

PROLEGOMENA TO A DOSSIER: INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE ASKLEPIEION AT LISSOS (CRETE)

Martha W. Baldwin Bowsky

(University of the Pacific)

Abstract: This study assembles an island-wide context for the dossier of inscriptions revealed by excavations at the temple of Asklepios at Lissos in southwestern Crete, by examining the nature of the dossiers attested at and for sites sacred to Asklepios across the island. Such groups of inscriptions should be called “dossiers” rather than “archives,” given their subjective and selective nature; they were chosen to project the way a city and region represented itself rather than to preserve a complete epigraphic record (Cooley 2012b, 222). The ultimate goal is to determine just how characteristic or distinctive the dossier of Lissos is – geographically, chronologically, and by epigraphic genre – within Crete, where Lebena has long dominated the record.

Key words: Crete, Lissos, Asklepieion, inscriptions.

Introducing the dossier of the Asklepieion at Lissos

The Lissian dossier was completely unknown when Margarita Guarducci published the second volume of *Inscriptiones Creticae* in 1939. The nine inscriptions attributed to Lissos there came instead from the necropolis of Lissos, an ancient wall, the church of Ag. Kyrikos, and unknown locations at Ag. Kyrkos.¹ In the absence of a documentary record the Asklepieion of Lissos had remained unknown until excavation in 1957–1960 (Riethmüller 2005, 345, no. 162). In 1957 Nicholaos Platon discovered the temple northeast of the church of Ag. Kyrikos, after receiving word that antiquities had been found at Ag. Kyrkos by private individuals seeking water (Platon 1959c, 19). He went to investigate and found the source of these antiquities buried under massive rocks thrown down onto the site by an earthquake (Blackman 1976, 520). The rocks that had tumbled down from high above turned the small sacred building to ruins, thus sealing it and its

¹ Necropolis: *I.Cret.* I, xvii 5, 7, and 8. Ancient wall: *I.Cret.* I, xvii 9. Ag. Kyrikos: *I.Cret.* I, xvii 1 and 3. Unknown locations at Ag. Kyrkos: *I.Cret.* I, xvii 2, 4, and 6. The spelling “Ag. Kyrikos” will be used to designate the saint and the church; “Ag. Kyrkos” will be used for the modern place name.

contents for centuries. After three seasons of excavation between 1958 and 1960, Platon had unearthed not only a temple but its many inscriptions (Platon 1957, 1958b, 1959b, 1959c, 1960b, 1996).

Systematic study of these inscriptions is only now underway, despite discovery nearly 60 years ago. Platon's excavation diaries record the discovery of close to 40 inscriptions; additional inscriptions are not drawn in his diaries but stored in the Chania Museum. They bear texts of several different types and constitute a significant dossier, nearly as large as that long known for the Asklepieion at Lebena on the south coast in central Crete. Across Crete regional dossiers were preserved at sites sacred to Asklepios, which served as a place of display for writing of various types (Parker 2012, 18).

Assembling dossiers for Cretan sites sacred to Asklepios

Several types of writing are attested for Cretan sites sacred to Asklepios; they are presented in Appendix 1, which is geographically arranged from eastern to western Crete, so as to culminate with Lissos; each location has been assigned a letter of the alphabet in bold (**A–L**) for ease of reference below. Fig. 1 locates these sites in the landscape of Crete.² Within each location, inscriptions are arranged according to the type of writing involved, in an order that proceeds from public to increasingly private documents: (1) epistyles, architectural members or elements, and monumental inscriptions; (2) official interventions and restorations; (3) treaties and decrees; (4) sacred laws and narratives; (5) cures and prescriptions; (6) bases for statues and statuettes; (7) dedications; (8) inscribed *instrumenta domestica*; and (9) inscriptions of unidentified type. Within epigraphical genres, the order is chronological. Each inscription is assigned an arabic number (**1–116**), to be cited in bold in the discussion that follows.

Evidence for dossiers in the cult of Asklepios can be assembled from a variety of sources, some not on Crete at all but most with the island's shores. Inscriptions **6**, **8**, and **9** were part of the dossier of the temple of Dionysos at Teos; each attests to the presence of a *hiaron* or *hieron* of Asklepios at Eronos (**D**) or Arkades (**E**). In each of these cities Asklepios was the principal deity; **7** from Cretan Hierapytna tells us that the Asklepieia were a festival celebrated at Arkades. Within Crete we can examine inscriptions as they reveal more and more about the way they were actually displayed in the cult of Asklepios, from those that have been found in the Heraklion Museum, to those found in second use but not on site, those on site but not *in situ* or nearby, and those discovered in the course of excavations. The inscriptions whose archaeological context is best known allow the epigraphist to discuss them as monuments as well as documents (Cooley 2012a).

² Four sites appear on this map that are not included in Appendix 1, as no inscriptions are known therefrom. The Asklepieion of Rhaukos is mentioned in a treaty between Gortyn and Knossos concerning the fate of Apollonia (*J. Crete*. IV 182; Chaniotis 1996, 296–300 no. 44, dated ca. 167/66 BCE). Bultrighini oddly identifies Rhaukos, in the foothills above the Knossos valley, with Apollonia, on the north coast west of Heraklion (1993, 76; see Sporn 2002, 143 and Riethmüller 2005, 346, no. 168). Riethmüller includes Priansos, on the basis of numismatic evidence (2005, 346, no. 166). Phaistos may have had a temple of Apollo or Asklepios, to judge from a dedication to Paian (*J. Crete*. I, xxiii 2; Sporn 2002, 197–98; Riethmüller 2005, 345–346, no. 165). Sporn is not certain there was a cult of Asklepios in Hierapytna itself (2002, 56–57).

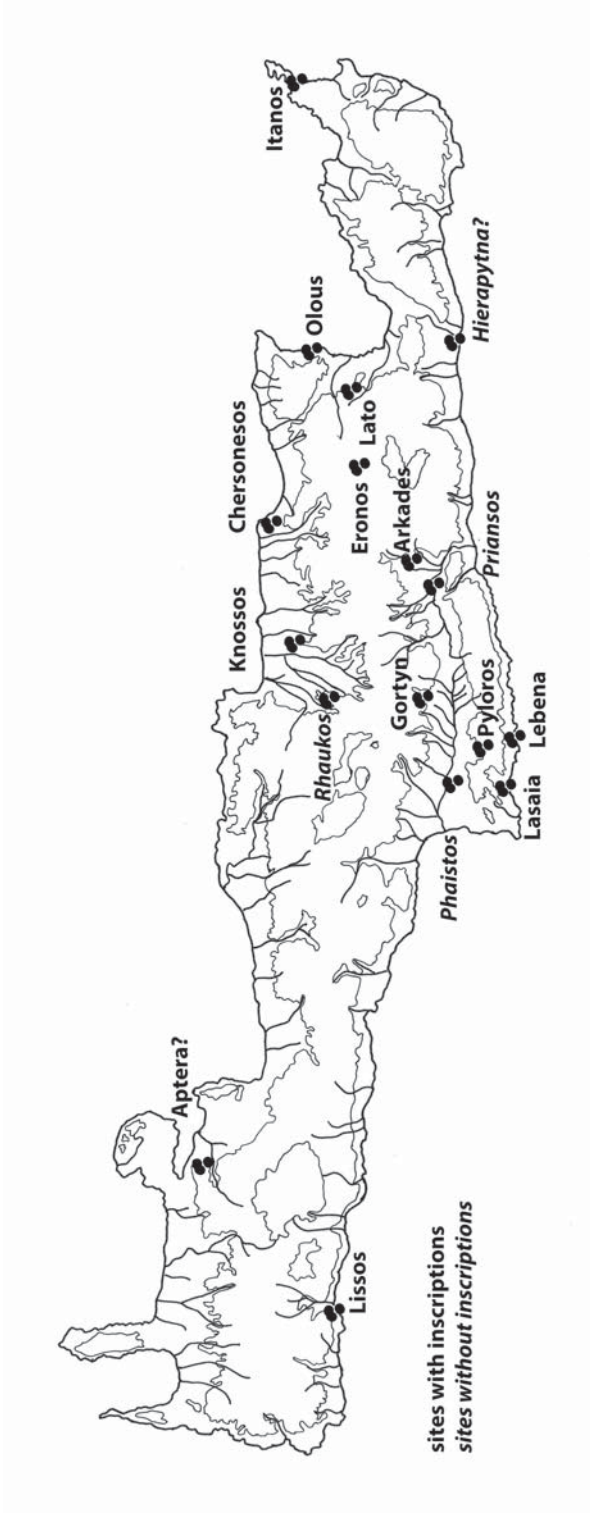


Fig. 1. Landscape of Cretan Asklepieia (based on Talbert 2000, map 60)

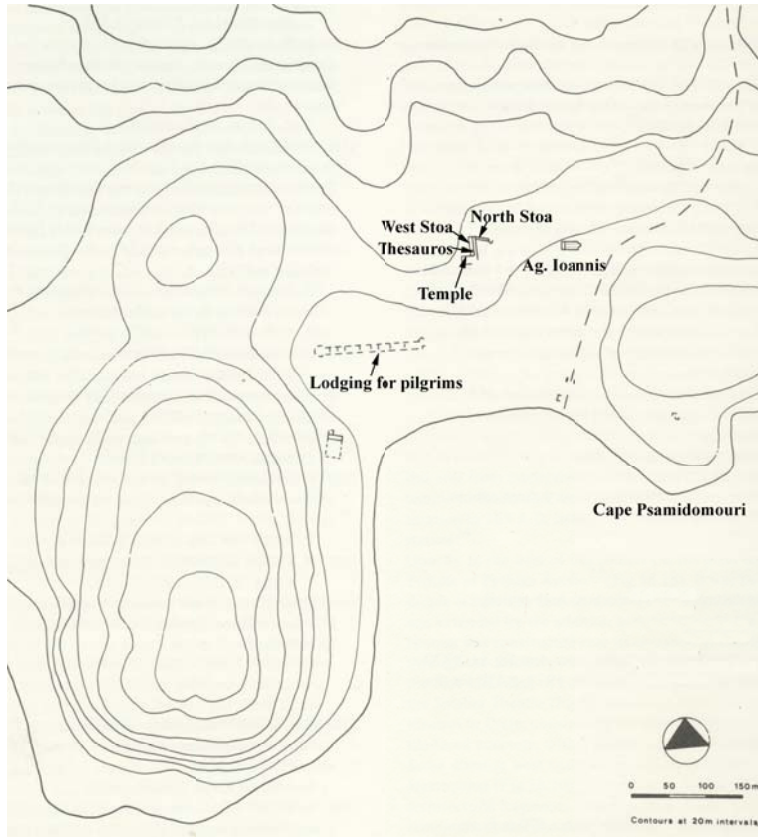


Fig. 2. The Asklepieion at Lebena (based on Sanders 1982, 160, fig. 59)

Of the documents removed from their archaeological context, some can only be traced to the Heraklion Museum: **1** from Itanos; **15** from Knossos; **20**, **21**, **23**, **35**, **40**, **50**, and **61** from Lebena. A number were found in second use and not at or near the site of their display: **2**, found near Itanos; **5**, found in a windmill near the site of Olous; **7**, built into a house at modern Hierapetra; **12**, built into a house at Ini; **16**, found in the garden of the Villa Ariadne at Knossos; **17**, built into a house at Ag. Deka; **19**, found built into the wall of a church at Apossokari; **25**, **34**, **37**, and **60**, found at Miamiù near Lebena; **58** and **65**, found at the Monastery of Kundumas again near Lebena.

Many documents in dossiers have been found on their respective sites, even if not quite in their archaeological context. To proceed toward texts found closest to their monumental context, we can take account of the following inscriptions and where they were found: **11**, in a field in the area of Arkades; **13**, in the location Hellenika at Ini; **36**, from the area of Lebena; **51**, at Lebena on the hill east of the sanctuary; **64**, near the shore at Lebena; **71** and **72**, at Ag. Kyriaki west of Lasaia. At Lebena a group of inscriptions was drawn by Halbherr or Taramelli: **27**, known from a drawing of Halbherr made there; **55**, found at Lebena and drawn by Taramelli; **62**, discovered at Lebena and

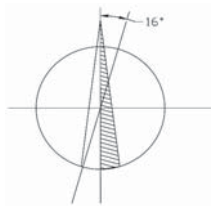
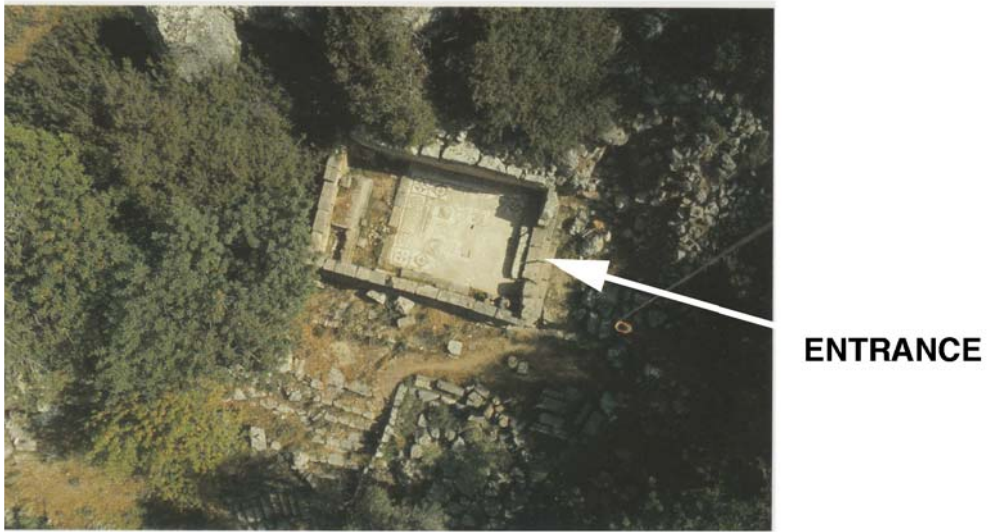


Fig. 3. The Asklepieion at Lissos (based on Myers – Myers – Cadogan 1992, 170, fig. 22.3; directional arrow the author’s placement of an arrow courtesy of Kanellopoulos, pers. comm.)

drawn by Halbherr; **56**, from Lebena though not drawn by Halbherr. Some inscriptions are described simply as “found at Lebena” (**30**, **52**, **54**, **57**). A final group of inscriptions were found in particular parts of ancient sites: **10**, in the ruins of ancient Hierapytna; **14**, among the ruins of Chersonesos; **3**, in the Agora area of ancient Lato; **18**, in the Agora of Gortyn; **4**, on the isthmus that runs through the remains of the ancient city of Olous (Blackman 1976, 645).

It is inscriptions found in the course of excavations – conducted only at the Asklepieia of Lebena and Lissos – that can tell us most about their role as monuments as well as documents. At Lebena – to proceed from outer structures to those in the sanctuary (Fig. 2) – we can begin on and around Cape Psamidomouri, where **49** was found near the “temple by the sea” (Melfi 2007, 22); **67** came to light in excavations near Ag. Ioannis. Along the west side of the bay **47** was found near the portico that provided lodging for pilgrims (Melfi 2007, 22); **28** was recently unearthed in excavations of a plot 150 m. southwest of the Asklepieion. In the sanctuary itself, **22** is described simply as “found in excavations of the sanctuary;” **63** was discovered in excavation near the temple; **53**, at the temple of Asklepios; **32**, in front of the temple; **33**, inside the temple. In the course

of excavation near the *thesauros*, **66** came to light; **31** was upside down in a Roman level near the *thesauros*. Inscription **24**, albeit in second use, came from excavations in the West Stoa. A large number of inscriptions are associated with the North Stoa, where materials of different types and times were displayed on a wall that bore texts privileged among the documents related to the sanctuary: **29, 38, 39, 41, 42, 43, 46, 69, 70**, and possibly **44** and **45** (Melfi 2007, 165 and 172).

The dossier of the Asklepieion at Lissos is distinctive for being known only from excavation and not from other documentary sources; fig. 3 shows the temple in its topographical context. Preliminary explorations yielded an inscription whose exact findspot has not been recorded (**90**); a fragment of a stele was handed over to the excavator by a private individual (**110**); findspots are not recorded for two dedications (**112–113**). Otherwise we can attribute inscriptions to places where they were displayed, to the public or to the god. Southwest of the temple, outside the sanctuary, an inscribed loomweight was found among other ceramics (**114**). The temple was located on a terrace supported by a massive retaining wall and by an improvised buttress reusing inscriptions that had been displayed on the walls of the temple (**81, 84**, fragment c of **87**). The lintel of a building not yet identified was found behind, that is, south of the temple of Asklepios (**73**), where an inscription associated with a cistern was also found fallen from above (**74**). The eastern façade also displayed proxeny inscriptions (**77, 80, 83, 85**). Inscription **78** was probably found on the eastern façade. One of the two doorjambs of the principal entrance was inscribed with a decree of the Cretan Koinon and Tiberius' reply to it (**76**); this inscription would have been visible but not legible to worshippers (Baldwin Bowsky, forthcoming 1).

The interior walls of the sacred enclosure – visible not to worshippers but to the god whose cult statue stood at the western end of the *cella* – yielded yet more proxeny inscriptions (**82, 86**, fragments a–b of **87, 88**) and an inscription of unidentified type (**115**). Inside the temple were found inscribed bases for the cult statue with its sacred law (**90**), statue(tte)s dedicated to the god (**91–104**), and other dedications (**105, 107, 108–109, 111**), all displayed in the sight of the god. A small gold lamina with a dedication to Asklepios and Hygieia was found when the mosaic floor was cleaned (**106**).

Dating the Lissian dossier

Fig. 4 presents, in chart form, the chronological distribution of the dossiers of inscriptions from sites sacred to Asklepios at Lissos, Lebena, and elsewhere in Crete. The Lissian dossier is often comparable to that at Lebena, even while it is distinctive in a number of ways. Its chronological range – from the early Hellenistic period to the second/third century of our era – is greater than that of any other cult of Asklepios save Lebena. Four fragments drawn in Platon's diaries have yet to be located and therefore given a date (Platon 1958a, 107a; two inscriptions on Platon 1959a, 116a; Platon 1960a, 3).

The earliest inscription in the Lissian dossier is roughly contemporary with the traditional date for the foundation of the temple in the 4th–3rd century BCE (Bultrighini 1993, 103; Sporn 2002, 310; here, **73**). A dedication of 3rd century BCE date may belong to an early stage of the temple and its cult (**105**). By comparison the Lebenaian texts relevant

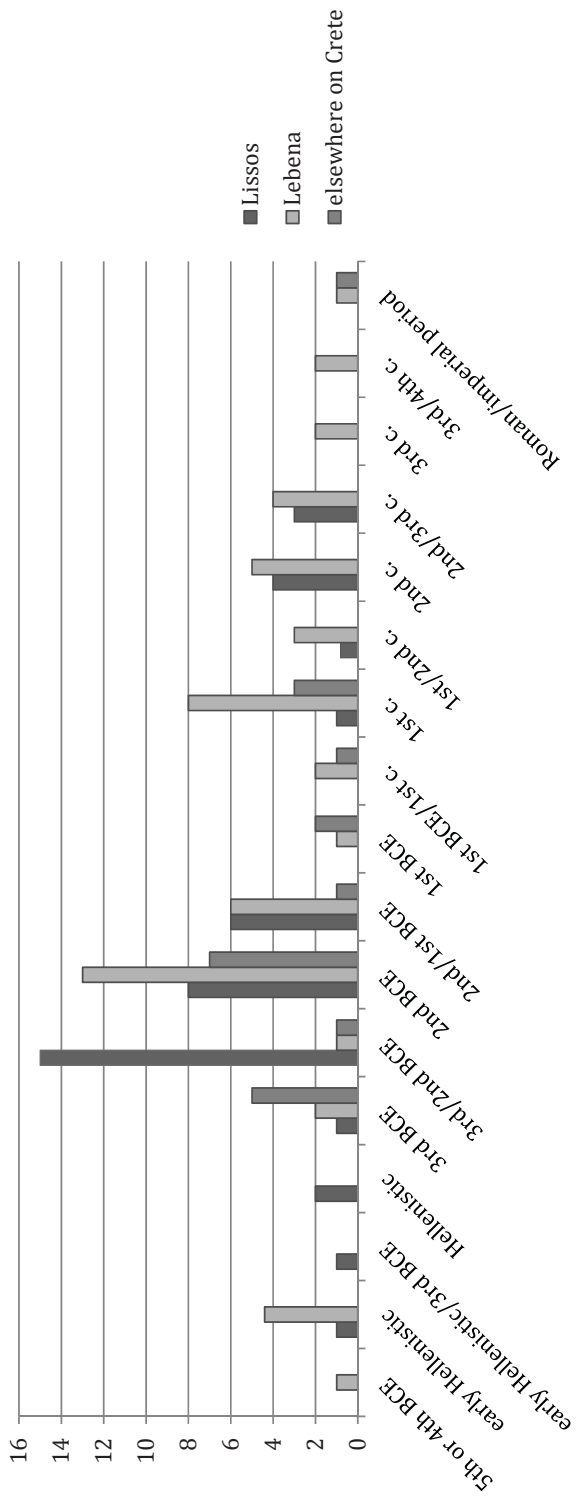


Fig. 4. Dating the Cretan Dossiers

to the founding of the sanctuary in the 4th century BCE were displayed in the North Stoa at a later date (38).

Each of these two dossiers peaked in and around the 3rd–2nd century BCE, contemporary with those elsewhere in Crete that show significant activity in the 3rd as well as the 3rd–2nd century and the 2nd century BCE.³ The high number of 3rd–2nd century BCE texts at Lissos – on bases for statue(tte)s dedicated inside the temple (91–104) and on a leaf of gold foil (106) – are consistent with a Hellenistic *floruit* in the temple's architecture and life. In the 2nd century BCE the Asklepieion at Lebena dominates the record. An inscription associated with the upper cistern at Lissos can only be dated to the Hellenistic period (74); an inscribed loomweight of Hellenistic date may constitute evidence for feminine interest in the cult (114). Beyond the Asklepieion, we can note that other inscriptions attributed to Lissos in *Inscriptiones Creticae* have also been dated to the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE.⁴ To these we can add a 3rd century BCE funerary stele handed over to Platon in 1960 (Platon 1960a, 10; Markoulaki, forthcoming).

A chronological gap preserves evidence of a Roman renaissance at the temple, which had seen a peak in the Hellenistic period. Between the 2nd/1st centuries BCE and the 1st/2nd century of our era, the dossier of the Asklepieion at Lissos is unusual in that it preserves only one inscription, albeit an important one: a decree of the Cretan Koinon and the emperor Tiberius' reply, inscribed on one of the doorjambs at the entrance to the temple (Baldwin Bowsky, forthcoming 1; here 76). Lebena preserves a number of inscriptions in this period, as do sites sacred to Asklepios elsewhere on Crete.⁵ This is not to say that Lissos was an epigraphic community, to judge from other inscriptions dated to the 2nd/1st and 1st centuries BCE.⁶

The epigraphical record at Lissos peaks again between the 1st–2nd century and the 2nd/3rd is again comparable with that at Lebena, while Arkades provides a single inscription of Roman date (13) and other dossiers have failed to yield any inscriptions of Roman or imperial date.⁷ The Lissian dossier falls silent in the 3rd century, when Lebena continues to display inscriptions.⁸ Again this is not to say that Lissos was a community without the epigraphic habit, as a stele can be dated to the broadly Roman period (Baldwin Bowsky, forthcoming 2).

³ Lebena: 21, 37–38, 41–46, 49, 55, 69–70. Elsewhere on Crete, 3rd BCE: 1–2, 5, 7–8; 3rd/2nd BCE: 4; 2nd BCE: 3, 6, 9–11, 19, 72.

⁴ 3rd BCE: II, xvii 1; 3rd/2nd BCE: II, xvii 6'; 2nd BCE: II, xvii 5 and 8.

⁵ Lebena, 2nd/1st BCE: 22, 28–31, 35; 1st BCE: 56; 1st BCE/1st century: 47, 50; 1st century: 23–24, 48, 51–52, 57–59. Elsewhere on Crete, 2nd/1st century BCE: 17; 1st century BCE: 14, 18; 1st BCE/1st century: 71; 1st century: 12, 15–16.

⁶ 2nd/1st BCE: II, xvii 3; 1st BCE: II, xvii 2, 4, and 7.

⁷ Lissos, 1st/2nd century: 107; 2nd century: 108–12, of which 110 is to be joined with 112; 3rd century: 113, 115–16. Lebena, 1st/2nd century: 25–26, 39; 2nd century: 32, 53, 60–61; 2nd/3rd century: 33, 54, 64–65, 116; 3rd century: 27, 63.

⁸ 3rd/4th century: 40, 66.

Locating Lissos in the landscape

Temples and shrines of Asklepios on Crete like that at Lissos are frequently located at springs and at coastal sites and ports, given the importance of water – sometimes sea water as well as fresh water – in ritual therapeutic practices. Lissos (**L**) was known for its spring and therapeutic waters, which came from the mountainous area above Lissos (Platon 1962, 15; Spanakis, n.d.: 374, s.v. Τεμένια; Bultrighini 1993, 103). At Lissos the temple of Asklepios was built on a terrace because of the spring just outside the eastern entrance of the temple on the north side of a forecourt (Platon 1962, 15). Water from the spring ran under the mosaic floor of the temple (Blackman 1976, 520). Remains of an upper cistern have been identified south of the temple (Platon 1996, 397–98). Beside the steps that led one up to the temple and its spring, there was also a large, later cistern at the foot of the retaining wall of the upper terrace (Blackman 1976, 520).

As a coastal site with a spring, and a secondary port of Elyros (Blackman 1976: 520), Lissos is characteristic of the places for which sites sacred to Asklepios are attested on Crete: eastern Itanos (**A**), Lato (**B**), and Olous (**C**); central Chersonesos (**F**), Lebena (**J**) and Lasaia (**K**). The Mesara, watered by the Yerapotamos and Anapodaris rivers, possessed a number of sites sacred to the healing god: Arkades (**E**) with its springs (Bultrighini 1993, 64); Gortyn (**G**) with the Lethaios River running along or through its Agora, where Asklepios may have been worshipped (Sporn 2002, 158); and Pylorus (**I**) situated among southern tributaries of the Yerapotamos. Knossos in north central Crete (**G**) lay along the Kairatos River, near which Asklepios may have been worshipped in a small temple at the east end of the large Roman stoa now called “Machritikhos” (Hood – Smyth 1981, 23 and 40 nos. 85 and 86). At first glance, the most surprising location for a temple of Asklepios is Erannos/Eronos (**D**), now located in the foothills of Mt. Dikte on the eastern side of the Lasithi highland plain (Watrous 1982, 55–56, no. 46; Faure 1993, 69; Talbert 2000, Map 60 and Map-by-Map Directory II, 922). On further examination it becomes clear that the settlement at the base of the western side of the Kephala hill overlooked the Chavga Gorge, through which the Xenikou River runs into the Lasithi Plain (Watrous 1982, Maps 12–14; Rackham – Moody 1996, 151, fig. 12.8).

What is most distinctive about the location of the Asklepieion at Lissos is that it is in western Crete. If there was a temple of Asklepios in the extra-urban territory of Aptaera (Baldwin Bowsky 2009, 320), it is the only other temple of the god in Crete west of the Mesara. Sporn speculates that Artemis and Diktyнна may have filled the function of healing divinity in western Crete (2002, 336). At Lissos the treaty with Magas of Cyrene specifies publication in the Diktyннаion of Lissos and refers to Diktyнна’s ὁμοτεμένεες (*I.Cret.* II, xvii 1). Bultrighini suggests that Asklepios and Hygieia might have shared Diktyнна’s *temenos* but Sporn finds this unlikely (Bultrighini 1993, 113; Sporn 2002, 311).

If we combine the chronological distribution established above with the geographical, it also becomes clear that Lissos was one of the sites that survived into the Roman

period, along with Lebena and Lasaia; Asklepios is attested at Knossos only in the Roman period. The epigraphic record falls silent after the Hellenistic period at Gortyn, Pyloros, Chersonesos, Erannos/Eronos, Lato, Olous, and Itanos.

Types of writing across place and time

We have already seen that the chronological range of the Lissian dossier was greater than that of any other sanctuary save Lebena, even though there is a significant gap in the record between the 2nd/1st century BCE and the 1st/2nd century of our era. Lissos was, moreover, characteristic of the sites sacred to Asklepios on Crete, and yet distinctive in its location in western Crete. Now we can turn our attention to the various types of writing attested for the Cretan cult of Asklepios across place and time, in order to continue examining just how characteristic or distinctive the Lissian dossier was.

Epistyles, architectural members or elements, and monumental inscriptions

The Asklepieion at Lissos is one of three sites sacred to Asklepios – all on the south coast of the island or in the Mesara plain that lies along the south coast – that preserve epistyles, architectural members or elements, and monumental inscriptions. At the same time it preserves the earliest example of this epigraphic genre: an early Hellenistic document (73) that seems to belong to a building from an early stage in the life of the sanctuary at Lissos.

Elsewhere in Crete, the dossier preserved at Lebena contains a continuous series of such inscriptions, beginning with references to a wall and stoa (20) and continuing with another architectural member and another reference to a stoa in the Hellenistic period (21–22); in the Roman period inscriptions refer to a wall and places to sleep, a marble revetment for a wall, structures dedicated to Roman emperors, and one unidentified structure (23–27). At Gortyn – the city in the Mesara that Lebena served as a port – two fragments of Hellenistic epistyles may well contain part of the name of the god rather than theophoric names of mortals (17–18).

Official interventions and restorations

At Lissos two inscriptions refer to the building of a structure not yet identified (75) and record a Cretan decree together with an imperial rescript inscribed on one of the doorjambes of that temple (76). Document 75 begins with an architectural dedication that records the name of Serion son of Dexios of Elyros, the city Lissos served as a secondary port. The inscribed doorjamb preserves a rare early example of a *libellus-subscriptio*,

one that authorizes the addition of elements to the celebration of the imperial cult in the sanctuary of Asklepios (Baldwin Bowsky, forthcoming 1).

Inscriptions of this genre are also attested at Arkades, Pyloros and Lebena in the Mesara, and at Knossos in the homonymous valley in north central Crete. A text from Arkades, of Roman date, mentions *ta demosia* and Asklepios or Asklepieia (12). The beds restored or systematized by Amarantos son of Matros presume the existence of facilities for incubation at Pyloros (19). At Hellenistic Lebena, where Gortynian officials were active, there were interventions or restorations in the *adyton* (28), a watercourse (29), a building inside the sanctuary (30), and the *thesauros* (31); in the Roman period a Roman official appears to be named in one inscription (32) and an empress is named in another (33). At imperial Knossos former temple lands had been taken away from Aesculapius by Augustus – a decision confirmed by Claudius – and then restored by the Nero (15–16).

Decrees and treaties

At Lissos at least thirteen decrees have been preserved on the exterior and interior walls of the Asklepieion. This high number may be an artefact of the preservation of the temple beneath the mass of rocks thrown down by the earthquake that sealed the site for future excavation. None preserve a provision for publication in the Asklepieion, which was perhaps taken for granted on a local level. Most record the granting of *proxenia*, including granting such privileges to a citizen of Aptaera (88); one records the granting of inviolability (*asylia*) and peace without a formal treaty (*aspondia*) to an unpreserved recipient (79). On the short eastern wall of the temple – where the principal entrance was located – more civic decrees were displayed (75, 77, 79–80, 83–84, 86).⁹ The specific location of another civic decree (78) is not recorded; two more were found on the upper terrace and the retaining wall west of it (81, 85). On the interior walls of the sacred enclosure (*sekos* or *cella*), yet more civic decrees were displayed (82, 87–89).

The series of decrees preserved on the walls of the Asklepieion at Lissos is remarkable yet characteristic, to judge from those preserved at other Cretan sites sacred to the god. Arkades is the site of the Asklepieion most comparable to that at Lissos, in terms of the number of treaties or decrees known to have been inscribed there. Two decrees record *asylia* for the Teians, to be inscribed onto the *hiaron* (8), or later the *hieron* (9), of Asklepios. Three treaties or decrees are concerned with fellow Cretans at Hierapytna (7), relations between the Hierapytnians in Hierapytna and those in Arkades (10), and honors decreed for Hierapytnian legates (11).¹⁰

Decrees and treaties were a regular feature of temples of Asklepios not only at Arkades but elsewhere in eastern and central Crete. At Itanos in far eastern Crete the *hiaron* of Asklepios is a secondary location for the publication for a decree requiring

⁹ Four of the civic decrees are still visible on site today, displayed on the eastern façade of the temple, to the left of the principal entrance.

¹⁰ 7, documenting the celebration of Asklepieia at Arkades; 10, to be set up in the *hieron* of Asklepios at Arkades; 11, destined for the *naos* of Asklepios or else Thelphousa. His use of *naos* rather than *hieron* in 11 is not decisive, as IC I, v 20A refers to a *hieron* of Thelphousa.

a citizen oath (1) and one granting privileges to a Macedonian general (2). At Olous a decree naming *proxenoi* and *evergetai* was to be displayed at the *hiaron* of Asklepios, while a *psaphisma* honoring a Rhodian doctor was to be inscribed in the *hiaron* of Zeus Tallaios and that of Asklepios (4). At Erannos/Eronos Asklepios was the primary deity, in whose *hiaron* a decree recording renewal of *asylia* for the Teians was to be inscribed (6). At Lebena part of a treaty or decree between Phaistos and Tenos was published in Asklepios' sanctuary (34); a decree concerning the sanctuary itself was also displayed there (35).

Sacred laws and narratives

The base for a cult statue of Asklepios at Lissos (90) bears an early Hellenistic, partly metrical text that gives not only the name of Thymilos, who first erected the statue of the god, but the name of his son Tharsytas, who dedicated the statue to Asklepios, and a sacred law concerning eligibility to sacrifice and what was to be done with parts of the sacrificial animal.

The sanctuary of Asklepios at Lebena has yielded a series of sacred laws and narratives over the course of 500 years or more (37–40). The earliest of these concerns access to the incubation area of the sanctuary (36); two (38–39) were displayed in the North Stoa in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

Cures and Prescriptions

This type of writing is attested only at Lebena (41–48). A catalog of remedies (*iamata*) was to be displayed on a wall of the North Stoa, according to the first text on 38. Six of the cures and prescriptions documented at Lebena were found in the North Stoa (41–43, 46) or possibly from the North Stoa (44–45). Another (47) was found near the so-called grand portico along the shore, where lodging was available for pilgrims (Melfi 2007, 22).

This need not mean that Asklepios was not a healing god at Lissos, only that epigraphic accounts of cures were not the result. One explanation for the numerous bases for statue(tte)s found at Lissos – to be discussed below – is that this cult was particularly concerned with the health of children (Sporn 2002, 310–11). Southwest of the Asklepieion a 4th–5th century Christian basilica underlies the church of Ag. Kyrikos, the patron saint of Lissos (Spanakis 1991, 482). Ag. Kyrikos, a child martyr in the time of Diocletian, was a saint believed to restore health to sick children, a function reminiscent of the functions of Asklepios at Lissos.

Bases for statues and statuettes

It is the series of bases for statues or statuettes of children that makes Lissos distinctive among sites sacred to Asklepios on Crete. Fourteen bases, most naming males but at least one naming a female, were found inside the temple where they and more than 40 statues lay one upon the other in the area in front of the podium at the west end of the *cella*, atop the mosaic floor of Roman times (Machaira 2011, 437–38). The statuettes can be dated to the 3rd–2nd century BCE, when the Asklepieion was at its Hellenistic peak.¹¹

Statue bases are attested at Lebena and other places sacred to Asklepios, but they are statues dedicated to the god or else erected in honor of mortals but not children. At Lebena a cult statue of the god was Roman in date (53); an altar had a small statue on top (54); the base for an offering may have been a statue or another offering, perhaps in the metal the slave artisan (*toreutes*) worked (51). Two statue bases were erected in honor of mortals, one a Ptolemaic official and the other a mother honored by her daughter (49–50). Into the context provided by Lebena we can set a statuette dedicated to Asklepios at Olous (4) and a Roman statue base at Arkades that may be honorary, to judge from the accusative case used for the word *υίόν* (13).

Dedications

The buried and sealed Asklepieion of Lissos preserves a remarkable range of dedications, from votive tables to gold leaf offerings and *stelai*, including two that record the manumission of the same female slave. Both votive tables are of Roman date, one of alabaster and dedicated by an imperial freedman (108), the other of Phrygian marble and dedicated by a native of Cos (113); they may have been displayed in the northeast and northeast corners of the temple, along the north side of the *cella*. Of the two gold leaf offerings, a small snake names a dedicant whose name is derived from that of Asklepios (107), while the other bears a dedication to Asklepios and Hygeia in gratitude for the dedicant's safety (106). Two *stelai* refer to the manumission of the same female slave, dedicated to the temple or the god (109 and 110, to be joined with 112); fragments of 110 were found inside the temple. Other *stelai* bear an early dedication to Asklepios (105) and a later dedication to the god (111).

Dedications from Chersonesos, Lebena, and Lasaia include no votive tables or gold offerings but a statue or shrine, stone altars, a base and a column, *stelai*, and a clay tab-

¹¹ Machaira dates most of the statuettes to the 3rd–2nd century BCE (pers. comm.). Papaoikonomou gives a date in the 1st half of the 3rd century BCE for a standing girl from Lissos found at Souda (1982, 424, no. 3; Vorster 1983, 334, cat. no. 9e), and date at the end of the 3rd century BCE for a standing girl from Lissos now in the Chania Museum (inv. no. 249; 1982, 419–22, no. 1; Vorster 1983, 334, cat. no. 9d). Vorster dates another standing girl to the 1st quarter of the 2nd century BCE (*BCH* 83 [1959], 753, fig. 28; Vorster 1983, 333, cat. no. 9b); yet another to the 2nd quarter of the 2nd century BCE (*BCH* 83 [1959], 753, fig. 29; Vorster 1983, 333, cat. no. 9a); and a third to the mid-2nd century BCE (Papaoikonomou 1982, 422–424, no. 2; Vorster 1983, 334, cat. no. 9c). The 2nd century BCE Lissian parallels are cited in Gercke's study of four feminine statuettes in Ludwig Collection at Kassel; Gercke accepts Vorster's relative chronology (1990, 248). Sporn dates the statuettes to the 2nd century BCE (2002, 310).

let. At Chersonesos the dedication of a statue or possibly a shrine was commemorated on the occasion of the monthly assembly (14). At Lebena a small altar was dedicated to Asklepios and Hygieia (60), and another to Hygeia in gratitude for a safe journey (64). One corner of an unidentified base bears the name of a man of unknown capacity (55); a small column was dedicated to *Zeus Serapis Asklepios Iatros Titanius et Lebeneus* (66). Numerous *stelai* were dedicated by individuals, one perhaps on behalf of a child (56), others in gratitude for cures (57–58), a safe journey (65), and for listening to prayers (61–62). Yet another was dedicated by a medical attendant (*therapeutes*) (63); document 59 was dedicated to Asklepios and all those sharing his temple (*synnaioi*). At Lasaia a dedication was incised on a clay tablet rather than on stone (71).

Instrumenta domestica

At Lissos an inscribed loomweight found southwest of the temple, outside the sanctuary, names the woman who owned or used it (114). Otherwise *instrumenta domestica* have been found at Lebena and Lasaia in the Mesara. The earliest item in the dossier of Lebena is a vessel incised with a dedication to the god (67); at the other end of the chronological spectrum, a fragment of a Roman brick is incised with what may be part of the god's name (68). At Lasaia a roof tile dedicated to Asklepios names a Gortynian magistrate (72).

Inscriptions of unidentified type

At Lissos as at Lebena there are inscriptions that cannot be assigned to any epigraphic genre. A Lissian stele of unidentified type mention worship (115); another inscription from Lissos refers to a penalty to be paid to the imperial treasury for a violation of a grave (116). At Lebena two inscriptions come from the North Stoa, where no one type of writing was displayed (69–70).

Elements characteristic and distinctive in the Lissian dossier

Thus far we have seen that the dossier preserved at Lissos compares well with that at Lebena and other sites sacred to Asklepios across Crete, both chronologically and geographically. Dating the Lissian dossier shows that it covers a longer period than any other save Lebena; in the Roman period Lissos, Lebena, Lasaia, Arkades and Knossos – all but Knossos on the south coast of the island – are the sites that produced the inscriptions we examine today. Lissos' location in the western part of the island renders its Asklepieion highly unusual even while the city's geographical location along the coast and function as a port city and the temple's construction by a spring of therapeutic water make the sacred site a characteristic one.

The various types of writing attested at Lissos are again comparable to those attested at other sites sacred to Asklepios, save the documents concerning remedies and prescriptions preserved only at Lebena. Within every other epigraphical genre, however, there are documents that distinguish Lissos from other sites sacred to Asklepios: the early date of one architectural inscription (73) and the sacred law inscribed on a cult statue base (90); the *libellus-subscriptio* inscribed on one of the doorjambs of the temple (76); the number of decrees that survive from the temple's east wall (77–81, 83–86); the statue(tte)s of children and their inscribed bases (91–104); the two votive tables (108, 113) and two gold dedications (106–07); and two *stelai* concerning sacred manumission (109, 110–112). What is needed now is an examination of the dossiers of other Asklepieia in Greece, in order to set the Lissian dossier into a broader context.

In the meantime the preservation of these distinctive documents is what will allow us to see them as monuments as well as texts, and to take note of where various types of writing were displayed at the Asklepieion of Lissos. From the perspective of those responsible for erecting inscriptions, as physical objects they proved and demonstrated the community's will, negotiated through the orderly working of political institutions (Ma 2012, 148). Inscriptions displayed, embodied and negotiated authority (Ma 2012, 154). Civic decision was the explicit source of authority in civic decrees (Ma 2012, 141). Inscriptions could at the same time exploit and interact with location, as they were set in the most visible places so to achieve maximum publicity and therefore authority; they could also exploit association with the deity of a temple and the sheer fact of monumentalization (Ma 2012, 137). From the perspective of those being addressed, seeing and even reading, public epigraphy commemorated and celebrated human decisions, actions and transactions that were clearly linked with the perpetuation of the community through its various power structures (Ma 2012, 155). Inscribed texts reflected the perception that they were available to public scrutiny (Cooley 2012a, 171).

The publicly visible inscriptions from the Asklepieion tell us whose role – individual or collective – was commemorated for erecting a portico, on its lintel (73); and for building part of the sanctuary, on a block inserted into its east wall (75). The names of a board of magistrates appears to have been displayed in an inscription associated with a cistern located south of the temple (74). Three Lissian *kosmoi* named at the end of 79 were memorialized for their role in inscribing the decree of the Cretan Koinon and Tiberius' reply on a doorjamb at the principal entrance to the temple. The city of the Lissians and their *kosmoi* showed their authority in publicly visible decrees (75, 84, 85), the city and the sovereign assembly in another (77). Civic decrees granting *proxenia* (80, 83, and possibly 78), and fragmentary decrees of *proxenia* (81, 89) or a treaty-like relationship (79) were likely to have included the name of the city of the Lissians and their *kosmoi*.

As one proceeds from publicly visible inscriptions to those visible to the god in the temple, we can note that some documents in the *sekos* or *cella* also commemorate *kosmoi* (82) or the city of the Lissians and its *kosmoi* (87, 88); a proxeny inscription should have done the same (89). In the *cella* increasingly private inscriptions were visible to the

god rather than the public (90–113); 114 could have been destined for dedication in the Asklepieion.

Publication of the various types of writing – private as well as public – revealed in excavations of the Asklepieion at Lissos will contribute to our knowledge of the cult of Asklepios both at Lissos and on Crete, and of the social and political dynamics of western Crete. From the Hellenistic to the Roman period, these inscriptions provide evidence for the names and identities of Lissians as well as non-Lissians, and the movement of men, goods, and ideas.

Appendix 1. Dossiers for Cretan sites sacred to Asklepios¹

A. Itanos

treaties, decrees

1. Stele with decree that all citizens swear an oath, to be set in front of the Pythion and in the Asklapaion; beginning of the 3rd century BCE; Heraklion Museum inv. no. 59 (*I.Cret* III, iv 7; Bultrighini 1993, 53; Sporn 2002, 36).
2. Stele with decree granting privileges to Patroklos Patronos of Macedonia, to be set up in the *hiaron* of Athena and Asklepios; mid-3rd century BCE; found covering a Christian grave at Erimoupolis (*I.Cret.* III, iv 3; Bultrighini 1993, 51–52; Sporn 2002, 36).

B. Lato

sacred laws, narratives, regulations

3. Fourteen fragments of a sacred law, located at a temple (of Asklepios?); 2nd century BCE; found in 1900 at Gulàs, in the forum of the ancient city (*I.Cret.* I, xvi 6; Bultrighini 1993, 59; Sporn 2002, 63).

C. Olous

treaties, decrees

4. Three-sided inscription with a series of decrees, one naming *proxenoi* and *evergetai*, to be displayed in the *hiaron* of Asklepios (A); another with a *psaphisma* honoring the Rhodian doctor Kasios, to be inscribed in the temple of Zeus Tallaios and that of Asklepios (C); 3rd century BCE (A) – 2nd century BCE (B-C); found on the isthmus of Porós in 1898 (*I.Cret.* I, xxii 4 A and C; Bultrighini 1993, 60; Sporn 2002, 76).

bases for statues and statuettes

5. Dedication to Asklepios (base of a statuette?); 3rd century BCE; found in one of the windmills of Porós (Petros-Mesogeites 1937/38, 194, no. 2; Bultrighini 1993, 60; Sporn 2002, 76).

D. Eronos

treaties, decrees

6. Decree recording renewal of *asylia* for the Teians, to be inscribed in the *hiaron* of Asklepios; 170–140 BCE; block from the temple of Dionysos at Teos, found at Tepecik (Rigsby 1996, 318–319, no. 155; Sporn 2002, 337, n. 2503).

E. Arkades

treaties, decrees

7. Fragments of a treaty between Hierapytna and Arkades, in which Hierapytnians are to go to the festival of the Asklepieia at Arkades; 2nd half of the 3rd century BCE, between 227 and 221 BCE; dug up a little before 1856 at Hierapetra, where it was built into the home of Konst. Kastrozannakis, and seen by Spratt (Spratt 1965, II:

¹ Entries in this Appendix give (1) a description of the evidence; (2) dating information; (3) information about the findspot, as available; and (4) reference(s) in parentheses.

- 264; *I.Cret.* III, iii 1B; Bultrighini 1993, 65; Chanotis 1996, 217–221, no. 14; Sporn 2002, 97).
8. Decree of *asylia* for the Teians, to be inscribed onto the *hiaron* of Asklepios; 201 BCE; at Teos, on the walls of the temple of Dionysos (*I.Cret.* I, v 52; Bultrighini 1993, 65; Rigsby 1996, 311–312, no. 150; Sporn 2002, 97).
 9. A second *asylia* decree for the Teians, to be inscribed onto the *hiaron* of Asklepios; 170 BCE; Teos, on the walls of the temple of Dionysos (*I.Cret.* I, v 53; Bultrighini 1993, 65; Rigsby 1996, 322–324, no. 159; Sporn 2002, 97).
 10. Stele with a treaty between the Hierapytnians in Hierapytna and the Hierapytnians in Arkades, copies of which are to be set up in the temple of Athena Polias at Hierapytna and in the *hiaron* of Asklepios at Arkades; 2nd century BCE; found in the ruins of Hierapytna in 1565 (*I.Cret.* III, iii 5; Bultrighini 1993, 61–63; Chanotis 1996, 432–439, no. 74; Sporn 2002, 97).
 11. Decree honoring Hierapytnian legates, destined for the *naos* of Asklepios (or Thelphousa); 2nd century BCE; found between Vakiotes and Ini, in the field of Mich. Rethemiotakis (*I.Cret.* I, v 19A; Bultrighini 1993, 65; Sporn 2002, 97).

official interventions, restorations

12. Fragmentary text dated by reference to a Roman emperor, proconsul, and quaestor or legate, as well as a protokosmos, and mentioning *ta demosia* and *anphi Askle[-9-]*; 1st century; Ini, in the house of Petr. Matthioudakis (*I.Cret.* I, v 20B; Bultrighini 1993, 64; Sporn 2002, 97).

base for a statue?

13. Part of an inscription with the letters [---]AAΣKΛAΠ[---]OYION; Roman period; in the location Hellenika at Ini (Platon 1956, 420; Bultrighini 1993, 64; Sporn 2002, 158).

F. Chersonesos

dedications

14. Dedication (of a statue? shrine?) to Asklepios, commemorated on the occasion of the monthly assembly; 1st century BCE; found among the ruins of Chersonesos (*I.Cret.* I, vii 5; Bultrighini 1993, 64; Sporn 2002, 107).

G. Knossos

official interventions, restorations

15. Neronian restoration of land to Asklepios; mid-1st century; moved to the Heraklion Museum (inv. no. 189) from an unidentified location in 1912 (*I.Cret.* I, viii 49; Bultrighini 1993, 73–74; Sporn 2002, 117).
16. Neronian restoration of land to Asklepios; mid-1st century; found in the garden of the Villa Ariadne (*I.Cret.* I, viii 55; Chanotis 1986, 183f; Bultrighini 1993, 74; Sporn 2002, 117).

H. Gortyn

epistyles, architectural members or elements, monumental inscriptions

17. Fragment of an epistyle with triglyphs and part of the name plus the patronymic of a dedicant (?) and part of the name of the god (?); 2nd/1st century BCE; in Ag. Dekka, in the courtyard of the house of Spyr. Koudatzanakis (*I.Cret.* IV 239; Sporn 2002, 158).
18. Fragment of an epistyle with part of the name of the god; 1st century BCE; found east of the Odeion in 1900, near the north wall of Ag. Titos, i.e., in the Agora of the city (*I.Cret.* IV 240; Sporn 2002, 158).

I. Pyloros

official interventions, restorations

19. Restoration/systematization of beds by Amarantos son of Matros; 2nd century BCE; found at Apessokari in the south wall of the church of the Panagia (*I.Cret.* I, xxv 2; Bultrighini 1993, 80; Sporn 2002, 179; Melfi 2007, 160, no. 6, where re-assigned to Lebena).

J. Lebena

epistyles, architectural members or elements, monumental inscriptions

20. Epistyle with reference to a wall and stoa; 3rd century BCE; Heraklion Museum inv. no. 69 (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 4; Melfi 2007, 158–159, no. 4).
21. Architectural member; 2nd century BCE; Heraklion Museum without inv. no. (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 13; Melfi 2007, 172, no. 16).
22. Architectural elements recording intervention in a stoa; end of the 2nd to beginning of the 1st century BCE; found in excavations of the sanctuary (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 6; Melfi 2007, 178, no. 24).
23. Wall inscription with reference to something of an emperor, to a Roman or local official, and places to sleep; early 1st century, possibly Tiberian; Heraklion Museum inv. no. 78 (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 40; Melfi 2007, 186–187, no. 35).
24. Marble revetment for a wall; Julio-Claudian; found during the excavations of 1911, in second use as a threshold in the so-called upper stoa (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 54; cf. IV 582; Melfi 2007, 187, no. 36).
25. Fragments of a monumental inscription, perhaps a dedication to an emperor; 1st–2nd century, possibly Neronian; Miamù (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 37; Melfi 2007, 188, no. 37).
26. Fragment of an epistyle referring to an emperor as *soter* or to the safety of an emperor; 1st–2nd century, possibly Trajanic; built into the north side of the chapel of Ag. Ioannis, near ground level (Camia – Melfi 2004; Melfi 2007, 188, no. 36a).
27. Fragments of an epistyle; 3rd century (?); drawing of Halbherr (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 42; Melfi 2007, 195–196, no. 50).

official interventions, restorations

28. Intervention by two *nakoroi*, to displace or remove the *choros* from the *adyton*, i.e., the North Stoa; 2nd half of the 2nd to beginning of the 1st century BCE; found in 1992 in Ephoreia excavations of the G. Apostolakis plot, 120 m. SW of the Asklepieion (Kritzas 1992–93, 275–290; Melfi 2007, 177–178, no. 23).

29. Account of a miracle worked by Asklepios, who showed a father-and-son pair of *nakoroi* a course of water toward the temple, with a serpent as guide; end of the 2nd to beginning of the 1st century BCE; North Stoa (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 21; Melfi 2007, 175–176, no. 20).
30. Decree concerning the sanctuary, with two *nakoroi*; end of the 2nd to beginning of the 1st century BCE; found at Lebena (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 44; Melfi 2007, 177, no. 22).
31. Restoration of the *thesauros*; end of the 2nd to beginning of the 1st century BCE; found upside down in a Roman level near the *thesauros* north of the temple (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 6; Melfi 2007, 178–179, no. 25).
32. Fragment of a plaque naming an [Apol]lonius, perhaps Aelius Apollonius, known as *procurator Augusti* at Gortyn in 169; 2nd century; found in front of the temple (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 34; Melfi 2007, 190–191, no. 42).
33. Three fragments of a plaque to Julia Augusta as *mater [castrorum/Augustorum]*; Severan (?); found inside the temple (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 55; Melfi 2007, 194–195, no. 47).

treaties, decrees

34. Part of a treaty or decree between Phaistos and Tenos, probably a decree of *asylia*, *isopoliteia*; between 278 and 268 BCE; Miami (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 1; Rigsby 1996, 157–159, no. 55; Melfi 2007, 156–158, no. 3).
35. Prescript of a decree concerning the sanctuary, citing two *nakoroi* before *kosmoi*; end of the 2nd to beginning of the 1st century BCE; Heraklion Museum inv. no. 55 (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 38; Melfi 2007, 176, no. 21).

sacred laws, narratives

36. Sacred law concerning access to the *enkoimeterion* or *abaton*; 3rd/2nd century BCE; from the area of Lebena (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 3; Melfi 2007, 159–160, no. 5).
37. Decree concerning the handing over of sacred material from one official to his successor; 2nd century BCE; Miami (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 2; Melfi 2007, 161–162, no. 7).
38. Three texts of which the first concerns official institution of a catalog of *iamata* on the wall of the North Stoa; the second, an account of the foundation of the sanctuary; the third, an account of the sending of the serpent from Epidauros to Lebena; 2nd century BCE; North Stoa (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 8; Melfi 2007, 164–166, no. 10).
39. Second text concerned with the finances of the god, silver object(s), offering(s) in money or precious goods appropriate to the deity; 1st/2nd century; North Stoa (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 14; Melfi 2007, 171–172, no. 15B).
40. Plaque with a poetic narration, possibly a paean, decorated with two serpents; 3rd–4th century; Heraklion Museum inv. no. 208 (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 37; Melfi 2007, 195, no. 49).

cures, prescriptions

41. Two accounts of cures; 2nd century BCE; North Stoa (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 11; Melfi 2007, 167–168, no. 11).
42. One or more accounts of cures; 2nd century BCE; North Stoa (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 10; Melfi 2007, 168–169, no. 12).
43. Three accounts of cures; 2nd century BCE; North Stoa (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 9; Melfi 2007, 169–170, no. 13).

44. Possible cure in which divine action was limited to a prescription of ritual action, inside the sanctuary; 2nd century BCE; North Stoa (?) (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 15; Melfi 2007, 170–171, no. 14).
45. Account of a cure; 2nd century BCE; North Stoa (?) (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 14; Melfi 2007, 171–172, no. 15A).
46. Two accounts of cures; 2nd half of the 2nd century BCE; North Stoa (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 12; Melfi 2007, 173–174, no. 19).
47. Medical prescription inspired by Asklepios; 1st century BCE/1st century; near the “grand portico” along the shore (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 20; Melfi 2007, 180, no. 27).
48. Individual cure for a woman; 1st half of the 1st century; found at Lebena (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 19; Melfi 2007, 184–185, no. 32).

bases for statues and statuettes

49. Statue base in honor of Seleukos son of Bithys of Alexandria, in honor of his role in Ptolemaic conflict over Cyprus, possibly due to a position in diplomatic relations between the Lagids and Crete; mid-2nd century BCE; found near the so-called “temple by the sea” in 1894 and drawn by Taramelli (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 33; Melfi 2007, 163, no. 8).
50. Probably part of a statue base privately dedicated in honor of a woman, as a parent or friend; 1st century BCE/1st century; Heraklion Museum inv. no. 117 (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 36; Melfi 2007, 181, no. 28).
51. Base that held an offering by a *toreutes*, possibly for a statue or another object; 1st half of the 1st century; found at Lebena, on the hill east of the hill of the sanctuary (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 39; Melfi 2007, 184, no. 31).
52. Statue base dedicated to a mother by her daughter; 1st century (?); found at Lebena by Halbherr (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 35; Melfi 2007, 186, no. 34).
53. Statue base for a cult statue of the god, with an inscription repeated twice, by (T. Flavius) Xenion of Gortyn; 2nd century, between 165 and 180; temple of Asklepios (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 25; Melfi 2007, 188–189, no. 38).
54. Small altar dedicated to Asklepios in gratitude for a cure, with a small statue inserted into the upper surface; 2nd/3rd century; found at Lebena and taken to England by Spratt (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 24; Melfi 2007, 191, no. 43).

dedications

55. Corner of a base with the name of Zenas; 2nd century BCE (?); found at Lebena, Halbherr drawing derived from Taramelli (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 31; Melfi 2007, 163–164, no. 9).
56. Dedication A on behalf of a child (?); dedication B of unidentified type; 1st century BCE; Lebena, not drawn by Halbherr (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 46; Melfi 2007, 179–180, no. 26).
57. Individual dedication to Asklepios with account of cure; 1st half of the 1st century; found at Lebena (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 17; Melfi 2007: 181–182, no. 29).
58. Individual dedication to Asklepios with an account of a prolonged stay at the sanctuary; 1st half of the 1st century; found near the Monastery of Kundumas (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 18; Melfi 2007, 183, no. 30).
59. Dedication to Asklepios [and all his *synnaioi*]; 1st century; found at Lebena, near Cape Leon (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 32; Melfi 2007, 185–186, no. 33).

60. Small altar dedicated to Asklepios and Hygieia; 2nd century; Miamù, drawn by Halbherr (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 34; Melfi 2007, 189, no. 39).
61. Dedication to Asklepios as *epekoos*; 2nd century; Heraklion Museum, known from a drawing by Halbherr (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 38; Melfi 2007, 189, no. 39).
62. Dedication to Asklepios as *epekoos*; 2nd century; Lebena, drawn by Halbherr (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 29; Melfi 2007, 190, no. 41).
63. Dedication from a *therapeutes*; 3rd century; found in excavation near the temple (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 41; Melfi 2007, 192, no. 44).
64. Small altar dedicated to Hygieia *Soteira Synodoiporos* (A); dedication by an unknown Xenion to [Asklepios?] *Synodoiporos* (B); Severan (A) to 3rd century (B); Lebena, found near the shore (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 26; Melfi 2007, 192–193, no. 45).
65. Dedication to Asklepios *Synodoiporos*; Severan; Monastery of Kundumas, church of Ag. Ioannis (*I.Cret.* I, xvii ad 26; Melfi 2007, 193, no. 46).
66. Small column dedicated to Zeus Serapis Asklepios *Iatros Titanius et Lebeneus*; 3rd–4th century; found in the course of excavation near the *thesauros* (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 27; Melfi 2007, 194–195, no. 48).

inscribed instrumenta domestica

67. Fragment of a vessel incised with a dedication to the god (?); 5th or 4th century BCE; found during excavation near Ag. Ioannis (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 1; Melfi 2007, 156, no. 2).
68. Fragment of a Roman brick inscribed with the name Askla[pi---]; imperial period; from Lebena, drawn by Halbherr (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 30; Melfi 2007, 196, no. 51).

unidentified type

69. Unidentified text; 2nd century BCE; North Stoa, used for various types of texts, particularly cures (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 16; Melfi 2007, 173, no. 17).
70. Unidentified text; 2nd century BCE; North Stoa, used for various types of texts, particularly cures (*I.Cret.* I, xvii 43; Melfi 2007, 173, no. 18).

K. Lasaia

dedications

71. Sixteen fragments of a dedication incised on a clay tablet; 1st century BCE/1st century; found in 1917 at Ag. Kyriaki between Hodigitria and the ruins of Lasaia (*I.Cret.* I, xv 3; Bultrighini 1993, 99–100; Sporn 2002, 194).

inscribed instrumenta domestica

72. Roof file dedicated to Asklepios and naming Zenas Apellonio; later 2nd century BCE; found in 1987, in the Ag. Kyriaki valley 3 km. west of Lasaia (Hadzi-Vallianou 1979, 383; Chaniotis 2000, 57; Sporn 2002, 194).

L. Lissos

epistyles, architectural members or elements, monumental inscriptions

73. Lintel of a building with reference to a portico; early Hellenistic; found in 1959, during excavation south of the temple (Platon 1959a, 19; Platon 1960b, 516; Bultrighini 1993, 106; *SEG* 45, 1173; Baldwin Bowsky, forthcoming 2).

74. Inscription associated with an upper cistern; Hellenistic; found in 1960, during excavation south of the temple (Platon 1960a, 1 and 4; 1996, 397; Baldwin Bowsky, forthcoming 2).

official interventions, restorations

75. Architectural dedication by Serion son of Dexios from Elyros, followed by a civic decree probably granting *proxenia*; 2nd century BCE; found in 1959, during excavation of the eastern area in front of the temple (Platon 1959a, 19; 1959b, 377; Bultrighini 1993, 107; *SEG* 45, 1315; Baldwin Bowsky, forthcoming 2).
76. Doorjamb inscribed with a decree of the Cretan Koinon and the emperor Tiberius' reply, approving additions to the celebration of the imperial cult; early 1st century, in the reign of Tiberius; found in 1959, during excavation of the area in front (i.e., east) of the temple (Platon 1959a, 22–23; 1959b, 376; 1959c, 22; 1996, 397; Baldwin Bowsky, forthcoming 1).

civic decrees

77. Civic decree granting *proxenia*; 2nd century BCE; found in 1958, during excavation of the east side of the temple (Platon 1958a, 113a; 1959b, 376–377; 1996, 276–277; Baldwin Bowsky, forthcoming 2).
78. Civic decree, possibly granting *proxenia*; 2nd century BCE; found in 1958, during excavation (Platon 1958a, 115a; Baldwin Bowsky, forthcoming 2).
79. Treaty/civic decree granting *asylia* and *aspondia*; 2nd century BCE; found in 1958, during excavation of the south wall of the temple (Platon 1958a, 115a; Baldwin Bowsky, forthcoming 2).
80. Civic decree, probably granting *proxenia*; 2nd century BCE; found in 1958; during excavation of the east side of the temple (Platon 1958a, 113a; Baldwin Bowsky, forthcoming 2).
81. Civic decree; 2nd century BCE; found in 1959, during excavations when it was collected from the wall of the improvised buttress west of the so-called “plateia,” a flat, open space south of the temple (Platon 1959a, 16; Baldwin Bowsky, forthcoming 2).
82. Civic decree; 2nd century BCE; found in 1958, during excavation of the *cella*; 2nd century BCE (Platon 1958a, 115b–116a; Baldwin Bowsky, forthcoming 2).
83. Civic decree, probably granting *proxenia*; 2nd century BCE; found in 1959, during excavations when brought down into the southern area in front of (i.e., along the side of) the temple (Platon 1959a, 19; Baldwin Bowsky, forthcoming 2).
84. Fragment of a civic decree, probably granting *proxenia*; 2nd/1st century BCE; found in 1958, during excavation on the east side of the temple (Platon 1958a, 102b; 1958b, 466; Bultrighini 1993, 196–197; *SEG* 45, 1314; Baldwin Bowsky, forthcoming 2).
85. Civic decree; 2nd/1st century BCE; found in 1959, during excavations when transferred from the so-called plateia, a flat, open space south of the temple (Platon 1959a, 13; Baldwin Bowsky, forthcoming 2).
86. Small fragment of a probable civic decree; 2nd/1st century BCE; found in 1958, during excavation of the east side of the temple (perhaps Platon 1958a, 102b; Baldwin Bowsky, forthcoming 2).

87. Civic decree; 2nd/1st century BCE; found in 1958, during excavation of the *cella* (Platon 1958a, 115b–116a; 1959a, 16; Baldwin Bowsky, forthcoming 2).
88. Two fragments of a civic decree, probably one granting *proxenia* to an Aptaerian; 2nd/1st century BCE; found in 1958, during excavation of the *cella*; a third fragment collected from the wall of the improvised buttress west of the so-called “plateia,” a flat, open space south of the temple (Platon 1958a, 115b–116a; 1959a, 16; Baldwin Bowsky, forthcoming 2).
89. Civic decree granting *proxenia*; 2nd/1st century BCE; found in 1958, during excavation of the *cella* (Platon 1958a, 115b–116a; Baldwin Bowsky, forthcoming 2).

sacred laws, narratives

90. Base for a cult statue dedicated to Asklepios that bears a sacred law; early Hellenistic/3rd century BCE; found in 1957, during preliminary explorations (Platon 1957, 336–337; 1959c, 20; Peek 1977, 80–81, no. 10; *SEG* 28, 750; Lupu 2005, 337, no. 24; Baldwin Bowsky, forthcoming 2).

bases for statues and statuettes

91. Base for a statuette naming Mnamas (?) son of Alexippos; 3rd–2nd century BCE; found at Lissos in 1957 (Sporn 2002, 310; Machaira, forthcoming).
92. Base for a statuette naming Boudos (?) son of Pou[---]; 3rd–2nd century BCE; found at Lissos in 1958 (Sporn 2002, 310; Machaira, forthcoming).
93. Base for a statuette naming Kleuphanes son of Anaxibios; 3rd–2nd century BCE; found at Lissos in 1958 (Sporn 2002, 310; Machaira, forthcoming).
94. Base for a statuette naming [---]sitheos; 3rd–2nd century BCE; found at Lissos (Sporn 2002, 310; Machaira, forthcoming).
95. Base for a statuette naming Euxaridas son of Menetios; 3rd–2nd century; found at Lissos in 1958 (Platon 1958a, 106b; Sporn 2002, 310; Machaira, forthcoming).
96. Base for a statuette naming Phanius son of Euthas[---] son of Damonikos; 3rd–2nd century BCE; found at Lissos (Sporn 2002, 310; Machaira, forthcoming).
97. Base for a statuette, bearing an inscription hard to read; 3rd–2nd century BCE; found at Lissos (Sporn 2002, 310; Machaira, forthcoming).
98. Base for a statuette naming Pheisokles son of Alexippos; 3rd–2nd century BCE; found at Lissos in 1958 (Platon 1958a, 113b; Sporn 2002, 310; Machaira, forthcoming).
99. Base for a statuette naming Sositimos son of Gyrion and Gyrion; 3rd–2nd century BCE; found at Lissos in 1958 (Platon 1958a, 106a; Sporn 2002, 310; Machaira, forthcoming).
100. Base for a statuette naming Dioteles; 3rd–2nd century BCE; found at Lissos (Sporn 2002, 310; Machaira, forthcoming).
101. Base for a statuette naming Menetios; 3rd–2nd century BCE; found at Lissos in 1958 (Platon 1958a, 106a; Sporn 2002, 310; Machaira, forthcoming).
102. Base for a statuette bearing an inscription hard to read; 3rd–2nd century BCE; found at Lissos (Sporn 2002, 310; Machaira, forthcoming).
103. Base for a statuette bearing the name of Basilonna; 3rd–2nd century BCE; found at Lissos in 1958 (Platon 1958a, 100a; Sporn 2002, 310; Machaira, forthcoming).

104. Base for a statuette dedicated to Asklepios and [Hygieia?]; 3rd–2nd century BCE; found at Lissos in 1958 (Platon 1958a, 100b; Sporn 2002, 310; Machaira, forthcoming).

dedications

105. Fragment of a marble stele bearing a dedication to Asklepios; 3rd century BCE; found in the north part of the temple (Platon 1958a, 108b; Baldwin Bowsky, forthcoming 2).
106. Small gold lamina dedicated to Asklepios and Hygieia by Kanopos on behalf of his safety; 3rd/2nd century BCE; found in 1958, while cleaning the mosaic floor of the *cella* (Platon 1958a, 115; 1958b, 466; Bultrighini 1993, 107; *SEG* 45, 1319; Martínez Fernández 2003; Baldwin Bowsky, forthcoming 2).
107. Small snake of gold foil, with an incised inscription naming the dedicant, Asklas; 1st–2nd century? found in 1958 (Platon 1958a, 107a; 1959b, 21–22; Bultrighini 1993, 107; Platon 1996, 397; *SEG* 45, 1318; Markoulaki, forthcoming).
108. Alabaster table dedicated by the imperial freedman P. Aelius Leonas; 2nd century; fragments found in 1958 and 1959, near the east wall of the temple, and later in 1959 inside the temple to the northeast (Platon 1958a, 106a and 106b; 1959a, 5; Baldwin Bowsky 1995, 267–269, no. 2; *SEG* 45, 1323; *AE* 1995, 1622; Baldwin Bowsky, forthcoming 2).
109. Stele recording the deferred manumission of a female slave dedicated to Asklepios; 2nd century; handed over in 1959 (Platon 1959a, 3; 1959b, 376; Baldwin Bowsky, forthcoming 2).
110. Fragments of a stele recording the manumission of a female slave dedicated to Asklepios; 2nd century; one fragment found in 1958, when collected from inside the temple; another fragment collected in 1959 during cleaning of the mosaic, both to be joined with **112** (Platon 1958a, 109b; 1959a, 2; Baldwin Bowsky, forthcoming 2).
111. Fragment of a stele recording a dedication to the god; 2nd century; Chania Museum (Baldwin Bowsky, forthcoming 2).
112. Fragments of a stele recording the manumission of a female slave dedicated to Asklepios; 2nd century; Chania Museum, to be joined with **110** (Baldwin Bowsky, forthcoming 2).
113. Phrygian marble table dedicated to Asklepios *Soter* by Agathemeros Eucharistou of Kos; 2nd–3rd century; one fragment found in 1957, during preliminary explorations in the northwest corner of the temple during excavation; the greater part found in 1959, inside the temple (Platon 1957, 337; 1958a, 103a and 109b; 1958b, 466; 1959b, 377; Bultrighini 1993, 107; *SEG* 45, 1316; Markoulaki, forthcoming).

inscribed instrumenta domestica

114. Half of a loomweight incised with the name Aro; Hellenistic; found in 1959, in an area southwest of the temple, outside the sanctuary (Platon 1959a, 14; Baldwin Bowsky, forthcoming 2).

unidentified type

115. Fragments of a stele bearing an inscription of unidentified type that mentions worship; 2nd–3rd century; one fragment found in 1958, in the southwest corner of the *cella*; another fragment found in 1960, in fill in the eastern area in front of (i.e., along the side of) the temple (Platon 1958a, 111a; 1960a, 3; Baldwin Bowsky, forthcoming 2).
116. Fragments of an inscription of unidentified type recording a penalty of 2000 denarii to be paid to the imperial treasury for violation of a grave; 2nd/3rd century; found in 1957, during preliminary explorations (Baldwin Bowsky, forthcoming 2).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Baldwin Bowsky, M.W. (1995), Eight inscriptions from Roman Crete, *ZPE* 108: 263–280.
- Baldwin Bowsky, M.W. (2009), An extra-mural sanctuary of Roman Aptera?, in: A. Martínez Fernández (ed.), *Estudios de Epigrafía Griega*, La Laguna: 315–322.
- Baldwin Bowsky, M.W. (forthcoming 1), Tiberius and the Asklepieion at Lissos (Crete): petition and response, image and power, *Mediterraneo Antico*.
- Baldwin Bowsky, M.W. (forthcoming 2), Inscriptions from the Asklepieion at Lissos (Crete): An Epigraphic Dossier.
- Blackman, D.J. (1976), Lissos, in: R. Stillwell (ed.), *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, Princeton: 519–520.
- Bultrighini, U. (1993), Divinità della salute nella Creta ellenistica e romana. Ricerche preliminari, *Rivista di cultura classica e medioevale*, 35: 49–118.
- Camia, F., Melfi, M. (2004), Un nuovo frammento epigrafico dall'Asclepieion di Lebena, *Cretica Antica* 5: 295–302.
- Chaniotis, A. (1986), Kleine Beiträge zu kretischen Inschriften, *ZPE* 62: 193–197.
- Chaniotis, A. (1996), *Die Verträge zwischen kretischen Poleis in der hellenistischen Zeit*, Stuttgart.
- Chaniotis, A. (2000), Hellenistic Lasia (Crete): a dependent polis of Gortyn. New epigraphic evidence from the Asklepieion near Lasia, *Eulimene* 1: 55–60.
- Cooley, A. (2012a), From Document to Monument: Inscribing Roman Official Documents in the Greek East, in: J. Davies, J. Wilkes (eds.), *Epigraphy and the Historical Sciences*, Oxford: 159–182.
- Cooley, A. (2012b), *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy*, Cambridge.
- Faure, P. (1993), Nouvelles identifications d'antiques localités crétoises, *Kadmos* 32: 67–74.
- Gercke, P. (1990), Nr. 240–43. Vier Mädchentorsen, in: E. Gerger (ed.), *Antike Kunstwerke aus der Sammlung Ludwig III. Skulpturen*, Mainz/Rhein: 236–248.
- Hadzi-Vallianou, D. (1979), Λασαία, *Arch.Delt.* 34 B'2: 382–383.
- Hood, S., Smyth, D. (1981), *Archaeological Survey of the Knossos Area*, Oxford – London – Northampton.
- Kritzas, Ch. (1992–93), Nouvelle inscription provenant de l'Asclepieion de Lebena (Crète), *ASAA* 70–71: 275–290.
- Lupu, E. (2005), *Greek Sacred Law: A Collection of New Documents (NGSL)*, Leiden.
- Ma, J. (2012), Epigraphy and the Display of Authority, in: J. Davies, J. Wilkes (eds.), *Epigraphy and the Historical Sciences*, Oxford: 133–158

- Machaira, B. (2011), Το Ασκληπιείο στη Λισσό· ο χαρακτήρας της λατρείας μέσα από τα γλυπτά αναθήματα, Πεπραγμένα I' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου (Χανιά, 1–8 Οκτωβρίου 2006), A5, Chania: 437–453.
- Machaira, B. (forthcoming), Τα γλυπτά απο το Ασκληπιείο στη Λισσό.
- Markoulaki, S. (forthcoming), Αφιέρωσες απο το Ασκληπιείο στη Λισσό.
- Martínez Fernández, A. (2003), Una nueva inscripción votiva de Lisos, Creta, *ZPE* 145: 131–132.
- Melfi, M. (2007), *Il santuario di Asclepio a Lebena*, Athens.
- Myres, J.W., Myres, E.E., Cadogan, G. (1992), *The Aerial Atlas of Ancient Crete*, Berkeley – Los Angeles.
- Papaoikonomou, Y. (1982), Trois oursons crétoises, *BCH* 106: 419–426.
- Parker, R. (2012), Epigraphy and Greek Religion, in: J. Davies, J. Wilkes (eds.), *Epigraphy and the Historical Sciences*, Oxford: 17–30.
- Peek, W. (1977), Kretische Vers-Inschriften II, *Arch. Cl.* 29: 64–85.
- Petros-Mesogeites, Chr. N. (1937–38), Κρητικά Έπιγραφικά, Έλληνικά 10: 193–209.
- Platon, N. (1956), Ίνι Μονοφατσίου, *Kr.Chr.* 10: 420–421.
- Platon, N. (1957), Λισσός, *Kr.Chr.* 11: 356–357.
- Platon, N. (1958a), Ανασκαφή Λισσοῦ (Άσκληπιεῖον), 19 Μαΐου – 31 Μαΐου 1958, unpub. excavation diary.
- Platon, N. (1958b), Ανασκαφή Άσκληπιείου Λισσοῦ, *Kr.Chr.* 12: 465–467.
- Platon, N. (1959a), Β' Περίοδος Ανασκαφῶν Λισσοῦ (25 Ιουλίου – 11 Ιουλίου 1959), unpub. excavation diary.
- Platon, N. (1959b), Ανασκαφή τοῦ Άσκληπιείου Λισσοῦ, *Kr.Chr.* 13: 376–378.
- Platon, N. (1959c), Τὰ Άσκληπιεία στὴν Κρήτη, *Kr.Est.* 11: 19–26.
- Platon, N. (1960a), Γ'η Περίοδος Ανασκαφῶν Άσκληπιείου Λισσοῦ (18 Ιουλίου – 28 Ιουλίου 1960), *Kr.Chr.* 14: 516.
- Platon, N. (1960b), Άσκληπιείον Λισσοῦ, *Kr.Chr.* 14: 516.
- Platon, N. (1962), Τὰ Άσκληπιεία στὴν Κρήτη, Περηγητική, 12–17.
- Platon, N. (1996), s.v. Lisós, *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica*, Secondo Supplemento 1971–1994, III, Rome: 396–398.
- Rackham, O., Moody, J. (1996), *The Making of the Cretan Landscape*, Manchester – New York.
- Riethmüller, J. (2005), *Asklepios: Heiligtümer und Kulte*, 2 vols., Heidelberg.
- Rigsby, K.J. (1996), *Asyilia: Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London.
- Spanakis, S.G. (n.d.), Κρήτη Β'· Δυτική Κρήτη, Herakleion.
- Spanakis, S.G. (1991), Πόλεις και χωριά της Κρήτης στο πέρασμα των αιώνων, Herakleion.
- Sporn, K. (2002), *Heiligtümer und Kulte Kretas in klassischer und hellenistischer Zeit*, Heidelberg.
- Spratt, T.A.B. (1965), *Travels and Researches on Crete*, 2 vols., London.
- Talbert, R.J.A. (ed.) (2000), *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, Princeton – Oxford.
- Vorster, C. (1983), *Griechische Kinderstatuetten*, Köln.
- Watrous, L.V. (1982), *Lasithi: A History of Settlement on a Highland Plain in Crete*, Princeton.