

# ÉTUDES MYCÉNIENNES

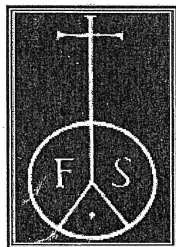
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*DI-WI-JA AND E-RA IN THE LINEAR B TEXTS*

1. Research on the deities attested to in the Linear B tablets has revealed many unknown theonyms in addition to those already known from the historical period (see Table 1). Some of these theonyms clearly indicate Indo-European etymology. The analysis of these is particularly interesting since most of these deities are more frequent on the mainland (see Table 2).<sup>1</sup>

The most important fact is that the analysis of the anthroponyms on the Knossos tablets indicates that the majority are not of Greek origin, unlike those from the mainland, even though one must take into account the historical distance between the tablets.<sup>2</sup> However, the analysis of the names on the tablets discovered in the 'Room of the Chariot Tablets' in Knossos reveals that the percentage of Mycenaean names in this collection is much greater than in all the other collections in the Knossos archives, which indicates a greater presence of Mycenaeans (70–90%),<sup>3</sup> owing most probably to the military content of some of the tablets in the collection.<sup>4</sup> In recent times, the belief that this collection of Linear B tablets is the earliest of all the other collections discovered in Knossos has been favoured by many experts in the area as dating from the Late Minoan II period (1450–1405 BC).<sup>5</sup>

This is important because only Potnia, Diwija and Zeus, deities with clear Indo-European etymology, are attested to both on the mainland and on Crete, including the collection from the "Room of the Chariot Tablets". Potnia and Zeus are designated with epithets in Crete,<sup>6</sup> as are Hera and Hermes on the mainland, together with Potnia (see Table 2).

2. A special characteristic of the Mycenaean religion is the existence of a female counterpart of the god Zeus—*Di-wi-ja/Di-u-ja* in the Linear B texts—which indicates that the cult of this goddess is old and that she was worshipped during the Mycenaean period.

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<sup>1</sup> There are many recent linguistic attempts to enlarge this list (see M. JANDA, *Elyision. Entstehung und Entwicklung der griechischen Religion*, Innsbruck 2005; P. JACKSON, *The Transformations of Helen. Indo-European Myth and the Roots of the Trojan Cycle*, Dettelbach 2006), which are insufficient because they treat the problem only from the perspective of Indo-European comparative linguistics.

<sup>2</sup> C. VARIAS GARCÍA, "The Personal Names from the Knossos B-Tablets and from Mycenae Tablets", *Minos* 33-4 (1998–1999), p. 349–370.

<sup>3</sup> J. DRIESSEN, *The Scribes of the Room of the Chariot Tablets at Knossos: Interdisciplinary Approach to the Study of a Linear B Deposit*, *Minos Supplement 15* (1999), p. 191–192.

<sup>4</sup> J. GULIZIO, K. PLUTA, T. PALAIMA, "Religion in the Room of the Chariot Tablets", in *Potnia*, R. Laffineur and R. Hägg (eds.), Liege–Austin 2001 (*Aegeum*, 22), p. 453–461.

<sup>5</sup> J. DRIESSEN, *Scribes*, cit. (n. 2); see B. BURKE, "Materialization of Mycenaean Ideology and the Ayia Triada Sarcophagus", *AJA* 109 (2005), p. 403–422.

<sup>6</sup> J. GULIZIO, "Mycenaean Religion at Knossos", in *Colloquium Romanum*, p. 355–360.

The many theophoric derivations of her name<sup>7</sup> only serve to confirm this conclusion. On **PY Tn 316**, *Diwija* is mentioned in what is clearly a cult context in the 4th paragraph, together with a sanctuary dedicated to the goddess – *di-u-ja-jo(-qe)/Diwyaion/*. It is interesting that the goddess is mentioned in a tablet together with *Di-we* and *Po-ti-ni-ja*, but also together with Hera. This clearly demonstrates that she must not be identified with either Hera or Potnia because both goddesses are referred to in the same tablet as separate recipients of offerings.<sup>8</sup>

In **PY An 607**, the goddess has a slave<sup>9</sup>:

.5 do-qe-ja do-e-ro pa-te ma-te-de di-wi-ja do-e-ra

An interesting difference between the mainland and Crete is that only one *te-o do-e-ro* is mentioned in Knossos on **KN Ai 966**, while in Pylos more than one hundred *te-o-jo do-e-ro/do-e-ra* are recorded, 45 of which belong to Sphagiana, the cult centre of Potnia near Pylos. *Diwija* is always mentioned together in the same series with Potnia, who is referred to in the Pylos An series, in **PY An 1281** as *po-ti-ni-ja i-qe-ja* – ‘The Mistress of the Horses’. **PY Cn 1287** contains a mention of another *di-u-ja do-e-ro* – ‘a slave of *Diwija*’.<sup>10</sup>

The same name might be considered as attested to on the mainland in Thebes in **Gp 313**. Its definitive identification is impossible because of damage to the tablet immediately after the last syllabogram of the name, which prevents us from determining whether the name ends or continues with yet another syllable. Whether as a personal name or as a toponym, this evidence could testify to the presence of the goddess and her cult in Thebes because a toponym with an allative *-de* recurs throughout the entire series as *\*63-te-ra-de*, which indicates a cult context. However, the crucial problem in accepting the word as a theonym<sup>11</sup> is the identification of *di-wi-ja-me-ro* in **TH Gp 109** as *Diwiās meros* ‘a share of *Diwija*’ from *AGS*, as opposed to J. L. Melena, where it appears as *dwiāmeron*<sup>12</sup> (‘in a period of two days’), following the suggestion by J. Killen.<sup>13</sup> The possibility that the damaged part of **TH Gp 313** contained [*me-ro*] invalidates the identification of *di-wi-ja* as a theonym or as a theophoric name. Nevertheless, in Thebes,

<sup>7</sup> P. HR. ILIEVSKI, “Interpretation of Mycenaean Personal Names. Nomina Theophora”, in *Floreat*, p. 299–311.

<sup>8</sup> R. DUEV, “Zeus and Dionysus in the Light of Linear B Records”, in *Colloquium Romanum*, p. 225.

<sup>9</sup> The institution “slave of god” was unknown in the historical period in the Aegean region, although such a practice was present in the Eastern Mediterranean (M. GÉRARD-ROUSSEAU, *Les mentions religieuses dans les tablettes mycéniennes*, Roma 1968, p. 76–78; W. BURKERT, *Greek Religion*, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1985, p. 45; P. HR. ILIEVSKI, “Doprinos linearnih B tekstova u rasvetljavanju grčke religije kasne bronzane epohe”, *Godišnjak ANUBiH, Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja – knjiga 25*, Sarajevo 1989, p. 30.

<sup>10</sup> *DMic* s.v.

<sup>11</sup> *AGS* 2001, p. 277s.

<sup>12</sup> J. L. MELENA, *Textos Griegos Micénicos Comentados*, Vitoria – Gasteitz 2001, p. 50–51.

<sup>13</sup> J. T. KILLEN, “Thoughts on the functions of the new Thebes tablet”, in *Die neuen Linear B-Texte aus Theben*, S. Deger-Jalkotzy, and O. Panagl (ed.), Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Wien, 2006, p. 110.

the presence of this goddess has been attested to through the theophoric derivation *Di-wi-ja-wo*, which, in addition to its mention in the Theban **TH Ug 11**, is also recorded in **KN Vc 293**, **PY Na 406**, while the variant *Di-u-ja-wo* was discovered on **TH Of 26** and **33**, as a theophoric name from the *di-wi-ja* and the suffix  $-\bar{a}w\bar{o}n$ .<sup>14</sup> According to C. J. Ruijgh, this might have denoted ‘Diwija’s priest’, *\*Diwyarwos*, composed of *arā* < *arwā*.<sup>15</sup> This interpretation relates Diwija to Hera, Hermes, Potnia and *Ko-ma-we-te-ja*, as mentioned in the Theban **Of** series, as well as in **PY Tn 316**.

3. The acceptance of the belief that Diwija is referred to in a cult context only on the mainland and not on the island of Crete is still problematic.<sup>16</sup> In the Knossos archives, *di-wi-ja* is found in an unclear context in the fragmented tablet **KN Xd 97**:

di-wi-je-ja / di-wi-ja [

Even though it is uncertain to claim that this was a theonym, the fact remains that no examples of the use of theonyms as personal names have been discovered in any Linear B tablets. **KN Xd 97** belongs to the collection of tablets discovered in the ‘Room of the Chariot Tablets’ in Knossos (*see supra*). *Di-wi-je-ja* is most likely the name of a person related to the cult of Diwija, in analogy to the masculine form *Di-wi-je-u*, found on the Pylos tablets. Since it originates from the same archive, we might compare this discovery with the gods mentioned on the other tablets found in the ‘Room of the Chariot Tablets’. In addition to **KN Xd 97**, the tablet **KN V 52** from the same collection records the names of *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja*, *e-nu-wa-ri-jo*, *pa-ja-wo-ne* and *po-se-da-o-ne*, while the contents of **KN F 51**, **KN Xd 140** and **KN V 114** are clearly in a cult context.

The connection of Diwija and Potnia in these tablets is very interesting because they have clear Indo-European etymology, and yet what kind of goddesses they were remains unknown. Diwija can be found in a cult context in Knossos, in the oldest tablets written in Linear B script. And again, there are obvious difficulties in relating Diwija to the ‘lost’ Indo-European Mother Earth and in confirming her survival as a later *Diōnē* < *\*diuōneh<sub>2</sub>*.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> P. HR. ILIEVSKI, “Interpretation”, cit. (n. 7), p. 302; *DMic.* s.v.

<sup>15</sup> C. J. RUIJGH, *Études sur la grammaire et le vocabulaire du grec mycénien*, Amsterdam 1967, p. 130, n. 154.

<sup>16</sup> *DMic.* s.v.; C. J. RUIJGH, *Études*, cit. (n. 15), p. 130s.; M. GÉRARD-ROUSSEAU, *Mentions*, cit. (n. 9), p. 67s.; T.G. PALAIMA, “Appendix one: Linear B sources”, in, *Anthology of Classical Myth*, S. M. Trzaskoma, R. Scott Smith, S. Brunet (eds.), Hackett Publishing Company 2004, p. 439–454, etc.

<sup>17</sup> G. E. DUNKEL, “Vater Himmels Gattin”, *Die Sprache* 34/1 (1988–1990), p. 1–26; cf. R. DUEV, “Zeus”, cit. (n. 8), 225–226. Dunkel equals *\*pót- : \*pót-n-ih<sub>2</sub> = \*diu- : \*diu-ōn-eh<sub>2</sub>*, according to IE suffix *\*-nos* or *\*-neh<sub>2</sub>* > *-nā* means ‘lord/mistress of’ (as in Hittite *Tarhunna*, Greek *Helena* (< *Swelenā*), Latin *domi-nus*, *tribu-nus*, *Neptūnus*, *Portūnus*, *Volcānus*, *Silvānus*, *Bellōna*, *Pōmōna*, Germanic *Woden/Odin* (< *\*Wōðanaz*), Keltic *Epona*, *Nemetona*, *Ritona*, *Pritona*, Latvian *Perkunas*, *Vēlinas*, *Žemyna*, etc., cf. M. L. West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*, Oxford 2007, p. 137). If this IE suffix is attested to in Mycenaean *po-ti-ni-ja*, we would expect the form *\*di-wo-na*, not *di-wi-ja*.



4. It is of particular importance that the Mycenaean tablets testify to the presence of Hera in the Late Bronze Age in the Aegean: Homer's goddess *boōpis potnia Hērē*. In **PY Tn 316**, in Zeus' sanctuary *di-u-jo /Diwion/*, a golden vessel and a woman are offered to *e-ra /Hērāi/*, in the same order as to Zeus. Hera is a recipient of offerings, as are all the other female deities on the tablet. Interestingly, she is mentioned in the last paragraph, unlike Potnia, who is referred to in the first paragraph, as a recipient of offerings in her cult area of *Pa-ki-ja-ne*.

In a clearly cult context, the goddess is also mentioned on the Theban tablet **Of 28**:

**TH Of 28**

- |    |                |  |
|----|----------------|--|
| .1 | pi-ri-pe-se-wa | ku LANA 2                                |
| .2 | i-da-jo        | ku LANA PA 2 e-ra , ke-o-te-ja ku LANA 1 |

The Theban **Of** series, which record offerings of wool (the LANA ideogram), also refer to other deities, such as Hermes (*e-ma-a<sub>2</sub>*) in **TH Of 31**, *Po-ti-ni-ja* in **TH Of 36**, *Ko-ma-we-te-ja* in **TH Of 35**. On **Of 35**, and to *ma-ri-ne-we-ja-i* in a dative plural form identified as 'priestesses of *ma-ri-ne-u*', an unknown deity,<sup>18</sup> who received the offerings in the place called *a-ki-a<sub>2</sub>-ri-ja-de*, most probably *Aigihaliande*.<sup>19</sup> In **TH Of 28**, the name of the goddess is followed by the word *ke-o-te-ja*, most likely an epithet of the goddess.<sup>20</sup> The line begins with *i-da-i-jo*, a form of the personal name *Idaios* according to John Chadwick, and this name should not be identified with Homeric Ἰδαῖος,<sup>21</sup> since it does not have a digamma through which it could be related to the root \**wīda*, while *wi-da-jo*, *Wīdaios*, in **KN V 60.3**, in C. Ruijgh's opinion is ethnic from *Wīdā*, derived from \**īdā* 'mountain/forest',<sup>22</sup> the name of Mount Ida. However, analysis of the word and its metric value in the verses of the Iliad could find no traces of the digamma. Still, there is no reason to consider the digamma the main reason for such identification because it is possible that the root is not of Indo-European origin.<sup>23</sup> The tablet **TH Of 37** refers to a recipient of wool *a-re-i-ze-we-i*, in a dative form, a theophoric name derived from the name of the god *a-re* 'Ares'.<sup>24</sup>

The tablet **PY Un 219** might also contain a mention of the name of the goddess Hera:

<sup>18</sup> J. Chadwick considered *ma-ri-ne-u* a deity (*The Thebes Tablets II. Supplementos a Minos*, num. 4, Salamanca 1975, p. 87–88); according to J. T. Killen, the word is an anthroponym ("Mycenaean Possessive Adjectives in *-e-jo*", *TPhS* 113, p. 75); L. R. Palmer identified it as *Mallineus* ("Mycenaean Religion. Methodological Choices", in *Res Mycenaee*, A. Heubeck, and G. Neumann (eds.), Göttingen 1983, p. 340; cf. *DMic* s.v.). The cult context of the series and *ma-ri-ne-we-ja-i*, there is also the possibility that *a-pi-qo-ro* signifies 'priest or priestess' (J. CHADWICK, *The Mycenaean World*, Cambridge 1976, p. 92; cf. S. Hiller, "a-pi-qo-ro amphipoloi", *Minos* 20–21 (1987), p. 239–256).

<sup>19</sup> J. L. MELENA, *Textos*, cit. (n. 12), p. 63.

<sup>20</sup> *Documents*<sup>2</sup>, p. 552, in analogy with *e-ma-a<sub>2</sub> a-re-ja* in **PY Tn 316**.

<sup>21</sup> *Documents*<sup>2</sup>, p. 193, p. 547 s.v., attested to in **KN K 875** and **PY An 661**.

<sup>22</sup> C. J. RUIJGH, *Études*, cit. (n. 15), p. 220.

<sup>23</sup> Perhaps the ethnic is connected to the cult of Cretan Zeus.

<sup>24</sup> P. HR. ILIEVSKI, "Interpretation", cit. (n. 7), p. 307.

## PY Un 219

.1	e-ke-ra-ne , tu-wo 2	O 1[
.2	pa-de-we , O 1 pa-de-we	O 1
.3	ka-ru-ke , PE 2 KA 1	O 6
.4	te-qi-jo-ne , O 1 a-ke-ti-ri-ja	KA 1
.5	a-ti-mi-te , O 1 da-ko-ro-i ,	E 1
.6	di-pte-ra-po-ro , RA 1	O 3 ko-ro [ ] 1
.7	a-na-ka-te , TE 1 po-ti-ni-ja[	
.8	e-[ ] U 1 e-ma-a <sub>2</sub> , pe-[	
.9	a-ka-wo-ne , MA 1 pa-ra[ ]	2
.10	ra-wa-ke-ta , MA 1 KO 1 [ ]me 1	O 1 WI 1
.11	KE 1 [ ] vacat	
.12-16	vacat	

On this tablet, gods and officials are mentioned in dative as recipients of various offerings, marked, instead of with ideograms, with abbreviations of their names.<sup>25</sup> The *e-[ra]* reading of the damaged segment in .8 was suggested as early as J. Chadwick,<sup>26</sup> since there is enough space for one sign only, as was the possibility that, in the damaged segment of the line, the syllabogram *pe-[* was followed by [*re-82\**] where there is enough space for two signs before the end of the line.<sup>27</sup> The tablet refers to the goddess Artemis (.5 *a-ti-mi-te*), Potnia (.7), the god Hermes and very probably *Pe-re-82\** and Hera (.8).<sup>28</sup>

5. Analysis of the amount and the kind of offerings in the aforementioned tablets does not allow us to draw any particular conclusions about the goddess Hera. It is characteristic, however, that she is found in the same line and same paragraph with Zeus in **Tn 316**, where offerings are made to her in his sanctuary. On the same tablet in the Un series in Pylos, as well as in the Theban Of series, Hermes and Potnia are always mentioned together with Hera; while on **Tn 316** and probably on **Un 219** from Pylos, she is mentioned together with *Pe-re-82*.<sup>29</sup> We certainly must not identify Hera with Potnia, since both goddesses are mentioned on **PY Tn 316** as separate recipients of offerings. The goddess Hera cannot be found in the Knossos tablets, even though *e-ra* can be found many times on the Knossos series **Da, Db, Dc, De, Dl, Dq, Dv** and **D**, while in **KN Fh 357.2** we find the form *e-ra-de* considered a toponym as early as J. Chadwick and M. Ventris.<sup>30</sup> The suffix *-de* indicates the cult role of the place. According to J. T. Killen,

<sup>25</sup> cf. J. T. HOOKER, *Linear B: An Introduction*, Bristol 1980, p. 37–41; J. GULIZIO, “Hermes and *e-ma-a<sub>2</sub>*: The Continuity of his Cult from the Bronze Age to the Historical Period”, *ŽAnt* 50, p. 110.

<sup>26</sup> *Documents*<sup>2</sup>, p. 172.

<sup>27</sup> J. GULIZIO, “Hermes”, cit. (n. 25), 111.

<sup>28</sup> The identification of *pa-de-we* (.2) as a dative form of a Knossos deity *pa-de* is still doubtful (*Documents*<sup>2</sup>, p. 567; C. J. RUIJGH, *Études*, cit. (n. 15), p. 88).

<sup>29</sup> Therefore, I accept the reading of the late professor J. Chadwick of **PY Un 219**: .8 e-[ra] U 1 e-ma-a<sub>2</sub>, and pe-[re-82].

<sup>30</sup> *Documents*<sup>2</sup> 146; cf. *DMic* s.v.

*po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* in the **DI** series is equal to the genitive of the theonym *e-ma-a<sub>2</sub>-o*.<sup>31</sup> He believes that Potnia (or less likely, Potnia's priest) is mentioned as an owner of the sheep in the series **D1(1)** (*po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*), while Hermes is mentioned as an 'owner of animals' in **D 411**.<sup>32</sup> The possibility still remains that the theonym *e-ra* was derived from the place name, as in the case with the *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja*.<sup>33</sup> Even though it cannot be proven for certain, the repeated presence of Hermes and Potnia in a place which might have borne the name of the goddess Hera still leaves room for assumptions that these three deities might have been related in the Late Bronze Age, a relatedness which disappeared in historical times.<sup>34</sup>

6. In this context, it would be interesting to analyze *e-ma-a<sub>2</sub>*. The most interesting combination can be found on **PY Tn 316**, where offerings are given as if to a male deity, but in sanctuaries of female deities, unlike the offerings given to Zeus (*Di-we*) in his own sanctuary (*Di-u-jo*, v.8). His epithet *A-re-ja* is more like an adjective of feminine grammatical gender rather than of an adjective of a masculine form of the *-a* stem.<sup>35</sup> Hermes is mentioned together with female deities in all contexts: Potnia and *E-ra* recur in many contexts, as well as some cases of *Ko-ma-we-te-ja*, and perhaps *Pe-re-\*82* and *Di-wi-ja*.

7. It is important to highlight the fact that all the children borne from Zeus and Hera's *hieros gamos*, according to later tradition and myths, and as attested to in the early

<sup>31</sup> J. T. KILLEN, "Mycenaean Possessive", cit. (n. 18), p. 66-99; cf. C. J. RUIJGH, "The Social Status of Persons Indicated by Possessive Adjectives in *-e-jo*, with Some Linguistic Observations", *Minos* 33-34 (1998-99), p. 257.

<sup>32</sup> See R. DUEV, "Hermaphroditus: the Other Face of Hermes?", *Sobria ebrietas: u spomen na Mirona Flašara, Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta, serija A: Istorijske nauke, knjiga XX*, Beograd 2006, p. 55.

<sup>33</sup> C. J. RUIJGH, *Études*, cit. (n. 15), p. 228, n. 89; P. HR. ILIEVSKI, "Interpretation", cit. (n. 7), p. 306.

<sup>34</sup> The etymology of the name of the goddess Hera is still indefinite (see *DELG* s.v.; Schwyzer 413; W. PÖTSCHER, "Der Name der Göttin Hera", *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 108/4 (1965), p. 131; J. CHADWICK, *Mycenaean*, cit. (n. 18) 87; cf. C. J. RUIJGH, *Études*, cit. (n. 15), p. 69, n. 75; W. BURKERT, cit. (n. 9), p. 131; C. MILANI, *Varia Mycenaea*, Milano 2005, p. 208, n. 96 and 97, etc. It is the same for the name of the god Hermes (see *DELG* s.v.; C. J. RUIJGH, "La déesse mère dans le textes mycéniens", *Atti e Memorie del Secondo Congresso Internazionale di Micenologia*, Roma 1996, p. 457, etc.; on the recent theories about his IE origin see M. Janda, *Elysiion*, cit. (n. 1), p. 41s.

<sup>35</sup> This epithet appears only in the context with *e-ma-a<sub>2</sub>* on **PY Tn 316**. This word has been identified as *\*Areias*, an epithet derived from the god of war *Arēs* (*DMic.* s.v.). In the classical period, this epithet was an epithet of Zeus, Athena and Aphrodite (W. BURKERT, cit. (n. 9), p. 169). However, Zeus is *Areios*, and Athena and Aphrodite are *Areia*, while with Hermes, since the name ends in *-es/as*, the adjective *Areios* becomes *Hermāhās Areiās* (cf. J. GULIZIO, cit. [n. 25], p. 35). However, despite the numerous works which accept this interpretation, it remains unclear why this formula is used on **PY Tn 316**. In classical Greek, apart from *Areios*, the adjective that is derived from the name of the god Hermes is *Hermaios*. Besides this, in Mycenaean Greek there are numerous theophoric personal names derived from the name of the god Ares, such as *A-re-jo* on **KN Vc 208** (for the other names derived from the name of the god Ares, see P. HR. ILIEVSKI, "Interpretation", cit. [n. 7], p. 307). Due to this, I see no reason why *Hermāhās Areiās* would not be *Hermāhās Areios*, unless we are talking about a completely different situation (see R. DUEV, "Hermaphroditus", cit. [n. 320], p. 54-56.)

epic poetry, are mentioned on these tablets as well. According to the ancient tradition, these children were Eileithyia, Ares, Hephaistos and Hebe. Eleuthia, *e-re-u-ti-ja*, is the later goddess of birth, an attribute which she shared with her mother Hera; and it is of particular significance that the offerings of honey to Eleuthia in Amnisos on **KN Gg(1) 702** were corroborated by Homer's testimony about the existence of a cult cave dedicated to the goddess in the same place.<sup>36</sup> The offerings of wool to the goddess from **KN Od 714, 715, 716** are certainly reminiscent of the same offerings received by Hera on **TH Of 28**. The god Ares is mentioned as a theonym on **KN Fp 14** and as an anthroponym on **KN Mc 4462**,<sup>37</sup> possibly in a cult context. Hephaistos is not mentioned directly but only in a theophoric name *a-pa-i-ti-o* on **KN L 588** identified as *Hāphaistios*. There are no records about Hebe, but the goddess of youth never did enjoy much respect in the Aegean, even in the classical period. It is also interesting that 'Zeus and Hera's children' have, to date, been attested to only on Crete and not on the mainland. On the other hand, there is no solid evidence for the existence of a Hera cult on Crete, while Zeus has been firmly attested to in a cult context both on Crete and on the mainland.

Analysis of the theophoric names reveals a very unusual situation. The most commonly found theophoric names are those derived from Zeus' and Ares' names, with one incidence of a theophoric name derived from Dionysus. A geographical comparison demonstrates that 10 names were derived from Zeus' name and 9 from Ares' name on Crete, while in Pylos, seven were derived from Zeus' name and only 2 from Ares',<sup>38</sup> which indicates that the cult of Ares was mostly a Cretan phenomenon.<sup>39</sup> Even the theophoric name *a-pa-i-ti-o* comes from Crete.

8. a. The non-attested theonyms from the historical period, which on Crete amount to half of the known names (*see* Table 1 and 2), and the majority on the mainland, clearly illustrate the process of religious development of the two groups of population in this period. The ascertained names found both on the island and on the mainland are names of male deities, while the unknown ones belong to female deities. It is significant that theonyms with no Indo-European etymology are also found on the mainland.

b. The origins of a later Greek religion can be traced in the Mycenaean period, as can be observed in the female counterparts of Zeus and Poseidon: Diwija and Posidaeia. The existence of Diwija, an unknown theonym with a clear Indo-European etymology and with no parallel in the Vedic hymns or in the Hittite inscriptions, demonstrates the influence of Mediterranean religions on the final formation of the cult of Zeus.<sup>40</sup> Diwija is attested to both on the mainland and on Crete, and is related to Potnia.

<sup>36</sup> *Od.* 19.188-190.

<sup>37</sup> *DMic.* s.v.; J. GULIZIO, "A-re in the Linear B Tablets and the Continuity of the Cult of Ares in the Historical Period", *Journal of Prehistoric Religion* 15 (2001), p. 34.

<sup>38</sup> P. Hr. ILIEVSKI, "Interpretation", cit. (n. 7), p. 306-307; J. GULIZIO, cit. (n. 37), p. 35.

<sup>39</sup> Even though we would expect the opposite, since the IE warlike population was more numerous on mainland, the theonym and the theophoric names derived from the name of the god of war should be more common on the mainland, and not on Crete.

<sup>40</sup> R. DUEV, "Zeus", cit. (n. 8), 226.

c. Hera is attested to only on the mainland, even though, according to later tradition, Zeus and Hera's children – Ares, Eileithyia, and perhaps Hephaistos – are attested to on Crete. On the tablets, Hera is usually mentioned together with Potnia, but also with Hermes.

d. The tablets do not record a sanctuary dedicated to Hera even though the archeological evidence from the historical period shows that the earliest temples in Greece from the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC were dedicated to Hera, such as her temple on the island of Samos. Dated to the same period are the two temples dedicated to *Hera Akraia* and *Hera Limenia* in Perahora. In Tiryns, the ruins from the Mycenaean period were transformed into a temple dedicated to Hera, while in Olympia, her temple is much older than the later central temple dedicated to Zeus.<sup>41</sup> On the other hand, the absence of temples dedicated to Hermes is corroborated by testimonies from the historical period stating that temples dedicated to Hermes were rare even in his cult region Arcadia.<sup>42</sup> Hermes was worshipped as a statue, usually positioned in an open space, which is reminiscent of the Minoan sanctuaries.

e. Hera is referred to in an unusual context in Homer's epics. In the 14<sup>th</sup> book, in the part where Hera's attempt to trick Zeus and change the outcome of the battles under Troy is described, the poet tells us that the goddess was about to visit Oceanus and Tethys, the parents of the gods:

εἶμι γὰρ ὄψομένη πολυφόρβου πείρατα γαίης,  
 Ὕκεανόν τε θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν,  
 οἳ μ' ἐν σφοῖσι δόμοισιν εὖ τρέφον ἠδ' ἀτίταλλον (II. 14. 200–202)

Ἥρη πρέσβα θεὰ θύγατερ μέγαλοιο Κρόνοιο  
 ἄλλον μὲν κεν ἔγωγε θεῶν αἰειγενετῶν  
 ῥεῖα κατευνήσαιμι, καὶ ἂν ποταμοῖο ῥέεθρα  
 Ὕκεανοῦ, ὅς περ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται· (II. 14. 243–246)

ἔρχομαι ὄψομένη πολυφόρβου πείρατα γαίης,  
 Ὕκεανόν τε θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν,  
 οἳ με σφοῖσι δόμοισιν εὖ τρέφον ἠδ' ἀτίταλλον· (II. 14. 301–303)

As opposed to the established tradition according to which Okeanos and Tethys were the parents of all rivers known to the Greeks and of all unknown mythical rivers to the end of the world and in the underworld, Homer refers to Oceanus and 'mother' Tethys as to parents of the gods. This concept can also be found in the Babylonian theogony epic *Enuma Elish*, from the II millennium BC,<sup>43</sup> where Oceanus, as a god, is the parent of the

<sup>41</sup> W. BURKERT, cit. (n. 9), p. 130–132.

<sup>42</sup> Pausanias 8. 17. 2, 30. 6. 47.

<sup>43</sup> M. P. O. MORFORD, R. J. LENARDON, *Classical Mythology*, 7th edition: Oxford University Press 2003, p. 99.

sweet waters, while Tethys is the goddess of the sea.<sup>44</sup> It is interesting that this appears in the epic related to the goddess Hera, as if they were her parents.<sup>45</sup> Also, the cult of Hera on the island of Samos distinguished from Argos. Undoubtedly, the process of transformation of the cult of Hera occurred in the Mycenaean period, only mere traces of that process remained in the historical period.

TABLE 1

A - DEITIES ATTESTED TO IN HISTORICAL PERIOD					
	Knossos	Khania	Pylos	Mycenae	Thebes
Zeus	Fp(1) 1+ 31 <i>di-ka-ta-jo di-we</i> <i>/Diktaiōi Diweil/</i> F 51 <i>di-we /Diweil/</i>	Gq 5 <i>di-we</i> <i>/Diweil/</i>	Tn 316 <i>di-we /Diweil/</i>		
Poseidon	V 52 <i>po-se-da-o-ne</i> <i>/Poseidāoneil/</i>		Es 645+, 703+, Eq 36, Fr 343, 1224+, Un 718, Xn 1439, X5560 <i>po-se-da-o</i> <i>/Poseidāōn/</i>		
Hera			Tn 316 <i>e-ra /Hērāil/</i>		Of 28, [Un 219], <i>e-ra /Hērāil/</i>
Ares	Fp(1) 14, Mc 4462 ? <i>a-re /Areil/</i>		<i>theophoric names</i>		
Eleuthia	Gg 705, Od 714+ <i>e-re-u-ti-ja /Eleuthiāil/</i>				
Hephaistos	L 588 (theoph.) <i>a-pa-i-ti-jo</i> <i>/Hāphaistios/</i>				
Artemis			Un 219 <i>a-ti-mi-te</i> <i>/Artimiteil/</i> Es 650 <i>a-te-mi-to</i> <i>/Artemitos/</i>		
Hermes	D 411 <i>e-ma-a<sub>2</sub>-o</i> <i>/Hermāhāo/</i>		Tn 316, Un219, Xn 1357? <i>e-ma-a<sub>2</sub>/Hermāhāil/</i>		Of 31 <i>e-ma-a<sub>2</sub></i> <i>Hermāhāil/</i>
Dionysos	Dv 1501 (th.) <i>di-wu-jo-nu-so</i>	Gq 5 <i>di-wo-nu-so</i>	Ea 102 <i>di-wo-nu-so-jo</i>		
Erinys	Fp1+31 <i>e-ri-nu /Erinus/</i>				

<sup>44</sup> S. DALLEY, *Myths from Mesopotamia*, Oxford 1989, p. 233, n. 1; cf. M. L. WEST, *The East Face of Helicon: West Asiatic Elements in Greek Poetry and Myth*, Oxford, 1997, p. 145.

<sup>45</sup> The parallel Apsu and Tiamat as parents of Anu and Antu, their daughter Ishtar, possibly influenced the Homeric tradition.

B – DEITIES WITH IE ETYMOLOGY – UNATTESTED TO IN HISTORICAL PERIOD					
	Knossos	Khania	Pylos	Mycenae	Thebes
Potnia	Gg 702, Oa 745 ( <i>da-pu<sub>2</sub>-ri-to-jo</i> ) <i>po-ti-ni-ja</i> V 52 ( <i>a-ta-na</i> )		An 1281( <i>i-qe-ja</i> ) <i>po-ti-ni-ja</i> Cc 665 ( <i>ne-wo-pe-o</i> ) Fn 187, Fr 1225, 1235+ ( <i>u-po-jo</i> ) Fr 1206 ( <i>a-si-wi-ja</i> ) Vn 48 ( <i>e-re-wi-jo-jo</i> ) Tn 316, Un 219 <i>po-ti-ni-ja</i>	Oi 701 <i>si-to-po-ti-ni-ja</i>	Of 36 <i>po-ti-ni-ja</i>
Diwija	An 607, Xd 97 <i>di-wi-ja</i>		Tn 316, Cn 1287 <i>di-u-ja</i> / <i>Diwiyāil</i> /		
Posidaeia			Tn 316 <i>po-si-da-e-ja</i>		
Iphemedeia			Tn 316 <i>i-pe-me-de-ja</i>		
<i>Qo-wi-ja</i>			Tn 316 <i>qo-wi-ja</i>		
Trisherros			Tn 316, Fr 1204 <i>ti-ri-se-ro-e</i>		
<i>Do-po-ta</i>			Tn 316 <i>do-po-ta</i> / <i>dospotāi</i> /		
<i>Ko-ma-we-te-ja?</i>			Tn 316 <i>ko-ma-we-te-ja?</i>		Of 35 <i>ko-ma-we-te-ja?</i>
<i>Qe-ra-si-ja?</i>	Fp 1, 13+ <i>qe-ra-si-ja</i>				

C – DEITIES WITH UNKNOWN ORIGIN					
	Knossos	Khania	Pylos	Mycenae	Thebes
<i>Ma-na-sa</i>			Tn 316		
<i>Pe-re-*</i> 82			Tn 316, Un 6		
<i>Di-ri-mi-jo</i>			Tn 316		
<i>Pa-de</i>	Fp 1+, Fs 8, Ga 456		Un 219?		
<i>E-nu-wa-ri-jo</i>	V 52				
<i>Pa-ja-wo-ne</i>	V 52				
<i>A-ma-tu-na</i>			Fn 187		Of 25, 34?
<i>Ma-ri-ne-u</i>	Ga 674, Gg 713			X 508?	
<i>Pi-pi-tu-na</i>	Fp 13				

TABLE 2

	KNOWN DEITIES	DEITIES WITH EPITHET
CRETE	Zeus, Poseidon, Hermes, Dionysos, Ares, Eleuthia, Erinus, Hephaistos?	<i>Diktaios Zeus</i>
GREECE	Zeus, Poseidon, Hermes, Dionysos, Ares, Hera, Artemis	Hermāhās Areiās Hera <i>ke-o-te-ja?</i>
CRETE AND GREECE	Zeus, Poseidon, Hermes, Dionysos, Ares	
	UNKNOWN DEITIES	DEITIES WITH EPITHET
CRETE	Potnia, Diwija, <i>pa-de</i> , <i>qe-ra-si-ja</i> , Eualios, Paiāwon, <i>ma-ri-ne-u?</i> , <i>pi-pi-tu-na</i>	<i>a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja</i> <i>da-pu<sub>2</sub>-ri-to-jo po-ti-ni-ja</i>
GREECE	Potnia, Diwija, <i>pa-de?</i> , Posidāeia, Iphemedeia, <i>qo-wi-ja</i> , Drimios, Trisheros, <i>do-po-ta</i> , <i>ko-ma-we-te-ja?</i> , <i>pe-re-*82</i> , <i>ma-na-sa</i> , <i>a-ma-tu-na</i> , <i>ma-ri-ne-u?</i>	Potnia <i>i-qe-ja</i> , <i>ne-wo-pe-o</i> , <i>u-po-jo</i> , <i>a-si-wi-ja</i> , <i>e-re-wi-jo</i> , <i>si-to-</i>
CRETE AND GREECE	Potnia, Diwija, <i>pa-de?</i>	