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## MINOAN DI-KA-TA\*

The current excavations of the British School at Athens at Palaikastro in East Crete are continuing to reveal an important Minoan site,<sup>1</sup> a harbour town with impressive architecture, rich finds, and a few Linear A inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> It has been claimed that “the rich Minoan town underlying the later sanctuary of Diktaian Zeus may once itself have been named Dikta”;<sup>3</sup> but what will be discussed here is simply whether the Bronze Age word *di-ka-ta* can be equated with Minoan Palaikastro.<sup>4</sup>

I start with the premise that a study of Minoan and Mycenaean *di-ka-ta* must be based on the Bronze Age epigraphic evidence, not on later Classical sources and inscriptions to Diktaian Zeus. It is therefore proposed here to examine the Linear A and Linear B occurrences of the word *di-ka-ta*.

### di-ka-ta in Linear B

*di-ka-ta* occurs five times in Linear B on the following tablets:

<i>di-ka-ta-de</i>	KN	Fh 5467.a	Fp 7.2	F 866	G 7509.1
<i>di-ka-ta-jo</i>	KN	Fp 1+31.2			

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<sup>1</sup> See BSA 86, 1991, 121–147 for the most recent report on the excavations at Palaikastro, and for a bibliography covering the important British School at Athens excavations there from 1901–06, 1962–63 and from 1986 to present.

<sup>2</sup> There are just five Linear A inscriptions from Palaikastro and eleven from Petsophas.

<sup>3</sup> See BSA 83, 1988, 37–44 for the identification of Minoan Palaikastro as Dikta, based on Classical sources and inscriptions. A discussion of Apollonios Rhodios’ description of Crete is interesting but not convincing for identifying a Bronze Age toponym. It has long been known that confusion existed by the Classical period regarding Dikte, Ida and the mythology associated with Zeus on Crete. The excavators’ belief that the Minoan settlement of Palaikastro was *di-ka-ta* was re-iterated in their article in: *L’Habitat Egéen Préhistorique*, BCH supplement XIX, 1990, 395 n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> The first point against Crowther’s identification is that no Linear B toponym can be placed east of Lasithi.

These five tablets should be consulted in full so that the context can be properly understood (see Appendix 1). They refer to religious offerings being made *di-ka-ta-de* “to *di-ka-ta*” or *di-ka-ta-jo/di-we* “to Zeus of *di-ka-ta*”.<sup>5</sup> The allative form *di-ka-ta-de* indicates that it is a place to which oil, figs and cypurus are given. The term *i-je-ro* “sanctuary, holy place” is also found on Fh 5467. On tablet Fp 1+31, Zeus is termed Diktaian i.e. at *di-ka-ta*, in the same way as *pa-si-te-o-i* in line 7 records offerings to all the gods at Amnisos. On this tablet, offerings are made to locations (*-de*) or to named recipients in the dative. *di-ka-ta* is therefore to be interpreted as a religious location where offerings were made and where on one occasion a quantity of oil was offered to Diktaian Zeus.

There is no indication of geographical location on these tablets. The term *di-ka-ta-de* means “to *di-ka-ta*”, but this does not suggest where *di-ka-ta* may have been sited within Crete. If any general location can be discerned, it is to be found among the places listed on Fp 1+31. The place-names (as opposed to recipients) are *da-da-re-jo-de*, *pa-de*, *a-mi-ni-so* and \*47-*da-de*. Now some general location of toponyms within Crete can be offered.<sup>6</sup> The mention of Amnisos on the same tablet points to the north central area of Crete, surrounding Knossos itself. Killen too has suggested that the destinations of the oil on this and other Fp tablets were in the vicinity of Knossos.<sup>7</sup>

In brief, Mycenaean *di-ka-ta* can be identified as a religious sanctuary at which oil was given to Zeus, and which was in the vicinity of Knossos.

#### DI-KA-TA in Linear A

A sign-group containing a similar arrangement of sounds to Linear B *di-ka-ta* occurs five times on libation vessels inscribed in Linear A:<sup>8</sup>

08-07-67-04[	PK Za 12 a	A-DI-KI-TE[
08-07-67-04-04-[. .]-01	PK Za 11 a-b	A-DI-KI-TE-TE-[. .]-DA
57-07-67-04-04-51-29-27	PK Za 15	JA-DI-KI-TE-TE-DU-PU2-RE
57-07-67-69	IO Za 2 b.1	JA-DI-KI-TU
57-06-67-04-04-81-29-27	PK Za 8 a	JA-NA-KI-TE-TE-DU-PO2-RE

All five occurrences of this sign-group begin with initial A/JA-followed by DI-KI-TE- (or -TU at Iouktas) and different endings. The sign-group 57-

<sup>5</sup> For Linear B references to *di-ka-ta*, see McArthur in: Supplement to Minos 19, 1985, 29–31.

<sup>6</sup> For Mycenaean geography, see most recently Bennet in: AJA 89, 1985, 231–249 and in: AJA 94, 1989, 193–211.

<sup>7</sup> For Killen’s discussions on this subject, see “Piety Begins at Home” in: Tractata Mycenaea, 1987, 163–177.

<sup>8</sup> The Linear A inscriptions are here presented with Linear B sound values. So far only 10–12 signs can be shown to have the same value in both Linear A and B, although the likelihood of Linear B having taken over the sound values of Linear A is high. See Olivier in: Le Monde Grec, 1975, 441–449 and Godart in: Hommages à H. van Effenterre, 1984, 121–128.

06-67-04-04-81-29-27 is clearly a scribal error for 57-07-67-04-04-51-29-27. The lack of scribal expertise is perhaps also shown by the variation of PO2 on this inscription rather than PU2 as on PK Za 15. The latter difference is an acceptable syllabic variation, the replacing of DI by NA is a mistake which can not easily be explained phonetically but is the result of confusion between two physically similar signs (see GORILA 5 [1985] p. xxix).

The sign-group containing -DI-KI-TE- is one of the terms of the "Minoan Libation Formula". This formulaic inscription is found predominantly on stone libation tables from Minoan peak sanctuaries of the MMIII-LMI period. The term containing -DI-KI-TE- is usually, but not invariably, the second word of the inscription on these stone libation tables and it is found four times at Petsophas (the peak-sanctuary of Palaikastro) and once at Iouktas (the peak-sanctuary of Knossos) on IO Za 2, the best preserved of the Linear A religious inscriptions.<sup>9</sup>

At this stage another sign-group of the "Minoan Libation Formula" also needs to be considered, i.e. the sign-group that includes I-DA-, another well-attested Cretan oronym. Instances of this term in the "Minoan Libation Formula" are given below:

28-01	PK Za 18	I-DA
]28-01	PK Za 17	]I-D
28-01[	IO Za 2b-c	I-DA[
28-01-08	KO Za 1b-c	I-DA-A
28-01-73	SY Za 1	I-DA-MI
28-01-80-04	AR Zf 1	I-DA-MA-TE
28-01-80-04[	AR Zf 2	I-DA-MA-TE[
]28-01[	NE Za 1	]I-DA[

This sign-group occurs eight times, twice at Palaikastro, twice from the cave Arkhalochori, and once each from Iouktas, Kophinas, Syme and Nerokourou. It is found across the length and breadth of Minoan Crete from Nerokourou (west) to Petsophas (east), and from Iouktas (north) to Kophinas (south).<sup>10</sup>

The appearance of two sign-groups with a phonetic rendering close to the names of two religious mountains of Crete (Dikte and Ida) cannot escape

<sup>9</sup> For the publication of the stone libation tables see GORILA 4 (1982). For a discussion of such inscriptions see Karetou, Godart and Olivier in: *Kadmos* 24, 1985, 89-147, and Duhoux in: *Problems in Decipherment*, BCILL 49, 1989, 59-119. The "Minoan Libation Formula" has been recognised as a formulaic dedicatory text. It has not yet been deciphered nor understood.

<sup>10</sup> All of these have been published in GORILA 4, 1982, with the exception of those from Iouktas in GORILA 5, 1985, 18-19 and from Nerokourou, which was published by Godart in: *Incunabula Graeca* XCI vol. 1, 1989, 281-283.

notice. This was commented upon by Karetsou, Godart and Olivier in their publication of the Iouktas inscriptions among which both these terms are found. They noted the similarity between JA-DI-KI-TU/JA-DI-KI-TE/Dikte and I-DA-/Ida, suggested that these may be oronyms, and perhaps wisely took the discussion no further.<sup>11</sup>

Maybe Dikte and Ida should not be understood as specific holy mountains, but rather as generic terms for mountains.

### Linear A inscriptions from Palaikastro and Petsophas

Although Linear A inscriptions cannot prove that Palaikastro was called *di-ka-ta* in Minoan times, a study of the inscriptions from Palaikastro and Petsophas is nonetheless instructive. There are at present sixteen Linear A inscriptions from these two locations (see Appendix 2). There are five Linear A inscriptions from Palaikastro (PK 1, Za 4, Zc 13, Zb 19 and 21). Interestingly the stone libation table from Palaikastro itself, Pk Za 4, makes no mention of *di-ka-ta*. There are eleven Linear A inscriptions from the peak sanctuary of Petsophas, above Palaikastro, all of which are stone libation tables bearing part of the "Minoan Libation Formula".

The four Linear A inscriptions from Palaikastro, excluding the page tablet PK 1, are given below:

PK Za 4	08-31-31-60[	A-SA-SA-RA[
PK Zc 13	]55-53-57[	] -NU-RI-JA[
PK Zb 19	09-41-59[	SE-SI-TA[
PK Zb 21	13-40-59-30-04	ME-WI-TA-NI-TE

The first is part of the "Minoan Libation Formula", which is found on vessels from peak-sanctuaries and the neo-palatial sites with which they are connected.<sup>12</sup> The other Linear A inscriptions, one painted and two inscribed on pithoi, are chance finds that testify to a wider use of literacy, including a cursive script.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> See Karetsou, Godart and Olivier, 1985, 131–132. I also wish to thank Dr. A. A. D. Peatfield for discussions on this subject.

<sup>12</sup> See Peatfield in: Function of the Minoan Palaces, 1987, 89–93 for a discussion of neo-palatial peak-sanctuaries and the administrative sites with which they are connected, and from where their offerings probably derive.

<sup>13</sup> For other non-administrative inscriptions on stone, clay and metal see GORILA 4, 1982, including the inscribed pithos from Zakros ZA Zb 3 which includes words that form part of the "Minoan Libation Formula" and 32 units of wine. A discussion by Pope of a Minoan cursive script is to be found in: BSA 55, 1960, 200–210 and by Hooker in: The Origin of Linear B, 1979, 34–35.

In conclusion, *di-ka-ta* was a religious location on Bronze Age Crete where offerings to the gods were made. The Mycenaean Linear B evidence points to somewhere in the vicinity of Knossos, perhaps the important peak-sanctuary of Iouktas. The Minoan Linear A evidence suggests that JA-DI-KI-TE-, like I-DA-, was a term for a holy mountain at which offerings were made and stone libation tables bearing the “Minoan Libation Formula” were dedicated.<sup>14</sup>

The Linear A inscriptions from Palaikastro and Petsophas show that, in the LMI period, the script was used for both administrative and religious purposes at these sites. However, neither the evidence from the Minoan, nor that from the Mycenaean texts suggests that *di-ka-ta* should be equated with Palaikastro.

#### Appendix 1 – Linear B tablets referring to *di-ka-ta*

- |         |   |
|---------|---|
| Fh 5467 | a. ] di-ka-ta-de[<br>b. ]de/ i-je-ro[ ]OLE 1  |
| Fp 7    | 1. ka-ra-e-ri-jo, ‘me-no’ [<br>2. di-ka-ta-de, OLE S 1[   |
| F 866   | ]ni-jo / di-ka-ta-de NI 10 ma-sa[   |
| G 7509  | ] di-ka-ta-de[<br>2. ]ro PYC+0 6[   |
| Fp 1+31 | 1. de-u-ki-jo-jo ‘me-no’<br>2. di-ka-ta-jo / di-we OLE S 1<br>3. da-da-re-jo-de OLE S 2<br>4. pa-de OLE S 1<br>5. pa-si-te-o-i OLE 1<br>6. qe-ra-si-ja OLE S 1[<br>7. a-mi-ni-so, / pa-si-te-o-i S 1[<br>8. e-ri-nu, OLE V 3<br>9. *47-da-de OLE 1<br>10. a-ne-mo, i-je-re-ja V 4<br>11. vacat<br>12. to-so OLE 3 S 2 V 2 |

n.b. The only other word in Linear B possibly connected to *di-ka-ta* is *di-ka-ta-ro* on tablets KN As 566.1 where it is a man’s name on a personnel tablet, and KN Dd 2010.B where the name is that of a shepherd with a flock at *su-ri-mo* which is thought to be in the north central area of Crete, i.e. not far from Knossos and almost certainly

<sup>14</sup> The “Minoan Libation Formula” is the subject of a current research programme. The challenging (if frustrating) position facing Linear A studies at the moment is that Linear A and the Minoan language can for the most part be literally “read” if not yet understood.

within sight of Mount Iouktas. The name recorded here, i.e. Diktalos, may be connected with *di-ka-ta*, as was the ancient name Diktyнна.

## Appendix 2 — Linear A inscriptions from Palaikastro and Petsophas

PK 1	HM 86	GORILA 1 p. 280	TABLET	PALAIKASTRO BLOCK B
(PK 2-3)	vacantes			
PK Za 4	HM 504	GORILA 4 p. 23	S.L.T.	PALAIKASTRO e33
(PK 5-7)	vacantes			
PK Za 8	HM 618	4 p. 24	„	PETSOPHAS
PK Za 9	HM 1585	4 p. 28	„	PETSOPHAS
PK Za 10	HM 1586	4 p. 30	„	PETSOPHAS
PK Za 11	HM 1341	4 p. 32	„	PROBABLY PETSOPHAS
PK Za 12	HM 942	4 p. 36	„	PROBABLY PETSOPHAS
PK Zc 13	AM AE 902	4 p. 127	CUP	PALAIKASTRO
PK Za 14	ANM 2470	4 p. 40	S.L.T.	PETSOPHAS
PK Za 15	ANM 2469	4 p. 41	„	PETSOPHAS
PK Za 16	ANM 7231	4 p. 42	„	PETSOPHAS
PK Za 17	ANM 7232	4 p. 43	„	PETSOPHAS
PK Za 18	ANM 7233	4 p. 44	„	PETSOPHAS
PK Zb 19	—	BSA 82 (1987) p. 153	PITHOS	PALAIKASTRO
PK Za 20	SM	UNPUBLISHED	S.L.T.	PROBABLY PETSOPHAS
PK Zb 21	—	BSA 86 (1991) p. 146-7	PITHOS	PALAIKASTRO

(S.L.T. = STONE LIBATION TABLE)