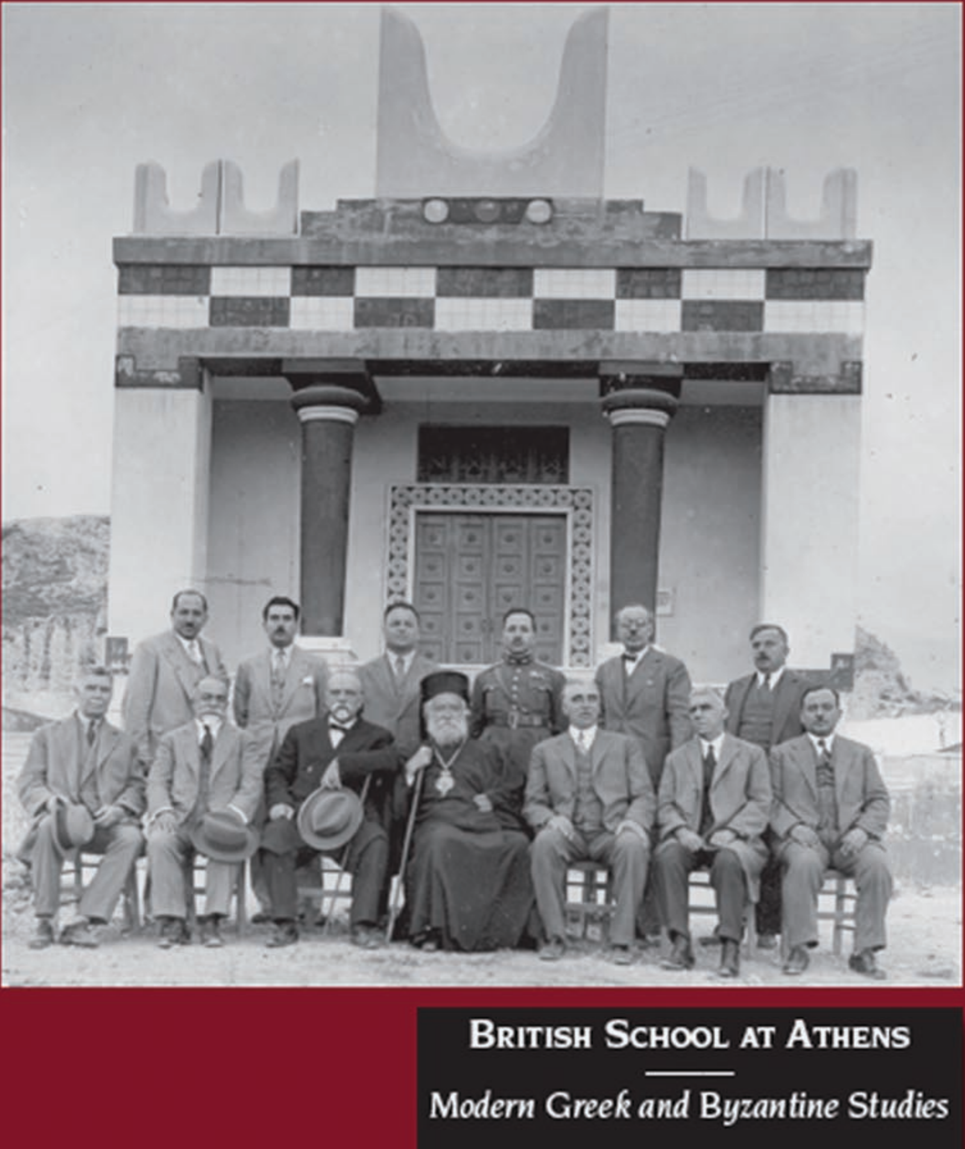
Cretomania

Modern Desires for the Minoan Past

Edited by
NICOLETTA MOMIGLIANO and ALEXANDRE FARNOUX



British School at Athens

Modern Greek and Byzantine Studies

Cretomania

Since its rediscovery in the early 20th century, through spectacular finds such as those by Sir Arthur Evans at Knossos, Minoan Crete has captured the imagination not only of archaeologists but also of a wider public. This is shown, among other things, by its appearance and uses in a variety of modern cultural practices: from the innovative dances of Sergei Diaghilev and Ted Shawn, to public and vernacular architecture, psychoanalysis, literature, sculpture, fashion designs, and even neo-pagan movements, to mention a few examples.

Cretomania is the first volume entirely devoted to such modern responses to (and uses of) the Minoan past. Although not an exhaustive and systematic study of the reception of Minoan Crete, it offers a wide range of intriguing examples and represents an original contribution to a thus far underexplored aspect of Minoan studies: the remarkable effects of Minoan Crete beyond the narrow boundaries of recondite archaeological research.

The volume is organised in three main sections: the first deals with the conscious, unconscious, and coincidental allusions to Minoan Crete in modern architecture, and also discusses archaeological reconstructions; the second presents examples from the visual and performing arts (as well as other cultural practices) illustrating how Minoan Crete has been enlisted to explore and challenge questions of Orientalism, religion, sexuality, and gender relations; the third focuses on literature, and shows how the distant Minoan past has been used to interrogate critically more recent Greek history.

Nicoletta Momigliano is Reader in Aegean Prehistory at the University of Bristol, specialising in Minoan archaeology. She has directed archaeological projects in Crete and Turkey, and is the author of many articles and books, including *Archaeology and European Modernity: Producing and Consuming the Minoans* (2006, co-edited with Yannis Hamilakis) and *Duncan Mackenzie: a Cautious Canny Highlander and the Palace of Minos at Knossos* (1999).

Alexandre Farnoux is Professor of Archaeology and History of Art at the University of Paris IV (Sorbonne) and, since 2011, has been Director of the French School in Athens. He is an expert on the archaeology of Crete, where he has directed excavations at Malia and Dreros. His numerous publications include *Cnossos, l'archéologie d'un rêve* (1993) and *Homère, le prince des poètes* (2010).

British School at Athens – Modern Greek and Byzantine Studies

Volume 3

Series Editor: Professor John Bennett
Director, British School at Athens, Greece

The study of modern Greek and Byzantine history, language and culture has formed an integral part of the work of the British School at Athens since its foundation. This series continues that pioneering tradition. It aims to explore a wide range of topics within a rich field of enquiry which continues to attract readers, writers, and researchers, whether their interest is primarily in contemporary Europe or in one or other of the many dimensions of the long Greek post-classical past.

Published in association with the École Française d'Athènes

ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'ATHÈNES
ΓΑΛΛΙΚΗ ΣΧΟΛΗ ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

CRETOMANIA

MODERN DESIRES FOR THE MINOAN PAST

EDITED BY
Nicoletta Momigliano and Alexandre Farnoux

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2017
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2017 selection and editorial matter, Nicoletta Momigliano and Alexandre Farnoux; individual chapters, the contributors

The right of the Nicoletta Momigliano and Alexandre Farnoux to be identified as the authors of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Names: Momigliano, Nicoletta. | Farnoux, Alexandre.
Title: Cretomania : modern desires for the Minoan past / edited by Nicoletta Momigliano and Alexandre Farnoux.
Description: Farnham, Surrey, England ; Burlington, VT : Ashgate, 2016. | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2015047010 | ISBN 9781472474995 (hardcover : alk. paper)
Subjects: LCSH: Minoans—Greece—Crete. | Crete (Greece)—Civilization. | Civilization, Modern—20th century. | Civilization, Modern—21st century. | Arts, Modern—20th century. | Arts, Modern—21st century. | Crete (Greece)—Antiquities.
Classification: LCC DF221.C8 C755 2016 | DDC 939/.1801—dc23
LC record available at http://lccn.loc.gov/2015047010

ISBN: 9781472474995 (hbk)

Typeset in Palatino Linotype
by Apex CoVantage, LLC

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

Contents

List of figures *ix*
Preface and acknowledgements *xv*

Introduction: Cretomania – desiring the Minoan past in the present 1
Nicoletta Momigliano

PART I CRETOMANIA AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT – CONSCIOUS, UNCONSCIOUS AND COINCIDENTAL ALLUSIONS IN MODERN ARCHITECTURE AND RECONSTRUCTIONS

1 Orthochronicity and its (dis)contents: Cretomania and Frank Lloyd Wright 17
Donald Preziosi

2 Identity and freedom: some observations on Minoan and contemporary Greek architecture 25
Dimitri Philippides and Odysseas Sgouros

3 The artistic reception of Minoan Crete in the period of Art Deco: the reconstruction of the palace at Knossos . . . and why Arthur Evans was right 39
Fritz Blakolmer

PART II CRETOMANIA IN THE VISUAL AND PERFORMING ARTS, AND OTHER CULTURAL PRACTICES

4 The Minoan woman as the Oriental woman: Mariano Fortuny's Knossos scarves and Ruth St. Denis 71
Ilaria Caloi

5 From Russia with love: Minoan Crete and the Russian Silver Age 84
Nicoletta Momigliano

6 Lord of the dance: Ted Shawn's *Gnossienne* and its Minoan context 111
Christine Morris

7 The ocean liner *Aramis*: a voyage to the land of Minos and Art Deco 124
Anaïs Boucher

8 Cretomania and neo-paganism: the Great Mother Goddess and gay male identity in the Minoan Brotherhood 157
Bryan E. Burns

PART III CRETOMANIA IN LITERATURE – DIALOGUES WITH RHEA GALANAKI

9 Minoans and the postmodern critique of national history: two novels by Rhea Galanaki 173
Roderick Beaton

10 Rhea Galanaki's *The Century of Labyrinths*: a dialogue between literature and archaeology that starts with Minos Kalokairinos 180
Katerina Kopaka

11 Growing up next door to Knossos and 'the other Ariadne' 189
Rhea Galanaki

Afterword by Michael Fotiadis *195*
List of contributors and abstracts *202*
Index *209*

Preface and acknowledgements

This volume is the first to emerge from a series of international colloquia organised by the École française d'Athènes in collaboration with the Institute of Greece, Rome, and the Classical Tradition (IGRCT, University of Bristol) and the British School at Athens. This series has the general title of MANIA (Mouvement d'art néo et influence archéologique) and examines the reception of archaeological discoveries and ancient material culture (Minoan, Greek, Byzantine, etc.) among modern and contemporary arts as well as other cultural practices.

Although reception studies are long-established in the study of literature (particularly in comparative literature), the same cannot be said with regard to the history of art and archaeology, where the useful but limited concept of influence still largely holds sway. Hellenism – which the École française d'Athènes has explored in all its aspects since 1846 – has provided European artists with the remains of a prestigious and much-valued material culture. In different countries and ages, these remains have provoked different responses, from passionate admiration to rejection. We now have a relatively clear understanding of the long, slow transmission and gradual reception of the great literary and philosophical texts as well as their impact on European literature since the Renaissance, and even before. Much less secure, however, is our understanding of the effects of archaeological discoveries, which are often by nature sudden and unexpected. Nevertheless, the artistic 'fortune' of Hellenism, constantly transformed by these new discoveries, appears to be particularly rich. On the one hand, archaeological discoveries have provoked many questions and passionate debates in artistic circles: thus, modern responses to Antiquity have affected all artistic domains and merit our careful consideration. On the other hand, modern aesthetics, which also vary according to country and era, have informed the understanding and reception of materials emerging from excavations. It is this encounter between past and present, this mutual exchange and its artistic, cultural and political issues, which the MANIA programme seeks to explore.

The more specific objectives of these colloquia are multiple: to analyse the historical and intellectual context of the reception of Greek material culture from various periods; to measure how the incorporation of past Greek remains into modern works of art and other cultural practices (from architecture to dance and cinema) has provoked (or not) different 'manias', and may have contributed, in turn, to new interpretations of the past; and to provide, as far as possible, a critical comparison of national reception traditions, which have made responses to the Greek past political issues debated in the present.

Cretomania was our first colloquium in this 'mania' series, and the fruit of a new French-British collaboration – another *entente cordiale* much enjoyed by both parties. This event was held on 23 and 24 November 2013 at the École française d'Athènes, and was a highly successful, friendly and auspicious occasion. But it was also marked by a double loss: the passing away of Veit Stürmer (1957–2013) and Stylianos Alexiou (1921–2013). The former, a faithful German colleague who was a member of the École française and a devoted 'Maliot', was due to present an important paper on the Gilliérons, but he died suddenly on the boat from Crete on which he was travelling to take part in our colloquium. The latter was a tutelary figure of Cretan studies, whose expertise covered the entire history of the island from Minoan times to the present. We dedicate this volume to their memory.

Cretomania would not have been possible without the help of various institutions and individuals, and it is a great pleasure to express here our deep gratitude to our sponsors and other people who offered their help: members of staff in the École française d'Athènes (especially Joulien Fournier and Sophia Zoumboulaki); the Institute of Greece, Rome, and the Classical Tradition (IGRCT) of the University of Bristol; and Prof. Cathy Morgan, the Director of the British School at Athens, and other members of staff (especially Tania Gerousi). For chairing sessions (including the showing of the 'docudrama' *Atlantis: End of a World, Birth of a Legend*) and for their comments on various papers, we thank Gerald Cadogan, Ilaria Caloi, Michael Fotiadis, Katerina Kopaka, Colin Macdonald, Pietro Militello, Clairy Palyvou and Iris Tzachilis. Lucile Arnoux-Farnoux kindly read the Greek version presented by Beaton at the colloquium in his (unexpected) absence. Jessica Priestly (IGRCT, University of Bristol) provided invaluable help with proofreading and other tasks connected with this volume. Anne Leaver (Technical Illustrator, University of Bristol) helped with the digital illustrations. We also thank Roderick Beaton, Hayley Wood and Don Evely for their translations.

Alexandre Farnoux
Nicoletta Momigliano

PART III

Cretomania in literature – dialogues with Rhea Galanaki

Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

Chapter 9

Minoans and the postmodern critique of national history: two novels by Rhea Galanaki

Roderick Beaton

Rhea Galanaki is one of the foremost novelists of Greece today. She is also a Cretan, much of her work is set in Crete, and she explores the troubled and distinct identity of the 'Great Island'. There is no one better placed, in the world of contemporary Greek letters, to reflect on the subject of 'Cretomania'.

Her first novel, *The Life of Ismail Ferik Pasha* (1989), was a literary sensation in Greece at the time and remains one of the most discussed works of fiction of that extraordinary decade. Not only does Greek postmodernism (traceable back to the beginning of the 1970s in the early work of Nasos Vayenas and others, including Galanaki herself) achieve a new sophistication in this work, but the Greek historical novel is also re-invented in such a way as to mount a direct challenge to the standard historiography of Modern Greece. The Cretan hero is born into a Christian family, baptised and brought up till the age of five as a Christian. Taken prisoner by the Egyptians during the 1821 Revolution, he becomes a Muslim and a general in the Ottoman forces. In this guise, he returns to his native island – as a foreigner and a conqueror – many years later. Ismail Ferik Pasha is at once traitor and hero. He has to live with two identities: one Christian, Greek and identified with his native place; the other Ottoman and Muslim. And he resists, to the end, having to choose between them.

I have written about Ismail Ferik Pasha elsewhere.[1] Though Galanaki's novel is very much about Crete, specific references to Minoans are not very many, even if they are important. In this chapter, I begin by focussing specifically on those fleeting, but telling, allusions to the Minoan past and with what I believe to be their significance for this remarkable postmodern novel. Then I turn in more detail to discuss the fourth novel by Galanaki, *The Century of Labyrinths* (2002). In this novel, the modern experience of rediscovering the long-lost civilisation of the Minoans turns out to be central; and its themes, I suggest, are therefore central, also, to a volume on 'Cretomania'.

Minoan civilisation in *The Life of Ismail Ferik Pasha*

In Galanaki's first novel, the identification between the hero and his homeland, in the manner of, say, Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children*, is not stated outright. But there are indications that Ismail is to be considered as an extension of his native Crete, as Rushdie's hero Saleem is of India. In the scene inside a cave on the Lasithi plateau with which the novel opens, the five-year-old boy remembers terrible tales told to him by his parents about 'the redness of a primeval birth'.[2] In his terrified state, he relives those stories until the time comes for him to emerge once more into the daylight. This emergence is portrayed ever afterwards, whenever it is mentioned later in the novel, as a 'second birth' that inaugurates the hero's second life as an Ottoman in Egypt. An observant reader will notice that the hiding place of the Christian fugitives in 1823 is none other than the Dictaean Cave, legendary birthplace of Zeus. The hero, we are given to understand, has been baptised with the name 'Emmanuel', so when his mother screeches his name from the mouth of the cave (no doubt in the 'demotic' form, Manolis – we are not told), the name that echoes through the cave is one of the Biblical titles of the Christian God (Christ Emmanuel).[3] A different god, according to some versions of ancient Greek mythology, had been born in these spaces – and his mother was called Rhea. In this way the author, Rhea Galanaki, gives birth to her hero for a second time within the postmodern text.

In this 'second life', the hero is brought up as a Muslim with the name Ismail, a close equivalent of Emmanuel, as it means 'God has heard' or 'God will hear' (referring to Abraham's prayer for a son).[4] In his new identity as Ismail, when he returns to Crete many years later to quell the rebellion of his former compatriots (1866–68), he will find himself confronted by the ghost of his former self in the form of a young boy. This ghost then disappears quickly: 'to celebrate with his family the Easter of the Hellenes'.[5] This phrase alludes to the title of the long poem published by Angelos Sikelianos in 1928, which explores a syncretism between Christianity and ancient Greek religion. Then, in the final chapter of the second section of the novel (where the hero narrates his own story), he returns to his empty family home and communicates with his dead relatives in the same way that Homer's Odysseus did in the underworld.

These all add up to good grounds for supposing that Emmanuel/Ismail represents the collective identity of his Cretan compatriots. Support for this identification comes also from the detail of the knife that the hero discovers in the cave in the opening chapter, and with which he will eventually kill himself (according to the last of the three different versions of his death in the closing section of the novel). This knife is described on its first appearance as 'a corroded green blade, whose shape did not remind him of any type of Christian or Arabian knife'.[6] The colour reveals at once that the unfamiliar object must be made of bronze. The reader, with the benefit of historical hindsight, can recognise something that the hero (who died in 1867) could never have known:

that this knife is an archaeological find belonging to the Bronze Age civilisation we know today as 'Minoan'. Prompted by an unexplained instinct, the later Ottoman pasha 'never removed this blade from the inside of his embroidered robes', keeping it close, as a talisman, throughout the rest of his life. For the reader, too, this knife comes to symbolise the indissoluble link between the Ottoman pasha and his Cretan origins – irrespective of the hero's own wishes.

From this point on, according to a phrase repeated with the frequency of a refrain throughout the novel, his life is 'determined in the orbit of knives'. The fatal consequence, as we learn only on the novel's final page, is the conclusion: 'there does not exist, nor has ever existed, anything so innocent as to be lost. Therefore, . . . there does not exist, nor has ever existed, such a thing as return'.[7]

This conclusion overturns not only the ancient myth of nostos, but also the modern 'national myth' of the regeneration (παλιγγενεσία) of an ancient Greek nation. The hero never ceases to be a Cretan, no matter what he does in his 'other' life as an Ottoman. But this representative of Cretan autochthony can never cancel out, either, any part of a subsequent biography that is incompatible with that starting point. The 'return' (or nostos) that is shown finally to be unachievable, just like the nostalgia that longs for it, becomes destructive, not only for the individual (Emmanuel/Ismail) but also, by extension, for the whole Modern Greek nation. The Cretan (and Christian) Emmanuel is also the Muslim Ismail, with his Ottoman rank and honours. Just as nothing of the hero's Ottoman identity can be expunged, so it must be supposed that nothing of the Ottoman period of Greek history can (or should, perhaps) be expunged either. Through deft use of the techniques of 1980s postmodernism, *The Life of Ismail Ferik Pasha*, in narrating the 'myth' of an individual hero, places in doubt the established historiography of the entire nation to which that hero belongs.

The multiple Labyrinths of the 20th century

Galanaki's fourth novel, *The Century of Labyrinths*, published in 2002, has this in common with a foundational text of global postmodernism, *One Hundred Years of Solitude* by Gabriel García Márquez: it tells the hundred-year-long story of two provincial families living in the writer's native country. In the case of Galanaki's novel, the setting is Crete, with a focus on her own native town of Herakleion. The 'century' of the title begins in 1878, the year of the first excavations at Knossos by the appropriately named Minos Kalokairinos. Several of the characters are real, historical figures, including Kalokairinos, other members of this prominent Herakleion family, and the schoolteacher who assisted in those early excavations. Others are fictional, chief among them the schoolteacher's two sons, who will later become the central characters of the novel.

The action takes in that initial discovery of the civilisation that would soon come to be known as 'Minoan', then moves to the violent events of 25 August/5 September 1898, in which many prominent Christian Cretans in Herakleion lost their lives, and the Kalokairinos mansion was ransacked, with the loss of many Minoan artefacts. Thereafter the story moves to the next generation and the fictional brothers Andreas and Sifis: contrasting characters who each take an active part in the historical events of the first half of the 20th century, down to the 1970s. Sifis, a left-wing idealist, is murdered in unexplained circumstances in 1952; it is implied that this had something to do with the aftermath of the World War II resistance and subsequent Greek civil war of 1946–49. Andreas is a teacher, like his father, and will grow old peacefully – finally attempting, with the aid of his niece Ariadne, to follow the thread and unravel the tangled web that is the 'century of labyrinths'. These labyrinths turn out to be multiple and various.

The name of the niece is obviously not accidental. Neither is her profession – she is an archaeologist. Towards the end of the book, the uncle who had been responsible for her baptismal name explains to the now middle-aged archaeologist the reasons that had led him to choose the name. These have not so much to do with finding the way out of any particular symbolic labyrinth, but rather with the obsessive idea that Andreas has never given up: Skevo, the young daughter of Minos Kalokairinos, he believes, could have survived the massacre of 1898 and gone on to live (rather like Emmanuel/Ismail Ferik Pasha) another life somewhere in the Muslim world. Skevo had been in the house on that fateful 25 August. Her body was never found, nor was she ever heard of again (this much is historical fact). Ever since, Andreas has nurtured the idea that Skevo may still be alive. This story, and its hypothetical continuation, has come to function, for Andreas, as a modern myth. He confesses to Ariadne:

> It was for Skevo's sake that I named you Ariadne. . . . The mythical Ariadne was linked, as a prehistoric vegetation goddess, with long periods of disappearance before each of her reappearances, just like Persephone. Just like the disappearance of Skevo, I used to tell myself back then, so long ago that I've the feeling that I'm no longer the same person who said it, so much did I wish for Skevo to have survived and to reappear like a shooting star in her native city, turning up from who knows what harem – or underworld, even.[8]

Ariadne, the recipient of this confession, seems to be set up as an avatar of both the Ariadne of later Greek mythology and the primeval, archetypal Goddess of the Minoans, as popularly imagined in the wake of Evans's interpretations of his discoveries at Knossos. Another episode of the novel implies that the worship of this 'Mother Goddess' may still linger beneath the Christian practices of a nunnery in Crete, where Andreas goes in his interminable search for the lost Skevo.[9]

The labyrinth, as a symbol, is among the most widely diffused in world literature. According to Margaret Anne Doody, it makes up one of the archetypal 'tropes' that define the entire genre of the novel, at least in its modern guise.[10] This is perhaps an exaggeration, but Doody does offer plenty of examples that would seem to confirm the multifarious potency of the symbol, especially in modernist and postmodernist writing. Galanaki's fourth novel certainly explores this 'trope' to its furthest possible extent.

Often, in this novel, the labyrinth functions as a way of describing a real space. The 'dungeons' inside the old Venetian walls of Herakleion are often described as labyrinths; so are the town's winding alleyways.[11] Elsewhere, the meaning becomes more metaphorical. History itself is described as a labyrinth ('a labyrinth of centuries').[12] Then there is the 'labyrinth' of the inner ear.[13] Metaphorical, again, are the 'feelings and colours that belonged to the labyrinth of living beings'.[14] Elsewhere the labyrinth is identified with life,[15] with war,[16] with music,[17] with nature and with writing,[18] even with human existence ('In every life, I mean in every human labyrinth'),[19] while the city of Athens is described at one point as 'the biggest labyrinth in the country'.[20]

Above all the other labyrinths, literal and metaphorical, looms the Labyrinth of Knossos, which is both literally present as an archaeological site and a metaphor drawn from the ancient myth.[21] The final appearance of the symbol is more down to earth. The story ends with a conversation that takes place in a seaside hotel in Crete, whose owner had decided, 'after any number of hesitations and changes of mind' (labyrinthine characteristics, too), to call 'The Labyrinth'.[22]

This assimilation of a Minoan heritage that (at least according to Evans's influential interpretations) was alien to the linguistic or cultural traditions of later Hellenism perhaps echoes this writer's ecumenical acceptance of a non-Helleno-Christian, Ottoman past for her native island in *The Life of Ismail Ferik Pasha*. In the earlier novel, the two heritages never coalesced; the Christian and Ottoman pasts existed simultaneously, embodied even in the same individual, but irreconcilable. In *The Century of Labyrinths*, something like the nostos that had been denied to Ismail Ferik is granted to the elderly Andreas. There is an Ariadne thread that weaves its way through the centuries, and at the end of more than three millennia, reconciles cultural differences that, in their time, may have been just as irreconcilable as those between Christian Greeks and Ottoman Muslims. This is the imaginative thread that links the rituals of the Bronze Age with the worship of Aphrodite and Hermes in the same place during classical times, as well as with the multifarious 'labyrinths' that have defined the lives of the Cretan families during the more recent century covered by the story.

Towards the end, Ariadne the archaeologist goes with her eighty-year-old uncle to visit a site that can be identified with the multi-period sanctuary at Kato Symi near Viannos, though it is not named in the novel. Summer is ending, and all around them are sheep and goats grazing. Ariadne muses:

> It's as though not a single day has passed since then, Uncle, even if it's been four thousand years. Animals just like those – sheep and goats, I mean – the Minoans used to sacrifice to the prehistoric goddess of nature and her young lover on their outdoor tables. Hunters, rich herdsmen, youths undergoing

> initiation into adult life. The practice lasted into classical times, but then the sacrifices were for Hermes of the trees and fertile Aphrodite, the divine pair that had replaced the Minoan deities.[23]

Conclusions

In their use of myth and repeated allusions to the distant Minoan civilisation of Crete, these two novels mark a shift from the radical undermining of traditional historiography in *The Life of Ismail Ferik Pasha* to its apparent vindication in *The Century of Labyrinths*. It would appear that Galanaki moves from the experimental and the subversive towards a more traditional form of realism. On the other hand, in the later novel, the role given to the myth of the labyrinth, and the multiplication of the symbolic fields of reference of the symbol, go far beyond the surface realism of the text. As a result, the superficial affirmation of an indigenous, diachronic Cretan culture is placed, in exemplary postmodern fashion, under question. In this way, the ideology of an indigenous culture and historical continuity between epochs turns out to be still problematic after all. Just as the true fate of the vanished Skevo can never be determined, so the later heritages of Minoan civilisation, of classical antiquity, or even of real personages of the 20th century will remain forever suppositions, perhaps no better than Andreas' fantasies about Skevo – in any case, impossible ever to verify. At the end of the story, we never learn what really did happen to Skevo. Most probably she was killed in the violence of 1898, but neither we nor the characters ever know for sure. In the same way, we never discover who murdered Andreas' brother Sifis, or for what motive. There are hints that it had to do with the Greek civil war, with the victim's political sympathies, and the dark Cretan custom of vengeance-killing. But nothing more.

By the end of the novel, the mythical labyrinth has multiplied to an extraordinary extent. The mythical 'thread' has become inextricably entangled, without beginning or end. Collective identity has become itself another myth, a more or less well-intentioned attempt at self-definition, in a world where nothing can be determined with certainty. The story closes with the image of the thread extending indefinitely towards an unknown future:

> A little later, upon the line of the horizon, a pink line began to unfold the thread of a still-unexplored dawn.
>
> The thread of a still-unexplored century.[24]

Notes

1 Beaton 1999, pp. 288–289, 291–293; 2006, pp. 190–191.

2 Galanaki 1989, p. 16. All translations from Greek in this chapter are my own.

[3] Galanaki 1989, p. 14. On the presumed Christian name of the real historical figure, see ibid. (author's note).

[4] I am grateful to Nicoletta Momigliano for alerting me to this link between the hero's two given names, the one Christian, the other Muslim.

[5] Galanaki 1989, p. 146.

[6] Galanaki 1989, p. 16.

[7] Galanaki 1989, p. 197.

[8] Galanaki 2002, p. 342 and cf. pp. 59–60.

[9] Galanaki 2002, pp. 251–267.

[10] See, e.g. Doody 1996, pp. 346–361.

[11] Galanaki 2002, pp. 45, 46, 50, 53, 79, 88, 95, 117, 128, 246, 269, 281, 351, 358.

[12] Galanaki 2002, p. 54.

[13] Galanaki 2002, p. 77.

[14] Galanaki 2002, p. 110.

[15] Galanaki 2002, pp. 120, 122, 159, 180.

[16] Galanaki 2002, pp. 141, 150.

[17] Galanaki 2002, p. 189.

[18] Galanaki 2002, pp. 236, 283.

[19] Galanaki 2002, p. 270, 293.

[20] Galanaki 2002, pp. 351.

[21] Galanaki 2002, pp. 340, 343.

[22] Galanaki 2002, pp. 360–361.

[23] Galanaki 2002, p. 325.

[24] Galanaki 2002, p. 387.

References

Beaton, Roderick, 1999, *An Introduction to Modern Greek Literature*, 2nd edition, revised, Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Beaton, Roderick, 2006, 'Minoans in modern Greek Literature', *in* Hamilakis, Yannis & Momigliano, Nicoletta (eds), *Archaeology and European Modernity: Producing and Consuming the 'Minoans', Creta Antica 7*, Padua, Ausilio-Bottega D'Erasmo, pp. 183–195.

Doody, Margaret Anne, 1996, *The True Story of the Novel*, New Brunswick, NJ, Rutgers University Press.

Galanaki, Rhea, 1989, *Ο βίος του Ισμαήλ Φερίκ πασά* [*The Life of Ismail Ferik Pasha*], Athens, Agra.

Galanaki, Rhea, 2002, *Ο αιώνας των λαβυρίνθων* [*The Century of Labyrinths*], Athens, Kastaniotis.