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

(Piates 27, 28)

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

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

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

Works frequently cited are abbreviated as follows:

Barkowski = O. Barkowski, RE II A.2, 1923, cols. 2242–2264, s.v. Sieben Weise
Buck, Greek Dialects = C. D. Buck, The Greek Dialects, Chicago 1955
Kaibel = G. Kaibel, Epigrammata graeca, Frankfurt 1879, repr. Hildesheim 1965
Lattimore, Themes = R. Lattimore, Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs, Urbana 1962
Peek, GV I = W. Peek, Griechische Vers-Inschriften, I, Grab-Epigramme, Berlin 1955

2 See Guarducci, IC I 16.praef.; Van Effenterre and Bougrat, pp. 49–52.
3 Alexiou, dated 1st century, and naming Hylas son of Euagoros and Timolas son of Lattygos.
Fig. 1. Region of Lato (van Effenterre and Bougrat, pl. 1)
a cemetery of Hellenistic and Roman times; the Roman part of the graveyard included five tile graves.\(^4\) The inscriptions presented below are funerary and could well be from the Hellenistic cemetery, despite the fact that it lies 3 meters below ground level and 20 meters from the findspot of the inscriptions. They could, however, be from a family or clan burial area near the Hellenistic cemetery, since the Potamos inscription recorded by Alexiou in 1968 names an individual, Euagoros, who is very probably related to the man of that name in the second 1983 inscription. Regardless of whether the two monuments are from the Hellenistic cemetery, as circumstantial evidence would strongly suggest, or from some other funerary or commemorative location, their chance discovery has yielded two new funerary inscriptions, both from Lato pros Kamara and both in elegiac couplets, new members of the Cretan corpus of epigrammata. Lato and Lato pros Kamara have yielded five of the roughly 46 epigrams known thus far from the island. With this publication seven epigrams can be attributed to this pair of cities, a number equaled only by Itanos.\(^5\)

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

\(^5\) See Guarducci, IC I 5.40, 41, 42 (Arkades); 8.33, 34 (Knossos); 16.7, 48, 50, 53 (Lato and Lato pros Kamara); 17.177, 178 (Lyttos); 22.58, 59 (Olous); 27.2 (Rhaukos). IC II 5.49, 50, 51 (Axos); 6.10
1 (Pl. 27)

Gray-blue block of equal width and depth, most likely of the hard local limestone used in most inscriptions from Lato and its environs and particularly in the magistral inscriptions of Lato (lapis calcarius subcaeruleus, sidero petra).  
H. 0.62 m., W. 0.38 m., Th. 0.38 m.  
An inscription of fifteen lines begins 0.07 m. from the top of the stone and ends 0.24 m. from the bottom, producing a field 0.31 m. high; the inscription runs from the left to the right edge, line 14 and apparently line 5 running off the stone at the right. The surface clearly preserves the claw marks which distinguish the lower, undressed part of the stone, some 0.215 m. of which was apparently intended to be below ground.  
L.H.: Line 1, 0.04 m.; lines 2-3, 0.035 m.; lines 4-15, uniformly 0.01 m. Letters are clean, regular, carefully incised with apices.

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

Κλητώνυμος
Μναστοκλέος
χαίρε
εἰ Λύνδος Κλεόβ[ο]νον έθρέψατο Σιον[φί]δων δὲ
χθῶν [Π]η[ρί]αίρων, ἀκρους ἐπτὰ σοφῶν κανύν[ας],
οὐ μέγας κάματος γάρ ἐνέγκατο τόνδ[έ] σοφιστήν
ἐ[π]δοο [ἐ]μ[α][θοῦς κό[ρα]νον ἵστορίης,
πιστῶν ἐρ[ε]σμα νόνων Κλητώνυμον αἰνετὸν νίὰ
oυ γάρ [όνυ] ἠρως ἐν γηραι βίον ὡς δὲ τις ἀστὴρ
λάμψας ἐσβέσθη δαίμονος ἀκρισίαις
πατρίδα ῥύμενον βουλαίς· ἁγαθὴ δὲ προνοια
οἰκονόμοι δοξής κίονες ἐκράτεσαν.
τρισσοῦν γάρ λίπη παιδᾶς ἐοῦς. ἀρετῆ δὲ τὰ τῶ[ν]τῶ[ν]]

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

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

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

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

Line 8. The restoration επ[εσ]μαδευσιν best fits both the context and the physical space where traces of EP are followed by 2 or 3 letter spaces, then traces of μ and a clear alpha.

Line 10. The particle ἐφ'νυ best fills the three letter spaces that are completely illegible after ἐφ' γάρ.

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

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

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

Αὐνὸς Κλεόβολος ἔθεψα (line 4). See Barkowski on the Sieben Weise, one of whom was Kleoboulos of Lindos.

Σινὺ[φί]δων δὲ χθῶν [Π]ε[βίσ]ιν (lines 4–5). Σινυφίδαι was one of a small number of patronymic adjectives formed from the name of Sisyphos, in his role as founder of
Corinth. The adjective was used to denote Corinthians of various chronological periods, including that of the Kypselid tyranny (Roscher IV, p. 966 [Wilisch], citing Athanadas in Antoninus Liberalis, 4). Adjectives such as Σιωνφίη, modifying γάια or χθόν, could be used to denote the city of Corinth (ibid.; cf. SEG XXIX, 308, Σιωνφίη <χθόν> = SEG XXXI, 291, [γάια] Σιωνφίη). Periander of Corinth was another of the Seven Sages of the Greek world, but far more controversial than Kleoboulos. Periander was admitted to or omitted from the canon, depending on the political attitude of a given writer or on a desire to enroll someone entirely new in this august body. See Barkowski (cols. 2243–2244) on the inclusion or exclusion of Periander from the canonical seven.


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

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

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

δ[γ]δον [ἐ]μαθῶς κούρανον ἱστορίης (line 7). See Barkowski, col. 2247, for other attempts to add an eighth to the Seven Sages: Kallimachos, fr. 307 Schn., ἐπτά σοφοί χαίροντε τὸν ὄγδοον ὤστε Κόροιβον; Horace, Sat. ii.3.296, haec mihi Stertinus, sapientium octavos, arma dedit; Ausonius, xviii.26, mercator: septemuiros octavus accessit sophos. Compare, without the number eight, the phrase εἰς μετὰ τῶν σοφῶν cited above (Lattimore,
For Kleonymos as the “learned master of historical inquiry”, cf. Kaibel, *praef.* no. 877b, in which a Pergamene is saluted as *θείας κοιράνον ἱστορίας*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

δάιμονος ἄκρισιας πατρίδα ῥυμένης βουλαίς (lines 11–12). Cf. Peek, GV I, pp. 385– 
386, no. 1298 for ἄκρισια δὲ Τύχης. For πατρίδα ῥυμένης see LSJ, s.v. ἔρυω (B), citing 
Aeschylus, Eleg. 3; Peek, GV I, p. 31, no. 100, πατρίδα ῥυσάμενος, and pp. 441–442, 
no. 1486, πάτην ῥυμένην.

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

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

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

τρίσγονος γὰρ λίπε παιδὰς ἐοὺς (line 14). The link between Kletonymos, his repu-
tation, and the oikonomoi is clarified in this line, where the γὰρ suggests that the oikonomoi 
were actually Kletonymos’ own three sons. The three Kletonymidai thus provided continu-
ity in the government of Lato, as well as continuity of the family line.

τὰ το[ύ][ρ][ν] τείμα (lines 14–15). See Buck, Greek Dialects, p. 27, § 21 for τὰ 
τείμα = τὰ τίμα. See LSJ, s.v. τίμος for τὰ τίμα = αἱ τιμαί.

κῆν ’Αἴδαο δόμοις (line 15). See Iliad iii.322, etc., for ’Αἴδος δόμος; Iliad xxii.52, 
Odyssey iv.834 and Kaibel, no. 235 for εἶν ’Αἴδαο δόμοισι. See LSJ, s.v. καὶ for crasis
yielding such Doric forms as κυρό, κυθέτα which result from the combination of καί with ε; here καί followed by ἐν becomes κυρίν.

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

![Diagram](image)

**Fig. 3.** Sketch diagram showing dimensions of 2

2 (Pl. 28)

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

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

7 Compare monuments with the same components (base with rectangular or square cutting and stele to fit into it): IC I 16.11 from upper Lato, erected in honor of Thiodotos son of Lattygos; Alexiou, from Lato pros Kamara, which names Hylas son of Euagoras and Timolas son of Lattygos. See M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca* III, Rome 1974, pp. 185-186, for some of the possible objects to be mounted on such an inscribed base.
An inscription of nine lines begins 0.03 m. from the top of the stone and ends 0.11 m. from the bottom, producing a field 0.22 m. high. The lower part of the surface is badly weathered, but it is possible that the text ended with the last partially visible line. The lowest 0.09 m. of the block shows substantial flaking and may well have been below ground level. The inscription is effectively centered on the stone but appears to drift toward the left margin as lines progress: letters are 0.08 m. from the left margin in line 1, 0.075 m. in lines 2–3, 0.05 m. in lines 4–6, and 0.04 m. in lines 7–9.

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

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

\[\text{Θιόδωτος Θιοδό[ό]τω} \]
\[\text{Βιάννω Ειαγόρω} \]
\[\nuω \και \text{νήπιον} \]
\[\text{ευγενείαν κυδώνατα ἐπταετῆς βύ[ότο]ν} \]
\[\text{μοῦραν ἐλοντὲ ὀλο[ή]ρ στυγεροῦ δ᾽ ἐπὶ [πε]ρθὸς τ[ι]θ[έντα]} \]
\[\text{Μίνως παρθενοὶ ἀγναὶ. ΕΚΛ... ΑΝ} \]
\[\text{ΑΤΑ ταῦτα ΠΑΘ... ΗΤΟ... ΝΤ... ΜΕΝ} \]

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

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

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

\[\text{Θιόδωτος Θιοδό[ό]τω} \]
\[\text{Βιάννω Ειαγόρω} \]

(lines 1–2). This epigram to Thiodotos was apparently dedicated to a boy born into one of Lato’s better houses. The name Thiodotos appears among the aristocracy of Lato, as the name of the father of the *kosmos* Lamyros and also as the name of Lattygos’ son on a private funerary monument from upper Lato (*IC I* 16.25 and 11). Euagoros, in turn, is known as the name of the father of the *kosmos* Bergis (*IC I* 16.26 and 32) and also as the name of Hylas’ father (Alexiou). Iota before omicron, as in Thiodotos, is a normal feature of the Cretan dialect (see Buck, *Greek Dialects*, pp. 21–22, § 9). Likewise the genitive in -ω is a common formation (*ibid.*, p. 88, § 106; cf. pp. 28–29, § 25).
While the name Biannos is unusual to the point of anomaly, it is entirely plausible and best taken as the name of the younger Thiodotos' grandfather, that is, the father of the elder Thiodotos. Biannos appears to be a personal name containing the same base as the place name Biannos some 50 kilometers southwest of Lato. See A. Maiuri, "Studi sull'onomastica cretese," RendLinc 19, 1910, p. 347 and 20, 1911, pp. 645 and 656–658 for such personal names as Phaistionnas, Kydannos, and Pyleros, of which Kydannos and Pyleros are names attested at Lato (IC I 16.4, 26, and 32 for the former; 16.5 for the latter). Some names like Phaistionnas, Kydannos, Orthonnas, Monnas, and Biannos, which show stems ending in double consonants, reflect pre-Dorian patterns for forming personal and place names (Maiuri, RendLinc 19, 1910, p. 347 and 20, 1911, p. 656).

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

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

It is clear from the text which follows that a single young person was buried beneath this stone and that it was a male child (νήπιον, ιέα, line 4). Since the boy died at a young age (line 5) and his mother survived to grieve (line 7), Aristono is best identified as his mother. The name of the deceased can appear in the nominative as well as in the vocative with the formula χαίρε (M. Guarducci, Epigrafia greca I, Rome 1967, p. 150). What is unusual here is to have the name of the dedicator as well, also in the nominative. Αριστόνωι is perhaps best understood as the subject of an unexpressed λέγει, with the whole salutation thereby put into implied indirect discourse. By means of this construction, and the elaborate filiation, both dedicators, mother and father of the deceased Thiodotos, are effectively identified. Aristono was herself daughter of a Thiodotos, perhaps an heiress married
Names in brackets are supplied for prosopographical purposes; broken lines indicate proposed lines of descent. The family lines attested in 2 appear in italics.

**Fig. 4**

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

\[\text{āđe kēkevēθ [a]}'hθa kōνi} \text{ς (line 4). See Peek, GV I, p. 147, no. 601 for o} \text{νtos o} \text{_accessible tý} \text{p} \text{ōs; p. 125, no. 515, kōνi} \text{ς ἣδε . . . kēkevēν; p. 127, no. 521 and p. 199, no. 75 for āđe kēkevēθ kōνi} \text{ς.} \]

\[\text{vēa āδ[ē]a (line 4). See LSJ, s.v. vio} \text{ς, citing Euphorio and Arrian, Cyn. for the accusative form vī} \text{ēa, and IG IV}^2 \text{ 1, 244, line 4 for vēa; Homer is also cited for both vī} \text{ēa and vī} \text{a. See Buck, Greek Dialects, p. 32, § 31 on the omission of iota after upsilon and before a vowel. See LSJ, s.v. ēδǔs for the irregular accusative āđēa.} \]

\[\text{[tov] evγενέταν κυνάντα (lines 4–5). For evγενέτησ, which usually refers to parents or children, see particularly Peek, GV I, p. 202, no. 761, vια τον evγενέτην. For κυνάντα see LSJ, s.v. κυνή} \text{ς, -eσσα, -ev. The masculine accusative singular, to agree with [tov] evγενέταν, would be κυνή} \text{νeta, except in the Dorian dialect where it would be κυνάντα (cf. κυνάςσα in IG IV}^2 \text{ 1, 134, line 12; see H. W. Smyth, Greek Grammar, Cambridge, Mass. 1965, p. 80, § 299, note, for Doric -āς} = -āeis and -āντος} = -āevtos, as in φωνάντα [ = φωνάεντα].} \]
The love and grief of the elder Thiodotos and Aristono for their son shows through this collection of formulae, many in Dorian dialectical form (άδη, αὔτα, εὐγενέταν, κυνᾶντα) and perhaps chosen by the grieving parents themselves. The sheer number of affectionate terms is given special poignancy by the bald statement that little Thiodotos lived only seven years.

\[\muοίραν \ έλοντ' \ δλοήν \ (line \ 6)\]. See Peek, \(GV\) I, p. 273, no. 981 for \(έλονσα \ δέ \ Μοίρα\); p. 314, no. 1107 from Polyrhrenia, \(δόξαν \ έλ(ά)ν\). The formula \(μοίρα \ δλοή\) appears in Cretan inscriptions: \(IC\ IV.374\) from Gortyn; Peek, \(GV\) I, p. 116, no. 472 from Lyttos (cf. Peek, 1973–1974, p. 510); and Peek, \(GV\) I, p. 233, no. 853 from Lato itself.

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

\[\sigmaτυγχέρον \ δ' έπι \ [πέ]υθος\ \[\iota]\(\βέντα\] \ \[πατρί \ τε \ καὶ \ μελέαι \ μ[άτρι]\) (lines 6–7). For \(στυγχέρον \ πέυθος\) see Peek, \(GV\) I, p. 137, no. 561 and p. 180, no. 701. See also \(Iliad\ xvii.27\), \(τοκεσσί \ γόον\ \(καὶ \ \[πέυθος\ \)έθηκας\). We have here a case of tmesis where the prefix has been separated from its base by the object of the verb in the accusative case; the dative indirect object common with \(\epsilonπιτίθημι\) follows immediately. For the phrase \(πατρί \ τε \ καὶ \ μελέαι\ \μάτρι\), cf. Peek, \(GV\) I, p. 434, no. 1462, \(πέυθος \ πατρί \ λίπες\ \μητρί \ τε \ τή \ \)μελέαι\). This phrase confirms the interpretation presented above, that by manipulation of formulae the stone has been inscribed so as to show that Thiodotos senior and Aristono dedicated it to Thiodotos junior.

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

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

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

The text seems to have come to a striking conclusion, after what has thus far been a standard though affecting expression of grief over the loss of a dear child. It is possible that the final distich of this epigram claimed or asked heroic honors, extraordinary privileges, or special care for this boy in the afterlife. The role of Minos, and of the chaste maidens, however, has been obscured for eternity by the damage to this part of the stone, as has been the nature of “these things” (line 9).
\(\tau\alpha\nu\tau\alpha\ \Pi\Alpha\Theta\) (line 9). See Peek, *GV* I, pp. 340–341, no. 1166, \(\tau\alpha\nu\tau\ '\varepsilon\pi\alpha\theta\nu\); Peek, 1973–1974, p. 515, no. 16, \(\dot{o}s\ \acute{a}n\theta\rho\omega[\pi\oslash\varepsilon\nu\sigma^\prime \iota]\theta[\iota \delta \ \tau\omega\tau\ '\varepsilon\pi\alpha\theta\varepsilon\zeta]\), citing M. Fränkel, *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* II, Berlin 1895, no. 577, line 5, \(\tau\alpha\nu\tau\alpha\ \delta\ '\tau\alpha\nu\ta\mu\iota\oslash\alpha\oslash\ \varepsilon\iota\uomicron\iota\nu\alpha\oslash\ \varepsilon\iota\mu\iota\oslash\nu\varepsilon\oslash\oslash\ \acute{a}n\theta\rho\omega\oslash\acute{a}n\theta\rho\omega\oslash\oslash\).

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

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

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

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8 Willetts, p. 156.
9 Willetts, p. 59. Mnastokles son of Pyron (*IC* I 16.33) was contemporary with Kletonymos son of Mnastokles and probably belonged to the Echanoreis rather than the Hylleis. Mnastokles son of Lattygos (*BCH* 62, 1938, p. 389, no. 1) was kosmos a few years later and also belonged to a different clan, the Synaneis.
10 Van Effenterre, 1974, p. 29.
11 Van Effenterre and Bougrat, pp. 49–52.
On a stele discovered by chance at Potamos in 1968 appear the names of Hylas son of Euagoros, and Timolas son of Lattygos (Alexiou). If we can speculate that Hylas and Timolas, as well as their fathers, were connected (as this text surely indicates), then the Thiodotoi of 2, descendants of Euagoros, could possibly be connected with another Lattygos, whose son Thiodotos is named in *IC* I 16.11. Lattygos, in turn, is attested as the name of the son of Damocharis in *IC* I 16.26 and 32 and as the name of the son of Komaros in *BCH* 93, 1969, p. 841, no. 1. Both these individuals named Lattygos and their father belonged to the clan Hylleis, to which Kletonymos son of Mnastokles also belonged (*IC* I 16.26 and 32). Despite the fact that *BCH* 62, 1938, p. 389, no. 1 names Mnastokles son of Lattygos as a *kosmos* from the clan Synaneis, the evidence thus far suggests that Mnastokles, Kletonymos, Lattygos, and Thiodotos as a group were likely to belong to the Hylleis.

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

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

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Funerary inscription for Kletonymos, son of Mnastokles
Funerary inscription for Thiodotos, son of Thiodotos

Martha W. Baldwin Bowsky: Epigrams to an Elder Statesman and a Young Noble