

**Kretan cult and customs, especially in the  
Classical and Hellenistic periods: a religious,  
social, and political study**

**Thesis submitted for degree of MPhil**

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### **Declaration**

**I, Carolyn Schofield, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been acknowledged in the thesis.**

## Abstract

Ancient Krete perceived itself, and was perceived from outside, as rather different from the rest of Greece, particularly with respect to religion, social structure, and laws. The purpose of the thesis is to explore the bases for these perceptions and their accuracy. Krete's self-perception is examined in the light of the account of Diodoros Siculus (Book 5, 64-80, allegedly based on Kretan sources), backed up by inscriptions and archaeology, while outside perceptions are derived mainly from other literary sources, including, *inter alia*, Homer, Strabo, Plato and Aristotle, Herodotos and Polybios; in both cases making reference also to the fragments and testimonia of ancient historians of Krete.

While the main cult-epithets of Zeus on Krete – Diktaios, associated with pre-Greek inhabitants of eastern Krete, Idatas, associated with Dorian settlers, and Kretagenes, the symbol of the Hellenistic *koinon* - are almost unique to the island, those of Apollo are not, but there is good reason to believe that both Delphinios and Pythios originated on Krete, and evidence too that the Eleusinian Mysteries and Orphic and Dionysiac rites had much in common with early Kretan practice. The early institutionalization of pederasty, and the abduction of boys described by Ephoros, are unique to Krete, but the latter is distinct from rites of initiation to manhood, which continued later on Krete than elsewhere, and were associated with different gods. Laws were inscribed earlier and in greater quantity on Krete than elsewhere, and it is argued that Sparta's constitution was modeled on Krete's, rather than *vice versa*. Despite opportunities for cities to meet, and the establishment of the Hellenistic *koinon*, the Kretans rarely spoke with a single voice. There is little evidence of historical colonization into or from Krete, and the island was uniquely uninvolved in outside wars and alliances over the period considered.

## Acknowledgements

My principal supervisor was Simon Hornblower and my second supervisor Alan Griffiths; I owe more to both of them than I can easily express. Simon's input is always extremely stimulating, and I have very much appreciated his immense knowledge, his unfailing ability to re-focus me whenever I lost my way, his rigorous attention to detail, and his never-failing availability, including attending two CA conferences to chair the panel when I gave papers. Alan has been constantly encouraging, particularly towards the end, and crisp and learned with useful insights and advice. I would also like to thank Chris Carey and Stephen Colvin for helpful suggestions at my upgrade panel, and Stephen also, as Graduate Tutor, for efficient support and excellent communications.

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## Abbreviations

- AA = R. Brock and S. Hodkinson (eds.), 2000, *Alternatives to Athens*, Oxford
- Ael.NA = Aelianus *De natura animalium*
- Aen. = *Aeneid*
- Aesch. = Aeschylus
- Ant.Lib.Met. = Antoninus Liberalis *Metamorphoses*
- AP = *Anthologia Palatina*
- Apollod. = [Ps.-] Apollodorus mythographus
- Bibl.* = *Bibliotheca*
- Epit.* = *Epitome*
- Ap.Rhod.Argon. = Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica*
- Aratos Phain. = Aratos *Phainomena*
- Aristoph. = Aristophanes
- Arist.Pol. = Aristotle *Politica*
- Arr. = Arrian
- Anab.* = *Anabasis of Alexander*
- Ind.* = *Indica*
- Ath. = Athenaeus
- Ath. Pol.* = *Athenaion Politeia*
- Bakchyl. = Bakchylides
- BNJ = *Brill's New Jacoby* [electronic resource], Ian Worthington, editor in chief
- CAH 6<sup>2</sup> = D.M.Lewis, J. Boardman, S.Hornblower, and M.Oswald (eds.),  
*Cambridge Ancient History*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. vol. 6
- CAH 7.1 = F.W. Walbank, A.E. Astin, M.W. Frederiksen, and R.M. Ogilvie (eds.),  
*Cambridge Ancient History*, vol.7, Part 1
- Chan. = A. Chaniotis, *Die Verträge zwischen kretischen Poleis in der hellenistischen Zeit*, 1996, Stuttgart
- Cic. = Cicero
- Div.* = *De Divinatione*
- Nat.D* = *De Natura Deorum*
- Tusc.* = *Tusculanae disputationes*

*CIG* = *Corppus Inscriptionum Graecarum*

Diod. = Diodoros of Sicily

Diog. Laert. = Diogenes Laertius

DK = H. Diels and W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 6<sup>th</sup> edn., 1952

*Etym. Magn.* = *Etymologicum Magnum*

Eur. = Euripides

*Alc.* = *Alcestis*

*Bacch.* = *Bacchae*

*Orest.* = *Orestes*

*Supp.* = *Supplices*

*Tro.* = *Troades*.

*FGrHist* = F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, 15 vols., Leiden, 1923-58

Firm. Mat. *Err.Prof.Rel.* = Firmicus Maternus *De errore profanarum religionum*

*GRBS* = *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*

Hdt. = Herodotos

Hes. = Hesiod

*Op.* = *Works and Days*

*Theog.* = *Theogony*

Hom.*HymnAp.* = *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*

Hom.*HymnAph.* = *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*

Hom.*HymnDem.* = *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*

Hom.*HymnHerm.* = *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*

Hom.*HymnHestia* = *Homeric Hymn to Hestia*

Hsch. = Hesychios

Hyg. *Fab.* = Hyginus *Fabulae*

*IACP* = M.H. Hansen and T.H. Nielsen (eds.), *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis*, 2004, Oxford

*IC* = M. Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae*, 4 vols., Rome, 1935-50

*Il.* = Homer *Iliad*

*In Phd.* = *In Platonis Phaedrum* (Olympiodoros)

Kallim. = Kallimachos

LGPN = *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, P.M. Fraser and E. Matthews (eds.),  
1987-2010

LIMC = *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, 1981-99

LSCG = F.Sokolowski, 1969, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Paris

LSCG Supp. = F. Sokolowski, 1962, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques: Supplément*, Paris

LSJ = Liddell, Scott, and Jones Greek-English Lexicon

Lykroph. Alex. = Lykophron *Alexandra*

MHR = *The Mediterranean Historical Review*, an electronic resource

Min.Fel. Oct. = Minucius Felix Octavius

ML = R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End  
of the Fifth Century BC*, rev. edn., 1988, Oxford

NGSL = E. Lupu, *Greek Sacred Law: a collection of new documents*, 2005, Leiden and  
Boston

Nomima = H. van Effenterre F. Ruzé, 1994-5, *Nomima: recueil d'inscriptions  
politiques et juridiques de l'archaïsme grec*, 1 and 2, Rome

OCD<sup>3</sup> = S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (eds.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*,  
3<sup>rd</sup> edn. 1996, Oxford

Od. = Homer *Odyssey*

Orph.frs. = *Orphicorum fragmenta* (O. Kern, 1922)

Ov. Met. = Ovid *Metamorphoses*

Paus. = Pausanias *Guide to Greece*, Penguin Edition, tr. P. Levi

Philostr. VA = Philostratos *Vita Apollonii*

Pind. = Pindar

I. = *Isthmian Odes*

N. = *Nemean Odes*

O. = *Olympian Odes*

P. = *Pythian Odes*

Pl. = Plato

*Ap.* = *Apologia*

*Leg.* = *Leges*

*Phdr.* = *Phaedrus*

*Plt.* = *Politicus*

[Pl] = Pseudo-Plato

*Axioch.* = *Axiochos*

Plut. = Plutarch

*De frat.amor.* = *De fraterno amore*

*De mul.virt.* = *De mulierum virtutibus*

*De soll.an.* = *De sollertia animalium*

*Mor.* = *Moralia*

*Vit.Alex.* = *Life of Alexander*

*Vit.Cim.* = *Life of Cimon*

*Vit.Lyc.* = *Life of Lykurgos*

*Vit.Sol.* = *Life of Solon*

*Vit.Thes.* = *Life of Theseus*

*Vit.Tim.* = *Life of Timoleon*

*Polis and Politics* = *Polis and Politics: studies in ancient Greek history presented to Mogens Herman Hansen on his sixtieth birthday, August 20, 2000*, edited by P. Flensted-Jensen, T.H Nielsen, and L. Rubinstein, Copenhagen

Polyb. = Polybios

*RE* = A. Pauly, G. Wissowa and W.Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft*, 1893 —

*REA* = *Revue des Études Anciennes*

*R.Phil.* = *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*

*SEG* = *Supplementum epigraphicum graecum*, 1923 —

*Sext.Emp.Math.* = *Sextus Empiricus Adversus Mathematicos*

*SH* = *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, eds. H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons, Berlin and New York, 1983.

Steph. Byz. = Stephanos Byzantinos

*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> = W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn., 1913-24

Theoc. *Id.* = Theocritus *Idylls*

Theophr. = Theophrastos

*CP* = *De causis plantarum*

*HP* = *Historia plantarum*

*The Palaikastro Kouros* = J.A. MacGillivray, J.M. Driessen, and L.H. Sackett (eds.),

*The Palaikastro Kouros: a Minoan Chryselephantine Statuette and its Aegean*

*Bronze Context*, BSA Studies 6, 2000.

Thuc. = Thucydides

Xen. = Xenophon

*Anab.* = *Anabasis*

*Lac.* = *Respublica Lacedaemoniorum*

## 1

**Why Krete?****1.1 Introduction**

Ancient Krete both perceived itself, and was perceived from outside, as rather different from the rest of Greece, most particularly with respect to religion, but also in its social structure and laws. My purpose is to explore the bases for these perceptions and the extent to which they may have been true. Outside awareness of Krete, from Homer to Euhemerus, seems to focus on its religious reputation, its ‘otherness’, and its traditionally admired laws and social structure. Specific religious elements, accepted by the outside world, include the myth of the birth of Zeus, Apollo’s choice of Kretans as his first priests in Delphi, and the location of many of the Orphic myths in Krete, as well as a general impression of the island as home to purifiers and prophets<sup>1</sup>. The overriding impression of Krete in Homer is that it was best known for the legendary king Minos, and for its heroic leaders in the Trojan War, while the perception of its ‘otherness’ is suggested by Odysseus’ lying tales. The reputation of Krete’s archaic institutions, as well as its ‘otherness’, made the island a useful vehicle for transmitting the social ideals of both Aristotle and Plato<sup>2</sup>; and the ancient tradition of Krete’s orderly government could partly explain the choice of Kretans as the only Hellenes included by Euhemerus in the population of utopian Panchaea, despite the contemporary chaos in Krete, described by Polybios.<sup>3</sup>

I shall devote the first part of the thesis to religious aspects, starting with detailed examination of the various cults of Zeus and Apollo, in view of these gods’ overriding importance on the island, and continuing with evidence for Krete as the origin of three

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<sup>1</sup> Hes.*Theog.* 477ff; *Hom.Hymn Ap.*388ff, 480ff; *Orph.frs.* 58, 153, 303. Apollo himself was supposed to have been purified in Krete, by Karmanor (Paus.2.7.7, 2.30.3, 10.7.2).

<sup>2</sup> Calame 1996 p.234 says that Krete, a marginal as well as a legendary territory, known from a distance for the conservatism of its political institutions, provided a ‘dream-land’ for the projection of idealized social concepts.

<sup>3</sup> Spyridakis 1992 pp.3f; Diod.5.42.4; Polyb. 24.3.1



major mystery cults. An overview of cults of other gods will follow, emphasizing aspects which are unique to Krete, including unusual pairings of gods, and detailed examination of specifically Kretan deities, indicating throughout the geographical distribution of cults across the island.

Moving on to social aspects, I shall analyse the island's reputation for homosexual and pederastic behaviour, together with evidence for initiation to male adulthood, questioning whether the latter has rightly been equated with Strabo's account of the practice of abduction of boys by older men,<sup>4</sup> and identifying the various deities associated with initiation in Krete, together with locations for the ritual. I shall then critically examine the evidence for the ancient written laws of Gortyn and other Kretan cities, in the light of the island's reputation for lawgiving, selecting aspects of political development, social customs, and relationships which they reveal, including *inter alia* the use of *andreia*, as described by Dosiadas and Pyrgion<sup>5</sup>, and slavery; and I shall consider the implication of written laws for the spread of literacy.

Despite the impression of an island full of warring states, there is evidence that the Kretan cities occasionally made joint decisions, particularly in respect of foreign policy. I shall identify opportunities for joint discussions, from the first days of Minoan peak sanctuaries through to the Hellenistic *koinon*, including examination of extra-urban sanctuaries, in the light of the work of de Polignac and Perlman,<sup>6</sup> and the probability of federal cults and amphictionies in Krete. Evidence for inward colonization of Krete begins with Homer, and is recorded also by Strabo<sup>7</sup>, and there are foundation-myths for some cities, which I shall explore in detail, together with the scant evidence for inward colonization in historical times. The limited land-space of mountainous, wooded Krete<sup>8</sup> suggests a need for outward colonization, and I shall review the records of early relationships with the Kyklades, the mainland of Asia Minor, Rhodes, southern Italy, and Sicily, as well as Kretan mercenary activities. I shall also explore the extent to

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<sup>4</sup> Strabo 10.4.21

<sup>5</sup> *FGrHist* 467 and 468

<sup>6</sup> De Polignac 1994 and 1995; Perlman 1995

<sup>7</sup> *Od.* 19.177; Strabo 10.4.6

<sup>8</sup> Strabo 10.4.4

which the Kretans may have invented their own past, particularly by the use of myths to explain ethnic distribution anomalies, in connection with both inward and outward colonization.<sup>9</sup>

Finally I shall examine the relationships of Krete with various major powers, from Archaic to Hellenistic times, in comparison with those of Rhodes, Sicily, Kyrene, and Cyprus, and identify in what ways Krete was unusual, and possible reasons why. I shall conclude the thesis with an analysis of recurring themes identified, an attempt to resolve outstanding questions, and a review of the areas of Kretan exceptionalism identified.

## **1.2 Methodology**

Kretan self-perception is examined mainly in the context of Diodoros' account of what he or his Kretan sources say about the origins of the gods, and of mystery religions,<sup>10</sup> backed by other evidence of cults drawn from inscriptions, coins, archaeology, and literary sources, which are discussed in turn below.

### *1.2.1 Diodoros and his 'Kretan Sources'*

Rejecting what he calls the common view of modern scholarship, that Diodoros was a mindless copyist, Green says that he 'at least talked like' a serious historian, insisting where possible on autopsy and a close scrutiny of detail, citing Bosworth, who suggests that Diodoros identified and criticized falsehood, and combined details from several sources into a more complete picture than could be obtained from a single source.<sup>11</sup> But Bosworth was discussing Diodoros' practice "when writing up a period already blessed with historical narrative", which hardly applies to the Kretan section, and later says that, when faced with a multiplicity of sources, a historian would opt for the treatment most conducive to exemplary moralizing, which could suggest that euhemeristic overtones in his account of the origins of the gods were Diodoros' own view. On the other hand, if he was a mere copyist, slavishly following sources, this at least suggests that he

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<sup>9</sup> Malkin 1998 p.3.

<sup>10</sup> Diod.5.64-80, which includes the claim that they all originated in Krete.

<sup>11</sup> Green 2006 p.25; Bosworth 2003 p.194.

reported them faithfully.<sup>12</sup> Sources can never come through a later historian entirely ‘noise’-free,<sup>13</sup> so the accounts attributed to Diodoros’ sources must, at least to some extent, reflect the historian’s own attitudes and times. He relished the oddities of myth, and viewed history as a means of moral improvement,<sup>14</sup> both of which characteristics may contribute to ‘noise’ intruding on the accounts of his Kretan sources. We have no way of telling to what extent he follows or intrudes,<sup>15</sup> but we surely cannot believe that his account of the majority of the gods originating in Krete was his own belief, so we must give some credence to his use of Kretan sources.

What is more, quite unusually for Diodoros, he names the Kretan sources he regards as the most trustworthy, and whom he has therefore followed: Epimenides, Dosiadas, Sosikrates, and Laosthenidas, with some suggestion that he has relied mainly on Epimenides for religious aspects, and on the other three for other matters.<sup>16</sup> Of these four Epimenides, who is said to have come from Knossos,<sup>17</sup> is much the earliest, dating from the seventh century,<sup>18</sup> and the most prolifically attested. Almost all his existing fragments are concerned with myth,<sup>19</sup> despite the fact that Theopompos records that he was commissioned to purify Athens, and was consulted by Solon on his law-code for Athens.<sup>20</sup> Parke claims that he is the only one of the *Theologoi* with a serious claim to be a historical character.<sup>21</sup>

Among the later sources, Dosiadas dates to the early third century, and is said to have come from Kydonia, although he has been mentioned as one of several Kretan sources attested overseas, who may never have actually seen Krete.<sup>22</sup> One fragment from his

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<sup>12</sup> Sacks 1994 p.213.

<sup>13</sup> Hornblower 1994 p.6.

<sup>14</sup> Green 2010 p.3.

<sup>15</sup> Sacks 1994 p.21.

<sup>16</sup> Diod.5.80.4.

<sup>17</sup> *FGrHist* 457, T1 and T2.

<sup>18</sup> All dates are BC unless otherwise stated.

<sup>19</sup> *FGrHist* 457 F3-19, and F21-22; Spyridakis 1970 p.17.

<sup>20</sup> *FGrHist* 457 T1 and T4.

<sup>21</sup> Parke 1988 p.174.

<sup>22</sup> *FGrHist* 458. *BNJ* (458 T1) and Spyridakis (1970 p.17) on Kydonia and the date. Chaniotis (seminar, Oxford, 7/6/10) for the doubt.

*Kretika* is a detailed description of the management of Kretan men's messes,<sup>23</sup> or *andreia*, specifically in Lyttos, while another discusses slavery, but these are not aspects on which Diodoros touches in connection with Krete. It also appears that that the information on *andreia* may have been culled from another writer called Pyrgion, while that on slavery is said to be similar to the account in Sosikrates' *Kretika*.<sup>24</sup> This apparent reliance on other sources adds to the suspicion that he did not live in Krete.<sup>25</sup>

Very little survives of the second century writer, Sosikrates, and, although Apollodoros reports that he is accurate in relation to Krete's dimensions, his fragments are fairly light-weight stuff, except for some detail on slaves;<sup>26</sup> he is described as a Rhodian in one of the *Testimonia*.<sup>27</sup> Nothing but the Diodoros citation survives of Laosthenidas, but, for this very reason, Jacoby believes that he was the main source for Diodoros' Kretan section, on the grounds that, in his view, Diodoros used a single source-book, because such a conflation of four authors would be unusual for him, and because among the four names, three authors are relatively well-known and important, while we only know Laosthenidas from Diodoros.<sup>28</sup>

Whether we accept his view, or that of Bosworth (above), regarding the number of sources used by Diodoros for the Kretan section, we should recognize that some accounts were derivative, and some authorities may never have visited Krete. While Kretan residence credentials are not essential to writing an accurate *Kretika*, and derivation does not necessarily equate to inaccuracy, these *caveats* should be borne in mind in relation to the many references to so-called Kretan authorities in the body of the thesis.

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<sup>23</sup> *FGrHist* F2.

<sup>24</sup> *FGHist* 467 (Pyrgion), and 461 (Sosikrates).

<sup>25</sup> *BNJ* (458 F1 and 6) suggests that the only actual reference to Dosiadas may be the Kretan invention of writing (Diod.5.74.1).

<sup>26</sup> *FGrHist* 461 T1=Strabo 10.4.3, F1, F3; Spyridakis 1970 p.18. The material on slavery may have been copied from Dosiadas or *vice versa*, as suggested above.

<sup>27</sup> *FGrHist* 461 T3; Mygind 1999 p.268.

<sup>28</sup> *FGrHist* 462; Spyridakis 1970 p.18; Jacoby 1955 pp.342ff.

### 1.2.2 *Inscriptions*

The very large number of cities in ancient Krete<sup>29</sup>, and their changing alliances and hostilities, has produced a wealth of bilateral treaties, whose evidence includes the names and epithets of gods invoked in oaths, of gods whose temples were used as city archives, and frequent references to festivals and month-names. It seems that two (or more) cities invariably invoked the same list of gods in a treaty between them, implying, not that they both honoured the same gods, but rather that the gods honoured by both parties were important to the witnessing of a treaty. There seems to be a tacit admission here of the significance of religious cult in cementing political alliance. The gods held sacred by a particular city can gradually be identified, by looking for constants, where one city's treaties with several different partners are available, and by close examination of other evidence. Although bilateral treaties provide much of the information, many other inscriptions provide important evidence, most notably perhaps the Palaikastro Hymn and the Law Code of Gortyn.

### 1.2.3 *Archaeology*

Archaeological evidence used includes *inter alia* the Palaikastro Kouros, Orphic gold leaves, votives and ancient statues found in caves and sanctuaries, coins,<sup>30</sup> and depictions on pottery.

### 1.2.4 *Literary Evidence other than Diodoros*

This is the main source for outside perceptions of Krete; it includes a long section on Krete in Strabo, drawing in the main on Ephoros,<sup>31</sup> many references in Homer, the evidence of other ancient historians, particularly Herodotos and Polybios, of philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle, of the poets Bakchylides, Pindar, Euripides,

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<sup>29</sup> *Od.* 19.174 says 90; *Il.* 2.649 says 100; Vasilakis claims 147, but not necessarily all concurrently; Angelos Chaniotis, in a recent lecture, suggested 60.

<sup>30</sup> See particularly p.55.

<sup>31</sup> Strabo 10. 3-4.

and Kallimachos, and of the traveller Pausanias. In addition, the fragments of the Orphic poets and of the 'Kretan' Greek historians provide valuable evidence.

#### 1.2.5 *Topographical Autopsy*

Many visits to all parts of the island have provided a useful picture of the terrain, the distances and difficulties involved in travel, which do much to explain the intense competition for land and strategic sites, the location of harbours, and the rationale for border disputes. Examination of hilltop locations of cities, sanctuary sites and caves and springs, even varieties of trees, has added reality to what was involved in worship, warfare, and everyday life in ancient Krete.

#### 1.2.6 *Period Covered*

The periods specifically addressed are Classical and Hellenistic, which is where most of the evidence comes from, but the historical period has to be extended backwards from time to time, to explain the outside perceptions of Krete, as discussed above, and to examine archaeological evidence for the continuity, or otherwise, of cult and custom. Some specific examples of this include Palaikastro, Dreros, and Kato Syme, the evidence of Linear A and Linear B, the Law Code of Gortyn, and the poetry of Pindar. In particular, certain gods and godlings who are uniquely, or almost uniquely Kretan - such as the Kouretes, Britomartis and Diktynna, Eileithyia, and, indeed, Kretan-born Zeus himself - have their roots in the Minoan past, but are still attracting cult in the Hellenistic era. Furthermore Krete seems to have changed little from well before the period we are considering until after the end of it, a result of what Chaniotis has described as its socio-political petrification, from the seventh to the second century<sup>32</sup>.

#### 1.2.7 *Bibliography*

Some items in the Bibliography may be considered to be unacceptably old, but several of these are connected with the original publication of the Palaikastro Hymn, or later restorations and translations,<sup>33</sup> and are included to show how the thinking about the

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<sup>32</sup> Lecture, Institute of Classical Studies, 24/5/07.

<sup>33</sup> Bosanquet, Bowra, Dawkins, Harrison, Murray, West.

Hymn has changed, particularly in the light of the finding of the Palaikastro Kouros. Others are original archaeological reports,<sup>34</sup> geographical or topographical discussions,<sup>35</sup> or classic works.<sup>36</sup>

#### 1.2.8 Spelling *Convention*

K is used for Greek κ, with the single exception of Thucydides, ch for the Greek χ, and the ending –os rather than –us where the Greek suggests this.

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<sup>34</sup> Bérard, Beyer, Brock, Evans, Kirsten, Marinatos, S., Pendlebury.

<sup>35</sup> Bursian, Faure, Forbes, Pashley.

<sup>36</sup> Cook, Farnell, Guarducci, Kern, Nilsson, and long-lasting Loeb editions.

## 2

**The Palaikastro Hymn and Kretan-born Zeus****2.1 Introduction**

In the words of the ancients: “We begin with Zeus”;<sup>1</sup> not for their reason, that he was the father and chief of the gods, but rather because of a unique association with Krete, his mythical birthplace. We start by taking a fresh look at the Palaikastro Hymn, and, in the light of the find, at the end of the nineteen-eighties, of the Minoan Palaikastro Kouros, we will seek connections, of both chronology and cult, between the two. In an attempt to clarify the Kretans’ own beliefs about the nature of Kretan-born Zeus, and the stories associated with his birth and tomb, the three main manifestations of Kretan-born Zeus: Diktaios, Idatas, and Kretagenes, will be looked at in detail, and other cults of Zeus in the island examined more briefly.

**2.2 The Palaikastro Hymn<sup>2</sup>****2.2.1 Introduction**

First published by RC Bosanquet in 1909, the Palaikastro Hymn had been discovered a few years earlier, among a large number of votive offerings, which, together with a bed of ashes indicative of an altar, identified the site of a Hellenic temple, located within the Minoan town. The finding of the Hymn, addressed to Zeus of Dikte, confirmed that this temple was indeed that of Zeus Diktaios, mentioned in the award of the Magnesians arbitrators in the frontier dispute between Itanos and Hierapytna, in the second century.<sup>3</sup>

Less than half of the original stele was found, consisting of three fragments, but, because the original carving contained so many mistakes, it had been re-carved on the other side, which allowed more of the text to be recovered than would otherwise have been the case. The original publication was accompanied by restoration of the text and notes by Gilbert Murray, and was put into a religious historical context by Jane

<sup>1</sup> Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχόμεσθα. Aratos *Phain.* 1; Theoc. *Id.* 17.1.

<sup>2</sup> *IC* III ii 2.

<sup>3</sup> *IC* III iv 9; Bosanquet 1909 p.339; Nilsson 1968 pp.459, 464f.



Harrison at the same date.<sup>4</sup> Both the restoration and the translation of the Hymn have been more recently considered by other eminent scholars, five of whose versions will be looked at below, together with that of the *ed. princeps*.<sup>5</sup>

The Hymn has been given a much older contextual background by a chryselephantine statuette, found in fragments at the Aegean Bronze Age (C20-15) town at the Palaikastro site, during renewed excavations by the British School at Athens in 1988-90. The town was destroyed in a violent conflagration in the first half of the fifteenth century; the statuette, known as the Palaikastro Kouros, has been pieced together as far as possible and is now in the museum at Siteia.<sup>6</sup>

The pose and hairstyle of the Palaikastro Kouros statuette are similar to the many terracotta figurines of male youths discovered at several Minoan peak sanctuaries, including that at Mt Petsophas, close to Palaikastro. This similarity indicates that he is of the same age-group as the others, but the statuette's size, and the splendour of materials and craftsmanship, suggest that he is probably the god or hero whose devotees they are.<sup>7</sup> As will be seen, this ties in closely with the scenario of the Hymn over 1500 years later.

The statuette is of a youthful beardless figure;<sup>8</sup> Zeus Diktaios is supposed to have earned his name by right of birth and early childhood spent on Mt Dikte, but this does not necessarily explain why he is worshipped here as a young man. It is argued that a pre-Greek young god of Krete, associated with vegetation and re-birth, was adopted by the Mykenean settlers in Krete, and identified with their own Zeus, towards the end of the Bronze Age.<sup>9</sup> This leaves some doubt as to whether the statuette actually

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<sup>4</sup> Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1921 p.499; Bosanquet 1909 p.340; Murray 1909; Harrison 1909.

<sup>5</sup> Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1921; West 1965; Bowra 1970; Verbruggen 1981; Perlman 1995.

<sup>6</sup> MacGillivray and Sackett, 2000a.

<sup>7</sup> Koehl 2000 p.131; Furley and Bremer 2001 p.71.

<sup>8</sup> MacGillivray and Sackett 2000b p.165; Crowther 2000 p.145; Furley and Bremer 2001 p.71.

<sup>9</sup> Dowden (2006 pp.10 and 11) suggests that as worshippers of Zeus migrated they found new 'Zeuses' among the local gods, so changing the character of 'their' Zeus as they absorbed them, and that the combination of the Near-Eastern concept of a family of gods, with a Near-Eastern 'young, violent, and successful storm god' may have helped Zeus to survive.

represented Zeus Diktaios at the time it was produced, but does suggest iconographic, if not necessarily cultic, continuity from the end of the Bronze Age until the late Classical, since *Etym. Magn.* mentions a beardless statue of Zeus in the sanctuary of Zeus Diktaios, and the Greatest Kouros of the Hymn also suggests a youthful god.<sup>10</sup> Ancient association with Zeus Diktaios is also suggested by the similarity between signs in an undeciphered Linear A inscription from the peak sanctuary on Mt Petsophas above Palaikastro, and those interpreted as representing Zeus Diktaios in Linear B texts from Knossos.<sup>11</sup>

### 2.2.2 Text and translation<sup>12</sup>

<p>Ἴὸ μέγιστε Κούρε χαῖρέ μοι, Κρόνειε παγκρατές, γᾶν ὄς βέβακες 4 δαιμόνων ἀγώμενος· Δίκταν ἐς ἐνιαυτὸν ἔρπε, καὶ γέγαθι μολπᾶ·</p>	<p>Io! Greatest Kouros, hail, all-powerful son of Kronos, who have come to earth at the head of your <i>daimones</i>. Come to Dikte for the yearly cycle and take pleasure in our song.</p>
<p>8 τάν τοι κρέκομεν πακτίσι μειζαντες ἄμ' ἀλλοῖσιν καὶ στάντες ἀείδομεν τεδὸν ἀμφὶ βωμὸν εὐερκῆ.</p>	<p>We thread it with harps (Stanza 1) and blend it with pipes and sing as we come to a stand at your well-fenced altar.</p>

<sup>10</sup> *Etym. Magn.* 276.18; Thorne 2000 pp.149f; Bowra 1970 p.186; Alonge (2005 p.6ff) is an interesting dissenting voice, interpreting *kouros* both as 'son' (of Kronos), with no age-connotation, and, on the basis of several parallel passages, as 'baby'. While 'son' with no age-connotation is perfectly plausible, the suggestion that Zeus as a baby 'stood at the head of the gods', as he translates βέβακες δαιμόνων ἀγώμενος, comes across as a little absurd, and the suggestion that both are indicated by *kouros* thus detracts from his argument, although he makes a fairly convincing case that the allusion to the baby is to remind the worshippers of his first coming to Dikte, as described in the second stanza.

<sup>11</sup> Crowther 2000 p.145. For more detail see p.32.

<sup>12</sup> The basic restoration used is that of West, 1965; the translation of the stanzas is adapted from West and the other restorations, while that of the refrain owes much to valuable suggestions by Alan Griffiths. Opinion has varied as to whether the verses between each repetition of the refrain should be referred to as 'stanzas' (Murray 1909 p.360, West 1965 p. 154, Furlley and Bremer 2001 p.68, Alonge 2005 p.11) or 'strophes' (Bowra 1970 p. 190, Perlman 1995 p. 161, Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1921 p.501). 'Stanza' is preferred here, as 'strophe' is associated with clockwise circling (Mullen 1982 p.225), and the chorus state in verse 9 that they have come to a stand (ἰστήμι), although there is some suggestion of dancing in the word μολπᾶ.

	ἰὼ μέγισ[τε] Κοῦρε	Refrain
12	χαῖρέ μοι, Κρόνειε παγκρα[τές, γὰν ὃς βέβακες] δαιμόνων ἀγώμενος· Δίκταν ἐς ἐνι[αυτὸν]	
16	ἔρπ]ε, καὶ γέγαθι μολπᾶ·	
	ἔνθα γάρ σε, παῖδ' ἄμβροτον, ἀσπιδ[. . . . .]	For here the shield[-bearing (Stanza 2) nurturers] took you,
20	κ[ παρ' Ῥέας λαβόντες †πολα κ[ . . . . . and with [beating] feet - - -	
	ἰὼ μέγιστε Κοῦρε	Refrain
	χαῖρέ μοι, Κρόνειε παγκρατές, γὰν ὃς βέβακες	
24	δαιμόνων ἀγώμενος Δίκταν ἐς ἐνιαυτὸν ἔρπε, καὶ γέγαθι μολπᾶ	
	<i>Three verses missing</i>	
	– υ ]ας καλᾶς ἀῶς.	. . . of the fair dawn. (Stanza 3)
	[Ἰὼ μέγιστε Κοῦρε,	Refrain
32	χαῖρέ μοι, Κ]ρόνειε Παγκρατές, γὰν [ὃς βέβακες δαιμόνω]ν ἀγώμενος· Δίκταν ἐς ἐνι[αυτὸν]	
36	ἔρπε κα]ὶ γέγαθι μολπᾶ·	
	[. . . . . β]ρύον κατῆτος καὶ βροτὸς Δίκα κατῆχε [. . . . .]ιπ' ἔξω	. . . abounded every year, (Stanza 4) and men were restrained by Justice, and [all living animals were] - - -
40	ἀ φίλολβος Εἰρήνα.	by wealth-loving Peace
	[ἰὼ μέγιστε Κοῦρε χαῖρέ μοι, Κρόνειε] παγκρατές, γὰν [ὃς βέβακες	Refrain
44	δαιμόνων ἀγώ]μενος· Δίκταν ἐς ἐ[νιαυτὸν ἔρπε καὶ γέ]γαθι μολπᾶ·	
	ἀ[λλ' ἀναξ θόρ' ἐς στα]μνία καὶ θόρ' εὐπόκ' ἐς [ποίμνια, κ' ἐς λάϊ]α καρπῶν θόρε, κὲς τελεσφ[όρος οἶκος.]	O [lord, spring up in the wine-j]ars, spring up in the fleecy [flocks, (Stanza 5) spring up in the crop]s of the fields and in the fruitful homes.
48		

	ἰὸ μέγιστε Κοῦρε	Refrain	
52	χαῖρέ μοι, Κρ[όνειε] Παγκρατές, γὰν ὄς βέβακες [δαιμό]νων ἀγώμενος· Δίκταν ἐς ἐνι[αυτὸν]		
56	ἔρπε καὶ γέγαθι μολπᾶ·		
	[θόρε κές ] πόληας ἀμῶν, θόρε κές ποντοπόρος νᾶας, θόρε κές ν[έος πο]λείτας, 60 θόρε κές θέμιν κλ[ . . .	Spring up in] our cities, spring up in our sea-borne ships, spring up in our young citizens, and spring up in [noble] order.	(Stanza 6)
	Ἰὸ μέγιστε] Κοῦρε χαῖρέ μοι, Κρόνειε παγρατές, γὰν ὄς βέβακ[ες 64 δαιμόνων ἀγ]ώμενος· Δίκταν ἐς ἐνι[αυτὸν ἔρπε καὶ γέγαθι] μολπᾶ·	Refrain	

3 παγκρατές γάνος / γάνους, βέβακες Murray, Wilamowitz, Bowra, Verbruggen, Perlman.<sup>13</sup>

18 ἀσπίδ[ηφόροι τροφής] Murray ἀσπί[δεσσε Κώρητες] Wilamowitz, Bowra.

19 20 πόδα κ[ . . . . . ] Verbruggen, Perlman πόδα κ[ρούοντες ἀπέκρυσαν] Murray πόδα κ[υκλῶντες ἀπέκρυσαν] Wilamowitz.

37 [ᾠραι δὲ βρ]ύον Murray, Verbruggen [ἄγροι δὲ βρ]ύον Bowra.

39 [πάντα τ' ἄγρι' ἄμφε]πε ζῶ' Murray [καὶ πάντα διη]πε ζῶ<ι>' Wilamowitz [καὶ παντοδάπ' ἄμφε]πε ζῶ' Bowra [ . . . . . ] ἦπε ζῶ<ι> Verbruggen.

47 ἄ[μιν θόρε, κ' ἐς στα]μνία Murray ἀ[λλὰ βῶν θόρ' ἐς ποί]μνια Wilamowitz ἀ[μῶν δὲ θόρ' ἐς λί]μνια Bowra ἀ[μῶν δὲ θόρ' ἐς ποί]μνια Perlman.

48 [ἐς πῶεα] Wilamowitz, Bowra [ἐς μῆλα] Perlman.

50 τελες[φόρους σίμβλους] Murray (he translates σίμβλους as 'hives' – 1959 p.359).

60 κ[αλάν] Murray κλ[ηνά] Wilamowitz κλ[εῖταν] Bowra, Perlman.

### 2.2.3 The Refrain

The refrain appears at the beginning of the Hymn, and is unusually repeated after every stanza; from this, and from the simplicity and consistency of its metre, in contrast to that of the stanzas, it has been inferred that the refrain was the main purpose of the hymn, and would have embodied the essentials of the rite.<sup>14</sup> Since the word μολπᾶ

<sup>13</sup> Among the six restorations being considered, West suggests a different lay-out of the refrain from Murray's, but endorses his line-length in the stanzas; longer lines throughout were advocated by Wilamowitz, and endorsed by Bowra, Verbruggen, and Perlman. The line numbers used in the *apparatus criticus* relate to West's version, and not to those of the alternative versions quoted. Wherever Perlman is quoted, she is following the text of Guarducci, *IC* III ii 2, and of 'Ancora sull' inno cretese a Zeus Dicteo', in *Antichità Cretesi: studi in onore di Doro Levi* ii (Catania 1974) 36-38 (for the new restorations in stanza 5).

<sup>14</sup> Bowra 1970 p.182f.

often includes dancing, and the singers say in Stanza 1 that they have ‘come to a stand’, it is possible that they danced during the refrain. There is apparently no other example of the title Μέγιστος Κοῦρος; the Kouros is possibly a god generated from the Kouretes, originally simply their leader, and later identified with the young Zeus.<sup>15</sup> Νέος Κούρης is a title given to Epimenides, where the context suggests one of the Kouretes.<sup>16</sup> The Hymn blurs the distinction between Κρόνεια, which implies the Olympian Zeus, the ‘father of gods and men’, and the pre-Greek ‘vegetation god’, who was certainly the precursor of the deity addressed; the very avoidance of the name Zeus suggests a certain coyness about this distinction.<sup>17</sup> But it is generally accepted that the son of Kronos is being worshipped here as a young, beardless god, presumably therefore Olympian Zeus in his youth, although an alternative suggestion is that this is Zeus reborn as a youthful god.<sup>18</sup>

West’s reading of the third line, as used above, is unique among the restorations, which are variously translated as ‘lord of all that is wet and gleaming’, and as ‘maître de l’eau limpide, de la lumière éclatante, de la joie rayonnante’.<sup>19</sup> West makes the whole invocation more grammatically consistent, avoids what he calls ‘the difficult noun’ γάνος or γάνους, and puts βέβακες into context, by his reading of παγρατές, γὰν ὄς βέβακες. But his translation suggests a god who has gone to earth, requiring him to be recalled annually to Dikte. We have noted above the suggestion that the god is actually reborn, which is probably also implied by those who discuss him as a ‘year-god’; an ambivalent interpretation invites him ‘to Dikte for the year’, while one other commentator agrees with West’s reading.<sup>20</sup> But the reference to ‘a child immortal’ in verse 17 argues against a dying god. Alan Griffiths (pers. comm.) takes the view that ἔρπε is not an appropriate verb for summoning up from earth or grave, and that the

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<sup>15</sup> Murray 1909 p.359.

<sup>16</sup> Murray 1909 p.359; *FGrHist* 457 T4(c); *BNJ* (457 T1) relates the name to Epimenides’ Kretan background.

<sup>17</sup> Harrison 1927 p.11; West 1965 p.155.

<sup>18</sup> Verbruggen, 1981 p.103; Bosanquet, 1909 p.349; Nilsson, 1968 p.547; Harrison, 1927 p.11; West 1965 p.155. It is Willetts (1962 p.214) who suggests that Zeus is reborn as a youthful god.

<sup>19</sup> Murray, 1909 p.358; Verbruggen 1981 pp.103-5; also Guthrie 1950 p.46 ‘all-powerful and bright one’

<sup>20</sup> West 1965 p.151; Harrison (1909 pp.29ff) for the year-god; Murray (1909 p.358): “to Dikte for the year” (similarly Guthrie); Verbruggen (1981 p.105) agrees with West.

*daimones* would not have been down there with the god; he suggests rather that Olympian Zeus had an annual epiphany on Krete, and is here exhorted to manifest himself at Dikte specifically.

#### 2.2.4 *The Stanzas*

The stanzas are more difficult, because they are more fragmentary, and do not have the benefit of being repeated. The first gives more detail of the ‘us’ of the Hymn, who are standing, singing and playing harps and pipes, significantly not warlike noises, as discussed below. The second unquestionably refers to the well-known story of the birth of Zeus, his handing over by Rhea to the care of the Kouretes, and their protection of him with clashing shields and stamping feet. There is little to choose between the two alternative restorations for line 18 as far as the sense is concerned and Murray actually offered both, although Bowra felt that ἀσπιδηφόροι τροφῆες was perhaps too allusive for the context;<sup>21</sup> the actual naming of the Kouretes, or otherwise, would not be significant, since the reference to them is so unambiguous. Although West prints †πολα in his text, and suggests ὄπλα as a possible alternative, he agrees that πόδα in line 19, as interpreted by all the others, is likely; this in turn makes very probable the sense of concealing the baby with the noise of beating feet, as in the restorations of Murray and Wilamowitz.<sup>22</sup>

The third stanza is very fragmentary, but the apparent reference to a fair dawn could suggest a link between mastery of nature and an ordered life,<sup>23</sup> a theme which seems to continue in the fourth stanza (legible only on the doubtful back of the stele), with possible references to the ordering of the seasons, the rule of Justice among mortals, and of Peace doing something. Doubt has been expressed as to whether seasons swell, and possibly ἄγροι is the better restoration in line 37,<sup>24</sup> but all the variants for line 39 suggest that what Peace is doing is to surround all living animals. This interpretation is in line with some of the benefits brought to mankind by the Kouretes according to

<sup>21</sup> Murray 1909 p.359; Bowra 1970 p.190.

<sup>22</sup> West 1965 p.152; Murray 1909 p.358; Wilamowitz (1958 p.500) cites Eur. *Orest.* 632 for πόδα κυκλοῦν, a verb with the dual sense of surrounding and dancing, very appropriate in the context.

<sup>23</sup> Murray 1909 p.360; Verbruggen 1981 p.105-6.

<sup>24</sup> Bowra 1970 p.192.

Diodoros, but flourishing fields and Justice also suggest the rather similar benefactions later attributed by the same author to Zeus.<sup>25</sup> Diodoros claimed to be using Kretan sources for the whole of this section<sup>26</sup> so we are justified in using either interpretation, but the mention of Justice and Peace seems to refer to Olympian Zeus, whose daughters they are (with mother, Themis). The swelling fields, on the other hand, recall Hesiod's golden age in the time of Kronos, and the Hymn is perhaps transferring this age of innocence to the reign of Zeus.<sup>27</sup> At that time, according to Plato, there was no eating of meat, and if the (restored) reference to Peace protecting animals is correct, it could imply a vegetarian age. In Euripides' *Cretans* (9-10), the initiate of Idaian Zeus abstained from meat after initiation, despite having feasted on raw flesh beforehand, as a herdsman of nocturnal Zagreus.<sup>28</sup> Although it seems that Euripides is here combining elements from various traditions for effect, since this combination is not attested for any one cult or sect, there is a hint here of Orphic tradition in connection with the Kretan Zeus.<sup>29</sup>

There is other evidence of Orphic tradition in Krete in the form of gold leaves found at Eleutherna, in addition to those in other, mainly marginal, parts of the Greek world. The Eleutherna finds have been dated to mid-third century or earlier, and suggest that a supposedly south Italian eschatology was flourishing in Krete at that time.<sup>30</sup> A slightly tenuous link with stanzas 5 and 6 is suggested by another of the Orphic gold leaves, from Pelinna in Thessaly.<sup>31</sup> Whatever the significance of the bull and goat leaping into the milk on the gold leaf, the action seems to reflect the invocation in stanza 5 for the Kouros to spring into wine-jars, flocks, crops, and homes, or the various alternatives suggested; the verb, *θρόσκω*, is the same. West's 'spring up in' is a happier translation of *θόρε ἐς* than such alternatives as 'leap for', which disregards the

<sup>25</sup> Diod. 5.65; Murray 1909 p.360; Bowra 1970 p.192; Diod.5.71-2.

<sup>26</sup> Diod. 5.80.4. Note *caveats* p.5.

<sup>27</sup> Bosanquet 1909 pp.354-5; Hes. *Op.*101-126; Pl. *Plt.*271e; Verbruggen 1981 pp.105-6; Perlman 1995 p.167.

<sup>28</sup> Eur.*Fr.*472. 10-11. It is unlikely that Euripides would have distinguished between the different cults of the Kretan Zeus, and probably the cult of Zeus Idatas, being Dorian, was better known outside Krete than the Eteokretan Diktaios. For another, more remote, possibility, see p.35.

<sup>29</sup> For further discussion of all this, see pp.35, 75f.

<sup>30</sup> Parker 1995 p.496, 1986 p.269; Janko 1984 p.89; Zuntz 1971 p.364.

<sup>31</sup> Parker 1995 p.497.

preposition, and ‘leap into’, where the sexual connotations would have to be literal in stanza 5 and figurative in stanza 6<sup>32</sup>. The preposition ἐς would also tend to exclude the idea that θόρε is *inter alia* an allusion to the birth of Zeus, based on parallels of various gods leaping out of the womb.<sup>33</sup>

Stanza 6 extends the fertility symbolism, slightly awkwardly, to encompass also cities, ships, young citizens, and order (Themis), and it seems plausible to relate this to the very similar wording – non-betrayal of cities, ships and citizens, and the maintenance of fairness and equality – of the third century Itanos citizenship oath.<sup>34</sup> πόληας ἀμῶν in the final stanza suggests that priests and worshippers from several cities were involved in the rite, implying that the temple of Diktaian Zeus at Palaikastro was a federal sanctuary, at least for the cities of eastern Krete who worshipped Zeus Diktaios. The Early Iron Age findings at Palaikastro suggest that the site served as a neutral meeting-ground for people of different surrounding communities, and its primary function as a regional sanctuary may even have been that of a meeting-place for *élite* members of different communities.<sup>35</sup> The sanctuary seems neither to have attracted visitors from the rest of Krete nor from overseas; it may rather have reinforced a regional identity, in the form of an autochthonous or ‘Eteokretan’ consciousness.<sup>36</sup> The possibility that such regional meetings might have included the graduation of ephebes from all the communities attending is discussed below.<sup>37</sup>

### 2.2.5 Dates

Three dates are of interest in connection with this Hymn: the date of the inscription itself, the date of the Hymn’s original composition, generally agreed to be much earlier,

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<sup>32</sup> Verbruggen 1981 p.106; Murray 1909 p.359; Nilsson 1968 pp.548, 550; Willetts 1962 p.214.

<sup>33</sup> Alonge 2005 p.12.

<sup>34</sup> *IC III iv 8*; Perlman 1995 p.162.

<sup>35</sup> Willetts 1962 p.210; Chaniotis 1988 p.28; Verbruggen 1981 p.109; Prent 2000 p.537. Bowra (1970 p.195) suggests Itanos, Hierapytna, Praisos, and Heleia.

<sup>36</sup> Prent 2000 p.545. Homer’s Eteokretans, or ‘true’ Kretans, were reputedly autochthonous (*Od.* 19.176); for their location here see p.198.

<sup>37</sup> See p.24.



and the earliest date which might be reasonably associated with the cult whose ritual it describes.<sup>38</sup>

It is probable that the stele was engraved *circa* the beginning of the third century AD,<sup>39</sup> and was copied from a much older original. The fact that the text had to be copied twice, on the back and front of the same stele, suggests that the text was unfamiliar, and that, for whatever reason, an old ritual hymn was being revived.<sup>40</sup> From the nature of the mistakes in the first attempt, on the ‘back’ of the stele, it seems that this copy, at least, was made by an engraver “without understanding”, either illiterate or ignorant of Greek. It has been suggested that this could have been an Eteokretan,<sup>41</sup> but the assumption that such were around in the third century AD seems implausible, particularly following the destruction of Praisos by Hierapytna in 145, an event which spelt “the end of any evidence for a specifically Eteocretan identity”.<sup>42</sup>

There is rather more scatter in the dating of the original composition, varying from the third to the fifth century, but the consensus seems to point to the late fourth or third century.<sup>43</sup> The metre of the poem could place it anywhere from the sixth to the fourth century, but the dialect and content would be unlikely before 400, and probably indicate a date closer to 300, while the actual spelling of the engraving, assuming this reflects the original, would indicate the fourth or third century.<sup>44</sup> The later date might explain some striking similarities, mentioned above, between the language of the final stanza of the Hymn and that of the third-century ephebic oath from Itanos, suggesting that they are probably roughly contemporary.<sup>45</sup> But a fifth-century, or even Archaic, date for the

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<sup>38</sup> Furley and Bremer 2001 p.69.

<sup>39</sup> Cook 1914 p.15; Nilsson 1968 p.546; “probably not earlier than 200 AD”, Bosanquet 1909 p.341, citing Halbherr; C2/3 AD, Harrison 1927 pp.3-4; C3 AD Wilamowitz 1958 p.499 and West 1965 p.151; C3 AD “beyond doubt” Furley and Bremer 2001 p.69, citing Guarducci 1942 p.15.

<sup>40</sup> Harrison 1927 p.6; Murray 1909 p.364.

<sup>41</sup> West 1965 p.151; Bosanquet 1909 p.347.

<sup>42</sup> Alcock 2002 p.118.

<sup>43</sup> So Guarducci 1943 p.15, Perlman 1995 p.161, Willetts 1962 p. 212, and Furley and Bremer 2001 p.70; c.300 Harrison 1927 p.4 and Cook 1914 p.15; “Hellenistic” Nilsson 1968 p.546; C4 Guthrie 1950 p.46 and Lonsdale 1993 p.165 n.115.

<sup>44</sup> Murray 1909 p.365 on the metre, dialect and content, although Nilsson (1968 p.546) places the “polished metre” as Hellenistic; West 1965 p.151 on the spelling.

<sup>45</sup> *IC* III iv 8; Perlman 1995 p.163; Lonsdale 1993 p.165 n.115.

composition has also been suggested,<sup>46</sup> including the possibility that the refrain was composed earlier, perhaps in the fifth century, with the stanzas added later.<sup>47</sup>

The date of the origin of the cult is more difficult to ascertain, particularly because, as will be shown below, the cult probably evolved considerably, while using a constant iconography. Whether the Hymn actually shows us “myth and ritual in the making”,<sup>48</sup> as was believed when it was first discovered, is questionable, since the archaeological evidence suggests that both pre-date the Hymn. As already mentioned, the Hymn confirmed that the Hellenic temple at Palaikastro was indeed that of Zeus Diktaios. A second-century inscription records restoration work of “ancient statues” in the sanctuary of Zeus Diktaios, which Guarducci suggests were the “gods in Dikte” invoked in the third-century Itanos oath, and which may well have included the Διὸς ἄγαλμα ἄγένειον, the “beardless Zeus” statue recorded in *Etym. Magn.*, to which we have already referred.<sup>49</sup> Statues dubbed “ancient” in the second century might not necessarily be earlier than the Hymn, whether it dates from the fifth or even the third century, but the majority of the votive offerings uncovered suggest that the temple was in use from the seventh century onwards, while some of the metal finds, such as tripods, were probably even older.<sup>50</sup> The cult could thus have preceded the building of the temple by say 150 years, making the cult over a thousand years old at the time of the inscription of the Hymn.<sup>51</sup>

It was also found that the Hellenic temple was built, not just on the site of a Minoan town, but actually on that of a Minoan sanctuary. There was evidence of sacrifice in the Late Minoan I strata (1600-1425)<sup>52</sup> - ash, bones, and fragments of clay bulls’ heads - indicating that the Hellenic temple was built almost exactly on top of this earlier

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<sup>46</sup> Bowra 1970 p.182 and n.4; Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1958 p.502: “ein Dichter des 5. Jahrhunderts”; MacGillivray 2000 p.126: “The Hymn confirms the presence of Zeus Diktaios at Palaikastro at least as early as the Kretan Archaic period”.

<sup>47</sup> Bowra 1970 p.197. Professor Chris Carey (pers. comm.) has firmly rejected this.

<sup>48</sup> Harrison 1927 p.1.

<sup>49</sup> See p.11. *IC* III iv 8 and III iii 1; Guarducci 1942 p.9; Crowther 2000 p.146; Furley and Bremer 2001 p.73.

<sup>50</sup> Bosanquet 1905 p.305; Perlman (1995 p.163 n.20), citing James Whitley, dates the sanctuary to C8.

<sup>51</sup> Furley and Bremer 2001 p.70.

<sup>52</sup> Prent 2005 p.34.

sanctuary, associated with a Minoan deity,<sup>53</sup> the strong presumption must be, since the finding of the Kouros, that it was he who was worshipped here.<sup>54</sup> This suggests continuity of the iconography of the cult represented here, from the Late Minoan to the Hellenistic era, although not necessarily continuity of the religious significance of the young god represented.<sup>55</sup>

Further questions then arise in relation to these dates: how did this continuity come about? why was the Hymn composed in late Classical or early Hellenistic times? and what caused it to be revived on stone in the third century AD? It is suggested that customs which did not survive the destruction of the palaces may have survived in Palaikastro, as a relatively minor city.<sup>56</sup> It seems likely, from Minoan representations of dancers and sacred trees,<sup>57</sup> that the original Minoan cult was associated with a god of vegetation and fertility. The quality of the Early Iron Age votives at Palaikastro show that it was still the sanctuary of an important local god at that date, while the inclusion of bronze shields and weapons suggest a possible connection with initiation of the young men of an aristocratic warrior society.<sup>58</sup> By the date of the composition of the Hymn, the emphasis was again partly on fertility, but with the more sophisticated inclusion of cities, ships, and young citizens, which might also suggest initiation.

With regard to the reason for the composition of the Hymn, evidence of the epithet *Kretagenes* for Zeus, in treaties and on coins, is first found in the Hellenistic period. There seems to have been no earlier insistence on a special relationship between Krete and Zeus, and it is possible that the introduction of this epithet may have been in response to a need, at that time, to underline such a relationship for political or propaganda purposes.<sup>59</sup> Although, as we shall see below, there is little evidence of the cult of Zeus *Kretagenes* coinciding with that of Zeus *Diktaios*, a revival of the latter could still have been part of the same desire to stress the relationship between Krete and

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<sup>53</sup> Furley and Bremer 2001 p.72.

<sup>54</sup> Dawkins 1905 p.287.

<sup>55</sup> Thorne 2000 p.150.

<sup>56</sup> Harrison 1927 p.3.

<sup>57</sup> West 1965 p.157.

<sup>58</sup> Prent 2000 p.642f.

<sup>59</sup> Verbruggen 1981 p.140.

Zeus. Then again it could have been connected to a development in Orphic tradition, suggested by the third-century gold leaves discussed above. A third possibility is that a date around 300 might not be too early to be associated with an increasing and more public tendency in Hellenistic Krete, to use border-cults, of which we shall show that the sanctuary of Zeus Diktaios was an example,<sup>60</sup> to assert and defend civic prerogatives.<sup>61</sup> The similarity of the language of the last stanza of the Hymn to that of the Itanos oath, already discussed, might suggest that the sanctuary was under the control of Itanos at the time, as it certainly was in the second century,<sup>62</sup> and that the creation of the Hymn, particularly its reference to ‘our cities’, was Itanos marking her territory as amphictionic top dog.

None of these explanations satisfy a dating of the refrain to the fifth century, or even earlier, but, since the repeated calling of the god to Dikte in the Hymn implies a summons to his sanctuary, there is the possibility that the origin of the Hymn was specifically to summon the god from his old seat in the Psychro Cave, where cult was discontinued in about the seventh century, to his new cult-centre at Palaikastro,<sup>63</sup> where the temple had probably recently been built, as discussed above.

The date of the inscription itself implies that, for whatever reason, there was a revival of the cult here in Roman times, similar to that of the cults of Eileithyia at Amnisos, and Diktynna in the west.<sup>64</sup> It has been suggested, based on two inscriptions found at the foot of Mt Ida, relating to the worship of the Kouretes, and dated probably to the second century AD, that such revivals may have been associated with natural disasters; from which it is argued that some similar crisis in eastern Krete might have led to the revival of obsolescent rites of Zeus Diktaios there at a slightly later date, and led to the re-inscribing of the Hymn and the revival of the cult at Palaikastro.<sup>65</sup> Alternatively, and perhaps more likely, such revivals reflected both Roman interest in local Kretan cults,

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<sup>60</sup> See p.32.

<sup>61</sup> Alcock 2002 p.108. The earlier evolution of such rural sanctuaries is discussed in de Polignac 1994.

<sup>62</sup> Perlman 1995 p.165.

<sup>63</sup> Crowther 2000 p.146; Bowra 1970 p.196. Chaniotis points out the importance of the actual presence of a god, who could only be in one place at a time (seminar on *The Ithyphallic Hymn*, London, 28/1/2009).

<sup>64</sup> For Eileithyia, Willetts 1962 p.143, 1965 p.134. For Diktynna, see p.102.

<sup>65</sup> Bosanquet 1909 p.353-4.

and a Kretan desire to emphasize local traditions, probably in reaction to the Roman imposition of unity.<sup>66</sup>

### 2.2.6 *The Daimones, the Kouretes, and the Singers*

The early interpreters of the Palaikastro Hymn were unanimous in identifying the *daimones* whom the Greatest Kouros leads, as representing the Kouretes;<sup>67</sup> indeed it was generally known as ‘The Hymn of the Kouretes’, and one scholar describes the singers as ‘armed dancers’,<sup>68</sup> the standard image of the Kouretes, despite the fact that the text has them standing and singing and playing harps and pipes, with no mention of weapons, although we have acknowledged possible intermittent dancing.

Since the worshippers call on the Kouros, in each refrain, to come with his *daimones*, the worshippers can hardly themselves be those *daimones*.<sup>69</sup> It seems essential therefore that we separate these attendants of the Kouros, as well as the ‘they’,<sup>70</sup> clearly the Kouretes, of stanza 2, from the ‘we’ of the worshipping singers of stanza 1. In that way we can consider whether to equate the *daimones* with the Kouretes, without coming up against the anomaly of the peaceful nature of the worshipping singers’ behaviour *vis-à-vis* the Kouretes’ use of clashing weapons to conceal the baby Zeus’s cries. Then there is the related question, which has caused some speculation, as to who, if anyone, other than the Kouros himself, is doing the leaping. One commentator suggests unequivocally that the last two stanzas are a series of commands for the singers themselves to leap; but this would imply that they were leaping “for” the flocks, crops, cities and so on, which is incompatible with the preposition ἐς as is discussed above.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Angelos Chaniotis mentioned this Roman interest at seminar in Oxford, 7/6/2010.

<sup>67</sup> Murray 1909; Bosanquet 1909; Harrison 1909.

<sup>68</sup> Harrison 1909 p.308. However it has been suggested that it is possible that the singing of the Hymn was preceded or accompanied by a dance executed by others (West 1965 p.157); such dancers could have been armed, and re-enacting the Kouretes mythical armed dance with its connotations of fertility and growth (*ibid* p.156). In another context, Chaniotis mentions the concept of two choruses; one standing and singing while the other danced (seminar on *The Ithyphallic Hymn*. London, 28/1/2009).

<sup>69</sup> Bowra 1970 pp.195-6.

<sup>70</sup> Even those who “in some sense” equate the singers with the Kouretes imply this by the restoration ἀπέκρουσαν, the third person, which is not otherwise apparent from the Greek (Harrison 1909 pp.303, 313; Murray 1909 p.359).

<sup>71</sup> Murray 1909 p.361; Nilsson 1968 p.550.

The singular form of the imperative  $\theta\acute{o}\rho\epsilon$  would also seem to confirm that it is the Kouros alone who is urged to leap.

But, returning to the question of *daimones* and Kouretes, we have no way of knowing from the Hymn whether the *daimones* leapt with their leader which, if they were Kouretes, they probably would have done, without needing any urging. There seems little correlation between Zeus Diktaios' appearing in inscriptions and the Kouretes' doing so. In a collection of nine inscriptions mentioning Zeus Diktaios and/or the Kouretes,<sup>72</sup> they appear together in only two cases,<sup>73</sup> both of which involve Hierapytna, and one of which includes Korybantēs also. Zeus Diktaios appears without the Kouretes in at least two cases, both in the Eastern Krete,<sup>74</sup> while the Kouretes appear without Zeus Diktaios but with a variety of other epithets for Zeus in five other inscriptions covering bilateral treaties;<sup>75</sup> in most, although not all, of these we find Zeus Idatas. This connection fits with the evidence of the inscription mentioned above, relating to the veneration of the Kouretes, as protectors of cattle in the Ida region.<sup>76</sup> It is noteworthy that all the cities where the Kouretes are mentioned without Zeus Diktaios, except Gortyn, (which is in the Ida catchment area), lie around the Lasithi mountain-mass, suggesting particular association of the Kouretes with this area also. The Lato/Olous treaty actually mentions a sanctuary of the Kouretes in the definition of Lato's border, possibly somewhere near where this meets the borders of Hierapytna and Lyttos, in the northeast foothills of Lasithi Massif.<sup>77</sup> There seems to be no similar association of the Kouretes with the 'Eteokretan' eastern end of the island, the stronghold of Zeus Diktaios.

On the other hand, the strongest argument for the *daimones* being Kouretes is perhaps that Zeus has no other known *thiasos*, although their apparent function here as

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<sup>72</sup> See Appendix 1.

<sup>73</sup> *IC* III iii 5, Hierapytna/settlement; *SEG* XXVI 1049, Hierapytna/Lato. Bosanquet (1909 pp.352-3 and n.1) suggests that the Korybantēs had a special relationship with Hierapytna.

<sup>74</sup> *IC* III iv 8, Itanos oath; *IC* III vi 7, Praisos/Stalai.

<sup>75</sup> *IC* IV 174, Gortyn with Hierapytna/Priansos; *IC* IV 183, Gortyn/Sybrita; *IC* III iii 3B, Hierapytna/Lyttos; *IC* I xvi 5, Lato/Olous; *IC* I xviii 9, Lyttos/Olous.

<sup>76</sup> See p.21; Bosanquet, 1909 p.353.

<sup>77</sup> *IC* I xvi 5=Chan.61.

vegetation godlings, rather than as the armed dancers of the myth, would be unusual.<sup>78</sup> The Kouretes are closely associated with the Nymphs, who invariably follow them when they are included in the lists of deities invoked in oaths. Identification of the *daimones* with the θεοὶ σύνναοι – the gods who share the sanctuary at Dikte with Zeus, mentioned in inscriptions from the Diktaian sanctuary and from Itanos<sup>79</sup> - does not in itself preclude their being at the same time Kouretes and Nymphs,<sup>80</sup> but it definitely seems unlikely that the Kouretes were ever referred to as such in the far east of Krete, or, in general, in connection with Zeus Diktaios. There is no implication, moreover, that the worshippers were emulating the Kouretes.

So finally, who were these worshippers, the singers of the Hymn? The evidence, from the plural πόληας ἀμῶν in stanza 6, that representatives of several cities were involved, together with evidence from the annual ephebic oaths of Dreros and Itanos, might suggest that the Palaikastro rite was associated with the graduation of ephebes from several cities, combined with the renewal of alliances between those cities, which often took place on a specified festival each year.<sup>81</sup> Although this seems to be what Perlman is suggesting, she also mentions that all resident Itanian citizens had to take the alliance oath on the same day, and it is unlikely that the whole citizen-body of Itanos trekked to Palaikastro for this purpose, although the initiands might have done so. The suggestion has been made that the singers were ephebes from participating cities,<sup>82</sup> but there seems no evidence for this. Almost certainly, though, the singers would have included representatives of all the participating cities.

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<sup>78</sup> Nilsson 1968 p.547.

<sup>79</sup> *IC* III ii 1; *IC* III iv 8; Verbruggen 1981 p.105.

<sup>80</sup> Bosanquet 1909 p.353.

<sup>81</sup> *IC* I ix 1; *IC* III iv 8; Perlman 1995 pp.166-7.

<sup>82</sup> Chaniotis 1988 p.28 and 1996 p.128, citing Perlman, but not explicitly associating it with initiation. Dowden 2006 p.34 also suggests that the singers were youths.

## 2.3 Kretan-born Zeus<sup>83</sup>

### 2.3.1 *The Nature of Zeus*

Kretan-born Zeus, as identified with the Greatest Kouros of the Hymn, has been variously described as an ‘*eniautos daimon*’ or god re-incarnated annually,<sup>84</sup> as a conflation of Olympian Zeus (son of Kronos) with a lord of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, annually invoked,<sup>85</sup> and as a universal god, not a *daimon* of vegetation and fertility at all, but rather a vital power, who nonetheless rules nature, and who brings prosperity and social order.<sup>86</sup> This wider interpretation of a Kretan nature-god, the precursor of the Greek Zeus, seems to fit well with the Hymn, is very much in line with Diodoros’ Kretan material,<sup>87</sup> and sounds very like the traditional Olympian Zeus. However ruling nature does have implications for vegetation and fertility, so maybe the statement that we must not reduce this deity ‘to a *daimon* of vegetation’,<sup>88</sup> should be adjusted to read ‘to *only* a *daimon* of vegetation’.

None of this resolves the question as to whether the Kretans themselves distinguished between a Kretan-born Zeus and the Olympian Zeus, known and worshipped in the rest of Greece. It is possible that the widespread assumption of the isolation of Krete is mistaken, and that Mykenean Linear B references to the wider Greek pantheon, and what is thought, “with varying conviction”, to be the earliest graphic representation of Zeus on a tomb at Fortetsa (near Knossos), are indications that the same Zeus was worshipped in Krete as in the rest of Greece as early as the geometric period.<sup>89</sup> It is argued that the concept of a Kretan Zeus who is essentially different from the wider Greek Zeus was first raised in the 1863 by Welcker, based on testimony to the birth of

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<sup>83</sup> The term “Kretan-born Zeus” will be used distinctly from Zeus Kretagenes, since the latter is a specific cult title, and there are other epithets, as will become clear below, which also refer to a Zeus born in Krete. Willetts (1962) muddies the water a little in this respect, using “Zeus Kretagenes” rather more loosely, as, to a lesser extent, does Prent (2005).

<sup>84</sup> Harrison 1927 pp. xiv, 11.

<sup>85</sup> West 1965 p.159.

<sup>86</sup> Verbruggen 1981 p.110.

<sup>87</sup> Diod.5.72.1, 2.

<sup>88</sup> Verbruggen 1981 p.111.

<sup>89</sup> Verbruggen 1981 pp.19-24; Willetts 1962 p.315 and n.27. Verbruggen also cites evidence of the oldest Hellenic temple in Krete, at Dreros, also dating from the Geometric period, as evidence of the early worship of the Olympic pantheon in Krete. The temple was ascribed to Apollo Delphinios by Marinatos (1936 p.255), whom he cites, and others have since suggested it was a Python (see pp.44ff). But proof of the worship of Apollo in Krete at a particular period would not necessarily read across to Zeus.



Zeus in Krete, from Hesiod and Kallimachos, and was upheld without questioning by numerous authors over the next century. Welcker's 'Kretan-born Zeus' was accepted as a pre-Greek deity, Atys, the son of the Phrygian Great Mother, imported to Krete and there re-named Zeus.<sup>90</sup> A non-Greek origin for this Kretan-born Zeus has been endorsed on the grounds that birth-stories of gods are not normally Greek in origin, and that birth-legends seem out of place in connection with Olympian Zeus, whose essence is to be the father and lord of all.<sup>91</sup> As far as Greek birth-legends go, one thinks of Apollo, Artemis, Hermes and Herakles, and conversely, it has even been argued that the Olympian 'father of gods and men' and the Kretan-born baby both had the same Indo-European origins, and were two aspects of the same god, and even that the myth of Kretan-born Zeus was imported into Krete from the Greek mainland rather than *vice versa*.<sup>92</sup> Interestingly an inscription from Sulia,<sup>93</sup> on the south coast near Gortyn, refers to 'Olympian Zeus and Olympian Hera', suggesting that, in the first century at least, the Kretans themselves may have distinguished Olympian Zeus from their home-grown variety.

### 2.3.2 *The Birth of Zeus*

There is no explanation in Hesiod's *Theogony* for the choice of Krete as the birth-place of Zeus; Rhea's flight from Kronos is almost superfluous after her successful trick with the stone, and once Zeus is born and consigned to the Kouretes, Krete seems to have no further significance in the story. Does this perhaps suggest such a widespread Greek acceptance, pre-Hesiod, of Krete's claim to be the birthplace, that the author was not able to ignore it?<sup>94</sup> Even if the Zeus born in a Kretan cave was not originally the Hellenic Zeus but a pre-Hellenic vegetation spirit, who was reborn and died annually, this Kretan vegetation god was apparently identified by the Greeks with their Zeus long before Hesiod.<sup>95</sup> And, even though Kallimachos, in his *Hymn to Zeus*, rejects Krete as the god's birthplace, on the grounds that it is also claimed by the Kretans as the location

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<sup>90</sup> Verbruggen 1981 pp.21-22.

<sup>91</sup> Verbruggen 1981 p.24, citing Nilsson 1968 p.534; Guthrie 1950 p.40.

<sup>92</sup> Verbruggen 1981 pp.24-25; Marinatos 1962 p.903.

<sup>93</sup> *IC* II xxv 3.

<sup>94</sup> Verbruggen 1981 p.29ff.

<sup>95</sup> West 1965 pp.154-5.

of Zeus's tomb and therefore they must be lying,<sup>96</sup> he still cannot reject the whole Kretan myth, and allows the infant Zeus to be transported to Krete for his rearing.<sup>97</sup> This actually fits quite well with the argument above that Rhea does not need to go to Krete to give birth; she just needs to get rid of the baby. Kallimachos' Zeus is addressed, at the beginning of the Hymn, as 'eternal lord' and 'lawgiver to the sons of heaven', so, like Hesiod, the poet is clearly associating the Kretan-based myth with Olympian Zeus, not with a separate Kretan deity. Furthermore these are simply variations of the myth, with no evidence of any corresponding cults. There seems no archaeological or literary evidence of any veneration of Zeus as an infant in Krete.<sup>98</sup> At the risk of being accused of circular argument, this further supports the contention above that the 'us' of the Palaikastro Hymn are not emulating Kouretes, and that the worship at Palaikastro was of Zeus as a young man. The fact that Zeus is referred to as Idatas and Diktaios may be assumed to refer to his mythical places of origin, and his cult centres, but not to a cult of his actual infancy.

Diodoros, claiming Kretan sources, typically gives us two options for the story of Zeus's birth and accession to kingship, although in fact the first says little about the god's birth, merely recording that he succeeds on his father Kronos' demise, in accordance with custom and justice.<sup>99</sup> This in itself is interesting, though, since Hesiod and Apollodoros both imply that Zeus is the youngest son of Kronos, and that Kronos in turn is the youngest son of Ouranos and Gaia; yet in Diodoros both succeed to kingship by right, and in the case of Kronos, Diodoros actually states that he is the eldest son.<sup>100</sup> "But others recount the story" continues Diodoros, and tells us, at much greater length,

<sup>96</sup> Kallim. *Hymn 1* 10-13; Lombard, Rayor 1988 vv.10ff.

<sup>97</sup> Kallim. *Hymn 1* 41-2; Verbruggen 1981 pp.31-32.

<sup>98</sup> Verbruggen 1981 p. 49; although sows are apparently held in high esteem in Praisos where one is supposed to have suckled the baby Zeus (Georgoudi 2010 pp.102-3), and there is a version of the myth in which Kouretes dance round a Zeus-child's cradle suspended in a tree (West 1965 p.156). *Contra* Alonge (2005 pp.8-10) cites seven literary passages, which he claims indicate that the Kouros of the Hymn was in fact a baby, but he bases this on fairly idiosyncratic translations of νήπιος, and variants of κουρίζωντος, as implying a baby or very small child, whereas LSJ allows a νήπιος to be up to 15 years, and κουρίζω to mean 'behave as a youth, play', and even 'grow to manhood'. These would allow Alonge's 'baby', 'childish', 'infant cries' etc to be replaced by the more mature 'lad', 'teenage', 'sounds of playing'. His argument is ingenious, but not totally convincing.

<sup>99</sup> Diod. 5.70.1, noting *caveat* p.5.

<sup>100</sup> Hes. *Theog.* 453f, and 132; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.1.5 and 1.1.3; Diod. 5.70.1 and 5.66.4. The possible implications of this will be discussed further (p.144ff).

the familiar myth, generally in accordance with traditional sources, but with differences in the location of the cave.<sup>101</sup> It is interesting to note that, in this version, little is said about Zeus's actual birth in Krete; it is his consignment to the Kouretes, and the details of their rearing of him, which are of interest to Diodoros' Kretan sources. The implication that he was born in Krete comes later, in passing, by reference to many pieces of evidence of his birth and rearing still on the island 'to this day', including the name 'Omphalos' at the spot where the Kouretes dropped his umbilical cord, and the mention of his founding a city near Dikte, 'where it is said his birth occurred'.<sup>102</sup> Perhaps, since the Kretans were confident that virtually all the gods were born in Krete,<sup>103</sup> they hardly thought this was worth recording. Diodoros, inexplicably but typically, further confuses the issue by referring elsewhere to an earlier Zeus, 'much less famous than the Olympian Zeus', whom he says was a king of Krete, who was married to Idaea, begat the Kouretes, and died on Krete, where his grave is pointed out "to this day" (presumably Diodoros' day, since he is here presenting variant accounts).<sup>104</sup>

### 2.3.3 *The Tomb of Zeus*

Did the Kretans really observe the death of Zeus or even venerate his tomb? They might have venerated the tomb rather than associating cult with his death, just as we have suggested they venerated his place(s) of origin rather than associating cult with his birth and infancy. On the other hand the evidence for anything like this is very scanty. Claims of actual autopsy of the tomb date only from the Hellenistic era, and there seems to be very little in the way of myth associated with his death, except for a story that Zeus was a Kretan prince killed by a wild boar,<sup>105</sup> which might fit in with Diodoros'

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<sup>101</sup> Diod. 5.70.2-6; Hes.*Theog.*453ff; Apollod.*Bibl.*1.1.5ff.

<sup>102</sup> Diod. 7.70.3, 4, 6.

<sup>103</sup> Diod. 5.77.3.

<sup>104</sup> Diod. 3.61.1-2, but he admits that his Kretan sources tell a different story.

<sup>105</sup> Cook (1914 p.157ff) gives no source for this story other than a citation from the Gannat Busamé, a Nestorian commentary on scripture, which, in the context of Acts 17.28, "in him we live and move and have our being", attributes the same words to a panegyric of Minos to his father Zeus, in refutation of the Kretan "liars, evil beasts, idle bellies", who had fashioned a grave for Zeus, whom "the Kretans used to say was a prince ripped up by a wild boar and buried". Cook's informant, J Rendel Harries, suggests that the panegyric itself may come from Epimenides' *Minos and Rhadamanthys*, but does not apparently

mention of a king of Krete called Zeus (above). It seems that it is only the tomb of Zeus which is spoken of, not his death; certainly when Kallimachos refers to the Kretans as liars, as discussed above in connection with the birth of Zeus, he mentions only the ‘Kretan-built tomb’, and not the death.<sup>106</sup> Varro and Cicero both refer to the tomb, as do Euhemeros and his followers, and numerous early Christian writers,<sup>107</sup> but these two groups have their own ideological reasons for encouraging belief in the death of Zeus.

The Christians were presumably happy with the simple implication that Zeus was never anything but mortal, but the euhemerist interest was rather more complex. Minucius Felix, in the early third century AD,<sup>108</sup> implied that the tombs of pagan gods, particularly of Zeus, were important in proving Euhemeros’ theory, that the gods were originally mortal. Furthermore, the inclusion of Kretans among the colonizers of Euhemeros’ Panchaea is slightly unexpected, and may have been intended to imply that Kretans, in common with Oceanians and Skythians, had a proper understanding of the origins of all the gods, as mortals who conferred major benefits on mankind.<sup>109</sup> The absence of any definite location of the tomb, and the different accounts of the inscription on it, throw doubt on the reality of the autopsy claims, and lend credence to the idea that the whole thing was, if not a euhemerist invention, at least a euhemerist focus on what might otherwise have been a relatively little known Kretan tradition. Cook’s wild boar story (above) would have played straight into euhemerist hands, and may indeed have been invented by them.

The concept of the ‘*eniautos daimon*’, who dies and is reborn annually,<sup>110</sup> could explain the absence of any suggestion of a date for the death of Zeus, as well as the vague location of the tomb, since a god of vegetation dies everywhere, just as he is born

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suggest a source for the story. There could be confusion here with Attis (or Atys, see p.26), also allegedly killed by a wild boar (Alan Griffiths pers. comm.).

<sup>106</sup> Kallim. *Hymn I*. 8-9; West 1965 p.156; Lombard, Rayor 1988 v.11.

<sup>107</sup> Solinus (11.6-7) records Varro’s visit; *Cic.Nat. D.* 3.53; Euhemeros *FGrHist*.63.3 = Ennius fr.11; commentators on the passage in St Paul’s Epistle to Titus 1.12, which castigates Kretans as liars, and is thought to be based on Kallim. *Hymn I* and ultimately on Epimenides; Verbruggen, 1981 pp.57ff.

<sup>108</sup> Min. Fel. *Octav.* 21.1, 8; Spyridakis 1992 p5 n.22.

<sup>109</sup> Spyridakis 1992 pp.3-4; Diod. 5.42.5; 5.64.2.

<sup>110</sup> See p.25.

everywhere,<sup>111</sup> and is not easily reconciled with an established tomb, and permanent death. This would not have been welcome to either Christians or euhemerists, both of whom required evidence of a one-off death as proof of mortality. Moreover, whatever was believed in Krete about the death of Zeus, it in no way ended their veneration of a living Zeus.<sup>112</sup> Since this aspect would hardly have appealed to the early Christian fathers, despite its parallel in their own religion, it would appear that they may have taken steps to ‘Christianize’ the most likely location of the tomb, as happened at so many pagan sanctuaries. The ancient and mediaeval accounts, referred to above, varied as to the location of the tomb, including the Idaian Cave and places much further west, but the majority pointed to the summit of Mt Juktas, near Arkhanes, south of Knossos. And on this summit, today, is the conspicuous church of Αφένδης Χριστός, Christ the Lord, while nearby is the village of Προφήτις Ιλίας, a dedication frequently associated with sanctuaries of Zeus.<sup>113</sup> In a Minoan peak sanctuary high on the north shoulder of the mountain, visible from the palace of Knossos, there is a deep natural chasm in the bedrock, which may have led to the reputation of the tomb.

## 2.4 *Cults of Zeus*

### 2.4.1 *Zeus Diktaios and the Location of Dikte*<sup>114</sup>

Zeus Diktaios is invoked in the Itanos citizens’ oath, and in treaties between Praisos and Stalai, between Hierapytna and Lato, and between Hierapytna and a settlement.<sup>115</sup> Itanos, Praisos, and Stalai are all in the far east; Hierapytna is midway between the Lasithi massif and the Palaikastro site, but undoubtedly had close links with the latter. It is believed that several cities honoured Zeus Diktaios, at whose festival the Palaikastro Hymn was sung, including specifically Itanos, Praisos, Hierapytna. and possibly Knossos;<sup>116</sup> but this last may be based on a controversial reading of a Linear B

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<sup>111</sup> Nilsson 1968 pp.533-4.

<sup>112</sup> Verbruggen 1981 p.69.

<sup>113</sup> Verbruggen 1981 p.63; Cameron, 2003 pp.129-130, 133; Faure 1960 pp.194f. The village of Prophitis Ilias is located immediately below the site of ancient Lykastos (Cameron 2003 p.132).

<sup>114</sup> In this discussion, the mountain range traditionally called the Dikte Mountains will be referred to as the Lasithi Massif, and the cave traditionally known as the Diktaian Cave will be referred to as the Psychro Cave, for reasons that will become obvious.

<sup>115</sup> *IC* III iv 8; *IC* III vi 7; *SEG* XXVI 1049; *IC* III iii 5. See Appendix 1.

<sup>116</sup> Chaniotis 1996 p.128.

text, discussed below; there seems no other evidence to support it. Conversely, the epithet Diktaios is not found in the cities around the Lasithi massif, such as Dreros, Lato,<sup>117</sup> Olous, and Lyttos. The Psychro Cave has no evidence of cult after the eighth century, so the question arises as to whether the cult centre of Zeus Diktaios was moved from there to Palaikastro, or whether there never was such a cult in the Psychro Cave, and the latter may well be the right answer. Hesiod mentions ‘near Lyttos’ as Zeus’s birthplace,<sup>118</sup> but does not use the name ‘Dikte’; the Psychro Cave was first called Diktaian by Evans and Hogarth, and is possibly a misnomer.

The word Δίκη is associated with peaks and mountains generally. No mountain in the Lasithi massif is called Dikte in earlier travel journals, but a fifteenth-century AD map shows ‘Dittea’ near Mt Modhi in the far east of Krete, roughly where Palaikastro was found.<sup>119</sup> Strabo places the temple of Zeus Diktaios at Praisos, and emphasizes, in a typically pointed criticism of Aratos, that the mountain of Dikte was close to Praisos, and not to the Idaian mountain.<sup>120</sup> Although it has been suggested that Aratos was in fact right, and that Strabo was confusing Praisos with Priansos (which is between the Lasithi massif and the Idaian range), it seems that longitudes given by Ptolemy for Mt Dikte also confirm a location in the vicinity of Siteia in the far east of Krete.<sup>121</sup> Thus even before the discovery of the Hymn, the evidence seemed to point firmly to a far eastern location for Mt Dikte, if rather less certainly to that location for the birth of Zeus, at least until a cave is found.<sup>122</sup>

It is not clear from the Hymn whether the name Dikte refers to a hill or a city; nor can we be certain whether the Minoan town on the Palaikastro site was actually the Zeus-

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<sup>117</sup> Given the rest of the evidence, we can probably assume that in the Hierapytna/Lato treaty, it was Hierapytna, not Lato, which honoured Zeus Diktaios.

<sup>118</sup> Hes.*Theog.*477.

<sup>119</sup> Verbruggen 1981 p.134ff. The Barrington Atlas (see map) shows ‘Dikte Mons’ between Praisos and Itanos, and calls the Lasithi Massif the Aigaion Mons, as do Guarducci (*IC* III p.6) and Cook (1925 p.929). *Contra* Pendlebury (1939 pp.5, 144) makes no reference to a Mt Dikte in the far east, refers firmly to the Lasithi Massif as Dikte, and equates the Diktaian Cave with Psychro.

<sup>120</sup> Strabo 10.4.6, 10.4.12; Crowther 2000 p.146.

<sup>121</sup> Nilsson, 1968 p.458-9.

<sup>122</sup> Dowden 2006 p.33 refers to the ‘real’ Mt Dikte in the far east of the island, ‘known to ancient geographers, as opposed to modern mythmakers’. Faure (1960 pp.189-195) has apparently searched the caves of eastern Krete for a suitable location without success.

founded city of Dikta, whose foundations were said by Diodoros to be still visible in his day, and where *Etym. Magn.* records that a beardless statue of Zeus was to be found.<sup>123</sup> The Palaikastro bay was certainly used as a harbour in the Late Bronze Age, and would be a natural landing-place for ships coming from Rhodes and Karpathos, so it is a promising candidate for ‘Dikta’s haven’, the spot where Talos paused in his bronze-footed stride to repel the Argonauts, on their arrival in Krete from Karpathos.<sup>124</sup> Such a name could plausibly be used for a bay in the lee of a hill called Dikte, rather than the harbour of a town called Dikte, and it now seems likely that Mt Petsophas, on the coast to the southeast of the site, rather than Mt Modhi, inland to the west, was the Dikta referred to in the Hymn.<sup>125</sup> The evidence for Mt Petsophas is based on Linear A inscriptions found there, in which the pattern A/JA-DI-KI-TA is similar to di-ka-ta-jo di-we, to whom an offering of oil is recorded in Linear B text from Knossos, mentioned above.<sup>126</sup>

Although it is unlikely that Palaikastro was a border sanctuary, marking agricultural boundaries, in the Early Bronze Age, because the area around it was poor grazing ground, it clearly became one later: as we have already noted, there is a second-century record of the settlement of a border dispute between Hierapytna and Itanos, which refers to the land bordering on the sanctuary of Zeus Diktaios.<sup>127</sup> When settlements near the coast were abandoned at the end of the Bronze Age, it is likely that the people of Palaikastro migrated to Praisos, while the main cult-centre of Zeus Diktaios remained at Palaikastro. The same inscription implies that the sanctuary came under the control of Praisos, which probably took over as the local capital.<sup>128</sup> This would tie in with the

<sup>123</sup> See pp.11, 19. Bosanquet 1909 p.351; Diod.Sic.5.70.6; Crowther 1988 p.37; *IC* III p.9.

<sup>124</sup> Prent 2005 p.542; *Ap.Rhod. Argon.* 4. 1640; Crowther 1988 pp.41-2, 38; Crowther 2000 p.14. Although the northern extremity of the bay, near Itanos, is said to be a better harbour (D.Viviers seminar in Oxford, 31/5/2010), and the sanctuary of Athena Samonia, dedicated by the Argonauts (see 5.2.2), is further north still.

<sup>125</sup> Crowther 1988 pp.41-2.

<sup>126</sup> p.11. Prent 2000 p.342; Dowden 2006 p.29. Killen (1987 p.172) expresses a conflicting opinion on the location of Dikte, however, pointing out that offerings were usually associated with places close to Knossos. He says that although the Psychro Cave in Lasithi (35km away) is a possibility, there is very little to support a location towards the east of the island, and a more likely interpretation would be a ‘Dikte’ close to Mt Ida, as described by Aratos (*Phain.* 1.32-36), and criticized by Strabo (10.4.12).

<sup>127</sup> See p.9. Prent 2005 p.539 and n.1565; *IC* III iv 9, the ‘Magnesian arbitration’ inscription.

<sup>128</sup> Prent 2000 p.533f; Bosanquet 1909 p.351.

suggestion, referred to earlier,<sup>129</sup> that the building of the Palaikastro temple (C8/7) could have been part of the establishment, at that time, of a border sanctuary, representing a defining moment in the development of Praisos, which would already have had its own *astu* sanctuary.<sup>130</sup> This latter could then be the temple of Zeus Diktaios at Praisos referred to by Strabo, for the location of which various nearby hilltop cult places have been suggested.<sup>131</sup> Although it has been thought unlikely that there would be two sanctuaries of the same cult so close together,<sup>132</sup> this concept of the establishment of a border sanctuary might provide the explanation.

#### 2.4.2 *Zeus Idatas (or Idaios)*

It has been said that the people of Lyttos worshipped Zeus Idatas because they were Dorians, colonists from Sparta, and their western neighbours in the Mt Ida region of central Krete were also Dorians.<sup>133</sup> While we shall suggest below that such an affiliation of Lyttos was unlikely before the eighth century, this does seem to endorse an ‘Eteokretan’ origin for Zeus Diktaios. In any case, what is not in doubt is that both titles referred to a Zeus born in Krete, and that both cult-places have been claimed as the birthplace of the god, although Mt Ida is better known for his upbringing.<sup>134</sup> But while, as we have seen, Zeus Diktaios was worshipped as a youthful god, it would seem from the depiction of a bearded god, on an early Iron Age bronze tympanon found in the Idaian Cave, that here Zeus Idatas was worshipped as an older god.<sup>135</sup> The cult of Zeus Idatas, although concentrated in the cave-sanctuary of Mt Ida, also seems to have been more widespread in the island than that of Zeus Diktaios, as we might expect if it has

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<sup>129</sup> See p.21.

<sup>130</sup> Perlman 1995 p.164, citing de Polignac’s work on border sanctuaries (see p.169f).

<sup>131</sup> Strabo 10.4.6; Prent 2000 pp. 306 and n.501, 349f and n.780. Bosanquet (1939-40 p.65f) assigned a cult-place found at Altar Hill at Praisos to Zeus Diktaios. He dismissed as “too poor” some temple fragments found incorporated in a modern church on the nearby peak of Prophitis Ilias, but Faure (1960 p.194f) preferred this as the location of a temple of Zeus Diktaios, on the grounds that Ilias dedications are frequently associated with ancient temples of Zeus (see p.30). In Rhodes, however, we find the sanctuary of Zeus Atabyrios on a mountain adjacent to that of Prophitis Ilias.

<sup>132</sup> Duhoux 1982 p.62. Although the discovery of pre-Greek texts on the Altar Hill at Praisos (Prent 2000 p.303) might suggest that the cult-place there was both the city’s archive and the sanctuary its chief deity, this does not prove it was dedicated to Zeus Diktaios; Apollo Pythios would be a strong alternative candidate (*IC III vi 7*).

<sup>133</sup> Bosanquet 1909 p.350.

<sup>134</sup> Diod. 5.70.2, 3, 6; Dowden 2006 pp.34-5.

<sup>135</sup> Verbruggen 1981 p.140.



Dorian origins. From the epigraphic evidence in Appendix 1, we find Zeus Idatas worshipped not only in Eleutherna, a city very close to Mt Ida, but in either Lyttos or Olous or both, which takes us much further east. The likelihood is that it was the Lyttians who worshipped Zeus Idatas, since the chief deity of Olous was Zeus Tallaios, whose sanctuary was used as the city's archive.<sup>136</sup> This suggests that Lyttos, the city most closely connected to the myth of Zeus's birth,<sup>137</sup> may have switched her allegiance from the Psychro Cave, very close to Lyttos, to the more distant Idaian Cave, perhaps as a result of some sort of power-shift in the eighth century.<sup>138</sup> The fact that Lyttos did not go instead to Palaikastro, supports the suggestion above,<sup>139</sup> that the Psychro Cave may never have been a cult centre of Zeus Diktaios, and that the connection with the birth of Zeus stemmed from its proximity to Lyttos, rather than from a mountain's name.

As with Eleutherna, the proximity of Axos to the Idaian Cave leaves us unsurprised by epigraphical reference to the wrath of Zeus Idatas,<sup>140</sup> but artefacts found in the Cave include coins from places as distant as Chersonesos, Itanos, Lyttos, and Kydonia, as well as from such neighbours of Mt Ida as Eleutherna, Gortyn, Knossos, and Tylissos. Whether this is evidence of a far-flung amphictiony, as has been suggested,<sup>141</sup> or simply of the increasing popularity of the sanctuary, is uncertain. The latter might indicate individual pilgrimages, rather than state participation. Polybios writes of a sworn treaty between the Kydonians and the Apollonians, which was deposited *παρὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Ἰδαῖον*, not actually mentioning a cave or a 'temple',<sup>142</sup> but possibly using *παρὰ* in the sense of *chez*, indicating the 'home' of Zeus Idatas, which all the evidence so far suggests to be uniquely the cave. Although Kydonia is a long way off, the site of Apollonia is thought to have been close to Knossos, so the cave sanctuary would be a

<sup>136</sup> *IC* I xvi 3, 4; *IC* I xxii 4c XIII. Although Sporn points out (2002 p.77) that, in an external treaty, between Olous and Rhodes (*SEG* XXIII 547), Zeus Tallaios is preceded by Zeus Idatas in the list of gods invoked. Opinions vary as to whether the epithet refers to Talos, the bronze guardian of Krete, who will be discussed further on p.105 (Willets 1962 pp.249-9), or merely to a region of mountains and crevasses (Verbruggen 1981 p.143). The latter is perhaps more likely.

<sup>137</sup> Strabo 10.3.11.

<sup>138</sup> Cook 1914 p.179ff, making the assumption that Lyttos would have worshipped at the Psychro Cave, while it was still in use, on the grounds of proximity.

<sup>139</sup> See pp.30-31.

<sup>140</sup> *IC* II v 35.

<sup>141</sup> Chaniotis 1988 p.35.

<sup>142</sup> Prent 2005 p.568; Polyb. 28.14; Paton (1927) inserted the word 'temple'.

possible local archive,<sup>143</sup> and a coin-carrying Kydonian delegation there would then be quite plausible. It does seem likely, however, that there was some sort of amphictiony based on this important sanctuary, but it would probably have been confined to a reasonably local area, including such cities as Eleutherna, Gortyn, Axos, Tylissos, and possibly Knossos and Chersonesos; Kydonia seems too far away to be practical, Lyttos was probably involved in an amphictiony based on the cult of Hermes Kedritas at Kato Syme, while Itanos, equally far away, was almost certainly part of an amphictiony based on the cult of Zeus Diktaios at Palaikastro.<sup>144</sup> Gortyn certainly had some specific responsibilities for a festival at the Idaian Cave, and may well not have been unique in this among the amphictions.<sup>145</sup>

It is just possible that the more widespread worship of Zeus Idatas in Krete was associated with an ancient name for the island: Diodoros tells us, in an admittedly dubious account, mentioned in connection with the birth of Zeus above, that the ‘earlier Zeus’, a king of Krete, named the island after his wife, Idaia.<sup>146</sup> The celebrants of the ritual referred to in *The Cretans*, discussed above in the context of Stanza 4 of the Hymn, are described as priests of Idaian Zeus, and, if Idaia was an alternative name for the island, Euripides may have been using the epithet in the general sense of Kretan. The celebrants there are connected not only to the “mountain-mother” Rhea and the Kouretes, but to “nocturnal Zagreus”, which suggests an even earlier Kretan cult of Dionysos, which later became merged with that of the young Zeus.<sup>147</sup> It is significant that the same word προφήτας is used by Euripides to describe both these inspired worshippers of Zeus in Krete, and the maenads in his *Bacchae*; in the *Cretans* fragment

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<sup>143</sup> Although the temple of Apollo Dekatophoros in Apollonia is attested as the city’s archive (see p.58).

<sup>144</sup> The federal nature of the Palaikastro sanctuary was touched on in connection with stanza 6 of the Hymn, above. This raises an interesting question as to whether a city might belong to two amphictionies based on different gods, but, given the political implications, this seems unlikely. (See p.178).

<sup>145</sup> *IC* IV 80; Prent 2005 p.568.

<sup>146</sup> Diod. 3.61.2.

<sup>147</sup> Eur.*Cretans* 472; Collard 1995 pp.67, 69, 70; Verbruggen 1981 pp.123-4. The very juxtaposition here of ‘the young god’, who is Zeus Diktaios, and the association with the Kouretes, which we have shown epigraphically to be almost unique to Zeus Idatas (see Appendix 1), suggests pan-Kretan cult ritual. This is discussed in connection with Dionysos (p.71f).

the chorus of initiates actually claims to be named Bacchos, usually associated with a devotee of Dionysos.<sup>148</sup>

#### 2.4.3 *Zeus Kretagenes*

Like Zeus Idatas, Zeus Kretagenes is represented as a bearded god, and would therefore seem to be quite distinct from Zeus Diktaios.<sup>149</sup> As noted above, in the context of the dating of the Hymn, the epithet is found in treaties and on coins only from Hellenistic times onwards. It has been suggested, in discussion of the cult of Diktyнна at Lissos, that there is some connection between Zeus Kretagenes and the Kretan goddess Diktyнна, since much of the epigraphic evidence for Zeus Kretagenes is from the centre and west of Krete, where there is often evidence of the worship of Diktyнна.<sup>150</sup> However, as we can see from Appendix 1, Zeus Kretagenes is attested epigraphically as far east as Hierapytna, Lato and Olous, stopping short, in fact, only on the threshold of Zeus Diktaios' territory, and he appears in several treaties in the company of Britomartis, who is found in different geographical areas to Diktyнна.<sup>151</sup> Also Diktyнна is a very ancient deity, and, while she may be associated with the concept of a Kretan-born Zeus, it seems unlikely that she is associated with the relatively young title Zeus Kretagenes.

We have suggested that the composition of the Hymn could have coincided chronologically with the appearance of the title Zeus Kretagenes, but the very association of the Hymn with Dikte would seem to preclude any idea that 'Kretagenes' might have been introduced as a unifying cult, to paper over the differences between those who worshipped Zeus Diktaios and those who worshipped Zeus Idatas.<sup>152</sup> Or, if it

<sup>148</sup> Guthrie 1950 p.44 and n.2; Collard 1995 p.69.

<sup>149</sup> Bowra 1970 p.186, citing Farnell 1897 p.109, although Farnell says on the same page that Zeus Diktaios is also depicted as a mature god on coins from Praisos.

<sup>150</sup> Willetts 1962 pp.191f; for Diktyнна see p.103.

<sup>151</sup> See p.102f.

<sup>152</sup> It is clear from the similarity of bronze votive offerings, particularly shields, found at the Palaikastro sanctuary and the Idaian Cave, that these two cults flourished in parallel in the Archaic period, C7 – 5, (Bosanquet 1905 pp.305-6, where he also associates Diktaian Zeus with the Eteokretans and Idaian Zeus with the Dorians), and also, from the epigraphic evidence, that they did so in Hellenistic times. Pendlebury points out (1939 p.327) that the earliest votive deposits in the Idaian Cave are contemporary with the latest deposits in the Psychro Cave, and that this apparent transference of cult might suggest a

was introduced with this intention, it was unsuccessful. The composition of the Hymn could actually be an east Kretan reaction to such an attempt, and particularly to the roughly contemporaneous tendency of ancient authors to attach the myth to a single site, for which they chose the Idaian Cave, as a very old cult-place.<sup>153</sup> But there seems to be no evidence that the cult of Zeus Kretagenes as such was associated with the Idaian Cave, or indeed with any other specific location, and, in fact, we can see from Appendix 1 that Zeus Kretagenes appeared alongside Zeus Idatas in two late third-century treaties,<sup>154</sup> and alongside Zeus Diktaios in one late second-century treaty,<sup>155</sup> so he would not appear to be identified exclusively with either.

What is interesting, and does not show up in Appendix 1, is that when Zeus Kretagenes is included in the list of gods invoked, he is usually placed second only to Hestia, and above any other epithet of Zeus.<sup>156</sup> This makes it very likely that Zeus Kretagenes was ‘invented’ as a symbol of the Kretan *koinon*, which existed in Krete in the Hellenistic period. The *koinon* was supposed to embody the concept of Kretan unity, at a time when the cities were constantly at war with each other, and may have been referring back to some ancient traditional authority.<sup>157</sup> The well-known and well-attested myth of Zeus’s birth in Krete is undoubtedly much older than the appearance of the cult-title,<sup>158</sup>

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power- shift, but goes on to say that the worship of Diktaian Zeus was ‘still’ carried out at Palaikastro, implying that the Psychro Cave and the Palaikastro sanctuary had previously been parallel centres for the worship of Diktaian Zeus.

<sup>153</sup> Nilsson 1968 p.534 n.3; Prent 2005 p.594.

<sup>154</sup> *IC* IV 183 (Gortyn/Sybrita); *IC* I xviii 9 (Lyttos/Olous).

<sup>155</sup> *SEG* XXVI 1049 (Hierapytna/Lato), where he is also linked with Hera, the order being Hestia, Zeus Kretagenes, Hera, Zeus Diktaios, Zeus Oratrios - - -

<sup>156</sup> Two interesting exceptions to this:-

In the C3 treaty between the Oreioi and King Magas of Kyrene (*IC* ii xvii 1, Lissos), which was the document used to suggest the link between Zeus Kretagenes and Diktyinna, the only gods named are Diktyinna and the co-habitors of her *temenos*, and the gods in neighbouring Poikilasion, with Zeus Kretagenes then shoe-horned in, above the usual catch-all ‘all the gods and goddesses’. This sounds like an afterthought, giving a pan-Kretan flavour to an overseas treaty.

In another short list of gods invoked (*IC* II viii 1, Kisamos), we find only Poseidon Asphaleios, then Zeus Kretagenes, followed by ‘and all the *other* ancestral gods’. This does seem to suggest that Zeus Kretagenes was an ancient tradition, but as this text is dated to the second century AD, it doesn’t necessarily make the title any older than the third century.

<sup>157</sup> Willetts 1977 p.178. For discussion of the Kretan *koinon* see p.183ff.

<sup>158</sup> Nilsson 1968 p.535; Prent 2005 p.158 and n.264; Hes.Theog. 477ff; Kallim.*Hymn to Zeus* 4-6; Strabo 10.3.11.

but, as noted above, the latter was not attached to any one location. No matter which other cults of Zeus the warring cities continued to honour, they could surely all agree on Kretan-born Zeus as symbolic of the whole of Krete, and be willing to let him follow Hestia on the lists of deities in official documents.

#### 2.4.4 *Other Cults of Zeus Found on Krete*

The most ancient epithet associated with Zeus is probably Welkhanos,<sup>159</sup> unique to Krete, and probably associated with the willow-tree. Whether in fact it was an epithet,<sup>160</sup> or whether the pre-Greek god was always known as Welkhanos *tout court*, and, because of similar attributes of youthfulness and association with fertility, gradually merged into Zeus Diktaios, is unclear from the epigraphic evidence; it is possible that the name Welkhanos persisted, either alone or as an epithet for Zeus, in regions other than the far east of the island, where he had been overtaken by Zeus Diktaios.<sup>161</sup>

Other uniquely Kretan epithets for Zeus include Tallaios (mentioned above in connection with Zeus Idatas, and associated with the Lasithi area, more specifically Olous, where he had a sanctuary), Thenatas (Amnisos and Thenai, associated with Zeus's umbilical cord), Skyllios (Rhytion, in south central Krete, where a reference to a priest of the cult suggests a sanctuary), Monnitios (Malla, where he was the principal deity, and possibly Lyttos), and Oratrios (probably Hierapytna), each only in the geographical location indicated. Zeus Asterios is also uniquely Kretan and a supreme god. Asterion is a Kretan king's name (for example the adopted father of Minos, Rhadamanthys and Sarpedon, and also the Minotaur), and is connected with Knossos and Gortyn by different myths; those, respectively, of Pasiphae and the bull, and of Zeus and Europa. He is possibly a sun or sky god with Phoenician origins. The protection of some specific regions was ensured by Zeus Alysios, Zeus Arbios, and Zeus Biennios, whose sanctuaries were all associated with the foothills of Mt Ida or the

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<sup>159</sup> *RE* vol. X.A p.314: *φέλχανος*; Cook 1925: *φέλχάνος*; adding that *φευχανός*, as found in Agia Triada, is a dialect form..

<sup>160</sup> As suggested by Nilsson (1968 p.550) and Willetts (1962 p.250).

<sup>161</sup> See pp.107-8 for further discussion.

Aigaion range. Zeus Melikhios (Lato, Hierapytna, in association with Hera Melikhia, and Olous) is also a protector, but of individuals or groups, and specifically from tempests, and a benefactor. Zeus Brontaios (of thunder) is found in only one location in Krete: simply as a name on a plinth near Hierapytna. He is important in Phrygia and apparently has association with cave-cults, so possibly with Kretan cave-cults of Zeus, and with the Phrygian origins of Zagreus.<sup>162</sup>

The most widespread epithet of Zeus, found in Krete but common elsewhere, is Zeus Agoraios, a god of moral and political order in Krete, as elsewhere in Greece. He appears mainly in central Krete in, for example, treaties between Arkades/Gortyn and Dreros/ Knossos, and the double-sided inscription of a Sacred Law at Axos, but there is evidence too of his cult at Itanos.<sup>163</sup> Zeus Makhaneus, a protector of the individual and the family, is found in Argos, which colonized the Knossos area. The invocation of this god, in the mid-fifth-century treaty between Knossos, Tylissos, and Argos,<sup>164</sup> may reflect his worship in Argos, rather than in Krete, but a Sacrificial Calendar from Eleutherna also mentions Zeus Makhaneus in its specifications for sacrifice. The same Sacrificial Calendar also includes instructions for sacrifice to Zeus Poliaouchos.<sup>165</sup> Another mainland Greece connection is suggested by a reference to Zeus Hekatombaios in Gortyn, which had connections with Arkadia, where Zeus was honoured with this epithet.<sup>166</sup> Finally, Zeus Xenios is attested in Krete only by Pyrgion, who tells us that the Kretans reserved a place for Zeus Xenios in their *andreia*, suggesting a possible link also to hetairies.<sup>167</sup> It would seem from all this that the Kretans were very much more attached to their local cults of Zeus than to those found in the rest of Greece.

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<sup>162</sup> Verbruggen 1981 pp.130ff and Willetts 1962 p.233ff for all the above.

<sup>163</sup> See Appendix 1. Verbruggen 1981 p.145; IC IV 171 (Arkades/Gortyn); IC I ix 1 (Dreros/Knossos); Manganaro, 1966 pp.14, 15 (Axos); IC III iv 8 (Itanos).

<sup>164</sup> ML42=IC I viii 4. Verbruggen 1981 p.129; Willetts 1962 p.244 and n. 100.

<sup>165</sup> *NGSL* 23 = *SEG* XLI 744.

<sup>166</sup> Verbruggen 1981 p.152; Willetts 1962 pp.166, 238-9; IC IV 65.

<sup>167</sup> Verbruggen 1981 p.147; *FGrHist* 467 F1; IC IV 72. 1. See also p.149 n.108, and p.151.

## 2.5 Conclusions

The title Zeus Diktaios occurs only in Krete;<sup>168</sup> it was a uniquely ‘Eteokretan’ cult name, confined to the cult-centre of Palaikastro, and there is no reason to attribute this particular epithet to the early worship of Zeus in the Psychro Cave. There seems little doubt that the myth of the birth of Zeus was associated with both the Psychro Cave, close to Lyttos, and with the Idaian Cave, but there is strong evidence that the ancient references to Dikte meant a mountain, probably Petsophas, in eastern Krete. The Kouretes have been shown not to be uniquely connected to Diktaian Zeus, if connected at all; but their story is clearly being told in Stanza 2 of the Hymn, where Rhea hands the baby over to ‘shield-bearing Nurturers’,<sup>169</sup> and where we are also told that the action took place ‘here’, that is, on Dikte. But these ‘Nurturers’ could rather be the ‘gods in Dikte’ possibly the ‘Eteokretan’ equivalent of the Kouretes, which latter appear by name mainly in treaty oaths of cities around the Lasithi Massif.

We have looked at the Palaikastro Kouros as evidence of very ancient cult history at the sanctuary of Zeus Diktaios, and various suggestions have been put forward as to why the Hymn was composed when it was, and why it came to be re-inscribed. Perhaps the most convincing of these relate to the establishment of territorial rights for the composition, and to the influence of the Romans for the re-inscription. We have also examined in detail the unique beliefs held by the Kretans about the nature of Kretan-born Zeus, and about his birth and death. The extent of the cult of Zeus Idatas, also unique to Krete,<sup>170</sup> has been explored, and explanations suggested for its more widespread popularity. A probable association with the Kretan *koinon* has been identified, as a plausible argument for the late introduction of the use of the title Zeus Kretagenes (almost unique to Krete),<sup>171</sup> with possibly no associated cult or cult-place, in Hellenistic times. And, finally, we have found that most of the other cults of Zeus attested in Krete were unique to the island.

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<sup>168</sup> Schwabl 1972 pp.298-9.

<sup>169</sup> Murray, 1909.

<sup>170</sup> Schwabl 1972 p.315.

<sup>171</sup> See p.226.

## 3

## Cults of Apollo in Krete

## 3.1 Introduction

Kretan epigraphic evidence includes a number of cults of Apollo which are not found elsewhere, but they mostly appear only rarely, and many are associated with local place-names; these will be discussed briefly later. By far the most frequent epithets are Delphinios and Pythios, of which the former appears relatively rarely, but in such far-flung places as Dreros in the east and Hyrtakina in the west, as well as Knossos and Eleutherna more centrally, while the latter occurs much more frequently, but seems on the whole to be confined to the centre and east of the island. This may however reflect the relative scarcity of evidence of treaties between western cities, since treaties are a rich hunting-ground for the names of the gods who were invoked in oaths, and whose sanctuaries were used as archives. A table of the various epithets, their geographical scatter, and the nature of the evidence, is provided in Appendix 3. The evidence of coins, which attest reverence for ‘Apollo’ right across the island, from Polyrrhenia to Praisos, is inconclusive without clearer knowledge of the attributes of Delphinios and Pythios, but will be looked at below.<sup>1</sup> Two cults are remarkable by their absence: that of Apollo Lykeios (Lycian Apollo or Wolf-Apollo),<sup>2</sup> given the close connections between Lycia and Krete,<sup>3</sup> and between Argos and certain Kretan cities;<sup>4</sup> and that of Apollo Delios, with the single exception that copies of two late second-century peace treaties between Lato and Olous, arbitrated by Knossos, were required to be placed in

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<sup>1</sup> See p.55.

<sup>2</sup> Swindler (1913, p.11f) claims that Apollo was Lycian in origin, based on the epithet λυκηγενής in *Il.* 4.101, 119, an interpretation in which she may have been wise before her time. Ebeling (1885) translates λυκηγενής ‘light-born’, as does Lattimore (1951). Leaf (1900) and Cunliffe (1924) prefer ‘wolf-born’, the former pointing out that the wolf was sacred to Apollo. More recently Kirk (1985) rejects ‘light-born’ and suggests that the reference is either to a wolf or a place-name, without specifying Lykia; while Jones’s even more recent commentary (2003) also discounts ‘light-born’, allows ‘wolf-born’ as a possibility, and comes down in favour of ‘Lycian-born’. This fits well with Apollo’s pro-Trojan stance in the *Iliad*, and with the fact that he is occasionally known as Λητοῖδης, from his mother Leto, following Lycian custom (*Hdt.* 1.173). But Graf (2009 p.120ff, 132) associates ‘Wolf-Apollo’ with many Greek cities, particularly Argos.

<sup>3</sup> *Hdt.* 1.173.4; 7.92.

<sup>4</sup> See pp.39, 188, and 205.



the Temple of Apollo on Delos.<sup>5</sup> Possibly both cults conflicted with the Kretans' belief that most of the gods originated in Krete.<sup>6</sup>

### 3.2 *Apollo Delphinios*

#### 3.2.1 *Origins*

It seems widely agreed that the name Delphinios is derived from the Greek for dolphin, rather than from the place-name Delphi, although even the derivation from dolphin has been questioned as over-simplistic and lacking supporting evidence.<sup>7</sup> We know from the Homeric Hymn to Apollo that he appeared in the form of a dolphin to lead the Kretans to Delphi, to be his first priests there, and there is also a legend, preserved by Servius, of a priest of Apollo, Ikadios, who comes from Krete to the Delphian shore in the wake of a dolphin.<sup>8</sup> The Homeric Hymn also tells us that Apollo, having revealed himself to the Kretans at their landfall at Krisa, specifically instructed them to set up an altar there, and offer prayers and sacrifices to him as Delphinios; it was only after this that they climbed the hill to Pytho to take up their duties there.<sup>9</sup>

The cult of Apollo Delphinios was widespread throughout the Aegean area, but especially in Krete, and there is a general belief that the cult was connected with the sea and the protection of seafarers.<sup>10</sup> But the Delphinion at Athens is not on the sea, and nor are three of the four cult-centres identified in Krete: Knossos, Dreros, and Hyrtakina; the exception is Olous. There is no evidence either that Apollo was in any sense a maritime deity, or that the dolphin was regarded as a sacred beast.<sup>11</sup> And it is interesting that in Krete, despite its mythical history of thalassocracy and Hellenistic

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<sup>5</sup> *IC* I xvi 3, 4.

<sup>6</sup> Diod 5.64.2, 77.3.

<sup>7</sup> 1979 p.3. The dolphin is a symbol on Delphic coins from C6 B onwards (Richardson, 2010 p.146).

<sup>8</sup> Servius on *Aeneid* III 332; Farnell 1907 p.145.

<sup>9</sup> *Hom Hymn Ap* 493-501; Graf, 1979 pp.4-5; Graf suspects that the passage is corrupt because the epithet Delphinios is metrically unacceptable.

<sup>10</sup> Graf 1979 p.3; Richardson 2010 p.146, who suggests that other cults of Apollo are connected with the sea, rather than Delphinios.

<sup>11</sup> Farnell 1907 p.145.

fame for piracy, the folk-songs are apparently all to do with the mountains, not with the sea.<sup>12</sup>

It is significant that a number of cults of Apollo Delphinios outside Krete are to be found in places with strong links with Krete.<sup>13</sup> One is in Miletos in Ionia, whose eponymous founder, according to one of various foundation myths discussed by Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, was a son of Apollo and grandson of Minos.<sup>14</sup> It was presumably soon after this colonization that Chios, where a double harbour called Delphinion, referred to by Thucydides, must be connected to a cult of Apollo Delphinios there,<sup>15</sup> was colonized by Rhadamanthys, and entrusted by him to Oenopion, the son of Minos' daughter, Ariadne, and Dionysos.<sup>16</sup> Pausanias, too, records that Oenopion came to Chios from Krete and became king, and that his grave, and legends about his deeds, could be seen there.<sup>17</sup> Thera, with strong Minoan links to Krete, had a month Delphinios, while in Massilia and Aigina, in addition to the cult of Apollo Delphinios, there is evidence of the worship of the Kretan goddess Diktyнна – called Aphaia on Aigina – whom Plutarch<sup>18</sup> associates with Apollo Delphinios as cult siblings. This seems particularly probable in Aigina, where Aphaia had a temple, and there was a month and festival Delphinios.<sup>19</sup> Finally there is the evidence of the Delphinion in Athens, where the cult was particularly connected with Theseus, and was, of course,

<sup>12</sup> A. Chaniotis, unpublished lecture to the Institute of Classical Studies, 24/5/07. See pp.247-9 regarding doubts about Kretan seafaring.

<sup>13</sup> Swindler 1913 pp.24ff.

<sup>14</sup> Sourvinou-Inwood 2005 pp.268ff. For more detail, see p.215.

<sup>15</sup> Thuc.8.38.2; Graf 1985 p.56f.

<sup>16</sup> Diod. 5.79.1. See p.211f for the islands entrusted to Rhadamanthys' relations.

<sup>17</sup> Paus. 7.4.6, 7.5.6.

<sup>18</sup> Plut.*De Soll.An.* XXXVI; (tr. Cherniss and Helmbold, 1984: "many of the Greeks have temples to Artemis Diktyнна and Apollo Delphinios").

<sup>19</sup> In *Isthmian* 11, Pindar likens the Aiginetans to dolphins in the sea, a phrase taken as the title of a paper by Hornblower (2007 p.287 and n.3), and linked by him to the worship of Apollo Delphinios in Aigina. Burnett, discussing the link between Aristokleidas and the Πυθίου Θεάριον in *Nem.*3 (2005, p.144 and note 12), seems to indicate that it was Apollo Pythaios who was worshipped in Aigina, at least in Pindar's time, while citing Graf (1979 p.22) as suggesting that the Aiginetan god was a conglomerate of a pre-Doric Apollo Delphinios with a Doric Apollo. She does suggest that the related officials would have served as delegates to other Apolline cults. With reference to Apollo Pythaios, she cites Barrett (2007 p.297), who argues that it was the temple of Apollo Pythaios at Asine, over which the Argives went to war with the Epidaurians in 419 (Thuc. 5.53), which was this original home of this cult. Farnell (1907, p.215 and note b) identifies the cult of Pythaios with Apollo Pythios without question, but also describes it as pre-Dorian.

markedly Ionian, in common with that at Massilia, which was apparently ‘open to all Ionians’.<sup>20</sup>

From this evidence it seems very likely, as many scholars believe,<sup>21</sup> that Apollo Delphinios was Kretan in origin, and dates at least from the pre-Dorian, if not from the Minoan, era. It has even been suggested<sup>22</sup> that he may have developed from an Eteokretan god, Delphinios, and become fused with Apollo when he reached Delphi. However ‘Eteokretan’ is not necessarily Minoan,<sup>23</sup> and there are other contenders for Kretan predecessors to Apollo, who will be discussed below.

### 3.2.2 *Controversy at Dreros*

It is suggested that the cult of Apollo Delphinios was important in Dreros, mainly because it is one of the only two examples of a sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios being used as an archive – the other being at Knossos. The fact of the sanctuary’s being used as an archive, at least on one occasion, is not in dispute; the Dreros ephebes’ oath<sup>24</sup>, which is mainly about supporting Knossos against Lyttos, and is indeed described by Chaniotis<sup>25</sup> as a treaty between Dreros and Knossos, states that a copy of it should be set up in the sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios in Dreros. The problem arises because two different buildings have been identified as this sanctuary, and inscriptions have been found in both of them.<sup>26</sup>

The seventh/sixth-century building on the West Hill, where the ephebes’ oath inscription was found in 1854, was first identified, presumably on the basis of the inscription, as the sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios.<sup>27</sup> But when an eighth-century cult

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<sup>20</sup> See p.48 for Theseus; Swindler 1913 p.27 for Massilia.

<sup>21</sup> Farnell 1907 p.145; Graf 1979 p.22; Swindler 1913 p.27.

<sup>22</sup> Swindler 1913 p.27.

<sup>23</sup> Duhoux 1982 p.13f. Archaeological evidence from Dreros and Praisos, where Eteokretan texts have been found, shows that neither city existed before C8, thus disproving Herodotos’ story (7.170) that the people of Praisos refused to accompany the rest of the (Minoan) Kretans to Sicily to avenge Minos, so we cannot equate Eteokretans chronologically to Minoans.

<sup>24</sup> *IC I* ix 1, late C3/early C2.

<sup>25</sup> Chaniotis 1996 p.197.

<sup>26</sup> Prent 2005 pp.283-5, 460-469.

<sup>27</sup> Xanthoudides 1918, pp.27-8.

building was discovered in 1935 on the saddle between the two hills of Dreros, and found to contain three late eighth-century statues, commonly identified as Apollo, Artemis and Leto,<sup>28</sup> together with fragments of seventh-century legal inscriptions, a rival view was put forward that this building was the Delphinion and the city's archive, while that on the West Hill, a much larger building, was the city's *andreion*.<sup>29</sup> The situation is further confused by another, later, identification of "the archaic Delphinion at Dreros" as such, because "a large number of the state's laws were inscribed on the walls". This writer thus implicitly agrees with Marinatos that the saddle-temple was a Delphinion, but goes on to use the ephebic oath as evidence to define this building also as *andreion*, a centre for phratries and communal meals, while ignoring the fact that the inscription of the oath was actually found in the West Hill building.<sup>30</sup> Shortly afterwards we find another writer, in discussion of Eteokretan texts found at Dreros, accepting without discussion Marinatos' view that the West Hill building was an *andreion*, and the saddle-building a temple of Apollo Delphinios<sup>31</sup>, while an even more recent authority is again adamant that the saddle-building was both Delphinion and *andreion*, but suggests its civic function was the more important, drawing parallels with buildings at Prinias and Kommos, which he identified as *andreia*, rather than "*protopyrtaneia*",<sup>32</sup> thus effectively leaving us without a temple of Apollo at all in Dreros. Note that this view ignores a study of archaic Greek temples with fire-places, which suggests that both buildings had evidence of fire-places of the sort associated with sacrifice.<sup>33</sup> Two other recent writers accept without comment that the saddle-temple was dedicated to Apollo Delphinios.<sup>34</sup>

In case all this should become too confusing, a table of the facts and opinions about the two buildings is provided as Appendix 2, showing all those mentioned so far, together with yet another fairly early view, which seems to have been largely ignored. This suggests that the West Hill building *was* in fact a temple, of either Apollo Delphinios or

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<sup>28</sup> Prent 2005, illustration 43.

<sup>29</sup> Marinatos 1935 p.209.

<sup>30</sup> *IC I* ix 1; Graf 1979 pp.10, 11.

<sup>31</sup> Duhoux 1982 pp.27, 28.

<sup>32</sup> Koehl 1997 p.139ff.

<sup>33</sup> Nilsson 1968 p.455f; Prent 2005 p.283...

<sup>34</sup> Ainian (1997 p.216) and Perlman (2004a p.1158) call it a Delphinion.

Athena Poliouchos, while the saddle building was associated with the cult of Apollo Pythios.<sup>35</sup> This makes particular sense if the West Hill building's dedication was Apollo Delphinios, as opposed to Athena Poliouchos. It takes into account its relatively large size, which would be appropriate to a building, whether Delphinion or *andreion* or both, which was associated with the initiation of ephebes. Might this not justify placing the particular inscription of the ephebic oath in this building, rather than in the saddle-building, where the old legal inscriptions were found, but leaving the latter to be routinely used as the city's archive? There are many examples (Appendix 3) of temples of Apollo Pythios being used as cities' archives, and there is evidence of a cult of Apollo Pythios in Dreros in the seventh century.<sup>36</sup> If the three statues found in the saddle-temple are indeed Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, this points clearly to Apollo Pythios, since wherever they appear in lists of gods invoked in oaths, Artemis and Leto follow immediately after Apollo Pythios, and are never associated with Apollo Delphinios. The inclusion of Apollo Pythios among the gods invoked in the ephebes' oath, in addition to Apollo Delphinios, is equally clear proof that Apollo Pythios was worshipped in Dreros in Hellenistic times, and may be assumed to have been more important there at that time than Apollo Delphinios, who was possibly included as the chief deity of Knossos.

### 3.2.3 *Municipal Buildings and Rites of Passage*

Certainly at Knossos, proxeny decrees and treaties with other states, including treaties between other states where Knossos was the guarantor, were set up in the Delphidion.<sup>37</sup> But the use of a Delphinion – or Delphidion, in the case of Knossos – as the city's archive<sup>38</sup> may have been unique to Knossos, as far as Krete is concerned, and may have reflected its function as the sanctuary of the city's chief deity, as attested elsewhere,<sup>39</sup> rather than a more secular function of Delphinia. That some Delphinia in Krete were used as public buildings, before the advent of *prytaneia*, is suggested by a second-

<sup>35</sup> Kirsten 1938 pp.74-5; 1940 p.132. Sporn (2002 pp.81-2) agrees with this identification. Prent (2005 pp.283-4) records the different views and appears to support it also.

<sup>36</sup> *IC IV* p.43; Willetts 1962 p.269.

<sup>37</sup> *IC I* viii 8, 10, 12; *IC I* xvi 3-5; *IC IV* 182; Graf 1979 p.10.

<sup>38</sup> *IC I* viii 8, 12 and others.

<sup>39</sup> Appendix 3.

century inscription, referring to the entertainment of ambassadors from Tenos in the Delphinion at Hyrtakina.<sup>40</sup> Certainly outside Krete a Delphinion would often have some connection with the city's government. Such was the case in Miletos, where the Delphinion was the chief sanctuary of the College of Molpoi, which was closely involved in the civic life and laws of the city, and was, in that case, also the city's archive for sacred laws, decrees and external treaties.<sup>41</sup> At Athens, too, there was a connection between Apollo Delphinios and the city law; the oath confirming a boy's eligibility for citizenship would be sworn by his father in the Delphinion,<sup>42</sup> thus possibly also linking it to the initiation of ephebes, although no Apollo with any title was included in the list of seventeen gods invoked by Athenian youths entering the ephebate.<sup>43</sup>

The association of Apollo Delphinios with the transition of youths into the adult male citizen body of the polis seems generally accepted in other parts of the Greek world.<sup>44</sup> But the identification of the Kretan temples of Apollo Delphinios with *andreia*<sup>45</sup> has been disputed on the grounds that in Krete, Zeus too is associated with initiation and with the *andreion*.<sup>46</sup> Strabo, citing Ephoros, describes how a Kretan boy is taken away for a period of time by his lover, and then returned to the latter's *andreion*, where he makes a sacrifice to Zeus of an ox, a gift from the lover.<sup>47</sup> We have seen that Zeus Xenios is mentioned by Pyrgion in connection with meals in the *andreia* attended by youths, and a very similar description is given by Dosiadas of the *andreion* at Lyttos, which included tables for strangers, though without specific mention of Zeus, and adds that the talk was of deeds of prowess to encourage the younger men in virtue and

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<sup>40</sup> *IC* II xv 2. 17; Guarducci 1937 pp.162-3; Prent 2005 p.458.

<sup>41</sup> Graf 1979 p.7.

<sup>42</sup> Graf 1979 p.9.

<sup>43</sup> Jameson 1980 p.232.

<sup>44</sup> Birge 1994 p.14; Graf 1979 p.13ff. Richardson (2010 p.146) associates Apollo's appearance on the shore at Krisa, as a youth with flowing hair, with his ephebic associations.

<sup>45</sup> See Appendix 2; Graf 1979 p.11; Koehl 1997 pp.139-143. It is interesting to note that Koehl's audience seemed fairly sceptical of his identification of temples with *andreia*.

<sup>46</sup> Prent 2005 p.459.

<sup>47</sup> Strabo 10.4.21; Koehl 1997p.138. See also pp.68 (n.44), 113, and 115.

courage.<sup>48</sup> There is evidence too that the sanctuary of Hermes Kedrites at Kato Syme, near Biannos, was associated with initiation, and it has been suggested that the wild country around Kato Syme, and indeed around other extra-urban border sanctuaries, which would have symbolized a transition from civilized arable land to the untamed wilderness of the mountains, made them natural centres for rites of passage, including the abduction of boys as described by Ephoros. There is no evidence of any of these border sanctuaries being dedicated to Apollo Delphinios, and there seems very little other connection between Kretan youths and Apollo Delphinios, apart from a boy who reportedly brought him a hair-offering, the mark of transition from boy to man, and was thereafter under his protection;<sup>49</sup> various stories connecting Theseus to the Delphinion at Athens, however, suggest initiation rites.<sup>50</sup>

#### 3.2.4 *Purification*

Theseus and the Delphinion at Athens are also linked by the purificatory role of Apollo Delphinios, and this seems rather more relevant to Krete. The Delphinion at Athens was also the place of trial, and of absolving from pollution, of justified homicides, and here Theseus made an offering, before his departure for Krete, to atone for the death of Androgeos, the son of Minos, on the horns of the bull of Marathon (in one story at least), a death for which Theseus' father, Aegeus, is blamed.<sup>51</sup> It was in appropriate vengeance for this killing of his son that Minos demanded the annual tribute of young Athenian men and women to die in his bull-ring at Knossos. Theseus himself had earlier been absolved in the Delphinion from blood-guilt associated with the massacre of the Pallantids, his rivals for the throne of Athens.<sup>52</sup>

Krete and Delphi were both associated with purification rites, and arguably these were Kretan in origin.<sup>53</sup> There is a tradition, mentioned several times in Pausanias, that

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<sup>48</sup> *FGrHist* 467 F1, 458 F2. (See p.149 and n.108); Athen. 4.143; Koehl 1997 p.138. See also p.153.

<sup>49</sup> Graf 1979 p.13 citing the Kretan Rhianos (*AP* 6, 278=Rhianos frg.68 Powell).

<sup>50</sup> Graf 1979 pp.14-17.

<sup>51</sup> Swindler 1913 p.51; Calame 1996 p.79.

<sup>52</sup> Calame 1996 p.75. Although Pausanias says that he went to Troizen for purification (1.22.2) and to the Delphinion to be tried (1.28.10).

<sup>53</sup> Farnell 1907 p.146-7; Swindler 1913 p.50f.

Apollo went to Krete, after killing the snake at Pytho, to be purified by Karmanor of Tarra.<sup>54</sup> It seems appropriate that, if the god himself had undergone ritual purification in Krete, he should have introduced the same purificatory rites to his new sanctuary at Delphi. We have already noted the cult-link between Apollo Delphinios and the Kretan goddess Britomartis/Diktyнна, who, according to Diodoros, was the daughter of Zeus and Karme, daughter of Eubolos; and this family-tree is confirmed by Pausanias, who also adds that Eubolos was the son of the Apollo's purifier, Karmanor.<sup>55</sup> It seems possible, therefore, that the same purificatory rites were introduced to Delphi by the Kretans who were led there to become his priests, by Apollo in the guise of dolphin,<sup>56</sup> and even that they were chosen by him with that in mind. Apollo was seemingly not entirely happy about the quality of the rites imported to Delphi, however, since the Delphic Oracle still summoned Kretans to assist on subsequent occasions, when purification was needed in times of plague, including the cleansing of Athens from the blood-guilt associated with Kylon by Epimenides, who is more usually linked to chthonian Kretan Zeus.<sup>57</sup>

### 3.3 *Apollo Pythios*

#### 3.3.1 *Distribution of the Cult in Krete*

All the sanctuaries of Apollo Pythios identified in Krete were used as the archives of the cities concerned.<sup>58</sup> The best-attested epigraphically is that at Gortyn,<sup>59</sup> perhaps not surprisingly, since Gortyn merits a whole volume of Guarducci's *Inscriptiones Creticae*. Those at Lyttos, Hierapytna, Itanos and Phaistos are all mentioned in inscriptions as well.<sup>60</sup> As discussed above,<sup>61</sup> the identification of a temple of Apollo Pythios with the city archive at Dreros relies on the archaeological evidence of three statues, assumed to be Apollo, Leto, and Artemis, being found in the same building as the collection of legal inscriptions. The epigraphic evidence that Apollo in this

<sup>54</sup> Paus.2.7.7, 2.30.3, 10.6.3, 10.7.2; Guthrie 1950 pp.196-7.

<sup>55</sup> Diod. 5.7; Paus. 2.30.3.

<sup>56</sup> Hom.*Hymn.Ap.* 480f.

<sup>57</sup> Swindler 1913 p.50; *FGrHist* 457 T1. See p.143, n.65.

<sup>58</sup> Appendix 3.

<sup>59</sup> *IC* IV 173, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 193.

<sup>60</sup> Lyttos: *IC* I viii 8, *IC* III iii 3B; Hierapytna: *IC* III iii 3B, 5; Itanos: *IC* III iv 7, 8; Phaistos: *IC* I xvii 1.

<sup>61</sup> See p.46.



company is indeed Pythios<sup>62</sup> is made more certain by the invocation of the same group of three in the Delphic fragmentary inscription enshrining the oath of the Amphictions and the duties of the ἱερομνήμονες.<sup>63</sup>

Although Apollo Pythios figures among the gods invoked in oaths in every one of the bilateral treaties investigated, we can only be sure that one of the two cities involved in each case honoured him.<sup>64</sup> The Dreros/Knossos case<sup>65</sup> has been discussed above, but for the treaty partners of Gortyn – Arkades, Priansos, and Sybrita – and of Hierapytna - Lato, and ‘a settlement’ - we cannot be certain if they honoured Apollo Pythios, although the fact that Pythios is the only epithet of Apollo invoked in every case might suggest that they did.<sup>66</sup> This seems disproved, however, by the Lato/Olous and Lyttos/Olous treaties,<sup>67</sup> where, despite Guarducci’s claim that Apollo Pythios appears in rites in Dreros, Lato, Lyttos, Olous, Malla, Hierapytna, and Itanos,<sup>68</sup> there seems no evidence for a cult of Apollo Pythios in Olous, where, *par contre*, there is a month-name Delphinios, and no invocation of Apollo at all in a treaty with Rhodes.<sup>69</sup> By implication therefore Lato had a cult of Apollo Pythios which, since it was named for Leto, seems reasonable. Hierapytna, Lyttos, and Itanos<sup>70</sup> all had sanctuaries of Apollo Pythios, and we find visiting Malleans attending a festival of Apollo Pythios in Lyttos, and an inscription offering thanks to Apollo Pythios in Malla itself.<sup>71</sup> We may also assume a cult of Apollo Pythios in Praisos, although not necessarily as chief deity, on the basis of his invocation in the treaty between Praisos and its dependency, Stalai; and, more securely, at Axos, on the basis of a sacred law mentioning Pythian rites and

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<sup>62</sup> IC I ix 1 Dreros/Knossos; IC III iii 3B Hierapytna/Lyttos (but with the strange omission of Artemis); SEG XXVI 1049 Hierapytna/Lato; IC III iii 5 Hierapytna/settlement; IC I xvi 5 Lato/Olous; IC I xviii 9 Lyttos/Olous; IC IV 174 Gortyn/Priansos; IC IV 171 Arkades/Gortyn.

<sup>63</sup> Farnell 1907 p.184 and n.126, citing CIG 1688.

<sup>64</sup> Appendix 3.

<sup>65</sup> IC I ix 1.

<sup>66</sup> IC IV 171; IC IV 174; IC IV 173; SEG XXVI; IC III iii 5.

<sup>67</sup> IC I xvi 5; IC I xviii 9.

<sup>68</sup> IC IV p.33.

<sup>69</sup> SEG XXIII547; a Knossos/Olous treaty would be a help here.

<sup>70</sup> IC III iii 3B; IC III iv 8.

<sup>71</sup> IC I xix 1; IC I xix 5.

victims consecrated to Apollo Pythios.<sup>72</sup> In the exceptional case of a treaty between Eleutherna and (probably) Knossos, at least four epithets of Apollo are invoked.<sup>73</sup>

### 3.3.2 *Origins*

We have already looked at the idea that Apollo arrived in Delphi as Delphinios, at the head of a band of Kretans, and then led them up to Pytho to be his first priests there, presumably as Apollo Pythios. It has been suggested that his invasion of Delphi was untypical of Olympian Apollo, as were other characteristics of the Pythian shrine, such as its chthonian symbolism: “clefts, caverns, underground chambers, and vapours”, and the ecstatic method of divination, involving a priestess chewing laurel leaves and drinking from an underground spring; and that he may have inherited such alien characteristics, suggesting subterranean inspiration, from the previous ‘owner’ of the shrine, who, in myth at least, was the earth-goddess, Gaia.<sup>74</sup> Divination in itself was not a new characteristic of Apollo,<sup>75</sup> but apart from Delphi he was associated with the more rational methods, such as the interpretation of birds’ behaviour, as practised by Homeric prophets such as Kalchas and Teiresias,<sup>76</sup> although Cassandra tends to be portrayed, perhaps wrongly, on the modern stage, as ecstatic.

Nor was music a new characteristic of Apollo, the patron of the lyre,<sup>77</sup> when he arrived at Delphi, but his interest in Krete, and selection of Kretan priests, could have been inspired by the Kretan musical tradition. We have early evidence of Krete’s association with music and dancing in Homer’s description of Achilles’ shield, which depicted a dancing-place, “like that which once in the wide spaces of Knosos Daidalos built for Ariadne”.<sup>78</sup> The dance there represented by Hephaistos was said to be the hyporcheme, described as Kretan by Simonides, thought to antedate the Dorian invasion, and

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<sup>72</sup> *IC* III vi 7; *LSCG* 145.

<sup>73</sup> *SEG* XLI 743. See also pp.54, 59.

<sup>74</sup> Clay 1994 p.34; Swindler 1913 pp.15ff; Farnell 1907 pp.180, 188, 193.

<sup>75</sup> He alone of the gods could know the mind of Zeus; *Hom.HymnHerm.* 533-8; Graf 2009 p.54f; Richardson 2010 p.217.

<sup>76</sup> Farnell 1907 p.190; *Il.*1.68ff; *Od.*10.493f, 11.90ff.

<sup>77</sup> *Hom.HymnAp.*131, 188; Graf 2009 p.33.

<sup>78</sup> *Il.*18.591f tr. Lattimore.

associated with the famous Kretan musician, Thaletas.<sup>79</sup> Other early musical forms were also associated with Krete: the Kretan Chrysothemis, possibly a son of the Karmanor who purified Apollo, was the first winner of the oldest Pythian contest, that of singing a hymn to Apollo, and Proklos states that he first sang the *nomos* alone on this occasion.<sup>80</sup> Finally Apollo's cult-hymn, the *paian*, again associated with the Kretan Thaletas, who was supposed to have introduced it to Sparta, was said in the Homeric Hymn to have been sung as ἠπαίων' by the Kretans, at Apollo's command, as they followed him up to Delphi.<sup>81</sup> There must be a connection here with Apollo's ancient name of Paiawon on Krete.<sup>82</sup>

There are other grounds too for associating the Pythian/Delphian shrine, both before and after Apollo's takeover, with Krete.<sup>83</sup> When Kronos persisted in swallowing his children, Rhea turned to her parents, Gaia and Ouranos, for help when she was pregnant with Zeus, and was advised by them to flee to Krete;<sup>84</sup> so Gaia is intimately connected to the myths of the Kretan Great Mother and the birth of Zeus, and the Great Mother may indeed have been Gaia rather than Rhea. Relations between the Minoans and Delphi are confirmed by traces of Minoan settlement, including religious elements, at Pytho, and important elements of Minoan religion were the sacred tree, possibly connected with Delphic laurel, and goats, which appear in foundation legends of the Delphic oracle, as does a shepherd called Koretas, a name very close to the Kretan Kouretes. Some place-names too are common to Krete and Delphi – the Korykian hill/cave and the *Omphalos* for example, both of which are symbolic of the earth<sup>85</sup> – and Krete was well-known for divination and prophecy, notably in the person of Epimenides, but also, in the time of Minos, with Polyidos, who brought Minos' son

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<sup>79</sup> Swindler 1913 p.55 citing Ath. V 181b and Poltera 2008 F255 (p.194).

<sup>80</sup> Paus.10.7.2; Morgan 1990 p.146. Chrysothemis is better known as a female name.

<sup>81</sup> Hom.*HymnAp*.500. Possibly aetiological, justifying later Delphic practice (Richardson 2010 p.147).

<sup>82</sup> See p.57.

<sup>83</sup> Swindler 1913 pp. 16ff.

<sup>84</sup> Hes.*Theog*.460ff.

<sup>85</sup> Swindler 1913pp.15ff; Solomon 1994 p.43.

Glaukos back to life.<sup>86</sup> Finally, as discussed above, there is the choice of Kretans by Apollo both to carry out his purification and to become his first priests.

Taking all this together there would seem to be grounds for attributing a Kretan origin to Apollo Pythios, as we have already found for Apollo Delphinios, but for quite different reasons. We seem to have established a picture of Apollo, already a god of divination and music, arriving in Delphi at the head of a band of *paian*-singing Kretans, and adopting a chthonic oracle with very strong links to Krete.<sup>87</sup>

### 3.4 Delphinios/Pythios compared

#### 3.4.1 Characteristics

We have looked at purification in the section on Apollo Delphinios, and music and divination in the section on Apollo Pythios, and reached the conclusion that at least two of these three characteristics were associated with both epithets. The cult-link between Apollo Delphinios and the family of Karmanor may have established purificatory rites at Delphi, but it was as Apollo Pythios that the god employed them there. Similarly Apollo's attributes of music and divination have been shown to be older than his arrival in Delphi, and associated with Krete, and therefore with Apollo Delphinios, whom we are justified in regarding as Apollo Pythios' Kretan predecessor; but divination, rather than music, is associated with the Delphic oracle, despite the Pythian hymn-singing contest. When Diodoros is describing the gifts imparted by the various gods – to mankind, but by implication, mainly to the Kretans – he also includes, along with music, healing and divination, the skill of shooting arrows, saying that this is why archery is much in evidence among the Kretans, and the bow is called 'Kretan'.<sup>88</sup> Although we do not see Apollo employing the bow in warfare in the *Iliad*,<sup>89</sup> this must surely have been the skill he taught the Kretans, whose mercenary archers were in great

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<sup>86</sup> *FGrHist* 457 T1 114, T4 (a) and (c), T5 (e), T8 (c) (including prophecy in a frenzy); Willetts 1962 pp.60-61. Epimenides' prophetic powers may have been inspired by the Nymphs [*BNJ* (457 T1), see p.100, n.121].

<sup>87</sup> Swindler 1913 p.21. See p.112 for the story of Glaukos.

<sup>88</sup> Diod. 5.74.5.

<sup>89</sup> Although he used it to spread the plague early on (*Il.* 1.45-52).

demand in Classical and Hellenistic times.<sup>90</sup> Krete was apparently almost unique among the Greek states in historical times for using archery in warfare, which may indeed have led to this designation “Kretan” for the bow.<sup>91</sup> This seems to suggest that, like music, the use of the bow was an attribute of Apollo Delphinios, rather than Apollo Pythios.

### 3.4.2 *The Evidence of Invocation*

The Delphidion at Knossos was the archive for all treaties between Knossos and other states,<sup>92</sup> just as the Pythion was at Gortyn, and in other cities where Apollo Pythios was the principal deity.<sup>93</sup> As far as gods invoked in treaty oaths are concerned,<sup>94</sup> a considerably greater number of gods than just the two parties’ chief deities were included, yet we have only one confirmed example of Apollo Delphinios among the gods invoked in treaty oaths, that of the Dreros/Knossos treaty already discussed, where we note that he takes precedence over Apollo Pythios.<sup>95</sup> This is probably due to lack of evidence, however, as it seems highly improbable that, as the chief god of Knossos, Apollo Delphinios would have been omitted from the list of gods invoked in any treaty between Knossos and another state. It is noteworthy, though, that he is not invoked on the occasions when Knossos is involved as the arbiter, in the case of three treaties, concerning a border dispute between Lato and Olous, although copies of the relevant inscriptions are placed in the Knossos Delphidion.<sup>96</sup> We have already noted above one rogue treaty, between Eleutherna and another party, which has at least four epithets for Apollo, among the gods invoked, but is unfortunately very incomplete.<sup>97</sup> [Del]phinios is certainly the first, and both Chaniotis and van Effenterre include Pythios in their reconstructions, although no specific Pythian cult seems to have been identified in Eleutherna. The definite inclusion of Delphinios has led to the tentative identification

<sup>90</sup> Thuc.6.25, 7.57; Arr.2.7.8, 1.8.4, 1.9.3, 3.5.6; Diod.Sic.17.57.4, 17.48.2, 20.85.3. See p.222f.

<sup>91</sup> Lazenby *OCD*<sup>3</sup> p.144.

<sup>92</sup> *IC I ix 1* with Dreros; *IC IV 182* with Gortyn; *IC I viii 13* with Hierapytna.

<sup>93</sup> See p.49 ff.

<sup>94</sup> Appendix 3.

<sup>95</sup> *IC I ix 1* – a very comprehensive list: Hestia, Zeus Agoraios, Zeus Tallaios, Apollo Delphinios, Athena Poliouchos, Apollo Pythios, Leto, Artemis, Aphrodite, Hermes, Helios, Britomartis, Phoinix, Amphione, Earth, Heaven, Heroes, Heroines, Springs, Rivers and all gods and goddesses.

<sup>96</sup> *IC I xvi 3, 4, 5.*

<sup>97</sup> *SEG XLI 743*; Chaniotis 1996 C11.nr 6, pp.190ff; van Effenterre 1991 p.26. See also pp.51, 59.

of the second party as Knossos, which seems extremely likely, and would strengthen the assumption above that Apollo Delphinios would be invoked, and take precedence over Apollo Pythios, in any treaty to which Knossos was a party. The other possible epithets of Apollo in this inscription are discussed below.<sup>98</sup>

### 3.4.3 *The Evidence of Coins*<sup>99</sup>

Of the list of cities where coins depicting Apollo have been identified,<sup>100</sup> it seems almost certain from the epigraphic evidence, as discussed above, that Gortyn, Axos, and probably Praisos<sup>101</sup> depict Apollo Pythios. The only additional clue this gives us is that the coins of Axos include a laurel-wreath and a tripod.<sup>102</sup> The laurel-wreath is also found on some Apollo coins from Aptera, while others have a lyre, and on some coins of Kydonia, where others have a quiver.<sup>103</sup> From our conclusions about the attributes of music and archery above, the lyre and the quiver would rather indicate Apollo Delphinios at Aptera and Kydonia, suggesting that the tripod is symbolic of Apollo Pythios, while the laurel-wreath is neutral. Some coins from Lappa, too, depict Apollo standing with a lyre,<sup>104</sup> suggesting Apollo Delphinios again.

This remains fairly sketchy evidence, as far as attributing epithets to other cities is concerned, but another possible line of approach is to look for evidence for Diktyнна/Britomartis in the cities where Apollo is depicted on coins, on the grounds that as her cult-brother, there is a good chance that Apollo Delphinios would also have been honoured in the same places. A slight problem arises because the cult of Leto in Krete made her the mother of Artemis and Britomartis,<sup>105</sup> thus effectively making Apollo Pythios the (half-)brother of Britomartis, but we will assume that the Kretan nature of the cult, and the fact that Diktyнна/Britomartis is a pre-Greek Kretan goddess,

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<sup>98</sup> p.59f.

<sup>99</sup> Noting however the view of Hansen and Nielsen (*IACP* p.9) that the head of a god(dess) on a coin does not prove that the *polis* in question had a cult of that god(dess).

<sup>100</sup> Appendix 3.

<sup>101</sup> *IC* III vi *ad loc.*

<sup>102</sup> *IC* II p.47.

<sup>103</sup> *IC* II p.13, II x *ad loc.*; Willetts 1962 pp.256, 257.

<sup>104</sup> Willetts 1962 p.257.

<sup>105</sup> Willetts 1962 p.182.

allow Delphinios to supplant Pythios here. Either Dikytynna or Britomartis occurs among the gods invoked in the Dreros/Knossos treaty, one of the the Lato/Olous treaties, and the Lyttos/Olous treaty,<sup>106</sup> which conforms with our knowledge of cults of Apollo Delphinios in Knossos and Olous, and encourages this line of enquiry. At Olous there was actually a Britomarpeia festival and a Daidalos statue of her.<sup>107</sup> Interestingly, but inconclusively, in the incomplete Eleutherna/Knossos treaty discussed above, where Apollo Delphinios is definitely included, the reconstruction by van Effenterre includes both Dikytynna and Britomartis, while that of Chaniotis includes neither.

Taking the remaining cities on the ‘Apollo-coin list’ more or less in order, we know that there is a month Dikytynnaios at Aptera, where Dikytynna was worshipped as Artemis Aptera,<sup>108</sup> and that Kydonia, where she is depicted on coins, had a temple of Dikytynna nearby, possibly built when the Samians were there.<sup>109</sup> Thus we may tentatively assume that the Apollo depicted on the coins of these two cities was Apollo Delphinios, confirming the association of the lyre and the quiver above. Apollo was the chief deity of Eleutherna, where the coins depict him as a hunter,<sup>110</sup> but seems to have been worshipped there under a number of epithets, as discussed below, so the evidence is inconclusive. The Apollo on the coins of Elyros<sup>111</sup> may have been Pythios or Tarraios, for reasons which will be made clear. Chersonnesos had a temple of Britomartis, and, together with Polyrrhenia, had coins of Dikytynna, of which the later ones in Polyrrhenia include Apollo with a bow,<sup>112</sup> so again in these two cities we may assume the depiction is Apollo Delphinios. Finally it is suggested that the Rethymno<sup>113</sup> coins are related to early coins of Eleutherna, which may depict Apollo Styrakites.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> *IC I* ix 1; *IC I* xvi 5; *IC I* xviii 9.

<sup>107</sup> Paus.9.40.3; Willetts 1962 p.180

<sup>108</sup> Willetts 1962 pp.188.

<sup>109</sup> Hdt 3.49; Willetts 1962 pp.184, 188. See p.103.

<sup>110</sup> Willetts 1962 pp.232, 257.

<sup>111</sup> Guarducci 1939 p.176.

<sup>112</sup> Guarducci 1935 p.34; 1939 p.241; Willetts 1962 pp.180, 191.

<sup>113</sup> Guarducci 1939 pp.269, 145.

<sup>114</sup> See p.60; Willetts 1962 p.257.

### 3.5 *Apollo's Predecessors*

#### 3.5.1 *Paiawon*

Apollo is absent from the gods mentioned in Linear B, but Paiawon appears in the pantheon of Mykenean Knossos.<sup>115</sup> This was a pre-Greek name in Krete, along with Diktyнна, Britomartis, and the epithets Diktaios and Welkhanos for Zeus<sup>116</sup>. He seems to have been the forerunner of Apollo, at least in terms of his healing characteristic, yet known to Homer as a parallel god, since, after Diomedes stabs Ares, a rather cross Zeus tells Paiëon to heal him, which the latter duly does.<sup>117</sup> The story of Herakles founding the Games at Olympia includes the name Paionaios among his companions, together with Idas, Epimedes, and Iasios, and the five of them are said to be the 'Daktyloi of Ida' to whom Rhea entrusted the infant Zeus.<sup>118</sup> And, as noted above, the Kretans sang ἱηπαιήον as they accompanied Apollo from the shore up to Pytho, and Apollo's cult-hymn, the *paian*, which was associated with healing properties, clearly originated from this name.

There is a reference to Paian in an inscription from Phaistos, dated to the third or second century; Guarducci describes the name as an epithet of Apollo, and links it the cult of Apollo Pythios in Phaistos.<sup>119</sup>

#### 3.5.2 *Reshep (A)mukal*

The Phoenician god, Reshep (A)mukal, a warrior-god, armed with a shield and a weapon in his raised right arm, was identified by the Greeks with Apollo in his warrior aspect, and may have been related to the Kretan name Amyklai, identified as a harbour by Stephanos of Byzantium, and tentatively identified with Kommos.<sup>120</sup>

#### 3.5.3 *Hyakinthos*

Hyakinthos is associated with Amyklai near Sparta, where his tomb lay under the throne of Apollo, and separate offerings were made to him there. He seems to have been a pre-

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<sup>115</sup> Graf *OCD*<sup>3</sup> p.122.

<sup>116</sup> Prent 2005 p.3.

<sup>117</sup> *Il*.5.899-901; Prent 2005 p.473.

<sup>118</sup> Paus.5.7.6; Swindler 1913 p.61; Willetts 1962 p.52.

<sup>119</sup> *IC* I xxiii 2.

<sup>120</sup> Prent 2005 p.330



Greek god who gradually merged with Apollo, who in myth is supposed to have killed him by mistake with a discus. His association with Krete is epigraphically attested by months named after him in Knossos, Malla, and Lato, and a festival in Tylissos.<sup>121</sup> He was a pre-Greek, possibly Minoan, vegetation god, dying and being reborn annually like the Kretan Zeus. There is evidence of months and festivals named for him in many other Dorian locations; he is thought to have merged with Apollo before the end of the Bronze Age.<sup>122</sup> An alternative view suggests that “Apollo’s Dorian connections are poor”, and that Apollo may have taken over from Hyakinthos, probably in the eighth century, without ever being identified with him, and that the myth of the discus is a later addition to explain this.<sup>123</sup>

### 3.6 *Other Epithets of Apollo*

Both Reshep (A)mukal and Hyakinthos have possible connections with Apollo Amyklaios, who was worshipped in association with Artemis at Gortyn, where there was a month Amyklaios. The association with Artemis suggests that Amyklaios was a local form of Apollo Pythios. This ties in with the probable identification of the three pillars found in Temple B at Kommos as representing Apollo, Leto and Artemis.<sup>124</sup>

Apollo Dekatophoros has a sanctuary at Apollonia which is also the city’s archive. There is also evidence for him in Hierapytna, by name, and by a reference to tithes to Apollo, but here it seems probable that it is Apollo Pythios, the principal deity of Hierapytna, who is meant.<sup>125</sup>

There is evidence of a cult of Apollo Tarraios in the city of Tarra, the home of Karmanor who purified Apollo.<sup>126</sup> The story goes that while he was at Tarra, Apollo married the nymph Akakallis, by whom he had twin sons, who were apparently suckled by a goat. Tarra shared coins, depicting a goat, with nearby Elyros, and Elyros is

<sup>121</sup> *IC* I viii 4; I xix 2; I xvi 3; I xxx.

<sup>122</sup> Farnell 1907 p.127; Willetts 1962 p.222; Swindler 1913 p.36; Rose and Dietrich *OCD*<sup>3</sup> p.734.

<sup>123</sup> Dietrich 1975 p.134; Solomon 1994 pp.43, 44.

<sup>124</sup> Prent 2005 p.330; Swindler 1913 pp.34f. See p.201 for further discussion.

<sup>125</sup> *IC* I iii 1; *IC* III iii 9; Guarducci 1942 p.23.

<sup>126</sup> Tarra was located close to present-day Agia Roumeli, at the bottom of the Samaria Gorge (Pashley 1837 pp.263-4; Cameron 2003 p.391).

supposed to have sent to Delphi a bronze statue of the goat suckling the twins.<sup>127</sup> This again suggests identification of Apollo Tarraios with Apollo Pythios.

There is epigraphic evidence of the months of Karneios and Leschanorios, as well as Amyklaios, discussed above, at Gortyn.<sup>128</sup> This is the only evidence in Krete for Apollo Karneios, who seems to have been a Dorian deity, and a vegetation god. It is suggested that, as in the case of Hyakinthos above, Apollo became an “intruder” in an old Dorian celebration, elements of which may themselves have intruded on an earlier pre-Dorian, Minoan/Mykenean rite;<sup>129</sup> but, according to Pausanias, Karnos was the son of Zeus and Europa, who was brought up by Apollo and Leto,<sup>130</sup> suggesting a Minoan origin. Even less is known about Apollo Leschanorios, except that he presided in Sparta over the examination by tribal elders of male babies, to decide if they should be allowed to survive; this took place in the Leskhe, a sort of Spartan *andreion*.<sup>131</sup>

A sanctuary of Phoibos is attested in Olous, a city we have identified as one of only three who definitely honoured Apollo Delphinios, to whom Phoibos possibly refers; it is a name for Apollo which goes back to Homer. On the other hand, apparently, the name never appears as a cult-epithet, nor is it ever applied to the personal Helios, which might have been an alternative solution.<sup>132</sup>

Finally we return to the incomplete treaty between Eleutherna and (probably) Knossos, which is unique in invoking Apollo with more than two epithets.<sup>133</sup> Bilko[nios], and Sasthraios are unmistakable, but Chaniotis and van Effenterre have different ideas as to the length of line of the inscription, and hence how many other Apollo epithets can be fitted in; the latter, assuming longer lines, includes Lykeios, Karneios and Styrakites in

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<sup>127</sup> *IC* II xxix, p.306; Paus.10.16.5; Willetts, 1962 pp.257, 270f. It is tempting to think that one of these twins may have been Kydon, the founder of Kydonia (see 9.2.3), but they were apparently named Philandros and Philakides (Perlman 2004a p.1161).

<sup>128</sup> *IC* IV 197, 235, 183.

<sup>129</sup> Dietrich 1975 p.137.

<sup>130</sup> Paus.3.13.3-5; Swindler 1913 p.36.

<sup>131</sup> Willetts 1962 p.266f.

<sup>132</sup> Farnell 1907 p.140.

<sup>133</sup> *SEG* XLI 743; see pp.51, 54.

addition.<sup>134</sup> Apollo Sasthraios is apparently local to Eleutherna, derived from Σάτρα, an ancient name for Eleutherna, while a temple of Apollo Bilkonios is attested in an inscription from Magnesia, set up by the Kretan *koinon*, apparently referring to an otherwise unknown place in Krete, Βίλων, and possibly also associated with the ancient Kretan god Φελλάγνος.<sup>135</sup> This makes it more likely that other epithets for Apollo could have been included as well, as van Effenterre suggests, connecting the oath to the Kretan *koinon*, under the leadership of Knossos and Gortyn, requiring a kind of pan-Kretan pantheon of gods to be invoked.<sup>136</sup>

His reconstruction would be a unique example of Zeus Idatas, Zeus Diktaios and Zeus Kretagenes all appearing in an oath together,<sup>137</sup> and of Diktyнна and Britomartis being both represented, but, as we have noted, this treaty is already unique in regard to epithets of Apollo. As for van Effenterre's three additional epithets for Apollo, we have already suggested that Lykeios seems a likely choice in Krete, and there is some slight evidence of the epithet in Knossos, and a legend that Apollo sent wolves to nourish his own child, Miletos, in Krete.<sup>138</sup> Apollo Karneios was discussed above in connection with a month-name in Gortyn. Apollo Styrakites was apparently the god of the storax-tree, and had a cult in Krete; it may be he who is depicted on early coins of Eleutherna and Rethymno, holding a spherical object, possibly a ball of resin from the storax-tree, local to Eleutherna.<sup>139</sup>

### 3.7 Conclusions

We have established the probability that both the epithets Delphinios and Pythios had their origins in Krete, as did the pre-Greek name Paiawon. The association between Apollo Delphinios and Diktyнна is unique to the island, and, although most of the attributes of Apollo are as found elsewhere, there is an unusual absence of his

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<sup>134</sup> Chaniotis 1996 p.190ff.

<sup>135</sup> Cook 1925 p.948; Kern 1900 pp.16-17, no.20.

<sup>136</sup> Chaniotis 1996 p.191. For the *koinon* see p.183ff.

<sup>137</sup> See Appendix 1.

<sup>138</sup> *IC* I viii 15; Willetts 1962 p.267; Farnell 1907 p.114.

<sup>139</sup> Willetts 1962 pp.257, 270; Swindler 1913 p.43.

involvement with initiation. The epithets Tarraios and Sasthraios, deriving from local place-names, are unique, as is, almost certainly, the epithet Styrakites.

Apollo Delphinios is a much older god than Apollo Pythios, although exactly how he relates to Apollo's various predecessors, Hyakinthos, Paiawon and Apollo Amyklaios, is not clear. The apparent prevalence of Apollo Pythios and, to a lesser extent, Apollo Delphinios over any other epithet of Apollo may be because of the nature of the epigraphic evidence, which is generally formal and legal.<sup>140</sup> Apollo Pythios is perhaps a bland catch-all, whom two parties could more easily agree to include in their joint list than lesser local deities. The apparent prevalence of Apollo Pythios over Apollo Delphinios is to some extent negated by the evidence of the coins, if this has been rightly interpreted, and it is reasonable to suppose that individual cities would want their coinage to reflect their folk-history and what made them different from their neighbours. Finally the choice might be influenced by political considerations: Knossos and Olous clinging on to Apollo Delphinios could reflect their hostility to Gortyn and Lyttos, and to Lato, respectively; unfortunately for this theory, close relations existed between Hyrtakina, Tarra and Elyros.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> See p.141 for Apollo as guardian of the law.

<sup>141</sup> Willetts 1962 pp.270-1.

## 4

**Mystery Cults, Dionysos, and Orphism in Krete****4.1 Introduction**

Whether or not Diodoros believed his Kretan sources,<sup>1</sup> he recorded that they not only claimed that the majority of the gods originated in Krete, but that the mystery rites practised in Eleusis and Samothrace, as well as rites practised in Thrace, all originated in the island.<sup>2</sup> This latter claim, he says, was supported by the important evidence<sup>3</sup> that such rites were handed down openly in Krete (specifically at Knossos), while they were handed down secretly everywhere else. The general claim to birth on the island for most of the gods is slightly undermined by Diodoros' specific references, elsewhere in the Kretan account, to the birth on Krete of certain individual gods,<sup>4</sup> but it is noteworthy that these do include both Dionysos and Plutos. The "important evidence", which supports the Kretan claim that all initiatory rites were taught by them to the rest of men, seems convincing, in that if the mysteries of Eleusis, Samothrace and Thrace, were all kept secret elsewhere, the Kretans would not have known enough about them to claim them for their own, whereas the open practice of such "mysteries" in Krete would have allowed them to spread to other parts of Greece. It does not however explain why or how the rest of Greece kept them secret if they were practised openly in Krete. Nor does it preclude the possibility, conveniently lost to Kretan folk-memory, that there was a non-Greek, pre-Kretan, origin to the rites, and indeed to some of the gods involved. But Diodoros' slightly throwaway remark in the same passage, that all these rites were invented and passed on<sup>5</sup> by Orpheus, also needs some investigation.

**4.2 The Mysteries of Samothrace**

The Idaian Daktyls, the first divinities mentioned by Diodoros in his Kretan section, are inextricably connected with both Kretan and Phrygian traditions, and with mystery and

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<sup>1</sup> Note *caveats* p.5.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. 5.64.2, 77.3.

<sup>3</sup> μέγιστον τεκμήριον; although a certain scepticism may be implied by Diodoros' use of λεγομένων and ὡς οἴονται.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. refs: Zeus 5.70.2; Athena 5.72.3; Dionysos 5.75.4; Britomartis 5.76.3; Plutos 5.77.1.

<sup>5</sup> This translation of καταδέικνυμι is suggested by Graf (1974 p.32) in discussing this passage.

orgiastic rites of various kinds in both.<sup>6</sup> Diodoros cites Ephoros among those who placed the Idaian Daktyls originally on Mt Ida in Phrygia,<sup>7</sup> and goes on to say that they came from Phrygia to Europe with Mygdon, and seemingly broke their journey in Samothrace, where the enchantments, initiatory rites and mysteries which they practised greatly astonished the locals. It would be surprising if the Samothracians were impressed in this way, if they already had their own mystery cults of the nameless Great Gods and the *Kabeiroi*;<sup>8</sup> so it seems possible that these were actually cults introduced to Samothrace by the Idaian Daktyls, and in any case would have been taken on to Krete by them, when they continued their journey. The Samothracian cults themselves apparently have a non- Greek element, and initiation into them was thought to provide protection from storms at sea;<sup>9</sup> evidence for them in Krete, in the form of a commendation of Ptolemy and Berenice<sup>10</sup> to the Great Gods, in a late third-century inscription from Phalasarna,<sup>11</sup> may have been in this context. It is probably also the reason that the Argonauts, including Orpheus, were said to have been initiated in Samothrace,<sup>12</sup> although Diodoros says that only Orpheus was initiated, and that after being saved by his prayers from a storm, the other Argonauts dedicated altars to the Gods of Samothrace as a thank-offering, and it was for this reason that the Samothracian Gods were believed to give protection from storms at sea.<sup>13</sup>

Mygdon is a legendary king of Phrygia, recorded by Homer as having been helped by Priam in a war against the Amazons<sup>14</sup>. Virgil records that Mygdon's son Koroebos fought for Priam in the Trojan War because of his love for Kassandra, and died, in accordance with her prophecy, in desperate fighting as Troy fell. Pausanias mentions him among the corpses depicted in a wall-painting of the fall of Troy, by Polygnotos, at

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<sup>6</sup> Strabo 10.3.7; Diod.5.64.4.

<sup>7</sup> Diod.5.64.4 = Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F 104; c.f. also Diod.17.7.5, although Ephoros is not necessarily Diodoros' source there (Hornblower, 1994 p.40).

<sup>8</sup> Burkert, 1985 pp.281ff.

<sup>9</sup> Cole 1984 p.2; Parker 2005 p.411.

<sup>10</sup> Presumably Ptolemy III from the date.

<sup>11</sup> Burkert, 1985 p.284; Guthrie 1950 p.43; *IC* II xix 2; Willetts, 1962 p.292.

<sup>12</sup> Cole 1984 p.38.

<sup>13</sup> Diod.4.43.1; Cole 1984 p.68 and n.562.

<sup>14</sup> *Il.*3.184f.

Delphi.<sup>15</sup> There seems no evidence for Mygdon's crossing into Europe, but there could be a connection here with the Pelasgian population of Krete, recorded by Homer, since the Pelasgians are thought to have come originally from the Black Sea area, via some North Aegean islands, including Samothrace, where Herodotos says they imparted their religious rites to the locals,<sup>16</sup> and whose migration could therefore be represented by the Idaian Daktyls. On the other hand Diodoros says that the original inhabitants of Samothrace, whether autochthonous or from Thrace, preserved traces of an ancient language in their rituals, and it has been suggested that this language might have been Thracian;<sup>17</sup> but then again it could equally have been Phrygian. Strabo lists various cities named Larisa, including sites in Asia Minor, Thessaly and Krete, indicating that this is a Pelasgian name; the cities associated with it in Krete include both Hierapytna and Gortyn.<sup>18</sup>

Diodoros, or rather his sources, also credit the Idaian Daktyls with the establishment of a metal-working industry in northwest Krete, near Kydonia.<sup>19</sup> This connection between the Idaian Daktyls and metal-working fits in with Strabo's belief that the similarities between all five groups of godlings in the region are so close that they must all be close kin, if not identical.<sup>20</sup> Since they were all apparently involved in metal-working, it has been suggested that smith guilds may lie behind the concept of the Idaian Daktyls, the Kabiri, the Telchines and the Cyclopes (traditionally sons of Hephaistos), and one writer goes so far as to claim that the Daktyls were smelters of bronze, the Kouretes and Korybantēs were armourers, the Kabiri were skilful smiths, and the Telchines were workers in gold, silver, and bronze.<sup>21</sup> Carolyn Higbie has mentioned that the impossibility of discovering the material of the Telchines' offering of a κρωσσός (a pail,

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<sup>15</sup> *Aen.*2.341f, 403f, 424f; Paus.10.27.1; Eur.*Rhesus* 539 also mentions Koroebos among the Trojan forces.

<sup>16</sup> *Od.*19.177; *Hdt.*2.51; Burkert 1985 p. 282.

<sup>17</sup> *Diod.*5.47.2; Cole 1984 p.10.

<sup>18</sup> Strabo 9.5.19; Steph. Byz. (1825 edn. p.140) under *Γόρτυν*; Willetts 1962 pp.135f, 153.

<sup>19</sup> *Diod.*5.64.5, noting *caveats* p.5. See p.195-6 for detailed discussion.

<sup>20</sup> Strabo 10.3.7 and 10.3.19; where he says that the Kouretes who reared Zeus, were known as Korybantēs in Phrygia, and may in fact have been Telchines, brought from Rhodes, or, indeed, may have been identical with the Kabiroi, who were honoured with rites in Samothrace.

<sup>21</sup> Burkert 1985 p.173; Seltman 1952 p.92, sadly without citing sources.

pitcher, or urn) at Lindos may indirectly indicate their extraordinary craftsmanship.<sup>22</sup> But the main reason for Strabo's close identification of the Kretan Kouretes and Idaian Daktyls with the other godling groups, is their common role as ministers of frenzied rites, among which he mentions specifically those of Samothrace, with its mysteries, and of Lemnos, whither fell Hephaistos, the patron god of metal-working, "thrown by angry Jove, sheer o'er the crystal battlements".<sup>23</sup>

### 4.3 *The Eleusinian Mysteries*

It is a little difficult to consider the possibility of a Kretan origin for the Eleusinian mysteries without addressing the evidence for Dionysos in Krete, but this will be discussed below. The hierophant's announcement of a divine birth during the mysteries could refer to Ploutos, son of Demeter, to Iakchos, son of Demeter or Persephone, or to Dionysos, son of Persephone,<sup>24</sup> a confusion which may reflect an increasing influence of Orphic thinking on the Eleusinian rites, which will be discussed further below.<sup>25</sup> Ploutos, according to Diodoros, was actually born in Krete, the fruit of a liaison between Demeter and Iasion in a thrice-turned field, a symbol of fertility.<sup>26</sup> In one version of the myth, Iasion, the earthly father of Ploutos, was struck by a thunderbolt and killed by Zeus,<sup>27</sup> in rather the same way as was Semele, the earthly mother of Dionysos. As Burkert says,<sup>28</sup> "sacred marriage stands closer to sacrifice than sensual pleasure". It has been postulated that part of the Eleusinian Mysteries represented a sacred marriage, and if so, that this involved either Zeus and Demeter (as parents of Persephone), or Demeter giving herself to Keleos, king of Eleusis.<sup>29</sup> In view of the role of Ploutos in the Mysteries, and his probable identification as the child whose birth is

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<sup>22</sup>Higbie 2003 p.70; *Lindian Chronicle* B II.

<sup>23</sup> Strabo 10.3.7; Milton *Paradise Lost* I 740f.

<sup>24</sup> Burkert 1985 p.288; Parker 2005 p.358. Although Clinton (1992 pp.64ff) points out that although the appellation Ἰακχος came to be used for Dionysos, the two were distinguished in the Eleusinian setting, where Iakchos had a specific role as the torch-bearing guide of the initiates.

<sup>25</sup> d'Alviella 1981 p.16.

<sup>26</sup> Hes.*Theog.* .969ff; Diod.5.77.2; *Od.*5.125f.

<sup>27</sup> *Od.*5.128.

<sup>28</sup> Burkert 1985 p.109.

<sup>29</sup> Parker 2005 pp.356-7; although Clinton (1992 pp.61ff) suggests rather the grain-giving union of Plouton and Kore, as celebrated at the Thesmophoria, with its underworld parallel of Theos and Thea.



celebrated,<sup>30</sup> we might put forward the alternative liaison of Demeter and Iasion, thus strengthening the Kretan connection even more. While it might be argued that Iasion has no other documented role at Eleusis, this seems true also of Keleos. The concept of sacred marriage in Krete has been variously connected with the sun and moon, personified by Poseidon's bull and Pasiphae, and, near Knossos at least, with Zeus and Hera,<sup>31</sup> as well as with Demeter and Iasion, so it is certainly a tradition with a Minoan heritage. Iasion, moreover, also has a place in the Samothracian Mysteries, as the husband of Kybele (in some sense the Asia Minor equivalent of Demeter), and father of both Ploutos and Korybas, and was supposed to be the first to initiate strangers into the Samothracian rites;<sup>32</sup> he is also, incidentally, the brother of Harmonia, mother of Semele, and thus a blood-relation to Dionysos, and a connection by marriage of Krete's own Europa.

Cults of Demeter in Krete are discussed briefly below,<sup>33</sup> the only references to Persephone seem to be a second-century vow or prayer to her in Lappa, and some sort of greeting or thanks to Pluto and Persephone in Eleutherna.<sup>34</sup> References to Demeter and Kore together are few: a dedication in Hierapytna, and a month-name equating to Eleusinia at Olous and Biannos, suggesting a festival of Demeter and Kore.<sup>35</sup> Diodoros does not claim that Demeter brought corn first to Krete, but seems initially to favour Sicily for this honour, saying that the Athenians accept that corn was brought to Eleusis from elsewhere, and that the Egyptians say that Demeter/Isis was the first to bring seed to Egypt, which is not quite the same as saying that she brought seed to Egypt first. It seems rather unlikely that Diodoros was using Kretan sources at this point.<sup>36</sup> Later, however, perhaps reverting to them, he says that Demeter, in common with the majority of the gods, originated in Krete, and went out into the world - to

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<sup>30</sup> Parker 2005 p.359; Clinton 1992 pp.50, 53; 1993 p.119.

<sup>31</sup> Paus.3.26.1; Diod.5.72.4; Willetts 1962 pp.110f; Burkert 1985 p.108. Dowden (2006 p.31 and n.11) says that Knossos is one of many places where this marriage is supposed to have taken place.

<sup>32</sup> Hellanikos *FGrHist* 4 F23; Diod.Sic.5.48-9, where he is the son of Zeus and Demeter, and actually born in Samothrace.

<sup>33</sup> pp.89-90.

<sup>34</sup> *IC* II xvi 10; *IC* II x 11.

<sup>35</sup> *IC* I xvi 4A; *IC* I vi 2; Willetts 1962 pp.169-70, 105.

<sup>36</sup> Diod. 6.69.1-3.

Attica first, then to Sicily, and afterwards to Egypt - and here he does imply that she took from Krete to these other places her discovery of the cultivation of corn.<sup>37</sup>

Since it was before Persephone was born that Demeter discovered the cultivation of corn in Krete, but only after Persephone was restored to her at Eleusis that she is supposed to have disseminated this knowledge,<sup>38</sup> we can perhaps draw a parallel between Kore and corn dissemination to explain the almost total absence of Persephone from Krete, and the establishment of cults of Demeter and Kore, first in Eleusis in Attica, and then in Sicily, which by tradition is sacred to the two goddesses, and is the alleged location of the rape of Kore.<sup>39</sup> The advent of Demeter at Eleusis, and its significance in the Eleusinian cult, have been likened to that of Christ's incarnation, in its significance to Christianity.<sup>40</sup> The cult of the two goddesses in Sicily seems to have been particularly strong in Gela, which had a Kretan co-founder, and in Gela's daughter-city, Akragas.<sup>41</sup> Certainly in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, when the goddess arrives in Eleusis, she tells the daughters of King Keleos that she has come from Krete, although whether this is a "lying tale", similar to those told by Odysseus, using Krete as a conveniently distant and mysterious place of origin, or "manipulated truth", is a matter for conjecture.<sup>42</sup> But many scholars do endorse the idea that the Eleusinian mysteries originated in Krete,<sup>43</sup> and it has been suggested - citing the common form of certain cult vessels, the Kretan origin of purifications, the kernel of a fertility cult, and an element of bull-wrestling in the ephebes leading in oxen for sacrifice at Eleusis - that the oldest rites at Eleusis were not only pre-Hellenic, but were

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<sup>37</sup> Diod.5.77.4.

<sup>38</sup> Diod.5.68.2; Parker 2005 pp.341-2,

<sup>39</sup> Related by Diodoros in 5.2.3ff, and supported by his contemporary, Ovid (*Met.*5.385ff).

<sup>40</sup> Parker 2005 p.342; Gasparro 1986 pp.137-8.

<sup>41</sup> Pind.*P.*12.1-2; Hdt.7.153; Larson 2007 p.81 and n.25. These cities are discussed further below (p.220f).

<sup>42</sup> Hom.*Hymn Dem.*123ff; Clay 1989 p.228; Arthur 1977 p.19. For Odysseus' lying tales involving Krete, see *Od.*13.265ff, 14.199ff, 19.172ff. Demeter is discussed further on p.89f.

<sup>43</sup> Willetts 1962, p.151: "There can be little doubt that they (the Eleusinian Mysteries) were brought into mainland Greece from Crete"; Guthrie pp.1950 p.282: "very likely", citing the similarity of the *telesterion* to halls at Phaistos and Knossos; Nilsson (1968 pp.575-6) recognizes Minoan elements; while Persson 1942 pp.149ff is very definite indeed. More recent writers seem neither to endorse nor refute the idea., although Marinatos (1993 p.27) believes that the Minoan practice of secondary burial implied belief in an after-life. Bowden 2010 p.82 claims that there is no evidence of initiation into mystery cults on Krete, but then, if the Kretans sources are right, they were openly practised there and would not require initiation.

specifically Minoan, and that the actual name Eleusis comes from pre-Hellenic Krete.<sup>44</sup> We have seen above, in discussion of the Palaikastro Hymn, that the refrain is associated with the transition from death to rebirth,<sup>45</sup> that the allusion to abstention from eating meat in the fourth stanza could be associated with the unsullied life of initiates of Kretan Zeus in Euripides' *Cretans* (9-10),<sup>46</sup> and that the performance of the Hymn was possibly associated with initiation ceremonies.<sup>47</sup> And all these elements of ancient Kretan rites are evident in, and pre-date, what we know of the rites of Eleusis,<sup>48</sup> while the central Eleusinian element of the birth of the Divine Child, whether identified as Ploutos, son of Demeter, or Dionysos, son of Persephone,<sup>49</sup> could in some way reflect the birth of Zeus, son of Rhea, on Krete.

#### 4.4 *Convergence between the Orphic Tradition and the Eleusinian Mysteries*

The first suggestion of Orphic influence on the Eleusinian tradition appears in the fifth century, and further convergence of the two traditions may be evident during the fourth century with the Eleusinian name, Brimo, appearing as a twice-repeated password in a gold leaf from Thessalian Pherae, found in 1985.<sup>50</sup> In this brief text, the initiate is said to be exempt from paying the price, or ransomed, ἄπιοιός γὰρ ὁ μύστης, a clear reference to the story of Dionysos' destruction by the Titans and consequent guilt of the human race for Persephone's grief, and it seems probable that Brimo here is used as an epithet for Persephone.<sup>51</sup> In an earlier gold leaf from Pherae, only published in 2007, the dead person claims to be an initiate of Demeter Cthonia and the Mountain Mother, opening up questions about the Orphic/Dionysiac monopoly of passage to the afterlife.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Nilsson 1968 pp.449-51 (for the cult vessels); Persson 1942 pp.149f. Whether or not he is right about the bull-wrestling, the sacrifice of an ox as part of the ephebe's rite of passage is certainly attested in Krete (Strabo 10.4.21), although in this case the ox was sacrificed to Zeus.

<sup>45</sup> p.14.

<sup>46</sup> p.16. Abstention from meat-eating is Orphic (or Pythagorean) and the requirement for a pious lifestyle is associated with initiates at Samothrace (Price 1999 p.121f); at Eleusis initiation was enough, with no demands of a way of life thereafter (d'Alviella 1981 p.84).

<sup>47</sup> pp.17, 24.

<sup>48</sup> Burkert 1985 pp.285-6.

<sup>49</sup> Burkert 1985 p.288.

<sup>50</sup> Bremmer 2002 pp.22-23, citing Eur.*Hypsipyle* (44-49) and Aristoph.*Frogs*; Decourt 1995 p.129 and n.94.

<sup>51</sup> Bernabé and san Cristóbal 2008 pp.152, 155-6. The human race arose from the ashes of the Titans, hence its guilt (Graf and Johnston 2007 p.67).

<sup>52</sup> Parker and Stamatopoulou 2007 pp.6, 25ff; Graf and Johnston 2007 pp.38f, 64. See also p.83 n.155.

The holy meadow, ἱερός λειμών, into which the initiate is invited, is a picture of the after-life shared by both Orphic and Eleusinian eschatology,<sup>53</sup> and the two are linked also through gold leaves from Pelinna, where the text includes the instruction to “tell Persephone that Bakchos himself has set you free”, since Persephone decides destiny after death in both traditions.<sup>54</sup>

Although the association of Dionysos with the Eleusinian Mysteries, in, for instance, vase-paintings and drama, could be evidence of the introduction to Eleusis of the Orphic myth of Dionysos, it could also simply reflect the close association in the Greek mind of the cults and mysteries of Demeter and Dionysos, which led painters, orators and dramatists to amalgamate them.<sup>55</sup> A mystic *Iakchos*-cry of some sort is attested, in connection with the Eleusinian Mysteries, at least as early as the Persian invasion in 480,<sup>56</sup> but it is later closely associated with Bacchic revels. Might it be possible that the uncertainty as to the identity of the child at the Eleusinian Mysteries stems from a metamorphosis over time from Ploutos, son of Demeter, to Iakchos-Dionysos, son of Persephone? Admittedly this would seem to entail a change of the apparent emphasis of the Mysteries, from the return of Kore, and the introduction of wheat and Wealth, to the eschatological aspects; but that might be a real reflection of popular concerns. If this is so, it is probably important that the Christian sources of our knowledge of the Mysteries<sup>57</sup> would only have known their later form.

Further confusion, or evidence of development, stems from the god Hades’ receiving the name Plouton, ‘the rich one’, in the late fifth century, and thereafter sharing with Ploutos the iconography of a cornucopia, and the possibility that the names “could be playfully exchanged”,<sup>58</sup> thus Ploutos, son of Demeter and Iasion in the Eleusinian tradition, and hence half-brother of Persephone, could be identified with Hades, her part-time husband in Eleusinian and Orphic traditions. It is possible that the mysterious

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<sup>53</sup> Bremmer 2002 p.23.

<sup>54</sup> Graf 1993 p.242. But the emphasis in the same text on “now, the same day” is more Orphic than Eleusinian (*Ibid.* pp.247-8).

<sup>55</sup> Parker 2005 p.341.

<sup>56</sup> Hdt.8.65; Parker 2005 p.327.

<sup>57</sup> Parker 2005 p.355ff.

<sup>58</sup> Bremmer 2002 p.6; Parker 2005 p.337.

‘god and goddess’ of Eleusinian iconography could be Hades and Persephone, rulers of the underworld, as distinct from their more familiar Eleusinian *personae* of Plouton and Kore, sources of growth.<sup>59</sup>

A possible conclusion is that Orphic influence on Eleusis may have been quite slight, but enhanced by the fact that both were mysteries, and by a confused contemporary perception of them; or it may have been a gradual change of emphasis which brought Dionysos and eschatological considerations to the fore in the ritual. It may even be that the myth and cult of Dionysos and Persephone, which developed in the late sixth century, were deliberately designed, both to be eschatologically important, and to correlate with the myth and cult of Eleusis.<sup>60</sup> Furthermore the influence seems to have worked both ways. It is worth noting that certain of the Orphic Hymns show links to the Eleusinian rites, in references for instance to Eubuleus, to Iakchos, to Demeter’s quest for Kore, and, indeed, to Eleusis itself;<sup>61</sup> and that at some point in the Dionysiac festival of the Lenaea at Athens, the hierophant invoked Dionysos by the Eleusinian name of Iakchos<sup>62</sup> Also Homer’s and Pindar’s judges of the underworld included Minos, Rhadamanthys, and Aiakos:<sup>63</sup> these three functioned only as arbitrators in conflicts between the dead or the gods, but anonymous judges, as opposed to mere arbitrators, are separately mentioned in Pindar’s *Ol.2*, well-known for Orphic influence, and the later inclusion by Plato of Triptolemos as a judge, with the other three, argues Eleusinian influence.<sup>64</sup> It seems significant with regard to the possible Kretan origin of both traditions that two of these four judges were Kretan, and in particular that Rhadamanthys was named in *Ol.2*. And it is possibly also significant that one of only two Eleusinia festivals in Krete, and one of only four Thiodaisia festivals, which may

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<sup>59</sup> Parker 2005 p.335; Clinton 1992 p.62. Clinton (1993 p.113) also points out the poor correlation between the Homeric Hymn to Demeter and the Mysteries, in that it uses the name Persephone instead of Kore or Thea, and Hades instead of Plouton or Theos.

<sup>60</sup> Graf and Johnston 2007 pp.74ff.

<sup>61</sup> Morand 2001 pp.166f; Eubuleus: Hymns 30, 42, 52, 56, 72 *et al*; Iakchos, Demeter’s quest for Kore, and Eleusis: Hymns 40, 41, and 42.

<sup>62</sup> Parker 2005 p.317.

<sup>63</sup> Aiakos was the founding father of Aigina (*IACP* p.621 and Figueira 1993 pp.83-4), referred to in Pind. *I.8* (for an Aiginetan victor).

<sup>64</sup> Bremmer 2002 pp.91-92 and n.25; *Od.11.568-71* (Minos); Pind.*O.2. 75-6* (Rhadamanthys); Pind.*I.8 23-4* (Aiakos); Pind.*O.2.59-60* (the anonymous judges); Pl.*Ap.41a* (Triptolemos).

have been associated with Dionysos as discussed below, are celebrated in the same Kretan city of Olous.

#### 4.5 *Kretan-born Zeus, Zagreus, and Dionysos*

Kretan-born Zeus does indeed share many of the characteristics of Dionysos, who has been described as “a bull-god, a dying god, and a god not reared by his mother”,<sup>65</sup> there is also a parallel between the tomb of Dionysos at Delphi and that of Zeus in Krete.<sup>66</sup> In view of the claims of Diodoros’ Kretan sources,<sup>67</sup> that Dionysos was not only born on Krete, but that he even established two islands near the Kretan coast called Dionysidae after himself,<sup>68</sup> there is surprisingly little evidence of cults of Dionysos on the island: a few coins from isolated cities with a wide geographic distribution,<sup>69</sup> and occasional epigraphic evidence, of cult in Eleutherna, a dedication in Gortyn, and a month-name Dionysios in Praisos.<sup>70</sup> It is not clear whether the Thiodaisia festival, which occurs in Olous (accompanied by “unspoken things”),<sup>71</sup> Lato (associated with oath-taking), Lyttos, and Hierapytna, was a festival of Dionysos, as at the Kissousa spring in Boeotia and elsewhere, or of Kretan-born Zeus.<sup>72</sup>

The only other epigraphic references to Dionysos are in replies from a large number of Kretan cities<sup>73</sup> to the people of Teos, apparently in response to the Teians’ campaign of appeals for wider recognition of their *asylos* status, granted by Antiochos III at the end of the third century, in return for which he and his sister-wife Laodike were granted

<sup>65</sup> Willetts 1962 p.220. “Not reared by his mother” applies whether his mother was Persephone or Semele. The tomb is referred to by Philochoros (*FGrHist* 328 F7) as inscribed “Here lies, dead, Dionysos, son of Semele” (Seaford 2006 p.85).

<sup>66</sup> West 1983 p.150; Lloyd-Jones 1985 p.91.

<sup>67</sup> Noting *caveats* p.5.

<sup>68</sup> Diod.5. 75.4-5.

<sup>69</sup> Kydonia and Polyrrenia in the west, in the centre Sybrita, and Hierapytna in the east; Guarducci *IC* II pp.113, 241, 290 and III p.23; Willetts 1962 p.220.

<sup>70</sup> *IC* II xii 9 (C6-5) Eleutherna; *IC* IV 238 (C2) Gortyn; *IC* III vi 7A (early C3) Praisos; Willetts 1962 p.221.

<sup>71</sup> See pp.74-5.

<sup>72</sup> All cities of central or east Krete: *IC* I xvi 5 (late C2) Lato and Olous; I xviii 10 (C2-3 AD) Lyttos; III iii 1, 7 and I viii 13 (C2) Hierapytna; Larson 2007 p.139; Willetts 1962 pp.202ff.

<sup>73</sup> Arkades *IC* I v 52, 53; Biannos I vi 2; Istron I xiv 1; Lato and Lato-pros-Kamara I xvi 2, 15; Rhaukos I xxvii 1; Allaria II i 1; Aptera II iii 2; Axos II v 17; Kydonia II x 2; Eleutherna II xii 21; Polyrrenia II xxiii 3; Sybrita II xxvi 1; Hierapytna III iii 2; Jones 1999 p.60.

“*honneurs dignes d’un dieu*”, in association with Dionysos in Teos.<sup>74</sup> In view of the association of Mnemosyne with the Orphic tradition, which will be discussed below, it is interesting to note that the rituals associating Antiochos III with Dionysos at Teos also associated him with personifications of the Graces, the Seasons, victory, and, significantly, of Memory. This is perhaps re-affirming the Dionysos-Mnemosyne link, although Chaniotis sees it as a purely civic expression of the Teians’ intention of never forgetting Antiochos’ benefits to them.<sup>75</sup> It is also of interest that Teos was one of the very few cities which not only sent *theoroi* to Samothrace, but also had a local organization in honour of the Samothracian gods,<sup>76</sup> suggesting a link between Dionysos and the Samothracian Mysteries. The naming of Dionysos in the responses to Teos would seem to be entirely in deference to the Teians, on the grounds that he receives honour as their city’s founder; in only four of the fourteen cases<sup>77</sup> do the Kretan cities admit καὶ αὐτοὶ σεβόμεθα.

It has been suggested that Dionysos was not needed on Krete, because the ideas associated with his worship were so similar to those associated with the worship of Kretan-born Zeus.<sup>78</sup> Kretan religious rites seem to have included much of what is normally thought of as “Dionysiac”, although, from the light thrown on early Kretan religion by the decipherment of Linear B, there were apparently distinct cults of Zeus and Dionysos as early as the thirteenth century, since both names appear, in the context of offerings, on a Linear B tablet found at Chania.<sup>79</sup> The roles of ‘initiate of Idaian Zeus’ and ‘herdsman of Zagreus’, claimed by the Chorus, in the *parodos* of Euripides’ fragmentary *Cretans*, which is apparently describing mystery cults in Krete, both seem in the context to refer to Kretan-born Zeus, although the name Zagreus is used for Dionysos in the Orphic tradition where he is destroyed by the Titans<sup>80</sup> (of which more below). It has also been suggested, from the use of the word ‘βάκχος’ in the same

<sup>74</sup> Chaniotis 2007 pp.151, 159-60.

<sup>75</sup> Chaniotis 2007 pp.153, 156, 163.

<sup>76</sup> Cole 1984 p.52.

<sup>77</sup> Allaria, Eleutherna, Kydonia, and Polyrrhenia in the west and centre of the island.

<sup>78</sup> Guthrie 1950 p.46; Willetts 1962 p.202; Nilsson 1968 p.579.

<sup>79</sup> Hallager, Vlasakis, and Hallager 1992 pp.76-7; Tiverios 1997 p.310; Henrichs *OCD*<sup>3</sup> p.479; Prent 2005 pp.106-8; Dowden 2006 p.28 n.6.

<sup>80</sup> Morand 2001 p.160.

passage, that Kretan-born Zeus was actually called Bakchos or Dionysos in the fifth century.<sup>81</sup> A more plausible interpretation is perhaps that the term ‘βάκχος’ here implied ‘celebrant’, and referred to an attendant on Zeus’s mother Rhea, but it is still interesting that Euripides should here use a Greek word more usually associated with Dionysos, as he does also, in connection with both the Kouretes and Rhea, and with the attendants of Kybele in Phrygia, in the *Bacchae*.<sup>82</sup> In the *parodos* of the *Bacchae* we find the Kouretes and Korybantes, in the “sacred haunts of Krete”, inventing a drum, which was subsequently presented to Rhea, and obtained from her by the satyrs, who used it in the worship of Dionysos.<sup>83</sup> This possibly ties in with Apollodoros’ slightly odd claim that Dionysos was taught the rites of initiation by Rhea.<sup>84</sup> Thus the association between Dionysiac revelry, the frenzied worship of Kybele in Asia Minor, and rites celebrated in the sacred haunts of Krete which gave birth to Zeus, would seem to have been close in the fifth century. Whence it has been concluded that Dionysos and Idaian Zeus are both later forms of an ancient Kretan deity, whose name was hellenized as Zagreus, probably named from the Zagros Mountains, a range lying between Assyria and Media.<sup>85</sup>

#### 4.6 *Krete and the Orphic Tradition*

##### 4.6.1 *Krete in Orphic Theogonies*

Having established that there was considerable overlap and potential confusion between the rites associated with Kretan-born Zeus and with Dionysos, we can expect to find similar features in their mythology (or aetiology). It seems that from two parallel mother-and-son myths - Kybele and Dionysos (or Sabazios) in Asia Minor, Rhea and Idaian Zeus in Krete - the Greeks adopted Rhea and Dionysos, although not as a mother-and-son pair.<sup>86</sup> The well-known Theban tradition makes Dionysos the son of

<sup>81</sup> Eur.*Cretans*.10, 11, 15; Guthrie 1935 p.111-2.

<sup>82</sup> Eur.*Cretans* 13-15; Eur. *Bacch* 129, 78ff, 131ff; Collard 1995 p.60; Strabo 10.3.13.

<sup>83</sup> Eur. *Bacch.* 120-134; Seaford 1996 p.163; Dodds 1960 *ad loc.* The drum would have drowned the cries of the infant god; bronze *tympana* and shields have been found in a cave on Mt Ida, suggesting a cult of the Kouretes there.

<sup>84</sup> Apollod.*Bibl.* 3.5.1.

<sup>85</sup> Willetts 1962 pp.241, 203 and n.27; although West (1983 p.153 and n.39) prefers a Dorian or northwest Greek origin for the name, and associates it with Delphi (the site of Dionysos’ tomb).

<sup>86</sup> Dodds 1960 at lines 78-9.



Zeus and Semele, daughter of Kadmos, king of Thebes, and records that Semele was destroyed by an epiphany of Zeus, which she had demanded at the urging of Hera, and that Zeus bore the baby to term sewn into his thigh, concealed from his jealous wife.<sup>87</sup> The version of Diodoros' Kretan sources is quite different.<sup>88</sup> There is no reference at all to Semele as the mother of Dionysos, despite her relationship to Europa, and Europa's to Krete.<sup>89</sup> Instead the sources claim that Dionysos was born in Krete, of Zeus and Persephone, and that Orpheus handed down, through his initiatory rites, the story that the god was torn to pieces by the Titans.<sup>90</sup> Elsewhere this story takes various forms, but all seem to involve Krete, suggesting that Dionysos is more in evidence in myth on Krete, than in cultic observance.

In his work *On the Errors of Pagan Religions*, Firmicus Maternus relates the myth of Liber (Dionysos), a bastard son of Jove, king of Krete, (Zeus).<sup>91</sup> Despite guards, who are elsewhere described as Korybantes,<sup>92</sup> left to protect the baby from the anger of his stepmother, Jove's wife, Juno (Hera), Dionysos was eventually betrayed by her to the Titans, who dismembered, cooked and ate him, for which crime Zeus took terrible revenge. Although the end of the story is very different, there are certainly parallels here with the myth of Kretan-born Zeus: the guarding of the baby from a threatening parent, the association of the other parent with Krete, a Kretan location for the god's birth, and Zeus's defeat of the Titans.<sup>93</sup> Firmicus Maternus attributes a religious festival, celebrated annually by the Kretans to commemorate the baby Dionysos' suffering and death, to their desire to propitiate Zeus; this could be the origin of the

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<sup>87</sup> Eur.*Bacch.* 89-98; Apollod.*Bibl.* 3.4.3.

<sup>88</sup> Noting *caveats* p.5.

<sup>89</sup> Semele was the daughter of Kadmos, and thus a niece of his sister Europa, who was carried off to Krete by Zeus in the form of a bull.

<sup>90</sup> Diod.5.75.4.

<sup>91</sup> Firm. Mat. *Err. Prof. Rel.* 6.1-5. Heuten (1938 p.153) specifically refers to this Kretan child of Zeus as Dionysos Zagreus. Guthrie 1935 p.108f; Willetts 1962 p.240.

<sup>92</sup> Garland 1994 p.90.

<sup>93</sup> According to Graf and Johnston (2007 pp.150-1 and 67), the very fragmentary Gurôb papyrus actually refers to Dionysos' guards as Kouretes, and suggest that this reference, and the setting of the whole episode on Krete, were deliberate reminders of the parallel myth of the infant Zeus.

Thiodaisia, and the celebration of ‘unspoken things’ in Olous and other cities, mentioned above.<sup>94</sup>

Diodoros relates elsewhere another myth of Dionysos’ birth and upbringing, apparently based on Dionysios Scytobrachion, with similarities to that of Kretan-born Zeus.<sup>95</sup> In this version, Dionysos is the bastard son of Ammon, husband of Rhea, and a beautiful maiden, Amalthea; in Kretan tradition Amalthea is the name of the goat who suckled the infant Zeus. Ammon, being afraid of Rhea’s jealousy – as with Zeus and Hera above - hides the boy in a wondrous cave at Nysa, entrusting his care to a girl of that name, and his protection to Athena. Eventually, when Rhea persuades the rest of the Titans to make war on Ammon, it is Dionysos, helped by Athena, who overthrows them, but shows kindness to his younger step-brother, Zeus, who comes in on the side of Ammon and Dionysos when hostilities are renewed. Finally the end of their campaign against the Titans takes place in Krete, whither Ammon had fled some time before.<sup>96</sup> Once again the parallels with the myth of Kretan-born Zeus are there: the guarding of the baby from a jealous parent; the association of the other parent with Krete; a Kretan location, this time for the final overthrow of the Titans; and the involvement of the boy, together with his named brother Zeus for good measure, in that defeat.

Of these two endings to Dionysos’ conflict with the Titans, that of his being dismembered and eaten by them has the greater currency. But in Orphic literature there is a double birth-myth:<sup>97</sup> the first baby Dionysos was the son of an incestuous union between Zeus and Persephone, and was killed (and eaten) by the Titans on the instructions of the jealous Hera. But the story continues beyond the point at which Firmicus Maternus left it: Zeus appears and, in characteristic fashion, destroys the Titans *en masse* with a thunderbolt, then retrieves the child’s heart, fortunately

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<sup>94</sup> See p.71. Firm. Mat. *Err.Prof.Rel.* 6.5 tells how the Kretans tear with their teeth the flesh of a live bull, and feign madness to explain their innocence of this crime committed on their island.

<sup>95</sup> Diod.Sic.3.68.1-3, 73.8.

<sup>96</sup> The Egyptian chief god Ammon (Amun) was identified with Zeus by the Greeks, and particularly by Alexander the Great (Griffiths *OCD*<sup>3</sup> p.74).

<sup>97</sup> Graf *OCD*<sup>3</sup> p.1078.

preserved by Athena, and uses it to reproduce a second baby Dionysos with Semele.<sup>98</sup> This reflects an Orphic tradition that Dionysos was Zeus's intended successor, and that he may have actually reigned jointly with Zeus, although a baby, before the Titans ate him, or that, in his second incarnation, he may have succeeded his father.<sup>99</sup> Furthermore, at least in the Rhapsodic Theogony, the location of Zeus's mating with Persephone, and of Dionysos' birth and dismemberment by the Titans, is again Krete.<sup>100</sup> Much of this – the liaison between Zeus and Persephone, the birth of the god in Krete, and his tearing to pieces by the Titans - accords exactly with the version of Diodoros' Kretan sources outlined above,<sup>101</sup> which does point to a Kretan origin to this Orphic tradition at least. Furthermore, it is significant that Kallimachos uses the name 'Zagreus' for Dionysos, and that the names were apparently used interchangeably in at least one strand of the Orphic tradition,<sup>102</sup> which might confirm the identification of Dionysos with Kretan-born Zeus, discussed above.

#### 4.6.2 Diodoros' Kretan Sources,<sup>103</sup> *Orpheus, and the Orphic Tradition*

Having recognized this, we can now consider whether other allusions to Orpheus and the Orphic tradition may lie behind some apparent oddities in Diodoros' Kretan-sourced text. Orpheus, we are told, was a student of the Idaian Daktyls, the first immortals to settle around Mt Ida in Krete.<sup>104</sup> There seems no other evidence for such a direct link between Orpheus and the Idaian Daktyls, although there is some evidence for a relationship between Orpheus and Samothrace, whence we have established that the Idaian Daktyls travelled to Krete.<sup>105</sup> Although the retrojection to Orpheus of the set of beliefs termed 'Orphism' is uncertain,<sup>106</sup> we need at this point to go back to Diodoros' claim that Orpheus was the "inventor and passer-on" of the mysteries at Eleusis,

<sup>98</sup> *Orph.frs.* 205-20; Parker 1995 p.494; West 1983 p.74.

<sup>99</sup> *Orph.fr.* 218; Parker 1995 pp.494-5; Graf and Johnston 2007 p.66f, citing Olympiodoros *In Phd.* 1.3.

<sup>100</sup> The Rhapsodic Theogony is one of several Orphic traditions; *Orph.frs.* 58, 153, 303; West 1983 pp.69 and 74.

<sup>101</sup> Diod.5.75.4.

<sup>102</sup> Kallim. *fr.*43, 117 with d'Alessio 1997 p.433 n.32; West 1983 p.1521; Lloyd-Jones 1990 p.91; Willetts 1962 p.315.

<sup>103</sup> Noting *caveats* p.5.

<sup>104</sup> Diod.5.64.4 and 3.

<sup>105</sup> *Pl.Phdr.* 250a; Burkert 1985 p.296; Lloyd-Jones, 1985 p.96.

<sup>106</sup> Dodds 1951 p.11 divorces 'Orphism' firmly from Orpheus; Morand 2001 pp.90ff is more cautious about the attribution of the Orphic Hymns.

Samothrace, and Thrace.<sup>107</sup> In discussing the two passages in which the historian makes this claim, Graf cites Ephoros as evidence from the mid-fourth century, of the tradition that Orpheus was the founder of the mysteries.<sup>108</sup> He associates the traditions that Orpheus introduced the mystery rites, and brought to an end the slaughter of animals, both with the vegetarianism associated with Orphic initiates, and with the possibility that Orpheus was also credited with the introduction of agriculture, and that the religious rites followed from the deification of the good things which resulted. He points out that the association between Orpheus and Eleusis dates back to the late fifth century, and that the concept of agriculture leading to religion suggests the thinking of the fifth century sophist, Prodikos of Keos, who, in his naturalistic theory of the origin of religion, claimed that bread was worshipped as Demeter and wine as Dionysos.<sup>109</sup>

Looking now at other parts of the Kretan section in Diodoros 5,<sup>110</sup> we find that the passage constantly insists that immortal honours were granted to those, from Kres to Ploutos, and including Demeter and Dionysos, who had made improvements in the social life of mankind, by discoveries and by the transfer of their knowledge to the human race, and that only thus did they become gods.<sup>111</sup> This rational explanation of the origins of the gods has something in common with the third-century doctrine of Euhemerism. The religious developments of the Hellenistic age have been described as a reaction to changing social conditions, which included efforts to counter growing scepticism about the gods by re-defining them in more rationalistic terms.<sup>112</sup> But Euhemerism explained the gods in terms of the promotion of kings and heroes – “the famous men of old forgotten days” - possibly as a response to the achievements and deification ambitions of Alexander the Great,<sup>113</sup> and a reflection of the tendency to ruler-cults which characterized the era of his Successors. Diodoros’ Kretan section does

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<sup>107</sup> Graf 1974 p.42, see p.62 and n.5.

<sup>108</sup> Diod.5.64.4=Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F 104; Graf 1974 pp.26ff. Diod.5.77.3 (not necessarily attributable to Ephoros) endorses the tradition.

<sup>109</sup> Sextus Empiricus *Against the Professors* 9.18 (D.K.84B5 Prodikos of Keos) tr. Waterfield (2000); Graf 1974 pp.34-39; Bremmer *OCD*<sup>3</sup> p.412.

<sup>110</sup> Noting *caveats* p.5.

<sup>111</sup> Diod.5.64.1, 77.2, 68.3, 75.4 etc.

<sup>112</sup> Walbank 1992 p.218f.

<sup>113</sup> Guthrie 1950 p.10; Spyridakis 1992 p.2.

not seem to suggest that power was a pre-requisite for deification, but rather the discovery of things of benefit to mankind, and thus seems to have more in common with the thinking of Prodikos of Keos, two centuries earlier, than with that of Euhemeros. There are thus other grounds for suggesting that Diodoros' Kretan sources were influenced by Prodikos,<sup>114</sup> which reinforce Graf's argument that the thinking of Prodikos may have been associated with the fourth-century tradition of Orpheus as founder of Eleusis.

Diodoros also records that the battle against the Giants, which took place in Krete in this account, was won when Musaios deserted to Zeus from the enemy, in accordance with omens.<sup>115</sup> This reference to Musaios is mysterious, and may be a conflation of two stories. Apollodoros tells us that an oracle had predicted that the gods would not be able to kill the Giants unless they had a mortal to help them, so they called in Herakles. It is nowhere stated where this oracle came from, but Diodoros says elsewhere that Musaios was in charge of the Eleusinian Mysteries on an occasion when Herakles took part.<sup>116</sup> The Musaios we know as a poet and musician, associated both with Orpheus and with the Eleusinian Mysteries, was a noted giver of oracles, as well as the author of a *Hymn to Demeter*, a *Theogony* and a *Titanographia*,<sup>117</sup> so it is reasonable to assume that the reference is to him. Musaios' desertion from the enemy to help the gods kill the giants could have Orphic or Eleusinian connotations, or both. Musaios is mainly associated with Eleusis – his son was Eumolpos, who founded the *genos* which supplied the hierophant<sup>118</sup> - but the Orphic Hymns were apparently addressed to Musaios, and there were similarities in the eschatological beliefs of the two cults; Plato, in particular, tended to lump them together.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Keos was supposedly founded by Minos, hence linked historically to Krete (Bakchyl. *Hymn 1*). See p.212.

<sup>115</sup> Diod.5.71.3.

<sup>116</sup> Apollod. *Bibl.*1.6.1; Diod.4.25.1.

<sup>117</sup> West 1983 pp.40f; Garland 1994 p.91; DK no.2 pp.20-27; Hdt.7.6, 8.96, 9.43; Paus.10.9.5.

<sup>118</sup> Parker 2005 p.362.

<sup>119</sup> Parker 1995 pp.503-4; Morand 2001 p.90; *Pl.Leg.* 2.364e.

#### 4.6.3 *The Gold Tablets and Mnemosyne*

Having sought and found elements of Orphism in Diodoros' Kretan theogony, we should now search for other connections between Orphic evidence and Krete. The words Γᾱς υἱός εἰμι καὶ Ὀρανῶ ἀστερόεντος, on gold leaves found at Eleutherna,<sup>120</sup> refer to the identification of the human soul with the Titans, and recall the variant account in Diodoros, which makes the Titans the children of Earth and Heaven.<sup>121</sup> Further, as also discussed earlier in the context of the Palaikastro Hymn, there could a link between another of the Orphic gold tablets, from Pelinna in Thessaly,<sup>122</sup> and the leaping of its fifth stanza.

Mnemosyne is mentioned on gold tablet A5 (from Rome), but only in the context of her being the mother of the Muses, and hence, presumably, ultimately the giver of the poem on the tablet. More significantly, the name is mentioned on B1 (from Petelia), as the lake from which one of two fountains spring, where the association of Mnemosyne, memory, is life, while that of the Lethe, forgetting, is death.<sup>123</sup> It has been suggested that the Eleutherna texts were all stereotyped from a reduced model, exported to Krete later,<sup>124</sup> but this does not take into account Janko's observation that one of the Kretan tablets, K4, has some textual similarities to the tablet from Petelia, as well as those from Pharsalus and Hipponium, which are all based on the 'long archetype'; thus the Kretan tradition is not pure, and there is some connection to the longer text, which contains references to the pool of Memory, Μνεμοσύνη.<sup>125</sup> Other links between Mnemosyne and Orpheus/Orphism include that of relationship – she is the mother of his mother, the muse Kalliope, and both originate from Piera – and in *Orphic Hymn 77* she is invoked to awaken the memory of the ritual in initiates, and to banish forgetfulness.<sup>126</sup> Memory equates in Greek thinking to truth, knowledge, and immortality,<sup>127</sup> while Lethe is

<sup>120</sup> See p.16.

<sup>121</sup> K1-3, 5-6, 4; Kern 1916 p.555; Janko 1984 p.95; Dioid.5.66.2.

<sup>122</sup> Parker 1995 p.497. See p.16.

<sup>123</sup> Zuntz 1971 pp.333-5, 359, 378-81.

<sup>124</sup> Bernabé and san Cristóbal 2001 p.59; Graf 1993 pp.239-40.

<sup>125</sup> Janko 1984 p.100, noting that the designation of the tablets is that of Zuntz.

<sup>126</sup> Lines 9, 10; Bernabé and san Cristóbal 2008 p.15f; Morand 2001 pp.57-8; Zuntz 1971 p.379 and n.9.

<sup>127</sup> Bernabé and san Cristóbal 2008 p.17.

depicted in *Orphic Hymn* 85 as the sister of Death and Sleep, and is thus the negative to Mnemosyne's positive.<sup>128</sup>

Diodoros' Kretan sources attribute to Mnemosyne (a Titan who bore the Muses with Zeus<sup>129</sup>) not only the power of memory, but the power of reason, and of giving names to things, and hence of communication between people.<sup>130</sup> Diodoros does not mention that she was the mother of the Muses, although this may be implicit in his later saying that the Muses discovered letters and turned words into poetry.<sup>131</sup> But the Kretans' assignment of such an important role to Mnemosyne, and indeed their detailed interest in the other Titans,<sup>132</sup> may be another clue suggesting Orphic links to Krete.

#### 4.6.4 Pindar and Sicily

Finally we come to Pindar's *Olympian* 2 and the Sicilian connection, with its clear references to eschatological beliefs.<sup>133</sup> It seems that Theron, the honorand of *Olympian* 2, was a descendant of one of the original Rhodian settlers of Akragas, suggesting a possible connection between the eschatological references in the poem, and the cult of Zeus Atabyrios, which is linked to Kretan origins, through Althaimenes, son of Katreus.<sup>134</sup> Althaimenes is supposed to have fled to Rhodes from Krete, in a vain attempt to avoid the oracle that one of Katreus' children would kill their father, and there founded a temple to Zeus near the top of Mt Atabyros, the highest mountain of Rhodes near Kamiros, from which he claimed he could see his native Krete<sup>135</sup>. This cult was thus a Kretan foundation, although the epithet Atabyrios is local to Rhodes, and Pindar's use of 'Atabyron's slopes' to denote Rhodes in *Olympian* 7 suggests that the sanctuary was in some sense already federal,<sup>136</sup> so its characteristics could have

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<sup>128</sup> Morand 2001 pp.223-4 and n.57.

<sup>129</sup> Hes.*Theog.*53ff.

<sup>130</sup> Diod.5.67.3, noting *caveats* p. 5.

<sup>131</sup> Diod.5.74.1. See p.158 for further discussion.

<sup>132</sup> Diod.5.66.3, 67.1-5.

<sup>133</sup> Hornblower 2004 p.89; Demand 1975 p.347.

<sup>134</sup> Demand 1975 pp.350-1.

<sup>135</sup> Apollod. *Bibl.*3.2.1-2; Diod.5.59. Tozer (1890 p.221) says that the mountains of Krete can be seen from the summit of Mt Atabyros on a clear day; I have as yet no evidence of autopsy.

<sup>136</sup> Pind. *O.7* line 86. Hornblower 2004 p.134. This cult is not mentioned in *IACP* p.1200f in connection with nearby Kamiros.

been as much Rhodian as Kretan. But it is equally possible that the Kretan co-founders of Gela, the metropolis of Akragas, may have had an influence on the cult there; this is suggested, in particular, by the references to “the husband of of Rhea”, without naming Kronos, which may be intended to emphasize the identity of Zeus Atabyrios with Kretan-born Zeus; while “the tower of Kronos, where breezes blow round the Isle of the Blest”, shows knowledge of the eschatological beliefs of Orphism.<sup>137</sup> Southern Italy or Sicily has been suggested as the birthplace of Orphism on the basis of its connection with Parmenides’ poem and its probable influence on Empedokles of Akragas.<sup>138</sup> But the Kretan presence in Akragas certainly pre-dates Empedokles, so a Kretan origin could still be posited.

Although the Akragantine belief has been cautiously described as “a mystery cult of Kretan origin”, there seems no reason not to accept *Olympian 2* as evidence of Orphism, possibly reflecting Theron’s beliefs rather than those of Pindar.<sup>139</sup> We have already noted that the worship of Demeter and Kore was particularly strong in the south of Sicily around Akragas and Gela, and that there are strong connections between the Eleusinian rites and Orphism, so it is entirely possible that both arrived, fully-fledged as it were, from Krete, and that Krete was indeed the original home of Orphism, although possibly in a fairly primitive form.<sup>140</sup> Interestingly, it has been pointed out that the absence of any cult of Dionysos in Akragas, and in Sicily in general, is evidence for, rather than against, the existence of Orphism there, as Dionysos would be included in the cult of his mother Persephone.<sup>141</sup> But this argument will not do for Krete, in that we have already established the lack of any cult of Persephone, as well as very thin evidence for cults of Dionysos, there. So we perhaps need to explore a little further possible cults of Dionysos in Krete, independent of those of Persephone.

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<sup>137</sup> Pind. *O.2*, lines 76-77 and Demand 1975 p.351; Pind. *O.2* lines 70-72 and Hornblower 2004 p.89.

<sup>138</sup> Parmenides was a C5 thinker from south Italy, probably taught by a pupil of Pythagoras, from whom a fragment (B13 DK) only remains. Bremmer 2002 pp.13, 15.

<sup>139</sup> Demand 1975 pp.353-4; Hornblower 2004 p.89; Parker (1995 p.501), however, mentions *Olympian 2* in the context of the popularity of eschatology in Magna Graecia, but stops short of saying it was Orphic, or indeed that Orphism originated in *Magna Graeca*.

<sup>140</sup> Harrison 1903 p.460.

<sup>141</sup> Lloyd-Jones 1985 p.92; he too allows *Olympian 2* to represent “a kind of Orphism” (p.102).



#### 4.7 *Dionysiac Cult and Orphic Tradition*

We have already looked at similarities in Krete between the dying Zeus and Dionysos-Zagreus, the child of Persephone dismembered by the Titans, and associated with the Orphic tradition. But we should perhaps consider separately from this aspect of Dionysos, his better-known *persona* of Dionysos-Bakchos, the god of wine and ecstasy, the god who insists on his right to be worshipped in the *Bacchae*, and whose frenzied rites have similarities to the worship of the infant Zeus in Krete, as noted above.<sup>142</sup> Depictions of ecstatic worship in Kretan art, often featuring women, and other features of the worship of Dionysos-Bakchos - such as wine and ivy, snakes and flowers - as well as the inclusion of his name, separately from that of Zeus, on a Linear B table from Chania, have suggested to various scholars that Dionysos did indeed originate in Minoan Krete.<sup>143</sup>

In considering whether the rites of this Bacchic Dionysos can be reconciled to the Orphic rites of Dionysos-Zagreus, we will start by returning to the claim of Diodoros' Kretan sources,<sup>144</sup> which includes three rites, allegedly handed down from Krete to the rest of men, two of which, those practised in Eleusis and Samothrace, we have already dealt with explicitly. The third is described as the rite practised in Thrace, among the Kikonians,<sup>145</sup> whence came ὁ καταδείξας, the 'inventor and passer-on',<sup>146</sup> Orpheus. It is not clear from the Greek whether Orpheus is being described as responsible for all three rites, or only for that practised in Thrace, but either way there would seem a strong presumption that in Thrace we are talking about Orphic rites. But could a Dionysiac (Bacchic) mystery-cult have similarities to what we have been discussing as Orphism, as at least one authority seems to suggest?<sup>147</sup> Dionysos' links to Thrace seem fairly tenuous: the appearance of the name of Dionysos on a Linear B tablet in Krete, mentioned above, seems incompatible with his having a Thracian origin, although

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<sup>142</sup> p.72.

<sup>143</sup> Seaford 2006 p.8; Henrichs *OCD*<sup>3</sup> p.479f. The Chania tablet was mentioned on p.72.

<sup>144</sup> Diod.5.77.3, noting *caveats* p.5.

<sup>145</sup> The Kikonians were allies of Troy in the Trojan War, spearmen under the leadership of Euphemos (*Il.*2.845), and Odysseus is driven ashore at the Kikonian city of Ismaros, on the south coast of Thrace, when he first leaves Troy (*Od.*9.40).

<sup>146</sup> Graf 1974 p.32; see pp.62 and 76.

<sup>147</sup> Seaford 2006 pp.73ff.

Herodotos says he was one of only three Greek gods worshipped by the ordinary people of Thrace, and Homer records an unfortunate incident of his being driven into the sea by the Thracian king Lykourgos.<sup>148</sup>

Dionysos himself could be called ‘initiate’, μύστης, and shared the name Βάκχος with his followers:<sup>149</sup> “This god’s place is with his worshippers, not detached from them behind an altar”.<sup>150</sup> The terms μύστης and βάκχος are not synonymous - it seems that the βάκχοι were a special inner group among the μύσται<sup>151</sup> - and it is thought that, in addition to being an initiate in his own rites, Dionysos was also an initiate at Eleusis,<sup>152</sup> just as Orpheus was at Samothrace. It is suggested that the two festivals of Dionysos, in winter and spring, are the Lenaia and the Anthesteria in the Ionian world, and the Thiodaisia and the Agrianaia, in the Aiolian; and that the myths associated with all four include the same four elements: women nursing, women checked and routed, a nursling being torn and scattered, and the remains being retrieved and burned.<sup>153</sup> Examples include the tearing to pieces of Orpheus by women in Thrace, and the tearing of a live bull in Krete, and it seems likely that the dismemberment of the ‘nursling’ in each case represents that of Dionysos at the hands of the Titans; so possibly the Orphics appropriated the myth from earlier Dionysiac rites, implying that to understand Orphic ritual and belief, we need to go back to the rites, as well as the myths, of Dionysos.<sup>154</sup>

As more gold tablets have been discovered and analysed, several scholars suggest that they should now be seen as evidence of Dionysiac or Bacchic mystic initiation, as opposed to something purely Orphic, and that a very close connection should be recognized between Orphism and the Dionysiac cult.<sup>155</sup> Evidence cited includes the

<sup>148</sup> Hdt.5.7; Henrichs *OCD*<sup>3</sup> p.480; Seaford 2006 p.27; *Il.*6 130-140.

<sup>149</sup> Seaford 2006 p.73; Paus. 8.54.5; *Eur.Bacch.* 491, 623.

<sup>150</sup> Parker 2005 p.326.

<sup>151</sup> Burkert 1987 pp.46-7.

<sup>152</sup> Parker 2005 p. 341 and n.58, citing Metzger 1951 pp.248-58 and 1965 pp.49-53 as iconographic evidence and [Pl.] *Axiach.* 371e as literary source.

<sup>153</sup> Robertson 2003 pp.229.

<sup>154</sup> Robertson 2003 pp.231-2, 220. See p.74-5 and note 94 for the Kretan bull rite.

<sup>155</sup> Burkert 1987 pp.33-4; Bremmer 2002 p.18. This view is challenged by Bowden (2010 p.153f) because the Pherae tablet refers to Demeter Cthonia and the Mountain Mother (see p.68 and n.52), suggesting that

calling of the initiate by the name Bakchos, as with the reveller at a Dionysiac festival; and also the blurring of boundaries between mortals on the one hand and animals on the other, typical of Dionysiac cult, is strongly suggested by a gold tablet from Pelinna, with references to the bull and ram, jumping and falling respectively, into the milk.<sup>156</sup> The two Pelinna tablets were in the shape of ivy-leaves, and a statuette of a *maenad* was found in the same grave.<sup>157</sup> Furthermore it has been pointed out that ‘Bacchic’ initiations were carried out in Attica by ‘Orpheus-initiators’ and that while their formal purpose was directed at well-being in the after-life, they also included Bacchic ‘play’, which may have been the main object of some of the initiates.<sup>158</sup>

On the basis of the above, we can surely identify Diodoros’ ‘Thracian rite’ confidently with what can now be referred to as ‘Bacchic-Orphic’. We noted, in discussing the gold tablets, the possible link between the Pelinna tablet and the Palaikastro Hymn, which reinforces the blurring of identity between Dionysos and Kretan-born Zeus, and thus strengthens the Bacchic-Orphic connection with Krete. It is suggested, too, that the special road for μύσται and βάρκχοι, mentioned on the Hipponium gold tablet, is the same as the “mystic road to Rhadamanthys”, in a third-century poem, probably by Posidippos of Pella,<sup>159</sup> thus supplying a further reference to the association between the Bacchic-Orphic rite and the Kretan judge of the underworld. Finally, although depictions of the young Dionysos with Korybantēs are rare, they do appear on a relief from Kos and a frieze from the Athenian theatre of Dionysos.<sup>160</sup> ‘Korybantic initiations’ were rites to cure madness by music and ecstatic dancing, and were associated with rituals connected to ‘the Mother’, either Kybele or Rhea,<sup>161</sup> and were surely connected with Dionysos, even though they were apparently mentioned separately from Dionysiac ‘thiasoi’ among ritual activities in Athens.<sup>162</sup> Thus we can

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the tablets were associated with a wider range of gods; he also questions their association with initiation, and even suggests that they were alternatives to initiation as tickets to eternity.

<sup>156</sup> Robertson 2003 p.219; Seaford 2006 p.54. This tablet was discussed on pp.16 and 79.

<sup>157</sup> Graf and Johnston 2007 p.62.

<sup>158</sup> Parker 2005 p.325.

<sup>159</sup> *SH* 705; Cole 1993 p.278.

<sup>160</sup> Graf 1993 p.271.

<sup>161</sup> Parker 1996 p.194.

<sup>162</sup> Parker 2005 p.373.

point to a further link with Krete, in the similarity between these rites and the guarding of Dionysos by the Korybantes in its ‘sacred haunts’.

#### 4.8 *Conclusions*

Returning once again to Diodoros and his Kretan sources,<sup>163</sup> what evidence have we established that the Eleusinian, Samothracian, and Bacchic-Orphic mystery rites had their origins in Krete? And were they invented by Orpheus? The evidence, including that of Diodoros, Homer, and Herodotos,<sup>164</sup> of the migration of the Idaian Daktyls and the Pelasgians to Krete via Samothrace, certainly suggests a close cultic link between the two islands, but by its very nature implies that the Samothracian mysteries were passed from Samothrace to Krete, and not the other way round. Similarly the metal-working connection, although plausible, makes Krete the recipient of Phrygian skills, which may, or may not, have arrived via Samothrace. So the most we can say here is that, although the Samothracian rites may have been practised openly for the first time in Krete, and may have been passed on thence to the rest of Greece, they did not originate in Krete. And although the fact that Orpheus was an initiate of the rites need not preclude his having invented them – Dionysos was an initiate of his own rites – the context of Orpheus’ initiation suggests otherwise, and, except for Diodoros’ statement that he was a student of the Idaian Daktyls, we have found no other evidence at all to link Orpheus to the Samothracian mysteries.

The case of the Eleusinian Mysteries is very different. The centrality of Ploutos, conceived and born on Krete, to the Eleusinian rites; Demeter’s story in the Homeric Hymn, on which the Mysteries seem to have been based, that she came from Krete, and the corroboration of this by Diodoros; the way in which the Eleusinian myth fits with the absence of Persphone and corn from Krete, and their reappearance at Eleusis; the strength of the cult of Demeter and Kore in the very cities of Sicily which were co-founded by Kretans; and the similarity of elements of the Mysteries themselves to earlier Minoan rites: these all contribute to a reasonable probability that in this case the

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<sup>163</sup> Note *caveats* p.5.

<sup>164</sup> Diod.5.64.4; *Od.*19.177; *Hdt.*2.51.

Kretan claim is true. We have shown that the claim that the Eleusinian Mysteries were invented by Orpheus could well be related to the influence of the fifth century sophist, Prodikos, whose thinking is in evidence in other claims of Diodoros' Kretan sources.

Orpheus' connections with Krete, to quote a recent work, "are numerous and explicit".<sup>165</sup> The fact that the Orphic myth is localized in Krete is not of itself proof that the Bacchic-Orphic mysteries originated there, but the association of the myth with the island might well have been encouraged by the pre-existence on Krete of a cult with similar mystic and orgiastic elements, as well as by its unique tradition of mysticism, purificatory priests and miracle-workers.<sup>166</sup> Although the gold tablets found in Krete are of a fairly late date, we have found evidence on tablets found elsewhere suggesting links to such a cult on Krete; furthermore the naming of two Kretan judges of the underworld in the Orphic tradition; and the probability of Kretan influence in Sicilian Akragas, where there is evidence of Orphic belief, are quite convincing. Even more so, is the very early evidence for the worship of Dionysos in Krete,<sup>167</sup> his association with the Korybantes, and the evidence for celebration of the Thiodaisia and the tearing apart of a bull (the "unspoken things" of Olous?). Most convincing of all, however, are the similarities we have found between the myths of the birth of Dionysos and of Zeus on Krete, and their apparently common association with the name Zagreus, which would suggest that an Orphic tradition in Krete did stem originally from the myth of Zeus, and that both the 'dying Dionysos', who has been called Dionysos-Zagreus, and the frenzied rites of Dionysos-Bakchos, contained elements of the worship of the 'young Minoan god'.<sup>168</sup> Given the scarcity and diversity of writings on which our reading of "Orphism" is based, and the uncertainty of their earliest date, it seems fair to acknowledge the possibility that in some sense Krete was indeed a cradle of Orphic belief; while the Bacchic-Dionysiac mysteries<sup>169</sup> would seem to go back to the Minoan era, and could well have originated on the island.

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<sup>165</sup> Bernabé and san Cristóbal 2008 p.183.

<sup>166</sup> Nilsson 1968 p.581; Parke 1988 p.174.

<sup>167</sup> Linear B tablet from Chania.

<sup>168</sup> Sourvinou-Inwood 1991 p.247 and n.77.

<sup>169</sup> Diodoros' 'Thracian rite'.

## 5

**Cults of Gods other than Zeus, Apollo, and Dionysos****5.1 Introduction**

The theogony according to the Kretans is in many respects very unusual: they believed that all the gods originated on their island, and owed their divinity to contributions to the human race, there being apparently no other route to immortality.<sup>1</sup> We shall examine the various groups of gods who received cult on Krete, and endeavour to establish which aspects, both according to Diodoros' sources<sup>2</sup> and from other evidence, were uniquely Kretan.

**5.2 Recipients of Cult****5.2.1 Offspring of the Titans****Hestia**

Her discovery of the means to build houses<sup>3</sup> seems unique to the Kretan account, and particularly appropriate to the island, since we know that the Kouretes, at the time of Zeus's birth, were living in woods and ravines because house-building had not yet been discovered.<sup>4</sup> Where she appears, frequently but not always, among witnesses to oaths in treaties between Kretan cities, Hestia heads the list,<sup>5</sup> for which reason Chaniotis' speculative restoration of her in fifth place, after no less than four mentions of Zeus with restored epithets, in an early third-century treaty between Eleutherna and (probably) Knossos, must be open to doubt.<sup>6</sup> Van Effenterre leaves Hestia out of his restoration entirely, perhaps a more likely option, and heads this very unusual list, discussed also elsewhere,<sup>7</sup> with Zeus Kretagenes, associating it with the Kretan *koinon*.

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<sup>1</sup> Diod. 5.64.2. See also p.77.

<sup>2</sup> Note *caveats* on p.5 throughout this chapter.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. 5.68.1.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. 5.65.1. Hestia's re-birth, after being swallowed by Kronos, occurred after Zeus had been reared by the Kouretes (March 1999 p.118).

<sup>5</sup> *IC* IV 171 Gortyn/Arkades; *IC* I ix 1 Dreros/Knossos; *IC* IV 174 Gortyn/Priansos; *IC* IV 183 Gortyn/Sybrita; *IC* III iii B Hierapytna/Lyttos; *IC* III iii 5 Hierapytna/Settlement; *IC* I xvi 3 Lato/Olous; *IC* I xviii 9 Lyttos/Olous.

<sup>6</sup> *SEG* XLI 743; Chaniotis 1996 p.190.

<sup>7</sup> See Appendix 1 and pp.51, 54, 59, and 183, as well as a number of references in this chapter. Van Effenterre's list appears in Chaniotis 1996 p.191.

### Hera

Placing Hera's marriage to Zeus on their island was also unique to the Kretans; in Diodoros' own day a temple still marked the spot, in the territory of Knossos, close to the river Theron, where the local people offered annual sacrifices, and imitated the marriage ceremony, in a traditional fashion.<sup>8</sup> This sacred marriage ritual possibly derived from an earlier Minoan palace cult involving the symbolic marriage of sun and moon in the form of solar bull and lunar cow, perhaps performed by the priest-king and moon-goddess in masks, and based originally on the myth of the mating of the bull, sent to Minos by Poseidon, with Pasiphae, inside the wooden bull made by Daidalos.<sup>9</sup> Pausanias says that Pasiphae is a name for the moon,<sup>10</sup> and Hera is associated with cows. Hera may also be identified with Europa, carried on his back to Krete by Zeus in the form of a bull, although the mating of Zeus and Europa is supposed to have taken place in Gortyn.<sup>11</sup> Cults of Hera are widely spread across the island,<sup>12</sup> although they occur most frequently in the central area.<sup>13</sup> The only mention of her receiving joint cult with Zeus comes from Sulia, on the south coast, where Olympian Zeus and Olympian Hera were apparently worshipped together,<sup>14</sup> but she never appears without Zeus among the witnesses to oaths, although he frequently does so without her.<sup>15</sup>

### Poseidon

The Kretans said that Poseidon was put in charge of seafaring and fleets by his father, but he seems to have taken on for himself the taming of horses and introduction of horsemanship.<sup>16</sup> These responsibilities of Poseidon are well-known, but it is strange that the Kretan sources make no reference the god's third well-known attribute of earthshaking, given how much this was to affect Krete. But evidence of the worship of Poseidon as god of earthquakes, unusually coupled with fertility, can be seen in the

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<sup>8</sup> Diod. 5.72.4.

<sup>9</sup> Willetts 1962 pp. 50-51, 110-111.

<sup>10</sup> Paus. 3.2.1.

<sup>11</sup> Willetts 1962 p.166f.

<sup>12</sup> *IC* II xx 1 (Kydonia); II xv 2 (Hyrtakina); III iii 4 (Hierapytna); III iv 8 (the Itanos citizens' oath).

<sup>13</sup> *IC* I viii 4 (Knossos or Tyliossos); I xxx (Tyliossos); I xxiv (Priansos), I xvi 5 (Olous); IV 3 and *LSCG* 146 (Gortyn).

<sup>14</sup> *IC* II xxv 3.

<sup>15</sup> With a variety of epithets.

<sup>16</sup> Diod. 5.69.4.

Archaeological Museum at Chania, the modern city on the site of ancient Kydonia. This sanctuary, apparently active between the fourth century BC and second century AD, was found in Chania province;<sup>17</sup> it includes a mass of clay bulls, possibly suggesting that the economics of actual multi-bull sacrifice were impractical. This, with the epigraphic evidence, suggest that cults of Poseidon on Krete were infrequent though widely spread,<sup>18</sup> an unexpected finding, given the island's alleged reputation for seafaring.<sup>19</sup> The debated treaty between Eleutherna and (probably) Knossos, includes Poseidon among the gods witnessing the oath, and his name is one of the very few which can be securely read. But this is the treaty which is thought to be connected with the *koinon*, and therefore to include the whole Kretan pantheon, so it is not good evidence of where Poseidon was worshipped, only that he was.<sup>20</sup>

### Demeter

Diodoros devotes a long passage to Demeter in his Kretan account, making her a prime example of gods who took their discoveries from Krete to other lands, and achieved divinity by benefactions to mankind,<sup>21</sup> discussed above as unusual, if not unique to Krete. His description of Demeter, after Persephone's rape by Pluto, setting fire to the crops which she had discovered earlier,<sup>22</sup> varies from the *Homeric Hymn* where Demeter prevented the seed already sown from coming up.<sup>23</sup> Diodoros' emphasis on Demeter as "The Law-giver"<sup>24</sup> may reflect a strong Kretan interest in laws and justice, of which we shall see more.<sup>25</sup> Demeter was greatly honoured for her gifts of corn and laws, not only by the Greeks, but by barbarians who had 'partaken of this sort of

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<sup>17</sup> These dates, and the attributes of earthquakes and fertility, are as stated by the Museum. Further inquiry revealed that the find-spot was present-day Tsiskiana, in the area of the White Mountains west of the Omalos plain, and that it served the whole Selinon area – the southern part of the extreme west of Krete - including Tarra, Lissos, Hyrtakina, and Elyros. It is discussed further on pp.181-2 and n.101.

<sup>18</sup> *IC* II viii 1 (Kissamos), where Poseidon Asphalios (protector from earthquakes) appears with Zeus Kretagenes and 'other ancestral gods'; III vi 7 (Praisos); IV 66 (Gortyn); I xvii (Lebena); I viii 4 (Knossos and Tylissos); II v 6 (Axos, C6 or 5).

<sup>19</sup> But see p.247-9 and n.157.

<sup>20</sup> *SEG* XLI 743. See p.87 and nn.6 and 7.

<sup>21</sup> Diod. 5.68.1 to 69.3, and 77.4. Some aspects of Demeter's relationship to Krete have already been discussed (p.65 ff).

<sup>22</sup> Diod.5.68.2.

<sup>23</sup> Hom. *Hymn Dem.*305f, 48.

<sup>24</sup> Diod. 5.68.3.

<sup>25</sup> pp.133-4.



food',<sup>26</sup> the expression possibly a reference to bread-eating's being a sign of relative civilization among barbarians in Homer and Herodotos.<sup>27</sup> Despite the esteem in which Demeter was held on Krete, inscriptional evidence for her cult is sparse, though widely-spread;<sup>28</sup> although a fifth-century female statue found near Itanos suggests a sanctuary there;<sup>29</sup> exceptionally she does not seem to appear among gods invoked as witnesses to oaths in Krete.<sup>30</sup>

### 5.2.2 *Offspring of Zeus*

The Kretans' list of the children of Zeus<sup>31</sup> varies from those of Hesiod and Apollodoros only by the inclusion of Aphrodite, whom Hesiod attributes to contact between the hacked off genitals of Uranus and the sea.<sup>32</sup> But while the other two mostly agree with each other on the names of the gods' mothers, where these are stated, the only mention that Diodoros makes of the mothers of Zeus's children is confirmation that Persephone was the mother of Dionysos, and specific insistence that Alkmene was the mother of a much later Herakles.<sup>33</sup> In other passages he does make reference to some of the mothers, although not always agreeing with Hesiod and Apollodoros, so the neglect of mothers here may reflect a peculiarly Kretan, rather than Diodoran, attitude.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Diod.5.68.3, tr. Oldfather.

<sup>27</sup> Homer emphasizes the 'otherness' of the Cyclops (*Od.*9.190-1) by saying he is not like a man, an eater of bread, while Herodotos (3.22) contrasts the Persian king's diet of bread with the Ethiopian king's description of it as shit.

<sup>28</sup> Gortyn: *LSCG* 146 and *IC* IV 3 (C7 or 6); Axos: *IC* II pp. 42.47; Knossos: *IC* I viii 16; Hierapytna: *IC* III iii 12; and possibly Rhaukos: *IC* I p.291, Kydonia and Hyrtakina: *IC* II pp.113-4.

<sup>29</sup> Perlman 2004a p.1168; Sporn 2002 pp.36-7; Greco, Kalpaxis, Schnapp, and Viviers 1997 p.820.

<sup>30</sup> Examples where she is invoked elsewhere include Austin 2006 nos.230, 171, 6; Rhodes and Osborne 2003 nos.39, 63.

<sup>31</sup> Diod. 5.72.5.

<sup>32</sup> Hes.*Theog.*191.

<sup>33</sup> Diod. 5.75.4 and 76.1.

<sup>34</sup> Diod. (6.1.9) makes Hera, Demeter, and Themis the mothers of the Kouretes, Persephone, and Athena respectively [inconsistently, in the case of the Kouretes, with their having reared Hera's infant brother]; he accepts by implication Leto as the mother of Artemis and Apollo (4.74.3); he offers both Demeter and Semele as possible mothers of Dionysos (3.62.6 and 9); and he confirms Alkmene as the mother of Herakles, and Hera as the mother of Eileithyia (4.9.1 and 4).

### Athena

Despite their peculiar claim that most of the gods originated on Krete, Athena is one of the few for whom the Kretans give details of their birth.<sup>35</sup> Even the birth of Zeus is not overtly claimed, but is suggested by the dropping of his umbilical cord near the river Triton. The same river features in Athena's birth, which occurred near its sources,<sup>36</sup> according to the Kretans, giving rise to her name Tritogeneia; scholars have tried to establish Athena's exact birthplace based on this passage. Since the watershed in central Krete is roughly along the middle of the island, it is likely that the sources of the Triton would be well inland and high up, particularly as the ancient Triton was one of the few rivers in Krete never known to have dried up completely.<sup>37</sup> Having identified the ancient Triton as the river Karteros, one scholar eventually located the birthplace as Astritsi (west of Voni and close to the longest tributary of the Karteros), only about fifteen kilometers from Knossos, with which Athena's connection is attested by a wooden idol of the goddess mentioned by Pausanias,<sup>38</sup> and attributed by him to Daidalos. The claim that Athene was born on the island seems unique to the Kretans, as is their failure to record her traditional birth from the head of Zeus, her warlike nature, or her protection of cities

This last is indicated however by cults of Athena Polias and Poliouchos on Krete, as elsewhere; other epithets, such as Samonia, and Oleria, are associated with place-names in Krete, and are unique to the island.. A sanctuary of Athena Samonia stood on the promontory running north from Itanos, in the far northeast of the island,<sup>39</sup> today called Sidero, but in ancient times Samonion, and is said to have been dedicated by the Argonauts at the spot where Medea, killed the island's guardian, Talos;<sup>40</sup> we discuss elsewhere the possibility that this might be an example of a border sanctuary.<sup>41</sup> Athena

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<sup>35</sup> Diod. 5.64.4 for the majority of the gods; 5.70.2 for Zeus; 5.72.3 for Athena; 5.75.4 for Dionysos; 5.77.1 for Ploutos.

<sup>36</sup> The plural 'sources' is important for identifying the spot. Other reasons appear elsewhere for the name Tritogeneia.

<sup>37</sup> Willetts 1962 p.282 for the watershed; Pendlebury 1939 p.7 regarding the Triton's not drying up.

<sup>38</sup> Paus. 9.40.2.

<sup>39</sup> Guarducci 1942 p.156f.

<sup>40</sup> Ap.Rhod.Argon. IV 1688ff; see also p.32. Talos is discussed further on p.105.

<sup>41</sup> p.169 n.26.

Oleria is the chief deity of Oleros,<sup>42</sup> named for her association with that city; her cult seems limited to Oleros and the nearby city of Hierapytna,<sup>43</sup> while that of Athena Samonia is rather more widespread.<sup>44</sup> Cults of Athena Polias are particularly widespread, and her sanctuary was often a city's archive;<sup>45</sup> while Athena Poliouchos appears rarely, but quite early, notably in Gortyn where her sanctuary was on the Acropolis.<sup>46</sup>

There is also epigraphic reference to the restoration of statues, including one of Athena, in the temple of Zeus Diktaios at Palaikastro, in the second century, by Hierapytna, who probably controlled the sanctuary at that time.<sup>47</sup> Although there seems no record of an Athena Kydonia in Krete, Pausanias makes reference to a sanctuary of Athena Kydonia in Eleia, supposedly established by a visiting Kydonian,<sup>48</sup> suggesting that there was a cult of Athena in Kydonia. Finally, in a treaty defining the borders between Lato and Olous, there is mention of the  $\Omega\sigma\tau\omega\lambda\epsilon\pi\epsilon\omega\theta\eta\nu\omega$ , which has been identified as the sanctuary of Athena Deramitis,<sup>49</sup> and another inscription from Lato also has a reference to a temple of Athena Deramitis.<sup>50</sup> It seems possible that there a connection between the epithet Deramitis and the Dera (hill?) where the sanctuary of Ares and Aphrodite was located.

### Ares

There is nothing unique to the island in what the Kretans say about Ares, but cults of Ares are rare in Greece, and Krete is one of the main sources for information on his

<sup>42</sup> Guarducci 1942 pp.131-2.

<sup>43</sup> Chaniotis(1996 p.435) suggests that Oleros could have been the ancient urban centre of Hierapytna, from which the city on the coast was founded, and that following the shift of the main settlement to the coastal site, Oleros retained its religious importance as the seat of Athena Oleria. According to Oliver (2004 p.474) Hierapytna took over Oleros at the start of the third century. The two are not necessarily incompatible.

<sup>44</sup> Including Sulia (*IC* II xxv 2) and Hierapytna (*IC* III iii 5), both on the south coast.

<sup>45</sup> Including Priansos (*IC* III iii 4; Perlman 2004a p.1185); Istron (*IC* I xiv 1); Itanos (*IC* III iv, 3 and 4); Lyttos (*IC* I xvi 5 and *IC* III iii 3B).

<sup>46</sup> Gortyn: Prent 2005 p.273, *IC* IV 171 and 184; Knossos and Dreros: Sporn 2002 pp.382 and 117, *IC* I ix 1.

<sup>47</sup> *IC* III ii 1; Willetts 1962 p.210.

<sup>48</sup> Paus. 6.21.6; Sporn 2002 p.270.

<sup>49</sup> *IC* I xvi 5, 18; Guarducci 1935 p.122.

<sup>50</sup> *IC* I xvi 26.

temples.<sup>51</sup> Epigraphic evidence from bilateral treaties suggests that he had cult in a number of cities in the centre of the island.<sup>52</sup> It is possible that the cult ‘at Olous’ may refer to the nearby sanctuary at Sta Lenika (Dera), where we shall see that an ancient Aphrodision and an ancient sanctuary of Ares may have been replaced by the joint cult of Ares and Aphrodite, discussed under Aphrodite below,<sup>53</sup> but perhaps more likely, since the evidence all dates from the second century, a Hellenistic sanctuary of Ares in the city itself replaced the ancient sanctuary at Sta Lenika after the joint cult was established there.

### Hermes

The Kretans say little unusual about Hermes, except perhaps for a rather strong emphasis on his role as a peace negotiator, and that he invented measures and weights and the profit to be gained from merchandise.<sup>54</sup> He plays a negotiating part in *Iliad* 24, conducting Priam to Achilles to plead, successfully, for the return of Hektor’s body;<sup>55</sup> but is more usually the intermediary between gods and mortals, than between men. He also has the reputation of a stealthy and successful thief from birth, dubbed ‘prince of thieves’ by his aggrieved half-brother Apollo;<sup>56</sup> although the connection with weights and measures is less well-attested, their manipulation would certainly provide opportunities for profiting by stealth.

He is invoked in oaths, and mentioned in dedications, quite widely in the centre and east of Krete,<sup>57</sup> including invocation as Hermes Dakytios in a late third-century treaty of Gortyn and Hierapytna with Priansos; the origin of this epithet seems a mystery, but it is

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<sup>51</sup> Graf 1996 p.152.

<sup>52</sup> Biannos, where his sanctuary was the city archive (*IC* I vi 1, 2 and Perlman 2004a p.1154); Knossos (*IC* I viii 4, I ix 1, and probably *SEG* XLI 743); Olous (*IC* I xxii 2, I xvi 3, I xvi 5, I xviii 9, and possibly *SEG* XXIII 547); Gortyn (*IC* IV 145, and probably 174 and 183, with Guarducci 1950 p.4 and Willetts 1962 p.286); Hierapytna (*IC* III iii 3B, III iii 5, and *SEG* CCVI 1049); and possibly Lato (Graf 1996 p.152).

<sup>53</sup> See also pp.171-2 for discussion of these sanctuaries.

<sup>54</sup> Diod. 5.75.1, 2.

<sup>55</sup> *Il.* 24.440ff, 599.

<sup>56</sup> *Hom.HymnHermes* 292.

<sup>57</sup> Oaths: *IC* I ix 1 (probably Dreros, Sporn 2002 p.387); *IC* IV 51 (Gortyn); *SEG* XXIII 547, *IC* I xvi 5, xviii 9 (Olous). Dedications: *IC* I vii 2 (Chersonesos); *IC* II xxiii 10 (Polyrrhenia); *IC* II xxviii 1, 2 (Tallaion Cave, near the north coast, midway between modern Rethymno and Heraklion), and possibly *IC* III xix 3 (Phalasarna).

probably associated with Gortyn, since Priansos and Hierapytna had month-names respectively of Dromios and Inalios, both epithets of Hermes.<sup>58</sup> The evidence suggests that his sanctuaries were mainly rural, including the border sanctuary of Hermes Kornisaïos,<sup>59</sup> and the spring sanctuary of Hermes Kranaïos at Patsos, where finds of Minoan votive objects suggest intermittent use from late Minoan to Roman times,<sup>60</sup> although, in the west, there is mention of a third-century BC statue of Hermes in Hyrtakina,<sup>61</sup> and there was a *Hermaia* festival in Kydonia where serfs and masters apparently exchanged roles for a day.<sup>62</sup> The rural sanctuary of Hermes Kedrites at Kato Syme, where Hermes was worshipped in association with Aphrodite, was in continuous use from Minoan times until the sixth century AD;<sup>63</sup> the unique epithet Kedrites is assumed to come from the Greek word *kedros*, still used on Krete for the juniper bush.<sup>64</sup>

### Artemis

Diodoros' Kretans give Artemis short shrift, mentioning only that she discovered how to look after babies and young children, with no reference to her well-known roles of huntress, and protector of wild animals. This may be because, on Krete, she was sometimes confused or conflated with Britomartis/Diktyнна, and sometimes identified with the midwife Eileithyia.<sup>65</sup> She is prominent, however, in the epigraphic evidence: although she is never invoked alone in oaths, the sequence Apollo Pythios, Lato, Artemis, is both standard and frequent.<sup>66</sup> Strangely, in the two proposed restorations of the disputed treaty between Eleutherna and (probably) Knossos, Chaniotis has selected Artemis *tout seul*, and van Effenterre Artemis Agrotera, both ignoring the usual family sequence.<sup>67</sup> The epithet Sotera, found in Itanos and Lyttos, seems one of the few

<sup>58</sup> IC IV 174 for the treaty; Guarducci 1935 I xxiv *ad loc.* for Dromios; IC III ii 4 for Inalios.

<sup>59</sup> SEG XXVI 1049; discussed on p.172.

<sup>60</sup> IC II ix 1; Nilsson 1968 pp.67 and 460; Cameron 2003 p.339.

<sup>61</sup> IC II xv 3.

<sup>62</sup> Ath. 6.262ff and 14.639; Willetts 1962 p.287.

<sup>63</sup> Prent 2005 p.170; Larson 2007 pp.116, 148. For this sanctuary, see also pp.97, 130, and 177.

<sup>64</sup> Meiggs 1982 p. 100.

<sup>65</sup> All discussed below (see pp.101-105).

<sup>66</sup> IC IV 171 (Arkades with Gortyn); IC I ix 1 (Dreros with Knossos); IC IV 174 (probably) (Gortyn and Hierapytna with Priansos); SEG XXVI 1049 (Hierapytna with Lato); IC III iii 5 (Hierapytna with a settlement); IC I xvi 5 (Lato with Olous); IC I xviii 9 (Lyttos with Olous); and the same sequence has been assumed in restoring the names of Lato and Artemis in IC IV 183 (Gortyn with Sybrita).

<sup>67</sup> SEG XLI 743. See p.87 and nn.6, 7.

attested for Artemis in Krete; another occurs in Aptera, where she had an important temple, also the city archive, and was worshipped as ἄπτερα or wingless.<sup>68</sup> both are probably both unique to Krete.<sup>69</sup>

### Aphrodite

The early centres of cult of Aphrodite were Kythera, where she first appeared, Cyprus, where she took up residence, and Krete;<sup>70</sup> there seems no particular reason why Krete should have been so favoured. Although not specifically named by the Kretans as born on the island, she seems to be an exception even to their general belief that most of the gods were born there,<sup>71</sup> in that she was worshipped at Lato as the Kyprogeneia goddess, with a statue erected in the city.<sup>72</sup> A statue was found also at Gortyn, where several bilateral treaties suggest that she had cult, as also probably in Hierapytna, and possibly in Lyttos, Dreros and/or Knossos; while votive figurine types found in an Archaic temple below the Acropolis at Axos, suggest cult there too.<sup>73</sup> She was known by the uniquely Kretan epithet Skotia in Phaistos,<sup>74</sup> where she was the special patron of the bands of young men about to be initiated into manhood, who underwent a period of seclusion, during which they were known as *skotioi* or 'hidden ones',<sup>75</sup> and at Kato Syme, in association with Hermes, she was also associated with initiation.<sup>76</sup>

### Hephaistos

The Kretan sources are unusual in listing Hephaistos among the children of Zeus, making no reference to his mother;<sup>77</sup> he is traditionally the son of Hera alone, with no

<sup>68</sup> Sotera *IC* III iv 13, I xviii 11; Aptera *IC* II iii 2. She is worshipped with no epithet in Arkades and Axos (*IC* I v 5-8, II v 36), probably also in Sulia, Chersonesos, Phaistos, and Priansos (*IC* II xxv 4-24, I vii 6, I xxiii 6, I xxiv 3); is referred to thus in a sacrificial calendar from Eleutherna (*SEG* XLI 744), and had a statue in the temple of Zeus at Palaikastro on the second century (*IC* III ii 1).

<sup>69</sup> *RE ad loc.*

<sup>70</sup> Friedrich 1978 p.74.

<sup>71</sup> Diod. 5.64.2.

<sup>72</sup> *IC* I xvi 24 and 25, both C2.

<sup>73</sup> Willetts 1965 p.285 for the statue; treaties: *IC* IV 174, 171, and 183 (Gortyn); *IC* III iii 3B, *SEG* XXVI 1046, and *IC* III iii 5 (Hierapytna); *IC* I xviii 9 (Lyttos); *IC* I ix 1 (Dreros and Knossos), Perlman 2004a p.1154 (Axos).

<sup>74</sup> *RE ad loc.*

<sup>75</sup> Willetts 1962 p.285.

<sup>76</sup> See p.97.

<sup>77</sup> Diod. 5.72.5.

help from her consort. The Kretans do appear to acknowledge the traditional association of Hephaistos with the use of fire to work metals;<sup>78</sup> yet, despite the known Kretan expertise in metal-working and economic dependency on the industry - Kretan smiths are thought to have been responsible for Mykenean knowledge of metallurgy, and in the archaic age Kretan metallurgy was one of the most developed in all Greece<sup>79</sup> - there seems little evidence of any cult of Hephaistos in Krete, and no epigraphic references to him. His only documented connections with the island were his gift to Minos of the bronze man, Talos, who guarded Krete's coastline, and the dancing-floor he wrought on the shield of Achilles, said to resemble that fashioned by Daidalos at Knossos for Ariadne.<sup>80</sup>

But the Kretan sources describe the discoveries of the Idaian Daktyls in very similar terms to those of Hephaistos,<sup>81</sup> so possibly they themselves regarded the Daktyls as the patrons of the island's metal industry,<sup>82</sup> and the passage about Hephaistos was a Diodoran interpolation, reflecting both the more traditional Homeric picture,<sup>83</sup> and the historian's own leaning towards euhemeristic philosophy.<sup>84</sup> The following section might reflect the theory of the fifth-century sophist Prodikos, who said that the ancients considered all things beneficial to human life as gods, and therefore called bread Demeter, wine Dionysus and fire Hephaistos;<sup>85</sup> Prodikos is said to have anticipated Euhemerus in respect of his naturalistic accounts of the origin of religion.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Diod. 5.74.2-3.

<sup>79</sup> Forbes 1950 p.364; Willetts 1965 p.50. A connection has been detected between the prosperity of archaic cities and their proximity to sources of iron, and it is possible that Kretan economic collapse, and a hiatus in the development of Kretan culture, were associated with the end of the Assyrian "appetite for iron" at the end of the seventh century BC (Faure 1966 pp.47, 61f; Morris 1992 pp.169-70).

<sup>80</sup> Apollod. 1.9.26 for the gift of Talos to Minos; the dancing-floor is described in *Il.*18.590-2. Willetts 1962, pp.101, 123. Talos is discussed further on p.105.

<sup>81</sup> Diod. 5.64.5.

<sup>82</sup> This is discussed in more detail on p.195.

<sup>83</sup> *Il.*18.369ff.

<sup>84</sup> Sacks (1990 pp.68ff) includes Euhemerus among Diodoros' sources for Books 1-6, mentioning in particular his setting of the description of Panchaea (5.42-46) in the present tense.

<sup>85</sup> *Sext. Emp. Math.* 9.18.

<sup>86</sup> Taylor 1996 p.1252. See also p.77.

### Gods Found in Association

There seems no hint on Krete of the cult connection between Hermes and Hestia, attested elsewhere both by a Homeric Hymn to Hestia, which she shares with Hermes, and by Pausanias' description of the two gods paired on the base of the statue of Zeus at Olympia.<sup>87</sup> Nor is there evidence of Hermes and Herakles together in connection with the *dromoi*, the Kretan equivalent of the *gymnasia*,<sup>88</sup> with which this pair is linked elsewhere,<sup>89</sup> a strange absence given the island's initiatory reputation. On Krete Hermes was paired with Aphrodite at the remote sanctuary of Kato Syme,<sup>90</sup> where their worship was associated with initiation rites for young men. Hermes was widely depicted as a guide for youths across the boundary to maturity, and we noted above that Aphrodite was patron goddess of initiands at Phaistos, but the link is not unique to Krete: these gods are a naturally complementary pair, with similar characteristics.<sup>91</sup>

Aphrodite is often paired with Hephaistos, her husband, or with Ares, her lover;<sup>92</sup> we have noted an almost total absence of Hephaistos from Krete, but the pair Ares and Aphrodite is much in evidence. They occupied, at least from Hellenistic times, a joint sanctuary in Sta Lenika (Dera), on the border between Lato and Olous, probably established on the sites of an ancient Aphrodision and a temple of Ares, mentioned as defining the border;<sup>93</sup> while in the treaties of many cities, Aphrodite immediately follows Ares in the list of gods invoked in the oath, suggesting the close relationship between them.<sup>94</sup> There are similar instances of Poseidon and Amphitrite juxtaposed in

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<sup>87</sup> Hom.*Hymn*Hestia (*Hymn*XXIX); Richardson 2005 *ad loc.*; Paus. 5.11.8. Vernant (1983 p.127) suggests that the link is one of common function but opposite polarity. Both are connected with the terrestrial sphere, but Hestia represents a still centre, while Hermes comes and goes as messenger and traveller, representing movement, transition and instability, in complete antithesis to the centrality of Hestia and the immobility of the hearth.

<sup>88</sup> Davidson 2007 pp.303, 306.

<sup>89</sup> Pindar *N.*10.51; Wide 1893 pp.153, 155; Rapin 1992 p.389 for the dedication to Hermes and Herakles (*Insc.* IV 2) by which the Gymnasium at Ai Khanoum was identified (p.128).

<sup>90</sup> Discussed pp.130, 177-8.

<sup>91</sup> Marinatos (2003 p.130) cites evidence of their pairing in Arkadia, Attica, Samos and Southern Italy, and of their worship together with Eros on the Athenian Acropolis. Burkert (1985 p. 220) describes them as complementary; Friedrich (1978 pp.205-6) lists their similarities.

<sup>92</sup> *Od.* 8.266ff; Marinatos 2003 p.130.

<sup>93</sup> *IC* I xvi 3 and 4.

<sup>94</sup> *IC* IV 171, 174 and 183 (Gortyn with Arkades, Priansos, and Sybrita respectively, the last two restored); *IC* I ix 1 (the Dreros oath); *SEG* XLI 743 (Eleutherna with probably Knossos); *IC* III iii 3b and *SEG* XXVI 1049 (Hierapytna with Lyttos and Lato); *IC* I xviii 9 (Lyttos with Olous). Although in many



lists of gods invoked in treaties, as well as sharing cult at a joint sanctuary in Lebena.<sup>95</sup> The conventional pairing of Demeter and Kore is evident in a dedication in Hierapytna, and on coins from Rhaukos; while an inscription from Eleutherna suggests some sort of greeting or thanks to Pluto and Persephone.<sup>96</sup>

### 5.2.3 Other Panhellenic Gods

#### Leto

Diodoros' Kretan sources make no mention of Leto, and it is surprising to find that she had cult in at least two major cities there.<sup>97</sup> Not unexpectedly she had a sanctuary in the city of Lato (the Doric spelling of Leto), although it was not the city's archive, which was the sanctuary of Eileithyia.<sup>98</sup> Her other sanctuary was at Phaistos, where she was worshipped as Lato Phytia,<sup>99</sup> a local goddess of fertility and vegetation, whose temple contained a statue of the hero Leukippos, and both were associated with initiation in Phaistos.<sup>100</sup> Although there was a festival of Lato at Phaistos, it was the Pythion which was the city's archive.<sup>101</sup>

#### Asklepios

Asklepios is not, of course, unique to Krete, but there is considerable evidence of his worship on the island. His most important sanctuary at Lebena, the port for Gortyn, is reported to have been pan-Kretan, and probably existed from the fourth century.<sup>102</sup> Sanctuaries in other cities were frequently used as city archives, including those at Arkades (if Chaniotis' restoration is correct), Itanos, and Olous.<sup>103</sup> A sacred law of

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of these examples Hermes is invoked as well, he is always below the pair Ares and Aphrodite, so there is no suggestion of his being invoked 'alongside' Aphrodite, as Marinatos (2003 pp.131) seems to suggest.

<sup>95</sup> Treaties: *SEG XXVI* 1049 and *IC I xvi* 5; sanctuary: *IC I xviii* 1.

<sup>96</sup> *IC III iii* 12 for Hierapytna; Guarducci 1935 *ad loc.* xxvii for Rhaukos; *IC II xii* 31 for Eleutherna.

<sup>97</sup> Willetts 1962 p.172.

<sup>98</sup> *IC I xvi* 21, 22 for Lato's sanctuary; *IC I xvi* 1, 3, 4, 26 for that of Eileithyia.

<sup>99</sup> An epithet probably unique to Krete, not mentioned in *RE*.

<sup>100</sup> See p.126.

<sup>101</sup> Guarducci 1935 p.270 for the festival; *IC I xvii* 1 for the archive.

<sup>102</sup> Willetts 1962 p.225; Philostr. *VA* 34.

<sup>103</sup> Arkades: *IC I v* 52 and *III iii* 5, with Chaniotis 1996 p.433; Itanos: *IC III iv* 3, 7; Olous: *IC I xxii* 4A 1, 4C 13.

Lissos concerning Asklepios implies that the sanctuary there, of which the ruins can be seen today by the energetic scrambler, dated at least from Hellenistic times.<sup>104</sup>

### Hero-Cults

Diodoros' Kretan sources list Minos, Rhadamanthys, and Sarpedon among their most renowned heroes;<sup>105</sup> they also claim to hold Idomeneus and Meriones, the Kretan heroes of Troy, in special honour, offering sacrifices at their tomb and appealing to them for aid in time of war;<sup>106</sup> and they imply heroic status for the Idaian Daktyl, Herakles, who founded the Olympic Games, and 'lived much earlier than Herakles, the son of Alkmene', who is popularly supposed to have founded them.<sup>107</sup> All six are uniquely Kretan heroes, but there is little evidence apart from Diodoros for their cult, or for any other hero-cults, on the island. One of the labours achieved by the more conventional Herakles was bringing the Kretan bull to Eurystheus,<sup>108</sup> while in sixth-century Athens, Theseus was lionized as the Ionian answer to Dorian Herakles;<sup>109</sup> so given the history of Athens, Theseus and Dorian Krete, one might expect more visibility for this Herakles on the island. Heraklion was presumably named for one or other Herakles, and he appears on coins from a few cities,<sup>110</sup> but that seems to be all.

Another suggestion for a hero-cult on Krete is Glaukos, son of Minos, whose shrine, identified at Knossos, is discussed in an archaeological report.<sup>111</sup> We look elsewhere at the legend of the boy's death and resurrection, and refute, on a number of grounds, the idea that this shrine was connected with initiation rites.<sup>112</sup> The suggestion was made by analogy with the hero-cult of Leukippos at Phaistos, attempting to link Glaukos' hero-

<sup>104</sup> *SEG* XXVIII 750. In a seminar in Oxford (24/5/10), Dr Vasiliki Machaira dated its construction to end-fourth century or early third century BC, and mentioned that the very large numbers of knucklebones found at the site suggest that they had some cultic significance there.

<sup>105</sup> Diod.5.78.1.

<sup>106</sup> Diod.5.79.4.

<sup>107</sup> Diod. 5.64.6-7. Diodoros added that many women 'to this day' practised his incantations and made amulets in his name.

<sup>108</sup> Apollod. *Bibl.*2.5.7; Diod. 4.13.4; Paus. 1.27.9-10. This was the bull sent by Poseidon (see p.217, n.156).

<sup>109</sup> Larson 2007 p.207.

<sup>110</sup> Note here the reservations expressed by Hansen and Nielsen of the view that a god's head on a coin from a city proved that there was a cult of that god in the city (2004 p.9).

<sup>111</sup> Morris 1988 p.758; Callaghan 1978.

<sup>112</sup> The legend is told in Hyg. *Fab.*136 and Apollod.3.3.1-2. See p.112.

cult to the Thiodaisia and the cult of ‘Kretan-born Zeus’, in the same way that Leukippos’ hero-cult is linked to the Ekdysia and the cult of Lato Phytia at Phaistos.<sup>113</sup> The latter is probably almost unique as a genuine hero-cult in Krete, and, indeed, Phaistos is the only Kretan city included in a list of locations of Greek hero-cults.<sup>114</sup>

#### 5.2.4 Ancient Kretan Deities

##### Kouretes and Nymphs; Idaian Daktyls

The Kretan legend of the birth to Zeus tells how Rhea gave the baby secretly to the Kouretes, living in the hills around Mt Ida, to be reared, and that they took him to the controversial cave, where they handed him over to the Nymphs to be nourished with milk and honey.<sup>115</sup> Although we have argued that there is no archaeological or literary evidence for veneration of Zeus as a baby,<sup>116</sup> the association between Kouretes and Nymphs, attested by the epigraphic evidence,<sup>117</sup> does seem uniquely associated with the infant Zeus and uniquely Kretan.

It is odd that Diodoros mentions the Nymphs only in this connection, and fails to mention their nurturing role, attested by Hesiod, among his catalogue of gifts to mankind;<sup>118</sup> particularly since it was alleged that his source Epimenides<sup>119</sup> was the son of the Nymph Baltis,<sup>120</sup> was called one of the Kouretes; and took food from the Nymphs and kept it in an ox-hoof; furthermore, his *Mirabilia*, Theopompos says that Epimenides was building a temple to the Nymphs when a voice burst from heaven: “Epimenides; not to the Nymphs but to Zeus”.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> See p.112.

<sup>114</sup> Snodgrass 1982 p.114.

<sup>115</sup> Diod. 5.70.2-3.

<sup>116</sup> See p.27.

<sup>117</sup> p.24 for the association; Appendix 1 for the epigraphic evidence for the Kouretes as witnesses to oaths.

<sup>118</sup> Hes.*Theog.*346; Diod.5 *passim*.

<sup>119</sup> Diod. 5.80.4.

<sup>120</sup> Baltis is not included in Hesiod’s list of names of Nymphs (*Theog.* 346-361).

<sup>121</sup> *FGrHist* 457 T4 (c) 7, T1 114 and 115 respectively. See p.14 n.16 for the name Kouros. *BNJ* (457 T1) links this to Epimenides’ association with the Nymphs.

According to Apollonios the Idaian Daktyls too were the sons of a Nymph, named Anchiale.<sup>122</sup> Although they lived around Mt Ida, Diodoros records no connection with the infant Zeus, although he included them among the benefactors of the human race.<sup>123</sup> There seem to be no epigraphic references to the Idaian Daktyls, but the Kouretes and the Nymphs crop up fairly frequently, as do occasionally the Korybantēs, usually in that order, and at the very end of the lists of gods invoked in treaties.<sup>124</sup>

### Britomartis and Diktyнна

Worship of Britomartis seems almost unique to Krete, while that of Diktyнна is more widespread outside the island.<sup>125</sup> The Kretan sources say that Britomartis, ‘who is also called Diktyнна’, was born in Kaino in Krete, and was the daughter of Zeus and Karme, who in turn was the daughter of Euboulos, son of Demeter.<sup>126</sup> Pausanias adds that Euboulos was the son of the Kretan Karmanor, who purified Apollo after the murder of the Python, and Karmanor is connected with Tarra and nearby Elyros, in southwest Krete.<sup>127</sup> Kaino, the alleged birthplace of Britomartis, does not appear in any of various lists of Kretan towns,<sup>128</sup> but Kallimachos says of Artemis: “the fawn-slaying nymph of Gortyn, sharp-shooting Britomartis, you love beyond all others”.<sup>129</sup> On the basis of the Gortyn reference, Alan Griffiths has proposed emendation of KAINOI to KRHMNIAI, on the grounds that it is palaeographically possible, and that, according to Stephanus Byzantinus, Κρημνία was an old name for Gortyn.<sup>130</sup> Other scholars have disagreed, locating Kaino for instance in the region of Tarra and Elyros, but the epigraphic evidence confirms that Britomartis had cult in Gortyn, rather than in southwest Krete.

<sup>122</sup> Ap.Rhod.*Argon.* 1.1129; Anchiale does not feature in Hesiod’s list of Nymphs either.

<sup>123</sup> Diod. 5.64.5. See pp.194-6 for the varying accounts of their origin and their possible identification with Phrygian iron-workers.

<sup>124</sup> *IC* III iii 5, IV 174.

<sup>125</sup> Willetts 1962 p.184.

<sup>126</sup> Diod. 5.76.3.

<sup>127</sup> Paus. 2.30.3. For Apollo’s purification see p.49. Dowden (1992 p.129f) records the flight of Apollo to Tarra for purification by Karmanor in discussing Krete as “beyond” in Bronze Age myth. Pausanias (10.16.3) tells how Apollo slept with the nymph Akakallis in Karmanor’s house in Tarra, and that the people of Elyros sent to Delphi a statue of a bronze nanny-goat giving milk to the couple’s twin sons.

<sup>128</sup> Homer *Il.* 2.646; Pliny *NH* 4.59; Xenion *FGrHist* 460, 1-15; Strabo 10.4.2f; Perlman 2004 p.1168.

<sup>129</sup> Kallim.*Hymn* 3, 189-90 (tr.Lombardo and Rayor, 1988); Guarducci 1950 p.34.

<sup>130</sup> Meineke 1849 p.212.

Diodoros typically gives us alternative explanations of the name Diktynna: he seems to believe the first, that she was the inventor of nets (*diktya*) used for hunting; and to discount the second, that she fled into some fishing-nets to escape the lustful attentions of Minos, on the grounds that this was unfitting for a daughter of Zeus, and untypical of Minos.<sup>131</sup> The latter is actually the more usual story: that, chased by Minos, she leapt from a cliff into the sea and was saved by fishing-nets, “so the Kydonians called her the Lady-of-the-Net”,<sup>132</sup> although other versions discount the leap, and have her hidden by fishermen under their nets, before escaping to Aigina, where she was worshipped as Aphaia, the disappeared one.<sup>133</sup> The association with Kydonia might explain the nearby Diktynnaion, on the Rhodopou peninsula west of the city, sadly very difficult of access today, where there are still the remains of a second-century AD temple of Diktynna, built on the site of an earlier sanctuary.<sup>134</sup> This latter may have been built by the Samians when they occupied Kydonia, although there is considerable doubt as to the authenticity of that passage in Herodotos.<sup>135</sup>

Although Diodoros claims that Britomartis and Diktynna were alternative names for the same goddess,<sup>136</sup> the epigraphic evidence shows that she was worshipped as one or the other in different parts of Krete; the only epigraphic evidence of them together is in van Effenterre’s plausible version of the treaty between Eleutherna and (probably) Knossos.<sup>137</sup> Britomartis is found mainly in the centre of the island: epigraphic evidence includes a second-century thank-offering to her at Chersonesos, described by Strabo as

<sup>131</sup> Diod. 5.76.3-4. This probably reflects his Kretan sources.

<sup>132</sup> Kallim.*Hymn* 3, 257-8.

<sup>133</sup> Ant. Lib. *Met.* 40. de Polignac (1995 p.12) says that Aphaia on Aigina is one of the cults attested as early as the end of the tenth century; Sourvinou-Inwood 2005 p.333.

<sup>134</sup> The importance of the Diktynnaion in Roman times is attested by a statue of Hadrian found there (now in Chania Museum) and the construction, under Hadrian, of a road between the sanctuary and the capital, Gortyn (Angelos Chaniotis, seminar, Oxford, 7/6/10).

<sup>135</sup> Hdt.3.5.92. Sceptical commentators include Stein (1877 *ad loc.*), who says that the words καὶ τοῦ τῆς Δικτύνης νηὸν were almost certainly an addition, giving the distance of the temple from Kydonia and the fact that Diktynna was not Greek (*sic*) as reasons; How and Wells (1928 *ad loc.*), who seem to concur; while Waterfield’s translation (1998) omits the words without comment. Griffiths (draft commentary on Hdt. Bk. 3 p.93) describes the passage as a “feebly tacked-on appendage” in the structure of the sentence, but does not suggest it was a later addition.

<sup>136</sup> Diod.5.76.3.

<sup>137</sup> *SEG* XLI 743; see p.87 and nn.6, 7.

the port for Lyttos, ‘where the temple of Britomartis is’;<sup>138</sup> ‘the’ rather than ‘a’ temple suggests that the sanctuary was important and well-known. Pausanias refers to Daidalos’ statue of Britomartis at Olous, where there was probably a Britomarteia (or Britomarpeia) festival.<sup>139</sup> A few treaties include Britomartis among the witnesses to oaths, two in connection with Olous, and one in an early third-century treaty between Dreros and Knossos, suggesting cult in one of those cities; and there is a dedication to Britomartis from Gortyn, possibly indicating a sanctuary there.<sup>140</sup>

Diktyнна, on the other hand, is found mainly in the west of the island. She was important in the southwest, in Lissos, where a third-century treaty with nearby Poikilasion, invokes “Diktyнна and those who share her sanctuary”, and refers to her sanctuary as the city’s archive.<sup>141</sup> ‘Artemis Diktyнна’ was apparently the protecting deity of the northwestern city Phalasarna,<sup>142</sup> and a copy of an early third-century treaty between Polyrrenia and Phalasarna was found in the ruins of Diktyннаion on the Rhodopou peninsula, although with no reference to Diktyнна.<sup>143</sup> Polyrrenia itself had a Diktyнна sanctuary within its territory, or on the border with Kydonia, which was the archive for a peace treaty with Kydonia,<sup>144</sup> and is almost certainly the same Diktyннаion. Finally, what seems to be some sort of sacred law was found in the Rhodopou Diktyннаion, containing instructions relating to ‘revered Diktyнна’, her temple and her funds.<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> *IC* I vii 4; Strabo 10.4.14;

<sup>139</sup> Paus. 9.40.3; *IC* I xvi 5 between Olous and Lato; *IC* I xviii 9 between Olous and Lyttos.

<sup>140</sup> The two Olous treaties are those with the possible festival (n.139); Dreros and Olous *IC* I ix 1; Gortyn dedication *IC* IV 237.

<sup>141</sup> *IC* II xvii 1. It is suggested that, since no sanctuary of Diktyнна has yet been found at Lissos, the goddess may have shared the sanctuary of Asklepios there (Dr Vasiliki Machaira at a seminar in Oxford (24/5/10), although there seems no evidence of that sanctuary’s having been used as an archive. Poikilasion is today known as Pikilassos, and lay on the south coast, below the western end of the White Mountains. We have already rejected (p.36) the suggestion that this inscription shows that Diktyнна was in some way connected with Zeus Kretagenes; in fact his appearance at the end looks suspiciously like an add-on.

<sup>142</sup> Perlman 2004a p.1181.

<sup>143</sup> *IC* II xi 1; Chaniotis 1996 p.179.

<sup>144</sup> Perlman 2004a p.1183.

<sup>145</sup> *IC* II xi 3.

### Eileithyia

The Kretan sources dealt rather briefly with Eileithyia, saying only that she was a daughter of Zeus, and cared for women in childbirth.<sup>146</sup> One might perhaps expect an interest in the goddess of midwifery on the island where Zeus was born, and Eileithyia, although not unique to Krete, is particularly prominent there, as an ancient Minoan goddess of childbirth.<sup>147</sup> Legend has it, independently of Diodoros but still citing Kretan sources, that Hera gave birth to Eileithyia on Krete, in the cave of Amnisos, near Knossos, described as the cave of Eileithyia in the *Odyssey*,<sup>148</sup> where she certainly had cult from the Bronze Age onwards.<sup>149</sup> On the evidence of votives found, she is also associated with another cave-sanctuary at Inatos, on the south coast, which is probably the port for Priansos, where she was uniquely worshipped as Eileithyia Inatia,<sup>150</sup> and she had an important cult in Lato.<sup>151</sup>

It is not clear whether the month-name Eleusynios, found in Biannos and in Olous,<sup>152</sup> was connected with Eileithyia, or with Demeter and Kore, or even with both.<sup>153</sup> Although the connection is unproven in Lakonia, where there is also an Eleusynia festival and a flourishing cult of Eileithyia, it could still be a possibility on Krete, where the month-name Eleusynios suggests an Eleusynia festival.<sup>154</sup> But given the limited role of Eileithyia (or Eleuthyia) in mythology generally, it seems excessive to argue that a possible Kretan origin of the goddess Eileithyia, might suggest a Kretan origin for the name Eleusis and for the Eleusinian mysteries,<sup>155</sup> although we have argued such an origin elsewhere on other grounds.<sup>156</sup> It has also been suggested on philological

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<sup>146</sup> Diod. 5.72.5 and 73.4

<sup>147</sup> Willetts 1962 p.168.

<sup>148</sup> Hes.*Theog.* 922; Pausanias 1.18.5; *Od.*19.188; Willetts 1962 p.51.

<sup>149</sup> Prent 2005 pp.336-7. Pausanias (1.18.5) records an alternative claim that Eileithyia came from the Hyperboreans to Delos to help with Leto's birth-pains, and that others learned her name from them. He also says that two wooden images of Eileithyia in Athens were brought there from Krete by Phaedra.

<sup>150</sup> Larson 2007 p.164. Inatos was on the site of present-day village of Tsoutsouros, where the cave-sanctuary has been excavated and sealed. *IC* IV 174 (Priansos/Gortyn treaty) includes Eileithyia Inatia among the gods invoked.

<sup>151</sup> See p.98.

<sup>152</sup> *IC* I vi 2 and *IC* I xvi 4A respectively.

<sup>153</sup> Willetts 1962 p.169ff.

<sup>154</sup> Nilsson 1968 p.523f; Willetts 1962 p.170.

<sup>155</sup> Willetts 1962 p.170.

<sup>156</sup> See pp.67-8.

evidence that the Kretan city Eleutherna is named for Eileithyia,<sup>157</sup> but there seems to be no epigraphic evidence to support this.

### Talos

The living bronze giant, Talos, appears neither in Diodoros' Kretan account, nor in any epigraphic evidence, but we have already noted from literary evidence that he was the gift of Hephaistos to Minos,<sup>158</sup> and that he acted as the guardian of the island's shores, so he was certainly unique to Krete. We shall be looking at the unlikely suggestion that he had a homosexual relationship with Rhadamanthys; and we have already recorded that he was encountered in his capacity as guardian of the coastline by the Argonauts at their Kretan landfall of Dikta's Haven,<sup>159</sup> but not that he was killed there by the wiles of Medea, who somehow removed the bronze nail from his ankle, letting flow the sacred ichor from his single vein, in order to allow her companions to land.<sup>160</sup> It is not certain whether the epithet Tallaios, under which Zeus is worshipped as the chief deity of Olous,<sup>161</sup> is associated with Talos, or with a local place-name, but the latter is perhaps more likely; we have noted also a dedication to Hermes in the Tallaion cave,<sup>162</sup> in mountains far from Olous. That apart, the only reference to Talos seems to be his depiction on coins from Phaistos.<sup>163</sup>

### Great Mother / Rhea

The goddess Meter was syncretized with both Phrygian Kybele and with Rhea, the latter possibly uniquely in Krete.<sup>164</sup> The worship of Kybele on Mt Ida in Phrygia, accompanied by the percussive music and ecstatic dancing of the Korybantes, seems closely reflected in the orgiastic rites of Rhea and the Kouretes on Mt Ida in Krete, and may, in fact, have originated there, since the characteristic drum used, the tympanon, is

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<sup>157</sup> Nilsson 1968 p.519; Willetts 1962 p.171.

<sup>158</sup> See p.96.

<sup>159</sup> See p.32.

<sup>160</sup> Apollod.*Bibl.* 1.9.26; Ap.Rhod.*Argon.* 4.1639ff.

<sup>161</sup> See p.34.

<sup>162</sup> p.93 n.57. Although Wide (1893 pp.18, 216) links Tallaios to Talos and Helios.

<sup>163</sup> Guarducci 1935 p.270.

<sup>164</sup> Roller 1999 p.170; Larson 2007 p.170f.



attested in the eighth century on Krete, in the Idaian Cave, and only in the sixth century in Phrygia.<sup>165</sup>

Apart from the story of the birth of Zeus, Diodoros' Kretan account only mentions Rhea to record that the foundations of a house of Rhea, and a cypress grove consecrated to her from ancient times, were still visible in Knossos 'even to this day'.<sup>166</sup> There seems to be little or no epigraphic evidence of Rhea, but she may be depicted in a late seventh-century temple at Prinias (ancient Rhizenia), as a seated goddess flanked by lions, as was common with Kybele.<sup>167</sup> A second-century inscription from Phaistos refers to the sanctuary of the Great Mother there, also known as the sanctuary of Meter.<sup>168</sup>

### 'The Mothers'

There is a rather mysterious epigraphical reference to 'the Mothers', apparently quite distinct from the Great Mother, in a sacrificial calendar from Eleutherna.<sup>169</sup> Edited by Stavrianopoulou and dated to the second half of the second century, this very incomplete collection of four fragments apparently constitutes a single document, which arguably specifies the occasions and animals for sacrifice to a number of gods, including 'the hero', Zeus Poliouchos, 'the Nymph?', Zeus, 'the Mothers', Artemis, and Zeus Makhaneus. The cult of 'the Mothers' was known from literary evidence to have existed in Engyon in Sicily, and was said to have been brought there from Krete. Although the *ed. pr.* identified the Mothers as carers for the baby Zeus, it has since been suggested that Demeter and Kore should not be ruled out as an alternative;<sup>170</sup> either way the cult could originate in Krete.

### Welkhanos

We have mentioned Welkhanos elsewhere in the context of cults of Zeus,<sup>171</sup> and noted that it was unclear whether Welkhanos was a god separate from Zeus or an epithet of

<sup>165</sup> Strabo 10.3.7; Larson 2007 p.170f; Roller 1999 p.172. Prent 2005 illustration 57 for the Idaian Cave evidence.

<sup>166</sup> Diod. 5.66.1.

<sup>167</sup> Roller 1999 p.135; Lapatin 2001 p.59; Boardman 1978 p.14 and illustration 2.

<sup>168</sup> *IC I* xxiii 3; Burkert 1987 p.76.

<sup>169</sup> *SEG* XLI 744.

<sup>170</sup> Diod. 4.79.5-80.6; *NGSL* pp.328-332.

<sup>171</sup> p.38.

Zeus. In this connection it is worth looking at a third-century treaty between Eleutherna and Rhaukos, in which Welkhanos is invoked as a distinct deity, not as an epithet, alongside Zeus Idatas and Zeus Thenatas.<sup>172</sup> This seems a rare example of Welkhanos' being invoked in an oath, but he is attested epigraphically in simple inscriptions of his name, and his inclusion among month-names and festivals. The name Welkhanos is inscribed on what appears to be the lintel-stone of a shrine entrance in Phaistos, and on tiles of a sanctuary at Agia Triada; Welkhanios appears as a month-name at Gortyn in the seventh to sixth, and third to second, centuries BC; there is a Belchania festival mentioned in a third- or second-century inscription from Lyttos; and there is again the month-name Welkhanios in a late second-century treaty between Lato and Olous, arbitrated by Knossos; implying, since other month-names are stipulated for Lato and Olous, that Welkhanios was a month in Knossos.<sup>173</sup>

The name or epithet Welkhanos is unique to Krete,<sup>174</sup> and is thought to be pre-Greek, associated with thunder and lightning, and hence with rain and vegetation, facilitating assimilation with Zeus; and the name is particularly associated with the willow-tree.<sup>175</sup> The implication that Welkhanos is a very old god seems confirmed by the evidence from Agia Triada, where ancient cult continued into the Greek age, when the deity was apparently first known as Zeus Welkhanos.<sup>176</sup> At Phaistos the name Welkhanos appeared also on coins depicting a beardless male figure sitting in a tree, with a cock on his lap.<sup>177</sup> The association of male gods with trees, which we have already met in Hermes Kedrites at Kato Syme,<sup>178</sup> may have been a survival from Minoan religion; and it seems that sanctuaries associated with non-Greek names, such as Welkhanos, are

<sup>172</sup> *SEG* LIV 841; ΘΕΜΕΛΗΣ, Γ; ΜΑΤΑΘΑΙΟΥ, Α.Π., Συνθήκη Ἐλευθερναίων καὶ Ραυκίων, *TEKMERIA*, North America, 913 01 2009. I am indebted to Professor Angelos Chaniotis for helping me to find this. We can see from Appendix 1 that Zeus Idatas was worshipped in Eleutherna, so it seems possible that Welkhanos was associated with Rhaukos.

<sup>173</sup> *IC* I xxiii 5 for Phaistos; Prent p.164, Willetts 1962 p.250 for Agia Triada; *IC* IV 3, but very fragmentary, for Gortyn, and also a treaty between Gortyn and Kaudos *IC* IV 184; *IC* I xviii 10 for Lyttos; *IC* I xvi 3 for Knossos.

<sup>174</sup> *RE* vol. X.A p.314.

<sup>175</sup> Nilsson 1968 pp.532 n.93 and p.553; Willetts 1962 p.177; Cook (II-2 p.947) rejects association of the name with *φέλιχος* (cock) or Volcanus, in favour of the willow-tree. Pausanias (5.25.9) says that the cock was the symbol of Idomeneus.

<sup>176</sup> Nilsson 1968 pp.99-100.

<sup>177</sup> Prent 2005 p.323 n.610. For coins depicting this: Cook 1925 p.946 figs.838-841.

<sup>178</sup> See p.94.

concentrated in central Krete, where Mykenaeen and Cypriot influences were stronger.<sup>179</sup> The concentration of inscriptional evidence for Welkhanos in Knossos, Lyttos, Gortyn, Agia Triada, Phaistos, and possibly Rhaukos, all fairly central, is thus typical.

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<sup>179</sup> Prent 2005 p.622.

## 6

**Initiation****6.1 Definition of Initiation and Examples in Krete**

There are two quite separate meanings of the term 'initiation': first, the cultic sense of initiation into the secrets of the 'mysteries', and secondly, the rituals associated with the stages of transformation of children into full adults.<sup>1</sup> The traditions associated with the coming of age of young men in Krete are particularly well-attested and unusual, so this discussion will be confined to the latter sense, and to the male sex; for our purposes, therefore, 'initiation' is defined as the rites of passage to male adulthood. It seems generally agreed that, with the exception of Krete and possibly Sparta, there is little historical evidence for Greek adolescent initiation rituals, which had disappeared from the rest of Greece by the late sixth century.<sup>2</sup> Although it is said that the Kretan institution is the only one in Greece which fully conforms to the anthropological definition of initiation, it is significant that, even within Krete, the wide variety of terms used, both for the rites of passage and for the initiands, suggests a considerable level of local variation between cities.<sup>3</sup>

These 'rites of passage' into adulthood in ancient Krete, which may well have dated from the Minoan era, seem to have consisted of three main stages, symbolic of death and rebirth: disappearance from society, followed by a period of isolation, and finally reappearance and reintegration into a different level of society, which, in ancient Krete, was represented by membership of the *andreia*, the society of fully-grown men.<sup>4</sup> Other typical characteristics of 'tribal' transition to adulthood are that the rite is carried out periodically, based on age-groupings; that it is compulsory, communal, sexually segregated and pre-nuptial; and that it may include such elements as instruction in adult

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<sup>1</sup> Graf 2003 p.4.

<sup>2</sup> Johnston 2003 p.155; Graf and Johnston 2007 pp.81-2.

<sup>3</sup> Graf 2003 pp.20, 9-10.

<sup>4</sup> Koehl 1986 p.104f.

activities and ‘tribal’ traditions, some form of trial of physical strength, and certain regulations on dress.<sup>5</sup> Most of these characteristics are evident in Krete.

There are traces in the evidence of Kretan rituals of both the elements of physical trial and regulations of dress. The ‘graduation ceremony’ from the *agela*, or ‘herd’ of teenage boys, seems to have involved some sort of ritual of stripping, and dressing in different clothes.<sup>6</sup> Guarducci associates πανάζωστοι (agreeing with ἀγελάοι) and its sense of ‘girding’ (ἄζωστος from ζώννυμι), with ἐκδύεσθαι (as in the *Ekdysia* festival), the shedding of clothes.<sup>7</sup> These terms are in evidence in inscriptions apparently referring to initiation rituals. She suggests that they refer either to stripping for an inspection to affirm the youths’ physical eligibility,<sup>8</sup> or to putting on their new military dress, of which they have in some way proved that they are worthy. The *Ekdysia* festival at Phaistos was associated with the myth, and local hero-cult, of Leukippos who, having been disguised as a boy through her childhood, was transformed, at the end of adolescence, into a young man, by Lato, in answer to her mother’s prayers.<sup>9</sup> In Phaistos therefore the ritual is connected with casting off ‘female attire’ (apparently ignoring the fact that Leukippos was disguised as a boy) and replacing it with male dress, symbolic of leaving the company of women as a child, and entering the society of men as an adult.<sup>10</sup>

The link between leaving the world of women, and proving oneself fit for the world of men, is illustrated by the story of the baby Hermes’ raid on the cattle of his half-brother Apollo, a symbolic coming of age (gods mature young), which includes his subsequent rejection of the reproaches of his mother, Maia, and his indication that *he* will be looking after *her* in future.<sup>11</sup> Interestingly, according to a case-study, the concept of the

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<sup>5</sup> Scanlon 2002 p.65.

<sup>6</sup> Davidson 2007 p.306.

<sup>7</sup> *IC I ix 1* (Dreiros) lines 11, 100 and Guarducci *ad loc*; *IC I xix 1* (Malla) line 18; Vidal-Naquet 1986 p.117.

<sup>8</sup> So also Davidson 2007 p.306.

<sup>9</sup> *Ant. Lib. Met.* 17; Willetts 1962 p.175 *et al.* In *Ov. Met.* (666ff), the girl is named Iphis and the goddess is Isis.

<sup>10</sup> Dowden 1989 pp.65f.

<sup>11</sup> *Hom. Hymn Herm.* 162-167; Johnston 2003 pp. 158-60.

successful cattle-raid as evidence of worthiness of manhood is also attested in modern Kretan life, where, until recently at least, the village boys proved their ability to protect and enlarge their flock, and thus provide for their families, by raiding their neighbours' sheep, to the disapproval of their mothers, and the grudging admiration of their fathers.<sup>12</sup> Other proofs of worthiness of manhood include the ability to provide for a family by hunting, and to protect them as a warrior. The hunting aspect of initiation in ancient Krete seems to have been a matter of instruction, discussed further below, rather than of demonstrating ability; but the preparation of boys for war, in Greece generally, was closely associated with the gymnasium and the race-track.<sup>13</sup> Here there is a clear link with the terms *apodromeus* and *dromeus*, for a youth before and after initiation,<sup>14</sup> and with the suggestion of a race, or similar ordeal, as part of the initiation ritual, in the reference to νικατήρ τᾶς ἀγέλας, the victor of the *agela*, at the end of the Dreros ephebic oath.<sup>15</sup>

Initiatory themes in myth may not always be reflected in ritual, and even the association of the myth with a particular festival or ritual does not guarantee that the festival or ritual itself has an initiatory character, since myths vary with time and in the telling.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore a distinction must be drawn between a succession myth, which may revolve around a young man achieving maturity, but which focuses on his supplanting the older generation, and the changes that this brings to the society around him; and an actual initiation myth, which simply focuses on the experience of the individual acquiring adult status, and the changes that he himself undergoes.<sup>17</sup> It may be useful to examine certain myths and traditions connected with Krete, with apparently initiatory characteristics, in the light of these qualifications.

We have already looked at the *Ekdysia* Festival at Phaistos, where the ritual of stripping off of boyhood clothes deviates somewhat from the myth of Leukippos, who was a girl,

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<sup>12</sup> Herzfeld 1985 pp.163ff, discussed further below.

<sup>13</sup> Scanlon 2002 p.66.

<sup>14</sup> Koehl 2000 pp.133f. More about this in connection with age-groups below.

<sup>15</sup> *IC I* ix 1; Willetts 1962 p.201.

<sup>16</sup> Johnston 2003 pp.155-6.

<sup>17</sup> Graf and Johnston 2007 p.83.

disguised as a boy, transformed into a man. The festival, which is quite possibly a Minoan survival, is associated with the cult of Lato Phytia, by whose statue those about to be married used to lie down.<sup>18</sup> This suggests some sort of fertility ritual, which was apparently also linked to initiation, since we know from Strabo that in Krete the youths of the *agela* were all initiated into manhood, citizenship, and marriage together at the same time.<sup>19</sup> It is clear, therefore, that even if the ritual of the *Ekdysia* festival did not accurately reflect the associated myth, it did involve the aspects of a period of seclusion, reappearance in new costume, transformation to male adulthood, and marriage, all of which we have identified as characteristic of coming of age rituals in Krete.<sup>20</sup>

Following the excavation of a shrine at Knossos, identified as that of Glaukos, son of Minos, a parallel has been suggested between a hero-cult of Glaukos at Knossos, and the hero-cult of Leukippos at Phaistos.<sup>21</sup> The myth of Glaukos tells how the boy drowned in a vat of honey while playing with a ball,<sup>22</sup> and that the seer Polyidos was locked in the tomb with the dead boy, and restored him to life by the use of a herb, which he had seen successfully used by a snake to restore its mate to life, after the latter had been killed by Polyidos.<sup>23</sup> Minos then insisted that Polyidos instruct the boy in his own talents. Although the description of the child's accident suggests that he was rather young for initiation,<sup>24</sup> the shrine has been linked with initiation rites, on the basis of votives and other remains found there, together with the concept of initiation as ritual temporary death, and by analogy with the rites at Phaistos.<sup>25</sup> This view, however, has been sceptically and plausibly dismissed, on the grounds not only of the child's age, but that the additional elements of isolation and education are inappropriately cited in

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<sup>18</sup> Ant. Lib. *Met.* 17; Willetts 1977 pp.122-3.

<sup>19</sup> Strabo 10.4.20; Willetts 1955 p.121.

<sup>20</sup> Koehl 1986 p.104f; Graf 2003 p.16-17.

<sup>21</sup> Callaghan 1978 p.24.

<sup>22</sup> Or chasing a mouse, μὴν διώκων, Apollod.*Bibl.*3.2.

<sup>23</sup> Hyg. *Fab.*136; Apollod.3.3.1-2; Callaghan 1978 p.25; Willetts 1962 pp.61-2. There is an early representation of the myth on a mid-fifth-century white-ground *kylix* in the British Museum (D5; Griffiths 1986 pp.58 and 70).

<sup>24</sup> Dum ludit pila, cecidit in dolium melle plenum; Hyg. *Fab.*136.

<sup>25</sup> Callaghan 1978 p.25; Morris 1988 p.758. Alcock 2002 p.179 refers to "the initiatory shrine of Glaukos at Knossos".

evidence, since the isolation was involuntary, and the education came after the resurrection.<sup>26</sup>

The legend of Theseus and the Minotaur might suggest another example of a Kretan connection for an initiation myth, if we consider his time in Krete as a period of isolation from society, and note that it was shared with others of the same age-group, although not sexually segregated, and involved a kind of physical testing.<sup>27</sup> There are objections to this however. The society from which Theseus was isolated and to which he returned was Athens, not Krete. There are a number of indications also that Theseus' initiation was accomplished, and that he was already an adult, before the Kretan adventure.<sup>28</sup> His earlier exploits in the isthmus could equally well represent a period of isolation from society, and Pausanias tells of – the still unknown – Theseus throwing some oxen as high as the roof of the unfinished Delphinion, in response to the workmen there teasing him for looking like a girl, in his long tunic with plaited hair.<sup>29</sup> It is suggested that this is clearly linked to rites of passage, and also became the model for the Athenian ritual of ephebes carrying an ox to the altar for sacrifice.<sup>30</sup> Although, as we shall see below, the sacrifice of an ox was associated with Kretan initiation also, there seems no suggestion that carrying it themselves was an essential part of the rite. Initiation parallels are also evident in the homecoming, recognition, and admission to his rightful status, when Theseus first reaches the palace of his father, Aegeus.<sup>31</sup> And, finally, the ending of the Kretan episode with the death of his father Aegeus, and Theseus' accession to the throne of Athens, would seem in any case to make it more of a succession myth than an initiation myth.

It is suggested that the myth of the abduction of Ganymede is possibly both Kretan and Minoan in origin.<sup>32</sup> This suggestion is surely inspired by the account of the abduction

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<sup>26</sup> Dover 1988 pp.127-8, refuting Sergent 1984 pp.186-7.

<sup>27</sup> Sourvinou-Inwood (2005 p.253) sees it as a typical initiatory myth in her discussion of Hylas.

<sup>28</sup> Calame 1996 pp.432-4

<sup>29</sup> Paus. 1.19.1.

<sup>30</sup> Graf 1979 p.14. The ox-bearing ephebes would seem to be illustrated on an attic black-figure amphora of the mid sixth century (Boardman 1991 p.99).

<sup>31</sup> Plut.*Vit.Thes.* 12; Graf 1979 pp.15-16.

<sup>32</sup> Koehl 1986 p.106.



of Kretan boys by older men, as found in Strabo,<sup>33</sup> which will be discussed in detail below. Plato maintains that the more traditional version, that Ganymede was carried off by Zeus, was invented by the Kretans to, as it were, legitimize their own pleasures,<sup>34</sup> while Kretan sources themselves attribute the abduction to Minos, rather than Zeus, thus associating it with Krete, and also make it clear the Minos' motive was intercourse.<sup>35</sup> The attraction of Kretan men to boys is also suggested by another myth of the Minoan age: the three brothers Minos, Rhadamanthys, and Sarpedon are supposed to have quarreled over the youth Miletos.<sup>36</sup> It was also said by the sixth-century poet, Ibycus of Rhegium, that the Kretan guardian, Talos, was the lover of Rhadamanthys,<sup>37</sup> although here Talos's age is not specified. Although the last example seems unlikely for chronological reasons, it is further evidence of the acceptability of homosexuality in Krete at an early stage.

## **6.2 The Abduction of Boys according to Ephoros<sup>38</sup>**

Ephoros is the source for Strabo's account of the abduction of Kretan boys, which seems to have been widely, although not universally, accepted by later writers as part of the ritual of initiation to male adulthood.<sup>39</sup> He tells us that the Kretan custom is for a would-be lover to tell the friends of the boy in question, three or four days in advance, of his plans to abduct the boy, implicitly inviting their collusion. They must do nothing to conceal the boy or prevent his taking the appointed path. When the abductor appears, provided he is the boy's equal or superior in rank, they playfully chase and lay hold on him (the abductor), and then hand the boy over. But if he is not worthy of his quarry, says Ephoros, they take the boy away from him. This seems a strange comment in the context, as one would have thought that they could have established the lover's credentials on the first encounter. It seems to suggest that the lover was a stranger to the community, perhaps from a different *andreion*, and that the advance warning of

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<sup>33</sup> Strabo 10.4.21.

<sup>34</sup> Pl.*Leg.* 1.636 c-d; Sergent 1984 p.28; Davidson 2007 pp.300-1.

<sup>35</sup> Dosiadas *FGrHist* 458 F5; Echemenes *FGrHist* 459 T1.

<sup>36</sup> Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.1.2; Sergent 1987 p.197 and n.1. This is discussed further on pp.214-5.

<sup>37</sup> Ath. XIII 603d; Sergent 1987 p.200 and n.1. We looked at Talos on p.105.

<sup>38</sup> *FGrHist* 70 F 149 = Strabo 10.4.21.

<sup>39</sup> Bile 1992 p.11; Sergent 1987 p.1; Dumézil 1987 p.ix; Bremmer 1980 p.284. *Contra*: Dover 1978 p.189, 1988 p.123; Hubbard 2003 p.307.

three or four days was to allow inquiries to be made. And the end of the pursuit, continues Ephoros, is when the abductor takes the boy to his (the abductor's) *andreion*. Here he publicly embraces his abductee,<sup>40</sup> gives him presents, and then takes him off to any place in the region that he wishes; the other boys follow them,<sup>41</sup> and they all feast and hunt for a maximum of two months. On their return the boy is 'released', and given by his abductor an ox, military dress, and a drinking-cup (these by law), and other presents, so expensive in total, that the abductor's friends have to contribute. The boy sacrifices the ox to Zeus and entertains his companions, and then tells them about the intimate attentions of his lover, and whether they pleased him or not. The implication seems to be that if he was forced he can get rid of the lover, while if he was pleased there will be a continuing relationship between lover and boy, *erastes* and *eromenos*. We will consider this implication further later.

Ephoros also says that it is considered disgraceful for a boy who is good-looking or of distinguished descent to fail in obtaining a lover, as this is blamed on his character. This has been taken to mean that character was more important than beauty in the selection of an *eromenos*, but would actually seem to imply the opposite: that if a boy were ugly and failed to obtain a lover, his looks would be blamed without considering his character. The emphasis on character rather than beauty also seems to be indicated by archaic graffiti in the main sanctuary on Thera, which use the adjectives *agathos* and *aristos* to describe the *eromenos*, rather than *kalos*, common elsewhere; but it has been sceptically suggested that it was more discreet to praise a boy's character than his looks, particularly if he was actually chosen for his political connections, the other criterion mentioned by Ephoros.<sup>42</sup> He also tells us that the boys who do have lovers receive special honours, are known as *kleinoi*, and even in later life wear distinguishing dress. These may possibly be identified with the 'handsomest citizens', who, according to Sosikrates, were placed prominently in Kretan, as in Spartan, battle-lines, and were

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<sup>40</sup> Davidson 2007 p.309: "thanks only to the inadequate rubbings-out of Christian monks, short of paper, we now know that he embraced the boy", without any further detail. The embrace is not mentioned by Ephoros.

<sup>41</sup> Strabo actually says that those who were present at the abduction follow him. Davidson (2007 p.308) suggests that the 'friends' who pretended to rescue the boy were a special group, with no particular connection to either party, but there seems nothing otherwise to suggest this.

<sup>42</sup> Dover 1988 pp.117-8, 125-6.

involved in sacrificing to Eros before a battle, thus again emphasizing the importance of beauty in becoming a *kleinos*.<sup>43</sup>

Before attempting to address the question as to whether this practice, as described by Ephoros, had anything to do with initiation into male adulthood, we need to explore the wider picture of relationships between Kretan males, and to analyze what we know of the division of boys and youths in Krete into specific age-groups, and the terms used to differentiate them.

### 6.3 Relationships between Males in Krete

#### 6.3.1 Homosexuality

On the basis of comparing different versions of the same myth, it seems that the homosexual variants of traditional myths, in Greece generally, were probably added in the later sixth or fifth century.<sup>44</sup> Examples include Aeschylus' treatment of the relationship between Achilles and Patroklos, and Pindar's story of the love of Poseidon for Pelops, both of which may have reflected the expectations of their audiences.<sup>45</sup> It would seem, from Homer, Hesiod, and Archilochos, that homosexuality in the seventh century and earlier was neither overt nor glorified as it was later. Although the myth of Ganymede as wine-pourer to Zeus appears in the *Iliad*, it is possible that this merely reflects a preference in rich households for beautiful servants; even if it has homosexual overtones, it is not overtly homosexual, as are the later variants of this and other myths,<sup>46</sup> and is certainly not associated with initiation. Although we have located several initiation myths associated with Krete in Minoan times,<sup>47</sup> they do not appear to contain homosexual elements, with the exception of that of Minos and Ganymede, which could well be a much later Kretan variant of the Zeus and Ganymede story.

<sup>43</sup> τοὺς καλλίστους τῶν πολιτῶν; *FGrHist* 461 F7; Davidson 2007 p.313.

<sup>44</sup> Dover 1978 pp.128-31.

<sup>45</sup> Aesch. *fr.* 134a *cf.* *Il.* 11.786; Pind. *O.* 1.25, 40-42.

<sup>46</sup> *Ov. Met.* 10.152ff, Pind. *O.* 1.44-5, Ap. *Rhod. Argon.* 3.115f, and Eur. *Tro.* 824 *cf.* *Il.* 5.265-7, 20.231ff, and Hom. *Hymn. Aph.* 202ff (Zeus and Ganymede); Aesch. *fr.* 134a *cf.* *Il.* 11.786 (Achilles and Patroklos); Ath. XIII 602f-603a, and Eur. *Chrysippos* according to Cic. *Tusc.* iv 71 *cf.*

Hellankos *FGrHist.* 4 F 157 (Laios and Chrysippos); Pind. *O.* 1.25, 40-42 and Apollod. *Epit.* ii 3 *cf.* Bakchyl. *fr.* 42 (Poseidon and Pelops).

<sup>47</sup> Those of Leukippos, Glaukos, Theseus, and Ganymede abducted by Minos; see above.

A homosexual element was certainly recognized in the Zeus and Ganymede myth in historical times, when the myth was attributed by Plato to Kretan invention, as we have seen above. Plato may indeed have been responsible for, or simply reflecting, the widely accepted generalization about Greek homosexuality: that it had its origins in the military organization of the Dorian states, notably Sparta and Krete, and that overt practice of homosexuality was more acceptable in these Dorian regions than elsewhere.<sup>48</sup> In one passage of Plato's *Laws* the Athenian speaker claims that the practices of common meals and physical exercise, in both Krete and Sparta, have undermined natural laws and encouraged overt homosexual practices; elsewhere he implies the same thing by saying that the sexual habits of Krete and Sparta are totally 'opposed to' those of the Athenians.<sup>49</sup> With the exception of the Ganymede reference, it is not clear whether these accusations refer specifically to Kretan pederasty, as opposed to homosexuality in general; however it is worth noting at this stage, in the context of our question as to whether the ritual described by Ephoros had anything to do with initiation to adulthood, that the homosexuality socially approved in Greece generally was limited to pederasty, and that the passive homosexual role was regarded as humiliating.<sup>50</sup>

### 6.3.2 *Pederasty*

Although homosexual copulation was apparently regarded as a serious crime in Egypt, Israel, and Assyria, Herodotos tells us that the Persians regarded copulating with boys as one of the 'good things of life' which they had learned from the Greeks; furthermore, in Greece generally, homosexual (pederastic implied) and heterosexual emotions and relations used the same vocabulary and attracted the same degree of respect.<sup>51</sup> But within the more general Greek context, there does seem to be a fair amount of ancient evidence, including that of Timaios and Hesychios, as well as the myths of Minoan times discussed above, to suggest that the institutionalization of the practice of pederasty originated in Krete, and was in evidence there earlier than in the rest of

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<sup>48</sup> Dover 1978 pp.185-6.

<sup>49</sup> *Pl.Leg.* 636b-d, 836b; cf. *Arist. Pol.* II vii 5; Sargent 1987 p.28f.

<sup>50</sup> Bremmer 1980 pp.279, 291.

<sup>51</sup> *Hdt.* 1.135; Dover 1988 pp.115-6.

Greece, possibly in the seventh century.<sup>52</sup> Perhaps the most compelling evidence is bronze figurines from Kato Syme, showing ithyphallic warriors holding hands; their different heights apparently indicating different ages.<sup>53</sup>

Aristotle seems to have accepted the Minoan connection when he says that the lawgiver (Minos) gave thought to the benefit of isolating women, so that they should not have many children, and to this end he devised intercourse between males.<sup>54</sup> It has been shown by statistical analysis that delaying the age of men's marriage, or at least of cohabitation with their wives, from say nineteen to thirty, would have resulted in a significant reduction in the birth-rate on Krete, and it is postulated, without citing much detailed evidence, that outward colonization from Krete ceased at the same time as these population control measures were introduced.<sup>55</sup> Whether the need for population control ever really demanded such a drastic measure must be open to doubt,<sup>56</sup> although it is possible that young men living there apart from their wives could be the origin of the use of the term *andreion* in Krete, in place of the more neutral *syssition* in Sparta and elsewhere; it seems unnecessary to specify that a meeting-place was for men, in a society where women did not go out and congregate. With the possible exception of the connection to Kato Syme, which will be discussed further below, however, there is nothing in this evidence to link pederasty to any ritual of initiation.

### 6.3.3 *Chaste Relationships*

Another benefit of the relationship between a man and a boy, recognized by the ancient world, was the contribution to the latter's education. Xenophon tells us that Lykurgos regarded the love of a good man, who made a friend of a boy out of admiration for his soul, as a natural relationship and the best form of education, provided no shameful physical desire was involved.<sup>57</sup> And it is said that, while some ancient authors insisted

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<sup>52</sup> Timaios thought that the Kretans first invented it (*FGrHist* 566 F144); Dover 1978 p.186; Hesychios (4080) defined κρήτα τρόπον as the use of *paidika*; Sargent 1984 pp.28ff and nn.33-35 for the Minoan references; Hubbard 2003 pp.56-7; Percy 1996 p.59.

<sup>53</sup> Koehl 2000 p.138.

<sup>54</sup> Arist. *Pol.* II vii 5; Hubbard 2003 p.56; Percy 1996 p.62.

<sup>55</sup> Percy 1996 pp.68-9 and n.23, based on a model produced by Mogens Herman Hansen. See also p.209.

<sup>56</sup> Sargent 1987 p.28ff.

<sup>57</sup> Xen.*Lac.* 2.12, 13; Bremmer 1980 p.282.

that in Sparta and Krete such relationships were all about sexual pleasure, others believed that it was in just those places that homosexual love was most chaste.<sup>58</sup> It is not in fact clear from the abduction account in Ephoros whether the couple had a physical relationship. Although the boy's reporting back to his friends might seem to imply this, Ephoros makes it clear that the couple were never alone in their two months' 'seclusion', and the law of Gortyn has provisions against rape of either sex.<sup>59</sup>

The initiation of twentieth-century shepherd-boys into manhood, by cattle-raiding, in a Kretan mountain village, to which we have already referred, was also about establishing a beneficial relationship with an older man, but with no suggestion of a homosexual relationship; oddly it was known as 'coming out on the branch', but without the modern connotations of the phrase 'coming out',<sup>60</sup> although initially the boy might be encouraged and assisted by an older confederate. The raiding would continue against the same victim (an older man), with the object of provoking retaliation and counter-raids, until it became necessary to involve mediators. Such a conflict was often resolved by having one of the two parties baptize a close relation of the other, thereby establishing an indissoluble bond of friendship between them, a kind of 'spiritual kinship' (*syndeknia*), which established the boy's position in society and ensured the protection of the older man. Cattle-raids as part of a young man's coming of age are not unique to Krete, or even to Greece, but the concept of the cattle-raid as a means of establishing a beneficial relationship between a boy and an older man is an exceptional modification to the usual Indo-European model. It has a parallel in the myth of Hermes stealing Apollo's cattle, and thereby making friends with his half-brother,<sup>61</sup> in contrast to that of Herakles, raiding cattle from Geryon by killing him;<sup>62</sup> which possibly explains why Herakles does not seem to appear with Hermes in any initiatory context in Krete.

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<sup>58</sup> Davidson 2007 p.1.

<sup>59</sup> Davidson 2007 p.309ff; Gortyn Law Code Col. II 2ff.

<sup>60</sup> Johnston 2003 pp.158-9 and n.12; Herzfeld 1984 pp.174ff.

<sup>61</sup> Hom.*HymnHerm.* 67ff (see p.93) and 418ff; Richardson 2010 pp.205, 207.

<sup>62</sup> Hes.*Theog.*287-94, 979-83.

#### 6.4 Adolescent Age-groups and the Terms used for them

The boy-rustlers in the modern tradition are said to have all started their activities between the ages of eleven and thirteen,<sup>63</sup> probably about the age of puberty in ancient Krete,<sup>64</sup> and the age at which a boy would leave his mothers' apron-strings, to go and sit, shabbily-clad, on the floor of his father's *andreion*, and wait on the men as well as on his contemporaries.<sup>65</sup> At this stage the boy is known as an *apagelaos*, or one not yet enrolled in an *agela*. It seems generally agreed that the next milestone is the age of seventeen, when the youth joins an *agela*, and is known as an *agelaos*, or an *apodromeus*, one not yet in formal training on the *dromos*, until the age of twenty, when he becomes an adult citizen, a *dromeus* or *neos*, and is formally married at the same time as the rest of his group.<sup>66</sup> One source differs slightly in that he suggests that the start of formal physical training on the *dromos* may have coincided with joining, rather than leaving, the *agela*, and that *dromeus* therefore equates to *agelaos*, and *apodromeus* to *apagelaos*, although elsewhere he agrees that the term *dromeus*, as used in the Gortyn Code, implied adult status.<sup>67</sup> A final transition to full adulthood is suggested by the term *teleos*, which may have coincided with the young man setting up his own household with his wife, possibly at the age of thirty.<sup>68</sup>

#### 6.5 Abduction and Initiation

We are now ready to address the question as to whether the unique practice described by Ephoros could have been a part of initiation to male adulthood. It seems to resolve into two questions: first, would the age-group have been appropriate, and, secondly, did every boy go through this ritual, as initiation to citizenship surely required?

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<sup>63</sup> Herzfeld 1985 p.174.

<sup>64</sup> Willetts 1967 p.10 and 1955 pp.7f.

<sup>65</sup> Strabo 10.4.20; Dosiadas *FGrHist* 458 F2; Pyrgion *FGrHist* 467 F1.

<sup>66</sup> Strabo 10.4.20; Davidson 2007 pp.304f; Willetts 1962 pp.46-7; Bremmer *OCD*<sup>3</sup> p.758. The Kretan term *agelos*, a member of a herd of driven animals, suggesting nature in the raw, has been contrasted with *hetairos*, a member of a 'brotherhood' of mature men, indicating social organisation (Vidal-Naquet 1986 pp.112-4).

<sup>67</sup> Percy 1996 p.67; Gortyn Law Code VII 35, 40.

<sup>68</sup> Strabo 10.4.20; Davidson 2003 p.305; Percy 1996 p.68.

### 6.5.1 *The Age of Abduction*

The term *skotios*, or hidden one, has been interpreted by a scholiast on Euripides as referring to the fact that boys lived at home in the women's apartments up to the age of manhood, while an alternative suggestion is that it refers only to the period spent away from society immediately before initiation; either explanation would fit well with the cult in Phaistos of Aphrodite Skotia, the patron goddess of those about to be initiated into manhood and married.<sup>69</sup> Although it does not seem to be correct, as has been suggested,<sup>70</sup> that Hesychios equates *skotios* with *apagelaos*, his definition of the latter as a twelve to seventeen-year-old<sup>71</sup> could tie in from the age point of view with another suggestion, that a boy who had not obtained a lover was called *skotios*, as opposed to one who had, who was called *kleinos*.<sup>72</sup> Ideas differ also as to the age of a boy when he is abducted, which is variously suggested as twelve, the age of puberty, and twenty, when he graduates from the *agela* and acquires adult status.<sup>73</sup> The former, or at least some age between the two,<sup>74</sup> would seem infinitely more probable, on the grounds noted above, that while pederasty was generally considered acceptable in Greece, the passive homosexual role was dishonourable,<sup>75</sup> and thus surely unsuitable for a *dromeus*. (We noted above the implication of a continuing relationship between *erastes* and *eromenos*.) Alternative terms for *erastes* and *eromenos* were *philêtor* and *parastatheis*, the latter with a slight suggestion of a Ganymede-like cup-bearer,<sup>76</sup> which suggests relative youth; so too does a story told by Aelianus about a Kretan *erastes*, whom he also describes as *neanias*, a young man, whose *eromenos* was too young to fight.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Eur.*Alc.* 989; LSJ under σκότιος; Willetts 1962 p.47.

<sup>70</sup> Willetts 1962 p.47.

<sup>71</sup> Hsch. 5702.

<sup>72</sup> Percy 1996 p.64.

<sup>73</sup> Percy 1996 p.64 (age of 12); Bremmer (1980 pp.282-3) quotes Plut.*Vit.Lyc.* 17.1 who says that Spartan boys had young men as lovers from the age of 12; Sergent 1984 p.35f and Bile 1992 p.13 (graduation from the *agela*).

<sup>74</sup> Koehl 2000 p.134.

<sup>75</sup> Bremmer 1980 p.289.

<sup>76</sup> Koehl 1986 p.108.

<sup>77</sup> Bremmer 1980 pp.286-7, making the point that an *erastes* was a *young* man, but, by implication, that an *eromenos* was probably a teenager, 'not yet called to arms'; Ael. *NA* 4.1, who, in describing how a fighting partridge will never turn its back on its adversary if its mate is nearby, draws the parallel with the story of a Kretan *erastes*, who had a *paidika* of good birth, beautiful, manly, noble etc., but not yet called to arms. When, during fighting, the *neanias* stumbled over a dead body and fell, one of the enemy was about to strike him in the back, but he asked to be struck in the front, so that his *eromenos* would not think him guilty of cowardice, and refrain from laying out his corpse.



This conclusion is also borne out by the association of different hair-styles with different age-groups in Minoan art, where young boys seem to have their heads almost shaved, while teenagers grow a few special locks, and young adults wear their hair long.<sup>78</sup> Boys in Sparta cut their hair short on reaching puberty, so it is quite likely that Kretan boys did as well.<sup>79</sup> A possible exception might be Epimenides who was said to be distinctive among Kretans in letting his hair grow long.<sup>80</sup> The so-called Minoan ‘Chieftain Cup’ from Agia Triada,<sup>81</sup> shows a taller male figure, with long tresses, facing a shorter one with short hair. A possible interpretation of the scene has been suggested, based on the relative heights and hair-styles, as the *erastes* giving presents to the *eromenos*, as described by Ephoros.<sup>82</sup>

#### 6.5.2 *Élite or Universal Ritual?*

Despite the claim that scholars have “mostly seen in this Kretan custom an antique ritual of initiation into adulthood”,<sup>83</sup> and the implications of one scholar’s reference to “initiation” as the key-word in a book on homosexuality,<sup>84</sup> a significant number of writers make clear their belief that this was a ritual only for the few, without apparently considering that this implies that not every male eligible for citizenship underwent an initiation ceremony. The suggestion of an élite club is certainly implied by the whole ethos of the terms *parastatheis* and *kleinos*,<sup>85</sup> that is that although all the eligible boys would go through the period in the wilderness, certain sons of prominent fathers “were accorded the lead position”.<sup>86</sup> An alternative view, postulating a pedagogical relationship between *erastes* and *eromenos*, suggests that the older man is clearly leader, organizer, and instructor of the group of boys that he takes into the wilderness,

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<sup>78</sup> Leitao 2003 p.119.

<sup>79</sup> Willetts 1962 p.81. But young Athenians are thought to have offered up their long hair at the age of sixteen, to mark their entry into a phratry (Vidal-Naquet 1986 pp.108-9).

<sup>80</sup> *FGrHist* 457 T1. Possibly associated with Epimenides’ being called a kouros since Strabo (10.3.6) describes long-haired Kouretes [*BNJ* (457 T1)].

<sup>81</sup> The ‘Chieftain Cup’ is a middle-late Minoan serpentine-footed cup or chalice, first published by L. Parabeni in 1903, and now in the Archaeological Museum in Heraklion; Koehl 1986 p.99.

<sup>82</sup> Koehl 1986 pp.106-7.

<sup>83</sup> Davidson 2007 p.303.

<sup>84</sup> Dumézil 1987 p.ix referring to Dover 1978.

<sup>85</sup> Koehl 1986 p.108.

<sup>86</sup> Graf 2003 pp.13ff.

but that the successful outcome is the completion of testing for the chosen boy, and his promotion to adult warrior.<sup>87</sup> What then of his companions? Are they not in the same situation as far as instruction and testing are concerned, with the single exception of the sexual indoctrination, which is thus implicitly the unique feature of initiation?

The suggestion that the Kretans introduced pederasty as a means of population control, discussed above, must surely carry the implication that it was a universal practice, and that so, probably, was the ritual of abduction at puberty,<sup>88</sup> but we have already treated Aristotle's explanation with a measure of caution.<sup>89</sup> The weight of opinion would seem to suggest that the custom described by Ephoros, was anything but a mass ceremony for all the boys in one age-group, and this is broadly confirmed by Ephoros himself, who not only makes no mention of initiation to adulthood, but implies the opposite when he says that it is a disgrace for good-looking and well-born boys not to be chosen, and that the chosen boys continued to wear distinctive dress even after they had grown to manhood.<sup>90</sup>

### 6.5.3 Summary

We return to the overall question as to whether the practice described by Ephoros constituted, or indeed had anything to do with, initiation to adulthood. One view suggests that the collusion between the lover and the boy's friends is typical for initiation, and finds parallels in 'primitive' initiations, pointing out also that the term used for the abduction, *harpage*, is that used for the abductions of Chrysippos by Laios and of Ganymede by Zeus.<sup>91</sup> The same scholar suggests that the period spent hunting is also typical of initiations, since hunting proves the boy's valour, and that the presents of military dress and ox (reminiscent of Theseus) suggest attainment of manhood. The symbolism of the cup is less obvious, but we have evidence from Dosiadas<sup>92</sup> that the

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<sup>87</sup> Sergent 1987 p.11.

<sup>88</sup> Percy 1996 p.64.

<sup>89</sup> See p.118.

<sup>90</sup> Strabo 10.4.21; Davidson 2007 p.307.

<sup>91</sup> Bremmer 1980 p.285.

<sup>92</sup> *FGrHist* 458 F2.

boys in the Kretan *andreion* had a shared bowl of wine and water mixed for them, which may have led to an individual cup's being a symbol of adulthood.

On the other hand, based on our arguments above with regard to age-groups and élitism *versus* universality, the connection seems at best unproven, and actually very unlikely.<sup>93</sup> It is said that the Kretan bronze in the Louvre, of a man accosting a youth carrying a dead wild goat, would not call for any explanation in initiatory terms, if it had come from any part of Greece other than Krete.<sup>94</sup> The only common features between the practice described by Ephoros, and rituals known to have been associated with initiation, seem to be the withdrawal from society for a while and the new clothes. We have established that the homosexual ritual seems to have been the prerogative of only a few, and could not represent initiation to adult citizenship, since “there are no proxies in initiation rites”,<sup>95</sup> while it seems highly probable that the abducted boys were minors, possibly as young as twelve years old. The moment of graduation from the herd, which included the joining of an *andreion*, and mass-marriage (not at that stage consummated), was surely the moment of initiation to male adulthood for all boys eligible to become citizens.

## **6.6 Gods, Festivals and Sites Associated with Initiation**

### *6.6.1 Gods and Festivals*

The question-mark over whether references to ‘initiation’ in Krete mean the Ephoros abduction, or attainment of adult status, persists in the discussions of the gods and festivals associated with ‘initiation’, and particularly with the sites, which we will leave until the end.

The first such dichotomy comes with the *Thiodaisia* festival and the association of Zeus with initiation. The *Thiodaisia* festival occurs in Hierapytna, Lato, and Lyttos,<sup>96</sup> in each

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<sup>93</sup> Dover 1988 pp.116-122.

<sup>94</sup> Louvre ref. MNC 689; Dover 1988 p.123.

<sup>95</sup> Graf 2003 p.14.

<sup>96</sup> *IC* III iii 7 and *IC* I viii 13; *IC* I xvi 5; *IC* I xviii 10, respectively.

of which cities Zeus Kretagenes was invoked in treaties,<sup>97</sup> which would seem to link Zeus Kretagenes to initiation to male adulthood. We have noted that there is a similarity in the wording of the Palaikastro Hymn to the Itanos ephebic oath, which might connect the performance of the Hymn with initiation to citizenship,<sup>98</sup> and it has been suggested that the occasion of the performance of the Hymn might be a festival “very like” the *Thiodaisia* festival, celebrating the Kretan Zeus who dies and is born again, analogous to the ritual death of initiation.<sup>99</sup> The insertion of the words “very like” is appropriate, in that we have argued that Zeus Diktaios, rather than Zeus Kretagenes, was worshipped at Palaikastro, but the association with re-birth and with initiation remains valid.<sup>100</sup> On the other hand, in the ritual described by Ephoros, the boys who have been abducted sacrifice an ox to Zeus after their presentation in the *andreion*, and this would appropriately be to Zeus Xenios, whom we have seen honoured in the *andreia*,<sup>101</sup> thus associating the abduction ritual with a different attribute of Zeus. Perhaps this in itself adds to the argument that there was no connection between abduction and initiation to adulthood.

The importance of Zeus in Krete seems to mean that he has somewhat eclipsed Apollo in his initiatory associations.<sup>102</sup> Although Apollo Delphinios is traditionally associated with initiation, and we have argued that Apollo Delphinios was Kretan in origin,<sup>103</sup> there seems no festival associated with Apollo and initiation rituals in Krete. It is perhaps significant, however, that the archive stipulated for the ephebic oath in Dreros was the Delphinion, rather than the Pythion, where other inscriptions were recorded,<sup>104</sup> which perhaps does underline an association of Apollo Delphinios with initiation, even in Krete. Apart from the rivalry of Zeus, another reason for Apollo’s comparatively minor role in this field in Krete could have been rivalry with Athens, and the strong association there with Theseus, as noted above. There is a possible reference to the

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<sup>97</sup> See Appendix 1.

<sup>98</sup> See p.17.

<sup>99</sup> Willetts 1962 p.213.

<sup>100</sup> See p.36. Prent 2005 p.595ff, citing Burkert 1966 p.25.

<sup>101</sup> Pyrgion *FGrHist* 467 F 1 (See p.149 and n.108); Prent 2005 p.457; Davidson 2007 p.313.

<sup>102</sup> Prent 2005 p.456f.

<sup>103</sup> See p.44.

<sup>104</sup> See p.45.

ritual described by Ephoros in the suggestion that “the myth of Hyakinthos, the youth loved to death by the god, should be the *aition* of a boy’s initiation”,<sup>105</sup> again reflecting the ritual death associated with initiation, of whichever kind.

We have already discussed the *Ekdysia* at Phaistos, and the association with it of both Lato Phytia, a rather mysterious cult, and Aphrodite Skotia., the patron goddess of those about to be initiated into manhood and marriage.<sup>106</sup> It seems unusual for Aphrodite to appear alone in connection with initiation however. She is linked with Ares at a sanctuary at Dera, where in fact she would seem to have been the senior deity from a reference to it as the “ancient Aphrodision”,<sup>107</sup> and with Hermes at Kato Syme. The point has been made that Hermes and Aphrodite are invoked (along with other deities) in connection with oaths and treaties of the Hellenistic period, and the inference drawn that this is because of their role in overseeing the transition of young men into adulthood.<sup>108</sup> This argument, however, overlooks the point that in every case the name of Ares is also there, preceding Aphrodite, whereas when Hermes is invoked, which is not always, he follows Ares and Aphrodite, and not always immediately.<sup>109</sup> Hermes is depicted at Kato Syme both as a beardless youth and as an older man, which would be appropriate to his roles of acting as a guide and crossing boundaries, both associated with the rite of passage to male adulthood.<sup>110</sup> It is suggested that the link between Hermes and Aphrodite here is associated with the myth of Anchises, related in *Hom.HymnAph.*<sup>111</sup> Anchises is a mountain-dwelling, hunting shepherd, analogous to the initiands, and he is seduced by Aphrodite, who says that she has been brought to the place by Hermes. Hermes’ mother, Maia, is rather more prominent in the Homeric hymn than in other versions of the story, which suggests a reference, as we saw above, to leaving childhood behind; this could refer either to the ritual described by Ephoros or

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<sup>105</sup> Redfield 2003 pp.296-7.

<sup>106</sup> Willetts 1962 p.47.

<sup>107</sup> *IC* I xvi 3, 4, 5.

<sup>108</sup> Marinatos 2003 p.131.

<sup>109</sup> *IC* IV 171 Arkades/Gortyn; *IC* I ix 1 Dreros/Knossos; *SEG* XLI 743 Eleutherna/?Knossos; *IC* IV 174 Gortyn/Priansos; *IC* IV 183 Gortyn/?Sybrita; *IC* III iii B Hierapytna/Lyttos; *SEG* XXVI 1049 Hierapytna/Lato; *IC* III iii 5 Hierapytna/a settlement; *IC* I xvi 4 Lato/Olous; *IC* I xvi 5 Lato/Olous; *IC* I xviii 9 Lyttos/Olous; *SEG* XXIII 547 Olous/Rhodes.

<sup>110</sup> Marinatos 2003 p.137ff.

<sup>111</sup> Marinatos 2003 pp.142ff; *Hom.HymnAph.* 53ff.

to initiation to manhood.<sup>112</sup> Strangely, although Diodoros is citing Kretan sources, his account of the responsibilities given by Zeus to Hermes does not include anything relevant to young men, apart from the introduction of wrestling-schools, although it does say he taught mankind how to secretly appropriate the property of others.<sup>113</sup> There seems to be no record of a festival associated with Hermes at Kato Syme; but there is a month Dromeus in Priansos, suggesting a *Dromeia* festival there perhaps associated with Hermes; and a connection has been made between Hermes Dromeus and initiation to the status of *dromeus*, in an inscription from Polyrrhenia.<sup>114</sup>

Finally there is a treaty between Lyttos and Malla, in which the responsibility of the *kosmoi* for the rites of coming of age of youths seems to be associated with a festival *Periblemaia*.<sup>115</sup> The association of this name to the word περιβλημα – wrapping on clothes (those of an adult) – has again been likened to the Ekdysia – taking off clothes (those of childhood), thus also associating it with initiation, but it is not clear which deity was involved. The festival was held at Lyttos, with the Mallians present, but there is also a *Thiodaisia* festival held in Lyttos, which slightly muddies the water.<sup>116</sup> Candidates for the relevant deity in Lyttos could be Lato, as at the Ekdysia in Phaistos, or possibly Hermes, associated, as we have seen, with initiation at Kato Syme; Lato is perhaps the more likely.<sup>117</sup> It is also possible, and may be the most likely solution, that the two festival names referred to two parts of a single ceremony.<sup>118</sup>

### 6.6.2 Sites

There seem to be three categories of site which have been associated with initiation, or with the Ephoros ritual: wilderness places whither abductors might whisk their bands of boys, border sanctuaries where ephebes from several cities might be initiated, and cities, where ephebic oaths were sworn by the youths of one or more cities. The first two may

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<sup>112</sup> Hom.*HymnAph.* 117ff; Johnston 2003 p.160.

<sup>113</sup> Diod.5.75.1-3.

<sup>114</sup> Guarducci 1935 p.280.

<sup>115</sup> *IC* I xix 1; Willetts 1962 p.294.

<sup>116</sup> *IC* I xviii 10.

<sup>117</sup> Both are included among gods invoked in an oath in *IC* I xviii 9 from Lyttos.

<sup>118</sup> Willetts 1962 p.294.

be one and the same, while the third is possibly a later development, brought about by political considerations.

Border sanctuaries were probably established in the eighth century, when an agrarian economy started to take over from a pastoral way of life. Marking as they did the transition from ‘civilized’ arable land to the ‘untamed wilderness’ of the mountains, these would have a symbolic association with ‘rites of passage’, and would possibly be natural centres for initiation ceremonies, of whatever kind.<sup>119</sup> It has been suggested that the classic example of a site suitable for the period of seclusion in the ritual described by Ephoros would be Kato Syme, in an area of isolation and wildness near Biannos, where the existence of a spring may explain its continued use as a sanctuary from Minoan to Roman times.<sup>120</sup> In addition to its isolation, the area is eminently suitable for hunting; bronze votives and plaques from the site clearly depict pairs of male lovers of different ages; male figures are also shown engaged in hunting, drinking, and playing music, which were characteristic occupations of the Kretan aristocracy; and the use of bronze suggests a wealthy clientele.<sup>121</sup> Plaques showing young men wrestling with, or carrying, wild animals, could be depicting the demonstrations of prowess typically associated with the coming to adulthood of young men.<sup>122</sup> This all ties in well with Ephoros’ abduction scenario for aristocratic youths. Hermes himself is depicted both as a beardless youth and as a bearded adult; the double representation is possibly also associated with initiation.<sup>123</sup>

On the other hand, excavations at the site have revealed ample evidence of the remnants of sacrifices, and a spacious room, whose use for feasting is indicated by the remains of conical cups.<sup>124</sup> While we know from Ephoros that the aftermath of abduction was feasting and hunting in the wilderness, there is no suggestion that the groups went to a special cult-centre; indeed Ephoros makes the point that they could go wherever they

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<sup>119</sup> Prent 2005 p.215.

<sup>120</sup> Koehl 1986 p.108; Marinatos 1983 pp.122-3.

<sup>121</sup> Marinatos 2003 pp.132f, citing the excavator A. Lebessi, Koehl 2000 p.138. Prent 2005 illustrations 68b and 70 for male couples; 69a-b for hunters.

<sup>122</sup> Marinatos 2003 pp.132ff.

<sup>123</sup> Larson 2007 p.148.

<sup>124</sup> Marinatos 2003 pp.122-3.

liked in the region.<sup>125</sup> Also, although the conical cups resemble the so-called Chieftain Cup from Agia Triada,<sup>126</sup> which possibly depicts an *erastes* handing gifts to his *eromenos* at the culmination of the ritual described by Ephoros, the main evidence for this, the differing hair-styles of the two figures, long tresses, as opposed to a small top-knot and fringe, for the putative *erastes* and *eromenos* respectively,<sup>127</sup> does not seem to be borne out by the hair-styles of youths depicted at Kato Syme, which are apparently all similarly long, suggesting adulthood.<sup>128</sup> Furthermore, visits to the sanctuary by more than one city are suggested by typical votive objects and luxury items, raising the possibility of rich pilgrims from some palatial centre<sup>129</sup> - *graffiti* show that there were Hellenistic visitors at least from Lyttos, Knossos, Hierapytna, Arkades, and Tylissos<sup>130</sup> – and such a stream of rich pilgrims would ill accord with the seclusion of the post-abduction scenario. The conclusion seems to be that Kato Syme was a multi-purpose sanctuary, possibly used by different groups for adult initiation ceremonies, including perhaps both the more private hunting and feasting described by Ephoros, and more public rites of puberty.<sup>131</sup>

We have noted that the so-called “extra-urban” or border sanctuaries, located at a transition point where the worlds of wilderness and civilization meet, are appropriate sites for initiation rites, going so far perhaps as to suggest that “all the great extra-urban sanctuaries act as protectors of this rite of passage” (the transition from adolescence to adulthood).<sup>132</sup> The whole question of extra-urban sanctuaries as frontier markers will be discussed in more detail later,<sup>133</sup> but it is worth noting here that the location of the temple of Zeus Diktaios at Palaikastro, which we have tentatively suggested might have been, *inter alia*, a site of initiation to male adulthood, was possibly on the borders of Dragmos (later absorbed by Praisos) and Itanos, although not necessarily so at the time

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<sup>125</sup> Strabo 10.4.21.

<sup>126</sup> See p.122.

<sup>127</sup> Koehl 1986 pp.101-3, 106.

<sup>128</sup> Koehl 1986 p.107.

<sup>129</sup> Marinatos 1993 p.123.

<sup>130</sup> Koehl 1986 p.108.

<sup>131</sup> Marinatos 1993 p.123.

<sup>132</sup> de Polignac 1995 p.62.

<sup>133</sup> See pp.169-70.



that the temple was founded.<sup>134</sup> Although the sanctuary at Kato Syme goes right back to Minoan times, it could perhaps have been adopted as a border sanctuary, roughly equidistant between Hierapytna, Arkades, and Lyttos, perhaps in the sixth century.<sup>135</sup> Two other sanctuaries, which we know from bilateral treaties were involved in border disputes in Hellenistic times, might well have been associated with initiation rites for the same reasons: the sanctuary of Ares and Aphrodite, also known as the ancient Aphrodision (ἀρχαῖον Ἀφροδίσιον) at Dera or Sta Lenika, on the borders of Lato and Olous, and the sanctuary of Hermes Kornisaïos, apparently on the border between Hierapytna and Lato.<sup>136</sup> In addition to the transitional geographic situations of the sanctuaries, the dedications to Aphrodite and to Hermes would, as we have seen, be appropriate to initiation rites.

As noted above, such border sanctuaries might have been used for the initiation of youths from more than one city, in some sort of joint ceremony, which would possibly also have been the occasion for the renewing of alliances between the cities involved.<sup>137</sup> There is evidence that renewing of alliances took place during the *Periblemaia* at Lyttos and the *Thiodaisia* at Lato, both of which festivals we have associated with initiation to adulthood.<sup>138</sup> The omission of any mention of graduating ephebes in the instructions for the administration of the third-century Itanos citizens' oath may, as Perlman suggests, simply imply that there was no change in this regard when the new oath was introduced, or it may suggest that the ephebes were initiated on a different occasion, which could possibly have been a joint ceremony at Palaikastro, associated with the renewing of alliances between the participating cities.<sup>139</sup> But in Hellenistic times the ephebic oath, which included the swearing of loyalty to alliances, and was presumably associated with the initiation ceremony, seems to have been more usually administered on a city-by-city

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<sup>134</sup> See p.24. Perlman 1995 p.165; Pendlebury 1939 shows Praisos first appearing in late Minoan times (p.285); Itanos not until Classical (p.345); Dragmos not at all.

<sup>135</sup> Lyttos is mentioned in the Catalogue of Ships in the *Iliad* (2.647), so certainly pre-dates the sixth century; Willetts 1977 p.157. There have also been pre-sixth-century finds (Late Geometric) from Arkades. Pendlebury (1939 pp.328 and 345) shows Hierapytna appearing between the Archaic and Classical periods, say C6.

<sup>136</sup> *IC* I xvi 3 and 4; *SEG* XXVI 1049; Chaniotis 1988 pp.23-26.

<sup>137</sup> Perlman 1995 pp.166 -7. See p.24.

<sup>138</sup> *IC* I xix 1; *IC* I xvi 5; Perlman 1995 p.166.

<sup>139</sup> *IC* III iv 7, 8; Perlman 1995 p.166.

basis. The best attested example, which the city's *kosmoi* are enjoined to enforce, is from Dreros in the late third or early second century, where the new citizens swear enmity to Lyttos as well as loyalty to Dreros and its ally, Knossos; this was possibly in reaction to the rebellion of the young men of Gortyn, who had sided with Lyttos in the late third century, when Gortyn and Knossos formed an alliance to exterminate Lyttos.<sup>140</sup> The cities' *kosmoi* are also involved in the administration of the citizen initiates' oath of Lato and Olous, which forms part of a series of treaties between the two cities.<sup>141</sup>

### 6.6.3 Summary

We have established that the traditional association of Apollo Delphinios with initiation is much more tenuous in Krete than that of Zeus and Hermes; Aphrodite also seems to be involved, at least in Kato Syme and Phaistos, while in the latter city, Lato also has a role. Festivals apparently associated with initiation have been identified as the *Ekdysia* at Phaistos, the *Thiodaisia* generally, possibly the *Dromeia* at Priansos, and, tentatively, the *Periblemaia* at Lyttos and Malla. Wilderness sites and border sanctuaries, symbolic of rites of passage, seem to be important in connection with initiation to manhood, but the evidence from Kato Syme suggests that activities there were by no means confined to initiation ceremonies. Other border sanctuaries probably associated with initiation have been identified as those of Zeus Diktaios at Palaikastro, of Ares and Aphrodite at Dera, and of Hermes Kornisaios on the border between Hierapytna and Lato.

### 6.7 Conclusions

From the evidence of Minoan myths and ancient authors,<sup>142</sup> Krete seems to have had a uniquely early reputation for the practice of pederasty, which suggests that it originated there. Although we have argued that the abduction of young boys by older men, as described by Ephoros, should not be read as a definition of initiation, this does not invalidate what Strabo says about pederastic practice or about initiation, in particular that initiation to manhood and citizenship, and the marriage of all the initiands took

<sup>140</sup> *IC* I ix 1; Willetts 1955 pp.119-20; Perlman 1995 p.166; Polyb. 4.53.3-54.6.

<sup>141</sup> *IC* I xvi 5; Willetts 1962 p. 200.

<sup>142</sup> Including Timaios, Hesychios, Plato, and Aristotle.

place on the same occasion. We have found historical evidence, including epigraphic mention of specific festivals<sup>143</sup> and the responsibilities of *kosmoi*, as well as archaeological finds, for initiation in Krete, which is not attested in the rest of Greece after the sixth century, except possibly in Sparta, whose institutions, we are encouraged by Strabo to believe, were in any case originally Kretan.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> Such as the Ekdysia, Periblemaia and Thiodaisia, occurring in inscriptions dated between the third centuries BC and AD.

<sup>144</sup> Strabo 10.4.17.

## 7

**Laws, Social Relationships, and Customs****7.1 Introduction**

We shall look first at the traditional background to Kretan law in an effort to establish why it was that Krete was famous in ancient times for its constitution, laws, and law-givers. We shall examine in detail the remarkably large number of archaic written laws which have survived in Krete, compared with the rest of Greece, and consider whether this implies that the Kretans were indeed the earliest to inscribe their laws, or whether it merely reflects an accident of the survival of evidence. In this context we shall also question the extent to which the ‘Great Code of Gortyn’ can justify its so-calling. After some detailed discussion of issues arising from selected laws, parallels between Krete and Sparta, and the question as to who was copying whom, will be considered. Social phenomena, such as the *andreia*, social strata, and slavery will be examined, adding to the large subject of male relationships and initiation practices already discussed. Finally, the evidence as to whether the early inscription of laws in Krete had implications of early widespread literacy in Krete will be critically reviewed.

**7.2 The Traditional Background to Kretan Law**

Diodoros tells us, in connection with Krete, that Zeus was the first to establish rules regarding all sorts of injustice, and to introduce justice between men, so that they would abstain from acts of violence, and resolve their disputes by judgement and a court of law.<sup>1</sup> We remember nostalgically the Golden Age of Kronos when men were obedient to the laws and no injustice was committed, and also the later introduction of laws by Themis and Demeter;<sup>2</sup> there seems to have been a lot of backsliding in the age of the Titans. This however is the first reference to a court of law, and, together with the earlier references, would seem to reflect a peculiarly Kretan interest in the subject of

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<sup>1</sup> Diod. 5.71.1.

<sup>2</sup> Diod. 5.66.6, 67.4, 68.3.

justice, perhaps particularly evident in the unusual amount of stress on Demeter's role as a law-giver.<sup>3</sup>

Diodoros immediately follows his Kretan account of the gods with a section on the legendary Kretan law-givers, King Minos and his brother Rhadamanthys. Minos, he says, established many laws for the Kretans, which he claimed to have received from his father, Zeus, when they met and talked in a cave.<sup>4</sup> Homer tells us that Minos "was king for nine-year periods and conversed with great Zeus", although without specific mention of a cave or law-giving.<sup>5</sup> It has been assumed that the cave where they met was the Idaian Cave which also seems to be implied by the walk described by Plato.<sup>6</sup> It was apparently Rhadamanthys, however, who made the most just decisions: "he (Rhadamanthys) was allotted the blameless fruit of good judgement and within his heart takes no delight in deceptions".<sup>7</sup> Perhaps then, although Minos was the giver of the laws, Rhadamanthys was the better interpreter of them. Indeed Plato's Kleinias says that, according to the Kretans, Zeus gave the laws to Minos, but that Rhadamanthys was an exceedingly upright administrator of justice.<sup>8</sup>

It would seem also from other literary sources that Krete had a reputation for its laws and constitution which dated from at least as early as, and in some cases before, the earliest written laws found there, some of which date back to the seventh century. It is clear, from references in the *Odyssey*, that the tradition of Minos and Rhadamanthys as Kretan law-givers was known to Homer. Menelaos, when he dies, is to be conveyed to the Elysian Fields 'where Rhadamanthys is', apparently in some sort of position of authority, since his is the only name mentioned, while Odysseus sees Minos unequivocally issuing judgements among the dead.<sup>9</sup> We also know that Apollo was

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<sup>3</sup> Diod. 5.68.3. See also p.89.

<sup>4</sup> Diod. 5.78.2.

<sup>5</sup> *Od.* 19.179, tr. Lattimore. Nine-year periods of kingship is only one of several interpretations of ἐννέωρον in the *Odyssey*, but it was interpreted thus by Plato (*Leg.* 624D) and Strabo (10.4.8), who both also mention the cave and the law-giving (Jones 1944, p.130, n.3).

<sup>6</sup> Burkert 1985 p.25; *Pl. Leg.* I 625 B, where he talks of a long road from Knossos to "the cave and temple of Zeus", which is annotated by the editor as "the grotto of Dicte on Mt. Ida" (Bury 1926 *ad loc.*).

<sup>7</sup> Diod. 5.79.1; Pind. *Pyth.* 2. 73f, tr. Race 1997.

<sup>8</sup> *Pl. Leg.* I 624 B.

<sup>9</sup> *Od.* 4.564, 11.568-70.

already established in Delphi in the time of Homer,<sup>10</sup> so it seems likely that Apollo's visit to Krete, to be purified by Karmanor of Tarra, after killing the Python, dates back to the same period.<sup>11</sup> And purification and law-giving are traditionally associated in Krete. It seems clear, perhaps due to the association of two seventh-century Kretans, Epimenides and Thaletas (Thales), with laws and constitutional matters, that the island was regarded as an authority on these topics well before the time of Plato and Aristotle, who both discuss them in some detail.<sup>12</sup>

Epimenides was famous for purification, having been allegedly called to Athens to purify the city from the blood-guilt associated with the Kylon affair,<sup>13</sup> and he is of course also associated with Kretan law. He is credited with writing 'On the Constitution of Krete' and 'On Minos and Rhadamanthys', and is supposed to have befriended Solon while in Athens, and helped him to pave the way for his own legislation,<sup>14</sup> which would make Epimenides a contemporary of Solon, or perhaps slightly older. This agrees with a reference in the *Suda*, which places his birth in the seventh century, but also says that he lived for a hundred and fifty years (ninety of them asleep in a cave), which might explain Plato's placing him in the sixth century.<sup>15</sup> A rather similar relationship seems to have developed between the seventh-century Kretan poet Thaletas and the traditional founder of Sparta's constitution, Lykurgos. After leaving Sparta, the first place to which Lykurgos went was Krete, and there made friends with Thaletas (or Thales), who had a reputation for composing lyric verse,<sup>16</sup> but was also a formidable law-giver, whose verses and rhythms were all about orderliness.

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<sup>10</sup> *Od.* 8.80; *Il.* 9.405.

<sup>11</sup> See p.49.

<sup>12</sup> Whitley 1997 p.649 and n.83.

<sup>13</sup> *FGrHist* 457 T3 136, T1 110, and T2. Parke (1988 p.174) suggests that his purification of Athens may be taken as authentic, but not necessarily in connection with the Kylon affair, and that the associated date may be a later construction. See also pp.49 n.57 and 143 n.65.

<sup>14</sup> *FGrHist* 457 T1 112. Diogenes Laertius records a letter from Epimenides to Solon, covering the constitution drawn up by Minos for the Kretans, although much later authorship of the letter is suspected by Demetrios of Magnesia, who, in the first century, calls it 'recent' in the same passage.

<sup>15</sup> *FGrHist* 457 T4(a)=*Pl.Leg.* 1.642, where Kleinias claims him as a family connection. Although accurate dates for Epimenides are by no means certain, since Plato refers to his being around ten years before the Persian War (*Leg.* 1. 642D-E), a commentator on this passage says firmly in a footnote that Epimenides "really lived c. 600" (Bury 1926 *ad loc.*), which would fit better with Solon. See also p.143 n.65.

<sup>16</sup> We met him on p.52, introducing the *paian* to Sparta.

Lykurgos apparently admired only some of the Kretan customs, but anyway sent Thales off to Sparta while he himself continued his travels.<sup>17</sup>

Whatever the truth of the Lykurgos legend, Plato seems to think that Sparta and Krete were ‘settled under kindred laws’ or ἀδελφοῖς νόμοις.<sup>18</sup> That these originated in Krete would seem to be implied by the Kretan Kleinias saying that the Kretans call Zeus their law-giver, and say that Minos was guided by him in laying down the laws.<sup>19</sup> He goes on to say that the mountainous nature of Krete demands that the Kretans are runners, not horsemen, and archers, rather than heavily-equipped soldiers. Just as these customs are adapted for war, he thinks that the law-giver ordained customs and usages with a view to war, citing as an example the institution of *andreia*, as being similar to soldiers’ messes. His emphasis on readiness for war, as essential to the well-organized state, seems somewhat at odds with Aristotle’s association of the stability of Krete’s constitution with its island status and lack of imperial ambitions.<sup>20</sup>

Aristotle too compares the Kretan constitution and customs to those of Sparta, and, in discussion of various law-givers, Zaleukos, Charondas, and Onomakritos, he says that the last-named was chronologically the first, and was trained in Krete, where he was a friend of Thales, who taught Lykurgos and Zaleukos, and that Zaleukos in turn taught Charondas. But then he adds sceptically that these stories pay too little attention to dates.<sup>21</sup> It is perhaps noteworthy that none of the ancient literary references mentions the laws of Gortyn, or of any of the other cities where written codes are attested, which might suggest that they were all simply seen as variants on the traditional laws of Minos, with adaptations to local conditions and experience. This would go some way to explain the striking contrast between the ancient perception of a pan-Kretan constitutional and legal pattern, and the actuality of different laws and customs promulgated in different Kretan cities, which we look at below.

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<sup>17</sup> Strabo 10.4.19; Plut. *Vit. Lyc.* 4; Hdt. 1.65.4.

<sup>18</sup> Pl. *Leg.* III 683a.

<sup>19</sup> Pl. *Leg.* I 624a.

<sup>20</sup> Arist. *Pol.* II vii 8, 1272b.

<sup>21</sup> Arist. *Pol.* II vii 1- 8, 1271b - 1272b; ix 1274a.

### 7.3 *Ancient Written Laws*

This section concentrates mainly on the evidence for archaic written laws in Krete since it must be on these, as well as on their even earlier oral predecessors, that the reputation of Kretan law and the Kretan constitution is based. An astonishingly high proportion of archaic Greek legal inscriptions comes from Krete: out of over two hundred archaic political and legal Greek inscriptions recorded in *Nomima*, almost half are from Krete, of which the vast majority are recognizably some form of law. It has been suggested that this may only imply that the Kretans used stone for the purpose of recording them, while other parts of Greece used more perishable materials, such as wood or papyrus, of which none has survived;<sup>22</sup> and it has also been questioned whether the legal inscriptions from Krete were actually the earliest in Greece, or again that they have simply survived better.<sup>23</sup> But if one compares the volume and content of inscriptions surviving from Krete with those, for instance, from Attica, it is found that in archaic Krete legal texts, including ‘complete law codes’ of considerable length, predominate over such other categories as graffiti, carved grave-stones, and dedications; while Attica has huge numbers of other types of inscription, but only six surviving legal texts.<sup>24</sup> This comparison strongly supports the claim that the survival of inscribed laws from eleven cities of Krete, including the so-called ‘Great Code of Gortyn’, “can not be merely an accident of evidence”.<sup>25</sup> The controversial implications regarding the literacy of the population will be discussed below.

#### 7.3.1 *Laws from Gortyn*

The most famous of Krete’s legal texts, the ‘Great Code of Gortyn’, is not in fact archaic, but dates from early to mid-fifth century;<sup>26</sup> and although it is by far the longest, it is by no means the only, document from Gortyn concerned with the law. In fact all of *IC IV 1-159* except one (*IC IV 50*) are concerned with public law in some way, although a total of eighty-six are very fragmentary. All are written in retrograde script

<sup>22</sup> Gagarin 2008 p.43. We are told that Solon’s laws were inscribed on revolving wooden pillars known as *axones* (Plutarch *Solon* 25).

<sup>23</sup> Gagarin 1986 p.127.

<sup>24</sup> Stoddart and Whitley 1988 p.763f. The extreme contrast between the richness of legal inscriptions and the paucity of non-legal written material from Krete is also noted by Davies (2005 p.305).

<sup>25</sup> Thomas 2005 pp.43-4.

<sup>26</sup> *ML 41*; *IC IV 72*; Willetts 1967 p.8.



or *boustrophedon*, and all date from the archaic or classical period. Altogether from Gortyn we have seventy-three substantive legal documents, varying in script, format, and find-spot, and probably covering a period from early sixth to early-to-mid fourth century.<sup>27</sup> The earliest were inscribed piecemeal on the exterior walls of the late seventh-century temple of Apollo Pythios, which lies about 700m southeast of the earliest settlement at Gortyn (which was on the walled heights of Hagios Ioannis), fairly soon after the temple was built.<sup>28</sup> The Great Code was inscribed, in *boustrophedon* form in columns, on the inner face of a curved structure in the fifth century, while the slightly earlier so-called Second Code was re-used in a rectangular structure of the Hellenistic period, possibly a *bouleuterion*, which was subsequently partly incorporated into the Roman Odeion, close to the foot of Hagios Ioannis. From archaeological evidence it is generally agreed that the building on which the Great Code was inscribed was located nearby. Later legal inscriptions, including laws concerning pledged property in the early fifth century (*IC IV* 80, 81, 90, 91), together with decrees (*IC IV* 162, 163), alliances (*IC IV* 165, 167, 170), and proxeny decrees (*IC IV* 202-6, 208-10, 213-228) during the fourth and third centuries, were associated with yet another archaic building, about two hundred southwest metres of the Pythion, on the site of the early Byzantine church at Mavropapas, which was either some sort of civic building associated with the resolving of disputes, or another temple.<sup>29</sup>

The word ‘Code’ is in fact a misnomer for several reasons. Variations in the degree of systematization, and gaps in the circumstances provided for, seem to suggest that the ‘Great Code’ cannot really be read as a code; rather, it has been suggested, the large number of supplements and corrections in the last two columns make it seem to move simultaneously both towards codification and away from it.<sup>30</sup> It is highly probable that an oral codification preceded the engraving of the Code on stone, so that its roots may well date from the sixth or even seventh century, but the Code itself cannot even be regarded as the first written systematic tabulation of statutes, since it is clearly

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<sup>27</sup> Davies 1996 p.34.

<sup>28</sup> *IC IV* 1-40; Perlman 2000 p.60. Gortyn’s ancient walls were famously referred to by Homer in the Catalogue of Ships: Γόρτυνά τε τειχιόεσσαν (*Il.* 2.646).

<sup>29</sup> Perlman 2000 pp.61-2.

<sup>30</sup> Davies 1996 pp.40-42, 45.

amending prior written law on various topics.<sup>31</sup> Certain provisions explicitly refer to, and build on, previous written regulations, so cannot be seen as a full statement of the law on the subject. It seems likely that such provisions reflect experience of attempting to apply the existing regulations to specific cases. One such example in column X (lines 39-48) defines the obligations on adopted children in the words ‘as is written for legitimate children’, thus effectively incorporating some earlier document, while the form of the lengthy provisions regarding heiresses in columns VII to IX seems to show that this was a hot issue in the sixth to fifth centuries, requiring substantial clarifying legislation, which itself was amended to incorporate new ideas in the course of the inscription.<sup>32</sup> And in addition to the ‘as is written’ reference in column X, there are a large number of other references, in both procedural and penal contexts, in the Great Code, and in earlier fifth-century legal inscriptions from Gortyn, to “what is written”, implying pre-existing legislation, both written and familiar.<sup>33</sup> Overall therefore, rather than a systematic code, this is a somewhat *ad hoc* revision of earlier laws enacted and written, making frequent reference to earlier written law, assuming knowledge and practice of it, and even at times suggesting a conflict between older and newer practices.<sup>34</sup>

### 7.3.2 *Laws from Other Cities*

Fragments of early legal codes survive from eight other cities:<sup>35</sup> Axos,<sup>36</sup> Dreros,<sup>37</sup> Eltynia,<sup>38</sup> Lyttos,<sup>39</sup> Eleutherna,<sup>40</sup> Prinias (Rhizenia),<sup>41</sup> Knossos,<sup>42</sup> and Phaistos.<sup>43</sup> Some

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<sup>31</sup> Willetts 1967 p.8.

<sup>32</sup> Davies 1996 pp. 52-3, 40, 44-5.

<sup>33</sup> Gagari 2008 p.142f.

<sup>34</sup> ML 1988 no. 41 and pp.95-6; Willetts 1967 p.9.

<sup>35</sup> Davies 1996 p.34; Jeffery 1990 p.31; Gagari 1986 p.93 n.42, p.97 n.60 and p.138 n.52; Whitley 1997 pp.653ff; Perlman 2002 p.187 and n.3. Information from all these is amalgamated in the rest of this paragraph.

<sup>36</sup> Axos: *IC* II v 1-8, 11, 12-14, (of which 1 = *Nomima* I 28); variously dated as early C6 for 12-14 and late C6 or early C5 for the rest.

<sup>37</sup> Dreros: (a) *SEG* XXVII 620 (= *Nomima* I 81), (b) *SEG* XXIII 530 (= *Nomima* I 68), (c) *SEG* XV 564 (= *Nomima* II 10), (d) *Nomima* I 66, (e) *Nomima* I 27, (f) *BCH* 70 603-4, (g) *Nomima* I 64, (h) *R. Phil.* 20 131; all are dated to the middle or latter half of C7.

<sup>38</sup> Eltynia: *IC* I x 2 (= *Nomima* II 80); dated to c500.

<sup>39</sup> Lyttos: *IC* I xviii 1-7, (of which 1, 2 = *Nomima* 45,11); variously dated as mid C6 for 1 and c.500 for the rest. There is also a lengthier c.500 text, published by H. and M. van Effenterre in 1985, discussed further on p.148f.

scholars have also included Praisos<sup>44</sup> and Aphrati<sup>45</sup> in this list, but these inscriptions have recently been discounted on the grounds that the two from Praisos, the ‘Eteokretan’ capital, although they are in the Greek script, are not apparently in the Greek language, so cannot be definitely categorized as legal texts, while the one from Aphrati is in pre-Greek script, of which the meaning is not determined.<sup>46</sup> One further inscription, on a semi-circular bronze mitra, is probably also from Aphrati, close to ancient Arkades,<sup>47</sup> and, although not strictly a legal text, will be discussed further below.<sup>48</sup> The eighth fragment from Dreros also has two pre-Greek lines,<sup>49</sup> and it has been postulated that it was from the native ‘Eteokretans’, who attributed them to Minos and Rhadamanthys, and hence ultimately to Zeus, that the Dorian settlers inherited their legal traditions.<sup>50</sup> Topics treated by these inscriptions are wide-ranging: one, for instance, is apparently regulating the conduct of Eltynian youths, another covers the treatment of ‘foreigners’, and the boundaries for pasturing domestic animals, in Lyttos,<sup>51</sup> while a third may be part of a much larger scale inscription of laws at Phaistos, pre-dating the Gortyn Code.<sup>52</sup>

It seems that Kretan cities in general did not follow the pattern common in the rest of Greece, of single large-scale legislation, but inscribed their laws individually, when they were newly enacted, and only later gathered them into groups, possibly with amendments. It is suggested that this same pattern is seen in the ‘Great Code of Gortyn’, that these were laws originally inscribed individually and then reinscribed in this context, and it is argued that although the Great Code is not a code in the strict

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<sup>40</sup> Eleutherna: *IC* II xii 1-19 (of which 3, 11, 9, 14-15, 16 = *Nomima* I 10, 14, 25, 46, II 67); dated as early C6? for 1, and late C6 - late C5 for the rest.

<sup>41</sup> Prinias (Rhizenia): *IC* I xxviii 2-15 (of which 7 = *Nomima* I 63); dated as early C6.

<sup>42</sup> Knossos: *IC* I viii 2 (= *Nomima* II 17); dated as mid/late C6.

<sup>43</sup> Phaistos: *SEG* XXXII 908; dated C6 or early C5.

<sup>44</sup> Praisos: *IC* III vi 1 and 4; dated mid-late C5.

<sup>45</sup> Aphrati: *SEG* XXVII. 631.

<sup>46</sup> Perlman 2002 p.187 and n.3, arguing against Whitley 1997 p.653.

<sup>47</sup> Probably Aphrati (Arkades): *SEG* XXVII 631; dated as c500. Gagarin 2000 p.119. This inscription is also discounted by Perlman (as n.43 above), as being a work contract rather than a law.

<sup>48</sup> pp.162-3.

<sup>49</sup> Gagarin 2000 p.49.

<sup>50</sup> Jeffery 1990 p.310.

<sup>51</sup> Discussed further on p.149.

<sup>52</sup> See notes above to these city-names for references.

sense of a comprehensive and systematic body of laws, it is a code in the sense of an authoritative publication of a collection of laws.<sup>53</sup>

The most complete of the rather fragmentary inscriptions from Dreros is concerned with the role of the *kosmos* as a judge in the law-courts, and lays down penalties for an individual presuming to act again as *kosmos* within ten years of his previous tenure;<sup>54</sup> the same principle, with more levels of officials and a different time-scale, appears in Gortyn IC IV 14, which is of course later than Dreros. These are examples of procedural law, which typically predominates in early Greek legal inscriptions, as opposed to substantive law, which is usually thought of as ‘primary’, suggesting that procedural law was independent of substantive law; another example is the set of regulations at the beginning of the Great Code of Gortyn forbidding the seizure of a person before trial, which seem to be quite independent of the substantive laws which follow.<sup>55</sup>

### 7.3.3 *Apollo as Guardian of the Law*

The role of supporting and watching over the ancient Kretan laws has been ascribed very firmly to ‘Delphic Apollo’, or Apollo Pythios, on the grounds that the laws are inscribed on the walls of temples of ‘Delphic Apollo’ at Gortyn and Dreros, despite the fact that some of the writers claim that the temple in question at Dreros was a Delphinion.<sup>56</sup> Actually this idea lends considerable strength to the argument that the Dreros temple in question is in fact a Pythion. It has been postulated that the laws of Axos were possibly also inscribed on a temple of ‘Delphic Apollo’, who, as the father of the city’s eponymous founder Oaxos, was probably its protecting deity; as is also suggested by a sacred law from Axos which covers cult rules associated with Apollo Pythios.<sup>57</sup> The same may well have been true of Phaistos and Lyttos, both of whom used their Pythia as archives for later treaties. We have got used to the idea that a city’s

<sup>53</sup> Gagarin 1982 p.129, 1986 pp.127, 138.

<sup>54</sup> ML2, p.2; Perlman 2004b p.193.

<sup>55</sup> Gagarin 1986 pp.81, 96.

<sup>56</sup> Gagarin 2008 p.46; Perlman 2002 pp.197-8. So also Whitley (1997 p.653f) and ML(p.2). But see p.46, where we have concluded that this temple was in fact the Pythion.

<sup>57</sup> Perlman 2000 p.73. The sacred law from Axos is LSCG no. 145.

Pythion was often the archive for official inscribed documents in later times,<sup>58</sup> but the practice could in fact have originated as is suggested here. It has to be noted, though, that the fact that the ‘Great Code of Gortyn’ was not so inscribed provides a break in this tradition, if tradition it was. Maybe it was simply too long, or maybe proximity to the *agora* was regarded as more important than Apollo’s supervision. One might imagine, since Krete’s laws were supposed to have been given by Zeus, that a temple of Zeus would have been a more fitting location for their inscription. But among a large number of Hellenistic treaties analysed, only one such temple, that of Zeus Tallaios at Olous, seems to have been used as an archive.<sup>59</sup> In addition to Gortyn and Dreros,<sup>60</sup> a number of other cities used a temple of Apollo (usually a Pythion) as their archive,<sup>61</sup> but temples of Artemis, Ares, Eilytheia, Hera, and Diktyнна are also attested, with Asklepios and Athena being particularly popular.<sup>62</sup> We could perhaps assume that while Zeus was the giver of the laws, Apollo was their enforcer, a relationship possibly reflected by that between Minos and Rhadamanthys, discussed above.

#### 7.4 *Selected Issues Arising from the Laws*

##### 7.4.1 *Homicide and Sacred Laws*

Willettts finds it strange that the ‘Great Code of Gortyn’ has no mention of homicide, and sees this as evidence that there may be portions of the code missing, despite the fact that it seems to him to be self-contained. He cites G. Thomson, who said, in his *Oresteia of Aeschylus*, that the view that the custom of purification for homicide developed during the eighth and seventh centuries did not preclude the possibility that it

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<sup>58</sup> See p.49. It is interesting to note that there is no example in these ancient laws of a provision that they should be displayed in a particular temple, as is so often found in the Hellenistic bilateral treaties. This may be solely a function of the latter’s involving two parties, or it may be an effect of chronology: that it gradually became the habit for formal documents to be displayed in temples, and the involvement of two or more parties meant that these needed to be specified.

<sup>59</sup> *IC I* xvi 3,4; xxii 4C XIII.

<sup>60</sup> Gortyn: *IC IV* 179-82 (Pythion); Dreros: *IC I* ix 1 (Delphinion, in the special case of the ephebic oath, discussed on p.45) and the seventh century laws detailed above (Pythion).

<sup>61</sup> Allaria: *IC II* i 2; Apollonia: *IC I* iii 1; Hierapytna: *IC III* iii 5, 3B, 9; Itanos: *IC III* iv 7,8;

Knossos: *IC I* viii 16; Lyttos: *IC I* xviii 8, I iii 3B; Phaistos: *IC I* xvii 1.

<sup>62</sup> Aptera: Artemis *IC II* iii 2; Arkades: Asklepios *IC I* v 52, III iii 5; Biannos: Ares *IC I* vi 1,2; Dera: Ares and Aphrodite *IC I* xvi 3,4; Hierapytna: Athena Oleros and Athena Polias *IC III* iii 3B, 3C, 5; Hyrtakina: Hera *IC II* xv 2; Istron: Athena Polias *IC I* xiv 4; Itanos: Athena Polias and Asklepios *IC III* iv 3,4,7; Lato: Eileithyia *IC xvi* 1,3,4,26; Lissos: Diktyнна *IC II* xvii 1; Lyttos: Athena: *IC I* xvi 5, III iii 3B; Olous: Asklepios *IC I* xxii 4A1, 4C XIII).

had been practised in the Minoan period in Krete.<sup>63</sup> In fact, whether the custom dated from Minoan times or from the seventh or eighth century, it still pre-dates the written version of the Code which we have, and most of the other ancient laws, which seem to have no mention of homicide either.

As we noted above, the custom of purification for homicide is closely linked to Krete by the traditions that Apollo came to the island to be purified by Karmanor of Tarra after killing the Python,<sup>64</sup> and that Epimenides of Krete was famous for purification, to the extent of being called to Athens to purify the city from the blood-guilt associated with the Kylon affair.<sup>65</sup> These events also both pre-date the written version of the Gortyn Code which we have, and seem to point clearly to a tradition, if not a law, in ancient Krete, which required purification for blood-guilt. We might postulate that the lack of any mention of homicide in the ancient laws was because purification was part of sacred, rather than of secular, law. There seem to be no references to religious matters in the laws which we have examined and none, indeed, of initiation practices. Remarkably few ‘sacred laws’, as defined by Sokolowski and Lupu, have survived in Krete,<sup>66</sup> or possibly remarkably few were promulgated; those which we have include calendars of sacrifice,<sup>67</sup> regulations regarding behaviour in sacred precincts,<sup>68</sup> other rules for cult,<sup>69</sup> and a few other fragments which may refer to purification rites, or penalties, or both.<sup>70</sup>

But here the question arises as to whether sacred laws were actually different from any other laws; it has been pointed out that the same decision-makers were involved in ‘sacred’ and ‘secular’ law, and the question raised as to whether the Greeks themselves

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<sup>63</sup> Willetts 1967 p.9 and n.11

<sup>64</sup> See p.49.

<sup>65</sup> *FGrHist* 457 T1 110, T2, T3 136, and T4 (b) and (c). *BNJ* [(457 T4(b))] places the purification about a generation after the Kylon affair, c.600.

<sup>66</sup> Although some of these are from Gortyn: *LSCG Supp.* no.114 and *LSCG* nos.146, 147, 148.

<sup>67</sup> *SEG* XLI 744 = *NGSL* 2005 no.22 (Eleutherna); *SEG* XXVIII 751 = *NGSL* 2005 no. 24 (Lissos); *IC* IV 3 = *LSCG* 146 (Gortyn, one of the early laws inscribed on the Python).

<sup>68</sup> *SEG* XLI 739 = *NGSL* 2005 no.22 (Eleutherna, regarding drinking in the sanctuary); *LSCG* 144 (Lebena, regarding transference of cult furniture); *LSCG* 148 (Gortyn, protection of a sacred grove).

<sup>69</sup> *LSCG* 145 (Axos) and 147 (Gortyn).

<sup>70</sup> *LSCG Supp.* 112 (Lato), 113 (Axos), and 114 (Gortyn).

referred to a category of ‘sacred law’.<sup>71</sup> Their use of the expression seems to have been confined to something less formal and, by definition, unwritten, as in a text relating to the protection of the sanctuary of Diktaian Zeus on Kreta, which says that an inscription permitting cultivation and harvesting, normally displayed on any farmland, is specifically not displayed in the sacred precincts: νόμοις γὰρ ἱεροῖς καὶ ἀραῖς καὶ ἐπιτίμοις ἄνωθεν διεκεκώλυτο: for it has always been forbidden by *sacred laws*, curses, and penalties.<sup>72</sup> So perhaps we could assume that the requirements of purification for homicide were unwritten precisely because they had been known from time immemorial.

#### 7.4.2 Property, Inheritance, and Adoption

It is unclear whether the apparent preoccupation of the Gortyn Code with such topics as adoption, the management of heiresses, and the transfer of property represented a long-standing concern, or was a response to matters of immediate moment.<sup>73</sup> But the former seems the more probable, given that the earlier Gortyn laws, inscribed on the Pythion, suggest that the protection and disposal of property was already a major concern in the late seventh century.<sup>74</sup> Ephoros seems to agree with ‘the law-giver’ that the state’s greatest good is served by liberty, which ensures that property remains in the hands of those who have acquired it, as opposed to a state of slavery, where everything belongs to the ruler.<sup>75</sup> Polybios, on the other hand, disapproves of the Kretan system of land distribution, where each man holds on to what he can acquire, and of the Kretan attitude to money.<sup>76</sup>

When we look at Diodoros’ Kretan account we come across some strange anomalies on the question of inheritance. Kronos, he says, became king, *being the eldest*,<sup>77</sup> but both Hesiod and Apollodorus say that Kronos, like Zeus, who also inherited, was the

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<sup>71</sup> Parker 2004 pp.57, 66.

<sup>72</sup> Parker 2004 pp.57, 66; *SYLL*<sup>3</sup> II. 685.81f.

<sup>73</sup> Davies 2005 p.308.

<sup>74</sup> Perlman 2002 p.205.

<sup>75</sup> Strabo 10.4.16.

<sup>76</sup> See p.150.

<sup>77</sup> Diod. 5.66.4.

youngest son.<sup>78</sup> Later Diodoros tells us that Hestia, Demeter, and Hera and then Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades – in that order - were born to Kronos and Rhea.<sup>79</sup> This list is consistent with the accounts of Hesiod and Apollodorus, except that they both list the male children in the order Hades, Poseidon, Zeus, and it is either stated, or clear from the context, that Zeus is the youngest.<sup>80</sup> In fact it is essential to the well-known tradition that Rhea gave Kronos a stone to swallow and concealed the baby Zeus in Krete, that Zeus was the youngest of the family. In a sense, of course, one could say that Zeus was the first-born, in that all the others were still inside Kronos at the time of his birth. But they were spewed up in reverse order to their birth and swallowing<sup>81</sup> - in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite, Hestia is described as both the first and the youngest of Kronos' children<sup>82</sup> - so on that basis they would have to be listed in the order Zeus, Poseidon, Hades, Hera, Demeter, Hestia. Exceptionally though, in the *Iliad*, Homer has Iris tell Poseidon that Zeus is older than he.<sup>83</sup>

One wonders whether Diodoros was unaware of a very ancient tradition, among the Greeks or their ancestors (but not apparently among the Kretans), of inheritance regulated by ultimogeniture. One commentator has pointed to the example of king Lycaon,<sup>84</sup> who ruled in the secluded and traditional highlands of Arcadia, and was succeeded by a son who was the youngest of fifty. However it seems that this was due to the intervention of Zeus, who slaughtered the king and his first forty-nine sons with a thunderbolt for impiety, so it is hardly conclusive. Perhaps primogeniture in ancient times may have been unique to Krete, where Minos, like his mentor Zeus, also succeeds because he is the eldest son.<sup>85</sup> It is not immediately apparent why this Zeus-fathered son of a strange Phoenician princess should become king of Krete, even though he was the eldest; but Diodoros has here omitted the vital link, which he tells us elsewhere,

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<sup>78</sup> Hes.*Theog.* 132; Apollod.*Bibl.* 1.1.3: νεώτατον ἀπάντων.

<sup>79</sup> Diod. 5.68.1.

<sup>80</sup> Hes.*Theog.* 453ff; Apollod.*Bibl.* 1.1.5.

<sup>81</sup> Hes.*Theog.* 497.

<sup>82</sup> Hom.*Hymn.Aph.* 22-23; Richardson (2010 p.227) associates this with the practice of making libation to Hestia at the beginning and end of a feast..

<sup>83</sup> *Il.* 15.182.

<sup>84</sup> Apollod.*Bibl.* 3.8.1; Frazer 1921 *ad loc.*

<sup>85</sup> Diod. 5.78.2.



that Europa married Asterion, the king of Krete, who adopted her three sons.<sup>86</sup> Leaving aside for a moment the implications of adoption, we again find the assumption of primogeniture as the norm.

In Odysseus' lying tale to Eumaios, Homer says that the sons of a rich Kretan cast lots to distribute their inheritance.<sup>87</sup> The repeated splitting of estates between numerous progeny was clearly an issue in classical times, and possibly also in the archaic era which we are considering. Aristotle advocated some original methods of birth control to avoid the problem, saying that the law-giver devised wise measures, including the segregation of women, so that they might not have many children, and, to this end, also instituted ὁμιλία – usually taken to mean intercourse in this context - between males.<sup>88</sup> Plato suggested that the dying father should nominate whichever of his sons he deemed worthy to be his heir to the 'ancestral lot', although other property could be shared out among the siblings.<sup>89</sup> According to one scholar, this is the only evidence for the concept of unigeniture in antiquity.<sup>90</sup> Casting lots among surviving sons to decide their shares in an inheritance is apparently a practice which has continued into modern times: it was observed in 1955, in a little village of at the foot of Mt Parnassus in Boeotia.<sup>91</sup> The concept of inheritance by lot was clearly familiar to Plutarch, who praised it as conducive to fraternal friendship and harmony.<sup>92</sup> Homer's version of the succession of Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades says that they drew lots for their domains,<sup>93</sup> although not necessarily for the top job.

None of this lot-casting appears in the Gortyn Code, which suggests that sons and daughters could either divide their father's estate "fairly" (two parts to each son, one part to each daughter) or own it jointly, but it has been suggested that the eldest son

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<sup>86</sup> Diod. 4.60.3.

<sup>87</sup> *Od.* 14.208f.

<sup>88</sup> *Arist.Pol.* II 6-7, 1265b, II vii 5, 1272a. See also pp.118 and 210..

<sup>89</sup> *Pl.Leg.* XII 923 C.

<sup>90</sup> Lane Fox 1985 p.211.

<sup>91</sup> Levy 1956 p.44.

<sup>92</sup> *Plut.Mor.* 483D.

<sup>93</sup> *Il.* 15.191f.

took on the duties of the head of the family.<sup>94</sup> It is noteworthy also that the orphaned heiress was supposed to marry her father's eldest brother, or, failing him, his son, suggesting an element of primogeniture.<sup>95</sup> But this is not so in the inheritance from a man or woman without direct heirs, when the inheritance is shared by his brothers and their descendants, or, failing these, sisters and dependants.<sup>96</sup> The difference is presumably that the heiress cannot be shared, so some stipulation must be made.

The Gortyn Code, or what we have of it, makes no provision for multiple adoption, such as the case of Minos, Rhadamanthys and Sarpedon being adopted by Asterion, when he married Europa.<sup>97</sup> It has been pointed out that the regulations regarding inheritance by an adopted son appear to be modifying an earlier situation where the tenure of property would have reverted to the 'clansmen' of the deceased. We know that Asterion had no natural children, but presumably he may have had some relations with a claim? Maybe kingship is not the same as property, or the law did not apply to kings. The (seemingly new) provisions of the Code made the adopted son the sole heir, provided he took on the social and religious obligations of the deceased adopter, so possibly kingship would have fallen into this category.

## **7.5 Political and Social Matters**

### *7.5.1 Politics*

Strabo tells us that 'the Kretans choose ten archons'.<sup>98</sup> This is completely unexplained, and is mysterious in that it sounds as if it were a pan-Kretan appointment, quite separate from the *kosmoi*, or magistrates, appointed in the cities, whom he mentions separately; but it has been authoritatively suggested that Ephoros did here mean *kosmoi* by 'archons', and simply omitted to say that they chose them in each city.<sup>99</sup> The office of *kosmos* is attested as early as the seventh century in a legal inscription from Dreros, which prohibits anyone from becoming *kosmos* again within a ten-year period of his

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<sup>94</sup> Willetts 1955 pp.60, 96; 1967 p.12.

<sup>95</sup> Gortyn Code col.VII 15f.

<sup>96</sup> Gortyn Code col.V

<sup>97</sup> Diod. 4.60.3.

<sup>98</sup> Strabo 10.4.22.

<sup>99</sup> Willetts 1977 pp.159, 170; 1955 p.156.

previous tenure. A similar provision is found in an early inscription from Gortyn, but with a different timescale, and widening the scope to other officials.<sup>100</sup> The introductory procedural section of the Gortyn Great Code exempts the *kosmos* from civil suits, whether as prosecutor or accused, for the period of his office, but allows for trial after he leaves office, with any fine backdated to the date of the original accusation. While one reason for banning repeated tenure of office might be to place a term on the immunity from trial of an accused *kosmos*, the length of the period stipulated in Dreros suggests that it could be a measure to prevent aspirations to tyranny.<sup>101</sup>

The Dreros law is a very early example of civic identity as a *polis*; not only was the law itself explicitly enacted by the *polis*, but it refers to an oath to be sworn by the *damioi* and twenty of the *polis*, who, it is suggested, might have been respectively representatives of the countryside and the town.<sup>102</sup> We know that there was already an *agora* with benches in Dreros, dating from c.700 which suggests an emerging political system, probably associated with expanding control of the surrounding area. The combination of this law's being decided by the *polis*, and setting out to limit the terms of tenure of the office of *kosmos*, with penalties for breaking it, might suggest that it was a measure responding to some sort of civil unrest and a tendency to official power-grabbing.<sup>103</sup> Another of the Dreros fragments also mentions a decision by the *polis*, whereas in some of the Gortyn inscriptions there is reference to 'the Gortynians' suggesting a non-élite body.<sup>104</sup> A Lyttos text, published in 1985, uses the similar formula: "It seems good to the Lyttians", in contrast to 'the *polis*', possibly indicating that it pre-dates a *polis*-consciousness in Lyttos, although this is almost certainly later than the Dreros law.<sup>105</sup> This apparent inversion of the 'normal' evolution, from the actuality of people to the abstract concept of the *polis*, may be significant.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> *SEG* XXVII 620 (*Nomima* I 81); ML 2; Gagarin 2000 p.46; *IC* IV 14; Gagarin 2000 p.160, n.43.

<sup>101</sup> ML p.3.

<sup>102</sup> Gagarin 2008 p.88.

<sup>103</sup> Thomas 2005 pp.43, 46; Gagarin 2008 p.76 and n.19.

<sup>104</sup> *Nomima* I 64; *IC* IV 23, 62; Gagarin 2008 p.125.

<sup>105</sup> Van Effenterre and van Effenterre 1985 pp.163, 177.

<sup>106</sup> Van Effenterre and van Effenterre 1985 pp.177-8 and n.63, citing Thuc.7.77.7 where Nikias, before the retreat from Syracuse, encourages his men that, when they return home, they will restore the power of Athens, since it is men, not walls or ships, which make a city.

The content of the two-part Lyttian inscription is somewhat abstruse. The first part apparently places conditions on the reception of foreigners in Lyttos, recalling both a similar measure in Sparta, of which Lyttos was a colony, and Plato's proposals in respect of the city of the Magnetes, which was to be situated in Krete.<sup>107</sup> But the word translated as 'foreigner' is ἀλλ(λ)οπολιάταν rather than ξένος, as used by both Plato (above) and Dosiadas (see note), and the Kretans were famously hospitable to guests, even reserving a table of Zeus in the *andreion* for strangers, and a special guesthouse for them,<sup>108</sup> so possibly the word was specific to people living in Lyttos, while belonging to another city. For some reason, mysterious to us but obviously familiar to the Lyttians at the time, an exception is made for residents from Itanos, a city in the far north-east of Krete, a long way from Lyttos.<sup>109</sup> The second part of the inscription relates to the boundaries within which domestic animals could be assembled. After discarding various hypotheses, the editors suggest that the definitions of these boundaries sound as if they were in the city itself, and that the two parts of the inscription could possibly be connected as a protest against rich citizens using cultivable land for the more profitable rearing of livestock, and bringing into the city from elsewhere technicians skilled in lucrative associated industries.<sup>110</sup> The use of 'the Lyttians', rather than 'the *polis*' might then be an indicator of social unrest.

### 7.5.2 *Parallels with Sparta*

We touched earlier on the tradition that Lykurgos, the Spartan law-giver, imported some of his laws and political institutions from Krete. Strabo quotes Ephoros as saying that although some writers thought that the Kretan institutions were Lakonian, this was not in fact the case; they were invented by the Kretans, and only 'perfected' [ἡκριβωκέναι] by the Spartans.<sup>111</sup> He says that the ancient institutions in Krete continued to a greater

<sup>107</sup> Van Effenterre and van Effenterre 1985 pp.179-80; *Pl.Leg.* VIII 850 B.

<sup>108</sup> *FGrHist* 458 (Dosiadas) F2: "There are two houses used as messes everywhere in Krete; one of which is called the ἀνδρεῖον, while the other, where strangers sleep, is known as the κοιμητήριον [rest-house]"; *FGrHist* 467 (Pyrgion) F1: "There were also seats for strangers and a table - - - of Zeus Xenios".

<sup>109</sup> Didier Viviers (seminar, Oxford, 31/5/10) suggests that the two cities had a special relationship to help Itanos with inland trade links.

<sup>110</sup> Van Effenterre and van Effenterre 1985 p.184.

<sup>111</sup> Strabo 10.4.17.

extent in smaller cities such as Gortyn and Lyttos than in Knossos, and that Lyttos in particular was cited by those who said that the institutions came from Lakonia, since Lyttos was a Spartan colony. However Ephoros reckons that their case was not proved, since colonists did not always continue the customs of their metropolis, and many non-colonial cities in Krete shared the customs of the colonial cities. He adds that Lykurgos anyway lived five generations later than the Spartan colonization of Lyttos.

Ephoros further illustrates his case by explaining that various Spartan customs and institutions are actually called Kretan, surely implying that they originated in Krete. He lists dancing, rhythms, and *paians* sung ‘according to law’ as examples, and points to public offices in the two places with the same names, such as *gerontes* and *hippeis*, the latter being a particularly good confirmation that the Kretan office is the original, since Spartan *hippeis* did not have horses, whereas Kretan *hippeis* did. In other examples, despite different names, the function was apparently the same: Spartan ‘ephors’ were the equivalent of Kretan *kosmoi*, and the Kretan term ‘*andreia*’, for public messes, had also existed in Sparta but had fallen into disuse.<sup>112</sup>

Polybios, however, takes issue with Ephoros, as well as with other ‘learned ancient writers’, naming also Xenophon, Kallisthenes and Plato, for saying that the Kretan constitution was the same as the Spartan, and that it was worthy of commendation. He maintains that both statements are untrue, listing three specific major differences, which are apparently intended to illustrate the inferiority of the Kretan system: Spartans all had to possess an equal share of the land while Kretans were allowed to acquire as much land as they were able; Spartans placed no value on money while Kretans regarded the acquisition of money as essential and honourable; Spartan kings held hereditary office and the members of the ‘Gerousia’ were elected for life, while Kretan magistrates were annually and democratically elected. He goes on rather unfairly to say that it would be

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<sup>112</sup> Strabo 10.4.18; Jones (1944 *ad loc.*) points out in a footnote that *andreia* were called *syssitia* in Sparta. For the *gerontes* see the following section on Aristotle.

impossible to find, with rare exceptions, personal conduct more treacherous, or public policy more unjust, than in Krete.<sup>113</sup>

Aristotle also maintains that the Spartan constitution is derived from the Kretan, and says that, for this reason, it was more elaborate, echoing Ephoros (above) by describing the Kretan constitution as, in general, less ‘finished’. He seems to endorse the chronological order of the colonization of Lyttos and Lykurgos’ visit to Krete, saying that the latter came about because of a relationship between Sparta and Krete, and that the Spartan colonists of Lyttos had found a system of laws, believed to have been instituted by Minos, already in place.<sup>114</sup> He draws close parallels between the two systems, saying that serfs are the Kretan equivalent of Spartan helots as tillers of the land, and, again endorsing Ephoros, that both places had public mess-tables, which were originally called *andreia* in Sparta, before they were called *phiditia*, the former term proving that they came from Krete. The five ephors in Sparta had the same powers as the ten *kosmoi* in Krete, there were the same number of *gerontes* in both, and both had monarchies in early times, until the Kretans abolished theirs.<sup>115</sup>

Apparently comparing Krete favourably with Sparta, Aristotle goes on to tell us that in Krete the produce of public lands, and tribute paid in respect of serfs, were regarded as common funds, and were allocated on the one hand to the worship of the gods and the maintenance of public services, and on the other to the public mess-tables, thus supporting the women and children as well as the men. This last remark would seem to require further explanation which is not forthcoming. He also says that ‘the law-giver’, presumably Minos, devised measures to ensure moderation at table (not elaborated), and the segregation of women, and homosexuality, to limit the number of children.<sup>116</sup> In respect of the mess-table arrangements, Krete is certainly compared favourably with Sparta, but he finds that the election of Kretan *kosmoi*, from specific clans, was less

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<sup>113</sup> Polyb. VI. 45-47.

<sup>114</sup> Arist.*Pol.* II vii 1.

<sup>115</sup> Arist.*Pol.* II vii 3.

<sup>116</sup> See p.146, where we noted Aristotle’s unusual advocacy of birth control to avoid excessive splitting up of property.

democratic than the election of Spartan ephors from among all the citizens.<sup>117</sup> This criticism would read across to the *gerontes*, who were drawn from those who had been *kosmoi*, who were unaccountable, and who, contradicting Polybios, had tenure for life. Interestingly he claims that *kosmoi*, unlike ephors, made no profit, but only because, on a remote island, there was no-one to corrupt them. This seems to turn a totally blind eye to the possibility of civic unrest, which we have identified, and to inter-city negotiations. But he does admit that *kosmoi* might be driven out during their term of office, by a powerful rival faction, for reasons of self-interest, which makes, he claims, for an unstable form of government.

### 7.5.3 *Andreia*

Men's public messes, *andreia* in Krete and *sysstitia* in Sparta, seem to have been unique to these two places; all the citizens were divided among them,<sup>118</sup> and his membership of one clearly contributed significantly to a man's identity. As we have already noted, there were certain differences in the way that they were run: in Krete the meals were said to be financed from public lands, and the men took food home for the families, while in Sparta each member contributed his share, and was excluded from his citizen's rights if he became too poor to do so.<sup>119</sup> Aristotle's view, as we have seen above, was that it was right for the revenue to come from public funds. But Dosiadas says that in Lyttos, which we have noted was a Spartan colony: "The Lyttians bring their food together for a common mess, to which each supplies one tenth of his crop, together with the state revenues which the city authorities divide up among every household; he also pays one Aiginetan stater for each of his slaves".<sup>120</sup> Perhaps this 'top-up' contribution was a technique for leveling rich and poor by a constant percentage income tax; the stater paid for the slaves could be the same thing as the tribute related to serfs mentioned by Aristotle above.

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<sup>117</sup> *Arist.Pol.* II vii 5.

<sup>118</sup> *FGrHist* 458 (Dosiadas) F2.

<sup>119</sup> Percy 1996 p.70; *Arist.Pol.* II vii 4, 1272a.

<sup>120</sup> *FGrHist* 458 (Dosiadas) F2; translation suggested by A.H. Griffiths (pers. comm.).

Although Dosiadas tells us that, in Lyttos at least, a woman looked after the mess, with three or four of the public slaves as assistants,<sup>121</sup> this peculiarity of Spartan and Kretan society effectively brought about the segregation of male citizens, and, as we shall see, their sons from an early age, and the transference of authority from the father of a family to the elders of the *andreia*, and those to whom responsibility for the various male age-groups was delegated.<sup>122</sup> Whether or not the boys of an age to join an *agela* dined in the *andreia* is not clear, but Strabo tells us that they were, at any rate, fed at public expense, and were all under the authority of one of the more distinguished fathers. Younger boys certainly ate in the ‘*andreia*’, shabbily clad and sitting on the ground, and, according to Ephoros, waited on the men as well as on each other.<sup>123</sup> But Pyrgion says that it was the youngest men who stood and served at table, sharing out the food, and giving the boys only half-portions; although according to Dosiadas, it was the young men themselves who received only a half-portion of meat. Rather mysteriously, orphans, of apparently any age, received full portions, but without any seasoning. Seats were provided for strangers at a special table, known as the table of Zeus Xenios.<sup>124</sup> Probably some of these practices varied from city to city; Dosiadas seems to be referring to Lyttos throughout.

Wine, mixed with water, apparently flowed freely both during and after dinner; the men “were given permission” to go on drinking more if they wished, but the boys were given only a single shared bowl. Dosiadas tells us that after dinner they were accustomed first to discuss public affairs, and then to recall deeds of prowess in war, and praise men of proven bravery, so as to encourage the younger men in courage and virtue,<sup>125</sup> just as, in the Spartan *sysitia*, according to Xenophon, it was the custom to relate whatever anyone in the city had done well.<sup>126</sup> It seems likely that the recounting of great deeds was in the form of song: a fragment of the Spartan poet Alkman says that the *paian* was sung in the Spartan *andreia* (as they were called in the early days), and, as we have seen

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<sup>121</sup> *FGrHist* 458 F2. Dosiadas notes that the woman in charge made a point of publicly giving the best portions to men distinguished in war and wisdom.

<sup>122</sup> Dover 1978 p.192.

<sup>123</sup> Strabo 10.4.20.

<sup>124</sup> *FGrHist* 467 (Pyrgion) F1.

<sup>125</sup> *FGrHist* 458 (Dosiadas) F2.

<sup>126</sup> *Xen.Lac.* 5.6; Carter 1997 p.74.



above, Ephoros says that the Spartans referred to their dancing, rhythms, and *paians* as Kretan.<sup>127</sup> It has been suggested, on the grounds that Krete was not otherwise particularly famous for poetry and singing, that this passage was the explanation for the number of late Geometric statues of lyre-players found in Krete.<sup>128</sup> But we have already identified a considerable musical tradition in the island, in connection with Apollo's choice of Kretan priests to man his shrine at Delphi, and with the supposed introduction of the *paian* to Sparta by the seventh-century Kretan musician, Thaletas; while Kretan dancing from the time of Minos is attested by Homer's description of a dancing-floor at Knossos.<sup>129</sup>

#### 7.5.4 Constitution and Social Strata

The Kretan constitution, as seen through the eyes of Ephoros, would seem to be one of liberty, equality, and fraternity. We have already noted that he equates liberty with measures to ensure that property remains in the possession of those who have acquired it, as opposed to a state of slavery, where everything belongs to the ruler.<sup>130</sup> This he apparently concludes from an analysis of the laws, since he attributes the assumption that such liberty is a state's greatest good to 'the law-giver', presumably Minos. But liberty, he goes on, must be guarded, and harmony ensured, by the avoidance of luxury and greed, and by all citizens living a self-restrained and simple life. This was apparently why the public messes, discussed above, were introduced, where the poorer were fed at public expense and were thus on a basis of equality with the richer; and why the boys were enrolled into *agelai*, and brought up accustomed to physical hardship and fighting, practising archery, war-dances and songs, wearing military dress, and bearing arms.<sup>131</sup> This is all very different from Polybios' picture of land-grabbing, money-grubbing, and private and public corruption.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> Strabo 10.4.18; Alkman fr.87; Carter 1997 p.76.

<sup>128</sup> Carter 1997 p.74.

<sup>129</sup> See p.51.

<sup>130</sup> See p.144.

<sup>131</sup> Strabo 10.4.16; Sergent 1984 p.25 and n.59.

<sup>132</sup> Polyb.VI 45-7; see p.150.

Despite its social importance, the *andreion* seems to have had no legal significance, as we find no mention of it in the Gortyn Code, or in the remains of other ancient laws. There is, however, some evidence of the importance of the tribe, in that the Gortyn Code gives the priorities for marrying an heiress as first, her father's oldest brother; secondly, the son of her father's oldest brother, or, failing him, the 'next in succession'; then, whoever she wishes out of those who ask from the tribe; and finally, and only after thirty days of touting her through the tribe, anyone she can get.<sup>133</sup> Despite this slightly chattel-wife approach, it is evidence that women were included in the membership of the tribe,<sup>134</sup> and women undoubtedly had more legal and property rights in Gortyn than, for instance, in Athens: with regard to inheritance: "at Gortyn a daughter received half her brother's share, in Athens, nothing".<sup>135</sup> It is suggested moreover that, although the inheritance arrangements described in the Gortyn Code attest a patriarchal social system in the fifth century, traces of an older, more matrilineal, system appear in the references to marriage and divorce customs, which could explain the attention the Code pays to the rights of women.<sup>136</sup>

The main social classes for adult males were free citizens, *apetairoi*, and serfs and slaves. The question of slavery will be addressed in the next section. Free citizens were members of an *andreion*, had undergone the rite of initiation into manhood, as discussed in the chapter on Initiation, and were known as *eleutheroi* or *dromeis*; while *apetairoi* were apparently free, but without citizen rights or, as is clear from the word, membership of an *andreion*. Some idea of their relatively lowly standing in the social scale may be gathered from the penalties for rape. A free man would be fined four times as much for raping an *apetairos* as for raping a serf, but ten times as much again for raping a free citizen.<sup>137</sup> It has been suggested that they may have included, although not been limited to, subject-communities, who, in turn, may have been what Sosikrates means by *perioikoi*, who are discussed in connection with slavery below. It is

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<sup>133</sup> Gortyn Law Code cols.VII-VIII; Willetts 1967 p.11.

<sup>134</sup> Willetts 1967 p.11.

<sup>135</sup> Gortyn Law Code col. IV 41f; Lane Fox 1985 p.212.

<sup>136</sup> Gortyn Law Code cols.II 45f, III, IV 43f, V; VII, VIII; Willetts 1967 pp.18, 20, 23, 29.

<sup>137</sup> Gortyn Law Code col. II; Willetts 1967 p.10; Davidson 2007 p.303ff.

interesting that *apetairoi* appear in the Gortyn Code only in the section regarding rape and adultery.<sup>138</sup>

#### 7.5.5 Slavery

A confusing number of different terms is attested for the various conditions of slavery in Krete, much of it in fragments of Dosiadas and Sosikrates, both of whom were sources on which Diodoros drew for his Kretan account, although he does not address the slavery issue.<sup>139</sup> Both Dosiadas and Sosikrates apparently wrote a *Kretika*, both of which are quoted by Athenaeus. Citing both sources as giving similar information, he says that the Kretans call their common slavery *μνοία*, their private slaves *ἀφαμιώται*, and their subject population, *περιοίκοι*.<sup>140</sup> LSJ gives no derivation for *μνοία* but suggest that *ἀφαμιώται* comes from *ἀφαμία*, which they equate to *κλήρος* meaning selected by lot; for *περιοίκοι*, they refer specifically to the Spartan context,<sup>141</sup> defining the term as locals who enjoyed civil, but not political, freedom, who are thus neither Spartans nor helots. Strabo confirms that Mnoans were serfs of the Kretans; the possible association between *μνῶα* and *Μινῶα*,<sup>142</sup> might suggest the indigenous people who were there when the Dorians came. There is certainly a very definite suggestion of agricultural workers in the poem of Hybrias the Kretan, quoted by Athenaeus as a possible *scolion*,<sup>143</sup> where Hybrias proudly refers to himself as master of the *mnoia*, but also says that they dared not use arms, which might suggest that they were subdued peacefully, rather than being captives of war.

Another passage in Athenaeus, however, draws a parallel between Kretan ‘Clarotae’ and Spartan helots, pointing out that these are nicer names than ‘slaves’, and says the former are so-called because distributed by lot (*κλήρος*), and quoting the third book of Ephoros’ *Histories* as saying that it had become the custom to hold festivals for them in Kydonia, at which time no free men came into the city, but the slaves were masters of

<sup>138</sup> Davies 2005 pp.314-5 and n.31.

<sup>139</sup> Diod.5.80.4.

<sup>140</sup> *FGrHist* 458 (Dosiadas) F3 = Ath. 263f-264a.

<sup>141</sup> Although also mentioning Krete in connection with Arist. *Pol.* 2.10.5.

<sup>142</sup> Strabo 12.3.4.

<sup>143</sup> Ath. XV 695 no.25; scolia were drinking-songs.

everything, and had the power to flog the free men”.<sup>144</sup> From the information in LSJ we might therefore assume that Clarotae was simply another name for ἀμφιώται, except that Athenaeus also says that, while urban slaves are called χρυσονήτοι, or ‘money-bought’, the Kretans call their rural slaves ‘amphamiots’ and that these are *natives* enslaved by war, which actually sounds more like helots or περίουκοι than slaves. Maybe they continued to work the land that they had owned before, now commandeered by their Dorian conquerors. Strabo would seem to confirm the equivalence of amphamiots and helots when, in describing an Indian tribe, he says that instead of slaves (*douloi*) they used young men in the vigour of life, as the Kretans use the amphamiotae and the Lakonians use the helots.<sup>145</sup> Additional confusion arises in all this because the distinction here is rural and urban, which may or may not be the same as Dosiadas’ public and private.

The Gortyn Code, however, uses the terms *dolos* and *woikeus*, which are generally translated as slave and serf respectively, but it has been pointed out that the distinction is not quite so clear-cut, in that *dolos*, as well as referring to a slave bought in the market-place, is sometimes synonymous with a *woikeus*; although the two terms appear individually in the provisions regarding rape and adultery, the penalties for both classes are the same, suggesting equal status.<sup>146</sup> The *woikeus* however, who was possibly a country-dweller, and thus arguably an agricultural worker, seems to have had some property rights.<sup>147</sup>

### 7.6 Literacy in Archaic Krete

We have already discussed the question as to whether the legal inscriptions from Krete were really the earliest examples of written law, or whether they have simply survived better than those from other parts of Greece, and concluded that the evidence points to the former.<sup>148</sup> The further question, as to why they were written down at all, remains to be discussed. If they were written to be read, this must have implications for the spread

<sup>144</sup> *FGrHist* 461 (Sosikrates) F4 = Ath. 263ef.

<sup>145</sup> Strabo 15.1.34

<sup>146</sup> Gortyn Law Code col. VII 11 and col. II; Davies 2005 p.315; Willetts 1967 p.14.

<sup>147</sup> Gortyn Law Code col. IV 31ff.

<sup>148</sup> See p.137. Gagarin 1986 p.127.

of literacy in Krete; if not, why did the Kretans of the sixth and fifth centuries go to so much trouble? It is clear, from the very diverse opinions which have been expressed on the subject, by scholars very close to it, that the answer is not simple; but the gist of their arguments will be reviewed, possibly without being able to reach any clear conclusion.

It is worth first considering whether it has really 'long been established' that Krete was, if not the birthplace, at least one of the early receivers, of the Greek alphabet.<sup>149</sup> This is not entirely endorsed by examining Diodoros' Kretan account. On the basis that his theogony is very Krete-centered, we might assume that it was the Kretans to whom the Muses passed on their gift from Zeus of 'the discovery of letters and the art of combining words which is called poetry'.<sup>150</sup> But Diodoros continues with a not entirely convincing attempt to refute the common belief that that it was in fact the Syrians who were the discoverers of letters, while the Phoenicians learned them from the Syrians and passed them on to the Greeks, and that it was these same Phoenicians who sailed to Europe with Kadmos, and so brought the alphabet to Greece.<sup>151</sup> If that had been the case, it would seem that Rhodes, Thera, or even Boiotia, rather than Krete, would have been the birth-place of the Greek alphabet.<sup>152</sup> Kadmos is not actually recorded as having visited Krete, (and surely would have been, as he would there, of course, have found his sister Europa, for whom he was searching); and in any case the Parian Marble dates Kadmos' arrival in Thebes to 1518/17, while it has been concluded, from comparison of the Phoenician and Greek alphabets, that the alphabet was introduced to Greece in the late ninth or early eighth century, when trade between Greece and the rest

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<sup>149</sup> Jeffery 1990 p.310.

<sup>150</sup> Diod.5.74.1 (see p.5 and n.25). He has earlier told us that Mnemosynê, the mother of the Muses, gave things names (5.67.3). At first sight this seems an odd juxtaposition. On the one hand it seems logical that the Muses should use words to discover the art of poetry, but, on the other hand, to our modern way of thinking, letters should have been discovered before Mnemosynê's words. But in the Greek oral tradition it would be correct for (oral, as opposed to written) words to be the precursors of both poetry and of writing, and indeed, most fittingly, the province of Memory.

<sup>151</sup> Diod.5.74.1.

<sup>152</sup> Both Diodoros (5.58.2) and the Lindian Chronicle (III; Higbie 2003 p.70f) record Kadmos' visit to Rhodes as the result of storms at sea, while he was searching for his sister Europa. Herodotos (4.147) says that Kadmos also put in at Thera, from where, in common with Krete, there is early inscriptional evidence of the Greek alphabet (Woodhead 1992 p.16); but elsewhere Hdt. specifically states (5.58) that the Phoenicians who came to Greece with Kadmos introduced the alphabet to the Ionians in Boiotia.

of the Eastern Mediterranean was flourishing.<sup>153</sup> It has been suggested that there was a close chronological connection between the development of such trade, the introduction of coinage, and the establishment of an extensive written law, and that it is possible that an immigration to Krete from the East, attested by early seventh-century finds in south central Krete, could have been associated with the first codification of laws in Krete.<sup>154</sup> But more recently this idea has been discounted, on the basis that, although the two developments were roughly concurrent, the total absence of reference to trade in the the early codes makes any close connection unlikely.<sup>155</sup>

It is claimed, based on the fact that so few inscribed texts other than legal documents, have been uncovered, that literacy was not widespread in archaic Krete. We know of only the single literary example of the poem of Hybrias, mentioned in connection with slavery above.<sup>156</sup> The impression of a lack of literacy comes too from the absence of anything in the way of plays, forensic speeches, or engraved tomb-stones, from Krete, such as we have from classical Athens; this incidentally makes it impossible to know how the laws actually worked out in practice.<sup>157</sup> So why did they publish the laws? There is a long-standing belief that there is a necessary connection between literacy, public inscriptions, and democracy; that lawmaking, and the appearance of publicly accessible written law, can only “play midwife to democracy” if literacy is relatively widespread among the population at large. Yet the traditionally democratic Athens introduced inscriptions late relative to the traditionally aristocratic society in Krete, and in fact much other early legislation comes from cities with aristocratic, rather than democratic, governments. Furthermore, it has been pointed out that the lack of dating and the unspecific nature of the cross references (vaguely ‘as is written’) would have made the documents almost impossible to use in practice.<sup>158</sup> So could it be that this was indeed a time when few people in Krete could read, and the object of imposing monumental inscriptions of the law was simply to mystify and impress, rather than to

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<sup>153</sup> Higbie 2003 p.70f; Woodhead 1992 p.14.

<sup>154</sup> Willetts 1967 p.9, 1977 pp.155ff, citing Boardman.

<sup>155</sup> Gagarin 1986 p.126.

<sup>156</sup> Stoddart and Whitley 1988 p. 766.

<sup>157</sup> Morris 1990p. 236

<sup>158</sup> Davies 1996 p.55.

democratize; to impress people with the idea that each city's laws were immutable, and not up for discussion; with their promulgation on temple walls intended to give them even more *gravitas*?<sup>159</sup>

“When the laws are written down, then both the weak and the rich have equal justice”<sup>160</sup> exemplifies the attitude to the identification of written law with justice for all by the late fifth century. Although there may not have been quite the same attitude in archaic times, the early development of written law does seem to have coincided with the development of more formal political systems, and the emergence of the *polis*, and many of the early written laws are concerned with defining the powers of officials in the new political systems;<sup>161</sup> it is arguable that there was not much point in writing such definitions down if only the officials could read. Furthermore, the detail of the Gortyn Code, its later amendments, and the apparent attempt at systemization certainly suggest something more than just an imposing monument of the majesty of the law. The proliferation of instructions on procedures for magistrates and other officials, particularly injunctions on them to act ‘as it is written’, suggest that the detailed written law was an attempt to restrict individual officials from exercising too much arbitrary judgement. This, coupled with the level of detail, and yet incompleteness of, for instance, the provisions for heiresses, suggest that what was written down related to issues which were particularly contentious.<sup>162</sup> Again there seems little point in going to the trouble of writing all this if it was only to be read by a tiny *élite* minority.

The argument about amendments to the Gortyn Code, referred to above, is considerably strengthened by evidence that there are traces of writing, at least half a century older and imperfectly erased, underneath parts of the Great Code, which suggests that obsolete laws were being replaced by new. Taking the trouble to obliterate such obsolete laws, and keep the record up to date, must be strong evidence that the laws

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<sup>159</sup> Stoddart and Whitley 1988 p.766; Gagarin 2008 pp.72-3; Whitley 1997 p. 640; Thomas 2005 p.55.

<sup>160</sup> Eur. *Supp.* 430-4.

<sup>161</sup> Thomas 2005 pp.42-3.

<sup>162</sup> Thomas 2005 pp.47-9, 54, and 58.

were inscribed to be read, not just to impress.<sup>163</sup> Also the facts that the inscriptions were often on the walls of buildings, where they would have less impact, rather than on freestanding monuments, where they would be more imposing, and that they were added to piecemeal, does suggest that they were put there, at least in part, to be read, not just to impress.<sup>164</sup> One example is the way in which the early Gortyn laws were presented on the walls of the Pythion, and the way in which both the drafters and the masons endeavoured to make them more intelligible, which makes it clear that they were intended to be read; and indeed among them there is one fragmentary law, possibly relating to the prohibition of retrial of public debtors whose names have been published, which suggests that the citizens of Gortyn at least knew how to read and write their names, and were expected to consult public records.<sup>165</sup>

In addition to this, there is evidence from a study of private archaic inscriptions that a significant number of people outside the ruling *élite* would have been able to read the inscriptions, although they would not necessarily have bothered to do so.<sup>166</sup> Although it seems probable that, if there was not much written material available, anyone who had taken the trouble to learn would have been eager to read anything that they came across. The most convincing argument, perhaps, is that where there are examples of writing used for private texts, they coincide with the majority of the cities where we are aware of written laws in the Archaic period.<sup>167</sup> It is concluded that, if only a small number of officials or would-be officials made up the audience for these laws, there would be little point in going to the trouble and expense of displaying them publicly; but the existence of the regulations limiting tenure of office would suggest that there was probably quite a large pool of candidates available. It also seems likely that anyone literate, who had any sort of grievance or inheritance or other issue, would want to check what the law said about it, and might also have been helping out less literate friends or family

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<sup>163</sup> Gagarin 2008 pp.127 and 128.

<sup>164</sup> Gagarin 2000 p.68.

<sup>165</sup> *IC* IV 1-40; Perlman 2002 pp.188, 196.

<sup>166</sup> Gagarin 2008 p.69.

<sup>167</sup> Perlman 2002 pp.196, 197. The cities where there are examples of both private and, in almost all cases, legal texts are Aphrati, Eleutherna, Gortyn, (Itanos), Knossos, Praisos, Prinias and Phaistos; the only cities from which there are legal, but no private, texts, are Axos, Dreros, Eltynia, and Lyttos.



members.<sup>168</sup> We should remember also that Ephoros specifically included learning their letters, as well as specific songs and forms of music, in children's education in Krete.<sup>169</sup>

Finally, there is evidence of two developments during this period, which make it seem more likely that laws were being read by an increasing number of people: one is the increasing awareness of civic identity, which we have already mentioned above, in connection with political issues, and the other is the appointment of an official city scribe, with very considerable status, in a city which was probably Arkades. It would seem that there may well have been a connection between the writing down of the law and an increasing sense of civic identity. The Dreros law about the office of *kosmos*, on the face of it important to only the few people likely to take this office, may be less about the actual provision, and more about the fact that it starts by announcing that "the *polis* has decided", thus emphasizing, and emphasizing publicly, the power of the *polis* over its officials. It also thereby imposes an element of accountability on these officials and possibly also on its priests. So in the increasing use of such introductory phrases as 'it has been decided by the *polis*' and 'it seems good to the Lyttians' we can recognize that the writing, and surely by definition the popular reading, of the laws, was closely associated with the development of civic consciousness.<sup>170</sup>

It is pointed out that there are no archaic references to writing, except to earlier written laws, or to written records of legal proceedings. For the latter purpose, a 'rememberer', *mnamon* or *mnemon*, was used in Krete as elsewhere, attested in the fifth century in Gortyn, but probably dating from the sixth.<sup>171</sup> But as writing developed, it seems from an inscription on a semi-circular bronze mitra, probably from Arkades, and dated c.500,<sup>172</sup> that there was a parallel requirement to both remember and write, suggesting that some records, at least, were written down. In this inscription Spensitheos, for that was the name of the scribe, and his descendants after him, were required to be present

<sup>168</sup> Perlman 2002 p.187; Gagarin 2000 p.70.

<sup>169</sup> Strabo 10.4.20. It is not clear from the Greek or from the context whether this means all children or only the boys.

<sup>170</sup> Gagarin 2008 pp.76-79; Thomas 2005 p.58. For the reference to priests see pp.143-4.

<sup>171</sup> *IC* IV 9; Gagarin 2008 pp.117-8.

<sup>172</sup> *SEG* XXVII 631.

on all occasions with the *kosmos*, in order to *poinikazein* and *mnamoneuwein* all public business on behalf of the city. This would suggest that some things were to be recorded and others remembered, but the context makes it clear that writing was by this time the more important role.<sup>173</sup> The editors of the inscription certainly stress the writing role, and indeed translate *mnamoneuwein* as ‘record’, rather than ‘remember’, but they do suggest that this represents a fusing of the old office of a ‘remembrancer’, *mnemon*, who had not needed to be literate, with the new office of scribe.<sup>174</sup> It was clearly an onerous and honourable task, as Spensitheos received subsistence, tax exemption, and a considerable quantity of wine in payment for his efforts, and it had, of course, the *kudos* of being hereditary.

### 7.7 Summary

We have established that Krete’s unique reputation for its constitution, law, and law-givers goes back at least as far as the Homeric references to Minos and Rhadamanthys as judges in the underworld; that it was reinforced by the tradition that seventh-century Kretans acted as advisers to Solon in Athens and Lykurgos in Sparta; and that this reputation was apparently accepted by Plato and Aristotle. Comparison of the volumes of legal documents and of other *genres* of inscription, from Krete and from other parts of Greece, has suggested that the Kretan legal inscriptions were indeed among the earliest in Greece. We have concluded that the ‘Great Code of Gortyn’ is misnamed as a code in that it is certainly not complete in itself, since it includes overt references to other written law, but that it could perhaps be referred to as a code in the less strict sense of an authoritative collection of written law. The evidence of Ephoros and Aristotle relating to language and customs has shown that the Spartan constitution derived from the Kretan, rather than *vice versa*, and no evidence has been forthcoming to contradict this. Finally, despite the sparsity of inscribed texts other than legal documents in Krete, the geographical distribution of such texts, the trouble taken over amendments to the legal inscriptions, and parallel developments, of an awareness of

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<sup>173</sup> Gagarin 2008 p.119ff.

<sup>174</sup> Jeffery and Morpurgo Davies 1970 pp.132, 150.

civic identity and of the appointment of a city scribe, have led us to the conclusion that literacy was becoming increasingly widespread in archaic Krete.

## 8

Sanctuaries, Common Cults, Amphictionies, and the *Koinon*

## 8.1 Introduction

We have already noted that the apparent ancient perception of Krete as a political entity, with a unique constitutional and legal pattern, is at odds with the actual situation, as revealed by inscriptions of different laws and customs promulgated by individual cities.<sup>1</sup> There are however several specific examples, from myth and from history, of ‘the Kretans’ apparently acting cohesively. Although Homer makes reference to the one hundred cities of Krete in the Catalogue of Ships, the whole Kretan contingent of eighty ships was led by ‘Idomeneus the spear-famed’, ably supported by his nephew, Meriones, and it is clear that not only all the Kretans, but also the Danaans, recognized and accepted their leadership.<sup>2</sup> Somewhat earlier than this – Idomeneus was Minos’ grandson – ‘all the Kretans except the Polichnians and the Praisians’ launched a major expedition to Sicily to avenge the murder of Minos in Kamikos.<sup>3</sup> This story is told by Herodotos as background to the much later refusal, of ‘the Kretans’, to join the Greeks’ resistance to the invasion of Xerxes, following consultation of the Delphic oracle by ‘the Kretan communities jointly’.<sup>4</sup> The foundation of Gela, in southern Sicily, is discussed below,<sup>5</sup> but it is worth noting here that both Thucydides and Diodoros refer to its joint foundation by Antiphemos of Rhodes and Entimos ‘of Krete’, not of any specific Kretan city, and Thucydides refers elsewhere more generally to ‘the Kretans who had joined with the Rhodians in the foundation of Gela’.<sup>6</sup> This chapter will

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<sup>1</sup> See p.136.

<sup>2</sup> *Il.* (tr. Lattimore) 2.645-652 and 405, 13.330ff and 361ff. Knossos, Gortyn, Lyttos, Miletos, Lykastos, Phaistos, and Rhytion are actually named among the hundred cities of Krete, elsewhere referred to by Homer as ninety (*Od.* 19.174). Admittedly Odysseus, in his lying tale to Athena, claims that he led an independent Kretan contingent to Troy (*Od.* 13.265-6), but nothing in the *Iliad* suggests this.

<sup>3</sup> *Hdt.* 7.170.

<sup>4</sup> *Hdt.* 7.169 (tr. Waterfield).

<sup>5</sup> p.221f.

<sup>6</sup> *Thuc.* 6.4.3, 7.57.9; *Diod.* 8.23.1. But note that general statements of origin – ‘from Krete’ – are apparently usual for natives of large islands, when referred to from elsewhere (Hornblower 2008 at 6.4.3). Fraser (2009 p.137) says that the plain epithet Κρής is more common on Kretan tombstones in Athens than a Kretan city ethnic, which is more common again than a double ethnic.

attempt to explore the extent to which, and the mechanisms by which, the Kretan cities collaborated and made joint decisions.

## 8.2 *Location of Sanctuaries and Common Cults*

### 8.2.1 *Background*

We start from the assumption that any unifying mechanisms between cities would have been connected with cults and festivals.<sup>7</sup> The Hellenistic bilateral treaties between Kretan cities frequently referred to the future annual attendance of each party at a significant festival of the other, to the placing of a copy of the treaty in the sanctuary of a specified deity in each city, and to both parties' swearing by the same list of cultic deities, which seems to imply the acceptance, if not the sharing, of all of each others' cults. This evidence points to a close relationship between cult, citizen identity, and a city's politics. The arrangements with regard to mutual attendance at festivals, in particular, would provide opportunities for discussions of a political – and indeed foreign policy - nature, involving at least two cities, and in many cases more than two.<sup>8</sup> Such references were usually concerned with festivals and sanctuaries within the city, but we find references also in such treaties to rural sanctuaries, often themselves involved in the territorial disputes that the treaties were addressing.<sup>9</sup> While the surviving epigraphic references are mainly of Hellenistic date, the sanctuaries themselves, and no doubt the disputes, were often much earlier.

### 8.2.2 *Minoan Peak Sanctuaries and Sacred Caves*

The tradition of rural sanctuaries in Krete originates in Minoan times, from the proliferation of so-called peak sanctuaries and sacred caves dating from the Bronze Age. The introduction of peak sanctuaries has been dated to the period of Minoan urbanization, shortly before the first appearance of the palaces, possibly therefore independent of official religion, and originating rather as refuge settlements, in sites

<sup>7</sup> Parker 1998 p.13 and *passim*.

<sup>8</sup> For example at Hierapytna the Hyperboia would have been attended by representatives at least of Lato, Priansos, and Knossos (*SEG* xxvi 1049; *IC* III iii 4; *IC* I viii 13) and the Thiodaisia by representatives at least of Knossos and Arkades (*IC* I viiii 13; *IC* III iii 1B). Similarly at Olous both the Thiodaisia and the Britomarteia would have received delegates from Lyttos (Chaniotis' restoration seems plausible here [1996 p.352]) as well as from Lato (*IC* I xviii 9; *IC* I xvi 5), and almost certainly from other cities as well.

<sup>9</sup> de Polignac 1994 pp.3-4; Chaniotis 1988 pp.23ff.

strategically suitable for communication and surveillance.<sup>10</sup> Then from their role as a visual link between isolated communities, they could have developed into semi-neutral meeting-places for leaders of surrounding communities, thus combining a political unifying role with their religious function.<sup>11</sup> The use of caves as shrines, mainly identified by the presence of votive offerings, is also thought to have been associated with their use as dwelling-places, and, indeed, as burial-places.<sup>12</sup> But the remote locations of many sacred caves and other open air shrines suggest their dissociation from the control of any one group, and their function as a neutral meeting-place for different communities.<sup>13</sup>

On the other hand the potential of these locations for surveillance would have implied a degree of control over the surrounding region, which, if the land was economically important, could in time have made them focal points for tension between competing communities.<sup>14</sup> The resulting rivalry could well have led to greater wealth being invested in such sanctuaries, which does indeed seem to have been the case: the sanctuaries at Juktas, between the palaces of Knossos and Arkhanes, and at Petsophas and Traostalos, between the palace of Zakros and the large Minoan town of Palaikastro, were particularly well-endowed.<sup>15</sup> As we shall see below, this uneasy compromise between the roles of neutral meeting-place and object of rivalry seems to have been a feature of extra-urban sanctuaries in historic times as well.

### 8.2.3 *Rural Sanctuaries in the Early Iron Age*

Various explanations are given for the location of many Kretan sanctuaries away from the centres of cities, and usually on mountains. These include the connection of many Kretan cults with the natural world, particularly with fertility and the success of the

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<sup>10</sup> Kyriakidis 2005 p.113; Marinatos 1993 p.116; Branigan 1988 p.103; Jones 1999 pp.188-9. The absence, from many relatively recent studies, of any comparison of Minoan peak sanctuaries with anything similar elsewhere, suggests that they were unique to Krete and early Minoan rites.

<sup>11</sup> Kyriadakis 2005 p.114.

<sup>12</sup> Willetts 1962 pp.141 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Prent 2005 p. 566.

<sup>14</sup> Kyriadakis 2005 p.114.

<sup>15</sup> Kyriadakis 2005 p.115. According to Marinatos (1993 p.116) the peak sanctuary at Petsophas yielded particularly good figurines, and the one on Mt Juktas has a deep chasm next to the altar where a great many offerings, were found; this sanctuary has been associated with the tomb of Zeus (see p.30).

harvest, as well as the Minoan peak sanctuary heritage.<sup>16</sup> Notable examples of survival from the Minoan or sub-Minoan era include the sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite at Kato Syme, and the Idaian and Diktaian caves.<sup>17</sup> None of these is a peak sanctuary as such, but each would have served as a neutral meeting-place, probably for participants from a considerably wider geographic area than did the peak sanctuaries.<sup>18</sup> The association of such sanctuaries, in Greece generally, with de Polignac's concept of 'mediation', which seems to encompass meeting and exchange, meant that they were often situated close to a communication route, or, in more remote mountainous zones, at the borders of two regions.<sup>19</sup> Their role as communication and trade centres is also suggested by the appearance of cult-places on coasts, capes and river-mouths, from the tenth, and even more from the eighth, century, as the Greeks took to the sea.<sup>20</sup> Kretan examples could be the sanctuaries of Zeus Thenatas and of Eileithyia in Amnisos,<sup>21</sup> and of Athena Samonia on the Samonian peninsula north of Itanos,<sup>22</sup> while a sanctuary at the port of Kommos, on the south coast of the island, suggests that this could have been port of call for Phoenician sailors going west.<sup>23</sup> Finds from Temple B at Kommos suggest that its use was limited to aristocrats or magistrates, possibly as an official meeting-place, and also as an international sanctuary from the Early Iron Age, both under the *aegis* of Apollo, who had a role of supervising inter-community relations.<sup>24</sup>

Greek sanctuaries remote from a settlement were often consecrated to divinities who presided over thresholds in life and society, such as Apollo, Artemis, Hera and

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<sup>16</sup> Chaniotis 1988 p.22.

<sup>17</sup> The Diktaian Cave only survived as a sanctuary into the eighth or seventh century (see p.31). The others have an unbroken history from Minoan to Roman times (Chaniotis 1988 pp.33 and 34).

<sup>18</sup> Prent 2005 p.566ff.

<sup>19</sup> de Polignac 1994 p.5.

<sup>20</sup> de Polignac 1994 p.6.

<sup>21</sup> According to Diodoros (5.70.4), when the infant Zeus was being carried to a cave by the Kouretes, his umbilical cord dropped near the river called Triton (see also p.91). Pendlebury (1939 p.7) equated the river Triton to the modern Gazanos, west of Heraklion, but Faure (1958 p.501f) identified it as the Karteros, east of Heraklion, on the evidence of Kallimachos' *Hymn to Zeus* (42-45), which says the Nymph dropped the cord on her way from Thenai to Knossos at a spot thereafter called the Omphaleion, and of an inscription bearing the name of Zeus Thenatas (see p.38), which places Thenai on the coast 9 kms east of Heraklion, close to Amnisos. For Eileithyia and Amnisos see p.104.

<sup>22</sup> Chaniotis 1988 p.22 and n.4; Willetts 1962 pp. 281-2.

<sup>23</sup> de Polignac 1994 p.7.

<sup>24</sup> This is suggested by the small size of the sanctuary, votives which include weapons, horse and carriage figurines, and oriental faience objects; Prent 2000 p.368.

Poseidon.<sup>25</sup> Kretan examples would perhaps rather be Hermes, Aphrodite, Ares, Athena, Diktyнна (often associated with Artemis),<sup>26</sup> and, of course, Zeus. It is suggested that such deities, with cults in an ‘in-between’ position, were also responsible for relations between communities and geographic transitions. It is probably not coincidence that their sanctuaries were often located where cultivated land met the wilderness, another kind of threshold. We have already noted the symptoms of rivalry in the Minoan peak sanctuaries, and from the eighth century we see a similar element of competition for symbolic pre-eminence, represented by the size and value of offerings, in remote sanctuaries which were not under any direct control.<sup>27</sup> The very fact that such sanctuaries were shared made it possible for any one group to display its political pre-eminence to the others. This may have led eventually to the complete take-over of a cult-place by one sovereign power. Thus different roles may have evolved from rural sanctuaries with similar origins; in some cases the expression of the territorial sovereignty of one city, but in others the promotion of regional federation, possibly even as a venue for inter-regional gatherings.<sup>28</sup>

#### 8.2.4 *Frontier Sanctuaries*

But another kind of extra-urban sanctuary was also developing in the eighth and seventh centuries, with a definite connection to territorial sovereignty. This was a symbolic marker, situated at the agricultural limit of a region which was being exploited by a particular community, indicating not only the frontier between civilization and the wild, but also the frontier of the land over which its inhabitants claimed control; which latter

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<sup>25</sup> de Polignac 1994 p.8.

<sup>26</sup> Hermes and Aphrodite at Kato Syme, Aphrodite and Ares at ‘the ancient Aphrodision’ between Lato and Olous, and Hermes alone in the Kranaion Cave, northwest of Psiloritis, and also somewhere on the border between Hierapytna and Lato. The sanctuaries of Athena Samonia, in the far northeast, and the Diktyннаion, in the northwest, although indeed remote, are located on peninsulas, and may not have had the same threshold association. Athena, in particular, is more usually associated with the acropolis (de Polignac 1995 p.25).

<sup>27</sup> de Polignac 1994 p.11ff. Kato Syme may represent an exception to the rule equating wealthy offerings with rivalry for dominance. Although Marinatos (1993 pp.122-30) tells us that it has yielded an abundance of votive offerings and luxury items, typical of the wealthiest sanctuaries, in the course of its continuous occupation from Minoan to Roman times, it seems not to have been the subject of rivalry or of dominance by any one power. Although Prent points out (2005 pp.573ff) that evidence of enlargement of the sanctuary in the late eighth or early seventh century, together with a marked change in the type of votives found, might indicate assumption of control, or at least of a protective role, by a local community.

<sup>28</sup> de Polignac 1994 p. 15.



frontier would sometimes be a border with the territory of a neighbouring society.<sup>29</sup> Pressure on land availability in the eighth century meant that there was an increasing tendency for communities to demarcate their territory, possibly by one party taking over control of a previously shared sanctuary, with the establishment of such a frontier sanctuary being an important step in the development of a *polis*.<sup>30</sup> In fact it has been suggested that the early definition of a city relied on two locations: first, the inhabited area, and secondly, a sanctuary to its principal deity, established within the territory, but at the very edge of its cultivable land; such territorial awareness probably coincided with the period when armour began to appear among votive offerings, at the end of the geometric and during the archaic periods.<sup>31</sup> If the sanctuary was on the border between two *poleis* there was clearly potential for disputes with regard to its control or 'ownership'; no disrespect to the gods would be implied by such disputes since ownership of sanctuaries was perceived as belonging to the human, rather than the divine, sphere.<sup>32</sup> The statement that it was the *polis* which 'anchored, legitimated, and mediated all religious activity' seems to imply that even where a sanctuary was shared it would have needed one community to be in control at any one time, as in the case of the great Panhellenic sanctuaries.<sup>33</sup> But there would still have been the potential for its use by more than one community, and for it to serve as a meeting-place for the bordering communities.

As already mentioned briefly, one probable example of a border sanctuary in Krete is the temple of Zeus Diktaios at Palaikastro.<sup>34</sup> It has been suggested that the re-establishment, in the eighth and seventh centuries, of the worship of the *megistos kouros* at Palaikastro on the borders of Dragmos (later Praisos) and Itanos, might have been associated with the establishment of a frontier sanctuary, as part of the process of *polis* formation, as discussed above.<sup>35</sup> Strabo's statement that the temple of Diktaian Zeus was 'at Praisos' is not inconsistent with the idea that Palaikastro was a frontier

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<sup>29</sup> de Polignac 1995 pp.34-36.

<sup>30</sup> Perlman 1995 p.164; de Polignac 1995 pp.39ff and 78ff.

<sup>31</sup> de Polignac 1995 pp.40, 46.

<sup>32</sup> Sourvinou-Inwood 2000 p.14.

<sup>33</sup> Sourvinou-Inwood 2000 p. 15.

<sup>34</sup> See p.32.

<sup>35</sup> Crowther 2000 p.147 citing Perlman 1995.

sanctuary established by Praisos, and therefore, by definition, on the territory of Praisos.<sup>36</sup> De Polignac finds that extra-urban sanctuaries in general are situated between five and fifteen kilometres from the town,<sup>37</sup> so the seventeen kilometres between Praisos and Palaikastro is not beyond the bounds of possibility. On the other hand, in a much later territorial dispute between Itanos and Hierapytna (which had by then absorbed Praisos),<sup>38</sup> Itanos successfully defended the claim that its border extended south of the sanctuary of Zeus Diktaios, based on an earlier agreement between Itanos and Dragmos.<sup>39</sup> Itanos, incidentally, is only eight kilometres from the sanctuary, while Hierapytna is very much further away, presumably reflecting much larger territorial ambitions by the end of the second century. Although the date of the Itanos / Dragmos arrangement is unknown, this history does suggest that there was no 'neutral' territory between city borders, and that a border sanctuary was owned by one or other of the parties, rather than being shared. On the other hand, the argument put forward by Hierapytna, that the territory of the sanctuary was holy ground and undeveloped land, belonging therefore to no *polis*, but to Zeus Diktaios himself, might suggest the opposite.<sup>40</sup>

Whether or not such sanctuaries as that of 'Aphrodite and Ares' at Sta Lenika (Dera), and another rather mysterious Hermes sanctuary, started life as regional meeting-places or as frontier markers is open to question, but they do appear in Hellenistic territorial disputes, respectively between Lato and Olous, with mediation by Knossos, and between Lato and Hierapytna.<sup>41</sup> De Polignac lists, without elaboration, an Aphrodision between Lato and Olous as an example of a sanctuary deliberately built as a border marker,<sup>42</sup> and Sta Lenika is situated roughly three kilometres from Olous and eight from Lato. An 'ancient Aphrodision' is mentioned as part of Lato's border definition in one of the border dispute treaties between Lato and Olous, but is apparently separate from,

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<sup>36</sup> Strabo 10. 4. 6 and 12; Perlman 1995 p.165.

<sup>37</sup> de Polignac 1995 p.22.

<sup>38</sup> *IC* III iv 9, the so-called Magnesian arbitration in 112; Perlman 1995 p.165.

<sup>39</sup> The earlier agreement is known only from the text of the Magnesian arbitration. See also p.129-30.

<sup>40</sup> Chaniotis 1988 p.27.

<sup>41</sup> *IC* I xvi 3, 4 for the sanctuary of Ares and Aphrodite; *SEG* XXVI 1049 for the Hermes sanctuary.

<sup>42</sup> de Polignac 1995 p.37.

although close to, ‘the sanctuary at Dera’, which also lies on the border.<sup>43</sup> Two other treaties between Lato and Olous, at about the same time, required copies to be inscribed, in one case in ‘the temple of Ares at Dera’, and in the other in ‘the temple at Dera’.<sup>44</sup> Since the Hellenistic temple found at Sta Lenika apparently had two *cellae*, it seems consistent with all these references that the ancient Aphrodision, and probably a nearby temple of Ares, were replaced by a combined temple of Aphrodite and Ares, perhaps on the site of the latter, and close to the former.<sup>45</sup> An inscription from Istron attests a temple of such a joint cult, which, it as been suggested, may have come from Argos via Knossos.<sup>46</sup> The precise location of the Hermaion on the border between Lato and Hierapytna is unknown, but the two *poleis* were about twenty kilometres apart. An inscription of a treaty between them, discovered in 1953 and analyzed in 1969, describes the borders of Lato in similar terms to the Lato / Olous treaties, but also mentions a sanctuary of Hermes on the border with Hierapytna as τῶ Ἑρμῶ τῶ Κορ . . . σαίῳ with either ρ or ν as the fourth letter and probably ι in the fifth.<sup>47</sup> In summarizing, the editors seem to accept this as Hermes Kornisaïos, but have not been able to establish the location of the sanctuary.<sup>48</sup> The fact that Hierapytna claimed the right to sacrifice there, on behalf of the city, suggests that the sanctuary could not have been on Hierapytna territory, when that right would have been automatic, but that it was probably situated in ‘no man’s land’.<sup>49</sup>

Mention was made earlier of the ancient and enduring extra-urban sanctuaries of Kato Syme and the Idaian Cave, neither of which seems to have been the subject of rivalry for control, while both were probably visited and used by a large number of cities.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> *IC I* xvi 5.

<sup>44</sup> *IC I* xvi 3 and 4 respectively.

<sup>45</sup> Prent 2005 p.348; Chaniotis 1988 p.23. The significance of this sanctuary as a border marker is enhanced by the recognition that it is almost exactly equidistant from Olous and Lato-pros-Kamara, the port of Lato (today’s Agios Nikalaos), and very close to both.

<sup>46</sup> *IC I* xiv 2; Guarducci 1935 p.103. Istron is rather further south, but the sanctuary must surely be the same one.

<sup>47</sup> van Effenterre and Bougrat 1969, pp.11–15. We mentioned this sanctuary as possibly associated with initiation on p.130.

<sup>48</sup> van Effenterre and Bougrat 1969 p.53; endorsed by Chaniotis 1988 p.25.

<sup>49</sup> Chaniotis 1988 p.25f.

<sup>50</sup> We have noted that visits to Kato Syme from Lyttos, Knossos, Hierapytna, Arkades and Tylissos, at least, are attested by *graffiti* there (p.129). We have also noted that visits to the Idaian Cave from more

These would clearly have provided the best potential of any type of sanctuary identified so far for gatherings of delegates from different cities, although we have only oblique evidence for festivals at which such gatherings might have occurred.<sup>51</sup> Chaniotis puts sanctuaries into three categories: those definitely belonging to one *polis* and situated on its territory; those he describes as “überstädtische”, transcending the level of the *polis*, not situated on the land of any city, and possibly acting as the centre for an amphictiony; and those in ‘no man’s land’, cared for by a neighbouring community.<sup>52</sup> It seems appropriate to place the Idaian Cave and Kato Syme in the second category,<sup>53</sup> together with the sanctuary of Zeus Diktaios at Palaikastro, and look at the evidence for amphictionies on Krete.

### 8.3 The Evidence for Kretan Amphictionies

#### 8.3.1 What is an Amphictiony?

There is considerable variation between scholars as to the extent to which they see an amphictiony as a purely religious grouping, and the extent to which they see it as a grouping for political purposes and with political clout. At one end of the spectrum, discussion relates almost exclusively to the aspects of sanctuaries and cults,<sup>54</sup> while at the other, it concentrates purely on the political activities of the amphictiony, specifically, in this case, the Delphic amphictiony.<sup>55</sup> Others have defined an amphictiony as a league connected with a sanctuary and the maintenance of its cult, whose authority included the punishment of offences against the sanctuary; in the extreme case, the Delphic amphictiony, this extended to launching a Sacred War, which

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distant cities, such as Chersonesos, Itanos, Lyttos, and Kydonia, were attested by coins found on the site, as well from as the more local communities of Eleutherna, Gortyn, Knossos, and Tylissos (p.34).

<sup>51</sup> A fifth-century inscription (*IC IV 80*) says that Gortyn was responsible for an important trieteric festival in the Idaian Cave (Willetts 1962 pp.242-3 and note 84). Prent (2005 p.568) and Chaniotis (1996 p.269) also refer to Gortyn’s imposition of tribute on Rhizenia in the form of sacrificial animals for the Idaian Cave. Kato Syme is less well attested in this respect.

<sup>52</sup> Chaniotis 1988 p.30, giving as examples the sanctuaries discussed above: those of Aphrodite and Ares, belonging to Lato, of Zeus Diktaios (apparently accepting the argument of Hierapytna regarding the god’s ownership of the land), and of Hermes Kornisaaios.

<sup>53</sup> We know from Diodoros (5.70.4) that the Idaian Cave and the meadows surrounding it were consecrated to Zeus and, according to Chaniotis (1996 p.129), the sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite at Kato Syme was also located on its own sacred land.

<sup>54</sup> Parker 1998 pp.15f; Chaniotis 1996 pp.128f.

<sup>55</sup> Hornblower 2002 pp.35, 268, 275, *et al.*

clearly crossed the border into the political sphere.<sup>56</sup> We shall look at two authors who explicitly include, although possibly with slightly different emphases and in connection with different periods, the political as well as the cultic aspects of the groups they discuss,<sup>57</sup> and, given how deeply cult was interwoven with the whole spectrum of Greek life, this must surely be right. The importance of cult in a political context is demonstrated by the fact that the symbol of the taking of a city was the control of its religious centre, and not of any political, military or legal institution.<sup>58</sup>

Greek religion has been described as both a unifying and a divisive influence, illustrated by the exclusion of Kleomenes, as a Dorian, from the temple of Athena on the acropolis at Athens, while he would have been perfectly free to worship her in Sparta.<sup>59</sup> Although Herodotos includes common sanctuaries and sacrifices as one of the elements of Greekness, all levels of united Greek worship - apart from the highest level, where the excluded were non-Greeks - involved a select group of Greeks to the exclusion of other groups of Greeks.<sup>60</sup> It is particularly important that, in Herodotos' definition of Greekness, it was of common sanctuaries and sacrifices that he spoke, indicating that the unifying element was neither common gods nor a common religion, as is often misrepresented, but, more specifically, common cults.<sup>61</sup> A cult is normally defined by a particular attribute of a god, usually identified with a cult epithet, so that participation in a cult involves not only the god, but a specific attribute (or epithet),<sup>62</sup> a particular time and place, and a particular group of worshippers.<sup>63</sup> In seeking amphictionies in Krete, as indeed elsewhere in Greece, therefore, we are seeking a group of communities within reasonably easy geographical reach of a common sanctuary, where they worship the same cultic deity together on specified occasions, and to the exclusion of non-participants. It is worth noting in this context that the 'exclusion of non-participants'

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<sup>56</sup> Larsen and Rhodes *OCD*<sup>3</sup> p.75.

<sup>57</sup> Forrest 2000; Sekunda 2000; both writing under a general heading of "Amphictionies and Confederacies".

<sup>58</sup> Parker 1998 p.26.

<sup>59</sup> Parker 1998 p.10ff.

<sup>60</sup> Parker 1998 p.10ff; Hdt. 8.144.2.

<sup>61</sup> Parker 1998 p.12.

<sup>62</sup> In order to simplify things we will refer to this combination as a 'cultic deity'.

<sup>63</sup> Parker 1998 p.12.

may extend to active hostility to non-participants, in the same way as some bilateral agreements were alliances against a third power.<sup>64</sup>

### 8.3.2 *Cult Epithets*

We may digress a little here to consider why cult epithets were apparently so necessary and universal. It is suggested that the emphasis on a specific aspect would make a god seem more approachable, and facilitate communication, by focusing on that function where help was being entreated or acknowledged, or even where the deity was being condemned for neglect.<sup>65</sup> The Christian Church, or at least its Roman Catholic arm, treats saints in rather the same way, invoking, for instance, St Anthony, as patron of lost things, or St Christopher, as protector of travellers; and, indeed, we see something similar in the approach to the triune Christian God, in the different perceptions of the functions of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Parker suggests that the particular function of the god is primary in the creation of the epithet, and formalization into cult is secondary.<sup>66</sup> We might draw a parallel with the different duties of a member of the royal family. He/she would be regarded with special attention by the regiment, charity, or other body of which he/she was colonel, patron, or president, without distracting from the more generalized situation of being related to the throne.

### 8.3.3 *Cultic Groupings*

It does not seem incompatible with de Polignac's theory of the development of a city<sup>67</sup> to suggest that the city as an institution may have emerged from a particular cult group, and that later the unifying elements of the city were its cults and festivals.<sup>68</sup> Common cult would then have been a necessary part of two or more cities agreeing to share citizenship, either by coalescence or absorption, or simply by two neighbouring cities agreeing that their members could enjoy citizens' rights when they were resident in each other's city. This is possibly the implication of the frequent references in the Kretan

<sup>64</sup> For example the early/mid third-century treaty between Dreros and Knossos (*IC I ix 1*) was an alliance specifically made against Lyttos.

<sup>65</sup> Parker 2003 pp.173 (approachability), 175 (focus). Graf (2010 p.67) prefers the term 'epicleses', as denoting 'names of invocation', to 'cult epithets'.

<sup>66</sup> Parker 2003 p.176.

<sup>67</sup> See p.170.

<sup>68</sup> Parker 1998 p.13.

bilateral treaties to representatives of one city attending the major festivals of the other, although these references seem to fall short of any suggestion of *isopoliteia*. However, as we noted above, joint sacrifices and mutual attendance at festivals were very usually mentioned, in what are otherwise civic documents, pointing to a close association between citizen identity and cult.

A cult could also be the focus of a group which had no other institutional structure, as for instance in the case of islands. Lesbos apparently consisted of a number of independent or even mutually hostile cities, but established a large common sacred precinct at Mesa, visible from afar, which, according to Louis Robert, became the capital of the federal state of Lesbos, when this came into being much later.<sup>69</sup> Parker puts the temple of Athena in Lindos in a similar category of pan-Rhodian cult, although without mentioning that of Zeus Atabyrios, also built in a highly visible situation on the highest mountain of the island, and probably also pan-Rhodian.<sup>70</sup> Thus an amphictiony is defined as a grouping not by blood, as a gathering of the clan, but by proximity to a sanctuary, including such famous examples as Delphi, and the major games venues, which eventually led to the pan-hellenic festivals, where the elect group extended to all Greeks, and the excluded group to any non-Greeks.<sup>71</sup> Invitations were sent out widely to come and sacrifice together (συνθύειν) and process together (συμπομπεύειν), which reminds us of the stipulations regarding ‘timely’ invitations to the other city in some of the Kretan bilateral treaties. We have already referred to the opportunities for meetings afforded by such invitations for representatives of each of the two cities to participate in the major festivals of the other.<sup>72</sup> Frequently, also, there are references, in various forms, to the attendance of the ephebes of both parties on such occasions,<sup>73</sup> which

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<sup>69</sup> Parker 1998 p.16.

<sup>70</sup> See p.80. Parker 1998 gives other examples, from Aitolia and Thessaly, of the establishment of religious centres in locations which only much later became federal centres, but (p.16, n.30) says that he knows of nothing comparable for Krete. The point that he is making here seems to be, not that there were no cult-centres (and associated amphictionies) in Krete, but that he knows of none which later developed into a federal centre.

<sup>71</sup> Parker 1998 p.22.

<sup>72</sup> Chaniotis 1996 p.126 and n.768. Select examples are treaties between Lyttos and Malla (*IC I xix 1*), Arkades and Hierapytna (*IC III iii 1B*), Hierapytna and Priansos (*IC III iii 4*), Hierapytna and Knossos (*IC I viii 13*), Lyttos and Olous (*IC I xviii 9*), Lato and Olous (*IC I xvi 5*).

<sup>73</sup> Chaniotis 1996 p.127.

would again seem to emphasize the close link between cultic observance and citizenship. On occasion there are references to young men who were leaving the ephebate coming from several cities to join in a festival at a common sanctuary,<sup>74</sup> which certainly begins to sound like an amphictiony.

#### 8.3.4 Possible Examples of Amphictionies

The fact that there are so many examples of invitations to festivals in bilateral agreements with Hierapytna, might suggest that Hierapytna itself was the cult-centre of an amphictiony. But this would conflict with the role of the sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite, at Kato Syme, in the southern foothills of the Aigaion Mountains near Biannos, which was situated on its own sacred territory, and, as we noted above, was itself visited by delegates from Hierapytna, as well as from Arkades, Knossos, Lyttos, and Tylissos - all attested by *graffiti* - and was probably also on the borders of Malla and Biannos, and therefore used by them as well.<sup>75</sup> All these cities roughly encircle the Aigaion Mountains, and are thus in the reasonably close geographical vicinity of Kato Syme, and could well have constituted an amphictiony, although it is impossible to be certain if they all attended the sanctuary at the same time. It is however possible that Hierapytna had some sort of organizing role for the sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite, and that regulations concerning sacrifices in some of Hierapytna's bilateral agreements may have referred to rites at Kato Syme. In a treaty between Hierapytna and Lyttos there are words missing which relate to a sacrifice, which was to be brought every year by the *Kosmoi*, on penalty of a fine of one hundred silver staters.<sup>76</sup> It is not clear whether the sacrifice took place at a joint ceremony in one of the two cities, or whether it took place at some other location attended by both parties. If the latter there is a strong presumption that the location could have been Kato Syme, which could well be on the common boundary of the two cities. Similarly there are regulations regarding the performance of sacrifice and the naming of a priest in an agreement between

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<sup>74</sup> Chaniotis 1996 p.129.

<sup>75</sup> Chaniotis 1996 p.129.

<sup>76</sup> *IC* III iii 3B; Chaniotis 1995 p.129. We see the Gortynians in a similar capacity with regard to the Idaian Cave, for which they stipulate that Rhizenia must supply victims for sacrifice (*IC* IV 80; Willetts 1962 pp.242f).



Hierapytna and an anonymous city, which was possibly Biannos.<sup>77</sup> It is suggested from the context that the treaty may not have referred to a one-off sacrifice on the occasion of its ratification, but to sacrifices brought regularly to a sanctuary, in connection with a cult shared by two parties, which could again could have been Kato Syme, on, or close to, the boundary between Hierapytna and Biannos.<sup>78</sup>

Then again we find Hierapytna included, together with Praisos, Itanos, and possibly Knossos, in another probable amphictiony based on the cult of Zeus Diktaios at Palaikastro.<sup>79</sup> We have also noted already that the Idaian cave was visited by delegates from, *inter alia*, Itanos, Lyttos, Knossos, and Tylissos, providing further evidence of overlap, and we have earlier suggested that the Idaian Cave was in all probability the centre of a fairly far-flung amphictiony.<sup>80</sup> Such overlaps may be the effect of alliances varying with time, but they also raises the interesting possibility of one city's belonging to more than one amphictiony, which would surely increase considerably the opportunities for communication and joint policy-making.

### 8.3.5 *Political Aspects of Amphictionies*

While we have established that such gatherings would provide opportunities for political discussion, we have not yet found evidence of politics as the motivation for establishing an amphictiony. A slightly more politically developed concept is suggested by the definition of an amphictiony as 'an association of communities round a sanctuary, capable of taking decisions, political decisions, on behalf of all',<sup>81</sup> citing the example of the Dorian *hexapolis*, which consisted of the three cities of Rhodes, together with Kos, Knidos, and Halikarnassus, meeting regularly at the sanctuary of Triopian Apollo, primarily for religious and athletic activities, but using the opportunity also to discuss internal disputes and foreign policy. Similarly twelve Ionian cities met regularly at the sanctuary of Poseidon at Mykale. They too had celebrations and games and talked politics. With regard to Krete, we have noted above that when the Greeks

<sup>77</sup> IC III iii 6; Chaniotis 1995 pp.274 and 129.

<sup>78</sup> Chaniotis 1995 p.129-30.

<sup>79</sup> See p.30. Knossos actually seems fairly unlikely on the grounds of distance.

<sup>80</sup> pp.178 and 34.

<sup>81</sup> Forrest 2000 p.281ff.

appealed for help against the Persians in 480, ‘the Kretans jointly’ sought guidance from Delphi. Possibly an appeal to Delphi might suggest an amphictiony based on the cult of Pythian Apollo, of which there were many, including notably Hierapytna (again), Gortyn, Lyttos, and Dreros.<sup>82</sup> But, with Parker and Chaniotis, Forrest makes the point that, in Greece generally, all these associations had a religious centre which was not attached to anything resembling a dominant political centre.<sup>83</sup> They met on neutral ground, as it were, which might seem to reinforce the idea that they were primarily religious groupings. This incidentally would tend to rule out Hierapytna, a relatively powerful city, as an amphictionic centre.<sup>84</sup>

Much more emphasis is placed on the political aspect of a ‘league’ of communities in the discussion of two groupings in West Krete: the ‘*Polichnitai*’ - identified as an alliance of small communities in the area of Kydonia, rather than the inhabitants of a single *polis* called Polichne - and the league of ‘*Oreioi*’, dwellers in the White Mountains.<sup>85</sup> The *Polichnites* are mentioned by Herodotos as being, with the people of Praisos, the only Kretans to abstain from the unsuccessful expedition to Sicily to avenge the death of Minos.<sup>86</sup> Since Praisos was thought to be the only remaining community of Eteokretans, it is possible that there was some parallel particularity of the *Polichnites*. Thucydides also mentions them, as neighbours of the citizens of Kydonia, who joined with an Athenian fleet in 429 to attack Kydonia.<sup>87</sup> Although Stephanus records a city of Polichne, with the ethnic *polichnites*,<sup>88</sup> Sekunda believes that this is a misunderstanding on his part. Apparently *polichnai* was a fairly common term for a group of small or satellite towns, lacking a central and controlling *polis*,<sup>89</sup> which could well be an example of an amphictiony.

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<sup>82</sup> See Appendix 3 for the distribution of cults of Apollo.

<sup>83</sup> Forrest 2000 p.284ff.

<sup>84</sup> Unless, of course, it was an example of a cult-centre which had developed into a federal centre, as described by Parker (see p.176 n.70).

<sup>85</sup> Sekunda 2000 pp.327ff.

<sup>86</sup> Hdt. 7.170.

<sup>87</sup> Thuc. 2.85.5-6.

<sup>88</sup> Steph. Byz. *ad loc.* Πολίχνα, ἔστι καὶ Κρήτης Πολίχνη πόλις, ἧς ὁ πολίτης Πολιχνίτης.

<sup>89</sup> Sekunda 2000 p.328. But Perlman (2004 p.1148) thinks that Herodotos’ narrative about the abstention from the expedition to Sicily (Hdt. 7.170) suggests that it was a *polis*.

Homer places the Κύδωνες on the banks of the river Iardanos, generally assumed to run north from the White Mountains into the Kretan Sea, while Strabo believes that Homer's Eteokretans and 'Kydones' were both autochthonous, and that the latter occupied the western part of Krete.<sup>90</sup> Furthermore there is evidence of a group of personal names in the area beginning Τάσκ - - , which are likely to have been pre-Hellenic, on which evidence it is suggested that the name 'Kydones' may have referred to a pre-Greek race inhabiting the West of Krete, north of the White mountains, which would coincide geographically with the location of the *Polichnites*, thus providing a non-Greek parallel with the Praisians, and even that the tall, blonde, blue-eyed Sphakiots, living in the White Mountains in more recent times, may be descendants of these non-Greek Kydones.<sup>91</sup> We need to consider here the implication of the fact that the Praisians and the Kydones were apparently the only abstainers from the expedition to Sicily, implying that the other races mentioned by Homer - Pelasgians, Dorians, and Achaeans – were all considered Greeks, a view seemingly endorsed by Strabo.<sup>92</sup>

Evidence for the worship of the Kretan goddess Diktynna is found only in the west of Krete,<sup>93</sup> at Phalasarna, Polyrrhenia, Kydonia, Aptaera and Lissos in particular, and it has been suggested that the Diktynnaion, on the Rhodopou peninsula, may have originated as a pan-Kydones sanctuary, which was the centre of a Kydones amphictiony.<sup>94</sup> This would conflict with the statement in Herodotos that the Diktynnaion was built by the Samians who briefly colonized Kydonia, incidentally endorsing the opinion of some Herodotean authorities that this passage is a later addition.<sup>95</sup> But the idea that these western cities were relatively small communities, with no one city dominant, at least until the Samians and Aiginetans came to Kydonia, seems quite reasonable, and they

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<sup>90</sup> Sekunda 2000 p.330; *Od.* 3.292; Strabo 10.4.6 referring to *Od.* 19.175f. Modern travel guides suggest that Homer's river was the present day Plataniis, flowing into the sea at Chania, which could fit with the context of Menelaus encountering a storm after leaving Cape Maleia, the southeast tip of the Peloponnese, although the passage in the *Odyssey* goes on to refer to Gortys and Phaistos, close to the south coast (*Od.* 3. 286-296).

<sup>91</sup> Sekunda 2000 pp.330f.

<sup>92</sup> *Od.* 19.175; Strabo 10.4.6.

<sup>93</sup> See p.103.

<sup>94</sup> Sekunda 2000 p.331.

<sup>95</sup> See p.102 and n.136.

may well have worshipped Diktynna together, in an older building or elsewhere, before the Samians arrived.<sup>96</sup> Both the building of the Diktynnaion by the Samian colonists, and the adoption of Diktynna, under the name Aphaia, as an Aiginetan goddess, by the Aiginetan colonists who supplanted the Samians, could have been attempts by the colonizers to dominate this amphictiony. In support of this, it has been suggested that it was the growth of the Aiginetan colony which prompted the *Polichnites* to band together, and seek help from the Athenians in 429.<sup>97</sup>

If this is the case there would seem to be some overlap between a Diktynnaion-based amphictiony and the cities belonging to the later league of the *Oreioi*. We have identified Lissos as one of the centres for the worship of Diktynna, while the evidence of coins and of an inscription from Lissos makes it clear that the city was one of the *Oreioi*, which seems to have been an early third-century confederacy, mentioned by Polybios.<sup>98</sup> The inscription in question was an external treaty, concluded between the *Oreioi* and King Magas of Kyrene, in the third century;<sup>99</sup> we will be looking at this further below in connection with the Kretan *koinon*. On the basis of federal coinage, other members of the *Oreioi* have been identified as Hyrtakina, Elyros, Poikilasion, and Tarra, at the least, and possibly Kantanos and communities further east as well; it is not known which, if any, of these cities was the ‘capital’ of the league, although Lissos has been suggested.<sup>100</sup> A pebble mosaic head of Apollo, found at Tarra, fits with the myth that Apollo came to Tarra for purification after killing the Python, so one possibility is that the cult of Apollo Tarraios, known to have existed at Tarra, was what united the *Oreioi*, and that Tarra was the cult-centre. But here again we have to question whether a participating city could also be the cult-centre. If we opt for a neutral location, the sanctuary of Poseidon, discovered at Tsiskiana, and said to have served an area which

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<sup>96</sup> The sanctuary was founded in the ninth century and the earliest evidence of a temple is from the seventh (Perlman 1999 p.142).

<sup>97</sup> Sekunda 2000 p.334.

<sup>98</sup> Willetts 1955 p.226; Polybios 4.53.6.

<sup>99</sup> *IC* II xvii 1. See p.37 n.156.

<sup>100</sup> *IACP* does not recognize Poikilasion as a *polis*. Sekunda 2000 p.338f; van Effenterre 1948 p.125.

included all the *Oreioi* member cities, is a likely candidate.<sup>101</sup> By 183 we find an inscription from Gortyn including Elyros, Hyrtakina, Tarra and possibly Lissos, all listed separately with no reference to the League of the *Oreioi*, so it seems that the League was fairly short-lived, at least politically.<sup>102</sup>

So we have now identified three main types of cultic grouping: gatherings at a specified festival of one city, which had bilateral agreements with several others, and would invite delegates from all or them to attend; several cities in the same proximity, participating jointly in rites, either at a sanctuary belonging to one of them, or in a neutral sanctuary, on or close to their common borders; and cities banding together for the purpose of political clout, who very probably also had cultic links between them. The first category can hardly be described as an amphictiony, but, given the nature of the evidence, which is mainly from bilateral treaties, it does not rule out the possibility of the cities concerned being part of an amphictiony. The third category can, perhaps, be fairly considered as an amphictiony, particularly where there is evidence of worship of the same deity by the parties involved, but where the prime motive for their grouping seems to have been political, these groups are possibly better described as confederacies.<sup>103</sup> The second category would seem to be the archetypal amphictiony. In Krete, then, we have identified amphictionies in the south, based on the worship of Hermes and Aphrodite at Kato Syme, and possibly of some other deity at Hierapytna; in the east, based on the worship of Diktaian Zeus, at Palaikastro; in the northwest, based on the worship of Diktyinna at the Diktyinnaion; possibly in the southwest, based on the worship of Poseidon at today's Tsiskiana; and in the centre, what was probably the largest of them all, based on the worship of Zeus Idatas, at the Idaian Cave. Given the number of different gods and related epithets we find in Kretan inscriptions, it would be remarkable if these were the only examples.

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<sup>101</sup> The sanctuary found at Tsiskiana was mentioned on p.89 n.17 in connection with Poseidon. It seems probable that it was a shared sanctuary for a considerably longer period than that during which the *Oreioi* were an active political group.

<sup>102</sup> Sekunda 2000 p.347.

<sup>103</sup> Fraser (2009 p.137f) suggests that a Kretan *koinon*, not the same as the Hellenistic *koinon* discussed below, was formed by the smaller communities of the island to protect themselves against the dominant powers of Knossos, Gortyn, and Polyrrhenia.

It is perhaps worth noting here that many cities of Krete were included in the itineraries of festival announcers from Delphi, and probably therefore from the other Panhellenic sanctuaries.<sup>104</sup> Although there is little evidence of Kretan *theoroi* visiting Delphi, or indeed other Panhellenic sanctuaries,<sup>105</sup> any such links which did exist could have extended the connections between a much larger number of Kretan cities and the Panhellenic sanctuaries, at secondhand, as it were, using the internal networks which we have identified.

## 8.4 *The Kretan Koinon*

### 8.4.1 *The Epigraphic Evidence*

As noted above, the third-century treaty between the *Oreioi* and King Magas of Kyrene,<sup>106</sup> in which the only gods specifically invoked in the oath were Diktynna and those in her *temenos*, the gods in Poikilasion, and Zeus Kretagenes, suggests some kind of pan-Kretan role for Zeus Kretagenes.<sup>107</sup> We have suggested that this particular epithet, which appears for the first time in the Hellenistic period, might have been associated with, or even invented for, the Kretan *koinon*, which is first attested in the late third century.<sup>108</sup> We noted in this connection that when Zeus Kretagenes was invoked in a treaty oath, he usually appeared second only to Hestia in the list of gods, which seems to suggest some sort of political role. We have also looked at a specific treaty between Eleutherna and (probably) Knossos,<sup>109</sup> where the unique appearances of Diktynna and Britomartis together, of multiple epithets for Apollo, and of all three epithets, Idatas, Diktaios, and Kretagenes, for Zeus, in the same list of gods invoked, suggested very plausibly to van Effenterre that this treaty was associated with the

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<sup>104</sup> Rutherford 2009 p.34.

<sup>105</sup> There is however evidence of the inclusion of Phalasarna among the cities of the southern Aegean who sent *theoroi* to the Ptolemaia, set up by Ptolemy Philadelphos in memory of his father in 278 (Rutherford 2009 p.26).

<sup>106</sup> *IC* II xvii 1.

<sup>107</sup> This role might have been more effective if a cult-place and religious practices had been associated with Zeus Kretagenes, as with the federal sanctuaries of Athena Lindia on Rhodes and Mesa on Lesbos (see p.176). Constantakopoulou 2005 pp.15-16.

<sup>108</sup> See pp.37-8. van Mijnsbrugge 1931 p.14; Ager 1994 p.1; Sjögren 2003 p.96.

<sup>109</sup> *SEG* XLI 743.

*koinon*,<sup>110</sup> and was making every effort to include all the various cults of its member-states.

#### 8.4.2 *The Gortyn/Knossos Alliance*

Although the mountainous terrain of Krete was generally responsible for the island's division into multiple independent warring states, the corridor of relatively low land, lying between the Idaian range to the west, and the Aigaion range to the east, seems to have had the opposite effect, and facilitated an alliance between Knossos, at its north end, and Gortyn, in the south.<sup>111</sup> Strabo tells us that Gortyn ranked second in power to Knossos in Hellenistic Krete, and that when the two were in alliance the whole island was peaceful, and when they quarrelled there was dissension everywhere.<sup>112</sup> Polybios refers to the Knossians and the Gortynians together subjecting the whole island, except for Lyttos, in 221, which may have been the actual date that the *koinon* was founded, or if, as some scholars think, its foundation was earlier, at least of its restoration.<sup>113</sup> There seems no record of alliance between Knossos and Gortyn before then - in fact very much the reverse - and, according to Strabo, such an alliance was essential to unity on the island. Before that date, a mid third-century inscription from Miletos refers to three separate groups of Kretan states, with whom they must conclude agreement on *asylia*, based on each of Knossos, Gortyn, and Phaistos; the states listed as allies of Knossos are far more numerous than the allies of Phaistos or Gortyn, the latter of which notably included Lyttos.<sup>114</sup> This seems to demonstrate that Knossos was very much the dominant power at that time, and also that there were fairly large groupings of cities with whom foreign powers could negotiate, in the mid third century, even if they were not yet pan-Kretan.

When Gortyn and Knossos got together in 221, they and the rest of Krete combined against Lyttos, and eventually destroyed it. In the course of this war (221-220) the *koinon* must have fallen into disarray, as the people of Polyrrhenia, Keraia, Lappa

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<sup>110</sup> See p.87 and nn.6 and 7.

<sup>111</sup> van Mijnsbrugge 1931 p.13.

<sup>112</sup> Strabo 10.4.11; but we shall see that he was not entirely correct about the balance of power.

<sup>113</sup> Polyb.4.53.4; van Mijnsbrugge 1931 p.58 and n.3.

<sup>114</sup> van Mijnsbrugge 1931 pp.59ff.

(whither the Lyttians had fled), Arkades and the league of the *Oreioi* split away to support Lyttos, as did the young men of Gortyn.<sup>115</sup> It is interesting that Arkades, which is relatively close to all of Lyttos, Knossos, and Gortyn, is very much the odd one out in this list of rebel cities, who are otherwise located in the far west of the island. The *koinon* seems to have been re-established, however, in or before 217/216, when the whole of Krete became part of the league of Philip V of Macedon. Polybios records the subsequent unity of the island rather cynically, attributing it to the ‘honourable resolution and good faith’ of Philip V, who was appointed *προστάτης* of the island at that date.<sup>116</sup>

This is not the only example of the fragile nature of the island’s attempt at unity. Polybios refers to the re-establishment of the *koinon* in 184, after the mediation of disputes by a Roman, Appius Claudius, implying a further discontinuity in the *interim*.<sup>117</sup> This included the time of the so-called Kretan War (c.206-1) between Krete, encouraged by Philip V, and Rhodes, who resisted him; the Kretan involvement was not a pan-Kretan initiative, but rather raids by individual Kretan states.<sup>118</sup> A large number of decrees of *asylia* with Teos were concluded with individual cities in the year 201, as well as some time after 170.<sup>119</sup> Furthermore a certain lack of confidence would seem to be implied by the fact that when Eumenes II concluded a treaty, in 183, with the newly-established body, he seems to have done so individually with each of the member-states; the *koinon* itself is not mentioned, although the negotiations presumably took place at a meeting of the *koinon*.<sup>120</sup> The existence of the *koinon* seemed not to have affected the incidence of Kretan ethnics and double-ethnics mentioned above.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> See p.181 for members of the *Oreioi* league, and p.131 for the young men of Gortyn.

<sup>116</sup> Polyb.7.11.9; Ager1994 p.1; van Mijnsbrugge 1931 p.62.

<sup>117</sup> Polyb.22.15.1-4. Angelos Chaniotis (seminar, Oxford, 7/6/10) suggests that Krete became united for the first time under the Romans, and was never really so in the Hellenistic era.

<sup>118</sup> van Mijnsbrugge 1931 p.65. See pp.244-5.

<sup>119</sup> For example with Apollonia (*IC I iii 1*), Arkades (*IC I v 52*), Biannos (*IC I vi 1*), Istron (*IC I xiv 1*), Knossos (*IC I xviii 8*), and Lato (*IC I xvi 2*); Willetts 1962 p.220 and n.143.

<sup>120</sup> van Mijnsbrugge 1931 p.25.

<sup>121</sup> See p.165 n.6. Fraser 2009 p.138.



#### 8.4.3 Membership and Management

Despite Strabo's comment that Gortyn ranked second to Knossos,<sup>122</sup> this clearly was not always the case during the chequered life of the *koinon*. For instance the dating of a decree, granting *asylia* to Anaphe, an island east of Thera, by the names of the *kosmoi* of Gortyn and Knossos, makes it clear that these were the leading states of the *koinon*, and in that order.<sup>123</sup> Also the list of member-states with whom Eumenes concluded the treaty, referred to above, is headed by Gortyn, with Knossos second. Thirty member states are listed in Eumenes' treaty, as well as one city subsequently erased, which had had a seven letter name for its citizens.<sup>124</sup> Were it not for the seven letter restriction, one would be tempted to assume these were the Kydonians, who were mysteriously given the option, by Appius Claudius, of belonging or not to the *koinodikaion*, and withdrew.<sup>125</sup> The geographical spread of the members is Krete-wide, but certain major cities, such as Dreros, Olous, Itanos, Phalasarna and Lissos, are conspicuous for their unexplained absence; any of these, except Phalasarna, would fit the seven letter criterion for its citizens.<sup>126</sup> The strangely non-geographical order in which the states are listed may have reflected the order in which they joined the *koinon*, although one might have expected more geographical consistency in that as well, given the history of local groupings, alliances and amphictionies discussed above. It is also possible that this is not a complete listing of the member-states, but that some abstained from concluding this particular treaty.

The decree already mentioned, granting *asylia* to Anaphe, is issued in the name of the σύνεδροι (councillors) together with the κοινόν of the Kretans. These councillors of

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<sup>122</sup> Strabo 10.4.11; see above.

<sup>123</sup> *IC* IV 197; van Mijnsbrugge 1931 p.20.

<sup>124</sup> Gortyn, Knossos, Phaistos, Lyttos, Rhaukos, Hierapytna, Eleutherna, Apta, Polyrrenia, Sybrita, Lappa, Axos, Priansos, Allaria, Arkades, Keraia, Praisos, Lato, Biannos, Malla, Eronos, Chersonesos, Apollonia, Elyros, Hyrtakina, Eltynia, Anopolis, Araden, Istron, Tarra, plus the one other erased. van Mijnsbrugge 1931 p.23.

<sup>125</sup> Polyb. 22.15.3-3; Ager 1994 p.8. Note, though, that Polybios refers to belonging to the *koinodikaion*, which may or may not have been the same as the *koinodikion*, to be discussed below, but is not necessarily the same as belonging to the *koinon*. The Kydonians were presumably called *κυδωνιάται* rather than *κύδωνες*; unfortunately they seem not to have survived in Xenion's *Kretika* quoted by Steph. Byz. (*FGrHist* 460).

<sup>126</sup> Steph. Byz. quotes Xenion who tells us that a citizen of Phalasarna is called a Phalasarnios (*FGrHist* 460 F13).

the Kretan *koinon* are distinct from the *kosmoi* of Gortyn and Knossos, who are specifically named; the roles might, of course, have overlapped so far as individuals were concerned. The dating of the decree by the names of the *kosmoi* of the two chief cities, rather than by the name of an official of the *koinon* itself, would seem to indicate that the *koinon* had no federal officials capable of negotiating on behalf of all the member-states; nor is there evidence for any sort of federal army, nor, indeed, of federal citizenship.<sup>127</sup> It would seem then that the Kretan *koinon* in Hellenistic times was a fairly loose structure, providing a diplomatic front for foreigners, and that its powers did not extend beyond the granting of *asylia* and proxeny rights, which are attested by inscriptions.<sup>128</sup>

It would nonetheless, presumably, have provided a forum for discussion among the member-states, and thus, in theory, the potential for making common decisions, such as whether or not to consult an oracle or go to war. But the examples of such joint decisions which we are considering are much earlier than the Hellenistic *koinon*. It seems though that ‘in ancient times’, according to Plut. *De frat.amor.* 19, the Kretans used to combine, in the face of a foreign threat, in a so-called συγκρητισμός, which, it has been suggested, may have been the ancient origin of the Hellenistic *koinon*<sup>129</sup>. One view suggests that the need for a foreign threat to provoke the convening of the *synkretismos* might have been a later guess, thus eliminating the obvious difference from the *koinon*, and that the *synkretismos* possibly originated in the Dorian invasion, and referred to the three Dorian tribes combining against indigenous resistance.<sup>130</sup> Either way, there is here a suggestion of a much earlier mechanism for the Kretans to come together, and a clue that they would have done so to make foreign policy decisions of a military nature.

An even wider role for such an archaic federal institution may be suggested by the terms *koinodikion* and *diagramma* which appear in some of the Hellenistic treaties, and

<sup>127</sup> van Mijnsbrugge 1931 p.29; Willetts 1955 p.229; Ager 1994 p.2.

<sup>128</sup> Chaniotis 1996 p.99; Rhodes and Lewis p.312; Willetts 1955 p.233f; Ager 1994 pp.2, 3.

<sup>129</sup> van Mijnsbrugge 1931 pp.57ff.

<sup>130</sup> Willetts 1955 p.229.

suggest, respectively, a federal tribunal or, at least, mutually agreed federal custom, and a code of rules, which apparently included penalties for interstate offences.<sup>131</sup> It is suggested that these terms are survivals from an ancient tradition of submitting disputes to the arbitration of a tribal confederacy, or an outside power, as in the case of the arbitration by Argos, in 450, of a dispute between Knossos and Tyliisos.<sup>132</sup> The term *koinodikion* is used in just two Hellenistic inscriptions, which in each case also refer to the *diagramma*: the Anaphe *asylia* treaty, already mentioned, and a second century *isopoliteia* treaty between Hierapytna and Praisos.<sup>133</sup> The first of these is relatively straightforward: anyone who contravenes the terms of the treaty, that is, in practice, anyone who commits an act of piracy against Anaphians, will be liable to judicial action in the *koinodikion*, as well as in Anaphe itself, and a penalty will be exacted in accordance with the *diagramma*.<sup>134</sup> The second treaty refers *inter alia* to measures concerning past injuries on either side, referring to these confusingly as having occurred since the time when the *koinodikion* ἀπέλιπε - left off - which sounds like an actual tribunal, rather than just federal custom, but leaves open the question as to whether the tribunal had ceased to exist, or simply shut down at the end of a session.<sup>135</sup> Either way the *diagramma* had remained in force.

The only other possible reference to the *koinodikion* is by Polybios, when he says that the Romans gave the Kydonians the option of taking part in it or not, as mentioned above; Polybios spells it *koinodikaion*, and may not have meant anything so tangible as a federal tribunal, but if it is a simple misspelling he seems to attach quite a lot of importance to buying into it or not.<sup>136</sup> The overall picture from these three references is pretty vague and certainly not conclusive evidence of a federal tribunal. However there are a few non-Kretan Hellenistic references to the term also, where in each case there is some suggestion of arbitration or mediation, and doubt has been cast as to whether the

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<sup>131</sup> Guarducci (1950 p.277) renders κοινιδίκιον as *Cretensium consilium* and διάγραμμα as the *codex* thereof, in connection with the Anaphe *asylia* treaty mentioned previously (*IC IV 197*); Willetts 1955 p.232.

<sup>132</sup> Willetts 1955 p.232. The Argos arbitration treaty (*IC I viii 4*) is discussed below (p.205).

<sup>133</sup> *IC IV 197* and *IC III iii 4*. Willetts 1955 p.232; Ager 1994 p.3.

<sup>134</sup> Ager 1994 p.7 and n.27.

<sup>135</sup> Ager 1994 pp.4-6.

<sup>136</sup> Polyb. 22.15.3-3; Ager 1994 p.8.

term *koinodikion* was connected to the term *koinon* at all.<sup>137</sup> If we interpret it in a more conceptual sense than a tribunal, and bolt on to this a sense of arbitration, it might well hark back to the ancient tradition of arbitration in Krete, as suggested above, and provide a tenuous link between the *koinon* and the *synkretismos*. Some such ancient Krete-wide concept of arbitration, in accordance with a specified code of rules, might go some way towards explaining the ancient perception of Krete's unique legal pattern.

### 8.5 Summary

In our search for the ways in which the Kretans collaborated and made joint decisions we have identified a fair number of potential opportunities, which we will look at in a rising order of the likely geographical spread and number of participants. In a detailed survey of the Minoan peak sanctuaries and caves, Marinatos concludes that these would have been places where official and popular religion joined together, in common concerns such as fertility and abundant harvests, and that the palaces would have tried to use the associated cults to unite the rural population.<sup>138</sup> These would have been meeting-places of the local communities only, but as cities started to develop in Krete, we have found three kinds of opportunity for delegates from more than one city to meet together.

First we have looked at treaties between pairs of cities, which often made provision for mutual visits to each other's festivals, and pointed out that where one city had bilateral treaties with several others, this could result in quite a gathering on their festival occasions. Secondly we have looked at frontier sanctuaries, probably controlled by one city, but used by one or more others sharing the border, all of whom would presumably attend cult events there. There is perhaps potential for slightly wider participation in the rites of the third category, the extra-urban sanctuaries, because of their role as communications and trade centres, which would probably attract attendees from more distant regions, and even, in the case of a port like Kommos, from overseas. Then, finally, we have the 'great sanctuaries', of Kato Syme, Palaikastro, the Idaian Cave,

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<sup>137</sup> Ager 1994 pp.9ff.

<sup>138</sup> Marinatos 1993 p.126.

and possibly others that we know nothing of, whose festivals would have been attended by a wider geographical spread of cities, and which were probably the cult-centres of amphictionies. We have established that such amphictionies were often primarily religious groupings, meeting at a neutral location, and without any one member being dominant. We have also identified the interesting possibility of one city's belonging to more than one amphictiony. We have found other groupings too where the political element was much more in evidence, to the extent of their minting federal coins, and signing overseas treaties in their joint name. These are perhaps more appropriately referred to as confederacies than amphictionies, but it seems likely that a common cult was still involved.

There was already significant mobility between cities in Hellenistic Krete,<sup>139</sup> but we also find more formal groupings of allies, who met to present some sort of a united front to foreigners, which became increasingly necessary by the third century. In the mid-third century foreigners were able to negotiate with three groups of allies, based on Knossos, Gortyn, and Phaistos. It is not clear whether all the Kretan cities were included in this arrangement, but there seem to have been enough of them to satisfy Miletos. In the late third century and second century the *koinon*, even though its existence was sporadic and its executive powers were few, would have provided a forum for discussion between all the member-states, who effectively covered the whole of Krete. Finally we have looked at the possibility that the *koinon* had its origin in a much older Kretan *synkretismos*, and that the *koinidikion* and *diagramma* might have been associated with an ancient tradition of arbitration and an agreed code of rules.

The conclusion would seem to be that the evidence for the Kretans getting together is somewhat patchy and inconclusive, but that there is enough of it to dispel an image of an island perpetually full of completely independent, and often warring, cities. The 'getting together' is broadly of two kinds: gathering together for common cult, and banding together in the face of foreigners. The latter would perhaps have been enough to explain the foreign perception, referred to at the outset, of 'the Kretans' as a united

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<sup>139</sup> Chaniotis 2010 p.20.

front; while the outside perception of a unique legal pattern could perhaps be explained by the concept of an ancient tradition of arbitration and agreed rules.

## Colonization, Kinship, and Invention of the Past

### 9.1 Introduction

Accounts of colonization frequently seem to emphasize certain aspects of the process, while suppressing others. Four concepts perhaps contribute most to this blurring of the historical record. First, that of autochthony, a sort of righteous resistance to the whole issue of colonization, from which historians tend to distance themselves, saying only that it is 'claimed' by the people concerned. The word 'autochthony' is a *hapax* in Thucydides, claimed by the Sikans, whose king was Kokalos, the murderer of Minos, although it is used nine times by Herodotos, notably in relation to the Kaunians and the Karians; and it is suggested that the concept may be an invention, part of a people's self-image.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, a further example perhaps of invention and self-image, there is the apparent need for a city to be able to point back to a distinguished founder or founders, although in fact its origins may have been much less formal and more migratory in character. Gela, where archaeological finds suggest a Greek settlement of some kind before the date of its official founding, is a case in point.<sup>2</sup>

Related to this, and equally susceptible to invention, is the third concept: the use of settlement myths to override more recent historical facts in order to clinch territorial claims, or to seek help from a claimed mother-city, some examples of which we shall see below.<sup>3</sup> A fourth and frequent blurring of the facts is the suppression or misrepresentation of the nature of the takeover, and the interaction between colonizers and indigenous people. Few Greek colonization stories record what happened to the original inhabitants; an example of this is Plutarch's account of the foundation of Syracuse, which ignores the fact of the expulsion of the Sikels, related by Thucydides.<sup>4</sup> And linked to all of these is the further consideration of the relationship between mother and daughter cities, which, it has been suggested, could range from close to downright

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<sup>1</sup> Thuc.6.2.2; Hornblower 2008 *ad loc.*; Hdt.1.172. Both these examples will be mentioned again.

<sup>2</sup> Fischer-Hansen, Nielsen, and Ampolo 2004 p.172; Hornblower 2008 p.274.

<sup>3</sup> Hornblower 2004 p.114.

<sup>4</sup> Plut.*Mor.* 772e-773b; Thuc.6.3.2; Dougherty 1993 pp.188, 179.

hostile.<sup>5</sup> So in trying to analyze any example of colonization, we need to examine whether it was a single oikist-led event or a gradual development; who the colonizers found *in situ* when they arrived, and how they treated them; and how the new colony behaved towards its mother-city and *vice versa*. And, related to this last, and perhaps the most interesting question of all, is what gave rise to the colonizing move in the first place.

Returning to the accounts of the foundation of Syracuse, we find that Thucydides, although punctilious in telling us of the expulsion of the Sikels, is otherwise terse, saying only that the city was founded by Archias, one of the Herakleidai from Korinth; this despite the importance of the relationship between mother and daughter city in his ongoing narrative.<sup>6</sup> Plutarch, on the other hand, as well as agreeing with these basic facts, gives a detailed background story, describing the attempt by Archias to abduct the youth Aktion, whom he desired, which resulted in the boy's death by dismemberment in the struggle, and his father's subsequent suicide, followed by drought and plague in Korinth. Eventually an oracle tells the Korinthians that the perpetrator of the murder must be punished in order to purify the city; with the result that Archias sails off to found the colony of Syracuse.<sup>7</sup> Although examples of exile for manslaughter, such as those of Orestes and Patroklos,<sup>8</sup> are common, the exile seems not so much associated with condemnation and punishment of the killer, as with purification of a ritual pollution which would otherwise affect the whole city.

Although by no means all exiled killers went on to found a city,<sup>9</sup> many foundation stories involved some sort of political unrest in the mother-city, following which the dissidents were sent off to found a colony, often through the medium of the Delphic

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<sup>5</sup> Hornblower 2008 pp.277-8.

<sup>6</sup> Thuc.6.3.2, 6.88.8, 6.104.1.

<sup>7</sup> Plut.*Mor.* 772e-773b; Dougherty 1993 pp.178-9. Fontenrose 1978 p.138, Q27.

<sup>8</sup> Eur.*Orest.* 1643f; *Il.* 23.84f; Dougherty 1993 p.185. An example closer to Krete would be the tale told by Odysseus to Athena, that he had had to leave Krete because he had killed Orsilochos, the son of Idomeneus, in a squabble over booty from Troy, where he had led a separate Kretan contingent (*Od.*13.265ff).

<sup>9</sup> Drakontios the Spartan, for example, exiled as a child for stabbing another boy accidentally (*Xen.Anab.* IV viii 25-6). Timoleon of Korinth, on the other hand, was not exiled for his fratricide/tyrannicide, and, although he much later brought order to Syracuse, he did not found a city.



oracle. Some examples of colonization oracles are discussed below;<sup>10</sup> a Kretan example resulting from civil unrest, although less directly, is that of the Samians, exiled by Polykrates, who were said to have ‘founded’ Kydonia.<sup>11</sup> This exile of dissident citizens for the good of the whole community, coupled with the involvement of the Delphic oracle, may have led, via the concept of the purification of a city through the exile of a killer, to an association between colonization and purification; this is possibly the implication of Kallimachos’ use of the name Phoibos, under which Apollo traditionally fulfils his purifying role, three times in connection with the founding of Kyrene.<sup>12</sup>

We shall need to bear in mind these considerations - autochthony, the reality of the oikist, the nature of the takeover, the relations between mother and daughter city, and the background and motivation for any colonizing endeavour – as we look at examples of inward and outward colonization in connection with Krete.

## 9.2 *Inward Colonization*

### 9.2.1 *Ancient Godlings*

In considering the colonization of Krete, whose inhabitants, according to Diodoros, were confident that all the gods originated in their island,<sup>13</sup> we can hardly ignore the fact that the Olympian gods on Krete were preceded by two classes of what may be referred to as “godlings”; the Idaian Daktyls and the Kouretes.<sup>14</sup> These two godling groups would seem to be the earliest examples of possible colonizers arriving on the island.

Not much is known for certain about the Daktyls, including, in particular, whether ‘Idaian’ refers to Mt. Ida in Phrygia or in Krete.<sup>15</sup> In Book 5, Diodoros says that they

<sup>10</sup> See p.218 (Taras), p.231 (Kyrene), pp.220-1 (Gela). All these are included by Fontenrose (1978 pp.137, 141, and 120ff) as ‘questionable’.

<sup>11</sup> Hdt. 3.44 and 59.

<sup>12</sup> Dougherty 1993 p.179f; Kallimachos *Hymn to Apollo* 55-57. But Kallimachos actually calls Apollo ‘Phoibos’ seventeen times in the *Hymn* compared with ‘Apollo’ sixteen times (Williams 1978 p.18).

<sup>13</sup> Note *caveats* p.5.

<sup>14</sup> Diod.5.64.2, 5.64.3-5.65.4. Griffiths (*OCD*<sup>3</sup> p.1479) actually uses the word ‘godlings’ of the Telchines; but Strabo (10.3.7) describes Telchines, as well as Korybantēs and Kabiri, as the same *genre* as Daktyls and Kouretes, calling them all ‘genii or ministers of gods’.

<sup>15</sup> See pp.63, 101.

made their home around Mt. Ida on Krete, but that some historians, including Ephoros, locate them on Phrygian Mt. Ida; while Strabo places them originally in Phrygia, but adds confusingly that the first hundred men born in Krete, and their ninety grandchildren, born via nine Kouretes, were all called Idaian Daktyls.<sup>16</sup> Their credentials as colonizers, however, are enhanced by Diodoros' additional statement that they may have been associated with the coming to Europe of Mygdon, and his later mention of a Pelasgian migration which included Krete.<sup>17</sup> We have noted already that Mygdon was the legendary king of Phrygia, mentioned in the *Iliad* as having been helped by Priam in a war against the Amazons,<sup>18</sup> and postulated that there could be a connection here with the Pelasgian population of Krete,<sup>19</sup> which will be further discussed below.

While confessing that he is not fond of myths, Strabo nonetheless advocates examining them in different versions, with a view to extracting some historical truth, since, he says, the ancients embroidered the facts with mythical elements.<sup>20</sup> So when we read in Diodoros that the Idaian Daktyls discovered the usefulness of fire, and the properties of copper and iron, as well as the means of working them, which was done in the territory of the city of Aptaera, at so-called Berekynthos, we are surely justified in seeking historical facts which could be associated with the myth. Berekynthos has been described as one of the most celebrated mountains in Krete, and identified as the mountain which is today called Malaxa, in a 2000 ft range west of Aptaera,<sup>21</sup> and was perhaps "so-called" because of an association with Phrygian metal-workers. Strabo refers to the Berekyntes as a tribe of Phrygian people, living around Mt. Ida and indulging in orgies in honour of Rhea as the Great Goddess;<sup>22</sup> and, as we have just seen, the Idaian Daktyls, the first iron-workers, were associated with the Mt. Ida in Phrygia as well as that in Krete. Strabo later mentions the Berekyntes again as a Phrygian tribe

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<sup>16</sup> Diod. 5.54.3, 4; Strabo 10.3.22, 17.7.5.

<sup>17</sup> Diod.5.64.4, 5.80.1.

<sup>18</sup> See pp.63-4. *Il.*3.185.

<sup>19</sup> *Od.*19.177.

<sup>20</sup> Strabo 3.23.

<sup>21</sup> Pashley 1837 p.57; Guarducci 1939 p.10; Bursian 1872 p.540. There is today a village called Malaxa about halfway from Aptaera to Chania, on the mountainous inland road.

<sup>22</sup> Strabo 10.3.12.

which has disappeared.<sup>23</sup> It seems conceivable therefore that Berekynthos took its name from an association with the Phrygian iron industry, and the myth of the Daktyl colonizers could even have originated from early Phrygian iron-worker settlers.<sup>24</sup> It is said that there were copper and iron deposits fairly close to Kydonia, which is not far from Aptera.<sup>25</sup>

The Kouretes are described by Diodoros as successors to the Idaian Daktyls on Krete, either as their descendants or as autochthonous beings. Although Strabo himself does not seem to make the connection, we may have here another example of a myth which has grown up around a folk-memory of facts. Before he goes on to talk about the Kouretes in Krete as ministers of orgiastic worship and guardians of the infant Zeus,<sup>26</sup> Strabo discusses the Kouretes as a real people, originating in Aitolia, Akarnania, or Euboea.<sup>27</sup> Despite the record of Kouretes fighting against Aitolians, in the account of an ancient conflict, used by Phoinix to urge Achilles back into battle,<sup>28</sup> Strabo argues that this does not preclude their being Aitolians; by this he apparently means that they occupied the territory which was to become Aitolia, since he later says that they withdrew into Akarnania after being overpowered by Aitolos. It is not totally beyond the realm of possibility, therefore, that some of these Kouretes were among Homer's Achaeans settlers in Krete, whom we will look at further below.

### 9.2.2 *Waves of Settlers*

In Odysseus' description of Krete to his wife Penelope, Homer has him say: "Language with language mix there together. There are Achaeans, there are great-hearted

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<sup>23</sup> Strabo 12.8.21.

<sup>24</sup> There is a possible parallel in the pottery industry in the Iron Age, when there is some evidence of a Naxian potter settling in Knossos, and one from Paros in Eleutherna. (Antonias Katsonas, seminar: *Cruising the Cretan Sea: craftsmen, artefacts and ideas between Crete and the Kyklades during the Iron Age*, 24/2/10). There is also a much earlier history of 'industrial' development in Krete, at the end of the twentieth century, including potters' wheels and wheeled traffic, which could be explained by migration from Syria or Palestine, and associated with the Europa myth ((Braudel 2001 p.132).

<sup>25</sup> Faure 1980 p.152.

<sup>26</sup> Strabo 10.3.11.

<sup>27</sup> Strabo 10.3.1-6.

<sup>28</sup> *Il.* 9.529ff.

Eteokretans, there are *Kydones*, and Dorians in three divisions, and noble Pelasgians”.<sup>29</sup> Much later, in the fifth and fourth centuries, Achaeans usually appeared as a unit situated in a relatively defined territory in the northern Peloponnese. The Achaean League had a fairly constant membership, and was apparently characterized by neutrality, and a close connection with Sparta from 417; the former perhaps predominated, as they do not appear among the allies of Syracuse during the Sicilian expedition.<sup>30</sup> But the name was associated by Homer not only with the northern Peloponnese, including Argos, but also with north Greece, with Krete, and, of course with all the Greeks who fought against Troy.<sup>31</sup> It has been suggested that the Minos referred to by Homer was not the great king of Knossos, but the grandfather of Idomeneus, an Achaean conqueror who, if he called himself Minos, was assuming the name and honours of his Kretan predecessors.<sup>32</sup> This would perhaps explain how his grand-daughter, Aerope, a cousin of Idomeneus, came to marry Atreus, the son of Pelops, and the father of Agamemnon and Menelaos. It could also provide one answer to the question as to why Minoans often seem to have been considered as Greeks, which is strongly suggested by Minos’ Sicily expedition, of which more below. Herodotus tells us that, according to the Praisians, when Krete was left deserted after the Sicily expedition, it was repopulated mainly by Greeks - presumably more of Homer’s Achaeans - and that in the third generation later, the Kretans gave Menelaos high quality help in the Trojan War.<sup>33</sup>

Strabo, citing Staphylos, elaborates ‘the poet’s’ list of the various races co-existing in Krete, saying that the Dorians occupied the part towards the east, the *Kydones* the western part, and the Eteokretans the southern; and that the town of Praisos, where the

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<sup>29</sup> *Od.* 19.175f, tr. Lattimore.

<sup>30</sup> Funke and Luraghi, 2009 p.25. Hdt. (1.145) lists members as Pellene, Aegira, Aegae, Bura, Helice, Aegium, Rhypes, Patrae, Pharae, Olenus, Dyme, Tritaetae; Pausanias (7.6.1) has exactly the same with the exception of Keryneia instead of Patrai. Thuc. 7.58.

<sup>31</sup> Funke and Luraghi 2009 p.25. *Od.* 1.90, 2.6 etc, where they seem to be generally united by ‘flowing hair’.

<sup>32</sup> Willetts 1962 p.88.

<sup>33</sup> Hdt. 7.171. In fact Menelaos is supposed to have been in Krete, at the funeral of his grandfather, Katreus, son of Minos, when Helen absconded with Paris (Apollod. *Epit.* 3.3). It would have been surprising if Idomeneus (his first cousin once removed) and Meriones (his second cousin) had not been called on to support him against Troy.

temple of Diktaian Zeus was, belonged to the Eteokretans.<sup>34</sup> ‘Towards the east’ could well refer to the central part of Krete, between the Idaian and Aigaion ranges, where, as we shall see below, most of the cities associated with the Dorians – Knossos, Tylissos, Lyttos, Axos, and Gortyn – are situated.<sup>35</sup> The *Kydones* are mentioned by Nestor, as living on the banks of the river Iardanos, which he associates with a steep cliff and rocks near Gortyn and Phaistos<sup>36</sup>; this seems to refer to the southwest coast of Krete, although we have previously noted that the river Iardanos is generally assumed to run north.<sup>37</sup> Eteokretans in the south is doubtful; we have seen that Strabo may have confused Praisos, where he correctly located the temple of Diktaian Zeus, with Priansos, a city in central south Krete;<sup>38</sup> in that case his logic would put the Eteokretans in the east, as is now generally accepted.

Strabo goes on to say that it is reasonable to assume that the Eteokretans and the *Kydones* were autochthonous and that the others were foreigners (that is, presumably, Greeks). A more cautious approach suggests that the only identifiable non-Greek speakers of the Homeric list of races were the Eteokretans, and that the “Kydonians, who were obviously the people living in and around Kydonia” may or may not have been barbarians; apparently the people of nearby Polyrrhenia once spoke a barbarian tongue.<sup>39</sup> However Strabo’s assumption sits well with the abstention of these two groups from Minos’ Sicilian expedition, as discussed above, drawing a clear distinction between the people of Kydonia and *Kydones*.<sup>40</sup>

Herodotos continues his account of the settlement of Krete, cited above, by saying that after the Kretans returned from Troy, they and their families were afflicted by famine and pestilence, and Krete was deserted again. Then came a third wave of settlers,

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<sup>34</sup> Strabo 10.4.6

<sup>35</sup> Although it would seem that Knossos and Tylissos already existed before the coming of the Dorians, as they are cited as examples of place-names ending –ssos, which are probably non-Hellenic, and introduced in the Bronze Age or earlier (Hutchinson 1962 p.56).

<sup>36</sup> *Od.*3. 291-6.

<sup>37</sup> See p.180.

<sup>38</sup> See p.31.

<sup>39</sup> Hutchinson 1962 pp.57f.

<sup>40</sup> See pp.179-80.

whom he says constitute the main part of the Kretans of his day, without specifying their provenance;<sup>41</sup> it seems reasonable, however, to identify these as Homer's Dorians. A chronological problem arises with Homer's inclusion of Dorians in Krete, since any major Dorian settlement on the island was unlikely before the eleventh century; it is suggested either that there was a small earlier settlement, or that this is an anachronism by Homer or a later interpolator.<sup>42</sup> The settling of Dorians 'in triple division by tribes' has been specifically linked to Tlepolemos, a son of Herakles, who settled his followers thus on Rhodes, in Lindos, Kameiros, and Ialysos; and the inference drawn that Homer's Kretan Dorians, because also in three divisions, were Dorians from Rhodes.<sup>43</sup> If so, this could be the historical background to the version of myth that says nine Telchines accompanied Rhea to Krete, and were there renamed Kouretes,<sup>44</sup> and it could also fit the picture of a small pre-eleventh century Dorian settlement.

We know that the Dorians arrived in Greece as a league of three tribes: the Hylleis, descended from Hyllos, son of Herakles; the Dymanes, who worshipped Apollo; and the Pamphyloi, 'mingled tribes (?)', who worshipped Demeter, and that when they settled down in the Peloponnese or overseas they clung to their tribal organisation. There is apparently evidence for all three of these tribes in most, though not all, Dorian settlements, including Krete.<sup>45</sup> Hesychios associates the Hylleis with Kydonia, and they also appear in Lato at the end of the second century.<sup>46</sup> The Dymanes are evident in Lyttos in 249, in Hierapytna in the second century, and in Gortyn in the third and second centuries,<sup>47</sup> while the Pamphyloi are attested in Knossos and possibly Olous around the second century, and in Hierapytna in the late second or early first century.<sup>48</sup> These references are mostly very late, which may be an accident of survival, but it is interesting that the tribal divisions persisted.

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<sup>41</sup> Hdt. 7.171.

<sup>42</sup> Hutchinson 1962 p.58.

<sup>43</sup> *Il.*2.665-6; Malkin 1994 pp.37-8. Tlepolemos, incidentally, was another example of a murderer founding a colony, having fled Argos after killing his uncle (*Il.*2.661-8).

<sup>44</sup> Diod.10.3.19. This will be touched on further (p201). But note that Strabo (14.2.7), in his description of Rhodes, says the Telchines came to Rhodes from Krete via Cyprus (Higbie 2003 p.69).

<sup>45</sup> Willetts 1955 p.230.

<sup>46</sup> *IC* I xvi 26, 32.

<sup>47</sup> *IC* I xviii 8; *IC* III iii 9; *IC* IV 165, 182, 197.

<sup>48</sup> *IC* I viii 14, XXII 8; *IC* III v 1.

We have already mentioned the possibility of associating a Pelasgian migration, which included Krete, with the myth of Idaian Daktyls crossing to Europe from Phrygia;<sup>49</sup> and we also considered identifying the Daktyls of myth with real Phrygian metal-workers. Herodotos believed that the Pelasgians spoke a non-Greek tongue,<sup>50</sup> although they might have assimilated some Greek by the time they reached Krete. It is possible that Homer referred to them as δῖοι Πελασγοί:<sup>51</sup> ‘noble’, but also ‘divine’, Pelasgians, because of their reputation regarding the Samothracian mysteries. Unfortunately neither Homer nor Strabo made any attempt to place them geographically in Krete, but if the suggested association with iron-working has any validity, we may perhaps visualize them settling in the west of the island, near Kydonia, and teaching their skill to the autochthonous *Kydones*.

Finally we should consider the Phoenicians, known to Homer,<sup>52</sup> but, perhaps significantly, not included by him among the races settled in Krete. It is suggested, in discussion of the Phoenician background of Thera, that the Phoenician presence in the south Aegean generally may have included actual settlements, as in Sicily; although Herodotos’ picture of an Aegean Sea ‘dotted with Phoenician cities’ was more likely a broad scattering of unofficial Phoenician settlers, in the form of artisans and craftsmen, as well as trading-posts.<sup>53</sup> Thucydides tells us that there were Phoenicians living all round Sicily, ‘living’, albeit, with a main objective of trading with the Sikels, and that after the Greeks started arriving in great numbers, they concentrated on three major settlements in the West: Motye, Soloeis, and Panormos.<sup>54</sup> As early as 2000, Minoan shields apparently showed some ship design characteristics which were similar to Phoenician vessels, which might indicate Phoenician or Egyptian influence.<sup>55</sup> Excavations at Kommos, an ancient seaside town, have revealed, under a fourth-century

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<sup>49</sup> See pp.195-6.

<sup>50</sup> Hdt. 1.57; Hutchinson 1962 p.58.

<sup>51</sup> *Od.* 19.177.

<sup>52</sup> *Od.* 4.83, 14.288 *et al.* Trade between Krete and Phoenicia is implied when Odysseus claims to have taken passage from Krete on a Phoenician ship after killing Idomeneus’ son (13.271f).

<sup>53</sup> Hdt.1.105, 146; 2.49; 4.45; 5.57, 58; Malkin 1994 pp.92-4, and 214.

<sup>54</sup> Thuc.6.2.6.

<sup>55</sup> Hutchinson 1962 p.93.

Greek temple, a structure with features suggesting that it was used for worship in the late ninth and eighth centuries, and was possibly inspired by Phoenician structures, if not built by Phoenician seafarers visiting Kommos.<sup>56</sup> In particular, the find of a “tri-pillar shrine” suggests pillar worship, and could possibly depict Leto, Apollo and Artemis, a trio found sculpted elsewhere in Krete, notably at Dreros.<sup>57</sup> Such tri-pillar representations are thought to have come to Krete and the Peloponnese from Egypt, either directly or via Phoenicia. The lack of contemporary evidence of such pillared structures elsewhere in Krete, the resemblance of the pillars to Phoenician funerary *stelae*, together with a large quantity of Phoenician pottery found there, are clear evidence of a Phoenician presence, although not necessarily of very long duration.<sup>58</sup> It is also suggested that there may have been a connection between the representation of Apollo and the name Amyklaion, which may well have been the ancient name of Kommos, and which could be a transliteration of a Phoenician title.<sup>59</sup>

### 9.2.3 *Founding Legends*

It is perhaps surprising, despite their family connection to Minos’ descendants, to find the names of Agamemnon and Menelaos among the legendary founders in Krete, but this may have something to do with the coming of the Mykeneans, at the end of the Late Minoan period. According to Stephanos Byzantinos, the ancient city of Lappa, site of present day Argyroupolis, was founded by Agamemnon.<sup>60</sup> Kinaithon gives Menelaos and Helen a son called Nikostratos, unknown to Homer, who was possibly the founder of a city in Krete.<sup>61</sup> We mentioned above, in connection with the Dorians, the nine Telchines who may have come from Rhodes to Krete, and it is interesting to note that Kyrbas, the legendary founder-hero of Hierapytna, was said to be a comrade of theirs; Hierapytna was called Kyrba in ancient times.<sup>62</sup> The founder of Kydonia is said to have been Minos’ grandson Kydon (or Kydas), the child of his daughter Akakallis by

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<sup>56</sup> Shaw 1989 p.165, 172ff.

<sup>57</sup> See p.46 for the three statues in the saddle-temple at Dreros, and p.58 for the three pillars at Kommos.

<sup>58</sup> Shaw 1989 p.181.

<sup>59</sup> Shaw 1989 p.174.

<sup>60</sup> *FGrHist* 460 (Xenion) F9; Vasilakis 2000 p.120.

<sup>61</sup> *FGrHist* 499F1; *Od.* 4.12-14; Malkin 1994 p.21.

<sup>62</sup> Steph. Byz. 328.4-5; Strabo 10.3.19; *IACP* 1165-6; Chaniotis 1996 p.436; Oliver 2004 p.474.



Hermes.<sup>63</sup> If we believe all the sources, Akakallis seems to have been extraordinarily favoured of the gods. Antoninus Liberalis makes her the mother of Miletos by Apollo,<sup>64</sup> Pausanias the mother of Kydon by Hermes, while Apollonius makes her the mother of a different son by Hermes.<sup>65</sup> But, perhaps of most interest, Stephanos Byzantinos tells us that Kydonia was formerly known as Apollonia, and that its founder Kydon was the son of Apollo and Akakallis.<sup>66</sup>

Other than these, Kretan foundation stories relate mainly to Lyttos and Gortyn, all suggesting that these were Dorian foundations from the Peloponnese, which will be discussed in more detail below. It has been suggested that the Greekness legitimized by the foundation stories of Lyttos, Gortyn, and Hierapytna (see above) was the reason that, of all the Kretan cities, only these three were admitted to Hadrian's Panhellenic League.<sup>67</sup> In Plato's hypothetical discussion as to who from Krete would be included in a colony on the mainland, the Athenian says that in Krete he has come across settlers from Argos, Aigina, and other parts of Greece; Kleinias responds with specific reference to settlers from Argos, who, he says, include the most famous of their clans, the Gortynian, which is a colony from 'Gortys in the Peloponnese'.<sup>68</sup> Gortys is more usually referred to as the name of the founder. Although the archaeological evidence suggests that there was some sort of settlement at what became Gortyn from the early twelfth to the late eighth century, and that temple-building began in the seventh century, our earliest sources for foundation legends of Gortyn are as late as the fourth century.<sup>69</sup> We have already looked at Plato's *Laws* in this context; Pausanias records that 'they say that' the surviving sons of Tegeates (from Tegea in southeast Arkadia), who were

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<sup>63</sup> Hutchinson 1962 p.58. Pausanias (8.53.4) indicates that this is the Kretan version of the story, but Diodoros (5.78.2) says Kydonia, together with Knossos and Phaistos, was founded by Minos; *IACP* p.1170.

<sup>64</sup> *Ant.Lib.Met.*30, citing Nikander on Byblis, says that Akakallis exposed the baby for fear of her father, but that the child grew up guarded by wolves and herdsmen. When Minos saw him he desired him, so Sarpedon sent him to Karia, where he married the princess Eidothea and had a daughter, Byblis.

<sup>65</sup> *Ap. Rhod. Arg.* 1489-94. Akakallis became pregnant by Hermes in Krete, and Minos shipped her off to Libya, where she had a son, variously known as Amphithemis and Garamas.

<sup>66</sup> *Steph. Byz. s.v. Kydonia*; Papazarkadas and Thonemann 2008 p.84. This will be discussed further below.

<sup>67</sup> Romeo 2002 p.23 and in a paper presented in Exeter in 2005. [Not endorsed by Perlman (*IACP* pp.1175-7, 1161-6)].

<sup>68</sup> *Pl. Leg.* 708a.

<sup>69</sup> Perlman 2000 pp.60 and 63; *Pl. Leg.* 708a and Paus. 8.53.4 -5.

Kydon, Archedios and Gortys, left and settled voluntarily in Krete, and that the cities of Kydonia, Gortys, and Katreus are named after them.<sup>70</sup> But the Kretans, he goes on, do not accept the Tegean story; their version is that Kydon was the son of Minos' daughter Akakallis and Hermes, Katreus was Minos' son, and Gortys the son of Rhadamanthys.<sup>71</sup>

#### 9.2.4 *Sparta and Dorian Colonization*

Ancient authors link Lyttos in particular to Sparta. We have seen that Strabo says explicitly that Lyttos was a Spartan colony, while refuting the claim that its institutions came from Sparta, adding that the Spartan law-giver Lykurgos was five generations later than Althaimenes who 'conducted the colony to Krete'.<sup>72</sup> It is unclear from the context whether the latter part means specifically Lyttos, which would make Althaimenes its founder, or a broader Spartan colonization in Krete. Polybios, too, recording the destruction of Lyttos, endorses the city's Spartan connection: 'Lyttos, a colony of the Spartans and allied to them by blood, a most ancient city in Krete'.<sup>73</sup>

The Spartan foundation of Lyttos has been coupled with that of Melos, whose Lakedaimonian origin is referred to by Herodotos, in connection with the Greek forces opposing Xerxes, and also by Thucydides in the Melian Dialogue.<sup>74</sup> The inclusion of Lyttos comes from an account by Plutarch, which relates that after the Lemnians had helped Sparta to fight the Messenians, they were fomenting discontent in Sparta, so were sent off with two official Spartan founders, Pollis and Delphis, to found a city; some of them settled in Melos, while most went on to Krete, and 'after many battles' they 'founded' Lyttos.<sup>75</sup> This places the action shortly after Sparta's conquest of

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<sup>70</sup> Paus. 8.53.4. It is unclear how a city Katreus would derive from a founder called Archedios. One is tempted to substitute Arkades. But Perlman (2000 p.64) talks of the Kretan city of Katre.

<sup>71</sup> We have already noted the Kretan source for Kydon as a grandson of Minos. Katreus is well-known as Minos' son; Rhadamanthys' progeny are less well-attested.

<sup>72</sup> See p.151. Strabo 10.4.17-18.

<sup>73</sup> Polyb.4.54.6.

<sup>74</sup> Malkin 1994 pp.74ff; Hdt. 8.48; Thuc. 5.84.

<sup>75</sup> Plut.*De Mul.Virt.* 247.

Messenia in the eighth century,<sup>76</sup> whereas in the Melian Dialogue the foundation of the city is claimed to have been ‘700 years ago’, which would be in the late twelfth century.<sup>77</sup> Konon also links the colonization of Melos with Krete, and attributes it to a rebellious bunch of Lemnians and Imbrians, together with some Spartiates, under the leadership of Pollis and Delphos; but his rebels were originally settled at Amyklai, the action is earlier, three generations after the return of the Herakleidae, and he says that Gortyn was the city which they founded.<sup>78</sup>

Of these two versions of Dorian colonization on Krete, it is only Konon who mentions Dorian Amyklai. Plutarch does not, as we have seen, and in his version it is Lyttos, not Gortyn, which is the colony. But the credibility of Konon’s account is enhanced by the existence of a place called Amyklaion, on the coast somewhere near Gortyn, and subject to Gortyn; and the month Amyklaios, unique to Krete, attested in inscriptions from Gortyn.<sup>79</sup> We have already noted the association between Apollo’s predecessor, Hyakinthos, and Amyklai near Sparta, where his tomb lay under the throne of Apollo.<sup>80</sup> It is conceivable therefore that the mixed band of Lemnians, Imbrians, and Spartiates actually settled nearby Amyklaion, rather than, or as well as, founding or re-founding the ancient city of Gortyn itself.

It is possible that Polyrrenia, where, according to Strabo, the Achaeans and Lakonians together built a walled settlement where there had only been villages before, also involved the group recorded by Konon.<sup>81</sup> Most Kretan cities associated with Dorian colonization are thought to have had settlements which pre-dated their Spartan ‘founding’, Knossos and Lyttos being prominent examples. But then again the Lyttos

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<sup>76</sup> Malkin 1994 pp.76-7.

<sup>77</sup> Thuc.5.112. Hornblower 2008 *ad loc* (citing Feeney 2007 *Caesar’s Calendar* and Dreizehnter 1978 *Die rhetorische Zahl*) points out that the theme of Melian kinship with the Spartans was of great importance, but that ‘700 years’ is a rhetorical number, which tended to be used for the lifetimes of cities; adding that here perhaps there is a certain irony in its use, which suggests the end of Melos.

<sup>78</sup> Malkin 1994 p.78; *FGrHist* 26 F1 XXXVI.

<sup>79</sup> Malkin 1994 p.112; Willetts 1967p.3; *IC* IV 72 Col.III 8; *IC* IV 182 23. The Barrington Atlas places Amyklaion tentatively in the region of Kommos (see map), and we have noted (p.201) that it might actually be the ancient name for Kommos. Hornblower (2010 p.87) suggests a comparable link of Amyklai to Cyprus, attested by a cult of Amyklaian Apollo on the island.

<sup>80</sup> See p.57.

<sup>81</sup> Strabo 4.13; Malkin 1994 p.78.

Spartan connection could have been a later invention, when Lyttos was under attack from Knossos, and sought help from a Spartan expedition, which was going to the help of another colony, Taras, in 343.<sup>82</sup> But it is pointed out that when Aptera and Phalasarna had similar opportunities to claim Spartan origin in connection with their current problems, they did not, nor did other Kretan cities which ‘could rely on’ Sparta-related foundation stories, such as Axos and Itanos.<sup>83</sup> Certainly Knossos and nearby Tylissos sought help, in the form of mediation, probably in the fifth century, from Argos, which on these grounds is assumed to be their mother-city.<sup>84</sup> It is said that Argos had close ties with Krete and was linked to Knossos and Tylissos by bonds of tradition, cult, and language,<sup>85</sup> and that the involvement of Argos in mediation between Knossos and Tylissos was not surprising since Argos sent colonists to Krete in ancient times.<sup>86</sup>

#### 9.2.5 Samians, Aiginetans, and Relations between Kydonia and Athens

We have referred to the story that a group of exiles from Samos ‘founded’ Kydonia,<sup>87</sup> with which we have already associated the much earlier founding legend of Kydon. Herodotos refers to the Samians’ settlement in Kydonia in passing, while describing Polykrates’ efforts to get rid of them as potentially dangerous citizens, and their over-verbose appeal to the Lakedaemonians for help.<sup>88</sup> Although the Lakedaemonians, assisted by the Corinthians, were happy to campaign against Samos, in revenge for some of Polykrates’ acts of piracy, they raised their blockade after only forty days, and there is no record that they were involved in the subsequent colonization of Kydonia by

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<sup>82</sup> Malkin 1994 pp.79-80.

<sup>83</sup> Malkin 1994 p.80. Although ‘Sparta-related’ seems a bit tenuous. He cites Hdt. 4.151, which is about Thera sending to Krete for someone with local knowledge of Libya, when they were told by the Delphic oracle to found a colony there (Fontenrose 1978 pp.120-123, Q45-51, 118-119), and coming up with Korobios of Itanos; and Hdt. 4.154, about Etearchos, king of the Kretan city of Oaxos (Axos), his daughter, her wicked stepmother, and the good man of Thera. The name Etearchos is attested in Axos in Krete, as well as in Hierapytna, Knossos, Kydonia, and Olous. It is also attested in Arkadia, Elis, and Sparta. Korobios seems not to be attested either on Krete or the Peloponnese.

<sup>84</sup> *IC I* viii 4.

<sup>85</sup> Willetts 1955 p.233.

<sup>86</sup> Guarducci 1935 pp.58, 308, although without specifying whether Knossos and Tylissos were actual colonies.

<sup>87</sup> See p.194.

<sup>88</sup> Hdt.3.45-46.

the dissident Samians.<sup>89</sup> Herodotos later records that these Samians went to Krete without any colonizing intention, but that they formed a prosperous community there, in about 524, stayed for five years, and built sanctuaries, which could still be found there in Herodotos' day.<sup>90</sup>

Herodotos also records the reason for the Samians' very short stay, which, despite the temple-building, can hardly be described as colonization. There had been an earlier war between Samos and Aigina, and now the Aiginetans, rather unfairly, took revenge on the little Samian colony; they combined with the Kretans, who by implication resented the settlers, to defeat the latter at sea, and enslave them.<sup>91</sup> Aigina was by then already a Dorian colony,<sup>92</sup> and the Aiginetans worshipped the same goddess as the Kretans, Diktyнна or Britomartis, under the name Aphaia, whose cult probably goes back to the tenth century; Pausanias refers to her temple on Aigina and to a song composed to her by Pindar for the Aiginetans.<sup>93</sup> Evidence of the Aiginetans' settlement in Kydonia, from about 519, includes three tombstones in the Aiginetan script which have been found there, as well as numismatic evidence; more Aiginetan settlers arrived there in 431, after their expulsion from their own island by the Athenians.<sup>94</sup>

This may well have been a contributory reason for the Athenians' decision, in 429, to divert twenty ships and attack Kydonia in support of the *Polichnites*; clearly relations between Athens and Kydonia in the late fifth century were not exactly cordial.<sup>95</sup> It has even been plausibly suggested that a decline in Kretan overseas trade in the latter part of the fifth century, could have been due to Athenian action at this time to disrupt the flow of grain from North Africa to the Peloponnese, on a trade route which would have

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<sup>89</sup> Hdt.3.47-48, 56.

<sup>90</sup> Hdt.3.59. As we have seen (pp.102, 180), he includes the Diktyннаion, on the Rhodopou peninsula as one of the sanctuaries built by the Samians during their short stay. It actually seems rather far from Kydonia to have been built by the Samians, and we have noted the doubt as to whether this was original Herodotos or a later interpolation (p.102 n.136).

<sup>91</sup> Hdt.3.59; *IACP* p.1173.

<sup>92</sup> Hdt.8.46; Malkin 1994 pp.33-4.

<sup>93</sup> de Polignac 1995 pp.11-12; Paus.2.30.3. Although ten Pindar odes to Aiginetan winners survive, and a paian to Aiakos, there seems to be no mention in them of Aphaia.

<sup>94</sup> Whitley 1997 p.649 for the tombstones; Papazarkadas and Thonemann 2008 p.80 for the coins and, together with Thuc.2.27 and *IACP* p.621, for the events of 431.

<sup>95</sup> Thuc.2.85.5-6; Papazarkadas and Thonemann 2008 p.80. This attack was mentioned on p.179.

included Krete, and probably Kydonia in particular.<sup>96</sup> And yet an inscription, found in the year 2000 in the Athenian *agora*, and dated to the late third century, records Athens' acceptance of a claim by Kydonia of *syngeneia*.<sup>97</sup> Such a relationship between Athens and any non-Ionian city was unique at this time, and this was the first known example of *syngeneia* between Athens and any other city which was not its colony.<sup>98</sup> For Athens to allow any such claim, let alone with an Aiginetan city in Dorian Krete, is so unusual as to suggest that the claimed kinship was probably based, not on any historical relationship, but rather on a mythological origin, specifically Kydonia's foundation legend. If we accept Stephanos Byzantinos' version of this, we identify the eponymous founder of Kydonia as a son of Apollo;<sup>99</sup> but this would still only have been acceptable if it was in the interests of Athens, which need further examination.

The connection here is that the Athenians also claimed a son of Apollo in their ancestry: the hero Ion, *archegetes* of Ionia. Ion's father was traditionally the Peloponnesian Xouthos, son of Hellen and brother of Achaeus; he was probably first introduced as a son of Apollo by Euripides, in his play *Ion*, in the fifth century. By identifying the hero as the son of Apollo and Kreousa, daughter of Erechtheus, Athens credited the Ionian race with joint descent from Apollo and the autochthonous (or so they claimed) Athenians. It is suggested therefore that the mythological link, upon which the *syngeneia* claim relied, was the common divine paternity of the eponymous founder of Kydonia and of the *archegetes* of the Ionian race.<sup>100</sup> Presumably a Peloponnesian progenitor would not have been particularly desirable in the climate of the late fifth century, and, as we shall see below,<sup>101</sup> the Athenians were actively justifying their claim to empire at that time. The connection of Ion with their city may have been regarded as insufficiently solid, based, as it was, only on the female line; so Euripides' provision of

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<sup>96</sup> Erickson 2005 pp.629-30, 651-3, 657.

<sup>97</sup> *SEG* 53.140.

<sup>98</sup> Papazarkadas and Thonemann 2008 p.73.

<sup>99</sup> Papazarkadas and Thonemann 2008 p.84. We recall that this is the version of the foundation story which makes Kydon the son of Apollo and Akakallis (see p.202).

<sup>100</sup> Papazarkadas and Thonemann 2008 p.85, where they say that the Apollo version of Ion's paternity never became standard, but remained "an Athenian vanity", for which reason it would be a particularly telling negotiating ploy in a kinship claim by a foreign state.

<sup>101</sup> p.213, where we discuss how Athens linked Theseus with the Delian League.

a divine, rather than a foreign, father for Ion would have been a welcome means of cementing Athenian relations with the Ionians.<sup>102</sup>

Although epigraphical evidence from Kydonia is relatively sparse, the importance of Apollo there, in the late Classical and Hellenistic periods, is attested from at least three sources; but this evidence seems to leave it unclear as to whether he was worshipped there as Pythios or Delphinios. The latter seems much the more likely, in that Apollo Delphinios was an Aiginetan deity,<sup>103</sup> and it would fit rather well with the acceptance of the *syngeneia* claim by Athens, where the Delphinion is associated with Theseus, and hence, as noted above, with Athenian imperial ambitions. But the first piece of evidence is an early fourth-century public dedication to Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, and we have earlier established that Apollo when linked with his mother and sister seems invariably to be Apollo Pythios.<sup>104</sup> The same is suggested by a record of a Kydonian called Ikadon, who appears as a contributor to the Delphic sanctuary in 360.<sup>105</sup> This may have some connection with the legend of a priest of Apollo called Ikadios, who was supposed to have come to Delphi from Krete led by a dolphin, but in any case, dolphin notwithstanding, the context of Delphi again suggests Apollo Pythios.<sup>106</sup> Finally, in Kallimachos' Hymn to Artemis, she asks for a Kydonian bow, since she, no less than Apollo, is a child of Leto;<sup>107</sup> here the association with Apollo and Leto might again suggest Apollo Pythios, although we have suggested earlier that the bow was uniquely the attribute of Apollo Delphinios.<sup>108</sup> The solution could be that Apollo as a divine parent was simply Apollo, and the attribute under which he was worshipped in the places founded by his sons was not relevant to the *syngeneia* issue; but an informed source states firmly that the Euripidean genealogy of Ion, according to which he is the

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<sup>102</sup> Parker 1987 p.206.

<sup>103</sup> See p.43.

<sup>104</sup> Papazarkadas and Thonemann 2008 p.84 for the evidence. See p.46 for the discussion of Apollo in his family group being Pythios.

<sup>105</sup> Papazarkadas and Thonemann 2008 p.84.

<sup>106</sup> The legend of Ikadios is recorded on p.42. According to *LGN*, the name Ikadion is attested in Krete in Miletos, Gortyn (twice), Knossos, Lato (twice), and in Olous, between the first and third centuries, and possibly also in Imbros, slightly earlier, but not, apparently, in Kydonia.

<sup>107</sup> Kallim.*Hymn 3*, 81-81. Papazarkadas and Thonemann 2008 p.84.

<sup>108</sup> See p.54.

common πατρῷος, or ancestral god, of Athenians and Ionians, makes him identical with both Apollo Pythios and Delian Apollo.<sup>109</sup>

### 9.3 *Outward Colonization*

#### 9.3.1 *Population Issues*

We have noted above that depopulation of the island seems to have been a major factor in early inward colonization to Krete.<sup>110</sup> Apart from a late third-century migration of ‘Kretans’ to Miletos,<sup>111</sup> there seems to have been no significant outward colonization from Krete after the early seventh century.<sup>112</sup> This may have been a function of more efficient land-use, allowing it to support a larger population, or, as has been suggested earlier, it may have been the result of some form of population control.<sup>113</sup> In a discussion of the possible over-population of Greece generally, at the end of the Geometric period, which was gradually resolved by outward colonization, it is clear that mountainous regions, with limited land-clearance space, such as the Peloponnese and Lokris, were particularly affected,<sup>114</sup> as would surely also have been true of narrow, wooded, mountainous Krete. On the basis of the increased use of gypsum in place of timber for columns and beams in the rebuilding of the palace at Knossos, Sir Arthur Evans believed, and it was generally accepted, that “a main cause for the downfall of the Minoan dominion is to be sought in the gradual deforestation of the island”; but this

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<sup>109</sup> Zacharia 2003 p.44-5.

<sup>110</sup> pp.198-9.

<sup>111</sup> Fraser 2009 p.137; Willetts 1955 p.186.

<sup>112</sup> There could however have been Kretan settlers during this period in existing cities outside Krete. We know for instance from Pindar’s *O.* 12 that Ergoteles, son of Philanor, the victor in a number of long-distance races celebrated in this ode, was a resident of Himera in northern Sicily, but was born a Kretan in Knossos, which city he had to leave because of *stasis* there. It has been suggested that he might have arrived in Himera as a young man in response to Theron’s invitation to “Dorians and others who wished” to repopulate the city after the tyrant’s widespread executions there (Diod.11.49.3; Barrett 2007 pp.79-80) - the dates would fit – in which case it seems very unlikely that he was the only one to take advantage of this convenient coincidence of *stasis* in Knossos and Himera. The name is attested again in Knossos in the third century. We know too that Kretans settled in Kyrene in the sixth century, in response to the invitation of Battos III, in sufficient numbers for them to be mentioned in the later reorganisation of tribes there (Hdt.4.159, 161).

<sup>113</sup> See p.118.

<sup>114</sup> de Polignac 1995 p.6. This would be around the eighth century. But Cawkwell (1992 p.291f) is sceptical as to whether early colonization had any link to over-population, citing the Theran colonization of Kyrene, and the Chalkidian colonization of Rhegium, due rather to drought and bad harvests respectively.



was before the effects of the Santorini eruption were appreciated.<sup>115</sup> In fact the island is still cited as a source for ship-building timber in the Classical period, when Athens also imported “cypress for the gods” from Krete for the building of the Parthenon; and Strabo, writing in the first century AD, described the island as “mountainous and (still) well-wooded”.<sup>116</sup>

We have seen that Aristotle attributed to Minos measures to isolate women, and encourage intercourse between males, as a form of population control.<sup>117</sup> It has been suggested, on rather slight evidence, that outward colonization from Krete ceased at the same time as these measures for population control were introduced.<sup>118</sup> It is confidently stated that no new Kretan colonies were established, nor was there any evidence of a significant number of Kretans going to established colonies, after the middle of the seventh century, although they were said to be active in colonizing before then.<sup>119</sup> There seems to have been no suggestion of a real population problem in Plato’s *Laws*, when the Athenian postulates a situation where every city had a surplus population too great for the country’s food supply, in a discussion as to which Kretans should go to found a hypothetical colony.<sup>120</sup>

### 9.3.2 *Minos and the Islands*

Outward colonization from Krete must begin with the sons of Zeus and Europa, those legendary law-givers, Minos and his brother Rhadamanthys, together with their third brother, Sarpedon. Aristotle points out that Krete was well situated geographically, which enabled Minos to win an empire of the sea, making some islands subject and

<sup>115</sup> Meiggs 1982 p.98 and n.19; Evans 1928 pp.565, 518-9.

<sup>116</sup> Evans 1928 pp.518-9, 565; Borza *OCD*<sup>3</sup> p.1527 on ship-building timber, but see p.248, nn.151 and 153 for alternative views. Meiggs 1982 p.200, citing the fifth century comedian Hermippos, quoted in Ath. 27d-e, for the “cypress for the gods”. Cypress was abundant on Krete, then as now, but was not native to the nearby island of Karpathos, which donated the gift of a cypress-tree from a shrine of Apollo to the temple of Athene Polias in Athens (Ma 2009 pp.131, 129). Strabo 10.4.4.

<sup>117</sup> See pp.118 and 146. Arist.*Pol.* II vii 5.

<sup>118</sup> Percy 1996 pp.68-9. It is not clear how the date of introduction was determined, but he describes the system as ‘new’ in the seventh century.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.* But the Kretan guide to the Theran colonization of Kyrene (9.2.4), and participation in the colonization of Gela and Akragas (9.3.5) are the only examples given.

<sup>120</sup> Pl. *Leg.* IV 708a. Cawkwell 1992 p.293.

establishing colonies in others.<sup>121</sup> Herodotos doubts the historicity of Minos' thalassocracy, and credits Polykrates of Samos as the first to gain control of the Aegean Sea and its islands.<sup>122</sup> But Thucydides, in his *Archaeology*, treats Minos historically, saying that he was the earliest of all those known to us to acquire a navy. He made himself master of what Thucydides called the Hellenic Sea, and became lord and first colonizer of the Kyklades islands; he adds that Minos drove the Karians out of the Kyklades, and established colonies governed by his sons.<sup>123</sup>

Diodoros also refers to Minos' mastery of the seas, but attributes the colonization of the islands to Rhadamanthys.<sup>124</sup> At first sight this appears to conflict with Thucydides' version of events, and certainly Bakchylides says, in his epinician ode to Argeius, junior boxing champion from Keos, that Minos came with fifty ships to the island, where he made love to one Dexithea, and that their son Euxantios became the first ruler of Keos.<sup>125</sup> Diodoros, however, later explains that it was indeed Minos who colonized, not only the Kyklades, but the Ionian Islands and coastal areas of Asia Minor, and that when Rhadamanthys became too popular, on account of his superb justice, he shipped him off to rule the more distant of these colonies.<sup>126</sup> There seems no evidence, other than that of Thucydides, that Minos himself installed any sons, apart from Euxantios, as governors of islands; but his nephew, his grandsons, and some of their descendants are recorded as having been rewarded by Rhadamanthys with an island or a city. In Diodoros' account, Rhadamanthys entrusted Erythrae to his own son, Erythros, and is said to have presented an island or a city to every one of the other leaders who were

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<sup>121</sup> Arist. *Pol.* II vii 2.

<sup>122</sup> Hdt. 3.122. Although elsewhere he tells us, with no historicity *caveat*, that the Karians came to the mainland from the Aegean islands, and that, long ago, when they were subjects of Minos and were called Leleges, they had inhabited the islands. They used not to pay Minos any tribute, but would man his ships on demand. Since Minos was successful in war and conquered a great deal of land, the Karians were far and away the most important race at the time (Hdt. 1.171)..

<sup>123</sup> Thuc. 1.4. This is very different from what Herodotos says about the Karians (n.122). It has been suggested (Willets 1962 p.89), with reference to these contradictory accounts, that the two activities occurred at different times, or were even attributable to two different kings called Minos, pointing out that the Kretan command of the sea must have lasted from about 1600 to the fall of Knossos in about 1400.

<sup>124</sup> Diod.5.78.3 and 79.1.

<sup>125</sup> Bakchyl. *Ode* 1, tr. Slavitt. Bakchylides was a native of Keos.

<sup>126</sup> Diod.5.84.1-3.

with him.<sup>127</sup> But some of these descendants of Minos could hardly have been born at the time of this nepotistic-sounding expedition, let alone taking part in it.

The special case of Keos, the island ruled by Minos' own son, is used by Bakchylides as a symbol of the freeing of the islands, by Theseus, from the domination and tribute demands of Minos; while the context of the poem subtly links it both to Delos, and to the Athenians' own thalassocratic ambitions.<sup>128</sup> It implies that, in fifth-century myth, Theseus did not just release Athens from human tribute to Minos, but also all the Kretan Aegean island empire, thus in some sense justifying the Athenians' effective takeover of it in the fifth century.<sup>129</sup> The poem was composed for performance at a festival at Delos, although whether by an Athenian chorus, or by the Keans themselves, as a subtle ideological trick, emphasizing their release from tribute to Minos, while slipping in tribute to Athens, is not clear.<sup>130</sup> It would have coincided with the rise in cult of Theseus in Athens in the fifth century, and the accompanying vilification of Minos, who had been quite benevolent and popular in the islands; both presumably

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<sup>127</sup> Diod.5.79.1, 2. We are told that he gave Chios to Oenopion, Lemnos to Thoas, Kyrnos to Enyeus, Peparethus (Skopelos) to Staphylos, (all four the sons of Ariadne, daughter of Minos (or Dionysos), and hence great-nephews of Rhadamanthys), as well Paros to Alkaios (another great-nephew), Maroneia to Euanthes, Delos to Anion, and Andros to Andreus (these three from succeeding generations). These relationships are derived from Apollodoros (*Apollod.Epit.*1.9), who says that Oenopion is the son of Ariadne and Dionysos, along with Thoas, Staphylos and Peparethos, although Ion of Chios makes Oenopion the son of Ariadne and Theseus, together with Staphylos only; Enyeus is mentioned elsewhere as another son of Ariadne and Dionysos. Kyrnos is identified on the basis of *Il.* 9.668, as "steep Skyros", Enyeus' citadel, whence Patroklos' wench Iphis was seized; Thoas appears as king of Lemnos in the *Iliad* (14.230). Oenopion is well-attested as a king of Chios by Pausanias (7.4.6, 7.5.6), as well as by an inscription, discovered on Chios and published in 1949 by N. M. Condoléon, which lists the sons of Oenopion - with the names of their mothers as additional evidence - and has led to the suggestion that the Chians were seeking to stress, or manufacture, Aiolian links (Hornblower 2004 pp. 149, 155). Alkaios is identified by Apollodoros as one of two sons of Androgeus, (who was the son of Minos murdered by order of Aegeus, whence the annual Athenian human tribute to the Minotaur); he and his brother Sthenelos were apparently picked up from Paros by Herakles *en route* to collect Hippolyte's girdle. In the next generation, Euanthes, who was given the Thracian city of Maroneia (*Hdt.*7.109), is described by Pausanias as one of five sons who arrived in Chios with Oenopion. It is worth noting that in Book 9 of the *Odyssey*, after Odysseus sacks Ismaros, which is generally identified as, or as near, Maroneia, he is given the sweet wine, with which he drugs the Cyclops, by one Maron, priest of Apollo and son of Euanthes, the local ruler. In the next generation again we have Anion, independently attested as a king of Delos and a son of Apollo, mentioned on a marble relief near the hero's sanctuary on Delos, and described by Pausanias as the founder of Andros.

<sup>128</sup> Bakchyl.*Ode* 17.

<sup>129</sup> Kowalzig 2007 p.90. Constantakopoulou (2007 p.96f) points also to the parallel between the expedition of the thalassocratic Minos to Sicily and the Athenian Sicilian expedition in 415 (*Hdt.*7.170 and *Thuc.*6.30ff).

<sup>130</sup> Calame 2006 p.184 suggests the Athenians; Kowalzig 2007 p.91 prefers the Keans.

linked to the Athenian need to justify their empire.<sup>131</sup> In this connection we recall that Athens captured and colonized Skyros as part of its campaign in the Aegean in 476/5, and that Kimon, guided by an oracle and an eagle, brought home with much pomp the bones of Theseus, who was said to have died on Skyros, and built a Theseion to house them.<sup>132</sup>

It was fortunate that the myth of Theseus related how, before arriving in Athens on his triumphant return from Krete, the hero landed on Delos, sacrificed to Apollo, and danced around the horned altar there with his troupe of Athenian youths and girls. Thus the Athenian *theoria* to Delos was not only a ritual re-enactment of Theseus' visit there, but formed the link between his liberation of the Aegean from Minos' domination, and Athenian thalassocracy.<sup>133</sup> Moreover the formation of the Delian League, as part of the territorial, economic, and ideological expansion of Athens in the Aegean Sea in the late fifth century, centred on its cultural, and at one time economic, centre, Delos, where tribute was collected at the major festivals, further hammering home the point.<sup>134</sup> It is suggested that Pindar's *Paian* 4, also for the Keans, about the mythical king Euxantios and his rejection of a one-seventh share in his father's Kretan kingdom, in favour of ruling his own little island, is a good example of how a Minoan presence and rule on these islands is both acknowledged and denied;<sup>135</sup> this and other examples consciously link the overcoming of the Kretans with the worship of Delian Apollo, and hence to the Delian League and the Athenian empire. "The Kretans, so successfully ousted by Theseus, are conspicuously present on those islands that dutifully send their choral representatives to Delos, or otherwise construe a relationship with Apollo Delios".<sup>136</sup> *Par contre*, there is a total absence of the cult of Apollo Delios on Krete.

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<sup>131</sup> Kowalzig 2007 pp.91-2.

<sup>132</sup> Plut. *Vit.Cim.* 8.5-7; Plut. *Vit. Thes.* 36.1-4; Parker 1996 p.168.

<sup>133</sup> Plut. *Vit.Thes.* 21; Kowalzig 2007 p.92.

<sup>134</sup> Calame 2006 p.185.

<sup>135</sup> Kowalzig 2007 p.93. But Hornblower (2004 p.121) suggests that the references to Minos, and his son Euxantios, by Pindar (*Paian* 4) and Bakchylides (*Ode* 1) in connection with Keos, might suggest actual Kretan (Dorian) foundation of the island colony.

<sup>136</sup> Kowalzig 2007 p.93.

### 9.3.3 *Sarpedon, Miletos, and Lykia*

In a further twist to the question, referred to above, as to whether or not Minos drove the Karians out of the islands, we are told by Herodotos that it was much later than this that the Karians were forced to abandon the island by the Dorians and Ionians. But he adds that this was the Kretan version, while the Karians themselves claimed to be indigenous mainlanders, and denied that they were ever known as Leleges.<sup>137</sup> Of their mainland neighbours, the Kaunians, he says the opposite: that they said that they originally came from Krete, but that in his opinion they were indigenous.<sup>138</sup> But there is no suggestion of any alternative version when he states confidently that the Lykians were originally from Krete, and that in fact, long ago, the whole of Krete was in the hands of non-Greeks.<sup>139</sup> His story is that when Sarpedon and Minos disputed for the kingdom of Krete, Minos won, and banished Sarpedon and his followers from the island. They settled in the region ‘now’ occupied by the Lykians, and during Sarpedon’s reign they were known as the Termilae,<sup>140</sup> a name brought with them from Krete, which he says is what their neighbours ‘still’ call the Lykians. Later Lykos, son of Pandion, banished from Athens by his brother Aegeus, came to join them, and eventually the Lykians were named after Lykos; their way of life, he says, is a mixture of Kretan and Karian.<sup>141</sup>

Whether in fact Minos and Sarpedon disputed over the kingdom of Krete, or over the favours of the youth Miletos, is not clear, and nor are the facts about the subsequent founding of the city Miletos. Apollodoros tells us that all three brothers quarrelled over a boy called Miletos, who, according to him, was the son of Apollo and Aria, daughter

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<sup>137</sup> Hdt.1.171. Sourvinou-Inwood points out (2005 p.271) that the Leleges, although not appearing in the Catalogue of Ships, are mentioned, distinctly from the Karians, as allies of the Trojans in *Il.* 10.429, 20.96, and 21.85-91. In the third reference we learn that Lykaon and Polydoros, sons of Priam slain by Achilles, had Altes, lord of the Leleges, as their maternal grandfather. Also Strabo (14.1.3) refers to two separate chunks of coast being occupied by the Karians and the Leleges.

<sup>138</sup> Hdt.1.172.

<sup>139</sup> Hdt.1.173, with the implication that Minoans were not regarded as Greeks.

<sup>140</sup> Herodotos (7.92), in listing the Persian allies of Xerxes, includes the Lykians, who ‘originally came from Krete, and were called Termilai, but then they were named after an Athenian called Lykus the son of Pandion. According to Sourvinou-Inwood (2005 p.273), the Lykians, in their inscriptions, referred to to themselves as ‘Trmmile-i’.

<sup>141</sup> If that Aegeus was the father of Theseus, these events would have occurred almost concurrently with Theseus’ sojourn in Krete, which fits well with Kowalzig’s reference to a slightly different diaspora of the Kretans as discussed above. It is interesting to note that Artemisia’s father’s family came from (Karian) Halikarnassos and her mother’s family was Kretan. Artemisia led a small contingent from Halikarnassos, Kos, Nisyros, and Kalydna in support of Xerxes (Hdt.7.99).

of Kleochos. When Minos won, Miletos and Sarpedon both fled; Miletos to Karia where he founded the city of Miletos, and Sarpedon to ally himself with Kilix, who was fighting the Lykians, with the result that Sarpedon became king of Lykia.<sup>142</sup> In a slightly different version, Antoninus Liberalis says that Miletos was the son of Apollo and Minos' daughter, Akakallis, and hence grandson and great-nephew to the three brothers. Minos had violent intentions towards him, so Sarpedon advised him to go to Karia, where he founded the city of Miletos, and married Eidothea, the daughter of the king of the Karians.<sup>143</sup> Although it has been pointed out that both these stories are late inventions,<sup>144</sup> there does seem to have been a very old tradition to back them, since Pausanias tells us that the Milesians themselves gave a similar account of their earliest history.<sup>145</sup> They apparently said that following the reigns of two kings, Anax and his son Asterios, Miletos, fleeing from Minos, landed with an army of Kretans, and the city changed its name to Miletos.

On the other hand Strabo makes no mention of Miletos the man, but says that the Karians became mainlanders with the aid of the Kretans, who founded, among other places, the city of Miletos, and took Sarpedon, from the Kretan (city of) Miletos, as their founder.<sup>146</sup> Homer links the name Sarpedon with Lykia, rather than Miletos, when in the Trojan section of the Catalogue of Ships, he says that the Karians who held Miletos were led by Amphimachos and the girlish Nastes, while Sarpedon and Glaukos led the Lykians.<sup>147</sup> Alternative sources name Neleus, son of Kodros, as the founder of Miletos, but it seems likely that this was a 're-foundation', while the Kretan foundation harked back to the heroic age.<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> Apollod. *Bibl.*3.1.2.

<sup>143</sup> Ant Lib. *Met.* 30.

<sup>144</sup> Sergent 1987 pp.197ff.

<sup>145</sup> Paus.7.2.3.

<sup>146</sup> Strabo 12.8.5.

<sup>147</sup> Sourvinou-Inwood 2005 pp.40-41. *Il.* 2.867-877. We recall, too, that after Sarpedon was killed by Patroklos, it was to Lykia that he was whisked home for burial, by divine intervention (*Il.*16.476-502, 666-683). But this Sarpedon was the son of Zeus and Laodameia, daughter of Bellerophon (see *Il.* 6.198-9).

<sup>148</sup> Hdt. 9.97; Strabo 14.1.3; Sourvinou-Inwood 2005 p.268; *IACP* p.1084.

An interesting point about this is that the names of these preceding kings: Anax and Asterios, and the names by which the city itself was variously called: Anaktoria and Asteria, are all Greek-based, and therefore presumably later Greek constructs.<sup>149</sup> This raises the question as to whether places in Asia Minor, who believed that they were colonized from Krete, thought of this as Greek colonization, and themselves as descended from Greek colonists.<sup>150</sup> Apparently there is a common element in the foundation myths of Miletos that non-Greeks preceded the Kretans, thus implying the belief that the (Minoan) Kretans were Greek; and also a common suggestion that these ‘Greeks’ were superior to the Karians.<sup>151</sup> There is no doubt from the archaeological record of Miletos that there was a Minoan presence there. Miletos I and II are Anatolian settlements; there is evidence of a Minoan presence in Miletos III (Middle Bronze Age), but not of actual settlement; but finds from Miletos IV make it clear that this was a Minoan settlement from the Second Palace period. Evidence includes a Linear A inscription, fragments of Minoan frescoes, and a vast preponderance of Minoan pottery over any other. Following the destruction of Miletos IV, its successors were Mykenean cities.<sup>152</sup>

The Krete-Miletos connection, and the myth that Apollo was Miletos’ father, were revived at the end of the third century, when large groups of Kretan soldiers were persuaded to go to Miletos to provide military assistance, and some took families with them.<sup>153</sup> After consulting the oracle at Didyma, Miletos granted their request to be naturalized as Milesian citizens, gave them land, and incorporated them into the civic structure.<sup>154</sup> When, in 202, Philip V seized the land on which they were settled, the

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<sup>149</sup> Sourvinou-Inwood 2005 p.280. ‘Anaktoria’ appears in a Sappho fragment, possibly as a female companion of the poet (fr.16.15; Carson, 2002 pp.27, 362,384).

<sup>150</sup> Sourvinou-Inwood 2005 pp.273ff.

<sup>151</sup> Sourvinou Inwood 2005 p.274.

<sup>152</sup> Sourvinou-Inwood p.276.

<sup>153</sup> van Bremen 2003 p.319f. We actually have the names of many of these settlers (Miletos I.3.34 and 38), in a recent detailed analysis by Hitchman (2010 pp.45-52), and it is clear that the settlers came from a large number of Kretan cities (Sekunda 2010 p.60).

<sup>154</sup> An inscription from Miletos concerning this granting of citizenship (McCabe, Brownson, and Ehrman 1986 pp. 41-42, no.55 = Miletos I.3.37) refers to their common divine ancestry (c.f. Athens and Kydonia on p.207).

Milesians tried to repatriate them to their home-cities, among which at least one refused.<sup>155</sup>

### 9.3.4 *South Italy*

The Kretan colony in southern Italy came about by misadventure, rather than intent, and had no background of civil unrest, although it did involve a murder. The background was a major campaign to Sicily, which followed the murder of Minos in Kamikos, where he had gone in pursuit of the treacherous Daidalos,<sup>156</sup> who had fled there, and was under the protection of Kokalos, king of the Sikans.<sup>157</sup> The subsequent campaign of revenge, in the third generation before the Trojan War,<sup>158</sup> involved ‘all the Kretans’ except the Praisians and the Polichnians, who laid siege to Kamikos for five years, without success.<sup>159</sup> There is no record of any appeal to the Greeks for help in the campaign, but their duty in this respect is implied by Herodotos, in the words of the Delphic Oracle, when the Kretans send emissaries to determine whether they should join with the Greeks to resist Xerxes: “Fools, are all the tears that Minos has made you shed for the help you gave Menelaos not enough for you?”,<sup>160</sup> going on to explain that Minos was angry because the Kretans had helped the Greeks to avenge the abduction of

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<sup>155</sup> Gortyn *IC* IV 176.

<sup>156</sup> When Minos failed to sacrifice a magnificent bull sent to him by Poseidon, in support of his right to the throne, the god took revenge by making Minos’ wife, Pasiphae, yearn to couple with the bull, and Daidalos, the great master-craftsman built her a hollow cow, so realistic that she was able to fulfil her desire; the product was the monstrous Minotaur, who was confined in the famous labyrinth, also designed by Daidalos. The story goes that it was Daidalos too who suggested to Ariadne the ruse with the ball of thread, by which Theseus was able to escape the labyrinth after killing the Minotaur, and that this was the treachery which forced him to flee from Minos’ wrath (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.1.3 and Diod. 4.77.2 on Poseidon’s anger; Apollod. *Bib.* 3.15.8 and Diod.4.77.1 on Pasiphae’s lust and Daidalos’ construction of cow and labyrinth; Apollod.*Epit.* 1.8-9 and 12-13 on the ruse of the thread and on Daidalos’ escape to Kamikos).

<sup>157</sup> Diod.4.79, who records that he was killed by Kokalos with too hot bath water. This story, with rather more embroidery supplied by Apollodoros (*Epit.* 1.12-15), is the subject of the third of Sophocles fragmentary ‘Minoan’ plays, the *Kamikoi*, which Zacharia (2003, p.66ff), citing Morris (1992 p.216), suggests might have been the origin of Daidalos’ Athenian connection; or even that the whole story of Daidalos in Sicily could have been an Athenian invention, picked up by Herodotos, in his reference to Iapygian Messapians, so justifying the Athenian friendship with the Messapian ruler Artas in 413 (Thuc.7.33.4).

<sup>158</sup> Hutchinson 1962 p. 114.

<sup>159</sup> Hdt.7.170.

<sup>160</sup> Hdt.7.169, tr. Waterfield. The implication of both the make-up of the expedition, and the words of the oracle, is surely that these Minoans were regarded as Greeks. Fontenrose (1978 p.31) says firmly that the oracle (Q145) is not genuine.



Helen, while the Greeks had done nothing to help the Kretans to avenge the earlier death of Minos.

Herodotos further records that the Kretans eventually abandoned their attempt and set off to sail home, but were shipwrecked off the coast of Iapygia in southern Italy, where they remained to found a colony, becoming Messapian Iapygians instead of Kretans.<sup>161</sup> Strabo says that it is the Greeks who call the region Iapygia Messapia, while the natives call one part of it the country of the Salentini, and one part the country of the Kalabri, and that it is the Salentini who are said to be a colony of the Kretans.<sup>162</sup> The connection between Iapygians and Kretans appears again in a story from Antiochos of Syracuse about the colonization of Taras. He records an oracle which tells Phalanthos, a Spartiate, and a group of dissident young men from Sparta, called the Partheniae: “I give you Satyrion, that the rich county of Taras be your home, and you be a sorrow to the Iapygians”, going on, however, to say that “the barbarians and the Kretans who held the place accepted them”.<sup>163</sup> The same source specifies that the Iapygians (in Taras implied) were Kretans, named after Iapyx, the son of Daidalos and a Kretan woman, and that this Iapyx was actually the leader of the Kretans. Furthermore the Kretans who were driven ashore at Taras had been with Minos in Kamikos, as opposed to avenging his death there, as related above. Certainly a son of Daidalos leading a force to avenge Minos’ death seems a bit unlikely. The prediction of being a sorrow to the Iapygians seems to have got somehow reversed, as Herodotos, in the story quoted above about the Kretans settling in Italy, also tells us that they founded the city of Hyria, which long afterwards the Tarentines (the people of Tarentum or Taras) set out to destroy, and suffered a disastrous massacre, together with the Rhegians, who were helping them.<sup>164</sup> But it is suggested that Antiochos was actually totally wrong in his account of the reception that these colonizers received; and that Strabo’s account immediately

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<sup>161</sup> Malkin (1998 pp. 134 -5) cites this story as an example of the way that quasi-historical myths of migrations were used to explain ethnicity in the ancient world (see also p.227).

<sup>162</sup> Strabo 6.3.1 and 6.3.5.

<sup>163</sup> *FGrHist* 555 F13=Strabo 6.3.2 (tr. Jones); *IACP* p.299; Cuscunà 2003 pp.86-88; Fontenrose 1978 p.140, Q35; Redfield 2003 p.291ff. Again we note the implication that the Kretans are Greek, despite their Minoan ancestry.

<sup>164</sup> Hdt. 7.170.

following, which cites Ephoros and implies a hostile reception, is the true picture,<sup>165</sup> both in keeping with the oracle, and explaining the hostility between Taras and Hyria.

As we noted above, the Salentini were identified with the Kretans by ancient authors, but in certain versions the association was specifically with the unlikely combination of Lyttos and Idomeneus. It is said that the Salentines were descendants of the Lyttians, that all Idomeneus' men were Lyttians, and that Lyttian Idomeneus occupied the 'Salentine plains' on his way home from Troy.<sup>166</sup> A Lyttian background for Idomeneus seems most unlikely. We have already noted one example of Homer's geographic detail in Nestor's description of the place where part of Menelaos' fleet was wrecked;<sup>167</sup> another is the cave of Eileithyia at Amnisos, the ancient port of Knossos, where Odysseus claimed to have been washed ashore, having also been caught in a storm off Maleia, and at once went up to 'the town' in search of Idomeneus.<sup>168</sup> 'The town' must be Knossos and not Lyttos in this context, and we also know from Strabo that Minos used Amnisos as his port.<sup>169</sup> Lykophron associates both Knossos and Gortyn with the ruling-house of Idomeneus, and both cities are mentioned by Homer as supplying part of the force which Idomeneus led to Troy, although he also includes by name Lyttos, as well as Miletos, Phaistos and Rhytion.<sup>170</sup>

### 9.3.5 Sicily

As we noted above, the version of the story of Minos in Krete, recorded by Antiochos of Syracuse, claims that the Kretans who were driven ashore at Taras had been with Minos in Kamikos, as opposed to avenging his death there. This would perhaps tie in with two references in Diodoros: one where he says that Minos founded Minoa while he was being entertained by Kokalos – no mention here of the entertainment's including murder – and the other where he records that after Minos' death, his followers established two cities in Sicily: Minoa (Herakleia) and Engyum (Engyon), where they

<sup>165</sup> *FGrHist* 555 F 13; Malkin 1994 p.117f.

<sup>166</sup> Solinus II 10; *Aen.* 3.400f; Bérard 1957 p.429.

<sup>167</sup> *Od.* 3.293-6. See p.198.

<sup>168</sup> *Od.* 19.185-190.

<sup>169</sup> Strabo 10.4.8.

<sup>170</sup> Lykoph. *Alex.* 1214f; von Holzinger 1895 p.336; *Il.* 2.645f.

built a temple to The Mothers.<sup>171</sup> He goes on to say that after Minos' murder, described by Kokalos as an accident, his body was given to the Kretans, who buried it underground in a two-storey tomb, of which the part above the ground was a shrine to Aphrodite.<sup>172</sup> It was originally thought that it was just a shrine to Aphrodite, but, after Akragas was founded, it became known that bones were buried there, and they were returned to the Kretans, when Theron was tyrant.<sup>173</sup> Certainly it seems that the name Herakleia Minoa, of a city lying between Akragas and Selinous, was linked to Minos in ancient times, and may, indeed, have given rise to the whole myth of his death there.<sup>174</sup> Herodotos however says that (Herakleia) Minoa was a colony of Selinous – itself, according to Thucydides, a colony of Megara via Hyblaeon Megara – taken briefly by the Spartiate settler Euryleon, who accompanied Dorieus of Sparta on his ill-fated expedition to found a colony of Heraklea, in the region of Sicily around Mount Eryx, because he claimed that Herakles owned all the land there.<sup>175</sup> It has been suggested that it may well have been called Herakleia before it was given the name of Minoa, in honour of Minos, as well as reverting to it later.<sup>176</sup>

The only historical Kretan colony recorded seems to be that of Gela, on the south coast of Sicily, and even then it was a joint foundation with Rhodes.<sup>177</sup> It is said that the foundation of a colony by a city may have been one of the city's earliest political decisions,<sup>178</sup> but in this case we have no idea which Kretan city was involved. Although Diodoros spells out the detail of the joint foundation, naming the two founders as Antiphemos and Entimos, and even adding that they had a joint consultation

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<sup>171</sup> Diod.16.9.4 and 4.79.1-7.

<sup>172</sup> Oldfather comments on Diod.4.79 (p.66, n.1) that a very similar tomb was found at Knossos.

<sup>173</sup> From 484 to 472. *IACP* p.191, 196-7 cites Diod.4.79.7 for Engyon, but mentions no Kretan connection with Herakleia.

<sup>174</sup> Hornblower 2008 at 6.4.4, who suggests however that this may have had something to do with Akragas' later claims over Herakleia; Bérard 1957 p.423. Hutchinson (1962 p.114), too, questions whether Minoa in Sicily was or was not a Kretan foundation.

<sup>175</sup> Hdt. 5.46.2; Thuc.6.4.1-2; Hdt.5.43; Jones 1999 p.48.

<sup>176</sup> Malkin 1994 p.215f. The Lindian Chronicle records the offering a statue of Athena by the people of Akragas, as spoil from an otherwise unknown victory over Minoa (Higbie 2003 pp.36-7, 119).

<sup>177</sup> Thuc.6.4.3; Diod.8.23.1. *IACP* p.192.

<sup>178</sup> de Polignac 1995 p.90.

of the Delphic oracle,<sup>179</sup> the Kretans seem to have been rather the junior partner in the enterprise; Herodotos only mentions Antiphemos and the Rhodians from Lindos in his account,<sup>180</sup> which is a pity for us, because if he had mentioned the Kretans, he might have told us which city Entimos came from. The Lindian element is also suggested by name *Lindioi* given to the first fortified part of the city,<sup>181</sup> and the likelihood that Rhodes was the ‘senior partner’ may perhaps be deduced from this, as well as from the order in which the founders are usually named. Herodotos says in the same passage that Gelon’s ancestor, when the founding was afoot, would not be left behind, thus making it clear that Gelon was descended from a Rhodian, identified in the Lindian Chronicle as Deinomenes.<sup>182</sup> It is suggested that it was perhaps only later that the Rhodians came to predominate; the oracle referred to above not only mentions Entimos before his Rhodian colleague, who is not named but called “the cunning son of famous Kraton”, but says that they have built a town for Kretans and Rhodians (in that order) together; this all sounds a little like a reaction of Kretans in Gela to growing Rhodian predominance.<sup>183</sup>

It has been pointed out that all the eighth-century colonies in Sicily were located on the east coast, but from the start of the seventh century new colonizers had to find territory on the south and west coasts.<sup>184</sup> Gela was founded in 688, forty-five years after the foundation of Syracuse, and, as noted above, was named after a river close by.<sup>185</sup> Gela’s territory was bordered to the east by Kamarina, founded by Syracuse in the first years of the sixth century. As a result, Gela expanded its influence towards the west by founding Akragas early in the sixth century, just over a hundred years after Gela itself was

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<sup>179</sup> Diod. 8.23.1. The consultation of the Delphic Oracle might conceivably suggest that the Kretan founder came from a city where Apollo Pythios was worshipped, thus probably one out of Gortyn, Lyttos, Dreros, Hierapytna, Itanos, and Phaistos. Gortyn is perhaps the most likely, since, apart from this seventh-century instance, the only other Entimos attested on Krete was a Gortynian who received great honour at the court of the Great King Artaxerxes I in the fifth century (*LGPN* and *RE* supp.4). Fontenrose (1978 p.141 Q40) doubts that the founders would have gone to Delphi at this early date.

<sup>180</sup> Hdt.7.153

<sup>181</sup> Thuc.6.4.3. It was subsequently re-named Gela after the local river. Malkin (1998 p.186) cites this as an example of how the Greeks, who connected the name with *gelao*, to laugh, used to invent aitiological stories to explain place-names, rather than changing or translating them.

<sup>182</sup> Higbie 2003 pp.105, 111-12. Gelon became tyrant of Gela in 491 and of Syracuse in 485.

<sup>183</sup> Diod.8.23.1; Malkin 1987 pp.52-3.

<sup>184</sup> An exception is Himera, on the north coast, founded in the mid-seventh century by the Zankleans.

<sup>185</sup> Thuc.6.4.3; Hornblower 2008 *ad loc.*; Malkin 1987 p.2; Bérard 1957 p.231.

founded, and about twenty years after the founding of Kamarina.<sup>186</sup> Polybios describes the situation and good defensibility of Akragas, the latter perhaps explaining why it was the only city to remain neutral during the Athenian attack on Syracuse;<sup>187</sup> he also mentions the temples of Athena and Zeus Atabyrios ‘as on Rhodes’, perhaps again evidence of Rhodes as ‘senior partner’.<sup>188</sup> Much later, during the Athenian expedition against Syracuse, the Rhodians were ‘forced’, and the Kretans induced by pay, to make war on their own colony of Gela, which was allied to Syracuse, despite the fact of their common Dorian background.<sup>189</sup>

### 9.3.6 *Mercenaries*

Kretan mercenary service overseas, although in no sense colonization,<sup>190</sup> does have in common with outward colonization the feature of reducing the population of the island, both by the absence of the young men *per se*, and by their separation from Kretan women. Kretan mercenaries serving overseas are mainly described as archers or runners,<sup>191</sup> and are attested at least between the fifth and the second centuries. When Nikias emphasized the magnitude of the forces that would be required for the Sicilian Expedition in 415, in his attempt to dissuade the Athenians from embarking on it, he included “archers from Athens and from Krete, slingers” among his requirements; although in fact we later learn that the Kretans supplied eighty of the four hundred and eighty archers, while the seven hundred slingers came from Rhodes.<sup>192</sup> In the review of the allies of both sides in Sicily, Thucydides makes it clear that the Kretans were hired troops, fighting for pay against their own colony.<sup>193</sup> Kretan runners were in evidence at

<sup>186</sup> Thuc.6.4.4; Bérard 1957 p 235f; *IACP* p.186.

<sup>187</sup> Polyb.9.27.1-9; Thuc.7.33.2 and 7.58.1.

<sup>188</sup> Polyb.9.27.7. Although the sanctuary of Zeus Atabyrios on Rhodes was supposed to have been built by a Kretan prince, Althaimenes, son of Katreus, for whose story (Apollod.3.2.1-2) see p.80.

<sup>189</sup> Thuc. 7.57.6 and 9, 7.58.1. Thucydides also tells us (6.4.3) that Dorian *nomima* were instituted at the foundation of Gela; Hornblower (2008 *ad loc.*) says that this suggests a fairly formal act of foundation, despite the evidence of earlier Greek settlement there (see p.192).

<sup>190</sup> Unless in the special sense of assisting in a hostile takeover, in which case it would not be Kretan colonization.

<sup>191</sup> Apollo is said to have taught the Kretans the use of the bow (Diod.5.74.5). Their reputation as runners is probably testimony to the training of their terrain; they were used thus by British agents during the German occupation of the island in the Second World War (see George Psychoundakis, 1998, *The Cretan Runner*; W.S.Moss, 1950, *Ill met by Moonlight*).

<sup>192</sup> Thuc.6.25.2-26.1 (tr.Warner); 6.43.3.

<sup>193</sup> Thuc.7.57.11.

the second battle of Mantinea in 362, when King Agis of Sparta sent them to warn the Spartans left behind in the city of an intended surprise attack by Epaminondas.<sup>194</sup>

Kretans and Rhodians are also attested as mercenary archers and slingers, at the end of the fifth century, when, according to Alexander the Great in his speech before the battle of Issus, Xenophon hastily assembled a few of them, having no archers or slingers otherwise among his Ten Thousand.<sup>195</sup> In the same speech Alexander makes reference to Darius's twenty thousand foreign mercenaries, who may well have included Kretans; Darius did not presumably have to pay the troops from his empire, and there is a strong suggestion of his recruitment of Kretans in the accounts of Agis, king of Sparta, receiving Persian funding to "settle things" in Krete, and "force them to take the Persian side".<sup>196</sup> And certainly, in the mid-fourth century, Alexander himself was using Kretan archers and slingers, in apparently fairly large numbers, in his forty to fifty thousand-strong army.<sup>197</sup> We hear of them serving him first at the siege of Thebes, where the commander of the archers in the Macedonian army was a Kretan, Eurobytas, who fell with seventy of his men;<sup>198</sup> at Issus, Alexander posts "the archers commanded by Antiochos" in front of his infantry on the right wing, while the "Kretan archers" form a separate contingent in the corresponding position on the left wing; Kretan archers are in evidence again at the battle of Gaugamela; and finally at Memphis he replaces Antiochos, who has died, with a Kretan called Ombrion, presumably now elevated to command over all the archers.<sup>199</sup> Later, when Harpalos flees to escape the threat of punishment on Alexander's return from India, he takes six thousand mercenaries with him and flees via Athens and Taenarum to Krete, where he is murdered by one of his friends, Thibron. It seems likely that he chose Krete because some, at least, of his stolen mercenaries were Kretans, and this is confirmed in that, when Thibron goes on to

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<sup>194</sup> Diod.15.82.6f.

<sup>195</sup> Arr.*Anab.* 2.7.8.

<sup>196</sup> Arr.*Anab.* 2.13.4-6; Diod.17.48.1-2.

<sup>197</sup> Baker 2003 p.377.

<sup>198</sup> Arr.*Anab.*1.8.4. The name Eurobytas does not otherwise occur in the Aegean islands, Cyprus, and Cyrenaica (*LPGN*), but Heckel (2006 p.122) describes him as a Kretan of unknown family, leader of the Kretan archers, possibly since the time of Philip II.

<sup>199</sup> Arr.*Anab.* 2.9.3; Diod. 17.57.4; Arrian 3.5.6. The name Ombrion does not otherwise occur in the Aegean islands, Cyprus, and Cyrenaica (*LPGN*), but his replacement of Antiochos in Egypt is mentioned by Heckel (2006p.183).

attack Kyrene, using Harpalos' funds and mercenaries, one of his leaders is a Kretan called Mnasikles.<sup>200</sup>

Alexander's successors too seem to have used Kretan mercenaries to varying degrees. When Antigonos is threatened by Kassander, he leaves his son Demetrios in wait for Ptolemy with a force which includes four hundred "Persian" archers and slingers, but these seem not to have been mercenaries, who are listed separately, and may have included Kretans; certainly by the time of the siege of Rhodes in 305/4, Demetrios was using Kretan archers.<sup>201</sup> References in Polybios to Kretans fighting for other powers, in the third and second centuries, rarely specify whether they were mercenaries or allies, but they were still fighting away from their own soil. There were Kretan allies opposing Antigonos Gonatas in the Chremonidean War;<sup>202</sup> the five hundred Kretans sent by Hieron of Syracuse to fight for Rome against Carthage may have been mercenaries; while the Kretans fighting for and against Philip V in the 'Social War' also sound more like allies from individual Kretan cities.<sup>203</sup> Kleomenes of Sparta boasted that his mercenaries, who included one thousand Kretans, would do anything he wanted, when he fled to Egypt in 222; and when Antiochos III quelled the rebellion of Molon in the same year there is a reference to his Kretan allies.<sup>204</sup> Large numbers of Kretans were employed also by both sides in the late third- and early second-century struggles between Antiochos III and Ptolemy over Coele Syria;<sup>205</sup> while later still, in the affair of the rival Ptolemies *circa* 163, it is recorded that the younger brother collected a large force of Greek mercenaries, and then a further thousand soldiers from Krete, presumably mercenaries also.<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>200</sup> Diod. 17.108.6-8; 18.19.2 and 20.1. The name Mnasikles seems to be unique in the Aegean islands, Cyprus, and Cyrenaica (*LGN*); it is unclear whether he was recruited by Thibron on Krete or accompanied Harpalos from Asia (Heckel 2006 p.169).

<sup>201</sup> Diod. 19.69.1; 20.85.3.

<sup>202</sup> Scholten 2003 p.145. See p.243.

<sup>203</sup> Polyb.3.75.5; 4.55.5, 61.2, 80.6; 5.3.2, 7.11, 14.1.

<sup>204</sup> Polyb. 5.36.4, 53.3.

<sup>205</sup> Polyb. 5.61.9, 65.7, 79.10, 82.4 and 10

<sup>206</sup> Polyb. 31.17.

## 9.4 Summary: *Founding Myths and Political Spin*

### 9.4.1 *Historical Examples*

In this whole discussion the only historically attested examples are the inward colonization of Kydonia, briefly by the Samians, and then by the Aiginetans; and the outward colonization of Gela in Sicily, by Kretans jointly with Rhodians. Before considering what the rest of it was all about, we will go back briefly to some questions posed at the beginning of the chapter, with regard to these real examples of colonization: was there a single oikist, how did they treat the locals, and how did they relate to their mother city? In the case of Kydonia, we have no record of a single oikist in either group; there is an impression that the Samians were not popular with the locals, since we know that the latter joined with the Aiginetans to throw the Samians out. The question of relations with Samos as a mother-city does not really arise, since these colonists were supposed to have been consigned to oblivion by Kambyses at the request of the tyrant of Samos.<sup>207</sup> The Aiginetans were presumably welcomed by the locals as their deliverers from the Samians, and there seems little evidence to suggest that their relations with their own island were either particularly friendly or hostile. In the case of Gela, we know the names of the two oikists; the fact that both Gela and, if we believe the Lindian Chronicle its daughter-city Akragas,<sup>208</sup> later attacked other nearby cities in order to increase their territory, would seem to suggest that the initial colonies were imposed rather than welcomed in south Sicily. There seems no evidence of ongoing relations between Gela and its unknown Kretan metropolis, although the reference in the Lindian Chronicle suggests that Akragas maintained relations with Lindos.

### 9.4.2 *The Uses of Myth*

It has been suggested that myths are “useful” in connection with aggressive acts of colonization, which can be disguised as the reclaiming of sacred relics, brought, in hallowed tradition, by Greek heroes to barbarian lands.<sup>209</sup> The example is given of Antiphemos, Rhodian founder of Gela, attacking Omphake in a push for territorial

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<sup>207</sup> Hdt. 3.45.

<sup>208</sup> See p.220f and n.176.

<sup>209</sup> Malkin 1998 pp.2 and 219.



expansion, and bringing home in triumph a statue by Daidalos.<sup>210</sup> It is interesting, in connection with the founders' relative status, that this is actually a very Kretan myth being used to legitimize Gela's territorial expansion. There is a similar, if rather less direct example, in Kimon's restoration to Athens of the so-called bones of Theseus, as part of the justification of Athenian empire-building.<sup>211</sup> Other uses of myth, as discussed at the start of the chapter, include claims to autochthony, the invention of a city's self-image by the creation of a distinguished founder, and the rather cynical use of settlement myths for political expediency, or what we nowadays call 'spin'. Myths can also be used to explain why large groups of people moved about: in this connection the post-Trojan War myths of the *nostoi* pattern, associated by definition with the leadership of a great Greek hero, have been contrasted with earlier mass migration myths, without a heroic leader, which seem to have been a post-sixth-century construct to explain ethnic distribution anomalies found when the Greeks arrived in the west;<sup>212</sup> it is with these that we are mainly concerned in Krete.

#### 9.4.3 *Autochthony and Mass Migrations*

Where the question of autochthony is raised, it is nearly always claimed by the race concerned; one exception to this rule is where Herodotos suggests that the Kaunians were indigenous, in contrast to their own claim to have come from Krete.<sup>213</sup> With regard to his discussion of a Kretan origin for the Karians, there is rather surprising evidence of Kretan influence, if not presence, in Karia in Hellenistic times, attested by three incidences of the cult of Zeus Kretagenes.<sup>214</sup> Following Strabo we have attributed

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<sup>210</sup> Paus.8.46.2.

<sup>211</sup> Discussed on p.213.

<sup>212</sup> Malkin 1998 p.3.

<sup>213</sup> See p.214.

<sup>214</sup> At Amyzon, Mylasa, and Euromos, in the third of which it is apparently associated with constitutional reforms introducing the office of *kosmos*. I am indebted for this information to the research on Karia of a fellow PhD student, Naomi Carless Unwin. We have associated Zeus Kretagenes with the Kretan *koinon* (p.37), and identified the possibility of a Kretan military presence in the region during the wars of Alexander's successors (p.224), both in the Hellenistic period. Verbruggen (1981 pp.209ff), however, suggests closer relations between Mylasa and Krete. Schwabl (1972 p.325) lists cults of Zeus Kretagenes outside Krete in only Mylasa and Gaza. Graf (2010 p.75) associates the cult of Zeus Kretagenes at Mylasa with the Kouretes also. The Marneion, whose powerful deity Marnas was supposed to represent Zeus Kretagenes, was the most famous of eight pagan temples in Gaza in C6 AD (Downey 1963 p.17; Willetts 1962 p.187).

autochthony in Krete to the Eteokretans and the *Kydones*, although there is no actual record of their claiming it.

When we come to the Kretan godlings, we are in the murky area of using one myth to explain another, before postulating a historical mass migration. We have suggested above that the Idaian Daktyls might have referred to the Pelasgians, mythical enough themselves, and that both might represent the arrival in Krete of Phrygian metalworkers, specifically the tribe of the Berekyntes. We have seen that the Kouretes could have been among Homer's Achaeans, again mythical themselves, but possibly identifiable with the two waves of pre-Dorian Greeks who, according to Herodotos, arrived in Krete before the Trojan War. Similarly the myth of Telchines coming to Krete from Rhodes has been associated with Kyrbas, the mythical founder of Hierapytna, and, although here there seems to be no historical parallel, we have seen that Hierapytna may have been admitted to Hadrian's Panhellenic League on the basis of its foundation legend. Moving on from godlings, Homer's mythical mass migration of Dorians is attested historically by the evidence of names of the three Dorian tribes in Kretan cities. It is quite possible that the whole myth of Minos' expedition to Sicily and his death at the hands of king Kokalos was constructed to explain a Kretan presence found in Iapygia by Greek colonists of southern Italy in the eighth and seventh centuries. In the context of *nostoi* myths to explain movement of peoples, we see very little of Krete's own *nostoi*, Idomeneus and Meriones, who, according to Nestor, returned safely to the island.<sup>215</sup> We have discounted the suggestion that Idomeneus returned via the Salentine plains, and the record of Meriones as the donor of a silver quiver to Athena Lindia on Rhodes, must surely be counted as invention, in common with much of the Lindian Chronicle.<sup>216</sup>

#### 9.4.4 *Creation of Founders, and Political Spin.*

We have seen that membership of the pan-Hellenic League for Lyttos and Gortyn, as well as Hierapytna, may have been legitimized by the legends of their foundation by

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<sup>215</sup> *Od.* 3.191.

<sup>216</sup> Higbie 2003 pp.27 and 69.

Sparta or Amyklæ, but the names of the leaders associated with the Dorian colonization of Lyttos, variously Pollis and Delphos, and Althaimenes, do not seem to be very much in evidence. Gortyn's alleged foundation by the eponym Gortys could well be total invention, and, although the evidence of the month-name Amyklaios in Gortyn is rather more convincing, it could still be a late construct. The appeal by Knossos and Tyliossos to Argos for mediation has been taken as evidence of their daughter-city status, but this is not necessarily conclusive; indeed it could be an example of the introduction of a settlement myth for a political end. We have seen another prime example of this in Kydonia's successful claim for *syngeneia* with Athens; this would seem to have been politically advantageous to both, and it would be interesting to know which of the two parties suggested it first.

#### 9.4.5 *Conclusion*

The actual historical evidence for inward or outward colonization in connection with Krete is very sparse, but the implication from myth of such colonization, in both directions, is rich and varied, and cannot be totally discounted with the labels 'invention' and 'spin'. It seems clear that historians of the ancient world gave considerable credence to it.

## 10

**Foreign Relations****10.1 Introduction**

This chapter will critically examine the relationship of Krete to the major players of the Classical and Hellenistic Mediterranean world by comparing the island's development with that of Cyprus, Rhodes, Sicily, and Kyrene – looking particularly at the reasons and results associated with interventions by, or alliances with, the various foreign powers. Appendix 4, to which we shall refer, gives a brief overview of each colony's situation in relation to major events.

**10.2 Island Status**

Among these five regions only Kyrene is not an island, yet in a similar sense to the others it is isolated, remote and divided by the ocean from any other Greek colony.<sup>1</sup> And, indeed, the ancient Greeks would probably not have considered either Sicily or Krete to be an island in their terms. They regarded Sicily, in many ways, as a single cultural and political unit with their colonies in south Italy.<sup>2</sup> Krete and Euboea are described as exceptions to the pattern of Aegean insular geography, because they are too large, and do not fit the concept of islands claimed by the Athenians, in the Melian Dialogue, as necessary victims to ensure Athens' control of the sea.<sup>3</sup> “There is a *land* called Krete in the middle of the wine-blue water”, Odysseus explains to Penelope, while Nikias tells the Athenians that Sicily has more cities than an island should, which would certainly read across to Krete.<sup>4</sup> Even Rhodes and other islands of similar size seem to be considered marginal, possibly because they were close to the mainland

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<sup>1</sup> “Kyrene is but an island, washed indeed by sand-waves on its southern shores, but nonetheless insular” (Myres 1953 p.116).

<sup>2</sup> Hornblower 2002 p.39, although (pers. comm.) Strabo (6.1.15) distinguishes Sicily as an island off Italy.

<sup>3</sup> Constantakopoulou 2007 pp.13 and 85; Thuc.5.97, 99. Hornblower (2008 *ad loc.* 5.97) suggests that it seems to have been precisely because the Melians were weak that they had to be crushed. Earlier studies of the Aegean islands also eliminated Krete on the grounds that it is structurally part of the mountain rim of the Aegean basin, so not easy to treat as an Aegean island (Myres 1953 pp.260-1), and that it would have had little sense of insularity, given its geographical area and large number of cities, some of which would not even have had access to the sea (Brun 1995p.9). Thucydides (7.57.4 tr. Lattimore), listing allies of Athens and Syracuse, differentiates between the ‘people from islands’ - even multi-polis islands – and the ‘Euboean peoples’ (Constantakopoulou 2005 p.8-9).

<sup>4</sup> *Od.*19.172-3 tr.Lattimore 1951; Thuc.6.20.2.

where they occupied *peraea*, since Athenaeus distinguishes between their wines and that of ‘the islands’;<sup>5</sup> but we will concur with Constantakopoulou’s inclusion of Rhodes, but treatment of Krete as an anomaly, among the islands of the Aegean.<sup>6</sup>

### **10.3 Colonization History** (See Appendix 4).

Krete and Rhodes are described as parts of Mykenean Greece, the influence of which extended to the coastal region of Ionia and to Cyprus.<sup>7</sup> Following the collapse of the Mykenean civilization, refugees from mainland Greece would have gone to Rhodes, parts of Ionia and to northern Cyprus, while during the following ‘Dark Age’ Dorian settlers arrived in the Peloponnese, Krete and Rhodes.<sup>8</sup> During the major period of Greek colonization (c.750-550), Dorian settlers (and some Ionians) spread as far as Sicily, southern Italy, and Kyrene, while Ionians went even further west, as well as to Cyprus.<sup>9</sup> There is therefore some sort of common heritage between all our five regions, although, as we have seen,<sup>10</sup> there is very little evidence of settlement in Krete during the historic period, and probably little in Rhodes either.

The Greek colonization of Sicily, however, was all in historical times:<sup>11</sup> Chalkideans from Euboea settled Naxos in 735/4, and went on to found Leontini (c.729) and Katana; while Syracuse was founded from Korinth in probably 733/2. Men of Megara founded Megara Hyblaea in 728, after a few false attempts, and from there went on to found Selinous (628 or 651). Gela was founded from Rhodes and Krete in 689/8, and went on to found Akragas in 580.<sup>12</sup> Zankle was originally founded by pirates from Cumae, then taken over by Samians and other Ionians fleeing the Persians after the sack of Miletos,<sup>13</sup> and finally colonized with mixed races by the tyrant of Rhegium, and re-named

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<sup>5</sup> Ath.1.32e. Rhodes had a particularly extensive *peraea* in Karia from the mid-third century (van Bremen 2009 p.111), whose inhabitants still called themselves Rhodians in the first century AD (Brun 1996 pp.14, 15).

<sup>6</sup> Constantakopoulou 2007 pp.14-15.

<sup>7</sup> Morkot 1996 pp.28-30.

<sup>8</sup> Morkot 1996 pp.38, 47. The southern part of Cyprus was occupied by Phoenicians.

<sup>9</sup> Morkot 1996 p.51.

<sup>10</sup> See p.228.

<sup>11</sup> Thuc. 6.3-5.

<sup>12</sup> See p.220-1.

<sup>13</sup> Hdt.6.18-24.

Messana.<sup>14</sup> Himera was founded from Zankle (648), mainly by Chalkideans, while Akrae (664), Kasmenae (644) and Kamarina (598) were all founded from Dorian Syracuse.

The colonization of Kyrene from Thera, in 630, was a much simpler affair, although riddled with dubious Delphic oracles.<sup>15</sup> After a number of false starts, the founder, Battos, reigned as king for forty years, followed by his son Arkesilaus for sixteen; in the sixth century, in the reign of Battos II, when more settlers were invited, all the Greek states were allegedly encouraged by the Pythia to take advantage of this opportunity.<sup>16</sup> It seems that considerable numbers did so, as Kyrene grew rapidly from its modest beginnings to be the largest city in Libya, and one of the most populous Greek states of her time.<sup>17</sup> The city's racial diversity<sup>18</sup> is illustrated by the reorganization of the settlers by Demonax of Mantinea in the reign of Battos III, into three tribes, consisting of Therans and *perioikoi*,<sup>19</sup> Peloponnesians and Kretans,<sup>20</sup> and other islanders.<sup>21</sup>

#### 10.4 Ethnicity

It seems likely that Kyrene's three tribes were divided according to racial background: the Therans,<sup>22</sup> Peloponnesians, and Kretans being Dorian, and the other islanders probably Ionian.<sup>23</sup> The same ethnic division is stressed by Thucydides much more when he is writing about Sicily, than in the rest of his *History*. He tells us that in the mid 420s, when Leontini, with Kamarina and the Chalcidean cities, were at war with Syracuse and 'all the other' Dorian cities,<sup>24</sup> an Athenian fleet was sent in support of the former group at the request of Leontini; other outside support for Leontini came from Rhegium, while the Dorians, with support from Lokri, were also in a passive alliance

<sup>14</sup> This is according to Thuc., but *IACP* says it was finally founded as a sub-colony of Naxos in about 730.

<sup>15</sup> Hdt.4.151-161; Fontenrose (1978 Q47-50, 118-119) regards all the oracles associated with the foundation as improbable.

<sup>16</sup> Hdt.4.159.

<sup>17</sup> *IACP* p.1243.

<sup>18</sup> Hornblower 2002 p.58.

<sup>19</sup> Lomax (*AA* p.87) suggests that by *perioikoi* here Hdt may simply mean an under-privileged Theran class, rather than native Libyans.

<sup>20</sup> See p.209, n.112.

<sup>21</sup> Probably other Aegean islanders (Brun 1996 p.107).

<sup>22</sup> Sparta was their mother-city (Hornblower 2002 pp.57-8).

<sup>23</sup> Although Hornblower (2002 p.59) includes Rhodian settlers who would have been Dorian.

<sup>24</sup> As noted above, Kamarina was a Dorian foundation.

with Sparta.<sup>25</sup> The Athenian Expedition of 415 was encouraged by an appeal for help from the people of Egesta in their war with Selinous.<sup>26</sup> In this case the Athenian support for Egesta was not because of a direct ethnic link, but because of fears stirred up by Egesta that the ethnic links of Dorian Selinous would invoke intervention by Syracuse and Sparta in their local dispute.<sup>27</sup> Thucydides emphasizes the ethnic alignments during the ensuing siege of Syracuse (415-413); the allies of Syracuse were solidly Dorian, those of Athens mainly Ionian.<sup>28</sup>

Whether or not because of their cultural diversity,<sup>29</sup> Kyrene and Sicily seem to have shared a desire to emphasize their Greek ethnicity. When Arkesilaus IV entered and won the four-horse chariot races at Delphi in 462 and Olympia in 460, possibly in reaction to Persian military defeats,<sup>30</sup> he commissioned Pindar to celebrate his success,<sup>31</sup> as did the Sicilian tyrants Hieron and Theron in the 470s.<sup>32</sup> This commissioning of *epinikia*, and in Hieron's case of tragedy also, suggests deliberate assertion of Greekness.<sup>33</sup> The Rhodians too, in the Lindian Chronicle, set out to emphasize a heroic Greek past for their island, although not until the start of the first century and possibly in reaction to the Romans;<sup>34</sup> but we find nothing similar on the part of the Kretans, or indeed of the Cypriots. But Cyprus had even wider ethnic origins: Salamis, Athens, Arkadia, Kythnos, Phoenicia, and Ethiopia according to Herodotos,<sup>35</sup> leaving Krete as the least ethnically and culturally diverse of the five colonies.

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<sup>25</sup> Thuc.3.86ff; Antonaccio 2001p.113.

<sup>26</sup> Thuc.6.6.2.

<sup>27</sup> Antonaccio 2001 pp.113-4.

<sup>28</sup> Thuc.7.57-8.

<sup>29</sup> Hornblower 2002 p.58.

<sup>30</sup> Mitchell 2000 p.94.

<sup>31</sup> Pind. *P.*4, 5.

<sup>32</sup> Pind. *O.*1, 2, 3; *P.*1, 2, 3.

<sup>33</sup> Allen 2001 pp.67, 59. Aeschylus' *Women of Aetna* was commissioned to celebrate Hieron's founding of that city.

<sup>34</sup> The Lindians focused on Herakles (Dorians), the Trojan War, colonization, the Persian Wars, and Alexander and his successors. Higbie 2003 pp.243, 247.

<sup>35</sup> Hdt.7.90.

## 10.5 *Forms of Government*

Government in the regions we are considering included kings, tyrants, and oscillations between oligarchy and democracy; only Krete, among our five candidates, seems to have avoided all these, at least in historical times.

### 10.5.1 *Krete*

Aristotle says that there used to be kings in Krete, but their power devolved to the *kosmoi*;<sup>36</sup> which suggests that they were kings of individual cities, as implied by Herodotos' reference to Etearchos, king (*basileus*) of Oaxos.<sup>37</sup> From the mid-seventh century the *kosmoi* acted as administrators, and, at least in central Krete, seem to have been appointed by, and accountable to, the Council,<sup>38</sup> who must presumably be the *gerontes*. Aristotle attests that *kosmoi* were drawn from specific clans, or 'privileged kinship groups', and that *gerontes* were *ex-kosmoi*, suggesting an oligarchic régime.<sup>39</sup> The increasing appearance of the terms *agora* and *polis* in later Kretan inscriptions probably implies a gradual trend towards democracy,<sup>40</sup> and an Assembly with a real role is attested by a third-century treaty between Eleutherna and Antigonos Doson, where a time limit is stipulated between the arrival of Antigonos' envoys and convening the Assembly, although that role seems to have been mainly concerned with foreign relations.<sup>41</sup> Although we noted, in early inscriptions from Dreros and Gortyn, and later from Lyttos, hints of non-élite participation as a possible indicator of oligarchic/democratic rivalry, and the limiting of time in office as *kosmos* as a possible measure against tyranny,<sup>42</sup> the evidence suggests that these measures were largely successful in avoiding both instability and tyranny.<sup>43</sup> Inscriptions attest that the city-states of Hellenistic Krete were largely dominated by groups of *élite* families,<sup>44</sup> so it seems likely that the *kosmoi* continued to be chosen from this privileged class, basically

<sup>36</sup> Arist. *Pol.* II vii 5; Willetts 1955 p.103.

<sup>37</sup> Hdt. 4.154; see p.205 n.83.

<sup>38</sup> Willetts 1955 p.195f.

<sup>39</sup> See p.152; Willetts 1955 p.29.

<sup>40</sup> Willetts 1955 pp.115-6, 124.

<sup>41</sup> *IC* IV xii 20; Willetts 1955 pp.131, 147.

<sup>42</sup> See p.148.

<sup>43</sup> The only attested *stasis* in a Kretan city seems to be that in fifth-century Knossos which brought the Olympic winner Ergoteles to Himera (Pind. *O.* 12).

<sup>44</sup> Alcock 2002 p.119.



aristocratic and land-ownership-based, but that power passed gradually from a narrow oligarchy to an increasingly functional citizen body.<sup>45</sup> Perhaps the most important feature is that we are talking here of city-state government, and there is little evidence of central authority.

#### 10.5.2 *Kingdoms: Cyprus and Kyrene.*

Cyprus was unique in the Greek world in having kings from the late Bronze Age down through the Archaic and Classical periods, constituting hereditary autocratic rule by a number of royal families.<sup>46</sup> In Archaic and Classical times the island was divided into local smallish kingdoms, whose rulers were vassals of Assyria, then Egypt, then (from 526) Achaemenid Persia.<sup>47</sup> Diodoros reports unsuccessful revolts and declarations of autonomy, in 351/50, by all nine of the island's kingdoms, who by then were vassals of the Great King.<sup>48</sup> Kyrene, too, was a hereditary monarchy for eight generations from its foundation, by Battos in 630, to the mid-fifth century, when Arkesilaus IV was assassinated; although the power of the monarch was severely reduced for a time by Demonax's reforms in the reign of Battos III.<sup>49</sup> The monarchy was probably replaced by a narrow oligarchy of Kyrenean aristocrats, but with considerable civic unrest and increasing democracy, throughout the fourth century.<sup>50</sup>

#### 10.5.3 *Sicily*

The degree of central authority in Sicily depended on the extent of power of individual tyrants, but never included the whole island, partly because of a large indigenous population and Carthaginian interests. The major feature of the Greek cities in Sicily in the sixth and fifth centuries was the emergence of such powerful dynastic tyrants as Hippokrates of Gela, Theron of Akragas, Gelon and Hieron of Gela and Syracuse, followed in the fourth century by Dionysios of Syracuse, all with influence outside their

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<sup>45</sup> Rhodes and Lewis 1997 p.309; Willetts 1955 p.181.

<sup>46</sup> Maier 1994 pp.297-8, 300.

<sup>47</sup> *IACP* p.1223.

<sup>48</sup> Diod.16.42.4; *IACP* p.1222.

<sup>49</sup> Mitchell 2000 pp.88, 93.

<sup>50</sup> Hornblower 2002 p.61; *IACP* p.1244; Mitchell 200 pp.101-2.

own cities,<sup>51</sup> although it was not until the late fourth century that the attempt was made, by another tyrant of Syracuse, Agathokles, to extend this influence beyond the island's shores.<sup>52</sup> Agathokles styled himself a king in imitation of Alexander's successors,<sup>53</sup> and much of the behaviour of the earlier tyrants is reminiscent of the successors' later behaviour in intermarrying and moving populations around.<sup>54</sup> The tyrannies were interspersed with periods of democracy of a kind, effectively the rule of a prosperous agricultural class, and with episodes of *stasis*;<sup>55</sup> the latter owed much to the multi-racial make-up of the cities of Sicily, the result of both continuing immigration and the deliberate movement of whole sections of the population by the tyrants.<sup>56</sup>

Gelon destroyed Kamarina and took half its inhabitants, and half those of Gela, with him to Syracuse when he became tyrant there in 485;<sup>57</sup> he also enfranchised ten thousand mercenaries.<sup>58</sup> In 476 Hieron settled a new city of Aetna, on the site of Katana, with five thousand each of Syracusans and Peloponnesians, while the people of Katana and Naxos were moved to Leontini; at about the same time, after a massacre of rebels there, Theron repopulated Himera with Dorians and other colonists.<sup>59</sup> Alkibiades claimed that such constant immigration and population mobility resulted in a lack of patriotism and cohesion in Sicily's inhabitants, but it would certainly have given a cosmopolitan flavour to Sicilian cities and culture.<sup>60</sup> Nothing of similar scale seems to have occurred in Krete since the Bronze Age, except the enforced dispersal of the inhabitants of those cities, such as Lyttos and Praisos, destroyed in Hellenistic quarrels.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> *IACP* p.175.

<sup>52</sup> Diod. 19.1.6ff.

<sup>53</sup> Diod. 20.54.1.

<sup>54</sup> Hornblower 2002 pp.44-5.

<sup>55</sup> Examples being the period between the 470s and 405 (Hornblower 2002 p.198), and in the mid-fourth century when Timoleon of Korinth briefly put an end to tyrannies in Syracuse and elsewhere (Diod. 16.70-72).

<sup>56</sup> Hornblower 2002 p.49-50.

<sup>57</sup> Hdt.7.156.2; *IACP* p.193.

<sup>58</sup> Diod. 11.72.3; Lomas 2000 p.181.

<sup>59</sup> Diod. 11.48-49.2; *IACP* pp.184, 199.

<sup>60</sup> Thuc. 6.17.2-3. Hornblower 2002 pp.49-50.

<sup>61</sup> Alcock 2002 p.106.

#### 10.5.4 *Rhodes*

When Gela was founded from Rhodes and Krete in the early seventh century it adopted a constitution ‘of the Dorian type’, possibly reflecting the type of government in the three Rhodian cities at the time, which was almost certainly an oligarchy of the land-owning *élite*, as in the Kretan cities.<sup>62</sup> By 411 the three Rhodian cities, Kamiros, Ialysos, and Lindos, were democracies, and quite possibly had been at least since their early membership of the Delian League in the mid-fifth century.<sup>63</sup> It was oligarchic factions which contrived the island’s switch of allegiance to Sparta in that year, and the cities were ruled by an oligarchy of the Diagoreans until 395.<sup>64</sup> While still under the oligarchs, Rhodes abandoned Sparta in 396, to collaborate with Konon of Athens, who was acting as a Persian fleet commander, an action fatal to Sparta’s struggle with Persia, and one of the causes of the Korinthian War. When democracy was re-established in 395, with Athenian support, it lasted only until 391, followed by two years of *stasis*, before oligarchy again took over in 389.<sup>65</sup> When the island submitted to Alexander the Great it was apparently still an oligarchy, but had a democratic government at the time of Alexander’s death.<sup>66</sup> Despite its political instability, the synoikism of the three cities, and foundation of a federal capital, Rhodos, under the Diagorean oligarchy in 408/7,<sup>67</sup> would have undoubtedly have given it a stronger presence in the international arena than was ever enjoyed by Krete.

### 10.6 *Outside Influences*<sup>68</sup>

#### 10.6.1 *The Persian Empire and Persian Wars*

According to Herodotos, the Egyptian king Amasis, in the mid-sixth century, was the first person to conquer Cyprus and make it a tribute-paying subject. Persia split its

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<sup>62</sup> Thuc.6.4.3. But Hornblower 2008 *ad loc* reads *nomima* rather as institutions, including the religious calendar and the legal system (although he rejects any such thing as a ‘Dorian law’), rather than a form of government.

<sup>63</sup> Hornblower 2002 pp.15, 200; David 1984 p.271.

<sup>64</sup> Thuc. 8.44.1-4.

<sup>65</sup> David 1984 pp.272f, 277f, 284.

<sup>66</sup> Berthold 1984 pp.34-6.

<sup>67</sup> Diod. 13.75.1; Hornblower 2002 p.276; *IACP* p.1196; Gabrielsen 2000 pp.177ff.

<sup>68</sup> See also Appendix 4.

empire into tax provinces for the purpose of paying tribute, and, after the Persian conquest of Egypt (525), Cyprus became part of its fifth province, together with Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine. During the Ionian revolt against Darius I (500-493) Cyprus joined in enthusiastically, but was reduced ‘again to slavery’ by the Persians after a year of ‘freedom’.<sup>69</sup> Herodotos gives the impression that the island may have been a fairly unwilling ally in the invasion of Greece.<sup>70</sup> Kyrene was originally in alliance with Amasis, but when Kambyses conquered Egypt, Kyrene, together with Libya and Barka, accepted tributary status voluntarily, thus becoming part of Persia’s sixth tax province,<sup>71</sup> and seems to have maintained good relations with the Persian rulers of Egypt thereafter.<sup>72</sup>

When Xerxes was poised to attack Greece in 480, messengers were sent to Sicily and Krete, *inter alia*, asking for their support;<sup>73</sup> both refused citing earlier grudges against the Greeks. Gelon of Syracuse complained about their lack of help in fighting the Phoenicians and avenging Doreius, but nonetheless offered substantial help in return for overall command of the Greek forces, or even of the navy, rejected by Sparta and Athens respectively.<sup>74</sup> The Kretans refused outright, invoking a Delphic oracle which said that the Greeks had not helped them to avenge the death of Minos in Sicily,<sup>75</sup> (this despite the fact that they had joined enthusiastically with the Greeks against Troy in the time of Minos’ grandson). Thus Krete and Sicily remained neutral, Cyprus and Kyrene were under Persian control, while the position of Rhodes seems unclear.<sup>76</sup> Sicily would have been too far away, but it is perhaps surprising that the Persians never showed interest in Krete, surrounded as it was by the Persian tributary states of Cyprus, Phoenicia, Egypt, Kyrene, and possibly Rhodes.

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<sup>69</sup> Hdt.2.182, 3.91, 5.104-116.

<sup>70</sup> Hdt.8.68, 100; Maier 199 p.308.

<sup>71</sup> Hdt.2.181, 3.13, 3.91; Morkot1996 p.83.

<sup>72</sup> Mitchell 2000 p.90.

<sup>73</sup> Hdt.7.145.

<sup>74</sup> Hdt.7.157-61.

<sup>75</sup> Hdt.7.169; see p.217-8.

<sup>76</sup> Morkot (1996 p.75) includes Rhodes in the Persian empire, and Higbie (2003 p.248) mentions Rhodian ships in Xerxes’ fleet, but *IACP* (p.1197) questions this on the grounds that Hdt. does not mention them in connection with the invasion of Greece.

### 10.6.2 *Athens and the Aegean*

After the Persian Wars the Aegean was dominated by Athens, first in the form of the Delian League and later as the Athenian empire.<sup>77</sup> There were no very onerous conditions for membership of the Delian League; they possibly included ‘having the same friends and enemies’ as Athens, providing ships (or money for them); serving in league campaigns; and not making war on other league members.<sup>78</sup> Rhodes may have been an original member, or possibly her three cities of Ialysos, Kamiros, and Lindos were early independent members.<sup>79</sup> Krete, with just a few other south Aegean islands, notably Thera and Melos, stayed outside the Delian League in the 470s, and remained outside the Athenian empire, when new allies were possibly added to the Delian League members<sup>80</sup> There seems to be no record of Krete’s being invited or rejected as a member of the Delian League, despite the fact that many non-Ionian islanders participated in the cult of Apollo Delios, and Delos was the centre of an amphyctionic network which included most of the Kyklades, Rhodes, Kos, Samos, and Lemnos.<sup>81</sup> It is difficult to know whether this was due to Krete’s determined neutrality, Athens’ hostility, or Krete’s lack of strategic importance to Athens.

Cyprus and Byzantium were captured by a joint Athenian, Peloponnesian, and allied expedition, led by the dictatorial Pausanias, soon after the end of the Persian Wars; the Greeks were engaged in a further campaign in the area when the Libyan king, Inaros, appealed for their help against the Persians in Egypt, where they were eventually defeated; a further expedition to Cyprus of Athenians and allies under Kimon was ultimately successful although Kimon died there.<sup>82</sup> Despite these Athenian attempts to wrest control of the island, Cyprus remained a client-kingdom of Persia, under Phoenician rule, with gradually diminishing Greek influence, for most of the fifth and

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<sup>77</sup> Constantakopoulou 2007 p.62.

<sup>78</sup> Hornblower 2002 p.14.

<sup>79</sup> Hornblower 2002 p.15; *IACP* p.1199.

<sup>80</sup> Morkot 1996 p.95;

<sup>81</sup> Constantakopoulou 2007 p.53-4, 59. Dorian Rhodes had a month Dalios.

<sup>82</sup> Thuc.1.94.2, 1.104.1-2, 1.112.1-5; Hornblower 2002 pp.10, 30, 35.

fourth centuries,<sup>83</sup> but its strategic importance seems clear from the Athenian efforts. Kyrene, although remaining in close touch with the Aegean world, played no part in major Greek alliances or conflicts,<sup>84</sup> and was probably not of strategic importance to Athens. The lack of interest in Krete is more puzzling.

### 10.6.3 *The Peloponnesian War and its Aftermath*

Cyprus, as noted above, remained under Persian control during and after the war, but its continuing strategic importance is apparent in the terms of the King's Peace in 387/6,<sup>85</sup> when Cyprus and Klazomenai, alone among Greek islands, were not granted autonomy. Neither Kyrene nor Krete, despite their largely Dorian affiliation, seems to have supported either side in the Peloponnesian War. Although Nikias, the Athenian ambassador in Gortyn, temporarily diverted a squadron of Athenian ships sailing to reinforce Phormio's force at Naupaktos, to assist the *Polichnites* against Kydonia, claiming that this would bring the Kydonians in on the Athenian side,<sup>86</sup> there is no record that this happened, nor any other suggestion that Athens attached importance to alliance with neutral Krete, in contrast to would-be neutral Melos. And, although Thucydides lists the islands between Krete and the mainland Peloponnese as allies of Sparta in 431, Krete itself is not mentioned in this context either.<sup>87</sup>

Rhodes, on the other hand, was actively wooed by the major powers, both during and after the Peloponnesian War (431-404). As a member of the Delian League, the island supported Athens for much of the war, and Thucydides records that the Athenian expedition which left Kerkyra for Sicily in 415 included two fifty-oared ships from Rhodes in addition to a hundred and thirty-four triremes.<sup>88</sup> But after the failure of that expedition, a large Peloponnesian force sailed to Kamiros, responding to an appeal to Sparta by leading Rhodian citizens, and all three cities of Kamiros, Ialysos, and Lindos

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<sup>83</sup> Maier 1994 pp.297, 299; Hornblower 2002 pp.311-2.

<sup>84</sup> *IACP* p.1244.

<sup>85</sup> At the end of the Korinthian War (395-385), caused by Sparta's expansionist policies (Hornblower 2002 pp.212-7).

<sup>86</sup> Thuc.2.85-6. See also p.206.

<sup>87</sup> Thuc.2.9.4.

<sup>88</sup> Thuc.6.43.

were persuaded to revolt from Athens and ally with Sparta (411).<sup>89</sup> After the war Rhodes, now synoikized,<sup>90</sup> revolted in turn against Sparta (396), which was important to the Athenians, even though Rhodes did not at this stage form an alliance with Athens, but rather with Persia, who subsequently sent the Rhodian Timokrates to bribe other Greeks into hostility to Sparta.<sup>91</sup> Rhodes was made autonomous again under the King's Peace (387), and joined the second Athenian Confederacy in the 370s, probably at that time more for fear of the Persian satraps than of Sparta, but in the 360s was encouraged by one of those satraps, Mausolos, to combine with Chios, Byzantium, and the Theban Epaminondas in hostility to Athens.<sup>92</sup> These successful flirtations attest the strategic importance of Rhodes to all three major powers, in stark contrast to that of Krete.

Sicily was regarded by Athens as both threatening and desirable: threatening because of potential alliance with Sparta, and desirable probably as a source of grain,<sup>93</sup> and possibly as a foothold in the west. Thucydides suggests that when, in the mid-420s, an Athenian fleet went to support Leontini,<sup>94</sup> they already aspired to control Sicily, and the grain route to the Peloponnese.<sup>95</sup> This did not go undetected in Syracuse, whose general, Hermokrates, addressing the assembly of cities in 424, told them that the threat now was Athens, and they should therefore stop squabbling among themselves.<sup>96</sup> The Athenians acceded to a polite request for them to leave, following a peace agreement, but their generals were in trouble when they got home for not having taken control of Sicily when they had the opportunity.<sup>97</sup> In 422 they intervened yet again, sending Phaeax to enlist the support of other east Sicilian cities against Syracuse, which had involved itself in driving democrats out of Leontini,<sup>98</sup> and finally sent their massive expedition in 415. The Spartans on the other hand, hesitated to intervene even then, but

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<sup>89</sup> Thuc.8.44.1, 2; Morkot 1996 p.97.

<sup>90</sup> References to Rhodes henceforward may imply island or city, but politically they are the same.

<sup>91</sup> Hornblower 2002 p.220.

<sup>92</sup> Hornblower 2002 pp.225, 235, 255, 264.

<sup>93</sup> Hornblower 2002 p.164. Selinous and Syracuse did in fact give naval help to the Peloponnesians in 412.

<sup>94</sup> See p.231.

<sup>95</sup> Thuc.3.86.4.

<sup>96</sup> Thuc.4.58ff.

<sup>97</sup> Thuc.4.65.3.

<sup>98</sup> Thuc.5.4.1.

finally, persuaded by Alkibiades, who had fled to Sparta from his escort home to stand trial, appointed the Spartan general Gylippos to command the Syracusans.<sup>99</sup> In the case of Sicily the interest is perhaps less in the island's strategic importance, as with Rhodes, and more associated with historic connections, but again it seems to have no parallel in Krete.

#### 10.6.4 *Macedon and Persia*

Although the Rhodians had assisted an Athenian fleet to defend Byzantium, when it was besieged by Alexander's father, Philip II,<sup>100</sup> at the start of the campaigns of Alexander the Great (334-323), Rhodes, Cyprus, and Kyrene, were all parts of the Achaemenid empire;<sup>101</sup> but all effectively surrendered to Alexander as soon as he came close. Although some sources say that Sicily featured in Alexander's long-term dreams,<sup>102</sup> it was too far west to be of immediate interest to either Macedon or Persia. Krete seems to have been of interest to both sides purely for the hiring of mercenaries.<sup>103</sup>

Cyprus, together with Phoenicia, was clearly an important part of Persia's naval strength: early in the war, Alexander complained that Parmenio's advice to fight at sea was flawed, since it would be folly to pit his own inexperienced fleet against the trained Cyprian and Phoenician sailors.<sup>104</sup> Two years later he defended his plan to attack Tyre on the grounds that Cyprus and Egypt were still in Persian hands, but with Tyre destroyed the best part of the Persian navy (the Phoenicians) would be in his hands, and Cyprus would either surrender or be easily defeated; in the event the Cypriot kings, alarmed by Darius' defeat at Issos, brought a hundred and twenty ships to Alexander in Sidon while the siege of Tyre was still in progress, while the Rhodians brought a more modest nine vessels, and their state guard-ship.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Thuc.6.61.6, 6.93.2.

<sup>100</sup> Diod.16.77.2.

<sup>101</sup> Morkot 1996 pp.120-121.

<sup>102</sup> Arr.*Anab.* 7.1.3; Diod.18.4.4.

<sup>103</sup> Although we should not forget that Alexander's admiral, Nearchos, was Kretan.

<sup>104</sup> Arr.*Anab.* 1.18.7.

<sup>105</sup> Arr.*Anab.* 2.17.1, 2.20.2, 3.



Possibly regarding Rhodes' assistance as rather half-hearted, or because of the instability of régime on the island, noted above, Alexander maintained a Macedonian garrison on Rhodes even after the Persian fleet had disintegrated, throughout his campaigns in Asia.<sup>106</sup> Shortly after his death, however, the Rhodians drove out the Macedonians and 'freed' the city.<sup>107</sup> When Alexander visited Ammon during his sojourn in Egypt, he was met by gift-bearing envoys from Kyrene, with whom he made a treaty of alliance and friendship; later, addressing rebellious Macedonian troops at Opis, he lists among his achievements on their behalf the winning of Egypt and Kyrene without exchanging a blow.<sup>108</sup> But Krete, although surrounded by outposts of the Persian empire, which became early additions to that of Alexander, seems, yet again, to have been of interest to neither side.

#### 10.6.5 *After Alexander*

The break-up of Alexander's empire among his warring successors brought all the regions we are considering, except Sicily, into alignment with one or more of them at different times. Cyprus was an early bone of contention between Antigonos, then in control of most of Asia, and Ptolemy, who held power in Egypt and Cyrenaica, and had aspirations to expand northwards. The cities of Cyprus were prepared to share their favours between the two when approached by Antigonos in 315, but Ptolemy fought determinedly for control until 307, when Antigonos' son, Demetrios, took Salamis after a ferocious siege, and defeated Ptolemy's navy; at which point Ptolemy gave up his claim to the island, and Antigonos proclaimed himself a king, attesting the strategic importance of Cyprus.<sup>109</sup> After Antigonos' death at Ipsos in 301, Seleukos took over Syria, which presumably included Cyprus, since Ptolemy had no claim, having been absent from the battle, but by 270 Ptolemy II had regained Cyprus after the First Syrian War.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Berthold 1984 pp.34-6; Hornblower 2002 p.292.

<sup>107</sup> Diod.18.18.1.

<sup>108</sup> Diod.17.49.2; Arr.*Anab.* 7.9.8.

<sup>109</sup> Diod.19.57.4, 59.1, 61.3-5, 79.4; Diod.20.46.5-47.4 and 48.1-53.2.

<sup>110</sup> Morkot 1996 pp.125-7.

Antigonos sought alliance with Rhodes also in 315, and negotiated agreement for a Rhodian shipyard to build him ships with imported timber, including vessels which he used laying siege to Tyre, and ten fully-equipped warships, delivered in 313, for the ‘liberation of the Greeks’.<sup>111</sup> But Rhodes is described by Diodoros as strong in sea-power, and the best-governed of the Greek cities, and therefore much in demand by the competing rulers, while the island itself preferred to stay friends with them all, but particularly so with Ptolemy, for reasons of trade.<sup>112</sup> The refusal of the Rhodians to assist Antigonos in his war with Ptolemy over Cyprus (above) incurred the wrath of Demetrios, resulting in a long and technically advanced siege, which was finally resolved by negotiations which left Rhodes autonomous and un-garrisoned, in alliance with Antigonos, except against Ptolemy.<sup>113</sup> Rhodes’ independence, and the prosperity which accompanied her political power, were maintained throughout the third century.<sup>114</sup>

Kyrene was attacked shortly after Alexander’s death by Harpalos’ general and murderer, Thibron,<sup>115</sup> and, after many vicissitudes and acts of treachery, was eventually annexed by Ptolemy; it remained part of the Ptolemaic kingdom, apart from a swiftly-quelled rebellion in 313,<sup>116</sup> until bequeathed to Rome by Ptolemy Apion in 96.<sup>117</sup> Krete at last attracted some outside interest in the Successor period; it became briefly part of the Ptolemaic kingdom around the end of the fourth century, although it was once again independent by 270,<sup>118</sup> and Kretans were involved in the Chremonidean War, between ‘all the Greeks’ assisted by Ptolemy II and Antigonos Gonatos: the Decree of Chremonides (c.268) refers *inter alia* to ‘those Kretans who are in alliance with the Lakedaimonians’,<sup>119</sup> and there may have been a Ptolemaic garrison at Itanos at that

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<sup>111</sup> Diod.19.57.4, 58.5, 61.5, 77.3.

<sup>112</sup> Diod.20.81.2ff. Higbie 2003 p.249.

<sup>113</sup> Diod.20.82.1-88.9, 99.1-100.1.

<sup>114</sup> Morkot 1996 pp.126, 128; Brun 1996 p.193.

<sup>115</sup> See p.223.

<sup>116</sup> Diod.18.91-21.7 and 19.79.1. *SEG* IX.1 (Austin 2006 no.29) defines its citizenship and constitution.

<sup>117</sup> Morkot 1996 p.131.

<sup>118</sup> Morkot 1996 pp.124, 126.

<sup>119</sup> *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 434-5 (Austin 2006 no.61).

time.<sup>120</sup> The implication here is that not all the Kretans were involved in this alliance, and it seems that Hellenistic royal policy encouraged the in-fighting between Kretan cities, since “no one king had an interest in damping down such squabbles.”<sup>121</sup>

#### 10.6.6 *Kretan Squabbles, Piracy, and Foreign Intervention*

Hellenistic Krete had a reputation for piracy, which resulted in many demands for *asylia* from its neighbours, and, in particular, caused trouble with the apparently more respectable Rhodes. But piracy is usually only so described by its victims; the perpetrators may well see it as justified warfare or revenge, which links it to Krete’s internal unrest, of which foreign powers were quick to take advantage. Philip V’s intervention in support of the allies of Lyttos in 220 provoked help for Knossos from the Aitolians, with whom Philip was at war, and both the foreign powers received military help from the Kretans in return.<sup>122</sup> In the same war Knossos asked their ally, Rhodes,<sup>123</sup> for naval assistance, and Eleutherna, by this time on the side of Lyttos, attacked the Rhodians, believing they had killed a citizen of Lyttos to please Knossos.<sup>124</sup> This would be the sort of behaviour termed ‘piracy’ by Rhodes, but ‘revenge’ by Eleutherna.

Opposition between Rhodes and Krete on piracy was probably a primary cause of the First Kretan War (206-201);<sup>125</sup> Diodoros certainly attributed it to deliberate Kretan piracy, in plundering vessels in the Aegean, where many of the islands were allies of Rhodes, claiming that Rhodes made war on Krete to prevent further raids, whereupon Philip V encouraged the Kretans in support of his own local ambitions.<sup>126</sup> He sent the Aitolian Dikaiarchos to help them – Aitolians were also notorious pirates – possibly with the object of raising funds by plunder; whether this was war or piracy would again

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<sup>120</sup> Austin 2006 p.162 with reference to an inscription from Itanos honouring Ptolemy III, and referring to his father’s connection with the city (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup>453 = Austin 2006 no.453).

<sup>121</sup> Alcock 2002 p.102; Davies 1984 p.309.

<sup>122</sup> Polyb.4.53-55; Chaniotis 2005 pp.9, 44.

<sup>123</sup> Knossos had sent a hundred and fifty soldiers to assist Rhodes during the siege of the port by Demetrios Poliorketes (Diod.20.88.9; Perlman 1999 p.151).

<sup>124</sup> Polyb.4.53; de Souza 1999 p.80ff; Chaniotis 2005 pp.8-9.

<sup>125</sup> Gabrielsen 1999 pp.22-23.

<sup>126</sup> Diod.27.3; Perlman 1999 p.132, 136. See p.185.

depend which side you were on.<sup>127</sup> The only ‘Kretans’ we can be certain were involved in this conflict were from Hierapytna,<sup>128</sup> with whom Rhodes subsequently concluded a treaty, whose terms - requiring Hierapytna to render every assistance to Rhodes, including suppression of piracy, for very limited help in return - make it clear that Rhodes had won, thereby enhancing their standing in the Aegean.<sup>129</sup>

Krete’s reputation for piracy has been encouraged by lack of evidence for the island’s overseas trade, and the belief that there was major movement of population from inland regions to coastal sites, in the Hellenistic period.<sup>130</sup> But more recent archaeological evidence suggests that there was considerable Kretan sea-borne trade, with Egypt, Rhodes, and other islands at least, and that migration towards the coast began in the Archaic and Classical periods, when piracy is not attested.<sup>131</sup> So if the Kretans had legitimate maritime interests, and thus probably legitimate occasions to appeal for outside protection of them, their reputation for piracy may be unjustified.<sup>132</sup> It may also be partly attributable to Polybios, who rails against the Kretans’ cheating tactics - ambush, raiding, tricks, and night attacks - while saying that they are cowardly and downhearted in open battle.<sup>133</sup> This is not the reputation of Kretans in the *Iliad*, where its warriors were among the most distinguished Greek heroes,<sup>134</sup> and the accusation hardly seems in keeping with the very widespread use of Kretan mercenaries.<sup>135</sup>

Polybios was probably the source for Diodoros’ discussion of the First Kretan War and Polybios’ reliance on Rhodian sources, mainly the historian Zeno, would account for an anti-Kretan bias.<sup>136</sup> We have looked already at the contrast between his polemic on Kretan land-grabbing, money-grubbing, public and private disputes, murder, civil war,

<sup>127</sup> de Souza 1999 p.82; Perlman 1999 p.136.

<sup>128</sup> Although Chaniotis (2005 p.11) makes Gortyn the ring-leader; de Souza (1999 p.82) suggests that both Gortyn and Eleutherna were involved, and Perlman (1999 p.135) adds possible participation of Chersonesos and Olous as well.

<sup>129</sup> *IC* III iii a; de Souza 1999 p.82.

<sup>130</sup> Perlman 1999 pp.139-40.

<sup>131</sup> Perlman 1999 pp.139-153.

<sup>132</sup> Perlman 1999 p.153.

<sup>133</sup> Polyb.4.8.11, tr. Paton 1927 with some adjustments.

<sup>134</sup> Perlman 1999 p.138.

<sup>135</sup> See p.222f.

<sup>136</sup> Diod.27.3; Perlman 1999 p.133.

treachery, and injustice, and the respect of Plato and Aristotle for Kretan traditions.<sup>137</sup> His final diatribe was on the subject of renewed internal warfare in Krete (c.180), described as the beginning of great troubles in Krete, “if one can talk of a beginning of trouble in Krete”.<sup>138</sup> Scholars today point to specific factors, such as population issues and land-holding patterns, for Kretan internal warfare,<sup>139</sup> while the accusation of piracy may be largely attributable to predominantly Rhodian accounts of events.

#### 10.6.7 *Carthage and Rome*

Sicily, although not involved in the territorial ambitions of Alexander or his successors, was harassed by her own local superpower, Carthage, during this period. Historically, Carthage had not interfered much with the Greek colonization of Italy and Sicily, in contrast to Persia’s constant inter-actions with the colonization of the Greek east from the mid-sixth to mid-fourth century.<sup>140</sup> But trade, and hence sea-routes to the west, were of paramount importance to Carthage, and from the sixth century on, Carthaginians competed with Greeks for control of the western end of Sicily, while in the third century Carthage came into open conflict with Rome over politics in Sicily.<sup>141</sup> In the fourth century Dionysios I, the ambitious, self-made tyrant of Syracuse (405-367), did his utmost to drive the Carthaginians off the island;<sup>142</sup> but after his death they expanded their territory and influence considerably, until Timoleon of Korinth, sent to deliver the island from tyrants in 344, finally defeated them with a much inferior force, and confined them again to the far west.<sup>143</sup> We have already mentioned Agathokles, contemporary with Alexander’s early successors, who took over Syracuse by a mixture of craft and cruelty in 317, then during his career enslaved most of Sicily, together with much of Libya and south Italy, yet at one point allowed the Carthaginians to hold most of Sicily.<sup>144</sup>

<sup>137</sup> Polyb. 6.46-7; see pp.150-1, 163.

<sup>138</sup> Polyb. 24.3.

<sup>139</sup> Alcock 2003 p.368.

<sup>140</sup> Hornblower 2002 p.1. Carthage had not opposed the Greek colonization of Kyrene either.

<sup>141</sup> Diod. 11.20.1, 38.1 *et al.*; Weech, Warmington and Wilson, *OCD*<sup>3</sup> p.295.

<sup>142</sup> Diod. 15.41.2f, 46.5, 53.6, 73.1-4, *et al.*; Caven *OCD*<sup>3</sup> p.295.

<sup>143</sup> Diod. 16.72.2-73.3 and 77.3-83.3.

<sup>144</sup> Diod. 19.1.6-19.9.7, 71.7-72.1, 110.3-3; Diod. 20.2.2f...

During much of this time there had existed treaties between Carthage and Rome, such that Rome did not interfere in Sicily, nor Carthage in Italy; and in 279/8 Rome even supported Carthage in its war against Pyrrhos in Sicily.<sup>145</sup> But when the Mamertines invited both the Carthaginians and the Romans to help them against Syracuse, both sides reacted, resulting in the first Punic War (263-241), in which the Carthaginians were defeated and driven out of Sicily.<sup>146</sup> Balked in the north, Carthage spread its wings instead to Spain (c.237), where Hannibal and Roman ambassadors clashed over the affairs of Saguntum, leading to a lengthy siege of the town by the Carthaginians, and eventually to the Second Punic War (218-201), and Hannibal's remarkable crossing of the Alps to attack Italy.<sup>147</sup> Hieron II of Syracuse had been loyal to Rome throughout the First Punic War and until his death in 216, when his young grandson Hieronymos switched alliance from Rome to Carthage, provoking the Roman siege of Syracuse by Marcellus (214-212), which was ultimately successful despite the Carthaginian navy's supply operation, and Archimedes' engines of war.<sup>148</sup> Here again we see Sicily in demand by two major powers, in contrast to relatively lukewarm interest in Krete by Ptolemy II and Philip V in the same period.

#### 10.6.8 *Timber, Shipbuilding, and Seafaring*

According to Strabo there was a saying in the ancient world: "The Kretan does not know the sea", applied to those who pretended not to know what they knew very well.<sup>149</sup> But was this in fact justified, and if not, might it go some way to explain the lack of interest in Krete we have identified among the great powers? The argument which stems from the legend of Minos' thalassocracy: that sea-power requires ships, which require appropriate skills to build them, and, above all, suitable timber, has been used to support the belief that ancient Krete was well-wooded, but none of this is

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<sup>145</sup> The number and dates of the treaties are disputed: Polyb.3.22-25; Diod.16.9.1, 22.7.5; and Livy 7.27.2 and 9.43.26 refer.

<sup>146</sup> The Mamertines were mercenaries in Agathokles' army, who had taken over the Sicilian city of Messana. Walsh 1973 pp.17, 19; Lancel 1999 p.3.

<sup>147</sup> Livy 21.1.4, 7.1, 18.14, 23.1; Polyb.2.1.5, 3.17; 3.33.4; 5.1.3; Lancel 1999 pp.29-30, 48-53; Walsh 1973 p.22.

<sup>148</sup> Livy 24.6.1-3, 33.9; 25.23.3, 24.7, 25.11-13, 34.2, 8, 13; Polyb.7.2.1-2; 8.3.2, 3, 6.5-6, 7.2, 37.12; Lancel 1999 pp.118, 125-6, 127.

<sup>149</sup> Strabo 10.4.17.

proven and timber could be imported.<sup>150</sup> Krete was famous for cypress, which was probably indigenous nowhere else in Europe, and became the symbol of Krete from the fifth century; but Theophrastos, although saying that mountain-pine and cypress were the standard ship-timbers, and that cypress predominates on Kretan mountains,<sup>151</sup> does not include Krete in his list of suppliers of timber to Greece, and its attestation in connection with the roof of the Parthenon and statues suggest a precious commodity, leading to a possible conclusion that Krete was never as wooded as many suggest, and would never have been a major producer of 'ordinary' timber.<sup>152</sup>

The evidence of Theophrastos, in particular, suggests that although cypress was available on Krete, it was perhaps too inaccessible for large-scale export, or indeed for much local shipbuilding. The latter calls into question also Krete's ability to build ships, and operate and support a navy, for none of which seems there to be any historical evidence. The east-west sea-route ran along the south coast of Krete,<sup>153</sup> suggesting this was safer than the north coast, and the harbours in the south are generally small.

Among our other four examples, Cyprus and Rhodes were both distinguished in terms of shipbuilding and seafaring abilities. Cyprus was capable of supporting a large fleet, and became a naval base contested between Persia and Greece in the fifth century, as well as supplying ships to Persia for the suppression of the Ionian revolt and the invasion of Greece.<sup>154</sup> We have already noted Alexander's interaction with Cypriot seafaring and shipbuilding;<sup>155</sup> in addition one of the extravagant schemes abandoned by Perdikkas after Alexander's death was the building of a thousand warships in Phoenicia, Syria, Cilicia, and, again, Cyprus; while Cypriots were specifically included in the

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<sup>150</sup> Rackham and Moody 1996 p.127.

<sup>151</sup> Theophr.*HP* 5.7.1-3, 3.2.5-6; Meiggs 1982 pp.118, 56.

<sup>152</sup> Theophr.*CP* V ii 1; Rackham and Moody 1996 pp.129-30, noting that this conflicts with other views; see p.210.

<sup>153</sup> Horden and Purcell 2000 p.138.

<sup>154</sup> Maier 1994 pp.306-7.

<sup>155</sup> See p.241.

skilled crews selected by Alexander for voyages on both the Nile and Hydaspes.<sup>156</sup> The island also seems to have had plentiful timber, which was later crucial to the Ptolemies for their fleets.<sup>157</sup>

Rhodes, on the other hand, was deficient in timber, but must nonetheless have had proven shipbuilding capability, since Antigonos Gonatas established a shipyard there to build ships of imported timber, and Rhodes-built ships were supplied to him on at least two occasions.<sup>158</sup> Before synoikism each of the three Rhodian cities had its own navy,<sup>159</sup> while afterwards the strength of these combined was to foil Spartan attempts to regain Rhodes from Athens in 391.<sup>160</sup> Then, as Ptolemy's naval power declined in the mid-third century, Rhodes achieved a leading position in both trading and naval power,<sup>161</sup> drawing on its control of smaller neighbouring islands for safe anchorages.<sup>162</sup> Alkibiades tells the Spartans that Athens planned, after defeating Syracuse, to build ships in the west, because Italy had an abundance of timber,<sup>163</sup> so it was probably from Italy that Syracuse obtained timber for the ships, built in the dockyards of the small harbour, with which the Syracusans won a resounding naval battle over the Athenians in 413.<sup>164</sup> There seems no evidence for building or operation of a navy in either Kyrene or Krete, although it is likely that the latter must have built some vessels to support her trading and piracy.

### **10.7 Krete: The Odd One Out?**

Although Krete is rarely the sole exception among these five regions for the aspects which we have considered, it is always in the minority. It is the odd one out among the islands of the Aegean region, falling outside the ancient conception of an island, as does

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<sup>156</sup> *Arr.Anab.* 6.1.6; *Arr.Ind.* 18. On the latter occasion 'islanders' were also included, but it seems unlikely that these were Kretans, with the notable exception of Alexander's admiral and friend of his youth, the Kretan Nearchos (*Arr.Anab.* 3.6, *Plut.Vit.Alex.* 10).

<sup>157</sup> Meiggs 1982 pp.133-5.

<sup>158</sup> *Diod.* 19.58.5, 61.5, 77.3.

<sup>159</sup> *IACP* p.1199.

<sup>160</sup> Constantakopoulou 2007 p.277.

<sup>161</sup> Sherwin-White 1978 p.118.

<sup>162</sup> Constantakopoulou 2007 p.194.

<sup>163</sup> *Thuc.* 6.90.3; Meiggs 1982 p.124.

<sup>164</sup> *Thuc.* 7.22.2, 71.5-6.



also Sicily, but Sicily is not in the Aegean. There was very little settlement on Krete in the historical period; this may have been true also of Cyprus and Rhodes, but Cyprus was partly occupied by Phoenicians and under the influence of Persia, and the proximity of both islands to the mainland would have encouraged more ethnic mixing, as would population movement: very significant in Sicily, rather more limited in Rhodes in connection with synoikism, less important in the smaller colonies of Cyprus and Kyrene, but barely in evidence in Krete. This meant that all four other regions were more multi-racial and culturally cosmopolitan than Krete, yet showed too, in the cases of Sicily, Kyrene, and Rhodes, a pride in their Greek heritage, less evident among the Kretans.

Krete had no kings (at least in historic times), no tyrants, and no frequent oscillations between oligarchy and democracy; it seems rather to have had self-contained, relatively stable government, but on an individual city basis with little central authority, and hence limited ability for the island to speak with a single voice. This last was true also of Sicily; but the growth of Rhodes' power and prosperity undoubtedly owed a lot to synoikism and the centralization of power; Kyrene was a single entity, while Cyprus was usually under outside control. We cannot evaluate to what extent this absence of central authority was responsible for the major powers' lack of interest in control of, or alliance with, Krete. In the other regions, outside interventions and support were probably due to a number of factors missing from Krete: recent colonization, mixed races and cultures, natural resources and skills – grain in Sicily, timber in Cyprus, shipbuilding and seafaring in Rhodes – and strategic position, particularly proximity to the mainland. But for whatever reason Krete was ignored by Persia, during the wars both with Greece and Macedon, by Athens, Sparta, Alexander, and most of his successors, until limited interest was shown by Ptolemy II and Philip V in the third century.

The most surprising of these, perhaps, is Athens. When Nicias warned against the Athenian expedition to Sicily, he talked of difficulty in governing a large population, far away, and the pointlessness of conquest without ability to control; he also referred to the

large number of independent cities on Sicily.<sup>165</sup> Yet Thucydides records the passionate enthusiasm of the Athenians for the enterprise, despite Nikias' arguments, their longing for distant places, and the more mundane considerations of short-term pay, and the benefits of adding to the empire.<sup>166</sup> There seems no reason why exactly the same arguments and enthusiasm should not have applied to pre-413 Krete, an island given a remote and romantic reputation by Homer. Did Athens ever consider Krete as she did Sicily? Apparently not, and if not, we need to examine why Sicily had specific attractions: probably the island's grain, or at least control of grain supply to the Peloponnese; but perhaps also, as claimed by Alkibiades, Athens had set her sights beyond the conquest of Sicily, on Italy's timber, and on the ultimate conquest of Italy, Carthage, and finally the Peloponnese, and 'mastery of the whole Hellenic world'<sup>167</sup> (except Krete?). These then were the attractions which Krete lacked: natural resources, specifically grain and timber, and proximity to mainland powers which would extend the power of Athens; a picture which, together with the postulated absence of shipbuilding and naval skills, reads across to the lack of interest of the other great powers in Krete.

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<sup>165</sup> Thuc.6.11.1, 20.2.

<sup>166</sup> Thuc.6.24.3.

<sup>167</sup> Thuc.6.90.2, 3.

## 11

**Summary and Conclusions*****11.1 Ground Covered***

We have identified the three epithets of Zeus which refer to his Kretan origins as Diktaios, Idatas, and Kretagenes. Of these, Diktaios is the most ancient, but was probably never associated with cult-practice in the so-called ‘Diktaian’ (Psychro) Cave. It seems uniquely associated with the pre-Greek inhabitants of the eastern end of the island, and those cities which worshipped at his shrine at Palaikastro, on a site close to the ancient Mt Dikte, probably today’s Mt. Petsophas.<sup>1</sup> The combined evidence of the Palaikastro Hymn and the Palaikastro Kouros suggest continuity of worship and iconography at this shrine from the Bronze Age to the Classical.<sup>2</sup> Despite the popular association of the Palaikastro Hymn with the Kouretes, there is no evidence that they were ever so-called in this region.<sup>3</sup> Idatas was associated with the Dorians and the Greek population of Krete, with a main cult-centre in the Idaian cave, but worshipped widely across the island.<sup>4</sup> Kretagenes was introduced in the Hellenistic era, is given considerable prominence among the gods invoked in treaties, and seems likely to have been the figurehead deity of the Hellenistic *koinon*.<sup>5</sup>

Delphinios and Pythios are the main cults of Apollo in Krete; Delphinios is considerably the older, with pre-Greek origins, while Pythios seems to date from Apollo’s leading Kretan priests to Delphi.<sup>6</sup> We have looked at both in detail, together with the associated attributes of Apollo. In the interesting controversy about the identification of temples at Dreros, the evidence of the three statues in the saddle-temple, taken in conjunction with all the epigraphic evidence, supports the minority view that the saddle-temple was both Pythion and archive, while the west hill temple, where the ephebic oath was found, was probably a Delphinion.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See pp.30, 31-2.

<sup>2</sup> See pp.10-11.

<sup>3</sup> See p.23.

<sup>4</sup> See pp.33-5.

<sup>5</sup> See pp.36, 37.

<sup>6</sup> See pp.44, 51.

<sup>7</sup> See pp.45-6.

Diodoros' Kretan sources claimed that the mystery cults practised in Eleusis, Samothrace, and Thrace all originated in Krete, and were handed down there openly, rather than secretly as elsewhere. We have concluded that in the case of the Samothracian mysteries all the evidence suggests that they were passed the other way, from Samothrace to Krete.<sup>8</sup> But links identified between Krete and the Eleusinian Mysteries, Krete and the Orphic Dionysos-Zagreus, and Kretan rites and those of Dionysos-Bakchos will be discussed under 'Kretan Exceptionalism' below. The suggestion that the cults were handed down openly, however, seems incompatible with their being successfully kept secret elsewhere.<sup>9</sup>

The study of cults associated with gods other than Zeus, Apollo, and Dionysos, was based on the account of Diodoros' Kretan sources, supplemented with epigraphic and archaeological evidence, and concentrated on unusual attributes of gods, surprising absences, and cults unique to Krete. We noticed the prevalence of cults of Athena, in addition to those of Zeus and Apollo already identified, together with the extreme rarity of cults of Persephone, Dionysos, and Hephaistos; possible explanations of the latter have been suggested in the text.<sup>10</sup> No explanation has been found for the fact that, although cults of Demeter exist, she is never invoked in oaths in treaties.<sup>11</sup> In general Diodoros' account was found to be poorly supported by other evidence.

There is a widely-held assumption that the abduction of boys by older men, as described by Ephoros in Strabo's account of Kretan customs, represented initiation to male adulthood. We have discounted this on account of the probable young age of the boys, and, more conclusively, on the grounds that initiation to male adulthood must have been undergone by all citizens, while Strabo's account makes it clear that not all youths were abducted in this way.<sup>12</sup> Gods and festivals particularly

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<sup>8</sup> See p.85.

<sup>9</sup> See pp.62, 85.

<sup>10</sup> See pp.91f (Athena), 66 and 67 (Persephone), 71, 72 and 81 (Dionysos), 96 (Hephaistos).

<sup>11</sup> See p.90.

<sup>12</sup> See pp.122, 123-4.

associated with initiation rituals in Krete have been identified, together with a number of border sanctuaries in wilderness locations as probable sites.<sup>13</sup>

We have noted instances of the particular interest of the Kretans in law and justice,<sup>14</sup> and examined why the island had a traditional reputation for its constitution, law, and law-givers, seemingly at odds with a later reputation for lawless behaviour.<sup>15</sup> None of the literary references to the traditional reputation makes any mention of the Law Code of Gortyn, or laws of any other city, suggesting perhaps that these were regarded as local variants to the overriding traditional laws of Minos.<sup>16</sup> The evidence that Sparta's constitution was based on that of Krete, rather than *vice versa*, has been analyzed and accepted.<sup>17</sup> Evidence has been put forward to authenticate the very large corpus of legal inscriptions from Krete as among the earliest in Greece, rather than just an accident of survival.<sup>18</sup> Finally, we have examined the 'Great Law Code of Gortyn', and individual laws from other cities, and drawn conclusions on social and political issues; and we have examined evidence for developing awareness of civic identity, and increasingly widespread literacy in Kretan cities during the Archaic age.<sup>19</sup>

References to decisions by 'the Kretans', apparently jointly, date back to the Minoan era, including revenge for Minos' death on Sicily, and the sending of a Kretan contingent to the Trojan War.<sup>20</sup> The only clue as to how these decisions could have been made is the possibility that the Hellenistic *koinon* had its roots in a far older *synkretismos*, which might have been assembled at times of military threat such as these.<sup>21</sup> Other opportunities for communities to get together, although not on a pan-Kretan basis, arose increasingly, from the early shared use of peak sanctuaries and caves, and later of extra-urban and border sanctuaries, while bilateral treaties afforded opportunities for mutual visits between cities at festivals.<sup>22</sup> Some such

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<sup>13</sup> See p.127f.

<sup>14</sup> See pp.89, 133-4.

<sup>15</sup> See p.134.

<sup>16</sup> See p.136.

<sup>17</sup> See p.149f.

<sup>18</sup> See p.137.

<sup>19</sup> See pp.148-9, 161-2.

<sup>20</sup> See p.165.

<sup>21</sup> See p.187.

<sup>22</sup> See pp.167, 168, 170, and 175-6.

groupings could be seen as amphictionies, with common cult and, to a greater or lesser extent, common political interests.<sup>23</sup> Finally, from the late third century, whenever Knossos and Gortyn could agree, the *koinon* provided a forum for pan-Kretan discussion, but it had little authority, and it has been said that Krete was never really united until the Roman era.<sup>24</sup>

With the exception of the Samians and the Aiginetans, stories of inward colonization on Krete are either pure myth, as in the accounts of the various ‘godlings’, or at best semi-historical, as in the coming of the Dorians. But we have examined evidence that the two could be interlinked, with the ‘godling’ myths invented to explain the arrival of different ethnic groups.<sup>25</sup> The founding legends of Kretan cities are rooted in myth, and frequently conflicting, but we have identified a mythical background linked to a very real political imperative behind Athens’ unexpected acceptance of *syngeneia* claimed by Kydonia,<sup>26</sup> and the later admission to Hadrian’s Panhellenic League of Lyttos, Gortyn, and Hierapytna.<sup>27</sup> The only historically verifiable outward colonization is that of Gela in the seventh century, and the small-scale settlement in Miletos in the third century.<sup>28</sup> But corroborative evidence suggests some truth in the mythical accounts of the colonization of the Kyklades by Minos and Rhadamanthys, and of Minoan colonization of Miletos and Lykia by the youth Miletos and Sarpedon.<sup>29</sup> As with inward colonization, it is possible that myths were invented to explain ethnic anomalies, particularly that of Minos’ death in Sicily, and his followers’ settlement in southern Italy.<sup>30</sup>

Finally Krete’s relations with the various major powers, from the Persian Wars to the end of the Hellenistic age, were analyzed in comparison with those of Rhodes, Sicily, Kyrene, and Cyprus, looking at the colonization history, cultural diversity, and forms of government of each,<sup>31</sup> in an attempt to find an explanation for the way in which Krete was almost entirely ignored by the great powers, and the conclusion

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<sup>23</sup> See p.177ff.

<sup>24</sup> See pp.190; p.185 and n.117.

<sup>25</sup> See pp.194-6.

<sup>26</sup> See pp.207-8.

<sup>27</sup> See p.202.

<sup>28</sup> See pp. 220, 209.

<sup>29</sup> See pp.212 and n.127, 216.

<sup>30</sup> See p.227.

<sup>31</sup> See pp.229, 231f, 233f.

drawn that Krete was too far from the mainland to be of strategic interest, lacked the potential to export such essential natural resources as grain and timber, and very probably also lacked shipbuilding and naval capability.<sup>32</sup>

### ***11.2 Recurring Themes and Unresolved Questions***

#### *Were Minoans considered Greeks?*

We have noted that that the Praisians (Eteokretans) and the *Polichnites* were the only abstainers from the expedition to Sicily to avenge the death of Minos, and concluded that the rest of the population must have been considered as Greeks.<sup>33</sup> Homer talks of Pelasgians, Dorians, and Achaeans in Krete in Odysseus' day, but his chronology must be suspect, as it seems impossible that the Dorians, at least, could have arrived in Krete before the Mykeneans, and certainly not before the Trojan War. Herodotos certainly refers to Kretans of the Minoan era as Greek: he describes the abduction of Europa from Phoenicia, which he attributes to Kretans, as a 'Greek' crime,<sup>34</sup> yet, in the context of Sarpedon and the Kretans' colonization of Lykia, he says that the whole of Krete was in the hands of non-Greeks in those days.<sup>35</sup> We also noted that there was evidence of Minoan settlement in Miletos, and that the foundation myths of the city suggest that non-Greeks preceded the Kretans, with a clear implication that the Minoan settlers were considered as Greeks.<sup>36</sup> The solution could be that the Greekness of their forebears is a later Asia Minor construct; after all the Lykians and their neighbours did fight against the Greeks in the Trojan War, but the evidence of Herodotos suggests that the Minoans were more generally thought of as Greeks in the fifth century.

#### *Were ephebes of more than one city initiated jointly at common sanctuaries?*

Several scholars seem to suggest that this may have been the case, particularly at Palaikastro, where the Early Iron Age votives included bronze shields and weapons,<sup>37</sup> and the Hymn has wording which both suggests the participation of

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<sup>32</sup> See pp.239, 248, 251.

<sup>33</sup> See p.180.

<sup>34</sup> Hdt.1.2.

<sup>35</sup> Hdt. 1.173. See p.214.

<sup>36</sup> See p.216.

<sup>37</sup> See p.20; Prent 2000 p.642f.

more than one city, and has similarities to the ephebic oath of Itanos.<sup>38</sup> Finds at the Kato Syme sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite are highly suggestive of initiation,<sup>39</sup> and no single city seems to have been associated with this sanctuary; other extra-urban sanctuaries, where civilization and wilderness meet, have been identified as appropriate for initiation rites, and these are often border sanctuaries between communities.<sup>40</sup> There are stipulations in some bilateral treaties that ephebes of one city should attend a festival in the other, and of young men leaving the ephebate coming from several cities to join in a festival at a common sanctuary.<sup>41</sup> And finally there is evidence that renewal of alliances between cities often took place at festivals which are associated with initiation.<sup>42</sup> Although all these references are suggestive of joint initiation ceremonies, Perlman is the only scholar who overtly suggests that they took place, and we have noted that her reliance on the similarity of the Itanos oath and the Palaikastro Hymn as evidence for this seems contradicted by her statement that all resident Itanos citizens had to take the oath on the same day.<sup>43</sup> It would seem that the possibility of joint initiation ceremonies is there, but by no means proven.

*Why does Diodoros insist on the right of primogeniture?*

When Diodoros tells us that Minos, by virtue of being the eldest, succeeded to the kingship in Krete,<sup>44</sup> our minds, accustomed to the norm of such succession, accept it without question. But when he says that Zeus succeeds his father Kronos “in accordance with custom and justice”,<sup>45</sup> and slips in the words “being the eldest” in connection with the succession of Kronos,<sup>46</sup> we are bewildered, because we know from other sources that Kronos and Zeus were both youngest sons. Diodoros, or his Kretan sources, were apparently unaware of some tradition of succession by right of ultimogeniture elsewhere in Greece,<sup>47</sup> or, more probably, unique to Olympos.

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<sup>38</sup> See p.17; Perlman 1995 pp.166-7. Chaniotis (1988 p.28) and Dowden (2006 p.34) both suggest youths of several cities were present, without specifically mentioning initiation.

<sup>39</sup> See p.128; Marinatos 2003 p.130.

<sup>40</sup> See pp.129-30; de Polignac 1995 p.62.

<sup>41</sup> See pp.176-7; Chaniotis 1996 pp.127 and 129.

<sup>42</sup> See p.130; Perlman 1995 p.166.

<sup>43</sup> See p.24; Perlman 1995 pp.166-7.

<sup>44</sup> Diod.5.78.2.

<sup>45</sup> See p.27; Diod. 5.70.1.

<sup>46</sup> See p.144; Diod. 5.66.4.

<sup>47</sup> John Davies (pers. comm.) says he knows of no such thing.



*Could a city belong to more than one amphictiony? And could a city be the cult-centre of an amphictiony?*

We have identified a possibility that Hierapytna may have belonged to amphictionies centered on Palaikastro, with Itanos, Praisos, and possibly Knossos; centered on Kato Syme, with Arkades, Knossos, Lyttos, Tyliossos, and probably Biannos and Malla; and may even have been a cult-centre in its own right.<sup>48</sup> The Idaian Cave was probably the cult-centre for an amphictiony whose members included Eleutherna, Gortyn, Axos, and Tyliossos, possibly also Knossos and Chersonesos, and certainly also Lyttos, noting the overlap with the Kato Syme grouping.<sup>49</sup> In the west we have postulated an amphictiony based on the Diktynnaion, including Phalasarna, Polyrrhenia, Kydonia, Aptera, and Lissos at least, while the *Oreioi* included Lissos (again), Hyrtakina, Elyros, Poikilasion, Tarra, and possibly others.<sup>50</sup> From this it would seem that it may have been possible to belong to more than one amphictiony at one time, but, perhaps more likely, the memberships varied with time. Since the majority of the amphictionies identified are centered on neutral locations, such that no one member could dominate, this should perhaps be postulated as the norm, thus discounting the idea of Hierapytna as a cult-centre, and making the sanctuary of Poseidon at Tsiskiana a more likely candidate for the cult-centre of the *Oreioi*.<sup>51</sup>

*Do the apparent influences of Prodikos and Euhemerios reflect Diodoros' or Kretan thinking?*

Although it is generally acknowledged that Diodoros had leanings towards euhemerism,<sup>52</sup> he did not invent the tomb of Zeus, which was important to the euhemerists in proving that the gods were originally mortal.<sup>53</sup> Kallimachos actually implies that the Kretans invented the tomb, and we saw that Euhemerios included Kretans among the colonizers of his utopian island of Panchaea, possibly implying that he believed their thinking to be similar to his. We established that the insistence that immortal honours were only granted to those who had made significant

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<sup>48</sup> See pp.30, 177.

<sup>49</sup> See p.34.

<sup>50</sup> See p.181.

<sup>51</sup> See p.89.

<sup>52</sup> Sacks 1990 p.68ff.

<sup>53</sup> See p.29.

contributions to the social life of mankind,<sup>54</sup> has something in common with euhemerism, in that the gods were originally mortal, but perhaps more so with the thinking of the fifth-century sophist Prodikos, and his naturalistic theory of the origin of religion. It would seem therefore that, although Diodoros may have stressed these views because of his own interest in them, there were already, in Krete, elements of the thinking of both Euhemeros and Prodikos.

### 11.3 Kretan *Exceptionalism and Contributions*

#### 11.3.1 *Cults*

Krete's exceptionalism in respect of cult is found mainly in the Kretans' own perceptions, and very much depends on the account given by Diodoros based on his allegedly Kretan sources.<sup>55</sup> We have noted the general idiosyncrasies of their theogony, in particular the unique claims that all the gods originated on the island and that immortal honours were granted as a reward to those who made improvements in the social life of mankind, by discoveries and transfer of their knowledge to the human race.<sup>56</sup> In the cases of certain gods there is evidence that belief in their birth on Krete was not unique to the islanders: Hesiod first records that Rhea gave birth to Zeus near Lyttos, clearly a widely-accepted myth,<sup>57</sup> while much of the Orphic writing places Dionysos' birth on the island.<sup>58</sup> While Homer tells us only that Iasion made love to Demeter in a thrice-turned field, Hesiod locates this field for us, and the birth of their son Ploutos, on Krete,<sup>59</sup> and finally Pausanias suggests that there was in his time a legend of the birth of Eileithyia in the cave at Amnisos.<sup>60</sup> There seems no outside story, however, of the birth of any other god on Krete, and particularly not that of Athena, for whom Diodoros' Kretans make such a detailed claim.<sup>61</sup>

The link between immortal honours and benefits to the human race implies that all the gods had to start off with this kind of euergetism: there was apparently no other

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<sup>54</sup> See p.77.

<sup>55</sup> Note *caveats* p.5.

<sup>56</sup> See p.87. Diod.5.64.2.

<sup>57</sup> Hes.*Theog.* 477. It is interesting that Odysseus never mentions the birth of Zeus on Krete, although he knows that Minos conversed with him in a cave (*Od.*19.178-9).

<sup>58</sup> See pp.74-6.

<sup>59</sup> *Od.*5.125f; Hes.*Theog.*969f. See p.65.

<sup>60</sup> Paus.1.18.5. See p.104.

<sup>61</sup> Diod.5.72.3. See p.91.

route to immortality. We have possibly seen an outside perception of such a belief in Krete in the inclusion of Kretans in the population of Euhemeros' island of Panchaea;<sup>62</sup> this seems to suggest a belief that the Kretans shared his views of the origins of the gods, possibly because of their reputation for venerating the tomb of Zeus, a subject very dear to euhemeristic hearts, although the tomb is not mentioned by the Kretan sources themselves. Despite the general acceptance of Krete as the birth-place of Zeus, the associated cults of Zeus Diktaios, Idatas, and Kretagenes are, with one exception, unique to Krete,<sup>63</sup> whereas the two major cults of Apollo, those of Apollo Delphinios and Pythios, are certainly not. We have shown, however, that it is probable, for rather different reasons, that both cults originated on the island, together with several of the god's attributes, notably those of music, purification, and prophesy with all of which Krete was associated,<sup>64</sup> suggesting that these were Kretan contributions to the greater Greek world. On the basis of myths associated with Demeter and Persephone, and the similarity of cult vessels and elements of the Eleusinian Mysteries to Minoan rites,<sup>65</sup> we have concluded that there is good reason to think that the Eleusinian Mysteries were influenced by early Kretan practice. Furthermore the myths associated with the Orphic theogonies and the birth of 'the dying Dionysos' have strong links to Krete, and much in common with those of the birth of Zeus, while the rites associated with Dionysos-Bakchos are similar to the protection of the infant Zeus, or his Minoan predecessor, suggesting the possibility that both Orphism and Dionysiac rites could have originated on the island in some primitive form.<sup>66</sup>

Finally we have noted some unusual attributes and absences of gods, such as Hestia's responsibility for house-building, Hermes' involvement in peace negotiations, sparse evidence for cults Dionysos or Persephone, and the almost complete absence of Hephaistos, Herakles, and hero-cults.<sup>67</sup> In addition to the epithets of Zeus mentioned above, we have identified a number of cult epithets

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<sup>62</sup> pp.29.

<sup>63</sup> *RE* vol. X.A pp.218, 316, 326. The exception is Mylasa (see p.226, n.214).

<sup>64</sup> See pp.44, 48-9, 51, 52 and 53.

<sup>65</sup> See pp.65-68.

<sup>66</sup> See pp.71-73, 76, 82-83, 86.

<sup>67</sup> See pp.87, 93, 90, 66, 71, 99.

unique to Krete, frequently reflecting geographic locations,<sup>68</sup> and we have examined various ancient Kretan deities, mostly unique to the island.<sup>69</sup>

### 11.3.2 Customs

The early institutionalization of pederasty, and the abduction practice described by Ephoros, were certainly unique to Krete, and male adolescent initiation rituals continued much later in Krete, and possibly also Sparta, than in the rest of Greece.<sup>70</sup> The gods associated with initiation in Krete are Zeus, Hermes and Aphrodite, and Leto, as opposed to Apollo Delphinios, as is the case elsewhere.<sup>71</sup> Membership of public messes, *andreia*, by all male citizens, was also confined to Krete and Sparta, and would have had social implications, in that authority over boys from an early age was transferred from their fathers to the elders of the *andreia*.<sup>72</sup> In Diodoros' account the gods, including Kronos, Themis, Demeter, and Zeus, seem more than usually concerned with justice and law, as are also the early law-givers, Minos and Rhadamanthys, in keeping with the island's reputation.<sup>73</sup> The inscription of laws for public display is evident both earlier, and in much greater quantity, in Krete than in the rest of Greece, and there is evidence to suggest that the Kretan model contributed to the constitutions of Sparta, certainly, and Athens, possibly.<sup>74</sup> The island had a very large number of cities for its size, and despite the opportunities we have identified for them to get together, the large number of internal peace-treaties, the continual breakdown of the Hellenistic *koinon*, and the evidence of Polybius, make it clear that Krete was well-known for, if not unique in, its internal quarrelling, and its inability to make island-wide decisions and speak with a single voice.<sup>75</sup>

### 11.3.3 Outside Relations

Although Krete provided a home for several waves of settlers from early times, and many myths record Kretan settlements overseas, there are extraordinarily few historical examples of inward or outward colonization; although the island was

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<sup>68</sup> Including Athena (pp.91-2), Hermes (pp.93-4), Aphrodite (p.95), and Leto (p.98).

<sup>69</sup> Including the Kouretes and Idaian Daktyls, Britomartis and Diktyнна, Talos, and Welkhanos (pp.100-104, 105, 107f).

<sup>70</sup> See pp.117-8, 114-5, and 110 respectively.

<sup>71</sup> See pp.125-7.

<sup>72</sup> See p.153.

<sup>73</sup> Diod. 5.66.4, 67.4, 68.3, 71.1, 5.78.3, 79.1 and 2.

<sup>74</sup> See pp.137, 136, and 135 respectively.

<sup>75</sup> See pp.189f, 185.

surely unique in its contribution of large numbers of mercenary soldiers to fight in other people's wars, often far afield.<sup>76</sup> Krete, together with Aitolia, was notorious for piracy in the Hellenistic era, a reputation not necessarily fully deserved. The government of the island's cities seems to have been uniquely stable, at least among the examples we have studied, partly perhaps because of a singular lack of diversity in its ethnic and cultural make-up. Finally the island seems to have been uniquely uninterested in, and to a large extent ignored by, the major powers of the Classical and Hellenistic periods.

#### *11.3.4 Island Mystique*

Remote and rather romantic in Homer,<sup>77</sup> the island's isolation may have resulted from its also being seen as marginal and slightly sinister. Its distance from any mainland would enhance the reservations that mainlanders had about all islands: that they embodied the essential feature of the underworld, that there was no escape.<sup>78</sup> In the case of Krete the association was perhaps stronger because of the well-known presence of Minos and Rhadamanthys as judges in the Elysian Fields,<sup>79</sup> a dreaded destination and a place of no return. Krete's 'otherness' should not be underestimated.

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<sup>76</sup> See pp.225, 222ff.

<sup>77</sup> As described by Odysseus to Penelope (*Od.*19.172ff).

<sup>78</sup> Alan Griffiths (pers. comm.)

<sup>79</sup> *Od.*4.564 and 11.568f. See p.134.

	IC IV 171	IC I ix 1	SEG XLI 743	IC IV 174	IC IV 183	IC I xvi 16	IC III iii 3B	SEG XXVI 104	IC III iii 5	IC III iv 8	IC I xvi 5	IC I xviii 9	IC III vi 7
Epithet of Zeus	Gortyn Arkades early C3 BC	Dreros Knossos early C3 BC	Eleutherna Knossos? early C3 BC	Gortyn/Hierapytna Priansos late C3 BC	Gortyn Sybrita late C3 BC	Hierapytna Lato late C3 BC	Hierapytna Lyttos late C3 BC	Hierapytna Lato late C2 BC	Hierapytna settlement C2 BC	Itanos only C3 BC	Lato Olus late C2BC	Lyttos Olus late C2 BC	Praisos Stalai early C3 BC
Diktaios			Chan. van Eff. []					Y	Y	Y			Y
Idaios/Idatas	[]		Y Y	[]	Y							Y	
Kretagenes			[]		Y	Y		Y			Y	Y	
Agoraios	Y	Y	[] []	[]	[]					Y			
Oratrios	[]		[]	Y	[]		Y	Y	Y			[]	
Tallaios		Y	[]								Y	Y	
Thenatas			Y Y										
Skyllios			[]	Y									
Monnitios							Y						
Kouretes				Y	Y		Y	Y	Y		Y	Y	

#### Notes to Appendix

1. Y means that the epithet is secure; [] means that it has been restored by the editor.
2. Under Dreros/Knossos, absence of Thenatas and presence of Tallaios are both surprising.
3. Under Eleutherna/?Knossos, the certain inclusion of Thenatas would seem adequate confirmation of Knossos. Van Effenterre's suggestion is unusual for three reasons:
  - it would be the only example of all three of Idaios, Diktaios, and Kretagenes appearing together
  - it would be the earliest example of Zeus Kretagenes, possibly too early
  - there seems no geographical reason to include Tallaios or Skyllios

However it is possible that this was an oath involving the Kretan *koinon*, which included the deities of all the member cities (see Chapter on Apollo below).
4. Under Hierapytna/Lato (late C3 BC), Kretagenes apparently alone is misleading; the rest of the gods were illegible.
5. In general, ending of –an after [] has been taken as evidence of Idatas, since Thenatas seems to be unique to Knossos

### **Appendix 1**

#### **Incidence of Epithets of Zeus among Gods Invoked in Bilateral Treaties**

			<b><i>West Hill Building</i></b>	<b><i>Saddle Building</i></b>
		<b>FACTS</b>	Dates from C8 BC Relatively large building Interior fireplace suitable for sacrifice Findplace for ephebic oath inscription	Dates from C7/6 BC Relatively small building Interior fireplace suitable for sacrifice Findplace for many C7 legal inscriptions Three cult statues found
<b>Date</b>	<b>Authority</b>	<b>OPINIONS</b>		
1918	Xanthoudides		Sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios	Not yet excavated
1935	Marinatos		Andreion	Sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios City Archive
1952	Nilsson		Temple with interior fireplace implying sacrifice	Temple with interior fireplace implying sacrifice
1979 2009	Graf		Not mentioned	Delphinion (temple and civic) Andreion
1982	Duhoux		Andreion	Temple of Apollo Delphinios City Archive
1997	Koehl		Temple of unknown dedication	Delphinion in mainly civic sense Andreion City Archive
1997	Ainian			Delphinion
2004	Perlman		Temple of Apollo Delphinios	Andreion
1938/40	Kirsten		Temple of Apollo Delphinios or Athene Poliokhos	Temple of Apollo Pythios
2002	Sporn		Temple of Apollo Delphinios	Temple of Apollo Pythios

***Appendix 2***  
***Controversy at Dreros***

Epithet	Sanc. Attested	Sanc =Archive	Invoked in oaths between:	Festival	Month	Coins	Tithes	Sacred
<b><i>Apollo Delphinios</i></b>	Knossos Dreros Hyrtakina	Knossos Dreros	Dreros / Knossos [Eleutherna / Knossos?]		Olus			Law
<b><i>Apollo Pythios</i></b>	Gortyn Lyttos Dreros Hierapyna Itanos Phaistos	Gortyn Lyttos Dreros Hierapyna Itanos Phaistos	Arkades / Gortyn Dreros / Knossos Eleutherna / ?Knossos] Gortyn / Priansos Gortyn / Sybrita Hierapytna / Lyttos Hierapytna / Lato Hierapytna / settlement Itanos Lyttos / Olus Praisos / Stalai	Lyttos			Gortyn Hierapytna?	Axos
<b><i>Apollo Dekataphoros</i></b>	Apollonia	Apollonia						
<b><i>Apollo Amyklaios</i></b>	Amyklai							
<b><i>Apollo Bilkonios</i></b>			[Eleutherna / Knossos?]					
<b><i>Apollo Sasthraios</i></b>			[Eleutherna / Knossos?]					
<b><i>Apollo Tarrhaios</i></b>	Tarrha (cult at least)							
<b><i>Apollo Karneios</i></b>					Gortyn			
<b><i>Apollo Leschonorios</i></b>					Gortyn			
<b><i>Phoebos</i></b>	Olus							
<b>"Apollo"</b>	Allaria	Allaria				Aptera Axos Kydonia Eleutherna Elyros Gortyn Lappa Polyrhenia Praisos Rethymna Chersonnesos Sybrita?		

**Appendix 3**  
**Distribution of Cults of Apollo**



<b>Dates</b>	<b>Context</b>	<b>Cyprus</b>	<b>Rhodes</b>	<b>Sicily</b>	<b>Kyrene</b>	<b>Krete</b>	<b>Refs.</b>
c.1200BC	Mykenean Civilization	Influenced	Yes	n/a	No	Yes	Morkot 1996 p.31
C8 / C13BC	Trojan War	No, but known	9 ships	n/a	n/a	Important	<i>Il.</i> 2.645ff, 653ff; <i>Od.</i> 4.83
c.900BC	Migrations	Mykenean refugees	Mykenean refugees Dorians	n/a	n/a	Dorians	Morkot 1996 p.47
750-550BC	Greek colonization	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Morkot 1996 p.51
Early C5BC	Persian Wars	Persian Empe	Persian Empire	n/a	Persian Empire	Neutral state	Morkot 1996 pp.75, 77; Hdt3.13; Hornblower 2002 p.57f
Mid C5BC	Athenian Empire in the Aegean region	Disputed	Delian League	n/a	n/a	No	Morkot 1996 p.95; Thuc.1.94, 104, 112
Late C5BC	Peloponnesian War	Neutral	Athens' ally to 411; Spartan ally 411-396	415-411	Neutral	Neutral	Thuc.4.57.11; 4.58.4;8.44.1-2; Hornblower 2002 pp.176, 220,
Early C4BC							
334-323BC	Campaigns of Alexander	Achaemenid until siege of Tyre 332BC	Achaemenid until siege of Tyre 332BC	Not involved	Achaemenid until Alx. in Ammon 332BC	Mercenary involvement only	Arr. <i>Anab.</i> 2.20.2-3; Diod.17.49.2
323-303BC	Early Successors era	Contested	Antigonid	n/a	Ptolemaic	Ptolemaic	Morkot 1996 p.124
270-200	Seleucid expansion	Ptolemaic	Independent	n/a	Ptolemaic	Independent	Morkot 1996 pp.126 and 128

**Appendix 4**  
**Krete and Comparable Colonies**

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