INSCRIPTIONS FROM CRETE[1]

We present here some unpublished inscriptions from excavations of the British School on Crete: a law or decree of the Classical period from Knossos; a Hellenistic boundary stone of a sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite from Myrtos-Pyrgos; and four graffiti on clay cups of late Hellenistic date, also from Myrtos-Pyrgos. These items are presently in the Stratigraphical Museum at Knossos (SMK).

KNOSSOS

In August 1962 Professor Stylianos Alexiou, then Ephor of Crete, asked the British School at Athens to monitor the digging of the foundations for the new Stratigraphical Museum on the site of the tennis court of the Villa Ariadne at Knossos.[2] This task was allotted to Gerald Cadogan but, unfortunately, the contractors had already dug nearly all the foundation pits and trenches before there could be any monitoring or archaeological excavation. Much of his work was therefore restricted to collecting material from the spoil heaps and noting what was visible in the sections and at the bottom of the pits and trenches. Among the contractors' spoil was an inscription, which has no specific provenance among the pits and trenches for the building. The finds from the site, however, are enough to show Bronze Age occupation from at least MM IA until LM IIIC and Subminoan,[3] followed by Protogeometric to Hellenistic and Roman occupation. It is likely that there was a similar pattern of use to that which was observed in the later excavation of the immediately adjacent site to the west, once intended for an extension to the SMK; the sequence there includes Classical deposits (Warren 1985, 127–8).

[1] For support and permission for monitoring the SMK site and excavating at Myrtos-Pyrgos (both of which sites are being prepared for publication), Cadogan thanks warmly the Archaeological Service and the then Managing Committee (now Council) of the British School at Athens. Especial thanks go to Stylianos Alexiou, Vili Apostolakou, who spotted the further inscription on the Pyrgos stone, and Costis Davaras, from the Service, and Hector Catling, †Vincent Desborough, †Peter Fraser, Sinclair Hood, †Jane Rabnett, and Peter Warren from the School; and Harriet Blitzer, Peter Callaghan, and Jonas Eiring for sound advice over many years on the Hellenistic and later history of Pyrgos, as well as the two anonymous referees of *BSA*.

For support of current study of Pyrgos for publication, Cadogan is most grateful to the Institute for Aegean Prehistory. The Institute's Study Center for East Crete, through its Director Thomas Brogan, also kindly gave the help in 2008 of Doug Faulmann, who made the drawings, Kathy Hall, who cleaned the Pyrgos inscriptions and made squeezes (now in the SMK), and Chronis Papanikolopoulos, who took the photographs. We thank them all.

Measurements are in cm. Diameters without further explanation are rim diameters. The symbol # indicates the number of the basket of pottery from an excavation level at Pyrgos.

[2] Hood and Smyth 1981, 48, no. 188. Its Knossos code is SM/62. The final report is in preparation.

[3] Finds from 1962 already discussed: MM III–LM II pottery, including a pictorial fragment, probably of LM IB date (Cadogan forthcoming *b*); LM II cup (Popham 1967, 343, pl. 82 *d*); SM bell-cup (Popham 1992, 60–1, pl. 43 [not 42 as in text]. 1) and pyxis (Popham 1992, 64, pl. 49 *a-b*; Coldstream 2001, 35 and fig. 1.24 *a*, pl. 14 *a*).

Further work in 1969 before building the extension to the SMK revealed a probable LM IIIA2 shrine (Popham 1970*a*), and other finds including a Neopalatial ivory hand (Popham 1977, 190, pl. 26 *f*. 10) and LM IIIB pottery (Popham 1970*a*, 193–4, fig. 3. 1, pl. 46 *b*; 1970*b*, 195, pl. 49 *a*). A bothros dug in 1971 produced a Daedalic terracotta figure (Herakleion Museum 18849: Lebessi 1972, 625, pl. 585 *β-γ*; Catling 1978, 61–2, fig. 107).

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INSCRIPTION

Fragment of a law or decree

Fragment of dressed limestone block (SM/62; SMK SMS 120) (FIG. 1). Broken on left and bottom; the right narrow side is angled. H. 22.8, W. 15.5, Th. 8.3. An inscription of four, originally five, lines is written between guidelines that are clearly visible in ll. 3 and 4. H. of letters: 2 (but l. 1, Σ 2.3; l. 2, Ψ 2.5, and E 2.2; l. 3, O 1.8; l. 4, Θ: 1.8).

[- - - - -]ε̣ ἔστω
[- - - - -]ο̣ Μοψει-
[- - - - - -]ε ποιμ-
4 [- - - - - -]δδεθθ-
[- - - - -] vacat

2–3. A form of the personal name Μόψειος. 4–5. [—]δδεθθ[αι] (= Attic [—]ζεσθ[αι]) or [—]δδέθθ[ω] (=Attic [—]ζέσθ[ω]).

Only a few letters survive of this document, which may have been inscribed on more than one block. The angled and less finished right side of the block suggests that it may have been set in a wall and thus the inscription, whether one or several blocks, would have been on the wall of a building. As one may infer from the imperative in line 1 and the infinitive or imperative in ll. 4–5, this is a fragment of a law or decree.

The letter-forms suggest a date in the fourth century BC. Although there are not many datable inscriptions of the Classical period from Crete that can serve as comparanda,[4] the lettering is certainly more advanced than that of the boustrophedon legal inscriptions of Gortyn (*I.Cret.* iv. 72–159, *c.*450–400 BC) as well as of the treaty between Knossos, Tylissos, and Argos found in Tylissos (*I.Cret.* i. 8. 1 = *Staatsverträge*, ii. 147, *c.*450 BC). The forms of epsilon, pi, and sigma are similar to those of the inscription from Tylissos, but the scribe of the text from Knossos used the omega (l. 1), which is not attested in Knossos earlier than the fourth century BC (on legends of Knossian coins: Svoronos 1890, 67–8 nos. 13–15, 18; Le Rider 1966, 175–6), as well as more advanced forms of delta (Δ instead of D as in the text from Tylissos) and theta (a circle with a dot, instead of a circle with a cross). All the letter-forms that appear in the Knossian inscription are still attested in the early third century BC,[5] but the general outlook of the inscription with its neatly carved and clearly separated letters is very different from that of the early Hellenistic inscriptions of Crete.[6] The closest parallel is a dedicatory epigram from Kydonia (*c.*400 BC), which has the same letter-forms, the same neat appearance, and a similar 'quasi stoichedon' style.[7]

Mopseios is a personal name, already attested in Hellenistic Knossos for three prominent men: Mopseios, son of Hyperteros, chairman of the board of kosmoi in *c.*165 BC (*I.Cret.* iv. 182. 45 = Chaniotis 1996, 300–1 no. 45); Mopseios, father of Nennaios, chairman of the board of Knossos kosmoi in 116 BC (*I.Cret* i. 16. 4 A. 5–6 = Chaniotis 1996, 321–5, no. 44); and Mopseios, known from his funerary epigram (*I.Cret.* i. 8. 34), who must have been a

[4] For the 5th c. see the overview in Jeffery and Johnston 1989, 315–16, 467–9.

[5] For the letter forms of Cretan inscriptions in the Hellenistic period see Chaniotis 1996, 452–9.

[6] See e.g. the difference from the only safely dated inscription of the early 3rd c. BC: Markoulaki 2000; *SEG* l. 936 (Tyliphos, *c.*300–275 BC); see also the difference from *I.Cret.* iii. 4. 1 (Itanos, early 3rd c. BC).

[7] Van Effenterre *et al.* 1983, 406–8.

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FIG. 1. Mopseios inscription from Knossos.

magistrate since he is praised in it for virtue and justice (late second–early first centuries BC). Until the end of the Hellenistic period, Knossos was ruled by the members of a few aristocratic families, alternating annually in the board of kosmoi (Chaniotis 1992, 305–10). The fact that Mopseios is a name known for three members of this elite family indirectly supports the assumption that in the new inscription Mopseios is the name of a Knossian magistrate, who could have been one of their forebears. Names of magistrates usually appear in the dating formula, in the prescript of public documents.[8] This cannot be the case in this inscription; l. 2 cannot be part of the prescript, as it is preceded by an imperative in l. 1. But names of eponymous magistrates can also appear in the main part of a public document, in references to legislation introduced in the past (e.g. *I.Cret.* iv. 72. col. V. 6) or in references to deadlines (e.g. *I.Cret.* iv. 181. 16, 25, 27 = Chaniotis 1996, 289–90 no. 43). There is, however, another possibility for explaining the presence of a personal name in a public document, namely a reference to the owner of a property in a delimitation.[9] As we shall now argue, this seems the most probable interpretation in this text.

The fragmentary text in l. 3 seem to refer to a shepherd or shepherds or to pasturing (e.g. [μηδ]ὲ ποιμ[ένα] or [μηδ]ὲ ποιμ[αίνεν]), probably in the context of a prohibition. From the late sixth to the late second centuries BC, Cretan legal inscriptions (laws, decrees, treaties)

[8] On the dating formulae of Cretan decrees and other public documents see Chaniotis 1992, 294–5; 1996, 86; Ghinatti 2004, 222–30.

[9] e.g. *I.Cret.* iv. 182. 3 = Chaniotis 1996, 296–7 no. 44: πὰρ τὰνς Φρασινίκω τῶ Καράνω; *SEG* xxvi. 1049. 71–2 = Chaniotis 1996, 338–40 no. 59: ἐπὶ τὰν Ἐξάκωντ[ος] ἀφαμίαν.

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continually address the problems connected with pastoral activities: the crossing of boundaries, the division of the pasture, the export of goods, animal theft, access to water sources, and damage done to arable land by sheep and goats (Chaniotis 1995; 1996, 114–20; 1999, 188–205). The earliest document of this kind is an Archaic inscription from Lyttos (*c.*500 BC) concerning the delimitation of an area that was to be used for 'putting together and separating' livestock.[10] This may be a reference to the building up of large herds by putting together livestock belonging to small owners and to the orderly use of public pasture. This new inscription seems to contain prohibitions in connection with pastoral activities.

In case of violation of this law or decree, or in cases of disputes, the matter was to be resolved through appeal to a judge or judges. The remains of the letters in ll. 4–5 ([—] δδεθθ[αι] or [—]δδέθθ[ω]) almost certainly belong to a form of the verb δικάδδομαι. In the Cretan legal texts, this verb is used to describe charges brought by an individual.[11]

To sum up, the new text is a law or decree dealing with subjects connected with pastoral activities. It is possible that the first lines delimited an area in which pasture was or was not allowed (or allowed under certain conditions). In that case, Mopseios's name (l. 2) relates to a boundary-marker or orientation-point.

MYRTOS-PYRGOS

The excavations of the British School at Athens at the settlement of Myrtos-Pyrgos (Cadogan 1978; 1992) revealed Hellenistic occupation at the principally Minoan site situated on a prominent, if relatively low, hill by the east side of the mouth of the Myrtos river. This Hellenistic period, called Pyrgos V, made use only of the flat top of the hill, where stood the remains of the Late Minoan I (Pyrgos IV) Country House. Over the north-west angle of the Country House, covering parts of its rooms, spaces and stairs 1–3, 11, and 12 (Cadogan 1978, fig. 21), a large circular building with an internal diameter of over 5.5 m was erected (Eiring 2000, fig. 2): to judge from the many cups and bowls it produced, as well as the inscription and graffiti that we publish here, it may well have functioned as part of a sanctuary.

The hilltop was also in use in Venetian and Ottoman times (Pyrgos VI): the Venetians built a beacon tower on the summit, which was rebuilt in Ottoman times. This tower gave the hill the name of Pyrgos.[12]

CONTEXT

As suggested by the pottery, the circular building was in use at the end of the second century into the first half of the first century (Eiring 2000, esp. 59, noting too the lack of later first-century BC pottery; Eiring *et al.* 2002, 60). It is comparable in design and size to the better-preserved Building D in the Sanctuary at Kommos, which was probably a circular enclosure for ritual dining and was partly set into Minoan levels (Shaw 2000*a*, 59–61, pl. 1. 141–3), like the Pyrgos building. The Kommos building is, however, some three centuries older, being

[10] *SEG* xxv. 991 B; Koerner 1993, 330–2 no. 88; Van Effenterre and Ruzé 1994, no. 12. See Chaniotis 1999, 194–6 (with bibliography).

[11] e.g. *Staatsverträge*, ii.216 l. 8 (early 5th c. BC): κσενείαι δίκα[ι δι]κάδδεθαι; Chaniotis 1996, no. 63 l. 11: [δι]κάδδεθθαι δὲ τὸν [βωλόμενον?]; *Staatsverträge*, iii. 562 ll. 8–9: αἰ δέ τί[ς τινα ἀδικήσηι ...] δικά[ζεσθαι—]; Chaniotis 1996, no. 66: τῶι βωλομένωι δ[ικάδδεθθαι] . . . δικαδδέθθω δ[ὲ ὁ βωλόμενος]; no. 28 ll. 47–52: ἐξέστω τῶι βωλομένωι δικάξασθαι; no. 77 ll. 7–8: [δικαδδέ]θθω δὲ ὁ βωλόμε[νος].

[12] There may have been also some Middle Byzantine occupation: Harriet Blitzer (pers. comm.). Beacon tower: Cadogan 1978, 82–3 fig. 37; Cadogan forthcoming *a*; and depicted by Boschini (1651, pl. 45).

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dated to *c.*375–350 BC (Callaghan and Johnston 2000, 258–9). Shaw (2000*b*, 708) had no Cretan parallels for it.

INSCRIPTION

Boundary stone of a sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite

A roughly carved stone with a crude inscription was found lying flat, face (A) down, inside the presumed east line of the circular building. It is likely to have been standing while the building was in use. The letter-forms point to a date in the second century BC, or possibly the late second or early first centuries BC (see below). Consequently, the inscription may either be contemporary with the building or a little older, at least than its use; in the latter case, it had been set up before the building came into being. What is clear is that the inscription is older than the Pyrgos VI beacon tower. Whether it was incorporated into the tower as building material is uncertain but likely. We do not know where the inscribed stone stood originally.

The stone has channels (or grooves) on face A that resemble, or may in fact be, plough-marks, which appear to antedate the inscription, since none of the channels has destroyed a letter and the mason seems to have taken them into consideration when he engraved the text. If they are in fact plough-marks and older than the inscription, it would suggest that the stone was lying on the hilltop (which is the best ground for ploughing on the steep-sided hill of Pyrgos) and so was ready to hand, when the need arose to cut the inscription.

The text of face A has been briefly presented on various occasions, based on preliminary readings (Cadogan 1978, 82 fig. 35; Eiring 2000, 59; *SEG* liv. 866, where it is erroneously described as a dedication). A complete reading became possible only in March 2008 when Vili Apostolakou, Ephor of East Crete, noticed a further inscription on one of its narrow sides (B). The text was read again in September 2008.

Five-sided fragment of hard buff-grey-white sandstone plaque with inscriptions on two of its faces (MP/71/197) (FIGS. 2–3). Baulk G4/G5 level 8 find 14 #1279. H. pres. 37. W. pres. 58. Th. pres. 5.5–15.0. In the following description we assume that the inscribed lines had a vertical position and both the inscribed faces (A and B) were visible (FIG. 2; see the commentary below). The flat inscribed face A has a pointed top above the inscription. It resembles a pediment, and may be the result of a break or very crude carving. The stone is broken on the bottom and on the lower part of the right side; this face, with four lines of text, shows considerable flaking, and is heavily scored with channels (FIG. 2 *a*). The left narrow face B, which is also inscribed, is damaged and broken beneath the inscription (FIG. 2 *b*).

The text on face A is written with letters of irregular height, ranging from 2.8 to 4.8; the lines are not straight. The text on side B also has letters of irregular height, from 3.9 to 6.6, and may well have been cut by the same mason.

A: δίτας
καὶ Ἀφρο-
vacat
Ἑρμᾶι
4 Ε νν Σ

B: ΕΠΙΔΙΤΕΛΙΟ[—]

A. The text is to be read from bottom to top: Ἑρμᾶι καὶ Ἀφροδίτας. The preliminary reading in 1978 was ΙΤΑΟ…| ΚΑΙ ΑΦΡΟ… | ΕΡΜΑΙ … | Ε Σ. The text of l. 3 is given in *SEG* liv. 866 as Ἑρμᾶ, but the vertical line at the end seems to be an iota (see commentary).

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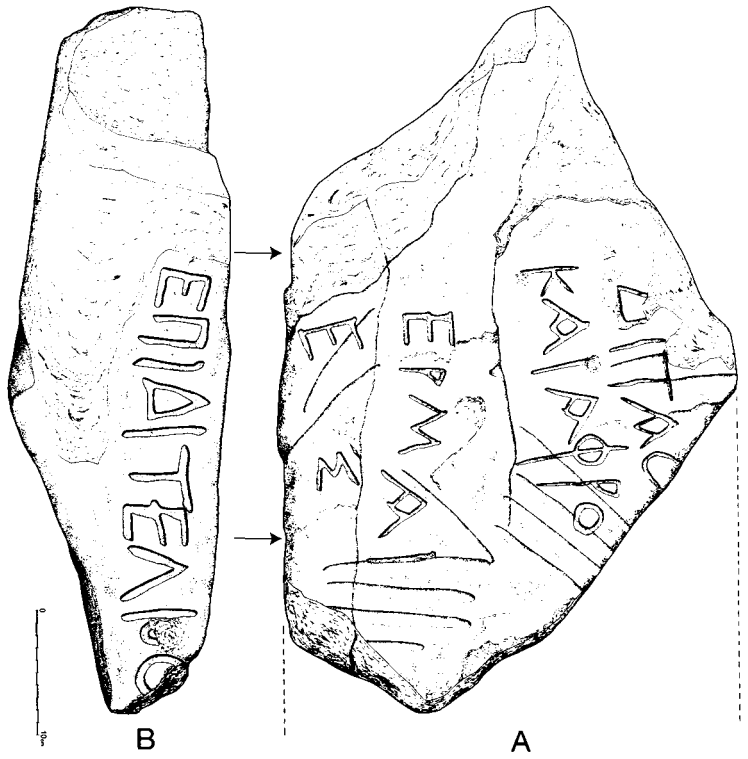


FIG. 2. Hermes and Aphrodite inscription from Myrtos-Pyrgos.

To understand this text, we have first to determine how the stone was placed. If one sets it so that the lines of the main face have a horizontal position, the text does not make any sense, unless one reads it from bottom to top. In addition to this, placing the stone in this way means that the text on the narrow side is not visible and so has to be explained by an earlier or later use of the stone. These problems are solved if one places the stone in such a way that the lines are vertical and the text is then read line by line from left to right. If this seems improbable, it is not unattested: even as important a text as the grave epigram of a prominent man in Larisa (*c.*457 BC) has this arrangement;[13] but why the mason chose this arrangement can only be the subject of speculation. Placing the stone as we suggest allows the inscription on the narrow side B to be visible to the left of the main face A. If this assumption is correct, the pointed end of face A served as a crude pediment and the bottom was inserted into the ground or supported by a base (FIG. 2).

The text of face A consists of the enigmatic letters ΕΣ (an abbreviation?, numerals?) and the names of Hermes and Aphrodite in the genitive. Ἑρμᾶι is not a dative, but the genitive Ἑρμᾶ with an abundant iota adscriptum (if this stroke is, indeed, an iota). This phenomenon is not uncommon in the late Hellenistic period.[14] The names of deities in the genitive can

[13] Helly 2004 (discussion of *SEG* xxxiv. 560; *CEG* 637).

[14] e.g. *I.Délos* 1. 513. 54 (a Cretan treaty, 116 BC): τὸν ἐπὶ Νενναίωι (unnecessarily corrected to Νενναίω{ι} in Chaniotis 1996, 325, no. 56). *SEG* liv. 1100. 5 (Mylasa, late 2nd c. BC): μέρηι. *SEG* lv. 795 (Histria, Hellenistic period): [Ὄρ]φέωι. *SEG* lv. 1452. 43 (Lykia, 46 BC): μήι.

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appear on altars and boundary stones, and (less often) dedications. The form of this stone leaves little doubt that we are dealing with a boundary stone delimiting land belonging to a sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite, probably a small local sanctuary rather than the one at Symi.

The text on side B is more difficult to interpret. It may be a dating formula with ἐπὶ followed by a personal name (the chairman of a board of kosmoi?, a priest?). If it is a dating formula, the name cannot be restored with certainty. ΔΙΤΕΛ- is certain, followed by an iota (or the left vertical line of a letter) and an omikron or the left part of a cursive sigma. It could be Διτέλιος, genitive of an unattested variant of Διοτέλης, which is attested in east Crete.[15]

The letter-forms of such crudely carved texts can only suggest an approximate date in the Hellenistic period, probably in the second century BC.[16] The lunate sigma may, however, be an indication of a late date in the second century or an early date in the first. The countless boundary disputes in Hellenistic Crete possibly provide the historical context for the delimitation of sacred land belonging to Hermes and Aphrodite. Such a delimitation may well have had a political significance for the neighbouring communities, since sanctuaries of both Hermes and Aphrodite were often located at the border of communities and became the subject of disputes. The sanctuary of Aphrodite (Aphrodision) and Ares at Sta Lenika was the cause of a war between Olous and Lato in the late second century BC;[17] the status of the sanctuary of Hermes Kornisaios at the border of Hierapytna and Lato was determined in a treaty between the two cities (111/10 BC);[18] a cult place of Hermes was on the frontier between Lato and Olous (*I.Cret.* i. 16. 5. 55 = Chaniotis 1996, 358–62, no. 61 A); and it is quite probable that the sanctuary of Hermes Kedrites and Aphrodite at Symi was at the common border of all the neighbouring poleis, Hierapytna, Lyttos, Biannos, Priansos, and Arkades.[19]

The cult of Hermes and Aphrodite was very prominent in Crete.[20] The two deities are often mentioned one after the other in Cretan oaths, where the usual sequence is Ares, Aphrodite, Hermes (Chaniotis 1996, 72–3). Their joint cult is well attested at Symi (Lebessi 1985; 1992), which was the most important cult centre in the vicinity of Myrtos-Pyrgos.

This is the fourth inscription known from Myrtos: the others, two at least of Roman date, are *I.Cret.* iii. 3. 39, 53–4.

GRAFFITI

Four cups from the Pyrgos V circular building, of the type that Eiring calls the everted-rim cup, have graffiti, and have been discussed briefly and illustrated by him (Eiring 2000, 54, pl. 27) in his review of the Hellenistic pottery of the site (Eiring 2000; cf. also Vogeikoff 2000, 71, for comparanda at Mochlos). We present here new drawings and photographs and further information about them (further also to *SEG* liv. 867), following personal inspection.

[15] Lyttos: *I.Cret.* i. 18. 40, 58; Malla: *I.Cret.* i. 19. 3 A. Cf. Δειτίλος, which is quite common in east Crete (four attestations in *LGPN* i, s.v.).

[16] For the letter-forms cf. the table in Chaniotis 1996, 453: A5, Δ2, E3, E4, K2, Λ3, M4, O3, Π7, P4, Σ1, Σ2, Φ5.

[17] Chaniotis 1996, 51–5, 318–32 (with the earlier bibliography).

[18] *SEG* xxvi. 1049. 81–2 = Chaniotis 1996, 338–52 no. 59. Discussion: Chaniotis 1988, 25–6, 30–2; 1996, 350–1.

[19] Chaniotis 1996, 129. On the status of this sanctuary see Chaniotis 2009, 61–2.

[20] Sporn 2002, 58–9. On Hermes see also Lebessi 1985, 163–87, and on Aphrodite, Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 167–9.

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FIG. 3. Hermes and Aphrodite inscription from Myrtos-Pyrgos: (*a*) face A; (*b*) face B.

The cups

The four cups are wheelmade, and show ribbing inside (**1**, **3**–**4**), or inside and outside (**2**). Eiring has identified two principal types of fabric: 'A, which is soft, powdery and very pale'; and 'B: hard fired, darker pinkish buff with some dark and white grits, and voids in the surface'. Cups **3** and **4** are clearly of group A, and **2** of group B (as Eiring states). Cup **1**, however, is better fired than **3** and **4** (although its clay is still buff, and not orange-buff like **2**) and seems to have thinner walls than others of group A. It seems, in short, to belong to an intermediate class between A and B.

The graffiti

The graffiti consist of personal names (**1**, **3**–**4**), probably of dedicators (not potters), and possibly numerals (**2**). They were all engraved after firing. Graffiti on vessels are a common find in sanctuaries. In Crete, the largest group has been found in the sanctuary at Kommos,[21] but analogous texts are known for instance from the Idaean cave and the cult caves in Lera and Arkoudia near Kydonia, from the sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite at Symi, the sanctuary of Athena in Phaistos, the Asklepieion in Lebena, and the sanctuary on the acropolis in Gortyn.[22]

1 Rim and body fragments (MP/70/P127) (FIGS. 4 *b*, 6; Eiring 2000, 54, pl. 27 *a*. 3). Trench G5 level 2c #414. D. *c*. 8. Fine buff clay; overall slightly lustrous black wash.

The letters are scored through the wash; also three dots have been drilled into the clay with a sharp point (like a modern compass), which was probably the same instrument as used for incising the letters. Beneath the inscription is a wavy line resembling a Σ. Letter H. 0.6–1.0.

[—]ΥΘΑΛΙ/[..]ΦΑΛ[—]

ΥΦΑΛΤΑ.ΦΑΛ, Eiring.

[21] Csapo *et al.* 2000, 101–25 nos. 1–74; 18–19 nos. 79–84; 130–1 nos. 89–91; 132 no. 95 (*SEG* liii. 957).

[22] Idaean cave: *I.Cret.* i. 12. 1, 3; *SEG* xxxvi. 813 (Imperial period); several inscribed ostraka of the Hellenistic period are unpublished. Lera Kydonias: *SEG* xxiii. 579; xxxi. 815 (Classical/Hellenistic period). Arkoudia Kydonias: *SEG* xxxi. 816 (Classical/Hellenistic period). Symi: Chaniotis 1988, 33; Sporn 2002, 88–9; Chaniotis 2009, 62 (Classical/Hellenistic period). Phaistos: *I.Cret.* i. 23. 19 (2nd c. BC). Lebena: *I.Cret.* i. 17. 22 (4th c. BC). Gortyn: *SEG* liii. 859, 861 (Archaic period).

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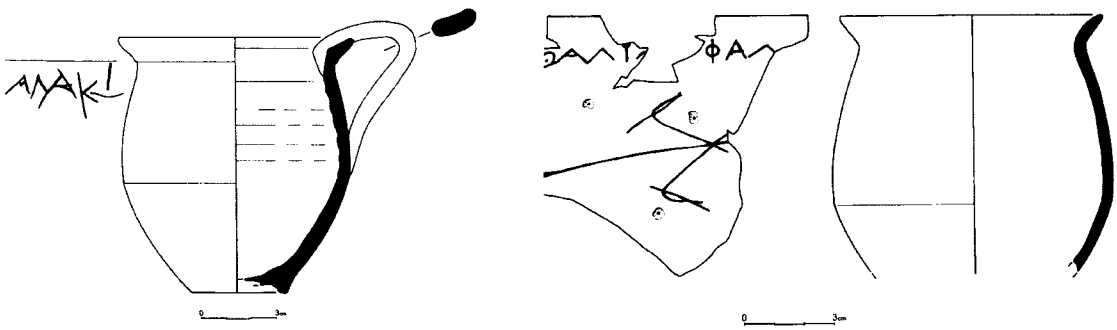


FIG. 4. Graffiti from Myrtos-Pyrgos: (*a*) **3**; (*b*) **1**.

The text seems to consist of two names. The first name may be Εὐθαλίας/Εὐθαλία: this name is not attested in Crete in this form, but the related form Εὐθάλης is attested in Lissos (late second century BC) and Εὐθάλιος is known in Cyprus.[23] The second name is either an ethnic (Φαλασάρνιος/Φαλασαρνία) or more probably a personal name. Several Cretan names begin with Φαλ- (Φαλακρίας, Φαλακρίων, Φάλακρος, Φάλανθος, and Φάλαρος).[24] A tentative restoration, which takes into consideration the available space in the lacuna, is [Ε]ὐθαλία[ς] Φαλ[ά—] ('of Euthalia, the daughter of Phala—' or 'Euthalias, the son of Phala—[dedicated this?]').

2 Rim and body fragments (MP/70/P138) (FIGS. 5 *b*, 6; Eiring 2000, 54, pl. 27 *b*. 2). Trench G5 level 2c #414. H. pres. 7.2. D. 8.7. Fine orange to orange-buff clay. Faint incised line of top of body (below everted rim) outside, which would have happened before the overall red wash was applied.

The inscription is thin and lightly cut, under the rim. Letter H. 3.5.

A

M, *SEG*.

A numeral or an abbreviated word or name.

3 About 1/2 pres.; restored (MP/70/P148) (FIGS. 5 *a*, 7; Cadogan 1978, 82 fig. 36; Eiring 2000, 54, pl. 27 *a*. 2). Trench G5 level 2c find 2 #414; non-joining fragments from trench G5 level 3 #431. H. to rim 10. D. *c*.10. D. base *c*.4. Very soft fine orange-buff clay, with voids in surface, especially near the base. Strap handle comes over rim and applied to inside of rim (cf. Eiring 54). Fairly lustrous overall orange wash. Worn, especially around base, and scuffed: scratches on lower body outside.

The horizontal inscription has been scratched with a pointed instrument. Letter H. 1–1.8.

[—]ΑΛΑΚΙ

ΑΛΑΚ, Eiring.

Probably part of a personal name.

4 Rim and body fragments (MP/70/P218) (FIGS. 5 *a*, 7; Eiring 2000, 54, pl. 27 *a*. 1). Trench G5 levels 1 #407, 2 #409, 3 #410. H. pres. (to rim) 7.7. D. 10. Soft fine pale green-buff clay with few small dark grits. Very faint traces of overall black wash.

ΦΙ

Probably an abbreviated personal name (Φιλ-).

[23] Εὐθάλης: *LGPN* i s.v. This name is also attested in Athens (*LGPN* ii s.v.). Εὐθάλιος: *LGPN* i s.v.

[24] *LGPN* i s.vv. Φάλακρος and its derivatives are also very common in the rest of the Greek world: see *LGPN* i–iv s.vv. Φαλάκρα, Φαλάκριος, Φαλακρίων, Φάλακρος.

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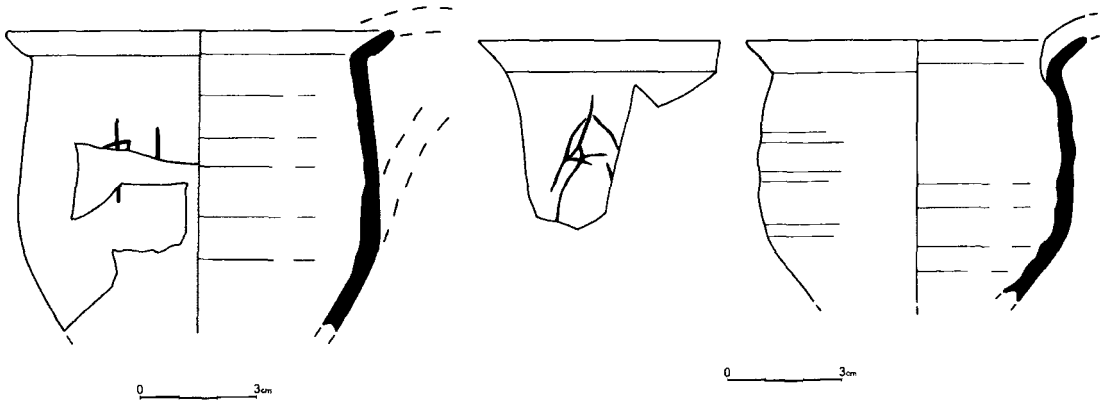


FIG. 5. Graffiti from Myrtos-Pyrgos: (*a*) **4**; (*b*) **2**.

CONCLUSIONS

We may conclude that a shrine, whose principal surviving component was the circular building, was established at Pyrgos in late Hellenistic times over the ruins of the grand Late Minoan I Country House, with a cult of Hermes and Aphrodite (Alcock 2002, 111–12; cf. Cadogan 2004). Immediately, this can be interpreted in terms of spirit of place, that is here as a ritual way to claim an unknown but ancient past, whose mighty remains would have been obvious until stone-robbers attacked them for building material, probably first in Hellenistic times.

On a wider scale, the position of Pyrgos was perhaps even more important. It lies at the mouth of the Myrtos river, where it would have been a useful station for coastal navigation and trade; and it is on two important land routes: down the river valley from the Lasithi mountains to the sea, and on the old main west–east route from central Crete to eastern Crete that came south of the Lasithi mountains via Viannos and reached the sea at Myrtos, to continue eastwards through the foothills towards Ierapetra/Hierapytna and its isthmus. The Late Minoan big house could well have been built partly to control these routes, while the river valley has long been a natural boundary: in Venetian times (and until the later twentieth century) it separated eastern from central Crete (Boschini 1651, pl. 45), which could well have been the case for centuries before.[25] Similarly, the Hellenistic shrine on the Pyrgos hill was most probably a frontier sanctuary marking the western limits of the territory of Hierapytna (Guizzi 2001, 318; Sporn 2002, 58–9). Baldwin Bowsky (2004, 10) has suggested that Myrtos continued in this role for the larger domain of Hierapytna in Roman times.

But this sanctuary had a short life. The pottery suggests that it ceased to be used around the mid-first century BC, that is at around the time of the Roman conquest (of the whole island) in 67 BC, which would immediately have made polis frontiers (and their shrines) redundant. The Pyrgos shrine was abandoned; and the same phenomenon has been observed at Kommos (Shaw 2000*b*, 717–21).

[25] In the Bronze Age the material culture of Myrtos-Pyrgos varies in its connections and/or allegiances. In EM III/MM IA–MM IB, Pyrgos II looks to both central and eastern Crete; in MM II(A–)B, Pyrgos III to Malia and the Ierapetra isthmus and perhaps further east; in LM I, Pyrgos IV to Knossos. These changes underline the frontier role—and political significance—of the site even in prehistoric times.

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FIG. 6. Graffiti from Myrtos-Pyrgos: (*a*) **1**; (*b*) **2**.

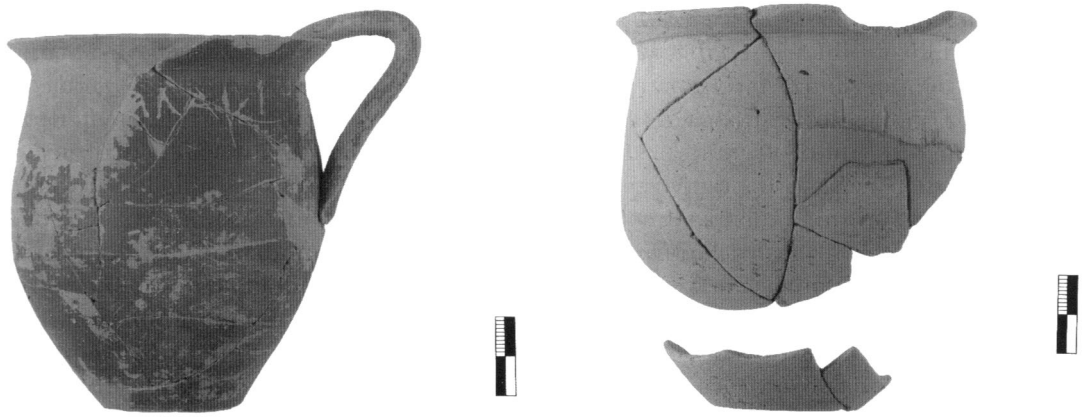


FIG. 7. Graffiti from Myrtos-Pyrgos: (*a*) **3**; (*b*) **4**.

Finally, if the circular building was used for feasting and drinking, we might make a connection with the production of amphorae in East Cretan Cream Ware in late Hellenistic times in or near the Myrtos valley (Eiring 2000, 58; Vogeikoff 2000, 70–1; Eiring *et al.* 2002; Vogeikoff-Brogan 2004, 216–17; Vogeikoff-Brogan and Apostolakou 2004, 417–18, 427; Vogeikoff-Brogan *et al.* 2004) and the obvious implication of the probable export of wine from nearby. Indeed, this may even give a context for the μυρτίτης οἶνος recorded on an amphora found at Pompeii and dated to 59 BC (Marangou-Lerat 1995, 141, P62), especially if Myrtos was the ancient name of the place (as Stylianos Alexiou suggested long ago to one of us).

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