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THE PALAIKASTRO KOUROS

A MINOAN CHRYSSELEPHANTINE STATUETTE

And its Aegean Bronze Age Context

J. A. MacGillivray, J. M. Driessen and L. H. Sackett

with contributions by

C. V. Crowther, P. Harrison, S. A. Hemingway, R. B. Koehl, M. S. Moak,
A. Moraitou, J. Musgrave, A. Nikakis, S. E. Thorne, J. Weingarten

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Diktaian Zeus in later Greek tradition

Stuart Thorne

DIKTAIAN ZEUS

Long after the statuette had been lost and buried in the destruction of the Late Minoan IB city at Roussolakkos, long after the final abandonment of the town, traces of activity can again be found in the area. A sanctuary is established in the ruins of the Minoan city, a sanctuary that blossoms in the 8th and 7th centuries BC and remains active for a thousand years.¹

In 1837, the British traveller Robert Pashley reported an ancient inscription detailing the arbitration of a territorial dispute between two of the cities prominent in E Crete during the second century BC, Hierapytna and Itanos. Found in the ruins of the town of Itanos, an ancient port some 7 kilometres N of the sanctuary at Palaikastro, the inscription had been carried to the monastery of Toplou where it was first recorded by the British traveller. The Toplou inscription describes a complex dispute of over a century in duration and mentions a sanctuary of Diktaian Zeus close by the area under contention (*IC* III.IV; Pashley 1837, 290). The discovery at Palaikastro in 1904 of an inscribed hymn dedicated to the son of Kronos, entreating his 'return to Dikte', confirmed suspicions that the long-lived Greek sanctuary built in the battered but still impressive ruins of the Bronze Age town was this disputed sanctuary, sacred to Zeus of Dikte.²

The epithet refers to the mountain of Dikte. Zeus of Dikte earns his name by right of birth and early childhood, the child Zeus being born and raised in a great cave on the slopes of that mountain. Appropriately enough Zeus is here worshipped as a youth, reference in the *Etymologikon Mega* to an 'ἄγαλμα ἀγένειον' at Dikte being directly confirmed by the invocation of the god in the Hymn as 'μέγιστε κοῦρε'.³

The Toplou inscription makes clear the association of the Palaikastro sanctuary with the inland city of Praisos (*IC* III.IV, 68 ff). Architectural terracotta fragments and similarities in votive assemblages common to both sites confirm this association (*PK* IV, 304–06). It is Homer who first tells us of the 'true Cretans', Eteocretans, one of the five peoples living on the island.⁴ Herodotus mentions the city of Praisos and refers to traditions from that city in examining the troubled period that followed the collapse of the Minoan state, the period of the Trojan War and the dark age in Crete.⁵ Strabo, not without confusion, but using Staphylus of Naukratis (*FGrHist.* 269 F12) and Ephoros

of Kyme among his sources, places the Eteocretans at Praisos, 'where there is a temple of Diktaian Zeus' (Strabo 10.4.12; Pashley 1837, 290 and n. 15). The discovery at Praisos of fragments of inscriptions written in Greek letters but in a language as yet undeciphered is seen as confirmation that these early and persistent traditions were accurate and that in the mountains of E Crete communities of indigenous Cretans lived on among those that had occupied the island after them.⁶

It is my thesis that a study of the *distribution* of myth in the surviving literature of the ancient Greek world places the traditional story of the birth of Zeus squarely in the Bronze Age, and shows clearly that the beardless statue of the *Etymologikon Mega* and the *megistos kouros* of the *Hymn to Diktaian Zeus* are direct descendants of the Palaikastro Kouros. The bulk of this study is inevi-

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- 1 *PK* II 274–387; *PK* IV 258–308, pl. X; Bosanquet 1940, 66–8. For a review of the Post-Minoan material see Prent and Thorne forthcoming.
 - 2 *IC* III.II.2; Bosanquet 1909, 339–56; Murray 1909, 356–65; West 1965, 149–59. The Hymn and its religious implications have been discussed repeatedly since discovery and publication, the identification of the sanctuary has not been questioned; see Guarducci 1978, 11, 34–5; Verbruggen 1981, 101–11 and *passim*. For further references: Willetts 1962, 211.
 - 3 *Etymologikon Mega* s.v. Δικτη. For the 'beardless' cult statue of the *Etymologikon* as representation of a 'youth' or 'young man', see *IC* III.II.2.
 - 4 With Pelasgians, Achaeans, Kydonians and Dorians: Homer *Od.* 19.176.
 - 5 *Hdt.* 7.170–1. According to Herodotus the people of Praisos maintained that only they and the people of Polichna had remained on the island when other cities sailed to avenge the death of Minos in Sicily. That expedition met disaster, leaving the island depopulated and open to settlement by 'men of various nationalities, but especially Greeks.' Further devastation occurred three generations later, Herodotus reports the Praisians saying, when the Cretan heroes returned from the Trojan War. The question as to whether these traditions have any historical reality is here less relevant than Herodotus' use of them as source material.
 - 6 *IC* III.VI.1–34. Halbherr 1894, 539–44; Conway 1902, 125–56. For a fuller discussion of the language of these inscriptions: Y. Duhoux 1982. See also Coldstream 1977a, 10.

tably concerned with the later Iron Age for it is only by a careful study of Diktaian Zeus in later Greek tradition that we can follow his story back to the Bronze Age city at Palaikastro, where the shattered chryselephantine statuette lay hidden until 1987.

A word of caution may be necessary here. It is iconographic and mythological continuity, not continuity of religious import that forms the basis of this study. In 1857, even before the 'discovery' of the 'Minoans', Welcker suggested that the 'Youthful God' of Crete was adopted by 'Greek' settlers and identified with their Indo-European 'Zeus' (Welcker 1857, 218; and cf. n. 14 below). The Kouros, then, to Welcker and Nilsson and other early students of Minoan religion, would represent a pre-Greek god of vegetation and rebirth, consort of the Great Goddess, along the lines the Near Eastern model presented in Kybele and Attis, Ishtar and Tammuz, or Isis and Osiris. This male figure is then co-opted and syncretised with the predominant male principal of the Mycenaean pantheon in the last centuries of the Bronze Age. As such he survives the end of the Bronze Age and lives on, in various corners of the island, as the 'Cretan Zeus'. (Before the discovery of the Sanctuary at Palaikastro Farnell was able to disagree, calling the Cretan Zeus a late construct and a 'product of the Hellenistic Age', when material and, as we shall see, literary testimony for him is well preserved.) This basic syncretism between two cultures, Minoan and Mycenaean, implies two differing religious interpretations of the *same iconography*. A closer reading reveals a succession of such differing religious interpretations. The gifts of arms and armour dedicated with tripods at the Sanctuary of Diktaian Zeus at Palaikastro in the 8th and 7th centuries displays the devotion of an aristocratic warrior society. The Hymn to Diktaian Zeus shows an interest in agriculture and trade, as well as in the organisation of both *polis* and of a federation of *poleis*. As society changes, the religious import of the young Zeus changes with it. Indeed, at any one time the religious import will be different to different sections of the society involved, for example to farmers or sailors, and to the different ethnic groups which may form parts of its congregation. What stays the same is the *iconography* of the Youthful God himself. That remains, and is able to support the divergent religious needs and conceptions of the evolving societies that preserve it. There is another constant. As with the associated iconography, the mythology is subject to differing interpretations and reinterpretations that make it relevant to the needs of its successive users. While a story can never be as simple as a single image, nor as easily preserved, we find the bloodthirsty tale of the birth of Zeus repeated and retold for over a thousand years—despite the best efforts of philosophers and Euhemerists and others to whom it had outlived its usefulness (see n. 13). During all this time the story remains firmly associated with its equally tenacious iconography. I here examine this durable story without

concern for its varying theological applications during the vast societal changes through which it was preserved.

Diktaian Zeus is a familiar figure in ancient literature. Apollodorus, in the second century AD, tells the story succinctly. Kronos was the son of Ouranos and Ge, the youngest of a monstrous brood of Titans, Cyclopes and the three great giants with a hundred hands. At the urging of his mother Earth, Kronos rebels, castrates his despotic and abusive father Sky and usurps his rule. Kronos then marries his sister Rhea and, warned by both Sky and Earth—if not by his own less than filial behaviour—of dangers that may be posed by ambitious off-spring, he makes a practice of swallowing his own children as they are born. Three new-born girls, Hestia, Demeter and Hera, are disposed of in this way, and after them two boys, Pluto and Poseidon. Fed up with this, as her time approached in the next, her sixth pregnancy, mother Rhea crept off to Crete under the cover of night and bore a child secretly in a cave on the mountain of Dikte. The young Zeus, future king of gods and men, was there raised by two nymphs, Adrasteia and Ida, the daughters of one Melissus. These fed him on milk from the goat Amaltheia. To keep the cries of the infant Zeus from alerting father Kronos to the deception, a troop of beings called the Kouretes danced a noisy war dance around the cave, clashing their weapons on their shields and drowning out the noise of the howling infant. Further to deceive her unsuspecting husband, Rhea then wrapped a stone in swaddling clothes and passed it off to Kronos as the new-born child, duly to be swallowed as had been the older brothers and sisters. When the child Zeus had grown to a young man an emetic was administered to father Kronos, who disgorged the first five children—and with them even the rock that had been substituted for Zeus. Liberated, the reborn children then joined their younger brother and, in a great battle, were able to overcome Kronos and his allies, apportioning among themselves the divine control seized from the older generation (Apollodorus I.5–II.1).

THE NATURE OF THE EVIDENCE

Many other authors provide glimpses of the birth of Zeus. While the stories may retain a common core, they can also vary widely as to the location, action and characters involved. This has led to considerable confusion both in antiquity and in modern scholarship. Diodorus Siculus in the first century BC complained that 'concerning the birth of Zeus and how he came to be King, there is no agreement' (Diod.Sic. 5.70.1). Pausanias, two hundred years later, said simply that it 'would be impossible, even for a man who had the appetite, to number all the people who insist that Zeus was born

and raised in their countries'.⁷ Ancient literary tradition, like any other vehicle of preservation, is clearly not without its pitfalls, and the nature of the evidence requires brief preliminary consideration.

Literary references come from a body of material produced over the period of a thousand years. What remains can fill the shelves of a small library but represents only a minute fraction of the original material. Most has been lost. The histories of the great state libraries of the Hellenistic period indicate the vast amounts of literary material that existed, not only in Alexandria but at Antioch, Pergamum, Rhodes, Smyrna, Kos, Rome and other cities, Babylon and the Assyrian cities with perhaps the oldest libraries of all.⁸

The literary components of our material are not all that must be considered. A thriving oral tradition preceded the literature of Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic Greece. The earliest written sources are *end products* of this evolving tradition, whose influences are multifarious and mixed. Local tradition, folklore, foreign influences and Bronze Age artefact, among innumerable other factors—some perhaps best viewed from an anthropological perspective—will all have played a part.⁹ The encapsulation of earlier material in an evidentiary form that could be preserved was a long and complex process. We must postulate with Snodgrass:

a great web of unsystematic, orally-transmitted mythology, which existed all through early Greek history without ever being enshrined in verse form. Some of it can be assumed to have been of great antiquity, old enough at least to have been known to the eighth century artists, some doubtless consisted of later vernacular variants, or even personal versions of an individual artist. Not all of these variants came to be recorded in a written source at any time during the next thousand years of Greek and Latin literature.¹⁰

Whatever was recorded, of course, at whatever stage of its career, from oral poet in the 8th century BC to mythographer, geographer or historian in the 2nd, became subject to the vagaries of preservation or loss.

Such is the physical state of preservation of the material under consideration, a picture puzzle that misses most of its pieces. There is another aspect to be considered. The preserved fragments of the oral and literary output of antiquity come from a multitude of different historical and social contexts. They reflect over a thousand years of vast social, economic, cultural, political, intellectual and religious changes. They were produced by authors of profoundly differing insight and ability. Adaptation and reinterpretation of preexisting material to fit changing historical realities and purposes is standard.¹¹ The result is the proliferation of variants, variations of a story developed in, or tailored to, the specific place and purpose of rendition. Once born, each new variant has subsequently a life of its own, simultaneously becoming the embryo, or ovum, of another tradition and subject to retelling or reinterpretation in its

own right. *Different traditions, even variants of the same tradition, come into contact and cross-fertilization, if not synthesis, can occur.* None of this in any way implies the death of ageing predecessors, who may be called back into service at any point. For, while it is often possible to speculate on the birth of a particular variant, we cannot, for lack of evidence, assume that one has died.¹² Writing (lost to us), widespread popularity, or local usage can guarantee survival and subsequent reappearance in the literary record. The same myths ridiculed by Xenophanes in the 6th century BC, softened by Pindar and expressly rejected by Plato in the 5th, live on quite happily in Apollodorus in the 2nd century AD.¹³ Writing, of course, as literacy spreads and the volume of recorded literature grows, exacerbates the problem of variants, making available to the scholar, both an-

- 7 Paus. 4.33.1. Bosanquet echoed the complaints of his predecessors, suggesting that 'the number of mountains whereon 'Zeus was born' almost rivals that of the houses wherein Queen Elizabeth stayed'; see Bosanquet 1940, 62. Pausanias may have been proven wrong by, among others, Cook 1914, 148–55, with ancient literary and epigraphic references and valuable numismatic evidence throughout. See also Nilsson 1950, 464, 534–6 (for refs.), 545. Robertson 1996, 239–304, though interested primarily in the female principle, also provides a conscientious list of references.
- 8 The library at Alexandria by the 1st century BC had grown to perhaps 700,000 volumes; see Tarn 1974, 269–94, esp. 269–74. On Sargon II and the 8th-century library at Nineveh: Lord 1960, 156–7. Assurbanipal's 7th-century collection of the libraries at Uruk, Babylon, and Nippur: Sandars 1972, 7–8. Strabo's (13.1.54) heartbreaking story about the loss of the library of Aristotle describes events which will have been repeated many times on a much larger scale. Burkert considers this problem from a wider perspective in discussing the extant material from the Aegean and E Mediterranean: Burkert 1987, 13. For immediately relevant examples, see *CHCL* 1993, 1. 4, 10, 13 14; F. A. Wright 1932, 89–90; also n. 36 below.
- 9 See J. Harrison 1909, 308–38; *ead.*, 1912/27; Burkert 1985, 52–3; Powell 1997, 174–86; Koehl in Chapter 11 above. The literature on the formation and function of myth in general is of such an extent as to make bibliography virtually impossible, for preliminary discussion and references, see Kirk 1980, 38–94.
- 10 Snodgrass 1980, 73; see also Huxley 1969, 69.
- 11 Huxley 1969, 61; Osborne 1996, 5, 10–12. For the explicit creation of a foundation myth: Plato, *Republic*, 414–15; and for the ramifications: Paus. 8.53.5, 9.16.4. For Diktaian Zeus see p. 150.
- 12 On the birth of variants see Huxley 1969, 72–3; Neils 1987, 145–7; Connor 1970, 156–7. On the no doubt equally important birth of variants by default and incompetence, see Lord 1960, 112–14; Strabo 13.1.54.
- 13 Xenophanes B 15–16; Pindar *First Olympian*, 45–59; Plato *Republic*, 378: '... the foul story about Ouranos and the things Hesiod says he did, and the revenge Kronos took on him... what Kronos did, and what he suffered at the hands of his son is not fit to be lightly repeated to the young and foolish, even if it were true; it would be best to say nothing about it...'; Apollodorus I.5–II.1.

cient and modern, renditions of the story from many different social and historical milieux (e.g. see West 1965, 155 nn. 9–23; Diod.Sic. 5.70.1 ff). The few pieces of the picture puzzle that remain to us are, in effect, from many different, if similar, puzzles, all of which have been mixed in the single box of preserved literary material.

Here the intention is to trace a traditional narrative sequence and the mechanisms of its transmission, *not* interpretations of it or its place and meaning in any of the matrices which make up Greek history and thought.¹⁴ If it be Diktaian we do not care in which box it may have belonged, nor, indeed what the particular puzzle may have looked like. The readily identifiable series of motifs which make up the story of the birth of Zeus allow it to be traced through various cultural, social, religious and historical incarnations, without reference to the specific relevance of those motifs in the societies that have adopted and preserved them. The extraordinary longevity of the tale and its reappearance and reuse in so many different social and literary contexts, from the EIA through the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods, assures a multiplicity of ancient (and indeed modern) interpretations (see n. 14). MacGillivray (Chapter 10 above) has tied the iconography of the youthful god to Minoan Crete and to the Egyptian Osiris, his ritual to the demands of the harvest and agrarian life, the basis of dying and reborn gods throughout the ancient Near East. Koehl's more anthropological approach (Chapter 11) examines rites of passage seen in the social organisation of the Aegean basin during the LBA—rites of vital importance in any hierarchical society, from the complex society which produced and worshipped the chryselephantine Kouros to the aristocratic warrior society which gifted the EIA sanctuary at Palaikastro with arms and armour. No further exegesis is planned here. We are dealing only with the bare bones of the myth, or traditional story, attached, in the Aegean, to the birth of Zeus, bypassing any attempts at placing it in the theological context in which it was seen by the successive stages of the evolving society that adapted and preserved it. Some kind of framework, however, is useful.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: FRAGMENTATION AND RECONSTRUCTION, RECOMBINATION

The collapse of the great palace centres of the LBA was accompanied by the demise of the integrated economic, social and religious systems which had evolved with them. The Mycenaean world failed and fragmented. Local cultural independence emerges in place of the great city centres, international trade and such hints of Pan-Achaean enterprise as are echoed in Homer's catalogue of ships.¹⁵ The growth of regional pottery styles gives some indication of the contraction of horizons in the late 12th and 11th centuries. Pottery

may continue shapes and motifs from earlier periods but these develop locally and the federal homogeneity of the LBA disintegrates (Desborough 1964, 9–14, 20–1; Osborne 1996, 23). There are signs of decreased population by the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 11th centuries, with small communities increasingly cut off from their neighbours and from the outside world. Pastoral and agricultural subsistence concentrated attention on the community. Fragmentation was complete (Snodgrass 1980, 27; 1971, 367, 385; Donlan 1989, 19–20).

With Athenian Protogeometric pottery in the middle of the 11th century signs of communication and interaction begin to reappear. The style is traded and imitated in other areas of Greece, but regional styles remain distinct. By 900 BC Lefkandi is in full contact with the East. Population increases, villages become towns. With the beginning of the 8th century 'contacts between different parts of the mainland increase in strength and frequency, and contacts between Greece and the East seem to be established on a regular though not necessarily frequent basis' (Osborne 1996, 51). Gradually Greece emerges from 300 years of parochialism.

One enduring legacy of this period is the city state. By 700 BC the Greek world was divided into several hundred autonomous states, each with their own spe-

14 The material has been sorted and explored extensively and the bibliography on Cretan Zeus is lengthy. In 1857 F. G. Welcker emphasised the difference, in the monuments and literature of the historical period, between Cretan Zeus and the more paternal god of the Mainland, suggesting that the Cretan Zeus had been the god of the pre-Greek Eteocretans (Welcker 1857, 218). Nilsson (1950), after the discoveries of Sir Arthur Evans and R. C. Bosanquet (1902, 1909, 1940), and after 50 years of excavation and exploration on Crete called this hypothesis a 'striking anticipation of modern views' (1950, 534). Nilsson's discussion is extensive, his references inclusive (1950, especially 533–83). Nilsson emphasises the influence of the Minoan on the Mycenaean and a revival of the older religious concepts in the Iron Age. The subject has been treated at length by Farnell (1896, 125), who disagreed, by Cook (1914), Harrison (1909, 1927), Willets, Guthrie (1950), Webster (1977), Dietrich, Walcot, West, Burkert and others; Verbruggen (1981) provides an excellent bibliography. See also MacGillivray and Koehl in this volume.

Ancient references to Diktaian Zeus, literary and epigraphic, are collected by Cook (1914 vol. II, 925–31) and by Verbruggen (1979 and 1981, 249–63).

Much of this lies outside the scope of the present paper which seeks only to provide context for the examination of the ancient *testimonia* about the birth of Zeus.

15 *CAH* II.2 Cambridge 1980, 658–69, 831, 835; Burkert 1985, 22; Osborne 1996, 22–4. See also: Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970, 153–8, 163, 169–70. Hägg (1996, 599–612) provides a good summary of some of the geographical and historical variations which might be expected in the religious systems of the Mycenaean period.

cific identities and traditions about the centuries which gave them birth. Intercity and interregional rivalries shift the focus from local to regional. A regional perspective, in many ways the legacy of migrations during the Dark Age, surfaces with the aid of common dialect and defining geophysical features.¹⁶ The Panionium, Pan-Achaean Demeter, the Pamboeotia and the Amphiktion of N Greek tribes at Anthela are among many examples of this regional coalescence.¹⁷ At the same time the growth of the great Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries at Delphi, Olympia, Isthmia and elsewhere suggest the beginnings of a feeling of national identity in the deeply rooted and fiercely independent traditions of the preceding centuries. With trade and colonization the nebulous identity of the 'Hellene' is further strengthened, contact with 'Barbarians' reinforces the bonds of language and religion, which, however tenuously, were common to the people who are increasingly identified, not as Athenian or Spartan, Boeotian or Arkadian, Ionian or Dorian, but as 'Greek'. The external threat provided by the Persian Wars did much to encourage this growing identification, however temporarily, among the always contentious Greek city states. In the spring of 479 BC the Persians, facing a coalition of Greek states, offered a favourable separate peace to Athens, under the principle of divide and conquer. The Athenians refused and Herodotus reports their stated reasons for so doing as 'the kinship of all Greeks in blood and speech, and the shrines of the gods and the sacrifices that we have in common, and the likeness of our ways of life, to which it would ill become Athenians to be false' (Hdt. 8.144.2-3). A national identity, extremely federal at best, was being forged in the crucible of international conflict and is here expressed for the first time (Roebuck 1966, 217). Racial, social, linguistic and religious factors are now explicitly stated as the ties binding the many *poleis* into a nation.

Herodotus also recognized the importance of the Homeric and Hesiodic poems in the religious aspect of this process of cohesion. In discussing the gods 'of the Greeks' he points out that:

it was only—if I may so put it—the day before yesterday that the Greeks came to know the origin and form of the various gods, and whether or not all of them had always existed, for Homer and Hesiod are the poets who composed our theogonies and described the gods for us, giving them all their appropriate titles, offices, and powers, and these poets lived, as I believe, not more than 400 years before my time (Hdt. 2.54).

Products of the long period of coalescence, Homer and Hesiod and the oral traditions which preceded them naturally reflected the mechanisms and processes involved in this coalescence. Prominent among these is the de-emphasis and rejection, both implicit and explicit, of *specific local associations* and the substitution of those more inclusive and more broadly acceptable. Nagy points out that 'perhaps the clearest example is

the Homeric concept of the Olympian gods, which incorporates yet goes beyond the localized religious traditions of each polis' (Nagy 1990, 10). Likewise 'the many local theogonies of various city states are to be superseded by one grand Olympian scheme... As in any political process, the evolution of the pan-Hellenic poems would afford some victories and many concessions on the part of each region: some one salient local feature of a god may become accepted by all audiences, while countless other features that happen to contradict the traditions of other cities will remain unspoken' (*ibid.*, 46). Hesiod's story of the birth of Zeus is brief and vague; West, commenting on line 481, points out that the poet is 'curiously non-committal' about where, in fact, the birth actually occurred. *This is a careful and intentional lack of commitment.* An important story with many vibrant and diverse local associations throughout the Greek world (see below) is implicitly and explicitly stripped of those associations. Hesiod, a Boeotian poet of the 8th century BC, in the penultimate stages of the development of the *pan-hellenic* oral epic, avoids mentioning locations with conflicting claims of their own to place the birth of Zeus on 'the Aigaion Mountain', a neutral spot never again independently referred to. The Zeus born here is an *Olympian Zeus*, a Zeus for all the Greeks.

The process reflected by Homer and Hesiod on a 'national' level was, of course, paralleled by a similar process on the regional level, resulting in regionally relevant gods and myths syncretized from the individual towns and city states that were to comprise those regions. If every Greek *polis* was 'among other things a religious association, its citizens accepted in a community of cult, with a patron deity presiding over each state' (Snodgrass 1980, 33), so too was the new community, the nation of Greeks, and so was each region or state which was to make it up.

But, of course, local traditions remain important. The Pan-Hellenic tendency encouraged by centuries of increasing communication, both internal and external, ran counter to another process clearly visible in an author like Pausanias. This was the persistence of local traditions. In the 2nd century AD, some 900 years after Hesiod and Homer's Pan-Hellenic epic and 600 years after Herodotus' 'nation of Greeks', Pausanias produced a guide book to many of the sites and cities of what was already in his time 'ancient Greece'. His intensive city by city approach is designed, quite unintentionally, to showcase local rather than ecumenical traditions. Much of what he records stems from locally evolved variants of specifically local or regional relevance and impor-

16 See Donlan 1989, 21 and n. 49. But see also Snodgrass 1980, 385: 'lack of communication did much to sharpen and perpetuate diversities of dialect'.

17 Hammond 1959, 97-8. See n. 52 below for the parallel regional role of Diktaian Zeus in E Crete.

tance. The survival of this material in the face of panregional and Pan-Hellenic influence is marked. The fluid coexistence of these traditions, Pan-Hellenic, regional and local is a tribute to both the flexibility of Greek polytheism and the fierce tenacity of local traditions. Broadly varying manifestations of each god lived on quite happily together, each serving a local, regional or national purpose of its own (see for an example Villing 1997, 81–100, esp. 94–5).

THE BIRTHS OF ZEUS. LOCAL AND REGIONAL TRADITIONS IN THE PELOPONNESE

Pausanias, on his tour of mainland Greece, records just some of the extant traditions about the birth of Zeus. In so doing he also illustrates the processes of regional religious consolidation by exposing the artefacts that have been left behind. 'It would be impossible,' he says—in contrast to his more selective predecessor, Hesiod—'even for a man who had the appetite, to number all the people who insist that Zeus was born and reared in their countries'. The Messenians, 'like the others', say that the god was raised in their country, and that the two nymphs that cared for him, Ithome and Neda, gave their names to the mountain and the river respectively. Above the agora of ancient Messene, whose walls encircle much of Mount Ithome, is a spring which was used to wash the newborn child. Here he was also taken in charge by the Kouretes, 'for fear of his father' (Paus. 4.33.1). The temple of Zeus Ithomatas, the local Zeus figure for those living around the mountain, crowned its crest. A cult statue by Ageladas, the late Archaic teacher of Pheidias, Myron and Polykleitos, would date to the end of the 6th or the beginning of the 5th century BC. H. Brunn, on the basis of other work by the same sculptor (see below), but without numismatic evidence, suggests that this cult statue may have been a kouros.¹⁸ This local god is attested by Eumelos in the late 8th century BC, about the time of Hesiod's *Theogony*.

The Achaeans, on the other hand, maintain their own regional variant of the story. According to them, Zeus was nursed by a she-goat at Aigion (Strabo 8.7.5). While Pausanias omits mention of the tradition recorded by Strabo, he did find at Aigion two bronze statues of a youthful, beardless Zeus (Paus. 7.23.7, 7.24.2). The second statue, like that of the Messenians, was by Ageladas of Argos, dating also to the late 6th or early part of the 5th century BC. Zeus as a child being suckled by a goat appears on the coins of Aigion, a city whose name might be connected with that wetnurse of the father of the gods.¹⁹ These coins bear the motto ΑΙΓΙΕΩΝ ΠΑΙΣ, child of the people of Aigion (Frazer 1898, 163–4, with refs.). Between Aigion and Argyra is Cape Drepanon, or 'sickle', a headland sticking out into the sea; there is a legend that it was here Kronos threw the reaping hook into the sea after mutilating his father Ouranos, so they

call this headland 'the hook' (Paus. 7.23.4). This admittedly easy aitiology further localizes aspects of the birth story. Aigion was the seat of the Achaean league, a regional centre of some antiquity and perhaps, as in Arkadia,²⁰ the beneficiary of other, more local stories from different parts of what eventually became Achaea.²¹

Arkadia, like its neighbours Messenia and Achaea, preserved its own *regional* tradition about the birth of Zeus. Pausanias found this tradition centred at Mount Lykaion, which looms over Megalopolis, the heart of an Arkadia consolidated by Epaminondas to serve as a barrier to Spartan aggression only in the 4th century BC.²² Here Zeus was born and washed in the springs of the Neda, created by Rhea for that very purpose (Paus. 8.38.2; Kallimachos *Hymn to Zeus*, lines 29–43; Strabo 8.3.22). This is the *regional* tradition from Arkadia, but fading traditions recorded elsewhere hint at more *local* versions of the story, local *polis*-centred variants, antecedents of the Lykaian myth, syncretized for the 'community of Arkadia' as Hesiod's tale was for the 'community of Greeks'. In NW Arkadia, in what is now the eparchy of Gortyna, the springs of the river Gortys were also said to have been used to bathe the newborn Zeus, but only, Pausanias specifies, by those who live around its springs, who call the river there 'Lousios' from its use as a wash-place ('*Loutra*') (Paus. 8.28.2). Mount Thaumasio above the city of Methydrium in N Arkadia had a 'cave of Rhea' and although the Methydrians, to quote Pausanias, 'admit that she gave birth in some part of Lykaion, they say that it was here that she tricked Kronos by the legendary substitution of the stone' (Paus. 8.36.2). Their 'admission' reveals some dissension. As in the growth of the Hesiodic, Pan-Hellenic tradition, concessions between two rival local traditions

18 Quoted in discussion by Frazer 1898, 438–41.

19 Fowler 1988, 95–133. Farnell 1896, 38 suggests that the name of the mountain might have acquired for it the birth story from Hesiod's Crete. It is in fact equally possible that Hesiod used the name Aigaion in Crete as a concession to Achaea.

20 See discussion on Arkadia below. Strabo's reference (8.7.5) again represents syncretism of two local traditions into a regional one.

21 In Pausanias' time priests of Zeus Pais were elected yearly as were those of Zeus Ithomatas (Paus. 4.33.1). In an earlier period the boy with the most beauty was picked to be the priest of Zeus, but when the hair began to grow on his face the priesthood, 'the privilege of beauty' passed to another boy (Paus. 7.24.2). The association of youth mortal and divine is here, as in the Palaikastro Hymn, unavoidable. See Koehl in Chapter 11 above.

22 Dissension continues about the date of the foundation of the Great City, opinions differ between 371 BC and 367 BC; see Hornblower 1990, 71–7. In either case the late date may account for the marked survival of traces of local stories in Arkadia.

are here implied (Nagy 1990, 46; Roebuck 1966, 217; Hdt. 2.54). Mantinea's mountain, Alesion, was also said to have been visited, indeed named for, Rhea 'in her wanderings', suggesting travels like those of Leto before the birth of Artemis and Apollo (Paus. 8.10.1). The *Etymologikon Mega* records the name 'Geraiston', reported as 'a place in Arkadia where Zeus was swaddled'. This also implies a localised version of the birth story, not fully eclipsed by the new regional variant.

The multiplicity of attendant nymphs in the Arkadian birth stories also suggest the remnants of local traditions. On Mount Lykaion Pausanias records Theisoa, Neda and Hagno at the birth.²³ Theisoa was that town at the springs of the Gortys river, whose inhabitants called it the Lousios and claimed that the child Zeus had there been washed at birth (Paus. 8.28.2–3). At Tegea, the front of the altar of Athena Alea, made by Melampous the son of Amythaon, shows Rhea and the nymph Oinoe with the baby Zeus, the sides showing respectively Glauke, Neda, Theisoa, Anthrakia on one, and Ide, Hagno, Alkinoe and Phrixa on the other (Paus. 8.47.2). In Megalopolis a table carving shows Neda and Hagno and Anthrakia again, joined by Anchiros and Myrtossa (Paus. 8.31.4). The Nymphs from the temple of Apollo at Bassae are nameless (Frazer 1898, IV, 403). The importance of this variety is the variety itself, which, within the confines of Arkadia, is striking. The number of actors, here rather actresses, suggests a variety of different sources, local variants, stories eventually incorporated or syncretized into a regional version (Nagy 1990, 10, 46).

Kouretes, though they do appear in Pausanias' travels in Arkadia, are not explicitly associated with the birth of Zeus. No Amaltheia is in evidence. These absences speak clearly for the separate nature of the Arkadian and Cretan traditions represented in these periods. Arkadia instead provides an additional motif to the story. Rhea's tactics here are somewhat more aggressive than in Crete. She seems to have enlisted the aid of a troop of giants under one Hopladamos to protect her in case her husband should pursue. In fact the Methydrans say that it was during her stay on their Mount Thaumasio—presumably prior to there deceiving Kronos with the rock—that this recruitment was undertaken. Pausanias actually saw the huge bones of one of this group dedicated at the sanctuary of the child Aesculapius behind the stadium at Megalopolis.²⁴ Frazer suggests these may have been the fossilized bones of a woolly mammoth, adding that 'many such bones are still found by peasants in the area' (Frazer 1898, IV, 315). Whatever the case may be, the story of Hopladamos and his crew of giants prepared to defend the young Zeus after birth is not found elsewhere and represents a peculiar Arkadian variation to the motif of the Kouretes.

By recording these traditions Pausanias provides glimpses of the remnants of *local* birth stories within a specific region. At the same time, he provides also what

can be considered the concurrent *regional* tradition of the birth of Zeus on Mount Lykaion. This regional syncretism is the product of the forces of political and social synoecism, the story for the new 'community of Arkadia', which includes but does not necessarily eclipse the stories of the smaller, individual communities which were to make it up.²⁵ This landscape of concurrent mythological variants, local and regional, extends throughout Greece.

Ithome and Aigion supply the parallel regional traditions from Messenia and Achaia, though local traditions there, if any existed, have been lost to us.²⁶ Other regions are also connected with the story. In Boeotia the crag above Chaironeia, called Petrachos, was also considered to be the spot where Kronos was deceived into swallowing the stone as a substitute for Zeus (Paus. 9.41.6). Hesiod, in the 8th century BC, assures us that this stone was placed on display in Delphi (Hesiod *Theogony*, 499). Pausanias saw it himself some 900 years later (Paus. 10.24.5). At the same time Thebes boasted a place called 'Dios Gonai' (Schol. II. XIII 1; Aristod. Theb, *FGrHist*, 383, 7), where, aside from the obvious implications of the place name, we are told, in a *hapax legomenon* from Lykophron 'the obscure', that Rhea wrestled with her predecessor and on

the plain of Zeus' nativity, having cast into Tartarus the former queen, delivered her of him in secret birth, escaping the child-devouring unholy feast of her spouse, and he [Kronos] fattened not his belly with food, but swallowed instead the stone, wrapped in limb-fitting swaddling clothes, the savage centaur, tomb of his own offspring.²⁷

The evidence, scanty as it may be, reveals a locally attested variant distinguished by a ladies' wrestling match prior to the birth, as the Arkadian stories are so distinguished by their posse of protective giants after it. The temple of Hera at Plataea, also in Boeotia, had a representation of Rhea bringing the rock to Kronos (Paus. 9.2.7). This should date to 427 BC or just after the city was destroyed and the temple rebuilt by the Thebans.²⁸

23 Paus. 8.38.2. For a list of nymphs attendant in Arkadia and elsewhere: Verbruggen 1981, 39–46.

24 Dedicated bones: Paus. 8.32.5. Recruitment of Hopladamos: Paus. 8.36.2–3. See also Vian 1952, 239–40; Jost 1985, 245.

25 For the rebirth of the Lykaion sanctuary as a symbol of Pan-Arkadian aspirations after the establishment of Megalopolis, see: Jost 1994, 227.

26 An exception may be the suggestion of a sub-Achaean variant localised at the city of Olenos, see *Phaenomena* 162 ff; n. 34 below.

27 Lykophron *Alexandra*, lines 1193 ff. Suggestions, perhaps, of woman to woman conflict as well as man to man in Apollonios 1.506.

28 Frazer 1898, V, 18; Paus. 9.2.7.

In the Argolid, at the Heraion, Pausanias also reported seeing scenes from the birth of Zeus.²⁹

We are a long way from Crete, but the similarities are clear and the processes there are much the same. The regional Messenian, Arkadian and Achaean traditions recorded by Pausanias are paralleled by regional traditions mentioned in E and Central Crete. The mountains of Ithome and Lykaion on which some of the mainland stories focus are paralleled by the mountains of Ida and Dikte. As in Arkadia remnants of the more local and often less visible traditions peculiar to different *poleis* and subregional units are occasionally discernible.³⁰

The geographical extent of the two prominent regional traditions about the birth of Zeus in Crete in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC has been established by the use of oath formulae from associated *poleis* (Bosanquet 1909, 348–51; Willets, 1962, 206–09). This is essentially a snapshot of regional boundaries in the dynamic process of change.³¹ As on the mainland these regional cults remain strong while the poetic and political synthesis of the divine continues around them. In Crete the local and regional strength of each tradition is attested archaeologically by the end of the 8th and early 7th century BC.³² In Crete also the subsequent intermingling of the two separate regional traditions in poetry and the emergence of a separate Pan-Cretan consensus is remarkably clear.

SOME LITERARY TESTIMONY FOR DIKTAIAN ZEUS

Aratos of Soli (born in 315 BC) wrote in Athens and in the Macedonian court of Antigonos Gonatas at the beginning of the third century BC. His *Phaenomena* is a literary star map in 1154 lines following in the tradition of Eudoxus of Cnidus (390–337 BC). It presents a businesslike map of the constellations with associated navigational, agricultural and meteorological information. Aratos was a Stoic, as indeed was his patron Antigonos, and the *Phaenomena* is a practical, not a mythological poem (*CHCL* 1993, 59–60). Discussion of the stars, however, then as now, carries with it some mythological baggage. This was duly, if briefly, dealt with. When speaking of Ursa Minor and Ursa Major Aratos writes:

If indeed the tale be true, from Crete they by the will of mighty Zeus entered up into heaven, for that when in olden days he played as a child in fragrant Dikton, near the hill of Ida, they set him in a cave and nurtured him for the space of a year, what time the Dictaean Kuretes were deceiving Kronos. (*Phaenomena* 30–5).

Here fragments of different traditions were freely mixed. The child Zeus we find playing in a place called 'Dikta', but Dikta is on Ida—two separate traditions are indicated and have been merged. Moreover, although

Zeus is protected by the Kouretes, and indeed, by 'Diktaian Kouretes', he is raised by bears.³³ Bears aside, the more traditional nursemaid is not entirely forgotten. Over the left shoulder of the constellation of Auriga, the charioteer, is set 'the holy goat, that as legend tells us gave the breast to Zeus' (*Phaenomena*, 162 ff). Interestingly enough this goat, Aratos tells us, 'the interpreters call the Olenian goat' (*Phaenomena*, 164). While the reference must remain uncertain in this broad mix of allusion to variant tales, Olenus was an Achaean city close to the Pan-Achaean centre at Aigion, where Zeus was also nursed by a goat.³⁴ At the same time Aratos uses the epithet 'Diktaia' at the beginning of his poem (*Phaenomena*, 33) bringing us back to Crete and to the Diktaian tradition. This conflation of local and regional traditions quite follows on the Hesiodic tradition. The style continues without the *raison d'être*. Aratos has no need, in Alexander's world, of a Pan-Hellenic subtext. He comes with the comfortable patronage of a Hellenistic king and a publishing industry that assures an audience without having to avoid possibly contentious religious conceptions.³⁵ Aratos uses the material available to him in the erudite manner which accompanied the growth of the great libraries of the Hellenistic period. The appearance of fragments of different local, regional and Pan-Hellenic variants in his work attests both the presence of those stories in his literary sources and their persistence, despite homogenization. While the two traditions had already been conflated into a Pan-Cretan story when Aratos took them up, the Idaean tradition

29 Paus. 2.17.3; Frazer 1898, III, 182. Whether this was a representation of Pan-Hellenic or regional tradition we cannot be sure, having no other hints preserved from antiquity; see Verbruggen 1981, 35.30 For Welchanos at Phaistos: Bosanquet 1909, 349–50; Willets 1962, 250–1; at Agia Triada: Nilsson 1950, 464, 550.

31 Strabo 10.4.6. The Magnesian Arbitration (*IC* III.IV; Pashley 1837, 290) gives a more diachronic view of the processes of regional political coalescence.

32 For metalwork at Palaikastro, see Bosanquet 1940, 93 and 56–7; for that at Ida see Snodgrass 1980, 341.

33 While bears as nurses might remind one of Arkadia, Willets suggested that they may also have played a part in local traditions from around Khania in W Crete, centering on the cave of Arkoudia, the she-bear on Akrotiri. Willets 1962, 275–7; 1977, 122. Willets (1977, 198–9) also suggests that Arkadia's bears and those of Crete might be related. In this case, the product of the transfer of concepts or people could be indicated by coin types common to Arkadia, Knossos and Apera and by the appearance in both Arkadia and Cretan Gortyn of Zeus Hekatombios. For more about bears, see Robertson 1996, 267–8.

34 Strabo (8.7.5) quotes Aratos to associate the Olenian goat with the Achaean town of Olenos and the young Zeus at Aigion.

35 *CHCL* I.4.59. For publishing see Kenyon 1932, 82; Martial i.66.4.

had by no means eclipsed the Diktaian, and different sources have retained references to both.

Apollonios Rhodios was a member of the group of scholar poets that assembled under the Ptolemies in Alexandria. His epic *Argonautica* tells the story of Jason's voyage to Kolchis in search of the Golden Fleece and of his return to Iolkos, and preserves a valuable version of this ancient story.³⁶ References in Apollonios' poem to the birth of Zeus preserve both Diktaian and Idaean traditions, their interchangeability again speaking both for the presence of these separate ecotypal³⁷ traditions and for their conflation.

On the eve of the departure of the *Argo* on her quest, sacrifice on the beach of Pagasae leads to a party, the party to wine and the wine to dispute. The 'impious Idas', son of Amphiaraos, threatens the kindly Idmon and a fight is only avoided by the presence of the singer Orpheus, who strikes his calming lyre and sings a tale to soothe these inauspicious beginnings. He sings of Ophion and Eurynome 'the first rulers of Olympus' and how they were supplanted by Kronos and Rhea all at a time when 'Zeus in his Diktaian Cave was still a child, with childish thoughts, before the earthborn Cyclopes had given him the bolt, the thunder and lightning that forms his glorious armament today'.³⁸ Here, in a typically Hellenistic mixture of available motifs, Zeus' birth and youth in the Diktaian Cave is attested.

When the argonauts, after many adventures, arrive in Kolchis, they find hidden anchorage to rest the night and to consider further action. Hera and Athena, both hoping for the success of the venture, conspire with Aphrodite to have her son Eros cause Medea to fall in love with Jason so as to gain her help in acquiring the object of the quest, the Golden Fleece. Aphrodite promises her help and sets out to find her troublesome son to use his arrows on Medea. She finds Eros cheating Ganymede at a game of knucklebones and bribes him to do as Athena and Hera wish. The bribe she offers is 'one of Zeus' lovely toys, the one his fond nurse Adresteia made for him in the Idaean Cave when he was a child and liked to play' (*Argonautica* 3, 129-43).

Apollonios, then, uses Idaean and Diktaian as interchangeable epithets for the cave where Zeus spent his youth. The two different names, devoid of geographical significance, remain as indications of two separate local traditions, now conjoined, but originally based on the two different settings.

Another mention of the Diktaian Cave appears in the context which illustrates the importance of Dikte as a mythological concept and its concurrent loss of geographical reference. In Book 1, 1125-41, Apollonios describes events following the unfortunate night battle of the Argonauts with their erstwhile hosts the Doliones, and Jason's unknowing slaughter of their king, Cyzicus. Mopsos sees in a dream those rites necessary for absolution from this crime, rites devoted to the local Mother Goddess, Dindymia, or Rhea. An altar and wooden image are erected at the top of the mountain. A sacrifice

of oxen is conducted for Rhea and her companions 'Titias and Cyllenus, the Idaean Dactyls of Crete, whom the nymph Anchiale bare in the Diktaian Cave, as she grasped with both hands the land of Oaxos' (*Argonautica* 1, 1126 ff). Oaxos is of course the city close to the Idaean cave. Apollonios calls the cave Diktaian and sees it as a suitable setting for mythological events, even the birth place of the Dactyls of Ida! Again two separate traditions become mixed.

With these three casual and non-thematic references Apollonios mirrors the syncretized nature of the Idaean and Diktaian traditions also reflected in his contemporaries Aratos and Kallimachos (see below). Apollonios' subject matter, however, also requires the appearance of Dikte in a different context. Heading home after their adventures in the West and setting off from Drepane (Kerkyra) the heroes are blown off course to Libya. After a difficult time there they are given instructions by the god Triton as to the way home. Following these seamanlike directions (*Argonautica* 4, 1570 ff) they sail NE below the eastern edge of Crete and 'still far from land the high rocks of Karpathos saluted them' (*Argonautica* 4, 1635). Then, passing between that island and Crete, 'the greatest island in the sea', they seek shelter in the 'haven of Dikte' (*Argonautica* 4, 1641). 'Dikte' here must be regarded as a harbour or safe anchorage and located, without its mythological baggage, at the E extremity of the island. Dikte at this point is simply a stop on a mariner's map, its position confirmed by the route taken by the *Argo* on the following day when she is rowed past Cape Samonion³⁹ to beach that

36 Huxley 1969, 60-79, lists some of the versions which have been lost.

37 C. W. von Sydow first presented the concept of oicotypes, or ecotypes, in his studies on the mechanics of folklore transmission (von Sydow 1948, 206-10). The term is borrowed from the science of botany and defined as follows: 'Ecotype: a recognizable geographic variety ... of a widespread species that is equivalent to a taxonomic subspecies. Typically ecotypes are restricted to one habitat and are recognized by distinctive characteristics resulting from adaptations to local selective processes and isolation. For example, a population or ecotype of a species found at the foot of a mountain may differ widely in size, colour or physiology from a different ecotype (of the same plant) living at higher altitudes, thus reflecting a sharp change in local selective pressures. Members of an ecotype are capable of interbreeding with other ecotypes within the same species without loss of fertility or vigour', Cunningham *et al.* 1998, 319. In our case (to anticipate somewhat) a widely dispersed story which has been adapted locally, due again to 'different selective processes and isolation', can likewise be termed an ecotype. For 'interbreeding' see my discussion of local, regional and Pan Hellenic variants above.

38 *Argonautica* 1, 506-11. Orphion and Eurynome here replace Ouranos and Ge. They originate in the Orphic tradition; see Kirk 1966, 65-70.

39 'αρχης Σαλμωνιδος' in *Argonautica* 4, 1693.

night with the help of Apollo at the island of Anaphe to the N (*Argonautica* 4, 1705–17). In whatever tradition Apollonios is here following, and it may be simply a nautical one, Dikte was a place securely associated with E Crete.⁴⁰

Kallimachos of Cyrene (310–235 BC) was also active in the Egyptian court of Ptolemy Philadelphos. His catalogue of the growing library at Alexandria, the *Pinakes*, divided the material by subject matter and genre, listed each author alphabetically and itself ran into 120 ‘books’ (*CHCL* 1993, 1. 4, 10). His *Aetia* in four books of Elegaic verse, each over 1000 lines long, concerned legends and stories about the origins of customs, ritual and historical events (*CHCL* 1993, 1. 13–14; F. A. Wright 1932, 89–90). Works on *Local Nomenclature* and a *Collection of Marvels in All the Earth According to Location* were among the 800 books credited to him by the Suda. Although only fragments of his work have survived, it shows deep knowledge of the traditional material then extant.

Kallimachos’ *Hymn to Zeus* is preserved in its entirety. In it he follows, quite consciously, the technique of his predecessors, redoing the work that had been done by Hesiod and then undone by history. The poem is written as a forceful amalgamation of two different regional traditions about the birth of Zeus, Cretan and Arkadian. The motivation for such wholesale and freehanded editing, quite in the tradition of the oral poets, may well have had to do with Egypt’s often contentious neighbours at Libyan Cyrene, the birthplace of Kallimachos (Strabo 17.3.32). In N Africa, Cretan and Peloponnesian settlers mixed (Hdt. 4.161 ff; Boardman 1980, 158; Osborne 1996, 15–16. See also West 1965, 155 n. 12) bringing their separate regional traditions into conflict. Cyrene’s closest neighbour to the N is Crete. At the same time the Cyrenaean possessed a temple of Lykaian Zeus (Hdt. 4.203). The *Hymn to Zeus* stitches together two regional variants of the birth tale, Peloponnesian and Cretan, that have been transplanted and forcefully juxtaposed by emigration and colonization. It does so in such a way as to satisfy the adherents of both, with concessions demanded on either side. Nagy’s description of Hesiod’s technique also applies to Kallimachos’ consciously Hesiodic approach: ‘As in the Homeric Hymn I to Dionysus, the mutually incompatible traditions of various locales are rejected as falsehoods, in favour of one single tradition that can be acceptable to all’ (Nagy 1990, 46). Hesiod and his predecessors in the oral tradition had already sought for a ‘tradition acceptable to all’. Along with the Pan-Hellenic Olympian Zeus so created, however, local and regional traditions, as shown by Pausanias and countless others, continued to thrive. Here, in N Africa, those local traditions were transplanted by Cretan and Peloponnesian settlers and once more came into conflict. Kallimachos’ technique is straightforwardly Hesiodic (*CHCL* 1993, 1. 4, 11 and 13; Hdt. 2.54; Nagy 1990, 10). Like Hesiod, Kallimachos deals briskly with his fellow singers, both past and present. ‘The ancient

poets spoke not altogether truly’ he says, and then corrects them. Briefly, Zeus is *born* in Arkadia and *raised* in Crete. This is conscious syncretism and cleverly done.⁴¹ As the Lykaian tradition is the regional tradition of the Peloponnesian settlers, so the Cretan tradition with which it is here married is the regional tradition of Crete. Dikte and Ida are, as in Aratos and Apollonios, already syncretized in Kallimachos.

The young god is referred to by his cult name ‘Diktaios’ in line 4, marking the presence of the tradition associating Zeus with the mountain of Dikte. Immediately following, however, as in Aratos, Dikte is conflated with Ida, Diktaian Zeus with the Idaean, for ‘Zeus Diktaios’ is, in the tradition quoted, ‘born on the hills of Ida’. There follows (lines 10–35) the Arkadian birth story of Zeus at Mount Lykaion. Neda the Arkadian and Messenian nymph, acts once more as a combining element by carrying the child off to a secret place in Crete there to be raised.⁴² From here on Kallimachos draws from the Cretan stories of the birth of Zeus, that centering on Dikte having again been almost but not entirely subsumed by that based on ‘the hill of Ida’. Neda brings the child to Crete, indeed to Knossos (line 42 ff), where he is taken by the Korybantēs⁴³ and the ash-tree Nymphs that Kallimachos calls the ‘Diktaian Meliai’. He is entrusted to the nurse Adresteia for care with the help of our old friend Amaltheia, the nanny goat. The ‘Panacrian bees’ contribute honey and, Korybantēs aside, it is the Kouretes who dance noisily around the infant to hide his cries.

What is pertinent here is that, although Kallimachos concentrates on the *conscious* amalgamation of two regional traditions, Cretan and Peloponnesian, he reveals at the same time, as Pausanias does in Arkadia, both the amount of syncretism that has preceded him in Crete and the persistence of the separate components which ‘make up’ the tradition with which he deals.

The presence and indeed the strength of the Diktaian tradition as it is revealed in the literature of the Hellenistic period does much to explain its vibrancy in the Roman period. It is clear that the East Cretan regional tradition retained enough mythological and literary currency to remain a distinct part of the traditions associated with Crete. Testified to in the Hellenistic period

40 Crowther, in Chapter 12 above. The association of a watered landfall with a mountain or some other feature visible from afar is indeed characteristic of a navigator’s tradition.

41 Kallimachos 10–53: ‘Some say you were born on Crete, Oh Lord’, Kallimachos writes, ‘others claim that you were born in Arkadia; who lies, Oh Lord?’ Zeus, of course, replies, ‘all Cretans are liars’.

42 Neda’s presence in both Arkadian and Messenian traditions makes her a perfect candidate for this role.

43 Not the Kouretes: Strabo 10.4; Guthrie 1950, 44.

largely by artefact in the (visible) process of syncretism, its existence and preservation as a parallel, uncontaminated, though less visible tradition is assured by its surfacing again fully armed, so to speak, in the work of Roman authors.⁴⁴

Lucretius was a philosopher. *De Rerum Naturae* is a sophisticated philosophical exposition of Epicurean thought, an interpretation of the ideas of Leucippus as recorded by Democritus and Epicurus. It is in discussing the multiplicity of forms and causes that he diverges, perhaps for a little dramatic relief, into a thrilling description of the Phrygian rites of Cybele. It is as an allusion that he points out that the armed dances of her worshippers recall 'the Diktaian Kouretes who are said once upon a time to have concealed the infant wailing of the child Jupiter in Crete' (Lucretius *De Rerum Naturae* 2.632). Preserved in this casual reference we find Dikte, the Kouretes, Crete and the infant Zeus.⁴⁵

Vergil (70–19 BC) from the beginning of his career seems partial to Dikte and the Diktaian tradition. Dikte appears at the expense of Ida in both the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics*, long before the wanderings of Aeneas and Mount Ida in the Troad might have contributed to any preference (*Eclogue* 6.56; *Georgics* 2.536). Speaking of bees in the *Georgics*, Vergil shows acquaintance with the story complex, ascribing the qualities of bees to a reward given by Jove himself: 'for which they followed the tuneful sounds and clashing bronzes of the Kouretes and fed the King of Heaven within the cave of Dikte' (*Georgics* 4.150 ff). Here, in an aside in what turns out to be a very serious and technical discussion on bees and apiculture, we have the Kouretes dancing noisily to deceive Kronos, or Saturn in this case, and the young king of heaven within the 'cave of Dikte'.⁴⁶ In the *Aeneid* too the use of Dikte is recurrent.⁴⁷

Dionysios of Halicarnassus published, in 7 AD, his *Early History of Rome, or Roman Antiquities*, covering Rome from legendary times to the beginning of the First Punic War. It was a work of 20 books, of which volumes one to ten and a large part of eleven have been preserved along with fragments of the other nine. Speaking of Numa, who claimed the authority of the goddess Egeria for his laws, Dionysios suggests that he may have been emulating Minos, an earlier law giver, who would go 'frequently to the Diktaian mountain, in which Cretan legends say that the new-born Zeus was brought up by the Kouretes, where he would descend into the holy cave and then produce his laws saying that he had received them from Zeus' (Dionysios, *Roman Antiquities* 2.61.2). Here, in an allusive aside, Dionysios brings us the elements of Dikte, the young Zeus, the cave and the Kouretes. His reference to 'Cretan legends' speaks of a local currency belied by his subsequent implicit treatment when discussing the rites of the Salii in Rome, ecstatic dancers that he considers the equivalent of the Kouretes. Here he writes 'I need not mention the legend concerning them (the Kouretes) since almost everyone is acquainted with it' (*ibid.*, 2.70–71), the allusion explicitly suggesting broad recogni-

tion of the story. This is not entirely inconsistent. He is, in fact, implying the widespread knowledge of his 'Cretan legends'.

Diodorus Siculus, also in the first century BC, composed a universal history of the world entitled the *Library of History*, in 40 books.⁴⁸ The first part of this work dealt with the mythical history of Greek and Barbarian peoples and was cast in a broadly euhemeristic mode fashionable at the time (F. A. Wright 1932, 173–5). As with Pausanias his format in many cases enforced the compilation of traditions from different regions, with which, however, he seems even less at ease than his successor. Crete was understandably a problem for him in this way. He begins discussion of it as follows: 'and since the greatest number of writers who have written about Crete disagree among themselves, there should be no occasion for surprise if what we report should not agree with every one of them'. Then follows a partial list of sources, Epimenides, Dosiades, Sosicrates and Laosthenidas, to whom we may add Ephoros, Aratos and Poseidonius among others.⁴⁹ As with Pausanias, in discussing the birth of Zeus Diodorus is encumbered by the wealth of his material and begins with the disclaimer that 'concerning the birth of Zeus and the manner in which he came to be king, there is no agreement' (Diod.Sic. 5.70.1).

The newborn Zeus is hidden in a cave on Ida out of fear of his father. He is entrusted to the Kouretes who hide his cries by the noise of clashing weapons in a war dance. He is nurtured by the nymphs on milk and honey and suckled by the goat Amaltheia (Diod.Sic. 5.65.4, 5.70.2–3). Bypassing the version represented by Vergil's Diktaian Cave, Diodorus instead follows Aratos and others to Ida, recording that the cave and the area about them had subsequently been made sacred to him (Diod.Sic. 5.70.4). Nevertheless he ends his account with his own peculiar testimony for the survival of the Eastern regional tradition:

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- 44 See discussion on the 'Nature of the Evidence' above, with nn. 10–13.
- 45 Here 'Jupiter'; his story the product of further racial and linguistic syncretism and borrowing. See discussion below on 'Bronze Age parallels in Crete and beyond' for similar transpositions and borrowings in the Bronze Age. Also *CANE* ii, 1246; West 1997, 103; Weis 1984, 292–3; n. 55.
- 46 As to Kronos and Saturn, see *Georgics* 4.150 ff.
- 47 *Aeneid* 3.125, 171; 4.74. Here the Diktaian mountains are described as celebrated hunting grounds, just the kind of terrain appropriate for the rites of passage discussed in Chapter 11 above.
- 48 Of this ambitious undertaking Books I–V and XI–XX have been preserved along with fragments from the remaining 25, which are otherwise lost.
- 49 Diod. Sic. 5.80.2. Only fragments of these sources have been preserved—the loss of the Cretan historiographers and mythographers and any more extensive remnants of Cretan oral tradition is especially grievous; see n. 7 above. For the preserved fragments see *FGrHist.* IIIb, 457–63.

When [Zeus] had attained to manhood he founded first a city in Dikta, where indeed the myth states that he was born, in later times this city was abandoned, but some stone blocks of its foundation are still preserved (Diod.Sic. 5.70.6).

Euhemerus and aitiology aside, Diodorus here tells us that the myth states that Zeus was born in Dikta, emphasizing once more and clearly the continued strength of the Diktaian story.

DICHOTOMY BETWEEN MYTH AND CULT

The widespread association of the young Zeus with Dikte in later Greek and Roman literature is in sharp contrast to the archaeological evidence for his cult. Only the sanctuary at Palaikastro can be certainly identified, though a good case can be made for the Altar Hill at Praisos. The cave at Psychro, Hogarth's 'Diktaian Cave', is less certain.⁵⁰ Despite the history, size, and importance of Praisos in the historic period and despite the regional function of the Palaikastro sanctuary,⁵¹ remains in both places were less than monumental. Epigraphic evidence in the historical period indicates a limited area of worship, confined to E Crete.⁵² Ignored by Hesiod, the story's currency as witnessed in later literature is all the more surprising. Neither in cult nor in preserved epic do we find any reason for the vitality of the story. How then did it gain currency?

BRONZE AGE PARALLELS IN CRETE AND BEYOND

The appearance of Diktaian Zeus in the Linear B tablets at Knossos and the dedication of oil to him places him firmly in a Bronze Age cultic context.⁵³ The controversy about the identification of Dikte, well treated by Crowther in Chapter 12 above, need not concern us here. What is important is that there was then a Zeus of Dikte and that, wherever he may have been, he was recognized and supplied with offerings from Central Crete, far outside the confines of the area to which he was later restricted. The tenacity of the later tradition is thereby more likely to rest on distribution in the Bronze Age than on traditions stemming from E Crete in the Iron Age.

The decipherment of the Hurro-Hittite myths of divine succession revealed a long-lived and adaptable mythological complex riddled with parallels to the poetry of both Homer and Hesiod (Dornseiff 1934, 397–415; 1937, 231–58; Barnett 1945, 100–01; Güterbock 1946; 1948, 123–34). It is the story of Anu, Kumarbi and Teshub that directly concerns us here. These three generations of supreme gods provide a violent line of succession closely parallel to the Greek version of the gruesome overthrow of Ouranos by Kronos and of Kronos, subsequently, by Zeus. These parallels were noted immediately on the decipherment of the text from

Hattusas and have been the object of considerable discussion since.⁵⁴ The common appearance of the complex themes of castration, cannibalism, deception by the use of a stone, subsequent use of that stone as a cult object, as well as the rebellion of Typhoios/Illukandas, make the association of the two mythological matrices unavoidable. M. L. West, who began to explore the subject 30 years ago, brings the existing parallels up-to-date in his recent work, *The East Face of Helicon* (1997, 278–95, 586–98, esp. 589).

Hurrians first appear in the hills to the N of Mesopotamia in the second half of the 3rd millennium BC, spreading to the S and W toward the beginning of the 2nd. They control the city of Urkish (Tell Amuda) in the time of the Akkadian kings and gradually extend control into N Syria and Mesopotamia. At first a string of city states, they form a regional power about the city of Mitanni by the 16th century BC. There were Hurrians among the Hyksos during the Hyksos rule in Egypt and the term 'Hurru', used by the Egyptians to describe parts of Syria and Palestine during Middle Bronze II, suggests both an established presence and considerable familiarity between the two peoples at that period. 'By the 16th century BC there were considerable numbers of Hurrian-speakers as far W as the Mediterranean coast. They spread to Cilicia no later than the 15th century BC and perhaps to Cyprus in the 14th century BC'.⁵⁵

We are indebted to the texts from Hattusas for the preservation of the 'Song of [?Kumarbi]' (Güterbock 1946, 6–9, 34–41, 86–8). The translation into Hittite does not attempt to disguise the Hurrian origin of the story (Güterbock 1946, 3, 94–100; Webster 1977, 77; West 1997, 102). Fragments of the text in Hurrian were also found and the language in them is 'markedly archaic and close to that of the earliest (known) Hurrian text, the inscription of Tish-Atal of Urkish, which is

50 Nilsson 1950, 458–534, n. 3; Willetts 1962, 216–17, nn. 104–05 (for refs.); Crowther 1988, 39–41; Verbruggen 1981, 75–99.

51 Skylax 48, διήκει ἀμφοτέρωθεν; Bosanquet 1902, 231–70; Spyridakis 1970, 27–32, *passim*; Whitley, 1995, 405–28.

52 Spyridakis 1970, 23–5; Van Effenterre 1948, 126–7. Both Spyridakis and Van Effenterre refer to a confederacy of Eteo-Cretan cities, see also *IC III. II. 2*, 29. See also Bosanquet 1909, 348–51; Willetts 1962, 206–09; n. 31 above.

53 For a summary of the relevant material in both Linear A and Linear B, for references and for the ongoing discussion about the location of the specific sanctuary mentioned in KN Fp 1.2: see Crowther in Chapter 12 above.

54 Walcot 1966, 1–26; West 1966, 19 ff, 106 ff; Lesky 1950, 137–60; 1955, 379–400; Kirk 1970, 213–26; 1974, 44–52, 113–20, 256–8, *passim*; J. Duchemin 1979, 51–67; Mondi 1984, 342 ff; 1990, 151 ff; West 1985, 174–5; Solmsen 1989, 413–22; Burkert 1987, 13; 1992, 4–7.

55 West 1997, 102; *CAH II. 1*, 1980, 22–4, 29–41, 417–23, 450–60. Hurrians, Hyksos and Hurru, Snell 1997, 62–3. For the Hurrians in general: Wilhelm 1989.

probably dated to the 21st century BC' (*CANE* ii, 1246; West 1997, 103). Similarly the tablets, both Hittite and Hurrian, make no mention of Indo-Aryan gods introduced by the ruling dynasty at Mittani in the 14th century BC. West points out that 'this archaism suggests a conservative poetic tradition with a long history' (West 1997, 108). Hurrian-speakers are common in Ugarit, as tablets in the Hurrian language indicate and Hurrian names in other tablets confirm. In view of the Hittite absorption of Hurrian mythology it is perhaps not surprising to find the story of Kumarbi also recorded in Ugaritic (*Ugaritica* V, 1968, 222).

The extent of commercial and cultural intercourse between the peoples, cities and cultures E and W of the Aegean becomes increasingly apparent. Attention has recently been focused on the resurgence of contact and interaction after the 'upheaval and devastation which prevailed from Greece through Anatolia to Syria and Palestine around 1200 BC' (Burkert 1992, 9; Langdon 1997) and which signalled the collapse of the great Bronze Age civilizations of the E Mediterranean. At the same time new discoveries constantly re-emphasize that this explosion of E-W exchange in the EIA represents but an energetic rebirth of long-lived interaction during the mature Bronze Age.⁵⁶ Already at the end of the 17th century BC an old Babylonian tablet from Mari records consignments of tin sent to a Cretan and to the interpreter of the chief Cretan merchant in Ugarit (Dossin 1970, 98, 281; Astour 1973, 21; E. Cline 1994, 126 [Text D2]). The fall of Crete and the growing Mycenaean hegemony in the LBA only intensifies Aegean contact with the East. In the 14th century BC LH IIIA/B pottery floods the Levant, reaching inland as far as Carchemish, Damascus and Amman (West 1997, 6; Sherratt 1980, 177-80). In Ugarit it is 'often difficult to determine whether Mycenaean pottery was imported or produced in Ugarit by Mycenaean potters' (Weis 1985, 292-3). Cypro-Minoan marks incised on local pottery after it was fired at Tiryns, accompanied by non-luxury Cypriote goods speak of an established Cypriot presence (Cline 1994, 319; Hirschfeld 1996, 296-7, n. 29). The interchange of motifs and design in the decorative arts is a widespread and natural outgrowth of the easy permeability of cultural boundaries at that period (Crowley 1989, 42-6, 62-8, and *passim*). It is indicative of a different kind of interaction taking place alongside mercantile and technological exchange, the exchange of ideas.

The polylinguism of the Near East in the Middle and Late Bronze Age is made clear by the preservation of records and mythology in different archives throughout the area extending from Sumer to the destruction of Hattusas in about 1180 BC. The tablets from Ugarit with parallel vocabularies in four languages are but one isolated example (*Ugaritica* V (1968), 230-51). While this multiplicity of literary linguistic competence was no doubt limited to a professional scribal class, the personal names recorded show such an intermingling of

race and language that bi- and tri-lingualism on a broad scale is often implied.⁵⁷ The suggestion that the West participated to some extent is unavoidable. That some Minoans and Mycenaeans were at least bilingual on a similar scale is indicated by the very existence of Linear B. Here also the presence of a scribal class is clear but names recorded in the Linear B tablets tell a similar story. Baumbach found non-Greek names at Knossos outnumbering the Greek three to one, some of them showing similarities with Linear A and some with Eastern languages, including Hittite (Baumbach 1983, 3-10). At Knossos not only does Aigyptios appear but *mi-sa-ra-yo*, the Semitic for Aigyptios. Tyrians appear in both Knossos and Pylos, which even boasts an Ethiopian in its tablets (West 1997, 621).

Repeated long-term exposure to Near Eastern material from multiple sources, then, is assured by the LBA. Whether, as at Hattusas and Ugarit and elsewhere, these stories then took root remains a matter of some debate.⁵⁸ That the West had then a tradition capable of receiving such material is not in doubt. 'Peculiar word forms and metrical assumptions present in the Homeric and Hesiodic poems reveal that these poems are only the end products of a poetic tradition which certainly stretches back continuously to a stage of linguistic usage earlier than the Linear B tablets that survive from the last century of Mycenaean Greece' (Osborne 1996, 137; Webster 1977, 91-135 [with refs.]). Some would find indications of further antiquity and of considerable foreign influence in the very bones of epic, the dactylic hexameter (Ruijgh 1985, 143-90).

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- 56 Ulü Bürün shipwreck (14th century BC): Bass 1986, 269-96; 1987, 693-733; Pulak 1988, 1-37; Bass *et al.* 1989, 1-29. Cape Gelidonya wreck (12th century BC): Bass 1967. Minoan frescoes at Tell Kabri and Tell el Daba'a: Niemeier 1991, 189-201; 1993, 332-3. Also a Mycenaean sword with inscription in Akkadian (*KUB* XXIII.13) dedicated at Hattusas by Tuthaliyas II (second half of the 15th century BC) to 'the Storm God His Lord', see: Güterbock 1992, 236, 242-3, and Cline 1996, 140. For general studies: Lambrou-Philippson 1990 and Cline 1994.
- 57 A study of the personal names reveals that a good part, perhaps as much as half, of the population of Ugarit was Hurrian or Mitannian: Walcot 1966, 20.
- 58 Fontenrose 1959, 212-16; Webster 1977, 82-90, with n. 124; Burkert 1985, 121; Huxley 1969, 29. See also West 1965, 155 nn. 9-23; Diod.Sic. 5.70.1 ff; Dornseiff 1934, 397-415; 1937, 231-58; Barnett 1945, 100-01; Güterbock 1946; 1948, 123-34 and my n. 54 for a limited bibliography. In 1966 Cyrus Gordon suggested the presence of Hurrian names in the Linear A tablets from Agia Triada, and thus anticipated the conclusions of this paper by using the (perceived) physical evidence of Bronze Age transmission, as opposed to the distribution of the presumed artefacts or descendants (ecotypes) of this putative transmission as they appear in the Iron Age (Gordon 1966, 34-9). The concept of Hurrians in Minoan Crete has recently been revived, or discovered again (there are no references to Gordon) by Peter G. Soesbergen (Soesbergen 1996, 493-8).

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

In the historical period the story of Diktaian Zeus appears as one of many localised versions of the Hurro-Hittite myth of divine succession. Localisations of the same thematic complex are found elsewhere, those of Achaea and Arkadia firmly associated with areas of conservative linguistic tradition, as also in E Crete. Variations in local and regional renditions are significant, but equally significant is the widespread appearance of motifs associating these regional variations with the story told and recorded in many different languages throughout the E Mediterranean in the MBA and LBA. Bronze Age importation and distribution of the eastern myth of divine succession during the Mycenaean-Minoan *koine*, with subsequent differentiation and localization during the EIA, could explain this configuration of tales. Diktaian Zeus, with Mycenaean name and local affiliations, despite the increasing marginalisation of his cult, remains firmly retained by a tradition which must reach back to the Knossian tablets. The persistence of this tradition in the face of increasing literary, social and political irrelevance, and the existence of widespread but easily identifiable local variations of the same peculiar tale in areas isolated by the disintegration of the Mycenaean states, provides the best witness for a root system established in the Bronze Age.

The birth story of Zeus allows a diachronic glimpse of the mechanisms and processes of the transmission of myth (traditional stories) in the E Mediterranean. I have suggested that some of the motifs of Near Eastern mythology were encountered, adapted, incorporated and diffused in the Aegean repertoire during the long period of widespread communication and internationalism of the MBA and LBA. The prolonged existence of a number of strong, interrelated states, both in the Aegean and in the Near East, provided the basis for the diffusion witnessed also in the material remains.

The breakdown in communication, local differentiation and the vastly reduced horizons of the Dark Age then allowed, even demanded, the elaboration of these once common themes and motifs into ecotypal, locally relevant variants, marked and encouraged by those intensely local factors which, once again, are clearly reflected in the material remains of the centuries of disruption. With the subsequent expansion of the isolated sociopolitical entities of this period and the increasing communication between them, locally incubated, sometimes almost unrecognizable variants start to collide and become part of the process of social, cultural and political synoecism and homogenization. The Gods, like the Greeks, emerge from the regionalism of the Dark

Age to discover the scrambled remnants of a common heritage.

This is a complex process, its complexity assured by the persistence—as we have seen in Arkadia, Crete and elsewhere—of variants locally and regionally relevant and by their continual syncretism and cross breeding. It is also a 'global' process. 'Kronos' and 'Kumarbi' meeting at a festival in 8th century Al Mina would tell each other a sometimes vaguely, sometimes strikingly similar story about ungrateful offspring. Each could, no doubt, refine the tale of his companion in some way. Zeus would, and did, feel very much at home with Teshub, El or Adad—past acquaintances long forgotten aiding their easy compatibility.

The mechanics involved remain fairly straightforward. They are in constant operation. First, syncretic exchange of motif and motifeme will follow the increased interaction and communication which accompanies the genesis and growth of intra- and inter-regional systems. Second, local differentiation and the elaboration of ecotypal variants can be expected as these systems collapse. Third, the syncretism of these local and regional variants marks the reintegration or regrowth of the larger network, as in Hesiod and Kallimachos. We have concentrated on the Aegean basin and the fragmentation, reconstruction and recombination that occurred in that area at the end of the Bronze and the beginning of the Iron Ages. Neither geographically nor chronologically, however, does this represent a closed system. Similar processes of state and systems formation, dominance, disintegration and reintegration are well documented in Egypt and the Near East, dating back to Narmer and Sumer at the end of the fourth millennium BC. At various times, as pointed out above and by MacGillivray in Chapter 10, these inter-regional systems have included the Aegean. The corresponding processes of development, dispersal, adaptation and elaboration of myth and iconography will have accompanied these social and political changes.

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References

ABBREVIATIONS

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| <i>AA</i> | <i>Archäologischer Anzeiger.</i> | | |
| <i>AC</i> | Dornseiff, F. <i>Antike und Alter Orient</i> (2nd ed.). Leipzig 1959. | | |
| <i>Ant.Cretesi</i> | <i>Antichità Cretesi. Studi in onore di Doro Levi.</i> 2 vols. (<i>Cronache di archeologia</i> 12–13, 1973–4), Catania 1977–78. | <i>East Crete</i> | Driessen, J. M. and J. A. MacGillivray, 'The Neopalatial period in East Crete' in R. Laffineur (ed.), <i>Transition. Le monde égéen du bronze moyen au bronze récent (Aegaeum 3)</i> , 99–110. Liège, 1989. |
| <i>ADelt</i> | <i>Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον.</i> | <i>Eilapini</i> | <i>Εἰλαπίνη. Τόμος τιμητικός για τον Καθηγητὴ Νικόλαο Πλάτωνα.</i> 2 vols. Herakleion 1987. |
| <i>AE</i> | <i>Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς.</i> | <i>Festos II</i> | Pernier, L. and L. Banti. <i>Il Palazzo minoico di Festos, II. Il secundo palazzo.</i> Rome, 1951. |
| <i>AJA</i> | <i>American Journal of Archaeology.</i> | <i>FGrHist</i> | Jacoby, F. <i>Die Fragmente der griechische Historiker</i> , Leiden 1923–1958 (repr. 1957). |
| <i>AniK</i> | <i>Antike Kunst.</i> | <i>Function-Villa</i> | R. Hägg (ed.), <i>The Function of the 'Minoan Villa'</i> , (<i>Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institut I Athen</i> 46, Volume II). Stockholm 1997. |
| <i>AR</i> | <i>Archaeological Reports.</i> | <i>GRBS</i> | <i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies.</i> Duke University, Durham, North Carolina. |
| <i>BAR</i> | <i>British Archaeological Reports.</i> | <i>IC</i> | Guarducci, M. <i>Inscriptiones Creticae, I–IV.</i> Rome 1939–50. |
| <i>BCH</i> | <i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.</i> | <i>IG</i> | <i>Inscriptiones Graecae.</i> |
| <i>BICS</i> | <i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London.</i> | <i>JEA</i> | <i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.</i> |
| <i>BSA</i> | <i>Annual of the British School at Athens.</i> | <i>JMA</i> | <i>Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology.</i> |
| <i>CAH</i> | <i>Cambridge Ancient History.</i> | <i>JNES</i> | <i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies.</i> |
| <i>CANE</i> | Sasson, J. M. (ed.), 1995. <i>Civilisations of the Ancient Near East.</i> New York. | <i>KUB</i> | <i>Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi.</i> |
| <i>CHCL</i> | <i>Cambridge History of Classical Literature.</i> | <i>M & H 1960</i> | Marinatos, Sp. and M. Hirmer, <i>Crete and Mycenae.</i> London. |
| <i>CMS</i> | <i>Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel.</i> | <i>MAMAT</i> | Shaw, J. W. <i>Minoan Architecture: Materials and Techniques.</i> Rome, 1971. |
| <i>Congresso Micenologia 2</i> | E. de Miro, L. Godart and A. Sacconi (eds.), <i>Atti e Memorie del Secondo Congresso Internazionale di Micenologia (Incunabula Graeca 98).</i> Rome 1996. | <i>MDAIK</i> | <i>Mitteilungen der Deutsche Akademie in Kairo.</i> |
| <i>Cretological 1</i> | Proceedings of the First International Cretological Congress. 2 vols. Herakleion 1962. | <i>Measure for Measure</i> | Weingarten, J. 'Measure for Measure: What the Palaikastro Kouros can tell us about Minoan Society', <i>Politeia: State and Society in the Aegean Bronze Age (Aegaeum 12)</i> , 249–64. Liège, 1995. |
| <i>Cretological 2</i> | Proceedings of the Second International Cretological Congress. 2 vols. Athens 1968. | <i>MSV</i> | Warren, P. M. <i>Minoan Stone Vases.</i> Cambridge, 1969. |
| <i>Cretological 3</i> | Proceedings of the Third International Cretological Congress. 3 vols. Athens 1973. | <i>Od.</i> | Homer, <i>The Odyssey.</i> |
| <i>Cretological 4</i> | Proceedings of the Fourth International Cretological Congress. 4 vols. Athens 1980. | <i>OpAth</i> | <i>Opuscula Atheniensia</i> |
| <i>Cretological 5</i> | Proceedings of the Fifth International Cretological Congress. 3 vols. Herakleion 1985. | <i>OS</i> | Amundsen, L., Ø. Anderson, T. Hägg, K. Kleve, E. Kraggerund, H. Mørland, <i>Symbolae osloenses.</i> Norwegian University Press. |
| <i>Cretological 6</i> | Proceedings of the Sixth International Cretological Congress. 3 vols. Chania 1991. | <i>PK I–VII</i> | 'Excavations at Palaikastro I' to 'VII', in <i>BSA</i> 8 (1901–2), 286–316; 9 (1902–3), 274–387; 10 (1903–4), 192–321; 11 (1904–5), 258–308; 12 (1905–6), 1–8; 60 (1965), 248–315; and 65 (1970), 203– |
| <i>Cretological 7</i> | Proceedings of the Seventh International Cretological Congress. 3 vols. Rethymnon 1995. | | |
| <i>Cretological 8</i> | Proceedings of the Eighth International Cretological Congress in Herakleion 1996, in press. | | |
| <i>Diod.Sic.</i> | Diodorus Siculus. | | |

- 42, respectively.
PK 1986-1988, 1990-1991, 1994/96 'Excavations at Palaikastro, 1986' to '1988', in *BSA* 82 (1987), 135-54; 83 (1988), 259-82; 84 (1989), 417-45; and '1990' to '1991' in *BSA* 86 (1991), 121-47; 87 (1992), 121-52; and 1994/96 in *BSA* 93 (1998), 221-68, respectively.
PK LM II-III Pottery MacGillivray, J. A. 'Late Minoan II and III Pottery and Chronology at Palaikastro: an Introduction' in E. and B. P. Hallager, *Late Minoan III Pottery*, Athens 1997: 193-207.
PK Settlement MacGillivray, J. A. and J. M. Driessen, 'Minoan settlement at Palaikastro' in P. Darcque and R. Treuil (eds.), *L'Habitat égéen préhistorique (BCH Suppl. 19, Paris, 1990)*, 395-412.
PK Survey 'An archaeological survey of the Roussolakkos area at Palaikastro', *BSA* 79 (1984), 129-59.
PKU Bosanquet, R. C. and R. M. Dawkins, 1923. *The Unpublished Objects from the Palaikastro Excavations 1902-1906*, Part I, BSA supplementary paper 1. London.
PKU II 'Unpublished objects from Palaikastro and Praisos', *BSA* 40 (1939-40), 38-59.
PM I-IV Arthur Evans, *The Palace of Minos* Vols. I-IV, London 1921-1935.
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Pseira II Betancourt, P. P. and C. Davaris (eds.), *Pseira II. Building AC (the 'Shrine') and Other Buildings in Area A*. University Museum, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. 1998.
RhM Sanctuaries and Cults Rheinisches Museum für Philologie Hägg, R. and N. Marinatos (eds.), *Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the First International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 12-13 May 1980*. Stockholm, 1981.
SIMA *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*, Göteborg.
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TAPS *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*
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