Mythography and Archaeology: The Case of Eulimene

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ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ
EULIMENE

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ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ

ΜΕΛΕΤΕΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΛΑΣΙΚΗ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑ,
ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΙΚΗ, ΤΗ ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΠΥΡΟΛΟΓΙΑ

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ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ 23 (2022)

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Alan Johnston, A Laconian Cartoonist, *ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ* 23 (2022), 1-5.

Το σημείωμα επικεντρώνεται σε δύο ασυνήθιστες μορφές ζωγραφισμένες σε λακωνικούς κρατήρες του πρώιμου 6ου αι. π.Χ. από τη Ναύκρατη. Ο κρατήρας της Οξφόρδης είναι γνωστός εδώ και πολύ καιρό, ενώ ο κρατήρας στο Βρετανικό Μουσείο δεν είχε αναγνωριστεί έως τώρα. Η θέση τους στο πλαίσιο της λακωνικής αγγειογραφίας και οι προθέσεις του/των αγγειογράφου/ων εξετάζονται εν συντομία.

This note highlights two abnormal figures painted on early sixth century Lakonian kraters, both found at Naukratis. One in Oxford has long been known; the other in the British Museum was not previously been recognised. Their place in Lakonian vase-painting and the intentions of the painter(s) are briefly discussed.

Στρατής Παπαδόπουλος – Χαράλαμπος Οικονομίδης, Η αρχαία Πίστυρος και η οχύρωση της, *ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ* 23 (2022), 7-53.

Since antiquity, attack and defense were frequent phenomena in human lives and urban complexes. For this reason, the discovery of a defensive solution against any kind of attack was of an imperative necessity. In order to ensure the feeling of safety, people constructed fortifications, which protected their lives and their properties as well. Using as a reference point a small town, which was established near Nestos river (north Aegean), the preserved remains of a severe fortification that ringed this town will be examined. Initially, a brief mention to the town itself is presented in an attempt to clear out the historical context of it, the matter of its naming, the determination of its metropolis and many other topics concerning this town. The small town, which was possibly an emporion, stands today near Pontolivado village, in Kavala prefecture, at the northeast of Greece. This site is related to an archaeologically promising area, since the interesting findings from that place are constantly unveiling the past of the town that had been covered by the oblivion of time.

Ευαγγελία Δήμα, Οπτικά ενθύμια του ροδιακού κωμωδεῖν, *ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ* 23 (2022), 55-96.

The comic theatrical act in Rhodes is represented by a catalogue of 45 comic masks and figurines, all recovered during rescue excavations in the city of Rhodes. This group of masks and figurines cover a period of about three centuries, consisting representative samples of an abundant Rhodian artistic production inspired by the theater during the Hellenistic period, when Rhodes emerges as a strong and prosperous naval power and becomes a cultural and intellectual center as well. The following catalogue includes depictions of comic types such as caricatures and grotesque figures along with protagonist types of the Rhodian comedians related to the New Comedy characters,

guided by the literal source for information in stage presentation of drama theatrical types, the Onomasticon of Julius Pollux and the T.B.L. Webster's catalogue.

Tina McGeorge, A Burial of the Early Christian Period in the Sanctuary at Symi, *ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗ* 23 (2022), 97-107.

Το σκελετικό υλικό που περιγράφεται, προέρχεται από κιβωτιόσχημο τάφο, ο οποίος ανακαλύφθηκε το 1997 δίπλα και σε επαφή με τον βόρειο τοίχο Παλαιοχριστιανικού ναϋδρίου, στην Κάτω Σύμη. Το ναϋδριο κτίστηκε σε έδαφος καθαγιασμένο επί αιώνες από προχριστιανικές θρησκευτικές λατρείες: από την ίδρυση του Μεσο-Μινωικού ιερού που στη συνέχεια μετατράπηκε σε ιερό του Ερμή και της Αφροδίτης τον 7ο αι. π.Χ. Η ανασκαφέας, Α. Λεμπέση, χρονολογεί την ταφή στον 6ο αι. μ.Χ. Είναι η μοναδική ταφή που σχετίζεται με το ναϋδριο και ίσως αποτελεί τον τάφο του κτήτορα της εκκλησίας. Ο κτήτορας, εάν είναι η σωστή ταυτότητα του προσώπου που είναι ενταφιασμένο στην Κάτω Σύμη, δεν ήταν άνδρας αλλά γυναίκα με νεογέννητο βρέφος. Εντός του τάφου βρέθηκαν θραύσματα από λαγήνι το οποίο πιθανώς περιείχε τον, κατά τα έθιμα, αγιασμό της ταφής και που ηθελημένα εθραύσθη. Ο σκελετός δεν διατηρείται καλά. Απουσιάζει το κεφάλι, έχοντας ίσως παρασυρθεί από τις βροχές, ενώ η ύπαρξη του βρέφους αποδεικνύεται από ένα και μοναδικό στοιχείο, το τόξο του οσφυϊκού σπονδύλου του ανακατεμένο με τα οστά της άκρας χειρός της νεκρής, ο αριστερός αγκώνας της οποίας ήταν σε κάμψη με το αντιβράχιο να ακουμπά στο στήθος της. Καθώς η θέση του αριστερού χεριού δεν συνάδει με τη συνήθη (παράλληλα με το κορμό ή σταυροειδώς πάνω από την πύελο), η στάση επιβεβαιώνει την τοποθέτηση του βρέφους στην αγκαλιά της, κατά τον εικονογραφικό τύπο της Οδηγήτριας ή της Βρεφοκρατούσας. Θα αποτελούσε περίεργη σύμπτωση να ενταφιάζονται μαζί μία γυναίκα και ένα παιδί χωρίς συγγενική σχέση. Πιθανολογείται λοιπόν ότι πρόκειται για μητέρα και βρέφος. Η γυναίκα ήταν τουλάχιστον 35 ετών και είχε ύψος 160,3 εκ. Βλάβες σε αμφότερες τις αρθρώσεις του ώμου προκλήθηκαν μάλλον από επαναλαμβανόμενους τραυματισμούς εξαιτίας της καθημερινής εργασίας. Καθώς ο δεξιός ώμος παρουσιάζει βαρύτερες αλλοιώσεις πιθανολογείται ότι πρόκειται για δεξιόχειρα. Η οστεοβλαστική αντίδραση, ορατή στον 7ο αυχενικό σπόνδυλο, δείχνει ότι η γυναίκα ήταν ενεργή λίγο πριν το θάνατό της, φυματικής ίσως αιτιολογίας. Καθώς, πλην του σπονδυλικού σώματος, εμπλέκονται και οι σπονδυλικές αποφύσεις, η διαφορική διάγνωση θα πρέπει να συμπεριλάβει και τη βρουκέλλωση. Και οι δύο νόσοι μεταδίδονται από μολυσμένο γάλα αγελάδας, προβάτου ή αίγας, αλλά και από τα προϊόντα του ή από το κρέας. Υπέφερε επίσης από οστεοπόρωση, συνέπεια ίσως της χρόνιας λοίμωξης από φυματίωση ή βρουκέλλωση. Η υποπλασία της αδαμαντίνης των δοντιών δείχνει ότι παρουσίαζε λοιμώξεις ή κακή διατροφή κατά της διάρκεια της παιδικής ηλικίας της, τότε που σχηματίζονταν τα δόντια της τα οποία, επίσης, παρουσιάζουν μεγάλη φθορά, τερηδόνα και συσσώρευση οδοντικής πλάκας/πέτρας στις ρίζες του τρίτου γομφίου επισημαίνοντας ότι υπέφερε και από ουλίτιδα. Ο θάνατός της επήλθε μάλλον από επιπλοκές του τοκετού, συνηθισμένο πρόβλημα στις φτωχές χώρες ακόμη και σήμερα.

The burial is an extended inhumation in a stone-lined cist, unearthed in 1997, parallel to and in contact with the north wall of the more recent and smaller of two

chapels of the Early Christian period, located in the northwest sector of the area of the sanctuary at Symi.. The East-West orientation of the deceased, placed supine in the grave with the head at the west facing east, dates the burial to the Christian era and the archaeological context dates it specifically to the 6th c. AD. The inhumation was that of a woman, at least 35 years old and 160.3 cm tall. Lesions on both shoulder joints may have been caused by repetitive trauma in the course of arduous daily tasks. Since the right shoulder was more severely affected than the left, she was probably right-handed. Dental hypoplasia shows that she had suffered from poor health in childhood when her teeth were being formed. The teeth, which were severely worn, also showed a build-up of dental calculus on the roots of the third molar indicating that she suffered from gingivitis in addition to caries. She also suffered from osteoporosis, perhaps as a result of a chronic infection caused by tuberculosis or brucellosis, compounded by pregnancy. When nutrition is inadequate, an expectant mother's body is depleted of its reserves of calcium in order to sustain the foetus, which is in a parasitic relationship with the mother. The existence of an infant buried with the adult connects the infant to the woman. It would be too much of a coincidence for a woman and a child to be buried simultaneously unless they were related. So they are presumed to be mother and child. The woman's death was probably the result of complications in childbirth, a common event in the poorest countries of the world today.

Eva Astyrakaki, Mythography and Archaeology: The Case of Eulimene *EYΛIMENH* 23 (2022), 109-124.

Η παρούσα εργασία αποσκοπεί στο να προσφέρει μία νέα ανάγνωση στην ιστορία της Ευλιμένης, η οποία παραδίδεται από τον Παρθένιο, συγγραφέα του 1ου αι. π.Χ., στη συλλογή του με τίτλο *Περί ἐρωτικῶν παθημάτων*. Η συγκεκριμένη ιστορία αποτελεί ένα ωραίο παράδειγμα συνεργασίας ανάμεσα στη Φιλολογία και στην Αρχαιολογία, αφού με την αρωγή των δύο επιστημών φωτίζονται διάφορες πλευρές.

Η ιστορία σαφώς είναι δομημένη σύμφωνα με τα ελληνιστικά αισθητικά πρότυπα. Σκοπός, άλλωστε, του Παρθένιου ήταν να προσφέρει με τη συλλογή του ένα εφαλτήριο έμπνευσης στον φίλο του Κορνήλιο Γάλλο, για να συνθέσει ελεγείες και επύλλια. Ωστόσο, μία προσεκτική μελέτη, σε συνδυασμό με την αρωγή των αρχαιολογικών ευρημάτων, καταδεικνύει μία διαστρωμάτωση στοιχείων διαφορετικών χρονικών περιόδων στη δόμηση αυτής της ιστορίας.

Οι ήρωες που αναφέρονται στην ιστορία (Λύκαστος, Κύδων) μαρτυρούνται ήδη από τον Όμηρο ως Κρητικές πόλεις (πόλη Λύκαστος, Κύδωνες που κατοικούν στην Κρήτη). Η λέξη ἄπτερος χρησιμοποιείται από τον Όμηρο ως επίθετο θεοτήτων (π.χ. ἄπτερος Νίκη) και ως πόλη μαρτυρείται σε πινακίδες της Κνωσσού. Οι σχέσεις, λοιπόν, που υπάρχουν στη συγκεκριμένη ιστορία ανάμεσα στους επώνυμους ήρωες πιθανόν να απηχούν ιστορικές σχέσεις μεταξύ αυτών των πόλεων.

Η Ευλιμένη μαρτυρείται ήδη από την εποχή του Ησιόδου ως Νηρηίδα και υπάρχουν αρχαιολογικά ευρήματα που συνάδουν με αυτήν την ιδιότητά της. Ένα κομμάτι ύφασμα και μία πυξίδα δίνουν μία διαφορετική διάσταση, αφού συνδέουν την

Ευλιμένη με την Κρήτη και ιδιαίτερα με τη Φαίδρα και την Αριάδνη. Τίθεται λοιπόν το ερώτημα αν η Ευλιμένη αποτελούσε λατρευτικό τίτλο θεότητας στην Κρήτη.

Παρατηρούνται ακόμη πολλά κοινά μοτίβα, αλλά και διαφορές, ανάμεσα στην ιστορία της Ευλιμένης και στην ιστορία της κόρης του Αριστόδημου (Μεσσηνιακή ιστορία, η οποία παραδίδεται από τον Παυσανία). Είναι πιθανόν η Μεσσηνιακή ιστορία να έχει δομηθεί με πρότυπο την Κρητική.

Επίσης, διάφορα μοτίβα (η τομή του επομφάλιου, η τέλεση της ιεροπραξίας, ο ρόλος του βασιλιά) παραπέμπουν σε αρχαϊκότερα, ίσως και μινωΐζοντα ή μυκηναϊκά χαρακτηριστικά. Από αυτή την άποψη, βρίσκω πολύ ενδιαφέρον το εύρημα της κ. Ανδρεαδάκη-Βλαζάκη στην ανασκαφή του μυκηναϊκού ανακτόρου της Κυδωνίας στα Χανιά.

The main aim of the present research work is to provide a new interpretative perspective on Eulimene's story by combining literary testimonies and archaeological findings. The story is included in Parthenius's collection entitled Περὶ Ἐρωτικῶν Παθημάτων, dating back to the 1st century BC. This story appears to be an exceptionally fertile example in which a multidisciplinary approach, that combines Philology and Archaeology, can, potentially, illuminate aspects and facts that would otherwise remain unearthed.

Eulimene's story deals with eponymous heroes and city founders of Crete. The Cretan cities of Lykastos and Kydonia are attested as early as in Homer and Aptera and Kydonia are also cited in Linear B tablets of Knossos; the name of Eulimene, referring to a Nereid, and the adjective ἄπτερος, applied to some gods, were known to Hesiod and Homer, respectively. Given that Crete was sui generis in terms of its own mythology, it is likely that before Homer there was already a background relating to those Cretan cities.

Eulimene is known as a Nereid. Hesiod reports it in his Theogony and pottery as early as the 5th c. BC attests it, as well. A different perspective is introduced by a piece of textile and a pyxis, which hint at an association of Eulimene with Crete, particularly with Phaedra and Ariadne.

There is also a Messenian story, reported by Pausanias, which presents similarities and common patterns. However, the story of Eulimene is rather more complex since the Messenian story was arguably modelled on the predating Cretan version.

Eulimene's story in Parthenius' collection was structured according to the aesthetic standards of the Hellenistic era. However, the story seems to combine various elements, some of which echo Minoan times (the ritual of human sacrifice carried out by the king-priest, a union designed to result in fertility, interrupted in this case) and others which echo archaic times (dissection and forced extraction of the baby). Thus, I find particularly interesting the archaeological finding of the cut-up skull of a young girl, which Andreadaki-Vlazaki brought to light during the excavation at the Mycenaean palace of Kydonia at Chania.

MYTHOGRAPHY AND ARCHAEOLOGY:
THE CASE OF EULIMENE

Parthenius' Mythography and the story of Eulimene (*EP* 35)

The story of Eulimene is one among the thirty-six stories in Parthenius' collection *Erotica Pathemata* (henceforth *EP*). This collection is preserved in the form of a single manuscript, dating back to the 9th century, entitled *Palatinus Graecus* 398, which, after having been relocated for many years throughout Europe, is now being kept at the University Library of Heidelberg[1].

After the *editio princeps* of the *EP* in 1531 by Cornarius, followed by the editions of Gale in 1675 and Heyne in 1798, scholars of the 19th century showed an increasing interest in the *EP*; however, the interest was restricted basically to establishing a text and constituting a decent *apparatus criticus*. An innovative study which appeared at the end of that century approached the *EP* from another perspective. It was Mayer-G'Schrey's dissertation on Parthenius in 1898, which dealt with the *usus auctoris* and placed the emphasis on the linguistic and stylistic preferences of Parthenius.

However, scholarly activity of the 20th century focused on how influential Parthenius was on Roman literature and on the New Poets, in particular. Crowther[2] admits that Parthenius is one of the most puzzling figures in Roman literature of the 1st c. BC and takes up a position between the two extremes: Parthenius did have some influence on the poetry of the 1st c. BC, but that influence was often exaggerated. On the one hand, there is little actual evidence regarding Parthenius' influence on the New Poets, on the other hand, he was associated with Gallus and Virgil. He is likely to have introduced the epyllion to Rome as well as the kind of poetry that was written by Euphorion. Thus, a more cautious attitude towards the influentiality of Parthenius has been adopted[3].

Despite the great interest placed on Parthenius' influentiality, only a few scholars examined Parthenius' *EP per se.* Rohde[4] took a closer look at the contents of the EP and

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[1] For the history of the manuscript see: Escher 1917, 208-212; Schmidt 1919, 160-254; Lehmann 1922, 176-182; Vernet 1961, 75-108. Recent discussions on the manuscript are offered by: Astyrakaki 2016-18, 83-106; Lightfoot 1999, 246-256; Celoria 1992, 15ff; Calderón Dorda 1986, 93-105.

[2] Crowther 1976, 65-71.

[3] There is a vast bibliography on the issue of Parthenius' inluentiality. Indicatively I mention: Clausen 1964, 188; Clausen 1976, 179; Clausen 1987, 6ff; Rostagni 1933, 49ff; Pfeiffer 1943, 23ff; Alfonsi 1945, 56ff; Otis 1963, 26ff; Wiseman 1974, 47ff; Ross 1975, 31; Seth-Smith 1981, 63ff; Griffin 1985, 199; Lyne 1978, 179ff.

[4] Rohde 1914, 126ff.

Haight[5] in 1927 spoke about those "embryo stories", which were gathered from many sources. The same scholar in 1932 distinguished five story types in the EP and examined the occurrence of those patterns in various Roman poets[6]. Story types were also the interest of Monti[7] in his dissertation in 1973 on the literary tradition of *Aeneid* 4. Amalfi[8] had also paid attention to the motifs of the *EP*; he sought for parallel motifs in the realm of folklore and tried to relate the *EP* with the Milesian stories, in the sense that such motifs, stemming from oral tradition, gradually became local stories and were subsequently adopted and reproduced in literary texts.

Although the above-mentioned scholars dealt with the motifs of the *EP*, the emphasis was again placed on the perspective of relating the *EP* to other literary genres. In the '90s and onwards annotated translations and commentaries on the *EP* appeared, thus giving a new boost to the Parthenian research[9].

At the same time, some scholars focused on various mythographers and mythographic collections. Indeed, there are remarkable collections, however, a rigorous theoretical approach has yet to be adequately developed. Fowler's[10] effort to gather, systematize and comment on the fragments of ancient Greek mythographers was remarkable. However, as Cameron[11] puts it, despite an extraordinary surge of interest in Greek mythology and the abundance of books on mythology, there is not a single comprehensive study of the mythographers. Even in the case of a meta-theoretical review of the approaches proposed by the modern science of mythology, the examples have little focus on mythographic collections. We know now how futile it is to seek to restore the authentic function and the "ideological" use of myths by the people who created them. We can, however, based on modern methodological and interpretative tools, such as the modern theories of approaching myths, attempt to read and provide an interpretation. Especially if one were to combine the texts themselves with relevant archaeological findings, which can provide valuable insights, then, in such cases, the results can be quite remarkable. Such a multidisciplinary approach, applied to the case of Eulimene, may actually yield quite interesting and fruitful results.

As Parthenius narrates in *EP* 35, Eulimene was the daughter of Kydon, who had pledged her hand to Apteros, the first among the Cretans at that time. However, Lykastos fell in love with the girl, and they had a secret love affair. As some of the Cretan cities jointly revolted against Kydon and were proving to be far superior, Kydon sent envoys to the god's oracle to inquire what he ought to do in order to triumph over his enemies. According to the oracle, he ought to slaughter a virgin in honour of the native heroes. Kydon cast lots on all the virgins and, as luck would have it, the lot fell upon his daughter. Lykastos feared for her and thus revealed the defloration; yet, most of the crowd demanded more fervently that Eulimene ought to be put to death. After she had been slaughtered, Kydon ordered the priest to cut open her belly and she was found to

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[5] Haight 1927, 41.

[6] Haight 1932, 37ff.

[7] Monti 1973, 4-11. See also his revised thesis 1981, 51.

[8] Amalfi 1935, 148ff.

[9] See for example Calderón-Dorda 1988; Francese 1993; Rose 1994; Stern 1992; Lightfoot 1999.

[10] Fowler 2000, v. I.

[11] Cameron 2004, vii.

be pregnant. Apteros considered himself to have been greatly humiliated by Lykastos, so he ambushed and killed him. Then, he departed to Xanthos at Termera.

As it has been argued elsewhere, the ascription in the margins of *EP* 35 in the manuscript, which attests the name of Asclepiades of Myrlea and his work *Bithyniaca* as the source of this story, is actually referring to *EP* 36[12]. It is clear that *EP* 35 deals with eponymous heroes and city founders of Crete and, in this case of Kydon and Apteros, who were neighbours[13], since Kydonia and Aptera were both located on the coastline of the modem Chania area. The Cretan cities of Lykastos and Kydonia are attested as early as in Homer[14] and Aptera and Kydonia are also cited in Linear B tablets of Knossos[15]; the name of Eulimene, referring to a Nereid, and the adjective ἄπτερος, applied to some gods, were known to Hesiod and Homer, respectively[16]. Given that Crete was *sui generis* in terms of its own mythology, it is likely that before Homer there was already a background relating to those Cretan cities. It is worth assessing the literary and archaeological evidence for each of the involved figures individually before attempting any interpretations of the myth.

Kydon, Apteros and Lykastos

The three male figures of the story are Kydon (Eulimene's father), Apteros (Eulimene's fiancé) and Lykastos (Eulimene's lover). Concerning Kydon[17],

Homer in *Odyssey* 3.292 and 19.176 mentions Kydones as one of the many and different inhabitants who resided in Crete. Georgiev pointed out that tablets from Knossos in Linear B read Kydonija (att. Kydonia) and he attempts an etymological interpretation from κῦδος, κυδάνω, κυδαίνω[18]. Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Κυδωνία) notes, citing Herodianus[19], that Kydonia is a Cretan city (in the area of modern Chania), previously called Apollonia, named after Kydon, the son of Apollo and Akakallis, the daughter of Minos. Pausanias[20] reports two versions regarding the family tree of Kydon: that he was one of Tegeates' sons, and that he went willingly with his brothers to Crete, where he founded the city of Kydonia or, as the Cretans say, that Kydon was the son of Hermes and Akakallis, the daughter of Minos. This information is also attested in the scholia on Theocritus' *Thalysia* (7.12), whereas the scholia on Apollonius' of Rhodes *Argonautica* (4.1492b) credit to Alexander Polyhistor[21] the information that Akakallis had sexual intercourse with Hermes and Apollo and that she gave birth to Naxos from Apollo and Kydon from Hermes. The

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[12] Astyrakaki 2000, 39-49. The marginal ascription is written at the top of the page, whereas at the bottom of the page appears the sign ὅ. In my view, this sign refers to *EP* 35 and implies that there is no source for the story of Eulimene. The story of Eulimene is set on the island of Crete and has nothing to do with the story of Bithynia. Besides, in Bithynia there is the mountain of Arganthon and the city and the river of Kios, which are mentioned in *EP* 36. Regarding the authenticity and the reliability of these ascriptions see Astyrakaki 2016-18, 83-106.

[13] Strabo 10.4.13.

[14] Hom., *Il.* 2.647; *Od.* 3.292, 19.176.

[15] Georgiev 1968, 40-43.

[16] Hes., *Theog.* 247 for Eulimene; Hom., *Od.* 17.57, 19.29, 21.386, 22.398 for *apteros*.

[17] *LIMC* s.v. Kydon.

[18] Georgiev 1968, 40-43.

[19] Herod., *De pros. cathol.* (in *Grammatici Graeci* 3.1, p. 296; see also p. 24).

[20] Paus. 8.53.4.

[21] *FGrH* 273 F 30.

scholia on Homer's *Odyssey* 19.176, which present Kydon as the son of Apollo, are in accordance with the citation of Stephanus of Byzantium.

        The artistic representations of Kydon come primarily from the coins of Kydonia, of which the earliest date to the late 4th c. BC and represent Kydon as a young archer stringing his bow and later in the early 2nd c. BC as an infant suckling a dog, or as a young archer stringing his bow[22]. Although no literary source attests Kydon suckling a dog (nor as an archer) it is notable that this motif of "breeding of a human infant by an animal" is common in Cretan myths[23] and applies to Lykastos as well, according to the Arkadian version. Moreover, as Stefanakis has pointed out, the two myths regarding this motif (that of the twins Plylakides and Plilandros and that of Miletos) were formed in western Crete; it is plausible that the trend led to the version of a fourth local hero, Kydon, as being fed by an animal[24].

        As far as Apteros is concerned, the earliest citation of the word ἄπτερος can be found in Homer[25], where the word is used as an adjective. As an adjective it can also refer to deities, like Hermes or Nike[26]. It is also attested as a Cretan city, near the area of modern Chania[27]. In addition, Georgiev[28] has pointed out that Aptera as a place name is attested in Linear B on tablets from Knossos (APATAWA> Ἄπτα(ρ)Ϝα> dor. Ἄπταρα> att. Ἄπτερα). The word Ἀπτεραῖος is attested as indicating citizenship (i.e., the citizen of Aptera)[29]. However, there is no reference to the word Apteros as a person, apart from that of Eusebius' citation in his *Chronicle*[30], which states that "*in Creta regnavit Apteras, qui et urbem condidit*" and Pausanias', who cites a name similar to Apteros, but not exactly the same[31]. That is, Pausanias reports that, according to one version, the temple at Delphi was built by "ἀνὴρ Δελφός, ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῷ Πτερᾶν εἶναι· κατὰ τοῦτο οὖν γενέσθαι καὶ τῷ ναῷ τοὔνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκοδομήσαντος· ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοῦ Πτερᾶ καὶ πόλιν Κρητικὴν προσθήκῃ γράμματος Ἀπτερεούς φασιν ὀνομάζεσθαι"[32]. This reference clearly associates the Cretan city of Aptera with Pteras and therefore with Apollo.

        With respect to Lykastos, the word, as the name of a Cretan city, is first mentioned by Homer in the Catalogue of Ships[33]; according to Strabo[34], the city no longer existed in

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[22] *LIMC,* s.v. Kydon. Stefanakis (2014, 605-622) deals with the motif of breeding of a human infant by an animal in Cretan myths. For an extensive discussion on Kydon see Stefanakis 2000, 6-90 and Stefanakis and Konstantinidi 2020, 757-785.

[23] Stefanakis 2014, 605-622.

[24] Stefanakis 2014, 618.

[25] ἄπτερος μῦθος is attested in Homer's *Odyssey* 17.57, 19.29, 21.386 and 22.398. According to Hesychius (s.v. ἄπτερος), Homer used this adjective in the sense of προσηνὴς or ταχύς.

[26] Nonnos, *Dionys.* 4.87; 35.239; Paus. 1.22.4; 2.30.2.

[27] Paus. 10.5.10; Strabo 10.4.13; Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἄπτερα.

[28] Georgiev 1968: 40-3.

[29] Plut., *Pyrrhus* 30.6 ἀνὴρ πλήκτης καὶ δραμεῖν ὀξύς, Ὄροισσος ὄνομα, Κρὴς Ἀπτεραῖος; Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἄπτερα.

[30] Eusebios' *Chronicle* in *Die Chronik des Hieronymus,* ed. R. Helm (Berlin, 1984) p. 44b. In p. 40b we also read about Kydon 'in Creta regnavit Cydon'. Heyne based his emendation Ἀπτέρᾳ in *EP* 35 on this passage.

[31] Paus. 10.5.10.

[32] Ed. M.H. Rocha-Pereira (Leipzig, 1981). The manuscript tradition reads ἀπτερεούς VPR ἀπτερέους Va ἀπτερεοῦς FPa ἀπτεραίους P^sVb, whereas the editor's text Ἄπτεραν follows Stephanos Byzantios (s.v. Ἄπτερα).

[33] Hom., *Il.* 2.647. According to Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Λύκαστος) there is also Ποντικὴ Λύκαστος; Hecataeus (*FGrH* 1 F 7b) mentions Lykastos as a place of Leucosyria.

[34] Strabo 10.4.14.

his days. Stephanus of Byzantium notes that Lykastos was a Cretan city "ἀπό Λυκάστου αὐτόχθονος"[35] and Eustathius adds "ἢ παιδὸς Μίνωος"[36].

Panagiotakis places Lykastos at Kephala in Astritsi, Pediada[37]. He notes that Knossos adopted a system of bartering and Lykastos was a part of it. The exports of Pediada included not only agricultural and livestock products, but also manufactured products.

As a person, Lykastos had an interesting family-tree. Diodorus[38] attests that Zeus had sexual intercourse with Europe in Crete and that they had three sons, named Minos, Rhadamanthys and Sarpedon. In due course, Europe got married to Asterios, who was a king of Crete, and, since he could have no children, Asterios adopted Europe's sons and raised them as his own. Minos succeeded him in the kingship, got married to Itone and had a son named Lykastos by her.

In addition, there is another version mentioned by Plutarch[39]. Phylonome, the daughter of Nyktimos and Arkadia, got pregnant by Ares. She gave birth to twin sons but, as she feared her father, she abandoned them at Erymanthos. Her sons took to the hollow of an oak, where a she-wolf was feeding her babies. As soon as she saw the boys, she dropped her cubs and offered her nipples to the boys. Tyliphos, a shepherd, witnessed the scene and took the boys with him to raise them, naming the one Lykastos and the other Parrasios; they finally became the rulers of the Arcadians. Lykastos as a person appears in Crete and in Arcadia. It is worth noting at this point that the iconography of early Hellenistic Cretan coins stresses the strong relationship between Crete and Arcadia[40].

It is interesting that Ellis[41] proposed the reading *Lycastum* for *Lycurgum* in the Ovidian *Ibis* distich 607-608 ("*Qua sua Penteliden proles est ulta Lycurgum / haec maneat teli te quoque plaga novi*"). Ellis thinks that *Lycastum* was gradually transformed to *Lycurgum* and that *Prataliden* had become *Penteliden,* inferring from two epigrams (*AG* 7.448 and 449) that Lycastus is called Pratalides. He claims that if he is right in his conjecture *Lycastum* for *Lycurgum,* then the writer of the Ibis "*must have been following a Cretan legend".* It is an interesting point, which connects Ovid with the Cretan legend of Eulimene. However, it is rather difficult to relate Lykastos of *EP* 35 with Πραταλίδας Λυκάστιος, attested in *PA* 7.448 and 449, for the simple reason that Lykastios can also refer to a citizen of Lykastos and not to the name of the person. Gordon[42] sees no reason to support Ellis' emendation of the text since the reading of the manuscripts, *Pentheliden* and its variants would suggest a descendent of Penthilos, son of Orestes, and tyrant of Lesbos. Gordon finds attractive La Penna's suggestion[43] that the victim might have been featured in a local history detailing the deaths of tyrants.

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[35] Steph. Byz., s.v. Λύκαστος.
[36] Eustath. on *Hom. Il.* 2.647.
[37] Panagiotakis 2003, 350, 358; Spratt 1865, IX, 131-134.
[38] DS 4.60.2-3.
[39] Plut., *Paral. minora* 314e.
[40] Stefanakis 2017, 223.
[41] Ellis 1902, 204-206.
[42] Gordon 1992, 250.
[43] Gordon 1992, 250.

Regarding the three Cretan cities, a few remarks can be made in connection with some historical reflections. The Hellenistic period was an era of continuous conflicts within Crete[44], but what one should focus at is the 4th c. BC (the earliest known appearance of Kydon as a figure on the Kydonian coins). Due to the limitation of our knowledge about Crete at that period[45], only a few great incidents are recorded[46] but generally Kydonia was one of the leading cities and was often engaged in war with other Cretan cities[47]. In Hellenistic times both Aptera and Kydonia were among the leading Cretan cities and, although they often belonged to the same alliances (e.g., allies of Knossos against Lyttos in 220 BC)[48], there were also periods when the two cities belonged to different parties (e.g. Aptera was among the thirty Cretan cities that took part in the treaty with Eumenes II in the 2nd c. BC, whereas Kydonia was not)[49].

The Nereid Eulimene

With respect to the tragic protagonist of the story, Eulimene[50], the name is first mentioned in Hesiod's *Theogony* 247, as one of the Nereids, daughter of Nereus. The next mention comes from Apollodorus (1.2.7), who does not add anything new since he cites her as a Nereid, among Eunike, Thetis, Agave, Eudore, Doto, Pherousa, etc. However, suddenly in the 1st c. BC, Eulimene appears in *EP* 35, not as a Nereid anymore, but as a mortal and the protagonist of a love story. What kind of intervention could have caused that change? Due to the lack of other literary sources, we shall resort to the archaeological record.

Pottery as early as the 5th c. BC attests Eulimene as a Nereid. On a red figured cup-skyphos of the 5th c. BC from Sorrento, Nereus is depicted seated and his daughters[51], Eulimene standing behind her father, while Eileithyia stands in front of him holding a dolphin. On an epinetron of the 5th c. BC from Eretria[52] the kidnapping of Thetis by Peleus is depicted among other scenes, while Nereus and five Nereids (Eulimene being one of them) are attending. Himeros looks back at Hebe and hands her over an amphora. Other inscriptions identify Aphrodite, Eros, Peitho and Kore. Finally, a red figured pyxis[53] from Athens, attributed to the Calliope painter and dating to ca 450-400 BC, depicts Galene, Alexo holding a box and Psamathe, standing, holding an unguent-box (ἐξάλειπτρον), Thetis

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[44] Chaniotis 2005, 8-12.

[45] von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1893, 25ff) and, partly, Kirsten (1942, 65) claimed that Crete was "rediscovered" in the 4th c. BC after a total eclipse from the Hellenic proscenium. However, I am in favor of Spyridakis' view (1970, 1 Iff.) that in the 4th c. BC Crete simply became the object of renewed interest among the Greeks, whereas earlier sporadic contacts prove that the relation with the Greek world never actually ceased to exist.

[46] The most significant being the arrival of Phalaikos with mercenaries to assist Knossos against Lyttos (or Lyktos) but as he had been driven out, he attempted unsuccessfully to siege Kydonia (DS 16.63; Paus. 10.2.7).

[47] Willets 1977· Stefanakis 2000· Stefanakis 2019.

[48] Polyb. 4.55. Stefanakis 2000· Stefanakis 2020.

[49] *IC* v. 4, 179.

[50] *LIMC,* s.v. Eulimene.

[51] The style resembles that of Xenotimos but there is no signature. The skyphos is in Berlin (n. 3244) and for more details see *ARV* 2 Beazley 1142. BADB 215140.

[52] National Archaeological Museum of Athens (n. 1629). For more details see Hartwig 1897, 129-142; *ARV* 2 Beazley 1250, 34. BADB 216971.

[53] 3rd Ephoreia of Hist. and Classical Antiquities: A1877. See *ARV* 2 Beazley 1707, 84bis. BADB 275718.

with a mirror, Eulimene, Glauke handing over a box to Kymothoe, Theo with an alabastron, Aura and Chryseis with an unguent-box. All three vase paintings are in accordance with the Hesiodic literary tradition, representing Eulimene as a Nereid.

A different perspective is introduced by a piece of textile, dating back to ca 450-400 BC, found in the area of Seven Brothers, Kurgan[54]. It is probably a blanket painted with friezes of geometric and floral patterns and scenes from Greek mythology. Athena is depicted, with the inscription ΑΘΗΝΑΙΗ. There is also a male himation-wearing figure, whereas on another fragment two women are depicted, named Phaedra and Eulimene.

This is the first association between Eulimene and Crete and as Johnston puts it, "*a further possible hint of associations of the 'Nereid' beyond the normal submarine zone*"[55]. Indeed, Phaedra is a symbol of disastrous, fatal passion and its consequences. She was a daughter of Minos and Pasiphae (or Crete) and the sister of Ariadne and Akalle. She was happily married to Theseus until Aphrodite enthused her with an unconquerable and fatal passion for Hippolytus, the son of Theseus. Phaedra's vicissitudes have inspired Euripides, and she is the crucial figure in his two versions of Hippolytus. She was also a main character in one of Sophocles' lost tragedies.

Both Phaedra and Eulimene seem to have had parallel lives: they were part of an erotic triangle resulting in the death of the girl and the beloved. The erotic triangle constitutes a common motif in Cretan myths: i.e., Zeus-Europe-Asterius / Minos-Pasiphae-Taurus / Apollo-Akakallis-Hermes / Theseus-Ariadne-Dionysus[56]. Moreover, Phaedra got married to Theseus, with whom Ariadne had fallen in love once upon a time.

At this point it is worth mentioning a special version attributed to Paeon the Amathusian and preserved by Plutarch[57], regarding Ariadne, the sister of Phaedra. When Ariadne and Theseus left Crete, a sea turbulence drove their boat ashore somewhere along the coast of Cyprus. Theseus carried the pregnant Ariadne to land, while he himself, taking care of the ship, was swept away by the waves into the sea.

The local women took care of Ariadne, but unfortunately, she died before giving birth and was subsequently buried. When Theseus returned, he heard the sad news and decided to establish sacrifices in honor of Ariadne. At the annual sacrifice, which took place on the second day of the month of Gorpeia, a young man lay down and enacted the experience of childbirth by shouting, just like a woman who is feeling the pains during childbirth. In the place where Ariadne was buried there is a grove, which the Amathusians call the grove of Ariadne Aphrodite.

Although Phaedra was a crucial figure in two tragedies of Euripides and a lost play of Sophocles, there are no surviving artistic representations of Phaedra of that era[58], the only exception being the cloth from Kurgan, as mentioned above, and Pausanias'

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[54] The textile is kept at the State Hermitage Museum of St. Petersburg (Сбр VI.16).

[55] Johnston 1991, 182.

[56] Respectively, DS 4.60.2ff; Apollod. 3.7.11; Paus. 8.53.4-5 and 10.16.5; Apollod. 1. 8-10 and DS 4.61.4-5 and 5.51.4.

[57] Plut., *Theseus* 20.

[58] *LIMC*, s.v. Phaidra; Doria and Giuman 2016, 2-3.

mention of Polygnotus' lost paintings in the monument of Lesche at Delphi. Pausanias[59] describes Ariadne as seated on a rock, looking at her sister Phaedra, who is on a swing.

It is highly significant that the oldest artistic representations of Phaedra (the cloth and Pausanias' description), she is depicted either next to Eulimene or Ariadne. Given Paeon's version regarding Ariadne's pregnancy, could one infer that there might be a close relation between Eulimene and Ariadne (could they even be the same person)? Furthermore, according to Paeon's version, there seems to be an association between Ariadne and Aphrodite.

Inevitably, at this point, another question is raised as to whether the artistic representation of Eulimene next to Phaedra could be signifying a "Hellenization" of Cretan myths[60].

Moreover, another archaeological testimony attests the association of Eulimene with Crete. It is a lead pyxis[61] kept in the British Museum with two inscriptions on its lid, the one on the underside and the other on the outside of the rim. Johnston is cautious noting that certain details of the texts are unusual that could be implying a modern forgery. In addition, the examination of the piece in the British Museum Laboratory was inconclusive. On the other hand, it is very interesting that three pyxides of this kind, dating back to Hellenistic times, were found in Crete (one of them in Tylissos)[62]. The inscription on the underside reads ΚΡΑΤΥΛΟΣ ΑΙΓΙΝΗΤΗΣ ΤΗΙ ΕΥΛΙΜΕΝΗΙ. As Johnston notes[63], the inscription is in Ionic dialect and the script also seems Ionic. However, the gamma is wholly un-Aeginetan and the upsilon Υ is not found in Aegina, though it appears in Kydonia. Since Kratylos complements his name with his place of origin, it could be inferred that the dedication took place outside his home polis, and that he used the script and dialect of the area in which the sanctuary was located.

It is worth noting at this point that there was a strong relationship between Kydonia and Aegina. People from Aegina migrated to Kydonia as early as in the 6th c. BC and the Aeginetan community became stronger during the 5th c. BC[64]. Besides, the Aeginetan weigh standard was dominant in Crete, with the acceptance and circulation of Aeginetan coins as early as in the 6th c. BC[65]. Naturally, the choice of the dedicatee rises a question whether she is the Nereid (maybe a difficult trip by sea had a good ending), or it may be a case of a cult title of a more substantial deity[66].

Eulimene and Aristodemus' daughter: two stories, one pattern

As it has already been argued elsewhere[67], the story of Eulimene has a great resemblance to that of Aristodemus' daughter in Messenia[68].

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[59] Paus. 10.29.3.

[60] I owe this observation to a comment of Prof. Lucia Athanassaki, when I presented a draft of this work to the Classical Division of the Faculty of Philology, University of Crete, in 23 October 2020.

[61] British Museum GR 1909.5-24.1.

[62] Johnston, pers. comm.

[63] Johnston 1991, 177-182.

[64] Stefanakis 2019, 3-4.

[65] Stefanakis 2020, 130.

[66] Johnston 1991, 182, where he points at Aphrodite.

[67] Astyrakaki 2000, 44-45.

[68] Paus. 4.9.1-10.

During a period of crisis (the context of war) somebody is sent to the Oracle. The answer is that a virgin ought to be sacrificed (usually the daughter of the king, which is a common motif: Erechtheus' daughter(s)[69], Aglauros[70], Yacinthus' daughters[71], Macaria[72] and Hesione[73]). In the Messenian story the sacrifice ought to be made to the νερτέροισι δαίμοσι, whereas in *EP* 35 in the name and honour of the local heroes. In wartime the local heroes are often invoked but the invocation is always accompanied by appeals to the gods, too[74]. However, in *EP* 35 although the order for the sacrifice comes from an oracle, there is mention only of the local heroes.

The father orders the sacrifice to be carried out (a characteristic that appertains to the Minoan "king-priest")[75] and the ritual element is introduced into the story. The man who has sexual intercourse with the girl tries to prevent the ritual sacrifice, thus causing the crowd's reaction. In the case of Eulimene the crowd reacted as soon as the seduction was revealed (ὁ δὲ πολὺς ὅμιλος πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐδικαίου αὐτὴν τεθνάναι)[76].

This reaction may well imply their attitude concerning the ritual process (that is, they do demand that it is carried out), more than their attitude regarding virginity. At the end it is the king-priest who dissects or gives the order for the dissection of his daughter. In the Messenian story we do not know if there is a matter of virginity, because the girl was not pregnant. On the contrary, Eulimene was. It seems that the Cretan story is more complex, but before focusing on its complexity, it would be interesting to examine the "history" of the Messenian story.

The particular passage of the Messenian version is a part of the so-called Messenian "pseudo-history"[77] or "myth-history"[78]. After the re-foundation of Messenia in the 4th c. BC as a state free of Spartan domination, an attempt to create a glorious past became obvious (e.g., the oracle given to the Messenians refers to the race of the Aepytides). Trying to acquire a history of their own identity, the Messenians tried to depict a nation that existed once, before the Spartan invasion. What Pausanias attests in 4.1-24 has to be examined from this point of view. More significantly, Pausanias used as sources (whether directly or through an intermediatory text) Myron's and Rhianus' accounts, as he points out himself in 4.6.

How exactly Pausanias made use of those sources is a matter not to be examined here, but it is notable that Rhianus, whom Pausanias favours more than the "inaccurate" Myron[79], comes from Crete[80], and it is likely that the Messenian story was modelled on

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[69] Eur., *Erechth.* fr. 50 (Austin), Phanod. *FGrH* 325 F4, Apollod. 3.15.4.

[70] Philoch. *FGrH* 328 F105.

[71] Apollod. 3.15.8.

[72] Eur., *Herald.* 406-629; Paus. 1.32.6.

[73] Apollod. 2.5.9. See also Fraser's comments on Apollod. 2.5.9 for the custom of sacrificing maidens to be the bribes of the Sea.

[74] Thuc. 2.74.2. See also Thuc. 4.87.2, Dinarch. *In Demosth.* 64, DH *De Thuc.* 36, Hel. *Aith.* 10.6.3, etc.

[75] This term "king-priest" was used first by Evans and it was then adopted by Nilsson (1950, 486).

[76] Parthenius uses the πολὺ μᾶλλον also in *EP* 8, 13, 26 and 30. In *EP* 8 and 30 there are two different distinctive concepts to be compared, whereas in *EP* 13 and 26 the πολὺ μᾶλλον stresses within the same concept an enlargement in comparison to a previous temporal point, as in *EP* 35. That is, the crowd wanted the sacrifice to be accomplished more after the reveal of seduction than before.

[77] Pearson 1962, 397-426.

[78] OCD³, s.v. Messenia.

[79] Paus. 4.6.4.

the Cretan one. Although Rhianus does not generally deal with the first Messenian war, which ran approximately from 740 to 720 BC[81] (during which the particular Messenian story takes place) but starts his account with the battle of the Great Trench (that is, the third year of the second war), as Pausanias notes (6.2), it is not unlikely that he would have attested such a story as a digression. This would be in accordance with the epic style of Rhianus[82]. However, even supposing it was a story offered by Myron, the point is that if Pausanias indeed follows these sources at this point, then the story must have been introduced in relation to Messene in the 3rd c. BC (since both Rhianus and Myron lived at that century), while, on the other hand, the eponymous figure of Kydon was already known in the 4th c. BC in Crete, as is attested by coins of the 4th c. BC from Kydonia, which depict him as an archer or, later, as an infant suckling a dog[83].

The complexity of the Cretan story

In the Cretan story an erotic triangle is dominant, whereas in the Messenian one this is missing. The erotic triangle, as mentioned above, constitutes a common motif in Cretan myths. The betrothal between Apteros and Eulimene is caused by the father-king and implies political purposes. It is likely that this association indicates a desperate attempt (on Kydon's behalf) to make an alliance in the face of political changes (as the text informs us, there was an incitement to sedition), or an attempt to control another city that gained more and more power.

The ritual element predominates in the sacrifice of Eulimene. Firstly, we note the existence of the "king-priest", who carries out the sacrifice in the Cretan version, while in the Messenian version the furious father kills his daughter instead of sacrificing her.

According to the archaeological evidence, human sacrifice was not unknown to Cretans. Although it is an issue that is treated with scepticism, there are various findings of this kind at different periods of time (e.g., the sacrifice at the Minoan sanctuary at Anemospelia in Archanes[84], at the Mycenaean Kydonia at Chania[85], or at the archaic cemetery at Eleutherna[86]).

Secondly, the name of Lykastos suggests some interrelations. The root λυκ-, whether it is associated to the light (lux), or to the wolf (lupus), is closely related to cult-

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[80] Either from Bene (Paus. 4.6.1; Steph. Byz. *Περὶ πόλεων* s.v. *Βήνη*; Suda, s.v. *Ριανός*), or from Keraia (Steph. Byz. ib.).

[81] CAH 3.3, 323-324.

[82] In addition, the *gnomologia* in 4.9.6, concerning fate, is in accordance with Rhianus' stylistic preferences, as depicted in his *Περὶ ἀφροσύνης* (CA Powell 9-10). For Rhianus' stylistic preferences see Kokolakis 1976, 129-162 and Spanakis 2019, 98-119. The latter also offers an extensive discussion on the Messenian passage (Spanakis 2019, 49-57).

[83] *LIMC*, s.v. Kydon. It must be added at this point that people from Crete (especially archers from Aptera) took part in the First and Second Messenian wars (Paus. 4.9.10; 4.20.8).

[84] Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1979, 331-92. Three skeletons (a woman, a man and a young man) were found in a room and the excavators have suggested that the young man was a victim of human sacrifice.

[85] In 2014 M. Vlazaki-Andreadaki brought to light the skull of a young woman, beheaded by a sword, being among other cut up bones of animals, in the Mycenean palace of Kydonia, at Kastelli, in Chania; see https://www.amna.gr/macedonia/article/214049/%7B%7BngMeta.image%7D%7D.

[86] Stampolidis 1996. A funerary pyre of a warrior was brought to light in Eleutherna. Apart from the warrior, there was also a headless, unburned man, who was executed by way of reprisals, according to Stampolidis, the director of the excavation.

titles. It is also associated with human sacrifices[87], the Cretan city Lyktos[88] and the Arkadian mountain of Lykaion[89], not to mention the adjectives Lykeios and Lykaios, which refer to Apollo[90] and Zeus[91] respectively.

Thirdly, the breastfeeding by a she-wolf (or goat, or dog) is another motif with ritual connections and is found in the cases of Lykastos (in the Arkadian version), as well as of Phylakides, Phylandros, Miletos and Kydon (according to the coins from Kydonia) in Crete[92].

An extremely impressive and rare motif is the posthumous dissection at the end of *EP* 35. Apart from the case of Aristodemus' daughter, very few other examples can be traced. One of them is found in Herodotus[93], where Kambyses draws his bow, shoots the son of Prexaspes, and then orders the body to be cut open in order to prove that the arrow has pierced the heart.

However, the example that most resembles the case of Eulimene, is that of Koronis. Pausanias[94] notes that she was the daughter of Phlegyas. Koronis got pregnant by Apollo, but she also had sexual intercourse with a mortal, named Ischys. Artemis decided to punish the girl for the insult, so she killed her. However, Hermes managed to rescue the embryo. Pindar[95] is aware of this version but, according to him, it is Apollo himself who removed the baby from the mother's body.

In other words, the motif of the forced foetus extraction is found in archaic literature (in conjunction to an erotic triangle). In the case of Kydon, no god interferes in order to save the embryo, which means that, since the "fertility" ceases and Eulimene is dead, Kydon remains without an heir for his kingdom (like Asterios, another mythical Cretan king)[96]. Although nothing is mentioned regarding the result of the war, it is likely that the wasted sacrifice (since Eulimene was not a virgin) was a bad omen for Kydon.

The last part of *EP* 35 deals with Apteros' migration to Termera, in Lycia. It is clearly an aetiological motif, which indicates the close relationship between Crete and Lycia (a relationship known by Homer in the myth of Sarpedon)[97].

Τὸ ἐπομφάλιον

When Kydon ordered the priest to cut open Eulimene's belly, Parthenius in his narration makes use of a Homeric word (τὸ ἐπομφάλιον, *Iliad* 7.267, as marking the

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[87] Paus. 8.2.1-6.

[88] Antikleides, *Nostoi FGrH* 140 F7.

[89] Paus. 6.8.2; Theophr. in Porph. *De abst.* 2.27; Plato, *Minos* 315c.

[90] Paus. 1.19.3. For more details see Gershenson (1991, especially chapter 6, which connects the wolf with death).

[91] Paus. 8.36.6; 8.53.11.

[92] Stefanakis 2014, 605-622; 2017, 217-245; 2000, 6-90; Stefanakis and Konstantinidi 2020, 757-785.

[93] Hdt. 3.35.3.

[94] Paus. 2.26.3-7.

[95] Pindar, *Pyth.* 3.5-46. Hes. (Ἠοῖαι fr. 60, Merkelbach-West) knew the version regarding the erotic triangle.

[96] Apollod. 3.1.3; DS 4.60.3.

[97] Hom., *Il.* 2.876-877; 5.632-646; Hdt. 1.173, etc.

center of a shield). The word is rarely attested[98] but surely Meineke is wrong to emend this Homeric word in favour of ὑπομφάλιον (nowhere attested).

The word ὀμφαλὸς is attested as a place name in Crete, near Knossos. Callimachus cites in his *Hymn to Zeus* (44-45) that Kydones called this place Omphalion pedion. Moreover, the scholia on Nicander's *Alexipharmaca* 7 note that Omphalos is a place in Crete near Knossos.

Diodorus (5.70.4) mentions that it was a place in Crete, where the navel cord of Zeus fell from him near a river. The place had been made sacred and was called Omphalos ever after.

Panagiotakis[99] places the Omphalion pedion in the area of Pediada, near Lykastos. He stresses the great strategic importance of Lykastos, since it dominates a large part of central Crete and a road network, connecting the Omphalion pedion with the central Crete.

Eulimene was killed and so was the unborn child of Lykastos, who was killed by Apteros and was left without an heir. Could that imply a destruction or a subjunction of the city of Lykastos, and perhaps some nearby places, such as the Omphalion pedion?

As Perlman notes[100], Lykastos was indeed destroyed as a political entity and was absorbed by Knossos; the events of the first two decades of the 2nd c. BC provide the *terminus ante quem* for this destruction.

Conclusions

Considering that Crete was always *sui generis* according to its myths and history, this story seems to combine various elements, some of which echo Minoan times (the ritual of human sacrifice carried out by the king-priest, a union designed to result in fertility, interrupted in this case) and others which echo archaic times (dissection and forced extraction of the baby). In addition, as Stern[101] puts it, this story could be a tragedy as well.

It is likely the eponymous heroes of this story echo cult titles, probably ones no longer extant by the Hellenistic times. What we do know from Hellenistic times is that a personification had taken place, associating those heroes (Kydon, Lykastos, Apteros) with Cretan cities. In addition, these eponymous heroes were involved in other aetiological city-foundation myths (e.g. Lykastos is also χωρίον Λευκοσυρίας, according to Hecataeus[102]; there is also a city Aptera in Termera of Lycia, as attested by Stephanus of Byzantium)[103].

The story of Eulimene, as it appears in *EP* 35, seems to be a product of Hellenistic times, structured in accordance to the Hellenistic aesthetics. At that time Kydonia and Aptera were the leading Cretan cities. From this point of view, if Kydon, Apteros and Lykastos refer to eponymous cities, then it is possible that Eulimene refers to a harbour

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[98] For the umbilical region, as in Parthenius, cf. only Pollux 2.169. With the meaning "plaster applied to the navel" cf. Aetius, *Iatr.* 3.136; Paulus, *Epit. Med.* 7.9. Cf. also *AP* 6.22, ῥυτιδόφλοιον σῦκον ἐπομφάλιον, "a fig with a navel-like stalk", which was one the crops dedicated to Priapus.

[99] Panagiotakis 2003, 382.

[100] Perlman 1996, 250.

[101] Stern 1992, 95.

[102] *FGrH* 1 F 7b.

[103] Steph. Byz., s.v. Ἄπτερα.

near Kydonia, perhaps the harbour of modern Suda; this would be of great interest for the inhabitants of both Kydonia and Aptera, especially in war time.

On the other hand, one could not ignore that the story of Eulimene bears some archaic, even Minoan, elements and mythological motifs and its origin goes back to world of ritual and illustrates the close relationship between sacrificial ritual and sexuality, which remains to be verified through archaeological evidence. The story exhibits a timeless fascination and constitutes a valuable example which demonstrates the close association between Philology and Archaeology. As Johnston[104] puts it, "*all aspects must be taken into consideration in order to answer how Eulimene entered the tradition, whether as a pre-existing figure in Western Cretan cult, or not*".

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[104] Johnston 1991, 182.

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