



Athenaia

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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

ALAN JOHNSTON

Writing in and around Archaic 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

Umschlagbilder

Vorderseite: Siedlung von Azoria (© Photo M. S. Mook, Azoria Project 2007).

Rückseite: Figurine aus Vrokastro (Εγγλέζου – Ρεθεμιωτάκης S. 166 Abb. 27).

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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.

Die Herausgeber, im Februar 2011

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. Chaniotis 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

WRITING IN AND AROUND ARCHAIC CRETE

My main intention here is to point to a few epigraphical aspects of our topic that have either been overlooked or may have been misrepresented. In a sense I am therefore talking around James Whitley's important paper in *AJA* 1997 together with that of Paula Perlman in 2002. I limit my introduction to one observation, and an assurance that I will not be looking at detail of the insidious Cretan dialect and its main manifestation, the inscribed laws. I will progress from some epigraphic minima to more general aspects, tending to the position of *advocatus diaboli*.

It is often said that preoccupations with the Bronze Age have led to the neglect of later periods; this may be true to some extent if one looks just at the *range* of sites being excavated, often chosen for their Minoan potential, but to my knowledge is not correct if one thinks of comparative lack of publication¹. It seems to me that the inscribed detritus of the period has for the most part been presented, in museum display if not in publication. Scattered they may be, but not invisible.

Gortyn is a case in point. Recently a small number of non-stone texts have been included in publications of varying degrees of fullness, and there is no indication that any large stock of material is being kept from the public. The resulting body of material of roughly the 7th century B.C. is eight pieces, significantly more than at Knossos one might note. One piece (*fig. 1*) was used recently as an exemplar around which to discuss the topic by Giovanni Marginesu², and I would like to extend discussion of the piece here first of all. The publication resulted from the discovery of photos of the fragments of a clay shield, already published without illustration by Johannowsky³. M. proposes a new interpretation of the name, Eubolidas, a solid, Greek personal name to which nobody should take exception ... except that

to obtain this reading he interprets the second and third letters of the text in a debatable way, as digamma and beta, arguing that similar signs for digamma and beta are to be found in early Cretan texts. He does acknowledge that the nearest parallels for the form of digamma (LSAG type 5) are not from Gortyn, but omits to note that they are also later than our text; he also fails to explain why a clearly preserved sign that looks precisely what one might expect for a nu should have been recognised by a contemporary as a digamma; the parallels from other sites (*fig. 2*) do *not* have this form, and indeed would seem to be deliberately *avoiding* any such ambiguity; they are also later and could be said to display Late Archaic style⁴. As regards the ›beta‹, the variant form with one loop is indeed found at Gortyn, and the photo shows that this is probably what we have here, not a lexicographically impossible rho. The *lectio facilior* therefore must surely remain ENB, even if the resulting name, En(m)bolidas, is not otherwise attested; that is no rarity in the Cretan world. I also draw attention to the floating fragment which appears to say τoδε – to which I will return.

The total amount of material from the island to be placed in the ›casual inscription‹ category was thin when reviewed by James Whitley and has increased in only minor ways, though the corpus from Kommos (in *Tab. 1* one entry represents c. 80 graffiti and one, imported dipinto) is greater and more varied perhaps than he allowed. I have added what little I know which is poorly published, on museum display, or otherwise publicly available.

I used the term ›casual inscription‹ for texts not on stone, and in Crete this is a reasonably distinct category, to date, since apart from the mainly ›dedicatory‹ texts on the bronze armour from Arkades there is as yet very little to fill the gap between the inscription on stone of what we would term legal texts and

I am pleased to acknowledge receipt of help on individual matters from Angelos Chaniotis, Varina Delrieux and Simon Price.

In *Tab. 1* Johannowsky 2002 is cited by catalogue number. I use one non-standard abbreviation:

LSAG = L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Revised Edition with Supplement by A. W. Johnston [Oxford 1990]).

¹ Cf. Kalpaxis 1999, 111.

² Marginesu 2003.

³ Johannowsky 2002, 21 no. 144.

⁴ I am grateful to him for telling me that the original photograph appears to show an additional line, not apparent in the published version; if this is so, the form would still be far closer to nu than the later examples.



Fig. 1 Fragments of a clay ›shield‹ with graffito from Gortyn, 7th century B.C.



Fig. 2 Forms on digamma of ›nu‹ shape in legal texts from Prinias and Eleutherna

provenance	material	context	date	publication	text
Afrati?	bronze	lost	650–600	Bile 1988, 23	Καρισθενης ο Πειθια τονδ' απηλευσε
Afrati?	bronze	lost	C7	Bile 1988, 18 b	Νεων τονδ' ηλε
Afrati?	bronze	lost	650–600	Bile 1988, 15	Νεοπολις
Afrati?	bronze	lost	650–600	Bile 1988, 16	Συνηνιτος ο Ευκλωτα
Afrati?	bronze	lost	650–600	Bile 1988, 17	μισοκαρτης τονδε
Afrati?	bronze	lost	c. 500	Bile 1988, 28	Spensitheos decree
Afrati?	bronze	lost	650–600	Bile 1988, 26	ο Καλονος
Afrati?	bronze	lost	650–600	Bile 1988, 18a	Νε]ων τονδ' ηλε
Afrati?	bronze	lost	650–600	Bile 1988, 24	ηλε
Afrati?	bronze	lost	650–600	Bile 1988, 22	Ευωννμος ηλε τοδε ο Ε[ρ]ασιμενιο
Afrati?	bronze	lost	650–600	Bile 1988, 21	Αισονιδας τονδ' ηλε ο Κλοριδιο
Afrati?	bronze	lost	650–600	Bile 1988, 20	Συνηνιτος τοδε ο Ευκλωτα
Afrati?	bronze	lost	650–600	Bile 1988, 19	ο Πρικς Ο[...]νο
Afrati?	bronze	lost	650–600	Bile 1988, 25	ο Πρικς ος τονδε ηλε (?)
Ag. Giorgios	skyphos, b. g.	tomb	C8–7	?unpublished	retrograde αλε under foot
Ag. Pelagia	kylix, b. g.		C5	unpublished	]καπιου[under foot
Azoria	skyphos	habitation	c. 500	unpubl. 2005	κοτο[, rim
Azoria	coarse pot	habitation	A	unpubl. 2005	san, at lower handle join inside
Azoria	lekane	habitation	A	unpubl. 2005	τιμας, rim, epichoric, retrograde
Elounda	type C cup	tomb?	C5	unpubl. 2005?	BA under foot
Elounda	salt-cellar	tomb?	C4?	unpubl. 2005?	]ικ[under foot
Elounda	cup	tomb?	?	unpubl. 2005?	κι, under foot; local flat-based cup
Gavalomouri	amphora	tomb	C8?	Andreadaki-Vlazaki 1998	»W«, pre-firing
Gortyn	cup	sanctuary	C7	ZPE 140, 2002, 67–70	two lines; second]ποινα[
Gortyn	terracotta	sanctuary	C7	LSAG, 468, 2a; Bile 1988, 14	οπιληκς
Gortyn	oenochoe	sanctuary	C7	Johannowsky 2002, 411 a	]βσειε[, on side of lip, pre-firing
Gortyn	base	sanctuary	C7?	Johannowsky 2002, 266 d	»]φαν[«
Gortyn	›shield‹	sanctuary	C7	(Johannowsky 2002, 144); Marginesu 2003, 351–356	Ενβολιδας etc., retro
Gortyn	kernos base?	sanctuary	C7	Johannowsky 2002, 266 c	]ροτοπ[, cut around stem, retrograde
Gortyn	cup?	sanctuary	C7	ZPE 140, 2002, 67–70	]καριον[
Gortyn	›shield‹	sanctuary	C7	Johannowsky 2002, 70	Ευθετος, retrograde.
Idaian Cave	bronze bowl	sanctuary	c. 500	CretSt 7, 2002, 55	Παιστος ἀνέθεκε Συβρίτας τὰν [δ] ε[κ]άταν
Kato Symi	bronze vase	sanctuary	C6	LSAG 468, E	Δαμοθετος εποεο' ο Δαταλης
Knossos	silver ring	sanctuary	c. 450	SEG 26, 1047; JHS 96, 1976, 154	Νοθοκαρτης Νικετα Δαματρι (?)
Knossos	aryballos	tomb	C7	Coldstream – Catling, KNC 463–464	περατας καλιστο πι[
Knossos	aryballos	tomb	C7?	BSA 76, 1981, 157; SEG 31, 812	]παρ[(?)
Knossos	amphora	habitation	550–500?	From Greek City to Roman Colony 141, X32	IAPE on handle
Kommos	varia	sanctuary	C8–6	Kommos IV; Hesperia 74, 2005, 386–387	varia
Lera	vase	sanctuary	500–450	BCH 86, 1962, 47	εμμε Νυμφα[ι] ανεθηκ[ε]
Lera	vase	sanctuary	500–450	LSAG 468, 31	]ος Κυ[
Phaistos	ostrakon	lost	c. 500	ASAtene 30–32, 1952–1954, 167–169; Bile 1988, 10, 1	ηερακλης γορτυς
Phaistos	pithos	habitation	C8–7	LSAG 468, 8 a; Bile 1988, 1	Ερπετιδαμο etc.
Phaistos	ostrakon	lost	C5?	ASAtene 30–32, 1952–1954, 168–73; Bile 1988 10, 2	Θεμιστοκλης σαστωκ[
Praisos	terracotta	sanctuary?	C7	AJA 5, 1901, 386 pl. 12; LSAG pl. 60, 18	δοφ.]
(Heraklion Museum)	bowl, b. g.		C5		τυχω under foot

Tab. 1 A list of ›casual‹ inscriptions from Crete before c. 450 B.C.



Fig. 3 Inscribed pithos sherd from Kommos, 7th century B.C.?

the remaining material⁵. Here I want to look at two particular texts that add grist to the mill of literacy and its extent, a peculiar text from Kommos and the most intriguing of those texts on armour, the Spensitheos inscription.

The Kommos text (*fig. 3*) is extraordinary, even if only perhaps five letters are legible⁶. The corpus of C7 material, not discounting the possibility of one or two late in the C8 is large, but most pieces fall into the category of marks on amphorae or texts of a variety of types on small drinking vessels. The latter are well known, and rightly, from the questions posed by Eric Csapo regarding their inscribers' probable central Greek origin; a suggestion has been made to me that they may have been cut by Cretan hands before the Cretan alphabet(s) settled down, but I am prepared to resist this interpretation, which requires such a range of hypotheses that would require karate rather than Occam's razor to transect. However, to return to my prime sherd; it is from a highly micaceous, probably Cycladic pithos, and plausibly of Bronze Age, not later origin. Curiously, no other sherd of this large jar has been found, a considerable rarity on the site, where pots are otherwise

liberally scattered⁷. It would seem therefore to have been brought to the site as an ostrakon. The lettering, and the context, is of the 7th century B.C.; the few letters preserved seem to be in Cretan script, and also the structure of the text mirrors what we find on stone at this early period – a central guide line to which the two preserved lines of text cling; I guess the text itself is a dedication, cut on the sherd as an ostrakon and even an ›heirloom‹, yet cut with clear knowledge of ›monumental‹ contemporary writing⁸. I stress that the possible dative in -αι is the only clue to interpretation

Spensitheos' text is not assisted by guide-lines (*fig. 4 a*); indeed if I had employed S. as a scribe he would not have lasted more than one kosmate; the lettering is uneven and irregular at best. The mitra on which it is chased certainly belongs to the 7th century B.C. repertoire of Cretan armour, and the date of acquisition of the piece by the British Museum, 1969, is very close to that of the major haul supposedly from Afrati / Arkades / Dattalla. The bulk of the material has the approximate terminus ante quem of c. 600, judged on purely stylistic grounds, but our piece has been put on epigraphic evidence to nearer

⁵ Apart from the Spensitheos text, they consist of three grave stelai, Late Archaic, from Aeginetan Kydonia, one probably inscribed from Prinias, and one from Chersonesos. See Whitley 1997 and Perlman 2002 for more detail.

⁶ Csapo et al. 2000, 118 no. 30.

⁷ One can compare a not dissimilar micaceous pithos, C4134, Watrous 1992, 154 no. 1342 (part), found now in hundreds of fragments in largely late BA levels.

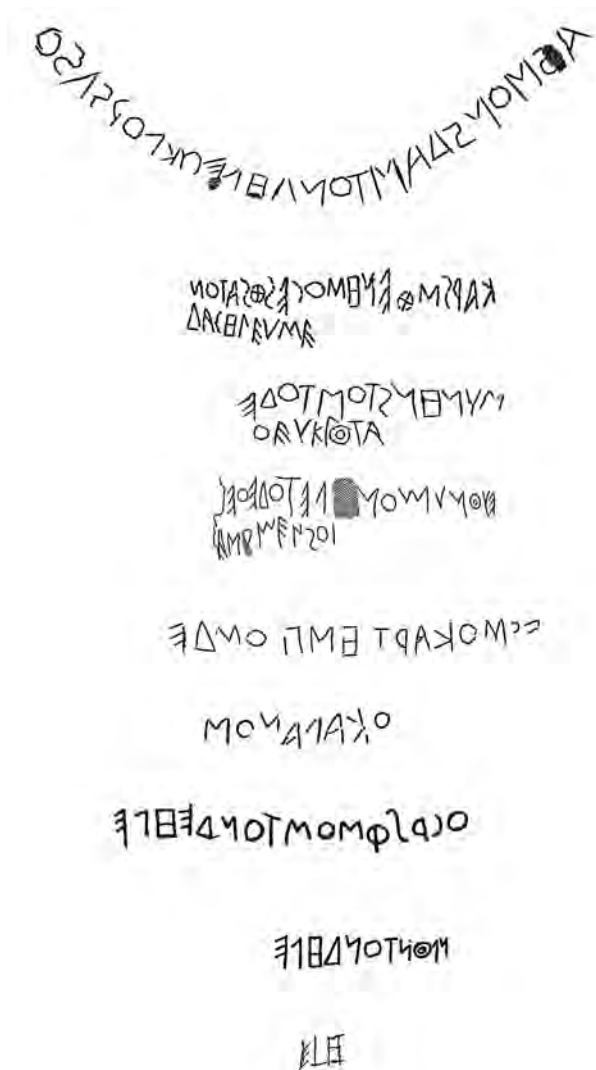
⁸ A further possible ›silent witness‹ of broader Cretan literacy is the writing tablet from the cave of Eileithyia at Inatos, recently discussed by George Papasavvas 2003. Unfortunately however the piece cannot be given even a general date within the broad period of use of the site.



Fig. 4 a The Spensitheos inscription, c. 500 B.C., side A

500 by Anne Jeffery (I would stress the open eta). Now the BM mitra is, as a piece of bronze, worn and cut down; in theory therefore there is no reason to doubt it could have been inscribed later than its fresher co-finds, if so they be. If so, why are they *co-finds*? Were there any other ›Late Archaic‹ pieces in the haul? How do we explain the discrepancy? Or could the Spensitheos text belong rather to c. 600 B.C.? I do not pretend to be able to offer any one convincing explanation, but the progression of letter forms certainly indicates a clear break between the two types of text cut on the relevant pieces.

Dating by lettering is of course not a science, and it is painfully obviously that any mechanical method of doing so needs to be hedged with qualifications⁹. We need to be guided by the full context in order to set up a tolerable robust framework. On Crete this is not easy; we look to aspects such as the style of the co-finds of Spensitheos to find the strongest evidence, or to the context of some Kommos graffiti, datable in a few cases by the occasional Corinthian import or imitation. The whole is a construct which should adhere together, but whose every element could be undermined – the everlasting problem in many areas of research; similar is the case of individual Greek Geometric sherds found in independently datable Near Eastern contexts. Here the lettering of the texts on the objects once, let us assume, decorating the walls of the andreion at Dattalla (fig. 4 b), does appear different from and most reasonably be earlier than Spensitheos. How much later? Here we come to the question of the ›Cretan gap‹. It is interesting that Jeffery could date Cretan inscriptions to the 6th

Fig. 4 b Inscriptions on armour from Afrati (?), late 7th century B.C.

⁹ See Graham 1971 and Jeffery as quoted by Lewis 1987.

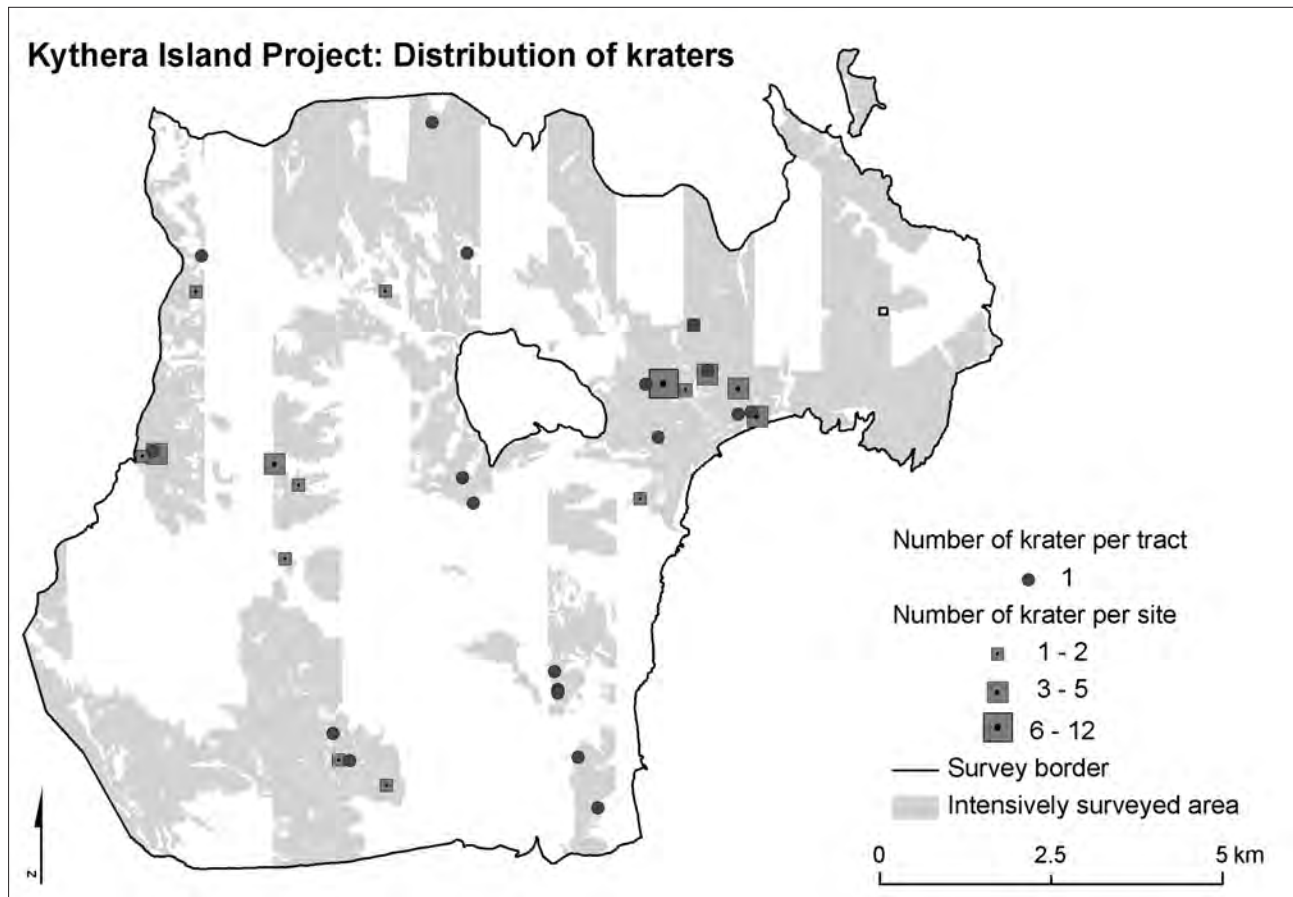


Fig. 5 Distribution of Lakonian kraters in Kythera Island Survey area

century B.C., though we all know that other material is at best thin on the ground; those who have argued that Crete was alive and well then *because of* her dates are of course precious near a circular argument. We need first of all to know what material we are talking about, and Brice Erickson has done a good job in pointing out the basics¹⁰. And now at Azoria we do seem to have evidence of occupation seemingly uninterrupted during the period in question. But a few details: nobody denies, I believe, that the staple local vase forms, notably the one-handled cup and the oenochoe and hydria, continued developing typologically during this period; hiatus in production at one or more sites could be accommodated here, but probably not at all sites. And there was no monolithic typology; at any given site variants could co-exist or were never produced. What is of course at the heart of the problem is the lack of imports for the period c. 580–530, to pick the heart of this black hole. Despite that perceived continuity

at Azoria, there is little yet that I know of that can be placed here – the sort of material found at so many other sites – e.g. most of the Tocra or Thera experience. Erickson has argued that some imports should be placed here, but the evidence is not indisputable – Lakonian kraters are not readily dated from fragments, and it is certainly erroneous to speak of them as being largely mid Archaic¹¹. That they do now appear at a substantial number of Cretan sites is indeed of interest, but most could as well be Late Archaic as mid-6th century B.C. That is where one would put equivalent Lakonian material from the Kythera survey area (fig. 5), where there is a similar lacuna in evidence of habitation before Late Archaic (though a little may be of the third quarter) and perhaps 40 kraters have so far be noted from the survey.

This is the *material* background against which the epigraphic record has to be put. And of course the epigraphic record is not silent about the nature and activities of the people who produced it. The

¹⁰ Erickson 2002; Erickson 2004; Erickson 2005.

¹¹ Erickson 2005, 630–633 has a more nuanced treatment than 2002 and 2004. Dyfri Williams dated all the stirrup kraters from the Aphaea sanctuary to 550–500 B.C. (Williams 1993, 576); he reminds me that few showed any signs of wear before being deposited in the terracing around the new temple. This is not to deny that some pieces do probably fall in or very near the gap, e.g. cups from Tarrha (Tzanakakis, in this volume) and probably an amphora fragment, found by the Sphakia survey team at the Livianiana Akropolis (site 5.01) above Loutro.



Fig. 6 Dedication to Achilles on cup from sanctuary at Kamari, Thera, earlier 6th century B.C.

evidence has been and is here being discussed very widely; I am merely asking that such discussions are fully integrated into the known archaeological record.

I end with one or two remarks on the 7th century B.C. James Whitley is quite right to stress the unusual nature of the Cretan corpus regarding the proportion of preserved legal texts. The conundrum of whether the publication of such texts reinforced the power of the ruling groups, or was a democratic opportunity for the rest of the population to check the actions of their leaders depends partly on two different matters – the extent of literacy among the population, and the nature of the legislation. If we regard legislation as being enactments to curb extant abuses, which to me is a useful starting point, it will normally favour the greater number. Here I mention two newer accessions to the legal lists, even if not of the 7th century B.C. – the alcohol regulations from Eleutherna¹² and the control of immigrants and pigs from Lyttos¹³; both show a modicum of concern that control is seen to be done; I put it no stronger than that.

Otherwise is Crete so special? If we look at the C7 epigraphic record of a range of Mediterranean sites, it would seem not. Whitley has already provided the figures for comparison with Sparta and Athens; he had had no full access to the material from Kommos, which is of course in an equivocal location, in Crete but not wholly of Crete. Yet the range of epigraphic material from Kommos, so far as it can be judged, is remarkably similar to that from Mt. Hymettos, which in turn is in Attica, yet has some non-Attic elements¹⁴. Compare again the C7 statistics for Syracuse, or the homes of the renowned law-givers

Charondas and Zaleukos – virtual blanks. Where we have found good *numbers* of C8 and especially C7 texts is in the islands and Ionia, where the largest categories consist of casual graffiti, and rather more ›monumental‹ dedicatory or funerary texts.

Crete's nearest neighbour, Thera, is an interesting foil, even if dating many of the texts is difficult; the wholly surprising material from the sanctuary of Achilles (*fig. 6*) may all be 6th century B.C., to judge from the evidence of the cups on which they are cut, and we can note a plethora of other C6 material from the island. Earlier, without doubt, but how much earlier I do not know, are the famous, or infamous, rock-cut ›gymnasium‹ graffiti and some grave-markers. In all, then, during the period when Crete *does* give us material, there are some similarities between the known record from Crete and that from Athens/Attica, but little such with the fuller record of its nearest neighbour or with the blank of much more distant Greeks. I add that in many of the places I mention, a good deal of objects of material culture of the relevant period have been found, suggesting that the preserved epigraphic record is likely to bear some relationship to the original corpus, at least with respect to non-perishable materials.

A few particular aspects could be stressed. Two C7 Cretan texts (*fig. 7*) are on terracotta figurines, a great rarity elsewhere. What is lacking from all sites is any example of that most common of Greek epigraphic words, ἀνέθηκεν (unless a scrap from Kommos can be so interpreted, plus the suggestion from the dative on my pithos sherd), and further, save from Kommos, no example before the later C6 of another normal Greek personified thing – the *objet parlant*¹⁵. Instead we have the pronominal adjective

¹² van Effenterre 1991.

¹³ Bile 1988, no. 12.

¹⁴ Johnston 1999, 422 f.

¹⁵ The Chersonesos stele, LSAG 20, is otherwise the earliest example. The use of *tode* in a more immediate sense than the objective third person has been argued, and so we should not think here immediately of a simply clash between ›emic‹ and ›etic‹ choices.



Fig. 7 Two inscribed terracottas, 7th century B.C., from Praisos (Metropolitan Museum, New York)

τόδε, many times at Afrati, on the early Phaestos pithos and perhaps also on the Gortyn sherds with which I began. Such form of reference is of course not unknown elsewhere in contemporary Greek texts, but is not seen anywhere else so regularly.

Finally, Anne Jeffery (LSAG 57) argued that the scruffiness of many slightly later stone texts from Ionia was a reflection of the widespread use of brush or pen writing on perishable materials; could one dare cut the Gordian knot running through these reflections and say that the cursivity of the Cretan script, and the scrawl of Spensitheos was due, in part at least, to the same reason? Dangerous, I feel. Cretan script is conservative and its cursivity and prob-

ably that of the some Theran texts is in keeping with the comparatively slight effect that the regimented style of Geometric drawing – *graphein* – had on most of the island.

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Discussion

Nicola Cuccuzza: I find the differences in the use of the alphabet very interesting. I was wondering about the knowledge of literacy in the different ancient Cretan *poleis*, if someone in ancient times was able to read some script of another *polis*.

Alan Johnston: We do have one or two little pieces of evidence that suggest people were digraphic but that is not a great deal and certainly not from Crete or the immediate area. I am particularly thinking of a piece from Cumae which has an alphabet row in Euboean and in Corinthian script written in one hand. So I think this was possible. The answer for Crete is that we have not enough evidence yet for the early period and when we get to the later period of course we are in a different process, if I may use the word. I don't think I have much more than that. Just a note, something that occurred this morning when Katja Sporn suggested *Zeni*: It struck me that this has to be a non-Cretan form and there are places where the normal form is *Zeni* but I am trying to think of

where the visitors of Kommos, who use *Zeni* might come from and I ask for help on that one.

James Whitley: Alan, can I try to pin you down on one or two things? Given your hesitation about letter form dating are you therefore suggesting that there is a gap in the tradition of monumental Cretan writing?

Alan Johnston: I do think there is a gap and the best one can do is to guess from letter forms if you have no other evidence. I can see very little that comes between, say, the stylistically datable evidence from Afrati and some pieces, which I would suggest are of the second half of the 6th century. Until from Azoria we get the legal codes inscribed in the right place on the walls. But caution here: I am not, of course, saying that there is any single uniform Cretan collapse. I was making procedural points. A cautious conclusion would be that may well be a gap in such material.