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Karlsson

# SANCTUARIES AND CULTS IN THE AEGEAN BRONZE AGE

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## DISCUSSION ON THE TERRACOTTA FEET FROM ARCHANES

A. Sakellariou expressed scepticism about the existence of the *xoanon* on the following grounds:

1. There was not sufficient carbonized wood to justify the assumption of a wooden statue.
2. In the upper side of the feet there were no signs of attachment to the wood and no traces of carbonized wood.
3. There was neither tenon nor plinth beneath the feet to make a statue.
4. There was no high basis in the room on which the *xoanon* would have towered above the other objects.

C. Renfrew supported the idea of a *xoanon* made out of different materials. As evidence he cited the bronze locks from Knossos, a foot of LM II date, and the recent material from Kea and Archanes. The existence of *xoana* was already suggested by Evans and now his theory had been more or less confirmed. Answering A. Sakellariou's points, C. Renfrew said that (a) one would not need to find a large amount of carbonized wood, since part of it may have perished through decay. (b) Signs of attachment would not be necessary, since the feet could have been made so as to be inserted into a wooden construction. (c) One would not need a plinth, since stability could be achieved by the wooden construction itself.

E. French agreed that a *xoanon* was implied by the existence of the clay feet. Only a core or armature of wood would be needed, since the *xoanon* would be draped. The feet could have been freestanding beneath the robe without a plinth. However, the statue could be balanced without a plinth or stand if the feet were slightly larger than correct proportions demanded (which has been observed in other cases, e.g. the Phylakopi male figures).

P. Warren drew attention to Pausanias' testimony (9, 40, 43), that the oldest *xoana* were to be found in Crete.

S. Hiller observed that the existence of the rock in the cult rooms must have religious significance as the parallels from Mycenae and Eleusis suggested.

R. Felsch asked why the feet were not found in their original position but were facing different directions.

A. Bikaki observed that if the finds (storage vessels, etc.) and the position of the feet contradict identification of the central room as a shrine, the room could well be a shrine repository for objects to be used in connection with ceremonies held in one of the other rooms, or outside the building all together.

D. Levi suggested another possible function: in Medieval times feet were dedicated by pilgrims as symbols of their pilgrimage and devotion.

P. Warren stressed that the clay feet from Malia came from a cult area, being found with ritual vases and an altar.

J. van Leuven said that since one pair was found, it was unlikely that the feet were votive offerings.

N. Marinatos drew attention to the even, rhomboid finishing of the feet, which suggested that they were fitted into something. A. Sakellariou said that the rhomboid shape could be explained as a schematic, unrealistic way of finishing off the feet.

G. Cadogan wondered if the feet could have been like modern shoe-trees (καλαπόδια)—the rhomboid section of the legs is similar—perhaps here for shoes fitting to a statue.

## THE PEAK SANCTUARY OF MT. JUKTAS\*

BY

ALEXANDRA KARETSOU

The mountain called Juktas<sup>1</sup> lies about 13 km south-west of Knossos. It rises to the west of the large village of Archanes, and its mass dominates the eparchies of Temenos and Pedhiadha. From its highest peak, Psili Korfi, which is 811 m above sea level, an extensive and beautiful panorama opens out, westwards towards Mt. Ida and the eparchy of Malevizi, northwards along the north coast of the island from Cape Dion in the west to the mountain called Kakon Oros in the east. From the same point one has an excellent and detailed view of the Knossos area, and the harbour of Amnisos with the island of Dia in the distance. Looking towards the south on a clear day, one can easily see the Libyan Sea between the peaks of the Asterousia range.

As is well known, anyone looking at Juktas from the western outskirts of Herakleion sees the profile of a gigantic human head.<sup>2</sup>

Local tradition,<sup>3</sup> ancient literary sources,<sup>4</sup> beginning with the Cretan seer Epimenides, continuing with the elegaic poet Callimachos and the Roman poet Ennius, and extending to Michael Psellos in the Byzantine era, as well as the testimonies of the travellers Buadelmonte, Belon, Pashley, Spratt, Stillman and others, all locate the tomb of Zeus on this mountain.

In 1909, on the peak of Juktas called Psili Korfi, Arthur Evans<sup>5</sup> made the initial discovery of a Middle Minoan peak sanctuary (Fig. 1). This sanctuary is enclosed by a Cyclopean wall, a sketch of which was published by the Italian Taramelli in 1899<sup>6</sup> (Figs. 2–3, 4). In our time the Minoan place of worship has been succeeded by the Christian church of Afendis Christos on a slightly lower peak just to the south (Figs. 2–3, 7).

A rectangular Roman altar, which is now in the church of the Koimisis Theotokou (Dormition of the Virgin) at Archanes, came from the east side of the mountain, according to information from the inhabitants of Archanes. This altar carries a votive inscription<sup>7</sup> to Δία Σωτήρα (Zeus the Saviour).

The professors P. Faure and Sp. Marinatos have dealt with, and studied certain aspects of the so-called sacred caves Chosto Nero<sup>8</sup> (Fig. 2, 8), which lies about 800 m

\* I should like to express my deep gratitude to Dr. J. Carington Smith, Fellow of the British School at Knossos (1977–1980), for her help with the translation of the article. I should like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation of the warm interest Prof. St. Alexiou, N. Platon and Ephor A. Lebesse showed in the excavations and my indebtedness to them for many valuable discussions on the site and finds. I should also like to thank my colleague Dimitrios Schilardi for his kindness in reading the text at the Seminar and my colleague I. Dekoulakou for all her invaluable assistance. The photographs which accompany the article were taken by Stephanos Alexandrou. Manolis Polydhakis prepared the plans in Figs. 2 and 3, using official maps as a topographical basis. The other plans are the work of Chrysi Tzobanaki and D. Smyth. Figs. 8 and 9 were prepared by the Heracleion Museum's draughtsman K. Astrinaki. Kostis Iliakis, the artist of the National Museum of Athens, painted the representation of the sealing in Fig. 24. I owe my warmest thanks to all of them.

<sup>1</sup> Concerning the name of the mountain see N. Platon, Τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Μαζᾶ καὶ Μινωϊκὰ ἱερὰ κορυφῆς, *KrChron* 5, 1951, pp. 144–145 and n. 117; A. Cook, *Zeus. A study in ancient religion*, Cambridge 1914–1940, 2: 2, p. 939, 1.

<sup>2</sup> A. Evans, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*, I, London 1921, p. 156, n. 1, Fig. 112. (abbrev.: PM).

<sup>3</sup> Evans, PM I, p. 154, see also notes 5–7; N. Politis, *Παραδόσεις* 2, Athens 1904, p. 778.

<sup>4</sup> For references to the literary sources see Evans, PM I, pp. 153–154 and more especially Cook (supra n. 1), 1, pp. 157–163; 2: 2, pp. 940–943. N.B. footnotes in both publications. See also Appendix to the *Second Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Archaeological Institute of America* 1880–1881, Cambridge, Mass. 1881, pp. 42–43. For the latest bibliography see B. Rutkowski, *Cult places in the Aegean world*, Warszawa 1972, p. 321 and in Evans, PM, Index under 'Juktas'.

<sup>5</sup> Evans, PM I, pp. 154–159, Fig. 114.

<sup>6</sup> A. Taramelli, 'Ricerche archeologiche cretesi', *MonAnt* 9, 1899, pp. 350–355, Figs. 24–26; Evans, PM I, pp. 156–157, Figs. 113a–b.

<sup>7</sup> St. Xanthoudides, 'Ἐκ Κορήτης', *ArchEph* 1908, pp. 232–233 and n. 1. According to Xanthoudides the inscription comes "probably from Knossos".

<sup>8</sup> Taramelli (supra n. 6), pp. 356–357. See collected bibliography in P. Faure, *Fonctions des cavernes crétoises*, Paris 1964 (École française d'Athènes. Travaux et mémoires des anciens membres étrangers de l'école et de divers savants. Fasc. 14.), p. 175 and notes 4–6; p. 176.

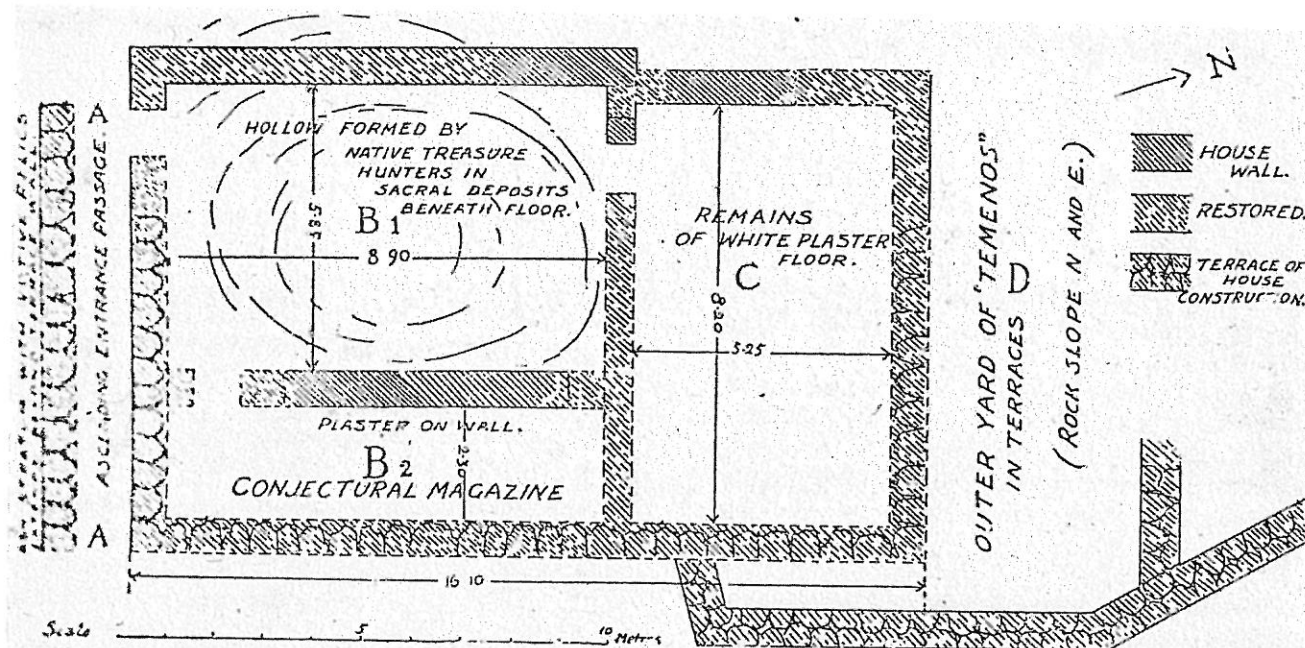


Fig. 1. Plan of the excavation after A. Evans (PM I, Fig. 114).

south of the peak sanctuary, and Spilios tou Stravomiti<sup>9</sup> (Karnari), which is in the south-west foothills of the mountain (Fig. 2).

Minoan sherds have been collected from a site on a small plateau called Sopata,<sup>10</sup> a little to the north of the Cyclopean wall, and Roman sherds from a site called Riza, which lies among the eastern foothills of the mountain, where ancient ruins are clearly in evidence. The very important remains which have been excavated recently by I. Sakellarakis at Anemospilia<sup>11</sup> (Fig. 2, 10), on the northern slopes of Juktas, close to the village of Vasilies, complete the archaeological evidence we have for the mountain area to date.

As has already been said, Arthur Evans made a preliminary excavation<sup>12</sup> at the site of the sanctuary. During this excavation, a priest's house ("CASA SANTA") of the early Aegeo-Cretan type of "but and ben" was discovered, which, according to the sketch-plan he published, measured ca. 16×10 metres (Fig. 1).

The priest's house was entered from the south by a ramp (A-A1). It consisted of a large room (B1), which had traces of floor remaining; this communicated to the east with a narrower but long room (B2), and to the west with another room (C). North of the latter he says that he found part of the courtyard or the open-air sanctuary.

The reason for the current excavation was that conservation work undertaken in the summer of 1973, under the supervision of the then Ephor St. Alexiou, produced a wealth of votive objects.

Excavations were begun the following year (1974), and still continue; the work was made possible by a series of grants from the Archaeological Society of Athens. From these excavations, the following have been brought to light<sup>13</sup> (Figs. 4-5 and 7):

1) The area which Arthur Evans called the priest's house has proved to be the main part of the open-air sanctuary, which consists of two stepped terraces, Terrace I and Terrace II, which are oriented north-south; these are reached from a ramp lying directly to the south. On the west side of Terraces I and II, there is a long stepped altar preserved 1.470 m, ht. 50 cms (Fig. 11) which is constructed on top of deep fissures in the bed-rock. One of these fissures led us to the discovery of a

<sup>9</sup> Sp. Marinatos, 'Ανασκαφή Βαθυπέτρου Ἀρχανῶν (Κρήτης), *Praktika* 1949, p. 109; idem, *Praktika* 1950, pp. 248-257. Cf. collected bibliography in Faure (supra n. 8), p. 173 and notes 4-5; pp. 174-175.

<sup>10</sup> Evans, *PM I*, Fig. 113b, where the same site is shown as Sopata (cf. my plan, Fig. 2, number 12). Particularly at the site Mikro Alonaki ("alonaki" = small threshing floor) which is situated a little distance from the entrance to the Cyclopean wall, buildings can be discerned, despite surface damage caused by inhabitants of Archanes when they cultivated wheat on this small plateau during the second world war. In the same place and partly destroyed by the same cause can be traced the remains of the Minoan road from Knossos to the Peak Sanctuary, ascending the northern brow of the mountain. Both at Mikro Alonaki and at Pera Alonaki, which lies a little further north, there are many Old Palatial, Neopalatial and Prepalatial sherds.

<sup>11</sup> *Ergon* 1979, pp. 30-32.

<sup>12</sup> Supra n. 5.

<sup>13</sup> A. Karetsou, 'Ἰερὸν κορυφῆς Γιούχτα, *Praktika* 1974, pp. 228-239 and further reports in *Praktika* 1975, 330-342; 1976, pp. 408-418; 1977, pp. 419-420; 1978, 232-258 (in press); also *Ergon* 1974, pp. 112-114; 1975, pp. 176-178; 1976, pp. 184-188; 1977, pp. 181-185; 1978, pp. 62-64; 1979, pp. 29-30.

<sup>14</sup> In the Greek text the ancient Greek word ἄνδρον = terrace is used. *LSJ*, s.v.; Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1964, s.v.



Fig. 2. Part of a topographical plan of Juktas and surroundings. (Scale 1:20,000.)

(Key to the Figs. 2-3.)

- |                                           |                                             |
|-------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| 1. Excavated area.                        | 7. Byzantine chapel of Afendis Christos.    |
| 2. OTE sub-station.                       | 8. Chosto Nero Cave.                        |
| 3. Cyclopean wall entrance.               | 9. Modern carriage road Heraklion-Archanes. |
| 4. Cyclopean wall.                        | 10. Anemospilia.                            |
| 5. Modern path.                           | 11. Route of Minoan Road to Peak Sanctuary. |
| 6. Modern road Archanes-Afendis Christos. | 12. Sopata.                                 |

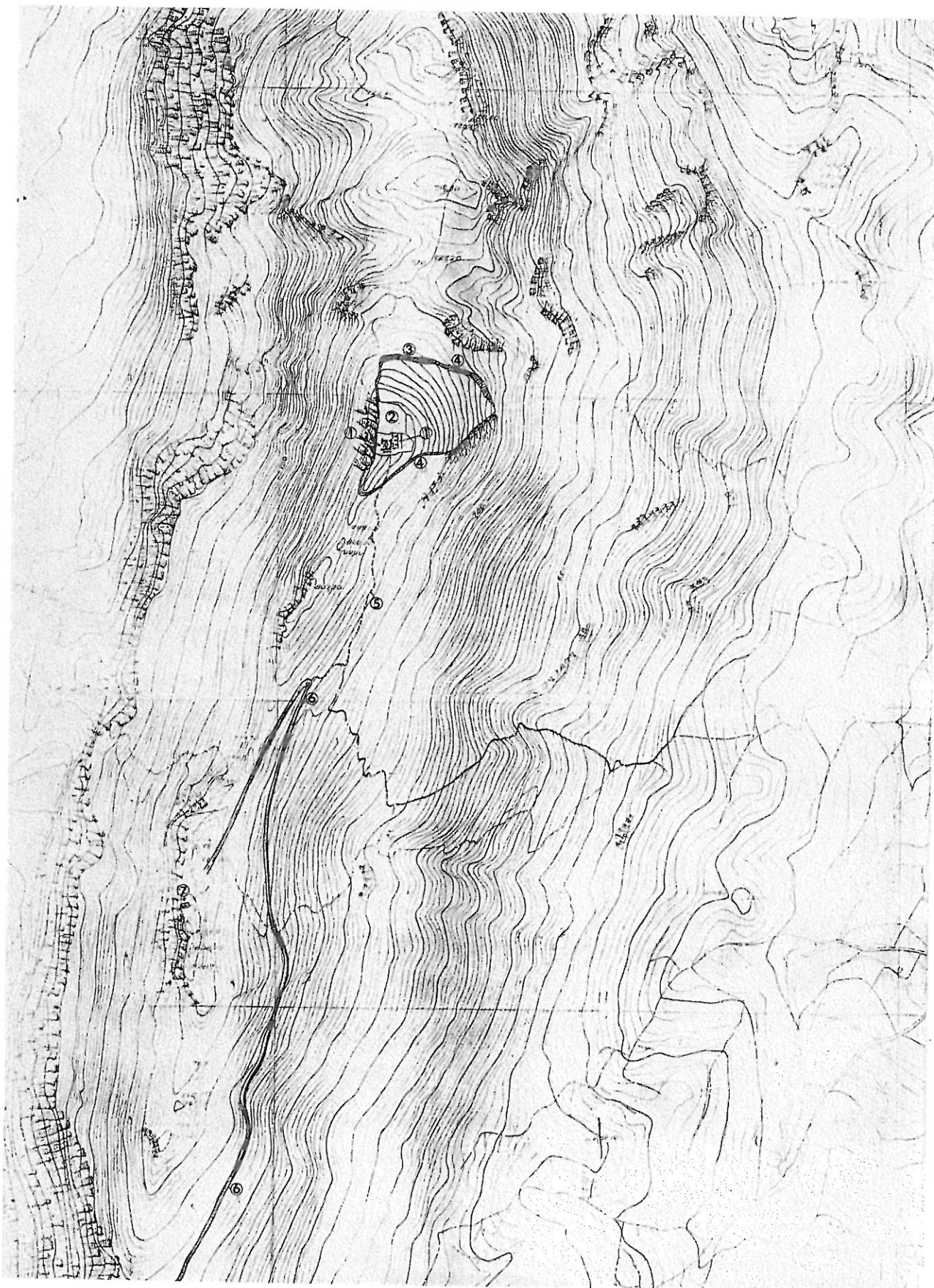


Fig. 3. Part of a topographical plan of the mountain Juktas. (Scale 1:5,000.)

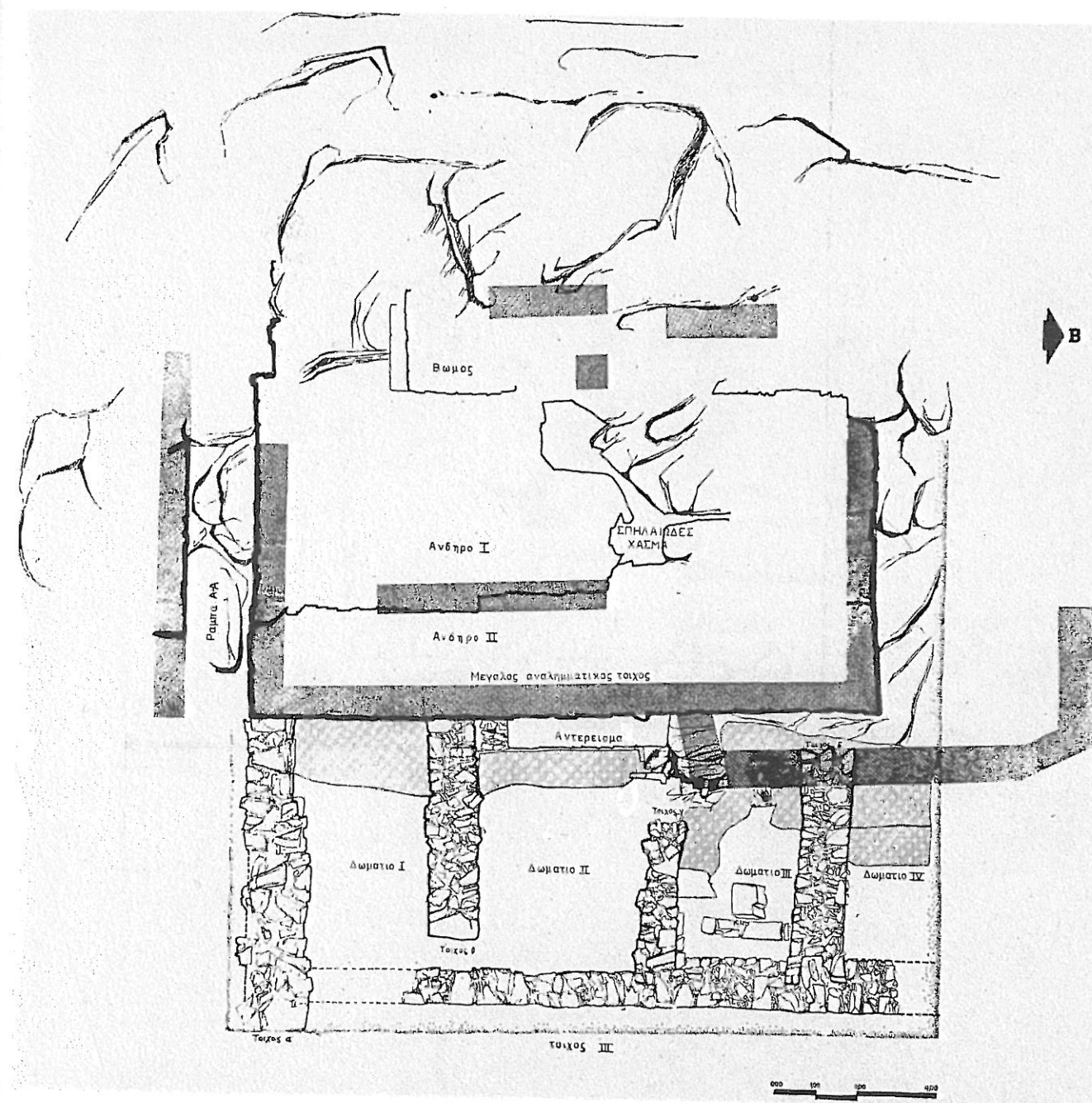


Fig. 4. Superimposed comparative plans of the excavations 1909 and 1974-1978 (black leterset indicates the plan of the excavation after A. Evans—see Fig. 1).

deep natural chasm,<sup>15</sup> which lies between Terrace I and Terrace II, and has been excavated to a depth of 10.50 m without the bottom being reached (Fig. 6). The altar (Fig. 11) is built virtually on the lip of the chasm (Fig. 10) and also on the top of the mountain; unusual in form, it constitutes the crown of the Terraces, and marks the end of the ascending ceremonial way.

2) To the east of Terrace II, a series of rooms has been found, the three southernmost of which are built butted against the retaining wall of Terrace I (Fig. 12). So far five rooms have been revealed, with the possible remains

of a sixth to the north (1979 excavations). The rooms lie in a row running from south to north. One would have expected there to have been an entrance from the south, where there is a small staircase with three steps connecting with the ramp which, as mentioned, leads to the Terraces, but no such entrance has been found. There remains to be investigated the unexcavated area to the

<sup>15</sup> Evans, *PM* II: 1, p. 81, Fig. 37 and n. 5 concerning a primitive sanctuary over a chasm, in the peak, called Christos in the Asterousia range.

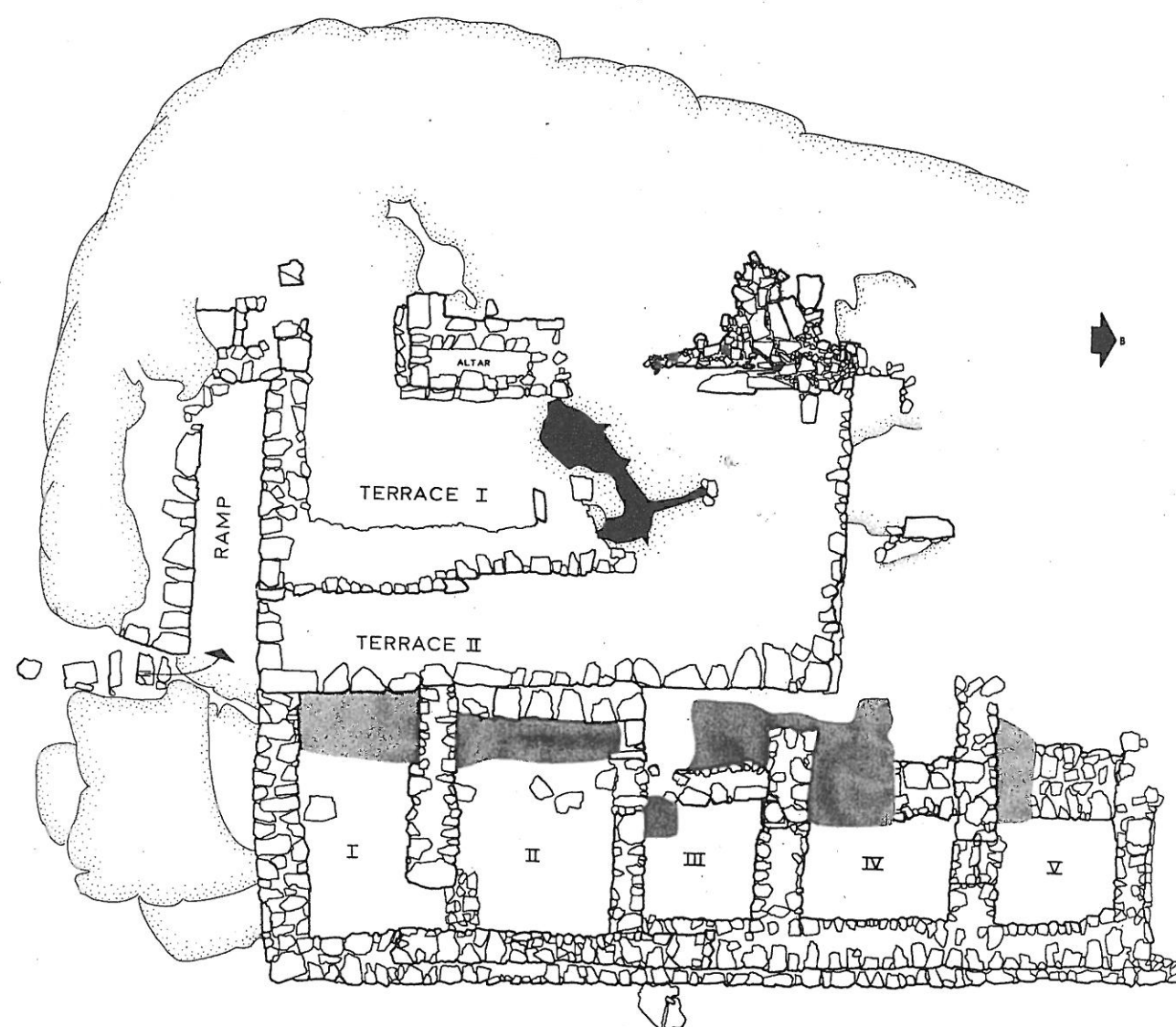


Fig. 5. Plan of the excavations 1974-1979 (by D. Smyth). Scale almost 1:200.

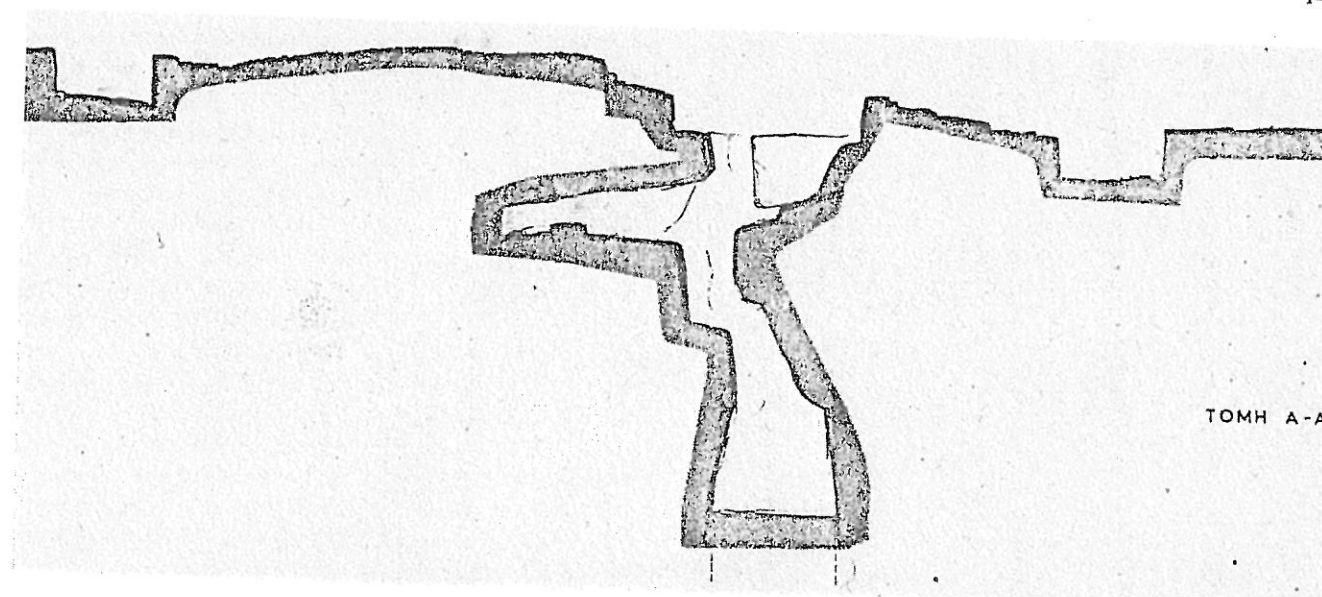
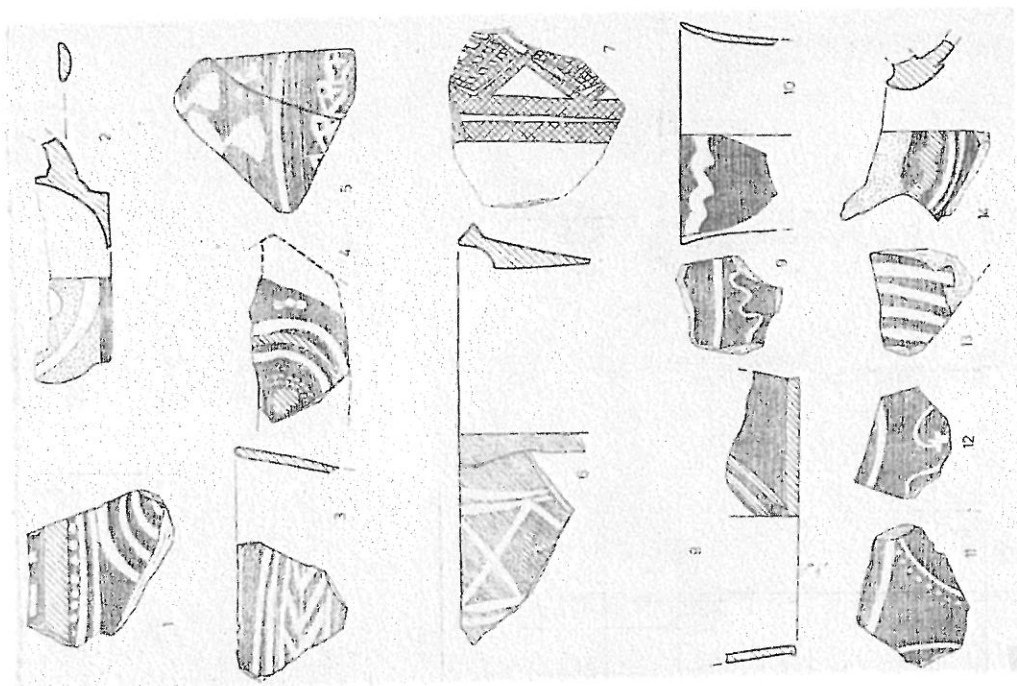


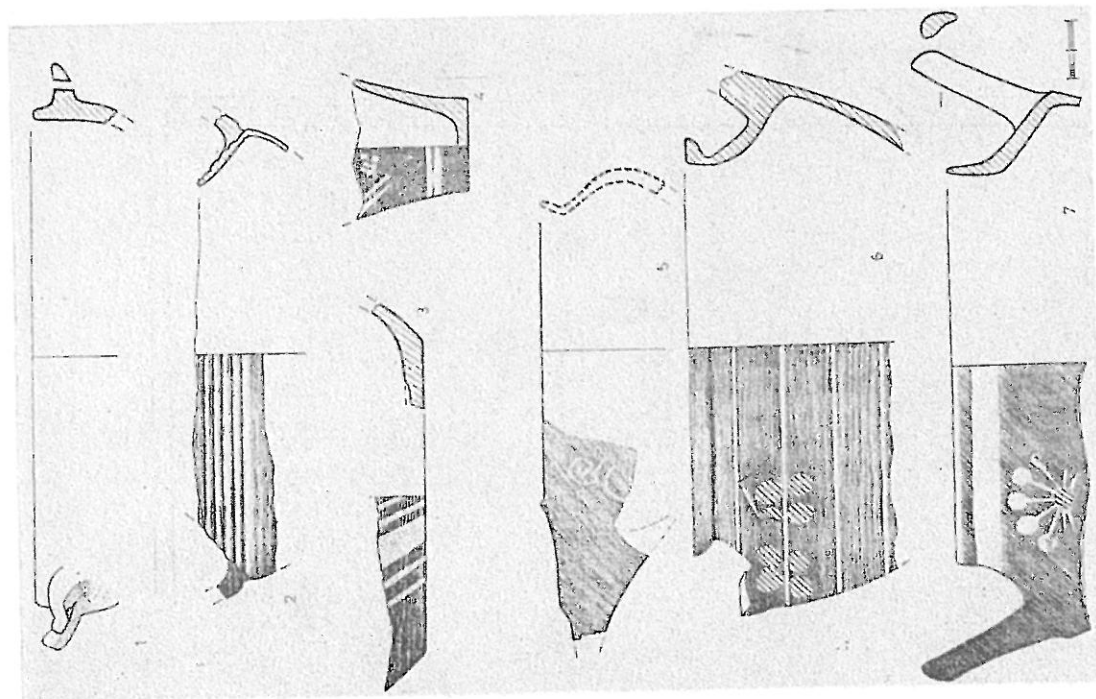
Fig. 6. Section of the chasm.



Fig. 7. Juktas. General view of the excavated area from the north. (1. Chapel Afendis Christos. 2. Altar. 3. Chasm. 4. Terrace I. 5. Terrace II. 6. Series of rooms.)



Figs. 8-9. Sherds from the fill of Terrace I.



north, north-east and north-west of the rooms, or as much of it as was not destroyed during the construction of the OTE radar station, which was unfortunately built within the area of the archaeological site in 1952.<sup>16</sup> The possibility of an entrance from the east also needs to be examined—for last summer, to the east of the rooms, part of a third Terrace came to light. (This Terrace only partially appears in Fig. 5 as it has not been completely investigated.)

The new Terrace is connected with the external wall of the rooms. It has a length equal to that of the series of rooms, hypothetically 24.50 m, and a width of 3.70 m. Its construction is exactly the same as that of Terraces I and II, that is, the sloping bedrock is levelled up with large, rough boulders; above these is a layer of smaller stones, which in turn are covered by a layer of small pebbles. Above these is a thin layer of whitish, hard-packed, *kouskouras*-type earth—perhaps the same as the “white plaster” mentioned by Evans as forming the remains of flooring in his Room B1.<sup>17</sup>

At a height of 45 cms above the level of the new Terrace, a long, narrow bench was discovered, formed by the junction of the external wall of the rooms with its larger and wider foundation. From the hundreds of offerings which have been found just below it, it seems certain that its purpose was to serve as a bench on which votive objects were placed. Judging by the finds, it was in use from the end of the Old Palace period until LM III A-B<sup>18</sup> (see below and Figs. 17–22).

The Terraces were built either at the end of the Old Palace period or at the beginning of the New Palace period. Figs. 8–9 show sherds from the fill making up Terrace I; the majority of the sherds contained in this fill can be dated to MM I–II.

Of particular interest is the presence of MM IA sherds in the deepest fissures in the bedrock in all parts of the sanctuary. The presence of these sherds is probably to be associated with an establishment of the prepalatial period,<sup>19</sup> as Evans and Alexiou have already suggested, or with the existence of earlier religious practices in the same holy place.

From the archaeological evidence available to date, the natural conclusion is that the peak sanctuary of Juktas has all the typical characteristics suggesting that it was the public open-air sanctuary of the Knossos area in the Old Palace period. In the MM III period, however, with the foundation of the new palaces, the connection of the sanctuary with the Palace of Knossos becomes clearer, because:

i) the architectural remains for this period are monumental, when compared with the other contemporary peak sanctuaries which have been excavated.<sup>20</sup>

ii) the character and quality of the finds have a palatial character, always bearing in mind that we are dealing with a sanctuary destroyed not only by robbers and the natural passage of time, but also by human intervention which has continued up to recent years.

At this point, the finds may be allowed to speak for themselves, beginning with those<sup>21</sup> from the altar and from Terrace I, which is just in front of it.



Fig. 10. Juktas. The lip of the chasm.

An offering-table of greenish stone with white veining, 1. 56 cm, w. 37 cm, ht. 8 cm, was built into the altar in such a way that it was not visible from above. It belongs to the first phase of the sanctuary.

Very close to the altar, also in a context of secondary use, was found a poros kernos,<sup>22</sup> 1. 85cm, w. 40 cm, ht.

<sup>16</sup> *KrChron* 6, 1952, p. 480; *BCH* 77, 1953, p. 241, *Deltion* 18, 1963, *Chronika*, p. 312.

<sup>17</sup> Evans, *PM* I, p. 158, Fig. 114.

<sup>18</sup> Karetsou, *Praktika* 1976, p. 417, Fig. 3 γ, ε, Pl. 232 β–δ.

<sup>19</sup> Supra n. 10. See also Evans, *PM* I, pp. 156–157 and St. Alexiou, *Τείχη και ἀκροπόλεις στη Μινωική Κρήτη*, *Kritologia* 8, 1979, p. 48 and n. 18.

<sup>20</sup> The comparison of the Peak sanctuary of Juktas with the Peak sanctuary at Petsofas is well known. J. L. Myres, ‘The sanctuary-site of Petsofa’, *BSA* 9, 1902–1903, pp. 356–387; cf. Evans, *PM* I, pp. 151–153; Nilsson, *MMR*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 68 ff.; Rutkowski (supra n. 4), chiefly pp. 160–162, Figs. 54 and 56. For the latest excavation see K. Davaras, *Amaltheia* 2, 1971, p. 200; 3, 1972, pp. 48–50; idem, *Deltion*, 27, 1972, *Chronika*, pp. 652–653; idem, ‘Two new Linear A inscriptions on libation vessels from Petsophas’, *Kadmos* 11, 1972, pp. 101–112.

<sup>21</sup> Karetsou, *Praktika* 1974, pp. 232 ff.

<sup>22</sup> *Praktika* 1974, p. 233, Pl. 173 β.

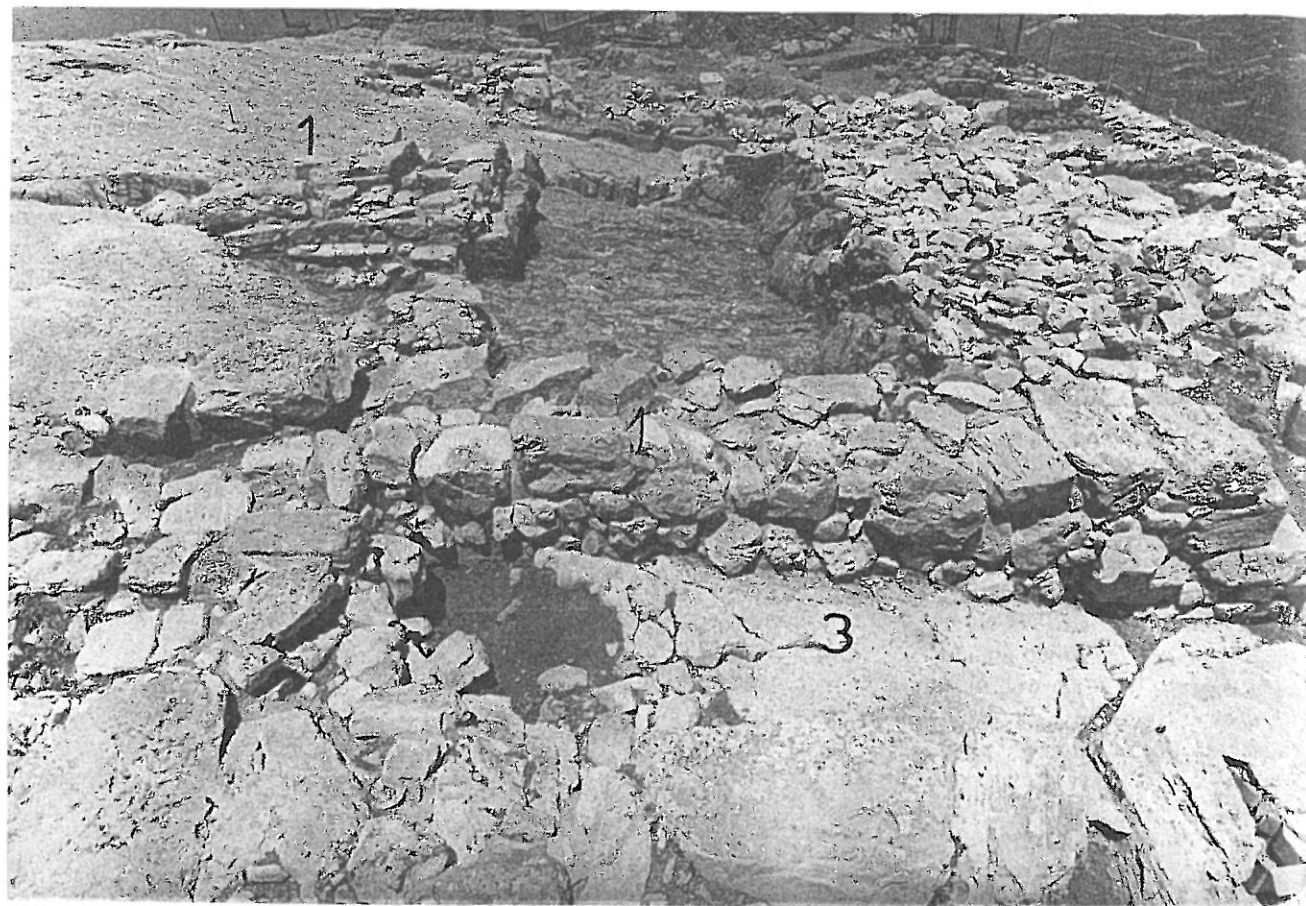


Fig. 11. Juktas. Area of the altar and Terrace I, from the S (1. Altar. 2. Terrace I. 3. Ramp).

7 cm (Fig. 13), and beside it a treasure of bronze double axes<sup>23</sup> (Fig. 14), two large ones with shaft holes, and thirty-two small ones; these finds belong to the Old Palace stratum designated by Evans as the "ash altar".<sup>24</sup>

From the step of the altar, there were small votive offering-tables, ht. 0.016 m–0.045 m. A very fine offering-table of black stone, which has two lines of Linear A<sup>25</sup> script, votive bronze statuettes of worshippers,<sup>26</sup> the lower part of a bronze male body,<sup>27</sup> ht. 4.1 cm (Fig. 15), clay figurines, votive clay heads,<sup>28</sup> complete in themselves, ht. 1.2–2 cm, and many other votive offerings.

The Old Palace ash altar contained a multitude of small offerings: a large number of clay idols, especially male idols<sup>29</sup> (the female idols were very few);<sup>30</sup> many votive clay bulls' heads, models of snakes,<sup>31</sup> of birds,<sup>32</sup> and a quantity of clay models of animals of small and medium sizes. Particularly interesting is a series of small S-shaped<sup>33</sup> clay votive objects (Fig. 16) which might perhaps represent models of embryos, or, according to Prof. Platon's<sup>34</sup> idea, the position of a woman giving birth.

From the mouth of the chasm, unfortunately from a mixed context, we have three fragments of lower legs<sup>35</sup> which must have come from clay male idols of a height of at least 80 cm.

<sup>23</sup> *Praktika* 1974, pp. 232–233, Pls. 172 α, 173 α.

<sup>24</sup> Evans, *PM*, I, pp. 157–158; Myres (supra n. 20), p. 358.

<sup>25</sup> From 1974 until the present nine votive offerings inscribed with Linear A signs and formulas have been found. The above mentioned objects are to be published in collaboration with L. Godart and J.-P. Olivier. It is the opinion of these scholars that the so-called inscribed ladle from Evans' excavations does not bear a Linear A inscription, but only chance markings. See Evans, *PM* I, pp. 159, 623–624, Fig. 461; II: 2, p. 438. This ladle is the only published object from the old excavations.

<sup>26</sup> Karetso, *Praktika* 1974, pp. 232 ff., Pl. 175 α.

<sup>27</sup> *Praktika* 1974, Pl. 175 δ.

<sup>28</sup> *Praktika* 1974, pp. 235–236, Pl. 176 γ.

<sup>29</sup> *Praktika* 1978, p. 256, Pl. 169 ζ.

<sup>30</sup> *Praktika* 1978, Pl. 169 ε.

<sup>31</sup> *Praktika* 1974, p. 237, Pl. 176 δ.

<sup>32</sup> *Praktika* 1978, p. 256, Pl. 170 β.

<sup>33</sup> *Praktika* 1974, p. 237; 1975, p. 335, Pl. 265 δ–ε; 1978, p. 256, Pl. 170 α.

<sup>34</sup> Professor Platon verbally expressed this opinion to me when he saw these objects in the Heraklion Museum.

<sup>35</sup> *Praktika* 1974, p. 235, Pl. 175 ζ; cf. also Evans, *PM* I, p. 159 about "clay locks of human hair, the raised arms of an adoring...".



Fig. 12. Juktas. The series of rooms, from the S.

From the terrace which first appeared in 1977 and which has not been completely investigated, we have a gold apotropaic amulet,<sup>36</sup> 1.13 cm, with representations of a scorpion, a snake, and an insect, perhaps a spider, about three hundred clay figurines of worshippers, (Figs. 17–20) many stone offering-tables, dozens of clay idols of animals (Figs. 21–22) and many other votive objects.

On the basis of the evidence we have so far, we would suggest that the rooms played an auxiliary part in the worship at the shrine. A few of the many finds from these rooms were as follows:

From Room I:

a) An alabaster cup<sup>37</sup> with Linear A script, ht. 2.5 cm, diam. 4.2 cm. It has a band of Linear A writing all around its wavy rim. The engraving of the characters is extremely clear.

b) An alabaster votive table of offerings and a kernos, also of alabaster (Fig. 23).

From Room II:

c) A very interesting clay sealing<sup>38</sup> with the representation of a bull's head with a star symbol between the horns (Fig. 24).

From Room III:

d) A lead figurine<sup>39</sup> of a worshipper, ht. 0.044 m (Fig. 25).

e) An embossed bronze sheet in the shape of a bird<sup>40</sup> (Fig. 26).

f) A series of stone votive offerings and clay idols, and various fine seal-stones;<sup>41</sup> these are both from the rooms and from the altar area.

g) A very interesting and unusual two-handled utensil

<sup>36</sup> *Praktika* 1977, p. 420, Pl. 222 δ; cf. the close parallel from Hagia Triada, *MonAnt* 14, 1904, pp. 735 ff., Figs. 35–36.

<sup>37</sup> *Praktika* 1977, pp. 419–420. Pl. 221 β is a small cup made of alabaster of good quality, and not of onyx, as stated in previous publications.

<sup>38</sup> Representations of bulls' heads bearing star symbols are well known in Crete, and it is believed that this indicates the connection of the bull with the sun god. A. W. Persson, *The religion of Greece in prehistoric times*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1942 (Sather classical lectures 17), pp. 93–94. This opinion is not accepted by Nilsson, *MMR*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 414 ff. For the latest bibliography see I. Papapostolou, *Tà σφραγίσματα τῶν Χανίων*, Athens 1977, p. 36 and p. 37 n. 2.

<sup>39</sup> *Praktika* 1975, p. 337, Pl. 265 γ and K. Davaras, *Χάλκινοι μινυτικοί λάτρες της Συλλογής Μεταξά*, *ArchEph* 1977, pp. 114, 121.

<sup>40</sup> *Praktika* 1976, p. 415, Pl. 230 ζ.

<sup>41</sup> *Praktika* 1976, p. 415, Pls. 230 η, 231 α; 1978, p. 255, Pl. 169 α–δ.



Fig. 13. Juktas. Kernos of poros stone.



Fig. 14. Juktas. Bronze double axes from the "ash altar".

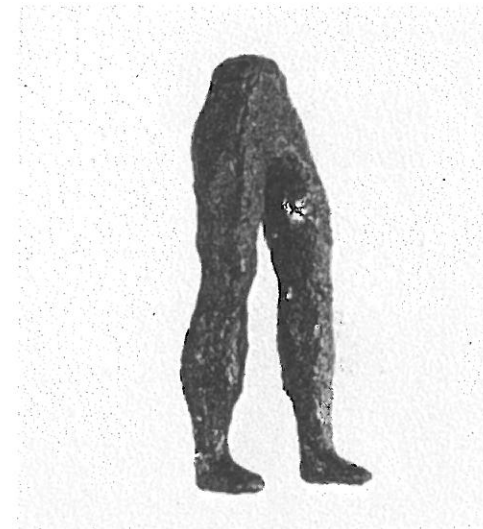


Fig. 15. Juktas. The lower part of a bronze male body (complete).

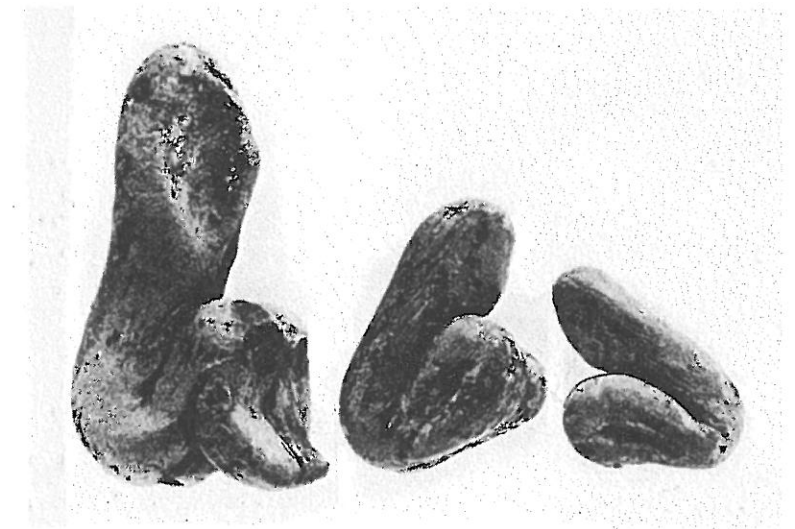
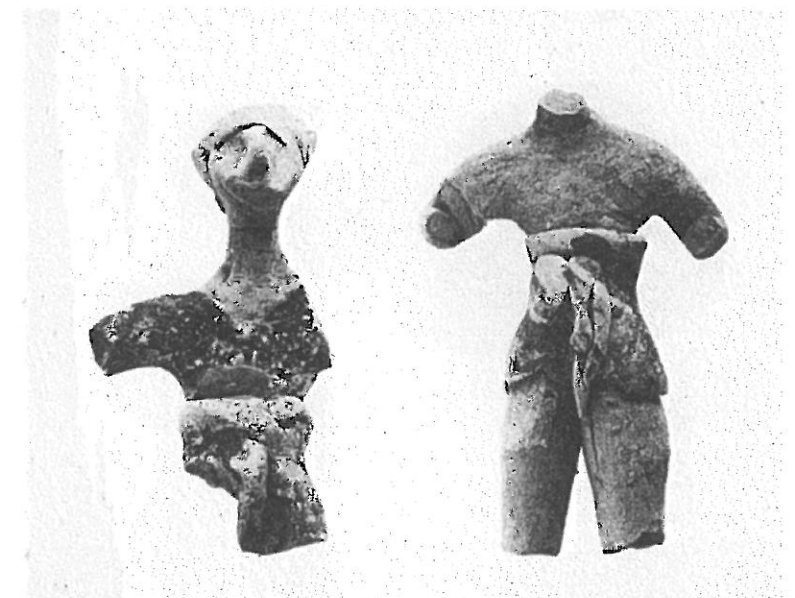


Fig. 16. Juktas. S-shaped clay votive objects.



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Fig. 17-20. Juktas. Clay figurines of worshippers.

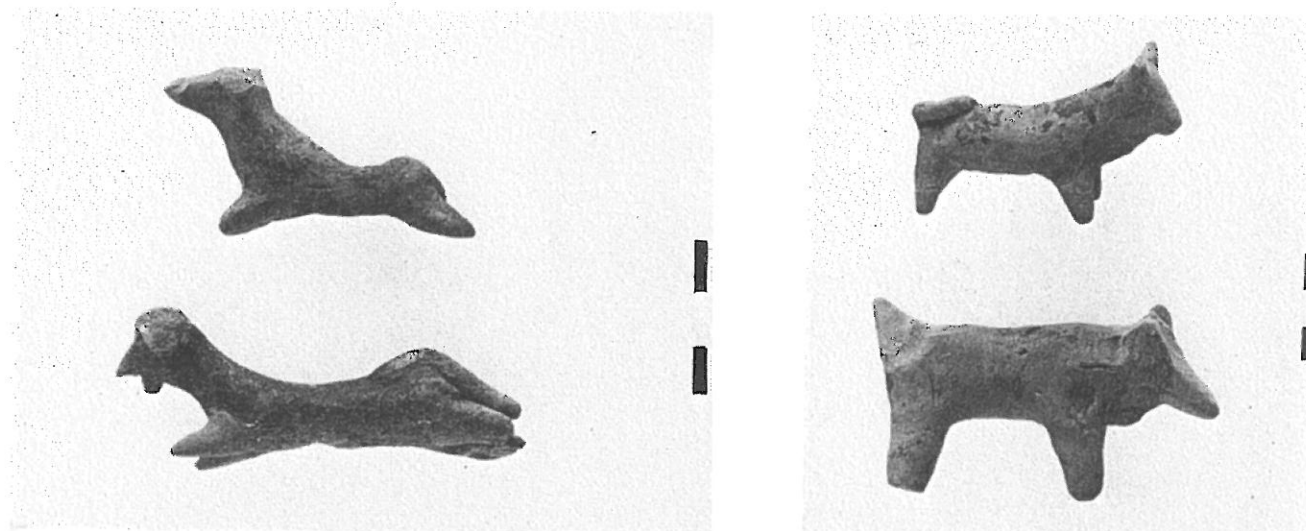


Fig. 21–22. Juktas. Clay figurines of animals.

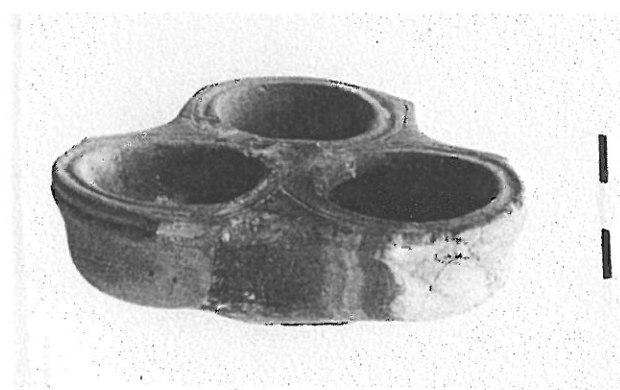


Fig. 23. Juktas. Alabaster Kernos.

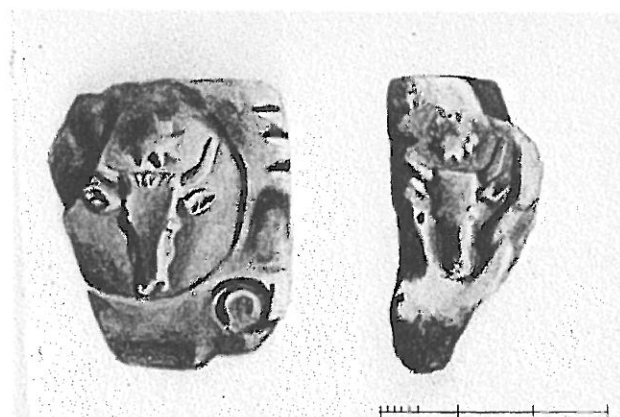


Fig. 24. Juktas. Water-colour of a clay sealing (by K. Iliakis).



Fig. 25. Juktas. Lead figurine of a worshipper.

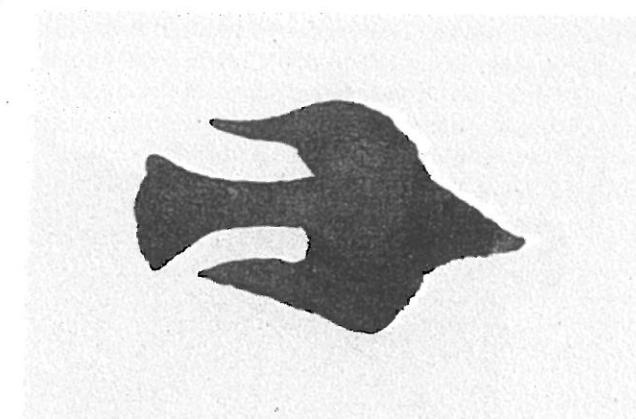


Fig. 26. Juktas. Embossed bronze sheet in the shape of a bird.

with plant decoration and rim attachments<sup>42</sup> (Fig. 27). I do not know of anything similar, at least not from Cretan sites. This object was made up from sherds found in Rooms I, II and III, and pieces from a number of similar objects were also found, one of which has a Linear A inscription.

The excavation made it clear that in the second New Palace period there was a new arrangement of the rooms. Previously, Rooms III and IV constituted a single area with a column in the centre; its poros base was later completely covered by the new wall (Fig. 28). In this later phase, the communicating door between Rooms IV and V was also blocked up mainly with pieces of poros in secondary use.

Arthur Evans, although he only did a preliminary excavation, and although he published a plan which does not tally exactly with the present one, did obtain sufficient evidence to draw the valuable conclusion that Juktas was the holy mountain of Knossos.<sup>43</sup> A clay sealing from Knossos represents the *πότνια θηρών* ('Lady of the Animals') on a mountain peak between two lions.<sup>44</sup> The goddess holds a sceptre, and she receives the adoration of a worshipper who stands in front of her; in this representation Evans saw the goddess who was worshipped in the peak sanctuary. He even had the idea that the orientation of the central shrine might be connected with that of the mountain.<sup>45</sup> He frequently mentions the remains of the road which joined Knossos with the summit of Juktas, which ascended the mountain by way of Sillamos. He describes the road,<sup>46</sup> which still exists in a good state of preservation, that climbs from Vasilies to Anemospilia, following the western ridge of the mountain, and coming to an end on the north side of the Cyclopean wall (Fig. 2).

At this point I should like to call attention to something concerning the new excavation at Anemospilia<sup>47</sup>—that whatever the character of the establishment, future research is bound to prove its close connection with the peak sanctuary, because it lies at the point where the Knossian Minoan road has already begun its ascent of the mountain (Figs. 2 and 29).

Although space is limited, two more points must be dealt with, one being the Cyclopean Wall, and the other the natural chasm already mentioned.

Arthur Evans named the area within the Cyclopean wall the 'city of refuge',<sup>48</sup> and he believed it was built in the MMIA period, a little before the establishment of the first palaces. The wall is of genuine Cyclopean construction, its perimeter is 735 m, its width exceeds 3 m, and its height is about 3.50 m. It is built from huge blocks of the grey limestone bedrock of the mountain. A view of the wall from the north side is illustrated in Fig. 30, and another of the north-west part as it appears from the sanctuary above in Fig. 31. When it becomes possible to publish a much larger topographical plan of the area, it will be easier to obtain a clearer idea of the whole circuit. On the south and south-east sides, the wall is very close to the Minoan sanctuary, but its north side, where the entrance is, is 410 m away from the sanctuary (Fig. 3,

4). As Prof. Alexiou<sup>49</sup> has declared in a recent publication, the construction of the wall, its large dimensions and great extent, and the surprising distance of its northern part from the sanctuary, give good grounds for a re-examination of the concept that it is the temenos wall of the sanctuary.

Various opinions have been advanced as to the dating<sup>50</sup> of the Cyclopean Wall, from MMIA to LMIII. Only a stratigraphical test can give a certain answer on this point, and unfortunately this has not been possible so far. Recently, however, G. Rethemiotakis, a member of the excavation staff, recovered from the wall an offering-table of greyish stone with a leaf-pattern relief decoration typical of the MM III/LM I periods, which had been built into the wall.<sup>51</sup>

Evans, Nilsson and Cook have written extensively on the subject of the goddess who is worshipped in the peak sanctuaries, the 'Mountain Mother'<sup>52</sup> (*Ὄρεϊα Μητήρ*), and her connection with the young male god who is sometimes called Velchanos and sometimes Hyakinthos. It seems that in Crete this place may be occupied by the newborn child who is there called Dias or Zeus. The myth is probably a heritage from the Minoans, as the well-known expert on Minoan and Mycenaean religion, Martin Nilsson<sup>53</sup> has written. If we look for further traces of the holy child, we find them in the Eleusinian Plutos; Erechtheus

<sup>42</sup> *Praktika* 1977, p. 420, Pl. 221 γ.

<sup>43</sup> Evans, *PM* II: 1, p. 66; II: 2, p. 761; IV: 1, p. 6.

<sup>44</sup> Evans, *PM* I, pp. 159 ff.; note esp. IV: 2, pp. 607 ff., Fig. 597 A: e. See Rutkowski (supra n. 4), pp. 173–175.

<sup>45</sup> Evans, *PM* II: 2, p. 761; IV: 2, p. 607.

<sup>46</sup> Evans, *PM* II: 1, pp. 66, 68; see also supra n. 43 and S. Hood, *The Minoans*, London 1971, p. 129.

<sup>47</sup> *Ergon* 1979, pp. 30–32.

<sup>48</sup> Evans, *PM* I, pp. 157, 293; II: 1, pp. 66, 68, 372; III, p. 6; IV: 1, p. 78.

<sup>49</sup> Alexiou (supra n. 19).

<sup>50</sup> Alexiou (supra n. 19).

<sup>51</sup> *Ergon* 1979, p. 30, Pl. 76.

<sup>52</sup> Evans, *PM* I, pp. 159 ff.; see also supra n. 43; Cook (supra n. 4) and Nilsson, *MMR*<sup>2</sup>, esp. pp. 352 ff.

<sup>53</sup> Nilsson, *MMR*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 534 ff.

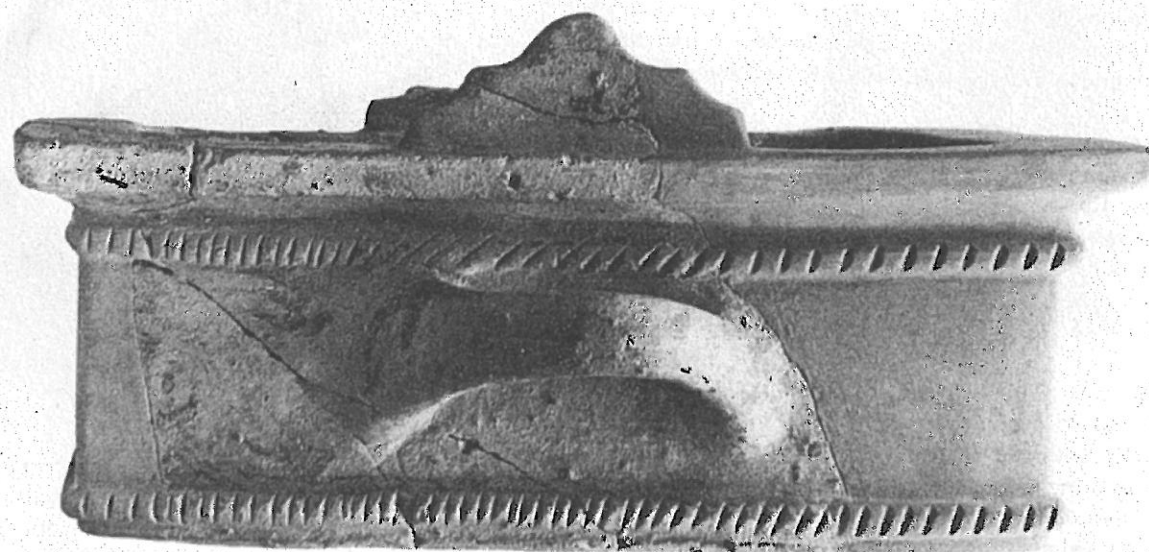


Fig. 27. Juktas. Two-handled clay utensil.

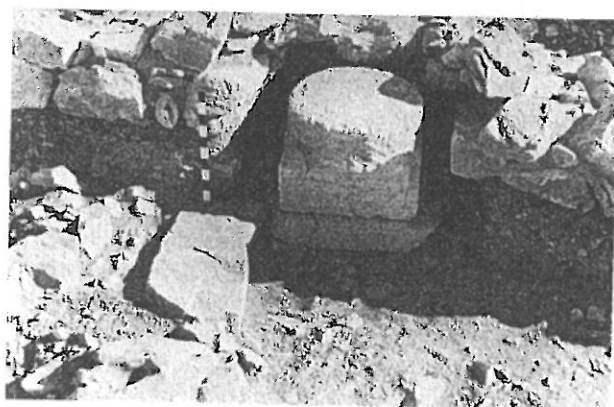


Fig. 28. Juktas. The poros column-base.

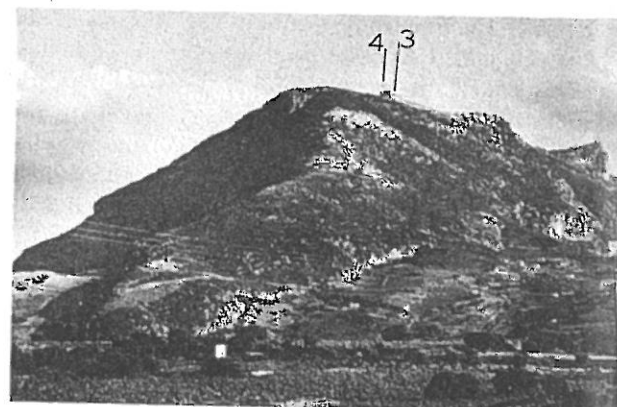


Fig. 29. Juktas. North view of the mountain Juktas (1. Anemospilia 2. Area of route of Minoan road. 3. The peak sanctuary. 4. OTE—substation).



Fig. 30. Juktas. Part of the N. side of Cyclopean wall.



Fig. 31. Juktas. View of the NW part of the Cyclopean wall.

(Erichthonios), also, may have been originally the spirit of the wealth of the earth, although mythology has changed him into the mythical progenitor of the Kings of Athens. We find the same idea in Dionysiac worship, that is, the idea of the holy child who is brought up not by his mother, but by nymphs and other foster parents; this idea is very old, as is the idea of the death of the young god. Dionysios died and was buried at Delphi, as Zeus was in Crete, and the tomb of Hyakinthos was at Sparta and at Taranto. This short description of the Minoan goddess and her young male companion is intended to show the parallel

In the author's absence the paper was read by Dr. D. U. Schilardi.

adoration of these two divinities, and also to re-examine the problem of the myth of the burial place of Zeus. Is it reasonable to set the burial place on the top of the sacred mountain? I suggest that the existence of the deep chasm that I have already mentioned, which probably represents an entrance to the underworld, justifies both the myth and the recent excavations.

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## DISCUSSION

G. Cadogan stressed the existence of the chasm in the sanctuary. The chasm can be seen as equivalent to a cave so that what are often said to be two cults, a cave cult and a peak cult, are in fact combined in this sanctuary.

J. van Leuven asked what the relation was between the building excavated by A. Karetsou and the one excavated by Evans. P. Warren said that Evans' building corresponded with *andera* I and II of A. Karetsou's plan. Evans had interpreted his building as a *casa santa*. But the exact correspondence would appear only in future publication.

N. Platon spoke about the relation of the peak sanctuary on Juktas with the building excavated by J. Sakellarakis. Juktas was a royal sanctuary, as one could tell from the amounts of precious material found there. Two periods were to be distinguished: One started in MM I A and continued through the Old Palace period, the other was from MM III to LMI. Sakellarakis' building was undoubtedly connected with the Juktas sanctuary; there was even a road joining the two. Its exact function needed discussion, but it was clear that A. Karetsou's building on Juktas corresponded to the tripartite shrines represented on relief vases, notably the one published by Alexiou. The rooms in the front of the terrace would correspond to the front rooms of these tripartite shrines. J. van Leuven agreed with this view, adding that the Juktas sanctuary as seen from the East bore a particular resemblance to the peak sanctuary represented on the Zakros rhyton. There, too, one could see ascending terraces and a stepped altar on the rear left. N. Platon added that the sanctuary represented on the Zakros rhyton had a basement with a shrine superstructure.

P. Warren thought that in relation to the Juktas peak sanctuary two important points should be noted. One was

the discovery of the large stone altar *in situ* with offerings, idols and traces of burning. The other was the long period of use from MM I A–LM III, which would support the idea of continuity in Minoan religion. Continuity was stressed also by J. van Leuven, who pointed out that A. Karetsou had found material from later times.

N. Platon drew attention to an inscription from Tylissos referring to the *temenos* of the leader god in the Archanes area (cf. *Inscr. Cret.* I, VIII, 4–15), surely that of the peak sanctuary.

Similarities between the peak sanctuary cult and cave cult were pointed out by P. Warren. The cult equipment appeared to be the same. N. Platon drew attention to the chasm in the Kofinas' Christos sanctuary.

N. Marinatos asked if K. Branigan's idea that peak sanctuaries coincided with the emergence of a structured, centralized society was accepted by the participants. N. Platon agreed that in the case of Juktas the religion that was represented at first was tribally organized, but that later it became a royal sanctuary.

S. Hiller said that if Juktas was a royal sanctuary of Knossos, should we not expect to find the name Juktas in the tablets? We find the name Dikte, which could be applied to more than one mountain. Was Juktas a Minoan name? N. Platon confirmed that it was Minoan. J. van Leuven said that the main problem with Dikte in the Knossos tablets was that we do not know whether it meant a mountain or a cave, and either would suit its association with Zeus.