

DAIDALOS

AND THE ORIGINS OF GREEK ART

• BY SARAH P. MORRIS •

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Bronze figurine of seated helmet-maker, Geometric, eighth century B.C. H. .052 m. New York 42.11.42.

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AND THE ORIGINS OF

GREEK ART

Sarah P. Morris

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The Greeks, surpassing all men in their natural genius, first appropriated most of these tales, then dramatized them colorfully with additional ornaments, intending to beguile with the pleasures of myths, they embellished them in all sorts of ways. Thence Hesiod and the famous poets of the cyclic epics made their own versions and excerpts of *Theogonies* and *Gigantomachies* and *Titanomachies*, which they circulated and thus defeated the truth. Our ears have over the centuries become accustomed to and prejudiced by their fabrications; they defend the mythology they receive as a sacred trust . . . which, having been wrought over time, has made its hold inescapable, so that the truth appears to be nonsense, and an illegitimate tale, truth.

—Sanchuniathon, from the writings of Philo of Byblos:
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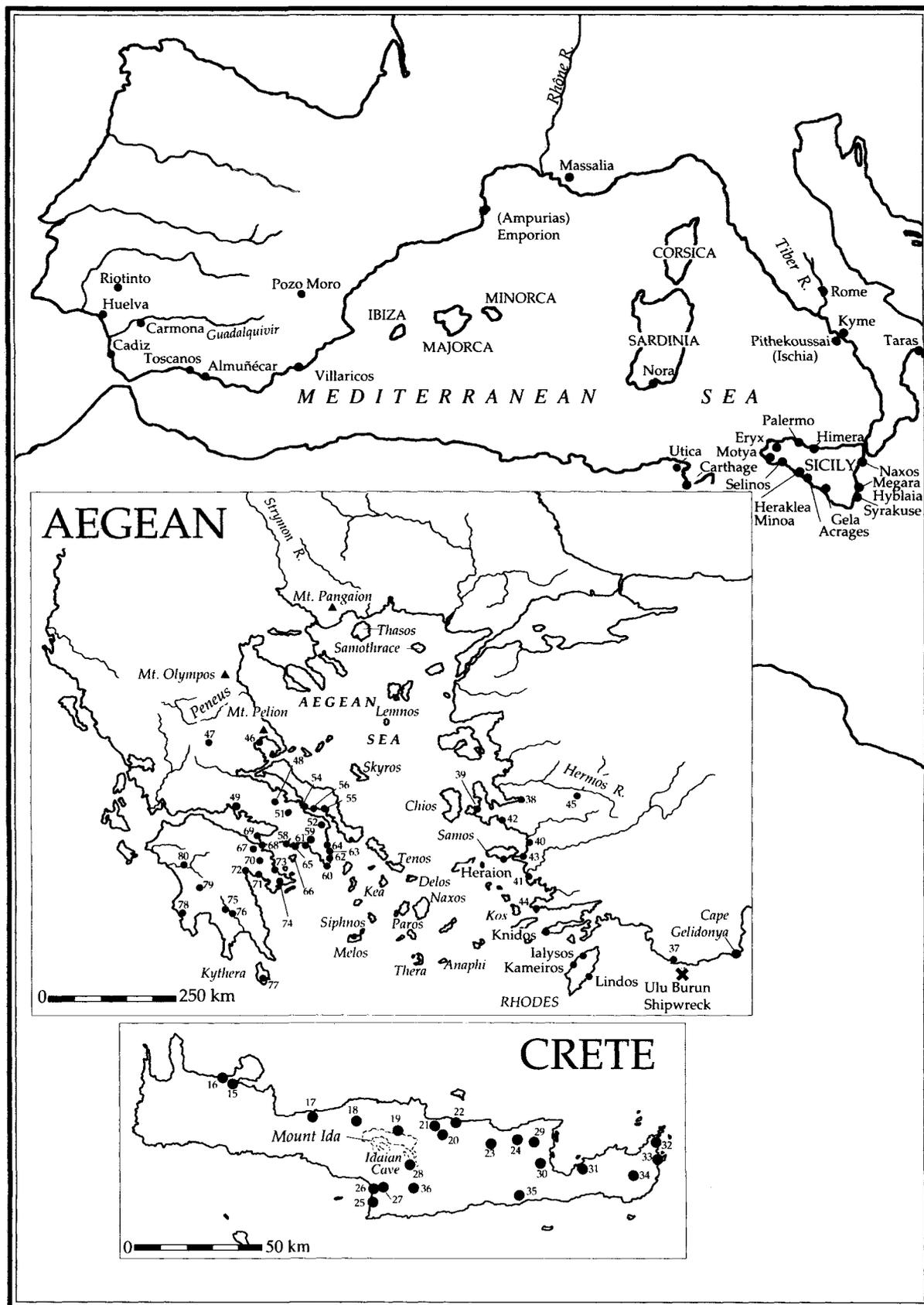
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1. The western Mediterranean in the Bronze and Iron Ages with insets of the Aegean and Crete (T. Seymour).



2. The eastern Mediterranean in the Bronze and Iron Ages with inset of Cyprus (T. Seymour).

PREFACE

A Reader's Guide and an Author's Apologia

ASCHOLAR, LIKE A GENTLEMAN, should never apologize or explain; this book excuses both gestures, as a courtesy to the general reader as well as the specialist. Before I emphasize some lessons of an already didactic text, my first apology is to Daidalos himself. The definitive work on his life and afterlife still remains to be written: he deserves, among other tributes, a lavishly illustrated assembly of his appearances in Western art (in the tradition of Nikolaos Yalouris's *Pegasus: The Art of the Legend*, published by Mobil Oil Hellas in 1975). Unlike such a book, this one purports to span multiple millennia and media, presents a curious mixture of close textual analysis with a selective survey of the archaeological evidence, speculates freely on mythology, etymology, and iconography, and recasts some dates and purposes of classical art. To combine the first chapters (in full ignorance of Semitic languages) with a detailed analysis of classical literature and art defies traditional divisions in professional specialties and competence.

I will defend some indulgences, in the Sokratic manner, from autobiography. I worked my way into Hellenism from the East, having excavated in Israel and Turkey before I ever saw Greece. When I finally did in 1978, I had just witnessed an unusual doctoral dissertation at Harvard University: "Greek Geometric Pottery in the East: The Chronological Implications," by Diane (Daniela) Saltz of the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations. Thanks to her obstinacy and her insights, I first saw early Iron Age Greece through Levantine eyes; she convinced me, in word, deed, and prose, that answers lay East. Her brilliant analysis of sites like Al Mina also introduced me to the perils of modern politics and persuasions, to the sad modern fate of the Phoenicians, and to the courage necessary to tackle these problems. I was fortunate to have an equivalent muse at the end of my odyssey in Patricia Bikai, an expert on the unhappy fate of the ancient and modern Phoenicians. I thank her not only for reading unmanageable drafts of Part II, but for her warmth, support, and insight.

On the professional side, my curiosity about the ancient Near East deepened during my doctoral venture into the Orientalizing period (published as *The Black and White Style*: see bibliography) but was hardly satisfied. Frustration as well as fascination led me to

this investigation, neither a history of early Greek art, nor a biography of Daidalos, but a critical examination of a legend with roots in the East and of its fate in Greek hands. My aim was to explore first the Oriental component in those periods and genres it once fertilized and then its deliberate disarticulation in the classical period. The figure who gave his name to a century of Orientalizing art is more than just a convenient and poetic patron for such an investigation. The formation of his legend took place during early Greek contact and cohabitation with Levantines, which gave Greece an Oriental flavor, including an image of a craftsman with Near Eastern qualities. Later, his personality, like that of Kadmos, became progressively more Hellenized, eventually integrated into "native" dynasties of legendary kings. His repatriation demonstrates how classical Greek cities transformed traditions to suit an evolving historical consciousness, inaugurating a new phase of Greek myth and its uses. His fate recapitulates the progress of Greek art and thought in relation to the East, exemplifies an important pattern in Greek intellectual history, and lends insight for understanding similar configurations, especially in early Greek poetry and archaeology. In the last three chapters, the reader may lose track of Daidalos but should keep an eye on his fate: his transformation reflects such profound changes in Greek art and thought after the Persian wars in Athens in so many media that the scope of Part IV should explain itself. The nature of the break between pre-Persian and classical Greece, however artificial in historical periodization, cannot be overestimated at the intellectual, philosophical level. The accident of history that left Greece, and Athens, in a position of superiority determined much historical speculation thereafter, including the birth of the idea of Europe. In this classical restructuring of fragments of the past, Daidalos and his original world emerged in diffracted but informative illumination. Because these historical reorientations involve works of art occupying critical points in the chronology of Greek art, I have tried to suggest a number of threads of history to guide the scholarly community out of today's labyrinth, the stylistic chronology of late archaic and early classical Greek art. Hence my retracing of familiar ground in the late sixth and early fifth centuries, an attempt to elicit new arrangements of the evidence by other scholars, free of the acrimony now dominating the subject.

To admit that Daidalos is largely a literary creation, with a biography embroidered in classical and later periods (the subject of Part III), is hardly news. Most investigations have proceeded either "genetically" toward a diachronic synthesis of anecdotes and attributions that assumes a single, coherent tradition, or have synchronized his phases with contemporary art, to correlate "his" achievements with actual developments. Both methods have assumed two figures, a "mythical" and a "historical" Daidalos, and struggled to synthesize Panhellenic and local traditions in Athens and Crete, Greece and Italy, into a plausible stemma, as it were, of his testimonia. Instead, the very inconsistencies in the legends of Daidalos reward scrutiny, as they reveal the evolution of

Greek attitudes toward art and history. When the contradictions become the object of study rather than their obstacle, through a synoptic view of sources and art in a sequence of synchronic contexts, the results are fruitful and fascinating. Daidalos himself emerges as a movable beast, a creature most natural to the habitat of Greek myth. Born in an epic simile with enigmatic adjectives for parents, he was overshadowed by them for centuries. Dramatic changes in Greek art and life helped rediscover him and adapted him happily to far more numerous accomplishments than his poetic origins promised. Every feat claimed for him illuminates those occasions and attitudes that sponsored it, particular to a specific Greek city or tradition. It still remains to encourage the abandonment of the "historical sculptor" of the archaic period, enlisted to bolster ancient and modern theories of early Greek art. The fiction of a Cretan sculptor and teacher, if not father, of early Cretan artists conceals a convergence of prehistoric and Oriental elements beneath a classicizing perspective that arranges early Greek history into antecedents of classical art. The role of Athens in determining his classical persona is particularly vivid, and emerges in a close analysis of the intellectual atmosphere that succeeded victory over Persia (Part IV). Viewed under these conditions, each phase in the evolution of Daidalos reveals contemporary priorities in Greek art and its appreciation, and their collected sequence follows the prehistory of Greek art criticism and historiography.

The structure of this book has a point. In each of the two parts, the literature on Daidalos relevant to his archaic and classical personae (Parts I and III) is followed by a detailed exploration of the historical and archaeological background to each set of testimonia (Parts II and IV). This order documents my *ιστορίη* and where it led me, but the results of my research could be read in different sequences, beginning with the insights I struggled to extract from years of analysis. This arrangement also demonstrates why each section goes unexplained without the other, a pedagogical, even polemical, strategy to integrate archaeology and philology, and advocate an interdisciplinary approach to the study of Greek history. In extant studies, the legend of Daidalos has already been deconstructed since the nineteenth century, and most recently and sensibly by Philipp, just as tragedy was newly analyzed for its barbarians by Hall, but such studies confine themselves to literature. This book asks that art inspire related disciplines to rethink Greece's relationship with the Orient, that philologists avail themselves more frequently of the rich banquet in the visual arts and share their own fare with historians and archaeologists, overcoming barriers of increasing specialization.

Another hope is to reunite prehistory and classical Greece as aspects of one culture. Greater minds have traced Greek art and culture to its Oriental roots, and pioneers like Frederik Poulsen and V. Gordon Childe are only absent from references because their influence is implicit. But more recent studies remain isolated within disciplines and confined to the Bronze or the Iron Age, with rare convergences. Those by Kantor and Smith concentrated on Bronze Age artistic motifs (now updated by Janice Crowley's *The Ae-*

gean and the East, Jonsered, 1989); however thorough, they omit more profound traditions in religion and literature, exchanged in the same “international age” and which lasted into the first millennium. Research on the Iron Age, including Burkert’s remarkable integration of history, literature, and religion in his study of Near Eastern influence on Greece, confines itself to the parameters of Assyrian expansion, while archaeology now emphasizes much earlier contacts. A Levantine orientation in Greek culture transcended two or more phases and was a constant component of life in the Aegean. When united under one lens, prehistoric archaeology offers much in method to scholars of archaic and literary culture, while later phases of interaction made more vivid through the witness of texts can shed light on the silence of earlier years. The case of Daidalos becomes a welcome excuse for integrating periods as well as disciplines artificially and professionally separated.

The most important thing I learned from this book was how modern attitudes shape our view of the past, often blatantly in questions of cross-cultural contact, where they form a major impediment to understanding intimacy between East and West. Ancient and modern preoccupations with ethnicity, often specific to political and historical situations, easily turn innocent or convenient classifications of material and cultural evidence into racial properties. An attitude recognized as “Orientalism” has encouraged qualitative distinctions between cultural factors in a contest of rival claims. This approach involves not only “a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction” between East and West but “a Western style for dominating, restructuring and having authority over the Orient,” as defined by Said (*Orientalism*, 2–3). Bernal’s analysis of the origins of classical scholarship (*Black Athena*, the first of four volumes on “The Afro-Asiatic Roots of Classical Civilization”) blames modern European nationalism and anti-Semitism for the suppression of the Oriental contribution to Greek culture. Other factors contributed, some of them ancient; this book demonstrates how Bernal’s “Aryan model” began in the fifth century, after the Persian wars, and not in modern Europe, such that the object of study—classical culture—already determined the mode of approach, long before the eighteenth century. A measure of prejudice remains traditional in modern studies of the Near East and in the field of classics itself: but an attitude toward classical antiquity somewhere between self-congratulation and self-flagellation can be found. As the pendulum swings in modern history from embracing to rejecting Oriental influence, it remains remarkable how different from its Eastern neighbors the Greek mind was—the forest that I hope does not disappear in the trees of this investigation.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
AAA	<i>Ἀρχαιολογικά Ἀναλεκτά ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν</i>
AAAS	<i>Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes</i>
AAP	<i>Atti dell'Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Arte di Palermo</i>
AccLinc	<i>Rendiconti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei</i>
AE	<i>Ἀρχαιολογική Ἐφημερίς</i>
AESC	<i>Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations</i>
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
Agora III	R. E. Wycherley, <i>The Athenian Agora III: Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia</i> . Princeton, 1957
Agora XIV	R. E. Wycherley and H. Thompson, <i>The Athenian Agora XIV: The Agora of Athens</i> . Princeton, 1972
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AJAH	<i>American Journal of Ancient History</i>
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
AK	<i>Antike Kunst</i>
AkkHw	W. V. Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> . Wiesbaden, 1959–
AnatStud	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
ANET	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> , ed. J. Pritchard. 2d ed. Princeton, 1955
AntClass	<i>Antiquité Classique</i>
AOAT	<i>Alter Orient und Altes Testament</i>
APA	American Philological Association
ArchClass	<i>Archaeologia Classica</i>
ArchHom	<i>Archaeologia Homerica. Die Denkmäler des frühgriechischen Epos</i> , ed. A. Heubeck. Göttingen, 1974–
ARep	<i>Archaeological Reports</i>
ArtB	<i>Art Bulletin</i>
ARV	J. D. Beazley, <i>Athenian Red-Figure Vase-Painters</i> . 2d ed. Oxford, 1963
ARV ¹	J. D. Beazley, <i>Athenian Red-Figure Vase Painters</i> . Oxford, 1942

ASAA	<i>Annuario della Scuola Archeologia di Atene</i>
ASNP	<i>Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa</i>
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
<i>AthMitt</i>	<i>Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athen</i>
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeology</i>
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
BARep	<i>British Archaeological Reports</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique</i>
BClevMus	<i>Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art</i>
BICS	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies (London)</i>
BIFG	<i>Bolletino dell'Istituto di Filologia Greca</i>
<i>BonnJbb</i>	<i>Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums. Bonn</i>
BSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
BSR	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i>
CA	<i>Classical Antiquity (formerly CSCA)</i>
CAH	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History. Vols. 1–2, 3d ed.; vol. 3, 2d ed. Cambridge, 1970–</i>
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CJ	<i>Classical Journal</i>
CMMS	<i>Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel</i>
CP	<i>Classical Philology</i>
CQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CR	<i>Classical Review</i>
CRAI	<i>Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres</i>
<i>CronArch</i>	<i>Cronache di archeologia e storia d'arte</i>
CSCA	<i>California Studies in Classical Antiquity</i>
CTA	<i>Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939. Paris, 1963</i>
CVA	<i>Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. Union Académique Internationale.</i>
CW	<i>Classical World</i>
<i>Deltion</i>	<i>Ἀρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον</i>
DHA	<i>Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne</i>
DMG	M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, <i>Documents in Mycenaean Greek. 2d ed. Cambridge, 1973</i>
EAA	<i>Enciclopedia dell'arte antica</i>
EADélos	<i>Exploration Archéologique de Délos</i>
<i>EchCI</i>	<i>Echos du Monde Classique (Classical Views)</i>

EPRO	<i>Études Préliminaires des Religions Orientales dans l'Empire Romain</i>
Ergon	Τὸ Ἔργον τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείᾳ
FdD	<i>Fouilles de Delphes. École Française d'Athènes. Paris, 1902–</i>
FGrH	F. Jacoby, <i>Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . 14 vols. Berlin, 1923–1930; Leipzig, 1940–1957
Fifth Cretological Congress	Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Ε' Διέθνου Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου (Ἅγιος Νικόλαος, 25.8–1.10.1981). Herakleion, 1985
Fourth Cretological Congress	Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Δ' Διέθνου Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου (Ἡράκλειον, 29.8.–3.9.1976). Athens, 1980.
FuF	<i>Forschungen und Fortschritte</i>
GGA	<i>Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen</i>
GHI	M. N. Tod, <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions</i> . Oxford, 1948
GöttMisz	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>
GR	<i>Greece and Rome</i>
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
How and Wells	W. W. How and J. Wells, <i>A Commentary on Herodotus</i> . 2 vols. Oxford, 1928
HSCP	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
HThR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
ICr	<i>Inscriptiones Creticae</i> , ed. M. Guarducci. Rome, 1935–
IDélos	<i>Inscriptions de Délos. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, 1926–</i>
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> . Berlin, 1873–
I.G.M.E.	Ἰνστιτοῦτον Γεωλογικῶν καὶ Μεταλλευτικῶν Ἐρευνῶν
IrAnt	<i>Iranica Antiqua</i>
IstMitt	<i>Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archäologisches Instituts, Istanbul</i>
JANES	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JARCE	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
JdI	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athen</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
JESHO	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
JFA	<i>Journal of Field Archaeology</i>
JHS	<i>The Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>

JMA	<i>Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JRGZM	<i>Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz</i>
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
Kassel-Austin	R. Kassel and C. Austin, <i>Poetae Comici Graeci</i> . Berlin, 1983–
KrChr	<i>Κρητικά Χρονικά</i>
KTU	<i>Die Keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit</i> , ed. M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín. AOAT 24, vol. 1. Kevelaer, 1976
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> . Basel, 1975–
LSAG	L. H. Jeffery, <i>The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece</i> , rev. ed., ed. A. Johnston. Oxford, 1989
LSCG	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques</i> . Paris, 1969
LSAM	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées d'Asie Mineure</i> . Paris, 1955
MAAN	<i>Memorie dell' r. Accademia di archaeologia, lettere e belle arti di Napoli</i>
MadrForsch	<i>Madriider Forschungen</i>
MadrMitt	<i>Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Madrid</i>
MarbW	<i>Marburger Winkelmannsprogramm</i>
MBaH	<i>Münsterische Beiträge zur antiken Handelgeschichte</i>
MDAIK	<i>Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Kairo</i>
MeditArch	<i>Mediterranean Archaeology</i>
MEFRA	<i>Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome, Antiquité</i>
MH	<i>Museum Helveticum</i>
MJb	<i>Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst</i>
ML	R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions</i> . Rev. ed. Oxford, 1988
MonAnt	<i>Monumenti Antichi</i> , editi dell'Accademia di Lincei
MonPiot	<i>Monuments et Mémoires. Fondation Piot</i>
M-W	R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, <i>Fragmenta Hesiodica</i> . Oxford, 1967
Nauck	A. Nauck and B. Snell, <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> . Vols. 1–2. Göttingen, 1964
NC	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
NJbb	<i>Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum</i>
NSc	<i>Notizie degli scavi di antichità</i>
OJA	<i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology</i>
ÖJh	<i>Jahreshefte des Österreichischen archäologischen Institutes</i>

OLA	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta</i>
OIFor	<i>Olympische Forschungen</i> . Berlin, 1944–
OLP	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica</i>
OpAth	<i>Opuscula Atheniensia</i>
OpRom	<i>Opuscula Romana</i>
OrAnt	<i>Oriens Antiquus</i>
PAA	Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Ἀθηνῶν Ἀκαδημίας
PAPhS	<i>Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society</i>
PapOxy	<i>Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> . London, 1898–
PBA	<i>Proceedings of the British Academy</i>
PBF	<i>Prähistorische Bronzefunde</i>
PCPhS	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i>
PdP	<i>Parola del Passato</i>
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
PGM	K. Preisendanz, <i>Papyri Graeci Magici</i> . Leipzig, 1928–1931
PMG	D. Page, <i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> . Oxford, 1962
POM	A. Evans, <i>The Palace of Minos at Knossos</i> . 4 vols. London, 1921–1935
Praktika	Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείᾳ
ProcPS	<i>Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society</i>
PZ	<i>Prähistorische Zeitschrift</i>
QEDEM	Monographs of the Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University, Jerusalem
QUCC	<i>Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica</i>
RA	<i>Revue Archéologique</i>
Radt	S. Radt, <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta: Aeschylus</i> . Vol. 3. Göttingen, 1985; <i>Sophocles</i> . Vol. 4. Göttingen, 1977
RAAN	<i>Rendiconti dell'Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arte di Napoli</i>
RAI	<i>Rendiconti dell'Accademia d'Italia</i>
RAss	<i>Revue Assyriologique</i>
RB	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
RDAC	<i>Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus</i>
RE	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, and W. Kroll, <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> . 34 vols. Stuttgart, 1894–1962; Munich, 1973–1978
REA	<i>Revue des Études Anciennes</i>
REG	<i>Revue des Études Grecques</i>
RH	<i>Revue Historique</i>
RhM	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i>

RHR	<i>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions</i>
RömMitt	<i>Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Rom</i>
RivStudAnt	<i>Rivista di Studi Antici</i>
RS	Ras Shamra
RSF	<i>Rivista di Studi Fenici</i>
RUB	<i>Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles</i>
SBL	Society for Biblical Literature
SCE	E. Gjerstad and others, <i>The Swedish Cyprus Expedition. Finds and Results of the Excavations in Cyprus</i> . Vols. 1–4. Stockholm and Lund 1934–1972
<i>Second Cretological Congress</i>	Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Β' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου. 4 vols. Athens, 1968
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
SIG	W. Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> . 3d ed. Leipzig, 1915–1924
SIMA	<i>Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology</i>
SMEA	<i>Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici</i>
Snell	B. Snell, <i>Pindari Carmina</i> . Leipzig, 1971
SSA	<i>Studies in Sardinian Archaeology</i>
StEtr	<i>Studi Etruschi</i>
<i>Studi Fenici e Punici</i>	<i>Atti del Primo Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici (Roma 5–10 Novembre 1979)</i> . Rome, 1983
TAPA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
TAPS	<i>Transactions of the American Philosophical Society</i>
<i>Third Cretological Congress</i>	Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Γ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου (Ῥέθυμνον, 18–23.9.1971). Athens, 1963
Travlos	J. Travlos, <i>Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens</i> . New York, 1971
UF	<i>Ugarit Forschungen</i>
WS	<i>Wiener Studien</i>
WZJena	<i>Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller Universität, Jena</i>
WZRostock	<i>Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität, Rostock</i>
YUAG Bulletin	<i>Yale University Art Gallery, Bulletin</i>
ZaeS	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>
ZAnt	<i>Ziva Antica</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

DAIDALOS

AND THE LEVANT

• PART I •

Daidalos and *Daidala*

in Greek Poetry

CHAPTER 1

Craft and Craftsmen in Epic Poetry

IN *ILIAD* 18.592, Daidalos makes not only his first appearance in the Greek imagination, but also his only one in the corpus of Homeric poetry. Thus he is born as a *hapax legomenon* occasioned by a simile, the weakest of links for any epic phenomenon. Given the importance of this passage for his existence, a close examination of its context and epic associations is fundamental to explaining him in the context of poetic language.¹ His name requires reference to the epic corpus of “daidalic” words, since he obviously bears one of those *redende Namen* bestowed on other Homeric craftsmen and personifies specific qualities manifest elsewhere in cognates. Thus he keeps company with Τέκτων (“the builder”), Ἀρμονίδης (“the joiner”), and perhaps even Homer himself, all names for artists derived from their activity.²

An extensive family of words in the Homeric poems derives from a root of undetermined meaning, *δαλ reduplicated as δαιδαλ- to produce primarily adjectives (δαιδάλεος, δαιδαλόεις, πολυδαιδαλος); less frequently a neuter noun, used only in the plural (δαιδαλα), twice a verb in the present participle (δαιδάλλων), and, last but not least, Δαίδαλος himself.³ The etymology of its root remains unknown: Indo-European sources (*del-) and Semitic *dal- (as in δέλτος, “writing tablet”) have both been proposed, but neither demonstrates an independent connection with its epic manifestations.⁴ No ancient usage that does not derive from its original epic context can be attested for any versions of the words. In poetry they describe, represent, or personify objects of intricate and expensive craftsmanship; expressions such as “well crafted,”

¹ According to principles and methods articulated by Leumann, *Homerische Wörter*, and Benveniste, *Problèmes de linguistique générale*, 289–90: “Le sens d’une forme linguistique se définit par la totalité de ses emplois, par leur distribution et par les types de liaisons qui en résultent.” Cf. Householder and Nagy, *Greek: A Survey of Recent Work*, chap. 1; A. Dihle, “Leumann’s Homerische Wörter und die Sprache der mündlichen Dichtung,” *Glotta* 48 (1970) 1–7; A. Heubeck, “Zum Problem der homerischen Kunstsprache,” *MH* 38 (1981) 65–80.

² Eckstein, *ArchHom II: L*, 1–22, on Homeric craftsmen; Lacroix, “Ikmalios”; Nagy, *Best of the Achaeans*, 299–300; Hoekstra, *Epic Verse before Homer*, 58–59, on *redende Namen* as individual invention.

³ Frontisi-Ducroux, *Dédale*, 29–34, for forms and distribution.

⁴ Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, 246, s.v. δαιδάλλω etc., prefers the former. Cf. *Lexikon des Frühgriechischen Epos*, fasc. 10, ed. E.-M. Vogt (Göttingen, 1982), 195–96, s.v. δαιδάλεος.

“intricately worked,” or “skillfully wrought” satisfy their meaning, encouraged by two instances as a verb for the activity of a craftsman at work. All ancient glosses and modern understanding of these words can be traced to their epic occurrences, which lend them meaning but also derive their narrative significance from them.

A survey of epic *δαίδαλα* in terms of metrical, syntactical, and thematic distribution reveals far greater powers of connotation than specific denotation. The most common form of these words in poetry is in adjectives; they account for twenty-eight of thirty-six appearances throughout the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Their morphology, identified by the *-εος* suffix, makes them material- or *Stoffadjective*, albeit of unfamiliar *Stoff*.⁵ Neither position nor distribution of these adjectives shows them to be traditional epithets fixed in a metrical formula; they represent morphological units of greater flexibility within the technique of composition.⁶ Since their greatest concentration is in the *Iliad*, and the artist himself is introduced in that poem, it forms an appropriate departure for this quest for Daidalos.

The most frequent manifestations of this word family involve armor, the man-made barrier between warrior and weapon, and often the outfit accompanying a hero into death and glory—hence their concentration in the narrative of the battlefield rather than in the *Odyssey*, an epic of return, where *δαιδάλεος* never describes armor. Nor is it surprising to find eight out of twenty-eight occurrences in the *Iliad* clustered in Book 18, devoted to the armor and arming of the best of the Achaeans, Achilles.

Most frequently qualified as *δαιδάλεος* (five times, of which four are *πολυδαίδαλος*) is the *θώρηξ* or cuirass, an outfit once rejected as a historical anachronism until archaeology confirmed its Bronze Age existence.⁷ Paris (*Iliad* 3.358), Menelaos (4.136), Hektor (7.252), Diomedes (8.195) and Odysseus (11.436) are all endangered, at a moment in battle, by an arrow or spear that strikes them:

καὶ διὰ θώρηκος πολυδαίδαλου ἤρήρειστο.

and pierced through their much-decorated cuirass.

The practical assembly of armor in each of these passages has troubled scholars, who wonder how to wear *θώρηξ*, *μίτρη*, and *ζώνη* (cuirass, belly guard, and belt) together, but their combination is purely poetic.⁸ The adjective is clearly fixed in an *iteratum* for-

⁵ Leumann, *Homerische Wörter*, 131–33, considers *δαιδάλεος* but a variant of *πολυδαίδαλος*, itself a possessive denominative from *δαίδαλον*, “work of art”; *contra* Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, 246: “Une telle hypothèse ne se laisse ni démontrer ni réfuter,” although he advocates a denominative morphology.

⁶ M. Parry, *L'épithète traditionnelle dans Homère* (Paris, 1928); and J. Hainsworth, *The Flexibility of the Homeric Formula* (Oxford, 1972), for these terms.

⁷ On the Mycenaean cuirasse from Dendra, see “Neue Funde von Dendra,” *AthMitt* 82 (1967) 1–35, pls. 2–17; H. Catling, “Panzer,” and H. Brandenburg, “Mitra,” both in *ArchHom. I: E Kriegswesen*, 1, 127–28; 1, 74–80, 96–100; and cf. Catling, “A Bronze Plate from a Scale Corslet Found at Mycenae,” *AA* 85 (1970) 441–49. See subsequent discussion with nn. 15ff., on Kinyras and the cuirass of Agamemnon.

⁸ H. Brandenburg, “Mitra–Zoma–Zoster,” in *ArchHom I: E. Kriegswesen* 1, 119–25, 142–43, on the

mulaic for signaling a hero's proximity to death: "Despite the excellent workmanship of his armor, it failed to keep an arrow from his body, but prevented a fatal wound." For in all five passages, the hero is rescued from death. The Trojans save themselves: Paris avoids the spear of Menelaos through agility (*ἐκκλίνθη*, "turned aside") and Hektor escapes a thrust by Ajax (7.252). The Greeks, in contrast, are saved by Athena: Menelaos is wounded, despite the protection of a *ζωστήρος δαιδαλέιο*, "elaborate belt") and a *μίτρη (ἔρκος ἀκόντων*, "barrier against spears") in addition to his *θώρηξ πολυδαίδαλος*, "much-decorated cuirass," but his skin is only grazed by the arrow, averted by the goddess to his most heavily protected part. As he assures his brother (4.184–87), various components of his armor saved him, and this time the *ζωστήρ* is praised as *παναίολος*, "all-glittering," the *μίτρη* as the work of skilled craftsmen (*χαλκῆες κάμον ἄνδρες*: "bronze-workers made it"), without a repetition of *δαιδάλεος*. Likewise, Odysseus skins his ribs on the spear of Sokos (11.437), but Athena keeps the weapon away from his vulnerable internal organs, his *ἔγκατα*.

The fifth *θώρηξ* in the *Iliad* described as *δαιδάλεος* does not protect in battle: the armor of Diomedes is coveted by Hektor as a work of Hephaistos (8.195),

δαιδάλεον θώρηκα, τὸν Ἥφαιστος κάμε τεύχων,

the elaborate cuirass, which Hephaistos made, working it,

before the Trojan hero embarks on the rampage that recalls Patroklos into battle. Position and epithet for this *θώρηξ* also distinguish it from those described in battle, and the addition of the name of its maker, the god Hephaistos, gives it added prestige. As in the praise of other epic finery (for example, the throne of Penelope in *Odyssey* 19.57), the adjective *δαιδάλεος* participates in a hierarchy of praise expressions where it is subordinate to, but often linked with, the name of a craftsman.

These passages with cuirasses share special epic functions. They often follow or recall the hero's arming scene, the prelude to his moment in battle, his *ἀριστεία*, and his ritual preparation for *κλέος*, the glory his performance earns him in epic poetry.⁹ The adjective itself, *δαιδάλεος*, can reverberate in action as in the description of armor, as if to reinforce those heroic qualities bestowed in arming scenes. Then, the *iterata* mark a close brush with death, a particular form of *κλέος*, and are linked to related passages, often with a twist of irony. In the case of Hektor, for example, an even more prestigious suit of armor than the one he covets is eventually captured—that of Achilles, worn by

difficulty of reconciling epic terms for armor with realia. Fenik, *Typical Battle Scenes in the Iliad*, 73–74, 78–79, 102–5, follows G. Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic* (Oxford, 1934), 155–58, in analyzing the *θώρηξ* as originally appropriate only to *Iliad* 11.436 (Odysseus), then attracted to similar moments involving other heroes whom it fits awkwardly. On the mechanics of

such *iterata* in the Homeric poems, see Strasser, *Iterata*.

⁹ For example, the arming of Paris at 3.330–38 is succeeded by his evasion of a weapon at 3.358. On arming scenes, see n. 10. See Nagy, *Best of the Achaeans*, on the heroic values of *κλέος* and *ἀριστεία*.

Patroklos (*Iliad* 17.125). While Hektor's wish is fulfilled beyond expectation, that capture of armor costs him his life, and occasions the manufacture of a new outfit, the most "daidalic" in all of epic poetry. Indeed, Hektor's very boast, addressed to his horses, is returned in 17.448, where Zeus consoles the mourning horses of Achilles that their ἄρματα δαιδάλεα, "elaborate chariot-gear," will at least never carry Hektor. In this verbal network, the adjective that glorified the prize sought by Hektor in Book 8 and awarded him briefly with the slaying of Patroklos now describes the chariot that will drag his corpse around his own city (22.395–99) and the tomb of Patroklos (24.14–22). In examining the qualities bestowed by δαιδάλεος, this first category reveals the word's characteristic powers: it praises appearance but also signifies unexpected dangers. On a modest scale, these examples anticipate the fuller ambiguity of a complete set of armor, as explored in describing the armor of Achilles.

Other battle equipment praised as δαιδάλεα includes the ἔντεα (armor) of Aetion, the father of Andromakhe slain by Achilles long before the siege of Troy but buried with respect (6.418). The Cilician king received a proper hero's cremation burial "in all his elaborate armor," σὺν ἔντεσι δαιδαλέουσιν, crowned by a mound. This unusual treatment of Andromakhe's father, in a world where slain enemies are abandoned to dogs and birds on the battlefield (*Iliad* 1.4–5), contrasts gloomily with Achilles' initial mutilation of her husband's corpse. Eventually, in Book 24, Hektor's body is restored to his family and accorded proper burial, and the adjective at 6.418 helps qualify Achilles as the best of the Achaeans in social behavior as well as praising his armor and action in battle. Achilles' conduct of the funeral games in Book 23 at the end of the epic, for example, is characterized by respect for rank and social standing that represents a vivid departure from his μῆνις behavior, and his return of the body in Book 24 completes his reconciliation with contemporary social practices (see subsequent discussion with n. 37). Whether or not Andromakhe's narration of her father's funeral anticipates the end of the *Iliad* through a single word, Aetion's armor is distinguished as δαιδάλεος even after his death, or perhaps especially after winning κλέος from Achilles.

This heroic property of the adjective is manifest elsewhere in the *Iliad*, when elaborate armor, "δαιδάλεα ἔντεα," accompanies warriors at their moment of ἀριστεΐα. Idomeneus of Crete and his henchman or θεράπων also appear σὺν ἔντεσι δαιδαλέουσιν in 13.331, as do both the Aiantes and the Salaminians in the same book (13.719). While one could reduce this resemblance to the metrical fact that the phrase neatly fills a hexameter after the caesura, the adjective surely distinguishes the heroes of the moment. In the absence of Achilles, and with the wounding of Diomedes, Odysseus, and Agamemnon, it is Idomeneus, roused by Poseidon (13.210), and the two Aiantes (14.508–22) who ward off the Trojans from the Greek ships. Moreover, the first adjective recapitulates a recent and special arming process (254–305), when Meriones comes to fetch a spear to replace one broken in battle. The second use of δαιδάλεος for the Aiantes

highlights armor all the more elaborate as their companions, the Lokrians, appear as bowmen alone (712–18).

Far more vivid is the praise lavished on the armor of Agamemnon as a prelude to his entry into battle.¹⁰ As he assembles his gear for battle, every item of his bronze outfit (*νῶροψ χαλκός*) is described in loving detail as befits a hero embarking on his *ἀριστεῖα* (*Iliad* 11.15–46; cf. 3.331). While a simple hexameter line attaches his greaves,

κνημῖδας μὲν πρῶτα περὶ κνήμησιν ἔθηκε,

and first he placed his greaves around his shins,

it is augmented by an extra line of embellishment:¹¹

καλὰς, ἀργυρέουσιν ἐπισφυρίοις ἀραρνίας.

beautiful [greaves], fastened with silver ankle-points.

Next he dons his *θώραξ*, again in one plain hexameter but followed by a praise line that reminds us that it is a *ξεινήμιος* or guest gift from Kinyras, king of Cyprus. For the *μέγα κλέος* of the Trojan expedition had apparently reached Cyprus, whose king sent this military contribution, as it were, to the leader of the Greeks. The historicity of this figure is largely confirmed by the archaeological evidence for the *θώραξ*, described in lavish detail. It features a series of bands called *οἶμοι*, a *hapax legomenon* in epic poetry. Ten are of dark blue *κύανος* (cobalt, lapis lazuli, or blue paste), twelve are of gold, and twenty of “cassiterite” or tin, that metal essential to bronze technology and Aegean prehistory.¹² Three snakes of *κύανος* crown the corslet around its neck and are compared to the rainbows of Zeus, “wonder of mortal men” (*τέρας μερόπων ἀνθρώπων*). Agamemnon then proceeds to don his next item, a sword worn from a shoulder strap (*ἀμφὶ ὤμοισιν*), studded with gold nails, as is its silver sheath. Next and most glamorous is his shield, whereupon the poet invokes *πολυδαίδαλος* to do justice to its qualities and *θοῦρις* (“breathing”) to give it life. Three lines describe precisely what makes it beautiful (*καλή*). Ten bronze circles, twenty tin bosses surround a central one of *κύανος*, and the crowning touch is a Gorgon, whose ferocious visage (*βλοσυρῶπις*, an-

¹⁰ On arming scenes, see Arend, *Typische Szenen*, 92–98, J. I. Armstrong, “The Arming Motif in the *Iliad*,” *AJP* 79 (1958) 337–54; Nagler, *Spontaneity and Tradition*, 117–19, on the structural significance of such purely ornamental passages, including “brief arming scenes in which a traditional epithet is the only explicit allomorph of the all-important *charis* element.”

¹¹ This technique was described by Parry as “unperiodic enjambement”; “the addition of an adjecti-

val idea . . . describing a noun found in the foregoing verse” (*Making of Homeric Verse*, 255).

¹² On *κύανος* and its Linear B counterpart, *ku-wa-no*, see R. Halleaux, “Lapis-lazuli, azurite ou pâte de verre? A propos de *kuwano* et *kuwanowoko* dans les tablettes mycènes,” *SMEA* 9 (1969) 47–66; on lapis lazuli in the Bronze Age, including Cypriote industries (glyptic), see E. Porada, “The Cylinder Seals Found at Thebes in Boeotia,” *AfO* 28 (1981) 6–8. Also see Chapter 5.

other *hapax* word), flanked by Fear and Terror, blaze from the center of the shield. Even the strap supporting this splendor is of silver with a cobalt snake with three heads. Finally, Agamemnon sets on his leather helmet, four-crested and horsetail-plumed, and grabs his two bronze spears. This spectacle inspires the applause of the gods in the form of thunder sent by Athena and Hera, as if visual splendor spilled over into sound and nature responded to human awe.¹³

This magnificent passage was long considered an interpolation, and its fabulous armor an anachronism, to excuse the singular appearance of Cyprus (never elsewhere in the *Iliad*) as well as its linguistic peculiarities (*οἶμοι*) and technical anticipations (the Gorgon).¹⁴ Recent discoveries and scholarship have happily reconciled the passage with its immediate context and the rest of the poem. Kinyras plausibly represents the wealth and power of a Levantine king (his name has Semitic roots) in Late Bronze Age Cyprus, his gift an example of royal exchange of precious objects current in the ancient Mediterranean.¹⁵ In commenting on this passage, Eustathius says that Kinyras promised fifty vessels to Agamemnon, but only sent one, the rest in clay (*ὄστρακίνῳ στόλῳ*), perhaps a reflection of Late Bronze Age ceramic trade with the Aegean carried by ships like those discovered at Cape Gelidonya and Kaş in Lykia (see Chapter 5). Plate fragments from genuine scale corslets, which the description in the *Iliad* implies, have turned up on Greek sites (see n. 7) and point to the occasional capture or bequest of a type of armor more familiar in the Near East. The gift of Kinyras recalls, in particular, the gold corslet and pectoral worn by Tutankhamon in his tomb, but the plate-corslet type represented in Greek finds has relatives in Cyprus and North Syria, where a workshop has been postulated.¹⁶ The one worn by Agamemnon suggests that Near Eastern versions of such armor reached the Aegean, perhaps even through royal exchange, via the Levant and Cyprus.¹⁷ Unlike the tin and lapis lazuli on his shield, the cuirass could have been a diplomatic gift or booty. What embellishes this passage is the role of the Near East as a

¹³ Compare this climax to the arming of Achilles (*Iliad* 19.386—quoted subsequently in the text), where the hero's armor actually lifts him off the ground, in a moment of metaphor become reality.

¹⁴ For traditional rejections, see Leaf and Bayfield's commentary on this line and Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, 208; its authenticity is defended by Catling, in *ArchHom I: E. Kriegswesen*, 1, 78–79.

¹⁵ C. Baurain, "Kinyras. La fin de l' Age du Bronze à Chypre et la tradition antique," *BCH* 104 (1980) 277–308; "Κινύρας et Κέραμος. Remarques à propos de Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* VII, 195 et d'Homère, *Iliade* 5. 387," *AntClass* 50 (1981) 23–37. Pliny claims the same figure invented *tegulas*, which Baurain connects with copper mining in Cyprus rather than roof tiles.

¹⁶ U. Öbrink, *Hala Sultan Teke* 5, *SIMA* 45: 5 (Göteborg, 1979), 44, N 6000, for scales from Cyprus.

W. Ventzke, "Der Schuppenpanzer von Kamid el-Löz," in *Kamid el-Löz 1977–81*, ed. R. Hachmann, Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 36 (Bonn, 1986), 161–82, cites (p. 182) V. Maag's article, "Syrien-Palästina," in *Kunstgeschichte des alten Orient*, ed. H. Schmökel, (Stuttgart, 1961), 447–604, esp. 500–501, for an armorer-workshop in Damascus which still supplied Neo-Assyrian royal kings. Cf. Figure 25, made in Damascus and found in Greece: Chapter 5, n. 192.

¹⁷ Catling, *AA* 85 (1970) 441–49. Cf. an archaic bequest of Oriental armor: M.-Th. Picard, "Le 'thoraké' d'Amasis," in *Hommages à Deonna, Collection Latomus* 28 (Brussels, 1957), 363–70.; E. D. Francis and M. Vickers, "Amasis and Lindos," *BICS* 31 (1984) 125.

source for glamorous objects, an aspect of the Greek attitude that is the subject of this book.

An additional item of Agamemnon's battle outfit, neglected in this overture, is introduced later in the same book (11.236): a *ζωστήρ παναίολος*, "girdle all aglitter," belting the corslet around the body and, in fact, protecting the hero from the spear of Iphidamas in an encounter similar to those marked by the action of a *δαιδάλεος θώρηξ*. Such a belt not only reaffirms the Near Eastern connection but is conveniently illustrated by a corslet represented on a richly decorated ivory gaming box from Enkomi in Cyprus.¹⁸ Thus elements of Agamemnon's entire outfit could allude to a Near Eastern ensemble, a royal gift from the Levant enshrined in the poetic tradition and embellished by a recent Greek innovation, the Gorgon.

This dazzling outfit, fit for a king and the leader of the Greeks, closes the repertoire of *δαιδάλεος* armor in the *Iliad* by introducing the most glamorous description of all, that of the "best of the Achaeans," Achilles himself. In his case, the request, manufacture, description, arming, and activity of the ensemble dazzle with the entire spectrum of forms of *δαιδαλ-* words, culminating in the introduction of Daidalos himself.

Thetis arrives at the house of Hephaistos, built of bronze by the craftsman-god, and finds him making twenty tripods with golden wheels attached to their feet (18.372-79):

τὸν δ' εὖρ' ἰδρώοντα ἐλισσόμενον περὶ φύσας,
 σπεύδοντα τρίποδας γὰρ ἐείκοσι πάντας ἔτευξεν
 ἐστάμεναι περὶ τοῖχον ἐνσταθέος μεγάροιο
 χρύσεια δέ σφ' ὑπὸ κύκλα ἐκάστω πυθμένι θῆκεν,
 ὄφρα οἱ ἀντόματοι θεῖον δυσαίατ' ἀγῶνα
 ἦδ' αὖτις πρὸς δῶμα νεοίατο, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι.
 οἱ δ' ἦτοι τόσσον μὲν ἔχον τέλος, οὐατα δ' οὐ πω
 δαιδάλεα προσέκειτο· τά δ' ἤρτυε, κόπτε δὲ δεσμούς.

She found him sweating, whirling around the bellows,
 hard at work. For he was making twenty tripods, all
 to stand around the broad megaron, against the wall.
 And he placed gold wheels beneath each base,
 for them to enter the divine assembly on their own,
 and return back home, a wonder to behold.
 But these were not yet finished, for he had not yet attached
 their elaborate handles. He kept working at them, forging the links.

¹⁸ F. Vanderabeele, "Some Aspects of Chariot-Representations in the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus," *RDAC* (1977) 103-4, pl. XXIV:2 (rejected by Catling, *AA* 85 [1970] 448, as "equivocal evidence" but accepted by Baurain, *BCH* 104 [1980]). Brandenburg, "Mitra-Zoma-Zoster," in *ArchHom. I: E. Kriegswesen* 1, 119-25, 142-43.

Form and technique of these marvelous creations have long been compared with Cypriote bronze wheeled stands, widely distributed in the Mediterranean and long-lived.¹⁹ The continuity of their workshop traditions makes attempts to “date” their appearance in the epic tradition on the basis of archaeological evidence perilous, or at least disputed.²⁰ Their poetic description in Homer closely resembles the Biblical account of Hiram’s Phoenician bronze stands for King Solomon (1 Kings 7.27). Like the cuirass from Kinyras, these tripods illustrate the convergence between Homeric and Levantine (in this case, Canaanite and Phoenician) culture to be explored in Part II. For the poet, the wheels lend magic to their burden by making the tripods *αὐτόματοι*, “self-moved,” as if filled with invisible life, which enables them to come and go before the gods.²¹ Thetis arrives before the final embellishment of these marvels: the attachment of their bronze handles, still in preparation at the forge while the rivets are being manufactured. Even in this unfinished state the handles are *δαιδάλεα*, as if the poet anticipates their final effect and praises them at the very moment of their manufacture.

Hephaistos gladly interrupts his work to welcome Thetis and invites her in for hospitality, *ξεινία*, beginning with a seat of honor on a throne studded with silver nails, *καλοῦ δαιδαλέου*, and places a footstool beneath her feet, *ὑπὸ δὲ θρῆνυς ποσὶν ἦεν*, as suits a goddess or woman of special rank (cf. *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 190–96). The same special reception accompanies the seating of Penelope, Eurykleia, and Circe in the *Odyssey* (below, pp. 22f.) with lines identical to *Iliad* 18.389–90.

Implicit in this gracious reception of the goddess is the promise that Hephaistos will agree to make her son a new suit of armor, and hence save the Greeks. And indeed Hephaistos immediately responds to her plea for help by recalling the source of his obligation to her. Years earlier, Thetis rescued him after his rejection and injury at Hera’s hands, and installed him as an apprentice to herself and her sister in a sea cave. For nine years, Hephaistos produced many *δαίδαλα*: pins, necklaces, spiral and floral designs. In gratitude for this refuge and training, the master craftsman is eager to reward her with *ζωάγρια*. He puts away his tools and approaches his guest, attended by marvelous *ἀμφίπολοι* or handmaidens,

*χρῦσειαι, ζωῆσι νεήνισιν εἰοικυῖαι.
της ἐν μὲν νόος ἐστὶ μετὰ φρεσίν, ἐν δὲ καὶ αὐδὴ
καὶ σθένος ἀθανάτων δὲ θεῶν ἄπο ἔργα ἴσασι.*

¹⁹ U. Jantzen and R. Tölle, in *ArchHom II: P. Haus-rat*, 76, fig. 14a; H. W. Catling, *Cypriote Bronzework and the Mycenaean World* (Oxford 1964), 207, n. 35, pl. 36a.

²⁰ Negbi, *Tel Aviv* (1974) 159–72; articles by Helzer and Lagarce, in *Studi Fenici e Punici*; Catling, *RDAC*

(1984), 69–91; contra H. Matthäus, in *Problems in Greek Prehistory*, 285–300; Muhly, in *Bronze-working Centres of Western Asia*, 333–37.

²¹ Faraone, *GRBS* 28 (1987) 257–80; see Chapter 8, on magic and art.

golden, just like living creatures.
 In them is mind and wits, in them too a voice
 and strength, and they know the deeds of the immortal gods.

Surely these creatures are magic, like Hephaistos's tripods and his dogs in the palace of Alkinoos (*Odyssey* 7. 91–94; see n. 21 and also Chapter 8). Made of gold, yet able to move rapidly (*ῥῶοντο*) like living maidens, they are further endowed with *νόος*, *ἀυδή*, *σθένος*—mind, voice, and strength, the three senses vital to early Greeks and taught to them by the gods.²² They are both attendants and creations of the smith-god, magic in a way only possible in an Olympic setting, but marvels in a way only visible to mortal eyes. Their specific services for Hephaistos are unclear: they almost carry him as they glide along effortlessly, as if his very presence, if not his craftsmanship, endows art with life. Their poetic descendants include Pandora (discussed at the end of this chapter) and their heritage encourages the characterization of the work of Daidalos.

In answer to her host's inquiry, Thetis launches into a long lament of her troubles, leading up to her request for a new suit of armor for her son, his last outfit in life. Hephaistos comforts her and returns at once to the fire to forge the armor. The entire passage recalls vividly the Ugaritic myth where Kothar-wa-Hasis, the Canaanite craftsman-god and metallurgist, works gold and silver for Lady Athirat of the Sea in the Epic of Baal. The convergences between these two passages and their historical context will be explored in Chapter 4, after the Greek tradition has been analyzed.

The materials are first to claim poetic attention—bronze, tin, gold, and silver—then the tools (anvil, hammer, forge), source of as much wonder in prehistoric society as precious metals. Then the poet concentrates on the fruits of this equipment. First and finest to be made is the shield itself, in a line ending in praise of its size and power, *μέγα τε στιβαρόν τε*. One might expect a second praise-line beginning with the familiar *καλόν δαιδάλεον* ("beautiful and elaborate") but no familiar adjective apparently sufficed to compliment this creation. Instead the poet makes rare recourse to the verb form by describing the smith-god as "crafting in all ways," *πάντοσε δαιδάλλον*. This form, the present participle, is the only form of the verb, **δαιδάλλω*, presumably "to craft or make elaborate," in epic poetry and appears only once elsewhere, in an equally remarkable passage on the bed of Odysseus and Penelope (*Odyssey* 23.200). Morphologically, it is an artificial form inspired by analogy and not used in spoken language, meaningless outside poetry.²³ Like its counterpart in the *Odyssey*, it denotes technical activity involving the combination of precious materials (in the *Odyssey*, gold, silver, and

²² J. Bremmer, *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul* (Princeton 1983), 53–63, on *νόος* and other components of the soul.

²³ Parry, *Making of Homeric Verse*, 339; cf. Leu-

mann's definition of poetic words (*Homerische Wörter*, 15ff., 321ff., and 133, on the problematic *δαιδάλλον*).

ivory) without invoking a specific industry: inlaid woodwork is more appropriate for the bed in Ithaka, metal inlay in the *Iliad*. Its effect is busy, even fussy, but vague, and the primary impact of this verb is narrative, not technical.

This conspicuous use of the rare verb is followed closely (18. 482) by the noun, repeating the phrase used by Hephaistos himself in his autobiography (cf. 18.400): *ποίη δαίδαλα πολλὰ ἰδνίησι πραπίδεσσιν* ("he made many *daidala*, with his clever skills"). Even within a short passage, the same noun is equally appropriate to armor and jewelry, as if a measure of the same artist's skill rather than a reflection of common technical properties. Here, the noun serves as preamble to a detailed description of the subjects depicted on the shield, occupying the next 127 hexameter lines.

Few passages in the Homeric corpus have attracted as much modern speculation on art and civilization in early Greece. Archaeological reconstructions of the shield were common in scholarship and were once included in modern commentaries, with attempts to reconcile its description with Mycenaean realia.²⁴ In all likelihood, no such shield ever protected either a Mycenaean or Geometric warrior; its decoration is imagined by the poet, although it incorporates images from art and daily life into a poetic vision of the Greek world, a true microcosm. The *δαίδαλα* wrought by Hephaistos begin with Nature (18.483–89) and end with it (18.606–7): the great river Okeanos, "boundary of the world" (*ἔσχατον γαίας*), encircles the shield, and all the heavenly bodies and constellations blaze on it (483–88). Within these limits the poet stages a cultural panorama that still serves as the most important vision of early Greek civilization.

Two cities represent the Greek world, one at war, the other enjoying the fruits of peace—the cycle of harvest and festivals, harmony and dispute. The city at war is under siege by a divided enemy. An ambush is planned and executed, lead by Ares and Athena, a golden pair, *καλὴ καὶ μεγάλη*, "beautiful and big," but the narrative stops short of the battle's outcome, much as does the *Iliad*. Gentler scenes of civilized life succeed this carnage: a field under plough, another being harvested for its royal owner, a vineyard with its grape pickers, a herd of oxen, and a meadow with its sheepfolds. Only one violent scene disrupts the peace, when two lions attack an ox from the herd in a moment more inspired by art than life. The poet dwells with affection on these pastoral scenes, the rewards of war and ambush for the Greeks besieging Troy that anticipate the *Odyssey* and a welcome return to home.

It is the finale of this ode to the good life that invokes the persona of Daidalos before the poet closes his description with its circumference, Okeanos. The last scene on the shield to be described is a dance performed by young men and women in linen gar-

²⁴ Fittschen, *ArchHom II: N. Bildkunst*, 1, summarizes scholarship and archaeological evidence. du Bois, *History, Rhetorical Description and the Epic*, chap. 1, on the manufacture of the shield as an *ekphrasis*.

P. R. Hardie, "Imago Mundi: Cosmological and Ideological Aspects of the Shield of Achilles," *JHS* 105 (1985) 11–13.

ments, the girls in garlands and the youths sporting daggers. A crowd watches their skillful performance, led by two acrobats. In introducing this spectacle, the poet reaches for a simile and enters the legendary past:

ἐν δὲ χορὸν ποίκιλλε περικλυτὸς ἀμφιγυγῆεις
τῷ ἕκλον, οἶον ποτ' ἐνὶ Κνωσῷ εὐρείῃ
Δαίδαλος ἤσκησε καλλιπλοκάμῳ Ἀριάδνῃ.

And on it the renowned, ambidextrous artist inlaid a dance,
like the one which once in broad Knossos
Daidalos crafted for Ariadne of the lovely hair.

The artist's appearance is sponsored by an unusual coincidence of poetic choices and eliminations. The verb *ποίκιλλε* is produced after exhausting the repertoire of verbs appropriate to the craftsmanship of Hephaistos: *ἔτευξε*, *ποίησε*, *ἐτίθει* ("he constructed, made, placed"), even that last resort (albeit used first in the description), *δαίδαλλων*, for which a finite form (*δαίδαλλε*?) may have been too bold. Instead the poet here tries a *hapaax* form, *ποίκιλλε* ("ornamented"), and follows the "plain" line with a praise line, this time a simile as a climax to his laudation. In turning to that versatile root, *δαίδαλ-*, the poet discovers that all its syntactical possibilities had been exhausted in the preceding episode, since Thetis arrived chez Hephaistos: adjectives first (lines 379, 390), then nouns (400, 482), and even the verb (478). All that was left was a personification, and the eponymous craftsman here found his poetic and professional entry into the Greek imagination.

Thus Daidalos enters the poem, and with it the Greek tradition, almost by accident, when simile relieves metaphor and a personification provides an alternative to other prolific cognates. Such a poetic occasion, if not this very one, accounts for his debut; his emergence is clearly a function of poetic variations on a root relevant to the praise of art. Had other epic descriptions of art survived in as long and elaborate a form as that in *Iliad* 18, Daidalos might have appeared on multiple occasions, if one can extrapolate from his *Iliad* debut to similar contexts in lost poems.²⁵

In *Iliad* 18, this figure is made historical and plausible by two associations with Crete: the locale of his artistry, "wide Knossos," and his patroness, Ariadne. The artist's own nationality is not specified: one assumes that he is Cretan, but later readers took advantage of the imprecision in the allusion to repatriate him to locales like Athens (see Part III). Ancient commentators, familiar with the "historical" sculptor, expressed conster-

²⁵ Hoekstra, *Epic Verse before Homer*, 58–59, sees such "signifying names" for craftsmen as the invention of individual poets; Leumann, *Homerische Wörter*, 15–17 on Homeric "Neubildung and Nach-

wirkungen"; W. Ingalls, "Linguistic and Formular Innovations in the Mythological Digressions in the *Iliad*," *Phoenix* 36 (1982) 201–2.

nation "that a god imitates a mortal" and even attempted various emendations to reverse the compliment, and have the mortal imitate the god.²⁶

As to what precisely Daidalos made for Ariadne, context assures only that it must be a *χορός* comparable with that depicted by Hephaistos, if only in quality. Readers since antiquity have made him an architect, sculptor, or choreographer on the basis of this passage and its possible interpretations, beginning in the scholia. To begin with, the verb *ἀσκέω* is imprecise, if ornate. It usually supplements other verbs of manufacturing, such as *τεύχω* or *ἀραρίσκω*, as a participle emphasizing such careful craftsmanship as went into the bow of Pandaros (*Iliad* 4.110), or the famous bed made by Odysseus (*Odyssey* 23.198). It only appears twice as a finite verb, once in this passage and again in the *Iliad* (23.743) to describe the Sidonian manufacture of a golden mixing bowl. Most of these contexts involve metalwork or woodwork, but once it describes Athena's handiwork on the gown worn by Hera for seducing Zeus (*Iliad* 14.179). A similar distribution between metals and textiles, worked by men and women, respectively, marks the use of this word as an agent noun in Mycenaean Greek.²⁷

Strictly within epic terms, *χορός* can be both an actual dancing floor, like the one prepared by the Phaiakians (*Odyssey* 8.260) or the dance itself, a few lines later (8.264) or, according to the meanings of *ἀσκέω* and the *χορός* it resembles on the shield, a representation of a dance. Pausanias accepted as the work of Daidalos a marble relief shown to him at Knossos (9.40.3), presumably a Neo-Attic work with dancing figures, while the epic description seems to have suggested a painting to Philostratos and Vergil.²⁸ For many, the architectural implications of this description have dominated interpretation and encouraged the view of Daidalos as architect. This interpretation began in antiquity, when scholiasts made *χορός* a place (*τόπος*), complete with columns and statues arranged in a circle.²⁹ Most recently, circular structures of the Late Minoan period newly discovered at Knossos have been identified as the *χορός* of Daidalos,³⁰ but there is no reason it need be round (the earliest round orchestra in Greece, in the theater at Epidauros, dates from around 300 B.C.), and Daidalos is not necessarily an architect until the late classical period. Whatever the precise form intended by the poet, unlike

²⁶ Thus Nicanor wonders *πῶς ὁ θεὸς μιμνεῖται τὸν ἄνθρωπον* (in Venetus Graecus 822: Erbse, *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem*, 4:564–65) and decides that the works of Daidalos were more familiar to poet and audience than those of the god: *Ἡφαίστου μὲν γὰρ ἔργον οὐδεὶς εἶδεν πώποτε, Δαιδάλου δὲ πολλοὺς πολλὰ εἰκὸς ἑωρακέναι*.

²⁷ *A-ke-te* and *a-ke-ti-ri-ja* in Linear B are discussed by Canciani, *ArchHom II: N. 2*, 94; *Bildkunst*, cf. A. Morpurgo Davies, "Terminology of Power and Terminology of Work in Greek and Linear B," in *Col-*

loquium Mycenaeanum, 91 n. 15, 99 n. 44.

²⁸ Frontisi-Ducroux, *Dédale*, 136 n. 8, for various ancient views.

²⁹ Scholia at 18.590 (from Venetus Graecus 822, and the Townley manuscript): Erbse, *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem*, 4:561. The adverb *ἐνθα* suggests a place, e.g., where people can dance. Cf. Becatti, *RömMitt* 60–61 (1953–1954) 25–28; G. Pugliese Caratelli, "Minos e Cocalos," *Kokalos* 2 (1956) 89–103, esp. 100–103.

³⁰ Warren, *BSA* 79 (1984) 307–24.

other works of art qualified as *δαιδάλεος* or *δαίδαλα* in epic poetry, the one work attributed to Daidalos himself is accompanied by almost no technical information or indication of materials. Yet these brief and ambiguous verses are the source of all Greek speculation about the nature and activity of Daidalos.

The poet has not finished with his encomium of the armor, or its *δαϊδαλ-* qualities. The shield completed and encircled by Okeanos, Hephaistos continues with a shining *θώρηξ* and a helmet, *καλήν δαιδαλέην* (18.612) and with a golden crest; finally, greaves of tin (18.613). Thetis receives the gift with delight and carries it to her son in the Greek camp; when she dumps it before him on the ground (19.13), “all the *daidala* clanged aloud”: *τὰ δ' ἀνέβραχε δαίδαλα πάντα. Δαίδαλα* is a fitting collective noun to enhance components praised individually as *δαιδάλεος* or *δαίδαλα*, and its aural reverberation resembles the rumble of thunder inspired by the arming of Agamemnon (*Iliad* 11.45–46). Moreover, Achilles appreciates his new outfit for the same qualities (19.19):

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ φρεσὶν ἦσι τετάρπετο δαίδαλα λεύσσω,

and he delighted in his heart, beholding the *daidala*,

a phrase that celebrates his grim joy and return to battle.³¹

The brilliant armor shines on in action as in its creation, and catches the poet’s attention with a *δαϊδαλ-* epithet twice more in the *Iliad*. The actual arming of Achilles (19.369–91) attracts the traditional vocabulary of praise preliminary to a hero’s *ἀριστεία*. The shield itself, blazing light like a beacon fire for sailors, is *καλὸς δαιδάλεος* as if to recall the long and elaborate description of the previous book, liberally sprinkled with the adjective and its cognates. At the climax of this arming scene, after Achilles puts on his helmet, an extraordinary effect takes place (19.386):

τῷ δ' εὔτε πτερὰ γίγνεται, ἄειρε δὲ ποιμένα λαῶν.

And then [as if] wings grew on him, and lifted up the shepherd of the people.

Wearing all five pieces of his new and magic armor, the hero is literally levitated upward “as if on wings,” in a moment of metaphor become reality. This imagined event, acceptable within poetry, bestows great powers on “daidalic” art and Daidalos, who is eventually credited with the invention of wings. In fact, this poetic vision could well have encouraged the legend that gave Daidalos man’s first flight (see Chapter 6). If Hephaistos made a suit of armor that mobilized the hero, Achilles, with imaginary wings, it is not surprising that the manufacture of wings by Daidalos, who appears in

³¹ Philipp, *Tektonon Daidala*, 11, claims this is the only passage where a character in the *Iliad* takes explicit delight in a work of art (as in *Odyssey* 5.73–74);

Nagler, *Spontaneity and Tradition*, 178 n. 17, on the hero’s return to battle.

the same epic context, borrows from the imagery of the *hoplopoiia*. Scenes of the manufacture of the shield of Achilles, with the figures of Thetis and Hephaistos (Figures 1, 2), become a model for the figures of Daidalos and Ikaros, as Greek reliefs and their Roman copies. My reading of this line in the *Iliad* suggests that the miracle of winged works of art is transferred to the creation itself, as if this line contributed to the tradition that Daidalos, shadowy *Doppelgänger* to the epic craftsman-god, made wings himself. In the most fantastic scene of craftsmanship in early Greek art (Figures 13, 14), craftsmen, attendant figures, the god giving birth, and the work of art itself—the armed figure springing from the head of the god—are all wearing wings. The hexameter line where wings grow on the armor of Achilles and bear him aloft participates in this tradition, both poetic and visual, where wings characterize divine and magic qualities, and eventually the means of flight itself becomes the object of a legend of manufacture (see Chapter 6).

After this metaphysical response to the armed hero, Achilles picks up a last weapon: his ashen spear, the legacy of Pelias and Cheiron. This is the only weapon not borne into battle by Patroklos in the guise of Achilles; it is also the weapon that delivers death to Hektor (22.317–19), as well as the most significant attribute of Achilles.³² At a second critical occasion after Book 18, just before the final confrontation and death of Hektor, the power of the shield is summoned, as if in exhortation, with both simile and epithet (22.312–15):

ὄρμηθη δ' Ἀχιλεὺς, μένεος δ' ἐμπλήσατο θυμὸν
ἀγρίον, πρόσθεν δὲ σάκος στέρνοιο κάλυψε
καλὸν δαιδάλεον, κόρυθι δ' ἐπένευε φαεινῇ
τετραφαλῶ.

And Achilleus rose up, and his spirit was filled with wild
rage, and before him the shield hid his chest,
beautiful and elaborate, and he nodded his shining helmet
with its four crests.

Followed by the image of the spear of Achilles blazing like a star, in its final thrust against Hektor, this is the last time the adjective *δαιδάλεος* attends armor in the *Iliad*. It is retired from active duty, as it were, when Achilles retires from battle, and thereafter only attends civilized attributes of the hero.

In retrospect, the *Iliad's* focus on Achilles is reflected in the poetic deployment of vocabulary, including *δαιδάλεος* and its cognates. The greatest of the heroes receives the greatest number of such praise words, but ultimately, outside the narrative framework of the *Iliad*, his armor proves as treacherous as in those passages where it fails to

³² See R. S. Shannon, *The Arms of Achilles and Homeric Compositional Technique*, *Mnemosyne* suppl. 36 (Leiden, 1975).

protect other heroes from weapons. For Achilles is felled by a wound in the ankle, undefended by any armor, and all the *δαίδαλα* in the world cannot save him. In fact, his armor outlives him but goes on to claim another hero in the suicide of Ajax. Thus an ambiguous value is manifest for these “daidalic” words: glamorous but treacherous, qualities borne out in all their appearances.³³

But not only the armor of Achilles and his action while wearing it are marked by significant uses of *δαίδαλεος*. In three other contexts outside of battle, his attributes are distinguished by the epithet in a way that contributes to his heroic image, and the occasions are auspicious. In his first appearance since the quarrel and his withdrawal in Book 1, the embassy of Greeks finds the hero in his tent, playing a lyre, *καλὴ δαιδαλέη*, with a silver bridge (9.187), a prize from the siege of Thebe, city of Andromakhe’s father. Evidently, when Achilles buried Eetion *σὺν ἔντεσι δαιδαλέοισιν*, “in all his daidalic armor,” he did not neglect to claim his share of Theban wealth, like this lyre. With this instrument, especially appropriate for a poet to praise, Achilles the hero has become a singer, perhaps even his own poet laureate. For his subject is *κλέα ἀνδρῶν*, the “fame of men” which makes epic poetry heroic and rewards warfare with the promise of immortality. Achilles’ performance is a credit to his childhood tutor, Phoinix, who was instructed to teach Achilles “to be a speaker of words and a practitioner of deeds” (*Iliad* 9.443): *μύθων τε ῥητήρ’ ἔμεναι πρηκτῆρα τ’ ἔργων*. The term invoked by Phoinix to describe the skills of the hero outside battle (*ῥητήρ*) appears only here in all of epic poetry, and only after the renunciation of his wrath does Achilles actually become a socially effective speaker (as in Book 23: see subsequent discussion). But only once does the hero perform as a poet. Having refused *ἔργα*, deeds of war, Achilles consoles himself with stories about them (*μύθοι*), and contemplates his own future as a hero.³⁴ His lyre, like his shield, is a window on the world where all this will be but poetry, as in the extraordinary passage at the opening of Book 12.³⁵

A second possession of Achilles is distinguished as *δαίδαλεος* in a passage that formalizes, almost in ritual, the return of Patroklos into battle. In *Iliad* 16, Achilles reluctantly agrees to allow his beloved companion to enter the battle in his stead and in his armor. A powerful prayer to Zeus accompanies this decision, which sends Patroklos to his death (16.220–25):

ἀντὰρ Ἀχιλλεύς
βῆ ῥ’ ἔμεν ἐς κλισίην, χηλοῦ δ’ ἀπὸ πῶμ’ ἀνέωγε

³³ Frontisi-Ducroux, *Dédale*, chap. 4, “Significations et valeurs,” on their apotropaic and treacherous properties.

³⁴ M. Rocchi, “La lira di Achilleus,” *Studi Storico-Religiosi* 4 (1980) 259–68; duBois, *History, Rhetorical Description and the Epic*, 18, includes “Achilles’ harp” [sic] as “part of a system of *daidala*”; Thalmann, *Form*

and *Thought in Early Greek Poetry*, 176–77, notes the irony of consolation by singing with a lyre of past heroic *ἔργα*; Ford, “Early Greek Terms for Poetry,” 74–82, distinguishes *κλέα ἀνδρῶν* from *αἰοίαι*.

³⁵ R. Scodel, “The Achaean Wall and the Myth of Destruction,” *HSCP* 86 (1982) 33–50; Thalmann, *Form and Thought in Early Greek Poetry*, 103–4.