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W.-D. NIEMEIER – O. PILZ – I. KAISER (HRSG.)

● KRETA IN DER GEOMETRISCHEN
UND ARCHAISCHEN ZEIT

Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums
am Deutschen Archäologischen Institut, Abteilung Athen
27.–29. Januar 2006

ANGELOS CHANIOTIS
Memories of early Crete

PDF-Dokument des gedruckten Beitrags

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ATHENAIA

Band 2



W.-D. Niemeier – O. Pilz – I. Kaiser (Hrsg.)

Kreta in der geometrischen und archaischen Zeit

Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums
am Deutschen Archäologischen Institut, Abteilung Athen
27.–29. Januar 2006

To the memory of John Nicholas Coldstream

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VORWORT UND EINLEITENDE BEMERKUNGEN

Vorwort

Die Idee zu dem Kolloquium, dessen Akten hier vorgelegt werden, ist entstanden, als wir feststellen mussten, dass in den letzten Jahrzehnten zwar viel neue Literatur zur frühen Eisenzeit Kretas, in der die Insel eine führende Rolle in der griechischen Welt spielte, erschienen ist, aber gerade jüngeren Wissenschaftlern, die sich mit diesem Themenbereich beschäftigen, nur wenige Möglichkeiten geboten wurden, ihre Ideen zu präsentieren und zur Diskussion zu stellen. Hier sollte das Kolloquium ansetzen und die Plattform für einen Dialog bieten, den es bis dahin in dieser Form nicht gegeben hatte. Obwohl die ursprüngliche Idee darin bestand, einen kleinen Workshop für Nachwuchswissenschaftler zu veranstalten, wurde auf Anraten von Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier beschlossen, auch die renommierten Vertreter der archäologischen und historischen Forschung mit einzubeziehen. Dass dies die richtige Entscheidung war, zeigt, so hoffen wir, die vorliegende Publikation. Durch den Dialog verschiedener Forschergenerationen ist ein reflektiertes Bild entstanden, das den derzeitigen Forschungsstand in umfassender Weise widerspiegelt.

Wie der Titel besagt, zielte das Kolloquium nicht auf einen bestimmten thematischen Aspekt ab, sondern hat lediglich den zeitlichen Rahmen abgesteckt. Somit enthält der vorliegende Band einerseits neue Grabungsergebnisse, andererseits aber auch Beiträge, die sich mit der Rückbesinnung auf das minoische Erbe, den Beziehungen zum Orient, der Entstehung der Polis, dem Schriftgebrauch, der Religion und den Mythen sowie der Kunstproduktion beschäftigen. Die Vernetzung dieser einzelnen Aspekte sowohl im regionalen kretischen Zusammenhang als auch im innergriechischen bzw. mediterranen Kontext ist ein wichtiges Ergebnis des vorliegenden Bandes.

Herzlich danken wir allen Referenten für ihre in Athen vorgetragenen Beiträge und deren schriftliche Fassung für den Druck. Des Weiteren sei allen Teilnehmern für ihre unermüdliche Diskussionsbereitschaft gedankt, die ganz wesentlich zum Gelingen des Kolloquiums beigetragen hat. Allen Mitarbeitern an der Abteilung Athen, insbesondere Astrid Lindenlauf und Sascha Maul, danken wir für ihre tatkräftige Unterstützung bei der Organisation und Durchführung der Tagung. Der Gerda Henkel Stiftung schulden wir Dank für die großzügige finanzielle Unterstützung, die das Kolloquium in dieser Form überhaupt erst ermöglicht hat. Darüber hinaus übernahm die Gerda Henkel Stiftung auch einen Teil der Druckkosten der vorliegenden Publikation. Die englischsprachigen Beiträge wurden von Caitlin D. Verfenstein in bewährter Weise redigiert. Kerstin Helf fertigte dankenswerterweise eine Abschrift des maschinenschriftlichen Manuskriptes des Beitrags von J. Nicolas Coldstream (+) an. Nicht zuletzt gilt unser Dank Peter Baumeister, der 2009 die redaktionelle Bearbeitung übernommen und zügig zum Abschluss gebracht hat.

Gewidmet sei der Band dem Andenken von J. Nicolas Coldstream. Nicht nur sein wegweisender Abendvortrag »Geometric and Archaic Crete: A Hunt for the Elusive Polis«, sondern auch seine äußerst kenntnisreichen Diskussionsbeiträge, die er seiner ruhigen Wesensart gemäß stets sachlich und ohne jede Polemik vortrug, haben uns – und hier glauben wir für alle Teilnehmer sprechen zu können – tief beeindruckt. Sein Tod hat uns schmerzlich berührt und hinterlässt in vieler Hinsicht eine nicht wieder zu schließende Lücke.

Einleitende Bemerkungen

Bei der archäologischen Erforschung der Kultur der Insel Kreta standen bis in die jüngere Zeit hinein die bronzezeitlichen Entwicklungsphasen deutlich im Vordergrund. Eine der Hauptursachen hierfür bildete die frühe Entdeckung der ›minoischen‹ Palastkultur bei den von Arthur Evans im Jahr 1900 begonnenen Grabungen in Knossos. Nicht nur die eindrucksvolle architektonische Gestalt der Paläste, sondern auch die überaus reiche und vielfältige künstlerische Produktion der minoischen Kultur und deren Einfluss auf die mykenische Kultur des griechischen Festlandes hat zunächst ein nur begrenztes Interesse an der Kultur und Geschichte des nachbronzezeitlichen Kreta aufkommen lassen.

Wie die Forschung gerade in den letzten Jahrzehnten zunehmend erkannt hat, spielte die Insel aber auch im 10. bis 7. Jh. v. Chr. im Entstehungsprozess der griechischen Kultur der historischen Zeit eine bedeutende Rolle. Eine wichtige Voraussetzung hierfür bildete zweifelsohne die strategisch günstige Position der Insel am Schnittpunkt zahlreicher Handels- und Kommunikationswege im östlichen Mittelmeer, der es zu verdanken ist, dass sich die auswärtigen Kontakte der Insel nach dem Zusammenbruch der bronzezeitlichen Palastkultur bereits in der protogeometrischen Zeit erneut intensiviert haben. Dadurch wurde vielfältigen Einflüssen insbesondere aus der Levante und dem Vorderen Orient deutlich früher als auf dem griechischen Festland der Weg bereitet. Später, im 7. Jh. v. Chr., gingen beispielsweise die Impulse zur Entstehung der griechischen Großplastik und zur Ausstattung von Tempeln mit Skulpturenschmuck von Kreta aus. Auch in politischer Hinsicht ist die Entwicklung auf Kreta im frühen 1. Jt. v. Chr. hoch bedeutsam, bilden sich doch in diesem Zeitraum soziale Strukturen und Institutionen heraus, die zumindest teilweise bereits auf die im 8. Jh. v. Chr. entstehende Polis vorausweisen.

Das internationale Kolloquium ›Kreta in der geometrischen und archaischen Zeit‹, das vom 27. bis 29. Januar 2006 an der Abteilung Athen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts stattfand und dessen Akten in diesem Band vorgelegt sind, war die bisher erste Tagung überhaupt, die sich so umfassend mit diesem für die Insel so wichtigen Zeitraum auseinandergesetzt hat. Aufgrund der inhaltlich weitgehend offenen Konzeption des Kolloquiums deckt auch die Publikation der Beiträge ein breites Themenspektrum ab, ohne deswegen an Fokussierung auf die Kernproblematik einzubüßen: den komplexen Übergangsprozess von den soziopolitischen Strukturen der ausgehenden Bronzezeit zur griechischen Polisgesellschaft. Die insgesamt 32 Beiträge beleuchten diese Entwicklung zwar in erster Linie aus archäologischer Perspektive, jedoch kommt beispielsweise in den Beiträgen von A. Chanotis und F. Guizzi durchaus auch die althistorische Sicht zur Geltung.

Innerhalb des Bandes sind die einzelnen Beiträge zu thematischen Gruppen zusammengefasst. Mit zehn Beiträgen nimmt die Präsentation neuer archäologischer und topographischer Forschungen sowie die Publikation von Funden und Befunden aus älteren Grabungen einen wichtigen Platz ein. Hervorzuheben sind hier insbesondere der konzise Überblick über die Ergebnisse der 2006 abgeschlossenen amerikanischen Grabung in der Siedlung von Azoria sowie die Publikation der geometrischen Nekropole von Eltynia. Mit dem Erscheinen des Kolloquiumsbandes verbreitert sich die Materialbasis für die weitere Auseinandersetzung mit dem geometrischen und archaischen Kreta somit entscheidend.

Einen weiteren Schwerpunkt bilden Beiträge, die sich gezielt mit einzelnen Gattungen der handwerklich-künstlerischen Produktion Kretas im fraglichen Zeitraum auseinandersetzen. Naturgemäß nimmt hier besonders die Keramik breiten Raum ein. Dass der Erschließungsaspekt wiederum eine wichtige Rolle spielt, wird u. a. am Beitrag über die Keramikfunde aus dem Haus Γ auf dem Hügel Nisi in Eleutherna deutlich, einer möglichen Töpferwerkstatt der geometrischen Zeit.

Eine weitere Gruppe von vier Aufsätzen, die einen stärker synthetischen Ansatz verfolgen, widmet sich dem Problem der Entstehung der Polis auf Kreta, so u. a. der möglichen Rolle von Synoikismen im Prozess der Siedlungsverdichtung, der mit der Genese der Polis einhergeht. Daran schließen

sich je zwei Beiträge an, die Heiligtümer und Kulte auf Kreta bzw. Darstellungen von Mythen in der kretischen Kunst in den Blick nehmen. Die folgenden drei Aufsätze stellen verschiedene Teilaspekte der kretischen Kultur, beispielsweise den Schriftgebrauch und die Hausarchitektur, in den gesamtgriechischen Kontext. Den Abschluss des Bandes bilden zwei Beiträge, die thematisch über den griechischen Bereich hinausgreifen, indem sie die Beziehungen Kretas zum Vorderen Orient untersuchen. Hierbei ist der wegweisende Beitrag zum Bronzegürtel und -köcher aus Fortetsa hervorzuheben.

Der Tatsache, dass die Tagung bewusst als Kolloquium konzipiert war, trägt die Publikation insofern Rechnung, als die teilweise ausführliche Diskussion zu den einzelnen Beiträgen in den Band aufgenommen wurde. Die Diskussion vertieft nicht nur einzelne Aspekte, sondern eröffnet vielfach neue Perspektiven auf die jeweiligen Sachverhalte. Dass das Athener Kolloquium einen entscheidenden Anstoß zur Beschäftigung mit den bisher stark vernachlässigten nachbronzezeitlichen Entwicklungsphasen Kretas geliefert hat, wird daran deutlich, dass sich die Forschungsdiskussion seither intensiviert hat. Die Akten des Kolloquiums spiegeln den derzeitigen Forschungsstand zu Kreta in der geometrischen und archaischen Zeit in umfassender Weise wider. Aufgrund dieser thematischen Breite steht zu hoffen, dass sich der Band als Referenzwerk für die weitere Auseinandersetzung mit der materiellen Kultur und soziopolitischen Entwicklung im geometrisch-archaischen Kreta etablieren und der Forschung weitere wichtige Impulse geben wird.

W.-D. Niemeier, O. Pilz, I. Kaiser

MEMORIES OF EARLY CRETE

Γιὰ τὸν Γιάννη Σακελλαράκη

1. Giving early Crete a human face

We have no difficulties in imagining Bronze Age Crete as an island inhabited by human beings. Minoan Crete derives its name from that of a mortal man, a man created by the mythical imagination, but still a man; a judge over the dead, but still a mortal¹. The iconography of Minoan art is full of images of human beings, sometimes fulfilling everyday activities, more often performing rituals. The remains of the material culture of this people whom we are used to call »the Minoans« provide insights not only into the worship of their gods, but also their housing and administration, their economic activities and travels, their clothes and jewels, their music and their dances.

It is because we perceive the Minoans as human beings that those who study their world have often attempted to detect or to imagine central aspects of their ›soul‹, their emotional life, their joys, their thoughts, perhaps even their dreams². Admittedly, we may no longer be as confident as some scholars of the 20th century who saw the Minoans as a peaceful nation, but the attention paid by the Minoans to nature is more than just an invention of our ecologically conscious world. Not only gameboards in palaces but also images in art (e.g., the ›Harvester Rhyton‹) reveal a playful mind, with a sense of humour and irony. Thanks to linguistic survivals we know some of the names of the gods they invoked when they made their sacrificial offerings, and we are told by ancient lexicographers that they thought of one of their goddesses, Britomartis, as a sweet maiden³. The attribute »sweet« even gives us a sense of Minoan taste, an appreciation of the taste of honey with which the Minoans must have sweetened their food and possibly their wine. The human figure is not absent from their art, and beyond the

representation of stereotypical (ritual) activities, the images of individual persons may not have been unknown to the Minoans⁴. The religious iconography of the Minoans reflects the images they saw in their visions. Some of the Cretan myths may originate in Minoan narratives, and I would not hesitate to trade half of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* for a good Minoan adventure story, like the one that must have inspired the fleet fresco in Thera. When we study Minoan Crete we study the Minoans as human beings, however misleading their name may be.

Mycenaean Crete is another misleading name, this time not deriving from a human, imaginary or real. The landscape of Mycenaean Crete, as well, is a landscape dominated by human beings. The Linear B texts give some of their names and portray the social complexity of their communities.

This human face of Crete is not entirely destroyed at the end of the Bronze Age, but it is now elusive. Our terms for the early periods of post-Minoan Crete do not place an individual, a people or a social phenomenon in the foreground, but highlight either our ignorance (with the term »Dark Ages«) or emphasize a stylistic feature (with the terms »Geometric« or »Daedalic« period). We do not even have a name for these early Cretans, and fortunately no one ever came up with the idea of calling them the »Darks«, the »Geometrics« or the »Daedalians«. The anthropomorphic image that dominates the art of the first post-Minoan centuries, the goddess with the uplifted arms, somehow stands as a metaphor for the collective scholarly surrender in face of the riddles of this period. Human beings are elusive in the last years of the second and the first centuries of the first millennium.

We know some of the settlements in which our early Cretans lived, but their living conditions are

¹ On the development of the term »Minoan« see Cadogan 2006.

² On the influence of ›Zeitgeist‹ in the interpretation of the Minoan world see the essays in Darcque et al. 2006 (especially Alexopoulos 2006 and Treuil 2006) and in Hamilakis – Momigliano 2006.

³ Willetts 1962, 179 n. 256 (with the sources: Hesychios, s.v. βριτώ; Etym. Magn. 214, 29; Solin. 11, 8).

⁴ Polinger Foster 1997, esp. 130–134 (on the ›portrait seals‹). Cf. Karetsou 2005.

hard to reconstruct⁵, their skeletal remains may reveal the pain of their illnesses or their wounds⁶, but of course they do not tell us how they responded when the ache of disappointed love reached their heart. The grave goods of the man who was buried in the grave at Khaniale Teke⁷ possibly reveal his origin and his profession, but neither the reasons that lead him to Crete (if he was, indeed, a foreigner), his feelings every time he remembered his fatherland, his hopes to return there nor his determination to find a new home in Crete.

This is not to say that an attempt to approach the inhabitants of Geometric and Archaic Crete as human beings is meaningless. The silent remains of their material culture reflect a variety of emotions: the awesome respect towards gods and demonic beings⁸, the affection between soldiers⁹, the desire of a man for a woman¹⁰, the pride for the status of the horseman¹¹, the thrill of an undecided battle¹², the joy of revenge (when, for example, executing a captured enemy)¹³ and even the respectful memory of the Minoan past¹⁴. But a historian is uncomfortable with subjective impressions and helpless without texts.

The textual tradition begins in the eighth century B.C. with a few graffiti from Kommos¹⁵, it is very scant in the seventh century B.C. and remains meagre even in the sixth and early fifth centuries B.C. To this evidence we can add a few narratives concerning historical or legendary persons of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. and it is these narratives that this paper will treat. The question I shall address concerns the position of individuals and the role, if any, of individuality, in early Cretan history, as this is reflected in such narratives. It is more than appropriate to ask this question. Archaic Greece is domi-

nated by great personalities: aristocratic leaders of factions, tyrants, lawgivers, founders of colonies, wise men, poets, and innovative artists. These men – again, we are usually dealing with men – were driven by their emotions: ambition, and pride, a sense of honour and justice, and a sensitivity towards faithful friendship and betrayal. Great individuals inspired the epic poets; individual emotions were the subject of the lyric poets, and individual achievements in art and sport and the discovery of things unknown impressed their contemporaries and were remembered by future generations. The first dedicatory inscriptions on innovative or delightful works of art, such as the Apollo dedicated by Mantiklos in Thebes around 700 B.C., the Kore dedicated by Nikandre on Delos (who describes herself as the excellent – *exochos* – daughter of Deinodikes) around 640 B.C. or the Kouros made and dedicated by Euthykratides in Delos around 600 B.C., present these works as the achievements of individuals¹⁶. The feeling of pride is even transmitted to a statue when it proudly declares that it is of the same stone as its base¹⁷. The first word in European literature is a word of affect (*menis*) and, in the mid-seventh century B.C., the poetry of Archilochos portrayed, for the first time in European literature, the inner life of one's self, not just avoiding stereotypes, such as heroic death in battle, but defying them¹⁸.

While the sayings of the wise men were urging for moderation¹⁹ and a poet in the northern Aegean was for the first time addressing his own soul and exposing his most intimate feelings (love, anger, fear, hate, loss, betrayal)²⁰ is it possible that the inhabitants of the largest island in the southern Aegean were left untouched by the explosion of individuality that can be observed in many aspects of the Archaic age and

⁵ Glowacki 2004. For settlement patterns in general: Nowicki 2000; Haggis 2001; Sjögren 2003. Some examples of settlements: Chalasmeno and Katalimata: Haggis – Nowicki 1993. – Gortyn: Di Vita 1991; Allegro 1991. – Kavousi and its area: Haggis 1993; Haggis 1996; Coulson et al. 1997. – Karphi: Nowicki 1999; Perna 2004. – Knossos?: Coldstream 1991. – The area of Chania: Andreadaki-Vlasaki 1991. – Prinias: Rizza 1991 and 2000. – Sybrita: Rocchetti – D'Agata 1999. – Vrokastro: Hayden 1983; Hayden 2004, 137–166. On evidence for nutrition at Smari see Τσουκαλά – Χατζή-Βαλλιάνου 2000.

⁶ Ἀγγελαράκης 2004; Agelarakis 2005.

⁷ Boardman 1967; Morris 1992, 157 f.; Hoffmann 1997, 191–245; Kotsonas 2006.

⁸ e.g., in the representation of the Dame d'Auxerre (Blome 1982, pl. 19, 4) and on a helmet in New York (Hoffmann 1972, 2–4 and pl. 1–5; Blome 1982, 60–63 and pl. 24, 1).

⁹ e.g., in the bronze plaque in the Louvre (Blome 1982, pl. 22, 2; Λεμπέση 1985, 52 f. and pl. 5).

¹⁰ e.g., in the vase from Arkades (Blome 1982, 88 f. and pl. 19, 2).

¹¹ e.g., Hoffmann 1972, 10 and pl. 31. 33; Chaniotis 1991, 100 n. 41; D'Acunto 1995.

¹² e.g., on the bronze belt from Fortesta (Blome 1982, 78 f. and pl. 2, 1; 3, 1. 2) and the frieze from Chania (Blome 1982, 7 f. fig. 2).

¹³ Σταμπολίδης 1996.

¹⁴ Coldstream 1988; Coldstream 1994, 110–115; Lefèvre Novaro 2004; Preston 2005; Sjögren 2008, 170–189.

¹⁵ Csapo 1991; Csapo 1993 (SEG XLI 762–767; XLIII 613); Johnston 1993, 356–374 nos. 59. 76. 88. 91. 99. 104. 106. 107. 118. 133–136. 146. 147. 151. 152; Csapo – Johnston – Geagan 2000, 109–112.

¹⁶ Mantiklos: Fuchs 1979, 21–22. Nikandre: InscrDélös 2. Euthykratides: InscrDélös 1. Cf., in general, Καρούζος 1982.

¹⁷ InscrDélös 4.

¹⁸ e.g., Archilochos, frs. 5 and 128 ed. West. On individual voices in Archaic poetry see Kurke 2007.

¹⁹ Stob. I 172–173 ed. Hense.

²⁰ Archilochos, fr. 5. 11. 13. 19. 128–130. 188–191. 196a ed. West. Cf. Snell 1958; 1965, 62–65.

in many parts of the Greek world? It is not unreasonable to ask this question with regard to a historical period, one of the most important phases of which is named after an individual who was believed to have brought motion to statues and thus revolutionized art. When we use the term »Daidalic«, we unconsciously place a *protos heurtes*, a legendary first inventor (the »Cunning Worker«, the artist of cunningly wrought works), in the foreground; we invoke someone who dared challenge the tradition, who crossed the boundaries set by ancient norms and who invaded a three-dimensional space; we summon the creator of statues that could move, see, and talk²¹.

The legends and anecdotes about Daidalos are not unique in the literary tradition concerning early Crete, and justify a study of the role played by individuals in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. on Crete. In this paper, I invite the reader on an imaginary journey to Archaic Crete using ancient narratives about individual Cretans as our vehicle. The question I shall address is whether, and how, these narratives reflect social, cultural, and mental developments in Archaic Crete and, in particular, the role of individuality.

2. Some personalities in Archaic Crete

The memories of early Crete are memories connected with individual persons. Leaving aside the purely mythical figures (characters such as Staphylos, Sarpedon, Tallos, and Idomeneus), stories were narrated about Etearchos, king of Axos, the Gortynian composer and lawgiver Thaletas, the composer of love songs Ametor of Eleutherna, the itinerant priest Epimenides, the sculptor Aristokles of Kydonia (Paus. 1, 25, 11), and the Knossian architects Chersiphron and Metagenes, who allegedly built the temple of Artemis at Ephesos around 600 B.C. (Plinius, nat. 8, 37, 125; Vitruvius, de arch. 7, 12 and 7, 16).

2. 1. Etearchos of Axos

If modern historians suspect these stories to be artificially constructed, then the story of Etearchos of Axos, as narrated by Herodotus, seems to confirm their suspicions. Etearchos appears as the maternal grandfather of Battos, the founder of Kyrene, according to the Theran version of the *ktisis* legend (4, 154, 1–155, 1):

»There is a city on Crete, Oaxos, in which Etearchos was the king. For the sake of his daughter, Phronime, who was motherless (*ameter*), he married another woman. When this woman came into his house she was a real stepmother to Phronime through her deeds, treating her in an evil manner and scheming against her in every possible way. To make a long story short, she accused her of lust and persuaded her husband about the truth of the accusation. Following his wife's advice, Etearchos schemed an unholy deed against his own daughter. There was a man from Thera in Oaxos, Themison, a merchant. Etearchos accepted him as a friend (*xenos*) and let him take an oath that he would assist him in anything Etearchos might request. After Themison had taken the oath, Etearchos fetched his daughter, surrendered her to him, asking him to carry her away and throw her into the sea. Themison was outraged at the deceitful interpretation of the oath (*apatei tou horkou*), released himself from the bonds of friendship, and did as follows. He took the girl and sailed away. When he was in the middle of the sea, he fulfilled his oath towards Etearchos, by binding his daughter with ropes and throwing her into the sea. Then he pulled her back and arrived at Thera. Here, Polymnestos, one of the prominent Therans, took her as his concubine. Some time later she gave birth to a son, weak-voiced and stammering, whom the name Battos was given.«

The Cretan part of this story consists of clichés, and those who might not be alert enough to notice this, are given some assistance through the names of the characters. The king is called »the genuine Ruler« (Ete-archos), the bad stepmother is just the stepmother, the virtuous daughter is called »the Prudent«, the righteous merchant from Thera is called »the Righteous« (Themison, the one who respects *themis*)²². The prominent man (*dokimos*) in Thera is »the Much-Remembered« (*Polymnestos*), the stammering son is »the Stammering one«. Too many coincidences, one must admit.

And then we have the fairytale motifs: an orphaned girl becomes the victim of a bad stepmother who confirms every prejudice against stepmothers; the careless father, influenced by his wife, believes the accusation of lust, and driven by his emotions and sense of honour, makes a fatal decision. The genuine ruler is ruled. None of these clichés is specifically related to Crete; Crete did not monopolize bad stepmothers or men who were gullible enough to believe everything their wives told them. Is there anything Cretan in this story, besides the Cretan setting?

²¹ On the traditions concerning Daidalos see Overbeck 1868, 11–17; Boardman 1961, 158; Λεμπέση 1976, 112–115; Donohue 1988, 165 f. 179–183; Morris 1992.

²² Cf. Stampolidis 2006, 60.

First, we have the name Etearchos. One is tempted to see here an artificial name built on analogy to the ethnic name Eteo-kres. But this is not necessarily so. Names with the element *ete* (genuine) are quite common all over Greece: Eteagoras, Eteophylos, Eteandros, Eteokles, Eteochares, Eteonikos, Eteodoros, Eteodamas, Eteokreon, Eteokrates etc.²³. Etearchos is, in fact, the most common among them, with forty-two attestations in the first volume of the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* alone. What is interesting here is that this name is particularly common in two areas: in Crete (eight attestations) and in Cyrenaica (twenty attestations); by comparison, there are six attestations in Athens, five in Sparta, four in Rhodes and three in Boiotia. In other words, we find the name Etearchos most prevalent precisely in the two areas that the legend of Etearchos links. Even if we assume that the later Etearchoi were inspired by the Axian Etearchos, the Axian Etearchos and his legend must already have been well established by that time.

Then, the story takes place in Axos or Waxos, of all places, not in Knossos, Gortyn, or Phaistos. Axos is not one of the Cretan cities mentioned in the Homeric epics and is not an obvious choice for an invented story. This is, in fact, the only reference to Axos in the pre-Hellenistic literary sources. The selection of this city, if not rooted in a true story, certainly reflects the importance of Axos in the Archaic period, something that is also indicated by the archaeological evidence and numerous early inscriptions²⁴. Is the presence of a trader from the Aegean on Psiloritis in the early seventh century B.C. conceivable? Axos is one of the three Cretan communities – together with Gortyn and Eleutherna – from which contracts with artisans survive²⁵; this certainly indicates an interest in manufacture. In these documents, artisans and their descendants were given privileges, including taking their meals in the *andreion*²⁶. An Axian trader is possibly mentioned in a document from Cyprus²⁷ and recent archaeological finds document the exchange between Crete and Thera in the early Archaic period²⁸.

Another Cretan element in this narrative is the part played by the oath. The swearing of oaths is, of course, a general phenomenon but the sophisticated interpretation of oaths is a Cretan specialty. In no oth-

er region of the ancient world do we have so many examples of oaths with provisions against their violation through a sophistic interpretation (*techne, mechane*)²⁹.

The story of Etearchos in Herodotos is a combination of fairytale motifs with an authentic Cretan setting. Is Etearchos a historical figure? Possibly, but not certainly: what is more important is that the question is highly irrelevant.

2. 2. Entimos

The second eponymous public figure in Archaic Crete is Entimos who, like Etearchos, is connected with a *ktisis*. He is known from Thucydides (6, 4, 3) and Diodoros (8, 23) as one of the founders of Gela: »Antiphemos of Rhodes and Entimos of Crete assembled colonists and together founded Gela in the 45th year after the foundation of Syracuse [688 B.C.].« Recent research leaves no doubt concerning the historicity of Cretan participation in the foundation of Gela³⁰. The presence of Cretan colonists is confirmed not only through archaeology but also by the typically Cretan names one encounters in this colony.

We know nothing about Entimos, not even his Cretan city of origin, although the name is attested in fifth-century B.C. Gortyn. He must have been, or believed to have been, a member of an aristocratic family. This corresponds both to the general practice of foundations taking place under the leadership of an aristocratic *oikistes* in this period and to his aristocratic name: En-timos, the one who has a share in *time*, honour and public office.

2. 3. Ametor of Eleutherna

With the third individual, Ametor of Eleutherna, we leave behind the public figures from foundation stories and approach another group: cultural heroes. Ametor is mentioned in Athenaios' long list of the first inventors in music (*Deipnosoph.* 14, 637 f.). Aristonikos of Argos was the first solo kithara-player, Dion of Chios was the first to play the libation music to Dionysos on the kithara and:

²³ See LGPN I–IV, s.vv.

²⁴ InscrCret. II, v, 1–16; SEG XXIII 565. Cf. Stampolidis 2006, 60 f.

²⁵ InscrCret. II, v, 1 = Koerner 1993, 351–355 no. 101. For a systematic discussion of the contracts see van Effenterre 1979; cf. Chaniotis 2005, 186 f. and SEG LIV 832.

²⁶ InscrCret. II, v, 1 (Axos); SEG XXVII 631 (Datala).

²⁷ InscrCret. II p. 45.

²⁸ Σιγάλας 2002, 31–36 (Daidalic statuettes in Thera); Stampolidis 2006, 63 f. (a Theran *stamnos* in Eleutherna).

²⁹ Wheeler 1984; Chaniotis 1996, 77; cf. Cazzano 2005. Cf. the anecdote concerning the Cretan Pandareos in Paus. 10, 30, 2; the joke this time is on the Cretan who lost a golden dog he had stolen, when Tantalos, by means of a sophistic interpretation of an oath, claimed that he had never received it (καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρκῳ μετασχόντα σοφίσματος).

³⁰ de Miro 1974; Perlman 2002a; Sammartano 2003 (with earlier bibliography). Cretan presence in Sicily: Lo Porto 1974; Rizza 1984/1985.

»Others say that Ametor of Eleutherna was the first to play erotic odes on the kithara in Eleutherna; his descendants are called Ametoridai« (637 b)³¹.

It has been suggested that Ametor is a mythological figure, one of the Kouretes, the mythical founder of a family of priests, or that the Ametoridai were a clan associated with the cultivation of the storax and the cult of Apollo Styrakites³². The name Ametor has been translated as the »follower (or the ›brother‹) of the mother goddess«. There may be more straightforward explanations. In fact, even the meagre information concerning Ametor, the Ametoridai, and the *erotikai odai* smoothly fits into the socio-cultural context of Archaic Eleutherna.

Firstly, the clan of the Ametoridai parallels other groups of specialists who identified themselves by means of their relation to the man who first exercised a profession, established a particular skill or transmitted a particular knowledge. The most famous among these real or imaginary clans are the Asklepiadai of Kos, the practitioners of medicine, and the Talthybiadai in Sparta, the heralds³³. Functional names of clans, such as »the heralds« (*kerykes*) or »the ox-yokers« (*bouzygai*), in Athens indicate the specialization of hereditary groups in rituals³⁴.

Secondly, the existence of a group of specialized artisans, in this case musicians, in Crete, and in Eleutherna in particular, in the Archaic age should be anything but surprising. Crete almost monopolizes the representations of musicians in bronze sculpture in the Geometric and early Archaic period³⁵. Eleutherna is one of the Cretan cities from which contracts with professional specialists survive, albeit very fragmentary. Both of the surviving documents concern craftsmen: workers of leather (*skyteus, sisyropoioi*), probably for the making of armament³⁶.

Thirdly, the transmission of a specialized skill – music, in particular – within a family is a well known phenomenon in antiquity³⁷, again, already attested in Archaic Crete. The famous work contract between the scribe Spensitheos and the community of the Dataleis stipulates, among other things, that

only the male descendants of Spensitheos were to exercise this particular craft³⁸.

Therefore, the clan of the Ametoridai as a family, not of priests, but of specialized artisans who monopolized a particular profession and transmitted a skill within the family makes sense both for Archaic Crete and for Archaic Eleutherna.

There is more in support for placing Ametor in the context of late eighth or early seventh century B.C. Eleutherna. The name Ametor is not without significance. It literally means »the motherless«. Such a name alludes to obscure conditions of birth. Ametor may have been ›motherless‹ in the sense that his mother was not a member of a citizen family, but a foreigner or not free, bestowing an ambiguous legal status upon her son; we have an analogous Cretan name that suggests illegitimate birth: Nothokartes in Gortyn and Knossos³⁹. Alternatively, Ametor was ›motherless‹ because his mother died giving birth to him, leaving him literally motherless. The latter explanation is paralleled by the story of Etearchos⁴⁰. It should be noted that the earliest reference to *ametor* is in the longest Cretan story narrated by Herodotos: Phronime was *ametor*, motherless, and consequently underprivileged; moreover, motherless children in ancient Greece often became outcasts. We will encounter another *ametor* in a moment.

Such an ambiguous legal or family status as Ametor had in the legend may well reflect the legal position of the Ametoridai in Archaic Eleutherna: not citizens, but yet an integral part of the community. This description exactly matches the legal status of privileged craftsmen in this period.

Finally, we have the love songs composed by Ametor, erroneously thought to have been orgiastic cult songs. Cretan erotic odes, however, can only be related to Cretan eros, to the particular ritualized homoerotic practices of Cretan citizens, rituals deeply rooted in their social system and regulated by strict social norms⁴¹. The transitory ritual described by Ephoros has been confirmed by archaeological finds in the sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite in Kato Simi on Crete⁴². According to strict regulations, a

³¹ Cf. Hesychios, s.v. Ἀμητορίδας· καθαριστάς, Κρήτες.

³² Crusius 1894; Willetts 1962, 270.

³³ Asklepiadai: Edelstein – Edelstein 1945, I, 104–107; Talthybiadai: Hdt. 7, 134, 1.

³⁴ Parker 1996, 56–66. 284–342. Bouzygai: Visconti 2001, 129–145.

³⁵ Padgett 1985, 397 f.

³⁶ InscrCret. II, xii, 9; SEG XLV 1257; cf. n. 26.

³⁷ In general, Chaniotis 1990, 94 f.

³⁸ SEG XXVII 631 A LL. 7–10.

³⁹ Chaniotis 2002a, 52.

⁴⁰ Cf. Stampolidis 2006, 59, who also suggests the possibility that the Ametoridai were ›stateless‹ (*a-metris*, without a motherland).

⁴¹ Gehrke 1997, 31–35.

⁴² Ephoros *apud* Strabo 10, 4, 21 = FGHist 70 F 149. Recent discussions of the passage of Ephoros in connection with the finds at Simi: Λεμπέση 1985, 188–198; Λεμπέση 2002, 269–282; Gehrke 1997, 31–35; Scanlon 2002, 74–77; Chaniotis 2006 and 2009; Prent 2005, 481–484. 557 f. 577–582; cf. Marinatos 2003. Discussions without consideration of these finds: Vattuone 1998; Waldner 2000, 236–242; Chankowski 2002, 10–12; Davidson 2007, 300–315. On other sources for the rites of passage of young men in Crete see Capdeville 1995, 202–214; Leitaio 1995.

young man was abducted by a mature man of the same social rank. This ritual reflected and confirmed social hierarchies. After two months of joint life in the mountains spent hunting together, the *ephebe* was introduced to the citizen body and received presents with a symbolical significance: a cup, a warrior's attire and a sacrificial animal, which was sacrificed during a festival of Zeus. The moral and manly conduct of the *ephebe* and his adult companion was subject to scrutiny, discussion, praise, and criticism at the end of the rite of passage⁴³.

This is what the ancient sources characterise as *kretikos eros*. The *erotikai odai* are somehow connected with this ritual. We can only speculate about their content. Given the importance of social status, achievement, and moral conduct in the ritual of Cretan love, I suspect that the love songs of Ametor were songs of praise for the achievements and conduct of the lovers in accordance with the moral and citizen values of the Cretan communities. The importance of oral praise in the *syssitia* is highlighted by Dositadas (FGrHist 458 F 2): »after the dinner, they first consult about public matters; then, after this, they remember the deeds of war and praise those who have been virtuous/brave men, urging the younger men to behave as virtuous men.« Conceivably, the erotic odes were sung during the *syssitia* as a source of inspiration for the citizens and the youth. I can easily imagine that such love songs might have been the source of the Cretan love stories narrated in the literary sources, e.g., the story of the demanding lover Leukokomas of Lebena narrated by Theophrastos in his treatise *On Love*. According to Strabo's summary (10, 4, 12 C 478), »from Leben came Leukokomas (the white-haired) and his lover Euxynthetos (the one who joins well). Of the tasks which Leukokomas demanded from Euxynthetos, one, he says, was this – to bring to him the dog that was in Praisos«⁴⁴.

The homoerotic relationship should be seen in a military context. The combination of an erotic relationship with military achievement and praise brings us back to Eleutherna and one of its Geometric finds. The funeral pyre of an approximately thirty-year-old soldier and his young male (or female) companion, excavated by Nikos Stampolidis in the cemetery at Orthi Petra⁴⁵, may be related to these homoerotic relationships. The heroic death of two

soldiers in battle, followed by the ritual killing of a captured enemy, could have been such an affair to be remembered. Although this is pure speculation, such stories may have inspired the songs of Ametor and the Ametoridai.

Our only information about Ametor and the Ametoridai consists of only nineteen words. I would not want to squeeze any more information out of the nineteen words of the passage referring to the Ametoridai; we can find nothing in this passage that cannot be reconciled with the social conditions of Archaic Crete.

The more affluent our sources become, the more information they contain, the less credible this information is, the more anachronistic its rendering into a narrative. We will see this more clearly in a moment.

2. 4. Thaletas of Gortyn

Our primary source for Thaletas of Gortyn is Plutarch in his treatise *On Music* (*On music* 9–10 = *mor.* 1134 b–f)⁴⁶. He mentions Thaletas in connection with the establishment of institutionalized music performances at Sparta in the late seventh century B.C. He is said to have imitated Archilochos' music, from which point he proceeded to not only expand it to greater length, but also to use rhythms that Archilochos had not applied, such as the Paeonic and the Cretan rhythm. He is also said to have developed these rhythms from the *aulos* music of a certain Olympos who was believed to be the inventor of the enharmonic genre of music. Thaletas is mentioned along with composers from Kythera, Lokroi, Kolopon and Argos. In other words, we are clearly dealing with a Panhellenic figure. Although scholars have disputed whether he was a composer of paeans, it is certain that he was regarded a great poet⁴⁷. Aristotle associates him with the early law-givers Lykourgos and Zaleukos⁴⁸.

We know, from Hellenistic inscriptions, that his compositions were still known and performed in that period. When envoys of Mylasa visited Crete in the mid-second century B.C. in order to conclude treaties of inviolability with the Cretan cities, one of them performed works by Thaletas the Cretan⁴⁹. This ethnic designation attached to his name shows that his compositions were known all over Crete.

⁴³ Ephoros apud Strabo 10, 4, 21 = FGrHist 70 F 149.

⁴⁴ Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 766 c. The dog is the golden dog of Zeus that guarded his temple (cf. Anton. Lib., *Metam.* 36). The possible connection of this story with Cretan ephebic rituals has also been observed by Άστουρακάκη 2006.

⁴⁵ Σταμπολίδης 1996, 149–200, esp. 155 f.

⁴⁶ Cf. Paus. 1, 14, 4; Suidas, s.v. Thaletas.

⁴⁷ His identification with a homonymous epic poet from Knossos is not certain.

⁴⁸ Arist., *Pol.* 1274 a 28. Hölkeskamp 1999, 44 f.

⁴⁹ Chaniotis 1988.

Thaletas was regarded not only as an inventor, but also as a religious healer. It was believed that his music had saved Sparta from a plague.

2. 5. Epimenides of Knossos

Unlike Ametor, for whom only meagre sources exist, in the case of Epimenides we not only have numerous and relatively early references in the literary sources, we even have texts ascribed to him. And this, precisely, is the problem. Some of the sources are clearly anachronistic, others narrate incredible things and there are also contradictions and projections of later events⁵⁰. For this reason, Epimenides' life and actions have been considered as legendary as that of other eponymous figures of the Archaic age (e. g., Lykourgos of Sparta). Although Epimenides was mentioned as early as the sixth century B.C. (Xenophanes of Kolophon recounted, from hearsay, that Epimenides lived to the age of 154) and the existence of a historical Epimenides seems very probable, it is doubtful that we can attribute any texts to him with certainty or identify an authentic nucleus amidst the biographical traditions. It is nevertheless worthwhile to see what ancient sources report about him⁵¹ and how closely this reflects an Archaic cultural setting in Crete:

- He was born around 660 B.C.⁵².
- He was a Knossian or a Phaistian⁵³.
- His father was Phaistios or Phaistos, Dosiadas or Agesarchos or Agiasarchos⁵⁴.
- His mother was Blasta or Balte, a nymph, or Selene⁵⁵.
- While still a child, he was sent by his father to the

field (*eis agron*) to find a (lost?) sheep (*epi probaton*). Around noon (*kata mesembrian*) he left the road, probably in order to rest in a cave, fell asleep and woke up fifty-seven years later⁵⁶. According to Pausanias (1, 14, 4) his sleep lasted only forty years. According to others, he spent this time not sleeping but studying herbs (*ascholoumenon perirhizotomian*)⁵⁷.

- He built a reputation in Greece (*gnostheis para tes Hellesi*) as beloved by the gods (*theophilestatos*)⁵⁸ and he was involved in the purification of Athens from the miasma caused by the killing of Kylon and his followers⁵⁹.
- His appearance was unusual, with regard to his hairstyle. His body was found full of letters or signs (tattoos?). After his death, his skin was kept in Sparta and became proverbial⁶⁰.
- He was called a Neos Koures⁶¹.
- One of his skills was the ability to fall into the state of death and then revive himself (*prospoie thenai pollakis anabebiokenai*)⁶²; his psyche could leave his body as long as he wanted⁶³. This death-like sleep was the source of his knowledge, for he had no other teacher than his dreams, in which the gods, the words of the gods, truth and justice appeared⁶⁴. He also interpreted oracles⁶⁵.
- His ritual actions were also unusual⁶⁶. He is believed to have been the first to have purified houses and fields and to have founded sanctuaries, such as the sanctuary of the Semnai Theai in Athens and a sanctuary of the Nymphs, which was rededicated to Zeus when a voice from heaven ordered: »Epimenides, not of the Nymphs, but of Zeus!«. He also founded altars of Hybris and

⁵⁰ Cf. Huxley 1969; Herman 1989; Dusanic 1991; Federico 2001.

⁵¹ Collection of sources in FGrHist 457 (with the commentary of F. Jacoby); Colli 1978, 263–273. Discussion: Demoulin 1901, 7–88; Dodds 1951, 141–146; Mazzarino 1966, I 25–31, 46–52; Pugliese Carratelli 1974; Breglia Pulci Doria 2001; Gigante 2001; Federico 2001; Lupi 2001; Mele 2001; Tortorelli Ghidini 2001; Visconti 2001; Giammellaro 2001/2002; Valdés Guía 2002.

⁵² Suidas, s.v. On the date see Mazzarino 1966, I 538 f.; Tortorelli Ghidini 2001, 55.

⁵³ Knossian: Diog. Laert. 1, 109; Paus. 2, 21, 3; Suidas s.v. Phaistian: Strab. 10, 4, 14; Plut. Solon 12, 6; Mor. 409 e; cf. Tortorelli Ghidini 2001, 55 f.; Cucuzza 2005, 307–308.

⁵⁴ Phaistios: Diog. Laert. 1, 109. Phaistos: Suidas, s.v. Dosiadas: Diog. Laert. 1, 109; Suidas, s.v. Agesarchos: Diog. Laert. 1, 109. Agiasarchos: Suidas, s.v.; cf. Tortorelli Ghidini 2001, 56 f.

⁵⁵ Blasta / Balte: Plut., Solon 12, 7; Suidas, s.v. This may be a Semitic name (»Lady«); see Poljakov 1987. Selene: Ael. NA 12, 7; cf. Breglia Pulci Doria 2001, 295–300; Mele 2001, 241–245; Tortorelli Ghidini 2001, 58–63.

⁵⁶ Theopompos, FGrHist 115 F 67a = Diog. Laert. 1, 109; cf. Maxim. Tyr., Diss. 10 p. 110 ed. Hobein. For a discussion see Scarpi 2001; Brillante 2004.

⁵⁷ Diog. Laert. 1, 112.

⁵⁸ Diog. Laert. 1, 110. Cf. Plut. Solon 12, 7: θεοφιλής.

⁵⁹ [Aristotle], Ath. Pol. 1; Cic. leg. 2, 28; Diog. Laert. 1, 110; Plut., Solon 12, 7–9; Paus. 1, 14, 4; Suidas, s.v.; cf. Platon, Laws 1, 642 d, with a different date. Cf. Mazzarino 1966, I 29–31; Johnston 1999, 279–287.

⁶⁰ Hair: Diog. Laert. 1, 109: *kathesei tes komes to eidos paralasson*. Skin: Suidas, s.v.: γράμμασι κατάστικτον; cf. Sosisbios FGrHist 595 F 15 = Diog. Laert. 1, 115; Diogen., Proverb. 8, 28: *Epimenideion derma, epi ton apotheton*; Lupi 2001, 179–187.

⁶¹ Diog. Laert. 1, 115; Plut., Solon 12, 7.

⁶² Diog. Laert. 1, 114.

⁶³ Suidas s.v.

⁶⁴ Max. Tyr., Diss. 10 p. 110 and 38 p. 439 ed. Hobein; Detienne 1996, 55, 65, 124, 130 f. 133; Scarpi 2001, 32.

⁶⁵ Plut., Mor. 409 e; cf. Casertano 2001, 375–377.

⁶⁶ Theopompos, FGrHist 115 F 67a = Diog. Laert. 1, 110.

Anaideia as well as a round building in Sparta with statues of Zeus Olympios and Aphrodite Olympia inside⁶⁷.

- In order to purify Athens he brought white and black sheep to the Areios Pagos and let them go wherever they liked, asking the Athenians to sacrifice them to the appropriate god on the spot, wherever the sheep stopped to rest⁶⁸.
- He was also famous for his predictions, foretelling, for example, the disastrous role of the Mounychia in Athenian history, the defeat of Sparta by the Arkadians and the defeat of the Persians⁶⁹.
- He advised Solon on his laws⁷⁰.
- He was responsible for a treaty of alliance between Athens and Knossos⁷¹.
- He grew old in as many days as the years he had slept as a child in the cave while shepherding⁷². The Spartans fought against the Knossians, captured Epimenides alive and killed him. His body, however, was taken by the Argives who buried it in Argos⁷³.
- He died when he was 157 years old, i. e., 100 years plus the period of his long sleep⁷⁴. According to Xenophanes he died at the age of 154, according to Cretan authors at the age of 299, according to others at the age of 90 or 150⁷⁵.
- His body was kept in Sparta (contrary to what other sources claim – see above), where his grave was shown; his grave also was shown in Argos⁷⁶.
- The Cretans are said to have sacrificed to him as a god⁷⁷.
- Altars in Athens without dedicatory inscriptions were attributed to his purification⁷⁸.
- The works attributed to him include the epic poems »The Birth of the Kouretes and the Kory-

bantes and the Birth of the Gods« (5,000 verses); »The Construction of Argo and the Journey of Jason to the Land of the Kolchians« (6,500 verses); »Concerning Minos and Radamanthys« (4,000 verses); the prosaic text »Concerning Sacrifices and the Political Order in Crete«; an epic poem »Chresmoi« or »Katharmoi«; a letter to Solon with a description of the political order established by Minos, written in the Attic dialect, and another in the Doric dialect with predictions about the tyranny of Peisistratos; prosaic works on mysteries and purifications and other enigmatic texts⁷⁹.

This is not the place to treat the literary traditions concerning Epimenides or the cultural and religious contexts in which he should be placed⁸⁰, but I should like to make a few observations that are relevant to the subject.

At first sight, one is tempted to characterize the relevant legends as a compilation of common places. The story of Epimenides' initiation into the world of dreams, oracles, and sacred things clearly reveals itself as one such common place. His father sends him out to the fields for a sheep, and this leads the young Epimenides to his first religious experience. A similar story was told about Archilochus, to name just one example. He, too, was sent by his father to sell a cow, and while in the fields, on the way to the city, he encountered the Muses, exchanged the cow for a lyre, and became a lyric poet⁸¹. Hesiod, another shepherd, was tending his flock in Helicon when the Muses approached him and taught him to sing⁸². Epimenides' itinerant life corresponds to the life of sages and religious figures⁸³. His soul is itinerant as well, leaving the body and returning to it occasionally, an ability reported for

⁶⁷ Purifications: Iamblichos, *vita Pythag.* 135. Semnai Theai: Lobon of Argos *apud* Diog. Laert. 1, 112. Nymphs: Theopompos, FGrHist 115 F 69 = Diog. Laert. 1, 115. Hybris and Anaideia: Cic. *leg.* 2, 28; Clemens Alex., *Protrept.* 2, 26, 4; see the comment of Casertano 2001, 368 n. 41. Sparta: Paus. 3, 12, 11.

⁶⁸ Theopompos, FGrHist 115 F 67a = Diog. Laert. 1, 110. *Commenatry*: Federico 2001. On the purification of Athens see also Valdés *Guía* 2002.

⁶⁹ *Plat. leg.* 1, 642 d; Diog. Laert. 1, 115; cf. Dusanic 1991. On Epimenides and Sparta see Lupi 2001. On Epimenides and Argos see Breglia Pulci Doria 2001, 305–311.

⁷⁰ *Plut.*, Solon 12, 8. Cf. Johnston 1999, 282 f.

⁷¹ Diog. Laert. 1, 110.

⁷² Diog. Laert. 1, 115.

⁷³ Paus. 2, 21, 3. Cf. Coldstream – Huxley 1999, 302–304.

⁷⁴ Phlegon, FGrHist 257 F 38 = Diog. Laert. 1, 111. Cf. Stratariadaki 1998.

⁷⁵ Xenophanes, fr. 21 B 20 D–K = Diog. Laert. 1, 111; Suidas, s.v.

⁷⁶ Sparta: Paus. 3, 11, 11. Argos: Paus. 2, 21, 3.

⁷⁷ Diog. Laert. 1, 114.

⁷⁸ Theopompos, FGrHist 115 F 67a = Diog. Laert. 1, 110.

⁷⁹ Arist., *Rhet.* 3, 17; Diog. Laert. 1, 112 f.; Strab. 10, 4, 14; Cic. *div.* 1, 34; Hieronym., *Comment.* in Pauli *epist. ad Titum* VII p. 606 ed. Migne; Suidas, s.v. Cf. Mazzarino 1966, I 48 f.; Bernabé 2001; Mele 2001.

⁸⁰ See the bibliography in n. 51 and Dodds 1951, 135–178; Vernant 1982, 76–79; Giammellaro 2001/2002. Now the collection of essays in Federico – Visconti 2001, provides an excellent basis for future research.

⁸¹ Breitenstein 1971, 12 (also on a similar tradition concerning Hesiod).

⁸² Hes. *theog.* 21–34.

⁸³ Giammellaro 2001/2002.

several shamans in early Greece⁸⁴. His appearance as well (long hair, tattoos) corresponds to the image of the ›holy man‹⁸⁵. His correspondence with Solon, regarded as pseudo-epigraphic already in antiquity, fits well into the habit of attributing letters to wise men of this period. It has also been suggested that his name (from *epimenein*) reflects a certain concept of time⁸⁶.

Other details are clearly connected with the Cretan landscape and Cretan peculiarities: the sleep in the cave, the pastoral activity, and the collection of plants are natural activities in Crete⁸⁷; the importance of dreams in his life seems related to the fame of the Cretans as dream interpreters, in general⁸⁸.

Although the biographical information sometimes appears either ordinary or contradictory, one can recognize, in certain cases, similarities beyond the diversity. As an example, the two traditions about his city of origin can easily be reconciled: Epimenides was born in Knossos as the son of Phaistos, and his father's name was later misinterpreted as his place of origin. In fact, the name Phaistos is one of the few personal names epigraphically attested in Archaic Crete. It is the name of the dedicator of a *lebes* in the Idaean Cave around 525 B.C.⁸⁹. Many Cretan personal names derive from the names of Cretan *poleis* (Knossos, Lappaïos, Petraïos, Praïos, Hyrtakinas, Sybritas, etc.)⁹⁰, so it should not be a surprise if the patronymic ›Phaistos‹ is part of an authentic tradition.

Then, his mother is said not to have been a mortal woman, but a nymph. As in the case of Ametor, we are again dealing with a motherless child who could easily become an outcast. This may explain his itinerant life. The possibly Semitic name of his mother (see note 55) also matches Cretan circumstances in the mid-seventh century B.C.

Some of the details seem so distinctive, because of the lack of parallels, that it is hard to regard them as common places. The rituals he performs are unique (such as the use of sheep in the purification

of Athens) as are the cults he allegedly introduced. His versions of the birth of gods and his vegetarian food, taught to him by the Nymphs and stored in an ox's hoof, are also distinctive⁹¹.

It is exactly this combination of common places, Cretan particularities and unusual or unique elements that make it plausible, although nothing can be said with certainty about Epimenides and despite the fact that his biographical information does not constitute a coherent narrative, that at least part of it is not purely imaginary.

2. 6. Hybrias

Leaving Epimenides' alleged poems aside, hardly any fragments of early Cretan poetry survive. The hymn of the Kouretes from Palaikastro⁹² can be dated to the Hellenistic period, but the song of Hybrias, a *skolion*, seems to be Archaic, perhaps from the late sixth century B.C.⁹³.

»My great wealth is my spear and sword, and the fine shield (?), which guards my skin. With this I plough, with this I reap, with this I tread the sweet wine from the vine, with this I am called master of the serfs.

Those who do not have the courage to hold a spear and a sword and the fine shield which guards the skin, all of them fall to their knees and do obeisance and call me lord and great king.«

The name Hybrias very much corresponds to the song's content. Hybrias is the ›boaster‹, a typical specimen of his people and his class. One is tempted to associate Epimenides' alleged initiative to introduce the cult of Hybris and Anaideia with this type of Cretan *hybris*. Boasting – not unknown to the Homeric heroes – is exactly what one finds in the earliest Cretan inscriptions of a private nature. Not many graffiti or dedications from the Archaic period survive⁹⁴, but the few we do have are full of boasting. The largest group of early Cretan inscriptions are inscriptions on weaponry found in Aphrati and

⁸⁴ e.g., Hermotimos of Klazomenai (Plin. nat. 7, 174) and Aristaios of Prokonnesos (Hdt. 4, 15). Cf. Dodds 1951, 142 f. and 163.

⁸⁵ Tattoos: Dodds 1951, 142 and 163 nn. 43 f.; Scarpi 2001, 33; Casertano 2001, 362 f. n. 22. Long hair of ›holy men‹: Zanker 1995, 242–251; Chaniotis 2002b, 70.

⁸⁶ Catarzi 2001, esp. 323–329.

⁸⁷ Chaniotis 1991, 105 f.; Rouanet-Liesenfelt 1992.

⁸⁸ Χανιώτης 2000, 211.

⁸⁹ Chaniotis 2002a, 55; SEG LII 862.

⁹⁰ Chaniotis 2002a, 55; SEG XLIV 714.

⁹¹ On the rituals see Parker 1983, 209 f.; Johnston 1999, 279–287; Federico 2001. For the reputation of the Cretans as purifiers see Parker 1983, 142 f. On his theogony: Bernabé 2001; Breglia Pulci Doria 2001; Mele 2001; Tortorelli Ghidini 2000 and 2001. On his food: Scarpi 2001, 34 f.; Capriglione 2001.

⁹² Most recent critical edition with commentary: Furley – Bremer 2001, I 68–75, Furley – Bremer 2001, II 1–20.

⁹³ Athen., Deipn. 15.695 f = PMG 909 ed. Page; Bowra 1961 (on the date); cf. Δετοράκης 1972; Bile 2002, 123 f., prefers a date in the 4th cent. B.C.

⁹⁴ Perlman 2002b, 194–198. 218–225.

published by A. Raubitschek⁹⁵. The authors of the inscriptions proudly declare that they have captured the helmets and *mitrai* as booty (the verbs *hairein* and *apelaunein* are used in this context): »Neon captured this«; »Synenitos, the son of Euglottas, captured this«; »Aisonidas, the son of Chloridios, captured this« and »Charisthenes, the son of Peithias, carried this away«.

3. The crossing of boundaries, mobility, and individuality in Archaic Crete

In the first part of this paper I presented the sparse biographical information at our disposal concerning eponymous Cretans of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. I have not treated all the eponymous Cretans of this period, having left aside, for example, the legendary purple fisherman Korobios of Itanos, who led the Theran colonists to Libya⁹⁶, the architect Chersiphron (chersi-phron, »the one who has wisdom in his hands«)⁹⁷ and the pupils of Daidalos, Dipoinos and Skyllis⁹⁸. I have tried to show that this biographical information corresponds to known aspects of Cretan life in the Archaic period. This does not make these stories authentic, but it does make them reflections of fundamental features of Archaic Crete, which I can summarize with three key terms: the crossing of boundaries, mobility and individuality.

3. 1. The crossing of boundaries

A common denominator in the stories narrated about these Archaic Cretans is the crossing of boundaries, whether real or metaphorical. Some of them crossed geographical borders: Thaletas participated in the Panhellenic cultural movement of musicians and poets; Epimenides was an itinerant priest; Chersiphron was active in building the temple of Artemis in Asia Minor; Entimos founded a new city in Sicily; Dipoinos and Skyllis, allegedly Daidalos' pupils, were active in the Peloponnese in the early sixth century B.C. Other men crossed cultural boundaries: they invented new forms of music, new forms of art and were influenced by foreign cultures.

Others, again, crossed social boundaries: some of them as outcasts, others standing out by attempting to surpass their peers with their achievements or with violence. Epimenides crossed the borderline between life and death (the boundary that separates mortals and gods), the borderline between dreams and the real world, and the borderline between past, present, and future⁹⁹. Etearchos crossed moral borders. Hybrias crossed the social boundaries of aristocratic equality by assuming the attributes of a monarch (*meqas basileus*). His song is a paradigm for the violation of norms through a strongly felt individuality. At first sight it looks like one of three possible song types: a *skolion*, a song sung in a convivial context, over a cup of wine; a military song that accompanied Cretan weapon-dances or like a marching song, an *embaterios* (allegedly called *ibikter*) created by Ibrios. These types of songs may well be the origin of this piece, but unlike songs sung by a community of men and evoking communal spirit, Hybrias' song boasts the prowess of a single man.

Hybrias, whether a fictitious or a historical figure, is not isolated in Cretan society of this period. Early Cretan legislation treats, *inter alia*, precisely the excesses of such individuals, in particular those who attempted to violate the principle of equality among aristocratic peers by repeatedly occupying the highest office of the *kosmos*¹⁰⁰. Already the earliest surviving legal document, a decree of Dreros (ca. 630 B.C.), takes measures against this phenomenon. The early dedications, presented above, also demonstrate the same feeling of self-consciousness based on military power and achievement.

3.2 Mobility in Archaic Crete: A land for wanderers, a land of wanderers

These narratives transmit the feeling and the image of movement, both in a real and in a metaphorical sense¹⁰¹.

There is, first, the movement of colonists. Early Crete is a land of wanderers and a land attracting wanderers. In addition to the legend of the Theran colonists and the authentic tradition concerning the foundation of Gela, other stories were told about the coming of Pelasgians to Crete, the foundation of

⁹⁵ Raubitschek 1972; cf. Perlman 2002b, 219–221 nos. 8–21; SEG LII 829–842.

⁹⁶ Hdt. 4, 151.

⁹⁷ Svesnson-Evers 1996, 67–100.

⁹⁸ Overbeck 1868, 55 f.; Boardman 1961, 159. On the problems concerning Endoios see Viviers 1992, 55–102.

⁹⁹ On the concept of time that underlies the traditions concerning Epimenides see Cararzi 2001.

¹⁰⁰ Koerner 1993, no. 90; cf. Koerner 1987, 451–457; Link 1994, 107 f. and 2003; Hölkeskamp 1999, 87–95. Cf. Kotsonas 2002, on the historical context (rise of the polis).

¹⁰¹ On mobility and travel as essential features of the Archaic Age see Lane Fox 2008.

Lytos by the Spartan Pollis¹⁰², the Thessalian founders of Magnesia on the Maeander¹⁰³ and the Samian and Aeginetan colonists of Kydonia¹⁰⁴. Furthermore, in the last decades, archaeological and epigraphical finds have shown the presence of Phoenicians traders in Crete¹⁰⁵ as well as possible settlement by lone, foreign craftsmen¹⁰⁶.

Then, we have the movement of individuals: the foreign traders¹⁰⁷; itinerant craftsmen¹⁰⁸; poets and musicians, who participated in the Archaic cultural movement; the itinerant healer Epimenides; possibly Cretan mercenaries in Arcadia in the first half of the seventh century B.C.¹⁰⁹; a Cretan potter in Hermonassa (on the North Shore of the Black Sea) in the late sixth century B.C.¹¹⁰ and the involuntary movement of outcasts such as Phronime.

I stress this feeling of movement in Archaic Crete because this is exactly the impression that statues left upon contemporary spectators. Even the most unmovable of things, stone statues, move and walk away. A sense of movement is not the construct of modern historians, but a fundamental conviction of the Archaic Cretans.

3. 1. Individuality

The individuals I selected to discuss, but also those I epigrammatically mentioned, have one thing in common: they were remembered for deeds that set them apart. These deeds were often achievements, such as the foundation of a new city, an artistic invention or a miraculous healing. One of them (Etearchos) was remembered for his violation of the norms with the treatment of his daughter and his *xenos*, while Hybrias was remembered for his boasting song. In all these cases we are dealing with strong individuals who set themselves apart from the group or redef-

ined their relation to the group; it is in this sense that I use the word individuality here. This kind of individuality is, indeed, a common feature of Archaic Greece¹¹¹. In this respect, Crete followed the general Greek trends of social development.

The question arises whether the sort of individuality that emerges from narratives about this period is also reflected in contemporary art. A good introduction to the complexity of this subject is a bronze statuette of unknown provenance (Sicily rather than Crete) now in the J. Paul Getty Museum¹¹². It represents a man playing a lyre in the presence of a boy. It is legitimate to regard this statuette as the generic representation of a musician. Blindness can be an allusion to the exchange of normal sight with a privileged sight, with the ability to see things invisible to ordinary mortals. Wandering is also a standard feature, in this period, of the poet and singer as a *demiourgos*. But there are also several features that might suggest that this representation was inspired by a particular singer: the rubbery legs, the pronounced swelling around the knees, the boy companion, and the way the boy reaches out to touch the hip of the older man. Although there can be no question of ›portraits‹ in this period, one cannot avoid asking whether this representation was inspired by a particular blind itinerant singer or even if it meant to represent a particular singer¹¹³.

Is it conceivable that in a period in which so much attention was paid to the individual achievements of men, and a few women (cf. notes 17–18), contemporary art remained entirely indifferent to the individual human being and only produced generic representations of anonymous warriors, worshippers, young men and girls? We might ask the same question for certain representations of humans in early Cretan art, i. e., did the viewers of the enthroned figure in one of the stelae from Prinias¹¹⁴ merely

¹⁰² Plut., On the bravery of women 8 = Mor. 247 c–f.

¹⁰³ Prinz 1979, 111–137; Clay 1993.

¹⁰⁴ Hdt. 3, 59.

¹⁰⁵ Kurtz – Boardman 1971, 173 f. (but see the criticism of Böhm 2001); Sakellarakis 1988; Stampolidis 1990; Di Vita 1992/1993; Hoffmann 1997, 172–176; Kourou – Grammatikaki 1998; Kourou – Karetsoy 1998; Shaw 1998; Σταμπολίδης 1998, 122; Pappalardo 2002; Stampolidis 2003, 221–225; Shaw 2004; Stampolidis – Kotsonas 2006; Lane Fox 2008, 166–167.

¹⁰⁶ On this complex question see Morris 1992, 150–172; Matthäus 1993; Hoffman 1997, 153–245; Σταμπολίδης 1998; Matthäus 2000; Böhm 2001; Matthäus 2001.

¹⁰⁷ e.g., Johnston 1993, 375–377; Shaw 2000, Csapo et al. 2000, 105, and de Domingo – Johnston 2003 (the evidence from Kommos); Markoe 1998 (Phoenician transit trade); Matthäus 1998 (trade with Cyprus). On imports from the Near East see Hoffmann 1997, 19–151; Jones 2000.

¹⁰⁸ Pappalardo 2004.

¹⁰⁹ Snodgrass 1974.

¹¹⁰ Treister – Shelov-Kovedyayev 1989.

¹¹¹ Snell 1958; Snell 1965, 62–96; Snell 1975, 56–81; Spahn 1993. Cf. Stein-Hölkeskamp 1989, 104–133.

¹¹² Padgett 1995 (Crete); Λεμπέση 2002, 217.

¹¹³ Tsantsanoglou 2003, 251, has plausibly argued that the famous ironic description of a general by Archilochos (fr. 114 ed. West) refers to a specific individual whose distinctive features are described in an impressionistic way.

¹¹⁴ Λεμπέση 1976, 31 f. and pl. 28 f.

see a person of authority or a particular individual? And did the composition include specific features that might be connected to a particular individual, making the stele truly a *mnema*, the commemorative marker of the grave of an individual?

The question as to whether individual features played a role in Archaic art can best be raised in connection with a series of similar representations, such as the bronze plaques from the sanctuary at Kato Simi or the stelae of Prinias. I shall only briefly remark here that the latter do show differences in the representations of the warriors. We recognize distinct features, for example, of age (bearded and beardless men), in the decoration of the shield that might indicate the civic subdivision to which each warrior belonged, and in the presence of a second person¹¹⁵. These brief remarks do not attempt to give an answer to the question raised here, but they might encourage others to approach this issue in a more comprehensive manner.

4. Of bound statues and binding statutes

If Archaic Crete is a place in which strong personalities stressed their individuality by crossing boundaries and standing out, we might then ask how this affected later developments. I distinguish two responses to this emergence of individuality, both of which effectively defined limits. The first response was the recognition that no matter how strong a person is, he still is neither in command nor control of his life. Time and again, Archaic poetry responded to the contemporary arrogant, insolent and indulging attitude of self-confident individuals. Among the Archaic poems that reflect this idea, I quote a brief passage of Alkaios (fr. 326 ed. Page): »I do not understand the wind's strife; for one wave rolls from this side, another wave from that side and we, in the midst, are carried along in our black ship, sorely pressed by the mighty storm.« One cannot overlook or not hear this impression of not being in control, of being driven by other forces for better or for worse. Korobios was driven by the wind to Libya, Epimenides was guided by a sheep, Entimos by a Delphic oracle and Etearchos, the genuine archos (ruler), was ruled by his wife.

The second response was a legal one: the strengthening of old boundaries and the creation of new ones, the definition of social and legal positions. This

was the spirit of early Cretan legislation. The limitation of the right to hold office, i. e., the regulation of iteration, was the content of the decree from Dreros. The limitation of excess in funerals, the limitations on the size of presents, the definition of rights and privileges of genders, age-classes and levels of social status were the subject of the legal documents that followed. In Crete, the Archaic age was not only a period of emerging individuality, but also an age of normativity. This period ended with the establishment of a communal spirit.

In the centuries that follow the late seventh century B.C., eponymous Cretans, innovators, political leaders, craftsmen and holy men disappear. None of the signs so common in other Greek regions, such as monumental dedications, honorary inscriptions or impressive funerary monuments is of any importance in late Archaic or Classical Crete. If we know of Cretans in the Classical period, it is only because of their achievements abroad. Ergoteles of Knossos is known for his Olympic victory as a citizen of Himera, Philonides of Chersonesos because of his statues in the Peloponnese, and Nearchos of Lato as an officer of Alexander the Great.

The legends concerning Daidalos' statues aptly reflect the trend towards innovation and movement. His statues are said to have been able to move and walk away, which is the only part of the legend that we tend to recall. Plato in his *Menon* (97 d 6–10) stresses something we tend to overlook: the statues had to be bound so that they could not escape (*drapeteuein*). I can hardly find a better metaphor for the contradictions of Archaic Crete. Exactly as the statues of Daidalos, the Archaic Cretans discovered the joy of free movement; exactly as his statues, they had to be bound by statutes and they had to be subjugated to norms and rules. These norms founded Crete's fame as an ideal political and social order¹¹⁶. The price the Cretans had to pay was high.

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¹¹⁵ Simi: Lebessi 1985. Prinias: Λεμπέση 1976, 23–31. Differentiations in the representation have been observed by A. Pautasso in her paper »Immagini e identità: osservazioni sulla scultura di Priniàs« in the conference »Identità culturale, etnicità, processi di trasformazione a Creta fra Dark Ages e Arcaismo« (Athens, November 2006).

¹¹⁶ For the reputation of Cretan *politeia* see Morrow 1960; Nafissi 1983/1984; Cuniberti 2000.

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