

NIKEPHOROS

Zeitschrift für Sport und Kultur im Altertum

11. Jahrgang

1998



Herausgeber
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Joachim Ebert
Ulrich Sinn
Ingomar Weiler

WEIDMANN

**‘Hemerodromoi’ and Cretan ‘Dromeis’:
Athletes or Military Personnel?
The Case of the Cretan Philonides**

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The career of the Cretan Philonides, Alexander’s *hemerodromos* and *bematistes* of Asia, is extraordinary in antiquity. His accomplishments, only incidentally athletic, were primarily military and should be understood in relation to Philonides’ rigorous and demanding upbringing and training as *dromeus* at home, in the Cretan city of Chersonesos.

The case of Philonides, son of Zoitos, from the Cretan city of Chersonesos is unique in antiquity: he is the only person attested as both a *hemerodromos* and a *bematistes*. In Olympia he set up in honor of Zeus a dedication whose inscribed base has been found, and which Pausanias saw in the second century A.D. and noted it among other Olympic dedications. Pliny explained Philonides’ run from Sikyon to Elis and back to Sikyon as an extraordinary achievement. This has been tentatively associated with another inscription that turned up with Philonides’ name in Aigeion, probably an honorary decree of the citizens. Scholarly discussion about Philonides has been divided because of his unique career and the fragmentary information about him. Some think of him primarily as a soldier, a mercenary *hemerodromos* and *bematistes*,¹ and others have suggested that his activities signify

¹) For example see: J. JÜTHNER, RE 8,232 s.v.; W.W. HYDE, *Olympic Victor Monuments and Greek Athletic Art*, Washington 1921, 346, who calls Philonides’ dedication an “honor”-statue; H. BERVE, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage*, vol.1: *Darstellung*, vol.2: *Prosopographie*, München 1926, vol.1, 43–44, 51–52, vol.2, 392 no.800; H. van EFFENTERRE, *La Crète et le monde grec de Platon à Polybe*, Paris 1948, 293; M. LAUNEY, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques. Reimpression avec addenda et mise à jour, en postface*, par Y. GARLAN/P. GAUTHIER/C. ORRIEUX, vols.1–2, Paris 1987, 1, 248; S.V. SPYRIDAKIS, *Cretan Soldiers Overseas: a Prosopography*, in: *Kretologia* 12, 1981, 49–83 (= *Cretica. Studies on Ancient Crete*, New Rochelle/New York 1992, 55–82) who regards Philonides both a mercenary and an athlete (76 no.104); and recently P.M. FRASER, *Cities of Alexander the Great*, Oxford 1996, 78–79 with note 6. – The abbreviations used are those of “L’Année Philologique” and the “Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum”. Works referred to more than once are abbreviated by author’s name (and short title where necessary) and the previous note where the full reference is to be found.

mainly those of an athlete.² Philonides' birthplace, the island of Crete with its system of government and education that would help in understanding his unique career has been so far overlooked. And yet, the epigraphical and literary evidence apropos the Cretan *dromeis*, about whom the information is admittedly sketchy, recommends, if not a close connection, at least a relation between the *hemerodromos* and the Cretan *dromeus*, and therefore favors the interpretation of *hemerodromoi* as first and foremost military personnel, whose athletic aspect, like that of the Cretan *dromeis*, seems to have been only incidental.

In what follows Philonides and his career are re-evaluated in light of the ancient evidence that relates to *hemerodromoi* and Cretan *dromeis*. Part one discusses the testimonia on Philonides, epigraphical and literary, and the problems of interpretation these texts present. The second section studies the words *bematistes* and *hemerodromos* attested in the Olympic inscriptions of Philonides, their meaning and semantic relation, and the implications thereof. Finally, the epigraphical documents that relate to the Cretan *dromos* and the *dromeis* are re-examined and the accepted view about them and their importance in Cretan society revised. The activity and function of the *hemerodromoi* and the *bematistai*, as well as that of the Cretan *dromeis*, as the ancients understood them, intersect and are better understood one through the other, as the exceptional career of Philonides indicates: an expert in running and in light armed fighting Cretan *dromeus* became a professional *hemerodromos* and *bematistes* in Alexander's staff.

I

The epigraphical evidence for Philonides consists of two inscriptions that were found at Olympia and one that was unearthed at Aigion. In Olympia, near the southwest corner of the Altis two inscribed pieces of stone have been found. One of them of yellowish sandstone preserves the text almost intact (IvO 276), while the other of grey lime-

²) For example see: J. BINGEN, *Inscriptions d'Achaïe: 19. Décret pour le Crétois Philonidas*, in: BCH 78, 1954, 407–09; H. BENGTON, *Aus der Lebensgeschichte eines griechischen Distanzläufers*, in: SO 32, 1956, 35–39; B. BILIŃSKI, *L'Hémérodrome Philonides, son record et la nouvelle inscription d'Aigion*, in: Eos 5, 1959–1960, 69–80; V.J. MATTHEWS, *The Hemerodromoi: Ultra Long-Distance Running in Antiquity*, in: CIW 68, 1974, 161–69; W.A. KRENKEL, *Cursores maiores minoresque*, in: CIW 69, 1976, 373–74; D. MATZ, *Greek and Roman Sport. A Dictionary of Athletes and Events from the Eighth Century B.C. to the Third Century A.D.*, Jefferson, N. Carolina/London 1991, 81–82.

stone (IvO 277) can be securely restored, as its text is laid out in the same way as IvO 276:³

IvO 276	IvO 277
β[α]σιλέως 'Αλε[ξάνδρου]	βα[σιλέως 'Αλεξάνδρου]
ἡμεροδρόμας καὶ	ἡμ[εροδρόμας καὶ]
βηματιστῆς τῆς 'Ασίας	βημα[τιστῆς τῆς 'Ασίας]
Φιλωνίδης Ζώιτου Κρής	Φιλω[νίδης Ζώιτου Κρής]
5 Χερσονάσιος ἀνέθηκε	5 Χερσ[ονάσιος ἀνέθηκε]
Διὶ 'Ολυμπίοι.	Διὶ 'Ο[λυμπίοι].

According to the text of these two inscriptions, “king Alexander’s *hemerodromas* and *bematistes* of Asia, Philonides the son of Zoitos from the Cretan city of Chersonesos, dedicated to Olympian Zeus (his statue).” The lettering of IvO 277 is later than that of IvO 276 and should be dated in the last quarter of the fourth century B.C., sometime after Alexander’s death. The style of the text presents forcefully the reason for the dedication. In the first three lines of the text Philonides inscribes in chiasmus Alexander’s name and his two career titles,⁴ apparently his passport to fame: king Alexander and Asia in the genitive enclose in the nominative the terms *hemerodromos* and *bematistes*. Then follows the name of the dedicator, his father’s name, his regional *ethnikon* and his sub-regional or city-*ethnikon*,⁵ and finally in the dative the god in whose honor the dedication is made. What is certainly implied by the style of the text is that Philonides was permitted by the Eleians to dedicate his statue to Olympian Zeus within the Altis as a result of the fame he acquired by his profession

³) Not only the material of the two stones is different, but the lettering of the texts is quite distinctive and indicates different letter-cutters, for which see the commentary in IvO 277.

⁴) For Philonides’ titles in the inscriptions see: J.N. KALLÉRIS, *Les anciens Macédoniens. Étude linguistique et historique*, vols.1–2, Athènes 1954, 1976, vol.1, 181–82 no.81, who remarks that “... il se peut donc qu’un ou plusieurs autres des ‘bematistes’, qui n’étaient pas des Crétois ..., aient également assumé la fonction d’‘hémérodromas’ ” (182 n.4).

⁵) These very helpful terms for distinguishing *ethnika* are coined by the team in the Copenhagen Polis Centre; see especially M.H. HANSEN, *City-Ethnics as Evidence for Polis Identity*, in: M.H. HANSEN/K. RAAFLAUB (eds.), *More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*, Stuttgart 1996 (*Historia Einzelschriften* 108), 169–96; for the evidence in Crete P.J. PERLMAN, *Πόλις 'Υπήκοος. The Dependent Polis and Crete*, in: M.H. HANSEN (ed.), *Introduction to an Inventory of Poleis. Symposium August, 23–26 1995. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre vol.3. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 74, Copenhagen 1996, 245–58, esp. 245 with note 72.*

as both the *hemerodromos* of king Alexander and his *bematistes* of Asia.

The third inscription that was found at Aigeion is fragmentary and preserves only the beginning of what seems to have been an honorary decree for Philonides:⁶

θεός. τύχα ἀγαθά.
 Φιλωνίδαί Ζωίτου
 Κρητί Χερσονα-
 [σ]ίωι[- - - - -]
 5 [- - - - -].

This text is of little help, except for the fact that here Philonides' name is in the dative and so he is the one receiving honors for some unknown reason.

The interpretation of these epigraphical documents has divided scholars, especially as to how these texts relate to the two literary references to Philonides by Pliny and Pausanias, whose discussions, it is argued, imply that the Cretan was rather an athlete of some sort. After all, two of the inscriptions were found within the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, the athletic center of antiquity par excellence, and the third in a city not very far away from Olympia.

The Aigeion inscription has been tentatively associated with two references to Philonides in Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*. In his discussion (2.181) that nights and days do not occur at the same time all over the world Pliny calls attention to Philonides' run from Sikyon to Elis and back, a distance of 1200 stades, from sunrise to sunset. He does not reject this as an outright impossibility, but tries to explain that by the westward direction from Sikyon to Elis Philonides, *Alexandri Magni cursor*, would have gained time and thus would be able to accomplish the run. Later in the same work (7.81–84), Pliny brings up a host of individuals, not all of them athletes but some of them certainly soldiers, who had displayed extraordinary achievements in relation to exceptional bodily strength. Among them for their physical endurance in running he refers again to Philonides, *Alexandri Magni cursor*, and the Spartan runner Anystis, both of whom surpassed the earlier run by the Athenian Philippides from Athens to Sparta and

⁶ For the text see: BINGEN (above n.2) 407–409; BENGTON (above n.2) 35–39; L. ROBERT in: *Bull.épigr.* 1955, 221 no.117; ID., *Philologie et géographie. II. Sur Pline l'Ancien, livre II*, in: *Anadolu* 4, 1959, 1–26, 24–26; BILIŃSKI (above n.2) 69–80. For Biliński's proposition that the monograms on the stone represent the numbers that Pliny records for the distance from Sikyon to Elis and for the time it took Philonides to run see the disapproving remarks of L. ROBERT in: *Bull.épigr.* 1961, 169 no.333.

back in two days (7.84).⁷ These runners and their accomplishments serve as illustrations of physical endurance and are presented along with other comparable great feats Pliny himself experienced in the Circus Maximus.

Pliny's text is important in two respects. First and foremost, it corroborates the inscriptions at Olympia: Philonides was famous as *Alexandri Magni cursor*, a translation into Latin of the Greek *hemerodromos*, and *not* as an athlete of some sort. And secondly, his run is remembered as an extraordinary human achievement that took place in the northern Peloponnese, something that may have prompted the Aigeion honorary decree for Philonides; but even more it shows that after Alexander's death this Cretan became an itinerant *hemerodromos* who for some reason was invited to run the distance from Sikyon to Elis and back. It is also important to emphasize that the distance Pliny records as 1200 stades (i.e. 148 miles) is the normal distance by road and *not* the distance necessarily covered by Philonides, who by profession, as will be seen, would not follow the main road. The fact, therefore, that Philonides' accomplishment was certainly comparable to those of athletes as well as other extraordinary human endeavors, as Pliny's discussion implies, cannot support the view that Philonides was perceived by Pliny as, or indeed was an athlete.

In a similarly inferential manner, Pausanias' brief reference to Philonides' Olympian dedication has led to the view of Philonides the athlete. When in the middle of the second century A.D. he visited Olympia, Pausanias saw Philonides' dedication very close to the place where it was found by the excavators, i.e. the southwest corner of the Altis, read the inscription and recorded it. That the base was found inside the Altis⁸ and that Pausanias reported it among other Olympic victors' dedications have been interpreted as unequivocal indications that the Eleians and Pausanias considered Philonides an athlete.

The topographical position of Philonides' dedication and Pausanias' reference to it do not imply that Philonides and his dedication had anything to do with the Olympic victors. Pausanias in his pro-

⁷) The spelling of the name in Pliny's text appears to be the correct form, as MATTHEWS (above n.2) 161 n.3 also suggests. Pheidippides according to W.W. HOW/J. WELLS, *A Commentary on Herodotus*, vol.2, Oxford 1912, 107 "is a witticism of Aristophanes (*Nub.*67) which he would hardly have dared to make had the name been consecrated in the tale of Marathon." This is further confirmed by the epigraphical record for which see: J. KIRCHNER, *Prosopographia Attica*, vol.2, Berlin 1901-1903, nos.14156, 14349.

⁸) There is no systematic study of how, if at all, the land within the ancient sanctuaries was utilized, but for Olympia see: HYDE (above n.1) 339-375; and H.-V. HERRMANN, *Die Siegerstatuen von Olympia*, in: Nikephoros 1, 1988, 119-183.

grammatical statements in the end of book 5 (5.25.1) and the beginning of book 6 (6.1.1–2) unambiguously states that within the Altis proper there were not only athletic dedications by the Olympic victors, but private ones as well, and that from among all he will mention only the dedications he thinks worth noticing.⁹ Pausanias' note of Philonides' dedication, therefore, at the specific place of book 6 and among other Olympic victors' dedications is conditioned by the dedication's actual position within the Altis which is confirmed by the excavations – a place that was not exclusive for athletic dedications – and not by Pausanias' inference that Philonides was an athlete, whence the reference to his statue among the athletic dedications of Olympic victors. At all events, Pausanias' brief text offers no hint that Philonides was an athlete, but on the contrary strongly suggests that Pausanias read carefully the inscription (6.16.5): *καὶ Φιλωνίδης Ζωκίτου, γένος μὲν ἐκ Χερρονήσου τῆς Κρητῶν, Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ ἡμεροδρόμος τοῦ Φιλίππου*.¹⁰ Without doubt Pausanias follows the text of the inscription that he reads correctly, i.e. Philonides offered his dedication to Olympian Zeus because he was the *hemerodromos* of Alexander, the son of Philip. Philonides' credentials, therefore, were more than satisfactory for the Eleians to grant their permission. Interestingly, Pausanias is silent about Philonides' run from Sikyon to Elis and back that Pliny records and that would support, if implicitly, the athletic aspect of his being a *hemerodromos*. So is Philonides, however, who would probably have hinted at his achievement in his Olympic dedication, provided it predated his Olympic dedication. He would try in some way to associate his profession to that of the athletes, beyond the self-evident relation, that his statue like that of athletic victors stood within the Altis. These silences are indicative of the fact that in antiquity the *hemerodromoi* were not perceived as athletes, and we must accept, as Pausanias did,¹¹ Philonides' own explanation for his

⁹) Among the Olympic victors' dedications Pausanias mentions honorary statues of the Macedonian kings (6.11.1), of the sophist Gorgias (6.17.7–9) and of Anaximenes (6.18.2–6), which may be considered athletic only by virtue of their being set up in the Altis. For the non-athletic, honorary dedications see: HYDE (above n.1) 339–353. For an excellent discussion of Gorgias' statues at Delphi and Olympia and the Cypselid dedication see: C. MORGAN, *Socrates and Gorgias at Delphi and Olympia: Phaedrus 235d6–236b4*, in: *ClQu* 44, 1995, 375–86.

¹⁰) The text of Pausanias here and below is from the Teubner edition by M.-H. ROCHA PEREIRA, *Pausanias Graeciae Descriptio*, vols.1–3, Leipzig 1973–81.

¹¹) MATZ (above n.2) 131 probably by mistake includes Philonides in the athletes' list that Pausanias recorded in books 5 and 6. For Pausanias' careful use of his sources, especially the epigraphical texts see: C. HABICHT, *Pausanias' Use of Inscriptions*, in: *ClAnt* 3, 1985, 40–56; ID., *Pausanias' Guide to Ancient Greece*,

dedication, i.e. it was presented by the *hemerodromos* of king Alexander and his *bematistes* of Asia, and as such it was accepted by the Eleian officials. If Philonides must perforce be an athlete, then this term should encompass all aspects of Greek life permeated by the agonistic spirit.¹² The ancient sources, however, that provide information about the *bematistai* and the *hemerodromoi* delineate a different portrait for Philonides.

II

Philonides' career is unique throughout antiquity in that he is the only person known who claims both the titles of *hemerodromos* and of *bematistes*. In that respect, the inscription from Olympia is the only witness for both terms which Philonides understood as distinctive activities. It is no accident that both Pliny and Pausanias omit the term *bematistes* and call Philonides the *cursor/hemerodromos* of Alexander that won for him renown and fame. At least as far as Pausanias is concerned, the omission of Philonides' title *bematistes* of Asia is quite unexpected and not his normal practice,¹³ and perhaps an indication that the term *hemerodromos* was the more familiar of the terms in antiquity and less technical to comprehend.

The information about the *bematistai* in the ancient sources is very limited, as they seem to have appeared as a distinct body within an army as late as Alexander's time, who appears to have instituted various auxiliary military units.¹⁴ Apart from the Olympic inscription, the term occurs rarely in literary texts.¹⁵ Athenaios (10.442b), probably drawing from the work of Ktesias, made use of works written by *bematistai* of Alexander: Βαίτων ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου βηματιστής that wrote Σταθμοὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου πορείας, and the *bematistes* Amyntas who composed (Ἀσίας) Σταθμοί. Pliny (HN 6.61) refers to Dio-

Berkeley 1985; and Y.Z. TZIFOPOULOS, *Pausanias as a Steloskopos. An Epigraphical Commentary of Pausanias' Eliakon A and B*, Diss., Columbus, Ohio 1991.

¹²) A. RAUBITSCHKE, *The Agonistic Spirit in Greek Culture*, in: *AncW* 7, 1983, 3–7.

¹³) See above n.11.

¹⁴) For the emergence of the body of *bematistai* together with Alexander and their function in the king's military personnel see: BERVE (above n.1) vol.1, 43–44, 51–52; N.G.L. HAMMOND, *Alexander the Great: King, Commander and Statesman*, London³1994, 24–34, 67–68, 174–80; and FRASER (above n.1) 78–86.

¹⁵) The word *bematistes* occurs only in the authors discussed, as a TLG search in the Library of the University of Crete has indicated. According to LSJ s.v., βηματιστής is "one who measures by paces," but for Philonides' Olympic dedication they propose "quartermaster" which MATTHEWS (above n.2) 164 rightly rejects.

gnetus and Baiton as *itinerum eius* (sc. Alexander) *mensores*, while Philonides, as we have seen, is *Alexandri Magni cursor* (HN 2.73, 7.20). Finally, Diogenes Laertius names an Archelaos from Cappadocia, who was *ὁ χωρογράφος τῆς ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου γῆς πατηθείσης* (2.17).¹⁶ These scattered bits of information are the only references to *bematistai* and a chorographer,¹⁷ who seem to have formed a special military unit in charge of topographical surveying and literally pace-measuring of distances mainly for military purposes, both activities instrumental for efficient speed in military communications, transportation and maneuvering. The names of these individuals seem not to suggest a specific ethnic origin,¹⁸ which may indicate that the criteria for someone becoming a *bematistes* were very stringent and very demanding. Two of these individuals, however, Archelaos and Amyntas bear the names of famous Macedonian kings. This and the fact that the *bematistai* enter the stage with Alexander the Great may have prompted Hesychius' remark that the verb *βηματίζειν* is somehow Macedonian (565: *ἔστι δέ πως ἡ λέξις Μακεδονική*). What perhaps lies behind Hesychius' gloss about this term is not that in fact this was a word of the Macedonian dialect, as J. Kalléris proposed,¹⁹ but that this term acquired a specific, technical meaning that related it with activities instituted by Macedonians. Especially from Alexander onwards the *bematistai* became somehow identified with or referred to Macedonians.

The evidence about the *hemerodromoi* is not as poor as about the *bematistai*, and sufficient to form an idea about them and their relation to the *bematistai*. References to *hemerodromoi* antedate Alexander's era and seem to antedate the *bematistai* as well.²⁰ The most famous *hemerodromos*, indeed an expert of the profession as Herodotus

¹⁶ This passage in Athenaios, the inscriptions of Philonides from Olympia, Pliny and Diogenes Laertius necessitated the chapter entitled 'Die Bematisten' in F. JACOBY's FGrHist.

¹⁷ That a chorographer is primarily involved with distance-measuring and mapping is indicated by Strabo's use of the term: 2.4.1; 5.2.7,8; 6.1.11; 6.2.11; 6.3.10.

¹⁸ See W. PAPE/G. BENSELER, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, vol. 1–2, Graz ³1959; and F. BECHTEL, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*, Halle 1917.

¹⁹ KALLÉRIS (above n.4) 1, 130–31 nos.44, 45.

²⁰ According to LSJ s.v., *ἡμεροδρόμος* is the "long-distance runner, courier", a translation also suitable for *δρομοκῆρυξ* (according to LSJ "runner, postman"). Literally, however, *hemerodromos* is he who 'runs' the distance of a day, in which case the distance may vary according to the person running. See MATTHEWS' helpful discussion (above n.2) 161–65. KALLÉRIS (above n.4) vol.1, 181–82 no.81 notes that in the Olympic inscription the Doric, hence Macedonian form of the term is inscribed, although Philonides as a Cretan would employ a Doric form anyway.

relates (6.105: *καὶ τοῦτο μελετῶντα*), was the Athenian Philippides, who as a messenger of Athens to Sparta to ask for help before the battle at Marathon traversed the distance in two days (6.105–06).²¹ A similar mission to Mardonios was sent by the Argives, after they searched for the best *hemerodromos* they could find (Her.9.12: *κήρυκα, τῶν ἡμεροδρόμων ἀνευρόντες τὸν ἄριστον*), in order to inform the Persian commander about the movements of the Spartan army under Pausanias. In 362 B.C. the Spartan Agesilaos was timely informed about the military movements of the Theban Epameinondas according to Xenophon by a Cretan (*Hellenica* 7.5.10), but according to Diodorus by Cretan *hemerodromoi* (15.82).²² It is tempting to understand Diodorus' deviation from, or better his addition to Xenophon's Cretan of the word *hemerodromoi* as a detail he thought necessary for elaboration and an essential epithet, especially from Alexander on, for Cretan messengers, perhaps drawing on the analogy to the famous Cretan archers who appear much more frequently as a specialized mercenary military unit in Hellenistic times.²³ Xenophon in the *Anabasis* more than once records the skills of the Cretan archers under his command (1.2.9, 3.3.7, 3.3.15, 4.2.28, 5.2.29–32), and their versatility in learning quickly how to use the Persian bows taken as booty (3.4.17). When finally the Ten Thousand reach Trapezous, they camp on a nearby hill and decide to celebrate by offering sacrifices and organizing gymnastic games. They select the Spartan Drakontios to put in charge of the *dromos*, i.e. what events and, absent a stadium,

²¹) In addition to Herodotus and Pliny, Philippides' mission is also found in: Plutarch, *Mor.*862a–b; Pausanias 1.28.4; 8.54.6; Lucian, *Pro lapsu* 3; see also above n.7.

²²) This detail is also found in Polybios (9.8.6) who speaks of a deserter bringing the news, and in Plutarch's *Agesilaos* (34.4) where, on the authority of Callisthenes, in addition to a Cretan the Thespian Euthynos is a messenger. MATTHEWS (above n.2) 164 with n.9 and 10 comments on the sources' discrepancy as to who this messenger was and refers to F. JACOBY's explanation that Diodorus misunderstood Ephoros. In an important study of the control and dissemination of news and information in the Greek *poleis* S. LEWIS, *News and Society in the Greek Polis*, Chapel Hill 1996, discusses this incident and suggests that this messenger, although perhaps of "lower status" because he is "identified only by toponym" (86), was probably known to and trusted by Agesilaos (81, 94).

²³) For the mercenaries in Alexander's army see: A. AGOSTINETTI SIMONETTI, *I mercenarii nell'esercito di Alessandro Magno*, in: CRDAC 9, 1977–78, 1–17; for the Cretan mercenaries in the Hellenistic period see: G.T. GRIFFITH, *The Mercenaries of the Hellenistic World*, Cambridge 1935, 236–263; LAUNEY (above n.1) vol.1, 248–86, vol.2, 1152–69; SPYRIDAKIS (above n.1) 43–103; ID., *The Neocretan Mercenaries*, in: PP 33, 1978, 287–292; and A. CHANIOTIS, *Κλασσιική και Ελληνιστική Κρήτη*, in: N.M. ΠΑΝΑΥΙΟΤΑΚΙΣ (ed.), *Κρήτη Ιστορία και Πολιτισμός*, vol.1, Irakleio 1987, 220, 270–72.

where were to be held (4.8.25). The Cretans, the very same Cretan archers mentioned throughout in the *Anabasis*, entered en masse (more than sixty) the *dolichos*, the longest running event in antiquity (4.8.27).²⁴

The aforementioned instances of *bematistai* and *hemerodromoi* clearly show that the terms in literary contexts are mutually exclusive and distinct. The term *bematistes* appears to be the more technical of the two and primarily associated with matters Macedonian, whereas *hemerodromos* is the prevalent and more easily recognizable term that may have assimilated the term *bematistes* as well. This is corroborated by a definition of *hemerodromos* found in the Roman historian Livy (31.24.4): narrating Philip's V hurried march through Boiotia and onto Athens which he would have suddenly taken over, he mentions a *speculator* who saw the advancing army of Philip and informed timely the Athenians. Livy explicates the term *speculator* with the parenthesis: *hemerodromos vocant Graeci ingens die uno cursu spatium emittentes*. For Livy the term *cursor* is too broad and does not translate well the activities of the *hemerodromos* among which the historian includes also that of sentry. Moreover, Livy appears to be synthesizing in his definition the activities of both the *bematistes* and the *hemerodromos* under the term *hemerodromos* who thus is in charge not only of covering during the day a vast region, but also of measuring that distance. The evidence presented so far shows an undeniable predilection for the term *hemerodromos* whose usage from early on and throughout antiquity prevailed and whose meaning apparently broadened to include the technical and less immediately recognizable term *bematistes* that appears with Alexander.

Finally, a definition of a different kind that corroborates the crucial military role of the *hemerodromoi* and elaborates it with very interesting details appears in the *Suda* (letter *eta* 305):

ἡμεροδρόμος· ὁ ἥλιος. λέγονται δὲ καὶ οἱ ταῖς βασιλικαῖς διατάξεσι ταχύτατα διακονούμενοι. οἱ ἡμεροδρόμοι νέοι δ' εἰσὶν, ἐφήβων ὀλίγον πρεσβύτεροι, πρωτογενείων ἐγγύς, ταῖς τοιαύταις ὑπηρετούμενοι χρεῖαις· τόξων καὶ βελῶν, ἀκοντίων καὶ πυροβόλων λίθων ἐπιφερόμενοι πλέον οὐδέν· ταῦτα γὰρ αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν γίνεται χρήσιμα.

²⁴) Cretan athletes are attested among the Olympionikai register, mostly as winners in running events, for which see: CHANIOTIS (above n.23) 233–34; ID., *Die Verträge zwischen kretischen Poleis in der hellenistischen Zeit*, Stuttgart 1996, 127 with note 781.

The term *hemerodromos*, according to the *Suda*, apart from the sun denotes also the couriers of the king's commands, young men, a bit older than the ephebes, near the age of their first down, that are equipped only with bows and arrows, slings and javelins, the weapons most useful for their marching.²⁵ This definition reveals the presumptions only hinted at so far that we have to take into account apropos the *hemerodromoi*: in order to achieve maximum speed and cover a distance in the fastest possible way, light weaponry and excellent physical shape were required, whence the age distinction in the *Suda*. Interestingly, the years immediately after the *ephebeia* were the most appropriate for one to serve as a *hemerodromos*, who apart from being in charge of communications would be enlisted in one of the special light armed units, the archers, slingers, or javelin- and stone-throwers.

These references to *bematistai* and *hemerodromoi* clearly demonstrate that: a) the *hemerodromos* was first and foremost a military messenger under critical circumstances who served in the light armed units and could also be a sentry;²⁶ b) the *bematistes'* activity was a specialization that developed in Alexander's time and was limited to pace-measuring which, however, the *hemerodromos* could also perform;²⁷ c) the activities of both required exceptional skills, and not all individuals were able to undertake this task; and d) both belonged to the auxiliary military units that were in charge of among other things military communications and therefore must have been experienced in matters of topography.²⁸ All these demanded from these individuals constant training not only for their physical endurance, the only correlation between a *hemerodromos* and an athlete. They also required excellent knowledge of and an experienced eye for the topography of a region, its roads and its possible passes, in order to accomplish their task in the shortest possible time: traverse an immense region and deliver their message; survey, map and pace-measure a region; and even

²⁵) For slingers and stone-throwers in ancient warfare see: W. KENDRICK PRITCHETT, *The Greek State at War*, Part V, Berkeley 1991, 1–67.

²⁶) For scouts in antiquity see: W. KENDRICK PRITCHETT, *The Greek State at War*, Part I, Berkeley 1971, 127–33; for news and information in Greek *poleis* see now LEWIS (above n.22) 51–96 and *passim*.

²⁷) Professor Y. Pikoulas informs me that the attention and training required for pace-measuring are very demanding, as he and his team had the opportunity to find out when they attempted it, while studying matters topographical in situ.

²⁸) According to Strabo (5.4.13) the inhabitants of Picentia in Italy preferred instead of being enlisted in the Roman army the activities of *ἡμεροδρομεῖν* and *γραμματοφορεῖν*, in which they excelled.

discover new routes.²⁹ Needless to say, the extraordinary accomplishments of the two most famous *hemerodromoi*, Philippides and Philonides recorded by Pliny, may be better understood, if one considers the training and experience of a *hemerodromos* and above all the fact that out of practice the *hemerodromos* would not cover the required distance by using the established road-system.

On this crucial military role of the *hemerodromoi* depended almost always not only the success of any military venture, but also the secure and effective government of vast territories, both of which require infrastructure and expeditious communication. This was the trademark of the Persian government against whom Alexander launched his expedition and about whom he must have known if not more at least as much as the sources tell us.³⁰ The *hemerodromoi* were instrumental in the Persian governmental system of satrapies and they were today's military engineering corps in charge of communications. Ever since the Mede Deioces, as Herodotus narrates, who communicated through messengers (1.96: δι' ἀγγέλων) and governed through spies and listeners (1.100: διὰ τῶν κατασκόπων καὶ κατηκόων), until the Persians prevailed and divided the empire into satrapies for better and more effective government,³¹ the Persian king, as the pseudoAristotelian *De Mundo* 398a32 vividly relates, had daily communicated from every part of his empire, where there were stationed in outposts ἡμεροδρόμοι τε καὶ σκοποὶ καὶ ἀγγελιαφόροι φρουκτωριῶν τε ἐποπτῆρες. Τοσοῦτος δὲ ἦν ὁ κόσμος, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν φρουκτωριῶν.³²

These military stations that Alexander encountered and perhaps some that he founded anew as he marched through the Persian empire were, in all probability, turned into the *stathmoi* of Alexander, strategic posts for communications and effective government, some of which developed on account of their geographical location into im-

²⁹) For the special armed forces in Hellenistic times that likewise required extraordinary training and experience see: É. FOULON, *Hypaspistes, peltastes, chrysoaspides, argyraspides, chalkaspides*, in: REA 98, 1996, 53–63.

³⁰) For the Achaemenid governmental system see: A.B. BOSWORTH, *Conquest and Empire. The Reign of Alexander the Great*, Cambridge 1988, 229–41; and the extremely helpful discussion by A. KUHRT, *The Ancient Near East c. 3000–330 B.C.*, vol.2, London/New York 1995, 647–701 with earlier bibliography.

³¹) Herodotus in 5.52–54 offers an overview of the Persian system of *stathmoi*, and in 8.98 explains the effective communications within the Persian empire by comparing it to the Greek torch-race (λαμπαδηφορία) in honor of Hephaistus.

³²) See also KUHRT (above n.30) 692–93, where she discusses evidence that suggests the existence of some kind of 'passport' that was needed for access and passing through these posts which apparently the king used to monitor traffic for military and *not* trade purposes; and also LEWIS (above n.22) 60.

portant cities.³³ Alexander's high esteem for matters of topography and its crucial role in military campaigns is evident throughout his military career: from his remarkable in its speed appearance in Thebes to the utilization of the topography for the maximum strategic gain in the battlefield.³⁴ In light of the epigraphical evidence on Philonides and the references to *hemerodromoi* and *bematistai* in Xenophon and Diodorus, Pliny and Pausanias, and Livy and the *Suda*, it is no accident that Alexander had in his staff two Cretans whom he entrusted with military communications: Nearchus from Lato in charge of the geographical exploration of the Indic Ocean,³⁵ and his personal *hemerodromos* and *bematistes* of Asia Philonides from Chersonesos, who, perhaps together with Nearchus, were instrumental in Alexander's army for the institution of a military unit comprising not just messengers, but experts in topographical surveying and communications. Hence the corps of *bematistai* from Alexander onward.

The place of origin of both Nearchus and Philonides, the island of Crete, as well as the persistent appearance in Xenophon and Diodoros of Cretan messengers in the Spartan army, and especially *Suda's* entry on *hemerodromos*, all point to Crete as the appropriate place where, in addition to its famous archers, the activity of *hemerodromos* appears to have been another expertise. For there is enough evidence for the Cretan *dromeis* to suggest, if not a direct association, at least a correlation between them and the *hemerodromoi*. This in turn may explain the presence in the Spartan and Alexander's army of Cretan experts in light armed fighting and in running, experience they acquired during their rigorous and constant training at home.

³³) BOSWORTH (above n.30) 245–250. This by no means implies that Alexander was *personally* responsible for the foundation of all the posts and cities. As FRASER (above n.1) 103–201 has recently demonstrated in a painstaking examination of the evidence about the Alexandrias, "we must then leave Alexander as the actual founder of only the following cities: Alexandria in Egypt, Alexandria in Aria, Alexandria Eschate, Alexandria in Susiana, Alexandria-Bucephala and Alexandria among the Oreitai (Rambakia)" (201).

³⁴) HAMMOND (above n.14) 31–34, 95–110, 260.

³⁵) For this and other geographical explorations and the controversial nature of the sources about them see: A.B. BOSWORTH, *Alexander and the East. The Tragedy of Triumph*, Oxford 1996, 66–97 and 186–200; especially for Nearchus see also: E. BADIÁN, *Nearchus the Cretan*, in: YCS 24, 1975, 147–170; and W. HECKEL, *The Marshals of Alexander's Empire*, London/New York 1992, 228–233.

III

The political and social organization of the Cretan poleis followed the so-called Doric, military-based model,³⁶ but in a way that, as P.J. Perlman has convincingly argued, betrays “diversity rather than uniformity”, despite the uniform presentation of a Cretan *politeia* especially in the literary sources of the fourth century B.C.³⁷ In that respect an influential source has been Plato,³⁸ who generalized that in Crete all institutions, public and private were legislated in a way that a) aimed at constant preparedness for war (*Laws* 626a: τὸν Κρητῶν νομοθέτην ὡς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἅπαντα δημοσία καὶ ἰδίᾳ τὰ νόμιμα ἡμῖν ἀποβλέπων συνετάξατο; and 666d: στρατοπέδου γὰρ πολιτείαν ἔχετε); and b) was also suitable to the demands of the natural environment (834b: κατὰ φύσιν τῆς χώρας, and 625d). Military communications must have played a very important and crucial role, and in the area of road-planning and construction Crete far surpassed the rest of Greece.³⁹

In a few Cretan inscriptions we come across the terms *dromos*,⁴⁰ *dromeus* or *dromeis*, that, according to the *opinio communis* based on *Suda*'s entry,⁴¹ refer to Cretan adult citizens: *dromos* for the Cretans is

³⁶) See e.g. A. LEBESSI, *Ἡ Κρητῶν Πολιτεία (1100–300 π.Χ.)*, in: N.M. PANAYIOTAKIS (ed.), *Κρήτη Ἱστορία καὶ Πολιτισμός*, vol.1, Irakleio 1987, 131–72; CHANIOΤIS (above n.23) 192–220; R.F. WILLETTS, *The Civilization of Ancient Crete*, Amsterdam ²1991, 177–190; and S. LINK, *Das griechische Kreta. Untersuchungen zu seiner staatlichen und gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung vom 6. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert v.Chr.*, Stuttgart 1994, 9–51, 97–133; for an excellent discussion of the war as a factor in Cretan economy see A. PETROPOULOU, *Beiträge zur Wirtschafts- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte Kretas in hellenistischer Zeit*, Frankfurt am Main 1985, 13–45.

³⁷) P.J. PERLMAN, *One Hundred-Cityed Crete and the ‘Cretan Πολιτεία’*, in: CIPh 87, 1992, 193–205: the term ‘Cretan *politeia*’ denotes a consistent and uniform system of government, a single constitution as it were throughout the island, that is not supported by the epigraphical record, and is only an artificial construct of the fourth century B.C. writers (193–97). Amongst the Cretan poleis there were common elements in their political and social organizations, e.g. *dromos* and the *dromeis*, but even in this case the evidence, albeit scanty, shows that from city to city there were differences.

³⁸) For a useful collection of Plato’s passages relevant to Crete see: A. PANAGOPOULOS, *Πλάτων καὶ Κρήτη*, Athens 1981.

³⁹) See C. PICARD, *La vie privée dans la Grèce classique*, Paris 1930, 20.

⁴⁰) For recent discussions on *dromos* as a technical term: D. BELL, *The Meaning of ‘drómos’ in Homer’s Iliad 23.758*, in: Nikephoros 3, 1990, 7–9; and N.B. CROWTHER, *More on ‘drómos’ as a Technical Term in Greek Sport*, in: Nikephoros 6, 1993, 33–37.

⁴¹) R.F. WILLETTS, *Aristocratic Society in Ancient Crete*, London 1955, 7–17, 80–82; ID., *Cretan Cults and Festivals*, London 1962, 46–47; ID., *Ancient Crete. A*

the *gymnasium*, access to which presupposes the privilege to carry arms, and, consequently, the terms *dromeus/dromeis* denote the Cretan adult citizens.

Before reviewing the epigraphical texts in order to re-evaluate this interpretation, it is necessary to examine the lemma in the *Suda* in more detail, because it is neither as brief nor as explicit (letter *delta* 1535):

δρομοῖς· τοῖς γυμνασίοις κατὰ Κρήτας. δρόμῳ δ' ἰσῶσαι τῆ φύσει τὰ πράγματα νίκης ἔχων ἐξῆλθε πάντιμον γέρας. περὶ Ὀρέστου φησὶν. οἶον οὐκ ἐλλείπων κατὰ τὰ τέρματα, ἀλλ' ἴσος φανεῖς τοῖς τέρμασιν. ἀντὶ τοῦ ἴσος καὶ τεθναμασμένος ἐν τῷ ἀγωνίσματι ὡς ἐπὶ τῆ μορφῇ· τουτέστιν ὡς θαυμαστός ἐπὶ τῆ μορφῇ, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ ἐφάνης, ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ εἶδει οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ. λύσις ὄνειρων· ἀργῶς κινεῖσθαι δυστυχεῖς ποιεῖ τρίβους. τρέχειν καθ' ὑπνοὺς εὐσθενεῖς ποιεῖ τύχας.

The first sentence seems straightforward and has been understood as referring to the *gymnasium*. The use of the plural form, however, instead of the singular and what follows about Orestes' victory in the first event at Delphi, the *dromos* – an explanatory scholium to two lines from the famous report of the *paidagogos* in Sophocles' *Electra* (686–87) – should at least raise suspicion as to whether the term *gymnasia* denotes literally the place for exercising and training, in which case the following scholium is inconsequential; or the term is employed in its more general sense, i.e. the exercises themselves, contests, athletic or military, in which case the following comments on *dromos* as an athletic event make perfect sense. This is after all the meaning of the word in the plural according to LSJ s.v. *γυμνάσιον* I: “bodily exercises”.⁴² So much so, because in relation to the Cretan *dromos* the same term *gymnasia* is employed by Plato in the introduction of his *Laws*, a passage neglected so far in discussions about the Cretan *dromos* and *dromeis* (625c–d):

Αθ... καί μοι λέγε, κατὰ τί τὰ ξυσσίτια τε ὑμῖν συντέταχεν ὁ νόμος καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄπλων ἔξιν;

Social History from Early Times until the Roman Occupation, London 1965, 113, 122; ID. (above n.36) 184; ID., *The Law Code of Gortyn*, Berlin 1967, 10–11; M. BILE, *Le dialecte crétois ancien*, Paris 1988, 344; and CHANIOTIS (above n.23) 195–96.

⁴² An interesting association of these terms appears in Pausanias apropos the Spartan *Dromos* (3.14.6) for which see below n.85.

Κλ.οἶμαι μὲν, ὡ̄ ξένε, καὶ παντὶ ῥάδιον ὑπολαβεῖν εἶναι τὰ γε ἡμέτερα. τὴν γὰρ τῆς χώρας πάσης Κρήτης φύσιν ὁρᾶτε, ὡς οὐκ ἔστι, καθάπερ ἢ τῶν Θετταλῶν, πεδιάς. διὸ δὴ καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἵπποις ἐκεῖνοι χρωῶνται μᾶλλον, δρόμοισι δὲ ἡμεῖς. ἥδε γὰρ ἀνώματος αὐ̄ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν πεζῆ δρόμων ἄσκησιν μᾶλλον σύμμετρος. ἔλαφρά δὴ τὰ ὄπλα ἀναγκαῖον ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ κεκτῆσθαι καὶ μὴ βάρους ἔχοντα θεῖν· τῶν δὴ τόξων καὶ τοξευμάτων ἢ κουφότης ἀρμόττειν δοκεῖ.

The Athenian stranger's question touches upon the three most crucial areas of Cretan life for which there were constitutional provisions, the *syssitia*, military training, and the favor for a certain kind of weapons. Interestingly, the Cretan Kleinias explains both the spirit and the letter of the Cretan *agoge* in terms of the natural restrictions imposed by the landscape of Crete on the inhabitants, who adapted their needs accordingly and became experts in running and archery.⁴³ In like manner, Aristotle corroborates the vital importance for the Cretan society of military training and the carrying of arms when he reports that in Crete the slaves are denied only two things: (military) training and possession of weapons (*Politics* 1264a21–22: ἐκεῖνοι [sc. Κρήτες] γὰρ τᾶλλα ταῦτὰ τοῖς δούλοις ἐφέντες μόνον ἀπειρήκασι τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τὴν τῶν ὄπλων κτῆσιν).⁴⁴

The identical employment of the same words *gymnasia* and *dromoi* in Plato's *Laws* and in the *Suda*, both of them denoting first and foremost military training and exercise, is perhaps fortuitous; unless the lexicographer's unstated source for the lemma was this passage from Plato's *Laws* – per se an attractive hypothesis. More importantly, the passages from Plato's *Laws* and Aristotle's *Politics* present a strong case against the commonly held view that *dromos* in Crete denotes the *gymnasium*, where only the adult males carrying arms could be admitted; hence *dromeis* the male adult Cretan citizens. Even so, Plato's and *Suda*'s testimony must be tested further against the small number of epigraphical documents that mention the terms *dromos* and *dromeis*, in order to re-examine and perhaps re-evaluate their meaning and the significance of the *dromeis* in Cretan society.

⁴³) For military training and discipline see: Y. GARLAN, *War in the Ancient World*, trans. by J. Lloyd, London 1975, 163–79; and W. KENDRICK PRITCHETT, *The Greek State at War*, Part II, Berkeley 1974, 208–45.

⁴⁴) For a useful collection of Aristotle's passages relevant to Crete see: A. PANAGOPOULOS, *Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Κρήτη*, Athens 1987, with an appendix of the less readily accessible sources pertinent to Crete.

The best starting-place is the Gortyn Code.⁴⁵ In the section where matters concerning the *epikleros* are codified (IC IV.72 vii 29–47) the eligible bridegrooms-to-be for her are classified in the following order: the *ἄνωρος*, the *ἀπόδρομος* with the further qualification *ἠβίων*,⁴⁶ and the *δρομεύς*. These age-groups of males are self-evident,⁴⁷ at least the first two: *anoros* refers to the age before puberty, and *apodromos*, because of the epithet *hebion*, to the ephebe who because of his age has no access yet to the *dromos* (i.e. the Cretan *gymnasium*, as *Suda*'s lemma has been interpreted).⁴⁸ Consequently, the *dromeus* mentioned after the age of puberty must be the one with access to the *dromos/gymnasium* and the privilege to carry arms, and therefore according to M. Guarducci (IC IV.72, p.150): “*civilia iura omnia δρομέες modo attingebant, scilicet – ut ex ipso nomine elucet – cursores δρόμου certaminum participes; qui titulus δρομεύς, vel elapsa aetate cursus certaminibus idonea, civibus sui iuris haesisse videtur.*”

This interpretation presents insurmountable difficulties, however. In the same document (IC IV.72) there are more instances where *dromeis* are mentioned, and in three of them *δρομεῖς ἐλεύθεροι*. All three involve quite specific cases where free *dromeis* could be summoned as witnesses.⁴⁹ i 39–46 stipulates that, once the judge has decided about the ownership of a slave who has taken refuge in a temple, then the defeated party should summon the successful party and

⁴⁵) For the Gortyn Code text both M. GUARDUCCI's edition in IC IV 72 and WILLETTS, *Law Code* (above n.41) were consulted.

⁴⁶) For the problems of interpretation of the term *ἀπόδρομος* and especially the meanings of the preposition *ἀπό* in the Cretan dialect see: GUARDUCCI in IC IV.72 *ad loc.*; WILLETTS, *Aristocratic* (above n.41) 80–82; ID., *Law Code* (above n.41) 10–11; BILE (above n.41) 274; Á. MARTÍNEZ-FERNÁNDEZ, *Sobre el empleo de algunas preposiciones en el dialecto cretense. III. ἐξ, ἀπό*, in: *Fortunatae* 4, 1992, 87–101, 112–18; and Z. PAPAΚONSTANTINOY, *The Cretan apokosmos*, in: *ZPE* 111, 1996, 93–96.

⁴⁷) See note 41 above, and also: WILLETTS (above n.36) 184; and D. LEITAO, *The Perils of Leukippos: Initiatory Transvestism and Male Gender Ideology in the Ekdusia of Phaistos*, in: *ClAnt* 14, 1995, 130–146.

⁴⁸) Eustathios quotes in three places Aristophanes' of Byzantium explanation of the term (727.19 = 1592.50 = 1788.52): ... τοὺς ἐφήβους ... καλοῦσι ... ἐν δὲ Κρήτῃ ἀποδρόμους διὰ τὸ μηδέπω τῶν κοινῶν δρόμων μετέχειν; see also GUARDUCCI, IC IV.72 (commentary p.150); WILLETTS, *Law Code* (above n.41) 10–11; and K.R. KRISTENSEN, *Men, Women, and Property in Gortyn: The Karteros of the Law Code*, in: *C&M* 45, 1994, 5–26.

⁴⁹) M. GAGARIN, *The Testimony of Witnesses in the Gortyn Laws*, in: *GRBS* 25, 1984, 345–49 argues convincingly that the witnesses did not testify only to procedural or contractual acts, but to the facts of the case as well, as two cases in the Code indicate. Both of these cases, however, do not involve *dromeis* as witnesses.

in the presence of two *dromeis eleutheroi* as witnesses should point him out (41–42); or else he has to pay what is written. iii 17–24 lays down the conditions for the widow with children to marry again if she so desires; her possessions comprise her own property and whatever else her husband may have given her according to what is written in the presence of three *dromeis eleutheroi* as witnesses (21–22); if she takes into possession anything that belongs to the children, that action constitutes a case for trial. v 9–54 regulates matters of inheritance, in case a man or woman dies, as regards real-estate and movable property; a long list is put forward of the potentially legitimate heirs who may decide to divide the inheritance, in which case three or more *dromeis eleutheroi* (53–54) are to witness the division of the property among them. Finally, vi 31–46 clarifies further matters of inheritance in case the mother dies and leaves behind children. In that case the father's control of the mother's property is managerial, i.e. he cannot sell or mortgage anything of that property, unless the children become *dromeis* (35–36: *δρομέες λόντες*) and consent.

All these references to *dromeis* in the Gortyn Code make clear that: a) they are the age-group immediately after the ephebes, and therefore may be considered as adult males; b) they have the right to claim and control their inheritance; c) their status, free or non-free, is not self-evident, otherwise the references to *dromeis eleutheroi* make no sense; as citizenship and freedom go hand-in-hand, so we must perforce admit the possibility that the *dromeis* do not represent in all instances all the adult male free citizens; and, since Aristotle's authorial statement excludes the slaves from military training, the members of the other social groups may very well have been *dromeis*; and d) even the free *dromeis* cannot be called citizens with full rights, as the cases for which they may be summoned as witnesses are very limited and involve by and large matters of inheritance, whose importance is underlined by the number of *dromeis* to be present as witnesses, two, three, and three or more. Not all witnesses, however, are specified as *dromeis*. There is a number of instances in the Code where witnesses are to be summoned, witnesses that are not otherwise specified, and therefore, we may assume, must be adult citizens with full rights.⁵⁰ There are even two exceptional instances. For cases of trading partnerships the Code specifies that the witnesses may be ephebes (ix 46:

⁵⁰) Pace KRISTENSEN who states (above n.48) 11: "What supports the assumption that a man had to be *dromeus* to be a head of a household is the fact that all witnesses in the Law Code must be *dromees*," witnesses, not specified as *dromeis*, appear in: i 14, 20, 21; ii 20, 28–29, 33; iii 46–47, 51, 55; iv 8; ix 33–34, 36, 39–40, 51–52; x 32; xi 26–27.

μαίτυρες ἐβίοντες), whereas in a case of divorce the man should make his denunciation in front of the woman, the judge and the *mnamon* in the presence of a witness who has been an adult for fifteen years or more, literally a witness that has been *dromeus* fifteen or more years ago (xi 53–55: ἀντὶ μ/αίτυρος πεντεκαιδεκαδρόμο / ἔπρεΐγονος). In her commentary *ad loc.* M. Guarducci has convincingly argued that the approximate age of this witness would be ca. thirty-five years, as may be deduced by the entry of Hesychius s.v. δεκάδρομοι and Plutarch's information that at Sparta citizenship with full rights and privileges was granted after the age of thirty.⁵¹ Further support for the twenty or so years of age as pivotal in a male's life is provided by an inscription from Eleutherna, where the males for military duty are those older than twenty and, according to Chaniotis, younger than sixty (IC II.12.22B₁₋₃: [- - - παρεχέσθω? / αὐ]τῶι τός κα λ[ῆι πλήν] / Φικατιετίας καὶ πρεσγή/[ιας]).⁵²

The *dromeis*, therefore, were regarded adult citizens, but with limited rights and privileges. By becoming a *dromeus* the Cretan was perhaps only entering adulthood that entailed certain privileges, mainly inheritance rights, but not yet full citizenship. It is as it were another transitional period of more training and 'political' preparation for which our evidence is lacking, except for the significant right of inheritance. This is further supported by the inscription of Spensithios whom the Datalais decreed to be their exclusive public *poinikastas* and *mnamon*.⁵³ The decree makes clear that this crucial activity is hereditary,⁵⁴ and Spensithios and his descendants and no one else are

⁵¹) IC IV.72 p.170: "cum voce πεντεκαιδεκάδρομος hic primum occurrente confer Hesychium, s.v. δεκάδρομοι: οἱ δέκα [ἔτη] ἐν τοῖς ἀνδράσι ἐσχηκότες, ὑπὸ Κρητῶν. Quanam vero aetas hac voce indicetur diiudicari nequit, cum, qua potissimum aetate et Gortynii et ceteri Cretenses δρομεῖς fierent, incertum sit (v. supra p.150); suspicari tamen possumus πεντεκαιδεκαδρόμους viros triginta quinque circiter annos natos fuisse. Huc autem Plutarchi locus (Lyc.25) referendus est, unde Spartanos, tricesimo demum aetatis anno expleto, omnibus civilibus iuribus fructos esse colligitur."

⁵²) The restorations are CHANIOTIS' (above n.24) 402 no.68, and 403–06 with the earlier bibliography; see also PETROPOULOU (above n.36) 126–27; and more recently PERLMAN (above n.5) 252–54.

⁵³) L.H. JEFFERY/A. MORPURGO-DAVIES, *POINIKASTAS and POINIKAZEIN: BM 1969.4–2.1, A New Archaic Inscription from Crete*, in: *Kadmos* 9, 1970, 118–154; and A.E. RAUBITSCHKEK, *The Cretan Inscription BM 1969.4–2.1: a Supplementary Note*, in: *Kadmos* 9, 1970, 155–56. For Spensithios' citizenship: C.E. GORLIN, *The Spensithios Decree and Archaic Cretan Civil Status*, in: *ZPE* 74, 1988, 159–65; for the Datalais and their city: D. VIVIERS, *La cité de Dattalla et l'expansion territoriale de Lyktos en Crète centrale*, in: *BCH* 118, 1994, 229–259.

⁵⁴) For the more general problems this text and the early legal documents raise see the more recent and important contributions with earlier bibliography: K.

expected to continue performing it (5–9), unless Spensithios himself, or the majority of his children as many as be *dromeis* voluntarily resign (9–10: ἡ γενιὰ [τ]ῶν ὅσοι δρομῆς εἶεν τῶν [υἱ]ῶν οἱ πλείες). Again, the term signifies the coming of age of Spensithios' descendants, the time when they would exercise their inheritance rights, as is the case in the Gortyn Code.

The status of the *dromeis* as a distinct social unit in Crete is further supported by their interesting activity that appears in treaty inscriptions between cities. One of the treaties' clauses with minor variations, as A. Chaniotis has recently shown with rewarding results, is a recurring formula in these texts.⁵⁵ The most helpful as the text is preserved almost intact is the treaty between Lato and Olous (IC I.16.5). After the terms of the treaty are spelled out, the mutual obligations for participation in the two cities' specific festivals are recorded (42–45): a *thiasos*, *dromeis*, and those in charge of the sacrifices are to be sent, in order to perform appropriately (44–45: καὶ θίασον ἀγόν[των] ἑκάτεροι καὶ δρομέας ἀπ[ροστελλ]όντων καὶ θυόντων [καὶ τᾶλλα κατὰ νομι]/ζόμενον).⁵⁶ The text of the other treaty between Knosos and Hierapytna (IC I.8.13) is fragmentary, but what is preserved is very similar to the mutual obligations for festival participation: a sacrifice is to be performed (7) and *dromeis* are to be sent (8).⁵⁷ Simi-

GALINSKY, *Early Greek Law*, Berkeley 1986, 81–141; K.-J. HÖLKESKAMP, *Arbitrators, Lawgivers and the 'Codification of Law' in Archaic Greece. Problems and Perspectives*, in: *Métis* 7, 1992, 49–81; R. THOMAS, *Written in Stone? Liberty, Equality, Orality and the Codification of Law*, in: *BICS* 40, 1995, 59–74; and H.-J. GEHRKE, *Gewalt und Gesetz. Die soziale und politische Ordnung Kretas in der archaischen und klassischen Zeit*, in: *Klio* 79, 1997, 23–68. Unfortunately, P.J. PERLMAN's, *Without Kings: Public Authority and Social Organization in Early Gortyn*, in: T. PALAIMA (ed.), *Kingship and the Organization of Power*, has not yet reached the Library of the University of Crete and I was unable to consult it.

⁵⁵ CHANIOTIS (above n.24) 126–130 with the bibliography.

⁵⁶ The restoration is certain, because yet another, the third copy of the Lyttos-Olous treaty (IC I.18.9 = IG II² 1135 = V. KONTORINI, *Rhodiaka* 1, Louvain-La-Neuve 1983, 31) that has been recently discovered in Chersonesos has the same formula with the pronoun ἑκάτεροι. I am deeply grateful to Prof. Ch. Kritzas who informed me per litteras about the appearance of the *dromeis* in the new unpublished text. A. Chaniotis informs me that his exempli gratia restoration (above n.24) 358–59 no.61 Kopie A₄₄, 361, 374: καὶ θίασον ἀγόν[των] χορὸς δὲ καὶ δρομέας ἀπ[ροστελλ]όντων κλπ., should now be changed accordingly, as well as the restoration in the treaty between Lyttos and Olous (352 no.60B_{13–14} Kopie A, 353, 357): [καὶ θίασον ἀγόντων ἑκάτεροι καὶ δρομέας ἀποστελλόντων καὶ] θυόντων [καὶ τᾶλλα κατὰ τὸ νομιζόμενον κλπ.], the third copy of which has been found in Chersonesos.

⁵⁷ CHANIOTIS' restoration in line 8 is highly probable (above n.24) 311 no.50: [- - - ἀποστελλόντων δὲ] δρομέας ἐξ Ἱεραπύτνας κλπ., which he explains in the commentary (p.313).

larly, in the treaty between Hierapytna and Praisos, albeit in different words, the two parties are required to (IC III.4.1B₆₈₋₇₈): χοροδ/ς δὲ καὶ δρόμος συνκοί/νος ἡμεν ἐκατέροις το/[ι]ς τε Ἱεραπυ/τνίοις ἐμ Π/ραίσωι καὶ τ/οῖς Πραισίο[ι/ς] ἐν Ἱερα[πύ/τ]ναι.⁵⁸ M. Guarducci in her commentary *ad loc.* explained the meaning of *dromos*: “choreas et cursus certamina utriusque urbis civibus communia esse statuitur. Ita enim vox δρόμος, qua in aliis titulis Creticis gymnasium indicatur, hoc loco intellegenda esse videtur” (emphasis mine).

And yet, there are no Cretan inscriptions to support Guarducci's statement that the term *dromos* in other Cretan inscriptions denotes the *gymnasium*. Two more instances where the word is found and its meaning is unquestionable because of the context actually endorse the meaning athletic event as in the previous inscription, and *not gymnasium*.⁵⁹ IC III.4.4 is an honorary decree for Ptolemy Euergetes and Berenice by the city of Itanos. To honor the king and the queen the Itanians institute a holy temenos, annual sacrifices and the organization of a *dromos* (καὶ δρόμον συντελέσοντι) to be held in their birthdays. The LSJ refers to this inscription as an example of *dromos* meaning *gymnasium* in Crete,⁶⁰ but in her commentary *ad loc.* Guarducci correctly rejects it, although she insists that it is another exception to the normal meaning of the term *dromos* in Crete:

“ad aram, in fano scilicet exstructam, pro rege Ptolemaeo eiusque uxoris sacrificium die regis natali Itaniis faciendum cursuque certandum est; ita enim verba καὶ δρόμον συντελέσοντι intellegenda esse videntur, cum hic vox δρόμος neque, ut in Creta solet, gymnasium neque in universum locum cursibus destinatum indicet” (emphasis mine).

⁵⁸) See also CHANIOTIS (above n.24) 185–86 no.5, 189. Two more fragmentary treaty-inscriptions indicate the presence of either *dromeis* or *dromos* for which Chaniotis proposes the following plausible restorations (246 no.27 lines 41–42, 248, 252 = IC IV.174₄₁₋₄₂): [- - -ἐξορκιξάτω / τὸ]ς τούτων δρομ[έας] ὁ ἐν τῶ[ι - - -], although the verb is usually found with the members of the *agela* and not the *dromeis*; and 221 no.15 line 7, 222 = IC II.5.20B₇: [- - -]N νέμηι· ἐπὶ δρόμ[ος] δὲ - - -].

⁵⁹) A third inscription from Eleutherna, published by G. MANGANARO, *Nuove iscrizioni della Creta centrale ed orientale*, in: RAL Ser. 8, 20, 1965, 303 fig.10, reads from right to left in line 3: [--]ν δρόμο F[--]. The fragmentary state of the text makes impossible the meaning of the term, although BILE (above n.41) 344 in her discussion of *apodromos* is inclined: “Ils se comprennent à partir du sens crétois du subst. δρομος (no.32 l. 3) «gymnase»”. If one were to hazard a guess in light of the evidence, then the meaning of the term would in all probability be athletic event(s).

⁶⁰) The lemma in LSJ s.v. δρόμος II 3 reads: “in Crete = γυμνάσιον, Suid., cf. SIG 463.14 (Itanos iii B.C.)”

The term is also found in a proxeny decree of the *kosmoi* and the city of Malla in honor of the judges they requested from and were sent by Knosos and Lyttos (IC I.19.3A₃₉₋₄₃): among the honors conferred, the *kosmoi* are required to organize and celebrate annually at the sixth of the month Bakinthios a festival and a *dromos* and also assemble the *hetaireiai*.⁶¹

During all these festivals proper sacrifices to the gods were offered, some kind of performances were presented, as the words *thiasos* and *choros* that are employed interchangeably but exclusively indicate, and military/athletic competitions were organized, as the presence of *dromos/dromeis* implies. What these events were is never specified in detail, and in all probability deliberately so, as may be surmised from Ephoros' use of the same expression, when he describes the honors accorded the *eromenoi* in a city (apud Strabo 10.4.21): ἔχουσι δὲ τιμὰς οἱ παρασταθέντες (οὕτω γὰρ καλοῦσι τοὺς ἀρπαγέοντας): ἐν τε γὰρ τοῖς χοροῖς καὶ τοῖς δρόμοις ἔχουσι τὰς ἐντιμοτάτας χώρας, κλπ. (see also Plato, *Laws* 828c below). This phrase apparently is nothing more than a general reference to the festive occasions in each city, its holidays, during which festivals with dancing (*choroi*) and athletic (*dromoi*) competitions were performed; but, as neither the festivals nor perhaps the competitions were uniform from city to city throughout the island, the reference to them, either in literary or in epigraphical documents, had to be general enough so as to cover all cases.⁶²

What emerges so far from the study of the Cretan inscriptions where the terms *dromos* and *dromeus* occur does not corroborate the commonly held view that *dromos* in Crete meant the *gymnasium*, a view that is based on a literal, technical translation of the first sentence of *Suda*'s entry. In fact, the inscriptions clearly show that the meaning *gymnasium* would be the exception and *not* the normal understanding of the term in Crete. *Dromos* denotes either the specific athletic event or running events, whereas, in the cases that *dromeis* are referred to, athletic/military exercises or competitions. This is in perfect accord with the passage from Plato's *Laws* quoted above and, if accepted, renders the scholium in *Suda*'s entry concerning Orestes' competition pertinent, as it explicates *dromos* and implicitly what the author meant by the term *gymnasia*, i.e. exercises, contests, athletic competitions. Was it always a *dromos*-event whenever *dromeis* are re-

⁶¹) IC I.19.3A₃₉₋₄₃: ἄγεν δὲ καὶ εὐάμερον τὸς κόσμος τὸς [ἀεὶ κοσ]/ μίοντας κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τῷ ἔκται τῷ Βακ[ινθίῳ] / μηνὸς καὶ δρόμον καὶ τὰς ἐταιρήας συνάγεν].

⁶²) See in particular PERLMAN's cogent arguments (above n.37) 193–205.

ferred to in inscriptions? Or vice-versa, whenever *dromos* occurs in the texts, must the conclusion be that only *dromeis* were allowed to participate? These and related questions cannot be addressed definitively. What is important, as far as the treaty documents are concerned, is that this exchange of *dromeis* and the organization of running competitions during the specified festivals was obligatory for the yearly ratification of the terms of the treaty by the parties.⁶³ In that respect, the *dromeis*, as the younger citizens, not present formally at the 'signing-in' of the treaty and representing each city's future, are offered a solemn and formal opportunity every year, during which their participation together with that of the *thiasoi* and sacrificers celebrates and renews the treaty's terms and puts into effect the agreement in concrete ways.

In relation to this activity of the *dromeis* the presence of proper names and epithets should be noted that underscores the *dromeis*' importance in Cretan society. The proper name *Δρομεύς* is so far attested in three western cities: Lissos,⁶⁴ Kydonia,⁶⁵ and Elyros;⁶⁶ in Priansos a month was named *Δρομήιος* (IC III.3.4), and in Polyrrenia a cult in honor of 'Ερμῆς Δρόμιος was celebrated (IC II.23.10). As the months' names are usually related to major festivals that take place

⁶³) P.J. PERLMAN, 'Invocatio' and 'Imprecatio': the Hymn to the Greatest Kouros from Palaikastro and the Oath in Ancient Crete, in: JHS 115, 1995, 161–67, 165–67 has convincingly argued for the similarities in language between the treaty documents and the Hymn to the Greatest Kouros, and for the Hymn's performance during the same or similar ritual occasions when the treaties' oath was administered; see also CHANIOTIS (above n.24) 126–130.

⁶⁴) IC II.17.2: *Δρομεύς Φράσ/ωνος*.

⁶⁵) S. MARKOULAKI/V. NINIΟΥ-KINDELI, 'Ελληνιστικός οἰκογενειακός τάφος στὰ Χανιά, in: *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Ε' Διεθνoῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, Iraklio 1985, 216–26, and in more detail in: ADelt 37, 1982 [1990], 7–118, 27–40 with plates and drawings, report the excavation of a large family tomb of Hellenistic times in Chania, ancient Kydonia, which comprised nine burial chambers (four on each long side of the corridor and one opposite the main entrance, all of which are numbered alphabetically from right to left). Above the entrances to each chamber the names of the persons buried inside were painted with carbon, except two, chambers E and Z where the names were incised: *Δρομεύς Σωμβρότου* is the third name above the entrance of chamber A, in which five members of Sombrotos' family were buried; *Δρομεύς Σωσικλέους* and *Σωσικλῆς Δρομέως ὄρειφάτας* belong to chambers I and Γ respectively. See also *Bull.épigra.* 1991, 466 no.209, and SEG 40.776; for these names see: P.M. FRASER/E. MATTHEWS, (eds.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol.1: *The Aegean Islands, Cyprus, Cyrenaica*, Oxford 1987; and the addenda and corrigenda by A. CHANIOTIS, *Some More Cretan Names*, in: ZPE 77, 1989, 67–81, 67 n.3.

⁶⁶) MARKOULAKI/NINIΟΥ-KINDELI (above n.65) 219 n.17 refer to an unpublished inscription from Elyros (Chania Museum Inv.No.E 91) that also bears the name *Δρομεύς*.

during their days, it is conceivable that the name of the month probably originated from a festival *Δρομήια*.⁶⁷ This need not be another rite of passage ritual, analogous to the *Ekdusia* of Phaistos,⁶⁸ as has been tentatively proposed and unanimously accepted,⁶⁹ since the *dromeis* are already adult males beyond the *ephebeia*; unless of course another ritual for full citizenship is envisaged.⁷⁰ Unattested so far epigraphically, the *Dromeia* festival may have been associated with Hermes *Dromios*, and perhaps also with Apollo *Dromaios* to whom the Lacedaimonians and the Cretans sacrificed, as Plutarch relates in his discussion of this god's various epithets (*Mor.* 724b–c):

... φίλαθλος ἄλλος <καὶ> φιλόνομος ἡμῖν ὁ θεός, αὐτὸς μὲν καθαρίσει καὶ ὠδῆ καὶ βολαῖς δίσκων, ὡς δ' ἔνιοί φασι, καὶ πυγμαῖ, ἀμιλλώμενος ... καὶ μὴν οὐδ' Ἀθηναίους εἰκός ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνι καθιερωῖσαι τὸ γυμνάσιον ἀλόγως καὶ αὐτομάτως, ἀλλὰ παρ' οὗ τὴν ὑγίειαν ἔχομεν θεοῦ, τοῦτον εὐεξίαν τε διδόναι καὶ ῥώμην ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ὄντο. κούφων δὲ καὶ βαρέων ἀγωνισμάτων ὄντων, πύκτη μὲν Ἀπόλλωνι Δελφούς, δρομαίω δὲ Κρήτας ἱστοροῦσι θύειν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους.

⁶⁷) This festival was first suggested by J. BRAUSE, *ΓΟΡΤΥΝΙΩΝ ΟΡΚΟΣ ΝΟΜΙΜΟΣ*, in: *Hermes* 49, 1914, 105–06; see also below notes 68–72.

⁶⁸) GUARDUCCI IC I.24 (Priansos Praefatio, p.280) tentatively proposed the association of the *Dromeia* with the *Ekdusia* of Phaistos (Antoninus Liberalis 17.6) for which see: D.V. LAMBRINOUDAKIS, *Τὰ Ἐκδύσια τῆς Φαιστοῦ*, in: *AΕphem* 1972, 99–112; WILLETTS, *Aristocratic* (above n.41) 122–23, *id.*, *Cretan Cults* (above n.41) 200–02, 206, 289, 305–07; LEITAO (above n.47) 130–63.

⁶⁹) WILLETTS, *Cretan Cults* (above n.41) 201 makes a strong case for the *Dromeia* as a rite of passage, because the verb *ἐγδραμεῖν* is employed in IC I.16.5_{20–21} referring to the members of the *agelai* that are to be sworn by the *kosmoi* during the Thiodaisia festival. See also LEITAO (above n.47) 131–36; PERLMAN (above n.63) 166–67 and CHANIOTIS (above n.24) 125–26. Interestingly, however, in the ephebic oath from Dreros IC I.9.1_{98–100} the *agelaioi* are *ἐγδύομενοι*, and in IC I.19.1_{16–18} the oath should be administered surprisingly enough to the *ἀγέλαν ἐσδνομέναν*.

⁷⁰) It is not unlikely that the *Dromeia* may have been analogous to the Spartan *Karneia* that included the *dromos* of the *staphylodromoi*, i.e. an initiation in or graduation from the third stage of a Cretan male's upbringing. In a stimulating discussion M. PETERSSON, *Cults of Apollo at Sparta. The Hyakinthia, the Gymnopaideiai and the Karneia*, Stockholm 1992, 57–72 and *passim*, has proposed that these three festivals at Sparta represented the three stages of the Spartan male's education. Interestingly, three inscriptions from Sparta, albeit of Roman times, mention a priest and two priestesses *Καρνέλου Δρομαίου* (IG V.1.497₁₃, 589_{7–8}, 608₃), and it is tempting to view this Apollo *Dromaios* in relation to the Spartan *Dromos* for which see below n.85, and of course the Cretan *dromeis* and Hermes *Dromios* for whom see below n.72.

That Apollo *Dromaios* may have been present in Crete as well should not be definitively ruled out because of lack of other evidence,⁷¹ especially in light of Plutarch's explanation that the god's epithets were invented after what the local people considered as their most important activities, in Crete archery and the *dromos*. Apollo *Dromaios* and Hermes *Dromios* and their cults and festivals would make perfect sense as the most befitting patron-deities for the *dromeis*: Apollo the divine archer/runner and Hermes the transitional/liminal deity and divine communications-officer par excellence.⁷² After all, Crete could claim that archery and *dromos* had a very long tradition that went as far back in time as the heroic age: Talos, the hero that every day was running around the island three times as its protector and guardian of the law (*νομοφύλαξ*);⁷³ Minos' son, young Androgeos who went from Knosos to Athens and became popular because of his athletic victories;⁷⁴ and Idomeneus and Meriones, of whom the latter, being the younger is awarded by the poet of the *Iliad* the Achillean epithet swift of foot with the necessary change in the formula (13.249: *πόδας ταχύ*),⁷⁵ wins the archery contest by defeating the far superior in the

⁷¹) WILLETTTS, *Cretan Cults* (above n.41) 264–65 rules out the possibility for the existence of Apollo *Dromaios* in Crete and instead favors the association of the epithet with Hermes "... as patron of the *epheboi* who exercised in the *gymnasium*, which the Cretans called *dromos*" (289), although, according to his and the opinion communis, access to the *gymnasium* was restricted to adult male citizens. Cf. M.H. SWINDLER, *Cretan Elements in the Cults and Ritual of Apollo*, Bryn Mawr 1913, 43–44; CHANIOTIS (above n.24) 128 with n.786; and the previous discussion with notes 41, 47 and 70.

⁷²) Diodorus (5.74.5) relates that Apollo, the inventor of the bow, taught the Cretans its use, whence their excellence in archery. For an interesting association of Apollo with the Minoan *Paiawon* see: G. HUXLEY, *Cretan Paiawones*, in: GRBS 16, 1975, 119–24. Archaeological evidence, however, indicate that the Cretan Hermes antedated Apollo and was portrayed as both an ephebe and an archer for which see LEBESSI (above n.36) 151. It seems that the Cretan Hermes was endowed with all the characteristics the rest of Greece ascribed to Olympian Apollo, and Hermes' invention of the lyre in his *Homeric Hymn* may also be an allusion to his predating Apollo. The Panhellenic agenda for the Olympian order in the pair's *Homeric Hymns* is convincingly argued by J.S. CLAY, *The Politics of Olympus*, Princeton 1989, 17–151.

⁷³) Apoll.Rh.4.1636–88; Apollodorus, *Bibl.*1.140.

⁷⁴) As one of the versions (Diodorus 4.60.4) about Androgeos' trip to Athens relates.

⁷⁵) The *πόδας ώχύς* formula is reserved almost exclusively for Achilles and far behind in the second place for the goddess Iris. In addition to Meriones, swiftfooted (*πόδας ταχύς*) are called, each only once, Aineias (13.482), the hare in the simile where Menelaos is likened to an eagle (17.676), and Antilochos (18.2). For this formula in the *Iliad* see the recent discussion by R. DUNKLE, *Swift-Footed Achilles*, in: *ClW* 90, 1997, 227–34 with earlier bibliography.

bow Teucer (23.850–83) and is second to Agamemnon in the javelin-throw (23.884–97). Interestingly, when Achilles is no longer the dominating hero and Odysseus is performing one of his Cretan tales, the poet of the *Odyssey* attributes the Achillean formula ‘swift of foot’ to the son of Idomeneus Orsilochos who surpassed in swiftness all Cretans.⁷⁶

Finally, a recently published document from Eleutherna that refers to *dromeis* reads:⁷⁷

μὴ ἰνπίνεν· Α.
 .ΜΕ δρομέαν-
 ς Δίον Ἄκρον, σ-
 υνινπίνοντα
 5 πίνεν.
 ἰαρέα δὲ μή· αἰ δ’
 ἰαρόFFοι τῶι θ-
 ἰῶι, ΑΙΜ..Ι τεκν-
 [ό]Fσεν ἀρκαῖ-
 10 ὄν ἐστι ὄσσι[ς]
 [...]τῆρας τε[.]
 [...]μηι[.ca. 6..]
 [- - - - -].

The *dromeis* and the *hiereus* are here singled out in a prohibition law concerning inebriation (ἐμπίνειν),⁷⁸ a unique distinction by itself. Unfortunately, the stone is damaged in the places most crucial for understanding the prohibition and its logic (1–2, 9–10), and restorations do

⁷⁶ *Od.*13.259–61: φεύγω, ἐπεὶ φίλον νῆα κατέκτανον Ἴδομενῆος, / Ὀρσίλοχον πόδας ὠκύν, ὅς ἐν Κρήτῃ εὐρείῃ / ἀνέρας ἀλφηστὰς νῆα ταχέεσσι πόδεσσιν. For the relation of Crete and running in historical times see above n.24 and below n.88.

⁷⁷ H. van EFFENTERRE, *Loi archaïque sur l'excès de boisson*, in: H. van EFFENTERRE/Th. KALPAXIS/A.B. PETROPOULOU/E. STAVRIANOPOULOU, *Ελεύθερνα, Τομέας II: 1. Επιγραφές από το Πυργί και το Νησί*, Rethymno 1991, 17–21, pl.1. van Effenterre's reading of lines 1–3: μὴ ἰνπίνεν· α[./.]μέ(ν) δρομέα (ι)ς/ς κλπ. presupposes two omissions on the part of the cutter, which is highly unlikely especially if this is the beginning of a new paragraph. For their permission to study this inscription I am indebted to the excavator Prof. Th. Kalpaxis, and Ms. M. Andreadaki-Vlazaki in charge of the 25th Ephoreia; to the archaeologist Ms. Eva Tegou and the staff of the Rethymnon Museum for their valuable assistance; and for their unfailing efforts to Mr. G. Motakis, Ms. Stavroula Oikonomou and Ms. Niki Spanou.

⁷⁸ For the Cretan wine see: A. CHANIOTIS, *Vinum Creticum excellens: Zum Weinhandel Kretas*, in: *MBAH* 7.1, 1988, 62–89; and now A. MARANGOU-LERAT, *Le vin et les amphores de Crète de l'époque classique à l'époque impériale*, Paris 1995.

not seem satisfactory. In light of the discussion so far, however, about the *dromeis*, it looks plausible to suggest that the first paragraph represents a special case for those *dromeis* at Eleutherna's fort(?), the Dion Akron, if the reading in line 3 is correct:⁷⁹ either an exception to the general prohibition, as seems to be the case from lines 6 and on, where the special circumstances of the time when the priest is offering the sacrifice are described; or a more rigorous prohibition. H. van Effenterre in his commentary appropriately called attention to the Spartan and Cretan *syssitia* as the frame of reference that may provide information about this text. Plato's *Laws* (639d–640a and 673e–674c), Dosiadas' *Kretika* and Pyrgion's *Kretika Nomima* both apud Athenaios (4.22) are the major texts that refer extensively to the communal messes and the regulations that governed them.⁸⁰ They relate that the young members' drinking was restricted. Moreover, Plato proposes as an inducement for dancing and singing very strict legislation against inebriation (666a–b): no wine for the youth until they are eighteen-years-old who form the Muses' children choir (664b–c); then moderate drinking until the age of thirty for the members of the young men's choir (664c); and finally license to freely drink for those between thirty- and sixty-years-old (later in 666b only for the men above the age of forty) who comprise the men's choir and because of their age would exercise self-restraint anyway.⁸¹

Not only Plato's age-divisions for drinking, but also his proposals for the education of the citizens approximate in an astonishing way and shed light on the epigraphical testimony about the *dromeis*. In the *Laws* there is extensive discussion about the special care for training and exercising, gymnastics as is usually the translation of the term

⁷⁹) For Dion Akron see van EFFENTERRE (above n.77) 17–21; and N.Ch. STAMPOLIDIS, *Ελεύθερνα, Τομέας III: 1. Γεωμετρικά – αρχαϊκά χρόνια και Οδηγός στην Έκθεση "Το γεωμετρικό-αρχαϊκό νεκροταφείο της Ορθής Πέτρας"*, Rethymno 1993, 50–52; ID. *Ελεύθερνα. Από τη γεωμετρική και αρχαϊκή νεκρόπολη. Ταφικές πυρές και ομηρικά έπη*, Rethymno 1994, 154–55.

⁸⁰) For the Cretan historians see: A. STRATARIDAKI, *The Historians of Ancient Crete: a Study in Regional Historiography*, Diss., Davis 1988; EAD., in: *KretChron* 28–29, 1988–89, 137–93; and especially PERLMAN (above n.37).

⁸¹) G.R. MORROW, *Plato's Cretan City. A Historical Interpretation of the Laws, with a New Foreword by C.H. KAHN*, Princeton 1993, 318 is probably correct in understanding the differences in the age limits proposed not as evidence "of uncertainty or confusion in Plato's mind, but rather of the exploratory character of the inquiry." Expectedly, Plato and the later writers on Crete were primarily interested to present a cogent and coherent account of the Cretan political and social system, as PERLMAN (above n.37) has demonstrated conclusively.

γυμνάσια and its cognates, and the institution of festivals.⁸² Plato proposes the institution of proper sacrifices, festivals and competitions (828c: χορούς τε καὶ ἀγῶνας μουσικούς, τοὺς δὲ γυμνικούς κατὰ τὸ πρέπον προσνέμοντας τοῖς θεοῖς τε αὐτοῖς ἅμα καὶ ταῖς ὥραις ἐκάσταις), all of which are targeted toward one very specific goal, the never-ending preparedness of the state for war (829a–b: τὸν πόλεμον ἐκάστοις γυμναστέον). Therefore, the physical fitness and the particular skills his educational program requires (832e: ἔστι γοῦν πάντων πολεμικώτατον ἢ σώματος ὀξύτης πάντως, ἢ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ποδῶν, ἢ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν) necessitates certain athletic competitions which for Plato constitute war-conditions in time of peace. For, in principle, Plato rejects athletic competitions for their own sake, because they lead unmistakably to professionalism that by his time was evident in the major Panhellenic contests (829–834d).⁸³ Towards that end the gymnic games are divided into the events that will exercise and enhance the participants' speed and body-strength for hand-to-hand fighting. Hence the running events that are a variety of the oldest one, the *dromos* (832c–833d; see also Ephoros apud Strabo 10.4.16, 18, 20).

The examination of the evidence indicates that in Crete *dromos* is an 'institution' or better a Cretan way of life that seems analogous to the Athenian *ephebeia* and the Spartan *agoge*. At Athens military training lasted two years during which the ephebes lived in barracks and their duties included the manning of Attica's forts and participation in the games at the festivals.⁸⁴ What happened to those young Athenians after they passed the *ephebeia* is not known. At Doric Spar-

⁸² In Plato's *Laws* the term γυμνάσια and its cognates seldom refer to the *gymnasium*; the usually expected meaning is 'exercises, training', as PANAGOPOULOS (above n.38) 95 has suggested, although he repeats the *opinio communis* that in Crete the place for athletic exercises was not called *gymnasion*, but *dromos* (see further below n.88). For the evidence on war festivals see: W. KENDRICK PRITCHETT, *The Greek State at War*, Part III, Berkeley 1979, 154–229.

⁸³ See also *Laws* 794c, 796a, 804c, 813d–e, and MORROW (above n.81) 377–389.

⁸⁴ The evidence clearly shows a new approach towards the ephebic institution in the years 334/3 and 333/2 B.C. and, as for so many other initiatives during this period, Lykourgos was certainly instrumental, for whom see the excellent summary of S.V. TRACY, *Athenian Democracy in Transition. Attic Letter-Cutters of 340 to 290 B.C.*, Berkeley 1995, 7–22. It is not inconceivable that the Athenian statesman may have been influenced by the educational debates of his time, most notably between Isocrates and Plato, and the work of Aristotle (*Athenaion Politeia* 42 is the description of the ephebic institution). For the Athenian *ephebeia* in general see: Ch. PÉLÉKIDIS, *Histoire de l'éphébie attique des origines à 31 avant J.-C.*, Paris 1962; and O.W. REINMUTH, *The Ephebic Inscriptions of the Fourth Century B.C.*, Leiden 1971, 123–138.

ta things were quite different. The social organization of males into *paidēs*, *paidiskoi* and *hebontes*, i.e. males before puberty, ephes and young adults, certainly indicates an additional age-group before full citizenship rights could be conferred above the age of thirty.⁸⁵ These age-groups would more readily correspond to the Cretan age-division noted in the Gortyn Code *anoros*, *apodromos/hebion* and *dromeus*. In Crete once the young Cretans passed the *ephebeia*, the *agela*, they became adult citizens and eligible for military service, as the inscriptions from Eleutherna suggest, but until the age of about thirty they were considered *young* or *younger* members of the citizenry, the age the evidence indicates as most appropriate for the *dromeis*. Thus, it is no surprise that the *Suda* definition on *hemerodromoi*, quoted above, looks as if a description of the Cretan *dromeis*: young citizens, armed with weapons most appropriate for marching, who in order to become full citizens had to await perhaps as in Sparta ten more years, as is implied by Hesychius' gloss on *δεκάδρομοι*: οἱ δέκα [ἔτη] ἐν τοῖς ἀνδράσι ἐσχηκότες, ὑπὸ Κρητῶν.

The inscriptions concerning the *dromeis* suggest further that within Cretan society they were a distinct body of young adult males, not yet fully incorporated into the political citizen-body. Their rights and privileges were limited mainly to matters of inheritance and included participation in festivals during which among other things they entered into contests, especially the *dromos*. The inscriptions from Eleutherna may imply a more specific military duty of the *dromeis*, i.e.

⁸⁵) The ancient sources are overwhelming about the Cretan laws and institutions being earlier than the Spartan ones; see PANAGOPOULOS (above n.38) 134–36, 162–65, and especially PERLMAN (above n.37). Be that as it may, Crete and Sparta, both Doric states present points of comparison that illuminate and complement each other's customs. S. HODKINSON, *Social Order and the Conflict of Values in Classical Sparta*, in: *Chiron* 13, 1983, 239–281 has concluded: "The evidence suggests that most young Spartans, however successful they may have been, would have had to wait some years after the end of the upbringing at age 30 before they gained a major post or command" (251 and n.28). At Sparta, there is another age group the *σφαιρεῖς* about whom Pausanias relates (3.14.6): *καλοῦσι δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Δρόμον, ἔνθα τοῖς νέοις καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἔτι δρόμου μελέτη κατέστηκεν. ...: ἔστι δὲ ἄγαλμα Ἡρακλέους, ὡς θύουσιν οἱ σφαιρεῖς οἱ δὲ εἰσιν <οἱ> ἐκ τῶν ἐφήβων ἐς ἄνδρας ἀρχόμενοι συντελεῖν. πεποίηται δὲ καὶ γυμνάσια ἐν τῷ Δρόμῳ, ...* According to WILLETTS, *Aristocratic* (above n.41) 12–13, "the most likely interpretation is that the term *sphaireis* in Sparta referred to a definite age-group, from twenty-four to thirty. Certainly some limitation appears to be implied. But this is not the case with *dromeus*. The term is general, just as *apodromos* seems to be general." Cf., however, for the Spartan age-classes the extensive discussion by PETERSSON (above n.70) 73–90; and LEITAO (above n.47) 146, who accepts a third and final stage of upbringing in the life of a Cretan male that "may have lasted several years."

their being in charge of military communications and in some way related with the forts.⁸⁶ The manning of the forts was a duty primarily reserved for the Cretan ephebes, as the Drierian ephebic oath inscription affirms (IC I.9.1), but perhaps some of the *dromeis*, now young adults may have been involved, as at Sparta, in the ephebic training. Consequently, the training of the young citizens did not end with 'graduation' from the *agela*, but continued for a number of years. During that period these young Cretan citizens would gain in experience by constant exercise and training (*γυμνάσια*). O.W. Reinmuth correctly insisted on repeating for the Athenian *ephebeia* that "whatever else it accomplished for its members beyond military training was incidental,"⁸⁷ a statement all the more true for the Cretan *dromeis* and their appearance in athletic contests.⁸⁸ This never-ending and demanding exercise is confirmed by the excavations of the Necropolis at Eleutherna, where the anthropological data clearly show the Eleuthernaians to have been extremely strong in the lower parts of their legs.⁸⁹ The primary function, however, of this continuous training was military preparedness and only incidentally athletic excellence, until probably the young adult Cretans would reach their fourth decade, by which time they would be experienced enough militarily as well as politically to assume a leading role in their city.

⁸⁶) See above n.79.

⁸⁷) REINMUTH (above n.84) 136.

⁸⁸) The evidence for the origins of Greek athletics point to the East, in particular Egypt and Anatolia, but also to Crete where 'athletic' activity is displayed in the frescoes of bull-leaping and the rhyton from Hagia Triada where boxers (associated with the famous Theran fresco), wrestlers and perhaps bull-leaping are depicted; see: H.V. HARRIS, *Greek Athletes and Athletics*, London 1964, 33–34; C. RENFREW, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Origins of the Panhellenic Games*, in: W.J. RASCHKE, (ed.), *The Archaeology of the Olympics*, Madison 1988, 13–25; J. PUHVEL, *Hittite Athletics as Prefigurations of Ancient Greek Games*, *ibid.*, 26–31; and more recently, W. DECKER, *Sport in der griechischen Antike. Vom minoischen Wettkampf bis zu den Olympischen Spielen*, München 1995, 15–21. For Cretan athletes see CHANTOTIS (above n.24). What is astonishing for Crete is that stadia are virtually non-existent in the archaeological record, perhaps because they did not need them after all, and the topography did not favor such constructions. The games may have taken place in makeshift stadia, as Xenophon's troops did when they reached Trapezous (see the discussion above).

⁸⁹) This by no means implies that at Eleutherna the inhabitants were professional 'runners'; they developed strong feet of necessity, as they adapted themselves to the hilly terrain, a site typical throughout Crete. I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to the excavator Professor N.Ch. STAMPOLIDIS for sharing, in advance of publication of his book entitled *Idaeoi*, this information about the skeletal remains found in the Eleutherna Necropolis.

And yet, this prolonged period of citizenship with limited rights and privileges in the Cretan adult's life seems not to have been always well regulated and controlled, at least in Gortyn. During the Lyttian War of 221–219 B.C., whose events are narrated in some detail by Polybios (4.53–55), and in which almost all the cities of the island were involved, a unique throughout the island event took place in Gortyn: in the beginning of the war the Gortynians sided with the Knosians, but later the most turbulent period of civil strife broke out, as the citizens were divided into two parties, the *πρεσβύτεροι* supporting the Knosians and the *νεώτεροι* or *νέοι* the Lyttians (Polybios 4.53.6–8). With this latter party of *neoteroi* the term *νεότας* has been associated, which occurs in three inscriptions from Gortyn, dated in the second half of the third century B.C. Of the three only one is preserved almost complete,⁹⁰ IC IV 162: a decree of a Gortynian Assembly of 300 by which they order the use of bronze money and forbid acceptance of silver obols in transactions, stipulating a penalty of five silver staters for those violating the prohibition (lines 1–7). The decree continues with two more provisions: the officials who are to judge the cases of infringement (lines 7–10: *πέυθεν δὲ / πορτὶ τὰν νεότα, τᾶς δὲ νεότας ὁμν/ύντες κρινόντων οἱ ἐπτὰ κατ' ἀγοράν, / οἱ κα λάχωντι κλαρώμενοι*); and the procedure they are to follow in reaching a decision and in the payment of the penalty (lines 10–13). As has been suggested by Guarducci *ad loc.* and unanimously accepted, *ἄ νεότας* (*νεότης*) should be related with those members of the Gortynian society that formed the party of *νεώτεροι* that Polybios mentions apropos the Lyttian War, that is the ephebes and the *dromeis*, all the younger citizens in Gortyn with limited rights.

These two pieces of evidence lend further support for the *dromeis*' status in Cretan society. It should not be a surprise that the *neotas* is put in charge of agoranomic matters in the city; for, it is in perfect accord with the Gortyn Law Code and the Spensithios inscription, where one of the few privileges and rights accorded to both ephebes and *dromeis* are those involving economic matters, i.e. inheritance rights or trading-partnerships. More importantly, however, it appears that this Gortynian body of *neoteroi*, all the young adult males of the city, had extremely limited, if any, political rights. These young citizens-

⁹⁰ I am indebted to A. Chaniotis for drawing my attention to this inscription; for extensive discussions of this Gortynian incident see in particular: WILLETTS, *Aristocratic* (above n.41) 164–65, 187–191; and PETROPOULOU (above n.36) 108–09. The other two inscriptions are fragmentary and therefore of little help: IC IV 163_ε: [.]λι. αἱ δ' ἄ νεότας μῆ [- -], and in line 8 the *kosmoi* are mentioned; and IC IV 164, reads [- -] νεοτατεύοντα μῆ εν[- -]. For these *hapax legomena* in the Cretan dialect see BILE (above n.41) 150 note 311, 177 and 340–41.

to-be, who were obliged to serve in the army and were primarily the ones who fought the war, were not involved in the decision-making-process of the city, as the treaty-documents, discussed earlier, also imply, since the *neoteroi* were not present in the official ratification. During the Lyttian War the revolt of the *neoteroi* against the decision of the *presbyteroi* to continue supporting the Knosians against Lyttos brings to the foreground and accentuates in a dramatic way the tensions that must have existed between the two bodies of older citizens and younger citizens-to-be not only in Gortyn, but in other cities as well. This unique incident in the Cretan historical record is perhaps an exceptional case that presents an attempt at forcing a decision on the *presbyteroi* and thus at achieving political power by force. Nonetheless, the extreme reaction of the *neoteroi* in Gortyn is an undeniable indication that their opinion and interests were not taken into consideration, not even when decisions about the future of the city and their lives were at stake. The *neotas*, that is the ephebes, the *dromeis*, all the young adults, although active within the city, did not acquire full citizenship status, until they were well into their fourth decade, during which time real political power and clout were out of their reach and into the hands of the governmental bodies from which they were excluded.

The present state of the evidence inevitably leaves important questions about the *dromeis* unanswered: how widespread throughout the island were they, i.e. was it a Cretan institution; who were the non-free *dromeis* that must have existed; were all the citizens required to become *dromeis*, or only a number of them, and if so what were the criteria; was it a special military unit constantly on duty call,⁹¹ or a paramilitary auxiliary force in charge of communications?

The epigraphic record of Crete on *dromeis* and Plato's *Laws* on drinking, dancing and music performances, and gymnastics complement each other in such a way as to create a picture that does not seem to be far removed from what was actually taking place on the island. The geographical landscape and the demanding topography of Crete were chiefly responsible for the expertise of Cretan archers whose renown was evident from the fourth century onwards (*Suda* letter *iota* 538: *τοξόται δὲ καὶ τὰ κουφότερα τῶν ὀπλῶν ἐν Ἰνδία καὶ Κρήτῃ καὶ Καρία*). The other Cretan expertise, less known, but evident in

⁹¹) PRITCHETT (above n.43) 221–24 where he discusses “selected corps of citizen troops”. The fact that these corps may have been ‘light armed’ does not necessarily imply second rank troops, as FOULON (above n.29) has convincingly explained.

the very term *dromeus*, was running and what that skill entailed for the continuous military preparedness of the Cretan states.⁹²

Conclusion

Philonides the son of Zoitos from the Cretan city of Chersonesos, Alexander's *hemerodromos* and *bematistes* of Asia must have been, perhaps together with Nearchus from the Cretan city of Lato, instrumental for the formation of the military unit of *bematistai* under Alexander, the ancient equivalent of today's military communications: the unit in charge of measuring and surveying distances, some of them being perhaps entirely new routes, that the *hemerodromoi* would first traverse. The *hemerodromoi* were not easy to find, because the skills and experience this activity required were very demanding. Expectedly and if need be, they served in the lightly armed units of archers, slingers or javelin-throwers – a fact that may account for their absence from the sources apart from the two exceptional cases. Philippides from Athens and the Cretan Philonides from Chersonesos developed their skills and reached high standards so as not to be forgotten by the historian as unimportant for the record. Crete with its austere, military-based organization was famous mainly for its lightly armed fighters, the Cretan archers that were in great demand from the fourth century B.C. onwards. The evidence clearly suggests that *dromos*, 'running' and *not* the *gymnasium*, was the other, if less well known, hallmark, intrinsic to the island's geography and its inhabitants. The Cretans, mainly because of the landscape, searched for the most suitable to the land training which they pursued and encouraged in many ways. Their indispensable expertise in archery and light weaponry was as noteworthy as was their physical endurance and constant training in 'running'. Perhaps among the nameless Cretan archers the historians recorded much more often, they were also those Cretans that at the same time could offer their services as *hemerodromoi*, couriers and sentries in the army, or if presented with the opportunity, they would participate in athletic competitions, preferably the running events, and show their extraordinary abilities. In his homeland, where probably he

⁹² In his commentary on Plato's *Laws* MORROW (above n.81) 27–28 with note 45 vividly describes his own visit to the Idaean Cave in May 1953, a distance from Knosos of ca. twelve hours; he was informed that there was also another, considerably shorter pass that the shepherds follow and that may have been the ancient route – a living testimony that the ancient expertise of the *dromeis* and the *hemerodromoi* has passed to the modern shepherds, as the students of topography readily acknowledge.

was a *dromeus* and surely underwent rigorous training, Philonides acquired the experience necessary for the distinctive position he claimed under Alexander. The king's genuine interest in matters of topography, road planning and communications and the crucial role these played in his new empire is evident by the corps of *bematistai* he apparently instituted, and by the presence of two Cretans in his military personnel, Nearchus and Philonides, to whom he entrusted these matters. Alexander's *hemerodromos* and *bematistes* of Asia was not an athlete by profession, nor was his training targeted towards athletic excellence; and he certainly was not regarded as an athlete in antiquity.⁹³

⁹³) A version of this paper was presented at the VIth International Symposium on Ancient Macedonia, Thessaloniki October 15–19, 1996. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Professors: N.Ch. Stampolidis for his criticisms and the rewarding discussions; Y. Pikoulas for his expert advise on matters topographical; A. Chaniotis for his conscientious suggestions for improvement; S.A. Frangoulidis for his perceptive comments on earlier drafts; and J. Ebert, the editor of *Nikephoros*, for his friendly advise and kind words.