may conclude that such gifts, whether public or private, were regulated by the state. If the phrase ὅς αἰέ refers to officials of Axos, the dedication was probably public. On the other hand, if the *dekaton* from which the objects (*wien* and spear) were separated out was a share of the booty intended for distribution to those who participated in its capture, the regulation perhaps required the recipients of the *dekaton* to dedicate a share of what they received.

If the "new" inscription from Axos does provide evidence for the public dedication of weapons seized in battle, or, for that matter, for the public

85. Halbherr 1901, pp. 397–398. Cf. Guarducci (*IC I*, p. 9), who suggested that the dedication was an image of an armed Athena.

86. Levi 1930–1931, pp. 69–70, 82–83; Prent 2005, p. 249. Arrow- and spearheads dating to the Archaic period have also been recovered from the Idaian cave (Prent 2005, p. 317), Altar Hill at Praisos (Prent 2005, p. 304), Temples A and B at Kommos (Shaw and Harlan 2000, pp. 363–370; Prent 2005, pp. 324, 326), the acropolis at Gortyn (Levi 1955–1956, p. 262 and fig. 34), the sanctuary (of Demeter?) at Vrysses (Mortzos 1985, pp. 50–51; Sporn 2002, pp. 281–282), and Psychro cave (Boardman 1961, pp. 24–31, 54–55; Prent 2005, p. 341). The bronze spearheads and bronze and iron arrowheads from the sanctuary of Aphrodite and Hermes at Kato Syme are more likely associated with hunting than with warfare (Prent 2005, pp. 346,

587–591). For the bronze armor from Axos (one helmet, one corselet, nine mitrai), see Levi 1930–1931; Hoffmann 1972, esp. pp. 21–25; Monaco 2006.

87. Simon (1986, pp. 234–259) catalogues 36 sanctuaries outside of Crete where spears were dedicated and 32 where arrows were dedicated in the Archaic period. Cretan archers were later regarded as particularly skilled; poets of the Classical and Hellenistic periods alluded to the islanders' association with the bow (e.g., Callim. *Hymn* 3.81–83), while the service of Cretan bowmen in foreign armies is amply attested (e.g., Thuc. 6.43, 7.57.9; Xen. *An.* 1.2.9). The ubiquity of dedicatory arrows in the Archaic period perhaps belies any earlier particular association of Cretans and archery. Pausanias (4.8.3) provides the only evidence for Cretan mercenary archers in the Archaic period; Luraghi (2008), however, exposes his account of the

Second Messenian War in book 4 as a 4th-century and later construction.

88. Public dedications: e.g., *IvO* 245, 247, 254–256; private: e.g., Greenwell 1881, pp. 76–82.

89. E.g., *IvO* 247, 254–256; *SEG XI* 1045. Epigrams from the *Anthology* suggest that individuals might dedicate their own weapons to the gods upon reaching adulthood (*Anth. Pal.* 6.282), in thanks for success in hunting (*Anth. Pal.* 6.75, 326; cf. above, n. 86), and when old age rendered the dedicator unfit for battle (*Anth. Pal.* 6.52). Inscriptions attesting both public and private dedications are much more common on items of armor—helmets and shields in particular—than they are on weapons. See, e.g., Kunze 1967 for inscribed armor from Olympia.

90. σκῦλα ἀπὸ Θουρίων Ταραντῖνοι ἀνέθεκαν Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ δεκάταν (*IvO* 254–256, ca. 443–433 B.C.).



regulation of private dedications, it is worth considering the provision in light of the votive weapons and armor discovered there. As noted above, the two bronze spear butts from Axos come from votive deposits that included other bronzes, most notably items of armor. The deposits have been dated on the basis of the armor to the period ca. 625–575 B.C., and so are considerably earlier than the "new" inscription from Axos.<sup>91</sup> The armor from Axos is not inscribed;<sup>92</sup> the archaeological context indicates that the objects were dedications, but it is not possible to determine anything further about the dedicators (private or public) or the source of the objects (seized from the enemy or the personal property of the dedicators).

Votive armor, both life-size and miniature, has been found at several other Cretan sanctuaries, all of it uninscribed and so subject to the same questions of interpretation as the armor from Axos.<sup>93</sup> Exceptional in this regard is the bronze armor reportedly from Aphrati that came to light through illicit excavations.<sup>94</sup> Fourteen of the 24 items of armor were inscribed; the inscriptions consist of personal names in the nominative, in some cases with the demonstrative pronoun in the accusative (τόδε or τόνδε) for the object, and in some cases with ἦλε indicating that the objects were captured.<sup>95</sup> Clearly the inscriptions were not meant merely to record ownership, but the absence of either a dedicatory formula or the name of a divinity makes it difficult to recognize the objects as dedications.<sup>96</sup>

Rescue excavations undertaken by Angelike Lebessi on the southeast slope of the acropolis of Aphrati, in the area where the armor was reportedly found, revealed an Iron Age complex that in its latest architectural phase (7th century B.C.?) consisted of a walled rectangular area with a benched room in its northwest corner.<sup>97</sup> A bronze mitra, uninscribed but otherwise similar to those discussed above, was among the finds from the fill. Lebessi identified the complex as a sanctuary.<sup>98</sup> If she is right, and if the armor believed to have come from Aphrati is to be associated with it, we may identify the armor as dedicatory despite the unusual formulary of the inscriptions. Didier Viviers, who identified the 7th-century complex as an *andreion*, stresses the role of such visible signs of individual courage and prowess in battle in educating the young, who, according to later sources, were not excluded from the adult male activities that took place in the men's halls.<sup>99</sup> In either case, as dedications or as pedagogic aides-mémoire, the

91. Hoffmann 1972, pp. 41–46.

92. In 1951 the Giamalakis Archaeological Collection purchased two bronze mitrai said to have come from Axos. Platon (1951, p. 450) described one of them as undecorated but inscribed in archaic letters with the name of the dedicator(?): Φέρει . . . ἐπιγραφὴν σχετικὴν μὲ τὸν ἀναθέσαντα. The mitrai remain unpublished.

93. See Prent 2005, pp. 383–388, for general discussion, and p. 703, table 4, for a list of the sanctuaries.

94. See Hoffmann (1972, pp. xi, 1) for an account of the discovery and

subsequent fate of this material.

95. E.g., inscribed on a mitra: Αἰσωνίδας τόνδ' ἦλε ὁ Κλοριδίῳ (SEG LII 838). The inscribed items include three of the five helmets (SEG LII 829–830, 832), nine of the 16 mitrai (SEG LII 831, 833, 835, 837–842), and two of the eight corselets (SEG LII 834, 836). The verb ἀπήλευσε "brought away" (from ἐλεύθω) replaces ἦλε in SEG LII 839.

96. Raubitschek (1972) notes the difficulties, but identifies the items of armor as spoils or booty that were inscribed by or for the victors and then dedicated by them.

97. Lebessi 1969, 1970; Prent 2005, pp. 279–280. Lebessi (1970, pp. 456–458) identified traces of an earlier (ca. 750–700 B.C.) three-room structure beneath the 7th-century building complex.

98. Lebessi 1969, p. 417. Hoffmann (1972, p. 16) suggests that the complex was dedicated to Athena.

99. Viviers 1994, pp. 244–249; see also Prent 2005, pp. 385–386. For the value of the later literary tradition in reconstructing Cretan practices and social institutions of the Archaic and Classical periods, see Perlman 2005.

inscriptions on the armor from Aphrati quite clearly emphasize individual rather than corporate prowess.

The bulk of the armor from Aphrati dates to the same period as the armor from Axos (late 7th and early 6th centuries B.C.), with isolated examples from the mid-7th century.<sup>100</sup> If we may press the parallels between Axos and Aphrati further,<sup>101</sup> we might suggest that the offerings of arms and armor at Axos were private, as the armor from Aphrati appears to have been. The dedication of valuable bronze armor seems to have stopped early in the 6th century B.C., not only at Aphrati and Axos, but also at the other sanctuaries on Crete where the practice is attested.<sup>102</sup> It is possible that some of the armor should be dated slightly later than it has been,<sup>103</sup> or that some of the arrowheads and spearheads/spear butts found in sanctuaries date to the 6th century, but the late-6th-century inscriptions from Axos and Aphrati provide the next secure evidence for the dedication of weapons on Crete (*IC* II v 5 + 6; *IC* I v 4); in both cases, the inscriptions indicate that the dedications were public, or at least that the state regulated private dedications, and so suggest a transformation in dedicatory habits. Even so, one cannot claim that in either case the epigraphically attested dedications of the late 6th century were offered to the same gods or in the same sanctuaries as were the earlier dedications of arms and armor.

As noted in the epigraphical commentary on line 5, it is uncertain whether the third letter from the right in Axos 6 is mu or nu. Both are possible epigraphically and both yield Greek (τὸ μὲν δέκατον, τὸν ἐνδέκατον). The former is preferable here, both because of the occurrence of δέκατον in the preceding line and because of the difficulty in identifying what “eleventh” might refer to in the context of war and booty. The masculine form of the ordinal rules out terms for booty, which are either feminine or neuter, as well as the neuter μέρος (i.e., the 11th share). An accusative of time—for example, τὸν ἐνδέκατον (μῆνα) “during the 11th month”—on the other hand, cannot be ruled out.

Both the punctuation and the preferred reading with the postpositive μέν indicate that the phrase τὸ μὲν δέκατον (line 5) stands at the beginning of a new sentence; [- -]εν τὰ θίνα (line 6) comes at the end of one.<sup>104</sup> Although it is not possible to determine if they belong to the same sentence, the repetition of *dekaton* in lines 4 and 5 indicates that the new sentence that begins in line 5 concerned the same or similar matters as the provision in lines 3–5. Mention of τὰ θίνα (“the sacred things”) would certainly not

100. Hoffmann 1972, pp. 41–46.

101. Prent (2005, pp. 493–495, 498) identifies the lower temple at Axos as a major community (suburban) sanctuary that served as a locus for socially integrative rituals. The building complex at Aphrati, in contrast, she associates with several urban hearth temples (pp. 428–429) where ritual dining and sacrifice by “an elite of established male citizens” served to distinguish this group from others in the community (see pp. 453–456, with quotation on p. 498).

102. Kotsonas (2002) identifies this

change in dedicatory habits as one of several late-7th–early-6th-century discontinuities that reflect a period of transition associated with the emergence of the polis in central Crete.

103. Failure to recognize the material record of 6th- and 5th-century Crete has contributed to the long-held view that settlement on the island experienced a severe recession during the Late Archaic and Classical periods. For a statement of the problem, see Perlman 2004b, p. 1149. For much of Crete this so-called gap is now clos-

ing, thanks in large part to the work of Brice Erickson (forthcoming), who has established for several Cretan communities local ceramic sequences spanning the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. Furthermore, Bile (1988, pp. 35–36, nos. 15–25) dates the inscriptions on the Aphrati armor to the 5th century. There may not be, then, such a large gap between the falling off of the dedication of armor and the epigraphic evidence from Aphrati for the public dedication of booty (arrows).

104. See above, p. 91.

be out of place in the context of the dedication of booty. The term τὰ θίνα occurs in two other laws from Axos. The earlier of these (Table 1, no. 2) was probably inscribed on the same wall as the “new” inscription, but not enough survives of the text to determine what, exactly, the regulation concerned.<sup>105</sup> The other, a poorly preserved law of the late 4th–early 3rd century B.C., appears to regulate ritual practice (*SEG* XXIII 566). The term θίνα occurs twice in this later law (lines 6–7 and 10–11), in both cases in close association with πάματα τὰ δοθέντα (“cattle that have been offered”).<sup>106</sup> Citizen women (ἄσται) are mentioned together with noncitizen women at the end of line 7 in a provision that has something to do with (Apollo) Pythios, or with a sanctuary or festival named for him.<sup>107</sup> The *kosmos* and *apokosmos* were responsible for providing the cattle (lines 13–14); the consequences of their failure to do so were spelled out (lines 13–19). Giacomo Manganaro identified nine instances of scribal error in this one inscription and adduced grammatical peculiarities (sudden changes of person, use of moods) in claiming that the inscription is a copy of an earlier law.<sup>108</sup> Although it does not appear to have anything to do with war or its profits, the parallels with the “new” inscription from Axos are intriguing: citizen women and *kosmoi* are mentioned in close succession in provisions regulating τὰ θίνα. This is particularly true if the law is a republication of an earlier, possibly Archaic one.

#### LINES 6–7: WOMEN, WAR, AND RITUAL

Citizen women are the subject of the protasis of a conditional sentence in line 6 of the “new” inscription. The term ἄσται is not attested elsewhere in the Archaic and Classical inscriptions from Crete. The phrase φαστία δίκαια (“citizen’s trial”) occurs in two early laws from Gortyn (*IC* IV 13g–i, line 2; 64, line 4), but the noun does not appear again until the Hellenistic period when, in addition to the law from Axos (*SEG* XXIII 566), it is found in funerary epigrams in expressions of the sadness felt by the community of citizens (and noncitizens) at the death of one of its own.<sup>109</sup> The adverbial clause ἡ ἄλοιτο (“after it was seized”) embedded in the protasis permits the conclusion that warfare and booty continue to be the focus of the regulation.<sup>110</sup> The subject of the verb in the adverbial clause does not

105. Table 1, no. 2, line 4: [- - -]μεν τὰ θίνα καὶ ἰ[- - -]. It is worth observing that an infinitive may have preceded τὰ θίνα here, as well as in line 6 of the “new” inscription.

106. *SEG* XXIII 566, lines 6–7 (confirmed by autopsy): [πά]ματα θίνα τὰ ἐξ ἀπαρχῶς δοθέντα[α - - - - - κσέ]-νας ἡ ἄσταις τῷ Πυτίῳ; lines 10–11 (text of Sokolowski 1969, p. 245): θίνα <τα> τ’ ἀρχαῖα [ῶ]τ(τ)α [τε] θείη (ι)γ πάματα τὰ δοθέντα.

107. It appears that at least 10 letters are lost in line 7 between the reference to the sacred cattle and the mention of noncitizen and citizen women; it is not possible to conclude that the cattle and the women occur

together in the same provision. Cf. *SEG* XXIII 566: . . . δοθέντα[α· μηδὲ ἔρπεν χσέ]νας ἡ ἄσταις τῷ Πυτίῳ. For the meaning of *xenas* (noncitizen rather than foreigner), see Perlman 2004c, pp. 109–118. There may be a reference to a male citizen in line 8: [- - - τὸν] ἄστών.

108. Manganaro 1966, p. 15; Sokolowski (1969, p. 246) agreed with the conclusion, but provided no argument for it. Cf. van Effenterre (1989, pp. 3, 5–7), who implied that the so-called scribal errors may in fact be editorial errors.

109. E.g., *IC* II vi 10; *IC* II xxi 2. Personal names with Ἀστυ- are fairly common on Crete, but again only in

the Hellenistic period. See *LGPV*, s.v. Ἀστυάναξ, Ἀστυδάμας, Ἀστυδίκος, Ἀστυνόμος, Ἀστυῶχος.

110. Cf. the provision concerning the division of booty in the agreement between Hierapytna and Rhodes (*IC* III 3 A, lines 56–58, late 3rd century B.C.): καὶ τοὶ μὲν λαοὶ τοὶ ἀλίσκόμενοι καὶ τὰ πλοῖα αὐτῶν παραδιδόσθω Ῥοδίοις, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἔστω τὸ μέρος ἐκάστωι τῶν συναγωνιζαμένων (“Both the brigands who have been captured and their ships shall be handed over to the Rhodians; each of those who participated in the battle shall have a share of everything else”).

appear to have been stated; but the singular form of the verb seems to rule out the citizen women as the subject, and so the possibility that the provision concerned women who had been captured in battle. One of the neuter plural terms for property seized in war (e.g., δέκατα, σκῦλα, λάφυρα), on the other hand, would be possible.<sup>111</sup>

If the clause is temporal, as the use of the optative suggests, the provision focuses on the order of events; that is, the activities of the citizen women were regulated in relation to another event. What, exactly, they were called upon to do (or prohibited from doing?) has been lost to us. If the adverbial clause refers to the capture of spoils or booty, the citizen women of Axos may have participated in its distribution to, for example, the citizen households of Axos, to the gods, or to the *andreia*.<sup>112</sup>

Neither is it possible to make any claims about the role of the *kosmos* mentioned in line 7. Officials with this title are widely attested in the inscribed laws of Archaic Crete; the duties of the *kosmos* appear to have been largely executive, as is the case in *IC II v 9*, an early law from Axos that mentions this official.<sup>113</sup> The verb of the protasis (that is, the action of the citizen women) should be found in line 7.<sup>114</sup> The *kosmos* could be the subject of the apodosis, or the subject of another hypothetical clause introduced by αἰ, that is, “If the citizen women do something after the booty has been seized, if the *kosmos* does/does not do something, then. . . .”<sup>115</sup>

The mention of women and warfare in a public inscription from Archaic Crete should not surprise us, particularly when, as here, the text seems to concern rituals attendant to war.<sup>116</sup> Female deities presided over several of the sanctuaries where arms and armor were dedicated during the Iron Age and later periods. The so-called lower sanctuary at Axos was probably one of these; in addition to the deposits of bronze arms and armor discussed above, a great number of predominantly female terracotta figures (figurines and plaques) of several different types (seated/standing,

111. See Pritchett 1974–1991, vol. 1, pp. 54–58, and vol. 5, pp. 73–152, for the terms used for spoils and for booty.

112. The term *andreion* (in the singular) occurs in one of the epichoric inscriptions from Axos (Table 1, no. 1, lines 8, 14?, and 15). The final reference shows that communal dining took place there (lines 14–15): τὸν δ’ ἄλλον πάντων ἀτέλειαν καὶ τροπὰν ἰν ἀντρηῖοι (“But [they shall be] exempt from all other taxes and [shall receive] rations in the *andreion*”). Dosiadas (*FGrH* 458 F2) reports that at Lyktos a woman (γυνή) was put in charge (τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχει) of each of the *sysitia*; she was assigned the task of selecting the best of the table’s offerings for men distinguished either in battle or for their intelligence. The

public role assigned to the presumably citizen women in distributing something (in this case, food to those deemed most worthy) is interesting, but the historical value of this passage for Archaic Lyktos, let alone Archaic Axos, is questionable. See Perlman 2005, pp. 309–311 and *passim*.

113. Table 1, no. 9, lines 9–10: αἰ δ’ ὁ κοσμίον μὴ ἀποδοίῃ τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα φύσανς τιτυφέσθο (if the *kosmos* does not collect and deposit with the *polis* the fine assessed against the defendant who has been found guilty, the *kosmos* himself shall pay the fine). The famous 7th-century B.C. law from Dreros concerning the *kosmos* (*SEG* XXVII 620) suggests that there, at least, the *kosmos* adjudicated disputes (ὅτε δικακσίε [accent uncertain], “whenever he gives judgment”), as well as exercising other

functions (κότι κοσμησίε [accent uncertain], “and whatever he does as *kosmos*”).

114. Without the particle κα the verb should be in the optative or perhaps indicative. For the modal use of the indicative, see Bile 1988, pp. 253–254. The former is preferable in light of the optative in the adverbial clause.

115. For a construction similar to the one proposed here, see, e.g., Table 1, no. 1, lines 4–5: αἰ δ’ ἐπέλθοιεν ἰν ταῖσι πέντε, αἰ μὴ λείοι[εν - -] (“But if they come forward [lodge a complaint?] within five [days], if they do not want [- - -, then - - -]”).

116. Cf. Graf (1984), who denies women a role in the rituals connected with warfare, arguing instead that rituals that suggest their participation in warfare are rituals of inversion.



clothed/naked) were discovered in four deposits in its vicinity.<sup>117</sup> The terracotta figures were dedicated over a much longer period of time than were the bronzes, beginning perhaps as early as the 9th century and continuing on into the Hellenistic period. They suggest that the patron deity of the sanctuary was female. She has been identified as Astarte-Aphrodite, Artemis, or Athena,<sup>118</sup> and it is assumed that the worshippers who gave these gifts were women.

The terracotta figures from Axos make no overt references to the martial function of the goddess, and so it cannot be claimed that the worshippers who dedicated them did so with this function of the goddess in mind.<sup>119</sup> Similar 7th-century votive types (terracotta figurines and plaques of seated/standing and clothed/naked females) were discovered at Gortyn in the terraced area on the steep southeastern slope of Ayios Ioannis and in the vicinity of the early (7th century B.C.?) cult building located above on the summit of the acropolis.<sup>120</sup> Bronze votives were also found on the summit and the terraced area below: a life-size mitra as well as miniature armor in bronze and clay (mitrai, corselets, greaves, and shields).<sup>121</sup> The martial aspect of the cult at Gortyn was reflected not only in the bronze and clay votives of weapons and armor, but also in the terracotta figures

117. For the terracotta votives from Axos, see Rizza 1967–1968. The other sanctuaries with female deities and votive arms and armor are the sanctuary (temple and terraced platform) on Ayios Ioannis at Gortyn, the temple at the southwestern edge of the palace at Phaistos, and the shrine at Vrysses. For the cult at Gortyn, see below. Pernier (1910) identified Magna Mater as the patron deity of the late-7th-century B.C. temple at Phaistos; Cucuzza (1993), however, attributes the temple and cult to Leto. Fragments of bronze shields and vessels dating to the 9th–7th centuries were found beneath the pavement of the pronaos of the Hellenistic successor to the late-7th-century temple. The association of this material with the 7th-century and later cult of the goddess is not certain. Cucuzza (1993, pp. 21–22) suggests that the material came from a foundation deposit. Sporn (2002, pp. 281–282) identifies Demeter as the patron of the Late Classical shrine at Vrysses where votive arrow- and spearheads were discovered.

Mention should also be made of the cave sanctuary on Mt. Ida (for the worship of a female deity there, see above, p. 93) and the cult on Altar Hill at Praisos, where votive arms and armor

were found in some abundance. Bosanquet (1939–1940, pp. 65–66) identified Dictaean Zeus as the patron deity of the cult there, but among the terracotta votives were female figurines, some early but most 6th century and later; see Prent 2005, pp. 304–306. Finally, the patron deity of the 7th-century Temple A at Prinias has been identified as a goddess on the basis of the architectural sculpture from the building. Very little votive material was found in association with the structure, but the iconography of the sculpture suggests a strong martial element to her cult. Pernier (1914) identified her as Rhea; Marinatos (2000, pp. 67–78, 89) hesitates to identify her with any of the canonical Greek goddesses.

118. Astarte-Aphrodite: Levi 1930–1931, p. 50; Artemis: *RE* XVII.2, 1937, col. 1689, s.v. Oaxos (E. Kirsten). Hoffmann (1972, pp. 16, 35–37) implies that the goddess was Athena. Rizza (1967–1968, p. 293) hesitates to identify the deity, suggesting instead that an undifferentiated (i.e., eastern? pre-Greek?) goddess of sexuality, fertility, and war took on a more canonical Greek form in the Classical period.

119. The Axos terracottas include one head of a male warrior (Rizza 1967–1968, p. 220, no. 31).

120. Rizza and Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, pp. 160–188, nos. 53–266, pp. 213–245; Cassimatis (1982) provides a detailed discussion of the 7th-century (Daedalic) figurines of standing (clothed and naked) females. For preliminary reports of the excavations on Ayios Ioannis conducted by the Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene (1954–1957), see Levi 1955–1956, 1956; for the final publication of the material, see Rizza and Santa Maria Scrinari 1968; Johannowsky 2002. The Scuola Italiana renewed exploration on the acropolis in 2002. Bejor (2003) reports on the initial campaign. D'Acunto (2002) presents a new interpretation of the acropolis cult (chronology of the sanctuary on the summit and of the terraced area, plan of the cult building on the summit, function of the terraced area, relationship between the sanctuary on the summit and the terraced area below, and the identity of the deity). See also Prent 2005, pp. 267–273.

121. Levi 1955–1956, pp. 227–228, 260–262; Johannowsky 2002, p. 75, nos. 508–510, pp. 78–80, nos. 551–601. Marginesu (2003) publishes a miniature clay shield with a dedicatory inscription.



of male warriors and armed females that appear, albeit in much smaller numbers, together with the other 7th-century terracotta votive types.<sup>122</sup> The cult seems to have fallen out of favor during the 6th and 5th centuries B.C.<sup>123</sup> When activity resumed there in the 4th century, there is little question that Athena was the patron deity.<sup>124</sup> It is not possible to determine if this was the case before then.<sup>125</sup>

Other types are prominent in the 7th-century votive assemblage of the cult on Ayios Ioannis (cult building and terraced area): *kernoi*, representations of animals and hybrid creatures (horses, lions, sphinxes, griffins, gorgons), and images of the mistress and the master of animals.<sup>126</sup> In a recent study, Nanno Marinatos distinguishes two types of female deities common to 7th-century Crete and the Greek mainland: an Aegean vegetation goddess with upraised arms, and an eastern (North Syrian and Levantine) goddess who was patron of the male warrior elite.<sup>127</sup> Marinatos identifies both the seated/standing, clothed/naked female figures and the mistress of animals with this eastern goddess, for whom nudity and female sexuality were not associated with fertility, but rather with danger, male authority, and warrior ideology.<sup>128</sup>

Indeed, the iconographic repertoire of the decorated bronze armor from Crete (snake daemons, a "warrior goddess" on a mitra of uncertain provenance, and the goddess rising(?) from the tripod cauldron on the mitra from Axos) has long been recognized as evidence that a female deity served as the patron of aristocratic warriors on Crete.<sup>129</sup> Marinatos recognizes this goddess as the patron of the acropolis cult at Gortyn, preferring not to identify the 7th-century deity as Athena or another of the canonical Greek goddesses.<sup>130</sup> The presence of *kernoi*, the votive type most clearly associated with cults of agricultural fertility, in the votive assemblage from the acropolis suggests that the function of the goddess worshipped there was not as divorced from rituals of fertility as Marinatos suggests, or at least that

122. Levi 1955–1956, pp. 260–266; 1956; Rizza and Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, pp. 249–250, 252–253.

123. Perlman 2000, p. 60. Cf. D'Acunto 2002, esp. pp. 212–214, who argues that worship continued at the sanctuary on the summit throughout the Archaic and Classical periods; only the terraced area on the southeastern slope of the acropolis was abandoned as a repository for votives during the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. Bejor (2003) describes the foundations of a substantial building (a temple?) to the east of the 7th-century cult building on the acropolis; he refers to it as "Classical" in the heading "Strutture del Periodo Classico" (p. 831), but as an Archaic (7th-century?) foundation (p. 832) that may have continued in use through the 4th century B.C.

124. For the evidence (Late Classical and Hellenistic terracotta figurines

of armed Athena), see Rizza and Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, pp. 193–197, nos. 324–352; pp. 249–250.

125. Levi (1956, pp. 306–310), D'Acunto (2002, pp. 215–217), and Johannowsky (2002, pp. 108–116) identify Athena as the patron deity of the cult already in the 7th century. A 5th-century law naming Athena as an oath god provides the earliest secure evidence for her worship at Gortyn (*IC IV 51*, ca. 500–450 B.C.), but if her mention in the oath does imply a specific cult, there is no reason to associate it with the sanctuary on the acropolis.

126. *Kernoi*: Johannowsky 2002, pp. 22–39; animals and hybrid creatures: Rizza and Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, pp. 257–265; mistress and master of animals: Rizza and Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, pp. 254–256. D'Acunto (2002, pp. 219–221) argues that these votive types are consistent with types

discovered at other Athena sanctuaries (e.g., the cults of Athena at Lindos and [Athena] Aphaia on Aigina), and so can all be associated with an early, polysemic version of the goddess.

127. Marinatos 2000.

128. Marinatos 2000, pp. 27–31; cf. Cassimatis 1982. MacLachlan (1995) discerns a similar connection between female sexuality and war in the cult of Aphrodite at Lokri. The dedicatory inscriptions on two helmets from Lokri (ca. 500–480 B.C.) identify them as the private gifts of two men to Persephone (*IG XIV 631*; *IGASM V 49*).

129. Hoffmann 1972, pp. 34–40; Prent 2005, pp. 387–388. For the mitra with the "warrior goddess," see Hoffmann 1972, pp. 25–26, pls. 46:1 and 47:1; for the mitra from Axos, see above, n. 38.

130. Marinatos 2000, pp. 27–31, 78–83, 89–91.

more than one deity was worshipped on the acropolis. But if she is right about the function of the goddess to whom the seated/standing, clothed/naked figures were dedicated, the implications for the cult at Axos and for the "new" inscription are significant.

It has been assumed that two different groups operating in different ritual contexts were responsible for offering the two different categories of votive associated with the lower sanctuary at Axos (the bronze arms/armor and the terracotta figures). Elite adult males offered the goddess bronze arms and armor in a ritual associated with adult male authority and warfare;<sup>131</sup> women, most likely unmarried adolescent women, offered her terracotta figures emphasizing female sexuality, possibly in a ritual associated with their coming of age.<sup>132</sup> It is difficult to imagine either that women offered the arms and armor or that men dedicated the female figures. Yet, the provision in the "new" inscription that mentions citizen women in the context of the disposition of the booty or spoils of war and the interpretation of the goddess of the seated/standing, clothed/naked figures primarily as a patron of warriors and source of male authority suggest that the female worshippers of the female deity played a role in perpetuating one of the mainstays of male authority, not to mention of the survival of the community—namely, success in battle.<sup>133</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

Without forcing major changes in the texts recorded in the drawings of Haussoullier, Halbherr, Guarducci, and Jeffery, we can "join" the right edge of Axos 6 and the left edge of Axos 5 to produce a new, albeit incomplete, document of early Axos. The "new" inscription begins with a provision concerning offerings, perhaps animal sacrifice, to Poseidon and possibly to Zeus, the latter indicated by the reference to the god's cave sanctuary on Mt. Ida. The remainder of the text seems to concern the disposition of property seized in battle. I have suggested that the inscription treats goods that have been taken to Axos (line 3) and two or more *dekata* (shares of the booty or sacred tithes), from one of which a weapon (a *wien* or a spear) is singled out for special handling of some kind. The mention of "the sacred things" in line 6 may indicate that *dekaton* here refers to the sacred tithe or *dekate*, although it is not certain that the *dekaton* in line 5 belongs to the same provision. The text provides for repeated action in the future, probably by officials of the state (line 5), and for action that takes place after the battle, perhaps involving citizen women (lines 6–7). The *kosmos*, the most widely attested official on Crete, is mentioned, but the context is not retrievable.

131. Prent (2005, p. 494) associates the full-scale arms and armor from Axos with adult warriors. Marinatos (2000, pp. 73–74) similarly identifies the mounted warriors of the Horsemen Frieze from Temple A at Prinias as adults rather than youths (ephebes).

132. Prent (2005, p. 494) adduces

the emphasis on female sexuality and the absence of votive types that imply human (e.g., kourotrophic figures) or agricultural (e.g., *kernoi*) fertility in suggesting that the dedicators were adolescent women (*parthenoi*).

133. Marinatos (2000) stresses the association of the "eastern" goddess

with male worshippers, but notes (p. 75) that women most surely participated in the rites celebrated at Prinias (Temple A), where the "eastern" goddess was patron, performing auxiliary roles in temple maintenance and offering other types of votives (e.g., textiles).

Provisions concerning the distribution of booty seized in war occur in several Hellenistic alliances of the Cretan poleis, but are so far attested in only one earlier inscription, the mid-5th-century agreement of Knossos, Tylisos, and Argos. This inscription, with its references both to the distribution of booty, including the disposition of the *dekate* or sacred tithe, and to animal sacrifice, including one made by priests of the Knosioi to Poseidon on Mt. Iutos, provides the closest parallels for the “new” inscription from Axos. The reference in the “new” inscription to 10(?) portions of booty or to two or more sacred tithes may suggest that the provision concerns two or more communities. If so, the “new” inscription might well preserve part of an alliance, as Guarducci already proposed for Axos 6.<sup>134</sup> If this is indeed the case, it is one of the earliest interstate agreements from Crete, if not the earliest.<sup>135</sup> In the absence of other firm evidence for the worship of Poseidon at Axos, it is tempting to suggest that the “new” inscription records an alliance between Axos and Knossos, requiring that each of the treaty partners sacrifice to the god of the local extraurban sanctuary—the Axioi to Zeus on Ida, and the Knosioi to Poseidon on Iutos—and that the gods should receive a sacred tithe of the booty.<sup>136</sup> In any event, we find here the first reference from Axos to the sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Ida and the earliest reference from Crete to the cult of Zeus Idaios.

The historical implications of a late-6th-century alliance between Axos and Knossos are of great interest and are worth exploring briefly, though I acknowledge that the identification of the “new” inscription as an alliance, let alone an alliance between these two communities, is very far from secure. The material record of ancient Knossos presents a strong case for continuity of settlement in the vicinity of the Bronze Age palace from at least Minoan times through the third quarter of the 7th century (ca. 630 B.C.), and then, after a nearly complete break in the archaeological record, from the final quarter of the 6th century (ca. 525 B.C.) through the establishment at Knossos of the Roman colony Julia Nobilis toward the end of the 1st century A.D.<sup>137</sup> Various explanations for this gap in the material record of Knossos, ranging from climatic crisis to attack by one of Knossos’s neighbors, have been offered.<sup>138</sup> What interests

134. *IC II*, p. 55.

135. Apart from the mid-5th-century agreement of Knossos, Tylisos, and Argos (ML 42), there are two early interstate agreements: *IC IV 63* (Gortyn and Leben, 6th–5th century B.C.) and *IC IV 80* (Gortyn and the Rhittenioi, 5th century B.C.). Jeffery (*LSAG*, p. 315, nos. 3 and 8) dated *IC IV 63* to ca. 525–500 B.C. and *IC IV 80* to ca. 450–400 B.C. For the dependent status of Leben and Rhitten (deduced from the ethnic Rhittenioi), see Perlman 1996. As noted above, Tylisos appears to have been subordinate to Knossos.

136. This would suggest that the function of extraurban sanctuaries as Early Iron Age loci of (inter)regional

elite-networking independent of state affiliation had shifted somewhat, as nearby communities asserted their authority over the cults.

137. For the continuous occupation of Knossos during the Late Bronze and Dark Ages, see Coldstream 1991. Coldstream and Huxley (1999) summarize the evidence for the gap. Most noteworthy has been the absence of burials dating to the gap. Coldstream and Catling (1996, vol. 2, p. 722) noted fragments of Late Archaic and Classical pithos sherds in the disturbed soil above the North Cemetery. These may have come from pithos burials, but the authors observe that they are “more appropriate in a domestic . . . context”

and may have been dumped from elsewhere. For the Colonia Julia Nobilis, see Paton 1994.

138. For surveys of the explanations that have been proposed, see Coldstream and Huxley 1999, pp. 303–304; Erickson (forthcoming). All prefer a military explanation; Coldstream and Huxley suggest that Lyktos attacked and laid waste to Knossos; Erickson suggests instead that Gortyn was the culprit. According to Strabo (10.4.7), in the time of Homer and for a long while thereafter Knossos was the most illustrious polis on Crete. Knossos later lost its leading position to Gortyn and Lyktos, but managed to recover its former status as the metropolis of Crete.

us here is the evidence for renewed activity at Knossos not more than a generation before the enactment of the “new” inscription from Axos. Axos was the nearest major polis to the west of Knossos. Two smaller states, Tylisos and Apellonia, the latter located at modern Ayia Pelagia on the coast due north of Tylisos, lay between them.<sup>139</sup> A military alliance between Axos and Knossos might be read in the context of the territorial consolidation of larger states at the expense of smaller ones, a phenomenon that has been observed elsewhere on the island during the Late Archaic period.<sup>140</sup> At the very least, if the “new” inscription does preserve part of an alliance between Axos and Knossos, it would be important early evidence for the revival of Knossos as a political community following the 6th-century gap.<sup>141</sup>

Even if it is more prudent to read the “new” inscription as a law, rather than an interstate agreement, the evidence it provides for the participation of citizen women in the rituals attendant to war is of great interest. Scholars have long noted the connection between female deities and warriors attested by the Iron Age and Early Archaic votive assemblages from several Cretan sanctuaries. The coincidence of votives of female figures, and in the case of Gortyn of armed and armored ones, at many of these same sanctuaries has occasioned comment, but no direct connection has been suggested between the female worshippers who are assumed to have dedicated these figures and the martial interests of the deities to whom they were offered. If the interpretation of the provision concerning the citizen women proposed here is correct, and they were in some way involved in the disposition of property seized in battle, the “new” inscription may provide a more direct link between the warrior function of the female deity and her female worshippers than has previously been proposed.

The nexus of citizen women and war may be explained in different ways—for example, as a consequence of their function as producers of warriors, or as an expression of the economic equation of human and natural fertility with other kinds of production (including war and trade) that is attested on Crete in the famous “Hymn to the Greatest Kouros” from Palaikastro and in oaths from Crete and elsewhere in Greece.<sup>142</sup> The explicit restriction of the women to those of a particular political status, namely citizens, in the “new” inscription should be viewed along with the public regulation of the dedication of arms as a sign of the political self-consciousness and cohesion of the state.

139. The border of Knossos and Tylisos is described in the mid-5th-century agreement of Knossos, Tylisos, and Argos (ML 42B, lines 26–29): ὅροι τᾶς γᾶς· ἡνὸν ὄρος καὶ Αἰετοὶ κάρτα-μίτιον καὶ τὸ τὸ Ἀρχὸ τέμενος κα[ὶ] ἡ ποταμὸς κέλ Λευκόπορον καγάθοια, ἡδὲ ἡδὸρ ρεῖ τῶμβριον, καὶ Λᾶος (“The borders of the land [are]: Swine Mountain and Eagles and the Artemision and the precinct of Archos and the river and to Leukoporos and Agathoia,

following the course of the rainwater, and Laos”). If the river is the modern Platyperama, the territory of Knossos reached the north coast between Herakleion and Apellonia. Knossos and Axos may have shared a border further to the south.

140. Van Effenterre (1991) identifies the Archaic period as a time of territorial and political reconfiguration; some settlements expanded their territorial and political control at the ex-

pense of others. The latter were either abandoned (e.g., Prinias, Azoria), or survived as second-order settlements. For this process in the central Mesara, see Perlman 1996, pp. 258–270.

141. *IC* I viii 2 preserves a small fragment of an Archaic law from Knossos.

142. *IC* III ii 2. Elsewhere I have compared the language of the hymn with that of oaths (Perlman 1995).

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