Fogg Museum, but meanwhile we would like to record here our
great debt of gratitude to him.  

1. DESCRIPTION

Bronze ‘mitra’, 25.2 cms. long and c. 13 cms. (max.) high, with
a small central hole cut just below the top edge and two half-holes
surviving in the edge c. 8 cms. from each corner, where it has been
cut straight across for re-use, after having been hammered flat
(AER). It looks too small and ill-shaped to be any proper protection
when hung from a belt, but similar examples have been found
among larger ‘mitrai’ (AER), so it may have been merely a humble
one which, having been dedicated in a precinct with other armour,
was selected in the course of time to serve as a pinax on which
an agreement was to be inscribed, and stored in the precinct in the
usual way.

The curved bottom and most of one edge is now raggedly broken.
One side (B) ends its inscription with a vocat before the break, but
has lost a small number of letters down its right edge. The other
side (A) has lost in like manner its left edge, and its last surviving
line has nearly all gone in the bottom break. Judged by the slope
of the curved side, this line may in fact have been the final line on
this side, which, because its text starts with a preamble (ὑπό τῆς ἀρχῆς κ. ά.) and may have continued right to the bottom of the bronze,
we have called side A on the assumption that it carries the start
of a text which continued, whether directly or in an addition, on the
other side (B). The surface of A is badly corroded, and in places has
proved very hard to decipher, even after expert cleaning, so that
we can only hope that we have indicated accurately the places
where letter-forms remain uncertain or indecipherable.

A contains 22 (or more?) lines, B has 17; both sides are cut
boustrophodon and start R to L in the usual Cretan way. In both,
the first few lines run fairly straight, following the top edge, but
thereafter all the lines tend to waver in places, and to press on each
other. Both sides appear to be roughly contemporary, and possibly
both were cut by the same hand, though on A the letters are smaller.

Abbreviations: Most of the bibliographical abbreviations used are self-explanatory,
with the possible exception of the following:

AER: A. E. Raubitschek
BCH 1937: van Effenterre, BCH 61 (1937), 338ff.
BCH 1946: van Effenterre, BCH 70 (1946), 68ff.
Bechtel: F. Bechtel, Die griechischen Dialekte, 3 vols., Berlin 1921—24

1 We are also much indebted to Professor R. F. Willetts and Professor C. J.
Ratjgh, who read this article in draft, and greatly aided us by their judgment.
2 Before cleaning, A was almost totally illegible, and B in a little better case.
We wish here to pay tribute to the outstanding results achieved by the Photo-
graphic Studio at the British Museum in the two superb photographic enlarge-
ments which it provided, and which often revealed chisel-strokes that could
not be made out on the bronze itself without the aid of the photograph.
more faintly and carelessly incised, and different in one or two letter forms (see p. 121 below). The final sentence on B is cut more neatly and deeply than the rest, which might indicate that it was added as an afterthought (p. 146).

Letter-height: side A, 0.08—0.06 cms.; side B, 0.04—0.08 cms.

2. SPELLING

As in most archaic inscriptions from Crete χ and υ can also stand for χ and φ respectively, while θ has the normal sign. There is no ρ in the inscription and we have transcribed all words with a smooth breathing. There is only one example of non-restored ξ (see ad A θ): its use seems to be parallel to that of Classical Greek, but not necessarily to that of the archaic inscriptions of e.g. Gortyn. Double consonants are written single (and we have reproduced them as such).

Ε indicates a short [ɛ] and probably a long [ɛ] deriving from the contraction of -εε- (cf. αλευρι * αλευρι in B 7); it also occurs, somewhat unexpectedly, in the ending of the adverbs δε, δε, ωδε, which should contain an inherited ι (see the commentary ad B 3). Η probably indicates a long [ɛ]; it represents the inherited δ and the long [ɛ] arising from compensatory lengthening after the dropping of -ι- in the cluster -ωι- (cf. ημαι * ωμαι).

It also appears in δοματης where it presumably indicates the result of a contraction of -εε- (see the commentary ad A η) and in κηρυγι (where it may correspond to the result of a crisis of κοιλ and another word beginning with η or ι). The spelling ψωματην with a final η is probably due to a mistake.

Ο indicates a short [o] and a long [ό] arising from the contraction of -οο- (το, ιωνατο etc.). O probably indicates a long [ό]; it represents the long inherited δ and, if our interpretation is correct, the result of the crisis of κοιλ and κι in B 12.

For ο see further p. 147; the use of η is largely paralleled in the early inscriptions of Crete: cf. also the verb ηλε inscribed on the pieces of armour from Afriti (n. 47 below).

The use of ρ is discussed below p. 129; unlike its use in other Cretan cities (Gortyn, Eleutherna, Axos, Dreros), it never indicates the second element of a diphthong in preconsonantal position.

3. LETTERING AND DATE

In comparing this text with other archaic Cretan inscriptions, we must remember that it was cut with bronze-worker’s chisels, and that A especially has the air of a job done either hastily, in ‘cursive’ fashion, or by an inept hand, whereas most of the comparative material in Inscriptiones Creticae consists of inscriptions carefully cut on stone.

Alpha Α occurs also on 4th-c. coins from Axos (IC II. v. p. 47), and at Eleutherna (IC II. xii. 16—17), where the lower part of a well-cut text with normal Α (c. 500—475?) was razed and replaced by a text with more hasty lettering including Α; both, according to the editor, being nevertheless close in date. Beta is not represented, unless the odd Α of B 8 could stand for this. If so, no other Cretan text provides a parallel; the nearest would be in the kindred script of Thera, which shows Ν (from earlier ι) in the late archaic period (LSAG 308, fig. 45; cf. also oméga, below). Gamma in B is Α; in A it occurs only in the word γαβό (thrice), showing as a vertical stroke with an uncertain oblique attached to the top (hence it was first read as γανό). Delta is sometimes smaller than the rest (cf. also upsilon), and the bottom bar sometimes does not join the other two — again, suggesting hasty, ‘cursive’ writing. Eta is open. In Lyttos (IC I. xviii. 5—6) and Gortyn (IC IV. 41—71) this seems to be normal in the period c. 600—450, whereas in Axos, Eltynia and Akras (Arkades) Ε is still used beside developed forms of c. 450 or later, as E, I, Iota points to R. Regarding the boustrophedon, so does iota at Akrat (IC I. v. 4, the only epigraphic inscription; c. 460?), except the final example. Νω shows both its early tailed and later tailless forms. Archai Cretan γοπός was φ (cf. Gortyn nos. 1—41, Lyttos, Rhizaena?/Prinias, Setala, g.); here we have φ, a modified form, as in Gortyn no. 64 (c. 475—507?).

Upsilon, often smaller than the other letters in this inscription, has the late archaic, tailless form. Omega is Ω, a form as yet attested only at Lyttos (IC I. xviii; LSAG 308) and on the inscribed pieces of armour found, according to report, at Akrati S. of Lyttos (n. 47 below). Before the discovery of the bronzes, the use of Ω in the stone inscriptions of Lyttos was sufficiently ambiguous to make it uncertain whether the value was ο or ω. Akrati’s one epigraphic inscription shows almost consistently Ω for ω, which could be a later simplification of Ω. Thera also shows Ω for ω in the archaic period, though not invariably (LSAG 308). Punctuation is not used, though in Cretan epigraphic texts on stone (and on some of the armour: AER) the stroke | is almost universal.

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For date we suggest ‘late archaic’, i.e. somewhere around 500 B.C., on the strength of the forms of *ata, *wu, *qoppa, *upsilon (above).

4. PROVENANCE

On the letter forms, the script would appear to centre on the Lyttos-Afrati area; the *omega* is the most significant pointer, but *pi* backs it up, for the form C was normal in Lyttos already c. 600 (and Afrati by c. 600: AER), but elsewhere, except for Gortyn, it only developed later in the 5th century. As well as lacking *omega*, some other states differ from ours in various letter-forms: Axos (vau, *pi*), Eleutherna (*upsilon*, vau, *pi*), Ellyinia (*delta*), Prinias (vau, *pi*).

On the linguistic grounds we should probably exclude a provenance from the extreme west or the extreme east of Crete (-*eo-, -*ko- > -*e-, -*ko-; *tv* with the accusative is replaced by *ek*). One of the most remarkable forms of the inscription, the pronoun *dau*, is also found in Eleutherna and Axos, but if, as we suspect, it is a survival of a pre-Doric form, it probably had a wider distribution than that which we can guess from our meagre evidence. In Central Crete the only town that can be excluded with some certainty on purely linguistic grounds is Gortyn: we know too much about its dialect and some of its features do not agree with those of our text (preservation of *digamma*, presence of *sae* and *delta*, but not of *delta*, infinitives in -*mun* in some early inscriptions etc.). The form *t* of IC I. xviii. 3, A 3 (Lyttos), if it is really equivalent to *t*, *tv* (see *tv* in B I.11), speaks against a connection with Lyttos (and with Axos, where the same form occurs), but the text is too broken to allow a useful comparison. Also in Lyttos (IC I. xviii. 1, 1) we find a form *delta* which the editor understands as *delta*. If that is so, the spelling is different from that attested in our inscription (cf. *delta* in A 10). However, Lyttos 1 is somewhat earlier than our text, and it may well be that *delta* is an archaic spelling (the same use of *z* is found in the earliest inscriptions of Gortyn)⁴.

On balance the epigraphic evidence supports the Lyttos-Afrati area as provenance, and the linguistic evidence does not contradict it, though it provides some slight objections to a Lyttos origin.

5. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Accentuation. As usual the accentuation is purely conventional and has only the value of a running Attic commentary. Even so, some apparent inconsistencies require explanation. We have assumed that the ending of the athematic infinitives was -*mun* and have accented accordingly (e.g. *thi*), though some early Cretan inscriptions show -*mun* forms (see below p. 135). In compounds like e.g. *seva* we have kept the accent on the conventional syllable, without retracting it, since this seems to be the normal use. Similarly we have accented *lai* et al., since in Crete the thematic infinitive ended in -*e*; in agreement with the normal convention (see e.g. Bechtel II 797) we have not retracted the accent in forms like *potake* or *muPOSEI*, but differently from Bechtel (who accents e.g. *teith*), we have preferred to use a circumflex rather than an acute for the second of these forms.

In the second declension we have treated the ending -*e* of the acc. plural as short and have accented accordingly (e.g. *tRP*).

(See next page)

⁴ For the form *delta* in IC I. xviii. 4, 2 see below p. 134.
A. Gods. The Dataleis resolved, and we the city pledged to Spensithios, from the tribes five (representatives) from each, subsistence and immunity from all taxes to him and to his descendants, so that he be for the city its scribe and recorder in public affairs both sacred and secular. No one else is to be scribe and recorder for the city in public affairs, neither sacred nor secular, except Spensithios himself and his descendants, unless Spensithios himself should induce and bid the city, or else the majority of his sons, as many as be adult. (The city) is to give as payment annually to the scribe fifty jug [prochoi] of must and [[ε][9]] of twenty-drachm value (weight?) or ?? fruits, and the must is to be given from whichever plot he wishes to take it; and if the must is not given [[ε][29]] the kosmos in charge [[ε][29]] impurity, [??] if not ?? to them [[ε][172]] to the Kosmos [[ε][9]] precincts [[ε][7]] to have equal share [[ε][39]].

B. The scribe is to have equal share and is to be present at and to participate in sacred and secular affairs in all cases wherever the Kosmos (= board of kosmoi?) may be, the scribe (is to be) also (or: '... equal share, and the scribe too is to be present... may be'); and to whatsoever deity a priest does not -- ? -- its own (sacrifices) (?) = 'to whatsoever deity has not a priest to conduct its own sacrifices' the scribe is to make the public sacrifices and to have the precincts (or, 'the precinct-dues'), and there is to be no ?? seizure, and the scribe is not to take any security, and -- ?? --, but otherwise, nothing at all (or 'it shall be invalid'). As lawful dues to the andreion he shall give ten axes' (weight) of dressed meat, if ?? the others also make offerings, the yearly offering also, and shall ?? collect the ?? portion, but nothing else is to be compulsory if he does not wish to give it. The sacred matters are to be (reserved) for [the] senior member (?). vac.

6. COMMENTARY

A 1. διοι. It is probably one of the earliest occurrences of this opening formula in Crete. For other archaic examples see e.g. IC IV. 43, Ba. 1; 51, 1 and the beginning of the great Gortyn Code (IC IV. 72); the interpretation of the Dberos δεος οὐλον (BCH 1937, no. 1; Meiggs-Lewis, GTH II no. 2) is still disputed.

The shift of ε to i in pro vocative position is well known in Crete. For the evidence and its distribution see Bechtel II 674 and add now the new evidence from Dberos (BCH 1987 and BCH 1940). The change does not seem to have occurred in the extreme East.
and West of Crete, but the early documents are too scanty to allow absolute certainty on the matter. In this inscription it is consistently attested in all derivatives and compounds of θέσ (see below, Σπεντόης and δήμος), and in a few other words: cf. A 3, 8, 9 γενέα (γενέα), A 10 πᾶλες (πᾶλες), A 12 κλεῖδος (κλεῖδος), and possibly B 6 ταύρα (see ad loc.). In none of these cases were the two vowels originally separated by a digamma. For an apparent exception to the ε>ι change (ευήευ) see below ad B 12. In ηήμα and πήλες the change appears to have occurred before a front vowel, though normally it is expected only before a back or a central vowel: it is likely that in both words the i is analogical (cf. θός and e.g. πόλος).

Δαττάλεως. We have found only one place-name resembling this — Δαττόλας, one of the points which defined the boundaries of the territory belonging to Lato in the Hellenistic period (IC I. xvi. 5, 64). If P. Faure is right in his reconstruction of these points, this Dattalla was on the West boundary of the Lato territory, on the heights bordering the East side of the Lasithi plateau; but the inscription gives no clue as to whether the name was that of some natural feature (as the context might seem to imply), or could have included a settlement. The local script of archaic Lato is as yet unknown, but those of her neighbours Dreros and Oloous are attested (BCH 1937, BCH 1946; IC I, xxi. 1) and are unlike the Lyttos-Afrati script which our text resembles (p. 128 above). If the Dateles belonged to the Lato area, then Spensithios (who, we assume, drafted the text) came there from the Lyttos-Afrati area. Against this theory is the fact that he would then have needed a grant of citizenship, yet the evidence in the text points to his being a citizen already (p. 149 below). At least two other possibilities remain. (i) Our city was one of the collections of settlements S. of Lyttos jointly called Arkades (cf. M. Guardiani, IC I p. 6; Levi, Ann. x-xii (1981), “Arkades”, 15ff. especially 17), and was called Datala (or Dattalla). To this it could be objected that in the preamble we would expect simply τῶν, as in archaic Dreros (BCH 1937, no. 1; BCH 1946, no. 2); why, in a decree on a purely internal matter, should it have been thought necessary to put the ethnic? (ii) The Dateles were a startos in this city. The city's name would then remain unknown, though one would like to think that it was Afrati, and that this was the capital of the area Arkades, attested later as 'Arkadia' (Guarducci, IC I p. 6). For similar group-names cf. Aischelis (Lato), Alithaleis (Gortyn), Lato, Dreros, Knosos, Echaneis (Lato): see IC ad loc. Theory (ii) would mean that, for some reason, only this startos was required to approve this particular resolution before action was taken (cf. Dreros BCH 1946, no. 4: Στάρσου θάνατος διάφορος); and that is what, in fact, the wording appears to emphasize: ξεδεδεί Αρκάδαμος, καὶ ξεσάνθωκας τῶν. The city as a whole juggles itself to carry out what the Dateles have resolved — viz., to appoint, on certain terms, a poimēnias. Cf. IC IV. 80, 7: τεδεὶ τὸ τοῦ σταρτοῦ καὶ τεδεὶ τῶν ὄρτενων, which appears to separate the startos from the citizen-body (Guarducci, IC loc. cit.; Willetts, 121f.). That the startos concerned was that which supplied the Kosmos, and the same could reasonably be inferred for the Dateles here, since the new official was to be so closely connected with the Kosmos that the startos which provided the Kosmos would surely claim the right to make the decision (p. 148 below). We follow here the interpretation of startos as meaning clan, genos. The clans which provided the Kosmos annually were a restricted number (Arist. Pol. 1273a), like the Eupatridai of pre-Solonik Athens.

καὶ ξεσάνθωκας. The shift from impersonal (ξεδεδεί) to personal (ξεσάνθωκας) construction is unusual, but no other interpretation is convincing. The fact that the subject (the collective noun πόλεις) is in the singular and the verb in the plural does not create any  

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5 Europa, Festschrift Grumach, 1968, 94ff.; for a general discussion on the boundaries of Lato see van Effenterre-Bougrat, KChron. 21 (1965), 91ff. However, the new inscription published by van Effenterre and Bougrat does not mention Dattala.

6 However tempting, any connection with the Attic Δαττολής 'banqueters' is unlikely, since the absence of the i would remain unjustified.

7 Daretie—Hauсsoulière—Reichau, 11f. 1 144ff.; Willetts, 28f. and 115ff.; Meiggs—Lewis, GHI p. 99. For other views cf. (1) Basolt—Swoboda, Gr. St. 1 181 n. 7 and II 748; Latte, Klein Schriften, 305; (ii) M. Guardiani, IC IV p. 191.


9 If the correct reading were κρούσμα one could think of an imperative infinitive. If so, however, (a) it could not be an argument and should be taken as a preposition ἔχω (from ἔχω or from ἔχει), though a similar compound is not attested in Crete; (b) we should expect the logical subject to be in the accusative, πόλεις could be an accusative plural, but we require a singular and not a plural.
difficulty: parallels are found e.g. in IC I, ix. 1, D. 128 (Dreros);
ibid. xvii. 6, 6 (Lebena); IC IV. 43, B a 2; ibid. 146, 6; ibid. 162, 3;
ibid. 233, 1 (cf. 36 μή πρέσσαν & βολή, έθηκαν & πόλες, ἔδωκαν & πόλεις etc.).
Somewhat more surprising is the absence of the article before πόλες, but on
this the use of archaic inscriptions is far from
strict. In this same text cf. πόλι πόλισ βέροι in IC IV. 41, iii. 17, 64νον πόλι ibid. 84, 2 and
contrast τα το πόλις θείμεν in IC IV. 78, 8. Cf. also ήδη πόλι BCH 1387
no. 1 (Dreros), ήδη ίδρυμε BCH 1446, no. 2 (Dreros), and τον πόλι
in IC II. xii. 16, A b 3 (Eleutherna).

More remarkable is the appearance of an ending of the first
person plural in an archaic inscription from Crete. So far no evidence
for either -μες or -μεν had appeared in the early texts; the later
evidence seemed to preserve some traces of -μες (e.g. in IC I. ix. 1,
C104: Dreros; ibid. xxii. 4, C xiii 15, 71: Olous; IC II. i. 2, 36:
Allaria), though -μεν appears in some inscriptions influenced by the
koine (cf. Bechtel II 755ff.). Unfortunately here the final letter is
unclear; there is room for a σαιν, but there is no clear trace of the
fourth stroke.*

The unaccompanied form σπένδα was hitherto unattested in
Crete. Clearly the meaning here is “solemnly pledge, promise”. For
σπένδασθαι with a special meaning in Cretan, see Willetts, Code, 21
and note 40, 60 (ad IV 52), and Glotta 43 (1966), 251ff.

2. Σπενδήθηκαν. The name seems to be a hapax, though its
formation (from σπένδα and θηδί; cf. e.g. Μεθίδης, Τυμοσίθης etc.) is clear.
Bechtel, HPN 404, knows only two names connected with σπένδα, and
neither of them is from Crete. We owe to the
courtesy of O. Masson a reference to the Cyrenaean Σπονδάρχος
(SEG XX, no. 716, 21), with which one may compare the rare
substantive σπόνδαρχος. If Σπενδήθηκαν is in fact not attested else-
where, this can hardly count as peculiar: for the originality of
Cretan onomastics see e.g. L. Robert, Noms Indigènes I, 306,
390—1, and O. Masson, BzNf. 16 (1966), 166 and note 46. The
name shows the same root as the preceding verb; this is striking,
but in our view coincidental.

* A reading έκλεύσαμε would be the more interesting since recently G.-J.-
M.-J. Te Riele (Mnemosyne, 21, 1968, 340ff.) has shown that the only evidence
that we have for Arcadian points to -μες and not to -μεν as the ending of
the first person plural. This may well be indicative for Arcado-Cyprian,
and it would follow that, if we had a -μες form here, this could count as a
substratum survival.

58 Cf. also IC III. vi. 7 A, 12—13: [μενεσθείτο Σκιάθος & κόσμος καὶ άλλοι
dόνος [πολίτης Πολιού], where 12 could be reached by having 3 representa-
tives from each of four tribes.
59 See also Tod, GHI, II, 138, 2—4, where the tribes ratified (ενδύρασεν) the
city’s decision; we owe this reference to J. K. Davies.
60 Cf. Willetts, 254ff. n. 1.
All these words are attested with a 
appear repeatedly in the Great Code and elsewhere; 
In the old inscriptions of Gortyn also preserve an
internal post-consonantal 
in 
(cf. IC IV. 20, 1; 73, x 54; 144, 7 etc.). In this inscription we have 
more likely than 1) without internal 
(A 21 and B 1). In this respect the

dialect of our text is more advanced than that of e.g., Gortyn,
but one may compare for instance the 7th-c. inscription from Derron
(BC 1987, no. 1) in which 
written without 
(van Effenterre ad loc. and cf. 
1946, no. 3).

2-3 
The same phrase (ovic 
'that' occurs in a similar
context in IC II. 1, in Axos, which concerns the fixing of
payment for somebody's services to the city. The spelling 
for 
(i.e. 
) is not unexpected; the assimilation of a
voiceless plosive to the aspirate of the following syllable is widely
exemplified in Crete (cf. e.g. 
, 
, etc.); see Bechtel II 713 with a list of examples from Knossos and Gortyn, and add
the personal name 
of IC IV. 988, 6.

For the historical implications of this phrase see p. 149.

3. Clearly this means here as elsewhere a man's direct
descendants only (cf. 
, 
, etc.); for this noun in Crete
see IC III. iv. 7, 7; 8, 48 (two oath-formulae from Itanos). For
a recent discussion of the meaning of 
D. Harvey, Class.
Phil. 64 (1969), 226ff. (with the previous references).

Obviously the new office was to be hereditary, unless the family
chose itself to renounce its right. Sparta was another conservative
Doric city in which certain skills were hereditary: cf. Hdt. vi. 60
and LSA 187 (where it was suggested that in Sparta the mason-
letterers may have been confined to one family-guild, because of the
'family likeness' of the lettering in Spartan local inscriptions).

3-4. 
Grammatically and syntactically this clause
causes a number of problems. In classical Greek 
or 
are used with the infinitive in a strictly consecutive meaning, but in
early Greek it is often impossible to distinguish between final
and consecutive value. A meaning such as 'on condition that' is also
possible (cf. Kümmer-Gerth II 504ff.). We have therefore translated
(p. 125) 'so that', as this English phrase can mean 'with the result
that', 'in order that', or 'on condition that'. Normally neither 
or 
are followed by 
, though there are a few examples of 
+ 
infinitive after clauses indicating a condition (Küm-
ner-Gerth II, 507ff.). Because of the rarity of this construction we
could suggest here that 
not the equivalent of Attic 
, but that of Attic 
in 
(cf. Cretan 
versus Attic 
, etc.). Yet this seems
impossible in view, inter alia, of the fact that 
and 
are attested elsewhere in Doric. However, the major problem here is not
so much the slight peculiarity of the construction as the fact that
is not attested in any archaic Cretan inscription. This has been
well stated by M. H. Jeffery (Auschliche Forschungen, I, Leipzig
1912, 90ff.): 'Auffalligste fehlt ja gerade Kreta unter den
Gebieten mit Belegen (soll. of 
) aus alter Zeit. Die Stellen, an
denen man hier 
lieht, sind ganz selten und stammen erst aus
dem 8. Jh., 
ist im 3. Jh., 
um 100 v. Chr. belegt;

ist dort seit dem 3./2. Jh. zu finden. Gerade für Zentralkreta,
wo wir die ältesten und meisten Inschriften haben, fehlen 
, 
, 
; dafür wird dort 
, 
, 
gebraucht. . .
Für das Zentrum Kretas unterliegt es kaum einem Zweifel, daß man
im 6./4. Jh. 
icht gebräuchte. . . . Hätte hier das ehemals viel-
leicht gemeingriezische 
, 
, 
, die Stelle von älteren oder 
ange
tommen, um erst im 4./3. Jh. von 
(mit 
) wieder abgelöst
zu werden?'. In spite of the newly discovered inscriptions the
position is still much the same as that described by Hermann.
The only new fact is a doubtful occurrence of 
in an inscription from Axos, dated by the editor, G. Manganaro, to the end of
the fourth century (Historia, 15 (1966), 11ff., line 17 = Sokolowski
LS CG 145). However, we should not forget Hermann's suggestion
(loc. cit.) that 
or 
were once 'gemein-griezisch': our
inscription may now provide the evidence necessary to substantiate this
theory for Crete.

4. 
The 
(e.g. in IC III. iii. 4, 14) and 
(e.g. in the Gortyn Code: IC IV. 73, x 42)
are both found in Crete. In the early inscriptions 
seems to be the normal
form, while 
seems to appear only with the koine. The new
form 
now allows us to reconstruct for this adjective a somewhat
different historical sense from which we could have guessed
before. The form expected is 
(< 
), for which there is
evidence in Linear B and which can be restored in part at least of
the Homeric evidence; it is likely that the hiatus disappeared at
an early stage and the adjective became disyllabic.15 Later it was

13 For the Mycenaean data and for this interpretation of the Homeric evidence
see Ruligh, Études sur la grammaire et la vocabulaire du grec mycéen,
Amsterdam 1967, 198ff. and 204.
The formation of the verb is not altogether clear. If it is built on φοίνικας we should expect an -ξομο form (see Debrunner, Wortbildung, 119); an -ξομο form may have been influenced by some other verb in which the -ος was etymologically justified, or by the substantive φοίνικας. Also, it could be argued on the evidence of εξωρεξος that -ξομο was a favourite suffix in Cretan, and that its distribution was wider than that of the similar suffix in Attic. Debrunner (op. cit., 192) has pointed out that in Greek -ξομο rather than -ξος is normally used to form verbs derived from colour names. Obviously this is not sufficient to prove that the original meaning of φοίνικας was something like ‘to make red’, and had no direct connection with ‘Phoenician’, but this possibility should be kept in mind.

μυκωνεῖσθαι. In the meaning ‘to serve as a μύρισμ’, the verb is attested elsewhere (cf. LSJ s. v.), but not in Crete. However, the substantive μύρισμ, from which it derives, is well known from the Gortyn Code and from other Cretan inscriptions: see below p. 150.

It is difficult to account phonetically for the final η of this form: the most likely explanation is that it is due to a mistake of the scribe. The correct infinitive μυκωνεῖσθαι is attested in the following line.

8. τοῦ. This pronominal form is most interesting. In Gortyn and in Central Crete in general we have evidence for οὖς τοῦ and for δῆς; in Crete ῶς is attested only in two inscriptions from Eleuthera (IC I. xii. 11, 3; ibid. 22, B 14) and, more doubtfully, in the Axos text (IC II. v. 20, A 5). Outside Crete ῶς occurs frequently in Arcadia and there are rare instances from Cyprus: this is probably sufficient to define the form as Arcado-Cyprian and to support the suggestion that in Crete ῶς is an archaic element belonging to the pre-Doric substratum. The alternative hypothesis, that ῶς is due to Arcadian influence in the Doric period, seems more unlikely.

The meaning of the form can be established from this text and from the two texts from Eleuthera: in all three cases the pronoun refers back to something or somebody previously mentioned: thus its function may be compared with that of Attic (and Gortynian) οὖς and not with that of Attic δῆς, as is normally stated (cf. e.g. the editor ad IC I. xii. 11, 3). The point is worth stressing because

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replaced by a new analogical formation: the -νος suffix (which, in its turn, originated in the -νο- stems: ἄθος < *-ο-νος) was added to the θις stem of the substantive θις ( < ἑδε): for similar formations cf. the Cretan ἄνθροπος and especially the Ionic ἄνθροπος. A close parallel to θις is provided by the Lesbian θίς (Alcaeus and inscriptions) for which E.-M. Hamm had already suggested a derivation from θις-ης. This hypothesis is now confirmed by our evidence.

It is conceivable that in archaic Crete θίς had a wider distribution than our evidence would suggest, but in any case θις, built analogically on ἄνθρωπος, soon took over and remained as the only epichoric form till θις was reintroduced under heterodialectal influence.

8. τοῦναδε. The verb is a hapax leg.; since it is coupled with μυκωνεῖσθαι its basic meaning must be ‘to do φοίνικας, to write’. The τοῦναδε will then be the scribe, i.e. whoever writes and keeps records. It is possible that the same verb should be restored in an early inscription from Eleuthera, which has also other points in common with the language of our inscription (τοῦναδε: IC II. xii. 11, 3). For the historical implications see below p. 150.

At the beginning of line 5 the ζ of τοῦναδε is uncertain; at the end of the same line it would be possible to read either -ξομο or -ξον. (We can see a vertical, and a horizontal bar on top of it; the bottom of the vertical is uncertain, but there is possibly another horizontal). If the correct reading is τοῦναδε (which seems most likely) the use of ζ is interesting. It is not unparalleled, but it differs for instance from that of the Gortyn Code (where ζ is replaced by ζε) and conceivably even from that of the earliest inscriptions from Gortyn (cf. Guarducci ad IC IV. 5, 2). However, even in Gortyn ζ appears where classical Greek has θ (cf. θεί in IC IV. 65, 2), and the participle δείξατος is found in the inscription of Eleuthera mentioned above (line 4); moreover another example of ζ with this value perhaps occurs in Axos: cf. ἑρρογεῖα in IC II. v. 3.14. See below ad line 10.

14 E.-M. Hamm, Grammatik zu Sappho und Alkaios, Berlin 1957, 57. C. Gallavotti, Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni, xxiili (1962), 88, derives the Lesbian θις from a *θιςαρι- grade of the root *θιςαρ- which he reconstructs for θις, but this could hardly explain the Cretan form. It should be added that in Crete there is at least the need for the innovation is clear, if one remembers that after the change of θις to θις the supposed adjective θις or θις had fallen out of step with the substantive.
τός or τόνης with the meaning ‘this object here’ is now attested in two and possibly three of the newly-found bronze mitrae from Afrati. If our text had the same provenance, we could reconstruct for this locality a pronominal system which included both δοῦν and δῶς with different meanings (δοῦν looks backwards; δῶς looks forward and may also indicate the ‘here and now’); it is remarkable that such a system would be in all respects parallel to that of Arcadian.

κρωθεὶς is attested elsewhere (see LSJ s. v., ii) in the meaning ‘induce, persuade’, and this is probably the correct interpretation here. A form of the same verb is found in IC IV. 21, 7 in what appears to be a legal context.

9. κόλοντο. For κόλοντο, ‘to order’ see Bechtel II 788 (and add to the references given IC I. xxiii. 1.5; II. xii. 1b, a—b 5; IV. 41. v. 8).

10. ἱεροῦς εἰπὼν τῶν [υἱῶν οἴ] τῶν [υἱῶν: space suffices for two letters only, which seems to exclude the possibility of [υἱά]ων here. For a similar formula to indicate the majority in a group see μιᾶν δ’ ἱερᾶ κ’ οἰ τῶν ἱερῶν οἰκίων in IC IV. 81, 16f.; 182, 10f. (Gortyn).

δοσις. It is worthwhile to compare this form with those attested elsewhere in Crete. In the earliest inscriptions of Gortyn there is evidence for δοσις (e.g. in IC IV. 4, 1; 13, 1 2; 19, 1); later this was replaced by δασις (cf. οὐνοματα in the Gortyn Code: IC IV. 78, 40 etc.). Yet a different spelling appears in a third century inscription from Cnosos (IC I. viii. 5 bis, 7): ὀδασίς.

In Lyttos we have evidence for δοσις in a very early inscription (IC I. xviii. 1, 1) and a mysterious δοσις appears before a break in a text roughly contemporaneous with ours (IC I. xviii. 4, 2); if this were a mistake for δοσις it would show that in at least one feature the language of our inscription contrasts with that of Lyttos. δοσις is nowhere attested — to our knowledge — in the archaic inscriptions of Crete; the nearest forms are δοσικός and δοσικός found respectively at Deros and Itanos in much later inscriptions (IC I. ix. 1, 118; IC III. iv. 8, 5, 32). If this evidence were significant, in spite of its date, there might be some ground for arguing that the -ς- treatment of the -ς- cluster was limited to Central-East Crete. However, an early inscription of Deros (BCH 1946, no. 3 = SEG. XXIII 530) seems to include a form δοσις which may

be the equivalent of δοσις. If so, should we assume that the whole of Crete shared an early pronunciation [otsos] which was then replaced either by [ottos] or by [ossos] according to the locality? δρομῆς. This nominative plural of δρομῆς shows here an unexpected et; elsewhere -ς nouns always have uncontracted forms with ε (e.g. δρομᾶς; cf. Bechtel II 731). Here it seems unlikely that η represents the contraction of -ς- (cf. στᾶν in B 7, with -ς- from -ς-), and one may wonder if δρομῆς is from δρομῆς, and the contraction preceded the shortening of the long ε. Some evidence for the presence of -η- in the declension of the -ς- stems even in Cretan is perhaps available in ποικίλως of IC IV. 23, 3 (which could be a simple genitive of poikilos).

Children of the poinikastas are here shown to be citizens, for δρομῆς (‘runner’; one who practises in the δύμα, or public gymnasion) is an adult citizen, one who has now reached the age of physical maturity and legal responsibility. We do not know what was the age of majority in Crete; a boy joined his ‘herd’ (ἄγος) at seventeen (Hesych. s. v. ἀγος). His coming-of-age is usually believed to have been at twenty years, on the analogy of other states (Athens, Boeotia, Aphytis; cf. Guarducci, IC IV, p. 150; Willetts, 12).

11. Σόμαυς. In the earliest inscriptions from Gortyn some of the infinitives show the ending -μα, (e.g. ἱμαμ in IC IV. 21, 3), but the normal ending is -μα (e.g. ἱμαμ in IC IV. 41). In the Gortyn Code η is absent but there is no doubt that the correct reading e.g. for the infinitive of the verb ‘to be’ is ἡμα. However, in other parts of Crete the -μα ending is regular even in the earlier texts; cf., for instance, ἱμαμ in Afrati IC I. v. 4, 11 and the infinitives in Lyttos IC I. xviii. 1, 2; 5, 18. For the purpose of accentuation we have treated this ending as short (־μα), but obviously this cannot be proved.

μοθος. Since only the poinikastas himself received τροφή, we assume that the μοθος went towards feeding his household.

τὸ ἐνοτός. The genitive of time is often used in Crete; cf. e.g. IC IV. 72, 110: τῆς ἐμίρος ἔργων and IC IV. 144, 1—2: ἔργων ἐν οὐδότως.

12. τετραθρόντα τε, κτλ. For a similar μοθος given in Crete to other employees, see Gortyn, IC IV. 79, 3ff.: κραθῆναι καὶ τοίμα ὑπῆρχαι μεθομος καὶ γλυκάκια πρόωρα ἔκσεων; ibid. 144, 4: οἱ μεθομοι καὶ ἔκσεων γλυκάκια πρόωρα. Εἰκαστος is also mentioned in IC IV. 77, 3 ב: ὑποσκούον εὖ, γλυκάκια τρ[π]ῆς,
and in the Great Code the adopted son must give to his hetairaia 

ταρσίου κοι πρόσων μονο (IC IV. 72, x 37ff.). Cf. also Axos IC II. v. 1. For the amount considered necessary for a household's subsistence, cf. (e. g.) the 82 dinarii of barley reckoned to come annually from the klers of a Spartiate (Plut., Lycurgus 8, 4; cf. p. 151 below).

κλάδος. There is no doubt that here and in lines 14 and 15 we have a by-form of the word γλάδος 'must, new wine' frequently attested in Gortyn33. This is probably the earliest occurrence of the word. The first κ is puzzling, but this inscription offers another example of a similar phenomenon: see ἐπιλοπεία in line 18 and cf. the usual Cretan form ἐπλοπέια. Two other words may be quoted in this connection: ἄντριπιον replaces the normal ἄντριβιον in an early inscription from Axos (IC II. v. 1, 8) and Hesychius quotes a form κλάδος which he glosses as γάλα· Κρής, and which must be compared with the Homeric γλάδος 'milk.' The opposite phenomenon, i.e., a voiced plosive appearing in the place of a voiceless plosive, is also attested in Crete: cf. βρυσταντιον (for πρυτανίων) in IC I. xvi. 1, 41, βρυστιον (for τρυστιον) in IC IV. 146, 664, ἀγγυλος (for ἀγγυλοτος) in IC I. xxii. 2, 8. The τ of ἄντριπιον is usually explained as an attempt to express a real plosive in a period in which the plosives had been changed into fricatives. In this word the change would have been prevented by the preceding nasal (Bechtel II 572). For the other forms assimilation (Ἀγγυλοτος), dissimilation (βρυσταντιον, βρυστιον?), and metathesis (κλάδος?) have been advocated34. In the case of κλάδος and ἐπιλοπεία we could again speak of assimilation, but, in view of the new evidence, we should now try to offer a unitary explanation for these apparently incongruous phenomena. The one factor that all the forms mentioned have in common is that the plosive in question always appears before a liquid (ρ or λ). If so, perhaps we should not think of assimilation or dissimilation so much as of a common phonetic change that affected all the clusters of plosive + liquid in Crete. Is it conceivable that alternations such as κλ/γλά, πα/βλά, τρ/βρ etc. are only attempts to express the neutralization of voiced and voiceless consonants before liquid? In other words, could we think that in Cretan there was no phonemic distinction between e.g. [kl] and [gl]?

13. κρύσταλλος. This remains obscure. The only certain letters are the first four, the epsilon, and (we think) the san. The preceding τε points to a κόπω which should follow. This is probably to be found in κρύσταλλος, if we assume that there was a crisis of κόπω and a word beginning with either η or ε (for parallels cf. Bechtel II 716). It is tempting to suggest κόπω η, because of the following κόπω ης but the succeeding ηον would then begin ηε, unless we assume a double crisis from κόπω η ηενάθ. The space after ν would allow for an ολο (νυθ'], but we see no actual traces35.

κορτάδικος. The reading seems clear. Rather than postulate a diminutive of δαρκωτάς, one of the Cretan forms of δρακω, it is better to think of an adjectival compound κορτάδικος, here acc. plur. For this form we may possibly have a parallel at Lyttos (IC I. xviii. 5, 7), in a fragment of a law (c. 475–50?), which ends one clause with a rassura beneath which on Halbherr's copy can be read -μος. Rassura means the alteration of a detail in the law, and one of the details which are apt to need alteration in course of time is the amount of a penalty; cf. Papagiannopoulos-Palain, Polemon 3 (1947), 17ff., pl. A' (fragment from Attica, c. 500–480?); κρύσταλλος σφικτε ρασουρα, and for general comparison, Eretria (IG xii. 9. 1273): ξαν με ταυριν (rassura). The Lyttian law may have specified a fine (?) of the value of x drachmai; later the amount was altered, as in the Attic law, but here perhaps by overpainting.

Was this annual allowance for the scribe and his family to be (1) the value of 20 drachmai-coins? or (2) the value of 20 drachmai of iron spits (= 120 oboli)? or (3) simply the weight of 20 drachmai of iron spits? Aeginetan coins were circulating in Crete by c. 500 B. C. (the Aeginetan colony at Kydonia was founded c. 519; on finds of Aeginetan coins cf. Le Rider, Monnaies crétoises du Ve à l'Ve siècle av. J. C., 1966, 168ff., esp. 168, n. 3); a legal fragment at

33 For the etymology of the word γλάδος (from dieuseos? cf. Myc. dieus-w-ko) see J. Chadwick, Minoi ix. 1868, 291ff.
34 More doubtful is the origin of the word; the normal suggestion is that the Cretan form is derived from επλικος (cf. γάλα, γλάδος) through metathesis, while the Homeric form γλάδος would show an assimilation of plosives. However, O. Szemerényi has recently suggested that γλάδος is connected with the IE *weld (KZ 75, 1958, 170ff.). If so, γλάδος would be the original Greek form and the Cretan κλάδος could be derived from it through dissimilation (for a similar suggestion see already Kretschmer, KZ 38, 1896, 471).
36 See especially W. Schulte, KZ 85 (1986), 394ff. = Kleine Schriften, 802ff.; Ernst Fraenkeli, Glotta 2 (1910), 36ff.; Kretschmer, loc. cit. (in note 35) and Szemerényi, loc. cit. (ibid.).
Knosos (IC I. viii. 2: 6th century) mentions ἴδαικος, and one at Axos (JHS 69, 1949, 34: c. 500—475?) ἱδοντα στροφής. Thus ἴδαιδρος could refer to value, whether in coinage or in iron spits. If (3) it refers simply to weight, we do not know what was the weight of a standard spit in Crete c. 500. Courbin (Valorn compared du fer et de l’argent, etc., Annales 14, 1899, 209 ff.) has established the original weight of (a) an Argive spit buried c. 750 B. C. (Tomb I at Argos) as c. 2. 189 kgs., though in another contemporary tomb (Tomb 45) another spit's original weight was rather less (op. cit. 212 f., n. 8); (b) an Argive spit dedicated at the Heraion c. 695 (? ) B. C. as c. 2 kgs., and (c) a spit from Poseidon, buried c. 520 B. C., as about the same as (b). On this evidence did the scribe's unknown annual perquisite weigh c. 240 kgs. (or even more, c. 264), or was the standard Cretan iron spit c. 500 B. C. appreciably smaller than the big θυσιόδορος-types from Argos?

13—14. κορ[ινθιας]. The Gortyn texts IC IV. 79 (6th c.) and 144 (4th c.) refer to pay in kind for workers, and specify, as well as the new wine, barley (κριθές) and figs (στρέμα), and perhaps other goods (see above the commentary to line 12). Like ours, they also mention alternatives: 79, 6: ἐδῶν γι[σαρόμετρον τὸ προκάτο]; 144, 7: ἔφεσαν τοῦτος.

If reading and restoration are correct, the plural of καρπός is unusual. Normally the singular is used in Gortyn (in the Great Code passim, and e. g. in IC IV. 77), but for the generalizing plural 'fruits' of all kind, cf. IC III. iii. 5, 24: μήτῃ γάρ μήτῃ δεξίους καρποῖς φάτειν and 4, 23—5: ἀπελευ οὕτω καὶ ἔπεχεμένως καὶ ἀπεχομένως αὐτὰ καὶ τούτων τῶν καρπῶν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, κ. t. l. Cf. also BM 116, 973, 7 (Cyprus: Amathus) and Xen. Oec. 5. 20.

The general sense would seem to be that the ποτικάτας is to receive as pay 60 prochoi of mus, and (perhaps) — of 20 dr. value (or weight), or foodstuffs equivalent to that. Until we know the

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meaning of —s, and the value at this date of 20 drachmai, coins or weight, it is impossible to say if this pay is substantially less than that described in the two later Gortynian texts (above), which specify 100 prochoi of new wine, and 100 mediomai of dry goods.

14. ἵππος. In Central Crete the normal form of ἵππος before a consonant is ἱππος (Bechtel II 716), and no doubt it is this preposition that we must recognize here.

Our interpretation of the words that follow is only tentative. It could be possible to read τούτον ἵππον, but this would imply a substantial use of the singular of ἵππος which we have no parallels in Crete: in Gortyn the ἵππος seem to be 'finiimi possessores' (cf. M. Guar- ducci ad IC IV. 81). On the other hand the word ἵππος, which we recognized here, though not attested in post-Mycenaean Crete, is known from an inscription of Mytilene (IG XII 2 74 = Schwyzer DGE 621) where it seems to indicate a portion of land and more particularly of vineyard (ἀντίθεν ἵππος): cf. H. Pistorius, Beiträge zur Geschichte von Lesbos, Bonn 1913, p. 154. The same word appears in the phrase τοῦ τοῦτον ἵππος ἱππος... 'valleys' or 'valley portions', in the so-called Papadakias Bronze, a sixth century inscription of uncertain origin, but written in Locrian characters (IG IX. 14 fasc. 3, 609, 20; cf. LSAG pp. 105 and 106 no. 3, Meiggs- Lewis GHI no. 28). Argos of this inscription Claude Vatin has pointed out that traces of Cretan influence are to be found in its vocabulary (BCCH 87, 1963, 1 ff.); if so, yet another common element between the language of Crete and that of the Papadakias Bronze could hardly be surprising.

The sentence raises the important question of land-tenure, but unhappily the undeciphered parts make certainty impossible. The subject of ἴδαικος is not specified in either line 11 or here, but ἴδαικος is clearly implied. Then follows: 'but if z does not give the must — the kosmos in charge — impurity —'. This last part suggests the formula, often used elsewhere, whereby the kosmos was required to enforce the law — in this case, compel the hand-over. Grammatically the clause offers two possibilities: (1) the πολίς is still the implied subject of the verb, or (2) there is another subject either expressed

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20 κορ[ινθιας], a variant form of κόρινθια καὶ κόρινθος (cf. Hesych. s. v.) is also possible. Mention of a receptacle could fit here, if the word concealed in κριθές[ should also mean an utensil of some kind: cf. IC IV. 79, 6 and 144, 7 (above), which appear to speak of receptacles equal in measure to the προκάτο (79) or to some other measure (144). We would then have to translate: "... and [?] [?]ar to the value of 20 drachmai or pots...". We could also think of a reading (and restoration) κορ[ινθιας (i.e. χολοθας); χολοθας could be used here in any of the technical meanings listed in LSJ s. v., but the use of the plural creates difficulties. N. B. The g(?) was read too late to add to Fig. 1.

21 One early copy of this stone (Barossi, 1877 A. D.), which had disappeared by the early 19th century, reads καρπόν: Guaducci ad loc.

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22 Professor L. R. Palmer has suggested that the Mycenaean μυροθύτας is a compound of μύρος, and the name the "possessor of a μύρος, piece of cult land" (The Interpretation of Mycenaean Greek Texts, 1963, p. 480). We owe to Professor C. J. Enfield the suggestion that the Attic μύρα (θύτας), 'generally, of olives that grow in the precincts of temples', LSJ s. v. is connected with μύρος.

10 ΚΑΙΘΟΣ IX
(in the undeciphered part) or understood. The problem could be solved if we knew how this transaction was in fact conducted. As we envisage it, there are at least two main interpretations: either (i) the state owned communal land and Spensthisios was paid from the produce of one of its plots, or (ii) the most mentioned here was produced in a privately-owned plot; like all other citizens (see p. 151 below) its possessor had to pay taxes in kind to the state, and Spensthisios’ *mēthesis* was taken from these contributions. We have no clear evidence for the existence of communal land in Crete in the sixth century (see p. 153 below), and (ii) seems by far the most likely suggestion. If so, however, there are again two possibilities. Either Spensthisios selected his must from a common depository where all the must of the tax-payers was brought and kept, or Spensthisios took his wine directly from the most convenient plot and the owner had only to give evidence to the state that he had paid his contribution in this way. If the latter hypothesis were true, this could suggest an interesting interpretation of the *aōtov* clause, namely that the subject is not the *polis* but the owner of the plot selected by Spensthisios. Otherwise the responsibility for ‘not giving’ may have rested with a public official, who might have been mentioned in the broken part of either line 16 (as the subject of *δοθή*) or line 17 (as the object of the *kosmos*’ action). However, it is also possible that, as with *δοθή* above, the implied subject of *δοθή* is still the *polis*, even so, the implication in the writer’s mind would be that *polis* meant de facto the official concerned.

14—15. δοθή ‘from where’: see Bechtel, II 730f.
16—17. Φύσις θεος. Cf. Gortyn, IC IV. 14, fr. g—p 1, φύσις δ ἐπιστής; and for the perfect participle, IG IX. 2. 267 (Thessaly): τὸν τάγην ἄνωντοκοντας. Is this the Kosmos, i.e. the collegium, or a single kosmos? In the latter case, is this the top official later called *πρώτος* or *πρωτός*, whom some scholars identify with the *στρατηγός* (M. Guarducci, IC IV. 80, p. 180; Willetts, 113ff.)? Kosmoi in the plural are mentioned in Ἐν. 9. The interpretation is uncertain, but the obvious one would be that in our city there was more than one kosmos.

18. Φύσις. We do not know who these people are, nor do we know whether we should read *κόσμοι* (nom. plur.) στ., or *κόσμους* (or *κόσμου* l.), dat. plur.

*δισαρισ*. The word *δισαρισ* ‘impunity’ is well attested in Crete; cf. Bechtel II 731. This form has an unexpected τ instead of a β at the beginning; for a possible explanation see above apropos of *κλείσεως*.

19. σήμερα. It is tempting to take this as an infinitive (= *ἐξερεύνα*, but we should expect to have *διώκ-*, not *δε-, before a vowel.

20. τεμάνα. Cf. the commentary on B, line 6.

21. τὸ ρίσον λαόν. For the meaning of this phrase here and in B 1 see below p. 150. A similar expression (τὸ *πόρον* λαόν*κας*) occurs in Deros, BCH 1946, no. 4.

B 1—2. παράμενα καὶ εὐαγγέλοι: for the historical implications see below p. 149. We are uncertain whether this phrase adds something further to τὸ ρίσον λαόν or merely explains it.

3. ταντοῦ δὲ. Adverbs ending in -ά are frequent in Cretan inscriptions. Of those found in this text, ὄλα (B 10) and άνα are attested elsewhere (Bechtel II 760f.), but ταντοῦ is not. It is surprising to find that this ending, which is generally supposed to be the original ending of the instrumental (*Δ-), is spelt with -ά rather than with -ά, but for a similar spelling see e. g. ὄλα in Eltynia IC I x. 2, 2.

4. ἰμα. For this form of dative from ἰμας cf. Bechtel II 739f. and IC IV 78, viii. 51, vii. 7, 12, 19 etc., ibid. 78, C 9—10.

*ἴσιος*. The general meaning of this sentence must be that the *poinikastas* looks after the interests of such (newer state) cults as are not dealt with by a priesthood tied to a particular family or clan. It is possible to suggest that *ἴσιος* is a neuter plural (cf. διοικός in the following line) and that οἱ (or *οί*?) is a verbal form, but we are not able to propose a certain restoration. A form of *ἴσιον* ‘to want’ would be possible if we could have an optative *ἴσερ* or *ἴσο* which is otherwise unattested in Crete (where *ἴσιος* is attested). It should also be pointed out that an early inscription from Axos (IC II. v. 1, 8—9) has the same sequence of letters: *ἴσιος* in a broken sentence. A substantive *ἴσκος* (in the genitive) appears immediately before this sequence and after a word (Δικταριόν) ending with ας.

18* The start of B may possibly be an elaboration of an overhast statement here at the end of A, which did not make clear what the ‘equal share’ meant (see p. 148 below).

88 The photograph (pl. 1) shows the uncertainty of the letters following ας in line 16. The traces would also fit a reading αἴσχος or ἕφε, if so, and if we needed here a word meaning ‘owner’, a connection with ἔφες, ἐφές (or *ἐφές*) διαφόρως would be tempting; but see Latte ad loc., where a form *膑ές* is preferred.

87 It may be noted in passing that if Spensthisios were an alien, we would expect this case to be handled by the *ξιμος* κόσμος (IC IV. 79, 15); cf. p. 149 below.
as a ρ with the top stroke missing, but if so, the verb would be a hapax and its meaning unknown. It could be a β, since there is no β attested on either side of the text; βολήσατο is a possible form for βολήσατο in Cretan, but even so the sentence is not clear. In a legal context (cf. δικα at the beginning) μολήσατο (cf. the Cretan μολέσα 'to contend') is an obvious suggestion, but (a) it is frequently found in this inscription and its shape is completely different from that of λ, (b) we should want an active form of the verb and not a middle. δικα could be an accusative (since the subject of the clause must be ονομαστικός), and we could assume that the scribe forgot to write the final ν as he did in Β 5 (τὸ for τὸν), but it can hardly agree with δικα (the Cretan for ἐπιστροφον: cf. Bechtel II 740), since we should expect the feminine of the pronominal adjective. Alternatively it could be a dative δικα, leaving δικα as either the direct object of the verb or an adverbial accusative. The next clause is no easier: we should probably divide δικα οὐ (οὐ ζήσει σα) is unlikely), and δικα (or δικα) either may be a strengthened form of δικα if, or may be used in an adverbial meaning ('where', 'when' etc.: cf. Bechtel II 780ff.). After that we could read κρήσων ἢ νόμοι, taking κρήσων as a hapax in the nom. plural, ἢν as the third person plural imperfect of the verb 'to be' and νόμοι as the predicate, or we could read κρήσων, the optative of a verb unknown to us, where -ην is a mistake for -εν. What follows is ambiguous too: δέω may be the neuter plural of the adjective δέως, but an interpretation δέω γε τέλεσα is also possible: cf. IC IV. 47, 4ff. (Gortyn) where the phrase τοῦ δέως τῶν δικαίων ἰμαν is correctly translated 'in hunc lis inferenda erit'. Finally δὲ δὲ οὐδὲ δὲ may mean 'otherwise, not at all' or may be compared with the end of the Drosen inscription BCH 1937, no. 1, where μηδὲν ἰμαν means 'let it be invalid'. In conclusion, it is likely that this sentence defined the legal position of the poinikastas and perhaps clarified his relationship with the kosmoi, but we do not feel able at present to provide a coherent interpretation.

10. τέλεσα. For τέλεσα used as a future in Crete, cf. Bechtel II 792.

11. ἵπ τνρημον. If our inscription preserved the original distribution of ἵπ (for Attic ήτις) and ἵπ, we should expect ήτις before a word

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38 However, against this suggestion is the participle δικαλήσατα of Drosen BCH 1948, no. 2
39 We could think of the root attested in the Greek διαδόσα, διαδίκος, διαδός 'insatiable' and in the Latin alio, etc., but obviously this remains entirely hypothetical.
beginning with a vowel. The presence of με before probably means that the preconsonantal form has been generalized (cf. Bechtle II 718).

For the historical implications of this sentence see below p. 151.

12. πελέκους. This confirms the statement of Eustathius (p. 1878, 50 od Od. 19, 572): δείξει γάρ ἡ λέξεις ὄνομασιας λόγον κατὰ τούς παλαιούς καὶ σταθερὰ ἐν Κρήτη ἔξωμαν ἢ δεκάμιν. This variation between 6 and 10, or multiples thereof, appears also in the other late sources which refer to the pelekos as a weight known in Cyprus and Boeotia. The Schol. Ven. B and F on Π Β III 23, 861 state: οἱ δὲ δύοι ἐξευθεῖα ἔξωμαν περὶ τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς ὅπως ἔλεγεν. ὁ δὲ κατὰ τίνος τόλματος [= 60 mna] ὀσβιρὶν, κατὰ δὲ ἑνὸς ἑκατὸν μνῆς. Schol. Ven. A on the same passage has a brief reference only, giving the smaller, more realistic number: διὰ δὲ σταθερὰ σιδήρου, ἴχαος μιᾶς δέκα. Cf. Hesych. s. v.: σταθερόν ἔξωμ(α)κον. οἱ δὲ διὰ διαδεκαμικον(α)κον and s. v. ἱμπελέκων: τριμελών ἢ τετραμελών ἢ πεντάμελου τὸ γέρον δεκάμινον πέδειν καλεῖται παρὰ Περσίδας.

From these scattered statements seems to emerge a weight of 6 or 10 mna, and a half-unit of 3 or 5. It could be that the Cretan-Cypriot weight was 10 mnai, and the Boeotian 6 (or 10); or possibly some learned grammarian confused the pelekos (10 mna) with the talent (60 mna), which thus introduced the 6-factor; then another writer, rejecting the unlikely equation of pelekos with talent, might conclude that a pelekos was in fact not 60 but 6 mna.

The poimikastas was thus to give (annually?) to his andreion dressed meat to the weight of 10 x 6, or 10 x 10 mna, i.e., 1 talent or 11/2 talents. We see no reason to regard the pelekos here as a unit of value.

13. κρέον. In view of the context it seems likely that this is the genitive plural of κρέος 'flesh, meat'. The gen. sing. κρεός has been recognized in an archaic inscription from Axios (IC II. v. 9, 7; cf. the editor ad loc. and Bechtle II 732f); though its phonetic evolution must have been different from that of κρεύνον, the form shows at least that in Cretan too the declension of κρέος followed that of the normal -ε-/-οι- stems. If so, the genitive plural must go back to *krēsōn > κρεύνον, and the ε of κρέον may indicate either a long vowel arising from the contraction of -ε- after the dropping of the digamma, or a short vowel due to the shortening of [-ε-] (from -ε- as above) before another vowel. In either case the presence of a prevocalic s instead of an t is not surprising (see above apropos of Α 1 εδόσ).

13—15. ἐν καὶ φώς, κτλ. The meaning of this phrase is uncertain. Very tentatively we suggest εν καὶ φώς δαίμονας ἔσπερ θάρσωντα 'if the others also make offerings'. For the crisis φώς from κατ of e.g. φώς in Dersos BCH 1937, no. 1 and see Bechtle II 665.

13. ἐπίσκεψις. The word seems to be a hapax, but its meaning should not be too difficult to guess at. It probably indicates a yearly offering (cf. ἔπειτα, ἐπίστροφος etc.); the alternative suggestion, that it refers to a yearling, a one-year-old animal, seems less likely.

14. λάκσον. Once more a hapax. The meaning remains obscure, unless we want to connect the word with λαγγάνω and its derivative λαγῆς. If so, the probable meaning of the phrase would be that the poimikastas is to contribute a yearly offering and is to collect 'the share'. Is this a duty or a perquisite? A perquisite would be more likely if λάκσον were a term indicating e.g. a portion of the sacrificed animal or animals.

συμφάδη. It is likely that this is a future from the root φαλ-, which is attested e.g. in Greek ἀλόο, Homeric ἀληψος etc. In Cretan we have evidence for the perfect participles φαλμένον (IC IV. 80, 14) from τερεμάνων- and κεστερεμάνων (IC IV. 73. x 35, xi 13) with the meaning 'assembled'. It may also be possible to compare the somewhat mysterious participle διαλοφωσ of Dersos BCH 1846, no. 2 (but see above p. 143 n. 29), and the equally obscure verb διαλάσαι of IC II. xii. 11. 2 (Eleuthera), though, if so, the absence of the digamma would be puzzling. All in all, for συμφάδη a meaning 'he will collect' (for the andreion or for himself) is possible, though far from certain.


16. τις. 7—8. ἔτους. We suggest tentatively τις ἐν πρεσβύτευσῃ.

There are no exact parallels in Crete, but for the function of the elders in the government of Cretan towns one may compare SEG XXIII 589, 241 (which is a fragment of IC IV. 184): οἱ δὲ τις τίς [c. 25] ὁ πρεσβύτευτος ὁ ὁ ἐν Καστοῦ τοιοῦτος [νάρκομεν? ——] IC IV. 184, 12: παλαιωτάκατον δὲ ὁ πρεσβύτευτος καὶ οἱ ὀρθοί τάς πέντε χειλάδες κατοίκων οὓς

28 Most legs saccae make provisions for the distribution of parts of the victim among the priests: cf. Sokolowski LSCG, passim. — Any connection of our word with λέσσ 'with the foot' or with λέσχος 'wool' remains entirely hypothetical. The latter suggestion, however, is philologically correct since there are few doubts that λέσχος is from *θαλ-να.
The inference would be that the most senior member present conducted the sacrifices in the andreon. This sentence is better incised than the rest (p. 130 above), and may therefore be an addition, made possible to ensure a traditional right in face of the increased importance of the new official.


7. CONCLUSIONS

Epigraphy. The lettering is typical Cretan, except for the lack of punctuation. The interesting features are the omega, and the odd letter in B 8, which, if it is beta, could imply, like the omega, a link with the local script of Thera. The difference in gamma between A and B is puzzling. Apart from this the general similarity is enough to postulate that B could have been drafted by the same hand as A, but more carefully. The text of B can be read as self-contained; A's end is lacking, but the compression and diminution of letters towards the bottom suggests that the draver was trying to fit in a complete text here. It is possible that A was drafted, after agreement, for a bronze-worker to cut, and then at a later date B was drafted, upon further agreement, because there had been uncertainty or dispute over the exact rights and duties which pertained to the office.

The last legible line on A states that (the poinikastos) has 'equal portion' (with the Kosmos?). At least one more line followed this, which may of course have run continuously into the first line of B: Λ [---] (B) τό ριζον, κηλ.; but equally, A's text on this highly important matter may have ended in so scrambled a manner that the nature of the equality was not clear, and had subsequently to be defined in a more careful way (= B, lines 1—10).

Language. The inscription contains a number of hapax legomena: ἱπάγορα, ἔπωνυμον, λάκανον, πόντα, ποινικάζω, ποινικατός, συντρέλαι. The interpretation of some phrases is doubtful and they may well conceal new words (ἐκτολή, κηρύ, κρήστατος etc.). Among the words already known some are particularly interesting: συντρέλαι does not occur elsewhere with the meaning 'to pledge'.

(though ἐποικόθεν does); μορος is a very rare word, and, if we have correctly recognized it here, it shows some interesting links between the language of this inscription, that of Mytilene and that of the so-called Papadakis Bronze. Finally, the formation of ριζον is remarkable and helps to clear up a complicated problem of nominal derivation.

Phonetically the general picture is not very different from that already known from Central Crete. The inscription confirms the well known distinction between a long open [ɨ], arising from the inherited long ɨ and from the lengthening of a short ɨ after the dropping of -s in clusters of sibilant + nasal (cf. ημαν < *ήμαν), and a long closed [ɨ] arising from the contraction of two short e's (ειλαν). More important, it establishes conclusively what so far had only been guessed at (see Bechtel II 682f.); the parallel distinction between a long open [ɨ] arising from the inherited long ɨ and the long closed [ɨ] arising from the contraction of two short o's. For the rest the language is in some respects less conservative than that of e.g. Gortyn: digamma is written only irregularly, final -s is generalized at the expense of -ay etc. The use of ( to indicate (as in classical Greek, but differently from other Cretan towns) the treatment of voiced plosive + j is interesting; more interesting still is the appearance of the spelling ὅροι in an early inscription. This may allow us to recognize tentatively an isogloss which joins the eastern part of central Crete and divides it from the western part (cf. ὅροι at Gortyn). The assimilation of aspirates attested in ἔροι is widely paralleled in Crete; more notable are the voiceless plosives of οῖσως and ἐπὶσακ[ (see the commentary ad loc.).

Morphologically, the appearance of a broken ending of the first person plural is perhaps more tantalizing than informative, since we cannot be certain that the correct reading is ἔπωνυμος. The nominative plural ὅροις may point to an earlier form ἔροις for which so far there was no definite evidence in Crete. Similarly, the genitive plural ριζον confirms the suggestion that in Crete too the declension of ριζος had been influenced by that of the -es-/os-stems like γάνος.

Morphologically and syntactically two features are striking. So far, the pronoun ὅ was known in Arcadia, in Cyprus and in two Cretan towns: Eleutheria and Axos. If (as we believe) our inscription does not come from either of the two, it now shows that the
form was more diffused than we could have previously guessed and
that it must be reckoned in all probability as a pre-Doric survival.
In the early language of Central Crete ῥσ with the infinitive is
completely unparalleled: should we assume that ῥσ too is an element
of a pre-Doric dialect which has been replaced elsewhere by the
usual Cretan ἄν?

The other syntactical features of this text are not surprising in
view of its age and provenance. The article is used sparingly and
it is missing, for instance, in connection with πάξ (cf. also θύμος
ἵππημος). In hypothetical clauses the potential particle κα is
regularly used with the subjunctive and is omitted when the
optative is following (for the Cretan exceptions to this rule see
Bechtle II 775f.). In general the use of the verbal moods (in hypo-
thetical sentences and elsewhere) agree with that observed in
Crete by Jacobsthal97.

Historical Background. The preamble is very interesting. We have
given our reasons (p. 136 above) why it seems to us most likely that
the Datalais who passed the resolution were a στάρτος of the city,
and that the city's representatives, 5 men from each of the 4 tribes,
then pledged themselves to Spensiths to carry out duly the terms of this resolution. We have further surmised that these
Datalais were in fact the στάρτος which provided the Kosmos, since
the newly appointed official's position was so closely related to that of the
Kosmos. A cyclic might add that this particular procedure recorded in
our preamble was probably virtually the same as what happened
de facto in all the city's resolutions, since even in the fourth century
B. C. the Cretan assembly merely ratified the decisions of the kosmoi
and council (Arist. Pol. 1372a). We have also given above (p. 127)
the reasons why other two other possibilities seem to us improbable:
(i) that the Datalais were the citizens of the known place Datalla
on the east side beyond the Lasithi plateau, near Lato, or (ii) that
they were the citizens of an unknown Datala/Dattalas to be located in
the area Arkades S. of Lytto — the area where, chiefly on epigraphical grounds, we would wish to locate this inscription
(Afrati ?).

This is the earliest full record, from any Greek city, of the creation
of a high technical office. Crete has provided some similar texts,
but later in date, fragmentary, and concerned with less exalted

97 Der Gebrauch der Tempora und Modoi in den kretischen Dialaktinschriften,
Beihfl. to JB XXI, Straßburg 1907, passim and especially 93ff.

positions. IC II. v. 1 (Axos, first half of the 6th c.?; cf. p. 135
above, commentary on A, lines 12-14) concerns the payment and
dues of a body of technicians of some kind. Here too are mentioned
an (unspecified) τεκνό, μυστός, and working for five days ἀμίρων
for the city, ὑπάλλακτος καὶ τροφή ἐν ἀντημποι, and dues to be paid ἵνα
tο πῶς ἀποκτπθείη τό μεγάλον καὶ τό ὅμιλον καὶ φανήθαι. It has been suggested
that these men were incomers from another city (lines 4-5; cf.
ὅτι εὐπλάκουσιν τῷ ἀγώντι πάντες), but obviously this is uncertain. IC IV.
79 (Gortyn, second half of the 6th century?) certainly concerns
aliens, or freedmen; if they refuse to work for the free and the
[unfree?] alike, the xemios (kosmos) must extend for the whole city
or even for each [πόλης]. For their pay in kind, resembling that of the
poimēntas, cf. the commentary to A, lines 13, 16. IC IV. 144 is a
fragment with phrasing close to that of 79. IC II. xii. 9 (Eleutherna,
first half of 6th century?) is too fragmentary for useful compari-
son.

The high position of this new office of Scribe and Recorder is
clear. The holder gets his subsistence, immunities from taxes, and
annual payment in kind. He does not merely attend (παραμέτρου),
but also participates in (παρεμετρου), all meetings of the Kosmos in his
capacity as secretary and he performs the functions of priesthood
(in public sacrifices) for certain cults, those which were not already
managed by existing priesthoods hereditary in the local families.
There must have been further profits in these cult-duties; although
it is not clear whether ὑπάλλαξι means 'sources of revenue attached to
the precinct' or the precincts themselves, the net results of τό
ὑπάλλαξιν ἄνευ are probably the same.

Was Spensiths already a citizen of the this place? If it was
near Lato, yet he used the script of the Lytto-Afrati area, then
presumably he was not a citizen. But the text nowhere states that
he is to be enfranchised — voted into a φυλή, a στέφη (?), an ἱππεία.
Was he then granted high honours, profits, and immunities,
but left a distinguished alien? This seems impossible in view of the
facts that: (i) he belongs to an andresion, (ii) he offers certain
sacrifices on the city's behalf, and (iii) his sons are, or when of age
will be, dromeis, which is usually held to be applicable to citizens
only (p. 135 above). ὑπάλλαξι καὶ τροφῆ could of course be granted
to a citizen no less than to an honoured alien98.

98 For the ὑπάλλη paid by the citizens see IC III. iii. 4, 20; IV. 154, 9—10 and
below p. 161.
The office of *muemon* (remembrancer, recorder) may have existed here already, as elsewhere in Crete\(^{39}\), but a *muemon* need not be literate, his memory is the essential. Here the duties and rights described specifically are those of the *poikikastas*, though the definition of the office is *ποικίλος καὶ μακροδιάς*. We may speculate that the ancient office of Remembrancer (which could, one supposes, have been held by a kosmos; there need be nothing highly technical about it) is now merged in this new technical one. It has been suggested (IC IV, p. 71) that at Gortyn the office of *muemon* was the same as that of *gnoemon* (an office, perhaps in the Kosmos\(^{40}\), for which re-election within ten years was forbidden: IC IV. 14, g—p 2). This equation is, of course, quite uncertain; but if it was so, the new technical office created in our city differed sharply, in that it was permanent — i.e., presumably, not within the Kosmos; for in the Kosmos immediate iteration of office was forbidden (as, e.g., for the *gnoemon* above; cf. in general Willetts, 106). Indeed the *poikikastas* is specified as having *equal rights* with the Kosmos (B lines 1—4) — that is, as *not* being one of the actual body. This ‘equal allotment of rights’ may be specified in the lines following, from καὶ παραγόν onwards, though it is not clear to us where rights end and restrictions, or duties, begin (II. 6—10).

The main duty of the *poikikastas* was probably to formulate properly those decisions by the polis, or a committee thereof, on all matters sacred and secular which were to have the force of laws. He would then draft them on the wall of the main precinct, or whatever medium was customary, and a mason would cut out the draft. We can hardly believe that our city was illiterate before c. 500 B.C., though it may have kept its records mainly in the memory of its *muemon*; but we may well infer that, if it was not a large city, it had not hitherto had enough business to require a paid expert\(^{41}\). Though ignorant as to what caused it to create the office at this period, we do not see Spensthiös as a lawyer in the class of Zaleukos or Solon, but as ranking with those others who had presumably served thus in the past at Dreros, Gortyn, and other Cretan cities.

The *poikikastas* must give (annually) a fixed contribution of meat as ‘dotes’ to the andreion (B, lines 11—12). This system was regular in Sparta: the contributions to the phidiaía never became the responsibility of the State. Each man contributed a share, on pain of losing his membership if he failed in this, and the wealthy gave more, in ‘luxury’ foods such as meat and wheat\(^{42}\). Our text now confirms the conclusion formed by M. Guarducci (IC IV, p. 178; Willetts, 139) that in Crete too the members of an andreion originally handed over their contributions direct to their mess. As is well known, in the fourth century they did not contribute individually; the city provided the food, for syssitia and the public subsistence of families, από πάντων... τῶν γυναῖκων καρπίων τε καὶ βοσκουμένων καὶ τῶν συνεργών καὶ φύρσων κτλ\(^{43}\). (Arist. Pol. 1271a; cf. 1271a and Ephoros, FGH 70 F 149). At Gortyn already in the fifth century the system of public taxation was in use; there was a State levy on each citizen’s produce, enforced by officials called καρποφοροδοταί (IC IV. 77; cf. Guarducci ad loc. and in Riv. Fil. XI [1938], 488ff.; Willetts, 198); but the text is broken, so that we cannot tell whether this levy went in toto to the State for redistribution, as in the fourth century, or whether part was taken direct to the andreion by the citizen. For the latter system we may compare that which appears to have obtained still at Lyttos (traditionally colonized from Sparta) in the 4th—3rd centuries B. C. (Dosíadas, FGH 458 F 2): διόκτων τῶν γυναικῶν καρπῶν ἀναφέρει τῆς διάκτου ἠπ τῆς ἐκταίριας καὶ τάς τῆς πάλης προσόδους, διενεκομειον ὅπερ ποιοτήτως τῆς πάλης ἐκ τοῦ ἐκτοιμάσαν σκοινόν (κτλ.). The text is so awkward as to be suspected of corruption.

\(^{39}\) Gortyn, IC IV. 49 B, 78 (ix, xi) and later; Lyttos, IC I. xviii. 12 (kharōnoma-

\(^{40}\) mon); and IC IV p. 71; Willetts, 107, 306. On the office in general cf. Arist.,

\(^{41}\) Pol. 1321a, Bausch—Swoboda, Gr. St., 489ff., LSAG, 806.

\(^{42}\) M. Guarducci holds that probably they were bozmoi (IC IV p. 71); Willetts

\(^{43}\) (p. 107) is more doubtful.

\(^{44}\) The duties specified here do not include teaching τῆς ποικίλης, which would

\(^{45}\) presumably be anachronistic at this period. Ed. II. 28, B, 123) still uses

\(^{46}\) γραμματέας για for ‘recorder’, its extension to ‘teacher’ seems to come a genera-

\(^{47}\) tion later; cf. LSJ a.v. (AEX diacronia from the view expressed in our text

\(^{48}\) (above) as to the extent of Spensthiös’s authority. See now pp. 106—6.)
but if it can be translated, 'contributes his title of produce to the hetairia and to the public revenues, which (last) the city magistrates distribute to the individual households', it means that part went direct from a member to his andreion, as at Sparta, and part to a common pool, 'the public crops and herds' (Arist., Pol. 1273a, supra) for redistribution to the households of the citizens.

It also appears possible from our text (A, lines 14—16 with commentary) that this official payment in kind — specifically, the 50 jugs of must — was taken directly from the produce of the περιστεύμενος of a citizen, as (part of?) that citizen's title to the State. The alternative possibility is that it was taken from communal land owned by the State, but there seems to be no direct evidence that a Cretan city owned communal land at this period. It is concluded that in Crete, as in Sparta, no citizen truly owned his 'klarios'; each held it with the serfs who worked it, not as a private, disposable possession, but as a hereditary and inalienable allotment from the State.46

**History of the Greek alphabet.** According to Herodotus (v. 58—9) it was the Ionians, living at the time round Cadmean Bocotia, who first called the Greek letters 'φωνήσις', from the Phoenicians who had introduced them; and modern belief that this was indeed an East Greek word was reinforced by the inscription of Teos (c. 475—50? Meiggs-Lewis, GHI, no. 30) which calls the letters τα φωνήσις, and by the two Hellenistic texts from Aesoc Mytillene (IG XII. 2. 96—7), which both mention 'the φωνήσις, τα της γραμματείας. In 97 the φωνήσις seems to be an official connected with the cult of Hermes, a deity traditionally connected with the invention of writing; possibly here religion retained the old title, when the more modern γραμματείας had become the normal usage otherwise.47

Now our Cretan text shows that the verb and noun of agent from this root were in use in Crete already c. 700 B.C. (for the lit-

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47 Busolt—Swoboda on Cretan 'Gemeindeland', 141 n. 5, 286, 604, 702 (no ancient evidence cited for this); much more cautiously, Guarducci, IG III, p. 47; cf. Willetts, 61.

48 Cf. in general Jeffery, in Europa, Festschrift Grimmach, 153ff., especially 154, n. 7.

guistic comment on the root see p. 132 above). It is, in fact, the earliest attested instance as yet, literary or epigraphical. If Herodotus was right, the usage of the word may have spread down the coast to Crete. If he was wrong, and if it was in fact the Cretans who first called the alphabet τα φωνήσις, then this fact would give further support to those scholars who hold that the Greek alphabet first developed from the Phoenician in Crete; cf. M. Guarducci, Epigrafia Greca i, 69ff., 180 (with earlier references), and AER, Gnomon 1924, 121f. That Crete (with the other 'primitive' or 'green' script-users, her epigraphical satellites) must have been one of the earliest to receive the infant Greek alphabet is commonly agreed, from the peculiar similarity of her script to the N. Semitic in certain details, and from the fact that the 'Primitive' script did not include the non-Semitic φ, χ, ψ. Her claims to the actual origin may now be more properly assessed than they were in LSA, 9ff. 310ff.; for the discovery of more inscribed objects (hitherto lacking) during the last decade is at last providing some correlative evidence for the dating of the letter forms.48
of the genitives would be unusual, but this might be intended as the first four feet of a hexameter. Cf. Athens, hexametric epitaph of Keramos, 7th c. (IG IV 997; BSA 57, 1963, 129, no. 32, pl. 86): Ευαυτό διατρήτος Σμούδος Κεραμίδος στάλε.

5. Inscribed bronze armour, all apparently from Akrati except d (Akos or Akrati?). From c. 600 B.C. Inscriptions incised.

a. Cretan helmet: Ναυτάς Ἐκ τὸ L.

b. Cretan helmet: Χρυσήνης Ἐκ τὸ L houstr.

c. Cretan 'mitra': Ζυρηνίς τὸ δέχεται Ἐκ τὸ L houstr.

All in Fogg Mus., Harvard Univ. Mittun and Doerringer, Master Bronze, etc., 1968, 2d ed., nos. 29—81. Other similar material in the same collection will shortly be published.

d. Cretan 'mitra', Mus. Herakl., said to be from Akos, but exact locality uncertain. Ἰφραίας τὸν Ἐκ τὸ L. Marinos, EA 1966, 104 ff., figs. 1—8. Τ ἐφρᾶς (ἐφράς?) ἐκ τὸν Ἐκ τὸν τοῦτος, ed. Τ ἐφρῆς (ἐφρῆς). Cf. the Spartan named Phrixos, Plut. Ages. 82.

e. Cretan 'mitra', Mus. Herakl., from Akrati, ὁ σιδήνας Ἐκ τὸ L. Alcolm, ADelt 20 (1966), chron. 664, fig. 2, pl. 697. Ἐκ τὸ L. Alcolm.?

f. Cretan 'mitra', coll. Metaxas, from Akrati. Νάους τὸν Ἐκ τὸ L. Lambrini, KChron 21 (1963), 97 ff., pl. 5—7, 'Name Etocretan?', ed. As it stands, the name does not appear to be Greek, though an initial sequence of nasal + hq. in an archaic inscription should not be too surprising (cf. e.g. Μοροχό in AE 1919, 18—21, Phalanna). Or should we read Ν(?λωνος? Cf. SGR 5571 = DGY 749, from Egypt, Πατριάγιος μα δι Νάους, and Νάους τόνος (wrongly read Νεύαντος τόνος at Naukratis, Gardiner, Naukratis II, 64, no. 706, pl. 21. In view of Cretan contacts with Egypt, a Νάους here would not be surprising.
Fig. 1.
N. B. Traces of a further sign (') have been recognized at the left end of line 13.
See page 198, footnote 23.