

The «KYKNOI» of Delos: Alteration of the Identity of Delos*

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KEYWORDS

Political objectives, political practices, necessities, racial discrimination and a wrong etymology

ABSTRACT

During the last twenty years I have tried through a series of articles and books of mine (mentioned in the bibliography below) to draw scientific attention to the significance of the name Cynades / Kyknades, as opposed to Cyclades, when referring to the islands under the same name, in whose center lies Delos. This renaming has been very significant, since it has resulted in the suppression of older traditions, due to Ionian propaganda. In this article, inevitably brief owing to specifications relating to its publication, known archaeological data are thoroughly re-examined. Moreover, religious beliefs are reinterpreted on the basis of archaeological material; and the identity of Delos as a sacred island and a free trade area (similar to modern Switzerland) is emphasized.

Introduction: Alteration of the identity of Delos

The use of the name Cyclades from the 5th-4th century B.C. onwards has been associated with the perception that the relevant islands were thus named because they form a circle around Delos. In the following text I shall discuss the religious, political and economic function and significance of Delos' two very well known sanctuaries, explaining the reasons behind their foundation and the part played by their priests. Thus, I aim to demonstrate the significance of Delos as a financial as well as religious focal point of a certain cult shared by a number of people from the nearby islands. From the 12th until at least the 9th century B.C. these people were not Ionians; however, they were in contact with the Mycenaean world.

I. The cults of gods and goddesses

The cult of the goddess Dove / Περυστέρα in the Cyclades is attested by disks made of marble or clay (depicting single or twin doves); exclusively by marble ones; or even by semiprecious stones, presently in the Cyclades and in the Museum of Karlsruhe (Kykladen, 2011; Κουτελάκης, X. 2014: 102). Also, by a depiction carved on the surface of a very large earthenware jar (see the photo here, and Κουτελάκης, X. 2014: 92-114) and by a bronze statuette in the Museum of Cortona (Italy). On

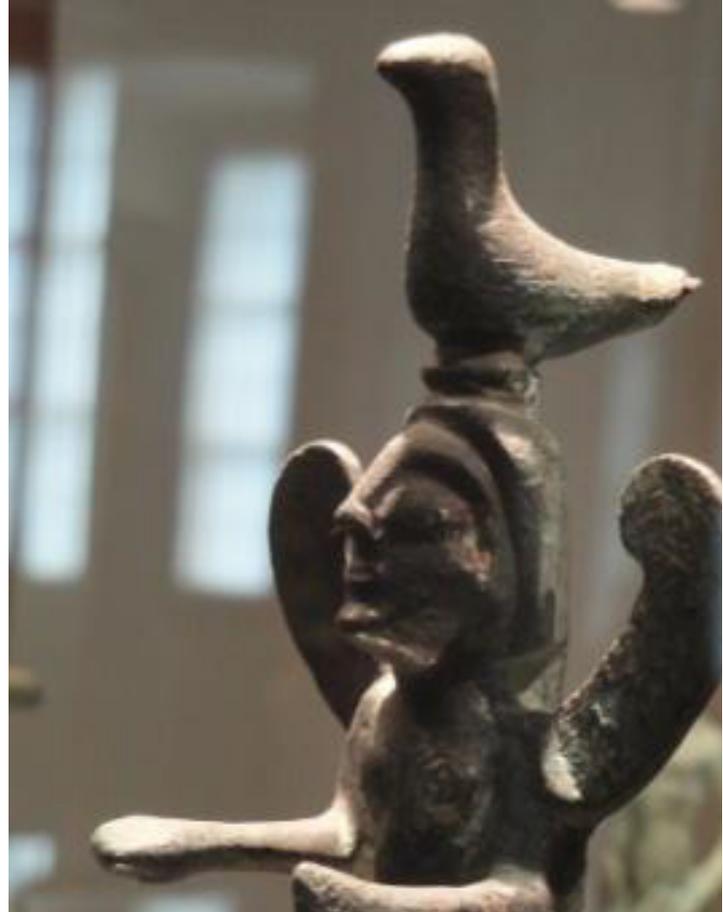
*The text as requested participation in volume edition titled "How Delos identity changed through the ages." I thank you sincerely John Tully and Erica Angliker for their proposal. I do not know the reasons for which those responsible for the publication of the volume not included at the last minute.

the other hand, this goddess is not mentioned directly in Mycenaean Linear B tablets (Τσαγράκης, Αγγ. 2015: 633-666, particularly in p. 656), a fact indicating that perhaps she was not a deity of the Achaeans and Ionians but of the Oriental inhabitants of the relevant area, who were mainly miners (see the photo here and Κουτελάκης, X. 2015b). However, hundreds of dovecots in Tinos attest to the breeding of doves over a period of many centuries, thus confirming in a symbolic way the references of Tinos and Delos in the Iliad as stations for the provision of wheat; olive oil; wine and pigeons in



A. (upper): The goddess Περσιπέρα, Διώνη, Ουρανία Αφροδίτη, as depicted on a pithamphora in Tinos.

B. (right): A bronze statuette in the Museum of Cortona, Italy.



jars filled with vinegar, olive oil or salt (Κουτελάκης, X. 2012: 52-60; Koutelakis, X. 2014: 107-123, 125-126, 194-195; Κουτελάκης, X. 2015: 249, 253). Thus it seems that the islanders kept faithfully their own customs and cults, according to their place of origin. In my opinion, the Thesmophoria, a Pelasgian ceremony introduced in the Aegean from Libya (according to Herodotus), and the existence of grids are definite examples of a racial relation (Koutelakis, X. 2012: 35, 2014: 41, 123, 183, 288, 322; Idem 2014, 44). The same is also true of symbols on their coins, after their first minting (an octopus for Eretrians; a chimera for Sikyon, Corinth, Lefkas and Miletus; a dove for Sikyon and Siphnos; not a hawk or carrion crow, according to Wagner 1998, 64 and Ashton 1995, or eagle, according to John Georganas 2015. See Κουτελάκης, X. 2014: 42, 79, 119, 183, 200, n. 17, 315). Even Dionysus apparently was not the god of wine in the Cyclades, as he came to be worshipped from the Archaic Period and onwards and depicted on the cylix of Exekias with the Tyrrhenians and dolphins (dolphins in association with Dionysus symbolize the passage from the world of the living to the underworld, according to A.-L.P. Gallon-Sauvage; also Van Der Meer, B. 2014: 296). On the contrary, he was the patron of miners, in his capacity as Φεγγαροθεός (Moon god) (Κουτελάκης, X. 2012: 33 n. 30, 2014: 260; Κουτελάκης, X. 2015b; Κουτελάκης, X. 2016: 217, 230), and later as Πελάγιος and Μόρυχος (under a Sicilian influence), that is, protector of mariners (Caruso, F. 2012; Lulja, E. 2015; Τσαγράκης, Αγγ. 2012: 643, 674).



Samothrace – A lunar Dionysus-Enórchis bearing horns, in the form of a ram, during a dance (from the exhibition “The Great Gods of Samothrace”, in the Acropolis Museum, 2015)

In Delos, as also in the other Cyclades, where the presence of Tyrsenoi / Tyrrhenians is attested by inscriptions (IG XI.2, 148 and II.73-74, and Βλάχος et al. 2015: 76), kouros statues clearly reflect a divine form. In Keos, in the sanctuary of Dionysus, there appeared for the first time c. 700 B.C. a complex including a kouros (Angliker, Melotti, Marx. 2003: 203, 206-212).

Artemis' association with wild animals and goats confirms her lunar nature. Hesychius mentions in the lemma «Οὐρανία αἶξ» that «ἴσως ὅτι κατ' ἐνίους ἢ Σελήνη τῇ αἰγί ἐποχεῖται». Thus, the nature of Artemis κυνηγός – Selene and the association of goats with the lunar god Dionysus – Ἐνόρχις also becomes obvious (Λεκατσάς, Π. 1963:83. Also, Τσαγράκης, Ἀγγ. 2012: 639-640, for the offering of 500 goats to the goddess after the victory at Marathon).

The foundation of a sanctuary of Artemis (later, also of Apollo) in Delos influenced contacts with nearby islanders from Keros, Delos and Delia. Contacts and close associations via a radiance and rearrangement of Artemis' basic cult (Artemis was worshipped in Delos as Selene-Ishtar, Artemis ἐλαφηβόλος and protector of small animals, such as rabbits, being also the symbol of the Phoenician goddess Tanit and depicted on a floor in Delos (Λεκατσάς, Π. 1963: 53, 55; Koutelakis, X. 2001: 64 n. 34, 2014: 126, 2015: 244, 2015b; Azzopardi, G. 2014), both as a single and double deity, that is, Οὔπις and Ἀργη / Εκαέργη (Λεκατσάς, Π. 1963: 33), became a repetitive motif. Likewise, the foundation of a sanctuary of Apollo (whose appellation as “Delian” prevailed as a result of his radiance) resulted in the erection of similar sanctuaries on 22 capes of the Cyclades and the SE Aegean (Kourayos: 84-85; Delion Parou, 2015; Bilić, T. 2012). Also on Zarakes, in Euboea; on the highest point of the citadel of Eretria (where an inscription on a statuette depicting a lion reveals that the temple was originally dedicated to Athena); and in Istiaia, where he was called Σελήναιος (Marchand, F. 2015), that is, bearing horns, equal to Aphrodite-Ishtar (Κουτελάκης, X. 2008: 27); and, eventually Αρχηγέτης (Donnelann, L., 2015: 43-44, 46). After their foundation in the aforementioned coastal sites (including Syros and Boeotia), these “Delian temples” served not only as religious centers but also as areas of recreation; rejuvenation; rest; commerce; collection or exchange of information among mariners or merchants; and resupply (Κουτελάκης, X. 2008: 16, 29; Κουράγιος, Δεσποτικό; Angliker, E., clay statuettes; Angliker, E. 2013, with a reference to the qualities of Artemis in Homer, where she is mentioned as a goddess of death; leader of dances and goddess of youth and beauty. Τσαγράκης, Ἀγγ. 2012: 657, with reference to Palmer, who associates Artemis with water and fountains. One such fountain in Delos was Ἰνωπός, meaning “the one with rapidly flowing water”. Perhaps it was due to this reason or, alternatively, the presence of Egyptians, that tradition claimed that it was connected to the River Nile by an underground source).

Why did Delos and its sanctuary become Panhellenic focal points? Explanations recently suggested (Earle, Jan. 2010: 48-50) do not seem on the whole satisfactory. I believe that the issue is settled adequately on the basis of a new approach of the nucleus of local myths, that is, according to the following myth of Tenes, Kyknias / Tsyknias and Koukono (Κουτελάκης, X. 2014: 35, 72, 73, 86, 88-90, 91, 106, 157, 158, 173, 174, 190, 261; Κουτελάκης, X. 2015: 201-207, 212, 230; Κουτελάκης, X. 2016: 189, 203-204). According to excavation findings as well as mythology, the cult of Artemis preceded that of Apollo (Κουτελάκης, X. 2001: 52-53). The latter was introduced to the island from Asia Minor, probably by the remnants of the Sea Peoples, and, as a result, next to the female sanctuary of Κυκνέαι (subsequently used for the cult of Artemis ἐλαφηβόλος (GD 117), as demonstrated by the relevant but later in situ statue of hers, from house III in the Theater neighbourhood, which was studied by Ph. Jockey) that of the Swan-priests (perhaps singers – guitarists or harpists) was created. The oldest of the three temples of Apollo, made of limestone, does not date before 700 B.C. However, the god's cult, substantiated by a marble statue of his (kouros), is much older and refers to a lost wooden statue (Prost, Fr. 2009; Petrovic Iv., 2010: 205-207, with reference to Callimachus). In my opinion, this piece of evidence may only be associated with an Eretrian influence. The inhabitants of Eretria appear from the 9th-8th century onwards as allies of Tinos (Koutelakis, X. 2001: 41; Koutelakis, X. 2014: 179-188; Κουτελάκης, X. 2015: 196-197), Andros (Descœudres, J-P. 1973), and Kea (Koutelakis, X. 2001: 62 n. 24; Κουτελάκης, X. 2015: 241). Furthermore, at the end of the 7th century they cooperated with the inhabitants of Naxos (Kourou, N. 2015: 89, 91-93, 95-96, 98-101, on the basis of ceramic findings of EPG Period and burial customs) in establishing the colony under the same name in southern Italy. The original area of the sanctuary is also not known with certainty. In the course of his research, Frederic Herbin concluded that during the Archaic Period, when its boundaries were fairly uncertain, offerings (kouroi) seem to have appeared mostly around the altar of horns, originally dedicated to Artemis (as also confirmed by excavations, determining the ancient old dating and original cult of the former. Ζαφειροπούλου, Φ. 2007: 629 and 633; Κουτελάκης, X. 2008: 26-27; Herbin, Fréd. 2009).

Thus, archaeological findings confirm the two main periods of function of the island's sanctuaries. The first focused on the cult of Artemis (probably associated in Siphnos with the very early presence of miners. Κουτελάκης, X. 2014: 120, 129, 175, 260, 281. Angliker, E. 2014: 14-15), while the latter with that of Apollo. Honours rendered straight after the foundation of sanctuary of Apollo would have been equal in status and value. This caused the creation of the propaganda myth of twin gods, during whose birth on the island Artemis appeared first, this being an indication of her earlier cult in Delos (Koutelakis, X. 2001: 52-54; Κουτελάκης, X. 2015: 231). This was the period during which Tinos, Mykonos, Delos, Naxos and the so called nowadays Minor Cyclades belonged (as suggested) to the state of Kyknos and Tennes / Tenes; while the pan-Kyknadian sanctuary, the center of the cult of a world comprised mainly of Carians and Leleges from Asia Minor, as stated by Thucydides (1.8.1-2 and 3.104.1-2. Also Κουτελάκης, X. 2014: 81), was served by Κυκνέαι priestesses (Κουτελάκης, X. 2014: 71-73, 80-82, 88, 91-92 and Bryant, Jac. 1774: 23-26. Laoupi 2016: 18, 38, 39, 41).

In the second period, after the beginning of the function of Apollo's sanctuary, perhaps from the 11th century onwards, pre-eminence gradually passed to male priests. In his extremely interesting study Kristian Kristiansen (Kristiansen, K. 2014) explains, on the basis of archaeological findings and rock engravings in Scandinavia, that through a transformation of the cult of the Sun and his assistants in the Indian language and holy texts, there occurred in the European continent, mostly during the second millennium B.C., a rendering of honours and depiction of both the Dioscuri as symbols of a twin power, with their deification as an astronomical sign (as perpetuated by the two kings of Sparta); and the use of horse heads on ships, alongside the disguise of priests serving in sanctuaries dedicated to the charioteer Sun god-Phaethon with horse masks. Kristiansen notes that the Indian word «Asvins»

means “horse tamer” and “possessed of horses”, and they were born as horses, pulling the sun, or they transform into twin ships with horse heads – retaining their identity – as they carry the sun safely through the sea of the underworld».

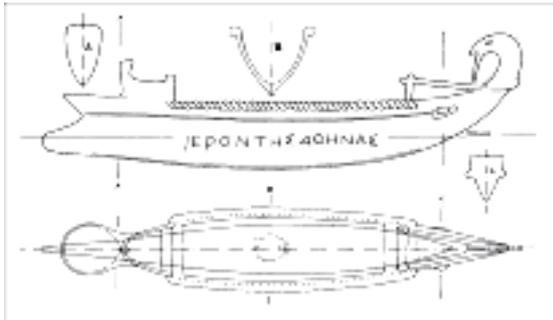


Cyprus: A statuette of Apollo (?) wearing horns, from Engomi.

Swan-ships replaced horse heads as figureheads during the Bronze Age (Kristiansen, K. 2014:88 and Koutelakis, X. 2005a; Koutelakis, X. 2015c: 9. Mosenkis, J. 2016: 35), in a manner relevant to the replacement of female priestesses; the usurpation of Artemis’ altar of “horns” by male priests, Apollo’s *Kyknoi* (Κύκνοι); the abandonment, transfer and transformation of Apollo’s cult from Keros to Delos under the name of Apollo *Κερεάτης*, being either a country name (indicating an origin from Keros. See Koutelakis, X. 2008: 28-30; Koutelakis, X. 2014: 88) or a correlation with a wooden statue of the god who, probably as *Σελήναιος*, perhaps had horns (such as in the depiction of the statuette from Engomi, in Cyprus), similar to those of the Peoples of the Sea, as depicted in Medinet Habu (Koutelakis, X. 2008: 11-13; Koutelakis, X. 2014 :88 n. 44 and Nelson, H. 1930; Wachsmann, S. 1981: fig. 4, 13, 26. Also, Yasur-Landau 2013, on the helmets with a topknot attributed to the band of Philistines).

Other aspects of this process of replacement of figureheads were the gradual expulsion or deportation of the prevailing section of the islands’ population that began during the Athenian penetration of the Cyclades under Peisistratus and the winning over of their pro-Ionian inhabitants (Koutelakis, X. 2001: 41), followed by the Persian invasion of the islands and completed with their expulsion or the subordination of all Ionians by the Delian League under the Athenians (Koutelakis, X. 2001: 42; Koutelakis, X. 2014: 94-95; Constantakopoulpu, C. 2010: 135). Evidence to such a replacement during this period is provided by findings from Scandinavia, Mt. Karmel and Medinet Habu, as well as by relevant depictions on vases and an anaglyph with the Panathenaic festival (Wachsmann, S. 1981: fig. 4-6; Wachsmann, S. 2012:247-250, 253). Another known symbol of the worshipping of the Sun and the divine substance attributed to persons in charge of political and military authority was the single or double axe, a substitute for a solar deity, namely *Kalmus* / *Κέλμυς*, that appeared in Egypt at the end of the fourth millennium B.C. (Βλάχος et al. 2015: 85; Marinatos, N. 2009). Respectively, the attire of priests of the Sun included the wearing of horns, just like in a description of ancient Indian sacred texts (Kristiansen, K. 2014: 86: “The use of such *horns corresponds to the several passages in the Veda where the Asvins are called bulls*, and, according to the archaeological evidence, this is a later trait”), thus indicating that the horn bearing statuette of Engomi was perhaps closely associated with the cult of Apollo *Κερεάτης* or *Σελήναιος* in Delos.

Archaeological findings and rock engravings from Strophylas in Andros, Chalandriani in Syros (Televantou Cr. 2014; Μαρθάρη, M. 2012), and Astypalaia (Βλαχόπουλος, A. 2012a: 52), demonstrate the development of a society of mariners who met in the Aegean following different routes but with a common starting point, carrying with them the beliefs and cults associated with an early Indo-European perception of the life giving Sun and the chillingly relaxing Night who is identified with the darkness of the Underworld. This course should not be ignored, if we wish to interpret properly archaeological remains in the Cyclades. Kristiansen also notes this, indirectly but clearly, in his conclusions: “*the rediscovery of the phenomenon and the complementary character of the archaeological and tex-*



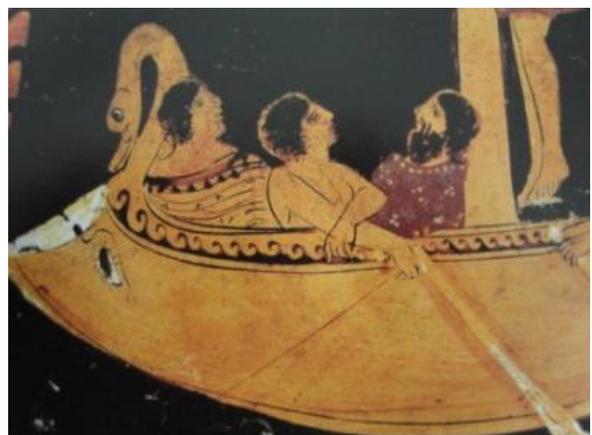
A Swan-ship (Wachsmann, 249).

tual evidence suggest that the argument carries historical weight” (Kristiansen, K. 2014: 91), being in line with Cadogan (Koutelakis, X. 2014: 29, and Κουτελάκης, Η «ΑΡΧΑΙΑ ΤΗΝΟΣ» στο μικροσκόπιο, in www.Academia.edu).

The birth of the twin gods Artemis and Apollo by Leto indicates (by means of a myth) a religious-cultural belief on holy marriage. The correlation between Leto, mother of the twins, and the oriental goddess *Lada* had originally been made by Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (Koutelakis, X. 2014:12, with reference to Καραγάλιος, and p. 68). The same cult had also been attributed to Athena, also a mistress of Zeus. Like the twin boys of *Leda* which were born by a swan, that is, Castor and Pollux, so too the twins born in *Cyknades / Kyknades*, that is, Apollo and Artemis, were patrons of mariners, who would adorn their ships with heads swans as figureheads (Koutelakis, X. 2005; Koutelakis, X. 2014:64-71; Koutelakis, X. 2015:201-202. Mosenkis, J. 2016: 35) from the end of the Bronze Age and onwards, when this decorative motif replaced the horses’ heads (Koutelakis, X. 2014: 68) that symbolized the *Dioscuri*.

However, the memory of this old tradition of paying homage to the patrons of mariners survived in the foundation of Διοσκούρειον, in Delos, and the Θήραια, in Cyrene, in 631 B.C. (Luni, M., Mei, O. 2013: 16-17), of which there survives a marble base in situ, on its foundation, as well as dispersed fragments around it (a hand; a head; a piece of ceramic) (Prost, Fr. 1999 and 2009).

Thus, Delos became an island symbolizing a «neutral zone», both religious and economic (Earle, Jan. 2010: 41-42), in the fashion of modern Switzerland, where pirates and maritime merchants would deposit their loot after the foundation of the sanctuary of Apollo (Πανταζής, B. 2013: 162-166), while Delians would supply the Achaeans during their campaign against Troy, perhaps even carrying animals or crews. In this respect, the inhabitants of the Cyclades had no reason to participate with troops in the campaign against Troy, which was supported by Carians and Leleges, their kinsmen. This is why the Cyclades are not mentioned in the list of places that participated in the campaign against Troy (Koutelakis, X. 2012: 159-160; Koutelakis, X. 2014: 230-231). In the context of these activities, I believe that the double sanctuary of Delos, starting from the Mycenaean Period (with its function as a pan-Kyknadian sanctuary dedicated to Artemis) and the days of its high priest and king Anios, invested all its trade surplus (and, later, after the minting of its first coins, in the 7th century B.C., its surplus in money), in the construction of ships bearing as figureheads the head of a swan,



Swan-ships, or ships having a swan's head as figurehead.

indicative of their ownership by or dependence on the famous Delian sanctuary and symbolizing the fact that they were unsinkable, like swans swimming proudly. Likewise, in the much later Byzantine Period (10th century A.D.) the most important monasteries in the Aegean owned ships that travelled in the Aegean tax exempt (Koutelakis, X. 2015: vol. II, 218-219), as also nowadays those owned by the monasteries of St. Nektarios, in Aigina, and Chrysovalantou, in Attica, which, exactly for this reason, bear the names of the monasteries to which they belong.

Thus, by their presence in this geographical region from the time of Peisistratus, Athenians gradually and steadily managed to set foot on Delos and the surrounding islands in the context of the “Delian League”, transforming the former once again, according to an age old practice, into a “bank” safeguarding the financial contributions of their allies for the purpose of the expulsion of Persians from the Aegean. Furthermore, with the assistance of the most famous poets of the time, they managed to propagandize and impose the name Cyclades as a religious term (Koutelakis, X. 2014: 184-185; Constantakopoulpu, C. 2010: 135), replacing the original *Cycnades* / *Kyknades*. Of course, in the context of oral speech there could have also occurred an interchange of the Greek letters ν and λ, as I have already suggested elsewhere (Koutelakis, X. 2001: 48; Koutelakis, X. 2014: 71 and 77 n. 23), gradually contributing to the establishment of the name *Cyclades*, which is supposedly associated with the circular flying of swans who, μέλποντες μελωδικῶς, tried to soothe the labour pains of Leto, when she was supposedly giving birth to Apollo (however, swans either don't sing at all, or make a sharp bugle-like sound, as in the case of Hooper swans. Koutelakis, X. 2012: 25-26; Koutelakis, X. 2014: 63, 73, 190; Παπαδοπούλου, Ζ. 1998; Παπαδοπούλου, Ζ. 1999). This religious feature was expressed since then as a circular dance around the god's altar performed mainly by mariners, as a request to him to stop strong winds, that is, either the “*meltemia*” in the Aegean, or generally strong winds blowing in the Mediterranean, or even the Atlantic, along the coastline of the Iberian Peninsula (Koutelakis, X. 2014: 192-194, 200-228). Thus, Delos, having become a focal point for participants in festive activities, with notable dedications (of oriental origin or influence) by strong families from the nearby islands since the 8th century B.C. (Koutelakis, X. 2001: 52 σημ. 29; Zarmakoupi, M. 2011; Crielaard J.-P. 2015; Angliker, E. 2014: 15-16), was imprinted on the minds of both islanders and Athenians as the geographic center of the whole group of islands, despite the fact that this does not appear so on maps. This probably happened in the 7th century B.C., when inhabitants of Chalkis and Naxos, under the leadership of the Athenian Thucles, travelled to Sicily to establish the colony of Naxos and adorn it with an altar dedicated to Apollo Αρχηγέτης (Jockey, P. 1996; Kontoleon, N. 1967; Cordano, F. 2004; Koutelakis, X. 2016a: n. 23, on the case of Cumae in Etruria. Donnelann, L., 2015: 43-44, 46 and n. 9, 18, 23, and Lulja, E. 2015: 8-9, 42, who claims that in Sicily Dionysus is mentioned as god of grass and growth; however, coins of Syracuse indicate his origin from Naxos in the Cyclades. After the downfall of Hiero's tyranny, in 461 B.C., Syracuse adopted as symbols on its coins Apollo Αρχηγέτης, on one side, and Assinos, an autochthonous deity, on the other), and resulted in the islands becoming known by the geographical term Cyclades, which subconsciously referred to the shape of a circle, but alienating them from their historical past as a region that once belonged to Κούκονος > Κυκ'νιάς and his children (Τέννης / Τένης > Τένος > Τήνος), who ruled the nearby smaller islands (the so called nowadays Minor Cyclades) from Tinos and Naxos (Koutelakis, X. 2015: 204, 212-213).

II. What did Kyknoi do in Delos?

The issue of the presence of swans in the wider region of the Mediterranean has long troubled scientists of all specialties who have noticed their extensive decorative use on all kinds of surfaces and materials, reaching the conclusion that this is an issue also concerning Africa and that, in any case, no clear answer may be given as to where and when this use first occurred. Thus, we are left with the

realization that this was an extremely popular motive of that old world, this being the reason why it survived until the end of the Roman period.

In the Hyperborean lands, the term by which the present geographical North was referred to by ancient Greeks, there exist metal objects with engravings depicting pairs of swans pulling a chariot with the disc of the Sun or Moon.

In my opinion, for Northern people observing the migration of thousands of Hooper swans to the North and trumpeting in a sound resembling that of bugles this was a symbolism of the coming of spring. As already mentioned, in Greek mythology swans are associated with Leda and Zeus, who transformed into a swan in order to make love with her. They are also associated with Πότνια των πτηνών, also mentioned as *Aphrodite – Dove goddess* (= *pirah-it-Ishtar* > *ελληνιστί περιστέρι*), who does not appear explicitly so in Mycenaean tablets and is thus considered a goddess of the Oriental world (Koutelakis, X. 2012: 52 and Koutelakis, X. 2014: 71, 101, 112, 339). Swans are also used as a decorative motif associated with Cycladic statuettes of musicians (see the photo below), that is, harpists and lyre players (Pruzsinszky, R. 2009-2010; Bierl, A. 2015: 38; Konstantinidi-Syvriddi, E. and Pliatsika, V. 2015: 64, who mention the finding of a 14th century lyre made of ivory; Koutelakis, X. 2015: 207; Collins, A 2007). In such cases, on the frame of the harp or lyre there appears the head of a swan, as I have already pointed out, probably as a symbol of a group of men assigned with a specific task (Koutelakis, X. 2014: 74-75; Koutelakis, X. 2015: 202-207).

Additionally, Greek mythology mentions the presence of swans in relation with the Cyclades, flying seven times in a circular fashion around the sacred lake of Delos and singing melodically in order to soothe Leto's labour pains during the birth of her son Apollo, in whose honour a sanctuary was founded on the island (Koutelakis, X. 2014: 63, 68-69 and 2015: 205-206).

In terms of iconography, swans appear on 5th–4th century B.C. vases; also, as figureheads on ships, such as on the cylix of Exekias and a vase depicting the ship of Odysseus (see the photo below), with him tied and his companions trying to escape the Sirens.

This decorative motif of ships, also found on women's jewels made by silver plated copper and associated with the cult of a Moon goddess (Giunlia-Mair, A. 2008: 113-116; Collins, A 2007: Cap. III, VIII, XII, XV, XIX), survived as late as the early Christian Period, as noted by Isidore, bishop of Seville.

Taking into consideration archaeological findings from the Cyclades to this day, I have already mentioned in brief which gods were worshipped in Keros, Delos (an important holy pilgrimage since the Mycenaean Period), and other islands.

Some rock engravings from Strophylas, in Andros, dating much earlier than the frying pan shaped vessels of Chalandriani, in Syros, have been interpreted as votive offerings to the “Goddess of the Sea”, patron of certain species it contains as well as of mariners and their ships (Telavantou Cr. 2014). Could this be a goddess similar to the one later called *Βριτόμαρτις* (Laoupi 2016, 41) or *Ατάργατις-Ατταγάθη*, which transformed into a mermaid (Gorgona) in the waters of Ashkelon and whose memory survives to this day among simple old Greek mariners and civilians, who have identified her with the Virgin Mary, as demonstrated in a Christian Orthodox icon from the village of Sykamia, in Lesbos? (Koutelakis, X. 2014:101, 104, 112, 176 and 2015: 231, and Τσαγράκης, Άγγ. 2012: 658).



Lesbos, Sykamia: an Orthodox icon dedicated to the church of the Virgin Mary the “Mermaid” – a transformation of the prehistoric goddess *Ατάργατις* or *Ατταγάθη*.

What is certain is that they worshipped the Dove goddess, a Πότνια των πτηνών, as demonstrated by findings of doves made of marble or semi-precious stones from Paros, Naxos and elsewhere (Τσαγγράκης, Άγγ. 2012: 658). A votive disk with doves arranged in a procession inside it, dedicated to some local sanctuary, is well known, as also the twin marble doves in the Museum of Karlsruhe (Kykkladen, 2011), which originally came from the Cyclades (Koutelakis, X. 2014:102). However, what primarily testifies to the worship of this goddess is her engraved depiction on the oversized amphora in the Museum of Tinos, where she appears seated on a throne (see foto above), whose back is decorated with the head of a swan. I have already argued for and demonstrated in two books that this was the *goddess of miners-metalworkers*, especially of Thracians, Phrygians, Lydians-Tyrrhenians-Etruscans, who worshipped her as *Turan* (Koutelakis, X. 2012: 56, 2014: cover and pp. 105-110; Koutelakis, X. 2015: 476 photo). Zeus springs from her head holding the thunders supplied, according to Greek mythology, by the “shouting” Sindies of Lemnos (Koutelakis, X. 2014:101-108 and

2015: 204 n.13, 217-218, 226, 258 n. 11) via their patron, Hephaestus (Blachos et al., 2015: 6, 99-107).

On the basis of this data, one could assume that originally *Artemis-Ishtar* was present in the region of the Cyclades as the principal deity, alongside her equal god, established in the Greek lands as Apollo. Excavations in Delos leave no doubt that the Mycenaean sanctuary was dedicated to a female deity and had chronologically preceded the sanctuary in Apollo’s honour (the terms «θήκη» and «σῆμα» specified two graves in Delos dating from the Mycenaean Period. See Koutelakis, X. 2008: 27; Earle, Jan. 2010: 43; Χατζηδάκης, Π. 2008). This is also emphasized by a Greek myth telling that Artemis was born first with Apollo following; while present during the birth being also the Dove goddess *Dione* (Koutelakis, X. 2014: 106, 121) and *Dionysus*, whose cult is also testified in Tinos and in Despotiko (Koutelakis, X. 2014: 45, 52, 93, 124 n. 61; Koutelakis, X. 2015b).

On the other hand, special ceremonies had been taking place in Delos since the 12th century B.C., when, following the dispersion of the naval groups in which they had participated (that is, the Peoples of the Sea), Lycian mariners, tradesmen and pirates chose Delos as an ultimate refuge (Koutelakis, X. 2014: 96 n. 43, 44) for the safekeeping of their loot and profits, perhaps having previously destroyed Koukounaries in Paros, Grotta in Naxos, Phylakope in Melos and Hagia Eirene in Kea (Gertoux G., 2015: 37-38), and captured the inhabitants of the undefended Daskaleio-Keros or forced them to abandon their island. According to a variation of the myth on the emergence and appearance of Delos, the latter was “a *part of Sicily wandering in the sea until it found its way here*”, a description that may be referring to the foundation by a part of the Peoples of the Sea, possibly the one referred

to by Egyptians as SKL, that is, Sicilians and Sardinians (Koutelakis, X. 2008: 13 and *www.Wikipedia.org*, lemma “*Siculi*”), of a sanctuary in honour of Apollo, their own god (Koutelakis, X. 2014: 68. Φ. Ζαφειροπούλου dates the beginning of the cult of Apollo c. 1000 B.C., claiming that it carried there from Klaros and Didyma. Ζαφειροπούλου, Φ. 2007: 623; Earle, Jan. 2010: 50).

I consider the probability of an early presence of Sicilian and Sardana (that is, inhabitants of Sardis, in Asia Minor or « Σερδαίοι» inhabitants of Sicily – a local tribe – according to Plutarch, *Moralia*, Greek translation by Kaktos Publications, vol. 2, 246, n. 61) coppersmiths in Delos, and their participation in ceremonies concerning Dionysus (Lo Schiavo et al., 1985: 62-63, who note that metal workers settled in Sicily and Sardinia in the context of the activities of Peoples of the Sea), as Delos was a center of trade of bronze, called “Σκυθίς” (Koutelakis, X. 2001: 54 and 2014: 96, n. 43) and “Ortigia”, along with the islet of Syracuse and Ephesus. Furthermore, the ceremony in Delos included the preparation of mead, as in Crete, a specialty particularly favourable among Sicilians, and the coating of the face of the god (Dionysus Μόρυχος) with must and figs, in a reference to his double capacity by which he was worshipped in the Cycladic Naxos (Koutelakis, X. 2016, Chap. X.1, n. 19, 22 and Chap. X.4, n. 54 and X.6 l. κασσιτεροποιός. Also, Caruso, F. 2012: 19-21, 24) as patron of mariners. The presence in Delos of people from Naxos is confirmed by both votive offerings (marble lions) and findings (Earle, Jan. 2010:48).

It is also quite probable that stone masons in Paros named the fine quality marble they quarried “λιχνίτης”, by association with an epithet of *Dionysus*, patron of miners (Koutelakis, X. 2014: 267-268 and n. 48; Koutelakis, X. 2015 : 344, n. 8). Dionysus’ cult is confirmed by a relevant finding in the marble quarries of the Etruscan Alps, in the region of Tuscany (Zuffi, Stef. 2012: 52).

Periodical ceremonies taking place in the cave of Keros, apparently continued in Delos, after the former’s collapse and the subsequent abandonment of that sacred place (Koutelakis, X. 2008: 24; Renfrew et al. 2013). In commemoration of his origin from Keros or Kereia, Apollo was saluted in Delos as “Κερεάτης”. Keros, or Daskaleio, has been shown to have been a great center of production, import and distribution of various products to participants in ceremonies since 2750-2300 B.C., as well as their subsequent export (Boyd M., Renfrew C., Ramsey B. Chr. 2012: 144; Margaritis, E. 2013: 403-404; Koutelakis, X. 2008: 28-29; Koutelakis, X. 2014: 44). It was associated with the horns of an altar originally dedicated to Artemis, which was later misappropriated by the priests of Apollo.

Holy ceremonies in Delos; food offerings to participants in religious festivals; dances; poetic and musical contests, were all probably part of established practices of the servants of the two sanctuaries (Παπαδοπούλου, Ζ. 1999: 122-123; Koutelakis, X. 2014: 95; Aamodt, Chr. 2014), dedicated to both the female and male gods, whose followers were respectively called «Κυκνέαι» and «Κύκνοι». The latter would presumably be dressed in white, because of the association of this colour with swans. In this way the priests, at least the men among them, would stand out from the ordinary people who would bring as offerings whatever they would consider appropriate and valuable, according to their means (Earle, Jan. 2010: 43, with references to all the findings-votive offerings). This abundance, particularly the big quantities of edible materials, resembling the ones offered nowadays to the panhellenic shrine of the Virgin Mary in Tinos (such as olive oil; wine; vinegar; wheat; barley; olives; aromatic herbs and oils; pigeons; salted fish, etc.) provided, in my opinion, a sufficient deposit, so much so that when Achaians reached Delos while sailing against Troy, according to the *Iliad*, the inhabitants of the Cyclades (Leleges; Carians; and mostly Delians), instead of following them in a campaign indifferent and possibly racially inappropriate to them, preferred to provide them with food (on the storage of

food in Mycenaean sanctuaries see Kyriakidis, Ev., 128-129) enough to last a decade, as stated by Anios, the high priest of the island and *son of Apollo*, according to Greek mythology (Koutelakis, X. 2012:159-160; 2014: 95, 109-110, 124-125 n. 61 and 66; Koutelakis, X. 2015: 231). Furthermore, they would carry supplies to the Achaian camp on the Trojan coastline or, according to a more recent view, on the coast of Tlawra / Τρωΐσα (Πανταζής, B. 2006: 327-328; Koutelakis, X. 2008: 44; Koutelakis, H. 2015c, notes 46, 57), possibly using for this purpose the ships of mariners who had settled on the island and placed them under the protection of the pan-Kykniadian sanctuary and the Kyknoi-priests. Thus, by conducting such transports they would acquire wealth.

These reasons explain adequately, as I have already suggested in my works, why the Cyclades are not mentioned in the homeric “List of ships” (Koutelakis, X. 2012: 160; 2014: 109-110, 176-178 and 2015: 231). They also explain a phrase found in Greek texts which refers to the sacred island of Delos: “*There is a swan there, a melodic servant of the Muses*” (Kallimachos, Hymn to Apollo). In my opinion,



this is a very clear, realistic note, as well as a typical expression referring to a certain activity of a group of priests: to compose music and sing (Pruzinszky, R. 2009-2010), in order to entertain people of all origins who would attend festivals (Koutelakis, X. 2014: 74-75). For the same reasons, one should view the phrase “*Swans flew seven times in a circle around the island’s sacred lake, singing melodically*” (Kallimachos, Hymn to Apollo), as symbolic of a specific event, that is, the comforting of Leto’s labour pains during the birth of Apollo. In my view, this was a ritualistic act of the swan-priests who would circle the god’s altar seven times singing the Hymn to Apollo and Artemis, subsequently assigning this performance to captains of ships and their crews, who would ask the god to stop strong winds during their journeys, until their safe return home (Koutelakis, X. 2014: 63, 75, 85, 87-88). However, there remains unexplained an extremely crucial detail. *What do white Cycladic statuettes of harpists and lyre players bearing decorative heads of swans on their instruments symbolize?*

The harpist in the Museum of Karlsruhe, perhaps a forerunner of swan-priests.

In my opinion, this was a tradition of the “old world” (Collins, A. 2007), associated with the sanctuaries of the Aegean and the East, according to which because of certain socio-religious circumstances, every 8-9 years a king or high priest (or, a person with both capacities) had to be sacrificed (Koutelakis, X. 2008: 32-35). This was a very important moment in their lives, when they would be allowed to sing perhaps for the last time! This is how the expression “*Κύκνειον ἄσμα*” (swan song) occurred; not as a reference to actual swans (regarding which Socrates would accuse those who claimed that birds sing out of pleasure or sadness). These were male servants of Delos’ great sanctuary who perhaps maintained a tradition of human sacrifice originating from past centuries and societies (Bryand, Jac. 1774: 23-26).

From the Archaic and, mainly, Classical Period and onwards, with Athenians dominating in the region of the Cyclades and Delos in particular, for the sake of the Ionian tribe (Koutelakis, X. 2014: 94-95, and Earle, Jan. 2010: 43); also, by means of propaganda and payment of money to great poets of the time, such as Bacchylides and Pindar, the religious concept of a center established as a result

of the circling of the god's altar transformed into a geographical term in the context of which Delos became the «ἔστῆ», that is, center of the islands, because of the importance of the festival taking place there, despite the fact that it is situated in the periphery of that island group (Koutelakis, X. 2001: 46-49, 52-54; 2012: 28; 2014: 82-83, and 2015: 202-207).

Conclusions

In this way, the age old geographical name *Kyknades* that used to refer to a group of certain islands under the authority of Τέννης / Τένης, lord of Tinos (Koutelakis, X. 2001: 77), son of Κούκονο / Κούκ'νο > Κύκνος, and his brothers or relatives, the Τσुकνάδες of Naxos (I consider the similarities in burial practices between Tinos and Naxos in the EPG Period, as exposed by N. Kourou - see Kourou, N. 2015 – equally explicit of this age old relationship), children of Kukono / Κύκ'νος > Κυκνιάς > Τσुकνιάς, first ruler of these islands who founded, in my opinion, the pan-Kyknadian / Cynadian sanctuary of his dominion in Delos, with «Κυκνέαι» (and later men «Κύκνοι») as servants, lost its name and has remained known ever since under the name of *Cyclades*, which obscures earlier data regarding ceremonies and history (Koutelakis, X. 2012: 35-38; 2014: 87-92, and 2015: 196-197, 202-207, 213. Idem in www.Academia.edu; Idem Koutelakis, H. 2016c. Laoupi 2016: 23).

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