Topographica Cretica: Topoi of Classical Crete with Testimonia

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TOPOGRAPHICA CRETICA: 
TOPOI OF CLASSICAL CRETE WITH 
TESTIMONIA 

by 
Kenneth Francis Kitchell, Jr. 

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate 
School of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial 
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree 
of Doctor of Philosophy 

May 
1977
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my thanks to my advisor, Rev. Raymond V. Schoder, S.J. and to all those members of the committee who always found time to assist in thorny matters. Special thanks go to Mr. Raymond C. Zelazny for his patient aid in matters of proofreading and organization and to Mr. Leverett L. Bogle who drew the maps contained herein.

My greatest debt is reserved for my wife, Theresa, without whose hard work and constant encouragement, none of this would have been possible.
VITA

The author, Kenneth Francis Kitchell, Jr., is the son of Kenneth Francis Kitchell, Sr. and of Ellen (LaRose) Kitchell. He was born October 24, 1947 in Brockton, Massachusetts.

He attended Cardinal Spellman High School, Brockton, Massachusetts, where he was graduated in June, 1965. In September, 1965 he entered the College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, Massachusetts and in June, 1969 received the degree of Bachelor of Arts, Magna Cum Laude, with a major in Classical Studies. While at Holy Cross, he was inducted into Eta Sigma Phi, a national honors society for the Classics.

In September, 1969, he entered the graduate program of the Department of Classical Studies, Loyola University, Chicago, Illinois, where he held an assistantship, a NDEA Title IV Fellowship and an Arthur J. Schmidt Fellowship. In the summer of 1970 he attended the excavations at Kato Zakro, Crete, under Dr. Nicholas Platon.

At Loyola he was inducted into Alpha Sigma Nu, a national Jesuit honors society. He received his Masters Degree in Classical Studies from Loyola in February, 1973.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

This list is supplemental, intended to give the abbreviations used in this work that are not found in such standard works as the Latin Dictionary of Lewis and Short, LSJ, or OCD. Periodicals, where abbreviated, follow the usage of L'Année Philologique.


Faure, Fonctions


Faure, "La Crète", (1959)


Faure, "La Crète," (1960)


Fick, Vorgr. Ortsn.

August Fick, Vorgriechische Ortsnamen als Quelle für die Vorgeschichte Griechenlands (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1905).

GLM


Head, HN


Hoeck, Kreta

Karl Hoeck, Kreta (3 Vols.; Goettingen: Rosenbusch, 1823-1829).

IC


viii
Ernst Kirsten, Siedlungsgeschichtliche Forschungen in West-Kreta, in Forschungen auf Kreta, 1942, ed. Friedrich Matz (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1951), 118-152.


J. van Meursius, Creta, Cyprus Rhodus (Amsterdam: Abraham Wolfgang, 1675).


TLL

van Effenterre, La Crète

Willetts, Cults

Wroth, Catalogue

Thesaurus Linguae Latinae (Leipzig: Teubner, 1900-present).


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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The choice of topic for the present work arose from an inquiry into ancient Cretan coins. Many of these coins bear only the initial two letters of a city's name. In an attempt to take all possibilities into account in searching for cities whose names began with these two letters, a list of all known ancient Cretan cities was sought. As is explained below in Chapter III, no such list is available. Further, such lists as do exist are either limited to the specific field studied by a given scholar (such as inscriptions) or are marred by omissions and errors of citation. A full list then, carefully citing all testimonia, is needed to round off and complete our knowledge of Cretan topography and to serve as an accurate and practical guide to the subject.

It was at first thought that such a list would be easily compiled, but it is now seen as a massive undertaking. The number of sites to be treated approaches two hundred and the wealth and variety of applicable testimonia are staggering. Furthermore, the complexity of many of the sites (Apollōnia can serve as an apt example) also led to a
decision concerning my goals. Rather than merely presenting a list of testimonia without comment, I have studied many sites in detail. This has, perforce, been time consuming, but has yielded worthwhile results.

The combined weight of the above mentioned factors has restricted the study at hand to those Cretan sites whose transliterated names begin with the first two letters of the alphabet. While occupying but little space in the alphabet, these letters yielded a total of sixty-six entries below. As the present work is planned as the beginning of a complete catalogue and study of all classical Cretan sites, to begin with these letters was as logical as convenient. It is to be stressed that the basic research for the dissertation included all Cretan sites as outlined below.

The present work, then, seeks to present in a clear, organized format all the testimonia concerning the topoi of classical Crete whose English, transliterated names begin with the first two letters of the alphabet.\footnote{For the use of transliteration, cf. Chapter IV, infra.} Two terms demand clarification. The word topos here includes all inhabited sites and all natural formations such as mountains, rivers, lakes, and caves. The islands near Crete
and their **topoi** are not treated. The term "classical Crete" is more difficult to define. The early limit is fairly easily set by eliminating sites known to be solely Minoan in nature. The upper limit is more difficult to specify. As many literary sources used are Byzantine in date it is difficult at times to determine whether a site whose sole reference is in a medieval author is post-classical in date or whether it was already mentioned by an earlier author used as a source by the Byzantine writer. In these cases completeness was preferred to possible omission and such sites are provisionally included.

The collection of these **topoi** with their **testimonia** should be of aid to the specialist in Cretan studies as well as to scholars involved in related fields that bring them into contact with Cretan place names. It is hoped that one result of this work will be to enable other researchers to see at a glance what **testimonia** are known and what sources have been tapped and thus set the framework for later additions to the fund of knowledge in this field.
CHAPTER II

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

The principal aim of this work being to organize and present testimonia from antiquity that deal with classical site names of Crete, I will indicate in this chapter the major sources of testimonia, thereby showing what sources have or have not been utilized and what methodology was employed in examining them. These sources fall into three large groups: ancient literary testimonia; inscriptive evidence; numismatic evidence.

Although Crete appears but rarely in the mainstream of Greek history, it was often mentioned by ancient authors. The island had many variant myths, natural phenomena and socio-political concepts that were often commented upon in antiquity. It is thus very rare that "Crete" is not to be found in the index to an ancient author's work. This pervasiveness makes necessary the imposition of some type of limits on a work such as the present one. The major limitation employed here is chronological. I have begun with the Linear B tablets as my earliest sources.¹ At the other end

¹The prime source was DOCS², "Glossary", pp. 527-594 (cf. pp. 146-147) which "contains an entry for every complete Mycenaean word recorded up to 1972". (p. 527) For implications of the tablets' evidence cf. pp. 140-141 and 414-
of the time scale, I have used Byzantine authors selectively. Those, such as encyclopedists or lexicographers, whose debt to ancient sources is clear are included. The best example of this is Stephanus Byzantius who, as a grammarian, would hold little interest if he had not employed so many works now lost. The second type of acceptable Byzantine reference comprises those works of a purely geographical nature that can testify to a site's continued existence on Crete after Classical times. It should be noted that no work was excluded as a source either by its topic or its genre.

I have included below a list of those extant ancient authors found to be major sources of information on Cretan topography. A major source is considered an author who either devotes a large section of his work to Crete (e.g. Diodorus Siculus or Pliny) or whose work contains frequent, if scattered, references to the island (e.g. Callimachus or Nonnus). Beside the name of each author on the list are indicated the author's date and either the major loci of interest in his work or some indication of how his references are situated within his treatise.

415. Also consulted was Oscar Landau, *Mykenisch-Griechische Personnamen*, Studia Graeca et Latina Gothburgiensia, 7 (Uppsala, Almquist and Wiksells, 1958).
It is to be stressed again that this is a partial list of major sources that aims at indicating for the reader those authors and types of works found to be especially valuable to this study. A full list of all literary works used in this study can be found in the "Index Scriptorum" which appears below as Appendix II. Abbreviations used below follow the rules set forth in the List of Abbreviations already given. Dates refer to century only and are taken from standard sources as indicated. Note that Hierocles and the Notitiae take their date from the edition of Parthey.

A. MAJOR SOURCES OF INFORMATION AMONG ANCIENT AUTHORS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Loci</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anonymus Ravennas</td>
<td>9th A.D. copy of 7th c. original</td>
<td>5.21 (ed. Parthey)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Callimachus</td>
<td>3rd B.C. (LSJ)</td>
<td>Passim, especially in Hymns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diodorus Siculus</td>
<td>1st B.C. (LSJ)</td>
<td>5.64-80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dionysius Calliphontis</td>
<td>1st B.C./1st A.D. (LSJ)</td>
<td>Vv. 110-129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dionysius Periegetes</td>
<td>2nd A.D. (?) (OCD²)</td>
<td>Vv. 498-504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Etymologicum Magnum</td>
<td>Shortly before the 12th A.D. (OCD²)</td>
<td>Alphabetically, s. vv.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eustathius</td>
<td>12th A.D. (LSJ)</td>
<td>Commentary on relevant passages of Homer and Dionysius Periegetes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUTHOR</td>
<td>DATE</td>
<td>LOCI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hesychius</td>
<td>5th A.D. (?) (LSJ)</td>
<td>Alphabetically, s. vv.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homer</td>
<td>Before 7th B.C. (?) (OCD²)</td>
<td>Il. 2.645-652 Od. 3.291-300 19.172-202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pomponius Mela</td>
<td>1st A.D. (OCD²)</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonnus</td>
<td>4th/5th A.D. (?) (LSJ)</td>
<td>Random mythological references</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pausanias</td>
<td>2nd A.D. (LSJ)</td>
<td>Random references</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pliny the Elder</td>
<td>1st A.D. (OCD²)</td>
<td>4.58-61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polybius</td>
<td>2nd B.C. (LSJ)</td>
<td>5.53-56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ptolemy</td>
<td>2nd A.D. (OCD²)</td>
<td>Geography 3.17. 1-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scholia Varia Anonyma</td>
<td></td>
<td>To Homer, Callimachus, Vergil, Dionysius Periegetes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scylax Caryandensis</td>
<td>4th B.C. (?) (LSJ)</td>
<td>Par. 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solinus</td>
<td>2nd/3rd A.D. (OCD²)</td>
<td>11.3-14 (ed. Mommsen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stadiasmus Maris Magni</td>
<td>1st B.C./1st A.D. (LSJ)</td>
<td>Pars. 318-355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephanus Byzantinus</td>
<td>Late compilation of 5th A.D. original (OCD²)</td>
<td>Alphabetically, s. vv.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUTHOR</td>
<td>DATE</td>
<td>LOCI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strabo</td>
<td>1st B.C./1st A.D.</td>
<td>10.4.1-22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(OCD²)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suda</td>
<td>10th A.D. (OCD²)</td>
<td>Alphabetically, s. vv.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabula Peutingeriana</td>
<td>3rd/4th A.D. (OCD²)</td>
<td>Secs. 8.4-9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theognostus</td>
<td>9th A.D., based on</td>
<td>Random references</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Herodianus, 2nd A.D.</td>
<td>used as grammatical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(LSJ)</td>
<td>models of accentuation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vibius Sequester</td>
<td>4th/5th A.D. (TLL)</td>
<td>Alphabetically, s. vv.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zonaras Lexicographus</td>
<td>12th A.D. (PW)</td>
<td>Alphabetically, s. vv.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**B. SOURCES OF INSCRIPTIONAL EVIDENCE**

The second large source of information from antiquity is in the form of inscriptions. These include all engraved words save those found on coins. Those of very late Christian times or after have been excluded.

There is no volume of the Inscriptiones Graecae that deals with Crete. The planned volume, Number XIII, was cancelled with the death of its editor-elect, Friedrich Halbherr, in 1930.² This loss left the ambitious but out-

²See M.N. Tod, "Year's Progress in Epigraphy," JHS, 51 (1931), 211.
dated work of Blass\textsuperscript{3} as the only scholarly collection of Cretan inscriptions until the excellent *Inscriptiones Creticae* was published by Margarita Guarducci, who used and amplified the material collected by Halbherr.\textsuperscript{4} Guarducci includes all inscriptions found in Crete and a large number of those found elsewhere that deal with Crete. The four well-indexed volumes offer a valuable tool for the student of Cretan topography. Many inscriptions uncovered since the publication of this work have been published in volumes of the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. It should be stressed that not every inscription found at a given place is here considered a *testimonium* of that place. Only those inscriptions mentioning a site are so considered.

Under the broad heading of inscriptions are to be included those stamps that appear on the handles of amphoras in antiquity. While few amphora handles bear Cretan stamps, a few cases have been discovered. I am indebted to Dr. Virginia Grace of the Athenian Agora Excavation Staff,


\textsuperscript{4}See Guarducci, *IC I*, p. ix.
the leading expert in this complex field, for her gracious help in this area. 5 

C. SOURCES OF NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

The third ancient source of information is the mass of coins struck by the Cretans in antiquity. I have not attempted the nearly impossible task of noting every known example of Cretan coinage, but have concentrated on treating the coins as a major source of information by attempting to note all significant types and inscriptions. The information thus obtained often sheds light on cult practices, orthography, and political alliances. There is a sharp break between Roman and Byzantine coinage on Crete, eliminating the need for artificial limits. The basic works used to study the coins are the collective, catalogue-type publications of Wroth 6 and Svoronos 7 and the more inter-

5 Dr. Grace contributed her assistance in a most informative letter of June 1, 1974.


7 J.N. Svoronos, Numismatique de la Crète Ancienne (Macon: Protat Frères, 1890).
METHODOLOGY EMPLOYED IN USING SOURCES

It remains to qualify the use made of these three basic sources of information, making clear what was consulted (and what not) and in what manner this was done. This will offer a basis for appraisal of the present work and an indication of direction for further research.

The first part of this clarification is in the form of Appendix I where those classical authors who were methodically culled for information and/or relevant testimonia are listed. There are three reasons for such a culling process. First is the need to insure that at least some authors have been fully investigated and need not be searched again for testimonia. In previous works, even Guarducci's, there is no way in which to know this fact and all testimonia presented must be regarded as indicative of, but not an exhaustive compilation of, an ancient author's value to the topic. Ideally, all authors should be culled fully, but this is beyond the scope of the present work. The authors included in Appendix I were

3Georges LeRider, Monnaies Crétoises de Ve au Ier Siècle av. J.-C., Études Crétoises, XV (Paris: Librarie Orientaliste Paul Geunthner, for the École Française d'Athènes, 1966).
chosen for complete culling either because other scholars' citations indicated that the author had an interest in Crete or because the nature of the work or its genre made it likely that information would be found therein. I have tried to cover many authors of importance and still to offer a broad spectrum of genres as well.

The second reason for the culling process is the search for new, overlooked testimonia, especially from authors that seem not to have been utilized previously. The third reason for such a list is its usefulness as a guide to those types of authors who reward investigation. I have learned, for example, that lexica and scholia, while tedious to read, often repay the effort expended, whereas other works of greater literary merit are proportionately barren of useful data for my purposes. By comparing Appendix II, the relative merits of any author may be checked as they affect the topic in question.

In using the list in Appendix I, one should note the following facts. First, whenever possible a complete index was used to check the work. In some cases I chose to neglect an author since only partial indices were available for his work and the size precluded reading.9

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9 This occurred, for example, in the majority of works contained in August Nauck, ed., *Lexicon Vindobonense* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1965 reprint of 1867 ed.).
Secondly, where no index was available and the nature of the work allowed it, the work was read through. Third, large indices or works arranged alphabetically were checked against a list of sites, compiled from my files and arranged in accordance with the Greek alphabet. I present this list as a checklist for future research. Where use of this is not indicated, the whole index or work was read through.

The names on the list were:


Batheia, Benkasos, Berekynthos, Bēnē, Biannos, Biennos, Blanda, Blennon, Blentia, Blissē, Boiai (on), Boibē, Budroē.

Glamia, Gortyn, Grammion, Granos, Gytisos.

Daidala, Dattala, Dēras, Dia, Diatonion, Didymoi, Diktamon, Dikte, Diktyyna (aion), Dion Akron, Dionysiades, Doulopolis, Dragmos, Draukos, Drepanon, Dρēros, Dōreia.


Zephyrion.

Ελεκτρα, Ελίς, Ερακλειον, Ετις.

Thalassa, Thenai, Therapnai, Θηρην.

Idaion Antron, Iδή (a), Ielbetai, Ierapetra,

Kadiston, Kaino, Kairatos, Kalamydē, Kalē Akte, Kalliorason, Kallichoron, Kaloi Limenes (os, ēn), Kalolakkai, Kamara, Kamiros, Kanaros, Kantanos, Karma, Karnessopolis, Karymai, Kasos, Katabathmos, Katarrhaktēs, Katrē, Kaunos, Kedrios (on), Kedrisos, Kedryseis, Keraia, Kēskōra, Kētia Akra, Kimaros, Kindrion, Kisamos, Klaudos, Knaphos, Knōs(ō)os, Koilon, Koilōnia, Koitē, Kordoila, Korēsia, Korīon, Kourētes, Krēs, Krētē, Kriou Metōpon, Kyamos (on), Kydōnia, Kynosoura, Kyrba, Kytaion, Kōpassis, Kōrykai (os), Kōrykia Akra.

Labyrinthsos, Lampē, Lammon, Lappa, Larissa (aion), Lasaia, Lasos, Latō, Lebēn, Ledonia, Leuka Orē (on... os), Leukai Nēsoi (ē... os), Lissa (τ, os), Lykastos, Lyktos, Lyttos.

Mainomenos, Malla, Marathysa, Massalia, Matala, Metallia, Mation, Mesapios, Mēsē, Messapolis, Metalla (on), Methymna, Miletus, Minōa, Moratousa, Mousagoros, Mykēnai, Myle (ai), Myrina, Myrtilos, Mōda.

Naxos.

Oaxes (os), Olopyxos, O(ō)us, Omphalion (os), Onysia, Oxeia, Orioi (ion), Osmida.

Palla, Panakra, Pannon, Panormos, Pannōna, Pantomatrion, Paraisos, Pergamon, Poikilasion, Poikilissos, Polichna, Polyrhrēnīa (on), Praisos, Priansos, Pyknos, Pylōros, Pyranthos, Pytna.

Rhamnous, R hawkos, Thethymna, Rhizēnia, Rhithymna, Rhokka, Rhytion.

Salmonē, Salyron, Sa(m)monion, Satra, Sauros, Saōros, Solous, Subrita, Soulia, Stēlē (ai), Strongylē, Sybē, Sybrita, Suia, Sylia, Syrinthos, Sōra, Sōsandra.

Tanös, Tarba, Tarrha, Tegea, Tethris, Tissia, Tityros, Tretōn, Tripodos, Tripolos, Tritōn, Tritōnion, Tylissos.

Ydramia (os), Yrtakina, Yrtakos.
Phaistos, Phalakron, Phalanna, Phalasarna, Phalassa, Pharai, Pherai, Phoinikous, Phoinix.
Chalkëtorion, Chambitrasos, Chersonësos.
Psakon.
Ôkeanos, Ôleros.

The fourth fact to be borne in mind in using Appendix I deals with the scholia. Where no index was available, scholia were checked against all relevant passages in their author and against passages in other scholia that mentioned Crete when commenting on a particular passage in that author. Thus, while the original passage may not mention Crete it may well mention some figure like Minos or Talos that in turn led the scholiast to an expansion dealing with Crete. Further, with this in mind, when the author in question was culled as a control for searching the scholia, all instances of a given name were noted and used. Thus the references to the infernal river Lethaeus in Vergil's Georgics 1.73 was checked against the various scholia in the hope that one might have added something akin to "est flumen quoque in Creta Lethaeus". This tactic proved a fruitful one in enough cases to recommend itself to future researchers despite its additional burden of work.

It should be pointed out also that in all cases, unless specifically stated, I have personally consulted the
critical text of any author cited as testimonia. Further, it has been a constant rule to check carefully the apparatus criticus wherever possible and to include such variants as are significant in the testimonia.

The second method of clarifying the sources consulted took the form of a massive bibliographical search. This aimed at finding new epigraphical or numismatic testimonia either overlooked by existing scholarly works or discovered after their publication, and at finding either new testimonia from ancient authors or new interpretations of known texts.

The following schematic list best outlines the procedure used in searching for this information.

I. L'Année Philologique

A. Vol. 1 (1928 for 1924-1926) to vol. 42 (1972 for 1971). Sections checked:

1. "Auteurs et Textes": 'Carmina Epigraphica'; "Itineraria et Geographica"; "Topographica"

2. "Archéologie"

a. "Preclassique: Grèce et îles du basin méditerranéen oriental" (found in Vols. 38-42 only)

b. Archéologie Grecque (all volumes)

3. "Épigraphie: Grecque"

4. "Numismatique"
5. "Histoire Regionale et Topographie: Monde Grec"

6. "Géographie" (in earlier volumes, the entire section entitled "Sciences, Techniques Métiers")

B. Dix Années de Philologie Classique

1. Vol. 1: "Itineraria"; "Periplus"; "Peutingeriana Tabula"; "Topographica"


II. Fasti Archeologici: All volumes from 1 (1946 for 1946) to 23 (1972 for 1968) were checked. Early procedure was complicated but due to the careful cross-reference system that the work follows, the following sections were sufficient.

A. "Prehistoric and Classical Greece"

1. "Topography" (2 sections)

2. "Regions and Sites"

B. "Hellenistic World"

1. "Topography"

2. "Regions and Sites"

C. "Christianity and Late Antiquity: Regions and Sites (The East)"

D. "Index Locorum" s.v. "Creta"

E. "Index of epigraphical works cited", s.v. IC

III. Purely Epigraphical Bibliographies

A. "Bulletin Epigraphique" in the Revue des Etudes Grecques. In earlier volumes checked under the section on Crete and in general entries. This is not necessary in later volumes due to fine cross-referencing. These
were therefore checked only in the Crete sections.

All years containing a "Bulletin" from Vol. 1 (1887) to Vol. 86 (1973) were checked.


C. M.N. Tod, "The Progress of Greek Epigraphy"

1. First appeared in the Year's Work in Classical Studies, 1906-1913

2. Journal of Hellenic Studies, 1914-1955 (1955 being the final issue of the Year's Work)

3. In both cases, checked under Crete section

D. Volumes 1-25 of the Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum were consulted both in the Cretan section ("IG XIII") and in the index, "Nomina Geographica"

IV. Purely Numismatic Bibliographies

A. Numismatic Literature, Vols. 1 -90 (From Oct., 1947 to present). Different formats yielded the following procedures:

1. Vols. 1-64: "Ancient"; "Greek"

2. Vols. 65-80: "General"; "Ancient"; "Greek". This is necessary as cross-referencing stops with Vol. 80.

3. Vols. 81-90: Section entitled "Greek" with its cross-references; Index s.v. "Creta"


This was checked because of Svoronos' link with the journal.


F. Jahrbuch der Numismatik und Geldgeschichte has been issuing regionalised bibliographies on ancient Greek coinage. Crete, if planned, has not appeared.

V. Dissertation Information

A. Dissertation Abstracts: 1972 to present (April, 1974)

B. Bulletin of the London Institute of Classical Studies has a section on dissertation work planned or in progress in the United Kingdom. Entries for 1965-1972 were checked.

VI. All volumes of Krētika Chronika and the two reports of the International Cretological Congresses held so far were personally read through.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION NOT CONSULTED OR NOT FULLY CONSULTED

Finally, those sources of information that were knowingly omitted or were not fully utilized must be acknowledged. First is the massive corpus of documents written on papyri. To the present, little attention has been paid to such documents as sources of testimonia for Cretan topography. It was hoped that lexica, geographers, or chance literary references would be found and that Cretans would also appear named as participants in such affairs as mortgages and loans on private documents. To test this
surmise, the entire series of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* was checked for references to Crete. The results were unimpressive. Excluding the Callimachus fragments already incorporated into Pfeiffer's edition, very few references were located. Further, all of these came from literary texts, none from local business or personal documents. Whether this trend is a phenomenon created by the geographical position of Oxyrhynchus or is common to all papyri remains to be checked. For the present, however, the papyri must be viewed as a weak source of information.

Secondly, no use has been made of those documents that are written in Arabic concerning Crete. It is highly likely that these could be of aid in determining the later survival of ancient names on the island, but as few translations exist, it was decided to avoid their use totally.

Thirdly, there are many inscriptions from outside

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10 B.P. Grenfell, A.S. Hunt, H.I. Bell *et al.*, eds. (41 vols.; London: The Egypt Exploration Fund, 1898-1972). All volumes were checked through the indices, viz. all those indices for new literary fragments (as fragments of extant authors are never indexed) and the index entitled "Geography: A, Countries, Names, Toparchies, Cities". In some volumes, depending upon the nature of the papyri, only one of these indices may appear.
of Crete that either involve or mention Cretans. Guarducci has been quite thorough in her collection of these\textsuperscript{11} and there seems little merit in searching again in older corpora. It should be noted, however, that the first volume of the \textit{IC} was published in 1935 and that ensuing volumes do not have sections of \textit{addenda}. I have thus attempted to update Guarducci's work in the following manner. First all the volumes of the \textit{Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum} were consulted, especially those published after 1935. Secondly, the pertinent volumes of the \textit{Inscriptiones Graecae, editio minor} were also searched. Finally, as noted above, the bibliographical search produced useful references to newly found inscriptions.\textsuperscript{12}

\textsuperscript{11} As in the case of the literary references, it was thought necessary to check on the thoroughness of the inclusion of such inscriptions. This task was made more difficult by the lack of a "Comparatio Numerorum" in the \textit{IC}, perhaps its most culpable flaw. To run the check, therefore, first the \textit{Syll3} was thoroughly checked using Index II: "Nomina Locorum, Tribuum, Gentium, Phratrium Similia". This produced only two inscriptions that seem not to be in the \textit{IC} according to the indices of \textit{IC}, viz. \textit{Syll3} 239C, III.55 and 737 \textit{passim}. A similar check of Dittenberger's \textit{OGI} showed no omissions at all.

Those volumes of the \textit{IG} published before 1935 were also checked in their geographical indices: \textit{I}\textsuperscript{2} (publ. 1924), \textit{IV}\textsuperscript{2} fasc. 1 (publ. 1929), and \textit{IX}\textsuperscript{2} fasc. 1 (publ. 1932). All relevant inscriptions from these volumes were used by Guarducci in the \textit{IC}.

\textsuperscript{12} The following volumes of \textit{IG} were checked through their geographical indices: \textit{XII}\textsuperscript{2} (publ. 1939); \textit{IX}\textsuperscript{2} Pars \textit{12} fasc. 2 (publ. 1957) and Pars \textit{32} fasc. 3 (publ. 1968); \textit{X}\textsuperscript{2} Pars 2 fasc. 1 (publ. 1972).
CHAPTER III

THE HISTORY OF PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP

The history of previous scholarship in the area of Cretan topography is long, stretching from antiquity to the present. For clarity and convenience it is here divided into three large groups of authors, separated chronologically as ancient, "middle", and modern.

The ancient authors who studied Crete were numerous.\(^1\) One must exercise caution, however, in separating those who wrote incidentally on Cretan topoi and those who held this subject as a main objective in their work. The former group is larger than the latter and is dealt with above in Chapter II. These authors are here excluded either because they dealt with a larger subject under which the Cretan topoi are of incidental interest (e.g. Theophrastus, Hierocles) or because their primary interest lay in offering a work intended for pragmatic use rather than as a pure, scholarly endeavor. This group includes the periploi such as the Stadiaimus Maris Magni, Skylax, Dionysius Calliphontis and the Cosmographia of the Anonymus

\(^1\)This entire section on ancient scholars should be read in conjunction with the previous chapter.
Ravennas as well as the map known as the Tabula Peutingeriana. While some of these works are clearly practical handbooks, equipped with distance notations and harbor information, it is readily admitted that any such division is arbitrary and that some works could fit into more than one category. The work of Skylax could, for example, be viewed as a periegesis as a result of its less formal and slightly fuller structure. As a periegesis it would have been accepted in antiquity as more than a merely practical manual.  

Jacoby lists sixteen authors who wrote ethnographic works devoted solely to Crete. These men represent the earliest scholars to study the island methodically. Of these, Antenor (before 100 A.D. and Petellidas of Knossos (last half of 1st B.C. at the latest) wrote histories of Crete. Deinarchos (before ca. 300 B.C.) and Menesekles of Teos (2nd c. B.C.) dealt with mythology. Pyrgion (Hellen-  

2On the dual purpose of a periegesis as a practical guide as well as a work of entertainment, see J.G. Frazer, Pausianias' Description of Greece (London: Macmillan, 1913), I, XXIV-XXV. 

3FGrH IIIb, Textband, nos. 457-467. 

4Ibid., no. 463 (Antenor); no. 464 (Petellidas). 

5Ibid., no. 465 (Deinarchos); no. 466 (Menesekles). 

6Ibid., no. 467.
istic?) studied Cretan laws, Iistros\textsuperscript{7} (second half of the 3rd c. B.C.) sacrifices, Aristotle\textsuperscript{8} the political system, while Dioskorides of Teos\textsuperscript{9} wrote an an encomium on the island. Eight other authors wrote works entitled either Κρητικά or Περὶ Κρήτης. These are the half-legendary and undatable Epimenides, Charon of Lampsakos (ca. 400 B.C.), Dosiades (300-250 B.C.?), Echemenes (Hellenistic?), Sosi-krates (ca. 150 B.C.) and Xenion.\textsuperscript{10} It is this last, Xenion, who most directly affects this discussion.

The life of Xenion is unknown and even his dates are but conjecturally set.\textsuperscript{11} His writing survives only in

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{7}Ibid., no. 334, F8
  \item \textsuperscript{8}Ibid., Textband, p. 403
  \item \textsuperscript{9}Ibid., no. 594, T3 (= IC I. viii. no. 12)
  \item \textsuperscript{10}Ibid., no. 457, F18-20 (Epimenides, cf. Noten for the doubtful authenticity of the work); no. 459 (Echemenes); no. 461 (Sosikrates); no. 462 (Laosthenides); IIIa, no. 273, F30 (Alexander Polyhistor); IIIb, no. 460 (Xenion).
  \item \textsuperscript{11}Jacoby dates Xenion, with hesitation, to Hellenistic times, FGrH,IIIb, Textband, p. 399 and Noten p. 203, note 16. P. Faure has attempted to narrow this date to 150 B.C. by studying the dates of the cities mentioned by Stéphanus Byzantius. See his "La Crète aux cent Villes", Kretika Chronika, 13 (1959), 178-180. This attempt overlooks two basic objections to its approach. First, we are only sure of Xenion's presence as the source in Stephanus in 13 cases. Secondly, while we can be sure that Xenion can not mention cities not yet created, there is no security in believing with Faure that he does not include cities already destroyed before his time (Faure, p. 180).
  If, with Konrat Ziegler, we emend "Xenophon" to "Xenion" in Polybius VI. 45, there is a slight basis for ascribing Xenion to the fourth century B.C., cf. RE XXI.
\end{itemize}
fifteen fragments, thirteen quoted by Stephanus Byzantius,\textsuperscript{12} one each by the scholiast to Lycophron,\textsuperscript{13} and the Etymologicum Magnum.\textsuperscript{14} Stephanus consistently calls Xenion's work Κρητικά, the two others Περί Κρήτης. The full nature of the work is not known. A scrutiny of the fragments of all other known Κρητικά leads the reader to believe that they were many-sided, touching on all manner of subjects concerning the island.\textsuperscript{15} Xenion's work may well have followed this mold, but we know that Xenion also attempted to collect a full list of known Cretan sites, and as far as we can tell he is the only one to have done so. The evidence for this is twofold. We have first the simple statement of the scholiast to Lycophron that "Ἐκνίων δὲ ἐν τῷ περί Κρήτης τὰ πόλεις τῆς Κρήτης καὶ κατ' ὄνομα ταῦτας λέγει.\textsuperscript{16}"

149 n. 2, IXa. 1479-1480.

The name Xenion appears only three times in the IC viz., I. xvii. no. 25, vv. 1-2 and no. 268, v. 3 (second or third century A.D.) and IV. no. 300 A, v. 4 and no. 300 B vv. 3, 10 (third century A.D.). Thus the name is unattested for the period involved, and it remains unsure whether Xenion was a Cretan.

\textsuperscript{12}FGrH IIIb, no. 460, Frg. 3-15.
\textsuperscript{13}Ibid., Frg. 2.
\textsuperscript{14}Ibid., Frg. 1.
\textsuperscript{15}On the nature of Krētika see Jacoby, FGrH IIIb, Kommentar, pp. 306-308, 334.
\textsuperscript{16}Scholiast on Lycophron Alexandra, 1214 (= FGrH IIIb, no. 460, Frg. 2).
The second piece of evidence, which is admittedly less compelling, is the fact that the citations of Xenion by Stephanus run the full extent of the alphabet\textsuperscript{17} hinting at a full, well-organized list (κατ’ ὅνομα). With this in mind we can safely say that Xenion is the first author known to us to have specifically and thoroughly studied the field of Cretan topography.

We now move from those authors who devoted an entire work to Crete to those who studied Cretan topography as part of a larger work, but still approached the subject with scholarly intent.

Strabo devotes a large portion of his Geography to Crete. As is common in his work, however, he does not confine himself strictly to geography in the modern sense. Indeed, he studies many varied facets of the island and actually devotes more space to myth, cult and constitutional questions than to topographical matters. He does not attempt to compile a full list of Cretan cities.

Ptolemy was, of course, intent on publishing a map. His inclusion here is based on the fact that his interest

\textsuperscript{17}Arkades, Dragmos, Einatos, Elyros, Kamara, Kantanos, Lampē, Oaxos, Olous, Hydramia, Phalasarna, Chersonēsos, Oleros.
was more scholarly than pragmatic. As a pure cartographer he studied all of Crete's cities, not merely those of interest to a seafarer, and thus his list contains more cities of internal Crete than does that of the Tabula Peutingeriana or the Stadiasmus Maris Magni.

Pliny (and here we may include his follower Solinus) is notable for his list of Cretan cities. The passage of his work in question is part of his larger section on geographical studies and is in the form of a bare list without commentary. It appears that the list was compiled, in keeping with Pliny's encyclopedic format, for the purpose of having such a list available for quick reference. Other matters of interest concerning various Cretan natural phenomena are dealt with elsewhere by Pliny and testify to his general interest in the island.

Stephanus Byzantius had, as we have seen, a scholarly interest in Cretan topoi as they applied to his work. His main interest may have lain in grammar, but his pursuit of this end led him to preserve a vast amount of information on Cretan topoi. Indeed, his catalog stands as one of the most important older works dealing with the subject.

Before the discussion of ancient authors who studied Cretan topography is terminated, it would be well to mention the Cretan hekatomopolis theory. In the Iliad we are
told that Crete contains one hundred cities.\(^{18}\) In the Odyssey, Odysseus claims to be from a Crete possessing ninety cities.\(^{19}\) These disparate statements have had widespread effects. For many the Crete of one hundred cities became almost proverbial, and is found in many diverse authors.\(^{20}\) Secondly, many have felt the need to explain the loss of ten cities from the Iliad to the Odyssey but, while the question is intriguing, the explanations have proven mostly fanciful and unsatisfactory.\(^{21}\) Lastly, the statement that Crete held one

\(^{18}\) Il. 2. 649.

\(^{19}\) Od. 19. 173-174.

\(^{20}\) A convenient list is provided by Faure, (note 11), p. 172, n. 1. In this list correct Nonnus "13. 27" to "13. 277". Note that this list derives from that in J. Meursius, Creta, Cyprus, Rhodus (Amsterdam: Abraham Wolf­gang, 1675), p. 14.

To both these lists add Philostratus Epistolae, 5 (ed. Kayser) and Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium, 65 (= GLM p. 125). An identical version of the latter is to be found in GGM II, p. 523 under the name of Junior Philosophus. On this duality see GGM II, pp. xliv-xlvi. Add also to the list Eustathius on Il. 2. 639, Pindar Paeans 4 and Martianus Capella, II. 659.

\(^{21}\) The Scholiast to Il. 2. 649 (ed. Erbse) suggests that either 100 is an approximate figure and 90 an exact one or (here the text is corrupt) that 10 cities were founded after the number 90 was given. Eustathius, on the same passage, gives as alternatives the razing of 10 cities upon Idomeneus' return from Troy by Leukas who rebelled against his returning master, or that 90 represents the number of cities at the time of the Trojan War and 100 the number by the time Homer lived and wrote. This would explain the second comment of the scholiast above. Compare Eustathius
hundred cities has inspired many scholars to seek to compose a list of these cities.

It was pointed out as far back as the Homeric scholia that for Homer the number one hundred usually means only "many" or "past counting". Nevertheless, the challenge of finding one hundred cities in Crete has intrigued many ancients and moderns, as will be seen below.

The next category of authors who studied the cities of Crete is here called the "middle" group. They in turn are easily divided into two geographical schools. The Italian school can conveniently be said to begin in 1415 with the work of Buondelmonte and to continue until the early seventeenth century. Its members were very caught up with the hekatompolis question and can, in general, be said to be quite superficial and unreliable.

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It has not, to my knowledge, been noted in this connection that the number of ships brought to Troy by Idomeneus is ninety, not one hundred (Il. 2. 652). While not conclusive in any way, it nonetheless adds another interesting avenue for pursuit in this matter. This perhaps is more interesting in light of the fact that a Cretan edition of Homer existed in antiquity, or so I read P. Oxy. 221. col. 15. 7. Here a scholiast seems to use such a Cretan edition as an authority.

22Schol. on Il. 2. 649 and Eustathius on Od. 19. 174 (note 21).

23P. Faure (note 11) pp. 173-174, discusses this
The German school brought thoroughness and discipline to the study of Cretan *topoi* in the person of the Dutch scholar Jan de Meurs (known as Meursius, lived 1579-1639).²⁴ His work bears a striking similarity to what we know of Xenion's book and of *Kretika* in general. Meursius was a polymath interested in the daily lives of the ancients. In this work, published posthumously in an incomplete state, he studies a wide variety of Cretan matters, devoting a large portion of the work to searching for the *hekatompolis*.²⁵ He bases his information on a wide, careful reading of ancient texts. His alphabetical list of sites contains 127 ancient names, but it should be noted that he closes his list with the entry "Tripodus". He gives no reason for stopping the list at this point and there is no indication that this section of the work is unfinished.²⁶ Meursius' command of the texts is impressive, but

school and its merits. I owe the division into Italian and German "schools" to his article.


²⁵ Meursius, (note 20), 14-62.

²⁶ His statement, (note 20), 61, "Habes urbes universim circiter centum, ac viginti" leads the reader to conclude that the list is finished.
some sources are overlooked. Further, he had not at his disposal the evidence available today from inscriptions, coins and excavations.

The careful work and clear organization of Meursius impressed later scholars, and ensuing works (our "modern" category) often have much to offer. The geographical work of Bursian²⁸ devoted a brief space to Crete. Hoeck²⁹ published an admirable volume, similar in scope to Meursius' work. The work's date, however, coupled with its lack of a list of topoi limit its usefulness today.³⁰ Another type of work rose to popularity in Europe as the concept of the "Grand Tour" grew, taking the form of travelogues of varying quality. Pashley³¹ and Spratt³² represent the best

²⁷While a study of Meursius' sources is not in question here, he seems not to have used such works as the Cosmographia of Anonymus Ravennas, the Tabula Peutingeriana and the lexicon of Zonaras.


³⁰J.N. Svoronos, Numismatique de la Crète Ancienne (Macon: Protat Frères, 1890), p. v. points out that in his time the book was already out of date and totally unacceptable for a site by site study.


of these works. Both men had a sound personal knowledge of the island and of basic ancient sources. Their works are primarily devoted to establishing the location of ancient sites and to recording the ancient ruins visible in their day. The work of Stavrakis should also be mentioned at this point.  

Scholars realised, however, that an organized body of information was needed and set out to correct the problem. Smith has many single entries on Cretan cities and place names in his Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography. Under the article "Creta" there is also a list of the cities with which he deals. This list is limited in scope as it relies on ancient sources almost entirely. The individual articles are, however, often of genuine assistance.

At the same time J.N. Svoronos published his monumental catalog of Cretan coins. Unlike W. Wroth,

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35 J.N. Svoronos, (note 30).
Svoronos paid heed to ancient sources and the geographic locations of his cities, feeling this was necessary to proper use of numismatic evidence. Unfortunately, the proposed second volume of the work\textsuperscript{37} was never published. This was to have contained supplemental information on many facets of Crete that would pertain to the study of Cretan topoi.

The interest in historical Crete that flourished at the end of the nineteenth century was cut short by Sir Arthur Evans' discovery of the Minoan civilization. The excitement of the totally unexpected find soon diverted most scholars from historical to prehistorical studies. Some scholars still studied the classical sites, but mostly as an addendum to Minoan studies. J.D.S. Pendlebury added a large amount of archaeological data on classical Crete in this manner.\textsuperscript{38}

Thus, there still existed no fully documented list of Cretan topoi into the twentieth century. Buerchner seems to have realized this lack and, in 1922, attempted to fill it in the Pauly-Wissowa article entitled

\textsuperscript{37}J.N. Svoronos (Note 30), pp. vii-viii, gives a proposed table of contents for the second volume.

"Kreta".\textsuperscript{39} Unfortunately he confined this research to the articles previously published in earlier volumes of Pauly-Wissowa. Thus his alphabetical list is limited to those cities whose first letters run from A-Ko. Secondly, as will be shown in the body of this work, both the list and the individual articles are rife with misquotes, incorrect citations and overlooked testimonia. Subsequent contributors to Pauly-Wissowa have not finished the alphabetical list begun by Buerchner. Further, with the notable exception of E. Kirsten whose articles are superbly written, these latter contributors have continued to submit articles whose general merits are low.\textsuperscript{40}

During the years 1935-1950 Margarita Guarducci issued the four-volume collection known as \textit{Inscriptiones Creticae}.\textsuperscript{41} The volumes are divided geographically, with the first volume covering central Crete, the second western Crete, and the third eastern Crete. The fourth volume is devoted entirely to Gortyn. Within each volume

\textsuperscript{39}\textit{PW}, XI.1812-1815.

\textsuperscript{40}Significant mistakes will be corrected below in connection with appropriate sites. Kirsten writes well-documented articles, mostly written within the alphabetical range of O to P.

the individual sites from which inscriptions survive are listed alphabetically. Each site thus treated is prefaced by a thorough summary of present knowledge of the site, quoting almost all testimonia known from all sources. Sometimes, with respect to larger sites such as Gortyn or Knossos, places, rivers and mountains near that site are also treated. Volumes I-III contain sixty-seven main entries while Volume IV adds only Gortyn. It should be noted that even in this valuable work there are a few missed ancient testimonia and misquotes. These will be noted below in their proper places. In summary, Guarducci's work is a most admirable piece of scholarship, but due to the fact that it is limited primarily to the study of inscriptions, it is not the needed comprehensive study on the subject of Cretan topoi.

The desirability of completeness was noted most recently by Paul Faure.42 Using numismatic, epigraphical and literary sources, he lists one hundred eighty-six place names from Crete, stating that thirty-five of them are purely imaginary or the result of errors. Sources are neither quoted nor cited. Rather, a system of symbols is

42 P. Faure, "La Crète aux cent Villes", BAGB (1960), 228-249. Apart from a smaller preface this article is identical with that cited in note 11.
employed to signify merely from what type of evidence the
city is known. For further help he refers the reader to
Pauly-Wissowa. This, as we have seen, has inherent
problems of gaps and errors.

Faure later added to the number of cities he
lists in his initial article by studying a boundary
inscription between Lato and Olous. Since the time of
these articles Faure has concentrated on identifying the
geographical site name survival into modern times. His
list is by far the fullest we possess, but its brevity
and lack of testimonia are disconcerting, and gaps do
exist even in his list of cities. Faure's efforts have
been followed and supplemented by such scholars as N. Platon,
G. LeRider, and H. van Effenterre. These works deal
primarily with problems of localization and will be
mentioned at appropriate times in the text.


44 Aigidokos is omitted, for example.
The most recent works to deal with the subject are notably incomplete. Davaras' work is of a general nature and includes much of Minoan date. The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites is exceedingly limited but such articles as do appear are quite thorough.

Thus the matter stands. No list so far is complete, nor do the lists effectively complement each other. Besides the lack of completeness, there are gaps in the testimonia and a fair amount of actual error in such testimonia as are given. It is the aim of this work to provide a comprehensive and reliable list of classical Cretan sites that fall within its set boundaries as well as to lay the foundations for the eventual publication of such a list encompassing all known sites.


47 There is, for example, no article on Cretan Apollonía. I find a total of forty-eight entries on Crete, of which about half are modern excavation sites.
CHAPTER IV

METHODS OF PROCEDURE

TRANSLITERATION

Since most words and names used in the body of the text are not familiar, their English spelling in this study will be based on principles of strict transliteration. Thus Knossos will be found instead of the more popular Cnossus and Phaistos rather than Phaestus. The only exception to this is in the names of well known Classical authors such as Callimachus (not Kallimachos) or Thucydides (not Thukydides). Further, each transliteration follows the spelling of the instance at hand rather than adapting it to the usual spelling of the place. This clearly brings out the variant spellings of a site's name.

The alphabetical list of sites that comprises the body of this work was arranged by first transliterating the form of a site's name most commonly found in ancient sources and then alphabetizing these names in accordance with the English alphabet.

The equivalents used for the transliteration are listed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GREEK</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Α, α</td>
<td>A, a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GREEK</td>
<td>ENGLISH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Β, β</td>
<td>B, b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Γ, γ</td>
<td>G, g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ζζ</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Δ, δ</td>
<td>D, d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ε, ε</td>
<td>E, e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Φ, φ</td>
<td>Rh initially; r elsewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ψ, ψ</td>
<td>rrh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Σ, σ</td>
<td>S, s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Τ, τ</td>
<td>T, t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Υ, υ</td>
<td>Y, y; but u in diphthongs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Φ, φ</td>
<td>Ph, ph</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
GREEK     ENGLISH
\( \chi, \chi \)     Ch, ch
\( \varphi, \psi \)     Ps, ps
\( \omicron, \omega \)     \( \overline{0}, \overline{o} \)

A rough breathing mark is written as an "H".

FORMAT FOR ENTRIES

For uniformity and ease of use, each of the entries comprising the body of this work has been set into the following standard format.

I. Name of Site
II. Location
III. Nature of the Site

IV. Literary Testimonia: Arranged Chronologically
   A. Those quoted sufficiently in the IC are cited and summarized.
   B. New texts are fully presented in the original Latin or Greek, translated, with indications of significant variants given and such notes as are necessary for interpretation.

V. Epigraphical Testimonia: Arranged Chronologically
   A. Those in IC cited and summarized.
   B. New Entries, treated as in IV.B above.

VI. Numismatic Testimonia: Arranged Chronologically
   A. Description of types and inscriptions with indication where published.
   B. Notes on coins' significance.
VII. General commentary on the site in the light of above data.

VIII. Bibliography supplementary to that in IC:

Arranged topically: General; Archaeological; Numismatic; Epigraphical; Topographical; Historical.
CHAPTER V

LIST OF SITES

Chapter V consists of the list of sites whose transliterated, English, names begin with the first two letters of the alphabet.

Each site is treated as a new entry and follows the general outline for entries set forth above.
ACHAIA

NAME

According to the ancient testimonia, the name of this site, 'Ἀξαία', or 'Ἀξαίνεα', is linked to the Greek ἄξαινης, a two year old stag.\(^1\)

LOCATION

The location of the site depends largely upon various scholars' belief in its existence. Faure, for example, takes the site as the name for the whole region of Polyrrhenia, or perhaps as a second name for the city Polyrrhenia (Map 2,B/C2).\(^2\) Older scholars once considered the site to be near Kydōnia (Map 2,E2). This was based on Pliny's assertion that the only deer on Crete were found in the Kydōnia area.\(^3\) Later scholars contended that since it was only by virtue of a false etymology that deer were linked with the city at all, there was no proof the city

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\(^1\) For ἄξαινης cf. Aristotle HA 611b.18, 506a.24; Babrius 95.87; Oppian Cynegetica 2.426; Anth. Pal. 6.165.2 (Phalaikos).

\(^2\) Faure, "La Crête," (1959), 188, (1960), 247. Faure adduces no reasons for his assertion. He may well be following Pashley (whom he does not cite) who suggested the same identification earlier, based on known Achaean colonists at Polyrrhēnia. Cf. Pashley, Travels, II.59.

\(^3\) Pliny HN 8.58.
had indeed possessed deer. There thus existed no compulsion
to place the city near Kydônia. 4

NATURE

The sources are unanimous in calling Achaia a city.

LITERARY TESTIMONIA

A. Scholia to Apollonius of Rhodes 4.175

Text: 5 ἀχαιινήσι: Ἀχαια ἐστι τῆς Κρήτης πόλις, ἐν ᾗ γίγνονται ἀχαιινήσις λεγόμενοι ἔλαφοι. (...) καὶ οἱ σπαθίναι λέγομενοι ἔλαφοι, οἷς κέρατα μεγάλα ἔχοντες κεράσται.

Translation: Achaiineen: Achaia is a city of Crete in which exist deer called "achaiineai"...and also the deer called "spathinai" (bladed), but those having large horns are called "kerastai" (horned).

Notes: 1) the ἀχαιινής is actually a stag of two years' growth. 6

4 Pashley, (note 2). Hoeck, Kreta, I.430-431. Cf. Meursius, Creta, 17. Note carefully that none of these men denies the city's existence, but rather mistrusts the veracity of the etymology. Cf. Thenon as cited by Spanakes, Krête, II.113, who sought to place Achaia at Temenia (Selinou).

5 As this site is not dealt with in the IC, all texts are printed in full.

6 See the careful work on the word in Hoeck, Pashley, and Meursius (all note 4). For another etymology, linked to ἀφὸς, "points", cf. George W. Mooney, ed., The Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1964 reprint of 1912 ed.), 312 on 4.175. Mooney also cites various arguments of other scholars who believe this word denotes a type of stag which has yet to receive its antlers.
2) The σπαθίναι are variously interpreted as differing from ἀχαιίναι by age or by horn growth. 7

3) A similarly worded variant of this text, quoted by Hoeck as being from the Parisian codex, is apparently his invention. A thorough check of editions of the scholia reveals no such text in the Parisian codex. 8

B. Etymologicon Magnum s.v. 'Αχαϊνέα

Text: 'Αχαϊνέα: ἡ ἐλαφος. Ἀπολλώνιος, ἦν τὸ ἀγράται ἀχαιϊνή καλέσατιν'. Ἀπὸ 'Ἀχαϊνέας πόλας, ἐν ἣς ἐξῆς εἰσεῖ ἐλάφων μεγάλων.

Translation: Achaiinea: The deer. Apollonius, "which the farmers call achaineē". From Achaiinea, the city, in which are species of large deer.

C. Etymologicum Genuinum s.v. 'Αχαϊνέα

Text: 9 'Αχαϊνέα: ἡ ἐλαφος. Ἀπολλώνιος ἐν δῷ πόλιν Ἀργοναυτικών. Ἀπὸ 'Ἀχαϊνέας πόλας, ἐν ἣς ἐξῆς ἐλάφων μεγάλων. Οὔτας Όρος Περὶ Ἐθνικών.

Translation: Achaiinea, the deer. Apollonius in the fourth book of his Argonautika. From Achaiinea, the city, in which there are species of large deer. So Oros

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7Eustathius ad Il. 9.249 (=711.39-40). Cf. Hesychius s.v. σπαθίνης and the Greek σπάθη, "sword". As age and antler growth are related, both ways of differentiating between the animals would appear valid.


9Unedited. The text and manuscript notes printed here are from Wendel, (note 8).
in his **Concerning Ethnics**.

**Notes:**

1) This passage has been overlooked by previous scholars dealing with this site.

2) οὐκ (sqq.): omitted in one manuscript, preserved in another.

3) On Oros, cf. *infra*, "Commentary".

**EPIGRAPHICAL TESTIMONIA**

A. Chadwick, *DOCS* 2, 209 no. 78.

**Date:** Uncertain, before 1200 B.C.\(^\text{10}\)

**Text:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a-ka-wi-ja-de</th>
<th>pa-ra-ti-jo RAMS 50</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pa-ro</td>
<td>HE-GOATS 50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Translation:**\(^\text{11}\) To Achaia: from Pallantios, fifty rams, fifty he-goats.

**Notes:**

1) The form A-ka-wi-ja-de clearly refers to a place name.\(^\text{12}\) It is highly unlikely that this place

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\(^{11}\) Translation is that of Ventris and Chadwick, *ad loc.*

\(^{12}\) So the authors, *DOCS* 2, 209. For similar forms cf. *DOCS* 2, "List of Places Named at Knossos and Pylos", 146-150.
existed outside of Crete as few, if any, place names on Cretan tablets can be located outside the island. 13

2) The form A-ka-wi-ja-de is transcribed Akhaiwande. The -de ending is the allative ending meaning "Towards".

3) This testimonium has been overlooked by previous scholars writing on this site. While it is not demonstrable that this "Achaia" is the same as the Achaia under consideration here, the testimonium should be considered in future treatments of the site.

COMMENTARY

As noted above, modern scholars tend to reject the existence of a city named Achaia in Crete, claiming that it "seems to have existed merely in his (i.e. the scholiast's) imagination". 14 This opinion was, perhaps, tenable when formed, but the new testimonia revealed above demand a re-evaluation.

Note first that we seem to possess two distinct traditions about Achaia. The scholiast's text would appear not to be derived from the same source as the remarkably

13 Cf. DOCS, 141, 209 no. 78, 436-437.

14 Mooney, (note 6).
similar texts of the two lexica. If this be true, then one must posit two separate inventions of the city Achaia, the first by the scholiast and another by Oros who is followed by both lexica.

Oros was a well known and widely published polymath and grammarian of the fifth century A.D. For his work on ethnics, we can imagine that his sources were probably similar in scope and reliability to those of Stephanus. More specifically, since he and Stephanus are near contemporaries, there is little reason to doubt that the Kretika of Xenion, used by Stephanus, was also available to Oros. The overlooked testimony of Oros to a Cretan Achaia thus becomes a strong argument for the city's existence.

Another fact, not previously mentioned by writers in this area, adds almost equal weight to the testimony of the scholiast to Apollonius. It is known that one of the three principal commentators who formed the basis for these scholia was a certain Loukillos from Tarrha on Crete (Map 2, E5). While he is not cited by name for

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15 For Oros cf. Wendel, PW, XVII.1177-1183 with 1181 on the Peri Ethnikon. Note that it was Wendel, apparently through his knowledge of Oros, who linked that author to the Achaia testimonia. Cf. note 9, supra.

passage, it is very tempting to see his hand at work in the area. He would have been most qualified to know of a Cretan Achaia and, perhaps, less prone to invent one. It must, of course, remain uncertain whether Oros ultimately used Loukillos as a source.17

In summary then, it appears that Achaia has, on the basis of this new information, more credibility than previously granted it by Cretan scholars. While its existence can not be unquestionable, as it lacks the confirmation of the archaeologist's spade, it clearly can no longer be viewed as the invention of a fanciful scholiast. The new evidence of the authority of Oros and of his role as the source for our knowledge of Achaia in Crete, coupled with the new testimonium of the Etymologicum Genuinum and with the possible Cretan origin for the scholium to the passage of Apollonius of Rhodes, totally obviate all previous opinions held concerning Achaia.

Finally, if the Linear B mention of an Achaia can be applied to this site, a bit of the site's history can be reconstructed, yielding a picture of a site that flourished in the earliest years of Crete, but fell into

17 The date of Loukillos is uncertain, but is best put before Hadrian and probably under Tiberius. Gudeman, (note 16), 1785-1787.
obscurity before it could be catalogued by such later authors as Pliny or Ptolemy. All that remained of the city was a vague tradition, left to us by at least two different sources, that it had taken its name from the variety of wild deer that inhabited its area.
ACHARNA

NAME

The name appears but once, in the locative-dative form 'Ἀχαρνα'.

LOCATION

The nature of the inscription shows that the site must be near Knossos and Tylissos. The temenos of Archos is said to be in Acharna, and the temenos is used as one of the boundaries between Knossos and Tylissos.¹ These facts plus the analogy of the ancient name with the modern name of Acharnes have led scholars to accept Archanes (Map 3, L5) as the site of ancient Acharna.²

NATURE

Faure places Acharna among his cities, apparently stressing the archaeological finds in and near Archanes. The ancient testimonia actually give no hint of Acharna as a city and the finds at Archanes have been predominately

¹ IC, I.viii.4*b.6-9, 15-17. Cf. Inscription A, infra, with note.
Minoan in date. The nature of Acharna is thus perhaps best left as an unknown.

EPIGRAPHICAL TESTIMONIA

A. IC, I.viii.4*b.15-16.
   Date: Middle of the fifth century B.C.
   Summary: Archos will keep his temenos in Acharna as one of the stipulations in the treaty between Tylisos and Knossos, arbitrated by Argos.
   Notes: 1) Archos is probably a god or hero, whose temenos, mentioned in ll. 6-9 of the inscription, is given as one of the boundaries between the two cities.

B. IC, II.10.1.23.
   Date: Perhaps third century B.C.
   Comment: The name of a village given in this inscription at line 23 is greatly disputed. Each of the two manuscripts which preserve the text of the now lost inscription offers a different reading. The Cod. Ambros. D 199 reads AAXANIΔ while the Cod. Ambros. R 124 offers AAYANΔ (sic) with a marginal correction of AAXANIΔ

3Faure, "La Cre.te,"(1959), 194 no 14b, 199; (1960), 236 no.14 bis, 241.

4Here and throughout this work the dates given for inscriptions are, unless indication is given to the contrary, the date assigned by Guarducci for the inscription in question.
Vollgraff proposes to emend these into the Greek name Αλχανία, which he says is equal to Αρχανία, seeing then a reference to the town in question. Guarducci rejects this and other emendations, printing the form Λαχανία in her text.

5 These are the readings offered by Guarducci ad loc.
ACHERDOEIS

NAME

As Faure indicates, the name is to be associated with the Greek word for the prickly pear (αχρόδος) and probably originally indicated a place covered with pear trees. Note that the exact form of the name is in some doubt, and it is printed as [τὸν Ἀ]χρόδοιτα. The letters in brackets do not represent emendations or restorations, but are known only from manuscript copies of a second version of the inscription. This inscription was discovered and published earlier, but was subsequently lost.

LOCATION AND NATURE

The inscription containing the name Acherdoeis delineates the boundaries of Latō. The site is thus to be sought near Latō itself. Faure's attempt to locate it to the southeast of Latō, just north of Malla, is not


2 I note that this very word appears once in a Cretan inscription, IC, I.vi.19B.18. Interestingly, this too is an inscription setting boundaries.

3 Faure, (note 1), 97. Cf. Guarducci's prefatory note to IC, I.xvi.5. Note also that early transcribers read the site as 'Αχρόδειτα. Cf. IC, loc. cit., l. 61 with notes and Blass, SGDE, 5075.61 with notes.
Faure makes a connection between the etymology of the ancient site's name and the modern Mt. Achlada Metochi. Achlada is the modern Greek word for pear. While the similarity of names is interesting it is not compelling. Faure first must assume that the ancient site is a mountain, but the inscription gives no indication that this is so. Secondly, he places his site to the south with equal lack of evidence. While the toponyms are probably listed in some sort of order, there seems to be nothing to sustain Faure's clockwise progression from the northeast.

EPIGRAPHICAL TESTIMONIA

A. IC, I.xvi.5.61-62.

Date: Second half of the second century B.C.

Summary: Acherdoeis is listed as one of fifty toponyms defining Lato's boundaries. Listed between Deradas and Dios Akron.

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4 Faure, (note 1), 107 n.34, 109, and map between 96 and 97.

5 Faure's new reading of "eastwards" at 1. 51, one of the keys to his progression, is in fact an emendation based on the incomplete copies of the lost inscription and is thus of very weak persuasiveness. Cf. Guarducci at IC, I.xvi.5.51 for the true state of the text.
ADIOUNOS (?)

NAME

The name of this site is unsure, being only found in an adjectival-ethnic form. See "Commentary".

LOCATION AND NATURE

This city is not located accurately. See "Commentary".

LITERARY TESTIMONIA

A. Synagogē Lexeōn Chresimōn s.v. Ἀδιούνιος ταῦρος

Text: 1 Ἀδιούνιος ταῦρος: ὁ ἥλιος ὑπὸ τῶν Κρητῶν οὕτως λέγεται. φασὶ γὰρ τὴν πόλιν μετοικίζοντα ταῦρῳ προσεικασθέντα προηγεῖσθαι.

Translation: Adiounios tauros: So the Sun is called by the Cretans, for they say that he (the Sun) took on the likeness of a bull and led the way when guiding the (or "his") city to a new location.

Notes: 1) This same text is found elsewhere 2 with the following changes:

1 The text printed here is from An.Gr., Bachmann, I.30.

The text printed above is used here for the first time in the study of Cretan toponyms. Indeed, the text, originally from Photius, has been largely ignored.

The word is cited in LSJ, but no explanation is offered for its derivation or meaning. The same procedure is followed by Jessen. Willetts notes the source, but only alludes to Cook's suggestion that the word may be a dialectical form of Adonis. Hoefer quotes Reinach as suggesting a connection with the month name Audounaios.

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3 Neither Guarducci nor Faure seem anywhere to have alluded to the text in question.
4 On the text history see O. Hoefer in Roscher, Lexicon, s.v. "Tauros Adiounios".
5 Jessen, "Helius," PW, VII.66.
6 Willetts, Cults, 101 with n. 240.
7 Cook, Zeus, I.468 n. 8. On bulls and founding legends cf. ibid., II.348-349.
8 Hoefer, (note 4).
9 On this month cf. IC, I.viii. "Historica" (p. 52).
It is my contention that a better explanation of the word may be found in viewing it as an ethnic form of an elsewhere unattested Cretan city. Thus, the Sun would be the "Adiounian Bull" since he led out a city called 'Adiounioς to another location while guised as a bull. Crete abounds in gods named after topoi. A few examples will suffice. Zeus Diktaios and Idaios are frequently found, each epithet having been formed from the name of a mountain. The same procedure yielded the epithet Tallaios, applied both to Hermes and Zeus. More useful in the present case, however, and far more frequent, are epithets formed from city names. Examples include Eleuthyia Binatia (Inatos), Athenaia Oleria (Oleros), and Artemis Aptera (Aptera) and Rhokkaia (Rhokka). Note the -ios/ia ending of the ethnic which coincides perfectly with the form "Adiounios".

10 The final syllable of the name admits of no certitude. Other possible forms include 'Adiounion, 'Adiouniov and 'Adiouniov.

11 Cook, Zeus, II.927-938.
12 Ibid., II.948 n.1.
13 TC, IV.174.60-61.
14 Ibid., II.58, 74.
15 TC, II.iii.2*.56.
16 Aelian NA 14.20.
One final point strengthens the suggestion that Adiounos was a specific city or town tied to this myth. Note that the text states specifically that the Sun changed into a bull while relocating τὴν πόλιν. If the author did not have a specific city in mind, we should have expected πόλιν τινά. Further, as both Willetts and Cook noted, it is quite possible and accurate to translate this phrase as "his city", a translation which would further add to the connection of the Sun and the city changing its location.

LOCATION OF ADIOUNOS

The text itself is devoid of any clues as to the location of Adiounos. Certain locations can be offered as possible sites for the city, however.

Adiounos could reasonably be expected near or under the influence of one of the Cretan cities worshipping the Sun. In order of strongest evidence for a Sun-cult, these are Polichna, Gortyn, Olous, Dreros, Hierapytna.

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18 IC, II.xxii.1.1, a dedication to the Sun.
19 IC, IV.65.7-8, sacrifice of a sheep to the Sun.
20 IC, I.xxii.9.1. Dedication to Apollo as Phoibos. Note here the Apollo/Helios confusion in the text itself.
22 IC, III.iii.3A.3. Sun sworn to, but perhaps more
Lytto,23 and Apollonia.24 Unfortunately, the coins of no Cretan city bear the Sun's image to further attest the cult.25

A second method of approach would be to look for bulls in relation to known cities. Unfortunately, the ubiquity of a taurine shaped Zeus on Crete yields an over proliferation of names.26 Note, however, that of those cities with some evidence of a Sun-cult, only Gortyn has the bull on its coins.27

The last possible location of Adiounos is both known and unknown. We are told by Aelian28 that the people of Rhaukos were forced to leave the original site of their

in deference to the Rhodians than due to a cult. Cf. Guarducci, _ad loc._

23 IC, I.xviii.9*0.7. Sun sworn to (?) (passage restored).

24 This is suggested only insofar as Apollo may have been worshipped in his guise as Phoibos at one of the Cretan Apollonias (qq.v.).

25 Cook's suggestion in Zeus, I.472 with fig. 328, that the rays encircling a bull on certain Gortynian coins represent a "god of light", requires much more proof before it can be accepted.

26 Cf. the list of coin-portrayed bulls in LeRider, _Monnaies_, 308-309, s.v. "Taureau". To this list add the coins of Ainaon ( q.v. _infra_, s.v. "Aina").

27 Cf. Wroth, _Catalogue_, Pl. X for examples.

28 Aelian NA 17.35. The text is quoted below, s.v. "Rhaukos". Note that Aelian is quoting as his source one Antenor of Crete, on whom cf. _FGrH_, IIIb. no 463.
city after being driven out by savage bees. Since Aelian also quotes Antenor as stating that the bees were still on Mt. Ida in his day, we can assume that the original Rhaukos was near this mountain.

One is tempted to equate this first Rhaukos with Adiounos. The difficulty lies with the fact that Aelian plainly states that both the original and the new city bore the same name. Possible solutions to this problem seem few, but Rhaukos and the city here called Adiounos remain the only Cretan cities known to have definitely re-located.

It must finally be admitted that Adiounos may have been a city known to us from no other source, and that it must therefore remain a mystery. In summary, however, it would seem clear that a previously unknown city whose ethnic name form was Adiounios once existed on Crete. It

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29 On the history of these bees, seemingly overlooked previously, cf. infra, "Rhaukos".

30 Guarducci, IC, I.xxix. "Historica", errs when she tries to locate the story in Aelian NA 15.26 at Cretan Rhytion. Aside from the similarity of the story (a city forced to move by insects) there is no proof to back this conjecture. Aelian's "Rhoitieis" must first be arbitrarily emended to yield "Rhytion" and there are, moreover, many places whose names, unchanged, could fit Aelian's text. Finally, there is nothing in the text itself to even remotely suggest a Cretan context.

31 It is very possible that the original city name was Adiounos and that the re-founded city took a new name, forgetting a perhaps unlucky first location.
also seems safe to claim that this town, whose location is unknown, possessed a relocation myth in which the Sun, in the guise of a bull, played a vital part.
AERIA

NAME

The name 'Acpia would seem to derive from the word ἁμορ and to denote mistiness or murkiness.¹ For a possible connection with the site Aéros, cf. infra, s.v.

LOCATION AND NATURE

The location is unknown.² According to Stephanus the site was a city of fairly important status.

LITERARY TESTIMONIA

A. Stephanus Byzantius s.v. 'Acpia

Text: 'Acpia, ἡ Ἀγυμντος, παρὰ τὸν ἀέρα. καὶ γὰρ ἄροςασαν

¹Cf. LSJ, s.v. 'Ακρία. See also the passage of Stephanus quoted below. For the various names of Crete, cf. Ioannes Kalitsounakes, "Alla Onomata τῆς Krētēs," Pepragmena B' Diethnous Krētologikou Synedriou (Athens: Philologikos Syllogos ho Chrysostomos, 1963), II.49.

²Spanakes, "Anekdotos Katalogos," 277-299, represents a source lying outside the time limitations imposed upon the present work (dated 1574, cf. ibid., 278 n. 2). Here however, due to the paucity of information available on the site Aeria, it is worthwhile to note that the catalogue lists Aeria as one of the famed 100 cities of Crete, adding "Aeria la quale anco si chiamava doliche et Dea perche era posta per mezz' il monte Ida" (ibid., 279). This location on Mt. Ida would be tempting but for the fact that the cataloguer has misread Stephanus, first reading Dea for Idaia and, in general, applying to towns information that applies to the whole island. The same seems to have happened in the unedited list compiled by Barozzi. Cf. Faure, "La Crête," (1959), 174 with notes. In both cases it is of use to note that the Italian cataloguers
Translation: Aeria: Egypt, because of the mist.
For people say it is misty. The people are "Aerioi" and (in the singular) "Aerites", from the genitive "aeros".
There is also a Celtic city named Aeria according to Apollodoros in the fourth book of his "Chronicles". There is also another, far from insignificant, of Crete, which island was called Aeria, and also Idaia, and Dolichē on account of its length. The ethnics are the same.

COMMENTARY
The existence of this site has been overlooked by scholars in the field of Cretan topography. Guarducci, Faure, and even Meursius fail to mention it. This is due, I feel, to a misreading of the text.

It has long been known that Crete was once called

read Stephanus (their main source) in such a way as to yield a city named Aeria.
It is also of interest to point out that a modern site called Stavromenos on the north coast of Crete, east of Rhethymno (Map 3, H4) was once called "Αγριόν, but was pronounced Αγρίο. Cf. S. Hood, et al., "Travels in Crete, 1962," BSA, 59(1964), 62 and infra, s.v. "Agrion".
It would thus be easy to misinterpret Stephanus' passage and read it to mean that only the island Crete was called Aeria. A close look at the Greek of the text renders this interpretation impossible.

Stephanus says first that Egypt was once called Aeria and then, as is his custom, lists other instances of the name. Note that he next lists a Celtic Aeria, specifically telling us that it is a city. He next tells us of "another" in Crete. It is here, I feel, that previous investigators have mis-translated. It is clear that άλη must refer to either πόλις or to Αρία. Finally, note that the genitive Κρήτης is Stephanus' normal usage to indicate location. These facts combine to show clearly that Stephanus is talking of another Aeria that exists on Crete, and is in no way referring to the island as a whole.

It is probable that previous investigators read the next part of Stephanus' statement incorrectly as well, taking it to reinforce their opinion that it was only the

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3PW, I.676 tells us it was also a name for Egypt, Thasos, the Thessalians, and a city in Gallia Narbonensis. Add to this list Libya, Sicily, Aithiopia, and Cyprus as places once called Aeria (cf. Hesychius s.v. Αρία). On Crete as Aeria see Hesychius loc cit., Gellius 14.6.4, Pliny HN 4.58, Solinus 11.5, Stephanus Byzantius as printed above and s.v. Κρήτη.

4 See, for example, s.vv. Δραμάνη or Ελαία. For other examples see Svoronos, Numismatique, 29 with n. 2.
island that was called Aeria. Indeed, at first glance the relative 办好 can be confusing, but it is clear from Stephanus' insertion of the word ἅφτοσ that he has stopped talking of Aeria the city, and is noting the fact that the whole island also bore the name Aeria among its many epithets. Returning to a discussion of cities, Stephanus ends the passage by telling us that the ethnics (viz. of Celtic and Cretan Aeria) are the same as that of Aeria when it refers to all of Egypt.

It is thus clear that Stephanus was aware of two uses of the name "Aeria" on Crete. One was the old name for the island as a whole, the other the name of a fairly distinguished city that retained the name as its own.

It is impossible to ascertain whether or not this Cretan city called Aeria actually existed. We would, in fact, be quite grateful for Stephanus' source of information. These matters are, however, of secondary importance. It is clear that Stephanus was convinced of the existence of a city of this name on Crete and that it should now take its place on lists of Cretan toponyms.
AÉROS

NAME

Derivation may be similar to that of Aeria (q.v.).

LOCATION AND NATURE

Aéros is known as a city, but its location is unknown.

LITERARY TESTIMONIA

A. Theognostus Kanōnes ΤΣΑ (= An. Gr. Oξ.III.71)


Translation: Proparoxytones in -eros, over two syllables, both proper names and appellatives alike, not stemming from a verb, are written with an -e. For example: Homéros; Abdéros; Aéros, a Cretan City; Phaléros; Andéros; Hibéros; sidéros; aséros; eriéros; Seuérus.

COMMENTARY

This site was noted by Faure¹ who makes no comment about it. He likewise fails to explore the very distinct possibility that Aéros is the same city as Stephanus'
Hopefully, detailed research into Theognostus' sources and especially into his relationship with Stephanus will shed light on this matter. If the two sites are indeed identical, it is highly likely that Αéros/Aeria represents a very late city on Crete as both Stephanus and Theognostus are fairly late sources. The possibility that these late texts reflect earlier sources such as Xenion or Herodianus Technicus must not be ignored, however.

2 Presumably, the form "Αηρος/ω would be formed by analogy with the nominative Αηρ with 'Αερος based on the genitive Αερος, which is the usual stem for adjectives. Cf. Αερος, Αεριβατικος, Αεριδοντος.
AGATHOIA

NAME

The name 'Αγάθοια seems Greek and can be well compared with Agatheia in Phocis.¹

LOCATION AND NATURE

By its use in the inscription, it is clear that Agathoia is located between Knossos (Map 4,L4) and Tylisos (Map 4,K/L4). Whether it represents a town, village, suburb, or perhaps merely a landmark, is unknown.

EPIGRAPHICAL TESTIMONIA

A. ICODE, I.viii.4*b.8

Date: Near the middle of the fifth century B.C.

Summary: Agathoia is listed as one of the boundaries between Knossos and Tylisos. It is found between Leukoporon and "the place where the water flows".

¹Cf. Stephanus Byzantius s.v. 'Αγάθοια.
AGKAIAS

NAME

Fick considers the name Ἀγκαίας to be of non-Greek origin, although he admits that it is almost equally likely to be Greek.¹ Since the Greek stem generally refers to arms, and especially to a bent arm or elbow,² I hold for Greek origin of the word. Such a stem is very well suited to describe the bend of a river or stream and even to describe the winding course of a small rivulet in its entirety. Compare, for example, the English, "Crooked Creek".

LOCATION AND NATURE

The inscription shows that Agkaias, clearly called a river, is located on the borders of Gortyn, Priansos and Hierapytna (Maps 4, K6, M6; 5, P6).

EPIGRAPHICAL TESTIMONIA

A. IC, IV.174.31

Date: Beginning of the second century B.C.

²Note especially ἁγκάλα, LSJ, s.v. The idea of embracing is also involved in the word (cf. ἁγκαλλέομαι) which might allow the interpretation of a river that surrounds an area.
Summary: The Agkaias is given as one of the boundary markers of the Priansian territory. The Priansian land is to stretch from the sea up to the Agkaias.
AGNEION

NAME

The form 'Ἀγνείον' appears in Mueller's text of the SMM. Buerchner seems to agree with Mueller's conjecture of 'Ἀγνείον'. Gail felt no proper name was intended by the author and proposes to read the simple Ἐγιόν.²

An etymology of the site's name is attempted by Buerchner,³ but his choice of Ἐγνος as the root word is unfortunate. He thus takes 'Ἀγνείον' to mean "Ort wo viele Keuschlammstrauecher stehen". Buerchner explains that a "Keuschlammstrauch" is a very special bush signified by the Greek Ἐγνος. This etymology is quite weak since Ἐγνος can equally signify a bird or a fish.⁴ It is perhaps wiser to associate the name with the simple stem ἄγνει- which signifies chastity and religious purity.⁵ The presence of the Apollo temple at the site aids this religious connection.

¹PW, VII.2207.
²Cited by Mueller, ad SMM 338 (=GGM, I.511).
³PW, Suppl. I, 28, s.v. "Agneion".
⁴Cf. LSJ s.v. Ἐγνος (多种形式).
⁵Ibid., s.v. Ἐγνεία.
LOCATION

According to the SMM, moving up the west coast of Crete and then along the northern coast from west to east, Agneion lay fifty stades east of Treton and eighty stades west of Kisamos (Map 2,B2).

Modern scholars and maps are in general agreement about placing Agneion somewhere on Crete's westernmost promontory, today called Grambousa (Map 2,B1/2). The exact location of the site itself remains unknown.

NATURE

The site was apparently a small harbor with a temple to Apollo. No city should be posited on the evidence available.

LITERARY TESTIMONIA

A. SMM 338-339


7 The generally accepted location at Hagios Sostis is not well enough founded in fact to be accepted as irrefutable. See Guarducci, Faure, Spanakes (note 6). Cf. Mueller's map for the SMM in GGM III and Buerchner's map in PW, XI.1807-1808. For Hagios Sostis cf. Map 2,B2.

Text: 338. Ἀνὸ τοῦ Ἰτητοῦ εἰς Ἀγνείον στάδιον ν’ ἔχει ἐκεῖ Ἀπόλλωνας᾽ ἔστει δὲ ἐκατέρτος κόλπος, καὶ καλεῖται Μυρτίλος καὶ ὕδωρ ἔχει.

339. Ἀνὸ Ἀγνείου εἰς Κισαμον στάδιον π’ πόλις ἔστειν ἐν κόλπῳ κειμένη. ἔστει δὲ λιμήν ἔχει καὶ ὕδωρ.

Translation: (338) From Treton to Agneion is fifty stades. It is a port, having a temple of Apollo. There is a bay more to the interior which is called Myrtilos. It too has water. (339) From Agneion to Kisamos is eighty stades. It is a city lying on a bay. There is a harbor. It has water as well.

COMMENTARY

Certain scholars have felt the need to eliminate Agneion. Mueller⁹ leans in that direction, preferring to take Gail’s ἅγιον as an adjective only and replace the site Agneion with Pliny’s Elaea, thus rendering the text as a reference to "holy Elaea".

Faure has similar problems with Agneion. He notes that ancient sources list three sites in the same general area and claims, "Trois ports pour une côte aussi inhospitalière, c’est beaucoup".¹⁰ Of the three sites (Elaea, Korykos, Agneion) Faure suggests that Elaea may be either

⁹Mueller, (note 2).
¹⁰Faure, (note 6), 240.
a doublet for one of the other two ports or merely the name for the region.

The problem admits no easy solution, but, in my opinion, it can be better understood by a careful analysis of the sources. Note first that there are actually four sites in the area: Agneion (SMM); Elaea (Pliny); Korykos (Ptolemy); Myrtilos (SMM, overlooked by Faure). While one more site would seem to further complicate matters, strengthening Faure's argument, this is not the case.

It is first worthy of note that each site is known by one author alone. This is partly due, perhaps, to the vagaries of time (although the sources are relatively close to each other chronologically) and partly due to the aims of each author. The author of the SMM, for example, had little use for listing cities. His chore was a practical one, listing usable ports for a ship sailing Crete's coast. This brings us to the second point. Faure wrongly calls the sites in the area "trois ports". Pliny clearly lists his Elaea as a city. Ptolemy calls his Korykos as a promontory and a city. The SMM alone lists ports as such, Agneion and Myrtilos. We are thus left with only two real ports in this area. While the other cities may have lain near the sea, there is no reason to designate them as ports.

Guarducci, (note 6), agrees, saying "Quod item valde obscurum relinquimus".
Finally, Faure's argument shows a misunderstanding of the purpose of the SMM and the nature of its information. The very fact that it lists two ports of call in the same section (Agneion and Myrtilos bay) should make this clear. Agneion is listed as a harbor having a temple of Apollo. Myrtilos is more inland and has water. Clearly the author is giving valuable information to the sailor. While the outer, and presumably more exposed, harbor may be useful for quick stops and pious actions, it is the inner harbor that offers complete protection and that special need for all ancient sailing vessels, fresh water. It is thus clear that two or even three ports in one area are not too many. One may offer a trading station, another water, a third shelter only in the winter time. This sort of practical information is not governed by the same rules applicable to an author such as Pliny or Ptolemy, who set down only the more significant towns or landmarks.

In light of this information, it would seem rash to reject arbitrarily the sites listed by the ancient sources. Similarly, care should be taken to preserve the nature and intent of these sources, waiting for archaeological confirmation before cities are called ports or ports cities.

12 Cf. SMM 336, 345.
AGRION

NAME

The name of this site appears variously as 'Αγρίον, 'Αγρός and 'Αριόν. 1

LOCATION

The Bishopric of Agrion is regularly located between that of Aulopotamos and that of Lappa (Lampē) in the Notitiae Graecae Episcopatum. 2 The seat of the Diocese lay near modern Berna Episkopē, west of Rhithymna. Ruins of the city Agrion have been identified close to the sea at modern Stavromenos by Platon3 (Map 3,13).

1 Note that in the Notitiae the names always appear in the genitive and that the nominative forms are thus slightly conjectural. On the plethora of name forms see Buerchner, PW, Suppl. I, 31-32 and Nicholas Platon, "Symbolē εἰς τον Τοπονυμικόν, τῆν Τοπογραφικὴν καὶ τὴν Ηστορικὴν τοῦ Πολεον καὶ Φρούριον τῆς Κρήτης: Γ' Πολεις τῆς Α΄ Ἀκτῆς μεταξὺ Δρεπάνου καὶ Διου Ακροῦ," Κρητικα Χρονικα, 2(1948), 363. Agrion seems to have been the earliest form of the name. Cf. also "Aeria", note 2, supra.

2 It is thus difficult to understand the statement of Buerchner, (note 1), 32, that "Das Bistum lag zwischen dem von Aulopotamos (Mylopotamos) und dem von Rhithymna oder Kalamon".

LITERARY TESTIMONIA

A. Notitiae Graecae Episcopatum

a) 3.444

Text: θρόνος τριακοστός

Τῷ τῆς νήσου Κρήτης

440
α ὁ Γορτύνης
β ὁ Κωνσέω
γ ὁ 'Αρκαδίας
δ ὁ Χερονήσου
ε ὁ Ἀδαλαπταμοῦ
ζ ὁ τοῦ Ἀγρίου

445
η ὁ Λάμπης
θ ὁ Κυκλονίας
ι ὁ Ἰεράς
τ ὁ Πέτρας
τα ὁ Σιτείας

450
τβ ὁ Κισσάμου

Translation: The thirtieth (metropolitan) throne.

To the throne of the island of Crete (are subject): a, the Bishop of Gortyn; b, the Bishop of Knossos; etc. List follows in genitive, requiring no translation.

b) 10.555

Text: Τη νήσῳ Κρήτη

550
δ ὁ Γορτύνης
δ ὁ Κωνσέω
δ ὁ 'Αρκαδίας
δ ὁ Χερονήσου

For additional (and much later) references that lie beyond the scope of this work see Buerchner, (note 1) and Faure, "Nouvelles Recherches," (note 3).

The entire text is printed to afford some idea of context and the nature of the work.
Translation: As above, in genitive. At end, "Total, twelve".

c) 13.405

Text: Τη νήσῳ Κρήτη

Translation: As above.

COMMENTARY

This site is not mentioned by Faure or Guarducci who apparently feel it to be of too late a date, since its only testimonia are of Byzantine origin.⁶

⁶Note, however, that Faure lists cities cited only by the quite late Theognostus. Cf., e.g., "Atrikos", infra.
AIGAION

NAME

Hesiod (infra) writes the form Αϊγαίων ορέων. His scholiast prefers the form Αίγως ορέων.

LOCATION

The existence of a cave on modern Mt. Lassithi, near ancient Lyttos (Map 4,N5), has long been known. Early scholars thought it represented the Diktaion Cave, but were later proved wrong. It is today generally accepted that the cave on Lassithi is the Aigaion Cave and, consequently, that Lassithi itself is ancient Mt. Aigaion. Faure's attempt to make Mt. Aigaion only a double for Mt. Ida unjustifiably ignores Hesiod's definite location of the mountain near Lyttos.

NATURE

The sources tell us of a mountain and a cave of the same name. The cave was a sacred spot, in use from

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1 The emended forms Αἷγαίων (Salmasius) and Αἷγιών (of Willamowitz) are unnecessary. Cf. Cook, Zeus, II.9251.

2 Cook, Zeus, II.9251-926.

There is no reason to assume habitation.

LITERARY TESTIMONIA

A. Hesiod *Theogony* 481-484


Summary: Earth took the infant Zeus to Crete, near Lyttos, and hid him in Mt. Aigaion.5

B. Scholia to Hesiod, loc. cit.

Text: 6 484. ἑκείσασθαι, ὅτι καὶ οὗτος αἴγιοχον ἔκουσεν τὸν Δία, ἐπεὶ αἷμα ἐκθάσασεν. Ὅφθ᾽ ἐν Κρήτῃ καὶ δίοις δρόσοις καλεῖται, καὶ Αἴγαιον τὸ ὦτ ξενών ἔκδικον καλόμενον. 'Ο δὲ ὁμήρος, ἀνὰ τὸν ίδίον ὅπλον τῆς αἰγίδος, αἰγίοχον αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσεν.

Translation: Note that he too understands Zeus as "Aigiochos" since he suckled at a goat. From this an Aigos Oros (=Goat Mountain) in Crete is named, the same being called Aigaion incorrectly by some. Homer called him "Aigiochos" from his very own shield, the aegis.

Notes: 1) The form ἔκδικος is grammatically questionable and should, preferably, be ἐκδίκος.7 The editor,

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4Cook, Zeus, II.926-927. The cave apparently was not heavily used in later times. Cf. IC, I.1.Praef. (p. 1).

5Although the text is clearly talking of Earth at this point, Guarducci incorrectly says of this passage (note 4), "In antro Aegaeo Rhea Ioem occultat", (underlining mine).

6This text is omitted by Guarducci (note 4).

7LSJ, s.v. ἐκδίκος. But οὐ as adverbial neuter is defensible.
Gaisford, suggests emending the word to read Δυτατον. 8 Here he perhaps follows Meursius 9 who would change Νυκτον in Hesiod's text to Δυτον. These emendations are unfounded and actually unnecessary as the text is essentially sound.

2) On Zeus, Crete, and goats, cf. infra, "Aigidokos".

C. Scholia to Aratus Phainomena 33 (=ed. Maass, 346-347)

a) The text of Aratus, necessary to proper understanding of the scholia, is here presented.

**Text:**

```
Κρητηθεν κευναι γε Διος μεγαλοι ιοτης
οδανον ελεανεβησαν, δ μιν τοτε κοριζοντα
Δικτη εν αθανα, θρεος σχεδον Ιδαεοια.
 Αντρω εγκατεστητο και ξτρεφον εις ξνιωτδν.
```

**Translation:** They (i.e. Kynosoura and Helike, the two Bears of heaven), by will of great Zeus, entered into the sky, from Crete, for at the time when he was growing up in fragrant Dikton, near Mt. Ida, they placed him in a cave and nursed him for upwards of a year.

**Notes:** 1) The basic problem with the text is that Mt. Ida is not near Mt. Dikte at all (Map 6). It is this discrepancy with which the scholiast below tries to contend. Strabo 10 also complained of Aratus' poor geography.

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9 Meursius, Creta, 74.
10 Strabo 10.4.12 (p. 478).
b) Scholia ad loc.

Text: 11 σχεδὸν Ἰδάφειος: τινὲς γράφουσι σχεδὸν Δίγαφοι παρ "Ἡσίδου λαβώντες, φάσκοντες τραφήναι τὸν Δία "Δίγαφος έν δρει πεπικασμένη χλῆστιν". η δὲ μηδὲν τότεν δρος έν Κρήτῃ Δίγαφοι, ἐμείναν διαστάλλειν τὴν ἀναγκάσει ο μίν --- ὅτε σάτον--- κουρίσοντα Δίκτην έν σώδεις και ἐφ' ἐτέρας ἀρχῆς ἐρχομέναι δρος σχεδὸν Πελοπόννησος ἄντρῳ ἐγκατέσκευκα καὶ νεοῖν, ὅτε ἐγεννήθη μὲν έν τῇ Δίκτῃ, μετακομίσθη δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ ἅρπαν τῆς Ἰδής.

Translation: "near Ida": Some write "near Aigaion", following Hesiod, saying that Zeus was reared "on the Aigaion Mount, thick with wood". If, however, there is no Mt. Aigaion of Crete, it is better to thus divide the reading: "at the time when he was growing up in fragrant Dikton" and to begin anew with "They set him in a cave near Mt. Ida", and to understand that he was born in Dikte, but was moved to the cave of Ida.

COMMENTARY

It would be useful to offer here a summary view of the situation presented by the ancient testimonia. Hesiod, his scholia, and the scholia to Aratus mention the site Aigaion by name. Of the unemended texts, only Hesiod's gives a location for Aigaion, viz. near Lyttos. Any other

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11 This text is cited but not quoted by Guarducci, (note 4).
location is the result of textual emendation, ancient or modern. These emendations are best shown schematically.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AUTHOR</th>
<th>LOCATION OF AIGAION IN ORIGINAL TEXT</th>
<th>EMENDED TEXT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hesiod</td>
<td>Near Lyttos</td>
<td>Near Dikte: Meursius, reading Δικτην for Δικτον</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scholia to Hesiod</td>
<td>None given</td>
<td>Near Dikte: Gaisford, reading Δικταιον for Δικταιον</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aratus</td>
<td>No mention of Aigaion, only of Dikte near Ida, patently false.</td>
<td>Certain ancient critics (unnamed by the scholiast) changed Ιδαφοιο to Αλγαφοιο, thus putting Aigaion near Dikte.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two things are made clear from this chart. First is that only Hesiod actually gives a location for Aigaion. Secondly, the tendency among those emending the texts in question is clearly to place Aigaion near Dikte in spite of the testimony of Hesiod. Since the location of Hesiod as near Lyttos is accepted by modern scholars, one must ask as to the reason behind the emendations.

The ancient critics of Aratus were clearly trying to save face for the author, who had incorrectly moved Mt. Dikte across the island to place it near Ida. While Aratus' geography is poor, it is no cause for emendation. We may be embarrassed by Keats' improper bestowal of the honor of the discovery of the Pacific, but there is no cause to

12Cf. supra, "Location".
emend the text of his poem.

What, then, of Meursius' emendation of Hesiod which, if followed, eliminates the only solid evidence for Aigaion's location and which (as the chart makes clear) is a strong voice in the movement to place Aigaion near Dikte? Meursius himself tells the reader why he chose to emend a sound text. "Sed legendum ibi censeo...Δικτών. Nam Dictum, sive Dicta...mons Cretae nobilissimus, sub quo antrum, in quo natum Jovem tradit Diodorus".13 Meursius, then, seems to be defending the precedence of Dikte's claim as the birthplace of Zeus. Curiously, Meursius himself immediately offers testimonia concerning Mt. Ida's claim as the birthplace of Zeus.14 The reader will also recall that the scholiast to Aratus even considered putting both sites in the story of Zeus' birth. It is clear, then, that both Ida and Dikte have a secure place in the legends of Zeus' birth. I propose that if Crete could support two caves claiming to have held the infant god, three should come as no surprise. Many places would have thus wished to garner some share of the glory in such a manner.

In this light the emendations offered by Gaisford and Meursius appear to be unnecessary and it would appear

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13 Meursius, (note 9).
14 Meursius, Creta, 75-77.
best to allow the texts to speak for themselves, permitting Aigaion, a mountain and cave near Lyttos, to take its place as a proposed holy site for Zeus.15

A final note must be added on the scholia to Aratus. This scholiast makes it quite clear that, in his time at least, the existence of Mt. Aigaion was in doubt. Two possibilities immediately present themselves. It is entirely possible, for example, that Hesiod has preserved for us the name of a totally fanciful mountain and cave. This need not imply mendacity. Hesiod could have been preserving a memory of a mythical name or could simply have been gulled himself. The second possibility is that such a mountain did indeed exist on Crete and that it existed where Hesiod claimed it did. Against this interpretation is the implied disbelief of the scholiast, but it must be considered that the unknown scholiast may not have known much about the island Crete. Indeed, this is the crux of the matter. Hesiod was an avowed mythographer, setting out the origins of the gods. I am much more prone to trust his facts than the questionings of an anonymous scholiast. While admitting that certitude is not possible, I would thus hold for the retention of the text of Hesiod as a sound testimonium for the name and location of Aigaion.

AIGIDOKOS

NAME

The name Ἀιγιδόκος is attested only in the scholia quoted below and has been previously overlooked in Cretan studies. As the text below indicates, the name is probably connected with the Greek αἰγίς or ἀγίς, perhaps with both. A search of Hesychius, Zonaras, Suda, the Etymologicon Magnum, and the dictionary of Liddell and Scott failed to give a citation for this word. It is of interest that Hesychius offers ᾧ Ἀιγιδόκος· Ἀιγιδοσκός, ὁ τὴν ἀγίδα ἔχων. I also note the name of a certain Cretan called Aigeidas, given in a papyrus as winning the dolichos in the eighty-third Olympiad (= 448 B.C.). Note finally that the word δοξός can mean both building beam and meteor. Of more relevance is the fact that the termination -δοξός or -δοχος, (from δέχομαι) is used in compounds to indicate "receiving". Given the prevalence

1 Cf. PW Suppl. I, 34, s.v. "Aigeidos".

2 Cf. LSJ s.v. If the meaning indicates meteor here, the possibility must be considered that the place named Aigidokos could refer to some natural formation in the stone that resembled a goat.

3 I wish to thank my advisor Rev. Raymond V. Schoder, S.J. for calling this meaning to my attention. This use of -δοχος is by far the most prevalent. For almost 100 examples of this termination, cf. Carl Darling Buck and Walter Peterson, A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1945), 672 (-δοχος) and 685 (-δοχος).
of Amaltheia on Crete (cf. infra, "Location"), I am confident that the name translates as "the place receiving the goat".

LOCATION

The goat is heavily associated with the Cretan version of the birth of Zeus. This goat, usually named Amaltheia,\(^4\) suckled Zeus either on Mt. Aigaion, which also takes its name from the goat, the Diktaion Cave, or on Mt. Ida (qq.v.).\(^5\) Thus, while no certitude is possible, it is most likely that this site is near one of these locales.\(^6\)

Given the etymology as proposed above, it is highly probably that this site may represent the area most commonly associated with Amaltheia or, conceivably, her final resting place.\(^7\)

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\(^4\) On the goat and Zeus' birth cf. Cook, Zeus, II.928, 961, 968. To this add the fact, apparently missed by Cook, that the goat is once called Climia. Cf. Brevis Expositio Vergilii Georgicorum ad Georg. II.536 (=Thilo-Hagen, III\(_2\).320).

\(^5\) Cook, Zeus, II.925\(_1\) (Aigaion), 927-929 (Dikta), 932\(_1\) (Ida). Aigaion is never directly linked to the goat, but due to the common confusion of the three birth/suckling sites, it should be considered here.

\(^6\) Note the probable origin of the name of Arkesion Antron, q.v. infra.

\(^7\) If the site is not to be specifically associated with Amaltheia, it must then refer to the wild mountain goat so prevalent in Minoan religious art, usually associated with peak cults. This goat is still in existence and inhabits the island of Dia where it is protected.
There seems little reason to suggest that the site was more than what the scholiast calls it, viz.

LITERARY TESTIMONIA

A. Scholia ad II. 2.157, Codex Par. 2767 (=An. Gr., Cramer, III.189)

Text: Αἰγιόχοιοι—τοῦ τὴν αἰγίδα ἔχοντος, αἰγὶς δὲ ἔστιν ὅπλον Δίως Ἥφαιστοσκευατόν. Ζαῦς ἀνέφηκαὶ Ἐρέας γενόμενος ἐν Κρήτῃ ἐπεκλήθη αἰγιόχος, διὰ τὸ αὐτόθεν τραφήναι, ἢ ἠς τινὲς φασὶ, διὰ τὸ αἰγα ἀνελόντα, τὴν μὲν δορὰν ἀμβιασάσθαι, τὰ δὲ κέρατα εἰς τόξον προσηθῆσαι θεοὶ καὶ Αἰγιοῖκον τόπον τινὰ ἐν Κρήτῃ καλεῖσθαι. Ἡσοροῖς Ἐθερίων.

Translation: Aigiochoi: the one holding the Aegis.

The Aegis is the Hephaistos-made shield of Zeus. Zeus, having been born of Kronos and Rhea in Crete is surnamed "Aigiochos" since it was there he was raised, or, as some say, since, having slain the goat, he first clothed himself in its skin and then bent its horns into a bow. It is from this that a certain place in Crete is called Aigidokos.

Euphorion so relates.

Notes: 1) ἐθερίην ὁ φερῶν cod.

COMMENTARY

As mentioned above, this testimonium, and thus the site itself, have been overlooked by scholars in the past. Further, the site is unattested from elsewhere. Thus, the temptation may arise to treat it as a corruption of a
known site name (e.g. Aigaion) or an invention of the scholiast as is suggested in the case of Achaia.

It is my contention that, given the existing evidence, we must accept the site as genuine. I can find no site whose name, corrupted, yields the form Aigidokos. Moreover, the scholiast quotes a source for his identification of the site. Whether that source is in fact Euphorion is immaterial. ⁸ It is virtually sure that the scholiast was citing a now lost authority, and thus the charge of invention must be dismissed. On the basis of such evidence, it must be accepted that a site named Aigidokos did exist on Crete.

⁸The source is probably Euphorion, however. The emendation is a simple one and Euphorion had an interest in things Cretan. Cf. Scholia on Aratus Phainomena 33. On Euphorion cf. O. Skutsch, PW, VI.1174-1190.
Blass\(^1\) suggested the forms \( \alpha \gamma \iota \rho \omicron \nu \) or \( \alpha \gamma \iota \zeta \rho \omicron \nu \) (i.e. the black poplar) in place of the presumed inscriptional form \( \tau \alpha \nu \alpha \gamma \iota \rho \omicron \nu \). As Faure points out there is no real justification for the change.\(^2\)

**LOCATION AND NATURE**

The site is used in the inscription as one of many boundary markers delineating Latō during the second half of the second century B.C. Faure, without really establishing the direction in which these boundary places are listed and without proving that the site need be a mountain,\(^3\) recognizes Aigyros almost due west of ancient Latō (Map 5, O/P5) at modern Mt. Aloida.\(^4\)

Perhaps all that can be safely said is that Aigyros lies between the boundary markers preceding and following it, between Danaparxos and Pamphyriasos, in the general area

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\(^1\) Blass, *SGDI*, on no. 5075.65.

\(^2\) Faure, "Aux Frontières," 97. Remember, however, that the inscription is of dubious text (cf. supra, "Acherdoeis, Name") and that the whole name is to be enclosed in brackets.

\(^3\) Cf. supra, "Acherdoeis, Location".

\(^4\) Faure, (note 2), 110 and map between 96 and 97.
EPIGRAPHICAL TESTIMONIA

A. IC, I.xvi.5.65
   **Date:** Second half of the second century B.C.
   **Summary:** Aigyros, where there are "stephanai", is given as a boundary marker of Laτó and is located between Danaparxos and Pamphyriasos.

B. IC, I.xvi.18.2
   **Date:** Second century B.C.
   **Comment:** Guarducci has restored this inscription quite heavily, using the inscription cited above as a guide. As a result she includes Aigyros in her restoration, using it as noted above.
AINA (?)

NAME

The form of the nominative is conjectural. The only form known to us is the genitive plural of the (presumably) ethnic form. This is found on the coins as AINAON. The forms Alvaci'li or Al'vaoi have been proposed for the people inhabiting the site. To my knowledge, only one form has been presented for the site issuing the coins, viz. AINA. By comparison with other Cretan names I note, however, that the expected genitive plural of the ethnic of AINA should yield AINAION, not AINAON.

In an attempt, then, to arrive at a more acceptable form of the site's name, I have sought out cities with similar names.

The closest names found are "Aīva in Arabia, Alvía.  

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1 P. Faure, "Sept Nouvelles Villes de la Crète Antiques," Krētika Chronika, 19(1965), 222. This article is essentially a summary of Christodoulopoulos (note 2).


3 Cf. infra for normal forms, especially note 12.

4 PW, I.1009.

5 Stephanus Byzantius s.v.
Unfortunately, none of these cities bears ethnics which would yield the genitive plural \( \text{Alv}_\text{ωv} \).

A further problem which, to my knowledge, is here presented for the first time, becomes clear when the form in question is compared with the usual forms of ethnics on Cretan coins.

A genitive plural ethnic is commonly used on the coins of Crete indicating, e.g. "(coin) of the Axians". A check of the spellings of these forms raises certain problems.

The most commonly found spelling bears the termination \(-\text{ωv}\). Other forms seen are \(-\text{οv}\), \(-\text{ωv}\).

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6 PW, I.1028-1029. Cf. also note 15 (infra).

7 Cf. Pape-Benseler, Griech. Eigen., 36-38, s.vv., where also see other names of similar forms.

8 Before the third century B.C. and the differentiation of omicron and omega it is difficult to tell if the ending is genitive plural or neuter, nominative singular (agreeing with νόμισμα or παίμα). From the third century on, however, the two letters were distinguished. Cf. LeRider, Monnaies, 8 n. 1.

9 Oaxos, Chersonesos, Knossos, Gortyn, Hierapytna, Hyrtakina, Itanos, Lissos, Lyttos, Olaus, Phaistos, Polyrrhénia, Praisos, Priansos, Rhaukos, Sybrita, Tylissos, qv.v. in Svoronos, Numismatique, s.vv.

10 Apollonia, cf. Svoronos, Numismatique, 10 no. 2; Arkadia, cf. Wroth, Catalogue, 12, nos. 1-2.

The ending -oav is nowhere known to me, however. While such problems are not fatal to the existence of the city on Crete, they do raise problems that should be answered before Aina is unreservedly accepted.

I would finally ask if there may not be some connection between "Aina" and Aeneas. Many sites claimed Aeneas as their founder, and we know that Aeneas is said to have visited Crete, founding Pergamon. Could this site be a related phenomenon?

It has also been suggested that the inscription on the coins might be lengthened to AINAQNQN, thus tying the coins to a known aristocratic family in Gortyn bearing the name Alvαυνος.  

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12 Perhaps better grouped with the -oav terminations. Aptera, Svoronos, Numismatique, 16 nos. 9-10; 17 no. 16; Mūda, ibid., 244 no. 1; Lappa, Wroth, Catalogue, 53 no. 3.

13 Kydonia, Svoronos, Numismatique, 107 nos 59-60, cf. 113 no. 108 for -av endings; Allaria, Wroth, Catalogue, 7 nos. 2-3. Cf. also infra, "Allaria, Numismatic Testimonia".

14 For the string of cities "founded" by Aeneas cf. Woerner in Roscher, Lexicon, I.166-170 s.v. "Aineias".

15 Vergil Aeneid 3.133. Cf. Servius ad loc. for variants, including a Cretan Aeneas.

16 The sites listed in Woerner, (note 14), do not, however, offer an Aeneas-linked site whose name approximates that of the site in question.

17 Christodoulopoulos, (note 2), 219-220. Cf. also Faure, (note 1), 222.
LOCATION

As LeRider points out, the find spots of the coins (at Kastelli, only three kilometers west of Gortyn) and the marked similarity of these coins to the known Gortynian type argue strongly for a location near Gortyn.

NATURE

Only a city usually mints its own coins, and there is little reason to doubt that this is true in this case.

NUMISMATIC TESTIMONIA

This site is known only from its coins. To my knowledge only seven of these have been identified, six found in situ near Gortyn, one from a private collection, provenance unknown.

The coins are described as follows:

Obv.-- Head of Apollo, r., wreathed in laurel

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18 LeRider, Monnaies, 234 n. 1.
19 Christodoulopoulos, (note 2), 218, asks if the site might not be a short-lived πολύχρυσος.
Rev.-- Bull, rushing to r., Inscr. above **AINA**
    Inscr. below **QN**

**Notes:** 1) The inscription is also found divided
    as **AIN AON**, indicating at least two dies.

**COMMENTARY**

It is clear that a city near Gortyn began minting
its own coins in the third century B.C.\(^{22}\) What is equally
clear is that the genitive plural form of the ethnic is
unusual. Further, the proposed name for the town issuing
the coins will not yield the ethnic form found on the
coins. To date, these problems have remained unaddressed.

\(^{22}\) The date offered by Christodouloupolos, (note 2),
212.
AIPEIA

NAME

The name is clearly linked with the Greek αἰμής, "lofty".

LOCATION AND NATURE

No location is known for this city. See below in "Commentary" for arguments against its existence.

LITERARY TESTIMONIA

A. Stephanus Byzantius s.v. Αἰπεία

Text: Αἰπεία, πόλις Λακωνικῆς, ὡς Ζέλεια. Ὁ Καλὴν τ' Αἰπείαι οἱ Πέδασον. οὐτῶ καὶ ἡ Κύπρος. τρίτη Κορσίτης ὡς Ἐλλάνικος. τὸ θενικὸν Αἰπείτης, ὡς Κορσεάτης, Ἑδρεάτης.

Translation: Aipeia, a city of Lakonia, (accented) as is Zeleia. "Both beautiful Aipeia and Pēdasos". Thus also the one of Cyprus (or "Thus also Cyprus", cf. notes). A third is of Crete. So Hellanikos. The ethnic is "Aipeatēs" like "Korseatēs, Hydreatēs".

Notes: 1) The text in this passage is confused and is clearly at variance with the version quoted by Eustathius below. Note the following:

1 This site is apparently overlooked by Guarducci in the IC. All testimonia are, therefore, printed in full here.
COMMENTARY

Aipeia has been consistently accepted by scholars as an authentic city of Crete.\(^2\) A new look at the evidence, however, gives some cause to question this acceptance.

It is readily seen above that Stephanus is our only true source for Aipeia. Eustathius is clearly quoting Stephanus, one of his favorite sources of geographical information, and our acceptance or rejection of Aipeia as a real city thereby rests solely on the testimony of Stephanus.

We must now give consideration to a passage of Homer usually associated only with the site Lissēs (q.v., infra). In this passage Nestor is telling Telemachus of Menelaus'

\(^2\)From as early as Meursius, *Creta*, 17 to as recently as Faure, "La Crète," (1959), 194 no. 2.
nostos by way of Crete and describes a section of the island:

"Εστι δὲ τὶς λισόη αἰτεῖ τις ἡλικὰ πέτρη ἐκατατῆ Γόρτυνος, ἐν ἱεροτείτι πόντῳ, ἓνα ἅλτος μέγα κύμα ποτὶ σκιάδιν δίοις ὕδαι, ἐς Φαίστον, μικρὸς δὲ λίθος μέγα κύμα ἀποφέρει.

"There is a certain rock, lofty and smooth, toward the sea, in the vicinity of Gortyn on the misty sea. There the South Wind pushes along a huge wave upon the left horn toward Phaistos while a small rock holds back the huge wave."

Od. 3.293-296

The passage has long been relevant to Cretan studies since Stephanus, s.v. Phaistos, later used it to claim the existence of a city named Λισόης on Crete, saying "Εστι τῆς Φαίστιάδος καὶ δ' καλωμένος Λισόης. "Ομηρος".

The city Lisses is known only from this passage of Stephanus, and scholars of both ancient and modern times have doubted the actual existence of Lisses. These scholars, citing the passage of the Odyssey, point out that the Greek λισόης is a common adjective meaning "smooth" and that it functions quite fittingly in this passage as an adjective for a breakwater. It is, in fact, clear that Stephanus has badly misread Homer to posit a Cretan city that did not exist.

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3 Eustathius ad Od. 3.293 (cf. s.v. Lisses below); Faure, (note 1), 190; Hoeck, Kreta, I.410-411 is undecided but skeptical. Cf. Guarducci, TC, I.xx.Praef.(p. 239), IV. Praef. (p. 16).

4 Note that he reads Λισόης for λισοῆ. Whether the fault stems either from Stephanus' copy of Homer or perhaps in the transmission of his own work is difficult to assess.
We thus know that Stephanus knew and used Od. 3.293. We know further that he took an adjective from the line and read it as a place name. So much is sure. It is my contention that Stephanus also seized on the word αἰνεῖα from this line and treated it exactly as he treated λισοη. In this case he took the adjective meaning "lofty" and turned it into a city. The evidence is strengthened by the fact that αἰνεῖα directly follows λισοη in the relevant line of Homer and that the words are joined by τε. It should thus have been expected that Stephanus would treat both words in the same manner. The very scholars who exposed Stephanus' error on Lissés, however, failed to apply their discovery to Stephanus' Aipeia.

This line of argument is strengthened further by the fact that "Aipeia" is rarely if ever the name of a real city. Of the three cities with the name Aipeia cited by Stephanus, two are of Homeric origin⁵ and one is clearly from the world of etiological myth.⁶ The only other site known to me with a cognate name is Aipy, and this too is found only in Homer.⁷

⁵That in Crete as just demonstrated and that in Lakonia. Cf. PW, I.1044, s.v.

⁶That of Cyprus is said to be the first site of Soli, later moved by and named in honor of Solon. Cf. Smith, Dictionary, s.v. "Aepia,2".

⁷One of Nestor's kingdoms. Cf. II. 2.592 and PW, I.1044-1045, s.v.
Of all four sites, none is definitely known to have existed and the existence of some was hotly debated even in antiquity.  

The evidence is strong, therefore, in suggesting that Aipeia is as fictional as, and from the same source as, Stephanus' Lisses. The strongest objection to this line of reasoning arises from the fact that Stephanus seems clearly to cite Hellanikos of Lesbos and not Homer as his source for Cretan Aipeia.

The matter is still more complex, however. Note first that of the almost fifty times Stephanus cites Hellanikos by name, he never, save here, cites him for a Cretan locale. This is far from unexpected as Hellanikos, while a prolific author of local histories, is not known to have written a Kretika.

While this evidence is of itself certainly not sufficient to dislodge Hellanikos as Stephanus' source, two remaining facts must be considered. Note first that the text of Stephanus is obviously in disarray at this point, differing both from its version in Eustathius and among its own manuscript versions. There is every chance, therefore,

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8 Cf. Smith, Dictionary, s.v. "Aepia, 1".

that the improbable and unprecedented pairing of Hellanikos and a Cretan site is accidental. Why then is Hellanikos in the passage at all? Here the second fact about Hellanikos comes into play, for we know that among his many works on specialized locales, Hellanikos composed a *Kypriaka*, and the reader will recall that the second site named Aipeia cited by Stephanus is given as on Cyprus. Note, moreover, the fact that Hellanikos' *Kypriaka* is known to us only from Stephanus. The obvious corruption of the text at this point makes it appear quite likely that Hellanikos was originally cited by Stephanus for the Cyprian Aipeia and was later displaced in the text amid the textual confusion mentioned above.

This argument is not, of course, unimpeachable. In one respect, however, the argument is moot, for it actually matters little whether it was Hellanikos who misread Homer and passed the misreading to Stephanus, or whether Stephanus misread the passage on his own. In either case, it appears highly probable that Aipeia and Lisses are sprung from the

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11 S.v. *Kapnasia*.

12 In view, however of (1), a total lack of connection between Hellanikos and Cretan sites in Stephanus and (2), the clear textual problems, I am strongly inclined to believe that Stephanus misread Homer to find Cretan Aipeia and used Hellanikos' *Kypriaka* for his Cyprian entry.
same misconstrued line of Homer and that both, therefore, never actually existed on Crete.
AITHALIA (Aithalē ?)

NAME

The name reads $\text{A\i\v{e}[a]\v{a}v}$ in the inscription and is probably an adjectival form. Guarducci suggests $\text{A\i\v{e}\v{a}n}$ as a possible place name.¹

LOCATION

It is uncertain whether this is a Cretan topos. The find spot of the inscription, near Phalasarna (Map 2,B2), and its local nature (an apotropaic charm against evil) tend to strengthen a Cretan identification, but the name is not known on Crete from any other source.²

EPIGRAPHICAL TESTIMONIA

A. IC, II.xix.7.1

Date: Fourth century B.C.

Summary: Evil spirits dwelling in the Aithalian land or in the house are ordered to leave.

¹ Guarducci, ad IC, II.xix.7.1 (p. 224).
² Cf. the many places named $\text{A\i\v{e}\v{a}n}$ in Stephanus Byzantius, s.v.
AKAMAS

NAME

The name may well, as Faure suggests, be connected with the hero Akamas, son of the Cretan Phaedra. Readings based on a now lost second copy of the inscription offered the name as 'Ακαμᾶς or 'Ακαμᾶς. Faure reads 'Ακαμᾶς to Guarducci's printed 'Ακαμᾶς.

LOCATION

This site functioned as a border site between Lató (Map 5, P5) and Olous (Map 5, P4). Faure places it north and slightly east of ancient Lató at the summit of a mountain named Loutsi.

NATURE

Bürchner lists the site as a river, Faure as a

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1 Faure, "Aux Frontières," 98.

2 Cf. IC, I.xvi.5, 69 with Guarducci's notes. For the nature of the text cf. "Acherdoeis, Name", supra.

3 Faure, (note 1), 95, prints this form in his text without commentary, but inconsistently prints Guarducci's reading on 98.

4 Faure, (note 1), 110, cf. map between 96 and 98. Lines 70-71 of the inscription do justify a northerly placement.
mountain. The inscription itself offers no solid evidence to substantiate either claim.

EPIGRAPHICAL TESTIMONIA

A. IC, I.xvi.5.69,72

Date: Second half of second century B.C.

Summary: Akamas is used twice in bounding the land of Lato. The first use (l. 69) merely cites the boundaries of Lato and mentions Akamas as the last boundary, following Stiation. The second use (l. 72) helps define the boundary between the land of Lato and Olous, and again places Akamas last, following Derada (= acc., nom. Deras).

Notes: 1) Note that LSJ, s.v. ἄκαμας both cites and partially translates this passage.

B. IC, I.xvi.18.6,10

Date: Second century B.C.

Summary: Guarducci twice uses Akamas as she restores

5Buerchner, PW, XI, 1812. Faure, (note 1).

6Faure, (note 1), seems to partly base his identification of Akamas as a mountain upon the rather weak fact that Ak-- is found in such words as ἀκαμάς. No other justification is offered. A close translation of the Greek would seem to make a mountainous site for Akamas extremely tenuous since the boundaries at line 69 run "along the ridge, toward Akamas". Akamas is not linked to the ridge as if it were itself an elevation, but merely reached by it. The inscription is thus of no help in establishing the nature of Akamas.
this very fragmentary inscription on the basis of A. supra. 7

AKIMOS

NAME

Guarducci\(^1\) reads ["\(\text{Ἀκίμος}\), Faure\(^2\) ["\(\text{Ἀκίμος}\)\]. Note that the Suda lists a similar name, "\(\text{Ἀκίμος: ἄνω \(\text{ὑπός}\))\].

LOCATION AND NATURE

Akimos is listed as one of the sites marking the borders of Latō. It is listed indirectly since the real landmark seems to be "the road leading to Akimos". This road lies between Hippasia and Ielketai. Faure identifies the site as a "lieu-dit ou habitat",\(^3\) locating it almost due south of ancient Latō on a mountain today called Kephala.\(^4\)

EPIGRAPHICAL TESTIMONIA

A. \(\text{IG, I.xvi.5.60}\)

\(^1\)\(\text{IG, I.xvi.5.60}\).
\(^3\)Ibid., 98.
\(^4\)Ibid., 108, with map between 96 and 98. Faure's justification for calling Akimos a mountain is slim, based on the stem Ak-- which can signify height, ibid., 98. Cf. "Akamas", supra.
Date: Second half of second century B.C.

Summary: Akimos is mentioned in connection with the boundaries of Lato. Cf. "Location and Nature", supra.
The name appears to be a corruption of the city Lasaia\(^1\) (q.v.). Cf. also, Halai, Phalassa, and Thalassa.

ALBE

NAME

The manuscripts give either Ἄλβη or Ἄλβη. The significance or derivation of the word is unknown. For possible relation to Arbion see below, "Commentary".

LOCATION AND NATURE

If we accept the reading of Stephanus and do not equate Albe with Arbion, nothing can be said of the location of this city. If the equation is made, the city would certainly lie near Mt. Arbion (q.v.) on the southern coast of Crete (Map 6).

LITERARY TESTIMONIA

A. Stephanus Byzantius s.v.

Text:⁴ Ἄλβη, πόλις Ἰταλίας, ἓν ἔκτισαν οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Λαυκίου Λατίνοι, Ἰταῖς ὄντες....ἔστι καὶ Ἄλβη πόλις Κρήτης, τὸ ἑθνικὸν Ἄλβαῖος ὡς Θεβαῖος.

Translation: Alba, a city of Italy which the Latins from Lavinium, being Trojans, founded...There is also a city of Crete, Albe.

¹This site is apparently overlooked in the IC.
The ethnic is Albaic, like Thēbaic.

Notes: 1) Αλβή] some manuscripts read Αλβή.

COMMENTARY

Faure, after first accepting Albe as a city of Crete has since changed his mind. He now suggests in two footnotes to other works that Albe and Arbion derive from the same stem. The only proof he offers for what he calls the frequent confusion of ρ and ι on Crete seems to be of modern origin and sheds little light on the matter at hand.

To my knowledge Faure has limited his suggestion to the two footnotes cited above. Certain points can be raised both for and against his conjecture.

Initially, more proof is needed of the confusion of ρ and ι on classical Crete. Note, however, the indiscriminate use of 1 and r in Linear B documents. As the initial combination Αι is very rare in Greek, it is perhaps pos-


4 Faure in the BCH article (note 3) cites only the example Κάρολος, Κάλορος.

5 LSJ list only " Άλαξριος , plasterer, IG 14.2271". This has some interest for us as it seems to link Albe with
sible, although not suggested by Faure, that Albe/Arbion represent pre-Greek names and that the l/r confusion arose in pre-classical times.

Faure leaves vague whether he is rejecting Albe as a city, although he at least once seems to lean in that direction. To dismiss Albe would be too harsh. First, the fact that the two sites could have the same stem need not make them the same site. Secondly, Stephanus is the sole source for both sites and he clearly distinguishes one as a city and the other as a mountain. Finally, as will be demonstrated below, s.v. "Arion", the name Arbion is linked not with Albe but with a now lost name form which served as the basis for both Arbion and the site here called Arion.

the Latin word albus, a, um (white). An earlier attempt was made at this, leading to a very tenuous location of Albe in the Leukoi Oroi. See Spanakes, "Anekdotos Katalogos," 279 with n. 5. For the Leukoi Oroi cf. Map 6. Notice that Stavrakes had wanted to place Albe at modern 'Apel, the usual location given for Arbion.

6 In the BCH note cited above, (note 3), Faure says, "Il est probable que Zeus "Arbion est un Zeus 'de la montagne': "Arbë = "Albe (l'alpe)."
ALCHANIS

This is one of the many readings offered for the troubled text of IC, II.x.1.23. Cf. also "Acharna", "Allanis", "Allaria", and "Lachania".
ALLANIS

Buerchner, in his partial list of Cretan sites includes "Allanis. Dorf bei Kydonia".\(^1\) Although he lists no source, it is certain that he is following the reading proposed by Muratori for IC, II.x.1.23.\(^2\)

\(^1\)PW, XI.1812,25.

\(^2\)For Muratori and the state of the text cf. Guarducci ad loc. For other proposed readings cf. "Alchanis", "Allaria", "Acharna", and "Lachania".
ALLARIA

NAME

The nominative of the name appears only as 'Ἀλλαρία. The possible affinities of the name to Phocaean colonies of similar names is basically rejected by Guarducci.¹

LOCATION

There is in reality no definite evidence with which to locate the city.² Many attempts have been made, however, which cleverly use the evidence available. Guarducci,³ carefully assembling the numismatic, historical and dialectal evidence, concludes that the site lay not far from the north

¹IC, II.1. Praef. "Nomen".
²Note that the listing of cities in IC, IV,179 follows no geographical pattern. The cities are listed in order of importance. Cf. Guarducci ad IC, IV.170 (pp. 252-253). Unfortunately, no study has been made of the find spots of Allarian coins, (presumably they are unknown) and none has been found in the datable hoards studied by LeRider. Further, of the inscriptions issued by Allaria, only one was found in Crete, and that (IC, II.1.2) was unearthed so long ago that no find spot was recorded.
³Ad IC, II.1.1 where earlier, less careful attempts at locating Allaria are summarized.
⁴The dialectical affinities of Allaria and both Aptera and Kydonia had been pointed out previously by Blass in SGDI, 5791 (=IC, II.1.2).
coast of Crete, between the cities of Aptera and Eleutherna (Maps 2,F3; 3,I4).

Faure, combining these findings of Guarducci with those of Kirsten came to the more specific localization of Allaria as lying near the modern village of Stavromenos (Map 3,I3). Faure alludes to, but does not attempt to solve, the inherent problem with this localization, in that Stavromenos is almost surely the site of the later Agrion. Moreover, Faure later retracts this view in light of renewed personal investigation of the site and the fact that no coins of Allaria have been found in the area. I would also add the fact that there exist almost no modern toponyms

5 Ad IC, II.1 (Allaria) she says "Adde quod Allaria-torum necessitudines cum Paris et Theraeis... urbem non longe a mare Cretico sitam... declarant".


7 PW, XXXVI.832-833.

8 Cf. sketch map in Hood, (note 6), 63.

9 Cf. "Agrion", supra, where note that Platon (loc. cit., note 1, s.v. "Agrion") specifically sets the city of Agrion at Stavromenos. Cf. also Astale, note 5, infra.

that point to the ancient Allaria. 11

At present then it is prudent to agree with Guarducci that Allaria lies on the northern coast of Crete, probably in the western half of the island.

NATURE

Allaria was certainly a city since it could issue its own coinage and strike treaties in its own name.

LITERARY TESTIMONIA

A. Polybius twice mentions the mercenary Knopias in the army of Ptolemy Philopater against Antiochus (220 B.C.).

a) 5.63.12
   Text: οὖν οἷς ἦν Κωπίας Ἀλλαρίατης
   Translation: with whom was Knopias of Allaria
   Notes: 1) The manuscripts incorrectly read Ἀλλαρίατης (sic), ᾽Ακρίτης, or Ἀλλαρίατης. The text has been emended from inscriptions.

b) 5.65.7
   Text: οδηγῶς ὅ ἢττον ἥπεσαυε περὶ τοὺς ὲφ' αὐτῶν ταπτομένους Κωπίας Ἀλλαρίατης, ἔχων τοὺς μὲν πάντας ἄριτας εἰς τρισχίλιους, αὐτῶν δὲ τοῖς ἕκαστοις νεόκρητας, ἔφ' ἀν

11 Svoronos, Numismatique, 2 cites a certain Messalarè, located between Hierapytna and Minada (but this is rejected by Guarducci, ΙC, II.1. Praef., p. 2). Le Rider, Monnaies, 257 cites a modern hill called Aleria, "non loin d'Aros, sur la grand-route de Rethymno à Héracleion" but dismisses it as "une simple coincidence".
Translation: Knōpias of Allaria was second to none in showing zeal for those three thousand men drawn up under him. Of these 1000 were Neocretans\textsuperscript{12} over whom he set Philōn of Knōssos.

B. Lactantius Div. Inst. 1.11.65 (drawing on Ennius throughout, here using Ennius' version of Euhemerus).

\textsuperscript{13}Text: Cui ergo sacrificare Iuppiter potuit nisi Caelo avo, quem dicit Euhemerus in Oceania mortuum et in oppido Aulacia sepultum?

Translation: For to whom was Jupiter able to sacrifice except to Sky, his grandfather, who Euhemerus says died in Oceania and was buried in the city of Aulacia?

Notes: 1) Aulacia] aut lacia R, aulatia S

2) Svoronos\textsuperscript{14} suggests that Allaria may best be substituted for the quite corrupt name in the text. While Allaria may fit the letters of the corrupt name fairly well, there is little else to support it here. Indeed, a careful reading of the text shows that the person buried at "Aulacia" is not Jupiter, which would evoke Cretan over-

\textsuperscript{12}On Neocretans see IC, IV, p. 21.

\textsuperscript{13}This testimonium is not mentioned by the IC, (note 1).

\textsuperscript{14}Numismatique, 1 n. 1 ("De Falso Religione" = Divinae Institutiones Bk. 1); cf. Migne's edition of Lactantius ad loc.
tones, but Caelum (=Ouranos).\textsuperscript{15}

Further evidence shows this to be true. Lactantius himself,\textsuperscript{16} in the same work and citing the same source (Ennius' \textit{Historia Sacra}) says that Zeus was buried at KnôssoS. In addition, the Cretan version of Zeus' death states that he was killed in a boar hunt and not in "Oceania".\textsuperscript{17}

It must be added, however, that I know of no other death myth concerning Ouranos. Nonetheless, in light of the evidence above, it is undoubtedly best to take "Aulacia" as the resting place of "Caelum" and not "Jupiter", effectively eliminating any relationship between this passage and Crete.\textsuperscript{18}

C. Stephanus Byzantius \textit{s.v.} 'Αλλαρία

\textbf{Text:} \textit{IC, II.i.Praef.} (p. 1)

\textbf{Summary:} Allaria is a city in Crete. So says Polybius in Book 13.\textsuperscript{19}

\textbf{Notes:} 1) "Polybius" is given as "Polyhistor" in the

\textsuperscript{15}While "quem" may grammatically refer to Jupiter, this is straining the sense.

\textsuperscript{16}Div. Inst. I.11.46.

\textsuperscript{17}Cf. Cook, \textit{Zeus}, I.157 with note 5.

\textsuperscript{18}J. Schmidt, \textit{s.v.} "Uranos" in Roscher, \textit{Lexicon}, VI. 113.41-45, agrees. He too would appear to know of no parallel myth.

\textsuperscript{19}This does not, of course, coincide with the Polybius citation given above. Crete was in fact treated in the now fragmentary Book 13, (cf. 13.4.1-2) which covered the years 206-205 B.C. (cf. Svoronos, \textit{Numismatique}, 2).
Aldine edition, a reading rejected by Meineke.

2) Cf. note to Zonaras, infra.

D. Zonaras Lexikon s.v. 'Ἀλλαρία

Text: 20 'Ἀλλαρία, πόλις Κρήτης. τὸ θενικὸν 'Ἀλλαριώτης.

Translation: Allaria: a city of Crete. The ethnic is Allariōtēs.

Notes: 1) 'Ἀλλαριώτης] Codd. D, K, Ἀλλαριώτης. Note that this form of the ethnic appears, with sound textual basis in the text of Stephanus Byzantius. Cf. following text.


Text: 21 Identical with that of Zonaras. Note that the ethnic is given as 'Ἀλλαριώτης. Cf. Zonaras, "Notes,1".

EPIGRAPHICAL TESTIMONIA

A. IG, XII.3.328 (= Syll², 921) 22

Date: Circa 260 B.C. 23

Text: [... ποτέν...ε[...ον Κ[ρήτης....δια]- [σαράσοντα τὸ γεγονός, δὲ παρ' Ἀ[λλαριώταις ἡ πάη αὐτῶς ἄρκην μὲν] [αἱ]χαλάστους εἶναι, τριστοὺς δὲ [χρόνου διελθόντος οἱ Ἀλλαριώται] [μί]αταδόντος αὐτῶς τὸ τὸ[ποι ἱλαθέρωσαν αὐτῶς ἄτρε ὁ μό]-

20 Omitted in IG (note 1).

21 Omitted in IG (note 1). This lexicon is obviously based largely, but not completely on Zonaras.

22 The inscription is omitted in Syll³.

23 So Guarducci, (note 1), who cites but does not quote the text.
Summary: The fragmentary nature of the text precludes an accurate picture of the proceedings covered in this inscription and makes a translation very difficult. The inscription is clearly a letter sent to Thera by a nauarch (?) who has been dealing with Allarian pirates concerning an exchange of prisoners. The exact nature of the transaction, the identity of the writer, and the final terms are extremely vague.  

B. IIC, II.i.1

Date: 201 B.C.

Summary: One of the many inscriptions recording the
sending of legates from Teos to Crete concerning asylum.
Here, legates are received in Allaria.

C. IC, II.1.2

Date: Letter forms indicate the second century B.C., perhaps before 197 B.C.

Summary: The inscription is in two parts. Part A records the end of the decree of the Parians to seek asylum at Allaria, and Part B is the entire letter of the Allarians to the Parians on the matter.

D. Blass, SGDI, 5152

Date: About the same date as the preceding.

Text: [M]iλατ[οι], 'Απαραϊτοι, 'Ελληνικοι, Κερασίται, 'Αλλαγιται, Πολυρρήνιοι, Φαλασάρνιοι, 'Αρσινοῖς

Notes: 1) This list of Cretan cities is called by Blass ad loc., "Unterschrift eines kretischen Psephisma, mit Verzeichnis der beigetretenen Orte". The inscription was found in Magnesia.

E. IC, IV.179.5

Date: June, 183 B.C.

Summary: Allarians are included in the treaty between Eumenes II of Pergamon and the Cretan Koinon.

F. IC, II.x.1.23

Ziebarth has emended the unknown ἈΛΧΑΝΙΔΙ of the

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25 The inscription is cited but not quoted by Guarducci, (note 1). The date is Guarducci's.
Codex Ambrosianus R 124 copy of the inscription to read 'Ἀλλαρία'. This suggestion is probably unacceptable solely on the basis of its form.

NUMISMATIC TESTIMONIA

According to LeRider, Allaria began to mint coins between 330 and 280/270 B.C. The three main types of coins are described below:

A. Obv. Head of Athena, r., helmeted
   Rev. Herakles, seated on rock, to l., Right hand supported by club, l. hand on rock.
   Inscr. ΚΑ

B. Obv. Similar
   Rev. Similar
   Inscr. ΑΛΛΑΡΙΩΑΛΑ

C. Obv. Similar
   Rev. Herakles standing, r. hand rests on club, over l. is draped lion skin.
   Inscr. ΑΛΛΑΡΙΩΑΛΑΝ


27 LeRider, Monnaies, 190, 198. This emends Wroth, Catalogue, 7, who dated the series from the end of the third century until 67 B.C. See below, "Commentary".

28 Illustrations of the coins described are to be found in Wroth, Catalogue, Pl. II.1, (for A); 2, (for B); and Svoronos, Numismatique, Pl. I.1,2 (for C).
Notes: 1) The forms of the genitive plural coincide with that appearing on inscriptions.

2) Cults of Athena and Herakles can probably be surmised from the coins.

COMMENTARY

The dates of Allaria's autonomy seem strictly confined to the late third and early second centuries before Christ. Our earliest proof of her autonomous actions as a political entity is in 201 B.C.\(^{29}\) Similarly, the last such occurrence is the very early second century.\(^{30}\) Such a narrow span of activity (as little as twenty years) gives the impression of a city that tried to assert its independence from a powerful neighbor and attained only brief success.

Finally, even if all known dates of Allarian activity are examined, they extend only from ca. 260 to ca. 197 B.C. This raises questions as to the validity of LeRider's dating of the coins. No solid proof is available to date the coins by customary means.\(^{31}\) Further, LeRider's dating is, as he makes clear, based on his desire to explain the third century

\(^{29}\) Inscriptions, B, supra. Inscription A (260 B.C.) really refers only to pirates, and the Polybius references to mercenaries. In neither case should any organized city effort be seen.

\(^{30}\) Inscription C, supra, with notes.

\(^{31}\) Cf. note 2 for the lack of dependable material from which to date the coins.
upsurge in local minting by the return of mercenaries who carried foreign currency that could be used as flans for new, overstruck, Cretan money. He consequently claims that most Cretan cities began minting between 330 and 270 B.C., but does so on very little hard evidence.  

While LeRider's insight into the role of the mercenaries in the third century revival of Cretan mints is brilliant, I would ask if Allaria need be put in the faceless group of mints which began operations between 320-270 B.C. The bulk of historical evidence makes it clear that Allaria's main period of autonomous activity stretched at the most from ca. 260 B.C. to ca. 197 B.C. I would thus suggest that Allaria's coins may be dated at the earliest to the very end of LeRider's period and, most likely, no earlier than ca. 200 B.C., our earliest proof of Allaria as an autonomous city.  

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**General:**


van Effenterre, *La Crète*, 191, 222, 250 n. 1, 255.

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33 Note that this view returns to Wroth's dating. Cf. note 27, *supra*. 

Epigraphical:


Numismatic:

Charles Newton, "Proposed Attribution to Allaria, in Crete, of a Coin at Present Ascribed to Lacedaemon," NC, 7(1845), 114-115.
ALLYNGOS

NAME

The form of this name is generally viewed as a corruption of the name of Olous (cf. "Commentary"). The known spellings are "Αλλυγγος (Hierokles, with the manuscript variant "Αλωγγος) and 'Αλλυγγου (gen., Notitiae).

LOCATION AND NATURE

If this site is indeed Olous under a later, corrupted name, the site is located securely, as the site of Olous is well known. Allyngos is known only in later sources both as a bishopric and city.

LITERARY TESTIMONIA

A. Hierokles Synekdemos 650.2

Text: 1 'Επαρχία Κρήτης, υπό κονσολάριον. πόλεις κ.β

Παράπολες Γορτύνη
Γυναῖς
Βίαννα
'Ιεράπυνα
Καμάρα
"Αλωγγος
Χερσάνησος

1Both the texts of Hierokles and the Notitiae are cited, but not quoted in full by Guarducci, IC, I.xxii. Praef. (p. 243). They are printed here in full to afford a sense of context.
Translation: The eparchy of Crete, under consular rule: twenty two cities (list follows in nominative, no translation needed).

B. Notitiae Graecae Episcopatum

a) 8.232

Text: Ἐπαρχία Κρήτης

230

220

Δ Πατρήνης
Δ Βιέννης
Δ Κάναρος
Δ Χερσονήσου
Δ 'Αρκαδίας
Δ Συμβρίτου
Δ 'Ελευθέρνης
Δ 'Απερής
Δ Κισάθου
Δ 'Ωμού

Δ Φοινίκης ήτοι 'Αραδένης
Δ 'Ιεραπιδάνης
Δ 'Αλήγγου

Cf. comments, supra, note 1.
Translation: The eparchy of Crete: (list of bishops subject to the archbishop and their sees, in the genitive, follows, no translation required).

b) 9.141

Text: Ἑπαρχία Κρήτης

130
δ Γορτύνης  
δ Βεγγάλης  
δ Καμάρας  
δ Κερκοπήγαρος  
δ 'Αρκαδίας  
δ Σοκράτου  
δ 'Ελατήρης  
δ 'Αππόρης  
δ Κισάμου  
δ 'Ελιάρου  
δ Φαινήκης μητοί 'Αριάδνης  
δ 'Ιεραπετίνης  
δ 'Αλόγγου  
δ Λέκτος  
δ Κονοσσοῦ  
δ 'Αξίου  
δ Λάμπων  
δ Κυδώνας  
δ Καντανίας  
δ Λισβού  
δ νήσου Κλαύδου

Translation: The eparchy of Crete (list follows in genitive, no translation required).
The name of this site is almost universally accepted as a corruption of the name Olous (Ὁλοῦς, Ὄλοῦς) and Allyngos is thus equated with that site. Unfortunately, there has not been, to my knowledge, a serious linguistic justification offered for the many changes the name is said to have passed through. Further, this theory ignores the fact that the site of ancient Olous today bears the modern name of Elounta. This name is clearly allied to the original name of Olous (gen. Olountos). If, therefore, the form Allyngos is to be defended as a corruption of "Olous", it must be held that it changed, by means unspecified, from the form "Olous" to "Allyngos" and then reversed the process to yield the modern form "Elounta". This hypothetical sequence of events seems unnecessarily complex and contrived in the face of the more obvious and simple change from "Olous" to "Elounta".

It would seem that the Olous-Allyngos theory first appeared in Spratt, who quotes an aged bishop of the province of Mirabello (which contains Olous) who had heard of an old tradition that claimed the name of the province was

once "Kallinkos" or "Allinkos". As later authors who accept the equation of Allyngos with Olous offer no source for their belief, I must hypothesize that they are following Spratt.

The flaws in Spratt’s source are obvious. If indeed the story is true and not merely the fiction of a well meaning but over zealous native dweller bent on appeasing the scholar, it is clear that the name referred to the entire province now called Mirabello. While Mirabello contains ancient Olous, there is no reason to equate this name for the whole province with that of one of its cities. Until a more detailed study is undertaken therefore, it is perhaps best to reject the theory of Spratt and his followers, accepting Allyngos as a separate site of later Cretan history. 5

4 Spratt, Travels, I.128.

5 A study of the manner in which the Notitiae groups its entries could be most useful in this instance.
ALÖNION

A suburb of Gortyn mentioned ca. 250 A.D.¹ Cf. infra, s.v. "Gortyn".

¹IC, IV. Praef., Res Christianae, (p. 31).
ALYSIS, MOUNTAIN

NAME

The Greek form 'Αλυσίου (genitive) is found in both ancient manuscripts as well as in the Aldine edition of Aratus.

LOCATION AND NATURE

The site is called a mountain by the Aldine edition of the text. If this text is sound, Mt. Alysus lay near Mt. Ida (Map 6).

LITERARY TESTIMONIA

A. Scholia to Aratus Phaenomena 33 (=ed. Maass, 347)

To simplify the extremely complicated state of the text, the version as given in the two main manuscripts and that of the Aldine text are printed and translated separately.

a) Aldine edition, 1499

Text: Δίκτων, δικαστήριον τῆς Κρήτης πλησίον τῆς Ἡθης τοῦ Κρητικοῦ βρῶν, ἐνθα διαίν 'Αλυσίου Δίδης τέμενος παρά τὸ παρακείμενον ἕκει δρός "Ἀλυσίς."

Translation: Dikutoi: Dikton is a peak (or promontory) of Crete near the Cretan mountain Ida. There is there

1The form is apparently an ethnic. The mountain's actual name can thus be plausibly conjectured as "Ἀλυσίς. Cf. Cook, Zeus, II.945."
a sanctuary of Zeus Alysios named from the mountain Alysis lying near there.

b) Codex A (Parisinus 2403)

Codex M (Marcianus 476)

**Text:** Δίκτων Δίκτων ἄκρωτήριον τῆς Κρήτης πλησίον τῆς Ἰδας τοῦ Κρητικοῦ ὄρους, ἐνθα ἐστὶν Ἀλυσίου Δίδω τέμενος περὶ τὸ περικείμενον Ἀλσος.

**Translation:** Diktoi: Dikton is a peak (or promontory) of Crete near the Cretan mountain Ida. There is there a sanctuary of Zeus Alysios near the adjacent (or "encircling") grove.

**Notes:**
1) Δίκτων omitted in M.
2) Ἀλσος ἂν Ἀλσος added above by A.
3) Maass² offers the following conjectural version of the text: ἐνθα ἐστὶν Ἀλυσίου Δίδω τέμενος. ἔκλεψεν ἅ τε ὁ ὄρος παρὰ τὸ περικείμενον Ἀλσος.

**COMMENTARY**

It is clear from the variants of the text cited above that the Aldine edition's version of the text stands alone in claiming that the epithet "Alysios" stemmed from a place name and in identifying that place as a mountain near Ida. In contrast, the two manuscripts of the scholia merely

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²E. Maass, ed., Commentariorum in Aratum Reliquiae (Berlin: Weidmannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1958), 346 ad loc.
connect the name with the Greek word for grove.

In light of this information the existence of a Mt. Alysia in Crete may be seen as doubtful. I would add, however, that Maass feels the Aldine edition should bear the same weight as a manuscript. In view of this fact and the general confusion surrounding the text, it may be best to label the existence of Alysia as possible but not probable.

3Maass, (note 2), 314 says "Aldina 'Astronorum veterum' editio...nobis codicis instar habenda".

4Note, however, that such a mountain is accepted by Meursius, Creta, 83, who quotes the Aldine version of the text.
AMNISOS

NAME

'Αμνισός, less correctly "Αμνισός, 'Αμνισός, 'Αμνισός. The name appears to be pre-Greek\(^1\) and is to be applied strictly only to the harbor and the river Amnisos which is today called the Karteros. The general area surrounding these two was also called Amnisos in antiquity. The cave of Eileithyia, which never bore the name Amnisos per se, is today called Νεραϊδόσπηλιος (Cave of the Nymphs)\(^2\) or Καυτσούρος (Log or Stump).

LOCATION

The mouth of the river and the harbor lie on the north coast of Crete about 7 kilometers east of Heraklion (Map 4, M4). The location is secure, based on ancient testimonia and archaeological finds.\(^3\) The cave lies slightly

\(^{1}\) On the etymology of the name Amnisos cf. IG, I.ii. Praef. (p. 2) and Faure, Fonctions, 82 n. 2. For ancient notions cf. Eustathius and Rufus Ephesius, infra. Fick, Vorgr. Ortsn., 25, claims the name is non-Greek in origin.

\(^{2}\) This modern name recalls the ancient association of the cave with nymphs. Cf. Stephanus Byzantius and Callimachus, infra.

\(^{3}\) The early identification of Amnisos as the modern river Aposeleimi which lies west of the Karteros (Map 6) is incorrect. Both Pashley, Travels, I.267-268 and Mueller, ad SMM 348 (=GGM I.514) followed this identification. Spratt, Travels, I.56-57, guessed the proper attribution.
inland from the harbor. 4

NATURE

Amnisos is basically a port, and, as Strabo reports (q.v. infra), was known specifically as the port of Knōssos in Minoan times. In later times Heraklion and Mation (qq.v.) became the ports of Knōssos 5 and the site's fame lay in the cave, which was sacred to Eileithyia and was said to mark the place of her birth (cf. Pausanias, infra). 6 The cave was used with varying intensity from Neolithic times to the fifth century A.D. and the cult itself may be as old as Minoan times. 7 In late Greek and Roman times Artemis came to be associated with the cave as well. 8

LITERARY TESTIMONIA

A. Homer

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4S. Marinatos, Praktika, (1932), 77, Pl. 1 provides a photograph taken from the cave looking north to the harbor which effectively shows this relationship.

5E. Kirsten, PW, Suppl. VII.29.


8Kirsten, (note 5), shows parallel examples.
a) Od. 19.186-188

Text: IC, I.ii.Praef. (p. 2)

Summary: Odysseus, disguised as a beggar, tells Penelope of seeing "Odysseus" who was blown off course into Amnisos where there is a cave of Eileithyia and difficult harbors.

b) Scholia ad loc. (ed. Dindorf)

Text: Κνωσσός δὲ ἐπίνειον Ἀμνισός. ὡς τι ὥστε καὶ ποταμὸς Κρήτης. B. Ἀμνισός πόλις καὶ ποταμὸς Κρήτης. V.

Translation: B. Amnisos is the port of Knossos, it is also a river of Crete. V. Amnisos: a city and river of Crete.

Notes: 1) "V" is often referred to as the scholia of Didymus.

10 Cf. Meursius, Creta, 17.

11 The testimonia of Eustathius are overlooked by the IC in each place Amnisos is mentioned. Cf. IC, (note 1), and I.viii.Praef. (p. 46).
harbors. These matters too are factual concerning Anmissos, the cave, and the harbors, so that having been mixed with falsehoods, they may appear as plausible as possible.

Text: 2) 1861.37-41 'Αμνισσός δὲ Μίνως ἐπίνειον, ὡς ὁ γαυγράφος φησί. Ἐτέροι δὲ Κνώσσοι. Ἐστὶ δὲ, φασὶ, καὶ ποταμός Κρήτης 'Αμνισσός. πάνω δὲ ἐπιδεξίως ὁ μύθος ἐπελέξατο τὸν 'Αμνισσόν τῇ Εἰλειθνίᾳ εἰς διαιρέην, ἐπειδὴ τὸ βρέφος τηνεκαύτα εἰς φῶς ἔλευθε, ὁ πέρ Εἰλειθνίας ἔρχον έστιν, ὡς ἡ Ἡλίας ἔβδολον, ἐπηνέκα σοὶ ὁδήγησε μένειν κατὰ γαστρός. τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ 'Αμνισσός ὡς οὔτε τοῖς γενεσίσσοσι τῇ ἱσχὺ τῆς λέξεως παραινέττεται, εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὸς ὁ ἐκεῖ τόπος ἀν ταῖς λεχοῖς διαστύλο τῇ Εἰλειθνίᾳ ἀνέκειτο, σοὶ έστιν ἀπειροτικάς εἰπεῖν.

Translation: Anmissos is, as the Geographer says, the harbor of Minos. Others say it is the harbor of Knossos. There is also, they say, a river of Crete named Amnissos. The story quite cleverly links Amnissos to Eileithyia, as her haunt, since an infant only comes into light (which is Eileithyia's business, as the Iliad makes clear) when it is no longer able to remain in the womb. On account of this, Amnissos is hinted at by the sound of the word--a sort of "unwaiting". Whether, however, the place there is good for women in labor, and on this account is ascribed to Eileithyia, is impossible to state with certainty.

B. Callimachus 12

a) Hymns III.15 (To Diana)

Text: ὅς δὲ μοι ἢμωτίπλους Ἀμνίσσος σέκοσι νύμφας

Translation: (Artemis, asking for favors from

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12 Of the Callimachus testimonia listed here, the IC cites only that here marked "d".
Zeus): Give me twenty nymphs from Amnisos as handmaidens.

b) Scholia ad loc. (= Pfeiffer's Scholia )

Text: Ἀμνισίδας Κρήτικάς. Ἀμνισίδας γὰρ ποταμός Κρήτης.

Translation: Amnisidas: Cretan that is, for Amnisos is a river of Crete.

Notes: 1) Cf. infra, "Commentary" for variant readings of this passage.

c) Ibid. 162-163

Text: σοι δ' Ἀμνισιάδες μὲν ἕπω ξαύγησιν θαυμάσμα ψήχουσιν κεμάδας.

Translation: For you (sc. Artemis) the nymphs of Amnisos rub down the young deer after releasing them from under their yokes.

Notes: 1) The variant spellings of the nymphs' names (cf. a, supra) within the same hymn is of interest. Cf. Stephanus Byzantius, infra.

d) Iambi 12.1 (=Frg. 202 Pfeiffer=Diegeseis IX.25)

Text: IC, I.ii.Praef. (p. 2)

Summary: In the vague first line of the poem Artemis is mentioned in connection with the πέδον of Amnisos.

C. Apollonius of Rhodes 3.876-883

Text: οὕτω δὲ λιαφότισιν ἐγὼ ἔδωκα Παρθένιοιο, ἢ καὶ Ἀμνισίοι λασσάμενη ποταμότο "χρυσέοις ληταίς ἢ' ἄρμασιν ὡστημα ὑκέσαις κεμάδαις διεξελάζοις κολάνας, τηλόθεν ἀντιέσαν πολυκνίσσου ἐκατομβής' τῇ δ' ἀμα νύμφαι ἑπονται ἀμορφάδας, αἱ μὲν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἀγρόμεναι πηγῆς 'Ἀμνισίδος, δὲν δὲ ὅτι ἄλλα ἀλοτα καὶ σκοπιάς πολυπτέκας.
Translation: And even as by the mild waters of Parthenius, or after bathing in the river Amnisus, Leto's daughter stands upon her golden chariot and courses over the hills with her swift-footed roes, to greet from afar some richly-steaming hecatomb; and with her come the nymphs in attendance, gathering some at the spring of Amnisus itself, others by the glens and many-fountained peaks.

(Transl. Seaton)

Notes: 1) There is no scholium to this passage that mentions Amnisos.

D. Strabo 10.4.8 (p. 476)

Text: IC, I.ii.Praef. (p. 2)

Summary: Minos is said to have used Amnisos as his port, where there is a sanctuary (temple? ἱερὸν) of Eileithyia.

E. Apollonius Sophista

Text: Αμνισόι: Ἀμνίσσος, έν Ειλίθγια.
Translation: Amnissoi: Amnissos, a place and river of Crete.

F. Pausanias 1.18.5

Text: Πλησίον δὲ ὕδατίμητο ναός Εἰλείθγιας, ἢν ἔλθοσαν ἐξ ὑπερβολῶν ἐς Δήλου γενότας βοηθῶν ταῖς λήτοις ἄδος, τούς ἐς ἐλλων παρ' αὐτῶν ἑπὶ τῆς Εἰλείθγιας μαθεῖν τὸ οὐνόμα, καὶ θέους τὰ Εἰλείθγια Δήλοι καὶ ὑμνόν ξοδεύσαν Ὡλήνος. Κρήτης δὲ

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13 This text has, to my knowledge, been overlooked by previous scholars.

14 Cf. also this text, with commentary, in FGrH, IIIb.
Translation: Hard by (i.e. to the place near the Athenian Agora where Theseus and Perithous made their pact) is built a temple of Eileithyia, who, they say, came from the Hyperboreans to Delos and helped Leto in her labour; and from Delos the name spread to other peoples. The Delians sacrifice to Eileithyia and sing a hymn of Olen. But the Cretans suppose that Eileithyia was born at Amnisos in the Cnossian territory, and that Hera was her mother. Only among the Athenians are the wooden figures of Eileithyia draped to the feet. The women told me that two are Cretan, being offerings of Phaedra, and that the third, which is the oldest, Erysichthon brought from Delos.

(Transl. W.H.S. Jones)

G. Rufus Ephesius 229 (ed. Daremberg and Ruelle)

Text: 15 Το δὲ βρέφος περιέχεται χιτᾶσι, τῷ μὲν λεπτῷ καὶ μαλακῷ, διότι οἶτον ἑπεδοξῆς καλεῖ. Ἐντεῦθεν, μοι δοκεῖ, καὶ ἡ Εἰλείθυια ἀμνιὰς ἐκφωνύομεν, μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Κρήτῃ λιμένος.

no. 468, F6. The text is only partially quoted in the IC, (note 1).

15This text is overlooked by the IC, (note 1), but was long ago cited by Meursius, (note 10).
Translation: The foetus is enclosed in membranes, one of them light and soft. Empedokles calls this the "amnion". It is from this, it seems to me, that Eileithyia is surnamed "amnias", rather than from the harbor in Crete.

Notes: 1) 'Αμνιας, 'Αμνισιας (sic), Cod. Florentinus LXXIV, 7.

2) This source is mentioned by Meursius, but has since been neglected. It offers an interesting, if questionable etymology that, to judge from Rufus’ tone, must have been fairly common in antiquity. 16

H. Dionysius Periegetes

a) 498-499 (=GGM II.134)

Text: 17 Πολλαὶ δὲ Ἀμνισιῷ βορεῖστερα δρᾶνται
Ἀγιλᾶ τ᾽ ἡδὲ Κύθηρα Καλαυρία τε τρῆστα

Translation: Many (sc. islands) are seen northwards from Amnisos. Aigila, Kythera, and rough Kalauria.

Notes: 1) Notice that Dionysius has not used the whole island of Crete, but the site of Amnisos to locate the islands in question. Eustathius (q.v. infra) seems to see

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16 The word "amnion" is often used in this gynecological sense. Cf. Willetts, Cults, 172 n. 191 for loci. Note, however, that it can also denote a wooden bowl used for catching sacrificial blood as in Od. 3.444 (cf. LSJ, s.v.).

17 This testimonium is quoted only partially in IC, (note 1). Note, however, that none of the scholia or derived texts listed here is mentioned there.
this merely as a figure of speech. Pashley also accepts the usage, saying that Amnisos was sufficiently renowned to serve as a reference point. While the fame of Amnisos may be accepted, the fact remains that the island of Dia lies directly before it (Map 1), blocking direct access to the sea and thus rendering Amnisos less suitable for use as a reference point for the islands than is Dia itself. Mueller, the editor of Dionysius, notes this and states "Qua quidem narrationis dispositione ineptius quidpiam excogitari vix potuit". He further suggests that the poet may have actually meant Dia and not Amnisos at all.

b) Scholia ad loc. (=GGM II.450)

Text: Ἀμνίσσος ἄρα Κρήτης. καὶ Ὄμηρος "στῆσε δ' ἐν Ἀμνίσσῃ, ὅθε τε σπέος Εἰλείθυιας".

Translation: Amnisos: a river of Crete; so Homer says also "set him in Amnisos where there is a cave of Eileithyia".

c) Eustathius ad loc. (=GGM II.311)

Text: Ἰστέον γὰρ ὃτι ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν, βορειότερας νῆσος Κρήτης, βορειότερας Αμνίσσος εἰπεν ὁ Περιηγητής, ἀπὸ μέρους δηλῶσας τῷ ἔλοιν. Μέρος γὰρ τι Κρήτης ἢ Αμνίσσος, ἐνθα καὶ σπῆλαιον Εἰλείθυιας, ὡς ἐν τῇ Ἐορεσσή τῷ Ποιητῆς ιστορεῖ.

18 Pashley, Travels, I.266-267.
19 Mueller, GGM, II.134.
Translation: It ought to be noted that instead of saying "islands north of Crete" the Periegete says "north of Amnisos", signifying the whole by the part. For Amnisos is a part of Crete and there exists there a cave of Eileithyia as the Poet tells us in the Odyssey.

d) Anonymus Paraphrasis of D.P. (=GGM II.416)

Text: Πολλαὶ δὲ νῆσοι πρὸς τὰ βόρεια μέρη τοῦ Ἀμνίσσου, ποταμοῦ τῆς Κρήτης, φαίνονται, τὰ τε Αἴγυλα, τὰ Κύθηρα καὶ ἡ τραχεῖα Καλαύρια.


Notes: 1) This text and those of Nikephoros, Avienus, and Priscianus below are clearly based on Dionysius Periegetes. Note the variations in the text, however. Here, as in Nikephoros, the author states that "Amnisos" signifies the river by that name. The location of the other islands by reference to Amnisos the river is even more tenuous than the use of the site itself.

e) Nikephoros Sec. 447-511 (=GGM II.462)

Text: Πρὸς δὲ Βορρᾶν πολλαὶ νῆσοι φαίνονται, ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀμνίσσου ποταμοῦ, τὰ Αἴγυλα, τὰ Κύθηρα, ἡ τραχεῖα Καλαύρια.

Translation: Towards the north many islands appear off the Amnisos river: Aigyla, Kythera and rough Kalauria.
f) Avienus Descriptio Orbis Terrae 668-671 (=GGM II.183)

Text: Amnisusque dehinc alias circumfluit unda quae tamen in borean vergunt magis: Aegila parva et procera caput turgescunt pulchra Cythera; eminet hic etiam saxosa Calauria juxta.

Translation: After this Amnisus with its water flows around other (islands) which lie, however, further to the north: tiny Aegila and lofty-headed and beautiful Cythera, rise up. Here rocky Calauria also towers nearby.

I. Nonnus

a) 8.114-123

Text: ἀλλ' ὅτε Δικταῖς Κορυβαντίδος ὑπέθει πέτρης τεσσόνος Ἀμμισοῖο λεχῶν ἔθρακεν ὁμορ. Ἐνθα οἱ ἀλλοπρόσαλλοι δραστίας ἐντετο βασίλειν να γὰρ ἡ παρέμιμον Δίας ψωμίτην τύμβων τερπομένη Κρήτεσίν, ἦτε πέλον ἤπεροπής. ἁμόες οἱ λαγόνεσσι κυδωνίας ἔρεις μέρη, τῇ ἐνι δαίδαλα πάντα βροτάν θελητήρια κείται; ἐν μὲν ἑπικλοπῇ πολυμήχανος, ἐν δ' ἀρατίας πάρφοις, ἐν δ' ὀλόσ πολυειδέσ, ἐν δ' καὶ ἀλτώς συνήριος ἑρώτεις ἀπατήλιος δροκός ἀβταίς.

Translation: (Hera is in search of Deceit),

But when high above Corybantian Dicte she beheld the child-bed water of neighboring Amnisos, the fickle deity met her there on the hills; for she was fond of the Cretans because they are always liars, and she used to stay by the false tomb of Zeus. About her hips was a Cydonian cincture which

20 Both Nonnus passages are cited, but not quoted, in reference to Knosos, at IC, I.viii.Praef. (p. 46).
contains all the cunning bewitchments of mankind: trickery with its many shifts, cajoling seduction, all the shapes of guile, perjury itself which flies on the winds of heaven.  

(Transl. W.H.D. Rouse)

b) 13.250-252

Text: ...παίδοκόμου δὲ 
πάτριον Ἀμνίσσον δούν Κρηταίον τάσσεσῃ 
αἰδομένοις στρομάτισι νόθον πίς Θάσιδος Ὀδωρ.

Translation: Having left behind his Cretan fatherland's stream of the Amnisos-- the stream that nourished his youth, he drank the bastard water of the Phaesis with lips of shame.

Notes: 1) The passage refers to Asterios of Crete who, after the expedition of Bacchus, renounced Crete to live in the East.

J. Hesychius s.v. Ἀμνησία


Summary: Ἀμνησία is given as another name for Eileithyia.

Notes: 1) Guarducci is cautious in ascribing this text to Cretan Amnisos. This hesitation is, apparently, based upon the strange form of the name and upon the fact that Crete is not specifically mentioned here. Note, how-

21"Quae glossa ad Amnisum nostrum fortasse conferenda est", IC, (note 1).
ever, that the same basic form of the epithet 'Aktouia is offered as 'Aktouia (sic) by a manuscript to Rufus Ephesius ("G", supra). As there is no doubt that Crete is referred to in the passage of Rufus, and in view of the closeness of Amnisos and Eileithyia, it would appear safe to conclude that Hesychius is here offering a name form derived from the Cretan site of Amnisos.

K. Stephanus Byzantius s.v. 'Amnisos

Text: 22 'Amnisos, ποταμὸς Κρήτης, αἱ τούτων γὰρ 'Αμνισίδας καὶ 'Αμνίσίδας.

Translation: Amnisos: a river of Crete. Its nymphs are "Amnisiades" and "Amnisides".


2) Note that Stephanus offers two forms of the name of the nymphs of Amnisos. The fact that these names appear in the same hymn of Callimachus ("B,a and b", supra) would indicate that the third hymn of Callimachus is Stephanus' basic source for this entry. 23

22 Although quoted by the IC, (note 20), this testimonium is printed in full to facilitate its discussion. Cf. "Commentary", infra.

L. Suda s.v. 'Αμνισός


(Πρόσκειται διήνοντα διὰ τὸ μητίος. τὸ δὲ Δαρδανεῖος ἤτοιν ἄνωμα ποταμός, καὶ ὑπὸ τρεῖς συλλαβὰς, ἀλλ ὡς διηνόμενον, ἡκολούθησε τὸ 'Αλφείδος. Πρόσκειται τρισύλλαβος διὰ τὸ Σαγγάριος)

Translation: Amnisos: a river of Crete, with a long iota. Oxytones of three syllables, ending in -os, dealing with rivers, if they are pure, are written with the diphthong -ei. Like Alpheios, Almeios. If not (pure) with a long iota, like Amnisos, Kephisos, Ilissos.

(There are also oxytones like metios. To be sure, Dardaneios is the name of a river and is over three syllables, but in being accented as an oxytone it follows the name Alpheios. There is also a three syllable word like Sangarios.)

Notes: 1) The portion of the text in parentheses is found only in Codex 2551.

2) 1.1: διὰ τοῦ ὶ. τὸ μὴν ιότα, διατι .Cod. 2551.

3) 1.3: 'Αλμείδος] 'Ομείδος , Cod. 2551.

4) 1.5: μητίος] Μίνιος , Gaisford.

24 Cited, but not quoted in IC, (note 1). It is impossible to tell if the entry in the Suda, 'Αμνισός. ἄνωμα ὄρους refers to Crete.
5) 1.6: Αρδαντοος] Gaisford wants to read Αρδαντοος and asks if the name might be corrupted from 'Ιαρδαντοος.

6) 1.6: υπενθυρ, Gaisford.

7) 1.8: τρισσυλλαβος] -βα, Gaisford.

8) In the most recent edition of the Suda, this text is omitted totally without comment by the editor, an unfortunate practice. The text is often bracketed, again without comment, in earlier editions, but its traditional presence in the corpus of the Suda should certainly warrant discussion in the apparatus criticus.

9) The text is remarkably close to that of Zonaras, q.v. infra for further commentary. Note that the Zonaras passage clears up much textual confusion in Cod. 2551 and obviates many of Gaisford's suggestions.

M. Zonaras Lexicon s.v. 'Αμνισδς

Text:26 'Αμνισδς. ποσαμοδος κρήτης. [το μνι ιάτα. τα εις ος τρισσυλλαβα, έτι ποσαμον, διητονα, ει μεν καθαιρεσι, δια της ει διφαγγου. oλον Άλφειδος, 'Ολμειδος. ει δε μη, δια του τι. oλον 'Αμνισδς, Κηφισδς, 'Ιλίσδς. Προσκειται διητονα, δια το μονιος. το δε Αρδαντοος, έστιν δυσμα ποσαμοθ, και υπερ τρες


26 The entry "Ammisos" is not found in Tittmann's "Index Glossarum". This may explain the fact that the passage has previously been overlooked by Cretan scholars. Consequently, the connection between Zonaras' and the Suda's text has also been overlooked.
Translation: Amnisos: a river of Crete. The syllable -mni has a long "i". Trisyllabic words ending in "os" and concerning rivers, if they are pure, are written as oxytones because of the diphthong "ei". Such as Alpheios, Olmeios. If not (pure), because of the long "i" such as Amnisos, Kephisos, Ilisos. There are also oxytones like monios. But Dardaneios is the name of a river and is over three syllables, but in being accented as an oxytone it follows the name Alpheios. There is also a three syllable word like Sangarios.

Notes: 1) The marked similarity between the text of Zonaras and the text of the Suda (if one includes the text of Codex 2551) is of great interest. Unfortunately, Tittmann also brackets without comment the passage in his edition of Zonaras. This situation, in which two almost identical texts are bracketed or omitted in their respective authors, is perplexing. If neither gloss was written by the authors in question, then the original source is still to be sought. While it is not the place of this work to investigate such questions, it should be noted that the very format of the passages, which is certainly not usual for

27 It is now clear that Gaisford offered his conjectures on the text of the Suda unaware of the invaluable aid this passage affords.
either the Suda or Zonaras, is remarkably close to the
highly grammatical entries found in fragments of the works
of Herodianus. This may well be the ultimate source of these
glosses. Note the following passage, taken from August
Lentz's impressive, if confusing "edition" of Herodianus.28
N. Herodianus Technicus Peri Orthographias (=Lentz, II.475)

Translation: Amnisos, the river, is written with
a long iota. For trisyllabics ending in -isos, dealing
with rivers, are written with a long iota, like Amnisos,
Kephisos, Ilisos.

Notes: 1) Lentz's published works of Herodianus are
largely reconstructions, the results of his study of works
such as that of Choeroboscus that were clearly epitomes of
and often cite by name the now lost works of Herodianus, or
of works that might have felt his influence such as those
of Stephanus Byzantius or Hesychius. Thus, while Lentz may
include a passage of another author as if it had been written

28 Augustus Lentz, ed., Herodiani Technici Reliquiae,
Volumes III1-III11 of Grammatici Graeci (Leipzig: Teubner,
1965 reprint of 1867-1870 ed.). Note especially entries in
Herodianus' Peri Katholikes Prosodias and Peri Orthographias.
On Lentz's "edition" see notes following text.

29 This text has not, to my knowledge, been utilized
previously.
by Herodianus, he is always careful to cite his sources. Thus, for the passage quoted above he cites "Choer. 172.12". This would lead us to accept the text given above as a first hand resume of Herodianus' original words and, consequently, as possible justification of this text as the source of the troubled passages of the Suda and Zonaras mentioned above.

The notation "Choer. 172.12" clearly refers to page 172, line 12 of the Gaisford edition of Choeroboscus. Unfortunately, there is no reference to Amnisos at this point. Similarly, neither section 172, nor any permutation of the page numbers "172" yields results. Further, the index to the work nowhere lists Amnisos. The text of Lentz must, then, be viewed as only conditionally acceptable until its true source is found. Once this source is found, we will probably have found as well the common source for the passages of the Suda and of Zonaras discussed above.

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30 A careful study of Lentz's references to Choeroboscus shows categorically that he consistently used page and line references from Thomas Gaisford, ed., Georgii Choerobosci Dictata in Theodosii Canones (Oxford: Academic Press, 1842-1852). This information was obtained only through long study as Lentz nowhere lists his sources.

31 After scrutinizing Lentz's work, I find it unlikely that he invented the passage and then supplied for it a false locus. He is characteristically very willing to mark a passage with the phrases "addidi" or "supplevi". It thus seems most likely that we are dealing with a bibliographical error rather than a falsification.
Guarducci published three extremely brief inscriptions from the cave of Eileithyia, but none mentions Amnisos. Since that time excavations have revealed more lengthy inscriptions. On one of these, quite brief, cf. "Thenai", infra. Others offer valuable information on various Cretan kosmoi but again none mentions Amnisos.

While no classical inscriptions give the name of Amnisos, two quite old sources appear to name it clearly.
A. Funeral temple of Amenophis III, at Kom al Heitan

**Date:** 14th century B.C.

**Text:** Among the many place names appearing on a list of subject nations, there appear thirteen hieroglyphic names which seem to be from the Aegean area. Most scholars have agreed in general that the following places are meant. Bear in mind that the transcription of hieroglyphs admits of no vowels and that there is debate on the correct transcription and vocalization of many of the hieroglyphs. With this reserv-

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32 *IC, I.ii.1-3.*


34 R.S. Merrilees, "Aegean Bronze Age Relations with Egypt," *AJA,* 76(1972), 290-291, feels the list is not contemporaneous with Amenophis III but is copied from earlier sources. The *IC* does not deal with this source.
viation I present a list of the sites as offered at a recent seminar on Mycenaean Studies.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simple Transliteration</th>
<th>Possible Vocalization</th>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>Linear B Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Kftiw</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>Crete (heading)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Tny</td>
<td>Ta-n-ia</td>
<td>Land of Danaoi</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Imms</td>
<td>A-m-ni-s</td>
<td>Amnisos</td>
<td>A-mi-ni-so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Byšy</td>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Ktny</td>
<td>Ku-tu-na-ia</td>
<td>Kydonia</td>
<td>Ku-do-ni-ia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) Mkin</td>
<td>Mu-k-an</td>
<td>Mycenae</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

35 T.G.H. James, "Aegean Place Names in the Mortuary Temple of Amenophis III at Thebes," presented at the Mycenaean Seminar of 18, November, 1970, summary in BICS, 18(1971), 144-145. I am grateful to Mr. Edward Schorr of the University of Cincinnati for a xeroxed copy of the chart handed out by James during his presentation. It is from that that the following information is derived.

36 James cites M. Elmar Edel, Die Ortsnamenlisten aus dem Totentempel Amenophis III (Bonn: Hanstein, 1966) as interpreting "Rhodes". Cf. Edel's Tafel III for a drawing of the inscription.

37 P. Faure, "Toponymes Créto-Mycéniens dans une Liste d'Aménophis III," Kadmos, 7(1968), 139, transcribes the form as Bi-sa-ja and identifies it as Sisaia. Faure's expertise in hieroglyphics is unproven and it is perhaps best to leave the site a questionmark. Edel's (note 36) identification of Phaistos is apparently not accepted by other scholars.

38 Faure, (note 37), 141, argues for the Cretan Mycenae (q.v.). I notice that the text is actually corrupt here, cf. Michael C. Astour, "Aegean Place Names in an Egyptian Inscription," AKA, 70(1966), 316.
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Linear B Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7) Đķis</td>
<td>D-q/g-i-s</td>
<td>Unknown 39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8) Mdni</td>
<td>Mu-z-n-ia 40</td>
<td>Messana/ Messenia</td>
<td>Me-za-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9) Npry</td>
<td>Nu-p-l-ia</td>
<td>Nauplia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10) Ktr</td>
<td>Ku-t-i-r</td>
<td>Kythera</td>
<td>Ku-te-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11) Wiry</td>
<td>W-i-l-ia</td>
<td>Troy/Elea 41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12) Knš</td>
<td>Ku-nu-sa</td>
<td>Knossos</td>
<td>Ko-no-so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13) Immš</td>
<td>A-m-ni-s</td>
<td>Amnisos</td>
<td>A-mi-ni-so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14) Rkt</td>
<td>Ru-ka-ti</td>
<td>Lyktos</td>
<td>Ru-ki-to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15) ...it...(?)</td>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>Siteia 42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If this list is correctly interpreted as an itinerary referring to Aegean place names, then it is well to


40 Faure, (note 37), 142 with n. 19, argues for Mida-na.


42 Offered only by Faure, (note 37), 144. There is, in reality, not enough evidence to support this reading.
note that Amnisos is mentioned twice. 43

B. Linear B Tablets

Date: Before 1200 B.C.

Text: Tablets from Knossos and even one from Pylos 44 offer the following forms: 45

a) a-mi-ni-so

b) a-mi-ni-so-de

Notes: 1) This form uses the allative ending -de, meaning "toward".

c) a-mi-ni-so-jo/ja

Notes: 1) This is the ethnic form of the name.

2) The text printed in DOCS2, 310 no. 206 is quite notable in that it mentions e-re-u-ti-ja, i.e. Eileithyia, in connection with the site.

43 Mr. E. Schorr, (note 35), informs me in a private letter of June 23, 1975 that the Egyptian forms are similar to names already known near Ugarit and other places more readily accessible to Egypt. R.S. Merrillees, (note 34), doubts that the list is an actual itinerary but is more of a testimony to the ubiquity of Egyptian power. Faure, (note 37), defends an itinerary which gives rise to a most unusual journey as shown on his map between pp. 148 and 149.

44 It is impossible to be sure whether the Pylian tablet refers to Cretan Amnisos or a local site of the same name.

45 These forms are found in the glossary to DOCS2, 530 where original loci are listed.
NUMISMATIC TESTIMONIA

The existence of coins from Amnisos would, of course, be dependent on the existence of a city of Amnisos. On this see below. To date, however, no coins have been convincingly ascribed to Amnisos.\(^{46}\)

COMMENTARY

THE CITY OF AMNISOS

Great uncertainty surrounds the so-called city of Amnisos. Earlier scholars\(^ {47} \) were quite willing to accept its existence, but modern scholars have rejected it. While the solution of a problem such as this does not lie within the scope of the present work, the proper presentation of the testimonia involved does.

Faure and Kirsten\(^ {48} \) have most recently denied the existence of the city and each has stressed that only one source, the scholium to the Odyssey quoted above, cites

\(^{46}\) Cf. Svoronos, Numismatique, 60 n. 2, where a coin of Lydia is shown as having been mistakenly ascribed to Amnisos.


Amnisos as a πόλις. A careful check of the testimonia, however, shows this to be incorrect.

First note a family of scholia (called \( Y \) by Pfeiffer) to Callimachus Hymns III.15 (Bb, supra). A check of Pfeiffer's apparatus reveals that while the majority of scholia in the family cite Amnisos as only a river, one member of the family, Scholium E, says only "Αμνισός, πόλις Κρήτης".

Secondly, note the evidence of Stephanus Byzantius (K, supra). I have printed above the text as it appears in Meineke's edition. The apparatus indicates, however, that the "Libri" (a term rather loosely used by Meineke to indicate manuscripts other than those representing the reading given in the text) read πόλις for ποταμός. I here refer the reader to the text as printed above. Careful attention to the text is needed in the discussion of its problems.

\[\text{Meineke relied heavily on previous editors for many manuscript readings. It appears that the reading ποταμός Κρήτης is that found in the Palatine manuscript of Stephanus employed by Holstenius (cf. Meineke's preface, p. iii). A clearer picture of the manuscript tradition and readings would be invaluable here.}

\[\text{Note that Spanheim, (note 47), 178, quotes a text of Stephanus as it appears "in novissima...editione". He reads "πόλις καὶ ποταμός". Meursius, Creta, 17, reads only πόλις and discourses on possible remedies to the text.}\]
The basic problem with reading \(\pi\lambda\iota\varsigma \kappa\acute{\rho}\eta\tau\iota\varsigma\) is grammatical. It is at first difficult to accept the masculine/neuter \(\tau\omega\tau\omicron\) as referring to the feminine \(\pi\lambda\iota\varsigma\). Several suggestions present themselves, however. The first and simplest is that \(\pi\lambda\iota\varsigma\) was added as a gloss by a later hand, and later moved from the margin to the text. Secondly, \(\tau\omega\tau\omicron\) could, conceivably, refer to \(\alpha\mu\nu\iota\iota\omicron\sigma\varsigma\) and not \(\pi\lambda\iota\varsigma\) at all. Whatever the explanation,\(^{50}\) it is clear that at least one tradition of the Stephanus text preserves the memory of a Cretan city named Amnisos.

A final objection to accepting the reading is offered by Pashley who points out that it would be most unusual for Artemis and nymphs to be associated with a city as they much prefer rivers and open spaces.\(^{51}\) This argument loses force, however, when we consider the nature of the sources in question. A scholiast or a scholar such as Stephanus Byzantius is bent on explicating the name or term before him. To this end he often and reg-

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\(^{50}\) I would add that if the text originally read \(\pi\lambda\iota\varsigma \kappa\acute{\rho} \pi\omicron\tau\alpha\mu\delta\varsigma\) (an idea promoted by "several learned men", Pashley, *Travels*, I.266 n. 35), then it would echo closely the wording of the scholia to the *Odyssey* cited above (Ab). This possible connection between the texts has not, to my knowledge, been explored to date.

\(^{51}\) Pashley, *Travels*, I.266.
ularly will adduce more evidence than is needed to explain this one fact alone, adding whatever he feels will be of interest to the reader of his commentary. Thus, while Callimachus is undoubtedly confining himself to mentioning the nymph of a river, the scholiast could well add the fact that there were both a river and a city of the name Amnisos in antiquity. This would also hold true for Stephanus Byzantius who seems to be citing Callimachus when he mentions the nymphs.\textsuperscript{52}

In addition to the scholium to Callimachus and to the manuscript variants of Stephanus, we must include the evidence offered by the text, previously overlooked, of Apollonius Sophista (E, \textit{supra}). It is very clear that Apollonius felt that Amnisos was a city. I find it of interest that while the date of Stephanus' sources and of the scholia to Callimachus may be unsure, Apollonius is known to have lived in the first and second centuries after Christ (\textit{LSJ}).

While the evidence cited above can not categorically prove the existence of a city named Amnisos on Crete,\textsuperscript{53} it is now clear that the decision of scholars

\textsuperscript{52}Cf. note 23.

\textsuperscript{53}It could, in fact, only show that a certain misconception was rather widespread.
to reject the site as a city on the grounds that it is attested by only one source is falsely based. Various texts and overlooked manuscript readings offer new sources for Amnisos the city and call for a re-evaluation of past views. 54

54 Note finally that a Venetian chronicle also took Amnisos unquestionably as a city. Cf. Spanakes, "Anekdotos Katalogos," 279 no. 6.
AMPELOS

NAME

It is uncertain whether this name of Greek origin should be associated with the Greek word for vine. The Greek form of the name is "Ἀμπέλος", the Latin, Ampelos.

LOCATION

Ancient sources suggest that Ampelos lay on a promontory of the same name. Scholars are agreed in locating the ancient city on the south-eastern shore of Crete opposite the islands today called Kavalli, by the promontory now known as Εσπόκαμπος (Map 5, S/T 6).

NATURE

Ampelos itself was a city (Pliny) and apparently gave its name to the promontory nearby (Ptolemy).

\footnote{Guarducci, IC, III.i.Praef.(p.1) with notes. I would add to this the gloss of Hesychios, Θρινία, Ἀμπέλος ἐν Κρήτη.}

\footnote{This general area is assured by Ptolemy as quoted below.}

\footnote{So Guarducci (note 1) with cited authorities; Faure, "La Crète," (1959), 236 no.4 (who incorrectly, it would seem, lists inscriptions as a source for the site; IC, III.1.1-6 are inscriptions from the ancient site, but none names the city).}
LITERARY TESTIMONIA

A. Ptolemy III. 15. 3-4

Text: 5 Νοτίας πλακάς περιγραφή

Λισσός
Tārba
Ποικιλασσός
'Ερμιά ἀκρα
Φοινικαῖ πόλεις
Φοινικός λιμήν
Μασσαλία ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί
ㇺinstancetype
'Ἡλέκτρα ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί
Μάταλα
Λάων ἀκρα
Λεβήνα
Καταβράκτου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί
Ληθαίου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί
Ἐύνατος πόλις
'Ἰέρων ὄρος
'Ἰεραπίτηνα
'Ἐρυθραῖον ἄκρον
'Ἀμπελός ἀκρα
'Ἰτάνος πόλις

Translation: Description of the southern side: Lissos; Tarrha; Poikilassos; Hermaia promontory; Phoinix, the city; the harbor of Phoinix; mouths of the Massalia river;

4These testimonia are given in IC (note 1) but as is usual, they appear out of context. I have, therefore, printed the entire relevant texts here and will refer back to them as necessary.

5The text printed here is that of F.G. Wilberg and H.F. Grashof, eds., Claudii Ptolemaei Geographiae Libri Octo, Vol. III, (Essendiae: Baedeker, 1842). This represents one of the best critical texts available.
psychion; mouths of the Elektra river; Matalia; Leōn promontory; Lebēna; mouths of the Katarrhaktes river; mouths of the Lēthaicos river; Einatos, the city; Hieron Oros (or the Holy Mountain); Hierapytna; Erythraion promontory; Ampelos, the promontory; Itanos, the city.

B. Pliny 4.12.59


Translation: Its (i.e. Crete's) notable cities are Phalasarna, Elaea, Cisamon, Pergamum, Cydonea, Minoium Apteron, Pantomatrium, Amphimala, Rhithymna, Panhormum, Cytaeum, Apollonia, Matium, Heraclea, Miletos, Ampelos, Hierapytna, Lebena, Hierapolis and inland there are Gortyna, Phaestum, Gnosus, Polyrrhenum, Myrina, Lycaestos, Rhamnus, Lyctus, Dium, Asium, Pyloros, Rhytion, Elatos, Pherae, Olopyxos, Lasos, Eleutherae, Therapnae, Marathusa, Tylisos; and of approximately sixty other towns, the

6 The text here printed is that of C. Mayhoff, ed., C. Plini Secundi Naturalis Historiae Libri XXXVII, Vol. I (Leipzig: Teubner, 1933). I have here omitted textual variants for sites other than Ampelos, but these will be given for each site as the need occurs.
memory remains.

Notes: 1) The deteriores offer the form Ampela.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(Not in IC or cited above)

General:
Meursius, Creta, 19.
Pendlebury, Archaeology, 326, 364, 375 with references.

Location:
Svoronos, Numismatique, 200.
The derivation of the name is usually referred to the root *μαλα* (=mountain).\(^1\) The forms of the name are numerous:

- **a)** \'Αμφιμάλα: Stephanus Byzantius, in certain manuscripts.
- **b)** \'Αμφιμάλιον: Stephanus Byzantius, Mss.
- **c)** \'Αμφιμέλαν: (acc.), Dionysius Calliphontis, perhaps corrupt.\(^2\)
- **d)** \'Αμφιμάλης: Ptolemy, probably a nominative\(^3\) form.
- **e)** \'Αμφιμάτριον: If Amphimala = Amphimatrion (cf. "Commentary", infra), this represents a corruption based on the conflation of "Amphimala" with "Pantomatrion".
- **f)** \'Αμφιπαλίαν: Mss. of Strabo.
- **g)** Amphomala: All manuscripts of Pliny seem to read this. The form is corrected to "Amphimala" by the editor.

**LOCATION**

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\(^2\) So Guarducci, *IC*, II.xiv.*Praef.* (p. 183) with references.

\(^3\) The accentuation precludes a genitive and Ptolemy often thus uses a nominative, e.g. "Αμφιλεος ἀκρα or Ἰνατος πόλις."
Let us first summarize the information offered by the ancient sources:

a) Strabo  
On the northern part of a narrow "neck" in the island, opposite Phoinix of the Lappeans.

b) SMM  
North coast between Minōa (Map 2,F3/4) and Hydramos (Map 2,G4).

c) Ptolemy  
North coast, listed between Rhithymnon (Map 3,H4) and Drepanon Akron (Map 2,F3).

d) Pliny  
Listed between Pantomatrion and Rhithymnon.

The consensus of ancient authorities thus locates Amphimala on the northwestern coast of Crete, no further west than Minōa (Map 2,F3/4) and no further east than Heraklion (Map 4,L4) or, as is more likely, not further east than Rhithymnon (Map 3,H4). Of modern scholars only Faure⁴ attempts an exact location, placing Amphimala near Georgioupolis (Map 2,F/G4).

NATURE

Different authors classify Amphimala in various ways. The following chart shows this most clearly where, next to each author's name, a plus sign is used to indicate how each author classified the site Amphimala.

⁴Faure, (note 1), cf. idem, "Recherches sur le peuplement des Montagnes de Crête: Sites, Cavernes et Cultes," BCH, 89(1965), 55. This location is accepted by Spanakes, Kreta, II.50.
If one puts all this information together, the result indicates a small coastal town lying near a harbor at the point where a river meets the sea. It is not necessary to wonder why all the sources do not mention a city. Some, like Dionysius or the Stadiasmus, have specialized interests and would see no reason to mention a small town. Others may be showing the results of time. After eliminating Stephanus it is interesting to note that all the sources seem to be from the period of the first centuries B.C. to A.D. Of these, Strabo is the oldest and Ptolemy or Dionysius the youngest. Pliny is surely the second oldest source. It may be possible, then, to propose a small settlement (Strabo's κατοικία).

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6 I would not, as did Guarducci, (note 2), imply that κατοικία rules out πόλις. The word seems rather to understand a settlement or colony and is used by Strabo himself as equal to the Latin colonia (cf. LSJ s.v. κατοικία, 2). Cf. further the theory set forth below, s.v. "Commentary".

7 Stephanus himself was probably a contemporary of Justinian (OCD s.v.). His text, though, is certainly to be dated by its sources which are here unknown.
growing a bit until it could attract Pliny's attention as a city, and then fading quickly, still useful for its harbor and river, but perhaps no longer inhabited in later days.

LITERARY TESTIMONIA

A. Strabo 10.4.3 (p. 475)


Summary: After a textual lacuna, Amphimala is said to be on the north side of an isthmus opposite "Ποίνικα Ῥών Αμφιαλών".

B. Pliny 4.12.59


Summary: Listed between Pantomatrium and Rhithymna.

C. SMM 345-347

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8 It is well when dealing with the SMM to remember that it was a sailing handbook and thus contains data useful for sailors. All ships at sea could not, until fairly modern times, carry enough water to last a long time. Thus the combination of a harbor and a river was very welcome.

9 To my knowledge, this view, based on the chronological ordering of the sources, appears nowhere else.

10 Mss. read ἀμφιαλίαν, corrected by editors using Pliny and Stephanus Byzantius.

11 So Guarducci, but Mss. read Λάμπω, corrected by editors to Λαμπάων.
Text: \textsuperscript{12} 345. 'Απὸ τῆς Μίνωας εἰς Ἀμφιμάτριων στάδιοι ῥυματικός ἄτρος καὶ λιμὴν περὶ αὐτὸν παραχειμαστικός, καὶ πύργον ἔχει.

346. 'Απὸ Ἀμφιμάτριου εἰς Ὕδραμον στάδιοι ρύμων πόλις ἔστιν. ἔχει αἰγιαλόν. καλεῖται δὲ ἡ πόλις Ἐλευθέρα. πεζῇ δὲ ἀναβήναι ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀμφιμάτριου στάδιοι ν'.

347. 'Απὸ Ἀμφιμάτριου εἰς Ἀστάλην στάδιοι λ'.

Translation: 345. From Minoa to Amphimatrion is 150 stades. There is a river by it and a harbor good for wintering, and it has a tower. 346. From Amphimatrion to Hydramos is 100 stades. It is a city (or "There is a city there"). It has a beach. The city is called Eleuthera. It is 50 stades to travel by foot from Amphimatrion. 347. From Amphimatrion to Astale is 30 stades.

D. Dionysius Calliphontis, 128


Summary: The Amphimelas is listed among the other rivers of Crete.

E. Ptolemy III.15.6-8

Text: Ibid. The full text is given here for context and for later reference.

6 Βορσίας πλευρᾶς περιγραφὴ

\textsuperscript{12} Although partially quoted in IC, (note 2), the text is printed here, in full, as it appears in the manuscript. For textual problems and proposed solutions, cf. infra, "Commentary-B".
Translation: Description of the northern side: (List follows which needs no translation).

F. Stephanus Byzantius s.v. 'Αμφιμάλιον

Text: Ibid.13

'Αμφιμάλιον, πόλις Κρήτης, ὑπὸ 'Αμφιμάλου. ὁ πολίτης 'Αμφιμάλιος ἢ 'Αμφιμάλιος. λέγεται καὶ 'Αμφιμαλα καί τὸ ἔθνικὸν 'Αμφιμαλαίος.

Translation: Amphimalion: a city of Crete (named) after Amphimalos (perhaps Amphimalēs). A citizen is an "Amphimaleus" or an "Amphimalios". It is also called Amphimala and the ethnic is Amphimalaios.

Notes: 1) On mss. variations of the name, cf. supra, "Name".


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13 The text is quoted by the IC, (note 2), but it is cited here to facilitate discussion in "Commentary-B".
COMMENTARY

A. NAME OF AMPHIMALA

As stated above, Amphimala has been most recently related to the root word for mountain. The name would thus mean "around or near the mountain". Certain objections arise against accepting this hypothesis as final, however.

We have seen that, in fact, great variety exists in the forms of this name. Apart from vowel changes, we are faced with innumerable endings for the name and the choice of one or two lambda. This ambiguity as to the proper form of the name tends to lessen the faith put on any interpretation and must always be borne in mind when dealing with its derivation.

It might first be objected that a double lambda would make etymology simple. 'Ἀμφήμαλλος (adj.) is known to mean "wooly all around". Likewise, if Dionysius' reading of 'Ἀμφήμηλης is correct we can look to the Homeric 'Ἀμφήμηλος, "black all around", as quite suitable for our seaward site as an epithet that is probably a metaphor taken from the sea.

These suggestions, as well as that of "-mala = mountain" are all rendered superfluous to some extent by the

14 LSJ, s.v. For more loci cf. TGL, s.v.
15 So LSJ, s.v. Cf. also Fick, Vorgr. Ortsn., 8.
proper reading of the passage quoted above from Stephanus. To my knowledge this new interpretation has not been offered in print before.\textsuperscript{16}

I translated this passage as "Amphimalion, a city of Crete, (named) after Amphimalos". This is the only possible explanation for this passage that is consistent with Stephanus' usage, and we must see Amphimalos as the eponymous founder of the city. Stephanus frequently uses ἀπὸ with the genitive in this context:\textsuperscript{17}

1) Γόρτυν... ἄπο Ἡρως Γόρτυνος.

2) Καῦνος... ἄπο Καῦνον, οὕ ἄδελφη Βυβλίς ἔφασεν ἡ ἐν τούτῳ ἑστήκατο.

3) Λύκαςτος... ἄπο Λυκάστου αὐτόχθονος.

4) Λύκτος... ἄπο Λύκτου τοῦ Λυκάονος.

This interpretation fits well with Strabo's description of Amphimala as a κατοικία, which could easily indicate a colony. It is not too strained to see Amphimalos as the leader of such a colony. Unfortunately, no other person with this name is mentioned elsewhere.\textsuperscript{18}

\textsuperscript{16}Of the bibliography on the site I have not seen the article by Theophanidis, Epeteris Hetaireias Kretikon Spoudon I(1937), 610 cited by Guarducci, (note 2). This article does not seem to deal with the name, however, since Guarducci says, immediately following, "de nomine vide Fick...".

\textsuperscript{17}I have limited myself to four examples only. Others exist inside and outside of Crete, e.g. Αραγός, Φέλαννα, Ολυνθός.

\textsuperscript{18}The name is not found in PW. Pape-Benseler, Griech. Eigen., does list Amphimalos as the "Gründer" of Amphimala,
In summary, it is clear that the proximate source of the name of Amphimala lay with a now forgotten founder. Whether scholars should pursue its etymology past this figure is, perhaps, open to debate.

B. THE TEXT OF SMM 345-346

The text of the Stadiasmus is quoted above as it appears in the manuscripts. This text has been generally accepted as corrupt with most scholars following Mueller’s rendering of the text. As this problem affects a number of sites it would seem worthwhile to explain the problem and its solutions.

Let us first look at Mueller’s difficulties with the text and his solutions for them:

(Section 345)

1. Amphimatrion: There is no other source for this site and it would appear to be where Amphimala should be. Mueller suggests that the author of the Stadiasmus has confused the forms Amphimalion and Pantomatrion, yielding the

but the editors have merely read Stephanus closely. I do note one Αμφιμαρος, a son of Poseidon, (Paus. 9.29.6) and thus a likely founder of a sea coast site, but the switch from ι to ρ requires explanation, and he has no connection with Crete.

19Mueller, ad SMM 345-346 (=GGM, I.512-513).
form Amphimatroton. 20

2. Mueller then locates Amphimalion/Amphimatron at the mouth of the Armyro river. This however, makes the statement, "from Amphimatron to Hydramia is 100 stades" inaccurate, as the position of Hydramia is fairly well known and accepted. 21 Mueller suggests reading 30 stades for 100. (Section 346)

3. The phrase, "the city is called Eleuthera" is impossible to maintain for the following reasons:

a) Eleutherna, called Eleuthera in certain manuscripts, lay not here, but further west and inland (Map 3, I4).

b) The location of Eleutherna is known and is not 50 stades by foot from Amphimalion/Amphimatron. 22

c) It is foolish to locate Eleuthera vis-a-vis Hydramia. Rhethymna 23 would be a much better locus (Map 3, H4).

4. As others before him, Mueller thinks that the

20 Followed by Guarducci, IC, II.xii.Praef. (p. 142) and Faure, "La Crète," (1959), 193.


22 Mueller does not state the argument. I have included it for the sake of clarity.

23 Guarducci, (note 20), adds that the mere absence of Rhethymna is in itself suspect.
final words of section are a marginal gloss on section 346.

Mueller, then, proposes the following emended version of the text:

(Section 345): Same, change only Amphimalion for Amphimatrion.

(Section 346):

Text: 'Απὸ Ἀμφίμαλιον εἰς Ἰδραμον [στάδιοι λ'].
'Απὸ Ἀμφίμαλιον εἰς Ῥιθυμναν στάδιοι σ'. λιμὴν ἐστίν. 'Απὸ Ῥιθυμνας εἰς Παντοματριον] στάδιοι π'. πόλις ἐστίν. ἔχει αἰγιαλὸν.

["Ανω] κεῖται ἡ πόλις Ἑλευθέρνα. πολύ ἀναβηθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ Παντοματρίου στάδιοι υ'.

Translation: From Amphimalion to Hydramos is 30 stades. From Amphimalion to Rhithymna is 70 stades. There is a harbor. From Rhithymna to Pantomatrion is 100 stades. There is a city. It has a beach. Inland lies the city Eleutherina. It is 50 stades to travel by foot from Pantomatrion.

(Section 347): Same, last sentence bracketed as a gloss.

In 1948 Nicholas Platon challenged this view.24 He held that the damage done to the text was too great in Mueller's emendation. He further felt that the text could make sense unchanged.25 To defend this Platon asserts:

24 Platon, (note 21), 355-359.

1. Amphimatrion was a separate place, located exactly where the Stadiasmus places it.

2. The statement in section 346 about Eleuthera is to be read either that Hydramos had another name, or that it was surnamed "free".

3. The distance by foot given in section 346 is accurate and reflects the distance over land from Amphimatrion to Hydramos.

4. The end of 347, bracketed by Mueller, merely relates the distance from Eleutherna (an inland city) to Astalē, perhaps its port.

Platon concludes by locating Amphimatrion near Καλύβας, the traditional site of the Kisamos near Aptera (Map 2,F3). 26

It is clear that both solutions offered above are unsatisfactory. Mueller does great violence to the text while Platon defends an almost assuredly corrupt name and requires a belief in two sites named Eleutherna in the same general area. The matter appears quite unsolved at the present time and will probably remain so until definitive proof is offered for the location of Amphimala or for the proof of Amphimatrion's existence.

26 For the many sites located on or near Καλύβας, cf. Spanakes, Krētē, II.192-193.
AMPHEMATRION

The existence of this city is denied by almost all scholars. Cf. "Amphimala", supra.
AMYKLAION

NAME

The name is pre-Greek and probably recalls the Laconian city of the same name.1 Stephanus and Eustathius give the form 'Αμύκλαιον, listing no ethnic. The inscription shows the ethnic (plural) form of 'Αμύκλατοι throughout.

LOCATION

If the reading of Stephanus is correct (cf. infra) we can infer that the site, as a harbor, lay near the sea. The find spot of the inscription concerning relations between Gortyn and Amyklaion was inland, however, in the village Apessokari, south of Gortyn across the River Gieropotami (ancient Lethaios) (Map 4, K6).2 Guarducci does not attempt to place the site

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1 Guarducci, IC, IV. ad.172(p.236) with citations and (p.18). Cf. the month "Amyklaios" and the cult of Apollo (?) Amyklaios at Gortyn (IC, IV.172 with note). An Italian source surprisingly claims the site is named for its founder, one "Amicla geometra famoso". (Cf. Spanakes, "Anekdotos Katalogos," 280, no.8. This list usually slavishly follows Stephanus and its deviation here may reflect an alternate tradition).

2 Cf. also end map of IC, IV. Maiuri, cited by Spanakes (note 1), 280, n.9, once located the site at Spina Longa (Map 5, P4).
exactly, but Faure,\textsuperscript{3} places it without comment on the ocean at Kokkinos Pyrgos, in the Eparchy of Pyrgiotissa (Map 4, J6). Note, however, that Gortyn and Apessokari lie in the Eparchy of Kainouria (Map 1). While Kokkinos Pyrgos is nearer the ocean, it lies rather far from the find spot of the inscription. Notice, however, that the inscription was not found \textit{in situ} and may represent a copy erected at Gortyn, but later moved and built into a wall at Apessokari where it was found.\textsuperscript{4} The copy of the inscription presumably erected at Amyklaion\textsuperscript{5} can be considered lost, destroyed or as yet unfound.

\textbf{NATURE}

Faure\textsuperscript{6} lists Amyklaion with his other cities, apparently considering it to have been autonomous. Guarducci\textsuperscript{7} calls it "urbem (vel potius pagum)". Buerchner

\textsuperscript{3}Faure, "La Crète," (1959) 194, no.6.
\textsuperscript{4}So Guarducci \textit{ad IC}, IV.172 (p.236).
\textsuperscript{5}If it indeed existed. Instead of a treaty the inscription may have been a decree of Gortyn about Amyklaion (Guarducci, note 4) and thus no Amyklaion copy would be necessary.
\textsuperscript{6}Faure (note 3).
\textsuperscript{7}Guarducci (note 4).
calls it alternately a "Demos von Gortyn" and an "Ort im Gebiet von Gortyn". Hiller van Gaertringen considered it a city.

The ancient authorities are almost equally divided. Amyklaion is called a city by both Stephanus and Eustathius, the latter undoubtedly quoting the former.

Amyklaion as an anchorage (ὀρμός) has been mentioned above. The manuscript problems in Stephanus (q.v. infra) offer some slight basis for rejecting an anchorage in favor of a mountain.

LITERARY TESTIMONIA

A. Stephanus Byzantius s.v. Ἀμύκλαι

Text: IC, IV.172 (p.236)

Summary: Amyklaion is a city in Crete as well as an anchorage.

Notes: In the apparatus of the Meineke edition it is shown that the Codex Rehdigeranus (the best manuscript of the text) originally read ὀρμός with the μ added later

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8PW, XI, 1812 (calling it, incorrectly, Amyklai).
9PW, Suppl., I,72.
(so, δροσ ). Unfortunately, Meineke's apparatus is not clear or complete enough to show: 1) whether the μ was added by the same or a later hand; 2) what the reading of the other manuscripts are; 3) the relation of other manuscripts to this one. Further, the insertion of μ requires shifting the initial breathing from smooth to rough as there is no Greek spelling δρμος only δρμος.

Too great a weight should not be put on the fact that Eustathius, following Stephanus, reads δρμος. Approximately seven centuries separate the two authors, more than enough time to allow Eustathius the opportunity of using a corrupt text. What is needed, then, is a new look at the manuscripts of Stephanus to clear up this problem. Until this occurs, it is perhaps best to retain δρμος without, however, losing sight of the problem of the correct breathing. 12

B. Eustathius ad Il. 2.584

Text: 13 έτι δε και 'Αμύκλαιον, πόλις τν Κρήτη και δρμος.

Translation: There is also Amyklaion, a city in Crete as well as an anchorage.

Notes: 1) With the exception of "δε" this is an

12 It must be asked, however, if the neuter δρος accounts for the neuter adjectival form 'Αμύκλαιον. Although several Amyklê's are known, no other Amyklaion is known to me.

13 Cited but not quoted in IC, (note 4).
exact quote of Stephanus.

EPIGRAPHICAL TESTIMONIA

A. IC. IV.172

Date: Third or second century B.C.

Summary: The text is mutilated and only partially preserved, but it deals with relations between Gortyn and Amyklaion.
ANOPOLIS

NAME

The name certainly seems Greek and would seem to indicate, as Stephanus contends, an elevated location.\(^1\) There are no variant forms of the name 'Ἀνόπολις' or its ethnic form 'Ἀνοπόλιτης'.

LOCATION

The modern city of 'Ἀνόπολις', near ancient Araden, (Map 2,E5), effectively locates ancient Anopolis. The modern city is slightly elevated above the surrounding plain and ancient remains have been found both on and near the site.\(^2\)

NATURE

Since Anopolis could strike a treaty with Eumenes and have its own theorodokos at Delphi, it certainly was at

\(^1\) For point of comparison and with an eye toward the statement of Stephanus, modern Aradena is about 520 m. above sea level while modern Anopoli is 600 m. Cf. Spanakes, Krētē, II.51,70.

one time autonomous.\textsuperscript{3} Stephanus' statement that Anopolis was merely the upper part of Aradēn could have come from either a later assimilation of Anopolis by Aradēn, or from simple confusion due to the closeness of the two towns. Guarducci correctly points out that the latter possibility is the more likely since both names have come down to modern times implying continuous autonomy for each site.\textsuperscript{4}

\textbf{LITERARY TESTIMONIA}

A. Stephanus Byzantius \textit{s.v.} 'Αραδήν

\textit{Text:} Partially quoted only, \textit{IC, II.ii.Praef.} (p. 6)

\begin{quote}
'Αραδήν, πόλις Κρήτης, η̄ καὶ 'Ανώπολις λέγεται διὰ τὸ ἐκείνην. ὁ πολίτης ἀπὸ τῆς γενεικῆς 'Αραδήνιος, δὲς 'Αραφήνιος 'Αραφήνιος.
\end{quote}

\textit{Translation:} Aradēn, a city of Crete which is also called Anopolis because of its being on high. The citizen-name, from the genitive, is Aradēnios, like Araphēnios, Araphēnios.

\textbf{EPIGRAPHICAL TESTIMONIA}

None of the inscriptions listed in \textit{IC, II.ii}, found at or near modern Anōpoli, bears the name of the ancient

\textsuperscript{3}Note also that in two cases Aradēn and Anopolis appear in the same list of Cretan cities, cf. infra, "Epigraphical Testimonia, B and C".

city.\(^5\) Other inscriptions, predominately found outside Crete, are of more use.

A. **SEG, 8.269**

**Date:** Near the end of the third century B.C., but probably before 201 B.C. (SEG, ad loc.).

**Text:**

\(\text{Ἐξ οἴκειας οἰκείας πῶς ἀγνοεῖ ἡμέων Ἀρχαίας, ἡσυχάσον ὅ τι ἔλημα τις νέμεσις.}

\(\text{"Ὅλητο μὲν κυρίος [συν]ομώνυμος εἶχοις μοῦνας ὑμᾶς Ἰβρακύρου[υ] χειμερίας ἐτίδαν,}

\(\text{ἄλλως ἐπιτέλεσας ἡγατόρας ἷκάδος Ἁρκάτας, γονάς ἐκλάτεν ὀθοκάδην. οἰκτρῶν ἓν Ἀτταλὸς κοὐρὴν κόμισες Μάχαιος, ἄλλα πλέον θητοῖς σωθέν δουρομένωις.}

\(\text{Ἡ μὴν ἤμετέρους γε παλαιόπλουτοι βασιλεῖς ἂλλου χρυσαίας ἡγιαίσαν χάρισιν.}

\(\text{ἀσ οὐ πάσαν δρηθέσαν ἰνάκοπλιν ἐγ' ὄρος ἑχθρῶν ἀκεραίως, κρῆτην μπροντούσαν ἑτέρις. Μεμψαθα τις θεοὺς ἀρκετὶ-μόνον ἄνδρα γε θεητόν, ἀν παῖ Τασκομένους, γῆρας ὡς χαλεποῦ.}

\(\text{μενήσας, ψυχή δὲ τὰ μυρία πάντα ποιήσας ἱκεο τὴν κοινὴν ἀγαπῶν εἰς Ἀἱδών.}

**Translation:** From happiness came wild fire, Charmadas, some vengeful fate ruined our hope. First your son, like-named, died, having seen only twenty wintry settings of Arcturus. Then died Kleodoxa, aged seven the daughter of your daughter Archagatha and frustrated her parents of their blessing of offspring. Machaios the Aetolian also mourned his daughter piteously, but there is nothing more (than this) for sorrowing mortals.

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\(^5\)To these add the new find by Alexiou. Cf. **SEG, 23.561** (cf. 560 for his comment on IC, II.ii.1).
Full surely did the kings of Egypt, rich from of old, glorify both with golden gifts, and you have Crete as your witness that you restored a conquered Anopolis from the spear of its enemies.

A mere mortal must be satisfied with only blaming the gods, oh son of Taskomenes, seeing how you met with a difficult old age. Having endured a thousand things in your soul, you have come to that common road to Hades.

Notes: 1) The inscription was found in Gaza. Charmadas père and his son-in-law Machaios from Aetolia were undoubtedly mercenaries. The incident wherein Charmadas saved Anopolis is unknown, although the time was generally troubled on Crete.

It is interesting to note that a Taskomenes is attested to in an inscription found in modern Anopoli.6

B. IC, IV.179.7-8

Date: June, 183 B.C.

Summary: Among the cities listed as ratifying a treaty with Eumenes II are the 'Αμο|[πο]λιταί, found between the 'Ελυναίς and the 'Ηραδήννης.

C. Delphic list of Theorodokoi, Col. III.109-110.7

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6 IC, II.i.i.2.

7 First published by A. Plassart, "List Delphique des Théorodokos," BCH, 45(1921), 1-35. Cf. SEG, 19.390 for bibliography. A θεοροδόκος is one who receives θεωροφ, i.e. envoys sent to an oracle.
Date: Early half of second century B.C. (Guarducci, IC, II.ii.Praef., p. 7).

Text:

III.100

105

110

115

120

IV. 1

5

10

8 Cited only, IC, II.ii.Praef. (p. 7). The text printed here is the whole section on Crete, i.e. Cols. III.100-IV. 14. The text is that of P. Faure, "Epigraphai ek Krētēs," Krētika Chronika, 21(1969), 327-328 and is based on a new, careful examination of the stone which has been left to the elements for too many years since its discovery. Cf. G. Daux, "Notes sur la Liste Delphique des Théarodoques (sic)," BCH, 89(1965), 658 n. 2.
Translation: As each entry merely consists of the town and its representatives, no translation is necessary. The Anopolis entry is in line 109.

Notes: 1) III.109-110: The text is quite changed here⁹ from Plassart's original reading of:

109 ἐν Ἀνωπολίᾳ θαρσάτας
110 Στησάς

2) Notice that Araden is given as a separate city in III.108. This is strong evidence against taking Anopolis as merely another name for Araden.

D. IG, XII.9.819

Date: Ca. first century B.C. (Guarducci, IC, II.ii. Praef., p. 7).

Text: IC, loc. cit.

Summary: Epitaph of an Anopolitan named Neotimadas who died at Eretria.

E. Milesian honorarium

Date: Second century B.C.

Text: IC, II.ii. Praef. (p. 7).

son of Menestheus, [---]ωμολυ[ην].

Notes: 1) Guarducci is doubtful that this ethnic can be expanded to refer to Anopolis, saying, "Certe autem lacuna supplemento amplior esse videtur". 10

NUMISMATIC TESTIMONIA

Svoronos first attributed coins to Anopolis in 1888. 11 A later discovery of one of the coins in Crete confirmed his initial hypothesis. To date only small bronzes are known which appear in two varieties.

A. Obv. Beardless head of Rev. Α/ or Α/ palm to r., rude-ly drawn.
A. Obv. Α/ , no type Rev. Ω/ , no type.

The coins are dated by Guarducci, apparently following Head, to after ca. 250 B.C. 13 No reasons are adduced by either in support of the date, but the late form of the omega should be mentioned. 14

10Guarducci, (note 8).

11Svoronos, Numismatique, 5-6 with Pl. I.4-5 (type B), and 6 (type A). Neither Wroth nor LeRider mentions Anopolis. Note that type A is larger (23 gr.) than type B (18 gr.).

12Head, HN2, 458 apparently attests an obverse with just a goat's horn and a palm, but his format is vague.

13Head, (note 12).

14The equally late form Α, cited by Guarducci, (note 8), is given without documentation and is from a coin or coins unknown to me.
The figure on the obverse of the first type may be Apollo but no sure attribution is possible. The goat appears also on coins of Elyros, Praisos, Lisos, Priansos, and Tylisos. The palm branch is on coins of Eleutherna, Hierapytna, Pantomatrion(?) and Phaistos.¹⁵

COMMENTARY

If one excepts Stephanus (since the date of his source is unknown) the evidence of Anopolis' autonomous existence is narrowly confined to the period from just before 200 B.C. to the first century B.C.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(Not in IC and not cited above)

General:
Meursius, Creta, 19.
Pashley, Travels, II 195,242-245.
Pendlebury, Archaeology, 313,324,360 (with references).

¹⁵Cf. LeRider, Monnaies, 306 (chèvre), 308 (palme).
AOROS

Another name for Eleutherna, q.v. Cf. also Saoros and Satra.
APOLLONIA

NAME

The name is surely associated with the god Apollo. The Greek form of the city name is 'Ἀπολλωνία with the variants 'Ἀπολλωνιάδα (acc., SMM, 327 only: nom. Acta Conciliorum) and 'Ἀπολλωνία (IC, IV.181 and 182). The ethnic is 'Ἀπολλωνιάτης or 'Ἀπολλωνιάτης with the unusual form 'Ἀπολλων-[

LOCATION

The scholars' locations for the various cities named Apollonía vary widely and are closely dependent upon the number of Apollonías each scholar recognises among the testimonia. I list here the varying opinions of Guarducci and Faure.¹

Guarducci agrees with Stephanus and locates one Apollonía "πρὸς τὴν Κνώσσα", placing it at Harmyro,² northwest of Knossos, on the ocean, just west of Heraklion. To

¹For a third, painstaking working out of the problem, see Kirsten, "Apollonia,7" PW, Suppl. VII, (1946), 39-46.

this site she attaches the following testimonia from those listed below: Literary--B,C,D,E,F,Ga,H (with reservations)\(^3\); Epigraphical--A,C,D (with reservations)\(^3\),E,F,G,H.

Secondly, relying on the testimonia of the Stadiasmus, Guarducci accepts the existence of an Apollonia on the southern coast of Crete, between Lamon and Phoinix, and locates it "non longe a Phinikia", (Map 2,E5).\(^4\)

Finally Guarducci accepts Stephanus' assertion that Kydônia was once called Apollônia, and that Eleutherna once changed its name from Eleutherna to Apollônia.\(^5\)

In summary, then, Guarducci posits two actual sites named Apollônia and two sites, better known by other names, but called Apollônia in the course of their existence.

Faure, using the same evidence as was available to Guarducci, produces no fewer than seven Apollônias. For the reader's convenience in this confused area, I present his arguments as they appeared chronologically.

In 1959 Faure issued his first list of Cretan cities. On the list of cities of the Greek age (i.e. archaic, classi-
cal, hellenistic) Faure lists four Apollōnias, \(^6\) given here in list form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SITE</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Аполлоніа α</td>
<td>Gazi (Maleviziou)(^7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>β</td>
<td>Near Kydōnia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>γ</td>
<td>= Eleutherna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>δ</td>
<td>= Kydōnia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In his list of the Roman cities of Crete, Faure lists a fifth Apollōnіа, \(^8\) namely that of the Stadiasmus, but he gives the name as \'Аполланіас, citing the accusative \'Аполланіада from Section 327 of the text, and he claims that the site is a sanctuary to Apollo, not a city.\(^9\)

\(^6\) Faure, "La Crète," (1959), 194 nos. 8 and 9 (in three parts). His only commentary is on no. 9 (= \'Аполланіа β) and appears on 199.

\(^7\) I.e. of the eparchy of Malevyzion. Such notation of modern Cretan cities is used throughout this work. For the eparchies cf. Map 1, for Gazi, cf. Map 4, L4.

\(^8\) Faure, (note 6), 198 no. 2 (List), 203-204 (Commentary).

\(^9\) There are serious problems with this interpretation. Faure first fails to point out that this solution was first offered by Svoronos, Numismatique, 8. He further neglects to mention that the accusative \'Аполланіада of Sec. 327 is immediately followed by the orthodox genitive form \'Аполланіас. Mueller, on Sec. 327, says "Auctor num \'Аполланіада an \'Аполланіан scripserit, nescimus". Whatever the solution, it is clear that the text has been tampered with. We are perhaps most safe in seeing \'Аполланіада as a corruption. Faure's interpretation of the site as a sanctuary also seems to ignore the special nature of the SMM (cf. "Amphimala", n. 8, supra) which would see little point in mentioning a sanctuary alone. When sanctuaries are
Of the Apollonias listed by Faure, note that his α' is virtually the same as Guarducci's Apollonia near Knossos since Gazi lies not far from Harmyro. His β' (by Kydonia) is based upon the texts of Polybius and Diodorus which mention sympolitia between Kydonia and Apollonia, a fact which, in his eyes, demands an Apollonia quite close to Kydonia. He also adduces, with hesitation, Inscriptions D and E below.

In 1963 Faure in effect split his 'Ἀπολλωνία α' He explains that Inscriptions G and H below demand an Apollonia mentioned in the SMM, note that they come second to harbors and fresh water: e.g. Sec. 336 (where note the form Ιερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος and not Ἀπολλωνίας ) and 338 (again, Ιερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ) both Cretan sites. Further, note the nominative form Ἀπολλωνίας in the Acta Conciliorum below where a city is clearly indicated.

10 On Gazi (on most maps Ράξιος) cf. Spanakes, Krēte, I.100-101. Cf. end map of IC, I. Cf. also note 2, supra, Kirsten, (note 1), 42, who earlier proposed Gazi, and Pashley, Travels, I.259, who first proposed 'Armyro'.

11 Faure, (note 6). The problem in brief is that if the two cities had real sympolitia they had to be closely situated. Faure apparently rejects (but does not cite) the solution of Muttelsee (cited by Guarducci, IC, I.iii.Praef., Hist. p. 3) that "isopolitia" should be substituted for "sympolitia". Cf. Kirsten, (note 1), 41. Svoronos may have long ago suggested the true solution, since ignored, when he pointed to the fact that Kydonia's excellent fleet made distance of secondary importance as long as Apollonia was on the coast. Cf. Svoronos, Numismatique, 8.

lōnia south of Knōssos between Rhaukos and Gortyn. He finds this place "sur la patela de Prinias",¹³ saying that both it and a like-named maritime site existed simultaneously and that the inland site gradually failed as the seaboard site prospered. For this situation of identical names for two sites he cites Latō and Latō pros Kamara.

In summary, then, Faure believes in four autonomous cities named Apollōnia, one sanctuary named Apollōnias, and two cities (Kydōnia and Eleutherna) at one time called Apollōnia.

It becomes obvious that a great deal of variance exists in interpreting the texts given below. To help the reader, after each testimonium a brief note on its possible interpretation vis-à-vis location will be given.

NATURE

As explained above, the nature of each Apollōnia depends on each scholar's interpretation of the evidence.

LITERARY TESTIMONIA

¹³ The uncapitalised printing of "patela" is most regrettable as it gives the appearance of being a very recon­dite French word. Faure later, without adverting to the earlier instance, cites a Πατέλα, a small mountain near Prinias (Map 4,K5). Cf. Faure, "Epigraphai ek Krētēs," Kretika Chronika, 21(1919), 326. We are apparently, then, to substitute "Patela" for "patela" here as well.
Translation: After which the earlier Minos ruled over Crete and founded Apollonia.

Notes: 1) The text is quite fragmentary here. In addition to being variously read, it is diversely restored. Note especially the following: 15

a) Jacoby reads the stone itself as Δ...ΑΟΝΙΑΝ

Others have seen Δ...ΑΟΝΙΑ... or Δ...ΑΟΝΙΑ...

b) Some scholars, seeing the termination ...ΑΟΝΙΑΝ have read Κυδωνίαν, or [Κυδων και Κυδων]νίαν.

c) One scholar has even read [δ] Π[ασού] βα[σιλεύσας].

While this is not the forum to discuss these alternatives at length, it should be noted that Kydonia had its own autochthonous hero named Kydon and that there is no evidence to support Minos as "king" of Praisos. The legible part of the text clearly indicates that Minos founded a city whose last letters are (at the least) -ΑΟΝΙΑΝ and are very likely

14 The chronicle of the Marmor Parium ends in the year 264/263 B.C. It must have been written either in that year or close thereto. To my knowledge, this testimonium has been hitherto overlooked by scholars. The text as presented here is from F. Jacoby, ed., Das Marmor Parium (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1904). Cf. also FGrH, II. B3, no. 239.

15 For sources see Jacoby's apparatus (note 14).
 Apollonia would seem to be the best emendation for the text.

2) Relevance to Location: Since Minos would most likely have founded a city near his city Knosos, the Apollonia near Knosos is perhaps best seen in this text.

B. Polybius 28.14.1-4

Text: IC, I.iii.Praef. (p. 3).

Summary: The Kydonians attack and seize Apollonia despite having a sworn agreement of sympolitia deposited in the temple of Idaean Zeus.

Notes: 1) The text refers to events of 171 B.C. 16
2) Relevance to Location: If sympolitia was sworn, this Apollonia may have been near Kydona. 17

C. Diodorus Siculus 30.13 (= Constantiniana Excerpta 2(1) p. 273)

Text: IC, loc. cit.

16 So Guarducci, (note 2).

17 See note 11. The affair of an Apollonia near Kydona is only confused the worse by Stephanus's avowal that Kydona was once itself called Apollonia. Is it possible that he has conflated the two sites as he did at Anopolis (q.v.)? I have not seen this suggested in print elsewhere, but it seems a possible solution. The destruction mentioned by Polybius and Diodorus Siculus seems complete enough (men and youths killed, women and children enslaved, property seized) to have sufficiently obliterated the city that Stephanus might merge the two as one, knowing by his day only that a place once called Apollonia was now inhabited by Kydonians.
Summary: Same as B, supra.

Notes: Same as B, supra.

D. SMM 327-328


Summary: Lamōn to Apollōnia is 30 stades, Apollōnia to Phoinix, 100.

Notes: 1) Manuscript readings are discussed supra, "Name" and note 9.

2) Relevance to Location: This testimonium would definitely place an Apollōnia on the south coast of Crete (Map 2,E5) during the late Greek or early Roman period.

E. Pliny 4.12.59

Text: IC, I.iii.Praef. (p. 3). Full text supra, s.v. "Ampelos".

Summary: Listed among "oppida...insignia", between "Cytaeum" and "Matium".

Notes: 1) Manuscripts offer the variant forms Apolonia, Apollollia, Apollia.

2) Relevance to Location: Dubious. Guarducci\(^{18}\) makes a case for the north coast near Heraklion, but this involves a shaky identification of Kytaion and Mation (qq.v.).

\(^{18}\) Cf. note 2, with references.
F. Ptolemy 3.15.6

**Text:** IC, loc. cit. Full text *supra*, s.v. "Amphimala"

**Summary:** Apollonia lies on the north side of the island, between Panormos and Kytaion.

**Notes:** 1) No scholar to my knowledge has pointed out the fact that this line of Ptolemy is bracketed in most texts, omitted in others. Scrutiny of an apparatus\(^1\) shows that of major manuscripts, only one shows the reading. I am inclined to take it as a marginal gloss brought in on the earlier example of Pliny. In support of this, note its placement between Panormos and Kytaion.

G. Stephanus Byzantius

1) **s.v.** Ἀπολλονία, #6

**Summary:** Apollonia in Crete lies near Knossos.

2) **ibid.** #23

**Summary:** Apollonia, the former Eleutherna, was the fatherland of Linos, and of the natural philosopher Diogenes.

**Notes:** 1) The manuscripts show minor difficulties with the name "Linos".

2) Linos: Besides the mythical musician, Stephanus also mentions another Linos, a historian, s.v.

3) Diogenes of Apollōnia: Wrote in Ionic dialect in the fifth century B.C. These facts combine to make his Cretan origin dubious. 21

4) Notice that Stephanus implies that Eleutherna was, during his time (or that of his unnamed source), no longer called Eleutherna, but Apollōnia.

c) s.v. Kυδόνια

   Text: IC, II.x.Praef. (p. 105).
   Summary: Kydōnía was once called Apollōnia.
   Notes: 1) Relevance to Location: Cf. footnote 17. H. Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum, 451 A.D.

Text: IC, I.iii.Praef. (p. 4).

Summary: Eusebius is bishop from Apollōnia of Crete to the Council of Chalcedon.

Notes: 1) On the manuscript readings, cf. "Name", supra.

2) Relevance to Location: It is impossible

20 Whom Pape-Benseler, Griech. Eigen., s.v., no. 3, take to be the subject here. They miss, incidentally, the other Linos of Stephanus.

to say which Apollonía is indicated, although the form "Apollónias" may show some connection with SMM 327 (q.v., supra).

EPIGRAPHICAL TESTIMONIA

A. IC, I.viii.6*.37

Date: After 260 B.C. (IC, I.iii.Praef., p. 3).
Summary: Apollonía is among the Cretan cities to sign a treaty with Miletus under the leadership of Knossos.
Notes: 1) Listed between Priansos and Milatos.

B. Inscribed Hadra Vase (Accession Number 90.9.47)

Date: April 9-May 8, 233 B.C.

Text: 16'-Ἀπελαιάςον α.ςν....θαρωύφ[ς]
θεορός Κρ[νς]
Ἀπολλων[ν]ο[ς]
διὰ Σα[ρ]τ[ο][ς]

Translation: Year 14, Apellaios...Tharsyphas, Member of the sacred embassy, a Cretan, of Apollonía, by

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22 So Guarducci, (note 2), 4. But R. Janin, "3, Apollonia," in DHGE, III.1006, places it near Knossos. See this article also for the attempts to discredit this Eusebius as a confusion for the Eusebius of the Apollonia in New Epirus.

23 Cf. note 9.

Serapion.

Notes: 1) Variant reading:

1. Αρρωνος[τ]ος: Αρρωνος[τ]ος[ν]

2) To my knowledge, this testimonium has been previously overlooked although the vase has long been known.

3) While the name Ἐρρωνος does not appear itself in Cretan inscriptions, the name Ἐρρωνος[ς] appears as one of the theorodokoi from Crete (Ἀνόπολις) in the early second century B.C.

To my knowledge these names have not been linked previously and the similarity of sacred tasks is most intriguing. It may even be possible to equate the two men.

Guarducci dates the Delphic inscription to the early years of the second century B.C. As stated above, the vase dates to 233 B.C. It may not, then, be out of the question to see herein a certain Tharsyphas who in his lifetime rendered at least two periods of service to Crete as a religious ambassador.

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25 Offered in SEG, 24.1175.

26 Cf. "Anopolis, Epigraphical Testimonia, C", supra. A close examination of the stone at Delphi could, perhaps, indicate if what is tentatively read as a T may, in fact, be a Φ.

27 "In priore II saec. a Chr. n. parte," IC, II.ii. Praef. (p. 7).
4) Relevance to Location: If the Tharsyphas mentioned here is indeed the same man as the Tharsy-t-a-s of Anopolis, we have a strong case for locating this Apollonia near Anopolis, above Phoinix (cf. "Anopolis, Location", supra). This would tie in well with the late Greek or early Roman Apollonia mentioned by the Stadiasmus as lying between Lamon and Phoinix. Note that even if the two men in question are not identical, the rarity of the name on Crete would lead us to posit at least some kinship or regional preference for the name. Either alternative keeps us in the Phoinix area.

C. IC, I.iii.1*

Date: 201 B.C.

Summary: The Apollonians receive ambassadors from Teos concerning asylum.

Notes: 1) This inscription mentions a temple of Apollo Dekatophoros.

D. IC, IV.206.1

Date: The end of the third, beginning of the second century B.C.

Summary: Two men, both sons of Alexon, are made proxenoi of Gortyn.

Notes: 1) Relevance to Location: Note first that the proxenoi of the inscription are from Ephesus, Lyttos, Athens, Megalopolis, Eleutherna, Eltyna, Keos, Apollonia,
Keraia and Rhaukos. This far flung list precludes settling solely on the Apollōnia nearest Gortyn. Guarducci, with an eye to the date of the inscription, suggests (ad loc.) that this Apollōnia may be the one destroyed in 171 B.C. Note, however, the difficulty mentioned above in the placement of this Apollōnia.

E. IC, II.iii.11A.2

Date: No date given, possibly to be dated with D.

Summary: A number of men are made proxenoi of Aptera.

Notes: 1) Relevance to Location: Aptera is in western Crete on the north coast, east of Kydōnia (Map 2, F3). However, the other proxenoi are from Knōssos and Heraklion. The internal evidence is thus divided. The reader can take all three proxenoi as from the same area or can look for an Apollōnia near Kydōnia.

F. IC, IV.179.7

Date: June, 183 B.C.

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28 Neither by Guarducci ad loc. nor by CIG, 2559. Blass, SGDI, 4947 and B. Haussolier, "Inscriptions d'Aptera," BCH, 3(1879), 433-434 no. 7 also give no date.

29 Guarducci, (note 2), once dated our D to before 171 B.C. and later changed to the date given above. At the same time she dated our E to "Eidem tempori fortasse".

30 A study of the geographical distribution of people honored in Cretan proxeny decrees could be most helpful in matters of this sort.
Summary: An Apollōνία is among those cities striking a treaty with Eumenes II.

Notes: 1) Relevance to Location: There is no evidence to suggest which Apollōνία is meant.  

G. IC, IV.181

Date: Between 171 and 166/5 B.C.  

Summary: The inscription is badly mutilated. First the Gortynians and then the Knōssians have taken Apollōνία. This treaty restores and sets terms for peace.

H. IC, IV.182

Date: About the same as for G.

Summary: The inscription is in two parts. In part one (ll. 1-21) the boundaries are defined between Gortyn and Knōssos. The second part (ll. 21-30) deals with the restitution of Apollōνία to Gortyn.

Notes: 1) Faure has read lines 20-21 of the inscription differently at different times, but this affects

31I find it curious that only one Apollōνία is mentioned in this extensive catalogue.

32Note, however, that this dating depends on the assumption that the Apollōνία being disputed by Knōssos and Gortyn is the same one captured by Kydōνία. There seems to be no real proof of this.

Rhizenia (q.v.) more than Apollonia.

**NUMISMATIC TESTIMONIA**

It is, of course, impossible to have absolute certainty as to which Apollonia issued the coins known to us, but the Apollonia near Knossos is generally accepted as the correct choice. The coins do not appear to have been numerous.

The main type is as follows:

**Obv.** Head of Apollo  **Rev.** ΑΡΩΑ with stern of ship, branch.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

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**General:**


Smith, *Dictionary*, s.v. no. 2.


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APTERA

NAME

Aside from the decidedly irregular forms given by Pliny (Apterom), Anonymus Ravennas (Abtera), and the Notitiae Graecae Episcopatum (Ἀπτέρος and Ἀπτέρης, both gen.), the prevailing forms of the name among ancient authors are Ἀπτέρα and Ἀπτέρα. The popular etymology for the latter spelling is given in Stephanus below. Modern attempts at an etymology are listed by Guarducci. Various eponymous heroes are also known, called Pteras (Pausanias) and Apteros (Eusebius).

Both the -ara and -era terminations appear in inscriptions and on coins. To further confuse the issue it is clear that the -ara form was preferred on coins but that the -era ending was the norm for inscriptions. It is interesting to note that in one instance both forms appear in the same inscription.

LOCATION

1 IC, II.iii.Praef.(p. 9).

2 IC, II.iii.3*. Note however that this inscription was found in Cos and was thus probably cut by a Coan. On the -ara and -era terminations cf. J. and L. Robert, "Bulletin Epigraphique," REG, 86(1973), 200 and D.J. Blackman, "Aptera," in PECS, 73-74.
The site of Aptera is securely fixed\(^3\) at a spot near Suda Bay (Map 2, F3).

**NATURE**

Aptera was clearly a city, minting coins and striking treaties in its own name.

**LITERARY TESTIMONIA**

A. Skylax 47

**Text:** IC, II.iii.Praef. (p. 9).

**Summary:** Aptera, lying toward the north wind, is listed among Cretan cities.

**Notes:** 1) The manuscripts' reading of ἄνηα πτερέα is emended in texts to read Ἀπτέρα.

B. Polybius 4.55.4

**Text:** IC, II.iii.Praef. (p. 12) and I.viii.Praef. p. 49).

**Summary:** In 220 B.C. Aptera, Eleutherna, and Kydōnia were forced by Polyrrhēnia and other allies of Lyttos to desert their alliance to Knōssos. The pro-Lyttian allies were aided by troops of Philip and the Achaean League.

C. Diodorus Siculus 5.64.5

**Text:** IC, II.iii.Praef. (p. 10).

\(^3\)Cf. Guarducci, (note 1).
Summary: The Idaean Daktylls are said to have invented the use of metals in the land of Aptera near Mt. Berekynths (q.v., infra).

D. Strabo 10.4.13 (p. 479)

Text: Partially quoted only, IC, II.iii.Praef.

(p. 9). Full text below:

Κυδώνια δ' ἐπὶ θαλάσση μὲν ἱδρυτας, βλέπουσα πρὸς τὴν Λακωνικὴν, διέχει δ' ἐκατέρας τὸ ἱσόν, τῆς τε Κνωσοῦ καὶ τῆς Γορτύνος, οἷον δικαστείως σταδίως, Ἀπτέρας δὲ δυσδημοκρατεῖ, τῆς ταυτῆ δὲ θαλάσσης τετταράκοντα. Ἀπτέρας δ' ἐπίνειον ἔστιν Κίσαμος.

Translation: Kydōnia is located on the sea looking towards Lakōnia. It is equidistant (about 800 stades) from Knōssos and Gortyn but is 80 stades from Aptera and about 40 from the sea there. The port of Aptera is Kisamos.

E. SMM 344-345

Text: IC, II.iii.Praef. (p. 10).

Summary: From Kydōnia to Aptera is 150 stades by sea, 120 on foot. The place called Minōs has three islands before it (the Leukai Islands). From Minōs to Amphimatrion is 150 stades.

Notes: 1) Mss. a) cis Ἀπτέραν corrected to cis Ἀπτέραν. Cf. Mueller ad loc. for other attempts.

b) Μίνω corrected to Μίνως.

2) Compare these distances with those of Strabo given above.
F. Dionysius Calliphontis 122-123

Text: IC, II.iii.Praef. (p. 10).

Summary: An Aptera is listed in inland Crete.

G. Pliny HN 4.12.59


Summary: Aptera is listed between Minoium and Pantomatrium.

Notes: 1) Manuscripts also read the name as "Apterom" or "Aptero".

2) Mueller has asked whether "Minoium Apterom" may not in fact represent the Greek Μινώιον 'Απτέρον, thus distinguishing the Minoa near Aptera from that near Lyttos.

H. Pausanias

a) 4.20.8

Text: Cited only, IC, II.iii.Praef. (p. 11):

ειλακυντα ιππο Λακεδαιμονίων και τοξοτων 'Απτεραίων

Translation: (Aristomenes rescued a merchant)
taken by the Lakedaimonians and the Apteraiian archers.

b) 10.5.10

Text: Cited only, ibid.

και τούτου δὲ τοῦ Πτερᾶ καὶ πόλειν Κρητικήν προσθήκη
γράμματος 'Απτερος φασίν θυμαίεσθαι.

4 GGM, I.512 ad SMM 344. Cf. IC, (note 1).
Translation: They say that the Cretan city is named Aptereoi (sic) after this same Pteras with the addition of a letter.

Notes: 1) 'Απτερεοις -αίοις . Either form would seem to indicate the people of Aptera rather than the actual city.

2) The Pteras referred to is the mythical builder of the temple to Apollo at Delphi that was constructed of wax and feathers.

I. Plutarch Pyrrhus 30.5

Text: Cited only, IC, II.iii.Praef. (p. 11) with historical notes:

Translation: A fierce battle having arisen around Ptolemy (the son of Pyrrhus) and a picked band of Spartans under the command of Eualkos having engaged those men fighting in front of him (sc. Ptolemy), a man, strong and swift of foot, Oryssos by name, a Cretan from Aptera, having run up from the side, struck the young lad as he was fighting spiritedly and laid him low.

Notes: 1) These events took place in 273 B.C.
J. Ptolemy 3.15.7

Text: Printed partially in IC.II.iii.Praef. (p. 10).

Full text supra, s.v. "Amphimala".

Summary: Aptera is listed among the inland cities between Polyrrhēnia and Hyrtakina.

Notes: 1) The form 'Ἀπτερία', found in the edition of Nobbe (1843) is not mentioned in the critical edition of Wilberg (1842) which prints only "Ἀπτερά" and cites no variant forms. The validity of Nobbe's reading is thus in question.

K. Hesychius

a) s.v. 'Ἀπτρας

Text: IC, II.iii.Praef. (p. 10).

Summary: "Aptareus" indicates one from Crete, for Aptara is a city of Crete.

Notes: 1) The text is corrupt here, reading only ἀντα for the city name. The emendation is easily accepted.

b) s.v. Ὑπερτης

Text: 5 Ὑπερτης· Κρητικῶν πόλεων ἐπίθετα.

Translation: "Hyperteis": Epithets of Cretan cities.

Notes: 1) The text as it appears in the manu-

5 This text is overlooked by Guarducci.
scripts is troubled. 'Ὑπερετεῖς', for example, is unattested elsewhere and is not readily intelligible. Schmidt suggests in his edition (1862) ad loc., a reasonable emendation: "Ὑπερετεῖς. Κρητῶν παλαιῶν ηπίσθενα".

L. Eusebius Chronicorum Canonum Liber, p. 30 (ed. Schoene)

Text: Κρήτης βασιλεύσει Ἀπτέρας, δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκτεινε.  
Translation: Over Crete ruled Apteras who also founded the city.

Notes: 1) Cf. infra, s.v. Hieronymus.

M. Hieronymus Eusebius Hieronymus, p. 31 (ed. Scheoene)

Text: In Creta regnavit Apteras, qui et urbem condidit.

Translation: In Crete ruled Apteras, who also founded the city.

Notes: 1) Both Eusebius and Hieronymus are overlooked by Guarducci although both texts were cited long ago by Meursius. 6

2) The eponym Apteras is unknown. It is most likely that the better known Apteros is meant here. The story of Apteros is best known from Parthenius. 7 This story of love and intrigue tells how Eulimene, daughter of Kydon, was loved by Lykastos even though she was already

6 Meursius, Creta, 20.
7 Parthenius Erotica, 35.
betrothed to Apteros who then ruled all of Crete. Eulimene was ravished by the frustrated Lykastos who was then killed by Apteros for his deed. Apteros fled Crete, across the Xanthus, to Termera in Lycia. Eulimene was sacrificed before this in response to an oracle which her father had requested in order to quell local rebellions.

This tale is generally overlooked by Cretan scholars and deserves detailed study. I here briefly point to the following facts.

Three eponymous heroes of Crete are named. Two of their cities, Aptera (Map 2, F3) and Kydōnia (Map 2, E2), lie close together and in the story are allied by promised marriage ties. We are told by Parthenius (as by Eusebius) that Apteros then ruled all of Crete. Lykastos enters the story as an interloper and as a representative of another area of Crete (Map 4, L5), and makes his appearance during domestic crises severe enough to warrant seeking the aid of oracles.

Is it not possible that this myth contains very old historical remembrances of a time when Aptera was a dominant city and, with Kydōnia, faced an internal challenge in the form of rebellions and an external challenge in the form of intrusions from the area of Lykastos?

Note finally that Apteros, after his act of homicide, fled to Lycia, where Stephanus tells us there was
another city named Aptera. Are we then to look for the Lycian Aptera of Stephanus near Termera?\(^8\)

N. Stephanus Byzantius s.v.

Text: Partially quoted only, IC, II.iii.Praef. (p. 10).

Translation: Aptera: a city of Crete, (named) after the strife of the Muses and Sirens which took place in the Mouseion, a place so called near the city and the sea. Where, after the victory of the Muses in singing, the Sirens, having stripped their wings from their shoulders in their vexation, threw them away and having turned white, threw themselves into the sea, whence the city (was called) Aptera and the nearby islands "White". But some say (it was founded) by Glaukos of Cyrene. A citizen is an Apteraios. There is also a city of Lycia and it too is neuter. The ethnic of it is Aptereus.

\(^8\)This connection between Cretan and Lycian Aptera is overlooked by Robert, (note 24), who questions the validity of a Lycian Aptera. Fick, Vorgr. Ortscn., 17, connects the names of Cretan and Lycian Aptera, but misses this link from Parthenius. On the eponymous hero Pteras see Pausanias, supra. Note that Apteros has been identified on the coins of Aptera as explained below.
Notes: 1) For parallel and/or derivative texts cf. S and T, infra.

2) The use of Glaukos of Cyrene here as founder of Aptera is surely a confusion. On this complex matter and on Guarducci’s false creation of a Cretan Kyřene, cf. infra, s.v. "Kyřene".

O. Hierocles Synekdemos 650.11

Text: Cited only, IC, II.iii.Praef. (p. 10). For full text cf. supra, s.v. "Allyngos".

Summary: Listed between Lappa and Kydōnia.

P. Anonymus Ravennas 5.21

Text: Printed per partes throughout IC, printed in full here for context:


Translation: Creta, which is also called Crete, in which we read there were many cities, from among which we wish to specify a few, namely: (list needs no translation).

Q. Notitiae Graecae Episcopatum

a) 8.227

Summary: The bishopric of Ἀρτέρας (gen.) is listed in Crete.

b) 9.136

Text: Ibid.

Summary: The bishopric of Ἀρτέρας (gen.) is listed in Crete.

R. Suda s.v. Ἀρτέρα

The passage of the Suda cited by many scholars\(^9\) is an almost exact quote of the Stephanus passage cited above. For this reason it is excluded by most editions of the Suda\(^10\) and is not reproduced here.

S. Tzetzes ad Lycophronem 653\(^11\)

Text: Cited only IC, II.iii.Praef. (p. 9).

Παρ' ὅπερ δὲ Κρήτην ταύτα γεγόνασιν, δεόντω, καὶ πόλις Ἀρτέρα τῆς Κρήτης παρὰ τὸ ἔχει τὰ πτερὰ νικηθείσας ἀποβάλειν τὰς σειρήνας.

Translation: The following events happened around Crete, from which the city Aptera (is named) because it was there that the Sirens, having been beaten, threw away their wings.

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\(^9\) This passage is cited by Meursius, (note 6), and Hoeck, Kreta, I.380. It is omitted by Guarducci.

\(^10\) As in the case of the Suda reference to Amnisos (q.v.), the newest edition of the Suda (ed. Adler) quite regrettably omits the passage on Aptera without any comment appearing in the apparatus. The best notes on the exclusion of the passage appear in Godfrey Bernhardy, ed., Suidae Lexicon (Halls: Schwetschki, 1853), 678 ad loc.

\(^11\) Not 613 as given in PW, II.287.
T. Etymologicon Magnum\textsuperscript{12}

a) 133.31-33

Text: 'Απτέρα: πόλις Κρήτης, ὑπατεία τοῦ ἀεί ἱεροῦ ναοῦ τῆς Μονῆς καὶ τῆς Εὐθυμίας τῶν Μυσών. 

Translation: Aptera: A city of Crete. (So named) because it was there the Sirens threw away their wings when they went into competition against the Muses and were bested.

b) In Ms. Va\textsuperscript{13}, found at p. 333 (ed. Gaisford)

Text: 'Απτέρα. πόλις Κρήτης. ὑπατεία τῆς τῶν Μουσῶν καὶ Σειρήνων ἔρημος διαφοροῦσα τὰ πτερὰ τῶν θημών ἀπεβάλλοντα, καὶ λευκὴ γενόμενα, ἐνέβαλον ἑαυτὰς, ὁ πολίτης 'Απτεραῖος. ἐστὶ καὶ λυκίας πόλις (οὐδὲτέρως Ἀπτέρα) ὑπὸ ἑνίκον Ἀπτερίας. 

Translation: Aptera: a city of Crete. (So named) because having become angry on account of the strife of the Muses and Sirens, they (sc. the Sirens) threw their wings away from their shoulders and, having become white, threw themselves in. A citizen is an "Apteraios". There is also a city of Lycia ---neuter, Aptera--- and the ethnic is "Aptereus", q.v.

Notes: 1) This variant tradition of the EM

\textsuperscript{12}Both of these texts are overlooked by Guarducci.

\textsuperscript{13}This variant tradition of the EM (it is not merely a different set of manuscript readings) is discussed, if confusedly, by T. Gaisford, ed., Etymologicon Magnum (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1962 reprint of 1848 ed.), 4-5.
seems closely modelled on the text of Stephanus given above. Note one exception, in that Stephanus takes both names to be neuter plural and accents them identically.

EPIGRAPHICAL TESTIMONIA

A. Linear B Tablets

Date: Before 1200 B.C.

Text: Tablets from Knossos bear the following forms: 14

a) a-pa-ta-wa
b) a-pa-ta-wa-jo
c) a-pa-ta-wa-ja

Notes: 1) The first form represents the city name. The last two forms are the masculine and feminine ethnics respectively.

2) This proven existence of Aptera at such an early date is useful corroboration of the historical hypothesis set forth above concerning the story of Eulimene and Apteros.

B. IC, I.xxii.4A.39

Date: 266 B.C.

Summary: An Apteraean named Antiochos 15 is honored

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14 Cf. DOCS², "Glossary", p. 532 for further references.

15 For emendations to the text and a more precise identification of Antiochos, cf. W. Peremans and E. Van't Dack, "Notes sur Quelques Prêtres Éponymes d'Egypte
at Olous.

C. Proxeny Decrees of Epidauros

**Date:** Ca. 225 B.C.\(^{16}\)

**Summary:** Parasios, son of Sosos, and another, unnamed person of Aptera are made *proxenoi* of Epidauros.

D. **IC, II.iii.1**

**Date:** 201 B.C.

**Summary:** Ambassadors from Teos concerning asylum are received at Aptera.

E. Rehm, *Delphinion*, no. 39

**Date:** Ca. 200 B.C.\(^{17}\)

**Summary:** Kryton of Aptera is honored by the Milesians.

F. **IC, II.x.19**

**Date:** Third century B.C.

**Summary:** The Kydōnians grant public gifts to a certain Atar(b)os of Aptera.

**Notes:** 1) On the confused form of the name Atar-(b)os, cf. Guarducci, *ad loc.*

G. **IC, II.iii.4C**

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*Ptolemaique,* "*Historia*, 8(1959), 171.

\(^{16}\) *SEG*, 11.414. The texts are discussed and similarly dated by Guarducci, (note 1), p. 11 who gives as much of the text as is relevant.

\(^{17}\) So Guarducci, (note 1), p. 12 where also see the text.
Date: End of third or beginning of second century B.C.

Summary: King Attalos I of Pergamon is honored by the people of Aptera.18

H. IC, IV.179.4

Date: 183 B.C.

Summary: The people of Aptera are among many Cretan cities mentioned in a treaty with King Eumenes II of Pergamon.

I. IC, II.iii.2

Date: After 170 B.C.

Summary: The Apteraeans receive legates from Teos concerning asylum.

J. Delphic list of Theorodokoi Col. III.113-114

Date: Early half of second century B.C.

Summary: In the text printed supra, s.v. "Anopolis" a certain Pharos son of Xenotimos and a Sosos son of Paisthenidas are theorodokoi in Aptera.

K. SGDI 5152

Date: Just after 200 B.C.19

Text: Supra, s.v. "Allaria".

18 The most recent discussion of the text is by L. Robert, "Deux Inscriptions d'Aptera," Hellenica, 1(1940), 113-115.

19 So Guarducci, (note 1), 12.
Summary: The Aptaraioi are found between the (M)ilati(oi) and the Eltynioi in this list of Cretan cities.

L. IG, IV.729

Date: Between either 219 and 217 B.C. or 273 and 270 B.C. 20

Summary: A certain Απταραφος is mentioned in this catalogue found at Hermione. The Cretan attribution is considered by Guarducci to be equally probable as to any other city bearing the name Aptera. 21

M. IC, II.iii.3

Date: Second century B.C.

Summary: A doctor from Cos is given a golden crown by the people of Aptera.

N. IC, II.iii.18

Date: Second century B.C.

Summary: In a brief and badly worn inscription the form Απτερας is discernible.

O. Honorary Decree of Eleusis 22

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20 Ibid.

21 Ibid. Note, however, that based on Stephanus' text, we would expect some form of Απτερος for the ethnic if this were indeed the Lycian Aptera.

22 Benjamin D. Merritt, "Greek Inscriptions," Hesperia, 29(1960), 20, no.26 and Pl 6. The text reproduced here is the part of the inscription listing the man honored and is enclosed in a laurel wreath. Other names have been lost. Cf. SEG, 19.105.
Date: Second century B.C. (publisher)

Text: η θουλη | δ δημος | θαρους[ον] | Υπεραν[θους] | 'Απτε[ρεα]

Translation: The boule (and) the people (honor)
Tharsytos, son of Hyperanthes, of Aptera.

Notes: 1) Merritt feels that the Aptera in question is "probably...the city of that name in Crete, though there was also a city named Aptera in Lykia". Robert raises serious doubts as to the actual existence of a Lycian Aptera.

2) Robert also questions the restoration of the ethnic in the form 'Απτε[ρεα] as this is the form given by Stephanus for the Lycian Aptera. The Cretan ethnic, according to Stephanus, was 'Απτερατος and Robert feels some form of this ethnic should be restored.

3) Robert again questions the restoration of θαρους[ον]. Merritt chose this name over θαρους[ον] but Robert points to the θαρους[ον] known from Anopo-

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23 Merritt, (note 22).
25 Robert, (note 24),156.
26 Ibid.
27 Cf. note 22 with references.
lis and seems to prefer this form of the name here as well.\(^{28}\) As discussed elsewhere,\(^{29}\) I have strong suspi-
cions that the "Tharsytas" of Anopolis is the same as the 
"Tharsyphas" of Apollonia (a reference overlooked by Ro-
bert). Since every instance of the name θάρσυτας involves 
an illegible tau and since the θάρσυφ(ας) of Apollonia 
contains an irrefutable phi, I am inclined neither to 
read Merritt's θάρσυφ(ας) nor Robert's θάρσυφ(ας), but 
the more solidly attested θάρσυφ(ας).\(^{30}\)

P. \textit{IC}, II.iii.44.11

\textbf{Date:} Third century A.D.

\textbf{Summary:} Funeral inscription of a Lybian woman 
buried at Aptera.

Q. An inscription now generally accepted as referring to 
Lipara on Crete was once emended to read "Apteraios" for

\(^{28}\text{Robert, (note 25).}\)

\(^{29}\text{Cf. "Apollonia, Epigraphical Testimonia, B".}\)

\(^{30}\text{It becomes clear that a reexamination of the Delphic list of theorodokoi and the Eleusinian inscrip-
tion could shed light on the strength of my conjecture. It is unlikel}-
y that the "Tharsytas" of the Eleusinian inscrip-
tion could be identical with the Anopolis/Apollonia 
Tharsyphas. The latter's father's name ends in "...ida" 
(cf. text s.v. "Apollonia") while the Eleusinian "Tharsy-
tas" is the son of Hyperanthes. It is clear, however, 
that while no definite Cretan examples of the name Tharsy-
tas exist a Tharsyphas from Crete is undeniable.\)
NUMISMATIC TESTIMONIA

The coins of Aptera are known from many issues and types. The main examples follow, divided between silver and bronze coins.

SILVER COINS

A.²² Obv. Head of a goddess (Artemis of Aptera?) Rev. Armed warrior with r. hand raised to tree. 
APITAPAION or AITAPAION ΠΣΟΛΙΩΤΟΣ or ΠΣΟΛΙΩΤΟΣ

Notes: 1) Some coins of this series are signed by a certain Pythodoros.³³

2) The warrior of the reverse type is generally taken to be the eponymous hero/founder Pteras or Apteros. The accompanying inscription is usually taken as being the equivalent of πολιως αἰκίστης. The type of tree is debated but the figure's action is generally in-


³³On Pythodoros see LeRider, Monnaies, 36,114,198 and E.S.G. Robinson, "Greek Coins Acquired in 1930-1931 by the British Museum," NC, 5th series, xii(1932) 203-204. My thanks to Mr. Al N. Oikonomides for calling this last reference to my attention.
interpreted as one of worship. 34

B. 35 Obv. Head of goddess

C. Obv. As in B

D. Obv. As in B

E. 38 Obv. Head of Zeus

F. 39 Obv. Head of Apollo

Rev. Arm prison facing front or advancing.1

Rev. 37 Apollo seated on rock, holding patera in outstretched r. hand, l. hand resting on lyre.

Rev. Hermes with caduceus

BRONZE COINAGE

The bronze coins of Aptera often closely imitate the types of the silver coins with a special preference for the types described in B and F above. Other bronze coinage has the head of Artemis on the obverse with varying reverses including a single torch, three crossed torches, a torch with an arrowhead, a bee, a lyre, and a dove.

34 The best discussion of these points is found in Wroth, Catalogue, xxx-xxx1. Cf. Robinson, (note 33), 204 and Head, HN 2, 458.

35 Wroth, Catalogue, Pl. II.6.

36 Ibid., Pl. II.8.

37 Ibid., Pl. II.9.

38 Ibid., Pl. II.11.

flying to the right. 40

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C.M. Gault, "A Marble Fragment at Mount Holyoke College from the Cretan City of Aptera," Art and Archaeology, 6(1917), 143-154.

Pashley, Travels, I.48-60.


Epigraphical


SEG, 11.414; 16.528; 17.433; 23.562.

Archaeological


40 For examples cf. Svoronos, Numismatique, Pl. I. 14-35, II.1-15. Note that the coins of II.7-8, which depict a herm on the reverse, are no longer attributed to Aptera, but to the Ariaioi whose city I have contended was called "Aria". Cf. "Arion(?)" infra.
ARADEN

NAME

Many forms of the name appear: 'Αραδην (Stephanus Byzantius); 'Αραδένα (Hierocles); 'Αραδήνης and 'Αραδώνης (gen., Notitiae); 'Ηραδηνι (dat., Inscription B, infra). The ethnic appears as 'Ηραδηννιος (inscription A, infra) and 'Αραδηνιος (Stephanus Byzantius).

LOCATION

The modern village of 'Αραδένα (or 'Αραδίνα) is accepted as the site of ancient Araden1 (Map 2, E5).

NATURE

That this city was distinct from Anopolis has been shown above, s.v. "Anopolis". By Byzantine times, however, it was identified with its port, Phoinix.2

LITERARY TESTIMONIA

A. Stephanus Byzantius s.v. 'Αραδην

Text and Translation: Cf. supra s.v. "Anopolis"


2Spanakes feels the bishopric moved from Araden to Phoinix in later times, (note 1), 72, cf. 384-385.
Summary: Araden is also known as Anopolis

Notes: 1) On the interpretation of this passage, cf. supra, s.v. "Anopolis".

B. Hierocles Synekdemos 651.1

Text and Translation: Cf. supra s.v. "Allyngos"

Summary: After Lissos comes "Φοινίκης ήτος 'Αραδένα".

C. Notitiae Graecae Episcopatum

a) 8.230

Text and Translation: Cf. supra s.v. "Allyngos"

Summary: "δ Φοινίκης ήτος 'Αραδένης" is listed between Elyros and Hierapytna.

b) 9.139

Text and Translation: Ibid.

Summary: Same as above, but reading 'Αραδένης for 'Αραδένης.

EPIGRAPHICAL TESTIMONIA

Curiously, Araden is known only from inscriptions in which Anopolis also appears. Its name appears in none of the four inscriptions found on its own location.

A. IC, IV.179.8

Date: June, 183 B.C.

Summary: In a treaty with Eumenes II, Araden is listed between Anopolis and Istron.
B. Delphic list of Theorodokoi, Col. III.108

Date: Cf. supra, s.v. "Anopolis".

Text: Ibid.

Summary: The theorodokos from Araden, one Lukonikos(?), is listed between those of Tarrha and Anopolis.

COMMENTARY

The island "Αραδὸς" cited by Stephanus does not form part of this study which is confined to mainland Crete.

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Meursius, Creta, 19, 21.
Smith, Dictionary, s.v. "Araden".

Epigraphical:
SEG, 14.576.

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3The name of the theorodokos is from Faure's new inspection of the stone, "Epigraphai ek Kretos," Kretika Chronika, 21(1969), 327-328. Guarducci, IC, II.iv.Praef. (p. 40), had followed the original reading of A. Plassart, "Liste Delphique des Theorodoques," BCH, 45(1921), 19, in giving the name as undecipherable.
ARAX

NAME

The name is known only in the accusative form τόν Ἀράκα. The nominative is usually given as Ἀράκεις although Buerchner suggests Ἀράκας. 1 Note that, as often in this inscription, 2 the reading we have is based on a very early copy of a now lost version of the inscription.

Faure links the etymology of the name with the modern ἀράκας, a type of vetch. 3 Zonaras, in talking of the Araxēs river, links the name with the verb ἀράζω. 4 I have also found a Linear B name from Knossos, A-ra-ko, 5 that offers an interesting if not definitely applicable parallel.

LOCATION

Since it serves as a boundary marker in the

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1 In PW, XI.1812 Buerchner, confusedly, lists both an Arakas and an Arax.
2 Cf. supra, s.v. "Acherdoiæis, Name".
4 S.v. Ἀράκης (I.286 ed. Tittmann).
5 Cf. Chadwick, DOCS 2, 533(Glossary, s.v.).
inscription cited below, we are sure that Arax lay on the boundaries of Lató. Although greater certainty is realistically not possible, Faure places Arax on the site of modern Mt. Stavros, east and slightly south of Lató. 

NATURE

The inscription itself would seem to offer no clue in this area. Buerchner, in some confusion, doubles the site calling it both "Ort" and "Fluss". Faure claims the site is a mountain. As neither scholar offers a reason for these assignations, the following information is appended.

I can find but one site with an Arak- base, a certain city called Arakka (or Aracha) in Susiana. Araxa was a city in Lycia while Araxos was a promontory in Achaia. Finally, four rivers are known with the

6 Cf. supra, s.v. "Acherdoeis, Location".
7 Faure, (note 3) 109, cf. map between 96 and 97.
8 Buerchner, (note 1). Add PW, Suppl. I.116 ("Fluss-name").
10 PW, Suppl. I.116.
11 Stephanus Byzantius s.v.. Cf. Smith, Dictionary, s.v. and PW, II.402.
12 Smith, Dictionary, s.v.. PW, II.405.
name Araxes. By analogy, therefore, and keeping in mind that no surety is possible, it is most likely that Cretan Arax is a river. I can find no reason to believe that it was a mountain.

EPIGRAPHICAL TESTIMONIA

This site is known only from one inscription.

A. IC, I.xvi.5.63

Date: 113-112 B.C. (Faure, "Aux Frontières," 94).

Summary: Boundaries of Latō are listed. Arax is listed between Syōnia and Chambitasos.

Notes: 1) As mentioned above ("Name"), the original stone that bore this name is now lost. The whole name is to be bracketed.

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13Smith, Dictionary, s.v. PW, II.402-404. Stephanus Byzantius s.v.. Cf. Zonaras, s.v. (cf. supra, "Name").
ARBION

NAME

As mentioned above, Faure holds forth for the possibility that Albe and Arbion derive from the same stem (cf. supra, s.v. "Albe"). Cook wishes to associate the form with the Latin arbor and cites instances of Zeus as a tree god to substantiate the claim.¹ Fick claims the name is not Greek.² Faure also suggests that the name may have arisen, "par jeu de mots", from a local legend ἀπερί τοῦ Ἄριος, but his evidence is strictly speculative and far from convincing.³

On the view held by this author, that the name is, in fact, identical with that of the Ariaioi, see infra, s.v. "Arion".

LOCATION

The location of this site is agreed to coincide with the modern town of Ἄρβη (Map 4,N7). Debate remains as to the actual location of Mt. Arbion, however, with

¹Cook, Zeus, II.946-947.
²Fick, Vorgr. Ortsn., 24-25.
the main choice being between Mt. Keraton (Map 6) and the
ridges that form the spectacular gorge near "Arbion". On
the accuracy of these locations, see infra, s.v. "Arion".

NATURE

Stephanus clearly tells us that there was a
mountain named Arbion. We can also surmise a sanctuary
to Zeus Arbios, although little was needed to establish a
mountain top shrine.5

Many scholars6 also wish to postulate a city in
the area, supposedly bearing a similar name, such as
"Arbion", of which "Arbion" is an adjectival form.7 No
remains of a city have been found and finds in the area
of modern Arbi are scattered at best.8 The one inscrip-

4 On the identification of Arbion with Hieron Oros
cf. infra, s.v.

5 In conversations with Dr. Merle Langdon during
my stay at the American School I found that mountain peak
sanctuaries are little more than ash altars with scattered
remains.

The nature of Zeus Arbios can not be, as claimed
by Cook, that of a tree deity since his equation is based
on a patently false etymology. For more information cf.
infra, s.v. "Arion".

6 Guarducci, IC, I.iv.Praef.(p. 5) and Kirsten, PW,
Suppl. VII.45-46 with the earlier authorities there cited.
Cf. Spanakes, Kretë, I.80.s.v.

7 So Faure, "La Crète," (1959), 198 no.3 who wrongly
gives the impression that Stephanus lists a city.

8 Kirsten, (note 6), 45.
tion found in the area is sepulchral and bears no ethnic. Until stronger proof is found it is perhaps best to dis­count the existence of a city in this area.

On the most probable solution to this problem see the discussion infra, s.v. "Arion".

LITERARY TESTIMONIA

A. Stephanus Byzantius s.v. "Arbion

Text: Printed IC, I.iv.Praef.(p. 5)

Summary: There is an Arbion mountain and a Zeus Arbios in Crete. One dwelling on the mountain is an "Arbian".

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(Not cited in IC or above)

General
Pashley, Travels, I.275-276.
Spratt, Travels, I.293-296.

Name

\(^9\)IC, I.iv.1.
Archaeological:


ARCHELARCHAS

NAME

Guarducci\(^1\) prints 'Αρχέλαρχα (acc.) while Faure\(^2\) prints a less assured 'Αρχέλαρχα. The -αν is supplied from old transcriptions of a now lost second copy of the inscription.\(^3\) Faure wants the original form of the name to have been 'Αχέλαρχα with a second ριο added before the second χι "par analogie". In this way he feels that the etymology of the name can be seen in the pelasgian hydronym 'Αξέλης or 'Αχέλης.\(^4\)

LOCATION

The nature of the inscription containing this site's name (A, infra) makes it clear that it lay along the borders of Λατό and Olous. It is generally agreed that the places marking this border seem to follow the course of the river today called Μεραμπελουσόταμι or, in one of its branches, Εφροπόταμι (Map 4, P5).\(^5\) Faure

\(^{1}\) IG, I.xvi.5.72
\(^{3}\) Cf. supra, s.v. "Acherdœis, Name".
\(^{4}\) Faure, (note 2), 98.
\(^{5}\) Guarducci, (note 1), ad vv. 69 sq. (p. 124).
alone equates Archelarchas with the Mirabelloupotami. 6

NATURE

Faure seems alone in insisting that Archelarchas be a river. As his sole evidence is etymological and depends on the hypothetical rho-reduplication mentioned above, this identification should be viewed cautiously.

EPIGRAPHICAL TESTIMONIA

A. IC, I.xvi.5.72

Date: 113/112 B.C. (Faure)

Summary: Archelarchas is listed between Kalolakka and Deras as one of the boundaries of Lato and Olous.

Notes: 1) Archelarchas is one of the few sites in the inscription lacking a definite article.

B. IC, I.xvi.18.9

Date: Second century B.C.

Summary: Same as A, supra

Notes: 1) This badly mutilated stone has been restored by Guarducci on the basis of A, supra. Note, however, that the restoration of Archelarchas is based on the survival of its initial letters APXE and not upon mere supposition.

6Faure, (note 2),110-111 and map between 96 and 97.
ARDANITOS (?)

NAME

The name is found only in the form Ἐν Ἀρδανίτος (sic).

LOCATION

The inscription below deals with grazing rights between Praisos and Hierapytna. The inscription probably dealt also with Itanos, since this fragmentary copy of it was found there. We can thus look for Ardanitos in the south eastern area of Crete between Hierapytna and Praisos¹ (Map 5,P6,S6). Guarducci asks whether the site could have some connection with the African promontory of Ardanis.²

NATURE

The inscription only tells us that the Praisian lands are open to grazing by the people of Hierapytna,

¹The inscription is quite clear in locating both Ardanitos and its companion Daros in Praisian territory. We have no surety today, however, of where the boundaries between Hierapytna and Praisos lay.

²Ad IC, III.iv.1B.40 sgg. (p. 81).
Margarita Guarducci seems to feel that the temenoi themselves bore the two names given, but the text will not bear this interpretation. Reinach is more accurate in taking Ardanitos and Daros as the locations of the temenoi. This reading is most in keeping with the text, but tells us nothing of the nature of the sites. If, as Guarducci contends, Daros is associated with δερας, a form of δερας, the names may refer to the areas or locales rather than actual towns. Thus Daros would mean "rough place" only. In light of the evidence at hand, it is perhaps best to leave this question open to speculation.

EPIGRAPHICAL TESTIMONIA

3IC, III.iv.1B.38-42. Guarducci excludes accents from the names. The accents are added here from the original publication of Adolphe J. Reinach, "Inscriptions d'Itanos," REG, 24(1911), 380.

4"Duo Praesiorum fana commemorantur", and, on Daros, "bene quadratin Praesiorum territorio valde asero...fanum aliquod hoc nomine indicatum esse", IC, (note 3), pp. 81-82. Guarducci offers no reason for her view.

5Reinach, (note 3), paraphrases the passage as "Il y aura droit de pacage réciproque, pour les Hiérapytniens sur le territoire de Praisos, à l'exception des enclos sacrés sis à Ardaniton et à Daron". The neuter termination of the names is a possibility to be considered. Cf however, "Deras", infra.

6IC, (note 3), 82.
A. IC, III.iv.1B.40-41

Summary: Grazing rights in Praisian land are given to the Hierpytnians save for the areas in the temenoi in "Ardanitos" and "Daros".
ARGOS

A Cretan city of Argos was once proposed solely on the basis of coins. This attribution was successfully refuted by Svoronos.¹

¹Svoronos, Numismatique, 28.
ARION

NAME

The exact form of the name is not preserved, but must be deduced from the ethnic form 'Αρβιον. The view held by the present author connecting this name with "Arbion" (q.v. supra) is discussed in the "Commentary", infra.

LOCATION

Due to the specific nature of the inscription from Miletus (A, infra), it is highly likely that Arion lay near and was allied to Gortyn. This is further shown by the unique practice of dividing the coin's inscription between obverse and reverse (a practice known elsewhere only at Gortyn), the find spots of the coins, and the similarity of the coin types to those of Gortyn.²

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¹Only LeRider, Monnaies, 228 n.4 has suggested a town name based on the ethnic, viz. "Αρβιον. For the virtual impossibility of this form, cf. "Commentary", infra.

²LeRider, (note 1), 228-229; Pl. 35.13.
Faure places Arion much more precisely, locating it on the citadel of Vakiotes, twenty minutes east of modern Sokaros in the Messara (Map 4, L6).  

**NATURE**

It is clear from the fact that the Ariaioi issued coins and were named in treaties that they lived, for a time at least, in an autonomous city. The fact that they are listed with Gortyn in the inscription and that their coinage is close to that of Gortyn shows that they were not too independent or free.

**EPIGRAPHICAL TESTIMONIA**

A. IC, IV.161*51

Date: After 260/259 B.C., perhaps 252-250 B.C.

Summary: Treaty of Gortyn with Miletus. The Ariaioi sign the treaty as allies of Gortyn with Lyttos, Arkades, and the Hyrtaioi.

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3P. Faure, "Recherches de Spéléologie et de Topographie Crêtoises," BCH, 84(1960), 199. Faure's arguments are, in themselves, persuading but not conclusive. For support of his location, cf. infra, "Commentary". Note that Faure earlier had accepted the Arbi location, "La Crète," (1959), 198 no. 3, (1960) 240 no. 3.
B. Dedicatory inscription from Redesijeh, Egypt

Date: Hellenistic

Text: "Ασμενός Αριάτος Πανί ὁδὸς[ν]

Translation: Asmenos from Arion (?), to Pan of the good journey.

Notes: 1) Since this inscription is known only from scholars' copies, attempts have been made to change the unknown 'Αριάτος to the known 'Αππατος 6 the ethnic of 'Αππα in Illyria. These objections have been successfully met and refuted by Robert 7 and the reading should remain as printed above.

2) The name Asmenos is considered quite doubtful by Robert, who offers, however, no alternative readings. 8 A check of the indices of the IC shows no name beginning with Asm-. In light of this, either the name must be emended, or a new sort of Cretan proper name must be accepted. 9


6Cf. Stephanus Byzantius s.v.

7Robert, (note 5), 252-253.

8Ibid., 252 n.1.

9If a check of Illyrian proper names were to reveal an Asmenos or an Asm- base, Robert's argument against Arrha
NUMISMATIC TESTIMONIA

A mere handful of coins\textsuperscript{10} attests the existence

of this site. The main examples are as follows:

A. Obv. Beardless head, laureate, to r. or l. API

Rev. Herm. AION

Notes: 1) These coins were ascribed to Aptera

by Svoronos\textsuperscript{11} but were correctly interpreted by Raven.\textsuperscript{12}

2) The beardless head was identified by

Svoronos as that of Zeus Ammon.\textsuperscript{13} LeRider follows

Jenkins in seeing Appollo.\textsuperscript{14} On the possibility that

the head is that of Zeus Arbios, cf. "Commentary", infra.

3) As mentioned above, the practice of dividing

the inscription between obverse and reverse is only

would lose much weight. The name appears once in Papen-Benseler, Griech. Eigen., I.160.

\textsuperscript{10} For locations see LeRider (note 1), 229. Faure,

(note 3), 199 with n.1. L. Robert, Etudes de Numismatique

Grècque (Paris: College de France, 1951), 141 w. notes.

\textsuperscript{11} Svoronos, Numismatique, 21 nos. 48-50, Pl.II.7,8.

\textsuperscript{12} E.J.P. Raven as cited by Guarducci, IC. II,iii.

Praef. (p. 13).

\textsuperscript{13} LeRider sees no horns on the head, Monnaies.

\textsuperscript{229} n.4.

\textsuperscript{14} LeRider, Monnaies, 229, 234 n.1, Pl. 35.13.
known elsewhere at Gortyn. 15

B. A second type is tentatively cited by LeRider: 16

Obv.: Laureate head of Zeus.

Rev.: Tripod flanked by the inscription APIAIGN or perhaps APIAION.

COMMENTARY

It is the purpose of this section to show for the first time that two sites, Arbion and Arion (?) bear the same name and are, in all likelihood, the same site. This hypothesis is new, is based on sound evidence, and answers many hitherto unanswered questions surrounding both sites.

Before progressing further, it would be well to review the situation. Arbion is known to us solely from Stephanus where we are told only that it is a mountain bearing an ethnic and a cult of Zeus Arbios. Scholars have, with no evidence, also acknowledged the existence of a like-named city although no mention of such a city appears in Stephanus. This attempt seems based solely on the fact that a modern city (Arbi), which has very few ancient remains, exists in southern Crete. Likewise, solely on the same tenuous evidence of similarity of names, Mount Arbion is placed in the same general area.

15 LeRider, Monnaies, 229, 234 n.1, Pl. 35.13.
16 LeRider, Monnaies, 228-229, Pl. 35.9.
Arion(?) is the hypothetical name given a city known to us only in the ethnic forms found in inscriptions and coins. The unique division of the coins' inscriptions, the find spots of the coins,\textsuperscript{17} and the context of one inscription make it quite likely that "Arion" lay near to and was subservient to Gortyn. As Gortynian power was widespread, the site itself is usually not specifically located by scholars. Only Faure attempts a location, placing the site in the Messara at a site rich in finds. His arguments, however, remain weak.

In summary, then, we have a mountain of unsure location and endowed with an almost imaginative city, and a city of unsure name located somewhere near Gortyn, perhaps on a site found by Faure. Amid this confusion, it is possible, I feel, to exchange much that is unsure for that which is sure. This is done by reference to a common phenomenon of Cretan phonology.

\textsuperscript{17} LeRider places, in my estimation, too much weight on the find spots. A close examination of the geographical area encompassed by the find spots (LeRider, Monnaies, 229) actually only limits us to central Crete and, in fact, points more to the north coast than to the Messara Plain. The provenances do, at least, seem to rule out any connection with a disturbingly similarly named "Arius" near Rhethymna which is pointed out by LeRider, Monnaies, 228 n.4.
It is soon apparent to anyone working in Cretan studies that the digamma was an integral part of the dialect. A very common phenomenon concerning this letter sees an initial digamma become a beta as in θιόα for θίοα (="θία"). Note further that this is also commonly found among lexicographers who readily render digammas as betas, and is by no means confined to initial digamma.

By applying this phenomenon to the sites in question, interesting results were seen. If a digamma be seen as giving rise to the beta in "Arbion" we obtain the original form "Αρφιον". As is known, however, digammas very often merely disappear. If this took place with the newly found "Αρφιον" we would be left with the form "Αριον" which is precisely the name hypothetically suggested for the parent city of the Ariaioi.

The careful reader may have already noted one seeming flaw in this theory. If indeed the two Greek names 'Αρφιον and "Αρβιον are identical or are related to a

19 As attested by Buck, (note 18), sec. 51a.
20 Buck, (note 18).
digamma-bearing form, how is it possible that they possess such different forms? In short, how can Ἀριον yield the ethnic Ἀριαίωι?

This question was of great concern in my research. A cursory look at Cretan ethnics showed the -ion to -aioi switch to be unparalleled and jeopardized the basic premise of the theory. For the sake of thoroughness, however, I compiled a list of all the Cretan ethnic forms found in the IC and in Stephanus Byzantius. This amounted to well over 110 forms which were then compared to the endings of the city names from which they derived. The results of studying the ethnic forms were most useful. Indeed, as expected, no cities ending in -on yield an -aioi ethnic ending as is required if "Arion" is to yield "Ariaioi". The form Ἀριον should, by comparison with other sites ending in -on, yield an ethnic form akin to Ἀριαίωι or Ἀριος.

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21 The form Ἀριαίωι, based as it is on Ἀριον, can not apply.

22 "Arion" is the hypothetical name for the town of the Ariaioi as proposed by LeRider, (note 1).

23 I do note that towns ending in -on show the greatest variety in their ethnics. The forms offered above are, however, the most common.
It is well to stop here in order to point out one fact. While the inability of "Arion" to yield "Ariaioi" was a stumbling block to my theory, it should also have been noticed by LeRider, who first proposed the town name "Arion" for the Ariaioi. The form is totally unparalleled.

What then of the current problem? If "Ariaioi" can not be an ethnic form of "Arion", what happens to the equation of the two sites? The solution is found in two parts. The first deals with the common Cretan custom of using adjectival/ethnic forms with which to name mountains. As an adjective, the form is put into the neuter gender, agreeing with a stated or implied δρος or δη.²⁴ It is thus logical to see in "Αρβιον δρος (="Αρφιον δρος") an ethnic form.

Two possibilities result. First, by comparison with other ethnics, "Αρφιος could be seen as having arisen from LeRider's "Arion",²⁵ but, as we have seen, 'Αριαιος can not be an ethnic form from "Arion". The second possibility finds a name for the city of the Ariaioi that

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²⁴ Cf., for example, 'Αστεροσία, Στυράκιον, Πανάκρα, Λιγαίον, Σελίδιον.
²⁵ Cf. Πέργαμον—Περγάμιος, 'Αμφιμάλιον—'Αμφιμάλιος.
will allow two ethnic forms, one ending in -aios (the people) and one in -ios (the mountain and cult of Zeus). My study of the ethnics shows that only the town name of Ἀρισταία gives us this combination.

A town name of Ἀριστος, for example, could by analogy of known forms, only yield the ethnic forms Ἀρίστος, Ἀρισταίος, or Ἀριστής, none of which is of value to this problem. While some other towns do bear ethnics ending in -aios, none can also offer the form -ios. The exact opposite is true of towns ending in alpha. Here the most popular ethnic form terminates in -ατος and the second most common is -ιος. Kydonia is of special interest here. In his entry, Stephanus gives, among others, both Κυδώναιος and Κυδώνιος as ethnics. It is clear, therefore, that the town name of the Ariaioi must be Ἀρισταία and that it bore two ethnics--- Ἀρισταίος and Ἀριστος.

It is my opinion, then, that a single site was originally named Ἀρισταία and its people Ἀρισταίοι. A nearby mountain took the same name (using a different ethnic form, viz. Ἀριστος) and the god there worshipped

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26 Towns with multiple ethnics on Crete are very common as even a cursory glance into Stephanus will show.

27 Thenai, Stelai, Katre, Gortyn (only when used to indicate the Gortynian territory).
was understandably called Zeus "Ἀπείλος". The people of the town eventually dropped the digamma from their name, leaving the form 'Ἀπείλος. The name of the mountain, however, followed the common digamma/beta switch and became known as Mt. Arbion. It is equally possible that in reality the beta did not form a real part of the name, but was found only in old inscriptions and thus worked its way into Stephanus' text (through Xenion?) or that the beta appeared as a result of the lexicographers' propensity to substitute betas for digammas in their texts as mentioned above. Whatever the reasons, we can see how easily the original digamma became a beta in Stephanus' text.

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28 There are fortuitous parallels. Cf. the Cretan "Skyllion oros" in Stephanus with its cult of Zeus Skyllios. I also note that the habit of using specific ethnic forms only for a particular item or area is paralleled. The people of Kydônia used "Kydóniatai" when referring to themselves. "Kydónikos" or "Kydónios" is the form used when all of Crete is to be meant by "Kydónian" (so Guarducci, IC, II.x.Praef.p. 107). "Kydónios" is also strictly used with the "kydónion mēlon" or quince (cf. LSJ s.v.). I would thus suggest here that the -aioi ending was reserved for the people themselves and the -ios ending for Zeus and his mountain.

29 A digamma becoming a beta following a rho is well attested. Cf. C.D. Buck, (note 18), sec. 51 for examples. Cf. also sec. 54.

30 If modern Arbi did, in fact, take its name from the ancient site, we would have a sound basis for considering that the digamma/beta switch had become part of the name of the mountain and that its name was "Arbion".
If we accept, as it seems clear we must, that the names "Αρβίον and 'Αριατών are related, what consequences result?

The most obvious result is that the hitherto purely hypothetical town created by scholars for Mt. Arbion now takes on an unexpected real existence. It can be seen clearly as the town of the Ariaioi, Aria. Are we, however, to place this town at Arbi or at Faure's suggestion, Vakiotes, in the Messara?

It seems most probable that modern Arbi has little claim on ancient Aria. While the similarity of names is tempting, it is perhaps equally blinding. We must not forget, for example, that a totally unrelated "Arius" existed near Rhethymna in Venetian times.31 The mere similarity of names is obviously not enough, therefore, in cases of this sort. Nor should we forget the paucity of finds and remains at Arbi.

The location proposed by Faure, however, seems to be an opposite phenomenon. Here we have remains and the required proximity of Gortyn, but no similarity of names. Faure's suggestion,32 that the nearby site of 'Αργίσ preserves the name of the Ariaioi, at first seems

31 Cf. note 17.
32 P. Faure, (note 3), 199 with n.2.
weak. It gains strength, however, if the softly guttural gamma of Modern Greek is a remnant of a long lost digamma in the name.\textsuperscript{33} With all matters weighed, it seems most likely that Faure's Vakiotes, near Sokaras, marks the site of ancient Aria. Arbi is best seen as acquiring the name by propinquity or sheer coincidence.\textsuperscript{34}

If ancient Aria is to be placed near Sokaras, what then becomes of Mt. Arbion? As mentioned above, Stephanus gives us no information on the location of the mountain and the older scholars' placement of it near Arbi was based solely on the similarity of names. Since it has been shown that Aria and Arbion are intimately connected, we can safely search for Mt. Arbion in the vicinity of Aria. I would tentatively suggest some peak lying east of Vakiotes but west of Arbi, thus allowing both sites to partake in the name. On the spot investigation would be needed to find a suitable peak.

One final benefit results from the equation of Arbion with the Ariaioi. We know from Stephanus of a cult of Zeus Arbios (\textsuperscript{35} = \textsuperscript{36}Αρβιός) on Mt. Arbion. With the new evidence presented here it becomes logical to search

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{33} Indeed, a gamma is sometimes mistaken for a digamma by lexicographers who confuse the shapes (\textsuperscript{37} F for \textsuperscript{38} r). Cf. Buck, (note 18), sec. 51a.
\item \textsuperscript{34} The existence of an Arius near Rhethymna is proof enough of this possibility. Cf., however, note 30.
\end{itemize}
for Zeus Arbios at Aria and, fortuitously, the evidence is at hand.

The coins of the Ariaioi show on the obverse a beardless head (A, supra) and a head of Zeus (B, supra). As noted above, Svoronos first saw in the beardless head a type of Zeus Ammon but later scholars have called the head that of Apollo, presumably having been put off by the lack of a beard. It now seems imperative to see this head as one of Zeus.

A youthful (beardless) head need not, and should not, be discounted a priori as a head of Zeus. The manifold legends of Zeus' Cretan birth, his widespread and popular cult as Zeus Kretagenes, and his apparent identity with a youthful Minoan god, all make a youthful Zeus very common on Crete.\(^{35}\) Further, there is much evidence to show how the youthful Zeus became identified with a youthful Apollo and usurped his honors.\(^{36}\) It seems sure, then, that the figure on the coins of the Ariaioi is

\(^{35}\)The phenomenon is quite common. Cf. Willetts, Cults, 232-233, 235 (where the beardless Zeus Ammon is cited), 250 (where a youthful Zeus Welchanos is described).

\(^{36}\)Willetts, Cults, 231-232.
Zeus, and more specifically, is Zeus Arbios.\textsuperscript{37}

The next logical question is to enquire whether this new information concerning Zeus Arbios helps in clearing the confusion surrounding the nature of the Deity. As Willetts points out,\textsuperscript{38} this Zeus has been connected linguistically with the Latin \textit{arbor} (Cook, mentioned above), Lactantius' Zeus Labrius or Laprius and the Minoan/Lybian \textit{labrys}. Willetts, however, wisely rejects such ideas saying that "We have to remain in ignorance of the origin of \textit{arbios}".\textsuperscript{39} Likewise, the story of Zeus' hammer whose blows were supposedly heard by peasants in the area of Arbi, should not be given the credence Willetts seems to wish to give it.\textsuperscript{40} With these theories

\textsuperscript{37}If LeRider correctly reads and ascribes to the Ariaioi a coin (\textit{B, supra}) with a bearded head of Zeus, the case is strengthened. Note also that Svoronos claimed to see a horn of Zeus Ammon on one of the beardless heads. LeRider, (note 13), sees no horn. Which is correct is debatable, although Svoronos may have been influenced by the horns of Zeus Ammon on the coins of Aptera, to which city he had joined the coins of the Ariaioi.

\textsuperscript{38}Willetts, \textit{Cults}, 236 with notes.

\textsuperscript{39}Willetts, (note 38).

\textsuperscript{40}Aubyn Trevor-Battye, \textit{Camping in Crete} (London: Witherby, 1913), 146-147. Willetts accepts this tale too quickly. Battye himself tells us that he knew no Greek and learned the tale by sign language. I also strongly suspect that the Greeks may well have been having a bit of fun with this strange man who stayed up late at night skinning his birds.
discarded, and in light of the evidence given above, it would seem most likely that Zeus Arbios represented some form of a young Zeus and possibly contained some echoes of the pre-Greek youthful god of the Minoans so commonly worshipped on mountains. Beyond this the evidence will not securely take us and the ultimate meaning of "Ἀπίαος" remains mysterious. 41

To recapitulate then, it is the opinion of this author that the names "Ἀρβίος" and "Ἀριάιος" stem ultimately from the same name, viz. "Ἀρία". By equating the two sites linguistically we have securely located them in the Messara plain, have strengthened Faure's contention for locating the city of the Ariaioi, and have shed some light on the nature of the god worshipped on the adjoining mountain and portrayed on the coins of the people.

41 Stephanus has an entry for an Ἀπία in Persia and Ἀρίας was a name for the Medes. Cf. LSJ s.v. for similar names, all from the same general area and W.W. How and J. Wells, A Commentary on Herodotus, II (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), 153-154 ad VII.62.1. The authors connect the form ultimately with the Sanskrit "arya" = noble, worthy, a fitting epithet for Zeus and for a people and "would apply to all Iranian races who thus distinguished themselves from the unclean barbarians". I dare not pursue this further than to ask if the -ry- of aryas might not have become rho digamma in Greek?
BIBLIOGRAPHY


ARKADES or ARKADIA

NAME

The name of this site is variously given. In Greek authors we most commonly find 'Ἀρκαδία but also the forms 'Ἀρκάδες (St. Byz.) and 'Ἀρκάδης (gen., Notitiae). Latin forms show the regular Arcadia, Arcade (Tab. Peut.), and the corrupt Arpade (Anonymus Ravennas). Inscriptions use 'Ἀρκάδες, usually as a collective name for the people.¹ Coins bear the form ΑΡΚΑΔΩΝ.

LOCATION

Guarducci² claims Arkadia was located in a cluster of sites rather than on a single site (cf. infra, "Nature") and locates the most powerful of these at Ini (Map 4,N6). Faure lists the ancient site as being located at Ini without further comment.³

NATURE

² Ibid.
The ancient literary sources are unanimous in referring to Arkadia as a city, and we know that it struck coins and concluded treaties in its own name. Guarducci contends that this site represented "non tam urbem singulararem quam gentem per pagos, proximos sane, distributam". Basing her arguments on the ancient testimonia, she traces the growth of the initial settlement which, she claims, began at the foot of Mt. Aigaion (q.v.) and later spread in response to external pressures to eventually form a loose confederation.

LITERARY TESTIMONIA

A. Xenion and Demetrius (apud Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. "Αρκάδας")

Text: IC, I.v.Praef. (p. 6)

Summary: Xenion calls this city "Arkades" but Demetrius "Arkadia". The ethnics are the same in either case.

Notes: 1) Xenion is well known to Cretan scholars, but Demetrius is less common. 5

4 Guarducci, (note 1).

5 Cf. Jacoby, FGrH, IIIb.no. 460.3 with commentary on this passage of Stephanus.
B. Polybius 4.53.6

*Text:* IC, I.v.Praef. (pp. 6-7)

**Summary:** The Arkadians, ca. 221 B.C., break away from a Knossian alliance and join forces with the group headed by Polyrrhenion which is opposed to Knossos in behalf of Lyttos.

C. Seneca QN 3.11.5

*Text:* IC, I.v.Praef. (p. 6)

**Summary:** Once, when Arkadia was stormed and people ceased cultivating the land, all springs dried up. The water returned when the inhabitants once more began cultivation.

**Notes:** 1) Certain manuscripts offer the form "Archadiam".

D. Pliny 31.4.53

*Text:* IC, I.v.Praef. (p. 6)

**Summary:** Same as in Seneca (supra, C), except that Pliny specifies that six years elapsed between the departure and return of the inhabitants.

**Notes:** 1) I find it of interest that Pliny quite evidently knows of Arkadia here, but fails to mention it in his catalogue of Cretan cities in Book 4. This may say something of his sources or may be a function of the dates at which the books appeared.
E. Tabula Peutingeriana 9.1

Text: IC, I.v.Praef.(p. 6)

Summary: "Arcade" is drawn as lying "XVI MP" west of "Lictium", "XXX MP" east of "Blenna".

Notes: 1) On the name form, cf. the Notitiae (H, infra).

F. Hierokles, Synekdemos 650.5

Text: IC, I.v.Praef.(p. 6). The entire text is also printed supra, s.v. "Allyngos".

Summary: Listed between the cities of "Lyktos" and "Knōssos".

G. Anonymus Ravennas 5.21

Text: Quoted out of context, IC, I.v.Praef.(p. 6). Entire text given supra, s.v. "Aptera".

Summary: Listed between "Liberithon" and "Litium".

H. Notitiae Graecae Episcopatum

a) III.441  b) VIII.224  c) IX.133  d) X.552

Texts: IC, I.v.Praef.(p. 6). The full texts are printed supra, s.vv."Agrion" (a,d) and "Allyngos" (b,c).

Summary: Ἀρχαϊάς (ger..) is variously listed between Knōssos and Chersonὲsos (a,d) or between Chersonὲsos and Sybrita (b,c).

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6 Note, however, that Guarducci lists the forms in the nominative case, not in the genitive of the text.
e) 13.402

Text: Ibid. Printed in full supra, s.v. "Agrion".

Summary: 'Αρκάδης is listed between Κνώσσος and Χερσονήσος.

I. Hesychios, s.v. Κλείταιον ὅρη (so Guarducci, cf. infra).

Text: IC, I.v.Praef. (p. 6), quoted here for sake of comparison.

Κλείταιον ὅρη: ποταμὸς 'Αρκαδίας. Κλείταιον φασὶν εἶναι οἱ Κρήτες.

Translation: Kleitoen water: a river of Arkadia. The Cretans say it is "Kleitaion".

Notes: 1) Guarducci thinks it is possible that this passage may refer to an Arkadia on Crete.7 The evidence for this is quite tenuous and becomes more so when it is known that the passage is misquoted in the IC. An inspection of the text and apparatus of Hesychios (ed. Schmidt) reveals that the entry is not headed Κλείταιον ὅρη but rather Κλείτεν ὅρη. As Guarducci offers no defense of her variant reading (it does not appear in Schmidt's apparatus) it must be held as suspect. As the

7"Fortasse hic quoque de Arcadibus Creticis agitur", Guarducci, (note 1).
river referred to here by Hesychios was famous in antiquity, this passage is probably best interpreted as merely offering a variant Cretan spelling of an Arkadian form and as such should not be considered as a testimoniun for a Cretan Arkadia.

J. Christian Sources

While outside the actual scope of this work, it is well to note that these sources attest to an active bishopric at Arkadia, especially notable during the second Council of Nicaea.9

EPIGRAPHICAL TESTIMONIA

Guarducci lists fifty-three inscriptions under "Arkades". These inscriptions are from the many areas she ascribes to the ancient collection of sites called Arkadia/Arkades. Jeffery and Morpurgo-Davies10 have

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9 Cf. IC, (note 1). For a fuller account of this era at Arkadia, cf. R. Janin, "Arcadia," in DHGE, III. 1483, who claims Arkadia once boasted of being the birth spot of Zeus. I can find no proof of this statement and feel confident that it is based on a misreading of Callimachus Hymn I. Note the same mistake in Meursius, Creta, 21 who cites Callimachus and E.B. James, "Arcadia," in Smith, Dictionary, I.189 who does not.

10 L.H. Jeffery and A. Morpurgo-Davies, "An Archaic Greek Inscription from Crete," BMQ, 36(1971), 24. The inscription was first published by the same authors
suggested, on the basis of letter forms, that a very old inscription (ca. 500 B.C.), whose actual provenance is unknown, may have been found at Aphrati, one of the component villages of Guarducci's Arkades. The inscription's early date and the high level of political organisation shown in it would seem, in my view, to preclude this attribution. The assured testimonia give no evidence of Arkadian activity prior to the fourth century B.C., and the earliest inscription is of the third century. Further, Arkadia/Arkades is nowhere mentioned by name in the inscription, while the unknown "Dataleis" are so named. Until further evidence is adduced, this inscription is perhaps best associated with Arkadia, provisionally, if at all.

A. IC, IV.161

**Date:** After 260/259, perhaps 252/250 B.C.

**Summary:** The "Arkades" are listed as allies of


11 "A city name which would produce the ethnic Dataleis is unknown. This, and the unusual formula of the preamble, suggest the Dataleis were ... (a) clan," Jeffery and Morpurgo-Davies, (note 10), 27. The authors were partly mistaken in this assumption. Cf. the rebuttal of the situation by H. van Effenterre, "Le Contrait de Travail du Scribe Spensithios," BCH, 97(1973), 31-46 and the review of the situation by J. and L. Robert, "Bulletin Epigraphique," REG, 86(1973), 132 no. 361. Cf. also infra, s.v. "Datta/a".
Gortyn, along with the Lyktians, Ariaioi and Hyrtaioi, in a treaty with Miletus.

B. Rehm, Delphinion, no.138.x.3

Date: 223-222 B.C. (Guarducci, IC, I.v.Praef. p.6)

Text: IC, loc. cit.

Summary: Tychamenes, son of Arkousilas, an Arkadian, is made a citizen of Miletus.

Notes: 1) Guarducci also cites Rehm, 138.e.8 and z.5 as dealing with Cretans of Arkadia, but the ethnic is not used in these inscriptions.

C. IC, III.iii.1.B

Date: Second half of the third century B.C.

Summary: This badly mangled inscription records a treaty of friendship between Hierapytna and Arkadia.

D. IC, IV.171.12

Date: Third century B.C.

Summary: This fragmentary inscription seems to be a list of the officiating kosmoi and of gods sworn to at a ceremony for a treaty between Gortyn and Arkades.

E. IC, II.x.1.19

Date: Third century B.C.

Summary: An unnamed city, in rewarding various proxenoi, makes awards to a certain Ἐσώταλοι Ἀρκάδιοι.

Notes: 1) The provenance and date of the inscrip-
tion are debated due to its very early excavation and subsequent loss.

2) The text is based on an old manuscript copy of the stone and is often quite confused. Compare the confusion supra, s.v. "Alchanis".

F. IC, I.v.52*

Date: 201 B.C.

Summary: The Arkadians receive the first ambassadors from Teos concerning asylum (cf. H. infra).

G. IC, IV.179.5-6

Date: June, 183 B.C.

Summary: The Arkadians are included in a treaty struck with Eumenes II and are listed between Allaria and Keraia.

H. IC, I.iii.53*

Date: After ca. 170 B.C.

Summary: The second legates of Teos are received (cf. F. supra).

I. Delphic list of Theodorokoi, Col. IV.4-5

Date: Early half of second century B.C.

Text: Supra, s.v. "Anopolis"

Summary: A certain Mallaios, son of "Apo...", son of Theodoros is among the Arkadians.

Notes: 1) The stone is broken here, leaving in doubt the proper restoration and intended meaning of Mal-
laios' genealogy.

J. IC, I.v.20.A.5

Date: Second century B.C.

Summary: The inscription concerns the legates of a city, perhaps Hierapytna, and their relation to Arkades.

K. Treaty of Malla with the Attalids

Date: Early second century B.C. (publishers)

Text:

Face A

[--- ---] ΘΕΟΤ.Α.
[--- ---]Σ είναι ΑΙΩ
[--- ---]ΙΕΑΕΙΕΙΙΕΤΑΚ
[--- ---] τδ]ν ιπογραμμένον

5 [δρκον --- 'Ε]άν δε τι τῶν γεγραμέν-
[αδι κοιτή τν] τή συμμορφώσει Μαλλαίοι μή ν. 
[.....ΝΙΙ ], ἔνοχοι έστωσαν τοῖς παρηγ-
[ο]νόηκενα καὶ λευκεν ταυνήθηκας. [[κα]]

Κατά τατά δὲ καὶ έκα Μαλλαίοι χρέιαν δη(χ)

οντες συμμαξας πέντες προς βασιλ-

εά "Ατταλον, ἀποστελλέται βασιλέας "Ατή-

άλος ἄνδρας τριακοσίους καὶ ηγεμόνας]

[έποι' α(ντό)ν, τάν δὲ μη κασοην τό πλῆθος τοῦτ-
[ο] διά τινας καιρούς, δόσους δὲν ἐκδηχεται, δ-

10 [α]ν μη ἐπ' Ἰερεμίσιςς ή Ἱερανίσιςς ή Ἀρκά-

δος παρακατίσυνι οὔτοι δὲ υπεξαιρήθουν ὑ-

πο βασιλέας "Ετάλοι. Τοῖς δὲ πεντεσύκος

πορεία μὲν παρεξέτα βασιλείς "Ατταλος κ-

αί τα δικαία καὶ τα δέοντα το(ν) πλεποί. [[οτά]]

20 "Ὅταν δὲ παραγέως προς Μαλλαίους, τ[ρ]-

η(φ)έπωσαν τήν συμμαξιαν αὐτοί, παρέκ[ο]-

ντος τής ημερᾶς ἐκάστιν ἄνδρας δραχμαν

αἰγινᾶν, τον δὲ ἡγεμόνας ἐκάστως δραχ-

μας δύο καὶ κατά σώμα χοίνικα ἀττ[ε]ην, τάν μ-

ὴ ἐν πολεμία δώσιν, οὐ έσται σύτον λαβό-

νειν. Παραμενέωςαν δὲ οἱ ἀποσταλέν-

A. If the Mallaioi do not remain faithful to the clauses written in common in the agreement let them be guilty of violation and breaking of the treaty. Likewise, if the Mallaioi are in need of allies and they send to King Attalos, let the king send three hundred men and leaders over them. But if this number should not suffice, due to various reasons, (he will send) as many as he is able unless they call for aid against the Hierapytnians, Priansians, or Arkadians. Let these be excepted by King Attalos.

13Cfr. also the French translation offered by the editors, (note 12, 283-284).
For those who are sent, let the king provide the means of transportation as well as provisions and those things necessary for the voyage. When they have approached near the Mallaioi, let them be the ones to take care of the alliance force, offering an Aeginetan drachma for each man per day, but two drachmas for each of the leaders, and an Attic choinix (of wheat) for each per day unless they be in enemy territory from which it will be possible to take food.

Let those who have been sent remain as long as the Mallaioi have need. But when they shall release the allies to King Attalos, let they themselves give the means of transportation...

B. (If King Attalos does not remain faithful) to that which has been agreed to (with the Mallaioi, unless they themselves) have transgressed the agreement, (let him be ruined and) destroyed utterly—himself as well as his wife and his children, his country and the friends of the King. But let there be a happy life to him if he abides by the agreement—(to himself and) to his wife and children, to his country and friends.

The oath of King Attalos: "I swear by Zeus, Earth, the Sun, Poseidon, Demeter, Ares, Athena Areia, as well as by the Tauropole and all the other gods and goddesses, to remain faithful to the friendship, to the alliance, and
to those things agreed to before the Mallaioi, for all time. (I swear) both before them and their progeny never to transgress those things which have been agreed. May it go well with me if I am swearing well, the opposite if foreswearing".

L. IC, III.iii.5.7

Date: Second half of the second century B.C.

Summary: A treaty between Hierapytna and her colony in Arkadian lands.

Notes: 1) The reading that allows placing this colony near Arkades is a conjecture by Muttelsee and is accepted by Guarducci (q.v. ad. loc.).

M. IC, I.v.19A

Date: Second to first centuries B.C.

Summary: A decree honoring the legates from Hierapytna.

NUMISMATIC TESTIMONIA

The dating of the coins is varied. The dates given by Guarducci\(^{14}\) seem to be those offered by Head.\(^{15}\) LeRider has most recently placed the start of Arkadian

\(^{14}\)Guarducci, (note 1), 7.

\(^{15}\)Head, \(HN^2\), 458.
coinage between 300 and 280/270 B.C.\textsuperscript{16} and, with the help of a hoard, firmly places one type in the second century B.C..\textsuperscript{17} The main types are as follows:

A. Obv. Head of Zeus Ammon, to r.

Rev. 1) Athena standing, holding spear in r., resting l. on shield. APKA ΔΩΝ flanking her, Whole within laurel wreath.\textsuperscript{18}

2) Α within wreath.\textsuperscript{19}

B. Obv. Head of Athena

Rev. 20 Zeus, standing to r., hurling lightning bolt.

Α Π K Α (sic) to l. and r.

The cult of Zeus Ammon is surely implied on these coins, but little attention has been paid to this fact by numismatists. While Zeus Ammon is traditionally associated with Cyrene, a passage of Diodorus Siculus seems to link Cyrene closely to Crete by localising at Cyrene such Cretan things as Amaltheia and the river Triton.\textsuperscript{21} In addition note the Cyrenaic associations of Aptera, mentioned above. Later Cyrenaic-Cretan relations are shown

\textsuperscript{16} LeRider, Monnaies, 190,197-98.

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., 273-274, 289-291 and Pl. 37, no.3.

\textsuperscript{18} Wroth, Catalogue, Pl. III.7-8. Svoronos, Numismatique, Pl. II.16-18.

\textsuperscript{19} Svoronos, Numismatique, Pl. II.19-21.

\textsuperscript{20} Cf. Svoronos, Numismatique, Pl. II.22.

\textsuperscript{21} Diodorus Siculus III.68-70.5.
in the heavy use of Cyrenaic coins as flans for Cretan and Cyrene, especially those of an early date, would repay diligent study.
ARKESION ANTRON

NAME

The Etymologicon Magnum (infra) links the name with ἀρκέσαι, "to aid or assist". Buerchner\(^1\) and Guarducci\(^2\) prefer to find the origin of the name in ἄρκος= ἄρκτος, i.e. bear.\(^3\) Bears existed on Crete although related animals did not in deference to Zeus' birthplace.\(^4\) In addition, one of Crete's best known myths involves a nurse of Zeus, Kynosoura, who was changed first into a bear and then into the constellation known today as Ursa Minor.\(^5\)

LOCATION AND NATURE

Xenion makes it quite clear that the cave is on Mt. Ida (Map 6). Cook, followed by Guarducci, believes it

\(^1\) PW, IX.361.
\(^2\) I.C, I.xii.Praef. (p. 96).
may be identical with the well-known Idaion Antron.\textsuperscript{6}

\textbf{LITERARY TESTIMONIA}

\begin{itemize}
\item[A.] Xenion \textit{apud} \textit{Etymologicon Magnum s.v. }'\textit{Αρκεσίον}

\textbf{Text:} IC, I.xii.Praef. (p. 96).

\textbf{Summary:} A cave of this name on Mt. Ida in Crete takes its name from "arkesai", to help, because it was here the Kouretes ran when pursued by Kronos.

\end{itemize}

\textbf{COMMENTARY}

A cave named 'Αρκουδία on the promontory called Akrotiri (Map 2,E/F2) has long been visited\textsuperscript{7} and is known to have a natural formation resembling a bear. Although it is likely that a cult of the infant Zeus probably existed here,\textsuperscript{8} no scholar to my knowledge has suggested placing the Arkesion Antron here in light of Xenion's definite placement on Ida.

\textbf{BIBLIOGRAPHY}

(Not in \textit{IC} and not cited above)

\begin{itemize}
\item[7]For bibliography cf. Faure, (note 5), 211 n. 2.
Cf. Spanakes, \textit{Krētē}, II.94-95, s.v. "'Αρκουδιάτισσα".
\end{itemize}
General:

Faure, *Fonctions*, 119 n. 1, 146 n. 5.


Spanakes, *Krete*, II. 176, s. v. "Ide".
ARSINOÉ

NAME

As with virtually all sites bearing this name, Cretan Arsinoé is named after a Ptolemaic queen.

LOCATION

The inscription listed below has been shown to follow no pattern in naming its sites. Although Stephanus clearly places Arsinoé near Lyttos (Map 4,N5), early scholars placed the site in all parts of Crete. Bursian placed it near Itanos (Map 5,T4). Spratt, quoting Leake, put it at modern Erimopoli. Mueller located Arsinoé on the north coast between Chersonesos and Milatos (Maps 4,N4; 5,04). Svoronos at first followed this but later adopted an ingenious reading of the text


2 Bursian, Geographie, II.577.

3 Spratt, Travels, I. 195-196.

4 Mueller, GGM, III, Map XXVII.

5 Svoronos, Numismatique, 30.

6 Viz., Ἀρσινεία· ἔνατη ('η) Λίκτος. Quoted in LeRider, (note 1), 230.
that led him to posit Arsinoē as the ninth name of Lyttos, hypothesizing a Ptolemaic rebuilding of the Lyttos destroyed by Knossos in 220-219 B.C.. Svoronos claimed the rebuilt city was placed near the sea and appeared in later inscriptions. Bosanquet retained the text of Stephanus but believed Chersonēsos, belonging to Lyttos, was now called Arsinoē. Guarducci, also following Stephanus, locates Arsinoē near Lyttos but gives no definite placement.

Most recently LeRider has endeavored to show that Arsinoē is the name of the refounded Rethymna (Map 3, H4). His arguments, briefly, are as follows. The types of the coins of Arsinoē resemble those of Rethymna, to such a degree that, in one case, they may be from the same die. Secondly, of the thirty coins of Arsinoē, one fifth were found near Rhethymna and, indeed, LeRider knows of no other found in Crete outside of this area. These facts might lead one to locate Arsinoē near Rhethymna, but LeRider claims that such Arsinoēs tend not to be new foundations, but rather to be existing

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7 E.g. IG, I.xix.3A.7-8.
9 IG, I.xviii, Praef. (p. 180).
10 LeRider, (note 1), 232-233, cf. Pl. 29.5 (Rethymna) and 39.6 (Arsinoē).
towns that are renamed by the Ptolemies. 11

The date of the renaming of Rhethymna and the issue of the Arsinoë coins is put by LeRider at between 223/222 B.C. (when Rhethymna is mentioned by name in an inscription) and the beginning of the second century B.C. (when Rhethymna is mentioned again by name). The coins themselves seem to date to the last quarter of the second century B.C. These dates place the renaming in the reign of Ptolemy IV and, thus, the Arsinoë in question is probably Arsinoë Philopator. 12

If, however, Rhethymna is Arsinoë, certain problems arise with the text of Stephanus. Rhethymna, (Map 3, H4) is far to the north east of Lyttos (Map 4, N5) and Stephanus is quite clear in placing his Arsinoë near Lyttos. Two choices present themselves. One can emend the text of Stephanus to read that this Arsinoë is in Lycia 13 or it is necessary to posit two Cretan Arsinoës, one near Rhethymna on the evidence of the coins and one

11 Ibid., 233.
12 Ibid., 234-239.
13 So Berkel, cited in Meineke's apparatus ad loc. Berkel did not know of LeRider, of course, and merely did not accept a Cretan Arsinoë. The emendation is poor since an Arsinoë in Lycia is listed by Stephanus beneath the one in question.
near Lyttos on the strength of Stephanus.\textsuperscript{14} This of course raises the question as to which of these two Arsinoës is mentioned in the inscription below.

In summary, it seems best to say that while LeRider’s arguments are persuasive they do not answer all questions concerning Cretan Arsinoë.

**LITERARY TESTIMONIA**

A. Stephanus Byzantius s.v. ‘Αρσινώ

*Text:* IC, I.xviii.Praef. (p. 180)

*Summary:* Stephanus lists eleven cities of this name, giving the ninth as "of Lyktos".

**EPIGRAPHICAL TESTIMONIA**

A. Blass, SGDI, 5152.8

*Date and Text:* Cf. supra, "Allaria".

*Summary:* An Arsinoë is mentioned with other Cretan cities in a brief list.

**NUMISMATIC TESTIMONIA**

Approximately thirty bronze coins are known of

\textsuperscript{14}So LeRider, (note 1), 240, more clearly stated in a lecture reported in REG, 80(1967), xxxiv (and not 1968 as Meyer in PW, Suppl. XII.99). Faure asks if the Arsinoë of Stephanus might not have been a "nom momentane" of Chersonësos. Cf. Faure, "La Crête," (1959), 188.
this site. Of the four types originally proposed by Svoronos for Cretan Arsinoé, only one is accepted by LeRider.\textsuperscript{15} The type is as follows:

- **Obv.**: Head of Athena, helmeted, to r. or to l.
- **Rev.**: Two dolphins, inscr. \(\text{AP\&I} \) variously placed.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

**General:**


**Numismatic:**


Cf. LeRider, (note 1), Pl. 29.6-14.
ARTAKINA

This reading of Ptolemy 3.17.10 is usually emended to read "Hyrtakina", q.v. infra.¹ It is interesting to note the following entry in the sixteenth century Venetian list of Cretan sites however,² "Articina ouero Itano ouero Irtacina".

¹Numbered 3.15.10 in some editions. Note that Guarducci, IC, II.xv.Praef.(pp. 184-185) makes no mention of the variant reading.

²Spanakes, "Anekdotos Katalogos," 282 no. 16.
ASOS

NAME

The name of this site is said by Fick to be pre-Greek. The known forms of the name are "Asos" and Asium. The latter, from Pliny, may be based on the ethnic.

LOCATION

Guarducci mentions Asos as a possible corruption for Axos in Pliny, but remains generally sceptical of a secure location. Faure mentions the site but can offer no suggestion as to its location. This hesitation is odd, as certain older scholars long ago offered a location. Cornelius placed Asos at Leopetro (Seteia) (Map 5,R5) saying "Assos sive Asus Sethian ex Oriente respiciens, locus ille ab incolis Leopetro". Cornelius

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1 Fick, Vorgr. Ortsnam., 34.

2 IC,II.v.Praef. (p. 43).


is followed by Pashley in this placement. Before Cornelius, however, an anonymous Venetian traveller of the sixteenth century had already equated Asos with Leopetro, saying, in the translation of Falkener, "The ruins of this town may be discerned at Leopetro, on a mountain on the north coast, the face of which toward the sea is very bold and rocky, so that its ascent is only practicable from the land side".

Spratt long ago pointed out that since Pliny places his Aium among the interior cities, this coastal location at Leopetro is of doubtful certainty. He also describes the ruins, through another's account, saying they are "not very ancient, but rather appear to be of the middle age, and not Hellenic... Local tradition, however, asserts it to be an Hellenic city". Pendlebury, who apparently has not seen the ruins himself, lists them with those of uncertain date.

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5 Pashley, Travels, end map. The map of Mueller, GGM, III.Map xxvii, shows Leopetro but ascribes no ancient site to it.


7 Spratt, Travels, I.159.

8 Pendlebury, Archaeology, 379 with map. Theresa Wroncka has published a fine archaeological map of the area in "Pour un Atlas Archéologique de la Crète: Setia, I," BCH, 83(1959), 523-542. Leopetro is shown on her map
NATURE

Both Pliny and Stephanus claim Asos was a city. According to the latter the site also contained a most ancient shrine to Zeus Asios.⁹

LITERARY TESTIMONIA

A. Pliny 4.12.59

Text: Supra, s.v. "Ampelos", also IC, II.v.

Praef. (p. 43)

Summary: "Asium" is listed among the inland cities of Crete, between "Dium" and "Pyloros".

Notes: 1) One manuscript (called B, ed. Ian and Mayhoff) reads "Asus". This reading was adopted by later scholars in order to put the text more in line with that of Stephanus.

2) Although time and the scope of this work do not allow a full treatment, I would like to offer

at A8, but no remains are listed. The map and article only treat Neolithic, Minoan and Subminoan finds, however.

⁹It is this fact that should discourage any attempts at equating Axos with Asos. There is no evidence of any Zeus cult at Axos apart from the indirect testimony of the head of Zeus on Axian coins, and certainly no mention of a Zeus Axios. Zeus Axios is not mentioned in Cook, Zeus, or in Willetts, Cults.
a possible different reading for this line of Pliny.

As the line is usually printed, Asium is placed between the following cities: "Lyctus, Dium, Asium, Pyloros". "Dium" first leads one to think of the well known promontory of Crete, the \( \Deltaνον \) (or \( \Deltaιος \) ) "\( \Deltaυρον \) of the north coast.\(^{10}\) However, since Pliny lists his Dium among his cities and places it "in mediterraneo", it is doubtful that he had the promontory in mind. Consequently, Guarducci, among others, has accepted the existence of a separate city named Dium and situated in inland Crete.\(^{11}\) In such cases, the following passage from Eusebius\(^{12}\) is usually offered as additional evidence for such a city:

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\(^{10}\) Ptol. 3.17.7. The promontory is listed (moving west from Heraklion) between Kytaion and Pantomatorion, but before Rhethymna. Cf. E.B. James. "Dium" in Smith, Dictionary, I.779.

\(^{11}\) Guarducci, IC, II.v.Praef. (pp.43-44), with certain reservations. James (note 10), accepts it openly, claiming only that it should be located near the promontory. Cf. Hoeck, Kreta, I.394. Faure, "La Crete," (1959), 195 no.22 also accepts the city, giving it the location of Haghia Pelagia, near Heraklion (Map 4,K3). This location on the ocean, totally ignores Pliny's placement of "Dium" as "in mediterraneo". For this placement as well as arguments against it cf. Stylianos Alexiou, "Anaskaphai eis Haghian Pelagian Herakleiou," AAA, 5(1972), 241-242.

\(^{12}\) Prep. Ev. 5.31.
Text: Ἐκεῖ πάντως καὶ Τάρρας ναέται, Δίος τε πολύβρου, εἰς ἡμέραν τελέστων θυσίαί καθαρμόν, ἔθες κατανεικώτας, ὑπὸς Κρήτην καταναίεσθαιέ, "Ολόκληρον μὴ πατρίδοις νόμοις, καὶ Ζήνα σέβοντες.

Translation: "Ye dwellers of Phaistos and Tarrha and of much flowing Dion, I bid you to fulfill the Pythian rite of Apollo, doing what is good in order that you may live on in Crete, not worshipping Wealth and Zeus in the ways of your fathers".

A careful inspection of Eusebius' text, however, shows that it is impossible to either equate this Dion with Pliny's Dium, or, despite previous opinions, to plausibly hold it to be anything but the promontory noted by Ptolemy and mentioned above. There is, first of all, nothing in the passage itself, to lead us to suspect that Dion is a city. None of the scholars offers any substantive reasons for doing this.13 They seem attracted to this interpretation by the fact that Tarrha and Phaistos are cities and by the similarity of names to Pliny's Dium, which is listed among the cities. The former reason is extremely weak as the word ναέται need not be confined to cities alone and a composer of verse is surely to be allowed some variety. The latter reason

13Guarducci, (note 11) 44 simply states "Confer Eusebium, ubi Ατταν (sic) non tam promontorium quam vere urbs intellegenda esse videtur". 
will be shown to be equally false since, in my opinion, Pliny never listed a separate site named "Dium".

The actual words of the passage offer additional evidence. The adjective πολύφρος certainly points to a site that is near a great deal of water. This fact eliminates any correlation of Pliny's inland Dium with Eusebius' site, for Cretan rivers, the only real source of such water, are notoriously scarce and poorly watered. Such a search is futile, moreover, as the epithet is perfectly suited to the Dion best known to us, viz. the promontory Dion Akron, well-watered by the Mediterranean.

It thus becomes clear that there is no evidence of a city named Dion in Eusebius and that the sole support for such a city must be sought within the passage of Pliny in question. I would suggest here that "Dium" is not to be separated in the text, but rather joined to "Asium" and that Pliny named not four sites but three: "Lyctus, Dium Asium, Pyloros". 14

Various arguments support this conjecture. Stephanus tells us that Asos was known for its very old shrine of Zeus Asios. The Latin adjective dius (as the

14 Others have seen the passage as corrupt. Bur- sian, Geographie, II.562-563 (incorrectly cited as II.663 ff. by Oberhummer, PW, II.1709) had once proposed reading "Dium Asium" as "Priansium". The reading does far too much damage to the text and is universally rejected. Cf. Svoronos, Numismatique, 294,n.2.
Greek διος is clearly from the same stem as διος, διος. The second bit of evidence is found below in Stephanus. Note that the last five words are generally accepted as being a quote from some ancient author such as Xenion, that is to say, a source that would probably also be utilized by an encyclopedist such as Pliny. The form of these words, Ἀσιός ἰτος ἱπτον, are reminiscent of those of Pliny, viz. "Dium Asium" and could, perhaps through an intermediary text or translation, have inspired them.

In summary, while the weight of evidence is not overwhelming, it appears quite likely that no inland site named Dium was intended by Pliny, but that "Dium" is to be read with "Asium" as referring to one site. It remains uncertain whether the site of Asos was later called "Dion Asion" from another source. Either way, the lack of


17 If it should seem unusual that Pliny insert a double entry in a list composed a single names, note the attempts of some scholars to combine "Minoium" and "Apteron". Cf. "Aptera", supra.

18 I remind the reader that Pliny is not totally trustworthy on name forms. I note Minoium for Minoa, Apteron for Aptera, Phaestum for Phaistos, Polyrhrhenum for
independent corroboration for the existence of the inland Dium, the now properly interpreted Eusebius text, plus the proven connection between Zeus and Asos all go far to eliminate the standard reading and to view "Dium Asium" as one entry in Pliny's list.

B. Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. "Asos"

Text:19 "Ασος, πολίχνιον Κρήτης. ὁ πολίτης "Ασίος. οὕτω γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς έκεί τιμᾶται "καὶ Άσίων Δίδις λεγόντων ἀρχαιότοτον".

Translation: Asos: a small town (or fort) of Crete. The name of a citizen is an "Asios". Zeus is thus honored there, "and a most old sanctuary of Zeus Asios".

Notes: 1) Πολίχνιον is in fact a diminutive of πόλις but came to mean "fort" as well. This fact may have led the Venetians to the Leopetro indentification.20

2) The final five words of the text are apparently a quote from an author such as Xenion.21

Polyrrhenia. The form "Asium" may well be a corruption along these same lines.

19 Also in IC, II.v.Praef.(p. 43). Printed in full here for ease of discussion.

20 Spratt, (note 7), identifies the ruins at Leopetro as "the foundations of walls of a fortress built of small unhewn stones and mortar". The mortar, of course, is not of classical Greek origin.

21 Cf. note 16.
ASTALĒ

NAME

Only one form of the name is known, viz. Αστάλη. Fick\(^1\) compares the name with Αστέλη, a city of Lydia.

LOCATION

The SMM states that Astalē lay thirty stades from Amphimatrion, one hundred from Heraklion, and fifty from Eleutherna. Modern scholars are united in locating ancient Astalē at modern Bali (Map 3,J3).\(^2\) The name Bali is Turkish and masks the fact that before Turkish occupation the site was still called Atali.\(^3\)

NATURE

The SMM tells us that Astalē was a port with water. Most scholars feel it served as the port of Axos (Map 3,J4),\(^4\) but Platon feels that the mention of Eleutherna

\(^1\) Fick, Vorgr. Ortsn., 28-29.

\(^2\) Cf., e.g., Guarducci, IC, II.v.Praef.(p. 43) and P. Faure, "La Crete," (1959), 198 no.4.

\(^3\) Spanakes, Krēte, II.272, s.v.

\(^4\) Guarducci, (note 2). Bursian, Geographie, II. 555-556, called Astalē the port of Axos but moved it to Phodele. Spratt, Travels, II.114 and E. Falkener, "On
therna here should lead us to posit Astalē as the port of Eleutherna.5 Faure6 lists Astalē as a city of the Roman epoch, but it may go further back with the first reference occurring only in the SMM. The evidence for taking the site as a city is, in fact, very slight and should be treated with caution.

LITERARY TESTIMONIA

A. SMM 347-348

Text:7 347. 'Από 'Αμφιματρίου εἰς 'Αστάλην στάδιοι λ'.
λιμήν ἐκ τὸν ὁδώρον. [ 'Εντολήν 'Ελευθέρα
ἀπὸ στάδιον ν'.

the Antiquities of Candia," Museum of Classical Antiquities, (1860), 304 both locate the site accurately.

5N. Platon, "Symbolē eis to Toponymikon, τὴν Topographian καὶ τὴν Historian τῶν Πολεῶν καὶ Φρουρίων τῆς Kretēs: C' Poleis τῆς B Aktēs metaxu Drepanon καὶ Diou Akrou," Kretika Chronika, 2(1948), 360 n.41. Astalē is situated to serve equally well Axos (Map 3,J4) or Eleutherna (Map 3,I4) and, indeed, Eleutherna is the closer city. LeRider has shown, by the total lack of Eleu thenean coins at Bali and the presence of those of Axos that Bali must have been the port of Axos. Similarly, he claims that Stavromenos (Rethmynou) (Map 3,I3) was the port of Eleutherna. Cf. LeRider, Monnaies, 252-254. This rather crowds Stavromenos as it has been claimed as the site of Agrion, Allaria (qq.v.) and Pantomatrion. Cf. the references at LeRider, Monnaies, 249 and, on Stavromenos, 252 n.9.

6Faure, (note 2).

7Partially quoted only, IC, (note 2).
348. Ἀπὸ Ἀστάλης εἰς Ἡρακλείουν στάδιον ῥ'. πόλις δὲ ἔστιν.

Translation: 347: From Amphimatrion to Astalē is 30 stades. To the left is a harbor. It has water. Eleutherna is 50 stades from there. (348) From Astalē to Heraklion is 100 stades. It is a city.

Notes: 1) On Amphimatrion, cf. supra, "Amphimalla, Commentary".

2) Mueller, ad loc., brackets the last sentence of section 347, claiming it is marginal gloss on section 346 which was later incorporated into the text.

3) Mueller also emends the distance from Astalē to Heraklion, changing 100 to 300 stades.
ASTEROUSIA

NAME

The name 'Asterousia', is definitely Greek and is related to the word βασιλέως, "star". Fick\(^1\) points out that Crete was once called Asteria and that the Minotaur was called, by some, Asterios. To these facts add that a certain Asterios married Europa and raised her sons by Zeus,\(^2\) a cult of Zeus Asterios at Gortyn\(^3\) and a colony in the Caucasus of like name and Cretan origin.\(^4\)

LOCATION AND NATURE

Stephanus and Eustathius cite a single mountain of this name. Today, the same name refers to a number of peaks lying in southern Crete between the Messara plain and the sea. The highest peak is called Kophinos (Map 6).

LITERARY TESTIMONIA

A. \textit{SMM} 344

\footnotesize
\begin{enumerate}
\item Cook, \textit{Zeus}, I.546-547 has collected the evidence for this. Cf. also \textit{PW}, II.1784-1785 s.v. 'Asterousia' no.5.
\item Cf. Stephanus, \textit{infra}, with notes and Hoeck, \textit{Kreta}, II.371.
\end{enumerate}
Text: Supra, s.v. "Aptera"^5

Summary: From Kydonia to "Aspera" is 150 stades.

Notes: 1) Mueller, commenting ad loc,^6 lists the possible reading 'Αστρεπαν for the corrupt 'Αστερέαν but says "Sed haec longe petita" and finally prints 'Αστέραν.

B. Lactantius Div. Inst. 1.11.63

Faure^7 has suggested that this passage, in which Lactantius cites Ennius, refers to Asterousia. Ennius tells us that Pan led Zeus to a mountain, whose name was "Caeli Stella". From this mountain Zeus surveyed his new regime and named the upper parts of the sky after his grandfather, "Caelum".

Faure's suggestion appears to be untenable. There is, first of all, no reference, direct or indirect, in the passage to Crete. Secondly, Pan is more evocative of Arcadia than Crete where he is of minor importance and would thus not be in a position to instruct Zeus. Note also that "Caeli Stella" is an improbable name for a moun-

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5This text and those of Lactantius and Eustathius are overlooked in the IC.

6GGM, I.512.

tain and that the text has been emended to, and is often printed as, "Caeli Stela" or "Pillar of the Sky", a far more acceptable name. Lastly, "Caeli Stella" is a very remote and unsatisfactory translation of "Asterousia".

C. Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. 'Αστερούσια

Text: IC, IV. Praef. (p. 16)

Summary: Asterousia is a mountain in southern Crete overlooking the sea. The city Asterousia near the Caucasus was named from this mountain, being a colony from there.

Notes: 1) Guarducci prints Σινδική 'Αστερούσια as the name of the colony, following the emendation of Vossius in Meineke's edition. The manuscripts clearly read 'Ιωίκη, however. Cf. Eustathius, infra.

D. Eustathius ad Il. 2.735 (332.20)

Text: Εστι δὲ καὶ 'Αστερούσια Κρήτης, φασίν, ὄρος καὶ πόλις δὲ περὶ τὸν 'Ινδικὸν Καύκασον.

Translation: They say there is also an Asterousia of Crete, a mountain, and also a city near the Indian Caucasus.

Notes: 1) The presence of 'Ινδικὸν here, albeit modifying "Caucasus" rather than "Asterousia", would lead me to reject Vossius' emendation of Stephanus, supra.

E. Hesychios

On the possible use of a gloss from Hesychios, cf.
infra, "Aterea".

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Meursius, Creta, 83.
ATEREA

NAME

The name seems to be non-Greek and appears only once in the form 'Αρεπέα. It is possible that this form is accusative (Cf. infra).

LOCATION AND NATURE

Although the passage is vague, it is possible that it refers to a mountain of Crete somehow related to one of the Gorgons.

LITERARY TESTIMONIA

A. Hesychios, s.v. 'Αρεπέα

Text: 'Αρεπέα ὅρος γοργόν Κρήτης.

Translation: Variable, cf. infra.

Notes: 1) The text above is that of Schmidt. Latte omits the period after the second word.2

1 Kurt Latte, ed., Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon. I (Hauniae: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1950) 272.56 places an obelisk in front of the entry, considering it to be corrupt. Maurice Schmidt, ed., Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon I (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1965 reprint of 1858 edition) 313 ad 8059 says "non expedio" and gives a hesitant reference to Aptera. LSJ only cites the word s.v. ἄρεπέα while the TGL offers no entry s.v.

2 Cf. note 1.
This most confused passage of Hesychios can be read in many ways. Is it merely a gloss on a strange Cretan word or does it explicate the name of a previously overlooked mountain? To fully answer these questions would necessitate a painstaking study of Hesychios' word order and normal format—a study that lies outside the scope of this work. The following tentative results are offered lest the question seem to have been totally ignored.

A study of Hesychios' entries concerning mountains brought varied results. In many cases Hesychios indicates the location of the mountain by using the genitive of its country. This is not universal, however. Many entries merely state that the name in question is the name of a mountain. This latter format fits well the first two words of the entry in question. No mountain entry, however, goes on to end as does this.


4 E.g., Δρακάνιον· ὄρος Ἰκαρίας. Μῆμας· ὄρος Ἀιτωλίας.

5 E.g., Μάρον· ὄρος· καὶ πόλ. Πισίς· ὄρος [ἡ λίπαρα] Τρύλως· ὄρος· καὶ ποταμός.
Ending the passage with "Κρήτης" is quite typical for Hesychios when giving a dialectical variation. We are probably to understand a verb such as καλούσιν since the words in question are often in the accusative. What does this mean for the entry under discussion?

The first impulse is to treat the passage entirely as a dialectical entry, reading it as follows: "Ατερεα: what the Cretans call a difficult mountain". Doubts arise as to this version, however, when the following passage of Hesychios is compared for style and word order:

\[ \text{δροευν - Κρήτης το δρος.} \]

We thus seem to have a hybrid entry wherein the first half reads like a normal mountain entry, but the end resembles a typical dialectical gloss. Further complications arise when the word γογγόν is considered.

The adjective γογγός, ἤ, ὁν is drawn from the mythological Gorgo and thus has the two basic meanings of "grim,

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6 Based on Schmidt, (note 3), 159-160.

7 E.g. 'Αριδηλαντήν 'Αριάδνην Κρητής. Διακόνιν- δωσκίνητον- Κρητής. Is the nominative of 'Ατερεά then 'Ατεραφός? If so note the entry 'Ατεραφός in Hesychios.

8 There are problems with this rendering of γογγόν. Cf. infra.

9 Note the double style of Μάρον (note 5). Note further, however, the total clarity of that passage when compared with this one in question.
fierce, terrible" or "quick, rapid, volative". A close look at its usage, moreover, shows that it is virtually always used of animate objects and would be applied quite incorrectly to a mountain. This fact seems further to rule out the first reading offered above which would have indicated that *ārēpēa* was a Cretan word for a difficult mountain.

It is clear that the passage is abstruse. To my mind no certainty is possible regarding it, but two possibilities seem to have the most credibility. The first would see the passage as a confused double entry. The translation would be as follows: "Aterea. a mountain (also) the word the Cretans use for γοργός ". I do not

10 *LSJ* s.v.


12 Schmidt accepts Aterea as a mountain and places it in his index, (note 3), with the cryptic note "v. Voretzsch. de inscr. Cretens. p.22". I am grateful for the patience and hard work of Mrs. Theresa Kitchell, Reference Librarian, Loyola University, who found the full reference for me, *viz.* Heinrich Bernhard Voretzsch, *De Inscriptione Cretensi quo Continetur Lyttiorum et Boliuentium Foedus* (Dissertation: Halis Saxonum, 1862). Voretzsch seems most interested in the entry as it reflects Cretan dialect and says "ubi *Ārēpēa* et *ērēpēa* confusa sunt...Sed cum Hesychius adnotat, montes huc usque ingnoti intellegendi videntur, quibus nomen inditum est ab Hetera urbe Cretica". The existence of Hetera (q.v. *infra*) is dubious. In any case, Voretzsch is little help in understanding the intent of Hesychius' passage.
prefer this interpretation as it offers more problems than it solves. "Aterea" is a *hapax* and in this reading we must double its rarity by having it be both the name of a hitherto unknown and unlocated mountain as well as an unattested adjective of the Cretan dialect.

The second possibility involves a slight emendation of the text, but offers a clearer meaning. It was shown above that *γοργός, η, ον* is inappropriate for a mountain. I at first tried to read the word as referring not to the adjective, but to the Gorgons themselves. Unfortunately, no form of the Greek allows this. If, however, we could change the Greek to yield "mountain of Gorgo" or some equivalent, many benefits would result. The passage would first resemble other mountain entries in Hesychios by identifying the mountain in question more fully. Secondly, the irritatingly irrelevant *γοργόν* would become an integral part of the passage, uniting it as one entry and avoiding the need to see the passage as double in nature. Two very simple and quite plausible emendations present themselves.

The first emendation replaces *ΓΟΡΓΟΝ* with *ΓΟΡΓΩΣ*.

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13 Earlier usages show the forms *Γοργώ, ους* with the late forms appearing as *Γοργόν, ονος*. 

What, finally, does this passage have to do with Crete? It is difficult to prove anything definitively on such scanty and emended evidence as this passage offers, but it would seem probable (or, at least, possible) that Hesychios is commemorating a mountain on Crete somehow connected with the Gorgons. I have been unable to find any strong connection between the Gorgons and Crete but am strongly reminded of such Cretan local legends as those concerning Aptera and the Sirens (q.v. supra, s.v. "Aptera") or Crete's claiming of the Daktyls and of the

14 Cf. Niese, s.v. "Gorgo---Lokale," PW, VII.1634. Willetts, Cults, 263 only mentions a Gorgoneion found at Drêros. I am intrigued by an often overlooked variant (e.g. Niese does not cite it) on the Gorgons' parentage. In George H. Bode, ed., Scriptores Mythicarum Latini Tres Romae Nuper Reperti (Hildesheim: Olms, 1968 reprint of 1834 ed.), II.112, the unknown author says, "Gorgones...filiae Phorci regis et Cretidis nymphae, uno invicem oculo utentes."

Hoefer, s.v. "Kretis" in Roscher, Lexicon, II.1425 rightly points out the confusion in the passage between the Gorgons and the Graiai, but is wrong in emending the text. We know of at least one other mention of "nymphae...Cretidis" (Ovid Fasti 3.443-444) and have many references to a nymph named Krete who dwelled on Crete (cf. Stoll, "Krete", in Roscher, Lexicon, II.1423-1424 and Latte, "Krete", PW, IX. 1822). It is of special interest that in some accounts this Krete is the daughter of Asterius whose name may be linked to that of Aterea through a text of Hesychios (cf. infra at end of text).
Kouretes.\textsuperscript{15} It is entirely possible that this passage preserves the sole written memory of the now lost story linking Crete with the Gorgons.

If a Gorgon-mountain did in fact exist on Crete,\textsuperscript{16} its location is lost to us. I would point out, however, the loose similarity of this name with that of the mountain Asterousia, discussed above.\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{15}Cf., e.g., Willetts, \textit{Cults}, 99. Add to these examples the often overlooked placement of Otus and Ephialtes in Crete with the subsequent naming of the "Otian Fields" in their honor (Servius \textit{ad Aen.} 3.578). Mention should also be made of another natural geographical phenomenon given a mythological origin, \textit{viz.} the Omphalian Plain where Zeus' umbilical cord fell to earth. Cf. \textit{IC}, I.viii.\textit{Praef. Geogr.} (pp. 44-45). Such legends as these surely lay the groundwork for a similar legend referring to some activity of the Gorgons on Crete which left behind some noticeable geographical reminder of their visit.

\textsuperscript{16}It is also possible (if unlikely) that the emended reading offered above means that the Cretans preserved a legend of a Gorgon mountain located elsewhere. Voretzsch, (note 12), believes the mountain is on Crete if we can judge from his tone. No other modern scholars discuss the matter. My thanks to Rev. John Murphy, S.J. who consulted his recently published index to all supplements and appendices of \textit{PW} before it was in print to confirm that the \textit{PW} omits Aterea. Smith's Dictionary, the indices to the \textit{IC}, and Meursius' section on mountains (\textit{Creta}, 81-88) all fail to mention an Aterea. There is likewise no mention of Aterea in P. Faure, "Noms de Montagnes Crétaises," \textit{BAGB}, 4th series, 4(1965), 427-441.

\textsuperscript{17}Cf. note 14 (end) for a possible connection of the Gorgons with Asterius.
ATRIKOS

NAME

The form "Ἀτρίκος is of unknown etymology. I would suggest comparison with Atron, infra.

LOCATION AND NATURE

The location of this city is unknown.

LITERARY TESTIMONIA

A. Theognostos Kanones TKB

Text: "Ἀτρίκος, πόλις Κρήτης.

Translation: Atrikos, a city of Crete.

Notes: 1) Given as an example of words ending in -kos, of more than two syllables, which are barytone.

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1Cf. An. Gr., Cramer, III.59. Guarducci does not mention this site. Faure lists it without comment among his cities of the Roman epoch, "La Grète," (1959), 198 no. 5; (1960), 240 no. 5.
ATRÓN

NAME

The form "Ατρών is considered to be non-Greek and perhaps of Lycian origin.¹

LOCATION

Atron appears as a boundary marker in two separate inscriptions. The first places Atron near Hierapytna (A, infra), the second near the borders of Itanos and Praisos, (B, infra). Although Hierapytna (Map 5, P6) may seem far from Itanos (Map 5, T4), Guarducci has shown that Hierapytna was brought into the arena of eastern Crete in the second century B.C.² Atron is to be sought, then, between Hierapytna and Praisos (Map 5, S6).

NATURE

There is no clear indication that this site was a city.

EPIGRAPHICAL TESTIMONIA

¹Fick, Vorgr. Ortsnam., 33.
²IC, III.iv.9-10. Praef. (pp. 91-93).
A. IC, I.xvi.18.14

**Date**: Second century B.C.

**Summary**: Atron is listed as one of the boundary markers of Hierapytna.

**Notes**: 1) The name is heavily restored, *viz.* 'Ar[ōva] on the basis of B, *infra*.

B. IC, III.iv.9.64

**Date**: 112 or 111 B.C.

**Summary**: Atron is listed as one of the boundary markers of Itanos and Praisos.
AULACIA

For this problematical reading of Lactantius, cf. the entry under that author's name supra, s.v. "Allaria".
AULÖN

NAME

The name of this site shows three forms: ἀλόν (St. Byz.), Ἀφλόνι (dat., Inscription A, infra), Ἀλόνιον (Literary Testimonia B). The name is related to the Greek ἀλόν, indicating a ravine or valley. The name may also be reflected in the name Aulopotamos (q.v. infra).

LOCATION AND NATURE

Guarducci has equated the Aulön of Stephanus with the Alônion of the account of the Ten Martyrs of Gortyn which tells of certain martyrs who were killed in Alônion, a suburb of Gortyn. Guarducci locates this suburb at the modern village of τοὺς Ἀγίους Δέκα (or simply Ἀγίοι Δέκα), lying four kilometers northwest of ancient Gortyn.

Notice that previous scholars did not interpret the evidence in this fashion. The majority of these

1 Cf. Guarducci ad IC, IV.64.2sq. and Oberhummer, PW, II.2413.

2 So Faure, "La Crète," (1959), 188. Cf. map in Spanakes, Krète, I, coordinates E3. Guarducci shows, however, the site lying southeast of the citadel and forum of Gortyn (IC, IV, map facing p. 1).

3 Buerchner, PW, IX.1813 does list Aulön as "bei Gortyn". Here, correct "Bd. IV" to read "Bd. II".
scholars either believed that Aulon was equivalent to Aulopotamos or, if accepting it as a city by itself, placed it along the Aulopotamos river, the modern Mylopotamos (Map 6). In either case Aulon is moved from Gortynian territory into that of Rhethymna. Hoeck points out a modern Aλόν (on modern maps written as 'Αλόνας) southwest of Rhethymna (Map 3,G5).

LITERARY TESTIMONIA

A. Stephanus Byzantius s.v. Aλόν

Text: Aλόν...τρίτη πόλις Κρήτης ἢ τόπος

Translation: Aulon...a city or a place of Crete

Notes: 1) Guarducci misquotes Stephanus to read πόλις....καί τόπος. There is no manuscript tradition to


6 Cf. note 4.

7 Guarducci, (note 1).
back this reading. Note that the correct reading can be seen as strengthening Guarducci’s contention that Aulon was merely a suburb and not a city. Keep in mind that this interpretation is predicated on her equation of Aulon and Alonion.

B. Account of the Ten Cretan Martyrs

Text: IC, IV.Praef. (p. 31)

Summary: Certain martyrs are killed in Alonion during the reign of Decius.

Notes: 1) Some manuscripts read the name of the suburb as ἄλωνιον. 9

EPIGRAPHICAL TESTIMONIA

A. IC, IV.64

Date: Perhaps second half of fifth century B.C. 10

Summary: The inhabitants of Gortyn and Aulon bestow favors on a certain Dionysius for help in a war. One favor is a home in Aulon.

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8 Cited incorrectly by Faure (note 2), as "33".

9 Cf. Guarducci, (note 1), and Spanakes, Krête, I.47 who reads ἄλωνιον. The difference in breathing is of little consequence to the pronunciation of the site at this later date.

10 A date of Kirsten and mistrusted by Guarducci ad loc.
AULOPOTAMOS

NAME

The form Ἀὐλοπόταμος may be related to the site name Aulōn (q.v., supra).

LOCATION AND NATURE

Certain scholars, relying mainly on the fact that the modern title of the Bishopric around Rhethymna is still that "of Rhethymna and Aulopotamos",¹ equate the ancient river Aulopotamos with the modern Mylopotamos, nineteen kilometers east of Rhethymna (Map 6).²

Other scholars choose to make Aulopotamos a city. Of these, some claim it represents a later name of Aulōn,³ while others say it was a separate city. Guarducci is quite extreme, claiming⁴ that Aulopotamos was the third name of Pantomatrion/Panormos and that this multi-

¹ Buerchner, PW, Suppl. I.229.33-44.
⁴ IC, II.xii.Praef.(p. 142).
named site was located at modern Kastelli (Mylopotamou) (Map 3.13).

Finally, Spratt thinks Aulopotamos was the name of the district and bishopric about Rhethymna and that Aulōn was its capital.\(^5\)

Due to the nature of the sole text listing Aulopotamos, it is difficult to see the site as anything other than a city since one would not expect a river to be listed as a bishopric.

LITERARY TESTIMONIA

A. Notitiae Episcopatum

Text: 3.443; 10.554; 13.404. All supra, s.v. "Agrion".

Summary: In each case the name appears between Chersonēsos and Agrion.

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\(^5\)Spratt, Travels, II.85.
AXES or AXOS

Cf. infra, s.v. "Oaxes".

BATHEIA

NAME

The name Βάθεια is obviously connected with βαθύς "deep" or "high". As a toponym it probably is equivalent to our "hollow".

LOCATION

Guarducci has assigned the inscription bearing this name to Kydōnia, rejecting the long established attribution to Corcyra. Thus interpreted, Batheia lay in Kydōnian lands.¹

¹The inscription is known only from manuscript copies. While certainly honoring Cretans, there is real evidence of provenance, and local names such as Batheia are unknown elsewhere.

Guarducci bases her location on 1.12, where a man is awarded twenty plethra of vineyards "in Minōa". To Guarducci this shows Cretan provenance and, by the location of Cretan Minōa (Map2, F3/4), Kydōnian origin of the inscription. It must be remembered, however, that many sites in antiquity were called Minōa. Cf. PW and Smith, Dictionary, s.v. Note also that there were two Minōas in Crete, a fact Guarducci herself points out, ad IC, II.x.1.12. A Cretan location may be strengthened, however, by Robert's identification of Lipara (1.15) as a Cretan site. L. Robert, 'Etudes Épigraphiques et Philologiques, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Études', Fasc. 272 (Paris: Librairie Ancienne, 1938) 251-252 n. 8.
NATURE

By the meaning of the name, Batheia may only be a topographical allusion equivalent to "down by the hollow", but it could be a town as well.

EPIGRAPHICAL TESTIMONIA

A. IC, II.x.1.10

Date: Perhaps third century B.C.

Summary: Atarbos of Aptara is to receive twenty plethra of vineyards in the field down from Batheia.

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2 The Greek, ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κατὰ Βάθειαν tends to confirm this idea, although the lack of the definite article suggests a formal name.

3 This is unlikely, as Batheia occurs only rarely as a place name and never on Crete from other sources. Cf. PW, III.16, s.v. "Baria", 123 s.v. "Batheia". For comparison of ibid. 122, s.v. "Bateia" and s.vv. "Bathos", and "Bathy".

Guarducci, however, says, "Βάθεια nomen esse recte monuit Wilh(elm) quod priores Βάθειαν perperam exscriperant". IC, II.x (p. 116). Cf. ibid. p. 117 where she adds "Βάθεια loci nomen esse hodie quoque in Graecia satis monuit Welhelm. Confer "Αντι et Κάτω Βάθεια in Euboea".

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The form $\text{Bau}\text{kos}$ \textsuperscript{1} is taken as a corruption of the better known $\text{Pau}\text{kos}$ \textsuperscript{2} q.v. infra.

\textsuperscript{1}Skylax 47.

\textsuperscript{2}Cf., e.g., Faure, "La Crète," (1959), 193. Hoeck, Kreta, I.431, wishes to read $\text{Kovos}$.
The name Βήνε is considered non-Greek in origin.\(^1\)

**LOCATION**

The ancient sources tell us only that Βήνε was under the control of Gortyn. Faure at first followed this general location, but later proposed a more specific location, thirty-five minutes southeast of Panaghia in the Messara (Map 7). \(^2\) The most commonly accepted location was that of previous scholars who had most often located the site at modern Veni (Beni) (Map 3, J4), relying on the similarity of the ancient and modern names.

In most modern times the location at Veni was rejected by Kirsten and Guarducci. Kirsten\(^3\) first

\(^1\)Fick, Vorgr. Ortsn., 22.


proposed neighboring Apesokari and later offered Hagia Photia (Map 7). Guarducci, after pointing out that Veni is too far from Gortyn to have been under its power, proposes the placement of ancient Phalanna at Veni.\footnote{Guarducci, \textit{IC}, II.xviii.Praef. (p. 216) Her aversion to Veni was noted earlier by Bursian, \textit{Geographie}, 568-569.}

It should also be pointed out that Meineke long ago suggested that Βηγνη may be a corruption of Αεβηγνη, a city which lay near Gortyn (Map 4.K7).\footnote{Augustus Meineke, \textit{Analecta Alexandrina} (Hildesheim: Olms, 1964 reprint of 1843 ed.), 172. This suggestion has not won the notice it deserves. As Bēnē is known solely from references to Rhianos and from relatively late sources it is possible that the corruption stems from a common source, now lost.}

I would like to add one further bit of evidence (which has been generally overlooked) to that already given. A sixteenth century Venetian lists the following sites in his catalogue of the Cretan 

hekatompolis:\footnote{Spanakes, "Anekdotos Katalogos", 283 no. 22, Faure's suggestion (note 2, 1960), 197, n. 2, that the entry in Theognostus' Kanōnes (p. 133 ed. Cramer) Βίαν η πολις could refer to Bēnē is ill founded. The reference is clearly to Βίας, a city in Macedonia. For a similar text cf. EM 197.44 s.v. Βίαν. Cf. Oberhummer, "Binai" in \textit{PW}, III. 475.}

"Bine, posta sopra la citta di Gortina"
The relative worth of this list has not been determined yet, but the location of Bene above Gortyn would effectively eliminate any location in the Messara plain and would give much weight back to Veni as the location of ancient Bene.8

In summary, it thus appears that the location of ancient Bene must remain uncertain. We are probably correct in placing the site near Gortyn, but the precise location must remain in doubt.

NATURE

Bene is consistently called a city in the ancient sources. Since the poet Rhianos lived there in the third century B.C.9 we have some guide as to its age.

7Spanakes, (note 6), 277. I would hope to study such sources as this at a later date. Did these Venetians merely cull Stephanus? If so can they offer us some insight into the passages of Stephanus missing in our manuscripts?

8It must be asked, however, if the Italian may not reflect a poor translation or corrupt text of Stephanus. Specifically ἦν τὸ Γέρτυν ῥηταμένη could have become ὑπὲρ Γέρτυνος ῥηταμένη. Could it also be that the Venetian had access to a better manuscript that those now available?

9The most comprehensive study of Rhianos is that of Meineke, (note 5), 171-212. More recently, see Minos Kokolakes, "Rhianos ho Krēs, Epikos tou Jou Aiōnos," in Pepragmena tēs B' Diethnous Krētologikou Synedriou (Athens: Philologikos Syλlogen ho Chrysostomos, 1962), II.73-106 and ΠγρΗ, IIIa.no.265.
LITERARY TESTIMONIA

A. Pausanias 4.6.1

Text: 10 τοῦτον [γὰρ] τῶν Μεσσηνίων τὸν πόλεμον 'Ριανός
tε ἐν τοῖς Επασίων ἔποιησεν ὁ Βηναῖος καὶ ὁ Πριηναῖος Μύρων.

Translation: For Rhianos of Bēnē has written
of this war of the Messenians in his epic, as has Myron
of Priēnē.

B. Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. Bēnē

Text: IC, II.xviii.Praef. (p. 216)

Summary: Bēnē is a city of Crete under the power
of Gortyn. Its ethnic is Bēnaios and Rhianos was from
here or Kerea.

C. Nonnos, Dionysiaca, 13.236.

On the possible emendation of Bēnē into this
text, cf. infra, s.v. "Biobe".

D. Suda

a) s.v. 'Ριανός

Text: 'Ριανός, ὁ καὶ Κρής, ὃν Βηναῖος (Βηνη ἐν πόλις
Ερήτης) τενὲς θεραπεύει, ἄλλοι δὲ Ἄθημη τῆς Μεσσηνίης αὐτῶν
ἰσορρόσαν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν τῆς παλαιοτέρᾳ πρώτερον φιλαξ καὶ δαίμος,
ὑπότερον δὲ παιδευτικὸς ἑγέτης γραμματικός, σύγχρονος Ἐρατοσθένους,
ἐγράφει εἰμιτρος ποιήματα, Ἡρακλείαδα ἐν βιβλίοις δ'.

10 Of the following texts Guarducci quotes
Stephanus, cites Pausanias, and Suda (a), but omits any
mention of Suda (b) or Eudocia. IC, II.xviii.Praef. (p.
216).
Translation: Rhianos, also called "Cretan", being a Benaian. Beē is a city of Crete. Some say he was a Keraitan, others that he was from Ithome in Messenia. He was at first a slave and guard in the Palaestra but later, having been educated, became a grammarian. He was a contemporary of Eratosthenes. He wrote poems in meter and a Herakleid in four books.

b) s.v. Βήη

Text: Βήη. ἰνομα κυριον.

Translation: Beē, a proper name.

E. Eudocia Augusta Violarium

This passage, quoted by Meineke, is obviously based on that of the Suda (C,a supra). This fact and its late date make it unnecessary to quote it here.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

General
Hoeck, Kreta, I.431, II.434.
Spanakes, Kreta, II.118

11 Meineke, (note 5), 171.

12 The work has been reassigned to one Konstantinos Palaiokappa in the sixteenth century. Cf. Ioannes Flach, ed., Eudociae Augustae Violarium (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1880).
Spratt, *Travels*, II.105-106.

BENKASOS

NAME

The name is generally accepted as non-Greek. The forms Βένκας[σα]ον ² (or Βένκας[σα]ον ³) and Βένκας[σ]ω ⁴ are known.

LOCATION

The inscription shows that Benkasos lay on the frontiers of Latō. If one follows Faure's new reading of the text it lay "to the east", ⁵ between Hippagra and Mitoi. Faure specifically makes Benkasos the modern Korfe Phaneromenes, a peak southeast of Latō, inland and west of Minōa. ⁶

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¹ Fick, Vorgr. Ortsn., 25. Faure, "Aux Frontieres," 99, suggest the initial beta may represent a digamma.

² The reading of IC, I.xvi.5.52.

³ The reading of Faure, (note 1), 94.

⁴ This reading is offered by both Guarducci, (note 2), and Faure, (note 3). On the state of the text, cf. supra "Acherdoeis, Name".

⁵ On the unreliability of this allocation to the east, cf. supra, "Acherdoeis", note 5. The location of Benkasos between Hippagra and Mitoi is secure.

⁶ Faure (note 1), 108 with map between 96 and 97.
Buerchner\(^7\) claims the site as a river, but Faure\(^8\) as a mountain. Neither man advances reasons for his argument. I would prefer to follow Buerchner, relying on the Greek:

"[καὶ ἀνὸ τὰς ἐπιτολὰς τῷ Βενκάς]"

which can mean "and from the rising (i.e. source) of the Benkasos".\(^9\)

**EPIGRAPHICAL TESTIMONIA**

A. IC, I.xvi.5.52

**Date:** 112/113 B.C.

**Summary:** Benkasos is listed as one of the boundaries of the territory of Latō.

\(^7\)Buerchner, *PW*, IX.1813.

\(^8\)Faure, (note 1), 99 n. 10. Note that Oberhummer made this suggestion earlier, *PW*, III.276.

BEREKYNTHOS

NAME

Although the form Bερεκυνθός appears but once, its etymology has raised great interest. Earlier scholars proposed a Phrygian origin of the name, citing a tribe of Phrygians known as the BerekynTai. More recently, Faure has sought a Pelasgian origin, claiming that "-ky nthos" designates "mountain" and "bere-" "white".

Faure's attempted etymology can only be evaluated in a larger context. He claims first that Berekynthos can not be equated, as is usually done, with the modern Malaxa since that mountain does not contain any ores which the Daktyls could have used to invent the art of metallurgy (cf. text of D.S., infra). He claims that such deposits can only be


3 It would seem that this sort of argument places entirely too much weight on an obviously mythological story.
found in the Leukai Oroi to the west of Aptera (Map 6). With the etymology mentioned above, he tries to show that the pre-Greek name meaning "White Mountain" was merely translated into Greek by Dorian invaders.

One obvious problem with this theory is that it claims that a single peak, Berekynthos, has given its name to an entire range. Much stronger reasons exist, however, to reject Pelasgian origin in favor of Phrygian.

Certain investigators have alluded to the existence of a Mount Berekynthos in Phrygia. The mountain is well attested by ancient, if obscure, authors, and lay in a territory called the Berekenhia. To this compelling argument I would add the facts that the Daktyls who worked on Cretan Berekynthos were from Phrygia and that many Cretan places bear Phrygian names. It thus seems inescapable that Cretan Berekynthos was named long ago after its Phrygian namesake.

4Spanakes, Krēte, II.118, Pashley, (note 1).
5Cf. PW, III.279-280 s.v. with references.
6D.S. 5,64,4; Strabo 10.3.19 (p. 472), 22(p.473).
7Strabo 10.3.19-20 deals heavily with Crete's debt to Phrygia.
A final etymology of Berekynthos is offered by Eisler who would connect it with πέλανς and thus to the Minoan cult of the double axe. This etymology could conceivably apply both to the Cretan and Phrygian mountain.

LOCATION

As noted above, Faure wishes Berekynthos to be an earlier name of the Leukai Oroi (Map 6). Hoeck, apparently relying on the similarity of names between this mountain and its Phrygian counterpart, went so far as to deny the mountain's existence on Crete. However, ever since Pashley, apparently for the first time, identified modern Mt. Malaxa (Map 6) as Berekynthos, this opinion has been accepted by a majority of scholars.

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8 Quoted by Cook, Zeus, II.587 n.7.

9 Hoeck, Kreta, I.280, followed in the TGL s.v. Βερεκνυς. James, in Smith's Dictionary, seems to equate Berekynthos with Ida, cf. s.vv. "Berecyntus" and "Ida".

10 Pashley, Travels, I.57-58, who claims the mountain's geology would yield ores. Cf., however, note 3.

The site is clearly a mountain.

LITERARY TESTIMONIA

A. Diodorus Siculus 5.64.5

Text: IC, II.iii.Praef. (p. 10)

Summary: On this mountain, near Aptera, the Idaian Daktyls invented metallurgy.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Meursius, Creta, 83-84.
BIANNO\s (a)

NAME

Many forms of the name appear. The coins show the abbreviated BIAM\ and inscriptions Bi\cvv\var. 1 Greek authors offer B\cvv\varos (St. Byz.), B\cvv\var (SMM), 2 B\cvv\va (Hierocles and the Notitiae). Latin authors show Bienna (Tabula Peutingeriana), Blentia3 (Anonymus Ravennas), Blennon (Fulgentius). It is curious to note that the Bl- form of the name is confined to Latin authors. 4

The etymology of the word is obscure, but is accepted as non-Greek. 5 Stephanus, infra, claims the name was derived from one of the Kouretes.

LOCATION

It is well to note here that there are two Cretan

1Bear in mind, however, that these inscriptions are not cut by Biannians themselves as are the coins.

2The SMM shows B\cvv\varos for Biannos (b), q.v. infra.

3For the town of "Blanda" as a corruption based on this form cf. infra, s.v. "Blanda".

4Cf. notes infra s.v. "Blanda".

5Fick, Vorgr. Ortsn., 32. P. Faure, "Toponymes Préhelleniques dans la Crète Moderne," Kadmos, 6(1967), 53. Cf. also Inachorion, which has been suggested as a corruption for "Bienna chorion".
sites of the same name. Scholars are united in placing this Biannos, Biannos (a), near the site of modern Epano Biannos (Map 4, N6).  

NATURE

The SMM refers to the site as a πολίς, while the later Stephanus calls it a πόλις. Fulgentius would seem to call it an island, but the text is assuredly corrupt at this point.

LITERARY TESTIMONIA

A. SMM 320-321


Summary: (320). It is 70 stades from Hiera Pydna to Bienos. It is a small town (πολίς), removed from (ἀπέχων) the sea. (321). From Bienos to Leben is 70 stades.

Notes: 1) Mueller, ad sec. 320, reads 170 stades (στ.ο') for 70 (ο'). Likewise, ad 321, he reads 270 (στ.ο') for 70 (ο').


7This word, omitted in LSJ, is equated to by the dictionary of Stephanus, 7340.B.
2) Mueller's text, followed without comment by Guarducci, reads \( \alpha \nu \varepsilon \chi \nu \) (= "at a distance from") for the \( \alpha \nu \varepsilon \chi \nu \) of the manuscripts. This change is made to accommodate the inland location of modern Biannos. I would suggest, however, that since ancient Biannos is located in Epano Biannos, some consideration should be given to the original reading of \( \alpha \nu \varepsilon \chi \nu \).

B. Fulgentius *Sermones Antiqui*, 5

Text:  

A. (Quid sint neferendi sues.) Diofontus Lacedemonius, qui de sacris deorum scripsit, ait apud Athenas Marti solere sacrificare sacrum quod ecatonpefoneuma appellatur; si quis enim centum hostes interfecisset, Marti de homine sacrificabat apud insulam Blennon, quod sacrificatum est a duobus Cretensibus et uno Locro, id est Timne Cortiniensi ........ Proculo Locro, sicut Solicrates scribit. Sed posteaquam hoc Atheniensibus displicuit, coeperunt offerre porcum castratum quem neferendum vocabant, id est quasi sine renibus.

B. (Quid sint neferendi sues) Diofontus Lacedemonius, qui de sacris deorum scripsit, ait apud Cretenses Marti solere sacrificare sacrum quod ecatonpefoneuma appellatur; si quis enim centum hostes interfecisset, Marti de homine sacrificabat apud oppidum Biennon, quod

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Guarducci omits this text.
(sc. sacrum) sacrificatum est a duobus Cretensibus uno Cortiniensi et uno Lyctio, id est Entimo Cortiniensi et Proculo Lyctio, sicut Sosicrates scribit. Sed posteaquam hoc Cretensibus displicuit, coeperunt offerre porcum castratum quem referendum vocabant, id est quasi sine renibus.

Translation: 9 (What referendi sues are). Diofontus the Lacedaemonian, who wrote on the sacrifices of the gods, says that it was customary at Athens to make the sacrifice to Mars called the ecatonpefoneuma. If anyone should have killed a hundred enemies, he used to sacrifice a man to Mars at the island Blennon. The sacrifice consisted of (or it was sacrificed by) two Cretans and one Locrian, that is Timnus the Cortinensian, (name missing), (and) Proculus the Locrian. So Solicrates writes. Afterwards, however, this became displeasing to the Athenians, and they began to offer a castrated pig which they called "referendum", that is lacking, as it were, "kidneys".

Notes: 1) Referendi: Two meanings of this word were known to the ancients. The more common meaning held the word to be equal to "unable to bite", but it also was

9The translation given is of the original text, here called "A". For the translation of "de homine sacrificabat" as "he used to sacrifice a man", cf. Huxley, (note 12), 126 with n. 14.
seen as being allied with the Greek νεφρός, "kidney" which also meant testicles.  

2) It has long been recognised⁹ that "Blennon" stands for Cretan Biennos which had a cult of Ares and a sacrifice to him called the "hekatomphonia". The name, moreover, parallels the other known Latin forms Blenna and Blentia.

3) This text of Fulgentius has been most recently studied by Huxley¹² whose version is given above as "B". Huxley totally abandons any reference to Athens or Locris and sets the entire passage in Crete.¹³

4) "Solicrates" is probably Sosicrates, a

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⁹ Paulus Diaconus, p. 163 (ed. Mueller), "Sunt qui nefrendes testiculos dici putent, quos Lanuvini appellant nebrundines, Graeci νεφρός, Praenestini nefrones". The form "neferendi" in Fulgentius is unique in its second declension endings. Although it is emended by no other editor, I would suggest substituting the more canonical "neferendes". Cf. especially Varro, RR 4.17 who talks of "Porci neferendes" and clearly tells us that they are those who do not yet have teeth. Was Fulgentius unaware of Varro or does he reflect a legitimate variant?

¹¹ Rudolf Helm, ed., Fabii Planciadis Fulgentii V.C. Opera (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1898), ad loc. Helm is given no credit for the suggestion by Huxley, (note 12).


¹³ Cf. Huxley, ibid., for detailed explanations. His new text seems inadequate as it does unnecessary damage to the text as we have it. The wholesale substitution of Cretan references for others (e.g. Lyctio for Locro) seems extreme.

I would tentatively suggest that a period be placed
writer on things Cretan of about 150 B.C. 14

C. Tabula Peutingeriana IX.2

**Text:** IC, I.vi.Praef. (p. 29)

**Summary:** "Blenna" lies 300 MP east of "Arcade" and 20 MP west of "Hiera". 15

D. Stephanus Byzantius s.v. Bίέννος

Text:16 Bίέννος, πόλις Κρήτης. ο ί μεν ἀπὸ Βίέννου τοῦ τῶν Κουρητῶν ἐνός, οι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὸν "Δρη γενομένης βίας, δὲ καὶ ‘Επιδαμνίου τῶν πατέων Ποσειδάνους, καὶ μέχρι καὶ τῶν καλοῦμενα ἐκείνων φόνια θέτει τῷ "Αρεί. ο πολίτης Βίέννος "οι δὲ τιμᾶς ὀποιαὶς τῇ τε μιᾶς Ῥίδι καὶ Βίεννυσ". έσται καὶ ἑτέρα πόλις ἐν Γαλλία, σύμμοι ήτο ποτε τὴν σύμπαν Κρήτην κατασχόντως εἰς ἑτέρους τόπους ἀποφεύγοντο, οἰκῆσαι δὲ τινὰς Υδρῶντα τῆς 'Ιταλίας ὑπὸ πολιολογίαν. χρησιμοὶ δ' αὐτοῖς δοθέντος δποὺ εὐδοκότατον τόπον θεάσονται κατασχόνται, ἐλθόντες οὐν ἑπὶ τὸν Ἐπιδαμνίου ποταμοῦ τῆς Γαλλίας ἔλθει διὰ οἰκήσας, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁμοιὰς ὀνομάζας, ἔπειδη μία τῶν συν αὐτοῖς παρθένον Βίεννα καλοῦμεν χωρίους ὑπὸ τινὸς χάριμας ἐλήφθη, ὡς μνημοναῖος πόλεως Βάσβισσιος ἐν τῇ ἑκκαλησιαστικῇ ἱστορίᾳ. τῷ ἐπικεφάλης ὁμοιὸς Βίέννος, εἰ μὴ κατὰ τὸν ἓσπερον τοῦ πόλου Βίεννησίου ὡς λουγδούνησιος. τῆς δὲ Βίεννης Βίενναίος.

After "sacrificabat" followed by "Apud (insulae Cretaman apud) oppidum Blennon". This would make the Cretan reference a parallel example offered by Fulgentius and would eliminate the need for further changes of such a major nature in the text. I hope to pursue this suggestion further at a later date. Cf. my comments infra s.v. "Blanda".

14 On Sosicrates cf. FGrH, IIIb.no. 463 with notes. Jacoby does not include the Fulgentius quote.


16 Printed partially in the IC, (note 6), without complete textual notes.
Translation: Biennos, a city of Crete. Some say (it is named) after Biennos, one of the Kouretes, but others from the strife occurring over Ares, whom they say Otos and Ephialtes, the sons of Poseidon, bound here. Indeed, even until the present day the so-called hekatomphonia is sacrificed to Ares. A citizen is a Biennian: "but they (say) that honors are sent to Zeus Milios and Biennios".

There is another city in Gaul. For once, when a drought was holding all of Crete, they\textsuperscript{17} emigrated to other places and certain ones settled Hydrous in Italy when it was not yet built up. But to these an oracle was given directing them to inhabit whatever place they saw to be the marshiest. Arriving then at the Rhodan, a river of Gaul that is marshy, they settled there and named the city in this fashion, since one of the young girls with them was named Bianna and she, having danced beneath a certain chasm was snatched away.

Eusebius makes mention of this city in his "Sacred History". The ethnic is also Biennios, except, by country usage, Biennēsios, like Lougdounēsios. From Bienne comes Biennaios.

\textsuperscript{17}The text allows us to consider "they" as referring to the Biannians or all the Cretans. Context makes it clear, however, that the Biannians are meant, especially as those who colonise Hydrous.
Notes: 1) 1. 1: Βίέννον is a conjecture for the Βέννον of the manuscripts.

2) 1. 3: δν] ην , Υ.
   [δεσεθαι], added by Berkel.
   ην and Mss.
   
   If the original manuscript readings are retained in this line\(^{18}\) the text then reads: "...βίας, ην έναθε φάσιν λη βούνα και 'Εφιάλτου".

   I see little or no reason to change this text as it easily means "from the strife there which they say was a result\(^{19}\) of Otos and Ephialtes".

3) 1. 6: μιλίφ is taken as corrupt. To the possible emendations cited by Guarducci,\(^{20}\) add Μιλησίφ from the Cretan city Miletos,\(^{21}\) Ταλλαθιφ,\(^{22}\) and Τερμιλίφ from the Termilae of Lycia, once associated with Crete.\(^{23}\)

4) 1. 11: 'Ρδανον] 'Ρδαν Mss.

5) 1. 14: Meineke takes the Eusebius reference as a gloss.

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\(^{18}\) The emended readings of Meineke's text have gone unchallenged by all Cretan scholars.

\(^{19}\) Cf. LSJ s.v. άνεθ, III.6.

\(^{20}\) IC, (note 6).

\(^{21}\) Meineke, ad loc.

\(^{22}\) Mueller, ad SMM 320.

\(^{23}\) Huxley, (note 12), 126.
6) The Λουδούνης is Roman Lugdunum (modern Lyon) and is cited, no doubt, by way of parallel to Biénη in Gaul, modern Vienne, which is nearby.

7) The presence of Otos and Ephialtes in Crete is attested also from Servius who says: 24

"Nam re vera nisi quae de gigantibus legimus, fabulosa acceperimus, ratio non procedit. Nam cum in Phlegra Thessaliae loco, pugnasse dicantur, quemadmodum est in Sicilia Enceladus? Otus in Creta secundum Sallustium, unde Otii Campi? Typhoeus in Campania?"

Guarducci falsely takes this passage as referring to the captivity of Ares, 25 although it is clear that Servius has listed places claiming to possess the bodies of buried giants. Pashley long ago pointed this out, even taking note of a "giant's tomb" shown by peasants near Biannos in his day. 26 Both Pashley and later scholars seem to have overlooked, however, the following passage of Pliny the Elder, 27 who, in speaking of the massive size

24 Ad Aen. 3.578. E.B. James incorrectly cites Homer Il. 5.315 as a source of this fact in Smith, Dictionary, s.v. "Biennus". The Homer passage does not mention Crete and is, moreover, incorrectly cited. Read 5.385 for 5.315.

25 "Quod vero ad Martis captivitatem attinet", IC, (note 6). Faure, it may be recalled, considers the use of the strife of these characters to give a name "par jeu de mots" to nearby Mt. Arbion, "Noms de Montagnes Créoises," BAGB, 4th ser., 4(1965), 437.

26 Pashley, Travels, I.272, 279-284.

27HN 7.73.
of bygone generations, says:

"In Creta terrae motu rupto monte inventum est corpus stans XLVI cubitorum quod alii Orionis, alii Otii esse arbitrabantur."

This passage is useful in many ways. It first reconfirms the burial of Otos in Crete as opposed to the more common story of his conquest there over Ares. It secondly would seem to show that the Otii Campi lay at the foot of a mountain, perhaps the nearby Aigaion Oros q.v. (the modern Lasithi) (Map 6), or a mountain which lies to the southeast of Epano Biannos, bearing the name Kephali Chondrou. Between this elevation and Biannos there lies a plain.

The passage also is quite illustrative in mentioning an earthquake. It is clear that those who found the bones thought, as did Pashley and later scholars, that Otos was indeed dead and buried on Crete. Servius, however, mentions Otos in the company of Encelados and Typhoeus (=Typhon) who, as with most earth-born giants, were

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28. We are told elsewhere that Otos and Ephialtes grew one cubit in breadth and one fathom in height each year and that after nine years of this they revolted against heaven. Homer Od. XI.305-320.
imprisoned alive under volcanoes. Is it not possible, then, that Otos, buried beneath a Cretan mountain, was not dead as Pashley and those before him surmised, but merely imprisoned? His turnings and twistings would thus offer a mythological basis for the many earthquakes that plague Crete and must have been in all Cretan thoughts.

E. Hierocles, *Synekdemos* 649.6

Text: Supra, s.v. "Allyngos".

Summary: Listed between Inatos and Hierapydna.

F. Anonymus Ravennas 5.21

Text: Cf. supra s.v. "Aptera".

Summary: "Blentia" is listed between "Ierapina" and "Liberithon".

G. *Notitiae Graecae Episcopatum* 8.221; 9.130

Text: Printed above, s.v. "Allyngos"

Summary: *Biévns* is listed between Gortyn and Kamara (9.130) or Kanaros (gen., 8.221).

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30 Note the vases cited by Pashley, *Travels*, I.281, which show Ephialtes being crushed beneath a large mass of rock wielded by Poseidon (who is, oddly, the pair's father in some versions).

31 Guarducci overlooks these testimonia.
Notes: There is no hard evidence to assure the equation of this \textit{B\v{s}c\v{c}va} with that of \textit{SMM} 320-321 (our Biannos a) as opposed to the \textit{B\v{s}c\v{c}vva} of \textit{SMM} 335-336 (Biannos b, infra). Indirect evidence does secure the equation however. It is virtually certain that the eparchy of the \textit{Notitiae} is identical with that of Hierocles. The Biannos of Hierocles, can, moreover, be safely equated with Biannos (a). Hierocles lists his Biannos in conjunction with "Hierapydna". Of ancient authors, the \textit{Tabula Peutingeriana} as well as the \textit{SMM} list Biannos (a) vis-à-vis Hierapytna. We can thus be sure that the Biannos of Hierocles as well as that of the \textit{Notitiae} refer to Biannos (a).

\textbf{EPIGRAPHICAL TESTIMONIA}

The name of Biannos is preserved exclusively on inscriptions found outside its own territory. Of the six inscriptions found at modern Biannos,\textsuperscript{32} none mentions the town by name. To this group add the inscription ascribed to Biannos by Alexiou,\textsuperscript{33} which records dedications

\footnote{\textsuperscript{32}IC, I.vi.3-8.}

\footnote{\textsuperscript{33}As cited by J. and L. Robert, "Bulletin Epigraphique," \textit{REG}, 86(1973), 130 no. 355. As the find spot, modern Kato Syme, lies (by map reckoning) over 12 kilometers from Epano Bianos, the attribution to ancient Biannos should be taken guardedly.}
to Aphrodite in a sanctuary of Hermes.\footnote{34}

A. IC, I.vi.1*

**Date:** 201 B.C.

**Summary:** This inscription, found at Teos, records the arrival of the first set of ambassadors from Teos concerning asylum. A copy of the inscription was to be set up in the temple of Ares at Biannos.

B. IC, IV.179.6

**Date:** June, 183 B.C.

**Summary:** In this treaty with Eumenes II, the Biannioi are listed between the Latioi and the Mallaioi.

C. IC, I.vi.2*

**Date:** After ca. 170 B.C.

**Summary:** This inscription records the second Tean delegation on asylum. Also found in Teos, a copy of the inscription was to have been put up in the temple of Ares at Biannos.

D. IC, IV.174.32

**Date:** Early second century B.C.

**Summary:** In a passage apparently delineating the boundaries of Priansos and Hierapytna (ll. 16-17, 30),

\footnote{34 If indeed the sanctuary belongs to Biannos, then the worship of these gods would be new there. Cf. IC, (note 6), "Res Sacrae".}
is given as a boundary marker.

NUMISMATIC TESTIMONIA

A. 35 Obv.: Female head (Artemis or Bianna?36) Rev.: Flower (rose or lily?37), with inscription ΒΙΑΝΙ

B. 38 Obv.: Similar Rev.: ΒΙ in dotted circle

COMMENTARY

THE SOURCES--ATTRIBUTION

None of the many scholars who deal with Biannos confronts in print the problem of correctly assigning the ancient testimonia to either Biannos (a) or Biannos (b). How does one prove, for example, that the Biannos of

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35For coins of this type, cf. Svoronos, Numismatique, Pl. III.15.

36Cf. Head, HN2, 459 (Artemis), Cook, Zeus, I.623 (Bianna). In view of the possible sanctuary of Aphrodite (notes 33 and 34), Aphrodite should also be considered.

37Head, (note 36), calls it a rose, Cook, (note 36), a lily. If the dedication to Aphrodite mentioned above does belong to Biannos, then the head could be hers (note 36) and the flower the rose, a favorite flower of this goddess. Cf. PW, I.2718 with sources cited.

It has not, to my knowledge, been pointed out that this flower bears a striking resemblance to one appearing on the coins of Praisos and Elyros. Cf. LeRider, Monnaies, 108 nos. 4,6, Pl. XXVII.4-6. Note that the flower appears mostly on Praisian coins and only as a countermark. Does this indicate some relationship between the two sites?

38For this cf. Svoronos, Numismatique, Pl. III.16.
Stephanus is that of *SMM* 320-321, a fact taken as true by all investigators? It will be recalled that the same problem existed regarding Apollonia. In this case the scholars have assigned all doubtful sources to Biannos (a), apparently on the assumption that Biannos (b) was so small as to be of no consequence. 39 A look at the words of the sources soon shows this assumption to be totally without basis. Note that while no indication of size is given for the western Biannos, Biannos (a) is clearly called a πολιόρκιον a diminutive of the word πόλις. 40 Further, the wording of *SMM* 335-336 (q.v. *infra*, s.v. "Biannos (b)") quite clearly does not claim it is a harbor, but rather that it has a harbor. 41 Arguments based on size or function are thus entirely useless in assigning the testimonia to the proper site.

I have, then, listed below the various testimonia

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40 On this word cf. note 7.

41 Unfortunately, this is the sole time the author of the *SMM* tells us what a place has without prefacing his remarks by a short descriptive statement telling us what the place is.
cited above with brief notes indicating what can plausibly
be extrapolated from each as bearing on the proper
assignation of the text to either Biannos (a) or (b).

I. LITERARY

A. SMM 1) 320-321 Between Hierapytna (Map 5, P6)
and Leben (Map 4, K7).

2) 335-336 Between the Kriou Metopon (Map 2, B5) and Phalasarna (Map 2, B2).

B. Fulgentius
By the mention of the Ares cult,
passage can be equated with
the Biannos of Stephanus and
Inscriptions A and C, infra.

C. Tabula Peutingeriana
Listed in relation to Hierapytna and thus probably equal
to A.1 supra.

D. Stephanus Byzantius
Same as B.

E. Hierocles
Same as A.1, provided the text
is arranged geographically.42

F. Anonymus Ravennas
By mention of Hierapytna, equal
to A.1.

G. Notitiae
Same as A.1 if, as is likely,
it is listing the same eparchy
as Hierocles. See notes in
body of text.

II. EPIGRAPHICAL

A. IC, I.vi.1*
Found in Teos. Mention of
temple of Ares links it with
I.B, D, and II.C.

42 The need for a comprehensive study of the order
of arrangement of sites in such authors as Pliny or Hierocles
is apparent in such situations as these.
B. IC, IV.179.6  
No geographical order is followed in this inscription.

C. IC, I.vi.2*  
Same as A.

D. IC, IV.174.32  
Near Hierapytna and thus related to I.C,F,G.

III. NUMISMATIC

Neither Svoronos nor Head reports any find spots for the coins assigned to Biannos.\(^4^4\) I have, however, noted one fact that may be of use. If the similarity of the flower on coins of Praisos (Map 5,S6), near Hierapytna, and the flower on the coins of Biannos is not accidental, then it is likely that the coins should be assigned to the Biannos in the vicinity of Praisos.\(^4^5\)

CONCLUSION

The above summary shows first that there were two sites named Biannos on Crete. Secondly, the bulk of testimonia can be divided into four groups.

The first group is comprised of those testimonia

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\(^{43}\)Cf. Guarducci, ad loc. (p. 252).

\(^{44}\)Svoronos, (notes 35 and 38), Head, (note 36). If the provenance of the coins could be ascertained, it might give a fair indication of which Biannos struck them. We should not accept the general view that Biannos (b) was too small or insignificant to strike coins without additional proof.

\(^{45}\)Cf. note 37.
that name Biannos in close connection with Hierapytna (I.A.1, C, E, F; II.D).

The second group has in common references to a cult of Ares (I.B, D; II.A, C).

The third group gives no hint as to the location or nature of the Biannos it mentions (I.G; II.B).

The fourth group consists of one testimonium, I.A.2, which clearly puts its Biannos between the Kriou Metopon and Phalasarna.

Previous scholars have tended, without hard evidence, to equate the first two groups and thus locate the Ares cult at the Biannos near Hierapytna, Biannos (a). They have likewise included the third group without offering any reasons for their attribution. While there does not appear to be any way to settle the proper assignation of the third group, I have noted one proof, if an indirect one, for reasonably equating the first two groups.

If one locates on a map the various Cretan towns known to have received Tean ambassadors in 201 B.C. or in their second visit after 170 B.C., it is clear that the ambassadors stayed in central Crete. The westernmost

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47 Any such argument relies, of course, on the vagaries of chance. We have no way of knowing what inscriptions may have been lost.
town we know they visited is Sybriata (Map 3, I4). If this is indeed the case, the Biannos referred to in the Tean inscriptions (II.A and C) must be Biannos (a) since the location of Biannos (b) lies outside the area known to have been visited by the ambassadors. As these inscriptions clearly mention a temple of Ares in Biannos, we finally have an acceptable link between these inscriptions and those literary sources mentioning a cult of Ares at Biannos. Groups one and two can be equated.

While I should dearly have liked to have said at this point that I have totally reorganised the testimonia of the sites called Biannos, it is readily admitted that this investigation has, in effect, changed little. Almost all the sources usually ascribed to Biannos (a) have so remained. I feel, however, that the effort has been worthwhile in that there now exist sound and demonstrable proofs for the attribution of the texts.

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General:
Kirsten, Siedlungsgeschichtliche Forschungen, 137 n. 3.
Meursius, Creta, 23.
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Although the SMM gives the name as Βίαννος it may be, on the basis of the inscriptions and coins of Biannos (a), a late misspelling for Βιαννος. On the possible corruption of the name into Ιαννος, cf. Ptolemy, infra.

The SMM, moving from south to north along the west end of Crete, places Biannos (b) 12 stades north of Kriou Metopon (Map 2,B5) and 260 stades south of Phalasarna (Map 2,B2). Spratt¹ called for locating Biannos at a site north of the cape called Port Krio. Guarducci accepts this location as possible, calling the spot Kriu (Map 2, B5).² Faure, after initially failing to locate the site specifically,³ later agreed with Spratt, saying the exact spot is variously called Limnaki, Chtista, or Sta Chtista.⁴

¹ Spratt, Travels, II.238.
³ Faure, "La Crète," (1959), 198 no. 6; (1960), 240 no. 6.
NATURE

The SMM does not say what the nature of the site is, only stating that it has a port and water. For further detail, cf. "Biannos (a), Commentary".

LITERARY TESTIMONIA

A. SMM 335-336


Summary: "Biannos" is 12 stades north of Kriou Metopon, 260 south of Phalasarna. It has a harbor and water.

Notes: 1) Mueller changes 260 (σζ') to 160 (ρζ').

B. Ptolemy 3.15.2

Text: IC, loc. cit.

Summary: "Inachörion" is listed between Chersonēsos and Kriou Metopon.

Notes: 1) Mueller, ad SMM 335, conjectures that 'Ивакρίον might be a corruption of Бьвна χόριον.

Cf. infra, s.v. "Inachörion".5

5Guarducci, (note 2), says "'Ивакρίον cum Bienno a Stadiasmο maris m. commemorato.....fortasse componendum (an Бьвна χόριον )", and goes on to locate Biennos as mentioned above. Cf. Bursian, Geographie, II.550 n.2 and Oberhummer, "Biennos, 2," PW, III.457.
BIDA

Bida represents a form of the name Ida, with the beta indicating a lost digamma.
The name is undoubtedly spurious, the invention of patriots of Magnesia on the Meander.

Since the city is the figment the Magnesians' imagination, the question of location is moot. In the mendacious inscription cited below the site is treated as if it were a city or possibly merely a cult center.

A. Magnesian Inscription

Date: Between 216 and 193 B.C.

Text: The Cretan Koinon is to meet:

τὸ Βιλκονίῳ τὸ ἱερόν τῶν

Ἀπέλλανος τῷ Βιλκονίῳ

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1 Otto Kern, ed., Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Meander (Berlin: Staatlichen Museen, Abteilung der antiken Bildwerke und Gipsabgüsse, 1900), 16-17, no. 20.

2 So P. Faure, "Sept Nouvelles Villes de la Crète Antique," Krētika Chronika 19(1965) 223, who claims 207 B.C. may be the exact date.
COMMENTARY

This inscription is one of many set up by the citizens of Magnesia on the Meander which claim close Cretan ties to the city but which are, in reality, forgeries. ³

In discussing this inscription, Faure follows Fabricius ⁴ who sees in Bilkôn the well known epithet of Zeus, Welchanos. ⁵ Faure notes some roof tiles found at Haghia Triada which bear the genitive form ⁶ ΦΕΧΧΑΝΟ and declares: ⁷

"Il n'est done pas exclu que le nom de ΒΙΛΚΟΝ transmis par l'inscription, représente, plus ou mois déformé, un lieu-dit (sanctuaire ou bourgade) de la région de Phaistos, ou même plus précisément la colline de Haghia Triada."

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³ Cf. Blass, SGDI, introduction to no. 5152 and Faure, (note 2).
⁴ Faure, (note 2).
⁵ R. F. Willetts, Cults, 177-178, 250-251. Note that the epithet is not one for Apollo. Cf. Guarducci ad IC, I.xxiii.5.
⁶ Guarducci, (note 5). I would suggest that the roof tiles merely establish that the temple was one to Welchanos and the inscription need imply nothing more.
⁷ Faure, (note 2).
This argument is, despite its careful wording, unable to be supported. Welchanos was not, for example, worshipped only at Haghia Triada and is not to be associated with Apollo. Finally, while the very meaning of Welchanos is disputed, there is nothing to even remotely suggest that it recalls a toponym. Faced as we are with a name attested only in a forged and fanciful inscription, it seems best to view Bilkôn solely as the product of the imaginative, patriotic zeal of the Magnesians.

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8 Willetts, Cults, 250.
9 Willetts, Cults, 250. Admitted by Faure, (note 2) 224.
10 For opposing views and summaries cf. Cook, Zeus, II. 947-948 and Willetts, Cults, 250-251.
BINATOS

The mention of 'Ελαυμίαν Βινατίαν in an inscription recording a treaty which Gortyn and Hierapytna struck with Priansos in the early second century B.C.\(^1\) is generally accepted as referring to Eleuthyia Inatia.\(^2\) The initial beta is apparently the remains of a now lost digamma.\(^3\) Cf. infra. s.v. "Inatos".\(^4\)

\(^1\) IC, IV.174.61, 76.
\(^2\) Guarducci, IC(note 1), ad loc., I.xiii. Praef. (p. 98), Willetts, Cults, 171.
\(^3\) Cf. notes on digamma, supra, s.v. "Arion".
\(^4\) The form Einatos is also known.
**BIONNOS**

**NAME**

The name is presumably close in origin to that of Biannos. It appears only in the dative *Bíonnos* which would allow the nominatives *Bíonnos* or *Bíonnov*.

**LOCATION**

The inscription containing the name seems to move, in at least a general geographical manner, from western to central Crete.\(^1\) While the movement is not clear or exact enough to evoke agreement on the exact location of Bionnos, it has sufficiently convinced scholars that Bionnos can not be taken as a double for either of the two sites named Biannos (Biennos). This is shown by the location of the sites listed in the inscription surrounding Bionnos: Phaistos (Map 4, J6), Psycheion (Map 4, H6)\(^2\), Bionnos, and Matala (Map 4, J7). These sites all seem to be clustered in the Messara plain and lie a good deal to the west of

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2. So Guarducci, *IC*, II.xxx, (pp. 310, 312) and end map. The general area of Psycheion is not in doubt, merely the exact location.
Biannos (a) (Map 4, N6) and far to the east of Biannos (b) (Map 2, B5).

Plassart claimed the site had to be in the vicinity of Gortyn (Map 4, K6). Guarducci claimed Biannos was on a hill called Pyrgi and Kionia located near modern Kerame (Map 4, H5). In this she is followed by Faure.

NATURE

It is most likely that Biannos was a city since it possessed theo rodokoi.

INSCRIPTIONAL TESTIMONIA

A. List of Delphic Theorodokoi, III.13.

3 Plassart, (note 1), 61-62 n.5 suggests Kastri without naming it exactly. He is followed by E. Kirsten, Siedlungsgeschichtliche Forschungen, 137 who says of Kastri, "An Biennon zu denken ist nicht ausgeschlossen." Cf. also ibid. 125 n.5; and 135 n.3. Guarducci, (note 2).


Date: First half of second century B.C.

Text: Supra s.v. "Anōpolis"

Summary: Listed between Psycheion and Matala.
BLANDA

NAME

The name appears but once, in the form "Blanda". This form is generally accepted as representing a corruption of a better known city. Cf. "Location".

LOCATION

Probus' text, printed below, is replete with difficulties, not the least of which is the form "Blanda". Since various scholars see Blanda as a corruption of various names, the location differs accordingly.

Egnatius,¹ in his edition of 1507, suggested reading "Lycto" (Map 4,N5). Mayer,² in 1915, put forth a reasonable argument for "Lampe" (=Lappa) (Map 3,G4). Faure,³ rejects this attribution and offers the suggestion

¹Cited in the apparatus ad loc. of Probus, in Thilo-Hagen, Vol III fasc. 2, 336-337. This emendation is apparently not based on verbal affinities but on the fact that Vergil himself, in Aeneid 3.401, calls Idomeneus "Lyctius". Note that the only other geographical attribution given Idomeneus in antiquity is the ethnic "Knossios" (where he was supposedly buried) in D.S. 5.79.

²Maximilian Mayer, "Messapioi," PW, XIV.1179-1181.

that "Blanda" may be a corruption of either \textit{bolovra} (\(=\) Olous with initial digamma) (Map 5, P4) or Biannos (from the Latin forms Blennon, Blenna, Blentia) (Map 4, N6). Faure also makes some case for accepting Blanda as an actual site, but his arguments are extremely hypothetical, and he himself does not seem to give them much weight.\(^4\)

Comparison of Cretan name forms shows only that most of the names offered above could have been corrupted to read "Blanda". A simple B is often added to a word\(^5\) which would allow Lampe-Blampe-Blanda. And initial Bi- is known to have become a Bl-\(^6\), hence Biannos-Blannos-Blentia-Blanda. Finally, as discussed at length above,\(^7\) Cretan digamma often becomes a beta. This would yield Olous-Olounta-Wolounta-Bolounta-Blanda (although this progression seems strained).

\(^4\) Faure, (note 3), 226 and 225 for a comparison with the foreign place names Blaundios (Phrygia) and Blaudos (Mysia).

\(^5\) E.g. Blissē for Lissē.

\(^6\) E.g. Blenna, Blennon and Blentia for Biannos/Biennos.

\(^7\) Supra, s.v. "Arion".
To date scholars have not been able to choose definitively between the alternatives. I feel the answer lies in the passage of Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. Βίεννος, quoted supra, s.v. "Biannos (a)", to which passage I now refer the reader before he reads further.

Stephanus tells us that the people of Biennos were involved in the founding of Hydrous and then of Biennos in France. It is Hydrous which interests us here, for Hydrous lies extremely near Uria (=Hyria) and Castrum Minervae, the two towns, according to Probus, founded by Idomeneus after his expulsion from "Blanda". This shared involvement of Biennos and "Blanda" in the early colonisation of Calabria, coupled with the proven capacity for Bi- to become Bl-, and the similarity of the form "Blentia" to "Blanda", all point strongly to identifying Blanda as Biennos.

The question is far from settled, however. Idomeneus is not associated with Biennos in any other source. The role of the Magnesians (or Megarians) in the events is as unclear as is the text at this point. I also strongly suspect that the text of Probus can be usefully compared with the text of Fulgentius quoted supra s.v. "Biannos (a)".

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8 Nor should Lyttos (cf. note 1) be ignored.
These questions, which all touch on the frequent myths of the Cretan colonisation of southern Italy, will require treatment elsewhere. For the present, in the light of the passage of Stephanus, it would appear most probable that "Blanda" and Biannos are one.

NATURE

It is accepted by all that Blanda represents the name of a city.

LITERARY TESTIMONIA

A. Probus ad Verg. Buc. 6.31

Text: 9 In terto Rerum Humanarum refert: Gentis Salentinae nomen tribus e locis fertur coaluisse, e Creta, Illyrico, Italia. Idomeneus e Creta oppido Blanda pulsus per seditionem bello Magnesium cum grandi manu ad regem Divitium ad Illyricum venit. Ab eo item accepta manu cum Locrensibus plerisque profugis in mari coniunctus per similem causam amicitiaque sociatis Locros appulit. Vacuata eo metu urbe ibidem possedit aliquot oppida condidit, in quies Uria et Castrum Minervae nobilissimum. In tres partes divisa copia in populos duodecim. Salentini dicti, quod in salo amicitiam fecerint.

9 The text and symbols for the appartus are taken from the Thilo-Hagen edition, (note 1).
Translation: He (Varro) reports in the third book of his "Human Affairs": The name of the Salentine race is said to have derived from three places: Crete, Illyria, Italy. Idomeneus, expelled from Crete from the city Blanda through the perfidy in war of the Magnensians, came with a large band to king Divitius in Illyria. Having accepted a band from him then, and having joined with a number of Locrian exiles on the sea who were allied through a similar cause and by friendship, he made for Locri. The city having been evacuated on account of fear, he took possession and in the same place founded several cities among which (are) Uria and the most glorious Castrum Minervae. The troops, divided into three parts, yielded twelve peoples. The Salentini were so called because they made their friendship "on the salt sea".

Notes: 1) 1. 4: Blanda] Discussed above.

2) 1.5 : Magnensium] Magnensum P. Megarensium M, bello pulsus per seditionem Magnensium Keil.

3) 1. 8: The Locri involved is probably the Locri of Bruttium, thus comprising the "Italian" contingent mentioned in line 3.

4) 1. 9: per........sociatis] eds., amicitiaque per similem causam sociatis Mss.
5) 1.11-12: Mommsen corrected to:

ibique consedit et aliquot oppida condict... (cited in Thilo and Hagen apparatus).
BLENNA, BLENNON, BLENTIA

These names all represent corrupt forms of Biannos, q.v.
BLISSE

For this corruption of Lisse, cf. infra, s.v. "Lisse".
BOIAI

NAME

The form Boiai is given by Stephanus. Theognostus seems to offer BoTos, q.v. infra. Fick sees the name as Greek, derived from the like-named site in Laconia. ¹

LOCATION

Authors mentioning the site offer no clues as to location. If, as many claim, the site is a double of Boibē, it is to be sought in the Messara plain near Gortyn, cf. "Commentary", infra.

NATURE

The sources regard the site as a city.

LITERARY TESTIMONIA

A. Stephanus Byzantius s.v. Boiôn

Text: ² Βοιών, ἢ "Ομηρος ζωικς Βοιβην λέγειν. ἢστι δὲ Δωρική πόλις ὀδυςεός λεγομένη καὶ θηλυκῶς. ἢστι Βοιὰς καὶ Κρήςας πόλις. ὁ πόλις Βοιάτης, ὃς καρύας Καρυάτης, Πιτάνας Πιτανάτης, Θαλάμας Θαλαμάτης. λέγεται καὶ Βοιαῖος, ὃς Ἐφόρος.

² This site is omitted by Guarducci.
Translation: Boion, which Homer seems to call Boibē. There is a Doric city called (i.e. formed) as a neuter and as a feminine. There is also Boiai, a city of Crete. The name of one from the city is Boiates, as Karyai-Karyates, Pitanai-Pitanates, Thalamai-Thalamates. (One from the city) is also called Boias, as Ephoros (does). Herodianos, however, says Boiites, perhaps from Boion, as liknon-liknites. There are also the Boioi, a race of Celts. There is also Boianon, a city of the Saunitai.

Notes: 1)1.5... Βοιητης] Βοιητης , Mss.

2)1.6... Βοιον] Βοιον , Mss. Cf. Arcadius, infra.

C. Theognostus, Kanōnes, ΣΕΗ (p. 49, ed. Cramer)

This text is replete with problems. To aid the reader, the text is first printed and translated as it appears in Cramer's edition, is then discussed from a textual viewpoint, and emendations are offered. The emended text is then presented with notes.
Translation: Masculine disyllables in -oios, either proper names or appelatives, either properespomena or oxytone, either interrogatives or relatives, are written with the diphthong "oi". Such as smoios the epithet; skoios (which is) skolios; doios; mnoios (which is) an oven; gloios, filth; Boios, the race, which also indicates a proper name.

Phloios, kloios called also kloios. Toios; poios, both properespomenon and oxytone, both smooth and rough; koios; poios; hoios. And the oxytone. It indicates also an Attic deme and a Cretan city, and the name of a harbor, and a stream.

Notes: The passage, in addition to the problem inherent in its abstruse subject matter, offers difficulties arising from the text itself.

1) 1.7-8...It is obviously incorrect to assert that poios is written both with a rough and a smooth breathing.

2) 1.8... τὸ τε δὲ ὀίων... appears to be but half a phrase. Cf. 11.6-7.

3) 1.8-9...If the passage is taken exactly as it reads, we are to look for an Attic deme, a Cretan city, a harbor, and a stream which all bear the name
Hoios or Oios. The deme is known to us\(^3\) but no Cretan city and no harbor or stream seems to bear this name. Oios is a deme of Tegea\(^4\) and while three other places named Oion are known\(^5\) none fits the requirements of Theognostus' text.

L. Dindorf\(^6\) long ago noticed the first two problems listed above. He suggested adding τὸ τε προπερι-στῶμενον to τὸ τε ἡδύτωνον and adds "Sed etiam τὸ τε ψιλοσύμενον καὶ τὸ τε δασυνόμενον ... huc (i.e. to 1.8) revocanda appare nut olos (sic) destinguatur ab olos (sic)".

A glance at the emended text printed below shows this suggestion to be well founded. We are still left, however, with the troubled last line of the text and its phantom sites.

We have seen that Oios refers, as far as we know, only to an Attic deme. One alternative is to accept the text at face value and to posit a new Cretan

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\(^3\) Cf. Arcadius, infra. The nominative of the name is variously given as olou (Harpocration and Stephanus s.v.), olos (Theognostus, who could also mean olos here) and olos (Arcadius, infra; Schol. ad Il. XI.24). Cf. PW, IV.91 nos. 109-110 and Suppl VII.788, L. Dindorf, TGL, s.v. olou.

\(^4\) Stephanus Byzantius, s.v.. Cf. PW, XVII.2285.

\(^5\) PW, XVII.2283-2284.

\(^6\) Dindorf, (note 3).
site with the name Oios. This need not be rejected out of hand as Theognostus contains many Cretan cities unattested elsewhere. Accepting this theory, however, also involves accepting an unknown harbor and stream of the same name. Three new sites, of course, are more difficult to accept than one. I here offer a reading of this text that allows great simplification of the problem.

The reader is first directed to the following passage of Arcadius (p. 37, ed. Barker) which is apparently derived, along with that of Theognostus, from the lost works of the grammarian Herodianus who, as we saw above, is cited by Stephanus as an authority with respect to Boion.

Besides offering different accents, Arcadius ends his passage (which is free of textual confusion) with the mention of the deme Oios. There is no mention

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7 Much as Faure accepts Thebē from the obviously troubled text of Nonnos. Cf. Boibē, infra.

8 E.g. Atrikos (q.v. supra); Temikos (p. 60, ed. Cramer); Glēnos (p. 65, ed. Cramer); Pronos (p. 66, ed. Cramer).
of a Cretan city, a harbor, or a stream.

With this in mind, I would ask if the last line of Theognostus might not represent an intrusion, perhaps a gloss later included in the text. In this case the Theognostus text, like that of Arcadius, would end with the reference to the deme Oios. Where, then, does the gloss belong? I suggest placing it in line 5 as further explanation of "Boios". This line is a likely candidate for many reasons. We have seen that this line begins the textual confusion and it seems highly likely that the misplaced line, once attached to l. 5, was attracted to the end of the passage by the identical phrase δηλοὶ δὲ (11.5 and 8). Line 5 thus originally read:

Boios τὸ ἔθνος, δηλοὶ δὲ καὶ δῶμα κύριον καὶ πόλιν Κρητικὴν, καὶ δῶμα λιμένος καὶ ἱερὸν.

This arrangement of the text offers many advantages. The text as originally printed forced us to accept an unknown Cretan city, a harbor, and a stream, all bearing the name Oios. With the new arrangement two of the three locales are readily identifiable. Boios as a Cretan city is surely identical with the Boiai of Stephanus.

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9It need not have been a gloss added by a later hand. It could originally have been part of the text and, being omitted by accident, was placed in the margin, only to be reintroduced into the text at the end of line 9 in a later copy.
The harbor is undoubtedly the Βοιαίος καλούμενος κόλπος lying near Laconian Boiai and mentioned by Pausanias. Although I can find no mention of it elsewhere, it would seem sensible that the δεύτερον emptied into this bay and took its name from the nearby Boiai.

In the face of this evidence, the emendation must be deemed valid and a new testimonia for Cretan Boios/Boiai must be acknowledged. I now offer the emended text (ll. 5-9) below, with such notes as are needed for comprehension of content. Parentheses indicate portions of the text which have been moved, angle brackets additions:

Notes: 1) 1. 4: ποῖος] As a properispomenon it means "of what sort", as an oxytone, "of a certain sort". Cf. notes on 1. 5.

10 Pausanias 3.22.11.

11 The dissimilarity of Boios and Boiai is mildly disconcerting. Cf. however, Paus. 3.22.11 where a Boios is given as the eponymous founder of Laconian Boiai.
2) 1. 5: Κοιος Κοίος would, at first glance, be taken as the familiar variant of ποτος. Similarly, at first glance, this second inclusion of ποτος would be bracketed in the text. Both notions are incorrect.

A comparison with the text of Arcadius, supra, shows that the entries of line 8 of Theognostus correspond in place and function with those of line 6 of Arcadius, viz. (as Arcadius calls them) τὰ μέρια. The Koios of Theognostus should thus be capitalised and designates the name of a Titan mentioned by Hesiod\(^\text{12}\) or a like-named river in Messenia.\(^\text{13}\) The name Poios is found in the scholia to Apollonius of Rhodes\(^\text{14}\) as the son of Athamas and Themistus.

**COMMENTARY**

**BOIAI and BOIBÊ**

Many scholars have followed the suggestion of Berkel\(^\text{15}\) that Βοιβη and Βοιαί are identical.\(^\text{16}\) I have not

\(^{12}\)Theogony 134.

\(^{13}\)Pausanias 4.33.6.

\(^{14}\)Ad 2.1144.

\(^{15}\)Cited by Meineke ad S.B. s.v. Boiôv.

\(^{16}\)Faure denies Boibe is a site in itself, and offers as one idea that it is a double for Boiai, "La Crête," (1959), 199; (1960), 241. Oberhummer, "Boibe," FW, III.688 says "nach Berkel vielleicht = Boibe". Hoeck, Kreta, I.431 and Meursius, Creta, 23, list the city without comment.
seen, however, any proofs advanced for this theory.

One argument, if tenuous, does exist. If the second beta in Boibe represents a digamma, we get the original form of Boifη. If this digamma fell out, we would have the form Boifη, plural Boifa. I do not feel, however, that this situation, for which we have no clear basis, can outweigh the fact that Stephanus undeniably takes the sites as separate. Nor is there any evidence that Eustathius or Theognostus considered the sites as anything but separate. In light of such evidence it seems best to regard Boibe and Boiai (Boios) as separate sites.

\[\text{17 The accentuation of Boif} is not accounted for by this theory. Likewise, the form Boif} in Theognostus' text demands explanation.\]

\[\text{18 The Venetian list of the Cretan hecatompolis, Spanakes, "Anekdotos Katalogos," 283 no. 20, lists a "Bia" without comment. Spanakes, ad loc., claims this must be Boif}. The question arises as to why Boibe does not appear on the list. As mentioned elsewhere, a study of the sources of this list would be most beneficial.\]
BOIBÉ

NAME

The form ΒοÎβη is generally taken as Greek. Many scholars consider Boibe and Boiai (q.v.) to be identical.

LOCATION

We know from Stephanus that Boibe lay near Gortyn. A town called Bobia in the Messara has been proposed for the site of Boibe.

NATURE

The site is presented in the sources as a city, but its actual existence has been challenged and some scholars wish it to be identical with Boiai (q.v.).

1 Fick, Vorgr. Ortsn., 13, 39, claims ultimate Thessalian origin.

2 For an evaluation of this theory, cf. "Boiai".

3 Pashley, Travels, I.299. Cf. Pendlebury, Archaeology, 377 for the remains at Bobia. Bobia is accepted by Kirsten, Siedlungsgeschichtliche Forschungen, 137 n. 4.

4 Faure, "Recherches de Spéléologie et de Topographie Cétoises," BCH, 84(1960), 197 n. 2, hints that Stephanus may only be citing Cretan Boibe as another lake or a simple topos.

5 Faure, (note 4), and Hoeck, Kreta, I.412 deny the site's existence.
LITERARY TESTIMONIA

A. Stephanus Byzantius s.v.

Text: Βοιβή, πόλεις θεσαλίας. "Ομηρὸς "Βοιβήν καὶ Γλαφύρας καὶ έντεκεμένην 'Ιαολκών". έστιν οὖν καὶ πόλεις καὶ λίμνη Βοιβίας, ἀπὸ Βοΐσθου τοῦ Γλαφύρου τοῦ τᾶς Γλαφύρας μίσανθος. έστι καὶ έν Κρήτῃ Βοιβή τῆς Γορτύνδος. καὶ έν Μακεδονία λίμνη Βοιβή. το έθνικόν τῆς Βοιβῆς Βοιβίας καὶ Βοιβήσε θηλυκόν. εί δὲ καὶ Βοιβᾶδος, οὕτως. έστι καὶ Βοιβήσει πόλεις. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Βοιβία η λίμνη.

Translation: Boibe, a city of Thessaly. Homer, "Boibe and Glaphyrai and well-founded Iaolkos." There is also a city and a lake Boibias (named) after Boibos the son of Glaphyros who founded Glaphyrai. There is also a Boibe in Crete in the territory of (or "belonging to") Gortyn. In Macedonia there is also a lake Boibe. The ethnic of Boibe is Boibeus and Boibeis for the feminine, and nothing prevents (the form) Boibaios. There is also a city Bobeion and the lake called Boibia.

Notes: 1) Boibe is also adverted to by Stephanus, s.v. 'Αλύκη but with no mention of Crete.

2) The passage of Homer in question is Il. 2.712. Cf. Eustathius, infra.

B. Nonnus Dionysiaca 12.236

Text: καὶ νάσται Ἐρυθίου καὶ σφακάσα Λυκάστου καὶ χέναν κωδασίου Δηδός καὶ ΰδήλια θῆβης.

Guarducci does not treat Boibe in the IC.
Translation: And the inhabitants of Rhytion and of fertile Lykastos and the land of Nōdaian Zeus and the shrines of Thebē.

Notes: 1) The passage is an excerpt from the catalogue of Cretan cities which joined the retinue of Bacchos under the command of Asterius.

2) l. 236 is corrupt and fairly ungrammatical. Basic emendations include:

   a) Νοδαφότο A site named Nōda is not known elsewhere. Emendations include 'Ιδαφότο and Δικταφότο. I would offer Νοδαφότο from the known Cretan site Mōda, q.v.

   b) Αίβης is found in the manuscripts. Αίβης was offered by Koehler and is generally printed in modern editions. Other emendations include Τάρβης and Βίνης. Faure alone wishes to retain the manuscript reading and to posit a new Cretan site named Thebē.

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8 Cf. Koechly, (note 7), for notes on sources.

9 Koechly, (note 7), says "recte sine dubio Αίβης Koehler".

10 Cf. Koechly, (note 7), for sources.

11 Faure, (note 4); "La Crète," (1959), 199 no. 18 bis, 204 no. 10.
C. Eustathius *ad Il.* 2.712

Text: ὃς λέγει καὶ ὅτε ζοτῆ καὶ Κρήτην Βοῖβη.

Translation: He (Stephanus) says that there is also a Cretan Boibe.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

General:


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12This text is generally overlooked by Cretan scholars.
BOINÖPS

NAME

Only the form τοῦ Boívona (acc.)\(^1\) is known of this clearly Greek name.\(^2\)

LOCATION

The site is listed as one of the boundaries between Latò (Map 5, P5) and Olous (Map 5, P4). Even Faure,\(^3\) who attempts to locate accurately every site in this inscription, proposes no more specific a location than placing the site south of Latò.

NATURE

Faure\(^4\) claims the site as a mountain. Fick says "als Fluss? Oder Heros? Vrgl. den Heros Οὐνικέων aus Kreta auf Chios".\(^5\) The inscription itself offers no clues as to the site's nature.

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\(^1\) Blass, SGDI, 5075 reads Boívona, following Skias. Cf. Guarducci ad I.C. I.xvi.5.59 (p. 121).


\(^3\) Faure, "Aux Frontières," 108.

\(^4\) Faure, (note 3).

\(^5\) Fick, (note 2).
EPIGRAPHICAL TESTIMONIA

A. **IC, I.xvi.5.59**

**Date:** 113-112 B.C.

**Summary:** Boïnops is listed between a rock (τὰς τὰς ἀν[ω διὰν τὰς] πέτρας) and Hippasia.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

In summarizing the results of the foregoing pages it seems best to move from the general to the specific. Thus, the most obvious fact to be noted is that, while partial, the list of sites given above is unique. Nowhere else is the information offered on the fifty-one "A" sites and fifteen "B" sites to be found with the organization and completeness offered here. Such a listing has shown clearly the need for and usefulness of a full list, of similar format, for all the known sites in classical Crete and this remains the author's goal. Further, (and here the discussion must move from generalities to specifics) the fruits of the study itself, as seen in the new material cited below, have been sufficient to stimulate the hope that a continuation of the current work will yield other equally new insights in the field of Cretan topography.

In listing below the specific new material presented in this dissertation, the following order is observed. First presented are matters dealing directly with sites. Secondly, new material affecting the testimonia is covered. Material not easily fitting into either of these categories is reserved for the third, "miscellaneous", group.
Among new material presented in this dissertation, primary emphasis must be laid on the discovery of three sites never before published, viz. Adiounos, Aeria, and Aigidokos. In a similar manner new arguments have been put forward to revive and strengthen the possibility that the cities named Achaia, Agneion, and Amnisos, all previously denied by scholars, did, in fact, exist. Likewise, through lengthy textual study, the almost totally neglected site of Aterea has been given new credence and should be added to future lists of Cretan topoi.

As if to balance these additions to the canon of Cretan topoi, reasonable arguments, based on sound textual interpretation, have shown that the site known as Aipeia is, in reality, the result of a misreading of Homer and can no longer be considered a site of Crete. Similarly, Boibe can no longer be undeniably equated to Boiai.

One of the most complicated arguments of the present work is, perhaps, one of the most fruitful. It has been shown for the first time, through the use of many sources of evidence, that Mt. Arbion and the city which produced the coins marked "Ariaioi" are closely connected and share the same name. This discovery, moreover, led to the most likely form of the coin-issuing city (Arion), helped to identify the figure on these coins as Zeus Arbios, and added greatly to the proper location of Mt. Arbion. In a
similar manner, through the use of two texts not previously used on conjunction, it has been shown that "Blanda" is quite likely to be identified with Biannos.

The careful study of the attribution of testimonia undertaken here for Apollonìa and Biannos is both unique and useful. In the future such a procedure should be applied to all sites which bear a common name. Finally, a new location has been tentatively suggested for the Arkesio Antron.

Much new work has been done with the texts serving as testimonia for the sites. For ease of comprehension, the texts offered here for the first time as testimonia for Cretan sites are given in list form. For full citations I refer the reader to Appendix II.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SITE</th>
<th>NEW TEXT</th>
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<tr>
<td>Achaia</td>
<td>Etymologicum Genuinum</td>
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<td>Adiounos</td>
<td>Synagoge Lexeôn Chresimôn</td>
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<td>Aigidokos</td>
<td>Scholia to Il. 2.157</td>
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<tr>
<td>Allaria</td>
<td>Etymologicì Parisienses Zonaras</td>
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<td>Amnisis</td>
<td>Apollonius Sophista Zonaras (which aids Suda passage)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Herodianus Technicus</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Manuscript variants for Stephanus Byzantius</td>
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This list confirms the worth of the tedious search of authors as outlined above in Chapter II. Information was gained not only from new authors such as Apollonius Sophista uncovered by the search, but also from such authors as Zonaras who had been employed by previous scholars. Similarly, the constant and careful check of critical apparatuses yielded useful information.

In addition to new texts, note that certain texts have been emended or reinterpreted. The most striking instance of this is the text of Theognostus s.v. "Boiai" where a large scale emendation of the text gave us a new testimonium for the site from a text previously almost unintelligible. Other, less complex, emendations are found in the texts of Pliny (Asos) and Fulgentius (Biannos). The text of the SMM found under Amphimala has been reinterpreted as has that of Lactantius under Allaria.

It should be noted that the translations for all
but a very few texts (noted in their places) were done by the author. Listed below are the authors translated in this work who, to the author's knowledge, have not been rendered into English previously. The list sets forth the authors alone; loci may be found by reference to Appendix II:

Anonymus *Paraphrasis of Dionysius Periegetes*; Apollonius Sophista; Avienus; Dionysius Calliphontis; Dionysius Periegetes; *Etymologicci Graeci Parisienses*; *Etymologicicon Magnum*; *Etymologicum Genuinum*; Eustathius on Dionysius Periegetes; Eustathius on Homer, Iliad and Odyssey; Herodianus Technicus; Hesychius; Hierocles; Nikephoros; Notitiae Graecae Episcopatuum; Probus; Ptolemy; Rufus Ephesus; Scholia to Apollonius Rhodius, Aratus, Callimachus, Dionysius Periegetes, Hesiod, *Theogony*, Homer, Iliad and Odyssey; Servius; Stadiasmus Maris Magni; Stephanus Byzantius; Suda; *Synagōgē Lexeōn Chrēsimōn*; Theognostus; Tzetzes; Zonaras.

To this list of authors and texts add the English translations offered of *SEG* 8.269 (Anōpolis) and of the Attalid treaty with Malla (Arkades).

Contributions not easily grouped with those already mentioned must now be treated. Reasonable doubt has been cast on the dating of the coins of Allaria as offered by LeRider. The origin of the name of Amphimala has been clarified through mythological reference and through

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1 It is acknowledged that some of these passages may have been translated in such scattered places as learned articles. A passage's inclusion in this list means that no organized translation in English is known to the author.
similar means new light has been shed on the early history of Aptera. The myth of Otos and Ephialtes was also reinterpreted as it affected Crete in the section dealing with Biannos(a). Finally, a strong case has been made for the identification of a certain Tharsyphas/Tharsytas as he affects the sites of Anopolis and Aptera, where note the author's emendation of the relevant inscription.

In summary, then, the present work has contributed significantly to the body of knowledge surrounding Cretan topography. Further, the work has shown the need for and usefulness of the final work whose beginning is represented in this dissertation.
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APPENDIX I

LIST OF AUTHORS CULLED

FOR INFORMATION
This list is to be used in conjunction with Chapter II. Note that collective works are listed first and after them individual authors. Much use was also made of the Onomasticon of the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, Volumes II ("C") and III ("D").

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AUTHOR OR WORK</th>
<th>EDITION USED</th>
<th>HOW CULLED</th>
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<tr>
<td>Epistolographi Graeci</td>
<td>Rudolph Hercher, ed. (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1965 reprint of 1873 ed.).</td>
<td>&quot;Index Nominum et Rerum&quot; Individual authors are not listed below due to their number.</td>
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<td><em>Paradoxographorum Graecorum Reliquiae</em></td>
<td>Alexander Giannini, ed., (Milan: Istituto Editoriale Italiano, 1966).</td>
<td>&quot;Index Nominum&quot;. Due to the vast number of authors in this volume, they are not listed separately below.</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Paradoxographi Scriptores Rerum</em></td>
<td>Antonius Westermann, ed., (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1963 reprint of 1839, ed.).</td>
<td>No index, read through. No index, read through. Note that virtually all the works contained here are in Giannini. As with Giannini individual authors are not listed below.</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Servii Grammatici qui Geruntur in Vergilli Carmina Commentarii</em></td>
<td>George Thilo and Hermann Hagen, eds., (3 Vols.; Hildesheim: Olms, 1961) (Thilo-Hagen below).</td>
<td>Servius was checked through the index of Mountford (cf. below under &quot;Donatus&quot;) which was written to provide an index to this work. The minor commentaries contained in Vol. III fasc.2 were all culled either as scholia or by being read through in the case of lexica.</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Aesopus, Proverbia</em></td>
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<td>Apostolius et Arsenius</td>
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<td>Avienus, <em>Descriptio Orbis Terrae</em></td>
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<td>Dionysius Periegetes Descriptio Orbis</td>
<td>(= GGM II.103-176) See also &quot;Eustathius&quot;, &quot;Scholia in Dionysii Orbis Descriptionem&quot; and &quot;Paraphrasis Dionysii Orbis Descriptionis&quot;. Note that the following are based on Dionysius' work: &quot;Avienus&quot; &quot;Priscianus&quot; (qq.v.).</td>
<td>Read through with the list.</td>
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<td>b) Commentarii in</td>
<td>Matthaeus Devarius, Index in Eustathii Commentarios in Homeri Iliadem et Odysseam (= Hildesheim: Olms, 1960 reprint of 1821 ed.)</td>
<td>Devarius' index read through with list. Text itself checked against all passages from Homer known to deal with Crete.</td>
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<td>Grammaticus Ambrosianus</td>
<td>August Nauck, ed., Lexicon Vindobonense (Hildesheim: Olms, 1965 reprint of 1867 ed.).</td>
<td>Read through. Of the other works in this collection, only the &quot;Lexicon Vindobonense&quot; (q.v.) read through.</td>
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<td>(= Thilo-Hagen III.fasc.2, 523-524).</td>
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<td>Gregorius Cyprius</td>
<td>(= Paroemiographi I, 349-378; II, 54-134).</td>
<td>Both works read through.</td>
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<td>Hannon Carthaginensis, Periplus</td>
<td>(= GGM I.1-14).</td>
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1The problem of Herodianus and the "reconstituted" text of him issued by Lentz is too vast to be an issue here. It was consulted in the hopes that the genuine fragments of Herodianus (such as those in Theognostus) would contain useful information. Unfortunately, most references to Crete were found to be wholesale borrowings from Stephanus Byzantius.
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<td>Herodotou Lexeis</td>
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<td>&quot;Index Nominum&quot; covering Theogony, Works and Days, Shield, Fragments.</td>
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<td>Maurice Schmidt, ed., Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon (5 Vols.; Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1965 reprint of 1862, Halle ed.).</td>
<td>e) Thalassai; f) Krenia, Pegai, Phreata, Ocheto; g) Limenes; h) Limnai; i) Nesoi; j) Ore; k) Oroi, Stelai; l) Pedia; m) Petrai, Akte, Aigialos; n) Poleis; o) Potomoi; p) Phylai, Phratria; q) Choria.</td>
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<td>Isadorus Characenus,</td>
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<td>Gustav Parthey and Moritz Pinder, eds., Itinerarium Antonini Augusti et Hierosolymitanum (Berlin: F. Nicolai, 1848).</td>
<td>&quot;Index&quot;</td>
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<td>Lexeis meth' Historion</td>
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The following read through. Codd. Reg. 2720 (pp. 4-19), 2631 (pp. 20-52), 2720 (pp. 52-56), 2630 (pp. 56-58), 2636 (pp. 59-81), 2669 (pp. 82-162). Cod. Coisl. 347 (pp. 164-176), Cod. Bodl. Auct. II.ii (pp. 177-197),
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<td>b) Epitome Geographiae Artemidori</td>
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<td>a) Hartmut Erbse, ed., <em>Scholia Graeca in Homerii Iliadem</em> (Scholia Vetera) (3 Vols. in progress; Berlin: DeGruyter, 1969-1974).</td>
<td>Checked as with all scholia as well as also checking against relevant passages from Eustathius. The volumes published cover Books 1-14.</td>
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<td>Two scholia (Cod. Reg. 2556 and 2766) appear in Erbse's <em>sigla</em> and thus were not checked again here.</td>
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This work was read twice in an attempt to reconcile the results of my reading with those of Faure's. Faure, "La Crète aux Cent Villes," Krētika Chronika, 13 (1959) 187 n. 44, mentions Theognostus and says he names 14 Cretan cities, of which 6 are unknown. Actually, only 5 seem to be unknown elsewhere. Pronos (q.v.) has other testimonia as to its existence. The major discrepancy comes, however, in that after two readings, I can find only 12 cities that can be said to be definitely Cretan, i.e. they are said to be Cretan by Theognostus or their name only appears in Crete.

They are: Phaistos (p. 12); Olos (p. 49); Atrikos (p. 59); Temikos (p. 60); Glenos (p. 65); Pronos (p. 66); Drēros (p. 69); Aēros (p. 71); Praisos and Knōsos (p. 72); Kytaion and Rhytaion (p. 127). As Faure does not list the 14 cities he had found I am at a loss to find the other two. I do, however, not include such entries in Theognostus as Miletos (p. 75), Phoínix (p. 40), Boibe (p. 108) or Ide (p. 109) as there is nothing to prove these sites are those bearing these names on Crete. There is some chance, however, that Lykaistos (p. 23) does apply here.
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<td>Zenodorus</td>
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APPENDIX II
NOTES TO APPENDIX II

Appendix II represents a full Index Scriptorum for the text of the present work. While most references are to works quoted in the text, also included are works merely cited above.
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<td>Apollónia</td>
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<td>ad 498-499</td>
<td>Amnisos</td>
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<td>Anonymus Ravennas</td>
<td>5.21</td>
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<td>Aigaion, Alysí</td>
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<td>Boiai</td>
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| s.v. "Aptera" |
| "Arkesion" |
| "Achaiinea" |
| s.v. "Achaiinea" |
| p. 30 (ed. Schoene) |
| 5.31 |
| ad 498-499 |
| 2.584 |
| 2.711 |
| 2.735 |
| 9.152 |
| ad 19.186-188 |
| 5 |
| II.475 (ed. Lentz) |
| 481-484 |
| s.v. "Amnesia" |
| "Aptareus" |
| "Aterea" |
| "Thrinia" |
| "Kleitoen hydor" |
| "Hyperteis" |

**SITE WHERE FIRST PRINTED**

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| Arkesion Antron |
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| Achaia |
| Apter a |
| Asos |
| Amnisos |
| Amyklaion |
| Boibê |
| Asterousia |
| Aipeia |
| Amnisos |
| Biannos (a) |
| Amnisos |
| Aigaion |
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1. Kissamos
2. Selinon
3. Kydonia
4. Apokorona
5. Sphakia

II. Nome of Rhethymno
6. Rhethymno
7. Hagios Basileios
8. Amari
9. Mylopotamos

III. Nome of Herakleion
10. Malevyzion
11. Kainourio
12. Pyrgotissa
13. Temenos
14. Monophatsio
15. Pedias
16. Biannos

IV. Nome of Lasithi
17. Lasithi
18. Mirabello
19. Hierapetra
20. Sitia

MAP I  NOMES AND EPARCHIES OF CRETE TODAY
MAP 3: NOME OF RHETHYMNO

E | F | G | H | I | J | K |
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Key:
- Rhetymno
- Eleutheria
- Béó
- Alyss
- Keryna
- Stavros
- Axos
- Assia
- Salakos
- Astakos (Lake)
MAP 4: NOMES OF HERAKLEION
MAP 6: RIVERS AND MOUNTAINS OF CRETE MENTIONED IN TEXT
Based on P. Faure, BCH, 84(1960), map between 196 and 197.
The dissertation submitted by Kenneth Francis Kitchell, Jr. has been read and approved by the following committee:

Rev. Raymond V. Schoder, S.J., Director
Professor, Classical Studies, Loyola

Dr. Leo M. Kaiser
Professor, Classical Studies, Loyola

Dr. James G. Keenan
Associate Professor, Classical Studies, Loyola

Re. John P. Murphy, S.J.
Associate Professor, Classical Studies, Loyola

Rev. Joseph S. Pendergast, S.J.
Professor and Chairman, Loyola

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

April 5, 1977

Date

Director's Signature