Aeolian Origins, and Other Mycenaean Matters

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The Aeolians, then, were scattered throughout the whole of that country which, as I have said, the poet called *Trojan*. Strabo 13.1.4.

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Chapter One

A Mycenaean Ritual: Its Indo-European Antecedents and an Aeolic Reverberation

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1.1. Introduction

Let us begin with a consideration of various elements of Pylos tablet Tn 316, a document to which we shall have cause to return from time to time, and a close examination of the form *po-re-na*, which can be plausibly interpreted as an infinitive (of early Indo-European type), as others have argued. The associated Theban form *po-re-si*, I argue, shows itself to be another verbal – in this instance a participle, one having attested Arcadian and Aeolic counterparts. Another affiliated form, *po-re-no-,* equally has Aeolic affiliations and can be seen as a participant, along the diachronic axis, in an ancestral Helleno-Indo-Iranian lexical matrix of religious vocabulary.

1.2. Pylos Tablet Tn 316

This tablet has received considerable attention since the early days of Linear B studies, owing chiefly to its "draft" appearance coupled with what some have viewed as sensational specifications of human sacrifices to gods. Many of these recipient deities are unknown in post-Mycenaean documents; and this is of course one clear signal that significant theological, mythic, and cult changes occurred between the unraveling of Mycenaean civilization and the reemergence of Greek religious documentation in the alphabetic record. These changes must in large part be due to the influx of ideas about the gods from traditions external to Balkan Greece. The sensationalistic aspect of the text has perhaps ebbed among commentators,[1] but Tn 316 remains a document of interest.[2] The text of Pylos tablet Tn 316 can be transcribed as follows:

[1] For recent treatments of Pylos tablet Tn 316, with discussion and bibliography of earlier work, see Duhoux 2008:323–335 and Palaima 2011:64–72.

[2] For a comparison of Pylos tablet Tn 316 with the Hittite document KBO XVI.65, see Uchitel 2005, in which article the author draws attention to the "offering" of men, women, and golden vessels to gods that is common to both documents. Portions of the Hittite tablet appear to have been copied from wooden-tablet receipts, likely composed in Luvian hieroglyphic. Uchitel concludes that the recurring phrases of the Mycenaean tablet "probably reflect the formulary of 'receipts'," as in the Hittite. If this should be so, the Mycenaean "receipt" formulations continue much older Indo-European syntagms (see below). The distinction that Uchitel would make between economic and ritual language in identifying a source of the Mycenaean "formulae" may blur along, at least, the diachronic axis.

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Pylos Tablet Tn 316

Front

.1 po-ro-wi-to-jo,

.2 i-je-to-qe, pa-ki-ja-si, do-ra-qe, pe-re, po-re-na-qe

.3 pu-ro a-ke, po-ti-ni-ja AUR *215VAS 1 MUL 1

.4 ma-na-sa, AUR *213VAS 1 MUL 1 po-si-da-e-ja AUR *213VAS 1 MUL 1

.5 ti-ri-se-ro-e, AUR *216VAS 1 do-po-ta AUR *215VAS 1

.6 *empty*

.7 *empty*

.8 *empty*

.9 *empty*

.10 pu-ro

The remainder of this side of the tablet lacks line ruling

di-we si-ṗọ-ṛọ ti-mi-ṭọ

Reverse

.1 i-je-to-qe, po-si-da-i-jo, a-ke-qe, wa-tu

.2 do-ra-qe, pe-re, po-re-na-qe, a-ke

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.3a -ja

.3b pu-ro AUR *215VAS 1 MUL 2 qo-wi-ja, ṇạ-[ ], ko-ma-we-te

.4 i-je-to-qe, pe-ṛẹ-*82-jo, i-pe-me-de-ja-qe di-u-ja-jo-qe

.5 do-ṛạ-qe, pe-re-po-re-na-qe, a, pe-re-*82 AUR+*213VAS 1 MUL 1

.6 i-pe-me-ḍẹ-ja AUR 213VAS 1 di-u-ja AUR+213VAS 1 MUL 1

.7 pu-ro e-ma-a_2, a-re-ja AUR *216VAS 1 VIR 1

.8 i-je-to-qe, di-u-jo, do-ra-qe, pe-re, po-re-na-qe a-ḳẹ

.9 di-we AUR *213VAS 1 VIR e-ra AUR *213VAS 1 MUL 1

.10 di-ri-mi-jo | di-wo, i-je-we, AUR *213VAS 1 [ ]

.11 puro

.12 *empty*

.13 *empty*

.14 *empty*

.15 *empty*

.16 pu-ro

The remainder of this side of the tablet lacks line ruling

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The interpretation offered here of the verbal phrase that occurs in lines *Front* 2–3, *Reverse* 1–2, 5, and 8 – that is, *do-ra-qe, pe-re, po-re-na-qe, a-ke* – has been informed by Willi (1994–1995), who rightly recognizes a recurring coordinated syntagm of an early Indo-European pattern, and, especially, by Nagy (1994–1995, 2015a, and 2017b), who realizes that a formulaic parallel to the lexical concatenation is expressed in *Iliad* 23.509–513. The tablet can be translated in the following way:

Front

.1 In the month of Plowistos[3]

.2 X both offers sacrifice[4] at Pa-ki-ja-ne, and carries gifts and PYLOS[5]

.3 takes Y for the carrying: to Potnia 1 GOLD *215-CUP [and] 1 WOMAN

[3] For the reading of the month name *po-ro-wi-to* as *Plōwistós* Πλωϝιστός) the 'month of sailing' see Palmer 1955b:11 and 1969:254–255. For proposed identification of the month with Attic Mounichion see Sergent 1990 (especially pp. 177–178, 180, 182–183, 185–188, 194–197, 204, 208–209, 211, 214), whose identification of several divine figures mentioned in the tablet differs from that proposed herein.

[4] For the sense of the verb *i-je-to* see, *inter alia*, García Ramon 1996.

[5] Pylos is written in oversized symbols along the left margin of the text area, positioned approximately as in the translation.

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.4 to Ma-na-sa 1 GOLD *213-BOWL [and] 1 WOMAN; to Posidāheia 1 GOLD *213-BOWL [and] 1 WOMAN

.5 to the Tris-hērōs : 1 GOLD *216-CUP; to Dospotās 1 GOLD *215-CUP

//

PYLOS

//

di-we si-ṣọ-ṛọ ti-mi-ṭọ[6]

Reverse

.1 X both offers sacrifice at the shrine of Poseidon, and the city takes

PYLOS

.2 and carries gifts and takes Y for the carrying:

.3 1 GOLD *215-CUP [and] 2 women to Boia[7] // to Komāwenteiā

.4 and X offers sacrifice at the shrine of Pe-re-*82, of Iphimedeia, and of Diwia

.5 and carries gifts and takes Y for the carrying: to Pe-re-*82 1 GOLD *213-BOWL [and] 1 WOMAN

[6] A graffito, closely matched by sequences on Pylos tablets Aq 218 and Xa 412. On possible interpretations see Palaima 2011:51–52n30, with bibliography.

[7] That is, Boea (by the transcription convention used herein). On the reading, see Duhoux 2008:334.

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.6 to Iphimedeia 1 GOLD *213-BOWL; to Diwia 1 GOLD *213-BOWL [and] 1 WOMAN

.7 to Hermāhās (Hermes) a-re-ja 1 GOLD *216-CUP [and] 1 MAN

.8 X both offers sacrifice at the shrine of Zeus, and carries gifts and takes Y for the carrying:

.9 to Zeus 1 GOLD *213-BOWL [and] 1 MAN; to Hera *213-BOWL [and] 1 WOMAN;

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.10 to Drimios | the son of Zeus 1 GOLD *213-BOWL [ ]

//

PYLOS

Various elements of the tablet require discussion.

1.2.1. Po-re-na

In the formulaic phrase *do-ra-qe, pe-re, po-re-na-qe, a-ke* the form *po-re-na* is here interpreted as the infinitive *phorênai* (φορῆναι) 'for the carrying.' This interpretation

follows the observations and suggestions of Ventris and Chadwick 1956:285 ("Though one might logically expect this last word [*po-re-na*] to be an unattested noun meaning something like 'cup-bearer', it is possible that it merely represents φορῆναι 'to carry'.");[8] Chantraine 1973:497 ("L'infinitif *porena*, qui semble attesté à Pylos [*Documents*, p. 285], répond exactement à l'homérique φορῆναι."; see also p. 505); and especially Willi 1994–1995 and Nagy 1994–1995, revised and expanded in Nagy 2015a and Nagy 2017b:§§100–122.[9] The infinitive *phorênai* (φορῆναι) 'for the carrying' functions within the syntax of the tablet as, in effect, the dative of a verbal nominal, reflecting early Indo-European usage.[10] The sense is thus 'X carries gifts and takes Y for the carrying', where the referent of X in context is likely to be understood as Pylos, and Y refers to an unnamed individual whom the agent 'takes' and who is given the task of 'carrying' the specified vessels. The conjunction of verbs denoting conveyance that is seen here – *phérein* and *ágein* (φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν) 'to carry/bear' and 'to take/drive' – represents a Greek reflex of an Indo-European syntagm in which the coordination of *b^{h}er- and

[8] See also Vilborg 1960:113, tentatively following Ventris and Chadwick's interpretation.

[9] Herein references to Nagy's work are to paragraph numbers of the revised version.

[10] This is a particular use that certainly reflects the origin of the Indo-European infinitive, as Willi (1994–1995:184n51) suggests. On early Indo-European infinitives as nominal case forms, see, *inter alia*, Szemerényi 1996:324–326 and Meier-Brügger 2003:184, 243–244, both with helpful bibliography.

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*h_1aĝ- (or *h_2eĝ-) expresses (respectively) the 'carrying' of portable goods *and* the 'driving away' of animals or people. As this description of the Indo-European formula suggests, the actions captured by the phrase fall within the sphere of warrior activity.[11] In his studies of Pylos tablet Tn 316 Nagy (2015a:§§8–9, 17; 2017b:§§100–103) underscores the co-occurrence of the Greek verbs in *Iliad* 23.512–513. In the epic the setting of the action is provided by the funeral games for Patroclus. The victory in the chariot race at the games has gone to the powerful warrior Diomedes, the prize is a tripod with handles and a slave woman. Diomedes' Argive companion and charioteer,[12] the 'mighty Sthenelus' (ἴφθιμος Σθένελος), takes possession of the prize and gives to his 'comrades in arms' (*hetaîroi* [ἑταῖροι]): (1) the woman 'to take' (*ágein* [ἄγειν]) and (2) the

[11] Willi (1994-1995:181–185) also notes the significance of the Mycenaean phrase as an expression of the Indo-European syntagm. He argues for the employment of the Indo-European formula in ritual contexts outside of the Pylos tablet, drawing attention to Cato's prayer of lustration (*De agricultura* 141) and the ritual described on Iguvian Tables III and IV. Cato's prayer is of course addressed to the warrior deity Mars. On the warrior affiliation of Indo-European rites involving movement through space see Woodard 2006 *passim*. See below §5.3 for further consideration of *De agricultura* 141. Willi (pp. 182, 184) draws attention to the *suovetaurilia*, the triple sacrifice of a boar, a bull, and a ram, vis-à-vis the Indo-European *b^her- and *h_1aĝ- syntagm. Though not in this regard, we shall have need to examine the triple sacrifice in Chapter Five (se §5.3).

[12] *Iliad* 2.562–563; 4.365–367; 5.241–243; 8.112–115.

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tripod 'to carry off' (*phérein* [φέρειν]), while he unyokes the horses. In his comments on the lines, Eustathius[13] notes that here the use of *ágein* 'to take' and *phérein* 'to carry off' subscribes to the conventional practice of differentially applying the former verb to an 'animate' object (*émpsukhos* [ἔμψυχος]) and the latter to an 'inanimate' (*ápsukhos* [ἄψυχος). We shall pay closer attention to *phérein kaì ágein* (φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν) as a Greek reflex of a more ancient Indo-European syntagm when we consider the deity Apollo Agyieus in Chapter Four (see §4.6).

While the more recent interpretations of Willi and Nagy align with those of Chadwick 1956 (et al.), by the date of the publication of the 1961 international colloquium on Mycenaean studies in Racine, Wisconsin,[14] Chadwick (1964:23) has changed his mind regarding the interpretation of *po-re-na*, identifying it now as an "acc[usative]. pl[ural]," hence, a nominal.[15] In the same volume, both Lejeune and Georgiev also offer views on the form. Like Chadwick, Lejeune (1964:92) advocates for a nominal interpretation of *po-re-na*: "Du point de vue de la forme, *po-re-na* peut être soit l'accusatif (sg. ou pl.) d'un nom en –νᾱ, soit l'accusatif pl. d'un nom en -νον." Georgiev,

[13] *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (= van der Valk 1971–1987) 4.773.

[14] See Bennet 1964.

[15] And for the view expressed still earlier in print, see Chadwick and Baumbach 1963:254: "*po-re-na* PY Tn 316 has been interpreted as infin. *phorênai* (φορῆναι) but is now generally believed to be a noun."

however, reads the form as the infinitive (1964:128) – "*po-re-na* = Hom. φορῆναι" (citing Ventris and Chadwick 1956:285 and Bartoněk 1959:121) – and in doing so reverses his own earlier (1956) interpretation of *po-re-na* as a noun **phorēn* (*φορην; see below). In his review of this collection of papers (i.e. Bennett 1964), Palmer (1965:315) has harsh words for Georgiev: "It is regrettable to see *po-re-na* still quoted as an athematic infinitive, although it has long been recognised to be a noun . . . ," citing only himself (Palmer 1955b) for this "long-recognized" view.[16] In his *Interpretation of Mycenaean Greek Texts* (first published 1963) Palmer had glossed *po-re-na* as "'defilements' (?),"[17] as in Palmer 1955b (p. 10). In his review of the Bennett volume, however, Palmer (1965) proposes a different sense, writing that (p. 320) "it would seem most plausible to take the word as referring to cult objects which can be 'incensed' and girded (?)". The second element of this componential description ('girded') is secondary to the form *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja* ("acceptable as a festival name" [p. 317]) on Pylos tablet Un 443 + 998 (discussed below in §1.2.3), on which tablet there also occurs the form *tu-ru-pte-ri-ja* that Palmer links to the root *thu-* and which he views as fundamentally meaning 'to incense' (see his discussion on pp. 316–322; *tu-ru-pte-ri-ja* is most commonly understood

[16] Palmer (1965:315n9) cites Ventris and Chadwick (1956; in spite of Chadwick and Baumbach 1963:254, noted above) and Chantraine (1957 [= 1973]) as still considering *po-re-na* to be an infinitive.

[17] See Palmer 1969 (revised edition of Palmer 1963): 53, 63, 260, 266–267, 446.

to spell *struptēriā*, later *stuptēría* [στυπτηρία], 'alum').[18] Clearly there has been a good bit of opinion switching in the matter of the meaning of *po-re-na*.

In the second edition of *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* (Ventris and Chadwick 1973:460–461) Chadwick proposes that "the *po-re-na* must be the ten persons who are led to the rite; though no Greek word provides an interpretation it may seem appropriate to translate as victims." Several other investigators who regard *po-re-na* as a noun, both before and since Ventris and Chadwick 1973, have advocated for the sense 'victims'.[19] Palaima can be numbered among those who contend for a nominal interpretation, though he states (1999:454) that he finds "no compelling reason why *po-re-na* has to refer to human victims,"[20] but does not dismiss the possibility that such is the proper reading. Palaima allows the potentiality that the sense of the term could be

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[18] See Aura Jorro 1999:379–380, with extensive bibliography.

[19] On the attribution of the meaning 'victims' to a nominal *po-re-na*, with varying degrees of confidence, see, *inter alia*, Heubeck 1966:102 (" 'Opferdiener', 'Sklave', 'Menschenopfer' o. ä."); Ruijgh 1967:115n79; Spyropoulos and Chadwick 1975:94; Duhoux 1976b:127 ("*po-re-na* pourrait signifier approximativement « victimes », *vel sim.*"); Hooker 1977:176–178 ("it is probable, on the whole"); Aura Jorro 1993:143; Bartoněk 2003:247, 252, 377, 379; Duhoux 2008:331; Hiller 2011:181–182 (with the gloss "victims, bearers of gold vessels?"), 199–200, 206–207.

[20] See also Palaima 2011:66.

'porteur',[21] thus connecting *po-re-na* with the root of the verb *phorênai* (φορῆναι). As we have just seen, in 1956 Georgiev had interpreted *po-re-na* as accusative of a noun **phorēn* (*φορην) – a view that he subsequently abandoned it seems. Among those who view the form as a nominal, this morpho-lexical analysis of *po-re-na* has, however, been that one most widely held, if sometimes tentatively (thus, Palmer 1969:267: "the morphological analysis of *φορενα is unclear").[22] Thebes tablet Of 26 preserves a form *po-re-si*, which Palaima (1996–1997:308–309; 1999:455), like others before him, folds into the analysis of *po-re-na*, and to which we shall soon return.

As we have seen, in his investigation of the recurring phrase *do-ra-qe, pe-re, po-re-na-qe, a-ke*, Nagy, along with Willi, contends for the reading of *po-re-na* as the infinitive *phorênai* (φορῆναι). In doing so Nagy responds to objections to his arguments that appear in Palaima 1996–1997 and 1999 (see also Palaima 2011:66) and points out the significant problem that an envisioned *o*-grade nominal **phorēn* (*φορην) would be of a type without morphological parallel in Greek (Nagy 2015a:§§ 20–25), a hobbling

[21] This is the gloss proposed by Gérard-Rousseau 1968:177.

[22] On *φορην in addition to Georgiev 1956:67 and Palmer 1969:267 see also, *inter alia*, Luria 1957:42 (φορηνά); Gérard-Rousseau 1968:177 (*φορην); Duhoux 1976b:127 (*φορήν). Thumb and Scherer 1959 question a reading of *po-re-na* as accusative plural of *φορήν, along with its meaning "die als Tribut geschuldeten Menschen;" similarly, Doria 1965:232 -- *φορηνά (?) 'offerte, vittime sacrificali'? (φορέω).

hardship undoubtedly reflected in the vacillations and uncertainties that characterize the treatments of earlier investigators. Palaima too acknowledges the difficulty (1999:454n57): "The o-grade treatment in *po-re = [nominal] *φορην is problematical no matter whether one interprets the word 'actively' as 'he/she who carries' or 'passively' as 'he/she/it who/which is brought."[23] Contrast with an aberrant **phorēn* the expected *e*-grade seen in *pherné* (φερνή), Aeolic *phérena* (φέρενα),[24] denoting 'dowry; bridal gift' – i.e. that which a bride brings. To explicate the meaning, Joannes Tzetzes, *Exegesis in Homeri Iliadem* 115.71, makes recourse to the feminine participle *hai pheroúsai* (αἱ φερούσαι) 'those bearing' (φερένας καὶ φρένας τὰς φερούσας νοῦν). Doric shows a form *pherná* (φερνά), attested at Epidaurus (IG IV^2, 1 40.6–7; IG IV^2, 1 41.7–8) and used to signify the portion of an offering that is dedicated to a deity – consistent in sense with use of the formula of offering presentation of Pylos tablet Tn 316, in which the infinitive *phorênai* (φορῆναι) occurs.

In arguing that *po-re-na* spells the infinitive *phorênai* (φορῆναι), Nagy (2015a:§4) draws attention to two important dialect considerations: (1) the refashioning of finite verbs terminating in *-éō* (-έω) as athematic forms ending in *-ēmi* (-ημι) and (2) the

[23] Toward salvaging **phorēn* (*φορην) Palaima offers, in the same footnote, examples of various morphologies, but these lack relevancy to the problem of *po-re-na*.

[24] Aelius Herodianus and Pseudo-Herodianus *De prosodia catholica* 3,1.327; *Etymologicum magnum* p. 790.

formation of the corresponding infinitives in - *ênai* (-ῆναι) represent innovations associated with the Arcado-Cypriot dialect group of the first millennium BC.[25] This Arcadian dialect feature is visible in the Homeric *Kunstsprache*: both Eustathius, in his commentary on the *Iliad*, and Homeric scholia draw explicit attention to the athematic finite verb *phórēmi* (φόρημι) and its relationship to the infinitive of the form *phorênai* .[26] That the Greek of the Linear B documents shares the innovation – as suggested by *phorênai* – gives evidence of a particular dialect relatedness between that second-millennium linguistic system and first-millennium Arcado-Cypriot. This specific observation is consistent with an otherwise endorsed view of the palpable closeness of Mycenaean Greek and Arcado-Cypriot.[27] Nagy is careful to suggest (2015a:§5) that it is the standard dialect of Mycenaean that is especially closely related to Arcado-Cypriot –

[25] Nagy references Thumb and Scherer 1959:133, 169. See also, *inter alia*: for Arcadian, Dubois 1988:142–146, 176–177; and for Cypriot, Egetmeyer 2010:1:469–471, and also 524–525 on the infinitival evidence in Cypriot.

[26] See Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (= van der Valk 1971–1987) 1.284; 2.17, 142, 429; 3.66; *Scholia in Iliadem* (*scholia vetera* [= Erbse 1969–1988]) 10.270; *Scholia in Iliadem* (*scholia vetera et recentiora e cod. Genevensi gr. 44* [= Nicole 1966]) 10.270.

[27] On which see Nagy 2008:II§§139–141. See also, *inter alia*, Thumb and Scherer 1959:326; Vilborg 1960:22; Palmer 1969:36–37, 60–62; Chantraine 1973:504–507; Duhoux 1983:46–47; Bartoněk 1987:12–13 and Table B; Thompson 2010:198–199.

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the Mycenaean dialect which has been called Normal Mycenaean, as opposed to Special Mycenaean. Nagy's is an important proposal, for it spells out that whatever Special Mycenaean is – in terms of affiliation with the known first-millennium BC dialects – it is *not* the dialect ancestral to Arcado-Cypriot.[28] Further along we will return to a consideration of what Special Mycenaean may be.

1.2.2. Po-re-si at Thebes

Thebes tablet Of 26 preserves the aforementioned form *po-re-si*, an apparent dative plural, which has been commonly cited in support of a nominal interpretation of

[28] We should note that this is the express opposite of the conclusion reached by Duhoux (1983:47–48), who judges Special Mycenaean likely to be ancestral to Arcado-Cypriot. He basis his conclusion on three (of the four identified) dialect characteristics that distinguish Normal Mycenaean from Special Mycenaean. The three Normal Mycenaean traits that Duhoux mentions *continue into none* of the attested dialects of the first millennium BC (with a couple of marked exceptions, on which see Risch 1966:157 and Nagy 2008a:II§§125–133) and, thus, their absence from Arcado-Cypriot does not, in and of itself, provide sufficient or convincing evidence for uniquely sorting Arcado-Cypriot with Special Mycenaean. Both Duhoux (1983:48) and Nagy (2008a:II§§126–133) appeal to sociolinguistic considerations in accounting for the survival of the Special Mycenaean dialect characteristics. On Special Mycenaean see especially Risch 1966; Nagy 1968; and Woodard 1986.

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po-re-na.[29] Tablet Of 26 records consignments of wool (*ku* LANA) preceded by a grammatical directive (either an allative in *-de* or a dative-case form) that signals the recipient:

Thebes Tablet Of 26

.1 pu_2-re-wa ku LANA PA 1 ka-ka[ ] ku LANA PA 1

.2 su-me-ra-we-jo, ku LANA PA 1 ko/qi-ḍẹ-wa-o, do-de ku LANA PA 1

.3 di-u-ja-wo, do-de[ ] ku LANA PA 1 po-re-si ku LANA 1

Toward identifying the recipients in these lines we could rewrite them with partial translation in the following way:

Thebes Tablet Of 26

.1 For Pu_2-re-wa *ku* LANA PA 1; for Ka-ka[ ] *ku* LANA PA 1

.2 For Su-me-ra-we-jo *ku* LANA PA 1; to the *do* of Ko/Qi-de-wa *ku* LANA PA 1

.3 to the *do* of Di-u-ja-wo *ku* LANA PA 1; *po-re-si ku* LANA 1

[29] See, *inter alia*, Ventris and Chadwick 1973:461 and 573, indicating uncertainty; Spyropoulos and Chadwick 1975:94; Duhoux 1976b:127; Hooker 1977:176; Aura Jorro 1993:143; Palaima 1996–1997:308–309 and 1999:455; Bartoněk 2003:247, 252, 377, 379; Hiller 2011:182.

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1.2.2.1. Allative-marked Recipients. As the translation indicates, allative expressions appear to occur twice, when the wool is destined for a *do* (i.e., *do-de*, where *do* is commonly interpreted as 'house' [i.e. *dô̂* (δῶ)], but see just below) – that of Ko/Qi-de-wa (a name not otherwise attested in the Mycenaean documents) and that of Di-u-ja-wo. These two names are usually construed as genitives, given the context provided by this and related tablets, and they surely must be. The *-wo* termination of a genitive Di-u-ja-wo has been viewed as perplexing, however. Chadwick interprets *di-u-ja-wo* as a variant spelling of the name *di-wi-ja-wo* found on Knossos tablet Vc 293 and Pylos tablet Na 406 + 1088,[30] which has long been read as a man's name Diwyāwōn,[31] and, accordingly, tries to resolve the matter by emending the reading of table Of 26.3 to *di-u-ja-wo<-no>*.[32] Others have followed Chadwick's editorial revision.[33] But the emendation is awkward, and surely unnecessary. What we find here must be a form properly

[30] See Spyropoulos and Chadwick 1975:104. The form also occurs, nearly absent of context, on the fragmentary Thebes tablet Ug 11, again an armory inventory.

[31] Since at least Mühlestein 1956b (pp. 86–87), who, however, suggests a possible interpretation as an ethnic adjective.

[32] Spyropoulos and Chadwick 1975:88.

[33] See, for example, Del Freo and Rougemont 2012:269, 271–272.

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identified by Ruijgh (1967:130n155): Díwyarwos (Δίϝγαρϝος) 'priest of Diwia', a goddess who, as we have seen, is one of the recipient deities named on Pylos tablet Tn 316 and who otherwise appears in the Linear B record. Díwyarwos thus formally matches *Potníarwos (*Ποτνίαρϝος), from which is derived the adjective *po-ti-ni-ja-wi-jo* 'of the priest of Potnia' found on Pylos tablet Qa 1299 (Ruijgh 1967:123). For comparison, Ruijgh calls attention to epic *arētḗr* (ἀρητήρ) 'priest' – that is, 'one who prays' (*aráomai* [ἀράομαι]). As Gulizio rightly observes (2000:113), in the phrase *di-u-ja-wo, do-de* on tablet Of 26 the initial term must be genitive plural, hence the reference is to the '*dô̂* of the priests of Diwia'.

A word about *dô̂* (δῶ; Linear B *do*) and *oîkos* (οἶκος; Linear B *wo-[i-]ko*). Chadwick suggests that in the Mycenaean documents *woikos* (in the allative *wo-ko-de*), in opposition to *do* (in the allative *do-de*), may refer to the "house of a deity" or "temple".[34] The nominal component of *do-de*, understood as *dô̂*, is, on the other hand, taken to reference the 'house, home' of individual persons in the Thebes Of tablets to which wool consignments were directed. We should note, however, that hints of a broader, or otherwise variant, sense of the *dô̂m-* (δῶμ-) morpheme (with its allomorphs) surface in

[34] See Spyropoulos and Chadwick 1975:89, 93; see also Hiller 2011:181–182, 198. Contra Chadwick's interpretation see Hooker 1977:174–176 and the comments of Aura Jorro 1985:185–186.

post-Mycenaean Greek attestations, as in, for example, *dṓmēsis* (δώμησις; Hesychius Δ 2720) and *dōmētús* (δωμητύς; Hesychius Δ 2722) for the *act* of 'building' and 'construction'; and the compound *oiko-dómēma* (οἰκο-δόμημα), denoting 'structure', as in Thucydides 2.75.5; 2.76.3; 4.8.4; 4.90.2 – in the last case used significantly of a temple structure. Consider too Sophocles' use (*Oedipus Rex* 29) of the phrase δῶμα Καδμεῖον 'Cadmean *dôma*' to denote the topographic space of urban Thebes. Greek *démō* (δέμω) means 'to build',[35] though *démō* can also be used of preparing open ground, as of the grounds of a vineyard at *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 87 or of the *témenos* (τέμενος, sacred precinct) of Pythian Apollo (Plato *Spuria* 367c; for the syntagm *démō témenos* [δέμω

[35] On the Proto-Indo-European verb root *dem(h_2)- 'to build', see, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1930:786–788; Mallory and Adams 1997:87; LIV 114–115; Watkins 2011:16. While the etymological relationship between the verb root *dem(h_2)- and the nominal *dem- 'house(hold)' has been a matter of scholarly contention (see notably the objections of Benveniste 1969:1:294–301), from a synchronic Greek perspective, verb and noun lexemes were surely construed as a semantic set. This is revealed, for example, by Apollonius Rhodius' *figura etymologica* ἐπὶ μέγα <u>δῶμα</u> . . . | Κύπριδος, ὅρρά τέ οἱ <u>δεῖμεν</u> 'the great <u>house</u> . . . | of Cypris which [Hephaestus] <u>had built</u> for her' (*Argonautica* 3.36–37). The grammarians and lexicographers make it explicit (Philoxenus fr. 473; Apollonius *Lexicon Homericum* 61.16; *Etymologicum Gudianum* Δ 386; *Scholia et glossae in Sophoclis Ajacem* (*glossae et scholia recentiora* [= Christodoulos 1977]) 73c. For the noun root *dem- see Chapter Three (§3.2.1).

τέμενος]; see also, *inter alia*, Procopius *De aedificiis* 1.4.3–4).[36] Moreover, *dôma* and *oîkos* can show (near) synonymy already in Homeric epic (as at *Odyssey* 14.318); though Knox (1970:117–119) demonstrates, succinctly but revealingly, that *oîkos* is *never* used of the house of a major deity (i.e. Olympian plus Hades) and only twice of minor deities (Circe and Heracles) – but 132 times of homes of mortals – while *dô*, *dôma*, and *dómos* (δόμος) are commonly used of the domiciles of divinities (chiefly of major deities), in total outnumbering their use to designate houses of mortals in the *Iliad* by a ratio of 57 to 45 (the very opposite of Chadwick's expectations for Mycenaean *woikos* and *do*).

All of these observations are offered by way of suggesting that the assumption that the few occurrences of *do-de* in the Thebes tablets designate "homes" is perhaps ill conceived. In other words, all such usages may not necessarily encode the notion of residences occupied by single persons/families. Closely related to Thebes tablet Of 26 is tablet Of 33:[37]

Thebes Tablet Of 33

[36] The syntagm becomes common among Christian writers, adapted to their descriptions of sacred architectural features.

[37] On Thebes tablet Of 31, line 2,]*ḍọ-de* appears. On line 1 of the same tablet, *de* can be read on the left (broken) edge and *do*-]*de* has been restored.

.1 ku-ru-me-no ku LANA PA 1 o-*34-ta-o , do-de ku LANA PA 1

.2 qi-wo , di-u-ja-wo ku[LANA]PA 2

In the allative phrase *o-*34-ta-o, do-de* of line 1, the form O-*34-ta (in the genitive case) is commonly understood to be a man's name, but compare the toponym of the same form on Pylos tablets An 519 + fr. and An 654, naming a place to which a supportive warrior group is attached;[38] for O-*34-ta Palmer (1969:23, 156) suggests a toponym *Oluntha* (Ὀλυνθα) or *Oluta* (Ὀλυτα). Should we understand the phrase *o-*34-ta-o, do-de* on Thebes tablet Of 33 to specify a sacred precinct or edifice belonging to (or in some other way affiliated with) a locale *Olunthā(s)* (Ὀλυνθᾱ[ς]), *Olutā(s)* (Ὀλυτᾱ[ς]), or the like?[39]

[38] The form o-*34-ta* appears also in the one line inscription of Thebes tablet Ug 3, an inventory of armor, where it is preceded by the form *pe-pi-te-me-no-jo*, perhaps a man's name in the genitive case, also on Ug 1 and restored on Ug 2; see Aura Jorro 1993:100 for comments and bibliography. The morphology of *pe-pi-te-me-no-jo* in any event appears to be that of a perfect middle participle of the verb *peíthō* (πείθω), hence, literally, 'one persuaded', approximately 'confidant': on the whole, we seem to find ourselves in the realm of the warrior and ally.

[39] Compare place names, especially Boeotian, ending in *-ā* (-ᾱ), inflecting as first declension masculine nouns.

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1.2.2.2. Dative-marked recipients. We see then that we find modifying genitives used in allative[40] expressions in the Thebes Of tablets to record recipients of allocations of wool. But commonly recipients appearing on these tablets look to be marked by the dative case. Palaima (1996–1997:308–309) points out that the mixed use of allative expressions (and locatives)[41] alongside datives is frequently found in Mycenaean allocation records, particularly those dealing with matters of cult.[42] Notice that the allative phrases *po-ti-ni-ja, wo-ko-de* 'to the *woikos* of Potnia' (Thebes tablet Of 36) and *ṃạ-ri-ne-wo, wo-i-ko-de* 'to the *woikos* of Ma-ri-ne-u' (Knossos tablet As 1519 + fr., the referent is again likely a god) occur beside the locative *wo-ke* (*woikei*; post-Mycenaean

[40] And perhaps locatival expressions; see just below and the discussion of *qi-wo* in Chapter 2.

[41] Such as *a-mi-ni-so*, locative or locatival dative, 'at Amnisos', on Knossos tablet Fp 1 + 31. See the examples collected by Palaima (1996–1997) at the bottom of his p. 308 and top of p. 309.

[42] Palaima (1996–1997:308) writes that this is especially so in texts "with religious associations where the pinpointing of a particular sanctuary within a locale may easily merge in the mind of the scribe receiving and recording information with the deity worshipped at a particular locale or workers or officials located there."

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oíkei [οἴκει], *oíkoi* [οἴκοι]), found on Pylos tablet Sh 736 (a weapon-archive document; see below, §9.6)[43] in the phrase *me-za-na, wo-ke* 'at the house of *me-za-na*'.[44]

In the instance of the Thebes Of series, dative singular morphology can be identified with reasonable confidence in the case of the names written *Pa-pa-ra-ki* (Of 25); *A-re-i-ze-we-i* (Of 37); and *Qa-ra$_2$-te* (Of 38).[45] The dative plural *ma-ri-ne-we-ja-i*, a derivative of a man's name, or possibly of a theonym,[46] 'to the women of *Ma-ri-ne-u', is found twice in these materials (Of 25; Of 35).

Del Freo and Rougemont (2012:270), extrapolating from Hiller (1987:245–246), are most likely correct in proposing that various feminine appellatives appearing in the Of tablets are to be read as dative singular (as opposed to nominative plural, in light of the absence of secure nominative plurals "of rubric" in the Of series, in contrast to the

[43] See, *inter alia*, Palmer 1969:330, 464; Hiller 2011:198. The locative *wo-ke* is also found on the fragmentary Knossos tablet L 698.

[44] Hiller (2011:181) suggests a possible goddess named Me-za-na, but see below, Chapter Nine, on the interpretation of *me-za-na*, especially §9.6.

[45] With the last named compare the allative of tablet Of 37, *Qa-ra-to-de*, preceding *A-re-i-ze-we-i*.

[46] For discussion see, *inter alia*, Spyropoulos and Chadwick 1975:93; Killen 1979:176–178 (especially note ** on p. 178); Rougemont 2005:336n56; Duhoux 2008:261–262; Killen 2008:188.

presence of secure dative plurals).[47] This (probable) set of dative singulars consists of at least the following: (1) *a-ka-i-je-ja*, a derived adjectival form found twice on Of 27, modifying *du-qo-te-ja* and *pu$_2$-ke-qi-ri-ne-ja* (these being perhaps names of women);[48] (2) *a-pi-qo-ro*, identifying an 'attendant',[49] and *a-ra-ka-te-ja* 'spinner' on tablet Of 34, the two contrasting as, in some sense, *ne-wa* versus *pa-ra-ja*, 'new' versus 'old', respectively;[50] (3) *te-pe-ja*, on tablet Of 35, denoting a maker of a kind of cloth (*te-pa*, a densely woven fabric) and written sequentially after *Ko-ma-we-te-ja*, a theonym (Komāwenteiā) that we encountered above, on the reverse side of Pylos tablet Tn 316, naming one of those

[47] On a case-by-case basis Chadwick often but not always concurs: see Ventris and Chadwick 1973:532–533; Spyropoulos and Chadwick 1975:105–106.

[48] See Ventris and Chadwick 1973:541, 575; Spyropoulos and Chadwick 1975:105; Killen 1983:72, 75–76; Aura Jorro 1985:197; 1993:177–178.

[49] See Spyropoulos and Chadwick 1975:92; Hiller 1987:243–246.

[50] In Chadwick's view the adjectives *ne-wa* and *pa-ra-ja* likely reference wool rather than personnel; see Spyropoulos and Chadwick 1975:92 and 96. One is reminded, however, of the Hittite and Luvian religious officiant called the ^{SAL}ŠU.GI 'Old Woman' (who plays a role in the KIN-oracle, discussed below in §18.2.3). The Old Woman herself utilizes wool in, for example, conducting the purifying rites described in the Hittite Tunnawi ritual (on which see below, §23.3.5.2) and conducting the ritual (CTH 433.2) for appeasing the tutelary god of the *kurša* (an implement we will examine in some detail further along in this work; see especially Chapter Sixteen).

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deities to whom gifts are carried; (4) *no-ri-wo-ki-de* on Of 36 (line 1) apparently designating a woman who produces another variety of cloth;[51] (5) also on Of 36 – the nominal *a-ke-ti-ra*$_2$ 'decorator', listed twice as a recipient of wool, once (line 2) in conjunction with the allative phrase *po-ti-ni-ja, wo-ko-de* 'to the *woikos* of Potnia'.

Beyond these, other recipients are probably recorded in the dative case on tablets of the Of series from Thebes. Succinctly, this set consists minimally of the following men's names: Pu$_2$-re-wa (Of 26)[52]; Su-me-ra-we-jo (Of 26);[53] Pi-ro-pe-se-wa (Of 28);[54] I-da-i-jo (Of 28);[55] Ku-ru-me-no (Of 33)[56] – and perhaps also Ne-e-to (Of 38) and Ṇẹ-a$_2$-ri-da (Of 39).[57]

In addition to Potnia and Komāwenteiā (and possibly *Ma-ri-ne-u), yet other deities appear in the Thebes Of series, and are likely marked as dative recipients. On

[51] See Aura Jorro 1985:478. On the morphology of *no-ri-wo-ki-de* (vis-à-vis *no-ri-wo-ko* at Pylos) see the comments of Meier-Brügger 1992:2:25, with bibliography.

[52] See Ventris and Chadwick 1973:576; Spyropoulos and Chadwick 1975:104.

[53] See Aura Jorro 1993:304, with bibliography.

[54] See Ventris and Chadwick 1973:572; Spyropoulos and Chadwick 1975:105.

[55] See Aura Jorro 1985:271–272, with bibliography.

[56] See Aura Jorro 1985:408, with bibliography.

[57] See Spyropoulos and Chadwick 1975:107.

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tablet Of 28 wool is consigned *E-ra*, most probably 'for Hera', whose name is seemingly modified by an epithet *ke-o-te-ja*. The fragmentary tablet Of 31 appears to preserve allative phrases in lines one and two, followed in the third line by the form *E-ma-a*$_2$ 'for Hermāhās' (Hermes) – yet another god for whom gifts are reported as carried on Tn 316.

1.2.2.3. Participle Po-re-si: Arcadian and Aeolic. This brings us at last to a closer consideration of the form *po-re-si* of tablet Of 26. We have seen now that it co-occurs with two allative phrases and two probable datives of proper names (Pu$_2$-re-wa and Su-me-ra-we-jo). In light of the evidence regarding the marking of recipients of wool on Of tablets in the dative case, *po-re-si* must certainly be read as dative, and this seems to have been the default parsing for most investigators.[58] Those who interpret *po-re-na* as a nominal on Tn 316 (rather than as an infinitive) would see in *po-re-si* a dative plural of that same nominal. Hiller (2011:182), for example, writes that *po-re-si* "is obviously the dat. (pl.) of *po-re-na*, designation of persons (victims, bearers of gold vessels?) who

[58] Thus, Spyropoulos and Chadwick 1975:105; Lejeune 1976:82 (deferring to Chadwick); Duhoux 1976b:127; Hiller 1987:246 and 2011:182; Palaima 1996–1997:308–309; Del Freo and Rougemont 2012:270.

appear in clearly religious function on the Pylos 'pantheon tablet' Tn 316."[59] In order to understand the term as a dative denoting 'ones who bear [gold vessels etc.]' it is not, however, necessary to interpret *po-re-si* as a form of the problematic, conjectured noun **phorēn* (*φορην).

As we have seen, it is the Arcadian dialect of the first millennium BC that is crucially significant in elucidating the morphology of second-millennium *po-re-na*. Verbs that end in *-éō* (-έω) in most dialects appear as athematic verbs in *-ēmi* (-ημι) in Arcadian, with corresponding infinitives formed in *–ê̄nai* (-ῆναι). Linear B *po-re-na* can be understood to spell an infinitive of this type, *phorê̄nai* (φορῆναι). In his discussion of Arcadian verb morphology, Dubois (1988:143) draws attention to an accusative singular participle *kuensan* (κυενσαν; IPArk 34.12), comparing the Attic inscriptional correspondent *kuōsan* (κυῶσαν; SEG 33:147.39, 44), participle of the thematic contract verb *kuéō* (κυέω) 'to bear in the womb, be pregnant with'. The Arcadian participle *kuensan* (κυενσαν) clearly points to an athematic finite verb **kúēmi* (*κύημι).[60] In other words:

[59] Cf. Palaima 1999:455. See also Rodríguez 2014, who would interpret *po-re-na* as denoting individuals who carry offerings but who explicitly rejects (see p. 196, n. 24) the infinitival interpretation of Willi and of Nagy.

[60] Here Dubois also calls attention to the gloss of Hesychius K 4433: *kúessan*: *kúousan* (κύεσσαν· κύουσαν).

Arcadian *kuensan* (κυενσαν) : *kúēmi* (κύημι) :: Attic *kuôsan* (κυῶσαν) : *kuéō* (κυέω)

Correspondingly, Linear B *po-re-si* in Thebes tablet Of 26 must certainly spell the dative plural participle *phor-en-si* (φορ-εν-σι), recording an allotment of wool assigned 'to/for those who carry'. Compare, with Ionic thematic morphology, the participle, for example, of *Iliad* 8.89, where the charging chariot steeds of Hector are described as θρασὺν ἡνίοχον <u>φορέοντες</u> (<u>*phoréontes*</u>) Ἕκτορα '<u>those that carry</u> the recklessly bold charioteer, Hector'.

Aeolic shares with Arcadian the *-ēmi* (-ημι) athematic inflection of verbs that terminate in *-éō* (*-έω*) in Attic-Ionic and elsewhere (but not the corresponding infinitive in *-ênai* [-ῆναι]). Thus, Alcaeus fr. 41.10 (L-P) preserves *]phóren[t]es [* (] φόρεν[τ]ες [) 'ones carrying', a nominative plural participle of *phórēmi* (φόρημι). One would have expected Aeolic **phórēntes* (*φόρηντες) and perhaps the reading should be emended accordingly. Regardless, the significance of this form for understanding Mycenaean *po-re-si* can hardly be overstated. The context of Alcaeus' participle is one having cult indications, with surrounding fragmented references to notions *ágnai* (ἄγναι) 'pure' (l. 7); *íran* (ἴραν) 'sacred' (l. 9); *oîn[o]n* (οἶν[ο]ν) 'wine' (l. 11); *kítharis* (κίθαρις) 'lyre' (l. 14);

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té]menos lakhois[a (τέ]μενος λαχοισ[α) 'having obtained a *témenos*' (l. 17); *k]orúphan pólēos* (κ]ορύφαν πόληος) 'peak of the polis' (l. 18); *Aphródita* (Ἀφρόδιτα) 'Aphrodite'. Regarding the short vowel of the reading *]phóren[t]es [* of this fragment, compare later spelling variation seen in three Lesbian inscriptions: (1) IG XII,2 15.18 from Mytilene (ca. 193 BC) shows a genitive plural participle *katoikḗntōn* (κατοικήντων), from athematic **katoíkēmi* (*κατοίκημι), Attic *katoikéō* (κατοικέω) 'to settle, dwell in'; (2) SEG 36:750.17, also from Mytilene (ca. 340–330 BC),[61] attests a *short-vowel variant* of the participle, *katoikéntōn* (κατοικέντων); (3) IG XII Suppl. 692.23 from Eresos (second century BC) similarly preserves *katoikénṭ[ō]ṇ* (κατοικένṭ[ω]ν̣).[62] Some conditioned shortening of the suffixal vowel is perhaps suggested in the context created by the participial morphology by the later fourth century.[63]

[61] See Heisserer and Hodot 1986:119.

[62] Compare also Thessalian dative plural *katoikéntessi* (κατοικέντεσσι) in IG IX,2 517.14 and 18, from Larisa (214 BC).

[63] See the discussion of Blümel 1982:61, 218–219 who draws attention to Lesbian inscriptions (1) and (3) above and suggests a shortening of the vowel before the sequence sonorant + obstruent, and conversely, in certain finite forms, a lengthening conditioned by the same context; some of the examples presented in his discussion are conjectural.

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1.2.3. Po-re-no- at Pylos

There is at least one additional Linear B form to which a purported nominal *po-re-na* has been judged to be pertinent. As mentioned above (§1.2.1), Pylos tablet Un 443 + 998 records the entry *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja*, followed by a specification of a measure of wool. The tablet reads as follows:

.1 ku-pi-ri-jo , tu-ru-pte-ri-ja , o-no LANA 10 *146 10

.2 po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja LANA 3

.3]ḍọ-ke , ka-pa-ti-ja , HORD 2 te-ri-ja GRA 1̣ LANA 5

IN §1.2.1 I alluded to Palmer's (1965) segmentation of *po-re-no* from the syntagm/compound. He connects the remaining morphology (*zo-te-ri-ja*) with that family of terms headed by the verb *zdṓnnumi* (ζώννυμι) 'to gird', identifying *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja* as the name of a festival.[64] Many investigators have proceeded likewise,[65] though some with acknowledged discomfort.

[64] On *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja* as a festival name see still earlier Palmer 1962:578n1, and also 1969:446.

[65] See Heubeck 1966:105; Ruijgh 1967:115; Duhoux 1976b:127–128; Hiller and Panagl 1986:312; Palaima 1995:455; 1996–1997:306–308; Bartoněk 2003:207, 379; Lupack 2006:100n46; Hiller 2011:172, 199.

1.2.3.1. Sanskrit Bharaṇa- and Related Forms. Towards making sense of Linear B *po-re-no* (in *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja*), it is important to take account of the Sanskrit derivative nominal *bharaṇa-*.[66] The Sanskrit verbal root *bhar-* (from PIE *b^{h}er-) 'to bear, carry' is cognate with Greek *pher-* (φερ-) – thus, Sanskrit *bhárati*, Greek *pherō* (φέρω), the finite verbs. With the Sanskrit thematic nominal *bharás* 'bearing' (adjective) and *bháras* 'a bearing away, plunder' (noun), from *e*-grade *b^{h}er-, compare Greek *phorós* (φορός) 'bearing' and *phóros* (φόρος) 'payment, tribute' (i.e. 'that which is brought'), from *o*-grade *b^{h}or-. With these *o*-grade forms of Greek compare Sanskrit *bhāra-* 'burden; labor; bulk'. For Greek *e*-grade nominal derivatives, in addition to the above-mentioned (see §1.2.1) *pherné* (φερνή), Aeolic *phérena* (φέρενα) 'dowry; bridal gift', and *pherná* (φερνά), denoting the deity's portion, consider *phérma* (φέρμα) 'fetus; fruit of the earth'. Semantically Greek *phérma* (φέρμα) provides a match to Sanskrit *bharaṇa-*; morphologically Greek *phérma* (φέρμα) finds a counterpart in Sanskrit *bhárman-* 'support; nourishment'.

Sanskrit *bharaṇa-* is derived from *bhar-* by means of the suffix *-ana-*, descended from a early Indo-European formant *-e/ono-. The Sanskrit suffix produces two morpho-semantically distinct formations, depending on accent placement, both of

[66] On the morphology see Burrow 1955:150–151; Whitney 1960:426–428.

which constitute nominals with conspicuous verbal qualities. Thus, on the one hand, when the accent falls on the root, a neuter noun is derived that signifies the result of an action: for example, *vácana-* 'word' (from *vac-* 'to speak'), *káraṇa-* 'deed' (from *kr̥-* 'to make, do'). On the other hand, when the accent falls on the *-ana-* suffix (i.e. *-aná-*), the nominal derived serves as an adjective or "agent noun": for example, *vacaná-* 'speaking', *karaṇá-* 'active, skilled' (i.e. 'doing').[67] Avestan provides evidence of the inherited formant as well: for example, *ham-ərəna-* 'battle' beside Sanskrit *sam-áraṇa-* 'battle' (from *r̥-* 'to go towards, attack'; cf. Greek *ór-nu-mi* [ὄρ-νυ-μι] 'to incite, rush on'); *varəna-* 'choice, belief' beside Sanskrit *varaṇá-* 'choosing'.[68]

The formant is clearly of Indo-European origin, leaving reflexes outside of Indo-Iranian.[69] Comparable formations occur regularly and plentifully in Slavic built with the *e*-grade of the Indo-European formant (i.e. *-eno-) and functioning as past passive participles, as in Old Church Slavic *nes-enŭ* 'carried'.[70] The formant similarly survives in Germanic, typically attested as reflexes of the *o*-grade, though the *e*-grade variants are widely, if not commonly, preserved. In his examination of the variable survival of *-

[67] See Whitney 1960:427; Burrow 1955:150.

[68] On the Avestan morphology, see Jackson 1892:214–215.

[69] See Brugmann 1892:141–145.

[70] See, *inter alia*, Burrow 1955:150; Andersen 1998:446–447; Lunt 2001:110–111.

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eno- in Germanic, Nielsen (1992:641–642)[71] identifies past participles of this *e*-grade form from across the Germanic family, such as the following: Old English *binumine* 'taken away', *forsleginum* 'struck down'; Old Frisian *fendsen* 'caught', *hwendsen* 'hung'; Old Norse *gripinn* 'seized', *tekinn* 'taken'; Early Runic *faikinaz* 'threatened', *haitinaz* 'called'; Gothic *fulgins* 'secret' (i.e. 'hidden'), *aigin* 'property' (i.e. 'owned'); and probably Old High German *abasnitine* 'cut off' and Old Saxon *bismitin* 'soiled' and *kumin(a)* 'come'.[72]

Morphologically, Sanskrit *bharaṇa*-, denoting adjectivally 'bearing', and as a neuter noun 'the act of bearing (in the womb), bringing; (hence) payment',[73] suggests a Greek *o*-grade cognate *phoreno*- (φορενο-). Sanskrit *bharaṇa*- surfaces in the *Rig Veda* – in hymn 10.31, "an extremely obscure hymn" dedicated to All Gods, but principally a

[71] See also Nielsen 1989:8–9; Harðarson 2018:945–947.

[72] Nielsen (1992:642) observes: "Both ablaut grades were thus originally known throughout Germanic." A Germanic sound change analysis speculated by Ringe and Taylor (2014:20) is redundant and unlikely in light of the comparative evidence; Ringe 2017:218 appears to be more in line with Brugmann, Nielsen, Harðarson *et al.*

[73] From *b^{h}er-eno-. While Indo-European *e and *o generally merge with *a as *a* in the evolution of Sanskrit, *o develops into *ā* in open syllables (Brugmann's Law).

song in praise of Agni.[74] The locative *bháraṇe* occurs in pāda 6d, in a reference to gods carried within a womb (seemingly the womb of Agni; see 6c–d): *bharaṇa-* here appears to signify the fetal 'burden' of the womb,[75] or else the action of bearing a fetus (i.e. of being in the condition of pregnancy).[76]

If, in fact, *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja* denotes a festival, and if Linear B *po-re-no-* spells *phoreno-* (φορενο-), *o*-grade equivalent to *bharaṇa-*, as appears probable, then the festival so named could literally (componentially) denote something like a 'girding of fetus-bearing', that is, 'of childbearing'. For semantic similarity within Greek compare the, chiefly, *o*-grade forms *phor-á* (φορ-ά) 'gestation; productiveness', *phor-ás* (φορ-άς) 'fecund; brood-mare', *phór-imos* (φόρ-ιμος) 'fertile', *phér-ma* (φέρ-μα) 'fetus'.[77] The *e*-grade structural equivalent survives in Aeolic *phérena* (φέρενα), 'dowry; bridal gift', the

[74] The quotation is from Jamison and Brereton 2014:1424; see their translation and discussion of the hymn on pp. 1424–1426. See also Geldner 1951–1957:3:177–180.

[75] Grassmann 1875:927.

[76] Monier-Williams 1979:747.

[77] Within the same semantic realm, compare *téknon* (τέκνον) 'offspring', nominal derived from the root of *tíktō* (τίκτω) 'to bear offspring' (of uncertain etymology) by the related formant *-no-* (on the formant see below, §1.2.3.4).

exact cognate of Sanskrit *bharaṇa-*.[78] This claim is made with the allowance that we find in Aeolic *phérena* (φέρενα) a noun inflected explicitly as feminine; the comparable Sanskrit feminine *bharaṇī* serves not only as the feminine form of the adjective but as a noun that denotes one of the *nakṣatras* of Vedic astrology, that lunar house (i.e. constellation) which is formed by three stars in triangular arrangement, identified as a vagina. One might possibly understand the Mycenaean *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja* as a communal celebratory event dedicated to clothing women in a way that makes an outward declaration of a fetus borne within them. Such a 'girding of childbearing', one might imagine, may simply be an "un-girding" or a girding with something other than a conventional belt (on pregnant women depicted as wearing unbelted garments on archaic Greek votive plaques see Lee 2012:26–28).

More likely, however, *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja* would name a festival at which women who had given birth were ritually and symbolically re-girded following birth. The anthropological primitive associating untying and unbinding with childbirth has been carefully explored by Bettini (2013:69–82, see especially pp. 70–74), who draws attention to how a woman's act of ungirding as labor begins became, in antiquity, a metaphor for birthing, as seen, for example, in Callimachus *Hymns* 4.209 (λύσατο δὲ

[78] See already Brugmann 1892:141.

ζώνην 'she loosened her belt') and 4.222 (μίτρην ἀναλύεται 'she is undoing her girdle'), used of Leto (mother of Apollo and Artemis). The lexical concatenation of *lúō + zṓnē* (λύω + ζώνη), as in 4.209, finds expression in the adjective *lusízōnos* (λυσίζωνος) 'loosening the belt', used as an epithet of Eileithyia in her role as goddess who comforts and brings women through childbirth (Theocritus *Idylls* 17.60; Cornutus *De natura deorum* 73; *Orphic Hymns* 2.7–9), and similarly of Artemis (Libanius *Epistulae* 371.4; Hesychius Λ 1443).[79] The metaphor is encountered in the form *lúein mítrēn* (λύειν μίτρην) 'to loosen the girdle' in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius (1.288): a scholiast on the line explains that 'women giving birth for the first time loosen their girdles and dedicate them to Artemis; for which reason there is also a temple of Artemis *Lusizonos* in Athens'.[80] Lee (2012:33–36; 2015:213–214), following Morizot 2004, draws

[79] Hesychius references the use of *lusízōnos* (λυσίζωνος) to describe also a woman at the point of becoming a bride, the moment of presenting her reproductive capacities to her husband, writing that the term is used of any woman who has been given in marriage. Complementary to this, the *Suda* reports (Λ 859) that *lusízōnos* (λυσίζωνος) describes a woman who has had intercourse with a man, as virgins about to have sex dedicate their own virginal belts to Artemis.

[80] *Scholia in Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* (*scholia vetera* [= Wendel 1935]) 33: λύουσι γὰρ τὰς ζώνας αἱ πρώτως τίκτουσαι καὶ ἀνατιθέασιν Ἀρτέμιδι· ὅθεν καὶ Λυσιζώνου Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ἐν Ἀθήναις. See Bettini 2013:263n17 on the scene of such a dedication illustrated on an Attic white-figure vase.

attention to a fourth-century BC votive plaque from Echinus that depicts worshippers of Artemis presenting an infant before an image of the goddess, with a variety of gowns – votive offerings, seemingly – shown as suspended within the goddess' shrine. She also notes the practice of women offering various garments to Artemis in her sanctuary at Brauron.[81] On textile dedications to deities recorded in the epigrams of the *Greek Anthology* see Table 32 in Brøns 2016.[82] Seven such dedicatory epigrams are specified as occasioned by childbirth: in each of these instances the recipient deity is either Eileithyia (three times)[83] or Artemis (four times);[84] and garments offered include belts, undergarments, breastbands, hairbands, chitons, pepla – among still other items, including, commonly, sandals, the loosening of which is conspicuous in the sympathetic context of easy birthing (see Bettini 2103:71–74). A cult setting for Pylos tablet Un 443 + 998 (on which *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja* occurs) is suggested by the occurrence

[81] These items are catalogued in Cleland 2005; see also Linders 1972 and Foxhall and Stears 2000. See also Lee 1999:218–269 and especially Brøns 2016.

[82] See also Bettini 2013:263–264nn21–22, including additional bibliography.

[83] Epigrams 6.200 (Leonidas), 270 (Nicias), and 274 (Perses). See also 6.146 (Callimachus), in which no votive textile is specified.

[84] Epigrams 6.201 (Marcus Argentarius), 202 (Leonidas of Tarentum), 271 (Phaedimus), and 272 (Perses). See also 6.273 (in the style of Nossis), in which no votive textile is specified.

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of the name Ka-pa-ti-ja (Karpathiā) on line three (see above, §1.2.3), naming a woman who contributes a large quantity of barley, perhaps for the celebration of the festival; a cult official of the same name appears on Pylos tablets Eb 338 + fr. and Ep 704:[85] she is a *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* (*klāwiphóros* [κλᾱϝιφόρος]) – that is, 'one who bears a *klāwis*',[86] term later taking the form *kleís* (κλείς). In a post-Mycenaean period Argive Hera is served by a cult officiant called a *Kleidoûkhos* (Κλειδοῦχος), '*kleís*-bearer', often translated 'key-bearer'. But 'cord-bearer' or 'garland-bearer', or something similar, is more likely and sensible in the context of a festival dedicated to the symbolic re-girding of a woman following birth. On construing this textile sense with the Mycenaean term *klawis* (for independent reasons) see the discussion of §15.3.3.

The apparent mention of alum (*tu-ru-pte-ri-ja*) in line one of tablet Un 443 + 998 could possibly be pertinent in regard to cult and fertility. As is well known, alum could be used in the process of coloring wool in order to make the dye take,[87] and perhaps the mention of alum here is significant only in that way. Perhaps wool was required to be dyed a particular color for use in a rite associated with the *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja* festival.

[85] See Nakassis 2013:130, 275 for discussion.

[86] On this cult figure, see, *inter alia*, Ventris and Chadwick 1973:135 and 551; Palmer 1969:495; Bartoněk 2003:373; Shelmerdine 2008:133.

[87] See, *inter alia*, Bresson 2015:354, with bibliography.

But alum, a strong astringent, has other uses, notably in the realm of healing. For example, in the Hippocratic corpus its use in various mixtures is prescribed as a styptic in the treatment of ulcers (e.g. *De ulceribus* 12, 14), of hemorrhoids (*De haemorrhoidibus* 7, 8), and of fistulae or a prolapsed rectum (*De fistulis* 3, 7, 9, 10). But of greater relevance in the present context are prescribed gynecological usages; thus: (1) if a woman has had difficulty conceiving, vaginal insertion of wool soaked in an unguent and alum is prescribed in order to promote pregnancy (*De natura muliebri* 53); (2) the same condition of infertility can be addressed with a mixture of alum, bull's gall, and burnt deer horn (*De mulierum affectibus* 225); (3) among prescribed pessaries is one of Egyptian alum wrapped within wool, and another of butter, alum, and honey applied to a linen cloth (*De natura muliebri* 97).

*1.2.3.2. Indo-European *e/ono- in Greek and Sanskrit*. While Linear B *po-re-no-* can be reasonably read as *o*-grade *phoreno-* (φορενο-), cognate with Sanskrit *e*-grade *bharaṇa-*, the evidence for survival of the Indo-European suffix *-eno- in Greek is meager.[88] We

[88] In the case of Mycenaean, a few Linear B lexemes of uncertain sense match the formal pattern. For example, Knossos tablet Fp 363 records olive oil offerings to a cult site and, seemingly, to female religious officiants (*ki-ri-te-wi-ja*): in the first line of the tablet there appears the obscure term *te-re-no* (on the tablet see Olsen 2014:192). Compare the root of *téras* (τέρας) 'sign, portent', of uncertain etymology.

have already noted the Aeolic feminine *pherena* (φέρενα), denoting that which a bride brings. Aeolic thus continues not only the Mycenaean participle *po-re-si* (Lesbian]φόρεν[τ]ες [) 'ones carrying') but an *e*-grade form of Mycenaean *po-re-no-* as well.

Reflexes of *o*-grade *-ono- appear to be slightly more common. The following examples can be identified: (1) *kl-óno-s* (κλ-όνο-ς) 'confused motion; throng' (beside *kélomai* [κέλομαι] 'to urge, exhort'), from Proto-Indo-European *kel- 'to drive, set in motion';[89] (2) *thr-óno-s* (θρ-όνο-ς) 'seat; oracular seat', beside Linear B *to-no* (i.e. *thor-no-s*), as well as *to-ro-no-wo-ko* (probably *thr-ono-worgoi* 'seat makers'), from an Indo-European root *d^{h}er- 'to hold firm', also source of, *inter alia*, Sanskrit *dharaṇa-* 'supporting; support' (from *d^{h}er-eno-) and *dhárma-* 'what is established; law' (from *dher-mn̥-);[90] (3) *khr-óno-s* (χρ-όνο-ς) 'time', of uncertain origin;[91] (4) *amp-ékh-ono-n*

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[89] See, *inter alia*, Boisacq 1950:472; Chantraine 1968:544; LIV 348n1.

[90] See, *inter alia*, Chantraine 1968:442–443; Ventris and Chadwick 1973:586–587; Aura Jorro 1993:362, 366; Watkins 2011:19.

[91] See, *inter alia*, Chantraine 1968:1277–1278. Bader (1969:35) declares the Greek suffix *-ono-* to be "bizarre en lui-même": comparative evidence makes this an untenable, and rather odd, statement, one that seems only, and necessarily, consequent to Bader's claim that the initial *o*-vowel of *klónos* [κλόνος], *thrónos* [θρόνος], and *khrónos* [χρόνος] is a reflex of a syllabic liquid. It is not a persuasive claim: such reflexes are dialectally restricted and not operative in the Attic-Ionic lexicon in which these words must

(ἀμπ-έχ-ονο-ν; and *ampekhónē* [ἀμπεχόνη]) 'shawl; clothing' (i.e. 'that which encloses'), from Proto-Indo-European *seĝ^{h}- 'to hold fast' (i.e. Greek *ékhō* [ἔχω]), compare Sanskrit *abhi-ṣah-* 'to overwhelm', *abhí-ṣā-ta-* 'gained'(*Rig Veda* 5.41.14); (5) possibly *phth-óno-s* (φθ-όνο-ς) 'malice'.[92] Probable feminine nominals include these: (6) *hēd-onḗ* (ἡδ-ονή) 'enjoyment, pleasure', from primitive Indo-European *sweh$_2$d- 'to be sweet, pleasant'; compare Sanskrit *svād-ana-,* 'tasting' (neuter noun) and 'making savory' (adjective);[93] (7) *per-ónē* (περ-όνη) 'pin (of a buckle, etc.)' (beside *peírō* [πείρω] 'to pierce'), from Proto-Indo-European *per- 'to pass through',[94] and compare Sanskrit *par-aṇa-* 'crossing' and *pār-aṇa-* 'bringing over' (adjective) and 'carrying through' (neuter noun); (8) *bel-ónē*

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reside. In the remaining examples of Greek expressions of Indo-European *-ono- cited above there is of course no such syllabic liquid involvement.

[92] See Frisk 1963–1970:1016. Compare Greek *phthínō* (φθίνω) 'to destroy', Sanskrit *kṣayati, kṣiṇóti* 'to destroy', Avestan *jināiti* 'destroyed', from Proto-Indo-European *d^{h}g^{wh}ei- 'to destroy'. On this form see, *inter alia*, Chantraine 1968:1200–1201; Mallory and Adams 1997:158; LIV 150–152.

[93] See, *inter alia*, Brugmann 1892:143–144; Walde and Pokorny 1927:516; Chantraine 1968:871; Watkins 2011:90.

[94] See, *inter alia*, Brugmann 1892:144; Chantraine 1968:406–407.

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(βελ-όνη) 'needle', from Proto-Indo-European *g^wel- 'to throw; pierce';[95] (9) *ak-ónē* (ἀκ-όνη) 'whetstone', from Proto-Indo-European *$h_2$ek̂- 'sharp'.[96]

*1.2.3.3. Indo-European *-no- in Greek and Sanskrit.* In its relative rarity in Greek the *-e/ono- suffix fundamentally parallels the status of the related formant *-no-. Indo-European -*no- competes with, or otherwise varies with, the more common suffix *-to- as a formant used to derive verbal adjectives. Ancestral *-to- and *-no- both survive in Sanskrit, in which language the distribution shows some sensitivity to phonological context,[97] and are there used to form past participles,[98] as in Avestan as well.[99] The reflex of *-no- appears in Sanskrit past participles such as *chinná-* 'cut', *kīrṇá-*

[95] See, *inter alia*, Chantraine 1968:161–163.

[96] See, *inter alia*, Brugmann 1892:144; Chantraine 1968:42–45; Watkins 2011:2. Comparison has been made to the *n*-stems of Sanskrit *áśan-* 'stone' and Avestan *asan-* 'stone'. Also compare Sanskrit *aś-ana-* 'reaching (across)', from the verb root *aś-* 'to reach; pierce'.

[97] Burrow (1955:369) summarizes the conventional observation in this way: *-ná-* tends to be used "with roots in *-ṝ* . . . , roots in *-d* . . . and it is found in a number of roots in *-j*." It also occurs in some roots in *-ā*; see Whitney 1960:343.

[98] On Sanskrit past participle formations see, *inter alia*, Burrow 1955:150, 166–167, 369; Whitney 1960:340–344; Mayrhofer 1978:96–97.

[99] See the discussion in Jackson 1892:196 and 223.

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'scattered', *bhugná-* bent', *pūrṇá-* 'full', and so on (about 70 examples);[100] much more common is the survival of *-to-, as in *gatá-* 'gone', *śrutá-* 'heard', *srutá-* 'flowed', *tatá-* 'stretched', *hatá-* 'slain', and so forth. A similar imbalance of frequency holds in Avestan.[101] Greek too continues *-to-, using it – somewhat as in Indo-Iranian, though not identically – to form verbal adjectives; thus Greek cognates survive for each of the Sanskrit forms just cited: *batós* (βατός) 'passable', *klutós* (κλυτός) 'renowned', *hrutós* (ῥυτός) 'flowing', *tatós* (τατός) 'able to be stretched', *phatós* (φατός) 'slain' (respectively). In addition, in Sanskrit, as in Avestan, *-no- also forms a few adjectives that are not attached to verb paradigms as productive synchronic formations – as well as some nouns. For example, Sanskrit *yajñá-* 'worship, devotion, prayer' exists alongside a past participle *iṣṭá-*, from *yaj-* 'to worship, consecrate'; *uṣṇá-* 'hot', beside *uṣṭá-*, 'burnt', from *uṣ-* 'to burn'. The Sanskrit reflexes of *-no- thus also bifurcate morpho-semantically, though not in exact parallel to those of *-eno-.

While Greek reflexes of *-to- are plentiful, the comparable use of *-no- is attested by only a relatively few forms,[102] much as in Indo-Iranian. In Greek *-no- gives

[100] As reported by both Burrow (1955:150) and Whitney (1960:343).

[101] For Avestan see Jackson 1892:195–196.

[102] Buck and Petersen (1949:261) write: "Simple –vo- was decadent even in the earliest period, but some conglutinates displayed more or less life."

rise chiefly to, again, verbal adjectives.[103] One of the most conspicuous examples is provided by *hagnós* (ἁγνός) 'sacred, holy', matched precisely by the Sanskrit substantival cognate *yajñá-* 'worship, devotion, prayer', occurring with great frequency in the *Rig Veda*, and by Avestan *yasna-* 'sacrifice'. The etymon is a primitive root *yag̑-, and both Greek and Indo-Iranian attest verbal reflexes as well: Greek *házomai* (ἅζομαι) 'to stand in awe of'; Sanskrit *yájati* 'to worship; offer'; Avestan *yazaite* 'to honor'.[104] Greek *hagnós* 'sacred, holy' is archaic and clearly a form inherited from the cult language of an earlier Indo-European moment, as are its Indo-Iranian cognates. It is regularly used attributively with theonyms, as with Artemis (i.e. *Ártemis hagnḗ* [Ἄρτεμις ἁγνή] etc.),[105] Demeter,[106] Persephone/Kore,[107] Apollo/Phoebus,[108] Zeus,[109] Pallas,[110]

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[103] A few Greek noun stems are formed in *-no-* as well. Mention was made of *téknon* (τέκνον) 'child; animal young' in an earlier note. Other examples include *thûnos* (θῦνος), a 'fight, assault', from *thúō* (θύω) 'to rush on'; compare Sanskrit *dhūnoti* 'to shake'.

[104] On the etymology see, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1930:194; Chantraine 1968:25–26; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:704n6; Mallory and Adams 1997:650; Watkins 2011:105.

[105] The citations in this footnote and those that follow (i.e. those notes that accompany the discussion of the several lexemes derived by *-no-*) should be construed as exemplary and not necessarily exhaustive, though in some instances the cited texts are the only examples discovered prior to late antiquity. For Artemis see Homer *Odyssey* 5.123, 18.202, 20.71; Aeschylus *Suppliants* 144–145, 1030; *Agamemnon* 134; Aristophanes *Thesmophoriazusae* 971; Aristotle *Problemata* 894b.34.

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Hestia,[111] Helios,[112] Cypris,[113] Muses,[114] Nereids,[115] Hades,[116] Eumenides.[117] The form *hagnós* is well attested early – Homer (though only in the *Odyssey*), Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns, lyric, Pindar, and Aeschylus all know it. At some moment the *-no-* morphology of the form was repudiated, in a sense, and a by-form *hágios* (ἅγιος) was created; the

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[106] *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 439; Hesiod *Works and Days* 465; Archilochus fr. 322.1 (West); Moschion fr. 6.24.

[107] Homer *Odyssey* 11.386; *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 337; Phlegon *De mirabilibus* 10.2a, 2b; *Orphic Hymns* 24.11, 29.5.

[108] Pindar *Pythian Odes* 9.64; Aeschylus *Suppliants* 214; Plutarch *De defectu oraculorum* 421C. For the idea that the term *Phoebus* entails the quality denoted by *hagnós* (ἁγνός) see, *inter alia*, Plutarch *De E apud Delphos* 393c.

[109] Aeschylus *Suppliants* 652; *Orphic Hymns* 20.1, 4–5.

[110] Lamprocles fr. 1a.1; Simias *Epigrams* 15.22.9.

[111] Simias fr. 9.

[112] Pindar *Olympian Odes* 7.60.

[113] Porphyry *De philosophia ex oraculis* 167.

[114] Aristophanes *Frogs* 875-876; Crates fr. 1.10; *Orphic Hymns* P.17, 76.11.

[115] Euripides *Helen* 1585.

[116] *Orphic Hymns* 41.7, where the god is named as Chthonic Zeus.

[117] *Orphic Hymns* 70.2.

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nonce form is well attested from Herodotus onward,[118] though without replacing *hagnós* in antiquity. The two terms can co-occur, as in Isidorus *Hymns to Isis* 3.2: 'O holy (*hagnós*) Isis – holy (*hágios*), great, greatly-named Deo' – and found even within the same phrase structure, as in *Orphic Hymns* 41.7 'revealer of the holy (*hágios*) marriage-bed of holy (*hagnós*) chthonic Zeus'. In each of these instances *hagnós* continues its conventional, and undoubtedly liturgical, attributive function.

With *hagnós* (ἁγνός) compare the nearly synonymous Greek *semnós* (σεμνός) 'revered, holy'. *Semnós*, first attested in the Homeric Hymns and lyric,[119] is a *-no-* derivative of the verb root seen in *sébomai* (σέβομαι) 'to worship; feel shame', from ancestral Indo-European *tyeg^{w}- 'to withdraw in awe'.[120] The Greek verb is of common origin with Sanskrit *tyajati* 'to stand back from something', having a *-to- past

[118] The form can be found in a fragment attributed uncertainly to the sixth-century tragedian Thespis (4*.5).

[119] *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 1, 478, 486 and *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (hymn 13) 1; *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 552; *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 5; also *Homeric Hymn to the Mother of the Gods* 16; Stesichorus fr. S89.7 (Page 1974) and Sappho/Alcaeus fr. S 286 col. 2.5; also Solon fr. 4.14.

[120] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1930:746; Chantraine 1968:992–993; Mallory and Adams 1997:650; LIV 643.

participle *tyaktá-* 'left',[121] with which compare the formal Greek equivalent *septós* (σεπτός) 'august' (earliest in Aeschylus *Prometheus Bound* 812). The reflexes of *yaĝ- and *tyeg^{w}- form a tight semantic set, and the two roots appear to have their beginning in a period of Helleno-Indo-Iranian linguistic and cultural unity. The utilization of the rare *-no-* suffix in the derivation of *semnós* could perhaps be attributed to morpho-semantic influence of *hagnós* on a lexeme with which it shares cult usage; though that a common ancestral *-no-* formation was eliminated in Indo-Iranian in favor of *-to-* is equally probable, if not more so, in light of Sanskrit phonological sensitivities and given the divergence in function of primitive *-no- exhibited between Greek and Indo-Iranian. In parallel with *hagnós*, the adjective *semnós* is frequently used as an attributive modifier of divine names: thus we find *semnós* so used with, for example, the theonyms Athena/Pallas,[122] Poseidon,[123] Zeus,[124] Demeter,[125] Persephone,[126] Artemis,[127]

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[121] Compare the adjective *tyajana-* 'leaving; expelling', and also *tyaktavya-*, used in the *Mahābhārata* to denote a life that is 'to be sacrificed' (see 1.147.15.2; 5.88.76.2; 12.162.26.3; 12.192.23.2).

[122] Stesichorus fr. S89.7 (restored); Bacchylides *Odes* 13.158; Sophocles *Oedipus at Colonus* 1090; Euripides *Iphigenia Among the Taurians* 1492; Aristophanes *Wealth* 772; *Orphic Hymns* 32.1.

[123] Euripides *Iphigenia Among the Taurians* 1415, *Fragmenta papyracea* 65.93; Sophocles *Oedipus at Colonus* 55; Aristophanes *Thesmophoriazusae* 322.

[124] Euripides *Iphigenia Among the Taurians* 749; Bacchylides *Odes* 11.52; Philostratus *Epistulae et dialexeis* 1.16.

Apollo/Phoebus,[128] Hera,[129] Aphrodite/Cypris,[130] Dione,[131] Prometheus,[132] Thetis,[133] Charities,[134] Hades,[135] Erinyes/Eumenides.[136]

To this set of two Greek *-no-* formations can be added *deinós* (δεινός) 'terrible', derived from the root of the verb *deídō* (δείδω), originating in a perfect **de-dwoi-a* (*δε-δϝοι-α), from Indo-European *dwei- 'to fear.[137] Sanskrit preserves, with an *-s-* extension

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[125] *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (line 1 of both hymn 2 and hymn 13); Pausanias 1.37.2, 4.1.8.

[126] *Orphic Hymns* 71.2–3.

[127] Euripides *Hippolytus* 713; Lucites *Laudatio sanctorum Eugenii, Valeriani, Canidii et Aquilae* 318.

[128] Aeschylus *Seven Against Thebes* 800-801; Phlegon *De mirabilibus* 10.2b.17; Anthologiae Graecae Appendix, *Epigrammata dedicatoria* 347.3.

[129] Euripides *Helen* 241–242.

[130] *Orphic Hymns* 55.1–2; Babrius *Mythiambi Aesopici* 1.32.

[131] *Orphic Hymns* P.19.

[132] *Orphic Hymns* 13.7.

[133] Pindar *Nemean Odes* 5.25.

[134] Euripides *Helen* 1341.

[135] *Orphic Hymns* 41.7.

[136] Sophocles *Ajax* 837, *Electra* 112; Hesychius Σ 408.

[137] In this case the root is not unique to Greek and Indo-Iranian: thus, Armenian *erknč'im* 'to fear'; Luvian *kuwaya-* 'to be afraid'; Tocharian A *wiyo* 'frightened'. See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1930:816–817; Benveniste 1954:254–255; Chantraine 1968:255–257; Mallory and Adams 1997:198; LIV 130.

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of the root, the finite verb *dvéṣṭi* 'to hate, be hostile', producing a *-ta-* past participle *dviṣṭa-* 'hated'; compare the Avestan verb *dvaēš-* 'to be hostile'. The Sanskrit past participle appears in the *Rig Veda* (9.73.5) in the compound *Indradviṣṭa-* 'hated by Indra', describing those spiritually hostile ones who are destroyed by a sacred sound associated with the god Varuṇa and with Soma, that sacred sacrificial material that will occupy our attention later in this work. As with *hagnós* (ἁγνός) and *semnós* (σεμνός), the *-no-* derivative *deinós* can be used as an attributive modifier of theonyms: Ares/Enyalius,[138] Charybdis,[139] Athena,[140] Artemis,[141] Aphrodite/Cypris,[142] Phoebus,[143] Persephone,[144] Keres,[145] Eris,[146] Styx,[147] Erinyes,[148] Hades,[149] Echidna.[150] In addition, a

[138] Homer *Iliad* 17.210–211 (and see Aristonicus *De signis Iliadis* 17.211); *Sibylline Oracles* 11.268, 12.183; Quintus Smyrnaeus *Posthomerica* 8.276, 9.288, 11.413. See also Sophocles *Oedipus at Colonus* 1065; Hesychius O 1758; *Suda* Θ 417; *Anthologia Graeca* 7.312.1.

[139] Homer *Odyssey* 12.260, 430; 23.327; Euripides *Trojan Women* 436; Joannes Tzetzes *Chiliades* 10.361.

[140] Hesiod *Theogony* 924–925.

[141] Planudes *Translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses* 13.251–252, translating Latin *saevae Dianae*.

[142] *Scholia in Euripidem* (*scholia vetera* [= Schwartz 1966]) *Hippolytus* 563; see also Euripides *Hippolytus* 555–564.

[143] Homer *Iliad* 16.788–789.

[144] Plato *Cratylus* 404C. See the remarks of Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (= van der Valk 1971–1987) 2.760.

recurring syntagm of Greek is *deinòs/deinè theós* (δεινὸς/δεινὴ θεός) 'terrible god(dess)', found especially in epic and tragedy and used to denote a variety of deities, most often female: Athena/Pallas,[151] Calypso,[152] Circe,[153] Thetis,[154] Hecate,[155] Eris,[156] Nymphs,[157] Keres,[158] Erinyes,[159] Rhea,[160] Nemesis,[161] Echo,[162] Apollo,[163] Zeus,[164] Dionysus,[165] Helios,[166]

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[145] Sophocles *Oedipus Rex* 471–472; Euripides *Electra* 1253; Eudocia *Homerocentones* 5.683.

[146] Hesiod *Shield* 148; Quintus Smyrnaeus *Posthomerica* 1.159.

[147] Hesiod *Theogony* 776 (cf. Homer *Iliad* 2.755, for which see below).

[148] Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 8.53.2.

[149] Joannes Chortasmenus *Orationes* 6.61.

[150] Sophocles *Women of Trachis* 1099.

[151] Homer *Iliad* 5.839, 6.380, 6.385; *Odyssey* 7.41; Sophocles *Ajax* 952-953; Lamprocles fr. 1b.1; Chamaelon fr. 29a.6; Quintus Smyrnaeus *Posthomerica* 3.420 (see also Choniates *Historia* Man1,pt5.158).

[152] Homer *Odyssey* 7.246, 7.255, 12.449.

[153] Homer *Odyssey* 10.136, 11.8, 12.150; Planudes *Translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses* 14.369.

[154] Homer *Iliad* 18.394; Matron *Convivium Atticum* 34.

[155] Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* 3.1213; Orphica *Argonautica* 909.

[156] Euripides *Phoenician Women* 798; Quintus Smyrnaeus *Posthomerica* 10.65.

[157] Theocritus *Idylls* 13.44.

[158] Euripides *Electra* 1270.

[159] Euripides *Orestes* 261.

[160] Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* 1.1102.

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Hypnos and Thanatos,[167] Triton,[168] Ares,[169] 'Grief' deified,[170] unnamed gods.[171] Compare with the syntagm *deinòs/deinḗ theós* 'terrible god(dess)' the compound adjective *theou-dḗs* (θεου-δής) made with the related formant *-dḗs* (-δής) and referencing the proper holding of the gods in fear.[172] It recurs in formulaic lines at *Odyssey* 6.120–121, 8.575–576, 9.175–176, and 13.201–202, in which *theou- dḗs* stands in opposition to the

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[161] *Anthologia Graeca* 6.283.2.

[162] *Anthologia Graeca* 9.382.4.

[163] Homer *Iliad* 4.514; Hesiod *Shield* 71.

[164] *Scholia in Aeschylum* (*scholia recentiora* [= Dindorf 1851]) *Prometheus* 77, where *deinós* (δεινός) is a predicate adjective conjoined with *barús* (βαρύς) 'harsh'.

[165] Euripides *Bacchae* 860–861 (superlative).

[166] Homer *Odyssey* 12.322.

[167] Hesiod *Theogony* 759.

[168] Hesiod *Theogony* 933.

[169] Manetho *Apotelesmatica* 1.177; Procopius *Declamationes* 6.

[170] Euripides *Orestes* 399 (*lúpē* [λύπη]).

[171] Plutarch *Life of Crassus* 16.7.

[172] The related neuter nominal *déos* (δέος) 'fear, alarm' is used in Modern Greek to denote the 'fear' of God (see Chantraine 1968:256). On *déos* and *deîma* (δεῖμα) as part of the archaic poetic language of combat terror, see Woodard 2018a.

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descriptor *oudè díkaioi* (οὐδὲ δίκαιοι) 'not just', and aside from that found at 19.109 and 364.

In a brief but wide-ranging article, Singh (1995:257–258) succinctly contends that in epic usage *deinós* (δεινός) belongs to the "domain of the sacred and not the profane" (perhaps with a nod to Benveniste).[173] He takes note of the occurrence of the phrase *deinòs theós* (δεινὸς θεός) at *Iliad* 4.514, to which, as we have just seen, several other examples could be added, and also of the phrase 'terrible portents of the gods' (δεινὰ πέλωρα θεῶν) at *Iliad* 2.321 (with reference to birds being devoured by a serpent that was then turned to stone, all in the midst of a sacrifice). He makes mention too of the existence of the similar genitival phrase *deinoîo pelōrou* (δεινοῖο πελώρου); this observation could also be fleshed out a bit. The phrase is found several times as a syntagmatic unit in Homeric and Hesiodic poetry; serpentine contexts are typical. It occurs at *Iliad* 5.741–742 with reference to the head of the Gorgon upon the aegis (ἐν δέ τε Γοργείη κεφαλὴ δεινοῖο πελώρου | δεινή τε σμερδνή τε, Διὸς τέρας αἰγιόχοιο),[174] head of a 'terrible monster', and a *kephalḗ* (κεφαλή) 'head' which is itself further characterized by the adjective *deinḗ* (δεινή) in coordination with its (near) synonym

[173] See Benveniste 1969:2:179–207.

[174] On the Gorgon as serpent see Watkins 1995:364; Ogden 2013:102–104.

smerdnḗ (σμερδνή, term to which we shall soon return); for the syntagm compare *Odyssey* 11.634 and *Shield* 223–224 (of the Gorgon), *Theogony* 856 (of Typhoeus; cf. 825 and 829), but also *Odyssey* 10.168 (of a great stag). Singh also draws attention to the recurring phrase *deinà . . . épea* (δεινὰ . . . ἔπεα) 'terrible words' within formulaic lines at *Iliad* 5.439, 16.706, and 20.448, though fails to note what must be a significant factor for his claim, namely that the first two of these (and compare 16.787–789) are the terrible enunciations of Apollo – speech acts, in effect, that repulse Greek warriors – and in the remaining instance (20.448) it is, in a case of poetic inversion, Achilles who speaks such words to an Apollo-adumbrated Hector. We should also add for consideration *Odyssey* 8.405–412, lines in which Euryalus, in a ritual setting of gift-giving, invokes the 'Storm winds' (*áellai* [ἄελλαι]) to seize and bear away any *épos . . . deinón* (ἔπος . . . δεινόν) 'terrible word' that had been 'uttered' (the archaic verb *bázō* [βάζω]) against Odysseus. Finally, Singh mentions *Iliad* 2.755, in which line we read: 'for it [the Titaressus][175] is a branch of the Styx, <u>terrible</u> water of oath' (ὅρκου γὰρ <u>δεινοῦ</u> Στυγὸς ὕδατός ἐστιν ἀπορρώξ). We can add to this the recurring formulary of *Iliad* 15.37–38, *Odyssey* 5.185–

[175] The poet of the *Iliad* is here situating the Titaressus in Thessaly. Apollonius Rhodius (*Argonautica* 1.65) refers to the Thessalian seer Mopsus as 'Titaresian Mopsus' (Μόψος Τιταρήσιος). Strabo (7a.1.14–15; 9.5.19) equates the river with the Europus. Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* 19.142 identifies it as a river of Thessaly.

186, and *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 85–86, in which the water of the Styx is equated to 'both the greatest and most terrible oath for the blessed gods' (ὅς τε μέγιστος | ὅρκος δεινότατός τε πέλει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσι). Benveniste is again pertinent as he emphasizes that the oath of the gods – this *most terrible* oath – is not a divine speech act but instead an act that finds expression in the very waters of the Styx that are poured, "being a material invested with baneful powers":[176] the material which is the terrible god equates to a terrible act of cult speech.[177] We can remind ourselves that Hesiod, *Theogony* 776, calls the goddess of these waters *deinḗ Stúks* (δεινὴ Στύξ) 'terrible Styx', and in the line preceding names her *stugerḗ theòs athanátoisi* (στυγερὴ θεὸς ἀθανάτοισι) 'hateful to the immortals', playing *stugerḗ* 'hateful' and *deinḗ Stúks* phonically and semantically – and in fact etymologically – off of one another, both *stugerḗ* and the goddess' name being derived from the same primitive etymon, which is also source of the *-no-* adjective *stugnós* (στυγνός), to which we now turn.

Occupying similar semantic territory as *deinós* (δεινός), but collectively far less commonly attested than either *hagnós* (ἁγνός), *semnós* (σεμνός), or *deinós* individually,

[176] I am here using the translation of E. Palmer, i.e. Benveniste 1973:436.

[177] On *deinòs hórkos* (δεινὸς ὅρκος) as the 'terrible oath' sworn see, *inter alia*, Sophocles *Ajax* 649; Herodotus 1.176; Plutarch *Life of Publicola* 4.1. *Passim* in Procopius *De bellis*, for example 1.5.15, 24; 1.25.27; 2.5.31; 4.4.25; on Christian usage see *Suda* Δ 351, K 728.

are three other *-no-* derivatives: (1) *stugnós* (στυγνός) 'hated, horrible'; (2) *smerdnós* (σμερδνός) 'terrible (to perceive)'; and (3) *phriknós* (φρικνός) 'dreadful, terrible'. This last is a *hapax legomenon* (Hesychius Φ 886). Of the remaining two, *stugnós* appears earliest in a fragment of the iambic poet Archilochus of Paros (seventh century BC; fr. 171.1 West) and occurs frequently in tragedy, as in, for example Aeschylus *Persians* 286 and 976, used in Persian characterizations of Athens, and 472, of the deity that caused the Persian destruction.[178] Of common origin with the name of the river *Styx* 'Hateful'– called *deinḗ Stúks* (δεινὴ Στύξ) by Hesiod (*Theogony* 776), as we have just seen[179] – *stugnós* is conventionally linked to the Proto-Indo-European etymon *(s)teu- 'to move forcefully', a root showing various consonant extensions among its wide-ranging reflexes – a *-g- in the instance of *stugnós*.[180] Compare the Sanskrit nasal-infix form *tuñjati* 'to strike'. The Sanskrit noun *tuja-* denotes 'thunderbolt'; at *Rig Veda* 6.26.4d an

[178] Knossos tablet Ap 639 preserves the form *tu-ka-na* (in both lines 10 and 11), a woman's name (the Knossos Ap tablets constitute lists of women), and it likely also appears on tablet Ap 5864 (*ṭṵ-ka-na*). Chadwick and Baumbach (1963:245) suggests a possible reading *Stugnā* and compare the man's name *tu-ke-ne-u* on Pylos tablet Jn 310 + frr.

[179] Compare Sophocles' conjunction of the adjectives at *Electra* 850–853, in which lines Electra describes her existence as one πολλῶν δεινῶν στυγνῶν τε 'of many terrible and horrible things'.

[180] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1927:615–620; Jamison 1983:58; LIV 602; Watkins 2011:89.

obscure figure called '*Tuji* the ritual enunciator' (*Túji̇m gr̥ṇántam*) is said to have been aided by Indra (see also *Rig Veda* 10.49.4). An *-áya-* form of the verb, *tujayant-*, appears in *Rig Veda* 7.104.7, used of Indra and Soma driving off demons.

The second of these *-no-* formants, Greek *smerdnós* (σμερδνός) 'terrible (to perceive)', is comparatively rare; more common is the by-form *smerdaléos* (σμερδαλέος).[181] As we have already noted, Homer uses *smerdnós* to describe the head of the Gorgon upon the aegis (*Iliad* 5.741–742) – here in conjunction with *deinós* (δεινός) – and twice, formulaically, of the battle roaring of Ajax (*Iliad* 15.687, 732). Hesychius (Σ 1232) glosses *smerdnós* as *deinós*. This adjective *smerdnós* has been traced to the Indo-European etymon *smerd- 'to pain',[182] a variant of the root *merd- 'to scrape, rub away', source of Sanskrit *mr̥dnāti* 'to crush; destroy': the intensive *marmartti* occurs in

[181] Benveniste (1935:4546) addresses the pair *smerdaléos* (σμερδαλέος), *smerdnós* (σμερδνός), noting also the equivalent alternation seen in *iskhaléos* (ἰσχαλέος), *iskhnós* (ἰσχνός) 'dried, thin', the latter being far more common; compare Sanskrit *súṣka-* 'dried'. Benveniste and subsequently Chantraine (1968:520–521, 1026–1027) call attention also to the pair *kerkhaléos* (κερχαλέος), *kerkhnós* (κερχνός) 'rough, hoarse'. Both of these forms of the adjective are quite rare; only slightly more common is a noun *kérkhnos* (κέρχνος) 'roughness, hoarseness', though several derived forms are attested. The etymological origin of the forms is uncertain.

[182] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1927:278; Chantraine 1968:1026–1027; Watkins 2011:56, 83. Old English *smeortan* 'to smart' and related Germanic forms probably belong here.

the *Rig Veda*, in hymn 2.23.6, as Bṛhaspati, here virtually identical to Indra, is invoked imperatively to employ his 'seizing calamity' (*duchúnā hárasvatī*) against one that would set a snare for the poet.[183]

Standing in approximate semantic opposition to the preceding set is the *-no-* adjective *terpnós* (τερπνός) 'pleasing, pleasurable'. We find it early in Semonides fr. 7.53 (West), of the absence of anything pleasing among weasels; Mimnermus fr. 1.1 (West), of the pleasures of Aphrodite; Tyrtaeus fr. 12.38 (West), of enjoying life's pleasures before descending into Hades' realm; Sappho fr. 160.1 (L-P), of pleasurable songs; Theognis 1.256, of the pleasure of gaining what one loves. It is frequent in Pindar. With *terpnós* compare Sanskrit *tṛptá-* 'satisfied', as in *Rig Veda* 7.38.8, either of chariot horses

[183] To the semantic set composed of *deinós* (δεινός), *stugnós* (στυγνός), *smerdnós* (σμερδνός), and *phriknós* (φρικνός) can be added the commonly occurring but etymologically – and hence morphologically – opaque adjective *ainós* (αἰνός) 'dread, horrible'. Its use is similar to that of *deinós*, being employed to modify attributively the name of a divine being. It provides no derivatives but several compounds (see Chantraine 1968:35). The Greek formant *-no-* is also to be seen in *rhiknós* (ῥικνός) 'shriveled' (earliest in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 317; for the sense compare the above-mentioned *iskhaléos* [ἰσχαλέος], *iskhnós* [ἰσχνός] 'dried, thin') and *sperkhnós* (σπερχνός) 'hurried', from *sperĝ^{h}- 'to move energetically' (as in Hesiod *Shield* 454, Aeschylus *Seven Against Thebes* 285, and later). With the latter compare notionally the Proto-Indo-European etymon *(s)teu- 'to move forcefully', source of *stugnós*.

or the divine warrior Maruts.[184] Compare also the compound *asu-tr̥p-* 'enjoying (i.e. taking) another's spirit (*ásu-*)', as in *Rig Veda* 10.14.12, of the hounds of Yama (god of the dead) and 10.87.14, of the demonic element – or in the sense 'enjoying life', as in *Rig Veda* 10.82.7, of certain hymn-chanting priests who live too well and gorge on offerings.[185] The Greek and Sanskrit forms are descended from Indo-European *terp- 'to take pleasure', having reflexes in Germanic and Balto-Slavic as well.[186]

A further example of the Greek *-no-* formant is provided by *steg(a)nós* (στεγ[α]νός)[187] 'enclosing', from Proto-Indo-European *(s)teg- 'to cover'.[188] The Greek adjective (*steganós*) is first attested in Aeschylus *Agamemnon* 358 in a prayer to Zeus and Nyx, used in describing the net the gods had cast over Troy. Compare the Sanskrit past participle *sthagita-* 'hidden', used of the goddess Sarasvatī in a metaphorical expression

[184] For discussion see Jamison and Brereton 2014:932–933.

[185] See Staal 1989:407–408; Doniger 2005:35–36.

[186] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1930:736–737; Mallory and Adams 1997:500; LIV 636.

[187] The two forms *stegnós* (στεγνός) and *steganós* (στεγανός) are essentially synonymous and used often of a covering that protects from the elements. The neuter *stegnón* (στεγνόν) is used substantivally to denote a 'covered dwelling'. On the morphological relationship of verbal adjectives in *-anó-* to those in *-nó-* see Brugmann and Thumb 1913:223; Buck and Petersen 1945:261.

[188] On Proto-Indo-European *(s)teg- see, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1927:620–621; LIV 589; Watkins 2011:87–88.

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referring to failed verbal expression.[189] With this compare particular Greek uses of the finite verb *stégō* (στέγω) to denote enunciatory suppression, as in Tiresias' prophetic words at *Oedipus Rex* 341: 'These things [i.e. *épē* (ἔπη) 'words'; l. 340] will come to pass, even if I myself hide them in silence' (ἥξει γὰρ αὐτά, κἂν ἐγὼ σιγῇ στέγω).[190] Hesychius (Σ 1681) glosses neuter *steganón* (στεγανόν) as signifying 'to hide words and not to proclaim them' (στέγειν τοὺς λόγους καὶ μὴ ἐξαγγέλλειν). A reflex of *(s)teg-no- also survives in Latin *tignum*,[191] archaic term denoting materials used in constructing a building or vineyard (Festus p. 364M)[192] and providing the derivative *tigillum* 'beam'. The derivative occurs notably in the rite of the *sororium tigillum*, referring to the sacred beam beneath which Horatius passed in making expiation for the shedding of his sister's blood, and used more broadly in putting away the warrior's combat fury following battle.[193] Both the particular and the general case entail attempted

[189] For the metaphor, see Monier-Williams 1979:1261.

[190] See too Euripides *Electra* 273 and *Iphigenia at Aulis* 872.

[191] On Latin *tegō* and for discussion of the derivative *tignum* see Ernout and Meillet 1959:678–679 and 691.

[192] The Greek neuter *s*-stem *stégos* (στέγος), or *tégos* (τέγος), as in *Odyssey* 1.333, 8.458, 10.559, 11.64, 16.415, 18.209, 21.64), can denote 'roof', but also 'house', as can feminine *stégē* (στέγη) – much as the neuter *-no-* adjective *stegnón* (στεγνόν) can denote a 'roofed dwelling'.

[193] For discussion see Woodard 2013:189–201, 234–236, 241, 250, 257.

suppression of powerful potentialities, polluting and destructive, in a context of cult operations. Germanic and Celtic reflexes of *(s)teg- are also attested.

Two of the three most frequently attested Geek verbal adjectives in *-no-*, *semnós* (σεμνός) 'revered, holy' and *hagnós* (ἁγνός) 'sacred, holy', belong centrally to the realm of worship.[194] The (by far) most frequently attested, *deinós* (δεινός), is also routinely employed in a way that parallels the use of *semnós* and *hagnós* as language descriptive of the gods, modifying attributively the names of divine beings. It also participates in the recurring and long-lived syntagm *deinòs/deinḕ theós* (δεινὸς/δεινὴ θεός) 'terrible god(dess)'. We have, moreover, seen good reasons for identifying *deinós* as central to the lexicon of cult. *Stugnós* (στυγνός) 'hated, horrible' and *smerdnós* (σμερδνός) 'terrible (to perceive)' function synonymously, at times in conjunction with *deinós*, and display

[194] Of those *-no-* adjectives mentioned herein only *deinós* (δεινός) occurs with greater frequency than *semnós* (σεμνός) and *hagnós* (ἁγνός), where frequency is determined *grosso modo* by lemma searches of the full TLG (Thesaurus Linguae Graecae) database (from the Archaic to the Byzantine eras). The number of occurrences of each form recovered, in decreasing order of frequency, is as follows: *deinós* (δεινός) 26,477; *semnós* (σεμνός) 8,389; *hagnós* (ἁγνός) 3,767; *terpnós* (τερπνός) 2,229; *iskhnós* (ἰσχνός) 1,519; *stugnós* (στυγνός) 742; *steganós* (στεγανός) 363; *stegnós* (στεγνός) 188; *rhiknós* (ῥικνός) 120; *smerdnós* (σμερδνός) 72; *sperkhnós* (σπερχνός) 34; *kerkhnós* (κερχνός) 2; *phriknós* (φρικνός) 2 (dual citations of the single instance).

linguistic ancestry that is at home in the realm of religious speech. Much the same can be said of *steg(a)nós* (στεγ[α]νός) 'enclosing'.

Preservation of archaic *-no-* morphology in the instance of these several forms must surely be another expression of the tendency of early Indo-European languages to cling to the ancestral lexicon of religion and cult speech with particular tenacity, as observed by Vendryes a century ago ("un nombre assez considérable de mots qui se rapportent à la religion et notamment à la liturgie du culte, au sacrifice" [1918:266]). Vendryes is principally concerned with the languages of the eastern and western edges of the Indo-European expansion area (Italic, Celtic, and Indo-Iranian) and the primitive priestly classes that characterize the societies of those fringe regions, though in at least one instance (p. 270) he brings a parallel from that investigative domain to bear on a problem of Greek, as he argues for the etymological commonness of *hierós* (ἱερός) 'holy' and *hierós* (ἱερός) 'lively' (Sanskrit *iṣirá*-'vigorous'), contra Boisacq, comparing Old Irish *nóeb* 'holy' (*noib-o-) and *niab*, Welsh *nwyf*, 'excitation' (*neib-o-).

A related historical and social linguistic dynamic must be operative in the relic preservation of primitive Helleno-Indo-Iranian *-no- lexical morphology in Greek and Sanskrit, one in which ancestral priestly formulae and enunciations provide a model for efficacious religious linguistic structures, even if inherited Indo-European priestly

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structures have been modified among the Greeks – at least among *post-Mycenaean Greeks* – and this is important to bear in mind. In other words, in this instance the inertia to conserve must be provided by the particular priestly structures of a post-Proto-Indo-European cultural phase in which the ancestors of the Greek and Indo-Iranians were common participants.

1.2.3.4. Po-re-no-tu-ṭẹ[. If Linear B *po-re-no* is to be rightly understood as *phoreno-* (φορενο-), cognate with Sanskrit *bharaṇa-*, a form providing a trace preservation of the ancestral formant *-eno-, the cause of that preservation must similarly lie in the use of the term in sacred phrasing. No less than the verbal *po-re-si*, the nominal *po-re-no-* must belong to the Mycenaean lexicon of cult – as it self-evidently does, to the extent that the compound *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja* has been rightly understood to be the name of a religious festival. Moreover, many investigators of Linear B would identify yet an additional example of *phoreno-* (φορενο-) being used in a parallel way.

The brief and broken inscription of Pylos tablet Ua 1413 (from a series containing the state-banquet documents) inventories in its first line a consignment of cloth: 7 units of *146 cloth and 1 unit of *166+WE, with a break following. The second line begins *ro-u-si-jo, a-ko-ro* 'field of Lousos', referencing the environs of one of the

major cities in the vicinity of the Pylos palace. This locational descriptor is followed by a single and incomplete form, *po-re-no-tu-ṭẹ[*. The form has been aggressively and "almost universally restored"[195] to read *po-re-no-tu-ṭẹ[-ri-ja*, with the second element of the form, **tu-te-ri-ja*, understood as *thu(s)tḗria* (θυ[σ]τήρια),[196] denoting an element of offering; and, thus, for those who would interpret *po-re-na* as 'victims', the restored *po-re-no-tu-ṭẹ[-ri-ja* signals the 'sacrifice of victims'.[197] Palaima (1999:455), urging caution, notes that according to Aristarchus (p. 455n62) "in Homer θύειν [*thúein*] is used of offering and burning but never of slaughtering victims in sacrifice (σφάξαι [*spháksai*])." Palaima also calls attention to Plato's *Euthyphro* 14c, in which Socrates is made to say that the act of *thúein* (θύειν) is that of making a gift to the gods. We might note that Plato's Socrates contrasts this act with that of *eúkhesthai* [εὔχεσθαι] 'to pray', which is asking something from the gods. If in fact *po-re-no-tu-ṭẹ[* were properly restored as *po-re-no-tu-ṭẹ[-ri-ja* we would likely see a reference to an offering made in conjunction with *phoreno-* (φορενο-) in the sense 'childbearing'. Such a ritual offering, whether

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[195] Palaima 1999:455. See also Palaima 1996–1997:306.

[196] Since at least Chadwick 1964:23. Compare Ruijgh 1967:115n79.

[197] See Duhoux 1976:128, with note 38; 2008:331; Bartoněk 2003:377 ("Menschenopfer?"). The form *po-re-no-tu- ṭẹ[* has, as with *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja*, been interpreted as the name of a festival: see Palmer 1965b:326; 1969:447; Maurice 1988:128

undertaken in order to promote conception and ensure healthy fetal development and safe childbirth or in thanksgiving for these, belongs to the same sphere of activity as the presentation of votive vestments of pregnancy to Artemis that we considered above in the discussion of *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja*. In fact, the action described by the hypothesized form **po-re-no-tu-te-ri-ja* could itself entail the offering of such textile items. Is the *po-re-no-tu-ṭẹ[-ri-ja* a festival at which such vestments were offered? As we observed above, various votive objects offered to such ends are well attested in post-Mycenaean Greece, as are prayers of thanksgiving for aid in birth.[198] In the documents of Mycenaean Greece the birth goddess Eileithyia is mentioned four times, and in three of these instances (Knossos tablets Od 714, 715, and 716) she is mentioned in conjunction with a consignment of wool.

1.3. Some Interpretative Conclusions

The interpretation of Linear B *po-re-na* as a Mycenaean athematic infinitive *phorēnai* (φορῆναι) is consistent not only with an Indo-European syntagmatic pattern and a linguistic feature of the closely related Arcadian dialect, but is also consistent

[198] In addition to works cited and discussed in the treatment of *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja* above, see also, *inter alia*, Cole 1998:29–35; Dillon 2002:19–23, 28–31; Demand 2004:87–101; Budin 2016:92–114.

with the analysis of *po-re-si* as a dative plural, specifically *phor-en-si* (φορ-εν-σι), the dative plural of the athematic participle of *phorēnai* (φορῆναι), of a type attested in both Arcadian and Aeolic. The interpretation of one form informs that of the other. *Po-re-no-*, in contrast, preserves an early Indo-European morphology. Nominal *phoreno-* (φορενο-), closely akin to Sanskrit *bharaṇa-*, is likely inherited from the liturgical language of Proto-Helleno-Indo-Iranian tradition.

An exact Greek cognate to Sanskrit *bharaṇa-*,'the act of bearing (in the womb)', is provided by Aeolic *phérena* (φέρενα) 'that which is brought by a wife, dowry'. If the two show variation in sense, they are both grounded in the sphere of human sexuality – though a further similarity presents itself when we recall that *bharaṇa-* can also carry the meaning 'bringing; (hence) payment'. Notice that, in a post-Mycenaean period, Aeolic thus preserves not only the athematic participle of the type of Mycenaean *phor-en-si* (Linear B *po-re-si*) but also preserves the exact match of the Mycenaean nominal *phoreno-* (Linear B *po-re-no-*), except that, and this is significant, Aeolic shows the *e*-grade form and in doing so Aeolic agrees with Sanskrit over against the Mycenaean of Pylos tablet Un 443 + 998 (and Ua 1413) with its *o*-grade form. On the diachronic axis first-millennium BC Aeolic connects directly with the ancestor of Sanskrit *bharaṇa-* while the Mycenaean dialect evidenced in the Pylos tablet(s) has deviated from that

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line of descent. Both Mycenaean and Aeolic must have retained their respective nominals, *phor-eno-* and *phér-ena* (φέρ-ενα), as a consequence – at least in part – of those words residing within the lexicon of inherited cult; but some recorded Mycenaean dialect, in distinction to ancestral Aeolic, has innovated.

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Chapter Two

Mycenaean *Húpoio Pótnia* and Vedic *Patnī-Yū́pa-*

2.1. Introduction

In Chapter One we found there to be – perhaps unexpectedly – clear evidence of a Mycenaean expression of ancestral Helleno-Indo-Iranian religious vocabulary and ideas. Aeolic emerged as conspicuous in its position within this body of evidence. In this chapter we will find that the lexical picture that emerged in Chapter One is filled out by evidence of cult realia and associated ideas common to Mycenaean Greece and Vedic India.

2.2. Húpoio Pótnia (ὕποιο Πότνια) and *Patnī-Yū́pa-*

We begin by returning to Pylos tablet Tn 316. On the front side of the tablet several deities are listed as receiving offerings: Potnia, Ma-na-sa, Posidāheia (a feminine Poseidon), Tris-hērōs, and Dospotās. The worship of each of these is, on this

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tablet, attached to the Pylian place called Pa-ki-ja-ne, perhaps *Sphagiānes* 'place of slaughter'.[199] The place name and its derivatives occur frequently in the Pylos tablets,[200] and these occurrences suggest Pa-ki-ja-ne to have been a cult site of particular sacredness. A variety of Mycenaean cult personnel appear in documents in which the site is named, including the female officiant called a *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* (*klāwiphóros* [κλᾱϝιφόρος]), a '*kleís*-bearer' (Eb 338 + fr.; cf. Jn 829): in Chapter One (see §1.2.3.1) we encountered a *kleís*-bearer by the name of Karpathiā in conjunction with the discussion of the celebration of the *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja* (which I proposed to be a ceremony of ritual re-girding following parturition); we shall see later (§15.3.3) that this Mycenaean cult title, *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* '*kleís*-bearer', may also have relevance for Anatolian Greek cult. Other priestly titles that occur in documents in which Pa-ki-ja-ne is identified are *i-je-re-ja* (*hiéreia* [ἱέρεια]) 'priestess' (Eb 339 + 409; Eb 1176; En 609; Eo 224); and *te-o-jo, do-e-ro*

[199] See Aura Jorro 1993:72–74, with bibliography.

[200] In addition to Tn 316, the place name can be seen in An 18; Cn 608; Eb 338 + fr. (partially restored); Fn 187; Fr 343 + 1213 + 1209 (partially restored); Fr 1217; Fr 1233; Jn 829; Ma 221; Un 2; Vn 19; Vn 20; Vn 130; Xa 113. The adjective *pa-ki-ja-ni-jo* occurs on tablets Fr 1216 and Fr 1236; the term is used to name a month on tablet Fr 1224. Tablets En 609; Jo 438 + frr. +590 (partially restored); and On 300 + fr. + 375 + 1074 + 1446 preserve *pa-ki-ja-ni-ja*. A variant form of the place name, *pa-ki-ja-na*, occurs on Eb 339 + 409; Eb 1176; En 609 (twice, including one restored); Eo 224 (twice); Na 561.

(*theoîo doelos* [θεοῖο δοελος]; En 609 [four times]) and *te-o-jo, do-e-ra* (*theoîo doelā* [θεοῖο δοελᾱ]; En 609 [three times]), that is 'god's slave' (masculine and feminine respectively).[201]

2.2.1. Po-ti-ni-ja

The first offering recipient listed on tablet Tn 316 is a goddess addressed as *Po-ti-ni-ja*, *Pótnia* (Πότνια) 'mistress, queen', seemingly the principal deity of the complex at Pa-ki-ja-ne. The theonym *Pótnia* is one that appears throughout the Linear B materials. On the one hand, it is unclear whether, whenever there is no descriptor modifying the term, *Po-ti-ni-ja* designates a single deity at all sites or if different deities lie behind the unmodified title.[202] On the other hand, distinct forms of a Potnia-deity can plainly enough be signaled by modifiers, as, for example, in the phrase *po-ti-ni-ja, a-si-wi-ja* – that is, Potnia Aswiya – in effect, the 'Asian Potnia', whom we shall consider in more detail further along (see §15.2).

2.2.2. Potnia of U-po

[201] The cult titles, *te-o-jo, do-e-ro* and *te-o-jo, do-e-ra* occur frequently outside of the set of tablets here under consideration.

[202] On the problem, see Boëlle 2010. See earlier, Chadwick 1957 and van Leuven 1979.

In light of what we have observed regarding the closeness of Sanskrit *bharaṇa-* and Mycenaean *po-re-no-*, Aeolic *phérena* (φέρενα), within a context of commonly inherited cult vocabulary, the occurrence of a divine name spelled *u-po-jo, po-ti-ni-ja*, 'Potnia of *u-po*', on two tablets that bear explicit reference to the cult center of Pa-ki-ja-ne is particularly significant:[203] these are Pylos tablets Fn 187 and Fr 1236. The phrase *u-po-jo(-)po-ti-ni-ja* can also be seen on Pylos tablet Fr 1225, without reference to the place Pa-ki-ja-ne; that tablet reads as follows:

Pylos Tablet Fr 1225

.1 e-ra$_3$-wo, u-po-jo, po-ti-ni-ja

.2 we-a$_2$-no-i, a-ro-pa OLE+A S 1

.1 Olive oil for Potnia of *u-po*

.2 for robes [as] ointment OLE+A S 1

[203] An earlier and shorter version of the following discussion appears in Woodard 2020a. The author wishes to express his appreciation to the publisher, Baar-Verlag, for permissions, and to Andrea Brendler for her assistance in this regard.

In line 2 *we-a$_2$-no-i* is dative plural of *wehanos*. This is a term that identifies a type of garment, attested in the language of Greek epic (otherwise, in antiquity, chiefly in grammatical and lexical works) in the form *heanós* (ἑανός), denoting 'fine robe' (a substantival use of the adjective *heānós* [ἑᾱνός] 'fine, soft'). In the *Iliad* Homer uses *heanós* (ἑανός) of the robe of Helen, calling it 'nectarous, fragrant' (*nektáreos* [νεκτάρεος]; 3.385) and 'bright' and 'shining' (*argḗs* [ἀργής] and *phaeinós* [φαεινός]; 3.419); of Hera's robe, crafted by Athena, which is 'ambrosial' (*ambrósios* [ἀμβρόσιος]; 14.178); of the gown of a fearful girl, to whom Achilles likens Patroclus (16.9); of the robe of Artemis, also 'ambrosial' (21.507). In the same poem[204] the poet applies the adjective to the *peplos* of Athena (*Iliad* 5.734; 8.385); to the linen cloth with which Patroclus' body is covered (*heanō̂(i) lití* [ἑανῷ λιτί]; 18.352) and later that with which the urn is covered that holds his bones (23.254); to the malleable tin with which Hephaestus fashions greaves for Achilles (18.613). OLE+A, the Linear B ideogram seen in line two of Fr 1225, likely denotes oil that is used as an unguent, with A abbreviating *a-ro-pa*

[204] The word is absent from the *Odyssey*.

(*aloiphḗ* [ἀλοιφή]) 'unguent, grease'. Treatment of linen with oil is said to make the fabric soft and shimmering, not greasy (Shelmerdine 1985:128–130).[205]

As noted above, one of the documents on which *u-po-jo, po-ti-ni-ja* 'Potnia of *u-po*' co-occurs with a mention of the cult site of Pa-ki-ja-ne is tablet Fr 1236, which likewise belongs to the Pylos olive-oil series, consists of only one line of text:

Pylos Tablet Fr 1236

.1 pa-ki-ja-ni-jo, a-ko-ro, u-po-jo, po-ti-ni-ja, OLE+PA S 1 V 1

.2 *empty*

.1 To the field of *Pa-ki-ja-ne*, for Potnia of *u-po*, S1 V1 units of oil[206]

[205] Linear B *we-a$_2$-no* occurs a second time in the Mycenaean documents, on the fragmentary Pylos tablet Un 1322 + fr., which seems to record certain contributions to net-makers and weavers (see Chadwick 1964; Ventris and Chadwick 1973:505–506; Duhoux 1976a:130–134; Killen 2008:194). The syntagmatic significance of *we-a$_2$-no* here is unclear; a gap follows immediately, then the sign *no* (perhaps to be restored as *ri-no* [*línon* (λίνον)] 'linen'), then the word *re-po-to* (*leptós* [λεπτός]) 'fine, delicate'. This is in turn followed by ideogram *146, which may thus be understood as signifying a type of cloth, perhaps a village cloth of a plain nature (see, *inter alia*, Killen 2008:189–191, with bibliography).

.2 *empty*

The second tablet, Fn 187, preserves in 21 lines of inscribed text an inventory of allocations of barley and figs delivered to *Pa-ki-ja-ne* and the shrine of Poseidon and to various individually named recipients, including priests of Poseidon, heralds (*ka-ru-ke*, likely cult personnel),[207] and Potnia of *u-po*.[208] The allative *Ṭạ-ki-ja-na-de* appears in line 4, the goddess' title in line 8:

Pylos Tablet Fn 187, line 8

.8 u-po-jo-po-ti-ni-ja HORD T 5̣ NI T 4

.8 for Potnia of *u-po* BARLEY T 5̣ FIGS T 4

[206] OLE+PA is perhaps to be understood as 'sage-scented oil', with PA abbreviating *pa-ko-we*, spelling *sphakowen*; cf. alphabetic Greek *sphákos* (σφάκος), naming a type of sage or salvia (see, for example, Theophrastus *Historia plantarum* 6.1.4; *Scholia in Aristophanem* (= Regtuit 2007) *Thesmophoriazusae* 486a.

[207] For comparison Killen (2001:436n2) points to Cleocritus, herald of the Eleusinian Mysteries (Xenophon *Hellenica* 2.4.20).

[208] On the tablet see especially Killen 2001:435–436; see also, *inter alia*, Palmer 1969:231–233; Hiller 2011:190–195.

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The meaning of the modifier *u-po-jo* had long been considered a matter of some uncertainty. Ventris and Chadwick (1973:589) gloss it questionably as the genitive of a proper name. Palmer (1957:567; 1969:250) suggests it names a "cult center," comparing it with other modifiers of *Potnia*. For Aura Jorro (1993:388–389) it is "probablemente" a place name ("lugar de residencia y culto de la *po-ti-ni-ja*"); see also Rougement 2005:354. Some have proposed linking *u-po* with notions of the chthonic, via a connection with *hupó* (ὑπό) 'under, below' (*hupṓïon* [ὑπώϊον]).[209] For others *u-po* is bound up with *húphos* (ὕφος) 'web, net' and *huphḗ* (ὑφή) 'web', underscoring an association of the deity with fabric, as in Fr 1225.[210] None of these interpretations of *u-po* has carried particular conviction, and Chadwick (1957:118) explicitly rebuts the last two named.

2.2.2.1. Linear B U-po and Vedic Sanskrit Yū́pa-. Toward the close of the twentieth century, however, a more promising interpretation appeared. Sucharski and Witczak (1996) hypothesized that Linear B *u-po* spells a Greek cognate of Sanskrit *yū́pa-*, the name of the axis mundi and principal sacrificial post of Vedic ritual; this interpretation

[209] See, for example, van Leuven 1979:121, with bibliography.

[210] See, for instance, Boëlle 2010:43.

was taken up more recently by Gulizio, Pluta, and Palaima (2001:456).[211] Thus, a Mycenaean Greek nominative *hûpos* (ὗπος), genitive *húpoio* (ὕποιο) would formally match Sanskrit nominative *yū́pas*, genitive *yū́pasya*.[212] Sucharski and Witczak (1996:7–9) support their linguistic proposal by drawing attention to Pylos tablet Fr 1236, on which,

[211] See also Palaima 2004:233n96.

[212] For fricative *h*- (without overt orthographic representation) as the Mycenaean reflex of an earlier *y- compare *i-je-si* 'they send', from the Proto-Indo-European root *yeh$_1$- (possibly *Hyeh$_1$-) 'to throw, impel', source of Latin *iacere* 'to throw' (on which see, *inter alia*, LIV 225; Watkins 2011:105) and the relative spelled as *o*-, from *yo-; see Lejeune 1982:165–168. The etymology of Sanskrit *yū́pas* is best considered unknown, though a connection with Proto-Indo-European *yeu- 'to bind' has been speculated (see the references noted by Mayrhofer [1992–1996:2:416]). Reflexes of *yeu- can be seen in Indic (Sanskrit *yuváti* 'to attach, harness; take possession of'), Lithuanian (*jáutis* 'ox' [i.e. the 'harnessed one') and Latvian (*jũtis* 'fork in the road'). This *yeu- is commonly identified as the base of the root *yeug- 'to yoke', source of, *inter alia*, widely-attested nominal stems denoting 'yoke': for example, Sanskrit *yugám*, Latin *iugum*, Old English *geoc*, and Greek *zdugón* (ζυγόν; see, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1930:201–202; Mallory and Adams 1997:64 and 655; LIV 314 and 316). The peculiar Greek *zd*- reflex of a word-initial palatal glide *y- has been the source of effusive discussion (cf. also *zdéō* [ζέω] 'to boil, cook', from *yes-'to boil', and so on). That such a reflex is absent from *hûpos* (ὗπος) would suggest that a cognate Sanskrit *yū́pas* does not find its origin in Proto-Indo-European *yeu-, though the seemingly unmotivated splitting of the Greek reflexes of word-initial *y- is a poorly understood phenomenon.

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as we have just seen, oil for Potnia of *u-po* is sent not to the temple complex of Pa-ki-ja-ne but to the environs of that site: *a-ko-ro, u-po-jo, po-ti-ni-ja*, that is 'to the field' (*agrô(i)* [ἀγρῷ]) of Pa-ki-ja-ne'. They find this significant for their linguistic equation as cults of baetyls standing in open-air locales are well attested in the Aegean and elsewhere in the Eastern Mediterranean: thus, they propose, Linear B *u-po* denotes a columnar cult object – "a tree, pillar or stone" – that is worshipped in the open air.

In addition, Sucharski and Witczak (1996:10) draw attention to Pylos tablet Fr 1225, writing "[as] we read of ϝεhάνοιhι ἀλοιφά 'ointment for robes' . . . .[213] we may suppose such dresses play a role in the cult of the goddess." Vedic cult practice is here of comparative relevance in their view; they observe: "Sanskrit . . . compounds such as *yūpaveṣṭana-* (n.) 'Umwinden des Opferpfostens (mit Tüchern)'[214] prove a connection of sacrificial posts with dresses or robes in the Old Indian cult." This connection echoes in Aegean cult practice, Sucharski and Witczak note, pointing to Warren's 1990 study in which he proposes that an element of Aegean baetyl ritual entailed the deposition of a woman's dress as a votive offering within cult space.[215] While the pictorial evidence

[213] Citing Bennett 1958:56.

[214] Citing Mylius 1987:392.

[215] See Warren 1990:198–200, with note 34. See also Warren 1988.

provided by Warren is taken from Minoan (i.e. pre-Mycenaean) iconography,[216] Boloti (2017:9–10, 12–15) has drawn attention to Mycenaean frescos representing the ritual offering of cloth, in addition to the Linear B documentary evidence concerning Potnia of *u-po*, and still other deities (and explored the possibility of a continuity of the practice into the first millennium BC).

In Chapter One, in the discussion of dative recipients that appear in the Of series of tablets from Thebes (see §1.2.2.2), I made brief reference to tablet Of 36. The text of that document reads as follows:

Thebes Tablet Of 36

.1 no-ri-wo-ki-de ku LANA 1 , a-ke-ti-ra$_2$, wa-na-ka[

.2 po-ti-ni-ja , wo-ko-de , a-ke-ti-ra$_2$ ku LANA 1

[216] Though Warren (1990:206), in his conclusions, contends for a continuity of baetyl cult from the Minoan to the Hellenic periods.

Allocations are here twice recorded to *a-ke-ti-ra*$_2$: in one instance (line 1) *a-ke-ti-ra*$_2$ appear to be attached to the sovereign *wánaks*;[217] in the other (line 2), the term occurs in conjunction with the phrase *po-ti-ni-ja, wo-ko-de* 'to the *woikos* of Potnia'. Here no modifier further specifies the identity of Potnia. Does this rule out the possibility that she is Potnia of *u-po*? Almost certainly not: on Pylos tablet Fn 187 *askētriai* appear (line 15) together with *u-po-jo-po-ti-ni-ja* 'Potnia of *u-po*' (line 8) as recipients of barley.

The *askētriai* (*a-ke-ti-ra*$_2$ = *a-ke-ti-ri-ja*) are understood to be textile workers, possibly 'decorators, finishers',[218] though Barber has proposed 'dressers', in the sense of 'those who dress' (i.e. 'prepare') the loom for weaving.[219] The co-occurrence of these *askētriai* with deities can also be seen on Pylos tablet Un 219 + frr. (detailing allotments of various commodities), where *askētriai* (dative plural *a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i* in line 4) are marked as recipients of a vessel; divine recipients appearing in this document include Artemis (line 5) and Hermes (line 8), as well as, again, a Potnia (line 7), whose further

[217] Note the mention of the sovereign *wánaks* just before a break in the tablet (*wa-na-ka*[), a term that we will encounter below (see §2.4) and consider in some detail in Chapter Four. On Linear B "irregularities" in the spelling of *wánaks*, see recently Petrakis 2016, with bibliography. See also Woodard 1997.

[218] On interpretations see the discussion of Aura Jorro 1985:42–43, with bibliography.

[219] Reported by Elizabeth Barber at the 26 June 2020 session of the Meetings on Aegean Studies at the Center for Hellenic Studies of Harvard University.

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identity is obfuscated by an immediately ensuing break in the tablet (i.e. only *po-ti-ni-ja[* is preserved). The recipient whose name is spelled *pa-de-we* (twice, line 2) may be a deity as well. *Ka-ru-ke* 'heralds' (line 3) are here again specified as recipients.

Also listed among recipients on Pylos tablet Un 219 + frr. are individuals identified as *da-ko-ro-i* (line 5), dative plural of *dakóros*, likely identifying temple servants (*da-ko-ro* also appears on Pylos tablets An 207+360+1163+fr.+279+449; An 424+fr.; and An 427);[220] compare post-Mycenaean *za-kóros* (ζα-κόρος)[221] as well as *neō-kóros* (νεω-κόρος) both denoting types of temple servants; compare too *sēko-kóros* (σηκο-κόρος) 'sacred-precinct sweeper' (that is, one who cleans a sheep or goat fold [*sēkós* (σηκός)] for use as sacred space, notably as space in which a cult hero is worshipped).[222] The second element of these forms is understood to be a nominal related to the derived verb *koréō* (κορέω) 'to sweep out'. The etymology of the initial portion of *za-kóros* is less obvious but can be reasonably posited to be a zero-grade form of the root *dom-,[223] denoting a fabricated structure, commonly 'house'.[224] But in the

[220] See, *inter alia*, Palmer 1969:137, 229–230, 411; Ventris and Chadwick 1973:538.

[221] On the penultimate accent, rather than *zákoros* (ζάκορος), see, *inter alia*, Chantraine 1968:379.

[222] See Nagy 2010:147–153.

[223] See especially Solmsen 1912–1913:453–465.

[224] For summary of alternative analyses see Chantraine 1968:379.

compound *za-kóros* the initial element *za-* must reference sacred enclosure – that is, delimited sacred space; in other words, a *za-kóros* is a sacred-space sweeper. As we saw in Chapter One (§1.2.2.1), 'temple' is a meaning that can be encoded by allomorphs of the Greek *dôm-* (δῶμ-) morpheme, which perhaps can equally denote an open-air sacred precinct, a *témenos* (τέμενος). For the morphophonemics of *za-kóros* compare *zá-pedon* (ζά-πεδον) beside *dá-pedon* (δά-πεδον), from *dm̥-pedom (again, with zero-grade of *dom-), denoting the 'floor of a chamber' (and also 'ground'), from *pédon* (πέδον) 'ground;[225] sacred ground', a term of Proto-Indo-European origin: compare Hittite *pedan* 'place'; Sanskrit *pada-* 'footstep, trace', the 'step' of three-stepping Viṣṇu; and so on.

The morphophonemics of *za-kóros* (ζα-κόρος) reveal the form to be Aeolic,[226] with the initial *z-* (phonetically [zd-]) being a "volksetymologische Umbildung"[227] – essentially a product of morphological levelling – based on Aeolic treatment of complex forms beginning with the prepositional prefix *dia-. Thus, the term *za-kóros*, comparing to Linear B *da-ko-ro*, enters the first-millennium Greek lexicon by way of the

[225] See, *inter alia*, Chantraine 1968:252.

[226] See, *inter alia*, Solmsen 1912–1913:458–459. On the Aeolic phonetics see also, *inter alia*, Blümel 1982:57 and 114; Lejeune 1982:114.

[227] See, *inter alia*, Thumb and Scherer 1959:229.

Aeolian community. In Vedic India a ritual act of 'sweeping' (Sanskrit *vy-ud-*; see *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* 7.1.1.1–5) the ground is fundamental to the preparation of the sacred flame called the Gārhapatya (see further discussion below, in §§4.4.1.2–3). This flame is a principal architectural feature of the smaller sacred space that adjoins the great sacred space, the Mahāvedi (see §4.4.1), in which stand the sacred sacrificial pillars, the *yūpas*; one of these is the *patnī-yūpá-*, to which we are about to turn (see §2.2.2.3).

2.2.2.2. Vedic Yūpa and Textiles. To the brief comments of Sucharski and Witczak concerning the association of garments with the Vedic sacrificial post, the *yūpa*, we can add further observations. There is a significant body of evidence revealing that the *yūpa* is decorated with textile materials and that special garments play a role in its cult functions. The procedure for ritually preparing a *yūpa*, from the cutting and planing of a living tree to the erection and use of the pole on the sacrificial ground, punctuated by anointings with ghee – clarified butter – is an elaborate one, described in, among other sources, the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (*ŚB*).[228] One such textile material is a triple rope of woven grass that is fixed around the pole at a variable distance from the ground,

[228] For a summary, see Woodard 2006:67–71 and 85.

depending on the amount of rain desired by the sacrificer (*ŚB* 3.7.1.19–24). More significantly, in the celebration of the Soma sacrifice called the Vājapeya (see §4.2.1; a ritual of a particularly primitive nature)[229] the *yūpa* is wrapped in seventeen cloths (*ŚB* 5.2.1.5–7). The noun mentioned by Sucharski and Witczak, *yū́pavesṭana-*, denotes either the *process* of wrapping cloths around the *yūpa* or the *fabric* that is used for the wrapping. Compare the term *vāsas-*, which names a garment that is hung on a *yūpa*. As the sacrificer approaches the *yūpa*, he is cloaked in a special garment called in Sanskrit a *tārpyá-* (*Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa* 1.3.7.1), made of uncertain material. According to the Vedic commentators Kātyāyana and Sāyana, the *tārpya* is perhaps made of linen, or is soaked in ghee (compare the use of oil to treat the fine fabric *we-a$_2$-no*, mentioned on Pylos tablet Fr 1225, which we examined in §2.2.2), or is made from the *triparṇa-* plant, among other possibilities.[230] A *kṣatriya* (*rājanya*), member of the warrior class of Vedic society, undergoing inauguration in the royal consecration ceremony, the Rājasūya, also wears such a garment, as well as other ceremonial vestments. (*ŚB* 5.3.5.20–24).

[229] On its primitive nature, see, for example, the remarks of Keith 1967:cx.

[230] See Eggeling 1995:3:85.

2.2.2.3. Patnī-yūpá-. More can be said. Greek *pótnia* (πότνια) finds a cognate in Sanskrit *pátnī* 'mistress; wife'. The successful completion of a Vedic sacrificial rite requires the presence of both the sacrificer and his 'wife' (*pátnī*). The performance of certain ritual elements is limited to the *pátnī*: "a ritual without a wife is not a ritual at all according to the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (II.2.2.6)" (Jamison 1996:30–31). In the celebration of the above-mentioned Vājapeya the *pátnī* too is wrapped in a special robe (made of *kuśa* grass or some other textile [*Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* 14.5.7]) before she approaches the *yūpa*.

With the proposed reading of Linear B *u-po-jo, po-ti-ni-ja* as the syntagm *húpoio Pótnia* (ὕποιο Πότνια), compare the Sanskrit compound *patnī-yūpá-*, the *yūpa* of the *patnī*. The equivalence of the Mycenaean syntagm and the Vedic Sanskrit compound is striking. In the celebration of the Agniṣṭoma, the most sacred of ceremonies, one of the several *yūpas* set up is that one called the *patnī-yūpá-*, clearly erected for the purpose of bringing fertility to the sacrificer. In *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* 3.7.2.8 we read that the victim bound to the *patnī-yūpa-* is dedicated to Tvaṣṭṛ, the smith god. In Vedic ritual the *devānāṁ patnyas* 'wives of the gods' are closely linked with Tvaṣṭṛ: the *patnī-yūpa-* is a *yūpa* for the divine "mistress."

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2.3. Qi-wo

Of significance to the preceding discussion of *húpoio Pótnia* (ὕποιο Πότνια) is the Linear B form *qi-wo*, found on Thebes tablet Of 33. I examined the inscription of this tablet in Chapter 1 (in conjunction with the discussion of *po-re-si*; see §1.2.2.1), where I focused on line 1 and the allative phrase *o-*34-ta-o, do-de*, proposing that here and elsewhere Mycenaean *dô̂* (δῶ) may be properly understood as identifying a sacred edifice, or even a *témenos* (rather than denoting a 'house' for human habitation). The text and translation of tablet Of 33 are repeated below:

Thebes Tablet Of 33

.1 ku-ru-me-no ku LANA PA 1 o-*34-ta-o , do-de ku LANA PA 1

.2 qi-wo , di-u-ja-wo ku[LANA]PA 2

We saw that, as in this instance, the Of series of tablets from Thebes record allocations of wool (LANA) to various recipients and locales, marked grammatically either by the dative case or by allative expressions, and that the series has cult affiliations: thus, several recipients are deities – Potnia (Of 36), Hera (Of 28), Hermes (Of 31), Komāwenteiā (Of 35), and possibly Ma-ri-ne-u (Of 25; Of 35). We also observed in

Chapter One (see §1.2.2) that Thebes tablet Of 26 (on which occurs *po-re-si*) records allocations of wool sent to the *do* 'of the priests of Diwia' (*di-u-ja-wo*), with Diwia being one of those deities whom we encountered on Pylos tablet Tn 316 as recipient of sacrifices and gifts – appearing on the reverse side of the tablet, line 4. Her priests also appear on Thebes tablet Of 33 (see just above) where an allocation of wool is recorded as sent to the *qi-wo* 'of the priests of Diwia' (*di-u-ja-wo*). Diwia's priests are thus associated with both a *do* and a *qi-wo*.[231]

What does *qi-wo* designate? A place name has been speculated (Spyropoulos and Chadwick 1975:95), or possibly a man's name (Ventris and Chadwick 1973:577; Del Freo and Rougement 2012:271n55). More probable, given the structure of the Of tablets, is that *qi-wo*, like *do* and *wo-(i-)ko*, denotes a type of fabricated structure at which

[231] On tablet Of 26 we find the phrase *di-u-ja-wo, do-de* ; on tablet Of 33 we have the phrase *qi-wo, di-u-ja-wo*. There are two different word orders on display here. In the instance of *qi-wo, di-u-ja-wo* the genitive follows the noun that it modifies, showing the unmarked word order of the Mycenaean documents, it seems. In the case of the allative phrases the genitive precedes – *di-u-ja-wo, do-de* (as also with *ko/qi-ḍẹ-wa-o, do-de* [Th Of 26]; *o-*34-ta-o, do-de* [Th of 33]) – an emphatic word order, apparently utilized to contrast one *do* with another. See Duhoux 1975:126–132, who summarizes after examining various specific cases (p. 132): "D'après ce qui précède, la règle de la place du complément déterminatif peut être formulée comme suit : la place neutre du complément déterminatif se situe après le nom qu'il détermine ; l'antéposition du complément déterminatif entraîne sa mise en relief."

consignments of wool are to be received for cult use. In this light, how is *qi-wo* to be interpreted? A potential etymon can be found in the primitive root *k^{w}ei-.

2.3.1. Proto-Indo-European *K^{w}ei-

Proto-Indo-European *k^{w}ei- 'to build, pile up' provides the Greek verb *poiwéō* (ποιϝέω) 'to make, craft' – the more commonly attested *poiéō* (ποιέω) – derived from an *o*-grade nominal stem *k^{w}oi-wo-. This nominal stem is unattested as a simplex form but visible in compound formations such as *klinopoiós* (κλινοποιός) 'bed-maker', *logopoiós* (λογοποιός) 'discourse-maker' (often used of historians and fable-writers), *artopoiós* (ἀρτοποιός) 'bread-maker', and so on.[232] For a *wo*-stem with ø-grade root compare Boeotian, Arcadian, and Cretan *wíswos* (ϝίσϝος), Attic *ísos* (ἴσος) 'equal', perhaps seen in the Mycenaean compound *wi-so-ṿọ-pa-ṭọ/ṇạ* on Pylos tablet Sh 740, describing a corselet. Linear B *qi-wo* would properly spell the Greek reflex of a stem *k^{w}i-wo-. *Grosso modo*, the derivation of *qi-wo* from *k^{w}ei- 'to build, pile up' would then mirror *semantically* that of *dôma* (δῶμα), *dô̂* (δῶ) from *dem(h$_2$)- 'to build',[233] but then what sort of "built" entity would *qi-wo* denote?

[232] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1930:509–510; Chantraine 1968:922–923.

[233] Though see Chapter 1, note 15.

Toward determining an answer to that question, a useful comparandum is provided by Sanskrit *cinóti* 'to pile up', also from Proto-Indo-European *k^{w}ei-.[234] The *nu*-verb *cinóti* is used of the construction of a sacrificial altar; in other words, the construction process is one of piling. The Vedic fire altar, the *Agnicayana*, is formed of piled clay bricks and porous stones (see the elaborate description of the piling of the fire altar at *ŚB* 7.3.2.1–9.1.2.43). *Cáyana-* is a 'piling up' (noun), as is *cityā*. We also find *caya-* and *cíti-*, both denoting a 'pile, heap'; *citā* and *citikā* a 'funeral pile' – among still other Sanskrit reflexes of *k^{w}ei-.

2.3.2. Qi-wo as 'Cairn'

If Linear B *qi-wo* is rightly understood to spell *k^{w}i-wo-*, a Mycenaean *wo*-stem reflex of primitive Indo-European *k^{w}ei-, a viable interpretation of the form, in light of the evidence provided by Sanskrit cognates, would be that it denotes a piled-up entity associated with Greek cult. Such an entity must be a cairn. In the Greek language, recognizable *wo*-stems comprise a small and heterogeneous set consisting of both

[234] On the root and its reflexes see, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1930:509–510; Mallory and Adams 1997:87; LIV 378–379; Watkins 2011:46.

nouns and adjectives.[235] For basic semantic similarity to the proposed *k*^{w}*i-wo-* compare the *wo*-stem *kī́ōn*, *kī́onos* (κίων, κίονος) 'column, pillar', already attested in Mycenaean. The form is spelled *ki-wo* on Pylos tablet Vn 46, a document associated with carpentry, possibly shipbuilding;[236] compare the use of the cairn-term *hérma* (ἕρμα; see just below) in post-Mycenaean Greek to denote a 'prop, support', such as that placed beneath a beached ship (as at *Iliad* 1.486; 2.154). The term appears to be of primitive origin, with Armenian offering the comparand *siwn* 'column' (see, *inter alia*, Chantraine 1968:516). Belonging to the same morphosemantic sphere is the *wo*-stem *hóros* (ὅρος), from **hór-wo-s* (*ὅρ-ϝο-ς) 'landmark; boundary stone; pillar'[237] and its derivative *hórion* (ὅριον), from **hórwion* (*ὅρϝιον), commonly attested as plural *hória* (ὅρια) 'boundaries' – limites signaled by landmarks such as cairns – by *yūpas* in the case of the boundaries of the great Vedic sacred space, the Mahāvedi. Bronze-Age antecedents of *hóros* and *hórion* show up in the Mycenaean documents in forms that preserve both the *wo*-suffix and the initial *w-* of the inherited root: thus Linear B *wo-wo* and *wo-wi-ja*, respectively. On

[235] See Brugmann and Thumb 1913:215–216. For further on *wo*-stems see §9.2.

[236] On the tablet see, *inter alia*, Palmer 1969:366, 429; Ventris and Chadwick 1973:251, 555; Bernabé and Luján 2008:211.

[237] See Buck and Petersen 1949:183; see also Brugmann and Thumb 1913:47–48; Chantraine 1968:826. Possibly derived from a verb root meaning 'to observe, see' (see Ruijgh 1967:156, with n. 305).

several tablets from Pylos, *wo-wo* and *wo-wi-ja* are used in the genitive case in conjunction with male proper names to designate a locale.[238] The *hérma* (ἕρμα) is similarly situated in spaces typically associated with boundaries.[239]

Cairns and pillars can be demonstrated to have been an architectural feature of Mycenaean cult. One of the well-known artifacts recovered from the tombs at Mycenae is a glass plaque depicting a pair of genii pouring libations over pillars; in another scene such genii are represented pouring libations over what Evans (1901) interpreted as tripods with a baetyl placed on the top. On a third piece genii pour libations onto a cairn which is topped with a large baetyl:[240] "The parallel with the Greek *herma* or *hermaion* is striking," observes Guthrie (1975:865). Hermes is of course the god of the post-Mycenaean cairn that Guthrie references, cult object with which the god shares a name.[241] One encounters the view that the theonym *Hermes* is derived from the term for 'cairn', though Chantraine (1968:373–374), among others, is skeptical, rightly calling

[238] See, *inter alia*, Ventris and Chadwick 1973:593; Aura Jorro 1999:450; Bartoněk 2003:200, 209, 381, 384, 426–427, 618; García Ramón 2011:238.

[239] See Allen and Woodard 2013:236–239.

[240] See, *inter alia*, Evans 1901:19, with figures 12, 13, and 14. On these scenes, see recently Warren 1990:193–194.

[241] On the *herm* as cairn, see Allen and Woodard 2013:232–233.

attention to connections with Asia Minor and with Lydian names in *Erm-* and *Arm-*. If *qi-wo* means 'cairn', as here proposed, the use of *hérma* (ἕρμα) to name the cairn is likely a secondary development – that is to say, the name of the object would be one modeled on the variously-attested name of the deity (*Hermeías* [Ἑρμείας], *Hermês* [Ἑρμῆς], *Hermeíēs* [Ἑρμείης]).

We mentioned in passing, just above, that Hermes is one of those divine recipients who appear in the Of series of tablets from Thebes, found on the fragmentary Of 31:

Thebes tablet Of 31

.1 do-]de , ku LANA PA[

.2] ḍọ-de , ku LANA ṬẠ[

.3 e-ma-a_2 , re-[

This is one of several appearances that Hermes (here dative *e-ma-a_2*, i.e. Hermāhāi) makes in the Linear B documents, in none of which is there mention of any shrine belonging to the god. In Chapter 1 (§1.2) we saw him listed among the deities who appear on the reverse side of Pylos tablet Tn 316: here the inventory of gifts to Hermes

(line 7) immediately follows the list of those made to the goddess Diwia, which in turn follows a reference (line 4) to the shrine of Diwia. As Palaima (1999:452) makes plain, it appears that either Hermes has no shrine of his own ("given his extraordinary nature as god of boundaries, he perhaps is without a designated sanctuary") or that "he is here connected with the sanctuary of di-u-ja."[242] In other words, it appears that the gifts destined for Hermes are being conducted to the shrine of Diwia. With the name of the goddess Diwia compare the seemingly cognate Sanskrit adjective *div(i)ya-* 'heavenly, celestial', which in the *Rig Veda* is at times used to modify *Gandharva-*, term naming a semi-divine being (see §13.5.4.2) that shows particular similarities to Greek Hermes (see Allen and Woodard 2013): consider, for example, *Rig Veda* 9.86.36, a verse that we will consider in §22.2.3,[243] in which Soma is identified as the *apā́ṁ gandharvó diviyás* 'heavenly Gandharva of the waters' (see also *Rig Veda* 10.139.5, here identifying the Gandharva named Viśvāvasu, the "Gandharva par excellence").[244] In post-Vedic

[242] See also Gulizio 2000:108–115; Gulizio argues that beyond his affiliation with Diwia there is evidence in the Linear B records that Hermes tends to be associated with goddesses and that both this characteristic of the Mycenaean god and his lack of a shrine are generally consistent with the Hermes of the first millennium BC.

[243] And *Rig Veda* 9.86 is hymn is that we will frequently encounter in Chapter Twenty-Three.

[244] Allen and Woodard 2013:233–236, citing Dumézil 1929:139.

literature the compound *divyagāyana-* 'heavenly-singer' can be seen to reference a Gandharva. A scholiast reports *Divyā* to be the name of an Apsaras,[245] nymph-like beings, companions of the Gandharvas (see below, §13.5.4.2). The compound d*ivyastrī* 'heavenly woman/wife' can denote an Apsaras. Among the several occurrences of *div(i)ya-* in the *Rig Veda*, we also see it used to modify mention of Soma Pavamāna at *Rig Veda* 10.116.3, and of the divine class of Ādityas at *Rig Veda* 5.69.4 (with regard to which see §11.5.3.3 and §21.3.1 below) and the Fire-god Agni at *Rig Veda* 6.10.1.

Palaima's observations concerning Hermes and Diwia are consistent with the interpretation of *qi-wo* as 'cairn'. As Mycenaean Hermes appears to be particularly affiliated with the goddess Diwia on Tn 316, so it is the priests of Diwia that are attached to the *qi-wo* on tablet Of 33. There is a matrix of connections here: the *k*^{w}*i-wo-* is the *qi-wo, di-u-ja-wo*, the 'cairn of the priests of Diwia'; Diwia is the goddess to whom Hermes is linked in Mycenaean cult; Hermes is the god of the cairn in first-millennium tradition.

2.3.3. Qi-wo and U-po

[245] Monier-Williams 1979:479.

We would thus see in both *qi-wo* and *u-po* the persistence in Mycenaean cult of primitive ritual vocabulary that also survives in Vedic cult practice: once again, this is vocabulary that undoubtedly continues the language of Proto-Helleno-Indo-Iranian religious tradition – a tradition that would be greatly elaborated in India and influenced by Minoan and other religious practices in the Aegean. Linear B *u-po* and *qi-wo* belong to the same semantic sphere, designating in Mycenaean cult open-air, venerated vertical objects, baetyl and pillar and piled stones. Each of these – *u-po* and *qi-wo* – is a destination for textile offerings in Linear B records, as is the *yūpa* in Vedic cult practice; and each is associated with a goddess, Potnia and Diwia respectively.

Do the terms *u-po* and *qi-wo* name synchronically variant forms of the same cult implement? Such diversity in shape is otherwise evidenced. Earlier we took note of three scenes depicted on glass plaques from Mycenae, of genii offering libations (1) over a cairn topped by a baetyl, (2) over tripods with baetyl on top, and (3) over columns – clearly three variations on a theme. Cult implements of this sort show an affiliation with the provision of fertility. At the beginning of attested Greek poetic tradition Hesiod (*Theogony* 444) can declare that Hermes (along with Hecate) is good at increasing livestock. In the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* (497-498), at Hermes' request, Apollo βουκολίας ἐπέτελλεν 'enjoined cattle herds' (or 'care of cattle') on Hermes. The

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post-Mycenaean *hérma* (ἕρμα) of Hermes, term denoting both 'cairn' and 'column', presents itself as a boundary marker associated with blessings of fertility.[246] In this regard the *hérma* (ἕρμα) matches formally and functionally not only the Vedic sacrificial column, the *yūpa*, but also the Roman boundary stone *Terminus*. We should note that the Vedic *yūpa* has its own variant forms, notably the Sadas post and the *Indradhvaja* (see below, §4.5, §4.6.3, and §5.5.2).[247] This is how these devices are described in Allen and Woodard 2013:238–239:

> The boundary marker that is associated with fertility and the acquisition of goods is a well-known Indo-European cult artifact.[248] Conspicuous realizations of the ancestral Indo-European implement appear in the form of the *terminus* of archaic Italy and the especially well-attested *yūpa* of Vedic worship. In the cult tradition of primitive Indo-European transhumant pastoralists such a marker appears to have been erected at the distal boundary of temporarily installed sacred spaces. A ritual conducted within the space was conceptualized as a journey that advanced toward the boundary marker; attaining the marker, the

[246] See Allen and Woodard 2013:237–238.

[247] See Woodard 2006:76–79, 251, 259.

[248] For detailed discussions, see Woodard 2006, *passim*, but especially Chapter 3.

> worshipper accrues blessings: "chief among those blessings which the sacrificer obtains from the *yūpa* are cattle, sustenance, and prosperity."[249] These are advantages no less conspicuously associated with Hermes and one suspects that the god has his origins in the primitive Indo-European boundary marker of blessing. *Hermêˑs* (Ἑρμῆς) is the *hermêˑs* (ἑρμῆς) animated and deified, and in that process he fully mirrors Roman *Terminus*. In Vedic cult the sacrificer and his wife ascend the *yūpa* on a ladder and so doing they are said to gain the world of the gods: the *yūpa* is intermediary no less than Hermes.

Moreover, fertility is linked to the *patnī-yūpa-* in a quite explicit way. We saw earlier that the victim tied to the *patnī-yūpa-* is deicated to Tvaṣṭṛ, (*ŚB* 3.7.2.8): this "victim" must be a male capable of begetting offspring, and it will not be slain, but must be released after fire has been carried around it – thus the prospect of offspring is set free for the sacrificer. The Mycenaean *qi-wo* and *u-po*, I would propose, are similarly expressions of a cult device bound up with the promotion of fecundity.

2.4. Potnia of U-po and Diwia

[249] Woodard 2006:81.

Might *Húpoio Pótnia* (ὕποιο Πότνια) 'Potnia of *u-po*' be another designation for Diwia? If one acknowledges that comparative evidence provided by Vedic cult suggests that the domain of Potnia of *u-po* is that of fecundity, then perhaps so. The Mycenaean goddess Diwia appears to have survived into the first millennium in the Hellenic backwaters of Pamphylia in southwestern Anatolia. Brixhe (2002:51–55) proposes that among the Pamphylian Greeks *Diwia* (Διϝια) was the inherited theonym syncretistically appropriated for the Phrygian Magna Mater, the 'Great Mother' whom the Greeks generally identify as *Kubḗbē* (Κυβήβη) or *Kubélē* (Κυβέλη; see below, §15.3). That goddess' own affiliation with baetyls is well known: thus, Cybele is said to have been present within a black stone housed at the site of her cult in the Phrygian city of Pessinus, from which the goddess' stone was relocated to Rome in 205 BC.[250] Worth noting is a seal-ring image from the acropolis of Mycenae (CMS I 017 [= Arachne 157238)], that of the "Great Goddess ring," which depicts a female with nude torso, in Minoan style, seated on a pile of stones, her back against a "sacred tree" of luxuriant foliage, holding poppies in her right hand. She is approached by similar figures, who present her with plant material, and attended by two smaller female figures . Various other icons, including double-axe, appear: "Few other rings manage to cram in so

[250] See, *inter alia*, Boyle and Woodard 2004:238–243.

much religious symbolism."[251] The ring is commonly dated to about 1600–1500 BC (early LH II); Boardman (1970:4–5) identifies it as the work of "the second generation of Mycenaean engravers." If the iconography is Minoan, the utilization of it is conspicuously Mycenaean ("completely un-Minoan"), judges Niemeier (1990:167).

Brixhe (2002:55–58) further offers that in inscriptions from the Pamphylian city of Perge the Great Mother is identified as *wánassa* (ϝάνασσα) 'queen', feminine of *wánaks* (ϝάναξ),[252] terms which, as we shall see, are evidenced in the Linear B documents: during the Roman period coins from Perge represent the goddess in the form of a baetyl, an image also preserved on two reliefs. The goddess Diwia appears in the opening line of a long, but fragmentary, inscription from Sillyon (Dial.gr.Pamph. 3) that describes efforts to bring a peaceful resolution to an event of civil discord.[253] The inscription begins σὺ Δ̣ιϝί̣ᾳ̣ καὶ ϩιιαροῖσι 'With the help of Diwia and her priests'[254] and then goes on to describe that a certain man called *Mánēs* (Μάνε̄[ς) determined that sacrifices be made 'on account of the oppression and distress which afflicted the

[251] Krzyszkowska 2005:254–255.

[252] The term can also be seen in l. 29 of the Pamphylian inscription from Sillyon discussed just below.

[253] See Brixhe 1976:167; Colvin 2007:176–179.

[254] The translation of the document used herein is that of Colvin 2007:177.

dwellings [. . .'[255] The term here translated 'oppression' (genitive *wi̯lsiio̯s* [ϝι̯λσιιο̯ς]) is the *hapax legomenon wílsis* (ϝίλσις). Compare the verb *eílō* (εἴλω) (*eiléō* [εἰλέω], *íllō* [ἴλλω], among still other variants) 'to press down; to wind', from Proto-Indo-European *wel- 'to wind, roll'.[256] 'Distress' translates *anía* (ἀνία) (here the genitive *ani̯ias* [ἀνι̯ιας]) 'distress, grief, bane'; compare Sanskrit *amīvā-* 'distress, terror, disease'.[257] The character of Diwia that one glimpses in the Pamphylian record appears to be consistent with broadly attested Indo-European religious tradition, in which that set of deities associated with bestowing fecundity are likewise linked to benefactions of peacefulness,[258] and one may suspect in Pamphylia the survival of a cult expression of Mycenaean ideology grounded in earlier Indo-European religious structures.[259]

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[255] See Colvin 2007:177. "Dwellings" translates nOIK[in line 3 – a form of *oîkos* (οἶκος) 'house' (Linear B *wo-[i-]ko*). Colvin remarks (p. 178) that the term here "seems to refer, in some sense, to the fabric of the city." Compare Sophocles' use (Oedipus Rex 29; noted in §1.2.2.1) of *dôma* (δῶμα) in the phrase δῶμα Καδμεῖον (Cadmean *dôma*) denoting Thebes, the inhabitants of which suffer under the ravages of ὁ πυρφόρος θεός 'the fire-bearing god'.

[256] See, *inter alia*, Monier-Williams 1899:82; Walde and Pokorny 1930:298–304; Mallory and Adams 1997:607; LIV 675; Watkins 2011:100–101.

[257] See, *inter alia*, Chantraine 1968:91; Mallory and Adams 1997:413.

[258] As observed by George Dumézil: see, for example, remarks in Dumézil 1973:74–77; 1992:139–140; 2000:139–150.

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2.5. Some Interpretative Conclusions

Among conclusions offered at the end of Chapter One was this one: "Nominal *phoreno-* (φορενο-), closely akin to Sanskrit *bharaṇa-*, is likely inherited from the liturgical language of Proto-Helleno-Indo-Iranian tradition." A particularly close relatedness of Mycenaean and Vedic cult – religious traditions descended from a common Proto-Helleno-Indo-Iranian culture – is significantly and stunningly indicated by the formal agreement of the Mycenaean syntagmatic phrase *húpoio Pótnia* (ὕποιο Πότνια) and the Sanskrit compound *patnī-yūpá-*. The agreement presents itself as being not only a formal linguistic one but a functional ritual one as well. Both designated devices – Mycenaean and Vedic – serve as boundary markers, ones conspicuously marked by associations with textiles and ones bound up with matters of fertility. Hermes appears to be affiliated with the cult of *húpoio Pótnia*, with Linear B *qi-wo* – likely a (near) synonym of *u-po* – denoting 'cairn', the vertical structure with which Hermes is integrally associated in post-Mycenaean Hellas. The goddess Diwia belongs to a nexus of which the ritual pillar and Hermes are also a part.

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[259] On various personal names in *Diwi-* (Διϝι-) found in Pamphylia, see LGPN V.B 107. The name *Díīphilos* (Διΐφιλος) is attested in Mycia (see LGPN V.A 129).

Diwia is a Mycenaean deity whose worship survives in Asia Minor – in Pamphylia – into post-Mycenaean times, where an association with elements of fecundity are clear. The locale – Pamphylia – is quite significant, lying in the Bronze-Age Luvian region of Tarhuntassa. To the east of Tarhuntassa was situated Kizzuwatna, a geographic funnel through which ideas spread from Mitanni into the Luvian milieux of southwestern Anatolia, place occupied by the Mycenaean Ahhiyawa. As I will discuss in detail in Chapter Twenty-One, Mitanni is a place in which Indic names were used by its rulers and Indic gods were worshipped. Could it be that the Mycenaean worship of Diwia (Διϝια), which has an apparent cognate in Sanskrit *div(i)ya-*, has some foundational connection with the spread of cult ideas from Mitanni to southwestern Anatolia? Or, in a slightly different way, could it be that an inherited Greek deity continued to be worshipped in that locale because of local cult reinforcement that had emanated, ultimately, from Bronze-Age Indic Mitanni? The teasing apart of the inherited and the borrowed will occupy my attention throughout this work.

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Chapter Three

Mycenaean Dialects and *Despótēs*

3.1. Introduction

In Chapter Two we saw that not only cult vocabulary but also cult realia of common Helleno-Indo-Iranian origin finds expression in the Mycenaean documents. In this chapter we turn once more to lexical commonalities. A consideration of these will lead us to take up for the first time in this work an examination of the significance of dialect features of both the second and first millennia BC.

3.2. Despótēs (Δεσπότης)

To begin we return once again to Pylos tablet Tn 316. At the outset of Chapter Two and of our discussion of Mycenaean *húpoio Pótnia* (ὕποιο Πότνια) and Vedic *patnī-yū́pa-*, we noted that the deities who are listed as recipients on the front side of Tn 316

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are Potnia, Ma-na-sa, Posidāheia, Tris-hērōs, and Dospotās. It is to the last-named deity – to his name, at least, that we now turn our attention.

Linear B *do-po-ta* (Tn 316. 5) has been conventionally read as *dos-pótās*, a distinctively Mycenaean variant of Attic-Ionic *des-pótēs* (δεσ-πότης), Doric (etc.) *des-pótās* (δεσ-πότᾱς), denoting 'house(hold)-master', often rendered in English as 'lord'. As can be seen, what makes Mycenaean *do-po-ta* distinctive from alphabetic forms is the *o*-grade of the initial element of the compound[260] – for the term is in origin a compound. *Des-pótēs/des-pótās* is the Greek reflex of a primitive Indo-European compound *dems-pot-, denoting the 'house(hold)-master', from the nominal roots *dem- 'house(hold)' and *pot-, *poti- 'powerful'. The Greek compound is a univerbation of the genitival syntagm *des potes, from a still earlier *dems pot-, with *dem-s 'of the house(hold')' being an *e*-grade genitive of the root noun *dom-.[261]

3.2.1. Iranian Structures and their Homologues

[260] Mycenaean shows the inherited *ā*-vowel of the ending rather than the later Attic-Ionic shifted *ē*-vowel of *despótēs* (δεσπότης).

[261] On the root noun ablaut pattern see Schindler 1972:32–36. For an ancestral compound made with *pot- compare, *inter alia*, primitive Indo-European *g^{h}os-pot- 'guest-master', providing Latin *hospēs*, Russian *gospódĭ* 'host'; see, *inter alia*, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:646; Mallory and Adams 1997:371.

The definitive studies of Indo-European *dems-pot- and its reflexes remain Benveniste 1954:259–264 and, especially, 1969:1:293–319 (to which the following discussion is much indebted, though with some modifications introduced). The primitive societal significance of the term is best revealed by Iranian evidence primarily, by Indic secondarily. A *system* of archaic nesting social structures is preserved in Iranian tradition. At the center is the unit denoted by Avestan *dam-* (or a derived form), 'family; house'; encompassing such units is the *vīs-* 'clan'; a collection of these in turn constitutes the unit to which the name *zantu-* 'tribe' is given; the next and most external of the four structures is denoted by the term *dahyu-*, approximately 'territory' (for Benveniste, French *pays*). Compounded from each of these terms is an Avestan form designating the dominant member, 'chief' or 'master', of each unit, organized in a hierarchical fashion: *dāng pati-* 'master of the house/family'; *vīs-paiti-* 'master of the clan'; *zantu-paiti-* 'master of the tribe'; and *dahyu-paiti-* 'master of the territory'. The unit terms are preserved fully in Sanskrit and partially in Greek and Latin, but with semantic shifting, of greater or lesser degree, having occurred in each of these three languages. Indo-European cognates also survive for the Iranian compounds naming the dominant members of the lower-ranking social units, 'house' and 'clan': thus, beside Avestan *dāṇg pati-* Sanskrit offers *dam-pati-* 'master of the house' and Greek

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despótēs (δεσπότης); matching Avestan *vīs-paiti-* 'master of the clan' is Sanskrit *viś-pati-* 'master of a settlement or house' and Lithuanian *viẽš-pats* 'lord'.[262] Sanskrit preserves a corresponding feminine *viś-patnī* 'mistress of the house', as do Old Prussian *wais-pattin* (accusative case) 'woman of the house' and Lithuanian *vieš-patni* 'mistress'. At the level of the lowest unit, Sanskrit again provides a feminine form, *dam-patnī* 'mistress of the house', semantically matched by Greek *déspoina* (δέσποινα, from *dems-pot-nyh$_2$-), a well-attested term already in Homeric epic – though only in the *Odyssey* (3.403; 7.53, 347; 14.9, 127, 451; 15.374, 377; 19.83; 23.2). From Hesychius Δ 707 we learn that in Thessaly *déspoina* (δέσποινα) is synonymous with *gunḗ* (γυνή) 'woman'.

3.2.2. Post-Mycenaean Des-pótēs (Δεσ-πότης)/Des-pótās (Δεσ-πότᾱς)

The post-Mycenaean Greek reflex of the Indo-European masculine compound *dems-pot- is earliest attested in seventh-century iambic and elegiac. Archilochus (fr. 3.5 West) speaks of <u>δεσπόται</u> Εὐβοίης δουρικλυτοί 'spear-famed <u>masters</u> of Euboea', they who are skilled at wreaking carnage with the *ksíphos* (ξίφος) 'sword'. Tyrtaeus (fr. 7 West) is addressing the Lacedaemonian requirement – with violation bringing a

[262] Albanian *zot*, from *wtsā-pot-, has been claimed as a further member of the set, with a feminine *zonjë* 'wife': see Mallory and Adams 1997:348. See also Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:661.

penalty – that the Messenians must attend funeral rites for Spartan kings, and other notables, when he sings of the Messenian men: δεσπότας οἰμώζοντες, ὁμῶς ἄλοχοί τε καὶ αὐτοί | εὖτέ τιν'οὐλομένη μοῖρα κίχοι θανάτου 'loudly wailing for their masters, both their wives and they no less, | whenever the wretched fate of death should come along.' For Archilochus and Tyrtaeus *despótēs* (δεσπότης) plainly signifies a man who can impose – violently, oppressively, emphatically – his will upon another. It is a signification completely consistent with the Indo-European etymon *poti-, denoting the ability to exercise power (as in Latin *potis* 'having power', *potior* 'to take possession of', cf. Sanskrit *pátyate*, Avestan *paiθyeite* 'to rule, control'). Similarly Solon (fr. 36.14 West) tells of slaves ἤθη δεσποτέων τρομεομένους 'who quake at the dispositions of their masters'; the same condition lies behind the lines of Hipponax of Ephesus fr. 40 West in the sixth century BC.

But in the poetic language of the Aeolian island of Lesbos already in the seventh century BC *despótēs* (δεσπότης) can be used of a god. In fr. 95 (L-P) Sappho, singing of one (Sappho?) who longs for Gongyla (protégée of Sappho) and ready for death, addresses a deity in this way, as *despótēs* – a god who is typically presumed to be Hermes, who will take the speaker away to the nether realm in which flows the river

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Acheron, river of sorrow.[263] A century plus later – Pindar is no stranger to *despótēs* and his usage of the term is essentially consistent with that of one who exercises willful mastery over another,[264] though at times it is unmistakably bleached by general notions of 'being master'. But Pindar too can invoke a god as *despótēs*, and utilizes the term most frequently in just this way. Thrice he so connotes Poseidon: as δεσπότης ποντομέδων 'sea-ruling *despótēs*' at *Olympian Odes* 6.103; as δεσπότης ναῶν '*despótēs* of ships' at *Pythian Odes* 4.207; and as Ἰσθμοῦ δεσπότης '*despótēs* of Isthmus' at *Isthmian Odes* 6.5.[265] And for Pindar Zeus is Ὀλύμπου δεσπότης '*despótēs* of Olympus' at *Nemean Odes* 1.13; similarly, in fr. 36 he signals "Zeus" in the enunciation Ἄμμων Ὀλύμπου δεσπότης 'Ammon, *despótēs* of Olympus'. See too a scholion on Pythian Odes 6[266] where the scholiast characterizes Zeus *despótēs* as deity of 'loud-voice' (*megalóphōnos*

[263] On the poem see, *inter alia*, Boedeker 1979, with bibliography and discussion of earlier interpretations. For other examples of Hermes *despótēs* (δεσπότης) see, for example, Teleclides fr. 33 (Kock 1880); Aristophanes *Peace* 377, 385, 711; Lucian *Dearum judicium* 7; Hermias *In Platonis Phaedrum scholia* 3.266–268, 277; Proclus *In Platonis Cratylum commentaria* 117.

[264] Consider *Olympian Odes* 1.22; *Pythian Odes* 4.53; *Isthmian Odes* 7.45.

[265] For Poseidon *despótēs* see also Achilles Tatius 3.5.4; Eustathius Macrembolites 7.15; *Scholia in Aeschylum* (*scholia vetera* [= Smith 1976–1982]) *Thebes* 310a; *Scholia in nubes* (*scholia vetera* [= Holwerda 1977]) 571cα; *Scholia in Pindarum* (*scholia vetera* [= Drachmann 1966–1969]) *Olympian* 6.176, *Isthmian* 6.7.

[266] *Scholia Pindarum* (*scholia vetera* [= Drachmann 1966–1969]) *Pythian* 6.19a.

[μεγαλόφωνος]), 'lightning flashes' (*astrapaí* [ἀστραπαί]), and 'thunderbolts' (*keraunoí* [κεραυνοί]); the scholion here echoes Pindar's description of Cronus' son (Zeus) as βαρύοψ στεροπᾶν κεραυνῶν τε πρύτανιν 'heavy-voiced ruler [*prútanis*] of lightning and thunder' (*Pythian Odes* 6.24).[267]

Apollo too can be styled *despótēs* (δεσπότης). At his oracle in Carian Didyma the god is so characterized (see Fontenrose 1978:424; 1988:115). Plutarch (*De Pythiae oraculis* 403c) reports that Deinomenes of Sicily invoked the god as *despótēs* Apollo (ὦ δέσποτ' Ἄπολλον) at his Delphic oracle.[268] Greek *despótēs* is used of Apollo Agyieus (Ἀγυιεύς) – a god whom I shall soon examine in more detail (see below, §4.5). The fifth-century BC comic playwright Pherecrates (fr. 87 Kock 1880) addresses the god as 'O *despótēs* Agyieus'. Aristophanes, *Wasps* 875, has the figure of Bdelycleon invoke Apollo Agyieus as both *despótēs* and as *ánaks* (ἄναξ; on which see Chapter Four [§4.2.3]), again 'lord', the later form of the word spelled in Linear B as *wa-na-ka* (i.e. Mycenaean *wanaks*). As a term of address, the concatenation of *despótēs* and *ánaks* is well attested in the discourse

[267] For Zeus *despótēs* see also, *inter alia*, Aesop *Fabulae* 49; Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 940; Herodotus 4.127.4 (with Hestia); Lucian *Dialogues of the Dead* 28.1; *Themistoclis epistulae* 8; Longus *Daphnis and Chloe* 4.21.

[268] For *despótēs* Apollo see also *Scholia in Euripidem* (*scholia vetera* [= Schwartz 1966]) *Phoenician Women* 239; *Scholia in Iliadem* (*scholia vetera* [= Erbse 1969–1988]) 20.68b; *Scholia in Pindarum* (*scholia vetera* [= Drachmann 1966–1969]) *Pythian* 9.77; *Greek Anthology Appendix Nova* 4,62b.1.

of comedy: thus Aristophanes *Clouds* 264 (used of *Aḗr* [Ἀήρ] 'Air' deified), *Peace* 90 and 390, *Wealth* 748, and frr. 598, 898b (Edmonds 1957); Menander frr. 312 and 678 (Edmonds 1957).[269]

Among other gods who are identified as *despótēs*, Dionysus is notable.[270] We find him so addressed in Euripides *Bacchae* 582 and fr. 477 (Nauck 1964); Aristophanes *Acharnians* 247, *Thesmophoriazusae* 988–989, *Frogs* 1, 272,*ter*, and 301. Still other deities that can receive the designation include Helios[271] and Plouton.[272]

3.3. Normal Mycenaean Dos-potas

Various investigators have commented on the distinctive root vowel of Mycenaean *do-po-ta* – that is, *dos-pótās* (i.e. δοσ-πότᾱς), though often without linguistic

[269] On *despótēs ánaks* (δεσπότης ἄναξ) as a divine descriptor see *Scholia in Euripidem* (*scholia vetera* [= Schwartz 1966]) *Hippolytus* 88.

[270]See also Longus *Daphne and Chloe* 4.8; Hermias *In Platonis Phaedrum scholia* 3.200 and *In Platonis Cratylum commentaria* 105 and 181–182.

[271] See *inter alia*, Sophocles fr. 535 (Radt 1999); Achilles Tatius 3.25.2; *Hermias In Platonis Phaedrum scholia* 1.47, 3.185.

[272] Aristophanes *Frogs* 670 (see together with *Scholia recentiora in Aristophanis ranas* [*scholia Thomae Magistri, Triclinii et anonyma* (= Chantry 2001)] 670a); *Lyrica adespota fr.* 45; Demetrius *De elocutione* 143. On *despótēs* Plouton see Tzifopoulos 2011:175–176

analysis. Some would assume that *dos-* continues an earlier formant *doms-;[273] some have advocated for the possibility of an ancestral zero-grade *dm̥s-, showing an *o* reflex of the syllabic nasal, as is sometimes characteristic of Mycenaean.[274] Meissner and Tribulato (2002:314) consider the compound *do-po-ta*, writing: "The only Myc. form that can be considered to be of late PIE age is the theonym or title *do-po-ta*"; they propose (p. 315) that the *o*-vowel of the syllabogram *do-* either arose from the *ø*-grade of the root (i.e. from a syllabic nasal *m̥ [i.e. root *dm̥-]), citing post-Mycenaean *dá-pedon* (δά-πεδον) 'floor of a chamber' (from *dm̥-pedom [on which see above, §2.2.2.1]) as a comparandum, or, alternatively, that the *o*-vowel has spread analogically from the (pre-)Mycenaean nominal *dô* (δῶ), word for a fabricated structure (whether it be a house, temple, *temenos*) that we examined in Chapter Two. These are reasonable interpretations.

In a slightly different way, one might very well suspect that, if analogical spread is at work, it was the *o*-vowel of the nominative root *dom- (preserved in Armenian *tun*) that spread to the genitive *dem-s (in other words, that the pressure for change was

[273] See, with discussion, Durante 1970:53–54 and Szemerényi 1974:146, who suggests the possibility of regressive vowel dissimilation giving rise to the *e*-vowel of the root of *despótēs* (δεσπότης).

[274] See, for example, Palmer 1969:41, 263; Kerschensteiner 1970:72; Ventris and Chadwick 1973:289; García Ramón 2011:230. See also Risch 1966:152n3.

intra-paradigmatic). But the loss of the root vowel in genitive-case forms of this root-noun paradigm is also attested outside of Greek, and in languages closely related to Greek: Young Avestan shows *nəmō* from *dm-és and Armenian *tan* from *dm̥-és.[275] The appearance of a ø-grade *dm̥- in the Mycenaean compound could thus itself have a prehistory.

If Mycenaean *do-po-ta* were to be properly explained as an inherited compound *dm̥s-pot-, formed with a- ø-grade genitive, that may, of course, require positing that Greek *inherited* both *dems-pot- and *dm̥s-pot- from an earlier Indo-European stage (a *diachronic* action), the former producing *des-pótēs* (δεσ-πότης) and the latter *dos-pótās* (δοσ-πότᾱς); note that Avestan similarly shows reflexes of both *e*-grade *dems- (in *dems-pot-) and of ø-grade *dm̥s-. But this is not necessarily the case – and not likely. There is a tendency across early Indo-European languages to replace the *e*-grade of the weak stems of acrostatic ó ~ é paradigms of the type TVR(T) (such as *dóm- ~ *dém-) with the ø-grade. Thus, the process was most likely a *synchronically*, and independently, active one in both Greek and Avestan, as elsewhere.[276]

[275] See Schindler 1972:32.

[276] See Schindler 1972. For similar changes in Hittite see Melchert 2013b:143.

However one may account for the evolution of Greek *dos-pótās* (δοσ-πότᾱς) beside *des-pótēs* (δεσ-πότης), their co-existence signals dialectal differentiation: the former belongs to a Mycenaean Greek dialect, the latter (*mutatis mutandis*) to various dialects of the first millennium BC. Of the two analyses rehearsed just above, that one which proposes the early *Greek* replacement of a genitive root *dem- by a *ø*-grade root *dm- (i.e. the synchronic analysis) is the more probable, in light of the cross-linguistic tendencies identified. In the case of Meissner and Tribulato's alphabetic comparandum *dá-pedon* (δά-πεδον) the reflex of the syllabic nasal * m̥ is the vowel *a* rather than the vowel *o*. Mycenaean shows both of these syllabic-nasal reflexes – both *a* and *o*. The development of the *o*-vowel reflex of a syllabic nasal in a context such as that provided by *do-po-ta* – that is, *dos-pótās* (from *dm̥s-p . . .) – is the typical Mycenaean outcome and is one of the markers of that dialect that has been called Normal Mycenaean, mentioned in Chapter One (see §1.2.1). On the other hand, development of an *a*-vowel reflex of a syllabic nasal in the same context is distinctive for Special Mycenaean. We can reasonably posit that *dos-pótās* (δοσ-πότᾱς) is a compound that belongs to Normal Mycenaean; post-Mycenaean *des-pótēs* (δεσ-πότης) belongs to a different dialect strain. In contrast to the *o*-reflex of * m̥ seen in the compound *do-po-ta* (i.e. *dos-pótās*), the compound *da-ko-ro* 'sacred-space sweeper' (i.e. *da-koros*), which we encountered in

Chapter Two (see §2.2.2.1), shows an *a*-reflex of * m̥ (in *dm̥-). One could reasonably posit that *da-ko-ro* formally belongs to (that is, originates in) the Special Mycenaean dialect; and we would most likely anticipate the existence of a Special Mycenaean form of the primitive Indo-European univerbation *dm̥s-pot-: thus, a Special Mycenaean **das-pótās*, as opposed to attested Normal Mycenaean *dos-pótās*, and within Special Mycenaean a *da-koros* ('*dm̥-sweeper') beside a **das-pótās* ('*dm̥s-master'). As we noted earlier, the form of the Linear B compound *da-ko-ro* that is attested in the alphabetic period, *za-kóros* (ζα-κόρος), is Aeolic in form, though it is routinely used outside of an explicit Aeolic setting, indicating an early Panhellenic spread of the term from an Aeolian linguistic and cultural setting. In a similar way, Linear B *da-ko-ro* shows no Normal Mycenaean counterpart and appears on tablets produced by scribal hands that do not otherwise exhibit Special Mycenaean forms (hands 3, 15, and 43 [see below, §20.2.2.2]): hence, the suggestion is that a Special Mycenaean *da-koros* was likewise generalized as a pan-Mycenaean form.

3.4. Normal Mycenaean and Special Mycenaean

The observations regarding Normal and Special Mycenaean offered in the preceding section lead us to a fuller consideration of these two dialect forms. The four

Special Mycenaean dialect traits that have been identified can be briefly summarized as follows:[277]

(1) A. The consonant-stem dative singular ending *-i* (as opposed to Normal Mycenaean *-ei*)

B. The development of a vocalic reflex *a* from a Proto-Indo-European syllabic nasal in the vicinity of a labial consonant (as opposed to an *o* reflex in Normal Mycenaean)

C. The preservation of a mid front vowel *e* in the vicinity of a labial consonant (as opposed to a raising to high front *i* in Normal Mycenaean)

D. The preservation of the dental stop *t* when it occurs before a high front vowel *i* (as opposed to assibilation of the stop to *s* in Normal Mycenaean)

3.4.1. Da-koros (= Aeolic za-kóros [ζα-κόρος]) and Special Mycenaean

The Mycenaean compound *da-koros* (Linear B *da-ko-ro*), naming the sacred-space sweeper, exhibits Special Mycenaean feature (1B), I am suggesting, by consequence of

[277] On Mycenaean dialects at Knossos see Woodard 1986. On comparable dialect differences at Pylos see Nagy 1968. Both follow upon Risch 1966.

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the abstraction and spread of the initial formant *da-* from an unattested form **das-pótās.* The proposed Special Mycenaean **das-pótās* shows an *a*-vowel reflex of syllabic nasal * m̥ (in * dm̥s -), an outcome conditioned by the ensuing bilabial stop *p*.

Linear B *da-ko-ro* appears on Pylos tablets An 207+360+1163+fr.+279+449; An 424+fr.; An 427; and Un 219. These tablets are the products of Pylian scribal hands 3, 15, and 43.[278] In Chapter Twenty (see §20.2.2.1) we will take a close look at the scribal hands of Pylos relative to their use of Normal and Special Mycenaean dialect features; for now suffice it to say that these three scribal hands (3, 15, 43) do not show any of the four conventionally identified Special Mycenaean features (i.e. those set out just above). One might ponder the prospect of adding these three hands to the set of Pylian scribal hands that can be labelled "Special Mycenaean"; more likely, however, is that a Special Mycenaean form *da-koros*, naming a cult functionary, has been generalized throughout the Mycenaean language by the time the surviving Pylos documents are being manufactured, late in the Bronze Age. This would almost certainly mean that this cult functionary, the *da-koros*, finds his origin in the cult practices of the Special Mycenaean speech community, from which the name, and presumably the sacred

[278] An 207+360+1163+fr.+279+449 = scribal hand 43; An 424+fr. And An 427 = scribal hand 3; Un 219 = scribal hand 15.

function, of the *da-koros* spread to the cult of Normal Mycenaean speech communities. We think immediately of course of the first-millennium Panhellenic generalization of Aeolic *za-kóros* (ζα-κόρος). Does the generalization of Special Mycenaean *da-koros* represent essentially the Bronze-Age phase of this process with a later "updating" of Aeolic morphophonemics? Plausibly so; and this would likely be the consequence of the loss of the cult office in Balkan Hellas consequent to the demise of Mycenaean civilization there, coupled with the continuation of such a cult functionary among Anatolian Greeks – Lesbian speakers – into the Iron Age.

3.4.2. Pedá (Πεδά) and Special Mycenaean

As just mentioned, we will examine the matter of scribal hand and dialect at Pylos in Chapter Twenty. In the remainder of this chapter I would like to focus on scribal hands and dialect at Knossos, considering the prospect of expanding the set of Special Mycenaean features on the basis of the language of the Knossos documents.

3.4.2.1. Knossos Hands "124" and 141. Among the cadre of hands (ten in total) at Knossos that show the use of Special Mycenaean dialect forms are included notably hands "124" and 141. Tablets produced by hand "124" appear to preserve two of the

four nonstandard Mycenaean dialect features: feature (1A) the consonant-stem dative singular ending *–i* occurs on tablets F 193 + 7361 + fr. (*te-ra-po-ti*, spelling *theráponti* [θεράποντι] 'for a *therápōn* [θεράπων]'; see below, §8.3.6 and §8.6) and V(2) 145 (*to-ni*, almost certainly a place name); and feature (1D) unassibilated stop *t* before the vowel *i* on tablet Xd 168 (*ru-ki-ti-jo*, an ethnic adjective]);[279] tablet Xd 314, bearing the comparable feminine form (i.e. *ru-ki-ti-ja*), is seemingly also the workmanship of hand "124". Scribal hand 141 is responsible for tablets Fh 353 and Fh 5432 + 5461 + frr. in each of which there occurs an instance of feature (1B), the Special Mycenaean vocalic reflex *a* from Proto-Indo-European *n̥: in *de-ma-si* (*dérmasi* [δέρμασι]) 'with/for hides'. Use of feature (1A), the Special Mycenaean consonant-stem dative singular ending *–i*,

[279] This is derived from the place name spelled *ru-ki-to*, to which the name of the Cretan town *Lúktos* (Λύκτος) has been compared (as by, *inter alia*, Ventris and Chadwick 1973:581); but the Linear B spelling speaks against this identification, as others have noted (recently, for example, Bennet 2011:149 and García Ramón 2011:239n86). A slightly more favorable comparison would be with Cretan *Lúkastos* (Λύκαστος, so Bennet, *inter alia*), though a mismatch remains. The consistent Linear B spelling *ru-ki-to* straightforwardly points to a toponym *Lukitos* (see Chadwick and Baumbach 1963:219; Woodard 1986:63–64). If *Lukitos* is to be identified with epic *Lúktos* syncope has occurred, and subsequently assimilation, yielding *Lúttos* (Λύττος), as attested by, *inter alia*, Polybius 4.54 and Strabo 10.4.7. Syncopation is no stranger in the phonetic evolution of Greek (see, *inter alia*, Szemerényi 1964; Lejeune 1982:223), and as sporadic in this language as it is cross-linguistically.

may also be attributed to hand 141: the relevant form, **56-i-ti*, occurs on tablet Fh 1057, though the identification of the hand is not considered to be certain. Note that a variant **56-ti* appears on Knossos tablet Fp(1) 15 (hand 138).[280]

*3.4.2.2. Datives *56-i-ti, *56-ti, and to-ni.* Regarding the dative **56-i-ti* of Knossos tablet Fh 1057 – Killen (2014:81) has claimed that **56-i-ti* is a nominative (the catch-all "nominative of rubric"), as he generally questions the occurrence of the dative singular ending *-i* at Knossos. His remarks lack conviction. In rejecting the dative reading of **56-i-ti* he fails to acknowledge the variant **56-ti* and the important clarity that it brings,[281] despite his earlier (1992) arguments for the two variants being probable datives. Knossos tablet Fp(1) 15, belonging to a series of tablets recording offerings of olive oil, reads as follows:

Knossos Tablet Fp(1) 15

.1 ka-ra-e-ri-jo , / me-no

.2 *56-ti S 2 , pa-si-te-o-i S 1

[280] On these see Woodard 1986:51–59.

[281] Killen postpones a mention of **56-ti*, a cursory one, until later in his study when he has assumed as given a nominative identification of **56-i-ti*.

In line 1 the offerings are marked as occurring in the month *Ka-ra-e-ri-jo*. In the second portion of line 2 a particular quantity of oil is specified as being offered *pa-si-te-o-i*, dative plural 'to All-gods'. In a completely parallel way, in the first portion of that line **56-ti* is identified as recipient of a larger quantity of oil. Internal comparison presents **56-ti* as no less dative than *pa-si-te-o-i*,[282] and external comparison with other tablets belonging to the series shows a consistent use of dative-case forms to encode recipients of the offerings.[283]

The brief Knossos tablet Fh 1057, on which *56-i-ti appears, belongs to a set recording olive oil consignments:

Knossos Tablet Fh 1057

*56-i-ti OLE S 1

[282] The point is made in Woodard 1986:52–53, which seems to have anticipated Killen 1992a, where that author makes the same point on pp. 354 and 358.

[283] See Woodard 1986:53–54. Killen overlooks this important body of evidence.

The structure is consistent with that of Fp(1) 15 and other members of that series; and datives are again common throughout the often brief and fragmentary tablets of the Fh series.[284] Answering to this description (i.e. brief and fragmentary) but worth pointing out is tablet Fh 9077, the work of hand 141: *56-ti[ ]1 S 1. Tablet Fh 5487 + fr. (perhaps also by hand 141) partially preserves a single form, of uncertain reading: *56-ị-ti-jẹ[.[285]

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[284] See Woodard 1986:54–56. Killen again ignores, but is aware: in Killen 1992a he writes of **56-ti* on Fp(1) 15: "... there are a large number of datives, or possible datives, in parallel with it in the Fh series (and no example of a certain nominative [of rubric] in the 'recipient' position in the series)" (p. 354) and, again, of "... the lack of any clear parallel for a nominative of rubric in the 'recipient' position in the Fh series, as against the large number of certain or possible datives in this location" (p. 358).

[285] Killen (2014) would want **56-ị-ti-jẹ[* to be a dative of a nominative **56-ti*, reversing his earlier analysis of Killen 1992a, in which he rehearses and endorses the arguments (though in much less detail) as made in Woodard 1986 for identifying **56-i-ti/*56-ti* as a dative. In Killen 1992a that author contends for **56-ị-ti-jẹ[* being "plausibly understood as a derivative in *-e-jo* of the name"; and in this analysis he is surely correct, if in fact the form can actually be read. In suggesting that **56-ị-ti-jẹ[*may be a dative of a nominative **56-ti*, Killen cites Morpurgo Davies 2006:122 for support, though he has misunderstood Morpurgo Davies' discussion. She observes, tentatively, that there *may* be "evidence in Thebes for two different terminations of dative singular" of *i*-stems: one in *-i* (*pa-pa-ra-ki*) and one in *-i-je* (*ma-di-je*). The former she compares to dative **56-i-ti*, **56-ti*, and *te-ra-po-ti* at Knossos and the latter to **56-ị-ti-jẹ[* at Knossos, "if

In the same article, Killen similarly rejects reading *to-ni* as a dative or, even a place name, on Knossos tablet V(2) 145, line 5, while at the same moment acknowledging the parallel locative place name *ka-ta-ra-pi* in the immediately preceding line 4 (appearing as *ka-ta-a-ri* on Knossos tablet Co 906 [see Aura Jorro 1985:330; Bennet 2011:149]). *To-ni* has been commonly judged to be a place name (see Aura Jorro 1993:361). Tablet V(2) 145, a list of personnel associated with quantities of an unidentified commodity, reads as follows:

Knossos Tablet V(2) 145

.0

.1 ta-mo-[

.2 u-wo-qe-ne / u-du-ru-wo ‘4 o 6’

.3 we-re-we / ku-pa-sa 4 o 6

.4 we-re-we , / ḳạ-ta-ra-pi 4 o 6

.5 a-ke-to-ro / to-ni ẓ̣ o 10

.6 [[40 o 3̣3̣]]

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this is not, as often supposed, an adjective." In other words, Morpurgo Davies is suggesting, if **56-ị-ti-jẹ[* is not an adjective ("as often supposed"), then there is evidence at Knossos for two different dative formations matching two dative formations at Thebes. On *pa-pa-ra-ki* see above, §1.2.2.2.

The toponymic parallelism provided by *ka-ta-ra-pi* and *to-ni* in lines 4 and 5, respectively, extends throughout the four lines of text. The genitive place name *u-du-ru-wo* occurs in line 2 (see Aura Jorro 1993:18–19) and the place name *ku-pa-sa* (see Aura Jorro 1985:405) in line 3, likely dative as well. Each of the four sequential place names modifies the word that precedes it in the respective line: *u-wo-qe-ne* in line 2 and *we-re-we* in lines 3 and 4 – seemingly titles of officials associated with these places (see, *inter alia*, Palmer 1969:182–183, 463 and Ventris and Chadwick 1973:589, 591).

The former, *u-wo-qe-ne*, is interpreted to be a variant of *u-wo-qe-we* on Knossos tablet C 902 (and there again attached to the place designated [with variant spelling] *o-du-ru-we* [as here with *u-du-ru-wo*])[286] – that is, a dual or plural of a form *uwok*^{w}*eus*. Bearing in mind the Cypriot prefix *u-*, synonymous with *epi-* (ἐπι-), *u-wo-qe-we* compares to post-Mycenaean *epōpeús* (ἐπωπεύς) 'one who observes',[287] and related nominal forms.[288] These are derived from the *epi*-prefixed verb *epōpáō* (ἐπωπάω, from Proto-Indo-European *$h_3$ek^{w}- 'to see'); the simplex can be seen surviving in perfect *ópōpa* (ὄπωπα), future *ópsomai* (ὄψομαι), serving as suppletive forms within the

[286] See the discussion of Palmer 1969:182–183.

[287] See Aura Jorro 1993:394.

[288] See Chantraine 1968:812.

synchronic paradigm of the verb *horáō* (ὁράω) 'to see, perceive' (see just below). Prefixed *epōpáō* is an uncommon word which is attested chiefly in Aeschylean tragedy (and associated scholia), as at *Eumenides* 275, of Hades keeping watch on the deeds of mortals. In Chapter Fourteen we will encounter *epōpeús* used as a proper name, identifying the Thessalian hero Epopeus who is said to be father of one of the divine-twin sons of Antiope, Zethus and Amphion, founders of Thebes (Poseidon being father of the other). Greek *ōpáō* shares an etymon with Sanskrit *īkṣate* 'to behold, gaze at', including actions of observing for the sake of foretelling.

The interpretation of the *we-re-we* of lines 3 and 4, which equally occurs on C 902, has been considered less certain; it again appears to be a nominal formed in *-eus* designating an officiant.[289] This is especially probable given the co-occurring nominals of C 902: on this tablet we find not only *u-wo-qe-we* and *we-re-we*, as mentioned, but also multiple occurrences of *ko-re-te*, title of a village official (see below, §4.6.3; §8.6.1; and §20.2.2.1), *e-re-ta* perhaps, literally, 'rowers' (otherwise a homophone of that term identifying an official),[290] and *e-ra-ne* (seemingly an official title as well).[291] A root *wer-

[289] See Palmer 1969:182, 463; Ventris and Chadwick 1973:591.

[290] See Palmer 1969:183; Aura Jorro 1985:242.

[291] See Palmer 1969:418; Aura Jorro 1985:242. The one remaining term appearing in the same position as each of these titles/probable titles on Knossos tablet C 902 is *si-pe-we* (in the first line of the tablet), of

may well be indicated for *we-re-we*, of which Proto-Indo-European possessed several homophonous forms. The root *wer- meaning 'to burn' is one and reflexes are broadly attested,[292] though not, otherwise, in Greek. Hittite, for example, shows *ur-/war-*. In *u-wo-qe-we* and *we-re-we* do we find a pair of diviners – one dedicated, say, to auspices and the other to divination by fire?

In light of this repeated co-occurrence of *u-wo-qe-we/u-wo-qe-ne* and *we-re-we*, however, a more likely candidate for the source of the latter is Proto-Indo-European *wer- 'to perceive', 'to watch out for', which in various descendent languages is particularly linked to religious experience.[293] Latin , for example, offers *vereor* 'to show reverence for', 'to view with apprehension'. In Germanic there are various reflexes imparting a sense of being cautious (including English *wary*). Hittite *werite* 'to be

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uncertain sense, though possibly nominative plural of an occupational noun in *-ēu-*. In light of *e-re-ta*, if in fact 'rowers' – and, if so, likely an appropriation of the word for naming functionaries – one might compare post-Mycenaean *sílphē* (σίλφη), term for (not only a' beetle' but) a type of boat (Suda N 28; Σ 421; *Scholia in Pacem* [*scholia vetera et recentiora Triclinii* (= Holwerda 1982)] 143a, with Naxian associations), glossed as *akátion* (ἀκάτιον), diminutive of *ákatos* (ἄκατος). On the morphology compare, for example, *pompeús* (πομπεύς) 'one who escorts' beside *pompḗ* (πομπή) 'an escorting'.

[292] See, *inter alia*, Mallory and Adams 1997:125; Watkins 2011:103.

[293] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1930:284–285; Ernout and Meillet 1959:723; Chantraine 1968:813–815; Mallory and Adams 1997:417; LIV 685–686; Watkins 2011:102.

afraid' likely belongs here as well and appears to have been in origin a compound of *weri + dheh$_1$- 'to put perception in' (see Oettinger 1979:127), setting this form in the company of various such *-dheh$_1$- compounds of metaphysical import (see Woodard 2022). This root *wer- is also the source of Greek *horáō* (ὁράω) 'to see, perceive' and 'to take heed'. It is important to note Hesychius' gloss of *epōpáō* (ἐπωπάω), the verb considered just above in regard to *u-wo-qe-we*: Hesychius E 5588 sets up the semantic equation *epōpáō* = *ephoráō* (ἐφοράω [that is, *epi-horáō* (ἐπι-ὁράω)]) and so replicates, *mutatis mutandis*, the Mycenaean conjunction of *u-wo-qe-we*/*u-wo-qe-ne* (*epōpáō*) and *we-re-we* (*ephoráō*). Hesychius adds to these as a third synonym *epopteúō* (ἐποπτεύω) 'to watch' (also from *h$_3$ek^w- 'to see'), occurring beside the agent noun *epóptēs* (ἐπόπτης),[294] used especially of a divine 'watcher', as of Leto and her twin children Apollo and Artemis, who are 'watchers' over Pytho (Pindar *Nemean Odes* 9.4–5) – and also of significance in the terminology of initiation into the mysteries.[295] Perhaps we should understand the pair of Mycenaean terms – *u-wo-qe-we*/*u-wo-qe-ne* and *we-re-we* – as designating cult officiants whose role is one of perceiving, of watching, each with a distinct nuance.

[294] See Chantraine 1968:811.

[295] On which see, *inter alia*, Dowden 1980.

The tight parallelism of the entries on V(2) 145 clearly suggests that *a-ke-to-ro*, the form preceding *to-ni*, likewise names an official (or officials) designated vis-à-vis this locale. For guidance in interpreting *a-ke-to-ro* we might look to a form such as *hāgḗtōr* (ἁγήτωρ) title of the 'priest conducting (*hēgéomai* [ἡγέομαι]) the sacrifices of Aphrodite in Cyprus (*en Kúprō(i)* [ἐν Κύπρῳ])' (Hesychius A 500). Compare epic *hēgḗtōr* (ἡγήτωρ), denoting a 'leader' of warriors. For Linear B *a-ke-to-ro* spelling a Mycenaean thematic *(h)āgētros* compare, for example, Homeric *iētrós* (ἰητρός) beside *iētḗr* (ἰητήρ; Linear B *i-ja-te*) 'physician'; on the thematization of agent nouns in *-tēr* and *-tōr* see Buck and Petersen 1949:313–314, with examples on ensuing pages. Compare also *agḗtēs* (ἀγήτης), denoting one functioning as a priest, as in the Carneia, Spartan festival of Apollo Carneius, which can also be called the *Hagetoria* (*Hagētória* [Ἁγητόρια], Hesychius A 500; cf. *Agētóreion* [Ἀγητόρειον], Hesychius A 499). A scholion on Theocritus *Idylls* 5.83, in conjunction with Theocritus' mention of the Carneia and citing Theopompus,[296] reports that the Argives call Apollo *Hēgḗtōr*, as he leads the army.[297]

Alternatively, and probably more likely, within the professional sphere of the just mentioned Homeric *iētrós* (ἰητρός) and *iētḗr* (ἰητήρ), Linear B *i-ja-te* (and, again,

[296] *Scholia in Theocritum* (*scholia vetera* [= Wendel 1914]) 5.83b (= Theopompus fr. 357 FGrH).

[297] For comments see Malkin 1994:149–150.

given the morphological variation on display in the epic forms), we could compare post-Mycenaean *akéstōr* (ἀκέστωρ) with Linear B *a-ke-to-ro*. *Akéstōr* denotes 'healer'[298] and can be assigned to Apollo as epithet, as by Euripides *Andromache* 900.[299] Compare too *akestḗs* (ἀκεστής), which various sources identify as Phrygian for 'healer, physician', as, for example, *Scholia in Iliadem* (*scholia vetera* [= D *scholia*]) 22.2.

Regarding the base of a dative toponym *to-ni* – monosyllabicity is surely no cause for exclusion in positing place names.[300] We need think only of the Lacedaemonian place *Lâ* (Λᾶ) or *Lâs* (Λᾶς),[301] located in the mountains above the Gulf of Laconia, and so itself a straight shot from Crete over open water. Pausanias describes the polis of *Lâ* as originally situated on Mount Asia; there he saw the ruins of a temple of Athena Asia, built, he adds, by Castor and Pollux following their return from Colchis, a cult of Athena Asia having been located in Colchis. *Lâ*, according to Strabo (8.5.3), is the source of the Dioscuri's epithet *Lapérsai* (Λαπέρσαι), as they had 'sacked' (from

[298] See, *inter alia*, Hesychius A 2353; Photius *Lexicon* A 736; *Etymologicum genuinum* A 311; Suda A 851; Pseudo-Zonaras Lexicon A 99.

[299] See also *Scholia in Euripidem* (*scholia vetera* [= Schwartz 1966] *Andromache* 900.

[300] See Killen 2014:81, citing Driessen 2000:182.

[301] With which compare Linear B *ra-i-pi* on Pylos tablet Na 530, seemingly a locative plural place name inflected with *-phi* (-φι). For bibliography on *ra-i-pi* see Aura-Jorro 1993:215.

pérthō [πέρθω] 'to sack') the city of La. See also, *inter alia*, Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* 11.1, here equated with the place called *Láas* [Λάας] that Homer includes in the Catalogue of Ships, part of the contingent led by Menelaus.

With Linear B *to-ni*, one can compare *Thôn* (Θῶν), genitive *Thōnós* (Θωνός). The poet of the *Odyssey* (see 2.220–234) utilizes *Thôn* as the name of the Egyptian man whose wife, Polydamna, had given to Helen (here [lines 219 and 227] styled Διὸς θυγάτηρ 'daughter of Zeus'), a powerfully sedating *phármakon* (φάρμακον) 'botanical drug' that she mixed with wine and shared with Menelaus, Telmachus, and others following the return to Lacedaemon. Of Egypt, the poet here sings (lines 229–232a):

. . . τῇ πλεῖστα φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα
φάρμακα, πολλὰ μὲν ἐσθλὰ μεμιγμένα πολλὰ δὲ λυγρά· 230
ἰητρὸς δὲ ἕκαστος ἐπιστάμενος περὶ πάντων
ἀνθρώπων· . . . .

. . . there grain-giving earth bears the most botanical drugs,
many that being mixed are good and many that are baneful; 230

here each person is a healer, skilled beyond all

people; . . . .

The Egyptian Thon shows up elsewhere in traditions of Helen and Menelaus: see, for example, Hellanicus fr. 153 (FGrH); Herodotus 2.116; Diodorus Siculus 1.97.7; Joannes Tzetzes *Chiliades* 6.76.[302] This Egyptian Thon ruler is said to have given his name to the city called *Thonis* (*Thôn̂is* [Θῶνις]), a trading center at the Canobic mouth of the Nile: so, for instance, Hellanicus fr. 153 (FGrH); Strabo 17.1.16; Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* 8.81.[303] Though *Thonis* can name the ruler as well: thus, *inter alia*, Herodotus 2.113.3–115.1; Aelius Herodianus *De prosodia catholica* 3,1.94; Aelian *De natura animalium* 9.21 and 15.13. Regarding *Thôn̂*, West (in Heubeck, West, and Hainsworth 1988:207) observe that he "is the only character in Menelaus' Egyptian adventures who bears what looks like a genuine Egyptian name, but it is primarily a place-name, once widespread and still surviving in Coptic."[304]

[302] On the role of Thon in traditions of Helen and Menelaus in Egypt, see recently Edmunds 2016:155–156.

[303] On the city see also, *inter alia*, Nicander *Theriaca* 310–313; Diodorus Siculus 1.19.4. Compare the form *Thôm̂is* (Θῶμις) cited by Aelius Herodianus Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας 3,2.523 and Hesychius Θ 1001.

[304] See the bibliography offered following this remark.

In light of the Homeric passage and the orthographically-trued reading of Linear B *a-ke-to-ro* as a Mycenaean thematic variant of *akéstōr* (ἀκέστωρ) 'healer', the localization of this figure *to-ni*, possibly 'at Thon', is more than intriguing. This would not be the only Linear B term signifying a cultural link between Knossos and Egypt. The adjective *a_3-ku-pi-ti-jo* – that is, post-Mycenaean *Aigúptios* (Αἰγύπτιος) – is used as a man's name on Knossos tablet Db 1105 + 1446; in the Bronze Age the adjective likely refers not generally to 'Egyptian' but specifically to 'one from Memphis'.[305] The broader ethnic signifier is likely seen in the adjective *mi-sa-ra-jo* on Knossos tablet F(2) 841 + 867, again offered as a personal identifier:[306] this appears to spell *Misraios*, denoting 'Egyptian'; compare the various Semitic terms for 'Egypt': Akkadian *Miṣru*; Ugaritic *Mṣrm*; Phoenician *Mṣrm*; Hebrew *Miṣrayim*; and so on.[307] There can be no doubt of the exchange of goods between Mycenaean Crete (almost certainly identified by the Egyptian place name *Keftiu*) and Egypt, and a picture of direct trade between Mycenaean Greece (*Tinayu* likely being the Egyptian name for mainland Mycenaean

[305] See, *inter alia*, Palmer 1969:179; Bennet 2011:158. For extensive bibliography of work treating *a_3-ku-pi-ti-jo* see Aura Jorro 1985:136–137.

[306] See, *inter alia*, Aura Jorro 1985:454; Bennet 2011:158.

[307] See CAD M2:113–115; Olmo Lette and Sanmartin 2003 :580–581.

Greece) and Egypt appears to be becoming ever more clear.[308] The presence of Mycenaeans in Egypt during LH IIIA2 (ca. 1380–1300 BC) is evidenced by a papyrus fragment from Amarna, on which appear to be depicted Mycenaean warriors aiding a wounded Egyptian.[309] It is likely that *to-ni* on Knossos tablet V(2) 145 serves not to designate a destination but as an ethnic identifier – not so different from *Aigúptios* (*a$_3$-ku-pi-ti-jo*) and *Misraios* (*mi-sa-ra-jo*) in function – that specifies the particular *a-ke-to-ro* – probably physician – being referenced here – that one who is known to be associated with *Thon*.

3.4.2.3. Mycenaean Pedá (πεδά) *and Metá* (μετά). If the attribution of Fh 1057 to scribal hand 141 is correct, then both hands "124" and 141 preserve *multiple* dialect features of Special Mycenaean Greek. More than that, they are the only two single hands at Knossos to do so. Either way, the two hands together display use of three of the four Special Mycenaean features. Were it a coincidence it would seem to be a remarkable one that within the Mycenaean corpus the preposition *pedá* (πεδά) 'with' occurs uniquely on tablets produced by these very same scribal hands, "124" and 141

[308] See the helpful summarizing discussions of Cline 2007, particularly pages 193–194, 196–198. See also *inter alia*, Phillips 2010:825–829.

[309] See Cline 2007:197, with bibliography.

(we will examine the individual occurrences of *pedá* just below). In post-Mycenaean Greek this preposition is a dialect isogloss, one that is shared by the Aeolic dialects of Lesbian and Boeotian; it is also appears in a pair of Arcadian names,[310] with traces showing up in inscriptions from Argos, Crete, and Thera/Cyrene (see §6.4.2).

The Mycenaean documents more often show the alternative preposition *metá* (μετά). *Me-ta-qe*, in other words the preposition μετά to which the enclitic conjunction *-qe* is bound, is attested eleven times: all occurrences are at Pylos.[311] A term *me-ta-ki-ti-ta* occurs multiple times at Pylos,[312] naming a category of people, seemingly corresponding to post-Mycenaean *métoikos* (μέτοικος) 'settler'; also from Pylos is *me-ta-se-we* (once), found in a list of construction materials (Vn 46 + fr.) and interpreted as beginning with *meta-*, but of uncertain meaning.[313] Several proper names beginning with the orthographic sequence *me-ta-* also occur in the tablets: these are most frequently attested at Pylos, with twenty occurrences in total, sixteen of which are

[310] See Dubois 1988:1:133–134. The preposition may appear (twice) in a reduced form *p̣e* (π̣ε) before the article; see the discussion of Dubois. On a possible reflex attested in Modern Cypriot, see Egetmeyer 2010:1:449, with bibliography.

[311] An 519 + fr.; An 654; An 656 (five times); An 657 (twice); An 661 (twice).

[312] Five times on An 610 + fr. + 1151, including instances that are only partially legible.

[313] See, *inter alia*, Palmer 1969:367; Ventris and Chadwick 1973:251; Aura Jorro 1985:444.

provided by a toponym *me-ta-pa*;[314] the Knossos tablets offer three male proper names with this bisyllabic onset.[315] Excepting these three men's names (in which *Meta-* would presumably not have been susceptible to scribal replacement by *Peda-*), the single example of *metá* at Knossos is provided by the perfect participle *me-ta-ke-ku-me-na* (Sf 4428), describing chariots, likely ones 'taken apart'; compare post-Mycenaean *khéomai* (χέομαι) 'to be scattered', *khúdēn* (χύδην) 'without order'.[316]

The occurrence of this participle vis-à-vis the distribution of *pedá* (πεδά) at Knossos is intriguing. Tablet Sf 4428, on which *me-ta-ke-ku-me-na* appears, is assigned to scribal hand 128. Unlike hands "124" and 141 (those using *pedá*), scribal hand 128 (using *metá* [μετά]) exhibits no usage of Special Mycenaean features. More than that –

[314] A place, *Metapa* (Aura Jorro 1985:443–444), found on tablets Aa 752 + fr.; Aa 779; Ab355; Ac 1280; An 607; Aq 64; Aq 218 + fr.; Cc 660; Cn 595; Cn 608; Jn 829; Ma 90; Vn 19; Vn 20; Vn 130; Vn 493 + fr. (including two instances in which one symbol is only partially legible). Also at Pylos are an ethnic adjective *me-ta-pi-jo* formed from this toponym (An 654); *me-ta-ka-wa* (twice on An 1281) perhaps a woman's name (Aura Jorro 1985:443); and the man's name *me-ta-no* (*Metānōr*; Cn 719 + frr. [Aura Jorro 1985:443]).

[315] Thus, *]me-ta-ra-wo[* (B 799 +8306; *Metalāwos* [Aura Jorro 1985:444]); *me-ta-no-re* (Uf 1522; *Metānorei* [Palmer 1969:434; Ventris and Chadwick 1973:561]; the same name occurs at Pylos in the nominative; see the preceding note); and *me-ta-ri-ko-wo* (Vc 291; Aura Jorro 1985:444). From Mycenae comes the man's name *me-ta-je-wa* (Go 610; Aura Jorro 1985:444).

[316] See Aura Jorro 1985:442 for discussion with bibliography.

hand 128 evidences multiple Normal Mycenaean isoglosses (1 A, B, D): (A) consonant-stem dative singular ending *-ei* (four occurrences[317] of *e-re-pa-te* [*elephántei* (ἐλεφάντει)] 'with ivory'); (B) vocalic reflex *o* from a Proto-Indo-European syllabic nasal in the vicinity of a labial consonant (*a-mo-ta* [*(h)ármota* ((h)άρμοτα)] 'wheels' on So 4435); [318] (D) assibilation of the dental stop *t* when it occurs before a high front vowel *i* (four occurrences[319] of *po-si* 'together; attached'; cf. Arcado-Cypriot *pós* [πός], Doric *potí* [ποτί]). In contrast to scribal hand 128, most hands displaying Normal Mycenaean features at Knossos each preserve only one or, less often, two such features.[320] In sum, with regard to scribal hands and their respective affiliations with Mycenaean dialects, the use of *pedá* or *metá* has the appearance of being a matter of complementary distribution at Knossos.

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[317] Sd 4401 + 8718 + fr.; Sd 4403 + 5114 + frr.; Sd 4408 + 4411 +6055 + frr.; Sd 4450 + 4483 (the form is only partially legible on the last cited but is assured by the parallels provided by the preceding tablets).

[318] In Woodard 1986 I mark the scribal hand of So 4435 (preserving *a-mo-ta*) as 128?, following Chadwick, Killen, and Olivier 1971. In the current Dāmos database the hand is marked as 231.

[319] Sd 4402 + frr.; Sd 4412 + frr.; Sd 4422; Sd 4450 + 4483.

[320] As many as four of the twenty-two scribal hands at Knossos preserving Normal Mycenaean features may show three of the features, though in most instances some uncertainty has been expressed regarding the occurrence of one or another of the three; see Woodard 1986:69, Table 6.

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The eleven occurrences of the independent preposition *metá* (μετά) (with enclitic conjunction) at Pylos are all found in documents produced by scribal hand 1. Pylos hand 1 displays the use of multiple Normal Mycenaean features – (1A), (1B), (1C); though this hand also shows two examples of Special Mycenaean feature (1B). Hand 1 at Pylos must thus be identified with a speaker of Special Mycenaean who successfully suppresses use of his native dialect in favor of the palace "standard" in most instances, as he does, it seems, in his selection of *metá* (μετά) over *pedá* (πεδά).

Can we say that that the use of *pedá* (πεδά), as opposed to *metá* (μετά) constitutes a fifth dialect feature of Special Mycenaean? On the basis of the data that we have, what we can say with some confidence is that the occurrence of *pedá* patterns with the occurrence of Special Mycenaean forms at Knossos.

The following is a catalogue of the occurrences of *pedá* (πεδά) at Knossos. On tablet V 114 + 158 + 7719 (hand "124") *pe-da* precedes *wa-tu*, which has been read as *wástu* (ϝάστυ 'town'); this concatenation occurs twice on this tablet.[321] The third occurrence is found on the fragmentary tablet Fh 2013 + fr. (hand 141), with *pe-da*

[321] A similar syntagm constructed with the derived nominal *astós* (ἀστός) 'townsfolk' as genitive – rather than accusative – object (i.e. *met' astôn* [μετ' ἀστῶν]) occurs in fr. 133 (West) of the archaic Ionian poet Archilochus: οὔτις αἰδοῖος μετ' ἀστῶν οὐδὲ περίφημος θανὼν γίνεται 'no one who has died is revered or much famed among townsfolk'.

preceding *i-je-[*: the object of the preposition is perhaps to be restored as *i-je-ro*, that is *hierón* (ἱερόν) 'sanctuary'.[322] But in addition, compare *pe-da-i-ra* on Fh 341 (again, hand 141), which Doria (1980:31) reads as *pedà hirá* (πεδὰ ἱρά) in the sense 'presso i templi' – constituting a toponym univerbated from a frozen phrase in his view. Whatever one makes of the toponymic interpretation, the morphological components of the orthographically condensed *pe-da-i-ra* seem clear enough. In a much later period (fourth century BC) we find the phrase πεδὰ τὰ ἱερά 'after the sacrifices'[323] in the Decree of the Byzantines preserved in Demosthenes' *De corona* 91 (fourth century BC), though some would view the decree as a koine fabrication of still more recent date.[324]

For Doria the restored *i-je-ro* (*hierón* [ἱερόν]) on tablet Fh 2013 + fr., the object of the preposition *pedá* (πεδά), appears to be "miceneo normale"; *i-ra* (*hirá* [ἱρά], the object in univerbated *pe-da-i-ra*) would then presumably be something else – "una forma dialettale diversa" (p. 31) – perhaps "miceneo transnormale" (p. 35). With regard to this apparent Mycenaean variation (*i-je-ro* versus *i-ro)*, he reminds his readers (p. 34) that across the first millennium BC dialects, the adjective takes a variety of forms.

[322] So, *inter alia*, Hiller 1982:56-58, who sees a contrast with *wástu* (ϝάστυ 'town') as one of profane versus sacred.

[323] Compare in a similar sense μετὰ τὰ ἱερά at Demosthenes *In Timocratem* 21.

[324] Thus Bettarini 2002; see his p. 424 on the use of *pedá* (πεδά).

When we survey the handbooks we read that the word occurs as (the familiar) *hierós* (ἱερός) in Attic, Arcado-Cypriot, and Thessalian; that *hiarós* (ἱαρός) or *iarós* (ἰαρός) is West Greek (i.e. Doric and Northwest Greek)[325] and also occurs in Boeotian (and once in Thessalian)[326] and in Pamphylian (earliest spelled *hiiarú* [hιιαρύ])[327]; that with regard to Ionic – Herodotus uses both *hierós* (ἱερός) and *hirós* (ἱρός) (the former also in the Hippocratic corpus) and East Ionic inscriptions likewise show *ierós* (ἰερός) and *irós* (ἰρός);[328] Lesbian uses *îros* (ἶρος).[329] East Ionic ("ionico nord-orientale") and Lesbian thus look to share Doria's alternative Mycenaean – that is, (what we would call) Special Mycenaean – form (see his pp. 35–37).

If we view *pedá* (πεδά) as the Special Mycenaean alternative to a Normal Mycenaean *metá* (μετά) could we also view, with Doria, *irós* (ἰρός) as Special Mycenaean and *ierós* (ἰερός) as Normal Mycenaean? They both, after all, occur as objects of *pedá*, which has its own dialect distinctiveness. Yes, we could. We have just seen that Mycenaean scribes who are speakers of Special Mycenaean suppress the use of their

[325] See Thumb and Kieckers 1932:71; Buck 1955:24.

[326] See Blümel 1982:51.

[327] See Brixhe 1976:11–12.

[328] See Smyth 1894:106 and 324.

[329] See Thumb and Scherer 1959:88.

native dialect (in favor of the palace "standard") with varying degrees of success. What is particularly interesting about Doria's observation is the geographical connection that it insinuates between Special Mycenaean and the first-millennium BC Greek of Anatolia. In the first millennium *pedá* too has a conspicuous Anatolian presence. The concatenation of *pedá* and *irós*, as on Knossos tablet Fh 341, product of a scribal hand otherwise using Special Mycenaean forms, could easily be a Lesbian one.

3.5. Some Interpretative Conclusions

In post-Mycenaean Greece, *despótēs* (δεσπότης) can be used as an epithet of numerous deities. While it is unclear if the Mycenaean god named as Dospotās on Pylos tablet Th 316 can be identified with any of these deities – or even if the god so identified survives in Hellas beyond the Bronze Age – the *form* of the designation can be identified as belonging to the Normal Mycenaean dialect. This form *dos-potās* does not survive into the first millennium; this is consistent with the failure of Normal Mycenaean dialect features (1A)–(1C) to survive the demise of Mycenaean civilization. On the other hand, Special Mycenaean dialect features (1A)–(1D) all survive, and all are features that characterize early Aeolic, though not uniquely so.

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The form *da-koros* 'sweeper of the temple' is of Special Mycenaean origin but was generalized through Mycenaean prior to the production of the known Linear B documents. The form can be seen to be a precursor of Aeolic *za-kóros* (ζα-κόρος), which itself appears as a *generalized Panhellenic form* in the first millennium BC. The preposition *pedá* and the adjective-form *irós*, which may be further Special Mycenaean dialect features, are associated with Anatolian Aeolic in the first millennium BC.

An interesting constellation of points has begun to emerge out of the explorations of the first three chapters of this work. Prominent among these interconnecting structural elements are (1) Aeolic, (2) Special Mycenaean, (3) *da-koros/za-kóros*. Though it may be less obvious, as a fourth bright star I would add at this point (4) *patnī-yūpá-*, which connects with Special Mycenaean/Aeolic *da-koros/za-kóros*, the sacred-space sweeper, to the extent that, as noted in Chapter Two, the *patnī-yūpá-*, linguistic congener of *u-po-jo(-)po-ti-ni-ja*, is a conspicuous architectural feature of the larger sacred space in Indic cult, as is the Gārhapatya fire of the smaller, adjoining sacred space – sacred flame whose ground must be ritually swept before the fire can be constructed.

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Chapter Four

Mycenaean *Wanaks* and *Lāwāgetās* in the Context of Indo-European Society and Ritual

4.1. Introduction

In Chapter Two we noted a fragmentary reference to the Mycenaean *wanaks* in Thebes tablet Of 36. This occurs in conjunction with an allative reference to the *po-ti-ni-ja wo-ko-de* the *woikos* of Potnia', a deity whom we examined with regard to her possible equation with the Mycenaean goddess Diwia. Very near the end of that chapter we observed that in Pamphylia the post-Mycenaean goddess Diwia appears to be regarded as *wanassa*, through her equation with the Phrygian Mother, the Magna Mater. In Chapter Three we examined *despótēs* (δεσπότης) in some detail. In this chapter we will return to *despótēs* and more closely consider *wanaks* in its Mycenaean settings, along with a third title, *lāwāgetās*.

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4.2. Mycenaean Wanaks

As we saw in Chapter Three (§3.2.2), *despótēs* (δεσπότης) can be used in conjunction with *ánaks* (άναξ) in the work of Classical Greek authors, used at times to address or describe a god. Hesychius Ω 227 can gloss the contraction *ônaks* (ὦναξ) equally as *ô déspota* (ὦ δέσποτα) and as *ô ánaks* (ὦ ἄναξ).[330] Similarly, he glosses the feminine *ánassa* (ἄνασσα) – Mycenaean *wanassa* – simply as *déspoina* (δέσποινα). Regardless of the degree of synonymy which the lexicographer here detects, in origin the terms that eventuate in post-Mycenaean Greek *ánaks* (άναξ) and *despótēs* (δεσπότης), and their feminine equivalents, were quite distinct in sense. In the following pages we will examine *ánaks* (άναξ) – that is, Mycenaean *wanaks*[331] – and its use as a member of the Mycenaean lexicon of cult and power, and in doing so further consider *despótēs* (δεσπότης); but we begin by returning to Vedic ritual, considering both the Vājapeya, which we first met in Chapter Two (see §§2.2.2.2–3), and the Rājasūya.

[330] Compare Joannes Tzetzes *Exegesis in Homeri Iliadem* A.389.48.

[331] For the Mycenaean form I will use this spelling, reflecting the conventional Linear B syllabic transcription of the *xV* symbols, rather than a phonetically more transparent *ks* rendering, which I use for alphabetic transcriptions of the consonantal character *xi* (ξ) herein.

4.2.1. The Vājapeya

In investigating Potnia of *u-po* in Chapter Two, we encountered the Vedic ritual called the Vājapeya, drawing attention to the sacrificial post, the *yūpa*, and to various textile embellishments that characterize performance of the ritual (seventeen cloth wrappings around the *yūpa*; the robing of the *patnī* in a special garment). The celebration of the Vājapeya is, according to the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (5.1.1.11–14), permitted only to members of the *brāhmaṇa* and *kṣatriya* classes – specialists in the realm of magic-religion and war, respectively. We mentioned in Chapter Two that the Vājapeya appears to be an especially primitive ritual. This is revealed in part by the running of a chariot race in the celebration of the rites (*ŚB* 5.1.4.1–5.1.5.28) and by the ritual use of the alcoholic beverage called *surā*, in addition to Soma: seventeen cups of each are offered (*ŚB* 5.1.2.10–14). In addition, following the chariot race, priests present cups of *surā* and of honey to designated participants in the race (*ŚB* 5.1.5.28); on connections between *surā* and *madhu* 'honey' (Greek *méthu* [μέθυ] 'wine'), see further along (§15.4; §18.3.3; §21.2). The employment of *surā* also characterizes the rite of the threefold sacrifice of a male goat, ram, and bull, the Sautrāmaṇī, which we shall examine more closely in Chapter Five. Moreover, the Sautrāmaṇī is performed in

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conjunction with the celebration of the Rājasūya (see *ŚB* 5.2.3.1–5.5.5.19),[332] the Vedic ritual of royal consecration in which the celebrant wears the garment called a *tārpya* (see more in §5.2 and §5.4.1), as in the Vājapeya, as was noted in Chapter Two (see §2.2.2.2) . These links that bind the Vājapeya, the Rājasūya, and the Sautrāmaṇī are worth noting, and we shall return to them later.

4.2.2. Wanaks from an Indo-European Perspective

Since the topic of the Rājasūya (the ritual of royal consecration) has presented itself – and it is ritual to which we must return – perhaps just a word about primitive Indo-European sovereign leadership is in order. It is a matter that lacks full clarity despite extensive scholarly discussion.[333] The Proto-Indo-European word for the tribal sovereign is reconstructed as *$h_3$reĝ- (to which we shall return below, in §4.4.1), term reflected in the name of the Vedic rite (i.e. Rāja<u></u>sūya).[334] The Greek term for the sovereign figure of Mycenaean society is *wanaks*– Homeric *ánaks* (ἄναξ; in the first

[332] On the Rājasūya see especially Heesterman 1957. On the Rājasūya within the context of an evolving history of kingship and state in Vedic India, see Kulke 1992.

[333] Benveniste 1969:2:9–95 provides the single best comprehensive treatment of the problem.

[334] Sanskrit *sūya-* (from *su-* 'to press out') denotes the liquid produced by pressing Soma, and then by extension 'libation', 'sacrifice'.

millennium BC, alphabetic *wánaks* (ϝάναξ) is well attested epigraphically,[335] and in the Cypriot dialect recorded in the Cypriot syllbary the intial *w*- is likewise preserved). The corresponding feminine is *anássa* (ἀνάσσα), which we met in Chapter Two (see §2.4) in its avatar *wánassa* (ϝάνασσα),[336] used in Pamphylia to identify the Great Mother, with whom the goddess Diwia appears to have assimilated.

But the Mycenaean *wanaks* is more than solely a figure of sovereignty. The Linear B records suggest that the *wanaks* "was primarily a religious figure" (Palaima 1995:131).[337] The association of *wanaks* and a Potnia on Pylos tablet Fr 1235[338] and

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[335] Thus, IG 1³ 1149 (Attica); IG V,1 1562 (Elis); IG V,1 215 and 1133 (Lakonike); Darmezein 1999:66,92; 66,93; and 76,108 (Chaeronea); SEG 41:448 (Chaeronea); IG VII 2809; 2810; 2814; 2815; 2817; 2819; 2823; 2824; 2829 (Hyettus); IG VII 2789 (Copae); IG VII 2781 and 2788 (Copae); BCH 94 (1970) 151,4 (Copae); IG VII 3054 and 3067 (Lebadeia); IG VII 3180; 3187; 3206; 3234 (Orchomenus); SEG 30:449C (Orchomenus [Skripou]); BCH 98 (1974) 193,9 (Orchomenus [Skripou]); SEG 43:212(B) (Tanagra); IG VII 2431 (Thebes); IG VII 1831 and 1888 (Thespiae);); IThesp 98 (Thespiae); IC II xii 26 (Eleutherna); Dial.gr.Pamph. 32, 73, 76, 96, 108, 165, 241 (Pamphylia); Masson, Karnak II 268,20 (Cypriot inscription); IG XIV 652 (Magna Graecia); SEG 34:1004[1] (Magna Graecia).

[335] Compare Joannes Tzetzes *Exegesis in Homeri Iliadem* A.389.48.

[336] See also IGASMG V 68 (Sicily [Gela]) and SEG 38:979 (Sardinia [Othoca]).

[337] Compare Palaima 2006:56 (contending for the *wanaks* as "intercessor with the divine sphere and guarantor of the general prosperity of his community"); see also Palaima 2016:146.

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Thebes tablet Of 36,[339] both of whom are offering recipients, would indicate that "both . . . were at the top of the hierarchy and combined in similar ways religious, economic, and political power" (Hiller 2011:202). Shelmerdine (2008:128–129), citing Carlier 1996, draws attention to the uses of the Mycenaean derived adjective *wanakteros* and concludes that "the range of people and commodities designated as 'royal' shows that as chief political authority [the *wanaks*] controlled at least part of the religious, economic and military life of the Mycenaean state."

4.2.2.1. Etymology of Wanaks. Mycenaean *wanaks* has few, if any, attested cognates in Indo-European: Phrygian *vanaktei* (if not borrowed from Greek);[340] and *possibly*

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[338] On Pylos tablet Un 219 + frr. the form *ạ-na-ka-te* has been read by some as *ṿạ-na-ka-te*, 'for a wanaks'; see Palmer 1969:259; Shelmerdine 2008:130. Immediately following *ạ-na-ka-te* and the specification of a contribution one reads *po-ti-ni-ja*[.

[339] See the discussion of Hiller 2011:188–189.

[340] See Chantraine 1968:84–85, who identifies the etymology of *ánaks* (ἄναξ) as unknown, suggesting that the Greek term is borrowed, as is the Phrygian from Greek; see also Frisk 1960:102. For recent discussion with bibliography, see Willms 2010:246–249 (who likewise contends for Phrygian borrowing).

Tocharian A *nātäk* 'lord, master' *nāśi* 'mistress'.[341] Szemerényi (1979:215–217; 1981:322–323) argues that (*w*)*ánaks* ([ϝ]ἄναξ) is in origin a compound agent noun formed with the agentive suffix -*t*- seen on root nouns,[342] meaning essentially 'leader of the kin, tribe':[343] the compounded elements being a root *wen- (likely the zero-grade *wn̥-),[344] which Szemerényi glosses as 'kin, tribe', plus the well-evidenced root *h_1aĝ- (or *h_2eĝ-)[345] 'to

[341] See Winter 1979:53–54; Mallory and Adams 1997:329. For the claim that Sanskrit *vaṇij*- 'merchant, trader' provides a cognate form see Hajnal 1998:68–69; contra Hajnal see Willms 2010:264–266. Palaima (1995), in contrast, would propose a Minoan inception of the term and "ideology" of the *wanaks* (cf. Renfrew 1998), though he acknowledges that this is presently "unprovable" (p. 127). Driessen (2002:2n5) sees a Linear A linguistic comparand in **u.na.ka**, found several times "on inscribed ritual vases, dedicated in peak sanctuaries." In any event Palaima argues that Mycenaean *wanaks* is a term of non-Indo-European origin; see also Palaima 2006:53–58; 2016:140–144 (with references on p. 136 to still other work on the topic).

[342] On the *t*-formant see Risch 1974:195–196; Kellens 1974a:243–244 and 1974b:91–92 (all of which cited by Szemerényi). See also the discussion below of §20.3.2.2).

[343] Szemerényi 1979:217; 1981:322.

[344] Szemerényi (1979:217; 1981:322–323) suggests either this option or assimilation of the mid vowel of primitive *wen- to the low vowel of the second member -*ag*- (though preferring the second analysis).

[345] Following a zero-grade *wn̥, the phonological outcome would be the same were the form *h_1aĝ- or *h_2eĝ- (i.e. -*an* in both instances): on the sequence of syllabic sonorant + laryngeal + vowel, see Rix 1976:74.

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drive, lead' (to which the agentive suffix is attached as a simplex root noun). Proto-Indo-European *h_1aĝ- (as the root typically will be identified from this point on) is of course the same etymon that finds a reflex in the recurring syntagm of Pylos tablet Tn 316 that we discussed in Chapter One (see §1.2.1: *do-ra-qe, pe-re, po-re-na-qe, a-ke* 'X carries gifts and takes Y for the carrying' – a syntagm of primitive Indo-European origin.

The compound lexical structure of *wanaks* is thus similar to that of Mycenaean *lāwāgetās* (having a Linear B spelling of *ra-wa-ke-ta*), which is transparently an agent noun in *-tās* denoting one who leads.[346] *Lāwāgetās* is derived from *leh$_2$-wo- 'warrior horde' (the ancestral stem of epic *lāós* [λᾱός]) plus *h_1aĝ-, thus 'leader of the horde', a term which we will consider at length later in this chapter (see §4.3). Both *wanaks* and *lāwāgetās* thus match the compound structure of the later (thematized) form *stratāgós* (στρατᾱγός) 'leader of the army' (earliest in Archilochus *fr.* 114.1 West), from *stratós* (στρατός) 'warrior host'.[347]

[346] On the morphology, see, *inter alia*, Szemerényi 1972.

[347] See Szemerényi 1979:217; 1981:322.

As a verb root Proto-Indo-European *wen- has been assigned a fundamental, broad sense 'to desire, strive for'.[348] Its identified reflexes and the particular nuances they display are numerous and varied: close in sense to Szemerényi's Greek *wan-* are Celtic reflexes of ancestral *wen-: Old Irish *fine* 'group of persons of the same family or kindred;[349] clan, tribe', *fingalach* 'fratricidal',[350] and *coibnius* 'blood relation(ship)'; Old Breton *coguenou*, glossing *indegena* in the Orleans glosses (*Liber ex lege Moysis* 19

[348] See Walde-Pokorny 1930:258–260; Mallory and Adams 1997:158 (*wenh$_x$-); LIV 680–681 (and see *wenH-, pp. 682–683); Watkins 2011:101. It has been proposed (notably by Gotō [1987:283–286]; and see also the just cited LIV 680–683) that the reflexes of the conventional polysemous Indo-European root *wen- are rightly to be identified as arising, in actuality, from two distinct roots: *wen- and *wenH-, the former encoding the sense 'to strive for' and the latter the notion 'to desire'. If this were so, the root of *wanaks*, on phonological grounds, would most likely be that without the root-final laryngeal (i.e. the root having the sense 'to strive for'): a compound *wenH-h$_1$aĝ- (or *wenH-h$_2$eĝ-) or *wn̥H-h$_1$aĝ- (or *wn̥H-h$_2$eĝ-) would likely yield a trisyllabic sequence leading to contraction that would produce a long vowel following the initial syllable (for a concise presentation of particulars of the anticipated phonological developments, see Rix 1976:72–74).

[349] The eDIL entry elaborates: "as technical term a group of male persons of common descent, the members of which were legally responsible for each other and had certain reciprocal obligations."

[350] Atkinson 1901:363.

[Leviticus 19.34 – aliens to be treated like one's own people]);[351] among still other forms. Germanic reflexes are not far removed semantically: for example, Old English *wine* 'friend; powerful friend, friendly lord'; and similarly Old Frisian *wine*, Old High German *wini*, Old Norse *vinr* 'friend'. Latin *vindex* 'one who defends, takes vengeance, punishes' has been included in the set, as by Szemerényi, who understands **weni-dik-s* as 'one who points out (another as) a **weni-*, a member of the clan' (1977a:328n129; 1979:217);[352] though not all have embraced the idea.[353]

4.2.2.2. Wanaks: One Who Leads Through Space. By Szemerényi's analysis the ancestor of Mycenaean *wanaks* denoted, at some appropriately early moment, a kind of

[351] See Stokes 1885–1887:550.

[352] Citing "Walde-Hoffman II 793". On the survival of *weni-in Latin see also Szemerényi 1977a:329 ("its meaning was so specialized ('cognate, friend') that neither it, nor any of its derivatives, could denote anything but clan-relations") and especially Szemerényi 1981:303–321. See in addition, *inter alia*, Leifer 1936; Devoto 1967:344.

[353] See Ernout and Meillet (1959:737), who, on the basis of work done up until that time, consider the etymology to be *séduisant*. Haudry 1996:67 rejects the connection.

leading figure of a social unit larger than the individual household.[354] That the Proto-Indo-European language was equipped with *compound* terms reflecting roles that involved control at several levels of social structure – *dems-pot-, 'master of the house(hold) and so on – is a matter that occupied our attention in Chapter Three (see §3.2.1). The semantics of Indo-European *poti- and of *h_1aĝ- are, however, different. As we noted earlier, *poti- denotes the ability to exercise power; *h_1aĝ- expresses notions of leading and/or driving, of movement through space. The root *h_1aĝ- is, nevertheless, very much at home in the realm of the exercise of power. We have glimpsed this already, at the outset of our examination of the recurring phrase of Pylos tablet Tn 316: *do-ra-qe, pe-re, po-re-na-qe, a-ke.* The conjunction *phérein* (φέρειν) and *ágein* (ἄγειν) 'to carry/bear' and 'to drive/lead' continues an earlier Indo-European

[354] Palaima (see especially 2016:140–144) argues expressly against Szemerényi's interpretation, yet, as Palaima notes (p. 143), his own view could easily be understood as supporting Szemerényi's. Palaima (2006:58–62; 2016:142–143) cites the alternation between proper names "Iphi*geneia* and Iphi*wanassa*" as effectively glossing one another, placing them "in the same semantic sphere of procreativity and family-clan association" (2016:142–143). For discussion of this idea within a broader context see below, §4.2.4.3. Palaima also points out, in the post-Mycenaean Greek world it is among the Cypriot Greeks that the term *wanaks* continues to be used to denote a sovereign figure, naming a *kinsman* (son or brother) of the *basileus*. Again, this works in favor of Szemerényi's analysis.

conjunction of *b^{h}er- and *h$_{1}$aĝ- that encodes the composite notion of the 'carrying' of inanimate materials and the 'leading/driving away' of people and creatures. While, as we have witnessed, the syntagm can describe ritual action, it is commonly used of warrior activities (see below, §4.6). As both *poti- and *h$_{1}$aĝ- can entail the imposition of one's will upon another, we would not be surprised should we find both terms being used to identify a single individual – and we are about to witness this very thing.

But we should bear in mind that, in origin, the two do not encode strictly synonymous notions: thus, while *dems-pot- denotes one who *exercises control* over a particular segment of his kinship group (as opposed to some larger segment of that group), a *wn̥-h$_{1}$aĝ-t-s must be that individual who sees to it that a kinship group – seemingly a 'clan' or a 'tribe' – *moves*: he *leads* people (and their creatures) through space. Movement was fundamental to Indo-European religious ideology: through movement individuals and society obtain benefits (spiritual and material advantages) from the gods.[355] This understanding of obtaining through moving must, at least in part, have evolved out of transhumant practices of Proto-Indo-European steppe culture. It is this ideology that would drive a far-flung expansion of Indo-European

[355] On the Indo-European ideology of movement through space and the notion of benefits acquired through such movement, see Woodard 2006 *passim*.

peoples across all of Europe and large portions of central and south Asia, resulting in an Indo-European geographic range in antiquity that spanned from Ireland to Xinjiang. There would have undoubtedly been members of Indo-European society who played a crucially important role in the *direction* of such movement and *wn̥-h$_1$aĝ-t-s is a term that could name such an individual. Given the religious significance of movement through space among early Indo-Europeans such a figure would have necessarily been an operator within the religious domain; but the application of warrior prowess was essential for the success of this movement – to remove impediments in the path of expansion – and thus the actions of the *wn̥-h$_1$aĝ-t-s entail the potential application of warrior might.

4.2.3. Divine *Ánaks* (ἄναξ) and a Variant Paradigm

As is the case with Greek *despótēs* (δεσπότης), from Proto-Indo-European *dems-pot-, 'master of the house(hold), so too Greek *ánaks* (ἄναξ), from Proto-Indo-European *wn̥-h$_1$aĝ-t-s, can be used to identify a deity. This may be seen already in Mycenaean (Hiller 2011:188–189):[356] between Pylos olive-oil tablets Fr 1220, 1231 + fr., and 1235 we

[356] On the use of *wanaks* to identify a god, see also Chadwick 1985:197. Lupack (2014) argues that the use of *wanaks* on the Pylos Fr tablets regularly identifies a deity.

find parallel references to a Potnia (Fr 1231 + fr., 1235) and a Wanaks (Fr 1220, 1235) – characterized as Potnia/Wanaks *di-pi-si-jo-i* (commonly understood as 'for the Thirsty Ones'; cf. the Thessalian month name *Dípsios* [Δίψιος])[357] and *wa-na-so-i* (probably dative dual 'for the two Mistresses/Queens', from *wanassa*, feminine of *wanaks*). In a post-Mycenaean period, among the gods it is most often Apollo who is addressed as *ánaks*,[358] as at *Iliad* 1.390, 7.23 and 38, 16.804, 20.103; *Odyssey* 8.334; Aeschylus *Agamemnon* 509 and *Eumenides* 85; and so on. We have already noted (in §3.2.2) that (1) at Aristophanes *Wasps* 875 Apollo Agyieus, essentially 'Apollo who leads' – from *h_1aĝ- 'to drive, lead' (second element of Szemerényi's *wanaks* compound) – is addressed as both *despótēs* and *ánaks*, that (2) the concatenation of the two terms *despótēs* and *ánaks* is well attested, and (in §4.2) that (3) Hesychius presents the two as being synonymous. In Homeric epic, especially the *Iliad*,[359] Zeus is several times identified as *Zeùs ánaks* (Ζεὺς ἄναξ). Among still other deities, the epithet can be attached to the Dioscuri, as by Pausanias

[357] On *di-pi-si-je-wi-jo* on Pylos tablet Fr 1218 as a festival name see Palmer 1969:250–255.

[358] See Hemberg 1955.

[359] As in *Iliad* 1.502; 2.102 (used of Hermes in line 104); 3.351 (*Zeû ána* [Ζεῦ ἄνα]), 7.194, 200; 16.233 (*Zeû ána*); 18.118. See also *Odyssey* 17.354 (*Zeû ána*).

(2.36.6), naming a 'sanctuary' (*hierón* [ἱερόν]) of the twin gods, in which their images are *ksóana* (ξόανα [images made of wood]) and so seemingly archaic.[360]

A variant paradigm of *ánaks* (ἄναξ), genitive *ánaktos* (ἄνακτος) etc. is attested, one which has more restricted usage and one that lacks the *t*-suffix of the reconstructed *wn̥-h$_1$aĝ-t-.[361] This variant *ánaks* (ἄναξ), genitive *ánakos* (ἄνακος) etc. is found in Doric dialects and also conspicuously provides the Athenian name for the Dioscuri, the twin 'sons of Zeus' (*Diós-koroi*/*Diós-kouroi* [Διόσ-κοροι/Διόσ-κουροι]), deities who provide Greek expression of the ancestral Indo-European mythic divine twins. In Athens they are called the *Ánakes* (Ἄνακες),[362] and, derived from this is the name of the Athenian festival of the Dioscuri and Helen, the *Anákeia* (Ἀνάκεια).[363] While the paradigm *ánaks*, *ánakos* has been at times assumed to be primary and *ánaks*, *ánaktos* derivative, Szemerényi (1979:215–216; 1981:321–322), on the basis of Mycenaean

[360] See also Pindar *Pythian Odes* 11.61–62; Theocritus *Idylls* 22.134.

[361] The *t*-suffix of *wn̥-h$_1$aĝ-t- is evidenced in attested oblique cases such as genitive singular *ánaktos* (ἄνακτος), nominative plural *ánaktes* (ἄνακτες) and so on.

[362] Compare Phocian *wanakeíōi* (ϝανακείōι; IG IX,1 129, late fifth century BC), *wanákōn* (ϝανάϙōν; SIG 5[7], 610–580 BC; see Vatin 1982:521–522), *wanákoin* (ϝανάϙοιν; SIG 5[8], 610–580 BC; see Faure 1982); Argolic *wanákoi* (ϝανάκοι; IG IV 566); *wanákōn* (ϝανάϙōν ϝανάκōν (IG IV 561, 564).

[363] On the festival see, *inter alia*, Parker 1996:97n124; 2005:457.

spelling practice, cogently argues that *ánaks*, *ánaktos* is primary and that it is the stem without -*t*- (i.e. simply *anak*-) that is secondary (i.e. derived from inherited *anakt*-). By this analysis the *ĝ of *h_1aĝ- devoiced to attested *k* by assimilation to the ensuing *t*-suffix (i.e. *ĝt → *kt* by the regular Indo-European phonological process of regressive voicing assimilation). Szemerényi suggests that the secondary development of the paradigm *ánaks*, *ánakos* was relatively late, perhaps even post-Homeric. The linguistic motivation for the development of a stem *anak*- (from inherited *anakt*-) would undoubtedly be one entailing analogical pressures[364] exerted by paradigms showing a nominative termination -*ks*, genitive -*kos* etc.[365] This is a common Indo-European paradigmatic pattern and one quite well preserved in Greek: Buck and Petersen (1945:xvii, 614–620) list ca. 775 Greek nominals showing the pattern in their inventory of nouns and adjectives.

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[364] Presumably Szemerényi envisioned an analogical mechanism. Willms (2010:236) suggests as much, writing "in analogy with the pure velar stems." Willms largely follows Szemerényi's analysis but understands the original sense of *wanaks* to have been something like 'leader in battle' (see his pp. 257–258).

[365] Chantraine (1968:84), who also views *ánaks* (ἄναξ), *ánaktos* (ἄνακτος) as original, singles out *phúlax* (φύλαξ), genitive *phúlakos* (φύλακος) 'guard, protector' as perhaps providing the model for the new formation.

As an alternative analysis, however, one could posit survival of a distinct stem (made without the suffix -t-) *wanak-s*, **wanag-os* (from *wn̥-h$_1$aĝ-), with *ĝs → *ks* in the nominative by regressive devoicing with (likely) intermediate retention, *mutatis mutandis*, of voiced *g* in oblique cases. This paradigmatic type, with nominative termination *-ks*, genitive *-gos* etc., is also attested, though considerably less commonly than the *-ks*, *-kos* type: Buck and Petersen (1945:xvii, 611–613) catalogue 335 examples, such as *hárpaks* (ἅρπαξ), *hárpagos* (ἅρπαγος) 'robber'; *hráks* (ῥάξ), *hragós* (ῥαγός) 'grape'; *phlóks* (φλόξ), *phlogós* (φλογός) 'flame'. Subsequent analogical extension of voiceless *k* throughout the paradigm (under the influence of the more common nominative *–k-s*, genitive *–k-os* pattern) would produce attested genitive *wanak-os* (from **wanag-os*) etc. This sort of analogical leveling (essentially in favor of the nominative) can be seen in, for example, *tétraks* (τέτραξ), *tétragos* (τέτραγος), with variant attested genitive *tétrakos* (τέτρακος), denoting varieties of wild birds.[366] For the voiced *g* compare the derived verb *tetrázo* (τετράζω) 'to cackle' in a way characteristic of such a bird, from **tetrag-yo-*, and also the bird name *tétriks* (τέτριξ), *tétrigos* (τέτριγος).[367]

[366] In addition to Buck and Petersen, see the relevant lexical entries in Boisacq 1950; Chantraine 1968; Frisk 1960–1972; Beekes 2010.

[367] In contrast, consider the case of *órtuks* (ὄρτυξ), *órtukos* (ὄρτυκος) 'quail', with a variant genitive *órtugos* (ὄρτυγος). That the genitive in *-kos* is older (and that one in *-gos* secondary) is suggested by Sanskrit

If one were to posit the primitive existence (and survival) of two distinct stems *wn̥-h$_1$aĝ-t- and *wn̥-h$_1$aĝ-, the question that would immediately present itself is of course that of "why?": why two separate stems in Proto-Indo-European, one with the *t*-suffix and one without? Root nouns commonly appear as the second element of compounds in Indo-European, as in, to take but one of many possible examples, Sanskrit *Vr̥tra-hán-* 'slayer of Vr̥tra', Vedic epithet applied to various deities but most commonly identifying Indra in his role as dragon-slayer (see §23.3.6, §23.3.8; see also §5.2.1.2). As in this example, root nouns that are so used typically function as agents, and the compounds that they form can function as verbal adjectives (i.e. *Indra Vr̥tra-hán-* 'Indra, slayer of Vr̥tra' is 'Vr̥tra-slaying Indra'). The addition of a *t*-formant to root nouns appears to be a process that is phonologically conditioned in Indo-Iranian, but

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vartikā (feminine), *vartika-* (masculine) 'quail'. Compare Greek *kókkūks* (κόκκῡξ), *kókkugos* (κόκκυγος) 'cuckoo' (among other bird names with similar paradigmatic morphology – e.g. *pôugks* [πῶυγξ] a kind of heron, *oûraks* [οὖραξ] another name for the *tétriks* [τέτριξ; see above]). In the instance of *órtuks* (ὄρτυξ), *órtugos* (ὄρτυγος) (unlike that of *tétraks* [τέτραξ], *tétrakos* [τέτρακος]) the less common pattern of nominative *-ks*, genitive *-gos* was generalized analogically at the expense of the more common *-ks*, *-kos* pattern, seemingly motivated by the recurrence of the *-ks*, *-gos* pattern in bird names.

this apparent phonological sensitivity is likely secondary.[368] No comparable conditioning looks to be evidenced among other Indo-European languages. Absent of phonological conditioning, at some moment in the history of primitive Indo-European the attachment of the *t*-formant presumably encoded a semantic nuance that distinguished the agency of a root noun so marked from one that lacked such marking.[369]

4.2.4. Ánaks (ἄναξ) and Semantic Redundancy

Given Szemerényi's attractive and insightful etymological analysis of Greek *ánaks* (ἄναξ) as a reflex of Indo-European *wn̥-h₁ag̑-t-, one could take note of further interesting observations that present themselves. In Homeric epic we encounter the

[368] See Kellens 1974:91–93, who, following Wackernagel, Debrunner, and Renou (see Wackernagel 1957), identifies the context as root-final *-r*, *-i*, and *-u*. Olsen (2004:227) describes the context as "after a vocalic sonant or laryngeal." Olsen also suggests that the attachment of this *t* would have shown some phonological sensitivity in Proto-Indo-European as well; though see her comments cited in the next note.

[369] In spite of the remark referenced in the preceding note, Olsen offers: "Supposing the element *-t* had a function which would distinguish a *t*-extended form from a root noun pure and simple, it would be the logical conclusion that it was in principle possible to express this function with all roots, not just those which accidentally ended in something convenient . . . ."

recurring syntagm *ánaks andrôn* (ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν). Most frequently the phrase is used to characterize Agamemnon, leader of the Greeks who journeyed to Troy, and typically appears in the familiar formulaic *ánaks andrôn Agamémnon* (ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων), found some forty-seven times.[370] In the opening lines of the *Iliad* (1.7), Agamemnon is again so characterized, but in this instance referenced as *Atreídēs* 'son of Atreus' *ánaks andrôn* (Ἀτρείδης τε ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν). The syntagm *ánaks andrôn* can be utilized in referencing Trojan heroes as well: Anchises at 5.268 and Aeneas at 5.311. Also in book 5 (line 546) – the Greek Orsilochus, slain by Aeneas, is said to have been begotten in order 'to be *ánaks* over many *ándres*' (πολέεσσ' ἄνδρεσσιν ἄναξ); and the Cretan Idomeneus employs the same phrase self-referentially at 13.452. At *Iliad* 11.701 Nestor uses *ánaks andrôn* of Augeas of Elis, who had stolen a chariot and four horses belonging to Nestor's father Neleus. Meges, son of Phyleus (son of Augeas), is said to wear a protective corslet that his father had obtained from a *ksénos* (ξένος) 'guest-friend', here called *ánaks andrôn* Euphetes – *Iliad* 15.532. And lastly, at *Iliad* 23.288 Eumelus of Pherae, son of the Argonaut Admetus, is similarly labeled. Hainsworth (1993:301) sees in these

[370] *Iliad* 1.172, 442, 506; 2.402, 434, 441, 612; 3.81, 267, 455; 4.148, 255, 336; 5.38; 6.33; 7.162, 314; 8.278; 9.96, 114, 163, 672, 677, 697; 10.64, 86, 103, 119, 233; 11.99, 254; 14.64, 103, 134; 18.111; 19.51, 76, 146, 172, 184, 199; 23.49, 161, 895; *Odyssey* 8.77; 11.397; 24.121 (on the integrity of the line, see Heubeck in Russo, Fernández-Galiano, and Heubeck 1992:373–374).

extended applications a certain semantic bleaching of the syntagm *ánaks andrôn*: "These incipient generic uses of the epithet indicate that whatever specific force it may have had as a description of Agamemnon's status is no longer understood by the poet."

The term *andrôn* (ἀνδρῶν; gentive plural), *ándressin* (ἄνδρεσσιν; dative plural) used phrasally with *ánaks* (ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν; πολέεσσ' ἄνδρεσσιν ἄνακτα) was left untranslated in the comments of the preceding paragraph. The default English translation of the epic lexeme *anḗr* (ἀνήρ), genitive *andrós* (ἀνδρός), is 'man' (hence the common "Agamemnon, lord of men"), but formatively the term is more nuanced. The fundamental, in some sense inceptional, notion behind the Indo-European etymon, *$h_2$ner-, is generally agreed to be that of 'vital force'; and the reflexes of the etymon, ranging across the Indo-European expansion area, clearly reveal the term to have denoted 'man' (not 'person' or 'human') in his role as wielder of physical force.[371] As *ánaks* (*wn̥-h_1aĝ-t-s) in and of itself denotes the 'clan/tribe-leader' there is a degree of redundancy in the notion expressed by the syntagm *ánaks andrôn* . This is (implicitly) so to the extent that the crucial aspect of the *wen- 'clan/tribe' that the *wanaks* must direct in order to achieve unimpeded movement is the aspect of physical force.[372]

[371] See, *inter alia*, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:703; Mallory and Adams 1997:366; Watkins 2011:58.

[372] See Chantraine 1968:87–88.

4.2.4.1. *Ánaks andrôn* (ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν). The redundancy that the phrase *ánaks andrôn* (ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν), and its variants, entails is suggestive of a process of loss of morphological transparency and resulting semantic bleaching. The epic poet may be aware that *ánaks* denotes (approximately) 'leader of the clan/tribe', but in order to express that notion and *what it implies* explicitly, the poet can syntagmatically couple *ánaks* with *andrôn*. In other words, in epic diction *andrôn ánaks* means what Bronze-Age *wánaks*, or a form ancestral to it, effectively meant on its own. An archaic sense of *ánaks* is preserved in epic through its *synchronic* participation in a *diachronically* redundant phrase, *ánaks andrôn*.

4.2.4.2. *Oíkoio ánaks* (οἴκοιο ἄναξ). The phrase *oíkoio ánaks* (οἴκοιο ἄναξ) comes to be used to identify the 'master of the house'. This can already be seen in Homeric epic, used of Odysseus' son Telemachus at *Odyssey* 1.397 (see also Pindar *Isthmian Odes* 3/4.78, Aeschylus *Agamemnon* 35, and later examples as well). Simply in terms of the *relative chronology of attestation*, the syntagm *oíkoio ánaks* (οἴκοιο ἄναξ) anticipates the redundant *oíkōn despótēs* (οἴκων δεσπότης) 'master of the house', which is found as early as Euripides fragment 448a.13 (*Cresphontes*) and *Alcestis* 681, used of Thessalian Pheres'

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son Admetus. Reciprocally, the epic phrase *oíkoio ánaks* looks to reveal sufficient semantic bleaching of *ánaks* itself as to engender a partial synonymy of *despótēs* and *ánaks* by the period of formation of the *Odyssey* as we have it. Such a condition of synonymy is borne out by various epic occurrences of *ánaks* that denote 'master' of slaves and animals.[373]

Yet there is reason to posit that the Greek phrase *oíkoio ánaks* (οἴκοιο ἄναξ) – as a *syntagmatic constituent* of the narrative of social structure – has its a prehistory in a Proto-Helleno-Indo-Iranian setting. In our discussion of *despótēs* (δεσπότης) in Chapter Three, we observed the productive use of *pati-* in Iranian to denote a 'master' of social units larger than the household (see §3.2.1), and, following Benveniste, interpreted the Iranian pattern to continue a more primitive Indo-European social structure: *dāng pati-* 'master of the house/family'; *vīs-paiti-* 'master of the clan'; *zantu-paiti-* 'master of the tribe'; and *dahyu-paiti-* 'master of the territory'. Cognate with Avestan *vīs-paiti-* 'master of the clan' is Sanskrit *viś-pati-*. The Sanskrit compound can be used to denote 'master of a settlement or house', and thus shows post-Proto-Indo-Iranian modification of the primitive classificatory scheme: in the case of the sense 'master of a house', the

[373] See Chantraine 1968:84.

Sanskrit compound essentially shows a transference of the level-2 ('clan') nomenclature to level 1 ('household').[374]

This Indic shift is mirrored in Greek: both Sanskrit *viś* and Greek *oíkos* (οἶκος) 'house(hold)' are reflexes of Proto-Indo-European *wiḱ- 'clan', source also of, *inter alia*, Latin *vīcus* 'village', Old Church Slavic *vĭsĭ* 'village', Gothic *weihs* 'village'.[375] The Greek syntagm *oíkoio ánaks* (οἴκοιο ἄναξ) 'master of the house' could hypothetically reflect a more primitive pleonastic phrase *woiḱosyo wn̥-h$_1$aĝ-t-s (or *wiḱos wn̥-h$_1$aĝ-t-s / *wiḱōn wn̥-h$_1$aĝ-t-s etc.),[376] one denoting the '<u>clan</u>(/tribal-)leader of the <u>clan</u>' – with Greek continuing that more primitive phrase *formally* but not *semantically*. In light of the interpretation of Mycenaean *wanaks* as *wn̥-h$_1$aĝ-t-s, specifying one who *leads* a clan/tribe through space, it must surely be significant that the Sanskrit verb *viś-ati*

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[374] The Indic change fundamentally entails generalization in the sense of the compound, with the first member able to designate not only a smaller unit than its ancestral form, but potentially a larger one as well.

[375] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1930:231; Ernout and Meillet 1959:732; Mallory and Adams 1997:192; Watkins 2011:100.

[376] With *wiḱōn wn̥-h$_1$aĝ-t-s compare the Sanskrit syntagms *viśām patiḥ*, *viśām nāthaḥ*, *viśām īśvaraḥ* denoting a "lord" (approximately 'master' / 'protector' / 'master', respectively) 'of the viś-', that is a figure of sovereignty.

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(from *wiḱ-) means 'to enter, go into; settle down on'; compare Avestan *vīsaiti* 'to enter, visit', beside 'Greek *weikō* (ϝείκω) 'to withdraw from' (from a transhumant perspective, as a community enters one space it withdraws from another). In other work Szemerényi (1977b:96–100) has in fact argued that the ancestral nominal *wiḱ- denoted more fundamentally a group of people on the move, pointing to a verbal root *weiḱ-; for a semantic parallel consider English *gang*, in Old English meaning 'a going', from *ĝhengh- 'to go, walk'. A *woiḱosyo wn̥-h_1aĝ-t-s would thus straightforwardly – and not redundantly – designate, at a sufficiently early moment, one who leads a clan/tribe (*wen-) *while it is a people on the move*. This is a compelling interpretation of *woiḱosyo wn̥-h_1aĝ-t-s (Greek *oíkoio ánaks* [οἴκοιο ἄναξ]) in the migratory context in which the term must have originated.

4.2.4.3. Ánaks génous (ἄναξ γένους). Given this interpretation, *woiḱosyo wn̥-h_1aĝ-t-s (source of Greek *oíkoio ánaks* [οἴκοιο ἄναξ]) would, again, not have been pleonastic at its origin. As *wiḱ- shifted in sense to denote 'clan', one particular element of social structure (without regard to any current state of movement), the syntagm *woiḱosyo wn̥-h_1aĝ-t-s would have become more redundant, denoting '*clan*(/tribal-)leader of the *clan*'. Reasonably, one could posit this would have opened up

a wider range of uses to *wn̥-h_1aĝ-t-s, utilized, for example, to designate the *wn̥-h_1aĝ-t-s of a *ĝen-tu-, etymon of Avestan *zantu-* 'tribe', and hence the '(clan/)*tribal*-leader of the *tribe*'. Proto-Indo-European *ĝen-tu- is derived from *ĝen(h_1)- 'to give birth, beget', which provides various derived forms associated with kinship units, such as Old English *cyn[n]* 'kin' and Latin *gēns* 'a people; families sharing the same *nomen*'.[377] Added to this is the Greek reflex *génos* (γένος), denoting broadly 'race, kin, family', but also 'clan, tribe', and existing alongside *génna* (γέννα) and *geneá* (γενεά) 'race, family'.[378] Consider the concatenation *ánaks* | *génous* across the break of lines 592 and 593 of Aeschylus' *Suppliants*, lines in which Zeus Pater (Zeus the 'Father') is being described. Here are lines 592–594:

<αὐτὸς ὁ> πατὴρ φυτουργὸς αὐτόχειρ ἄναξ 592

γένους παλαιόφρων μέγας 593

τέκτων, τὸ πᾶν μῆχαρ, οὔριος Ζεύς 594

[377] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1930:576–578; Ernout and Meillet 1959:271; Watkins 2011:26.

[378] See, inter alia, Chantraine 1968:222.

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Génous, which occurs at the beginning of line 593, is often read as object of *téktōn* (τέκτων) 'carpenter; craftsman', which occurs at the beginning of the ensuing line 594, with *téktōn* interpreted metaphorically, giving the sense 'maker of the race'. Yet *téktōn* can reasonably be understood as having no expressed object here, just as earlier in the play, at line 283, where it is similarly used of one who engenders offspring. Understood in this way *téktōn* would parallel *phutourgòs autókheir* (φυτουργὸς αὐτόχειρ) 'generating by his own hand', phrase which precedes *ánaks* in line 592.

Is the enjambed *ánaks* | *génous* (ἄναξ | γένους) a precious remnant of a primitive Indo-European syntagm composed of *wn̥-h_1aĝ-t-s and *ĝen-X (whatever the morphology of the *ĝen(h_1)- formant) – denoting one who leads a *tribe* in movement through space? Quite possibly so, *mutatis mutandis*, in light of the context of the use of *ánaks* | *génous* in these lines. The speaker here is the chorus of Danaids (daughters of Danaus) who have journeyed to Argos in an effort to escape the Aegyptiads (sons of Aegyptus, brother of Danaus) who would seize the women (their cousins) in marriage. The "tribal" distinctiveness of the suppliant women is front and center in the choral passage: it begins with a triple reference to their *génos* (γένος; lines 527, 533, and 536) and ends with the same (lines 584, 588, and here in 593).[379] At line 527, for example, the

[379] On the conspicuous use of *genos* (γένος) here see the comments of Johansen and Whittle 1980:2:479.

Danaids entreat Zeus to abhor the sons of Aegyptus and make those men leave the Danaids alone, the women calling themselves *sòn génos* (σὸν γένος) 'your *génos*', though the sons of Aegyptus are *no less descendants* of Zeus. The Zeus who is invoked as *ánaks* | *génous* (lines 592/593) of the Danaids is further identified as *oúrios Zeús* (οὔριος Ζεύς; line 594) 'Zeus who gives fair winds'. The Danaids are relying on the *ánaks* | *genous* for an expedient and propitious conclusion of their journeying away from Egypt, as the good winds of Zeus have moved them in their ships this far already (as they have made plain at lines 136–137). Zeus here clearly plays the role of the *ánaks* who *leads* his Danaid *génos* through space into new territory.[380]

In his work on the history of the Mycenaean idea of *wanaks*, Palaima[381] draws attention to the variant forms of the compound name assigned to one of Agamemnon's daughters, she who would be sacrificed for the sake of the expedition against Troy : *Iphigéneia* (Ἰφιγένεια) and *Iphiánassa* (Ἰφιάνασσα) – that is, Iphigeneia and Iphianassa. He observes that "Iphi<u>geneia</u> and Iphi<u>wanassa</u>" are, in effect, mutual glosses (Palaima 2016:142): "This would suggest that the roots of *wanaks* and *wanassa* can be rendered by

[380] Aeschylus' enjambment of the phrase is likely intended to make conspicuous each of its components; on Aeschylus' use of enjambment for emphasis in the *Suppliants*, see the comments of Sommerstein 2019:196.

[381] See Palaima 2006:58–62 and 2016:142–143.

the Greek root *gen-, denoting 'birth,' 'begetting,'" and hence (p. 143) that the two reside "in the same semantic sphere of procreativity and family-clan association." As Nagy (2017a) points out in his own study of these names, the initial member of the compounds, "*īphi-*, refers to the 'force' of the king's power', where the naming component *īphi* is in origin the instrumental case form of *ī́s* (ἴς) 'force'. I would suggest that the semantic equivalence of the two names *Iphigéneia* and *Iphiánassa* lies in the equivalence of the force of the *génos* (γένος) 'tribe' and the force directed by the *ánaks* (ἄναξ) as leader (literally) of the *génos* – the *ĝen-X wn̥-h_1aĝ-t-s

4.3. Lāwāgetās (*ra-wa-ke-ta*)

Brief reference was made in §4.2.2.1 to the Mycenaean term *lāwāgetās* (*ra-wa-ke-ta*), a compound formed with the agentive suffix *-tās*. The *wanaks* and *lāwāgetās* appear in the Linear B records as two figures of uniquely high status. Just as with the agent compound *wanaks* (from *wn̥-h_1aĝ-t-), it is primitive Indo-European *h_1aĝ- that provides the second element of the noun *lāwāgetās* (compounded from *leh_2-wo- plus *h_1aĝ-): here again we are dealing with a figure whose title announces him to be *one who leads*. The initial element of *lāwāgetās* is understood to be a Mycenaean noun *lāwo-*, well attested in epic as *lāós* (λᾱός) and designating a particular body of the community.

Given the linguistic and cultural parallels shared by *wanaks* and *lāwāgetās* we may posit that the the origin of the figure called the *lāwāgetās* is, no less than that of the *wanaks*, to be sought in a primitive social context of transhumance and expansionism.

In the language of Homeric epic *lāós* (λᾱός) – commonly found in the plural *lāoí* (λᾱοί) – has two principal meanings. In the judgment of the lexicographers, in the *Iliad* its typical use is to identify the 'warrior horde', while in the *Odyssey* its sense is usually more broadly 'people' or 'folk'. Interpreters of Linear B and Mycenaean culture have by and large identified the *lāwāgetās* as a leader of warriors.[382] With the Mycenaean form compare Doric *lāgétās* (λᾱγέτᾱς), equally a compound reflex of *leh$_2$- plus *h$_1$aĝ-.[383] *Lāgétās* occurs several times in the poetry of Pindar: *Olympian Odes* 1.90 (used of the sons of Pelops); and *Pythian Odes* 3.85 (of the honoree, Hieron of Syracuse); 4.107 (of Aeolus and his sons); and 10.31 (of Perseus). The context of these occurrences does not reveal whether the intended distinctive sense is 'people-leader' or 'warrior-horde-leader'. The scholia provide little in the way of clarification: a scholiast on *Olympian* 1.90, for example, writes that a *lāgétās* is a *hēgemṓn* (ἡγεμών) 'guide; commander,

[382] For extensive bibliography see Aura Jorro 1993:231n7.

[383] See Frisk 1961–1970:83 ("aus λᾱϝ-ᾱγετᾱς = myk. *ra-wa-ke-ta*"); Chantraine 1968:619.

leader', and 'one who leads' *hēgoúmenos* (ἡγούμενος) the *lāoí*;.[384] Homer frequently uses *hēgemṓn* to identify a warrior chief. Compare Eustathius, who in his commentary on the *Iliad* identifies the epic phrase *lāòn ágōn* (λᾱὸν ἄγων) as equivalent to tragic[385] *lāgétās*, defining it as *lāoû hēgemṓn* (λᾱοῦ ἡγεμών) 'guide/commander' of the *lāós*'.[386] Here the reference is to *Iliad* 10.79, in which the sense of *lāós* (λᾱός) is clearly 'warrior horde'.

Interpretation of the unmarked ancestral sense of Greek *lāós* (λᾱός) as 'warrior horde' is reinforced by cognates (reflexes of the Proto-Indo-European root *leh$_2$-) provided by Old Irish *láech* 'warrior',[387] with which compare formally Greek *lāïkós* (λᾱϊκός) 'of the people' (first attested in Clement *Epistula i ad Corinthios* 40.5 and *Epistula Clementis ad Jacobum* 149) and, especially, by Anatolian cognate forms.[388] Best attested

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[384] *Scholia in Pindarum* (*scholia vetera* [= Drachmann 1966–1969]) *Olympian Odes* 1.144c. Compare Hesychius Λ 51, defining a *lagétēs* (λαγέτης) as *hēgemṓn ókhlon sunagagṓn* (ἡγεμὼν ὄχλον συναγαγών) 'guide/commander who has brought together the masses'.

[385] An example is attested at Sophocles fr. 221.12 (Radt 1999).

[386] *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (= van der Valk 1971–1987) 3.21; see also 1.716; 2.293; 4.858.

[387] See Watkins 1963:241n1 and 1976:122.

[388] On identification of the Anatolian cognates of *lāós* (λᾱός) see, *inter alia*, Sturtevant 1931:120; Juret 1940:199; Heubeck 1969:535–544; Tischler 1990:8–11; Puhvel 2001:5–6; Beekes 2010:832–833.

among the Anatolian cognates is Hittite *lāḫḫa-*. While, as with Greek *lāós*, this Hittite noun has two distinct but related senses, its ambivalence does not equate to that of the Greek term. Hittite *lāḫḫa-* means both 'military campaign' and 'journey, trip' (CHD, L–N:4), though Puhvel (2001:2) contends that even in the latter meaning there is "always [an] inherent or implicit military sense." In any event, Puhvel (2001:5) rightly integrates the two senses when he characterizes *lāḫḫa-* as denoting the "military on the move . . . especially far-flung expeditionary campaigning." We just saw that Eustathius invokes the Greek concatenation of *ágō* (ἄγω) and *lāós* (λᾱός) in defining *lāgétās* (λᾱγέτᾱς): in the lines on which Eustathius is commenting, *Iliad* 10.75–79, the poet is describing the armor of Nestor, including the belt with which he would defensively arm himself whenever 'leading the warrior horde (*lāòn ágōn* [λᾱὸν ἄγων]) of Pylos 'into man-destroying battle' (ἐς πόλεμον φθισήνορα). This Greek concatenation of *ágō* and *lāós*[389] finds a counterpart, *mutatis mutandis*, in the recurring Hittite phrase *laḫḫi peḫute-* 'to lead a campaign; to lead to war'. From Hittite *laḫḫa-* derivatives are formed, including *laḫḫiyai-* 'to go on an expedition, wander; to attack'; *laḫḫiyala-* 'warrior; traveler?' and *laḫḫema-* 'raid, march?'.[390] Compare the Luvian verb *laḫḫi(ya)-* 'to travel,

[389] See also, for example, *Iliad* 2.580; 4.407; 19.171

[390] See CHD L–N:7–10; Puhvel 2001:4–5.

campaign' and noun *lalḫiya-* 'journey, campaign' (Melchert 1993b:120, 123). Hesychius identifies *laílas* (λαίλας) as a Lydian word denoting one who is a 'ruler' (*túrranos* [τύρρανος]), but not a ruler by descent.[391] In his treatment of Hittite *laḫḫanza(n)-*, a verbal adjective in origin, used to name a migrating shore duck,[392] Melchert (2003:136–137) understands the root **laḫ-* (i.e. Proto-Indo-European *leh$_2$-) to mean 'to travel, migrate', and in this he must surely be correct.

The evidence provided, on the one side, by Hittite *laḫḫa-*, preserving synchronically the fused notions of journeying and warring, and by the epic notion of *lāòn ágōn* (λᾱὸν ἄγων), on the other side, offers strong support for understanding Mycenaean Greek *lāwāgetās* as continuing the designation of one whose role it is *to lead through space* the warrior contingent of society. If it is the *wanaks* who preserves a name revealing an ancestral figure who led movements of the clan/tribe in their journeying (with implicit forcefulness) – movements through which the community realized benefits from the gods – the *lāwāgetās* must bear the ancestral designation of that one whose immediate role it was to lead that constituent of clan/tribal society required to clear obstructions encountered in the journey – the element of physical

[391] Partially restored from other lexicographical sources (see Theognostus *Canones sive De orthographia* 27; Suda Λ 182; Pseudo-Zonaras Λ 1281), in which no mention is made of the Lydian source of the word.

[392] See CHD L–N:6–7.

force, domain of the warrior.[393] The efficacy of perpetual movement was undoubtedly seen to be dependent upon divine aid, with the appropriate deities invoked to take the lead in clearing the path – one thinks immediately in Vedic tradition of Indra *Vṛtrahan*, epithet meaning literally 'slayer of the restrainer', and hence 'slayer of the foe'. The actions of the ancestral *lāwāgetās*, and surely that of the *wanaks* as well, would thus necessarily also entail involvement in the domain of the specialists in religion. And so it is that as with the Mycenaean *wanaks*, the *lāwāgetās* appears to perform cult functions and receive cult honors.[394] Thus, on Pylos tablet Un 219 + frr., which we first encountered in Chapter Two, *ra-wa-ke-ta* is listed as a recipient of contributions along with deities (Potnia, Artemis, Hermes, Pa-de-we), and cult personnel.[395] And on Pylos

[393] For an idea that the post-Mycenaean Greek term *lāós* (λᾱός) can include within its semantic domain 'marginalized population' see Haubold 2000; on the Mycenaean term see Nikoloudis 2006:187. What may be lost here is realization that the term in its origins relates to a population on the move. For a refinement of Haubold's idea, one that argues that both the Homeric term and its Mycenaean predecessor nonetheless refer to a body of warriors, see Nagy 2019.

[394] See, *inter alia*, Webster 1958:11 (who identifies the *lāwāgetās* simply as "Commander of the Army"); Lindgren 1973:2:135–136; Hooker 1976 (1977):184 (who rejects the meaning 'leader of the war-host' for *lāwāgetās*, citing Palmer for the gloss [see Palmer 1969:84]).

[395] As noted earlier, at the beginning of line 7 *ạ-na-ka-te* has been read by some as *wạ-na-ka-te*, 'for a *wanaks*'.

tablet Un 718 *ra-wa-ke-ta* records one of several individuals making offerings to Poseidon, along with E-ke-ra$_2$-wo, which appears likely to be the personal name of the Pylian *wanaks*.[396]

4.4. Témenos (τέμενος)

In Pylos tablet Er 312 + fr., a land-holding document, line 1 preserves the phrase *wa-na-ka-te-ro, te-me-no* and line 3 *ra-wa-ke-si-jo, te-me-no* – the *temenos* of the *wanaks* and the *temenos* of the *lāwāgetās*, respectively. Greek *témenos* (τέμενος) typically denotes a demarcated sacred space associated with a cult site. Linear B *te-me-no* is attested only in conjunction with qualifying adjectives that link *témenos* in a possessive or otherwise descriptive way to *wanaks* and *lāwāgetās*. This Linear B usage of *te-me-no* has inevitably invited comparison with the nine Homeric references to a *témenos* held by a *basileús* (βασιλεύς), 'chief' (Mycenaean *g^{w}asileus*), or by his son; but it is unclear if the comparison is a revealing one with regard to Mycenaean usage.[397]

[396] Not all have accepted this interpretation. For a fresh look at the evidence, with review of early work, see Nakassis 2012, especially pages 14–25, who argues for the identification of E-ke-ra$_2$-wo as *wanaks*.

[397] See, *inter alia*, Manessy-Guitton 1966:14, 31–32; van Effenterre 1967; Palmer 1969:84–85; Hahn 1977. On the Homeric situation see especially Donlan 1989.

We should note that also recorded on Er 312 + fr. as "plot-holders" (lines 5 and 6) are *te-re-ta* – form spelling *telestai*, often translated 'service-men', or *teletai.* It appears that Mycenaean *te-re-ta* may serve a religious function.[398] Compare here post-Mycenaean *teletḗs* (τελετής) 'hierophant' (i.e. initiating priest, priest who teaches rites of a cult) and *telestḗs* (τελεστής) 'priest', 'initiator'.

In addition, reference is made on Er 312 + fr. to *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo, e-re-mo*. The adjective *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo* can be plausibly interpreted as also having sacerdotal significance, as will be discussed below in §4.6.3. The modified term *e-re-mo* has been commonly interpreted as *erêmos* (ἐρῆμος), or neuter *erêmon* (ἐρῆμον), adjective denoting 'desolate, solitary'.[399] But Duhoux (1976a:28; 2008:308)[400] has proposed **hélemon* (*ἕλεμον) 'wet terrain', comparing Proto-Indo-European *séles- 'marsh', as a possible interpretation of *e-re-mo*: attested are Greek *hélos* (ἕλος) 'marshy ground', Sanskrit *sáras-* 'pond, pool, lake, sheet of water';[401] also belonging here are important

[398] See the remarks of Shelmerdine 2008:134.

[399] For bibliography see Aura Jorro 1985:240.

[400] I wish to express my gratitude to Joseph Miller for bringing the interpretation of Duhoux to my attention.

[401] Compare the Sanskrit feminine name Sarámā, meaning 'the fast-moving one', applied to (among other beings) a dog belonging to the gods, an animal that is especially attached to Indra.

Indo-Iranian derivatives – Sanskrit *Sárasvatī*, river name and its goddess (who is closely associated with the Aśvins/Nāsatyas, as in the celebration of the Sautrāmaṇī, on which see below, §§5.3.2–5, §5.5.2, §21.3.2.1, and §22.4.1.2; on Sarasvatī see also §1.2.3.3, §5.5, §5.5.2§12.7.3.6, §§22.2.1.1–2) and the Iranian cognates of Sanskrit *Sárasvatī* seen in Avestan *Haraxvatī* and Old Persian *Harauvatiš*, naming the river Argāndāb (from Proto-Indo-Iranian *sárasvatī 'of waters').[402] We will see in §4.6.3 that on Pylos tablet Un 718 the adjective *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo* can also modify *ka-ma*, which appears to denote some space of *terra firma*. Given (1) the co-occurrence *te-me-no* and *e-re-mo* within the single document Er 312 + fr., (2) the Duhoux interpretation of *e-re-mo*, and (3) the relatedness of Er 312 and Un 718 (discussed below), we might understand *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo, e-re-mo* and *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo, ka-ma* to oppose in a significant way a sacred marsh or pool and a sacred dry ground.

4.4.1. *H_3reĝ- and Delimited Sacred Space

That our earliest reference to a *témenos* (τέμενος) – the *te-me-no* of the Mycenaean documents – is contextualized by an element of "sovereignty" is intriguing in light of the etymology of the ancestral Indo-European word for the tribal sovereign,

[402] See, *inter alia*, Mallory and Adams 1997:370; Schmitt 2011; Watkins 2011:77.

*$h_3$reĝ-. This is one of those etyma that Vendryes investigated in his 1918 work mentioned in Chapter One (§1.2.3.3; see Vendryes p. 269), pointing out that reflexes survive ("ayant quitté le terrain religieux") in Sanskrit *rāj-* (and *rājan-*), Latin *rēx*, Gaulish *-rīx*, Irish *rí*, all conventionally translated as 'king', and all belonging to languages of the fringe of the Indo-European expansion area. Compare also Avestan *bərəzi-rāz-* 'ruling on a height'.[403] Kindred verb forms include not only Sanskrit *ṛñjate* 'to make straight', *rāṣṭi* 'to rule' and Latin *regō* 'to fix the line of; keep straight', but also Greek *orégō* (ὀρέγω), *orégnumi* (ὀρέγνυμι) 'to reach, stretch out'. The associated verbs would suggest that the primitive sense of the ancestral nominal was one that identified the *$h_3$reĝ- as an individual responsible for demarcating space, for tracing out lines, in that way literally "ruling," and this is the very interpretation that Benveniste develops

[403] See also, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1927:362–365; Ernout and Meillet 1959:572–573; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:654; Watkins 1995:8–9; Mallory and Adams 1997:329–330; McCone 1998; LIV 304–305; Watkins 2011:72. To these comparands, however, can be added various Germanic forms, such as Gothic *reiks*, which translates Greek *árkhōn* (ἄρχων) 'ruler', alongside, *inter alia*, Old Icelandic *rīkr*, Old High German *rīhhi*, Old English *rice*. The Germanic vowels have been commonly taken to reveal borrowing from Celtic, rather than inheritance, though Old Icelandic attests compounds *folk-rekr* 'ruler' and *land-reki* 'king' that would appear to preserve an inherited form of *$h_3$reĝ-. See, *inter alia*, Polomé 1972:67; Lehman 1986:283; Green 1998:150, each with bibliography.

persuasively.[404] This notion is preserved clearly, for example, in the Roman religious action described by the phrase *regere fines*, a tracing out of lines that separate sacred from profane space, a delimitation that must fall to one identified as *rēx*. Such "magical" action reverberates in the ritual performances of the priest called the Rex Sacrorum; Benveniste observes: "The *rēx* was charged with the task *regere sacra*, in the sense in which the expression *regere fines* is taken."[405] This *rēx* is conspicuously associated with the delimited space of the Comitium, from which he retreats annually as the chaos of the Roman year's end is played out in ritual.[406] While Greek *wanaks* and *lāwāgetās* clearly do not descend from this ancestral term for 'ruler', the unique lexical linkage of *témenos*, denoting delimited sacred space, with these lexemes in the Linear B records would suggest a Mycenaean ideological continuation of the primitive Indo-European notional affiliation of a "ruling" figure with space that has cult associations, the *temenos*.

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[404] See Benveniste 1969:2:9–15.

[405] The translation is again that of E. Palmer (i.e. Benveniste 1973:312). For further on the Rex Sacrorum in this regard see Woodard 2011:329–331.

[406] See Woodard 2013 *passim*.

4.4.1.1. Greek *Témenos* (τέμενος). The etymological origin of the Greek lexeme *témenos* (τέμενος) has been disputed. West (1997:36) has revived an earlier idea that the term may be in origin a borrowing from the Near East, drawing attention to Akkadian *temmennu* (*temennu*, *temmenu*) 'foundation document' and 'foundation (platform)' (from Old Babylonian onward; CAD 18:337–339), itself a borrowing of Sumerian TEMEN(TE).[407] Masson (1967), in contrast, does not include the term in her careful examination of Semitic loanwords in Greek.[408] In antiquity,[409] and commonly in modernity, the root of Greek *témenos* has been identified as that of the verb *témnō* (τέμνω) 'to cut' – so it appears in its Attic form; contrast Ionic and Doric *támnō* (τάμνω). This nasal-infix verb has been projected to a primitive Indo-European root *temh$_1$- or *temh$_2$-, which some would identify as also the etymon of Latin *temnere* 'to scorn'.[410] Likely with greater

[407] A Near Eastern source was proposed as early as Autran 1924 and 1938. See in addition Manessy-Guitton 1966:32–35 on the prospect of an Akkadian or West Semitic loanword (with additional bibliography); see also Manessy-Guitton 1972:91.

[408] See also the remarks Szemerényi 1974:148n21.

[409] Implicit in Homer *Iliad* 6.194; 9.578–580; 20.184. For explicit expressions of the etymology see, *inter alia*, Philoxenus fr. 606*; Aristonicus *De signis Iliadis* 6.194.

[410] On the etymon see, for example, Walde and Pokorny 1930:719; LIV 625; Watkins 2011:93. The association of Latin *temnere* with Greek *témnō* (τέμνω) is also ancient; Ernout and Meillet (1959:680) reject

confidence one can identify as related the Latin reflex *templum* 'augural space' (from *tema-lo-, from *temH-lo-), also *tempulum* (as in CIL 6.30758).[411]

West (1997:36) makes the important observation that the phrase *témnein tẽn gẽn* (τέμνειν τὴν γῆν) does not refer to the marking off of sacred space but "normally

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it, pointing to a possible etymological connection of *temnere* with Greek *stémbō* (στέμβω) 'to agitate'. But is this viable? The evolutionary sorting out of the Greek reflexes of primitive Indo-European *temH- is generally cumbersome, and this awkwardness has been invoked as support for a borrowing hypothesis for *témenos* (τέμενος). Thus, West (1997:36) judges that "the noun τέμενος is anonymously formed"; in doing so he appears to make recourse principally to Manessy-Guitton (1966), who identifies no fewer than four hypothesized root forms for *témenos*, finding none satisfactory (pp. 15–21) and concluding that a Near Eastern loanword analysis is more convincing (pp. 31–35). One might well suspect, instead, taboo deformation in the realm of sacred speech. Any etymological complexities with regard to *témenos* are, however, only part and parcel of the broader issues with *temH-. The etymology of Greek *témnō*/*támnō* has been the subject of several investigations, particularly focused on the interplay between present-stem and aorist-stem morphologies, which is undeniable. In addition to the above-mentioned Manessy-Guitton 1966:15–21, see also, *inter alia*, Cardona 1960; Forssman 1966; Chantraine 1968:1103–1104; Joseph 1982:36–38 (following Brugmann 1879:255–257); Harðarson 1993:157–158, 160–161, 166; Meissner 2006:50, 52–53.

[411] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1930:719; Watkins 2011:93; and see also Ernout and Meillet 1959:681, who do not associate *templum* with the verb *temnere*, but make an explicit comparison with Greek *témenos* (τέμενος).

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means 'ravage the land'." One finds this notion so expressed, for example, by Herodotus (9.86) and Euripides (*Hecuba* 1204, here ravaging the 'growth of the land' [γῆς τεμεῖν βλαστήματα]). Thucydides uses it quite frequently (thus, 1.30.2; 1.81.6; 2.20.2; 2.21.2, 3; and so on). We should add to this the observation that the phrase *témnein tà teménē* (τέμνειν τὰ τεμένη) can itself be used of ravaging sacred spaces (Lycurgus *Against Leocrates* 147). If Greek *témenos* (τέμενος) is to be linked etymologically with *temH- 'to cut', which is, I believe, the default and most likely proper analysis, then the semantics of the derivation must find a home in an earlier moment of Indo-European cult conceptions, practices, and language. From a comparative Indo-European perspective one thinks of the Roman procedure of cutting through the earth with a plough in the marking out of the augural space of the Pomerium, and of the formally similar Vedic practice of ploughing the perimeter of the sacred precinct of the fire altar in the celebration of the Agnicayana (literally 'Fire-piling'; see §2.3.1, on Linear B *qi-wo*).[412] Compare notionally the apparent single Greek

[412] The Romans themselves characterize their ritual as being of Etruscan origin and perhaps the trappings of the rite continue Etruscan custom. This would not be the only instance of inherited Indo-European structures being re-formed under Etruscan influence: compare the (partial) replacement of the primitive Indo-European Pre-Capitoline Triad with the Capitoline Triad, with Indo-European vestiges lingering in

occurrence of the simple thematic form *témei* (τέμει) 'he cuts' at Homer *Iliad* 13.707, used of an ox-drawn plough cutting a length of ground.

4.4.1.2. Vedic Cut-Out Space and the Sacred Journey of Conquest. But of greater comparative relevance than the plough is that Vedic ritual implement called the *sphya,* a wooden sword (Sanskrit *sphyá-*),[413] and its utilization by a priestly figure to cut into the ground crucial lines of sacred demarcation. Here are some examples of this ritual action. In the celebration of the new-moon and full-moon sacrifices, and other Iṣṭi rituals of which these provide the template, the priest traces out the boundaries of the altar (Vedi) with a *sphya* and in so doing protects the altar from enemies of the sacrificer (see *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* [*ŚB*] 1.2.5.6–26, with the discussion of Eggeling 1995:60–67).[414] That the shape of the cutting implement is that of a sword[415] is hardly

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the form of Terminus and Juventas. For discussion of the ploughing of the pomerium vis-à-vis Vedic ritual see Woodard 2006:152–153, with note 6.

[413] Perhaps compare Armenian *op'i-* 'poplar'; see the discussion of Mallory and Adams 1997:33.

[414] And see Keith 1967:8n4. See also, *inter alia*, *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* 2.6.4.3; *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā* 25.5; *Kapiṣṭhala Kaṭha Saṃhitā* 39.2. On these passages and the sung verses that accompany them see the comments of Sahoo 1991–1992:175. In still other usages the *sphya* is regarded as safeguarding ritual success: see, for

accidental; it is an expression of the portion of the *vajra* ('thunderbolt') with which Indra slew the dragon Vr̥tra (see *ŚB* 1.2.4.1–7; another portion of which is here said to find expression in the *yūpa*, the sacred column). The priest 'mutters' (*jápati*) Vedic formulae (*Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* 1.24) and thereby makes the sword to be sharp (see *ŚB* 1.2.4.5–7), and with it he, in effect, "attacks" grasses (symbolizing the demonic foe of the sacrifice) found within the space of the Iṣṭi (see *ŚB* 1.2.4.12, 16–21), throwing the sword three times with formulae and once in silence.[416] These interpretations and acts are consistent with viewing Vedic sacred space as conquered space.[417] In the celebration of the Agniṣṭoma, the most sacred of ceremonies, the priest called the Adhvaryu uses the *sphya* 'to cut around' (*samullikh-*) the footprint of the Soma cow (see *ŚB* 3.3.1.5–6). In the same ceremony, at the time of the transference of fire from the altar called the Āhavanīya, located within the small sacred space of the Soma sacrifice, to the great altar, the Uttaravedi, at the distal end of the large sacred space (the

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example, *Atharva Veda* 11.3.9; *ŚB* 1.1.2.8; 1.2.5.21; and see Sahoo *passim* for a helpful synopsis of such usages.

[415] On the possible sword-shapes of the *sphya* see Vira 1934:292.

[416] See also *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* 2.6.4.1–2; *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā* 25.4 and 31.8; *Kapiṣṭhala Kaṭha Saṃhitā* 39.1 and 47.8; *Maitrāyaṇi Saṃhitā* 4.1.10; *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* 3.2.9.10; and the remarks of Sahoo 1991–1992:175.

[417] See Woodard 2006:143, 146–149, 156–157, 163, 165, 237, 244, 260–264, 267.

Mahāvedi),[418] the Adhvaryu's assistant (the Pratiprasthātṛ) follows the fire, etching a line in the ground with the sword as he goes (see *ŚB* 3.5.2.1–3). In the Rājasūya, the royal consecration ceremony, following the enthronement of a new king (*rājanya*), the *sphya* is passed from a priest to the king and then on to other participants in turn, following which it is used to cut into the ground the outline of the delimited space of the ritual dice game that ensues (see *ŚB* 5.4.4.15–25).[419]

The Mycenaean *temenos* is uniquely affiliated with the *wanaks* and the *lāwāgetās*, two figures diachronically (etymologically) and synchronically (semantically) attached to the function of guiding elements of society through movements in space. This Bronze-Age *temenos* must be yet another bounded, cut-out ritual instantiation of Indo-European space that continues locally the ancestral topographic quests of transhumance and, ultimately, expansionism. These are marked spaces, "ruled straight" toward the end of the attainment of benefits through ritual action and speech that lead to divine appeasement and favor. The best documented of these are the just-mentioned spaces of Vedic cult: the smaller demarcated space for the performance of those rituals classed generally as Iṣṭi, and the adjacent larger demarcated space, the

[418] On the space, the ritual journey into and across it, and the associated migration of fire, see Woodard 2006:143–152, 160–161.

[419] For discussion see Eggeling 1995:3:106n1; Heesterman 1957:141–143, 151–157.

Mahāvedi, which can be put down toward the east for the celebration of the Soma rites and into which priests and sacrificers conduct elaborate ritual journeys. The smaller space of the Iṣṭi is prominently marked by the three sacred flames of Vedic cult: the Gārhapatya, the fire of the *gṛhapati-* 'master of the house' (from *gṛha-*, 'servant; house') – that is, of the domestic hearth (round in shape); the Āhavanīya (quadrangular in shape); and the Dakṣiṇāgni (semicircular in shape). The Gārhapatya and the Āhavanīya are situated along the east–west axis of the middle of the space; the Dakṣiṇāgni is located to the south of this axis, but still within the demarcated space, and there it stands guard against any evil attack that would thwart the rites. An important component of the journey into and through the Mahāvedi is the Agnipraṇayana rite, the carrying of the flame of the Āhavanīya to the altar erected at the eastern edge of the space of the Mahāvedi, just beyond which stands the *yūpa*, proposed homologue of Linear B *u-po*, associated with a Potnia.[420] The various movements within the Mahāvedi are plainly presented as a journey of conquest. In this journey the fire god Agni takes

[420] For discussion of the topography of these spaces, see Woodard 2006:142–144, 146–149.

the lead, along with warrior deities Indra, who is chief among this group (and eventually identified as king of gods), and Viṣṇu, who creates space.[421]

In light of Vedic practice and structures, the co-occurrence on tablet Er 312 + fr. of the specification of 'cut out' sacred space, *te-me-no*, and the specification of a sacred watery area, *e-re-mo*, if properly interpreted in this way (i.e. as **hélemon* [*ἕλεμον]), is intriguing. Located adjacent to the Mahāvedi, and serving a crucial cult role in the rites conducted there, is a water source, either standing or flowing. Here the Avabhr̥tha is celebrated, as described, for example, in ŚB 4.4.5.1–23.[422] The priests, the sacrificer, and his wife bathe in this watery space and the sacrificial utensils are cleansed therein. Also worth noting is the following. The sacred journey into and through the Mahāvedi can be extended (iteratively) by the carving out of another Mahāvedi positioned at the distal end of that sacred space. The rite is called the Yātsattra and is dedicated to the goddess Sarasvatī, deity whose name, as we saw above (in §4.4), is formed from Sanskrit *sáras-* 'pond, pool, lake, sheet of water' (Proto-Indo-Iranian *sárasvatī 'of waters') of common origin with Greek *hélos* (ἕλος) 'marshy ground'. More than this, the iterative repeated of the space of the Mahāvedi is made eastward along the course of the

[421] On the journey of conquest see Woodard 2006:146–149, 259–264, with bibliography of earlier work. For the ritual called the Yātsattra, which entails iterations of daily expansion of the space, see pp. 147–149.

[422] See Woodard 2006:170.

Sarasvatī river.[423] The textual co-occurrence of Linear B *te-me-no* and *e-re-mo* seductively echoes the spatial co-occurrence of Vedic Mahāvedi and watery space.

4.4.1.3. Vedic and Roman Sacred Flames and the Sacred Journey of Conquest. It was George Dumézil who demonstrated that the three sacred flames of Vedic ritual – the Gārhapatya, Āhavanīya, and Dakṣiṇāgni –formally match three conspicuous public hearth(-type)s of archaic Rome (i.e. they are homologues by common origin in primitive Indo-European ritual). The quadrangular Āhavanīya finds its counterpart in hearths associated with Rome's quadrangular *templa*; the circular Gārhapatya with the flame that burns within Vesta's round *aedēs*; and the marginal Dakṣiṇāgni with the flame of Vulcan in the extra-pomerial Volcanal (within the space of the Comitium).[424] One can further identify numerous altars on the distal edge of the greater Roman sacred space, the Ager Romanus, that map onto the flame that burns at the distal edge of the Vedic greater sacred space, the Mahāvedi.[425] The sacred journey of Vedic rite equally finds a counterpart in Roman religious performance, the two pointing back to

[423] See Woodard 2006:147–148.

[424] See Dumézil 1970b:312–326. See also Woodard 2006:82–83 , 152–155; further developed in Woodard 2013.

[425] See Woodard 2006, especially pp. 149–267.

common primitive Indo-European cult practice, to which we have now several times made reference. In Rome the journey finds variant expressions, played out in numerous local instantiations of sacred space through rituals of ambulation and circumambulation – rites of land lustration that Cato describes (see below for further discussion), Terminalia, Ambarvalia, rites of the Fratres Arvales, Amburbium, and more.[426]

4.4.1.4. Mycenaean Temenos as Space of the Sacred Journey. Positing the Mycenaean *temenos* to be another inherited expression of bounded Indo-European space within which sacred journey is enacted is consistent, as we have seen, with the notions inherent to the naming of the two figures linked to the space of the *temenos* in the Linear B records: *wanaks* and *lāwāgetās*. The conspicuous presence of fire in the Vedic and Roman expressions of the ancestral space is consistent with the centrality of the altar in the Greek bounded sacred space, the lexemes for the two providing the epic formulary *témenos bōmós te thuéeis* (τέμενος βωμός τε θυήεις) '*temenos* and altar smoking with incense': *Iliad* 8.48 (of Zeus' *temenos* at Ida's peak of Gargarus) and 23.148 (of the *temenos* of the river god Spercheius in Thessaly); *Odyssey* 8.363 (of the *temenos* of

[426] See Woodard 2006, especially pp. 96–141.

Aphrodite at Paphos, Cyprus; cf. *Homeric Hymnic to Aphrodite* [hymn 5] 59, with *témenos bōmós te thuōdēs* [τέμενος βωμός τε θυώδης]). The conjunction of the lexemes *témenos* (τέμενος) and *bōmós* (βωμός) is common thereafter. It must surely be our expectation that the Mycenaean *temenos* of the *wanaks* and the *temenos* of the *lāwāgetās* would have contained altars for the performance of sacred rites in which the two figures were respectively involved.

4.4.1.5. Spartan Sacred Fire and the Journey of Conquest. The Vedic journey of conquest into and through the space of the Mahāvedi, with Agni ('Fire') and warrior gods in the lead, and with the associated carrying of fire to the far reaches of that space, readily brings to mind the Spartan practice of bearing fire to the border as a journey to war begins. Xenophon (*Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* 13.2–3) describes the ritual. The 'king' (*basileús* [βασιλεύς]) offers a sacrifice to Zeus and to the Twins (i.e. the Dioscuri).[427] Zeus is here styled as *Zeus Agḗtōr* (Ζεὺς Ἀγήτωρ), 'Zeus who leads'; the epithet *agḗtōr* is an agent noun formed from primitive *$h_1$ag̑-; compare the Mycenaean agent noun *lāwāgetās*, Doric *lāgétās* (λᾱγέτᾱς),. The Dioscuri would appear equally to

[427] Or the textual variant, to 'those [gods] with him' (οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ), though the reference must still be to the sons of Zeus, the Dioscuri. The Spartan tradition of the presence of the Dioscuri in battle is well known. See, *inter alia*, the discussion of Walker 2015:139–140.

play a role of *leading*, giving semantic substance to their title *Ánaktes* (Ἄνακτες)/*Ánakes* (Ἄνακες). The sacrifice of the *basileús* is offered *oíkoi* (οἴκοι) 'in his house'. If the sacrifice provides good omens, a *purphóros* (πυρφόρος), 'fire-bearer', takes fire from the domestic altar of the king and (bearing the fire) 'he goes first and leads the way to the boundary of the land' (προηγεῖται ἐπὶ τὰ ὅρια τῆς χώρας). At the boundary the king offers sacrifice to Zeus and Athena. Once the sacrifice gives good omens, in regard to both deities, then the king passes beyond the boundary; 'and the fire of these rites *goes first and leads* the way, and it is never to be extinguished . . .' (καὶ τὸ πῦρ μὲν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ἱερῶν προηγεῖται οὔποτε ἀποσβεννύμενον . . .).[428] The physical progress of the fire in this Spartan ritual readily evokes comparison with Vedic ritual and the movement of fire from the home of the sacrificer, to the Gārhapatya, to the Āhavanīya, within the small sacred space of the Iṣṭi, across the boundary of that space to the relocated Āhavanīya at the distal boundary of the large sacred space of the Mahāvedi, where stand the yūpas, and even iteratively onward beyond this boundary.

Malkin, in his examination of the *purphóros,* 'fire-bearer' (1987:123) vis-à-vis the important matter of the transfer of sacred fire at the establishment of a colony, draws

[428] On *diabatḗria* (διαβατήρια), sacrifices made before crossing a boundary' see Pritchett 1979:68–71 (with bibliography; see also p. 82) and Lonis 1979:95–97.

attention to *purphóroi* who appear as "priests of Ares" in a scholion on Euripides *Phoenician Women* 1377 and following. These are lines in which the beginning of the duel of Eteocles and Polynices is narrated – a fight that will end in mutual fratricide. Euripides describes the *sêma* (σῆμα) 'sign' of the onset φοινίου μάχης 'of blood-red combat' as a *pursós* (πυρσός) 'fire' that appears ὡς Τυρσηνικῆς σάλπιγγος ἠχή 'like the blast of an Etruscan trumpet' – visual symbol is equated with sonic. To describe the "appearing" of this flame Euripides uses the verb *anáptō* (ἀνάπτω) in the passive; this word can mean 'was kindled', but it is also used more fundamentally of something 'offered up' for a sacred purpose (such as an *ágalma* [ἄγαλμα] 'fastened up' in a temple). The report of the scholiast is worth considering in full:[429]

> Ἐχρῶντο οὖν κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀντὶ σαλπιγκτῶν πυρφόροις· οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν Ἄρεως ἱερεῖς ἑκατέρας στρατιᾶς προηγοῦμενοι μετὰ λαμπάδος, ἣν ἀφέντες εἰς τὸ μεταίχμιον ἀνεχώρουν ἀκίνδυνοι, καὶ οὕτως συνέβαλλον αἱ στρατιαί. διεσῴζοντο δὲ οἱ πυρφόροι ὡς ἱεροὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ εἰ πάντες ἀπώλοντο· ὅθεν παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν ἄρδην ἀπολομένων· οὐδὲ πυρφόρος ἐσώθη.

[429] *Scholia in Euripidem* (*scholia vetera* [= Schwartz 1966]) *Phoenician Women* 1377.

> In ancient times they used to launch the attack into battle with fire-bearers instead of trumpets. And these [fire-bearers] were priests of Ares belonging to each of two armies who went first and led the way with a torch, which they tossed out into the space between the two armies; and then they [the priests] withdrew, and so were free from danger. And in this way armies would hurtle upon each other. And the fire-bearers, as priests of the god, used to be preserved through the danger, even if all others died; hence the proverb about things having been utterly destroyed: "not even the fire-bearer was saved."

Cult personnel of a similar sort may be attested in Mycenaean documents. With *purphóros* (πυρφόρος), the fire-bearing priest of Ares, compare Linear B *pu-ka-wo* (*purkáwos* [πυρκάϝος]) 'fire-kindler'[430] found at Pylos in tablets of the An series.[431] Given the context of its occurrences, Mycenaean *purkáwos* may name a ritual officiant.[432] Compare *puríkaoi* (πυρίκαοι) mentioned by Plutarch (*De Pythiae oraculis* 406E) as a term by which the Pythia had in an early time identified the Delphians, until her god, Apollo, put an end to such verbal ornamentation. Hesychius (Π 4433) attests the word *purkóos*

[430] On which see, *inter alia*, Ventris and Chadwick 1973:575; Shelmerdine 2008:142

[431] See An 39 (twice); 424+fr.; 427; 594 (twice; one occurrence a restoration).

[432] See Aura Jorro 1993:168, with bibliography.

(πυρκόος), naming priests of Delphi that practice divination by fire. Compare as well *purkaeús* (πυρκαεύς) 'fire-kindler', preserved conspicuously in the title of Aeschylus' play *Prometheus Purkaeus* (frr. 204a–207; perhaps to be equated with *Prometheus Purphoros*) and of Sophocles' Nauplius *Purkaeus* (see frr. 425–438).[433]

*4.5. Apollo Agyieus (*Ἀγυιεύς*)*

In §4.2.3 we reminded ourselves (following upon what we had seen in Chapter Three; §3.2.2) that Apollo Agyieus (that is, *Aguieús* [Ἀγυιεύς]) can be addressed as both *despótēs* (δεσπότης) and as *ánaks* (ἄναξ). Apollo's epithet *Aguieús* is a reflex of Proto-Indo-European *$h_1$ag̑- 'to drive, lead', which we understand to be also a linguistic component of *ánaks* itself – Mycenaean *wanaks* – as well as of *lāwāgetās*. As Mycenaean *wanaks* and *lāwāgetās* denote – etymologically, componentially – figures that are crucially responsible for *leading* movement through space, so Apollo Agyieus is a god notionally bound to the action of movement. The epithet *Aguieús* has the appearance of being an appropriation of *águia* (ἄγυια), 'street, road, way'. The nominal *águia* is likely in origin a perfect participle of *$h_1$ag̑- 'to drive, lead', a deeply archaic perfect formant

[433] Compare also the Mycenaean personal name *pu-ko-wo* (Pylos tablet Ep 705), often read as *Púr-kowos* (Πύρ-κοϝος): see Aura Jorro 1993:170; García Ramón 2011:221.

built without reduplication.[434] For the morphology compare, *inter alia*, *iduîa* (ἰδυῖα), feminine form of the perfect participle *oîda* (οἶδα) 'I have seen', hence 'I know' (Sanskrit *veda*, Gothic *wait*, and so on). The reason for the feminine gender of *águia* awaits explanation: that it is attributively bound up with the feminine gender of *hodós* (ὁδός) 'street, road', as some have proposed,[435] is by no means certain (as noted by Chantraine 1968:15).

Águia (ἄγυια) is a well-attested term of Homeric epic. At *Iliad* 5.642 and 6.391, *águia* is used of the 'streets' of Troy. At 20.254 it occurs in a simile, used in regard to women who accost one another with insulting words, μέσην ἐς ἄγυιαν ἰοῦσαι 'going into the middle of the street' for their encounter. *Águia* is encountered more commonly in the *Odyssey*, where all but one of its occurrences are found in the recurring formulaic line δύσετό τ' ἠέλιος σκιόωντό τε πᾶσαι <u>ἀγυιαί</u> 'the sun set and all the <u>ways</u> grew dark' (2.388, 3.487, 3.497, 11.12, and 15.185, 296, 471). This syntagm – serving as a stock formulaic phrase for the epic poet – can be applied in varying contexts, including, naturally enough, that of a journey by chariot terminating at days

[434] See Boisacq 1938:11; Frisk 1960:17; Chantraine 1968:15. For an opposing view see Szemerényi 1964:206–209.

[435] See, for example, Boisacq 1938:11.

end (3.487[436] and 497, 15.185). Twice the formula is used to mark temporally the onset of a nocturnal sea voyage (2.388 and 15.471) and twice to mark the end-of-day completion of a diurnal sea voyage (11.12 and 15.296) – making the nautical-journey context the single most common with which the formula is used and arguably marking its default context in epic.

The single occurrence of *águia* (ἄγυια) in the *Odyssey* found outside of the formulaic line δύσετό τ' ἠέλιος σκιόωντό τε πᾶσαι ἀγυιαί 'the sun set and all the ways grew dark' appears at 15.441–442. Here a Phoenician slave woman in the household of Ctesius, king on the island which the poet names *Syria* – that is, *Surīē* (Συρίη) – schemes with Phoenician merchants who have sailed to that place, forbidding them to speak to her if they should encounter each another publically, ἐν <u>ἀγυιῇ</u> ἤ που ἐπὶ κρήνῃ 'in a <u>street</u>, or at a spring somewhere'. Pindar can use the plural *aguiaí* (ἀγυιαί) to connote the collective public domain of streets, in other words 'city', as at *Pythian Odes* 9.83 where he refers to Thebes metonymically, writing of Amphitryon becoming a *ksénos* (ξένος) 'guest-friend' of the Spartoi and relocating to the Καδμείων <u>ἀγυιαί</u> '<u>streets</u> of the Cadmeans' (compare *Pythian Odes* 2.58). In a related use in Pindar fragment 194.6, the term designates 'abode'; while at *Olympian Odes* 9.34 Hades' realm can be named as

[436] On the line as an interpolation, see the remarks of Heubeck, West, and Hainsworth 1988:191.

the *koíla águia* (κοίλα ἄγυια) 'hollow abode' to which he leads mortals. Hesychius preserves a form *aguiêtai* (ἀγυιῆται) that he glosses as *kōmêtai* (κωμῆται) 'a villager' or 'one who lives in a particular quarter of a city'. As opposed to this sort of semantic breadth (relative to the notion 'street, road'), in the Elean dialect, according to Pausanias (5.15.2), *águia* carries the sense of a *narrow* passage – that is, the notion expressed in Attic by *stenōpós* (στενωπός).

Sophocles fragment 202 (*Hermione*) attests an adjectival derivative of *águia* (ἄγυια), *aguiaîos* (ἀγυιαῖος), which here modifies *gê̑* (γῆ), hence 'passaged land/earth'. With simplex *águia* (ἄγυια) compare the complex form *euru-águia* (εὐρυ-άγυια), which functions as an adjective; it is common in Homeric epic in the sense 'of wide-wayed, wide-pathed', describing Troy typically. But *euruáguia* can also describe *khthṓn* (χθών) 'earth', at *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 16. While almost certainly a participle in origin, at some intermediate stage of the history of its evolution in Greek, the simplex *águia* too may well have served as an adjective characterizing space through which the action of leading could be conducted – thus, 'pathed' space. Moreover, perhaps it is to 'earth' – *khthṓn* (χθών) or *gê̑* (γῆ) – that we should look for the feminine gender of a modifier *águia* (ἄγυια). A helpful comparison is provided by what would emerge as a (near) synonym, *euru-ódeia* (εὐρυ-όδεια), a form that recurs in Homeric and Hesiodic epic as a

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modifier of *khthṓn* (χθών) 'earth'.[437] Similarly at *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 133, young Apollo is described as habitually 'striding' (imperfect of *bibaō* [βιβάω]) ἀπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης 'from wide-wayed earth'. Though a transference of the epithet from inanimate object to animate subject would be entailed, the striding of Apollo here described reminds one of "wide-striding" Viṣṇu and his propping apart of heaven and earth by the taking of his broad strides, in, for example, *Rig Veda* 1.154,[438] and by the affiliation of "wide-striding" Viṣṇu with the movements of the warrior Maruts in *Rig Veda* 5.87, a hymn punctuated by the refrain *evayāmarut*, 'Maruts on the march'.[439] On the significance of the warrior advances of the Maruts with regard to notions inherent to Indo-European *h_1aĝ- 'to drive, lead' and to Apollo Agyieus, see below, §§4.6.2–3.

That Apollo's epithet *Agyieus* (Ἀγυιεύς) is derived from the nominal *águia* (ἄγυια) 'road, way' is a linguistic view expressed already in antiquity (thus, Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* 1.50) and continued into modernity (for example, Chantraine 1968:15). In his *Phoenician Women* (631), Euripides places on the lips of the Theban prince Polynices, as he departs into exile, the phrase καὶ σύ, Φοῖβ' ἄναξ Ἀγυιεῦ, καὶ

[437] Homer: *Iliad* 16.635; *Odyssey* 3.453, 10.149, 11.52; Hesiod *Theogony* 119 (see West 1966:195), 498, 620, 717, 787; *Works and Days* 197; *Shield* 464.

[438] See, *inter alia*, Doniger 1988:28; Jamison and Brereton 2013:1:331.

[439] Translation of Jamison and Brereton 2013:2:770–771.

μέλαθρα, χαίρετε 'farewell to you, Phoebus, *ánaks* Agyieus, and to my halls'. A scholiast on the line[440] offers this regarding Apollo's epithet *Agyieus* (Ἀγυιεύς):

> Ἀγυιεῦ : Προπύλαιε. τὸν Ἀγυιέα πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἵστασαν. κίων δὲ οὗτος ἦν εἰς ὀξὺ ἀπολήγων. ἔπεὶ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἵστασαν ἀγάλματα τοῦ Ἄπόλλωνος ὡς ἀλεξικάκου <u>δεσπότου</u> καὶ φύλακος τῶν ὁδῶν. διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο Ἀγυιεύς.

> *Agyieus* : *Propylaeus*. They used to set up the Agyieus in front of the gates. This was a pillar tapering to a point. Since they used to set up images of Apollo in front of the gates, as <u>*despótēs*</u> warding-off evil and as guardian of ways – because of this [he is] *Agyieus*.

Propylaeus – that is, *Propúlaios* (Προπύλαιος) – 'before the gates' can also be used as an epithet of Hermes (Pausanias 1.22.8 [having an image at the entrance to the Athenian Acropolis] and of Artemis (Pausanias 1.38.6 [having a temple at Eleusis]).

[440] *Scholia in Euripidem* (*scholia vetera et scholia recentiora Thomae Magistri, Triclinii, Moschopuli et anonyma* [= Dindorf 1863]) 631.

Apollo Agyieus was widely worshiped in an aniconic form (a baetyl), and which ancient authorities (as we have just seen) can describe as a pointed or conical column.[441] Such aniconic images of the deity were positioned in front of entrances to buildings (see, for example, Aristophanes *Wasps* 875) and (in part consequent to this) have been viewed as serving an apotropaic function – also protecting roadways. In the lexical entry for the epithet *Agyieus* (Ἀγυιεύς) Hesychius (A 856) specifies that the term denotes the *bōmós* ([βωμός]) 'altar' positioned before doors 'in the figure of a pillar' (ἐν σχήματι κίονος).[442] All of this turns or attention back to the Mycenaean images of cairn, column, and baetyl that we considered in Chapter Two (see §2.3.2), in the discussion of Potnia of *u-po*, vertical structures onto which genii pour libations. Did, or

[441] Though Parker (2005:18) points out that this shape is "not strictly demonstrated" in every case (specifically with reference to the Attic phenomenon); see Parker's references to earlier work in his note 45. On images of Apollo Agyieus see also Cook 1925:160nn4–5 for textual sources, and see generally his pages 160–168, including numismatic evidence.

[442] On the image of Apollo Agyieus as an altar, see also Suda A 383; Συναγωγὴ λέξεων χρησίμων A 200 (Cunningham 2003); Photius *Lexicon* A 279; Pseudo-Zonaras A 20. In fr. 370 of Sophocles' *Laocoon* the tragedian writes that an 'Agyieus altar shines with fire, smoking droplets of myrrh, barbarian fragrances' (λάμπει δ' ἀγυιεὺς βωμὸς ἀτμίζων πυρὶ | σμύρνης σταλαγμούς, βαρβάρους εὐοσμίας): on the lines, see the lexicographical works just mentioned, which judge that Sophocles here transfers customs of the Athenians to Troy.

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could, these stand within the cut-out space of the Mycenaean *témenos* (τέμενος) as *bōmoí* ([βωμοί]) 'altars'? The *teménē* (τεμένη) are Mycenaean sacred spaces ritualizing, I have posited, movement through space under the direction of ones who lead – *wanaks* and *lāwāgetās* – much as does Apollo, styled as Agyieus, 'one who is in a state of leading', who is himself *ánaks* (ἄναξ), as well as *despótēs* (δεσπότης). If such a columnar structure were to stand in the Mycenaean *temenos*, would it be properly identified as an *u-po* = *yūpa*? Possibly, though it might be instead a by-form of the *u-po*, much as the *Indradhvaja* is a by-form of the *yūpa* (see below, §4.6.3), column associated with Indra, who leads the way as a specialist in the exercise of physical force. Relevant to this understanding of the Mycenaean *témenos* as ritualizing movement through space under the direction of ones who lead is Nagy's interpretation of *águia* (ἄγυια) as 'causeway' – that is as a *via sacra* – along which a sacred procession takes place.[443] Nagy draws particular attention to *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 146–150 in which, in the festival setting of the Panionian festival of the Delia, the Ionians and their wives and children are called on to process along the *águia*.

[443] See Nagy 2010:14–15, with notes 19 and 21 (with bibliography).

*4.6. Proto-Indo-European *h_1aĝ- and its Reflexes as Expressions of Warrior Action*

As we observed in the preceding section, the noun *águia* (ἄγυια), from which the epithet *Aguieús* (Ἀγυιεύς) appears to be derived, is commonly understood to be in origin a perfect participle formed from the verb *ágō* (ἄγω) 'to lead, drive'. The epithet *Aguieús* is built with the Greek formant *-eus* (-ευς), typically used to derive denominal nominals: a derived form in *-eus* (-ευς) denotes an individual closely associated with the activity of the nominal base, as *hippeús* (ἱππεύς) 'horseman' from *híppos* (ἵππος) 'horse' and so on. In those cases in which the nominal base carries an intrinsic verbal notion the derived nominal in *-eus* (-ευς) can be construed as an agent noun, as *pompéus* (πομπεύς) 'one who conducts' from *pompḗ* (πομπή) 'a sending away; a processing' (from *pémpō* [πέμπω] 'to send [forth]; to conduct).[444] Hermes, who can receive the epithet *Propylaeus* (*Propúlaios* [Προπύλαιος]) and thus be drawn notionally into the realm of Apollo *Agyieus* (see §4.5), can be styled *Pompeús* (Πομπεύς).[445] Note that beside agentive *pompéus* there exists the variant *pompeutḗs* (πομπευτής; see, *inter alia*, Hesychius Π 2960), formed with the common primitive Indo-European agent-noun suffix *-tēs* (-της). That the notion expressed by Apollo's epithet *Aguieús* is rightly to be understood as agentive, in keeping

[444] See Buck and Petersen 1949:27.

[445] Anonymus Alexandri (= Thesleff 1965) 236.

with the morphosemantic properties of the derivative formation, is underscored by its early variant *Aguiátēs* (Ἀγυιάτης; agent noun in *-tēs* [-της]): Aeschylus has Cassandra, the prophetic woman of Troy, invoke the god in the *Agamemnon* at lines 1080–1081 and again at 1085–1086 as *Aguiátēs*.[446] Apollo *Aguieús*/ *Aguiátēs* is the agent who has led through space and the results of that leading are abiding (in keeping with the perfect origin of *águia*).

4.6.1. Apollo Agyieus at Tegea: The Warrior Traversing Space

In his description of Arcadia, Pausanias (8.53.1–3) preserves an aetiology for the Tegean practice of setting up images of Apollo Agyieus and for a certain rite that the Tegeans perform at the time of the god's festival. Apollo and his sister Artemis were engaged in the act of taking vengeance on whatever people had ignored their mother Leto, pregnant (and in need of space in which to give birth), as she 'wandering' (*planoûmai* [πλανοῦμαι]) had come into their 'land' (*gê̂* [γῆ]). Pausanias understands the etiological tradition as presenting Apollo and Artemis themselves as traversing space in

[446] In each case she immediately further characterizes the god Apollo (*Apóllōn* [Ἀπόλλων]) Agyieus as *apóllōn emós* (ἀπόλλων ἐμός) 'my destroyer', in a pseudo-etymological play on words. On the lines see, *inter alia*, Mitchell-Boyask 2006:285–288. For the form *Aguiátēs* (Ἀγυιάτης) see also Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* 1.50; *Etymologicum Symeonis* 1.52.

the process of exacting punishment: this is made clear as he writes that these twin gods 'came' (*érkhomai* [ἔρχομαι]) into the land of the Tegeans. When they arrived in this place, one of the sons of Tegeates (the eponymous founder of Tegea),[447] Scephrus (Σκέφρος), came into the presence of Apollo and 'dialogued' (*dialégomai* [διαλέγομαι]) with the god in a mysterious way (*en aporrḗtō(i)* [ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ]): a kind of *Ur*-oracular inquiry must surely be what the tradition envisions. But Scephrus' brother, Leimon, suspecting that the dialogue with the god involved some accusation against him (unable to interpret mantic speech?), killed Scephrus. Artemis in turn slew Leimon. Subsequently, following a famine, an oracle came from Apollo's Delphic shrine directing that laments be sung (*thrēnéō* [θρηνέω]) for Scephrus. We should likely understand that the singing of a dirge for Scephrus formed a part of the Tegean festival of Apollo Agyieus. Pausanias does not say so explicitly; but he does go on to state that rites are performed (*dráō* [δράω]) to honor Scephrus and to describe another ritual element of that festival: a priestess of Artemis pursues (*diṓkō* [διώκω]) 'someone', reenacting the goddess's pursuit of Leimon. Fundamental to both the etiological narrative and to the ritual acts that it motivates is the notion of the traversing of space, beginning with Leto's pre-partuitional journeying, on through Apollo and Artemis'

[447] See Pausanias 8.3.1–4 and 8.45.1.

replication of that journey, Artemis' pursuit of Leimon, and culminating in the priestess' ritual replication of the pursuit. And what of the setting up images of Apollo Agyieus? The aetiology applies here as well, states Pausanias. It is an Apollo who moves though space, exerting warrior force as he goes, who is being honored by the display of the images.

The various usages of *águia* (ἄγυια) – a deeply archaic participial formation from *ágō* (ἄγω) 'to lead, accompany' – that we have examined clearly suggest that the primary sense of the term is not 'street, road'; this is secondary. Instead, *águia* (ἄγυια) denotes more essentially space through which human (and divine) relocation and societal intercourse and trafficking occurs, especially point-to-point movement, and can include within its referential domain the space of *póntos* (πόντος) 'sea' – a Greek term that is itself descended from a more primitive Indo-European word for traversed space (*pont-; cf., *inter alia*, Sanskrit *patha-* 'path').[448] As Nagy (2020a) makes clear, building upon Benveniste (1966:296–298),[449] a diachronic analysis of the Indo-European ancestor of *póntos* reveals – looking up and down the evolutionary chain – that the essential sense of the Greek term "has to do with a crossing, over a dangerous body of

[448] For the corresponding verb compare Greek *patéō* (πατέω) 'to tread, walk'; Sanskrit *páthati* 'to go, move'. See, *inter alia*, Chantraine 1968:894.

[449] Regarding Benveniste, see the comments of Nagy 1999:339.

water or over some other dangerous zone, that sacralizes the one who succeeds in achieving such a dangerous crossing." In ancestral Indo-European ideology – or theology – the benefits that such sacralization brings compel the advance through space of the community, led by the warrior horde and the appropriate guiding deity (or deities).

4.6.2. *Stratós* (στρατός) and the Warrior Horde Traversing Space

Though the verbal voice is different, the development of the perfect participle of *h_1aĝ- into an independent Greek nominal *águia* (ἄγυια) 'street, road' to a degree parallels an evolutionary pathway involving primitive Indo-European *$sterh_3$- 'to spread (out)'. This root *$sterh_3$- gives Latin *sternere* 'to spread, extend', with a perfect participle *strātum*. The participle is used as modifier in the expression *strāta viārum* (literally the 'spread things of streets') to denote 'paved streets'. This would be borrowed early into West Germanic, thus giving Old English *strǽt* 'road; paved road' (the former sense as in *Beowulf* 1634; the latter as in 320 [*strǽt wæs stánfáh* 'road was of colored stones']) – alongside, *inter alia*, Old Frisian *strēte*; Old Saxon *strāta*; Old High

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German *straza* – and eventually Modern English *street*.[450] The cognate Greek formation, *stratós* (στρατός), Aeolic *strótos* (στρότος), would undergo a rather different development semantically, taking the sense 'army' or 'warrior band'.

4.6.3. Phérein kaì Ágein (φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν) and the Warrior Horde Traversing Space

Proto-Indo-European *h_1aĝ-, the etymon of Greek *ágō* (ἄγω) 'to lead, drive', would give rise to reflexes attested broadly across the Indo-European world:[451]

Sanskrit *ajati* 'to drive'

Avestan *azaiti* 'to drive, lead away'

Latin *agō* 'to drive'

Old Irish *ad-aig* 'to drive'

Tocharian A and *B āk-* 'to lead, guide, drive'

Armenian *acem* 'to lead, bring'

[450] See Barnhart 1995:766; Watkins 2011:89; *Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (http://www.bosworthtoller.com/029104).

[451] See, *inter alia*, Cleasby and Vigfusson 1874:10; Walde and Pokorny 1930:35–36; Ernout and Meillet 1959:15–18; Chantraine 1968:17–18; Monier-Williams 1979:9; Mallory and Adams 1997:170; LIV 255–256; Watkins 2011:1; eDIL s.v. ad-aig.

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Old Welsh *agit* 'to go'

Old Norse *aka* 'to move, drive; to sail after'

As we have observed in discussing Mycenaean *wanaks* and *lāwāgetās*, the sort of 'leading' that *h_1aĝ- entails is one of innate forcefulness – an operation involving society's collective exertion of force (consider again *Iphiánassa* [Ἰφιάνασσα] beside *Iphigéneia* [Ἰφιγένεια]) – and this sense is often front and center in the attested uses of the various reflexes of *h_1aĝ- in early Indo-European languages. It has been said that the Indo-European verb is that one principally used for 'driving' and 'driving away' – to wit, 'stealing' – cattle: it occurs in the name of the Old Irish epic, the *Táin Bó Cuailnge*, the *Cattle Raid* (*Táin* from *to-ag-no-) *of the Cooley*; compare the Latin phrase *bovēs agere* 'to drive (away) cattle', matched by the Avestan *gam varətąm az-* 'to drive away cattle as plunder'.[452] It recurs in the Latin expression *ferre et agere*, denoting as a conjoined phrase (respectively) the 'carrying away' of portable booty and the 'driving away' of animals, or people, as in, *inter alia*, Livy 22.3.7; 38.15.10–11; 40.49.1. This Latin expression is matched lexically and semantically by Greek *phérein kaì ágein* (φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν). In our treatment of the Greek phrase in Chapter One (see §1.2.1), we considered,

[452] See Windisch 1905:i; Mallory and Adams 1997:170; Mallory 2007:88.

following Nagy (2015:§§8–9, 17; 2017b:§§100–103), the co-occurrence of the verbs in *Iliad* 23.512–513. We encounter the conjoined phrase again at *Iliad* 5.483b–584,[453] as the Lycian Sarpedon, a Trojan ally, chides Hector at Troy, saying that he himself is eager to fight the Achaeans:

. . . . Ἀτὰρ οὔ τί μοι ἐνθάδε τοῖον

οἷόν κ' ἠὲ φέροιεν Ἀχαιοὶ ἤ κεν ἄγοιεν.

. . . . Even though there is nothing of mine here

of a sort that the Achaeans might carry off or lead away.

See also *Iliad* 19.194–195; 23.512–513;[454] and *Odyssey* 4.622. The expression occurs in Euripides *Iphigenia Among the Taurians* 1000–1001[455] and frequently in Herodotus and Attic prose.

In addition to this Greek phrase *phérein kaì ágein* (φέρειν καὶ ἄγειν) and its Latin counterpart, there is other evidence that clearly suggests that the ancestor of *ágō* (ἄγω) belonged to the lexicon of warrior action at a primitive Indo-European moment. For

[453] Compare the conjunction of *phérō* (φέρω) and *anairéō* (ἀναιρέω) at *Iliad* 1.301.

[454] See the remarks of Richardson 2000:226 regarding Aristarchus on 23.512–513.

[455] Compare *Trojan Women* 1310 and papyrus fragment (= Austin 1968) 65.34.

example, the Latin derived nominal *agmen*[456] commonly serves to denote a 'warrior horde', and also specifically can be used of a warrior horde *on the move*, and, thus, can even stand in as a word for 'battle' (as in Horace *Odes* 3.2.9). Vedic Sanskrit preserves the cognate *ajman-*; the Sanskrit form, like the Latin, combines in its semantic domain notions of movement and warrior action. Commenting on the third stanza of *Atharva Veda* 6.97, Gonda (1967:426) draws attention to the occurrence of *ajman-* there and to the term's explication by various ancient commentators:

> *Ajanaśīlaṃ* [lit. 'moving-nature'] *kṣepaṇaśīlam* [lit. 'casting-nature'] *śatrubalam* [lit. 'hostile-force'] (comm. *Atharva Veda*); *yuddhasthānam* 'battlefield' ([commentary] on *Atharva Veda* 19.13.6); *ājim* 'running-match, combat' (*Sāyaṇa* on *Rig Veda* 10.103.6); *saṃgrāmam* 'army, hostile encounter, battle' (Uvaṭa on *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* 17.38); *yuddham* 'battle' (Mahīdhara, *ibid.*)[457]

This hymn and the two that follow (i.e. *Atharva Veda* 6.97–99) are hymns chanted to bring victory and protection, performed in conjunction with rites of battle (see *Kauśika*

[456] See Perrot 1961:237–256 on the Indo-European ancestry of Latin formations of this type.

[457] The format of the citation has been modified, here and below, in keeping with that generally used in this work, and text abbreviations have been eliminated in favor of full spellings.

Sūtra 14.7).[458] Regarding the semantics of *ajman-*, Gonda continues (1967:426-427) with these observations:

> The meaning 'train', i.e. a collected multitude in motion or moving forwards, an army on the march' is beyond doubt at *Rig Veda* 8.46.18, 28; compare 1.166.5; 8.20.5; elsewhere (6.31.2) the motion forward or towards is however limited to a single, divine being, or the path on which a deity is moving forward is meant (6.4.4), hence also translations such as 'Rennbahn' or 'Kampfplatz' (Geldner 1.65.6; 1.158.3).[459]

The Rig Vedic hymns that Gonda here cites are dedicated to a number of deities; 1.158 is for the Aśvins, divine twins (of common origin with the Dioscuri) associated especially with the function of rescue and healing– but gods of the warrior class predominate: the warrior deity par excellence, Indra (6.31; 8.46 [together with Vāyu]), and his close warrior companions the Maruts (1.166; 8.20); hymns 1.65 and 6.4 are both for Agni, the 'Fire'-god who takes the lead in rites in which advancement through space

[458] Whitney 1905:351–353. For the *Kauśika Sūtra* of the *Atharva Veda*, see Bloomfield 1972.

[459] The reference is to Geldner 1951–1957.

is conspicuous.[460] These several hymns revealing aspects of the Vedic *ajman-* collectively offer a salient parallel to the Spartan rite discussed above in §4.4.1.5, with the advance of Fire accompanied by the dragon-slaying, thunderbolt wielding deity (Zeus = Indra; on this equation see §23.3.6) and the divine twins of Proto-Indo-European origin (Dioscuri = Aśvins). This parallel complements the Spartan-Vedic parallels that we encountered in that earlier discussion and further convinces that the Spartan ritual continues ancestral Indo-European practice. As connector in this chain of transmission we would not be presumptuous, I believe, to posit the Mycenaean intermediary that is signaled by Linear B references to the *te-me-no* of the *wanaks* and *lāwāgetās*.

Atharva Veda 6.97, with which the discussion of *ajman-* here began, as well as the two ensuing hymns (6.98 and 99), plays a performative role in that festival called the *Indramahotsava*.[461] Central to the festival was the ritual felling of a tree in a forest that was then set upright again within community space. The tree was identified with the god Indra, as specified in, for example, *Mahābhārata* 1.57.17–24, in which passage Indra is explicitly mentioned as the *Vṛtrahan* 'slayer of Vr̥tra', literally 'slayer of the restrainer' (cf. Avestan *vərəθraɣan* 'beating back the resistance'; for discussion see

[460] See Woodard 2006:147, 161, 261–262.

[461] On the *Indramahotsava*, see, *inter alia*, Kramrisch 1947; Gonda 1967 and 1993:255–259; Nugteren 2005:72–75; Toffin 2010:46–48 (on the continuation of the ritual in Nepal).

§23.3.6 and §23.3.8).[462] The *Indramahotsava* is celebrated principally for the benefit of the king and for his accomplishments in war. This *Indradhvaja*,[463] the erected Indra-pole, is itself styled as a destroyer of hostile forces (see *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* 2.154–157). The king addresses the pole as Indra, and also as Viṣṇu, the wild boar; and calling upon Agni and Indra *Vṛtrahan*, he prays for victory for his warriors (*Bṛhat Saṃhitā of Varāhamihira* 43.52–55). Among the variant forms of the *Indradhvaja* is the *yūpa*, which we examined in discussing *u-po-jo(-)po-ti-ni-ja*, 'Potnia of *u-po*' in Chapter Two, with *u-po* plausibly proposed to be a cognate term likewise denoting a columnar object standing in open space.

The Greek lexicon adds further to the evidence of a warrior link with the Indo-European root *$h_1$ag̑-, Greek *ágō* (ἄγω). The primary nominal derivative *agós* (ἀγός) denotes 'leader, chief', common in the *Iliad* and used almost exclusively in conjunction with an ethnic modifier and always to identify warrior leaders: Κρητῶν ἀγός/ἀγοί 'chief(s) of the Cretans' (3.231; 4.265; 13.221, 259, 274, 311; 23.450, 482); Θρῃκῶν ἀγός 'chief of the Thracians' (4.519); Τρώων ἀγός/ἀγοί 'chief(s) of the Trojans' (5.217; 12.61; 17.335); Λυκίων ἀγός/ἀγοί 'chief(s) of the Lycians' (5.647; 7.13; 12.346, 359; 16.490, 541,

[462] See Schwartz 1985:672.

[463] For general discussion of the *Indradhvaja* in the context of other Vedic ritual poles, especially the *yūpa*, see Woodard 2006:76–78, 251, and 259.

593; 17.140); ἀγοὶ ἀνδρῶν 'chiefs of men' (13.304); ἀγοί 'chiefs' (23.160). *Agós* (ἀγός) forms several compound nominals: *stratēgós* (στρατηγός) 'leader of the army', *lokhāgós* (λοχᾱγός) 'leader of an armed band' (from *lókhos* [λόχος] 'armed band'), *xenāgós* (ξενᾱγός) 'leader of mercenary band'.

Sanskrit preserves *ajas*, the exact cognate of this Greek nominal *agós* (ἀγός), allowing for confident reconstruction of an earlier Indo-European *h_1aĝos. Sanskrit *ajas* denotes 'leader' and can be used as an epithet of various deities: Indra, Rudra / Śiva, Agni, Viṣṇu, one of the Maruts, among still others.[464] In addition Sanskrit *ajas* can identify 'warrior troop' – used of the warrior band of the Maruts in the *Atharva Veda*. The semantics of the Greek agentive reflexes of *h_1aĝ- that we have explored in this chapter – *ánaks* (ἄναξ), *lāwāgetās*, *Aguieús* (Ἀγυιεύς), *Agḗtōr* (Ἀγήτωρ) – place them all in the same functional space as *agós*/*ajas* and signal a common, ancestral Indo-European phenomenon of the warrior horde on the move.

Standing in vivid contrast to the martial, "leading" semantics on display in the Mycenaean lexemes *wanaks* and *lāwāgetās* is the notion that provides designations for other – so-called provincial – authorities: *ko-re-te* (i.e. agent noun *koretēr*), prefixed *po-ro-ke-re-te* (*pro-koretēr*), and compound *da-mo-ko-ro* (i.e. *dāmo-ko-ro-s*). These terms are

[464] See Monier-Williams 1899:9.

built on the verb root of *korénnumi/koréō* (κορέννυμι/κορέω) 'to satiate, to fill with', from Proto-Indo-European *k̂er- 'to grow', which is also source of, *inter alia*, Latin *Cerēs*, name of the grain goddess, *crēscō* 'to grow', and *pro-cērus* 'grown to great height'; Oscan **karanter** 'they feed themselves'; Old High German *hirso* 'millet'; Lithuanian *pã-šaras* 'fodder,'[465] The last-named of these three terms, *dāmo-ko-ro-s*, appears to identify an office of some particularly elevated rank: Pylos tablet 711 provides a record of the *wanaks* appointing a man named Au-ke-wa to the position of *da-mo-ko-ro*.[466] A related simplex form *ko-ro* that occurs on Thebes tablets Ft 219, Ft 220+248, and Ft 234 is understood to spell a term denoting 'fodder'.[467] While the domain of the *wanaks* and *lāwāgetās* is fundamentally that of the warrior, the domain of the *koretēr*, *pro-koretēr*, and *dāmo-ko-ro-s* is that of the third part of primitive Indo-European social ideology. This is the sphere of the goods-producer, a formative structural element of Indo-European ideology as independently demonstrated by Benveniste (*la classe des cultivateurs*) and

[465] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1930:408–409; Ernout and Meillet 1959:150–151; Mallory and Adams 1997:248–249; Untermann 2000:370; Watkins 2011:42.

[466] For a recent survey of this and other titles, and the offices they name, see Shelmerdine 2008:133–134.

[467] See García-Ramón 2010:82–83. I am indebted to Professor Thomas G. Palaima for bringing these forms to my attention at the MASt seminar of the Harvard University Center for Hellenic Studies held on 5 February 2021.

Dumézil (*la troisième fonction*).[468] With the *dāmo-ko-ro-s* one may perhaps compare, *grosso modo*, in a descendent Indo-European culture which preserved ancestral religious structures with greater tenacity, the Roman plebeian aediles, office-holders who operated in conjunction with the Aventine Temple of Ceres, and its cult of Ceres, Liber, and Libera.

The continuation of fundamental ancestral ideological constituents in the nomenclature of major Mycenaean "officials" – *wanaks* and *lāwāgetās* (representing *la classe des guerriers/la deuxième fonction*), on the one hand, and *dāmo-ko-ro-s*, on the other – is significant in terms of evidencing a Greek survival of the ancestral ideology in the Mycenaean ideologic regime. Rounding out common Indo-European social ideology is an additional element, that of the specialist in religion (*la classe des prêtres/la première fonction*). With regard to such a triple ideological set, especially intriguing is Pylos tablet Un 718, recording rich provisioning for a festival honoring Poseidon. The contributors specified are (1) E-ke-ra$_2$-wo, a man who is seemingly, as we saw in §4.3, the *wanaks* at Pylos; (2) a *lāwāgetās*; and (3) *da-mo* (post-Mycenaean *dêmos* [δῆμος] 'the

[468] For a basic presentation framed by Ovid's prayer to Pales, see Woodard 2013:12–20.

people, the masses as contextualized by the space that they occupy').[469] One might reasonably infer that the active agent in the delivery of the contribution of the *da-mo* would be the *dāmo-ko-ro-s*, in which case the two figures of martial heritage (*wanaks* and *lāwāgetās*) and that of the realm of agricultural fecundity (*dāmo-ko-ro-s*) jointly participate in enabling a cult operation honoring Poseidon.

But there is more. A fourth contributor is named on tablet Un 718, identified by the phrase *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo, ka-ma*. As mentioned in §4.4, the term *ka-ma* is generally acknowledged to denote some space of *terra firma*;[470] compare, notably, Hesychius K 560: *kamán* (καμάν), glossed as a Cretan term for *tòn agrón* (τὸν ἀγρόν) 'the field'[471] (Sanskrit *ájra-* 'field, plain' etc.). The sense of *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo* has been variously interpreted, but as has long been proposed,[472] it most likely represents an adjectival form of post-Mycenaean *orgeōn* (ὀργεών), which in Athens would come to denote generally 'a member of a religious organization', but earlier carried the sense 'priest': thus, in one of the fragments of Aeschylus' *Mysians* (fr. 144 TrGF), the πρῶτος ὀργεών 'chief priest'

[469] In Homer as opposed to the *laós* (λαός). See Chantraine 1968:273–274; see also Benveniste 1969:2:89–90, 94. On Linear B *da-mo* see Shelmerdine 2008:133–134.

[470] For bibliography see Aura Jorro 1985:309–310.

[471] See the discussion of Chantraine 1968:488.

[472] For bibliography see Aura Jorro 1993:446–447.

of the Mysian river Caïcus is addressed and implored to pray for the wellbeing of *despótai* (δεσπόται) 'masters'. Compare *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 388–390, lines in which Phoebus Apollo is said 'to ponder' (*phrázomai* [φράζομαι]) what sort of humans he should 'lead to' (*eiságō* [εἰσάγω]) Pytho to be his *orgiónas* (ὀργιόνας; accusative plural); on the morphological variation exhibited by the term, see Chantraine 1968:816. The Linear B form, *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo*, an adjective, must trace its origin to a nominal **wrogiōn*, from a *zero*-grade root *wr̥g-. The *ka-ma* that functions as fourth benefactor is sacred space – that is, space associated with a set of priestly figures; much as in the case of the benefactor encoded as *da-mo*, it must here be the affiliated **wrogiōnes* that serve as active agents in executing the transmission of contributions from the *ka-ma*.

What we thus find in the specifications of contributions for Poseidon summed on Pylos tablet Un 718 is a set of contributing agents that – as a set – conform to ancestral Indo-European ideology of society rightly ordered – consisting of religious specialists (**wrogiōnes*), wielders of physical force (*wanaks* and *lāwāgetās*), and a figure that gives expression to the great part of society (*dāmo-ko-ro-s*), the producers that nurture and sustain.[473]

[473] The full set of contributions is to be given over *o-wi-de-ta-i*, dative plural that likely specifies additional cult personnel.

Concerning Un 718, and related texts, there are additional observations that need to be made before this chapter is brought to a close. First off, the opening line of Un 718 reads *sa-ra-pe-da , po-se-da-o-ni , do-so-mo*, which we can translate as 'Sa-ra-pe-da, obligatory gift[474] to Poseidon'. The form Sa-ra-pe-da appears to be a place name, though "not one of the 16 canonical districts or regional centers of palatial Messenia."[475] The noun looks to be otherwise unattested, unless – as would seem likely – Pylos tablet Er 880 + fr. preserves a variant. The first two of the seven lines of text appearing on the rather fragmentary Er 880 + fr. read as follows:

Pylos Tablet Er 880 + fr.1–2

.1]ke-ra$_2$[ ]ti-me-no , e-ke

.2 sa-ra-pe-do[ ]pu$_2$-te-me-no

In line 1, the initial, partial form *]ke-ra$_2$[*is commonly restored as *E-ke-ra$_2$-wo* – the name that appears on Un 718, likely identifying the *wanaks* (see earlier in this section and also

[474] See below, §8.6.4.

[475] Palaima 2004:230.

§4.3). The ensuing form *]ti-me-no*, has been conjectured to be *ki-]ti-me-no*.[476] A feminine participial *ki-ti-me-na* occurs frequently (some 27 times, including restored forms) in the Ea-, En-, and Eo-series at Pylos. The feminine *ki-ti-me-na* (representing various case forms) found in these three "land-holding" series is widely judged to be from the root of *ktízō* (κτίζω) 'to populate, to found/build', seen in epic *eü-ktímenos* (ἐϋ-κτίμενος) 'good to dwell in',[477] though the sense of the Mycenaean participle *ki-ti-me-na* is uncertain and a matter of much disagreement.[478] Whatever the particular semantics, *ki-ti-me-na* has been commonly proposed to designate plots that are individually held as opposed to plots held collectively by the *dāmos*, contrastively specified as *ke-ke-me-na* (feminine).[479] Here, in Er 880 + fr., a restored *ki-]ti-me-no* has been interpreted as a feminine dual ending in -*ō*,[480] as has the second form in line 2, typically restored as perfect medio-passive participle *pe]-pu$_2$-te-me-no* (= *πεφυτημένον)[481] 'planted with

[476] See, for example, Aura Jorro 1993:347–348.

[477] See Chantraine 1968:592.

[478] The bibliography is large: see Aura Jorro 1985:366–367 for *ki-ti-me-na*.

[479] On *ke-ke-me-na*, and its disputed etymology, with the comparably large bibliography, see Aura Jorro 1985:337–339.

[480] So Palmer 1969:217.

[481] See Aura Jorro 1993:179.

trees'. It thus seems that the wanax *E*-ke-ra$_2$-wo has two planted plots (fig trees are suggested by what remains of line 6) and these are topographically contextualized by reference to Sa-ra-pe-da.

These two tablets that we have just been examining – Un 718 and Er 880 + fr. – together with the earlier-considered Er 312 + fr. (§4.4 and §4.4.1.2) comprise overlapping subsets through the specification of (1) the *wanaks* E-ke-ra$_2$-wo (Er 880 + fr. and Un 718); (2) the priestly adjective *wo-ro-ki-jo-ne-jo* designating sacred space (Er 312 + fr. and Un 718); (3) the place Sa-ra-pe-da (Er 880 + fr. and Un 718); (4) the attributing of particular demarcated space to the *wanaks* (Er 312 + fr. and Er 880 + fr.). Moreover, all three of these texts from Pylos are the work of a single scribal hand – hand 24.

Pylos scribal hand 24 is especially noteworthy as a hand that preserves Special Mycenaean linguistic features, seen, for example, in the use of (1) the Special Mycenaean *pe-ma* – that is *sperma* 'seed' (as opposed to Normal Mycenaean *spermo*) – in the text of both Er 312 + fr. and Er 880 + fr. and (2) the Special Mycenaean dative singular ending *-i* on tablet Un 718. In a careful examination of the work of hand 24 Palaima draws attention to the social status suggested for this scribal hand, observing (2002:217–218): "His three full tablets deal with matters relating to the most prestigious officials and institutions in the community of Pylos . . . ."; and, thus, ". . . in

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the palatial administration at Pylos, Hand 24 has a clearly elevated status." Taking note of this set comprised of Er 312 + fr., Er 880 + fr., and Un 718, Palaima (p. 220) offers the important observation, framed as possibility, that Pylos scribal hand 24 "was a specialist in the district of *sa-ra-pe-da*, or in whatever district these landholdings are situated, and to some degree in the affairs of *e-ke-ra*$_2$*-wo* and the estate of the *wanax* located there." Palaima perceptively continues (pp. 220–221): "The implication would be that the dialect spoken in this particular district, at least by the officials or persons from whom Hand 24 would have obtained his detailed information, might well have been related to what we call *special* Mycenaean."

What can be said regarding the locale Sa-ra-pe-da, which seems to intersect meaningfully with Mycenaean dialectology? Nikoloudis (2008:52–53) contends for identifying the name *Sa-ra-pe-da* as one originating in an Anatolian language. With regard to etyma she initially draws attention to Hittite *šarā* 'up(wards); above, on top' (CHD Š:210–228) and *peda-* 'place, location, position' (CHD P:330–345), proposing a componential sense 'grounds/plains high up', with a Mycenaean grammatical reinterpretation of Anatolian singular stem *peda-* as a Greek neuter plural. She would seem to prefer, however, in light of the Luvian origin of Parnassos (that is, *Parnās(s)ós* [Παρνᾶσ[σ]ός], on which see above, §§8.6.1–2) and other "Luwian-related names" of

"the Greek mainland and Crete,"[482] to identify an origin of Sa-ra-pe-da in Cuneiform Luvian *šarra* '(up)on; thereon'[483] (Hieroglyphic Luvian *sara* 'on, above; over, up') plus the Luvian equivalent of attested Hittite *peda-* (a presumed Hieroglyphic Luvian **pita(nt)-* lies behind the logogram LOCUS 'place, precinct').[484]

Nikoloudis' interpretation is an intriguing one, especially in light of evidence we examined in Chapter Three pointing toward an association of Special Mycenaean with Anatolian Greek (see especially §3.4.2.3). We can add the observation that as Sa-ra-pe-da is associated with the cult of Poseidon and offerings to the god, so Hittite *pēda-* can be used specifically of sacred spaces (*AŠRI*$^{\text{HI.A}}$), including those spaces at which sacrifices are offered (CHD P:332–333). The noun participates in this regard in several syntagms involving dependent genitives:[485] thus, *inter alia*, *āpiyaš pēda-* 'place of the offering pit'; *ḫazziwiyaš pēda-* 'place of ritual performance'; *nepišaš pēda-* 'place of the sky; *šakiyaš pēda-* 'place of the omen'; *tuliyaš pēda-* 'place of assembly', where gods congregate; *AŠAR* DINGIR-*LIM* 'place of the god', which can be used to identify where *kuršas* have been

[482] On which see, for summary discussion with bibliography, Palmer 1980:10–16.

[483] See Melchert 1993b:189.

[484] See Payne 2014:149.

[485] For these genitival constructions, and the adjectival constructions that follow, see CHD P:330–331, with cross-references.

hung, cornucopian sacks that will occupy our attention beginning with §16.2; *AŠAR* SISKUR 'place of sacrifice'. In regard to a notion of 'height' – that is, upward vertical extension – noteworthy is GIŠ*šarḫuliyaš pēda-* 'place of the pillar'; such a "place," denoted in various ways, serves to mark the spot before which (1) cult officiants and paraphernalia, including images of gods, are positioned, (2) sacrifices are offered; (3) magical rites are performed. Compare the GIŠ*kurakkiyaš pēda-* 'place of the column'.[486] Consider here too the verb phrase *šarā ašeš-* 'to set upright', as of an image. Other nominal syntagms involving *pēda-*, these constructed with attributive adjectives, of sacred and cult significance include the following: *parku pēda-* 'elevated place', used in divination; *šuppi pēda-* 'sacred place'.

Nikoloudis (2008:53) would envision an Anatolian immigrant population ("from the Lukka Lands and elsewhere") living in the vicinity of Pylos in a place to which they assigned the name *Sa-ra-pe-da*. Whether or not that was so, a likely scenario, I would posit, is that such a form, if it were of Anatolian origin, had entered the Mycenaean lexicon within western Anatolia in a setting of Ahhiyawans intermingling intimately with local Luvic-speaking peoples. This is an idea that will be developed in some detail

[486] For the semantic relationship of GIŠ*šarḫuli-* to GIŠ*kurakki-* see the discussion of CHD Š:256, with bibliography.

in the chapters to come. Within the context of a bilingual Anatolian Mycenaean-Luvian community, the local (unattested) Cuneiform Luvian form answering to Hittite *pēdan* (from thematic Proto-Anatolian *pédom; cf. Lycian *n*-stem *pddẽ(n)* 'place')[487] would almost certainly have been simply equated with its Greek cognate *pédon* (πέδον) 'ground, earth; sacred ground'. The interpretation of Sa-ra-pe-da on Un 718 as thematic neuter plural is common, buttressed by Sa-ra-pe-do[on Er 880 + fr., which can be understood as neuter dative plural. For sense, we could perhaps compare *hupér-pedon* (ὑπέρ-πεδον), which Photius (*Lexicon* Υ 140) glosses as ὄρος· βουνός· ἔπαρμα γῆς· πέδον γὰρ ἡ γῆ 'mountain; hill/mound/heap; a swelling of the earth; for *pédon* is "earth"'. While simplex post-Mycenaean *pédon* is typically attested in the singular, Hesychius Π 1176 can gloss plural *péda* (πέδα) as *gê* (γῆ) 'earth, ground'. The compound *stratópedon* (στρατόπεδον) 'encampment; army' occurs commonly in the plural (*stratópeda*) as early as Thucydides; and Herodotus (2.154.1) assigns the name *Stratópeda* to a pair of sites, located on either side of the Nile, that Psammetichus gave to his Ionian and Carian mercenaries as places in which to settle.[488]

[487] See Melchert 1993a:52; 1994:283

[488] In his treatment of Armenia, Strabo (11.14.5) mentions a western Anatolian town, which had once been in the territory of the Medes, that he calls *Basoropéda* (Βασοροπέδα), making it a first-declension feminine.

What we find in the fabric of the three Pylos tablets Un 718, Er 312 + fr., and Er 880 + fr. is a remarkable interweaving of strands pertinent to the present investigation. A scribe, seemingly well-placed in palace society, one who conspicuously uses Special Mycenaean dialect features, has produced text that gives signification both (1) to the ancestral Indo-European three-part social ideology – an ideology that receives prominent expression in ancient Indic cultural structures (on which see further in Chapter Twenty-One) – and (2) to a notion of sacred spaces consistent with the Vedic cult concept of sacred journey. This same scribe identifies a cult locale bearing a name, Sa-ra-pe-da, that may be rightly understood as having its origin in a mixed Ahhiyawan-Luvian community. Whether Sa-ra-pe-da is used strictly as a toponym or as an identifier of a space of cult operation – perhaps secondarily providing a toponym –if the term has been properly etymologized by Nikoloudis, it must have been introduced into Balkan Hellas as a part of cult transferences that brought *po-ti-ni-ja, a-si-wi-ja* – the 'Asian Potnia' (see above, §2.2.2, and below, §15.2) – and so on.

If Sa-ra-pe-da denotes, in some sense, a cult place marked by an acme, by top-ness, then our attention may be drawn again to Mycenaean expressions of the Vedic *yū́pa-* that we discussed in Chapter Two, in regard to the Mycenaean *Húpoio Pótnia*, in a text (Pylos tablet Fn 187) in which Poseidon is again implicated, through the presence

of his shrine and priests (see § 2.2.2). *Rig Veda* 3.8 is a hymn dedicated to the *yū́pa-*: in pādas 3a–b the poet invokes the *yū́pa-* 'to rise up' (*úd + śrayate*) at the 'highest point' (*varṣman-*) of earth – marking metaphorically, in effect, a Sa-ra-pe-da. As noted in our earlier discussion (§2.3.3) the Vedic sacrificer and his wife climb up to the top of the *yū́pa-* by means of a ladder; in so doing they "ascend to the sky" and "gain the world of the gods" (ŚB 5.2.1.10–14).[489] These acts are set in the description of the Vājapeya, with its textile elements that are reminiscent of textile specifications in the Linear B documents we examined in Chapter Two. The Vedic *yū́pa-*, with its extended verticality, stands at the distal end of the Mahāvedi, sacred space we have encountered throughout the discussions of this chapter, and finds a homologous ideological expression in the *summa* attached to the Capitoline temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, as I have sought to demonstrate elsewhere.[490]

4.7. Some Interpretative Conclusions

The similarity of Mycenaean ritual and ideology to Vedic that we have encountered earlier in this work continues to present itself – and perhaps with even

[489] See the discussion of Woodard 2006:72–73.

[490] See Woodard 2006, especially pages 80–81 and 250–253.

greater specificity – in the discussions of this fourth chapter. The Bronze-Age *témenos* (τέμενος) of the Linear B documents is demarcated space that is closely attached to two prominent members of Mycenaean palace society who *nominally* continue the role of ancestral Indo-European figures of (literal) *leading*: that is, that one who 'leads' (*h_1aĝ-) the clan/tribe through space (seasonal transhumance and migratory expansion) – the *wanaks* – and that one who 'leads' the element of tribal society that is responsible for forcefully removing obstructions in the paths of traversed space – the *lāwāgetās*. Procedures that ritually rehearse such questing journeys were played out within the delimited space of Vedic sacrificial cult; we would suggest that similar ritual ideology must have been attached to the Mycenaean *wa-na-ka-te-ro, te-me-no* and *ra-wa-ke-si-jo, te-me-no* (Pylos tablet Er 312 + fr.) – *temenos* of the *wanaks* and the *temenos* of the *lāwāgetās*. A Mycenaean ritual space of this design is consistent with the sacred architectural features and other elements that we examined in the Chapter Two in conjunction with our investigation of Potnia of *u-po* vis-à-vis the Vedic *yūpa*. An expression of a Mycenaean ritual of the conquering journey survives in Sparta long enough to be recorded, and in antiquity was known to have existed more widely in Iron-Age Hellas. A post-Mycenaean Greek reflex of the Proto-Indo-European divine

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leader of the questing journey appears in Apollo Agyieus and perhaps in the twin sons of the Sky-god (Dioscuri) in their distinctive designation as *Ánakes* (Ἄνακες).

But there is also some degree of difference that presents itself between the findings of this chapter and those of Chapters One and Two. The earlier investigations turned up cognate structures that pointed especially to the common Helleno-Indo-Iranian period of Indo-European cultural evolution. But the movements across space that have framed much of the current discussion look not only toward but through that intermediate Helleno-Indo-Iranian moment to a common Indo-European time. The sacred ritual that celebrates such conquering journey is preserved no less in Rome than in Vedic India – as well as in Mycenaean Greece: the roots of these practices lie in primitive Indo-European cult. As indicated at the end of the preceding chapter, the proper teasing apart of the chronology of "origins" must be one to which we remain carefully attentive throughout the course of this study.

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Chapter Five

Wehanos: Potnia of the Da-pu$_2$-ri-to, Initiation of the King, and the Triple Sacrifice

5.1. Introduction

Similarities between Mycenaean and Vedic rituals continue to present themselves in this chapter, particularly in regard to sacred space and also in the matter of the offering of a triple set of animal victims, a sacrificial structure of ancestral Indo-European origin. Such a sacrifice marked the Vedic royal consecration ceremony and appears to have been no less a part of the initiation of the Mycenaean *wanaks*. Sparta again presents itself as a locale in which primitive Indo-European rites, transmitted through Mycenaean culture, evidence themselves in the first millennium BC.

5.2. Potnia of the Da-pu$_2$-ri-to

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In the investigation of Mycenaean *húpoio Pótnia* and Vedic *patnī-yū́pa-* in Chapter Two, we examined, among other documents, Pylos tablet Fr 1225, on which reference is made to a type of garment that plays a role in the goddess' cult (see §2.2.2 and §§2.2.2.1–2). This garment is identified as a *wehanos* and finds a counterpart in epic *heanós* (ἑανός) 'fine robe'. Textile products, we noted, also provide part of the cult assemblage utilized in Vedic rites involving the sacrificial post, the *yūpa* – an architectural feature of the great sacred space, the Mahāvedi. The Sanskrit word *yū́pa-*, I argued, building on Sucharski and Witczak 1996, finds a cognate in a Greek *hûpos* (ὗπος), preserved in Mycenaean Greek in the phrase *u-po-jo, po-ti-ni-ja* 'Potnia of *u-po*' (*húpoio Pótnia*). We saw that one of the textile products that play a role in Vedic *yūpa-* cult is the *tārpya:* it is worn, for example, by a warrior undergoing inauguration in the royal consecration ceremony called the Rājasūya, which we will consider in some detail below (see §5.4).

It appears that in the Linear B records a scribe can make reference to a *wehanos* textile not only by the syllabic spelling *we-a$_2$-no* but also by use of the ideogram *166+WE, found on tablets both from Pylos and from Knossos. Most significant among

the latter set is Knossos tablet Oa 745 + 7374,[491] on which (in line 2) a quantity of ẓẓ items is designated; a break in the tablet immediately follows the numeral. This numeric marker is modified by the specifications *ri*, *166+WE written before the numeral. Here *ri* seemingly abbreviates *ri-no* (*línon* [λίνον]) 'linen'. The specified textile items are consigned to a goddess *da-pu*$_2$*-ṛị[-to-jo]po-ti-ni-ja* 'Potnia of the *da-pu*$_2$*-ri-to*'. Yet again we see that a Potnia is recipient of *wehanos* textiles, but it is here a Potnia with an alternative identifier. Potnia of the *da-pu*$_2$*-ri-to* also appears on Knossos tablet Gg 702 – on which she is a recipient of an offering of honey, along with *pa-si-te-o-i* 'All Gods'. These are the only two occurrences of the term *da-pu*$_2$*-ri-to*, and hence the term is uniquely linked to identification of a Potnia at Knossos.[492]

5.2.1. Dabúrinthos (δαβύρινθος) and Labúrinthos (λαβύρινθος)

Linear B *da-pu*$_2$*-ri-to* can be, and has been, read as *dabúrinthos* (δαβύρινθος) and understood to be a variant of the later-attested *labúrinthos* (λαβύρινθος) 'labyrinth'.[493]

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[491] The other tablets from Knossos on which the ideogram *166+We occurs (Oa 878, Oa 1808, Sc 225, Sc 5141, Sc 7462) are highly fragmentary.

[492] Compare the form *da-pu*$_2$*-ra-zo* found in a short inscription on a vase at Eleusis (EL Z 1).

[493] See, *inter alia*, Ventris and Chadwick 1973:310 and 538; Chantraine 1968:610–611; Aura Jorro 1985:156–157; Bartoněk 2003:25; Duhoux 2008:262–263; Hiller 2011:188.

The terms would thus show a *d* ~ *l* alternation like that seen in *dáphnē* (δάφνη), the 'laurel' especially associated with the cult of Apollo, beside Pamphylian *láphnē* (λάφνη; Hesychius Λ 434).[494] Comparison has also been made to *Od̲usseús* (Ὀδυσσεύς) 'Odysseus' alongside forms of the name having *l*: *Ol̲usseús* (Ὀλυσσεύς), *Oul̲íxēs* (Οὐλίξης), *Oul̲ixeús* (Οὐλιξεύς) etc.[495] West (2014:7) has reminded us that Kretschmer (1940:254) drew attention to the similarity of the *l*-forms to Carian *Lúxēs* (Λύξης). We might also note that Kretschmer compared the *i* ~ *u* alternation of Latin *Ul̲ixes*[496] and Greek *Ol̲usseús* (Ὀλυσσεύς)/*Od̲usseús* (Ὀδυσσεύς) to the Lydian name *L̲íxos* (Λίξος) vis-à-vis Carian *L̲úxēs* (Λύξης). The pair of alternations, *d* ~ *l* and *i* ~ *u*, may be viewed as comprising an areal feature of Indo-European Anatolia that finds expression in the western Aegean, and beyond.[497]

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[494] See Chantraine 1968:254–255.

[495] As by Heubeck 1984:513–514. For the *d* ~ *l* variant forms of the names of Odysseus see Kretschmer 1940:253–254; see also Wüst 1937.

[496] Possibly from Messapian? See the discussion of Malkin 1998:87–88, with bibliography.

[497] The purported Lydian word *lábrus* (λάβρυς) that Plutarch (*Quaestiones Graecae* 45) glosses as 'ax' – offering it as the source of Zeus's epithet *Labrandeús* (Λαβρανδεύς; see below, §12.7.2 and §16.2) – has made its way into etymological discussions of Greek *labúrinthos* (λαβύρινθος). See discussion of *labúrinthos*, with bibliography of earlier work, in Miller 2014:19–20.

A word-initial alternation similar to that of *dabúrinthos* (δαβύρινθος)/*labúrinthos* (λαβύρινθος) is found in the Hittite royal title *Tabarna*/*Labarna*. Hittite *Labarna-* appears to be a direct borrowing of Luvian **Dabarna-* that occurred after Hittite lost its word-initial *d*-sound. The Hittite variant *Tabarna-* would then be consequent to continued Luvian influence on the Hittite lexicon, occurring after word-initial *d-* had shifted to *t-* in Luvian.[498] One possible and straightforward hypothesis is that Mycenaean *dabúrinthos* (δαβύρινθος) was either acquired directly from a Luvic language that preserved initial voiced stops for a sufficiently long period,[499] or that Greek speakers, having a three-way contrast between voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated, and voiced stops in word-initial position, found *d-* to be the closest automatic acoustic match to the Luvian word-initial dental stop (which shows no phonemic contrasts). This sort of cross-linguistic "mismatching" with regard to voicing and aspiration of stops is a well-attested phenomenon. Alphabetic Greek *labúrinthos* (λαβύρινθος) would represent be a distinct introduction of the term to Greece from Anatolia, a matter to which we will return at the end of this chapter.

[498] Thus Melchert 2003a:18–19, which see for reference to earlier work.

[499] On "Arzawa Luvic" and Greek borrowings see §20.3.2.

5.2.1.1. Knossos and Cranes. The affiliation of the space called the *labyrinth* with Minoan tradition and with the palace at Knossos is well known, if the precise physical identity of the Knossos labyrinth has been variously interpreted. Well documented too are later Greek cult performances associated with the space of the labyrinth which rehearse the *mûthos* of the Athenian hero Theseus, his slaying of the Minotaur within the Cretan labyrinth, and Ariadne's act of leading Theseus out of that space. In his *Life of Theseus* (21.1–3) Plutarch describes commemorative choral dance and song performed on Delos annually; as Nagy (2017c:2§7) observes (emphasis is added):

> The Labyrinth *itself* was ritually re-enacted by way of the singing and dancing, which is traditionally called the *geranos* or 'crane'. . . . [It] literally re-enacts the Cretan Labyrinth, since the dance-steps danced by cranes in the course of these birds' courtship rituals during mating season seem to be re-tracing the patterns of a maze of Labyrinth, as Plutarch says explicitly in his *Life of Theseus* (21.2), following the report of the antiquarian Dicaearchus (fr. 85 ed. Wehrli).[500]

[500] Nagy here cites Calame 1990:239–42.

In one of his treatments of the Delian crane dance, Calame (2001:53–58) points out that a Homeric scholion (*Iliad* 18.590)[501] describe Theseus as having 'woven' (*plékō* [πλέκω]) such a chorus himself after he slew the Minotaur and emerged from the labyrinth. Examining similar descriptions preserved by Callimachus in his *Hymn to Delos* (307–315) and by the second-century AD grammarian Julius Pollux (*Onomasticon* 4.101), who, like Plutarch, transpose the space of the performance from Crete to Delos,[502] Calame goes on to note that Theseus, in his role as *korēgós* (χορηγός) 'chorus-leader' is identified as *hēgemṓn* (ἡγεμών). This term *hēgemṓn*, denoting 'one who shows/leads the way' is a word that we encountered in Chapter Four (see §4.3), as we noted that a scholiast on Pindar's *Olympian Odes* 1.90 can gloss *lāgétās* (λᾱγέτᾱς) as *hēgemṓn*. In the annual performance of the rite on Delos there is a chorus-leader positioned at each end of the line of performers, and each of these two leaders is likewise identified as *hēgemṓn*, as well as *geranoulkós* (γερανουλκός), literally 'one who draws the crane [dance]', from *hélkō* (ἕλκω) 'to draw, drag' (see Hesychius Γ 404). The significance of the *géranos* (γέρανος) 'crane' for the dance performance that ritually re-creates the labyrinth has

[501] See *Scholia in Iliadem* (*scholia vetera* [=Heyne 1834]). On the Iliadic passage see Nagy 2018.

[502] On the representation of the dance, led by Theseus, on the François vase and the locale depicted, see, *inter alia*, Hedreen 2011, with discussion of earlier work.

been variously interpreted,[503] but Detienne must be correct in emphasizing the remarkable migratory prowess of the crane, as it was viewed in antiquity, as fundamental to this significance. Of the choral performance that re-creates the labyrinth and the migrations of the crane, Detienne (2003:98) observes: "In both journeys it is a matter of crossing what is uncrossable, finding the way over a space without visible points of reference, with no fixed directions."

5.2.1.2. Greek Géranos (γέρανος) and Sanskrit Garuḍá-. Indic evidence again appears to be relevant to a proper understanding of Greek cult. Greek *géranos* (γέρανος) 'crane' is a term of primitive Indo-European origin, finding an etymon in the verbal root *gerh$_2$- 'to cry hoarsely'; reflexes denoting 'crane' are widely distributed among early Indo-European languages: Latin *grūs*, Gaulish tri-*garanos* ('three-cranes'), Old English *cran*, Lithuanian *gérvė*, Armenian *krunk*, Ossetic (Iranian) *zyrnæg*, among still other cognates.[504] The ancestral nominal reflex denoting 'crane' was replaced in Sanskrit by various loanwords, but verbal *járate* 'to crackle', 'to shout hoarsely' survived, to which

[503] For helpful, succinct discussion with bibliography, see Detienne 2003:97–98, with notes.

[504] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1930:591–593; Chantraine 1968:216; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:457; Mallory and Adams 1997:140–141; Watkins 2011:28;

has been attached a term for a kind of large bird of mythic importance, *garuḍá-*.[505] An epitomized Garuḍa is particularly associated with Viṣṇu, Indra (in conjunction with the theft of Soma; see below, §21.3.2.4), and with the fire god Agni, owing to his fiery glow in the surviving accounts: thus at *Mahābhārata* 1.20.1–15 Agni identifies Garuḍa as his equal in fieriness. Again in *Mahābhārata* 1 (24.1–25.9), Garuḍa is depicted as attacking the people called the Niṣādas and destroying them by the thousands. The Niṣādas are identified as a tribe of wild people who are not of the Ārya and thus excluded from Vedic ritual (and the term can also be applied more generally to one who does not belong to one of the three classes of the Ārya).[506] In a study of Sanskrit *garuḍa-* vis-à-vis Greek *géranos*, Greppin (1976:240) draws attention to the term *kirātāśin*, 'eater of Kirātas', that is recorded in the encyclopedic work called the *Śabdakalpadruma*, where it is said to refer to the garuḍas. Much like the Niṣādas, the Kirātas are a people that are excluded from the self-identifying category of Ārya; they live in liminal spaces and are said to have willfully abandoned observance of the Vedic rites.

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[505] See Greppin 1976.

[506] In M*ahābhārata* 1.134–136 Kunti and her five Paṇḍava sons abduct a Niṣāda woman and her five sons, leaving them in the "lacquer" house as substitutes for themselves, setting it ablaze. The event marks the onset of the long Paṇḍava journey of wandering through the forest that forms the subject of book 2 of the M*ahābhārata*.

Just as with the Vedic interpretation of the sacrificial rituals as journey led by Agni that we considered in Chapter Four, so too must these traditions of Garuḍa (preeminent expression of *garuḍá-*) as devourer of forces that oppose the Ārya, equated with Agni in his fiery brilliance, instantiate memory of ancestral transhumance and, especially, of the migratory journey by which earlier Indo-Europeans crossed vast space, overcoming the opposition of indigenous peoples, to settle in distant locales across Asia and Europe. The symbolic significance of the crane and its expansive migratory regime in this regard is self-evident. Of likely symbolic relevance too is the association of garuḍas with the killing of snakes. In Chapter Four we briefly encountered Indra in his role of *Vr̥trahan*, slayer of the serpent Vr̥tra, the 'restrainer' that would hold back or slow an advance through space (see §4.2.3). But Agni too can be commonly identified as *Vr̥trahan*, the slayer of the obstructing serpent Vr̥tra, especially in early Vedic hymns.[507] The conspicuous preying of cranes on snakes in nature, preserved in Indic traditions of Garuḍa as devourer of serpents, must have lent itself to metaphorical assimilation of the great bird to the fire god in his role of leading the way in removal of those who would block the path of the advancing Ārya.

[507] See Magoun 1920: 198–204, especially page 203.

5.2.2. Labyrinth as Mycenaean Delimited Sacred Space

These considerations of Indic tradition add additional perspective to what is clearly fundamental to the Greek labyrinth, that it is a delimited space within which a process of protracted movement is played out, and that movement is subject to disruption by the presence of a menacing force of resistance – the Minotaur in the Greek tradition as we first know it. From its earliest existence as a phenomenon of Mycenaean Crete, the labyrinth could undoubtedly not be separated from ritual performance. From its earliest attestation that ritual performance entails the movement of a chorus through space, a movement that re-creates the labyrinth in a transferred, non-Cretan, space in performance of the *géranos* (γέρανος) 'crane' dance, as the chorus advances under the leader-ship of twin *hēgemónes* (ἡγεμόνες), leaders who can be styled as *geranoulkós* (γερανουλκός) 'one who draws the crane [dance]'. If the labyrinth, that is the *dabyrinth, at Knossos is a space of pre-Mycenaean origin, as it most likely is, then what we must see in the Mycenaean labyrinth is Greek ritual appropriation of that space as yet another expression of primitive Indo-European rites of movements through space that rehearse ancestral Indo-European transhumance and expansion within fixed urban space. This returns us to what we have proposed to have been the operative ritual realm of the *wanaks* and *lāwāgetās*. This also brings the *u-po-jo,*

po-ti-ni-ja 'Potnia of *u-po*' and the *da-pu*$_2$*-ṛị[-to-jo]po-ti-ni-jạ* 'Potnia of the *da-pu*$_2$*-ri-to*' together as, not only recipients of *wehanos* textiles, but – bearing in mind the homology of Vedic Sanskrit *patnī-yū́pa-* and Mycenaean *húpoio Pótnia* –as deities celebrated within a single domain, that of ritual spaces that re-create primitive Indo-European population movements and the divine blessings that such movements facilitate. Is *da-pu*$_2$*-ṛị[-to-jo]po-ti-ni-jạ* 'Potnia of the *da-pu*$_2$*-ri-to*' simply the designation of the *u-po-jo po-ti-ni-ja* 'Potnia of *u-po*' on Crete? This is a plausible understanding of the pair, I would posit.

5.3. Triple Animal Sacrifices: Roman, Vedic, Mycenaean

From the Pylos Ua and Un series, records of state banquets, come two tablets bearing the *logogram* *166+WE that denotes the textile *wehanos*: Ua 1413 and Un 6 + 1189 + 1250 + fr. + 1439 (which hereafter in this chapter will be abbreviated as Un 6).[508] The inscription of the first of these, Ua 1413, is brief (with a break on the right), inventorying seven units of *146 cloth and 1 unit of *166+WE and referencing the *ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro* 'field of Lousos'; this is the same tablet on which we find *po-re-no-tu-ṭẹ[* – a

[508] The other tablets from Pylos on which the ideogram *166+We occurs (Ob 1372, Ob 1373, La 626, La 640) are, as with the majority of examples from Knossos, quite fragmentary.

reference, I have proposed, to an offering made in conjunction with childbearing (see §1.2.3.4). Far longer is the inscription of Un 6, which reads as follows:

Pylos Tablet Un 6

Separated fragment

.1 po-]se-da-ọ[

.2 *empty*

Front

.0 *damaged*

.1 po-se-ḍạ[-o-ne] ḂỌṢ:f OVIS:f SUS+KA 1 SUS:f 2

.2 narrow ruled space

.3 pe-re-*82 BOS:f 1 OVIS:f 1 SUS+KA 1 SUS:f 2

.4 pe-re-*82 BOS:f 1 OVIS:f 1 SUS+KA 1 SUS:f 2

.5 narrow ruled space

.6 *146 37 *1ḍ̣ḍ̣+WẸ[ ]LANA 5

.7 A+RE+PA S 1 V 2̣[

.8 BOS:m 2 BOS:f 2 ỌṾỊṢ̣:x[

Reverse

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.1]i-je-re-ja TELA+ṬẸ[

.2 ka-]ra-wi-po-ro TELA+TE[

] WE 30 *erased*

On the front of this tablet the ideogram *166+WE occurs in conjunction with specifications for not only other textile materials, but also for unguent (A+RE+PA), and animals (cattle and sheep). On the reverse a priestess (*i-je-re-ja*) and the cult officiant called a *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* (κλᾱϝιφόρος), a '*kleís*-bearer', that we earlier (see §2.2) noted to be affiliated with the sacred precinct of Pa-ki-ja-ne, are associated with consignments of cloth (TELA+TE).[509] In Chapter One we saw that a *kleís*-bearer Karpathiā appears to be associated with the *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja* festival (§1.2.3.1) – there proposed to be a ritual re-girding of a woman after childbirth. Hence both Ua 1413 and Un 6, with their logographic references to *wehanos*, show a certain intersection with the phenomenon of childbearing rites.

In Chapter One we saw that on the reverse of Tn 316, reference is made both to the shrine of Poseidon and to the shrine of Pe-re-*82 (and of Iphimedeia and of Diwia; see §1.2). On the front of Un 6 these two deities, Poseidon and Pe-re-*82, again co-

[509] For discussion of the tablet, see Palaima 2004:228–229.

occur: in lines 3 and 4, Pe-re-*82 – a deity whose identity remains unknown[510] – is (twice) consigned one heifer, one ewe, one boar, and two sows; in line 1, Poseidon too is made recipient of the triple-set consisting of bovine, ovine, and porcine victims. It is striking that this is the same set of three species that comprises the Roman *suovetaurilia* (or *suovitaurilia*), sacrifice offered to Mars in the archaic prayer preserved by Cato (*De agricultura* 141) and in Roman lustration rituals. This has of course not escaped the attention of earlier investigators, such as Walter Burkert.[511] To these earlier observations additional details can be added.

5.3.1. Roman Suovetaurilia

The typical *suovetaurilia* of Roman ritual appears to consist of one animal of each species – porcine, ovine, and bovine. The sacrificial animals may be mature (*suovetaurilia maiora*) or, as in the ritual described by Cato, immature (*suovetaurilia lactentia*). Variation in terms of divine recipients and of the number of animals involved in this three-species sacrificial set is also attested. Ovid (*Amores* 3.13) describes an annual Faliscan rite and offering to Juno of a pig, a ram, and white heifers

[510] For a summary of interpretations see Aura Jorro 1993:108–109.

[511] See Burkert 1985:45. See also Olivier, Melena, and Piteros 1990:157n210; Palaima 2004:228.

and calves, conducted within an ancient grove sacred to the deity.[512] Those Roman priests called the Fratres Arvales sacrifice to the goddess Dea Dia a somewhat similar, though not identical, variant, consisting of two pigs, a cow, and a lamb – offerings that encapsulate a sacred meal in the grove of the goddess.[513]

5.3.2. Vedic Sautrāmaṇī

The Roman *suovetaurilia* finds a homologue in the Indic triple sacrifice called the Sautrāmaṇī, which we encountered briefly in §4.2.1. The name *Sautrāmaṇī* is derived from an epithet of the warrior god Indra, being *Sutrāman* 'good protector'; Indra is the principal recipient of the offering.[514] We find the Sautrāmaṇī celebrated both as an independent rite (Kaukilī-Sautrāmaṇī) and as component (Caraka-Sautrāmaṇī) of other rituals – namely, the Rājasūya (ritual of royal consecration) and the Agnicayana (ritual of the construction of the fire altar). Pigs are not offered as sacrificial victims in Vedic ritual, hence the triple set of animals in this case consists of a he-goat, ram, and bull. A ritual description of the independent Sautrāmaṇī can be found in *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa* 2.6 (see Dumont 1965). In the performance of this Kaukilī-Sautrāmaṇī, among the

[512] See Woodard 2006:122, 125.

[513] See Woodard 2006:133, 140, 174–180.

[514] For the *Sautrāmaṇī* as homologue of the *suovetaurilia*, see Woodard 2006:105–106, 125–128, 174, 179.

sacred implements utilized is the *yūpa*, which we have now discussed in some detail in conjunction with *u-po-jo, po-ti-ni-ja* 'Potnia of *u-po*': in the course of the ritual performance, a *yūpa* is anointed with ghee (TB 2.6.7.5–6; 2.6.8.4) and the three victims of the Sautrāmaṇī – he-goat, ram, and bull – are bound to it (2.6.15.1–2), being attached to a cincture that encircles the *yūpa* (2.6.17.7).

5.3.3. Sautrāmaṇī and Suovetaurilia: Distributive Sacrifices

In the performance of the Sautrāmaṇī, Indra is not, however, the sole deity who is worshipped for the benefit of the sacrificer. Although it is Indra's epithet, *Sutrāman* 'good protector', that provides a name to the sacrificial rite, at the same time each one of its triple victims is dedicated to a distinct divine recipient. Indra principally receives the sacrifice of the bull, while the Aśvins, the divine twins, receive principally the goat, and the goddess Sarasvatī the ram. A similar diversity of recipients is evidenced for the Roman *suovetaurilia*. Here too it is the chief warrior deity, Mars, who is named recipient of the triple sacrifice;[515] but, as Benveniste makes clear,[516] the bovine victim of the

[515] See Woodard 2006:104–105, 127–128.

[516] See Benveniste 1945, who builds on Krause 1931. Benveniste draws attention to the three areas in which disadvantage is avoided and advantage is obtained – those of the priest-magician, of the warrior, of the agriculturalist – by the triple sacrifice as revealed in the prayer to Mars that Cato records, and the

suovetaurilia is destined chiefly for Mars, while the porcine sacrifice is characteristically that of Tellus (earth goddess), and the ovine of Jupiter. The distributive nature of the Roman threefold sacrifice is reflected in the deeply archaic prayer preserved by Cato (*De agricultura* 141), in which one Manius is called upon to see to it that *each* of the three victims is "*allotted* propitiously to the good-willed gods":[517]

> *Agrum lustrare sic oportet. Impera suovitaurilia circumagi:*
>
> *Cum divis volentibus quodque bene eveniat, mando tibi, Mani, uti illace suovitaurilia fundum agrum terramque meam quota ex parte sive circumagi sive circumferenda censeas, uti cures lustrare.*

Following is how one should perform a lustration of a field:

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correspondence between those areas and the divine recipients of the three-fold offering. See Woodard 2013:10–25 for further in this regard.

[517] See Woodard 2006:102–103.

> Undertake the preparations for the *suovitaurilia* to be driven about: 'So that each[518] may be allotted propitiously to the good-willed gods, I bid you, Manius, that you determine in which part that *suovitaurilia* is to be driven or carried around my farm, land (*ager*) and earth -- that you take care to purify.'

The Roman *suovetaurilia* and the Vedic Sautrāmaṇī are homologous expressions of an Indo-European rite of triple sacrifice that is dedicated first and foremost to a warrior deity but which directs each of its three constituent victims to individual appropriate deities. The synchronically homologous status of the rites is anchored diachronically in a more primitive, common Indo-European ritual tradition that was inherited and preserved by the priests of Rome and those of Indo-European India. The third homologue that we are herein examining, that recorded on Pylos tablet Un 6, stands as a Bronze-Age, and hence the earliest surviving, documentation of the primitive Indo-European three-fold sacrifice.

As noted above, on this tablet from Pylos the three-species sacrifice of one heifer (bovine), one ewe (ovine), and one boar and two sows (porcine) appears in

[518]The neuter adjective *quodque* 'each' must be construed as referring to each of the component elements of the *suovitaurilia*, just as neuter *quid* is so used in the ensuing prayer to Mars Pater (*siquid tibi in illisce suovitaurilibus lactentibus . . . .*).

triplicate: devoted once to Poseidon (line 1) and twice to Pe-re-*82 (lines 3 and 4). In the fragmentary line 8, however, we encounter what is undoubtedly an additional specification of the Mycenaean reflex of the ancestral threefold offering. In this instance, rendered incomplete by a break in the tablet, the sacrifice consists of two bulls, two heifers, and sheep of uncertain gender and numbers; the specification of a porcine component (in keeping with the formulary sequence displayed in lines 1, 3, and 4) must have followed in the missing portion, with the identity of the recipient inscribed beyond the break of the preceding line.

5.3.4. Mycenaean Triple Sacrifice

The triple constituency of divine recipients that characterizes the Roman *suovetaurilia* (Mars, Tellus, Jupiter) and the Vedic Sautrāmaṇī (Indra, Aśvins, Sarasvatī) may perhaps also be evidenced on Pylos tablet Un 6, though in a somewhat different manner: this would be so to the extent that a threefold set of victims may be offered to each of three separate deities. Poseidon (line 1) and Pe-re-*82 (lines 3 and 4) are clearly two separate recipients. That the recipient that was designated in the broken line 8 is a discrete third deity is possibly suggested by the distinctness of the animal set there specified.

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Let us also consider Pylos tablet Ua 25, on which the same combination of animals (porcine, bovine, ovine) can be seen:

Pylos Tablet Ua 25

Front

.1 SUS+SI 3 BOS:f 2 BOS:m 8

.2 OVIS:m 67

Reverse

HORD 2̣9̣ T 8 V 2̣

The two lines of writing that appear on the front side of the tablet record an inventory: SUS+SI 3, BOS:f 2, BOS:m 8 / OVIS:m 67 '3 fatted pigs, 2 heifers, 8 bulls / 67 rams'. The ratios of the several animal types listed in this case – 3 porcine:10 bovine:67 ovine – is strikingly different from those we have just been considering: these have been one to one, or nearly so. There is also no indication on Ua 25 that the animals are to be sacrificed to any particular deity (or deities), and the inventory of animals departs from the dedicatory formula of Un 6 (i.e. bovine + ovine + porcine). On the reverse side of Ua 25 there is a single entry for a quantity of barley. If any of the animals of Ua 25 were

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destined to be victims of the "Mycenaean suovetaurilia" then such a "suovetaurilia," would most likely be inventoried on this tablet as an unspecified subset within a larger set of inventoried animals.

5.4. Initiation of the Wanaks

The animal inventory of Ua 25 can be (and has been) compared to those inscribed on Pylos tablets Un 2, Ua 17, and also Un 138, inventories that we shall consider below, in §5.4.2. The local setting of Un 2 is Pa-ki-ja-ne and the tablet is understood to record an inventory of supplies required for a ritual festival (a "state banquet"). In the first line one reads *mu-jo-me-no, e-pi, wa-na-ka-te*; this has been interpreted as signaling that the occasion is the "initiation" of the *wanaks*. By this reading *mu-jo-me-no* is a participle *muiomenos*, formed from the verb root that appears in post-Mycenaean *muéō* (μυέω), used principally to denote the action of being initiated into a mystery (as early as Heraclitus fr. 14 DK). The syllabically-spelled participle *mu-jo-me-no* would appear to be derived from a Mycenaean verb *muio* (μυιω), from an earlier stem *mus-yo-.[519] Post-Mycenaean Greek *muéō* is widely regarded as sharing the

[519] See Baumbach 1971:174, with bibliography. See also Ventris and Chadwick 1973:221, 440–441.

root of the verb *múō* (μύω),[520] which means, however, 'to close, be shut', used especially of the mouth and, then, of the eyes. One commonly encounters the judgment that the verb of the Mycenaean participle is closer *morphologically* to *múō* while being closer *semantically* to *muéō*.[521] Walde and Pokorny (1927:309–311) find a common etymon of *múō*/*muéō* in a Proto-Indo-European *mŭ̆-, root signaling a compressing of the lips and supplying various stems that express notions of muttering or absence of articulation.[522] Reflexes of the primitive root *mŭ̆- include Greek *mû* (μῦ) (and *mù mû* [μὺ μῦ]), imitative of a mumbling sound or sobbing, and Latin *mu facere*, of mumbling, Sanskrit *mūka-* 'speechless, mute', Greek *mukós* (μυκός) 'unable to speak, mute'. With the Greek *mu-s-* formants *múō*/*muéō* Walde and Pokorny (1927:310) compare Latvian *musināt* 'to whisper, to mutter'. If the verb of the Mycenaean participle has been properly identified, which is probable, then one may indeed anticipate that the ritual occasion that *mu-jo-me-no* describes at Pylos is that of the consecration or inauguration of the

[520] See, for example, the discussion of Chantraine 1968:728–729.

[521] See, for example, Baumbach 1971:174; Ventris and Chadwick 1973:562; LSJ Revised Supplement 214.

[522] Walde-Pokorny 1927:309: "Schallnachahmung für den mit gepreßten Lippen erzeugten dumpfen Laut: mucksen, undeutlich reden, nur unartikuliert murmeln (daher auch Wörter für „stumm"); Mund, Maul: den Mund geschlossen halten oder schließen. Kräftiger als Nachahmung des Muhens, Brüllens."

wanaks: as we are about to see, neither the concept of "initiation" nor that of "muttering" may be irrelevant to such a ceremony.

5.4.1. Rājasūya

From a comparative perspective, it is almost surely significant that one of the Vedic rituals in which the threefold Sautrāmaṇī is observed is the Rājasūya, rite of the consecration – the 'initiation' (notion expressed by Sanskrit *dīkṣ-*) – of a king (*ŚB* 5.3.3.1). The *tārpya*, that garment that the *rājanya* (a *kṣatriya*; i.e. a member of the warrior class) who is being consecrated puts on (which we earlier encountered in our discussion of textiles associated with the *yūpa* [see §2.2.2.2]), is the 'garment of initiation' (*dīkṣitavasana*), said to belong to Varuṇa, god of waters (*ŚB* 5.3.5.25) and to be decorated with sewn images of cult instruments.[523] As the *tārpya* is donned, an

[523] See, *inter alia*, the remarks of Parpola 2015:193, 199, 231, 310, who writes of images of the priestly hearths of the Soma sacrifice, the Dhiṣṇya-hearths, sewn into the robe and contends for the inspiration of the decorative motif as being Mesopotamian. Sanskrit *dhíṣṇya-* is of common Indo-European origin with Latin *fēstī*, term that Strabo uses (*phêstoi* [φῆστοι]; 5.3.2) to denote the sacred places at which Roman priests celebrate the circumambulatory rite of the Ambarvalia for the Roman people (see the discussion of Woodard 2006:99–100, 140, 150–152, 157, 239, 255–256). The public Ambarvalia is marked by animal sacrifice that might possibly entail a *suovetaurilia*, though this is uncertain (see Woodard 2006:163–164).

enunciation is made that the garment is the 'amnion' (*úlba-*; inner embryonic membrane) of *kṣatrá-* 'dominion, power' (*ŚB* 5.3.5.20). The sacrificer then puts on a garment of wool that has not been dyed; the accompanying enunciative act declares this garment to be the 'chorion' (*jarā́yu-*; outer embryonic membrane) of *kṣatrá-* (*ŚB* 5.3.5.21). A cloak is then placed over these garments with the enunciation that the cloak is the 'womb' (*yóni-*) of *kṣatra-* (*ŚB* 5.3.5.22). Next a band is wound around the head of the *rājanya*; the accompanying enunciative act declares the headband to be the 'umbilicus' (*nā́bhi-*) of *kṣatra-* (*ŚB* 5.3.5.23–24). After the investing has been completed, it is declared that by the investiture the *rājanya* is made to be born and that the anointing that follows is the anointing of one at birth (*ŚB* 5.3.5.24). It is at the very least intriguing that the Vedic ritual of the investiture of a *rājanya*, with its associated offering of the threefold sacrifice, is framed by birthing metaphors, much as Pylos tablet Un 6, equally cataloguing a triple offering, has connections with a garment material, *wehanos*, and with childbearing rituals – as does Ua 1413.

5.4.1.1. Articulatory Muddling. It appears significant – in light of Linear B *mu-jo-me-no* (Pylos Un 2, line 1) and Post-Mycenaean Greek *múō* (μύω)/*muéō* (μυέω) and its associations with initiation and with mumbling – that following this act of anointing in

the Rājasūya there is an instance of articulatory muddling, not an act of articulatory inability per se, but of intentional confusion, with the sacrificer declaring his son to be the father, after which there is an enunciatory correcting of the reversal (*ŚB* 5.4.2.10). It is worth noting, moreover, that in the observance of the *Dīkṣā* ('initiation') ceremony at the outset of a Soma sacrifice, the sacrificer is made to stammer when he speaks.[524] On a more general level, the verses of the *Yajur Vedas* are to be uttered (by the Adhvaryu, on whom see §4.4.1.2) with a lax or low articulation, in the manner described by the term *upāṁśu* (see, *inter alia*, *ŚB* 4.6.7.18): "The ritual texts explain *upāṁśu* as the recitation of a mantra in which the lips are visibly moving and the mantra is murmured, but in which no sound is audible at a distance" (Brereton 1988:7).[525] Also, Sanskrit *jápa-* 'muttering' provides a nominal denoting 'muttered prayer/mantra' (see Renou 1949, especially pp. 11–12, who observes [p. 11]]: "Les prières incombant au *brahmán* . . . celles qui appartiennent au patron laïque du sacrifice . . . sont des *japa* ou 'récitations murmurées"). In the Iguvine rites of the Umbrian priesthood of the Atiedian Brothers, instructions are given for prayers to be spoken

[524] See, *inter alia*, Lindner 1878:34; Keith 1998:300. On the *Dīkṣā* and the embryonic attitude of the sacrificer see the discussion of Hubert and Mauss 1897–1898:48–54.

[525] See Brereton's note 23 for helpful bibliography.

kutef 'in a murmur'.[526] Alternatively, to describe this ritual action of murmured articulation, the form *tases* or **taçez** (compare Latin *tacitus*) is employed.[527]

5.4.1.2. Linear B a-pi-e-ke and Sanskrit abhiṣeka-. As we have seen, line 1 of Pylos tablet Un 2 reads *mu-jo-me-no, e-pi, wa-na-ka-te* and can be understood as addressing the consecration of the *wanaks*. Line 2 contains two words: *a-pi-e-ke*, *o-pi-te-ke-e-u*. Palmer (1969:258) proposes to read the second form as *opi-stegeeus*, meaning 'he who is in charge of the *stegos*' (i.e. an *Epi-stegeeús* [Ἐπι-στεγεεύς]), with *stégos* (στέγος) 'roof' or 'house' referring to some particular edifice associated with the *wanaks*.[528]

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[526] See tablets Ia 6, 10, 13, 19, 23; and Ib 3 (**kutep**), 7.

[527] Thus **taçez** in Ia 26; Ib 26, 30, 32, 44; IIa 7, 39; IV 27; and VIa 55, 59; VIb 2, 4, 20, 44, 46; VIIa 4, 7, 42, 54. Also, *tasis* appears in VIb 23 and *tasetur* in VIb 57 and VIIa 46.

[528] Other interpretations of *o-pi-te-ke-e-u* have been offered. Ventris and Chadwick (1973:565–566) propose that *o-pi-te-ke-e-u* is a possible misspelling of *o-pi-te-u-ke-e-u*, a form found in the dative singular and nominative plural (*o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we*) on Pylos tablets An 39, Fn 41 + 1421 + 1422 + frr., and Fn 50 + fr. (and possibly on Pylos tablet An 39 [incomplete] and Knossos tablet B 798 [spelled *o-pi-te-u-ke-we*]), and which they interpret as "overseer of τεύχεα [*teúkhea*], but exact sense unclear." This noun *teúkhea* (τεύχεα) denotes 'tools, implements'. Chadwick and Baumbach (1963:245) propose "men in charge of τεύχη [*teúkhē*]," which they further characterize by quoting from the first edition of *Documents*: "a kind of kitchen manager." Quite similarly, Palaima (2004:223 [see also 242n125]) writes: "The title perhaps

The form that precedes *o-pi-te-ke-e-u* – that is, *a-pi-e-ke* – is of uncertain sense though consistently interpreted as a verb (see Aura Jorro 1985:80–81), of which *o-pi-te-ke-e-u* is subject. In essential agreement with Palmer (1969:259, 264–266, 408, 422), Ventris and Chadwick (1973:532) suggest: "Perhaps a form of the verb seen in *i-je-si*, *i-je-to*"; this verb *i-je-to* is that one which we encountered in several lines of Pylos tablet Tn 316, understood to mean 'to offer sacrifice' (see §1.2). Chadwick and Baumbach (citing the first edition of *Documents*) suggest that *a-pi-e-ke* may spell a verb form with the prefix *amphi-* (ἀμφι-) 'on both sides', "possibly *amphi-ekhei*, sense doubtful." Bartoněk (2003:317, 538) rehearses both possibilities, and mentions a third and fourth – namely, that *a-pi-e-ke* spells either a form of a verb *amphíēmi* (ἀμφίημι), from *híēmi* (ἵημι) 'to release; to send',[529] or a form of *ampékhō* (ἀμπέχω, later ἀμφέχω) 'to surround, enclose', all of which interpretations Bartoněk judges to be questionable.

Sanskrit looks to provide helpful guidance. With Linear B *a-pi-e-ke* compare Sanskrit *abhiṣeka-*, denoting the anointing ceremony in the inauguration of the king, the Rājasūya.[530] Sanskrit *abhiṣeka-* is derived from the verb *abhi-ṣic-* 'to anoint', from the

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literally designates him [i.e. the *o-pi-te-ke-e-u*] as an official in charge of cooking/feasting paraphernalia" (citing Killen 1992b:376).

[529] Compare Byzantine Greek *amphíemai* (ἀμφίεμαι) 'Besitz ergreifen' (LBG).

[530] See Heesterman 1957:114–122.

verb root *sic-*, present indicative active *siñcáti*, middle *siñcáte* (Vedic *sécate*) 'to pour out, sprinkle', from Proto-Indo-European *seik- 'to pour out'.[531] Other reflexes include Avestan *hičaiti* 'to sprinkle, pour out', Old Church Slavic *sičati* 'to urinate', Old English *sēon* 'to trickle', and Old High German *sīhan* 'to strain through a filter'. Greek too shows reflexes: a nominal *ik-más* (ἰκ-μάς) 'moisture',[532] with derived verbs *ikmaínō* (ἰκμαίνω) and *ikmázō* (ἰκμάζω), both meaning 'to moisten'. In addition, Hesychius (I 704) attests a verb *hîk-sai* (ἷξαι [aorist infinitive]), glossed as *diēthêsai* (διηθῆσαι) 'to strain through a filter'. Hesychius' infinitive points to a finite verb *híkō* (ἵκω), homonymous with *híkō* (ἵκω) 'to come, reach' (which homonym is subsumed in Hesychius' entry, revealed by his second gloss *hḗkein* [ἥκειν]). Sanskrit *abhi-ṣic-* would find a correspondent in an early Greek verb root *amphi-sik-, meaning 'to anoint', which would evolve into *amphi-hik- in a Pre-Mycenaean period.

Could Linear B *a-pi-e-ke* be reasonably understood to spell this compound verb? The absence of vowel elision between a preverb or a prefix (here *a-pi-*) and a word root is well attested in Mycenaean; in some but not all instances an intervocalic /-h-/

[531] See Walde and Pokorny 1927:466–467; Mallory and Adams 1997:448; LIV:522–524 (*seik- and *seik^{w}-).

[532] See Frisk 1960:717. Earliest attested at *Iliad* 17.392; common in the Hippocratic corpus. The absence of initial aspiration is typically attributed to the word having entered the literary tradition from a psilotic dialect; see Chantraine 1968:460.

intervenes: thus, for example, *po-si*, *e-e-si* for *posi-ehensi* 'they are attached to' (KN Sd 4422; equivalent to later *prós-eisi* [πρόσ-εισι]);[533] *o-pi-a$_2$-ra* for *opi-hala* 'coastal region'; (PY An 657); *a-pi-a$_2$-ro* for *Amphi-halos*, a man's name (in several documents from Pylos);[534] *o-pi-i-ja-pi* for *opi-hiāphi* 'with attached straps' (multiple Knossos chariot tablets).[535] That the initial symbol of the verb root is *e* (i.e. in *e-ke*) rather than *je* suggests, but does not guarantee,[536] that the root must begin with /he-/ rather than /e-/. That this root vowel is spelled with *e*, rather than *i*, could perhaps reveal that the Mycenaean compound verb is built with the *e*-grade (rather than ø-grade) of the root (i.e. *a-pi-e-ke* spells *amphi-heikei*), as with the cognate (simplex) Vedic middle verb *sécate* and the Old High German *sīhan*.

[533] Compare Arcadian *póesti* (πόεστι) from **pósesti* (*πόσεστι); see Ventris and Chadwick 1973:367.

[534] An 192 + fr.; Ea 109; Ea 270; Ea 922; Jn 478; On 300 + fr. + 375 +1074 + 1446; Qa 1297.

[535] Sd 4401 + 8718 + fr.; Sd 4403 + 5114 + frr.; Sd 4404 + fr.; Sd 4405 + 4410 + fr.; Sd 4406; Sd 4407 + 4414; Sd 4408 + 4411 + 6055 + frr.; Sd 4409 + 4481 + frr.; Sd 4412 + frr.; Sd 4413; Sd 4415 + 4417 + 4469 + frr.; Sd 4450 + 4483; Sd 5091 + 6066 + fr.; Sf 4428.

[536] Compare, for example, the variant spellings *a-pi-jo-to* (Py An 261 + 857 + fr. + 283, ll. r.6, r.7, r.8, r.9) and *a-pi-o-to* (PY An 261 + 857 + fr. + 283, l. v.6; Un 616) for the genitive of the man's name *a-pi̯-jo* (PY Jn 725 + frr.), perhaps *Amphiōn*.

There are, however, other possible explanations for the spelling of the form as *a-pi-e-ke* rather than * *a-pi-i-ke*. The use of a Linear B *e*-symbol in lieu of an *i*-symbol is otherwise attested in the vicinity of a labial consonant (a context provided in the present instance by the prefix *amphi-*). This can be seen, for example, in dative *a-ti-mi-te* (PY Un 219 + frr.) beside genitive *a-te-mi-to* (PY Es 650 + fr.), forms naming the goddess Artemis (see the discussion of §20.4). The presence of *e* (rather than *i*) in the context of a labial consonant is, as we observed in Chapter Three, interpreted to be one of the fundamental markers of the Special Mycenaean dialect.[537] More than this, the scribal hand that wrote the form *a-pi-e-ke*, identified as Pylos hand 1, is one that is otherwise associated with the production of Special Mycenaean forms (see §3.4.2).

But yet, an additional interpretation of *a-pi-e-ke* clearly presents itself: namely that *a-pi-e-ke* is not a verb at all but a dative, *amphi-hekei* or *amphi-heikei*, of a noun that is (precisely) cognate with Sanskrit *abhi-ṣeka-*, and that in the initiation ceremony of the *wanaks* it denotes a component ritual of anointing or pouring, just as in the Rājasūya.

[537] See Risch 1966; Nagy 1968; Woodard 1986 and §3.4 and §20.2.2.1 in the present work.

5.4.1.3. Linear B O-pi-te-ke-e-u. By either the verbal or nominal interpretation of *a-pi-e-ke* offered here, the ensuing form in line 2, *o-pi-te-ke-e-u*, must identify an officiant who plays some role in the preparation and/or administration of the ritual – one who "anoints" or is present "for the anointing." With regard to interpreting the form *o-pi-te-ke-e-u* in this context one thinks of the verb *stázō* (στάζω), from *stag-yo-, 'to sprinkle', with related nominals such as *stagṓn* (σταγών), 'drop', *staktós* (στακτός) 'trickling', *staktḗ* (στακτή) 'oil of myrrh', along with the compound verb *epi-stázō* (ἐπι-στάζω) 'to let fall in drops onto' and nominals such as *epí-staksis* (ἐπί-σταξις) 'a dripping', *epí-stagma* (ἐπί-σταγμα) 'something dropped on'. A primitive Indo-European root *stag- (or possibly *steh$_2$g-) seems to be indicated, perhaps also giving rise to Latin *stāgnum* 'standing water', among other possible reflexes.[538] A Mycenaean compound verb root *opi-steg-* would, however, hardly be the anticipated regular reflex of the etymon *stag- (or *steh$_2$g-). The assimilation of /a/ to /e/ in the context of other *e*-vowels is, nevertheless, an attested phenomenon,[539] and such a context would be abundantly provided by a nominal *opi-stegeeus*.

[538] See Walde and Pokorny 1927:612; Chantraine 1968:1042; Mallory and Adams 1997:207; LIV 592; Watkins 2011:87.

[539] Often, but not universally, in the context of a contiguous liquid; see Brugmann 1913:84.

But more likely is that we should look to post-Mycenaean *téggō* (τέγγω) in order to explicate Linear B *o-pi-te-ke-e-u*. The Greek verb *téggō* denotes 'to wet' and offers a prefixed form *epi-téggō* (ἐπι-τέγγω) 'to pour liquid on, to make wet'. The simplex is seen earliest in Alcaeus fr. 347a.1 (L-P), the complex is at home in the Hippocratic lexicon. Greek *téggō* finds its origin in an Indo-European root *teng- 'to soak', equally the source of Old High German *thunkōn* and *dunkōn* 'to dunk' and Latin *tingō* 'to wet, soak, dunk'.[540]

5.4.2. Inventory of Materials for the Initiation of the Wanaks

The inventory of materials for the initiation of the *wanaks* begins on line 3 of Pylos tablet Un 2. The list includes both vegetable and animal items, in large quantities. Of non-animal commodities, these must be provided: barley, cyperus+PA, spelt, olives, contents of *132 vessels, probably honey (*ME*), figs, as well as wine and two *146 cloths. The animals needed are: 1 cow, 26 rams, 6 ewes, 2 he-goats, 2 she-goats, 1 (?) fatted pig, and 6 sows. If the Mycenaean reflex of the primitive Indo-European threefold sacrifice is to be offered on the occasion of the initiation of the *wanaks*, as the Sautrāmaṇī is offered on the occasion of the initiation of a *rājanya*, then the animals required for the

[540] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1930:726; Ernout and Meillet 1959:692; Chantraine 1968:1098; Mallory and Adams 1997:639; LIV 628; Watkins 2011:93

Mycenaean *threefold* offering constitute only a subset of those four species inventoried on Un 2 (bovine, ovine, porcine, and caprine, the first two being common to the *suovetaurilia* and the Sautrāmaṇī, the third belonging to the *suovetaurilia*, and the fourth belonging to the Sautrāmaṇī). Perhaps the listing of only a single bovine in the inventory is suggestive of the celebration of the rite, with the remaining animals – aside from those required to fill out the "Mycenaean suovetaurilia" set – serving general banqueting needs.

With the initiation tablet Un 2 we can compare Pylos tablet Ua 17, which similarly looks to inventory feasting provisions. The record is of uncertain relevance to the ancestral threefold ritual, though the tablet is fragmentary, with its left edge missing. What remains on the front side is specification of liquid provisions in the first line (only wine can be identified) and animal in the second:]7 OVIS:f 7 *WE* 17 CAP:m 31 SUS:f 20 – that is, '7 X (perhaps rams?), 7 ewes, 17 yearlings, 31 he-goats, 20 sows'. Similar is Pylos tablet Un 138, providing an inventory of quantities of grain, olives, and wine, along with 15 rams, 8 yearlings, 1 ewe, 13 he-goats, 12 pigs, 1 fatted pig, 1 heifer, and 2 bulls. Killen 1994:80, following Jameson 1988, has observed regarding the Pylos tablets Ua 25 (see above, §5.3.4), Un 2, and Un 138 that the ratios of inventoried animals – with sheep and goats being relatively more common (see Killen p. 81) – mirror what

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other strands of evidence reveal concerning animal slaughter and sacrificial feasting in the Bronze Age and later Aegean.[541]

5.5. Post-Mycenaean Triple Animal Sacrifices: Trittús (τριττύς) *etc.*

The Greek triple sacrifice is known from post-Mycenaean records as well. The term that names the rite is attested in variant forms, each term testifying to the number (as opposed to species [as in Latin] or recipient [as in Sanskrit]) of victims involved:[542] thus, *trittús* (τριττύς [and *tritús* (τριτύς)]),[543] *trittúa* (τριττύα), *triktúa* (τρικτύα). Additional variants of the lexeme are provided by inscriptional evidence: (1) *tríttoia* (τρίττοια) SEG 21:540,IB (Attica, 410–399 BC), IEleusis 28a (ca. 440–435 BC); (2)

[541] See also Palaima 1989:103–110. On the sealings from Thebes that mark individual animals to be contributed for state banquets, see Killen 1994:71–75; Palaima 2004:221–229.

[542] See Hesychius Δ 2704; Theognostus *Canones sive De orthographia* 619; Photius *Lexicon* Δ 867; *Suda* Δ 1444.

[543] Outside of the body of inscriptional evidence (see just following in the main text) the lexeme is earliest attested in fr. 3 of Sophron's mimes (fifth century BC), in which it is spelled *tríktoi* (τρίκτοι), but emended to *triktús* (τρικτύς), and signifies not the three-fold animal sacrifice but a triad of botanical charms (*aleksiphármakos* [ἀλεξιφάρμακος]). For recent discussion of the fragment see Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén 2016; on the form see her pages 62–63, with discussion and bibliography of earlier work.

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tríttoa (τρίττοα) SEG 33:147 (Thoricus, 380–375 BC), IEleusis 13 (ca. 500 BC?); (3) *trikteúa* (τρικτεύα) SEG 28:100 (Athens, 380/379 BC).

Hesychius attests the form *triktúa* (τρικτύα; T 1391) and rehearses a still different form, *trikteîra* (τρικτεῖρα; T 1390), identifying it as a sacrifice made to Enyalius, and specifying that all victims are to be uncastrated. Enyalius is a martial figure, hence the requirement regarding presence of testicles, and so a deity whose character is consistent with the gods identified as principal recipients of the triple offering in both Roman and Vedic ritual tradition – Mars and Indra, respectively. In identifying Enyalius as recipient of the threefold sacrifice, Hesychius must be in a parallel way making reference to the *principal recipient* of the primitive offering. We will return to Enyalius just below.

Pausanias Atticus writes (*Ἀττικῶν ὀνομάτων συναγωγή* A 111) that a *trittúa* (τριττύα) is offered for the Dioscuri and Helen at the Anaceia (i.e. the *Anákeia* [Ἀνάκεια]). The Anaceia is the Athenian festival of the Dioscuri (*Ánakes* [Ἄνακες]) that we encountered in our discussion of the variant paradigm of Greek *ánaks* (ἄναξ) in Chapter Four (see §4.2.3).[544] It is an especially intriguing report in light of the

[544] Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam* (= Stallbaum 1970) 1.71 references Pausanias' remarks but the manuscript assigns the name *trittuía* (τριττυία) to the rite.

prominence of the Aśvins and Sarasvatī in the celebration of the Vedic *Sautrāmaṇī.* The twin Aśvins are well-established homologues of the Dioscuri, sharing a common origin in the divine twins of earlier Indo-European mythic tradition. In addition, some investigators have made explicit comparison between Helen and Sarasvatī, following, it seems, from their respective affiliation with the Dioscuri (sons of Zeus) and the Aśvins (sons of Dyaus).[545] If the Helen-Sarasvatī equation is a sound one, then between these two accounts, that of Hesychius and that of Pausanias Atticus, the full constituency of recipients of the Vedic warrior-deity's triple offering – Indra, Aśvins, Sarasvatī – appears to find expression, *mutatis mutandis*, in Greek ritual tradition – Enyalius, Dioscuri, Helen; and that is a remarkable homology.[546]

5.5.1. Enyalius

[545] Thus Littleton 1980:154; Mallory 1989:132, attributing Dumézil without references.

[546] The earliest literary attestation of the use of the Greek lexeme for the triple animal sacrifice (which in this instance takes the form *trittúa* [τριττύα]) is provided by a fragment of the historian Ister of Cyrene (third century BC), from his *Manifestations of Apollo.* On the co-occurrence of Apollo's eventual signifier Paieon (i.e. *Paiēōn* [Παιήων]) and the name of the war deity Enyalius on Knossos tablet V 52 +52 bis +8285 see the discussion immediately following.

Hesychius' reported recipient of the *trikteîra* (τρικτεῖρα), Enyalius, is a figure known from both Linear B and post-Mycenaean records. The Mycenaean god Enyalius appears on Crete – on Knossos tablet V 52 +52 bis +8285 (dative *e-nu-wa-ri-jo*) together with the names of several other deities, recipients of unidentified offerings.[547] In addition to (1) Enyalius, those whose names are legible on the tablet are (2) Potnia—in this case identified as A-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja, Potnia of Athens;[548] (3) Pa-ja-wo-ne – Pajāwonei, dative of Pajāwōn, commonly understood to be the Linear B form of epic *Paiḗōn* (Παιήων), that is Paean, the divine healer identified in the first millennium BC with Apollo; (4) Poseidon, and (5) an erased name E-ri-nu-we, perhaps the dative singular of the divine name E-ri-nu[549] seen on Knossos olive oil tablet Fp 1 + 31.[550] With

[547] On the tablet and the several deities who appear on it, see, *inter alia*, Palmer 1969:239; Ventris and Chadwick 1973:311–312, 476; Gulizio, Pluta, and Palaima 2001:454, 456–460; Duhoux 2008:276–278.

[548] For the interpretation 'Potnia of Athens' (with specific reference to Athens in Attica) rather than Athena Potnia, see Gulizio, Pluta, and Palaima 2001:456–457, with bibliography. The authors understand A-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja to be the Bronze-Age goddess who evolves into archaic Athena and that her name references the toponym Athens. For a different interpretative approach see Nagy 2020b.

[549] Apparently a nominative, though a dative would be expected.

[550] And an *e-ri-nu*[is the single form occurring on Knossos tablet Fh 490.

the last named compare epic (and later) Erinys (*Erinús* [’Ερινύς]) and Erinyes (*Erinúes* [’Ερινύες]), avenging spirit – singular and plural.[551]

In the *Iliad* the name Enyalius (*Enuálios* [’Ενυάλιος]) is found in the recurring formula of 2.651, 7.166, 8.264, and 17.259, used to identify Meriones, one of the two leaders of the Cretan contingent that sailed to Troy: Μηριόνης ἀτάλαντος ’Ενυαλίῳ ἀνδρειφόντῃ ‘Meriones, equal of man-slaying Enyalius’. Similarly, at *Iliad* 22.132 Achilles is likened to Enyalius as the poet begins to sing of the fight between Achilles and Hector – combat scenes in which Achilles is depicted as one deranged by the warrior rage of *ménos* (μένος) and *thumós* (θυμός).[552] At *Iliad* 13.519 Enyalius is explicitly equated with Ares (cf. 18.309 and 20.69, with scholia).[553]

5.5.2. Helen and Sarasvatī as Homologues: Vedic and Spartan Cult

[551] As a common noun the sense is ‘curses’. Early epic occurrences are as follows: Homer *Iliad* 9.454, 9.571, 15.204, 19.87, 19.259, 19.418, 21.412; Homer *Odyssey* 2.135, 11.280, 15.234, 17.475, 20.78, Hesiod *Theogony* 185, 472; Hesiod *Works and Days* 803; Hesiod fr. 280 (MW); *Thebais* fr. 2.8. Examples from lyric could be added. The term is common in Aeschylus. For discussion of these avenging figures in archaic and classical tradition, see, *inter alia*, Gantz 1993:13–15; Fowler 2013:440–441.

[552] See Nagy 1990b:87–93; 1999:136–138; Woodard 2018a.

[553] *Scholia in Iliadem* (scholia vetera [= Erbse 1969–1988]) 18.309a–b; 20.69a.

The origin of Helen and Sarasvatī from a common figure of ancestral Helleno-Indo-Iranian tradition is a comparative issue that is in need of further exploration. One might note, as a beginning, that at *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa* 2.6.4.6 Sarasvatī is said to be "*patnī* (= Greek *pótnia* [πότνια]) to the Aśvins (= the Dioscuri)";[554] the phrase occurs in one of the enunciations proclaimed by the Adhvaryu, whom we encountered above when we considered the matter of muttering mantras (see §5.4.1.1). The Adhvaryu produces this enunciation as he offers broth oblations prepared from the flesh of the triple victims (he-goat, ram, bull) of the Sautrāmaṇī. Independent of any such observation, Schachter (1992:35) has observed that at Sparta Helen was "probably a descendant of a Bronze Age Potnia, for the Menelaion is the most important Bronze Age site in this region."[555] He here refers to the Spartan sanctuary of Menelaus and Helen, located to the east of the river Eurotas in the vicinity of Therapne, at which "Helen was the more important of the two."[556] There is evidence that the Dioscuri were also

[554] On Sarasvatī as *patnī* and the embryonic development and growth of Indra that the Vedic verses of the Sautrāmaṇī entail see the discussion of Ludvik 2007:45–47.

[555] On the Bronze-Age Menelaeon, see also Catling 2009. On the cults of Helen at Sparta see, *inter alia*, Calame 2001:193–199; Edmunds 2016:164–168, 174–185.

[556] On this sanctuary see Herodotus 6.61; Isocrates *Orations* 10.63; Pausanias 3.19.9.

worshipped at this cult site.[557] Antonaccio (2005:108) suggests that in Helen's cult at the Menelaeum she may possibly have "attracted . . . images" of the Potnia Theron with which Artemis (as with Spartan Artemis Orthia) was identified. Pausanias (3.14.9; 3.20.2) records that nearby Therapne is the place designated *Phoebaeum* (*Phoibaîon* [Φοιβαῖον]) in which was a 'shrine' (*naós* [ναός]) of the Dioscuri, adding that here bands of *ephebes* would each sacrifice a puppy to the war god Enyalius in preparation for a coming struggle between them.[558] As in the offering of the *trittúa* (τριττύα) so in the cult geometry of Therapne and environs we see, quite remarkably, an archaic uniting of Enyalius, the Dioscuri, and (the Potnia) Helen, who parallel, as a set, the recipients of the Sautrāmaṇī – Indra, Aśvins, and (the *Patnī*) Sarasvatī.

Just across the river from the Menelaeum of Therapne Helen receives cult honors in another setting. Theocritus *Idyll* 18 preserves evidence of the ritual of the Spartan cult of "Helen of the Plane Tree," centered at the sanctuary of Helen in the area called Platanistas (on which see Pausanias 3.14.8–3.15.3), luxuriant with plane trees.[559] This is the locale in which bands of Spartan *ephebes* – following their sacrifice of a

[557] See the discussion of Edmunds 2016:174.

[558] On the sacrifice see also Plutarch *Quaestiones Romanae* 111d. Clement of Alexandria (*Protrepticus* 2.25) reports that the Carians sacrifice dogs to Ares. See Frazer's discussion (1898:3:336).

[559] Pausanias describes the setting as near ritual structures dedicated to the Dioscuri.

puppy to Enyalius at the Phoebaeum shrine of the Dioscuri – engage in brutal hand-to-hand combat with each other.[560] The hymn of Theocritus *Idyll* 18 addresses *Pótnia Núx* (Πότνια Νύξ) 'Mistress Night' (lines 26–28) who is contrasted with, and revealed by, the coming Dawn, likened to Helen (see §12.7.3.6).

Theocritus' song returns us to a further consideration of the Vedic triple sacrifice, the Sautrāmaṇī. In the celebration of the Kaukilī-Sautrāmaṇī, the Aśvins and Sarasvatī are invoked together with Dawn and Night as corporately providing Indra with *indriyá-* 'warrior power' and related qualities (see *TB* 2.6.11.5; 2.6.12.3; 2.6.14.2). Theocritus *Idyll* 18.43–48 references a plane tree which a chorus of young women decorate with a garland of lotus, pouring a libation of oil beneath, and inscribing on the tree the words σέβευ μ'· 'Ἑλένας φυτόν εἰμι 'worship me; I am tree of Helen'. Regarding these highly-marked rites, Edmunds (2016:168) remarks: "A libation at a tree is unparalleled. The dedication of a tree by an inscription in the bark is unparalleled. The festooning of a tree is almost unparalleled." (see his p. 354, with nn. 45–47, for references).

[560] The fights occur within the Plane grove on a man-made island, surrounded by a watercourse spanned by a pair of bridges: the description is at least vaguely reminiscent of broadly attested Indo-European traditions of warrior relocation to remote idyllic locales, one of which notably involves Indra, but in those instances the warrior moves away from, not toward, combat; see Woodard 2013 *passim*.

Festooning and pouring of libations are actions associated with the ritual preparation of a Vedic *yūpa*, as we have already seen in our discussion of the Mycenaean Potnia of *u-po* in Chapter Two. We should again take note of the elaborately decorated Indradhvaja ('banner of Indra'), a cult variant of the *yūpa* (see above, §2.3.3, §4.5, §4.6.3).[561] In the description of the Sautrāmaṇī in the *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa* the *yūpa* is regularly denoted by the term *vanas-páti-* 'lord (*páti-*) of the wood/forest', also an epithet of Indra. To this anointed (*TB* 2.6.7.5–5; 2.6.8.4)[562] *vanaspati-*, described as 'having leaves of gold' (*híraṇyaparṇa-*), 'honey branched' (*mádhuśākha-*), and 'bearing good berries' (*supippalá-*; *TB* 2.6.10.6) Sarasvatī's victim of a ram is bound, together with the he-goat for the Aśvins and the bull for Indra (i.e. the triple victims of the Sautrāmaṇī). This *yūpa*, as golden-leafed, is said to be 'with the Aśvins' (*aśvíbhyām*) and, as good-berried, 'with Sarasvatī' (*sárasvatyā*; *TB* 2.6.14.5). The priest called the Hotar pours offerings to the *yūpa*, Aśvins, and Sarasvatī together (*TB* 2.6.11.8; cf. 2.6.12.4). In the pre-literate world of Vedic ritual, the *yūpa* is not attached to a deity via graphic

[561] See Woodard 2006:76–79, 251, 259.. On the Indradhvaja as an implement of tree-cult see Gonda 1993:259. On the Rhodian cult of Helen Dendritis see recently Edmunds 2016:169–173; see also Calame 2001:194n324, who mentions "probable iconographic representations of Helen between the Dioskouri in the form of a tree," citing Chapouthier 1935:90, 149.

[562] The edition is that of Dumont 1965.

symbolism (i.e. by writing) but by priestly enunciation: thus, at *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa* 2.6.7.5 the Maitrāvaruṇa (priest "who gives the *praiṣá-* or 'command' for a particular ritual act to take place")[563] announces to the Hotar that the *yūpa* is 'of Indra' (*indriyá-*).

What these comparisons appear to reveal is a Spartan cult structure that echoes Vedic tradition. These structures entail a conjoining of a warrior deity – Indra and Enyalius – with well-established reflexes of the primitive Indo-European divine twins – Aśvins and Dioscuri – and a female figure closely associated with the twin deities – Sarasvatī and Helen. The *yūpa* is central to the Vedic assemblage; while the cult of "Helen of the Plane Tree," with its cult space, provides a central connecting point for the corresponding Spartan elements. The triple sacrifice of the Sautrāmaṇī is equally essential to the Vedic structure, and the deities constituting the Spartan triad otherwise find an explicit connection to the comparable Greek triple sacrifice per the record provided collectively by Hesychius and Pausanias Atticus.

5.5.3. Variant Forms of the Post-Mycenaean Trittús (τριττύς) etc.

[563] Jamison and Brereton 2014:1:29 (citing Minkowski 1991:118), who note that the enunciations of the Maitrāvaruṇa had likely been performed in an earlier era by "the Praśāstar, 'director,' . . . priest who knows the 'enduring commandments' (*dhruvā vratāni*) that govern the rite."

Enyalius is recipient of the *trikteîra* (τρικτεῖρα), records Hesychius, utilizing a one of the variant forms of the name of the Greek triple sacrifice. Variation is not limited to the *name* attached to the threefold sacrifice in post-Mycenaean Greece but is also seen in the *species* of the three victims, though each variant is comprised of a three-member subset of the four-member set {bovine, porcine, ovine, caprine}. The various literary attestations of the post-Mycenaean triple sacrifice (in which the constituent sacrifices are identified), and, in each case, (1) the particular lexeme used to name the sacrifice and (2) the three reported members of the sacrificial set, are presented in the following chart. Victims are here presumed to be male.

Source	Lexeme	Victims
1. Callimachus fr. 578[564]	*trittúa*	boar, ram, bull
2. Ister fr. 34 (FHG)[565]	*trittúa*	boar, bull, he-goat
3. Epicharmus fr. 187[566]	*trittúa*	2 sheep/goats (μῆλον), bull
4. Hesychius T 1391	*triktúa*	boar, ram, bull
5. *Suda* T 1030	*trittús*	boar, ram, he-goat

[564] Pfeiffer 1949–1953.

[565] *Manifestations of Apollo.*

[566] Kaibel 1899.

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6. Eustathius[567]	*trittús*	boar, ram, bull
7. Eustathius[568]	*trittúa*	sheep, bull, goat/
		boar, ram, bull[569]
		boar, ram, he-goat[570]
8. Joannes Tzetzes[571]	*trittús*	boar, ram, he-goat
9. Michael Apostolius[572]	*tritús*	boar, ram, he-goat
10. Scholia on Aristophanes	*trittús*	boar (σῦς), ram, he-goat[573]
		boar (ὗς/χοῖρος), ram, he-goat[574,575]

[567] *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (= van der Valk 1971–1987) 4.328.

[568] *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam* (= Stallbaum 1970) 1.404.

[569] Ἢ βοὸς, καὶ αἰγὸς καὶ προβάτου, ἢ κάπρου καὶ κριοῦ καὶ ταύρου.

[570] Ὗν, καὶ τράγον καὶ κρίον.

[571] *Commentarium in Plutum* (*scholia recentiora Tzetzae* [= Positano 1960]) 819.

[572] *Collectio paroemiarum* 17.28.

[573] *Scholia in Aristophanem* (*scholia vetera* [= Chantry 1994]) *Plutus* 819c α and β; *Scholia in Aristophanem* (*scholia recentiora* [= Chantry 1996]) *Plutus* 819c α.

[574] *Scholia in Plutum* (scholia vetera et fort. recentiora sub auctore Moschopulo [= Dübner 1969]) 819.

[575] See the entry of *Suda* B 418, in which *bouthusia* (βουθυσία) 'ox sacrifice' is subcategorized as *hecatomb* (ἑκατόμβη) and *trittus* (τριττύς); compare Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam* (= Stallbaum 1970)

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The combinations reported in these sources can be categorized according to constituent species in this way:

	Porcine	Ovine	Bovine	Caprine
6x	boar	ram		he-goat
4x	boar	ram	bull	
1x		sheep	bull	goat
1x		1/2 sheep$_i$	bull	1/2 goats$_i$
1x	boar		bull	he-goat

All possible three-member combinations of the four species are found among these sources.

The most commonly cited threesome is that of *boar, ram, goat.* This is a form of the triple sacrifice that is morphologically distinct from both the Indic Sautrāmaṇī and the Roman *suovetaurilia*; but it matches the species set that is preserved on what

1.12; *Scholia in Plutum* (scholia vetera et fort. Recentiora sub auctore Moschopulo [= Dübner 1969]) 819; *Commentarium in Plutum* (recensio 1; scholia recentiora Tzetzae [= Massa Positano 1960]) 819.

remains of the broken Pylos tablet Ua 17. Second most common is *boar, ram, bull* – identical to both the Roman *suovetaurilia* and to the species set specified on Pylos tablet Un 6 + 1189 + 1250 + fr. + 1439, and also matching that of Ua 25. The set *sheep, bull, goat* occurs at least once: this set is identical to the set that is offered in the Vedic Sautrāmaṇī. The same combination may lie behind the wording of the fragment attributed to Epicharmus: δύο μήλων καὶ βοός; however, *mêlon* (μῆλον) can denote either 'sheep' or 'goat', leaving the identity of the set ambiguous (a bull plus either two sheep, two goats, or one sheep and one goat). The third-century BC historian Ister, likely from Paphos, identifies the *trittúa* (τριττύα) as consisting of a bull, a he-goat, and a boar, specifying that all must be male and three years of age. Ister's combination is another that is explicitly different from that of both the *suovetaurilia* and the Sautrāmaṇī.

How are we to interpret the species variation in the threefold sacrifice that appears internally within Greece and externally between Greece, Rome, and India? All four of these animals – pigs, cows, sheep, goats – were known and raised by primitive Indo-European agriculturalists. Proto-Indo-European names for the four species can be straightforwardly reconstructed by comparison of names for the animals as found

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broadly across historical Indo-European languages.[576] Each is a species having precious worth in a pastoralist economy, each an appropriate victim for the gods. What appears to have been crucial for the ancestral sacrificial rite is that *three* different species provide the set of animals offered. The data that we have before us clearly suggest that the victims of the threefold sacrifice were selected from a set of *four* species. The *four-ness* of the set of potential victims may simply be an accident of primitive Indo-European animal husbandry, but the *three-ness* of the offering certainly has symbolic significance in light of the ideological division of Proto-Indo-European society into three classes, an ideology that was accompanied by the priestly speculation that divine society itself consisted of three classes. Yet the triple offering, encoding the totality of society, was directed principally at a god whose sphere was the exercise of physical force – Indra, Mars, Enyalius – with provision being made for divine representatives of the realm of fertility. (Does that regularity suggest to us that the deity pe-re-*82, twice marked recipient of the Mycenaean tripe sacrifice on Un 6, should be identified as a god of fertility?) The four-ness of the set of potential victims would be reduced among the Indic descendants of the ancestral Indo-Europeans to a three-ness, owing to the elimination of pigs from the regimen of Vedic sacrifice. A similar reduction would

[576] See, *inter alia*, the discussions of each animal in Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995.

occur among the Romans with the elimination of the goat as a potential victim in the performance of Mars' *suovetaurilia* (because of the goat's particular affiliation with the "disappearance" of Romulus and the ensuing social crisis of warrior dysfunctionality?).[577]

But in Greece the ancestral four-ness of the set of potential victims clearly survived in the performance of the *trittús* (τριττύς) as is demonstrated by the various reports of the several different triple combinations of the four animals involved: it thus appears that the primitive Indo-European situation was preserved in Greece. These reports all survive from a post-Mycenaean period, but the continued existence of variation in the first millennium BC reveals that the variability passed through the Mycenaean period as a productive cult practice. This realization may give us confidence that lying within the oversized inventory of Pylos tablet Un 2 – that is, 1 cow, 26 rams, 6 ewes, 2 he-goats, 2 she-goats, 1 (?) fatted pig, and 6 sows – there may exist a subset of animals to be used in the initiation of the *wanaks* – a subset that entails a threefold sacrifice that differs from the "Mycenaean suovetaurilia" of Un 6 by intentional choice within the parameters of permissible cult structures. If, for example, we were to remove the ovines from the inventory as extraneous to the ritual (sheep

[577] See Woodard 2013.

animals commonly supplying the banqueting tables), we would appear to be left with a set of 1 bovine, 4 caprine, and 7 porcine victims, with a species membership paralleling that attested by the historian Ister, seemingly a Cypriot, and so a product of a culture *directly* descended from the Mycenaean.[578] The ratio is not 1:1:1, but, as we noted earlier, we find in Rome variants of the *suovetaurilia* in which a ratio of 1:1:1 is also absent. Perhaps, then, we have reason for regarding Un 6 as recording an inventory of animals to be used as a Mycenaean *trittús* in the initiation of the *wanaks*, as the Sautrāmaṇī is offered in the performance of the Rājasūya.

5.6. Some Interpretative Conclusions

The word identifying the 'labyrinth' of Knossos appears to be attested in two separate forms, and these differ from each other by the alternation of the initial consonant of that term: Mycenaean *dabúrinthos* (δαβύρινθος) versus alphabetically-attested *labúrinthos* (λαβύρινθος). The alternation is one that is characteristic of Bronze-Age Anatolian phonologies. *Dabúrinthos* is likely a Bronze-Age importation from Luvian-speaking communities of Anatolia to Mycenaean Hellas – a form that would disappear epigraphically with the conflagration that baked and preserved the Knossos

[578] See Woodard 1997:217–245.

Linear B archives. *Labúrinthos* has an especially archaic appearance (cf. Hittite *Labarna-* acquired from Luvian *before* Luvian had lost word-initial *d-* [see above, §5.2.1]) and could equally have been introduced into Greece during the Bronze Age, though the possibility of post-Bronze-Age importation from Greeks then resident in Anatolia cannot be eliminated: recall Pamphylian *láphnē* (λάφνη) 'laurel' beside an elsewhere *dáphnē* (δάφνη).

The two occurrences of *dabúrinthos* at Knossos are found on tablets Gg 702 and Oa 745 + 7374, the work of scribal hands identified as 103 and "140?", respectively. Hands 103 and 140 are two of those that show Special Mycenaean characteristics at Knossos. Hand 103 uses unassibilated *t* before *i* (feature (1d) in §3.4); hand 140 shows the *a*-reflex of an ancestral syllabic nasal in the vicinity of a labial consonant (feature (1B) in §3.4).[579] Were the scribes who produced the form *dabúrinthos* at Knossos former members of an Ahhiyawa community of Anatolia who had become resident in Crete? This is a strong possibility that must be allowed, and doing so places Special Mycenaean speakers in Anatolia, in formative social contact with Luvian speakers. This scenario is consistent with the observation in Chapter Three that, should the preposition *pedá* and

[579] See Woodard 1986:59–66.

the adjective-form *irós* be identified as characteristic of Special Mycenaean, that dialect aligns with Anatolian Aeolic of the first millennium BC.

Both *u-po-jo, po-ti-ni-ja* 'Potnia of *u-po*' at Pylos and *da-pu$_2$-ri-to-jo, po-ti-ni-ja* 'Potnia of *dabúrinthos*' at Knossos are affiliated with the woven material *wehanos* and, by the interpretation of Potnia of *u-po* for which I have argued, affiliated with bounded sacred space – Mycenaean expressions of ancestral Indo-European cult space that is especially well attested in the Vedic Mahāvedi, within which stands the *patnī-yū́pa-* (= *húpoio Pótnia*), a column equally associated with ritual textiles. Plausibly, the Knossian designation *da-pu$_2$-ri-to-jo, po-ti-ni-ja* 'Potnia of *dabúrinthos*' and the Pylian designation *u-po-jo, po-ti-ni-ja* 'Potnia of *u-po*' can both be understood to reference the same deity, or very similar deities: the former alludes to the sacred space with which the goddess is affiliated, the latter an architectural feature of that space. Is *u-po-jo, po-ti-ni-ja* the standard Balkan Mycenaean designation for this deity while Anatolian *da-pu$_2$-ri-to-jo, po-ti-ni-ja* is an interloper?

The primitive Indo-European threefold animal sacrifice provides an element of the Vedic Rājasūya – ritual of consecration by which a warrior (a *kṣatriya*) is made *rājanya*. A comparable sacrifice is well attested among post-Mycenaean Greeks and almost certainly is evidenced on Pylos tablet Un 6. Such a set of animals also likely

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belongs to the inventory of animals associated with the ceremony of initiation of the *wanaks*, in origin one who *leads* the journeying community and its warrior vanguard. Use of a distinctive textile material and employment of muddled enunciation appear also to be features common to Vedic and Mycenaean royal initiation ritual – and possibly a birthing narrative as well. These commonalities must have their origin in Proto-Helleno-Indo-Iranian culture. Quite remarkable is the Spartan cult assemblage of Enyalius, the Dioscuri, and Helen, associated with warrior initiation, a set matching the triple recipients of the Indic Sautrāmaṇī (Indra, Aśvins, and Sarasvatī) – and also matching the triple recipients of the Greek *trittúa* (τριττύα) as corporately identified by Hesychius and Pausanias Atticus. The rites of the Spartan cult of "Helen of the Plane Tree" offer a homologue of Vedic *yūpa* cult performance. These commonalities must have their origin in Proto-Helleno-Indo-Iranian culture; their diachronic transmission through Mycenaean culture finds first-millennium expression in Spartan cult, just as in the case of the ancestral Indo-European rites of the advancement of Fire through space. The variant morphologies of the Greek triple sacrifice suggest that a fixing of the Indic form of the rite, the Sautrāmaṇī, dates to a period subsequent to the separation of Proto-Hellenes from the Proto-Helleno-Indo-Iranian community.

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Chapter Six

The Aeolic Dialects

6.1. Introduction

With this chapter we turn something of a corner, moving away from an initial focus on investigations that reveal a far more Vedic-like Mycenaean cult – Greek cultural structures more plainly grounded in and conserving Proto-Helleno-Indo-Iranian (and older) traditions – than we are perhaps accustomed to imagining. While these are concerns that we will have cause to consider further from time to time in the coming chapters, I would like now to begin to train attention more directly on matters Aeolic and Aeolian. We begin with an examination of the Aeolic dialect group, being yet another system that shows a tendency to conserve primitive structural features – linguistic features in this instance.

6.2. Position of the Aeolic Dialect: Part 1

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The Aeolic dialect of ancient Greek has long found itself in a liminal position. In Buck's 1955 work on Greek dialects, for example, the author incorporates Aeolic into an East Greek group, otherwise consisting of Attic-Ionic and Arcado-Cypriot. Yet he assigns only the Asian Aeolic dialect of Lesbian properly to East Greek: in his schematic diagram of his page 9, reproduced here with slight modification, Buck situates the European Aeolic dialects of Thessalian and Boeotian in such a way that they intersect with an East Greek-West Greek dividing line, with Boeotian graphically represented as marginally more west than Thessalian:

WEST GREEK	*EAST GREEK*
NORTHWEST GREEK	**ATTIC-IONIC**
Phocian	Attic
Locrian	Ionic
Elean	**AEOLIC**
NW Greek *Koinḗ*	Lesbian

Boe|otian

Th|essalian

DORIC	**ARCADO-CYPRIOT**

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Laconian	Arcadian
Heraclean	Cypriot
Megarian	
Argolic	
Rhodian	
Coan	
Theran, Cyrenaean	
Cretan, etc.	

Pamphylian

As the schematic illustrates, West Greek is otherwise populated by the various local forms of the Doric and Northwest Greek dialects. In the earlier handbook of Thumb-Kieckers (1932) the middling status of Aeolic is made to be a bit more distinct, being assigned to the category of *Zentralgriechische Dialekte* (the sole member), intermediate between *Westgriechische* and *Ostgriechische Dialekte* (pp. 67–68). Palmer 1980 advocates for a still different permutation, one which joins Aeolic and Arcado-Cypriot in a single set to which he assigns the name Central Greek or Achaean, opposing Attic-Ionic on the one side and West Greek on the other (see pp. 64–76).

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In arguing for this geographic dialectal arrangement, Palmer is responding directly to the work of Walter Porzig (1954a, to which we shall return in §6.6) and, especially, that of Ernst Risch, who in a 1955 article attempted to identify the relative chronology of various dialect changes and, following from that, made the case for a fundamental reapportioning of Greek dialects into super groups. Risch's reasoning for so doing is fundamentally this: (1) the European Aeolic dialects of Boeotian and Thessalian share certain features with early Doric that would naturally lump the dialects together (pp. 73–74; also p. 71); (2) on the Anatolian side of the Aegean, Lesbian shares features with the neighboring Ionic (East Greek), but these are conspicuously East-Greek innovations, chiefly involving the assibilation of the Proto-Greek voiceless dental stop *t (p. 71); (3) conversely, when Lesbian and Thessalian disagree, Thessalian often shows the older variant (pp. 70–71); (4) thus, contends Risch, Lesbian's similarity to East Greek must be the consequence of borrowing from Ionic (p. 71); and (5) Aeolic should therefore be excised from the East Greek category and reassigned to the same dialect super-group as the traditional West Greek dialects – an adjustment that effectively creates a North Greek set (for the nomenclature see also Risch 1979:108–109) as opposed to a South Greek category that would then consist of Mycenaean, Arcado-Cypriot, and Attic-Ionic (p. 70).

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6.3. Features of the Aeolic Dialect

Mention of the dialect features of Aeolic calls for some elaboration. In his summaries of Greek dialect traits, Buck (1955:147) lists the following as characteristic of Aeolic as a whole. Not all of these are uniquely common to Aeolic, however, as noted:

(1) *Common Aeolic Dialect Features*

A. A perfect participle morphology marked by the use of the thematic-stem formant *-ont-* (-οντ-) (i.e., the formant widely used to produce active participles of thematic-stem verbs; see also Wathelet 1970:326–327).

B. The use of patronymic adjectives formed with *-(e)ios* (-[ε]ιος).[580] Mycenaean Greek also shows examples of this formation, as we will discuss in some detail further along (see §8.2).

C. The use of *ía* (ἵα) as the feminine form of the numeral 'one', rather than *mía* (μία). Homer provides evidence of a comparable masculine form, which also surfaces three times in the Cretan Doric of the Law Code of Gortyn, having a demonstrative usage (see Bile 1988:288).

[580] See Morpurgo Davies 1968; Vottéro 1987; Hodot 1990:211–229.

D. The vowel raising *ĕ → ĭ / r __. Buck (1955:25) reports "scattered examples" elsewhere, citing Elean, Achaean (that is, the Doric dialect spoken in the region of Achaea in the Peloponnese), and Sicilian Doric.

E. The use of the formant *-essi* (-εσσι) to mark the dative plural of athematic stems. This morphology also occurs in the Anatolian dialect of Pamphylian (Brixhe 1976:103 and 146); in Elean, Locrian, Delphian; in the Doric of the Theran colony of Cyrene; and in the Doric of Corinthian colonies, though not that of Corinth: Thumb and Kieckers (1932:131) cite Epidamnus, Acrae, and Syracuse.[581]

F. The evolution of the Indo-European syllabic liquids *r̥ and *l̥ into the sequences *ro/or* and *lo/ol*, respectively, rather than *ra/ar* and *la/al*. Mycenaean and Arcado-Cypriot give evidence of the same reflex.

G. The lexical variant *thérsos* (θέρσος; as in Alcaeus 206.2) for *thársos* (θάρσος) 'courage', which is also evidenced by various personal names in Lesbian, Thessalian, and Boeotian, but also in Arcadian.

[581] See also Buck 1955:89 and Morpurgo Davies 1976.

In addition to these several linguistic features common to the Aeolic dialects, there is yet one more that requires attention, one of considerable significance – the Aeolic treatment of the inherited labiovelar consonants. We will postpone careful examination of this topic for a few pages (see §6.5) while we pay some attention to general questions of the internal relationships of the Aeolic dialect set.

6.4. Internal Relationships of the Aeolic Dialect

However one chooses to apportion the Aeolic dialects within the larger scheme of Greek dialectology, it must be, and typically is, recognized that Boeotian stands a bit separate from Thessalian and Lesbian; and this Boeotian separation is commonly attributed to the influence of speakers of varieties of West Greek on that dialect. Thessalian itself was similarly affected, but less extensively so – and heterogeneously so, to the extent that of its two major constituent dialects, Thessaliotis and the better attested Pelasgiotis, the more westerly (Thessaliotis) appears to have been the more appreciably influenced.

6.4.1. Lesbian and Thessalian

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Bearing all of this in mind, let us also examine the dialect traits that are common to Lesbian and Thessalian, again drawing on (and slightly expanding) Buck's summaries of traits (1955:148, and also pp. 65–69; see also Blümel 1982:78–80, 93–103, 109–111 for a possible broadening of the segments involved; see further at §10.2):

(2) *Dialect Features Common to Lesbian and Thessalian*

A. The development of intervocalic geminate sonorant reflexes from certain Proto-Greek phonological sequences:

i. *[V {-a, -o}] + [{r, n} + y] + [V] → [V {rr, nn} V]

ii. *[V] + [ln] + [V] → [V ll V]

iii. *[V] + [s + *liquid*] + [V] → [V *liquid* + *liquid* V]

iv. *[V] + [s + *nasal*] + [V] → [V *nasal* + *nasal* V]

v. *[V] + [*liquid* + s] + [V] → [V *liquid* + *liquid* V]

vi. *[V] + [*nasal* + s] + [V] → [V *nasal* + *nasal* V]

vii. *[V] + [{sw, ws}] + [V] → [V ww V][582]

A few examples of these reflexes are attested elsewhere (Buck 1955:65): in the Arcadian dialect of Orchomenus (Dubois 1988:88–89) and the Cycladic

[582] See the discussion of Blümel 1982:79–80; also Miller 2014:218–219.

Doric of Thera; and by proper names both in Laconian Doric and in the Chian dialect of East Ionic, which latter shows other Aeolic features (Buck 1955:143).

B. Sound changes entailing the production of a *secondary* palatal glide (as opposed to the inherited *y of Proto-Greek): *i → y / __ V

This process looks unmistakably to provide variant expressions of the phonotatic (/prosodic) phenomenon that manifests itself in the sonorization of the consonant clusters presented just above in (2A). For example:

i. In Lesbian the sequence *CriV evolves into C*err*V, with *CeryV doubtless being an intermediate stage; in other words *[V] + [r y] + [V] → [V rr V]. Compare (2Ai) and (2Aiii). Thus, beside Attic-Ionic *métrios* (μέτριος) 'moderate' Lesbian has *metérros* (μετέρρος); beside Attic-Ionic *Príamos* (Πρίαμος) Lesbian has *Pérramos* (Πέρραμος; also metrically shortened [Forbes 1958:238–239] *Pérămos* [Πέρᾰμος]; Sappho 44.16 L-P).

ii. More broadly – in Thessalian *CiV → *CyV → CCV. The change of *CyV to CCV replicates Lesbian-Thessalian developments captured by the expression of (2Ai) (operating on inherited *y), but extends the

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context of the Lesbian-Thessalian change. In this specifically Thessalian development, however, the *i* at times continues to appear in the spelling, presumably serving as an orthographic marker of the phonetic quality of the CC cluster (cf. Barber 2013:99). For example, Thessalian *kûrron* (κῦρρον) beside Attic-Ionic *kúrion* (κύριον) 'legitimate'; *gumnassarkheísanta* (γυμνασσαρχείσαντα) beside *gumnasiarkhḗsanta* (γυμνασιαρχήσαντα) 'served as gymnasiarch' (accusative); *hiddían* (ἰδδίαν) beside *ídian* (ἴδιαν) 'one's own' (accusative); *póllios* (πόλλιος) beside Ionic *pólios* (πόλιος) 'city' (genitive).[583]

iii. With the above Thessalian change of *CiV → *CyV → CCV compare Lesbian *di → dy / __ V. In early inscriptions the spelling is *di* (δι), but in time this letter sequence is replaced by *zeta* (ζ), suggesting a further phonological evolution of the secondary *dy*: thus, for example, Lesbian [zdá] (ζά) beside Attic [día] δία 'through'. Here, again, we have an example of a secondary Aeolic development that follows the course of an earlier process: this change, involving secondary *y*,

[583] See Buck 1955:26; Thumb-Scherer 1959:56.

appears to parallel, without necessarily replicating in phonological detail, the prior development of Proto-Greek *dy to [zd] which is attested broadly. The [zd] reflex that arises from inherited *dy, is spelled by *zeta* (ζ) in most local alphabets but sequentially as *sigma* + *delta* (σδ) in the Lesbian alphabet, which reserves *zeta* (ζ) for the reflex of secondary *dy*.[584] There is some evidence that Cypriot also experienced the development *di → dy / __ V with further change to a sound spelled as *zeta* (Egetmeyer 2010:125–126). A similar reflex of *dy / __ V surfaces in a coin inscription (ca. 500 BC) from East Ionian Phocaea,[585] neighbor to Cyme in Aeolia.

C. The lexical variant Lesbian *agréō* (ἀγρέω), Thessalian *hangréō* (ἁνγρέω) for *hairéō* (αἱρέω) 'to take, seize'.[586] Both Mycenaean and Elean also attest the Lesbian variant.[587] Compare *agretaí* (ἀγρεταί), term identifying Athena's ('chosen') cult attendants on the Doric-speaking eastern Aegean island of Cos.

[584] See Buck 1955:71–72; Allen 1981:56; Woodard 1997:97, 161–164.

[585] See Buck 1955:26; Thumb-Scherer 1959:89.

[586] See Buck 1955:126; Thumb-Scherer 1959:66, 69 and 103.

[587] See Thumb-Kieckers 1932:248; Thumb-Scherer 1959:353.

D. The athematic inflection of contract verbs, which we encountered in discussion of Pylos tablet Tn 316 in Chapter One (see §1.2.1 and §1.2.2.3). Thus one finds, for example, Lesbian *kálēmi* (κάλημι), for thematic Attic-Ionic *kaléō* (καλέω) 'to call', and Thessalian *ephángrenthein* (ἐφάνγρενθειν) 'to accuse', answering morphologically to Attic-Ionic *ephairoûntai* (ἐφαιροῦνται) 'to be chosen' (but semantically to *katēgoroûntai* [κατηγοροῦνται]).[588] Arcado-Cypriot shares with Lesbian and Thessalian the athematic inflection of contract verbs.

E. The lexical variant Lesbian and Thessalian *on* (ὀν) for *aná* (ἀνά) 'on, up (to)' etc. Arcado-Cypriot again agrees with the Aeolic dialects.[589]

F. The lexical variant Lesbian and Thessalian *apú* (ἀπύ) for *apó* (ἀπό) 'away'. That both (2E) and (2F) involve items in a closed lexical set, that of preverbs/prepositions, is likely significant. Mycenaean already shows *apú* (ἀπύ) for *apó* (ἀπό), as do Arcado-Cypriot and Pamphylian, both of these latter dialects having a propensity for mid back vowel raising:[590] in Arcado-

[588] See Buck 1955:123; Thumb and Scherer 1959:69.

[589] See Buck 1955:20; Thumb and Scherer 1959:52, 54, 85, 88, and 119.

[590] See Buck 1955:27; Thumb and Scherer 1959:57, 89, 120, 157, and 358; Miller 2014:267–268 with bibliography.

Cypriot the raising of *o* to *u* is common in word-final position (and is attested elsewhere in the word) as it is in final syllables (open and closed) in Pamphylian.[591] In addition, Lesbian itself shows a general tendency to raise *o* to *u* in certain phonetic contexts; we will develop discussion of this in Chapter Sixteen (see §16.2.3.2).

G. The modal particle *ke* (κε) for Attic-Ionic *án* (ἄν). The particle is also used in Cypriot, and traces of it survive in frozen contexts in Arcadian.[592]

6.4.2. Lesbian and Boeotian

Lesbian, with its East Ionic similarities, and Boeotian, with its West Greek propensities, share two notable isoglosses, one morphophonological and one lexical (Buck 1955:148). First – in Lesbian and Boeotian, verb stems that end in a short vowel construct an aorist tense and a future tense using a geminate *-ss-* cluster in lieu of the single *-s-* that typically marks the relevant tense formants. For example, built on the stem of *sunkaléō* (συγκαλέω) 'to call together' Boeotian shows the aorist active participle *sounkaléssantes* (σουνκαλέσσαντες) and to *loéō* (λοέω) 'to wash' Lesbian offers

[591] See Brixhe 1976:20–24; Egetmeyer 2010:59–62.

[592] See Buck 1955:105–106; Thumb and Scherer 1959:76, 109, 140–141, and 174; cf. Dubois 1988:225 and 227–228.

aorist middle *loessámenon* (λοεσσάμενον; IG XII, Suppl. 126.4; cf. *Iliad* 10.577).[593] This process of heavy-syllable formation by germination is consistent with what we have seen to be a fundamental Aeolic trait.

Second – a common Lesbian-Boeotian lexical variant belongs, once again, to the closed set of preverbs/prepositions: for *metá* (μετά) 'among; after' Lesbian and Boeotian show *pedá* (πεδά; on Mycenaean *pedá* as a potential feature of Special Mycenaean see §3.4.2), though not uniquely so. *Pedá* makes an appearance in Arcadian (including a reduced variant *pé* [πέ]; Dubois 1988:133–134) and there is perhaps a vestige of it in Modern Cypriot (see Egetmeyer 2010:449). Traces also surface in the Peloponnesian and insular Doric dialects of Argos, Crete, and Thera (including the dialect of its colony Cyrene). The month name *Pedageítnuos* (Πεδαγείτνυος)/*Petageítnuos* (Πεταγείτνυος) (or *Pedageítnios* [Πεδαγείτνιος] / *Petageítnios* [Πεταγείτνιος]), answering to Attic *Metageitniōn* (Μεταγειτνιών), is attested in several Doric-speaking locales: on the eastern Aegean islands of Rhodes, Cos and Calymna; in Megara in central Greece; as well as in the dialects of Doric colonies in Sicily and Magna Graecia.[594]

[593] See Buck 1955:116; Thumb and Scherer 1959:42 and 104.

[594] See Thumb and Kieckers 1932:149, 169, 182, 186, 193, 205; Buck 1955:107; Thumb and Scherer 1959:47, 108, 359.

6.4.3. Boeotian and Thessalian and West Greek

The exercise of intra-Aeolic dialect comparisons will not here be extended by close examination of the individual isoglosses that the two European Aeolic dialects, Boeotian and Thessalian, share with one another. We would just point out that in Buck's (1955:148) summary of common Boeotian-Thessalian characteristics, the majority of the seven shared features are lexical; one is phonological (the relatively high quality of the front vowel that corresponds to Attic-Ionic [ē] at the time of the earliest attestation of the dialects); and one is morphophonological (the aspiration of the voiceless dental stop in particular verb endings). In addition Boeotian and Thessalian are characterized by a common morphological feature: both of these Aeolic dialects share with West Greek the athematic infinitival formant *-men* (–μεν); Boeotian and Thessalian, however, innovate by extending the formant to thematic-stem infinitives.[595] Compare the Lesbian athematic infinitival formant *-menai* (-μεναι).[596] Both *-men* (–μεν) and formant *-menai* (-μεναι) are no less preserved as elements of the Homeric *Kunstsprache* (Chantraine 1973:485–493).

[595] See Buck 1955:122; Thumb and Scherer 1959:43, 70–71.

[596] See Buck 1955:122–123; Thumb and Scherer 1959:105.

Buck (1955:152) lists fourteen isoglosses that Boeotian shares specifically with West Greek dialects. Of these fourteen, no fewer than ten align with West Greek generally (Buck 1955:152 and 154–155). Three other features are conspicuously shared with Northwest Greek (though these do not constitute a unique overlapping subset of Boeotian and pan-Northwest Greek isoglosses; see Buck 1955:72, 107, 124, and 156). Buck's catalogue of Thessalian and West Greek isoglosses is similar but shorter – consisting of seven shared features, five of which are characteristic of West Greek in general (Buck 1955:149 and 154–155), and constituting a proper subset of the Boeotian-general West Greek ten. In the same way, the isoglosses that Thessalian shares with Northwest Greek form a subset of the comparable Boeotian grouping (Buck 1955:72, 107, and 156).

6.5. Labiovelars and the Aeolic Dialect

At the end of our examination of common Aeolic dialect features in §6.3, it was mentioned that one more feature remains to be discussed, and to that feature we now turn. The set of Proto-Indo-European labiovelar stops – voiceless $*k^{w}$, voiced $*g^{w}$, and voiced aspirated $*g^{wh}$ – endures into Proto-Greek, though is partially modified by the regular Greek devoicing of aspirated stops, thus evolving into the Proto-Greek set $*k^{w}$,

*g^w, and *k^{wh}. The Proto-Greek labiovelars are for the most part preserved in Mycenaean Greek and are spelled (ambiguously) by the Linear B syllabograms transcribed as *qa*, *qe*, *qi*, and *qo*. The script appears to lack a symbol *qu* – an orthographic consequence of the dissimilation of labiovelars to velars when adjacent to the vowel *u* prior to the earliest attestation of Mycenaean Greek.[597]

6.5.1. Palatalization of k^w before i and a Relative Chronology

All post-Mycenaean dialects of ancient Greek exhibit a fronting of labiovelar consonants when they occur prior to some non-low front vowel. A convenient general term that can be used to name this assimilatory process is *palatalization*. One episode of Greek labiovelar palatalization occurs pan-dialectally before the high front vowel *i* (both long and short, which differ from each other only quantitatively); the product of the change is a dental stop, and the target of this palatalization is limited to the voiceless unaspirated labiovelar k^w. In other words,

(3) $k^w \rightarrow t$ / _ i, while g^w and k^{wh} remain unchanged in this environment

[597] For discussion of the Mycenaean treatment of labiovelars, see Woodard 2012.

As this change characterizes *all* first-millennium BC dialects, it must have been carried through prior to any *post-Mycenaean* movements of Greek-speaking peoples, within Greece and across the Aegean into Anatolia, that resulted in the attested archaic distribution of the Greek dialects.

Both Arcadian and Cypriot exhibit the change of (3), but with an outcome that differs slightly from that seen in other dialects: the ultimate outcome of the palatalization is not a dental stop but either an affricate or fricative in Arcadian and a fricative in Cypriot. In other words, in Arcado-Cypriot the palatalization of k^w before *i* proceeds a step (or two) beyond that of the dental stop seen elsewhere: thus, stop → (affricate) → fricative. It is reasonable to posit that a strident reflex of earlier k^w / _ i had developed *prior to* the geographic separation of speakers of Arcadian from speakers of Cypriot (i.e. in a Common Arcado-Cypriot period). One may then infer that this state of affairs signals that the palatalization of k^w had begun earlier in the Arcado-Cypriot Peloponnesian homeland than elsewhere; this locale was then the epicenter from which the change spread across Greece prior to the population dispersals at the end of the Bronze Age.

6.5.2. Palatalization of k^w before i and Linear B Spelling

The Linear B documents that we possess are nearly silent in regard to any (approximately) *absolute* chronology of the palatalization of (3). In light of the *relative* chronology that situates the change prior to the population movements just mentioned, one might anticipate that the palatalization of $k^w \rightarrow t$ / _ i would have begun prior to the production of the latest-attested tablets, which seemingly date to the early twelfth century BC, though the proper dating of the Linear B materials remains a matter of some disagreement.[598] A search of the DĀMOS database of Mycenaean words at the University of Oslo produces a total of 108 examples of spellings with the syllabogram *qi* (i.e. 108 tokens, not 108 different words). This is the Linear B symbol that would be used to spell the phonetic sequence [k^wi], but it also spells the sequences [g^wi] and [k^{wh}i]; in other words, the spelling symbol *qi* is phonetically ambiguous in regard to voicing and aspiration. For the great majority of the occurrences of the syllabogram *qi* we look to spellings of men's names, and less often women's names. Names spelled with the formants *qi-wo* and *qi-wa* may well contain the voiced labiovelar [g^w] and thus provide the equivalent of post-Mycenaean names formed with *bios* (βιος) and *bia* (βια), though *a-so-qi-jo* at Knossos may compare to later *Asṓpios* (Ἀσώπιος), attested in Athens, Boeotia, and Thrace (LGPN). Nearly all of

[598] For recent discussion see Driessen 2008.

the other examples of names resist convincing elucidation, though it is reasonable to allow that among these names some may preserve spellings that represent the phonetic sequence [k^{w}i]. *Qe-qi-no-me-no* is regarded as spelling *g^{w}eg^{w}īnōmenoi*, perfect participle 'carved' (with related forms also attested),[599] thus with *qi* spelling voiced [g^{w}]. *To-qi-de* has been interpreted as *tork^{w}idei*, conjectured to mean 'with a spiral' (related forms again attested), comparison being made to the later verb *trépō* (τρέπω) 'to turn' and related forms.[600] Phonologically, *trép-ō* could be offered as a comparison to proposed Mycenaean *tork^{w}-idei* as the voiceless labiovelar *k^{w}* evolves into a bilabial *p* before back vowels, such as *ō*. But the comparison is not a reliable one (Greek *trépō* is from Proto-Indo-European *trep- 'to turn'); if the Mycenaean term has been rightly interpreted, one might compare *strophís* (στροφίς) 'encircling band' and *stróphos* (στρόφος) 'twisted band or cord',[601] from *stréphō* (στρέφω) 'to turn about', descended from a primitive Indo-European *streb^{h}- (or possibly *streg^{wh}-) 'to wind, turn'.[602]

Almost a third of the forms recovered from the DĀMOS database represent occurrences of the adjective spelled *i-qi-ja*, used substantively to denote 'chariot'; and

[599] For discussion and extensive bibliography see Aura Jorro 1993:193–194.

[600] See Aura Jorro 1993:364.

[601] So Palmer 1969:459; Bernabé and Luján 2008:203.

[602] See Frisk 1961–1970:808–809; LIV 603; Watkins 2011:89.

this certainly spells *hikwiā*, equating to post-Mycenaean *híppia* (ἵππια) 'of a horse', derived from the noun spelled *i-qo* 'horse', *hikwos*, post-Mycenaean *híppos* (ἵππος). The Proto-Indo-European etymon is *eḱwo-; the phonetic sequence of palatal *ḱ followed by *w seen here undergoes the same set of developments in post-Mycenaean Greek as those in which the voiceless labiovelar *k^{w} participates, thus giving rise to a bilabial before the back vowel *o*, except that the outcome in the case of the *ḱw sequence is a geminate (i.e. *hípp̲os*) rather than single consonant. But note that the reflex of *ḱw is a bilabial in derived *híppia* (ἵππια) as well, rather than the anticipated dental that arises prior to the *i*-vowel; and this is straightforwardly due to paradigm leveling – that is, to an analogic force exerted by *híppos* (ἵππος), with its *regular* bilabial reflex. If the palatalization of labiovelars before the vowel *i* had in fact already begun in a period from which Linear B documents have survived, we would nevertheless anticipate the same sort of leveling to be at work, and thus we expect retention of [kw] in *hikwiā* under the influence of *hikwos*.

The one form that would speak most clearly (if properly interpreted) is *jo̯-qi* on Pylos tablet Vn 1314 + frr., dated to the beginning of twelfth century BC.[603] Most

[603] Ventris and Chadwick (1973:505, 549) judge the sense of the inscription to be "extremely obscure," but appear to place confidence in the interpretation of *jo̯-qi*.

investigators have read the form as an indefinite relative pronoun,[604] perhaps *yok-k*^{w}*i* (by assimilation from **yod- k*^{w}*i*), to which Aeolic *hót-ti* (ὅτ-τι) can be compared. The palatalization of *k*^{w} before *i* may have occurred in the pronominal clitic *k*^{w}*i-* in advance of its occurrence more generally, but in any case the change was not likely more delayed in this context (see §6.5.3); hence, *jo̤-qi* read as *yok-k*^{w}*i* provides significant evidence regarding the status of the inherited phonetic sequence [k^{w}i] in Mycenaean in the early twelfth century.

On the other hand, if the change k^{w} → t / _ i were in progress at that moment, then the inertia of Linear B orthographic conservatism would very likely have resulted in continuation of the conventional representation of the form for a period – a period that effectively extends beyond Mycenaean documentary history. Evidence of such orthographic inertia is demonstrated in the Linear B record, and in conjunction with Mycenaean labiovelar phonology. Mycenaean Greek exhibits a process of labiovelar dissimilation that is not attested in post-Mycenaean dialects. When two labiovelar stops occur within a word, the first of the two is changed to a bilabial: thus, the man's name spelled *q̱e-re-q̱o-ta-o* at Pylos (twice on tablet En 659) is also spelled *p̱e-re-q̱o-ta* at

[604] See Aura Jorro 1985:302 for bibliography. See also the remarks of Probert 2008:162. Palmer (1980:48) seems less certain than many about the form's interpretation.

both Pylos (An 192 + fr.; Eb 159 + 1351; En 659; Eo 444 + fr.)[605] and at Knossos (Ce 50) – with old and new spellings co-occurring on Pylos tablet En 659. Compare with this a second case, this one reflecting a chronological sequence. The phonetic sequence [kw] that we encountered above in the discussion of *hikwos* 'horse' also experiences the dissimilation: thus we find the spelling *i-po-po-qo-i*, that is *hippo-p^{h}org^{w}oihi* 'for horse feeders', on Pylos tablet Fn 79 + 1192, alongside the spelling *i-qo-po-qo-i*, that is *hikwo-p^{h}org^{w}oihi* on multiple documents at Thebes from ca. second half of the thirteenth century BC.[606]

6.5.3. Palatalization of k^w before e in a clitic context

The Pan-Hellenic palatalization of voiceless unaspirated *k^w* was extended morphosyntactically in advance of a second wave of labiovelar palatalization in that the enclitic conjunction *-k^{w}e* 'and' (spelled *-qe* in Linear B script) also participated in this process. In other words, the operation of the sound change of (3) was broadened to include the labiovelar *k^w* when it occurred before a mid (rather than high) front vowel,

[605] Also restored on Pylos tablet Ep 613 + 1131 + frr.

[606] The spelling *i-qo-po-qo-i* occurs on tablet Fq 214, Fq 252, Fq 254 +255, Fq 272, Fq 276, Fq 305, and is restored on Fq 367, with *i-qo-po-q̣o̯[* found on Fq 247, *i̯-q̣o̯-p̣o̯*[on Fq 169, and *i-qo-p̣o̯*[on Gp 199. The form]*i-qo-po-qo* is seen on Fq 198.

but *only* when the sequence *k*^{w}*e* was further contextualized by being a phonological component of this clitic morpheme. What is crucial here is the clitic status of the target; that is to say, this is an example of the phenomenon of sound change occurring at a differential rate within a non-lexical (clitic) form as opposed to (non-clitic) lexemes.[607]

6.5.4. Palatalization of k^{w}, g^{w}, and k^{wh} before ĕ

In the preceding paragraph I made reference to a second, and subsequent, wave of palatalization of labiovelars. This occurred (regularly) before the mid front vowels *ĕ* and *ē* (which differ both quantitatively and qualitatively) and is distinct from the earlier palatalization in two significant ways. On the one hand, the second labiovelar palatalization is *more pervasive* phonologically: it operates not solely on the voiceless *k*^{w} but on all three labiovelars – *k*^{w}, *g*^{w}, and *k*^{wh}. On the other hand, the second labiovelar palatalization is *less pervasive* dialectally and, hence, geographically. The change spreads from an epicenter that is in some sense too far removed from some dialects for the wave to carry through. The palatalization does not occur in Cypriot, but it does

[607] See Miller 1981 and 2014:313; Lejeune 1982:49; Stephens and Woodard 1986:147; Donohue 2005; Woodard 2012.

occur in Arcadian: the change thus shows itself to have been operative *after* the geographic separation of speakers of these two closely related dialects. The palatalization also does not occur in Pamphylian. In both of these dialects – Cypriot and Pamphylian – spoken in the Asian aspect of the post-Mycenaean Greek world, the outcome of labiovelar stops occurring before mid front vowels would be bilabial stops: bilabial stops are the eventual unconditioned default fate of all labiovelars in Greek that had not earlier undergone a conditioned change.[608] Aeolic, like Cypriot and Pamphylian, escaped the palatalization of labiovelars before mid front vowels and here also exhibits bilabial outcomes. This is so not only for the Asian Aeolic dialect of Lesbian but for the European Aeolic dialects of Thessalian and Boeotian. The bilabial (i.e. non-palatalized) reflex of the three labiovelars before mid front vowels is a marked trait of Lesbian, Thessalian, and Boeotian but one that has received scant attention in recent discussions of Aeolic linguistic unity.[609]

In the remaining dialects, including the Ionic of Asia Minor and the West Greek dialects which bordered on Thessalian and Boeotian speech areas, the labiovelar stops

[608] Moreover, already in Mycenaean Greek labiovelars had become bilabials in a particular context promoting dissimilation. See Woodard 2012.

[609] H. Parker (2008:445–446; see below, §6.6.4) mentions labiovelar development in Greek but overlooks the distinctively Aeolic outcome.

all undergo palatalization before the mid front vowels, and the outcome is a dental stop – even in Arcadian (which shows an affricate or fricative outcome of the palatalization occurring before the high front vowel). In other words,

(4) $K^W \rightarrow T$ / _ { *ĕ, ē* }, where the capital letters designate all three stop qualities – voiceless, voiced, and voiceless aspirated

This is a phonological process that unites Ionic with Attic and reveals that the migration of Ionic speakers to western coastal Anatolia took place only after this second palatalization of labiovelars had occurred. This second labiovelar palatalization with its dental stop outcome is pervasive throughout the speech of Peloponnesian (mostly Doric-speaking) Greeks and extends far to the north, throughout the entire range of Northwest Greek. In light of this distribution, the failure of Thessalian and Boeotian also to participate in the second labiovelar palatalization is conspicuous from the perspective of dialect geography, as these dialects are surrounded on all sides by dialects that do participate, many of them at a significant geographic remove (from a probable Peloponnesian epicenter). Thessalian and Boeotian exceptionality in this regard is made all the more conspicuous by the fact that, as we have noted, both of

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these dialects, particularly Boeotian, were significantly influenced by Northwest Greek. As we shall see, there is a bit more that needs to be said about the second labiovelar palatalization vis-à-vis Thessalian and Boeotian, and here the influence of its dialectal neighbors may come into play. But what needs to be borne in mind at this point is that as a general process the second labiovelar palatalization simply skirted Thessalian and Boeotian, in spite of the fact that the speakers of these dialects inhabited areas that have been characterized as locales of cultural – and, hence, linguistic – heterogeneity and mixing (Brixhe 2006a:50–52; Vottéro 2006:129), high-contact regions, and were surrounded by regions whose inhabitants experienced the change. Thessalian and Boeotian instead behave like the far-away Lesbian, Cypriot, and Pamphylian. It is difficult not to conclude that at the time that the second labiovelar palatalization – that which occurred before mid front vowels – was a productive process, the speakers of Thessalian and the speakers of Boeotian, the European Aeolic languages, were living in some place other than Thessaly and Boeotia.

This is not a controversial claim from the perspective of Greek tradition. The people who would come to be the known inhabitants of Thessaly and Boeotia are traditionally depicted as being participants in the Hellenic *Völkerwanderungen* that

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occurred through the course of several Mycenaean/post-Mycenaean generations).[610] A distinction needs to be maintained of course between the peoples who populated the spaces of Thessaly and Boeotia throughout the ancient history of those places and the peoples who introduced into the spaces of Thessaly and Boeotia particular forms of the Aeolic dialect (as underscored by Brixhe 2006a and Vottéro 2006).

The crucial question is this one. "In what sufficiently remote locale are the speakers of Aeolic to be reasonably placed at the time of the second labiovelar palatalization – a process that occurred after the separation of Arcadian and Cypriot but prior to the separation of Attic and Ionic – for the wave of change not to have reached them?" We have already taken note of the fact that Lesbian, Thessalian, and Boeotian are not the only dialects to have been excluded from the palatalization of labiovelars before mid front vowels. Cypriot and Pamphylian were also geographically isolated from the process, buffered from the expanding wave of sound change by the expanse of the Aegean – and of course Lesbian no less fits this geographic profile in the historical period.

[610] For summaries, see, *inter alia*, Hammond (who follows closely the literary record) 1975:686, 688, 690–691, 699–704, 710; see also the scheme of García-Ramón 1975:109 and the pointed criticism of Hodot 1985:286.

If there exists a discrete Aeolic characterized by *pronounced linguistic persistence*, and both linguistic and mythic evidence clearly points to such an existence, then one should reasonably expect this Aeolic to have taken its characteristic shape in and to have stepped into the historical record from some low-contact geographic locale – that is, one in which its speakers lived in a society marked by strong social bonds internally and in relative separation from their Greek homeland and from other speakers of Greek. What the term "low-contact" is here intended to denote, as the term has been used by sociolinguists, is a "relatively" low-degree of contact between members of a language community and members of other communities speaking the same language (in some distant linguistic homeland).

A locale that consistently evidences Greek dialects that did not participate in the second labiovelar palatalization of labiovelars is mainland and insular Asia Minor. It requires but a small step of reasoning to infer that at the time of the palatalization of labiovelars before mid front vowels, the ancestors of the attested Aeolic languages – Thessalian, Boeotian, Lesbian – also likely resided in Asia Minor, a place where speakers of one of the attested Aeolic languages, Lesbian, continued to reside.

6.6. Position of the Aeolic Dialect: Part 2

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In §6.2 we introduced Aeolic by briefly considering the way in which Aeolic has been situated within the array of Greek dialects attested in the first-millennium BC. In this section we want to examine the position and status of Aeolic in more detail. We will see that a perceived liminality of the Aeolic dialect group has been foregrounded in various investigations of the dialect. At least two of the more recent of these, Brixhe 2006a and Vottéro 2006, conceptually follow upon, but in variant degrees depart from, García-Ramón's 1975 study in which that author presents the thesis that Aeolic is of post-Mycenaean origin.

6.6.1. García-Ramón and Proto-Thessalian as Proto-Aeolic

What follows is a succinct summary of García-Ramón 1975. García-Ramón's study commences with an overview of academic treatments of the Aeolic dialect group (pp. 13–22), detailed discussion beginning[611] with Hoffmann's 1891–1898 comprehensive volumes on Greek dialects (which was preceded by his 1882 Göttingen dissertation on the same) and Kretschmer's influential 1909 article, in which he argues for an Indo-European populating of Greece in three ethnic waves, corresponding to major Greek dialect categories. García-Ramón then passes on to Walter Porzig's influential 1954

[611] For mention of still earlier work, see his pages 14–15.

article (Porzig 1954a, which we met in §6.2) in which, utilizing concepts of dialect geography, Porzig concludes that the proper early Greek dialect division ("in der griechischen Frühgeschichte") is a three-way distinction of West Greek versus Aeolic versus East Greek.[612] Porzig's study provided the foundation for Risch 1955; we can reformulate and extend what we observed in §6.2 concerning this work. Risch argues regarding Lesbian and Thessalian, the Aeolic dialects most like one another, that at those points at which the two disagree, Thessalian shows the older dialect variant and that more recent Lesbian innovations agree with East Ionic innovations. Risch further contends that Lesbian is a relatively late dialectal outcome, developing from a form of Common Aeolic in the northeast Aegean under East Ionic influence, and older Aeolic characteristics bind the dialect closer to early Doric and Northwest Greek. Risch concludes that in the Mycenaean period there existed a relatively homogeneous "South Greek" dialect (a Mycenaean form ancestral to Attic-Ionic and Arcado-Cypriot),[613] opposed categorically and geographically to what then must be a "North Greek" group,

[612] Porzig 1954a:168–169. Porzig would later, in his review of Thumb and Scherer 1959, alter some of the views on Aeolic dialect geography expressed in the 1954 study: see Porzig 1960:593–595.

[613] Risch 1955:70–72.

ancestrally incorporating the later attested dialects of Doric, Northwest Greek, and Aeolic.[614]

After some intermediate stops,[615] García-Ramón's survey moves on to Coleman's 1963 statistical examination of numerous dialect isoglosses, with García-Ramón characterizing Coleman as denying the existence of an Aeolian dialect group (p. 21). This is not quite accurate, however. What Coleman (1963:119) claims is that a high level of statistical correlation between Thessalian and Lesbian dialect features "justifies the assumption that they shared in an earlier unity (Common Aeolic)," but that "the relationship of Boeotian to the group is far from clear." This is because of the large number of dialect features that Coleman finds a particular "Doric bundle" to have in common with Boeotian: the dialects that cluster in this regard being Messenian, Elean, Laconian, and Heraclean (p. 118), four Western Greek dialects that Coleman judges to

[614] See also Risch's comments on North Greek in Risch 1979, especially pp. 103–109; and note also his further consideration of the status of a Proto-Ionic in the Mycenaean period (p. 104).

[615] Chadwick 1956 (following Risch 1955) and 1975; and Gallavotti 1958 and 1968. García-Ramón rejects Gallavotti's arguments for identifying Mycenaean Greek as being especially close to Aeolic, arguments that have generally not been viewed as persuasive; see, *inter alia*, the evaluative remarks of Cowgill 1966:86–87.

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"form a fairly close bundle within a number of different spectrums" (p. 117).[616] Thus, Coleman concludes regarding Boeotian (p. 119):

> If it *is* Aeolic, then the degree of Dorian infiltration suggests a long period of bidialectal contact and contamination with a Dorian group which in historical times was geographically distinct from it. The alternative is to regard Boeotian as a bridge dialect from the outset.

"Heraclean" indicates the Laconian dialect of the Spartan colonies of Heraclea and Tarentum (see Buck 1955:12). In the historical period the remaining dialects of this "bundle" essentially ring the southern and western Peloponnese. It is unclear exactly what Coleman would define a "bridge dialect" as being (either synchronically or diachronically), but the conclusion that Boeotian shows a close West Greek connection is inescapable.[617] García-Ramón concludes his introductory survey with a look at Wyatt

[616] Where a "spectrum" is an array of coefficients that characterize a single dialect's relatedness to all other surveyed dialects; see Coleman's chart of coefficients between his pages 106 and 107.

[617] García-Ramón (p. 21) responds to Coleman's comparisons in this way: "La possibilité d'une influence occidentale récente sur le béotien ou même l'existence de développements communs après l'arrivée des Béotiens en Béotie semblent totalement exclues par Coleman."

1970, a work in which the author does indeed reject the notion of an Aeolic dialect group, and to which we shall pay some attention below (see §6.6.3).

Again succinctly – García-Ramón continues his examination of the Aeolic group and its historical context by turning next to an examination of the region of Thessaly, both East and West, which he aptly (undoubtedly) characterizes as "une région problématique," though focusing on linguistic matters – the dialectal divide between Thessaliotis and Pelasgiotis, general features of Thessalian, Proto-Thessalian and its position within Greek dialect classification, and so on (pp. 23–59). This is followed by a linguistic characterization of what he envisions to be Proto-Thessalian and Proto-Boeotian (pp. 60–77). García-Ramón then turns quite briefly to archaeological matters (which he reads in tandem with his linguistic analyses of the preceding discussion), underscoring what others[618] had interpreted as evidence for the arrival from the northwest of a new population in Thessaly in the first half of the twelfth century BC, subsequent movements from Thessaly into Boeotia, and migration of Proto-Lesbian speakers to Anatolia ca. 1000 BC (pp. 78–80). Following next is a discussion of what he identifies this Proto-Lesbian to be (pp. 81–91) and an ensuing reappraisal of the three

[618] Chiefly Desborough 1964 and 1972, but also R. Buck 1968 and Snodgrass 1971.

Aeolic dialects (92–102), from which follow several robust linguistic conclusions pegged to a timeline (pp. 103–106).[619] These conclusions can be paraphrased as follows:

1. The linguistic traits that characterize the Aeolic dialect group took shape after 1200 (or 1150) BC and, hence, Aeolic is post-Mycenaean.

2. Only an eastern Greek versus western Greek dialect distinction can be posited for Bronze-Age Greece. Individual eastern Greek and western Greek linguistic elements in Thessaly conspire in the origin of Proto-Aeolic.

3. These eastern and western Greek elements coexisted in Thessaly at least until the middle of the twelfth century BC; and Thessaly continued as a well-defined geographic entity that was isolated from contact with neighboring regions at the end of the Bronze Age and beginning of the Iron.

4. After ca. 1200 BC but before ca. 1125 BC a distinct Proto-Thessalian (understand Proto-Aeolic) dialect took shape (through various innovations), one that shows marked conservatism at certain points.

5. From this proto-dialect in Thessaly, a Proto-Boeotian separated ca. 1125 BC, which continued to evolve, partially in a way parallel to Northwest Greek.

[619] And see here his chronological tables of pp. 108–111.

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> Subsequently Proto-Lesbian separated, ca. 1000 BC. Once in Anatolia, Lesbian speakers came under the influence of Ionic, while Thessalian speakers (i. e. those Aeolians who had remained in Thessaly) experienced further linguistic developments, some in common with speakers of Northwest Greek.

García-Ramón's work, at least elements of it, has had its detractors. Notably critical (though to varying degrees) are the reviews of the work in Chadwick 1978, Ruijgh 1978 (who judges the work to be founded on several unacceptable hypotheses [p. 420]), Wyatt 1978 ("I am alarmed, too, by his assumption of (undefined) East Greek and West Greek as primes which mingled in Thessaly in such a way as to form the basis of proto-Aeolic" [p.179, n.10]), and Hodot 1985:284–286 (who is highly negative regarding the dating scheme: "Nous ne voyons pas comment ce schéma théorique pourrait avoir une parcelle de vraisemblance historique" [p. 286]).[620] Chadwick (p. 293) writes that García-Ramón's "difficulties arise when he tries to reconcile linguistic theories with archaeological facts or historical narratives." He suggests that García-Ramón shows too little discrimination when accepting old ideas uniting the arrival of Doric with cultural changes such as the introduction of cremation. Chadwick goes on to state that García-

[620] For Hodot 1985, see Brixhe et al. 1985.

Ramón "is on even thinner ice when he uses Desborough's evidence of cultural changes at Hexalophos to support his theory of a mixture of western and eastern elements in proto-Aeolic of the twelfth century." And pointing out that Thucydides (1.12.3) dates migration from Thessaly to Boeotia to the sixtieth year after the fall of Troy, Chadwick notes that by García-Ramón's post-1200 chronological scheme for the evolution of Aeolic, that evolutionary event would have to have transpired in less than about seventy-five years (at the most): "Thus either Thucydides is inaccurate . . . or the Aeolic dialect had already begun to differentiate from both East and West Greek before the end of the Mycenaean period."

6.6.2. Thessalian Space

Brixhe 2006a takes some inspiration from García-Ramón's 1975 work, as he acknowledges,[621] but depends significantly on the archaeological and demographic investigation of "Helly 2001" (published as Helly 2007). Following Helly, Brixhe remarks that in the *historical* period, the "Thessalian space," that is to say, the area between the Pindus mountain range and the Aegean "se révèle être une véritable

[621] For Brixhe's overview of García-Ramón 1975, see Brixhe's pp. 49–50, on which latter page he draws attention to the criticism of Hodot 1985. Brixhe also draws on Méndez Dosuna 1985.

mosaïque ethnique" – in fact an ethnic mosaic that was constantly in flux.[622] At the time of the demise of the Mycenaean civilization, Brixhe offers, this space was inhabited by "Achaeans" (approximately "non-Dorians"): "l'archéologie, la toponymie, l'oronymie et l'hydronymie montrent qu'au moment de l'effacement des royaumes mycéniens [vers 1200] la région est achéenne.[623] Brixhe continues: the eponymous *Thessaloí* (Θεσσαλοί), "probably Doric-speakers,"[624] had entered this region from west of the river Achelous, (Herodotus [7.176.4] reports that the Thessalians left Thesprotia 'to settle in the Aeolian land' [οἰκήσαντες γῆν τὴν Αἰολίδα] and vanquish its inhabitants), a population movement that Brixhe suggests may have gotten underway by the end of the second millennium BC (and see §6.6.2.3). The *Thessaloí* encountered the inhabitants of the "Thessalian space" in the area of Arne. In response to the arrival of the Thessalians, there was a movement of the Aeolian inhabitants ("Achéo-béotien" for Brixhe, following Helly) into the plain of Halmyrus and then on into Boeotia.[625]

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[622] Brixhe 2006a:51–52.

[623] Brixhe 2006a:50.

[624] Brixhe 2006a:51: "probablement doriophones."

[625] Brixhe 2006a:51. On traditional accounts of these movements, see the summary of Mili 2015:221. For Brixhe, following Helly, toponymic evidence is important here.

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6.6.2.1. Thucydides on Thessalian Space. Just above, we saw that in his review of García-Ramón 1975 Chadwick reminded his readers of what Thucydides has to say about Thessalians displacing the Boeotians. Here is what Thucydides reports (1.12.3). After the Trojan War Hellas was a place characterized by people on the move – 'they were migrating' (*metanístēmi* [μετανίστημι]) and 'they were repeatedly settling themselves' (*katoikízomai* [κατοικίζομαι]). These population relocations were the consequence of 'returnings' (*anakhōrēsis* [ἀναχώρησις]) from Ilium, a process that went on 'after/for a long time' (*khronía pollá* [χρονία πολλά]); and with the returnings, 'factions' (*stásis* [στάσις]) sprang up in Hellenic *poleis*, so that many people 'were dislocated' (*ekpíptō* [ἐκπίπτω]) and resettled.

> Βοιωτοί τε γὰρ οἱ νῦν ἑξηκοστῷ ἔτει μετὰ Ἰλίου ἅλωσιν ἐξ Ἄρνης ἀναστάντες ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν τὴν νῦν μὲν Βοιωτίαν, πρότερον δὲ Καδμηίδα γῆν καλουμένην ᾤκισαν, ἦν δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποδασμὸς πρότερον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ἐς Ἴλιον ἐστράτευσαν.

> For in the sixtieth year after the capture of Ilium the present-day Boeotians were dislocated out of Arne by the Thessalians and settled in what is now

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Boeotia, the place that was earlier called Cadmeïs;[626] but a part of them were [living] in this land earlier, of whom some even went to war against Troy.

6.6.2.2. Homer and the European Aeolians. Boeotians are well represented in the Catalogue of Ships in the *Iliad* (2.494–510), with more Boeotian locales inventoried than places in any other region. Among the twenty-nine Boeotian sites, one is an 'Arne, rich in vines' (*Árnē polustáphulos* [Ἄρνη πολυστάφυλος]):[627]

Οἵ θ' Ὑρίην ἐνέμοντο καὶ Αὐλίδα πετρήεσσαν
Σχοῖνόν τε Σκῶλόν τε πολύκνημόν τ' Ἐτεωνόν,
Θέσπειαν Γραῖάν τε καὶ εὐρύχορον Μυκαλησσόν,
οἵ τ' ἀμφ' Ἄρμ' ἐνέμοντο καὶ Εἰλέσιον καὶ Ἐρυθράς,
οἵ τ' Ἐλεῶν' εἶχον ἠδ' Ὕλην καὶ Πετεῶνα, 500
Ὠκαλέην Μεδεῶνά τ' ἐΰκτίμενον πτολίεθρον,
Κώπας Εὔτρησίν τε πολυτρήρωνά τε Θίσβην,
οἵ τε Κορώνειαν καὶ ποιήενθ' Ἁλίαρτον,

[626] See also *Scholia in Thucydidem* [*scholia vetera et recentiora* (= Hude 1927)] 1.12.3.

[627] On the Boeotian locales see, *inter alia*, the discussion of Kirk 1985:190–198.

οἵ τε Πλάταιαν ἔχον ἠδ’ οἳ Γλισᾶντ’ ἐνέμοντο,

οἵ θ’ Ὑποθήβας εἶχον ἐϋκτίμενον πτολίεθρον, 505

Ὀγχηστόν θ’ ἱερὸν Ποσιδήϊον ἀγλαὸν ἄλσος,

οἵ τε πολυστάφυλον Ἄρνην ἔχον, οἵ τε Μίδειαν

Νῖσάν τε ζαθέην Ἀνθηδόνα τ’ ἐσχατόωσαν·

τῶν μὲν πεντήκοντα νέες κίον, ἐν δὲ ἑκάστῃ

κοῦροι Βοιωτῶν ἑκατὸν βαῖνον. 510

Those who were dwelling in Hyria and rocky Aulis

and Schoenus and Scolus and many-spurred Eteonus,

Thespeia, Graea, and Mycalessus with broad dancing-spaces,

those who were dwelling around Harma and Eilesium and Erythrae,

and those who were possessing Eleon and Hyle and Peteon, 500

Ocalea and the well-built *polis* of Medeon,

Copae and Eutresis and Thisbe, abounding in doves,

and those who were possessing Coronea and grassy Haliartus,

and Plataea and those who were dwelling in Glisas,

and those who were possessing lower Thebes, well-built *polis*, 505

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and holy Onchestus, bright grove of Poseidon,

and those who were possessing Arne, rich in vines, and Mideia

and sacred Nisa and Anthedon, lying on the border;

of these there sailed fifty ships, and in each

went 120 *koûroi* of the Boeotians. 510

The Boeotian place called *Arne*, writes Strabo (9.2.34–35), sharing a name with the Thessalian locale, was swallowed by Lake Copais.[628]

But the poet of the *Iliad* has nothing to say about a people called the *Thessaloí*, though he does know of a king named *Thessalus* and of Thessalus' sons Antiphus and Pheidippus. In the Catalogue of Ships Antiphus and Pheidippus are said to have led the Coan contingent – thirty ships from Cos, Crapathus, Casus, Nisyrus, and the Calydnian islands (*Iliad* 2.676–680) – and must be understood by the poet to be kings in Cos.[629] Their father Thessalus is typically linked to Cos; Diodorus Siculus (5.54.1–2) writes that Thessalus took possession of the islands of Calydna and Nisyrus, which had once been inhabited by Carians. For the epic poet Thessalus' geographic connection is thus not

[628] Pausanias (9.40.5) reports that Arne was the earlier name of Boeotian Chaeronea.

[629] See the discussion of Kirk 1985:227–228.

with Thessaly but with western coastal Anatolia (Cos, Nisyrus, and likely the Calydnian islands),[630] extending into the Dodecanese (Crapathus and Casus, which were perhaps under the control of Cos). This Thessalus can be identified as a son of Heracles,[631] fathered on Chalciope, a daughter of the Coan king Eurypylus (a son of Poseidon) whom Heracles slew together with his sons: the occasion was that of Heracles' landing on Cos following his attack on Troy, having been blown to Cos by a storm that Hera had

[630] The Calydnian islands "are presumably Kalumnos . . . together with Pserimos and conceivably Leros" (Kirk 1985:228).

[631] For other traditions regarding the ancestry of Thessalus, see the summary remarks of Mili 2015:222–223, to which additional references can be added. The epic poet Rhianus (third century BC) records the tradition (fr. 25.3–5) that the Thessalus after whom the Thessalians were named was a son of Haemon, the son of Pelasgus (eponym of Pelasgians); compare Strabo 9.5.23; Aelius Herodianus *De prosodia catholica* 3,1.33, for whom Haemon was son of Chlorus, son of Pelasgus; so Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* 1.130; compare also *Scholia in Iliadem* (*scholia vetera* [= Erbse 1969–1988]) 2.681b. Diodorus Siculus connects Thessalus with Jason, of Argonautic tradition, reporting that Thessalus and Alcimenes were twin sons of Jason and Medea (4.54.1–2). Alcimenes and a younger son, Tisander, were killed by Medea; but Thessalus escaped his brothers' fate, grew up in Corinth, and in time settled in Iolcus, where he took the throne that had been occupied by Acastus, son of Pelias, and named the people of the region after himself (4.55.2–3); for further on the tradition see below, §17.6.

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summoned (see Pherecydes fr. 35 [FHG]; Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 2.137–138 and 2.166).[632]

This is not our first encounter with the eastern Aegean island of Cos. When considering Aeolic dialect traits in §6.4.1, we noted that Lesbian *agréō* (ἀγρέω) and Thessalian *hangréō* (ἀνγρέω) are Aeolic lexical variants of the verb *hairéō* (αἱρέω) 'to take', and that (1) Mycenaean and Elean also show the Lesbian form and (2) on Cos *agretaí* (ἀγρεταί) is a term used to identify the 'chosen' attendants of Athena (Hesychius A 769), likely evidencing an earlier Aeolian presence inculcated in the religious lexicon of the island.[633] In the historical period Cos was populated by speakers of Dorian dialect, but there was certainly a Greek presence on Cos prior to the arrival of Dorians. Mycenaean pottery has been found in eastern Cos at Serraglio; Mycenaean chamber

[632] Compare Hesiod fr. 43a.61–64 (MW); Homer *Iliad* 2.678–679; 14.254–256; 15.24–28; Pindar *Nemean Odes* 4.25–26; Isthmian Odes 6.31. See the discussions of Gantz 1993:444–445 and Fowler 2013:314–315.

[633] An earlier *Anatolian* Indo-European presence in the greater maritime region of Cos appears likely. Diodorus Siculus (5.51.3) preserves the tradition of a Carian settlement of Naxos two generations prior to the birth of Theseus (for Carian settlements in the Aegean see also Herodotus 1.171 and Thucydides 1.8). On an East-to-West migration of Carians in the Bronze Age, see Herda 2013a:447–452, who remarks (p. 448) that the assigning of the name "Carian Sea" to that body of water "between Myconos, Naxos, Amorgos, Kos, and Samos . . . suggests that this part of the Aegean was originally controlled by the Karians."

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tombs occur across the island; and evidence survives for the performance of Mycenaean ritual at several sites – Serraglio, Eleona, Langada[634] – especially intriguing in light of *agretaí* (ἀγρεταί). One might infer that Cos was one of the islands that the Ahhiyawa (i.e. "Achaeans"), Mycenaean Greeks of Anatolia whom we shall examine more closely in Chapter Seven, still managed to dominate in the time of the Hittite king Muwatalli II, after their expulsion from Miletus.

6.6.2.3. Thessalus of Cos. Various ancient sources associate this figure Thessalus of Cos with the settlement of Thessaly. In an Aristotelian fragment (640 R^3) one reads that following the sack of Troy, Antiphus and Pheidippus, the sons of Thessalus named by Homer, occupied Ephyra (in Epirus), site of a Mycenaean settlement (and destination of a wandering Neoptolemus when he returned from Troy [Pindar *Nemean Odes* 7.37–39]). According to Strabo (9.5.23) Thessalus' sons Antiphus and Pheidippus marched into Thessaly from Thesprotian Ephyra and named the region after their father – Ephyra being on the Ionian Sea coast of northern Greece, some 40 km southwest of the oracular site of Dodona, and itself linked with the site of an oracle, a *nekuomanteîon*

[634] See Niemeier 2005:13–14, with bibliography.

(νεκυομαντεῖον) 'oracle of the dead'.[635] Herodotus (7.176.4) reports that the Thessalians entered Thessaly (the 'Aeolian land' [γῆ ἡ Αἰολίς]) from Thesprotia. For Strabo (14.2.6, rehearsing *Iliad* 2.678–679) the very names *Antiphus* and *Pheidippus* are markers of Aeolian ethnicity:

> καὶ τῶν Κῴων δὲ
>
> . . . Φείδιππός τε καὶ Ἄντιφος ἡγησάσθην
>
> Θεσσαλοῦ υἷε δύω Ἡρακλείδαο ἄνακτος
>
> καὶ οὗτοι τὸ Αἰολικὸν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ Δωρικὸν γένος ἐμφαίνοντες.

> And also of the Coans [Homer sings]
>
> . . . [these] Pheidippus and Antiphus led,
>
> the two sons of the *ánaks* Thessalus, the son of Heracles
>
> and these are markers of the Aeolic race, rather than the Doric.

[635] See, *inter alia*, Herodotus 5.92; Pausanias 9.30.6; Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam* (= Stallbaum 1970) 1.393.

Similarly the epic tradition (*Iliad* 2.655–656) of the settlement of Rhodes by Heracles' son Tlepolemus suggests to Strabo (14.2.6) that Homer may have understood it to have been an Aeolian (i.e. Asian Aeolians) and Boeotian undertaking (as Tlepolemus fled after killing Licymnius, who some say resided in Boeotia). Tzetzes (*Scholia in Lycophronem* 911) knows the tradition (drawn from Pseudo-Apollodorus) that following the Trojan War, Antiphus sailed to the Pelasgians and took control of the country, naming it Thessaly (while Pheidippus settled on Cyprus).

Thessalus received cult honors in an Anatolian Aeolian context, as is recorded in a decree found on a recently excavated stelae at Aegae (see Malay and Ricl 2009), one of the twelve cities of Aeolis in western coastal Asia Minor that Herodotus (1.149–150) enumerates in his discussion of that region. The decree is Hellenistic in date – probably to be situated in the first quarter of the third century BC.[636] Lines 10–28a of the edited inscription can be translated as follows:[637]

Speudoun the priest (proposes a decree expressing) the gratitude of the Thessalians at the Olympia which the Thessalians conduct. Since Speudoun the

[636] See Parker 2011b:114.

[637] The translation is that of Malay and Ricl 2009:49, slightly modified by Parker (2011b:111), and further adjusted here, chiefly to conform to transcription practices used in the present work.

> priest of Zeus Olympius reported the goodwill which the Aeolians, Coans and Magnesians from the Maeander displayed toward the Thessalians – for all the cities performed a rite and sacrifice to Olympian Zeus and to the hero Thettalus (i.e. Thessalus) and the other gods and invoked in common for all the Thessalians and for their own people safety, good fortune, good offspring – the Thessalians have voted them freedom from duties on everything except on what they bring or export by way of trade, and citizenship for all of them wherever they wish in Thessaly, and that cities and cults and everything else be shared by them as they are by Thessalians. And the Aeolians, Coans and Magnesians from the Maeander shall have marriage rights wherever they wish in Thessaly.

By "Aeolians," as R. Parker contends,[638] one must likely include both the peoples of the Aeolian cities enumerated by Herodotus (referenced just above) as well as Aeolians residing to the north, in the Troad – and possibly also the inhabitants of Lesbos and associated sites. With regard to the latter set one might compare two decrees (perhaps

[638] Here Parker (2011b:116) draws attention to a decree from Erythrae in which "Aeolians" are mentioned and to a series of bronze coins from the Troad marked AIOΛE (*AIOLE*).

third quarter of the third century BC) concerning relationships between Thessaly and the Lesbian city of Mytilene that Parker (2011b:116–117) discusses in addressing other "festivals of kinship" relevant to elucidating the occasion of Speudoun's decree.[639] Both concern Thessalian participation in the Asclepieia of Mytilene. Parker (2011b:118) is surely correct when he judges that "in the case of the Aiolians, Coans and Magnesians of the new decree the basis for the invitation was manifestly, even though the word is not spoken, συγγένεια [*sungéneia*, fundamentally 'kinship']. They were all in the understanding of the time Thessalians by origin, and proud to be so."

6.6.2.4. The Tapestry of Thessalian Space. Brixhe's observations rehearsed above and the traditions to which he subscribes are familiar enough. In a recent survey work on Thessalian society and religion, Mili (2015) examines the traditional accounts and previous interpretations of these, echoing Brixhe 2006a in part[640] but delving deeper and more broadly into the matter. The heterogeneous elements that contribute to the "mosaïque ethnique" that was Thessaly (and not only in the historical period) include "Pelasgians, Lapiths, Perrhaibians, Ainians, Magnesians, Aiolians, Achaians, Phthians,

[639] Parker cites Tziafalias and Helly 2004–2005 for both decrees.

[640] Mili likewise draw on Helly's work.

Phlegyans, Myrmidons, Dorians, and Boeotians."[641] The Greeks identified the Pelasgians as a primitive population of Thessaly, as of much of Greece,[642] whose name is reflected in that of the eastern Thessalian dialect called Pelasgiotis (and the northeastern region in which it was spoken). Lapiths (*Lapíthai* [Λαπίθαι]) are for Homer a people who receive explicit tribal mention at *Odyssey* 21.297 and *Iliad* 12.128 and 181: in the lines from the *Iliad* reference is made to Peirithous' son Polypoetes and to Ares-like Leonteus; this Peirithous, Lapith king, appears in the *Odyssey* passage as a conflict between Lapiths and the Centaur Eurytion is rehearsed. At *Iliad* 2.738–747, in the Catalogue of Ships, the epic poet signals the presence of the Lapith contingent by referencing their cities (Argissa, Gyrtone, Orthe, Elone, Oloösson), locales "fairly securely placed in the northern part of the eastern Thessalian plain,"[643] and their leader Polypoetes, together with Leonteus (and again invoking the conflict with the Centaurs). In the Catalogue of Ships, Homer follows mention of the Lapiths with other people of the region, Aenians and Perrhaebians (*Iliad* 2.748–755) and Magnesians (*Iliad* 2.756–759; and on these tribes see also, *inter alia*, Herodotus 7.132; Strabo 1.3.21; 7a.1.14, 15; 9.5.20, 22). The Phlegyae were reputed to be an exceptionally violent Thessalian tribe whose ancestor Phlegyas

[641] Mili 2015:220. See also her remarks on her pages 188–191, 221, 222.

[642] For a brief summary of traditions see Cosmopoulos 1999.

[643] Kirk 1985:235.

we will encounter in our discussion of the founders of Boeotian Thebes, Amphion and Zethus (see §14.2.3). The Myrmidons are of course attached to Achilles, as in the Catalogue of Ships, *Iliad* 2:681–685: . . . ὅσσοι τὸ Πελασγικὸν Ἄργος ἔναιον | . . . | . . . | . . . Μυρμιδόνες δὲ καλεῦντο καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἀχαιοί, | τῶν αὖ πεντήκοντα νεῶν ἦν ἀρχὸς Ἀχιλλεύς 'As many as dwellt in Pelasgian Argos | . . . | . . . | . . . called Myrmidons and Hellenes and Achaeans, of these and their fifty ships Achilles was the leader'.

6.6.2.5. The Language of Thessalian Space. Brixhe (2006a:52–54) contends that the dialect that we conventionally call "Thessalian" took shape in the "Thessalian space" through a process of "co-production" during the archaic period (prior to late eighth century BC for Helly), though the process had probably begun prior to the arrival of the historical "Thessalians." Here Brixhe is offering what he views to be a corrective to Helly's claim that the Thessalian dialect developed as a "koine" in the midst of the "ethnic mosaic" of the "Thessalian space." In doing so Brixhe builds on a concept of "co-production" that he attributes to Calvet 1999.[644] Brixhe defines the notion as "une coproduction aux sources multiples, avec, intégrations, restructurations, refonctionnalisations constantes." From a diachronic perspective, Brixhe would

[644] See Brixhe 2006b:22–24.

characterize the language of the Thessalians as a linguistic form "perpétuellement en gestation." According to Helly the language that had been spoken by the *Thessaloí* is better kept nominally distinct from this Thessalian menagerie – thus he would label that language *thessalique*. The Boeotians, on the other hand, are an "Achaean" people for Helly (Achéo-béotiens). In such a scenario the notion of "un éolien commun" is placed at risk, becoming merely an *abstraction* – though not without significance, it seems, for the matter of dialect relatedness, as Brixhe construes this *abstraction* to be "ensemble des traits qui caractérisent un groupe dialectal." Brixhe contends that we should therefore think not of *one* but of *several* "Aeolics": that is to say (p. 54):

> . . . des parlers grecs (constamment en mutation, on l'a vu) caractérisés par des isoglosses liées à des expériences linguistiques partiellement identiques (contacts ou osmoses avec les mêmes populations ou des populations apparentées).

What is envisioned is a language that takes shape by convergence rather than by divergence. It is an old interpretative dichotomy, one that lies at the heart of nineteenth-century disagreements between Romance dialectologists and

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Neogrammarians, for whom a Stammbaum model of language evolution is a good schematic expression of historical linguistic outcomes – one language evolves into many languages.[645]

Over the matter of Lesbian, however, Brixhe (2006a:54–55) parts company with Helly, whom he characterizes as being overly dependent on the scheme of García Ramón in imagining that one contingent of some common set of Achaeans moved into Boeotia while subsequently another contingent (Achéo-lesbiens) migrated to Anatolia according to an ordered chronological scenario. For Brixhe the entailed scheme of the break up of community "ce n'est évidemment pas nécessaire." The picture of Lesbian is left somewhat murky in the end. Undergirding such notions of Achéo-lesbien migrations is the ancient tradition of an Aeolian movement from the Balkan Peninsula to western coastal Asia Minor. It is Strabo who preserves the fullest picture of this tradition and to his account we shall turn in our discussions of Melanippe and her son Boeotus (see Chapter Eleven).

Vottéro (2006), who similarly draws attention to linguistic diversity, advocates removal of Boeotian from the Aeolic group. In doing so he emphasizes the evolution of

[645] The conflict finds recent expression in García Ramón's criticisms of Brixhe; see García Ramón's 2018 work, especially pages 82–85.

Boeotian *in situ* in a dialectally complex milieu (on which see especially p. 129), and so, to this extent, his interpretation of Boeotian origins parallels Brixhe's view of Thessalian formation. Vottéro also co-opts Brixhe's concept of "co-production", writing of Boeotian (pp. 141–142):

> C'est un dialecte composite, en fait une 'coproduction' qui n'a pas d'existence préhistorique; il s'est formé sur place dans la période dite des 'âges obscurs' (1200–800), avec des éléments apportés par les différentes populations qui se sont trouvées sur place durant cette période . . . .

He thus concludes (p. 142) that while there exist some "Aeolic" elements in Boeotian, one cannot speak meaningfully of an "Ur-böotisch."

6.6.3. Wyatt and the Stammbaum Model

An earlier, perhaps yet more radical, challenge to the conventional view that Boeotian, Thessalian, Lesbian belong to a single discreet super-dialect group is Wyatt 1970, mentioned above in comments on García-Ramón's work. Wyatt (p. 561) advocates abandoning altogether a *Stammbaum* approach to classifying Greek dialects (in favor of

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a wave model).[646] A tree structure has no relevance for the "early prehistory" of the Greek dialects, he contends, and with the tree structure go conceptual nodes "such as" Doric, Aeolic, Attic-Ionic, and Arcado-Cypriot. Following on from that, Lesbian, Thessalian, and Boeotian must be construed "as separate entities" (p. 627). He rehearses that view again in Wyatt 1973 but, however, qualifyingly adds (p. 43):

> Aeolic may remain as a term synonymous with Northeast Greek when that term refers to linguistic features . . . which either originated in the northeast or were preserved there, though given up elsewhere. Generally speaking, northeast features are, in fact, archaisms and not innovations.

6.6.4. Linguistic Heterogeneity and Aeolic

The sort of view that Wyatt espouses regarding the status of what he calls "northeast features" has become a recurring cadence. Thus, in his Boeotian study mentioned above, Vottéro (2006:139) concludes that "la plupart des traits considérés habituellement comme 'éoliens' . . . correspond en fait à des archaïsmes ou conservatismes." This same notion lies at the core of H. Parker's 2008 article in which

[646] On the non-mutual exclusivity of the two models, see Labov 2007.

that author rejects the linguistic reality of an Aeolic dialect group. The gist of the argument there is that the unifying isoglosses of a reputed Aeolic are principally archaic features that are individually shared by various other dialects and that Lesbian and Thessalian could thus be viewed simply as a set of remnant linguistic systems of earlier Greek with no other higher-level linguistic relatedness, while Boeotian goes with West Greek. Parker considers several of the conventional Aeolic features that we encountered in our survey of §6.3: the evolution of syllabic *r̥ into the sequence *ro*/*or* (p. 446); the dative plural formant -*essi* (-εσσι; p. 447); the perfect participle formant -*ont*- (-οντ-; pp. 447–448); and the use of *ía* (ἴα), rather than *mía* (μία), for the numeral 'one' (pp. 448–450). One by one he dismisses these Aeolic diagnostics. He then devotes a lengthy discussion (pp. 450–457) to some of the sound changes producing geminate reflexes that were mentioned above, and the verdict is the same. Finally he considers and rejects the athematic inflection of contract verbs as a Lesbian-Thessalian isogloss (pp. 457–458); ditto for the aforementioned Boeotian-Thessalian aspiration of the voiceless dental stop (p. 459).[647] He concludes that each of the three dialects traditionally identified as Aeolic is an archaic expression of Greek and that the dialects lack common innovative features that motivate joining them into a discreet super-

[647] Which, by the way, Brixhe (2006a:62–63) suggests to be only an orthographic device.

dialect group (p. 460). A thread that runs throughout his study is, in addition to a dismissal of common Aeolic developments,[648] a seeming lack of awareness of an element of heterogeneity common to all ancient Greek dialects.

Observations on Greek dialectology offered by Morpurgo Davies (1988:99) are instructive in this regard: "It is customary to speak of the Greek dialects as if they were monolithic units defined by a specific set of isoglosses; spatial and chronological differences within the dialect are mostly ignored." This is much the same point made by Coleman in his statistical study of sets of Greek dialect isoglosses; he writes (1963:115; emphasis is my own): "For each dialect there is a *spectrum* of isograde,[649] which corresponds to the intuitive feeling that many investigators have had that dialect classification is not so much a matter of either/or but of more/less." And

[648] For a thoughtful and intelligent point-by-point refutation of Parker's objections see now Scarborough's 2016 Cambridge dissertation; the author wishes to express his appreciation to Dr. Scarborough for the kindness of providing him with a copy of the dissertation.

[649] Regarding the term "isograde," Coleman (p. 115, n. 1) reports that he has "slightly adapted" it from Reed and Spicer 1952. Reed and Spicer introduce the term on page 357 of their article, without defining it explicitly, but seem to suggest that a "scale of isogrades" captures a set of "correlation coefficients" (familiar notion in Coleman's study) between dialect community features (see the illustrative graphs on their page 358).

Morpurgo Davies, after offering an example of typical claims made regarding dialect occurrences of the glide /w/, continues:

> This form of oversimplification is prompted more by the uneven nature of our evidence than by scholarly perversity: for some periods and places epigraphical evidence is available, for others it is not. Hence the tendency to generalize from the known to the unknown ignoring the possible divergences. A concomitant factor is the current interest in dialect classification and prehistory which calls for the identification of early features with specific classificatory value and for the consequent neglect of the later developments.

6.6.5. Nagy, the Homeric Kunstsprache, Myth, and the Unity of Aeolic

Nagy 2011 offers an important refutation of the claim that there exists no higher order linguistic entity identifiable as "Aeolic." In doing so he draws attention to two salient Aeolic isoglosses that are not easily or persuasively dismissed, both involving morphological innovation and both constituting Aeolic components of Homeric poetic speech. First is the perfect participle system of §6.3 (1A), innovatively marked by the thematic-stem formant *-ont-* (-οντ-) rather than by the archaic

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athematic suffix *-wŏs-/-us-: Lesbian, Thessalian, and Boeotian all share this morphology and it is unique to these three dialects and, hence, highly diagnostic for relatedness from the perspective of the criterion of common innovation.[650] The second is the use of the formant *-essi* (-εσσι) to mark the dative plural of athematic stems, noted in §6.3 (1E); its appearance outside of Lesbian, Thessalian, and Boeotian has been attributed to an "Aeolic substratum."[651] As Nagy notes, both Cassio (2006) and Blanc (2008 and 2009)[652] have addressed the presence of *-essi* (-εσσι) datives in the Homeric *Kunstsprache* and reiterated that this is a particular Aeolic element within a larger Aeolic component of epic diction. The presence of this Aeolic component appears to be best accounted for by a "diffusionist" view (see Horrocks 1987 and 1997), rather than by one of an Aeolic stratum underlying an Ionic stratum. Nagy (2011:146–162) proposes a nuanced variant of the diffusionist view, arguing for morphophonological borrowing from an Aeolic epic system into an Ionic epic system within the geographic context of a poetic-linguistic *Sprachbund* of coastal Asia Minor and another, somewhat later,

[650] On the feature as an Aeolic component of Homeric poetic speech, see Nagy 2008a:62; 2012:166–169.

[651] On the formant, see Morpurgo Davies 1976, and on the substrate see also the discussion of Finkelberg 1994:15–16, 19, and 24, with references to earlier work.

[652] See especially Blanc 2008:444 and 2009:148–150.

Anatolian *Sprachbund* entailing the Aeolian island of Lesbos.[653] Datives in *-essi* (-εσσι) are residual elements of an Aeolic epic tradition and likely of considerable antiquity.

But as Nagy (2011:163–164) reminds his readers, the evidence for Aeolic commonality is not linguistic only, but mythic as well. The Aeolians of Europe and those of Asia viewed themselves as commonly descended from their ancestor Aeolus, a son of Hellen, progenitor of all Greeks, and the nymph Othreis (Hesiod fr. 9 MW). More than this, myths about an Aeolian migration from Europe to Anatolia and consequent colonization were embraced on both sides of the Aegean.[654] This is the very phenomenon that we saw at work in the inscription of the priest Speudoun in §6.6.2.3.

6.7. Some Interpretative Conclusions

The Aeolic dialect group is one characterized by linguistic retentions studded with distinctive innovations. As a whole the Aeolic dialects escaped the second labiovelar palatalization (as elucidated by Stephens and Woodard 1986, i.e. that palatalization of all labiovelars before mid front vowels), suggesting a remote location for the group at the time of the spread of this labiovelar change and placing the group

[653] See also Nagy 2010:232–233.

[654] See also, for fuller exposition, Nagy 2010:131–253.

in the larger set of eastern Aegean Greek languages that did not undergo such palatalization. Each of the three attested Aeolic dialects – Asian Lesbian and Balkan Boeotian and Thessalian – will be eventually influenced linguistically by speakers of what will come to be neighboring dialect groups. An especially notable geographic context in this regard is the Thessalian plain, which has been described as a cultural and linguistic mosaic. A distinctive and recurring theme in this mosaic, as we shall see as we move forward, is the tradition of a Bronze-Age influx of peoples from the *west* of the Thessalian space (as in the case of Antiphus and Pheidippus moving across the Pindus range), peoples whose origins are located in the *eastern* Aegean (as in the case of Thessalus of Cos, father of Antiphus and Pheidippus). A cultural, mythic collective comprised of European Thessalians, as well as Boeotians, and residents of Asian Aeolis is one that is maintained and developed as a reflexive and reciprocal marker of social identity on both sides of the Aegean in the first millennium BC.

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Chapter Seven

Archaeology, Language, and an Aeolian Migration

7.1. Introduction

The focus of the preceding chapter was trained on Aeolic as a linguistic system. In this chapter I will begin to develop the case that the origins of that linguistic system are to be located in a context of relative social and linguistic isolation. This will entail an initial examination of recent work on the archaeology of Greek presence in Late Bronze-Age Asia Minor. In addition, both historical and modern-day language communities that existed/exist in isolation will be explored as typological parallels to the Mycenaean-speaking communities of Bronze-Age western Anatolia.

7.2. Archaeology and an Aeolian Migration

As Chapter Six came to an end we encountered Greg Nagy's (2012) observations that Aeolic commonality is not only a linguistic matter but a matter of shared myth as

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well. In making these clarifying and confirming observations regarding an Aeolic unity, Nagy is in part responding to Rose 2008, an article in which that author argues that there is no archaeological evidence that supports the ancient tradition of a migration – a relocation – of Aeolic speakers to Asia Minor early in the first millennium BC and that such traditions merely constitute narratives conceived for a political end.[655] For Nagy (2012:163) the myths of Aeolian migration are aptly characterized as "political narratives about social realities – including the linguistic facts of dialectal affinities." Archaeological science has provided and continues to provide all scholars of classical antiquity with invaluable information and insight regarding the material structures and practices of the ancient peoples of the Mediterranean; but it must be said that the commonly-accepted archaeological diagnostics for population change appear not to be well calibrated with demonstrable linguistic transitions.[656]

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[655] On the political end of the migration accounts, see Rose 2008:421–422. See also Vanschoonwinkel 2006b:136, who comments on manipulation of the migration traditions for "propagandist purposes," but in whose view there is "overall, an undeniable agreement of the traditional evidence and archaeological data."

[656] For a discussion (with bibliography) of the disconnect, see H. Parker 2008:436–437; though he goes on to espouse the view (p. 460), consistent with Rose's archaeological position, that "ascribing the presence of speakers of Lesbian in the northeast Aegean during the historical times to the migration of Aiolic

7.2.1. Renfrew and the Spread of Indo-European Languages

One of the most conspicuous examples of what this disconnect can lead to is Renfrew's hypothesis (most fully developed in Renfrew 1987) that it was a Neolithic spread of farming out of Anatolia which led to a slow, step-wise (18 kilometers per 25 years)[657] differentiation of the various Indo-European languages from a common ancestral language localized in Anatolia.[658] But it is readily apparent that, among other problems,[659] such a scenario of language laid down like a slug's trail is unable to account satisfactorily for the relative proto-historical geographic positioning of the early descendant Indo-European languages which is revealed by shared isoglosses.[660] Renfrew

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tribes from mainland Greece receives no support from linguistics." The article is a commissioned companion piece to Rose 2008, which "grew out of the research of Brian Rose" (H. Parker 2008:431-432). See also the comments of Janko 2018:108 and Beck 2019:382, who embrace too hastily Parker's position.

[657] This is the average rate assumed by the demic diffusion model of Ammerman and Cavalli-Sforza 1973 and 1979 that Renfrew adopts; see Renfrew 1987:126–131.

[658] See especially Renfrew 1987:145–249.

[659] On both linguistic and archaeological problems with Renfrew's hypothesis, see, *inter alia*, Anthony 2007:75–81; Mallory 2009; and Melchert 2011:705–706.

[660] On these relationships see, *inter alia*, Porzig 1954b. Compare the dialect map (Figure 4) of Anttila 1989:305.

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took note of the problem of the language situation and made revisions to his hypothesis[661] (building upon the cladistic model of Warnow 1997).[662] In doing so he posited a migration of Proto-Indo-Iranians out of the Pontic Steppe, a migration necessary to account for the historical distribution of Indic and Iranian languages. But ironically his treatment of this migration seems itself not to be calibrated with any particular event reflected in the archaeological record and is one explicitly not linked to the spread of agriculture to South Asia. Recent studies of ancient Eurasian DNA are painting a picture of migrations that are fundamentally consistent with linguistic interpretation.[663]

7.2.2. Rose and Aeolian Migration: A Fiction

From his examination of the archaeological record of Aeolic-speaking Asia Minor, Rose (2008:420) concludes that there is no evidence in the early first millennium

[661] See Renfrew 2000, especially pp. 417–429; compare Renfrew 2001 and 2003.

[662] For further elucidation of the branching tree model there developed, see Ringe, Warnow, and Taylor 2002. See also Heggarty, Maguire, and McMahon 2010 for comparison of phylogenetic branching tree and wave models and proposal of a single model that weds these two.

[663] The bibliography is growing rapidly. See recently, *inter alia*, Allentoft. et al. 2015; Haak et al. 2015; Kristiansen et al. 2017; de Barros Damgaard et al. 2018; Olsen, Olander, and Kristiansen 2019.

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BC "for attacks, for the arrival of a new population group, or for any substantive change in ceramic production." At the same time, he draws attention to the evidence for "commercial and political" links between Greece and Asia Minor during the *Late Bronze Age* (pp. 408–411) and notes (p. 420) that the (eventually Ionian) town of Miletus (Hittite *Millawanda/Milawata*; see below §7.4)[664] may have functioned "as a Mycenaean colony in the 13th century" (p. 407): here Rose (p. 407n43) cites the work of Niemeier (most recently Niemeier 2005).[665] In doing so Rose makes mention of the Ahhiyawans,[666] the term used in Hittite documents to identify a people with whom the Hittite kingdom was engaged in recurrent conflict in western coastal Asia Minor. These documents range from about the late fifteenth to the late thirteenth century BC, with an additional inscription from the mid to late eighth century BC.[667] Hittite *Aḫḫiyawā* is now commonly accepted to reflect a Greek *Αχαιϝια 'Achaea' and to signal encounters between Hittites and Mycenaean Greeks in western coastal Anatolia by the late fifteenth or early fourteenth century BC. One source of these hostilities in the

[664] See *inter alia*, Melchert 2003a:6; Beckman, Bryce, and Kline 2011:45–46, 121, 132, 138.

[665] See also Niemeier 1998, 1999, 2001, and 2002.

[666] Of whom Rose provides a helpful summary discussion with up-to-date bibliography: see his pages 407–408.

[667] For the texts, see Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011. See also Fischer 2010, with annotated bibliography.

thirteenth century was the region called Wilusa in the Hittite documents, commonly interpreted now to be in the Troad (the region of Troy), perhaps even Ἴλιος (*Ílios* [i.e. *Wilios*]) itself, a place presented as located in the vicinity of Lazpa – that is, most likely, Lesbos.[668]

In the twelfth century, with the Hittite collapse, Rose (2008:411) does, however, see archaeological evidence that may indicate a demographic change at both Troy and Gordion in conjunction with "the opening of a commercial corridor stretching from southeastern Europe [Thrace is explicitly mentioned (see also p. 420)] to central Anatolia."[669] Eleventh-century (Early Protogeometric) pottery from Troy suggests contact with Thessaly and (its eastern neighbor) Euboea (p. 412). "A trading network involving Troy and Thessaly/Lokris was in place by the 10th century. . . ." (p. 420). Comparison to contemporary Lesbos places the island within the cultural sway of Troy and western coastal Asia Minor more broadly. The archaeology of Lesbos, continues Rose, has produced little evidence for the tenth and ninth centuries BC and ceramic

[668] See Houwink ten Cate 1983-84; Beckman, Bryce, and Kline 2011:144 and 209.

[669] Rose adds: "The Handmade Burnished/Knobbed ware may have been one of the byproducts of this new network, which increased in scale during phases VIIb2 and 3 (ca. 1130–900 B.C.) and may ultimately have involved a demographic change." The presence of amphora at Troy in VIIb3 equally suggest for Rose (p.412) an "exchange system that involved both sides of the Aegean."

finds through the eighth century match those from the eastern Aegean and Asia Minor more closely than those from Greece (p. 414).

7.3. Linguistic Persistence, Innovation, and Aeolic

In addressing the problem of Aeolic unity, Colvin (2010:209) observes that "to some extent the problem reduces to the theoretical question of how many isoglosses constitute a dialect." One might reconfigure this as a question along these lines: Can a small number of innovative features and some larger number of non-innovative (i.e. persistent [that is, "archaic"]) features be present in and characterize a dialect group? "No" would *not* seem to be a reasonable *a priori* answer. In modern historical linguistic theory, innovation is assigned the role of higher-value diagnostic for identifying linguistic relatedness in *Stammbaum* analyses, on the premise that such innovations occurred in a common ancestral system (this leaves aside the matter of parallel innovation). But the phenomenon of linguistic persistence – the preservation of existing language forms – is by no means absent of all probative value.[670] There are

[670] For a model of language relatedness that takes into consideration shared archaisms, see, for example, Heggarty, Maguire, and McMahon 2010, especially p. 3841.

well-documented scenarios in which speakers of a language community "select," at some cognitive (even volitional) level, persistence at the expense of innovation.

Selection for linguistic persistence characterizes communities of speakers who find themselves linguistically "highly isolated"[671] from the larger community of speakers in which their sociolinguistic origin is anchored and with which they identify culturally. This situation can be the consequence of population movement and entails the presence of the linguistic *other* – speakers of a different language (or language absence).[672] Such isolated speakers constitute a linguistic exclave. There is extensive documentation of language communities of this sort. Examples are to found, for instance, among the surveys of Ornstein-Galacia 1989 (such as that of New Mexico Spanish, a vestigial dialect of Peninsular Spanish introduced into the American Southwest in the sixteenth century [p. 293]) and in the various chapters in Schach 1980 that treat, chiefly, Germanic language communities in the American Midwest and Great Plains, but others as well, including Czech. For example, Hedblom examines the

[671] Britain's (2004:43) term for such a linguistic community "sheltered from migration and frequent interaction with outside communities," which would seem to mean, in the context of his survey, "outside communities" of speakers of the (approximately) same language. See Britain's pp. 43–45 for a helpful survey.

[672] On a possible distinction between "isolation and peripherality," see Trudgill 1997:18.

language of the Swedish community of Bishop Hill, Illinois and identifies it as the dialect "of the parish Hanebo in southern Hälsingland close to the border of Gästrikland" (1980:36), brought to the United States in the mid nineteenth century. He writes of his informant (p. 37): "In her lexicon the speaker has retained many words that have long since become obsolete in the original dialect, a circumstance that contributes strongly to the general impression of archaism."

7.3.1. Linguistic Persistence and Brazilian Southern American English

An intriguing case of linguistic persistence in an exclave – and one that may have particular relevance here as a sociolinguistic parallel – is provided by the English-speaking community of the Brazilian city of Americana, located eighty miles northwest of São Paolo. The city was established at the end of the American Civil War by émigrés from the defeated Confederacy of the American South who chose exile abroad rather than life at home under Union governance, as many as 10,000 by some estimates (Bailey and Smith 1992:75), as many as 40,000 by others (Trudgill 2002:42). Its community has maintained a distinct self-identity and English use since its founding (1867), though is presently bilingual English-Portuguese. Americana was the site of the most successful of the émigré communities; other such communities were founded at Belém, Santarém,

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and Espirito Santo (Bailey and Smith 1992:76). The expatriates of Americana and their descendants have been and continue to be identified by the name *Confederados*, a term that transparently preserves a reference to the conquered break-away Southern Confederacy, and are bound to one another by strong social and religious ties (being Low-Church Protestants in a Catholic country [Medeiros 1982:150; Bailey and Smith 1992:76]) and bound to the memory of the ancestral society from which they are descended (Montgomery and Melo 1990:199). This memory is perpetuated by oral and written tradition, by communal celebratory rites (including veneration of their dead), and by a fraternal organization, the *Fraternidade de Descendência Americana* (Medeiros 1982:150).[673]

The English of the Confederados, or Brazilian SAE (Southern American English), is viewed as a persistent dialect of the mid-nineteenth century southern United States – a vestige of speech from a distant time and place. Montgomery and Melo (whose study was based on available video recordings of Brazilian SAE speakers) characterize

[673] On communal festivals see also the *Guardian* article of 27 April 2015, "Deep, Deep South: Brazilians Proudly Celebrate their Confederate Ancestry." On recent controversies over displays of the Confederate flag at communal festivals and the community response to the global Black Lives Matter movement, see the *Washington Post* article of 11 July 2020, "The Lost the Civil War and Fled to Brazil. Their Descendants Refuse to Take Down the Confederate Flag."

Brazilian SAE as "a time capsule that may hold a key to understanding patterns of Southern American English . . . of the mid-19th century" (Montgomery and Melo 1990:196).[674] More recent fieldwork was undertaken by Poplack and Sankoff (in 2003). All of their informants considered Portuguese to be their first language; Labov (2015:290–291) reports that the informants (members of an extended family group), however, "spoke only English while talking among themselves and spoke Portuguese with other household members." From their data Labov identifies more features distinctive of Southern English in the speech of the Confederados than had surfaced in the earlier investigation of Montgomery and Melo. As Labov's comments just above suggest, the Brazilian-SAE-speech community is fully bilingual. Medeiros (1982:151) reports that "code-switching is common" and that in informal settings in which English is spoken, Portuguese vocabulary "heavily" infiltrates the utterances.

Bailey and Smith (1992:86–87, an investigation conducted in the field utilizing native-speaker informants) emphasize that Brazilian SAE, while "archaic," must itself be the product of language evolution, at least to the extent that it shows some influence of Brazilian Portuguese, chiefly, and unsurprisingly, in the acquisition of Portuguese lexemes. Medeiros (1982:151–152) proposes to identify two fundamental

[674] See also Schneider 2003:26

types of "lexical interference" in Brazilian SAE: (1) the substitution of a Portuguese word that is similar in shape and meaning to an English word ("*simplesmente* for *simply*"), and (2) the borrowing (A) of vocabulary naming distinctive entities and ideas that the American immigrants first encountered in Brazil (such as the grain meal *farinha*, and *caboclo*, term denoting a person of mixed European and indigenous descent) but also (B) of words that encode what English-speakers must have perceived to be conspicuous markers of Brazilian culture (for example, *camarada* 'fellow', *fazenda* 'ranch'). Phonological influence of Brazilian Portuguese is also seen, as, for example, in the Brazilian SAE dental articulation of *t* and *d* and the pronunciation of *r* as a tap or uvular trill.[675] Montgomery and Melo (1990:211) draw attention to what they believe to be Portuguese suprasegmental influence, affecting intonation and pitch range; they similarly attribute an increased speech rate to Portuguese influence. Medeiros (1982:151) notes an accentual shift in some words: as examples she gives *ignoránt* and *alwáys*. She further points out that, conversely, there appears to have been "relatively little influence of English on the Portuguese of the community."

Differences between Brazilian SAE and contemporary Southern American English spoken within the US reveal that the latter has experienced conspicuous

[675] See Medeiros 1982:151; Montgomery and Melo 1990:211; Bailey and Smith 1992:86–87.

change since the end of the Civil War, becoming more distinct from other varieties of American English (Montgomery and Melo 1990:202–203 and 211–213). The continuing differentiation of regional dialects of Southern American English is of course well attested (see, *inter alia*, the collection of studies in Nagle and Sanders 2003, especially contributions by Dorrill, Feagin, Schneider, Tillery and Bailey, and Wolfram). There is, no less, evidence of more than a single regional form of nineteenth century SAE having been introduced into Brazil by the Confederados. Bailey and Smith (1992:80 and 86) find that the Brazilian SAE spoken in Americana is particularly closely related to the SAE of the lower American South, and this appears to be consistent with evidence suggesting that a large component of the expatriate community migrated out of Texas and Alabama (though they state that there was some body of émigrés from almost every state of the former Confederacy). They remark, however, that contrary to earlier reports, there remain English-speaking descendants of those people who formed expatriate communities in Amazonian areas (presumably Belém and Santarém) and that, based on preliminary findings, these people appear to have descended from émigrés from the upper South (p. 88n4).

Note that in spite of the isolated status and conservatism of Brazilian SAE, there appears to have been contact with individuals from the southern United States up until

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the time of the First World War. On the basis of informant interviews, Bailey and Smith (1992:77) report that "a steady stream of Southern American missionaries and teachers served the Americana community."

7.3.2. Linguistic Persistence and Social Networks

The phenomenon of linguistic persistence in isolated language communities appears to be bound closely to the existence of strong social networks within the community.[676] Milroy and Milroy (1985:375) express this generalization in the form of the hypothesis "linguistic change is slow to the extent that the relevant populations are well established and bound by strong ties, whereas it is rapid to the extent that weak ties exist in populations." They test out this hypothesis, and find confirmation, through a comparison of Icelandic and English:[677]

> Whereas English has changed radically since the twelfth century and has at all recoverable periods exhibited gross dialectal variation, Icelandic has altered

[676] See Milroy and Milroy 1985, especially pp. 354–355, 362, 370, 373, 375, 378–380.

[677] See their discussion on pp. 375–379. The quote is from p. 375.

> little since the thirteenth century and reportedly shows very little dialect variation.[678]

The linguistic persistence displayed by Icelandic, they propose, is due not only to its geographic isolation but to strong network ties of kin and friend broadly uniting members of the Icelandic speech community coupled with relatively weak institutional power, as evidenced in the Medieval Sagas, at a time when England was experiencing extensive internal social differentiation and stratification from population incursions and resulting weak ties. Milroy and Milroy see another source of the loss of strong ties within England to be the rise of London as a commercial and governing center that attracted immigration and with it a consequent dialect mixing that contributed to linguistic innovation in a context of weak social ties. There was no comparable center of gravity in Medieval Iceland; instead Icelanders looked abroad for economic opportunity realized through sea voyage followed by a homeward return. An implication of this scenario is that while Icelanders existed in an isolated setting with strong social bonds, and their language, in consequence, shows extensive persistence,

[678] Similar is the case of Faroese, which, unlike the Scandinavian languages of continental Europe, has shown itself to resist morphological simplification. See, *inter alia*, Askedal 2005:1872, 1880.

they were not without interaction with related peoples in distant places who spoke related languages – especially Norwegians and Danes, but also Anglo-Saxons.[679]

7.3.3. Linguistic Innovation in Isolated Language Communities

While linguistic systems – languages and dialects – that exist in isolation are characterized by persistence they are not fully immune to language change. While it seems that relatively little work has been done on diachronic variation in isolated language communities, some evidence exists which suggests that language change in such communities may be fundamentally different from the types of language change that occur among languages in contact. Trudgill suggests that the differences may be consequent to the status of the *language learners* who drive change in the two settings: in the case of languages in contact it is the "post-adolescent non-native speaker";[680] for an isolated language it is the biologically linguistically endowed neonate acquiring a native language (Trudgill 1989a:232). In a contact setting, language change tends to be

[679] On trade with Europe in Medieval Iceland see recently Smith 2015, with bibliography of earlier work.

[680] In Trudgill 1992 (pp. 197–198) the author writes of "non-native adults and post-adolescents" (see also Trudgill 1989b:248–249). At Trudgill 2010:313 this idea is rephrased: language simplification as a consequence of contact results from "post-critical threshold non-native language learning" (see also Trudgill 2011:40). On the "crucial threshold," see just below.

of a type that may be grossly described as a process of simplification: the generation of pidgins and creoles provides the most blatant example of this. Though "complication," or "complexification,"[681] may also occur in a contact setting, notably "in long-term co-territorial contact situations involving child bilingualism": what is crucial in determining the difference appears to be a matter of the "critical threshold" of child language learning (Trudgill 2011:34–43).[682] In other words (and in a particular expression), one might say, in contact settings some degree of complexification can occur when a language community's crucial *contact* is with a new generation of native speakers that it itself produces with the biological assistance of non-native speakers.

There is good evidence that within an isolated language community, the tendency is for change to be a matter of complexification.[683] Drawing on Andersen's (1988) study of isolated languages in various remote European locales and his finding that change in these communities was of a different order (Andersen writes of "exorbitant" [pp. 61, 67, 70, and 73] or "slightly unusual" [p. 70] change), Trudgill

[681] The term "complexification," as opposed to "complication," will be used herein, though in terms of the historical development of Trudgill's sociolinguistic narrative its use in some instances will be anachronistic.

[682] See also Trudgill 2010:310–313, as well as Labov 2007:382.

[683] For summary discussion with bibliography see Trudgill 2011:73–115.

(1989a) suggests that change in "low-contact social contexts" may result in outcomes such as "an increase in redundancy," sound change that is "unusual" (finding the proper adjective is difficult; in this work Trudgill opts for "connatural"),[684] increased morphological opacity,[685] even morphological irregularity – in other words, complexification – change that departs from the norm (vis-à-vis change that occurs in a contact setting). But Trudgill is undoubtedly right in cautioning his readers that the so-called "norm" is a context-dependent concept, one based principally upon much more robustly chronicled changes within language communities not existing in isolation (Trudgill 1989a:229–231, 234).[686] In later work, Trudgill (1992:199–209 and 1997:8, 11–19) more explicitly connects these "complexification" and "unusual changes" to the sort of strong social ties in low-contact language communities that Milroy and Milroy discuss. In effect, when change does occur in isolated languages, the

[684] In developing his discussion, Trudgill also makes recourse to Bailey's (1982) concept of "connatural change" – "those that take place when languages are left alone, i.e. when they have no contact with other systems." (quoted by Trudgill on p. 233). See also Trudgill 1989b:246–247.

[685] On an increase in opacity as an element of complexification see Trudgill 2011, especially pp. 83–85, and also pp. 91–95, where the focus is on loss of transparency through the developments of fusional morphology.

[686] See also Trudgill 1989b:248, 251–252; 1992:205–207.

network of interweaving strong social bonds among its speakers may facilitate maintenance of linguistic complexification.[687] What constitutes "complexification" is interpreted as, *inter alia*, redundancy; the addition of segmental features; allophonic complexity; fast speech phenomena, to which can be added the maintenance of morphological complexity.

7.4. Miletus and Ahhiyawan Millawanda

If Rose (2008:412, 420) can find no archaeological evidence for population movements that can equate to Aeolian settlement of Asia Minor in the early first millennium, it is undeniable that there was a Greek presence in that place at the turn of the millennia. Greek occupation of sites in western coastal Asia Minor during the Mycenaean, Submycenaean, and Protogeometric periods, and later, is assured by textual and archaeological data. As noted above, Rose (pp. 407–408) draws attention to archaeological evidence for a Mycenaean settlement of Miletus, to which we need to pay some attention, following here chiefly the meticulous presentation of Niemeier 2005 (with extensive bibliography). Mycenaean occupation of the site appears to have

[687] In Trudgill 1992 and 1997 conservative and isolated Faroese serves as something of a test case vis-à-vis innovative Norwegian.

begun in Miletus V, a phase extending from ca. second half of the fifteenth century BC to 1300 BC; this is indicated by the locally produced domestic pottery which is almost solely of Mycenaean type, by the presence of Mycenaean ritual figurines, and further suggested by a preserved house of Oikos-2 type, typical of the Greek mainland beginning in the Early Bronze Age (Niemeier 2005:10–11). The impressively large quantity of pottery kilns of Miletus V and VI (one of the highest concentrations in the Aegean during the Bronze Age) "demonstrate that Mycenaean Miletus was an important pottery production centre," exporting to southwest Anatolia, and perhaps as far away as the Peloponnese and Ugarit during the Miletus VI period (ca. thirteenth to eleventh century BC); fragments of two locally produced pithoi from Miletus VI bear incised symbols that may be regional variants of Linear B syllabic symbols (Niemeier 2005:12). The single house preserved from Miletus VI is an example of the Corridor-House type, known examples of which are uniquely Mycenaean ("found during the 14th and 13th centuries BC all over the Mycenaean world"; Niemeier 2005:12–13). Additional Mycenaean ritual figurines survive from Miletus VI. Eleven canonical Mycenaean chamber tombs have been excavated, containing mostly Mycenaean grave goods (Niemeier 2005:13).[688]

[688] The tombs were excavated in 1908 and the finds subsequently warehoused in Berlin at the

Millawanda (/Milawata), widely regarded to be Greek Miletus, is one of the places principally associated with a contingent of Ahhiyawa (i.e. Achaeans) in the Hittite record; this is so regardless of the scope of the geopolitical entity denoted by the place name *Aḫḫiyawā*. Millawanda is mentioned in several of the Hittite Ahhiyawa texts – AhT 1B and AhT 4–6[689] (dating from ca. the late fourteenth/early thirteenth to the late thirteenth century). AhT 1B records a victory of the Hittite king Mursili II over Millawanda, then under Ahhiyawan control; the event is dated to the third year of his reign, ca. 1319 BC, and chronologically correlates closely with the end of Miletus V, an event that is marked by a heavy destruction layer revealing widespread conflagration across the site (Niemeier 2005:12 and 19–20).

This Achaean setback was temporary. At the time of the composition of the letter AhT 4, probably during the reign of Hattusili III (the middle of the thirteenth century),[690] Millawanda was under the control of a Ahhiyawan sovereign, one awarded the peer status of LUGAL.GAL 'Great King' by the Hittite monarch from whom the letter

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Antikenabteilung and, chiefly, the Pergamon Museum. At the time of publication of Niemeier 2005, he notes that the publication of the finds was in progress.

[689] Utilized here is the numbering system devised by Beckman, Bryce, and Cline (2011:xiv). For AhT 1B, 4, 5, and 6 the respective CTH numbers are 61.II; 181; 182; and 183.

[690] See Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011:122.

came. Such an Ahhiyawan sovereign figure was the author of AhT 6, possibly composed (in the reign of Muwatalli II) just a bit earlier than AhT 4;[691] AhT 6 is a fragmentary letter that concerns the control of certain islands to which the Mycenaean king lays claim.[692]

The latest of these several Hittite documents appears to be AhT 5 (late thirteenth century), a letter that deals with, among other matters, reestablishment of the boundaries of Millawanda. In this document there is no mention of any Ahhiyawan individual playing a role in the boundary setting. It is thus almost certainly the case that by the end of the thirteenth century Millawanda was no longer under Achaean control: "With its loss, Ahhiyawa must have ceased to exercise any effective influence anywhere on the Anatolian mainland" in the view of Beckman, Bryce, and Cline (2011:132). Soon thereafter the palace society of Mycenaean Greece and the Hittite kingdom both collapsed. But loss of sovereign control of Millawanda probably did not result in Mycenaean abandonment, contends Vanschoonwinkel (2006:128), echoing the position of Niemeier and Niemeier (1997:199–205).

[691] For the dissenting view that the Ahhiyawan king is recipient of the letter, rather than its sender, see Weeden 2019.

[692] On the nature of the orthographic process of transmitting a Mycenaean Greek composition to a Hittite sovereign, see Melchert 2020a.

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How long the Achaean population did continue without interruption in Millawanda is unclear. There is evidence of destruction of the site ca. 1100 BC. The fragments of Submycenaean pottery and the Protogeometric pottery that appear above the destruction level "show close connections to Attica" (Niemeier 2005:20; see also Vanschoonwinkel 2006:128–129). The appearance of abundant Protogeometric materials in the region is linked to the tradition of Ionian migrations to Asia Minor ca. 1050–950 BC and thus has bearing on an Achaean-Ionian population transition at Miletus.[693] The very notion of an *Ionian migration* has of course had its detractors who would see the ancient traditions as merely fabrications for political and ideological ends, and nothing more;[694] but, as Niemeier (2005:21) succinctly and rightly observes regarding the appearance of Ionic in Ionia (i.e. West Ionic, as a system distinct from East Ionic and closely related Attic): "I see no other cause for this change in language than the migration of Greek speaking groups to the west coast of Asia Minor." That formulation must be correct.

7.5. Asian Aeolic Without an Aeolian Migration

[693] On the migrations, see recently Herda 2013a:426–428. On Iron Age Miletus see also, *inter alia*, Mac Sweeney 2013:44–79.

[694] See, for example, the summary comments of Rose 2008:9, with bibliography; also p. 422.

There is Aeolic language in Anatolia. The ancients – native speakers of first-millennium BC Greek – were aware of its presence there and of ties between its communities of speakers and Balkan Aeolian communities of speakers. To co-opt Niemeier – I can see no other cause for the presence of Aeolic language in Anatolia than the migration of Greek-speaking peoples to the west coast of Asia Minor. But Rose has told us there is no readable archaeological record revealing an "Aeolian migration" in the Early Iron Age. I will accept that judgment. How then did Aeolic find its way to Asia Minor? Again adapting Niemeier – I can see no other cause than the presence of Aeolic speakers in Asia Minor already in the Bronze Age. In other words, an early expression of Aeolic language – let us call it "*Ur*-Aeolic" – was a Mycenaean language-form spoken by Ahhiyawans who inhabited western Anatolia. (In the first few chapters of this book we have already met with Mycenaean dialects and seen some tendency for agreement of Special Mycenaean with Aeolic as we know it from a post-Mycenaean era.) Hence, Lesbian continues *Ur*-Aeolic *in situ*, while Thessalian and Boeotian would appear in Balkan Greece in the Iron Age, in the period of the so-called "Dark Age," subsequent to the demise of the Hittite and Mycenaean civilizations.

7.6. Some Interpretative Conclusions

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Ur-Aeolic is to be identified with a form of Mycenaean Greek preserved in an Achaean exclave in western coastal Anatolia before and after the collapse of Mycenaean control over portions of the region. We have seen Aeolic to be characterized by the retention of archaism – a persistent form of Greek. We have seen that this is generally a characteristic of languages that exist in isolation – that is, low-contact languages and dialects. A body of speakers of Mycenaean Greek existed in Late-Bronze-Age and Early-Iron-Age western Anatolia – such as those speakers who composed the Mycenaean community of pre-Ionian Miletus. As a whole, such speakers existed in geographic isolation from their Mycenaean homeland throughout much of the history of the Achaean population of Miletus, and other western Anatolian locale; though there was unmistakably intercourse between the eastern and western Mycenaean communities, Asian and European: we will examine the nature of this interaction in detail in coming chapters; for the moment consider, for instance, the evidence provided by references to a Milesian man (*mi-ra-ti-jo*), or men, on a set of Theban tablets (Fq 177; 198; 214; 244; 254+255; 269; and see below, §8.4). More isolated still was that Anatolian Greek community following the collapse of Balkan Mycenaean society as the Bronze Age came to an end.

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Compare with this Mycenaean scenario the isolation of Medieval Icelandic, and the corresponding persistence of archaisms in the Icelandic language, in spite of ongoing contact with Scandinavia and England by the sea-faring Icelanders. With the loss of political control of Miletus in the late thirteenth century and, much more so, with the collapse of Mycenaean palace society on the Greek mainland, the Achaeans of western coastal Anatolia would have existed in an even deeper state of isolation. Here compare too the degree of isolation, if largely of a self-imposed nature, of the Brazilian communities of the Confederados, chiefly as known from the community of Americana, that arose with the destruction and collapse of the Confederate state, and their persistent dialect of Southern American English.

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Chapter Eight

Aeolian Patronymics and the Mycenaean *Hek^{w}etai*

8.1. Introduction

We saw in Chapter Seven that Trudgill has hypothesized that when language change *does* occur in isolated (i.e. low-contact, characterized-by-strong-social-bonds) language communities, the changes that happen involve "complexification," as opposed to the fundamental simplification that tends to occur in non-isolated (i.e. high-contact, characterized-by-weaker-social-bonds) language communities – that the changes tend to be, in some sense, unusual ("connatural"). Is the model of an *Ur*-Aeolic taking shape among isolated Achaean communities in western coastal Asia Minor consistent with these observations on language *change* in an isolated speech community? We will begin this chapter with an examination of a phenomenon that offers a positive response to that question and from that beginning will expand the examination to address consequent, pertinent issues of Mycenaean language and

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society within a trans-Aegean context as documented in both Mycenaean and Hittite records.

8.2. Aeolian Patronymics within an Anatolian Context

A particular expression of Trudgill's hypothesized language complexification is linguistic redundancy. As noted in §6.3 (1B), the regular employment of a patronymic adjective formed with *-(e)ios* (-[ε]ιος) is unique to Aeolic among the ancient Greek dialects. There is more to the story: two points need to be made. First of all, even in possession of this patronymic adjective, Lesbian, Boeotian, and Thessalian all also use genitive case nouns to express a patronymic relationship;[695] the use of the genitive is a typical Greek mode for encoding such a relationship. Whatever distributional sense might be made of the use of these two Aeolic constructions (adjectival and genitival), if any, this is a clear case of the dialectal implementation of redundancy – unique redundancy – and one which can be assigned to a common Aeolic period. The second point is this: the use of a patronymic adjective having this morphology is a feature that Aeolic shares with Anatolian Indo-European – notably Luvian. Watkins, for example,

[695] See, *inter alia*, Buck 1955:134; Thumb and Scherer 1959:44–45; 53, 73–74, 107; Morpurgo Davies 1968; Vottéro 1987; Hodot 1990:224–229.

addresses this in an essay on Anatolia and areal diffusion of linguistic features, writing (Watkins 2001:58):[696]

> The Luvian languages mostly share the property that a derived inflected relational adjective fills the function of the genitive case in nouns. The derivational morphemes are Luvian *-assi/a-* or *-iya-*. Aeolic like the other dialects of Greek has a (cognate) relational adjective in *i(y)o-*; but only in Aeolic is the patronymic genitive of the father's name replaced by a relational adjective derived from the father's name.[697]

[696] See also Watkins 2000a:1144.

[697] See earlier Pisani 1960:22 and Puhvel 1991a. Watkins interpretation has been challenged by Bianconi (see §3.2 of his 2019 dissertation; see also Bianconi 2020 for summary), questioning if contact between Luvian and Proto-Aeolic can be demonstrated. I am hopeful that this monograph may put that question to rest. Hajnal (2018:2046–2047 [and see earlier Hajnal 2014:111–112 for the same points]) draws attention to the feature as one shared by post-Mycenaean Lesbian and Luvian, contending that Lesbian was not "influenced by the Anatolian languages" in this regard. This is of course so: diffusion of the Anatolian feature to Mycenaean is a second-millennium BC phenomenon that occurred prior to the evolution of Lesbian as a discrete linguistic system. A significant problem with Hajnal's analysis is that he frames the diffusion in terms of morphological borrowing. But Mycenaeans were not borrowing an -

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The relational adjective marks patronymic relationships in both Aeolic and Luvian – that is, Cuneiform Luvian. The (for the most part) later-attested Hieroglyphic Luvian too makes use of the relational adjective, while also preserving a genitive case form, ending in *-sa*; and these two formants can be utilized in combination. In the instance of mixed use, the relational adjective is the morphology that seemingly tends to be attached to *kinship terms*, while the genitive case morphology can mark the *actual name* of the father, or grandfather (i.e. functions as a patronymic marker).[698] Phrase structure and morphological considerations look to play a role in distribution of the two markers, and in the absence of an overt kinship term the relational adjective can serve as the patronymic marker.[699]

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iya-morpheme from Luvian, they were adopting the Luvian patronymic system by assigning to their cognate Greek *-iyo*-suffix an additional – i.e. patronymic – function.

[698] See Melchert 1990:202–204.

[699] See Bauer 2014:159, 164, 181–186. Regarding phrase structure and morphology, Bauer summarizes (p. 186): "Firstly, there is a tendency to restructure NPs by eliminating all nouns but the head through derivation, a process which has probably been influenced by language contact with Hurrian. Secondly, NP simplification takes place first and foremost in oblique case NPs . . . ."

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8.2.1. Aeolian Patronymic Adjectives: A Case of Grammatical Diffusion

Without offering a process model, Watkins advocates for this Luvian-Aeolic agreement being the consequence of a diffused grammatical feature: "It is a type of diffusional grammaticalization" and the direction of the "areal diffusion [is] from Anatolian to Greek" (p. 59).[700] An isolated community of Ur-Aeolic speakers with strong internal social bonds situated in western coastal Anatolia – one which (by Trudgill's

[700] Watkins here appears to be modifying a position that he had set out in an earlier work. In a 1967 Festschrift for Roman Jakobson, Watkins contributed an essay in which he offers various remarks on the use of the genitive case in Indo-European. In this 1967 work he draws attention (pp. 2194–2196) to the Aeolic patronymic adjective (identifying the father), used in coordination with a genitive (identifying the grandfather) in naming constructions found in Aeolic inscriptions. With this structure Watkins makes explicit comparison to what he characterizes as a parallel Slavic construction; on the basis of the comparison he proposes that the Aeolic practice "continues an inherited feature" (and [following Chomsky 1957:72] uses a transformational analysis to describe the generation of the constructions). But the compared Slavic construction is quite distinct from Aeolic naming practice: it is a general syntactic phenomenon of Old Slavic and not used to build a patronymic naming system. The use of a possessive adjective, in lieu of a genitive of possession, is common in Old Slavic: it is used when the referenced possessor is animate and when the grammatical expression of the possessor is not modified. If a grammatical modifier accompanies the expressed possessor, the genitive (or alternatively the dative) case is used. For discussion of the Slavic practice see Lunt 2011:146–147; 179–180.

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model of low-contact speech communities) would be given to in-group linguistic complexification, but one which would be susceptible, just as in the case of the Brazilian Confederados, to a degree of linguistic influence by neighboring peoples – would provide the very recipient audience required for such a process of areal diffusion to occur.[701] Recent work in sociolinguistics and linguistic typology has emphasized that this sort of areal diffusion is a fundamental element of the process of linguistic complication. What is crucial here, however, is that this is not diffusion of linguistic features that results in native features being replaced by non-native; it is instead a process by which new linguistic features are added and continue alongside those already existing in the recipient language community, what has been called "additive

[701] It is worth mentioning that this is one of two cases of Anatolian-Greek areal diffusion that Watkins presents in tandem. The other (2001:58) involves East Ionic (including the Ionic of Homeric diction) and its unique use, among Greek dialects, of an unaugmented iterative imperfective formed with the inherited suffix -σκε-, a construction that Watkins suggests arose by a diffusion of Anatolian marked imperfectives, formed in Hittite with *-ške-* and in Luvian with *-za-* (on the Anatolian verbal morphology see Watkins 2004:565 and Melchert 2004:581). And he mentions the prospect of a third (p. 59), following a suggestion offered by Jasanoff: the Pamphylian Greek voicing of stops following nasals as a feature diffused from Sidetic. On other possible examples of Anatolian influence on Pamphylian, see Brixhe 1976:147.

borrowing."[702] Such a phenomenon appears to be a function of what we identified in Chapter Seven (§7.3.2) as "pre-threshold contact" – an instantiation of this that entails a new generation of native speakers being born into a speech community with ethnic and linguistic connections that extend beyond the existing native speakers of that community. This additive process is precisely what we see in the case of the proposed diffusion of a patronymic adjective from Anatolian to Aeolic. Should it be that the Aeolic naming system is not fully identical to the Anatolian, that is only what one would expect in a scenario of linguistic diffusion consequent to cultural hybridization.

In a 2011 article García-Ramón objects to a diffusion model, without referencing Watkins directly at this point in his discussion (2011a:38–39), asserting, without elaboration, that the systems are not identical in Anatolian and Greek. Lack of identity is not problematic for the sociolinguistic model herein employed but consistent with it. García-Ramón also states in passing that a similar use of the inherited adjectival suffix is to be seen in the Sabellian languages of the Italic family, as well as Venetic, Messapic, and Phrygian, in the last-named case offering as an example *Agip-eia* 'Frau des Agipos'. This is a form found at Gordion (G-135) in a fragmentary one-line inscription reading "?]ΑΓΙΠΕΙΑ." We could add to this the feminine and masculine forms *Lagineios* (G-110),

[702] See particularly Trudgill 2011:26–32, with bibliography.

Agineia (G-276; perhaps *[L]agineia*; cf. the preceding masculine), *Imeneia* (G-183B), and *Voineios* (G-145), and also from Midas City, *K↑/φianaveyos* (M-01b, M-02), some of which forms have been proposed to be ethnics or titles.[703] If some subset of the Phrygian forms should in fact be read as patronymics, this would be interesting and, perhaps, unsurprising, as we are dealing with an Anatolian areal feature.

Concerning naming practices of Italy[704] – the earliest Roman naming system appears to have involved assigning only a single name – Romulus, Remus, Faustulus etc. (so Probus *De praenominibus* 4.1 and so on), consistent with common Indo-European mononymic practice.[705] The use of a *nomen* (*gentilicium* – that is, used to identify members of a *gens*) coupled with a *praenomen* (and eventually with a *cognomen* –

[703] See the discussion of these individually in Obrador Cursach 2018:128, 193, 227, 229, 291–292, with bibliography.

[704] The bibliography is expansive. See recently, *inter alia*, Maras 2017:71–83, and see especially the somewhat less recent discussion of Salway 1994, both with bibliography.

[705] And in a later period "New Romans," and some "Old," would effectively return to a mononomial system; see Salway 1994:133–145.

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generating the familiar structure of the *tria nomina*)[706] provides a naming system that shows up across the Italian peninsula in antiquity, utilized by speakers of Indo-European (Italic and non-Italic, including Celtic, it seems) languages and non-Indo-European (Etruscan) alike (a "binominality" that was "a relatively unparalleled situation in the ancient world").[707] Among Romans, it would appear that the coupling of *praenomen* and *nomen* had begun by the mid seventh century BC.[708] The Italian adjectival *nomen* is described as patronymic in reference; ca. early seventh century BC, it would appear, the practice began of assigning to children the father's *nomen*, which in turn would be assigned to their own children, and likewise in the next generation, with a given *nomen* thus being perpetuated on and on, and so looking to a distant

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[706] Though, as Salway (1994:144) points out regarding the system that incorporates a *cognomen*, "the fact that the heyday of the *tria nomina* coincides with the most studied period of Roman history and literature has given rise to the normative position accorded it."

[707] Salway 1994:125, who also observes that "in Italy the Indo-European single personal name survived as the relatively insignificant *praenomen*."

[708] See the recent discussion in Smith 2006:18–20, with bibliography.

moment for its beginning.[709] As Smith (2006:15) puts it, regarding the so-called patronyms, "these figures are mythical, and . . . the relationship to a single ancestor is fictitious." Further features that Smith illuminates regarding the eponymous "mythical *princeps*" is that there was considerable fluidity in the linkages that a given *gens* could make to its idealized ancestor and that, interestingly, "many of the stories are connected with ritual activity."[710] Salway (1994:126) offers that "the emphasis on the paternal line suggests the practice's origin may be associated with the institution of *patria potestas*." Following upon Smith's insightful and balanced 2006 study,[711] as well as earlier work, Maras (2017:74–75) surmises that the adoption of the patronymic naming

[709] But "the two-name system, with what appears to be a *nomen gentilicium*, appears in Etruria almost at the same time as writing itself, around 700 BC. A simple single-name system still continues, and there are some instances of the *nomen gentilicium* on its own" (Smith 2006:158).

[710] See Smith 2006:41, and surrounding pages for discussion. One thinks of the common Greek use of *-ios* (-ιος) to form theophoric names, such as *Apollōnios* (Ἀπολλώνιος), *Dionúsios* (Διονύσιος) and so on. Salway (1994:136) draws attention to the "striking" occurrence of a great many late Roman *cognomina* ending in *-ius* – an adaptation of the Greek theophoric practice.

[711] Among several interesting points that Smith makes is the observation that (2006:20) "the connection between the *nomen* and the *gens* might be derived from observation of common behaviour, rather than an original feature of either phenomenon. If the *nomen* is indeed an adjectival patronymic, one cannot simply derive from it the notion of social institutions larger than the agnatic family."

element is bound to the *paterfamilias* and laws of inheritance and the perpetuation of the *nomen* reinforced property rights attached to a *gens*. In Latin and elsewhere derivation is with *-ius* (or *-eius* and *-aeus*); *-elio-* is found in Latino-Faliscan; *-idio-* occurs in Oscan, Umbrian, and Latin usage; Umbrian also uses *-ēno-* (compare Etruscan *-na*); the formants *-a*/*-as* and *-o* can be seen in Etruria.[712] For Etruscan see especially Rix 1972:706–707, 728–733, 737–739, as well as Maras 2017:75–82. The commonality of Latin and Etruscan practice by ca. 650 BC "suggest a development general within the 'Tyrrhenian cultural koiné' of the seventh century (Salway 1994:126). On nomenclatural and morphological variation in Venetic naming practice see Wallace 2004:851–852. For the practice among Messapians of southeastern Italy see Rix 1972:708–709.[713] It seems sufficiently clear that the pan-Italian attachment of

[712] See Rix 1972:718–732; Salway 1994:125n12.

[713] In discussions of the Anatolian/Aeolic patronymic attention is sometimes drawn to the Old Persian clan and dynastic name *Haxāmaniš-iya-* 'Achaemenid' as evidencing an ancestral use of *-iyo- to produce patronymics (as, for example, by Yakubovich 2010:149, though he limits his remarks to pointing to the phenomenon of adding *-iyo- to form possessive adjectives from personal names). The Old Persian form, attached to the fabled (possibly fictional) eponymous clan ancestor named *Haxāmaniš* (Greek *Akhaiménēs* [Ἀχαιμένης]), does not, however, suggest any Persian *system* of patronymic formation but only an unsurprising application of a broadly-functioning inherited suffix that was used to encode various

attributive-derivative morphology to a man's name to provide a gentilic naming device is a distinctive phenomenon that is to be localized in the Italian peninsula, whatever the scenario in which it arose, one that again demonstrates, among Indo-European speakers, an innovative application of available inherited morphological elements.

8.2.2. Mycenaean Patronymic Adjectives

The singular Iron-Age Aeolic naming practice is one already attested in the Bronze-Age documents of the Mycenaean Greeks. Spelled *-i-jo* in Linear B orthography, this patronymic is identical in form to a variety of relational adjectives – ethnic or toponymic adjectives, possessive adjectives.[714] The occurrence of the patronymic in Mycenaean is quite rare (in his study of kinship in Mycenaean tablets, Carlier

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notions of appurtenance in early Indo-European. The same formant appears as one of the several suffixes used in the complex process of Sanskrit patronymic formation discussed by Pāṇini in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, on which see, *inter alia*, Deo 2007 and Kiparsky 2009:39–42.

[714] In light of the polysemy of *–i-jo*, Ruijgh (1967:139) writes regarding men's names formed in *–i-jo*: "Il est rare que l'interprétation d'un anthroponyme soit à peu près certaine." Carlier (1999:191) appropriately takes a conservative approach: "Il est parfois difficile de distinguer, parmi les adjectifs en *i-jo*, les adjectifs patronymiques et les adjectifs à valeur ethnique ou toponymique. . . . Je m'en tiendrai ici aux patronymiques qui accompagnent un nom personnel." On onomastic formulas expressing patronymic relationships see recently Duhoux 2017.

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[1999:191–193] identifies thirteen, all from Pylos); this is a state of affairs that must signal some cultural significance for those instances in which the scribes of the palace archives choose to use such an identifier. The patronymic *e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo* occurs on Pylos tablet An 654, one of the warrior (so called "military") tablets that inventory numbers of men and their deployments. Appearing as something of an addendum to the numbers of men tallied in this tablet is a reference to an individual named *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo, e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo*, that is 'Alectryon, son of Eteocles'. This Alectryon is further characterized as a *hek*^{w}*etās* (*e-qe-ta*), a term with clear military associations and in that light probably best understood in the nuance 'ally, warrior companion'. The Mycenaean term *hek*^{w}*etās* is one that is attested in the post-Mycenaean period. Before further considering the Mycenaean word let us first examine its reflex in the post-Mycenaean archaic period.

8.3. Post-Mycenaean hepétēs/hepétās (ἑπέτης/ἑπέτᾱς)

With the elimination of labiovelars, Mycenaean *hek*^{w}*etās* later takes the form *hepétēs/hepétās* (ἑπέτης/ἑπέτᾱς [i.e. Attic-Ionic/elsewhere]). It is a rarely attested word in the first millennium, found earliest in Pindar's *Pythian Odes* 5.

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8.3.1. Pindar, hepétās (ἑπέτᾱς), and an Aeolian Context

Pindar knows *hepétās* (ἑπέτᾱς) and uses it conspicuously in his ode for Arcesilas IV of Cyrene, victor in the chariot race in 462 BC,[715] in lines that reverberate with epic diction. Pindar begins *Pythian Odes* 5 with the claim (lines 1–4):

ὁ πλοῦτος εὐρυσθενής,
ὅταν τις ἀρετᾷ κεκραμένον καθαρᾷ
βροτήσιος ἀνὴρ πότμου παραδόντος αὐτὸν ἀνάγῃ
πολύφιλον <u>ἑπέτᾱν</u>.

Wealth is wide-mighty,
whenever, mingled with flawless valor,
some mortal man – when Destiny has handed it over – takes it up
as an <u>ally</u> like many near and dear ones.

[715] The chariot driver is named as Carrotos (Κάρρωτος; see lines 26–42). According to the historian Theotimus (fr. 1 FHG; ca. second century BC) the chariot driver was brother-in-law to Arcesilas (see also *Scholia in Pindarum* [*scholia vetera* (=Drachmann 1966–1969)] 5.34.

Pindar goes on to proclaim in lines 5–8 that Arcesilas has for all his life 'pursued' (*metanísomai* [μετανίσομαι]) such an ally – that is, *ploûtos* (πλοῦτος) 'wealth' – together with *eudoksía* (εὐδοξία) 'honor' – that attribute which Simonides (fr. 26 Page) imputes to those who died at Thermopylae as he writes of the *aénaon kléos* (ἀέναον κλέος) 'ever-flowing fame' of Leonidas – the fame that he acquired through his battle deeds.[716] Pindar here describes *ploûtos* 'wealth' as *eurusthenḗs* (εὐρυσθενής) 'wide-mighty'.[717] Consistent with Pindar's other uses of the adjective *eurusthenḗs*,[718] in the generalized expression of *Pythian Odes* 5, *ploûtos* can be undertood as a personified powerful force serving as ally to a *brotḗsios anḗr* (βροτήσιος ἀνήρ) 'mortal man' (line 3). Arcesilas is being portrayed as an *anḗr* (ἀνήρ), the word for 'man' that signals the sphere of physical

[716] On Pindar's notion of *ploûtos* (πλοῦτος) 'wealth' and its connection with *kléos* (κλέος), the 'fame' that the warrior acquires through his battle deeds, see Nagy 1990:282–284.

[717] *Eurusthenḗs* (εὐρυσθενής) is the adjective that Homer uses of Poseidon in the formulaic vocative *ennosígai' eurusthenés* (ἐννοσίγαι' εὐρυσθενές) 'O wide-mighty earth-shaker' (see *Iliad* 7.455 and 8.201; *Odyssey* 13.140).

[718] Pindar elsewhere uses *eurusthenḗs* (εὐρυσθενής) to describe *aretaí* (ἀρεταί) 'glorious deeds' (*Olympian Odes* 4.10); the Heraclids (*Olympian Odes* 7.22–23); the Sicilian city of Himera, the home in exile of Ergoteles, victor to whom the hymn is dedicated (*Olympian Odes* 12.2); the 'Earth-Holder' (*Gaiáokhos* [Γαιάοχος], i.e. Poseidon; *Olympian Odes* 13.80–81); the Alcmaeonids (*Pythian Odes* 7.2–3); Telamon (*Nemean Odes* 3.36); Pytheas (victor in the youths' Pancratium; *Nemean Odes* 5.4); and Apollo (*Isthmian Odes* 2.18–19).

force – a term that in the archaic period has always at its core the notion of fighting 'man' – who takes as his *hepétās* (ἑπέτᾱς) 'ally' wide-mighty *ploûtos* (πλοῦτος), a close companion that is *polúphilos* (πολύφιλος) 'like many near and dear ones'. The conjunction of a companion-in-arms and the near-and-dearness of *phílos* (φίλος) is of course one familiar from archaic epic.

In line three the adjective *brotḗsios* 'mortal', from *brotós* (βροτός) a 'mortal' (common in Homer), must be Aeolic, to gauge by the *ro* reflex of syllabic *r̥ (cf. Avestan *mərəta-* and Sanskrit *mr̥tá-* 'dead').[719] This is Pindar's only attested use of this Aeolic adjective;[720] the syntagmatic bundling of the Aeolic form with *hepétās* (ἑπέτᾱς) 'ally' is at the least intriguing. This is made more so by the morphological shape of the adjective, being formed in *-io-* as with Aeolic patronymics (does Pindar intend to present *brotḗsios*

[719] Homer uses the Aeolic adjective in the form *bróteos* (βρότεος) of the mortal *phōnḗ* (φωνή) 'voice' (*Odyssey* 19:545) and Hesiod uses *brotḗsios* (βροτήσιος) of mortal *érga* (ἔργα) 'labors' (*Works and Days* 773) and *bróteos* of mortal *khrṓs* (χρώς) 'flesh' (*Works and Days* 416) and of mortal *ménos* (μένος) 'might' (fr. 204.128 [MW]).

[720] On the formation of the adjective see Chantraine 1933:41. It has been editorially restored in fr. 52f:79–80 (*Paean* 6). Pindar uses Homer's *bróteos* (βρότεος) in *Olympian Odes* 9.34, *Pythian Odes* 1.41 and 12.1, *Nemean Odes* 3.74, *Isthmian Odes* 8.36, and frr. 61.4 and 222.3.

as if it were an Aeolic pseudo-patronymic, i.e. 'son of mortal man', in syntagmatic conjunction with *hepétās*?).[721]

But simply within the local context of the Pythian hymns there are clear indications that Pindar, a Boeotian, is foregrounding Aeolian connections with Cyrene. Both *Pythian Odes* 4 and 5 celebrate the Battiad basileus Arcesilas IV for a victory in the games of 462 BC, linking him with ancestral founding figures of Cyrene. In *Pythian* 4 Pindar rehearses at some length (lines 1–262 [out of 299 in total]) the tradition of the

[721] Also, Pindar's *Pythian* 5 seems to offer a mythic parallel to the "new" papyrus text of the Aeolian (Lesbian) poet Sappho, the so-named Brothers Song; for the text see Obbink 2014 and Burris, Fish, and Obbink 2014. In the lines just following those rehearsed above, Pindar makes reference to one of the Dioscuri, to Castor who brings *eudía* (εὐδία) 'good weather' following winter (lines 9–11; and cf. 116–123 for continuation of the theme). In the Brothers Song, Kurke (2016:252–262) understands that Sappho is likening her brothers to the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux) through, in part, reference to a daemon that Zeus sends to bring good weather; and she finds an explicit mythic parallel in Pindar's *Pythian* 5, taking this ode as one of her principal mythic guides ("the closest parallel" [p. 252]) for interpreting the Sappho poem. Kurke (p. 254) also draws the Aeolian poet Alcaeus (fr. 34a L-P) into the mix seeing an invoking of the Dioscuri in the face of "political turbulence" (*eudía* also denotes 'tranquility') as a common thread running through Pindar *Pythian* 5 and the two Lesbian poems (on the Brothers Song see also, *inter alia*, Nagy 2015b and 2017d). However, the authenticity of the "new" Sappho, at the moment, lies under a cloud of suspicion (see, *inter alia*, Higgins 2020 and Sabar 2020).

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Thessalian hero Jason and his Argonautic followers who sailed to Colchis in search of the Golden Fleece. Here the Argonaut Euphemus (*Eúphēmos* [Εὔφημος], said to be a son of Poseidon and Europa, daughter of Tityus [4.44]) is emphasized as an ancestor of the Battiad dynasty by the maternal agency of the women of Lemnos with whom the Argonauts slept in their eastern Aegean/western Asian exploits.

We saw just above that in the opening lines of *Pythian Odes* 5 Pindar uses a distinctive Aeolic adjective – one matching the morphological profile of an Aeolic patronymic adjective – and he does so in syntagmatic conjunction with the here nearly-uniquely attested nominal *hepétās* (ἑπέτᾱς) 'ally'. Similarly, it is within the lines of Pindar's retelling of the Argonautic epic in *Pythian* 4 that an Aeolic linguistic element is prominently on display: in his catalogue of Argonauts Pindar twice uses distinctive Aeolic forms of the perfect active participle. As pointed out in §6.3 (1A) and §6.6.5 (and see §10.3.2 below for fuller discussion), a conspicuous innovative feature of common Aeolic is the formation of perfect active participles with the formant *-ont-* (-οντ-), rather than with the inherited athematic formant *-wŏs-/-us-, which is regularly evidenced in post-Mycenaean dialects other than Lesbian, Thessalian, and Boeotian. At *Pythian Odes* 4.179 Pindar uses accusative plural *ke-khlád-ont-as* (κε-χλάδ-οντ-ας) of the

twin sons of Hermes – Echion and Erytus, from Alope in Thessaly[722] – whom the poet describes metaphorically as 'resounding' with youthful strength. Then four lines later (4.183) Pindar characterizes the two sons of Boreas – Zetes and Calaïs – as 'fighting men' (*ándres* [ἄνδρες]) who have backs *pe-phrík-ont-as* (πε-φρίκ-οντ-ας) 'that bristle' with purple wings. This packet of Aeolisms in the Argonautic catalogue of *Pythian* 4 is tied thematically with that of *Pythian* 5.3–4 by the mediate figure of Castor, whom we saw the poet to invoke in lines immediately following: he is (lines 9–11) *khrusármatos Kástōr* (χρυσάρματος Κάστωρ) 'Castor of the golden chariot' who provides *eudía* (εὐδία) for Arcesilas the chariot victor. Castor, together with his brother Pollux, is likewise numbered among the Argonauts, signaled by Pindar in his catalogue of *Pythian* 4 (lines 171–172) simply as sons of Zeus and Leda (and characterized, along with Heracles, as *akamantomákhos* [ἀκαμαντομάχος] 'tireless in the fight', an *hapax legomenon*).[723] The prospect that Pindar's *Pythian* 4 and 5, encomia for Arcesilas of Cyrene, have been

[722] Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* 1.51–52, with *Scholia in Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* [*scholia vetera* (= Wendel 1935)]; Hyginus *Fabulae* 14.3; Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* 1.224; Orphica *Argonautica* 134–136. See also Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8.311; Valerius Flaccus *Argonautica* 1.438–441.

[723] Compare Pindar's synonymous *akamanto-khármas* (ἀκαμαντο-χάρμας) used of Ajax in fr. 184 and his *akamanto-lónkhas* (ἀκαμαντο-λόγχας) 'untiring with the spear', characterizing the Theban Spartoi at *Isthmian Odes* 7.10, celebrating Strepsiadas of Thebes.

informed by an Argonautic epic composed in or otherwise preserving Aeolic must surely be judged a plausible one, and perhaps it is for this cause that *hepétās* 'ally' has survived in our first-millennium BC literary record.

While the Argonautic element is central in the foundation account of Cyrene in *Pythian Odes* 4, in *Odes* 5 and 9 the ancestral emphasis is directed elsewhere. In *Pythian* 5 Pindar points toward the foundation of Cyrene by its mother city of Thera, and hence to the Aegeidae (see lines 74–81), and thereby to Theras, founder of Thera, descended from Oedipus' son Polynices, of Boeotian Thebes (see Herodotus 4.147; Pausanias 4.3.4).[724] And even here Thessalians have a role to play to the extent that a company of Minyans (on whom see below, §16.3, §§16.3.2–3, and §17.4.7) is said to have accompanied Theras in his colonizing of Thera (Herodotus 4.145–148; Pausanias 3.1.7–8).[725] *Pythian Odes* 9 is composed to honor another Cyrenaean, Telesicrates, winner of the race run in armor in 474 BC. Much of the ode (lines 5–75) is given over to a foundation account of Cyrene in which Pindar tells of a warrior-tempered Thessalian

[724] See the discussion of Nagy 1990b:292. On the variation in emphases concerning ancestry in the two odes see Calame 2003:81–88.

[725] Euphemus himself is not absent, in that he is said to have dropped a 'dirt clod' (*bōlaks* [βῶλαξ]) into the sea, which was transformed into the island that would be called Calliste, later Thera; see, *inter alia*, Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* 4.1755–1764 (cf. Pindar *Pythian Odes* 4.19–39).

nymph, Cyrene (daughter of a Lapith king Hypseus), and of how Apollo abducted her and took her away to the Libyan place that would bear her name.

8.3.2. Hepétēs (ἑπέτης) Beyond Pindar

The twelve remaining attested instances of *hepétēs* (ἑπέτης) belong to lexicographic and grammatical works, Pindaric scholia, and Eustathius' commentary on the *Odyssey*. After Pindar the next occurrence is found in the *Ἀττικὰ ὀνόματα* (E 47) of Aelius Dionysius, the second century AD grammarian and lexicographer, who glosses plural *hepétai* (ἑπέται) simply and etymologically as οἱ θεράποντες παρὰ τὸ <u>ἕπεσθαι</u> 'the companions(-in-arms), derived from <u>*hépesthai*</u>' (also Photius *Lexicon* E 1443; *Suda* E 2091; Pseudo-Zonaras E 788). This verb *hépesthai* (ἕπεσθαι) is of Proto-Indo-European origin, from the root *sek^{w}-, 'to follow', and perhaps already 'to pursue' (part of the primitive Indo-European lexicon of hunting, suggest Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:602): Greek *hépesthai* (ἕπεσθαι) means 'to follow', including in the sense 'to accompany', and also 'to pursue'; compare Sanskrit *sácate* and Avestan *hačaitē* 'to be associated with; to accompany, follow', and Latin *sequor* 'to go after, to follow; to pursue'. Hesychius (E

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4473) offers a pair of defining synonyms: ἑπέται· ἀκόλουθοι, θεράποντες 'followers, companions(-in-arms)'.[726]

With *hepétēs* (ἑπέτης) defined and etymologized in this way, compare semantically the set of cognate nominals descended from the *o*-grade root *sok^{w}-: Latin *socius* 'ally, comrade'; Sanskrit *sakhā* and Avestan *haxā* 'friend, companion'; Old Norse *seggr*, Old Saxon *segg*, and Old English *secg* 'man; warrior'.[727] From a comparative examination of the cognate mythic traditions[728] of (1) the Roman king Tullus Hostilius and his 'ally' (his *socius*) Mettius Fuffetius and (2) the Indic warrior god Indra with his 'ally' (his *sákhā*) Namuci, we can plainly see that at a primitive Indo-European moment the common ancestor of these terms (Latin *socius* and Sanskrit *sákhā*) enjoyed denotative salience in the sphere of the trusted alliance between individual warriors. Mycenaean *e*-grade *hepétēs* must surely lie within the same semantic domain.

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[726] Appended to the entry is ἐφέται· οἱ τὰς φονικὰς δίκας δικάζοντες '*Ephetae*: those judging the homicide trials'.

[727] A Proto-Germanic nominal *sagjaz 'warrior' can be reconstructed. On the Germanic phonological developments, see Ringe 2006:109–110. See also Walde and Pokorny 1927:476–477; Ernout and Meillet 1959:631; Mallory and Adams 1997:115; Watkins 2011:77.

[728] On which, see Dumézil 1970:29–32 and 1995:1:279–280; Allen 2003; Woodard 2013:242–243.

8.3.3. Hepétēs (ἑπέτης), opēdós (ὀπηδός), opēdéō (ὀπηδέω), opáōn (ὀπάων), and aosséō (ἀοσσέω)

In addition to the *e*-grade *hepétēs* (ἑπέτης), reflexes of the primitive *o*-grade root *sok^{w}- appear in Greek as well. Let us consider these several reflexes in turn.

8.3.3.1. Opēdós/opādós (ὀπηδός/ὀπᾱδός). The nominal *opēdós/opādós* (ὀπηδός/ὀπᾱδός) denotes generally a 'companion, attendant',[729] but also specifically a protecting martial figure (Aeschylus *Suppliants* 985; Plutarch *Life of Camillus* 37.4, *Life of Lucullus* 17.5 and 21.5). A derived verb *opēdéō/opādéō* (ὀπηδέω/ὀπᾱδέω) 'to follow, accompany' is attested earlier, already in the language of epic:[730]

Iliad 2.184: of Eurybates, herald of Odysseus

Iliad 5.216: of the bow of the Trojan ally Pandarus

Iliad 17.251: of the warrior *timḕ kaì kûdos* (τιμὴ καὶ κῦδος) 'honor and glory' that come from Zeus

[729] The form is attested earliest in *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 450, as Hermes identifies himself as *opēdós* (ὀπηδός) 'attendant' to the Muses.

[730] Attested as well are nominal derivatives *opḗdēsis/opā́dēsis* (ὀπήδησις/ὀπᾱ́δησις (Crito fr. 109 [Thesleff 1965]) and *opēdētḗr* (ὀπηδητήρ; Hesychius O 992).

Iliad 24.368: of Idaeus, herald of Priam

Odyssey 7.165 = 7.181: of Zeus, who accompanies suppliants (i.e. those seeking protection)

Odyssey 8.237: of the *aretḗ* (ἀρετή) 'valor' that accompanies Odysseus (cf. Pindar *Pythian Odes* 5.2)

Odyssey 9.271: of Zeus, who accompanies *kseînoi* (ξεῖνοι), as *epitimḗtōr* (ἐπιτιμήτωρ) 'avenger' (?; see below, §17.4.9.2) of suppliants and *kseînoi*

Odyssey 19.398: of Hermes, who accompanied Odysseus' grandfather Autolycus, the 'Wolf Himself'

Protective and martial contexts are conspicuous here.

8.3.3.2. Opáōn (ὀπάων). We find in the *Iliad* still another reflex of *sok^{w}-, the nominal *opáōn* (ὀπάων), denoting 'warrior comrade'.[731] Once the term is used to identify Phoenix, called *opáōn* of Achilles' father (*Iliad* 23.360). Of the remaining five occurrences, four (7.165; 8.263; 10.58; 17.258) are used to identify Meriones, 'the equal to man-slaying Enyalius' (ἀτάλαντος Ἐνυαλίῳ ἀνδρειφόντῃ), as 'warrior comrade' of

[731] See Kirk 1990:257; Edwards 1991:338; Janko 1994:78–79.

Idomeneus, leader of the Cretan contingent; and one (17.610) is used of Coeranus, as comrade of Meriones. We should note that Meriones can be called not only the *opáōn* of Idomeneus but also, in a parallel way, the *therápōn* (θεράπων) of Idomeneus, found six times (*Iliad* 13.246; 23.113, 124, 528, 860, 888). *Therápōn* is an important term to which we shall return in §8.3.6.

The nominal *opáōn* 'warrior comrade' is already attested in Mycenaean Greek (*ok*^{w}*āwōn*), as the (Special Mycenaean) dative *o-qa-wo-ni* appearing in line 16 of Pylos tablet Fn 324 + 1031 + 1454 + frr., where the form has been interpreted as either the common noun or as the noun employed as a personal identifier.[732] This tablet records disbursements of barley. It is a particularly interesting document for us because it serves a something of a nexus of things with which we are here concerned. In addition to attesting *opáōn*, a reflex of *sok^{w}- identifying the warrior companion, it preserves in line 3 an occurrence of the term *a-*64-jo*, which appears to be a variant spelling of *a-si-wi-jo* 'Asian man/men'.[733] And in the single line of text on the reverse side of the tablet we find the recipient named *ke-sa-me-no*, *ke-me-ri-jo*; this syntagm formally matches examples of names modified by the Aeolian patronymic in the Linear B documents.

[732] For bibliography see Aura Jorro 1999:46. Distinct is the name *o-qa* (possibly *Ōkwās* [Ὤπας]) seen on Pylos tablet Jn 601 (see Ventris and Chadwick 1973:566).

[733] See, *inter alia*, Ventris and Chadwick 1973:390; Aura Jorro 1999:126; Chadwick 2007:255–256.

In his 1999 study of Mycenaean patronymic adjectives, Carlier, who adopts a prudently conservative approach in identifying examples of these patronymics,[734] lists *ke-sa-me-no*, *ke-me-ri-jo* as one of his thirteen examples, through parenthetically marking it as uncertain. Here his caution appears to rest upon the evaluative comments of various earlier investigators, such as Ventris and Chadwick (1973:552) who identify *ke-me-ri-jo* as perhaps either an ethnic or patronymic adjective, though in the first edition of *Documents* (1956:396) they had favored the patronymic.[735] For the initial portion of the name, *ke-sa-me-no*, Chantraine (1968:503), comparing the Mycenaean names *ke-sa-da-ra*[736] and *ke-sa-do-ro*,[737] suggests a formant like that which begins *Kassándra* (Κασσάνδρα), also reported to occur in the form *Kesándra* (Κεσάνδρα).[738] The accompanying adjective *ke-me-ri-jo* is suggestive of *Cheimerium* (that

[734] See above, n.20.

[735] See Aura Jorro 1999:342.

[736] On Pylos tablets Fg 368, Fg 828, Mb 1380, Mn 1368 (twice) and reconstructed on An 435 + 1477 + frr.

[737] Also on Pylos tablet An 435 + 1477 + frr. (fourth symbol illegible) as well as Vn 130, and at Knossos on tablets As 1520 and B 798.

[738] See Bechtel 1921–1924:2:231.

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is, *Kheimérion* [Χειμέριον]),[739] the name given to a promontory (and harbor) in Thesprotia near the river Acheron (which flows into Lake Acherusia)[740] where was located a *nekuomanteion*, an oracle of the dead.[741] As we saw in Chapter Six (§6.6.2.3) Antiphus and Pheidippus, the sons of Thessalus of Cos (eponym of Thessaly), are said to have occupied Ephyra (near Lake Acherusia and above Cheimerion) in Thesprotia and to have advanced into Thessaly from there. There is clearly a strong Aeolian mythic affiliation with the area of *Kheimérion*, and the clustering of Asian and warrior elements with characteristic Aeolic morphology on Pylos tablet Fn 324 + 1031 + 1454 + frr. is quite suggestive.

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[739] Ruijgh (1967:188n449) notes that one might see in *ke-me-ri-jo* a form *Kheimérios* (Χειμέριος), derived from an unattested **Kheímeron* (*Χείμερον). He compares the "nom d'une montagne" *Kheimérion* (Χειμέριον), citing Pape and Benseler 1875–1884: in this work the authors (p. 1678) mention both the promontory in Thesprotia that is described just following, in the main text, as well as a *Chimarone* that Pliny (*Naturalis historia* 4.29) identifies as a mountain of Phthiotis (in Thessaly).

[740] See the description of Frazer 1898:2:160–162.

[741] See, *inter alia*, Thucydides 1.30, 46, 48; Strabo 7.7.5; Pausanias 8.7.2; Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* 22.36. On the oracular site see Ustinova 2009b:73–76. Pausanias (1.17.5) writes that Homer (*Odyssey* 10.512–514) took the names of the rivers in Thesprotia to use in identifying the rivers of Hades: Acheron, Cocytus, Pyriphlegethon (the latter not explicitly mentioned by Pausanias); Strabo places Pyriphlegethon in the vicinity of Cumae in Magna Graecia, along with Lake Acherusia. See also Lycophron *Alexandra* 688–709.

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8.3.3.3. Aosséō (ἀοσσέω) and Linear B *a-o-ze-jo*. Yet another reflex of *sok^{w}- survives in the form of the prefixed verb *aosséō* (ἀοσσέω), from *sm̥-sok^{w}-ye-yō;[742] compare Latin *con-sociō* 'to bring into alliance'. *Aosséō* is attested only in Moschus *Megara* 110, where it is used of Iphicles coming to the aid of Heracles. However an agent-noun derivative *aossētḗr* (ἀοσσητήρ) can be seen already in Homeric epic:

Iliad 15.254: used of Phoebus Apollo coming to the aid of Hector

Iliad 15.735: of the Achaeans having no one at their back to provide aid

Iliad 22.333: of Achilles as one who has avenged the death of Patroclus by slaying Hector

Odyssey 4.165: of Telemachus having no one to come to his aid

Odyssey 23.119: of those who avenge the murder of a man

Ruijgh (1967:268n168) is surely correct when he suggests that the Linear B form *a-o-ze-jo* is an adjective derived from an unattested noun *sm̥-sok^{w}-yo-, which would have evolved into a post-Mycenaean *a-oss-o- (*α-οσσ-ο-). With Mycenaean *a-o-ze-jo*

[742] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1927:476; Chantraine 1968:95.

compare Latin *con-socius* 'companion', preserved in the legal vocabulary of the *Codex Justinianus* (Diocletian and Maximian 10.2.3; see also Firmicus Maternus *Mathesis* 3.13.1), as well as the Sanskrit neuter noun *sakhyá-*, occurring together with *sahá* etc. to express 'companionship with'.

Linear B *a-o-ze-jo* appears following the dative *e-ro*$_2$*-ne* on Pylos tablet Na 588. The latter form seems not to have attracted a great deal of attention and "unidentified toponym" to have been the assigned default interpretation; Palmer (1969:420) compares *Eleōn* (Ἐλεών), a Boeotian place mentioned by Homer in the Catalogue of Ships (*Iliad* 2.500).[743] What the Na series of tablets have in common is that they deal with a commodity designated as *SA*, which is now typically interpreted as signifying 'flax', and even 'linen' in some instances. Palmer (1969:306, 312), following Mühlestein (1956a:17), draws attention to the common occurrence of certain warrior designations found both in the Pylos An tablet series and in the Na tablets, and notes that the number of warriors entailed matches the number of consigned units of *SA*. Palmer thus reasons that *SA* can signify flax oil for use as an unguent[744] or for sustenance, calling

[743] See Aura Jorro 1985:249 for additional bibliography.

[744] Flax seeds appear frequently in the Hippocratic corpus in various pharmacologic usages (see, for example, *De diaeta acutorum* 8, 11, 21; *De fistulis* 7; *De natura muliebri* 10, 27, 33, 34, 38; *De mulierum affectibus* 34, 51, 57, 63, 64, 78, 121, 129, 192, 203). As recently as the early nineteenth century there is

attention to Thucydides 4.26.8 and the historian's description of honeyed poppy seeds and flax seeds that underwater swimmers secretly transported to Spartan warriors stranded on Sphacteria. The brief text of this Pylos tablet Na 588 (*e-ro$_2$-ne, a-o-ze-jo, SA[*) certainly likewise records a commodity of *SA* designated for a warrior.[745] In this instance reference is made to the warrior by using the adjective *a-o-ze-jo*, thus characterizing him as belonging to the contingent of 'companion' – that is, 'allied' – warriors. *E-ro$_2$-ne* then likely records the name of the place to which he has been assigned or his own name: compare the post-Mycenaean man's name *Heírōn* [Εἴρων] found in Thessaly and well-attested in Boeotia (see LGPN IIIB:130). The adjective *a-o-ze-jo* (derived from *sm̥-sok^w-yo-) must provide a variant means for identifying a *hek^{w}etās* (from *sek^w-e-), both forms giving Mycenaean Greek expression to the primitive Indo-European warrior ethic of alliance – naming the close companion, the ally.

8.3.3.4. Hepétēs (ἑπέτης) *and hépomai* (ἕπομαι). The affiliation of *hepétēs* (ἑπέτης) with the verb *hépomai* (ἕπομαι) is probably not a directly derivative one. Judging by the

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documentation of the Greek military use of flax for cutaneous treatment of a sabre wound in the field (Mengous 1830:166).

[745] One thinks too of the use of linen to produce the piece of body armor called a linen cuirass, worn by one described as a *linothṓrēks* (λινοθώρηξ); see below, §8.5.

pattern provided by other attested Greek agent nouns in *-e-tēs*, we could expect that a noun *hekʷetēs* would be derived from a verb **hekʷeō*, from **hekʷ-e-yō*;[746] compare *aosséō* (ἀοσσέω) from Indo-European *sm̥-sokʷ-ye-yo-, discussed in §8.3.3.3. An early Greek verb stem **hekʷ-e-yo-* can be plausibly posited as a reflex of an earlier Indo-European essive verb stem *sekʷ-h_1-yo-,[747] denoting 'to be in a state of accompanying' – that is, doing what one does when one is allied.[748]

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[746] See Buck and Petersen 1949:545, 549–550.

[747] On the formation see, *inter alia*, LIV 25.

[748] There is Mycenaean evidence of an active thematic verb stem **hekʷ-o-*. This can be seen in the form *e-qo-te*, an apparent active participle *hekʷontes*, appearing in line 14 of Pylos tablet An 724, and reconstructed ([*e*]-*qo-te*) in line 13, following a reference to *e-qa-ta* (nominative plural *hekʷetai*) in line 11. It occurs again on tablet An 615 + frr. (*e-qo-te*[). In both occurrences the participle governs the object *o-no*, of uncertain meaning. The co-occurrence of the nominal *e-qa-ta* and the participle *e-qo-te* on tablet An 724 and the recurrence of the participle on another of the An warrior tablets (615) suggests a semantic closeness of the forms in their Mycenaean usage. An Indo-European thematic stem *sekʷ-o-, which would give Greek *hekʷ-o-, can be seen in epic and lyric *ennépō* (ἐννέπω), displaying an Aeolic *-nn-* geminate cluster (see Chantraine 1968:350, with bibliography), but meaning 'to tell'. The form can be assigned to a Proto-Indo-European etymon *sekʷ- 'to speak', homophonous with *sekʷ- 'to accompany': some investigators would see the two roots as one, positing semantic bifurcation (see, for example, Ruijgh 2011:285).

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8.3.4. Amphípolos (ἀμφίπολος)

In §8.3.2 we saw that lexicographers gloss *hepétēs* (ἑπέτης) as *therápōn* (θεράπων), the term that we have translated as 'companion-in-arms'. Beyond this – Eustathius, in his commentary on *Odyssey* 1.136, states that 'the ancients say' (φασὶ δὲ οἱ παλαιοὶ) that *hepétai* (ἑπέται) are *hoi therápontes* (οἱ θεράποντες). Eustathius is here comparing both of these terms with a third term, *amphípolos* (ἀμφίπολος): he makes the comparison per the report of his ancient sources. Eustathius parallels the derivational relationship of *hepétai* (ἑπέται) to *hépesthai* (ἕπεσθαι) 'to accompany, follow' with that of the nominal *amphípoloi* (ἀμφίπολοι) to the verb *amphipoleîn* (ἀμφιπολεῖν). Eustathius' verb *amphipoleîn* (ἀμφιπολεῖν), which means 'to guard, watch; to attend', is actually *derived from* the nominal *amphípolos* (ἀμφίπολος), not vice versa; so here he has the direction of derivation reversed.

8.3.4.1. Amphípolos (ἀμφίπολος) *and hepétēs* (ἑπέτης). This nominal *amphípolos* (ἀμφίπολος) is used at *Odyssey* 1.136, the passage on which Eustathius is commenting, in the feminine gender to denote a 'female servant', as is the consistent sense of

amphípolos in Homeric epic[749] and in Herodotus' *Histories*. Elsewhere masculine *amphípolos* is commonly used of a priest or cult attendant. With feminine *amphípolos* compare *hepétis* (ἑπέτις), a feminine form of *hepétēs*, found only in Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* 3.666 (and a scholion on the line), used of a certain *dmōḗ* (δμωή) 'female slave' belonging to Medea.[750] Feminine *dmōḗ* and masculine *dmṓs* (δμώς) can denote generally 'slave' but can suggest specifically a slave taken in war.[751] As an *hepétēs* is a companion as a consequence of war– that, is an ally in conducting war – we could similarly understand an *hepétis* (ἑπέτις) to be a companion as a consequence of war – that is, an attendant acquired in war.

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[749] Here it is a maidservant who brings hand-washing water to Athena in her disguise as the warrior Mentes. *Amphipoleîn* (ἀμφιπολεῖν) 'to guard' is the verb that Pindar uses at *Olympian Odes* 12.2 (see above, n. 24), asking *Túkhā* [Τύχᾱ] 'Fortune' 'to guard' *Himéran eurusthené'* ('Ιμέραν εὐρυσθενές) 'wide-mighty Himera'.

[750] The slave is called Medea's *hepétis kourízousa* (ἑπέτις κουρίζουσα) 'youthful companion/attendant'; see *Scholia in Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* (*scholia vetera* [= Wendel 1935]).

[751] As at *Odyssey* 1.398. For occurrences of the term in the *Odyssey* see Ramming 1973:3–18, with further discussion on pp. 67–83, 124–128, and 131–132.

8.3.4.2. Amphípolos (ἀμφίπολος) *and Aeolic pélomai* (πέλομαι). Eustathius' third term, *amphípolos* (ἀμφίπολος), is derived from the verb *pélomai* (πέλομαι) 'to turn out', 'to come to be', from the Indo-European root *k^{w}el(h)- 'to circulate, range over'. Compare, for example, Sanskrit *cárati* 'to move oneself, roam', Latin *colere* 'to till the ground', and the Greek denominative *poléō* (πολέω) 'to range over', 'to plough'. The noun *amphípolo*s is a very old word, a complex nominal of primitive Indo-European heritage: *amphípolo*s is present in Mycenaean (Linear B *a-pi-qo-ro*) and finds an exact equivalent in Latin *anculus* 'servant' (Festus p.20 M) and Sanskrit *abhicara-* 'servant'. Notice that the Indo-European etymon of *pélomai*, *k^{w}el(h)-, begins with the labiovelar *k^{w}, and, thus, the Greek verb *pélomai* appears to be an Aeolic form,[752] showing the Aeolic *bilabial* reflex of the labiovelar before the *e*-vowel; compare *télomai* (τέλομαι) 'I will be' (attested in Cretan, at Drerus; also *suntélomai* [συντέλομαι])[753] – and the derived *teléthō* (τελέθω) 'to come into being' – with the dental reflex of *k^{w} before *e* that is regular outside of Aeolic (and Cypriot and Pamphylian). The complex nominal *amphípolo*s is a Pan-Hellenic form, for the following reason: at some post-Mycenaean moment, most of the instances of the labiovelar *k^{w}* that had not already been converted

[752] See Chantraine 1968:846; Wathelet 1970:66–67.

[753] See, *inter alia*, Chantraine 1968:1062.

to dental *t* evolved into bilabial *p* in all dialects, including of course Aeolic; thus a Proto-Indo-European *amb^{h}i-k^{w}ol(h)-os, Mycenaean *amphik^{w}olos*, eventuates in *amphípolo*s in Aeolic and in all other post-Mycenaean dialects.

Whether or not Byzantine Eustathius understands precisely what *hepétēs* signified in an archaic period, the ancient sources that he relies on have situated *hepétēs* in the semantic context of a word, *amphípolo*s (ἀμφίπολος), which is dialectally opaque but has, *etymologically*, Aeolic affiliations through *pélomai* (πέλομαι) 'to turn out', 'to come to be'. But his ancient sources, it seems, were unable to make any synchronic connection between *amphípolo*s and Aeolic *pélomai*, owing to semantic differentiation of the two terms (already in a prehistoric period), and turn instead to the derived verb *amphipoléō* (ἀμφιπολέω) as an etymon.

8.3.5. Hepétēs (ἑπέτης) as Aeolic

At this point there is a question that presents itself. Greek *hepétēs* (ἑπέτης) is descended from a Proto-Indo-European root *sek^{w}-, ending in a labiovelar. This labiovelar is still preserved in Mycenaean *hek^{w}etās*. Is post-Mycenaean *hepétēs*, with its bilabial reflex (*p*) of the labiovelar (*k^{w}*) before the mid vowel *e*, also an Aeolic form? The answer to this question is not completely straightforward. It may depend on how

closely the noun *hepétēs* was integrated synchronically into the paradigmatic sphere of the verb *hépomai* (ἕπομαι) at that post-Mycenaean period in which the labiovelar consonants were being evolutionarily eliminated. Even if *hepétēs* is to be properly derived from an essive verb stem **hek^{w}-e-yo-*, we have seen that in antique etymological analysis *hepétēs* was construed as derived from the verb *hépomai*. This is an intellectual exercise of language speculation. It is a rather different matter than the forces of *langue* that drive analogical associations among a community of speakers which could result in cross-paradigm leveling. The regular outcome of Mycenaean *hek^{w}etās* would have been *hepétēs* in Aeolic (etc.) and **hetétēs* elsewhere. Even if analogy with *hépomai* had resulted in the change of a regularly evolved **hetétēs* to *hepétēs* outside of Aeolic, the form *hepétēs* would still be the regular Aeolic outcome. In other words, the Aeolic form would be hiding in plain sight.

8.3.6. Therápōn (θεράπων)

In epic diction this lexeme can denote a 'companion-in-arms', as in *Iliad* 4.227, 8.104, 13.246 (see Nagy 1999:292): thus Patroclus is the *therápōn* (θεράπων) of Achilles, the 'best' (*áristos* [ἄριστος]) of the Achaeans. Though when used of Patroclus in the *Iliad*, *therápōn* preserves what must be a deeply archaic sense of the word, denoting

something more than one who is simply an allied warrior; Patroclus, "the one Achaean who is by far the most *phílos* to Achilles" (Nagy 1999:292)[754] – this Patroclus is a *surrogate* warrior for Achilles. Patroclus' successful realization of the role of warrior companion is dependent upon Patroclus actually accompanying – that is being in the company of – Achilles.[755] Such physical accompaniment is a concept that would be given apt lexical expression by the verb *hépesthai* (ἕπεσθαι), verbal congener to *hepétēs* (ἑπέτης), Mycenaean *hek*^{w}*etās*, 'ally, companion'. In his 1955 inaugural lecture at Oxford, Palmer (1955a:20–21) offers a similar but different comparison regarding Mycenaean *hek*^{w}*etās*: "The term is transparent; it means literally 'a companion'. A word 'companion', as a technical term denoting some important military and presumably social rank, immediately evokes from different quarters the Homeric and the Macedonian ἑταῖροι [*hetaîroi*] . . . ."

Greek *therápōn* (θεράπων) presents itself as an early borrowing from an Anatolian Indo-European language, expressing the fundamental notion 'ritual

[754] On the importance of *phílos* (φίλος) vis-à-vis the warrior companion in Homeric epic, see also Nagy 2007b:64–66 and 2013:166–167; and in Hesiodic epic, Woodard 2007b:147–148.

[755] Nagy 1999:292–293; see also Whitman 1958:199–203 and Sinos 1975:46–52.

substitute' at that moment of acquisition, as Nagy has underscored.[756] The Anatolian source-word appears in Hittite documents in the nominal forms *tarpāšša-* (NH) (with a denominative verb *tarpašša-*), *tarpanalla/i-*[757] (OH)/*tarpalla/i-* (Pre-NH), denoting 'ritual substitute'.[758] Also attested are a relational adjective *tarpaššašši-* (OH), inchoative verb *tarpanallašša-* (NH), as well as a derived noun *tarpaššāḫit-* 'position of ritual substitute'. The distinctive morphology of the words (together with the scribal marking of forms by a *Glossenkeil* in some instances) suggests that the forms are borrowings from Luvian.[759]

The ancestral Indo-European concept of the close warrior ally, joined by a fraternal bond undoubtedly sacralized by ritual means, is one onto which the Luvian

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[756] See Nagy 1999:293–295 and especially 2013:147–154, 157–168, with bibliography. Nagy builds upon the study of Van Brock 1959; see particularly her pages 125–126. See also Joseph 1982:231 and Mouton 2004. Simon (2018) mentions the form in a broad treatment of possible Anatolian loanwords that appear in Greek; his overall approach and tenor is hypercritical, as is that of Oreshko (2018), who takes a quite negative view of sociolinguistic interpretations of Anatolian influence on Greek, focusing on various Greek lexemes that have been interpreted as Anatolian borrowings, dismissing them all. Not included in that treatment is *therápōn* (θεράπων).

[757] Compare an adjectival *tarpani(ya)-* ; see Melchert 1993b:215–216.

[758] On the various forms see Melchert 1993b:215.

[759] See Melchert 2005.

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lexeme could be grafted in the synchronic context of intimate Greek-Anatolian social dynamics. The appropriateness of the Anatolian lexeme must be a synchronic reflection of the conception of that ancestral warrior relationship, or some particular subset expression of it, as it existed in a Mycenaean Greek exclave in Anatolia at the moment of borrowing.

8.4. Mycenaean hek^{w}etai, Aeolian Patronymics, and Ethnic Adjectives

Let us return to the patronymic adjective *e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo* that we encountered in §8.2.2. We saw that the form occurs on the Pylos warrior tablet An 654, naming *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo, e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo*, 'Alectryon, son of Eteocles', who is a *hek^{w}etās*. This patronymic is found a second time – this time, on Pylos tablet Aq 64. Here it appears within a list of men who are possessors of a *ktoinā* (a land plot); one of these men is named *ne-qe-u, e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo*, 'Ne-qe-u, son of Eteocles'. The dual occurrence of the patronym *e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo* has of course led to speculation that Alectryon and Ne-qe-u are bothers. A person identified as Ne-qe-u appears elsewhere,

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as in the Pylos Qa series of tablets (Qa 1298),[760] a set in which religious personnel are conspicuously present (see below, §8.4.3).[761]

That two of the few occurrences of Mycenaean patronymic adjectives, having a morphology that is otherwise uniquely Aeolic, would be used to identify sons of a man (or men) by the name of Eteocles seems quite remarkable. This is not so much because of the centrality of a figure by this name in the archaic Aeolian (Boeotian) tradition of mutual warrior fratricide as because of the occurrence of the name in one of the Hittite Ahhiyawa documents. The name that appears as *Ta-wa-ga-la-wa-* in AhT 4 (ca. mid thirteenth century BC; the so-called "Tawagalawa Letter") is now generally recognized to spell **Etewoclewas*, i.e. *Eteocles*, and is a name that passed from Greek into the Hittite documentary record through Luvian mediacy.[762] In this Ahhiyawa document **Etewoclewas* is identified as the brother of the Achaean king who is the recipient of the letter.

[760] The name can also be seen on Pylos tablets Eb 495 + 833 + fr.; Ep 613 + 1131 + frr.; and Jn 725 + frr.

[761] See Palmer 1969:371–372; Ventris and Chadwick 1973:484–485; and Carlier 1999:192.

[762] The identification was first proposed by Forrer (1924); see Niemeier 2005:18. On the name being passed to the Hittites through Luvian, see Melchert 2013a:305. Melchert 2019a:358–362 demonstrates that Luvian deletion of word-initial unaccented *a*-vowels in borrowed appellatives and names, as in the case of *Ta-wa-ga-la-wa-*, is a well-attested phenomenon.

If the Ur-Aeolic speech community is to be situated within Achaean (i.e. Mycenaean) western coastal Asia Minor by no later than the second half of the thirteenth century, a community in which the name *Eteocles* is seen to be in use – and in use within a high-status stratum of that community – then one could reasonably posit that the Aeolic-dialect-specific patronymic *e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo* 'son of Eteocles' that appears twice at Pylos names individuals, Ne-qe-u and Alectryon the *hek*^{w}*etās*, 'ally', who have come to Pylos late in the thirteenth century from that Anatolian Greek community.

The Linear B tablets otherwise provide evidence of the presence of persons in the Mycenaean homeland who have come to that place from Achaean western coastal Asia Minor. Thus, a number of the new tablets from Thebes contain a reference to a man 'of Miletus' (Millawanda/Milawata), *mi-ra-ti-jo*.[763] At Pylos several tablets attest the comparable feminine ethnic adjective *mi-ra-ti-ja* 'of Miletus', used to identify groups of women, one set of whom is further characterized as 'spinners' (*a-ra-ka-te-ja*).[764] Belikov

[763] Thebes tablets Fq 177; Fq 198; Fq 214; Fq 244; Fq 254 + 255; Fq 269. The tablets designate the recipient of grain consignments and appear to belong to a cult context (see Killen 2006:81–98 on the religious nature of the Theban Fq tablets generally). See also, *inter alia*, Shelmerdine 1998:295; Aravantinos, Godart and Sacconi 2001:393.

[764] Pylos tablets Aa 798; Aa 1180; Ab 573; Ad 380; and Ad 689.

(2009:49)[765] draws attention to the consistent spelling of the form with unassibilated *t* (i.e. *always mi-ra-ti-ja/o*, never **mi-ra-si-ja/o*) vis-à-vis Mycenaean dialect characteristics; we could phrase the distinction in this way: only a Special Mycenaean form of the ethnic adjective is attested, never its Normal Mycenaean counterpart. Hence, Belikov suggests, *mi-ra-ti-ja/o* is likely to be the *local* pronunciation of the place name among peoples inhabiting Bronze-Age Miletus. For comparison he offers the example of later practice as documented in SEG 29, 1135 (ca. mid third century BC), a decree of Knossos concerned with renewing *philia* with Miletus, in which the adjective referencing the Asian city appears in its Ionic form, *Milḗsioi* (Μιλήσιοι; lines 3, 7, 19), rather than being written with its Cretan Doric counterpart, *Milā́tioi* (Μιλᾶτιοι), a spelling reserved in the inscription for the Cretan city of the same name (line 36).

Belikov's observation is an intriguing one and consistent with evidence offered in the present work that is suggestive of an identification of Special Mycenaean with the dialect of the Ahhiyawa of Asia Minor. Belikov goes on to speculate, however, that the form *mi-ra-ti-ja/o* owes its lack of assibilation to what he views as the non-Greek status of the toponym *Mílētos* (Μίλητος); in other words, he would see *Mílētos* as itself a foreign toponym assigned to the city by a non-Mycenaean population of that place –

[765] I am indebted to Professor Brent Vine for drawing my attention to Belikov's work on this problem.

and one which thereby, in his opinion, is not susceptible to Greek phonological accommodation.[766] He offers this dubious claim subsequent to his rejection of the identification of a Mycenaean toponym **mi-ra-to* (preserved in the ethnic adjective *mi-ra-ti-ja/o*) with the Luvo-Hittite place called *Millawanda/Milawata*. The segregation of the two toponyms into different locales is, however, hardly feasible (see above §7.4).[767]

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[766] See Belikov's pages 51–52, where he references Thompson 1997:335, claiming (see especially n. 5) that ethnic adjectives formed from Cretan (i.e. non-Greek) toponyms were immune from the assibilation: Belikov cites *ru-ki-ti-jo* (for discussion of which see above, §3.4.2.1) and *ti-ri-ti-jo*, from *ti-ri-to*, perhaps *Tritos* (for a Cretan *Tríta* [Τρίτα] see Hesychius T 1434). It seems an *ad hoc* proposal, one counter-evidenced by *ku-ta-si-jo*, the ethnic adjective formed from the toponym *ku-ta-to* used as a man's name (as ethnic adjectives otherwise are), beside Special Mycenaean *ku-ta-ti-jo* (both from Knossos). Were such a proposed lexico-phonemic restriction on Greek assibilation of *t* before *i* actually an operative phenomenon here, then one might reasonably anticipate that ethnic adjectives from place names in *-to-* of non-Greek origin would more widely fail to assibilate: consider, however, most obviously, Ionic *Milḗsios* (Μιλήσιος), grounded in Luvo-Hittite *Millawanda/Milawata* as well as various examples that can be gleaned from Aelius Herodianus *De prosodia catholica* 3,1.120–121. Moreover, the hypothesis of such a lexico-phonemic restriction, to be maintained, would have to be analytically extended to all, or at least some large set, of Greek phonological changes potentially operative on ethnic adjectives formed to "foreign" place names. This is no evidenced real-world restriction.

[767] See also below, §11.2, §15.3, §20.4.2.4, §21.3.2.3.

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These Milesians at Thebes and Pylos are not alone among Pylian personnel having a western Anatolian geographic designation: also found are references to women who are *ki-ni-di-ja* 'of Cnidus' (Aa 792; Ab 189; Ad 683; An 292) and *ra-mi-ni-ja* probably 'of Lemnos' (Ab 186), which is matched by masculine *ra-mi-ni-jo* (An 209; Cn 328 + fr.; Cn 719 + frr.).[768] And in §8.3 we noted the occurrence of the term *a-*64-jo*, likely spelling 'Asian man/men', on Pylos tablet Fn 324 + 1031 + 1454 + frr., where it co-occurs with *opáōn* 'warrior comrade'. There are yet other individuals tied to the eastern Aegean by ethnic identifiers in the Linear B documents, and to these we shall return further along (see §9.5.5).

8.4.1. Patronymic Adjectives and Ethnic Adjectives: Complementary Distribution Part 1

At the end of §8.2 we observed that occurrences of the Aeolian patronymic adjective in Mycenaean are quite rare; and we suggested that when a scribe determines to use the patronymic as an identifier, that choice must encode some culturally significant feature of the person named. A reasonable inference is that Pylian scribes

[768] See, *inter alia*, Ventris and Chadwick 1973:411; Belikov 2009:45; García Rámon 2011b:236–237. Belikov (2009:46), following on the proposals of Heubeck 1985 (see especially pp. 129–133), suggests that the Mycenaean *mi-ra-ti-jo* should be read as preserving the Aeolic form of the place name, *Míllatos* (Μίλλατος).

make reference to particular individuals by utilizing the (patronymic) naming-form that is customary to the community from which those individuals have come. In other words, those individuals have brought their names with them in their relocation to Pylos, and it is these names by which they are identified locally in Pylian palace society. There is of course nothing uncommon or unexpected about such a practice. One is known by one's name; the foreigner no less than the native.

Given the proposed Anatolian localization of Aeolic patronymics in the Mycenaean period, the use of a patronymic adjective is tantamount to the use of an ethnic specification. This observation appears to be consistent with the several references to a *hek^{w}etās* 'ally' that are found in the Linear B documents. Let us first examine *hek^{w}etai* at Pylos.

8.4.1.1. Hek^{w}etai at Pylos. In addition to the reference to the *hek^{w}etās* named *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo, e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo*, 'Alectryon, son of Eteocles', found on tablet An 654, the following instances of *hek^{w}etās* occur at Pylos :

(1) *Occurrences of hek^{w}etās at Pylos* (In addition to the *hek^{w}etās* named *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo, e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo*, 'Alectryon, son of Eteocles', on An 654)

A. An 519 + fr. (lines 15 | 16): *e-qe-ta, ro-u-ko* | *ku-sa-me-ni-jo*

hek^{w}etās 'Ro-u-ko, son of Kusamenos'

cf. *ro]-u-ko, ku-sa-me-ni-jo* on Aq 218 (line 4)

B. An 607 (line 3): *e-qe-ta-i*

hek^{w}etāhi (dative plural)

C. An 614 + fr. etc.[769] (line 3): *ẹ-qe-ta*

hek^{w}etās

D. An 656 (lines 5 | 6): *e-qe-ta* | *pe-re-qo-ni-jo, a-re-i-jo*

hek^{w}etās | 'Presg^{w}ōnios, son of Ares'

E. An 656 (lines 8 | 9): *e-qe-ta* | *di-wi-je-u*

hek^{w}etās | 'Diwieus'[770]

F. An 656 (line 14): *e-qe-ta, ḍị-ko-na-ro, a-da-ra-ti-jo*

hek^{w}etās 'Di-ko-na-ro, son of Adrastos'

G. An 656 (line 16): *pe-re-u-ro-ni-jo, e-qe-ta*

hek^{w}etās 'Pleurōnios'

H. An 656 (lines 19 | 20): *e-qe-ta, ka-e-sa-me-no* | *a-pu$_2$-ka*

[769] An 614 + fr. + 1126 + 1510 + 1508 + 1127.

[770] *Di-wi-je-u* was also written in line 2 and then deleted.

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hek^{w}etās 'Ka-e-sa-menos | of A-pu$_2$-ka'

I. An 657 (line 11): *e-qe-ta, ke-ki-jo*

hek^{w}etās 'Kerkios' (a possible/probable patronymic; see below, §8.4.2, for discussion of the form)[771]

J. An 657 (line 14A): *a$_3$-ko-ta, e-qe-ta*

hek^{w}etās 'A$_3$-ko-ta'

K. An 661 (line 7): *e-qe-ta, wo-ro-tu-mi-ni-jo̯*

hek^{w}etās 'Wo-ro-tu-mnios' (a probable patronymic *Wrothúmnios* [Fροθύμνιος])[772]

L. An 661 (line 13): *e-qe-ta*

hek^{w}etās

[771] Carlier (1999:192) construes *ke-ki-jo* as a patronymic associated with the name *a-e-ri-qo-ta* that appears in the line that follows (i.e. An 657 line 12); the structure of the tablet speaks against conjoining the two forms, and there seems to be some confusion in Carlier's discussion of the name *a-e-ri-qo-ta* vis-à-vis its appearance at Aq 218 line 5 and the appearance of *ke-ki-jo* at line 12 of that tablet.

[772] Palmer (1969:464) and Ventris and Chadwick (1973:592) classify Wo-ro-tu-mnios simply as a man's name; Carlier (1999:192) judges that the form "est vraisemblablement un patronymique." Ruijgh (1967:144) takes as a patronymic or else a man's name; see also Wathelet 1970:351n47. For additional bibliography see Aura Jorro 1993:448.

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M. An 724 + frr. (line 11): *e-qe-ta*

hek^{w}etai (nominative plural)

N. Ed 317 (line 1): *e-qe-ta*

hek^{w}etai (nominative plural)

O. Wa 917: *]e-qe-ta*

hek^{w}etai (nominative plural) ?[773]

A word about *pe-re-u-ro-ni-jo, e-qe-ta*, found in line 16 of Pylos tablet An 656 (1G). The syntagm is highly marked as here the individual identifier precedes rather than follows the specification *hek^{w}etās*. The name *Pe-re-u-ro-ni-jo* is commonly taken to be an ethnic adjective, formed from the place name *Pleurṓn* (Πλευρών), or the adjective used as a man's name.[774] The use of ethnic adjectives as personal names is a phenomenon well attested in ancient Greece; as Fraser (2000:153–155) notes, the (post-Mycenaean) evidence suggests that a person was not assigned an ethnic as a personal name if that person was a resident of the place after which (s)he was named, but that the naming

[773] The *e-qe-ta* of Wa 917 may possibly be named as *a-ko-so[-ta*; see Palaima 2011:110n137 and 123. For a proposal that an individual named A-pi-me-de (appearing in Ep and Eb tablets) is a *hek^{w}etās* at Pylos, see Lejeune 1966.

[774] See Aura Jorro 1999:107–108 for bibliography.

reflects a less immediate familial relationship with the locale, or a relationship of *xenia*. In Linear-B syntax, ethnic adjectives do show a tendency to precede the term that they qualify (Duhoux [1975:139–140] lists forty-two distinct examples of the pattern *ethnic adjective + X*, as opposed to twelve distinct examples of the pattern *X + ethnic adjective*).[775] The interpretation of *pe-re-u-ro-ni-jo* as an ethnic adjective is supported by a second occurrence of the syntagm *naming element + hek*^{w}*etās*, and here the naming element is clearly an ethnic: on Knossos tablet B 1055, where we read *ko-no-si-jo, e-qe-ta* – that is, 'Knossian *hek*^{w}*etās*'. In the Catalogue of Ships, Homer attests the place Pleuron in his lines on the Aetolian contingent (*Iliad* 2.638). Strabo 10.3.6, in discussing Aetolian Pleuron and Calydon, writes (following Ephorus) that the Curetes had early inhabited Aetolia but that Aeolians had invaded and driven out the aboriginal Curetes. A second tradition that Strabo (10.3.4, 6) rehearses places the Aeolian incursion into Aetolia at a later moment, after Aetolus (from Elis) had expelled the Curetes, and reports that this migration of Aeolians was from Thessaly, forced out 'together with Boeotians' (ἅμα Βοιωτοῖς), when the descendants of Thessalus arrived. With regard to identifying the

[775] Though one example of the pattern *X + ethnic adjective* occurs in identifying a *hek*^{w}*etās*: see (2B) just below, where both a personal name and ethnic adjective are used to identify the *hek*^{w}*etās*.

hekʷetās of Pylos tablet An 656, line 16, the Aeolian connection with Pleuron is worth bearing in mind.

8.4.1.2. Hekʷetai at Knossos. As we have just seen, *hekʷetai* are documented not only at Pylos but in the earlier materials from Knossos as well:

(2) *Occurrences of hekʷetās at Knossos*

A. Am 821 + frr. (line 1): *e-qe-ta-e*

hekʷetae (nominative dual)

B. Am 821 + frr. (line 2): *ko-pe-re-u, e-qe-ta, e-ki-si-jo*

hekʷetās 'Kopreus from Eksos'[776]

C. As 4493 (line 1): *e-qe-ṭạ*

hekʷetās[777]

D. B 1055 (line 1): *ko-no-si-jo, e-qe-ta*

hekʷetās 'from Knossos'

[776] Possibly the Cretan town of Axos, though uncertain; see Bennet 2011:149.

[777] The line (broken at each end) reads: *]ẹ-pi-ko-wo , e-qe-ṭạ , e-re-u-ṭẹ[*. On this tablet and the lexeme *e-re-u-te-re* see below, §9.8. *E-pi-ko-wo* also occurs on Pylos tablet An 657, where we find named two *hekʷetai* – Kerkios and A_3-ko-ta (see above (1I and J)); for a discussion of *e-pi-ko-wo* see below, §9.2, §9.5, and §9.8.

8.4.1.3. Observations Regarding Hek^{w}etai at Pylos and Knossos. The term *hek^{w}etās*, denoting 'warrior companion' – that is, 'ally' – thus appears at both Pylos and Knossos. Several observations can be made regarding its occurrences catalogued under (1) and (2) above:

(3) At both Pylos and Knossos *hek^{w}etās* at times occurs without a modifying onomastic: (1B), (1C), (1L), (1M), (1N), (1O), (2A), (2C).

More often than not, however, the *hek^{w}etās* is named, though the means of naming shows variation. The *hek^{w}etās* can be identified:

(4) By a proper name only: (1E), (1J), and possibly (1I?), (1K?), on which see (8) just below;

(5) By a proper name with a modifying ethnic adjective: (1H), (2B);

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(6) By a proper name with a modifying patronymic adjective: (1A), (1D), (1F);[778] and we can add to these three a fourth: our first observed instance of the practice, that of the *hek*^{w}*etās* named *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo, e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo*, 'Alectryon, son of Eteocles' (An 654).

In other instances *hek*^{w}*etās* is not accompanied by a proper name but is identified:

(7) Solely by an ethnic adjective: (1G), (1H),[779] (2D);

(8) Perhaps solely by a patronymic adjective (1I?), (1K?). The uncertainty that has attended these two examples does not follow from any morphological concerns but must simply be a consequence of the absence of an accompanying proper name.

What we can discover from these observations is that *in the case of named 'allies'* (*hek*^{w}*etai*), the practice of using a patronymic adjective and the practice of using an ethnic adjective exist in parallel, and they exist in complementary distribution: where

[778] For work from an early period in the history of Linear B studies that argues that the occurrence of *e-qe-ta* is linked closely to the use of patronymic adjectives, see Van Brock 1960:222–225. Van Brock builds upon still earlier work by Palmer (1955a and 1956), Ruipérez (1956), and Risch (1958).

[779] *A-pu*$_2$*-ka* being an ethnic in *-ān*.

one occurs the other does not. Said differently: an Aeolic-type patronymic appears to function as a *de facto* ethnic identifier; and the ethnos identified by the patronymic adjective, I would posit, is that of the Bronze-Age community of Greek speakers of western coastal Asia Minor who would "become" Aeolians – and who acquired the practice of using a "relational adjective derived from the father's name" (Watkins 2001:58) through diffusion from surrounding Anatolian-speaking people. Members of this community appear in tablets from Pylos as *hek*^{w}*etai* 'allies'.

8.4.2. Patronymic Adjectives Not Accompanied by the Term hek^{w}etās: Complementary Distribution Part 2

In identifying the patronymic adjectives that are used to modify *hek*^{w}*etās* – including *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo, e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo*, 'Alectryon, son of Eteocles' on An 654, but also the second occurrence of *e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo*, modifying Ne-qe-u, on Aq 64, who is not explicitly identified as a *hek*^{w}*etās* (possibly a priestly figure; see below, §8.4.3) – we have touched upon seven[780] of the thirteen such adjectives that Carlier sets out in

[780] That is, (i) *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo, e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo*, 'Alectryon, son of Eteocles' (An 654); (ii) n*e-qe-u, e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo*, 'Ne-qe-u, son of Eteocles' (Aq 64); (iii) *ro-u-ko, ku-sa-me-ni-jo*, 'Ro-u-ko, son of Kusamenos' (An 519 + fr., and almost certainly Aq 218); (iv) *pe-re-qo-ni-jo, a-re-i-jo*, 'Presg^{w}ōnios, son of Ares' (An 656);

his 1999 study of Mycenaean patronymic adjectives. The remaining six instances of these patronymics are presented in (9) and (10) below, all of which occur in tablets from Pylos, and four of which Carlier marks as uncertain (indicated below by "?"):

(9) *Patronymic Adjectives at Pylos Not Accompanied by the Term hek^{w}etās*

A. Aq 218 (6): *a$_3$-ko-ta, a-da-ra-ti-jo*: The patronymic adjective *a-da-ra-ti-jo* 'son of Adrastos' is one that we encountered just above on tablet An 656 (14) where it modifies the name of the *hek^{w}etās* Di-ko-na-ro. The man who is described as 'son of Adrastos' here, on Aq 218 (6), A$_3$-ko-ta, is presumably the same man as the A$_3$-ko-ta whom we noted to be named (without ethnic or patronymic modification) as a *hek^{w}etās* on An 657 (14A). As we shall see, tablet Aq 218 together with Aq 64 (often referred to as the diptych Aq 64 + 218) contain several names that recur in the warrior An tablets (see already Palmer 1969:145–146 for a tabular summary).

B. Aq 218 (12): *ke-ki-jo*: This form likely modifies a personal name that immediately preceded it on a now missing portion of the tablet. *Ke-ki-jo* is

(v) *ḍi̯-ko-na-ro, a-da-ra-ti-jo*, 'Di-ko-na-ro, son of Adrastos' (An 656); (vi) *ke-ki-jo*, 'Kerkios' (An 657); (vii) *wo-ro-tu-mi-ni-jo̯*, 'Wo-ro-tu-mnios' (An 661).

the same form we encountered above on tablet An 657 (11), where it is used alone to identify a *hek*^{w}*etās*. Ventris and Chadwick (1973:189 and 552) propose that *ke-ki-jo* may be either a patronymic or a personal name 'Kerkios' (comparing the name *ke-ki* that appears on Pylos tablets Jn 692 [6] and 725 + frr. [20]). Palmer (1969:426) reads *ke-ki-jo* as an ethnic; Ruijgh (1967:141) as a probable patronymic.

(10) *Additional Possible Patronymic Adjectives at Pylos*

A. ? An 192 + fr. (line 14): *a-ke-o, ka-wi-jo*: While *a-ke-o* appears to spell a commonly occurring man's name at Pylos (possibly *Alkeos*), the identification of *ka-wi-jo* as a patronymic was generally viewed as uncertain at the date of Carlier's article: Ventris and Chadwick (1973:552) and Palmer (1969:425) alike suggest it to be a possible ethnic. With the subsequent publication of new tablets from Thebes *ka-wi-jo* surfaced as a stand-alone personal name, all but one occurring in the Fq series reporting allotments of grain made to various persons (see Fq 123, 130, 229, 247, 254 + 255, 258, and

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probable also on Fq 120, 187, 261, 342); *ka-wi-jo* also occurs on Thebes tablet Uq 434, which treats distribution of ox hides.[781]

B. ? Aq 218 (line 10): *pa-ku-ro*$_2$ *de-wi-jo*:[782] The form *de-wi-jo* recurs on the warrior tablet An 519 + fr. (line 10). Ventris and Chadwick (1973:539) consider *de-wi-jo* to be "obscure" (on p. 190 they cite Mühlestein's interpretation of it as *Díwios* [Δίϝιος]). Palmer (1969:413) suggests "Patronymic? Or ethnic?" If a patronymic, it either stands alone at An 519 + fr. (10) or modifies the preceding form *a*$_2$*-te-po*, which is not otherwise attested (Ventris and Chadwick [1973:536] identify *a*$_2$*-te-po* as a place name or man's name [?]; Palmer [1969:410] as a man's name). Ruijgh (1967:159, with note 324) reads *de-wi-jo* as a patronymic on Aq 218 and as either a personal name or a patronymic on An 519. Carlier (1999:192) favors the patronymic interpretation in light of the frequency of expressions of familial relatedness on the "diptych" Aq 64 + 218.

C. ? Aq 218 (line 13): *]-me-ta, po-ru-da-si-jo*: Ventris and Chadwick (1973:574) characterize *po-ru-da-si-jo* as a possible patronymic or ethnic adjective and

[781] On interpretation of the tablet see Thompson 2013.

[782] Not *po-ku-ro*$_2$, as the form appears in Carlier (p. 192)

Palmer (1969:447) simply as a man's name. Ruijgh (1967:151) seems confident in interpreting *po-ru-da-si-jo* as a patronymic on Aq 218. The same form occurs at Knossos on the fragmentary tablet V 118 + 7561, where it is followed by *a_2-ke-te-re*, of uncertain sense.

D. ? Fn 324 + 1031 + 1454 + frr. (line 1): *ke-sa-me-no, ke-me-ri-jo*: The name Ke-sa-me-no here designates a recipient of a grain allotment; it also occurs on Pylos tablet Cn 131 (line 13), where it is associated with ownership of 40 ewes. Ke-sa-me-no is a name that we met in §8.3 (noting a formal similarity to Mycenaean names reminiscent of *Kassándra* [Κασσάνδρα]) in our discussion of another reflex of *sok^w- denoting 'warrior comrade' – that is, *opáōn*: we saw that the dative *o-qa-wo-ni* appears on this Pylos tablet, Fn 324 + 1031 + 1454 + frr., and that *ke-me-ri-jo* shows a phonic similarity to the place name *Cheimerion* (*Kheimérion* [Χειμέριον]) in Thesprotia, a place with Aeolian mythic connections.

From these instances we can see that (possible) occurrences of patronymic adjectives beyond the Pylian warrior An tablets match the pattern identified by an examination of

that set (i.e. those instances identifying a *hek^{w}etās*): patronymic adjectives do not co-occur with distinct ethnic identifiers.

8.4.3. Names Accompanied by a Patronymic Adjective: Complementary Distribution Part 3

If we cast the patronymic net across its greatest possible range, these are the names that we find to be potentially modified by an accompanying patronymic adjective:

(11) *Names modified by patronymic adjectives*

A_2-te-po (An 519 + fr.); Ro-u-ko (Aq 218; An 519 + fr.); A-re-ku-tu-ru-wo (An 654); Pe-re-qo-ni-jo (An 656); Di-ko-na-ro (An 656); A-ke-o (An 192 + fr.); Ne-qe-u (Aq 64); A_3-ko-ta (Aq 218); Pa-ku-ro_2 (Aq 218); Ke-sa-me-no (Fn 324 + 1031 + 1454 + frr.)

Of these ten names, only six are found on tablets other than those specified in (11): A-re-ku-tu-ru-wo (also on PY Es 644, 649 and 650 + fr.); A-ke-o (also on PY Cc 660; Cn 40; Cn 45; Cn 254 + fr. + frr. [+] 272; Cn 599; Cn 600; Cn 643; Cn 655; Cn 702 + 1462 + 1463 [+]

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1461; Cn 719 + frr.;[783] Mb 1434 and probably 1378); Ne-qe-u (also on PY Eb 495;[784] Jn 725 + frr.:29; Qa 1298); A_3-ko-ta (also on PY An 657; also KN As 1516); Pa-ku-ro_2 (also on PY Jn 750); Ke-sa-me-no (also on PY Cn 131). The pattern of complementarity holds in that none of the names, *in any of its occurrences*, is modified by an ethnic indicator; though Ne-qe-u requires comment in this regard. We saw that both Ne-qe-u and A-re-ku-tu-ru-wo 'Alectryon' are modified by the patronymic adjective *e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo* 'son of Eteocles' (on Aq 64 and An 654, respectively). A-re-ku-tu-ru-wo is among those individuals who are identified as *hek*^{w}*etai* 'allies'; Ne-qe-u, the other 'son of Eteocles', is not. An individual named Ne-qe-u – whether or not he is the same man as that Ne-qe-u who is 'son of Eteocles' – does, however appear to have a title: he is called *e-da-e-u* on tablets Eb 495[785] and Qa 1298. Ventris and Chadwick (1973:542) speculate that *e-da-e-u* might be a title or an ethnic; Palmer (1969:144) calls it "a toponymic derivative." The term *e-da-e-u* is, however, now generally recognized to be a cult title (see, *inter alia*,

[783] The Cn tablets on which the name of A-ke-o appear reveal that the person so named was owner of a very large number of domesticated animals.

[784] Restored at Ep 613 + 1131 + fr. after Eb 495.

[785] And as with the name Ne-qe-u (see the preceding note) is restored on Ep 613 + 1131 + fr. after Eb 495.

Nakassis 2013:139–140),[786] used in parallel with such titles in the one-line tablets of the Qa series, tablets that may record the presentation of skins of sacrificial animals (logogram *189; Melena 2002:380–384) to the individuals named thereon.

8.5. Eteocles and Adrastos

In §8.4 the following observation was offered regarding the names *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo, e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo*, 'Alectryon, son of Eteocles' and *ne-qe-u, e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo*, 'Ne-qe-u, son of Eteocles':

> That two of the few occurrences of Mycenaean patronymic adjectives, having a morphology that is otherwise uniquely Aeolic, would be used to identify sons of a man (or men) by the name of Eteocles seems quite remarkable. This is not so much because of the centrality of a figure by this name in the archaic Theban (Boeotian) tradition of mutual warrior fratricide as because of the occurrence of the name in one of the Hittite Ahhiyawa documents.

[786] On the religious personnel of the Qa series and the affiliation of religious texts with matters of Mycenaean economy, see also Hiller 2011:181–182, with references to earlier work.

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We have now seen that yet another of the Mycenaean patronymic adjectives which accompanies the name of a *hek*^{w}*etās* is built on a name that is linked to the epic tradition of the siege of Boeotian Thebes – the patronymic *a-da-ra-ti-jo*, 'son of Adrastos'. This patronymic modifies the name of the *hek*^{w}*etās* Di-ko-na-ro on Pylos tablet An 656. In addition, the patronymic *a-da-ra-ti-jo*, 'son of Adrastos', modifies the name A_3-ko-ta on Aq 218. As we pointed out, there is a *hek*^{w}*etās* called A_3-ko-ta who is catalogued on tablet An 657 (without adjectival modification). We can say with some confidence that two *hek*^{w}*etai* attested in the archives of Pylos are designated as 'sons of Adrastos'.

The name *Ádrastos* (Ἄδραστος) is one that has conspicuous Anatolian affiliations. In the *Iliad* (2.828–834) an Adrastos (Adrastus) and his brother, Amphius *linothṓrēks* (λινοθώρηξ) 'of the linen cuirass', sons of the mantis Merops of Percote, lead the Trojan allies who come from *Adrásteia* (Ἀδράστεια) – toponym built with the morphology of *Adrastos* – and from the country of Apaesus, Pityeia, and the mountain of Tereia. The death of a Trojan Adrastos is related in *Iliad* 6 (37–65), slain by Agamemnon as he pleads for his life in suppliant posture – a striking scenario of violation of warrior ethos, but one that has conspicuous Indo-European homologues.[787] An Adrastos is also the first listed in the catalogue of Patroclus' victims at *Iliad* 16.692–697. Strabo (13.1.13)

[787] See Woodard 2018.

writes of a place Adrasteia in Mysia,[788] situated between Priapus and Parium, and (12.8.11) of a Mount Adrasteia located some fifty-five kilometers to the east, opposite Cyzicus. *Ádrastos* is also the name given to a son of the Phrygian king Gordias, whom Herodotus (1.35.3–4) reports to have fled to the Lydian Croesus for purification when he had accidentally killed his brother.

van Bremen (2010) has argued that the name *Ádrastos* (Ἄδραστος) is one that can be assigned an Anatolian origin. She notes (p. 450) that Ruijgh (1967:156; see also his p. 257) confidently contends that *Ádrastos* is pre-Hellenic and that any association of the name with the Greek verb *didráskō* (διδράσκω) 'to run away' (making *Ádrastos* the *á-drastos* [ἄ-δραστος] 'not running-away one')[789] is the consequence of popular etymologizing. For the etymology of *Ádrastos* van Bremen looks instead to a "Western Anatolian appellative base *atr(a)," (citing a personal communication with Melchert), "attested in Lydian and Luwian. Its approximate meaning may be something like

[788] Strabo notes that the country is called both Adrasteia and the 'Plain of Adrasteia' (*Adrasteías pedíon* [Ἀδραστείας πεδίον]), comparing the dual nomenclature 'Thebe' (*Thḗbē* [Θήβη]) and 'Plain of Thebe' (*Thḗbēs pedíon* [Θήβης πεδίον]). In the plain, he reports, there was once located an oracle of Apollo Actaeus and Artemis.

[789] Among investigators, assumed at least as early as Stoll 1855:29.

'divine approval, sanction'."[790] If we understand an "appellative base *atr(a)" to be the proper source of Greek *Ádrastos*, we may then plausibly look to an origin in a context of Greek-Luvian social intercourse in western Anatolia.

A figure called *Ádrastos* (Ἄδραστος) is most notably associated with Aeolian epic tradition. It is the name given to the Argive king who commanded the forces that laid siege to Boeotian Thebes.[791] Adrastos is the *sole* surviving champion of that failed expedition, and survives by making an escape on his fabled horse Arion (*Aríōn* [Ἀρίων], and, thus, hardly, it would seem, an *á-drastos* [ἄ-δραστος] 'not running-away one'). The association of Adrastos with Arion is referenced as early as the *Iliad* 23.346–347.[792] The horse Arion, or Areion (*Areíōn* [Ἀρείων]), is consistently presented as the male offspring of Poseidon. The fullest version of the tradition preserved is that reported by Pausanias (8.25.4–10); he localizes his account in Arcadia, in the area of Oncium (near Thelpusa), presenting it as an aetion of the cult of Demeter Erinys, whose temple stood in that place. Pausanias reports that Poseidon stalked Demeter as she searched for her missing daughter (Persephone). To evade Poseidon, Demeter changed herself into a horse and

[790] See also Melchert 2004e:149n27.

[791] For discussion of Adrastos' role in the tradition, with bibliography, see, *inter alia*, Gantz 1993:506–510; Fowler 2013:413; Davies 2014:88–89.

[792] For Adrastos in Argos see also *Iliad* 14.121.

hid among the mares of the herd of Apollo's son Oncius. Poseidon then changed his own form into that of a horse and copulated with Demeter. Because of her anger (*orgílōs ékhein* [ὀργίλως ἔχειν]) at her violation Demeter acquired the epithet Erinys (*Erinús* [Ἐρινύς]); and from the event she conceived twin children – a contrasting pair: a daughter, whose name, writes Pausanias, is to be known only by those initiated into the cult of Demeter Erinys, though generically referred to as Despoena (*Déspoina* [Δέσποινα]), [793] and a male offspring, the horse Areion.[794] Note that in contrast to

[793] Pausanias reiterates at 8.37.9–10 that her name ought not be made known to non-initiates, where he also writes that she is commonly known as Despoena (*Déspoina* [Δέσποινα]) among the Arcadians. At 8.42.1–4 Pausanias offers an aetion for the cult of Demeter Melaine (*Melaínēs* [Μελαίνης]), who was worshipped within a sacred cave beneath Mt. Elaïus in the vicinity of Arcadian Phigalia; he writes that the Phigalians 'acknowledge' (*nomízō* [νομίζω]) what is told in Thelpusa regarding the intercourse of Poseidon and Demeter, but that they say that Despoena, not the horse, came forth from Demeter. Pausanias goes on to describe an ancient wooden image of the Demeter Melaine that had once stood in the sacred cave: it had the form of a woman seated on a rock, except that it had the head and hair of a horse.

[794] See also Tzetzes *Scholia in Lycophronem* 766. According to Pausanias (8.25.9–10) Antimachus (fr. 32; Wyss 1936) records that Areion was born from Gaea (here *Gê̂* [Γῆ]) 'Earth'. For Pseudo-Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca* 3.77) Demeter had taken on the form of one of the Erinyes when Poseidon had intercourse with her. And see the ensuing note.

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Pausanias's record, a scholion on *Iliad* 23.346 gives the rape an Aeolian setting and identifies Poseidon's victim, and mother of Arion, as an Erinys: ἐμίγη κατὰ Βοιωτίαν παρὰ τῇ Τιλφούσῃ κρήνῃ 'he had intercourse [with her] in Boeotia by the spring of Tilphusa'.[795]

Already in the nineteenth century the Arcadian tradition of the conception and birth of the twin children of hippomorphic Poseidon and Demeter– the horse Arion and his anthropomorphic twin sister Despoena – had been recognized as a homologue of an Indic tradition of the birth of the divine twins, the Aśvins (name derived from Sanskrit *aśva-* 'horse' [Greek *híppos* (ἵππος), Latin *equus*, etc.]).[796] The goddess Saraṇyū transformed her body into that of a mare and fled from her husband, the solar deity Vivasvat, leaving behind her twin children Yama (a son) and Yamī (a daughter) and substituting in her place a 'Clone' (*Savarṇa*, literally 'having the same appearance'), identified as *Chāyā* ('Shadow'). Eventually Vivasvat became aware of the switch and

[795] *Scholia in Iliadem* (*scholia vetera* [= Heyne 1834]) 23.346 (= D scholia) (= *Thebais* fr. 6C; see Davies 2014:141–142). Eustathius (*Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* [= van der Valk 1971–1987] 4.744) reports the *mûthos* that Poseidon and an Erinys or a Harpy (*Hárpuia* [Ἅρπυια]) produced the horse. Compare Callimachus fr. 652 (Pfeiffer 1949–1953). See also *Scholia in Iliadem* (*scholia vetera* [= Erbse 1969–1988]) 23.347 (= *Thebais* fr. 6b; see Davies 2014:141).

[796] See the comments of Frazer (1898:4:291) regarding the intellectual history.

went in search of his wife Saraṇyū. When he found her, in equine form, he himself took on the shape of a horse and had sexual engagement with her. Saraṇyū conceived and gave birth to the twin Aśvins. More than this, Adalbert Kuhn (1852) argued that Sanskrit *Saraṇyū* and Greek *Erīnū́s* [’Ερῑνῡ́ς]) are to be identified as cognates. The argument has had its detractors, but the comparison is not aberrant and ought not be dismissed offhandedly.[797]

In any event, what is clear and important for our present concerns is that the epic figure of Adrastos – bearing a name with Anatolian affiliations – has been given mythic links with a deeply archaic Indo-European tradition and that this connection surfaces in conjunction with an epic tradition about the siege of an Aeolian city.[798] A salient feature of this tradition is the combat between the brothers Eteocles (defending Thebes) and Polynices (besieging Thebes) that results in mutual fratricide. That the names *Eteocles* and *Adrastos* are both attested in the Mycenaean records as they are, with distinctive Aeolic patronymic morphology, and both naming figures in Aeolian mythic tradition, is certainly doubly remarkable.

[797] See the remarks of Mallory and Adams 1997:232. See also Puhvel 1970:170–171.

[798] For discussion, with bibliography, of the figures of Arion and Adrastos in fragments of the Thebais, see Davies 2014:85–89.

We saw that the name *Eteocles* appears in one of the Hittite Ahhiyawa documents (AhT 4). Another of the few Mycenaean names that survive in these documents is that of *At-ta-ri-iš-ši-ya-*, or *At-tar-ši-ya-*, appearing in AhT 3, the so-called "Indictment of Madduwatta," dated to the early fourteenth century BC. The tablet reports that *Attarissiya*, a LÚ ^{URU}*A-aḫ-ḫi-ya-a* 'ruler of Ahhiya' (note the variant spelling of *Ahhiyawa*, on which see §8.7 below), among other actions, conducted insurgent raids on Alasiya (Cyprus) in coordination with the forces of Madduwatta, a local ruler in southwest Anatolia. Forrer (1924:21) proposed identifying *Attarissiya* with the later-attested *Atreus* (*Atreús* [Ἀτρεύς]), name given to the father of Agamemnon and Menelaus, the Atreids (*Atrḗidai* [Ἀτρεΐδαι]). Forrer's equation of the names *Attarissiya* and *Atreus* has had a mediocre reception; Güterbock (1997:207), for example, writes of *Attarissiya-* that "it seems to me that . . . [his name] sounds Greek, although it is hardly Atreus! . . . ."[799] West (2001:266) is (cautiously) positively disposed to the correspondence, connecting his own interpretation with the ancient etymology that derives the name *Atreús* from the adjective *á-tres-tos* (ἄ-τρεσ-τος) 'not fearing';[800] though

[799] See earlier the objections of Kretschmer 1927:168–169 (in Kretschmer, Vetter, and Nehring 1927) and 1930:162.

[800] See Plato *Cratylus* 395B–C and following from that the medieval *Lexicon de Atticus nominibus* 34. West (2001:263n3) adds to the *Cratylus* passage Hermogenes *Περὶ ἰδεῶν λόγου* 2.5, and Euripides *Iphigenia at Aulis*

one may find it difficult to shake the nagging suspicion that this is yet another folk etymology based on phonic similarity and metaphorical appositeness – the sort of etymologizing so common in Greek and Roman linguistic speculation. Haupt (1924:253) fundamentally accepts Forrer's equation,[801] but he suggests that "Hitt. Attarissi̯as (< Attaristi̯as < Atristi̯as) may [itself] represent ἄτρεστος [*átrestos*]": this is because, he explains, "Attarissiya is called a *ku-ri-e-u̯a-ni-eš* (also written *kuiru̯anas*) = κοίρανος [*koíranos*] (cf. *Il.* 2, 204)." But, aside from the matter of what may be a problematic linguistic analysis of *Attarissiya-*,[802] Haupt's reasoning is not tight. Greek *koíranos* denotes 'commander'; in Haupt's cited *Iliad* 2.204–205, *koíranos* is used by Odysseus as he calls for there to be 'only one *koíranos*, one *basiléus*' (εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω, | εἷς βασιλεύς).[803]

321, where the name *Atreús* (Ἀτρεύς) appears to be punned with the verb *tréō* (τρέω), from which the adjective *átrestos* (ἄτρεστος) is derived. For overt expression of a proposed connection between *Atreús* and *tréō*, we can add Aelius Herodianus *Περὶ παθῶν* 3,2.351; Orion *Etymologicum* A 30; *Etymologicum Genuinum* A 1371; *Etymologicum magnum* 165, 409; *Etymologicum Symeonis* 1.296.

[801] Szemerényi (1957:178–179) also accepts the equation.

[802] One that is explicitly, and succinctly, rebuffed by Kretschmer 1927:169 (in Kretschmer, Vetter, and Nehring 1927), who especially takes issue with the assumed change of *-st-* to *-ss-*.

[803] Elsewhere in the *Iliad* the term *koíranos* (κοίρανος) is used formulaically of the 'commanders' of the Danaans (in the Catalogue of Ships [2.204, 487, 760]) and of Ajax *Telamṓnios* (Τελαμώνιος) 'son of Telamon' (7.234; 8.281; 9.644; 11.465).

Koíranos has no syntagmatic connection in this passage, or elsewhere it seems, with *átrestos*. Moreover, Greek *koíranos* is almost certainly not cognate with Hittite LÚ.MEŠ *ku-ri-e-u̯a-ni-eš*,[804] which is used in the context of AhT 3.89 to identify 'independent people' (Otten 1969:28).

The LÚ URU*A-aḫ-ḫi-ya-a* 'ruler of Ahhiya' who appears in AhT 3 has a name that is written with two different cuneiform syllabic spellings: *At-ta-ri-iš-ši-ya-* and *At-tar-ši-ya-*. A comparison of the two spellings suggests (though does not guarantee) that the former (*At-ta-ri-iš-ši-ya-*) utilizes the common orthographic phenomenon of plenary spelling (here *-ri-iš-ši-*) to represent a complex consonant juncture (here *-rssi-* [note that the grapheme *š* spells the sound *s*]):[805] in other words, the proper phonetic rendering of the name is, broadly, *Attarssiya-* (and one commonly encounters the transcription *Attarsiya-*).[806] Perhaps we should see in *Attarssiyas* an essentially Luvian (Cuneiform Luvian) rendering of the Mycenaean patronymic *Adrāstiyos* (Linear B *A-da-ra-ti-jo*). The syllable structure of Luvian *-tars-* beside Mycenaean *-dras-* would not be

[804] See, for example, Puhvel 1997:266, who refers to "Forrer's untenable comparison," referencing Sommer 1932:342–348 and Friedrich 1926:77. See also, *inter alia*, the remarks of Mallory and Adams 1997:348.

[805] On the phenomenon see the helpful discussion of Hoffner and Melchert 2008:1:13–14.

[806] See, for example, Bryce 2005:141, 144, 146–147, 402.

problematic in light of Luvian alternations such as *ḫuppart(i)-* beside *ḫupprati*yat(i)- 'pelvis'(?) and *ḫutarla-* beside *ḫutrala-* 'slave' (see Melchert 1993b:75, 78), where *-tar-* etc. (rather than *-tra-* etc.) appears to be the preferred Luvian phonic ordering. As in Hittite orthography, the Luvian alternation of geminate spelling of stop consonants, such as *-tt-* (in *Attarssiya-*), versus single spelling, such as *-t-*, is understood to be linguistically significant, though the precise phonetic significance signaled by the orthographic variation at the time of writing is uncertain.[807] The spelling variation is judged to be unlikely to register a synchronic voicing distinction (the adapted Assyrian cuneiform script would have provided a straightforward means of orthographically encoding such a distinction). While there is a tendency for Luvian, as with Hittite, scribes to use *geminate spelling* to write the reflexes of *inherited* voiceless stops (i.e. *-tt-* for *[t], to continue with our example) and *single spelling* to express *inherited* voiced and aspirated stops (i.e. *-t-* for *[d(ʰ)]), the choice to transcribe *synchronically* a Greek voiced *-d-* by writing *-tt-* would be a different sort of matter altogether: this would be a function of a Luvian speaker's aural perception of the articulation of a Greek dental stop *-d-* in its particular phonological context, relative to the acoustic qualities of Luvian dental stops and accepted orthographic practices of writing those sounds. That the dental stop of a

[807] See Melchert 1994:13–18, 248; 2003b:177; 2004a:577.

Mycenaean Greek form *Adrāstiyos* should end up being transcribed by a Luvian geminate spelling – in other words, as *Attarssiyas* – is not necessarily problematic. More of a conundrum would be the adaptive rendering of Greek *-st-* (*Adrāstiyos*) by the Luvian spelling *-š(š)-*. There are, of course, conceivable scenarios. One could propose a process of Luvian morphophonological accommodation whereby a recognized non-Anatolian patronym terminating in *-āstiyos* could be popularly modified in spoken language under the influence of the phonological shape of the Luvian morpheme *-aššа/i-* which makes relational, or possessive, adjectives,[808] and as such is used to form patronymics in Anatolian, as is the morpheme *-iya-*, corresponding to Mycenaean *-iyo-*, as in the patronymic *Adrāstiyos* (Linear B *a-da-ra-ti-jo*). For double suffixation using the formant *-aššа/i-* consider Luvian *tarpaššašši-* discussed below in §8.6.2.

8.6. Mycenaean hek^{w}etās and Anatolian-loaned therápōn (θεράπων): Further Considerations

It was suggested in §8.3.6 that the concept of *hek^{w}etās* as it existed in a Mycenaean Greek exclave in western coastal Anatolia and that of *therápōn* (θεράπων), a term of Anatolian origin, should be understood as having an identical set or a proper subset relationship. If the Mycenaean *hek^{w}etai* who are named in the Linear B tablets

[808] On which see Melchert 2003b:196–197 and, especially, Melchert 2012, with bibliography.

using patronymic adjectives are individuals who come from the Ur-Aeolian community of Anatolia, as is here posited, then these warrior companions (*hek*^{w}*etai*), we can reasonably infer, are men who hail from the Greek society that adopted an Anatolian lexeme, Luvian *tarpāšša-* and so on, to denote an individual existing in a particular sacralized relationship of warrior bond. If this is so, then one might anticipate the possibility of reference to a *therápōn* in the Linear B documents. This possibility appears to be realized.

Knossos tablet F 193 + 7361 + fr. is one of a series of tablets recording the allotment and offerings of various commodities, chiefly olives, olive oil, and barley. In this instance the tablet records simply an amount of barley provided *te-ra-po-ti*, probably to be read as *theráponti* (θεράποντι) 'for a *therápōn* ';[809] note that the form is doubly intriguing in that it provides a secure example of the Special Mycenaean dative singular ending *-i*.[810] That a Mycenaean word of distinctive Luvian origin should be preserved with Special Mycenaean morphology, and only with that morphology, gives us more reason to suspect that this morphology is typical of the Mycenaean community of western Anatolia and, further to this, that that dialect called Special Mycenaean is

[809] The form is not uncommonly interpreted as a personal name *Therápōn* (Θεράπων): see Aura Jorro 1999:336.

[810] On the form as Special Mycenaean see Woodard 1986:51.

the language of that Asian Greek community of the Bronze Age. A similar point can be made regarding the ethnic adjective *mi-ra-ti-jo/ mi-ra-ti-ja*, as was noted above (see §8.4), which throughout the Linear B documentary record is consistently represented with unassibilated *t* before *i*. This is, again, the likely consequence of the local dialect of Mycenaean Miletus being a Special Mycenaean dialect, with the Anatolian Greek spelling being consequently preserved without exception in the recovered Mycenaean archives.

While Knossos tablet F 193 + 7361 + fr. preserves the only surviving example of the Mycenaean substantive *therápōn*, what can be understood as an adjectival derivative, *te-ra-po-si-jo*, occurs several times in the Knossos documents (see below, §8.6.1), most often on sheep tablets, a subset of the Da–Dg series. Typically, the documents in this series include the following data: (1) the name of some individual who is generally viewed to be a herder, (2) a place name, and (3) a tally of ovines. In addition (4) another specified referent is included on about one-third of the tablets,[811] and this may serve to identify the (in some sense) "owner"[812] or "attributary"[813] of the

[811] See Ventris and Chadwick 1973:434.

[812] There is a baseline unknown to the extent that the nature of "ownership" of land, animals, and so on in Mycenaean palace-centered society is uncertain, though it seems probable that ownership defaulted to the ruling authority. For a recent, helpful discussion, see Killen 2008, especially pp. 159–173.

sheep.[814] Accordingly, this additional, fourth, entry has been commonly inferred to be the spelling of a man's name.

But the fourth specifier is not in all cases a personal name. This is clearly revealed by the Knossos Dl tablets, which have the same general structure as the Da–Dg series, but which list quantities of wool in addition to sheep. On several of these tablets there appears in the "attributary" slot the designation *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*,[815] an adjective specifying that the sheep belong to the priests of Potnia (i.e. derived from **Potníarwos* [*Ποτνίαρϝος]).[816] Certainly also adjectival and serving in the same ("attributary")

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[813] See Palmer 1969:178 and Killen 1983:66–68. When no such entity is specified, the sheep have been interpreted as the king's alone; see, *inter alia*, Killen 1983:67.

[814] Or, more abstractly, a member of that set of "officials" that have been dubbed "collectors"; for fundamental discussion of the idea, see Nakassis 2013:7–8, 168–169.

[815] Found (only partially preserved in some instances) on Knossos tablets Dl 930 + 7284 + 7290 + 7333 + 8002; Dl 933 + 968 + 975; Dl 943; Dl 946 + fr.; Dl 950 + 7929 + frr.; Dl 7147 + 7851; Dl 7503 + 7638 + 7847; Dl 7771; Dl 7905 + 9328 + 9332 + fr.; Dl 9716 + 9762 + 9775 + fr.; also seen on Dp 997 + 7206; Dp 7742; and G 820 + fr.

[816] See Ruijgh 1967:123, 259–260. Compare Lejeune 1982:158, who sees a compound formed with **arwā* (Attic *arā́* [ἀρά], Ionic *arḗ* [ἀρή], Cypriot *a-ra* [sixth century BC]) having this sense: "ποτνιαρϝειος « appartenant au domaine voué à Πότνια »."

position in the Da–Dg series and the Dl tablets are *a-te-jo*,[817] *e-se-re-e-jo*,[818] *pe-ri-qo-te-jo*,[819] *sa-pa$_2$-re-jo*[820] – all well-attested possessive adjectives formed in *-e-jo*.[821]

8.6.1. Mycenaean therapos(s)iyo

Paralleling the various occurrences of "attributary" designations mentioned in the preceding paragraph is the adjectival form *te-ra-po-si-jo*, found on Knossos sheep tablets Da 1314; Db 1263; De 1371 + 1480 + 7115 + 8741; and partially restored on De 1361 + 8240 and on Dv 1439. A further occurrence is found on Knossos tablet Lc 446 (*te-ra-po-*

[817] Tablets Da 1392 + 1619 + 7112 + fr.; Db 1329 + 5698 + frr.; Dc 1303; Dc 1337 + 1393; De 1301; De 1307 + 5685 + 8424 + frr.; De 1510 + 7068 + 7265; Dl 7134 + 7724; partially restored on Dc 5687 + 7154 + 7209 + 8414 + 8683. Also found on Dv 1309 and Dv 1386 + 8575 (partially restored).

[818] Tablets Dl 947 + 7626; Dl 949 + 7145; Dl 1046 + 7281; Dl 7721.

[819] Found (partially restored in some instances) on tablets Da 1172 + frr. (4); Da 1253 + 7153 + fr.; Da 1321 + 5101 + 5773; Da 1333 + 2015; Da 5317; Db 1192 + 5390; Db 1231; De 1232; De 1322; De 6060. Also found on Dv 1322; Dv 1334 + 5324 + 8393 + frr. (4); Dv 1388; Dv 1427; and Dv 8357 + fr.

[820] Or *sa-qa-re-jo*: found (partially restored in some instances) on tablets Dl 412; Dl 794 + 7069 + 7292; Dl 932 + 963 + 7291 + 7871 + 8074; Dl 935 + 942; Dl 940 + 8779; Dl 944; Dl 948 + 977; Dl 952 + 7959; Dl 7132 + 7279 + fr.; Dl 7138 + 7671 + 7864; Dl 7141 + 7264 + 7971 + 7984.

[821] On the examples from the more recently discovered tablets from Thebes, see the discussion of Killen 1983:74–77 (following Spyropoulos and Chadwick 1975 and Morpurgo Davies 1960).

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si-jo[), one of a series of tablets recording quantities of cloth and wool, to which we shall return below.[822] What is immediately apparent is that, despite the parallelism in usage with the adjectives in –*e-jo* rehearsed above, this adjectival derivative of *therápōn* (θεράπων) is formed not with –*e-jo* but with –*i-jo*. Killen (1983, especially pp. 86–88) has argued that –*e-jo* is used to form possessive adjectives from proper names only, while –*i-jo* is used instead for deriving adjectives from common nouns (though also from proper names in a few instances), and, more germane to the problem at hand, -*i-jo* is used for deriving possessive adjectives from titles. Killen offers the evidence of "ownership" as specified in land-tenure documents at Pylos and Knossos, where one finds (in opposition to seeming derivatives of men's names in –*e-jo*) *da-mi-jo*, *ko-re-te-ri-jo*, and *ra-wa-ke-si-jo*, derived respectively from *da-mo* (*dāmos*) 'the people, village community', *ko-re-te* (*ko-re-tēr*), the village official, and *ra-wa-ke-ta* – that is, *lāwāgetās*, the 'leader of the horde', the warrior chief that we discussed at some length in Chapter Four. In the same way, the adjectival equivalent of *therápōn*, which must be similarly regarded as a "title," is also formed in –*i-jo*: *te-ra-po-si-jo* – which has been understood to spell *theraponsiyo-*

[822] And on which, see Killen 1966 [1965].

(from *therapont-*, as by Lejeune 1982:65);[823] though we should perhaps better understand *therapos(s)iyo-* (see just below). For the concatenation of formants here proposed, compare the adjective *Parnā́s(s)ios* (Παρνᾱ́σ[σ]ιος) 'of Parnassus', from *Parnās(s)ós* (Παρνᾱσ[σ]ός), a form to which we shall return in the next section.

8.6.2. Mycenaean therapos(s)iyo vis-à-vis Luvian morphology

The morphology of the Mycenaean adjective *therapos(s)iyo-* is interesting. In §8.3.6 we saw that Greek *therápōn* (θεράπων) appears to be a borrowing of an Anatolian form – likely Luvian form (and will be referred to in that way in the following discussion) – denoting 'ritual substitute'. Here again are the forms of the Luvian word that we encountered in that discussion:

tarpāšša-, with a denominative verb *tarpašša-*

tarpaššašši-, possessive adjective

tarpaššāḫit-, derived noun ('position of ritual substitute')

tarpalla/i-

[823] Contra Van Brock 1960:217–219, who advocates interpreting both *te-ra-po-ti* and the various occurrences of *te-ra-po-si-jo* as names of men.

tarpanalla/i-

tarpanallašša-, inchoative verb

As Melchert (1993b:215) points out, the noun *tarpāšša-* presents itself as derived from a stem **tarpa-* (of uncertain sense) by addition of the relational, or possessive, adjective formant *-aššа/i-* which we encountered in our discussion of Mycenaean *Adrāstiyos* (Linear B *a-da-ra-ti-jo*) and Ahhiyawan *Attarssiyas* in §8.5. The Luvian possessive adjective *tarpaššašši-* is thus derived by a further addition of the suffix *-aššа/i-* to the stem *tarpāšša-*, which is itself a substantivized adjective in origin. If Linear B *te-ra-po-si-jo* spells a Mycenaean adjective *therapos(s)-iyo-*, then that form appears, *mutatis mutandis*, to parallel formally the structure of Luvian *tarpašš-ašši-*, the difference being that the Mycenaean adjective is built by addition of the morpheme *-iyo-*, which functionally and etymologically matches Luvian *-iya-*. Let us recall that the Luvian suffixes *-aššа/i-* and *-iya-* share similar relational (or possessive) derivational functions (including the production of patronymics) – and that, again, Luvian *-iya-* is matched by Mycenaean *-iyo-*. In effect, then, Mycenaean *therapos(s)-iyo-* gives the appearance of being a borrowing of Luvian *tarpašš-ašši-*, with morphological translation – that is, translation of the Luvian formant *-ašši-* with the Greek functional counterpart *-iyo-*.

This is certainly the sort of "loan translation" process that one could expect to occur in a socio-cultural setting created by close interaction and intermarriage of Mycenaean-Greek-speaking and Luvian-speaking peoples.

At the end of §8.6.1 mention was made of the adjective *Parnā́s(s)ios* (Παρνᾱ́σ[σ]ιος) 'of Parnassus', derived from *Parnās(s)ós* (Παρνᾱσ[σ]ός) 'Parnassus', name of the mountain chain running from Boeotia down through Phocis, looming above Delphi. A place called *Parnassus* is also known on the Anatolian plateau, located on a branch of the Halys and some twelve kilometers east of the northern aspect of Lake Tatta (on which see Strabo 12.5.4 and 12.6.1), largest of the Anatolian salt lakes, along what would become the Roman road from Ancyra southeast into Cappadocia. It seems probable that Greek *Parnās(s)ós* is of Anatolian origin, as was long ago realized (see especially Laroche 1956; Heubeck 1961:50, 52; Palmer 1965a:348–349), being formed from Hittite/Luvian *parna-* 'house' and a formant *-aššа-* that is seen in Luvian toponyms. In the early days of the analysis of the form, it was typically interpreted as evidence of the presence of an Anatolian population in Greece that preceded arrival of the Greeks. Yet at least by 1980 Leonard Palmer, with whom the idea of a Balkan Luvian substratum is perhaps most readily associated, could allow a different possibility, writing (p. 13):

> But even though a place-name like *Parnassos*, which actually occurs in Asia Minor, is securely established as an Anatolian formation, its transference to Greece might be due to a secondary displacement. It might be argued that Greeks settled some time in Anatolia, learned the mountain names there, and on their occupation of Greece bestowed it on a mountain in their new territory.

Palmer had in mind Proto-Greeks moving west from Anatolia to "occupy" the Balkan peninsula, but more likely would be an identification of these westbound Greeks with Bronze-Age Ahhiyawans, the same population that we have proposed to have introduced Anatolian patronymic adjectives to the Balkan Mycenaeans. From this Anatolian place name, a Greek adjective would be created by adding the Greek suffix *-io-* (Mycenaean *-iyo-*) to a Luvian *parnašša-*, giving *Parnā́s(s)ios* (Παρνᾶσ[σ]ιος) 'of Parnassus'. *Grosso modo*, the morphological shape of this derived structure parallels that seen in the proposed Mycenaean *therapos(s)-iyo-*, following from Luvian *tarpašš-aššа/i-*.

Van Brock (1959:125–126) proposes that Greek *therápōn* (θεράπων) has its origins in a borrowed formant **tarpan-*, which is unattested but reflected in attested

tarpanalla/i- (to which we can add the inchoative verb *tarpanallašša-*), of which we took note in §8.3.6. Luvian has a suffix *-an-*, as in *māššan(i)-* 'god', *maššanalla/i-* 'divine'. But as mentioned in §8.6.1 the stem of *therápōn* is *therapont-*, thus, by this borrowing scenario, a Luvian stem **tarpan-* would have been assimilated into Greek using the suffix *-ont-* (-οντ-), rather than by using the paradigmatic pattern of nominative suffix *-ōn* (-ων), oblique suffix *-on-* (-ον-):[824] this *-ōn/-on-* paradigm can be seen, for example, in Linear B *te-ko-to-ne*, spelling nominative plural *tékt-on-es* (τέκτ-ον-ες) 'carpenters'. On the other hand, the suffix *-ōn/-ont-* is evidenced by Linear B *ke-ro-te* and *ke-ro-ta,* spelling *gérontes* (γέροντες) and *gérontas* (γέροντας), nominative and accusative plural, respectively, of *gérōn* (γέρων) 'old man'.

This suffix *-ōn/-ont-* (-ων/-οντ-) also provides the morphology characteristic of the present participle of thematic stems. Perhaps we should look again to a Mycenaean *therapos(s)-iyo-*, loan translation of Luvian *tarpašš-ašša/i-* for a possible solution to the origin of *therápōn*. Mycenaean speakers would also have uttered at times the feminine adjective **therap-os(s)-iyā*. The Linear B documents appear to preserve the expected morphology of the *thematic-stem feminine participle* in the nominative singular *o-pe-ro-sa* ('under an obligation', on Pylos tablet Ep 704) – that is *ophēl-ons-ā*, where the feminine

[824] On the pattern see Buck and Petersen 1949:247, 251–260.

participial formant *-ons-* has evolved from an earlier sequence **-ont-y-*. Is the feminine *adjectival* morphology *–os(s)-iyā* sufficiently close (perceptually, impressionistically) to the feminine *participial* morphology *-ons-ā* to motivate speaker formation of a stem with masculine participial morphology? In other word, does a feminine **therap-os(s)-iyā* lead to a masculine *therap-ont-* through the intermediation of the feminine participial formant *-ons-ā*?[825] This is a question that does not lend itself to an unequivocal answer. But in the speech community's analogical nexus within which such a lexeme could arise there is yet another notable element that would come into play, and that is the Mycenaean formation of *athematic-stem feminine participles* with the formant sequence *-ass-ā*, as seen in nominative plural *a-pe-a-sa* for *ap-eh-as(s)ai* (that is, ἀπέασ[σ]αι) 'being absent',[826] from *ap-es-n̥t-yai.[827] This is a feature that Arcadian

[825] This, as it turns out, is not the first occasion on which a participial connection with *therápōn* (θεράπων) has been suggested: thus, Buck and Petersen (1949:457) write regarding the acquired declension of *therápōn* and *drákōn* (δράκων) 'serpent, that "association with verbs (cf. θεραπεύω and δέρκομαι), and consequently participles, may have been the inducing factor."

[826] On Knossos tablet Ap 618 + 623 + 633 + 5533 + 5922; compare]*ạ-pe-a-ṣạ* on Ak 615, also from Knossos.

[827] See, *inter alia*, Lejeune 1982:108, 198.

shares with Mycenaean, also showing up in various Doric dialects, hence singular *éas(s)a* (ἔασ[σ]α) 'being', and so on.[828]

There is a variant form of Greek *therápōn* (θεράπων) that we have not mentioned up to this point – that being the lexeme *théraps* (θέραψ), having the stem *thérap-* (θέραπ-). As Nagy (2013a:153–154) points out, even though this form of the noun is not attested prior to the fifth century BC, first showing up in the works of Ion of Chios (fr. 27.2; West 1972) and Euripides (*Suppliant Women* 762 and *Ion* 94), it is clearly an archaic term: this is revealed by the use of its *derived* verb *therapeúō* (θεραπεύω) already in the epic language of Homer (*Odyssey* 13.265) and of Hesiod (*Works and Days* 135).[829] From a process perspective, given the Mycenaean evidence, it is reasonable to see *thérap-s* as arising as a back formation from a Mycenaean *therap-os(s)-iyo-*, loan translation of Luvian *tarp-ašš-aššа/i-* (rather than a direct borrowing and imaginative reworking of *tarpāšša-*, [*tarpa-aššа-*]).

And yet another factor requires consideration here – that being the notable presence of an anaptyctic *a*-vowel within the *-rp-* consonantal sequence of the Greek borrowing (contrast Luvian *tarpašš-* and so on, with contiguous *-rp-*). Was the vowel

[828] See, inter alia, Buck 1928:129; Thumb and Scherer 1959:137, 352; Dubois 1988:74, with note 466. The Mycenaean-Arcadian-Doric isogloss is itself quite intriguing.

[829] On the derivation see, *inter alia*, Chantraine 1968:430.

insertion driven by Greek phonotactic restrictions or patterns? That a bisyllabic form *therpōn (i.e. *therápōn* [θεράπων] without anaptyxis), with medial liquid + stop cluster, would be phonotactically permissible is plainly indicated by, for example, *árkhōn* (ἄρχων) 'leader', and its numerous complex/compound forms, attested as early as Aeschylus. On the other hand, however, a form *therps (i.e. *théraps* [θέραψ] without anaptyxis) appears to be phonotactically aberrant: none of the ca. 70 nominals terminating in *-ps*, having a genitive in *-pos* (and so on for the other oblique cases), catalogued in Buck and Petersen 1949:382–384 allows a consonant before the final *-ps*, with the exception of *laîlamps* (λαῖλαμψ), a variant of *laîlaps* (λαῖλαψ) 'furious storm' that appears in a magical papyrus of the fourth century[830] and in a mediaeval text of the Cypriot monk Neophytus Inclusus (Πανηγυρική βίβλος 26.888). The spelling *laîlamps* clearly records the automatic production of a homorganic nasal, a low-level phonetic process that does not counterevidence the impressive phonotactic regularity of a word-final sequence *-Vps* of such nominal forms as *théraps*. This phonotactic pattern continues to hold if we expand our examination of word-final *-ps* nominative forms to include those that form a genitive in *-phos* (8 instances) or *-bos* (32), and those for which an oblique-case form is not attested (15), with, again, a single exception in which a

[830] P II 117 in Preisendanz and Henrichs 2001 (see p. 28).

homorganic *m* makes an appearance: ichthyonyms *khrémps* (χρέμψ) and *khréps* (χρέψ) appear as variant textual readings of a form – one which is altogether absent in certain manuscripts – in Aristotle's *Historia animalium* 534A.[831]

It is most likely to *théraps* that we should look for the introduction of the anaptyctic vowel from which the vowel spread to *therápōn*. We would thus see a process of reciprocal influence at work in the evolution of *therápōn* (θεράπων) and *théraps* (θέραψ). This suggests a moment of transfer of the forms from Luvian to Greek at some distance anterior to the attested Linear B documentary record.

8.6.3. Linear B e-qe-si-jo and ke-se-nu-wi-ja

This examination of Mycenaean *therápōn* (θεράπων), with its adjectival counterpart *te-ra-po-si-jo*, grew out of a consideration of the concept of *hek*^{w}*etās* (post-Mycenaean *hepétēs* [ἑπέτης]/*hepétās* [ἑπέτᾱς]) and of explicit equations of the notions expressed by *therápōn* and by *hepétēs* in post-Mycenaean antiquity. Not only is there a Mycenaean adjectival counterpart to *therápōn* but there is an adjectival derivative of

[831] Where included, assigned to a set of fish said to have very sensitive hearing, of which another member is identified as the *khromís* (χρομίς) or *khremís* (χρεμίς), according to textual variation. Both of these are otherwise attested, meagerly; with these two compare the ichthyonyms *khremús* (χρεμύς) and *khrémēs* (χρέμης), on which see Chantraine 1968:1272.

hek^{w}*etās* that is likewise formed in *–i-jo*: that form is spelled *e-qe-si-jo* and is found at both Pylos and Knossos. At Knossos *e-qe-si-jo* shows up in the same Lc series (on tablet Lc 646 + 662 +6015 + 8517 + frr. + 5875) in which we saw (§8.6.1) an instance of *te-ra-po-si-jo* to occur – on tablet Lc 446. While Lc 446 is broken, preserving only the adjective *te-ra-po-si-jo*[, the recurring structure of these Lc tablet entries leaves little doubt that the adjective *te-ra-po-si-jo* here serves the same function as *e-qe-si-jo* on Lc 646 + 662 +6015 + 8517 + frr. + 5875 – namely, to modify logograms for textiles. In other words, there is a particular variety of cloth that can be characterized as *hek*^{w}*etās*-ic and a variety that can be characterized as the *therápōn*-ic, whatever is signaled by such characterization. The relationship of the adjective *e-qe-si-jo* to the adjective *te-ra-po-si-jo* must be, one could reasonably infer, a relationship of at least quasi-synonymy, mirroring the synonymy of *hepétēs* and *therápōn* claimed by ancient grammarians and lexicographers and described by Eustathius (see §8.3.2 and §8.3.4).

To reiterate – the Mycenaean term denoting 'ally, warrior companion', some number of which individuals are rooted in the Greek community of western coastal Anatolia, as I am hypothesizing, and the Mycenaean term for the 'ritual substitute', which is denoted by a Greek term borrowed from Luvian, are at least quasi-

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synonymous. We can add one more item to the *e-qe-si-jo*, *te-ra-po-si-jo* mix that may be of significance.

The adjective *e-qe-si-ja*, this time in the neuter plural and again characterizing cloth, occurs on tablets of the related L and Ld series from Knossos: namely, L 871; Ld 571; Ld 572; Ld 575 + 580; and Ld 583 + 6024 (partially restored). Another such cloth-modifying adjective that occurs in the Ld series is *ke-se-nu-wi-ja* – that is, *ksenwia* (ξενϝια), Homeric *kseínia* (ξείνια), 'of the *ksénos* (ξένος)', the 'guest-friend'. Compare *ke-se-nu-wo*, likely *ksénwos* (ξένϝος)[832] 'guest-friend', on fragmentary Pylos tablet Cn 286,[833] which is accompanied by a place name (in the locative case) *a-pa-re-u-pi*.[834] The adjective *ke-se-nu-wi-ja* is found on Knossos tablets Ld 573; Ld 574; Ld 585 + fr.; and Ld 649 + 8169 (where it is spelled – apparently *misspelled* – *ke-se-ne-wi-ja*). The institution of *ksenía* (ξενία), as it is known from the post-Mycenaean period, entails various reciprocal commitments of *philótēs* (φιλότης) between the parties who enter into an agreement to be *ksénoi* (ξένοι), notably the providing of mutual warrior aid.

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[832] On alphabetic epigraphic attestation of the *digamma*, see Chantraine 1968:764.

[833] Commonly viewed as functioning as a man's name here.

[834] See Aura Jorro 1985:74, with bibliography, who questioningly compares *Aphareús* (Ἀφαρεύς). For an earlier treatment of the co-occurrence of the adjectives *e-qe-si-ja* and *ke-se-nu-wi-ja*, one which does not develop along the same lines as that one presented herein, see Deger-Jalkotzy 1978:100–104.

8.6.4. A-ro$_2$-a, áristos (ἄριστος), aristeíā (ἀριστείᾱ), and a hek^{w}etās–therápōn (θεράπων)-ksénos (ξένος) Nexus

The Mycenaean adjectives *e-qe-si-jo*, *te-ra-po-si-jo*, and *ke-se-nu-wi-ja* are then all used as modifiers of signifiers of cloth. Killen (2008:183–184) has pointed out that cloth which is characterized as *e-qe-si-ja* is also sometimes further described as *a-ro$_2$-a* (*aryoha*) 'better'; this collocation occurs on Knossos tablets Ld 571; Ld 572; and Ld 583 + 6024.[835] However, Killen observes, the adjective *a-ro$_2$-a* does not co-occur with cloth that is described as *ke-se-nu-wi-ja*. The characterization of at least a subset of *e-qe-si-ja* cloth as *a-ro$_2$-a* 'better', in the face of the absence of such a characterization in the case of *ke-se-nu-wi-ja* cloth, could be, and has been, interpreted as a statement about the comparative quality of these two types of cloth – the 'warrior-companion' type versus the 'guest-friend' type. But surely, if a grading of cloth is intended, that sorting is

[835] The adjective *a-ro$_2$-a* occurs without the accompanying attestation of a form *e-qe-si-ja* on Knossos cloth tablets L 586 and L 5910 + 5920, both of which are broken. The latter of these preserves a form *nu-wạ-i-ja*; could this be an adjectival derivative of a word for 'herald', 'one who cries out'? Compare, *inter alia*, Sanskrit *nuvati*, *navate*, 'to shout' and Latin *nuntium* 'message'. The feminine plural or dual *a-ro$_2$-e* likewise occurs, seen on L 735 and L 7409 + 8304 – again fragmentary. In addition *a-ro$_2$-a* describes chariot wheels on tablet So 4430 and *a-ro$_2$-jo* on So 4437 + 5127, both from Knossos (see below).

between one variety of the 'warrior-companion' type and another variety of the 'warrior-companion' type, one that is in some sense better than the other (and the 'guest-friend' type is left aside).

With regard to such a sorting, it is important to bear in mind that *áristos* (ἄριστος), the superlative to Mycenaean comparative *a-ro*$_2$*-a*, is a qualifying adjective that is deeply embedded in the epic diction of the heroic warrior, as is the nominal *aristeíā* (ἀριστείᾱ), a word bound up with the performance of a heroic deed in combat – the "finest hour" that may bring to the warrior his own *kléos* (κλέος) 'fame' (see Nagy 1999:28–30). In epic language the form comparable to Mycenaean *a-ro*$_2$*-a* (*aryoha*, from **ar-yos-a*)[836] is the less archaic *areíōn* (ἀρείων; animate singular),[837] which can be used of those who perform greater battle deeds. We see it used in this way, for example, when, following the slaying of Sarpedon, Patroclus, the *therápōn* (θεράπων) of Achilles, urges on the two Ajaxes – one of whom is the *áristos* (ἄριστος) 'best' of the Achaeans in the absence of Achilles (see Nagy 1999:27–32) – exhorting them to achieve in just this way – to fight even 'better, braver' (*areíous* [ἀρείους]) than previously (*Iliad* 16.557). Whatever notional value is assigned to *e-qe-si-ja* (a term grounded in a Mycenaean warrior-

[836] See Lejeune 1982:156.

[837] There has been a morphological refreshing of the comparative between the Bronze-Age documents and Homeric epic; see Chantraine 1968:106.

companion, ally context) when it is applied to cloth, the application of *a-ro$_2$-a* to a subset of those occurrences must surely be a notionally consistent one. And what could these aligned notional values possibly be? A *de facto* (or *de rigueur*) interpretation would be that (1) such cloth is customarily worn, or otherwise utilized, in fourteenth- and thirteenth-century Mycenaean Greece by one who is recognized as a *hek^{w}etās*, an 'ally', a 'warrior companion', some of whom, we are proposing, have come to Greece from an exclave community in western coastal Anatolia; and that (2) a variety of this material functions to mark comparatively conspicuous warrior achievement.

Regardless of how one might choose to evaluate such an interpretation, an intriguing observation that presents itself is that the various textile tablets (in the series L, Lc, Ld) that we have here considered focus the *therápōn* (θεράπων), the *hek^{w}etās*, and the *ksénos* (ξένος) into a single cluster and that this cluster can be characterized as one of overlapping sets of sacrally formalized relationships bridging the warrior self and the warrior other. Inclusion of the *hek^{w}etai* generally in such a sacralized set finds additional support in the seeming religious affiliation of these 'allies, warrior companions'. Already in 1963 (earlier edition of Palmer 1969) Palmer commented (p. 174): "That an *e-qe-ta* may have had religious functions has been made probable by a number of scholars." In her recent survey of Mycenaean officials

Shelmerdine (2008:131–132) remarks on the religious affiliation of the *hek*^{w}*etai*, drawing attention to two pieces of evidence. First, Knossos tablet Am 821 (see §8.4.1.2 (2)) on which at least three *hek*^{w}*etai* are implicated together with an individual who is identified as a priest. This man is in fact a priest-shepherd associated with the place *si-ja-du-we*, a place at which the priests of the goddess Potnia are linked to sheep ownership in the Knossos Dl tablets (see §8.6).[838] Second, the reference to a *hek*^{w}*etās* found on Pylos tablet An 656 (8 | 9) is qualified by the specification *di-wi-je-u* (see above, §8.4.1.1 (1 E)). *Di-wi-je-u* is perhaps to be understood as 'Zeus-priest' (see, *inter alia*, Duhoux 2008:310), or, for Hiller (2011:201), possibly something more like a 'priest in the Zeus sanctuary'. As Shelmerdine reminds her readers, *di-wi-je-u* also appears at Pylos in the Es series and on tablet Cn 3. In the Es series,[839] the *di-wi-je-u* "receives obligatory gifts along with Poseidon," the "obligatory gift," *dosmos* (cf. Arcadian ἀπυδοσμός, IG V, 2

[838] Dl 930 + 7284 + 7290 + 7333 + 8002; Dl 933 + 968 + 975; Dl 946 + fr.; Dl 7503 + 7638 + 7847; Dl 7905 + 9328 + 9332 + fr.; and (partially restored) Dl 950 + 7929 + fr. On what may be inferred from the association of the priest-shepherd with Potnia at *si-ja-du-we*, see Lupack 2011:211, who cites Deger-Jalkotzy 1978:89 for similar conclusions reached independently.

[839] Found on tablets Es 645; Es 646; Es 647; Es 648 + fr.; Es 649; Es 651; Es 652 + fr. + 1453 (partially restored); Es 653; Es 703; Es 726; Es 727; Es 728; and Es 729.

343.28 | 29),[840] being paid in wheat. We should note that one of the individuals providing such gifts bears the name Alectryon (Es 649); the *hek*^{w}*etās* Alectryon son of Eteocles is a figure we have now encountered numerous times (see §§8.2.2, 8.4, 8.4.1.1, 8.4.2, 8.5).

On Pylos tablet Cn 3 *di-wi-je-u* is identified as recipient of oxen (or bulls). Other entities named on this tablet, warrior groups (denoted by ethnic adjectives) and places to which they are assigned, are found also in the An warrior tablet series from Pylos. The groups of men named on Cn 3 and the An warrior tablets in which their group designations recur are these:

(12) *Named warrior units on Cn 3, and An tablets on which the names recur*

A. *o-ka-ra*$_3$: An 519 + fr.; An 654; An 657

B. *ku-re-we*: An 519 + fr.; An 654 (2x)

C. *i-wa-si-jo-ta*: cf. *i-wa-so* on An 519 + fr.; An 654; An 661

D. *u-ru-pi-ja-jo*: An 519 + fr.; An 654; An 661[841]

[840] And compare Attic etc. *apódosis* (ἀπόδοσις) 'payment'.

[841] Regarding the interpretation of (12 D), *u-ru-pi-ja-jo*, Ventris and Chadwick (1973:190) remark that "a form Ὕλυμπος [*Úlumpos*] is mentioned as Aeolic for Ὄλυμπος [*Ólumpos*] by a grammarian."

On Cn 3, which we will examine more closely in §9.5.4.2, each unit of warriors is associated with a particular locale[842] and each set (i.e. such and such a unit of warriors at such and such a place) is linked to a single ox on the tablet; these sets identify the sources supplying oxen to *di-wi-je-u*. Palmer (1969:175–176) argues cogently that the oxen are to be sacrificed in in anticipation of warrior action, drawing attention to *Iliad* 11.727–729, in which lines Nestor tells how the men of Pylos gave *hierá* (ἱερά) 'offerings' to Zeus, a bull to Alpheus (the river god), a bull to Poseidon, and a heifer to Athena

[842] The locales specified on Cn 3 are respectively linked to the warrior groups in this way: (A) *a_2-ra-tu-a*; (B) *pi-ru-te*; (C) *e-na-po-ro*; and (D) both *o-ru-ma-to* and *a_2-ka-a_2-ki-ri-ja-jo*. Group-and-locale sets that match these occur on the following An tablets: set A on An 519 + fr. (l. 4); set B on An 519 + fr. (l. 14); set C on An 661 (l. 3). Of these three Cn sets that recur in the An series, at least one is formulaically bound (*me-ta-qe pe-i*) to a *hek^{w}etās*: the set *ku-re-we* at *pi-ru-te* (i.e. set B) to the *hek^{w}etās* named 'Ro-u-ko, son of Kusamenos' on An 519 + fr. (an affiliation of the set *i-wa-so* at *e-na-po-ro* [i.e. set C] to the *hek^{w}etās* 'Wo-ro-tu-mnios' on An 661 is less clear). Within the An series, three of the groups of men on Cn 3 appear to be explicitly formulaically bound to a *hek^{w}etās* when they are situated at a site other than that one with which the group is linked on Cn 3: *o-ka-ra_3* at *o-wi-to-no* (An 657; the *hek^{w}etās* 'A_3-ko-ta'); *u-ru-pi-ja-jo* at *ne-do-wo* (An 661; an unnamed *hek^{w}etās*); and in at least one of its two occurrences on An 654 the group *ku-re-we* appears to be linked to a locale, *u-pi-ja-ki-ri-jo*, and is formulaically bound to the *hek^{w}etās* named 'Alectryon, son of Eteocles' (an affiliation of the *i-wa-so* at *a-pi-te-wa* and of the *u-ru-pi-ja-jo* at *o-*34-ta* is less clear).

before battle with the Epeans. A further observation can be added to Palmer's: namely, that in the chariot combat that follows the bovine offerings, Nestor achieves great warrior success, slaying Mulius, α *hēgemȍn hippḗōn* (ἡγεμὼν ἱππήων) 'leader of the horsemen' and one who is conspicuous for his performance of combat *aristeîai* (ἀριστεῖαι; *Iliad* 11.745). Nestor's heroic performance itself constitutes an epic *aristeíā* (ἀριστείᾱ): following the battle, declares Nestor: πάντες δ' εὐχετόωντο θεῶν Διὶ Νέστορί τ' ἀνδρῶν 'all were boasting of Zeus among gods and of Nestor among fighting men' (on the conjunction of *eukhōlḗ* [εὐχωλή], the warrior 'boast' and the notions of the *áristos* (ἄριστος) 'best' and *kléos* (κλέος) 'fame', see Nagy 1999:44–45, following upon Muellner 1976). And finally, before leaving the *hek*^{w}*etās* called a *di-wi-je-u*, a 'Zeus-priest', it is worth noting in the context of a cluster of *therápōn* (θεράπων), *hek*^{w}*etās*, and *ksénos* (ξένος) that protection of the *ksénos* falls especially to Zeus Xenios: for the epic poet, Zeus walks by the side of the *ksénos* (*Odyssey* 9.270–271) and all *ksénoi* are from Zeus (*Odyssey* 6.207–208; 14.57–59).[843]

8.6.5. A-ro$_2$-a and e-qe-si-ja Chariots

[843] See Woodard 2007b:145–147; 2018b:388–392.

The Mycenaean adjective *e-qe-si-jo* '*hek*^{w}*etās*-ic' modifies not only 'cloth' but also 'chariot wheels', as in the record of Pylos tablet Sa 790, which logs six pair of *a-mo-ta*, *e-qe-si-ja*. There is a likely metonymic reference to 'chariot' here: with Mycenaean *a-mo-ta* 'wheels' compare post-Mycenaean *hármata* (ἅρματα) 'chariots'. Pylos tablet Sa 787 inventories twelve pairs of 'wheels' (spelled logographically [ROTA]) that belong to the category *hek*^{w}*etās*-ic, and references two other wheel specifications: *we-je-ke-a*$_2$ (which can be restored as again co-occurring with *e-qe-si-ja* on the fragmentary and brief Pylos wheel tablet Wa 1148: *a-]ṃọ-ta, e-qe-si-ja* | *we-]jẹ-ke-a*) and *za-ku-si-ja*, the sense of each of these terms (*we-je-ke-a*$_2$ and *za-ku-si-ja*) is uncertain, though the latter may be derived from a place name. The *e-qe-si-ja* wheels of Sa 787 are further described as *pa-ra-ja* (*palaiaí* [παλαιαί] 'old'), seemingly specifying that they are inventory carried from a past year (see Bernabé and Luján 2008:214). On Pylos tablet Sa 753 a dual *e-qe-si-jo* describes two pair of wheels, together with the further specification *se-we-ri-ko-jo, wo-ka*, where *wo-ka* is perhaps 'chariot; vehicle' (compare epic *ókhea* [ὄχεα]; see Chantraine 1968:845) and, if so, *se-we-ri-ko-jo* the genitive of the name of one associated with it. On the above-mentioned Pylos tablet Sa 790, the inventoried six pair of chariot wheels characterized as '*hek*^{w}*etās*-ic' (i.e. the 'warrior-companion' type) are also *no-pe-re-a*$_2$. Palmer's (1969:326) reading of *no-pe-re-a*$_2$ as 'unused' (*nōpheleha* [νωφελεhα]) would

surely be more sensible than the meaning 'useless' that some have assigned to the term (see, for example, Ventris and Chadwick 1973). Perhaps more insightful and persuasive, however, is the interpretation of *no-pe-re-a*$_2$ as specifying objects *not* produced from materials *obligatorily* (*o-pe-ro* 'under obligation') assigned for a particular artisanal production; these would then be objects acquired in some non-routine way, such as war plunder (see Bernabé 1990/91:151, 157–158 and Bernabé and Luján 2008:208).

Through this adjectival use of *e-qe-si-jo* to describe chariots, the clustering of the notions of *hek*^{w}*etās* and *therápōn* (θεράπων) is again brought into focus. As Nagy (2013:154–157) has shown, the concept of *therápōn* is closely bound to the role of chariot driver in the *Iliad*. Beyond this, Nagy elucidates the status of warriors in the *Iliad* as *therápontes* (θεράποντες) of the war god Ares, arguing that when a warrior dies in battle he becomes a *therápōn*, a "'ritual substitute' who dies for Ares by becoming identical to the war god at the moment of death" (2013:158) Furthermore, Achilles achieves the status of *therápōn* of Ares only through the death of his own ritual substitute, his own *therápōn*, Patroclus, who becomes *îsos Árēï* (ἶσος Ἄρηΐ) 'equal to Ares' (*Iliad* 11.604) at the moment he is slain (see Nagy 2013a:158–162, with references to earlier work). In this context of epic warrior as *therápōn* we are reminded of the *hek*^{w}*etās* of Pylos tablet An 656 (5 | 6) who is called 'Presg^{w}ōnios, son of Ares', and who is so named with the

distinctive Aeolic morphology of the patronymic adjective (*pe-re-qo-ni-jo, a-re-i-jo*). The notional branches of *hek*^{w}*etās* and *therápōn* here intertwine and they do so within an Aeolic linguistic frame.

The name *Presbon* (*Présbōn* [Πρέσβων]) – Mycenaean *Presg*^{w}*ōn* – is one well known from mythic tradition nestled within a Boeotian nook. One of the fragments attributed to Epimenides of Crete (DK 12), the ca. seventh/sixth-century poet and seer, names Presbon as one of the sons of Phrixus, beyond the four identified by Apollonius Rhodius in his *Argonautica* (2.1155–1156) – Phrixus being the Boeotian prince (son of Athamas) who was carried away east to Colchis on the back of a ram; that ram's golden fleece was the prize for which the Argonautic expedition to Colchis was launched. Phrixus is said to have fathered Presbon by one of the daughters of Aietes, king of Colchis (see §17.4). This is the genealogy that Pausanias (9.34.7–8) knows and preserves in his description of the Boeotian city of Orchomenus, writing that following the death of Athamas, either Phrixus or his son Presbon made a westward return to the Boeotian homeland. In the Illiadic Catalogue of Ships, the poet sings of the warriors of Orchomenus and Aspledon and their thirty ships as being led by Ascalaphus and Ialmenus, called *huîes Árēos* (υἷες

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Ἄρηος) 'sons of Ares' (*Iliad* 2.511–516); the pair are again so identified at 9.82.[844] A scholiast on *Iliad* 2.511–516[845] writes that the place Aspledon finds its eponym in a son of Presbon.[846] The identification of a Mycenaean *hekʷetās* as 'Presgʷōnios, son of Ares' reverberates with these Aeolian soundings.

In §8.6.4 we examined the co-occurrence of the comparative *a-ro₂-a* and attributive adjective *e-qe-si-ja* on tablets describing cloth. As with *e-qe-si-ja*, the

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[844] Ascalaphus is also named 'son of Enyalius/Ares' at *Iliad* 13.519–522 and 15.110–112. In the Catalogue of Ships the phrase *ózos Árēos* (ὄζος Ἄρηος) 'offshoot of Ares' is used of Thessalian warriors: (1) of Podarces (brother of Protesilaus, sons of Iphiclus), a leader of the contingent from Phylace (*Iliad* 2.704); (2) of Leonteus (2.745 and 12.188). The Trojan allies Hippothous and Pylaeaus (Pelasgians) are similarly called *ózos Árēos* (2.842).

[845] *Scholia in Iliadem* (*scholia vetera* [= Heyne 1834) 2.511 (= D scholia). See also, *inter alia*, Aelius Herodianus *Περὶ παθῶν* 3,2.168.

[846] In *Iliad* 14.291 the poet tells of the god Hypnos ('Sleep') and how he took on the form of the bird called a *khalkís* (χαλκίς) – at least so called by the gods. Commenting on the line, Eustathius (*Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* [= van der Valk 1971–1987] 3.643) reports the *mûthos* that the bird so named was the young woman Harpalyce, morphed into a bird, who was raped by her father Clymenus, a king of Arcadia (see Hyginus *Fabulae* 206), and who then cooked and served Presbon – the son conceived in that act of incest – to her father. In Boeotian tradition, as preserved by Pausanias (9.37.1), Clymenus is a son of Presbon, the son of Phrixus.

comparative adjective *a-ro$_2$-a* is used too to characterize chariot wheels. Knossos tablet So 4430 inventories twenty pairs of chariot wheels plus a single wheel; the inscription of the tablet reads as follows:

Knossos Tablet So 4430

.a ko-ḳị-da , o-pa ne-wa

.b e-ri-ka , / o-da-twe-ta , a-ro$_2$-a ROTA ZE 22 MO ROTA 1

These chariot wheels are described as *ne-wa* (*newa* 'new', i.e. not inventory from a previous year), as *e-ri-ka* (*helikās*), made 'of willow' (cf. Arcadian *helíkē* [ἑλίκη], Theophrastus *Historia plantarum* 3.13), and they have a particular spoke fitting that involves insertion into the hub (*o-da-twe-ta*; see Bernabé and Luján 2008:208). They are also described as *a-ro$_2$-a*. Are they simply 'better'[847] (than some other set of wheels that

[847] Palmer (1969:59) finds confirmation that *a-ro$_2$-a* is 'better' (as opposed to 'worse') by the brief inscription of Pylos tablet Va 1323*: a-ko-so-ne, ka-zo-e* 32, where *a-ko-so-ne* is understood to spell *áksones* (ἄξονες) 'axles'. Aside from the question of why '32 worse axles' would be kept on hand, the correct reading of *ka-zo-e* is probably not *kakiohes* (κακιοhες) 'worse', as Palmer understands it, but *khalkyohes* (χαλκyοhες) 'bronze' (see Bernabé and Luján 2008:207). Compare *Iliad* 13.30 and the description of Poseidon's chariot with its bronze axle, which charging over the sea remains dry; of the god's advance,

could be otherwise similarly characterized in exactly the same way)? Or are *a-ro$_2$-a* wheels notionally bound up with the 'warrior-companion' type (*e-qe-si-ja*) of wheel attested at Pylos, much as *a-ro$_2$-a* cloth is notionally bound up with the 'warrior-companion' type (*e-qe-si-ja*) of cloth?

There is also inscribed on this plaque the word sequence *ko-ḳi-da, o-pa*. The latter term, *o-pa*, is now generally understood as denoting a finishing process (see Killen 1999); the former term, *ko-ki-da* (with what may be a derivative *ko-ki-de-jo*; see Killen 1983:73 and 82), is perhaps to be understood as *Kolkhidas* (Κολχιδας) (with derivative *Kolkhideios* [Κολχιδειος]; see Hiller 1991:214, with references to earlier work);

Janko (1994:43) remarks (citing Reinhardt 1961:279): "He arms like a hero for his *aristeia*." In *Olympian Odes* 1.86–88, Pindar writes of Pelops and of a golden chariot that Poseidon gave to him when Pelops prayed for conveyance to Elis in order to compete with Oenomaus and take his daughter Hippodamia for a wife (see Nagy 1990a:130n82 on the event as an episode of *apoikía* [ἀποικία] 'settlement'). According to Pseudo-Apollodorus *Epitome* 2.3, the chariot could run through the sea without the axle becoming wet. Are *a-ko-so-ne, ka-zo-e* chariot axles with bronze caps, like that found, for example, in Tomb 79 at Salamis, with numerous decorative items in bronze associated with the chariot itself (including the bronze figure of a warrior extending upward from the axle tip) and with the accompanying harness equipment (for the contents of the tomb, see Karageorghis 1973:4–122 and 2002:158–168)? For interpretation of the contents and structure of the "royal tombs" of Salamis vis-à-vis Mycenaean culture and Homeric epic, see Woodard 1997:219–223.

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compare post-Mycenaean *Kólkhos* (Κόλχος), *Kolkhikós* (Κολχικός) 'Colchian' and *Kolkhís* (Κολχίς) 'Colchis'. This interpretation of Linear B *ko-ki-da* is of course a matter of some uncertainty; but if rightly understood the chariot description of Knossos tablet So 4430, pointing to Colchis in eastern Anatolia and entailing performance of greater warriors deeds, is intriguing when viewed against the backdrop of a living oral tradition of Argonautic epic – a tradition of which Homer knew[848] (see Hiller 1991 for extensive discussion of Mycenaeans in the Black Sea and the possibility of a Mycenaean Argos epos). The Dioscuri (sharing common ancestry with the Indic Aśvins mentioned above) and their *charioteers* Amphitus and Cercius, or Thelchius/Telchis feature conspicuously in foundation tradition in the Colchian region (see below, §22.4). The specification of a charioteer *Cercius* in the tradition is somewhat uncanny given the *hek^{w}etās* named 'Kerkios' (a probable Aeolic-type patronymic) whom we encountered on the tablet An 657, a name read again on Aq 218 (see above, §8.4.1.1 and §8.4.2). The pairing of Pindar's use of *hepétās* (ἑπέτᾶς) with Argonautic foundation tradition in *Pythian Odes* 4 and 5 (see §8.3.1) is made all the more séduisant. Also from Knossos – tablet So 4437 + 5127 preserves *a-ro$_2$-jo*, of uncertain inflection: the five pairs of chariot wheels here

[848] See, *inter alia*, Heubeck and Hoekstra 1989:121–122 on *Odyssey* 12.39–55, and the discussion in §17.4.

inventoried are of elm (*pte-re-wa*), with a different spoke assemblage (that one called *te-mi-dwe-ta*; see Bernabé and Luján 2008:208).

Finally, and unrelated to textiles or chariots, there is one additional occurrence of *e-qe-si-jo* in the Mycenaean tablets, which should be noted. On the Pylos land-tenure tablet Ed 847 the adjective modifies *do-e-ro* 'slaves' (nominative plural; i.e. *doûloi* [δοῦλοι]).[849] These slaves (of/for a *hekʷetās*?) have a sufficiently significant status in Pylian palace society that they hold leases of land allotments. But it is not a unique arrangement; this is a distinction they share with slaves of deities and the slave of a priestess (see Shelmerdine 2008:138).

8.7. Ahhiya and Ahhiyawa

In §8.5 we took note of the fact that Attarissiya is called a LÚ ^{URU}*A-aḫ-ḫi-ya-a* 'ruler of Ahhiya' and that in this formulation we see a variant form of the Achaean place name – in other words, *Ahhiya* rather than *Ahhiyawa*. The shorter form, *Ahhiya*, is

[849] Notice that in post-Mycenaean Greek both *opēdós*/*opādós* (ὀπηδός/ὀπᾱδός) and *opáōn* (ὀπάων) evolved semantically in such a way that each could be identified as a synonym of *doûlos* (δοῦλος). For *opēdós* see, *inter alia*, Hesychius O 968; *Scholia in Euripidis Hippolytum* (= Cavarzeran 2016) 108; and compare Euripides *Medea* 51 and 52. For *opáōn* (ὀπάων) see, *inter alia*, Pseudo-Zonaras O 1457; *Scholia in Euripidis Orestem* (*scholia vetera et scholia recentiora Thomae Magistri, Triclinii, Moschopuli et anonyma* [= Dindorf 1863]) 1110.

undoubtedly the older. As Melchert (2007:511–512) points out, -*wa*- is a common suffix used in the construction of Luvo-Hittite place names.[850] In origin the *wa*-suffix was used to derive ethnic adjectives from place names, but in time the derived forms came to function as place names themselves. Consider also, for example, *Zalpa* beside *Zalpuwa*, as well as *Saranduwa*, which Melchert argues cogently to be a Luvo-Hittite adaptation of the Greek place name *Celenderis* – that is, *Kelénderis* (Κελένδερις) – with the suffix -*wa*- functioning, in effect, as a loan translation of Greek -*eris*. This analysis of course intriguingly entails that the Greek toponym *Kelénderis* preceded the Bronze-Age Anatolian name *Saranduwa* and that the Ahhiyawan place Celenderis subsequently came under Luvo-Hittite control (and marks the southeastern boundary of Tarhuntassa, Melchert argues). A foundation *mûthos* for Celenderis is attested by Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 3.181–182. This is the tradition: Eos (the 'Dawn') abducted a mortal man Cephalus, whom she carried to Syria and there conceived by him a son, Tithonus. Tithonus in turn produced a son Phaethon – that one who was said to have stolen the chariot of Helios (the 'Sun') and, unable to control it, drove too near the earth, with the result that Zeus struck him with a thunderbolt (though Pseudo-Apollodorus makes no mention of the episode). The grandson of Phaethon was

[850] Melchert here builds upon Carruba 1979:95 and Starke 1997:469n19. See also Nagy 2015c.

Sandocus, who left Syria for Anatolia and there founded Celenderis. For Pseudo-Apollodorus, Sandocus is father of Cinyras, founder of Paphos, whom we shall consider more closely in Chapter Fourteen (see §14.2.2.1 and §14.2.2.2).

The relative chronology revealed by the morphological process – that is, earlier *Ahhiya* becomes secondary *Ahhiyawa* – is consistent with the chronology of the attestation of the term in the Hittite Ahhiyawa texts. In the earliest of these documents, AhT 22 (CTH 571.2; late fifteenth–early fourteenth century BC)[851] the form appears as *Ahhiya* (§25). This attestation is followed by *Ahhiya* in AhT 3 (CTH 147; early fourteenth century; §1 and §12). Beginning with AhT 1A (CTH 61.1; late fourteenth century; §25') the term appears as the secondary *Ahhiyawa*.

What is especially important to see at this point is this. If the name *Ahhiya* is one that the Mycenaeans imported into Anatolia (i.e. if the term is "Greek"), and even if not, the name *Ahhiyawa* is one that must have taken shape *within Anatolia*, utilizing a productive Luvo-Hittite morphological process. *Ahhiyawa* is in this sense an "Anatolian term." Said differently, *Akhaiós* (Ἀχαιός) 'Achaean', from *Akhaiwós* (Ἀχαιϝός; cf. Latin *Achīvī*),[852] is a term that was formed within a Mycenaean-Luvo-Hittite linguistic context.

[851] The chronology here followed is that of Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011.

[852] On *Akhaiós* (Ἀχαιός) see, *inter alia*, Chantraine 1968:149.

Some investigators have imagined that the *place* identified as *Ahhiyawa* in the Hittite documents is to be located in the Balkan peninsula, but this is surely not a necessary conclusion *a priori*[853] and made unlikely by the morphological process just outlined.[854]

Attestation of the name *Ahhiyawa* is not unique to the Hittite "Ahhiyawa Letters." In fairly recently discovered Akkadian letters from Ras Shamra, ancient Ugarit, reference is made to LÚ Ḫi-ia-ú-wi-i (RS 94. 2523) and LÚ Ḫi-ia-ú (RS 94.2530) 'Hiyawan man', and to LÚ.MEŠ Ḫi-ia-ú-wi-i 'Hiyawan men' (RS 94.2530) in the land of Lukka, the first known instances of the Akkadian term for *Ahhiyawa*.[855] The letters (late thirteenth century BC) were sent from a Hittite king (likely Suppiluliuma II) and one of

[853] For a clear summary of evidence against situating Ahhiya(wa) within Balkan Hellas, see Steiner 2007:597–601.

[854] Separate from these considerations, Steiner (2007:602, 607) contends for situating the Ahhiyawan center along the coast of southwest Anatolia, in the region that would later be identified as *Caria*. While it must be said that much of Steiner's argumentation is unduly hypercritical, his topographic positioning of the heartland of the Ahhiyawan community, allowing, *inter alia*, for local Hittite-Ahhiyawan conveyances by chariot (see AhT 4§8) and providing for a sea base from which operations could be mounted against Cyprus, is likely on target.

[855] For the comparable phrase, LÚ.MEŠ *Aḫḫiyawa*, in a Hittite Ahhiyawa text, see the oracle report AhT 24 (CTH 572.2), circa thirteenth century BC.

his high-ranking officials (Penti-Sarruma) to 'Ammurapi, the last king of Ugarit.[856] Singer (2006:250) translates the relevant lines as follows (where *rations* translates PAD.MEŠ, but perhaps not food rations)[857]:

> *RS 94. 2523.35–37*
>
> This time you have [not prevented?] Šatalli from taking the *rations* to the Hiyawa-man in Lukka

> *RS 94.2530.31–38*
>
> This time didn't I send you Šatalli? Now, I've been told (that) 'the Hiyawa-man is in the [land] of Lukka and there are no *rations* for him.' Concerning this matter, don't tell me that there is nothing to do. Provide ships to Šatalli and let them take the *rations* for the Hiyawa-men

The name is likewise attested in the form *Hiyawa* in a bilingual Phoenician-Luvian monumental inscription from Çineköy (carved on a statue of the storm-god Tarhunza),

[856] See Lackenbacher and Malbran-Labat 2005:236–238; Singer 2006:247–248, 250–252, 257–258; Bryce 2010:49; Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011:253–262.

[857] See the comments of Singer 2006:252–258 and Bryce 2010.

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but this time the context is Iron-Age, ca. later eighth century BC.[858] A figure named as *Warika* (*Awariku* in the Phoenician-Luvian bilingual inscription from Karatepe)[859] identifies himself as the king of the city *Hiyawa*, a place situated in Cilicia Pedias (south central Anatolia). Both the locale (as just indicated) and its sovereign are otherwise attested. In Assyrian inscriptions Warika's name appears as *Urikki* and his kingdom can be called *Que* (Assyrian) or *Adanawa* (Luvian). In the bilingual inscription from Çineköy, Warika provides himself with a pedigree: he claims to be descended from *Mukasa* (Luvian)/*MPŠ* (Phoenician), by which is surely intended Mopsus – that is, *Mópsos* (Μόψος), name attached to two separate seers of Greek *mûthoi* (see further along, especially §17.4.5).

A reference to *Ahhiyawa* almost certainly occurs in a Linear B document from Knossos, tablet Cf 914:

Knossos Tablet Cf 914

.a			pa-ra-ti-jo	OVIS:m	50
.b	a-ka-wi-ja-de	/	pa-ro ,	CAP:m	50

[858] See Tekoğlu and Lemaire 2000; Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011:263–266.

[859] See Hawkins 2000:45–68; Bryce 2012:155–161.

.a		from Pallantios	rams	50
.b	To Ahhiyawa /		he-goats	50

The allative in line b (i.e. *a-ka-wi-ja-de*) can be, and typically is, read as Akhaiwiān-de – that is (*mutatis mutandis*), 'to Ahhiyawa'.[860] The number of animals involved, together with the nature of other tablets produced by the same hand (hand 112) and others belonging to the same "set," especially tablet Cf 941 + 1016 +fr., suggests to Killen (1994:78) that the animals are likely being sent to a place called *Ahhiyawa* (or to a festival by that name) to serve as sacrificial victims – specifically as a hecatomb; this is made problematic, however, by Killen's reliance on the untenable interpretation of *sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja* (in Cf 941 + 1016 +fr.) as a term denoting sacrificial animals.[861] Killen

[860] See, *inter alia*, Baumbach 1971:160; Chadwick and Baumbach 1963:178; Ventris and Chadwick 1973:138, 146, and 209; and, for additional bibliography, Aura Jorro 1985:35.

[861] Tablet Cf 941 + 1016 + fr. attests the form *sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja* (cf. *sa-pa-ka-tẹ[* on Knossos tablet X 9191 + frr.), which has been commonly read as a place name, or possibly as a festival name. Some would interpret the form as *sphaktḗria* (σφακτήρια), glossed as '[animals] destined for sacrifice' (see Aura Jorro 1993:280). This interpretation, however, is hardly tenable in that it entails two aberrant or erroneous spellings of consonant clusters: the use of plenary <sph-> rather than the expected partial <ph-> for

rehearses the same possible locations for this Ahhiyawa that one finds in earlier treatments of the text – Crete, mainland Greece, Rhodes; these are speculative locales.

What has perhaps not been properly taken note of before is that the form used in this Greek document from Knossos is not *Ahhiya* but *Ahhiyawa*. As we have just observed, the form *Ahhiyawa* is the outcome of a productive morphological process of Luvo-Hittite – that is, use of the *wa*-suffix to derive an ethnic adjective (from earlier attested *Ahhiya*), which is then subsequently utilized as a place name. The Mycenaean text utilizes the specifically Anatolian form – a form that has been introduced into Mycenaean Greece from Asia Minor at some moment prior to the production of Knossos tablet Cf 914 in ca. 1400 BC. The date of this Knossos document, showing innovative *Ahhiyawa,* makes it roughly contemporaneous with the Hittite documents AhT 22 and AhT 3, in which the earlier form *Ahhiya* is still preserved. We must conclude that by this period (ca. 1400) the Mycenaean Greeks of western Anatolia are already self-identifying using the innovative *Ahhiyawa* – a further expression of the cultural and linguistic integration of Greeks with Indo-European Anatolians. It is likely the case that the animals inventoried on Knossos tablet Cf 914 are either destined for a

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spelling of the initial cluster; and the use of the sequence <-ka-te-> rather than expected <-ke-te-> for the phonetic sequence [-kte-].

Mycenaean community in Anatolia or for a local west Aegean site that is specifically associated with the Greeks who inhabit Anatolia. In the latter case, a cult site is perhaps likely, much as Killen envisions, though for different reasons.

8.8. Some Interpretative Conclusions

The distinctive Iron-Age Aeolian practice of expressing patronymic relationships by use of relational adjective morphology finds a Bronze-Age precursor in Mycenaean practice and an origin in a diffusion process that can be plausibly localized in a context of intimate Ahhiyawan-Luvian population intermixing within Bronze-Age western Anatolia. The identification of *hek^{w}etai*, warrior allies, in the Linear B documents shows a conspicuous co-occurrence with the Aeolic-type patronymic marking, and named individuals so identified significantly intersect with the Ahhiyawa texts and Greek mythic tradition linked to Anatolia. It was in mixed Mycenaean-Luvian communities that the Greek lexeme *therápōn* (θεράπων) was acquired and its introduction to Balkan Hellas is to be linked with sacralized warrior function that is equally evidenced by the presence of Anatolian *hek^{w}etai* in the Mycenaean homeland; moreover, its linguistic encoding strengthens the case for identifying Special Mycenaean as the Mycenaean dialect of Anatolia. Within the Mycenaean corpus

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expression of the institution of *hek*^{w}*etās* and of *therápōn* intersects with that of *ksénos* (ξένος), and the triadic nexus points meaningfully, again, to the local presence of warrior figures hailing from a "foreign" place – western Anatolia. The network of Mycenaean-Ur-Aeolian warrior relationships finds a post-Mycenaean echo in epinician compositions of Pindar.

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Chapter Nine

Mycenaean *Epíkouros*

9.1. Introduction

That *hek*^{w}*etās* Kerkios, sharing a name with a charioteer of the Dioscuri in foundation traditions from the region of Calchas, whom we encountered in Chapter Eight, makes a reappearance as we turn to yet another item belonging to the lexicon of Mycenaean warrior alliance. Here we find Kerkios paired with a certain son of Adrastos, another figure whom we saw to be linked with Asia Minor in post-Mycenaean tradition – and one of the Seven, champions of the siege of Thebes, an epic tradition that will come to our attention once again as we continue to explore the Anatolian-Aeolian web vis-à-vis Mycenaean alliances.

9.2. Linear B e-pi-ko-wo: Part 1

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There is another Linear B form pertinent to the matter of *hek*^{w}*etai* that needs to be considered. Pylos tablet An 657, which we encountered in Chapter Eight (see §8.4.1.1; 1I and J), records the presence of two *hek*^{w}*etai*, one likely identified by the Aeolic patronymic Kerkios (line 11) and the other called A_3-ko-ta (line 14, and found with the modifying patronymic *a-da-ra-ti-jo* 'son of Adrastos' on tablet Aq 218; see §§8.4.2 and 8.5). Line 1 of An 657 reads *o-u-ru-to* , *o-pi-a*$_2$*-ra* , *e-pi-ko-wo*. Both Palmer (1956:125; 1969:151, 417) and Ventris and Chadwick (1970:189, 544), among several others,[862] interpret the third word, *e-pi-ko-wo*, as 'watchers', comparing the man's name Pu-ko-wo on Pylos tablet Ep 705 with post-Mycenaean *purkóoi* (πυρκόοι): the latter is a term attested by Hesychius (Π 4433), glossed as a Delphic word for priests who divine by 'burnt offerings' (*émpura* [ἔμπυρα]).[863] *Pur-kóoi* is a derived compound verb formed from *pûr* (πῦρ) 'fire' plus *koéō* (/*koáō*) (κοέω [/κοάω]) 'to perceive, hear'. The Greek verb *koéō* has its origin in the Indo-European root *(s)keuh$_1$- 'to perceive', also source of, *inter alia*, Sanskrit *kavi-* 'seer, poet', Latin *caveō* 'to be on guard',[864] and Lydian *kawe-*

[862] For bibliography see Aura Jorro 1985:225–226.

[863] For literary depiction of such a procedure see Sophocles *Antigone* 1005, of Tiresias.

[864] See, *inter alia*, Ernout and Meillet 1959:107; Chantraine 1968:551; Mallory and Adams 1997:418; LIV 561; Watkins 2011:82.

'priest' (its Proto-Anatolian etymon probably meant 'seer').[865] The use of *koéō* to describe divinatory discovery is completely consistent with the archaic Greek practice (of primitive Indo-European heritage) of utilizing verbs of cognitive engagement to signify prophetic activity.[866]

But what has this to do with *hek*^{w}*etai* – with warriors? The interpretation of *e-pi-ko-wo* as 'watchers' seems a strained one. This is not due so much to the absence of complex forms of the rare verb *koéō* in post-Mycenaean Greek[867] as it is to the existence of a post-Mycenaean word of comparable form that suits the full context of An 657 in a straightforward way – that word being *epíkouros* (ἐπίκουρος) 'ally', and used as an adjective in the sense 'aiding, protecting'. In other words, Linear B *e-pi-ko-wo* spells *epi-korwos*, giving post-Mycenaean *epí-kouros* by regular sound change. *Epíkouros* is well

[865] See Melchert 1994:364, 367.

[866] See Woodard forthcoming a.

[867] With the exception of a Byzantine *hupo-koéō* (ὑπο-κοέω); compare *hup-akoúō* (ὑπ-ακούω) 'to listen to; be obedient'. The related nominal *akoḗ* (ἀκοή) 'hearing; something heard' (1) shows the complex forms *eisakoḗ* (εἰσακοή) 'listening'; *epakoḗ* (ἐπακοή) 'listening'; *parakoḗ* (παρακοή) 'hearsay; misunderstanding'; *hupakoḗ* (ὑπακοή) 'obedience'; and (2) produces derived complex verbs: *anēkoéō* (ἀνηκοέω) 'to be deaf'; *baruēkoéō* (βαρυηκοέω) 'to be hard of hearing'; *dusēkoéō* (δυσηκοέω) 'to be hard of hearing'; *euēkoéō* (εὐηκοέω) 'to listen well'; *philēkoéō* (φιληκοέω) 'to be attentive'. An adjective *epḗkoos* (ἐπήκοος) denotes 'listening (to)' and is used substantively as 'witness'. Compare *epakoúō* (ἐπακούω) 'to hear (of)'.

attested in Homeric diction, and to this we shall soon return (§9.4) for a detailed look.[868] Aeschylus (*Persians* 902) can use the term *epíkouroi* of Darius' 'fully-mixed [i.e. widely-situated, heterogeneous] allies' (*pámmeiktoi epíkouroi* [πάμμεικτοι ἐπίκουροι]). Soon after, Pindar can characterize himself as a willing *epíkouros* 'ally' to both the Muses and to the family of Xenophon of Corinth, whom he celebrates with *Olympian Odes* 13 (see lines 96–97). By the time of the composition of the histories of Herodotus and Thucydides *epíkouros* can be used to identify mercenary troops.[869]

For the source of Greek *epíkouros* (ἐπίκουρος), Linear B *e-pi-ko-wo*, 'ally' we should look to the ancestral Indo-European *koro-, denoting 'war; warrior band'. That Linear B *e-pi-ko-wo* is to be linked with this Indo-European etymon has not escaped the attention of some earlier investigators,[870] though often without full appreciation of morphological and semantic details. Melena (1975) has understood the formal equation of Linear B *e-pi-ko-wo* with post-Mycenaean *epíkouros* but conflated the latter with Ionic

[868] And in so doing we will also draw attention to Hesiodic and Homeric Hymnic usages.

[869] On the use of *epíkouros* (ἐπίκουρος) to identify mercenary warriors see Lavelle 1997, with discussion and bibliography of earlier work.

[870] See Mühlestein 1956a:35; Pugliese Carratelli 1958:321; Deroy 1968:96; Hiller 1972:79. See also Lavelle 1997.

koûros (κοῦρος), Attic *kóros* (κόρος), Linear B *ko-wo*, denoting 'young man, son; sprout',[871] which, however, beside *kórē* (κόρη) 'girl, daughter' (thus *Kórē* [Κόρη] daughter of Demeter, Persephone), Linear B *ko-wa*, has its source in a different etymon – primitive Indo-European *k̂er- 'to grow', as in Latin *creō* 'to procreate', *crēscō* 'to grow' and *Cerēs* (goddess of growth), Armenian *serem* 'to bring forth', and so on.[872] Here, thus we look to a proto-form *k̂or-wo-, in contrast to 'warrior' *kor-wo-.

Indo-European *koro- 'war; warrior band' is source, for example, of Old Persian *kāra-* 'warrior horde': in light of Aeschylus' inclusion of various Persian names and lexemes in his *Persians* (see Schmitt 1978), the poet's choice of *epíkouroi* (ἐπίκουροι) at line 902 to identify the warrior 'allies' of Persian Darius is an interesting one. With Old Persian *kāra-* 'warrior horde' compare the Lithuanian cognate *kãras* 'war'. Reflexes of a *yo*-stem *kor-yo- are widely attested and include, *inter alia*, Gothic *harjis* 'host, army'; Middle Irish *cuire* 'troop, host'; Latin *Coriolanus*, naming the 'warrior-band man'; as well as Old Icelandic *harjan* 'chief of the warrior band', beside Greek *koíranos* (κοίρανος)

[871] So also Janko 1994:140, who writes: "*e-pi-ko-wo* surely stands for /epikorwoi/, the 'extra lads' . . . ." For more nuanced discussion see Mahoney 2017, whose study follows to some extent that of Montecchi 2014.

[872] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1930:408–409; Ernout and Meillet 1959:150; Chantraine 1968:567–568; Mallory and Adams 1997:248–249; Watkins 2011:42; LIV 329.

'commander' (from *kor-yh$_2$-no-).[873] We must find the source of Greek prefixed *epí-kouros* in a stem formed with the suffix *-wo-*, in other words, as noted in the preceding paragraph, *kor-wo-*. We encountered *wo*-suffix morphology in our discussion of Linear B *qi-wo*, interpreting it as *k^{w}i-wo-* 'cairn' (see §2.3) and of Mycenaean *lāwāgetās*, a compound formed with the *wo*-stem *leh$_2$-wo- (see §4.2.2.1 and §4.3), Greek *lāós* (λᾱός), earlier *lāwós* (as in Linear B *ra-wa-*) 'warrior horde'; with the latter we compared especially the Hittite cognate *laḫḫa-* 'military campaign'.

9.3. Indo-European -wo- as a Marker of Proximity and Adjacency

In the case of Greek *kor-wo-* (underlying ἐπί-κουρος [*epí-kouros*]) the Indo-European *wo*-suffix appears to be functioning, as it does elsewhere (in the form *-wo-* but also *-wyo-*), to impart a notion of proximity. In an essay on the formation of Indo-European kinship terminology Benveniste draws attention to the suffix *-wo-* as it is used to form kinship terms in a way that is similar to the use of the Indo-European suffix *-ter-*, that is, Greek *-tēr-* (-τηρ-), which is synchronically highly productive in the

[873] See Walde and Pokorny 1930:462–463; Benveniste 1969:1:111–115; Lehmann 1986:177–178; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:644; Watkins 2011:45; eDIL s. v. *cuire*. On *Coriolanus* see Woodard 2020c.

building of agent nouns as well.[874] Examples of kinship terms (surely agent nouns in origin) are provided, for example, by Greek *mḗ-tēr* (μή-τηρ) 'mother', *pa-tḗr* (πα-τήρ) 'father', and *thugá-tēr* (θυγά-τηρ) daughter, all inherited from primitive Indo-European. Beside these consider Greek *phrā́-tēr* (φρᾱ́-τηρ), meaning 'brother' in an ancestral moment but attested in Greek as naming a 'clansman' (cf. Sanskrit *bhrā́tr̥*, 'brother' and 'clansman'), a fellow member of a *phrā́tra* (φρᾱ́τρα), or *phrātría* (φρᾱτρία, among still other forms) – a *phrā́tra* etc. being a 'clan', or a unit constituting a subset of a *phulḗ* (φυλή) 'tribe' (also denoting a warrior troop provided by a tribe). Those who are designated *phrā́teres* (φρᾱ́τερες) are thus not men who share in common a single father but who *consider themselves* related through more distant ancestry. The notion of agency attached to the suffix *-tēr-* is perhaps more transparent in the case of this particular "kinship" term *phrā́-tēr*, and, judges Benveniste (1973:258–259), "this mythical relationship is a profoundly Indo-European notion."

Somewhat as in the example Greek *phrā́-tēr* (φρᾱ́-τηρ) with its *ter*-suffix, the ancestral suffix *-*wo*-, or *-*wyo*-, can be used to form kinship terms that identify members sharing a relationship of adjacency, contiguity. So, for instance, primitive

[874] See Buck and Petersen 1949:302, and the inventory that follows on pages 303–310. Also Indo-European *-er-* (Greek *-ēr-* [-ηρ-]): see Buck and Petersen 1949:298–300.

Indo-European *ph$_2$tr-wyo- gives Sanskrit *pitr̥-vya-* and Avestan *tūirya-* (from *[p]tr̥-wya-), denoting 'father's brother',[875] a relationship of "homostathmic proximity" (to use Benveniste's descriptor ("proximité homostathmique")[876] – "a situation of proximity to the person indicated by the basic term, a particularly close relationship which in some way is homogeneous with the basic term" (Benveniste 1973:211).[877] Semantically, Latin *patruus* 'father's brother' belongs here as well, though morphological details are less clear, as does its Greek counterpart *pátrōs* (πάτρως [genitive *pátrōos* (πάτρωος)]), seemingly from *ph$_2$trōw(o)-.[878]

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[875] For the morphology compare Greek *patruiós* (πατρυιός), which, however, denotes 'stepfather'.

[876] See Benveniste 1969:1:255, 261–262, 264–265. The straightforward "translation" of French *homostathmique* used here is that of Palmer (i.e. Benveniste 1973:205, 210–211, 213–214). In the case of *kinship* terminology, Benveniste uses "*homostathmique*" of relationships between members of a single generation, as opposed to "hétérostathmique," denoting relationships between members of different generations (see 1969:1:261).

[877] But note that Sanskrit *bhrā́tr̥vya-* denotes 'son of father's brother', i.e. a 'cousin', or, Benveniste contends, 'brother's son', i.e. a 'nephew'. Either way, it curiously also carries the sense 'adversary, enemy'. See Benveniste 1969:1:264–266; compare Markey 1982:194.

[878] See Walde and Pokorny 1927:4; Brugmann and Thumb 1913:102, 216, 257; Benveniste 1969:1:259. See also, *inter alia*, Ernout and Meillet 1959:488; Chantraine 1968:864; 1984:72; Mallory and Adams 1997:335; Meissner 2006:138.

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The suffix *-wo-*, Benveniste points out, can similarly form Indo-European adjectives imparting notions of *spatial* adjacency. Thus Greek offers *dexiós* (δεξιός), from *dexi-wó-s* (δεξι-ϝό-ς), Linear B *de-ki-si-wo* 'on the right(side')',[879] beside, *inter alia*, Gothic *taihswa*, Old High German *zes(a)wa* 'right hand', from the Proto-Indo-European root *deĥs- 'right'. The immediacy of the notion of spatial adjacency here is made especially clear by the use of reflexes of this root in many Indo-European languages to mean not only 'right', but also 'south',[880] primitive Indo-European default cardinal orientation being to the east, as in ritual settings. Thus, for example, Sanskrit *dakṣiṇa-* denotes 'right' and 'south' and provides the name, Dakṣiṇāgni, given to the fire that burns along the southern boundary of Vedic sacred space, the fire that protects from evil forces;[881] compare Old Irish *dess* and Welsh *dehau* 'right, south'.[882]

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[879] Benveniste 1969:1:262. In addition to **dexi-wó-s* (*δεξι-ϝό-ς) and **lai-wó-s* (*λαι-ϝό-ς), Benveniste draws attention to Sanskrit *pū́rva-* 'former, first, to the east'; Sanskrit *víśva-*, 'all, entire, omnipresent'; Sanskrit *sárva-* 'entire, all together', with cognates in Latin *salvus* and Greek *hólos* (ὅλος), from **hól-wo-s* (*ὅλ-ϝο-ς) 'entire; the universe'; Sanskrit *ṛṣvá-* 'elevated, sublime'.

[880] On the root and its reflexes, see, *inter alia*, Lehmann 1986:338–339; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:686–688; Mallory and Adams 1997:485; Watkins 2011:16.

[881] See Woodard 2006:83, 143, 152; 2013:54, 80.

[882] See, *inter alia*, Mallory and Adams 1997:131, 159, 485; Watkins 2011:16; eDIL *s.v. dess*.

For the other direction – Greek provides *laiós* (λαιός), from **lai-wó-s* (*λαι-ϝό-ς) 'on the left(side)', from Proto-Indo-European *laiwo- 'left', also source of, *inter alia*, Latin *laevus* 'left' (of augural significance; see, for example, Ovid *Fasti* 4.833; Horace *Odes* 3.27.15–16) and Old Church Slavic *lěvŭ* 'left'. To *laiós* we can add *skaiós* (σκαιός), from **skai-wó-s* (*σκαι-ϝό-ς) 'on the left(side)', Latin *scaevus* 'left', from Proto-Indo-European *skaiwo- 'left'.[883] As with 'right' and 'south', terms signifying 'left' can be used in denoting 'north':[884] thus, Old Irish *focla* 'north' from *clē* 'left', Welsh *gogledd* 'north' from *cledd* 'left'; also Old English *norþ*, Old High German *nordan*, Old Norse *norðr* 'north' beside Umbrian *nertru* 'left'.[885]

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[883] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1927:378, 537; Mallory and Adams 1997:349; Watkins 2011:48. On the use of *-wo- in expressions of left-sidedness see also Markey 1982, with discussion of still other reflexes, among which he would include Northwest Germanic forms expressing notions of 'left', such as Old English *winstre*, Old High German *win(i)star*, Old Frisian *winstere*, Old Norse *vinstri* etc.

[884] Markey (1982:183–184, 189) endorses Mezger's (1960) proposal that Gothic *wintrus* 'winter' is of common origin with Old Norse *vinstri* 'left' (but draws attention to potential problems with the proposal at p. 184, n. 1). *If* Mezger were correct – in light of the association of Niflheim both with the north and with wintery weather in the cosmology of Snorri Sturluson's *Prose Edda*, might the Gothic word for 'winter' reflect the ancestral association of 'left' with 'north'?

[885] See, *inter alia*, Mallory and Adams 1997:131, 159, 485; Untermann 2000:492–493; Watkins 2011:60.

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We could add still other forms in which *-wo-* appears to impart the idea of adjacency etc. (of spaces), such as Greek *hóros* (ὅρος), from **hór-wo-s* (*ὅρ-ϝο-ς) 'landmark; boundary stone; pillar', and the derived *hórion* (ὅριον), from **hórwion* (*ὅρϝιον), Linear B *wo-wo* and *wo-wi-ja*, respectively (see §2.3.2); compare Latin *urvāre* 'to mark out a boundary by a furrow' and Oscan **uruvú** 'boundary ditch'.[886] Perhaps the same semantic function is operative in the case of Linear B *qi-wo*, which we have proposed to read as *kʷi-wo-* 'cairn' – in other words, *kʷi-wo-* designates, at the moment of its coining, what is 'piled adjacently' (relative to some other feature of cult architecture or boundary).

9.3.1. Indo-European -wo- and Greek Epíkouros (ἐπίκουρος) and Koûros (κοῦρος)

The concept of proximity, of a contiguous relationship, that can be signaled by the suffix *-wo- must also be on display in the case of Greek *epíkouros* (ἐπίκουρος), from *-kor-wo-*. The formation designates the warrior who is contiguous, adjacent, proximal – in other words, who is allied. This sense of the *epíkouros* as proximal (i.e. allied) warrior is reinforced by the use of the prefix *epí-* (ἐπί-), which can, and fundamentally does,

[886] See, *inter alia*, Ernout and Meillet 1959:755; Chantraine 1968:826; Mallory and Adams 1997:215. For a contrary view regarding the interpretation of *wo-wo*, see Lane 2012, who contends for a meaning 'guarding'.

impart spatial notions of 'at the side of'; compare Sanskrit *ápi*, likewise signaling proximity. This is a redundancy; and there is clear indication that a simplex *koûros* (κοῦρος, from *kor-wo-), referencing a 'warrior (on hand)', is at times attested, though obscured by its homophony with the more common *koûros* 'boy, son' (from *k̂er-).

An instance of simplex *koûros* (κοῦρος) 'warrior' can be seen in the Catalogue of Ships: at *Iliad* 2.510, in the summing up of the number of warriors in the Boeotian contingent (120 on each of fifty ships), these warriors are denoted as *koûroi*. It is notable that the context is again an Aeolian one – though at first glance this may not appear to be a unique relationship in the Catalogue: at *Iliad* 2.562, within the enumeration of the Argive contingent, the 'Achaean warriors' from Aegina and Mases are designated *koûroi Akhaiôn* (κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν).[887] Yet even here there is a link with Aeolian *mûthos*: in the two lines following, Diomedes and Sthenelus are identified as leaders of these warriors: both Diomedes and Sthenelus are numbered with the Epigoni – those who assailed the Boeotian city of Thebes in the generation following the failed expedition of the Seven against Thebes – and their fathers, Tydeus and Capaneus, respectively were among the Seven. As Kullmann (2012:216) observes, commenting on

[887] The line occurs nearly unchanged in the Hesiodic Catalogue of Women (fr. 204.47 [MW]), used of those whose livestock Ajax would offer as gifts in his bid to acquire Helen of Argos.

the distinctiveness of the Catalogue of Ships within the *Iliad*, "it seems that many of the leaders owe their inclusion in the Catalogue to the fact that their fathers or grandfathers were prominent characters in older legend," adding that "many of the leaders in the Catalogue of Ships descend from the Argonauts."[888] In utilizing the simplex *koûroi* 'warriors' is the poet of the Catalogue drawing on language of an earlier Aeolian (such as Thessalian Argonautic) epic tradition? Relevant here is Athena's comparison of the son Diomedes to the father Tydeus, whom she describes as small in stature *but* a *makhētḗs* (μαχητής) 'fighter', who even when he had gone alone to Thebes as a messenger (*Iliad* 5.807), κούρους Καδμείων προκαλίζετο 'challenged the warriors [*koûroi*] of the Cadmeans'. And again we find, in a variant rendition of this episode (*Iliad* 4.391–398), Aeolian warriors identified as *koûroi* as the poet, through Agamemnon, tells of the Cadmeans preparing an ambush for the departed Tydeus, of fifty such 'warriors' (equivalent in number to the Argonauts)[889] lying in wait, led by Polyphontes (called *meneptólemos* [μενεπτόλεμος] 'staunch in battle') and Maeon – the latter being the only

[888] Among which heroes are the Dioscuri. Stobaeus (*Anthologium* 4.1.138) writes that at Sparta *kóroi* (κόροι) was used to designate horse warriors. Perhaps backformed from *Dióskoroi* (Διόσκοροι), the Dioscuri, the 'sons of Zeus'? If so, has *kórwos* 'warrior' (from *kor-wo-) informed the sense of the backformed *kóros* (from *k̂or-wo)?

[889] See the comments of Kirk 1985:371.

one of the fifty whom Tydeus did not slay.[890] We will return to these episodes below in §9.4.2 and consider them in a bit more detail.

We should take note too of the name of a warrior that appears in line 2 of Pylos tablet An 656, one of those tablets listing *epíkouroi* 'allies' assisting in the protection of Pylos (see below, §9.5), and a tablet with multiple Anatolian and Aeolian connections. He is called *E-ri-ko-wo*, which we should likely read at *Eri-korwos* – that is, one who is by name 'very much' (*eri-* [ερι-]) a *korwos* 'warrior (on hand)'.

9.3.2. Indo-European -wo- and Greek Lāós (λᾱός) and Ksénos (ξένος)

Another question presents itself. As original *wo*-stems, do *lāós* (λᾱός) and *ksénos* (ξένος) belong to the same semantic class as *epíkouros*? This is quite plausible. Were this so, in the case of *lāós*, continuing ancestral *leh$_2$-wo-, from *leh$_2$- 'to travel migrate' (see, again, §4.2.2.1 and §4.3), at an early Indo-European moment, the term would signify the warrior who is proximal to the "migrating one" – in other words, the collective warrior element that accompanies moveable society in its transhumance and migratory expansions, providing protection against those who would obstruct the path,

[890] To this set of *koúroi* (κούροι) as 'warriors' in the *Iliad* might be added the companies of 100 sentinels (9.86) and the Trojans led by Polydamas and Hector at the attacking of the ships (12.196).

in the way discussed in our treatment of Mycenaean *lāwāgetās* in Chapter Four. We have not yet addressed the etymology of *ksénos* (ξένος), earlier *ksénwos* (ξένϝος, as in Linear B *ke-se-ni-wi-jo* etc.): the term is likely to be traced to the primitive Indo-European root *ghos- 'stranger', well attested in the expanded formant *ghos-ti-. Reflexes of the latter survive in Latin *hostis* 'foreigner, stranger, enemy' and various Germanic forms, such as Old English *gæst* 'guest, stranger, enemy', beside, *inter alia*, Old High German *gast*, Old Norse *gestr*, Gothic *gasts* (translating *ksénos* at Matthew 25:43), all having a similar sense. An ancestral compound *ghos-ti-pot-, componentially denoting the 'master of the guest' can be seen in Latin *hospēs* 'host', but also, reciprocally, 'guest'.[891] Greek *ksénos* appears to be reflex of a zero-grade form *ghs-en-wo-,[892] describing the 'proximal stranger' – the stranger who resides as a guest in proximity to the host, and, in archaic Greek social practice, a *de facto* ally.

9.4. Homeric Epíkouros (ἐπίκουρος)

[891] See Benveniste 1969:1:87–101, 360–361. See also, *inter alia*, Ernout and Meillet 1959:300–301; Lehmann 1986:149; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:144, 657; Mallory and Adams 1997:249, 371; LIV 198.

[892] See Boisacq 1950; Watkins 1989:786; 1995:246, 406; 2011:32.

In Homeric diction the word *epíkouros* (ἐπίκουρος) is a mainstay of the epic lexicon of warrior alliance, occurring thirty-three times, always in the *Iliad*. Its usages are as follows:

(1) *Occurrences of epíkouros* (ἐπίκουρος) *'ally' in the Iliad*

A. *Iliad* 2.130: of the Trojan 'allies' from many cities[893]

B. *Iliad* 2.803: of the many 'allies' within the city of Priam

C. *Iliad* 2.815: of the Trojan 'allies' arrayed in their contingents before Troy (introducing the Trojan catalogue)

D. *Iliad* 3.188: of a younger Priam as an 'ally' of the Phrygians

E. *Iliad* 3.451: of the 'famed' (*kleitós* [κλειτός]) 'allies' of the Trojans (≈ 11.220) on the field of combat, following the disappearance of Paris

F. *Iliad* 3.456: of the 'allies' of "Trojans and Dardanians" (= 7.348; 7.368; 8.497), as addressed by Agamemnon

G. *Iliad* 4.379: of 'allies' sought by Polynices and Tydeus (who came to Mycenae as a *ksénos* [ξένος]), preparing to besiege Thebes

[893] Compare Stesichorus S 88, col. ii, 7 (Page 1974).

H. *Iliad* 5.473: of the 'allies' of the Trojans, together with the 'warrior host' (*laoí* [λαοί]), as the Lycian Sarpedon rebukes Hector

I. *Iliad* 5.477: of the Trojan 'allies', who continue the fight in the absence of Trojan warriors

J. *Iliad* 5.478: of Sarpedon the Lycian as a Trojan 'ally'[894] fighting far from home

K. *Iliad* 5.491: of the 'far-famed' (*tēlekleitós* [τηλεκλειτός]) 'allies' of the Trojans, and their 'chiefs' (*arkhoí* [ἀρχοί]), as Sarpedon concludes his rebuke of Hector

L. *Iliad* 6.111: of 'far-famed' (*tēlekleitós* [τηλεκλειτός]) 'allies' of the Trojans (= 9.233; ≈ 11.564; cf. 12.108), urged on by Hector

M. *Iliad* 6.227: of the 'famed' (*kleitós* [κλειτός]) 'allies' of the Trojans, who may fall victim to Diomedes (who confirms that he and the Lycian Glaucus are *ksénoi* [ξένοι])[895]

N. *Iliad* 7.348: of the 'allies' of "Trojans and Dardanians" (= 3.456; 7.368; 8.497), as addressed by Antenor

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[894] Compare Hesiod fr. 141.23–24 (MW).

[895] On Glaucus as *epíkouros* (ἐπίκουρος) see also Archilochus fr. 15 (West).

O. *Iliad* 7.368: of the 'allies' of "Trojans and Dardanians" (= 3.456; 7.348; 8.497), as addressed by Priam

P. *Iliad* 7.477: of the Trojan 'allies' who feast together with the Trojans

Q. *Iliad* 8.497: of the 'allies' of "Trojans and Dardanians" (= 3.456; 7.348; 7.368), as addressed by Hector

R. *Iliad* 9.233: of 'far-famed' (*tēlekleitós* [τηλεκλειτός]) 'allies' of the Trojans (= 6.111; ≈ 11.564; cf. 12.108), camped with the Trojans nearby the Greek ships

S. *Iliad* 10.420: of 'allies', 'called from many lands' (*polúklētos* [πολύκλητος]), who sleep in the Trojan camp, rather than keeping guard, as their loved ones are far away

T. *Iliad* 11.220: of the 'famed' (*kleitós* [κλειτός]) 'allies' of the Trojans (≈ 3.451), together with the Trojans, concerning who it was that first stood against Agamemnon in the immediate fight (Iphidamas, of Thrace)

U. *Iliad* 11.564: of 'allies', 'gathered from many lands' (*poluēgerées* [πολυηγερέες]), of the Trojans (≈ 6.111; 9.233; cf. 12.108), who with Trojans press against Telamonian Ajax

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V. *Iliad* 12.61: of the 'allies' of the Trojans, together with the Trojans, and the 'leaders' (*agoí* [ἀγοί]) of both [= 17.335]), as addressed by the Trojan Polydamas

W. *Iliad* 12.101: of the 'greatly-famed' (*agakleitós* [ἀγακλειτός]) 'allies' led by Sarpedon, Glaucus (Lycians), and Asteropaeus (Paeonian)

X. *Iliad* 12.108: of 'far-famed' (*tēlekleitós* [τηλεκλειτός]) 'allies' of the Trojans (cf. 6.111; 9.233; 11.564), who follow the counsel of Polydamas

Y. *Iliad* 13.755: of the 'allies' of the Trojans, through whose ranks, and those of the Trojans, Hector rushes[896]

Z. *Iliad* 16.538: of the 'allies' of the Trojans, far from near-and-dear ones and homeland, whom Glaucus accuses Hector of forgetting

AA. *Iliad* 17.14: of the 'allies' of the Trojans, of whom neither they nor Trojans struck Patroclus prior to Euphorbus, as Euphorbus proclaims to Menelaus

BB. *Iliad* 17.212: of the 'famed' (*kleitós* [κλειτός]) 'allies' of the Trojans, whom Hector rallies, addressing as leaders Mesthles (Maeonian), Glaucus (Lycian), Medon (?), Thersilochus (Paeonian), Asteropaeus (Paeonian), Deisenor (?),

[896] Note that the line begins with an instance of the Aeolic perfect participle (*keklḗgōn*) [κεκλήγων]), on which form see the discussion of §10.3.2.

Hippothous (Pelasgian), Phorcys (Phrygian), Chromius (Mysian), and Ennomus the augur (Mysian)

CC. *Iliad* 17.220: of the 'myriad tribes' (*muría phûla* [μυρία φῦλα]) of 'allies' who 'dwell about' (*periktíones* [περικτίονες]) the Trojans, addressed by Hector

DD. *Iliad* 17.335: of the 'allies' of the Trojans, together with the Trojans, and the 'leaders' (*agoí* [ἀγοί]) of both [= 12.61]), as addressed by the Trojan Aeneas

EE. *Iliad* 17.362: of the 'great-mighty' (*hupermenḗs* [ὑπερμενής]) 'allies' of the Trojans, who die before the onslaught of Ajax and the Achaeans

FF. *Iliad* 18.229: of the 'famed' (*kleitós* [κλειτός]) 'allies' of the Trojans, who panic at the war shout of Achilles

GG. *Iliad* 21.431: of Aphrodite as 'ally' of Ares as he, and then Aphrodite, were struck down by Athena (see lines 391–434).[897]

9.4.1. Epíkouroi (ἐπίκουροι): The Anatolian Allies

That Achaean alliance with Anatolian peoples is a Bronze-Age phenomenon is clearly demonstrated by the Ahhiyawa documentary record. But, as can be readily

[897] Compare, *inter alia*, Hesiod *Theogony* 15 (Hecatoncheires as 'allies' of Zeus), *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 97, (night is 'ally' of the thief Hermes), Heraclitus fr. 94 DK (of the Erinyes as 'allies' of *Díkē* [Δίκη] 'Justice').

observed by examining the above inventory, the use of the lexeme *epíkouros* (ἐπίκουρος) to denote 'ally' in Homeric epic is nearly exclusively reserved for referencing those who fight in support of Troy; and it is almost entirely Anatolian peoples (except for Thracian elements) who provide such warrior assistance to the Trojans. These allies are elaborated in the Trojan catalogue (*Iliad* 2.816–877), which, as noted at (1C), is introduced by the third occurrence of *epíkouros* 'ally' in the *Iliad* (2.815). The catalogue of contingents begins with Trojans (led by Hector; 2.816–818) and the related Dardanians (led by Aeneas, Archelochus, and Acamas; 2.819–823). It then unfolds in this way:[898] warriors of Zeleia (northeast of Troy, on the southern coast of the Propontis, led by Pandarus; 2.824–827); those from the region of Adrasteia (west of Zeleia), Apaesus, Pityeia, and Mt. Tereia (led by Adrastos and Amphius *linothṓrēx* (λινοθώρηξ) 'of the linen cuirass' [see §8.5 above]; 2.828–834); warriors from the region of Sestus, Abydus (located on either side of the Hellespont at its most narrow point), Percote, Practicus, and Arisbe (seemingly ranging along the southern shore of the Hellespont; led by Asius; 2.835–839); Pelasgian 'tribes' (*phûla* [φῦλα]) from Larisa (seemingly an Anatolian locale is intended [Strabo (13.3.2) places it near Cyme]; led by

[898] On the various peoples identified in the catalogue of Trojan allies, with bibliography and discussion of problems, see especially Kirk 1985:248–263 and Bryce 2006.

Hippothous and Pylaeus; 2.840–843); Thracians (led by Acamas and Peirous; 2.844–845); Ciconians (from the southern coast of Thrace; led by Euphemus; 2:846–847); Paeonians from Amydon (farther west, above Macedonia; led by Pyraechmes; 2.848–850); Paphlagonians (south central coast of the Black Sea; led by Pylaemenes; 2.851–855); Halizones from Alybe (perhaps to be equated with Chalybe, farther east on the south shore of the Black Sea; 2.856–857; see also below, at the end of §11.5.2); warriors from Mysia (led by Chromis and Ennomus; 2.858–862); allies from Phrygia (led by Phorcys and Ascanius; 2.862–863); Maeonians (dwelling in the vicinity of what would become Lydia; led by Mesthles and Antiphus; 2.864–866); Carians, described as *barbaróphōnoi* (βαρβαρόφωνοι) 'of barbarous speech' (from the region of Miletus and Mt. Mycale; led by Amphimachus and Nastes; 2.867–875);[899] and, finally, the most conspicuous of the allies within the coming poetic narrative, the Lycians (led by Sarpedon and Glaucus; 2. 876–877).

At *Iliad* 21.431 (1GG) *epíkouros* (ἐπίκουρος) 'ally' is used to describe an alliance between gods, but here as well the sense of *epíkouros* that emerges is one of an 'ally' who provides warrior aid on behalf of the Trojan cause. The divine supporters of Greeks and Trojans have come to blows with one another, following Hephaestus'

[899] On Carians as *epíkouroi* (ἐπίκουροι) see Archilochus fr.216.

defense of Achilles against the river god Scamander. In the fray Ares attacks Athena with his spear, but she strikes him down with a boundary stone (21.391–414). Aphrodite, said to be operating as *epíkouros*, then helps Ares to his feet and assists him in retreat from the fight, whereupon Athena wounds Aphrodite as well (21.415–427). Athena tauntingly declares that the same fate should befall all those who are *arōgoí* (ἀρωγοί) 'helpers' of the Trojans (21.428), where the more neutral *arōgós* (ἀρωγός)[900] anticipates the more distinctive *epíkouros*, coming three lines later. The episode points back (see 21.394–399) to the previous combat encounter between Ares and Athena at *Iliad* 5.835–863, in which Ares, who 'joins in company with the Trojans' (μετὰ Τρώεσσιν ὁμιλεῖ; 5.834), attacks the Achaean hero Diomedes; but with Athena as Diomedes' 'helper' (the word is *epitárrothos* [ἐπιτάρροθος]; 5.828), he is able to inflict a wound upon Ares. Earlier in book 5 Athena had instructed Diomedes to attack no god who might join the fight against him, except Aphrodite, whom Diomedes might strike with his

[900] *Arōgós* (ἀρωγός) 'helper', derived from the verb *arḗgō* (ἀρήγω) 'to aid', occurs six times in Homeric epic; in addition to *Iliad* 21.428, the term also appears at: (1) *Iliad* 4.235, of Zeus, who is no 'helper' to lies; (2) *Iliad* 8.205, of the gods who are 'helpers' of the Greeks (Danaans); (3) *Iliad* 18.502, of those who are 'supporters' of either plaintiff or defendant in the judgment scene that Hephaestus engraves on the shield of Achilles; (4) *Iliad* 21.371, of 'helpers' of the Trojans, as at 21.428; and (5) *Odyssey* 18.232, concerning the absence of 'helpers' for Telemachus.

sword (see lines 121–132). Aphrodite as Ares' *epíkouros* in *Iliad* 21 is fulfilling her role on the divine plane as 'ally' of the Trojan cause.

9.4.2. Epíkouri (ἐπίκουροι): An Aeolian Context

The single use of the term *epíkouros* (ἐπίκουρος) to denote a non-Trojan 'ally' in the *Iliad* is found at 4.379 (1G), a line from Agamemnon's haranguing rebuke of Diomedes (4.364–400) for perceived inaction. As we saw in §9.3.1, Agamemnon is comparing Diomedes unfavorably with his father Tydeus, whom Agamemnon says he had never met but who had once visited Mycenae. Tydeus (exiled from Calydon) came there as a *ksénos* (ξένος), together with Oedipus' son Polynices (exiled from Thebes; both married to daughters of Adrastos):[901] the two warriors were seeking *epíkouroi* 'allies' as οἳ δὲ τότ' ἐστρατόωνθ' ἱερὰ πρὸς τείχεα Θήβης 'they were then assembling a horde [to march] against the holy walls of Thebes'. Unfavorable divination prevented the warriors of Mycenae from joining in as allies (*epíkouroi*), however, and Tydeus and Polynices departed. The poet goes on to relate how when Ἀσωπὸν δ' ἵκοντο βαθύσχοινον λεχεποίην 'they came to grassy Asopus, thick in rushes' (river on the

[901] For the tradition that Adrastos married his daughters to the two exiles, see, *inter alia*, Euripides *Suppliant Women* 132–146; Mnaseas fr. 48; Diodorus Siculus 4.65.3; Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 3.59; Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (= van der Valk 1971–1987) 1.767; 2.112.

southern edge of Boeotia), the Achaeans dispatched Tydeus to Thebes, where he is again accorded the status of *ksénos*, this time in the house of the Theban king, 'mighty' (*bíē* [βίη]) Eteocles. There he 'challenges' (*prokalízomai* [προκαλίζομαι]) many Cadmeans[902] and easily defeats them, as Athena is his *epírrothos* (ἐπίρροθος), term

[902] As Berman (2015:46–47) notes, "in the *Iliad* there are no Thebans at Troy, because Thebes is gone; just those from Hypothebai, a modest shadow of the formerly great citadel of Thebes." It is clear that the narrative chronology of the *Iliad* in that poetic evolutionary stage in which we have it requires that Thebes has already been destroyed prior to the Greek expedition against Priam and his sons (from an archaeological perspective – the destruction of the Cadmea, the Mycenaean citadel of Thebes [see the discussion of Schachter 1967b:8–10], and the destruction of Troy VI are dated LH IIIB; the destruction of Troy VIIa is later, LH IIIC). Berman's invoking here of *Hypothebai* (, that is – *Hupothêbai* [Ὑποθῆβαι]) references *Iliad* 2.505 in which the epic poet catalogues one contingent of the Boeotian contribution to the expedition, describing the *Hupothêbai* as men who inhabit a 'well-built polis' (ἐυκτίμενον πτολίεθρον). The name *Hupothêbai* would be a reasonable descriptor of people living in the area topographically below the *Cadmea* – and this is precisely an interpretation rehearsed by Strabo (9.2.32), which interpretation for him would entail abandonment of the Cadmea after the expedition of the Epigoni and a Theban presence at Homer's Troy hidden behind the denotation *Hupothêbai* (see also, *inter alia*, Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* 1.412; *Scholia in Iliadem* [= *D scholia*] 2.505). Kirk (1985:193–194) finds the epithet *euktímenon* (ἐυκτίμενον) 'well-built' an oral-literary artifice if the *Hupothêbai* (the Under-Thebans) are to be identified as inhabiting what remained of Thebes following the Bronze-Age destruction of the walled citadel. One should bear in mind that *Cadmeans* (Καδμεῖοι [also adjectival

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denoting one who gives aid.[903] As we noted in §9.3.1, the tradition of Diomedes' father Tydeus in hostile Thebes, among the Cadmean host, is rehearsed again, more succinctly, at *Iliad* 5.792–813, as Athena now addresses a wounded Diomedes. The goddess reports that when Tydeus had gone alone as an *ángelos* (ἄγγελος) 'messenger' to Thebans it was she who commanded him to feast in their halls and that he was able to defeat many Cadmean *koûroi* (κοῦροι) 'warriors' because she, Athena, was acting as his – and now the term is not *epírrothos* but – *epitárrothos* (ἐπιτάρροθος), which we encountered at the end of the preceding section, in *Iliad* 5.828, as Athena provides warrior support to the son Diomedes.[904]

That the *only* use of *epíkouros* (ἐπίκουρος) in Homeric diction to designate *Achaean* allies – rather than allies of the Anatolian Trojans, almost all of whom are

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Καδμεῖος, Καδμήιος]) is the Homeric and Hesiodic epic designation for 'Thebans', as at (Homer) *Iliad* 4.385, 388 and 391; 5.804 and 807; 10.288; 23.680; *Odyssey* 11.276; (Hesiod) *Theogony* 326; *Works and Days* 162; *Shield* 13; fragments 193.2 and 195.13 (MW). The "Cadmeans" have no part in the Greek invasion of Troy, but clearly the "Boeotians" do, though according to tradition, Boeotians populated the space of Boeotia only after the Trojan War.

[903] *Epírrothos* (ἐπίρροθος) is also found at *Iliad* 23.770, where Pallas Athena is *epírrothos* for the limbs of Odysseus as he competes in and wins the foot race in the funerals games of Patroclus (see lines 740–797).

[904] The line (808) was omitted by Aristarchus.

themselves Anatolian peoples – is to be found in a Thebaid episode nestled within the *Iliad* is highly suggestive. We have witnessed that the use of Aeolic patronymic adjectives is closely tied to the naming of *hek*^{w}*etai* 'warrior companions' – allies – in the Linear B tablets, and that this phenomenon is in turn connected to a network of Aeolian elements, incorporating notable Achaean figures who appear in the Ahhiyawa documents as well as touching on aspects of an epic tradition of the siege of an Aeolian city. Quite similarly *epíkouros*, the term that is used in the introductory line of Pylos tablet An 657 – *o-u-ru-to* , *o-pi-a*$_2$*-ra* , *e-pi-ko-wo* – is firmly grounded in the lexicon of *Anatolian* warrior alliance and connects explicitly in oral performative tradition with the *Achaean* search for allies for an expedition against Aeolian Thebes. Add to this that it is in these Homeric rehearsals of the Tydeus-in-Thebes episode that we encounter a probable use of simplex *koûros* (κοῦρος) 'warrior' – in other words, *epíkouros* 'warrior ally' and *koûros* 'warrior' here remarkably intersect – and the use of the simplex *koûros* in Homer itself echoes with Aeolian associations.

9.5. Linear B e-pi-ko-wo: Part 2

Subsumed beneath the rubric *epíkouros* (ἐπίκουρος) on the just-mentioned Pylos tablet An 657 are two warrior figures specifically identified as *hek*^{w}*etai*: (1) the *hek*^{w}*etās*

Kerkios in line 11 – having a name that appears to be an Aeolic patronymic and identical to that named assigned to a charioteer of the Dioscuri in a foundation *mûthos* – and (2) the *hek*^{w}*etās* A$_3$-ko-ta in line 14A – this latter name recurring on tablet Aq 218,[905] where it is modified by the patronymic *a-da-ra-ti-jo*, 'son of Adrastos'. We have had occasion to draw attention to these two *hek*^{w}*etai* several times. Let us now examine this tablet on which these *hek*^{w}*etai* are named, An 657, in its entirety:[906]

Pylos Tablet An 657

.1 o-u-ru-to , o-pi-a$_2$-ra , e-pi-ko-wo ,

.2 ma-re-wo , o-ka , o-wi-to-no ,

.3 a-pe-ri-ta-wo , o-re-ta , e-te-wa , ko-ki-jo ,

.4 su-we-ro-wi-jo , o-wi-ti-ni-jo , o-ka-ra$_3$ VIR 50

.5 *empty*

.6 ne-da-wa-ta-o , o-ka , e-ke-me-de ,

.7 a-pi-je-ta , ma-ra-te-u , ta-ni-ko ,

.8 a$_2$-ru-wo-te , ke-ki-de , ku-pa-ri-si-jo VIR 20

[905] The name also occurs on Knossos tablet As 1516.

[906] Transcriptions of men's names that appear in the translation are in some cases uncertain. The interpretation of the structure of the text largely follows that of Palmer 1969:146.

.9 *empty*

.10 a_3-ta-re-u-si , ku-pa-ri-si-jo , ke-ki-de VIR 10

.11 me-ta-qe , pe-i , e-qe-ta , ke-ki-jo ,

.12 a-e-ri-qo-ta , e-ra-po , ri-me-ne ,

.13a o-wi-

13b o-ka-ra , -to-no VIR 30 ke-ki-de-qe , a-pu_2-ka-ne ,

.14A VIR 20 me-ta-qe , pe-i , a_3-ko-ta , e-qe-ta ,

.14B *empty*

.1 [These are the] allies who are guarding seaports.

.2 The command of Maleus at O-wi-to-no:

.3 Ampelitāwōn, Orestās, Etewās, Kokkiōn

.4 at Su-we-ro-wi-jo, O-wi-ti-ni-jo-warriors, O-ka-ra_3-warriors: 50;

.5 *empty*

.6 The command of Nedwātās: Ekhemēdēs,

.7 Amphi-e-ta (, the) *ma-ra-te-u* (,)[907] Ta-ni-ko,

[907] *Ma-ra-te-u* could be a man's name in the present context (compare Pylos tablet Cn 328 + fr.), though the term names a functionary associated with the *lāwāgetās* (see Pylos tablet Na 245; perhaps a functionary is

.8 at A_2-ru-wo-te, *ke-ki-de*-warriors[908] of Kyparissos: 20;

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also intended on Pylos tablet Aq 18 + fr.), and if that is the sense of the term here, as seems probable, then it may modify either the preceding or following name. The sense of *ma-ra-te-u* is obscure; one thinks of various dental stems formed from Indo-European *mer- 'to die' (the *-eus* formant is unique to Greek): for example, Sanskrit *már-ta-* 'mortal' and 'man', beside which is the synonymous formation *már-ya-*. Sanskrit *márya-* especially references a younger man and is matched by "Hurrianized" Mitanni Indic *maryanni-*, term for the chariot warrior elite. Sanskrit *márya-* and Avestan *mairya-* can both denote 'warrior' and reference individuals belonging to a *Männerbund*. If agentive Linear B *ma-ra-te-u* were to belong to this set, what would be the source of the *a*-vowel of the initial syllable? In the vicinity of labial consonants, zero-grade *mr̥-t- is expected to produce an *o*-vowel reflex in Mycenaean (**mrot-* rather than *mrat-*), it would seem (consider, for example, *qe-to-ro-po-pi* – that is, *kʷetropopphi* 'with four feet', beside post-Mycenaean, *inter alia*, *tetrapodí* [τετραποδί] 'on all fours' [from *kwetr̥-]). The phonological outcome of word-initial *mr- in Mycenaean (post-Mycenaean *br-*) is uncertain (see Lejeune 1972:154n2). Or does *ma-ra-te-u* spell *marateus*? Was the root borrowed or modified under the influence of a foreign form? *Maryanni* had been borrowed by the Egyptians "before 1470 BC" and was used in Egyptian language to denote both 'chariot driver' and 'Syrian noble' (Albright 1930–1931:217, rendering the Egyptian as *m(a)-ra-ya-na* utilizing his own syllabic transcription of the Egyptian loanword "syllabic" spelling; on the form; see also, *inter alia*, Hoch 1994:135–137). Akkadian shows ^{lú}*ma-ri-a-ni* and Ugaritic *mryn*.

[908] The precise sense of *ke-ki-de* remains obscure, but the term clearly describes a type of warrior contingent, and it is properly, and widely, understood not to be an ethnic adjective (see, *inter alia*, the remarks of Palmer 1969:153n1 contra an ethnic interpretation [such as that proposed by Gallavotti

.9 *empty*

.10 At A_3-ta-re-wes, *ke-ki-de*-warriors of Kyparissos: 10;

.11 and with them (the) *hek^{w}etās* Kerkios.

.12 Āerik^{w}hoitās at Deer Harbor,

.13a/b O-ka-ra-warriors at O-wi-to-no: 30, and *ke-ki-de*-warriors of A-pu_2-ka:

.14A 20; and with them (the) *hek^{w}etās* A_3-ko-ta

.14B *empty*

The word here translated as 'seaports', spelled *o-pi-a_2-ra*, understood as neuter plural *opi-hala*, has been widely viewed as equivalent to the post-Mycenaean adjective *éphalos* (ἔφαλος, masculine and feminine), *éphalon* (ἔφαλον, neuter), literally 'at the sea' (from *epí-* [ἐπί-] plus *háls* [ἅλς] 'salt, sea'), a fairly uncommon word. The term occurs twice in Homeric epic – in the catalogue of ships – used in naming the port towns of Cerinthus

1961:25, and more recently by Driessen and Macdonald 1984:49–50 and Mahoney 2017:70, 72]). A connection with post-Mycenaean *kerkís* (κερκίς) 'rod' has been widely hypothesized; see the comments of Aura Jorro 1985:340, with bibliography.

in Euboea (*Iliad* 2.538)[909] and Helus in Lacedaemon (2.584).[910] The Linear B term has been typically rendered as 'coast',[911] but use of the term to designate a stretch of coastline seems to appear only in the second century AD, in Pseudo-Lucian' *Amores* 7, and is inflected as feminine, understood as modifying unexpressed *gê̂* [γῆ] 'earth, land'. A delimited seaside locale appears typical otherwise. The interpretation of *o-pi-a$_2$-ra* in this way is consistent with the naming of individual sites in the tablet and is especially reinforced by the specification of the locale in line 12, which appears to read *elaphōn limenei* 'at deer harbor'.

At the beginning of line 1, the spelling *o-u-ru-to* entails a verb form – that is, the verb *u-ru-to,* which governs nominal *o-pi-a$_2$-ra*, preceded by the relative pronominal *o-*.[912] Linear B *u-ru-to* is understood to represent *wrúntoi* (ϝρύντοι), an athematic form of

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[909] See Strabo 10.1.5, who calls Cerinthus a πολείδιον ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάαττῃ 'small city on the sea'. For a scholiast on *Iliad* 2.538 (*Scholia in Iliadem* [*scholia vetera* (= Erbse 1969–1988)]) the significance of describing Cerinthus as *éphalon* (ἔφαλον) is that the city's foundations were made salty by the sea.

[910] See Strabo 8.5.2. The toponym is from the Greek common noun *hélos* (ἕλος) 'marshy ground'. See also Pausanias 3.20.6.

[911] For bibliography see Aura Jorro 1999:38.

[912] On the Linear B prefixes *o-* (as here) and *jo-* (as in the opening line of Pylos tablet Cn 3 [§9.5.4.2 below], see Probert 2008 and 2015:199–202.

that verb that appears in epic diction as thematic *rhúomai* (ῥύομαι) and its variant *erúomai* (ἐρύομαι) 'to protect, guard; to rescue'.[913] It is a verb that we will encounter in its epic usage in §9.7 in conjunction with Trojan *epíkouroi* (ἐπίκουροι).

In line 2 – the conventional interpretation of *o-ka* is *orkhā́* (ὀρχᾱ́) 'warrior command',[914] with comparison being made to *arkhḗ* (αρχή) 'sovereignty' (though not with this sense in Homeric epic) and *órkhamos* (ὄρχαμος) 'chief'. Asius, leader of Trojan 'allies' (*epíkouroi* [ἐπίκουροι]) from the region of Sestus etc. (*Iliad* 2.835–839), is called *órkhamos* at *Iliad* 12.110. *Órkhamos* with its *o*-grade reflex of *r̥, agreeing with Mycenaean *orkhā́*, is likely an Aeolic form, as early claimed by Kretschmer (1900:268; see also Benveniste 1969:2:95). In epic diction *órkhamos* always governs the objective genitive *andrôn* (ἀνδρῶν)[915] 'of fighting men', or *laôn* (λαῶν),[916] that term designating the (migratory) 'warrior horde' that we have discussed in some detail (see especially Chapter Four). Compare also epic *arkhós* (ἀρχός) 'chief', which we encountered earlier in *Iliad* 5.491 (see (1K)), used of the 'chiefs' of the Trojans and their 'far-famed' (*tēlekleitós* [τηλεκλειτός]) allies.

[913] See Aura Jorro 1999:391 for bibliography.

[914] For discussion with extensive bibliography see Aura Jorro 1999:19–21.

[915] *Iliad* 2.837; 6.99; 12.110; *Odyssey* 3.400, 454, 482; 10.224; 14.22, 121; 15.351, 389; 16.36; 17.184; 20.185, 254.

[916] *Iliad* 14.102; 17.12; 19.289; 21.221; *Odyssey* 4.156, 291, 316; 10.538; 15.64, 87, 167.

While Palmer (1969:147–163) understands the introductory line of An 657 (i.e. *o-u-ru-to , o-pi-a$_2$-ra , e-pi-ko-wo*) to extend to other tablets in the Pylos An series – tablets which share the function and format of An 657 – namely, An 519 + fr., 654, 656, 661, the so-called *o-ka* tablets, it is not altogether clear that this is the case.[917] Is every locale listed in the documents to be understood as situated by the sea? Likely not. By Palmer's reckoning (1969:154) the total number of warriors that these tablets entail, including those who are individually named, both those who hold command and others – such as Ampelitāwōn, Orestās, Etewās, Kokkiōn in line 3 above (presumably chiefs of some sort) – comes to some 860. The designations of the various *warrior groups* that precede the concatenations of *VIR logogram + numeral* are understood to be ethnic specifiers (clearly so in some cases, and reasonably inferred to be so in the remainder) – for example, in line 10 of An 657 the ten warriors present at the place A$_3$-ta-re-wes are specified as Kyparissian: compare the place *Kuparissḗeis* (Κυπαρισσήεις]) mentioned in the entry for the Pylian contingent in the Catalogue of Ships in the *Iliad* (2.593; see also Strabo 8.3.22–25; Pausanias 4.33.6 and 36.7). Altogether then, we see the following

[917] Other documents in the Pylos An series (lists of personnel, including rowers) are An 1, 5, 18, 31+115+1423, 35, 37, 39, 101, 128, 129, 172, 192 + fr., 199, 207+279+fr. + 449 + 360 + frr.,209, 233, 261, 292, 298, 299 + frr., 340 + frr., 424 + frr., 427, 435, 594, 607, 610 + frr., 614 + frr., 615 + frr., 723, 724, 830+907 + frr., 852 + frr., 1281 + frr., 1282.

ethnically defined warrior-groups occurring in An 657, with an accompanying *hek^{w}etās* specified in two instances:

(2) *Occurrences of ethnically defined warrior-groups on Pylos tablet An 657*

O-wi-ti-ni-jo-warriors, *O-ka-ra$_{3}$*-warriors (50): line 4

ke-ki-de-warriors of Kyparissos (20): line 8

ke-ki-de-warriors of Kyparissos (10): line 10

accompanied by the *hek^{w}etās* Kerkios

O-ka-ra-warriors (30): line 13a/b

ke-ki-de-warriors of *A-pu$_{2}$-ka* (20): lines 13a/b and 14A

accompanied by the *hek^{w}etās* A$_{3}$-ko-ta

In addition to the several warrior groups so specified on Pylos tablet An 657, the following groups and numbers can be seen in the remaining *o-ka* tablets:

(3) *Occurrences of ethnically defined warrior-groups on other An tablets from Pylos*

O-ka-ra$_{3}$-warriors (110): An 519 + fr., line 4

I-wa-so-warriors (ḓ0): An 519 + fr., line 8

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U-ru-pi-ja-jo-warriors, *O-ru-ma-si-ja-jo*-warriors (30): An 519 + fr., lines 11–12

Ku-re-we-warriors (50): An 519 + fr., line 14

accompanied by the *hek*^{w}*etās* Ro-u-ko, son of Kusamenos

ke-ki-de-warriors of *Me-ta-pa* (50): An 654, lines 3–4

Ku-re-we-warriors (60): An 654, line 6

accompanied by the *hek*^{w}*etās* Alectryon, son of Eteocles

ke-ki-de-warriors of *Pe-di-jo* and *Wa-wo-u-de* (10): An 654, lines 14–15

U-ru-pi-ja-jo-warriors (10): An 654, line 16

Ku-re-we-warriors (20): An 654, line 16

I-wa-so-warriors (10): An 654, line 17

O-ka-ra$_3$-warriors (10): An 654, line 18

ke-ki-de-warriors of *Wa-ka-ti-ja* (number?): An 656, line 4

accompanied by the *hek*^{w}*etās* Presg^{w}ōnios, son of Ares

Ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo-warriors (20): An 656, lines 7–8

accompanied by the *hek*^{w}*etās* Diwieus

ke-ki-de-warriors of *A-pu*$_2$*-ka* (20): An 656, line 13

accompanied by the *hek*^{w}*etās* Di-ko-na-ro, son of Adrastos

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ke-ki-de-warriors of *Newoi* (10):[918] An 656, line 15

accompanied by the *hek*^{w}*etās* Pleurōnios

Ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo-warriors (┗ 8 ┛0): An 656, line 18

accompanied by the *hek*^{w}*etās* Ka-e-sa-menos from *A-pu*$_2$*-ka*

I-wa-so-warriors (70): An 661, line 3

Ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo-warriors (30): An 661, line 4

Ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo-warriors (1̣0̣): An 661, line 5

Ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo-warriors (20): An 661, line 6

accompanied by the *hek*^{w}*etās* Wo-ro-tu-mnios

A$_2$*-ka-a*$_2$*-ki-ri-jo*-warriors, *U-ru-pi-ja-jo*-warriors (30): An 661, line 12

accompanied by an *hek*^{w}*etās*

We must certainly understand these ethnically-defined warrior groups, with associated *hek*^{w}*etai*, to be the *epíkouroi* (ἐπίκουροι) 'warrior allies' explicitly referenced in line 1 of tablet An 657. Let us consider a number of these *epíkouroi*.

[918] See Palmer 1969:153 for the toponym. See also Ruijgh 1967:183n429. Compare the name of the place *Neṓn* (Νεών), genitive *Neō̂nos* (Νεῶνος) located at the northeastern foot of Mt. Parnassus in Phocis, which Strabo (9.5.18) reports to have been founded after the Trojan War.

9.5.1. Ku-pa-ri-si-jo-warriors

A degree of uncertainty, lessor or greater, attends the identification of many of the place names from which the various ethnic adjectives that name *o-ka* warrior groups are derived. We have already drawn attention to the proposed identification of Kyparissos (*Ku-pa-ri-si-jo*-warriors) with the Pylian place *Kuparissḗeis* (Κυπαρισσήεις) mentioned in the Catalogue of Ships (*Iliad* 2.593).

ke-ki-de-warriors of Kyparissos (20): An 657, line 8

ke-ki-de-warriors of Kyparissos (10): An 657, line 10

9.5.2. Ku-re-we-warriors

This warrior group is well attested in the *o-ka* texts: Ruijgh (1967:175n388) suggest a possible *Skūrêwes* (Σκῡρῆϝες), derived from *Skûros* (Σκῦρος) – the Aegean island of Scyros, east of Euboea.[919]

Ku-re-we-warriors (50): An 519 + fr., line 14

Ku-re-we-warriors (60): An 654, line 6

Ku-re-we-warriors (20): An 654, line 16

[919] See more recently Driessen and Macdonald 1984:50n5. Compare Palmer 1956:129–130 and Gallovotti (1961:25) who envision some different topographical feature so named.

9.5.3. Ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo-warriors

Seemingly present in even greater numbers are *Ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo*-warriors. A morphologically straightforward identification is with the place name *Krokúleia* (Κροκύλεια),[920] attested in the entry for the Cephallenian contingent, led by Odysseus, in the Catalogue of Ships (*Iliad* 2.633; see also Strabo 8.6.17; 10.2.8, 10).

Ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo-warriors (20): An 656, lines 7–8

Ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo-warriors (˩ 8 ˨0): An 656, line 18

Ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo-warriors (30): An 661, line 4

Ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo-warriors (1̣0̣): An 661, line 5

Ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo-warriors (20): An 661, line 6

9.5.4. U-ru-pi-ja-jo-warriors, O-ru-ma-si-ja-jo-warriors, and A_2-ka-a_2-ki-ri-jo-warriors

In the An inventories *U-ru-pi-ja-jo*-warriors appear both alone and in coordination with *O-ru-ma-si-ja-jo*-warriors and *A_2-ka-a_2-ki-ri-jo*-warriors.

U-ru-pi-ja-jo-warriors, *O-ru-ma-si-ja-jo*-warriors (30): An 519 + fr., lines 11–12

[920] Thus Ruijgh 1967:209n552; Palmer 1969:156–157; Ventris and Chadwick (1973:556) reject the identification.

U-ru-pi-ja-jo-warriors (10): An 654, line 16

A_2-ka-a_2-ki-ri-jo-warriors and *U-ru-pi-ja-jo*-warriors (30): An 661, line 12

Let us consider each of these three ethnics (i.e. *U-ru-pi-ja-jo*, *O-ru-ma-si-ja-jo*, and *A_2-ka-a_2-ki-ri-jo*) in turn.

9.5.4.1. *U-ru-pi-ja-jo-warriors*. The name of the *U-ru-pi-ja-jo*-warriors has attracted a good bit of attention,[921] with place names *Wrupíā* (Ϝρυπίᾱ) and *Ulumpíā* (Ὑλυμπίᾱ) providing favored interpretations of the source. The former has been compared to *Rhúpes* (Ῥύπες), said to be another name for the *Achaeans* (Pherecydes fr. 114; also *Árupes* [Ἄρυπες]) as well as name of an Achaean city (Rhypes; see Aeschylus fr. 284.2) – city that can also be called *Rhúpai* (Ῥύπαι) or *Rhupaíē* (Ῥυπαίη).[922] Regarding the alternative interpretation of *U-ru-pi-ja-jo*, Ventris and Chadwick (1973:190) remark that "a form Ὕλυμπος [*Úlumpos*] is mentioned as Aeolic for Ὄλυμπος [*Ólumpos*] by a grammarian."[923] Aside from Mt. Olympus in Aeolian Thessaly, other locales having the same name are found in Balkan Hellas. In Laconia – Polybius (2.65.8–9) describes the

[921] For the extensive bibliography see Aura Jorro 1999:390–391.

[922] See, *inter alia*, Aelius Herodianus *De prosodia catholica* 3,1.338; Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* 17.57.

[923] See Ahrens 1839:81–82, who offers this as one of several instances of word-initial *u*- for *o*- in Aeolic that are cited by grammarians; but compare Meister 1882:53.

road to Sparta as running between two ridges, one called Euas, the other Olympus, in the area of Sellasia. Strabo (8.3.31) reports that in the territory of Pisa in Elis (northwestern Peloponnese) there is both a Mt. Olympus and a Mt. Ossa (just as on the Thessalian Plain). Another Mt. Olympus lies within Euboea (IG XII,9 260) and still another in southeastern Attica. Pausanias (8.38.2) records that Olympus is an alternative name for Mt. Lycaeus in Arcadia.[924] The Cypriots too know Olympus – Strabo (14.6.3) identifies two: he describes first (C682) a Mt. Olympus on the northeastern spit of the island, where is a temple of Aphrodite Acraea, forbidden to women; and then (C683), as he proceeds west along the southern coast, he describes a town, between Citium and Amathus, named Palaea and of a nearby Mt. Olympus. There are several sites carrying the name *Olympus* in Asia Minor. Strabo writes (10.3.14 [= Sophocles fr. 522 (*Menelaus*)]) that each of the four peaks of the Trojan Mt. Ida is called an *Olympus* – adding that this is distinct from the Mt. Olympus of Mysia.[925] Herodotus (1.36–43) preserves the account of a great boar that inhabited Mysian Mt. Olympus at

[924] See also *Scholia in Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* (*scholia vetera* [= Wendel 1935]) 52 (on *Argonautica* 1.598–599); the scholiast writes that there are six mountains called *Olympus*: in Macedonia, Thessaly, Mysia, Lycia, and Arcadia. Hesychius (M 1949) reports that some can count fourteen.

[925] See also Xenophon *Cynegeticus* 11.1.

the time that the Phrygian Adrastos lived in the household of Croesus (see §8.5).[926] In Lycia, along the coast of the Pamphylian Sea, reports Strabo (14.3.8), there is both a mountain and a great city called *Olympus* – and another (mountain) farther east, in Cilicia Tracheia (14.5.7).[927]

9.5.4.2. *O-ru-ma-si-ja-jo-warriors*. The ethnic *O-ru-ma-si-ja-jo* is commonly understood to be derived from the place name *O-ru-ma-to* that occurs on Pylos tablet Cn 3. This is the text that we briefly encountered in §8.6.4, which can be plausibly read to entail an offering of five oxen (or bulls) in preparation for combat: in lines 3 through 7 the document formulaically lists individual warrior groups, each of which provides an animal, and the locale at which each of these warrior groups has been situated:

Pylos Tablet Cn 3

.1 jo-i-je-si , me-za-na ,

.2 e-re-u-te-re , di-wi-je-we , qo-o

[926] van Bremen (2010:448), having examined the distribution of the name Adrastos in Paleo-Phrygian inscriptions and in the LGPN database for Phrygia, argues against the view (e.g. of Ramsay 1895:169–171) that Adrastos is an "old Phrygian" name.

[927] Others could be added to this list.

.3 a_2-ra-tu-a , o-ka-ra_3 , BOS 1

.4 pi-ru-te , ku-re-we BOS 1

.5 e-na-po-ro , i-wa-si-jo-ta , BOS 1

.6 o-ru-ma-to , u-ru-pi-ja-jo , BOS 1

.7 a_2-ka-a_2-ki-ri-ja-jo , u-ru-pi-ja-jo-jo , BOS 1

.8 empty

.9 empty

.1 What the *me-za-na* send

.2 to the inspector/protector (?) Diwieus, oxen

.3 O-ka-ra_3-warriors at A_2-ra-tu-a 1 OX

.4 Ku-re-we-warriors at Pi-ru-t- 1 OX

.5 I-wa-si-jo-ta-warriors at E-na-po-ro 1 OX

.6 U-ru-pi-ja-jo-warriors at O-ru-ma-to 1 OX

.7 U-ru-pi-ja-jo-warriors at A_2-ka-a_2-ki-ri-ja-jo 1 OX

In line 6 we read that a group of *U-ru-pi-ja-jo*-warriors – who appear in conjunction with a group of *O-ru-ma-si-ja-jo*-warriors on An 519 + fr. – is situated at the place *O-ru-ma-to*.

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Similarly, line 7, a group of *U-ru-pi-ja-jo*-warriors[928] – who appear in conjunction with a group of *A_2-ka-a_2-ki-ri-jo*-warriors on tablet An 661 – is situated at the place *A_2-ka-a_2-ki-ri-ja-jo*.

9.5.4.3. A_2-ka-a_2-ki-ri-jo-warriors. Regarding this latter place – as the ethnic *A_2-ka-a_2-ki-ri-jo* used to identify the warrior group is a derived adjective (terminating in *-ios*) the place name *A_2-ka-a_2-ki-ri-ja-jo* must itself be a derivative (terminating in *-iaios*). This may suggest that the place *A_2-ka-a_2-ki-ri-ja-jo* is a geographic domain within a larger territory having the toponym *A_2-ka-a_2-ki-r-*, or even vice versa; either way, it is this toponym that provides the ethnic with which the warrior group is named. We could compare here, for example, variants such as the polis toponym *Árgos* (Ἄργος) and the toponymic derivative *Argolís* (Ἀργολίς) the 'Argolid', beside the ethnic *Argeîoi* (Ἀρεῖοι) 'Argive'. Ruijgh (1967:174, 227) proposes the toponym that is source of ethnic *A_2-ka-a_2-ki-ri-jo* and place name *A_2-ka-a_2-ki-ri-ja-jo* to be **Hakâs agrós* (*Ἁκᾶς ἀγρός), identifying **Hakâs* with *akḗ* (ἀκή) 'healing', thus 'Field of Healing', and drawing attention to the Arcadian place named *Akḗ* (Ἀκή). Pausanias (8.34.2) describes this *Akḗ* as being along the way between Megalopolis and Messene, the site of a sanctuary for the Eumenides

[928] The spelling *u-ru-pi-ja-jo-jo* (with what appears to be an extra *jo* symbol at the end) is peculiar.

and the place at which Orestes was *healed* of his madness. The other place name – *O-ru-ma-to* – with which a contingent of *U-ru-pi-ja-jo*-warriors is associated in the text of Cn 3 has been frequently likened to the later-attested toponym *Erúmanthos* (Ἐρύμανθος) – that is, Erymanthus, name of the mountain range of northern Arcadia.[929]

9.5.5. I-wa-so-warriors, I-wa-si-jo-ta-warriors

In line 5 of Pylos tablet Cn 3 reference is made to a contingent of *I-wa-si-jo-ta*-warriors, while *I-wa-so*-warriors appear on An tablets 519 + fr., 654, and 661. Do these two ethnic designations (*I-wa-si-jo-ta* and *I-wa-so*) refer to men from the same locale – that is, from *Iwasos*? Possibly: the equation is not uncommonly made.[930] An alternative is offered by Ruijgh (1967:167), who understands *I-wa-si-jo-ta* to be derived from a place name **I-wa-si-jo*, itself a derivative of a place name *Iwasos*. Regardless, a place called *Iwasos* is conspicuously involved in supplying *epíkouroi* (ἐπίκουροι) 'allies'. As we shall see further along, the place name *Íasos* (Ἴασος) – that is, Iasus – is one of several toponyms in the Mycenaean documents that match eastern Aegean place names; the list also includes Miletus, Cnidus, Lemnos, Lampsacus, and Zephyria (an earlier name

[929] For bibliography see Aura Jorro 1999:51.

[930] For bibliography see Aura Jorro 1985:290–291.

for Halicarnassus): the set taken as a whole clearly points to Anatolian interaction. The Mycenaean toponym underlying the ethnic identifier *I-wa-so*/*I-wa-si-jo-ta* may be reasonably associated, we can posit, with Asia Minor Iasus, city on the coast of Caria. This is a matter to which we shall return in §15.2.2 and §17.4.1 and 4.

I-wa-so-warriors (60): An 519 + fr., line 8

I-wa-so-warriors (10): An 654, line 17

I-wa-si-jo-ta-warriors: Cn 3, line 5

9.5.6. Ke-ki-de-warriors of A-pu$_2$-ka

With regard to the matter of Mycenaean *epíkouroi* (ἐπίκουροι) 'allies' from Anatolia, the place name written *A-pu$_2$-ka* in the *o-ka* tablets is particularly intriguing. We first encountered this toponym as we were surveying the names of the various *hek^{w}etai*, 'warrior allies', with their Aeolian and Anatolian connections, in §8.4.1.1: tablet An 656 (entry (1H) in that section) preserves the identity of the *hek^{w}etās* Ka-e-sa-menos from *A-pu$_2$-ka*. More recently, in examining the An warrior tablets (§9.5), we noted that this *hek^{w}etās* Ka-e-sa-menos from *A-pu$_2$-ka* is recorded as accompanying a contingent of *Ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo*-warriors (An 656, line 18). But this is not the only mention of the place *A-pu$_2$-ka* in the *o-ka* documents:

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ke-ki-de-warriors of *A-pu$_2$-ka* (20): An 657, lines 13a/b and 14A

accompanied by the *hek^{w}etās* A$_3$-ko-ta

ke-ki-de-warriors of *A-pu$_2$-ka* (20): An 656, line 13

accompanied by the *hek^{w}etās* Di-ko-na-ro, son of Adrastos

As we have seen (§8.4.2 and §8.5) the *hek^{w}etai* A$_3$-ko-ta and Di-ko-na-ro appear to be brothers, sons of Adrastos. That each of these two, brothers, should accompany, as *hek^{w}etās*, a contingent of warriors from *A-pu$_2$-ka* may suggest that the sons of Adrastos "are somehow connected with these groups of men," as observed by Nakassis (2013:151), and that that the sons of Adrastos are themselves linked to this place *A-pu$_2$-ka*. Add to that the occurrence, as we have just noted, of another *hek^{w}etās* on tablet An 656, Ka-e-sa-menos, who is explicitly identified as being from *A-pu$_2$-ka.* Adrastos is a name, in Greek tradition, particularly associated with Anatolia – as are *hek^{w}etai*, we have argued. Is the place *A-pu$_2$-ka* an Anatolian place, and if so, as would appear plausible, what place is it?

Much obscurity has surrounded the identity of the *A-pu$_2$-ka*,[931] but in light of indications that we should think of it as an Anatolian locale, a formal match may be

[931] Not to be confused with the distinct place A-pu$_2$, one of the towns of the "Hither Province." See, *inter alia*, Cosmopoulos 2006, with bibliography and discussion of earlier work.

offered by the place name *Piggaya* that appears in the Ahhiyawa record. In AhT 3, the so-called "Indictment of Madduwatta" (early fourteenth century BC) that we discussed in §8.5, *Attarissiya*, a LÚ ^{URU}*A-aḫ-ḫi-ya-a* 'ruler of Ahhiya' is reported to have carried out raids on Alasiya (Cyprus) in alliance with the warriors of Madduwatta, a local ruler of southwest Anatolia. We suggested in that earlier discussion that *Attarissiya* (Hittite syllabic spellings *At-ta-ri-iš-ši-ya-* and *At-tar-ši-ya-*) should perhaps be understood as a Luvian approximation of the Mycenaean patronymic *Adrāstiyos* (Linear B spelling *A-da-ra-ti-jo*). We now have seen that the brothers *Adrāstiyos*, who are *hek*^{w}*etai*, have some association with allied warrior contingents from *A-pu*$_2$*-ka*. In §36' of AhT 3 we read that in addition to Madduwatta and the Ahhiyawan ruler *Attarissiya* the attacks on Cyprus also involved the participation of one who is identified as the LÚ ^{URU}*Pí-ig-ga-ya-ya* 'ruler of Piggaya'.[932]

Is Piggaya, with which place the Anatolian Mycenaean *Attarissiya* is affiliated through his warrior raids on Cyprus, to be equated with *A-pu*$_2$*-ka*, with which place the Mycenaean *Adrāstiyoi* are affiliated through their attachment to warrior contingents? It is at the least a highly suggestive equation. What of the difference in syllabic spellings of Linear B *A-pu*$_2$*-ka* and Hittite *Pí-ig-ga-ya*? The alternation between the

[932] On the episode see, *inter alia*, Bryce 1989:298–299; Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011:97–100.

Hittite geminate spelling *-gg-* and Linear B *-k-* is ambiguous but not problematic; in other words, they each could straightforwardly represent, *mutatis mutandis*, the same velar stop consonant. The Linear B symbol *pu*$_2$ is conventionally understood to have spelled both voiced *-bu-* and voiceless aspirated *-p*^{h}*u-*; the initial *pí-* symbol of the Hittite spelling can represent both voiced *b-* and voiceless *p-* (unaspirated – as Anatolian Indo-European languages lack phonemically distinctive aspirated stops). The aural perception of vowels as fronted in the vicinity of aspiration is otherwise evidenced:[933] one could thus understand *Piggaya*, with its front vowel in the sequence *pi-*, as a Luvian attempt to pronounce a word-initial Greek sequence *p*^{h}*u-*. With the absence, in *Piggaya*, versus the presence, in *Apu*$_2$*ka*, of an initial vowel grapheme we can compare *Tawagalawa-* in AhT 4 and the Mycenaean **Etewoclewas* reflected in the patronymic *E-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo* 'son of Eteocles'. The occurrence of aphaeresis in Luvian is a well-attested phenomenon in the case of acquired foreign appellatives and names.[934]

9.6. Pylos Tablet Cn 3 and the Epíkouroi (Ἐπίκουροι) *as Meizánai* (Μειζάναι)

[933] See, for example, Maclagan et al. 2009; see also Harrington et al. 2011:128.

[934] See Melchert 2019a:358–362.

Let us return to a further consideration of Pylos tablet Cn 3; the text and translation are repeated here:

Pylos Tablet Cn 3

.1 jo-i-je-si , me-za-na ,

.2 e-re-u-te-re , di-wi-je-we , qo-o

.3 a_2-ra-tu-a , o-ka-ra_3 , BOS 1

.4 pi-ru-te , ku-re-we BOS 1

.5 e-na-po-ro , i-wa-si-jo-ta , BOS 1

.6 o-ru-ma-to , u-ru-pi-ja-jo , BOS 1

.7 a_2-ka-a_2-ki-ri-ja-jo , u-ru-pi-ja-jo-jo , BOS 1

.8 empty

.9 empty

.1 What the *me-za-na* send

.2 to the inspector/protector (?) Diwieus, oxen

.3 O-ka-ra_3-warriors at A_2-ra-tu-a 1 OX

.4 Ku-re-we-warriors at Pi-ru-t- 1 OX

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.5 I-wa-si-jo-ta-warriors at E-na-po-ro 1 OX

.6 U-ru-pi-ja-jo-warriors at O-ru-ma-to 1 OX

.7 U-ru-pi-ja-jo-warriors at A_2-ka-a_2-ki-ri-ja-jo 1 OX

The form *me-za-na* that appears in the first line of Cn 3 is one for which no satisfactory interpretation has been offered. Whatever the term denotes, it is reasonably understood as grammatical subject (nominative plural) of the opening clause and thus as entailing the various individual warrior groups (individual subjects of the action),[935] the heterogeneous *epíkouroi* (ἐπίκουροι), named in the lines that follow, each of which will send a sacrificial animal to Diwieus (likely that *hek*^{w}*etās* named as accompanying a contingent of *Ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo*-warriors on An 656 – and now further characterized as *e-re-u-te* 'inspector' – or perhaps 'protector'; on which, see below §9.8). In other words, collectively those several warrior groups – that mixed assemblage of *epíkouroi* – can be characterized as *me-za-na*.

We would propose that Aeschylus *Persians* 902 – that passage of which we took note in §9.2 – provides us with the key for properly understanding *me-za-na*. The

[935] This is essentially the point made by Ventris and Chadwick 1973:435, who write "that *me-za-na* may perhaps be another nominative plural and be a generic name which subsumes the more detailed classes of the individual entries."

adjective that Aeschylus uses to describe Darius' *epíkouroi* (ἐπίκουροι) is *pám-meiktoi* (πάμ-μεικτοι), more commonly attested in the variant form *pam-migḗs* (παμ-μιγής) 'fully-mixed' or 'mixed of all sorts' (LSJ). Aeschylus twice uses *pámmeiktoi* in the *Persians*, first to describe the 'fully-mixed' warrior horde that streamed out of Babylon – a contingent in the catalogue of the vast army of Xerxes (lines 52–54). Then in line 269 he uses the variant *pammigḗs* in a metonymic reference to that heterogeneous army, writing of the many 'fully-mixed' (βέλεα) 'weapons' that passed from Asia into Hellas. The second occurrence of the form *pámmeiktos*, that one at *Persians* 902, describing the extensively heterogeneous nature of Darius' *epíkouroi* 'allies', occurs immediately after the chorus' enumeration of the Greek places that Darius ruled (lines 876–900): the cities around the Hellespont, Propontis and the mouth of the Black Sea; the islands of Lesbos, Samos, Chios, Paros, Naxos, Myconos, Andros, Tenos, Lemnos, Rhodes, Cnidus; and the cities of Cyprus and Ionia. Whereupon Aeschylus has the chorus declare of Darius: ἀκάματον δὲ παρῆν σθένος ἀνδρῶν τευχηστήρων | παμμείκτων τ' ἐπικούρων 'he had at hand the tireless strength of armed fighting-men | and of fully-mixed allies'. The adjective (in both of its forms) is constructed from *pan-* (παν-) 'all, altogether, every' plus the root of the verb *meígnumi* (μείγνυμι) or *mígnumi* (μίγνυμι) 'to mix, bring together'. Homer uses the verb in his description of the diverse army of the Trojans.

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At *Iliad* 4.437–438 the poet sings of how the din of that army was like the bleating of innumerable sheep: οὐ γὰρ πάντων ἦεν ὁμὸς θρόος οὐδ' ἴα γῆρυς, | ἀλλὰ γλῶσσα μέμικτο, πολύκλητοι δ' ἔσαν ἄνδρες 'for there was not among them all the same sound or one voice, | but instead their languages were mingled – they were fighting-men called from many lands'.[936] With this we can, as Eustathius did,[937] compare the explicit mention of the many Trojan *epíkouroi* 'allies' at *Iliad* 2.803–804 (see (1B) above, in §9.4): πολλοὶ γὰρ κατὰ ἄστυ μέγα Πρίαμου ἐπίκουροι, | ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσα πολυσπερέων ἀνθρώπων 'for many are the allies across the great city of Priam | and one language is unlike another among people spread across lands'. Also worth noting is the epic diction employed to describe the sleeping *polúklētoi epíkouroi* 'allies called from many lands' in *Iliad* 420–425 (see (1S) in §9.4). When Odysseus interrogates the captured Dolon to learn the disposition of the allies within the Trojan encampment he asks (lines 424–425a): πῶς γὰρ νῦν Τρώεσσι μεμιγμένοι ἱπποδάμοισιν | εὕδουσ', ἦ ἀπάνευθε; 'For how are they now sleeping – mixed together with the horse-taming Trojans, or apart?'.

In the opening lines of Pylos tablet Cn 3 *me-za-na* must entail or otherwise reference the various *epíkouroi* (ἐπίκουροι) 'allies' who have been *mixed together* with

[936] Compare the description of the peoples who inhabit Crete at *Odyssey* 19.175–177.

[937] *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* 1.783 (= van der Valk 1971–1987).

Pylian warriors, and, as is made clear by the *o-ka* tablets of the An series, with one another. Epic diction and Aeschylus' word choices suggest to us that the language utilized in the text of Cn 3 is traditional language of the mixing together of – the mixed deployment of – allied warriors. *Meígnumi* (μείγνυμι), and related forms, has its origin in a primitive root *meiĝ-, found alongside its better-survived variant *meiḱ-, 'to mix, mingle', also source of, for example, Sanskrit *mimikṣati* 'to mix, mingle with', Latin *misceō* 'to mix, blend' and also 'to unite or attach as allies or associates' (OLD; e.g. Livy 39.37.7; Ovid *Fasti* 3.602), Old Irish *mescaid* 'to plunge, attack', Old English *miscian* 'to mix'.[938] The Linear B symbol *za*, in *me-za-na*, graphically encodes the phonological outcome of an earlier Greek sequence *-gy-, as well as *-k$^{(h)}$y-, with the stop consonant of these configurations originating in either an Indo-European palatal (i.e. *ḱ, *ĝ, or *ĝ^{h}) or velar (i.e. *k, *g, or *g^{h}). With regard to the evolution of proposed *meiĝ + y- compare, for example, post-Mycenaean *mâza* (μᾶζα) 'barley-cake' from earlier Greek *māg-ya (from the Indo-European root *maĝ-/*maḱ- 'to knead') and Ionic etc. *mézōn* (μέζων) 'greater' from earlier *meg-yo- (from the root *meĝ- 'great'), attested in Mycenaean in the form *me-zo* – that is *mezōs*.

[938] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1927:244–245; Chantraine 1968:676–677; Mallory and Adams 1997:384; LIV 428–429; Watkins 2011:54; eDIL s.v. *mescaid*.

We are positing that the form spelled *me-za-na* is built on the primitive root *meiĝ- 'to mix, mingle. The *y*-initial formant attached to the root is perhaps the *-yh_2- suffix seen in *koíranos* (κοίρανος), from *kor-ya-no- (still earlier *kor-yh_2-no-), denoting a warrior leader (see §9.2). Linear B *me-za-na* plausibly reflects a form of an earlier Greek *meig-yá-nā (from *meiĝ-yh_2-neh_2) – specifically a Mycenaean nominative plural *meizanai*. This structure is consistent with post-Mycenaean nominals built with the productive formant *-ánā* (-άνᾱ), Attic-Ionic *-ánē* (-άνη). In keeping with its origin in the *no*-suffix morphology[939] (used in forming verbal adjectives) discussed in Chapter One, the *-ánā* formant produces nominals having the fundamental sense of (where V = verb) 'the entity/one characterized by a V'ing' or the 'V'ing entity /one'.[940] A spatial element is conspicuous in some instances. Examples include the following forms:

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[939] See Chantraine 1933:198–200, who writes (p. 199): "Leur rareté s'explique par le fait que le morphème est tombé d'assez bonne heure en désuétude."

[940] And as such it becomes a highly productive morphology for naming tools and other implements: thus, *inter alia*, *drepánē* (δρεπάνη) 'sickle, pruning hook' (i.e. 'the plucking entity') from *drépō* (δρέπω) 'to pluck'; *hepsánē* (ἑψάνη) 'a dish for boiling', from *hépsō* (ἕψω) 'to boil'; *thēgánē* (θηγάνη) 'whetstone' (i.e. 'the sharpening entity'), from *thḗgō* (θήγω) 'to sharpen'; *skēpánē* (σκηπάνη) 'staff' (i.e. 'the propping implement'), cf. *skḗptō* (σκήπτω) 'to prop against'; *skapánē* (σκαπάνη) a 'digging tool', cf. *skáptō* (σκάπτω) 'to dig'; *trūpánē* (τρῡπάνη) 'borer', cf. *trūpáō* (τρῡπάω) 'to bore'; *ouránē* (οὐράνη) 'chamber pot' (i.e. 'the

plektánē (πλεκτάνη) 'coil, wreath', i.e. 'characterized by a plaiting, twisting'; cf. *plektós* (πλεκτός) 'plaited, twisted' and *plektḗ* (πλεκτή) 'coil, wreath', from *plékō* (πλέκω) 'to plait, twist'; from Proto-Indo-European *pleḱ- 'to plait'; cf. Sanskrit *praśna-* 'interweaving', Avestan *frašnem* 'braiding';[941] Greek plural *plektánai* (πλεκτάναι) denotes 'arms' of an octopus, 'tentacles', i.e. individual 'coiling entities'

botánē (βοτάνη) 'fodder, pasture', i.e. 'the feeding entity' compare *botéō* (βοτέω) and *bóskō* (βόσκω) 'to feed'; plural *botánai* (βοτάναι) denotes individual 'plants'

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urinating entity'), cf. *ouréō* (οὐρέω) 'to urinate'; *okhánē* (ὀχάνη) 'strap for holding a shield' (i.e. 'the holding entity'), from *ékhō* (ἔχω) 'to hold'; *khoánē* (χοάνη) 'funnel' (i.e. 'the pouring entity'), from *khéō* (χέω) 'to pour'; *arkánē* (ἀρκάνη) 'bar to which warp threads are fastened'; *kottánē* (κοττάνη) an implement used in fishing, perhaps from the name of a fish (see Chantraine 1968:572); *lekánē* (λεκάνη) 'dish' (cf. Old Church Slavic *lakŭtŭ* 'jug' [see Mallory and Adams 1997:444]); *rhaikánē* (ῥαικάνη) 'whip'; *rhatánā* (ῥατάνᾱ) Doric 'ladle', cf. Sanskrit *vartate* 'to turn, role' (see Chantraine 1968:968); *rhukánē* (ῥυκάνη) 'plane'; *tukánē* (τυκάνη)/*tutánē* (τυτάνη) 'threshing instrument';

[941] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1927:97–98; Mallory and Adams 1997:570–571; LIV 486; Watkins 2011:70.

ergánē (ἐργάνη) 'worker', i.e. 'the working one'; from *érgō* (ἔργω) 'to do work'; used as an epithet of Athena; cf. *ergátēs* (ἐργάτης) 'worker', Linear B *we-ka-ta* – that is, *wergátai* (ϝεργάται)

herkánē/horkánē (ἑρκάνη/ὁρκάνη) 'fence', i.e. 'the encircling entity'; cf. *hérkos* (ἕρκος) 'fence, enclosure'; probably from Proto-Indo-European *serk- 'to make a circle' and (perhaps secondarily) 'to repair a wall', 'to make whole'[942]

harpánai (ἁρπάναι) 'enclosed spaces for cattle' (Hesychius A 7394)

bou-stánē (βου-στάνη) 'ox-stall', i.e. 'the ox-placing entity', from *boûs* (βοῦς) plus *hístēmi* (ἵστημι) 'to cause to stand' etc.

artánē (ἀρτάνη) 'rope, noose', i.e. 'the hanging-up entity'; cf. *artáō* (ἀρτάω) 'to fasten to, hang upon', from *aeírō* (ἀείρω) 'to lift, raise up'; cf. Linear B *o-pa-wo-ta* – that is, *op-aworta* (ὀπ-αϝορτα), naming plates attached to armor;[943]

plánē (πλάνη) 'a wandering' (the English translation provides a straightforward semantic equivalent); cf. *planáō* (πλανάω) 'to cause to wander', *planáomai* (πλανάομαι) 'to wander'

[942] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1927:502; Mallory and Adams 1997:108; LIV 536; Watkins 2011:78.

[943] See Chantraine 1968:23–24; Aura Jorro 1999:32.

kurkánē (κυρκάνη) 'disorder, confusion', i.e. 'the entity characterized by a mixing'; cf. *kurkanáō* (κυρκανάω) 'to mix', a variant of *kukáō* (κυκάω) 'to stir up, throw into confusion' (see Philoxenus fr. 530 [Theodoridis 1976])

dolánā (δολάνᾱ) Lacedaemonian 'pimp', i.e. 'one characterized by a baiting'; cf. *dólos* (δόλος) 'bait, cunning device'

dapánē (δαπάνη) 'cost', i.e. 'entity characterized by a spending'; cf. *dapanáō* (δαπανάω) 'to spend' and *dáptō* (δάπτω) 'to devour, consume'

stasánē (στασάνη) 'surety', i.e. 'a standing entity', from *hístēmi* (ἵστημι) 'to cause to stand' etc.

prokhánē (προχάνη) 'pretext', perhaps 'the entity characterized by making of excuses'; cf. *prokhaínō* (προχαίνω) 'to allege by way of making an excuse, to make excuses'

laukhánē (λαυχάνη) 'tongue''; cf. *laukaníē* (λαυκανίη) 'throat'

By this analysis *meizánā* is an 'entity characterized by a mingling', specifically, in context, a mingling of *epíkouroi* (ἐπίκουροι) 'allies', as well as *hek*^{w}*etai* 'warrior companions'. What the term expresses nominally is the phenomenon described (1) verbally (*mémikto* [μέμικτο] 'were mingled'), (2) adjectively (*pám-meiktoi* [πάμ-μεικτοι],

pam-migḗs (παμ-μιγής) 'fully-mixed', 'mixed of all sorts'), and (3) – via a usage nearing that of the noun *meizánā* – participially *memigménoi* ([μεμιγμένοι] 'in a state of being mingled') in the Homeric and Aeschylean passages rehearsed above. Of the several nominals formed in *-ánē* that are here listed, one of the best attested is *plánē* (πλάνη) 'a wandering'. It occurs several times in the *Prometheus Bound* attributed to Aeschylus; in light of Aeschylus' descriptions of *epíkouroi* as *pám-meiktoi* and *pam-migḗs* ('fully-mixed', 'mixed of all sorts'), especially interesting are the redundant syntagmatic concatenations *tēléplanktoi plánai* (τηλέπλαγκτοι πλάναι) and *polúplanoi plánai* (πολύπλανοι πλάναι) 'far-wandering wanderings' and 'much-wandering wanderings' (used of Io) at lines 576 and 585, respectively. It is as though, one might imagine, in the *Persians* passages, *epíkouroi* stands in for *meizánai*, lexeme no longer available to the poet.

Plural *meizánai* in Pylos tablet Cn 3 must denote the discrete 'mingling ones' who are named individually in lines 3 through 7: i.e. *O-ka-ra*$_3$-warriors, *Ku-re-we*-warriors, *I-wa-si-jo-ta*-warriors, and two contingents of *U-ru-pi-ja-jo*-warriors. With this "individuating" and "particularizing" sense of a collective group compare plural *plektánai* (πλεκτάναι) denoting particular 'coiling entities' – the several discrete 'arms' of an octopus (and other cephalopods) with their individual functions, as by Aristotle,

Historia animalium 524a (lines 3, 5, 9, 18, 28 of Louis' [1964–1969] edition), 524b (line 1), 525a (line 28, of a kind of sea snail), 531b (line 3), 541b (lines 3, 6, 9, 13), 550b (line 6), 591a (line 5), 622b (lines 10, 14, of a nautilus). The sense can be extended to a singular arm: 524a (line 8), 541b (line 11), 544a (line 13).

There is at least one other occurrence of the proposed nominal *meizánā* in the Mycenaean records. This is found on Pylos tablet Sh 736, a single-line weapon-archive document that we encountered briefly in Chapter One (see §1.2.2.2):

Pylos Tablet Sh 736

to-ra-ke , a-me-ja-to , o-pa , me-za-na , wo-ke , ne-ṇọ ẒẸ 5

sets of armor, refurbishing[944] of A-me-ja, at the new temple/structure of the *meizánā* 5 sets of armor

The specified sets of armor are localized by the description *me-za-na wo-ke* (*woikei*; post-Mycenaean *oíkei* [οἴκει], *oíkoi* [οἴκοι]) 'at the temple' (or some other structure) *me-za-na* – which appears to be further characterized as 'new'. *Me-za-na* must here spell the genitive singular *meizánās*: thus the location is, literally, that of the '(new) temple of

[944] See Killen 1999.

the mingling one', where the concept of *mingled allies* – mixed *epíkouroi* (ἐπίκουροι) – that we find on Pylos tablet Cn 3 is extended to singular expression. We are reminded of the sanctuary at Bassae in Arcadia of Apollo who is *Epikoúrios* (Ἐπικούριος), with its cult center seemingly at Phigalia, as described by Pausanias (8.30.2–4 and 8.41.7–9), and to which we shall return in §9.7.

In line 4 of Pylos tablet Fn 50 + fr. we find the form *me-za-ne*. The document records consignments of grain made to various individuals, likely in the context of a religious festival.[945] Whatever *semantic sense* should be assigned to *me-za-na*, the *spelling me-za-ne* on this tablet would be problematic if the claim were pressed that the two forms represent the same word. Fundamentally, and in traditional philological terms, the problem is that *me-za-na* is a first declension noun (proposed here to be *meizánā*) and *me-za-ne* appears be third declension. Commonly *me-za-ne* on tablet Fn 50 + fr. has been proposed to be a misspelling of dative *me-za-wo-ne*, a man's name found in the nominative case (*me-za-wo*) on Knossos tablet Sc 222.[946] The dative *me-za-wo-ne* has been reconstructed on Pylos tablet An 610 + frr. by filling in a lacuna at the position of the third symbol: i.e. *me-za-[wo-]ne*. A Special Mycenaean dative singular *me-za-wo-ni*

[945] See Killen 2001:436; Palaima 2011:122.

[946] Since Oliver 1960:118.

occurs on Pylos tablet Un 138, one of the feasting inventories that we encountered in Chapter Five in our discussion of the Indo-European triple animal sacrifice. There is clearly a misspelling in the ensuing line of tablet Fn 50 + fr. (i.e. line 5), with *me-ri-du-te* appearing for dative *me-ri-du-ma-te* (see below, §14.6.1 and §20.2), naming a cult officiant (and written immediately beneath *me-za-ne*).

9.7. Homeric Epitárrothos (ἐπιτάρροθος)

A couple of observations need to be offered regarding the lexeme *epitárrothos* (ἐπιτάρροθος) that we first encountered in §9.4.1. We saw that in the episode of *Iliad* 5.835–863 in which Ares attacks the Achaean hero Diomedes, Athena comes to the assistance of Diomedes, and that, with Athena serving as his *epitárrothos* 'helper', Diomedes is able to wound Ares, striking him with his spear. This term *epitárrothos* occurs eight times in the Homeric epic. In each instance, as here (*Iliad* 5.828), it denotes one who *helps* by providing warrior aid. In addition to *Iliad* 5.828 – Athena helping Diomedes – we find *epitárrothos* in use at:

Iliad 5.808, of Athena as 'helper' of Diomedes' father Tydeus, as he challenged Cadmean warriors at Thebes (see §9.3.1 and §9.4.2)

Iliad 11.366: of Apollo as 'helper' of Trojans (see just below)

Iliad 12.180, of the gods who are 'helpers' of the Greeks (Danaans)

Iliad 17.339, of Zeus, as 'helper' of Trojans (see just below)

Iliad 20.453: of Apollo as 'helper' of Trojans (see just below)

Iliad 21.289, of Poseidon and Pallas Athena as 'helpers' of Achilles in his fight against the river god Scamander

Odyssey 24.182, of gods as 'helpers' of Odysseus and Telemachus in their attack on the suitors

The referent of *epitárrothos* is always a god – as can be the case, though not typically so, with *epíkouros* (ἐπίκουρος) 'ally': we noted in *Iliad* 21.431 (see §9.4.1) that Aphrodite is presented as *epíkouros* of Ares. The divine *epíkouros* (Aphrodite) is *immediately* 'ally' to another god (Ares), one supporting Trojans, and only thereby 'ally' to the mortal Trojans. In this way *epíkouros* contrasts distinctly with *epitárrothos* in the *Iliad*: an *epitárrothos* is not only consistently divine but *immediately* provides warrior-aid to mortals. Said differently, the *epitárrothos* relationship is essentially a vertical one (between gods and mortals) while the *epíkouros* relationship is horizontal (overwhelmingly between mortals). The contrast between *epíkouros* and *epitárrothos* in

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epic diction is further heightened in this way: *epíkouros* nearly always denotes warrior support between Trojans and their allies; *epitárrothos* more often than not denotes one who serves as 'helper' to Achaean warriors. This usage pattern can be schematized as follows:

(4) *Contrasting Usage Pattern of Epíkouros (*ἐπίκουρος*) and Epitárrothos (*ἐπιτάρροθος*) in the Iliad*

Epíkouros: Allies ↔ Trojans (nearly always)

Epitárrothos: Gods
↙ ↘
Achaeans (typically) and Trojans (less often)

Given this pattern we would understand that in epic diction the *unmarked* use of the lexeme *epitárrothos* is that in which a god provides *Achaean* support, and the *marked* use is that in which a god provides *Trojan* support.

Let us consider the three marked instances of *epitárrothos* (ἐπιτάρροθος) in the *Iliad*, as defined in this way, beginning with a passage that we encountered in our survey of the occurrences of *epíkouros* (ἐπίκουρος) 'ally' (1DD). At *Iliad* 17.333–341, the "Trojan ally" Aeneas, leader of the Dardanians, addresses Ἕκτορ τ' ἠδ' ἄλλοι Τρώων

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ἀγοὶ ἠδ' ἐπικούρων 'Hector and the other leaders of the Trojans and of the allies' (line 335), trying to rally their forces. Aeneas declares to them that a god – whom the audience, and Aeneas, know to be Apollo in the guise of the herald Periphas – has revealed to him Ζῆν . . . μάχης ἐπιτάρροθον εἶναι 'that Zeus . . . is helper in [our] fight' [for the body of Patroclus] (line 339). Here the poet seems to weave a certain notional web of *epitárrothos* (line 339) and *epíkouros* (line 335): a divine ally is claimed to be provided for the Anatolian alliance.

In this regard it is worth noting that at the mountaintop sanctuary of Apollo at Bassae in Arcadia, Pausanias (8.41.7–9) tells us, Apollo has the epithet *Epikoúrios* (Ἐπικούριος). Pausanias (8.30.2–4) also draws attention to a bronze image of Apollo *Epikoúrios* that he saw standing near the sanctuary of Lycaean Zeus in Megalopolis (in Arcadia): it is notable that the wolfish Zeus and the warrior ally here conspire spatially in primitive Arcadia. The image was a gift of the Arcadian city of Phigalia (some 5 km southwest of Bassae); and Apollo's cult in that place (Phigalia), claims Pausanias, is the source of his epithet *Epikoúrios*. The god has this name, Cooper (1996:75–79) argues, for the reason that he functions in the role of *epíkouros* warrior 'ally' (rather than healer, as Pausanias states), drawing attention to the explicit use of the term *epíkouros* for Arcadian warriors, as, for example, in their service as Persian allies (Thucydides 3.34.2;

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Hermippos fr. 42), and contending for an especially strong historical association of the term with Arcadians. Cooper draws particular attention also to the Arcadian alliance with Messenia (p. 78), citing here Strabo 8.3.30: "In late Geometric and Archaic times Arkadian soldiers fought as 'epikouroi' specifically for the neighboring Messenians." What Strabo says is this – that while the Lacedaemonians and Eleans had fought together on the one side (*summakhéō* [συμμαχέω]), τἀναντία τῶν Νέστορος ἀπογόνων καὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων <u>συμπολεμησάντων</u> τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις 'opposing them were the descendants of Nestor and of Arcas [i.e. the Arcadians] <u>who had joined in war</u> [*sumpoleméō*] with the Messenians'.

What can be viewed as the second and third instances of the marked use of *epitárrothos* (ἐπιτάρροθος) are ambivalently so, but, if rightly understood to be marked usages, show a certain thematic similarity to the first (i.e. that of *Iliad* 17.339). These are found at *Iliad* 11.366 and *Iliad* 20.453 in identical utterances within parallel episodes (11.349–367; 20.443b–454), as Diomedes and Achilles, respectively, seek to slay Hector. Each Achaean hero addresses the Trojan directly after he has escaped death, proclaiming that Phoebus Apollo *erúsato* (ἐρύσατο) 'has protected/rescued' Hector; and each Achaean declares to Hector that he will slay him in a future encounter εἴ πού τις καὶ ἔμοιγε θεῶν <u>ἐπιτάρροθός</u> ἐστι 'if in someway someone among the gods also is

helper to me'. While the poet's lexical choices here align *epitárrothos* explicitly with *Achaean* warriors (as is the *unmarked* use), one may plausibly infer that the poet (through use of *kaí* [καί] 'also') presents Apollo as god serving as *epitárrothos* 'helper' to the *Trojan* Hector (a *marked* usage). As we saw just above, in *Iliad* 17 Apollo *reveals* through Aeneas that Zeus is *epitárrothos* to Trojans and allies; in *Iliad* 11 and 20 Hector's remarkable escape from death is understood as *revelation* that Apollo is *epitárrothos* to Hector.

Functioning as Hector's *epitárrothos* (ἐπιτάρροθος), Apollo 'protects/rescues' Hector (*Iliad* 11.363; 20.450): the verb used is *erúomai* (ἐρύομαι), well attested in the *Iliad*, denoting a cluster of related notions – *inter alia*, 'to protect, guard; to ward off; to thwart; to rescue; to set free'. This is the verb of the opening line of Pylos tablet An 657, in which we read that *o-u-ru-to* , *o-pi-a$_2$-ra* , *e-pi-ko-wo* '[these are the] allies who are guarding seaports' (see above, §9.5). Exactly as in this Mycenaean document, *erúomai* is a verb that in the *Iliad* finds notional conjunction with the idea of *epíkouros* (ἐπίκουρος) 'ally' and enters into syntagmatic configurations with the lexeme. In the lines of *Iliad* 16.527–542 a wounded Glaucus prays to Phoebus Apollo for relief and strength, and then confronts Hector, accusing him of forgetting the Trojan 'allies' (*epíkouroi*, line 538 [see §9.2 (1Z)]), as Sarpedon (preeminent Lycian *epíkouros*), who once 'guarded'

(*erúomai*) his homeland of Lycia (line 542), now lies slain on the field of combat. In *Iliad* 10 the verb is used (in the variant form *hrúomai* [ῥύομαι]) together with *phulássō* (φυλάσσω 'to guard') of the guarding of the camp of the Trojans and their 'allies' (*epíkouroi*) – but the allies sleep, as their loved ones are far away (lines 420–422 [see §9.2 (1S)]), and let the Trojans do the guarding.

In the heroic world envisioned by the epic performer, is the notion of guarding, as expressed by *erúomai*, an activity that is not typically ceded to a friendly outsider, to an *epíkouros*, 'ally'? In other words, is it recognized that while one who is an *epíkouros* performs the warrior function of *erúomai* in his own homeland, as Sarpedon had guarded Lycia, that function is relinquished in the distant locale in which he serves as *epíkouros*?[947] If so, this is not the situation revealed by the Linear B documents in which *epíkouroi* 'allies' are tasked with guarding Pylian locales. Is the epic scenario merely a poetic conceit? Does linguistic and cultural homogeneity make the difference in the Pylian scenario, as opposed to the linguistic and cultural diversity of the Trojan?

9.8. Linear B e-pi-ko-wo: Part 3

[947] If so, this will, not unexpectedly, change with semantic and cultural evolution. Plato, for instance, (*Republic* 419a–420a) uses *epíkouros* (ἐπίκουρος) to denote the 'mercenary' whose job it is 'to keep guard' (*phrouréō* [φρουρέω]).

Beyond the *o-ka* document An 657 (from Pylos), there is likely an additional occurrence of Linear B *e-pi-ko-wo* 'ally'. It is found on a fragmentary tablet from Knossos, As 4493, noted in our inventory of *hek*^{w}*etai* in §8.4.1.2 (2C). The document reads as follows:

Knossos Tablet As 4493

.1]ẹ-pi-ko-wo , e-qe-ṭạ , e-re-u-ṭẹ[

.2]da-mo , / e-ro-pa-ke-u // VIR 1 ko-ki[

.3]-jo / ra-wo-po-qo , ze-ro[

Significantly, the referenced *e-pi-ko-wo* 'ally' is also here specified to be a *hek*^{w}*etās*, 'warrior companion'. He is likely also an *e-re-u-te*. This is the term we encountered in the dative singular, *e-re-u-te-re*, on Pylos tablet Cn 3 (see §9.5.4.2), where it describes the man Diwieus, likely the *hek*^{w}*etās* named on Pylos tablet An 656 (see §§8.4.1.1 (1E) and §9.5) that accompanies a contingent of *Ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo*-warriors (note what appears to be a Special Mycenaean dative singular *e-re-u-te-ri* on Thebes tablet Av 100,[948] as is perhaps *e-re-u-te-ri[* on Pylos tablet An 18). The fragmentary seal Wa 917, from Pylos

[948] For the tablet see Bernabé 2008, with bibliography.

(see §8.4.1.1 (10)), appears to preserve this same concatenation of *hekʷetās* and *e-re-u-te-re*:

Pylos Seal Wa 917

.1]o-da-sa-ṭọ , a-ko-so[-ta

.2]e-qe-ta , e-re-u-te-re[

Palmer (1969:174, 307, 377, 419) reads *e-re-u-te-re* as 'examiners' (*ereutêres* [ἐρευτῆρες]), thus construing it with post-Mycenaean *ereunáō* (ἐρευνάω) 'to search out, pursue; to inspect'. Ventris and Chadwick (1973:545) compare later Cretan "ἐρευτάς [*ereutás*]," which is attested in the nominative plural in inscriptions from Dreros and Knossos (see Bile 1988:176; "percepteur des dettes").

Perhaps more likely, given contextual considerations, is that *e-re-u-te-re* – used in conjunction with *epikorwos* 'ally' and *hekʷetās*, 'warrior companion' – represents a Mycenaean counterpart to epic *rhūtḗr* (ῥῡτήρ) 'guardian, protector', seen at *Odyssey* 17.187 and 17.223, of one who guards the *stathmoí* (σταθμοί) 'farmstead'. Compare *rhū́tōr* (ῥῡ́τωρ) 'defender', as at Aeschylus *Seven Against Thebes* 318, where the gods are invoked to protect Thebes. The agent noun *rhūtḗr* is of course derived from the verb

rhúomai (ῥύομαι) that we encountered in the opening line of Pylos tablet An 657: o-u-ru-to , o-pi-a_2-ra , e-pi-ko-wo '[these are the] allies who are guarding seaports'. As we noted, behind the Linear B spelling lies athematic *wrúntoi* (ϝρύντοι). The verb is traced to a primitive Indo-European etymon *wer- 'to cover, surround', source also, *inter alia*, of Hittite *warrai-* 'to come to aid', *wārra-* help', Luvian *warrḫit-* 'help', Sanskrit *vr̥ṇoti* 'to cover; to suppress, *vr̥t-* 'a group of warriors', as well as *Vr̥tra*, the dragon that obstructs.[949] Greek *rhúomai* is formed from a zero-grade root *wr-* plus a *-u-* formant (i.e. *wr-u-*). If Mycenaean *e-re-u-te-re* is to be derived from this root, that formant here appears in the *e*-grade (i.e. *-eu-*). Clearly, and perhaps significantly, there is no root-initial *w-* to be found in the form spelled *e-re-u-te-re* – that is *er-eu-tēr-* (ἐρ-ευ-τηρ-). But while this may be perplexing, it may not be a serious objection: as we noted earlier (see §9.5) post-Mycenaean *rhúomai* is also attested by the variant *erúomai* (ἐρύομαι) – and this is a variation that extends to derivatives of the verb: thus, for example, *rhûma* (ῥῦμα; e.g. Solon fr. 11.3; Aeschylus *Suppliants* 85) 'defense, protection' beside *éruma* (ἔρυμα; e.g. Homer *Iliad* 4.137; Hesiod *Works and Days* 536). From an etymological perspective, Chantraine (1968:376) judges: "L'absence de digamma dans le mot grec

[949] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1930:280–283; Melchert 1993b:257; Mallory and Adams 1997:134; LIV 684–685; Watkins 2011:102–103.

constitue une difficulté grave"; but the etymology is not seriously in doubt, and *e-re-u-te-re* may reveal to us that the variation – whatever the cause – seen in *rhúomai* versus *erúomai* was already a Mycenaean phenomenon.

Finally, we should take note of the form *o-pi-ko-wo* that appears on Pylos tablet Jn 881 + 969 + 896 + fr. This is most likely a variant of *e-pi-ko-wo*, one that is consistent with otherwise attested variation between *epi-* and *opi-* forms of the prefix, as discussed by, *inter alia*, Egetmeyer 2008:259, who compares *e-pi-ko-ru-si-jo* (Knossos tablet Sk 789) and *o-pi-ko-ru-si-ja* (Knossos tablets Sk 8100 and Sk 8149) 'on the helmet' (from *koruth-* [κορυθ-] 'helmet'), describing fittings. Egetmeyer contends cogently for Cypriot **opilukos* (reflected in the syllabically spelled participle *o-pi-lu-ke-u-sa-se*)[950] and Cypriot and Cretan *epílukos* (ἐπίλυκος) 'next to the wolf' to have an origin in early Indo-European vocabulary expressing warrior affiliation with the wolf, and to have in Greek tradition a direct relationship with Apollo Lycius (see especially pp. 264–265).[951]

9.9. Some Interpretative Conclusions

[950] See also Egetmeyer 2010:123, 149, 205–206, 254, 405, 448, [especially] 472, 484, 506, and 556.

[951] See also Thonemann 2008:91–92.

In Chapter Eight I argued that *hek^{w}etai*, denoting 'warrior allies', *therápōn* (θεράπων), and *ksénos* (ξένος) are members of a lexical nexus encoding aspects of sacrally formalized warrior relationships and that as a set they point to warrior-ally bonds spanning the eastern and western aspects of the Mycenaean Aegean. To this set a fourth member can now be added – the term *e-pi-ko-wo* – that is, post-Mycenaean *epíkouros* (ἐπίκουρος) 'the warrior at hand', the 'ally' – beneath which is subsumed a Pylian catalogue of warrior contingents with associated *hek^{w}etai*. The *Iliad* attests the term *epíkouros* well, and the poet of the *Iliad* overwhelmingly uses the word to identify the Anatolian allies of the Trojans – warriors who are at hand to provide aid to Priam's besieged city. The epic selectivity of the use of the term is highly suggestive of Homeric *epíkouros* being a word that belongs conspicuously to the lexicon of warrior alliance within Asia Minor. We might reasonably infer that the Mycenaean Bronze-Age formalized warrior relationships binding Ahhiyawa to Balkan Mycenaeans have left a lexical residue within the Greek language of Iron-Age Anatolia, from which follows its particular appropriation by the epic poet for identifying Anatolian alliances. In those few instances in the *Iliad* in which the epic poet uses *epíkouros* to characterize Greek alliances, the poet does so within a certain Aeolian framing – cataloguing Aeolian contingents participating in the siege of Troy and, inversely, describing the search for

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Achaean allies to offer warrior aid in an epic assault on a great Aeolian city (defended by an heroic figure whose name is conspicuous in the Tawagalawa letter). In the latter scenario we encounter language that remarkably intersects with the heading of Pylos tablet An 657. We again see a notional convergence of Anatolian and Aeolian in the matter of Mycenaean warrior alliance.

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Chapter Ten

More Linguistic Matters: Aeolic Morphology as Language Complexification

10.1. Introduction

We began Chapter Eight by reminding ourselves of Trudgill's proposal that language change which occurs in low-contact, isolated speech communities is fundamentally different from the "ordinary" sort of language change seen elsewhere: that difference being, in gross terms, one of "complexification" versus "simplification." One expression of such complexification is an increase in redundancy. The phenomenon of "borrowing" through the areal diffusion of linguistic features via a new generation of speakers is a process by which redundancy can be introduced into a language community. The hypothesized case of the spread of the use of patronymic adjectives from Luvian to *Ur*-Aeolic during the Bronze Age is one consistent with these general linguistic observations.

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The appearance of such Aeolic-patronymics in the Mycenaean documentary record and the correlation of their presence with vocabulary and ideas of trans-Aegean warrior alliance then occupied our attention in the remainder of Chapter Eight and the entirety of Chapter None. In this chapter I would like to return to linguistic phenomena and to consider the prospect of still additional processes of complexification at work in Ur-Aeolic as a variety of Greek that took shape in the context of an isolated speech community.

10.2. "Fast Speech" and Aeolic Assimilation

Another element of the proposed complexification characterizing low-contact linguistic communities concerns what Trudgill calls the "institutionalization" of fast-speech phenomena. Here Trudgill (1997:7) cites Dressler (1984:34), who writes: ". . . a typical scenario of diachronic change consists in the generalisation of assimilatory processes which are first limited to casual speech into more and more formal speech situations until they become obligatory processes." Trudgill argues (1997:8; 2011:41–142) that such fast-speech phenomena especially characterize low-contact communities because of their tightly-bound social-network structure; these communities "have large amounts of shared information in common" so that less

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phonetic information is required for successful communication. In consequence, on the other hand, fast-speech phenomena place a greater burden on the non-natives who attempt to speak the language of such a community, as "they constitute an extra set of rules to learn and remember" (Trudgill 2011:140). Assimilation is virtually by definition a "fast-speech" phenomenon, as Dressler's remarks underscore.

10.2.1. Processes of Aeolic Assimilation

Extensive assimilation is perhaps the single most conspicuous phonological feature of Aeolic.[952] Numbered among these are the Lesbian and Thessalian phenomena summarized in §6.4.1 (2A), repeated below as (1); the outcome of these changes is complete assimilation that privileges sonorant consonants (i.e. nasals, liquids, glides) without regard to the direction of assimilation (i.e. progressive or regressive). Examples of the outcomes are offered here:[953]

(1) The development of intervocalic geminate sonorant reflexes from certain Proto-Greek phonological sequences:

[952] On these and still other assimilation processes – involving aspiration, voicing quality, place of articulation, manner of articulation – in the Aeolic dialects, see Blümel 1982:95–103, 109–111, 130–134.

[953] See Buck 1955:65–69; Blümel 1982:101–102, 110–111.

A. *[V {-a, -o}] + [{r, n} y] + [V] → [V {rr, nn} V][954]

Lesbian *phthérrō* (φθέρρω); compare Attic *phtheírō* (φθείρω) 'to destroy'; from *phther-yo-

Lesbian *krínnō* (κρίννω), Thessalian *krénnō* (κρέννω); compare Attic *krī́nō* (κρῑ́νω) 'to separate'; from *krin-yo-

B. *[V] + [ln] + [V] → [V ll V]

Lesbian and Thessalian *stállā* (στάλλᾱ); compare Attic *stḗlē* (στήλη) 'stone block, monument'; from *stal-neh$_2$-

Lesbian and epic *ophéllō* (ὀφέλλω); compare Attic *opheílō* (ὀφείλω) 'to owe'; from *ophel-no-

C. *[V] + [s + *liquid*] + [V] → [V *liquid* + *liquid* V]

Lesbian *khérras* (χέρρας); compare Attic *kheîras* (χεῖρας) accusative plural 'hands'; from *khes-r-

Lesbian and Thessalian *khéllioi* (χέλλιοι); compare Ionic *kheílioi* (χείλιοι) 'thousand'; from *kheslioi (cf. Sanskrit *sa-hásram*)

D. *[V] + [s + *nasal*] + [V] → [V *nasal* + *nasal* V]

[954] If the vowel *a* or *o* precedes the cluster *-ry-* or *-ny-* the result is metathesis of the consonants to *-yr-* and *-yn-* respectively.

Lesbian *selánnā* (σελάννᾱ); Attic *selḗnē* (σελήνη) 'moon'; from *selas-neh$_2$-

Lesbian *émmi* (ἔμμι), Thessalian *emmí* (ἐμμί); compare Attic *eimí* (εἰμί) 'I am'; from *es-mi

E. *[V] + [*liquid* + s] + [V] → [V *liquid* + *liquid* V]

Lesbian *órranos* (ὄρρανος), Thessalian *orranós* (ὀρρανός); compare Attic *ouranós* (οὐρανός) 'heaven'; from *(w)orsa-no-[955]

Lesbian and Thessalian *-éstella* (-έστελλα); compare Attic *ésteila* (ἔστειλα) 'I made ready'; from *e-stel-sa

F. *[V] + [*nasal* + s] + [V] → [V *nasal* + *nasal* V]

Lesbian *mênnos* (μῆννος), Thessalian *meinnós* (μειννός); compare Attic *mēnós* (μηνός) genitive singular 'of month'; from *mēn-s-

Lesbian *enémmato* (ἐνέμματο); compare Attic (ἐνείματο) 'he distributed'; from *e-nem-sato

G. *[V] + [{sw, ws}] + [V] → [V ww V]

Lesbian *naûos* (ναῦος); compare Attic *nāós* (νᾱός) 'temple'; from *nas-wo-

Lesbian *aúōs* (αὔως); compare Ionic *ēōs* (ἠώς) 'dawn'; from *awsōs-

[955] For discussion of the forms see Blümel 1982:102. See also Chantraine 1968:838–839, with bibliography.

As the Attic and Ionic comparisons suggest, outside of Lesbian and Thessalian, the comparable diachronic operations result not in consonant assimilation but in loss of a consonant from the relevant cluster together with lengthening of the preceding vowel (at times via metathesis of the cluster) in phonological compensation for that loss.[956] This set of changes has been sometimes referred to as the "first compensatory lengthening" and stands in notable isoglossic contrast to the comparable assimilatory development of Lesbian and Thessalian. Notice that this Aeolic propensity for assimilation extends beyond those sonorant targets that comprise the isogloss of the "first compensatory lengthening," as we saw in §6.4.1 (2Bi and ii): thus, Lesbian *CriV becomes *CeryV becomes C*err*V; and Thessalian *CiV → *CyV → CCV, generalizing a contextual subset of the operation of (1A) just above (i.e. *[V {-a, -o}] + [{r, n} y] + [V] → [V {rr, nn} V]).[957] With this Thessalian process we compared (see §6.4.1 (2Biii)) Lesbian *di → dy / __ V, spelled *di* (δι) in early inscriptions, then spelled with the letter *zeta* (ζ).[958]

[956] The Boeotian treatment is similar to this "elsewhere condition" but, we will argue, a secondary development of early Aeolic assimilation.

[957] On the geminate Aeolic dative plural formant -*essi*- (-εσσι-) see Morpurgo Davies 1976; Chadwick 1979b.

[958] In addition to the bibliography cited earlier on these developments, see also Lejeune 1982:173. H. Parker (2008:450–455) holds the unusual view that the assimilated outcomes of Aeolic are primitive

10.2.2. Processes of Anatolian Assimilation

These Aeolic assimilations, resulting in geminate consonant clusters, are straightforwardly fast-speech phenomena and their occurrence in Aeolic is thus consistent with the emerging profile of language change in low-contact linguistic exclaves in general. But there may be an additional factor at work in the specific case of the Anatolian Mycenaean community, which we are proposing to be identified with the primitive Aeolic-dialect community. Among the *Anatolian subfamily* of Indo-European languages of the second millennium BC – Hittite, Luvian, Palaic – geminate consonant clusters are quite common.

Let us consider such clusters. Some geminate consonants in Hittite, Luvian, and Palaic simply continue Proto-Anatolian geminate clusters, whether inherited from a still earlier period or synchronically generated at the Proto-Anatolian stage.[959] While

("Pan-Greek" [p. 450]) and that the outcomes involving deletion and vowel lengthening are derived from those, citing work by his teacher Warren Cowgill; contra such a view, which Cowgill elected not to publish, see, *inter alia*, Willi 2008:247–249 (an analysis in which he follows Kiparsky 1967 and Haug 2002:81–96). H. Parker's characterization of the handbook presentations as "necessarily scattered" is hypercritical; see especially Blümel 1982.

[959] See Melchert 1994:77–82, 150, 219, 266.

the matter of the phonetic quality of the Anatolian reflexes of Proto-Indo-European voiceless and voiced stops is one in which there is not total clarity, the *geminate* status of the reflexes of ancestral intervocalic voiceless stops in the Bronze-Age Anatolian languages seems secure.[960] Proto-Anatolian *s appears to undergo gemination to *-ss-* in heterosyllabic clusters in Hittite and Luvian.[961] Proto-Anatolian *m geminates to *-mm-* before consonants in Hittite and Luvian.[962] Voiced stops become geminate after *r in Hittite.[963] In post-tonic contexts involving clitics, both *n and *s geminate in Hittite, and *s is seen to do so in Palaic.[964]

As in Aeolic Greek, complete assimilation also gives rise to geminate clusters in the Bronze-Age Anatolian languages of Hittite, Luvian, and Palaic. At the least the

[960] See Melchert 1994:16–21, 150, 219, 266.

[961] See Melchert 1994:150–152, 266. For the status of geminate *-ss-* in Palaic see Melchert's discussion on his pp. 219–220.

[962] See Melchert 1994:152–153, 266.

[963] See Melchert 1994:153.

[964] See Melchert 1994:153 and 205. Note also the Old Hittite assimilation of word final *-n* to the initial *s-* or *m-* of an ensuing clitic (Melchert 1994:109). On a morphophonemic assimilation of *-sḫ-* to *-ss-* across a clitic boundary in Hittite, see Melchert 1994:164.

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following can be observed (and see remarks on additional, likely earlier, changes in the several notes):[965]

Proto-Anatolian *-dl- → Hittite *-ll-*[966]

Proto-Anatolian *-dm- → Hittite *-mm-*[967]

Proto-Anatolian *-mb- → Hittite, and possibly Luvian, *-bb-*[968]

Proto-Anatolian (or later) *-VnsV- → Hittite, and probably Palaic and Luvian, *-VssV-*[969]

[965] In addition to the following, and to other assimilations mentioned in the notes, Neo-Hittite (ca. 1375–1200 BC) shows various instances of geminate spellings that appear to signal orthographically a phonological reality; see Melchert 1994:159–166.

[966] See Melchert 1994:160. An assimilation of *-ln- to *-ll- evidenced in both Hittite and Luvian appears to be of Proto-Anatolian date; see Melchert 1994:65–66, 81–82.

[967] Assimilation of *-mn- to *-mm- is Proto-Anatolian; see Melchert 1994:81. Both Hittite and Palaic seem to show a specific morphophonemic assimilation of *-dn- to *-nn-*; see Melchert 1994:160–161 and 219. On the possible assimilation of a sequence *laryngeal + n* to *-nn-* in Hittite see Melchert 1994:162.

[968] On this assimilation process and the possibility that it is Proto-Anatolian see Melchert 1994:162–163, 270.

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Proto-Anatolian *-VrsV- → Hittite -*VrrV*-[970]

Proto-Anatolian *-VtsV- → Luvian -*VssV*- [971]

Proto-Anatolian *-VrnV- → Luvian -*VrrV*-[972]

Proto-Anatolian *-sm- → Luvian -*mm*- (possibly only in a clitic context)[973]

In addition to the assimilatory processes listed here, there is a conspicuous phonological process operative in Luvian that generates geminate consonant clusters – the process that is described by "Čop's Law." By this change Proto-Anatolian voiced stops become geminate clusters when they occur after a word-initial short accented *e-

[969] See Melchert 1994:163, 270. The geminate sequence -*VssV*- also arises from an intervocalic sequence of *laryngeal + s*, but the change appears to have taken place already in Proto-Anatolian; see Melchert 1994:77–79, 161.

[970] See Melchert 1994:163. Compare the assimilation of the intervocalic sequence *sonorant + laryngeal* to *sonorant + sonorant* that occurred in Proto-Anatolian; see Melchert 1994:79–81, 83.

[971] See Melchert 1994:269–270.

[972] See Melchert 1994:270. The change is notably absent from Hittite.

[973] See Melchert 1994:270.

vowel. Luvian generalizes the change to cover all consonants that follow short accented *e: in other words, *éC →áCC.[974]

Of the languages of the Anatolian sub-family of Indo-European that are attested in the first millennium BC, it is Lycian that displays extensive gemination, reminiscent of that of its Bronze-Age congeners. This is perhaps unsurprising to the extent that Lycian is particularly closely related to Luvian; but even so, Melchert (2004c:595) can judge: "One of the most striking and problematic features of Lycian consonantism is the widespread gemination of consonants (at least orthographically). No entirely satisfactory explanation has yet been presented . . . ."[975] Lycian gemination is propelled beyond what is observed in Luvian.

The precise nature of the relationship between these two linguistic systems – Luvian and Lycian – is not completely clear, but it is commonly held that the two are members of a distinct subgroup. With this same subgroup Carian, Sidetic, and Pisidian (all attested late in the first millennium BC) also appear to be associated.[976] There is general agreement that the Bronze-Age antecedent of Lycian was the language of the "Lukka-Lands" of southwestern coastal Anatolia; of that antecedent form there are no

[974] See Čop 1970; Melchert 1994: 20, 34, 75, 252–253, 259–260, 266. See also Melchert 2004a:580.

[975] See also Melchert 1994:295–296, 316–317.

[976] See Melchert 2017a:175. See also Melchert 2004c:606

attested remains. This interpretation entails of course that the second-millennium BC precursor of Lycian cannot be *equated with* Luvian as we know it.[977] Melchert makes the important point that consideration must be given to dialect geography in situating the Luvo-Lycian subgroup within the array of attested Anatolian languages, writing: "Luvian, which occupied a geographically central position, unsurprisingly shares some isoglosses with Lycian (and to a lesser extent Lydian) to the west, and others with Hittite and Palaic to the east."[978]

10.2.3. Assimilation: An Anatolian Areal Feature

Assimilation as an Anatolian areal feature extends beyond the spaces occupied by speakers of Hittite and Luvo-Lycian. In Watkins' 2001 study mentioned in Chapter Eight (see §8.2), that one in which he refers to the patronymic adjective of "the Luvian languages" as a grammatical feature shared with Aeolic, and a feature diffused from Anatolian to Greek, without proposing a particular sociolinguistic or historical-linguistic scenario for the diffusion process (see his pp. 58–59), Watkins also draws attention (pp. 52–53) to the geminate Bronze-Age Anatolian reflexes of the Indo-

[977] On classifying the attested varieties of Luvian, see Melchert 2004a:576–577; 2017a:173–174.

[978] Melchert 2004c:591.

European voiceless stops and to Čop's Law in Luvian (one process "which resulted in the multiplication of geminates"). He then notes regarding the non-Indo-European Anatolian language of Hurrian: "A complex set of assimilation rules in the nominal morpheme chains in Hurrian similarly generated a larger number of geminate (tense) consonants, especially continuants and sonorants." Hurrian, a Bronze-Age language with no known linguistic relatives other than the later-attested Urartian (the two being descended from a common "Proto-Hurrian-Urartian),[979] remarkably shares with Hittite, Luvian, and Palaic not only the robust generation of geminate consonants but a distributional pattern of geminate stops which matches that of these Anatolian languages: as the Anatolian languages show geminate reflexes of the inherited Indo-European voiceless stops, and generalize voiceless stops word initially and voiced stops word finally,[980] so Hurrian speakers geminate their own word-internal voiceless stops, and articulate word-initial stops as voiceless and word-final stops as voiced.[981]

The Pre-Aeolic clusters that give rise to the Aeolic geminates described above clearly constitute unstable phonetic sequences along the evolutionary trajectory of the

[979] On Urartian, attested between the late ninth and late seventh centuries BC, and its relationship to Hurrian, see especially Wilhelm 1989:3–4, 17, 41; 2004a:95; and 2004b:119.

[980] See Melchert 1994:18–21.

[981] See Wilhelm 2004a:98–100.

ancient Greek linguistic system. But Aeolic as an areal and sociolinguistic subsystem of that larger Greek system is made conspicuous by its elimination of the unstable clusters in a way that preserves consonantal sequences by assimilation. Those assimilated Aeolic consonantal sequences are geminate clusters, and they are overwhelmingly clusters of geminate sonorants (i.e. nasal + nasal, liquid + liquid, and even glide + glide). Many, though by no means all, of the outcomes of the Anatolian (Hittite and Luvian) assimilatory changes that produce geminates are likewise sonorant clusters. In fact, in some instances the ancestral Anatolian consonant sequences that feed the evolutionary development of those sonorant clusters are identical, or nearly identical, to Pre-Aeolic consonant sequences that feed the evolutionary development of Aeolic sonorant clusters: intervocalic nasal + *s*; intervocalic liquid + *s*; intervocalic liquid + nasal; *s* + nasal. The application of Čop's Law in Luvian extends the occurrence of geminate clusters in that language and clearly produces geminate stop (and fricative) consonants; but that process also increases the incidence of geminate sonorant clusters: for example, in *ānni-* 'to carry out'; the denominative suffix *-alla/i-*; *mallit-* 'honey'; *mammalḫu-/mammalw-* 'to crush'; *nanuntarrit-* 'present' and *nanuntarri(ya)-* 'of the present'; *parran* 'before, in front'; *šarri* 'upon'; *t(i)yamm(i)-* 'earth'.[982]

[982] See Melchert 1993b:17, 132–134, 155–156, 166, 190, 230–231; 1994:259–260.

Within the proposed context of an Anatolian exclave of Mycenaean Greek speakers, the distinctive Aeolian assimilations resulting in geminate clusters – fast-speech phenomena – receive augmented sociolinguistic motivation. The Anatolian areal linguistic feature of gemination (that which characterizes the Anatolian Indo-European languages of the Bronze Age [product of the geminate evolution of inherited voiceless stops, various assimilatory processes, and, in Luvian, the geminations expressed by Čop's Law], of Bronze-Age Hurrian, and of Iron-Age Lycian) provides that motivation. That is to say, we can identify a plausible setting for the transference of this feature to Asian Mycenaean Greek in the Greek-Anatolian intercultural, inter-marrying communities that also facilitate the transference of the Luvian patronymic adjective. The Mycenaean Greek dialect that received both diffused features, I propose, was the ancestral Aeolic dialect: it is the attested post-Mycenaean Aeolic dialects that are characterized by these two features.

10.3. Perfect Active Participles and Aeolic

As noted earlier (see §6.3 (1A) and §6.6.5), morphological changes made to the perfect active participle system constitute a distinctive pan-Aeolic isogloss; and this isogloss is a linguistic feature that is deeply embedded in the Aeolic component of epic

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poetic speech.[983] Outside of Aeolic, the regular Greek formation of perfect active participles continues (with modification) the ancestral athematic formant *-wŏs-/-us-. This suffix was inherited from an earlier Indo-European period in which it was likewise used to form participles, fundamentally stative in sense ("expressing the resulting state of a passive subject" [Ruijgh 2011:286]), as opposed to encoding imperfective or perfective aspect, and was unmarked for voice. As with finite forms of the Indo-European perfect system, the participle is built on a perfect stem in conjunction with formants (here *-wŏs-/-us-) that are distinctive to the perfect. This ancestral perfect participle construction manifests itself also in Indo-Iranian, Tocharian, and still elsewhere.[984]

Among the post-Mycenaean dialects of Greek – with the continued proviso "outside of Aeolic" – the inherited athematic formant *-wŏs-/-us- was partially remade as *-wot-*, appearing as *-ot-* with the eventual disappearance of the glide *w* from all dialects. This refashioning of the formant is here described as "partial" in that the modified suffix is limited to masculine and neuter perfect participles. The post-Mycenaean feminine perfect participle continues to be built using the inherited suffix,

[983] See, *inter alia*, Nagy 2008:62; 2011; 2012:166–170.

[984] See, *inter alia*, Rix 1976:234–235; Chantraine 1984:282; Meier-Brügger 1992:2:62–63 and 2003:185–186; Sihler 1995:618–621; Szemerényi 1996:319–320; Jasanoff 2003:16n34, 162; Fortson 2004:98.

taking the form *-us-*. Thus, for example, Attic offers in the nominative plural the masculine *le-lu-k-ót-es* (λε-λυ-κ-ότ-ες) and neuter *le-lu-k-ót-a* (λε-λυ-κ-ότ-α), beside feminine *le-lu-k-uî-ai* (λε-λυ-κ-υῖ-αι), from **le-lu-k-us-yai* – all perfect participle forms of the verb (*lúō* [λύω]) 'to loose'.

10.3.1. Mycenaean Perfect Active Participles

In contrast to first-millennium BC dialects, the Mycenaean Greek that is revealed in the Linear B tablets attests a second-millennium BC survival of the inherited formant *-wŏs-/-us-, with anticipated shift of intervocalic **-s-* to *-h-*. The following occurrences of Mycenaean perfect active participles have been identified:[985]

(2) Possible set of Mycenaean perfect active participles

A. Nominative feminine singular and plural

[985] On the Mycenaean participle see, *inter alia*, Szemerényi 1967; Palmer 1969:52; Vilborg 1969:118; Ventris and Chadwick 1973:533, 539, 552, 585; Meier-Brügger 1992:2:62–63; Bartoněk 2003:331, 341; Ruijgh 2011:286. For the personal name spelled *wi-do-wo-i-jo* (Pylos tablets Ae 344 and An 5), with variants *wi-du-wo-i-jo* (PY Jn 415) and *wi-dwo-i-jo* (PY Eb 1186 and Ep 539, and TH Uq 434), as Widwohios, a derivative – possible patronymic adjective – of the perfect active participle built from the verb root *wid-* (ϝιδ-) 'to see', see Aura Jorro 1999:428 (with bibliography); Judson 2017:123.

i. *a-ra-ru-ja* (singular *ar-ar-ui-a* [ἀρ-αρ-υι-α] and plural *ar-ar-ui-ai* [ἀρ-αρ-υι-αι], with *-ui-a-* from *-us-ya-*); Knossos Sd 4401 + 8718 +fr.; Sd 4403 + 5114 + frr.; Sd 4405 + 4410 + fr.; Sd 4408 + 4411 + 6055 + frr.;[986] Sd 4450 + 4483; Sd 5091 + 6066 + fr. (and restored on Sd 4413), 'fitted' (of chariot fitted with equipment)

Post-Mycenaean *ararískō* (ἀραρίσκω) 'to fit together; to equip', reduplicated present stem of **árō* (*ἄρω); in the perfect compare the identical epic participles, singular *ar-ar-uî-a* (ἀρ-αρ-υῖ-α) and plural *ar-ar-uî-ai* (ἀρ-αρ-υῖ-αι), occurring frequently in various cases in both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*[987]

ii. *]ḍẹ-di-<da>-ku-ja* (uncertain; perhaps *de-di-dakh-ui-a* [δε-δι-δαχ-υι-α] or *de-di-dakh-ui-ai* [δε-δι-δαχ-υι-αι]); Knossos Ak 611, 'instructed'

Post-Mycenaean *didáskō* (διδάσκω) 'to instruct', reduplicated factitive present stem of **dáō* (*δάω) 'to learn'; compare, for

[986] Here attested with the spelling *]ạ-ra-ru-wo-ja*, showing influence of the spelling of the neuter plural; see (2Di) just below.

[987] See *Iliad* 3.331; 5.744; 7.339, 438; 9.475; 11.18; 12.134, 454; 13.188, 407; 14.181; 15.737; 16.132; 18.275, 459, 611; 19.370, 396; 21.535; 24.318; *Odyssey* 2.344; 6.70, 267; 18.294, 378; 21.236, 382; 22.102, 128, 155, 258, 275; 23.42, 194.

example, epic *de-di-dákh-thai* (δε-δι-δάχ-θαι [perfect middle-passive infinitive]) 'to be taught', *Iliad* 11.831

B. Nominative masculine plural

i. *e-qi-ti-wo-e* (*e-k*^{w}*hthi-woh-es* [ἐ-κ^{wh}θι-ϝοh-ες]); Thebes Wu 75, 'dead' (of pigs)[988]

Post-Mycenaean *phthíō* (φθίω) 'to decay, perish'; compare, for example, epic *é-phthi-tai* (ἔ-φθι-ται [perfect middle-passive indicative 3rd singular]) 'he is perished', *Odyssey* 20.340

ii. *e-re-dwo-e* (perhaps *ēre(i)d-woh-es* [ἠρε(ι)δ- ϝοh-ες]); Knossos As 604+606+5863+fr. (*e-re-dwo-ẹ*) and V 655+5606+5865+5988+8507 (*e-ṛẹ-dwo-ẹ[*), 'supported' (*vel sim.*),[989] heading lists

Post-Mycenaean *ereídō* (ἐρείδω) 'to support, prop up(on)'; compare, for example, epic *er-ēréd-atai* (ἐρ-ηρέδ-αται [perfect middle-passive indicative 3rd plural])[990] 'they are propped upon', *Iliad* 23.284, 329

[988] See, *inter alia*, Duhoux 2008:390–391.

[989] Melena 2014:60 suggests "'set to work?' in the heading of personnel rolls."

[990] On the morphology see Chantraine 1984:196.

iii. *ke-tu-wo-e* (uncertain; formerly read *ke-ke-tu-wo-e*);[991] Pylos An 261 + fr. + 283, heading a list of men

D. Nominative neuter plural

i. *a-ra-ru-wo-a* (*ar-ar-woh-a* [αρ-αρ-ϝoh-α]); Knossos Ra 1541; Ra 1543 + 1560 + 1566; Ra 1548; Ra 1551 (and restored on Ra 1542; Ra 1545; Ra 1550; Ra 1552; Ra 1553; and Ra 1554) 'fitted' (of sword fitted with something)

Post-Mycenaean *ararískō* (ἀραρίσκω) 'to fit together; to equip'; see (2Ai) above; compare the identical post-Mycenaean participle, *mutatis mutandis*, *ar-ar-ót-a* (ἀρ-αρ-ότ-α), as in Dio Chrysostom *Orationes* 12.56

ii. *te-tu-ko-wo-a* and *te-tu-ko-wo-a*$_2$ (τε-τυχ-ϝoh-α); Knossos L 871 (*te-tu-ko-wo-a*) and Pylos Sa 682 (*te-tu-ko-wo-a*$_2$) 'finished' (of textiles)

Post-Mycenaean *teúkhō* (τεύχω) 'to make, produce'; compare the identical post-Mycenaean participle, *mutatis mutandis*, *te-teukh-ót-a* (τε-τευχ-ότ-α), as in Polybius 5.9.2

[991] Line 1 of the tablet appears to read, following a break,]*we-ke* , *ke-tu-wo-e*.

10.3.2. Aeolic Perfect Active Participles

Contrasting notably with this Mycenaean persistent morphology is the common Aeolic innovative replacement of inherited *-wŏs-/-us- by thematic *-ont-* (-οντ-), the formant used in the construction of present and thematic aorist participles, and also of primitive Indo-European origin. The Homeric *Kunstsprache* provides the Aeolic nominative masculine plural *ke-klḗg-ont-es* (κε-κλήγ-οντ-ες)[992] from *klázō* (κλάζω) 'to clash, shout, etc.' (*Iliad* 12.125; 16.430; 17.756, 759; *Odyssey* 14.30),[993] which is found likewise in the Hesiodic *Shield* (379, 412), as well as a matching accusative masculine plural *ke-klḗg-ont-as* (κε-κλήγ-οντ-ας; *Odyssey* 12.256).[994] Aeolic nominative singular *pe-plḗg-ōn* (πε-πλήγ-ων), rather than *pe-plḗg-ōs* (πε-πλήγ-ως), from *plḗssō* (πλήσσω) 'to

[992] Or, more precisely, an Ionicized *ke-klḗg-ont-es* (κε-κλήγ-οντ-ες) for Aeolic *ke-klāg-ont-es* (κε-κλᾱγ-οντ-ες).

[993] See Chantraine 1973:430; Nagy 2012:136.

[994] A variant *ke-klḗg-ōn* (κε-κλήγ-ων), Aeolic nominative masculine singular (with *-ōn* from *-ont-s), rather than Ionic *ke-klēg-ṓs* (κε-κληγ-ώς), at *Iliad* 2.222; 5.591; 11.168, 344;13.755; and 17.88 is the reading of the critical text of Monro and Allen 1920 (Oxford Classical Text); it has been enthusiastically rejected by the contributors to the Oxford *Iliad* commentary: see Kirk 1990:118; Edwards 1991:71; Hainsworth 1993:244, 264; Janko 1994:140. See Monro 1891:388.

strike', is seen at *Iliad* 2.264 and 22. 497.[995] The accusative plural *te-tríg-ont-as* (τε-τρίγ-οντ-ας) – rather than *te-trig-ôt-as* (τε-τριγ-ῶτ-ας) – from *trízō* (τρίζω) 'to cry shrilly, creak, etc.', should perhaps be read at *Iliad* 2.314,[996] following from Zenodotus' variant *te-tíz-ont-as* (τε-τίζ-οντ-ας), seemingly 'twittering'.[997] As the just-cited form *te-trig-ôt-as* indicates, there are various instances in which Homer forms a perfect active participle with a formant -*ōt*- (-ωτ-) rather than anticipated Ionic -*ot*- (-οτ-), where metrically expedient: thus, compare also *ke-klēg-ôt-es* [κε-κληγ-ῶτ-ες] beside Aeolic *ke-klḗg-ont-es* [κε-κλήγ-οντ-ες]), the form with which this discussion began. As others have suggested,[998] it is not implausible to see in the formant -*ōt*- a nonce construction of the *Kunstsprache* modeled after – in effect replacing – Aeolic -*ont*-. In his discussion of these matters, Meillet (1918:292) draws attention to *Iliad* 13.60 and the Aeolic variant *ke-kóp-ōn* (κε-κόπ-ων), nominative masculine singular (with -*ōn* from *-ont-s), for Ionic *ke-kop-ṓs* (κε-κοπ-ώς) 'struck' (from *kóptō* [κόπτω]), reported for the Chian tradition and Antimachus.[999] Meillet adds to this the occurrence of dative singular *er-ríg-ont-i* (ἐρ-ρίγ-

[995] See *Scholia in Iliadem* (*scholia vetera* [= Erbse 1969–1988]) 2.264b.

[996] See Chantraine 1973:431.

[997] Düntzer 1848:130. See also the comments of Kirk 1985:149.

[998] See the discussions of Meillet 1918:292–293; Chantraine 1973:430–431.

[999] See *Scholia in Iliadem* (*scholia vetera* [= Erbse 1969–1988]) 13.60b–c.

οντ-ι), for *er-rig-ót-i* (ἐρ-ριγ-ότ-ι) 'shuddering' (from *hrīgéō* [ῥῑγέω]) at Hesiod *Shield* 228 – and also takes note of Pindar's accusative plural forms *ke-khlád-ont-as* (κε-χλάδ-οντ-ας) 'resounding' (from **khládō* [*χλάδω]) and *pe-phrík-ont-as* (πε-φρίκ-οντ-ας) 'bristling' (from *phríssō* [φρίσσω]), both in *Pythian Odes* 4, lines 179 and 183 respectively, and to which we drew attention in §8.3.1.

Among forms of the perfect participle preserved in Aeolic inscriptions are these (the cited source lemma are comparable Attic forms):[1000]

(3) Lesbian perfect active participles

A. *ge-]gón-ont-es* (γε-]γόν-οντ-ες); nominative masculine plural ; IG XII,2 25.1 (Lesbos [Mytilene]); from *gígnomai* (γίγνομαι) 'to come into being'

B. *ge-gón-ont-a* (γε-γόν-οντ-α); accusative neuter plural; IG XII,2 527.38 (Lesbos [Eresos]);[1001] from *gígnomai* (γίγνομαι) 'to come into being'

[1000] The inventory draws on Buck 1955:118; Blümel 1982:228; Hodot 1990:208, with extension and elaboration. For bibliography of inscriptions see the individual entries at https://epigraphy.packhum.org.

[1001]Compare IG XII, Suppl. p. 33.

C. *en-e-stá-kont-as* (ἐν-ε-στά-κοντ-ας); accusative masculine plural; IG XII Suppl. 114.18–19 (Lesbos [Methymna]); from *enístēmi* (ἐνίστημι) 'to be in place'

D. *en-e-stá-kont-a* (ἐν-ε-στά-κοντ-α); accusative masculine singular; IG XII,2 527.34 (Lesbos [Eresos])

E. *epi-te-telé-kont-a* (ἐπι-τε-τελέ-κοντ-α); accusative neuter plural; IG XII,2 484.6; (Lesbos [Mytilene]); from *epiteléō* (ἐπιτελέω) 'to fulfill'

F. *e-stá-kois-an* (ἐ-στά-κοισ-αν); accusative feminine singular; IK Kyme 13.70 (Aeolis [Kyme]); from *hístēmi* (ἵστημι) 'to stand'

G. *eu-ergetḗ-kois-an* (ἐυ-εργετή-κοισ-αν); accusative feminine singular; IG XII,2 516 (Lesbos [Methymna]); from *euergetéō* (εὐεργετέω) 'to do good services'

H. *kat-el-ēlúth-ont-os* (κατ-ελ-ηλύθ-οντ-ος); genitive masculine singular; SEG 36:752.9, and restored in 10–11 (Lesbos [Mytilene]); from *katérkhomai* (κατέρχομαι) 'to return'

I. *pe-poḗ-kōn* (πε-ποή-κων); nominative masculine singular; IG XII,2 134.11 (Lesbos [Mytilene]); from *poiéō* (ποιέω) 'to produce'

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J. *[te]-tó-kois-an* ([τε]-τό-κοισ-αν); accusative feminine singular; IG XII Suppl. 126.8, also line 6, with additional restoration (Lesbos [Eresos]); from *tíktō* (τίκτω) 'to bring forth'

(4) Thessalian perfect active participles

A. *enoikodomei-kónt-essi* (ἐνοικοδομεικόντεσσι); dative masculine plural; IG IX,2 1229.45–46 (Thessaly [Perrhaebia]); from *enoikodoméō* (ἐνοικοδομέω) 'to build'

B. *ep-e-stá-kont-a* (ἐπ-ε-στά-κοντ-α); accusative masculine singular; IG IX,2 257.8 (Thessaly [Thessaliotis]); from *ephístēmi* (ἐφίστημι) 'to be set over, command'

C. *pe-pheirá-kont-es* (πε-φειρά-κοντ-ες); nominative masculine plural; IG IX,2 436.4–5, 12, and 19; ArchEph (1910) 349,4.2, with partial restoration in the last two-cited (Thessaly [Pelasgiotis]); from *thērā́ō* (θηράω) 'to hunt'; i.e. = *te-theira-kót-es* (τε-θειρα-κότ-ες)

(5) Boeotian perfect active participles[1002]

[1002] Compare Vottéro 2008.

A. *an-te-theí-ont-a* (ἀν-τε-θεί-οντ-α); accusative masculine singular; SEG 43:205.13 (Boeotia [Coronea]); from *anatíthēmi* (ἀνατίθημι) 'to set up'

B. *an-tẹ-thé-ont-es* (ἀν-τε̣-θέ-ον-τες); nominative masculine plural; IThesp 54.35 (Boeotia [Thespiae]); from *anatíthēmi* (ἀνατίθημι) 'to set up'

C. *ap-eiltheí-ont-es* (ἀπ-ειλθεί-οντ-ες); nominative masculine plural; IThesp 93.2–3, 102.2, 110.2, 111.2–3, 112.2, and restored in IThesp 96.3–4, 99.2, 100.2, 105.3, 106.4–5, 109.1–2 (Boeotia [Thespiae]); from *apérkhomai* (ἀπέρχομαι) 'to go away'[1003]

D. *aph-ei-ṓs-as* (αφ-ει-ώσ-ας); genitive feminine singular; SEG 22:432.12 (Boeotia [Copae]); from *aphíēmi* (ἀφίημι) 'to set free'

E. *de-dṓ-ōs-a* (δε-δώ-ωσ-α); nominative feminine singular; SEG 43:212(A).30, and restored in line 29 (Boeotia [Tanagra]); from *dídōmi* (δίδωμι) 'to give'

F. *de-dṓ-ōs-ē* (δε-δώ-ωσ-η); nominative feminine plural; SEG 43:212(A).27 (Boeotia [Tanagra]); from *dídōmi* (δίδωμι) 'to give'

[1003] Compare *apelēluthótes* (ἀπεληλυθότες); IThesp 113.1, 119.B.col. 1.1.10, and with various degrees of restoration in IThesp 115.1, 116.A.col. 1.1.2–3, 119.B.col. 1.1.1–2.

G. *en-kata-be-bá-ōn* (ἐν-κατα-βε-βά-ων); nominative masculine singular; SEG 44:414.5 (Boeotia [Lebadeia]); from *enkatabaínō* (ἐγκαταβαίνω) 'to go down into'

H. *ṿe-wụ[kei]-ónt-ōn* (ϝε-ϝυ̣[κει]-όντ-ων); genitive masculine singular; IThesp 56.2–3 (Boeotia [Thespiae]); from *oikéō* (οἰκέω) 'to inhabit'

I. *we-wukonomei-ón-tōn* (ϝε-ϝυκονομει-όντ-ων); genitive masculine plural; IG VII 3172.125 (Boeotia [Orchomenus]); from *oikonoméō* (οἰκονομέω) 'to manage as a house steward'

J. *kạ[ta-be-]blei-ṓs-as* (κα̣[τα-βε-]βλει-ώσ-ας); genitive feminine singular; SEG 22.407.30–31 (Boeotia [Thisbe]); from *katabállō* (καταβάλλω) 'to deposit'

K. *pe-piteu-ónt-essi* (πε-πιτευ-όντ-εσσι); dative masculine plural; IThesp 56.7 (Boeotia [Thespiae]); likely a form of *peíthomai* (πείθομαι) 'to obey' (see Colin 1897:560, 562),[1004] possibly more immediately akin to *pisteúō* (πιστεύω) 'to put faith in'

L. *pe-poi-ont-eissi* (πε-ποι-οντ-εισσι); dative masculine plural; IThesp 56.7 (Boeotia [Thespiae]); from *poiéō* (ποιέω) 'to make, practice'

[1004] But compare Brugmann 1921:149–151; Fraenkel 1950:85 and 1952:20.

10.3.3. Aeolic Perfect Active Participles as Complexification: Increase in Morphological Opacity

Where does this replacement phenomenon fit within Trudgill's model of anticipated language change occurring within an isolated linguistic community? The change represents a decrease (rather than an anticipated increase) in redundancy to the extent that even with the loss of the distinctive perfect formant *-wŏs-/-us- the participle remains marked as perfect by the use of the perfect stem. But while there is thus elimination of a degree of redundancy, there is a concomitant increase in morphological (cross-paradigmatic) opacity that comes with the importation of thematic participle morphology (i.e. that used to form present tense and second aorist tense participles) into the perfect paradigm? This would be most particularly so (i) in the case of those roots that form a perfect stem by vocalic modification rather than by the more conspicuous process of consonantal reduplication; and (ii) prior to the introduction (pre-Homeric in inception) of the κ-formant that serves as an additional marker of the Greek perfect active.[1005] As the forms of (5) above demonstrate, this κ-

[1005] On the use of the perfect active κ-formant in epic diction see Monro 1891:24–25; Chantraine 1973:427–429. On the perfect κ-formant in Greek more broadly and the problem of its origin see, *inter alia*,

formant does not appear in Boeotian perfect active participles,[1006] in contrast to its appearance in forms provided by Lesbian and Thessalian inscriptions (see (3) and (4) respectively). One might reasonably posit that Boeotian has here preserved a common Aeolic trait and that the introduction of the κ-formant to Lesbian and Thessalian perfect participles is a secondary development that occurred subsequent to the separation of Boeotian.[1007]

10.3.3.1. *Increase in Opacity and a Conjunction Reduction Process.* It is worth considering the morphological extension of the thematic participle formant *-ont-* (-οντ-) to the distinctively marked perfect in light of the broader Indo-European phenomenon that Kiparsky has called "conjunction reduction" (Kiparsky 1968, updated

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Brugmann and Thumb 1913:374–375; Sturtevant 1940; Rix 1976:222–223; Markey 1980/1981; Perotti 1984; Kimball 1991; Dunkel 2004.

[1006] And see the remarks of Blümel 1982:146 and 228n287. Buck (1955:117) writes that the use of the κ-formant "is usual for the vowel stems in all dialects . . . . [b]ut there are some few forms without κ, outside the indicative singular . . . ." Nearly all of the examples that he provides are of Boeotian participles.

[1007] On Boeotian imperviousness to integration of the κ-formant see Kimball 1991:142–143, and also 148.

in Kiparsky 2005).[1008] To judge chiefly from Indo-Iranian evidence, it appears that in Proto-Indo-European a verb in the injunctive mood could be used following a verb marked for tense and (some other) mood, and in such instances the injunctive is contextually assigned the same tense/mood value as the preceding lead verb. The injunctive here essentially plays the role of a verbal chameleon. This ancestral syntagmatic phenomenon survives, *mutatis mutandis*, into Greek, but here it is the present indicative that continues the role of the earlier injunctive.[1009] This is the so-called "historical present," so named as this present typically receives a past-tense verb sense in conjunction with a verb that is morphologically marked as past; though examples of a comparable usage of the present in conjunction with the future tense are also attested.[1010] In addition, the "unmarked" conjoined verb that continues the tense of the lead verb may, as in Homer, also take the form of an imperfect in Greek.[1011]

Many treatments of the Greek historical present – both before and after Kiparsky's initial work – have focused on discourse and pragmatic functions of the construction: see, for example, Benveniste 1965:8–13 (though concerned generally

[1008] See also Levin 1969, an important follow-up to Kiparsky 1968.

[1009] Though on possible survivals of a Greek injunctive, see West 1989.

[1010] For discussion, with bibliography, see Kiparsky 1968:32–33.

[1011] The "historical imperfect"; see Kiparsky 1968:39–40; Rijksbaron 2006:135–139.

with the nature of the linguistic present); Sicking and Stork 1997; Boter 2012; Rijksbaron 2006 and 2015 – and see also the collection of articles in Lallot et al. 2011.[1012] Narratological considerations not surprisingly play a role in authorial choices regarding employment of the historical present, as with the application of any syntactic feature in developing a literary style (von Fritz observes in his study of the historical present [1949:200]: "As always happens in the development of language the original function and impact of this linguistic or stylistic device was gradually weakened"), though definitively sorting out the motivations driving and the grammar permitting such choices in the case of the historical present has proven to be slippery. What is important to bear in mind – at least for our purposes – is the underspecified nature of the primitive Indo-European injunctive and its descendent forms that resulted in the syntagmatic phenomenon of reduction constructions.

Though it is in some ways a rather distinct operation, the Indo-European reduction described by Kiparsky is reminiscent of the Biblical Hebrew syntactic phenomenon of verb-morphology switching that occurs in conjunction with the so-called "*wāw*-conversive." In past-time narration, when clauses are conjoined by the

[1012] Somewhat apart from these is von Fritz 1949 (see for bibliography of still earlier work), McKay 1974, and Barri 1978 (who argues for two different verb subsystems in Greek).

conjunction *wə-*, the verb of the initial clause is a perfect, but, typically, a verb in the conjoined clause(s) is imperfect in morphology yet must be construed as perfective in sense. Conversely, in present-future-time narration, the verb of the initial clause is imperfect while a verb in the ensuing clause(s) conjoined with *wə-* is perfect in form but must be construed as imperfective in sense.[1013] In this process, which begins to disappear in Late Biblical Hebrew (and has disappeared by the period of Rabbinic Hebrew),[1014] conjoined verbs in a narrative take their aspectual-tense value from the initial verb of the sequence: in this way the initial verb serves as a template for interpreting the ensuing verbs (somewhat as in the case of Indo-European conjunction reduction). But the ensuing verbs in the narrative are not expressed by an explicitly neutral (zero-valued) verb morphology (as in the Indo-European phenomenon); instead ensuing verbs must occur in explicit morphological contrast with the initial verb. There is something going on here beyond what is clearly perceptible in Indo-European conjunction reduction – speakers seemingly declaring ownership of their language by

[1013] On these clauses see the careful discussion, with examples, of McCarter 2004:358.

[1014] McCarter (2004:348) notes that this is "one of the most important differences between Biblical Hebrew and Rabbinic Hebrew . . . ." *Late Biblical Hebrew* designates the language of ca. sixth – second centuries BC. *Rabbinic Hebrew* describes the language of rabbinical works beginning in the first century AD.

playfully manipulating its syntax. One can make the case for a certain increase in opacity in the Semitic phenomenon. Does the Hebrew "*wāw*-conversive" itself find an origin in an isolated language setting (such as that of Canaanites resident in Egypt)?

In remarks offered on Kiparsky's 1968 study, Levin (1969:390) cites a different Biblical Hebrew process, one he rehearses in order "to add corroborative data to [Kiparsky's] discovery." Levin writes: "Substitution of a masculine plural ending for a feminine plural occurs copiously in Hebrew." This he sees as a process of "neutralization in favor of the masculine" that occurs in contexts in which it is clear that the referent or antecedent is female. Cited examples include gender-marked possessive suffixes on nouns and pronominal suffixes bound to prepositions, as well as gender-distinct pronominal suffixes on perfect tense verbs.[1015] The process appears to show some phonological sensitivity, as, reports Levin, it "takes place most readily" when it involves variation between masculine marking with *m* and feminine marking with *n*.

The Aeolic use of the thematic *present participle* formant *-ont-* (-οντ-) in conjunction with distinctively marked *perfect-stem morphology* could be interpreted as a sub-lexical, morphological syntagmatic expression of the Indo-European lexical

[1015] For succinct discussion of the various pronominal suffixes involved see McCarter 2004:342–345.

syntagmatic phenomenon of conjunction reduction. In other words, one could view the *-ont-* suffix as being of neutral value and taking its status as a perfect participle marker from its morphological conjunction with stem elements otherwise marked as perfect. If so, could the claim be convincingly made that the resulting Aeolic perfect active participle construction in some way represents complexification? On the one hand, the incorporation of a neutral formant *-ont-* would clearly represent a decrease in redundancy, and one could argue that this may have ultimately provided some advantage to the post-critical-threshold language learner. But, again, from a cross-paradigmatic perspective the answer to the complexification question is likley "yes": bleaching out of the participial formant *-ont-*, also used for present and second aorist active participles, places a greater functional load on the verb stem morphology (subtle in some cases), making the distinction between present, second aorist and perfect active participles more nuanced, more tenuous, more opaque. To this extent the Aeolic use of the thematic formant *-ont-* to construct perfect active participles appears to exhibit complexification. It is an insider's game (played out within a tightly-knit society determined to make its linguistic form more uniquely its own).

10.3.4. Aeolic Perfect Active Participles and Areal Diffusion

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An additional element of motivation for the Aeolic change presents itself however. Much as in the case of the introduction of the patronymic adjective and the incorporation of extensive gemination, there is reason to view the Aeolic replacement of perfect *-wŏs-/-us- by thematic -*ont*- (-ovτ-) as a phenomenon of areal diffusion. The Indo-European thematic formant *-e/ont-, precursor to Greek -*ont*-, equally survives in Anatolian Indo-European languages. Yet, it is "one of the great surprises of Anatolian," observes Melchert (2017a:190), "that there is hardly any trace of verbal adjectives in *-to- and none in *-no-"[1016] (on Indo-European verbal adjectives in *-no- see Chapter One). "Instead," Melchert continues, "one finds in the function of a past participle (that is, one expressing an attained state) derivatives in *-e/ont-."

Consider the case of Hittite. Semantically the Hittite verbal in -*ant* (from *-e/ont-) is close to the Mycenaean Greek perfect participle; Watkins (2004:568) describes the sense of the Hittite participle in this way:[1017]

> The function . . . is to mark the accomplishment of the semantic notion of the verb. With transitive verbs the value is past passive: *ēp-zi* 'takes', *app-ant-*

[1016] See also Melchert 2017b.

[1017] See also Melchert 2017a:190.

'taken, captive'; with intransitives it denotes an attained state: *ak-i* 'dies', *akk-ant-* 'dead'.

Watkins' chosen examples essentially recapitulate the attested, identifiable usages of the perfect active participle as attested in the Mycenaean documents, rehearsed above in (2) and summarized here: *a-ra-ru-ja* and *a-ra-ru-wo-a* 'fitted'; *]ḍẹ-di-<da>-ku-ja* 'instructed'; *e-qi-ti-wo-e* 'perished'; *e-re-dwo-e* 'supported'; *te-tu-ko-wo-a* and *te-tu-ko-wo-a*$_2$ 'finished'.

The Bronze-Age Palaic language, like Hittite, also uses *-ant-* to form such participles,[1018] but the Luvian that we know does not do so robustly – that is, *in a synchronically highly productive fashion*. Instead Luvian (like the later Lycian) preserves only vestiges of the morphology. In other words, Luvian once agreed with Hittite and Palaic in innovatively constructing participles with the formant *-ant-* but in time would replace this with a different formant, that synchronically-productive participial formant being *-mma/i-*, Lycian *-me/i* (from **o-mn-o-*; the same formant is used to form possessive adjectives from nouns). The limited use of participial *-ant-* preserved in the Luvian documentary record gleaned from the archives of Hattusa can be seen in these

[1018] See Melchert 2004b:589.

forms: Luvian *walant-* and *ulant-* 'dead', from *wal- 'to die' (beside Lycian in *lāta-* 'dead'); Luvian *waššant-* 'clothed in', from *wašš-* 'to wear'; and Luvian *šak(k)antamma/i-* 'decorated' *and šak(k)antattar-* 'decoration', pointing to a participle **šakkant-* 'cut (out)'. Intriguing, though attended by some uncertainty, is the participial form *šakaltān* that appears in the Ritual of Zarpiya (CTH 757) from the Luvic region of Kizzuwatna; *šakaltān* ought likely to be construed with the verbal noun *šakaldamman* 'harm, destruction'.[1019] The mention of certain deities invoked in the ritual of the healer Zarpiya may suggest some Hurrian influence on the procedure (Hutter 2003:252).[1020] As we shall see (§21.3.2.3), the region of Kizzuwatna served as a conduit through which ideas passed from Hurrian Mitanni to Luvian peoples, and likely, we will propose, to intermingled Mycenaean-Luvic communities (see §23.3.7 and §23.4).

If we are to see a process of areal diffusion at work in the common Aeolic replacement of distinctively perfect *-wŏs-/-us- by thematic *-ont-* (-οντ-), that process must (again) be situated within a social context in which Anatolian-speaking persons have been integrated, undoubtedly (at the least) through marriage, into the exclave of Greek speakers living in western coastal Asia Minor in the later second millennium and

[1019] See Melchert 2013c:166. For the text of the ritual see Görke 2014.

[1020] See Melchert 1993a:37; 1993b:185 (and personal communication, 27 December 2020), 250, 262; 2004a:582; 2004c:598; 2014:206–207; 2017a:190.

earlier first millennium BC. This particular feature was presumably diffused from the same language that was source of both the patronymic adjective and the phonological propensity for gemination – hence in all likelihood a member of the Luvo-Lycian subset of Anatolian Indo-European languages. The particular linguistic form of the Anatolian donor language was presumably a Luvic dialect somewhat distinct from the Luvian in which *ant*-participles are only vestigially attested. Alternatively, one might propose that the period of transmission antedated the general replacement of *-ant-* by *-mma/i-*, but the Ur-Aeolic acquisition of the formant may have occurred quite late in the Bronze Age, or after the collapse of Balkan Mycenaean society: there is seemingly no trace of it in the surviving Linear B records, though its suppression as a nonce formation would likely have been easy enough to manage. Given this diffusion scenario, the Anatolian participial formant spelled *-ant-*, attested as synchronically productive in Hittite and Palaic, must have been perceived as sufficiently morpho-phonologically similar to the Mycenaean thematic participial formant *-ont-*, from a synchronic perspective, to permit the diffusion of *-ant-* into the morphology of the Anatolian Mycenaean (i.e., Ur-Aeolic) perfect active participle, replacing *-wŏs-/-us-, being accommodated as *-ont-*.

10.4. Some Interpretative Conclusions

In addition to the redundancy introduced into *Ur*-Aeolic by the diffusion of patronymic adjectives from Luvian, other expressions of complexification, consistent with the model of Aeolic as originating in a low-contact Asian exclave of Late Bronze-Age and Early Iron-Age Greeks can be observed. Notable is the extensive assimilation that categorizes Aeolic phonology. This is not only the consequence of the regularization of rapid-speech phenomena which is typical of low-contact language communities characterized by strong social bonds, but, in this instance, appears also to be the result of an areal feature of Indo-European Anatolian having been diffused into the language of Asian Mycenaeans – the Ahhiyawans – the Ur-Aeolians. In addition, we observe an increase in opacity – another expression of complexification – in the highly-distinctive Aeolic transfer of the inherited Indo-European thematic participial formant -*ont*- to the perfect-tense system. The semantics of the Mycenaean perfect participle recoverable from the Linear B data reveal a verbal that functions like the equally highly-distinctive Anatolian participles formed in -*ant*-, of common origin with Greek -*ont*-. Consistent with the picture of language diffusion that we have seen developing in this investigation, the introduction of the ancestral *-ont- formant into the Aeolic perfect participle paradigm would appear no less to be the outcome of transference of Anatolian structures into Early Iron-age Anatolian Greek within a society forged by the

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cultural and family intermingling of Mycenaeans with Luvic-speaking peoples of the region.

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Chapter Eleven

Aeolian Self-Identity and Metapontium

11.1. Introduction

The tradition of an Aeolian migration to Anatolia at the end of the Bronze Age is a fiction interlaced with fact. There was no single great migration of Aeolic-speaking peoples eastward from Balkan Hellas to Asia Minor, but there had been a steady-state phenomenon of Mycenaean passage back and forth across the Aegean, one that is reflected in the Mycenaean documentary record and a phenomenon that would continue beyond the Mycenaean era. The eastward spread of Mycenaeans had been sufficiently large already by, at the latest, the fifteenth century BC to establish Mycenaean/Ahhiyawan communities in Anatolia, societies that took shape through intermingling with Luvic-speaking peoples; and in these settings the Mycenaean language that had been introduced into Asia Minor evolved into what came to be identified as *Aeolic* dialect. The actual "Aeolian migration" is thus an Iron-Age

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phenomenon by which Aeolic speech was introduced westward from Asia Minor into the Balkans.

11.2. Anatolian Archaeology and Bronze-Age Aeolians

Let us return to a consideration of the archaeology of Greek settlement of western coastal Asia Minor.[1021] It was noted in Chapter Seven (see §7.4) that there is evidence of destruction of the site of Miletus ca. 1100 BC. But if Miletus (= Millawanda) was "the only major center of Ahhiyawan power on the Anatolian mainland" ("indeed, the only important Mycenaean centre outside mainland Greece, except perhaps Knossos" [Bryce 2010:50]) it was also "the base for the further spread of Ahhiyawan/Mycenaean influence on the [Anatolian] mainland" (Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011:121). Archaeological evidence points to other Mycenaean settlements in the region.[1022] Emporio on Chios appears to be one – though destroyed and abandoned

[1021] In addition to other works cited below, see generally Kelder 2004-2005 for a survey of Mycenaean finds in western Anatolia.

[1022] For a survey of sites in western Anatolia that have provided Mycenaean archaeological evidence, see Kelder 2004–2005 and Niemeier 2005 (especially pp. 14–16 for an overview), each with bibliography. What follows in the present work is mention of a subset of these.

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during LH (Late Helladic) IIIC.[1023] Evidence for Mycenaean settlement is also found at Ephesus (see just below) and on Samos; Colophon with its *tholos* tomb is possibly to be added to this list.[1024] LH IIIC pottery occurs at Clazomenae.[1025] In addition to Miletus, a Mycenaean presence in Caria is evidenced at Müsgebi (Halicarnassian peninsula) and Pilavtepe (inland);[1026] Mycenaean figurines have been recovered on the Carian coast northeast of Müsgebi at Iasus,[1027] and Vanschoonwinkel (2006:135) can describe a "Mycenaean habitation" at Iasus – that toponym that we encountered in our discussion of I-wa-so warriors at Pylos (see §9.5.5) and to which we shall return when we consider Argonautic tradition in Chapter Seventeen (see §17.4.1 and §17.4.4; see also §9.5.5) .[1028] The Mycenaean finds at Ephesus include a bronze double ax and ceramic ware dating as early as LH IIIA1 (ca. 1390 BC); especially intriguing are a krater (ca. LH IIIA2) bearing

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[1023] See Hood 1981:147–150; Vanschoonwinkel 2006:127–128.

[1024] See Vanschoonwinkel 2006:129. On the *tholos* tomb see, *inter alia*, Huxley 1965:39; Bridges 1974; Kelder 2004–2005:59.

[1025] See Kelder 2004–2005:58, with bibliography.

[1026] See Boysal 1967; Kelder 2004–2005:62–64, 77; Vanschoonwinkel 2006:129, 135; Benter 2009; Diler 2016:460–462; Unwin 2017:109–110.

[1027] See Benzi 1999.

[1028] On which see also Kelder 2004–2005:61–62 with bibliography.

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an Argonautic decoration,[1029] and the head of a Mycenaean figurine, along with pottery, found at the site of the temple of Artemis.[1030] Mycenaean materials seem to disappear ca. 1300 and the date accords with Hittite records of the conquest of Ephesus during the reign of Mursili II.

As at Miletus, both Submycenaean and Protogeometric pottery occur at Ephesus and Clazomenae,[1031] but continuity of settlement is difficult to assess given current archaeological data.[1032] New settlements show up at Kömüradasi, Melie, Pygela, Claros, Teos, and Phocaea in the Protogeometric period and these appear to reflect an influx of new settlers from Greece consistent with the literary traditions of an Ionian migration.[1033] Lemos (2002:182–183) notes that in reports of a late nineteenth century

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[1029] The find of the krater is reported by Mellink 1964:157–158. See also Mee 1978:127, who discusses other ceramic materials occurring with the krater.

[1030] See Bammer 1990:142, with bibliography, for the suggestion of a possible "Mycenaean cult centre" at the site; see also Bammer 1994:38; Kelder 2004–2005:58–59, 67–71, 78.

[1031] Much of it of local manufacture at (at least) Miletus and Ephesus, revealing the presence of Greek potters and painters at those sites (Niemeier 2005:20–21).

[1032] For the situation at Phocaea and Sardis, see Kelder 2004–2005:56–57, 60.

[1033] See Vanschoonwinkel 2006:128–130; see also Niemeier 2005:20–21.

survey of Asarlik (on the Halicarnassian peninsula), Paton[1034] records the find of chamber tombs and tholos tombs with Submycenaean, Protogeometric, and Geometric vases; and Paton describes "tumuli," which, Lemos proposes (p. 183), are to be identified as "small tholos tombs with a short dromos, similar to examples from Thessaly" (the Asarlik site was extensively plundered subsequent to Paton's survey).

11.2.1. Aeolian Smyrna

The case of Smyrna, lying beneath Mt. Sipylus, is an especially interesting one. Only a limited quantity of Mycenaean pottery has been discovered at the site. The locally produced monochrome ware, so-called Aeolic gray bucchero, appears earlier than Protogeometric finds (the earliest of these latter being ca. 1000 BC).[1035] Regarding the local gray ware, Cook's view has remained commonplace (1958–1959:10): "This may be considered the characteristic Aeolic ware of the Greek dark age,"[1036] though the Aeolic ware finds an antecedent form in local Bronze Age materials;[1037] Rose

[1034] Paton 1887 and Paton and Myres 1896:243–245 and 264–265.

[1035] Cook 1958–59:10; 1975:785.

[1036] See also, *inter alia*, Cook and Dupont 1998:135–136; Snodgrass 2000:90–91.

[1037] See, *inter alia*, Bayne 2000:266–267.

(2008:414)[1038] underlines this continuity of gray ware in remarks on Lesbos (principally eighth century BC, little evidence existing for the previous two centuries). The most abundant of the Protogeometric materials at Smyrna are Late Protogeometric (ca. later tenth century), at which stage the Protogeometric vessels and the local monochrome are reported to be found in roughly equal quantities. Desborough (1972:181–184) contends that the Late Protogeometric material, but not the earlier, shows signs of Attic influence,[1039] and that Protogeometric was *first* introduced into Smyrna from Thessaly. Lemos (2002:23 and 211) points out that some of the published Late Protogeometric pieces from Smyrna (see Akurgal 1983) parallel vases from Euboea, Thessaly, and Scyros.

In Greek historiographic tradition, Smyrna is identified as an Aeolian city at its foundation; however, in a coup, the city was taken over by exiles from the Ionian city of Colophon, to whom the Smyrnaeans had given refuge. This is the tradition that Herodotus preserves (1.149–150); he adds to this that all of the Aeolians came to the aid of the disenfranchised Smyrnaeans, but that an agreement was struck whereby the 'things' (*tà épipla* [τὰ ἔπιπλα]) of Aeolian inhabitants of Smyrna were returned to them.

[1038] Rose cites Spencer 1995:303–305, who emphasizes the scantiness of the remains. See also Rose 2014:52–53.

[1039] And see Cook 1958–59:10.

The Aeolian Smyrnaeans, Herodotus continues, were absorbed by the populations of the remaining eleven cities of the Aeolians – the eleven being here identified as Cyme, Lerisae (Larissa), Neon Teichos, Temnus, Cilla, Notium, Aegiroessa, Pitane, Aegaeae (the city discussed in §6.6.2.3 in conjunction with Thessalus), Myrina, and Grynea. Strabo (14.1.4) rehearses a tradition according to which Smyrna was first Ionian, then Aeolian, and then Ionian again.

Certainly what we can see lying behind these accounts is a collective memory of political space that was marked by ethnic accretion played out within a sphere of Hellenic cultural interaction. And it is a memory that is consistent with the tradition of an influx of Ionians into western coastal Anatolia early in the Iron Age – a *requisite event* for the appearing of an Attic-like dialect in that place – and the consequent creation of an Anatolian Aeolic-Ionic Sprachbund (on which see Nagy 2012). This collective memory is reflected in the ceramic record of Smyrna: it has long been suggested that the appearance of Protogeometric ware in Smyrna marks the arrival of Ionian influence and Ionian peoples,[1040] but (as alluded to above) cultural exchange with Thessaly and

[1040] As, for example, by Cook 1958-59:10: "The painted Protogeometric and Geometric pottery, though apparently – in the later stages at least – less uncommon in the Aeolic cities of the Hermus valley than in Lesbos, is therefore perhaps rather to be considered as reflecting Ionic culture . . . ." On the proposed correlation of a similar sort at Troy, see Hertel 2007:117–120, with references to earlier work.

neighboring locales is also implicated. The background of gray ware into which Protogeometric intrudes must be, as we have already witnessed to be claimed, a register of an earlier Aeolian presence.

But this is not material *introduced* by early Iron-Age Aeolian migrants. It must continue instead the ceramic material of an *Ur*-Aeolian community established in the Mycenaean period, one which lived in local social intercourse with indigenous Anatolian peoples of the region as revealed, for example, by the early Aeolian adoption of the Anatolian adjectival patronymic system and the other diffused Anatolian linguistic features discussed in Chapters Eight through Ten.[1041] It is worth noting that Bayne (2000:266–267) proposes, as the preferred of "two theories," that the (traditionally identified) Aeolian migration (see §11.3.1) occurred in the late Bronze Age as signaled by the presence of Mycenaean ceramic.[1042] Rose (2008:405n30) contests Bayne's position by noting that the Mycenaean materials to which Bayne refers are not

[1041] On Lesbian evidence of Greek-Anatolian interaction, see Spencer 1995:303–305.

[1042] The other possible theory being that "the Aeolic ware was developed in the Troadic area, and had spread to other parts of the North-Western province before the arrival of the Aeolians."

LH IIIB2, as Bayne proposes, but earlier – LH IIIA1-2.[1043] This earlier dating of the materials is, however, consistent with the presence of an ancestral Aeolian community in the Ahhiyawa period, and provides still further support for the position argued in the present work. Gray ware was a customary fabric of this Bronze-Age Aeolian-Anatolian community – a community that also lived in social intercourse with Mycenaean communities of the Balkans, as we have already seen (and will see again) the Linear B documents to reveal, and one that would continue to interact with an emerging post-Mycenaean (Balkan) Greece.

11.2.2. Early Iron-Age Considerations

With regard to such Early-Iron-Age contacts between Aeolian Anatolia and Balkan Greece, observations offered by Rose (2008:412) are highly pertinent. He writes of an Early Protogeometric cup at Troy (gray-ware imitation) that matches a Thessalian-Euboean type, "which also suggests contact between the two regions, as does the appearance of wheelmade gray wares in Protogeometric levels at Lefkandi that feature the same decorative schemes as those originating in Troy." He continues:

[1043] Rose cites on this point Mountjoy 1999:2:1156 and a personal communication; in the former source one reads of Lesbos: "Thermi on the east coast has a little LA IIIA1-IIIA2 pottery, but the ceramic assemblage was chiefly made up of Grey and Red Wares, which sometimes imitated Mycenaean shapes."

> . . . a survey of the painted vessels [among such sherds from Troy VIIb3] reveals that only one shape, the neck amphora is represented. It is more likely that the amphoras, which held wine or oil, were components of an exchange system that involved both sides of the Aegean. Mutual influence is likely, but there is no evidence for the movement of people from one region to another.

But in the Iron-Age Aegean the movement of commodities through such an exchange system does not occur without "the movement of people." Clearly there is socio-cultural exchange back and forth between the two sides of the Aegean. What Rose is proposing, I believe we must understand, is the claim that there are no *population transfers* between Aeolian Anatolia and Thessaly, Euboea etc. But we of course know that there were such transfers; it cannot be otherwise. Aeolic language ends up on each side of the Aegean, spoken in language communities that share an Aeolian self-awareness as expressed in a common mythology, which, as we saw in §6.6.5, Nagy has made plain. Among the important points that Nagy makes is this one (2012:163; the emphasis here is my own):

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Even if there was no real migration of Aeolians from west to east, starting in prehistoric times toward the end of the second millennium BCE, both sides in the historical times of the first millennium BCE accepted as true the myths that told about the Aeolian migration, and such a contractual acceptance of myth can be studied as a historical fact about the *ongoing process of maintaining cultural affinities.*

11.3. Aeolian Language Affinities

There is clearly maintenance of cultural affinities between speakers of European Aeolic and Asian Aeolic. The Early Iron-Age exchange system that Rose describes and the construct of cultural affinities that Nagy clarifies receive expression in Greek textual references to the categories *Aeolis*, *Aeolian*, and *Aeolic*. The cultural affinities characterizing these categories entail both language and myth. Both are structures that serve to maintain self-identity. Let us begin by focusing on the matter of language, some aspects of which are conveyed in *mûthoi.*

11.3.1. An Aeolian Migration

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Strabo, in discoursing on the ethnic affinities of the Greeks (8.1.2), writes (of European Greeks) that those who inhabit the areas north of the Isthmus of Corinth (with a few particular exceptions, notably the Athenians) are called *Aeolians*. The ethnic discriminations that Strabo here makes are framed in terms of *éthnos* (ἔθνος) 'tribe' and *diálektos* (διάλεκτος) 'dialect' equivalencies (cf. 14.5.26). Later, in his description of the peoples of Asia, Strabo writes (12.1.3) that western coastal Asia Minor is inhabited by Greeks – Aeolians and Ionians (as well as by Carians, Lycians, and Lydians; cf. 12.3.27; 12.4.6; 14.2.14). The two Aeolian locales, European and Asian, are bridged by a colonization tradition that Strabo sets out in book 13. Strabo has already told his readers (9.2.3) that an Aeolian expedition had set out from the vicinity of Aulis in Boeotia (on the Boeotian composition of the expedition see 9.2.5) and that it was led by the sons of Orestes (and so Strabo diverges from Pindar's tradition about Orestes himself coming to Tenedos which we will encounter in §11.4.1 below). Strabo now describes the temporal and geographic unfolding of the Aeolian colonizing migration to Asia (13.1.3):[1044]

[1044] For an epitome of what Strabo has to say regarding Aeolian colonization of western coastal Asia Minor, see Nagy 2011:164.

Τέτταρσι γὰρ δὴ γενεαῖς πρεσβυτέραν φασὶ τὴν Αἰολικὴν ἀποικίαν τῆς Ἰωνικῆς, διατριβὰς δὲ λαβεῖν καὶ χρόνους μακροτέρους. Ὀρέστην μὲν γὰρ ἄρξαι τοῦ στόλου, τούτου δ' ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ τελευτήσαντος τὸν βίον, διαδέξασθαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Πενθίλον, καὶ προελθεῖν μέχρι Θρᾴκης ἑξήκοντα ἔτεσι τῶν Τρωικῶν ὕστερον, ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν εἰς Πελοπόννησον κάθοδον· εἶτ' Ἀρχέλαον υἱὸν ἐκείνου περαιῶσαι τὸν Αἰολικὸν στόλον εἰς τὴν νῦν Κυζικηνὴν τὴν περὶ τὸ Δασκύλιον· Γρᾶν δέ τὸν υἱὸν τούτου τὸν νεώτατον, προελθόντα μέχρι τοῦ Γρανίκου ποταμοῦ καὶ παρεσκευασμένον ἄμεινον περαιῶσαι τὸ πλέον τῆς στρατιᾶς εἰς Λέσβον καὶ κατασχεῖν αὐτήν· Κλεύνη δέ τὸν Δώρου καὶ Μαλαόν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπογόνους ὄντας Ἀγαμέμνονος, συναγαγεῖν μὲν τὴν στρατιὰν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καθ' ὃν καὶ Πενθίλος· ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν τοῦ Πενθίλου στόλον φθῆναι περαιωθέντα ἐκ τῆς Θρᾴκης εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, τούτους δὲ περὶ τὴν Λοκρίδα καὶ Φρίκιον ὄρος διατρῖψαι πολὺν χρόνον, ὕστερον δὲ διαβάντας κτίσαι τὴν Κύμην τὴν Φρικωνίδα κληθεῖσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Λοκρικοῦ ὄρους.

Indeed, they say that the Aeolian colonization was older than that of the Ionians[1045] by four generations, but that it encountered delays and took longer.

[1045] For Strabo's remarks on Ionian colonization of western coastal Asia Minor, see 14.1.1–3.

Orestes led off the expedition, they say, but when his life came to an end in Arcadia,[1046] his son Penthilus succeeded him; he then advanced as far as Thrace, sixty years after the Trojan war – around the time of the return of the Heraclidae to the Peloponnesus. They say that his son Archelaus then led the Aeolian expedition across to what is now the Cyzicene district, close to Dascylium. And they say that Gras, the youngest son of Archelaus, proceeded on as far as the River Granicus and, when better prepared, led the large part of his warrior horde on across to Lesbos and seized it. And they say that Cleues, the son of Dorus, and Malaus, both being descended from Agamemnon, gathered their warrior horde at the same time that Penthilus had, but that, while the expedition of Penthilus went ahead and crossed over from Thrace into Asia, Cleues and Malaus remained a long time around Locris and Mt. Phricius. Later they passed across and founded Phriconian Cyme – so named after the Locrian mountain.

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[1046] The consequence of a snakebite: see *Scholia in Lycophronem* (scholia vetera et recentiora partim Isaac et Joannis Tzetzae [= Scheer 1958]) 1374.

Pausanias (3.2.1) offers elements of a similar but different account, reporting that Lacedaemonians, led by Gras, took part in the colonizing of Aeolis, after Penthilus himself had seized Lesbos in an earlier time.[1047]

11.3.2. Observation and Conceptualization of Aeolic Language

Strabo's mythic construct of Aeolian ethnic unity is clearly undergirt by ancient Greek linguistic observation and conceptualization. The case is presented succinctly, for example, by a scholiast on grammatical treatises ascribed to Dionysius Thrax and Heliodorus (*Scholia Londinensia*4s63 [= Hilgard 1901]). The scholiast references the sons of the mythic Greek progenitor Hellen (as typically so) as the starting point of a discussion of the varieties of Greek *glôssai* (γλῶσσαι) 'tongues, speech' (which term, we are told, corresponds to *diálektoi* [διάλεκτοι] 'talk; local speech [i.e. 'dialect']'). These ethno-linguistic eponymous figures are Aeolus, Dorus, and Xuthus, the last-named fulfilling this role through his two sons, Ion and Achaeus. Here we are told succinctly that Aeolus (son of Hellen), when he had moved into Thessaly, made all there to be called *Aeolians*; and that his daughter gave birth to Boeotus, after whom the Boeotians are named (a *mûthos* which we shall consider in some detail in §11.5 and following); and

[1047] On which see Nagy 2011:164; see also pages 173–173 and Nagy 2010:141–146.

that in addition the Lesbians are Aeolians because Orestes the son of Agamemnon (understand leading an Aeolian warrior horde) colonized their country. Compare the *Scholia Marciana* (303) on Dionysius Thrax:[1048] καὶ Αἰολὶς μία, ὑφ' ἥν εἰσι γλῶσσαι πολλαί, Βοιωτῶν καὶ Λεσβίων καὶ ἄλλων 'and Aeolic is a single rubric, beneath which are many tongues – Boeotian, Lesbian, and others'. Consider in this regard a remark offered by Athenaeus (crediting Heraclides of Pontus) concerning the *harmoníai* (ἁρμονίαι), the musical modes of Greek linguistic production (*Deipnosophistae* 14.624c–d): there are three such modes, τρία γὰρ καὶ γενέσθαι Ἑλλήνων γένη, Δωριεῖς, Αἰολεῖς, Ἴωνας 'for [Heraclides says] there are equally three races of Greeks: Dorians, Aeolians, and Ionians'. Prior to discussing the Aeolian mode, Athenaeus invokes the constancy of the Aeolian 'way of living' (τοῦ βίου ἡ ἀγωγή) and does so by making explicit reference to the Thessalians: οὗτοι γάρ εἰσον <οἱ> τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ γένους Αἰολεῦσιν μεταδόντες 'for these are they who have endowed for the Aeolians the beginning of their race'.

On perceived linguistic implications of the ethnic scheme, consider the following case. Citing as sources lexicographic work by Cleitarchus of Aegina (first century BC) and Philitas of Cos (fourth century BC), Athenaeus (*Deipnosophistae* 11.495e)

[1048] *Scholia Marciana* (*partim excerpta ex Heliodoro, Tryphone, Diomede, Stephano, Georgio Choerobosco, Gregorio Corinthio* [= Hilgard 1901]).

writes that the Thessalians and Aeolians (understand Asian Aeolic speakers) use the word *pellētḗr* (πελλητήρ) to denote a 'milk-pail' (*amolgeús* [ἀμολγεύς]) and *pélla* (πέλλα) to denote a 'drinking-cup' (*potḗrion* [ποτήριον]), but that the Boeotians use *pélla* to name the 'wine-cup' (*kúlix* [κύλιξ]). Here the Aeolic (Boeotian, Lesbian, Thessalian) senses of *pélla* are being set against its single occurrence in Homeric epic (*Iliad* 16.642), where the meaning is 'milk-pail', and underscore Aeolic semantic unity (a *potḗrion* can be used for drinking wine) vis-à-vis epic usage, in the face of a dialect-internal semantic divergence.[1049]

11.4. Aeolian Mythic Affinities

In the remainder of this chapter we will focus our attention more fully on Aeolian *mûthoi*, especially foundation traditions. We begin with one of the earliest attested – though not *the* earliest, consideration of which must wait until late in the chapter.

11.4.1. Pindar and Nemean Odes 11

[1049] On the Athenaeus passage and the lexical analyses of Philitas of Cos, see Bing 2003:335–336. On the Homeric simile in which πέλλα occurs, in which spilt blood is being likened to milk, see Janko 1994:393.

In his eleventh *Nemean Ode*,[1050] dedicated to Aristagoras from Tenedos, that Asian Aeolic-speaking island lying north of Lesbos and opposite the Troad, the Boeotian poet Pindar writes of the forebears of the celebrated Aristagoras and their arrival in Aeolian Tenedos (lines 33–37). Pindar names two: (i) a Spartan Pisander who came to Tenedos with Orestes (the son of Argive Agamemnon) from the Laconian town of Amyclae, 'leading here [to Tenedos] a bronze-armed host of Aeolians' (Αἰολέων στρατιὰν χαλκεντέα δεῦρ' ἀνάγων); and (ii) Melanippus (Aristagoras' maternal ancestor), lauded warrior of Boeotian Thebes, who would be killed, decapitated, and cranially cannibalized in defending the city against the Argive host.[1051] Schachter (2016:131–132) suggests that the linking of Aristagoras to Pisander and Melanippus perhaps follows from vestigial relationships of *proxenia*. "But in any event," he continues, "there seems to have been a faction within the local elite of Tenedos that had friendly feelings towards the Thebans well into the fourth century BC, and which, moreover, did not hesitate to show them." Boeotian Pindar's encomium would seem to reveal, in fact, "friendly feelings" between Aeolians more generally; and whether or not

[1050] On the poem and the lines here considered, see, *inter alia*, Lefkowitz 1979:54; Henry 2005:130–131; and Nagy 2010:184n102.

[1051] On Melanippus in Theban epic tradition see Davies 2014:81–82.

proxenia is involved, as it may well be, a mutually-held conception of relatedness between Balkan and Anatolian Aeolians is surely here on display.

In his own origin traditions, the Aeolian hero Melanippus is reciprocally linked with the eastern Mediterranean through his identification as son of Astacus (as by Aeschylus, *Seven Against Thebes* 407–414), who is descendant of the warriors (or is himself one of those warriors) sprung from the dragon's teeth that Asian Cadmus planted in Boeotia (the Spartoi).[1052] This *Astacus* is linked eponymously to the Bithynian (northwest Anatolian) polis by that name; and a scholiast on *Iliad* 6.397 preserves the tradition that two of the sons of Boeotian Astacus – Erithelas and Lebes – founded Hypoplacian Thebes,[1053] a city of the Troad that was looted by Achilles – the woman Chryseis (daughter of Apollo's priest Chryses) being among the spoils (*Iliad* 1.365–369).[1054] To Dicaearchus (fr. 53,1 Wehrli 1967; fourth century BC) is attributed the

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[1052] On local traditions regarding the relationships between Astacus, Cadmus, and the Spartoi, see Asheri 1978.

[1053] *Scholia in Iliadem* (*scholia vetera* [= Erbse 1969–1988]) 397a–397b.

[1054] Achilles slew Eëtion, the king of Hypoplacian Thebes and father of Hector's wife, Hecabe. The epic poet refers to Eëtion as the 'being lord of the Cilician fighting men' (Κιλίκεσσ' ἄνδρεσσιν ἀνάσσων). The ethnic *Kḗlikes* (Κήλικες) must here denote some people other than the people of southern Anatolia best known by the name *Cilician* (see, *inter alia*, the remarks of Kirk 1990:211).

report that a certain contingent of the host that accompanied Cadmus had settled in Hypoplacian Thebes. Stephanus Byzantius (*Ethnica* 16.248) identifies the polis of Pronectus (*Prónektos* [Πρόνεκτος]) in Bithynia, 'near Drepane' (πλησίον τῆς Δρεπάνης) as one that "Phoenicians" settled: Crusius (1893) and those investigators have followed him[1055] are likely correct in seeing in "Phoenicians" here a reference to figures (such as, conspicuously, Astacus) affiliated with Cadmus in his role as founder of Thebes (in effect, proto-Cadmeans).

It is worth noting that in his description of Boeotia, Pausanias writes of seeing the tomb of this Aeolian warrior Melanippus, son of Astacus (and Boeotian ancestor of the Asian-Aeolic-speaking Aristagoras), on the road from Thebes to Chalcis (9.18.1). Some lines later, in describing the town of Tanagra and its sacred precinct, Pausanias tells of Corinna, the Boeotian poet of Tanagra, and her victory over Pindar in a poetic contest in Thebes: the cause of her victory (in part) – she performed her song not in a Doric dialect, as Pindar had done, but in one that the Aeolians were able 'to understand'

[1055] See Asheri 1978:95–96n16 for bibliography.

(*suníēmi* [συνίημι]; 9.22.3).[1056] Linguistic differences are clearly being heightened for the sake of emphasizing ethnic (Aeolian) self-identity.

11.4.2. Thucydides and Trans-Aegean Aeolian Cultural Affinities

For mutual Aeolian awareness – Anatolian and Balkan – compare remarks by Thucydides. In enumerating belligerents in the war between Syracuse and Athens (7.57.5), the historian writes of Lesbian contingents from Methymna (on Lesbos), Tenedos, and Aenus (Lesbian colony in Thrace): οὗτοι δὲ Αἰολῆς Αἰολεῦσι τοῖς κτίσασι Βοιωτοῖς τοῖς μετὰ Συρακοσίων κατ' ἀνάγκην ἐμάχοντο 'and these Aeolians were having to fight against Aeolians – the Boeotians, their founders – who'd sided with the Syracusans'. At 3.2.3, Thucydides identifies the people of the Lesbian city of Mytilene as *xungenés* (ξυγγενές) 'ethnic/colonial kin'[1057] of the Boeotians (cf. 8.5.2). A scholiast on the passage writes that Boeotians are *sungenés* (συγγενές) of Lesbians *katà tò Aiolikón* (κατὰ τὸ Αἰολικόν) 'on the basis of *Aeolic-ness*'.[1058]

[1056] On the poetry and date of Corinna, see, *inter alia*, West 1970 and 1990a; Davies 1998; Berman 2010:42–44, 53, 58–61 and 2015:66; Vergados 2012:112–114.

[1057] On Thucydides' use of *ksungenḗs* (ξυγγενής) and *ksungéneia* (ξυγγένεια) to denote ethnic relatedness, see Fragoulaki 2013:32–35, with references to earlier work.

[1058] *Scholia in Thucydidem* (*scholia vetera et recentiora* [= Hude 1927]) 3.2.3.

11.5. The Mûthos of Boeotian Origins

Concerning the ancestry of the Boeotians themselves, Diodorus Siculus (4.67.2) records this tradition: Βοιωτὸς ὁ Ἄρνης καὶ Ποσειδῶνος καταντήσας εἰς τὴν τότε μὲν Αἰολίδα, νῦν δὲ Θετταλίαν καλουμένην, τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ Βοιωτοὺς ὠνόμασε 'Boeotus, the son of Arne and Poseidon,[1059] came into the place that was then called *Aeolis*, but now *Thessaly*, and gave the name *Boeotians* to those who were with him'. In the *Bibliotheca* (1.51) Pseudo-Apollodorus writes that Aeolus (the son of Hellen) reigned over the locales around Thessaly and named the inhabitants of those places *Aeolians*.[1060] Pausanias (10.8.4) writes this of the Boeotians: in *tà arkhaiótera* (τὰ ἀρχαιότερα) 'the most ancient times' they lived in Thessaly and Αἰολεῖς τηνικαῦτα ἐκαλοῦντο 'they were then being called *Aeolians*'. As we saw in §6.6.2.1, part of our discussion of Thessalus and his descendants, Thucydides (1.12.3) reports that a Thessalian incursion pushed the

[1059] Compare Hellanicus of Lesbos fr. 51 (FGrH); Euphorion fr. 96 (Powell 1970); Asclepiades Tragilensis fr. 26 (FHG); Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam* (= Stallbaum 1970) 1.362. On Boeotus as son of Arne and Poseidon see also Corinna fr. 6 (Page); and see too the discussion of Larson 2007:18–20, with bibliography.

[1060] Diodorus Siculus (4.67.3) writes that Mimas, the son of Aeolus (son of Hellen), remained in Aeolis as king, while the other sons of Aeolus settled elsewhere.

bulk of Boeotians from the place called Arne into historical Boeotia, which had been earlier called Cadmeïs, dating the event sixty years after the Trojan war.

11.5.1. Arne/Melanippe, Boeotus, and Aeolus

After offering the above account, Diodorus then appends genealogical background to this report; beginning with the Flood-surviving Deucalion, he identifies the following lineage for Boeotus and his brother Aeolus (4.67.3–4), in which we find three individuals identified by the name of *Aeolus*:[1061]

(1) *The Genealogy of Boeotus and His Brother Aeolus in the account of Diodorus Siculus*

[1061] The most straightforward reading of Diodorus' genealogy is one in which, as marked here, there are three different figures named *Aeolus*. The triplication of figures named *Aeolus* that Diodorus presents is attested elsewhere, as in a fragment of the fourth-century BC mythographer Asclepiades Tragilensis (fr. 26 FHG) and by Eustathius, *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam* (= Stallbaum 1970) 1.362, as well as in a scholion on the passage – *Scholia in Odysseam* [*scholia vetera* (= Dindorf 1962)] 10.2. With Diodorus' Aeolus (#2), son of Hippotes, compare *Odyssey* 10.2 and 36: Aeolus who is keeper of the winds is here named *Aeolus son of Hippotas* (Αἴολος Ἱπποτάδης); see also, *inter alia*, Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* 4.819–820; Dionysius Alexandrinus *Orbis descriptio* 461–463; Quintus Smyrnaeus *Posthomerica* 14.476.

Deucalion

↓

Hellen

↓

Aeolus (#1)

↓

Mimas

↓

Hippotes = Melanippe

↓

Aeolus (#2)

↓

Poseidon = Arne

↓

Boeotus and *Aeolus (#3)*

Diodorus relates (4.67.3–7) how the pregnant Arne, in Thessaly, had been given to a man from Metapontium (or Metapontum – in the south of Italy), a *proxenos* of her father Aeolus (#2), who carried her back to Metapontium. There Arne gave birth to two sons, Boeotus and his twin brother Aeolus (#3). When grown, the brothers became embroiled in conflict with this man (their foster father) and sailed away from Metapontium with their mother and a host of followers: Aeolus (#3) took possession of

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the Aeolian islands in the Tyrrhenian Sea (islands that are named for this Aeolus, writes Strabo), founding the city of Lipara;[1062] while his brother Boeotus journeyed on to Aeolis, his ancestral homeland, where he was adopted by his grandfather Aeolus (#2) and became king of Aeolis after him. Boeotus named the land Arne after his mother and called its inhabitants Boeotians (4.67.6–7).

Further along in his *Bibliotheca historica* (19.53.6), Diodorus Siculus identifies the parents of Boeotus (and ergo of Aeolus (#3)) as Poseidon and Melanippe (rather than Poseidon and Arne).[1063] At 4.67.3, as we have just seen, Diodorus had made Melanippe the mother of that Aeolus who is the father of Arne (i.e. Aeolus (#2), and so Melanippe is there grandmother of Arne). Melanippe was the subject of two plays by Euripides, *Melanippe the Wise* and *Melanippe the Captive*, both of which survive only in fragments. In Euripides' tragedies Melanippe is daughter of Hellen's son Aeolus (i.e. Aeolus (#1) in Diodorus genealogy of (1) above) after whom, writes Euripides, the region of Aeolis is named (*Melanippe the Wise* fr. 481.3–4): . . . χθών, ὅσην Πηνειὸς Ἀσωποῦ θ' ὕδωρ | ὑγροῖς

[1062] For additional treatment of the Aeolian islands see Diodorus Siculus 5.7.1–7. Here he identifies the local king Liparus as eponym of Lipara and Aeolus as the son of Hippotes (hence, Aeolus (#2) in the genealogy of (1) above).

[1063] On Melanippe as the mother of Boeotus and Aeolus, see also, *inter alia*, *Anthologia Graeca* 3.16; *Scholia in Euripidem* (= Schwartz 1966) *Phoenician Women* 1134; Hyginus *Fabulae* 186 and 252.

ὁρίζων ἐντὸς ἀγκῶσι στέγει 'whatever land the waters of Peneus and Asopus cradle within their delimiting aqueous arms' – the Peneus and Asopus being the rivers on the northern edge of Thessaly and the southern edge of Boeotia, respectively. The mother of this 'Black-Horse Woman', as the name *Melanippe* (*Melanípp*ē [Μελανίππη]) signifies, is said to be the hippomorphic prophetess Hippo ('Horse') of Mt. Parnassus (*Melanippe Sophe* fr. 481.13–22), or, alternatively, Hippe,[1064] herself the daughter of the Centaur Chiron. In Euripides' tragic treatment of the *mûthos* (see below, §11.5.2.2) Melanippe is again mother of twin sons by Poseidon; fr. 489, if belonging to the Melanippe tragedies, names Boeotus as one of the twins.

For Pausanias (9.1.1), Boeotus is the son of Melanippe by a man named Itonus, son of Amphictyon. The report that Amphictyon was father of Itonus is attributed already to the *Thebaica* of Armenidas (*fr*. 1; fifth century BC), who adds that Itonus – father of the eponymous ancestor of the Boeotians for Pausanias – was born in Thessaly and that the Thessalian city of Iton takes its name from him,[1065] as does the cult of

[1064] As in Pseudo-Eratosthenes *Catasterismi* 1.18 and Gregory of Corinth *Commentarium in Hermogenis librum* περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος 7,2.1313. Compare the genealogy of Diodorus Siculus 4.67.3–4 schematized above, in which Melanippe is the wife of one *Hippotes* (Ἱππότης) 'Horseman'.

[1065] On the Thessalian city see Graninger 2011:55–56.

Athena Itonia.[1066] In his description of the environs of the Boeotian city of Coronea, Pausanias (9.34.1) makes note of the location of a sanctuary of Athena Itonia (on the southwestern shore of Lake Copais), identifying it as the site of the Pamboeotia (the Pan-Boeotian assembly).[1067] Strabo (9.2.29) reports that the Boeotians introduced the Thessalian cult of Athena Itonia into Boeotia, in the process of "repatriating" (*epáneimi* [ἐπάνειμι]) that region: ἐπανιόντες ἐκ τῆς Θετταλικῆς Ἄρνης οἱ Βοιωτοὶ μετὰ τὰ Τρωικά 'the Boeotians returning from Thessalian Arne after the Trojan War'; recall that Thucydides (1.12.3) asserts that some Boeotians were living in Boeotia prior to the Trojan War (see §6.6.2.1, also §6.6.2.2). The archaic Lesbian poet Alcaeus composed a poem (fr. 325 L-P) celebrating the Boeotian cult of Athena Itonia at Coronea:

> Ἄνασσ' Ἀθανάα πολεμάδοκε
>
> ἄ ποι Κορωνήας μεδ[
>
> ναύω πάροιθεν ἀμφι[. . . . .]
>
> Κωραλίω ποτάμω πὰρ ὄχθαις

[1066] On Armenidas and this fragment, see Fowler 2013:64 (with n. 245), 67–68, 190–191, 639–640.

[1067] On the Boeotian cult of Athena Itonia see Schachter 1981:117–127 and Kowalzig 2007:360–364, with bibliography of earlier work.

> *Anassa* Athena, war-sustaining one
>
> who, I suppose, ruling over (?) Coronea [
>
> before the temple around (?) [
>
> by the banks of the river Coralius

Athena Itonia may have had multiple cult sites in Thessaly, the most notable being that at Philia,[1068] "the earliest archaeologically attested cult place in Thessaly after the Bronze Age, and one of the earliest in the wider Greek world" (Mili 2015:228). Pausanias (10.1.10) writes that the name of the warrior deity, *Athena Itonia*, was the *súnthēma* (σύνθημα) 'signal-word' used by Thessalians in combat. Kowalzig (2007:362) aptly observes:

> This Athena is an exemplary goddess of the Thessalo-Boiotian migratory traditions: she derives her epithet from the city of Iton in central Thessaly, and Strabo tells us that the Boiotians set her up at Kopaïs on their way from Thessaly into Boiotia; they also named the nearby river after a Thessalian one.

[1068] On Athena Itonia and her several Thessalian sanctuaries see Graninger 2011, especially pp. 46–61. See also Mili 2015:225–235, who contests Graninger's claims regarding certain of these Thessalian sanctuaries.

> Athena Itonia was a warrior goddess for the Thessalians as much as for the Boiotians, and her journey from Thessaly into Boiotia was one of conquest.

Diodorus Siculus (4.67.7) also incorporates one named Itonus into his account of Boeotus (son of Arne and Poseidon), but makes Itonus one of the sons of Boeotus, identifying this Itonus as himself grandfather of the leaders of the Boeotian contingent specified in Homer's Catalogue of Ships: Peneleos, Leïtus, Arcesilaus, Prothoënor, and Clonius (see *Iliad* 2.494–495). The cult of Athena Itonia clearly serves as an expression of *Balkan Aeolian* identity and self-identity, one with which, in light of Alcaeus' lyric fragment, one may plausibly posit, *Asian Aeolian* self-identity has been aligned. This is fully consistent with the trans-Aegean Aeolian self-identity that we encountered in Chapter Six in regard to cult honors accorded to Thessalus in Anatolian Aeolis (see §6.6.2.3).

11.5.2. Melanippe and Metapontus/Metabus

The geographer Strabo, in treating the south Italian town of Metapontium (or Metapontum; 6.1.15), makes brief reference to Melanippe and her son Boeotus, offering

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two alternative traditions regarding the identity of the man who was recipient of this outcast Aeolian woman. Let us consider these alternatives one at a time.

According to Strabo's first account, the man to whom Melanippe was given was that hero called Metapontus or Metabus, who is identified as the ultimate eponym of Metapontium as early as the work of Hecataeus of Miletus (sixth/fifth century BC; fr. 84 FGrH). For Stephanus Byzantius (*Ethnica* 10.138, 12.168) and Eustathius (*Commentarium in Dionysii periegetae orbis descriptionem* 368), the form *Métabos* (Μέταβος) is a barbarian corruption of *Metápontos* (Μετάποντος), name of a son of Sisyphus, whom the former refers to as "Sisyphus the Aeolian."[1069] Sisyphus is routinely identified as the son of Aeolus, the son of Hellen: thus we find *Sísuphos Aiolídēs* (Σίσυφος Αἰολίδης) already at *Iliad* 6.154, phrase used by the Lycian warrior Glaucus as he rehearses the pedigree of his ancestor Bellerophon. Similarly the Lesbian poet Alcaeus fr. 38A (L-P), where Sisyphus son of Aeolus shares space with a mention of one Melanippus, written into the

[1069] See also Aelius Herodianus *De prosodia catholica* 3,1.139, 296, 368. On Metapontus as eponym of Metapontium see also *Etymologicum magnum* p. 587; *Scholia in Clementem Alexandrinum* (*Scholia in protrepticum et paedagogum* [= Stählin and Treu 1972]) 315.

poem as a drinking companion whom Alcaeus is addressing.[1070] By this genealogy Metapontus/Metabus is thus himself an Aeolid.

11.5.2.1. Hyginus Fabulae 186. Hyginus (*Fabulae* 186) preserves the tradition that Metapontus acquired Boeotus and Aeolus as sons consequent to the bareness of his own wife, Theano (on the name see below). According to this tradition, a certain Desmontes, who is here reasonably understood to be father of Melanippe, discovered that unmarried Melanippe had given birth; he then blinded her and locked her away and exposed her twin sons in the wilderness, but they were nursed by a cow and so kept alive until found by herders. Threatened with banishment because of her bareness, Metapontus' wife Theano turned to herders for assistance; these sent to her the rescued twin infants of Melanippe, whom she presented to her husband Metapontus as being his own offspring. Subsequently Theano herself conceived and birthed two sons. Metapontus came to favor Boeotus and Aeolus over the sons of Theano, with the result that she plotted to destroy Melanippe's sons while Metapontus

[1070] See also, *inter alia*, Theognis 702; Pindar *Isthmian* fr. 5.1.; Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 1.51, 85; Hyginus *Fabulae* 60–61.

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was away from home – on an occasion when he had gone to the sanctuary of Artemis of Metapontium (*ad Dianam Metapontinam*) for making sacrifice.

Hyginus' envisioned Artemision of Metapontium presumably references that local cult of Artemis that figures centrally in Bacchylides *Odes* 11. Bacchylides situates the goddess' cult center at a grove on the river Casas (the modern Fiume Basento, flowing west of Metapontium), a site now generally identified with the archaic Artemision located at San Biagio, where water flowing from neighboring springs was conducted into the sanctuary.[1071] Here votive images of Artemis clearly present the goddess as a Potnia Theron.[1072] Bacchylides seeks to link this Metapontine cult to the cult of Artemis at Lousoi in Arcadia (/Achaea),[1073] that proclaimed to have been founded in conjunction with the recovery of the Proetides from the madness that Hera (or Dionysus) had inflicted on them.[1074] One is reminded of the Linear B reference to *ro-u-*

[1071] On which see, *inter alia*, Olbrich 1976; Carter 1994:181; Cairns 2005:37, 47; Fischer-Hansen 2009:240–242.

[1072] See the remarks of Budin 2016:55, with note 6, and Carter 2018:1521–1525.

[1073] On which see, *inter alia*, Seaford 1988; Cairns 2005; Calame 2011:132–134, each with bibliography of earlier work. On the "floating of Lousoi" between Achaea and Arcadia, see Kowalzig 2007:306–308.

[1074] On the *mûthos* of the Proetides and its various attested forms see Dowden 1989:71–95; Gantz 1993:187–188, 312–313; Calame 2001:116–120; Fowler 2013:169–178.

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si-jo, a-ko-ro 'field of Lousos', on Pylos tablet Ua 1413, which we encountered in §1.2.3.4 (in our discussion of *phoreno-* [φορενο-]) with regard to ritual offerings made in conjunction with childbearing (a tablet that we met again briefly in §5.3 [and §5.4.1] in our treatment of the triple animal sacrifice). This *Lousos* (*ro-u-so*) is one of the towns of the so-called Hither Province of Pylos.[1075] The locale is no stranger to the Pylos documents: the brief Pylos tablet Fr 1226 specifies in a single line of text a consignment of scented olive oil made *ro-u-si-jo, a-ko-ro* to the 'field of Lousos' *te-o-i* 'for the (two) gods'. Hiller's (2011:196) oblique suggestion that the dual/plural specifier of Fr 1226 entails a Potnia is a tantalizing one in light of the artifacts from San Biagio (and cf. Fr 1225, specifying a Potnia of *u-po*, on which see the discussions of Chapter Two, especially, for this tablet, §2.2.2).

Returning to the *mûthos* rehearsed by Hyginus – with Metapontus' departure Theano put her plan into action. She instructed her sons to slay Aeolus and Boeotus 'with knives' (*cultris*) as they were hunting in the mountains; but aided by their father Poseidon, Aeolus and Boeotus slew the sons of Theano, who then took her own life (with a knife) when she learned of the death of her sons. Aeolus and Boeotus

[1075] For general discussion of the place with bibliography see Aura Jorro 1999:263–264; Bennet 2011:142–144. Ventris and Chadwick initially identified the Mycenaean site with the Arcadian (see 1973:159) but later rejected the equation (1973:418).

subsequently took refuge with those shepherds who had cared for them as babes; and Poseidon revealed to the brothers the truth of their origin and the identity of their mother (i.e. Melanippe), whom they then rescued (after killing their grandfather Desmontes) and whose sight Poseidon restored. Aeolus and Boeotus then took their mother Melanippe to Metapontus, who married her and legally adopted (*adoptāre*) the two of them.

11.5.2.2. Euripides' Twin Melanippe Tragedies. The *mûthos* summarized by Hyginus is essentially that to which Euripides gives poetic expression in his two fragmentary Melanippe tragedies,[1076] though the tradition may find varying realization between those two plays. In the hypothesis to *Melanippe the Wise* (Μελανίππη ἡ Σοφή), revealing a mise-en-scène of Thessaly, Melanippe is said to be daughter of Hippe and Aeolus – that one who is son of Hellen (see also fr. 481). In Aeolus' absence the maiden Melanippe was impregnated by Poseidon and gave birth to twin sons; these she hid among the cattle in Aeolus' *boústasis* (βούστασις) 'ox-stall'; and there they were 'guarded by the bull' (φυλλαττόμενα μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ταύρου) and nursed by one of the cows until discovered by herders, who delivered the babes to Aeolus. Hellen urged his

[1076] The edition cited here is that of Collard and Cropp 2008.

son Aeolus to burn the infants – seemingly monsters birthed by cattle.[1077] But Melanippe argued rationally and persuasively that the children must have been born from a *parthénos* (παρθένος) 'young woman' and should be spared (test. iia). As mentioned earlier (see §11.5.1), Boeotus is named in fr. 489, and the name *Boeotus* is here linked etymologically to *boûs* (βοῦς) the Greek word for 'ox', 'bull', 'cow': . . . τὸν δ' ἁμφὶ βοῦς ῥιφθέντα Βοιωτὸν καλεῖν '. . . to call the other *Boeotus*, having been cast out around the cattle'; presumably the name *Aeolus*, and an etymological accounting of it as well, preceded this clause. The etymological association of *boûs* and *Boiōtós* (Βοιωτός)/*Boiōtía* (Βοιωτία) is one well attested.[1078] It is intriguing that in the Mycenaean documents *Aeolus* (*Aíolos* [Αἴολος]), spelled *a_3-wo-ro* (*Aiwolos*), is only used to name an ox, or oxen, (Knossos tablets Ch 896, Ch 898 + 7912 + 8069, Ch 5938);[1079] though the signification may be merely that of the common noun *aiólos* (αἰόλος) 'nimble; glittering, speckled', and some Mycenaean ox names are clearly of this descriptive

[1077] See also fragments 103–105 of the *Melanippa* by Ennius (edition of Goldberg and Manuwald 2018).

[1078] As explicitly in, *inter alia*, Hellanicus fr. 51 (FGrH); Euphorion fr. 96 (Powell 1970); Orion *Etymologicum* B 31; *Etymologicum genuinum* B 169, 276–277; Eustathius *Commentarium in Dionysii periegetae orbis descriptionem* (= Müller 1965, vol. 2) 426.

[1079] The initial a_3 symbol is restored on the last of these. See also the fragmentary Kn Ch 5754 + 5975 + 6009 + fr.: *] wi-du-ru-ta / a_3-wo-ro[*

sort.[1080] But consider the form *a₃-wa*, which appears to name an ox on Knossos tablet C 973, with which the name *Aías* (Αἴας) 'Ajax' has been compared.[1081]

The geographic setting of Euripides' *Melanippe the Captive* (Μελανίππη ἡ Δεσμῶτις) must be in the south of Italy:[1082] a testimonium (test. iib) mentions *Siris* (i.e. *Sîris* [Σῖρις]) as the name of a woman who figures in the play, she who is eponym of the place called *Siris* (a toponym of Magna Graecia). Stephanus Byzantius (*Ethnica* 12.168) and Eustathius[1083] write that the Italian polis *Metapontium* had been earlier named *Siris*; and a scholion on Dionysius Periegetes[1084] reports that *Siris* was the name of the wife of Metapontus (with no mention of the name *Theano*), whom Arne's sons Boeotus and Aeolus would kill. In Euripides' tragedy it is the *uncles* of the twin sons ('O brothers of

[1080] For succinct discussion of names of oxen in the Linear B records see Lewis and Llewellyn-Jones 2018:47–48, with bibliography.

[1081] See, for example, the remarks of Ventris and Chadwick 1973:537; García Ramón 2011:229.

[1082] For Stewart (2017:147), who echoes Webster 1967:156 and Nafissi 1997:342–343, it is Euripides who is responsible for placing the action of *Melanippe the Captive* in Magna Graecia: "In doing so, he seems to have created the eponymous heroes Metapontus and Siris, who give their names to the southern Italian cities of Metapontum and Siris respectively. This was a radical step."

[1083] *Commentarium in Dionysii periegetae orbis descriptionem* (= Müller 1965, vol. 2) 368.

[1084] *Scholia in Dionysii periegetae orbis descriptionem* (*scholia vetera* [= Müller 1965]) 461.

mother' μητρὸς ὦ κασίγνη[τοι, fr. 495.14) who ambush and attempt to kill them – certainly the brothers of this Siris (i.e. foster uncles) are indicated.

A couple of comments should be offered regarding *Theano* – that is, *Theanṓ* (Θεανώ) – the name that Hyginus, though seemingly not Euripides, assigns to the wife of Metapontus. Among women who bear the name in Greek tradition is an Aeolian Theano; she offers some equivalence to Helen for the historian Duris (fourth-third century BC) who writes that Theano's abduction from Thebes by a certain Phocian was the cause of the ten-year-long "Sacred War" (Duris fr. 2 FHG). Best known of Theano's are (1) Theano daughter of the Thracian king Cisses/Cisseus and wife of the Trojan Antenor, whom Homer identifies as priestess of Athena,[1085] and (2) the philosopher Theano of Croton, who is commonly identified as the wife (or daughter) of Pythagoras of Samos (on whom see below, §13.8). This Theano is especially provocative in the context of our investigation as Metapontum was a center of Pythagorean cult and considered to have been the home of Pythagoras himself from ca. 500 BC, after he fled from neighboring Croton, until the end of his life (perhaps ca. 480).

[1085] *Iliad* 6.297–311 and 11.221–231; see also 5.69–71.

11.5.2.3. Metapontus, Icarus, Icaria, Caria. The geographic specifiers in the tradition of Melanippe and Metapontus that Hyginus rehearses require some attention. Metapontus is called *rex Icariae* 'king of Icaria' when he is first introduced (*Fabulae* 186.4). Further along, Hyginus (186.9) reports that when Boeotus and Aeolus had rescued their mother Melanippe from her imprisonment, 'they conducted her into Icaria to king Metapontus' (*perduxerunt in Icariam ad Metapontum regem*). At some moment subsequent to this spatial transfer, after Metapontus has married their mother and has legally adopted them (186.10), the pair of brothers 'founded' (*condiderunt*) Boeotia and Aeolis on the Propontis, naming those places after themselves. Hyginus' geographic orientation is most straightforwardly understood to be an eastern Aegean one, not a south Italian one, in spite of his allusion to the cult of *Diana Metapontina* (compare the cult of Artemis Tauropolos on Icaria, situated near hot springs). Near the close of the nineteenth century, Wünsch, examining the Melanippe tragedies of Euripides, cautioned that Hyginus' reference to Icaria ought not to be conjectured away (1894:100). Wünsch dismisses any reference to the island of Icaria ("von der Insel gewiss nicht") and writes (p. 103) that he can only make sense of the local specification

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by identifying Hyginus' *Icaria* with the Attic deme of that name attached to the Aegeid tribe.[1086]

Yet Hyginus is clear in reporting Icaria to be a place ruled by a king; and the eastern Aegean island by that name, located just west of Samos, within the Icarian sea, must surely be intended, especially in light of the ensuing reference to the Propontis as ultimate destination for Boeotus and Aeolis. The island and sea described as *Icarian* are of course places eponymously linked with Icarus, son of the craftsman Daedalus, in Greek mythic tradition. It was there that high-flying Icarus plunged from sky to sea when the wax with which his wrought wings were attached melted and the wings dislodged (or, by a "rationalized" re-telling, when Icarus fell overboard the ship on which he fled from Crete with his father), to be buried on the Aegean island that carries his name. As early as Aeschylus' *Persians* (890–891) we find reference to the 'abode of Icarus' (Ἰκάρου ἕδος), broadly situated geographically in the context of Lemnos, Rhodes, Cnidus, and the towns of Cyprus.

The name of the island *Icaria* (*Ikaría* [Ικαρία]) can hardly be separated from the toponym *Caria* (*Karía* [Καρία]), and indeed Anaximenes of Lampsacus (fr. 26 FGrH)

[1086] On Attic Icaria and its mythological affiliations, see, *inter alia,* Rudd 1988:24; Green 2004:44–45 (the relevant chapter first appeared as Green 1979).

reports the tradition that Miletus (in Caria) had colonized Icaria, among various other places, including the Propontis (see Strabo 14.1.6). The name *Icarus* (*Íkaros* [Ἴκαρος]) is no less attached to one identified as a king of Caria, a tradition also preserved by Hyginus (*Fabulae* 190) and depicted on a mosaic discovered at Zeugma (south central Anatolia) in 2002:[1087] Hyginus' account entails the abduction of Theonoe, daughter of the seer Thestor (son of Apollo) and sister of the seer Calchas;[1088] Theonoe became a 'concubine' (*concubīna*) of Icarus in Caria, where in time she would be reunited with her father and her sister Leucippe 'White-Horse Woman', both of whom had gone in search of her, and both of whom were nearly destroyed (Leucippe by murder, Thestor by suicide). The parallelism of the two mythic traditions concerning women – one a *Melanippe*, the other a *Leucippe* – who end up bound to an eastern Aegean "Icarian" sovereign marked by the motif of intervention by a pair of long-separated family members, targeted for death, is palpable – twin brothers in one instance, father and sister in the other. We should remind ourselves in passing that elsewhere in Greek mythic tradition twin brothers, the Dioscuri (Castor and Polydeuces), are notionally

[1087] On which see Slater and Cropp 2009, who reconstruct a possible tragic drama (Euripidean in their estimation) with which Hyginus' account accords. Perhaps more probable is a *mûthos* that finds literary expression both in tragedy and in mythography.

[1088] Thestor is identified as father of Calchas as early as Homer *Iliad* 1.69.

and nominally bound to the formant *Leucipp-*: the attachment of this formant to Carian matters is one to which we shall return in Chapter Twelve (see especially §12.6 and §12.7).

11.5.2.4. Daedalus, Cumae, Cyme. Regarding Icarus and Daedalus and tradition of their flight from Crete – the eastward path that has led them all the way to Aegean Icaria off the coast of Anatolia takes an odd trajectory at that geographic point, as Daedalus' continued solo route carries him on *oppositely*, westward to Sicily (a peculiar reversal of direction that has not gone unnoticed). A variant tradition attested by Virgil (*Aeneid* 6.14-17) and then Juvenal (*Satires* 3.2, 25) places Minoan-Age Daedalus' point of arrival slightly more to the north, at Cumae on the south Italian coast, place founded as a Euboean colony in the eighth century BC. Varro has been identified as Virgil's likely source for the tradition.[1089] Regardless, Green (2004:45) is surely correct when he suggests that behind the Latin references to south Italian *Cumae* (Latin *Cūmae*, also *Cȳmē*) is the tradition of an Aegean *Cyme* (Greek *Kúmē* [Κύμη])[1090] as terminus for Daedalus' journey. While Green contends for the lesser-known Cyme on the east coast

[1089] See the remarks of Norden 1927:120.

[1090] Greek *Kúmē* (Κύμη) can reference the Italian city, as in Pindar *Pythian Odes* 1.18, 72. On the plural *Kûmai* (Κῦμαι) see the remark of Dositheus *Ars grammatica* 18.

of Euboea (which still entails an abrupt reversal of course from Icaria, though with a back-tracking journey of shorter duration), the Cyme[1091] that is to be identified as the intended destination of Icarus and Daedalus must certainly have been that one located on the coast of Aeolis in Anatolia, that place from which Hesiod's father Dios is said to have sailed in his relocation to Boeotia (*Works and Days* 633–640).[1092] A straight course, as the bird flies, from Knossos to Aeolian Cyme passes over Icaria and the Icarian Sea, passing Naxos, Paros, and Delos to port, and Lebinthos and Calymna to starboard (coordinates in agreement with the route known to Ovid [*Metamorphoses* 8.220–222]), as well as Samos – crossing, approximately, above Thera and Amorgos. There was in Anatolia a city called *Daedala* that Alexander Polyhistor (fr. 78–80 FHG) reports to have been named 'after Daedalus the *son* of Icarus' (ἡ δὲ πόλις ἀπὸ Δαιδάλου τοῦ Ἰκάρου [*sic*]). The city was positioned along the border of Caria and Lycia, so that some ancient

[1091] Said to have received its name from the pre-Greek population of Amazons (Strabo 11.5.4; 12.3.21; Stephanus Byzantius 10.261).

[1092] See also Ephorus of Cyme fr.1 (FGrH); Strabo 9.2.25; 13.3.6; Stephanus Byzantius 10.261; Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* [= van der Valk 1971–1987] 1.561; *Scholia in opera et dies* (*scholia vetera partim Procli et recentiora partim Moschopuli, Tzetzae et Joannis Galeni* [= QGaisford 1823]) prol. Proc. 5 and prol. Tzet. 14.

sources assign it to the one region and some to the other.[1093] Stephanus Byzantius (*Ethnica* 4.4) credits Alexander Polyhistor with the documentation and adds that *Daedala* (Δαίδαλα) also names both a mountain in Lycia (see Strabo 14.3.2) and a city of Crete.

11.5.2.5. Where East Meets West: Aeolian Orientations. Before we go on to consider Strabo's second alternative in §11.5.3, let us make a brief observation regarding what we have just witnessed. In the case of (1) the tradition of Melanippe/Arne and her twin sons Aeolus and Boeotus (eponymous ancestor of the Boeotians) and the case of (2) the tradition of the flight of Daedalus and Icarus from Crete, the evidence betrays two different local settings for each *mûthos*: one that focuses the action in the eastern Aegean and one that focuses the action in Magna Graecia – an eastern orientation and a western orientation.

In the case of Daedalus and Icarus, the eastern orientation – one in which the goal of the journey from Crete was most likely Aeolian Cyme – can be plausibly interpreted as primary, while the western orientation – one in which Daedalus awkwardly about-faces and directs his course to an Italian endpoint – can be viewed as secondary. Even in the secondary, reoriented, tradition the action continues to unfold

[1093] On which see the discussion of Keen 1998:17–18.

over the Aegean up to the point at which Icarus plunges into the sea that bears his name. This is a seeming *sine qua non* due to Icarus' widely-held eponymous affiliation with the Icarian Sea and its Icarian island: in other words, that onomastic connection, which must be archaic, prevents a change in the scene of the action prior to the moment of the death of Icarus – but at that moment there is a jolting reorientation westward.

In the case of Melanippe/Arne and her sons Aeolus and Boeotus, the action begins in Thessaly, whenever a locale is specified. In Hyginus' rehearsal of this opening *mûthos* no specifier is offered that allows for local identification: we have only the very curious naming of Melanippe's father as Desmontes. Latin *Desmontes* has long been interpreted as a "blunder" on the part of Hyginus or his source(s),[1094] viewed as an unskilled Latin adaptation of a Greek loanword *desmôtis* (δεσμῶτις) 'captive' – that adjective with which Strabo describes Melanippe at 6.1.15, and which also appears in the name of Euripides' tragedy *Melanippe the Captive* (Μελανίππη ἡ Δεσμῶτις). While something surely looks to be amiss in Hyginus' naming of the father, that would be a

[1094] Rose (1929:99) refers to the naming as "the famous blunder" and we find it noted at least as early as Bursian 1869:784.

blunder indeed.[1095] In any event, the *default* setting for Melanippe's pregnancy and delivery of her twins Aeolus and Boeotus is plainly Thessaly, and from this starting point, narrative movement can occur either eastward or westward as the tradition unfolds.

11.5.2.6. Heroic Métabos (Μέταβος). And what is otherwise reported of a figure dubbed *Metabus* – that is, *Métabos* (Μέταβος)? In *Aeneid* 11 (ll. 497–900) Virgil recounts the tale of the woman Camilla, making her the daughter of Metabus, tyrant of

[1095] Could some form of *despot-* (δεσποτ-) be indicated? In a scholion on Hesiod's lines regarding his ancestral origins in Aeolian Cyme (see *Works and Days* 633–636), Joannes Tzetzes mentions that the name *Cyme* also applies to a place in Italy and draws attention to the Aeolian Islands above Sicily, noting that they were ruled by Aeolis, son of Hippotes, who 'is mythically reported' (*mutheúō* [μυθεύω]) to have been '*despótēs* of the winds' (δεσπότης ἀνέμων): *Scholia in opera et dies* (*scholia vetera partim Procli et recentiora partim Moschopuli, Tzetzae et Joannis Galeni* [= Gaisford 1823]) 633bis. See also Tzetzes *Allegoriae in Homeri Odysseam* 12.1, 48 and *Scholia in Lycophronem* 738 on *despótēs* (δεσπότης) vis-à-vis Homer's description of Aeolus as *tamíēs anémōn* (ταμίης ἀνέμων) 'keeper of winds' (*Odyssey* 10.21). On the line compare *Eustathius Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam* 1.363, with mention of '. . . the isle of the winds, over which Aeolus rules as *despótēs*' (τὴν τῶν ἀνέμων νῆσον ὧν Αἴολος δεσπόζει).

Privernum,[1096] town in the Volscian hills.[1097] Metabus is presented as a formidable Volscian warrior, as is Camilla, whom, when only an infant, Metabus dedicated to Diana (= Artemis), strapping her to a spear and tossing baby and weapon across the river Amasenus (see ll. 539–566). Virgil depicts the warrior Camilla as Amazonian; the link is made explicit at *Aeneid* 11.648–649: *At medias inter caedes exsultat Amazon | unum exserta latus pugnae, pharetrata Camilla* 'But in the midst of the slaughter the Amazon springs | one breast thrust forth for the fight, quiver-bearing Camilla' (see also 11.659–663, 803–804).

In commentary on the account, Servius (*Commentarius in Vergilii Aeneidos libros* 11.540) states that he considers Volscian Metabus to be the same Metabus that founded Metapontium (on Cato as Virgil's source for the tradition of Metabus, see Servius 11.567).[1098] *Etymologicum magnum* p. 579 identifies Metabus as son of *Alibas* (i.e. *Alíbas* [Ἀλίβας]) – born when Heracles passed through the town of *Alybas* (i.e. *Alúbas* [Ἀλύβας])

[1096] On the Virgilian pericope see, *inter alia*, Duke 1977; Egan 1983; Paschalis 1997:374–379; Fratanluono 2007, especially Chapter 10 and, for bibliography or earlier work, p. 232.

[1097] For mention of Camilla/Metabus, see also Pacuvius fr. 247 (Warmington); Silius Italicus *Punica* 4.337–338; Sidonius *Panegyric on Maiorianus* 189–190.

[1098] Regarding the Cato's role as a source, see Smith 2017, especially §59–60 on Metabus.

at the time of the Labor of Geryon's Cattle.[1099] *Alybas* is that place name which the Odysseus incognito offers up to Laertes to identify cunningly a fabricated hometown (*Odyssey* 24.304).[1100] Stephanus Byzantius (*Ethnica* 1.232) identifies *Alybas* to be another name for *Metapontium* (also the name of a city in Thrace); other sources concur.[1101] With the reported Italian toponym compare *Alybe* (i.e. *Alúbē* [Ἀλύβη]), city of those Trojan *epíkouri* (ἐπίκουροι) 'allies' who are identified as the Halizones at *Iliad* 2.856–857; these are led by Odius (who will be slain by Agamemnon at 5.39–42) and Epistrophus. As we saw in §9.4.1, Alybe is perhaps to be located on the southeast shore of the Black Sea: its Halizones are described by the epic poet as 'from very far away' (τηλόθεν) and Alybe as the 'birthplace . . . of silver' (ἀργύρου . . . γενέθλη). Kirk (1985:259) judges that "this whole contingent seems unreal; τῆλε merely makes it furthest from Troy in its

[1099] The name *Metabus* (*Métabos* [Μέταβος]) is here folk etymologized as derived from *metá* (μετά) 'after' and *boûs* (βοῦς) 'cattle', as Heracles 'was going after Geryon's cattle' (μετὰ τοὺς βοῦς τοῦ Γηρυόνου ἴει).

[1100] See the comments of Russo, Fernández-Galiano, and Heubeck 1992:395.

[1101] Aelius Herodianus *De prosodia catholica* 3,1.53; Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam* (= Stallbaum 1970) 2.324; Tzetzes *Chiliades* 12.404. Compare Apollonius *Lexicon Homericum* 24. Hesychius (A 3281) reports *Alybas* to name both a city in Italy and one in the Troad. In commenting on Homer *Odyssey* 24.304, one scholiast identifies Alybas as a 'city of Thessaly, now called Metapontium'; see *Scholia in Odysseam* (*scholia vetera* [= Dindorf 1962]) 24.304. Photius (A 1051) identifies *Alybas* as the name of a body of water (*límnē* [λίμνη]) found among the Hyperboreans.

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group . . . .” and draws attention to a possible linguistic link between the place name *Alybe* (Ἀλύβη) and the name of the great river of central Anatolia, the Halys, “which runs mainly through Paphlagonian territory” (source of the contingent of *epíkouri* that precedes the Halizones in the catalogue).[1102] Strabo (12.3.21) impatiently tells us that there are those who confound Ἁλιζῶνες (*Halizone*s) and Ἀμαζόνες (*Amazons*), while possibly allowing Ephorus of Cyme’s report (fr. 114a [FGrH]) that the Amazons inhabited the region between Mysia, Caria, and Lydia – near Cyme.[1103] Our attention again whipsaws westward as we call to mind the Amazonian daughter of Volscian Metabus, son of Alibas, inhabitant of the place Alybas.

11.5.3. Melanippe and Dius

Consideration of an heroic figure dubbed *Metabus* leads us on to Strabo’s (6.1.15) second alternative regarding the identity of the male recipient of Melanippe:

[1102] Kirk continues: “Halus was a Hittite name and the Hittites were major suppliers of silver to the Greek world in the 2nd millennium B.C.” But see the comments of Bryce (2006:139, with n. 25), who disputes Kirk’s claim, though noting (without assigning any relevance) that “the logographic version of the name of the Hittite capital Hattusa is KÙ.BABBAR, which means ‘silver’.”

[1103] Strabo adds here that some report that the towns of Ephesus, Smyrna, Kyme, and Myrina received their names from the Amazons (see also 11.5.4).

Melanippe was sent not to Metabus (i.e. Metapontus) but to one named *Dius* – that is, *Dîos* (Δῖος).[1104] Here Strabo (while invoking the fifth-century BC historian Antiochus of Syracuse) rehearses a line by the archaic poet Asius of Samos (fr. 2 Bernabé 1987; ca. seventh/sixth century BC): Δίου ἐνὶ <u>μεγάροις</u> τέκεν εὐειδὴς Μελανίππη 'Well-shaped Melanippe birthed [Boeotus] in the house [<u>*megárois*</u>] of Dius'. This Samian poet Asius – the 'Asian' (see §15.2.2) – pays notable attention to Boiotian figures among the few attested fragments of his work:[1105] Melanippe's son Boeotus (fr. 2); Antiope's sons Zethus and Amphion, founders of Thebes (fr. 1; see §14.2 below); Ptoüs, son of Athamas (himself a son of Aeolus and founder of the Thessalian city of Athamantia; see §16.3.1), and eponym of the Boeotian Mount Ptoion, where was located the oracle of Apollo Ptoion (fr. 3); and the Argive seer Amphiaraus, who was swallowed up by the earth near Thebes,[1106] where was established a shrine of this oracular figure[1107] (fr. 4).

[1104] Compare *O-dius* (*Odíos* [Ὀδίος]) whom we saw just above to lead the Halizones, Trojan allies.

[1105] See the discussion of Bernabé 1987.

[1106] See, *inter alia*, Pindar *Nemean Odes* 9.21–27 and 10.8–9; Sophocles fr. 958; Euripides *Suppliant Maidens* 925–927; Diodorus Siculus 4.65.8–9; Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 3.77; Hyginus *Fabulae* 68, 73; Pausanias 1.34.2; 2.23.2; 9.8.3; 9.19.4; Philostratus *Life of Apollonius* 2.37.

[1107] See Pausanias 9.8.3.

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11.5.3.1. Dius' "House" at Metabum. Alternatively, then, Melanippe's son Boeotus – and, thus, we may infer, his twin brother Aeolus – was known by some ancient authorities to have been born 'in Dius' house'.[1108] Where is the "house" of Dius? For Strabo (6.1.15) it is in Metapontium, it would surely seem, as he invokes, casually and enigmatically, as evidence of this scenario the existence of a 'hero-shrine – that one of Metabus' (ἡρῷον τοῦ Μετάβου), or, perhaps better, 'that one at Metabum': *Metabum* (i.e. *Métabon* [Μέταβον]) is the name by which the city of Metapontium was once called, reports Strabo. This is what Strabo writes regarding these fixtures of Metapontium:

> Ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὸν Μετάποντον μυθεύουσι καὶ τὴν Μελανίππην τὴν δεσμῶτιν καὶ τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς Βοιωτόν. δοκεῖ δ' Ἀντίοχος τὴν πόλιν Μεταπόντιον εἰρῆσθαι πρότερον Μέταβον, παρωνομάσθαι δ' ὕστερον· τήν τε Μελανίππην οὐ πρὸς τοῦτον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Δῖον κομισθῆναι ἐλέγχειν <u>ἡρῷν τοῦ Μετάβου</u> καὶ Ἄσιον τὸν ποιητὴν φήσαντα ὅτι τὸν Βοιωτὸν
>
> Δίου ἐνὶ μεγάροις τέκεν εὐειδὴς Μελανίππη,

[1108] For Fowler (2013:190–191), Antiochus the Sicilian was seemingly repudiating the plot of Euripides' Melanippe tragedies: Antiochus' "motive might have been a perceived Athenian bias in the version propagated by Euripides, given the city's alliance with Metapontion in the late 420s (Thucydides 7.33.5, with Hornblower [1991–2008])."

> ὡς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀχθεῖσαν τὴν Μελανίππην, οὐ πρὸς Μέταβον.

> There [at Metapontium] also, according to *mûthoi*, are to be situated Metapontus, Melanippe the captive, and her offspring Boeotus. Antiochus considers that the city Metapontium was formally called *Metabum* but that later the name was slightly changed – and that Melanippe was not carried to him [i.e. Metabus/Metapontus] *but instead* to Dius – as a hero-shrine, that one at Metabum, demonstrates; and Asius the poet too, who has written of Boeotus
>
> "Well-shaped Melanippe birthed [him] in the house of Dius"
>
> that is, Melanippe was brought to him [i.e. Dius], and not to Metabus.

The phrase *hērô̂(i)on toû Metábou* (ἡρῷν τοῦ Μετάβου) is most sensible in context if, as in the above translation, *Metábou* (Μετάβου) is understood as genitive of the toponym *Métabon* (Μέταβον) rather than genitive of the man's name *Métabos* (Μέταβος). Such a use of the genitive case to express locality is fundamental to the partitive semantics of this grammatical case and is well attested. Monro (1891:143) notes that a principal function of this type of genitive in Homeric epic is as specifier of one locale in distinction to another (see also the discussion of Chantraine 1981:58); for example:

Iliad 9.218–219a: αὐτὸς δ’ ἀντίον ἷζεν Ὀδυσσῆος θείοιο | τοίχου τοῦ ἑτέροιο . . . . ‘He himself [i.e. Achilles] sat down opposite godlike Odysseus | at the other wall . . . .’ For the same governing verb and genitive phrase see *Iliad* 24.597–598a and *Odyssey* 23.89–90a.

Iliad 17.372b–373a: νέφος δ’ οὐ φαίνετο πάσης | γαίης οὐδ’ ὀρέων. ‘And a cloud was not to be seen on all | the earth nor on the mountains’

Odyssey 1.24 (on the two distinct locales at which the Ethiopians reside, west and east): οἱ μὲν δυσομένου Ὑπερίονος οἱ δ’ ἀνιόντος ‘those at setting Hyperion [i.e. the sun] and those at returning [Hyperion]’

Odyssey 3.251–252a: ἦ οὐκ Ἄργεος ἦεν Ἀχαιικοῦ, ἀλλά πῃ ἄλλῃ | πλάζετ’ ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπους . . . ; ‘Was not [Menelaus] in Achaean Argos, but instead wandering in some other place among men . . . ?’

Odyssey 12.27: ἢ ἁλὸς ἢ ἐπὶ γῆς ἀλγήσετε πήμα παθόντες ‘[that] you may not suffer woes and calamity at sea or upon land’

Odyssey 21.107–109: οἵη νῦν οὐκ ἔστι γυνὴ κατ’ Ἀχαιίδα γαῖαν, | οὔτε Πύλου ἱερῆς οὔτ’ Ἄργεος οὔτε Μυκήνης· | οὔτ’ αὐτῆς Ἰθάκης οὔτ’ ἠπείροιο μελαίνης. ‘There is not now to be found such a woman [i.e. like Penelope]

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through the Achaean lands, | neither at sacred Pylos nor at Argos nor at Mycenae; | not even at Ithaca, not on the dark earth'.[1109]

A local use of the genitive, attested especially in poetry, is undoubtedly primitive; note that various adverbs of locality preserve a frozen genitive morphology: for example, *autoû* (αὐτοῦ) 'at that place'; *oudamoû* (οὐδαμοῦ) 'nowhere'; *homoû* (ὁμοῦ) 'at the same place'; *poû* (ποῦ) 'where?'; *agkhoû* (ἀγχοῦ) 'near'; *tēloû* (τηλοῦ) 'at a far place'; *hupsoû* (ὑψοῦ) 'at a high place' .[1110]

In the lines preserved by Strabo, Antiochus of Syracuse must be using a local genitive to distinguish the hero-shrine of Dius at Metabum (i.e. Metapontium) from a hero-shrine of Dius known to exist in some other place (or places). One can reasonably infer that there is some element of "proof" ensconced in or otherwise attached to this particular hero-shrine of Dius – that one at Metabum – that sufficiently demonstrates, in Antiochus' view, that Thessalian Melanippe and her twin sons Boeotus and Aeolus had been delivered into the care of Dius (rather than Metabus) in Italy.

[1109] For post-epic examples, see the discussion of Brugmann and Thumb 1913:445–446.

[1110] See, *inter alia*, the discussions of Brugmann and Thumb 1913:295, 446, 452; Buck 1933:350; Smyth 1956:337.

In the first book of his *Antiquitates Romanae*, Dionysius of Halicarnassus treats the Oenotrians (followers of Oenotrus, son of the Arcadian Lycaon), citing as corroborating sources (1.12.2–3) first lines from Sophocles' *Triptolemus* (fr. 598 TrGF) and then the account of the historian Antiochus, incorporating the latter's own description of himself and of his work on Italy:

> Ἀντίοχος Ξενοφάνεος τάδε συνέγραψε περὶ Ἰταλίης ἐκ τῶν <u>ἀρχαίων λόγων</u> τὰ πιστότατα καὶ σαφέστατα· τὴν γῆν ταύτην, ἥτις νῦν Ἰταλίη καλεῖται, τὸ παλαιὸν εἶχον Οἴνωτροι.
>
> Antiochus the son of Xenophanes wrote these things, most trustworthy and accurate [reports], concerning Italy, drawing on the <u>ancient discourses</u>: this land, which is now called *Italy*, long ago the Oenotrians possessed.

The 'ancient discourses' on which the early historian Antiochus claims to have drawn must be oral traditions, poetic accounts similar to that one which provides the line that

Strabo rehearses and attributes to the eastern Aegean epic poet Asius of Samos.[1111] Antiochus' use of the local genitive, particularly conspicuous in poetry, may well suggest an oral poetic source of the phrasing transmitted via Antiochus to Strabo in the tradition of Dius and Melanippe.

11.5.3.2. Dius and Aeolian Foundation Traditions. A figure named *Dius* (i.e. *Dîos* [Δῖος]) has foundational affiliations among Aeolians. Regarding Strabo's Dius, Fowler (2013:190) offers that "it is possible that this man is the eponym of [the place] Dium in Achaia Phthiotis, and that Boiotos, having been born there, was sent to Italy with his mother by his outraged grandfather" – Achaea Phthiotis being a region of Thessaly which we shall later encounter in conjunction with Argonautic tradition (see §17.2). A

[1111] Might *mégara* (μέγαρα) 'house' in Samian Asius' verse reference the *hērô̄(i)on* (ἡρῷον) 'hero-shrine' at Metabum? As is well known Herodotus consistently uses the singular *mégaron* (μέγαρον) to denote 'sanctuary, shrine (1.47.2; 1.65.2; 2.141.3; 2.143.2; 2.169.4; 5.77.3; 6.134.2; 7.140.1; 8.37.1; 8.53.2 [frequently of the oracular shrine of Apollo at Delphi]). Pollux (*Onomasticon* 9.15; second century AD) can include both *mégaran* (μέγαρον) and *hērô̄(i)on* (ἡρῷον) in a natural set: *hierá* (ἱερά) 'sacred places', *telestḗria* (τελεστήρια) 'places for initiation', *mégara* (μέγαρα), *anáktora* (ἀνάκτορα; i.e. dwellings associated with an *ánax* [ἄναξ]) 'shrines', *khrēstḗria* (χρηστήρια) 'oracular shrines', *hērô̄(i)a* (ἡρῷα), *ēría* (ἠρία) 'barrows', *mnḗmata* (μνήματα) 'tombs', *poluándria* (πολυάνδρια) 'communal burial site of heroes', *táphoi* (τάφοι) 'tombs'.

tradition that credits Dius with founding the Thessalian city and one that makes of him a heroic figure localized at Metapontium would not need to be mutually exclusive traditions. In the Catalogue of Ships, one of the towns of the Boeotian contingent that the epic poet invokes (*Iliad* 2.508) is Anthedon 'along the border' (*eskhatóōsa* [ἐσχατόωσα]).[1112] Aelius Herodianus (*De prosodia catholica* 3,1.26) and Stephanus Byzantius (*Ethnica* 1.319) identify the eponymy of this Boeotian place with one Dius Anthedon, the son of Anthas, son of Poseidon and Alcyone. Another Dium was situated in Macedonia, below Olympus and near the village of Pimpleia (Strabo 7a.1.17–18), near Mount Pieria (Pausanias 9.30.7). Euboea, bordering on Boeotia, equally has a city *Dium* – that is, *Dîon* (Δῖον), appearing in the Catalogue of Ships (*Iliad* 2.538) – eponymously linked with a Dius, this one said to be a son of Pandarus;[1113] Strabo (10.1.5) reports that Aeolian Canae (opposite the southeastern promontory of Lesbos) was founded as a colony of Euboean Dium.[1114]

Still another Dius (called father of Melite) is merely identified as a son of Apollo (Philochorus fr. 26 FGrH, fourth-third centuries BC)[1115]. Apollo – according to a

[1112] See also, *inter alia*, Strabo 9.2.13–14; Pausanias 9.22.5–6.

[1113] See *Scholia in Iliadem* (D *scholia* [= Heyne 1834])2.538.

[1114] On places named *Dium* see also, *inter alia*, Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* 4.88.

[1115] See also, *inter alia*, Harpocration *Lexicon in decem oratores* M 19; Photius M 239.

Metapontine tradition preserved by Herodotus (see 4.13–15) – had visited no place in Italy other than Metapontium: the Metapontine people had received this report from a mysterious stranger identified as Aristeas. Herodotus' account of the visitation at Metapontium is found within his discussion of Scythian regions along the northern shore of the Black Sea (see below, Chapter 22): this Aristeas is said to have been a native of Proconnesus, a Milesian island colony in the Propontis, neighboring on mainland Cyzicus – locales that provided informants to Herodotus for his account. Aristeas of Proconnesus is reported to have mysteriously disappeared twice before his miraculous reappearance in Metapontium, where he reported that he had accompanied Apollo to Metapontium in the form of a crow. As we shall see, Apollo's association with the crow appears to have some particular significance for Aeolian foundation and migratory traditions (see especially §13.6, §13.6.3, §13.6.3.3).

11.5.3.3. Dius, Hesiod, and an Aeolian Foundation Tradition. But perhaps most intriguing for the present discussion – *Dius* (*Dîos* [Δῖος]) is the name assigned to the father of Hesiod, the archaic poet of Boeotian Ascra. In his *Works and Days* (line 634) the poet describes his father – here un-named – as one who existed 'deprived of <u>good</u> life' (βίου κεχρημένος <u>ἐσθλοῦ</u>) in his native city of Aeolian Cyme and who, hence (lines 637–

640), left that Anatolian place behind – 'fleeing not riches, not wealth, not bliss, | but instead harsh poverty, which Zeus gives to men' (οὐκ ἄφενος φεύγων οὐδὲ πλοῦτόν τε καὶ ὄλβον, | ἀλλὰ κακὴν πενίην, τὴν Ζεὺς ἄνδρεσσι δίδωσιν) – and sailed westward to settle in Boeotia, 'near Helicon, in a miserable village' (ἄγχ' Ἑλικῶνος ὀιζυρῇ ἐνὶ κώμῃ):

> Ἄσκρῃ, χεῖμα κακῇ, θέρει ἀργαλέῃ, οὐδέ ποτ' ἐσθλῇ.
>
> In Ascra, harsh in winter, vexatious in summer, never good.

In effect, a place *never* providing good life.[1116] Dius' relocation entailed a flight from poverty into poverty: this is a condition not unfamiliar to émigrés and refugees.[1117] As

[1116] Though is the picture painted of Ascra out of keeping with its natural setting and characteristics? See, *inter alia*, Wallace 1974 (especially pp. 8–9). But with Wallace's view contrast the personal experiences of Lamberton (1988:29–30) and Schachter (2016:28n11); and consider Lane Fox's (2008:339) observation regarding more positive evaluations of Ascra by modern commentators: "... Hesiod had to live there and they did not." See also Beck 2019:389–391, who conjectures that the "natural environment" of Ascra was similar to that of Cyme (p. 391): "Between Askra and Kyme, the similarities in nature mostly concerned the conditions of the soil and associated agrarian techniques. It was not a coincidence then that Hesiod's father went to Boiotia."

[1117] Rosen (1990:105) writes:

early as Hellanicus (fifth century BC; fr. 5b FGrH) the name of Hesiod's migrating father is attested as *Dius* (i.e. *Dîos* [Δῖος]). Ephorus of Cyme (fourth century BC; fr. 1 FGrH) is cited for the report that Dius left Cyme on account of 'debts' (*khréa* [χρέα]) and 'settled in' (*metoikéō* [μετοικέω]) Boeotian Ascra, where he married Pycimede (*Pukimḗdē* [Πυκιμήδη]) and fathered Hesiod.[1118] In the *Contest of Homer and Hesiod* (4 [West 2003b]) Hesiod's mother Pycimede is called daughter of Apollo; and the genealogy of Hesiod and his brother Perses is traced through Dius ultimately to Apollo and Thoösa (daughter of Poseidon). Strabo (13.3.6) identifies Ephorus and Hesiod as native sons of Aeolian Cyme, writing of the latter: αὐτὸς γὰρ εἴρηκεν ὅτι ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Δῖος μετῴκησεν εἰς Βοιωτοὺς Κύμην Αἰολίδα προλιπών 'for [Hesiod] himself says that his

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> . . . it is most sensible to view the passage as a reflection of the subjective point of view of Hesiod's father, rather than of Hesiod himself. In some sense, that is, although Hesiod's father tried to flee poverty by taking to the seas, he was as miserable when he settled in Ascra as he was in Kyme. When Hesiod mentions that his father chose a place "near Helicon" (639), there can be little doubt that he wishes to contrast his father's misery with his own (poetic) success.

Whether or not this degree of historicity should be entertained with regard to the poet's "father" the phenomenon of generational social advancement within migrant communities, that the account may reflect, is well enough attested.

[1118] Pseudo-Plutarch *Vitae Homeri* 1.2 (West 2003b). On Hesiod's parentage see also, in addition to passages discussed here, Hesiodic testimonia 95.15–16 and 105c (Most 2006).

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father Dius left behind Aeolian Cyme and settled in Boeotia'. *Suda* H 583 reports that Hesiod was Cymaean and as a child was carried to Boeotia by his father Dius and mother Pycimede, a tradition that also appears to surface in Hesiodic scholia.[1119]

Dius (i.e. *Dîos* [Δῖος]), the name assigned to Hesiod's migrating father, may be highly suggestive of a foundation *mûthos* entailing in some respect the sky god. Nagy (1990:72–73) draws attention to these lines from *Works and Days* as echoing the "thematic conventions of foundation poetry" – the theme of colonization as a response to a condition of poverty in the founding society, but here with a reversal – a movement into a state of poverty rather than into one of wealth, as would be typical of *ktísis* poetry. There is here a *geographic reversal* as well, as the *ktísis*-event involves relocation from Anatolia to Balkan Hellas – a movement *westward* into the Greek "homeland" – not into a place of peripheral settlement. But this is of course the same sort of reversal that we have just encountered in variant tales regarding the movement of Aeolian founding figures from the Italian periphery into the center that is Balkan Greece, a tradition in which a barely-revealed figure named Dius must have once

[1119] See *Scholia in opera et dies* (*scholia vetera partim Procli et recentiora partim Moschopuli, Tzetzae et Joannis Galeni* [= Gaisford 1823]) Prol. Proc. 5; Prol. Tzet. 14.

figured prominently, given the casualness with which Strabo can invoke him and his role in the Melanippe affair.

At *Works and Days* 299 Hesiod commands his reprobate brother to 'keep working' (*ergázomai* [ἐργάζομαι]), addressing him as Perses *dîon génos* (δῖον γένος) '[you of] divine stock/race'. The description, which is of course ultimately self-referential, has occasioned a bit of discussion by commentators, ancient and modern. For example, the Byzantine grammarian Manuel Moschopulus[1120] comments that Hesiod uses the phrase *dîon génos* either because he and Perses are 'sons of a certain Dius' (παῖδες Δίου τινὸς ἦσαν) or because the brothers 'traced their origin to the gods' (εἰς θεοὺς ἀνέφερον τὴν γένεσιν). The Neo-Platonist Proclus had likewise offered that Hesiod's use of *dîon génos* reveals a divine origin, 'for they traced the family back to Orpheus and Calliope' (cf. the *Contest of Hesiod and Homer* 4);[1121] the Macedonian city called *Dium* mentioned in §11.5.3.2 is identified as home of Orpheus and place of his destruction and burial.[1122] Joannes

[1120] *Scholia in Hesiodi opera et dies* (= Grandolini 1991) 301.

[1121] *Scholia in opera et dies* (*scholia vetera partim Procli et recentiora partim Moschopuli, Tzetzae et Joannis Galeni* [= Gaisford 1823]) 291.

[1122] See Strabo 7a.1.17–18; Pausanias 9.30.7; Diogenes Laertius 1.5. On Macedonian Dium see also, *inter alia*, Thucydides 4.78.6; Scylax *Periplus Scylacis* 66; Diodorus Siculus 12.67.1.

Tzetzes[1123] remarks that the phrase *dîon génos* equates to 'O son of Dius' (Υιὲ Δίου) or references 'well-born stock/race' (εὐγενὲς γένος).

Moschopulus and Tzetzes thus attest that Hesiod's characterization of Perses (and of himself) as *dîon génos* (δῖον γένος) of 'divine stock' may be rightly understood as consequent to their father having the name *Dius* (*Dîos* [Δῖος]). Certain modern commentators have been inclined to reverse this view and to presume that the name of the father Dius was itself generated secondary to Hesiod's use of attributive phrase *dîon génos*.[1124] This particularistic explanation is unlikely, however, in light of the iterative attestation of the name Dius, seen especially in conjunction with Aeolian foundation phenomena. Moreover, this phrase *dîon génos* is attested elsewhere -- at *Iliad* 9.538 of Artemis; at *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* 2, of Dionysus; at Aeschylus *Suppliant Women* 536 (in a syntagmatic variant) of the Danaids – and is likely a syntagm that finds its origin in a more primitive period of Indo-European poetics.

Phrases comparable to Greek *dîon génos* (δῖον γένος), built from the cognate Sanskrit constituents *divya-* and *janas*, are found in the *Rig Veda*. The genitive *diviyasya janasya* occurs at *Rig Veda* 6.22.9 and 9.91.2, used of 'heavenly race', as opposed

[1123] *Scholia in opera et dies* (*scholia vetera partim Procli et recentiora partim Moschopuli, Tzetzae et Joannis Galeni* [= Gaisford 1823]) 297.

[1124] See, for example, the comments of West 1978:232.

explicitly to the 'earthly', *pārthiva-*, race in the former hymn, reflecting the Vedic conception of heaven and earth as a duality comprising the cosmos, as expressed in the dual compound *dyāvā-pr̥thivī* (frequent in the *Rig Veda*). The variant, but semantically-equivalent, syntagm *diviya- jana-* (masculine adjective *jana-* 'generating', used substantivally) occurs in *Rig Veda* 10.63 and 10.64, hymns in which the poet Amartya Gaya especially directs his praise toward those gods called the Ādityas (offspring of the goddess Aditi). At *Rig Veda* 10.63.9 this poet acknowledges calling upon the *diviyas janas* 'divine race' and several individually named deities, including Mitra, Varuṇa, and Bhaga – conventionally identified as members of the class of Ādityas (in *Rig Veda* 2.27 the set membership consists of Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, Varuṇa, Aṁśa, and Dakṣa) – as well as upon *dyāvā-pr̥thivī* 'Heaven-Earth'. The final stanzas of these two hymns (i.e. *Rig Veda* 10.63.17 and 10.64.17) are identical, each concluding with the poet's report that in the lines that have preceded he has praised the *diviya- jana-* 'heavenly race'.

Hesiod's characterization of his brother, and so of himself, using the syntagm *dîon génos* (δῖον γένος) 'divine stock', 'heavenly race' at *Works and Days* 299 contrasts conspicuously with the Muses' characterization of Hesiod the shepherd in the proem of the *Theogony*. Addressing Hesiod as he tends his flock, the Muses declare (*Theogony* 26): ποιμένες ἄγραυλοι, κάκ' ἐλέγχεα, γαστέρες οἶον 'shepherds of the fields, lowly shameful

things, mere bellies'. Hesiod's Muse-description of shepherds as *gastéres* (γαστέρες) 'bellies' can be plausibly linked diachronically with primitive Indo-European cosmogony – the tradition that the cosmos was created from the dismembered body of a primeval giant, with the lower portion of his body giving rise to the 'class' – *varṇa* in its Vedic expression – of pastoralists and agriculturalists.[1125] Hesiod's pastoralists are additionally typified by the adjective *kakós* (κακός) 'lowly' – as *kák' elégkhea* (κάκ' ἐλέγχεα) 'lowly shameful things'. This same phrase surfaces in Homeric epic, as at *Iliad* 5.787–788 where the Achaean warriors as a whole are characterized as *kák' elégkhea* 'lowly shameful things' in contrast to Achilles singularly, who is described as *dîos* (δῖος), that same adjective used by Hesiod in his self-referential descriptor *dîon génos* 'divine stock', 'heavenly race'.

The prospect is worth considering that, in light of the cognate Sanskrit evidence (*divya- janas/jana-*), the primitive myth of the cosmogonic giant may also diachronically inform Hesiod's self-promotion from *kák' elégkhea* 'lowly shameful things' to the status of *dîos* (as in *dîon génos* 'divine stock'). In the Vedic tradition of the primeval giant, as preserved in *Rig Veda* 10.90, it is the head of the giant that gives rise to *Dyáus* 'heaven'

[1125] See Woodard 2007b:130–132, 150.

(10.90.14; cognate with Greek *Zeús* [Ζεύς]).[1126] And in addition – from the mouth of the cosmic giant is created the *varṇa* of the Brahmins, in whose purview is the production of inspired poetry.

11.5.3.4. Metapontus and Metapont(i)um. The name assigned to the heroic figure with whom we have seen Aeolian foundation tradition to be linked – the name *Metapontus* (i.e. *Metápontos* [Μετάποντος]) – is a semantically transparent one. The polis in Magna Graecia with which he is eponymously associated can be identified as either *Metapontum* (i.e. *Metáponton* [Μετάποντον]) or *Metapontium* (i.e. *Metapóntion* [Μεταπόντιον]), the former being the neuter equivalent to the man's name, the latter being a neuter adjectival derivative in *-ios*.[1127] Hesychius (M 1043) provides us with a

[1126] *Candramas*, the Moon, is born from the giant's mind and *Sūrya*, the Sun, from his eye (10.90.13): in the *Rig Veda* (as in 1.50.11–13; 1.191.9) Sūrya can seemingly constitute a seventh member of the set of Ādityas – deities that we encountered just above in regard to the employment of the Sanskrit phrase *divya- jana-*; and Sun and Moon are called the 'two sons of Aditi' at *Atharva Veda* 8.2.15. For helpful discussion of the Ādityas, see Macdonell 1974:43–46.

[1127] The Suda (M 725) reports that *Metapóntios* (Μεταπόντιος) itself can be an ὄνομα κύριον 'lordly name', likely referencing Metapontus. On the derivative relationship and tradition of eponymy seen in *Metápontos* (Μετάποντος)/*Metapóntion* (Μεταπόντιον), compare the instance of *Duspóntion* (Δυσπόντιον), a

gloss of the adjective (small-*m*) *metapóntios* (μεταπόντιος): it means, of course, *diapóntios* (διαπόντιος) 'beyond the sea', 'across the sea'. Compare the more commonly-found adjective *huperpóntios* (ὑπερπόντιος) 'over the sea', 'overseas': Pindar uses it in *Pythian Odes* 5, that same ode in which we saw him to attest *hepétās* (ἑπέτᾱς; see §8.3.1), describing Battus' peculiar *glôssa . . . huperpontía* (γλῶσσα . . . ὑπερποντία) 'overseas speech' that frightened even lions in Cyrene (see lines 57–59); Aeschylus (*Agamemnon* 414) uses it of Helen, who has gone from Menelaus 'over the sea' to Asia.[1128]

Metapontus is the "Across-the-Sea" man. This metaphorical labeling and the identity that it provides appear to be – at the very least– highly appropriate to Metapontus' involvement in Aeolian foundation *mûthoi*. They are over-seas foundation traditions. Some different name having similar sense might have been provided – but was not: it is entirely possible of course – even probable – that the personal name

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Pisan city said to be named after *Dúspontos* (Δύσποντος), a son of Pelops (see, *inter alia*, Stephanus Byzantius Ethnica 4.144).

[1128] These, along with Aeschylus *Suppliants* 41 and Sophocles *Antigone* 785 mark the earliest-attested literary sources of the adjective; next is Eusebius *Historia ecclesiastica* 2.14.4 (fourth century AD). Compare *Epipontía* (Ἐπιποντία) 'upon the sea', an epithet of Aphrodite (Hesychius E 5090) and *Mesopóntios* (Μεσοπόντιος) 'in the midst of the sea', an epithet of Poseidon at Eresus, on Lesbos (Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* 12.157, citing Callimachus).

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Metápontos (Μετάποντος) is merely a backformation from the toponym *Metáponton* (Μετάποντον)/*Metapóntion* (Μεταπόντιον), but if so, it must have been conjured up in coordination with identifying this city in Magna Graecia as the starting point for Boeotus' settlement of Boeotia. As a corollary to this proposal, the association of the name *Metápontos* with an heroic figure *Métabos* (Μέταβος) would be a secondary development. This would not obviate the possibility that *Métabon* (Μέταβον) actually was an earlier name for the place *Metáponton*/*Metapóntion*; but surely more likely, I believe, is that *Métabon* is one lexical element in an Aeolian mythic nexus introduced into Magna Graecia, and any phonetic similarity that it shares with the place name serendipitously promoted the backformation of *Metápontos*. Virgil simply appropriates the heroic name *Metabus*, which had become established in south Italian, Metapontion tradition, just as he does the name *Messapus*.[1129] In light of Icarian associations with Metapontus, one might suspect an "origin" in Caria for *Métabos*, made a son of the Aeolid Sisyphus. Metapontium might seem to be a curious choice of locales in regard to Aeolian foundation *mûthoi*, but it is the choice that was made; and, as we shall see in

[1129] Long ago Kretschmer (1932:200) joined together Messapus, eponym of the Messapians, and Metabus in much this way: "Der Dichter brauchte Namen und entlehnte sie einfach der unteritalischen Sage."

Chapter Thirteen, Metapontium has even yet additional relevance for the matter of Aeolian origins.

11.6. Some Interpretative Conclusions

As we saw in Chapter Six, the foundation tradition that associates the eponymous heroic figure Thessalus with Thessaly is one of a migration of peoples from western coastal Anatolia to the Balkan peninsula; Thessalus' sons Antiphus and Pheidippus, who led the advance into what would be called *Thessaly*, have names that are quintessential markers of Aeolian ethnicity, Strabo (14.2.6) declares (see §6.6.2.3). Just such an over-seas Aeolian movement from Hellenic periphery to center is precisely what we find, yet again, in the Aeolian foundation traditions we have considered in this chapter. Hesiod's description of the resettlement of his father – one who is assigned the name *Dius* in Hesiodic tradition – is a foundation *mûthos* entailing just such a move from the periphery of Asia Minor to Boeotia in Hellas proper. The *mûthos* of the movement of Boeotus to Boeotia is the same, except in this instance – in the "typical" form of the attested tradition – the periphery is located in Magna Graeca rather than Anatolia. It is as though the starting point for this Aeolian foundation account has been uprooted from Asia Minor and transplanted to Italy: the "Across-the-Sea" man

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Metapontus, foster-father of Melanippe's sons, marks the starting point from which Aeolus and Boeotus will migrate – not from but – to the east. Though Hyginus' version of the event preserves a geographic orientation in the eastern Aegean, set in space on Icaria, neighbor to Samos, neighbor to Miletus. Here the migratory trajectory is local and northeasterly, with Aeolus and Boeotus founding cities on the Propontis, in a region of Milesian colonization. Metapontus' name here has metaphorical significance of a trans-Aegean nature. This geographic variant of the Melanippe *mûthos* attested by Hyginus offers a closer representation of linguistic historicity than the "classical" doctrine of an Aeolian migration to the extent that the origin of Aeolian Anatolia was a local phenomenon of western coastal Asia Minor. The *mûthos* of the flight of Daedalus and Icarus from Crete to Icaria, en route to Cyme, aptly illustrates, and must ultimately rest on a communal memory of, Mycenaean trans-Aegean passage. The short-circuiting of Daedalus' journey was secondary to his mythic emergence as figure of significance in Magna Graecia, whether that occurred as a consequence of Etruscan reception or under the influence of local Phoenician expressions of traditions of divine craftsmen. The incorporation of Italian Metapontium into the mythology of Aeolian origins must be a separate matter and one to which we shall return.

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Chapter Twelve

Magnesia on the Maeander: Cretans, Aeolians, and a White-Horse Man

12.1. Introduction

In Chapter Eleven we examined Aeolian foundation myths, conspicuous among which are traditions that situate Melanippe and her twin sons Aeolus and Boeotus in the geographic domain of Metapontus – commonly identified as Metapontium in Magna Graeca, but also localized on the east Aegean island of Icaria. The present chapter begins with an examination of another city, one with multiple Aeolian linkages, Magnesia on the Maeander, located along the northern fringe of Caria, some 20 km southeast of Ephesus. Aspects of Aeolian *mûthoi* that are linked to the site are explored throughout the chapter. Relevant to the mythology attached to Carian Magnesia are Greek expressions of the ancestral Indo-European divine twins, the Dioscuri, whom we have encountered repeatedly in preceding chapters.

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12.2. Magnesia in Anatolia: Foundation Traditions

At *Geographica* 14.1.11–12, Strabo takes note, briefly, of the Carian *kōmē* (χώμη) 'village' called Thymbria and a nearby sacred cave – a 'bird-less' (*áornos* [ἄορνος]) place – owing to the presence of deadly vapors – given the name *Charonium* (*Kharōnion* [Χαρώνιον]), thus linked onomastically (from Charon, ferryman of the infernal river Styx) to the realm of the chthonic.[1130] Above this place lies Magnesia on the Maeander, which, reports Strabo, is a colony of the Thessalians – but also of Cretans. Nearby is Mt. Mycale, towering above Samos. We earlier saw (§9.4.1) that Homer identifies the area of Mt. Mycale as a place providing Carian *epíkouri* (ἐπίκουροι) 'allies' to the Trojans (*Iliad* 2.867–875). Also close by is the Ionian town of Priene – which some call *Cadme* (*Kádmē* [Κάδμη]), owing to its founding, writes Strabo, by the Boeotian Philotas (see 14.1.12). Thus, by tradition this is a region of diachronic heterogeneity – but one of synchronic heterogeneity as well: concerning the spaces through which one passes following the road from Ephesus inland, toward Antiocheia, Strabo can write (14.1.38): ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὰ

[1130] As a common noun, *kharōnion* (χαρώνιον) is used generally for caves containing mephitic vapors, a phenomenon that characterizes still other caves found in the Maeander valley; see Ogden 2001:185–186 for discussion with bibliography. The term *ploutōnion* (πλουτώνιον) – a place of Pluto – is used also of locales at which such vapors occur, and also of sanctuaries of Pluto: see, for example, Strabo 5.4.5, 13.4.14, 14.1.44.

χωρία ταῦτα Λυδοῖς καὶ Καρσὶν ἐπίμικτα καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι 'and these are areas mixed with Lydians and Carians and with the Greeks'. Pliny (*Naturalis historia* 5.114) reports this of Magnesia on the Maeander: it had its origins in Magnesia in Thessaly and it had been earlier called *Thessaloche* and *Mandrolytia* (on Mandrolytus see below, §12.6).

The first city to which one comes when following this route is 'Magnesia, an Aeolian *polis*, and called "on the Maeander"' (Μαγνησία πόλις Αἰολίς, λεγομένη δὲ ἐπὶ Μαιάνδρῳ). Although, reports Strabo, the city is actually more immediately located on the river Lethaeus – Anatolian river sharing a name with a river at Gortyn in Crete[1131] and with another near Tricca[1132] in Thessaly (14.1.39).[1133] Pausanias can regularly refer to Anatolian Magnesia as "Magnesia on the Lethaeus" (1.35.6, 5.21.10, 6.17.3, 10.32.6).

12.2.1. Prothous and Magnesia in Thessaly: Homer, Pseudo-Apollodorus, Photius

[1131] See also the (ca. second-century AD) geographer Dionysius' *Descriptio Graeciae* 126; Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (= van der Valk 1971–1987) 1.485, commenting on *Iliad* 2.645–652, description of the Cretan contingent in the Catalogue of Ships. See as well Quintus Smyrnaeus *Posthomerica* 10.82–83.

[1132] Mentioned by Homer in the Catalogue of Ships (*Iliad* 2.729), together with Ithome and Oechalia; the *epíkouroi* from these places are led by Podaleirius and Machaon, sons of Asclepius (see also 4.202).

[1133] As well as one in western Libya.

The toponym, *Magnesia on the Maeander* (or *Magnesia on the Lethaeus*), distinguishes the city from Thessalian Magnesia. In the Homeric Catalogue of Ships (*Iliad* 2.756–759), Prothous is identified as the leader of the contingent from Magnesia in Thessaly.

Μαγνήτων δ’ ἦρχε Πρόθοος Τενθρηδόνος υἱός,
οἳ περὶ Πηνειὸν καὶ Πήλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον
ναίεσκον· τῶν μὲν Πρόθοος θοὸς ἡγεμόνευε,
τῷ δ’ ἅμα τεσσαράκοντα μέλαιναι νῆες ἕποντο.

And Prothous, son of Tenthredon, was leader of the Magnesians,
who around Peneus and Pelion of trembling foliage
used to dwell;[1134] these swift Prothous was leading,
and with him forty black ships did follow.

[1134] Cf. Strabo 9.5.20–22. On the Thessalian topographic salience of the river Peneus and Mt. Pelion, consider also, *inter alia*, Diodorus Siculus 4.81.1–3 (on Aristaeus, son of Apollo and Cyrene [granddaughter of Peneus and raised in the vicinity of Mt. Pelion], who was brought up by nymphs in the place Cyrene but relocated to Boeotia and there married a daughter of Cadmus); Procopius *De aedificiis* 4.3.6–7; Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (= van der Valk 1971–1987) 1.500, 521, 526–528, and 564.

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Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* epitome 6.15a[1135] preserves the tradition that on his homeward journey after the Trojan War, Thessalian Prothous was shipwrecked at Caphereus (the promontory on the northeast shore of the very tail end of Euboea) and died, and that the Magnesians with him were swept away to Crete, where they settled.[1136] Photius *Bibliotheca* 186.135b–136a draws together various threads tied to the tradition earliest preserved in the *Iliad*:

> Ἡ κθ' ὡς Μάγνητες οἱ Μαγνησίαν τὴν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ νῦν οἰκοῦντες τὸ πτρότερον περὶ Πηνειὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τὸ Πήλιον ὄρος ᾤκησαν, καὶ συνεστράτευσαν Ἀχαιοῖς κατὰ Τροίας ἡγουμένου αὐτῶν Προθόου, καὶ ἐκαλοῦντο Μάγνητες. Εἶτα δεκάτη Μαγνήτων ἀνακομιζομένων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Τροίας οἰκίζει κατ' εὐχὰς εἰς Δελφούς. Μετὰ χρόνον δὲ ἀναστάντες τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ κατιόντες ἐπὶ θάλασσαν

[1135] Tzetzes *Scholia in Lycophronem* (*scholia vetera et recentiora partim Isaac et Joannis Tzetzae* [= Scheer 1958]) 901.

[1136] See also, regarding Magnesians in Crete, *Scholia in Platonem* (*scholia vetera* [= Greene 1938]) *Laws* 860 E. On the idea that the Cretan element in the foundation myth of Magnesia on the Maeander is secondary to political concerns at the time of the inscribing of the tradition on stone (noted below), see, *inter alia*, Dušanić 1983:19–20, 31, who relies in part on Prinz 1979:118–119, 125–126, 129.

ἐπεραιώθησαν εἰς Κρήτην. Ὕστερον δὲ βιασθέντες ἀνέστησαν ἐκ Κρήτης, καὶ πλεύσαντες εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐρρύοντο κακῶν νεόκτιστον οὖσαν τὴν Ἰωνίαν καὶ τὴν Αἰολίδα, συμμαχοῦντες αὐτοῖς κατὰ τῶν ἐπιτιθεμένων. Ἐκεῖθεν ἀφικνοῦνται ἐν ᾧ νῦν εἰσι, καὶ κτίζουσι πόλιν, ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον πατρίδος Μαγνησίαν αὐτὴν ἐπικαλέσαντες.

No. 29, how the Magnesians, those who now inhabit Magnesia in Asia, initially lived round about the river Peneus and Mt. Pelion [in Thessaly], and joined with the Achaeans in the expedition against Troy, with Prothous being their leader, and were then known as Magnesians. Afterward a tenth of those Magnesians returning from Troy settled at Delphi according to a vow. After a time, setting out from the sanctuary and going down to the sea they were carried off to Crete. Later, under compulsion, they set out from Crete, and when they had sailed to Asia they rescued from dire ills the newly founded Ionian and Aeolian regions, becoming allies with those peoples against attackers. Thence they came into the place in which they presently are and founded a city, naming it Magnesia after their homeland of early times.

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12.2.2. Pisander of Camirus

The concepts *Thessaly*, *Magnesia*, and *Crete* appear once again conjoined in the epigram of *Anthologia Graeca* 7.304, attributed to Pisander of Camirus (early epic poet [ca. later seventh century] from Rhodes):[1137]

Ἀνδρὶ μὲν Ἱππαίμων ὄνομ' ἦν, ἵππῳ δὲ Πόδαργος
καὶ κυνὶ Λήθαργος καὶ θεράποντι Βάβης·
Θεσσαλός, ἐκ Κρήτης, Μάγνης γένος, Αἵμονος υἱός·
ὤλετο δ' ἐν προμάχοις ὀξὺν Ἄρη συνάγων.

To the man was given the name Hippaemon, to the horse Podargus,
and to the dog Lethargus, and to the attendant Babes;
a Thessalian, from Crete, stock of Magnes,[1138] a son of Haemon;
he died among the front-fighters joining bitter Ares.

[1137] Compare Dio Chrysostom *Orations* 37.39–40; Julius Pollux *Onomasticon* 5.46–47.

[1138] On Magnes, see below, §12.4.

The epithet is likely genuine and is perhaps to be associated with a grave stele, severely weathered, from Dorylaeum (in Phrygia [Strabo 12.8.12]).[1139]

12.2.3. Plato Laws

The tradition of a Cretan city inhabited by Magnesians surfaces prominently in Plato's *Laws*.[1140] One of the participants in the dialogue, a Cretan called Clinias, has been tasked by Knossos with helping to found a new colony (702c–d). The site that this colony will occupy was one formerly inhabited by Magnesians and worship is to be paid to any local Magnesian (and other 'ancient' [*palaioí* παλαιοί]) gods who were once revered there, as communal memory informs (848d). Moreover, the new colony is named as the τῶν Μαγνήτων πόλις 'city of the Magnesians' (860e). These Magnesians

[1139] On the stele and its images see Greenhalgh 1973:145, with bibliography. For an etymon of the dog's name, Lethargus (*Lḗthargos* [Λήθαργος]), we should perhaps look not to *lḗthē* (λήθη) 'forgetting' (and in spite of the name of the river flowing nearby Asian Magnesia, *Lēthaîos* [Ληθαῖος]) but to Hesychius' (Λ 812) *lêthon* (λῆθον), which he glosses as *balión* (βαλιόν), with attested senses 'swift' and 'spotted'; in the form *Balíos* (Βαλίος) this lexeme serves to name of one of the *horses* of Achilles (Homer *Iliad* 16.149–150, 19.400), offspring of Zephyrus and the Harpy named *Podárgē* (Ποδάργη). *Pódargos* (Πόδαργος) is a name given to horses belonging to Hector (*Iliad* 8.185) and to Menelaus (*Iliad* 23.295); the same form appears on Knossos tablets Ch 899 and Ch 1029 + 5760 + 7625 + frr. as the name of an ox (Linear B *po-da-ko-*).

[1140] On which, see especially Morrow 1960:30–31, with bibliography. See also Clay 1993.

are characterized as those οὓς ὁ θεὸς ἀνορθῶν πάλιν κατοικίζει 'whom the god, restoring [them], is establishing again' (919d; see also 946b, 969a, in which latter passage the possibility that the god will choose to assign some other name to this city is made plain).

12.3. Dindymene and Artemis Leucophryene

Concerning the Thessalian contingent that founded Magnesia on the Maeander, Strabo reports (14.1.40) that they were Aeolians descended from Delphians who had settled in the Didyma mountains of Thessaly (situated in the Dotian Plain; Hesiod fr. 59 MW; see below, §13.6.3).[1141] In Thessalian Magnesia on the Maeander, notes Strabo, there had once stood a temple of the goddess Dindymene (*Dindumḗnē* [Δινδυμήνη]):[1142] she is Mater Dindymene, a mother goddess (earliest mentioned by Herodotus [1.80.1]),

[1141] Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 173e–f cites Aristotle (fr.631 [Rose 1886]) as identifying the Magnesians on the Maeander as 'colonists of the Delphians' (Δελφῶν ἄποικοι).

[1142] Diodorus Siculus (3.58.1) identifies a Dindúmē (Δινδύμη) who was wife of Mé(i)ōn (Μῄων), an ancient king of Phrygia and Lydia, and by him the mother of the goddess Cybele.

equated with Cybele, the great Asian Mother, and other such figures.[1143] The goddess likewise has a presence in Balkan Aeolian space – in Boeotia: Pausanias (9.25.3) records that Dindymene has a temple outside of the walls of Thebes, nearby Pindar's house, and that it was the poet who dedicated the image of the goddess to be found there (and see *Pythian Odes* 3.78–79).[1144]

In his own day, reports Strabo (14.1.40), the temple of Dindymene at Magnesia on the Maeander no longer stood (as the original city had been removed to another site), but there was found instead a cult of Artemis Leucophryene (*Leukophruēnḗ* [Λευκοφρυηνή], from *leúkophrus* [λεύκοφρυς] 'white-browed'), with a large sanctuary, exceeded in size in Asia only by those at Ephesus (on the Ephesian Artemision see Chapter Fifteen) and at Didyma; Carian Didyma was the site of an important oracle of Apollo, likely of Bronze-Age origin (see below, §18.2.7; on Didyma see also §15.3.2 and §21.3.2.2). Regarding Artemis Leucophryene, Calame observes that the cult is an ancient one, "since the founding of the sanctuary is described as the renovation of an

[1143] See, *inter alia*, Strabo 10.3.12; Aelius Herodianus *De prosodia catholica* 3,1.333; Photius *Bibliotheca* 187.143b. Regarding the cult of the goddess in Magnesia on the Maeander, see Plutarch *Life of Themistocles* 30.6.

[1144] See the comments of Symeonoglou 1985:134–135. See also Schachter 1986:138–141.

already existing temple."[1145] The earliest unambiguous mention of the Anatolian river Lethaeus (on which Asian Magnesia was situated; see above, §12.2) is that of Anacreon (fr. 3 PMG; sixth century BC) and is offered in the context of a prayer to Artemis to look pleasingly upon Magnesia on the Maeander:

Γουνοῦμαί σ' ἐλαφηβόλε
Ξανθὴ παῖ Διὸς ἀγρίων
δέσποιν' Ἄρτεμι θηρῶν·
ἥ κου νῦν ἐπὶ Ληθαίου
δίνῃσι θρασυκαρδίων 5
ἀνδρῶν ἐσκατορᾷς πόλιν
χαίρουσ' , οὐ γὰρ ἀνημέρους
ποιμαίνεις πολιήτας.

I implore you, O deer-shooter,
golden-haired child of Zeus,

[1145] On the cult see Calame 2001:96–97, *inter alia*; Calame notes that the tradition of the temple's foundation is common to the several decrees (dating from 208/7 BC to 129 BC) at Magnesia on the Maeander in which the cult is mentioned, on which see just below.

Artemis, mistress of beasts,

who now somewhere by Lethaeus'

eddies upon bold-hearted 5

fighting-men's city look down

rejoicing, for not savage are

the citizens that you shepherd.

The cult of Artemis Leucophryene lies at the heart of numerous decrees associated with Magnesia on the Maeander – an archive of decrees occasioned by "the epiphany of Artemis Leucophryene to the Magnesians and their announcement of the establishment of quadrennial games in her honor" (Clay 1993:437). These and other epigraphic materials from Magnesia on the Maeander constitute a remarkably dialectally diverse set of documents. Buck (1913:147) notes that decrees occur in "Arcadian, Boeotian, Lesbian, Thessalian, Cretan, Doric κοινή (from Corinth, Corcyra, Apollonia, Epidamnus, Epirus, Acarnania, Achaea, Cnidus, Cos [?], Rhodes), Northwest Greek κοινή (from Aetolia, Cephallenia, Ithaca, Phocis, Messenia), and the Attic κοινή (nearly all these from Attic-Ionic territory or the Macedonian cities of the Orient)." Of the non-*koine* dialects, Aeolian, in its various forms, is notably conspicuous.

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Beyond Magnesia, Strabo continues (14.1.42), is the Maeander Plain, inhabited by Lydians, Carians, Ionians (from Miletus and Myus) and Aeolians (from Magnesia) – yet another "mosaïque ethnique" (see §6.6.2). A Magnesia was also located in Lydia, situated at the base of Mt. Sipylus – hence, Magnesia ad Sipylum; Strabo (12.8.2, 18), writes that 'the ancients' (*hoi palaioí* [οἱ παλαιοί]) had given the name Phrygia to the area around the mountain, where lived 'Phrygian Tantalus, Pelops, and Niobe' (καὶ τὸν Τάνταλον Φρύγα καὶ τὸν Πέλοπα καὶ τὴν Νίοβην). In his discussion of Aeolian *poleis* of Anatolia in 13.3.3 and following, Strabo again mentions Magnesia ad Sipylum (3.3.5), noting its proximity to the cities of Aegae, Temnus, Cyme, and Smyrna (cf. Ducas *Historia Turcobyzantina* 4.3).

12.4. Magnes: Eponymous Aeolian Ancestor

The Magnesians and Thessalian Magnesia find an eponym in Magnes. The earliest attested references to a Thessalian Magnes are found in Hesiod fragments 7 and 8 (MW), in which one reads that Magnes and Macedon were the twin sons of Zeus and Thyia, the daughter of Deucalion, and that Magnes fathered the sons Dictys and Polydectes. Pseudo-Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca* 1.50) knows Magnes to be a son of Aeolus

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by Enarete (together with brothers Deion,[1146] Cretheus, Sisyphus, Athamas, Salmoneus, and Perieres) and reports (1.88) that Magnes' sons Dictys and Polydectes settled the Cycladic island of Seriphus. For Pausanias (6.21.11) Magnes is likewise a son of Aeolus, and Magnes' own son Eioneus was memorialized in Pisa (in the Peloponnese) as one of those heroes slain by Oenomaus and there worshipped by Pelops. Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (= van der Valk 1971–1987) 1.529,[1147] reports too that Magnes is a son of Aeolus and adds that the Thessalian city of Meliboea was named after Magnes' wife.[1148] Antoninus Liberalis (perhaps AD second century), *Metamorphoses* 23 (= Hesiod fr. 256 MW), knows Magnes to have had a different Thessalian pedigree: he

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[1146] See *IMagnesia* 35.12–15 concerning the *sungéneia* (συγγένεια) of Asian Magnesians and Cephallenians: Cephalus, the eponymous founder of Cephallenia was said to be son of Deion (see Aristodemus fr. 5; Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 3.197; Photius *T* 583 [= Suda *T* 429 and Michael Apostolius *Collectio paroemiarum* 16.42]; *Scholia in Euripidem* (*scholia vetera et scholia recentiora Thomae Magistri, Triclinii, Moschopuli et anonyma* [= Dindorf 1863]) 1648. Patterson (2010:111–112; see also pp. 117–118) briefly considers the *sungéneia* invoked in the inscription, contending that "it gives us direct evidence of a belief in myth as history and of the embrace of myth as a tool for political gain." But does it? It gives us direct evidence of *mûthos* as speech act, a means for accomplishing things through enunciation.

[1147] See also Aelius Herodianus *De prosodia catholica* 3,1.64; and on the same eponym for Magnesia on the Maeander see 3,1.294.

[1148] And see *Scholia in Iliadem* (*scholia vetera* [= Erbse 1969–1988]) 2.756a.

is son of Argus (son of Phrixus) and Perimele (daughter of Admetus), and is thus drawn into Argonautic tradition.[1149]

12.5. IMagnesia 215a: Aeolian Maenads for Magnesia on the Maeander

Remarkable from any perspective, and undoubtedly enlightening with regard to Magnesia on the Maeander and the informing of its Aeolian self-perception, is an inscription, *IMagnesia* 215a,[1150] recording the city's acquiring of maenads from Boeotia.[1151] The event is said to have been occasioned by a portent – the discovery of an image of Dionysus within a plane tree that had been split open in a storm. The Delphic oracle was consulted and Apollo's priestess responded with a *mûthos* in which the questioners were told that the portent had occurred as the city had neglected to

[1149] See below, §23.3.7.

[1150] The Roman copy in which the inscription survives dates perhaps to the middle of the second century AD (see Henrichs 1978:125–126). *IMagnesia* 215b credits Apollonius Mocolles with having the 'ancient oracle' (ἀρχαῖος χρησμός) inscribed onto the Roman-era stele.

[1151] For the inscription see, especially, Henrichs 1978, with bibliography of earlier work. For brief commentary, see also Cole http://www.acsu.buffalo.edu/~sgcole/cole/dionysos/Ionia/magmaean.html.

construct temples for Dionysus upon its founding.[1152] The directed response was for Magnesia to establish temples and a priesthood for Dionysus,

> ’Ελθέτε δὲ ἐς Θήβης ἱερὸν πέδον, ὄφρα λάβητε
>
> μαινάδας, αἳ γενεῆς Εἰνοῦς ἄπο Καδμηείης·
>
> . . . .

> And go to the holy plain of Thebes to obtain
>
> maenads who are of the family of Cadmean Ino;
>
> . . . .

These maenads were each to organize a *thiasus* and to lead Bacchic worship in Magnesia on the Maeander. The inscription continues, detailing that Thebes had indeed provided three maenads: Cosco (*Koskṓ* [Κοσκώ]), Baubo (*Baubṓ* [Βαυβώ]), and Thettale (*Thettalḗ* [Θετταλή]), who lived out their lives in Anatolia and were buried at public expense. The sense to be attached to the first two names is a matter of some

[1152] Parke and Wormell 1956, no. 338 = Fontenrose 1978, L171.

uncertainty, but the name of the third Boeotian maenad clearly ties her to Thessaly.[1153] The three women can be described as 'maenads who are of the family of Cadmean Ino'. The mythology of Ino, daughter of Cadmus, places her in Thessaly (see below, §16.3.5 and §23.3); she was notably worshiped as Ino-Leucothea in both Aeolian Thessaly and Boeotia.[1154] In her mythology Ino is a wife of Athamas, who is said to be a son of Aeolus and identified as a king of both Boeotian and Thessalian cities, linked to the foundation of several Boeotian sites through the persons of his sons, founder of Anatolian Teos, northwest of Ephesus – and a figure whom we will repeatedly encounter in pages to come (as we have already, in §8.6.5 and §11.5.3 above).

12.6. Parthenius of Nicaea

In his *Narrationes amatoriae* 5, Parthenius of Nicaea (mythographer of the first century BC), citing Hermesianax of Colophon (third century BC) as his source, writes of one Leucippus (*Leúkippos* [Λεύκιππος] 'White-Horse Man'), said to be son of Xanthius, a

[1153] On the names see Henrichs 1978:130–131 (with bibliography), who notes that Thettale may have significance in regard to the use *Thessalaí* (Θεσσαλαί) to denote 'witches'. See also the remarks of Fontenrose 1978:409–410 and Cole http://www.acsu.buffalo.edu/~sgcole/cole/dionysos/Ionia/magmaean.html.

[1154] On her popularity in the regions during the Hellenistic era see Henrichs 1978:142–143.

descendant of Bellerophon, and a powerful and skilled warrior: διὸ πολὺς ἦν λόγος περὶ αὐτοῦ παρά τε Λυκίοις καὶ τοῖς προσεχέσι τούτοις, ἅτε δὴ ἀγομένοις καὶ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν δυσχερὲς πάσχουσιν 'consequently there was much reported of him among the Lycians and their neighbors, seeing that they were being carried off [by him] and suffering hardship of every sort'. Following an incestuous affair with his sister, which resulted in the accidental murder of his father, continues Parthenius, this Leucippus fled and became the leader of some Thessalians who were bound for Crete. But having been driven from Crete by local peoples, he returned to Asia, to the region of Ephesus, and there founded the city called *Cretinaeum* (*Krētinaîon* [Κρητιναῖον], 5.1–5): with regard to the toponym *Cretinaeum*, compare the Magnesian named *Cretines* (*Krētínēs* [Κρητίνης]), father of one Aminocles, to whom Herodotus (7.190.1) makes passing reference;[1155] Pseudo-Scymnus (*Ad Nicomedem regem* 949–952) identifies a Cretines who was an exile from Miletus during the time of the Cimmerian invasion of Anatolia (see Huxley 1960:21).

In regard to these Cretan-bound warriors of Thessaly, Parthenius, similar to Photius (see §12.2.1 above), makes reference to a "tenth" of Aeolian warriors. He writes

[1155] Plutarch (*Praecepta gerendae reipublicae* 809B–C) discusses a Cretines of Magnesia who was a political opponent of Hermeias.

(5.6) that 'according to an oracle' (κατὰ θεοπρόπιον) Leucippus was chosen leader of the tenth that Admetus had sent from (the Thessalian city of) Pherae. Parthenius also reports that these Aeolians overwhelmed the city ruled by Mandrolytus when his daughter Leucophrye traitorously handed over the city to Leucippus, whom she loved.

With the name of Leucippus' lover *Leucophrye* (*Leukophrúē* [Λευκοφρύη]), daughter of Mandrolytus, compare the toponym *Leucophrys* (*Leúkophrus* [Λεύκοφρυς]), said to have been an archaic name for the Asiatic Aeolian island of Tenedos (situated between Lesbos and the Troad).[1156] Xenophon (*Hellenica* 3.2.19) writes of a place called Leucophrys in Caria at which was located a temple of Artemis, one he characterizes as μάλα ἅγιον 'extremely sacred'. This is the locale to which the city of Magnesia on the Maeander had been moved in the mid fifth century BC, following its recapture from the Persians. The cult of Artemis *Leucophryene* is well attested in western coastal Anatolia: as we saw in §12.3, Strabo (14.1.40) attests to the significance of the cult of Artemis Leucophryene at Magnesia on the Maeander; and Pausanias (1.26.4), as he draws attention to an image of the goddess on the Athenian Acropolis (dedicated by

[1156] See, *inter alia*, Hecataeus of Miletus fr. 139 FGrH; Aristotle fr. 8.45.611; Strabo 13.1.46; Pseudo-Apollodorus 3.25; Pausanias 10.14.2–3; Hesychius Λ 744; Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* 19.91; Photius *Bibliotheca* 186.135b and *Lexicon* T 151.

Themistocles' sons), refers to her popularity among the Magnesians.[1157] Appian (*Bellum civile* 5.1.9) records the assassination of Cleopatra's sister Arsinoe in the temple of Artemis Leucophryene at Miletus.

12.7. Leucippus, Chrysaor, and Car

A scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica* (1.584)[1158] records that Magnesia is the name given to a city in Thessaly and to another in the vicinity of Ephesus and that the latter ἐκτισμένη ὑπὸ Λευκίππου τοῦ Καρὸς 'was founded by Leucippus the Carian' when he had moved there together with some Magnesians from Crete. Jones (2002:116) has suggested that this phrasing may be more precisely understood as entailing a patronymic, i.e. 'Leucippus the son Car'.[1159] Car (*Kár* [Κάρ]) is of course the eponymous ancestor of Carians. Mention is made of Car as early as Herodotus, who records (1.171.6) that Car is reported to be a brother of Lydus and Mysus (eponymous

[1157] See also, *inter alia*, Aristodemus (fr. 1 FGrH); Clement of Alexandria *Protrepticus* 3.45.3, with scholia.

[1158] *Scholia in Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* (*scholia vetera* [= Wendel 1935]) 51.

[1159] Jones notes that in the Magnesian version of the myth (see below) Leucippus is a Lycian from Xanthus and that an inscription from Xanthus "published in 1988, shows that that city too had a tradition linking its kings to heroes of Caria."

ancestors of the Lydians and Mysians, respectively)[1160] and rehearses the tradition (1.171.1) that the Carians once went by the name *Leleges* (*Léleges* [Λέλεγες]), an island-dwelling people who served the Cretan king Minos as mercenaries but who were eventually driven from their islands by Dorians and Ionians – this, at any rate, Herodotus adds (1.171.5), is the account that the Cretans give about the Carians, one which is not shared by the Carians themselves, who claim to be aboriginal to Anatolia. The term *Leleges* is earliest attested as the name of a people in the *Iliad*: at 10.428–429 they appear among the encamped mixed *epíkouroi* of the Trojans (see §9.4, §9.6, and §9.7), mentioned together with (and separate from) Carians, Paeonians, Caucones, and Pelasgians; see also 20.96 and 21.86–87 – in the latter the Leleges being localized within the Troad.

12.7.1. Idrieus, Son of Car

Jones (2002:115) draws attention to the above-noted *Argonautica* scholion in conjunction with his discussion of two "sons of Car" who receive mention in the *Ethnica* of Stephanus Byzantius. One is called *Idrieus* (*Idrieús* [’Ιδριεύς], *Ethnica* 9.27), who gave

[1160] Compare Strabo 14.2.23 on the temple of Carian Zeus in Mylasa in which Lydians and Mysians 'have a share' (*métesti* [μέτεστι]) as brothers. Carian Mylasa will come to our attention further along in conjunction with discussion of Zeus Labrandeus (see §12.7.2).

his name to the city of Idrias (*Idriás* [’Ιδριάς]), a Carian town which had been earlier called *Chrysaoris* (*Khrusaorís* [Χρυσαορίς]; at *Ethnica* 22.56 Stephanus credits Epaphroditus of Chaeronea [first century AD] for the report that in fact all of Caria was once called *Chrysaoris*).[1161] Stephanus here (at *Ethnica* 9.27) makes the father-son relationship explicit: ἀπὸ ’Ιδριέως παιδὸς Καρός ‘from Idrieus son of Car’.

Beyond this observation, we should add that this is not the only appearance that Idrieus makes in Stephanus’ *Ethnica*. At 5.172 we read that there is a city called *Europus* (*Eurōpós* [Εὐρωπός]) in Macedonia, another in Syria, and still another in Caria, which is also called *Idrias* (!), so named after Idrieus, who is here given a different father: ἀπὸ ’Ιδριέως τοῦ Χρυσάορος ‘from Idrieus the son of Chrysaor’, clearly eponym of the Carian place Chrysaoris (mentioned just above) that underwent a name change to *Idrias*.[1162] Chrysaor also appears in Stephanus’ remarks on the Carian city of Mylasa (*Ethnica* 12.237; on Mylasa see §12.7.2): he reports that the city was named after Mylasus, son of Chrysaor, son of Glaucus, son of Sisyphus, son of Aeolus – and so making Chrysaor an Aeolid and the brother of Bellerophon.[1163]

[1161] Stephanus Byzantius identifies his source of at least some of this material as Apollonius of Aphrodisias (in Cilicia), perhaps third century BC.

[1162] See also *Ethnica* 5.170 on the city Euromus, named for Euromus the son of Idrieus.

[1163] On the connection with Bellerophon see Jones 1999:142–143.

The varying traditions regarding the paternity of Idrieus (Car and Chrysaor, who can both be related eponymously to Carian space) and the appellations of a city eponymously associated with him found in the entries of Stephanus *Ethnica*, if conflicting, are consistent with an integral relationship between Car/Caria and Chrysaor. That Europus is thrown into the mix is *séduisant*. Aeschylus' play entitled *Carians or Europa*, known only in fragments, comes to mind in this regard. The Asian (commonly Phoenician) princess Europa, mother of Minos, Rhadamanthys, and Sarpedon by Zeus, here appears to be resident in Caria. The fragments reveal a plot in which Europa awaits dread news of the fate of her son Sarpedon, typically associated with Lycia, who is engaged in combat with the Greeks at Troy.[1164]

12.7.2. Alabandus, Son of Car and Son of Evippus

The second of the two sons of Car mentioned by Stephanus Byzantius, to whom Jones (2002:15) draws attention, is Alabandus, eponym of the Carian city of Alabanda.[1165]

[1164] On Idrieus or Hidrieus as a Carian name see also, *inter alia*, Aristotle *Rhetoric* 3.4.3; Diodorus Siculus 16.42.6 and 45.7, 16.69.2; Strabo 14.2.17 and 5.23; Plutarch *Life of Agesilaus* 13.4; Arrian *Anabasis of Alexander* 1.23.7; Harpocration *Lexicon in decem oratores* I.2; Photius *Lexicon* I.31; Suda I.130.

[1165] On a hero cult of Alabandus celebrated by the people of Alabanda see the remarks of Cicero *De natura deorum* 3.50. Cicero identifies Alabandus as the founder of the city.

Jones points out that Stephanus identifies Alabanda as a κτίσμα Καρός 'colony of Car', named for the son (Alabandus) that Car fathered by Callirrhoe (certainly a water nymph), daughter of the river Maeander; Alabandus was born following a νίκη ἱππομαχική 'horse-fight victory' (1.184). The outcome of Car's chariot combat is allegedly reflected in the name *Alabandus*, which, reports Stephanus, means *hippónikos* (ἱππόνικος), 'horse-victor', in the Carian language – with *ala* (ἄλα) denoting 'horse' and *banda* (βάνδα) 'victory'.

But again, one can offer additional observations concerning a son of Car – observations that appear to have some pertinence for the foundation tradition of Magnesia on the Maeander (river serving as maternal grandfather of Alabandus). In the same lemma of the *Ethnica* considered in the preceding paragraph (1.184), Stephanus, now citing the historian Charax (fr. 48 FHG, ca. second century AD), records the eponymy of yet a different Carian city called Alabanda – once called Antioch (*Antiókheia* [Ἀντιόχεια]), that is, Antioch of the Chrysaorians,[1166] some 50 km southeast of Magnesia on the Maeander. Stephanus writes that this Alabanda is named after

[1166] On the identification see Holleaux 1938–68:3:141–142. See Rigsby 1997:326 for discussion of the refounding of the city as Antioch of the Chrysaorians in 260 BC.

Alabandus the son of *Evippus* (*Eúippos* [Εὔιππος]), whose name means 'delighting in horses'.[1167] Alabandus can be son either of Evippus or of Car, the horse-combat victor.

Strabo describes a Carian city Alabanda, characterizing it as one of the three notable cities of the interior of Caria – the other two being Mylasa (mentioned in the preceding section) and Stratoniceia (14.2.22). Strabo continues –it is near the mountain pass between Alabanda and Mylasa that lies the Carian 'village' (*kōmē* [κώμη]) of Labranda, or Labraunda, (14.2.23; about 12 km north-northeast of Mylasa), place sharing a name with the cult of Zeus Labrandeus, (see below, §16.2.1), the chief deity of Carian Mylasa.[1168] Topographically, Strabo describes Alabanda as lying at the base of two ridges that join in such a way as to present the appearance of a loaded 'pack-ass' (*kanthḗlios* [κανθήλιος]; 14.2.26). Equid affiliations are here further on display.

[1167] In Meineke's 1849 edition of Stephanus' *Ethnica* that editor interprets *eúippos* (εὔιππος) as an adjective modifying *Alabandus*, thus understanding ἐκλήθη δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀλαβάνδου, τοῦ εὐίππου as '[the city] was named after Alabandus, the one delighting in horses' and so distinguishing the Alabandus delighting in horses (rather than Alabandus son of Evippus) from Alabandus the son of Car. The syntax and context both speak against Meineke's interpretation.

[1168] On the possible identification of Mylasa with the city attested in cuneiform documents as Mutamutassa, see Adiego 2007:342 with bibliography.

Alabanda belongs to a very small set of Carian lexemes preserved by Greek authors that appear to realize some degree of linguistic authenticity.[1169] This is not necessarily to say that the name of the city *Alabanda* has been rightly etymologized by these Greeks. In light of the productive Anatolian suffix *-anda*, seen not uncommonly in place names – compare, for example, *Labranda* mentioned in the preceding paragraph – the identification of *banda* as a morpheme meaning 'victory' in the toponym *Alabanda* is suspect. Adiego (2007:11, 341–342) rightly notes that the proper morpheme segmentation would likely be along the lines of *Alab=anda*. As Adiego (pp. 11–12) observes, assigning the meaning 'horse-victor' (*hippónikos* [ἱππόνικος]) to the eponym *Alabandus* looks to be a process of folk etymologizing.[1170] A possible meaning of

[1169] Adiego (2007:7–9) suggests six, five of which are recoded in the *Ethnica* of Stephanus Byzantius, all in conjunction with the interpretation of place names: *ála* (ἄλα) 'horse'; *bánda* (βάνδα) 'victory'; *soûa(n)* (σοῦα[ν]) 'tomb'; *géla* (γέλα) 'king'; and *gíssa* (γίσσα) 'stone'. The remaining lexeme that Adiego includes is *koîon* (κοῖον), or *kóon* (κόον; see Erbse 1986:389–390), 'sheep', citing a scholion to *Iliad* 15.255 (cf. Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* [= van der Valk 1971–1987] 1.496). This last-named may be related to Cuneiform Luvian *ḫāwa/ī-* and Hieroglyphic Luvian *ha-wa/i/-*; see Adiego 2007:10, who cites as his source Carruba 1965 (absent from Adiego's bibliography); see Melchert 1993b:66 for Cuneiform Luvian *ḫāwa/ī-*, which Melchert compares to Lycian *xawa-*.

[1170] Though such an interpretation would by no means obviate the possibility that Carian words for 'horse' and 'victor' are phonically similar to *ala* and *bandus* respectively (in fact, would presumably

the place name *Alabanda* is offered by Adiego (1993:21, following Neumann 1988), who suggests, perhaps too tentatively, that the proper sense would be 'rich in horses'. By this analysis one would see in *Alab-* a Greek rendering of a Carian morpheme for 'horse', and the Luvic formant *-anda* would carry the sense '[place] rich in', as in other toponyms of this formation (on which, see Neumann 1988:185–187).[1171]

To this we can add other observations. Stephanus' identification of Alabandus, personified eponym of Alabanda '[place] rich in horses', as the son of Evippus (*Eúippos* [Εὔιππος]) 'One Delighting in Horses' finds a certain logic. Note that as adjective *euippus*, that is *eúippos* (εὔιππος), can be used to describe places and peoples as 'famed for horses': for example, Pindar so describes Cyrene at *Pythian Odes* 4.2.[1172] It is attested several times in tragedy: Euripides uses the adjective of Hellas (*Iphigenia Among the Taurians* 132), of Thebes (*Phoenician Women* 17), of Thrace (*Hecuba* 1090), and of Pieria

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depend upon it). If such a folk etymological technique can be applied to *Alabandus*, assigning to it the sense 'horse-victor', then clearly the place name *Alabanda* lexico-semantically lends itself to such etymologizing.

[1171] Neumann notes that Brandenstein had already offered a similar analysis of the toponym Alabanda in 1936 (p. 35). For the suffix in Carian see Adiego 2007:341–342.

[1172] See also *Scholia in Pindarum* [*scholia vetera* (= Drachmann 1966–1969)] *Pythian* 4.1a and 4.1b; Dionysius *Orbis descriptio* 214.

(*Bacchae* 565–574); Sophocles uses it to describe Colonus (*Oedipus at Colonus* 668 and 711).[1173] Xenophon uses *eúippos* to describe the Hyrcanians (*Cyropaedia* 4.2.1) and the Persian allied cavalry (*Cyropaedia* 5.5.5). The term can also be used of Thera (Callimachus fr. 716 [Pfeiffer 1949–1953]); of Media (Maximus *Dissertationes* 21.3); of *terra firma* controlled by Croesus (Maximus *Dissertationes* 34.5); of Thessaly (Philostratus *Heroicus* 50.2; *Anthologia Graeca* [Philippus] 9.543); of Cappadocia (*Anthologia Graeca* [Gregorius Nazianzenus] 8.100); and of Troy (*Scholia in Odysseam* [= Pontani 2007] 2.18a2).

When we come to take a closer look at the Dioscuri Castor and Polydeuces (making a beginning of it at §12.7.3.1) we will see that the adjective *eúippos* (εὔιππος) can be used as epithet of that pair of horse-affiliated divine twins. Other mythic figures who are so characterized include these:

1. The Hyperboreans: Hesiod fr. 150.22 MW
2. Ischys, son of Elatus and Hippea: *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 210
3. The Amazons: Pindar *Olympian Odes* 8.47

[1173] See also *Scholia in Sophoclem* [*scholia vetera* (= Papageorgius 1888)] *Oedipus at Colonus* 711.

4. Phlegyas: Pindar *Pythian Odes* 3.8, with *Scholia in Pindarum* (*scholia vetera* [= Drachmann 1966–1969]) *Pythian* 3.14 (see below, §14.2.1)
5. Apollo can be so characterized as an agent causing an assembling of chariots: Euripides *Andromache* 1019

As a proper name, *Evippus* is likewise attested in mythic contexts, some reduplicating structural elements we have just been considering.[1174] Earliest of these occurrences is that of *Iliad* 16.418, in which line *Evippus* names a warrior slain by Patroclus; this Evippus is apparently envisioned by the poet to be Lydian – depicted as a *hetaîros* (ἑταῖρος) 'comrade-in-arms' of the Lydian Sarpedon (lines 419–420). There are others.

12.7.2.1. Boeotian Evippus. Pausanias (1.39.5–6; 1.41.3) names an Evippus who is son of Megareus, king of Onchestus in Boeotia. This Aeolian Evippus was one of the victims of the Cithaeronian Lion, a beast that would be slain by Pelops' son Alcathous, who became king of Onchestus following Megareus. Pausanias reports (1.39.4–6) that the Boeotians identify this king Megareus as the eponym of the city of Megara, a

[1174] The name also appears in an epigram attributed to Asclepiades (*Anthologia Graeca* 7.500), and names an estate owner in a speech by the orator Dinarchus (Dionysius of Halicarnassus *De Dinarcho* 12). It can also be read in fr.1 of the *Chronicon Pergamenum* (FGrH).

naming event that occurred at the time that Megareus and his Boeotians aided Nisus (ruler of "Megara," city then called *Nisa*) in an expedition against Crete, in which Megareus was slain (see also Pausanias 1.42.1). The Megarians themselves, however, claim that the city received its name from *mégara* (μέγαρα), meaning 'halls', though in the present context specifically identifying structures sacred to Demeter, who was early chief deity of the city.[1175] Pausanias sets this alternative naming event in an earlier time, when 'Car the son of Phoroneus' (Κάρ ὁ Φορωνέως) had ruled as king in the region.[1176]

The acropolis of Megara, reports Pausanias (1.40.6), was still in his own day called *Caria* (*Karía* [Καρία]). In mentioning "Car the son of Phoroneus," Stephanus Byzantius (*Ethnica* 10.82) reports that the acropolis of Megara was called *Caria* after him and further identifies this Car as ὁ <u>οἰκήτωρ</u> Κάριος 'the Carian <u>colonist</u>' (<u>*oikḗtōr*</u>).[1177] Among the gods of Megara is Apollo – the Apollo Agyieus whom we encountered in

[1175] See, *inter alia*, Bremmer 2012:23-26; 2014:166–179, with bibliography and discussion of earlier work.

[1176] It was twelve generations after Car, writes Pausanias, that Lelex came from Egypt to be ruler, and it was at this time that the *Leleges* (see above, §12.7) acquired their name from him.

[1177] See also Aelius Herodianus *De prosodia catholica* 3,1.299; Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (= van der Valk 1971–1987) 1.579.

Chapter Four (see §4.2.3, §4.5, and §4.6.1),[1178] as well as Apollo Carinus (i.e. *Karinós* [Καρινός]),[1179] whose cult one might anticipate to have been localized on the Caria acropolis, but his aniconic, pyramidal image that Pausanias describes (1.44.2) was situated elsewhere, in the gymnasium, next to the sanctuary of Eileithyia.

But Megara actually has a second acropolis, Pausanias continues (1.42.1), this one –the *Alcathoe* (*Alkothóē* [Ἀλκαθόη]) – named after the above-mentioned Alcathous, who became king of Boeotian Onchestus. Pausanias (1.42.2) records that Alcathous built the wall of the citadel of Megara with the aid of Apollo after the god had laid aside his *kithára* (κιθάρα) 'lyre', placing it on a particular stone which was seen by Pausanias, and which he reports to emit a lyre-like sound when a pebble is dropped on it.

Phoroneus, made to be father of Car, eponym of Megarian Caria, is a primeval figure associated with Argos. The fifth-century historian Acusilaus identifies him as the first human (fr. 23a FGrH):[1180] "an *Urmensch*, an Argive counterpart to Deukalion"[1181]

[1178] Dieuchidas of Megara fr. 2a FHG. See the comments of Herda 2016:86, citing, *inter alia*, Hanell 1934:168–169.

[1179] On the god see recently Bremmer 2012:24; 2014:167, and Herda 2016, especially pp. 77–79, 85–86 for Apollo Carinus, both with bibliography.

[1180] See also Plato *Timaeus* 22A.

(Fowler 2013:236). He was the first to gather Argive people into a city (Pausanias 2.15.5) and, in Argive tradition, he first gave fire to humankind (2.19.5). In his discussion of the Argive Peloponnese, Strabo (8.6.15) cites Aristotle for the tradition that Carians once possessed the city of Epidaurus, which earlier was called *Epicarus* (*Epíkaros* Ἐπίκαρος], as they had once possessed Hermione in the Argolid.

12.7.2.2. Evippus, Brother of Leda. Pseudo-Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca* 1.56–62) gives the name *Evippus* to one of the sons of Thestius (descended from Aetolus, son of Aeolian Endymion, he 'who, having led the Aeolians out of Thessaly, founded Elis') and his wife Eurythemis, and so makes Evippus brother of Leda, the Laconian queen and mother of the Dioscuri, Castor and Polydeuces. Pausanias (3.13.8) likewise identifies Leda (wife of the Spartan king Tyndareus) as a daughter of Thestius (with no mention of Evippus, or any other sibling), citing as his source the archaic epic poet Asius of Samos (fr. 6), whom we encountered in Chapter Eleven (see §11.5.3, §11.5.3.1, and §11.5.3.4) in conjunction with his lines on Melanippe and her son Boeotus, whom she birthed 'in the house of Dius' (fr. 2). Pausanias here records that the 'sons of Tyndareus' (οἱ Τυνδάρεω

[1181] A tradition places Phoroneus' reign of Argos at the time of the great flood of Ogygus; see, *inter alia*, Acusilaus fr.23a and b (FGrH), Augustine *City of God* 18.8.; Georgius Syncellus *Ecloga chronographica* 78.

παῖδες) – that is, the Dioscuri, who have their own horse affiliations – are descended from Pleuron on their mother's (i.e. Leda's) side: 'for Asius says in his epic verses that the father of Leda, Thestius, was the son of Agenor, the son of Pleuron' (Θέστιον γὰρ τὸν Λήδας πατέρα Ἄσιός φησιν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν Ἀγήνορος παῖδα εἶναι τοῦ Πλευρῶνος).

Pleuron is said to be brother of Calydon, and these two the sons of Aetolus (eponymous ancestor of Aetolia).[1182] As place names *Pleuron* and *Calydon* both appear in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships (*Iliad* 2.638–644), in the entry for the contingent of Aetolian *epíkouroi*. Regarding Pleuron (*Pleurṓn* [Πλεύρων]) – let us recall that in Chapter Eight (see §8.4.1) we encountered the Mycenaean *hekʷetās* named as *Pe-re-u-ro-ni-jo*, identified by the marked syntagm *pe-re-u-ro-ni-jo, e-qe-ta*, found in line 16 of Pylos tablet An 656 (see also §9.5). There we noted that Strabo (10.3.4) reports that the eponymous hero Aetolus had driven the aboriginal Curetes out of Aetolia and that Aeolians migrated into Aetolia from Thessaly upon the arrival there of the descendants of Thessalus.

12.7.3. The Dioscuri, Aśvins, and Other Twins

[1182] See, *inter alia*, Hesiod fr. 10A.63–64 (MW); Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 1.58–59.

In the context of the present discussion, the mythic affiliation of Leda and one named *Evippus*, 'One Delighting in Horses', certainly warrants attention. As we have just reminded ourselves, Leda is wife of Tyndareus and mother of the Dioscuri – Castor and Polydeuces – who have their own pronounced equine affiliations.

12.7.3.1. The Dioscuri: Castor and Polydeuces. These Dioscuri – that is *Diós-koroi* (Διόσ-κοροι)/*Diós-kouroi* (Διόσ-κουροι), and less frequently uncompounded *Diòs koûroi* (Διὸς κοῦροι)[1183] – are by name 'sons of Zeus'. They are Greek reflexes of primitive Indo-European twin gods, one of the earliest recognized and most securely identified components of the ancestral pantheon. That the horse attachments of the sons of Zeus are of primitive Indo-European origin is indicated by the set of characteristics the Dioscuri share with (especially, among other such pairs)[1184] the Aśvins, the "sons of

[1183] As in the *Homeric Hymn to the Dioscuri* 1 and 9; Alcman fr. 7.8–9 Page; Euripides *Electra* 990–991; Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* 4.650–651; Plutarch *Life of Titus Flaminius* 12.11; *Etymologicum magnum* 278; Greek Anthology 4.1.24, . In the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* (line 490), Hermes addresses Apollo as *Diòs aglaè koûre* (Διὸς ἀγλαὲ κοῦρε) 'shining son of Zeus'.

[1184] See generally Ward 1968 (as well as Ward 1970); Lehmann 1988; West 2007:186–191. See also, *inter alia*, for Germanic counterparts O'Brien 1982 (Germanic and Celtic); Joseph 1983; for Iranian counterparts Davidson 1987.

Dyaus [= Zeus]," divine twin deities of India[1185] whose name *Aśvins* (dual *Aśvinā/Aśvinau* 'two charioteers') is derived from Sanskrit *aśva-* 'horse',[1186] and also with Baltic twin deities – the Latvian *Dieva dēli* and Lithuanian *Dievo sūneliai*.[1187] In Pindar's *Olympian Odes* 3.38–39 adjectival *evippus*, that is *eúippos* (εὔιππος) 'delighting in horses' serves as an epithet of the Greek twins, here called *Tundarídai* (Τυνδαρίδαι) 'sons of Tyndareus'.[1188] The Dioscuri can also be identified by the epithet *leukópōloi* (λευκόπωλοι) 'white-horse ones',[1189] as in Pindar *Pythian Odes* 1.66; Hesychius Δ 1929; *Scholia in Euripidis Phoenissas*

[1185] The twin gods are also called the *Nāsatyas*, name by which they appear already in the Mitanni treaty of the fourteenth century BC; see below, especially §13.7, §21.3, §21.3.2.2, §21.3.2.3.

[1186] Comparison of the Dioscuri and the Aśvins has a long history, dating to at least Welker 1857; see also Cox 1887:95, 119, 207, 234, 282n3, 310, 314n3, 375, 390, 518; Oldenberg 1894:50, 213nn1–2, 214; Macdonell 1895:953–954; Hopkins 1895:78–80; Macdonell 1897 (reprinted 1995):53; Müller 1897:2:516, 580–581, 600–602, 609, 636–642. Among the more recent treatments see Ward 1968; Joseph 1983; Nagy 1990b:255–258; Parpola 2005:6–12, 15, 18, 20, 22, 29–32, 36, 38; West 2007:187–190; Frame 2009:58–95 and 2013.

[1187] See, *inter alia*, the discussions of Mannhardt 1875a (particularly pp. 75–86 and 90–92); Shapiro 1982 (a work that treats Baltic materials, including Old Prussian, but focuses on evaluating evidence for Slavic counterparts); O'Brien 1997:163; Nikolaev 2012:571–572; Ankrava 2014:368–369.

[1188] See also *Scholia et glossae in Olympia et Pythia* (*scholia recentiora Triclinii, Thomae Magistri, Moschopuli, Germani* [= Ábel 1891] *Olympian* 3.67–74).

[1189] Also used of Hemera 'Day': Aeschylus *Persians* 386; Sophocles *Ajax* 673; *Suda* Ει 296.

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606.[1190] The brothers Castor and Polydeuces are famed for their horse-handling skills. The commonly-occurring epic epithet *hippódamos* (ἱππόδαμος) 'horse-tamer' is applied to Castor in numerous texts.[1191] In both of the *Homeric Hymns to the Dioscuri* (17.5 and 33.18) the pair are addressed as 'sons of Tyndareus' and as ταχέων ἐπιβήτορες ἵππων 'ones who mount swift horses'; as Frame (2009:73n158) points out, the latter phrase points to a time when the Dioscuri were still envisioned as chariot drivers (evolving into riders on horseback): compare the synonymous phrase ἵππων τ' ὠκυπόδων ἐπιβήτορας at *Odyssey* 18.263, used to characterize Trojan warriors (who drive into battle).[1192] Alcaeus (fr. 34a L-P) sings of Castor and Polydeuces as traversing land and sea ὠ[κυπό]δων ἐπ' ἵππων 'on swift-footed horses' (cf. Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* 1.146–147).[1193] Alcman (fr. 2 Page) describes the pair as *dmatêres* (δματῆρες) 'tamers' and as *hippótai* (ἱππόται) 'horse drivers/riders'. Euripides (*Helen* 639) has Helen name her

[1190] *Scholia vetera et scholia recentiora Thomae Magistri, Triclinii, Moschopuli et anonyma* (= Dindorf 1863).

[1191] See, *inter alia*, *Iliad* 3.327; *Odyssey* 11.300; *Homeric Hymn to the Dioscuri* (33) 3; Hesiod fr. 198.8 and fr. 199.1 (MW); *Cypria* fr. 15.6; Ibycus fr. S166.18 (Page, partially restored); *Etymologicum Gudianum* K 302; Tzetzes *Chiliades* 2.48; *Scholia in Pindarum* (*scholia vetera* [= Drachmann 1966–1969]) *Pythian* 5.10a.

[1192] And see *Scholia in Odysseam* (*scholia vetera* [= Dindorf 1962]) 18.263.

[1193] The formulaic phrase *híppoi ōkúpodes* (Ἵπποι ὠκύποδες) 'swift-footed horses' is a common one in early Greek epic and lyric.

brothers Castor and Polydeuces, the Dioscuri, as *leúkippoi kóroi* (λεύκιπποι κόροι) 'white-horse boys/sons'. Satirically characterizing the iconography of the twin gods, Lucian (*Dialogues of the Gods* 25.1) writes καὶ ἵππος ἑκατέρῳ λευκός 'and a white horse for each'.[1194] The ancient imagery of the Dioscuri, Castor and Polydeuces, abounds, in fact, with equine elements (see LIMC III.2:456–503). Transferred to Roman cult tradition, Castor and Pollux were said to have appeared at the head of the Roman cavalry at a critical moment in the battle of Lake Regillus at the dawn of the history of the Republic (Cicero *Ne natura deorum* 2.6, 3.11–12; Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Antiquitates Romanae* 6.13.1–5; Valerius Maximus *Memorable Doings and Sayings* 8.1a).

Aside from their participation in the Argonautic expedition[1195] and the Calydonian Boar Hunt[1196] and, especially, the rescue of Helen after her abduction by Theseus and Peirithous,[1197] the one attested tradition of Greek *mûthos* in which Castor

[1194] On the young Messenian warriors Gonippus and Panormus who masqueraded as Castor and Polydeuces to trick Lacedaemonian troops, slaying many, see Pausanias 4.27.1–3 (cf. Polyaenus *Strategemata* 2.31.4).

[1195] See Pindar *Pythian Odes* 4.171–173; Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* 1.146–150; 2.98–109; 4.588–591; Valerius Flaccus *Argonautica* 1.420–432; Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 1.111; Hyginus *Fabulae* 14.

[1196] See Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8.299–302; Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 1.67; Hyginus *Fabulae* 173.

[1197] On their rescue of Helen see especially Edmunds 2016:70–102 with bibliography.

and Polydeuces play a conspicuous role is that of their abduction of the *Leucippides* (i.e. *Leukippídes* [Λευκιππίδες]), Hilaïra and Phoebe, 'daughters of *Leucippus*' (i.e. *Leúkippos* Λεύκιππος, 'White-Horse Man'), king of Messenia.[1198] This Messenian Leucippus is typically identified as the son of Perieres (i.e. *Periḗrēs* [Περιήρης]).[1199] Perieres is in turn said to be a son of Aeolus, beginning with Hesiod fr. 10a (MW, for which see below, §12.7.4; see also Hecataeus of Miletus fr. 28 FGrH and Pausanias 2.21.7; 4.2.2; 6.22.2).[1200]

[1198] See, *inter alia*, Demades fr. 95; Theocritus 22.135–223; Ovid *Fasti* 5.699–720; Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 3.117 and 3.134; Hyginus *Fabulae* 80; Pausanias 1.18.1 and 3.17.3; Tatian *Oratio ad Graecos* 10.2; Tzetzes *Scholia in Lycophronem* 547. For helpful discussion of the tradition, see Gantz 1993:324–326; Calame 2001:188–190.

[1199] See Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 1.87; 3.117, 123; Pausanias 3.26.4; 4.2.4; Tzetzes *Scholia in Lycophronem* 511 bis. According to one tradition Tyndareus is also a son of Perieres (Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 1.87; 3.117), making Castor and Polydeuces grandsons of Perieres and cousins of the Leucippides. An alternative genealogy makes Tyndareus the son of Oebalus, who is either son of Perieres (Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 3.123; Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* [= van der Valk 1971–198] 1.452; *Scholia in Euripidem* [*scholia vetera* (= Schwartz 1966)] *Orestes* 457; *Scholia in Iliadem* [*scholia vetera* (= Erbse 1969–1988)] 2.581–586), or of the Spartan king Cynortes (Pausanias 3.1.4).

[1200] Though Pseudo-Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca* 1.87; 3.117, 123) questions the paternity of Perieres, writing that many identify the father of Perieres to be Cynortes (see Tzetzes *Scholia in Lycophronem* 511 bis). For discussion of the genealogy see Fowler 2013:420–422.

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The term *Leucippides* also identifies priestesses of a Laconian cult of Helen – sister of Castor and Polydeuces.[1201]

12.7.3.2. The Dioscuri: Zethus and Amphion. The epithet *Leukópōloi* is one that Castor and Polydeuces share notably with Zeus's sons Amphion and Zethus, a Boeotian pair, no less *Dióskouroi* (Διόσκουροι) and *Diòs koûroi* (Διὸς κοῦροι) 'sons of Zeus',[1202] the founders of Thebes (see below, §14.2). Euripides (*Antiope* fr. 223.98–99 Kannicht) has Hermes announce to Amphion and Zethus that <u>λευκὼ δὲ πώλω τὼ Διὸς</u> κεκλημένοι | τιμὰς μεγίστας ἕξετ' ἐν Κάδμου πόλει 'being called the <u>two white colts of Zeus</u> | you shall have greatest honors in Cadmus' city'. These Aeolian Dioscuri, Zethus and

[1201] See Euripides *Helen* 1465–1466; Pausanias 3.13.7 and 3.16.1. For discussion of the cult see Calame 2001:185–191. That "white-horse" males, Castor and Polydeuces, engage directly and conspicuously with "white-horse daughters" in *mûthos* and presumably in cult has of course not escaped the attention of investigators.

[1202] See Euripides *Heracles* 29 and *Phoenician Women* 606; Pherecydes fr. 102 (FHG), in which last named they are identified by the syntagm *Diòs koûroi* (Διὸς κοῦροι) 'sons of Zeus', as also in *Scholia in Odysseam* (*scholia vetera* [= Dindorf 1962]) 19.518; regarding the use of the epithet *Dioscuri* for this pair, see also Hesychius Δ 1929; *Scholia in Euripidis Phoenissas* (*scholia vetera et scholia recentiora Thomae Magistri, Triclinii, Moschopuli et anonyma* [= Dindorf 1863]) 606.

Amphion, too can be characterized by the adjectival epithet *leúkippos* (λεύκιππος) 'white-horse ones', as by Pindar, *Pythian Odes* 9.83.[1203]

12.7.3.3. The Moliones. We noted in §12.7.3.1 that Euripides refers to the Dioscuri Castor and Polydeuces as *leúkippoi kóroi* (λεύκιπποι κόροι) 'white-horse boys/sons' (*Helen* 639). The lyric poet Ibycus (fr. 4.1 Page; sixth century BC) uses the same phrase of the twin sons of Molione:[1204]

Τούς τε <u>λευκίππους κόρους</u>

τέκνα Μολιόνας κτάνον,

ἅλικας ἰσοκεφάλους ἑνιγυίους

ἀμφοτέρους γεγαῶτας ἐν ὠέῳ

ἀργυρέῳ. 5

And the <u>white-horse boys/sons,</u>

children of Molione, I [Heracles] slew,

[1203] With *Scholia in Pindarum* (*scholia vetera* [= Drachmann 1966–1969]) *Pythian* 9.145c.

[1204] On the Molionids, see the discussion of Gantz 1993:424–426; Fowler 2013:280–281.

of equal age, of equal heads, joined in one body,

the both born from an egg

of silver 5

These twin brothers, the Molionids or Moliones, two formidable warriors fused into a single body – hence a bisome, reminiscent of the trisome Geryon – are identified as sons of Actor and Molione, though Poseidon is said to be the actual father. Their earliest mention is in the *Iliad*, in which the epic poet – while acknowledging the paternity of the *Enosíkhthōn* (Ἐνοσίχθων) 'Earth-Shaker' (i.e. Poseidon) – refers to the twins (*Iliad* 11.750–751) as the 'two sons of Actor, two Moliones,' (Ἀκτορίωνε Μολίονε παῖδ'), whom Nestor claims that he would have slain in his youth, during the war between Pylos and the Epeans (see above, §8.6.4), had not Poseidon saved his sons by shrouding them in mist. Homer makes no specific mention of the bimorphism of the twin warriors, but Snodgrass (1998:26–32) has drawn attention to various eighth-century images (dating as late as ca. 700 BC) of double warriors, of which some are indisputably representations of a bisome.[1205]

[1205] On the Moliones as divine twins see also Frame 2009:111–113.

12.7.3.4. Twins Born Differently. In the Homeric Catalogue of Ships (*Iliad* 2.620–621, where the sons of the twin Moliones are listed among the leaders of the Epean contingent of Greek *epíkouroi* [ἐπίκουροι]) and in the Hesiodic Catalogue of Women (fr. 17a.14–16 MW), as elsewhere,[1206] these "white-horse" twins (as Ibycus characterizes them) are assigned the individual names *Cteatus* (i.e. *Ktéatos* [Κτέατος]) and *Eurytus* (i.e. *Eúrutos* [Εὔρυτος]). Their sons in the Catalogue of Ships are identified as Amphimachus and Thalpius, respectively.[1207] In work on Indo-European divine twins, Frame (2009:111) has drawn attention to another possible parallel between the Dioscuri and the Moliones, one that they would share with the Indic Aśvins: Pindar, *Olympian Odes* 10.26–28, as he rehearses Heracles' slaying of the twin warriors, writes that he

[1206] See also, *inter alia*, Pindar *Olympian Odes* 10.26–28; Pherecydes fr. 36a–b (FHG); Diogenianus *Paroemiae* 3.45; Pausanias 2.15.1; Suda O 794; Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (= van der Valk 1971–1987) 3.320, 4.802; Joannes Tzetzes *Chiliades* 2.36.454; *Scholia in Iliadem* (*scholia vetera* [= Erbse 1969–1988]) 11.709b; *D scholia* (= Heyne 1834) 11.708, 749; *Scholia in Platonem* (*scholia vetera* [= Greene 1938] *Phaedo* 89c; *Scholia in Pindarum* (= Drachmann 1966–1969) *Olympian* 10.29d, 31b, 32, 33, 37; and see the following note.

[1207] See also, *inter alia*, *Iliad* 13.185; Aristotle *Fragmenta varia* (= Rose 1886) 8.50.640; Aristonicus *De signis Iliadis* 2.h620-1–621 and 13.185; Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 3.129; Hyginus *Fabulae* 97.11; Pausanias 5.3.3-4; Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (= van der Valk 1971–1987) 1.469, 3.458, 461, 690; Joannes Tzetzes *Allegoriae in Homeri Iliadem* Prolog. 569–570, 13.66 (cf. *Theogonia* 660–665); *Scholia in Iliadem* (*scholia vetera* [= Erbse 1969–1988]) 2.621, 13.185, 207a1–2; *D scholia* (= Heyne 1834) 2.621.

(Heracles) slew Poseidon's son | Κτέατον ἀμύμονα 'blameless Cteatus' | πέφνε δ' Εὔρυτον '*and* killed Eurytus . . . .' One could infer that Pindar understood only Cteatus to be actual son of Poseidon, while Eurytus was engendered by the mortal Actor. This would parallel the case of the Dioscuri (*Diós-koroi* [Διόσ-κοροι]/*Diós-kouroi* [Διόσ-κουροι]) 'sons of Zeus': even though they are so-named, only one is actually son of Zeus, while the other was fathered by Tyndareus; as we shall see in Chapter Fourteen (§14.2), the Dioscuri Zethus and Amphion equally share the characteristic of having one immortal and one mortal fathers. This configuration also characterizes the Greek twins Heracles, son of Zeus, and Iphicles, son of Amphitryon –whom Pindar (*Pythian Odes* 9.82–83) can describes as '*ksénos* of the Spartoi' (Σπαρτῶν ξένος), λευκίπποισι Καδμείων μετοικήσαις ἀγυιαῖς 'having resettled in the streets of the Cadmeans with white horses' (see above, §4.5). . In the case of the Aśvins, while the pair carries the designation *Divo napātā* 'two sons of Dyaus' (*Rig Veda* 1.117.12, 1.182.1, 1.184.1, 4.44.2, 10.61.4) they are said to have been born differently (*Rig Veda* 5.73.4), one of them being the *Divo . . . putraḥ* 'son of Dyaus' and described as *su-bhaga-* 'having/giving good fortune', 'charming, lovely', and the other being the offspring of Sumakhas – most likely meaning *Su-makha-* 'Good Warrior' – and described as *jiṣṇú* 'victorious, vanquishing' (*Rig Veda* 1.181.4; and

see below, §13.7).[1208] Further reflecting that "difference" – Yāska, *Nirukta* 12.2 (on *Rig Veda* 1.181.4), attests that one of the Aśvins is identified as the son of day and the other as the son of night.[1209] One of the twin Aśvins can be understood to be the Morning star, the other to be the Evening star, thus matching the comparable figures of Latvian tradition.[1210] The same identification has been argued for the Dioscuri, with Polydeuces being the Morning Star and Castor being the Evening Star.[1211]

12.7.3.5. Other Leúkippoi (λεύκιπποι). We noted just above (§12.7.3.2) that Pindar, *Pythian Odes* 9.83, uses the adjectival epithet *leúkippos* (λεύκιππος) to describe the Aeolian pair Zethus and Amphion. Other attested usages of *leúkippos* as descriptor tend

[1208] See Nagy 1990b:255–256; West 2007:187; Frame 2009:61–67, 74–76.

[1209] For the *Nirukta* of Yāska see Bhadkamkar 1918, volume 2.

[1210] So Oldenberg 1894:212–214, advancing the earlier idea of Mannhardt 1875b:312–313 and also of Bollensen 1887:497 (who references Haug and the Münchener Schule). See also Macdonell 1895:953–954; 1974:53; Harris 1903:11–16; Bloomfield 1908:114–116; Güntert 1923:253–277; Nagy 1990b:256; Mayrhofer 1992–1996:2:39; West 2007:228–229; Nikolaev 2012:572.

[1211] See Mannhardt 1875b:309; von Schroeder 1914–1916:2:451–453; Ward 1968:15–18; West 2007:234; Frame 2009:77.

to cluster in the poems of Pindar, together with scholia, some of which also have conspicuous Aeolian attachments:

1. The Aeolian forefathers of Jason: Pindar *Pythian Odes* 4.117; *Scholia in Pindarum* (*scholia vetera* [= Drachmann 1966–1969]) *Pythian* 4.207
2. The city of Thebes: *Scholia in Pindarum* (*scholia vetera* [= Drachmann 1966–1969]) *Pythian* 2.metr; possibly a nod to *Pythian Odes* 9.83
3. One of the charioteers against whom Orestes competes, an Aenian (i.e. from Aeniania, southern Thessaly), described as a *leúkippos*: Sophocles *Electra* 706; cf. Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (= van der Valk 1971–1987) 1.131, 523; 2.27; *Scholia in Sophoclem* (*scholia vetera* [= Papageorgius 1888]) *Electra* 706 (the scholiast interprets the form as a proper name *Leucippus*)
4. 'Interpreters' (*prophâtai* [προφᾶται]) of *leúkippoi* Mycenaeans: Pindar fr. 202 (= Maehler 1975) = *Scholia in Pindarum* (*scholia vetera* [= Drachmann 1966–1969]) *Pythian* 4.207
5. Demeter's daughter, Kore/Persephone, in a reference to her festival in Syracuse: Pindar *Olympian Odes* 6.95; cf. Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam* (= Stallbaum 1970) 1.253; *Scholia in Pindarum* (*scholia vetera* [=

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Drachmann 1966–1969]) *Olympian* 6.160a–c, attributing the epithet to Demeter having yoked white horses when she recovered the abducted Persephone, or to Persephone possessing white horses

6. *Leúkippos* Dawn – that is, Eos (i.e. *Ēős* [Ἠώς]), bringing light as she drives her chariot: Bacchylides *Encomia* fr. 5.21–22 Irigoin; Theocritus *Idylls* 13.11

12.7.3.6. Divine Twins and the Dawn Goddess. In Indic tradition the Aśvins are closely affiliated with the 'Dawn', the goddess *Uṣas*, Sanskrit cognate of Greek *Ēős* (Ἠώς) 'Dawn'. As Greek Eos can receive the epithet *leúkippos* (λεύκιππος [see item (6) in §12.7.3.5]), so Indic Uṣas is said to lead a *śvetam . . . aśvam* 'white/bright' horse at her morning advent (*Rig Veda* 7.77.3), a reference to the rising 'sun', Sūrya. A well-rehearsed "leucippic" deed in the dossier of the Aśvins is their gift of a swift and powerful white warhorse to the figure Pedu (*Rig Veda* 1.116.6, 1.117.9, 1.118.9, 1.119.10, 7.71.5, 10.39.10). The Aśvins are said to have as their wife Sūryā (*Rig Veda* 1.119.5, 4.43.6, 7.69.4), daughter of the Sun (Sūrya). Uṣas 'Dawn' can be wife of the solar-god Sūrya (*Rig Veda* 1.115.2, 7.75.5), and also his mother (*Rig Veda* 7.63.3, 7.78.3),[1212] and even the

[1212] On the significance of the incestuous relationship see Nagy 1999:198–199.

mother of the Aśvins (*Rig Veda* 3.39.3, with the commentary of Sāyana; also Yāska *Nirukta* 12.2 [on *Rig Veda* 1.181.4]).[1213]

Color signification is conspicuous in descriptions of the divine twins and their dawn affiliates. The Aśvins are described as *hiraṇyapeśas* 'having a golden luster' (*Rig Veda* 8.8.2) and similarly they are *madhuvarṇa-* 'honey-colored' (*Rig Veda* 8.26.6), as is their chariot (*Rig Veda* 5.77.3; on honey as golden see Chapter Twenty-Three, especially §23.2.2.1). Greek Eos receives the epithets *krokópeplos* (κροκόπεπλος) 'saffron-robed' (notably in the *Iliad*, where it is used only of Eos [8.1, 19.1, 23.227, 24.695]) and *khrusóthronos* (χρυσόθρονος) 'golden-throned' (thus, *Odyssey* 10.541, 12.142, 14.502, 15.56 and 250, 19.319, 20.91, 23.243–244).[1214]

The Aśvins are *śubhra-* 'shining, radiant' (*Rig Veda* 7.68.1, 10.143.3), as is Uṣas (*Rig Veda* 1.57.3, 4.51.6 [Dawns plural], 5.80.5, 7.75.6). In their fulgural presentations the Dioscuri are radiant, lauded for their 'brilliance from a distance' (π]ήλοθεν λάμπροι; Alcaeus fr. 34a.10 L-P; see below, §22.4.1.3). We should remind ourselves that *leukós*

[1213] See Geldner 1951:1:381n3*a*.

[1214] See also *Odyssey* 22.197–198 and 23.347, where the poet names Dawn not with the theonym Eos but by using the epithet *ērigéneia* (ἠριγένεια) 'early-born one' (or vice versa). At *Odyssey* 5.123, *khrusóthronos* (χρυσόθρονος) 'golden-throned' is used of Artemis. The epithet occurs four times in the *Iliad* – once of Artemis again (9.533), and otherwise of Hera (1.611, 14.153, and 15.5).

(λευκός) the term we have been translating as 'white', and will continue to do so, fundamentally means 'light, bright', as of the sheen of metal, and that this is the sense at the heart of the term's origins (from ancestral *leuk- 'to shine').[1215] At *Odyssey* 23.246 the chariot horses of Eos are given the names Lampus and Phaethon – that is, *Lámpos* (Λάμπος) 'Bright' and *Phaéthōn* (Φαέθων) 'Shining';[1216] compare the epic reference to *Lampetíē* (Λαμπετίη) and *Phaéthousa* (Φαέθουσα), names assigned to nymphs – daughters of Helios, the 'Sun', who tend his sheep and cattle on the island of Thrinacia, *Odyssey* 12.132–133.[1217]

The cattle of Helios can be pastured on Erytheia (*Erútheia* [Ἐρύθεια]), the 'red' island, and the divine being who is so named can be presented as the guide of Helios;

[1215] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1927:408–412; Chantraine 1968:632–633; Mallory and Adams 1997:513; LIV 418–419; Watkins 2011:51.

[1216] See also Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (= van der Valk 1971–1987) 3.135 and *Commentarii as Homeri Odysseam* (= Stallbaum 1970) 2.306–307; Joannes Tzetzes *Carmina Iliaca* 3.136–138; *Scholia Lycophronem* (*scholia vetera* [= Leone 2002]) 17.

[1217] See also Eustathius *Commentarii as Homeri Odysseam* (= Stallbaum 1970) 2.18, 307; Joannes Tzetzes *Allegoriae in Homeri Odysseam* 14.84; *Scholia in Odysseam* (*scholia vetera* [= Dindorf 1962]) 17.208. On the names and relevance of *Lampetíē* (Λαμπετίη) for the etymology and morphology of Sanskrit Nāsatya- see Frame 2009:90, with note 212; Frame cites especially Nagy 1979:198–199 (second edition 1999). See also Nagy 1990b:223–262.

Erythia is also identified as mother of Eurytion, who shepherds the cattle of Helios, or as daughter of the trisome Geryon, who guards the cattle.[1218] The chariot of Uṣas can be depicted as drawn by red cows, as at *Rig Veda* 1.92.2, 1.124.11, 5.80.3. In *Rig Veda* 4.52.2–3, Uṣas is both horse and mother of cattle:[1219]

2. Dappled bright and ruddy like a mare, the mother of cows, follower of truth, Uṣas has become the companion of the Aśvins
3. You are both the companion of the Aśvins, and you are also mother of cows. And also, Uṣas, you have dominion over goods.

The Aśvins can be described as *rudrá-* (see Macdonell 1897:49). The idea that in origin this term – which also provides a personal name to the warrior god Rudra (Śiva) and a general term for the class of Indic warrior gods – designated the color 'red' (i.e. derived from an earlier **rudhra-*) appears at least as early as Pischel 1889:55–60. Subsequent

[1218] See Massetti 2019:225–229 for discussion. On the Latvian Sun-goddess Saule and correspondences with the figures in Greek and Vedic tradition, see Massetti's remarks on pp. 229–237, with discussion and bibliography of earlier work.

[1219] The translation is that of Jamison and Brereton 2014:1:637, with minor modification. See also *Rig Veda* 7.77.2–3.

etymologizing has often rejected this proposal, though alternative derivations have been likewise disputed. Recently, however, Parpola (2016) has argued anew, and interestingly, in favor of the view that Sanskrit *rudrá-* fundamentally carries the sense 'red'. If this is so, the Aśvins are then to be understood as characterized as 'red', doubtless in conjunction with their association with Uṣas and the red sky of dawn. The epithet *rudravartani*, attested uniquely of the Aśvins in the *Rig Veda* (1.3.3, 8.22.1 and 14, 10.39.11), would then denote 'having a red path'; compare the adjective *hiraṇyavartani* 'having a golden path, used of the Aśvins in *Rig Veda* 1.92.18, 5.75.2, 8.5.11, 8.8.1, 8.87.5 (also of the goddess Sarasvatī at *Rig Veda* 6.61.7, deity closely affiliated with the Aśvins, and of the river Sindhu (i.e. the Indus, *Rig Veda* 8.26.18), who is identified as the mother of the Aśvins at *Rig Veda* 1.46.2). Greek Eos 'Dawn' is frequently identified by the epithet *rhododáktulos* (ῥοδοδάκτυλος) 'rosy-fingered'. In the instance of Pindar's use of *leúkippos* (λεύκιππος) as an epithet of Demeter's daughter (see above, §12.7.3.5, item 5), this is what he writes (*Olympian Odes* 6.94b–96, where the subject is the Syracusan Hieron): . . . <u>φοινικόπεζαν</u> | ἀμφέπει Δάματρα <u>λευκίπ-</u> | <u>που</u> τε θυγατρὸς ἑορτάν 'he honors <u>red-footed</u> Demeter and the festival of her <u>white-horse</u> daughter'. The adjective *phoinikópeza* (φοινικόπεζα) 'red-footed' is uncommon, occurring here[1220] and in Pindar

[1220] See also *Scholia in Pindarum* (*scholia vetera* [= Drachmann 1966–1969]) *Olympian* 6.156e and 159; *Scholia et*

Paean 2.77, where it is used of Hecate as she prophecies, on the day of the full moon, concerning the victory of Abdera (colony of the Ionian city of Teos) at the battle at Mt. Melamphyllon (Thrace).[1221]

The relationship of the Aśvins to Uṣas, 'Dawn', has been regarded as finding a structural counterpart in the relationship of the Dioscuri Castor and Polydeuces to Helen, their sister, to the extent that Helen can be identified with Dawn.[1222] For example, in Vedic tradition Uṣas, and Uṣas only, is addressed as *duhitā divas/divas duhitā* 'daughter of Sky'[1223] – that is 'daughter of Dyaus' – as *in Rig Veda* 1.30.21–22, lines to *Uṣas*:[1224]

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glossae in Olympia et Pythia (*scholia recentiora Triclinii, Thomae Magistri, Moschopuli, Germani* [=Ábel 1891]) *Olympian* 6.161 and 156–162.

[1221])See, *inter alia*, Graham 1992, especially 62–63, 67 and, on the cult of Hecate at Abdera vis-à-vis performance of the poem, see Dougherty 1994:216–217, both works with bibliography.

[1222] See, *inter alia*, Edmunds 2016:16, who notes that the correspondence between Uṣas and Helen is less exact than that between Sūryā and Helen. The fullest treatment is that of Clader 1976. See also Jackson 2006:47–56.

[1223] Occurrences are extensive: see Grassmann 1875:622–623. Uṣas is so addressed together with her sister Rātrī 'Night' in *Rig Veda* 10.70.6: Steets 1993:121.

[1224] The translation is that of Jamison and Brereton 2014:1:131, with slight modification. On Uṣas as "daughter of the Sky," see Steets 1993:119–130, following Clader 1976.

21. For we have brought you to mind from both near and far,

O you, dappled bright and ruddy like a mare.

22. Come here with these prizes, O daughter of Sky,

Lay wealth as a foundation for us.

In Greek tradition, Helen can be identified by the homologous expression *Diòs thugátēr* (Διὸς θυγάτηρ),[1225] the only *mortal* who is so identified (*Odyssey* 4.227).[1226] In the Spartan cult of "Helen of the Plane Tree" that we considered in Chapter Five (see §5.5.2), in conjunction with the anointing of Helen's tree, vis-à-vis the Vedic sacrificial post, the *yūpa*, we drew attention to the cult song recorded in Theocritus *Idylls* 18. Among the verses sung by the chorus of young Spartan women are these (18.26-31):

Ἀὼς ἀντέλλοισα καλὸν διέφανε πρόσωπον,

πότνια Νύξ, τό τε λευκὸν ἔαρ χειμῶνος ἀνέντος·

ὧδε καὶ ἁ χρυσέα Ἑλένα διεφαίνετ' ἐν ἁμῖν.

[1225] Lithuanian offers *dieva dukryte*; see, *inter alia*, Steets 1993:121, 136–143, with bibliography.

[1226] See Clader 1976:53–57. Various goddesses answer to the description "daughter of Zeus": see especially Nagy 1990:247–251; Edmunds 2016:91, 2019:119–124.

πιείρᾳ μεγάλα ἅτ’ ἀνέδραμε κόσμος ἀρούρᾳ

ἢ κάπῳ κυπάρισσος, ἢ ἅρματι Θεσσαλὸς ἵππος, 30

ὧδε καὶ ἁ ῥοδόχρως Ἑλένα Λακεδαίμονι κόσμος.

Rising Dawn shines upon a beautiful face,

O Potnia Night, and a white/brilliant spring, as winter gives way;

In just this way golden Helen dawns among us.

Just as a great cypress rises high, adornment for rich fields

or garden, or a Thessalian horse for a chariot. 30

In just this way also is rose-colored Helen adornment for Sparta.

Golden and rose-colored Helen’s illumination of her cult devotees seems clearly presented in the imagery of Dawn. Whatever its synchronic significance within the context of the cult hymn, the likening of Helen to the *Thessalian* horse is intriguing (even if Thessalian horses were declared “the best,”[1227] the significance of the horse in

[1227] See Gow 1950:2:356, though his cited sources do not clearly back up the claim. See also, *inter alia*, Driscoll 2017:274–276.

Thessaly, including cult significance [including marriage rituals],[1228] appears to have gone beyond the quality of horse flesh).[1229]

12.7.4. A Mythic Nexus and Aeolian Attachments

Stepping back for a moment to survey the territory through which we have passed, we can see that lying before us is a recurring heroic nexus of horse affiliations, expressed both semantically and thematically, that link with aspects of Aeolian origin and foundation traditions, attested on both sides of the Aegean. Individuals bearing the names *Leucippus* and *Evippus* appear in the tradition of the Dioscuri, Castor and Polydeuces, whom, as we saw, Pindar (*Olympian Odes* 3.38–39) can call *eúippoi* . . . *Tyndarídai* (εὔιπποι . . . Τυνδαρίδαι) 'sons of Tyndareus . . . delighting in horses'. These Dioscuri are themselves styled as *leukópōloi* (λευκόπωλοι) and *leúkippoi* (λεύκιπποι) 'white-horse ones', and they abduct the Leucippides (*Leukippídes* [Λευκιππίδες]), 'daughters of the White-Horse Man'.

[1228] See Detienne 1991:397.

[1229] On the horse in Thessaly see especially Mili 2014:58, 83, 121–123, 139–140 ("Thessalian society has also been characterized as deeply concerned with horses and cattle") 152–153, 158 (the cult of the Thessalian goddess Ennodia 'One on the Road'), 234–239 (the cult of Poseidon Petraeus), 259–262.

As we noted above (see §12.7.3.1), this 'White-Horse Man' Leucippus, the father of the Leucippides, is himself said to be a son of Perieres, and Perieres is an Aeolid; thus, *inter alia*, Hesiod *Catalogue of Women* fr. 10(a).25–28 (MW):

Αἰολί⌋δαι δ' ἐγ⌊ένοντο θεμιστ⌋οπόλοι βασιλῆες 25
Κρηθ⌋εύς τ' ἠδ' ⌊Ἀθάμας καὶ Σίσυφ⌋ος αἰολομήτης
Σαλμ⌋ωνεύς ⌊τ' ἄδικος καὶ ὑπ⌋έρθυμος Περιήρης
Δηϊών] τε μέγ[ας] τ' ἀριδείκετος ἀνδρῶν

And sons of Aeolus were born, kings administering law and right,
both Cretheus and Athamas, and wily Sisyphus too,
unjust Salmoneus and high-spirited Perieres
and gre[at Deion] and [ ] famed among men

Perieres is also made to be ancestor of Tyndareus,[1230] the mortal father of the Dioscuri. In this Hesiodic passage (line 27) he is called 'high-spirited Perieres': the epithet

[1230] See, inter alia, Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 1.87 and 3.117; compare Pausanias 3.1.4.

hupérthumos (ὑπέρθυμος) 'high-spirited' is common in archaic epic[1231] and well attested in lyric – Stesichorus, Pindar, Bacchylides. Following Bacchylides, the next attestation of *hupérthumos* is in Xenophon's work on horse training (*De re equestri* 3.12), in which he uses the adjective to describe horses that, because of their 'high-spirited' nature, encumber the actions of their riders in combat. Does the Hesiodic use of the epithet *hupérthumos* to describe Perieres the son of Aeolus, the father of Leucippus, 'White-Horse Man', play off of an early common use of the adjective to describe horse temperament? If so, the equine elements we have been considering appear to be extended to the progenitor Perieres. In any event, Perieres is a son of Aeolus who draws together Leucippus and the "leucippic" and "evippic" Dioscuri.

The Aeolian pair Amphion and Zethus, associated with the foundation of Boeotian Thebes, are likewise styled *leukópōloi* (λευκόπωλοι) and *leúkippoi* (λεύκιπποι) 'white-horse ones'. The founder of Aeolian Magnesia on the Maeander is also given the

[1231] Especially in Homeric epic: *Iliad* 2.746; 4.365; 5.77, 376; 6.111; 8.120; 9.233; 11.564; 12.128; 14.15, 250; 15.135, 576; 17.276; 20.88, 333, 366; 23.302, 512; *Odyssey* 3.448; 4.784; 7.59; 11.269; 14.209; 15.252; 16.326, 360. Kirk (1990:62) observes that in the *Iliad hupérthumos* (ὑπέρθυμος) "typically . . . belongs to the Trojans," but Hainsworth (1993:95) that it "may be shared with individual Achaeans." Hainsworth cites Pinsent 1984:141–162 (cf. Heath 2005:532–534). For other Hesiodic usages see *Theogony* 719 and 937; also fr. 58.

name *Leucippus* and linked to Thessalians whom he led to Crete. Mandrolytus' city is delivered to this Leucippus by a lover whose name, *Leucophrye* (*Leukophrúē* [Λευκοφρύη]) is an eponymous reflection of *Leucophrys* (*Leúkophrus* [Λεύκοφρυς]), the former name of the Aeolian island of Tenedos. Magnesian Leucippus is called a son of Xanthius, descendant of Bellerophon, (Parthenius) and a Carian (*Argonautica* scholion) – or son of Car. Another son of Car is *Alabandus*, who founded the Carian city of *Alabanda*, most likely meaning '[place] rich in horses', while it is reported that another city of that name – once called Antioch of the Chrysaorians – was founded by Alabandus, the son of *Evippus* (i.e. *Eúippos* [Εὔιππος]) 'One Delighting in Horses' (Stephanus Byzantius).

One may well suspect that *Evippus*, a name that we have seen to have Aeolian connections (see especially §12.7.2.1 and §12.7.2.2), is simply a Greek calque of the eponym (*Alabandus*) linked to the Carian place name *Alabanda*. Do Carian Leucippus and Evippus, called "sons of Car," constitute a further expression of the widespread Indo-European motif of twins having horse affiliations? This is not an implausible interpretation. If they are to be interpreted as divine twins, do Leucippus and Evippus constitute an inherited Anatolian reflex of that tradition or a Greek reflex localized in Greek-settled Caria? The latter possibility may seem unlikely given that the Dioscuri themselves clearly have a presence in Greek Asia Minor, as we will discuss in some

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detail in Chapter Twenty-Three. But there is also not otherwise a clear presence of the ancestral divine twins in Indo-European Anatolian tradition – at least not one that survives by inheritance from Proto-Indo-European. If Leucippus and Evippus provide a particular expression of the ancestral twins it may be one that took shape in Bronze-Age Ahhiyawan Anatolia, among Mycenaeans that had brought with them to that place their own ancestral Indo-European traditions that underwent modification in the intermingled communities of Mycenaean and Luvic-speaking peoples.

Lastly, we have seen one named Chrysaor to be a recurring figure in these Anatolian-Greek traditions – descended from Aeolus and brother to Bellerophon (see above, §12.7, §12.7.1, and §12.7.2). But Greek *Chrysaor* (*Khrusáōr* [Χρυσάωρ]), in its various attestations, of course earliest and most familiarly names a distinct figure, as in Hesiod *Theogony* 281, 287, and 979 – namely, the twin sibling of the horse Pegasus (sons of Poseidon, born from the decapitated Gorgon Medusa), the horse linked in mythic tradition with Bellerophon. This Chrysaor is identified as father, by the Oceanid Callirhoe, of the cattle-guarding trisome Geryon,[1232] himself a figure of primitive Indo-European myth, one who, as we have just witnessed, can be drawn into dawn-like solar

[1232] See also, *inter alia*, Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 2.42 and 106; Hyginus *Fabulae* 151; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 4.785–786. For the limited artistic representations of Chrysaor see the discussion of Gantz 1993:21

affiliations and who, as we earlier noted (see §12.7.3.3), is reminiscent of the divine-twin-like Moliones in his fused somatic state.

12.8. Some Interpretative Conclusions

In the traditions recorded at and reported about the Asian city of Magnesia on the Maeander what we encounter is a remarkable intersection of the diachronic and synchronic axes of Aeolian *mûthos*, Aeolian self-identity, and Aeolian mutual-awareness. The city's mythic foundation is attributed to a Carian, Leucippus, who, exiting Anatolia westward, embedded himself among Balkan Aeolians, relocated to Crete, and then sailed eastward back to Caria to found a city bearing a Thessalian name. This succinct mythic expression of his movements and actions preserves in narrative outline a migratory reality and a pattern of mobility in the Late Bronze to Early Iron Age, entailing trans-Aegean passages initiated from western coastal Anatolia to Balkan Hellas, with Mycenaean Crete being a familiar destination and a participant in Anatolian excursions.

The mythic founder of Magnesia on the Maeander, Leucippus, is assigned a name that has a recurring presence in Aeolian *mûthoi* and particular significance for Greek reflexes of the Indo-European divine twins, both in their Spartan expression as

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Castor and Polydeuces and in their Boeotian expression as Zethus and Amphion, to which can be added the Moliones. These "white-horse" twin male deities constitute particular nodes in a mythic matrix that has both Aeolian affiliations and associations with Caria, or earlier with the Luvic-speaking regions that would become Caria. The "Carian" pair Leucippus and Evippus are perhaps to be interpreted as additional reflexes of the Indo-European twin gods.

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Chapter Thirteen

Metapontium: Night and Day; Black and White

13.1. Introduction

As we saw in Chapter Eleven, the south Italian polis of Metapontium is intimately linked in myth to Aeolian Melanippe, while, as we observed in Chapter Twelve, the foundation of Magnesia on the Maeander is bound to Leucippus, warrior well integrated into Aeolian myth. The former figure has a name, *Melanippe* (*Melaníppē* [Μελανίππη]), that denotes 'Black-Horse Woman', and the latter a name, *Leucippus* (*Leúkippos* [Λεύκιππος]) that denotes 'White-Horse Man'. This is a notable onomastic co-occurrence – of a contrastive nature – found within two well-attested Aeolian foundation *mûthoi*. Is it merely co-incidental? This would seem to be an *a priori* unlikely possibility, given the Aeolian mythic webs within which they are woven. These inter-weavings will be examined in much more detail in the pages of this chapter.

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13.2. Metapontium Foundation Mûthoi

Beyond that warrior Leucippus (*Leúkippos* [Λεύκιππος]) 'White-Horse Man' associated with the founding of Magnesia on the Maeander, along with other figures so named, whom we encountered in the preceding chapter, there is yet an additional *Leucippus* to whom we need to pay some attention, one who is bound up with Metapontium foundation *mûthoi*. We examined traditions regarding Aeolian Melanippe (*Melaníppē* [Μελανίππη]) 'Black-Horse Woman', daughter of the prophetess Hippo ('Ιππώ [Hippṓ]), 'Horse', and her twin sons by Poseidon – Boeotus and Aeolus – in Chapter Eleven, where we saw that it was to this south Italian city that Melanippe and her sons relocated from their Thessalian homeland, taken in by the eponymous heroic figure Metapontus/Metabus. But in his remarks on Metapontium, Strabo (6.1.15) attributes a *ktísma* (κτίσμα) 'foundation' of the city to Pylians who had sailed from Troy with Nestor. As supporting evidence Strabo adduces the existence of an ancestral cult of the Neleids (the sons of Neleus) at the site.

13.2.1. Neleus and Pelias

The traditions concerning Nestor's father Neleus (*Nēleús* [Νηλεύς]) root his origins in Thessaly. Neleus is a son of Cretheus, and so grandson of Aeolus, son of Hellen (see §12.7.4); or, more commonly, he is said to be a son of Poseidon.[1233] His mother is Tyro, a daughter of Salmoneus, and so granddaughter of the same Aeolus (see §12.7.4). After being impregnated by Poseidon, who had disguised himself as the river Enipeus, with which Tyro was enamored, she gave birth to twin sons, Neleus and Pelias. These she exposed, but before they could perish they would be discovered and rescued.

With this *mûthos* of divinely-fathered twins (with whom a mortal father is also associated) we find ourselves in familiar, equine, territory. According to Aelian (*Varia historia* 12.42) the twins were nursed by a mare. The fullest account of their recovery is that preserved by Pseudo-Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca* 1.90–92): as the infants lay exposed a mare that belonged to some passing 'horse-keepers' (*hippophorbós* [ἱπποφορβός]) touched the face of one of the twins with a hoof, causing it to be discolored. A herder took the children and raised them, giving the name *Pelias* (*Pelías* [Πελίας]) to that one

[1233] This genealogy appears earliest in Homeric epic: at *Iliad* 11.235–259 Poseidon is identified as father of Neleus and Pelias and Cretheus as father of Tyro's sons Aeson, Pheres, and Amythaon; cf. Hesiod frr. 31, 32, 33(a), 320 MW. See also, *inter alia*, Pherecydes fr.59a (FHG); Pausanias 4.2.5. For overviews of mythic traditions concerning Neleus and his brother Pelias, see, *inter alia*, Gantz 1993:172–173, 184–195; Fowler 2013:162–164, 303–305

with the 'discoloring mark' (*peliós* [πελιός]) on his face. When grown, Neleus and Pelias were reunited with their mother Tyro and slew Tyro's wicked stepmother Sidero.[1234] Neleus is said to have migrated from Iolcus (in Thessaly) to Pylos with a body of followers, when he was driven from Iolcus by Pelias (thus, Pausanias 4.2.5, 4.36.1). Iolcus is site of the most northerly of archaeologically identifed Mycenaean palace centers. The name Neleus appears to occur already in a Linear B document from Pylos (Fn 79 + 1192), spelled Ne-e-ra-wo and designating the recipient of an allocation of barley.

Neleus, the Thessalian divine twin with equine associations, would be reappropriated and made to be the founder of Ionian Miletus. Pausanias (7.2.1) identifies *Neileús* (Νειλεύς) as a son of the Athenian king Codrus:[1235] Neileus would quarrel with his brother Medon – said to marked by a disability of the foot (rather than by facial discoloration caused by the hoof of horse) – with the result that Medon became ruler of Athens and Neileus sailed away for Anatolia, together with other sons

[1234] See also, *inter alia*, Menander *Epitrepontes* 326–329; Diodorus Siculus 4.68.1–6; Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam* (= Stallbaum 1970) 1.109, 410, 414; *Scholia in Odysseam* (*scholia vetera* [= Dindorf 1962]) 11.290; *Scholia in Lycophronem* (*scholia vetera et recentiora partim Isaac et Joannis Tzetzae* [= Scheer 1958]) 175. On Sidero see also Sophocles fr. 658*; *Carmen Nelei*; *Greek Anthology* 3.9

[1235] On which see, *inter alia*, Fowler 2013:579–580, with bibliography.

of Codrus. Here (Pausanias 7.2.3) Codrus and his brother Melanthus are said to be from Pylos. Strabo (9.1.7 and 14.1.3) presents Codrus as being a son of Melanthus from Pylos,[1236] who, along with many Pylians, when driven out by the Heracleidae and the Dorian hordes who accompanied them, took refuge in Athens; again, Codrus' son Neleus (*Nēleús* [Νηλεύς]) is made founder of Ionian Miletus. As Frame (2009:29–35) underscores, the form *Nēleús* is Aeolic.

13.2.2. Leucippus and the Re-foundation of Metapontium

Metapontion Leucippus enters the scene in conjunction with a re-founding *mûthos* of this south Italian city. Following his mention of the cult of the Neleids, Strabo (6.1.15) reports (citing as his source Antiochus of Syracuse; see §11.5.3) that Metapontium was destroyed by Samnites and that the Achaeans who inhabited neighboring Sybaris summoned other Achaeans to come and 'settle in' (*epoikéō* [ἐποικέω]) the abandoned place in order to prevent the people of Tarentum from acquiring Metapontium. Added to this, continues Strabo (following upon his remarks concerning Melanippe and Dius), is the 'reporting' (*lógos* [λόγος]) that the leader of the

[1236] Herodotus (1.147.1 and 5.65.3) identifies Codrus as a son of Melanthus, from Pylos. See also, *inter alia*, Hellanicus fr. 125 Fowler; Plutarch *De exilio* 607 b.

Achaean colonization of Metapontium was a man called *Leucippus*, and that Leucippus was able to obtain control of this place in this way: χρησάμενος δὲ παρὰ τῶν Ταραντίνων τὸν τόπον εἰς ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα 'having acquired use of the place from the Tarentines for a day and a night' he then refused to give it back, μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν λέγων πρὸς τοὺς ἀπαιτοῦντας ὅτι καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐφεξῆς νύκτα αἰτήσαιτο καὶ λάβοι, νύκτωρ δ' ὅτι καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἑξῆς ἡμέραν 'saying to those demanding its return by day that he had asked for and taken it for the next night as well – and by night that [he had taken it] also for the ensuing day'.

A variant of the tradition is offered by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Antiquitates Romanae* 19.3.1–2), who writes that "Leucippus the Lacedaemonian" was directed by an oracle (perhaps to be understood as Delphic)[1237] to sail to Italy and 'settle down in' (*oikízō* [οἰκίζω]) that place where he and his followers would remain a day and a night after putting in to shore – which turned out to be a place in the vicinity of a Tarentine port, a place which Dionysius calls *Callipolis*. Leucippus took pleasure in this 'beautiful polis' (*Kallípolis* [Καλλίπολις]) and persuaded the Tarentines to allow his company to remain there for a day and a night. After several days the Tarentines asked him to leave, but Leucippus paid them no attention and claimed that the Tarentines had

[1237] Parke and Wormell 1956, no. 454 = Fontenrose 1978, Q39.

agreed that for day and night the land was his, ἕως δ’ ἂν ᾖ τούτων θάτερον, οὐ μεθήσεσθαι τῆς γῆς ‘and so long as there was either of these, he would not give up the land’.

13.3. Oengus, the Mac Óc, and the Bruig na Bóinne

The account of the means by which Leucippus acquired Metapontium indefinitely, by claiming it for a day and a night, is remarkable for its similarity to a Celtic tradition about how the heroic figure named Oengus acquired the place in which he would make his home – the *síd* mound called the Bruig na Bóinne, long identified with the great barrow at Newgrange, County Meath. The mound shares its name with the river Boyne (nearby Newgrange) – *síd* and river having as their eponym the goddess called *Bóand* (*Bóinn* etc.), name understood fundamentally to mean ‘White-Cow Woman’.[1238]

13.3.1. Bóand and Bó Find

[1238] See, *inter alia*, O’Rahilly 1946:3; Pokorny 1954:111; Littleton 1973:434; Vendryes 1981:62; Mallory and Adams 1997:390. Compare Sanskrit *govinda-*, epithet applied to Kṛṣṇa (Viṣṇu) in the *Mahābhārata.*

Bóand is the mother of Oengus, fathered by that god called the Dagda – one of the chief members of the Tuatha Dé Danann ('People of the Goddess Dana'), community incorporating the principal Irish deities, and likely the Irish counterpart of the Gallic deity whom Caesar (*Bellum Gallicum* 6.17) identifies using the Roman theonym *Jupiter*.[1239] Bóand seemingly equates, at least onomastically, to the figure called *Bó Find*, 'White Cow' (compare *Bououínda* [Βουουίνδα]/*Boubínda* [Βουβίνδα], Ptolemy's name for the Irish river at *Geographia* 2.2.8 [AD second century]). Bó Find appears in Irish folklore in conjunction with Bó Dub 'Black Cow' and Bó Derg (or Bó Rúad) 'Red Cow'.[1240] The three cows are said to have emerged from the sea on May Eve (that is, Beltaine – a day whose rituals continue primitive Indo-European agrarian rites, finding a counterpart in the Roman Parilia)[1241] in front of the assembled host of all the people of Ireland, who had gathered by sea at dawn, following an oracular message delivered by a sea-maiden (a *berugh*). The cows appeared in the surf about an hour after midday and coming ashore

[1239] See Dumézil 1992:150.

[1240] The tradition appears to have been earliest reported in scholarly literature by Hackett (1853:313–314), who identifies it as a folk tradition of the barony of Imokilly (in County Cork).

[1241] See Woodard 2013:29–30, with bibliography.

made their ways separately through Ireland,[1242] with Bó Find lending her name to numerous fresh water sources (wells, springs) from which she drank as she proceeded.

13.3.2. Nechtan

Bóand's husband is the god Nechtan, having a name that is commonly (but not universally) interpreted as of common origin with Latin *Neptūnus*, with further cognates surviving in Indo-Iranian divine names – Sanskrit *Apām Napāt* and Avestan

[1242] As the three cows advanced from the beach a broad road opened up before them – the first road to have existed in Ireland. After the cows had walked about a mile inland they came to a place where two other roads joined the first, and each cow took a different road. In the tradition reported by Hackett, the white cow followed a road to the northwest, toward Limerick, the red cow followed a road to the west that circumscribed Ireland (the Bóthar na Bó Rúad), and the black cow took a road leading northeast toward Lismore (County Waterford). In a form of the tradition to which MacKillop (1998:96) alludes, the white cow proceeded straight ahead, the black cow turned to the south, and the red to the north. The color symbolism in conjunction with the laying out of three branching paths likely has significance vis-à-vis primitive Indo-European cult. The Irish activist poet Lady Jane Francesca Wilde ("Speranza"), mother of Oscar Wilde, produced a collection of Irish legends in which she included an account similar to that one published by Hackett, but with no information regarding sources. She reports (1887:2:42) that the Bó Find gave birth to twins, a male calf and a female calf, that populated Ireland with cows.

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Apąm Napāt.[1243] The etymological commonality of the forms is underscored by a common mythic thematic nexus in which the several comparanda figure.[1244] In the Irish case it finds expression in a tradition (variously preserved)[1245] about a secret well of which Nechtan was guardian, and which no one could approach – expect Nechtan and his three cupbearers – without having their eyes destroyed. Bóand one day approached the well in defiance of its alleged power to blind, circumambulating the well three times opposite the direction of the sun's course (*túaithbel*), whereupon three waves came violently out of the well, destroying three parts of her body: one of her thighs, one of her hands, and one of her eyes. She fled before the pursuing waters as far as the mouth of the Boyne (and thus the river was created) and there was drowned.

13.3.3. The Mac Óc

[1243] See, *inter alia*, Rhys 1892:122–123 (with no mention of the Indo-Iranian comparanda); Ernout and Meillet 1959:438 (with no mention of the Irish); Dumézil 1963 and 1995:1093–1110; Ford 1974; Davidson 1994:119–120; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:582–583; Mallory and Adams 1997:203–204. See also West 2007:276–277, who seems to dismiss the interpretation.

[1244] As first identified by Dumézil 1963; for the Irish tradition see especially pages 54–56, 58–59.

[1245] See Stokes 1894:315–316 for the prose version of the Rennes Dindshenchas, the account that is chiefly rehearsed here.

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Oengus, the son of Bóand and the Dagda, can also be called the Mac Óc, the 'Young Son'. He is so called as he was conceived and brought to parturition in the space of a single day. The telling of this event comprises an episode of the *Tochmarc Étaíne* ('Wooing of Étaín'), preserved in the *Yellow Book of Lecan*[1246] and incompletely in the *Lebor na hUidre* (*Book of the Dun Cow*), and also in a metrical version attributed to the poet Cináed úa hArtacáin, found within the leaves of the *Book of Leinster*.[1247] The *Tochmarc Étaíne* is attested in three different versions (*TÉ* I, II, and III; all found in the *Yellow Book of Lecan*). The tale that interests us here occurs in *Tochmarc Étaíne* I and runs as follows (*TÉ* I.1). The Dagda (also here called Eochaid Ollathir)[1248] determined to have intercourse with Bóand (also here called Eithne),[1249] who resided at the Bruig na Bóinne with Elcmar, the owner of the Bruig, who can be depicted as Bóand's brother (with

[1246] Bergin and Best 1938.

[1247] Gwyn 1914.

[1248] Or Eochu, shorter form of Eochaid, derived from Old Irish *ech* 'horse' and perhaps meaning 'Horse-Rider'; Ollathir is 'All-Father'.

[1249] A common female name in early Irish materials; also used as a river name. The etymology of the name *Eithne* is uncertain: for recent discussion of the name, with bibliography, see Williams 2016:235–236.

Nechtan being her husband),[1250] as foster-father of the son she would produce with the Dagda,[1251] but also as her husband (as in the *Yellow Book of Lecan*). In order to copulate with Bóand, the Dagda sent Elcmar away on a journey that would last for nine months, though Elcmar perceives the time of his absence as merely the passing of a single day. In the version of the *Yellow Book of Lecan* the Dagda is presented as bespelling Elcmar "so that he would not return quickly, so that he would not perceive the darkness of night, so that he would feel neither hunger nor thirst."[1252] In the fuller presentation of Cináed úa hArtacáin's poem in the *Book of Leinster*, the Dagda (who is counseled by three druids) declares (verse 20) that he will stay the movement of the sun for a period of nine months; Elcmar returns to the Bruig at the long-delayed setting of the sun (verse 31), after the birth of Oengus, the Mac Óc.

13.3.4. The Newgrange Barrow and the Winter Solstice: A Wedding of Traditions

The solar salience that is conspicuous in this tradition of Bóand's fecund uniting in passion with the Dagda and the resulting gestation that achieves fulfillment in a single day, as the sun hovers in the sky for nine months, finds astronomical expression

[1250] As in Cináed úa hArtacáin's poem in the *Book of Leinster*, verse 12.

[1251] As in the *Book of Fermoy*. See Todd 1868:46–47; Dobbs 1930; Duncan 1932.

[1252] The translation is that of Gantz 1981:39.

in the *síd* mound that bears Bóand's name and in which she can be depicted as residing. Carey (1990:28) in effect makes this point (if his emphasis lies elsewhere) as he draws attention to the construction of the passage tomb found beneath the Newgrange mound, aligned in such a way "that the sun as it rises on the winter solstice (21 December) shines through a special opening above the doorway and penetrates into the tomb's inner chamber."[1253] The passage tomb's construction is dated to ca. 3320–2910 BC and so almost certainly antedates the arrival of Indo-Europeans in Ireland. The received opinion among archaeologists appears to be that the tomb remained unopened from its construction until AD 1699;[1254] and, moreover, it is reported that the penetrating beam of the winter equinox produced by the structure's solar alignment was not witnessed until 1967.[1255] It seems, however, that even before this date there was local knowledge of the solar display that occurs within the Newgrange mound on the solstice, and this has been taken to suggest the prospect of the survival of a continuous local oral tradition about the astronomical event over the space of some

[1253] On the passage of the sun's rays that occurs within the tomb, which illuminates carvings on the rear wall, see Patrick 1974.

[1254] See the excavation report of O'Kelly, Cleary, and Lehane 1983.

[1255] See O'Kelly 1982:24–26, 68–75, 123–126.

4000 years.[1256] Carey (1990:29) offers: "In my opinion the specific localization of the legends [regarding Bóand et al.], taken together with the apparent uniqueness of the design of Newgrange, cannot reasonably be dismissed as mere coincidence." Carey qualifies his use of "uniqueness" in this way (35n27): "To date . . . no clear evidence of a precise alignment . . . appears to have been found for any other megalithic tomb in Ireland; curiously orientation of any kind is less common with passage tombs in Ireland than elsewhere . . . ."[1257] More than that, he continues, the "roof-box" that admits the sunlight appears to be otherwise unknown among such tombs in Ireland.[1258]

Whether or not continuous folk knowledge of 4,000-year's duration is here to be identified, Carey's judgment that the configuring of particular Irish traditions (those which we have been here rehearsing) with the Neolithic barrow of Newgrange is not a

[1256] See also the remarks of Thompson 2004:345–347, who rightly underscores (p. 347) "that the *sí* faith was an integral part of traditional Irish views."

[1257] Here Carey cites O'Kelly 1989:106.

[1258] He notes a possibly analogous device at the Maeshowe chamber tomb in Orkney (northern Scotland), citing Burl 1981:124–126: in this instance the passage tomb was oriented to the southwest so that the *setting* sun on the winter solstice would illuminate the interior. Burl reports a local folk knowledge of the configuration; and see his rehearsal of George Mackay Brown's eyewitness account of the tomb's illumination by the setting sun on 21 December 1972. See more recently MacKie 1997, pp. 10–11 of the Factiva online version.

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matter of random coincidence seems only reasonable. What can likely be claimed with some confidence is that awareness of the alignment of the Newgrange passage tomb with the sun's winter-solstice rising remained historical knowledge at the time of the arrival of the Celts in Ireland and that elements of Indo-European cosmology were imposed upon this pre-Celtic sacred site, with the active agents of this syncretism of transplanted cosmologic myth and local structure being the Druidic custodians of such inherited traditions.

13.4. Day and Night; Night and Day

There may appear to be some irony in the attachment of a myth about an over-long *day* (one of nine month's duration) to a sacred site conspicuously linked to that solstice which is defined by the longest *night* of the year. But the fullness of day and the fullness of night that are thereby conjoined reverberate in an additional element of the Celtic tradition – that one which directed our attention from Magna Graecia to Ireland – the tradition of how Oengus, the Mac Óc, acquired the Bruig na Bóinde (the

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Newgrange *síd*). Forms of the tale appear not only in the *Tochmarc Étaíne* ('Wooing of Étaín') but also in the *Gabáil int Síde* ('Taking of the Síd Mound').[1259]

13.4.1. The Gabáil int Síde

In the case of the tradition preserved in the *Gabáil int Síde* the father of Oengus, the Dagda, is presented as having distributed *síd* mounds to various members of the Tuatha Dé Danann, with the result that he had none left to assign to his own son by Bóand, the Mac Óc. The Mac Óc then demands that his father, the Dagda, give to him his own residence, here identified as the Bruig na Bóinde, which he will take for 'a day and a night'. The Dagda accedes to the demand. When, however, the Dagda returns following a day and a night to reclaim his home, the Mac Óc refuses to relinquish it, stating "It is clear . . . that the whole world is day and night (*is laa 7 adaig in bith huile*); and that is what has been granted me,"[1260] and the Dagda withdraws.

[1259] For the recension found in the *Book of Leinster*, see Hull 1933, where the author translates and compares the text with the previously published (Meyer 1885) and more recent recension of the *Cath Fionntrágha* ('Battle of Ventry Harbor' [in County Kerry]; Bodleian Library MS. RawL. B. 487).

[1260] The translation is that of Carey 1990:24, with minor modification; compare Hull 1933:56–58, where the relevant lines are translated "It is clear . . . that night and day are (the length of) the whole world, and it is that which has been given to me."

13.4.2. The Tochmarc Étaíne

As we saw earlier, in the *Tochmarc Étaíne*, as preserved in the *Yellow Book of Lecan*, it is Elcmar, husband of Eithne (= Bóand, the 'White-Cow Woman'), who is master of the Bruig na Bóinde. To keep secret from Elcmar the birth of the Mac Óc during the nine-month day, the Dagda places the child into the foster care of Midir (*TÉ* I.2), a prominent figure among the Tuatha Dé Danann who resides in the *síd* mound Brí Léith (Ardagh Hill in County Longford). The Mac Óc eventually and accidentally discovers that he is not the biological son of Midir, who then reveals to him who his true parents are (the Dagda and Eithne [= Bóand]; *TÉ* I.3–4). At the Mac Óc's urging Midir takes him to meet the Dagda, who resides in Uisnech (the umbilicus of Ireland; *TÉ* I.5); whereupon the Dagda directs his son, the Mac Óc, to go to Elcmar (husband of the Mac Óc's mother) and to take Elcmar's residence, the Bruig na Bóinde, and to make it his own. These are the Dagda's instructions for obtaining the Bruig: the Mac Óc is to arm himself and confront Elcmar on the day of Samain, the Irish New Year (1 November), when Elcmar will be unarmed, and he is to threaten to kill Elcmar unless he give to him (the Mac Óc) kingship of the Bruig for a day and a night, for 'it is in days and nights that the world passes' (*is laib 7 aidchib dochaiter an doman*). The Dagda adds that the Mac Óc is not to

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return the Bruig to Elcmar until Elcmar agrees to abide by the decision of the Dagda in this matter (*TÉ* I.6). The instructions are followed, and when Elcmar demands the return of the Bruig after a day and a night, the Mac Óc directs him to take it up with the Dagda, who awards the Bruig to the Mac Óc and gives to Elcmar the síd of Cletech in compensation (*TÉ* I.7–8).

13.4.3. The Altrom Tige Dá Medar

An interesting variant of the account appears in the *Book of Fermoy*, in the tale entitled *Altrom Tige Dá Medar* ('Fosterage of the House of Two Vessels'),[1261] a Late Middle/Early Modern Irish work (showing notable Christian influence) that is commonly judged to be independent of the tradition presented in the *Yellow Book of Lecan* and that of the *Gabáil int Síde*. A conspicuous feature of the tradition of the *Altrom*

[1261] See Dobbs 1930; Duncan 1932; Carey 1990:25–26. The A, L[1], and N recensions of the Irish *Audacht Morainn* ('Testament of Morann'), a work presenting itself as offering advice to kings (Kelly 1976:xiii), and possibly rooted in pre-Christian kingly inauguration rites, record (§ 46 (60)) that the wily ruler "traverses . . . his span by days and nights, for all the world is traversed by days and nights" (Kelly 1976:68, for discussion of these recensions see pp. xxvi–xxix; the translation is that of Carey 1990:32n9; see also Mills 2015:148).

Tige Dá Medar is the prominent role played by the god Manannán,[1262] called mac Lir ('son of the Sea'), being the chief sea deity of early Ireland – an "Irish Poseidon,"[1263] "la Neptune celtique,"[1264] as it were, but a shape-shifter like the Old Man of the Sea, Proteus – who has a son by the name of Echdonn 'Dun Horse'. Manannán is presented as a god of great antiquity and in the version of the 'day-and-night' tradition of the *Altrom Tige Dá Medar* it is he that assigns *síd* to the Tuatha Dé Danann. Here the Mac Óc is presented as the foster-son of Elcmar. Manannán advises the Mac Óc to take ownership of the Bruig na Bóinne and reveals to him a powerful *sén*, a poetic charm, that will drive Elcmar away from the Bruig: the Mac Óc is to utter the *sén* and to command Elcmar not to return 'until *ogham* and *achu*[1265] are comingled (*commesca*) altogether (*céile*), until heaven and earth are comingled altogether, and until sun and moon are comingled altogether' – that is, *never*. The Mac Óc's enunciation of the pairs of "unmixable" elements must be offered as antitheses of the notion of *forever* that finds expression in

[1262] He is not uniquely Irish: he had a cult on the Isle of Man and finds a Welsh counterpart in Manawyddan. On Manannán see, *inter alia*, Vendryes 1953; Spaan 1965; Wagner 1981:8–9, 12–16, 24–25.

[1263] On a comparison framed within an analysis of Irish and Greek traditions of blessed isles and singing sea deities, see Gresseth 1970:215–218. And see earlier Krappe 1944.

[1264] Vendryes 1953:249.

[1265] *Ogham* is the alphabetic script of early Ireland; the meaning of *achu* is unknown.

the ongoing admixing of discrete "day and by night", in which he declares the world passes, that permanence of possession claimed by Leucippus in his insistence that 'so long as there was either of these, he would not give up the land'.

13.4.4. Celtic Reckoning of Time

The distinctiveness of sun and moon in the account of the *Altrom Tige Dá Medar* echoes the distinctiveness of day and night in other versions of this mythic tradition. These are dualities that are fundamental to Celtic reckoning of time, seen nowhere more clearly than in the Gaulish Coligny Calendar – time-keeping document inscribed on bronze (unearthed in Coligny [Burgundy] at the end of the nineteenth century), covering a period of five years (compare Diodorus Siculus 5.32.5–6 on Gauls offering sacrifice of prisoners in a five-year cycle). The five-year period represented in the Coligny Calendar is constructed of nesting dualities.

The entire span of time chronicled is divided into two halves (i.e. two periods of two and a half years). The beginning of each half is marked in the calendar by an intercalary month. Both intercalary months are specified as MAT (see just below).

Each of the five years is divided into two six-month halves – a half that begins with a month marked *Samon*, followed by a half that begins with a month marked

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Giamon. Gaulish *Samon* is widely regarded as corresponding to Irish *Samain* (1 November, day on which the Mac Óc took the Bruig from Elcmar), and Gaulish *Giamon* would then compare, within the structure of the year, to Insular Celtic Beltaine.[1266] One might reasonably infer that Gaulish *Samon* and *Giamon* signal a division of the year into an initial dark half followed by a light half, in light of Gaelic and Welsh characterizations of those portions of the year that begin with Samain and Beltaine.[1267] Relevant to the Gaulish case, as Rees and Rees (1961:85, 87) mention, is Caesar's (*Bellum Gallicum* 6.18) report of a Druidic tradition that identifies Dis as divine father of the Gauls and concludes that it is for this cause that (1) the Gauls give priority to nights in the reckoning of time, and that (2) *dies natales* <u>*et mensum et annorum initia*</u> *sic observant ut noctem dies subsequatur* 'birthdays and the <u>beginnings of months and of years</u> they observe so that day follows night'.

A duality that plays out within each half-year is the distinction made between months that are marked as MAT and those that are marked as ANM. The Gaulish specification MAT compares well with Irish *maith* and Welsh *mad* 'good'; ANM has been plausibly interpreted as encoding an opposing expression of this concept – in other

[1266] In Irish tradition Samain and Beltaine are the two days of the year on which the inhabitants of *síd* mounds are most likely to be visible to mortals; see the remarks of MacKillop 1998:341.

[1267] See, *inter alia*, Rees and Rees 1961:84, 89–92.

words, as abbreviating AN MAT 'not good'. Within each year six months are marked MAT and six are marked ANM. *Samon* (beginning the dark portion of the year, it would seem) is always designated as MAT; Giamon (beginning the light portion) is always designated as ANM. In keeping with the essential dualism of the calendar's structure, within each half-year MAT-months and ANM-months alternate to the extent possible. The opening of the first half-year (the dark portion of the year) with a MAT-month and the opening of the second half-year (the light portion of the year) with an ANM-month limits full alternation. The result is that the first half-year contains four MAT-months and two ANM-months and, conversely, the second half-year contains four ANM-months and two MAT-months. The alternation is manipulated in such a way that any given half-year will end with a month having the same designation (MAT or ANM) as that of the month with which it begins.

The first half of each month is dark; the second half is light. This is consistent with the observations of the preceding paragraph, but is also signaled within the calendar by the marking of the second half of the month with the specification ATENOVX, which is understood to designate 'returning night'. In other words, the month begins with the dark of the new moon and within the first two weeks the moon

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waxes; in the second two weeks of the month the moon is waning and, hence, darkness is returning.[1268]

13.4.5. Vedic Reckoning of Time

Such oppositions and other structures of the Gaulish calendar find parallel expression in early Indic reckoning of time. The Vedic calendar appears also to operate with a five-year cycle, with some intercalary period. In the formulas used in conducting the Agnicayana,[1269] for example, the fire god Agni is addressed by identifying him with, one-by-one, each of the five years of the cycle: the *Saṁvatsara*, *Parivatsara*, *Idāvatsara*, *Idvatsara*, and *Vatsara* (years one through five, respectively).[1270]

A year is divided into two halves. Each half is described as an *ayana*- literally a 'going', so a 'path'. The half of the year in which the sun is progressing northward is

[1268] For careful elaboration of Pliny's (*Naturalis historia* 16.250) remarks on the Gaulish calendar of his own day see Olmsted 1992:132–133.

[1269] A form of the Soma ritual that entails constructing a large fire altar of brick, on which see Woodard 2006:153n6.

[1270] This is the enumeration of *White Yajur Veda* 27.45. Macdonell and Keith (1995:2:412–413) would see the matter as more complicated, due chiefly to a variation in the particular names used and to a mention of fewer than all five in some passages.

called *Uttarāyaṇa* (from *uttara-* 'upper' etc.) or *Udagayana* (from *udag* 'northward'). The half of the year in which the sun is moving southward is called *Dakṣiṇāyana* (from *dakṣiṇa-* 'southward').[1271]

The month is divided again into dark and light halves, and in agreement with lunar phases that define the division of the Gaulish month into dark and light halves. The first half is called *Yava*, the second *Ayava* (negation of the first),[1272] terms that have been linked etymologically with the verb root *yu-* 'to ward off',[1273] thus a warding-off half and a not-warding off half. If the etymology is correct the reference must be to a progressive warding off of darkness as the moon waxes in the first half of the month and, following the full moon at the mid point of the month, to a cessation of the act of warding off of the darkness, as the moon wanes through the second half of the month.

[1271] For primary bibliography see Macdonell and Keith 1995:2:467.

[1272] As in *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (*ŚB*) 8.4.2.11 and 8.4.3.18. At 8.4.2.11 the first half is also called *pūrva* ['fore']-*pakṣa* [literally 'wing'] and the second half *apara* ['later']-*pakṣa* (as also at *ŚB* 6.7.4.7). For additional primary bibliography for the first and second halves of the month see Macdonell and Keith 1995:2:162–163.

[1273] See, for example, Mayrhofer 1956-1980:3:10, 21–22, comparing Latin *iuvāre* 'to help and Old English *géoc* 'help'. According to Mahīdhara, commentator on the *Yajur Vedas*, the first half of the month (*yava*) is considered to be the light half, the second (*ayava*) the dark. The denomination of the two halves would thus differ from the Celtic but the lunar benchmarks and dualism the same.

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13.4.6. Common Indo-European Reckoning of Time

These Celtic and Indic parallels can be plausibly understood as cognate reflexes of more primitive Indo-European metrics and concepts of time preserved within the powerful priestly structures (Druid and Brahmin), of common ancestral origin, that survived along the eastern and western edges of the ancient Indo-European expansion area. In other words, the survival of an early Indo-European time-reckoning tradition in India and Celtic Europe is likely part and parcel of that phenomenon discussed in §1.2.3.3 and §4.4.1 – the survival in these same boundary regions of primitive vocabulary belonging to the lexicon of religion (and sovereignty). In Vendryes' 1918 study of this phenomenon which was referred to in the discussion of Chapter Four, he points out that among the shared inherited vocabulary of these fringe Indo-European cultures are words describing time and the division of time (p. 280): "La division du temps, la fixation du calendrier, la tenue à jour des fastes fait partie des attributions des prêtres."[1274] Vendryes offers as examples Sanskrit *sadivas* (and more frequently *sadyas*)

[1274] Here Vendryes makes reference to Loth 1909, writing: "Or, les rapports du calendrier hindou et du calendrier celtique ont été étudiés par M. J. Loth dans une communication à l'Académie des Inscriptions (voir *Comptes rendus de l' Acad.*, 1909, p. 24 et suiv., notamment p. 25 où est citée une note de M. Sylvain

'on the same day; today' and Welsh *heddyw*, Cornish *heþeu*, Breton *hiziou*, *hiriou* 'today' (as well as Sanskrit *adya-* and Latin *hodie* 'today'). Also, Vendryes continues, the Irish word for 'time', *tan*, *tain*, is derived from the primitive Indo-European root that gives rise to Sanskrit *tane* (dative) and *tanā* (instrumental) 'continuation, uninterrupted succession'.[1275]

13.5. Horse-Woman, Cow-Woman, and Divine Twins in Celtic Tradition

The night-and-day/dark-and-light contrasts that translate into a completeness of time in the Celtic traditions of the Mac Óc, son of Bóand (the 'White-Cow Woman') and the Dagda (sovereign deity), as well as in the Gaulish Coligny Calendar, and in the Greek tradition of the refounding of Metapontium by Leucippus are contrasts that are fundamental to Indo-European divine-twin figures. We have had opportunity to mention such contrasts as they characterize the twin Aśvins, who are corporately the sons of Dyaus (in origin the Indic Zeus-Jupiter homologue, who remains 'Sky' in his greatly diminished Vedic stature) but "born differently" (see §12.7.3.4) As is well known, comparable contrasts characterize the Dioscuri, Castor and Polydeuces, deemed

Lévi). L'habitude de compter par nuits est caractéristique à la fois des Hindous et des Celtes (*Loth R. Celt.*, XXV, p. 117)."

[1275] Adding, "le latin *tempus* paraît devoir se rattacher aussi à la même idée."

'sons of Zeus', but also born differently. Through Polydeuces' sharing of his immortal nature (being actual son of Zeus) with Castor, the two alternate between states of death and life, darkness and light.[1276] And as we noted earlier (see §12.7.3.4), paralleling the Aśvins, the Dioscuri have been individually identified as Morning Star and Evening Star.

13.5.1. Rhiannon and Pryderi

There is reasonably clear evidence that the Indo-European divine twins and their associated mythology persist into Celtic tradition as we know it. Especially conspicuous among attested Insular Celtic elements of the ancestral mythic nexus is the Welsh figure of Rhiannon, appearing in the *Mabinogi*. Rhiannon, who has clear horse affiliations within the epic narrative, is widely regarded as continuing an earlier horse goddess, one that finds an important Continental Celtic expression in the homologous deity Epona. The goddess Epona and her affiliation with horses is richly evidenced in images and inscriptions from across Celtic Europe; and aside from her diachronic link with Rhiannon (by way of common origin), the Gallic goddess may have exerted influence synchronically on her Welsh counterpart.[1277] In the first branch of

[1276] On which see especially the discussion of Frame 2009:75–76, 84.

[1277] See, *inter alia*, Magnen 1953; Linduff 1979; Oaks 1986.

the *Mabinogi* Rhiannon is presented as giving birth to a son Pryderi on the eve of Calan Mai (Irish Beltaine). The child mysteriously disappeared on the very night he was born, only to appear at the home of one called *Teyrnon Twrf Liant* (linked with the sea by his name [*twrf liant* 'storming sea']), master of Gwent Is Coed (southeastern Gwent); the infant's discovery there unfolds in this way.[1278] Teyrnon (Gaulish *Tigernonos 'Great King') was expecting his prized mare to foal on that same night, as the animal would each year on the eve of Calan Mai – though always her foal would also mysteriously disappear. In order to prevent the loss of another colt, Teyrnon brought the mare into his house to give birth. When her foal had been born and was standing stably, a great claw came through the window and grabbed it by the mane; Teyrnon cut off the claw with his sword, heard screeching outside the house, ran out though the door, and gave pursuit in the dark night. When Teyrnon realized that in his haste he had left the door open he gave up the chase and returned to his house; and there at the door he discovered a baby – unknown to Teyrnon, it was Rhiannon's missing son, just born. Teyrnon and his wife took in the newborn child as a fosterling and determined that the newborn colt should be trained to be the boy's own horse. The conjunction of the twin

[1278] The edition and translation of the *Mabinogi* followed here is that of Ford 2019.

births, human and equine, and the linking of the human and horse as a pair is highly suggestive in the context of the Indo-European divine-twins tradition.

13.5.2. Modron and Mabon

Disappearance similarly defines the infancy of the Welsh figure Mabon (= Maponos, a god of Roman Britain, namesake of the *Mabinogi*).[1279] Welsh *Mabon* means, approximately, 'divine son' or 'young god'; his mother is Modron, corresponding to Gaulish Matrona, mother goddess associated eponymously with the Marne River. The Welsh figure identified as *Mabon vab Mellt* – that is Mabon 'son of lightning' – appears to be something of a doublet of Mabon vab Modron, but at times was regarded as a separate being;[1280] the twinning of Mabon is perhaps notable, as is the patronymic in light of the primitive tradition that makes one, but only one, of the Indo-European divine twins to be the actual son of the sky god *Dyeus (Zeus and Dyaus). West (2007) notes that in one of the poems of the Welsh *Llyfr Taliesin* (*Book of Taliesin*)[1281] Mabon is presented as riding a white charger into battle and as operating as a warrior from

[1279] See, *inter alia*, Hamp 1974–1975.

[1280] See, *inter alia*, the remarks of Bromwich 2014:424–425.

[1281] See Koch and Carey 2000:356–358.

whom an enemy has no escape: this depiction, he observes, aligns Mabon with various reflexes of the Indo-European divine twins (riding white horses and bringing aid).

13.5.3. Bóand, the Mac Óc, and Bodb Derg

It is commonly held that the Welsh mother-son pair Modron-Mabon offer a structural equivalent to the Irish mother-son pair Bóand-the Mac Óc: river-affiliated mother and her offspring whose name identifies him as "the young" son.[1282] *If* we were to allow that the mother-son pair Rhiannon-Pryderi constitute a mythic alloform of the pair Modron-Mabon,[1283] which would not seem unreasonable, and thus extend this Welsh-Irish equation further (i.e. Modron-Mabon = Rhiannon-Pryderi = Bóand-the Mac Óc), we would observe that while in Irish tradition the "mother", Bóand, is linked to cattle ('White-Cow Woman'), in Welsh tradition the corresponding figure, Rhiannon, is linked to horses – a point to which we shall soon return. By this extended equation, the Mac Óc, structurally aligning with both Mabon and Pryderi, would be understood as a

[1282] See, for example, the remarks of Puhvel 1987:174.

[1283] On Pryderi and Mabon as divine twins, see the remarks of O'Brien 1982:127, who appears to propose that Mabon is reflex of one Indo-European twin and Pryderi reflex of the other, and offering: "The name Maponos may consequently represent an elliptical singular based on the . . . 'Divine Youths', just as Pryderi mythologically eclipses his equine sibling."

single reflex of ancestral divine twin figures. We have seen that Oengus, the Mac Óc, is son of the Dagda; as such he has a fraternal affiliation with the figure called *Bodb Derg*, son of the Dagda, and one who at times is cast as ruler of the Tuatha Dé Danann.[1284]

13.5.4. The Aislinge Óenguso

These brothers, Oengus and Bodb Derg (Bodb 'the Red'), are depicted as working in tandem in the *Aislinge Óenguso* (*Dream of Oengus*), a tradition preserved in the *Book of Leinster*, which can be summarized in this way. Oengus, the Mac Óc, experienced a recurring dream-vision over the course of a year. A beautiful young woman would approach him as he lay in his bed and play for him on a timpan until he fell asleep. The Mac Óc developed a love for the dream-woman, a longing that resulted in him succumbing to a wasting sickness. He told no one of his recurring vision; but the nature of his malady was rightly diagnosed by Fergne, a great healer, who proposed that Oengus appeal to his mother Bóand for guidance in the matter of the dream-woman. Bóand then searched throughout Ireland for one year, trying to locate the woman whom her son envisioned nightly, but she was unable to find her. Fergne then

[1284] Bodb Derg is presented as resident of two different síd mounds. Is twinning evidenced here as well? See MacKillop 1998:41.

urged the Dagda to send messengers to Bodb Derg, famed for his knowledge, to request his aid in locating the woman. Bodb sent out searchers to find the woman, whom, in the span of a year, they located at Loch Bél Dracon in the province of Connacht. The Dagda was informed of their discovery, and Oengus then traveled to the *síd* of his brother Bodb Derg, the Síd ar Femuin. At the advice of Bodb, the two brothers journeyed together to see the young woman, whom they found by the lake in a company of 150 young women – she, Cáer, daughter of Ethal Anbúail (of Connacht), standing out above the rest. The brothers then went to the Bruig to share their findings with Bóand and the Dagda; and, again, at the advice of Bodb, the Dagda traveled to Connacht to talk over the matter with Ailill and Medb (figures perhaps best known from the *Táin Bó Cuailnge*). When Cáer's father was then approached about giving his daughter to the Mac Óc, he refused. His *síd* was then assaulted by the warriors of the Dagda and of Ailill and Medb and was subdued, but Ethal could still not give his daughter Cáer to the Mac Óc, for, as he explained under threat of death, her power was greater than his. Ethal describes Cáer's power as one that manifested itself in shape-shifting: one year she would have human form, the next she would take on the form of a bird, with the toggling transition occurring each Samain (the text of the *Aislinge Óenguso* pointedly notes here that there was then peace between Ethal, the

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Dagda, and Ailill and Medb). Equipped with this knowledge, Oengus, on the next Samain, approached Loch Bél Dracon, where he was told Cáer would be, and there saw 150 swans – clearly the maidens he had earlier seen, now all in bird form. He called out to bird-form Cáer, who came to him, upon the condition that she could return to the lake again. The Mac Óc then transformed himself into a swan; in swan form he and Cáer slept together, and after circling the lake three times flew together to the Bruig, where they sang beautifully so that those present fell into a sleep of three days, and Cáer remained with Oengus, the Mac Óc.

13.5.4.1. The Mac Óc, Bodb Derg, the Aśvins, and Swans. There are at least three elements of this Irish tradition of the Mac Óc and his brother Bodb Derg that reverberate with characteristics of the ancestral divine twins as attested elsewhere, especially in India. First, Bodb Derg offers crucial assistance to the Mac Óc in a recovery crisis. In Indic tradition the divine twins are famed for their rescuing activities – a fundamental function that almost certainly provides them with their name *Nāsatyas* (of at least Proto-Indo-Iranian origin; see below, §13.7)[1285] and a function that is well attested among their Greek and Baltic counterparts.

[1285] On the name *Nāsatyā* see especially Frame 2009:59–62, with bibliography.

Second, and this characteristic is a subcategorization of the first, the rescue that the Irish brothers effect is one that has a marine setting, occurring locally in Loch Bél Dracon. The saving activity for which the Aśvins are most particularly lauded in the *Rig Veda* is the rescue of the drowning man Bhujyu, son of Tugra (*Rig Veda* 1.112.6 and 20, 7.68.7, 10.40.7, 10.65.12) – a rescue carried out by the Aśvins flying in their chariots pulled by birds (1.119.4, 6.62.6) or by winged horses (1.116.3–5, 7.69.7 [perhaps also 10.143.5]), a vehicle that the poets can name as "boat" (1.116.5), as they can the steeds that draw it (1.116.3). At *Rig Veda* 1.112.5, 1.116.24, 1.117.4, 1.119., and 10.39.9 the Aśvins are praised for their recue of the seer Rebha from turbulent waters. Similarly, the Dioscuri are 'saviors' (*sōtêres* [σωτῆρες]) of those in peril at sea, as in the *Homeric Hymn to the Dioscuri* 5–17.[1286] In the Irish recovery of Cáer the brothers operate in tandem but in a tag-team way: Bodb Derg immediately assists the Mac Óc in identifying and locating Cáer, and the Mac Óc then recovers her from her watery setting. This is a recovery which is, of course, made for the healthful benefit of the Mac Óc himself, but one in which Cáer is depicted as also happily benefiting, united with a lover and able to continue her dimorphic existence while doing so.

[1286] See the discussion of Frame 2009:73–74.

The third relevant feature is the association with swans. The Mac Óc takes the shape of a swan when he recovers Cáer, herself a swan. We saw just above that in the *Rig Veda* the chariots in which the Aśvins ride in their rescue of Bhujyu can drawn by birds. That birds are so utilized by the Aśvins appears to be the typical case[1287] – and among these birds are included swans, as at *Rig Veda* 4.45.4. In a description of the Aśvins' rescue of the seer Atri/Saptavadhri (who is wedged in a tight space) in *Rig Veda* 5.78, the refrain, addressed to the Aśvins, "fly here like two swans" repeats in the first three pādas. In arguing cogently for identifying the Anglo-Saxon brothers Hengest 'Stallion' and Horsa 'Horse' as Germanic reflexes of the primitive Indo-European divine twins, Joseph (1983:110) points out that "they are connected in some accounts with swans, e.g. the history of Suffridus Petrus [Frisian historian], with swans, in that they are said to have had a sister named Swana ['Swan']."[1288] The horse/swan variation finds expression in Bronze-Age Indo-European realia: Kristiansen and Larsson (2005:294–296, 306–307) draw comparative attention to the model of the sun-chariot from Trundholm, Denmark that is pulled by a horse (ca. 1500–1300 BC) and the likely contemporary sun-

[1287] Thus Macdonell (1897:50) so judges.

[1288] And see earlier Ward 1968:59–60, 71.

chariot model from Duplje, Serbia that is pulled by swans.[1289] In Greek tradition of the Dioscuri, there is of course the matter, first attested in Euripides *Helen* 16–22 and *Iphigenia at Aulis* 794–797, of Zeus and Leda – Leda, mother of Castor and Polydeuces – whom Zeus impregnated while he was in the form of a swan.[1290] Helen is most commonly presented as the product of that union, and born from an egg, but the Dioscuri, who have distinct equine associations, are also implicated in forms of the tradition.[1291]

We should note, especially as it will become relevant further along in this chapter, that in Greek tradition the swan is no stranger to Apollo. The archaic Lesbian poet Alcaeus, in his Hymn to Apollo (Himerius *Declamations and Orations* 48.105–131 [Colonna 1951] = Alcaeus ᾱ 1 (c) L-P), could sing of Apollo travelling from the land of the

[1289] Kristiansen and Larsson argue for a historical transition in the thirteenth-twelfth centuries BC (pp. 307308): "Swan heads replace horse heads as the dominant animal on sun ships . . . ." that they localize "in central and northern Europe."

[1290] See also, *inter alia*, Isocrates *Orations 10 (Helen)* 59; Ovid *Heroides* 17.55–56; Manilius *Astronomica* 1.337–340; Lucian *Judgment of the Goddesses* 14; Claudian *Panegyric on the Consuls Probinus and Olybrius* 236–239; *Greek Anthology* 5.307.

[1291] Thus, for Lycophron *Alexandra* 506–507; Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 3.126; Hyginus *Fabulae* 77; Servius *Commentarius in Vergilii Aeneidos libros* 3.328; *First Vatican Mythographer* 3.201; *Scholia in Odysseam* (*scholia vetera* [= Dindorf 1962]) 11.298. For helpful discussion see Gantz 1993:321.

Hyperboreans (whom we have seen to be characterized as *eúippos* [εὔιππος] 'delighting in horses' [§12.7.2]) to Delphi in a chariot pulled by swans (a gift from Zeus).[1292] Plato (*Phaedo* 84E–85B), in a divinatory context, writes of swans belonging to Apollo (τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὄντες) and of the swans prophesying of their own coming happy situation in Hades by the singing of their swansongs. Callimachus (*Hymns* 4.249-254) writes of swans flying from Anatolia (Maeonian Pactolus; see §15.2.1) to Delos at the time of Apollo's birth on that sacred Aegean island, circling it seven times (see also *Hymns* 2.5 for swans and Apollo's cult). Hecataeus of Abdera (fourth–third centuries BC) reports (fr. 12 FGrH) that when the rites of Apollo's Hyperborean cult are performed, a vast flock of swans flies down from the Rhipaean Mountains, circle the god's temple, as if to purify it, and light in the temple enclosure (*períbolos* [περίβολος]); there, the swans accompany the songs of the chorus in perfect harmony. Aristophanes, *Birds* 769–784, has a chorus of swans sing to Apollo on the banks of the Hebrus: *tiotiotiotiotínx* (τιοτιοτιοτιοτίγξ),[1293] that Thracian river into which the head of Orpheus would be cast and by the currents of which the head is borne on to Lesbos.[1294]

[1292] See Page 1955:244–252.

[1293] On Apollo and swans see, *inter alia*, Page 1955:249–250, 252; Ahl 1982; Lambrinudakis LIMC 2.1:227–228, 324–325; Pettersson 1992:30–31.

[1294] See, *inter alia*, Virgil *Georgics* 4.523–527; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 11:50–60.

13.5.4.2. Purūravas and Urvaśī. Aside from the matter of divine-twin reflexes – at the core of the Irish *Aislinge Óenguso* there appears to lie a distinct narrative of primitive Indo-European antiquity. Rees and Rees (1961:277–278) propose to see in the Irish account a mythic cognate of the well-known Indic tradition of the courtship and marriage of Purūravas and Urvaśī, as preserved in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* (*ŚB*) 11.5.1.1–17. Purūravas is among the earliest of mortals, son of Iḷā, son of Manu, the first human. Manu intersects with the Aśvins in this way: he is the child produced by the solar deity Vivasvat and the clone that his wife Saraṇyū had left in her place when she ran away in the form of a mare – that tradition that we encountered in §8.5; there we noted that subsequently Vivasvat and Saraṇyū, now both in horse form, produced the twin Aśvins (a variant tradition of the birth of the divine twin deities of India).[1295]

Urvaśī is an Apsaras – nymph-like beings, closely affiliated with those male beings (demi-gods) called Gandharvas. Avestan provides an exact cognate to Sanskrit *Gandharva-* in the form *Gandarəβa-* (*Yašt* 5.38; 15.28; 19.41), naming a "yellow-healed" sea dragon slain by the hero Kərəsāspa. The phonetic similarity to the Greek word *Kéntauros* (Κένταυρος), naming a creature that is part male human and part horse in

[1295] For an extensive primary bibliography see Doniger O'Flaherty 1979:5–6.

form, is patent; even so, a common linguistic ancestor (i.e. an etymon) cannot be reconstructed for the Greek and Indo-Iranian forms: etymological hypotheses have been offered, but none convincingly so.[1296] It is perhaps most reasonable to see the term as entering the lexicon of Proto-Greek and Proto-Indo-Iranian from some external source in a setting of shared geographic space, and so at some early moment having a roughly common referent, but undergoing semantic evolution in each of the three descendent lines.[1297] The Gandharvas clearly have various affiliations with horses (Allen and Woodard 2013:4–5), but seemingly do not possess horse anatomy – though the anatomical matter is a murky one that does not go away: in 1915 Hopkins states (p. 157) that "both [Centaurs and Gandharvas] have equine forms," and as recently as 2009, Doniger writes (p. 107) that "Gandharvas . . . are semiequine figures, sometimes depicted in anthropomorphic form (in which case they might well ride horses), sometimes as horse headed or horse torsoed . . . ." The Gandharvas can be and are indeed depicted as having at least partial animal form; most commonly, however, that

[1296] A claim of linguistic unity lies at the heart of Dumézil's early comparative work of 1929. The idea was robustly challenged and in time revisited by Dumézil.

[1297] Notice the continued semantic change in Iranian: in Shughni (a modern east Iranian language of the Pamir group, spoken in Tajikistan and Afghanistan) the descendent form *žindūrv* denotes 'werewolf' as well as 'monster / dragon' (see Morgenstierne 1974:110).

is a bird-form, with heaven and mid-air being their natural environment (Allen and Woodard 2013:10). In *Rig Veda* 1.163 a Gandharva is said to grasp the halter of the horse that is victim of the all-important Aśvamedha ('Horse Sacrifice'); here the horse is identified with the sun-bird as it journeys to heaven.

The Apsaras Urvaśī agreed to become wife of mortal Purūravas and to remain with him (rather than returning to the Gandharvas), but only upon certain conditions: he could "hug" her three times per day only, but could not sleep with her against her will, and she must never see him naked (*ŚB* 11.5.1.1) – presumably they only make love in the dark as Urvaśī wills it. One night the Gandharvas, who desired for Urvaśī the Apsaras to return to them, caused a disturbance in the house of Purūravas and Urvaśī, stealing her two lambs; when Purūravas jumped out of bed to pursue, the Gandharvas caused lightning to flash, illuminating his nude body so that it was seen by Urvaśī, who then disappeared (*ŚB* 11.5.1.2–4). In his wanderings in search of Urvaśī, Purūravas came to a lotus-filled lake called Anyataḥplakṣā. In the lake were swimming Apsarases in the form of swans, or some similar bird (*āti*), among whom was Urvaśī. She recognized Purūravas and made herself known to him (*ŚB* 11.5.1.4–5). Their tearful dialogue of *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* 11.5.1.6–10 rehearses verses of their encounter in *Rig Veda* 10.95: Purūravas begs Urvaśī to return to him, and in the Brāhmaṇa dialogue (which

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progresses beyond Urvaśī's steadfast refusals of *Rig Veda* 10.95) she is moved by Purūravas' pleading: Urvaśī, the swan-Apsaras, tells him that he is to return to her on the last night of the year and she will lie with him. When Purūravas returns he finds a golden palace has appeared at the site, within which he and Urvaśī reunite as lovers. Following Urvaśī's guidance, on the next day Purūravas requests the Gandharvas to transform him, Purūravas, into a Gandharva. The Gandharvas set for Purūravas a sequence of ritual acts to perform and at the last, by generating a sacrificial flame with fire-drill sticks made of wood from an *Aśvattha* ('under which horses stand') tree, his transformation is effected.

The core theme of the two traditions – Irish and Indic – is the same and the two agree in various sequenced details of a fairly idiosyncratic nature. Heroic male figures have nocturnal interactions with a highly desirable female; the female disappears during the course of the night (nightly in the case of the Mac Óc; after a four-year period of nightly union in the case of Purūravas); the heroic male searches diligently for his lost love; he finds her in a lake in the form of a swan in a company of other female figures in swan form; the bird-form female agrees to join in love with the male upon the meeting of certain conditions related to the female returning to a previous environment (in the case of the Indic tradition Urvaśī sets out conditions at both the

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time of her initial union with Purūravas and at the time of their meeting at the lake); the heroic male undergoes a physical metamorphosis consistent with the nature of the desired female. Sub-details could perhaps be elaborated.

13.6. Hermes and Brimo; Apollo and Coronis; White Crow, Black Crow: A Thessalian Mûthos

As a part of a broad comparative treatment of Hermes and Oengus, the Mac Óc, Sergent (1994:200–203) argues for evidence of a Greek myth that is cognate with the Irish *Aislinge Óenguso*. The textual locus of the Greek myth is brief – and Sergent stresses that this must be duly considered[1298] – and several interpretative tracks are called into play, but Sergent's comparison is characteristically skillful and insightful. Here we will examine Sergent's analysis, integrating into it some additional observations and ideas.

13.6.1. Hermes and Brimo

The text with which Sergent is immediately concerned is Propertius 2.2.11–12:

[1298] "La comparaison ne peut guère aller plus loin: l'épisode et à peine connu, et rien n'y vient répondre à la richesse de l'histoire irlandaise" (p. 201).

Mercurio sacris fertur Boebeidos undis

virgineum Brimo composuisse latus

Brimo, it is said, beside the sacred waters of Lake Boebeïs

lay her virgin body right up next to Mercury [= Hermes]

Boebeïs (*Boibēís* [Βοιβηίς]) names a Thessalian lake located near Pherae (see, *inter alia*, Strabo 9.5.2, 15, 18, 20, 22, 28 [twice] and 11.4.8 [here in conjunction with Argonautic tradition]).[1299] In the Catalogue of Ships (*Iliad* 2.711–715) the epic poet mentions *Boibēìs límnē* (Βοιβηὶς λίμνη) 'lake Boebeïs' as he describes the Thessalian contingent of eleven ships led by Eumelus, son of Admetus (see above, §4.2.4). The name *Brimo* (*Brīmṓ* [Βρῑμώ]) is elsewhere used as an epithet of Hecate, Persephone, Hera.[1300]

Propertius' Greek source for this tradition is unknown. Heslin (2018:38–39) offers the following in this regard:

[1299] Armenium, one of the cities on the lake, is reported to be the home of Armenus, who sailing east with Jason gave his name to Armenia.

[1300] Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* 3.861–862; Lucian *Necyomantia* 20; Aelius Herodianus Ἐπιμερισμοί 6; *Etymologicum genuinum* B.261; *Etymologicum magnum* 213; *Scholia in Lycophronem* (*scholia vetera et recentiora partim Isaac et Joannis Tzetzae* [= Scheer 1958]) 1176, 1176 bis.

> The myth of Brimo, Mercury, and Lake Boebeis is obscure, and we do not know what source Propertius is alluding to via his Alexandrian footnote (*fertur*, 11). Knowledge of that source seems to be reflected in Tzetzes' scholia on Lycophron,[1301] which mention a story that Hermes unsuccessfully attempted to rape Persephone or Hecate. She snorted or roared in anger (ἐνεβριμήσατο [*enebrimḗsato*]) and frightened him off so that he had to desist; hence her name Brimo [cf. *brī́mē* (βρῖμη) 'threat; bellowing']. That passage of Lycophron (*Alex.* 1180) mentions Pherae in Thessaly, which, as Homer says (*Il.* 2.711), lies along lake Boebeis . . . . So this couplet . . . is an attempted rape which ends in nothing but disappointment and embarrassment for the would-be rapist.

Sergent (1994) enumerates five points in comparing Propertius' lines and the Irish *Aislinge Óenguso*. Point one (p. 201) – he writes that the swan is not the bird of Hermes, but it is the bird of Apollo: Sergent would thus see here 'slippage' (*glissement*) or an inversion of Hermes and Apollo, a phenomenon for which he has already argued in earlier sections of his study.

[1301] See the preceding note.

13.6.2. The Dagda, Zeus, and Swans

Sergent's second point (pp. 201) is subtle: here he draws together Hermes/Apollo and Oengus by highlighting elements that they share commonly with their respective fathers, specifically with regard to swans, and essentially sets up an analogical equation (the interpretative exposition here differs slightly from Sergent's but is faithful to it). In doing so Sergent utilizes the working propositions that (1) the Dagda, whom we saw to be the biological father of the Mac Óc, and Midir, whom we saw to be the foster father of the Mac Óc, are, in effect, doublets (following, *inter alia*, Sterckx 1986:78) and that (2) the Dagda is the Irish homologue of Greek Zeus (/Roman Jupiter),[1302] as has been commonly held. The son Apollo is affiliated with swans, as is the father Zeus, in the matter of his rape of Leda; the son Oengus is affiliated with swans, in the matter of the recovery of Cáer from Loch Bél Dracon, as is the father Midir/the Dagda – and in a similar act. Affiliation of Midir/the Dagda with swans presents itself in an episode in the *Tochmarc Étaíne* III in which Midir recovers, or abducts, the willing wooed woman Étaín from the household of Eochaid Airem, king of Tara, famed for his skill with horses and knowledgeable of oxen (hence his name *Airem*

[1302] Sergent (p. 201) notes that the Dagda "est théologiquement proche de Zeus (tous deux sont dieux souverains mitriens)."

'Ploughman' [*TÉ* III.8]): Midir places his arm around Étaín and they fly out through a skylight; they are then witnessed by the hosts, in the form of two swans, flying around Tara and headed in the direction of Síd ar Femuin (*TÉ* III.15). This is, as we saw above (§13.5.4), the *síd* in which resides Bodb Derg, brother of Oengus, the Mac Óc, and that one who assists him in the recovery of swan-form Cáer. These two Irish "recovery-of-the-feminine" episodes, entailing a father and son pair, clearly share in a feature network, into which Sergent draws the episode of Zeus and Leda. He goes on to argue that the Thessalian episode of Hermes and Brimo equally participates in this network.

13.6.3. Apollo, White Crows, and Black Crows

Sergent's point three is concerned with *another* Greek *mûthos* localized in Thessaly. We will return to Hermes and Brimo and Sergent's analysis in §13.6.3.4, but before doing so we need first to give close attention to that Thessalian *mûthos* that Sergent addresses in offering his point three. As we proceed, let us bear in mind the "slippage" of Hermes and Apollo.

The mother of Apollo's son Asclepius is typically identified as Coronis, daughter of the Thessalian hero Phlegyas (on whom see below, §14.2.3; also §6.6.2.4 and §18.2), as in the *Homeric Hymn to Asclepius* 1–3. Pindar (*Pythian Odes* 3.8) too calls Coronis Φλεγύα

θυγάτηρ 'daughter of Phlegyas' – Phlegyas whom he characterizes as *eúippos* (εὔιππος) 'delighting in horses' (see §12.7.3, item 4), the adjective which we saw (§12.7.3.1 and §12.7.4) the poet to use in describing the Dioscuri (*Tundarídai* [Τυνδαρίδαι]) in *Olympian Odes* 3.38–39.[1303] Pindar, *Pythian Odes* 3.34 locates the residence of Coronis in Thessaly, in the Magnesian city of Lacereia (on the Dotian Plain) by the banks of Lake Boebeïs;[1304] similarly Pherecydes fr. 8a (FHG). In the Hesiodic Catalogue of Women (fr. 59.2–4 MW [see also fr. 60 MW]) Coronis resides on the Didyma mountains, on the Dotian Plain, 'over against Amyrus' (ἄντ' Ἀμύροιο; and see below, §13.6.3.4);[1305] as we saw above (§12.3; see also §14.3), Strabo reports this to be the locale in which the ancestors of the Aeolians of Magnesia on the Maeander had settled. Stephanus Byzantius (*Ethnica* 1.287) describes this Amyrus as 'a Thessalian city; named for one of the Argonauts' (πόλις Θεσσαλίας, ἀπὸ ἑνὸς τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν). Apollonius Rhodius (*Argonautica* 4.616–617)

[1303] On Coronis as mother of Asclepius, see also, *inter alia*, Hesiod frr. 59–60 (MW); Callimachus *Hecale* fr. 260.60; Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* 4.616–617; Diodorus Siculus 4.71.1; Lucian *Alexander the False Prophet* 38–39; Pausanias 2.26.6; Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 3.118; Hyginus *Fabulae* 202 and *Astronomica* 2.40.2; Servius *Commentarius in Vergilii Aeneidos libros* 6.618; Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (= van der Valk 1971–1987) 1.515.

[1304] See also *Scholia in Pindarum* (*scholia vetera* [=Drachmann 1966–1969]) *Pythian* 3.60a.

[1305] See also the *Homeric Hymn to Asclepius.*

tells of Coronis birthing Asclepius in Lacereia 'by the swell of the [river] Amyrus' (ἐπὶ προχοῇς Ἀμύροιο).[1306]

13.6.3.1. Apollo and Coronis. The *mûthos* of Apollo, Coronis, and their son Asclepius is earliest preserved in extensive form in Pindar *Pythian Odes* 3. While Coronis was pregnant with Apollo's child she slept with a mortal lover (3.24–26), commonly named as Ischys (son of the Thessalian king Elatus), as by Pindar (3.31; though Pindar makes Ischys to be an Arcadian);[1307] Ischys is yet another figure whom we noted to be characterized by the epithet *eúippos* (εὔιππος) 'delighting in horses' (see §12.7.2, item 2). For Pindar, Apollo Loxias, in his Delphic temple, distantly perceived Coronis' sex act (3.27–29). In Hesiodic fragment 60, Coronis' intercourse with Ischys was reported to Apollo by a witnessing crow, as is typical of the tradition; for bringing the news of Coronis' infidelity, Apollo forever changed the color of crows from their natural white

[1306] See also Valerius Flaccus *Argonautica* 2.11–12; *Scholia in Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* (*scholia vetera* [= Wendel 1935]) 52.

[1307] On Pindar's apparent alteration of the identity of Ischys, see, *inter alia*, Young 1968:36–37; Stamatopoulou 2017:72–76.

to black.[1308] Apollo sent Artemis to Thessaly to kill Coronis (3.31–36). When Coronis' family had placed her body on a pyre and it was being consumed by flames, Apollo rushed in to rescue the fetus still within Coronis' womb (3.38–44) and placed the child, Asclepius, into the care of a Magnesian – a Centaur (Chiron) – who taught him the craft of healing (3.45–46). In Pausanias' report of the tradition (2.26.6–7), it is Hermes – rather than Apollo – who snatches the unborn Asclepius from the fire. Hermes also receives a mention in the highly skeletal context of line 15 of the Hesiodic Catalogue of Women fragment 59 (see below, §13.6.3.4).

13.6.3.2. Apollo and Arsinoe. There is another tradition regarding the identity of the mother of Asclepius – a minority report, though one well represented, that localizes the action elsewhere. In this instance the mother is identified as Arsinoe, the daughter of Leucippus, son of Perieres – in other words, that Messenian Leucippus, that 'White-Horse Man', whom we encountered above, in §12.7.3.1 and §12.7.4: a grandson of

[1308] For the tradition and the crow's role see, *inter alia*, Pherecydes fr. 8a (FHG); Callimachus *Hecale* fr. 260.55–59; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 2.535–552, 596–632; Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 3.119; Hyginus *Fabulae* 202 and *Astronomica* 2.40.2; Antoninus Liberalis *Metamorphoses* 20.7; *Scholia in Pindarum* (*scholia vetera* [= Drachmann 1966–1969]) *Pythian* 3.14 and 48d. Pausanias (2.26.6–7) makes no mention of the crow in his brief account.

Aeolus and father of the Leucippides Hilaïra and Phoebe (i.e. Arsinoe's sisters) whom the Dioscuri abduct. This tradition too is earliest preserved in the Hesiodic Catalogue of Women (frr. 50 and 72 MW). That Hesiod should attest both traditions regarding the maternity of Asclepius – (1) son of Coronis and (2) son of Arsinoe – has been the source of consternation for critics.[1309] Whatever the structural implications for the Catalogue of Women, it is clearly the case that we have before us variant forms of a proto-tradition, both with Aeolian affiliations – one, that concerning Coronis daughter of Phlegyas (who is *eúippos* [εὔιππος] 'delighting in horses'; §13.6.3), being more immediate than the other, that concerning Arsinoe daughter of Leucippus. Pausanias (2.26.7–8; see also 3.26.4, 4.3.1–2, and 4.31.12) attributes the latter tradition to Messenian conceits. It is the tradition that Pseudo-Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca* 3.117) appears to favor, and earlier (first century BC) endorsed by the historian Socrates of Argos (t. 1 FHG).[1310]

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[1309] See, for example, the remarks of West 1985:69–72.

[1310] See also *Scholia in Pindarum* (*scholia vetera* [= Drachmann 1966–1969]) *Pythian* 3.14; Scholia in Clementem Alexandrinum (*scholia recentiora partim sub auctore Aretha* [= Stählin and Treu 1972]) *Protrepticum et paedagogum* 306.24, 2.

13.6.3.3. Apollo, Aeolian Crows, Leucippus, and Magnesia on the Maeander. Concerning Apollo and crows, and crow flights in conjunction with Delphic divination, a few observations ought to be made at this point. Strabo (9.6) makes mention of the tradition about birds that Zeus sent, from the west and from the east, which met in their flights at that point which is the very omphalos of Greece and of the earth – the site of Delphi. According to some, writes Strabo, the birds were crows; Plutarch (*De defectu oraculorum* 409E), rehearsing the same tradition, makes the birds swans (in both instances eagles, the common bird of these accounts, are also mentioned). White crows play a role in the foundation myth of Magnesia on the Maeander, with its conspicuous Aeolian and Cretan affiliations, as given expression in an inscription from the site, *IMagnesia* 17,[1311] probably dated 208/207 BC,[1312] elaborated and supported by various

[1311] For a recent line-by-line summary of the inscription, see Biagetti 2010:42–44. An English translation of most of the inscription can be found in Sumi 2004 (p. 81). For an earlier English translation of the oracular portions of the inscription, with summaries of the other portions, see Parke 1939:51–52 and Parke and Wormell 1956:1:52–53 (for the text of the oracles see Parke and Wormell 1956:2:153–155). See also Fontenrose 1978:407–410.

[1312] On the chronology of the documents and the events surrounding their production, entailing the matter of the granting of *asylia* (that is, ἀσυλία [asulía], the right to sanctuary) to Magnesia by numerous Greek cities and the establishment of games to honor Artemis Leucophryene, see recently Sosin 2009,

associated documents concerned with the establishment of the cult and games of Artemis Leucophryene (see §12.3 and §12.6). As we observed in Chapter Twelve, Magnesia on the Maeander was said to be have been founded by an Anatolian Leucippus who had led a group of Thessalians to Crete and then eastward to Caria (see §12.2.1, §12.6, §12.7, and §12.7.4). This Leucippus, a 'White-Horse Man' and this migratory tradition are incorporated into the *mûthos* that is *IMagnesia* 17, together with the tradition of an oracle about white crows. In lines 11–13 of *IMagnesia* 17 we read:

> ὡς δὲ περὶ ὀγδοιήκονθ' ἔτη μετὰ τὴν ἄφιξιν ἐφά[νησαν οἱ λευκοὶ κόρακες, εὐθέως ἅμα θυσίαις χαριστηρίοις πέμπ̣[ουσιν εἰς Δελ-φοὺς ἐρωτήσοντες περὶ τῆς εἰς τὴν ἰδί̣[αν] ἐπανόδο[υ . . .

with treatment of earlier scholarship and pertinent bibliography (which is considerable). Since at least Kern 1901 investigators have typically operated with the idea that the initial Magnesian diplomatic efforts to secure *asylia* and the games are to be dated to 221/220 BC and that these efforts met with robust failure. Sosin argues cogently that this view appears to be erroneous and that the proper dating is to 208/207 BC. He further contends that a failure to establish games *can* be assigned to 221/220 BC but that this was fundamentally an internal breakdown and the result of Magnesians simply failing to heed oracular instructions for founding the games. He observes (p. 407): "The principal framework for interpreting this episode in Magnesia's history has been political or diplomatic failure on an international scale, ... But the failure was local and, so far as we can tell religious."

> And 80 years after their arrival [in Crete] there appe[ared the white crows, immediately, together with thank offerings, they se[nt to Del]phi inquirers about the matter of returning to their own home, . . .

The context of the reference to the arrival of the white crows can be reasonably identified as that of a Balkan Aeolian oracular tradition in which an impending population movement is signaled by the sighting of such birds. The various forms of the tradition are briefly examined in Huxley 1967.[1313] Three variants are identified therein, one of which is that to which allusion is made in these, partially restored, lines of *IMagnesia* 17.[1314]

Further observations can be added to the worthwhile remarks of Huxley. Fundamental Greek words for 'crow' are *korṓnē* (κορώνη) and *kórax* (κόραξ).[1315] In

[1313] See Krappe 1942 on animals as guides generally, including Apollo's crows (p. 230).

[1314] See also, *inter alia*, Maurizio 1997:324–325.

[1315] The Greek lexemes *korṓnē* (κορώνη) and *kórax* (κόραξ) could be used synonymously in antiquity (see below, §18.4) and are herein both translated 'crow', as seems consistent with the several uses of *kórax* that we encounter in this study, though that term can also denote the larger 'raven'. See, *inter alia*, Arnott 2007:109–115. The two terms – along with *kóraphos* (κόραφος), which Hesychius (K 3590)

offering an account of the origin of the phrase *es kórakas* (ἐς κόρακας) 'to the crows', the lexicographer Photius (E 2006) preserves the prophetic tradition that Βοιωτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησεν, ὅπου ἂν λευκοὶ κόρακες ὀφθῶσιν, ἐκεῖ κατοῖκεν 'the god [Apollo] proclaimed by an oracle to the Boeotians that wherever white crows should be seen – to settle down there.' When certain boys innocently dusted some crows with chalk and these birds were observed in flight, Boeotians settled at the spot – a place they named *Kórakes* (Κόρακες) 'Crows', by the Gulf of Pagasae, that Thessalian marine site that was the point of departure for the Argonauts (Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* 519–579). Later the Aeolians (i.e. Thessalians), continues Photius, would send to this place *Kórakes* those whom they banished. The same tradition is preserved by Eustathius.[1316]

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identifies simply as 'a kind of bird' (ποιὸς ὄρνις), and Latin *cornīx* and *corvos̓*, and Umbrian *curnaco* (accusative singular) and *curnase* (ablative singular) – are typically interpreted as having an onomatopoeic origin in the cawing sound produced by the bird (see Chantraine 1968:565). Even so, the origin is of primitive Indo-European date: a root *ker- is reconstructable that also shows reflexes in Indo-Iranian, Germanic (such as English rook), Slavic, and Celtic (see, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1930:413–418; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:457–458; Mallory and Adams 1997:66, 142; Untermann 2000:420; Watkins 2011:42), including words for 'crow/raven'.

[1316] *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam* (= Stallbaum 1970) 2.56.

A less benign variant of the tradition is attested much earlier. In his *In Demosthenem* (column 12) Didymus (first century BC) describes how the Thracians drove the Boeotians into Aeolis (Thessaly).[1317] As they there existed in perpetual conflict with the Aeolians (Thessalians), the Boeotians sent inquirers to Delphi to ask if they should remain in Thessaly or seek out another land. The answer came that white crows would appear before the Boeotians would be driven *from* the land. At some subsequent time certain intoxicated young men put chalk on crows and released them as a joke. When the birds were seen, Boeotians interpreted the sighting as a fulfillment of the oracle and some seemingly relocated to a site along the Gulf of Pagasae, where *they* were called *Kórakes* (Κόρακες) 'Crows'. In the midst of the chaos of the moment, the Thessalians were able to drive out the Boeotians and recapture the land.[1318]

[1317] For the tradition see also Zenobius (AD second century) *Epitome collectionum Lucilli Tarrhaei et Didymi* 3.87; *Suda* E 3154; and Michael Apostolius *Collectio paroemiarum* 7.96. See also *Etymologicum genuinum* A 1566 = *Etymologicum magnum* 127. Compare Ergias, fr. 1 (FHG) 4 (see Athenaeus 8.360e–361c), who reports that a Phoenician named Phalanthus, with a group of followers, occupied a highly defensible polis in Ialysus (Rhodes) against a Greek host led by Iphiclus and learned from an oracle that the Phoenicians would hold the city until *crows* became *white* and fish *appeared* in their kraters. On the appearance of a white crow as a λόγιον χαλεπόν 'harsh oracle' for the reign of Arcesilaus III, see Aristotle fr. 8.45.611.

[1318] For fairly recent discussion of the text with bibliography, see Harding 2006:85–87, 229–231.

In this second variant, the oracle of the white crows impels not only a Boeotian population movement but a Thessalian repatriation of the former lands. If *IMagnesia* 17.11 is correctly restored, as it almost certainly is, the sighting of the white crows appears to have occurred 80 years after the Thessalian settlement of Cretan Magnesia (on which see above, §12.2.3). In lines that follow in that inscription, reporting Delphic oracles, the Thessalians of Magnesia will be directed, ultimately, not to repatriate Thessaly but to migrate to western coastal Anatolia – a distinct expression of the same oracular tradition. Here is the Delphic oracle rehearsed in *IMagnesia* 17.16–23:[1319]

Ἤλθετε Μάγνητες Κρήτης ἀπόνοσφι τραπέν[τες
οἰωνὸμ πτερύγεσσι σὺν ἀργεννῆσιν ἰδόντες
ἐ]γ μέλανος, καὶ θαῦμα καταθνητοῖσιν ἐφάνθη,
κ]αὶ δίζησθε, πάτρην εἰ λώιόν ἐστιν ἱκέσθαι.
ἀλλὰ χρεὼγ γαίης ἀπ[ὸ π]ατρίδος ἄλλοθι ν̣εῖσθα[ι· 20
πατρὶ δ’ ἐμῶι καὶ ἐμοὶ [καὶ] συγγόνωι ὧδε μ[ελ]ήσει
μή τι χερειοτέραμ βῷ̣λ̣[ο]μ Μ[ά]γνητα δάσασθαι
χ̣ώρας ἧς Πηνειὸς ἔχει κα[ὶ] Πήλιον αἰπύ.

[1319] Parke and Wormell 1956, no. 379 = Fontenrose 1978, L164.

Come O Magnesians having turned far away from Crete,

having seen a bird of omen with white wings

out of black, and a marvel to mortals has appeared,

and you seek if it is better to return to your native land.

Instead, what must be is to go away from native land

to another place of earth, 20

and my father, my sister, and I and it will make it our concern

to divide a clod of Magnesian dirt, in no way worse

than the place that the Peneus and lofty Pelion hold.

The phrase *ek mélanos* (ἐκ μέλανος) of line 18 is a powerful one, used to emphasize a fundamental change of state. It occurs elsewhere and frequently, as in the words of the Pythia, in a way that denotes a *transformation* to white 'out of black', particularly in works of Aristotle: for example, *De generatione animalium* 735b.18 (of the change of color of lead ore); *Metaphysica* 1044b.26 (addressing *types* of generation to white from black); *Physica* 229b.17–18 (on transitions between opposites). See also, *inter alia*, Theophrastus *Historia plantarum* 2.3.1–2 (on the change of a black fig to white as a prodigy); *De causis*

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plantarum 2.13.2 (on the change of the color of grain from black to white); Dioscorides Pedanius *De materia medica* 2.58.1 (on the color change of astragali when burned); Galen *De methodo medendi* 10.64 (on a change of skin color). Apollo has reversed the crow color change from natural white to black, signal of Coronis' infidelity, making the change from black back to white, a signal that the 'White-Horse Man', Leucippus, is to lead Aeolians from Crete to Anatolia.

It is worth noting that, if *birds* are the active agents responsible for effecting this particular "Aeolian migration" from Balkan Hellas to Anatolia, Philostratus (2.8.6) reports that it was *bees* that led the Athenians in their eastward migration to Asia Minor (the "Ionian migration"):

> Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν Ἰωνίαν ὅτε ἀπῴκιζον, Μοῦσαι ἡγοῦντο τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἐν εἴδει μελιττῶν· ἔχαιρον γὰρ τῇ Ἰωνίᾳ διὰ τὸν Μέλητα ὡς Κηφισοῦ καὶ Ὀλμειοῦ ποτιμώτερον.

> When the Athenians were colonizing Ionia, the Muses in the form of bees led their sea journeying; for [the Muses] found pleasure in Ionia, as the River Meles has purer waters than the Cephisus and the Olmeius.

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The Meles flowed close by Smyrna, that Anatolian Greek city that we saw in §11.2.1 to have been founded by Aeolians but taken over by Ionians from Colophon, and which can be identified as Homer's native city: thus Homer can be called *Melēsigénēs* (Μελησιγένης)/*Melēsigenḗs* (Μελησιγενής) 'Meles-born'.[1320] The Olmeius is a river of Boeotia that Hesiod (*Theogony* 5–6) identifies as one in which the Heliconian Muses bathe and which is elsewhere saliently associated with Hesiod;[1321] the Cephisus intended here must consequently be that of Mt. Parnassus in Boeotia. A contrasting of Anatolian (Ionian) Homer and the Boeotian Hesiod, whose father had migrated from (Aeolian) Anatolia, is on display. Varro (*De re rustica* 3.16.7) reports that bees were said to be the *Musarum volucres* 'winged ones of the Muses'.[1322]

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[1320] As in, *inter alia*, various *Lives of Homer*: see Nagy 2010:134–139.

[1321] For discussion of the passage, with references, see Miles 2018:113.

[1322] On conjunctions of bees and the poetic inspiration of the Muses see Plato *Ion* 534B; Theocritus *Idylls* 7.78–89; Pausanias 9.23.2; Eustathius *Commentarium in Dionysii periegetae orbis descriptionem* Epist.; *Anthologiae Graecae* 2.1.69 (where Sappho is called the 'Pierian bee' [Πιερικὴ . . . μέλισσα]), 7.13.1–2, and 9.187.1–2.

13.6.3.4. Coronis and Crows. After this lengthy hiatus from Hermes and Brimo to investigate Apollo, Coronis, and Crows, let us now consider Sergent's third point (pp. 201–202). Sergent observes that if there is no mention of animal transformation (such as occurs in the Irish traditions) in the very brief dossier of Hermes and Brimo, transformation can be found (we could say both implicitly and explicitly) in a tradition concerning another romantic affair conducted on the banks of Lake Boebeïs – namely that of Apollo and Coronis which we have just been examining. In other words, Sergent views the Hermes-Brimo myth as a variant expression of the Apollo-Coronis myth.

Coronis' name is simply the common noun *korōnís* (κορωνίς) 'curve-beaked' made proper; and *korōnís* is member of the set of words formed from *korṓnē* (κορώνη) 'crow'[1323] (we could say that this is the implicit transformation). Sergent notes that the crow is another bird linked to Apollo (as we have just been considering)[1324] and he draws attention to a passage in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (2.569–595) in which a crow-narrator tells how it had once been a princess, *Coroneus* by name, in Phocis (region of Delphi) whom Neptune attempted to rape, but she was saved when Minerva transformed her into a crow, allowing her to fly away from her assailant. Ovid's

[1323] See, *inter alia*, Chantraine 1968:548.

[1324] And see explicitly Aelian *De natura animalium* 1.48 and 7.18.

Coroneus is perhaps a deliberate delicate deformation of Greek *Korōnís* (see Myers 1992:65n10). In any event, Sergent is surely correct in seeing here "une 'autre' Korônis" and a bifurcation of the Coronis tradition we examined above.

More than this, the entire Apollo-Coronis mythic tradition, Sergent observes, is saturated with avian elements. Thus, he notes that the word that provides a name to Coronis' father, *Phlegyas* (i.e. *phlegúas* [φλεγύας] 'fiery red'), is a term used for a type of eagle.[1325] He continues: the name that Antoninus Liberalis (*Metamorphoses* 20.8) assigns to the mortal consort of Coronis is Alcyoneus – that is *Alkuoneús* (Ἀλκυονεύς) – and he would link this name with *alkúōn* (ἀλκύων), also *alkuonís* (ἀλκυονίς), a word that identifies a bird – the mystical bird, identified with the kingfisher: it is earliest mentioned by Homer at *Iliad* 9.563, where the much-sorrowed bird is said to have wept when Phoebus Apollo snatched away her young.[1326] Antoninus Liberalis' mention of Coronis occurs within a larger passage that treats the figure Clinis (for which two

[1325] See Thompson 1936:303–304; Arnott 2007:188–189. The form appears in, *inter alia*, Hesychius Φ 588; Suda Φ 529; Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (= van der Valk 1971–1987) 3.475; *Etymologicum magnum* 795–796; Pseudo-Zonaras *Lexicon* Φ 1812. Note that *phlegúas* appears as an adjective at Hesiod *Shield* 134, modifying *mórphnos* (μόρφνος), a word that can itself denote 'eagle, vulture'.

[1326] On the bird see Thompson 1936:46–51; Arnott 2007:12–13. On the association of the bird with lamentation song see Nagy 1996:50–51 and 1999:110–111.

sources are identified: book two of Boeus' *Ornithogony* and the *Apollo* of Simias of Rhodes). Clinis and his family committed a ritual impiety and as a consequence were attacked by asses; the gods took pity on them, and Poseidon and Apollo changed them all into birds in order to save them. Sergent points out that one of the transformed sons of Clinis (Lycius) was made a crow (*Metamorphoses* 20.5–8).

If we understand with Sergent that Hermes effectively equates to Apollo in Propertius' lines – as he does in, say, Pausanias' account of Hermes' rescue of the fetal Asclepius from the pyre of Coronis – and that we thus find in Hermes-Brio a probable variant of Apollo-Coronis on the banks of the Boebeïs, is, then, the Thessalian tradition of Apollo and Coronis made more tightly integrated with the Irish traditions of Oengus and the swan-maiden Cáer? This query leads us to Sergent's points four and five (p. 203). Point four: Sergent notes out that the dream-vision of Oengus, with which the *Aislinge Óenguso* (*Dream of Oengus*) begins and which leads him on to the discovery of Cáer, puts us in mind of Hermes' role as ἡγήτορ' ὀνείρων 'bringer of dreams' (*Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 14).[1327] It is worth noting too that in the Indic tradition of Purūravas and Urvaśī, it is at night, in an event of disturbed sleep, that Urvaśī disappears and that Purūravas' search for the swan-Apsaras is launched.

[1327] On Hermes as dream-bringer, see Vergados 2013:234–235.

And lastly, the fifth point, Sergent draws attention to Salomon Reinach's (1905:5:99) own interpretation of Propertius' lines, in which Reinach conjectures that Hermes had first *seen* Brimo within the lake (and so for Sergent paralleling the experience of Oengus). Reinach is guided by Cicero's (*De natura deorum* 3.56) characterization of Mercury as being sexually aroused 'by the sight' (*aspectu*) of Proserpina. To this we could add textual evidence of a somewhat more immediate nature. In §13.6.3 we noted that in the Hesiodic Catalogue of Women (fr. 59 MW), the poet situates Coronis geographically on the Didyma mountains, in the Dotian Plain (lines 2–3). He then adds (line 4): νίψατο Βοιβιάδος λίμνης πόδα παρθέ⌋νος ἀδμής . . . 'she washed her foot in Lake Boebeïs, a virgin not yet wed . . .' Clearly Coronis is depicted as bathing in the lake. Gaps follow, with only line-ends preserved: in line 15 we read]'Ἑρμῆς 'Hermes' and in line 17 ἄ]ḳοιτιν 'wife'.

13.7. Divine Twins and Horses and Cows

In discussions of this chapter, together with others of Chapters Eleven and Twelve, we have seen that divine twins are sometimes associated with horses, sometimes associated with cows, sometimes associated with both. The twins Boeotus and Aeolus (sons of Poseidon) were exposed/hidden among cattle; their mother is

Melanippe, the 'Black-Horse Woman', daughter of Hippo 'Horse' of Mt. Parnassus (topographic feature marked by an imported Luvian name) or Hippe, daughter of the Magnesian Centaur Chiron. The name *Métabos* [Μέταβος]) was popularly etymologized as derived from *boûs* (βοῦς) 'cattle'. The city that was said to bear his name is re-founded by a Leucippus, 'White-Horse Man', a city that had experienced a *ktísma* (κτίσμα) 'foundation' led by Nestor as he returned from the Trojan War. Castor and Polydeuces (sons of Zeus) are *eúippoi* (εὔιπποι) 'delighting in horses', *leukópōloi* (λευκόπωλοι) 'white-horse ones', *leúkippoi kóroi* (λεύκιπποι κόροι) 'white-horse boys/sons', ταχέων ἐπιβήτορες ἵππων 'ones who mount swift horses', *hippótai* (ἱππόται) 'horse drivers'; Castor is *hippódamos* (ἱππόδαμος) 'horse-tamer'; they abduct Hilaïra and Phoebe, who are *Leukippídes* (Λευκιππίδες), daughters of Leucippus, the 'White-Horse Man'. The twin Moliones (sons of Poseidon) are *leúkippoi kóroi* (λεύκιπποι κόροι) 'white-horse boys/sons'. The twins Neleus and Pelias (sons of Poseidon) are raised by foster parents who care for horses. Rhiannon, reflex of an earlier horse goddess, gives birth to a son Pryderi who has a horse "twin," and is raised a foster son of the owners of that horse. Oengus, the "Young Son," who is brother of Bodb "the Red" (both fathered by the Dagda [= Zeus]) is son of Bóand, 'White-Cow Woman'. Mabon vab Modron, twinned by Mabon vab Mellt 'son of lightning', battles on a white stallion. Apparent Anglo-

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Saxon reflexes of the Indo-European divine twins are Hengest 'Stallion' and Horsa 'Horse'. Uṣas, companion of the Aśvins, is both horse and mother of cattle. And the Aśvins, whose horse affiliations we have examined in some detail, are themselves also associated with cattle.

13.7.1. Aśvins and Nāsatyas; Horses and Cows

The affiliation of the Aśvins with both *horse* and *cow* has been carefully explored by Frame (2009), who finds that the dual terms by which these divine twins are named, *Aśvins* and *Nāsatyas*, respectively reflect their equine and bovine associations. The horse-and-cow contrast is clearly on display in the *Mahābhārata*, in which the twin gods are called upon to produce sons for the protagonist Pāṇḍu; the resulting sons are themselves twins. One of these twin sons, Nakula, is famed for his warrior prowess and the other, Sahadeva, for his intelligence and understanding (though both brothers do serve as combatants, as notably in the Battle of Kurukṣetra, the centerpiece of the epic). In Book Four of the *Mahābhārata* all five of the sons of Pāṇḍu (the Pāṇḍava), together with their shared wife Draupadi, must disguise themselves while in service to Virāṭa, the king of Matsya. Nakula, the famed warrior, takes on the role of one who tends horses; Sahadeva, famed for understanding, takes on the role of one who tends

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cattle.[1328] What Frame demonstrates is that this horse-and-cow contrast is also visible in the *Rig Veda*. In summary – the designation *Nāsatyā* properly belongs to the divine twin that was fathered by Dyaus (= Zeus), while the designation *Aśvinā* properly belongs to the divine twin that was fathered by the warrior Sumakhas (*Rig Veda* 1.181.4; see §12.7.3.4).

13.7.2. Nāsatyas, Nestor, and Cows

In this 2009 work, building on earlier work (1978), Frame argues cogently that Sanskrit *Nāsatyā* is of common origin with the name of the Greek hero Nestor – that is *Néstōr* (Νέστωρ). The Greek nominal *Nés-tōr* is an agent noun derived from the Indo-European root *nes- 'to think, be conscious':[1329] in some early moment, "the figure to whom this name belonged was doubtless mythological, and his function was conceived to be that of 'bringing back to life and light'."[1330] Greek *nóstos* (νόστος) a 'return home' is likewise from *nes- 'to think, be conscious'. Frame argues that an earlier sense of

[1328] See Frame 2009:63–65 for discussion of the epic tradition of Nakula and Sahadeva.

[1329] See Frame 1978:81–115; see also the comments of Nagy 1990:217–219.

[1330] Frame 1978:111. For exploration of the nature of this early mythic figure, antecedent to epic Nestor, see Frame's discussion on his pp. 113–115.

nóstos was 'return to life' (2009:38–58)[1331] and that the ancestor of the Greek nominal finds its origin in primitive Indo-European divine-twin tradition (2009:170, 174–180).

The Sanskrit nominal *Nāsatyā* appears to reflect the recovering and rescuing activities for which the Indic divine twins (as with other Indo-European divine twins) are famed and praised in the *Rig Veda* (§13.5.4.1) – a returning to a conscious life form and a returning to light from darkness (Frame 2009:59–62, 91–94). In *Rig Veda* 2.41.7, we read:[1332]

> Quickly come along the path rich in cattle, O you Nāsatyā;
>
> Quickly come along the path rich in horses, O you Aśvinā
>
> Quickly come, O you *rudrā*,[1333] along the man-protecting path.

Here cattle are explicitly linked with *Nāsatyā* and horses with *Aśvinā* (see also *Rig Veda* 7.72.1, for a similarly-made distinction). In addition, Frame argues, the quality of intelligent activity associated with the cattle-tending Paṇḍava Sahadeva in the *Mahābhārata* is also associated with the cattle-linked *Nāsatyā* in the *Rig Veda*: *dasrā*

[1331] See also Nagy 2007b:76–77.

[1332] The translation is that of Frame 2009:66, with slight modification.

[1333] On the use of the term *rudrā* to describe the divine twins of India, see above, §12.7.3.6.

('performing great deeds', but earlier probably 'clever', as in Avestan) is the crucial lexeme that reveals this, used as an epithet of the divine twins and also used in conjunction with references to cattle (Frame 2009:63–79).

In Greek tradition the form *Néstōr* (Νέστωρ) names one who is crucially linked with cattle in epic tradition, as Frame (2009:106113) underscores. We have brushed up against this already, in discussions about the youthful Nestor's battle with the Epeans in *Iliad* 11 (see §8.6.4 and §12.7.3.3), his defining *mûthos* in the epic. This combat action is set in the greater context of a cattle raid that Nestor led against the Epeans (*Iliad* 11.677–707a), with the result that Nestor, returning home with the rustled cattle, in effect rescues his people from a state of deprivation, brings them back to life, in accordance with the diachronic semantics of his name, *Nés-tōr* (Frame 2009:106). But the horse is not far away, for it is in the ensuing battle with the Epeans that Nestor's career as chariot warrior, as *hippóta Néstōr* (ἱππότα Νέστωρ), commences.[1334] Frame (1978:88–89) draws attention to the role in this episode played by the Epean king Augeas, whose son-in-law Mulius was the first warrior slain in the fight – Nestor's first victim (*Iliad* 11.738–743a). Augeas, who possessed great herds of cattle, is identified as

[1334] For discussion of this portion of the episode and its significance vis-à-vis Vedic tradition, see Frame 2009:107–111.

the son of Helios as early as Theocritus. In Theocritus *Idylls* 25 the herds of Augeas are clearly depicted as the cows of the Sun (on the cattle of Helios, see §12.7.3.6). Frame (1978:89–90) draws particular attention to *Idylls* 25.85–99, verses in which twelve white bulls sacred to Helios are likened explicitly to white swans and Augeas' myriad cattle to cloud banks (see especially ll. 85–99). Also revealing for Nestor's affiliation with cattle is a passage in Pausanias' description of Messenia: at 4.36.2–3, Pausanias describes a cave within the city of Pylos in which, it was reported, Nestor, and before him his father Neleus, kept cattle – cattle which Pausanias would judge to be of Thessalian origin. With the epic tradition of Nestor's capture of the cattle of Augeas and his Epeans as background, Frame (1978:90) observes that "nothing could bring Nestor into closer relation with the cattle of the Sun than this piece of information." Here Frame is building upon observations he makes earlier in this 1978 work (see especially pp. 44–47) about *cave* as enclosure within which cattle are penned by divine beings in both Sanskrit and Greek tradition.[1335] As Frame points out (p. 45), in Indic tradition the release of cattle from that celestial enclosure called the Vala cave (see §22.4.1.3) can be

[1335] Especially pertinent are traditions about the Paṇis, demonic figures of the air, who keep great herds of cattle in a cave, the enclosure called the *Vala*. Release of their cattle is one of the warrior Indra's heroic deeds. For the intersection of the ruddy cows of Uṣas 'Dawn' and the Aṅgirases, see *Rig Veda* 1.121.2–3.

contributed to the performances of poets called the Aṅgirases,[1336] performances dedicated to Uṣas 'Dawn' (as in *Rig Veda* 6.65.5). In *Rig Veda* 10.62.2–3 the Aṅgirases, who are referenced as the *pitáras* 'fathers', are said to split open the Vala *parivatsare* 'with the [change of] the year' and to cause the sun to rise: the freeing of the cattle is explicitly linked with the sun's dawning, perhaps primevally so. Among hymns in which the theme recurs is *Rig Veda* 1.121: in stanzas 2–3 Uṣas is presented as cow, her husband Surya ('Sun') as horse, and the Aṅgirases as chanting for the ruddy cows of dawn.[1337] Note that, vis-à-vis the "white-horse" figures that we have encountered, in Vedic tradition the Sun can take the form of a white horse, as at *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 6.35.4: here Surya assumes this form as gifts are taken to the Aṅgirases (cf. *Rig Veda* 7.77.3).

13.8. Foundings of Metapontium and a Mythic Matrix

The *mûthoi* of Metapontium offer a nexus of features that characterize traditions of the Indo-European divine twins. We see conjoined not only the contrasting pair that consists of Leucippus, the 'White-Horse Man', and Melanippe, the 'Black-Horse Woman',

[1336] The Aṅgirases are depicted as members of a clan of poets, mentioned frequently in the *Rig Veda* (often in the company of Indra), who trace their lineage to the fire god Agni.

[1337] See the discussion of Jamison and Brereton 2014:281.

but two sets of Aeolian twins of divine parentage (each fathered by Poseidon) – each set associated with cow and with horse; added in is the transitional figure of Nestor, one who personifies the return from dark to light.

In terms of mythic chronology the earliest of the several events rehearsed by Strabo (6.1.15) is that of the settling of Melanippe and her sons in Metapontium. Strabo assigns this report to the sphere of action described by the verb *mutheúō* (μυθεύω) 'to relate mythically': what is *declared* in this reporting (continuing with the fundamental semantics of *mûthos* and its derivatives) is that Melanippe came to reside in this place with her twins sons (by Poseidon), Aeolus and Boeotus – sons of the 'Black-Horse Woman', foundational Aeolian figures who were exposed among cattle and fostered by cow herders.

The second event is an episode drawn from the *nóstoi* that followed the Trojan War; here the operative verb of the reporting is *légomai* (λέγομαι). This is a *ktísma* (κτίσμα) of Pylians who sailed with *Nés-tōr* (one bringing back to life and light) from Troy. Strabo succinctly characterizes this settlement of Metapontium with two observations. First, the Pylians 'became prosperous' (*eutukhéō* [εὐτυχέω]) from farming and, as a consequence, they dedicated a 'golden harvest' (θέρος χρυσοῦν) at Delphi, presumably votive offerings crafted in gold. The summary is intriguing in the context

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we are exploring: the Aśvins are associated with fertility and, as we saw in the preceding chapter (§12.7.3.6), are characterized by their "golden luster" (*hiraṇyapeśas*, *Rig Veda* 8.8.2) and so on. Second is Strabo's report of the existence of a hero cult of the Neleids, the sons of Neleus, all of whom, except for Nestor, had been slain by Heracles (*Iliad* 11.690–693). Neleus is himself one member of a set of divine twins, the other being his brother Pelias: these twins also – as with Aeolus and Boeotus – have a Thessalian origin and are said to have been fathered by Poseidon. In the case of Neleus and Pelias – infant exposure occurred among horses, rather than cattle, and the fosterage varies accordingly. But there is yet here also a link with cattle – through Neleus' son, Nestor, whose cattle affiliations we have been examining. Whether the *mûthos* actually places Nestor himself in Metapontium in conjunction with the foundation event, he clearly has a cult presence there.

In Strabo's implicit mythic chronology of the settlement of Metapontium, Nestor is placed between the arrival of Melanippe, the 'Black-Horse Woman', and the arrival of Leucippus, the 'White-Horse Man'. Nestor's presence comes at a point of transition between dark and light, in terms of mythic personae, fulfilling the primitive role of the *Nés-tōr* as one who brings back to life and light. In the primitive mythic structure from which this Greek tradition evolved the placement of the *Nés-tōr* must

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surely reflect a transition from night to day – a recovery accomplished by the *Nāsatyas* in the cognate Vedic structure. Our attention is turned again to the of the *mûthos* and Apollo's oracle of the change of crows from black to white that precipitated the Aeolian foundation of Magnesia on the Maeander under the leadership of Leucippus, 'White-Horse Man'.

The appearance of another Leucippus, the 'White-Horse Man', in Metapontium, the historically most recent foundation event of this *mûthos*, has been assimilated to an historical moment in the Greek settlement of the south of Italy. This Leucippus is made to be an "Achaean," fit into the Achaean colonial identity of Metapontium in the late seventh century BC and its hostile relations with neighboring Siris and Tarentum.[1338] What we have seen elsewhere of "Leucippus" is consistent with Greek expressions of primitive divine-twin traditions and linked to Aeolian tradition and patrimony. It is plausible to see in the Leucippus of Metapontium, a place closely bound to Aeolian tradition in its foundation *mûthos*, a variant expression of the Aeolian-linked Anatolian Leucippus, the 'White-Horse Man', historically re-contextualized as Achaean.

That the figure of Metapontine Leucippus is one of *primitive* origin is further indicated by his appropriation of the night-and-day stratagem in acquisition of

[1338] On the establishment of the Achaean colony see, *inter alia*, Cerchiai 2002.

Metapontium. We have watched as the same interpretative scheme was utilized by the Irish Mac Óc in his acquisition of the Bruig na Bóinne, and we have observed that this stepwise reckoning of time by alternating night and day equally presents itself in the ancient Celtic and Indic calendars. We have proposed that the ideas that present themselves in this mode of contrastive time-reckoning in which alternating dark and light express completeness of time are deeply primitive, kept alive on the eastern and western edges of the Indo-European expansion area within priesthoods of common origin. It survives too in the Greek *mûthos* of Metapontium; this is consistent with Vendryes' (1918) findings discussed in Chapter One (see §1.2.3.3): as pointed out there, Greek can also enter into the process of the preservation of archaic features otherwise preserved along the fringes of the expansion area.

But what we see of a preserved archaism in the foundation traditions of Metapontium is a relic of a different order. We find not only the retention of structural elements discussed in Chapter One – the lexeme *hierós* (ἱερός) and morphology locked into religious vocabulary – but of an entire ideologic and mythic structure. The ancestral reckoning of time as iterations of periods of dark versus light is on display in the foundation *mûthoi* of Metapontium, as is the consequent ideology of time encapsulated in the alternation of a single day and a night that finds exact parallel

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expression in Irish tradition. Accompanying this, linked to Balkan Aeolian spaces, are various structural mythic components that are present in Irish traditions of the wasting sickness of Oengus, the Mac Óc, as well as perhaps even a mythic narrative that parallels that of *Aislinge Óenguso* (*Dream of Oengus*).

In Irish tradition the night-and-day stratagem is utilized by a figure, the Mac Óc, that has been plausibly interpreted as a reflex of a primitive Indo-European divine twin. The Greek *mûthos* of Metapontium is one in which divine-twin motifs are conspicuously on display. Is the 'White-Horse Man' of Greek mythic tradition, who utilizes the night-and-day stratagem at Metapontium, equally a reflex of an Indo-European divine twin in the foundation tradition of Magnesia on the Maeander? We have seen Leucippus to be affiliated not only, onomastically, with horses but with white crows as well – Apollo's white crows, in the foundation *mûthos* of Magnesia on the Maeander. And here again the Mac Óc offers a parallel, as one closely tied to white swans – with swans and crows (black and white) sharing affiliation with Apollo in Greek tradition – as swans and horses alternate in Indic traditions of the Aśvins and Uṣas.

And finally, why is it that the south Italian city of Metapontium was made the geographic setting for foundation *mûthoi* that incorporate such deeply primitive ideas and narratives? A "curious choice," we suggested at the end of Chapter Eleven, as we

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considered the possible relationship of an eastern Aegean *Métabos* (Μέταβος) and south Italian *Metápontos* (Μετάποντος). The Samian poet Asius, dated to the seventh or sixth century BC, is a source of information about Aeolian Melanippe, and Boeotus, as well as the figure Dius who figures in the Hesiod's account of an Aeolian foundation tradition. A transference of ideas between Samos and Metapontus is clearly otherwise evidenced. In Chapter Eleven we also took note of the presence of Pythagoras, a native of Samos (sixth century BC), in Metapontium (see §11.5.2.2). It is commonly held that Pythagoras left Samos for the south of Italy (ca. 530 BC), when the tyrant Polycrates controlled Samos,[1339] and settled in Croton,[1340] south of Metapontium. As we noted in that earlier discussion, Pythagoras moved from Croton to Metapontium, ca. 500 BC, and there spent the remainder of his life.[1341] There is understood to have been a significant Pythagorean presence in the south of Italy, not only in Metapontium, Croton, and

[1339] See Iamblichus *De vita Pythagorica* 88 (= L-M T19); Aristoxenus fr. 12 (= Wehrli 1967; L-M P5).

[1340] See Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15.60–61; Porphyry *De vita Pythagorica* 18 (= L-M P25). On Pythagoras in Croton see the discussion of Bremmer 1995:64–67; that Pythagoras may possibly have turned to doctrinal secrecy during his time in Metapontium see Bremmer's pages 68–70, with reference to Burkert's earlier (1972) discussion.

[1341] See Apollonius *Historiae mirabiles* 6.1–2f (= L-M P42); Diogenes Laertius *Vitae philosophorum* 8.40 (= L-M P44c); Justin *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus* 20.4 (= L-M P46b).

neighboring Tarentum and Sybaris, but also in Rhegium and in Sicily as well – Catania, Himera, Agrigentum, Tauromenium, Syracuse – among still other places in Magna Graecia.[1342] This is not to suggest that there is any evidence that it was Pythagoras or his followers who were responsible for linking deeply ancient ideas regarding time reckoning, and affiliated mythology, with the foundation of Metapontium, or introducing such ideas to that locale from Asia Minor; though the Pythagorean emphasis on oppositions is interesting vis-à-vis the ancestral Indo-European dark versus light oppositions that we have discussed. Aristotle, in fact, reports (*Metaphysics* 986a) that certain Pythagoreans identify ten 'principles' (*arkhaí* [ἀρχαί]) that can be described as sets of oppositions, one of which is 'light vs. darkness' (*phôs skótos* [φῶς σκότος]), another being 'male vs. female' (*árren thêlu* [ἄρρεν θῆλυ]).[1343] Interesting too, in light of the association of swans with Apollo's Hyperborean cult (see above, §13.5.4.1), is Aelian's report (*Varia historia* 2.26), citing Aristotle, that the people of Croton called Pythagoras *Hyperborean Apollo*. The Hyperborean Abaris, who is said to have journeyed through the world with an arrow, accordingly surrendered that arrow

[1342] See Iamblichus *De vita Pythagorica* 248 (= L-M T25) and 267 (= L-M T30).

[1343] See similarly Simplicius *In Aristotelis physicorum libros commentaria* 9.181 (= L-M R67).

to Pythagoras.[1344] The time-traveling Aristeas whom we met in Chapter Eleven, that one who came to Metapontium in the form of a *crow* to announce Apollo's visit, is said to have arrived there from among the Hyperboreans (Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 13.83).[1345]

13.9. Some Interpretative Conclusions.

The mythic accounts of the foundation of Metapontium systemically conform to primitive Indo-European ideas about transitions from darkness to light. The foundation tradition unfolds through three phases, beginning with Melanippe, the 'Black-Horse Woman', mother of Boeotus and Aeolus, and concluding with Leucippus, the 'White-Horse Man', with the *Nés-tōr* serving as an intermediate figure effecting the transition from dark to light. This continues an ancestral recovery motif that is bound up with the primitive divine-twins of Indo-European myth, figures who themselves contrast with each other and can embody a contrast of night versus day, dark versus light. The third-phase figure of Leucippus should likely be identified as a variant expression of the Leucippus associated with the foundation of Thessalian Magnesia on

[1344] See the discussion of Burkert 1972:143, with note 127, and pp. 149–150.

[1345] See Burkert 1972:149, with note 154.

the Maeander. Leucippus, in his dual expression, offers a remarkable parallel to the Irish figure Oengus, the Mac Óc, and like Oengus is utilized to convey an ancestral doctrine of time reckoning, one particularly well attested in the calendrical traditions of the Celtic and Indic peoples . The assigning of deeply ancient ideology and myth to the foundation tradition of Metapontium may be the consequence of the transference of ideas from Samos, Miletus, and/or neighboring locales, in which the antecedent Indo-European traditions had been preserved through the Anatolian Bronze Age.

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Chapter Fourteen

Boeotian Foundation *Mûthoi*: From Dioscuri to Cabiri

14.1. Introduction

Through the preceding three chapters we have considered foundation traditions of Magnesia on the Maeander and Metapontium and have identified fundamental structural components common to both. These same components present themselves in foundation traditions associated with Boeotia, as we shall see in the investigations of this chapter. But here we will also come upon elements of Asian origin that go beyond what we have thus far encountered.

14.2. Amphion and Zethus: Founders of Thebes

In book 11 of the *Odyssey*, Homer succinctly rehearses the earliest attested *mûthos* of the foundation of Boeotian Thebes, as Odysseus enumerates the shades he had encountered in Hades' realm (lines 260–265):

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Τὴν δὲ μέτ’ Ἀντιόπην ἴδον, Ἀσωποῖο θύγατρα

ἣ δὴ καὶ Διὸς εὔχετ’ ἐν ἀγκοίνῃσιν ἰαῦσαι,

καί ῥ’ ἔτεκεν δύο παῖδ’, Ἀμφίονά τε Ζῆθόν τε,

οἳ πρῶτοι Θήβης ἕδος ἔκτισαν ἑπταπύλοιο

πύργωσάν τ’, ἐπεὶ οὐ μὲν ἀπύργωτόν γ’ ἐδύναντο

ναιέμεν εὐρύχορον Θήβην, κρατερώ περ ἐόντε.

And I saw Antiope, daughter of Asopus

who vowed she’d slept in Zeus’s arms no less,

and so birthed two sons, both Amphion and Zethus,

they who founded first the seat of seven-gated Thebes

and raised high its walls, since unable even they

in spacious Thebes to dwell unwalled, despite their might.

Lines from the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* likewise affirm the archaic position that the twins Amphion (*Amphíōn* [Ἀμφίων]) and Zethus (*Zêthos* [Ζῆθος]) are the founders of Thebes, in fragments (182 and 183 MW; see below, §14.5). Their mother Antiope, who

can also be identified as the mother of Colchian Aietes (see below, §17.2), is typically, as here, identified as a daughter of the Boeotian river god Asopus.

In each of the preceding three chapters we have encountered Asius, the epic poet from Samos (seventh/sixth century BC), and given particular attention to a line (fr. 2 [Strabo 6.1.15]) in which he says of Boeotus: Δίου ἐνὶ μεγάροις τέκεν εὐειδὴς Μελανίππη 'Well-shaped Melanippe birthed [him] in the house of Dius' (§11.5.3, §11.5.3.1; see also §12.7.2.2, §13.8). In another of his fragments (fr. 1 [Pausanias 2.6.4]) we read of yet a different birth event of Aeolian significance:

> Ἀντιόπη δ' ἔτεκε Ζῆθον κἀμφίονα δῖον
> Ἀσωποῦ κούρη ποταμοῦ βαθυδινήεντος,
> Ζηνί τε κυσαμένη καὶ Ἐπωπέι ποιμένι λαῶν.
>
> And Antiope birthed Zethus and heavenly Amphion,
> she, the daughter of the deep-eddying river Asopus,
> having conceived [the one] by Zeus and [the other] by Epopeus, shepherd of the warrior horde

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The epithet here applied to the Thessalian hero Epopeus (who became king of Sicyon),[1346] *poimḗn laôn* (ποιμὴν λαῶν) 'shepherd/protector of the warrior horde', places him in the company of Homeric figures such as Agamemnon, Menelaus, Achilles, Odysseus, Diomedes, among still others, some of less prominence. As we can see here, Asius presents the two sons of Antiope as showing a contrastive patrimony – as being "born differently" – one is son of the sky deity and the other of a mortal warrior. This is precisely the condition that characterizes the Dioscuri Polydeuces and Castor (one fathered by Zeus, the other by Tyndareus) and the homologous figures in Indic tradition, the Aśvins, or Nāsatyas (one fathered by Dyaus [= Zeus], the other by a warrior Sumakhas; see above, §12.7.3.4, §13.7.1.) As we noted in Chapter Twelve, there is reason to interpret the Moliones to be equally "born differently" (see §12.7.3.4).[1347] We have already taken note of the fact that Amphion and Zethus share with Castor and Pollux the designation *Dióskouroi* (Διόσκουροι; see §12.7.3.2), just as the Aśvins are jointly designated as the *Divo napātā* 'two sons of Dyaus' (see §12.7.3.4), and that both of these sets of "sons of Zeus" are characterized by the descriptors *leukópōloi*

[1346] On Epopeus see, *inter alia*, Diodorus Siculus 6.6.2; Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 1.53, 3.42; Pausanias 2.1.1, 2.3.10, 2.6.1–5, 2.11.1.

[1347] To which can be added the case of Heracles (son of Zeus) and Iphicles (son of Amphitryon); see above, §12.7.3.4, and below, §14.8.

(λευκόπωλοι) and *leúkippoi* (λεύκιπποι) 'white-horse ones' (§12.7.4), as the Aśvins have their own white-horse attachments (see §12.7.3.6). It is notable that the foundation of Boeotian Thebes is attributed to 'white-horse men', just as the foundation both of Thessalian Magnesia on the Maeander and of Metapontium, with its rich Aeolian mythic attachments, is attributed to a Leucippus (*Leúkippos* [Λεύκιππος]) 'White-Horse Man'.

14.3. Lycus and Nycteus

Antiope and her twin sons Amphion and Zethus are the subject of a Euripidean tragedy attested only in fragments. The narrative structure of the play finds summary expression in Hyginus *Fabulae* 8 and appears to parallel fundamentally the mythographic exposition found in the *Bibliotheca* of Pseudo-Apollodorus (3.41–45). The account found in the *Bibliotheca* unfolds in the following way, beginning, again, with a pair of brothers: Lycus 'Wolf' and Nycteus 'Night-Man'.[1348] The brothers killed

[1348] In the present passage (*Bibliotheca* 3.40) Pseudo-Apollodorus identifies Lycus and Nycteus as sons of Chthonius, one of the earthborn Spartoi. A bit further on (3.111), however, he records that the brothers are sons of Hyrieus and the nymph Clonia.

Phlegyas, son of Ares and 'Dotis the Boeotian' (Δωτίς ἡ Βοιωτίς).[1349] Phlegyas (one who can be characterized as *eúippos* [εὔιππος] 'delighting in horses'; see item 4 in §12.7.2) is the eponymous ancestor of the Phlegyae, a 'fiery' (*phlegúas* [φλεγύας)[1350] marauding warrior-folk associated with Thessaly and Boeotia, whom Pausanias (9.36.3 [cf. 2.26.3]) declares to have been the most bellicose and war-loving of all Greeks (and see *Iliad* 13.301-302, where the epic poet sings of Ares and Phobos joining the Phlegyae or the Ephyri in battle).[1351]

14.3.1. Flight to Syria

Following their murder of Phlegyas, the brothers Lycus and Nycteus fled *apò Euboías* (ἀπὸ Εὐβοίας) 'from Euboea', writes Pseudo-Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca* 3.41). The phrase *apò Euboías* has simply been omitted by many editors and translators, though it

[1349] Concerning the maternity of Phlegyas in Greek tradition, see the remarks of Fontenrose 1980:48. Mnaseas, who wrote of travels in Lycia (third century BC), reports (fr. 12 FHG) that Glaucus abducted Syme, daughter of Ialysus and a seemingly distinct figure named Dotis, and took her away to Asia where he founded the city of Syme on an uninhabited island near Caria.

[1350] On the name and the people that bear it, see Vian 1960a:219–222; Chantraine 1968:1209; Nagy 1998:121–122.

[1351] On this passage from the *Iliad* see Nagy 1998:321n8; Janko 1994:85.

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has ubiquitous manuscript attestation. The impetus for the editorial omission is the affiliation of the slain Phlegyas with Boeotia or Thessaly:[1352] the uncertainty motivating the editorial omission must be, "How can the brothers be fleeing *from Euboea* if they have killed a man in Boeotia?".[1353] This line of reasoning appears to have been reinforced by another editorial decision. The author of the *Bibliotheca*, after reporting that Lycus and Nycteus fled from Euboea, immediately adds: Συρίαν κατῴκουν 'they settled in Syria'. While there is again overwhelming manuscript support for the reading *Surían* (Συρίαν) 'Syria', critical editions have been emended to read *Hurían* ('Υρίαν) 'Hyria' – Hyria being a town situated on the eastern edge of Boeotia, first mentioned in the *Iliad* (2.496), appearing in the Catalogue of Ships. With the emendations being made, all the action plays out within Boeotia.

[1352] In his description of Boeotia, Pausanias (9.36.1) identifies Phlegyas as the king of Orchomenus. As noted above, Pseudo-Apollodorus names the mother of Phlegyas as "Dotis the Boeotian"; the Dotian Plains are situated in Thessaly (on which, see, *inter alia*, Mili 2015:120, 145, 189, 192–193, 196), with which Coronis, the daughter of Phlegyas (and lover of Apollo and mother of Asclepius) is associated (see above, §13.6.3).

[1353] Brillante (1979) expresses robust objection to the omission. He would hypothesis a Euboean provenience for the mythic figures Lycus and Nycteus.

If one approaches the text of *Bibliotheca* 3.41 absent the seemingly unnecessary emendation of *Surían* (Συρίαν) to *Hurían* (Ὑρίαν), and if by the toponym *Suría* Pseudo-Apollodorus designates a Levantine locale (as he does at *Bibliotheca* 1.41, 2.9, 3.33, and 3.181),[1354] then Euboea would make for a sensible point of departure – not least in this regard: recent work has underscored the significance of Euboean interaction with the Syrian coast during the Dark Age.[1355] But a potential Anatolian locale must also be factored into the analysis. Stephanus Byzantius, in his entry on Cilician Seleucia (*Ethnica* 18.100), place bearing the name of Seleucus Nicator in his own time (and now Silifka), writes that formerly the city had been called 'Olbia and Hyria' (Ὀλβία καὶ Ὑρία). Further along, in his entry for Hyria (*Ethnica* 20.43), Stephanus first addresses Boeotian Hyria and closes with a nod to the Hyria of southern Italy;[1356] fixed between his

[1354] The place called *Suríē* (Συρίη) at *Odyssey* 15.403 is perhaps also Levantine, though this is uncertain: see, *inter alia*, Heubeck and Hoekstra 1989:257. Strabo (10.5.8) suspects a reference to the Cycladic island of Syros.

[1355] See, *inter alia*, Popham and Lemos 1995; Kroll 2008; Lane Fox 2008:51–56 and *passim*; Woodard 2012:11–12.

[1356] This Hyria is in Apulia (the modern town of Oria). Regarding this place Herodotus (7.170) reports that it was founded by Cretans whom some god had commanded to sail to Sicily after Minos had there died as he searched for Daedalus. It is interesting that the lore of Daedalus is associated not only with Hyria in

mention of those two places, he writes that there is also the Hyria which is equivalent to Isaurian Seleucia, beside which flows the river Calycadnus, a major river of southern

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Italy but with Syria-Palestine as well, at least to the extent that the Bronze-Age Ugaritic god of crafts Kothar shows intriguing parallels to Greek Hephaestus, with whom Daedalus, the craftsman par excellence, is closely bound. On Kothar and Hephaestus/Daedalus, see Morris 1995:78–100; on Kothar vis-à-vis Greek tradition see also, *inter alia*, West 1997:57, 86, 89, 384, and 388. Herodotus reports that the Cretans bound for Sicily were blown off course and landed in Messapian Apulia. On the tradition of Cretans settling Italian Hyria, see Munson 2006:259 and 266–267, who points to the similarity of this settlement event to that of the Lydians who are reported to have settled in Umbria (Ombrici) to become the Tyrrhenians (see Herodotus 1.94). If one were to insist on the emendation to *Hurían* (Ὑρίαν), Italian Hyria would make for a more likely destination for homicides fleeing from Boeotia (or Thessaly) via Euboea than does than Boeotian Hyria. There was considerable Mycenaean contact with Apulia (see, *inter alia*, Vanschoonwinkel 2006a:53–55, 94.), and the earliest Greek settlements in southern Italy were Euboean (see, *inter alia*, Ridgeway 1992; Coldstream 2004; d'Agostino 2006). Traditionally the Euboeans have been identified as the first Greeks to colonize Sicily (Thucydides 6.3); the archaeological evidence points in the same direction (after the middle of the eighth century BC; see the discussion of Domínguez 2006:256–275, with bibliography). Archaeology suggests intensive eighth-century Greek activity in Salento, though artefacts here are predominantly Corinthian rather than Euboean (see d'Andria 1990; Lane Fox 2008:123). A number of mythic traditions paint the Argive Diomedes as journeying to Apulia following the Trojan War and there founding various towns (see, *inter alia*, Malkin 1998:234–257; Vanschoonwinkel 2006a:86–97).

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Anatolia. Since at least Albright 1961 (see p. 44,n. 42) the ancient Anatolian site of Ura, an important Hittite port with maritime links to Ugarit, has been folded into this Hyria-Cilician Seleucia equation.[1357]

14.3.2. Return to Thebes

To rejoin the narrative of *Bibliotheca* 3.41 – the brothers Lycus and Nycteus at some moment return from exile and settle in Boeotian Thebes.[1358] For Pseudo-Apollodorus, Thebes already existed prior to the activities of the Dioscuri Zethus and Amphion: Thebes is the city of Cadmus and the autochthonous Spartoi (*Bibliotheca* 3.21–24), who antedate Antiope and her sons. Lycus was embraced by the Thebans as a

[1357] Beal (1992) argues stringently against this identification of Ura with Seleucia – a principal problem being, in his view, Stephanus' equation (see pp. 67–68, with n. 23). Beal (p. 68) interprets Stephanus' *Hyria* as a corruption of the old name of Seleucia which Pliny (*Naturalis historia* 5.93) reports as *Hermia* and draws attention to Strabo's account at 14.5.4 that appears to assign the (not phonetically dissimilar) name *Holmoi* (Ὅλμοι) to this same locale. Beal (pp. 68–73) contends for Celenderis being the probable site of earlier Ura; for Celenderis see above, §8.7, and below, §14.5.2. Compare Casabonne 1999:75 and 80.

[1358] There is here an apparent gap in the text of the *Bibliotheca* into which Christian Gottlob Heyne, the German editor of the 1803 edition of the text, inserted ἐκεῖθεν ἐλθόντες εἰς Θήβας 'from there having come into Thebes'. In any event, Pseudo-Apollodorus immediately indicates that it was by the Thebans that Lycus was made *polémarkhos* (πολέμαρχος).

polémarkhos (πολέμαρχος) 'war lord'. His brother Nycteus had a daughter Antiope whom Zeus impregnated (*Bibliotheca* 3.42). Antiope was threatened by her father, Nycteus, when he discovered that she was pregnant; she fled Thebes, escaping to Sicyon, northwest of Corinth on the shore of the Corinthian Gulf. In Sicyon Antiope became the wife of Epopeus; Pausanias (2.6.1) writes that Epopeus had come from Thessaly and seized control of Sicyon. Nycteus subsequently died, by suicide according to the *Bibliotheca*. Fulfilling a command that his brother had given, Lycus then attacked Sicyon, killed Epopeus, and took Antiope captive. On the return to Boeotia (*Bibliotheca* 3.43), Antiope gave birth to her twin sons Amphion and Zethus at Eleutherae (along the border of Boeotia and Attica). The infants were abandoned but, in a way reminiscent of the *mûthos* of Melanippe's twin sons, discovered by a 'cowherd' (*boukólos* [βουκόλος]) who raised them. Meanwhile, Lycus and his wife Dirce kept Antiope shut away and mistreated her, until she escaped and in her flight happened to come to the home of her sons, now grown. Reunited with their mother (3.44), Amphion and Zethus slew Lycus and bound his wife Dirce to a bull, by which she was savagely killed. The Boeotian twins then made themselves masters of Thebes and fortified the city.

14.4. Europa and Cadmus

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The woman called Europa is fundamental to that Theban foundation tradition that would become canonical.[1359] She is made to be a princess of those people that the Greeks would identify by the ethnic adjective *Phoîniks* (Φοῖνιξ) 'Phoenician', with various derivative forms. The ethnic is typically associated with speakers of a variety of Northwest Semitic (exhibiting dialectal variation) spoken in a coastal region of Syria-Palestine ("from Acco in the south to Tell Sukas in the north" [Hackett 2004:365]), within which the population clustered in various autonomous city-states – Sidon, Tyre, Byblos, among others. The etymological particulars of Greek *Phoîniks* 'Phoenician' remain a matter of some uncertainty; commonly linkages with *phoîniks*, 'red', and its homophone denoting the 'date-palm' are cited. The former is the source of various mythic figures bearing the name *Phoîniks* – that is, *Phoenix*– most notable of whom is Phoenix son of Amyntor, teacher and companion of Achilles, a Boeotian who accompanied his protégé to Troy.[1360] With Chantraine (1968:1217), we should likely understand *Phoenix* as "l'homme aux cheveux roux"; compare Phoenix as the name of a chariot horse at Pausanias 6.10.7. *Phoenix* is also the name assigned to a Phoenician prince, a son of Agenor and brother of Europa and Cadmus. This Phoenician Cadmus,

[1359] For a helpful summary of the variants of that tradition, see Gantz 1993:208–211 and 467–468.

[1360] For discussion, see, *inter alia*, Gantz 1993:609. On Phoenix and his role in the Iliad, see also especially Nagy 2007b:55–57, 63–68 and Nagy 2013a:48–73.

who was sent in search of his sister Europa when she had disappeared from Asia, carried to Crete by bull-form Zeus, is commonly identified as the founder of Thebes. Cadmus does not discover Europa, and she becomes wife to a Cretan king named *Asterion*[1361] or *Asterius*.[1362]

14.4.1. Europa and Anatolia

It is Crete that is typically made the home of Europa in Greek myth; and Crete is, unsurprisingly, no stranger in the Aeolian and trans-Aegean mythic traditions that we have been examining. The figure of Europa is implicated in such a tradition – that of the founding of Miletus in Caria. Pausanias (7.2.5) reports that the following is local Milesian lore. The region of Miletus had earlier been called *Anaktoría* (Ἀνακτορία),[1363] while it was ruled by Anax and, in turn, by his son Asterius.[1364] The former is a

[1361] See Hesiod *Catalogue of Women* 140 (MW); *Apollodorus Bibliotheca* 3.5; Georgius Syncellus *Ecloga chronographica* 179; cf. Joannes Malalas *Chronographia* 5.2–3.

[1362] Diodorus Siculus 4.60.2–3.

[1363] See also, *inter alia*, Joannes Lydus *De mensibus* 4.70; Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* 12.184; *Scholia in Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* (*scholia vetera* [= Wendel 1974]) 23–24.

[1364] Pausanias elsewhere (1.35.6) reports that Asterius was buried on a small island off from Miletus and that the island bears his name.

personification of *ánaks* (ἄναξ), the Mycenaean *wanaks* that we examined in some detail in Chapter Four. This Anax is elsewhere said to be a son of Ge and Uranus.[1365] Asterius, the son of Anax, has a name – *Astérios* (Ἀστέριος) – that appears to be simply an adjectival derivative of *astḗr* (αστήρ) 'star', but also 'fire' – that is, *astérios* (ἀστέριος) 'starry'. *Asterius* is of course a name that we saw just above to be assigned equally to the Cretan king who married Europa, who raised her Zeus-fathered sons Minos, Rhadamanthys, and Sarpedon.[1366] In regards to this Asian reflection of a Cretan figure attached to Europa, let us recall that in Chapter Twelve (see §12.7.1) we took note of Aeschylus play *Carians or Europa* (frr 99–100) in which Europa is herself given a residence in Caria.[1367] It was in the reign of Carian Asterius, Pausanias continues, that a Cretan named Miletus arrived with a warrior horde and took control, naming the place

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[1365] See, *inter alia*, Aelius Herodianus *De prosodia catholica* 3.1.219 and 299; Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (= van der Valk 1971–1987) 1.35.

[1366] The name *Asterius* appears elsewhere in Greek myth: thus, *inter alios*, a son of Neleus (Hesiod fr. 33(a).10 MW), slain by Heracles along with all of Neleus' sons other than Nestor (Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 1.93), and an Asterius, son of Cometes, who appears in Pseudo-Apollodorus' list of Argonauts (*Bibliotheca* 113); compare the Argonautic brothers Asterius and Amphion, sons of Hyperasius (Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* 1.176–177).

[1367] On the tragedy see, *inter alia*, West 2000:347–350.

after himself; Miletus and his Cretans became *súnoikoi* (σύνοικοι) 'co-inhabitants' of the region with the aboriginal Carians. Citing Ephorus on this same foundation myth, Strabo (12.8.5 and 14.1.6) reports that the Cretans had been led by Europa's son Sarpedon and that the settlers came from the Cretan city of Miletus (which the Leleges had once held).[1368] Does Europa have a western Anatolian pedigree as well as a Phoenician? Herodotus (4.45.4–5) is at least acknowledging a duality of locations in her mythic dossier if not synthesizing contrasting local traditions when he writes of 'Tyrian Europa' (Τυρίη Εὐρώπη): she came out of Asia (ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης) and never set foot in what (in Herodotus' day) the Greeks called *Europe*; instead, she came only 'out of Phoenicia into Crete and out of Crete into Lycia' (ἐκ Φοινίκης ἐς Κρήτην ἐκ Κρήτης δὲ ἐς Λυκίην). In Chapter Twelve (see §12.7.1) we encountered the "son of Car" named Idrieus, after whom the Carian city of Idrias was named, as reported by Stephanus Byzantius (*Ethnica* 9.27) a place that had been earlier called *Chrysaoris*; elsewhere (*Ethnica* 5.172) Stephanus offers *Europus* (that is, *Eurōpós* [Ἐ̣ὐρωπός]) as another name for Idrias. As we shall see in

[1368] See also Herodotus 1.173.2, who reports that Minos drove his brother Sarpedon and his supporters out of Crete and that they came to Asia, to the country of the Milyans. Pseudo-Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca* 3.6) recounts that it was love for Miletus, who was a son of Apollo, that was source of the fraternal strife; Miletus sailed to Caria and founded Miletos, while Sarpedon allied himself with Europa's brother Cilix, eponym of Cilicia, and made war on Lycia.

§14.8.3, a Carian called *Mys* who inquired of the oracle of Ptoan Apollo in Carian language is said to be from *Eurōpós* (compare *Eúrōmos* [Εὔρωμος], which Stephanus [*Ethnica* 5.170] identifies as a city of Caria. Europus also names a river of Thessaly (Strabo 7.14–15) and a city in Macedonia (Thucydides 2.100.4).[1369]

14.4.2. Cadmus and Anatolia

Cadmus too has links to western Anatolia. In his description of the town of Laodicea on the Lycus, Strabo (12.8.16) writes that the town lies below Mount Cadmus and that the Lycus flows out of the mountain, as does a second river which shares the name of the mountain -- Cadmus. The mountain is a landmark of the border of Caria with Lydian and Phrygian territory.[1370] The deity identified as the *Mḗtēr* (Μήτηρ) of Mount Cadmus is perhaps to be equated with the Carian goddess called Μήτηρ ’Αδράστου ‘Mother of Adrastos’,[1371] *Ádrastos* (Ἄδραστος) being a name that we saw in

[1369] Compare the formant *Ōrōpo-* (Ὠρωπο-) that appears in Boeotian and Euboean personal and place names (see Knoepfler 2000).

[1370] See the treatment of Thonemann 2011:203–241.

[1371] See van Bremen 2010:446–447, and also page 453 regarding the correct form of the goddess’s name. The goddess had a cult at Attouda, on the north slope of Mt. Cadmus; her iconography associates her

Chapter Eight to have particular associations with Mycenaean *hek^{w}etai* 'warrior companions' and with Anatolia. We noted (§8.5) that *Ádrastos* is perhaps a name of western Anatolian origin, built on a naming-element *atr(a) seen in Luvian and Lydian. In this border region of Caria we appear to have an interesting conjunction of Cadmus, founder of Thebes, and Adrastus, leader of an attempted sack of Thebes. In Chapter Eleven (§11.4.1) we saw that Hypoplacian Thebes in the Troad is said to have been founded by Boeotians and settled by a portion of the warrior horde that accompanied Cadmus.

The introduction of the Phoenician script to the Greeks, and thus the technical achievement that the Greek alphabet is, was frequently (not uniquely) attributed to Cadmus – hence *Kadmḗia grámmata* (Καδμήια γράμματα) 'Cadmean letters' (Herodotus 5.59), *Phoinikikà sēmata Kádmou* (Φοινικικὰ σήματα Κάδμου) 'Phoenician signifiers of Cadmus' (Timon fr. 835 Lloyd-Jones and Parsons 1983). He can be identified as *Kádmos Phoîniks* (Κάδμος Φοῖνιξ) 'Phoenician Cadmus' (e.g. Ephorus fr.5 FHG). *Suda* lemma K 21 (*Kádmos* [Κάδμος]) identifies Cadmus εὑρετὴς τῶν γραμμάτων 'inventor of the alphabet', further specifying that he is *Milḗsios* (Μιλήσιος) 'Milesian'; what then follows

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with lions, which, van Bremen points out (p. 445, with n. 38), citing Roller 1999:49, also characterizes the "Neo-Hittite" Kubaba and Lydian *Kubḗbē* (Κυβήβη; see §15.3).

is a pair of lines from an epigram attributed to Zenodotus (*Anthologia Graeca* 7.117.5–6), addressed to Zeno of Citium, in which both Zeno and Cadmus are identified as having a 'Phoenician fatherland' (πάτρα Φοίνισσα). Zeno, founder of Stocism, was a native of Cyprus, not Levantine "Phoenicia," though Cyprus was a place with a significant Cypriot presence by the ninth century BC and Zeno can otherwise referred to as "Zeno the Phoenician" (Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 13.563e; Diogenes Laertius *Vitae philosophorum* 2.114) What the Suda entry suggests is that "Phoenician fatherland" can be used as a rather broad ethnic identifier – entailing both an individual from Citium on Cyprus and one from Miletus in Caria.

Two other observations need to offered at this point. On the one hand, the Suda exposition of K 21 is somewhat muddied by the ensuing lemma, K 22, which addresses the figure identified as "Cadmus, the son of Pandion, a Milesian," being the fabled first Greek historian, but here also there appears a reference to the Cadmus who 'first conveyed to Greece the letters, which at the outset Phoenicians had invented' (. . . πρῶτον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κομίσαι τὰ γράμματα, ἅπερ πρῶτοι Φοίνικες εφεῦρον). The stipulation is seemingly misplaced in K 22, unless meant to explain that Cadmus the son of Pandion was the first to write because the letters had not been earlier introduced (and it was the previously mentioned Cadmus who had introduced them). But on the

other hand, consistent with the notion of a Cadmus who is both Milesian and "Phoenician," we read at Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 4.174 that at times Corinna and Bacchylides ἡ Καρία Φοινίκη ἐκαλεῖτο 'used to call Caria Phoenicia'.

14.4.3. Cadmilus and Cabiri

Whatever etymological sense we might try to make of the name *Kádmos* (Κάδμος),[1372] which is also attested in the form *Kássmos* (Κάσσμος),[1373] it can hardly be separated from the theonym *Kádmilos* (Κάδμιλος), or *Kadmîlos* (Καδμῖλος), which can also appear as *Kásmilos* (Κάσμιλος).[1374] This is a figure that we meet in the company of the Cabiri – that is, the *Kábeiroi* (Κάβειροι) – daemons who are said to be sons of Hephaestus: Pherecydes (fr. 6 FHG) attests that tradition, according to Strabo (10.3.21; see also, *inter alia*, Hesychius K 14). In conjunction with this, Strabo also reports that according to Acusilaus of Argos (fifth century BC; fr. 1a,2,f [FGrH]) a certain *Camillus* (Kámillos [Κάμιλλος]) was the son of Cabiro (Kabeiró [Καβειρώ]) and Hephaestus. In

[1372] For a brief history of the often-cited and old ideas, perhaps uncomfortably neat, that Cadmus' name can be connected with a Semitic root *qdm*, meaning 'east', and Europa's with '*rb* 'west', see Burkert 1992:2, with note 3 on page 153, and West 1997:448–452.

[1373] See Brugmann and Thumb 1913:127.

[1374] As in , *inter alia*, Mnaseas fr. 27a and fr. 27b (FHG).

the eastern Aegean (Strabo 10.3.21) , the Cabiri are said to be especially associated with Lemnos, consistent with their linkage to Hephaestus, and with Imbros (on which see below, §14.4.4) and the Troad. They are workers in metal, as are other deities with whom the Cabiri are assigned membership in a common set (see below, §14.8.4).

Aelius Herodianus (*De prosodia catholica* 3,1.348) preserves the same tradition but reports the name as *Cadmilus* (*Kadmîlos*), a form that is attested earliest in fragment 155b of Hipponax of Ephesus (sixth century BC), absent of revealing context. Aelius Herodianus further remarks that Cadmilus is to be equated with Hermes (3,1.162), as does, *inter alia*, the manuscript tradition of Joannes Tzetzes, reporting (*Scholia in Lycophronem* 162 bis) that Cadmilus is the Boeotian Hermes. Tzetzes is commenting on Lycophron's use of *Cadmilus* to name Hermes at *Alexandra* 162. At *Alexandra* 219, Lycophron refers to Hermes not as *Cadmilus* but as *Cadmus* (*Kádmos*): Tzetzes (*Scholia in Lycophronem* 219) attributes the variant to syncope and draws attention (*Scholia in Lycophronem* 219. bis) to the tradition underlying Lycophron's line – that of the mantic prophet Prylis, son of Cadmilus/Cadmus/Hermes and a nymph Issa, by whose name Lesbos and Mytilene were once called. Note that Stephanus Byzantius, *Ethnica* 10.3, identifies a place *Cabiria* (*Kabeiría* [Καβειρία]) as a city of Lower Asia – that is Lydia

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(upper Asia being to the east)[1375] – the country of which was settled by the Καβείριοι, whom Stephanus identifies as ἔθνος Βοιωτίας, ὡς Παυσανίας ἐνάτῳ 'a Boeotian people as Pausanias [attests] in [his] ninth [book]'. With the variant form *Casmilus* (Κάσμιλος), a scholion on Apollonius Rhodius (*scholia vetera* [= Wendel 1935] 77–78) gives a name to one of the four Cabiri of the cult mysteries of the *Megaloi Theoi* ('Great Gods') of Samothrace and asserts that according to Dionysodorus this Casmilus is to be identified as Hermes. The remaining three Cabiri are named as *Axierus* (*Aksíeros* [Ἀξίερος]), *Axiocersa* (*Aksiokérsa* [Ἀξιοκέρσα]), and *Axiocersus* (*Aksiókersos* [Ἀξιόκερσος]), who are identified as, respectively, Demeter, Persephone, and Hades.

At Thebes there was a prominent cult of the Cabiri. Here the Cabiri were two in number, identified as 'Cabirus (*Kábiros*) and son' (Κάβιρος καὶ παῖς); compare Pausanias 9.25.6 on the foundation of the cult, where it is reported that Demeter introduced the rites to two local Cabiri, a father called Prometheus and his son Aetnaeüs. Cabirus (*Kábiros*) and son could be likened to Hermes and Pan, it seems, and appear to have been joined by a Mother Goddess. Schachter discusses the cult, its archaeology and

[1375] For recent discussion of lower and upper Asia, see Munn 2006:184–185.

realia, in close detail and offers a summary interpretation of the foundation of the cult that is worth rehearsing in full (1986:106–107):[1376]

> At some time during the so-called "Dark Ages", a group of Greek-speaking people emigrated from Asia Minor to central Boiotia. Some of them settled west of Thebes and became herdsmen; they brought with them a mystery cult at the centre of which was a mother goddess, and which included daimones, possibly subsidiary, called Kabiroi. It was the same cult as that found at Samothrace and Lemnos (the only two other sites where evidence goes back beyond the fifth century B.C.) but, as was the Greek way, it developed differently wherever it was established, blending into the geographical and cultural landscape as closely as possible. Thus, in Boiotia, where the major occupation of the original worshippers was agriculture, the cult and its rites reflected it; in addition, the Kabiroi, whose number and relationship to each other varied widely from site to site . . . , were in Boiotia modelled on a locally prevalent male group of two deities, one older than the other.

[1376] See also Schachter's pp. 97–98.

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Concerning the "locally prevalent male group of two deities," we are of course straightway put in mind of the various reflexes of the Indo-European divine twins we have encountered, especially Zethus and Amphion in a Theban context. Amphion's association with Hermes is notable in this regard (see §14.5). If the Indo-European pair lies behind a remodeling of the Boeotian Cabiri, the outcome is that of father and son (Cabirus and son), rather than brothers,[1377] a variant arrangement that seems convincingly evidenced elsewhere (see below, §22.4.1.3).

14.4.4. Casmilus and the Eastern Aegean

We find a set of variant forms for a single divine being affiliated with the Cabiri and showing a strong association with Hermes and with a certain recurring attachment to Boeotia: *Camillus* (*Kámillos* [Κάμιλλος]), *Cadmilus* (*Kadmîlos* [Καδμῖλος]), and *Casmilus* (*Kásmilos* [Κάσμιλος]) – to which *Cadmus* (*Kádmos* [Κάδμος]) may be added. Fowler (2013:41) is surely correct in noting that this sort of variation can be read as evidence of a borrowed term, pointing out (note 147) that as early as 1925 A. H. Sayce proposed a link between *Kásmilos* and the Anatolian deity Ḫašamili, a Hattic god taken over into

[1377] Schachter (1986:104) proposes that "Cabirus and son" are "an example of the assimilation of the Kabiroi to the Dioskouroi, a feature of Kabiric cults in the Hellenistic period."

Luvo-Hittite cult. Ḫašamili is a deity associated with metal-working – called the LÚSIMUG.A *innarauwandan* 'mighty smith' – and one who appears to have a connection with the netherworld.[1378] Most of Sayce's short article, written in the wake of Emil Forrer's realization that the Ahhiyawa of the Boğazköy tablets are Achaeans, is an unfortunate attempt to find the name *Perseus* in that of *Attaršiya*, a leader of the Ahhiyawa; but in an "appendix" at the end of the article (page 163), Sayce briefly draws attention to the similarity between the names of Greek *Kasmeîlos* (Κασμεῖλος) and Hittite *Ḫašamili*. This *Kasmeîlos* is named in an inscription (IG XII 8.74) from the island of Imbros, in which he is invoked as Κασμεῖλε ἄναξ 'lord *Kasmeîlos*'. Imbros is located approximately 20 km west of the Thracian Chersonesus and 25 km southeast of Samothrace. In his entry for the island of Imbros in his *Ethnica* (9.57), Stephanus Byzantius writes that Imbros is sacred to the Cabiri and to Hermes, whom the Carians call Imbrasus (*Ímbrasos* [Ἴμβρασος]). Bremmer (2014:38) underscores the influence of Caria and Lycia that the name reveals, as names formed with *Imbr-* are common in those areas and appear to be of Luvian origin.[1379] *Kádmos* looks to be at home in an eastern Aegean/western Anatolian setting.

[1378] On Ḫašamili see, *inter alia*, Taracha 2009 *passim*; Steitler 2019:127–131.

[1379] See Bremmer's note 93 for bibliography.

14.4.5. Europa and Boeotia

We have considered mythic evidence that affiliates abducted Europa both with Crete and with Caria/Lycia. She can also be situated in Boeotia. In his description of Teumessus, a town (some 8 km northeast of Thebes) lying on the road from Thebes to Chalcis, Pausanias records that Zeus had here hidden the abducted Europa (9.19.1). A few lines later (9.19.4), Pausanias describes the ruins of neighboring Harma ('Chariot') and Mycalessus and offers the following popular etymology for the latter toponym, one reported to be endorsed by both Thebans and Tanagrans: it was at this spot that the cow that was leading Cadmus to Thebes 'mooed' (*mūkáomai* [μῡκάομαι]), hence the toponym *Mukalēssós* (Μυκαλησσός).[1380] The route along which the cow led Cadmus and his Asian companions toward the future site of Thebes was one that passed by that place where Zeus had hidden Cadmus' abducted sister Europa. We must surely see here remnants of a Boeotian cult tradition that gave local expression to the space in which the Europa-Cadmus *mûthos* played out. Pausanias (9.19.5–6) describes a sanctuary of

[1380] So also, *inter alia*, Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* 12.299 and Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (= van der Valk 1971–1987) 1.406, where Cadmus is named as "the Syrian."

Demeter Mycalessia (close by the frontier of Boeotia and Euboea), reporting the tradition that Heracles, locally identified as one of the Idaean Dactyls (see below, §14.7.2 and §14.8.4), closes the sanctuary each night, and reopens it (each morning?).[1381] Also in Teumessus, place where Zeus hid Europa, writes Pausanias (9.19.1), is a sanctuary of Athena Telchinia, in which the goddess is notably without an image; he proposes that the sanctuary was established by Telchines who had migrated from Cyprus to Boeotia. Presumably the cult was one in which worship of the Telchines played a role ("They may represent another element from the east among the founders of the polis of Thebes"),[1382] beings who are a part of a greater set of craftsmen deities, to which also belong the Cabiri (see below, §14.8.4).

At Lebadea in Boeotia Pausanias saw a sanctuary of Demeter Europa and a 'Zeus Rain-Bringer' (Ζεὺς Ὑέτιος). Describing the important oracle of Trophonius at Lebadea, Pausanias adds that Demeter Europa is said to be have been the nurse of this Boeotian cult figure Trophonius (9.39.4–5), whom we will soon encounter again (§14.8).[1383] We can add to this Plutarch's report (*Life of Lysander* 28.4) that the inhabitants of the

[1381] On the sanctuary and cult see Schachter 1981:157–158.

[1382] Schachter 1994:40.

[1383] On the cult of Trophonius at Lebadea, see Schachter 1994:66–89; see also, *inter alia*, Bonnechere 2003 and Johnston 2008:95–97.

Boeotian city of Haliartos hold that Rhadamanthys had once dwelt there and, in fact, identify his tomb, as well as the burial spot of Alcmene (mother of the divine-twin reflexes Heracles and Iphicles) who they say had married Rhadamanthys after the death of Amphitryon. Callimachus appears to know the tradition and refers to Haliartos as ἡ πόλις ἡ Κάδμου 'the polis of Cadmus' (fr. 43.86–87 Pfeiffer 1949–1953). Pseudo-Apollodorus identifies the site of Rhadamanthys' Boeotian residence as Ocaleae (*Bibliotheca* 2.70; see also 3.6).[1384]

14.5. The Lyre of Amphion: Cyprus, Anatolia, Mycenaean Greece

Homer would appear to know nothing of Cadmus, only of Cadmeans, the inhabitants of Thebes. For Homer (*Odyssey* 11.262–265) the twins Amphion and Zethus both 'founded' (*ktízō* [κτίζω]) Thebes and 'constructed its walls' (*purgóō* [πυργόω]). As we noted in §14.3.2, for Pseudo-Apollodorus, in contrast, the pre-existence of Thebes is a given: Amphion and Zethus (*Bibliotheca* 3.44) only 'walled the city' (τὴν πόλιν ἐτείχισαν). The Pseudo-Apollodorus transitions out of the tale of Amphion and Zethus by naming their wives (*Bibliotheca* 3.45), invoking Hesiod as his source (fr. 183 MW):

[1384] See also *Scholia in Lycophronem* (*scholia vetera et recentiora partim Isaac et Joannis Tzetzae* [= Scheer 1958]) 50,bis.

Amphion married Niobe, the daughter of Tantalus (Niobe, whose "profile" stands out as a notable natural feature of Mt. Sipylus; see below, §19.5.1), and Zethus married Thebe,[1385] eponym of Thebes – seemingly belying the assumption of the preexistence of the city. Pausanias (9.5.6–7) bridges any disconnect in this regard, reporting that after defeating Lycus, Amphion and Zethus added to the Cadmea the lower city, naming it after Thebe.[1386] Yet, in a single breath Homer (*Iliad* 5.804) can name the city as Thebes and its inhabitants as Cadmeans (see also 4.378 beside lines 385 and 388; on all of which see Chapter Nine). The Mycenaean documents know the city as Thebes, consistently offering the spelling *te-qa-* – that is, singular *Thēg*^{w}*ā* (compare Homeric singular *Thḗbē*

[1385] For Pandareüs' daughter Aedon as wife of Zethus, see below, §19.5.2.

[1386]See also 2.5.2, where Pausanias notes that the Thebans identify Thebe as daughter of Asopus, the Boeotian river. At 2.6.5, Pausanias writes that it seems to him that Homer distinguishes the Cadmea from the 'lower city' (*kátō pólin* [κάτω πόλιν]), of which Amphios and Zethus were 'founders' (*oikísai* [οἰκίσαι]). At 3.17.1 Pausanias refers to the Cadmea as the acropolis at Thebes, and at 9.5.2 he reports that Cadmus 'founded' (*oikízō* [οἰκίζω]) the Cadmea (cf. Heraclides Criticus *Descriptio Graeciae* fr. 113 Müller 1965: water channels running down from the Cadmea, 'constructed' [*kataskeuázō* (κατασκευάζω)] by Cadmus) – the acropolis which continues to bear that name even in his own day, he adds. But at 9.7.6 Pausanias, in describing the lower city as being deserted in his time, writes that the inhabitants all live on the acropolis, which, he reports, they call *Thebes*, rather than *Cadmea*.

[Θήβη], the only form in Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Works and Days*) or plural *Thēgwai* (preserving the labiovelar).[1387]

Pausanias (9.5.7–8) mentions an epic poem about Europa (Eumelus) in which Amphion is treated, styled as the first of lyre players, taught by Hermes himself (similarly Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 3.43).[1388] Amphion's playing led along both stones and beasts. Citing the female poet Myro of Byzantium (third century BC), Pausanias also reports that Amphion was the first person to build an altar to Hermes; presumably such a tradition would entail a structure of piled stones, given the effect of his playing. It is interesting in this regard that Dio Chrysostom (*Orationes* 7.120–121) reports that in his day nearly all of Thebes lay in ruins and was uninhabited, except for the Cadmea, and that the post-destruction population had been concerned about nothing of what had disappeared – temples and so on – except for a Herm bearing this inscription: 'Ἑλλὰς μὲν Θήβας νικᾶν προέκρινεν ἐν αὐλοῖς 'Hellas has selected Thebes the winner in *aulos*-playing'. This Herm, and this alone, the surviving Thebans sought out, discovered, and set up in the old agora, in the midst of the ruins. Perhaps the image of a roadside cairn informed the folk etymology of Amphion's name that appears

[1387] See Aura Jorro 1993:333334, with bibliography; Bennet 2011:155.

[1388] See also Philostratus *Imagines* 1.10.1, 3; *Scholia in Euripidis Phoenissas* (*scholia vetera et scholia recentiora Thomae Magistri, Triclinii, Moschopuli et anonyma* [= Dindorf 1863]) 115.

in Euripides *Antiope* fr. 182, where we read that this twin was so named as he was born *amph' hodón* (ἀμφ' ὁδόν) 'beside a road'.[1389] Declaring that Amphion learned from the Lydians the 'Lydian mode' (ἡ ἁρμονία ἡ Λυδῶν), Pausanias forges a link between Thebes and southwestern Anatolia, invoking Tantalus of Sipylus as a *kêdos* (κῆδος) 'in-law' of Amphion (i.e. father of Amphion's wife Niobe).

The manner in which the wall around Thebes is constructed is a singularly unusual one: the author of the *Bibliotheca* records (3.44) that the brothers built the wall ἐπακολουθησάντων τῇ Ἀμφίονος λύρᾳ τῶν λίθων 'with the stones closely following the lyre of Amphion'. Homer has nothing to say about the lyre of Amphion and its use in constructing the Theban walls (as Pausanias [9.5.7] points out), but the tale seems to have been familiar to Hesiod (fr. 182 MW). Pherecydes of Athens (fifth century BC) also seems to have known it (fr. 102a3 FHG), as did the (possibly) contemporary historian Armenidas (fr.2 FHG) and the ca. fourth-century BC paradoxagrapher Palaephatus (*De incredibilibus* 41; source of the Hesiodic fragment). In the *Argonautica*, Apollonius Rhodius (1.738–741) describes how in building the walls of Thebes Zethus hauled a mountaintop on his shoulders, while Amphion led along a stone twice as large by

[1389] With *Amphíōn* (Ἀμφίων) compare Linear B *a-pi̯-jo*, a man's name on Pylos tablet Jn 725 + frr. together with the variant genitive spellings *a-pi-jo-to*, on Py An 261 + 857 + fr. + 283, and *a-pi-o-to*, on PY An 261 + 857 + fr. + 283 and Un 616.

playing on his golden 'lyre' (*phórminx* [φόρμιγξ]).[1390] The contrast here highlighted by the Alexandrian poet appears to reflect a conspicuous theme of fraternal tension on display in Euripides' *Antiope*: Zethus advocates for work, might, and weapons, Amphion for singing and the lyre (in Euripides' treatment, see especially frr. 183–189, 193–202). Dio Chrysostom (*Orationes* 73.10) presents Zethus as scoffing at Amphion for 'pursuing wisdom' (*philosophéō* [φιλοσοφέω]).[1391] This distinction of brute force versus delicate intelligence that characterizes the Theban Dioscuri aligns tidily with the differences setting apart the two Aśvins that present themselves in the *Rig Veda* and *Mahābhārata*, of which we took notice in Chapters Twelve (see §12.7.3.4) and Thirteen (see §13.7.1).[1392]

14.5.1. Cyprus and Semitic Sources

[1390] See also, *inter alia*, Philostratus *Imagines* 1.10; Joannes Tzetzes *Chiliades* 1.13; *Scholia in Iliadem* (*scholia vetera* [= Erbse 1969–1988]) 13.302; *Anthologia Graeca* 9.250.

[1391] See also Horace *Epistles* 1.18.41–44.

[1392] The contrast between brothers in the two traditions, Indic and Greek, shows variance in this way: in *Mahābhārata* Book Four, Nakula, of warrior prowess, functions during the year of disguise to care for horses, while Sahadeva, of intellectual prowess, cares for cattle. In Greek tradition Zethus engages in the physical work of 'tending cattle' (*bouphóriba* [βουφόρβια] at Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 3.43) in contrast to Amphion's absence from that sphere of activity (though Pseudo-Probus on Virgil *Eclogues* 2.33 (p. 329.18 Hagen) reports that Amphion could call the herds with song.

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Franklin (2006) has argued that the myth of Amphion and his lyre that moved stones to pile themselves one upon the other and so erect the walls of Thebes is a particular Greek expression of a tradition of Near Eastern origin. The tradition is that of a lyre having metaphysical properties that provides oracular guidance, effects healing, or otherwise brings about an orderly state ("The effective mechanism of the wonder-working lyre was probably that the orderly relations of its tunings were believed capable of inducing or restoring, via sympathetic magic, a similar state in the natural or social world" [p. 42]). The earliest known expression of such lyric metaphysicality may be recorded in Sumerian texts of the late third millennium BC, associated with Gudea, ruler of Lagash (pp. 42–44);[1393] there is fundamental uncertainty here, however, revolving around the sense of Sumerian *balaĝ* (i.e. 'harp' or not?).[1394]

More promising is the case for a West Semitic antecedent (pp. 44–47), with the figure of Cinyras (i.e. *Kinúras* [Κινύρας]) serving to link Semitic and Greek cultural spheres. Homer knows Cinyras as a ruler of Cyprus, as is common,[1395] one who is

[1393] See Franklin 2016, Chapter Two (*passim*) for discussion and bibliography.

[1394] For not, see Black 1991:28n39, which Franklin cites. See also, *inter alia*, Steinkeller 1995:698; Gabbay 2014:132n3 and 133n9; and Mirelman 2014:151.

[1395] See Baurain 1980 regarding the grounding of Cinyras in Cyprus.

Agamemnon's *ksénos* (*Iliad* 11.19–23).[1396] Cinyras is made founder of the Cypriot city of Paphos (Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 3.182). With his music Cinyras praises Apollo, the Greek deity most closely attached to the lyre.[1397] Brown (1981:391) notes that Cinyras is the "favorite of Apollo (Pindar *Pyth*. 2.27, 31), even his son (Schol. Theocritus 1.109), he nevertheless suffered defeat and death according to another account (Schol. *Il*. 11.20) after having angered the god in a musical contest." As West (1997:56) has emphasized, and rightly so, the figure of Cinyras is a personification – a construct eponym in effect – abstracted from the name of the Cinyradae (*Kinurádai* [Κινυράδαι]), the 'sons of Cinyras' as it were, being hereditary priests of Aphrodite at the temple of Aphrodite-Astarte in Paphos.[1398] The name is transparently of Semitic origin, being a calque of a denotation for lyre players, literally 'sons of the lyre', which West reconstructs for Phoenician as *b^{e}nê kinnûr; compare Hebrew *kinnôr* and – in ancient Semitic languages of Syria – Aramaic *kinnârâ* and the earlier attested (consonantally-

[1396] On which see Papaioannou 2014, with bibliography.

[1397] *Scholia in Pindarum* (*scholia vetera* [= Drachmann 1966–1969]) *Pythian Odes* 2.31b.

[1398] The lexicographer Hesychius (K 2744) defines them as 'priests of Aphrodite' (ἱερεῖς Ἀφροδίτης); on their role as such and their hereditary status see, *inter alia*, Tacitus *Histories* 2.3; Plutarch *De Alexandri magni fortuna aut virtute* 340d; *Scholia in Pindarum* (*scholia vetera* [= Drachmann 1966–1969]) *Pythian Odes* 2.27b.

spelled) Ugaritic *knr* and (syllabically-spelled) *ki-na-rù*,[1399] along with the Greek borrowing *kinúra* (κινύρα).[1400] Cinyras is the 'Lyre Man'.

This term for the lyre also surfaces in Semitic language outside of the Northwest Semitic subset (Phoenician, Hebrew, Aramaic, Ugaritic). However, as Ivanov (1999) underscores in his study of the lyre's name in antiquity, the word's center of gravity is clearly the western Semitic area.[1401] Thus, that variety of (East Semitic) Akkadian that is preserved in the archives of the city-state of Ebla in northwest Syria[1402] attests the form *kinnārum*, ca. 2300 BC: the term appears in a wordlist with Sumerian glosses, this one glossed by Sumerian *balaĝ*.[1403] In spite of the uncertainty of the precise sense of that Sumerian term, *kinnārum* is commonly and reasonably construed to be the Eblaite semantic equivalent to Hebrew *kinnôr* etc.[1404] Similarly in the peripheral Akkadian of Mari, in eastern Syria, *kinnārum* occurs (ca. 1770 BC), specified as the handiwork of the

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[1399] On the Ugaritic forms, see Ellermeier 1970:77; Caubet 1987:733–734; Pardee 2000:310–311 and 2002:44–49; Smith and Pitard 2009:217–218.

[1400] On Greek contact with the Phoenician instrument in Cyprus, see Brown 1981:386–387.

[1401] See also, *inter alia*, Lawergren 1998, with bibliography.

[1402] On Eblaite and its similarity to Old Akkadian, see Huehnergard and Woods 2004.

[1403] See Pettinato 1982:264; Lambert 1989:30; Conti 1990:160.

[1404] See, for example, Gabbay 2014:132–133.

carpenters Qishti-Nunu and Habdu-Hanat, who are credited with having produced five lyres for the Mari sovereign Zimri-Lim (on whom see below, §18.2.9).[1405] The Akkadian term also surfaces in a Sumerian-Akkadian word list from Emar in northwestern Syria, ca. fourteenth century BC.[1406]

14.5.2. Anatolia and Mycenaean Greece

But this word also spread to non-Semitic languages spoken in areas contiguous to West Semitic speech regions. We can thus speak reasonably of a Bronze-Age *knr*-lyric Sprachbund. Egyptian *knnr*[1407] occurs in a ca. 1200 BC Anastasi papyrus in which a musician is scolded for falling into dissipation.[1408] Hurrian (ca. 1500–1400 BC) attests the term: at Alalakh,[1409] tablet Al.T. 172.7 preserves the form ^{LÚ}*ki-in-na-ru-ḫu-li* (*kinnāru-ḫuli*),

[1405] See Gardiner 1937:47–48. See also Ellermeier 1970:77; Dalley 1984:56.

[1406] See Arnaud 1987, text number 545; Lawergren and Gurney 1987:41; Lawergren 1998:59 (with n. 32).

[1407] On the problem with rendering a transcription of the Egyptian spelling, see the discussion of Lawergren 1998:61n33. See also, *inter alia*, Hoch 1994:72–73, who renders the term as *k=–n=nu*$_2$*=ru*$_2$, using a transcription mechanism used for Semitic borrowings.

[1408] For the text, see Caminos 1954.

[1409] On the Akkadian texts from Alalakh and their preservation of Hurrian elements, see Wilhelm 2004:96–97.

built from the lyre word seen at Ebla and Mari plus the Hurrian suffix *-ḫuli-*, used to designate one who is a 'lyre player' and/or 'lyre maker'.[1410] In addition, a Hurrian ritual tablet from the Hittite archives of Boğazköy (KUB 47.40 + 27.25) preserves *ki-na-ra-a-i*.[1411] And in the Hittite language – ^{LÚ}*ki-nir-tal-la-aš* (*kinir-tallaš*) occurs in KBo 1.52 (a lexical text of uncertain date), again denoting agentively a man of the lyre.[1412] On the other side of the Aegean, two Linear B tablets from Pylos attest a form *ki-nu-ra*, commonly interpreted as spelling a man's name *Kinúras* (Κινύρας):[1413] the name *ḳi-nu-ra* occurs on tablet Vn 865 + fr., on which various individuals are linked to an unspecified commodity;[1414] and tablet Qa 1301 records that an individual named *ki-nu-ra*, associated with a probable place called *me-nu-a*$_2$, is recipient of a commodity encoded by logogram *189, perhaps an animal skin.[1415] In Chapter Eight (see §8.4 and §8.4.3) we encountered

[1410] See Dietrich and Loretz 1966:192; Laroche 1980:149; Lawergren 1998:58.

[1411] See Ivanov 1999:266; Haas 1984:271–274.

[1412] See Friedrich 1952:110; Lawergren 1998:58–59 (with n. 30); Ivanov 1999:265 (with n. 1), citing Hrozný 1917 [1916]:52n1; Schuol 2004:163–165.

[1413] Thus Palmer 1969:428; Ventris and Chadwick 1973:554. See also Franklin 2016, Chapter 17.

[1414] The Pylos tablets of the Vn series are generally associated with wooden commodities; see Killen 2008:190.

[1415] Melena 2002:380–384; for the tablet, see Palmer 1969:372.

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the Qa series of Pylos tablets in examining the "sons of Eteocles," in connection with the Ahhiyawa texts and the Mycenaean *hek*^{w}*etai*, and noted that an individual named Ne-qe-u (the name of a son of Eteocles on Pylos tablet Aq 64) appears on tablet Qa 1298, and further noted that religious personnel are conspicuously present in the Qa series.[1416]

For the present investigation, the occurrence of the Northwest Semitic *knr* term for 'lyre' in Bronze-Age Anatolia, especially its attested use among the Hittites, together with the probable occurrence of the name *Kinúras* in Mycenaean Greece in the same era, is the perhaps the most notable of the immediately preceding observations. It is worth mentioning that while Cinyras is typically portrayed as a fabled Cypriot monarch and founder of Paphos, Greek tradition places his birth in Anatolia. The author of the *Bibliotheca* (3.181) records that one Sandocus, a descendent of Eos and a native of "Syria," left his homeland for Cilicia in Anatolia and there, in Cilicia, founded the city of Celenderis. Regarding the harbor town of Celenderis, Strabo (14.5.3) cites the geographer Artemidorus (second/first century BC) for his view that the city marks the 'beginning of Cilicia' (ἀρχὴν τῆς Κιλικίας) – that is, the westernmost point on the Cilician coastline. This Sandocus married Pharnace, the daughter of a king named Megassares. The manuscripts of the *Bibliotheca* are in agreement in identifying this

[1416] See Palmer 1963:371–372; Ventris and Chadwick 1973:484–485; and Carlier 1999:192.

Megassares as king 'of Syrians' (Συρίων), though the text has been commonly emended to read, again, 'of Hyrians' ('Υρίεων).[1417] In any event, we read that Sandocus of Celenderis and his wife Pharnace, daughter of king Megassares, produce a son – Cinyras, that one who is the *knr* 'Lyre Man'. The constructed eponym of the Cinyradae, priestly musicians of the cult of Paphian Aphrodite, is given an Anatolian homeland. Pseudo-Apollodorus then adds that Cinyras 'arrived in Cyprus together with a warrior horde' (ἐν Κύπρῳ παραγενόμενος σὺν λαῷ) and founded Paphos.

In his aforementioned study, Franklin (2006:46n21, 51) calls attention to the fact that the Cinyradae played a prophetic role, to judge by Tacitus' remarks at *Histories* 2.3–4.[1418] The Roman historian digresses in his remarks on Vespasian's activities in the eastern Mediterranean to describe the rites of the priests of the cult of Paphian Aphrodite, including oracular performance, to which Vespasian's son Titus made recourse. Tacitus writes that the divinatory procedure (reading of entrails)[1419] had been introduced to the cult by Tamiras, a Cilician, and that, by Tacitus' own day, the oracular procedure was solely the purview of the Cinyradae. In light of the priestly status of the Cinyradae, the presence of Linear B *ki-nu-ra* on a tablet of the Qa series is notable.

[1417] It seems a particularly curious emendation. See, *inter alia*, Frazer 1907:37–38.

[1418] See also Franklin 2016, Chapter 16.

[1419] Concerning which see Burkert 1992:49 and 182n16.

Tacitus continues: at an earlier time, however, the descendants of Tamiras had served equally as divinatory priests. The lexicographer Hesychius (T 107) knows the term *Tamiradae* (i.e. *Tamirádai* [Ταμιράδαι]), which he glosses as ἱερεῖς τινες ἐν Κύπρῳ 'certain priests in Cyprus'.

14.6. Cypriot Greek Tamirádai (Ταμιράδαι) *and Luvo-Hittite Dammara-*

In the case of Cilician Tamaris we must again be dealing with a personified figure made to be eponym of a cult office. The claimed Anatolian (Cilician) origin of the ancestor of the Cypriot Tamiradae has drawn the Hittite term *dammara-* into discussions of the Cypriot Greek priesthood. The Hittite word is almost certainly borrowed from Luvian: it is attested with Luvian morphology (*dammaranza*; accusative plural; Tischler 1991:71); and Melchert[1420] points out that Hittite texts in which the form *dammara-* occurs tend to have Luvian associations. More than fifty years ago, Neumann invoked *dammara-* in a discussion of Cilician lexemes evidenced in Greek and Roman texts, Cypriot *Tamira-* being one (1961:36–37).[1421] In his lexicographical treatment of Hittite *dammara-,* Tischler (1991:71, following Neumann) draws attention to *Tamiradae*

[1420] Personal correspondence; 28 January 2015.

[1421] Neumann cites as earlier work on the cult office Sommer and Ehelolf 1930 (within which see Ehelolf 1930:152 and 155). See more recently, citing Neumann, Arbeitman 2000. See also Egetmeyer 2010:289.

and to the Hieroglyphic Luvian form *tamaruna* which occurs on one of the KULULU lead strips, accounting documents found at Kululu (perhaps Artulu or Tuna in antiquity) dating to the mid to late eighth century BC (CHLI 2.510).[1422]

Uchitel has noted the similarity between KULULU lead strip 2, inventorying distributions of sheep, and various Linear B inventories, especially Pylos tablet Fn 187, which he would characterize as "an almost exact parallel," owing, it seems, to the cult affiliation of the recipients, which include occupational groups.[1423] The Fn tablets from Pylos record the distribution of grain and other plant commodities; we have encountered this series already in, for example, our discussion of *u-po-jo(-)po-ti-ni-ja*, 'Potnia of *u-po*'. found on Fn 187 itself (in §2.2.2); we have met Fn tablets in discussions of *o-qa-wo-ni* 'warrior comrade', of *a-*64-jo* 'Asian man/men' (in §8.3.3.2, and see below, §17.4.9.2), of Aeolian patronymic adjectives (throughout Chapter Eight) – and have seen these three elements to co-occur on Fn 324 + 1031 + 1454 + frr. (§8.3.3.2). The particular document that Uchitel invokes, Fn 187 – on which 'Potnia of *u-po*' occurs – records

[1422] For succinct discussion of the documents within the greater context of Luvian inscriptions, see also Hawkins 1982:438–439, with bibliography of earlier treatments. See also Hawkins 1987 and Bryce 2009:395.

[1423] Uchitel 1988:25 and 30. See also Uchitel 1985:115–116.

provisions made to cult figures who perhaps take part in a three-day festival,[1424] to which we return just below. The Hieroglyphic Luvian KULULU lead strip 2 details sheep offered to the statues of several cities (these "seem to comprise the core of this document" [Hawkins 1987:147]), as well as to named persons and unnamed members of occupational groups. Entry §1.7 reads: 20 OVIS–*na* ˡ*ma-mi-ia ta-ma-ru-na* '20 sheep to Mamis [a personal name] *tamaruna*'. But here, Hawkins (1987:149) suggests, *tamaruna*, as well as *sarkuna* in entry §3.19, "look suspiciously like infinitives." He continues: "Even if they are such however, they may still perform the same function of indicating the occupation of the recipient."[1425] This is a point to which we shall return in Chapter Twenty.

14.6.1 Linear B du-ma

Into this Anatolian and Cypriot nexus, Linear B lexemes insinuated themselves as early as Morpurgo 1958. Mycenaean tablets from both Pylos and Knossos attest the

[1424] So Killen 2001:440; on the tablet see also Palmer 1963:231–233; Duhoux 2011:27; Hiller 2011:179 and 191–193.

[1425] See also CHLI 1:487–489.

term *du-ma*, plural *du-ma-te*.[1426] Beside these occur compound forms at Pylos: *me-ri-du-ma-te* and, once, *po-ro-du-ma-te*, found on tablets in the An series and the Fn series, the latter of which we have just revisited.[1427] The An series, lists of various Pylian personnel, is that one that we met in Chapter Eight in discussions of the An warrior tablets. Also at Pylos, there occur variant compounds formed in *-da-ma-te* (rather than *-du-ma-te*; on these see below, §20.2.2). The Linear B spellings have been interpreted phonetically as *dumar*, *dumartes* and *-damartes*,[1428] beside which, as we have seen, occurs a Luvo-Hittite *dammara-*.[1429] Linear B *du-ma/da-ma* is unambiguously a term used to

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[1426] Singular: KN Cg 1030 + 7055 and Cg 1039; PY An 192 + fr.; plural PY Jn 829. Also dative singular *]du-ma-ti* on Pylos tablet On 300 + fr. + 375 + 1074 + 1446 (see below, §20.2.2.1, regarding its Special Mycenaean status).

[1427] *Me-ri-du-ma-te*: An 39; An 424 + fr.; An 427; An 594; Fn 50 + fr. (here misspelled as *me-ri-du-te*); along with dative plural *me-ri-du-ma-ṣi* on Fn 867. *Po-ro-du-ma-te* appears on Fn 50 + fr.

[1428] This is the phonetic interpretation typically assigned and that one adopted for the discussions in the current work.

[1429] See Morpurgo 1958:324, where she addresses the possibility of a Hittite connection within a greater Indo-European context: "Dato il parallelismo del significato del termine ittito col termine miceneo si prospetta la possibilità di una comune derivazione ario-europea, e in questo ci assiste anche la forma sanscrita *dāraḥ* da **dm̥̄-ro- . . . .*" Here Mycenaean *du-ma/da-ma* is compared with post-Mycenaean *dámar* (δάμαρ 'wife, spouse'), plural *dámartes* (δάμαρτες), a nominal derivative of the verb root of *damázō*

denote some type of official of significant rank.[1430] Based on the nature of the tablets in which the term occurs and the other individuals mentioned in conjunction with the *du-ma-te*, the office has been often understood to have a religious function: thus, *inter alia*, Lejeune (1958:194) judges that, given other titles with which it co-occurs, *meridumate* could be the title of a cult official ("Les termes les plus fréquemment associés au mot étudié pourraient désigner des fonctions de desservants de temples") and, again, that (1965:22) "*meridumate* et *poridumate* [sic] appartiennent à la catégorie des menus desservants de sanctuaire";[1431] Olivier (1960:37–45) likewise contends that the *du-ma-te* belong to a set of sanctuary functionaries ("liste de desservants de sanctuaire"); Palmer (1969:415) characterizes the *du-ma-te* as having "temple connexions;" Palaima (2004:225) refers to *du-ma* as a "potentially religious title." Individuals identified by

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(δαμάζω) 'to subdue, overpower'. See too the remarks of Ruijgh 1967:384–385. Lexically distinct from *du-ma/da-ma* is the form *da-ma-te* on Pylos tablet En 609, which was once interpreted as the name of the goddess *Dēmḗtēr* (Δημήτηρ) 'Demeter' but appears to have a sense such as 'households' (and perhaps lying behind an abbreviation *DA*), and which could then just possibly be a Mycenaean precursor to Homeric *dámar* 'wife, spouse'.

[1430] See, *inter alia*, Lejeune 1958:187–201; 1965:21–23; Ruijgh 1967:384–385; 1987:299–322; Aura Jorro 1985:195–196 (with extensive bibliography); Chadwick 1988:71–73.

[1431] See also Aura Jorro 1985:439–440; 1993:145–146.

Linear B *ki-nu-ra* and *du-ma/da-ma* may coincide in the sphere of religious function as Cypriot Cinyradae and Tamiradae coincide in the function of divinatory ritual.

14.6.2 Me-ri-du-ma-te and Honey in the Linear B records

The case for the compound terms *me-ri-du-ma-te* and *po-ro-du-ma-te* naming cult functionaries forms an element of Killen's 2001 proposal to identify the Fn series of tablets from Pylos as records of grain, olives and figs made to cult personnel during their participation in festivals of three-days and five-days duration (and possibly one-day as well). The former of these, *me-ri-du-ma-te*, is typically construed as designating, in some sense, 'honey-*dumartes*' (from *méli* [μέλι] 'honey'; Linear *B me-ri*). The sense of the latter term, *po-ro-du-ma-te*, is more uncertain; proposals for the interpretation of *po-ro-* have included these: *pollo-* (πολλο-) 'many'; *pro-* (προ-) 'in the place of'; *spóro-* (σπόρο-) 'sowing, seed'; *pôlo-* (πῶλο-) 'colt'.[1432] We will explore an alternative interpretation in Chapter Twenty (see especially §20.2.1 and §20.3.1).

Honey, the sphere of the *me-ri-du-ma-te*, is a staple cult commodity in the Mycenaean records, as seen, for example, in the Gg series from Knossos, in which quantities of honey are offered to 'All Gods' and to Potnia *da-pu$_2$-ri-to-jo* (Gg 702); to

[1432] For bibliography associated with each of these proposals, see Aura Jorro 1993:145–146.

Poseidon (Gg 704); to Eleuthia (Gg 705).[1433] Also from Crete – Chania tablet Gq 5, one of the more recent, and somewhat surprising, Linear B finds, records offerings of honey made to the sanctuary of Zeus and to Zeus and Dionysus.[1434] The honey recipient Potnia *da-pu$_2$-ri-to-jo* of Knossos tablet Gg 702 is a deity that we encountered in Chapter Five (see especially §5.2, §5.2.1, and §5.2.2), where we saw her to be specified also as a recipient of textile materials, on Knossos tablet Oa 745 + 7374. We also considered arguments that point to her identification as a Potnia of the Labyrinth; in other words, lying behind the Linear B genitive *da-pu$_2$-ri-to-jo* is a Mycenaean form *dabúrinthos* (δαβύρινθος) that exists beside later-attested *labúrinthos* (λαβύρινθος) 'labyrinth'. Concerning the here envisioned *d ~ l* alternation, that alternation seen in the Hittite sovereign name *Tabarna*/*Labarna*, we also drew attention in that earlier discussion (§5.2.1) to the *d ~ l* alternation seen in *Od̲usseús* (Ὀδυσσεύς) 'Odysseus' alongside *Ol̲usseús* (Ὀλυσσεύς), *Oul̲íxēs* (Οὐλίξης), *Oul̲ixeús* (Οὐλιξεύς) and so on, with the vowel variation matching that of Lydian *Lí̲xos* (Λίξος) beside Carian *Lú̲xēs* (Λύξης). We proposed that the pair of alternations *d ~ l* and *i ~ u* may be viewed as constituting an areal linguistic feature of Indo-European Anatolia that at times finds expression in the western

[1433] See, *inter alia*, Palmer 1963:238-239; Ventris and Chadwick 1973:310–311; Chadwick 2003:124–126.

[1434] See Hallager, Vlasakis, and Hallager 1992:75–81.

Aegean. We can now add to that a further observation: the cult identifier of Mycenaean Potnia *da-pu$_2$-ri-to-jo*, who is *recipient of honey*, not only shows linguistic characteristics that appear to align the goddess areally with Anatolia, but also the term designating a Mycenaean cult functionary *associated with honey*, the *dumar* (specifically the plural *me-ri-du-ma-te* 'honey-*dumartes*)', appears to be find a counterpart in a Luvo-Hittite term for a cult functionary, *dammara-*. These are terms that we will consider in yet more linguistic detail in Chapter Twenty.

14.7. Melisseus: Bee/Honey King

Honey and bees are conspicuous in post-Mycenaean Cretan cult and myth.[1435] Diodorus Siculus (5.70.2–5) writes of the Curetes entrusting the neophyte Zeus to certain cave-dwelling nymphs of Cretan Mt. Ida who nourished the babe with honey and milk. Consequently the cave and surrounding meadows are 'consecrated' (*kathieróō* [καθιερόω]) to Zeus. Diodorus draws particular attention to following aspect of the associated myth: in order to memorialize the bees – because of his 'intimate

[1435] For a still helpful summary of bees in Greek myth, see Cook 1895, whose guidance is here followed in part.

connection' (*oikeiótēs* [οἰκειότης]) with them – Zeus gave to them a color of copper, resembling gold, and made them able to withstand cold, harsh conditions.

The mythographer Antoninus Liberalis, in book 19 of his *Metamorphoses*, rehearses a tradition that he claims to have encountered in the *Ornithogony* of an author he names as Boeus (i.e. *Boîos* [Βοῖος]). The tradition concerns the Cretan cave in which Rhea had given birth to Zeus and in which bees had nourished the deity in his infancy[1436] – bees which afterward continued to live in the cave. Succinctly – though the cave was sacred space, off-limits to both gods and mortals, on a certain occasion four men wearing protective bronze entered the cave to steal honey, but when they happened to see the cloths that had covered infant Zeus their armor split apart. An angry Zeus then turned the men into birds, from which are descended birds of augury: the *laïós* (λαϊός), a variety of thrush (seemingly the blue rock thrush);[1437] the *keleós* (κελεός) a greenish-yellow woodpecker;[1438] the *kérberos* (κέρβερος), a bird of uncertain

[1436] As mentioned by, *inter alia*, Callimachus *Hymns* 1.48–50; Diodorus Siculus 5.70.5; Virgil *Georgics* 4.149–152; see the discussion of Larson 2001:187, with notes.

[1437] See Arnott 2007:129–130, with bibliography.

[1438] See Arnott 2007:89, with bibliography

identity; and the small owl called the *aigōliós* (αἰγωλιός).[1439] The conjunction of bee and bird that we find in this Cretan mythic tradition is one that going forward we will repeatedly encounter.

In *Metamorphoses* 13, Antoninus Liberalis summarizes another bee tradition, crediting as his source the *Heteroioumena* of the Hellenistic poet Nicander of Colophon – a tradition that forms an element of a foundation *mûthos*. It concerns *Meliteus* (*Meliteús* [Μελιτεύς]), a son of Zeus and a nymph identified as Othreis (*Othrēís* [’Οθρηίς]) – that is, a nymph of Othrys, the Thessalian mount (a nymph having the same designation is elsewhere said to be the mother of Aeolus, Dorus, and Xuthus, the sons of Hellen [Hellanicus fr. 125 FGrH]). Othreis abandoned her infant son in the wilderness, but through Zeus’ intervention bees kept the babe alive. A shepherd – another son of Othreis (fathered by Apollo) – found the exposed baby and gave him his name *Meliteus*, διότι ὑπὸ <u>μελισσῶν</u> ἐτράφη ‘because he was nourished by <u>bees</u>’ [*mélissai* (μέλισσαι)/*mélittai* (μέλιτται)] (*Metamorphoses* 13.2). When grown, Meliteus founded the city of Melite (*Melítē* [Μελίτη]) in Phthia, that region of southern Thessaly home to

[1439] See Arnott 2007:6, with bibliography. On the four birds see also the short commentary of Celoria 1992:158–159.

Achilles and the Myrmidons. The Aeolian link to the bee-and-honey tradition here is interesting and not unique, as we shall see.

14.7.1. Greek Mélissa (μέλισσα) 'Bee'

A brief word about the Greek words for 'bee', *mélissa* (μέλισσα, Attic *mélitta* [μέλιττα]) and 'honey', *méli,* genitive *mélit-os* (μέλι, μέλιτ-ος) and their Proto-Indo-European etymon *melit- 'honey'. Reflexes of Proto-Indo-European *melit- are widespread and include, *inter alia*, the following, all bearing the meaning 'honey': Hittite *militt-* and Luvian *mallit-*; Armenian *mełr*; Latin *mel*; Old Irish *mil* and Welsh *mêl*; Gothic *miliþ*. The Greek derived form *mélissa* 'bee'[1440] finds a semantic counterpart in Sanskrit *madhu-lih-* 'bee', built on the root *medhu-, also denoting 'honey' as well as providing the name of the fermented drink made from honey (see, *inter alia*, §18.3.3, §21.3.2.4, §22.3.5.7, and §22.3.5.8). Literally, Sanskrit *madhu-lih-* is 'honey licker' and a corresponding, *mutatis mutandis*, Greek compound *meli-lkh-yă has been proposed, but

[1440] A ø-grade derivative survives in the Greek verb *blíttō* (βλίττω), from *mlit-ye/o-, 'to cut out the honeycomb; steal honey'.

Greek *mélissa* is more likely simply from *melit-yă (compare Armenian *mełu* 'bee').[1441] Primitive Indo-European *melit- appears to have been borrowed into Finno-Ugric prehistorically, thus Hungarian *méz*, Finnish *mesi*/*meti*, Mordvin *ḿed´*.[1442]

14.7.2. Cretan and Aeolian Melisseus

In his account of the infancy of Zeus, Pseudo-Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca* 1.5) identifies a Cretan figure called *Melisseus* (*Melisseús* [Μελισσεύς]), whose two nymph daughters, Adrastia and Ida, nursed newborn Zeus.[1443] Hyginus (*Astronomica* 2.13.3.9–11) attributes to the Alexandrian grammarian Parmeniscus the report that Melisseus was a king of Crete – and, again, with daughters who nursed Zeus, hidden away in a Cretan cave. Melisseus also appears in Boeotia; Nicander, *Theriaca* 10b–12, writes of Hesiod's reported claim that venomous creatures are descended from the Titans:

[1441] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1927:296; Chantraine 1968:681–682; Lehmann 1986:255–256; Melchert 1993b:132–133; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:517; Mallory and Adams 1997:57–58, 271; Watkins 2011:55.

[1442] See, *inter alia*, Bomhard and Kerns 1994:666 (with bibliography); Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:524; Witzel 2003:13.

[1443] Thus also Zenobius (the second-century AD paroemiographer) *Epitome collectionum Lucilli Tarrhaei et Didymi* 2.48.

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. . . εἰ ἐτεόν περ 10

Ἀσκραῖος μυχάτοιο Μελισσήεντος ἐπ' ὄχθαις

Ἡσίοδος κατέλεξε παρ' ὕδασι Περμησσοῖο.

. . . . if in fact truly 10

he spoke upon the heights of inmost Melisseeis,

Ascraean Hesiod, by the waters of Permessus.[1444]

A scholiast on the lines writes that the locale on Mt. Helicon in Boeotia where Hesiod encountered the Muses is called *Melisseeis* (*Melisseeis* [Μελισσήεις]) and that it was so named after Melisseus who ruled the place.[1445] Hesychius (M 718) identifies a *Zeus Melissaeus* (*Melissaîos* [Μελισσαῖος]).

Diodorus Siculus (17.7.4–5 and 5.64.3–5) asserts that Mt. Ida in the Troad was named after Ida the daughter of Melisseus, and that on that Anatolian mountain were born and lived for a while the Idaean Dactyls,[1446] before they 'crossed over' (*diabaínō* [διαβαίνω]) to Europe from Phrygia, together with Mygdon (presumably intended is

[1444] Similarly Colluthus *Abduction of Helen* 23–24.

[1445] *Scholia et glossae in Nicandri theriaca* (*scholia vetera et recentiora* [= Crugnola 1971]) 11c.

[1446] For recent treatment of the Idaean Dactyls, see Blakely 2006:14–15 and *passim*, with bibliography.

the Phrygian king by that name mentioned at *Iliad* 3.186). The Idaean Dactyls, continues Diodorus, were the first to work iron, a process they learned from the Mother of the Gods – Phrygian Cybele, that is – and were teachers of Orpheus. They were *góētes* (γόητες) 'sorcerers' who practiced τάς τε ἐπῳδὰς καὶ τελετὰς καὶ μυστήρια 'spells and initiation rites and mysteries'. They spent time in Samothrace and subsequently came to reside around the other Mt. Ida, that one in Crete associated with the birthplace of Zeus. Some mythic accounts, reports Diodorus (5.65.1–4), make the Curetes to be descendants of the Idaean Dactyls. The Curetes, he continues, not only served as protectors of infant Zeus but 'discovered and made known' (*katadeíknumi* [καταδείκνυμι]) many useful things, among which is listed *melissourgía* (μελισσουργία) 'bee-keeping'.

14.7.3. Anatolian Melisseus and Triopas

Diodorus Siculus (5.61.1) also places a king called *Melisseus* in western coastal Anatolia, on the promontory of Caria, the Cherronesus, northeast of the island of Rhodes. It is on this peninsula that the town of Cnidus (*Knídos* [Κνίδος]) is located, a place that we encountered earlier in our mention of references to women who are *ki-ni-di-ja* 'of Cnidus', found on Pylos tablets Aa 792, Ab 189, Ad 683, and An 292 (see §8.4; see

also below, §15.2.2). The last of these belongs to that same series on which occur references to the *me-ri-du-ma-te* 'honey-*dumartes* (An 39, An 424 + fr., An 427, and An 594).[1447] We can add that Cnidus is a site at which Mycenaean as well as Protogeometric and Geometric finds have been recovered.[1448]

In the last several sections we have witnessed intertwining strands that weave a Cretan and Aeolian mythic web, as we have indeed in previous chapters. In Diodorus' account of king Melisseus of the Carian peninsula it is fully on display. Here is the tradition (Diodorus Siculus 5.60.1–5.61.3). At some early moment, the peninsula was ruled by a king who was himself called Cherronesus. Not much time after his reign, there arrived on the peninsula five Curetes who had sailed from Crete. These were descendants of the Curetes who had been placed as protectors around the honey-nourished infant Zeus (see below, §14.8.4; see also §15.3.5). The five drove out the Carians from the Cherronesus and each founded an eponymously named city. Not much later, Io, daughter of the Argive king Inachus, disappeared, beginning her Hera-tormented flight eastward in bovine form. Inachus sent out Cyrnus, one of his chief warriors, together with a notable force of warriors, to find Io, commanding Cyrnus not

[1447] With *me-ri-da-ma-te* on An 207 + 360 + 1163 + fr. + 279 + 449; see the discussions of §20.2.2 and §20.2.2.1)

[1448] See Vanschoonwinkel 2006:135 and 137, with bibliography.

to return without her. After much seeking, Cyrnus landed in the Cherronesus and made the decision to abandon the search for Io and to settle in that place, founding a city that he named after himself.

Subsequent to this (Diodorus Siculus 5.61.1), Triopas (*Triópas* [Τριόπας]), one of the Heliadae (the seven sons of Helios and the sea nymph Rhodos),[1449] arrived in the Cherronesus, fleeing Rhodes after he had murdered Tenages, one of his brothers; also implicated in the homicide were the brothers Macar (see Homer *Iliad* 24.544), Candalus, and Actis, who fled to Lesbos, Cos, and Egypt, respectively (see 5.57.2–5).[1450] In the Cherronesus Triopas was purified by the king named *Melisseus*. Triopas then sailed west to Thessaly where he fought together with the "sons of Deucalion" against the Pelasgians, driving these out of Thessaly. Deucalion is of course the postdiluvial Man, father of Hellen, father of Aeolus, Dorus, and Xuthus (see above, §11.5.1). The ethnic denotation *Pelasgian* (the *Pelasgoí* [Πελασγοί]) is generally understood to refer to a pre-Greek people of Greece, especially associated with Thessaly,[1451] as we saw in Chapter Six (§6.6.2.4). Awareness of a diachronic Pelasgian stratum in the Balkan peninsula is commonplace in Greek communal memory (see, for instance, Herodotus 2.56.1 and

[1449] See also Hellanicus fr. 137 FGrH; Joannes Tzetzes *Chiliades* 4.137.

[1450] See also *Scholia in Iliadem* (*scholia vetera* [= Erbse 1969–1988]) 24.544c.

[1451] Pausanias (2.22.1) gives the name *Triopas* to the father of Pelasgus.

8.44.2),[1452] but they also appear in eastern Aegean traditions. Strabo (13.3.3), citing Menecrates of Elaea (fr. 1 FHG), records the tradition that Pelasgians had once inhabited the entire Ionian coast, starting from Mycale; Strabo here further invokes traditions regarding Pelasgian origins on Lesbos and Chios (and see Strabo 5.2.4). We took note in Chapter Nine of Pelasgians listed in the Iliadic catalogue of Trojan *epíkouroi* from Anatolia (see §9.4 and §9.4.1).

Triopas then settled in Thessaly, on the Dotian Plains (Diodorus Siculus 5.61.2–3), named after, as noted earlier (see §13.2.1), "Dotis the Boeotian," mother of Phlegyas, whom Lycus and Nycteus slew (see above, §14.3). When Triopas violated a grove sacred to Demeter,[1453] however, he had to flee from Thessaly, 'together with his co-sailing warrior horde' (μετὰ τῶν συμπλευσάντων λαῶν) and returned to the Cherronesus, to the area of Cnidus. There he founded the city of Triopium[1454] and by might he gained control of much of the peninsula and of adjoining Caria. Pausanias (10.11.1) can

[1452] See, for a helpful summary, Katičić 1976:16–22.

[1453] See also Callimachus *Hymns* 6.31–117. For Callimachus it is Erysichthon, the son of Triopas, who is responsible for despoiling Demeter's grove. Similarly Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8.751–884; *Scholia in Lycophronem* (*scholia vetera* [= Leone 2002]) 1393a.

[1454] On the eponymy of this place see also Aelius Herodianus *De prosodia catholica* 3,1.365; Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* 19.194; *Etymologicum Magnum* 766.

identify Triopas as the founder of Cnidus. Dieuchidas of Megara (fr. 7 FHG; fourth century BC) preserves the tradition that following the death of Triopas some of his followers returned to the Dotian Plains; other factions followed his sons elsewhere – Phorbas to Ialysus and Periergus to Camirus (both on Rhodes).

As an addendum to this account, Diodorus (5.61.3) notes other traditions of the parentage of Triopas. According to one his father was not Helios but Poseidon and his mother was Canace (*Kanákē* [Κανάκη]; spelled *Kanákhē* [Κανάχη] by Diodorus),[1455] the daughter of Aeolus (son of Hellen). Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 1.53 (where he is called *Triops* [*Tríops* (Τρίοψ)])[1456] and Callimachus *Hymns* 6.96–100 [1457] attest the same genealogy. By another account Triopas was the son of Lapithes (son of Apollo and the nymph Stilbe, daughter of the Thessalian river deity Peneus).[1458] Elsewhere (4.69.1–2) Diodorus identifies this Lapithes as the brother of Centaurus: the two are, respectively,

[1455] See also *Scholia in Aristophanem* (*scholia vetera* [= Dübner 1969]) *Frogs* 849.

[1456] For this form of the name see also *Scholia in Theocritum* (*scholia vetera* [= Wendel 1914]) 17.68/69b, where he is identified as a king of Cos.

[1457] See also *Scholia in Hymnos* (*scholia vetera* [= Pfeiffer 1949–1953]) 6.99.

[1458] See also Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (= van der Valk 1971–1987) 1.515 and 3.364; *Scholia in Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* (*scholia vetera* [= Wendel 1935]) 10.40–41; *Scholia in Iliadem* (*scholia vetera* [=Erbse 1969–1988]) 1.266–268; *Scholia in Iliadem* (*scholia recentiora Theodori Meliteniotis* [= Nicole 1966]) 12.181.

the progenitors of the Lapiths and the Centaurs. The Lapiths, whom we first met in §6.6.2.4, are a people of northern Thessaly who are themselves credited with driving the Pelasgians out of that region (as in Strabo 9.5.22). By either alternative genealogy, there remains a core Aeolian/Thessalian link to Triopas. In his account of the settlement of Lesbos, Diodorus (5.81.1–6) identifies Xanthus, a son of Triopas, as a Pelasgian king who initially settled the island, after having first settled in Lycia. The island was later settled by colonists led by Lesbos, identified as a son of Lapithes, who is here said to be a son of Aeolus, son of Hippotes (on Hippotes, husband of Melanippe, see §11.5.1).[1459]

This narrative set of foundation and conquest *mûthoi* stretching from the arrival of the Cretan Curetes in Caria through the return of Triopas to the Cherronesus, into which the bee-honey Melisseus has been fitted as an active agent in the passage of

[1459] A Triopas is also associated with Argive tradition. Pausanias (2.16.1), for example, offers the genealogy: Argos → Peirasus and Phorbas; Phorbas → Triopas → Iasus and Agenor; for Diodorus Siculus (4.58.7) Phorbas is likewise father of Triopas. See also Augustine *City of God* 18.11 (Triopas ruled the Argives at the time that Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt). Pausanias (4.1.1, 4.3.9, 4.26.8, 4.27.6, 4.31.11) identifies Messene, eponym of Messenia, as daughter of Argive Triopas. At 7.26.13 Pausanias makes reference to Triopas as *father* of Phorbas (in contrast to 2.16.1), as one also finds in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (211–213), where both *Triopas* and *Triops* appear.

Triopas from Anatolia to Thessaly, from which he will then sail back to Anatolia, must certainly be a record of salient interregional experience preserved in a Greek communal memory of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages. The described back and forth between Crete, western coastal Anatolia, and Thessaly is faithful reflection of the data we have examined from Linear B tablets. The *hek*^{w}*etai*, allied foreign warriors with connections to western coastal Anatolia, the women from Cnidus at Pylos, the Miletians at Thebes, the honey cult officiants at Pylos and Knossos all harmonize with this mythic picture of cross-Aegean intercourse. This is an integrated pattern, a featural nexus that replicates, for example, the foundation tradition of Magnesia on the Maeander, and one that we will see to continue to reveal itself.

14.8. Trophonius and Agamedes

Boeotia boasts an oracular seat at Lebadea that, much as with Apollo's oracular Maidens of Parnassus, whom we will meet in Chapter Eighteen, has a cult etiology that is crucially linked to divinatory bee behavior. It is the oracle of Trophonius, one who along with his brother Agamedes, according to one of the earliest surviving reports of the two, is said to have built the lower element of Apollo's first Delphic temple (the second temple according to Strabo 9.3.9, the fourth according to Pausanias 10.5.13).

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That report just mentioned is to be found in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (294–299), where the brothers are said to be the sons of Erginus, the king of the Boeotian city of Orchomenus. Pausanias (9.37.4–5) qualifies this genealogy, writing that Trophonius is the son of Apollo, rather than of Erginus, who is father of Agamedes alone: this is, of course, yet again the familiar Indo-European scenario of divine twins – one of whom is actually fathered by a god, the other by a mortal. In the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* we read (fr. 157 Most) that Trophonius is the son of Apollo, by Epicaste: in his treatment of the fragment, West (1985b:6) suggests that "the Hesiodic account may have been that Epicaste was married to Erginus, that he and Apollo made love to her on the same night, and that she bore twins, Trophonius from Apollo's contribution and Agamedes from her husband's. This would be parallel to the story of the birth of Heracles and Iphicles, F 195 Scut. 27–56."[1460] (see above, §12.7.3.4).

The Boeotian pair Trophonius and Agamedes immediately bring to mind the brothers Amphion and Zethus, Aeolian Dioscuri, builders of the walls of Thebes. Buck

[1460] On a variant account reported by Charax (fr. 6 FHG) that localizes Trophonius' birth in Arcadia with subsequent relocation to Boeotia, see, *inter alia*, Frazer 1898:177; Schachter 1994:72 (with bibliography). According to this tradition Agamedes is father (rather than brother) of Trophonius by Epicaste (and Cercyon is brother). One is reminded of Norse tradition in which the inherited figures of the Divine Twins are recast as father and son, Njord and Frey, respectively; see below, §22.4.1.3.

(1979:57) draws attention to the complementary geographic distribution of these two sets of Boeotian twins – Trophonius and Agamedes being localized in western Boeotia and Amphion and Zethus in eastern Boeotia, to which he adds Leucippus and Ephippus, localized in Tanagra – that is, farther east still, and slightly south.

14.8.1. Triplicity of Boeotian Divine Twins

The last-named set, Leucippus and Ephippus, represents a meagerly attested pair – and yet two more fraternal "horse" figures, onomastically: another 'White-Horse Man' and his brother 'Upon-a-Horse Man'). In *Greek Questions* 37, Plutarch reports the tradition that their father Poemander (that is, *Poímandros* [Ποίμανδρος]), ruler of Tanagra, was besieged by the Achaeans when he refused to join in the expedition against Troy. As defensive works were being constructed, the builder Polycrithus disparaged the construction, and to make his point he jumped over the defensive trench that had been excavated. In anger Poemander threw a cult stone at the builder, whom it missed, striking instead, and killing, Poemander's son Leucippus (his brother Ephippus was instrumental in negotiating a truce which allowed Poemander to leave Boeotia, for Chalcis, in order to be purified). The offending stone is here specified as one used in the Nyctelia, a night-time ritual celebrated for Dionysus at Tanagra. A

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variant tradition appears in the *Boeotica* attributed to Aristophanes (presumably Aristophanes of Boeotia, perhaps fourth century BC; see *P. Oxy.* 27.2463): here it is Ephippus who jumps over the encircling trench and is killed by his father Poemander, who had forbidden the leap.

In this tradition of Tanagra, the father of Leucippus and Ephippus, has been assigned the compound name *Poímandros* [Ποίμανδρος]) 'Shepherd/Protector of (Fighting) Men', one that echoes Asius' (fr. 2) syntagm *poimḗn laôn* (ποιμὴν λαῶν) 'shepherd/protector of the warrior horde', characterization of Epopeus. mortal father of one of the Aeolian Dioscuri. Alongside Greek *poím-andros*, Sanskrit preserves the compound *nṛ-pāyya-* 'man-protecting', with reversal of the cognatic constituents. In *Rig Veda* 2.41.7 *nṛpāyya-* is used of the 'man-protecting' *vartís-* 'circuit' driven by the divine-twin charioteers, who are here referenced as both Aśvins and Nāsatyas (and lauded for bringing both horses and cows); precisely the same usage of *nṛpāyya-* occurs at *Rig Veda* 8.9.18 and 8.26.14 and 15.[1461] The linkage of probable Aeolian reflexes of the ancestral divine twins, the brothers Leucippus and Ephippus, to *Poímandros* 'protector of men' in

[1461] In an additional occurrence, in *Rig Veda* 10.35.12, *nṛpāyya-* describes a *chardis-* 'shelter', for protection of livestock and men, as the Ādityas are addressed.

the context of a protective encircling trench points us to deeply archaic cult language preserved in this foundation tradition of Tanagra.

A fundamental similarity of this tradition to that of the slaying of a contemptuous Remus when he jumped over Romulus' Palatine walls as they were being constructed has not gone unnoticed;[1462] it is an interesting comparison, not least of all because Romulus and Remus can themselves be reasonably interpreted as structural reflexes of the primitive Indo-European divine twins.[1463] The association of Leucippus and Ephippus with construction of defenses notably aligns them both with Amphion and Zethus as builders of Thebes' walls.

14.8.2. Trophonius and Agamedes: Builders

As we witnessed just above (§14.8), Trophonius and Agamedes are builders too. They are said to have built the treasury of Hyrieus (eponym of the Boeotian city of Hyria); and it is in his account of this undertaking that Pausanias (9.37.5–7) forges a link between the builder Trophonius and his subterranean oracle at Lebadea. Like Hermes, the brothers were thieves: they constructed the treasury in such a way as to leave one

[1462] See Bremmer and Horsfall 1987:34–38, with bibliography and discussion of earlier work.

[1463] As by Dumézil 1970b:252–255.

block that could be removed; by this portal they were able to enter the structure secretly on some number of occasions and steal treasure. In this regard one is reminded of Hermes declaration of *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 178, made to his mother Maia, voiced in darkness within a cave in Arcadia, that if Apollo should come looking for him in the matter of the theft of Apollo's cattle, then he would go to Pytho μέγαν δόμον ἀντιτορήσων 'to *bore through* [Apollo's] great house', his Delphic temple, in order to rob it of tripods, lebetes, gold, iron and fine garments.[1464] In the case of the treasury of Hyrieus – in order to discover the mechanism by which his own treasure was progressively disappearing, Hyrieus set traps, and in one of these Agamedes was ensnared. To prevent his brother from being tortured and to protect his own identity, Trophonius cut off and removed the head of Agamedes. Subsequently, and consequently, the earth opened within a grove in Lebadea and took Trophonius down within it, at a site to be known as the 'pit of Agamedes' (βόθρος Ἀγαμήδους).[1465]

[1464] On which, see Allen and Woodard 2013:255.

[1465] See also Pausanias 9.39.6. Compare with this Plutarch's version of *Consolatio ad Apollonium* 14: citing Pindar, Plutarch writes that the two brothers were granted a reward by Apollo in return for the construction of his Delphic temple: death in seven-days time; similarly for Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* 1.114, with death coming on the third day after.

14.8.3. Oracle and Cult of Trophonius

Further along in his account of Boeotia (9.39.3–5), Pausanias offers a description of the Lebadean grove and of the functioning of the oracle.[1466] Lebadea is situated at the base of the north-facing slopes of Mount Helicon and along a main route to Delphi (see Euripides *Ion* 300). The grove lay along the banks of the river Hercyna. The eponym of the river, writes Pausanias, was a companion of Core (daughter of Demeter); Tzetzes (*Scholia in Lycophronem* 153) knows Hercyna to be the daughter of Trophonius: on a particular occasion Hercyna was holding a bird – a goose – that got away from her and flew into a cave; Core entered the cave in pursuit of the bird, dislodged a stone, and from the area of the cave so exposed, the source waters of the river poured out. Within the grove were situated several important features: the tomb of Arcesilaus, a Boeotian warrior slain by Hector (*Iliad* 15.329–331); an image of 'Zeus Rain-Bringer' (Ζεὺς

[1466] On other Boeotian oracular sites in the vicinity of the Copaic Lake with cults that show similarity to that of Trophonius, see Schachter 1967a and Bonnechere 1990. Plutarch, like Dicaearchus of Messana (fourth-third centuries BC) before him, authored an account of the oracle of Trophonius; neither account survives. Plutarch writes (*De defectu oraculorum* 431c–d) that his brother Lamprias was a priest of the cult of the oracle; see Frazer 1898:5:200 and recently Parker's note 198 in Nesselrath 2010:94, with references.

Ὑέτιος); a sanctuary of Demeter Europa (see above, §14.4.5), whom Pausanias identifies as the nurse of Trophonius; as well as a temple and image of Trophonius himself.[1467]

The oracle of the chthonian Trophonius was discovered by the Boeotians after consultation with the Pythian oracle of Apollo at the time of a great drought. The Pythia directed the Boeotian envoys to seek out Trophonius in Lebadea and to learn the 'remedy' (*íama* [ἴαμα]) to the drought. The envoys were initially unable to locate the oracle, but the discovery was made by the oldest of them, one Saon from the Boeotian town of Acraephnium: it is notable that Acraephnium, the city of Saon, was located near an oracle, that of Ptoan Apollo, under Theban control. The oracle of Ptoan Apollo was famed for at least on one occasion providing a response in Carian to a man called Mys (Μῦς) from Europus, after he had delivered his inquiry in that same Anatolian language, according to Herodotus (8.133–135; so also Pausanias 9.23.6); Plutarch (*Life of Aristides* 19.1–2) preserves a similar account but identifies the Carian-speaking oracle as

[1467] Pausanias here (9.39.4) observes that the image bears a similarity to images of Asclepius, after earlier (9.39.3) commenting on a pair of images found within the cave of the grove that they may be either those of Asclepius and Health or of Trophonius and Hercyna. On Boeotian Trophonius and Thessalian Asclepius, see Aston 2004. Pausanias (9.39.8; see also 9.40.3) identifies an additional image of Trophonius, one revealed only to those about to descend into the shrine of Trophonius, said to be the work of Daedalus.

that of Trophonius (cf. *De defectu oraculorum* 412A). This man Saon followed a swarm of bees and saw them entering a hole in the ground – the opening to the oracle. Descending within the earth, Saon encountered Trophonius and from the god learned the rites of the oracle (Pausanias 9.40.1–2). These (largely) subterranean rites Pausanias (9.39.3–14) rehearses in considerable detail (affirming to have consulted the oracle himself).

There are certain preparatory rites that an inquirer of the oracle must first perform (Pausanias 9.39.5–6). While spending some number of days in a 'house' (*oíkēma* [οἴκημα]) sacred to the Good Daemon and Good Fortune he must forego warm baths in favor of ablutions in the river Hercyna. He must offer sacrifices to several deities: notably to Trophonius and 'to the sons of Trophonius' (Τροφωνίου τοῖς παισί), and also to Apollo, to Cronus, to Zeus Basileus, to Hera Henioche, and to Demeter Europa (nurse of Trophonius); the entrails of the victims are read for their divinatory import by a *mántis* (μάντις). But the single most important sacrifice in this regard is that made on the night when the inquirer is to descend into the shrine of Trophonius: a ram is sacrificed over a 'pit' (βόθρος) while calling upon Agamedes, decapitated brother of Trophonius – a ritual conjuring of the locus of Trophonius' disappearance within the earth.

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14.8.4. Trophoniads and their Cohort

Pausanias' Τροφωνίου παῖδες 'sons of Trophonius' to whom sacrifice is made are almost certainly to be identified with the Trophiniads that Plutarch mentions in his *De facie in orbe lunae*. In a comment characterizing the 'better *daemons*' (i.e. those who come down from the moon 'to take charge of oracles' [χρηστηρίων . . . ἐπιμελησόμενοι]; who conspicuously are present at and celebrate rites of mysteries; and so on), Plutarch offers an exemplary set composed of these members (944d):

> Οἵ τε περὶ τὸν Κρόνον ὄντες ἔφασαν αὐτοὺς εἶναι καὶ πρότερον ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ τοὺς Ἰδαίους Δακτύλους, ἔν τε Φρυγίᾳ τοὺς Κορύβαντας γενέσθαι καὶ τοὺς περὶ Βοιωτίαν ἐν † Οὐδώρα Τροφωνιάδας καὶ μυρίους ἄλλους πολλαχόθι τῆς οἰκουμένης· . . . .

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> Those who attend Cronus[1468] say that they themselves belong [to this set]; and formerly in Crete the Idaean Dactyls [were]; and in Phrygia the Corybantes were; and in regard to Boeotia, in Udora the Trophoniads were; and a myriad others inhabiting many places; . . . .

This localization of the Trophoniads to a Boeotian Udora (that is, *Oudōra* [Οὐδώρα])[1469] is both enigmatic and intriguing.

Earlier in this chapter (see §14.7.2) we encountered the Idaean Dactyls and saw that tradition links them both to Anatolian Mt. Ida, bearing the name of Ida who was daughter of Melisseus (she who nursed infant Zeus), and to Cretan Mt. Ida, often identified as the site of the cave in which Zeus was nourished by nymphs and bees. We also noted that Diodorus Siculus (5.65.1) knows them to be related paternally or ancestrally to the Curetes who guarded baby Zeus. Pausanias (5.7.6) identifies the Idaean Dactyls as the protectors of young Zeus and equates them with the Curetes.

[1468] In 942a Plutarch identifies these as those daemons who honor and serve Cronus, as he lies bound by Zeus with sleep, having been his comrades when he had 'ruled as *basileus*' (βασιλεύω) of gods and men. On Cronus *basileus*, see the comments in Chapter Fifteen.

[1469] Editorial emendation of manuscript Οὐδώρα to Λεβαδείᾳ (rather than to Οὐδώρᾳ) is without justification: see, *inter alia*, comments of Bonnechere 2003a:124n85.

Concerning the Curetes, Strabo (10.3.7) writes of 'the Cretan and Phrygian traditions' (τὰ Κρητικὰ καὶ τὰ Φρύγια) that have been 'handed down' (παραδίδωμι) and 'interwoven' (ἐμπλέκω) with various 'rites' (ἱερουγίαι) concerning the 'upbringing' (παιδοτροφία) of Zeus on Crete and rites concerning the Mother of the Gods in Phrygia and around Mt. Ida in the Troad. Regarding such traditions and rites, he observes:

> Τοσαύτη δ' ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις ποικιλία, τῶν μὲν τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοῖς Κουρῆσι τοὺς Κορύβαντας καὶ Καβείρους καὶ Ἰδαίους δακτύλους καὶ Τελχῖνας ἀποφαινόντων, τῶν δὲ συγγενεῖς ἀλλήλων καὶ μικράς τινας αὐτῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφορὰς διαστελλομένων, ...

> And the patterned varieties in these [interwoven, ritual] discourses are such that some show that the Corybantes, and Cabiri, and Idaean Dactyls and Telchines are the same as the Curetes, and some that they are related to one another and distinguishing each other by certain small differences, ...

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Common to this group, Strabo adds, is a certain quality of being *enthousiastikós* (ἐνθουσιαστικός) 'divinely inspired' and *Bákkhios* (Βάκχιος) 'frenzied'.[1470] It is to such a set of beings that Plutarch adds the "sons of Trophonius." In Strabo's lines, *Corybantes* (*Korúbantes* [Κορύβαντες]) designates the ecstatic priests of Phrygian Cybele, who were commonly assimilated to the Curetes as guardians of infant Zeus, as already by Euripides (see *Bacchae* 120–134).[1471] But if Cybele draws the Corybantes to Phrygia, as Fowler (2013:52) underscores, epigraphic evidence focuses them in Cos, Rhodes, and Crete, and "onomastics provide further evidence that the Korybantes were at home in southwestern Anatolia." We encountered the Telchines above (see §14.4.5), as we considered Demeter Europa and Athena Telchinia at Teumessus in Boeotia.[1472] The Telchines, Strabo (14.2.7) reports, were the first workers of bronze and iron, fabricating the cycle that Cronus used to emasculate Uranus. They were shape-shifters and

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[1470] See also Eustathius *Commentarii as Homeri Iliadem* (= van der Valk 1971–1987) 2.788.

[1471] On the Corybantes, see Blakely 2006:19–27; Blakely (p. 19) notes that the Corybantes "have no association with metallurgy; they share with the Kouretes and Daktyloi the myth of attendance on the infant Zeus, and are iconographically identical to the Kouretes as armed warriors." See also, *inter alia*, Fowler 2013:51–53.

[1472] On the Telchines, see especially Blakely 2006:15–16, 20–31, 95–97, 152–165, 215–239. See also Fowler 2013:45–49; Woodard 2014:188, 259, and 299.

sorcerers too, according to Diodorus Siculus (5.55.3), who could be compared to Persian Magi. The Telchines also would assimilate to the Zeus-protecting Curetes (Strabo 10.3.19).[1473]

14.9. Some Interpretative Conclusions

The conspicuousness of Aeolian-affiliated twins that we have encountered in the three chapters that precede (concerned with Metapontium and Magnesia on the Maeander) continues to present itself through still further iterations of those figures at locales *within* Boeotia. These too are twins fundamentally associated with foundation traditions: Amphion and Zethus in Thebes; Trophonius and Agamedes with Lebadea; Leucippus and Ephippus at Tanagra; and perhaps Cabirus and his son, again in Thebes. In the case of Trophonius and Agamedes the foundation *mûthos* to which they are attached concerns the foundation of cult, not city, though the brothers are styled no less as master builders. Much the same can be said of Cabirus and his son (approximating Hermes and Pan), if they are to be included within the divine-twins set of reflexes, to the extent that the Cabiri (called "sons of Hephaestus") are generally associated with fabrication, having been integrated into a somewhat heterogeneous

[1473] See also, *inter alia*, *Scholia in Aratum* (*scholia vetera* [= Martin 1974]) 39.

collection of divine beings who excel in the *tékhnai* (τέχναι) of metal smithing and clever sorcery, and who bring their skills into Balkan Greece from Asia.

In Late-Bronze-Age Hellas, Thebes was one of the centers of Mycenaean palace society, with connections to western coastal Anatolia. Thebes was a locus of Bronze-Age Greek literacy. By the Homeric Iron Age the foundation *mûthos* of Thebes was presented as one in which Aeolian Dioscuri played the principal role. The founding "white-horse" twins, Amphion and Zethus, contrast with one another in a manner consistent with the primitive Indo-European divine twins. In an expression of this contrastiveness, their fabrication of the walls of Thebes is accomplished not only by manual labor, through the super-human physical prowess of Zethus, but by the intelligent skill of Amphion's wizardry. His is a craft that bears the stamp of Asia, accomplished with a musical implement, the lyre that carries the lexical signifier assigned to it across the Near East, Anatolia, Egypt – and Cyprus: a name that appears to have already reached Mycenaean Balkan Hellas. It is a name associated with a priestly guild evidenced in Cyprus, Luvo-Hittite Asia Minor, and Mycenaean Greece. If the Theban foundation tradition that Homer knows was already current in Late-Bronze-Age Hellas, the lyre, and the imported Asian technical achievement that it represents, may well have already been a part of that tradition.

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At Tanagra a tradition that entails the establishment of another kind of protective barrier replicates the structure of the Theban foundation *mûthos*. Here Leucippus – remarkably yet another Leucippus with Aeolian affiliations – and his brother Ephippus (rather than an Evippus), "horse figures" both, are principal actors in a tradition that narrowly focuses on the construction of a defensive circuit and associated differences – a strife that results in filicide. Here technical competence is again accentuated, but from a negative perspective as doubt is cast upon the efficacy of the constructed barrier. The significant antiquity of the germ of the Tanagran tradition is suggested by Vedic cult poetry dedicated to the Aśvins as it relates to the *mûthos* of Poemander and the man-protecting circuit, and by the Roman mythic tradition of Romulus and Remus regarding the protective circuit of the Palatine.

The conjoining of technical accomplishment with divine-twin reflexes is prominently on display in the case of Trophonius (son of Apollo) and Agamedes (son of mortal Erginus). They are master builders, whom Pausanias (9.37.5) can describe as *deinoí* (δεινοί) 'formidably skillful' at 'constructing' (*kataskeuázō* [κατασκευάζω]) temples for gods and palaces for humans. Here again we find an element of fraternal discordance, to the extent that Trophonius will decapitate his ensnared brother, to ensure his own security. The Τροφωνίου παῖδες 'sons of Trophonius', the Trophoniads,

will be incorporated into that set of amalgamated divine beings that *corporately* are associated with formidable powers, ecstatic behavior, and metallurgic skills, beings who make their way from Asia Minor to Hellas. If the foundational work of Amphion and Zethus may have found expression in Bronze-Age mythic tradition, and perhaps that of Tanagran Leucippus and Ephippus as well, we are now, with the Trophoniads, surely in the presence of Iron-Age Greek tradition rooted in Anatolia.

Sharing membership in the set of daemons to which belong the sons of Trophonius are the Cabiri. While their geographic domain may be prominently presented as eastern Aegean, nowhere is their cult better evidenced than in Thebes. Here too a father and son relationship is on display, that of Κάβιρος καὶ παῖς 'Cabirus and son', possibly representing a generational reconfiguring of the ancestral divine twins of a sort that is attested elsewhere. The historical scenario suggested by Schachter for the foundation of the Theban cult of the Cabiri, one that entails movement of a "Greek-speaking people . . . from Asia Minor to central Boiotia" during the Early Iron Age is almost unquestionably an accurate one. It offers an especially transparent episode of the migratory phenomenon that we can plausibly identify as underlying each of the other Boeotian foundation traditions we have here been considering, as it does, *inter alia,* Hesiod's foundation *mûthos* involving the immigration

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of Dius from Asian Cyme to Boeotian Ascra. To the extent that these several traditions each reflects Aeolian mythic ideology they must be arrayed in synchronic layers: that of Amphion and Zethus and that of Leucippus and Evippus appear more primal, while that of the master builders Trophonius and Agamedes and, more so, that of Cabirus and his son appear less primal, reminiscent of the phenomenon to which Homer gives a nod at *Odyssey* 17.382–386:

> τίς γὰρ δὴ ξεῖνον καλεῖ ἄλλοθεν αὐτὸς ἐπελθὼν
> ἄλλον γ', εἰ μὴ τῶν οἳ δημιοεργοὶ ἔασι,
> μάντιν ἢ ἰητῆρα κακῶν ἢ τέκτονα δούρων,
> ἢ καὶ θέσπιν ἀοιδόν, ὅ κεν τέρπῃσιν ἀείδων; 385
> οὗτοι γὰρ κλητοί γε βροτῶν ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν·
>
> For who himself having come from a foreign place invites in
> another stranger, unless he is one of the public workers,
> either a mantis or a healer of ills or a builder with timber
> or a divine bard who might give delight with singing? 385
> For among mortals these are welcomed across the boundless earth.

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And where do Cadmus and Europa fit into this picture? The pair participates in the same Balkan-Aeolian/Cretan/Carian nexus that we have observed to be at work in foundation traditions of Magnesia on the Maeander and Metapontium, and thus have a certain air of the primal about them. But where in the Cadmean foundation of Thebes is the "white-horse" figure? Where are reflexes of the divine twins?

It is difficult to dissociate Cadmus from Cadmilus/Casmilus, and the Anatolian smith Ḫašamili, from the Cabiri. What technical wizardry does Cadmus import to Boeotia from Asia? He is made to be a bringer of the *grámmata* (γράμματα) 'letters' – that is, 'what things are incised' – to the Greeks (though others can fulfill this role in Greek tradition), symbols whose archaic form was patently inseparable from that of Phoenician letter forms, and so Cadmus is made to be Phoenician; but as with Zeno the Stoic, Cadmus' "Phoenician" patrimony may need extend no farther east than Cyprus, a place in communication with Greek Asia Minor, in historical documentation and in tradition. This leaves open the question of the relationship of Homer's Cadmeans with Cadmus, but that appears most likely to be one of a secondary nature.

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Chapter Fifteen

Asian Goddesses and Bees

15.1. Introduction

In concluding the previous chapter we took note of a relative chronological stratigraphy of the transmission of mythic and cultic ideas from Asia Minor to Boeotia. In the deeper levels of the trench, we suggested, lie foundation traditions that appear to be quite archaic in form: the foundation of Thebes by the Aeolian Dioscuri Amphius and Zethus; the foundation of defensive structures of Tanagra in which another fraternal pair is involved. More shallow tiers are marked by the introduction of Asian cults such as that of the Cabiri at Thebes – the Cabiri being daemons with membership in an assimilated set to which also belong the "sons of Trophonius." This set – otherwise consisting of Idaean Idyls, Curetes, Corybantes – has fundamental affiliation with the Great Asian Mother. But intrusions of such a goddess into Greek cult ideology

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did not begin in the Iron Age. We begin this chapter examining a Bronze-Age antecedent.

15.2. A-si-wi-jo and Ásios (Ἄσιος)

In his *Divinae institutiones* (1.22.18–20), Lactantius (third/fourth century AD), citing the prolific Alexandrian scholar Didymus and his commentary on Pindar, records the tradition that the Cretan king called *Melisseus*, whom we encountered in §14.7.2, was a religious innovator, the first to offer sacrifices to gods, and that his two daughters nurtured infant Zeus on goat's milk and honey.[1474] Here the daughters are assigned the names *Amalthea* and *Melissa*: Amalthea (that is, *Amáltheia* [Ἀμάλθεια]; cf. the verb *amaltheúō* [ἀμαλθεύω] 'to nourish') is a name elsewhere given to the goat said to have produced the milk with which the infant god was nursed;[1475] Melissa is *mélissa* (μέλισσα) 'bee' made proper.[1476] Lactantius goes on to say that the king Melisseus made his daughter Melissa to be the first priestess of the Magna Mater and, following from

[1474] On Melisseus see also *Divinae institutiones* 1.22.27–28.

[1475] As in Callimachus *Hymns* 1.49; Diodorus Siculus 5.70; Pseudo-Plutarch *Παροιμίαι αἷς Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ἐχρῶντο* 2.27; Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 1.5.

[1476] See also Columella *De agricultura* 9.3.

that, the priestesses of the Magna Mater came to be called *Melissae* – that is, *Mélissai* Μέλισσαι) 'Bees'.[1477]

The Magna Mater is the Phrygian 'Great Mother', Cybele, whom we first met in Chapter Two, in our discussion of the Pamphylian goddess Diwia and the Mycenaean *Húpoio Pótnia* (ὕποιο Πότνια) 'Potnia of *u-po*'. There we considered the prospect that the two are to be equated (see §2.4). In Chapter Twelve we took note of the goddess Mater Dindymene, worshipped at Thessalian Magnesia on the Maeander and equated with Cybele (see §12.3). We saw too that Mater Dindymene has a sanctuary at Thebes, one which, by its location, Schachter (1986:141) proposes to have been linked with the Theban sanctuary of the Cabiri. And it is of course in conjunction with the Cabiri, and other members of the set of daemons into which they were collected, that we most recently encountered Cybele (see §14.7.2 and §14.8.4).

The Greeks assimilated the identity of the Titan Rhea, mother of Zeus, to that of the Asian Great Mother.[1478] Compare the Mycenaean record: Pylos tablet Fr 1202

[1477] The cult followers of Demeter are likewise said to be called *Mélissai* (Μέλισσαι) 'Bees': see below, §18.4.

[1478] See, for example, Strabo 10.3.15; Aelius Herodianus *De prosodia catholica* 3,1.322; Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* 389; *Suda* K 2586; Tzetzes *Scholia in Lycophronem* 1170; *Anthologia Graeca* 6.218 (attributed to Alcaeus). On the equation of Rhea with Cybele, see, *inter alia*, the discussion of Munn 2006:74–75, 85–86, and 124–125 – and *passim* for the Greek appropriation of the Great Mother from Anatolia.

reports the offering of an unusually large quantity of sage-scented oil *ma-te-re, te-i-ja* 'to the Mother of the Gods'. A comparably large offering of such oil is recorded on Pylos tablet Fr 1210 + 1260, made to the deity identified as *po-ti-ni-ja, a-si-wi-ja,* that is, Potnia Aswiya – the 'Asian Potnia' whom we met briefly in Chapter Two (see §2.2.1). As Morris (2001:423–424) underscores (in her examination of western Anatolian influence on Mycenaean cult), the enormity of the offering along with physical factors common to these two Pylos Fr tablets (stored in the same room – and not that room typically used for the oil tablets – and produced by the same scribal hand) suggest the relatedness of these two divine figures – the Mother of the Gods and the 'Asian Potnia'.

Mycenaean *Aswiya* (cf. Hittite *Aššuwa*) is reasonably understood as an earlier form of that term that appears, for example, in the simile of *Iliad* 2.459–468 (in the phrase *Asiō(i) en leimôni* [Ἀσίῳ ἐν λειμῶνι]), which begins in this way (lines 459–463):[1479]

Τῶν δ' ὥς τ' ὀρνίθων πετεηνῶν ἔθνεα πολλὰ
χηνῶν ἢ γεράνων ἢ κύκνων δουλιχοδείρων 460
<u>Ἀσίῳ ἐν λειμῶνι</u> Καϋστρίου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα

[1479] *Ásios* (Ἄσιος) also occurs at *Iliad* 2.837–838; 12.95–96, 110, 136, 139, 163; 13.384, 403, 414, 759, 771; 16.717.

ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα ποτῶνται ἀγαλλόμενα πτερύγεσσι

κλαγγηδὸν προκαθιζόντων, σμαραγεῖ δέ τε λειμών, . . .

And as the many tribes of winged birds,

wild geese or cranes or long-necked swans, 460

<u>in the Asian meadow</u> about the Caystrian waters

fly here and there, exalted in their wings and with a

din, landing one and then the other, and the meadow resounds . . .

As an aside for the moment, consider too the similar simile of *Iliad* 2. 87–90; both similes depict teeming swarms of warrior hosts, but this time with likeness made to bees not birds:

Ἠΰτε ἔθνεα εἶσι μελισσάων ἀδινάων

πέτρης ἐκ γλαφυρῆς αἰεὶ νέον ἐρχομενάων,

βοτρυδὸν δὲ πέτονται ἐπ’ ἄνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖσον·

αἳ μέν τ’ ἔνθα ἅλις πεποτήαται, αἳ δέ τε ἔνθα· 90

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And just as tribes of bees thronging

out from a hollow rock keep coming and coming,

and fly like clustered grapes upon the flowers of spring;

they wing in swarms both here and there; 90

In the former simile hordes of birds flock Ἀσίῳ ἐν λειμῶνι Καϋστρίου ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα 'in the Asian meadows about Caystrian waters'[1480] – the Cayster being that river that flows through Lydia to empty into the sea just above the city of Ephesus.[1481]

15.2.1. Ásios (Ἄσιος) and Western Anatolia

In the above translation of *Iliad* 2.461, *Asiō(i) en leimōni* (Ἀσίῳ ἐν λειμῶνι) has been rendered as 'in the Asian meadow',[1482] but the particular geographic sense of *Asiō(i)*

[1480] See, *inter alia*, Herodotus 5.100; Strabo 13.3.2; Pausanias 7.2.7–8.

[1481] Thus, in his hymn to Artemis (*Hymns* 3.255–258) Callimachus writes of Lygdamis (*Dugdamme* in Assyrian documents; mid-seventh century BC [on which, see, *inter alia*, Grayson 1991:145–146; Sulimirski and Taylor 1991:559; Mellink 1991:645]) who brought his Cimmerian forces against Lydia and of how having taken up a position 'in the meadows of the Cayster' (ἐν λειμῶνι Καϋστρίῳ) they became the victims of Artemis: Ἐφέσου γὰρ ἀεὶ τεὰ τόξα πρόκειται 'for your arrows at all times are projecting before Ephesus'.

(Ἀσίῳ) here is surely 'in the *Lydian* meadow'. The point is made explicitly by a scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica*.[1483] This first-millennium lexeme *Ásios* (Ἄσιος), **Aswios* before the reduction of the **sw* cluster,[1484] answering to Mycenaean *A-si-wi-jo*, eventually references 'Asia' generally, but more narrowly, and earlier, 'central western Anatolia'.[1485] Strabo (13.4.8) cites *Iliad* 2.461, doing so in conjunction with a reference to verses by Callinus of Ephesus (seventh-century BC elegiac poet; Callinus fr. 5a West) regarding the Cimmerian[1486] attack on the Lydian city of Sardis in which Callinus must have mentioned or intimated the place *Maionia*: Strabo notes that the antiquarian Demetrius of Scepsis (third-second centuries BC) is said to have commented on the

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[1482] Ancient commentators often understood in this phrase not *Asíō(i)* (Ἀσίῳ) but *Asíō* (Ἀσίω), the genitive case form of a man's name *Ásios* (Ἄσιος); see the discussion of Kirk 1985:164, with evidence for the denotation of a locale.

[1483] *Scholia in Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* (*scholia vetera* [=Wendel 1935]) 187.

[1484] See, *inter alia*, Dyer 1965.

[1485] Morris 2001a:425. See also Kirk 1985:164.

[1486] For a recent summary of the evidence regarding these ill-documented, probably Iranian-speaking, people called the Cimmerians, see Xydopoulos 2015. See also Tsetskhladze 1999b:484–486. And see below, §17.4.10 and especially §22.3.4.

lines: τάχα γὰρ ἡ Μῃονία . . . Ἀσία ἐλέγετο 'for perhaps Maionia. . . is called *Asia*'.[1487] *Maionia* can be another name used for *Mysia*, as in Strabo 13.4.11. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Antiquitates Romanae* 1.27.1) writes that Lydia was earlier called *Maionia*.[1488] Compare the Homeric conjunction of *Phrugíēs* (Φρυγίης) 'Phrygia' and *Mē(i)oníēs* (Μῃονίης) 'Maionia' at *Iliad* 3.401 and 18.291, and the geographically arrayed subset of Trojan allies and their chiefs listed between *Iliad* 2.858 and 877: Mysians, Phrygians, Maionians, Carians, Lycians. The poet of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* sings of the god (179–180):

> Ὦ ἄνα, καὶ Λυκίην καὶ Μῃονίην ἐρατεινήν
>
> καὶ Μίλητον ἔχεις ἔναλον πόλιν ἱμερόεσσαν, ...

> O lord, both Lycia and lovely Maionia you hold
>
> and Miletus too, charming seaside city, ...

[1487] Compare *Ēsionía* (Ἠσιονία) Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* 7.25. See Hesychius H 896 for the corresponding ethnic adjective, glossed as 'those inhabiting Asia'. Strabo (13.4.8) links the forms.

[1488] Similarly Herodianus *Partitiones* 85; Hesychius M 1240; *Etymologicum Magnum* 583, *inter alia*.

Compare Callimachus *Hymns* 4:249–254, which we mentioned in §13.5.4.1: swans are said to have flown from *Maeonian* Pactolus (the river that flows by Lydian Sardis) to Delos (isle sacred to Apollo and Artemis) and circled the island seven times, singing, at the birth of Apollo.[1489]

The substantive *Asíē*/*Asíă* (Ἀσίη/Ἀσία), which we encountered just above in Strabo 13.4.8, is earliest attested in Hesiod: at *Theogony* 359 the poet simply assigns it as a name in his catalogue of the nymph daughters of Oceanus and Tethys (where she is joined by a sister *Eurṓpē* [Εὐρώπη] in line 357). A fragment of Archilochus of Paros (fr. 227 West) is typically viewed as referencing the contemporary Lydian king Gyges:[1490]

> ὁ δ' Ἀσίης καρτερὸς μηλοτρόφου
>
> And he is master of sheep-feeding Asia

Compare with this the partially-preserved line 3 of Hesiodic fr. 180 MW: ....πυ]ροφόρου Ἀσίης ἕδος ']seat of grain-bearing Asia'.[1491] Two lines further down the fragment, one reads ....]ῥδανος, which has been suggestively restored as *Dárdanos*

[1489] And, hence, his is the seven-string lyre.

[1490] Compare fr. 19: τὰ Γύγεω τοῦ πολυχρύσου μέλει 'the strains of Gyges, rich in gold'.

[1491] And compare fr. 165.11 MW (with the form *Asís* [Ἀσίς] 'Asian harp').

(Δάρδανος): Dardanus (eponym of the Dardanelles) is a son of Zeus, ancestor of the kings of Troy, whose people inhabited the area around Mt. Ida prior to the foundation of Troy (*Iliad* 20.215–235).[1492] The elegiac poet Mimnermus, probably from Smyrna[1493] (also seventh century BC) likely has in mind the referent 'Lydia' when he sings of arriving in *Asíē* (Ἀσίη) and settling in Colophon (fr. 9.1–4 West), that city north of Ephesus (beyond the Cayster). Herodotus (4.45) reports a Lydian tradition that holds that *Asíē* (Ἀσίη) was a Lydian after whom τὴν ἐν Σάρδις φυλὴν κεκλῆσθαι Ἀσιάδα 'the tribal contingent in Sardis was named *Asian*'.

15.2.2. Potnia Aswiya and Bronze-Age Cult Transfer from Anatolia

If the Mycenaean Potnia Aswiya is rightly understood as denoting the 'Asian Potnia', as is most plausible, then we have before us clear and compelling evidence for the introduction of cult to Mycenaean Greece from western Anatolian. The most likely scenario by which this introduction occurred is one that entails the presence of a Greek

[1492] It is a curious fragment (see West 1985:97, with n.148) to the extent that Dardanus is made the father of Pandion; two early kings of Athens bear this name (on the duality of whom, see the comments of Gantz 1993:234–235, 239–242, and 247–248 and Fowler 2013:448–453 and 481–482). Munn (2006:109–110) draws attention to particular affiliations of Dardanus with Phrygia and Lydia.

[1493] If not, then Colophon: see the discussion, with bibliography, of West 1974:72–73.

community in western coastal Anatolia that exists in a dynamic state of cultural interactions and integration with native populations – Ahhiyawans intermarrying with local Luvian peoples but still retaining distant contacts with Balkan Mycenaeans .

The observation that the Mycenaean Potnia Aswiya signals an introduction of Anatolian cult was made some years ago by Watkins (1998) in an essay on the Hittite place name *Aššuwa.* This is what Watkins wrote (p. 203): "The divine name *po-ti-ni-ja, a-si-wi-ja* attested once at Pylos, the *Potnija Aswija* or 'Aswian Mistress' may be a similar import, a transported goddess." By "similar import" Watkins refers to the multiple occurrences of the man's name *a-si-wi-jo* in the Linear B tablets (emphasis is my own): "It is reasonable to suggest that the name *Aswijos* as 'man from *Aswa* = *Assuwa*', was *originally* applied in Greece to refugees from Tudhaliya's' western war of ca. 1430 B.C." The reference here is to the Hittite king Tudhaliya II, and Watkins invokes "his western war" vis-à-vis mention of a remarkable object unearthed in Boğazköy (1991) that appears to have been part of a cache of spoils: a thrusting sword of Mycenaean typology, into the blade of which an Akkadian inscription has been etched, declaring that Tudhaliya dedicated "these swords" to the Storm-god after he had vanquished

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Aššuwa.[1494] The similarity in the wording of this inscription to a Hittite record of Tudhaliya's conquests of several western Anatolian people, extending from Lycia to the Troad (KUB 23.11, 12–19) – peoples who compose Homer's "Assuwa coalition" (p. 202) – suggests to Watkins that the sword is a trophy from those campaigns (similarly Cline 1996 and more recently Watkins 2007:320–321).[1495]

15.2.3. Linear B A-si-wi-jo and A-to-mo: Asian Warrior Allies

The man's name *a-si-wi-jo* (i.e. an ethnic used as a personal identifier) appears in Linear B tablets from Mycenae, Pylos, and Knossos. The single occurrence of *a-si-wi-jo* at Knossos is found on tablet Df 1469 + 1584 + fr., listing numbers of male and female sheep in affiliation with this 'Asian man', and otherwise inscribed with only the place name *ru-ki-to*. At Mycenae *a-si-wi-jo* occurs on tablets Au 653 and Au 657, both simply containing lists of men.

From Pylos, in addition to Fr 1210 + 1260, referencing *po-ti-ni-ja, a-si-wi-ja* (see §15.2.2), there come two tablets preserving the ethnic as a personal identifier: Cn 285 +

[1494] See, *inter alia*, Ünal, Ertekin, and Ediz 1991; Ertekin, and Ediz 1993; Neve 1993. For a reanalysis of the sword, see Cline 1996; Taracha 2003. See also Morris 2013:161–163, who places the sword within a greater context of Hittite/Aegean grave goods and burial practice.

[1495] See Hansen 1994:214 for a different interpretation.

frr., an inventory of sheep and goats; and Eq 146 + frr., a land-holding tablet. On the latter, *a-si-wi-jo* is identified as an *i̯-qo̯-na-to-mo*.[1496] This univerbated phrase appears to have a transparent enough morphology, proposed to be *hikkʷōn arthmos*:[1497] *i-qo* is the word for 'horse', here in the genitive plural; the second member, *a-to-mo*, is conventionally read as *arthmos*, a term (*arthmós* [ἀρθμός]) denoting 'bond' or 'alliance' in the first millennium BC, attested earliest in the religious/legal formulaic construction *arthmòs kaì philótēs* (ἀρθμὸς καὶ φιλότης) 'alliance and friendship' in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 524 (the relationship of Apollo and Hermes) and in Aeschylus *Prometheus Bound* 191 (an anticipated relationship of Prometheus and Zeus).

15.2.3.1. Warrior philótēs (φιλότης) *in Epic.* Homeric epic does not attest *arthmós* (ἀρθμός) but derivative forms of the nominal are attested. Thus, at *Iliad* 7.299–302, as Hector entreats Telamonian Ajax to put an end to the day's combat, we read:

[1496] On the tablet, see Nakassis 2013:112.

[1497] See, *inter alia*, Chadwick 1979b:25, who writes (following the correction of the reading of the initial symbol of *i̯-qo̯-na-to-mo*) that "the first part might therefore be not a true composition form, but a genitive plural with sandhi, /hiqqʷōn/, since *a-to-mo* is elsewhere preceded by forms which are apparently genitives."

Δῶρα δ’ ἄγ’ ἀλλήλοισι περικλυτὰ δώομεν ἄμφω,

ὄφρά τις ὧδ’ εἴπῃσιν Ἀχαιῶν τε Τρώων τε· 300

ἠμὲν ἐμαρνάσθην ἔριδος πέρι θυμοβόροιο,

ἠδ’ αὖτ’ ἐν <u>φιλότητι</u> διέτμαγεν <u>ἀρθμήσαντε</u>.

But come, let us give to one another famed gifts,

so that men among Achaeans and Trojans alike may say this: 300

“We fought in the strife that devours the heart,

But then <u>making an alliance</u> we parted in <u>friendship</u>.”

Here the same juxtaposition obtains that we encountered in the Homeric Hymn and in Aeschylus’ tragedy, but expressed by the concatenation of *philótēs* (φιλότης) ‘friendship’ and the participle of the derived verb *arthméō* (ἀρθμέω) ‘to form an alliance’ (rather than the noun *arthmós*). Hector’s couplet must be understood to be proverbial and grounded in the same cultural exchange phenomenon as the formulaic *arthmòs kaì philótēs* (ἀρθμὸς καὶ φιλότης) ‘alliance and friendship’.

The notion expressed by *philótēs* (φιλότης) is fundamental to expressions of alliance in archaic Greece. In an earlier study of Hesiod (see Woodard 2007:144–148) I

offered these observations (p. 145), embedding a quote from Benveniste 1969 (1:341–342):

> In his study of *phílos* (φίλος) . . . and the related noun *philótēs* (φιλότης), Émile Benveniste points out there is a particular connection in Homer between *phílos* and *ksénos* (ξένος), a connection that is so fundamental that it provides insight into the proper meaning of *phílos*, a word of uncertain etymology:
>
>> The notion of *philos* expresses the behavior required by a member of the community with regard to the *xenos*, the "guest" stranger
>>
>> . . .
>>
>> The pact concluded under the name *philotēs* makes the contractual parties *philoi*: they are thereby bound to a reciprocity of services that constitute "hospitality."
>
> The connection is further evidenced by the Homeric compound *philóksenos* (φιλόξενος), denoting a 'hospitable' person – one 'for whom the *ksénos* is *phílos*

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(n. 204: Benveniste further notes that *philóksenos* is "the only compound with *philo-* (φιλο-) [in Homer] that has a second term applying to a person").

15.2.3.2. A-si-wi-jo, a-to-mo: ksénos, therápōn, hekʷetās. The formulaic conjunction of *philótēs* (φιλότης) and (nominal or verbal) *arthmós* (ἀρθμός) echoes expressions of the relationships that we encountered in our exploration of the archaic *ksénos* (ξένος) and *therápōn* (θεράπων) vis-à-vis the Mycenaean *hekʷetās* and proposed connections with the Anatolian Mycenaean community (see Chapter Eight). In light of these relationships, the Mycenaean juxtaposition of *a-si-wi-jo* and *i̯-qo̯-na-to-mo* takes on salience. One thinks of the "Hittite" horse-training text of Kikkuli (CTH 284), translating a Hurrian original from Mitanni, in which are preserved formulae that had been composed in the variety of early Indic language that is evidenced at Mitanni (see the discussions of Chapter Twenty-One).[1498] The stereotypic association of the Lydians (Asians) with horses and horse combat is a well-known trope: for example, Mimnermus, from Aeolian/Ionian Smyrna, whom we encountered just above (§15.2.1), writes of some yet more archaic spear-wielding warrior striking panic into *Ludoì*

[1498] For a fairly recent overview of Hittite horse-training materials and the history of their interpretation, see Raulwing 2005. See also Walker 2015:20–21, with notes and bibliography.

hippómakhoi (Λυδοὶ ἱππόμαχοι) 'Lydian horse-fighters' (fr. 14.3 West; see also, *inter alia*, Sappho fr. 16.19 L-P; Herodotus 1.79.3).

Mycenaean *a-to-mo* occurs independent of the univerbated form *i̯-qo̯-na-to-mo* at both Pylos (four times) and Knossos (twice).[1499] Two of these occurrences may possibly have some bearing on the *i̯-qo̯-na-to-mo* in light of considerations of warrior alliance. We have now several times encountered Pylos tablet Aq 64 and seen its relevance to the matter of *hek*^{w}*etai*, allied warrior companions, and the Mycenaean community of western coastal Anatolia: thus, it is in line 16 of this tablet Aq 64 that reference is made to *ne-qe-u, e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo*, 'Ne-qe-u, son of Eteocles' (see §8.4; §8.4.2–3; §8.5); Aq 64 and Aq 218 together form a diptych containing several names that recur in the warrior An tablets. In line 8 of tablet Aq 64, mention is made of the man *po-ki-ro-qo*, Poikilok^{w}s, who is on this tablet characterized as an *e-qe-o, a-to-mo*, and whose name recurs on Pylos tablet An 654 in an enumeration of warriors – and on that tablet (i.e. An 654) the name of Poikilok^{w}s the *e-qe-o a,-to-mo* co-occurs with the name of *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo, e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo* 'Alectryon, son of Eteocles' (see §8.2; §8.4; §8.4.1.1; §8.4.1.3; §8.4.2; §8.4.3; §8.5; §8.6.4) – again forging a link to the Mycenaean community of Anatolia, as that

[1499] On Pylos tablets Aq 64; Jn 832 + fr.; Jo 438 + frr. + 590; and likely on Jn 881 + 969 + 896 + fr. On Knossos tablet C 979 + 1032 + 7051 + 7052 + 7657; and on tablet V 56.

community is revealed in the Ahhiyawa texts. The sense of *e-qe-o* (in *e-qe-o, a-to-mo*) has been judged to be uncertain, but it is very probably the case that we should see in the term a form (genitive case) related to *e-qe-ta*, i.e. *hek*^{w}*etās*, the 'warrior companion'.[1500] With the *e-qe-o, a-to-mo* of Pylos tablet Aq 64, compare the concatenation *e-qe-a-o, a-to-mo* on Knossos tablet V 56, bearing only this phrase plus, on the preceding line, the ethnic *ko-no-si-jo*, 'of Knossos'.

Compare too the possibly related, though of uncertain sense, *i-za-a-to-mo-i* (dative plural) on Pylos tablet Fn 50 + fr. (see Panagl 1985:287–289, following upon Mühlestein 1955). This is the same tablet on which appear occurrences of both of the cult-functionary titles *me-ri-du-ma-te* 'honey-*dumartes* (δυμαρτες)' and *po-ro-du-ma-te*, that we first met in Chapter Fourteen (see §14.6.1, §14.6.2, and §14.7.3), and to which we shall return, to examine at length, in Chapter Twenty. The bundling of the term *i-za-a-to-mo-i* with these and still other cult titles in the middle portion of this tablet likely suggests that *i-za-a-to-mo-i* also identifies a figure having a religious function.[1501]

[1500] See, *inter alia*, Aura Jorro 1985:229–230; Bartoněk 2003:260 and 377; Nakassis 2013:346, with n. 399.

[1501] See Olivier 1960:24 and, especially, pp. 125–129, who is negative regarding demonstration of a link to the *e-qe-o, a-to-mo* and *e-qe-a-o, a-to-mo*; see also Killen 2001:436–437, who writes regarding the individuals named by the forms cited in the paragraph to which this note is attached (p. 437): "Jean-Pierre Olivier long ago – and in my view entirely convincingly – argued were 'desservants de sanctuaire.'"

*15.2.3.3. Linear B a-*64-jo.* If the forms *a-*64-jo* and *a-*64-ja* should represent spelling alternatives to *a-si-wi-jo* and *a-si-wi-ja*, respectively, as seems probable,[1502] then the number of references to 'Asian women' and 'Asian men' in Mycenaean documents increases. The masculine form *a-*64-jo* occurs once at Knossos, on tablet Sc 261, and three times at Pylos, on tablets Cn 1287; Fn 324 + 1031 + 1454 + frr.; and Jn 832 + fr. In our discussion of patronymics we encountered this tablet Fn 324 + 1031 + 1454 + frr., showing the (possible/probable) name + patronymic sequence *ke-sa-me-no, ke-me-ri-jo* (see §8.3.3.3, §8.4.2, and §8.4.3). Tablet Jn 832 + fr. is one of those attesting an occurrence of *a-to-mo*. The feminine *a-*64-ja* is found only at Pylos: on tablets Aa 701; Ab 515; Ad 315 + 1450 + fr. (genitive plural *a-*64-ja-o*); Ad 326 (genitive again); and Vn 34 + 1191 + 1006 + fr. Most of the inscriptions attesting the feminine forms are short, listing numbers of women and children, and typically men as well.

15.2.4. Asians to the Balkans: An Ongoing Process

If one accepts an early dating of the Knossos materials, then the Knossos tablets on which *a-si-wi-jo* (Df 1469 + 1584 + fr.) and *a-*64-jo* occur (Sc 261) may have been

[1502] See, *inter alia*, Ventris and Chadwick 1973:390; Chadwick 2007:255–256.

produced within a few decades following Tudhaliya's ca. 1430 B.C. campaign. The early dating of course remains a matter of some controversy; and the tablets from Pylos and Mycenae bearing forms of these terms are dated some two centuries later.[1503] While the earliest appearance in the Balkan peninsula of men identified as *a-si-wi-jo* in the Linear B record might then conceivably be tied to émigrés from Anatolia fleeing the destruction of Tudhaliya II, the presence of the majority of individuals so designated in these documents, masculine and feminine, is undoubtedly a reflection of an ongoing interaction and exchange between Mycenaeans in the homeland and communities situated in western coastal Anatolia (perhaps especially that area that would become Lydia) with local Mycenaean affiliations. This is made all the more clear by the presence in the Linear B documents of individuals denoted by a variety of ethnic identifiers that locate their connection with points along the eastern edge of the Aegean. Earlier in this investigation (see §8.4 and §14.7.3), attention was drawn to the occurrence of feminine and masculine ethnic signifiers *mi-ra-ti-ja* and *mi-ra-ti-jo* 'of Miletus' on tablets from Pylos and Thebes and to Pylian *ki-ni-di-ja* 'of Cnidus' (naming cities on the Anatolian coast), and also to Pylian *ra-mi-ni-ja*/*ra-mi-ni-jo* 'of Lemnos' (the

[1503] For recent synthetic treatments of the problem of the dates of the Linear B documents and Mycenaean chronology, see Driessen 2008 and de Fidio 2008.

east Aegean island due west of the Troad). The list of Anatolian locales attested at Pylos can be lengthened with reasonable confidence:[1504] *ra-pa-sa-ko*[1505] (used as a man's name) reflects Lampsacus (city on the Hellespont; Cn 131 and Cn 655); *a-pa-si-jo*[1506] 'of Ephesus' (Sa 767 + fr.); *i-wa-so* Iasus (An 519 + fr.; An 654; An 661 [identifying groups of men on warrior tablets]; Cn 655 [in parallel with men's names here]) and *i-wa-si-jo-ta* 'of Iasus'[1507] (Iasus being a city on the Carian coast; Cn 3); *ze-pu$_2$-ra$_3$* 'of Zephyria', the old name of Halicarnassus according to Strabo 14.2.16[1508] (Aa 61; Ad 664).[1509] Again, these names

[1504] For a helpful (partial) inventory, see Yasur-Landau 2010:40. Also see Parker 1999, who would include (on p. 496 [and not uniquely so]) *ru-ki-jo*, reading it as 'Lycian'.

[1505] See Hiller 1975:389 and 404; Palaima 1991:280n37, who references Ilievski 1990, published as Ilievski 1992.

[1506] See Hiller 1975:389 and 404; see also Morris 2001a:430.

[1507] See Bennet 1998:132; García Ramón 2011:237. On the Mycenaean figurines found at Iasus, see above, §11.2.

[1508] See Cline 1994:130. Compare *ze-pu$_2$-ro*, a man's name on Pylos tablet Ea 56.

[1509] Consider also *i-ja-wo-ne* 'Ionians' (Knossos B 164 + 5666 + 7136 + 7544 + 8120 + frr.; Xd 146 + 155); the locale so indicated in the second millennium is uncertain but is possibly in mainland Greece. See, *inter alia*, Driessen and Macdonald 1984:51.

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point to a rich and productive interaction between, in this case, Pylian society and communities of western coastal Anatolia.[1510]

We have just seen that we find *a-si-wi-jo* used to identify men at Mycenae, Pylos, and Knossos, and that one such individual at Pylos is characterized as a *i̯-qo̯-na-to-mo*. Just above in §15.2 we noted that Mycenaean *a-si-wi-jo* is formally equivalent to the post-Mycenaean nominal *Ásios* (Ἄσιος). We have several times now met the archaic poet Asius – that is, *Ásios* – of Samos in earlier chapters (see §11.5.3, §11.5.3.1, §12.7.2.2, §13.8, §14.2, §14.8.1), whose fragments, we noted, are particularly concerned with Aeolian matters, and whom Strabo (6.1.15) cites as his source for the tradition that: Δίου ἐνὶ μεγάροις τέκεν εὐειδὴς Μελανίππη 'Well-shaped Melanippe birthed [Boeotus] in the house [*megárois*] of Dius'. In the several occurrences of the name *Ásios* in Homeric epic, it chiefly names a Trojan hero, son of Hyrtacus.[1511] Watkins (1986:54–55)

[1510] Shelmerdine (1998:295) makes a similar point, specifically with reference to "the women who were part of the Pylos workforce;" she judges that "the use of the ethnics to identify them suggests that they were still recognizable as foreigners, and therefore were relatively recent arrivals, not second-generation residents." "Foreignness" is a notion never far removed from the phenomenon of social intercourse between communities of archaic Greece (thus, Finley 2002 [= 1978]:93); the "foreignness" of individuals arrived from western Asia Minor is likely not remarkable in this regard.

[1511] On whom see Hainsworth 1993:328.

has suggested the prospect of "a Luvian name Asi(ya)-, and his father Húrtakos" lying behind Homeric *Ásios* (Ἄσιος) son of *Húrtakos* (Ὕρτακος).

There is a distinct *Ásios* (i.e. Asius) known to Homer: at *Iliad* 16.717 reference is made to Asius son of Dymas of Phrygia,[1512] uncle of Hector – Hector, the Trojan warrior who idealizes entering a state of *arthmòs kaì philótēs* (ἀρθμὸς καὶ φιλότης) 'alliance and friendship' with an Achaean such as Telamonian Ajax. Apollo comes to Hector in the form of Asius (lines 717–719):

> . . . ὃς μήτρως ἦν Ἕκτορος ἱπποδάμοιο,
>
> αὐτοκασίγνητος Ἑκάβης, υἱὸς δὲ Δύμαντος,
>
> ὃς Φρυγίῃ ναίεσκε ῥοῇς ἔπι Σαγγαρίοιο·
>
> . . . .

> . . . who was maternal uncle of horse-taming Hector,
>
> Hecabe's own brother, and son of Dymas,
>
> who used to dwell in Phrygia by the streams of Sangarius;
>
> . . . .

[1512] See the comments of Janko 1994:401–402.

15.3. The Asian Mother Goddess and Ephesus

We noted in §15.2 that the *ma-te, te-i-ja* 'Mother of the Gods' and *po-ti-ni-ja, a-si-wi-ja* Potnia Aswiya are likely members of a single set in Mycenaean cult (Morris 2001:423–424). In his discussions of the Mycenaean *ma-te, te-i-ja* 'Mother of the Gods', Palmer (1963:484) draws attention to Luvian *anniš maššanaššiš* 'Mother of the Gods', a phrase that occurs beside Lycian *ẽni mahanahi*.[1513] The Lydians too have their mother goddess, called *Kuvav-*, who for the Greeks is *Kubḗbē* (Κυβήβη), earliest cited with Lydian attribution (explicit or implied) in Charon of Lampsacus (fifth century BC) fr. 8a FHG and Herodotus 5.102.1.[1514] Compare here the goddess *Kubaba*, who has a Bronze-Age presence "at Kanesh, Alalakh, and Carchemish" (Rutherford 2020:167). The comparable goddess among the Phrygians is the *Matar Kubeleya/Kubileya*,[1515] the deity whom we encountered in Chapter Two in our discussion of *Húpoio Pótnia* (ὕποιο Πότνια) 'Potnia of *u-po*' (see §2.4). By the sixth century BC the Greeks are calling her *Kubḗbē* (Κυβήβη), as

[1513] Palmer references Laroche 1958:190 and Sturtevant 1928. On the equation, see more recently Bryce 1983 and 2012:37. On the lexemes see Melchert 1993a:23 and 39.

[1514] But see earlier the short fragment 127 of Hipponax, which is given a Lydian and Phrygian context by Hesychius K 4373.

[1515] See Brixhe and Lejeune 1984:1:45–47; Roller 1999:46–47; Hutter 2003:272–273; Munn 2006:121-122.

in Hipponax fr. 128 (West), where she is said to be *Diòs koúrē* (Διὸς κούρη) 'daughter of Zeus' (and identified as Thracian *Bendîs* [Βενδῖς], the so-called Thracian Artemis) and calling her *Kubélē* (Κυβέλη) as in Pherecydes fr. 13 (DK)[1516] – that is, Cybele. In *Homeric Hymn to the Mother of the Gods* she is the *Mḗtēr Theôn* (Μήτηρ Θεῶν) 'Mother of the Gods' (cf. Pindar fr. 80: [δέσπ]οιν[αν] Κυβέ[λαν] ματ[έρα]) and *Diòs thugátēr* (Διὸς θυγάτηρ) 'daughter of Zeus', who takes pleasure in the din of wolves and of lions, comparing favorably with conjoined Mycenaean *ma-te, te-i-ja* 'Mother of the Gods' and a *po-ti-ni-ja, a-si-wi-ja* Potnia Aswiya such as Ephesian Artemis – Artemis, whom Homer can style as 'potnia of wild beasts' (*pótnia thērôn* [πότνια θηρῶν]; Iliad 21.470). Earlier in this chapter (§15.2) we drew attention to Lactantius' report that Cybele's priestesses were called *Mélissai* (Μέλισσαι) 'Bees'. This observation was offered in conjunction with remarks made about the Mycenaean religious personnel called the *me-ri-du-ma-te*, the 'honey-*dumartes* (δυμαρτες)', who came to our attention in a consideration of the Hittite/Luvian cult title *dammara-* and its cultural and linguistic affiliations (see above §14.2.3, and see the discussions of Chapter Twenty).

[1516] There was a Greek etymological view that tied *Kubélē* (Κυβέλη) to a term *Kúbela* (Κύβελα) denoting 'mountains', as in *Suda* K 2586. For exploration of this etymology, see Brixhe 1979, upon which Munn (2006:122–125) builds.

The reported notional association of cult officiants of Phrygian Cybele with 'bees' is intriguing in light of a similar connection made with priestesses of another Anatolian deity. In our earlier discussion of Miletus (Millawanda) and the Ahhiyawan influence that radiated from that place (see §7.2.2, §7.4, §8.4 and §11.2), mention was made of the Mycenaean settlement of Ephesus, a city that appears to be attested in Pylos tablet 767 + fr. in the adjective *a-pa-si-jo*. It is now generally agreed that Ephesus is to be identified with Hittite *Apaša*,[1517] mentioned in the Ahhiyawa documents AhT 1A and 1B; the city of *Apaša* was capital of the land of Arzawa and home to its king Uhha-ziti. This Uhha-ziti was a principal opponent of the Hittite king Mursili II in the latter's campaigns in western Anatolia – Uhha-ziti having revolted against Mursili II in an alliance with the king of the Ahhiyawa in the late fourteenth century BC.[1518] When Hittite armies defeated those of Uhha-ziti, this monarch of *Apaša* is said to have fled "across the seas to the islands and remained there" (AhT 1A§17')[1519] – that is, almost surely, to eastern Aegean islands under Mycenaean control.[1520]

[1517] See, *inter alia*, Hawkins 1998:1; Niemeier 1999:142; Easton et al. 2002:97–98; Melchert 2003a:6; Bryce 2005:193–195.

[1518] On which, see, *inter alia*, Goetze 1975:119–123, with bibliography.

[1519] The translation is that of Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011.

[1520] See Beckman, Bryce, and Cline 2011:45–49.

Among the deities appearing in the Mycenaean Linear B tablets is Artemis: the genitive case form occurs on Pylos tablet Es 650 + fr., where a certain individual (A_3-ki-wa-ro) is identified as *a-te-mi-to, do-e-ro* 'servant of Artemis'. Artemis is of course the principal deity of Iron-Age Greek Ephesus and her worship there has long been realized to have incorporated significant non-Greek Anatolian elements;[1521] the cult especially evidences Lydian connections (the goddess takes the name *Artimuś* in Lydian, on which see below, §20.4.2.2) and her worship was exported to the Lydian capital of Sardis,[1522] according to the Ephesian view (as in *IEph* 1a.2), one element of a larger exchange of cult between the two cities. Textual references to Ephesian Artemis and supporting iconographic evidence are of Iron-Age date, but there is reason to believe that the continuity of her cult as practiced in the Ephesian Artemision extends back from that moment into the Late Bronze Age, given the continuity of use of the space and good

[1521] On the variety of cult officiants associated with the Artemision, see Bremmer 2009. See also Parker 2011a:226.

[1522] On the relation of the cults of the goddess in Ephesus and that in Sardis, see, *inter alia*, Munn 2006:166–167, with bibliography.

evidence for Late-Bronze-Age cult practice in the vicinity of a spring just north of the site.[1523]

15.3.1. Divination at Ephesus and in Anatolia

The early-twentieth-century excavator of the Artemision, David Hogarth, reported finding large numbers of astragali (knuckle bones) at the site, which he reasonably interpreted as evidence of a local practice of lot-divination (cleromancy), given that astragali were commonly so used.[1524] Alongside these bones Hogarth found manufactured items of a somewhat similar appearance, crafted in precious ivory and many with amber insets, which he labeled "artificial astragali" (Hogarth 1908:190). Hogarth supported his claim for a cult use of lot-divination at the Artemision by drawing attention to a scholion on Pindar *Pythian Odes* 4.357 and to various coins, especially "the rare Ephesian bronze coin-type of Geta" on which is depicted a scene of two persons using astragali in front of a cult statue of Ephesian Artemis (Hogarth 1908:190–191). The scholion referenced must be that of Drachmann (*scholia vetera*, first

[1523] See MacSweeney 2013:146–147, following Bammer and Muss 2007 and Bammer 1999 (see with regard to the latter MacSweeny's comments in her note 83). See also Greaves 2013:530–531, with bibliography of earlier work.

[1524] On astragali see the helpful discussion of Graf 2005:60–62.

published in 1903) *Pythian Odes* 4.338b, in which the scholiast comments on the form *klároisin* (κλάροισιν) 'by lots', occurring in line 191 of the poem: Pindar is here singing of how the seer Mopsus 'prophesied' (*theopropéō* [θεοπροπέω]) concerning the Argonauts ὀρνίχεσσι καὶ κλά-|ροισι . . . ἱεροῖς 'by birds and by sacred lots'. The scholiast writes:

> *Κλάροισιν*: ἰστέον ὅτι κλήροις τοπρὶν ἐμαντεύοντο, καὶ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τραπεζῶν ἀστράγαλοι, οἷς ῥίπτοντες ἐμαντεύοντο.
>
> *By lots*: understand that they used to divine by lots, and astragali were on sacred tables, and throwing these they used to divine by them.

Greaves (2013) has re-examined the ivory astragali from the Artemision and renewed the argument for the cult practice of lot-divination at the site.[1525] In doing so he draws attention to the prospect of a cult continuity that extends back into the Late Bronze Age (mentioned just above). We noted earlier (§15.3) that Apaša, Bronze-Age

[1525] On his re-evaluation of the evidence in response to interpretations grounded in Ionian cosmology, see especially his pages 518–529.

Ephesus, was capital of the land of Arzawa and home to the monarch Uhha-ziti; Greaves (2013:531) reasons that Apaša, in keeping with other royal centers in Anatolia, must have had an oracle and, citing Hutter (2003:234–235), draws attention to the conspicuousness of oracular practices in Greater Arzawa, as attested in documents from Hattusa, the Hittite capital. Among divinatory methods found in those documents there is a prominent practice which involves the use of lots, to which we shall return for careful consideration in §18.2.3.

For the moment it is another form of divination evidenced at Ephesus that will occupy our attention, one which we have just encountered in Pindar's fourth *Pythian Ode*. An early fifth-century text from Ephesus (SIG 1167) is practically unique in the Greek world, as Flower (2008:32–33) underscores, in detailing divinatory interpretations of the observation of birds in flight.[1526] The structure of the interpretations closely matches that found in Babylonian omen texts, but the practice is attested not only in Mesopotamia but in Syria and elsewhere in Anatolia as well.[1527]

[1526] See also Pritchett 1979:102–103; Dillon 1996a:104–107; West 1997:47n198. For a helpful overview of types of divination that surface in Hittite documents, see van den Hout 2003.

[1527] See West 1997:47 with n. 198. For a recent overview of bird divination in cuneiform sources, with helpful bibliography, see De Zorzi 2009.

Hutter (2003:259, following Bawanypeck 2001:1–6)[1528] contends that while this type of divination is well known in Anatolia, in Arzawa (specifically) the diviner, the LÚMUŠEN.DÙ, also serves as a cult functionary: "Thus, these Arzawan augurs can be taken as a typical group of functionaries dealing with a special way to get in touch with the divine, marking a special feature of Luwian religion" (see also Hutter's pp. 236–237). In addition to the LÚMUŠEN.DÙ, Hittite texts also refer to the LÚIGI.MUŠEN, denoting one who watches the flight path of the birds.[1529] Beal (2002:65) would judge that "bird oracles appear to be an indigenous Hittite science,"[1530] which is presumably a nod to the sophistication and elaboration of the procedures described in Hittite documents. Van den Hout (2003:120) observes that "many of the technical terms describing birds' movement are Luwian"; Mouton and Rutherford (2013:331–333) independently come to a similar conclusion (citing Melchert 1993b on several of the terms). The origins of Anatolian bird divination appear to be particularly linked to Luvian Arzawa concludes

[1528] And see more recently Bawanypeck 2004 and 2005.

[1529] See Ünal 1973:30–31, who translates LÚIGI.MUŠEN as "Augur' and LÚMUŠEN.DÙ as 'Vogelmacher, Vogelzüchter', and see his discussion on pp. 31–34; see also Archi 1975a:129–131 (for names of types of birds involved, see pp. 141–144); Beal 2002:65–68; Bawanypeck 2005:1–4.

[1530] Gurney (1981:155) suggests possible importation from Syria; compare Bawanypeck 2005:7–8. See Gurney pp. 154–155 for his description of the Hittite procedure.

Bawanypeck (2005:298–300). Again, Arzawa is the region of *Apaša* – of Ephesus – and in Greek Ephesus augury appears to have been unusually well developed.

15.3.2. Foundation of Ephesus and its Temple to Artemis

The foundation of the temple of Artemis in Ephesus, on the one hand, and that of the city of Ephesus, on the other, are assigned to different and distinct traditions among Iron-Age Greek inhabitants of the area. This sort of bifurcation in local foundation tradition, judges Mac Sweeney (2013:145–146), is unusual and is perhaps especially odd in this instance, given the international visibility of the temple of Artemis and the central role that it played in the civic life of Ephesus. Greek appropriation of a pre-existing shrine is, however, not otherwise unreported. We can compare the foundation tradition of the Heraion of Samos, a neighboring island, nearly equidistant from Miletus and Ephesus: Pausanias reports (7.4.4) that some claim that Hera's sanctuary was founded by the Argonauts but that the Samians hold that it is older still, with its image of the goddess dating to the time of Daedalus.[1531] The appropriation phenomenon can also be seen, per Pausanias' report (7.3.1–3), at the neighboring site of Claros (on which see also §11.2 and §18.2.9), a little more than 15 km

[1531] On the sanctuary and its image see Woodard 2014:198–200, 201–202, 210–213, and 223–226.

to the northwest of Ephesus. Apollo's oracle and sanctuary at Claros were declared by the populace of affiliated Colophon to be ἐκ παλαιοτάτου 'from deepest antiquity', being in Carian possession at the time that Apollo directed Manto, daughter of the Theban seer Tiresias, to the site.[1532] The same holds for the tradition of the foundation of Didyma, about 15 km south of Miletus, where, writes Pausanias (7.2.5–6), the sanctuary and oracle of Apollo are ἀρχαιότερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν Ἰώνων ἐσοίκησιν 'more ancient than the Ionian homesteading'; this is again a Carian region, but one in which Cretans, driven away by Europa's son Minos, were said to have settled before the Ionian arrival. The *mûthos* of Cretan settlement of Carian Miletus is one that we examined in preceding chapter (see §14.4.1) and noted that Pausanias describes the Cretans and the native Carians as having become *súnoikoi* (σύνοικοι) 'co-inhabitants'. This presentation of Cretan-Anatolian cultural assimilation, with the intermarrying it would entail, is precisely the scenario, in a Luvian setting, that would have given rise to the diffusion of linguistic features that we explored in discussions of Chapter Eight, one of which features is the Aeolic patronymic adjective that already revels itself in Mycenaean documents. For Pausanias (7.2.6) a somewhat different scenario characterizes the

[1532] On Manto as founder of Colophon and the associated oracle at Claros, see, *inter alia*, the discussion of MacSweeney 2013:104–122.

subsequent Ionian arrival: the Milesians say that the Ionians killed the male inhabitants and married the wives and daughters.

The foundation of the city of Ephesus forms an element of the tradition of the Ionian migrations. Strabo (14.1.3), citing Pherecydes (fr. 111 FHG) as his source, identifies the *ktístēs* (κτίστης) 'founder' of Ephesus as Androclus, a son of the Athenian king Codrus, and writes (14.1.21) that Androclus drove out the indigenous Carians and the Leleges who inhabited neighboring coastal areas (on Leleges as a people of Anatolia, see above, §12.7). For Pausanias (7.2.8) too, Androclus expelled native Leleges, whom he identifies as a Carian subgroup, as well as Lydians. Pausanias is operating with the idea of some existing urban center at Ephesus, an 'upper city' (*ánō pólis* [ἄνω πόλις]), at the time of the Ionian arrival, though one spatially distinct from the locale of the Artemision. He reports that the city was named after one Ephesus who was a son of the Cayster river, and further claims that the temple of the goddess had itself been established (*hidrúō* [ἱδρύω]) by this indigenous river-son Ephesus and by an autochthon named Coresus.[1533]

[1533] On the tradition reflected by fr. 1 of Creophylus of Ephesus (ca. fifth-fourth century BC), see the remarks of Fowler 2013:581–582.

15.3.2.1. Amazons. Concerning the foundation of the Artemision – Pausanias, in invoking the eponymous Ephesus and the autochthonous Coresus, is directly responding to an alternative tradition of a pre-Ionian Ephesian sanctuary, a tradition in which Amazons were the founders of the sanctuary and one which Pausanias knew from Pindar (see Pausanias 7.2.6–7).[1534] In her discussion of this otherwise unattested foundation tradition, Mac Sweeney (2013:138–139) draws attention to other references that populate western coastal Anatolia with Amazons, such as Hecataeus of Miletus' declaration (fr. 226 FGrH) that the Aeolian city of Cyme had formerly been called Amazoneion.[1535] Note too Strabo's remark at both 11.5.4 and 12.3.1 that Amazons served as eponyms for the cities of Ephesus (Ionian), Smyrna (Aeolian/Ionian), Cyme (Aeolian), and Myrina (the Aeolian city about 10 km northeast of Cyme). At 12.3.1 Strabo is commenting on the view of the historian Ephorus of Cyme (fr. 114a FGH) that the Amazons had once inhabited a broad range of western coastal Anatolia: Mysia, Caria,

[1534] See Sakellariou 1958:389–396, who discusses the several textual references to the tradition of Amazons in early Ephesus. See Callimachus *Hymn to Artemis* 237; Julius Solinus *De mirabilibus mundi* 40.2; Hyginus *Fabulae* 223 and 225; Pliny *Naturalis historia* 5.115; Tacitus *Annales* 3.61; Plutarch *Quaestiones Graecae* 56; Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* 5.179; Heraclides fr. 34 FHG; *Etymologicum magnum* 402; Castor fr. 4 (FGrH); Georgius Syncellus *Ecloga chronographica* 208

[1535] On the fragment of Hecataeus and the Amazons as eponymous figures, see Blok 1995:153–154.

and Lydia are named. Regarding such reports of a broad precursor Amazonian inhabitation of western Anatolia, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that what is being preserved is a particular Iron-Age Greek expression of a communal memory of a Bronze-Age population (implicit are the social and cultural shifts which such a communal memory would entail), as other investigators have likewise noted.[1536] This is in effect borne out by Pausanias' alternative tradition of the founding of Artemis' Ephesian temple by an autochthonous man and by a son of the river that flows nearby the city, the Cayster – the meadows of which Homer knows to be filled with the birds of Lydia – birds which in their multitude answer to swarming bees as a metaphoric expression of warrior hordes.

15.3.3. Iconography of Ephesian Artemis

The iconography of Ephesian Artemis is distinctively marked by two features: rows of bulbous projections that decorate the torso of the goddess, and images of bees along the sides of her skirt; in addition images of beasts appear frontally on the skirt, suggestive of the identification of the goddess as a Potnia Theron.[1537] The bulbous

[1536] See, for example, Morris 2001b:138, with bibliography, and 2006:70.

[1537] For recent description with images, see Rogers 2012:118 and 180–182.

projections have been viewed as breasts since antiquity (see Fleischer 1973:74–88) – her many breasts being a suggestive indicator of the association of Ephesian Artemis with fertility, and possibly an identifier of her status as Asian Mother Goddess. But the likeness to breasts is not completely natural and the coloration of images of the goddess does not suggest an intention of skin tone for these appendages. Attempts to look elsewhere for the proper identity of the appendages date at least to the early nineteenth century and are well considered (see Fleischer 1973:74–88),[1538] though an alternative identification of the projections does not obviate an affiliation of the goddess with fecundity or make of her something other than a *ma-te, te-i-ja* 'Mother of the Gods'.

A third element of the iconography of Ephesian Artemis needs to be mentioned. The goddess is supplied with woolen cords, which dangle at a right angle to her horizontally extended forearms, either held in her hands or tied about her wrists. These braids are an iconographic feature that Ephesian Artemis possesses in common with the Hera of the Ionian island of Samos (mentioned in the preceding section), as depicted on Samian coins and in a roof-tile image. O'Brien (1993:36) draws attention to

[1538] For the view that the appendages represent bull scrota, see Seiterle 1979. Contra the interpretation, see Morris 2001b:141–142.

this iconographic element which the Ephesian and Samian goddesses share, bridging the pair by way of Hesychius' lexical entry for the term *klēîdes* (κληῖδες), commonly carrying the senses 'bar' and 'key' (K 2955; singular *kleís* [κλείς]); one portion of Hesychius' entry reads καὶ παρὰ Ἐφεσίοις τῆς θεοῦ τὰ στέμματα 'and among the Ephesians, the garlands of the deity'. Compare Euripides' use of *klēîdes* to denote garlands worn by the Trojan prophetess Cassandra at *Trojan Women* 256–257. A connection of *klēîdes* with Samian Hera is to be construed, O'Brien contends, from the title *Kleidoûkhos* (Κλειδοῦχος), '*kleís*-bearer', used of cult officiants (priestesses) associated with Hera in Argos, earliest attested in a fragment (fr. 4) of the epic *Phoronis* (seventh/sixth century BC): here the priestess Callithoe (Io), a *Kleidoûkhos*, is depicted as decorating the 'pillar' (*kíōn* [κίων]) of Hera στέμμασι καὶ θυσάνοισι 'with garlands and with tassels'; compare, *inter alia*, Aeschylus *Suppliant Women* 291–292, where Io is identified as the *Kleidoûkhos* of Hera ἐν Ἀργείαι χθονί 'in Argive land'. Doric preserves the semantically equivalent *Kla(i)kophóros* (Κλᾰκοφόρος), title of a cult official at Messene (IG 5,1.1446.11). A comparable term occurs in Linear B tablets from Pylos, clearly denoting a female cult officiant – the *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* (*klāwiphoros*), which we have met in earlier discussions (see §1.2.3.1, §2.2, and §5.3). We saw the '*kleís*-bearer' to be affiliated with the *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja* festival. The notion 'cord-bearer', or the like, is

sensible in the context of the *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja* festival, a ritual event that seems to be dedicated to the re-girding of a woman following childbirth – a moment when constricting cords are sympathetically loosened to promote easy delivery (see §1.2.3.1). Relative to *re-girding*, compare the corresponding verb *kleíō* (κλείω) 'to enclose, shut' (Latin *claudō* 'to close, conclude). Greek Artemis will of course come to function as a goddess of childbirth (see §1.2.3.1), a role shared with Hera and Eileithyia..

15.3.4. *Upis, Hecaerge, and Loxo*

It is important to bear in mind the great antiquity of the goddess of the Ephesian Artemision. In his *De incredibilibus* (31), the paradoxagrapher Palaephatus writes that the Lacedaemonians call Artemis *Upis* (that is, *Oûpis* [Οὖπις]). It is a term by which Callimachus addresses the goddess in *Hymns* 3 (*Hymn to Artemis*): he invokes *Oûpi ánassa* (Οὖπι ἄνασσα) 'O Queen Upis' at both line 204 and 240 – at 204 also writing of a 'wooden image' (*brétas* [βρέτας]; typically of an archaic sort) of the goddess that Amazons had set up at Ephesus. Here Callimachus qualifies Artemis as *ánassa*, the Pamphylian *wánassa* (ϝάνασσα), feminine of *wánaks* (ϝάναξ), of which we took note in

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§2.4 (see also §4.2, §§4.2.2–3, and especially §4.2.4.3).[1539] In etymologizing the name *Upis*, a scholiast on line 204[1540] draws attention to three Hyperborean maidens who gave honor to Artemis and her brother Apollo, one of whom is herself named as *Upis* – *Hecaerge* and *Loxo* being the names of the other two. The semantic significance of *Loxo* (*Loxṓ* [Λοξώ]) is somewhat uncertain, but the term is most likely a derivative of *loxós* (λοξός) 'oblique, ambiguous' (Chantraine 1968:646). Comparison should surely be made to another derivative of *loxós* – namely, to Apollo's epithet *Loxías* (Λοξίας),[1541] found commonly in Pindar and in tragedy, *inter alia*, and possibly offering a nod to the ambiguity of the god's oracular responses (as in Cornutus *De natura deorum* 67); at *Epinicia* 13.114–115 (Irigoin), for example, Bacchylides writes of Λυκίων τε | Λοξίας ἄναξ Ἀπόλλων 'Apollo Loxias, lord of Lycians'. As the divine name *Upis* (for Artemis) is appropriated to name one of the Hyperborean maidens, so recourse is made to *Loxias* (Apollo, brother of Artemis) for another. The same process provides to the third of the Hyperborean maidens the name *Hecaerge* (that is, *Hekaérgē* [Ἑκαέργη]): this is an epithet assigned to Artemis (Aristophanes *Thesmophoriazusae* 972; *Etymologicum*

[1539] Compare, *inter alia*, *Homeric Hymn to Artemis* 92–93; Euripides *Iphigenia at Aulis* 1482 and 1523; Aristophanes *Thesmophoriazusae* 971.

[1540] *Scholia in Hymnos* (*scholia vetera*) [*scholia ψ ex archetype* (= Pfeiffer 1949–1953)] 3.204.

[1541] Noted by Höfer (1897–1902:928), who cites still earlier bibliography.

Gudianum E 438), matched by the far more frequently occurring epithet of her brother Apollo, *Hekáergos* (Ἑκάεργος) 'He Who Works from Far'.[1542] We will return to Upis below, in §15.3.5, but let us now give some attention to Hyperboreans and to Artemis' bees.

15.3.4.1. Hyperboreans. These Hyperboreans are another mythic race of people, such as the Amazons, a people living in the far north (i.e. beyond the realm of Boreas, the North Wind) with whom Apollo has a particular affiliation.[1543] We have seen already, as we examined Irish Oengus and structural similarities to the Aśvins (§13.5.4.1), how according to the Lesbian poet Alcaeus, at Apollo's birth on Delos, Zeus sent a chariot drawn by swans to convey the lyre god to Delphi. But Apollo drove this chariot instead to the Hyperboreans. We are reminded again of Callimachus *Hymns* 4:249–254 in which swans – the 'birds of the Muses' (Μουσάων ὄρνιθες) – are said to have flown from the Lydian river Pactolus to Delos at the time of Apollo's birth, singing as they circled the island seven times. We saw the Hyperborean handing off his arrow to Pythagoras (§13.8) and of crow-form Aristeas, traveling companion of Apollo,

[1542] See, *inter alia*, Homer *Iliad* 1.479; 5.439; 9.564; 15.243, 253; 16.94; 17.585; 21.461, 478, 600; 22.220; *Odyssey* 8.323.

[1543] On the Hyperboreans and their relationship to Apollo's sacred sites of Delphi and Delos see, *inter alia*, Romm 1992:60–67.

journeying from the Hyperboreans to Metapontium (§11.5.3.2). In his description of Delphi, Pausanias (10.5.7–8) refers to a hymn composed by a local woman named Boeo (that is, *Boiṓ* [Βοιώ]) for the Delphians, in which she sang that Hyperboreans had established (*kataskeuázō* [κατασκευάζω]) the oracle of Apollo. Pausanias then goes on to state (10.5.9–10) that the most ancient temple of Delphic Apollo had been constructed of laurel brought from Tempe in Thessaly (on Tempe and Apollo, see Aelian *Varia historia* 3.1) – it was likely only a 'hut' (*kalúbē* [καλύβη]), Pausanias adds. He continues: according to the Delphians the next temple was constructed ὑπὸ μελισσῶν . . . ἀπό τε τοῦ κηροῦ τῶν μελισσῶν καὶ ἐκ πτερῶν 'by bees . . . both out of the wax of the bees and from feathers'; and they say Apollo sent this temple to the Hyperboreans. Compare Philostratus *Life of Apolloniuus of Tyana* 6.10.4, who writes that a little hut was fashioned for Apollo, ἐς ἣν ξυμβαλέσθαι λέγονται μέλιτται μὲν κηρόν, πτερὰ δὲ ὄρνιθες 'to which they say bees joined wax and birds feathers'. Since at least Middleton 1888:284, a verse preserved by Plutarch in his *De Pythiae oraculis* (402D) has been seen to be relevant; as Plutarch digresses on the cult of the Muses, he cites a purportedly primeval line of hexameter: συμφέρετε πτερά τ', οἰωνοί, κηρόν τε, μέλισσαι 'Bring together feathers, O birds, and wax, O bees'[1544] (see below, §20.2).

[1544] See also Philostratus *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 6.11.15.

15.3.4.2. Artemis' Bees and Anatolia. And so we once more encounter bees, which we observed in §15.3.3 to form an element of the distinctive iconography of Ephesian Artemis. Bee imagery attached to sacred architecture can be found in Anatolia as early as the First Shrine (E VI 8) of Neolithic Çatal Hüyük Level IV,[1545] accompanied by what have been described as "breast-like" shapes in relief,[1546] though Mellaart's interpretation of the projections as representing breasts is open to question.[1547] One may well suspect that the iconography of Ephesian Artemis lies along an Anatolian evolutionary continuum of considerable time depth. At *Pythian Odes* 4.60, Pindar calls the oracular uttering of the Pythia, the priestess of Apollo at Delphi, the Μελίσσας Δελφίδος κέλαδος 'voice of the Delphic Bee': thus, as Lactantius knows the priestesses of the Asian Mother to be called 'Bees' (*Mélissai* [Μέλισσαι]; see above, §15.2), so Pindar knows the Pythia to be the 'Delphic Bee' (*Mélissa Delphís* [Μέλισσα Δελφίς]). Porphyry (*De antro nympharum* 18; AD third century) indicates that Artemis, identified as Selene (the 'Moon') and patron of birth, is at times herself called *Melissa* (*Mélissa [*Μέλισσα]) 'Bee'. In Aeschylus fr. 87 (TrGF), one of the few remnants of the play *Iéreiai* (Ιέρειαι)

[1545] See Dietrich 1974:119–120, who cites for the iconography the earlier discussion of Mellaart 1963:80.

[1546] Described by Mellaart 1963:67 (with fig. 9), 70, and 80.

[1547] See Wesler 2012:75–77.

'Priestesses', the chorus announces that the *Melissonómoi* (Μελισσονόμοι) 'Bee-Keepers' are present to open the temple of Artemis, and the term almost certainly references priestesses of the goddess. The setting of the play is reported to be *Kasōlába* (Κασωλάβα), a city of Caria (Hesychius K 1001); compare Carian *ksolbś*.[1548]

15.3.4.3. Artemis and Essenes: King Bees. In describing the environs of Orchomenus in Arcadia and the sanctuary of Artemis Hymnia, Pausanias (8.13.1) draws attention to the cult of Ephesian Artemis and to its officiants called the *Essenes* (*Essênes* [Ἐσσῆνες]).[1549] The two earliest surviving literary attestations of the term *Essḗn* fall to Callimachus: he uses it at *Aetia* fr. 178.23–24, in which lines he refers to the Thessalian Peleus (father of Achilles) as Μυρμιδόνων Ἐσσήν '*Essen* of the Myrmidons'; Herodian (*De prosodia catholica* 3.1.15) understands Callimachus to use the term here to link Peleus to a foundation tradition, glossing *Essḗn* (Ἐσσήν) as *oikistḗs* (οἰκιστής) 'founder'.[1550] Callimachus' second usage of *Essḗn* is found in *Hymns* 1 (*Hymn to Zeus*). Callimachus here rehearses the Cretan birth narrative of Zeus, drawing attention (lines 47–48, 52–54) to

[1548] See Adiego 2007:237–238, 243, 245, and especially 375.

[1549] On whom see recently Bremmer 2008a, with bibliography.

[1550] Chantraine (1968:378) views Herodian's gloss to reflect a folk etymology that connects *Essḗn* (Ἐσσήν) with *hézomai* (ἕζομαι) 'to seat oneself'.

the nourishing goat Amalthea, the guardian Curetes (whom we saw in §14.7.2 to be credited with introducing *melissourgía* [μελισσουργία] 'bee-keeping'), and to the sustaining 'sweet honey-comb' (γλυκὺ κηρίον). Lines 50–51 read:

> Γέντο γὰρ ἐξαπιναῖα Πανακρίδος ἔργα μελίσσης
>
> ’Ιδαίος ἐν ὄρεσσι, τά τε κλείουσι Πάνακρα.

> For all of a sudden there was the work of the Panacrian bee
>
> on the Idaean hills, which they call *Panacra*.

Callimachus now invokes the archaic tradition, surely of Near Eastern origin,[1551] that Zeus acquired the domain of Olympus by a casting of lots (lines 59–61), only to refute the tradition (lines 62–65); and so the poet declares of Zeus (lines 66–69):

> Οὔ σε θεῶν <u>ἐσσῆνα</u> πάλοι θέσαν, ἔργα δὲ χειρῶν,
>
> σή τε βίη τό τε κάρτος, ὃ καὶ πέλας εἵσαο δίφρου.
>
> θήκαο δ’ οἰωνῶν μέγ’ ὑπείροχον ἀγγελιώτην

[1551] See Burkert 1992:88–91, on *Iliad* 15.187–193.

σῶν τεράων· ἅ τ' ἐμοῖσι φίλοις ἐνδέξια φαίνοις.

Casting of lots made you not *Essen* of the gods, but works of hands,

both your might and force, which you placed nearby your seat.

And the most eminent of birds you set as messenger

of your signs – which may you reveal as propitious for my dear ones.

Here again we find bee and bird conjoined – and bird of augury at that.

It is worth noting at this point that there is evidence of what is in effect a form of bee divination practiced in Anatolia: a ritual described in CTH 447 (see Popko 2003)[1552] serves to determine if a bee is an unfavorable omen, one that can be sent by a specific subset of deities.[1553] Bee and bird show alternation here. Thus, in A II 25'–27' we read: "Even if you, O Sun-Goddess of the Earth, have sent it (the bee) for evil, change it now and make it into a favorable bird!"[1554]

[1552] See also Popko 2004 and Groddek 2015.

[1553] See Popko 2003:65–66; Archi 2008:178: "the Hilassi and the Gulses tutelary deities, the Sun-goddess of the Earth, the Sun-god, the Storm-god of Heaven, the Storm-god of Zippalanda and a seventh deity whose name is not preserved."

[1554] The translation is that of CHD L–N:155. See also Collins 2002:234.

Divining by the observation of bees is not an unknown phenomenon among the Greeks. We saw this in practice in our discussion of Trophonius and his oracle at Lebadea in Boeotia in Chapter Fourteen (see §14.8.3): following Boeotian consultation with the Pythia, the envoy Saon identified the hidden location of Trophonius' oracle by observing a swarm of bees. Apollo's Bee Maidens of Parnassus are also associated with divinatory bee behavior, as we shall see when we examine these oracular figures closely in Chapter Eighteen. Plutarch (*Life of Dion* 24.4, [Theopompus fr. 331 FGrH]) remarks that the Thessalian seer Miltas 'perceived' (*horáō* [ὁράω]) the appearance of bees, which were swarming on the sterns of Dion ships, to be a portent in the run up to Dion's campaign against the tyrant Dionysius II.[1555] Worth mentioning is Lucian's satiric presentation of the pseudo-prophet Peregrinus' plotting, in advance of his planned suicide, to set up a hero cult for himself: Lucian underscores the bogus status of any such cult by implying that bees will not 'land upon', 'hover at' (*epistḗsesthai* [ἐπιστήσεσθαι]) the cult site, cicadas will not sing , and crows will not 'fly to' it (*epipḗsesthai* [ἐπιπήσεσθαι]). The last-named action Lucian contrasts with that of a crow providing a divinatory signal in a search for Hesiod's bones. When a delegation of

[1555] Scheinberg (1979:20), following upon Robert-Tornow 1893:43–60 (and also Waszink 1974), draws attention to these instances of bee divination reported in Greek and Roman sources. On Thessalian Miltas see Flower 2008:110, 118, 178, 194–195.

inquirers from Boeotian Orchomenus went to Delphi to discover how to bring an end to a plague that was infecting the city, the Pythia directed them to go to Naupactus to seek the poet's bones and announced that there a crow 'would disclose' (*mēnúō* [μηνύω]) their location to the searchers; the bones were to be moved to Orchomenus, whereupon the plague would end (Pausanias 9.38.3–4). One might surmise that Lucian's identification of crow as divining agent here invites assigning a comparable function to alighting, hovering bees.

There are also Roman examples of apian divining. Virgil (*Aeneid* 7.59–70) depicts Latinus, acting as 'prophet' (*vātēs*), divining the signification of a bee-swarm landing in the top of a laurel tree dedicated to Apollo: it signifies the approach of Aeneas and his Trojan warriors. Servius remarks that what the portent actually signified was the coming of war. Livy (21.46.2–11) reports the portent of a bee-swarm landing in a tree above the tent of Publius Cornelius Scipio prior to his engaging with Hannibal for the first time: Scipio would be wounded in the ensuing fight. Tacitus (*Annales* 12.64) records the portent of a bee-swarm landing on the Capitoline temple. Writing on the nature and habits of bees, Pliny (*Naturalis historia* 11.53–56) states that when the king bee is on the move he is accompanied by the entire swarm and that the landing of the swarm on a temple or house is regarded as a 'predictive sign' (*ostentum*):

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the haruspices invariably interpret this as a 'dreadful sign' (*dīrum ostentum*) – but it must not always be so, as bees were said to have landed on the mouth of the infant Plato, signaling his coming eloquence.

Regarding Greek *Essḗn* (Ἐσσήν), the *Suda* (*E* 3131) defines the term as βασιλεύς· κυρίως τῶν μελισσῶν 'king; properly of the bees'.[1556] Compare, *inter alia*, *Etymologicum Magnum* 383, which localizes the term *Essen* meaning 'king' among the Ephesians and states that this meaning is metaphorically generalized from its sense 'king-bee'. Several inscriptions from Ephesus refer to the *Essenes* and to their participation in the cult of Artemis.[1557] The etymology of *Essḗn* is uncertain but the plausible case is that it comes to Greek from an Anatolian language: Chantraine (1933:167–168) identifies *Essḗn* as one member of a set of Greek words ending in *-ēn* (-ην) that are borrowed from "des langues préhelléniques," words such as *balḗn/ballḗn* (βαλήν/βαλλήν), 'king', from Phrygian according to Hesychius B 154; and *Seirḗn* (Σειρήν) 'Siren', but for Aristotle

[1556] See also Pseudo-Zonaras *Lexicon* E 877 and the scholion on Callimachus *Hymns* 1.66b, *Scholia in Hymnos* (*scholia vetera* [*scholia ψ ex archetype* (= Pfeiffer 1953)]).

[1557] See the discussion of Bremmer 2008a:48–49, who draws attention to IEph 1448 and 1473.

(*Historia animalium* 623b) also denoting a type of stinging insect. For the source of *Essḗn* Chantraine (1968:378) suggests possibly Phrygian or Lydian.[1558]

15.3.5. Artemis: Upis and Opis, and Hittite *Apaša*

To return to the matter of Artemis' name *Upis* (*Oûpis* [Οὖπις]) – we noted just above (§15.3.4) that in a scholion on Callimachus *Hymns* 3.204 reference is made to three Hyperborean maidens: Upis, Hecaerge, and Loxo, each of whom appears to take her name from a theonym or attribute associated with Artemis/Apollo. The scholiast is here drawing this verse together with Callimachus *Hymns* 4.291–294 (*Hymn to Delos*) in which the Alexandrian poet sings of Upis, Hecaerge, and Loxo as being three daughters of Boreas; in this hymn Callimachus characterizes the three maidens (and young men who accompany them) as the first to bring certain offerings to Delos, transporting them ἀπὸ ξανθῶν Ἀριμασπῶν 'from the golden-haired Arimaspians'. The term *Arimaspoí* (Ἀριμασποί) identifies yet another mythic people, characterized anatomically as possessing only a single eye; Herodotus (4.27–28.1) reports that *arima-spós* (ἀριμα-σπός) is a Scythian word meaning 'one-eyed'. They are typically situated in a northerly

[1558] See also Frisk 1960:575 and 1972:95 (both with bibliography) and Furnée 1972:172 (with note 118), who writes of words that end in *-ēn* (-ήν) being of "voridg. [vorindogermanische] Ursprung."

locale. The Ἀριμασπὸς ἱπποβάμος 'horse-traveling Arimaspian' is earliest referenced by Aeschylus (*Prometheus Bound* 803–807), who mentions this people in conjunction with griffins, those winged, eagle-headed lion hybrids that the Greeks appear to have acquired from western Asia,[1559] known already to the Mycenaeans.[1560] Herodotus (4.13.1–2; 4.27) localizes the griffins geographically between the Arimaspians and the Hyperboreans.

The name *Upis* (*Oûpis* [Οὖπις]), assigned to Artemis and to the Hyperborean maiden, surfaces elsewhere in the form *Opis* (that is, *Ôpis* [Ὦπις]), as in Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 1.27, where the mythographer writes that it was because Orion tried to rape Opis that he was killed by Artemis. Pausanias (5.7.8–9) mentions an ode that Melanopus of Cyme composed for Opis and Hecaerge in celebration of their arrival on Delos. In this same report, Pausanias writes of a Lycian poet by the name of Olen and of Olen's hymn to a Hyperborean maiden named *Achaeia* (*Achaiía* [Ἀχαιία]) who had made her way to Delos. Callimachus knows the Lycian Olen too (*Hymns* 4.304), as does Herodotus (4.35.1); and both refer to the performance of his hymns in Delian cult. Herodotus writes that Olen composed a hymn to the Hyperborean maidens Opis and

[1559] See, *inter alia*, West 1997:580–581; Burkert 1992:19; 165n24.

[1560] For examples, see, *inter alia*. Hood 1992 *passim*.

Arge (that is, *Árgē* [Ἄργη], cf. *Hekaérgē* [Ἑκαέργη]); and not just this, but οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ὠλὴν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς παλαιοὺς ὕμνους ἐποίησε ἐκ Λυκίης ἐλθὼν τοὺς ἀειδομένους ἐν Δήλῳ 'after he had come out of Lycia, this Olen also composed the other ancient hymns that are sung at Delos'. Herodotus adds to this a Delian tradition – undoubtedly preserved in the cult songs attributed to the Lycian – the curious and intriguing claim that in contrast to other named Hyperborean maidens (Hyperoche and Laodice), Opis and Arge had arrived on Delos ἅμα αὐτοῖσι θεοῖσι 'together with the gods themselves.'[1561] Opis, whom we first met as Upis, who has a name that can be assigned to Artemis herself, is clearly awarded a certain primeval status in the cult tradition of Delos, tied to a poet who had come westward out of western Anatolia.

In an investigation of Anatolian influences on the figure of Ephesian Artemis, Morris (2001b:137) notes the occurrence of the names *Upis* and *Opis* and the alternative tradition of the birthplace of Artemis: not Delos, but Ortygia, in the vicinity of Ephesus (see Strabo 14.1.20).[1562] Morris makes the reasonable inference that *Upis*/*Opis* finds its origins in the Hittite name of Ephesus which we encountered earlier in this chapter,

[1561] For views on the phrase and textual emendation of it, see the discussion of Sale 1961:82–84, with bibliography of earlier work.

[1562] See also *Scholia in Pindarum* (*scholia vetera* [=Drachmann 1966–1969]) *Nemean* 1.*inscr*. b. Compare *Orphic Hymns* 35.4–5.

Apaša (see §15.3 and §15.3.1). A further inference that could perhaps be made is that Greek knowledge of the goddess of the Artemision derived from a time when the Greeks knew the name of the city to be Apaša, the name reflected in the Mycenaean adjective *a-pa-si-jo*, and so in the time of the Ahhiyawa. It surely must be the case that the name *Apaša* was one known to the Mycenaean Greeks who inhabited Anatolia in the Bronze Age.

15.4. Aśvins, Bees, and Honey

In the several chapters that have preceded, we have seen divine-twins to figure conspicuously in Aeolian foundation traditions. A constant comparand for these Aeolian twins has been provided by the Indic Aśvins, the Nāsatyas. Before we conclude this chapter we should note that these Aśvins are themselves associated with bees and, especially, with *madhu* 'honey' – and in a distinctive way that sets them apart from the other gods of Vedic India.[1563] In Chapter Twelve (§12.7.3.6), as we considered the radiance of the Indo-European divine twins, we noted that the Aśvins and their chariot are *madhuvarṇa-* 'honey-colored'. We can add to this that their chariot is also called

[1563] See Macdonell 1897:49–50 for discussion of the affiliation of the twin gods with honey; he writes (p. 49) that "of all the gods the Aśvins are most closely connected with honey (*madhu*), with which they are mentioned in many passages. See also Parpola 2005:27, 39–41, 48, and 55.

madhuvāhana- 'honey-bearing' (*Rig Veda* 1.34.2; 1.157.3; 10.41.2) and that the Aśvins carry a 'honey whip' (*Rig Veda* 1.22.3 and 1.157.4 [see further in §21.2]). They are *mādhvī* 'honey-rich' (*Rig Veda* 4.43.4; 5.75.1–9; 7.67.4) *madhūyu-* 'honey-seeking' (*Rig Veda* 5.73.8 and 5.74.9) and *madhupa-* 'honey drinking' (*Rig Veda* 1.34.10; 1.180.2; 4.45.3; 8.22.17). The Aśvins bring honey from the bees (*Rig Veda* 1.112.21); the bee holds the honey of the Aśvins within its mouth (*Rig Veda* 10.40.6). The Aśvins produce the milk in a cow like bees produce honey, in the simile of *Rig Veda* 10.106.10. The Aśvins travel to an Adhvaryu who is 'honey-handed', from whom the poet can invoke them to travel 'here to the ritual honey-drink' – that is, to the drinking of Soma (*Rig Veda* 10.41.3) – where the term used for the honey draft is *madhupéya-* (as also at *Rig Veda* 1.34.11 and 4.14.4).[1564]

In our discussions of *u-po-jo, po-ti-ni-ja*, 'Potnia of *u-po*', in Chapters Two and Four, we encountered the primitive ritual of the Vājapeya (see especially §4.2.1). In celebrating the ritual, the alcoholic beverage called *surā* is utilized: we saw that following the chariot race (a principal component of the Vājapeya) priests present cups

[1564] Sanskrit *péya-*, the second member of the compound *madhupéya-*, denotes 'ritual drink offering'; see the comments of Parpola 2005:41, who notes that Proto-Indo-Iranian *paiyas was borrowed into Proto-Finno-Ugric, with a reflex *peijas* in Finnish, term denoting a 'ritual drinking bout in connection with marriage, funerals, and bear-killing'.

of *surā* and of honey to designated participants in the race (*Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* 5.1.5.28). *Surā* is a material also associated with celebration of the Sautrāmaṇī, triple sacrifice of a male goat, ram, and bull (see especially §5.3.2). While Vedic *surā* was made of grain, Parpola (2005:40) draws attention to evidence that suggests that in a Proto-Indo-Iranian period *surā* had been made of mare's milk – or some other kind of milk – that was fermented with honey; he continues (pp. 40–41):

> This is suggested also by the facts that the Aśvins were offered a drink of hot milk mixed with honey in the *Pravargya* or *Gharma* ritual, and that the Soma drink, when offered to the Aśvins and to Mitra and Varuṇa, had to be mixed with milk and honey. The Aśvins are also said to have produced one hundred vessels of *surā* from the hoof of a horse [*Rig Veda* 1.116.7 and 1.117.6], and the *surā* is purified with a filter made of horse hair.

As we transition into the next chapter we should take note of the 'skin-bag' filled with honey that accompanies the Aśvins on their chariot, along with the goddess

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Sūryā (daughter of the Sun; see above, §12.7.3.6), that appears at *Rig Veda* 4.45.1 and 3:[1565]

1. Now this radiant beam arises; the earth-encircling chariot is hitched up upon the back of this heaven.

   Three bringing nourishment [=Aśvins and Sūryā] are upon [the chariot] as a pair; a fourth, a skin-bag, teems with honey

. . . .

3. Drink of the honey with your honey-drinking mouths and hitch up your own dear chariot for honey.

   You quicken the course of the path with honey, and you carry your honey-filled skin-bag, O Aśvins.

The Aśvins both transport honey in a skin-bag en route to the Soma sacrifice in their chariot and receive the offering of "honey" (i.e. Soma) at the sacrifice. The term here translated 'skin-bag' is *dr̥ti-*, denoting a sack crafted of hide, used for holding liquids. We see it used again of a skin-bag containing honey for the Aśvins in *Rig Veda* 8.5.19:

[1565] The translation is that of Jamison and Brereton 2014:1:629–630, with minor modification.

"The skin-bag of honey that was set here in your chariot-rut, drink from it, O Aśvins."[1566]

An etymon for Sanskrit *dr̥ti-* is provided by Proto-Indo-European *der- 'to skin, flay'.[1567] With *dr̥ti-* compare formally Greek *dársis* (δάρσις), a term that Galen[1568] uses to name the action of splitting apart tissues (from *dérō* [δέρω] 'to skin, flay'). For the sense of Sanskrit *dr̥ti-* compare Greek *dérris* (δέρρις) 'covering made of skin', such as a curtain, screen, cloak, and so on.[1569] Hesychius (Δ 693) identifies a diminuitive *dérrion* (δέρριον), which he glosses as τρίχινον σακίον 'a small hairy bag'. But it is another Greek reflex of *der- that floats conspicuously to the top in the context of the present investigation – that reflex being *déros* (δέρος), with a variant *déras* (δέρας), routinely denoting, when accompanied by the adjective *khrusómallos* (χρυσόμαλλος) 'having a golden fleece': the *khrusómallon déros* is the 'Golden Fleece' of Argonautic tradition, to which we will turn in the next chapter.

[1566] The translation is that of Jamison and Brereton 2014:2:1036. In *Rig Veda* 7.89, a hymn to Varuṇa for healing from dropsy, *dr̥ti-* is used in the second stanza in a simile that compares a distended skin-bag to the distended abdomen of the sufferer.

[1567] See, *inter alia*, Chantraine 1968:254–255; Beekes 2010:318–319.

[1568] *On Anatomical Procedures* 2.350, 476, 483–484, 487, 493, 700 and 13.592.

[1569] See, *inter alia*, Mayrhofer 1956–1980:2:59.

15.5. Some Interpretative Conclusions

The process of knowledge transfer from Asia Minor to Balkan Hellas was an ongoing phenomenon that had begun by the Late Bronze Age. Mycenaean cognizance of the source of such transferences is signaled in the Linear B documentary record through the use of the ethnic adjective *a-si-wi-jo*/*a-*64-jo*, as well as ethnics that identify certain specific eastern Aegean/western Anatolian locales. As is typical, these processes of knowledge transfer occurred within structured systems – systems of cult performance, of fabricating, of healing, of war-making, etc. This would include warrior expertise brought to the Balkans by members of the *Ur*-Aeolian community, the Asian Mycenaean *hek*^{w}*etai*, acquired through both cultural integration and combat experience within western Anatolia. The worship of an Asian Mother-goddess figure had been introduced into Greece already in the Mycenaean era, effectively presaging the incorporation of the Great Asian Mother Cybele into Greek cult – fuzzy points distributed along a chronological continuum. A particular form of such a goddess is conspicuously visible in Iron-Age Anatolian Greece in the figure of the deity celebrated at the Ephesian Artemision. *Artemis* here gives name at a particular moment to a goddess who was worshipped locally long before the arrival of the Attic-Ionic-speaking

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settlers who would place their stamp on that place which indigenous Bronze-Age Anatolian peoples had called *Apaša*. It is a locale entailed in an alliance of Anatolian Mycenaeans with the local monarch Uhha-ziti, who was forced to flee, almost certainly to an island under Ahhiyawan control. Worship of the local goddess at *Apaša* was one in which native Anatolian peoples of the region would have engaged, and a cult form familiar to Mycenaeans present in the region as allies of indigenous Anatolians. A formulated Greek memory of the Bronze-Age deity would persist in the first millennium BC in cult songs in which a vestige of the goddess is assigned the name Upis/Opis (seemingly "she of *Apaša*"), made to be a member of the mythic Hyperboreans, beings who have likewise made an appearance in Aeolian foundation tradition that we have examined. Elements of the iconography of Ephesian Artemis project back in time, finding expression, it would seem, in textual references to a Mycenaean festival, in Anatolian Bronze-Age ideology of fertility and associated realia (discussed in more detail in the next chapter), while perhaps continuing the forms of cult icons evidenced in Neolithic Anatolia.

One aspect of this transference of knowledge may have entailed what was essentially the re-introduction into Balkan Greece of ideas of ancestral Indo-European myth and cult that were more dutifully preserved (or otherwise embraced; see Chapter

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Twenty-One) in the "fringe" Greek community of Anatolia than in the Greek heartland of Hellas proper. Going forward we must be ever more mindful of the possibility of a mixing of ideas that presents itself as points of engagement defined by two axes: a diachronic axis of inherited Indo-European traditions and a synchronic axis of contemporary Anatolian cultural influence. These intersections are made more vibrant by the fact that the relevant Anatolian cultures are themselves descendants of a more primitive Indo-European (or "Indo-Hittite") culture and by the presence of still other Indo-European peoples in southern Anatolia.

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Chapter Sixteen

Ephesian Artemis' "Breasts" and the Hittite *Kurša*

16.1. Introduction

Perhaps one of the most surprising findings of this investigation, presented thus far, is the recurrence of the motif of bee and honey, often in association with birds. In Chapter Fifteen we drew attention to the prominence of augury in Bronze-Age Luvoid Arzawa and of evidence for the salience of that means of divination at Greek Ephesus. Observation of bees also is seen to be of divinatory import in Anatolia and among Greeks, and notably so in conjunction with Boeotian oracles. This is surely one phenomenon that contributes to the repeated surfacing of bee and bird in examination of cult and myth. But there must be more going on than this alone, especially in light of the prominence of not just bees but of the product of the bee – honey – and, as we shall eventually see, an even greater prominence at that. How does this intersect with the major concern of this work, the common Aeolian identity of the Bronze-Age

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Mycenaeans of Asia Minor? The sorting out of this will represent a sub-investigation that tracks through the remainder of this volume. In the present chapter an aspect of this line of inquiry is provided by examination of an implement of Hittite cult and myth, together with various issues pertinent to expressions of this cult artefact.

16.2. Hittite Kurša

Mention was made in Chapter Fifteen (see §15.3.3) of the bulbous appendages that characteristically appear on the torso of statues of Ephesian Artemis. Morris (2001b:142) notes that amber pendants having a decidedly sack-like appearance are among the small finds of the Artemision, present in early levels, and (following Bammer 1990 in part) that these bear a close likeness to the bulbous appendages of the statues: the amber pendants would appear to be comparable decorative bulbs that were once suspended on archaic images of the goddess. Morris finds an Anatolian prototype for these in the leather sack called in Hittite a *kurša*, a cult implement described in various texts (including the Old Anatolian myths of the disappearing god) and depicted in reliefs.[1570] This sack can itself be deified (^{d}*kurša*); and there are textual

[1570] On the *kurša* as cult object, see, *inter alia*, Popko 1978:108–110 and 1995:76; Güterbock 1997a:137–140; Haas 1994: *passim*; Bawanypeck 2005:185–186; Taracha 2009:57–58.

references to a ^{d}LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš* 'tutelary deity of the *kurša*'[1571] (the Sumerogram transcribed as ^{d}LAMMA is used in cuneiform Anatolian texts to denote a class of tutelary gods). Such a LAMMA deity may be either female (notably, the goddess Inara; see below, §16.2.6.1) or male (on LAMMA deities, see Chapter Twenty-One, especially §21.3.2, §21.3.2.1, and §21.3.2.2).

16.2.1. Zeus Labrandeus

The same bulbous appendages can be seen not only on images of Ephesian Artemis but on those of male deities as well, notably Zeus Labrandeus (Ζεὺς Λαβρανδεύς)[1572] – that chief deity of Carian Mylasa (Herodotus 5.119.2) whom we encountered in our discussion of the Carian city of Alabanda and its eponym Alabandus (figure identified as son of Car and son of Evippus) in Chapter Twelve (see §12.7.2). The woolen cords that appear as a typical element of the iconography of Ephesian Artemis, suspended from her hands or wrists, are likewise found on coin images of Zeus Labrandeus (see Fleischer 1973:319; Carstens 2012:137–139), drawing this expression of the Carian iconography into the lexical sphere of Linear B *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* (*klāwiphoros*;

[1571] See Güterbock 1997a:139–140 for this and other examples of the deification of the *kurša*.

[1572] See, for example, Fleischer 1973:310–324, with associated figures.

see the discussion in §15.3.3). Regarding Greek *Labrandeús*, Herda (2013a:432n39) observes that the term "is attested in many forms showing that it is not of Greek origin: Labraundos, Labraundeus, Labraundaios, Labraiundos, etc." and notes that (following Neumann 1988:185–187; see also Herda and Sauter 2009:100n295): "The place name Labrunda is Luwic, meaning 'rich in *Labra-*', *Labra-* designating perhaps a kind of herb (compare Hittite *laparša* . . . ." a 'garden herb or vegetable'; see CHD, L–N:43).[1573]

16.2.2. *Kurša*: Cornucopian Leather Bag

The Anatolian *kurša* is described as serving as a receptacle for various elements of fecundity and agrarian goods (a sort of cornucopia);[1574] and while it has been identified as an accouterment of the hunt, its characterization as principally a "hunting

[1573] Plutarch (*Quaestiones Graecae* 45) identifies the source of Zeus' epithet *Labrandeús* (Λαβρανδεύς) as being the Lydian word *lábrus* (λάβρυς), which he glosses as 'ax' (*pélekus* [πέλεκυς]; *labrandéa* [λαβρανδέα] is here an emendation of *labradéa* [λαβραδέα]). A variant popular etymology is offered by Aelian (*De natura animalium* 12.30) who grounds *Labrandeús* in *lábros* (λάβρος) vis-à-vis Zeus's role as sender of rains; *lábros* is a word that Homer uses to describe 'furious' water and wind (on which see Richardson 1993:222). Zeus Labrandeus and his cult are attested epigraphically in Attica at the beginning of the third century BC (IG II^2 1271;): see Garland 1987:135, 227; Parker 1996:338; Mikalson 1998:103 and 147; Kloppenborg and Ascough 2011:78–80; Herda 2013a:432.

[1574] See the remarks of Popko 1974; Watkins 2000b:2.

bag"[1575] has been rightly contested and should be set aside.[1576] Typically the *kurša* is constructed of hides – those of sheep, of oxen, and commonly, it seems, of goats, – and in this last-named case at least, characterized as 'shaggy' (Hittite *warḫiu-*).[1577] Güterbock (1997a:138–139) judges that even though the *kurša* seen in a myth of the disappearing god is *made* from sheepskin, "from a fragmentary line it is learned that a *kurša* and a sheepskin are not the same": the "fragmentary line" is KUB 7.13 obv. 25 in which there is a conjoined reference to *kurša* and to 'the red sheepskin'.[1578] Güterbock is here responding to what had been a lexical identification of *kurša* as 'fleece'. Regarding the interpretation of the *kurša* that makes an appearance in the myth of the disappearance of the god Telipinu, Güterbock notes: "Here the *kurša* of a sheep is hanging from an

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[1575] See the comments of Güterbock 1997a, especially pp. 138–139, with discussion and refutation of the notion that *kurša* denotes a shield – on which see also Popko 1975.

[1576] See, for example, Popko 1995:78 and Taracha 2009:57n296.

[1577] See Watkins 2000b:2; Oettinger 2002. On the variety of animal hides used, see, *inter alia*, McMahon 1991:251–252; see also Bremmer 2006:22 (with note 18).

[1578] Güterbock 1997a:139n17.

evergreen tree[1579] . . . . This may be an actual sheepskin, sewed up as to form a bag. But it was soon[1580] seen that this is not the only meaning of the word."

Yet the idea that *kurša* can denote not only a 'sack' made of "stitched-up" hide but also just a 'fleece' is still common enough.[1581] Consider, for example, what Puhvel writes in his lexicographic treatment of *kurša* (1997:274):

> Nor is 'fleece' the dominant sense in the texts (the normal term being ^{SÍG}*ešri-* . . . .) *kurša* meant specifically 'skin(bag)' (like Gk. [*askós*] ἀσκός and [*búrsa*] βύρσα), with some metonymic extension to other pliable containers (wicker, reed) and occasional (Luwoid?) *i*-stem declension.

But then to this Puhvel adds: "The talismanic aura may, however, go back to the primary meaning '(sheep)skin' . . . ." Puhvel clearly allows that the primal sense of the

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[1579] The tree is an *eyan* (^{GIŠ}*eya-*), of not only religious significance but legal (see §50 of the Hittite law code) – perhaps a yew: towards its species identification see, *inter alia*, Friedrich 1970:123–125; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:541 (with note 34)–542.

[1580] Güterbock's point of reference here is the study of Alp 1983.

[1581] In addition to the works referenced in the ensuing discussion see also the summary discussion of McMahon 1991:250–251.

term is 'fleece'. Compare (the largely consonantally spelled) Ugaritic *qrsů*, which denotes 'fleece, skin, wineskin' and must be a borrowing of the Anatolian word (per Olmo Lete and Sanmartin 2015:1:701), or vice versa, or both were acquired from some distinct source – compare also the Akkadian variants *gursānu*, *gursēnu* (both Old Assyrian), *gusānu* (Old Babylonian and Middle Assyrian), *gusannu* (at Nuzzi), and *kušānu* (at Alalakh), for 'leather bag', including for use as a swimming bladder, and for storing oil, valuables, wool – and also denoting hide used as a chair cover (CAD 5:142–143).

16.2.3. Hittite *Kurša* and Greek *Búrsa* (βύρσα)

It appears probable that Greek is a further participant in this loanword network. Herodotus (3.110), describing how the Arabians gather cassia (*Cinnamomum iners*), writes that they cover their entire bodies βύρσῃσι καὶ δέρμασι ἄλλοισι 'with ox-hides and other skins' to protect themselves from a sort of swamp bat. The term here (typically) translated 'ox-hide', *búrsa* (βύρσα), appears twice in Euripidean tragedy, both times in the context of cult: in the *Electra* (824), Euripides uses it of the 'hide' of a sacrificial calf that Orestes has flayed; while in the *Bacchae* (513) the tragedian applies *búrsa* to name the 'skin' of a drum used in a Bacchic rite. Pherecrates (fr. 16 Kock 1880) preserves the genitival phrase βύρσης γλευκαγωγοῦ, denoting a 'new-wine-carrying

búrsa'; and Aristophanes, Pherecrates' contemporary, can similarly use *búrsa* of a 'wineskin' (*Knights* 104), but also simply for 'hide' (*Knights* 369, 892; *Wasps* 38; *Peace* 753). *Búrsa* (βύρσα) can be glossed by *dérris* (δέρρις), that word that we encountered in the previous chapter (see §15.4) which provides a Greek counterpart to Sanskrit *dŕ̥ti-*, term used in the *Rig Veda* to identify the skin-bag in which the Aśvins carry honey: thus, Aelius Herodianus *Partitiones* 18; Hesychius Δ 690; Suda Δ 256. According to the *Epimerismi Homerici* Δ 46 (on *Iliad* 3.371, [Menelaus duels with Paris]) *dérris* is Aeolic and signifies a τεταμένη βύρσα 'stretched out *búrsa*'.[1582] As we noted in that earlier discussion, Hesychius (Δ 693) knows a diminutive *dérrion* (δέρριον), glossing it as τρίχινον σακίον 'a small hairy bag'. We will return to dŕ̥ti-, and related forms, further along in this chapter (see §16.3 and §16.3.5) and explore its significance still more in Chapter Twenty-One.

The phonological and semantic similarities that obtain between Hittite *kurša* and Greek *búrsa* (βύρσα) are such that an antecedent Indo-European form that begins with a labiovelar stop was reconstructed by Pedersen (1937:205–206);[1583] but his proposed etymon *g^{w}urso- cannot be correct, as the Indo-European labiovelar would

[1582] See also *Etymologicum Gudianum* Δ 341 and *Etymologicum magnum* 262.

[1583] Ten years later, Laroche (1947:75n4) would offer *búrsa* (βύρσα) as a comparandum in his discussion of Hittite *kurša*, but without comment.

have delabialized to Greek /g/, not to /b/, before the ensuing high back /u/ (as Puhvel notes in his work cited just above). If the Greek and Hittite forms have a common origin, as would seem probable, borrowing rather than inheritance must be the operative phenomenon. But how could an Anatolian form spelled with initial <ku-> be acquired by Greeks as a form spelled with initial <bu->?

16.2.3.1. Phonetics of the Hittite Lexeme Kurša. If common Greek and Hittite inheritance from an earlier Indo-European stage is eliminated, as it must be, a labiovelar phone appears still to be implicated. Labiovelar consonants make up part of the phonemic inventory of Hittite (Melchert 1994:61–62, 92 and 120) and Lydian (Melchert 2004d:603), and possibly Luvian and Lycian (Melchert 2004a:579; 2004c:594). The Hittite spelling of *kurša* likely reflects a Hittite phonetic structure [kʷorsa].[1584] Though not concerned with *kurša*, Alfred Heubeck, more than fifty years ago (1959:37–43), called attention to the prospect that Greek borrowed Anatolian words containing

[1584] Phonetic expression of an earlier zero-grade /kwrsa/. On the development of syllabic sonorants in Luvo-Hittite, see Melchert 2020b. For other consonant clusters with an initial labiovelar (plus obstruent or sonorant) consider, for example: *nekuz* for [nekʷtˢ] 'of evening' (tautosyllabic); *ekuzi* for [egʷtˢi] '(s)he drinks' (heterosyllabic); *nekumant-* for [nekʷmant-] 'naked' (heterosyllabic).

labiovelars.[1585] A borrowing scenario involving *kurša* would entail that its acquisition occurred in a period in which Greek itself still possessed labiovelar consonants

[1585] Heubeck draws attention to (1) Greek *búblos/bíblos* [βύβλος/βίβλος], term denoting 'papyrus, papyrus roll (book)', identical to the name of the Phoenician city of Byblos (*Búblos* [Βύβλος]), and to (2) the idea (see his p. 38 n.126 for pre-1959 bibliography) that when the Greeks acquired the Semitic form of the name of the city they (the Greeks) pronounced it with an initial labiovelar which was subsequently labialized. In the various Semitic languages in which the name of the city is attested it has an initial velar consonant, and this consonant is followed by an *u*-vowel in some instances (for an overview of the forms with bibliography, see Horn 1963). In the Phoenician consonantal script and in that of Ugarit its spelling is *Gbl* (compare the Egyptian consonantal spellings *Kpn* and *Kbn*); attested Hebrew *Gᵉbal* shows a reduced vowel; Akkadian has *Gubal* and *Gubla/u*, as at Amarna (preserving a Canaanite form [Albright 1950:165]) and in Neo-Assyrian. Eusebius *Onomasticon* 58 glosses *Búblos* as πόλις Φοινίκης, ἐν 'Ιεζεκιήλ, ἀνθ' οὗ τὸ 'Εβραϊκὸν ἔχει Γοβέλ 'a Phoenician city, in Ezekiel, instead of which Hebrew has *Gobel*." Consider *krókos* (κρόκος) 'saffron', a word surely imported from the east along with the product that it names, and Hebrew *karkōm* 'saffron' beside Akkadian *kurkānû*, which CAD (8:561) identifies only as a medicinal plant, commonly listed among aromatics, and "uncertainly" as 'turmeric'. Consider too Ionic *kúperos* (κύπερος; Linear B *ku-pa-ro*), denoting the spice *Cyperus rotundus*, and possibly of Semitic origin; compare Hebrew *kōper*, a fragrant plant. If Greeks assigned a labiovelar value to the Semitic sequence velar stop + *u* – and it is not at all clear that they would have – then which language is the likely donor? In the mid ninth century BC the Neo-Assyrian monarch Shalmaneser III made incursions into Syria where he faced, in 853 BC, a confederacy of twelve kings in whose army were forces from Byblos: this confederacy appears to

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(attested for Mycenaean Greek), as the later-attested *búrsa* (βύρσα) would have participated in the Greek process of labiovelar loss.

16.2.3.2. Greek Búrsa (βύρσα)*: A Borrowing Scenario.* Inherited labiovelars dissimilated to velars in Greek when they occurred after the high back vowel /u/; this occurred prior to the period in which Mycenaean Greek is attested: thus, for example, pre-Mycenaean *g^wou-$\underline{k^w}$ol- 'oxherds' evolves into attested Mycenaean *g^wou$\underline{k}$oloi* (spelled *qo-u-ko-ro*). In addition – there is no attested Linear B symbol **qu* (i.e. a symbol spelling [k^wu]), and post-Mycenaean Greek reveals that the same dissimilation occurred when the labiovelar was followed by the high back vowel, as in *elakhús* (ἐλαχύς) 'small', from Indo-European *h_1l$\underset{\circ}{n}g^{wh}$us. The two expressions of this dissimilation – one

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have been finally defeated in 841 and Shalmaneser subsequently received tribute from Byblos, Sidon, and Israel (Grayson 1982:260–263). If Greek mercenaries were involved in these hostilities, as might be expected (see Woodard 2010:44–45; 2012), then these Neo-Assyrian campaigns would have provided a scenario in which Neo-Assyrian *Gubal* and *Gubla/u* could possibly have been incorporated into the Greek lexicon. It would be nearly impossible to believe, however, that the Greeks had no earlier knowledge of the city and, hence, some name for it. On difficulties with the etymology that links Greek *búblos/bíblos* 'papyrus, papyrus roll (book)' with the Semitic name for the Phoencian city of Byblos, see Chantraine 1968:201.

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regressive, one progressive – co-occurred in roughly the same period, one could reasonably posit. Notice that the initial labiovelar of *g*^{w}*oukoloi* (from *g^{w}ou-k^{w}ol-) is preserved, occurring before an *o*-vowel, one that provides the initial component of the diphthong /ou/. Aside from their dissimilation immediately before and after /u/, labiovelars remain relatively stable in the Mycenaean dialect(s) of Greek.[1586]

[1586] It is difficult to know if this Pan-Hellenic dissimilation of labiovelar stops adjacent to a high back vowel remained an active synchronic process throughout the period of Mycenaean attestation. How long does a sound change remain a productive element of the grammar of a language once all targets for the sound change have been exhausted? Presumably such productivity could potentially continue at least as long as speakers of a language are in contact with other speakers whose dialect is marked by an absence of the synchronic process and thus who serve to keep alive awareness (at some level of cognition) of the target and the process by which the relevant dialects vary. Speakers whose dialect lacks the operative process (and so provides awareness of a target) need not be inhabitants of geographically distinct locales but simply members of older generations of the same local community (given the significance of language learning for language change; on language acquisition and language change see, *inter alia*, Labov 2001 *passim*). Added to this is the uncertainty associated with lexical diffusion: a sound change may run its course as it makes its way though the lexicon, so to speak, and cease to be productive even before all possible targets have been exhausted. For summary discussion of the potential complexities of lexical diffusion vis-à-vis residual (i.e. unaffected) targets of sound change, see McMahon 1994:53–56.

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A *terminus post quem* for the Greek acquisition of Anatolian [kʷorsa] is vaguely provided by earliest Greek period of contact with Anatolian language. A *terminus ante quem* for the Greek borrowing of *kurša* ([kʷorsa]), eventuating in *búrsa* (βύρσα), would be provided, in terms of relative chronology, by the completion of the "final" phase of Greek elimination of labiovelars, that one in which labiovelars – those not already changed into velars (by delabialization) or dentals (by palatalization) – became bilabials, the default Greek phonological outcome of the Indo-European labiovelars. There was a small set of East Ionic holdouts that appear to have retained *kʷ until *after* the Greek adaptation of the Phoenician script (i.e. the development of the alphabet) – hence, likely, the presence of the letter *qoppa* in the alphabet:[1587] these holdouts constituted a set of East Ionic function words which were exempted from the general bilabial development by their function-word status (the preforms of attested, delabialized κου 'where?; how?'; ὅκου 'somewhere'; κω 'up to this time' and so on; i.e. preforms ϙου [kʷou], ὅϙου [hókʷou], ϙω [kʷō], etc.; see Woodard 2021). Otherwise labiovelars are not represented in Greek alphabetic spelling. Some period prior to the ca. mid to late ninth century BC (likely date of the creation of the Greek alphabet) is

[1587] In other words, *qoppa* likely entered the Greek alphabet as a labio-velar symbol, and of course remains that, *mutatis mutandis*, in the Latin alphabet (i.e. Q).

therefore required for the Greek acquisition of Anatolian *kurša* [kʷorsa] – that is, one showing the eventual Greek outcome *búrsa* (βύρσα).

But, if the Greek word were acquired from Hittite, the borrowing must have occurred much earlier than this. At some point the labiovelar of Hittite [kʷorsa] probably underwent dissimilation when it occurred in front of the rounded vowel (i.e. became [korsa]): the glide [w] was dissimilated in this context and the glide component [ʷ] of the labiovelars likely followed suit. In fact, the independent glide [w] appears to have been lost in this phonological environment prior to Hittite epigraphic attestation: thus Hittite *u-ur-ki* 'track, trail, from *wr̥g- i-[1588] (cf. Sanskrit *vrajati* 'to walk, wander'; Latin *urgeō* 'to press, urge'; Old English *wrecan* 'to drive'; etc.), appears to spell the phonetic sequence [ōrgi-].[1589] Such a borrowing scenario would then likely require a *terminus ante quem* of Bronze-Age date: Greek *búrsa* (βύρσα) appears to have been a quite early acquisition from Anatolian.

Given a probable Hittite pronunciation of *kurša* as [kʷorsa] at the time of Greek borrowing, how are we to account for the *u*-vowel of Greek *búrsa* (βύρσα)?[1590] An initial

[1588] See Eichner 1973:73.

[1589] Craig Melchert, personal communication, August 2015.

[1590] Does Hittite orthography play a role? In other words, could it a "learned" borrowing influenced by cuneiform spelling of *kurša*?

observation that needs to be made is that at the time of borrowing, Greek speakers must have perceived the vowel following the labiovelar as /o/, rather than /u/, as that vowel did not trigger delabialization of the labiovelar to a velar. In Chapter Six (see §6.4.1, items (2F)) we drew attention to the Lesbian and Thessalian vowel raising seen in *apú* (ἀπύ) for *apó* (ἀπό) 'away', a vowel raising already found in Mycenaean *a-pu*. In that discussion of Aeolic lexical isoglosses we took note of the Arcado-Cypriot and Pamphylian propensity for mid vowel raising, particularly at word coda. We can add to those earlier remarks the observation that post-Mycenaean Asian Aeolic – that is, Lesbian –shows a clear tendency to raise mid back *o* to *u*: thus, for example, *deûru* (δεῦρυ) 'hither';[1591] *ónuma* (ὄνυμα) 'name';[1592] *stúma* (στύμα) 'mouth';[1593] *úma* (ὕμα) 'at the same place';[1594] *umâliks* (ὑμᾶλιξ) 'of the same age; companion',[1595] *umártē* (ὑμάρτη)

[1591] Aelius Herodianus *Περὶ μονήρους λέξεως* 3,2.933.

[1592] As in Alcman fr. 107 (Page) and IG XII,2 68.5, 7, 8 and 69.2, 4 (here with partial restoration). It is intriguing that forms of *ónuma* (ὄνυμα) are epigraphically widely scattered, found in Euboea, at Delphi, Naupactus, in Aegina (on the Saronic Gulf), on Crete (Knossos and Gortyn), at Naucratis, at Pella in Macedonia, and at Centocamere in Magna Graecia.

[1593] Sappho fr. 58.10 (L-P).

[1594] IG XII,2 32.11 and restored at IG XII,2 29.10. For *homê̂* (ὁμῆ).

[1595] Sappho fr. 30.7 and fr. 103.11 (L-P); Theocritus *Idylls* 30.20.

'accompany [me]!',[1596] *úmoi* (ὔμοι) 'at the same place';[1597] *úmoios* (ὔμοιος) 'similar';[1598] *umoíōs* (ὐμοίως) 'similarly',[1599] *umología* (ὐμολογία) 'agreement';[1600] *úmōs* (ὔμως) 'yet';[1601] *úpistha* (ὔπισθα) 'behind';[1602] *upíssō* (ὐπίσσω) 'back; forth';[1603] *upísō* (ὐπίσω) 'behind';[1604] *húsdos* (ὕσδος) 'nest'.[1605] As can be seen by examining these data, this raising of *o* to *u* in Lesbian typically, but not exclusively, occurs in the context of a labial consonant: most often this consonant is the bilabial nasal *m*, otherwise the voiceless bilabial stop *p*. The phonological context associated with the *u*-vowel of *búrsa* (βύρσα) – occurring next to a voiced bilabial stop *b*, earlier a labiovelar stop – is one consistent with this general pattern of Lesbian vowel raising.

[1596] Theocritus *Idylls* 28.3.

[1597] Sappho fr. 94.13 (L-P); Julia Balbilla *Epigrammata* 31.3 (Bernard and Bernard 1960).

[1598] Theocritus *Idylls* 29.20; also, *inter alia*, Theodosius *De dialectis* Aeol. 5; *Etymologicum Gudianum* Γ 326.

[1599] IG XII,2 69.6.

[1600] Keil-Premerstein, 1. *Bericht* 97,203.13–14.

[1601] Sappho fr. 58.21 and fr. 68a.2 (L-P), partially restored in the latter.

[1602] Apollonius Dyscolus *De adverbiis* 2.1,1.193; Aelius Herodianus *De prosodia catholica* 3,1. 496.

[1603] Sappho fr.19.10 (L-P); *Lyrica Adespota* fr. 1A.1.14 (Page).

[1604] Alcaeus fr. 177b.25 (L-P).

[1605] Sappho fr. 2.5 (L-P)

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If the ancestor of attested *búrsa* (βύρσα) were acquired in Bronze Age Anatolia, as would appear to be the case, it must have remained localized until well into the period of Greek dialect differentiation. The phonological sequence [-rs-], as in [búrsa], shows a degree of instability (when a morpheme boundary does not intervene).[1606] While the sequence is preserved in East Ionic, it undergoes assimilation to [-rr-] in Attic. The assimilation of [-rs-] to [-rr-], which distinguishes Attic from East Ionic, thus occurred after the Common Attic-Ionic period – that is, after the movement of Ionic speakers to Anatolia (i.e. after the Ionian migration). West Ionic goes with Attic, as do Elean, early Theran, and still other dialects when proper names are offered as evidence.[1607] Compare Attic *kórrē* (κόρρη) and Doric (Theocritus *Idylls* 14.34) *kórrā* (κόρρᾱ) 'temple, side of the forehead' with East Ionic *kórsē* (κόρση) and Lesbian *kórsā*

[1606] The presence of a morpheme boundary (i.e. [r=s]) appears to be significant in motivating a distinct development entailing loss of the fricative with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel (though progressive assimilation in Aeolic, and so without compensatory lengthening); see, *inter alia*, Rix 1976:79; Palmer 1980:237; Blümel 1982:101–103. Analogy will at times, however, disrupt the regularity of this phenomenon.

[1607] See, *inter alia*, Thumb and Kieckers 1932:173, 176; Buck 1955:69, 143, 159, 168; Palmer 1980:237; Blümel 1982:103–104. Arcadian dialects show a divide in the treatment (Thumb and Scherer 1959:127; Dubois 1988:80–81, but also 82–83).

(κόρσᾱ): notice that this example reveals that the Attic change of [-rs-] to [-rr-] not only followed the split of East Ionic from Common Attic-Ionic but occurred late enough that the set of specifically Attic developments that prevented the shift of *ā* (ᾱ) to *ē* (η) from occurring when either [ĕ], [i], or [r] preceded the vowel was no longer operative (hence, Proto-Attic-Ionic **kórsē* → Attic *kórrē* not *kórrā*). Similarly Attic has *árrēn* (ἄρρην) 'male' beside Ionic *ársēn* ἄρσην, Aeolic *érsēn* (ἔρσην); Cretan *érsenes* (ἔρσενες); Laconian *ársēs* (ἄρσης) (from PIE *r̥sḗn 'male'); Attic has *thárros* (θάρρος) 'courage' beside Ionic *thársos* (θάρσος); Aeolic *thérsos* (θέρσος) (from PIE *d^{h}ers- 'brave').

Greek *búrsa* (βύρσα), showing the East Ionic *-rs-* sequence, is earliest attested in the Ionic of Herodotus, as we saw just above. And there would appear to have been a demonstrated cult need for the term among East Ionians if the "breasts" of Ephesian Artemis continue the Hittite form and function of *kurša*. A straightforward hypothesis that reasonably presents itself would be this one: the Ionians acquired the word in Anatolia and Ionic *búrsa* was passed to Attic at a sufficiently late date to avoid the assimilation of [-rs-] to [-rr-]. But from what linguistic system did the Ionians themselves acquire the term that evolves into *búrsa*? Not from Hittite, if, as seems probable, the labiovelar of *kurša* had already delabialized in the Bronze Age and, hence, was no longer a labiovelar at the time of Ionian settlement of western coastal Asia

Minor in the eleventh century. The Ionians must have borrowed *búrsa* from a Greek population with whom they were in contact – a Greek population that had been present in Anatolia since the Bronze Age and which had acquired *kurša* prior to the Hittite delabialization of labiovelars that resulted in [k^{w}orsa] becoming [korsa]. This Greek population would be one of Mycenaeans, in whose language, and that of their *in situ* linguistic descendants, the acquired term was preserved until Ionian arrival and acquisition. The default Greek shift of labiovelars into bilabials, by which the attested form *búrsa* evolved from borrowed Hittite [k^{w}orsa], could have occurred after the moment of Ionic acquisition of the word from its initial Greek recipients. But the raising of the *o* of [k^{w}orsa] to the *u* of *búrsa* must have occurred after the evolution of the labiovelar into a bilabial (since the outcome is not **kursa*, via delabialization in the context of *u*). The developing scenario suggests that Ionian speakers acquired *búrsa* from an early form of Lesbian; thus, the Ionian acquisition of the term did not happen at the time of the arrival of Ionians in Asia Minor, or, alternatively, an earlier acquired Ionian form was later replaced by a Lesbian form – presumably because of the salience of the Lesbian form in some cult context.

While the discussion above has operated with a phonetic transcription of [k^{w}orsa-] for *kurša*, the cuneiform writing system of Hittite is unrevealing concerning

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the voicing quality of an initial consonant, both here and generally. The fundamental stop-consonant contrast of Hittite, as well as of Palaic and Cuneiform Luvian, has been commonly described as one of phonemic fortis versus lenis, though a phonetically revealing explication of this distinction in these languages remains a desideratum. There does appear, however, to be some evidence of a generalized devoicing of word-initial stops in Bronze-Age Anatolian languages (see Melchert 1994:19–21). On the other hand, in the case of *kurša,* the Akkadian comparands provided by Old Assyrian *gursānu*, *gursēnu*, Old Babylonian and Middle Assyrian *gusānu*, and Nuzzi *gusannu* would suggest an initial voiced stop. If the Hittites pronounced *kurša* with an initial voiceless stop, it appears that the form existed in a cultural milieu populated by comparands pronounced with an initial voiced stop, of which Greek *búrsa* (βύρσα) was one.

In the case of the Hittite-Greek linguistic interface at least, any difference between the voicing status of the initial consonant of the respective terms is likely consequent to the disparity between the phonemic stop systems of the two languages – with one language having a two-way phonemic contrast of [voiceless/tense] versus [voiced/lax] stops, and the other having a three-way phonemic contrast of [voiceless unaspirated] versus [voiceless aspirated] versus [voiced] stops. Particular acoustic markers in the donors' articulations may trigger a "mismatch" in the recipients'

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articulatory perception. This is a well-documented linguistic phenomenon. With *búrsa* (βύρσα) we might compare Attic *prútanis* (πρύτανις) 'lord; presiding official' which has been conjectured to have been borrowed from a language of Asia Minor.[1608] Compare with this Attic form, which shows an initial voiceless stop, Phocian (Elatean) *brutaneúō* (βρυτανεύω) 'to serve as presider' and Cretan *brutaneîon* (βρυτανεῖον) 'magistrate's hall', forms beginning with voiced stops. Szemerényi (1974:154) sees here a Greek borrowing from Hittite, a form attested at Ugarit in the Semitic compound *ḫupurta-nuri-*, used as the title of an official. Heubeck (1961:67–68) has compared the Lydian patronymic *brdunlis* (LW 50.4) – that is, 'son of *Brduns*'.[1609]

16.2.4. Hittite *Kurša* and Greek Mythic *Aigís* (αἰγίς) and *Kíbisis* (κίβισις)

[1608] See Chantraine 1968:944. Note that inscriptions from Lesbos show a form *prótanis* (πρότανις): see, *inter alia*, IG XII,2 526.29 (Hellenistic); IG XII Suppl. 63.12 (AD first century?); SEG 34:489.19 (ca. second half of the fifth century BC); also, from Delos, IG XI,4 1064.a1–3 (early second century BC). Derived forms are also found on Lesbos and elsewhere in Asia Minor, and scattered in the Peloponnese. The lowering of *u* to *o* is not a phonological process typically seen in Lesbian. Perhaps an analogical change, driven by the prefix *pro-* (προ-), is here at work.

[1609] Comparison has also been made to Etruscan *purθ*, naming a magistrate, and derived forms (on which see Rix 2004:951). See, *inter alia*, Linderski 1962:157–159.

In Puhvel's remarks cited in §16.2 he writes of a "talismanic aura" of *kurša* which "may . . . go back to the primary meaning '(sheep)skin' . . . ." The sense 'fleece' underlies interpretative arguments that see in the Anatolian *kurša* – as implement of cult and myth – not only a precursor of the "breasts" of Ephesian Artemis and Zeus Labrandeus but also precursor of the Greek *aegis* (*aigís* [αἰγίς]) and of the Golden Fleece of Argonautic tradition. The *aegis* is that talisman that we meet in Zeus' archaic epithet *Zeùs aigíokhos* (Ζεὺς αἰγίοχος) '*aegis*-bearing Zeus' (or possibly '*aegis*-shaking Zeus'). In Homeric epic the epithet occurs more then 50 times, referencing the shield-*like*[1610] device of tasseled goat-skin which is Zeus' attribute but which may be lent to Athena and to Apollo. The signification of the *aegis* appears to lie within Zeus' domain as storm-god.[1611] At *Iliad* 17.593–596 the poet sings of Zeus taking up his *aegis*, described as 'tasseled, fringed' (*thussanóessa* [θυσσανόεσσα]) and 'flashing' (*marmaréē* [μαρμαρέη]), shrouding Mt. Ida (in Anatolia) with clouds, and 'thundering' (*ktupéō* [κτυπέω]) with great might – whereupon he gave the Trojans victory and filled the Achaeans with terror. At *Iliad* 2.448 the tassels of the *aegis* are described as *pankhrúseoi* (παγχρύσεοι) 'completely golden', as it is wielded by Athena rallying the Achaeans; and at 24.20–21 it

[1610] See Kirk 1985:162; Watkins 2000b:4–5.

[1611] See, *inter alia*, West 1978:366–368 and 384; Heubeck, West, and Hainsworth 1988:163; Fowler 1988:103–105; Edwards 1991:119–120; Janko 1994:230 and 261.

is the *aegis* itself that is *khrúseiē* (χρύσειη) 'golden', where it is used by Apollo to protect the body of the fallen Hector. At *Iliad* 15.308–310 the poet sings of Hephaestus having given the αἰγίς θοῦρις 'furious aegis' to Zeus; Janko (1994:260) understands the supposition here to be that Hephaestus "forged" the *aegis*, comparing the use of *thoûris* 'furious' to modify *aspís* (ἀσπίς) 'shield' at *Iliad* 11.32 and 20.162.

Among the benefits that lie within the Hittite *kurša*, Watkins (2000b:3 and 7) points out, is 'manhood' (^{LÚ}-*natar* [= *pisnatar*]) and battle-strength (*tarḫuili*[-), while the epic *aegis* that Athena, κούρη Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο 'daughter of aegis-bearing Zeus', dons at *Iliad* 5.738–740 is said to be impinged with *Phóbos* (Φόβος) 'Fear', *Éris* (Ἔρις) 'Strife', *Alkḗ* (Ἀλκή) 'Boldness', and *Iōkḗ* (Ἰωκή) 'Rout'.[1612] But in addition (lines 741–742): ἐν δέ τε Γοργείη κεφαλὴ δεινοῖο πελώρου | δεινή τε σμερδνή τε, Διὸς τέρας αἰγιόχοιο 'and on it [is the] Gorgon head of [the] terrible monster | both terrible and fearful, portent of *aegis*-bearing Zeus'. Kirk (1990:134) notes Shipp's (1972:250) categorization of the line as "a typically Aeolic combination of adjective and genitive" (and note again the conjunction of *-nó-* formants to which we drew attention in §1.2.3.3).

[1612] Watkins (2000b:7) compares here the attributes of the Shield of Achilles enumerated at *Iliad* 18.535 and those of the Shield of Heracles in the Hesiodic *Shield* 154–156. Kirk (1990:134) draws attention to the "decoration of Agamemnon's shield at 11.32–7."

Into the *kurša* – *aegis* comparison Watkins (2000b:8–9) would draw the Greek container called a *kíbisis* (κίβισις), the sack in which Perseus deposited the severed head of the Gorgon.[1613] That there are Near Eastern iconographic prototypes of the Greek Gorgon is well established.[1614] At Hesiod *Shield* 223–226[1615] the poet sings of the κάρη δεινοῖο πελώρου 'head of [the] terrible monster' carried across Perseus' back in a *kíbisis* described as *arguréē* (ἀργυρέη) 'of silver'; further: θύσανοι δὲ κατῃωρεῦντο φαεινοὶ | χρύσειοι 'and shining golden tassels were hanging down [from the *kíbisis*]'. Watkins notes that "the word [*kíbisis*] κίβισις is glossed as [*pḗra*] πήρα, animal skin bag". This is a gloss that one finds in Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 2.38; Aelius Herodian *Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας* 3,2.539; Zenobius *Epitome collectionum Lucilli Tarrhaei et Didymi* 1.41; *Etymologicum Magnum* 512; and Hesychius K 4367. Hesychius (K 2600) further specifies

[1613] West (1997:454) observes that "in literature, apart from Callimachus, this word [i.e. *kíbisis* (κίβισις)] seems to occur only with reference to Perseus' satchel."

[1614] See, *inter alia*, Burkert 1992:83–85; West 1997:454.

[1615] Compare Pherecydes fr. 26 FHG; Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 2.38–39, 42, and 46; Pediasimus *Scholia in Hesiodi scutum* 633; *Scholia in Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* (*scholia vetera* = [Wendel 1935]) 320; *Scholia in Lycophronem* (*scholia vetera et recentiora partim Isaac et Joannis Tzetzae* [= Scheer 1958]) 838; *Scholia in Pindarum* (*scholia vetera et recentiora partim Thomae Magistri et Alexandri Phortii* [= Semitelos 1875) *Pythian* 12.25.

that the term is Cypriot: this eastern Mediterranean identification has led to the suggestion that Greek *kíbisis* is of Semitic origin (see West 1997:454, with references). One can add to this that a scholion on Theocritus *Idylls* 1.53 can gloss *kíbisis* as *pḗra* and as *oulás* (οὐλάς), a term derived from *oûlos* (οὖλος) 'woolly, fleecy'.[1616] And notice that Orion's etymologizing speculations on *kíbisis* bring the Greek implement still closer to Hittite *kurša* as receptacle for elements of fecundity and agrarian goods; the grammarian (AD fifth century) writes (*Etymologicum* K 87):

> Κίβησις· ἢ παρὰ τὸ κίειν, ὃ ἐστὶ πορεύεσθαι καὶ ὁρμᾶν, ἢ παρὰ τὸ κεῖσθαι ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν βῆσιν, ἥ ἐστι τροφή.

[1616] *Scholia in Theocritum* (*scholia vetera* [= Wendel 1914]) 1.53a. Some can gloss it as *kibōtós* (κιβωτός) 'box': thus *Suda* K 1576; *Etymologicum Gudianum* K 323; Pediasimus *Scholia in Hesiodi scutum* 633. Greek *kibōtós* is possibly a borrowing from Semitic (Chantraine 1968:529); in the Septuagint the term is used to denote both the ark of Noah and that of Moses.

> *Kíbisis*: either derived from *kíein*, which is 'to go' and 'to rush after', or from *keîsthai* ['to the lay up'] food[1617] within it, which is 'nourishment'.

This is folk etymologizing. The former alternative interpretation (*kíbisis* is from *kíein*) perhaps alludes to Perseus flight from the Gorgons; note that in the Hesiodic account the Gorgons are said 'to rush after' (*rhṓomai* [ῥώομαι]) Perseus (*Shield* 230). Orion's second interpretation is componential, assigning *kí-bisis* to the phonetically suggestive sequence of *keîsthai* plus *bêsis* (βῆσις). The same etymologizing sentiment finds expression in the manuscripts of the *Bibliotheca* of Pseudo-Apollodorus, with less impressionistic phonetic motivation: at 2.38 the *kíbisis* is said to be so called παρὰ τὸ κεῖσθαι ἐκεῖ ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὴν τροφήν 'from laying up clothes [*esthêta*] and *nourishment* [*trophḗ*] there'.[1618] These etymologizing efforts clearly reveal a broader Greek

[1617] The same etymology is rehearsed by Joannes Pediasimus in his scholia on Hesiod's *Shield* (*Scholia in Hesiodi scutum* [= Gaisford 1823, vol. 2] 633), in which he uses *bósis* (βόσις) 'food, fodder' for Orion's *bêsis* (βῆσις); similarly *Etymologicum Magnum* 512.

[1618] The actual etymology of the term *kíbisis* (κίβισις) is uncertain (see, *inter alia*, Chantraine 1968:529); a variant form *kúbesis* (κύβεσις) is attested by Aelius Herodianus (Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας 3,2.539) and Hesychius (K 4367). Watkins (2002:175n9) writes: "The word κίβισις (variant κύβεσις) is without etymology. Should

association of the contents of the *kíbisis* with the stuff of fecundity and draw its affiliation with the cornucopia-like Anatolian *kurša* into a tighter circle.[1619]

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we perhaps compare Hittite [Sl]*kibuti-*, Hieroglyphic Luvian (CORNU)*ki-pu-ta-*? A hunting bag as cornucopia?"

[1619] Watkins (2000b:8–9) sees an intersection of the Hittite *kurša* and the Greek *aegis* in the domain of fertility on the basis of the cross-linguistic formulaic syntax (Hittite) "ANDA . . . ANDA . . . ANDA. . ." and (Greek) "EN D(E) . . . EN D(E) . . . EN D(E) in descriptions of the *kurša* and *aegis* – a pattern that he sees to extend to Greek "allegorical figures of SEX, linked by the same anaphoric ἐν δέ, which are IN another hieratic, sacred object: Aphrodite's magic embroidered thong . . . ." Watkins incorporates into his analysis Pindar's use of the same syntax in *Olympian Odes* 13.22-23 and in *Dithyrambs* 2.10–17 ("Pindar's tradition here may well continue a syntactic feature diffused from Anatolian" [p. 14]), observing that (p. 10) "the presence of Athena with her aegis is not far from either passage," and that (p. 11) "both passages with ἐν δέ are overtly or covertly connected with Asia Minor". In the latter passage the link is the overt one – to Cybele, the Asian Mother. In the former, lines from an ode celebrating Xenophon of Corinth's victory in the stadion and pentathlon, Watkins suggests (p. 12) a Pindaric echoic reference to the "double-headed eagle," a well-known iconographic feature among the Hittites, in the question that Pindar poses: . . . ἢ θεῶν ναοῖσιν οἰωνῶν Βασιλέα δίδυμον | ἐπέθηκ'; '. . . or who added on the twin king of birds to the gods' temples?' (See also Watkins 2002:169–176.) Some have seen here a reference to a Corinthian practice of placing an image of an eagle at the apex of either end of a Doric temple, though there is seemingly no material evidence for such a practice (see Pfaff 2003:102n59); a scholiast on the lines (*Scholia in Pindarum* [*scholia vetera* (= Drachmann 1966–1969)]) writes that Pindar has in mind the

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16.2.5. Hittite *Kurša* and its Mineral Forms

We have just taken note of metallic descriptors used of both the a*igís* (αἰγίς) and *kíbisis* (κίβισις). Regarding the material makeup of the *kurša*, there are, in fact, references to a *kurša* being constructed from materials other than leather/fleece, such as cloth, wood, reed, or stone. In light of the bulbous pendants crafted in amber from the Ephesian Artemision (see above, §16.2), Morris (2001b:144) draws particular attention to a *kurša* crafted "of *kuwanna* (KBo 10.23 v 25, vi 3–4; V.15)": the reference may possibly be to a *kurša* either made of beads or decorated with beads (Güterbock 1997a:139, with note 23). Hittite *kuwanna-* is glossed both as 'copper ore' (given to

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temple 'pediments' *aetōmata* (ἀετώματα); a 'pediment' (*aetōma* [ἀέτωμα]) can also be called an *aietós* (αἰετός), literally 'eagle'. Watkins mentions Pindar's fr. 52 I (*Paeans* 8): in this fragment describing the second and third temples of Apollo at Delphi, Pindar writes (lines 70–71) that above the 'pediment' (*aietós*) of the third temple (that of bronze), there were positioned six singing χρύσεαι . . . Κηληδόνες 'golden Celedones' – siren-like prophetic figures (see Sourvinou-Inwood 1979:232–233, 244–246, with references). It is not clear that in the *Olympian Odes* passage Delphic notions are reverberating, but the role of twin eagles at Delphi is fundamental to its foundation account. For Watkins (p. 13) Pindar's query and the two others with which is it is presented (on the origins of the dithyramb, bridle and bit, and temple decoration) "all three shared in [Pindar's] mind arbitrary links with Anatolian tradition."

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bluish oxidation) and as 'precious stone' (Friedrich 1952:122);[1620] compare Luvian *ku(w)anzu-* 'heavy' (Melchert 1993b:115). In the KI.LAM festival (the 'festival of the gate-house') of the Hittite capital and surrounding areas, celebrated first and foremost for the Storm-God, but with numerous deities playing a role, a procession figures prominently: Güterbock (1997a:139) points out that *kuršas* made of *kuwanna* are transported in the procession and that they appear within the processional order between a priest of the ^{d}LAMMA (tutelary deity; see above, §16.2) and images of beasts that are crafted from precious metals.[1621]

16.2.5.1. Greek kúanos (κύανος). Hittite *kuwanna-* finds a lexical counterpart in Greek *kúanos* (κύανος; appearing adjectivally as *kuáneos* [κυάνεος]), naming a 'dark-blue enamel' that serves to decorate armor and other items (as in, *inter alia*, *Iliad* 11.24, 26, 35; *Odyssey* 7.87) and also denoting 'lapis lazuli' (Theophrastus *De lapidus* 39, *inter alia*), among still additional materials of similar hue.[1622] The Greek word is attested already in

[1620] See also, *inter alia*, Szemerényi 1974:152–153, with bibliography, and Polvani 1988:55–59 (for textual occurrences, see pp. 47–55).

[1621] On the KI.LAM festival and its procession, see, *inter alia*, Singer 1983 and 1984; Bryce 2002:195; 2009:791–792; Taracha 2009:72–74 (with bibliography).

[1622] See Heubeck, West, and Hainsworth 1988:327 and Hainsworth 1993:219–222, both with bibliography.

Mycenaean documents: Pylos tablets preserve nominal *ku-wa-no* (Ta 642 + fr.; Ta 714 [twice]) and adjectival *ku-wa-ni-jo* (Ta 714). Compare at Mycenae – on tablets Oi 701, 702, 703, and 704 – the dative plural compound *ku-wa-no-wo-ko-i* 'for the *kúanos*-workers' (restored in several instances, but with confidence). These four tablets from Mycenae are fragmentary but appear to be concerned with cult (Lupack 2008:147). They record allocations of an unidentified commodity (transcribed as *190) assigned to "workers" and to goddesses who are identified as *si-to-po-ti-ni-ja* (Oi 701) and as *po-ti-ni-ja* (Oi 704; cf.]po̯-ti̯-[on Oi 702). The former – a modified *Potnia* – is likely to be understood as *Sitōn Potnia* 'Potnia of Grains' (from *sîtos* [σῖτος] 'grain, bread');[1623] we are reminded of post-Mycenaean *Sitó* (Σιτώ) used an epithet of Demeter,[1624] goddess who can also be addressed as Potnia Demeter (that is, *Pótnia Dēmḗtēr* [Πότνια Δημήτηρ]), as in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 54. Consider tablet Oi 701 as an example:

Mycenae Tablet Oi 701

.1 vestigia[

.2 vac.

[1623] See Hiller 2011:183 and 188; García Ramón 2011:218 and 235.

[1624] See Polemon (travel writer of the third-second centuries BC) fr. 39 (twice; FHG); Aelian *Varia historia* 1.27; Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (= van der Valk 1971–1987) 1.405.

.3 si-to-po-ti-ni-ja *190 [

.4 po-ro-po-i *190 10

.5 ka-na-pe-u-si *190 6

.6 [ ]-ta do-ke-ko-o-ke-ne *190 5

.7 [ku-wa-]no-wo-ko-i *190 2

The divine recipient *Sitōn Potnia* appears in line 3. She is followed in line 4 by recipients designated as *po-ro-po-i*: the term (dative plural) is commonly interpreted as naming cult officials (Hiller 2011:201); more specifically, *po-ro-po-i* is probably to be understood as *propoihi* 'for augurs' about which we should say a few words.[1625]

16.2.5.2. Mycenaean Oracular Seers. With Linear B *po-ro-po-i* compare later *theo-própos* (θεο-πρόπος), denoting a person who knows or discovers divine will, that is 'prophet, seer' and 'one tasked with making inquiry of an oracle' (from *theós* [θεός] 'god' plus *prépō* [πρέπω] 'to be conspicuous' [*Etymologicum Magnum* 446]). Homer (*Iliad* 13.70), for example, knows Calchas to be a *theoprópos* and *oiōnistḗs* (οἰωνιστής) 'seer, bird-

[1625] See Thompson 2002–2003:361. The form *po-po-i* occurs in Oi 702, which appears to be a misspelling of *po-ro-po-i*; Thompson suggests a metathesized variant: see his discussion with pertinent bibliography. On *po-ro-po-i* as denoting 'for augurs', see also, *inter alia*, Aura Jorro 1993:144 and Lupack 2008:147.

diviner'. Callimachus (*Hymns* 4.305) identifies the Lycian poet Olen (the composer of a cult hymn to Opis/Upis whom we met in §15.3.5, in our discussion of Artemis) as a *theoprópos*. Herodotus several times writes of a *theoprópos* being sent to Delphi to obtain an oracle, as, for example, early in book one, of the Lydian king Alyattes dispatching a *theoprópos* to Delphi to inquire regarding Alyattes' sickness (1.19). Compare the derived verb *theopropéō* (θεοπροπέω) 'to deliver an oracle, prophesy; to be tasked with consulting an oracle' (Boeotian *thiopropéō* [θιοπροπέω]), as in Pindar *Pythian Odes* 4.190 (used of Mopsus prophesying by augury and lots); also the nominals *theopropía* (θεοπροπία), *theoprópion* (θεοπρόπιον) and *theoprópon* (θεοπρόπον) 'prophecy; oracle' (see Chantraine 1968:429).

16.2.5.3. Cult of Leto and Kúanos-workers. Returning to Mycenae tablet Oi 701 – of the designated recipients in the next two lines (i.e. lines 5 and 6), one is of secure identity and the other is intriguing within the context of a discussion of Ephesian Artemis. In line 5 of Oi 701 the recipients are designated by *ka-na-pe-u-si*, that is 'for fullers' (i.e. from *knapheús* [κναφεύς]). The form in line 6, *do-ke-ko-o-ke-ne*, is found in the dative on tablet Oi 703 (*[do-]ḳẹ-ko-o-ke-ṇẹ-ị*) and occurs in the truncated (dative) form *ko-o-ke-ne-ị* on Oi 704. The initial *do-ke-* (of *do-ke-ko-o-ke-ne(i)*) is likely a separate

word *dōke* 'he contributed' (see Ventris and Chadwick 1973:507). The sense of the remaining portion, *ko-o-ke-ne(-i)*, is uncertain, though van Leuven (1979:117, following Ventris and Chadwick 1973:555) would see here a form of the nominal *Koiogénēs* (Κοιογένης): van Leuven makes the point explicitly that *Koiogénēs* "suggests the father of Leto" – that is the Titan *Coeus* (i.e. *Koîos* [Κοῖος]) – and proposes that the form is being used in reference to a cult society at Mycenae. *Koiogénēs* 'born of Coeus' occurs in Pindar *Hymns fr.* 33d.3, referencing Leto, mother of Artemis and Apollo, depicted at her arrival on Delos in order to birth her twins (see Strabo 10.5.2). Compare *Koiogéneia* (Κοιογένεια), used by Apollonius of Rhodes at *Argonautica* 2.710, and *Koiēís* (Κοιηΐς), in Callimachus *Hymns* 4.150 (*Hymn to Delos*), both denoting Leto.

The final line of Mycenae tablet Oi 701 then specifies the recipients *[ku-wa-]no-wo-ko-i* '*kúanos*-workers'. If we are right in seeing this tablet, and other members of the Oi series, as cult documents, then these Mycenaean craftsmen who work in *kúanos* (κύανος) are involved in the production of materials used in the celebration of cult, no less than the Anatolian craftsmen responsible for the production of the *kurša* of *kuwanna* employed in the KI.LAM festival – implement spatially contextualized, within the cult procession, by a tutelary deity and beasts. The document from Mycenae suggests a crafting of *kúanos* implements for the cult of Leto, mother of Artemis, *pótnia*

thērôn (πότνια θηρῶν), who in her Ephesian form is bedecked with *kurša*-like accouterments that at times, it appears, could be crafted from a precious mineral substance (amber). The matrix of cult ideas provided by Oi 701 would seem also to entail a notional link between oracular activity and the mother of Artemis.

16.2.6. Hittite *Kurša* and the Disappearing God: Bird and Bee Again

We encounter a *kurša*, cult 'fleece' and possible prototype of the "breasts" of Ephesian Artemis and so on, in the Hittite myth of the disappearance of the god Telipinu (CTH 324), one particular expression, and the most fully attested, of the genre of the disappearing god in Hittite myth.[1626] The disappearance of Telipinu is related in (no fewer than) three variant forms,[1627] but fundamental to the tradition is that Telipinu removes himself from society into a wilderness space of hiding (where he secrets himself within a swampy locale, as the best preserved version reveals), taking with him fertility, agrarian productivity, and vegetal abundance. Considering the three versions together, with their various lacunae, the following events can be identified. The Sun-god sends out an eagle to find Telipinu, but the eagle cannot. The Mother-goddess

[1626] On the Telipinu myth, see, *inter alia*, Goetze 1969:126–128; Kellerman 1986; Hoffner 1990:14–20; Haas 1994:707–719; Melchert 2016; Woodard 2020b.

[1627] See Kellerman 1986:118; Hoffner 1990:14.

figure called *Hannahanna* then sends a bee to go in search of the god.[1628] The bee finds Telipinu,[1629] stings him on the hands and feet till he rises up; the bee then anoints the god with beeswax (thereby purifying him). Telipinu is enraged. An eagle or an eagle's wing appears to play some subsequent role in the recovery. The myth concludes with the restoration of Telipinu: upon returning to his home, harmony and order are restored to society, and Telipinu encounters a *kurša* hanging in a tree, filled with sheep, cattle, wine, and other expressions of bounty. This linkage of *kurša* and bee in the Telipinu myth and the implicit significance of these elements for situating Ephesian Artemis, with her "breast" and bee iconography, within the context of Anatolian cult is

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[1628] On Hannahanna's association with the bee, see Haas 1981:111–114 (on Hannahanna as *[an-n]a-aš* NIM.LÀL-*aš* 'Mother-Bee' in KUB 48.7, see especially pp. 111–112). See also Collins 2001:315, with bibliography.

[1629] Regarding the conjunction of bee and eagle on display here, Collins (2001:245) observes: "The eagle and bee are central to the collection of Old Anatolian Missing Deity Myths, the best-known of which is the Myth of Telipinu." On such variants of the Telipinu myth see the discussion that immediately follows herein.

noted by Morris (2001b:139 and 143; 2001a:432) in her examinations of the goddess of the Artemision of Ephesus.[1630]

Regarding Ephesian Artemis and the *kurša* – Hutter (2003:269 [following Bawanypeck 2001; see also Bawanypeck 2005:71–125]) adds to Morris' observations, filling out a Luvian background. He draws attention to the tutelary deity that we met earlier, in §16.2, the ^{d}LAMMA *kuršaš* 'tutelary deity of the *kurša*'. Some of the rituals of the bird diviner called the ^{LÚ}MUŠEN.DÙ, the Arzawan cult functionary that we encountered in §15.3.1, are concerned with the ^{d}LAMMA *kuršaš*, and "within the context of all of these rituals the deity is also closely associated with oracle birds," observes Hutter – being the "tutelary deity of oracle birds" (Bawanypeck 2013:163). We can complement this further by recalling the conspicuousness of augury in the cult of Ephesian Artemis (again, §15.3.1). The cult geometry of the Greek goddess is at several points consistent with the ^{d}LAMMA *kuršaš* within a Luvian context.

16.2.6.1. Disappearance of Inara. As indicated above, the Hittite disappearing-god tradition is not unique to Telipinu.[1631] Among other such myths, the following are

[1630] Other investigators have drawn together the bee affiliation of Telipinu and of Ephesian Artemis: see Picard 1940:280–281; Barnett 1956:217–218; Kellerman 1987:113–114.

especially notable in the context of the present inquiry. Closely paralleling the tradition of the disappearance of Telipinu is the myth of the disappearance of the Storm-God of the Sky (CTH 325). Here again eagle and bee successively play the role of unsuccessful and successful searcher, respectively.

More conspicuous is the role of a bee in myths of Inara, daughter of the Storm-god, including a tradition about her own disappearance. Inara is often depicted as deity who is at home ranging through the steppes of Anatolia and who might in her spatial liminality invite comparison to Artemis.[1632] In addition, and again recalling Ephesian Artemis, Inara can be identified as a *kuršaš* ^{d}LAMMA (KUB 41.10 iv 15) and her name appears in apposition with *kurša* (KBo 15.36+KBo 21.61 iii 10–11).[1633] Laroche (CTH 336) identifies and assembles the fragments of the myths of Inara into six separate episodes.

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[1631] Though the myth of the disappearance and return of Telipinu may be the source of the other Hittite disappearing-god traditions (even informing the Ugaritic tradition of the dying/rising Baal) and may itself have an origin in the primitive Indo-European tradition of the dysfunctional warrior (such as Indra) who abandon's society in his state of dysfunctionality: see Woodard 2020b.

[1632] Compare Güterbock 1997a:140, who expresses uncertainty on the equation, but here focusing on Artemis as goddess of the hunt.

[1633] See the discussion of Güterbock 1997a:140, with notes 30 and 31.

Kellerman (1987:120) contends that Laroche's episodes 1, 5, and 6 properly form a discrete thematic unit that she terms "mythe de la disparition du bétail."[1634]

In episode 1 the Mother Goddess Hannahanna sends a bee to Inara with a command that the goddess blow a goat's horn to give forth a signal – a signal that is heard by, at least, ZABABA, the War-God, with whom Hannahanna dialogues in episode 5. In this fifth episode Hannahanna tells the War-God to continue going off to combat [MU.KAM-*t*]*i* MU.KAM-*ti* 'year after year' – a highly suggestive charge in light of the Indo-European myth of the dysfunctional warrior, which appears to provide a frame for the Hittite disappearing god myths.[1635] In a rather disjointed sixth episode we find Hannahanna asking if Inara had made no sound.

Laroche's episode 2 relates the search for a *kurša*. Here a bee finds the *kurša* and brings it to Hannahanna. There is no mention of Inara in the surviving fragments of this episode, but Miyatanzipa, a deity associated with plant growth whose Luvian affiliation is revealed by the suffix with which the name is formed, appears on the scene in conjunction with the recovered *kurša*.

[1634] On fundamental similarities between the theme of episodes 1, 5, and 6 and the myth of Illuyanka (CTH 321, version 1), see Kellerman 1987:122.

[1635] See Woodard 2020b.

In the highly fragmented episode 3 the Storm-god sends a bee in search of his daughter Inara, whom he has discovered to be absent. The bee goes to Hannahanna, who fills a *kurša* with beasts, after which Hannahanna and the bee appear to dialogue. Kellerman (1987:125) sees in this fragment a possible etiological tradition concerning how Inara became the tutelary deity of Hattusa.

In the remaining member of these six episodes (Laroche's number 4), Hannahanna sends out a bee in search of some deity, of uncertain identity, who has disappeared. The bee is again instructed to apply wax to the head of the discovered deity. In these divine-recovery myths the application of beeswax to the body of the discovered deity, as here, and as in the case of Telipinu just above,[1636] must reflect the use of bee-goods in cult practice to assuage the gods.

16.2.6.2. Honey and Indo-European Cult Utterance. The sympathetic use of honey and wax in cult acts associated with the performance of the myth of the disappearance of Telipinu is made plain enough in lines that survive in both versions 1 and 2 of the myth, in which various ritual foodstuffs are specified in instructions for removal of the

[1636] An additional example of this theme is provided by one of the fragments of CTH 335. Here both eagle and bee search without success for some disappeared deity. See Hoffner 1990:36.

god's anger, including wax and honey; thus, in version 1, §14, we read (Hoffner's [1990] translation): "[Just as] honey is sweet, as ghee is mild, so let the soul of Telipinu become sweet in the same way, and let it become mild in the same way." Consider the Luvian formulaic phrase addressed to a deity: *malitiya-aš ayaru* 'may he become honey', with which Gamkrelidze and Ivanov compare Vedic verses, specifically *Rig Veda* 1.90. 6–8:[1637]

6. Honey do the winds (blow) to the one who follows truth; honey do the rivers stream.

   Honeyed be the plants for us.

7. Honey by night and at dawn; honeyed is the earthly realm.

   Honey be Dyaus the Father for us.

8. Honeyed be the tree for us, honeyed the sun

   Honeyed be the cows for us.

[1637] Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:519; the translation is that of Jamison and Brereton 2014:223 with minor modification.

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Gamkrelidze and Ivanov are surely right in surmising that the Anatolian and Indic utterances point back to primitive Indo-European verbal cult actions involving the use of honey.

16.3. Athamas, Minyans, and a Golden Fleece

There is an implement of Greek myth and cult that presents itself as a third member of the set to which belong the *aigís* (αἰγίς) and *kíbisis* (κίβισις) – namely the golden *déros* (δέρος), or *dérma* (δέρμα),[1638] or *dorá* (δορά), or *nákos* (νάκος), or *kṓas* (κῶας), or *kṓdion* (κώδιον) – the pelt of the *khrusómallos kriós* (χρυσόμαλλος κριός) 'golden-fleeced ram', for which, as sung in ancient Aeolian epic, the Argonauts sailed from Thessaly to the eastern edge of the Black Sea. In the preceding chapter (see §15.4) we encountered *khrusómallon déros* (χρυσόμαλλον δέρος) as a designation for the Golden Fleece,[1639] drawing attention to the cognatic relationship between Greek *déros* (δέρος), and Sanskrit *dr̥ti-*, term naming the honey-filled skin-bag of the Aśvins, which we will consider further in §16.3.5 below.

[1638] As in Palaephatus *De incredibilibus* 30.

[1639] As in, for example, Diodorus Siculus 4.15.4; 4.32.1; 4.40.3–4; 4.46.5; 4.47.2; Strabo 11.2.19; Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 1.109.

16.3.1. Athamas

In Greek tradition the origin of the Golden Fleece is tied to the figure of Athamas, whom we first encountered in Chapter Eight (see §8.6.5)[1640] in our discussion of the Mycenaean usage of the Aeolic patronymic adjective – one instance of which is that of *pe-re-qo-ni-jo, a-re-i-jo*, 'Presg^{w}ōnios, son of Ares' –and of the intertwining of the notions of *hek^{w}etās* and *therápōn* (θεράπων; on which see §8.3.4, §8.3.6, §8.6, §§8.6.1–4) within an Aeolic linguistic frame that the example reveals. We saw (§8.6.5) that the Mycenaean name Presg^{w}ōnios matches the later, alphabetically-attested *Présbōn* (Πρέσβων) and noted that Presbon is identified as one of the sons of Boeotian Phrixus (see Pausanias 9.34.8 and 9.37.1), who is himself a son of Athamas. This Athamas is typically identified as son of Aeolus (as in, *inter alia*, Hesiodic fr. 10 MW; Herodotus 7.197.1; Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* 3.360) and as a Boeotian king (as in, *inter alia*, Philostephanus fr. 37 (FHG; third century BC); Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 1.80). According to Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 1.84, after Athamas, at the direction of Apollo's Delphic oracle, had founded the Thessalian city of Athamantia (see just below),

[1640] On earlier mentions of Athamas see also §11.5.3, §12.4–5, and §12.7.4.

he fathered by his wife Themisto four sons: Erythrius, Ptoüs, Schoeneus, and Leucon.[1641] Athamas is thereby linked, via eponymous offspring, to, respectively, the Boeotian city of Erythrae;[1642] to the Boeotian Mount Ptoion, site of the oracle of Apollo Ptoion (see Pausanias 9.23.6); and to the Boeotian city of Schoenus:[1643] these three locales ring Thebes – northwest, northeast, southeast. And concerning the fourth son Leucon – he gives his name to the lake called Leuconis (*Leukōnís* [Λευκωνίς]),[1644] which, according to Stephanus Byzantius (*Ethnica* 10.312), is another name for the Boeotian Lake Copaïs (ἡ λίμνη Κωπαΐς), on the western shore of which the polis of Orchomenus was situated. Hellanicus of Lesbos (fr. 126 FGrH; fifth century BC) mentions that Athamas resided in Orchomenus (see also Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* 2.1153 and 3.266 with scholia).

As we have just glimpsed, Athamas also has Thessalian connections. Strabo (9.5.8), for example, knows Athamas as founder of Thessalian Halus;[1645] Palaephatus *De*

[1641] See also Herodorus (fifth-fourth centuries BC) fr. 35 (FHG); *Scholia in Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* (*scholia vetera* [= Wendel 1935]) 207. Compare Nonnus *Dionysiaca* 9.312–321.

[1642] Thus *Scholia in Iliadem* (*scholia vetera* [= Erbse 1969–1988]) 2.499b.

[1643] See Aelius Herodianus Περὶ παρωνύμων 3,2.895; *Scholia in Iliadem* (D *scholia* [= Heyne 1834]) 2.497.

[1644] On Leuconis see the comments of Fowler 2013:197, with note 7.

[1645] See also Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* 1.226; *Etymologicum genuinum A* 529; Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (= van der Valk 1971–1987) 1.497.

incredibilibus 30 identifies Athamas as son of Aeolus and king of Phthia (in Thessaly). Athamas' son Phrixus can be identified as having his home in Thessaly.[1646] Pseudo-Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca* 1.84) records Athamas' exile from Boeotia and the oracular guidance that led him to settle at a place where he found sustenance when wolves deserted sheep carcasses; he self-named the place Athamantia[1647] – said to be in Thessaly (on the locale see, *inter alia*, *Etymologicum genuinum* A 130).[1648] Athamas can also be called a son of Minyas (as can Presbon as well)[1649] – Minyas being the eponymous ancestor of the people called the Minyans.

16.3.2. Minyans

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[1646] Valerius Flaccus *Argonautica* 6.598–599; *Scholia in Pindarum* (*scholia vetera* [= Drachmann 1966–1969]) *Pythian* 4.281b.

[1647] See also Tzetzes *Scholia in Lycophronem* (*scholia vetera et recentiora partim Isaac et Joannis Tzetzae* [= Scheer 1958]) 22; *Scholia in Platonem* (*scholia vetera* [= Greene 1938]) *Minos* 315C.

[1648] In his description of Boeotia (9.24.1 and 3), Pausanias writes of the 'Athamantian Plain' (πεδίον Ἀθαμάντιον) in the environs of Orchomenus, so named because Athamas was said to have dwelt there; see the discussion of Frazer 1898:5:130–131.

[1649] See *Scholia in Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* (*scholia vetera* [= Wendel 1935]) 29.

The Minyans are shadowy figures in Greek tradition – what Fowler (2013:191) calls "the *magni nominis umbra* of Greek myth."[1650] Yet in spite of their early adumbration, the Minyans still have a conspicuous place in Greek epic tradition. Minyas, their eponymous ancestor, was the subject of an early epic, the *Minyas*, that survives only in fragments – an epic poem that has been attributed to Prodicus of Samos, Prodicus of Perinthus, or Prodicus of Phocaea.[1651] What remains of the poem is

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[1650] Fowler (2013:192) offers the following judgment regarding the slippage of the Minyans into the shadows (on which see also Fowler 1998):

> The relationship with the Aiolidai is probably the key to what happened. The Minyans seem at one time to have extended from south Thessaly to Lake Kopais, that is to say the heartland of the Aiolians; when the genealogy of Hellen was created in the early archaic period, a process led by Thessalians [on which see Fowler's pages 127–129], the Minyans were perhaps already well on their way to being overtaken and simply absorbed, so that they found no independent place in the Hellenic tree . . .

The Thessalians were able to propagate this notion of Hellenicity, Fowler argues (1998:15; 2013:129), because of their prominence in the ritual realm as dominant players in the Pylian Amphictyony of northern Greece. Here Fowler follows upon Beloch 1912:331 and in part (but only in part) Hall 2002:134–154, who himself builds on the works of earlier investigators (dating as early as Müller 1830; see Hall's bibliography on pp.134–135n36). On the Pylian-Delphic Amphictyony see especially Hall's pp. 144–146.

[1651] See, *inter alia*, Robertson 1980:281, with notes; Janko 2004:285.

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concerned with a katabasis (*katábasis* [κατάβασις]), a descent of Athenian Theseus and Thessalian Pirithous into the realm of Hades. The shade of the Aetolian warrior Meleager is among those encountered in the descent (fr. 5 Bernabé, and figuring prominently in fr. 7),[1652] as is that of Amphion (fr. 3). The role of Minyas is uncertain.

Better known is affiliation of the Minyans with the Argonautic expedition. We earlier took note of Pindar's use of the phrase "Delphic Bee," in *Pythian Odes* 4.60, to identify the oracular priestess of Apollo (see §15.3.4.2). Some few lines afterward (68–69) Pindar writes of the πάγχρυσον νάκος κριοῦ 'all-golden fleece of a ram', in search of which the Minyans sailed: here *Minyans* equates to *Argonauts*. Herodotus (4.145.3) can similarly use the term *Minúai* (Μινύαι) to denote παῖδες δὲ . . . τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀργοῖ πλεόντων ἡρώων 'descendants . . . of the heroes who sailed on board the Argo'. Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 1.230–233, describes οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ ἀριστῆας 'the most and best' of those who sailed with Jason on the Argo as descended from the daughters of Minyas; note that Jason's paternal lineage can be traced to Aeolus (Jason, son of Aeson, son of Cretheus, son of Aeolus [thus, for example, Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca*

[1652] Fragment 7 is the Ibscher papyrus included in West 2003:271–273; see also Janko 2004:285. Meleager is here presented as Apollo's victim: on which, see, *inter alia*, Swain 1988:272.

1.51, 107]). Simonides (fr. 3 FGrH)[1653] preserves the tradition that Minyans once inhabited Iolcus, the Thessalian city from which the Argonauts set out. Stephanus Byzantius (*Ethnica* 12.192) reports that there is a Thessalian city called Minya,[1654] earlier called Almonia (Almon or Salmon for Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* 4.15). One suspects that Fowler (2013:193) is essentially on target when he suggests that "a traditional association of 'Minyans' and the Argonauts was appropriated by the Aiolians for their hero Jason." Perhaps, however, the envisioned phenomenon is less an "appropriation" than an "affirmation" of a tradition ancestral to at least a subset of those epichoric Aeolian societies constituting the heterogeneous Thessalians and Boeotians of the early Iron Age.[1655] It may not be irrelevant in this regard that West (1985a:64–66 and 1985b:6) proposes that Minyas is identified as a son of Aeolus in Hesiodic fr. 10a.27 (MW; see also Gantz 1993:182–183).

In addition to Thessalian connections, the Minyans and their eponymous ancestor Minyas have attachments to various Boeotian cities. At Pindar *Olympian Odes*

[1653] *Scholia in Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* (*scholia vetera* [= Wendel 1935]) 29.

[1654] Compare Suda M 1094, without specification of locale. A city by the same name is mentioned in IG V^2 921.30, from Larissa.

[1655] This is essentially the view expressed by Nilsson (1932:139–140), who follows Butmann 1829.

14.4 the παλαίγονοι Μινύαι 'long-ago Minyans'[1656] – paleo-Greeks – are presented as inhabitants of Orchomenus. Describing the heterogeneous ethnic makeup of Ionia in Anatolia, Herodotus (1.146.1) identifies various non-Ionian constituents – Abantes from Euboea; Cadmeans; Dryopians; Phocians; Molossians; Pelasgians from Arcadia; Doric Epidaurians; and also Minyans from Orchomenus: these are enumerated together with "actual" Ionians (i.e. speakers of Attic-Ionic) in the context of a discussion of a widespread practice of intermarriage with native Carian women – the very sort of cultural intermingling in which the Mycenaean Greeks must have earlier participated in western Anatolia. For Philostephanus (fr. 37 FHG) Minyas ruled Boeotian Thebes. Minyas is father of Orchomenus, who gave his name to that just-mentioned Boeotian city, writes Pausanias (9.36.6).[1657] He adds that the people of Boeotian Orchomenus continue to go by the name *Minyans*, to distinguish themselves from the inhabitants of the Arcadian city of the same name.[1658]

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[1656] On Pindar's use of *palaígonoi* (παλαίγονοι) to indicate the ancestral past and his affiliation of past with present, see Pavlou 2012:101–105.

[1657] And see *Scholia in Iliadem* (*scholia vetera* [= Erbse 1969–1988]) 2.511c.

[1658] See also, *inter alia*, Tzetzes *Scholia in Lycophronem* (*scholia vetera et recentiora partim Isaac et Joannis Tzetzae* [= Scheer 1958]) 874.

Beyond what is provided by epic Argonautic tradition, there is evidence of Minyan (paleo-Greek) connections with Anatolia. Stephanus Byzantius (*Ethnica* 12.192) reports that in addition to the Thessalian city called Minya, another city by that name is located in Phrygia, along the Lydian frontier. Aelius Herodianus (*De prosodia catholica* 3, 1.303) provides similar information but locates the Anatolian city on the Lycian border. Well known, if tangential to mythic "Minyans," is the similarity of the Middle Helladic gray ceramic dubbed "Minyan Ware," chiefly a product of Boeotia ("True Gray Minyan")[1659] in the earlier second millennium BC, and Anatolian Gray Ware. The current understanding of the contact suggested by these similarities has been summarized in this way (Rose 2014:25): "It therefore looks as if there was contact between mainland Greece, probably Boeotia/Thessaly, and several settlements on the western coast of Asia Minor during the second half of the eighteenth century B.C. (Troy VIa)."[1660] What would be thus revealed could be a Greek presence in western Anatolia that antedates the earliest textual reference to the Ahhiyawans by some three centuries.

[1659] Zerner 1993:43 and 47.

[1660] See Rose 2014 for bibliography, especially Pavúk 2007 and 2010.

16.3.3. Teos, Athamas, and the "Ionian" Migration

The Aeolian Athamas is commonly linked to the Ionian city of Teos on the west coast of Anatolia, its latitude about midway between that of Smyrna (some 45 km away to the northeast) and that of Ephesus (just shy of 60 km to the southeast), and lying nearly due south of Clazomenae (about 25 km; on Clazomenae see above, §11.2). Strabo (14.1.3) notes that prior to the Ionian arrival at Teos, it had been 'settled' (*ktízō* [κτίζω]) by Athamas,[1661] and that for this reason Anacreon (archaic lyric poet native to Teos; fr. 118 PMG) gives the name *Athamantis* to the city. Strabo further points out that an element of the subsequent 'Ionian settlement' (Ἰωνικὴ ἀποικία) involved a Boeotian named Geres. Pausanias (7.3.6) elaborates just a bit: he writes that Minyans of Orchomenus, who arrived with Athamas, used to be the inhabitants of Teos – but this Athamas was descended from the Athamas who was son of Aeolus. Here Minyans (the Hellenic contingent) intermixed with Carians. Subsequently came the Ionians, under one Apoecus (*Ápoikos* [Ἄποικος] 'Settler') – a peaceful addition to the population of Teos

[1661] See also Aelius Herodianus *De prosodia catholica* 3,1.105.

– to be followed a few years later by an equally non-violent incorporation of 'men' (*ándres* [ἄνδρες]) from the Athenians and Boeotians (led by Geres).[1662]

The ethnically heterogeneous nature of the "Ionian" migration to Teos presented in these literary accounts is striking. This appears, however, to be by no means an atypical state of affairs. Consider Vanschoonwinkel's remarks in this regard (2006b:125):

> The study of cults, institutions, proper names, etc. has really made apparent the great variety of geographical origins of the colonists of the Ionian cities.[1663] The majority of them were of Boeotian origin or from the north-east of the Peloponnese. Boeotia appears to have been the metropolis of elements who were established in Miletus, Priene, Melie, Samos, Ephesus, Colophon, Teos, Erythrae, Chios, and Phocaea, ...

[1662] On the named leaders of the Ionian, Attic, and Boeotian settlements, Pausanias here generally, though not fully, agrees with Strabo.

[1663] Here Vanschoonwinkel cites Sakellariou 1958:21–243 and 1990:138–149; Cassola 1957:95–103; Huxley 1966:30–34; Cook 1975:783–785; Vanschoonwinkel 1991:386–390; and also Graf 1985 on cult at Chios, Erythrae, Clazomenae, and Phocaea.

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Many of the same cities also received settlement contingents "from Argolis and the region of Corinth, and from Cleonai and Phlious." In contrast, continues Vanschoonwinkel, Attica, Euboea, Thessaly and Arcadia played a much smaller role in the peopling of the Ionian cities – and even less involved were "Messenea, Achaea and, probably, Elis, Aetolia and Megaris." Vanschoonwinkel then adds to this the testimony of ancient authors on the populating of these cities: he draws particular attention to Herodotus' remarks at 1.146.1, of which we took note earlier (i.e. Abantes from Euboea; Cadmeans; Dryopians; Phocians; Molossians; Pelasgians from Arcadia; Doric Epidaurians; and also Minyans from Orchomenus; see §16.3.2), and also to Pausanias, who mentions Athenians, Thebans, Minyans from Orchomenus, Phocians (other than Delphians), Abantes in his summary remarks on the Ionian migration to Anatolia (see Pausanias 7.2.2–4).

16.3.4. Teos, Area, A-re-i-jo, and Presbon

Regarding Teos – the Athenian historian Pherecydes (fr. 112 [FHG])[1664] recounts an aetion regarding the naming of the city, involving Athamas and his daughter Area –

[1664] The fragment is preserved in a scholion on Plato's *Hipparchus* 229d (*Scholia in Platonem* [*scholia vetera* (= Greene 1938)]).

that is, *Área* (Ἄρεα). Athamas (likely envisioned as the son of Aeolus here)[1665] returned from some excursion in the region of Teos to find Area 'singing/playing' (*athúrō* [ἀθύρω]) and 'piling up' (*sumphoréō* [συμφορέω]) stones – τοὺς νῦν ὄντας ἐν Τέῳ 'those now in Teos'; she announces that 'while' (*téōs* [τέως]) Athamas was out searching, in order 'to establish' (*ktízō* [κτίζω]) a city, she herself had 'found/acquired' (*eurískō* [εὑρίσκω]) one (i.e. *Téōs* [Τέως]). A similar account appears (without attribution to Pherecydes) in Aelius Herodianus (second century AD) *De prosodia catholica* 3,1.245 and in Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* 19.107.

The aetion of Area's founding of Teos clearly shares certain fundamental features with the aetion of the walling of Boeotian Thebes by Zethus and Amphion that we encountered in Chapter Fourteen (see §14.2). The walls of Teos are depicted as taking shape while Area plays/sings and piles up stones – wall-stones that remain at the time of the composition of the text. In this brief account that Pherecydes preserves, there is a marked conjoining of actions – musical and physical. The walls of Thebes are said to have been built up as Amphion played his lyre, creating music that pulls the stones along and piles them up. Into this two-member set the building of the walls of the acropolis of Megara, that one called the Alcathoe, can be incorporated. As

[1665] See the comments of Fowler 2013:585.

we saw in Chapter Twelve (§12.7.2.1) Megara had two acropolises – one called Caria, the other the Alcathoe. Concerning the latter acropolis, Pausanias (1.42.2) reports that the warrior Alcathous, from Boeotian Onchestus, built its wall with the aid of Apollo after the god had laid aside his *kithára* (κιθάρα) 'lyre', placing it on a particular stone – one still visible in the time of Pausanias – a stone that would emit a sound like that of a plucked lyre when a pebble was dropped onto it – stone upon stone. Musicality and physicality are again interwoven. As we earlier noted, the tradition of Amphion and the lyre likely has a Near Eastern/eastern Aegean pedigree. The tradition of the walls of Teos, constructed by the daughter of Aeolian Athamas, itself has an eastern Aegean setting; while the Megarian tradition involves a Boeotian and a pair of acropolises, one of which bears the name *Carian*.

The name assigned to Athamas' daughter, *Area* (*Área* [Ἄρεα]), must be intended as a derivative of the divine name *Ares* – Attic and Ionic *Árēs* (Ἄρης), Aeolic *Áreus* (Ἄρευς); compare the Laconian male name *Areus* (*Areús* [Ἀρεύς]).[1666] The daughter called *Área* looks to be the feminine personification of the notion expressed by the adjective *Áreos* (Ἄρεος), a variant of *Áreios* (Ἄρειος)[1667] – Ionic *Arḗïos* (Ἀρήϊος), Aeolic *Areúïos*

[1666] On the borrowing of the name into Athenian nomenclature, see Habicht 2000:121.

[1667] See the comments of Choeroboscus *De orthographia* 177.

(Ἀρεύϊος) – meaning 'devoted to Ares, war-like'; on the phonetic alternation compare the men's names *Areías* (Ἀρείας) at Dodona (third century BC [Antoniou Dodone Ab, 42]) and *Aréas* (Ἀρέας) in the Peloponnese (192 BC [SEG XIII 327.18]). The morphology attested by Aelius Herodianus *et al.* is not Aeolic, the form perhaps having undergone an Attic updating; compare *Áreos* (Ἄρεος) as the name of a month in the Hellenistic calendar of Thessalian Lamia (GDI 2:1449 [= IG IX,2 72]), ca. 50 BC. If Athamas' daughter's name *Área* (Ἄρεα) is derivative reflection of the name of *Árēs* (Ἄρης), it is remarkably séduisant in the face of our earlier encountered Mycenaean reference to *pe-re-qo-ni-jo, a-re-i-jo*, 'Presg^{w}ōnios, son of Ares' (see §16.3.1) and of the affiliation of Presbon with Athamas: we have seen that Athamas is father of Phrixus, who is the father of Presbon – but also that both Athamas and Presbon can be identified as sons of Minyas.

16.3.5. Hittite *Kurša*, the Golden Fleece, and Aia

We mentioned earlier (in §16.3.1) that by his wife Themisto, Athamas fathered four sons (Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 1.84), all with foundational Boeotian connections. Themisto was not, however, the only wife of Athamas – a consideration that returns us to the aforementioned third member of the set to which belong the *aigís*

(αἰγίς) and *kíbisis* (κίβισις) – namely the Golden Fleece, which the Minyan Argonauts would sail eastward to recover. There is a good bit of variability in the tradition,[1668] which is itself interesting, but the steady starting point is that Athamas fathers a son Phrixus who seems fated to be sacrificed and that, in conjunction with this, in one way or another, there appears a ram with golden wool that facilitates an escape. Consider, for example, the oft-cited narrative of Pseudo-Apollodorus at *Bibliotheca* 1.80–83. Here Phrixus is the son of Athamas' first wife, Nephele (*Nephélē* [Νεφέλη]) 'Cloud', and the sacrifice was orchestrated by Athamas' second wife, Ino (daughter of Cadmus); this Ino did by 'persuading' (*peíthō* [πείθω]) "the women" to roast grains of wheat that were intended to be used to seed a new crop, thus destroying the ability of the seeds to germinate. In the face of crop failure Athamas dispatched envoys to Apollo's Delphic oracle to inquire what was to be done to remedy the problem. Ino again manipulates events, 'persuading/seducing' (*anapeíthō* [ἀναπείθω]) the envoys to report that the oracle had proclaimed that the failure of the earth to bring forth fruit (*akarpía* [ἀκαρπία]) would end if Phrixus were 'sacrificed' (*spházō* [σφάζω]) to Zeus. Being compelled by those who inhabited his region of Boeotia, Athamas brought Phrixus to

[1668] This is bound up with the traditions of the destruction of the Learchus and Melicertes, children of Athamas and Ino. On the variant traditions and their sources, see the helpful discussions of Gantz 1993:176–180 and Fowler 2013:195–202.

the altar for sacrifice. But Nephele, the 'Cloud', rescued her son Phrixus, providing him with a 'golden-fleeced ram' (χρυσόμαλλος κριός), which she had obtained from Hermes; the ram bore away both Phrixus and his sister Helle (*Héllē* [Ἕλλη]). Helle lost her grip as the ram either swam through or flew over[1669] the sea between Sigeum and the Chersonesus and sank into its depths and disappeared – hence the Hellespont (*Hellḗspontos* [Ἑλλήσποντος]). The ram carried Phrixus on across the Black Sea to the land of the Colchians, where he was received by their king Aietes (see §17.2) and where he married the king's daughter Chalciope. Phrixus then sacrificed the golden-fleeced ram to Zeus Phyxios (*Phúksios* [Φύξιος], protector of those who flee; see below, §23.3); and Aietes nailed the Golden Fleece on an oak in a grove sacred to Ares.[1670]

[1669] The well-rehearsed tradition is that Phrixus, and Helle, traveled on the back of a flying ram, but Robertson 1940 presents a careful argument for viewing the older tradition as one in which the ram swam from Hellas to Colchis. Robertson (p. 8) suggests that the introduction of the tradition of the flying ram may have coincided with a relocation of the "Athamas legend from seaside Halus [in Thessaly] to lakeside Orchomenus [in Boeotia] . . . , though it does not seem to have worried Apollonius," whom Robertson (p. 7) argues to have understood the ram to swim, not fly (drawing particular attention to *Argonautica* 4.114–117). See also Fowler 2013:197–198 (and Gantz 1993:180).

[1670] See Bremmer's (2006:22) comments regarding an alternative tradition for the disposition of the Golden Fleece.

In his own remarks on the tradition, Pausanias (9.34.5) gives it a more explicit cult context, as he describes the polis of Orchomenus and its environs. Orchomenus lay on the tip of a spit that extended into Lake Copaïs from the northwest. Southwest of the city was Mount Laphystius, in effect a spur of Helicon interposed between the Boeotian towns of Lebadea and Coronea. On the mount was located a *temenos* of Zeus Laphystius. Within the *temenos*, writes Pausanias, the divine image was of stone (λίθου μὲν τὸ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν), and it was in this cult space that Athamas was about to sacrifice Phrixus and Helle when Zeus sent to their rescue the ram with the Golden Fleece.

The specter of a fleece with cult affiliation hanging on a tree in Colchis, on the seam of northeastern Anatolia and the Caucasus, is of course suggestive of a *kurša*. As we saw in §16.2.2, Güterbock describes a *kurša* as "hanging from an evergreen tree." This characterization applies to representations of the *kurša* as suspended from a tree both in text – disappearance of Telepinu (CTH 324) – and in iconography, as on a frieze around the rim of a stag rhyton (in the Norbert Schimmel Collection), ca. fourteenth-thirteenth century BC:[1671] among other objects depicted on the rhyton is a seated

[1671] See Güterbock 1997a:137–138 and 142. For photographic images see www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/327399.

goddess and a ^{d}LAMMA standing upon the back of a stag, a pose that will be transferred to Apollo Philesius at Didyma, as we shall see in Chapter Twenty-One (§21.3.2.2).

16.3.5.1. Marsyas, Askós (ἀσκός) *and Dérma* (δέρμα). In a brief description of the town of Celaenae in the Maeander Valley of Phrygia,[1672] Herodotus (7.26.3) writes of a similar item similarly displayed. The *askós* (ἀσκός) 'skin' of Marsyas hangs there – Marsyas being the lyre-playing Silenus/Satyr who was 'flayed' (Herodotus' verb is *ek-dérō* [ἐκ-δέρω]) by Apollo consequent to competing in a musical contest with the god. See, for example, Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 1.24, where Apollo is reported to have hung Marsyas from a 'pine tree' and killed him, 'cutting off his skin' – that is, *dérma* (δέρμα). The term that Herodotus uses to name Marsyas' 'skin', *askós*, is one of those terms that we saw (§16.2.2) Puhvel (1997:274) to offer as a Greek synonym of Hittite *kurša*, the other being *búrsa* (βύρσα). Greek *askós* typically denotes a skin used as a bag. Somewhat similarly, in his *Anabasis* (1.2.8), Xenophon writes of a cave at the source of the River Marsyas in the vicinity of the Phrygian city of Celaenae in which Apollo was said to have hung the *dérma* 'skin' of the 'flayed' (*ek-dérō* [ἐκ-δέρω]) creature.

[1672] On the site, see Thonemann 2011:67–75.

16.3.5.2. Pūṣan and Dŕ̥ti-. Greek *dérma* shares a common origin with Sanskrit *dŕ̥ti-*, 'skin-bag', term used to name the sack in which the Aśvins transport honey, mentioned in §15.4. Among other Vedic passages in which *dŕ̥ti-* 'skin-bag' makes an appearance is *Rig Veda* 6.48, an unusual hymn consisting of subsections in varying meters, each dedicated to a distinct deity. Pādas 14–19 are for Pūṣan, that god who is said to be the best of charioteers, who knows the paths of heaven and earth, and who can be presented as husband of the solar goddess Sūryā (*Rig Veda* 6.58.4)[1673] and is otherwise notably linked with solar elements.[1674] Pūṣan is presented as having chosen the twin Aśvins to be his fathers (*Rig Veda* 10.85.14). Concerning *Rig Veda* 6.48 – in verse 18 we read this as Pūṣan is being addressed:[1675]

[1673] See also *Rig Veda* 10.26.6. He is also said to be lover of both his mother and his sister: see *Rig Veda* 6.55.4–5

[1674] For general discussion of Pūṣan see, *inter alia*, Macdonell 189:35–37; Keith 1998:106–108.

[1675] Pādas 16–19 are being spoken directly into the ear of Pūṣan at close range – whispered, in effect. On Greek Hermes as recipient of whispered messages, especially the oracular procedure attested at Pharae in Achaea that entailed whispering an inquiry into the ear of a stone image of the god, see Bettini 2011:4–14, who finds in Hermes' role as deity of both speech and silence a thread that runs on into the Latin phrase *lupus in fabula* 'wolf in the tale' (see pp. 11–26). Other similarities of Pūṣan and Hermes (/Pan) are patent and have been detailed elsewhere: see, *inter alia*, the discussions of Puhvel 1987:62–63, 132 and Oettinger 1998.

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18. dŕ̥ter ’va te avr̥kám astu sakhyám

áchidrasya dadhanvátaḥ súpūrṇasya dadhanvátaḥ

Let the companion-alliance[1676] with you be one that fends off the wolf, like a skin-bag

that is not torn, containing curds, that is quite well filled, containing curds.

While the lines offer some difficulty,[1677] they appear to liken Pūṣan himself to a skin-bag that is sound and stuffed full of the milk-coagulant called *dadhán-* or *dádhi-*,[1678] which

[1676] With Sanskrit *sakhyám* ‘friendship’, ‘companion-alliance’ compare Latin *socius*, *-a*, *-um* ‘allied’ etc.; on nominal *socius* ‘comrade, ally’ broadly in the context of the wolfish warrior, see Woodard 2013:242–243. The word translated ‘that fends off the wolf’ in verse 18 is *avr̥ká-*, a derivative of *vŕ̥ka-* ‘wolf’. Pūṣan is routinely invoked to provide protection from the wolf that might be encountered on the road.

[1677] Pāda 17 even more so. For discussion see, *inter alia*, Geldner 1951:2:149; Renou 1955–1969:15:142–146; Jamison and Brereton 2014:838–839 and 2019:6[2]:104–107.

[1678] Compare Greek *thḗnion* (θήνιον) ‘milk’, reported by Hesychius (Θ 506).

can itself be mixed with Soma.[1679] In pāda 17 reference is made to a tree called a Kākambīra and Pūṣan is invoked not to uproot it. This tree name, Kākambīra, is not otherwise attested and its significance in the context at hand is quite uncertain, though it appears that in conjunction with *not* uprooting the tree Pūṣan is called upon to take action against 'un-blessings, un-praisings' (*áśasti-*). At the very least the Vedic combination of (1) skin-bag, marked by bountiful sustenance and notions of protection, and (2) tree that appears to be bound up with blessings is séduisant in the face of the Anatolian phenomena.

16.3.5.3. Askós (ἀσκός), *Kurša, and a Golden Fleece.* Various investigators have proposed that the skin or skin-bag described in the Greek passages discussed just above (in §16.3.5.1 and §16.3.5.2) offers a first-millennium Anatolian vestige of the Hittite *kurša*.[1680] And some of these have argued for the link between (1) the tree-suspended *askós* (ἀσκός) and *kurša* and (2) the Golden Fleece nailed to a tree. Popko (1975:70) makes glancing reference to the connection: just before mentioning Herodotus' Phrygian *askós*, he observes concerning north Anatolian fleece cults that

[1679] As, for example, at *Rig Veda* 1.5.5; 1.137.2; 8.2.9; 9.11.6; 9.22.3; 9.63.15; 9.81.1.

[1680] See, for example, Morris 2001b:143–144; Bremmer 2006:24.

"Nordkleinasien ist das einzige Gebiet das alten Orients, in den der Kult des Vlieses bezeugt ist. Man muß diese Tatsache bei einer Analyse des griechischen Argonauten-Mythus berücksichtigen." Haas 1975 and 1978 and Burkert 1979, among others, address the similarities between *kurša* and Golden Fleece quite directly.[1681] Thus, Burkert (1979:9–10), building on Haas 1975, offers a brief series of intriguing observations concerning the Hittite myth of the dragon Illuyanka and the Greek myth of the Thessalian hero Jason and his Colchian lover Medea, specifically in the context of the Hittite *purulli(ya)* cult festival, in which the Illuyanka myth was recited and in which the *kurša* played a conspicuous role. Regarding the two mythic traditions – Hittite and Greek – Burkert writes (p. 10) that in both:

> . . . . a goddess [Inara] – there can be no doubt about Medea's divine status – takes a mortal lover [Hupasiya], and the two cooperate to overcome the dragon; but then the mortal man turns away from his superior spouse, and he is destroyed in consequence. Add that 'fleeces of the sun' are prominent in the Purulli festival, while Jason's task is to bring the Golden Fleece from Aia, the

[1681] See also, *inter alia*, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:802–804; Bremmer 2006:28–30; Collins 2010.

country of the sun; Aia is the name of the Sun-god's wife in Mesopotamian and Hittite religion.

We saw earlier in this chapter (§16.2.6.1) that Inara equally shows clear similarities to Greek Artemis, particularly Ephesian Artemis; her likeness to both figures – Artemis and Medea – is a matter that we will further explore in Chapters Twenty-One and Twenty-Three; for the Illuyanka myth see §21.3.2 and especially §23.3.8. Also worth noting is that in conjunction with the Hittite myth of the disappearance of Telipinu, in which, as we saw, a tree-hung *kurša* is involved, rituals are performed to take away the wrath of the god following his recovery by a bee. Kamrusepa (goddess of healing and magic) gives instructions for twelve rams to be taken from the flock of the Sun-god, and these rams or the wool of their fleeces appear to be ignited; similarly in the myth of the disappearance of the Storm-god.[1682]

16.4. Some Interpretative Conclusions

The Hittite cult "sack of plenty," the *kurša*, which finds expression in myth, is the likely antecedent of the "breasts" that form a conspicuous feature of the

[1682] On the ritual see Archi 1993:404–406.

iconography of Ephesian Artemis, as well as that of Zeus Labrandeus of Carian Mylasa (with another common iconographic feature, the *klēîdes* (κληῖδες), bringing this pair into association with Samian Hera; see §15.3.3). The bee iconography of Ephesian Artemis draws this deity yet further into the mythic sphere of the *kurša*. This same Anatolian cult object, the *kurša*, it has been suggested, equally has some relevance for the Golden-Fleece tradition of Aeolian epic (a matter we will examine further in Chapters Twenty-One and Twenty-Three), a tradition that incorporates a feminine figure paralleling Inara's role in the Hittite Illuyanka myth – that Inara who in her bee affiliation and attachment to liminality and wilderness resembles Artemis. Further reflections, if as in a glass darkly, appear perceptible in the Mycenaean documentary collocation of *kúanos* (κύανος), auspices, and a cult of Leto. A unifying locus for these several elements is provided by the urban space and surrounding region of Bronze-Age *Apaša*, both a locale familiar to Anatolian Mycenaeans – the primitive Aeolian community – and probable home to a Bronze-Age cult that preceded that of the Iron-Age Ephesian Artemision.

Athamas and Minyans, Balkan figures of Aeolian myth, are likewise implicated in the heroic tradition to which the Golden Fleece is central, and both are assigned foundational roles in Balkan Aeolia and in Asia Minor alike. The founding of Teos, a

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mythic function of Athamas and Minyans, can be directly attributed to Athamas' daughter Area, the Ares-woman, who walled the city Teos by piling up rocks in co-ordination with musical performance. And Athamas, father of the Ares-woman, is identified as grandfather of Presbon by Boeotian Phrixus (bringer of the Golden Fleece) – or even as the sibling of Presbon, both fathered by Minyas. The settlement tradition of Teos, lying within the scope of Arzawa, models well-evidenced Mycenaean advances into western coastal Anatolia, and reverberates with Pylian Linear B textual references to *re-qo-ni-jo, a-re-i-jo*, 'Presg^{w}ōnios, son of Ares' – Ares again – a *hek^{w}etās* named with an Aeolic patronymic, and thus, likely a warrior ally from Ahhiyawan Anatolia. The mode of the walling of Teos finds commonality with the Boeotian *mûthos* of Amphion's construction of the walls of Thebes, and a significant portion of the eventual "Ionian" settlement of Teos appears to have come from Boeotia. The germ of these musically-compelled wall-construction traditions appears to have originated in the eastern Mediterranean. These various facets of the relevant mythic traditions further evidence a condition of cross-Aegean Aeolian movements and a network of Aeolian self-identities of Bronze-Age onset and ongoing in the post-Mycenaean period.

The notion of *kurša* may find reflexive expression in other artefacts of Greek myth, the *aigís* (αἰγίς) and *kíbisis* (κίβισις). As the Anatolian concept evolved among

Greeks it was informed by traditions that reveal themselves in Vedic cult poetry, a factor that we will explore in more detail in coming chapters. The Hittite word *kurša* entered the lexicon of Mycenaean Greeks in Anatolia. The eventual form of the Greek borrowing, *búrsa* (βύρσα), reflects the Hittite term's entry into post-Mycenaean Greek vocabulary by way of a Lesbian conduit.

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Chapter Seventeen

Aia and Argonauts

17.1. Introduction

In Chapter Sixteen we saw that the Hittite cult implement called the *kurša* can plausibly be identified as the precursor of the "breasts" typical of the iconography of Ephesian Artemis, and that the *kurša* provides a proto-form for yet other Greek devices, items finding expression in various Greek *mûthoi*, undoubtedly grounded in cult. Among these, it has been claimed, is the Golden Fleece of Argonautic epic. In the discussion of the final section of that chapter, attention was drawn to structural similarities between Argonautic tradition and the Anatolian Illuyanka myth. We observed Burkert to make explicit comparison between the locale for which the Golden Fleece was destined, Aia, "the country of the sun," and the Mesopotamian Sun-god and his wife Aya. To begin this chapter, some elaboration regarding Aya and the Sun-God is

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offered, following which we turn our attention to distinctive features shared by *Argonautica* and Mycenaean documents.

17.2. Aia and the Sun-God

As we saw at the end of the preceding chapter (§16.3.5.3), the Mesopotamian Sun-god is Šamaš (Akkadian for 'sun'; ^{d}UTU) and his consort is Aya (^{d}A-A), goddess of the dawn. Among the Babylonians she has the epithets *kallatu* 'daughter-in-law' (of the god Sin, the Moon-god, father of Šamaš)[1683] and *ḫīrtu* (term designating 'wife of equal status with her husband', used of humans and of gods).[1684] She has some affiliation with Ishtar; West (1997:407) remarks that "there was a Gate of Ishtar (and) Aya leading out of the underworld into the light." She is found equally among the deities of Ugarit.[1685] In Anatolia Šamaš is matched by Hurrian Šimige, whose wife is, again, Aya (^{d}*A-ia-an* ^{d}*i-gal-du-un*)[1686]. The Hurrian god Šimige exerted palpable influence on the Luvian Sun-god ^{d}*Tiwat-* (^{d}UTU), called *tāta/ī-*'father' (see below, §19.6), in origin the chief deity of the

[1683] CAD K:81.

[1684] CAD Ḫ:206.

[1685] See Toorn, Becking, and Horst 1999:126 for general discussion of Semitic Aya, with bibliography.

[1686] See, *inter alia*, Astour 1987:50; Taracha 2009:127. For an overview of Šamaš, see Bienkowski and Millard 2000:263–264, with references. The meaning of ^{d}*i-gal-du-un* is a matter of some uncertainty.

ancestral Indo-European pantheon, and linguistic congener of Roman *Jupiter* and Greek *Zeus Pater*.[1687] The goddess Aya appears in various Hittite ritual texts, such as the Hurrian-Hittite *itkalzi* ritual from Šapinuwa (modern Ortaköy, Çorum, the Hittite capital for a period), ritual providing purification to a cult officiant[1688] – the Hurrians being the likely conduit by which Aya entered the Hittite pantheon. In his *Argonautica* (2.417–418) Apollonius Rhodius writes of 'Colchian Aia' (*Aîa Kolchís* [Αἶα Κολχίς])[1689] lying on the edge of Pontus and of the earth (and see 4.277–278). But far earlier than this is Mimnermus' reference (fr. 11 West; seventh century BC) to Jason bringing back the 'great fleece' (*méga kôas* [μέγα κῶας]) from Aia. Earlier still, Hesiod (*Theogony* 957) sings of Helios, the Sun, being the father of Aietes, he who affixed the Golden Fleece to a tree and who clearly shares his name with "Colchian Aia,"[1690] and, hence, with Hittite *Aya*, which is most probably the source of the Greek toponymic term, as we saw Burkert to

[1687] See Hutter 2003:224–227; Taracha 2009:108–109.

[1688] See Taracha 2009:89, 95, and Hutter 2013a:170, both with bibliography.

[1689] In the case of the lexemes Αἰαία, Αἶα, and Αἰήτης, I have suspended the conventional transcriptional practice of rendering Greek alphabetic sequence αι as (Latinized) *ae* in order to avoid confusion in the present discussion and in the ensuing discussion of Mycenaean evidence for the base lexeme.

[1690] See *Scholia in Pindarum* (*scholia vetera* [= Drachmann 1966–1969]) *Olympian Odes* 13.74d.

indicate in §16.3.5.3.[1691] Mimnermus (fr. 11a West) can describe the 'city of Aietes' (Αἰήταο πόλις) as:

> . . . τόθι τ' ὠκέος Ἠελίοιο
>
> ἀκτῖνες χρυσέῳ κείαται ἐν θαλάμῳ
>
> Ὠκεανοῦ παρὰ χεῖλος, ἵν' ᾤχετο θεῖος Ἰήσων.

> . . . where swift Helios'
>
> beams lie in a golden chamber
>
> by the rim of Ocean, where went godlike Jason.

In an archaic moment the mother of Aietes can be identified as Antiope, who, as we saw in Chapter Fourteen (§14.2), also bore Zethus and Amphion, the Aeolian Dioscuri who founded Thebes: thus, fr. 3 (Bernabé) of the *Corinthiaca* of Eumelus (eighth/seventh century BC). Though for Hesiod (see *Theogony* 956–962) the mother of Aietes is the

[1691] For summary of different etymological interpretations, "none at all persuasive," of the form *Aîa* (Αἶα), see West 2007b:196, with note 14.

Oceanid Perseis (*Persēís* [Περσηίς]), while Homer (*Odyssey* 10.138) knows her as Perse (*Pérsē* [Πέρση]): these are names that point to the east.

For both Homer and Hesiod, Aietes is brother to the sorceress Circe (and Helios is their father). Homer can call Circe the 'Aiaian beguiler' (Αἰαίη δολόεσσα, *Odyssey* 9.32) or simply 'Aiaian Circe' (Κίρκη Αἰαίη, *Odyssey* 12.268 and 273) and can name her insular dwelling place the 'Aiaian island' (Αἰαίη νῆσος, *Odyssey* 10.135; 11.70; and 12.3), where 'Aiaian' (*Aiaíē* [Αἰαίη]) is an Ionic adjective derived from *Aia* (*Aîa* [Αἶα]), the toponym assigned to Colchis. Circe's Aiaian island lies in the "mythical east" (Heubeck and Hoekstra 1989:117), close by the 'river of Oceanus' (ῥόος Ὠκεανοῖο): it is the dwelling place 'of early-born Eos' (i.e. 'Dawn'; Ἠοῦς ἠριγενείης), where are her 'dancing places' (*khoroí* [χοροί]), and the 'risings of Helios' (ἀνατολαί Ἠελίοιο) – thus *Odyssey* 12.1–4. Near the river Phasis in Colchis lies the 'Plain of Circe', writes Apollonius Rhodius (*Argonautica* 2.400–401). Stephanus Byzantius, in his remarks on the Colchian locale (*Ethnica* 1.86), reports that there is another toponym *Aîa* (Αἶα) that designates some Thessalian geographic region, citing Sophocles (fr. 915): ἔστιν τις Αἶα, Θεσσαλῶν παγκληρία 'there is a certain Aia [that is the] entire possession of Thessalians' (cf. fr. 914). And, he adds, there is a stream of Macedonia called *Aia*, as Antimachus mentions in his *Thebaid*.

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In his *Argonautica* Apollonius Rhodius (2.1093–1096, 1141–1156) writes of Phrixus being conveyed by the golden-fleeced ram to Aia, 'the city of Aietes' (πτολίεθρον Αἰήταο), from Hellas, and of Phrixus' sons eventually leaving Aia for Orchomenus, honoring the command of their dying father that they return to Boeotia 'on account of the possessions of Athamas' (κτεάνων Ἀθάμαντος ἕκητι). Herodotus (7.197.1–3) preserves an aetiological tradition of the cult of Zeus Laphystius in Thessalian Alus (or Halus, in Achaean Phthiotis), in which Cytisorrus (*Kutíssōros* [Κυτίσσωρος]), a son of Phrixus, arriving from Aia, was said to have saved his grandfather Athamas as certain locals were about to sacrifice him (for the sake of *katharmós* [καθαρμός] 'purification' of the land) according to an oracular directive. In the tradition of Thessalian Alus that Herodotus relates,[1692] as in Pindar's (9.34.5) remarks on Zeus Laphystius in Boeotian Orchomenus that we encountered in §16.3.5, Athamas' attempt to sacrifice Phrixus is framed by local cult.[1693] This epithet of Zeus, 'Laphystius' (*Laphústios* [Λαφύστιος]) is

[1692] See also *Scholia in Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* [*scholia vetera* (= Wendel 1935)] 178–179.

[1693] The locale of the tradition of Athamas and his intended sacrifice of his son Phrixus also oscillated between Thessaly and Boeotia in Euripides' *Phrixus* A and *Phrixus* B, respectively; see Bremmer 2006:13; see also Collard and Cropp 2008:426.

said to be derived from *laphússō* (λαφύσσω]) 'to gulp down'.[1694] With regard to this "grisly character" of Zeus, Bremmer (2006:14) draws attention to Boeotian Mount Laphystius as the site at which the murdered Laius and his herald – victims of the patricide Oedipus – were buried (see Nicolaus of Damascus fr. 15 FHG; first century BC).

At *Iliad* 8.470, the epic poet tells of a battle that will come *ēoûs* (ἠοῦς) 'at morning'. According to the Alexandrian grammarian Aristonicus (*De signis Iliadis* 8.470),[1695] Zenodotus of Ephesus, the third-century BC Homeric textual scholar, wrote here the form *áas* (ἄας) in lieu of the genitive *ēoûs* 'at morning'. Hesychius (A 23) reports that *áas* is a Boeotian phrase meaning 'on the morrow' (ἐς αὔριον), i.e. 'next morning' (or even 'on the third' day). This Aeolic **áa* (*ἄα; nominative), denoting the moment of the appearance of the dawning sun, naturally presents itself as a local diachronic variant of an earlier *aîa* (αἶα) (borrowing of Anatolian ^{d}*A-ia-an* ^{d}*i-gal-du-un*); the sporadic loss of the offglide of the diphthong /ai/, and other /Vi/ diphthongs, is well attested in Aeolic,[1696] as elsewhere: for example, (1) Lesbian *dikáōs* (δικάως) for *dikaíōs* (δικαίως) 'rightly-ordered; lawful'; *eunóan* (εὐνόαν) for *eunoían* (εὐνοίαν)

[1694] See, *inter alia*, Hesychius Λ 444–445; Suda Λ 159; Pseudo-Zonaras Λ 1282; Tzetzes *Scholia in Lycophronem* 1237 bis.

[1695] See also *Scholia in Iliadem* (*scholia vetera* [= Erbse 1969–1988]) 8.470a.

[1696] See Buck 1955:32; Blümel 1982:72.

'goodwill'; *póēsai* (πόησαι) for *poíēsai* (ποίησαι) 'to craft'; (2) Thessalian (Pelasgiotis) genitive *Gennáoi* (Γεννάοι) for *Gennaíou* (Γενναίου), IG IX,2 461b.17, 18; (3) Boeotian *epóeise* (ἐπόεισε) for *epoíēise* (ἐποίησε) '(s)he crafted', as in, for example, IG VII 530.6 and CEG II 630.ii.7.

17.3. Argonauts at Aia

West (2007b:193) contends, as others before him and since, that Colchis was a locale secondarily grafted onto the tradition of the "Argonauts at Aia," after Milesians had begun to establish themselves in the region,[1697] the first Greeks to do so it seems (a point to which we shall return below, §17.4.10). He draws on archaeological evidence for a Greek presence in Colchis and holds that in light of such evidence Greek arrival there cannot be dated earlier than the sixth century BC[1698] – also the date that he would assign to the *Corinthiaca* attributed to Eumelus,[1699] the poetic work in which *Colchis* is earliest identified (fr. 3 Bernabé): here Aietes is said to have migrated to Colchis from

[1697] On Milesian production of an Argonautic epic, see also West 2005:58, with bibliography in note 67.

[1698] Here West cites Braund 1994:89–118 and Tsetskhladze 1998b and writes: "The earliest fragment of Greek pottery from the region, from Batumi in southwest Colchis, is perhaps from the end of the seventh century."

[1699] On the date, see West 2002.

the region that Ephyra (daughter or wife of Epimetheus) had settled – that is, Corinth. The Greek toponym *Kolkhís* [*gê*] (Κολχίς [γῆ]) 'Colchian [land]' (feminine; also masculine adjective *Kólkhos* [Κόλχος]) mirrors the *Kulkhai* (also *Qulkhai*) of Urartian texts, naming the region that perhaps supplied metal-smithing technology to the Urartians. The Urartian king Sarduri II campaigned against Kulkhai in 750 and 744/743 BC, but was ousted from the region in conjunction with an Assyrian defeat of the Urartian army in 742 under Tiglath-pileser III,[1700] in whose Assyrian army Greek mercenaries appear to have served,[1701] and in whose reign *Ionians* first appear in an Assyrian inscription.[1702] Tsetskhladze (2004:114–123), who assumes a date of ca. 700 BC for Eumelus, writes (page 114) regarding assigning Aia to Colchis (emphasis is my own): "This identification points to the period of increasing exploration and colonization, when a New World was *fitted to old perceptions*."[1703] Tsetskhladze contends for a three-stage

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[1700] See Barnett 1982:336, 349–350.

[1701] See Niehr 2010a:287–288 and 2014a:330.

[1702] See, *inter alia*, Luraghi 2006:30, with note 36.

[1703] With Tsetskhladze's remarks rehearsed here, compare those of Vanschoonwinkel 2006a:90, such as, for example: "It is thus probable that the identification of the legendary Aia with Colchis, to which the authors of the Classical period returned, was a consequence of better knowledge of distant lands, connected with exploratory voyages of the Greeks and the Milesian colonization of the Black Sea."

Greek settlement of the Pontus, beginning in the seventh century (though on a possibly earlier date, see below, §17.4), with Colchis being settled in the third stage (ca. after 560 to 530 BC). Regarding the Greek settlement of "Eastern Pontus (Colchis)" he observes (page 121):

> We know very little about this process and for this reason the subject of the Greek colonization of Colchis nowadays appears the most controversial and difficult problem of Black Sea archaeology, and very far from a final solution. The controversy stems mainly from the fact that the Greek cities have been virtually ignored, so far, by those engaged in archaeological research.

Clearly, it would seem, there is a bit that remains to be learned of the Greek settlement of Colchis.

In West 2007b the author chooses, however, not to address the Anatolian cult connections with the Golden Fleece, the goddess Aya, and so forth, though he had given some attention to this matter in West 1997; thus on page 479 we read: "These various details suggest that behind the myth of the golden fleece that hung in [and was taken away from] a sacred grove at Colchis there lurks the holy fleece of Anatolian cult." The

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geographic proximity of Anatolian cult, with its cult implements, to the locale at which the mythic Golden Fleece was localized is too immediate to be inconsequential. Given the proposed notional connection between the Hittite *kurša* and the Golden Fleece of Aeolian epic that we explored in Chapter Sixteen, there would likely be some vital and intrinsic spatial link between Anatolian cult and the localizing of Greek Argonautic *mûthos*. This is a matter which we will explore in some detail, and attempt to clarify, in the final chapters of this study.

17.4. Mycenaeans, Argonauts, Aeolians, and Aia

It seems clear that an Argonautic epic tradition existed sufficiently early to inform Homeric epic, seemingly exerting significant influence on the mapping out of Odysseus' sea journey homeward – at least that portion that can be assigned to eastern locales (see West 2005). The destination of the Argonautic voyage – that is the locale in which the Golden Fleece was to be found – was clearly far to the east, where the morning sun appears, near the river of Ocean – the place Aia. From the interpretative perspective of a Greek resident in the communities of western coastal Asian Minor where would one sail to find the eastern edge other than through the Hellespont? Surely not southeastward along the well-plied routes leading to southern Anatolia,

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Cyprus, and Syria-Palestine. But we should not suppose that the geographic situating of mythical Aia in the region of Colchis has anything to do with a particular "historical event" which entailed a Greek Black Sea expedition prior to a Trojan War (see Tsetskhladze's [2004:114] criticism of those who would conjecture such).

Though, on the other hand, could we actually imagine, given the significant Ahhiyawan presence in western coastal Anatolia, that no Mycenaean ship ever found its way through the Bosporus, even if only to skirt eastward along the northern Anatolian coastline and northwestward along Thracian shores? Witness Bronze-Age Aegean types of stone anchors and oxhide ingots recovered from Bulgarian coastal areas.[1704] Hiller's (1991; see further just below) assessment of the archaeological evidence of Mycenaeans in the Black Sea, such as the evidence is, is suggestively positive in this regard: from tombs in the Caucasus, for example (pp. 212–213), come Bronze-Age swords and spearheads of Aegean type.[1705] Jablonka and Rose (2004:626) observe:

[1704] On which see, for example, Jablonka and Rose 2004:626, with bibliography.

[1705] See also, *inter alia*, Bouzek 1985.

> The thriving Bronze Age cultures of the Black Sea region, dominated by major rivers and open steppes that connect them with Europe and Central Asia, evidently had some connections with the Mediterranean world. Exactly how these connections operated still remains to be explored. This is admittedly difficult due to the state of research and specialization by scholars . . . . Late Bronze Age Troy thus was situated "on the edge of the Bronze Age urban world, and at a gateway to the territories beyond."[1706]

In Chapter Eight we encountered Knossos tablet So 4430, inventorying chariot wheels (see §8.6.5), on which occurs the term *ko-ki-da*, perhaps *Kolkhidas* (Κολχιδας) 'Colchis', and took note of its possible possessive derivative *ko-ki-de-jo*, and we found that the term occurs in a context relevant to the 'warrior companion', the *hek*^{w}*etās*, having, as we have been arguing, a particular association with Mycenaean Anatolia.

We have encountered the figure of Presbon on several occasions now, in conjunction with Argonautic tradition and with other Aeolian *mûthoi*. In §16.3.1 we noted that Phrixus, son of Athamas, is said to have fathered Presbon by one of the

[1706] The quoted sentence is from Sherratt and Sherratt, in Easton et al. 2002:102. See also Tsetskhladze 1999b, with bibliography. Already in the third millennium BC Suani tribes were migrating from Anatolia into Transcaucasia.

daughters of the Colchian king Aietes. And also – Athamas and Presbon can both be identified as sons of Minyas. We further noted that Presbon, or Phrixus, is said to have migrated westward from Colchis to Boeotia and received the house of Athamas following his death (see §8.6.5). The name *Présbōn* (Πρέσβων) finds expression in Pylos Linear B tablet An 656 (5 | 6) – *pe-re-qo-ni-jo, a-re-i-jo*, 'Presg^{w}ōnios, son of Ares' – identified with distinctive Aeolic morphology and naming a *hek^{w}etās* (see §8.4.1.1, §8.4.3, §8.6.5, §16.3.1, and §16.3.4); and we reminded ourselves that, vis-à-vis warrior alliance, Achilles' *therápōn* (θεράπων) Patroclus becomes *îsos Árēï* (ἶσος Ἄρηΐ) 'equal to Ares' (*Iliad* 11.604; see §8.6.5). An observation that was offered at §8.6.5 is that we see here an intertwining of the notions of *hek^{w}etās* and *therápōn* within an Aeolic linguistic frame. Rather than simple plaiting, however, we should think in terms of a weaving of elements, as we can now add to this fabric threads of the *Argonautica*. But there is more that needs to be said regarding the warp and woof of Linear B evidence and Aeolian Argonautic epic.

In his study mentioned just above, Hiller (1991) points out that several proper names associated with Argonautic tradition appear to surface in the Linear B tablets, writing of the "striking correspondence" that can be seen here. While omitting

Presbon, Hiller (p. 214) offers the following list of names and tablet citations (numbering is added here):

1. Aiaia (the island of Aia)	cf. a_3-wa-ja: PY En 74 etc.
2. Aiates (the Lord of Aia)	cf. a_3-wa-ta: KN Vc 7612
3. Athamas (father of Phrixos)	cf. a-ta-ma-ne-u: PY Cn 655
4. Kretheus (brother of Athamas)	cf. ke-re-te-u: PY Ea 59 etc.
5. Amythaon (son of Kretheus)	cf. a-mu-ta-wo: PY N 831; KN V 756; TH Ug 9
6. Iason (leader of Argonauts)	cf. i-wa-so: PY Cn 655
7. Mopsos (seer of the Argonauts)	cf. mo-qo-so: KN De 1381
8. Lynkeus (spy of the Argonauts)	cf. ru-ke-wo(-wo-wi-ja): PY Na 1053

Expanding and expounding upon the items in Hiller's list may be worthwhile; so let us do that in the several subsections that follow (§17.4.1–§17.4.10).

17.4.1. Athamas

Beginning with Athamas (*Athámas* [Ἀθάμας]), item 3, we see that Hiller suggests that it compares favorably with the man's name *a-ta-ma-ne-u*, appearing in the

nominative case on Pylos tablet Cn 655 and in the dative case (*a-ta-ma-ne-we*) on Cn 131 – both tablets being inventories of flocks of sheep (and a few goats on Cn 131). Ventris and Chadwick (1973:535), among others,[1707] suggest reading the Linear B spelling *a-ta-ma-ne-u* as Athamāneus, offering as a comparandum post-Mycenaean *Athamânes* (Ἀθαμᾶνες), naming a people of Thessaly who claimed descent from Athamas. We are of course reminded also of Athamantia (*Athamantía* [Ἀθαμαντία]), the earlier-mentioned Thessalian city founded by Athamas (see §16.3.1), and of the 'Athamantian Plain' (πεδίον Ἀθαμάντιον), in the vicinity of Orchomenus (Pausanias 9.24.1, 3), or in Thessalian Phthia near Mt. Othrys (Apollonius Rhodius Argonautica); Apollonius Rhodius identifies the Athamantian Plain as the place where the prophetic Aristaeus, son of Apollo, shepherded the flocks of the Muses– goddesses who gave to him *akestoría* (ἀκεστορία) the 'art of healing' and *theopropía* (θεοπροπία) the skill of 'prophecy' (*Argonautica* 2.506–515). He is a figure to whom we will return in the next chapter.

We have encountered each of these two Pylos Cn tablets before (as well as others belonging to the same set). Both Cn 131 and 665 also attest, and again uniquely so, the name of the man *ra-pa-sa-ko* that reflects the Anatolian toponym Lampsacus, situated on the eastern shore of the Hellespont (see §15.2.4), marine body named for

[1707] See Aura Jorro 1985:111–112.

Athamas' daughter Helle (see below, §23.3.5.1). In addition, the form *i-wa-so* appears on Cn 655 – pointing onomastically toward the city lying about midway between Miletus and Halicarnassus on the Carian coast (see just below, §17.4.4). The latter tablet (Cn 665) also bears the man's name A-ke-o, a name that in its occurrences can be modified by the patronymic adjective Ka-wi-jo, with its attendant Aeolic morphology (see §8.4.2 and §8.4.3). Occurring on the other of these two tablets, Cn 131, on which is inscribed *a-ta-ma-ne-we,* is the name Ke-sa-me-no, which, as we have noted, can be accompanied by the patronymic Ke-me-ri-jo, (see §8.3.3.2, §8.4.2, and §8.4.3).

17.4.2. Cretheus

Cretheus (*Krētheús* [Κρηθεύς]), item 4 in Hiller's list, is a name that appears in Homeric epic, used at *Odyssey* 11.237 to identify a son of Aeolus. In the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (fr. 10.2 MW), *inter alia*, Cretheus is explicitly named as brother of Athamas. Jason is said to be grandson of Cretheus (as in Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* 2.1162–1163; 3.358–360; and see above, §16.3.2). Linear B *ke-re-te-u* occurs at Pylos in several texts of the Ea series (documenting landholdings): Ea 59 (three times); Ea 304 + 1023; Ea 305; Ea 771; Ea 800; Ea 806; and restored on Ea 809 + 988 + 1483; and also found on Pylos tablet Na 565 (see below, §17.4.6), where it is accompanied by the place name

ti-no. With regard to Ea 809 + 988 + 1483, Palmer (1963:219–220) draws attention to the genitival phrase *ra-wa-ke-si-jo, a-mo-te-wo* – occurring again on Ea 421 – which he reads as 'of the Commander's Charioteer';[1708] we encountered the adjective *ra-wa-ke-si-jo*, from *lāwāgetās*, denoting a *leader* of the people, in our discussions of Chapter Four (for the adjective see §4.4). Palmer compares the phrase *ra-wa-ke-si-jo, a-mo-te-wo* to lines in the "Tawagalawa Letter" (the Ahhiyawa text; see above, §8.4), writing, "we may recall once again the Hittite evidence for this as a position of exceptional trust and intimacy." The referenced lines are those of AhT 4 §8 ii 59–61, in which the Hittite monarch writes to the Ahhiyawan king (translation of Beckman, Bryce, and Kline 2011:111): "I have herewith sent Tapala-Tarhunta, the charioteer. Tapala-Tarhunta is not a person of low rank: (even) in (my) youth he mounted the chariot with me, and as a charioteer he often mounted [the chariot] with your brother Tawagalawa," where, as we have discussed (see §8.4), *Tawagalawa* equates to Mycenaean **Etewoclewas*, i.e. *Eteocles*, whose sons are identified in the Linear B texts utilizing the Aeolic patronymic. We see here, in AhT 4, a remarkable expression of social and political intercourse between Mycenaean and Hittite élites.

[1708] Palmer interprets **a-mo-te-u* as 'charioteer'; cf. Ventris and Chadwick (1973:531) who take the term as possibly denoting a 'wheelwright' or 'fitter'. For bibliography see Aura Jorro 1985:61.

17.4.3. Amythaon and Aeson

Amythaon (*Amuthá̄on* [Ἀμυθάων]), Hiller's item 5, is said to be a son of Cretheus (§17.4.2), and so brother of Aeson and uncle of Jason (see, *inter alia*, Pherecydes fr. 59a FHG; Diodorus Siculus 4.68.3; Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 1.96). The Mycenaean name Amythaon (A-mu-ta-wo) occurs at Knossos, Pylos, and Thebes. At Knossos *a-mu-ta-wo* is one of two men's names on the fragmentary tablet Vf 756 + 7806, placed under the rubric *po-ti-ro*, perhaps *pontiloi* 'mariners'.[1709] At Pylos *a-mu-ta-wo* is found twice: once in the genitive case on Jn 431 + 433 + 1058 + 1154 + fr., in a list (concerned with metal allotments) of individuals at *a-pe-ke-e*, perhaps site of a religious workshop, that includes *ka-ke-we, po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* 'bronze-smiths of the Potnia';[1710] here 31 men are said to be *a-mu-ta-wo-no* 'of A-mu-ta-wo'.[1711] The second Pylos text bearing the name A-mu-ta-wo is Nn 831, recording individuals who have made contributions of flax, perhaps

[1709] See Chadwick 1973; Palaima 1991:286, 304–308 (see which also for the Knossos V(5) tablet series); Aura Jorro 1993:163; Wachsmann 2009:127–128.

[1710] See Lupack 2006.

[1711] See Nakassis 2013:203.

localized to a Pylian town *Korinthos*.[1712] The Theban occurrence of *a-mu-ta-wo* is found on tablet Ug 9, which preserves little in the way of context.

At *Odyssey* 11.259 the epic poet sings of Tyro, mother of Pelias – he who would send Jason in search of the Golden Fleece – and his brother Neleus – who would settle in Pylos, twin sons of Poseidon whom we have seen reason to regard as reflexes of the primitive Indo-European divine twins (see above, §13.2.1, §13.7.2, and §13.8):

> Τοὺς δ' ἑτέρους Κρηθῆϊ τέκεν βασίλεια γυναικῶν,
>
> Αἴσονά τ' ἠδὲ Φέρητ' Ἀμυθάονά θ' ἱππιοχάρμην.

> And she [Tyro], queen of women, birthed by Cretheus other [sons],
>
> Aeson and Pheres and Amythaon who finds battle-joy in the clash of chariots.

In their explication of the lines, Heubeck and Hoekstra (1989:93) point out that not only *Cretheus* and *Amythaon* but *Aeson* (*Aísōn* [Αἴσων]) as well is a name evidenced in the Linear B documents, by way of the derived form *a*$_3$*-so-ni-jo*. The word appears on one

[1712] See Killen 2008:168–169.

side of a cord seal from Midea (MI Wv 6),[1713] and in the inventory of tablet Ui 651 from Mycenae. Pylos tablets of the Jn series, one member of which we have just now encountered in conjunction with Amythaon, also preserve the name *a₃-so-ni-jo*: Jn 310 records bronze allotments (at *a-ke-re-wa*), and on which there is again reference to 'bronze-smiths of the Potnia'; a smith named *a₃-so-ni-jo* is among those who receive an allotment here, as similarly on tablet Jn 706 (at *pa-to-wọ-te*). The name also appears (*ạ₃-ṣọ-ni-jo*) on Pylos tablet An 261, where it seems to identify an advisor to a *qa-si-re-u* (i.e. *basileús* [βασιλεύς]) 'chieftain' at *a-pe-ke-we* (place with which the just noted "bronze-smiths of the Potnia" are affiliated), one who is named *a-pi-qo-ta*.[1714]

17.4.4. Jason

Hiller's item 6, Jason (*Iásōn* [Ἰάσων]), is one that he compares to Mycenaean *i-wa-so*. This form, and its derivative *i-wa-si-jo-ta*, is one that we have now encountered several times, most recently just above in the discussion of Athamas (see §17.4.1), in which we noted that *a-ta-ma-ne-u* and *i-wa-so* co-occur on Pylos tablet Cn 655, an inventory of sheep. We suggested a connection of *i-wa-so* to the Carian city Iasus – that

[1713] See Demakopoulou et al. 2002:53–54.

[1714] On the relationship between the names of smiths in the Jn tablets and the names appearing on An 261, see Nakassis 2013:92–93, with bibliography.

is, *Íasos* (Ἴασος). We also noted that the man's name *ra-pa-sa-ko* occurs on this tablet and that the name reflects the Anatolian toponym Lampsacus (mentioned as early as Hecataeus of Miletus fr. 220 FGrH), situated on the shore of the Hellespont.

The context of Cn 655 reveals that *i-wa-so* is likewise here used to name a man: Ventris and Chadwick (1973:549) suggest *Iwasos*. The poet of the *Iliad* uses *Íasos* (Ἴασος) to name an ἀρχὸς Ἀθηναίων 'leader of the Athenians' whom Aeneas slew (15.332-337). At *Odyssey* 11.283–284 we encounter a Boeotian *Iasos*, ruler ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ Μινυείῳ 'in Minyan Orchomenus' (on whom see below, §17.4.7); while at *Odyssey* 18.246 one finds the curious and unique phrase *Íason Árgos* (Ἴασον Ἄργος). *Iason* has in this instance been linked to the king called *Iasos* who is identified as either the father of Argive Io[1715] or even as her son.[1716] Investigators have seen in this datum a folk-etymologized memory of an early Ionian presence in Argos.[1717] Such an idea is reflected elsewhere, as in Herodotus' (7.94) comment that ancestors of the Ionians populated Achaea prior to the arrival in the Peloponnese of Xuthus, whose son Ion gave his name to the Ionians;

[1715] See, *inter alia*, Acusilaus fr. 26 FGrH; Plutarch *De Herodoti malignitate* 857e; Pausanias 2.16.1; Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* 1.400

[1716] As by Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam* [= Stallbaum 1970] 2.177; *Scholia in Odysseam* [*scholia vetera* (= Dindorf 1962)] 18.246.

[1717] See Russo, Fernández-Galiano, and Heubeck 1992:64–65, with references to earlier work.

and in Pausanias' (2.37.3) observation that Argive speech was like that of the Athenians prior to Doric incursions.

When *i-wa-so* occurs in the Pylos An series (An 519 + fr.; An 654; An 661), as we earlier saw it to do (see §15.2.4), it names instead groups of warriors at particular locales. Tablet An 519 + fr. records the presence of 60 *i-wa-so* men at A-pi-te-wa, under the command of Ke-wo-no; this is the tablet that includes a reference to the *hek*^{w}*etās* 'Ro-u-ko, son of Kusamenos' (see §8.4.1.1). An 654 includes 10 *i-wa-so* men among the warriors characterized as *pe-di-je-we*;[1718] this is the tablet that includes a reference to the *hek*^{w}*etās* 'Alectryon, son of Eteocles', directly linking with the Ahhiyawa documents (see §8.2.2, §8.4, §§8.4.1–3, §8.5, and §8.6.4). An 661 inventories 70 *i-wa-so* men at E-na-po-ro, within a total numbered warrior contingent of 130. With the total contingent or with its last enumerated constituent group (20 *ko-ro-ku-ra-i-jo* men at Za-e-to-ro) is associated the *hek*^{w}*etās* 'Wo-ro-tu-mnios' (see §8.4.1.1).

In addition to these several occurrences of *i-wa-so* at Pylos,[1719] there is also found a derived form *i-wa-si-jo-ta*, appearing on tablet Cn 3, bearing the inventory of oxen that

[1718] The sense of which is perhaps best considered uncertain. Ventris and Chadwick (1973:431) suggest "*pediēwes* from πεδίον 'plainsmen'. . . ." Compare syllabic Cypriot *pe-ti-ja-i;* see Egetmeyer 2010:1:253.

[1719] The fragmentary tablet Xd 7756 from Knossos bears evidence of an erased]i̯-wa̯-so̯[. As with the earlier considered Xd 168 and Xd 314, Xd 7756 was produced by hand "124," which displays nonstandard

earlier caught our attention – one that specifies as recipient *di-wi-je-u*, that is 'Zeus-priest' or 'priest in the Zeus sanctuary' (see §8.6.4, §9.5.4.2, and §9.6). We noted that groups of warriors at various locales appear to be providing the oxen for sacrificial use and drew attention to *Iliad* 11.727–729 and Nestor's offering of bovine victims prior to his combat *aristeia*. On Pylos tablet Cn 3 the *i-wa-si-jo-ta* warriors at E-na-po-ro (the same 70 noted on tablet An 661?) are credited with providing one bull (see §9.5.4.2).

17.4.5. Mopsus

Mopsus (*Mópsos* [Μόψος]), Hiller's item 7, is the name given to the famed Greek seer, whom Pindar (*Pythian Odes* 4.189–191) describes as prophesying by bird-divination and lot-divination as the voyage of the Argonauts gets underway. Mopsus appears repeatedly in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius, with his divining skills foregrounded (see 1.65–66, 79–85, 1083–1106; 2.922–923; 3.543–554, 916–946; 4.1502–1536). The Mycenaean man's name spelled *mo-qo-so* is attested twice in the Linear B archives – once at Knossos, once at Pylos. On Knossos tablet De 1381 + 1497 + 7267 + 7963 + fr., an inventory of sheep at Pu-na-so, the term *mo-qo-so*, by its position (in light

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Mycenaean dialect features. We earlier saw (§15.2.4 n. 16) that another tablet in this series, Xd 146 + 155, attests the form *i-ja-wo-ne* 'Ionians' (also a production of "124").

of other such tablets), is taken to designate the "herdsman" (as opposed to the "owner" ["collector"]). The same name appears in the genitive on Pylos tablet Sa 774, and here records ownership of a warrior vehicle: *mo-qo-so-jo , wo-ka , we-je-ke-e* ROTA+*TE ZE* 1['chariot of Mopsos, with *w*- axle assembly (?),[1720] fringed (?) wheels, pair 1[. Hittite *Mukšu* and Luvian *Mukša* appear to be comparable to Linear B Mo-qo-so (post-Mycenaean *Mópsos*) and are best understood as a borrowing of Mycenaean *Mok*^{w}*sos* with its preserved labiovelar [k^{w}].[1721] Was the Aeolian epic of which *Mok*^{w}*sos* was a part known in its Bronze-Age form to indigenous Anatolian Indo-European through social intercourse with Ahhiyawans?

Made distinct in Greek tradition is that Mopsus, said to be a son of Manto, who defeated Calchas in a prophetic contest and founded Cilician Mallus.[1722] In Chapter Eight we encountered the Hieroglyphic Luvian-Phoenician bilingual inscription from Çineköy (on which see above, §8.7); the Iron-Age kingdom of Cilicia Pedias known as

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[1720] The sense of this neuter dual *we-je-ke-e* is uncertain; for discussion with bibliography see Aura Jorro 1993:417.

[1721] See Oettinger 2008. See also, *inter alia*, Vanschoonwinkel 1990; Hawkins 1993–1997; Bremmer 2008b:136–143; Lane Fox 2008:212–226; Fowler 2013:546–550.

[1722] See, *inter alia*, Euphorion fr. 98 (Powell 1970); Strabo 14.1.26–27; 14.5.15–16; Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca epitome* 6.3–4.

Que (Assyrian) or *Adanawa* (Luvian) is here given the name *Hiyawa* in the Luvian text, suggesting, a conspicuous Iron-Age presence of Greeks at the site.[1723] Comparison has been made with Herodotus' (7.91) term *Hup-akhaioí* (Ὑπ-αχαιοί), essentially 'Sub-Achaeans', which he reports to have been an earlier name for the Cilicians.[1724] In the inscription from Çineköy the king *Warika* of Hiyawa asserts that he is belongs to the family of *[mu-ka]-sa-sa* (*Mukasas*), spelled *MPŠ* in the consonantal script of the Phoenician text, by which Greek *Mópsos* is clearly intended.[1725]

17.4.6. Lynceus

The eighth item in Hiller's list, Lynceus (*Lynkeús* [Λυγκεύς]), names another member of the company of the Argonauts, one famed for his extraordinary vision (thus Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* 1.153–154). The name *ru-ke-wo* appears on Pylos tablet Na 1053 + fr.: the texts of the Na series are concerned with quantities of flax;[1726] we saw

[1723] On the Iron-Age use of *Hiyawa* as the name of the region of Cilicia Pedias and on the prospect of Assyrian *Que* having evolved linguistically from *Hiyawa*, see Oreshko 2013.

[1724] See de Fidio 2008:100–101, who cites Kretschmer 1933 for the earliest suggestion of a link between Herodotus *Hup-akhaioí* (Ὑπ-αχαιοί) and *Ahhiyawa*.

[1725] See Tekoğlu and Lemaire 2000:974, 976, and 996; Bryce 2012:39, 66, 154, and 156.

[1726] See for the series, *inter alia*, Killen 2008:190 (with note 66); Nakassis 2013:142–143

just above (§17.4.2) that the name *ke-re-te-u* (*Cretheus*) occurs on another tablet in this series, Na 565. The interpretation of *ru-ke-wo* as *Lynkeus* has been around since at least Heubeck 1963. On Na 1053 + fr., *ru-ke-wo* appears as part of a univerbated construction *ru-ke-wo-wo-wi-ja*, the second portion of which (*-wo-wi-ja*) appears to spell *worwía* (ϝορϝία) 'boundaries, borders'; compare *hória* (ὅρια),[1727] perhaps earliest in a fragment to be assigned to Aeschylus' *Telephus* (fr. 406(?)a Matte 1959), of the boundary between Phrygians and Mysians. Hence, the tablet specifies a quantity of flax to be collected from the 'borders of *Lynceus*', seemingly a toponym, or at least a geographic reference point. One may be reminded of Pindar's description of the fight between the Dioscuri and the brothers Idas and Lynceus in *Nemean Odes* 10.66–72, in which the latter pair attack Polydeuces at the location of their father's tomb, hurling the stone 'tomb marker' (ἄγαλμα Ἀΐδα literally 'image of Hades') into the chest of this 'son of Zeus'; a scholiast on the lines writes that Lynceus, he of keen vision, had spied the Dioscuri from the *hóroi* (ὅροι), the term from which *hória* is derived and denoting 'boundary' and 'boundary-/memorializing-stone'. Hyginus (*Fabulae* 80) reports that Castor had slain Lynceus in the aftermath of the Dioscuri's abduction of the daughters of Leucippus, and that Idas was constructing a *pīla* 'pillar' to Lynceus (within which his bones were being

[1727] See, *inter alia*, Ruijgh 1967:185; Ventris and Chadwick 1973:593; Aura Jorro 1993:266.

incased) when Castor appeared on the scene and began to taunt the dead warrior, whereupon Idas killed Castor by knocking over the pillar on top of him. Does the Linear B *ru-ke-wo-wo-wi-ja* reference a locale popularly – or cultically – associated with a Bronze-Age form of such a mythic tradition?

17.4.7. Pylian Preponderance of the Evidence Thus Far

Regarding these several Mycenaean names with connections to Argonautic tradition, as well as the two items in Hiller's list that we have yet to consider (numbers 1 and 2), Hiller (1991:214) comments that they "cannot, of course, prove anything else but their mere existence in the Mycenaean period." He goes on, however, to offer an interesting observation regarding the preponderance of the Pylian evidence for them:

> The Argonauts are traditionally regarded as Minyans who were at home in Southern Thessaly and Northern Boeotia: the same is true for the Pylian Neleides.

Here Hiller refers to the tradition that we discussed in Chapter Thirteen (see §13.2.1, §13.7, and §13.8) – that Nestor's father Neleus, the brother of Pelias (sons of Tyro, who

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is also mother of Aeson, Pheres, and Amythaon by Cretheus, as we saw in §17.4.3), was driven away from Thessalian Iolcus by Pelias. Neleus settled in Pylos (Hellanicus frr. 124a and 124 b FGrH; Pausanias 4.2.5) and married Chloris (*Khlôris* [Χλῶρις]/*Khlōrís* [Χλωρίς]),[1728] whom Pherecydes (fr. 56 FHG)[1729] identifies as a daughter of Amphion, the son of Boeotian Iasos and a woman Persephone, who is herself a daughter of Minyas; thus, Pherecydes writes, Neleus ruled both the Pylians and the people of Boeotian Orchomenus.[1730] For Diodorus Siculus (4.68.6), Pseudo-Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca* 3.46–47; cf. 1.93), and Hyginus (*Fabulae* 10), Chloris' father is the Amphion who with his brother built the walls of Thebes; and her mother is Niobe. But to return to Hiller's observation – he continues:

> As has been recognized long ago, there is a remarkable coincidence of river names both in Thessaly and in the Thessalian offspring of the Neleid dynasty.[1731]

[1728] According to Pausanias (2.21.9) Chloris had first been named Meliboea (*Melíboia* [Μελίβοια]).

[1729] Compare Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (= van der Valk 1971–1987) 3.313.

[1730] See also Homer *Odyssey* 11.281–286; Hesiod fr. 33a.1–7 MW; Pausanias 9.36.8 [and 10.29.5]; Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam* (= Stallbaum 1970) 1.414, 416.

[1731] Here Hiller references Hiller 1972:186 and following "for Thessalian geographical names in the Western Peloponnesos."

For the same reason a clustering of heroic personal names, originally at home in Thessaly, could be expected to reappear in Mycenaean Pylos. That this is really the case lends further confidence to the assumption of a Mycenaean origin of the Argonaut epos.

To Hiller's remarks, at least three further observations can be added. First, the name of Jason's father, Aeson, as we saw just above in §17.4.3, is also attested in the Linear B documents, evidenced in the derived form *a_3-so-ni-jo* (but not mentioned by Hiller); and the great majority of the occurrences of this form is also to be found at Pylos.

Second, and in regard to the previous observation, the relative occurrence of these several items at Pylos is much higher than would be suggested by Hiller's (1991:214) summary presentation (set out above in §17.4), which typically notes only a single occurrence of the item (and in some cases not even an occurrence at Pylos when in fact the item does occur there). The ratios of the local occurrences of the items examined thus far can be tabulated as follows:

A-ta-ma-ne-u PY 2x : 0 elsewhere

Ke-re-te-u	PY 10x : 0 elsewhere
A-mu-ta-wo	PY 2x : KN 1x : TH 1x : 0 elsewhere
A_3-so-ni-jo	PY 3x : MY 1x : MI 1x : 0 elsewhere
I-wa-so	PY 5x : 0 elsewhere
Mo-qo-so	PY 1x : KN 1x : 0 elsewhere
Ru-ke-wo	PY 1x : 0 elsewhere

Of these several forms, there are thus a total of 24 attestations at Pylos while Knossos provides only 2 (and Mycenae, Thebes, and Midea 1 each). If one compares with this Pylos-to-Knossos ratio of 24 : 2 the ratio of the total number of words occurring in documents from Pylos to words occurring in documents from Knossos, which is 6,818: 6,905,[1732] one can see how striking the intensity of the attestation of the names at Pylos actually is.

Third, we noted above in examining these items that many of them occur on tablets and in tablet series that we earlier saw to have particular affiliations with Anatolia and the Mycenaean community there. Thus the Mycenaean onomastic

[1732] Personal communication (27 November 2015) from Federico Aurora, Subject Specialist in Greek and Latin, University of Oslo Library and DAMOS. The author wishes to express his appreciation to Dr. Aurora for obtaining the total word counts from the DAMOS database.

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evidence of these forms suggestively leads us back to Anatolia independent of the Pontic Anatolian setting of the epic Argonautic tradition with which the names are linked. We can add to the mix the case of Presbon (see above, §17.4) that further strengthens this connection.

17.4.8. Aiaia and Aietes: Part 1

Now we need to consider more closely Hiller's items 1 and 2, here repeated:

1. Aiaia (the island of Aia) cf. a_3-wa-ja: PY En 74 etc.

2. Aiates (the Lord of Aia) cf. a_3-wa-ta: KN Vc 7612

Aietes we now know well: he is the king of Colchis, son of Helios, who received the Golden Fleece from Phrixus and affixed it to a tree; Phrixus fathered Presbon by one of the daughters of Aietes (see §8.6.5, §16.3.1, §16.3.4, and above in §17.4). The form of his name that we have been using, *Aietes* (*Aiḗtēs* [Αἰήτης]) is Ionic. In Doric the name takes the form *Aietas* (*Aiḗtas* [Αἰήτας]), as in Pindar *Pythian Odes* 2.224 and 238. Compare with this the name *a_3-wa-ta* that appears, absent of context, on Knossos tablet Vc 7612. The interpretation of *a_3-wa-ta* as *Aiwātās* (beside Ionic *Aiḗtēs*) was suggested at least as

early as Ruijgh 1967 (181n419).[1733] Note that Knossos tablet As 1516 preserves the man's name *a_3-wa-ṭọ*, to which we will return in §17.5.

A_3-wa-ja occurs twice, both times at Pylos, on tablets belonging to the related En and Eo series of land-tenure documents. Mycenaean *a_3-wa-ja* (i.e. *aiwaia*) is formally equivalent to post-Mycenaean *Aiaíē* (Αἰαίη), the adjective derived from the Colchian place name *Aîa* (Αἶα). We encountered this adjective *Aiaíē* 'Aiaian' earlier in this chapter (in §17.2) and saw it to be used to describe both Circe and Circe's island – the 'Aiaian island' (Αἰαίη νῆσος, *Odyssey* 10.135; 11.70; and 12.3). In his *Argonautica* Apollonius Rhodius uses the adjective similarly of Circe (4.559) and of her island (3.1074, 1093), and its 'Aiaian harbor' (4.661):

Καπραλίμως δ' ἐνθένδε διὲξ ἁλὸς οἶδμα νέοντο
Αὐσονίης, ἀκτὰς Τυρσηνίδας εἰσορόωντες, 660
ἶξον δ' Αἰαίης λιμένα κλυτὸν . . . .

And swiftly from here they return out through the briny swell
of Ausonia, gazing upon the Tyrrhenian shores, 660

[1733] For bibliography see Aura Jorro 1985:141.

they arrived at the famed Aiaian harbor . . . .

Apollonius also applies the descriptor in referencing 'Aiaian Medea' (*Argonautica* 3.1136, 4.243). Medea is daughter of Aietes, king of Aia; she can be made sister of Circe (rather than niece), with Hecate as their mother.[1734] In addition, Apollonius uses the adjective of the 'Aiaian coast of Tyrrhenia' (4.850; see below, §17.5). In these several usages the sense of the adjective is both one of appurtenance and of ethnic affiliation.[1735]

In §17.2 we saw that Aia is a place associated with Eos, the 'Dawn', and with the rising of Helios, the 'Sun'. Greek *Ēős* 'Dawn' (Ionic [Ἠώς]; also Attic *Héōs* [Ἕως], Doric *Aős* [Ἀώς], Aeolic *Aúōs* [Αὔως], Boeotian genitive *Áas* [Ἄας, on which see §17.2]) can also signify the place, or region, 'East', as at *Iliad* 12.239, where a cardinal augural direction is specified as ἐπὶ δεξί . . . πρὸς ἠῶ τ' ἠέλιόν τε 'to the right, . . . toward both the dawn and the sun'. Similarly at *Odyssey* 9.26 and 13.240, where the same conjunction of dawn and sun, Eos and Helios, specifies 'east' as opposed to 'west' (which is here πρὸς ζόφον 'toward darkness'). The cardinal sense of *ēős* is perhaps even more immediate at, for example, Herodotus 2.8.1: here Herodotus describes the maximum breadth of the

[1734] See Diodorus Siculus 4.45.2; *Scholia in Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* (*scholia vetera* [= Wendel 1935]) 223.

[1735] On the ethnic sense of the term see the comments of Hesychius A 1662; see also, *inter alia*, Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam* (= Stallbaum 1970) 1.321 and 372.

mountains of Arabia from 'east' (*ēős*) to 'west' (*hespérē* [ἑσπέρη]) as that of a two-month trek. From *Ēős* various derived forms can be generated:[1736] notably, the adjective *ēoîos/ ēôi)os* (ἠοῖος/ ἠῷος, with dialectal variants) meaning 'of dawn/morning', signaling appurtenance, but also carrying a cardinal and ethnic sense 'eastern', as at *Odyssey* 8.29: ἠὲ πρὸς <u>ἠοίων</u> ἢ ἑσπερίων <u>ἀνθρώπων</u> 'whether belonging to <u>people</u> of the <u>east</u> or of the west' – people of the place of the dawn. Compare the Latin cognate *Aurōra*, naming not only the goddess 'Dawn', as well as 'dawn', but also the 'East' (as at Vergil *Aeneid* 7.606) and the 'peoples of the East' (see, for example, Statius *Thebaid* 6.279).

If the Pylian adjective *a_3-wa-ja* is properly identified with post-Mycenaean *Aiaíē* (Αἰαίη), as seems a plausible hypothesis given the frequent, and disproportionately large, occurrence of Argonautic terminology in documents from Pylos, then the Mycenaean name *a_3-wa-ta*, attested at Knossos, can likely be drawn with some confidence into the set of such terms and identified with post-Mycenaean *Aiḗtēs* (Αἰήτης). The base form from which *a_3-wa-ta* and *a_3-wa-ja* were derived was one that contained an intervocalic [w], preserved and visible in Linear B spellings but lost prior to alphabetic attestation of *Aiḗtēs* (Αἰήτης) and *Aiaíē* (Αἰαίη). We saw (§8.7) in our discussion of the variants *Ahhiya* and *Ahhiyawa* that the latter of these is secondary,

[1736] See, *inter alia*, Chantraine 1968:394–395.

derived using a Luvo-Hittite formant -*wa*- that serves to form ethnic adjectives from place names – adjectives which themselves then came to be interpreted as place names.

We should likely look to this same *wa*-suffix, by which *Ahhiyawa* was derived from *Ahhiya,* to identify the beginnings of Mycenaean Greek a_3-*wa-ja* and a_3-*wa-ta*. In other words, the post-Mycenaean Greek name of the Colchian place *Aîa* had at some Bronze-Age moment taken on the form *Aiwa, generated from a toponym *Aia that denoted the eastern place, or region, of the appearance of Eos and Helios. The name of this "place" is, as we have seen, provided by a borrowing from Hurrian – the proper name *Aya* – that is *Ai-a*, wife of the Sun-god. The appropriation of the name *Aya* as a toponym is matched by the appropriation of the name *Eos*, and similarly *Aurora*, to denote 'the East', place of the rising of Eos and Helios. Mycenaean Greek a_3-*wa-ja* and later Greek *Aiaíē* (Αἰαίη), from **Ai-wa-íyē* (*Αἰϝαίυη), can of course themselves be ethnic adjectives, which must have been formed after *Aiwa had synchronically lost the status of ethnic adjective and acquired the status of place name.

As mentioned above, the Mycenaean adjective a_3-*wa-ja* is attested twice (on land-tenure documents). On En 74 + frr., the longer of the two documents on which the form is found (Eo 160 being the shorter), a woman identified as A_3-wa-ja is described as a *te-o-jo, do-e-ra* 'slave of [the] god', a designation that she shares on this tablet with five

other women – named as *mi-ra*, *ma-re-ku-na*,[1737] *ma-*79*, *e-pa-sa-na-ti*, and *ko-ri-si-ja* (twice) – and five men (*te-o-jo, do-e-ro*): *te-se-u*, *e-ko-to* (twice), *e-*65-to*, *ku-*63-so*, and *ta-ra$_2$-to*. Each of these individuals is reported to "have a lease" of some amount of land. This is the same arrangement that we encountered in Chapter Eight on Pylos tablet Ed 847 (see §8.6.5), in the case of slaves identified as *e-qe-si-jo* 'of/for a *hek^{w}etās*'. On En 74 + frr. A$_3$-wa-ja, a cult slave, along with another such slave (*ko-ri-si-ja*) and a person named *pe-ki-ta*, who is described as a *ka-na-pe-u, wa-na-ka-te-ro* 'fuller of the *wanaks*',[1738] hold each a lease from the private lands of another individual, named as *pi-ke-re-u*. On the shorter tablet Eo 160 the same information is repeated regarding these four persons (i.e. A$_3$-wa-ja, *ko-ri-si-ja*, *pe-ki-ta*, and *pi-ke-re-u*).

On these tablets A$_3$-wa-ja, the 'Aiaian woman' – or the 'Eastern woman' (?) – is joined by other individuals with names referencing geographic locales. Another of the cult slaves on En 74 + frr., as we just saw, is Ko-ri-si-ja, the 'woman of Korinthos', a Pylian town with which, as we noted earlier, in §17.4.3, Amythaon (*Amutháōn* [Ἀμυθάων]) may be associated on Pylos tablet Nn 831. A Ko-ri-si-ja appears in both lines 18 and 23 of En 74 + frr. Line 11 of the tablet preserves the name A$_3$-ti-jo-qo, read

[1737] Though possibly a man's name: here identified (mistakenly?) with the masculine descriptor *te-o-jo, do-e-ro*, but on Pylos tablet Eo 276 with the comparable feminine form.

[1738] See Hiller 1988:54–55.

as a genitive case form of the name that appears in Homeric epic and later as *Aithíops* (Αἰθίοψ), probably best understood in the fairly transparent sense of 'Burnt-face'. If the local domain of the *Aithíopes* is somewhat non-distinct in epic, some ethnic attribution is undeniably entailed (see Snowden 1970:101–103; 1983:46–48). Also worth noting on this tablet (En 74 + frr.) – the name of the cult slave E-pa-sa-na-ti (also on Pylos tablet Ep 212 + 1018 + 1162) is a Special Mycenaean variant of the Normal Mycenaean form I-pa-sa-na-ti (on Pylos tablets Eb 1345 + fr. + 1350 and Eo 247).[1739]

17.4.9. The We-te-re-u-Priest

In addition to A_3-wa-ja the 'slave woman of [the] god', another cult official designated on En 74 + frr. is a priest identified as *we-te-re-u*. The designation carried by this priest occurs on seven additional land-tenure tablets from Pylos (Eb 472 and 477; Ed 317; En 659; Eo 247 and 444; and Ep 539). The interpretation of *we-te-re-u* has been judged to be uncertain: the form has been commonly understood to be a personal name;[1740] Ruijgh (1967:116–117), for example, suggests *Westreús* (Ϝεστρεύς), making an etymological connection with post-Mycenaean *eph-estrís* (ἐφ-εστρίς), term denoting a

[1739] See Nagy 1968:663, 665, 667, 675–676, 678; and Woodard 1986:50.

[1740] For bibliography see Aura Jorro 1993:423.

type of upper garment. However, Bennett (1956:130–131) argues that *we-te-re-u* is properly understood as a title, rather than personal name, in light of what he sees to be parallel subjects in the Eb landholding documents: "The word implies *i-je-re-u* ['priest'], and indicates some additional function, or superior authority, in the priestly office." Support for this view may be provided by the adjective *e-pi-we-ti-ri-jọ*⌊ that occurs on Pylos tablet Ea 52, accompanying a man's name *wi-ri-ja-no*. If Bennett should be on target regarding *we-te-re-u* as title, as appears probable, a relationship to a form such as post-Mycenaean *étēs* (ἔτης), attested as *wétas* (ϝέτας) in Elean, which in Homeric epic (always in the plural) denotes 'clansmen, kinsmen', would be particularly *séduisant* in light of connections that come to light in the ensuing discussion. Greek *étēs* is a derivative of the third-person and reflexive pronominal stem *swe- (i.e. * swe-t-ā-); compare Old Church Slavic *svatŭ* 'kinsman', Lithuanian *svẽcias* 'guest', Latvian *svešs* 'guest, stranger'.[1741] A suffixed, extended form *swe-t-aro- gives Greek *hétaros* (ἕταρος), and *hetaîros* (ἑταῖρος) 'comrade-in-arms, companion'. An extended form *swĕ-dh(e)h_1- (literally 'to place the self in [something]') provides Early Latin *suodālis*, later *sodālis* 'member of a fraternal group', Sanskrit *svadhā* 'self-power; custom', Greek *ê̂thos* (ἦθος)

[1741] Word-initial ancestral *sw- is regularly represented as wV- in Linear B orthography (an aspirated glide?). See, *inter alia*, Lejeune 1982:135.

'custom, character' and the derived adjective *ētheîos/ēthaîos* (ἠθεῖος/ἠθαῖος) 'trusted', hence a 'trusted friend'; compare Greek *éthnos* (ἔθνος) 'a people living together, company', from *swedh-no-. An etymon *swēdh-ru- surfaces in Tocharian A *ṣotre* and Tocharian B *ṣotri* 'mark, sign, characteristic'.[1742]

17.4.9.1. O-pi-ti-ni-ja-ta and Labiovelar Palatalization. On the two tablets of the Eb series (472 and 477) the *we-te-re-u*-priest (as we will here refer to him) is identified as an *o-pi-ti-ni-ja-ta*: these are the only two occurrences of the term *o-pi-ti-ni-ja-ta* in the Mycenaean corpus. I have suggested elsewhere that *o-pi-ti-ni-ja-ta* is perhaps best understood as the Mycenaean equivalent to the post-Mycenaean terms *epitimḗtōr* (ἐπιτιμήτωρ) and *epitimētḗs* (ἐπιτιμητής).[1743] This identification of *o-pi-ti-ni-ja-ta* would entail an early *recorded* Mycenaean palatalization of the voiceless labiovelar k^w to *t*: this would be an exceptional change that occurs in advance of the regular change of k^w to t *before i*, one that is conditioned by a highly palatalizing phonological context – namely,

[1742] See, *inter alia,* Walde and Pokorny 1927:454–458; Ernout and Meillet 1959:631–632; Chantraine 1968:382; Watkins 1989:786–790; Mallory and Adams 1997:143, 455, 631; Watkins 2011:90.

[1743] See Woodard 2018b. For the Linear B orthographic data analysis that is preparatory to the suggestion that *o-pi-ti-ni-ja-ta* contains a palatalized labiovelar, see pages 386–388 of that work.

between two high front vowels (i.e. / *i* __ *i*).[1744] Cross-linguistically palatalization can be observed to occur more readily *between* two front vowels than it does simply *before* a front vowel (i.e. when another front vowel does not precede).[1745] That is the general case; specific to ancient Greek is the following phenomenon.

While voiceless labiovelar k^w regularly palatalizes to *t* before the high front vowel *i* (see §6.5.1), the voiced labiovelar g^w evolves into the *default* labial reflex *b* before high front *i*, as in, for example, *bíos* (βίος) from *g^wih_3o- (these are, *mutatis mutandis*, pan-dialectal developments). But in contrast, the voiced g^w appears to be susceptible to palatalization to *d* when it occurs *between* two high front vowels,[1746] to judge by forms such as the name *Antí-dios* (Ἀντί-διος, see *Halikarnassos* 2.a.2)[1747] and the adjective *aĩ-dios*

[1744] For the full argumentation in favor of such a view, see Woodard 2018b.

[1745] See Stephens and Woodard 1986:139–145.

[1746] See Stephens and Woodard 1986:145–153, building upon Hamp 1960:196–197. See both for additional bibliography.

[1747] As opposed to *Antí-bios* (Ἀντί-βιος), attested chiefly in Attica, but also Laconia, Oropus, Olynthus, Thrace, Thera, Calymna. For names formed in *-bios* (-βιος) see Bechtel 1917:94–96; in contrast to *Antí-dios* (Ἀντί-διος) the bilabial of simplex *bíos* is preserved in the compound names *Ankhí-* (Ἀνχί-; Laconia), *Deksí-* (Δεξί-; Amorgos), *Heurēsí-* (Εὑρησί-; north shore of the Black Sea), *Kallí-* (Καλλί-; Attica, Euboea, Amphipolis), *Ktēsí-* (Κτησί-; Attica chiefly, also Larisa, Delos, Lesbos, Samos, Imbros, Mysia), *Onesí-* (Ὀνεσί-

(ἀΐ-διος) 'ever-living' (with *aeí* [ἀεί], Aeolic *ái* [ἄι], 'ever, always' prefixed);[1748] compare *aeí-zōos* (ἀεί-ζωος), having the same meaning, from ø-grade variant *g^wyō- (where *g^wy → ζ by a regular, distinct sound change). If *í-dios* (ἴ-διος; Doric *wídios* [ϝίδιος], Argive *hídios* [hίδιος]) 'one's own' can be added to the list of forms derived from *g^wih_3o-, built with the prefixed pronominal *swe- (i.e. 'one's own life'), then the Aeolic dialect of Thessalian (Pelasgiotis) appears also to undergo the change, as evidenced by the forms *iddian* (ιδδιαν; IG IX,2 461b; BCH 59 [1935] 55,2) and *itdian* (ιτδιαν; BCH 59 [1935] 37,face 2[1]). Let us recall that the Aeolic dialect group is one in which labiovelar palatalization is highly restricted (see §6.5.4).

As we saw in the discussion of §6.5.1, the palatalization of *k^w before the high front vowel *i* must have occurred at a relatively early moment. It is a labiovelar development that characterizes all Greek dialects of the first millennium BC, including Aeolic, which, as we have just noted, has a propensity for the default bilabial reflexes of labiovelars, rather than palatalized dental outcomes. On the other hand – in contrast to other dialects, we saw that Arcadian and Cypriot show an *advanced* palatalized development of *k^w* before *i* – Arcadian having an affricate reflex and Cypriot having an

; Attica [restored]), and *Sōsí-bios* (Σωσί-βιος; widespread). The difference could be one of local dialect, but paradigm pressure exerted by the simplex *bíos* is likely.

[1748] See Lejeune 1982:50n4.

even more advanced fricative reflex. We argued that this reveals that (1) the ancestral Arcado-Cypriot speech community must constitute ground zero for the palatalization of *k*^{w} before *i*, (2) that the unique strident outcome, common to Arcadian and Cypriot, must have arisen prior to the migratory separation of Cypriot from Arcadian at the end of the Bronze Age, and (3) that the continued evolution of the affricate reflex (preserved in Arcadian) to the fricative reflex of Cypriot was a further phonological development that occurred after separation of Cypriot speakers from their ancestral Arcado-Cypriot group.

Again, the palatalization of *k*^{w} before *i* must have begun in the Late Bronze Age. But even so, as we discussed in §6.5.2, there is no flagrant Linear B indicator of the palatalization of *k*^{w} before *i*. This, we noted, could be the result of the inertia of orthographic conservatism, a phenomenon that is revealed by Mycenaean labiovelar developments in other phonological contexts. Thus, when two labiovelar stops occur within the domain of a single word, the first of the two labiovelar stops develops into a bilabial stop (regressive dissimilation in articulatory place), as in the man's name *pe-re-qo-ta*; though there are also instances in which the older form of such a word continues to be spelled as it existed, and was spelled, prior to the change – thus, in this case, *qe-re-qo-ta-o*.

In Chapter One (see §1.2.1) we drew attention to Nagy's important proposal (Nagy 2015a:§5) that the typical form of Mycenaean – so-called Normal Mycenaean (as opposed to Special Mycenaean) – is especially closely related to Arcado-Cypriot. We have again noted, just above, that the second-millennium ancestor of Arcado-Cypriot was particularly prone to palatalize k^w before *i*, we discussed how Greek labiovelars are more prone to palatalize when they occur between two high front vowels – a context conducive to palatalization across languages, and we reminded ourselves that orthographic conservatism can suppress written representation of phonological changes involving labiovelars. All of this is consistent with the potentiality that *o-pi-ti-ni-ja-ta* uniquely preserves, in Mycenaean orthography, a palatalized reflex of k^w (i.e. *o-pi-ṯi-ni-ja-ta*) in the hyper-palatalizing context *i*__ *i* (i.e. *o-pi̱-ti̱-ni-ja-ta*).

17.4.9.2. The We-te-re-u-Priest and Zeus Ἐπιτιμήτωρ. A bit needs to be said at this point about the *we-te-re-u*-priest, who shares a mention with the cult slave woman A_3-wa-ja, the 'Aiaian', on En 74 + frr. As noted just above in §17.4.9.1, on two of the other tablets on which the term *we-te-re-u* appears, Eb 472 and Eb 477, the priest is accorded the status *o-pi-ti-ni-ja-ta*, and the term invites comparison with post-Mycenaean

epitimḗtōr (ἐπιτιμήτωρ) and *epitimētḗs* (ἐπιτιμητής).[1749] The epic term *epitimḗtōr* occurs at *Odyssey* 9.270 and nowhere else except in lexica and the Homeric commentaries. In lines 269–271 Odysseus says to Polyphemus the Cyclops, in whose cave he and his followers are being held captive:

> Ἀλλ' αἰδεῖο, φέριστε, θεούς· ἱκέται δέ τοί εἰμεν,
>
> Ζεὺς δ' <u>ἐπιτιμήτωρ</u> ἱκετάων τε ξείνων τε, 270
>
> ξείνιος, ὃς ξείνοισιν ἅμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ.

> But be in awe of the gods, you best of men: we are your suppliants,
>
> And Zeus is <u>*epitimḗtōr*</u> of suppliants and of guest-friends, 270
>
> [Zeus] Xenios, who accompanies guest-friends, ones worthy of reverence.

The prefixed agent noun *epi-timḗtōr* is often translated into English as something like 'avenger' or 'patron, protector'. Hesychius (E 5338) glosses *epitimḗtōr* as *boēthóos* (βοηθόος) and *timōrós* (τιμωρός). The first, *boēthóos*, is used in Homeric epic to denote one who rushes toward the sound of the battle-cry (ἐπὶ βοὴν θεῖν), and then more

[1749] See Woodard 2018b:388–392, from which the present discussion has been drawn, with modifications.

generally to mean 'helper, assistant' (for example, Bacchylides at *Epigrams* 2.3, of the god Zephyrus). The second of Hesychius' glosses, *timōrós*, denotes a 'helper', typically a helper of one who has been wronged; a tutelary deity. A scholiast on the *Odyssey*[1750] elaborates the phrase Zeus *epitimḗtōr* (Ζεὺς δ' ἐπιτιμήτωρ) of line 270, writing that it is a matter τῆς τιμῆς ἐπόπτης 'of the watcher of *timḗ*', The scholiast's term here translated 'watcher', *epóptēs* (ἐπόπτης), is that one we met in Chapter Three (see §3.4.2.2) as we discussed Hephaestus' glosses of *epōráō* (ἐπωπάω) 'to watch', those being *ephoráō* (ἐφοράω) and *epopteúō* (ἐποπτεύω). In that earlier discussion we pointed out that the denominative verb *epopteúō* occurs alongside *epóptēs* (ἐπόπτης), agent noun used particularly of a divine 'watcher' and having significance in the nomenclature of the mysteries. We proposed in that discussion that Linear B *u-wo-qe-we/u-wo-qe-ne* and *we-re-we* are both terms that designate cult officiants whose role is one of watching or perceiving, with the latter title, *we-re-we*, having an origin in Proto-Indo-European *wer- 'to perceive', 'to watch out for'.

[1750] *Scholia in Odysseam* (*scholia vetera* [=Dindorf 1962]) 9.270.

Epic *epitimḗtōr* (ἐπιτιμήτωρ) finds a variant in *epitimētḗs* (ἐπιτιμητής).[1751] Aeschylus provides the earliest attested example at *Prometheus vinctus* 77, where it is used of Zeus, the watcher. The figure *Krátos* (Κράτος), that is 'Power', tells the smith-god Hephaestus to hammer in the fetters of Prometheus securely, for the *epitimētḗs* of their work, the one who keeps an eye on them, is severe. With the agent noun *epitimētḗs* compare the verb *epitimáō* (ἐπιτιμάω, Ionic *epitiméō* [ἐπιτιμέω]) 'to show honor to' (for example, Herodotus 6.39.2), but also used of a judge's action 'to exact a penalty' (as in Herodotus 4.43.6). A simplex nominal *timētḗs* (τιμητής) also occurs, earliest attested at Plato *Leges* 843d, denoting 'one who assesses damage or value'.

Underlying these several verbal and nominal derived forms is the noun that we encountered in the scholiast's description of Zeus as τῆς <u>τιμῆς</u> ἐπόπτης 'of the watcher of <u>*timḗ*</u>'. In his study of the epic hero, Nagy (1998:118n1) underscores that *timḗ* distinctively signifies the 'honor' received in cult, a semantic domain which is largely obscured by the treatment of the principal English lexicon (LSJ). This use of the noun is

[1751] And also *epitimētḗr* (ἐπιτιμητήρ), which shows up only in the second-century AD epic of Oppian, the *Halieutica*, a didactic poem on fishing (and in scholia on the work). Here it is used of a paedagogos following children home from school, who is said to be their *epitimētḗr* of 'respect' (*aidṓs* [αἰδώς]), 'understanding' (*trapídes* [τραπίδες]), and 'mind' (*nóos* [νόος]); comparison is made to mature dolphins protectively accompanying their young.

particularly clear in Herodotus: *timḗ* occurs with reference to both the cult of a god (for example, 1.118.2) and the cult of a hero (for example, 1.168.1). In the same way, the derived verb *tīmáō* (τῑμάω) (which LSJ, as typical, glosses as 'to honor, revere' etc.) signifies 'to worship' within a cult context (as in Herodotus 1.90.2; 2.50.3; 2.75.4; 5.67.5).

This sense is foregrounded elsewhere and earlier than in the work of Herodotus. Hesiod (*Works and Days* 142) can use *timḗ* (τῑμή) of worship presented to the second generation of beings in his myth of the five ages, when they had become spirits of the underworld. West (1978:187) compares *Odyssey* 11.302, where Castor and Pollux are said to be accorded *timḗ* from Zeus when they have come to share a single immortal existence between them. Aeschylus, *Persians* 622, uses *timḗ* to denote offerings poured out for the gods of the underworld.

The primary verb formed with the root of *timḗ* (τῑμή) is *tíō* (τίω), also meaning 'to honor, revere'. The root of *epitimḗtōr* (ἐπιτιμήτωρ), *epitimáō* (ἐπιτιμάω), *timḗ*, *tíō* etc. finds its primitive Indo-European etymon in *k^{w}ei-, glossed as 'to fear, revere' (Mallory and Adams 1997:198); 'wahrnehmen, bemerken' (Rix 2001:377); 'to observe, perceive' (Watkins 2011:46). The Greek form is from a ø-grade extended root *k^{w}i-h$_{x}$- and shows the panhellenic palatalization of $k^{w} \rightarrow t$ / _ *i*, which we have just been discussing. The Indo-European etymon additionally gives rise to Sanskrit *cāyati*, meaning 'to revere; to

fear' and also 'to observe', as in *Rig Veda* 10.94.14, used of revering the stones that press Soma (which must be desacralized after the pressing ceremony). With attachment of the prefix *ni-* the Sanskrit verb denotes 'to worship', as in *Rig Veda* 3.26.1, of worshipping Agni Vaiśvānara.[1752] Sanskrit also provides the adjective *ceru* 'showing respect, worshipping', seen, for example, in *Rig Veda* 8.61.7, where Indra is object of the expressed veneration.

What we find in the descriptor *o-pi-ti-ni-ja-ta*, attached to the *we-te-re-u*-priest, is perhaps an agent noun formally akin to epic *epitimḗtōr* (ἐπιτιμήτωρ), and its variant *epitimētḗs* (ἐπιτιμητής), and one that operates in the same semantic domain within which Odysseus' words are set in *Odyssey* 9.269–271, that of cult honoring and protecting the guest-stranger—the friend, companion-in-arms who is a "foreigner." The preverb in the Mycenaean form is the same as in the epic, *mutatis mutandis*, that is Mycenaean *opi-* (ὀπι-), varying with post-Mycenaean *epi-* (ἐπι-), an alternation we encountered in §5.4.1.2. And what of the remainder of the morphology of a prefixed Mycenaean agent noun *o-pi-ti-ni-ja-ta* formed, like *epitimḗtōr* (ἐπιτιμήτωρ) and *epitimētḗs*

[1752] *Vaiśvānara* is 'pertaining to all folk'. Regarding Agni Vaiśvānara see, *inter alia*, *Rig Veda* 1.59.2.

(ἐπιτιμητής), from the root *k^{w}i-? The stem is built using the primitive Indo-European suffix *-ni-. Greek *ni*-stems include the following:[1753]

(1) *Greek ni-stems*

A. *klónis* (κλόνις) 'os sacrum'; derived *klónion* (κλόνιον) 'hip joint', *klonistḗr* (κλονιστήρ), term for a dagger worn on the hip (Hesychius K 3041); from Proto-Indo-European *ḱlou-ni- 'haunch, hip': compare Sanskrit *śroṇi-* 'buttock, hip'; Avestan *sraoni-* 'buttock'. The cause of the Greek vocalism (with monophthong *o*) is uncertain. Compare Greek *ø*-grade *húnnis* (ὕννις) with the same meaning.

B. *ophnís* (ὀφνίς) 'ploughshare'; from Proto-Indo-European *wog^{wh}-ni- 'ploughshare; wedge': compare Old Norse *vangsni* 'ploughshare'; Old Prussian *wagnis* 'coulter' (knife-like blade for vertical ploughing); possibly Latin *vōmis* 'ploughshare'.

[1753] On the Indo-European morphology, see, *inter alia*, Schleicher 2009 [=1861]):368–370; Brugmann and Thumb 1913:224; Brugmann 1930:2.1:285–287; Benveniste 1935:45; Schwyzer 1939:495. On the forms here cited, see also, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1930:108, 315–316, 499; Chantraine 1968:1033; Mallory and Adams 1997:179, 260, 313, 434; Watkins 2011:25, 60, 105.

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C. *eûnis* (εὖνις) 'bereaved of'; from Proto-Indo-European *h_1euh_2-ni- 'empty' (from *h_1euh_2- 'to abandon'); compare Armenian *unayn* 'empty'.

D. *spánis* (σπάνις) 'scarcity'; derived *spánios* (σπάνιος) 'rarely seen', *spanía* (σπανία) 'scarcity', *spanízō* (σπανίζω) 'to be scarce'; compare Greek *pêma* (πῆμα) 'misery; calamity'; Sanskrit and Avestan *pāman*- 'skin affliction', pointing to a Proto-Indo-European *(s)peh_1- denoting a notion of suffering.

E. *neāníās* (νεᾱνίᾱς) 'young man', that is, more literally, 'one acting as the young act' (in a either positive or negative sense), formed from the root of *néos* (νέος) 'new',[1754] from Proto-Indo-European *newo- 'new'

By this analysis Linear B *o-pi-ti-ni-ja-ta* would spell *opi-tĭniātās*: *-tās* here corresponds to Attic-Ionic *-tēs* (-της); for the formant compare the *epi-timē-tḗs* (ἐπι-τιμη-τής) of Aeschylus and so on. Agent nouns formed in *-tās*/*-tēs* (-τᾱς/-της) have been conventionally viewed as more recent in origin than nouns in *-tōr* (-τωρ), such as *epitimḗtōr* (ἐπιτιμήτωρ), and the similarly functioning nouns in *-tēr* (-τηρ). Let us offer a

[1754] On the lexical form, see Chantraine 1968:745–746. The author wishes to express his appreciation to Prof. Georges-Jean Pinaut for drawing his attention to *neāníās* (νεᾱνίᾱς) in conjunction with the present investigation. For a listing of Linear B forms ending in the orthographic sequence *i-ja-ta*, see Ruijgh 1967:195–197. See also Leukart 1994:173, 180–185.

pair of observations at this point. First, perhaps the origin of the *-tās/-tēs type* can be adequately described as "later" if we take some *sufficiently early* moment as a starting point: the *-tās/-tēs* type did in fact spread over time, in a documentable fashion, at the expense of the *-tōr* and *-tēr* types; but *-tās* agent nouns are already well attested in Mycenaean. One example is provided by that form that we considered in detail in Chapter Four (see §4.2.2.1 and §§4.3–5, and §4.6.2), *lāwāgetās* (*ra-wa-ke-ta*) 'leader of the horde', and another is provided by *hek*^{w}*etās* (*e-qe-ta*), denoting the warrior companion, a term which we have had cause to consider numerous times. We also find plural *wergatai* (*we-ka-ta*) 'workers'. Second, according (again) to the conventional view, forms of the *-tās/-tēs* type first began to spread among compound derivatives, based on Homeric distributions, and are especially commonly built on denominative verbs in epic.[1755] Both observations are at the least consistent with a proposed Mycenaean *opi-tĭniātās*.

In terms of the morphological sequencing evidenced in a form *-tĭniātās*, the noun *kónis/kónios* (κόνις, κόνιος) 'dust' (occasionally 'ashes') and its derivatives are instructive. The ancestor of the term is often accorded early Indo-European status,

[1755] See, for example, the discussion of Buck and Petersen 1975:544, with reference to earlier work.

reconstructed as *keni- 'dust, ashes'.[1756] The Greek term appears to have been an *i*-stem that shows contamination in places by *s*-stem morphology;[1757] an Indo-European verb root for nominal * keni- is unrecognized. Among derivative forms are verbs *koniáō* (κονιάω) 'to plaster with lime or stucco' (as in Aesop *Fabulae* 123; Demosthenes *Olynthiaca* 29.3), and *konḗō* (κονέω) 'to make dusty' (frequent in Homer [perhaps from *konisyō]; compare *konízō* [κονίζω], Hesychius K 3513), and the agent noun *koniā́tēs* (κονιάτης) 'plasterer' (IG 11,2.146.75–76, Delos; fourth century BC), attested alongside *koniātḗr* (κονιᾱτήρ, IG 4²,1.102.251, Epidaurus; fifth/fourth century BC).

Other *i*-stems showing a similar concatenation present themselves. Ionic *poliḗtēs* (πολιήτης) 'citizen', from *pólis* (πόλις) 'city', provides one example.[1758] Compare with this *lophiḗtēs* (λοφιήτης) 'one who inhabits hilltops', from *lóphos* (λόφος) 'crest of a hill' and *skopiḗtēs* (σκοπιήτης) 'one who inhabits watching places, hilltops', from *skopía* (σκοπιά) 'watching place, hilltop', from *skopós* (σκοπός) 'watcher' – both *lophiḗtēs* and *skopiḗtēs* being epithets of Pan. Another is the agent noun *muthiḗtēs* (μυθιήτης),

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[1756] See, *inter alia*, Mallory and Adams 1997:32–33 and Watkins 2011:41.

[1757] See Meissner 2006:51 (who cites Tucker 1990:390–391 and Nussbaum 1976:143ff.).

[1758] From Proto-Indo-European *pelh$_3$- (or possibly with h$_1$ or h$_2$) 'citadel', source also of Sanskrit *pūr* 'fortress', *puram* 'city'; Lithuanian *pilìs* 'fort'; Latvian *pils* 'fort'. See, *inter alia*, Walde-Pokorny 1927:51; Chantraine 1968:562; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:648; Mallory and Adams 1997:210; Watkins 2011:66.

signifying a person who stirs up sedition, derived from *mûthos* (μῦθος) 'speech that accomplishes something'; compare the synonymous *muthētêres* (μυθητῆρες; only in the plural) beside *muthētḗs* (μυθητής) 'one who speaks *mûthoi*'.

17.4.9.3. Pylos Tablet Ed 317 and Anatolia. Pylos tablet Ed 317 is particularly notable in regard to the *we-te-re-u*-priest:

Pylos Tablet Ed 317

.1 ọ-ḍạ-a_2 , i-je-re-ja , ka-ra-wi-po-ro-qe . e-qe-ta-qe ⟦ ⟧[1759]

.2 we-te-re-u-qe , o-na-ta , to-so-de , pe-mo , GRA 21 T 6

.1 And also: the priestess, and the *kleís*-bearer, and the warrior companion

.2 and the *we-te-re-u*-priest hold in lease so much seed: GRA 21 T 6

Here, within the space of little more than a line, the *we-te-re-u*-priest is mentioned together with an *i-je-re-ja* 'priestess', a *hek*^{w}*etās* 'warrior companion', and *ka-ra-wi-po-ro*

[1759] An erasure of three signs: perhaps *o-na-ta* (which was then written in line 2), suggesting that the scribe had initially forgotten to add *we-te-re-u-qe* to the sequence of offices in line 1 (see Duhoux 2008:303, with bibliography).

(*klāwiphóros* [κλᾱϝιφόρος], or possibly plural here) '*kleís*-bearer', the cult office title that we discussed earlier (see §1.2.3.1, §2.2, §5.3), especially in conjunction with Ephesian Artemis and Zeus Labrandeus (see §15.3.3 and §16.2.1). We saw, among other things, that Hesychius (K 2955) records that the term used to denote the 'garlands' of Artemis at Ephesus is *klēîdes* (κληῖδες), singular *kleís* (κλείς); that such 'garlands' also form a part of the iconography of the Hera of the neighboring eastern Aegean island of Samos; that the priestess of Argive Hera is called a *Kleidoûkhos* (Κλειδοῦχος), a term semantically equivalent to *ka-ra-wi-po-ro*; and also that comparable woolen cords constitute an element of the iconography of the Carian Zeus Labrandeus (which also shares in common with the iconography of Ephesian Artemis the bulbous appendages that are likened to the Hittite *kurša*; see §16.2).

At least two observations present themselves at this point. First, the short inscription of tablet Ed 317 reverberates with Anatolian connections: the Mycenaean cult title *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* (κλᾱϝιφόρος) has relevance for Anatolian Greek cult, as in the eventual cult of Ephesian Artemis and of Zeus Labrandeus; the *hek*^{w}*etās* 'warrior companion' appears to have significant ties to the Ahhiyawan community of western coastal Anatolia. The second observation (and this extends the first) concerns the conjunction on tablet Ed 317 of the *hek*^{w}*etās* 'warrior companion' and the *we-te-re-u-*

priest, who is elsewhere identified as an *o-pi-ti-ni-ja-ta* (an *opitĭniātās*). This conjunction finds significance in light of *Odyssey* 9.269–271, in which lines, as we saw just above (§17.4.9.2), the epic poet calls Zeus Xenios the *epitimḗtōr* (ἐπιτιμήτωρ) of the *ksénos* (ξένος) 'guest-friend'. In Chapter Eight we discovered evidence of the notional clustering together of *ksénos* with *hekʷetās* (a companion-in-arms), *therápōn* (θεράπων, a surrogate warrior), and also *opáōn* (ὀπάων, a warrior comrade) in the Mycenaean documents; and we observed that the clustered categories can be characterized as overlapping sets of sacrally formalized relationships bridging the self and the other (see §8.3.3., §8.4.2, §8.6, especially, §8.6.1–5). We further observed that the inclusion of the *hekʷetai* in such a sacralized set finds additional support in the apparent religious affiliations of these 'warrior companions' (see §8.3.6 and §8.6.4). The lexical concatenation on Pylos tablet Ed 317 of *hekʷetās* with *we-te-re-u*-priest, who is an *o-pi-ti-ni-ja-ta,* is thus striking in the face of Homer's concatenation of Zeus the *epitimḗtōr* with *ksénos* in *Odyssey* 9.270: Ζεὺς δ' <u>ἐπιτιμήτωρ</u> ἱκετάων τε <u>ξείνων</u> τε 'and Zeus is <u>*epitimḗtōr*</u> of suppliants and of <u>guest-friends</u>'. And there is yet a further point of intersection: the verb that Homer uses in *Odyssey* 9.271 to describe the action of Zeus the *epitimḗtōr* on behalf of the *ksénos* is *opēdéō* (ὀπηδέω) 'to accompany': ξείνιος, ὃς ξείνοισιν ἅμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ '[Zeus] Xenios, who accompanies guest-friends, ones worthy of

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reverence.' As we saw in §8.3.3.1 the verb *opēdéō* is derived from *opēdós* (ὀπηδός), of common origin with *opáōn*, Linear B dative *o-qa-wo-ni*, term naming the warrior comrade; what is more, these forms are *o*-grade expressions of the root that also gives *e*-grade *hek*^{w}*etās*, from Proto-Indo-European *sek^{w}-.

In Homeric epic and Linear B Pylian texts – *Odyssey* 9.269–271 and tablet Ed 317 – we surely find ourselves in the presence of a deeply archaic conventional language of sacralized warrior comradeship and its cult supports. Zeus Xenios *opēdeî* (ὀπηδεῖ) 'accompanies' – is companion to – the foreign friend, the *ksénos* (ξένος), and the deity is *epitimḗtōr* (ἐπιτιμήτωρ) for him. In whatever way Zeus serves the foreign warrior companion as divine *epitimḗtōr*, in that way one may suspect the *o-pi-ti-ni-ja-ta*, the *we-te-re-u*-priest, to function vis-à-vis the Mycenaean *hek*^{w}*etās*. Moreover, as we have seen, especially in Chapter Eight, the expression of such relationships in the Mycenaean documents is bound up with expressions of Aeolic and Anatolian linguistic and cultural phenomena, including a co-mention (in Fn 324 + 1031 + 1454 + frr.) with *o-qa-wo-ni* of *a-*64-jo* 'the Asian man/men' and one named *ke-sa-me-no*, *ke-me-ri-jo* – displaying a likely Aeolic patronymic and relationship to the names *ke-sa-da-ra* and *ke-sa-do-ro*, which have been compared to *Kassándra*/*Kesándra* (Κασσάνδρα/Κεσάνδρα; see §8.3.3.2).

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17.4.10. Aiaia and Aietes: Part 2

Let us remind ourselves that this cascade of interlocking observations began with a consideration of the name of the cult slave A_3-wa-ja, the 'Aiaian/Eastern woman' on Pylos tablets En 74 + frr. and Eo 160. Regarding A_3-wa-ta and the several other Mycenaean lexemes relevant to the Argonautic tradition to which he draws attention, Hiller, as we noted in §17.4.7, makes the comment that "these names . . . cannot, of course, prove anything else but their mere existence in the Mycenaean period." They do at least "prove" that, but they also surely demonstrate something more significant with regard to Golden Fleece tradition by their participation in a matrix of Anatolian relationships. This matrix of Anatolian relationships presents itself through the occurrences of these names in the Mycenaean documentary record as detailed in the discussions of §17.4.1–§17.4.8; it reverberates with mythic traditions attested in a post-Mycenaean time.

Moreover, as we have observed (§17.4.8), the names of the cult slave A_3-wa-ja (*Aiaiā*; Ionic adjective Αἰαίη) and of the man A_3-wa-ta (*Aiātēs*; Ionic Αἰήτης) answer to grammatical derivatives of a form *Aiwa, the post-Mycenaean *Aîa* (Αἶα), name given to a place of the eastern sun, ruled by the Sun's son (*Aiātēs*), locale from which Jason recovered the Golden Fleece. If these Greek names are to be connected historically and

derivatively with that of the Hittite consort of the Sun-god – that is the goddess Aya, of Hurrian origin, mediated through Luvo-Hittite language – as they must be, then these terms were per force *coined* at a moment that predates the production of the surviving Linear B documents. Unquestionably this is to be identified as a moment in which Mycenaeans inhabited portions of western Anatolia and were in contact with Balkan Greeks. In any effort to tease apart mythic Aia from geographic Colchis meaningfully, one must not lose track of the connection between the object of the Argonaut's quest and the Anatolian cult "fleece" elements that appear to underlie it historically (discussed in Chapter Sixteen). Add to this the lexical connections of Greek **Aiwa* etc. to a Luvo-Hittite **Ay-wa* and one can reasonably posit that Anatolia-dwelling Mycenaeans knew a Golden-Fleece tradition mythically localized at the place of the rising of Dawn and the Sun. The names of the principals of this tradition were integrated into, or otherwise matched, the naming practices of the Greek (i.e. Ahhiyawan) community sufficiently early for such names to appear in the documentary record of Bronze-Age Balkan Greeks.

But the social intercourse between Anatolian Mycenaeans and Balkan Mycenaeans that brought such a tradition to Greece must have been but one instantiation of an ongoing process of knowledge transfer from east to west. To return

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to a point raised earlier in this chapter (§17.3): "it has usually been assumed that the poem [i.e. an *Argonautica*] was produced by a Milesian or in the Milesian sphere" – so writes West 2005:58,[1760] though he posits that the "original form of the myth" was developed "in Submycenaean Thessaly" (2007b:195). As we shall see when we consider the matter of honey in Anatolia in Chapter Nineteen, Ionians of Miletus were the first Greeks to colonize the Pontus, in the second half of the seventh century it seems, though possibly earlier for certain sites, notably Sinope and Trapezus (see below, §19.2.1.1–2).[1761] Eusebius (*Chronicle* Anno 1260 *Ol.* 6.1) assigns the foundation of Trapezus to 756 BC: *in Ponto Trapezus conditur*. According to the second-century BC geographic work attributed to Scymnus of Chios (*Ad Nicomedem regem* 986–997), Sinope was founded prior to the Cimmerian invasion of the region, incursions dated to the first half of the seventh century BC. Bremmer (2006:31) explicitly invokes Trapezus and its connections with Miletus in his comments on the transmission of Colchian traditions to the Ionians, given the reported proximity of Trapezus to the place "called *Qulha*" (that is, the above-mentioned *Kulkhai* [see §17.3]) by the Urartians. Our attention has already been drawn to the seventh century in regard to the incorporation of Colchis into

[1760] See 2005:58n67 for bibliography; see also 2007b:193n 3.

[1761] See, *inter alia*, Graham 1982:123 and 1990:52–55 regarding, *inter alia*, resolving a chronological disparity consequent to the manuscript tradition of Eusebius. See also Drews 1976.

Argonautic tradition and the *Corinthiaca* of Eumelus (see §§17.2–3). An eighth century date for Ionian involvement with Colchian Argonautic tradition must perhaps be allowed in light of a possible Ionian warrior presence in the army of Tiglath-pileser III in 742 BC (see §7.3). It is likely accurate to surmise that one stratum of Argonautic tradition is Milesian, at least Ionian – an Ionian tradition about the exploits of a Thessalian hero, bound up with Minyans. This Iron-Age tradition in which Colchis is made to fit prominently was transmitted westward across the Aegean no less than were earlier Mycenaean-era traditions. These are all matters that we will examine in more detail in Chapter Twenty-Three.

17.5. Aiatos and Thessalus

There is yet an additional persona of Greek mythic tradition whose name must be derived from Aia, earlier *Aiwa. On Knossos tablet As 1516 (an inventory of men divided into three sets) we find the man's name *a_3-wa-ṭọ*. This A_3-wa-to is one of 23 men named on the tablet who comprise a group placed under the auspices or supervision of

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a *basileús* (βασιλεύς) 'chief' (as described by the adjective *qa-si-re-wi-ja*).[1762] The Mycenaean name A_3-wa-to answers to post-Mycenaean *Aiatos* (that is, *Aíatos* [Αἴατος]). The Macedonian rhetorician Polyaenus (second century AD), in one of the many scenarios that comprise his *Strategemata* (8.44), writes of Aiatos and of his sister Polyclea – identified as children of Pheidippus, undoubtedly equating to that epic figure Pheidippus whom we encountered in Chapter Six, together with his brother Antiphus, the sons of Thessalus of Cos who are presented as leaders of the Coan contingent in the Iliadic Catalogue of Ships (see §§6.6.2.2–3). The setting of the tale of Aiatos and Polyclea is the entry of the ancestral Thessalians into that space that would become "Thessaly" (see §6.6.2). As the Thessalian warrior horde crossed the river Achelous, Aiatos bore Polyclea on his shoulders: she had tricked her brother into carrying her because of an oracle that had foretold that the first member of their family to cross the river would dominate the enemy (i.e. the Boeotians). As they were about to exit the river, Polyclea sprang from her brother's shoulders onto land, claiming 'dominion' (*basileíā* [βασιλείᾱ]) of the place as her own. Admiring his sister's resolve, Aiatos married her: they 'ruled' (*basileúō* [βασιλεύω]) together and produced an eponymous son Thessalus. Stephanus

[1762] Also appearing on this tablet is the name A_3-ko-ta, a name that we saw in §9.2 and §9.5 to identify a *hek*^{w}*etās* at Pylos (tablet An 657). Regarding the tablet see, *inter alia*, Ventris and Chadwick 1973:171 and 421; Hooker 1988; Shelmerdine 2008:130 and 135.

Byzantius (*Ethnica* 4.149), in introducing lines from the work of the historian Charax (fr. 8 FHG; ca. second century AD), makes reference to Thessalus the son of Aiatos, 'victor over the Boeotians in Arne' (νικήσαντος τοὺς ἐν Ἄρνῃ Βοιωτούς).[1763]

Evidence of an archaic hero cult of Aiatos in Thessaly has come to light in recent years. An inscribed roof tile dated to the early sixth century BC was discovered in the vicinity of the dromos of a Mycenaean *tholos* tomb at Metropolis in Thessaly, along with burned animal bones. The fragmentary inscription reads]ΕΑΙΑΤΙΙΟΝΕ̣[(written sinistrograde) and has been interpreted by the excavator (Intzésiloglou)[1764] as preserving the form *Aiation* (with an extra *iota*?), referencing a sanctuary to a local Thessalian hero *Aiatos* (or *Aiatios*?). This appears to be an example of a hero cult having been established secondarily at the site of a Bronze-Age tomb.[1765] An apparent variant of the name *Aíatos* surfaces in Simonides fr. 6 (Page), an epinician dedicated to the sons of Aiatios (that is, *Aiátios* [Αἰάτιος]). The fragment begins: Οὐρανίδ]α Κρόνοιο παῖς ἐρικυδ[ής |] <u>Αἰατίου</u> γενεάν 'Heaven-bor]n Kronos' glorious son [himself] | [honour]s

[1763] Also Aelius Herodianus *De prosodia catholica* 3,1.98. Compare with the name *Aíatos* (Αἴατος) that of *Aiakós* (Αἰακός), best known as father of Peleus, father of Achilles: see Gantz 1993:219–222.

[1764] See Intzésiloglou 2002, especially pages 293–295 for the inscription.

[1765] See the comments of Parker 2011a:291. See also Stamatopoulou 2016:193–194.

Aiatios' clan'.[1766] Some lines following the Thessalian context of the poem is made plain: . . . σὺν ὄλβω[ι | Θεσσαλῶν καὶ παντὶ δάμωι '. . . with good fortune | for Thessaly, and for all the people'. Aiatios also receives a mention in Hecataeus fragment 137A.8 (Fowler 2000),[1767] seemingly together with Pheidippus and Antiphus, the sons of Thessalus (lines 13–14): [. . . . Φεί- | δι]ππος καὶ Ἄ[ντιφος.[1768] A heroic figure mythically grounded in the eastern Aegean, whose name is derived from the Luvo-Hittite name for the wife of the Sun-god, and whose name appears on a Linear B tablet from Knossos, receives cult honors in post-Mycenaean Thessaly, at the site of a Bronze-Age tomb. We seem clearly yet again to be dealing with the east to west transmission of Aeolian myth from Anatolia.

17.6. Jason, Medea, and Thessalus

Before concluding this chapter we should note that Diodorus Siculus (4.54.1–55.4) preserves the tradition that Thessalus, eponym of Thessaly, was a son of Jason, leader of the Argonautic expedition to Colchis, and Medea, daughter of Aietes, king of Aia. This is certainly a local tradition that had come to the attention of Diodorus, who

[1766] Here I follow West's (1994:160) translation.

[1767] P. Oxy. LXII 4309 fr. 10, edited by Annette Harder (in Shelton and Whitehorne 1005).

[1768] See the comments of Fowler 2013:315.

declares (4.55.3) that οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δὲ διότι περὶ τῆς τῶν Θετταλῶν προσηγορίας οὐ ταύτην μόνην τὴν ἱστορίαν 'I am not ignorant of this not being the only account about the naming of the Thessalians'. According to this *historía* (ἱστορία), when Jason and Medea had settled in Corinth (having departed Iolcus after the slaying of Pelias), the couple produced three sons – first Thessalus and his twin brother Alcimenes, and then Tisandrus (4.54.1–2). Jason rejected Medea for a younger wife, the daughter of the Corinthian king Creon – here identified as Glauce (rather than Creusa). Per the common account of these events (see especially Euripides' *Medea*), as a part of her revenge, Medea murdered her children by Jason; though in this instance, one escapes and survives – namely, Thessalus, who when grown will 'return' (*epanérkhomai* [ἐπανέρχομαι]) to Iolcus and there, with Acastus (successor to Pelias) having recently died, take the throne and name the Thessalians after himself (4.54.7 and 4.55.2).

Diodorus weaves this account into his presentation of the *mûthoi* of Heracles, reporting that following the homicides, Medea fled to Heracles in Thebes (4.54.7) where she healed him of the madness that had come upon him when he had initially refused to enter into the service of Argive Eurystheus and perform Labors for him (4.10.6–4.11.2). Medea heals Heracles by means of *phármaka* (φάρμακα) 'drugs, potions': both 'Aiaian Medea' (Αἰαίη Μήδεια) and 'Aiaian Circe' (Αἰαίη Κίρκη) are of course famed for

their knowledge and application of healing, destructive, and psychotropic *phármaka.* Strabo, for instance, in discoursing on "what Homer knew," reports (1.2.10):

> Ὡσαύτως καὶ τοὺς Κόλχους εἰδὼς καὶ τὸν Ἰάσονος πλοῦν τὸν εἰς Αἶαν καὶ τὰ περὶ Κίρκης καὶ Μηδείας μυθευόμενα καὶ ἱστορούμενα περὶ τῆς φαρμακείας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ὁμοιοτροπίας συγγενείας τε ἔπλασε τῶν οὕτω διῳκισμένων, τῆς μὲν ἐν τῷ μυχῷ τοῦ Πόντου τῆς δ' ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, καὶ ἐξωκεανισμὸν ἀμφοῖν, τάχα καὶ τοῦ Ἰάσονος μέχρι τῆς Ἰταλίας πλανηθέντος· . . .
>
> In the same way, knowing about (1) Jason's sailing to Aia, and (2) the reported *mûthoi* and accounts concerning Circe and Medea, in regard to their use of *phármaka* and other similarities, [Homer] crafted both a relatedness of two who were distantly separated – one in the far corner of the Pontus, the other in Italy – and a positioning of both close by the river of Oceanus – though perhaps Jason had wandered as far as Italy.

We see spelled out here something that we had merely glimpsed earlier in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius, without comment (§17.4.8) – that the Aiaian

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('Eastern') island, that takes its name from the Hurrian/Hittite goddess who is wife of the Sun-god, has at some moment been geographically shifted westward to an Italian (Ausonian) locale. West (2005:44–45 [following upon Meuli 1921:26, 54]) sees the relocation of Circe's island to Italy to be a consequence of Apollonius' decision "to fill out [the Argonaut's] western peregrinations with material from the *Odyssey*." Within his *Argonautica*, Apollonius, in effect, offers a passing internal justification of the westward reorientation, placing on the lips of Aietes the remark that he himself knows the great distance between Aia and Thessaly (3.309–313):

> Ἤδειν γάρ ποτε πατρὸς ἐν ἅρμασιν Ἠελίοιο
> δινεύσας, ὅτ' ἐμεῖο κασιγνήτην ἐκόμιζεν 310
> Κίρκην ἑσπερίης εἴσω χθόνος, ἐκ δ' ἱκόμεσθα
> ἀκτὴν ἠπείρου Τυρσηνίδος, ἔνθ' ἔτι νῦν περ
> ναιετάει, μάλα πολλὸν ἀπόπροθι Κολχίδος αἴης.

> For I perceived it once as I'd whirled along in the chariot
> of my father Helios, when he conveyed my sister 310
> Circe into the Western land, and we arrived at

the shore of the Tyrrhenian mainland, where still now

she dwells, very far away from Colchian Aia.

A germ of this relocation may appear among the final lines of Hesiod's *Theogony*, in which (1011–1016)[1769] Circe is said to have produced sons with Odysseus – Agrius, Latinus, and Telegonus, who ruled over the Tyrrhenians 'very far away' (μάλα τῆλε).

The east-to-west reorientation on display in the case of the Aiaian island of Circe is consistent with variations and shifts that we have already observed, especially in Chapter Eleven. The flight of Daedalus and Icarus from Crete has a direct eastward trajectory until the fall of Icarus, at which point Daedalus' onward journey requires an about-face that will land him in Sicily. The traditions of the twin sons of Melanippe – Boeotus and Aeolus – have an eastern as well a western orientation, with both Aegean Icaria and Anatolia, on the one hand, and Italian Metapontium, on the other, providing a local setting for constituent mythic events. The foundation *mûthoi* associated with Metapontium generally display distinct affiliations with Anatolian, as well as primitive Indo-European, tropes. In the case of the island of Circe, the reorientation can take the form of oscillation. It is Circes' island in the *far west* that marks the point from which

[1769] See *Scholia in Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* (*scholia vetera* [= Wendel 1935]) 229.

Odysseus will begin his katabasis, his journey into Hades' realm: departing from Circe he sails yet farther west, to the streams of Ocean, to the dark and gloomy land of the Cimmerians, and there communicates with souls of Erebus (*Odyssey* 11.1–20). But when Odysseus emerges from that sojourn among dead, and passes back again from the streams of Ocean into the sea and to the Aiaian island of Circe, he is now in the *far east* of the world (12.1–7) – where is the Ἠοῦς ἠριγενείης | οἰκία 'dwelling of early-born Eos [Dawn]' and the ἀντολαὶ Ἠελίοιο, the 'risings' *an(a)tolaí* 'of the Sun'. Nagy observes (2007b:74): "In returning to the island of Circe by crossing the circular river Okeanos for the second time, the hero has come full circle, experiencing sunrise after having experienced sunset." This is a particular ("mystical") expression of the *nóstos* (νόστος) of Odysseus and one that places the alternating east-west geographic orientations of the Circe's Aiaian island within the broader context of Sanskrit *Nāsatyā*, the twin Aśvins, their role in recovery and their companion Uṣas, the 'Dawn', transitions and oppositions of dark and light, and of the expressions of these notions in foundation *mûthoi* associated with Metapontium.

17.7. Some Interpretative Conclusions

Greek *Aîa* (Αἶα), naming the region of the rising Sun, the dwelling place and dancing spaces of the Dawn, finds its origin in a Hurrian theonym acquired from Mesopotamia. Hittites acquired the deity and divine name from Hurrians, and knowledge of the Hurrian-Hittite goddess was passed to Mycenaean Greeks in a context of intimate Luvian-Greek interaction, as revealed by the appending of the Luvo-Hittite suffix *-wa* to *Aya* to yield Mycenaean *Aiawa-*. This suffix is visible in the relevant forms attested in the Linear B documents, adjectival *a_3-wa-ja* and so on. Luvo-Hittite Aya, Dawn and consort of the Sun-god, localized at the far east of the world, is made to name the destination to which the Golden Fleece was conducted by Phrixus, son of Athamas and father of Presbon. In other words, in one especially notable form of its Greek mythic appropriation, an Anatolian cult implement is localized in the region of Aya, dawning spouse of Hurrian god Šimige, who himself influenced the character of the Luvian Sun-god ^{d}*Tiwat-*. Names of prominent figures of Greek Argonautic epic tradition are equally conspicuous in Linear B documents, especially those from Pylos. The significance of this lies in the Mycenaean-Anatolian matrix in which these names are enmeshed, a fabric reproduced by the focusing of the Argonautic quest in a web of Aeolian and Anatolian space. Lying behind the attested *Argonautica* is a Bronze-Age epic tradition that took shape among Greeks of Anatolia (ancestral Aeolians),

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Mycenaeans who had intermixed with Luvian peoples, who engaged in trans-Aegean maritime voyages, and who had ventured into the Black Sea. One mention of Aia is provided by the reference to an "Aiaian woman" (A_3-wa-ja), a cult slave, on Pylos tablet En 74 + frr. This mention co-occurs with that of the cult figure identified as the *we-te-re-u*-priest. The *we-te-re-u*-priest functions in the sphere of the *hetaîros* (ἑταῖρος) as *epitimḗtōr*, engaged in ritual observances that ensure that *ksénos* (ξένος), and the specifically Anatolian affiliated *hekwetās* and *therápōn* (θεράπων), duly receive appropriate cult *timḗ* (τῑμή). Thessalus, eponym of Thessaly and Thessalians, is explicitly linked with the region of Aya, underscoring essential Thessalian links to Hurrian-based ideology mediated by Indo-European Anatolians.

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Chapter Eighteen

Boeotian Divining Bee Nymphs and Lot-Divination

18.1. Introduction

In the preceding chapter the examination of the Hittite *kurša* that had begun in Chapter Sixteen was extended by focusing attention on the region of the rising Sun – the place identified by the Greek term *Aîa* (Αἶα) – and the Aeolian Argonautic traditions which make of that region the destination for the quest of the Golden Fleece. The discussions of Chapter Seventeen were largely – but not solely – concerned with Bronze-Age phenomena – with interpretation of Anatolian and Mycenaean data. The present chapter will also build on the findings of Chapter Sixteen, though the Greek evidence we will examine is chiefly post-Mycenaean. Here we will consider a different set of implications for ideas explored in Chapter Sixteen – mostly having to do with bees and with honey as a cult material. But this chapter also articulates with and advances discussions begun in Chapter Fifteen, ideas that concern lot-divination and

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augury that we encountered there in conjunction with Luvian/Arzawan and Ephesian cult practices.

18.2. Thriae and Lot-Divination

The myth and cult affiliations of the bee in Anatolia and Greece and the Greek and Luvian divinatory practices of bird observation direct our attention to the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*. It is an archaic composition (ca. later sixth century, if not earlier), often noted for its distinctive character among early Greek performative poems.[1770] Within the hymn, the poet relates how neonate Hermes, after making the first lyre, has stolen some of Apollo's cattle; but Apollo is able to divine the identity of the cattle thief by observing the flight of a 'wide-winged bird' (οἰωνὸς τανύπτερος, line 213). Let us move directly to the last 150 lines of the hymn: following Hermes' offer of the gift of the lyre to Apollo, compensation for slaughtered stolen cattle, by which gift Apollo's anger is assuaged, Hermes obliquely requests and receives care of cattle as a divine role (lines 490–499). Hermes, the thief, then pledges he will never steal Apollo's lyre or his bow; an appreciative Apollo in return gives to Hermes a staff of gold, which has

[1770] See, *inter alia*, Janko 1982:149; Richardson 2007; 2010:19–20; Vergados 2013; Allen and Woodard 2013.

manifestly oracular affiliations (lines 521–532).[1771] Speaking as Apollo, the poet of the hymn describes the divinatory staff as πάντας ἐπικραίνουσα θεμοὺς ἐπέων τε καὶ ἔργων | τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὅσα φημὶ δαήμεναι ἐκ Διὸς ὀμφῆς 'authorizing all the decrees of good words and actions | which I declare to know from the utterance of Zeus' (lines 531–532).

In a summarizing account of this event, Pseudo-Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca* 3.115) reports that Hermes received cows in exchange for the lyre and that he then devised yet a second musical instrument, the *sûrinks* (σῦριγξ) 'Panpipe'. This pipe Hermes also gave in trade to Apollo, receiving in return Apollo's golden rod together with knowledge of a certain divinatory practice – the 'skill of divination by pebbles' (τὴν διὰ τῶν ψήφων μαντικήν). The reference here is to the mantic stones called the *thriae* (*thriaí* [θριαί]).[1772] These mantic stones are personified as three female figures, the Thriae,[1773] as early as Pherecydes, who describes them as daughters of Zeus (2a FHG). In his *Hymn to Apollo* (*Hymn* 2.45), Callimachus writes that to Apollo belong '*thriae* and

[1771] A scholiast on *Iliad* 15.256 (*scholia vetera* = D *scholia* [Heyne 1834]) writes that Apollo discovered the identity of the thief of his cattle by 'divination' (*mantikḗ* [μαντική]) and that Apollo ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ τὴν μαντικὴν ῥάβδον 'gave to [Hermes] the divinatory staff'.

[1772] See, *inter alia*, Aelius Herodianus *De prosodia catholica* 3,1.285; Photius *Lexicon* Θ 221; Choeroboscus *De orthographia* [*epitome*] 217; *Suda* Π 1932.

[1773] For recent discussion with bibliography, see Fowler 2013:81–83.

diviners' (θριαὶ καὶ μάντιες); whether the divining stones are here more immediately intended or the three nymphs is unclear, though in his *Hecale* (fr. 260.50), Callimachus clearly has in mind the latter, writing of how 'the Thriae place inspiration in the old crow' (Θριαὶ τὴν γρηὺν ἐπιπνείουσι κορώνην), being the 'crow' (*korṓnē* [κορώνη) that revealed to Apollo the infidelity of his lover Coronis, daughter of the Boeotian Phlegyas (line 60), and affiliated with the Dotian Plains of Thessaly.[1774] Aeolian Coronis is a figure whom we considered at some length in Chapter Thirteen (see §13.6.3, §§13.6.3.1–2, and §13.6.3.4) in conjunction with our exploration of foundation traditions of Metapontium and the possibility of the transference of those traditions from Anatolia.

18.2.1. Thriae and Pythic Lots

It appears reasonably clear that in Hellenic collective memory the *thriae* are assigned to a more primitive stratum of divination than Apollo's Delphic oracle. At his entry for *thriaí* (θριαί) Hesychius (Θ 743) provides this definition: αἱ πρῶται μάντεις. καὶ νύμφαι. καὶ αἱ μαντικαὶ ψῆφοι 'The first diviners. Also nymphs. Also the divinatory pebbles'. The *Suda* (Π 3137 [*Puthṓ* (Πυθώ)]) records that in the temple of Apollo at Delphi there stood a bronze tripod topped with a bowl; this bowl held the

[1774] See Hesiod fr. 59 (MW) and the *Homeric Hymn to Asclepius*.

divining pebbles, and whenever someone made an inquiry of the oracle, the pebbles jumped around as the Pythia spoke, she being mantically inspired by Apollo. Compare Lucian, *Bis accusatus* 1, who writes of Apollo's priestess calling on the god to appear after she has drunk from a sacred spring, chewed laurel, and 'shaken the tripod' (τὸν τρίποδα διασείσασα).[1775] Does the Delphic temple preserve within its space a more primitive instrument of oracular cult, one that has been made effectively subservient to the divinatory utterances of the Pythic priestess by being made to work in concert with those utterances?

A priori this is a likely case and may be reflected in aetiological traditions associated with the proverb 'many are *thriae*-tossers, but few men are diviners' (πολλοὶ θριοβόλοι, παῦροι δέ τε μάντιες ἄνδρες). Zenobius (*Epitome collectionum Lucilli Tarrhaei et Didymi* 5.75) chronicles the proverb and, citing Philochorus (fr. 195 FGrH) as a source, provides the following background. The Thriae were three nymphs who inhabited Mt. Parnassus – that mountain lying at the juncture of Phocis and Boeotia, the onomastic double of an Anatolia mount, which, as we saw in Chapter Eight (§8.6.2), preserves Luvian morphology (*parnašša-*). These three Parnassian nymphs were nurses of Apollo who gave their name to the divinatory pebbles, the *thriae* (*thriaí* [θριαί]), those stones

[1775] See the discussion of the passage in Amandry 1950:31–32.

with which we noted Apollo to be linked in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*: accordingly, the notion 'to seek divinations' (*manteúomai* [μαντεύομαι]) came to be denoted by the derived verb *thriáomai* (θριάομαι).[1776] Some sources, however, state that it was Athena who early utilized the method of pebble divination:[1777] thus, Orion *Etymologicum* 72 records that the *númphai* (νύμφαι) 'nymphs' (i.e. the Thriae) discovered the stones[1778] and handed them over to Athena. As the practice enjoyed greater esteem than the Delphic oracles, Zeus accommodated Apollo by ordaining pebble-divination to be *pseudḗs* (ψευδής) 'false'[1779] and, by implication, Pythic divination to be "true."[1780] Hence the proverb ('many are *thriae*-tossers, but few men are diviners') is placed on the lips of

[1776] Similarly *Etymologicum magnum* 455. Hesychius (E 3059) notes a verb *enthriázein* (ἐνθριάζειν), which he glosses as παραπαίειν. ἀπὸ τῶν μαντικῶν θριῶν 'to lose one's wits: from the divinatory *thriae*'.

[1777] See also Aelius Herodianus *De prosodia catholica* 3,1.285.

[1778] See also a scholion on Callimachus, *Scholia in Hymnos* (*scholia vetera*) (*scholia ψ ex archetypo* [= Pfeiffer 1949–1953) 2.45.

[1779] Aelius Herodianus (*De prosodia catholica* 3,1.285) writes that Zeus 'made' (*epoíēse* [ἐποίησε]) pebble-divination 'not to be trusted' (*ápistos* [ἄπιστος]).

[1780] In the record of Orion (*Etymologicum* 72), Apollo called out (i.e. rebuked) Athena over the stones and she then threw them into a region of Attica, whence the Thriasion Plain takes its name – surely a secondary popular-etymological view (so Amandry 1950:28).

the Pythia.[1781] To coopt and rephrase an observation offered by Nagy on a separate form of archaic divination – a primitive epichoric divinatory method came to be eclipsed by the Pan-Hellenic oracle of Apollo at Delphi.

18.2.2. Ἄναιρέω and Lot-Divination

We should note in regard to these matters a curious lexical specification: the verb that commonly encodes the articulatory notion 'to present an oracular response' is a verb of motor action, *anairéō* (ἀναιρέω), meaning most fundamentally 'to take up (and carry off)', prefixed form of (*hairéō*) αἱρέω 'to take, grasp'. One of the earliest attested occurrences of the verb *in this sense* is that of Herodotus 7.148.3, used of Apollo's Delphic priestess voicing the answer to an Argive inquiry: '[They say that] the Pythia responsively uttered these things to the questioners' (τὴν δὲ Πυθίην ἐπειρωτῶσι αὐτοῖσι ἀνελεῖν τάδε). Consider also, *inter alia*, Thucydides 1.118.3; 1.126.4; 2.54.4; Isocrates *Panegyricus* 31; *Archidamus* 17 and 24; Xenophon *Anabasis* 3.1.6 and 8; Aeschines *In Ctesiphontem* 108; Lycurgus *Oratio in Leocratem* 84; Diodorus Siculus 8.17.1; Plutarch *Aristides* 11.3; *Aetia Romana et Graeca* 302d; *Parallela minora* 315f; *De Pythiae*

[1781] See also Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* 8.59, for a similar account, though one that attributes the proverb immediately to Apollo.

oraculis 403d; Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 6.261d: in each of these instances it is Apollo, via the Pythia, who provides the response, and the response is either clearly an utterance, or is suggested by the context to be an utterance. The use of the verb *anairéō* to express verbal action is not, however, limited solely to instances involving the Pythia. Thus, Xenophon (*De vectigalibus* 6.3) uses it of responses offered not only at the oracular site of Delphi but of those provided by the oracle of Zeus at Dodona as well.[1782] In his *Life of Alexander* (76.9) Plutarch uses *anairéō* of an oracular response given at the temple of Serapis in reply to a query regarding what should be done with the dying Alexander.

While "lots," whether they be pebbles, or beans, or still some other sort of manipular tokens, are often "cast" or "shaken," the verb *anairéō* (ἀναιρέω) can be used to describe the 'picking up' of such divinatory implements. Two Greek lexemes commonly denoting 'lot' are *klêros* (κλῆρος, of common origin with *kláō* [κλάω) 'to break (off)']), producing a denominative verb *klēróō* (κληρόω) 'to cast/draw lots', and *pálos* (πάλος), a deverbative noun from *pállō* (πάλλω) 'to brandish; to shake the lots'.

[1782] On the use of lots in conjunction with lead tablets at Dodona, see Eidinow 2007:69–71; Johnston 2008:68–71; Parker 2015.

The origin of the *pállō* is uncertain.[1783] The former term, *klêros*, finds Celtic counterparts in Old Irish *clár* 'plank; gaming-board; writing tablet', Gaulish *claur* 'plank, piece of wood', and Welsh *clawr* 'board, plank'. Each of these nouns, Greek and Celtic, has an origin in an Indo-European etymon *kel- 'to strike, cut', with an extended form *kelh$_2$-.[1784] One reads of 'picking up' (*anairéō*) the *klêros*, for example, in Plato *Republic* 617e; Pausanias 9.3.6; and *anairéō* is seen to govern *pálos* as early as Pausanias 4.3.5.[1785]

Plutarch (*De fraterno amore* 492a–b) tells of the Thessalians sending lots to Delphi (cf. Plato *Laws* 856e) in order to determine who should next be king; the term here used for 'lot' is *phruktós* (φρυκτός, from *phrúgō* [φρύγω] 'to roast'), denoting in this instance a 'roasted' (understand 'bean' [*kúamos* (κύαμος)]) used as a lot, each lot specifying an individual person. One of these lots identified Aleuas, son of the reigning king and a

[1783] Thus Chantraine 1968: 854; but see LIV 469–470.

[1784] The ancestral Indo-European verb root gives rise to various nominal stems encoding notions associated with tree parts that can be broken or cut off: for example, Greek *klêma* (κλῆμα) 'twig, vine-twig' and *kládos* (κλάδος) 'branch, twig', compare Old English and Old Norse *holt* 'wood, copse'. See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1930:436–440; Chantraine 1968:537–539, 543; Mallory and Adams 1997:431; Watkins 2011:39–40; eDIL s.v. clár.

[1785] *Lákhos* (λάχος) is also a common lexeme denoting 'lot', but a search of the TLG indicates no instances in which it is object of *anairéō* (ἀναιρέω).

problematic young man whose uncle had included his name in the lottery, unbeknownst to the king. This is what Plutarch has to say about the divinatory process that ensued:

> Καὶ τῆς Πυθίας τοῦτον ἀνελούσης ὅ τε πατὴρ ἀπέφησεν ἐμβεβληκέναι τὸν φρυκτὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πᾶσιν ἐδόκει πλάνη τις ἐν ταῖς καταγραφαῖς τῶν ὀνομάτων γεγονέναι. διὸ καὶ πέμψαντες αὖθις ἐπανήροντο τὸν θεόν· ἡ δὲ Πυθία καθάπερ ἐκβεβαιουμένη τὴν προτέραν ἀναγόρευσιν εἶπε
>
> > τὸν πυρρόν τοί φημι, τὸν Ἀρχεδίκη τέκε παίδα.
>
> And when the Pythia had picked up that one [i.e. Aleuas' lot], the father denied having thrown in a lot for him, and it seemed to everyone that there had been some irregularity in the marking of the names. And so – they sent [envoys] back to query the god once again. And the Pythia, just so as to confirm her earlier proclamation, said:
>
> > "Know that I say it is the red-haired man, the son whom Archedice birthed."

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Among interesting things seen in this passage is Plutarch's use of *anagóreusis* (ἀναγόρευσις) to characterize the *illocutionary manifestation* of the Pythia's action of picking up lots. The Greek term denotes a 'public proclamation' (its first literary attestation is provided by Demosthenes *De corona* 84, 116, 119, and 120). *An-agóreusis* is a prefixed form of *agóreusis* (ἀγόρευσις), which the *Etymologicum Magnum* (13) glosses as *lógos* (λόγος) 'discourse'.[1786] The Pythia's manual act of picking up the lot of Aleuas must have been coupled with a verbal act of oracular proclamation announcing the identity of the new Thessalian king.

One not uncommonly encounters the view that the use of the verb *anairéō* (ἀναιρέω) 'to take up [and carry off]' to express the notion of 'to present an oracular utterance' represents a semantic shift consequent to its foundational membership in the lexicon of lot-divination.[1787] In other words, such a semantic analysis assumes a diachronic continuum linking the oracular utterance of the Pythia to an earlier practice

[1786] The corresponding verbs are *agoreúō* (ἀγορεύω) 'to speak (in an assembly)' and *anagoreúō* (ἀγορεύω) 'to proclaim publically'. The former occurs frequently in Homeric epic; the latter at least as early as Plato *Leges* 730d.

[1787] See, for example, Chantraine 1968:38. See also Bouché-Leclercq 1879:192.

of divination by picking up lots:[1788] sacred vocabulary persists as sacred performance evolves. The dual Pythic procedures – manual and oral – on display in Plutarch's description of the divine selection of Thessalian Aleuas as king looks to be a synchronic expression of such a diachronic pathway.

In fact, further semantic movement in the same direction can be observed. Consider the account of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Antiquitates Romanae* 1.51.1) concerning the visit of Aeneas and other Trojans to the oracle of Dodona; here *anairéō* (ἀναιρέω) is used in the middle voice: <u>ἀνελόμενοι</u> δὲ χρησμοὺς περὶ τῆς ἀποικίας . . . ., *literally* '<u>after taking up for themselves</u> oracles regarding the [founding of their] colony . . . .' The temptation to render the aorist participle *anelómenoi* (ἀνελόμενοι) as passive is clear enough (i.e. 'after the oracles were taken up', so 'after receiving the oracles' [see Spelman 1758:116; Cary 1937:167]); but the morphology is unambiguously middle and the semantics should surely be understood to be the same. This extended development of *anairéō* must be patterned on the semantics of the verb *khráō* (χράω),[1789] derived

[1788] See the remarks of Amandry 1950:25–26. On lot-divination at Delphi see also, *inter alia*, Johnston 2008:52–55, 72.

[1789] If the diachronic process is a different one: on the secondary formation of active *khráō* (χράω) from the middle, see Chantraine 1968:1274.

ultimately from the nominal *khrḗ* (χρή) used to express 'necessity',[1790] but with the active-verb derivative *khráō* subcategorized to express the presentation of a divine or oracular proclamation. The middle *khráomai* (χράομαι) (earlier **khrḗomai* [*χρήομαι]) is that verb commonly used to express the action 'to consult a deity/oracle'. Dionysius of Halicarnassus can use the middle *anairéomai* (ἀναιρέομαι) as a synonymous alternative to *khráomai*; and that he is doing so is made plain by his use of *khráomai* just three lines earlier as he introduces the account, writing that Aeneas and his warrior horde εἰς Δωδώνην ἀφικνοῦνται <u>χρησόμενοι</u> τῷ θεῷ 'came to Dodona in order <u>to consult</u> the god' and then conjoining *anairéomai* with the nominal *khrēsmoí* (χρησμοί) 'oracles' (ἀνελόμενοι δὲ χρησμοὺς), itself a derivative of *khrḗ*, 'when they have verbally engaged/consulted the oracle'. We see here a trajectory of semantic evolution, a pathway along which signification moves from expressing the motor act of picking up tokens, with a conjoined enunciative component at some moment, to the speech act of oracular pronouncement, to the deliberate act of soliciting an oracular message.

The practice of lot-divination, procedure in which the use of *anairéō* (ἀναιρέω) as an oracular term of Greek must be historically grounded, is a widely-attested

[1790] For the historical semantics of *khrḗ* (χρή) see, *inter alia,* Russo, Fernández-Galiano, and Heubeck 1992:285. On the intricacies of the etymological relationships involving *khrḗ* and *khráomai* (χράομαι), see Chantraine 1968:1272–1276.

phenomenon in both ancient Europe and southwest Asia – and far beyond in the eastern hemisphere, being well known elsewhere in Asia,[1791] including China,[1792] and throughout Africa.[1793] In the several sections that follow (down through §18.2.6.6) let us briefly examine evidence for lot-divination practices among ancient peoples of the Near East (broadly defined) and Europe, beginning with Anatolia. Afterward we will circle back to Anatolia to consider practices of divinatory enunciation.

18.2.3. Lot-Divination in Anatolia

In Chapter Fifteen we drew attention to the presence of astragali (both natural and "artificial") at the Ephesian Artemision and to Greaves' (2013) suggestion that lot-divination in Ionian Ephesus – Bronze Age Apaša – may be continuous with earlier

[1791] There is, for example, the Tibetan practice of divination called *Sho-mo*, which entails casting lots with numbered sides; see Chime Radha Rinpoche 1981:17–18. This is one of several dice-divination traditions from Tibet: for an overview of the traditions (with an emphasis on *pāśaka* dice) and Tibetan divination texts see Dotson 2019; on Old Tibetan divination texts see also Nishida 2019, both with bibliography of earlier work.

[1792] On Chinese lot-casting see, *inter alia*, Lewis 2002, and Strickmann 2005:82 (on *I-ching*)–86. For Chinese cleromancy, compared with Greek, see Raphals 2013:129, 163.

[1793] See, *inter alia*, Binsbergen 2013:344–348 (with bibliography). For detailed description of Ifa divination see Bascom 1969, especially pages 3–59.

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Anatolian lot-divination practices at the site (see §15.3.1). Among the Hittites the use of lot-divination can be seen conspicuously in the elaborate KIN-oracle procedure, in descriptions of which some lots are seemingly depicted as active agents engaging in independent movement (while other symbolic elements play a passive role);[1794] one is reminded of the description in the *Suda* (Π 3137) of the Delphic divining pebbles jumping about as the Pythia delivers her utterances. The oracular performer in the KIN-oracle is typically identified by the Sumerogram ^{SAL}ŠU.GI (Hittite *ḫašauwa-*;[1795] see Otten 1952:231–234), that is 'Old Woman', a figure who appears in various Hittite and Luvian, as well as Hurrian, ritual texts.[1796] The Sumerogram KIN (Hittite *aniyatt-*)

[1794] On the KIN-oracle, see, *inter alia*, Archi 1974 and 2013:6–8; Ünal and Kammenhuber 1974; Hoffner 1987:260–261; Cryer 1994:224–226; Kitz 1997:402–405; Beal 2002:76–80; van den Hout 2003:119; Taracha 2009:148. Taggar-Cohen 2002 argues for a religious use of lots among the Hittites distinct from the KIN-oracle, one which finds parallels in other Near Eastern practices and vocabulary.

[1795] Morris 2013:155–156 (following the suggestion of Petra Goedegebuure) contends for the possibility that Hittite *ḫašauwa*-lies behind the characterization of the Trojan priestess Theano as Kissēḗis (Κισσηΐς) at *Iliad* 6.299; conventionally the term is understood to denote 'daughter of Cisses' (that is, *Kissêis* [Κισσῆς]), as explicitly at *Iliad* 11.223–224 (see also *Iliad* 5.69–71). Theano is the priestess of Athena who prays (unsuccessfully) for the destruction of Greek Diomedes; at *Iliad* 6.286–311 she is set in the context of a company of *geraiaí* (γεραιαί) 'old women'.

[1796] On the ^{SAL}ŠU.GI and the various rituals in which such a figure officiates, see Haas and Wegner 1988.

denotes 'work' and presumably references the ^{SAL}ŠU.GI's manipulation of the cult implements involved in this ritual. There is an interpretative element to the rite: this female cult figure must judge the outcome of the movements as either SIG_5 'favorable' or $NU.SIG_5$ 'unfavorable'.[1797]

18.2.4. Lot-Divination in Hebrew Tradition

The Hebrew Bible contains several references to the abstruse *Urim* (*'ûrîm*) and *Thummim* (*tummîm*), which have been typically interpreted as implements of lot-divination linked directly to priestly personnel.[1798] Thus, in blessing the several Israelite tribes, Moses assigns the *Urim* and *Thummim* to the priestly tribe of Levi (*Deuteronomy* 33:8). In the description of priestly garments found in *Exodus* (see 28:30), the *Urim* and *Thummim* form part of the assemblage of the richly fabricated breast-piece worn by the chief priest (Moses' brother Aaron in this passage), being tucked within the breast-

[1797] See Ünal and Kammenhuber 1974:162–163.

[1798] The bibliography is extensive; for a number of the treatments that have appeared since Wellhausen 1897, see Kitz 1997:402n8; Horowitz and Hurowitz 1992:95n1. For an investigation of how the Hittite KIN-oracle may inform our understanding of the process of divining by Urim and Thummim, see Kitz pages 402–405 and 407–409; and see n. 287 below.

piece[1799] so that the priest "shall . . . bear these symbols of judgement upon the sons of Israel over his heart constantly before Yahweh."[1800] Yahweh gives instructions for the commissioning of Joshua as successor to Moses at *Numbers* 23:18–21, instructing that Joshua present himself before the priest Eleazar, "who will obtain a decision for him by consulting the *Urim* before Yahweh."[1801]

The prelude to the suicide of the Israelite king Saul, after his army had suffered defeat at the hands of the Philistines, is a remarkable account (see *I Samuel* 28:3–25) of how Saul, prior to battle, had sought to obtain an oracle from Yahweh. But when no message came – neither "by dreams or by *Urim* or by prophets" – a desperate Saul sought out the services of a necromancer, one identified as a *'ēšet ba'ălat¯'ôb* 'woman

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[1799] Compare Leviticus 8.8

[1800] The Hebrew translations throughout this paragraph are those of *The New English Bible* (here with slight modification).

[1801] See also *I Samuel* 14:41–43 (compare the important variant provided by the longer text of the Septuagint); *Ezra* 2:63; and *Nehemiah* 7:65; and passages in which the *ephod* (to which the breast-piece is attached) alone is mentioned, but the use of the lots is suggested: *I Samuel* 23:9–11 and 30:7–9. For general discussion, see Eichrodt 1961:115–116.

[who is a] ghost-mistress'[1802] of En-dor (the modern town of Khirbet eṣ-Ṣafṣafe).[1803] The Septuagint translates Hebrew *'ēšet ba'ălat ̄'ôb* as *gunὲ engastrímuthos* (γυνὴ ἐγγαστρίμυθος), literally a 'woman characterized by words [*mûthoi*] in the belly'. Aelius Dionysius (*Ἀττικὰ ὀνόματα* E 2) defines *engastrímuthos* as ὁ ἐν γαστρὶ μαντευόμενος 'one who divines in the belly'; Hesychius (E 123; Π 4314), *inter alia*, offers *engastrí-mantis* (ἐγγαστρίμαντις, i.e. 'belly-mantis') as a synonym of *engastrí-muthos.*[1804] The lexical concatenations presented in these compounds must point to the peculiar modulations of the voice of one seen to be in a particular state of spirit possession; Hippocrates (*Epidemiae* 5.63 and 7.28), for example, describes the condition of being an *engastrímuthos* as characterized by production of noise made ἐκ τοῦ στήθεος 'from the chest'. Compare, *inter alia*, Plutarch (*De defectu oraculorum* 414e), who also notes that such persons (*engastrímuthoi*) are in his day called *Pythones* (that is, *Púthōnes* [Πύθωνες],

[1802] Hebrew *'ôb* is a somewhat difficult term, denoting not only the spirit of one who has died but also 'necromancer', as well as naming a cult instrument. For recent discussion with a proposal that the Hebrew term is of Egyptian origin and first denoted images of the dead, see Hays and LeMon 2009. See also, *inter alia*, Greer and Mitchell 2007:xi–xii, with bibliography in note 10.

[1803] On the conflation of two separate terms in the Masoretic text and Saul's encounter with the necromancer of En-dor generally, see McCarter 1995:418–423, with bibliography.

[1804] On the use of *engastrímantis* (ἐγγαστρίμαντις) by early Christian writers, see Greer and Mitchell 2007.

[1805] making an Apollonian connection with the phenomenon); whereas, adds Plutarch, they were once called *Eurycleis* (that is, *Eurukleîs* [Εὐρυκλεῖς], after Eurycles [*Euruklês* (Εὐρυκλῆς)] – a mantis, an *engastrímuthos*).[1806]

18.2.5. Lot-Divination in Mesopotamia

References to lot-divination practices appear to be – perhaps surprisingly – fairly uncommon within the Akkadian-speaking sphere of Mesopotamia, in which the oracle tablet, celestial divination, and entrail-reading were prominent.[1807] One notable exception to this generalization is provided by a rite involving pebbles, recorded in an

[1805] Regarding *Púthōnes* (Πύθωνες) – the use of the term as the equivalent of *engastrímuthos engastrímantis* (ἐγγαστρίμυθος/ἐγγαστρίμαντις) is similarly noted by the grammarian Erotian fr. 21 (first centuries BC–AD); Aelius Dionysius *Ἀττικὰ ὀνόματα* E 2; Hesychius E 123; Π 4314; Σ 1774; Photius *Lexicon* E 20; *Suda* E 45; Michael Apostolius *Collectio paroemiarum* 6.46; *Scholia in Platonem* (*scholia vetera* [= Greene 1938]) *Sophista* 252c.

[1806] On Eurycles, see, *inter alia*, Aristophanes *Wasps* 1019–1020; Plato *Sophist* 252c; Hesychius E 7133; Suda E 3721; *Scholia in vespas* (*scholia vetera, recentiora Tricliniana et Aldina* [= Koster 1978]) 1019a and b; *Scholia in Platonem* (*scholia vetera* [= Greene 1938]) *Sophista* 252c.

[1807] In addition to the case about to be mentioned, see Bottéro 1956 (especially pp. 32–33) for a possible lot-casting technique involving an inscribed cuneiform tablet with symbols laid out in a grid (a *Losbuch*). For a Seleucid-era cuneiform *Losbuch* see Weidner 1956.

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until-recently widely-neglected text from Assur, reported to be written in Standard Babylonian.[1808] The proper reading of the text is of some uncertainty, though interpretations have made recourse to the Israelite *Urim* and *Thummim*.[1809] The rite described in the text from Assur begins by invoking the Sun-god Šamaš, the *barû ša māti* 'divine seer of the land'[1810] (and whom we encountered in Chapter Seventeen in conjunction with the Dawn-goddess Aya [see §17.2]) and involves, crucially so it seems, sketching out the figures of seven deities on the ground. Light-colored and dark-colored divinatory pebbles are used to divine the answer to a yes/no question, with the procedure repeated three times. The garment worn by the person conducting the rite perhaps enters integrally into the rite as with the Israelite practice. The Hittite KIN-oracle has been named as a potential source ritual of both the Mesopotamian and

[1808] Concerning the thin history of scholarship on this text (LKA 137), see Horowitz and Hurowitz 1992:97–98, with notes, and Kitz 1997:403n9. On Standard Babylonian and its place within the Akkadian linguistic scheme, see Huehnergard and Woods 2004:220.

[1809] See Horowitz and Hurowitz 1992; Finkel 1995; Kitz 1997:405–406; Hurowitz 1998, especially pp. 268–274.

[1810] See Ulanowski 2020:36, with note 6, and pages 54–57; Šamaš is commonly coupled with Adad as deities of divination.

Israelite lot-divination practices; and Hittite ritual has been suggested to have more generally exerted influence on Israelite cult.[1811]

18.2.6. Lot-Divination in Indo-Iranian Traditions

There is evidence of a variety of lot-divination practices among Iranians. Herodotus (4.67.1) writes that the Scythians have many 'diviners' (*mánteis* [μάντεις]) and describes how they 'divine' (*manteúomai* [μαντεύομαι]) 'with willow twigs' (ῥάβδοισι ἰτεΐνῃσι), laying them out on the ground and bundling them up again. Ammianus Marcellinus writes (31.2.24) that the Alani divine by collecting straight 'twigs' (*virgae*) of wicker, and then 'separating' (*discernō*) them at an appropriate moment while uttering secret incantations, and in this way 'gain knowledge of' (*nōscō*) the matter being probed. Compare divination by scattering of beans which appears in Nart saga (in origin traditions of the Ossetians, descendants of the Alani in the

[1811] On Hittite rituals of necromancy vis-à-vis the Biblical account of Saul and the *'ēšet ba'ălat¯'ôb*, with etymological inferences, see Hoffner 1967. For a comparison of the Hittite, Mesopotamian, and Israelite lot-divination practices, see Kitz 1997, especially pages 406–410. On a possible historical relationship between the Hittite ritual and the Mesopotamian, see Horowitz and Hurowitz 1992:114–115, with notes 61 and 62. On the influence of Hittite cult on Israelite generally, see, *inter alia*, Milgrom 1976; Moyer 1983; and Wright 1987.

Caucasus).[1812] The fourth-century BC historian Dinon of Colophon (fr. 8 FHG) writes of mantics among the Medes divining 'with twigs' (*rhábdois* [ῥάβδοις]).

In India a rite described in the *Tantrāloka*, an eleventh-century AD work of Kashmir Śaivism, entails a master giving to his disciple a twig with which the disciple rubs his teeth, after which he casts the twig away from him. The master then divines the future of the disciple by the position of the thrown twig.[1813]

Dicing was a commonly practiced form of gaming in ancient India (see just below), but there is evidence too of divination utilizing the rectangular die called a *pāśaka-*. The practice is described in the *Pāśakakevalī*, a fourth-century AD text (the so-called "Bower Manuscript," after the British army officer who acquired it, though actually a pair of manuscripts), recovered from one of the Buddhist caves of the Kucha Oasis. A total of 64 possible dice combinations are named, each having a particular oracular significance.[1814] Pingree has argued that Indian practices of divination were

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[1812] See Colarusso 2002:257, 259.

[1813] On the Indic tradition, see Esnoul 1968:133. For Iranian divination, see Duchesne-Guillemin 1968.

[1814] For an edition of the *Pāśakakevalī* see Hoernle 1893–1912 and for an informative overview, 1914; for more recent brief discussion with bibliography see Michon 2015.

significantly influenced by Mesopotamian traditions in the time of Achaemenid Persia.[1815]

One is reminded that in India the four cosmic ages and their predictable progressive degradation bear the names of dice-gaming throws as set out, *inter alia*, in the *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra* (*Law Code of Manu*) 1.68–86: *Kṛtayuga*; *Tretāyuga*; *Dvāparayuga*; and *Kaliyuga*. During the Vedic period nuts of the *vibhīdaka* tree (*Terminalia bellerica*) were used for dice.[1816] Dicing occurs as a part of the rituals of the Agnyādheya and the Rājasūya.[1817] The Rājasūya is the primitive ritual of the inauguration of the king that we discussed in Chapters Four (see §§4.2.1) and, especially, Five (see §5.3.2, §5.4.1, §5.6); the dice game appears to be conducted in such a way that the inaugurated king will be the winner; but the use of dice in this celebration, speculates Keith, has its origin in a practice of foretelling of prosperity for the new *rāj-*.[1818] The Agnyādheya is the ritual of the establishing of the sacred fires, fundamental to Vedic rite;[1819] at a certain moment in the ritual there is dicing for the prize of a cow: details of the dicing procedure are

[1815] See Pingree 1998:130–132 with bibliography of earlier work.

[1816] See Macdonell and Keith 1995:1:2–3 and 2:303.

[1817] See, for example, the discussion of Macdonell and Keith 1995:1:2–5.

[1818] See Keith 1998:340–343.

[1819] See Keith 1998:316–318; Woodard 2006:82–83.

uncertain; participants appear to be either Brahmins or Kṣatriyas (members of the warrior class).[1820] Dicing (presumably outside of ritual) is prohibited to Brahmins according to the *Mānava-Dharmaśāstra* 4.74. On the man who is addicted to dicing see *Rig Veda* 10.34.

18.2.7. Lot-Divination in Early Europe

Outside of Greece, practices of lot-divination are well attested in the Mediterranean and in other parts of Europe during antiquity and the Middle Ages. Here we survey Italic, Celtic, Germanic, and Balto-Slavic traditions, in that order.

18.2.7.1. Italic Lot-Divination. The Roman practice of divination by lots is well documented by literary sources and by material remains alike. 'Lots' are *sortes*, singular *sors*, and one who divines with *sortes* is a *sortilegus*,[1821] both oracular instrument and practitioner being commonly relegated to the Roman religious fringe (as by Cicero *De*

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[1820] See Macdonell and Keith 1995:1:2–5; Keith 1998:317.

[1821] Concerning *sortilegus*, both the lexeme itself and the individuals so denoted, see Champeaux 1986:101–104; 1990b:802–807; and more recently Klingshirn 2006, particularly pp. 150–153 for the lexeme.

divinatione 2.85–87).[1822] Among other derivatives of *sors* of divinatory significance are *sortio/sortior* 'to cast lots', *sortiger/sortifer* 'one who gives oracles'. Latin *sortes* is derived from *serō* 'to link together, join in a series', descended from Indo- European *ser- 'to line up': sortition reveals 'that which is allotted, apportioned, lined-up for a person'. Reflexes of the ancestral root *ser- are broadly distributed across the Indo-European expansion area: thus, Greek *eírō* (εἴρω) 'to fasten together in rows, to string (together)' (including speech sounds); Sanskrit *sr̥-* 'to run, set in motion; to array' and *sarat-* 'a thread'; Lithuanian *sėris* 'a thread'; Old Irish *sernaid* 'to array, appoint' and *sreth* 'row, series'; Hittite *šarra-* 'to distribute, apportion'.[1823] If the Roman vocabulary of lot divination is of primitive origin, it looks to have been adapted in Latin for that process; there is no clear indication of a comparable usage of the ancestral etymon – not that this is an unusual state of affairs.

[1822] On scholarly treatments of sortition as a fringe phenomenon, see the comments of Johnston 2003:146–147. On sortition see also Santangelo 2013:73–83. For a revisionist interpretation of Roman sortition as presented by Cicero, Apuleius, and Aulus Gellius see Grottanelli 2005.

[1823] See, *inter alia*, Monier-Williams 1899:1182, 1244; Walde and Pokorny 1927:499–500; Ernout and Meillet 1959:618–619; Chantraine 1968:325; Mallory and Adams 1997:354; LIV:534–535; Watkins 2011:78; eDIL s.v. sernaid and sreth; CHD Š:231–238.

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Within Latium lot-divination is conspicuously associated with the cult of Fortuna Primigenia in Praeneste, in which casting of the lots fell to "innocent children" (Burkert 2005:38). [1824] Further from urban Rome there is evidence of the practice of lot-divination in Umbrian and in Venetic cult:[1825] Champeaux (1986:91–93 and 1990a:300–301) proposes to see two geographic centers of lot-divination within the Italian peninsula: one in Latium (about which we *generally* have the best information, she acknowledges) and environs (including Umbria) and the other in the Cisalpine region.

18.2.7.2. Celtic Lot-Divination. Among the Celts a practice of lot-divination is understood to lie behind formulaic phrases incorporating reflexes of primitive Indo-European *k^{w}res-no- 'tree; brushwood': Old Irish *crann* 'tree, wood', Welsh *pren* 'tree, piece of wood' and so on (source also of, *inter alia*, Greek *prînos* [πρῖνος] 'holm-oak' and,

[1824] See Champeaux 1986:91–94, 98; 1990a:273–275 with bibliography. In these same discussions Champeaux draws attention to lot-divination at the sanctuary of Hercules Victor at neighboring Tibur, on which see also Buchet 2012:362–363. Other "oracles par les sorts" within close proximity to Rome that Champeaux treats are found at Ostia, Caere, and Falerii (1986:93–94; 1990a:275–276, 280–284).

[1825] See Champeaux 1986:92–93; 1990a:276–278, 300–301. On lot-divination in Italy see also La Regina and Torelli 1968; Maggiani 2005:75–78; Klingshirn 2006:140–147.

with a *to*-suffix, Old English *hyrst* '-hurst, wood', Old High German *hurst/horst* 'wood').[1826] Thus Irish (Goidelic) provides the phrase *crann-chur* and comparable expressions are found in Brythonic – Cornish *teulel pren* and Breton *prenn-denn* or *teurel prenn* – 'to throw the wood', that is 'to cast lots'.[1827]

Among 322 Old Breton glosses found in a tenth/eleventh-century AD Latin manuscript from Orleans is that of *prin* (no. 295 of *Collectio Canonum Hibernensis*), glossing accusative plural *sortilegos* (see just above, §18.2.7.1): comparing Welsh *coel-brenni* (from the aforementioned *pren* 'tree; piece of wood')[1828] found in the Welsh phrases (Davies 1632) *dewin-dabaeth coelbrenni* (glossing *sortilegium* [Medieval Latin]) and *dewin wrth goelbrenni* (glossed *sortilegus*), Stokes (1883:487; 1885–1887:609) proposes an Old Breton **prinn-coiliocou* as lying behind the gloss *prin* (glossing *sortilegos*). For the ensuing portion of the Old Breton compound, Stokes looks to gloss no. 159 *coel*, for Latin *aruspicem*, thus referring to an interpreter of omens; compare Old Welsh plural *o coilu*,

[1826] On the Indo-European lexeme and its reflexes, see Walde and Pokorny 1930:421, 524–525; Hamp 1979; Mallory and Adams 1997:598–599; eDIL s.v. crann.

[1827] See Ettlinger 1943:15; Le Roux 1968:246–247; Champeaux 1986:96–97; 1990b:802–803 (with extensive bibliography in note 4).

[1828] Compare the just-mentioned Old Irish *crann*, Cornish *pren*, Breton *prenn*.

glossing Latin *auspiciis*.[1829] These Brythonic forms can be placed beside, *inter alia*, Old Irish *cél* 'omen, augury', Gothic *hails* 'healthy' (translating Greek *hugiḗs* [ὑγιής]), Old English *hāl* 'hale, whole' and *hael* 'good omen', Old Norse *heill* 'healthy' and *heil* 'good omen', Old High German *heil* 'good luck', also verbal derivatives such as Old High German *heilisōn* 'to observe portents' and Old English *hālsian* 'to cast out evil spirits', as well as Old Church Slavic *cělŭ* 'hale' and Old Prussian *kails* 'whole, safe' – these all from an Indo-European nominal stem *kailo- 'whole, uninjured, of good omen', of primitive origin though leaving no trace in Greek or Indo-Iranian.[1830] Welsh *coelbren* thus denotes 'oracular consultation of wood', and it comes to be the term used to denote the alphabet; of relevance in this connection is the episode of the 'Wooing of Étaín' (*Tochmarc Étaíne*) found in the *Book of the Dun Cow* (*Leabhar na h-Uidhri*), in which divination is performed with sticks into which Ogham letters are carved (Mees 1999).[1831] We have clear lexical evidence here for a Proto-Celtic practice of divining by tossing and examining bits of wood, and crucial vocabulary links to concepts of divinatory

[1829] Stokes 1883:461; 1885–1887:579.

[1830] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1930:329; Lehmann 1986:169–170; Watkins 2011:37; eDIL s.v. 1 cél.

[1831] On the Old Gaulish phrases *prinni loudin* and *prinni laget* in the Coligny Calendar, see the discussion of Zavaroni 2007:81–88, with bibliography.

action and divinely-bestowed wholeness of an early Indo-European period (see Benveniste 1969:2:186–187).

18.2.7.3. Germanic Lot-Divination. Cleromancy is a well-attested Germanic phenomenon. To rehearse just a portion of the evidence – Tacitus (*Germania* 10.1–3) describes Germanic lot-divination in this way: 'twigs' (*sūrculī*) are cut off from a branch of a fruit-bearing tree, etched with signs, and randomly spread over a white cloth; after the gods have been invoked either a priest or a *pater familiae* 'father of the family' picks up some three of the twigs and assigns an interpretation based on the signs that these bear. Caesar (*Gallic War* 1.50) reports how he learned from captured warriors of Ariovistus (leader of the Suebi) that combat decisions were made by women called *matres familiae* 'mothers of the family' (cf. the Hittite ^{SAL}ŠU.GI of the KIN-oracle [see above, §18.2.3]), who *sortibus et vaticinationibus declararent utrum proelium committi ex usu esset necne* 'would declare by lots and through divine inspiration whether it would be advantageous to be joined in combat or not'. In Norse tradition lot-divination is used to identify a human victim for sacrifice.[1832] The same practice is reported for Frisians.[1833]

[1832] See de Vries 1970§235; Davidson 1981:116–122. See DuBois 1999:49 on other weighty decisions made by lot-divination.

In the *Lex Frisiorum* (*Tit*. 14 §1) the term for 'lots' is *tenos*, described as *duo tali, de virga praecisi* 'two lots [knuckle-bones], cut off of a stick'; a Christianized procedure is described whereby such lots wrapped in wool are picked up by a priest, or by an "innocent boy," to determine the identity of one who has committed homicide.[1834] With the Latinized Frisian *tenos*, compare Gothic *-tains*, Old English *tān*, Old Norse *teinn*, all meaning 'twig'.[1835] The Old Norse term occurs in opening lines of the *Hymisqviða* ('Lay of Hymir') of the *Poetic Edda*, used of the gods shaking such 'twigs' to divine if the Sea-god Aegir possessed what was needed to brew ale.[1836] Old Norse *blótspánn* names a 'wood chip' (*spánn*) used in cleromancy: *fella blótspánn* is to 'cast the divining chips': *spánn* is from primitive Indo-European *speh$_1$- 'flat piece of wood' (English *spoon* and so on); *blót* is 'worship, sacrifice' (with verb *blóta* 'to worship [with sacrifice]'; cf. Gothic

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[1833] Thus Alcuin in his *Life of Willibrord*, §11. See https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/basis/Alcuin-willbrord.asp.

[1834] See Oliver 2011:44–45 who reports that an "ordeal by lot" is mentioned, without description, in both the *Lex Salica* and *Lex Ribuaria*. On the survival of ancient cleromancy in a Christian context in Gaul see Klingshirn 2005. On sortition broadly in late antiquity see the collection of studies published in Luijendijk and Klingshirn 2019.

[1835] See Lehmann 1986:340; Watts 1987:254.

[1836] See Watts 1987:254. For translation see Larrington 2019:74.

blōtan 'to sacrifice', Old English *blōtan*, Old High German *blōzan* 'to sacrifice'), of uncertain origin.[1837] Old Norse *hlutr* (and *hlautr*) denotes 'lot' and is cognate and synonymous with Old English and Old Frisian *hlot*, as well as, *inter alia*, Gothic *hlauts* (translating Greek *klêros* [κλῆρος]), and Old High German *(h)luz*. The origin of this Germanic term is uncertain; relatedness to Greek *kleís* (κλείς), as in the name of the now frequently-encountered Mycenaean cult officiant *klawiphoros* (see above, §1.2.3.1, §2.2, §15.3.3, §17.4.9.3), and Latin *clāvis* 'key, hook' and *clāvus* 'nail' (serving a cult function) etc. has been proposed.[1838] Dialectal British English *cavel* 'lot' (Middle English *cavel*, *cavil* etc.)[1839] appears likely to be borrowing of Old Norse *kafli* 'piece cut off' and *kefli* 'piece of wood' and is matched by Dutch *kavel* 'lot' (*kavelen* 'to cast lots'), Middle (Low) German *kavele* 'small stick for casting lots' (origin unknown). The early Germanic vocabulary of lot-throwing appears to have been adopted by Finno-Ugric languages in the first or even second millennium BC.[1840]

[1837] Lehmann 1986:76; Watts 1987:254; Mallory and Adams 1997:451; Sundqvist 2006:81.

[1838] See Lehmann 1986:187.

[1839] See OED:2:1009; Middle English Dictionary (https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary); Watts 1987:254, with bibliography.

[1840] Karsten 1928; Korhonen 1988:266; DuBois 1999:49.

18.2.7.4. Balto-Slavic Lot-Divination. There is precious little evidence here. In his *Chronicon*, the eleventh-century Saxon Bishop Theitmar of Merseburg reports (6.24) a lot-divination ritual performed by the West Slavic Liutizi (in Riedegost, where the god Svarozic was worshipped): this entailed priests excavating lots from the ground and then covering them with sod following the performance of the rites; it is with fearfulness, he writes, that the priests 'dig' (*infodiō*) into the earth and they do so while 'murmuring' (*mussō*) (and after which a horse-oracle is conducted over the covered lots).[1841] The twelfth-century monk Herbord, in his *Life of Otto* (bishop of Bamberg), alludes to similar rites, which Otto persuaded the Pomeranians to abandon, mentioning (in addition to the horse-oracle, in which spears play a role) 'divinations' (*sortes*) that involve *alias ligneas calculationes* 'reckonings by other wooden items' (2.33).[1842] The *Gesta Danorum* of Saxo Grammaticus provides a brief description of lot-divination as practiced among Slavs on the isle of Rügen (Slavic *Rana*, in the Baltic Sea), site of a temple of the god Sventovit (in Arkona). Saxo writes (14.39.11) that three 'small pieces of (fire)wood' (*ligni particulae*) painted white on one side and black on the other were 'cast' (*conicio*) like *sortes* into their laps: the white sides signaled 'good outcomes' (*prospera*), the black

[1841] See Słupecki 2006 and 2014:340–341. For the *Chronicon* see Kurze and Lappenburg 1889; Warner 2001.

[1842] See Jaffé 1869; Robinson 1920. On Medieval Latin *calculātio* see DMLBS.

'bad' (*adversa*). Matthew Guthrie, the eighteenth-century British travel writer and medical officer, describes in his (unpublished) *Noctes Rossicae* (chronicling persistent pre-Christian traditions of eastern Slavs) seeing small divining stones, having one side white and the other black.[1843]

In his *Chronicle*, Henry of Livonia (twelfth-thirteenth century Christian priest) records the use of lot-divination by various Baltic peoples, including Indo-European and non-Indo- European peoples: Livonians (1.8), Letts (11.7), Semgalls (12.2), Kurs (14.5), Estonians (20.2).[1844]

18.2.8. Primitive Indo-European Lot-Divination

We might well presume that there existed a primitive Indo-European practice of divining by lots given the human propensity for seeking metaphysical guidance by procedures that generate random outcomes. Beyond that, as we have just seen, there are lot-divination practices attested among most of the descendent Indo-European peoples of antiquity. Champeaux (1986:96–97) highlights cross-Indo-European phrasing associated with the use of lots: the procedure tends to be described as a manipulating

[1843] See Ryan 1999:321, who draws attention to Guthrie's report. On Guthrie see, *inter alia*, Papmehl 1969.

[1844] See Bauer 1955; Brundage 2003.

of wood and tree parts and, sometimes, as a "sorting out" of the divinatory implements – consistent with what we have observed in the preceding sections. Champeaux concludes (her p. 97): "De cet ensemble de faits, on conclura que les 'sorts' indo-européens étaient des baguettes de bois (Grecs, Celtes, Germains, Scythes), que l'on tirait après les avoir disposes soit au hasard (Germains), soit en série (Latins, Scythes)." She has here incorporated the Greeks into the same subset as Celtic and Germanic peoples, as well as the Iranian Scythians (and we could include here the Alani and Medes as well [see §18.2.6]), on account of the Greek lexical evidence provided by *kláō* (κλάω) 'to break (off)' and *kládos* (κλάδος) 'branch, twig' (see note 15 above) – terms that share a common origin with *klêros* (κλῆρος) 'lot', and a lexical set to which *klêma* (κλῆμα) 'twig' could be appended. To her Greek-Celtic-Germanic-Scythian group we can add Italic: Cicero *De divinatione* 2.85 writes of lots at Praeneste made of oak, carved with ancient symbols, kept within a box made of an olive tree that had been observed to ooze portentously with honey on the site where the divinatory shrine would be built. Such a distribution could be taken to suggest a broad cultural zone of European lot-divination that is crucially marked by manipulation of *les baguettes de bois*, one that extends eastward into Pontic Eurasia, and perhaps extending on to south Asia (Vedic

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dice being products of the *vibhīdaka* tree). The Anatolian peoples would appear to be conspicuously absent from a subset so defined.

If there is thus some conceptual similarity suggested for a large group of early Indo-European cultures, when we examine the lot-divination vocabulary that was set out in the discussions of §§18.2.6–18.2.7.4 what we find missing is any hint of a *system* of cognate terms – that is, a lexical system occurring cross-linguistically that could be traced back to a common ancestral vocabulary of lot-divination. Such a *recurring lexical system* is not even evidenced among the "fringe" linguistic groups of the Indo-European expansion area – that is, Italic and Celtic in the west and Indo-Iranian in the east – in which groups, we have noted, ancestral religious and legal vocabulary was particularly well preserved (see above, §1.2.3.3, §4.4.1, and §13.4.5). Such ancestral vocabulary survived in those areas as a consequence of its continued use in age-old ritual utterances and structures safeguarded by the Indo-European priestly classes that there survived and flourished – Flamen, Druid, Brahmin, and Zaotar/Āθravan.

Did lot-divination form an element of Proto-Indo-European cult that operated under the guidance of a priestly class? There is no clear evidence of that. But the widely-documented practice of acquiring divinatory knowledge by the throwing and picking up of tokens must surely have been one known to ancestral Indo-Europeans.

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Among the Romans lot-divination appears to have remained on the fringe of cult. It is hardly detectable in Vedic tradition. Perhaps with the disruption of inherited priestly structures that occurred within the interior of the Indo-European expansion area, the practice of lot-divination emerged as what can be called *cult practice*. Social integration with indigenous peoples of Europe and Asia surely may have contributed to the same outcome, perhaps in locally-distinctive ways.

Did the Indo-European ancestors of the Greeks bring with them some practice of lot-divination when they descended into the Balkan peninsula? Almost certainly. Would this state of affairs increase the likelihood that the *manipulation* of lots at the Delphic oracle of Apollo chronologically preceded the Pythic practice of oracular *utterance*?[1845] Toward formulating a response to that question one could say that at the least the lexical evidence considered in §18.2.2 (*anairéō* [ἀναιρέω] and so on) suggests that the practice of lot-divination among speakers of Greek generally antedated the Hellenic cult phenomenon of the oracular utterance. Let us then consider the matter non-Greek oracular enunciation in the broader eastern Mediterranean.

18.2.9. Oracular Utterance in Anatolia, Syria, and Mesopotamia

[1845] On various issues of the "chronology" of the Delphic oracle, see Sourvinou-Inwood 1987.

Burkert (1985:116–117) draws attention to the practice of lot-divination at Delphi, pointing to the use of *anairéō* (ἀναιρέω), a verb of *manual* activity, to denote the Pythia's production of oracular *utterance* and to the primacy of lot-divination that this suggests. In Burkert's assessment (p. 116) "the inspired divination [of the Pythia] is therefore clearly secondary; indeed, it is generally believed to be of non-Greek origin." There are, unsurprisingly, "clear links" (West 1997:49–50) between the Delphic oracle and oracles of Apollo in Iron-Age western and southern Anatolia:[1846] "Daphne near Antioch, Mallos [Cilicia], Mopsuestia [Cilicia], Patara [Lycia; and see below], Telmessos [Lycia/Caria],[1847] Didyma [Caria, south of Miletus], Claros [near Colophon], Gryneion [Aeolis, about 18 km north-northeast of Cyme], and Zeleia [the Troad]."[1848] The important oracle at Didyma appears to have its origins in the Bronze Age and to have enjoyed continuous use through the time of Iron-Age Greek occupation (Herda

[1846] On which see also, *inter alia*, Latte 1940:14–16.

[1847] There was a Telmessos in both Lycia and Caria, and both places appear to have had oracular sites associated with Apollo: see Bryce and Zahle 1986:199–202.

[1848] See also, *inter alia*, Graf 2009:44–46 and 58–61. On lesser-known oracles of Apollo in southern Pisidia and the nature of oracular activities, including use of lots, in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, see Işin 2014.

2013a:438);[1849] the priestly family in charge of the cult, the Branchidae, bears a name with seeming Luvo-Carian linguistic connections.[1850] We earlier considered Greek claims of the deep antiquity of Claros and its oracle (see §11.2 and §15.3.2), one of two oracular sites other than Delphi at which an omphalos has been excavated (the other being Delos).[1851] Bryce and Zahle (1986:198–199) suggest that the oracle of Apollo at Patara may continue pre-Greek Lycian oracular practices at the site, as Herodotus' brief description (1.182.2) of the method of divination practiced by the priestess of Patara is reminiscent of attested Hittite dream-oracle (incubation) practices.[1852]

Akkadian texts from the second and first millennia BC provide evidence of individuals, both male and female cult figures, producing oracular *enunciations*.[1853] In Old Babylonian the term for such an individual is *muḫḫû* (masculine), *muḫḫūtu* (feminine); Assyrian provides the comparable *maḫḫû* and *maḫḫūtu* (CAD M:1:90–91). In some way functionally distinct, it seems, is the ecstatic *āpilu* (masculine), *āpiltu*

[1849] See also Herda 2016:17–27. For general discussion of the antiquity of the oracle, with additional bibliography, see Mac Sweeney 2013:66–67.

[1850] See Herda 2008:20–22, 61, with bibliography. See also Herda 2009:96–98; 2016:85.

[1851] See de Boer 2007:86.

[1852] On which practices, see, *inter alia*, Hoffner 1987:261–262; van den Hout 2003:120.

[1853] For the texts, see, *inter alia*, Durand et al. 1994 and Nissinen 2003:13–78.

(feminine) (CAD A:2:170).[1854] At Mari (eastern Syria) in the eighteenth century BC such ecstatic figures are reported in some fifty letters in the archives of, almost exclusively, the monarch Zimri-Lim,[1855] whom we encountered earlier (see §14.5.1) in conjunction with the discussion of the Akkadian lyre-word *kinnārum* and the five lyres crafted for Zimri-Lim by Qishti-Nunu and Habdu-Hanat. Contemporary with these Mari materials is a pair of texts from Eshnunna recording oracles of Kititum, a local deity equating to Ishtar, presented to the king Ibalpiel II; these are thought to have been delivered orally by an ecstatic figure, as in the comparable cases at Mari, though the texts include no reference to such an individual.[1856] In Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian texts we also find references to the prophetic *raggimu* (masculine) and *raggintu* (feminine) (CAD R:67). From the Neo-Assyrian city of Nineveh, dating to the reign of Esarhaddon and that of his successor Ashurbanipal (ca. third and second quarters of the seventh century BC), have survived tablets inscribed with a total of twenty-nine oracular pronouncements addressed to these monarchs. Some twenty additional tablets from the Neo-Assyrian period make reference to inspired oracular figures, both men

[1854] On the female ecstatics see the discussion of Stökl (2010), with extensive bibliography.

[1855] See Nissinen 2004:25–26 and 2017:74–85; see also Roberts 2002:157–253. Several other Mari texts (*inter alia*, ritual and administrative) also make reference to such ecstatic figures: see Nissinen 2003:79–92.

[1856] See Ellis 1987; Nissinen 2003:93–95, 2004:26, and 2017:94–95.

(*raggimu* or *maḫḫû*) and women (*raggintu* or *maḫḫûtu*), or to their utterances.[1857] To these can be added miscellaneous references to inspired oracular figures in texts spanning the late third to late first millennia BC, produced in various languages, including not only Akkadian but Egyptian and Aramaic.[1858]

There is equally Hittite and Luvian evidence for such ecstatic figures. In the earlier discussion of Uhha-ziti, king of Arzawa, we saw that Uhha-ziti revolted, unsuccessfully, against the Hittite monarch Mursili II, having allied himself with the king of the Ahhiyawa (see §15.3; see also below, §21.3.2.2). Mursili II then conquered *Apaša* (Ephesus), and Uhha-ziti was forced to flee "across the seas to the islands and remained there," islands which we suggested were under the control of his Mycenaean allies. Among other documentary remains attached to Mursili II are his Plague Prayers, in the second of which (CTH 378.II) the king enumerates various means of determining divine will, including that of the utterances of an ecstatic holy man (referenced twice in the prayer), the ^{LÚ}DINGIR-*LIM-niant-* (or DINGIR^{MEŠ}*niyant*) – that is, the *šiuniyant-*.[1859]

[1857] See, *inter alia*, Nissinen 1998; 2003:97–177; 2004:26, and 2017:38–40, 67, 87–111; see also Huffmon 2000:57–63.

[1858] See the discussion, with references, in Nissinen 2004:26–28 and 2017:24–42.

[1859] See Goetze 1930:218–219; Hoffner 1987:257, 262–263, and 1992:103; van den Hout 2003:120.

There are just a few occurrences of the term elsewhere.[1860] Compare with Hittite *šiuniyant-* Luvian [LÚ]*maššanāma/i-* 'one who belongs to god' (Melchert 2014a:209), derivative of *māššan(i)-* 'god'.[1861] It can be seen (as Hieroglyphic Luvian /massanāma/i-/)[1862] in §22 of the Til Barsip Stele (Tell Ahmar 6; late tenth/early ninth century BC) of Hamiyata, king of Masuwari; §§22–23 read: 'The one belonging to a god said to me | "Erect the Storm God of the Army!"'[1863] The term also appears in Hamiyata's inscription Tell Ahmar 5 §11.[1864] Hawkins (2006:29) notes that "these two Tell Ahmar clauses with the *masanami-* prophet delivering a message from the Storm-God find an interesting comparison in a recently published Mari text in which the *āpilu-* priest of the Storm-God of Halab delivers a prophetic message to Zimri-Lim of Mari."[1865]

[1860] See Beckman 1999b:533, with note 76; CHD Š:506–507.

[1861] For these and related Cuneiform Luvian forms see Melchert 1993b:142–144. See also CHD L–N:204.

[1862] Spelled DEUS-*na-mi-i-sa*.

[1863] The translation is that of Melchert 2019b:278. See his page 25 for bibliography. For text and translation see also Hawkins 2006. See also, *inter alia*, Nissinen 2017:106–107, 210–211.

[1864] See Hawkins 2000:232–233. On Tell Ahmar 5 the form is spelled differently: CORNU+CAPUT-*mi-i-sa* (rather than DEUS-*na-mi-i-sa*); Melchert notes (2019b:275): "a human head with horns (or a horned cap), presumably indicating the appearance of at least some such persons" (i.e., "a divinely inspired person through whom the gods express their will to humans").

[1865] Hawkins cites J.-M. Durand 1993:41–61.

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In the Hittite ritual text CTH 447.A, which we encountered in Chapter Fifteen, in regard to divinatory action involving a bee (see §15.3.4.3), we find the phrase "the tongue is a bridge."[1866] The phrase is spoken by a cult officiant (perhaps a ^{SAL}ŠU.GI 'Old Woman') to the Sun-goddess of the Earth in order to coax the goddess into coming and accepting the offerings set out in a ritual of bird augury: "And if it was a bird of evil (omen), you change it, O Sun-goddess of the Earth! Render it nine times favorable! 'The tongue is a bridge!' Set out, O Sun-goddess of the Earth! Make everything favorable . . . ."[1867] While evidence of ecstatic cult speech in the Hittite and Luvian documentary record that we presently have may be sparse, there is clear indication that it was a known phenomenon. The tongue as bridge permitted the flow of speech in two directions: commonly from the human to the divine realm, as in CTH 447.A (where *tongue* must connote 'incantation'),[1868] but also from the divine to the human as well, as reflected in the Luvian texts of Tell Ahmar 5 and 6.

[1866] For the text see Popko 2003:27, with commentary on pp. 51–52. On the phrase see Beckman 1986:25 and 1999:524–525. See also the comments of Bachvarova at http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:hlnc.essay:BachvarovaM.Calling_the_Gods.2018.

[1867] The translation is that of Beckman 1986:25.

[1868] Beckman (1986:25) points out that "the incantation [is] often referred to as a 'tongue' [*lala-*] in Hittite magic." Here he cites CHD L–N:23–25; *tongue* can also be "(true or correct) speech" (p. 23 §3).

18.3. Bee, Bird, and Lot-Divination

We came to a consideration of lot-divination by way of the *thriae*, the oracular pebbles, and the personified Thriae, 'the first diviners' (αἱ πρῶται μάντεις), that we examined above in §18.2 in conjunction with Pseudo-Apollodorus' (*Bibliotheca* 3.115) description of Hermes' gift of the *sûrinks* (σῦριγξ) 'Panpipe' to Apollo, and Apollo's reciprocal gift to Hermes of the golden divinatory rod and the skill of pebble-divination. In a prelude to those remarks, and in continuing the investigation of the matter of bird and bee, I had mentioned the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, a hymn of ca. later sixth century BC, possibly earlier. It is to that archaic poem, which appears to be the work of a Boeotian poet,[1869] that we now must return for a separate tradition of an oracular gift made to Hermes by Apollo, which will lead us back to bird and bee.

Reference is made in this Homeric hymn to Apollo's practice of bird-divination. Thus at lines 213–214, Apollo is said to have divined the identity of the thief of his cattle (Hermes) by observing the flight of a bird: οἰωνὸν δ' ἐνόει τανυσίπτερον, αὐτίκα δ' ἔγνω | φιλητὴν γεγαῶτα Διὸς παῖδα Κρονίωνος 'and he observed a long-winged bird, and immediately he knew | the thief to have been the child of Zeus, son of Cronus' (and

[1869] See Janko 1982:143–149, with bibliography.

compare line 303). In his comments on these lines, Richardson (2010:186) draws attention to Hesiod fr. 60 (MW) in which a *kórax* (κόραξ) 'crow' is said to have 'revealed' (*phrázō* [φράζω]) to Apollo that Coronis had been unfaithful to him (see §13.6.3, §§13.6.3.1–2).[1870] With this compare, as noted in §18.2, Callimachus *Hecale* fr. 260.50, concerning the Thriae's inspiration of the *korṓnē* (κορώνη) 'crow' that revealed Coronis' infidelity to Apollo (see also §13.6.3.4).

In lines 533-540 of the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* we discover that Apollo denies to Hermes that oracular knowledge (the *manteíē* [μαντείη]) which is reserved for Apollo alone, that which he dispenses through his Delphic oracle. Soon following this denial to Hermes of Pythic divination, in lines 543–549, Apollo announces regarding the 'tribes of mankind' (φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων):[1871]

Καὶ μὲν ἐμῆς ὀμφῆς ἀπονήσεται, ὅς τις ἂν ἔλθῃ

φωνῇ τ' ἠδὲ ποτῇσι τελήεντων οἰωνῶν·

[1870] And compare Pseudo-Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca* 3.114, where Apollo learns the identity of the thief by unspecified *mantikḗ* (μαντική) 'divination'.

[1871] Line 542; for the phrase 'tribes of mankind' (φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων), see, *inter alia*, Homer *Iliad* 14.361 and *Odyssey* 3.282, 7.307, 15.409; Hesiod *Theogony* 330, 556, *Works and Days* 90, *Shield* 162, and frr. 23a.25, 30.11, and 291.4 (MW); *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 161, 298, 355, 537, 538.

οὗτος ἐμῆς ὀμφῆς ἀπονήσεται οὐδ' ἀπατήσω. 545

ὃς δέ κε μαψιλόγοισι πιθήσας οἰωνοῖσιν

μαντείην ἐθέλησι παρὲκ νόον ἐξερεείνειν

ἡμετέρην, νοέειν δὲ θεῶν πλέον αἰὲν ἐόντων,

φήμ' ἁλίην ὁδὸν εἶσιν, ἐγὼ δέ κε δῶρα δεχοίμην.

And he will find the joy of my oracular voice, whoever comes

to my utterance and to the flight of sure augural birds;

this one will find the joy of my oracular voice and I will not deceive. 545

But whoever has trusted in empty-worded augury

and would want to inquire into oracular knowledge beyond my

mind, and to know more than the always-existing gods,

I declare that his path is fruitless, even though I myself take his gifts.

In these lines Apollo is clearly continuing to refer to his Delphic oracle and to its Pythic utterances and the oracular knowledge that they express. But notice that conjoined to Pythic mantic utterance is divination by augury (line 544) and that this conjunction of the dual means of divination appears to be echoed negatively in the double warning

against the practice of 'empty-worded augury' (μαψιλόγοι οἰωνοί, line 546), contrasting with 'sure augural birds' (τελήεντοι οἰωνοί, line 544), and against inquiry into 'oracular knowledge beyond my mind' (μαντείη παρὲκ νόον ἡμετέρην, lines 547–548), contrasting with the 'utterance' (φωνή) which is an expression of 'my oracular voice' (ἐμή ὀμφή, lines 543–545). The nominal *phōnḗ* (φωνή) routinely denotes 'utterance' (the sound of the human voice as opposed to sound more generally) in archaic usage (compare *phátis* [φάτις] 'utterance, oracular voice' – terms anchored diachronically in primitive Indo-European vocabulary of sacrally empowered utterance)[1872] and must be so construed here, rather than as a reference to the 'screech' of birds as it has been at times translated. The use of *phōnḗ* in line 544 is resumed by the verb *phēmí* (φημί) in line 549 as Apollo references his own declaration: the *phōnḗ* is the utterance of Apollo spoken in the voice of his Pythic priestess. This is oracular utterance that, as we have seen (§15.3.4.2 and §16.3.2), Pindar (*Pythian Odes* 4.60) names the 'voice of the Delphic Bee' (Μελίσσας Δελφίδος κέλαδος). Bird and bee are again conjoined.

18.3.1. Bee Maidens and Corycian Nymphs

[1872] See Woodard forthcoming a.

This avian-apian conjunction continues, but we see that divination involving bird and bee are distinct, *apáneuthe* (ἀπάνευθε) 'set apart'. In lines that follow upon those we have just considered, Apollo vows to assign to Hermes a different sort of divinatory province – that of certain oracular maidens (552–568):

Σεμναὶ γάρ τινες εἰσὶ κασίγνηται γεγαυῖαι
παρθένοι, ὠκείῃσιν ἀγαλλόμεναι πτερύγεσσιν
τρεῖς· κατὰ δὲ κρατὸς πεπαλαγμέναι ἄλφιτα λευκά
οἰκία ναιετάουσιν ὑπὸ πτυχὶ Παρνησσοῖο 555
μαντείης ἀπάνευθε διδάσκαλοι ἣν ἐπὶ βουσίν
παῖς ἔτ' ἐὼν μελέτησα· πατὴρ δ' ἐμὸς οὐκ ἀλέγιζεν.
ἐντεῦθεν δὴ ἔπειτα ποτώμεναι ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ
κηρία βόσκονται καί τε κραίνουσιν ἕκαστα.
αἱ δ' ὅτε μὲν θυίωσιν ἐδηδυῖαι μέλι χλωρόν 560
προφρονέως ἐθέλουσιν ἀληθείην ἀγορεύειν·
ἢν δ' ἀπονοσφισθῶσι θεῶν ἡδεῖαν ἐδωδήν
ψεύδονται δὴ ἔπειτα δι' ἀλλήλων δονέουσαι.
τάς τοι ἔπειτα δίδωμι, σὺ δ' ἀτρεκέως ἐρεείνων

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σὴν αὐτοῦ φρένα τέρπε, καὶ εἰ βροτὸν ἄνδρα δαείης 565

πολλάκι σῆς ὀμφῆς ἐπακούσεται αἴ κε τύχησιν.

ταῦτ' ἔχε Μαιάδος υἱὲ καὶ ἀγραύλους ἕλικας βοῦς,

ἵππους τ' ἀμφιπόλευε καὶ ἡμιόνους ταλαεργούς.

For there are certain holy sisters,

maidens three, adorned with swift wings,

shaken white barley meal upon their heads,

who dwell at home beneath a fold of Parnassus 555

and practice a divination set apart, which among the herds

when yet a child I did pursue, but my father had no care for.

Then from that place flying off, this way, sometimes that,

feeding on honeycomb they authorize oracular utterances each.

And whenever they are inspired, having fed on clear honey, 560

eagerly they are willing to proclaim what is true;

but if they are robbed of the sweet food of gods

then they utter what is false, buzzing amidst one another.

These now I give to you; and you, making inquiries precisely,

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cheer your own mind with them, and if you should teach a mortal man 565
he will often attend to your oracular voice, if he should succeed [in hearing it].
Have these things, O son of Maia, and field-dwelling, curly-horned cattle,
and care for horses and hard-working mules too.

Some, notably Fontenrose (1959:427–433) and Larson (1995; building on Amandry 1984), have argued that these Bee Maidens are to be equated with the Corycian nymphs[1873] for whom a particular cave beneath the Luvian-named Mt. Parnassus has been identified as a sacred shrine. Most suggestive among the evidence offered in favor of this equation is a pair of reliefs, when considered in tandem: one from neighboring Delphi, dated to the fourth-century BC, which depicts three nymphs in the company of Apollo and Hermes by the side of a mountain; the other from the cave of the Corycian nymphs itself, presenting Hermes joining three nymphs in dance. At some point Pan (typically identified as son of Hermes)[1874] would become affiliated with this cave and its

[1873] Larson 1995:352 writes "The connection of nymphs in general with bees is much stronger than usually supposed, and in several instances bees and nymphs are interchangeable" (on which see Larson 2001:85–87). She concludes her article, however, by identifying the Bee Maidens as bees that inhabit the cave of the Corycian nymphs (see below).

[1874] On the parentage of Pan within an Indo-European context, see Allen and Woodard 2013:224–227.

nymphs.[1875] Larson (1995:354; in part following Fontenrose 1980:431) also draws attention to a fragment (fr. 16 Page) of the lyric poet Philoxenus of Cythera (fifth–fourth centuries BC), in which he refers to the χρυσόροφοι θάλαμοι 'golden-roofed chambers' of the nymphs of Parnassus; she compares Hesiod *Theogony* 594 where we find the phrase ἐν σμήνεσσι κατηρεφέεσσι μέλισσαι 'bees in roofed hives'. We can see here that Philoxenus' *o*-grade *khrusóro̯phos* stands beside Hesiod's *e*-grade *katēre̯phés*, from Proto-Indo-European *(h$_1$)reb^h- 'to cover with a roof'.[1876] Philoxenus' fragment is recovered from Antigonus *Historiarum mirabilium collectio* 127.1–2, in which the paradoxographer is reporting that the Delphians say that at times the Corycian caves appears 'like gold' (khrusoeidḗs [χρυσοειδής]). The juxtaposition of honey and gold is one that we encountered in our examination of the Aśvins (see §12.7.3.6 and, especially, §15.4) and will continue to meet in the chapters that remain.

The Parnassian cave is a beehive, as it were. The association of Pan with the Corycian honeyed hive, and hence with Bee Maidens, is *séduisant* given the hypothesized formal equation of Greek *Pā́n* (Πᾱ́ν) and Sanskrit *Pūṣan*, name identifying

[1875] See Larson 1995:348–350, with bibliography. The relief from Delphi also includes some additional, unidentified, figure.

[1876] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1927:371; Chantraine 1968:369; Mallory and Adams 1997:488; LIV 496–497; Watkins 2011:72.

the son of the Aśvins and deity associated with the Vedic *dṛ́ti-* 'skin-bag' (see §16.3.5.2) which we examined in Chapter Sixteen in conjunction with the Hittite *kurša* (see §16.2.3,) and to which we will return in Chapter Twenty-One. Monosyllabic *Pā́n* appears to continue an earlier bi-syllabic stem, as indicated by the Arcadian dative *Pā́oni* (Πᾱόνι; IG V,2 556),[1877] which has been conjectured to point to a still earlier theonym *Paúsōn: if so, Greek *Pā́n* and Sanskrit *Pūṣan* would perhaps then find common origin in a formant *Pāus-/Pūs-. This idea appears earliest, and independently it seems, in Bradke 1895:581 (who states simply of *Pan*, " . . . dessen Name mit demjenigen Gott Pūshan's genau übereinstimmt"), Döhring 1907:10–11, and Schulze 1909.[1878] Puhvel (1987:63, 132) adds functional similarities to the Pan-Pūṣan equation by highlighting the long-recognized similarities between Pūṣan and Hermes, father of Pan. The description of their shared traits that the Indologist Keith offers (1925=1997:107) is worth considering in full:

> The similarity of Pūṣan to Hermes is undoubted: both have in common the duty of conducting men or the souls of the dead on the roads: they are closely

[1877] See Dubois 1988:1:37–38.

[1878] Reprinted in 1966:217–218. See also, *inter alia*, Chantraine 1968:855 with references to dissenting opinions.

> connected with the herds, confer wealth, act as convoys, are connected with the goat, and even the braided hair of Pūṣan has been compared with the Krobylos of Hermes.

The last-made point had been earlier addressed more explicitly by Oldenberg (1894:233n1), who compares, gingerly, Hermes' *krōbúlos* (κρωβύλος), the 'top knot of hair' sometimes depicted in representations of the god, with the *kaparda-* of Pūṣan, citing *Rig Veda* 6.55.2 (hymn to Pūṣan) and 9.67.11 (hymn to Soma Pavamāna; the form is adjectival *kapardin-* in both); though the hairstyle is not unique to either god (notably associated also with Apollo and Rudra). Sanskrit *kaparda* denotes 'small shell or cowrie', used as a die in gaming, and also identifies a knot of hair which is styled in such a way as to have a shape similar to that of a cowrie shell. In the second of the hymns we read in stanzas 10–12, the Atri tṛca, the following:[1879]

> 10. Pūṣan whose horses are goats is our helper on every journey.
>
> – He will give us a share in maidens.

[1879] The translation is that of Jamison and Brereton 2014:1297.

11. This Soma here purifies himself, honeyed like ghee, for the one with braided hair [= Pūṣan].

– He will give us a share in maidens.

12. This pressed soma here purifies himself, gleaming like ghee, for you, glowing one.

– He will give us a share in maidens.

These three stanzas, assigned to the poet Atri (tradition holds that seven different poets contributed to this hymn), form a cohesive unit, with the refrain *ā́ bhakṣat kaníyāsu naḥ* repeated in each of the c pādas. It is an intriguing tṛca, not least so because of the close link made between Pūṣan and Soma as golden honey; recall that while the *dṛ́ti-* of the Aśvins is filled with honey (= Soma), the *dṛ́ti-* of Pūṣan is typically said to brim with curds (that is, the milk-coagulant *dadhán-* or *dádhi-*), a material that itself can be mixed with Soma (see §16.3.5.2, §§21.2–3, §21.3.2.2). The refrain is somewhat enigmatic, but straightforwardly it declares that Pūṣan will provide 'maidens' (*kanyā̀-*).[1880] Who are these maidens associated with Pūṣan in a Soma context?

[1880] See the comments of Jamison and Brereton 2014:1296 and 2019, at IX.67.10–12.

Whatever we might make of a hypothesized cognatic relationship of *Pán* (Πάν) and *Pūṣan*, the idiosyncratic set of identifying roles that Hermes and Pūṣan share draw (1) Hermes/Pan clearly into the orbit of the Aśvins/Pūṣan and, *ergo*, (2) Hermes'/Pan's Bee Maidens and their Corycian cavernous honeyed hive into the metaphysical realm of Soma as honey.

18.3.2. Bee Maidens and Thriae

It is worth noting, given our observations concerning the nature of cult practice at the Ephesian Artemision, as contextualized by Anatolian practice, together with the Ephesian cult's affiliation with bees, that astragali (found in abundance at the site of the Artemision [see §15.3.1]) were super-abundantly present within the cave of the Corycian nymphs; these were presumably used in some divinatory capacity.[1881] In the variant tradition of the mantic practice assigned to Hermes by Apollo that we encountered in the *Bibliotheca* of Pseudo-Apollodorus (see §18.2), that practice is itself one of lot-divination involving the divinatory pebbles called the *thriae*, which have an affiliation with Apollo's Pythic priestess. Though Pseudo-Apollodorus makes no

[1881] Excavations have uncovered no fewer than 25,000 astragali; dice are also found, though far fewer in number: see Larson 1995:347 and 356n50.

mention of it, these stones are personified as a *triad* of nymphs, as we have seen (§18.2.1).

There have been those investigators (since at least Hermann 1806)[1882] who would amalgamate the two sets of nymph triads, the Thriae and the Bee Maidens, into a single identical set, given the parallelism of the separate but overlapping traditions of which they are a part. Scheinberg (1979) argues forcefully and intelligently against making this identification, demonstrating in a detailed discussion that Greek nymphs quite often are presented in sets of three; this is a point earlier made, with less force, by Fontenrose in his own rejection of the identity of the two sets of nymphs. Add to this that the Thriae are not explicitly linked to bees or honey and that the Bee Maidens are not explicitly linked to lot-divination: in this regard the two sets are quite distinct from one another in their textual presentations.

But identifying the Bee Maidens with the cult figures of the cave of the Corycian nymphs, with its astragali, would bring ambiguity to this very distinctiveness. What can plainly be said is that (1) the tradition which is preserved in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, an archaic work of a Boeotian poet, which assigns to Hermes the divinatory

[1882] Larson 1995:342n3 offers a bibliography of several works in which this position was advanced or assumed in the twentieth century. To her list Williams 1978:47–48 can be added.

sphere of the Bee Maidens, and (2) that tradition which is preserved in the Alexandrian catalogue of the *Bibliotheca*, which assigns to Hermes the pebble-divination of the *thriae*, are *competing traditions*. The one divinatory practice, that of the Bee Maidens, is 'set apart' (*apáneuthe* [ἀπάνευθε]) from Apollo's divinatory purview, which entails bird-divination and mantic utterance in the Homeric hymn. The other, that of the *thriae*, is not set apart from Apollo to the extent that his Delphic oracle preserves within it the practice of lot-divination, of which the *thriae* are one expression.

As we have twice before observed (§18.2 and §18.3), in *Hecale* fr. 260.50 Callimachus writes of the Thriae inspiring a bird to reveal to Apollo the infidelity of his lover, the princess Coronis – one who, as we have witnessed (see §13.6.3, §§13.6.3.1–2, and §13.6.3.4), has Boeotian/Thessalian attachments. The operation of the Thriae is here one of *divine activation*. Callimachus' verb in this passage is *epipnéō* (ἐπιπνέω) 'to inspire'. The corresponding action noun *epípneusis* (ἐπίπνευσις), denoting divine 'inspiration', is linked by Strabo (10.3.9) to the frenzy (*enthousiasmós* [ἐνθουσιασμός]) of cult practice and to mantic activity. Compare Plato *Phaedrus* 262d on being 'inspired' (*epipnéō* [ἐπιπνέω]) by the 'prophets of the Muses' (Μουσῶν προφῆται) – cicadas, creatures that Aelian (*De natura animalium* 5.13) equates with bees in regard to their

philō(i)día (φιλῳδία) 'love of song' and *philomousía* (φιλομουσία) 'love of music'.[1883] The nymphs of the lots instill a mantic state in the oracular bird – in concert with Apollo's control of bird-divination and mantic utterance.

18.3.3. Bee Maidens and Muses

The Muses, whose cult and its Delphic and bee affiliations we noted in Chapter Fifteen (see §15.3.4.1), share with the Bee Maidens the trait of at times uttering what is true and at times uttering what is not; thus, the Boeotian Hesiod gives voice to the Olympian Muses, 'daughters of *aegis*-bearing Zeus' (κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο), in these lines (*Theogony* 27–28):

> ἴδμεν ψεύδα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα,
>
> ἴδμεν δ' εὖτ' ἐθέλωμεν ἀληθέα <u>γηρύσασθαι</u>.

> We know to speak many false things similar to genuine ones,
>
> and we know, whenever we wish, <u>to announce</u> true things.

[1883] On which see, *inter alia*, Demos 1997:248–249.

The Boeotian poet of the *Hymn to Hermes* gives voice to Apollo declaring a similar claim concerning the Bee Maidens, as we saw just above in lines 560–563, here repeated:

αἱ δ’ ὅτε μὲν θυίωσιν ἐδηδυῖαι μέλι χλωρόν 560
προφρονέως ἐθέλουσιν ἀληθείην ἀγορεύειν·
ἢν δ’ ἀπονοσφισθῶσι θεῶν ἡδεῖαν ἐδωδήν
ψεύδονται δὴ ἔπειτα δι’ ἀλλήλων δονέουσαι.

And whenever they are inspired, having fed on clear honey, 560
eagerly they are willing to proclaim what is true;
but if they are robbed of the sweet food of gods
then they utter what is false, buzzing amidst one another.

The verb translated ‘to announce’ in Hesiod *Theogony* line 28 – that is *gērúō* (γηρύω) – in the phrase ‘to announce true things’ – is uncommon before Pindar. Hesiod also uses the verb in *Works and Days* 260 of Zeus’s daughter Dike (‘Justice’), who ‘announces’ to her father ‘the unjust mind of humans’ (ἀνθρώπων ἄδικον νόον). Sappho employs the verb in fr. 96.20 (L-P), within a poorly preserved context (in a song in which she

references the dance of the Lydian Maidens performed seasonally at a festival of Artemis in Ephesus.[1884]

Outside of Pindar,[1885] the remaining archaic occurrence of *gērúō* (γηρύω) is in this *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* that we have been considering. In lines 427–433, the poet of the hymn sings of Hermes performing a Theogony, the description of which begins (line 427) κραίνων ἀθανάτους τε θεοὺς καὶ γαῖαν ἐρεμνήν '[Hermes] speaking authorizingly of the immortal gods and of dark earth':[1886] the verb here used, *kraínō* (κραίνω), is that one which we encountered above in line 559 of this Homeric Hymn (see §18.3.1), used of the Bee Maidens who 'authorize oracular utterances' (true utterances) when they feed on honey and are in this way mantically inspired. The occurrence of the verb *gērúō* 'to proclaim' is found in the line that immediately prefaces the description of Hermes' Theogony (line 426): as Hermes played the lyre, γηρύετ' ἀμβολάδην, ἐρατὴ δέ οἱ ἕσπετο φωνή 'he proclaimed a prelude, and a lovely voice

[1884] See Nagy 1990a:298–299; 2007a:25–26; 2013b:245. *Gērúō* (γηρύω) appears at the outset of the fragmentary line 20: on the poem and the possible sense of this line, see McEvilley 1973.

[1885] Pindar uses the verb at *Olympian Odes* 1.3, 2.87, 13.50; *Pythian Odes* 4.94, 5.72; *Nemean Odes* 3.32, 6.58, 7.83; and *Isthmian Odes* 1.34.

[1886] As Nagy observes (1990:59): "By singing a Theogony and thus 'authorizing' the gods, Hermes is in effect confirming their authority."

followed on' – a voice that 'speaks 'authorizingly' (*kraínōv*) of the gods (line 427). That the utterance activity denoted by the verb *gērúō* is empowered speech that effects an outcome is suggested by its formulaic alternation with *muthéomai* (μυθέομαι): thus beside Hesiod's *gērúsasthai* (γηρύσασθαι) 'true things' (*alēthéa* [ἀληθέα], *Theogony* 28) Homer has *muthḗsasthai* (μυθήσασθαι) 'true things' (*alēthéa*, *Iliad* 6.382 and *Odyssey* 14.125, 17.15, 18.342; also *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 121).[1887] A scholiast on Hesiod in fact draws attention to this very alternation.[1888] The verb is a denominative formation from *gêrus* (γῆρυς) 'voice, speech', a term of Proto-Indo-European origin, *ǵar- 'to call, cry', highly emotive in the ancestral lexicon – "terme noble et religieux" (Chantraine 1968:220): compare Welsh *garm* 'shout, cry'; Gothic *kara* 'care', Old High German *chara* 'mourning', Old English *cearu* 'care; sorrow' (from Proto-Germanic *karō 'lament'); Ossetic *zarun* 'to sing'; Armenian *cicaṙnuk* 'nightingale'.[1889] As it is the voice of the divine

[1887] See Nagy (1990a:68n84), who in a slightly different way, also draws attention to the formulaic alternation of *gērúsasthai* (γηρύσασθαι) in Hesiod and *muthḗsasthai* (μυθήσασθαι) in Homer, analyzing these as *marked* versus *unmarked* variants, respectively, within the context of Panhellenism.

[1888] *Scholia in Theogoniam* (*scholia vetera* [= Di Gregorio 1975]) 28b.

[1889] See Walde and Pokorny 1930:537; Lehmann 1986:215; Mallory and Adams 1997:89; Watkins 2011:26. Latin *garriō* 'to chatter' also belongs here, in spite of the semantic variation: see the remarks of Chantraine 1968:220; see also Ernout and Meillet 1959:267.

Muses (who can utter what is truth and what is not true) that Hesiod enunciates as he performs his *Theogony*, similarly it is the authoritative voice of divine Hermes (who himself sings a Theogony) that the Bee Maidens (who can utter what is truth and what is not true) enunciate authorizingly as they perform oracularly. The distinctive features of the illocutionary operation are common to both arrangements, if their distribution varies slightly.

18.3.4. Honey, Bee, and Prophecy: Part One

Here, as elsewhere, we see on display an ancestral Indo-European conceptualization of both poet (Hesiod) and seer (Bee Maiden) alike operating as the mantic mouthpiece of the divine.[1890] West, after surveying attested terms for 'poet' and 'seer' in various early Indo-European languages (2007:27–29), observes (p. 29):

> We see that while terminology diverged in different parts of the Indo-European world, two specific roles in which poets appeared can be identified, in both east and west. They functioned on the one hand as bestowers of praise, whether on

[1890] On early Indo-European seer as poet and poet as seer, see also, *inter alia*, Nagy 1990b:59–60; Compton 2006:171–176, 209–210, 237–238; and also Watkins 1995:85–93.

men or gods, and on the other as prophets or seers, gifted with special knowledge, perhaps through an altered state of consciousness.

Scheinberg, in her 1979 study of the Bee Maidens, ties her discussion to oracular and poetic honey-and-bee imagery (see pp. 16–28), making mention (p. 20, following Waszink 1974:11) of, *inter alia*, Pindar *Olympian Odes* 6. In lines 36-51 Pindar rehearses the birth of Iamus, son of Apollo by the Arcadian princess Evadne; she abandoned Iamus at birth but he was cared for by two snakes who nourished him 'with blameless venom of bees' (ἀμεμφεῖ ιῷ μελισσᾶν) – that is, *honey*.[1891] Iamus, so fed, will grow up to be 'eminent seer' (μάντις ἔξοχος).[1892] Scheinberg also draws particular attention to the phenomenon of inspiration through the ingestion of beverages made of fermented honey in early Indo-European tradition (pp. 17–19). As has been often discussed, while Proto-Indo-European *melit- denotes 'honey', Proto-Indo-European *medhu- can name both honey and the alcoholic beverage that is fermented from it (see §14.7.1, §21.3.2.4, §22.3.5.7, and §22.3.5.8); reflexes of this ancestral form include (but are not limited to)

[1891] Compare *Pythian Odes* 6.54, where Pindar names *honeycomb* as the 'perforated toil of bees' (μελισσᾶν τρητὸς πόνος).

[1892] On Iamus and the mantics called the *Iamidae* (said to be descended from Iamus) see also, *inter alia*, Herodotus 5.44.2; Dicaearchus fragment 22 (Wehrli 1967); Pausanias 3.11.6, 3.12.9, 4.16.1, 6.2.4–5.

the following: Old English *meodo* and Old Norse *mǫðr* 'mead'; Old Irish *mid* 'mead' (and *medb* 'intoxicated'); Old Church Slavic *medŭ*, Lithuanian *medùs* 'honey', and also Latvian *medhus* 'honey' and 'mead'; Tocharian B *mit* 'honey' and *mot*, naming an alcoholic beverage;[1893] Ossetic *myd* 'honey', Sanskrit *madhu-* 'honey', and generalized to denote some sweet intoxicating beverage, such as 'wine'.[1894] The denotation 'wine' characterizes other reflexes as well: for example, Greek *méthu* (μέθυ), Avestan *maδu-*, Sogdian *mδw*.[1895] With these two Iranian forms denoting types of wine compare *melúgion* (μελύγιον), which Hesychius (M 733) and the *Etymologicum magnum* (578)

[1893] Tocharian B *mit* 'honey' was likely borrowed into Chinese – thus, Old Chinese *myit* 'honey', then borrowed into Old Turkic as *mïr* (on the final *-r*, see Vovin 2004:124n12); and compare Sino-Korean *mil* and Japanese *mitsu* (see Witzel 2003:13, citing Lubotsky 1998 [on which see generally for Tocharian loanwords in Chinese], who builds on Polivanov 1916). Witzel (2003:17 [referencing work by Sherratt that appeared in 2006]), observes "that one incentive for the eastwards spread of the word for bees and honey may have been that of the use of bee's wax in the copper casting technology of *cire perdue* . . . that spread along the taiga belt of S. Russia and S. Siberia . . . ."

[1894] For borrowing of the Sanskrit term into Dravidian, compare Tamil *maṭu* honey, fermented beverage; Malayalam *maṭu* 'honey'; Tulu *miṭṭi* 'sweetness' (see Burrow and Emeneau 1984:412).

[1895] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1930:261; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:517–518; Mallory and Adams 1997:271; Watkins 2011:53.

identify as a Scythian drink made from honey and water. Plutarch uses Greek *melíteion* (μελίτειον) for 'mead' in his *Life of Coriolanus* (3.4), as also at *Quaestiones convivales* 672b.

18.3.4.1. A Scandinavian Comparandum. There is clearly a cause-and-effect relationship between ingestion of honey and production of mantic utterance presented at line 560 of the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*: 'and whenever they are inspired, having fed on clear honey' (αἱ δ' ὅτε μὲν θυίωσιν ἐδηδυῖαι μέλι χλωρόν) . Scheinberg (1979:17) briefly draws attention to corollaries attested among other early Indo-European cultures. One is a comparandum to which she makes somewhat oblique reference – that of mead as source of mantic inspiration in Norse tradition, about which more could be said. Regarding the "mead of poetry," in the *Skáldskaparmál* (57–58, *Epilogue* 3–4) of the *Prose Edda*, Snorri Sturluson reports that as a part of the truce arrangements ending the primeval war between the Æsir and the Vanir, these two sets of Norse gods spat into a crock and from the combined spittle the gods fashioned a figure of enormous wisdom and knowledge called (i.e. announced to be) *Kvasir*, a name that looks to be linked to various Slavic forms denoting a fermented beverage, such as Old Church

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Slavic *kvasŭ*, Russian *kvas* .[1896] This Kvasir was murdered by a pair of dwarfs, Fialar and Galar, who drained his blood into three vessels; this blood they mixed with honey to create a mead which makes a poet or scholar of anyone who drinks it.

The "mead of wisdom" is associated with the wise giant Mimir and his *Mimis brunnr*, the 'fountain of Mimir', from which he drinks mead each morning: see the *Vǫluspá* (28.10–13) of the *Poetic Edda*. In her commentary on the Eddic passage, Dronca (1997) makes the interesting observation that it is only in Norse and Indic traditions that a severed head appears in conjunction with the inspiring honey-beverage. At an earlier moment during that war between the Æsir and the Vanir, the giant Mimir had been treacherously decapitated by the Vanir (such is Snorri Sturluson's account); but thereafter Odin, whenever in need of wisdom, would consult the preserved, severed head of Mimir. For discussion of Odin's theft of mead as a Norse tradition cognate to that of Indra's theft of Soma see below, §21.3.2.4.

[1896] See de Vries 1970:1:ix–xlix; Dumézil 1973:21. . Old Church Slavic *kvasŭ* and other Slavic forms. are perhaps from a Proto-Indo-European verb root *kwat- 'to ferment': if so, the Old Norse name *Kvasir* must be a borrowing from Slavic rather than a direct inheritance. See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1930:468; Mallory and Adams 1997:199–200; Watkins 2011:46.

The Vedic tradition to which Dronca refers is one that concerns the seer Dadhyañc, having a name seemingly derived from *dádhi-*, the milk-coagulant with which the *dr̥ti-* of Pūṣan is filled.[1897] Dadhyañc received from the Aśvins a horse's head in place of his own head. The seer then revealed to the Aśvins (the divine 'horsemen'), through the horse's head, the location of "Tvaṣṭr̥'s honey" (*Rig Veda* 1.117.22; also 1.116.12 and 1.119.9) – that is, the secret location of Soma.[1898] We will come across Dadhyañc again, in Chapter Twenty-Three (see §23.3.8), in connection with Indra's drinking of Soma prior to his slaying of Vr̥tra: Indra is said to have sought the horse's head in *śaryaṇāvat-*, the 'reed-filled (place)', and to have used the bones of Dadhyañc to smash ninety-nine 'obstacles' (literally, *Vr̥tras*).

To Dronca's list of two Indo-European traditions in which inspiring honey is associated with a severed head, there is reason to add a third. Detienne (1981) draws attention to the centrality of honey in the tradition of Aristaeus, Orpheus, and Eurydice, as most fully preserved by Virgil within lines of *Georgics* 4, a poem dedicated

[1897] Dadhyañc can be called "son of Atharvan" (see *Rig Veda* 6.16.14), a primeval priestly figure; compare Avestan *āθravan-* 'fire-priest'. The seer's name appears later in the form *Dadhīca*. For an overview of Dadhyañc see Macdonell1974:141–142.

[1898] On the Indic tradition, see, *inter alia*, J. Nagy 2014:220–221, with bibliography.

to bees and their keeping.[1899] Aristaeus is a figure that we briefly encountered in the preceding chapter (see §17.4.1): he is the son of Apollo and Cyrene who shepherded the flocks of the Muses on the Athamantian Plain of Phthia (or in the vicinity of Orchomenus). After his birth, Aristaeus was taken by Hermes to the Horae and Gaea, who made him immortal with nectar and ambrosia (Pindar *Pythian Odes* 9.59–65). Aristaeus was raised by nymphs of Cyrene who taught him the 'curdling' (*pêksis* [πῆξις]) of milk, the 'constructing' (*kataskeuḗ* [κατασκευή]) of beehives, and the 'cultivating' (*katergasía* [κατεργασία]) of olives – and he was the first to teach these skills to humans (Diodorus Siculus 4.81.1–3). The conjunction of curds and honey here is of course intriguing, and undoubtedly of diachronic mytho-cultic significance, vis-à-vis the congeneric Aśvins (honey) and Pūṣan (curds) and their cult associations with Soma. Aristaeus produced a honey beverage that was a competitor with Dionysus' wine.[1900] He

[1899] For Detienne honey provides a crucial hermeneutic for the myth of this threesome, for the nature of the relationship of Orpheus and Eurydice, the relationship of Aristaeus and his own wife, and Aristaeus' attempted seduction of Eurydice.

[1900] Oppian *Cynegetica* 4.266–272; Nonnus *Dionysiaca* 5.242–246, 13.271–273, 19.241–244, 27.126–128, 29.115–117; *Suda* Σ 423; *Scholia in Aristophanem* (*scholia vetera et recentiora Triclinii* [= Jones and Wilson 1969]) *Equites* 894a, c; *Scholia in Pindarum* (*scholia vetera* [= Drachmann 1966–1969]) *Pythian* 9.112; *Scholia in Theocritum* (*scholia vetera* [= Wendel 1914]) 5.53/54A.

is *melíphrōn* (μελίφρων) 'honey-minded' Aristaeus, whom the Muses instructed in healing and prophecy (Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* 2.512, 4.1132). If the birth of Aristaeus is localized to Cyrene, his principal scene of action is in Balkan Aeolian regions, not only becoming shepherd of the Muses' flocks but marrying Autonoe, a eldest daughter of Theban Cadmus: the 'honey-minded/purposed' one weds 'Mind-Itself' – a conjoining of stimulant and perceptivity. Aristaeus is thereby linked in his honey-and-curds *tékhnē* (τέχνη) to the ambit of *tékhnai* that surround the introduction of Asian Cadmus/Cadmilus to Boeotia – and with Cadmilus (= Hermes; see §14.4.3) we circle back to Hermes and his particular honey-affiliated *tékhnē mantikḗ* (τέχνη μαντική). Intriguing is Aristaeus' triple naming: he is said to be called (1) *Aristaeus* (i.e. *Aristaîos* [Ἀρισταῖος]), form belonging to the set of *areíōn* (ἀρείων) 'better', *áristos* (ἄριστος) 'best' etc.;[1901] (2) *Agreus* (i.e. *Agreús* [Ἀγρεύς]) 'hunter'; and (3) *Nomius* (i.e. *Nómios* [Νόμιος]) 'pastoral'.[1902] Nonnus (*Dionysiaca* 29.180–181) can elucidate the first

[1901] See Chantraine 1968:106–107.

[1902] See Pindar *Pythia* 9.65; Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* 2.506–507; Diodorus Siculus 4.81.2; Nonnus *Dionysiaca* 5.215 and 29.180–181. Scholia on Pindar and Apollonius draw attention to the use of *Aristaîos* (Ἀρισταῖος), *Agreús* (Ἀγρεύς), and *Nómios* (Νόμιος) as epithets of Zeus and Apollo: *Scholia in Pindarum* (*scholia vetera* [= Drachmann 1966–1969]) *Pythian* 9.112–115a; *Scholia in Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* (*scholia vetera* [= Wendel 1974]) 169.

two of the three names as *theîos* (θεῖος) 'divine' Aristaeus and *dedaēménos áreos* (δεδαημένος ἄρεος) 'learned in carnage' Agreus.

In Virgil's fourth *Georgic*, we read that Aristaeus attempted to seduce Orpheus' wife, the nymph Eurydice. As she fled from him, she stepped on a venomous snake that bit and killed her, setting the scene for Orpheus' descent into Hades' realm in a quest to return Eurydice to the world of the living, securing her release by song – an effort that tragically failed on the brink of success, so that Eurydice in effect experienced a second death and swift return to Hades (lines 453–506). The nymphs would cause Aristaeus' bees to die as a consequence of his act (lines 317–318, 532–534); and honey-voiced Orpheus (Detienne's descriptor), wandering in grief, would be dismembered by Ciconian Bacchants (lines 507–522). Virgil has Orpheus' decapitated head call out for Eurydice as it floats away down the Hebrus (lines 523–527), bound for Lesbos, together with his lyre (see above, §13.5.4.1). Philostratus (*Heroicus* 28.8–11; *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 4.14) reports that the head would be ensconced in an oracle in Lesbos, where it would utter prophetic songs and was reported to have been widely consulted – by Lesbians, Aeolians, and Ionians.[1903] The similarity of the traditions of these three –

[1903] See, *inter alia*, Faraone 2004 and J. Nagy 2014, both with bibliography of earlier work.

Greek, Norse, and Indic – talking severed heads has not gone unnoticed.[1904] To that general structural similarity we can add the additional element of "severed head appears in conjunction with the inspiring honey-beverage" (per Dronca's phrasing). The two elements of this characterization are divided between 'honey-minded' Aristaeus, inventor of mead, fundamentally Aeolian in orientation, and "honey-voiced" Orpheus, numbered among the Argonauts, Lesbian oracular figure: effectively a binary pair of rivals bound by honey.

18.3.4.2. Thracian and Greek Comparanda. Scheinberg (1979:17) also cites *Saturnalia* 1.18.1, a passage in which Macrobius describes an oracular shrine of the Ligyreans of Thrace and its mantics who drink large quantities of unmixed wine before uttering their oracular responses. Macrobius concludes the description with: *uti apud Clarium aqua pota, effantur oracula*. The comparison that Macrobius is here making is with Apollo's oracle at Claros (western coastal Anatolia). As we observed in Chapter Fifteen, Claros neighbors upon Ephesus and was identified in antiquity as having been previously a Carian shrine that Greeks appropriated for Apollo's use (see §15.3.2).

[1904] And to these could be, and have been, added various parallel Celtic traditions, especially that of Súaldaim of Ulster: see J. Nagy 2014:217–222.

Several ancient sources attest to the practice at Claros of mantics gaining inspiration by ingestion of water from a sacred water source:[1905] see Pliny *Naturalis historia* 2.232; Tacitus *Annales* 2.54; Iamblichus *De mysteriis* 3.11. Farnell (1907:4:222 and 402) draws attention to a similar phenomenon attested at a Boeotian site: Pausanias (9.2.1) writes that at Hysiae, in the vicinity of Mt. Cithaeron, he saw the ruins of a temple of Apollo and an associated well, drinking the waters of which, according to the Boeotians, resulted in production of mantic utterance (*manteúomai* [μαντεύομαι]). In his commentary on Pausanias, Frazer (1898:5:6 and 355–356) offers a comparison with reported Pythic practice: Pausanias (10.24.7) records that waters from the spring at Delphi called Cassotis (said to bear the name of a nymph of Parnassus) descended underground, flowed beneath Apollo's shrine, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς γυναῖκας μαντικὰς ποιεῖν 'and made mantic the women in the *adyton* of the god'. Frazer suggests that ingestion of sacred water prior to divinatory enunciation characterized all of Apollo's oracular shrines; his source for this idea is Lucian *Bis accusatus* 1. Here Lucian (speaking in the voice of Zeus) parodies Apollo as having to scurry from one shrine to another to stay on top of his oracular inspirations: he typifies Apollo's prophetic

[1905] The practice, "hydromanteia," is mentioned by Scheinberg on her p. 16, citing Farnell 1907:4:188–189, 222.

'spokeswoman' (*prómantis* [πρόμαντις]) as imploring Apollo to be present, after she has drunk of the sacred 'flowing water' (*nâma* [νᾶμα]), chewed laurel, and 'shaken' (*diaseíō* [διασείω]) the tripod. It should be borne in mind that Lucian's satire is exactly that; but then there must be some actual phenomenon that is being satirized.

18.3.4.3. An Indic Comparandum. A third tradition mentioned by Scheinberg (1979:17) is that of Vedic India and its psychotropic ritual material Soma, about which we have just taken note again, in §18.3.4.1. Scheinberg states succinctly that it is "a drink of the gods much like nectar or honey among the Greeks [and] also furnished inspiration for seers." We have examined at some length the affiliation of the Aśvins with honey and have drawn particular attention to their *kurša*-like honey skin-bag. On several occasions thus far I have made passing reference to the Vedic likening of Soma to honey, as recently as §18.3.1 above, in the matter of the Parnassian honeyed hive of the Corycian nymphs. This is a Vedic conception that will be discussed a good bit more in coming chapters, but for the moment let me just highlight a couple of points in anticipation of remarks offered below in §21.2. Soma was perhaps actually mixed with honey at times;[1906] there are certainly many references to *Somyá- mádhu-* 'Somic honey'

[1906] See Macdonell and Keith 1995:478.

(on the formation see §21.2): consider for example – one of many possible examples – *Rig Veda* 8.85, a hymn in which each of the nine stanzas, after a calling forth of the Aśvins, ends in the refrain (i.e. the c pāda) *mádhvaḥ sómasya pītáye* 'to drink of the Somic honey'. More than this – as we have already seen – Soma is at times simply referenced as *honey*, as at *Rig Veda* 1.15.11a, where the Aśvins are implored to 'drink honey' (*áśvinā píbatam mádhu*); compare with this, among other stanzas of the hymn, *pāda* 1a, where Indra is called upon to 'drink Soma at the appointed time' (*Índra sómam píba rtúnā*): in other words, Soma equals honey.[1907]

18.3.5. Honey, Bee, and Prophecy: Part Two

Some years after the appearance of Scheinberg's work, Larson published a study of the Bee Maidens (1995), which is at least in part a response to that work. One of the points that Larson makes (p. 354) is that while the act of prophesying under the influence of "an intoxicating beverage . . . . has an excellent Indo-European pedigree, . . . there is little or no evidence in the Greek world for divination under the influence of intoxicants." If by "intoxicant" we were to understand "psychotropic substance,"

[1907] In §15.4 we noted the ritual coupling of honey and the alcoholic drink called *surā*, which itself may have been fermented using honey.

rather than "alcoholic beverage," than Larson's claim is certainly a bit too restrictive. Even so, it does bring into focus the interesting fact that it is only among the Bee Maidens, who appear in an archaic poem of Boeotian production, localized in the vicinity of Parnassus, that ecstatic utterance induced by "honey" is attested in Greek record. We might potentially enlarge that set of a single member by incorporating into it the Corycian nymphs, alloform of the Bee Maidens, while acknowledging the link of the Corycian nymphs with honey is made by way of their golden-roofed hive, not through direct report of their ingestion of honey as mantic stimulant. The paucity of Greek documentation of this phenomenon as opposed to the profuseness of Indic documentation must surely be taken to reveal something rather unique about the Bee Maidens (/Corycian nymphs) as they are viewed through the lens of comparative Indo-European cult.

18.4. Thriae, Corycian Nymphs, Bee Maidens; Lot, Bird, and Bee

To return to the Thriae and Callimachus *Hecale* fr. 260.50 – the bird that the Thriae 'inspire' (*epipnéō* [ἐπιπνέω]; see §18.3.2) is a *korṓnē* (κορώνη), a *kórax* (κόραξ, line 56) a 'crow'.[1908] The crow was noted in antiquity for its manipulation of stones: for

[1908] On the synonymous use of the terms see Chapter 13, note 80.

example, Aelian (*De natura animalium* 2.48) gives an account of thirsty crows dropping *psêphoi* (ψῆφοι) 'pebbles' into vessels containing water in order to raise the level of the water and bring it within the reach of their beaks; see similarly Pliny *Naturalis historia* 10.125 and Plutarch *De sollertia animalium* 967A.[1909] *Palatine Anthology* 9.272, an epigram attributed to the poet Bianor of Bithynia (first centuries BC–AD), assigns the same pebble manipulation to the 'servant of Phoebus' (Φοίβου λάτρις)[1910] – that is, the crow: the bird 'screeches' (*klázō* [κλάζω]) when it is unable to reach rain-water that has collected in an urn at the tomb of some unidentified woman; in response Apollo 'equips'[1911] the bird with the *tékhnē* (τέχνη) 'skill' of dropping in stones and thereby raising the water level. One type of *tékhnē* recognized in Greek antiquity is the *tékhnē mantikḗ* (τέχνη μαντική) 'mantic/divinatory skill': earliest explicit attestation of the phrase is by Aeschylus, fr. 350.6, in which the 'divine mouth' (θεῖον στόμα) of Phoebus is said to be teeming with *tékhnē mantikḗ* (τέχνη μαντική).[1912] Plato Timaeus 71e–72a

[1909] On reports of this behavior and its eventual characterization in antiquity as a fable, see Hansen 2019.

[1910] Euripides uses the phrase 'servant of Phoebus' as a self-identifier, placed on the lips of the chorus of Phoenician temple servants at *Phoenician Women* 221.

[1911] The verb is the obscure *kairomanéō* (καιρομανέω).

[1912] See also, *inter alia*, Euripides *Phoenician Women* 772; Sophocles *Oedipus Tyrannus* 709; Hippocrates *De diaeta i–iv* 12; Aristotle *Politica* 1274a; Diodorus Siculus 5.74.5.

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describes *mantikḗ* (the feminine adjective – understand *tékhnē mantikḗ*) as a divine gift to humankind. In examining Pseudo-Apollodorus' account of the gift exchange between Apollo and Hermes (*Bibliotheca* 3.115), we saw see (§18.2) that in exchange for receiving the *sûrinks* (σῦριγξ) 'Panpipe', Apollo gives to Hermes both the golden divinatory rod and (*tékhnē*) *mantikḗ* 'divinatory skill' of cleromancy. We should note that Statius (*Thebaid* 3.506) alludes to the crow of Apollo as the *comes obscurus tripodum* 'dark companion of tripods'.

The setting apart of (1) mantic bee strain, on the one hand, and (2) mantic bird and lot-divination strain, on the other – separation to which the *Homeric Hymn* gives expression – is a *prima facie* unnecessary exercise. The Pythia is called a *bee*; bee's wax and bird's feathers conspire in the construction of the second temple; lot divination is essential to Pythic divinatory practice. Corycian nymphs seemingly embody a unified expression of both strains and in this way share common ground with Bee Maidens and Thriae. One should surely not think in terms of the Thriae equating precisely to Bee Maidens or Bee Maidens equating precisely to Corycian nymphs but of each as Iron-Age personifications of overlapping traditions of bee and bird and lot that are individually and collectively rooted in Bronze-Age practice, all attested and at home in Anatolia. And to these three perhaps a fourth subset should be added. The cult followers of

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Demeter are said to be called *Mélissai* (Μέλισσαι) 'Bees'.[1913] This practice seems likely to be connected with a tradition preserved by the third-century BC travel writer Mnaseas (fr. 5 FHG), from Lycian Patara it seems: he reports that *númpahi mélissai* (νύμφαι μέλισσαι) 'bee nymphs' put an end to humans eating humans by persuading them to eat tree-fruits, and that one of the nymphs, named *Mélissa* (Μέλισσα), discovered the honey-comb of bees: the sense of nurturing provisionment here readily calls to mind the *kurša* . *Mélissa* was the first to eat honey and mix it with water, and she taught the other nymphs how to do this. Mnaseas continues: the nymph Melissa named the insects *mélissai* (μέλισσαι) 'bees' after herself and made herself to be guardian of bees. Mnaseas then goes on to connect this tradition with the practice of honoring nymphs in conjunction with honoring Demeter. We must allow the possibility that this tradition, which sets up Melissa as at least a quasi-competitor of Aristaeus, is one introduced from Lycia. Collins (2002:237–238), noting the use of *Mélissai*[1914] to name the worshippers of Demeter, draws attention to a parallel that this sets up between Demeter and the Anatolian Mother-goddess Hannahanna, who, as we have seen,

[1913] See Hesychius M 719; *Scholia in Pindarum* (*scholia vetera* [= Drachmann 1966–1969]) *Pythian Odes* 4.106c; *Scholia in Theocritum* (*scholia vetera* [= Wendel 1914]) 15.94/95a.

[1914] Here Collins cites Detienne 1989:145. See also Detienne 1971:13–17 and 1981:100–102.

(§16.2.4), is affiliated with the bee – as well as the *kurša*. And further like Demeter, Collins points out, Hannahanna can receive piglets as offerings.[1915]

As is common, the three Thriae have been herein referred to as nymph personifications of the divining pebbles, the *thriae*. But this clearly should not be taken to exclude the possibility that these daughters of Zeus once found mortal counterparts among *mantic personnel* who divined by means of lots; Hesychius attests this very view in his gloss of *thriaí* (θριαί) reported above (see §18.2.1): 'The first diviners. Also nymphs. Also the divinatory pebbles' (αἱ πρῶται μάντεις. καὶ νύμφαι. καὶ αἱ μαντικαὶ ψῆφοι; Θ 743). In parallel to Hesychius' tripartite characterization of the Thriae, are the Bee Maidens to be understood as ranging across a triple set of identities: oracular personnel, nymph personification, and divinatory bees? Probably.[1916] Apollo's description of the mantic method he is gifting to Hermes entails Maidens who can be

[1915] See Burkert 1979:123–125.

[1916] And something approaching this seems to be a working hypothesis for some. Larson 1995 seemingly equates the Bee Maidens and the Corycian nymphs (as on pp. 345–346), but in her conclusion interprets the Maidens as actual insects (pp. 355–357). And while Scheinberg 1979 draws the Bee Maidens into the company of other triads of "divinities or demi-goddesses" (see her p. 14), she at the same time discusses them in the context of prophetic figures who enter a state of divine inspiration by ingesting "a sacred liquid" (p. 16).

depicted with swarming insect imagery. But the poet of the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* envisions the three Maidens as mantic enunciators, answering to the unmentioned Pythic priestess of Apollo's own divinatory sphere, set apart. They, like she, 'authorize utterances' (*kraínō* [κραίνω]; *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 559). Consider what Euripides has to reveal of the Pythic priestess in his *Ion* as the chorus invokes Athena to come to Apollo's Delphic sanctuary (*Ion* 458–464):

> Μόλε Πύθιον οἶκον,
>
> Ὀλύμπου χρυσέων θαλάμων
>
> πταμένα πρὸς ἀγυιάς, 460
>
> Φοιβήιος ἔνθα γᾶς
>
> μεσόμφαλος ἑστία
>
> παρὰ χορευομένῳ τρίποδι
>
> μαντεύματα <u>κραίνει</u>,
>
> . . . .

> Come to the Pythian temple,
>
> from the golden chambers of Olympus

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flying to the streets, 460

where the altar of Phoebus,

middle-navel of the earth,

by the tripod of the dancing,

<u>authorizes</u> oracular utterances,

. . . .

The Pythia authorizes Apollo's oracular utterances. The Bee Maidens (*Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 559–560) authorize their utterances when they feed on honey and are thereby mantically 'inspired', where the verb is *thuíō* (θυίω);[1917] compare *thuiás* (θυιάς), nominal denoting a 'woman possessed', such as a Bacchante. Within Hermes' divinatory sphere of the Bee Maidens, a mortal man will attend to the 'oracular voice' (*omphḗ* [ὀμφή]; line 566) of that god (duplicitous deity); just as a man who comes to the 'utterance' (φωνή;

[1917] That is, they are 'enraged'; the synonymy of the rage of the mantic seer and the rage of the combat-maddened warrior is well attested in primitive Indo-European tradition. Both conditions can be named by Latin *furor*, of possible common ancestry with *thuíō* (θυίω; see, *inter alia*, Chantraine 1968:448; Mallory and Adams 1997:82), and, as with *epipnéō* (ἐπιπνέω) 'inspire', considered just above (see §18.3.2, and earlier in the current section) in conjunction with the Thriae and the crow, are conceptually bound up with notions of 'breath'.

line 544) of Apollo and 'to the flight of sure augural birds' (ποτῇσι τελήεντων οἰωνῶν; line 544) – expressions of Apollo's set apart divinatory sphere – will take joy in the 'oracular voice' (ὀμφή; lines 543 and 545) of Apollo. Apollo's oracular voice is spoken through the Pythia; Hermes' must be spoken through the Bee Maidens.

18.5. Some Interpretative Conclusions

Lot-divination as a Greek oracular process offers an example of the general phenomenon of intersecting axes – diachronic and synchronic – of which we made mention in the concluding section of Chapter Fifteen. In much of that chapter we were particularly concerned with the cult of Ephesian Artemis, expressions of its iconography – (1) bees and (2) a vestige of the Hittite *kurša* – and aspects of oracular practice: (3) auspices, a particular feature of the Bronze-Age Luvian region of Arzawa and of Iron-Age Greek Ephesus, and (4) lot-divination, also well-evidenced at Ephesus (see especially §15.3.1). In the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* these are divinatory processes that Apollo sets apart, the one from the other, as he assigns to Hermes the *tékhnē mantikḗ* (τέχνη μαντική) of pebble and bee, entailing Bee Maidens and Thriae, and reserves for himself that of bird and Pythic utterance. But this looks very much to be an artificial distinction. Lot-divination likely prefigured inspired utterance at Delphi

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and continued to play a role in conjunction with utterance. Again – lot-divination and oracular observation of birds were both elements of cult practice at the Ephesian Artemision, and bees clearly were conspicuously present there as an element of cult ideology, as was the nurture-bringing *kurša*. Lot-divination practices undoubtedly accompanied the Indo-Europeans who would enter the Balkan peninsula to eventuate as the historical Greeks. But lot-divination *structurally associated* with cult elements of bee and honey was likely introduced into Hellas from Anatolia by Greeks of Asia Minor who regularly engaged in trans-Aegean intercourse with their Balkan counterparts. This is not to say that honey played no role in ancestral Indo-European cult – only that what we see in Greece echoes Anatolian structures. Particularly intriguing is the association of Greek Hermes/Pan and Vedic Aśvins/Pūṣan with honey and with honey/curds/Soma, respectively. But where would this intersection be properly situated on the sliding axes of synchrony and diachrony?

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Chapter Nineteen

Honey and Theogonies

19.1. Introduction

Boeotian divinatory maidens are one particular expression of Greek oracular cult that points to Anatolian influence, a synchronic phenomenon. But the presence of a diachronic dimension in the relevant cult structures can be plausibly inferred. In this chapter we will continue to examine aspects of Greek cult structures, including associated cult *mûthoi*, in which Anatolian influence appears to be rudimentary. Bird and, especially, bee, and the product of the bee – that is, honey – continue in their saliency, as does an intersection with Aeolian tradition.

19.2. Psychotropic Honey in Anatolia, the Caucasus, and South Asia

In Chapter Eighteen we encountered the mantic inspiration of the Bee Maidens as depicted in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* (see §18.3.3):

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αἱ δ’ ὅτε μὲν θυίωσιν ἐδηδυῖαι μέλι χλωρόν 560

προφρονέως ἐθέλουσιν ἀληθείην ἀγορεύειν·

And whenever they are inspired, having fed on clear honey, 560

eagerly they are willing to proclaim what is true;

It is honey that brings on the inspired state of the Bee Maidens. The onset of mantic-like behavior after the ingesting of honey – hence, *psychotropic* honey – is a phenomenon well attested in Anatolia, both in antiquity and in modernity.[1918] Xenophon (*Anabasis* 4.8.20–21) records that some part of his army was debilitated for three or four days after eating honey found in the region of the Colchian highlands of northeast Anatolia (en route to Trapezus). All who ate the honey became *áphrones* (ἄφρονες) ‘crazed, senseless’; those who ate a large quantity seemed ‘to be mad’ (*maínomai* [μαίνομαι]). Three or four days afterward they recovered, just as if from having ingested a *phármakon* (φάρμακον) ‘drug’. Diodorus Siculus (14.30.1–2) offers a

[1918] For a recent summary of the Anatolian evidence, see Kelhoffer 2005:66–67; Harissis and Mavrofridis 2013.

similarly-worded account of the effects of the honey. Pseudo-Aristotle (*Mirabilium auscultationes* 831b) writes that in Trapezus there is found *púksos* (πύξος) 'boxwood', or 'box tree',[1919] honey and that when a healthy person ingests it, that person 'goes senseless' (*eksístēmi* [ἐξίστημι]), though this honey cures an epileptic.[1920] Aelian (*De natura animalium* 5.42) reports similarly that the boxwood honey of Trapezus renders healthy people 'out of their minds' (*ékphrones* [ἔκφρονες]). And Aristotle (*Historia animalium* 554b) writes of 'extremely white bees' (μέλιτται λευκαὶ σφόδρα) that inhabit Pontus; in the received text the bees are described as making honey 'twice a month' *dìs toû mḗnos* (δὶς τοῦ μήνος),[1921] for which Dittmeyer (in his 1907 edition) suggests a possible emendation *lussomanés* (λυσσομανές) 'raving mad'. According to Strabo (12.3.18), the savage people he calls the *Heptacometae* (*Heptakōmêtai* [Ἑπτακωμῆται]) or *Mosynoeci* (*Mosúnoikoi* [Μοσύνοικοι]), who inhabited the mountains east of Trapezus, used the '<u>maddening</u> honey' (<u>μαινομένον</u> μέλι) as a guerilla weapon against Pompey's army, leaving it along the roads for the soldiers to find; when the soldiers had ingested the honey they were 'rendered mad' (*parakóptō* [παρακόπτω]) and easily slain. Farther

[1919] Typically identified as *Buxus sempervirens*.

[1920] Laboratory studies have been reported in which grayanotoxin (on which see just below in the discussion) provided a beneficial effect on rats with induced epileptiform activity: see Gündüz et al. 2012.

[1921] 'Through the month' (δὶα τοῦ μήνος) is the reading of the manuscript Marcianus gr. Z 208.

east, and north – there is Phasis in Colchis, commonly localized at the modern city of Poti on the central Georgian coast of the Black Sea;[1922] tradition reports its founding in the mid sixth century BC by Ionians, though Hesiod (*Theogony* 339–340) already knew the river of the same name, which flows by the city, reporting it in his catalogue of the children of Oceanus and Tethys. Strabo (11.2.17) reports of the honey of Phasis that for the most part 'it is bitter' (*pikrízō* [πικρίζω]), as he contrasts honey with the other fruits the area has to offer; there is no mention in this passage of the maddening honey, but, as we are about to see bitterness or sharpness appears to be a recurring characteristic of the material: thus, "mad honey is generally reddish-brown in color, with its own sharp scent" (Gunduz et al. 2011:182). Pliny (*Naturalis historia* 21.74–77) offers observations about honey produced further west in Anatolia, in the vicinity of Heraclea in Pontus: he characterizes such honey using a Latin transcription of the Greek <u>*mainoménon*</u> ('maddening [honey]') that we encountered in Strabo just above: *maenomenon*. The Byzantine *Geoponica* (15.9.4) offers comments ascribed to Aristotle regarding boxwood honey and its harsh smell.

[1922] On Phasis, see, *inter alia*, Lordkipanidze 1983; Gamkrelidze 1992; Tsetskhladze 1992 and 2006:liv, lxvi, and lxxi (Table 6). Pomponius Mela (1.108) reports that there is at Phasis a grove and temple dedicated to Phrixus: see Hind 1999:83. On Phasis and the surrounding region see also Braund and Sinclair 1997.

The agents that produce the symptoms characteristic of ingestion of such material have been reported to be toxic glucosides – grayanotoxins and andromedotoxins – present in honey consequent to bees collecting varieties of rhododendron (and related) nectars.[1923] *Rhododendron ponticum* ranges in a crescent from the Bosporus eastward and northward through Georgia, hugging the Black Sea coast, and extending far inland across most of this area.[1924] Turkish honey containing grayanotoxin (locally called *deli bal*) is described as reddish-brown in color, with a "sharp scent,"[1925] and reported to cause cognitive symptoms that range from "light-headedness" to "hallucinations, even when ingested in small quantities."[1926] Present-day Turkish medical records of persons treated for ingestion of such "toxic honey" are not difficult to find. Trzaskoma 2007, for instance, summarizes in this way: eleven cases in an Istanbul hospital between 1983 and 1988; nineteen cases treated at an

[1923] See Lampe 1988; Ott 1998:261; Daugherty 2005:105–106; and Uzar et al. 2018 – all with references to earlier work.

[1924] See Cross 1975:346, figure 1, with bibliography. The plant also occurs in the southwest of the Iberian peninsula.

[1925] Gunduz et al. 2011:182.

[1926] See Uzar et al. 2018, in which the authors report on two cases of honey poisoning they treated in Istanbul consequent to intentional ingesting of "mad honey."

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unspecified Turkish emergency department (presumably in Düzce, to judge by the affiliation of the six authors of the report [see Özhan et al. 2004] – some 80 kilometers south of ancient Heraclea) in 2002; and sixteen cases in Trabzon – ancient Trapezus – itself, between 1984 and 1986.[1927] In a 2006 article Gündüz and his associates at medical institutions in Trabzon and Rize identify fifty-six cases treated in Turkey at the time of the study, including eight cases presenting at their own emergency facilities:[1928] Rize is located about 80 km east of Trabzon, and some 100 km southwest of the modern border with Georgia; between Trabzon and Rize, Muslim Greek-speaking enclaves (Romeyka) persist to the present day in mountain villages, preserving a dialect with notably ancient Greek linguistic features, one which at the same time shows Turkish influence,[1929] a sociolinguistic situation not unlike that which is herein proposed for *Ur-*

[1927] Trzaskoma 2007:354–355, citing as sources Sütlüpmar, Mat, and Satganoglu 1993; Biberoğlu, Biberoğlu, and Komsuoğlu 1998; and Özhan et al. 2004.

[1928] And one in Germany and Austria each: see Gunduz et al. 2006, Table 1, with discussion on pages 595–596. The presentations of mad-honey consumption reported therein are cardiac symptoms; see also Akıncı et al. 2008. For remarks on these and other symptoms displayed, including intoxication, see, *inter alia*, Lampe 1988.

[1929] Use of the spelling "Romeyka" for this Pontic dialect follows Sitaridou 2013:98–99. For the dialect see also Sitaridou 2014 and 2016; Schreiber and Sitaridou 2018.

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Aeolic. Along the eastern coast of the Black Sea natural occurrence of psychotropic honey is attested in modernity at least as far north as Abkhazia. In the Caucasus psychoactive, toxic honey of this type is reported to be added to alcoholic beverages to increase their exhilarating effect, and in Turkey to be added to milk toward the same end.[1930] The toxic glucoside called ericolin occurs in other members of the species to which the Pontic rhododendron belongs. The use of ericolin-producing plants as inebriants is attested among both shamans of Siberia and Kwakiutl Indians in North America.[1931] A toxic glucoside may also be the active agent in a hallucinogenic plant called *shanshi*, used by shamans of Ecuador.[1932] Shamanic use of nightshades

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[1930] On toxic honey in the Caucasus, see, *inter alia*, Howes 1949:1 and Ott 1998:263.

[1931] See Ott 1998:261, with bibliography. Poisoning is reported at various North American sites: see Lampe 1988. Gunduz, Turedi, and Oksuz 2011:183 (referencing Kebler 1896) write of a case of mad-honey poisoning reported by Barton in 1794, stating that "the patient suffered visual hallucinations, subsequently lost mental awareness, and had a generalized tonic-clonic (grand mal) seizure for a short period of time."

[1932] See Ott 1998:261, who cites Naranjo 1969, and Naranjo and Naranjo 1961.

(Solanaceae) is similarly attested in various locales, as is the implication of the plant in the generation of toxic honeys.[1933]

Psychotropic honey is also found in south Asia, where, again, rhododendron flowers are responsible for its characteristic properties. In fact, the heaviest concentrations of rhododendron on the plant are to be found in the southern Himalayas, extending eastward into southwestern China.[1934] In Nepal the apian agent is the giant *Apis dorsata laboriosa*. Harvesting of the honey produced by this giant bee – honey which is described as reddish in color – from massive honeycombs adhering to steep rock faces positioned at great heights has long been a cultural fixture of peoples of Nepal – such as the Kulung tribe of the Hongu Valley of eastern Nepal. Among the Kulung the act of removal of the honeycombs from the cliffs is understood as a supernatural encounter between harvester and bee, one preceded by ritual observance that entails a shaman marking off a sacred space at the foot of a cliff and building altars within the space to a pair of spirits, one being the god called *Rongkemi* (or *Rangkemi*),

[1933] See Ott 1998:261, with bibliography. For other psychotropic plant toxins used by shamans in Central and South America particularly, see Ott, pp. 262–264.

[1934] See Irving and Hebda 1993, figure 2 with associated discussion.

guardian of bees.[1935] An informant, Jangi Kulung, describes the effects of ingesting honey in this way (Synnott 2017):

> One has to be careful not to eat too much of the honey, says Jangi. Two to three teaspoons is usually the correct dose. After about an hour you are overcome with an urgent need to defecate, urinate, and vomit. 'After the purge, you alternate between light and dark. You can see, and then you can't see,' says Jangi. 'A sound – jam jam jam – pulses in your head, like the beehive. You can't move, but you're still completely lucid. The paralysis lasts for a day or so.'

Strickland 1982 documents similar honey-gathering carried out by the Gurung tribe of the Annapurna and Lamjung Himālaya,[1936] reporting that following harvest the Gurung typically chew some of the honeycomb and that (p. 159) "they frequently become mildly intoxicated from the juices they ingest" (i.e. in the comb-chewing process).

[1935] See the description of Synnott (2017) and his photographer Ozturk, who witnessed and documented the procedure for *National Geographic*, taking note of what appeared to them to be paranormal phenomena. The second spirit is named as *Baneskandi*, described as a "forest spirit." On the Kulung people and spirit beliefs see also the helpful discussion of Schlemmer 2010.

[1936] For discussion and photo-documentation of the Gurung harvest see also Valli and Summers 1988.

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Strickland points out (1982:160) that in the Sino-Tibetan language of the Gurung the same vocabulary is used to describe intoxication from the fermented beverages that they distill and from the honey they harvest.

The harvesting practices observed in Nepal must be deeply ancient. Strickland draws attention to cave paintings from central India (Mahadeo hills) that depict harvesting of honey from cliffs using equipment and techniques that match those utilized in present-day Nepal.[1937] Strickland (1982:159) also offers the observation, responding to Bapat 1965, that honey intoxication, as he describes it in Nepal, "recalls the episode in the Indian epic of *Rāmāyaṇa*, in which the monkey band . . . devastates the Madhuvana 'honey-yielding forest' and becomes wild with inebriation." Strickland does not elaborate except to suggest (pp. 159–160) the prospect that, *contra* Bapat, the narrative may be presenting intoxication as consequent to the ingestion of honey itself rather than to the drinking of a honey alcoholic beverage.[1938]

[1937] See Strickland 1982:159, figures 7 and 8, citing Gordon 1936 for the figures. Gordon (p. 41) estimates a date of "fifth to tenth centuries A.D. for the bulk of the paintings." For Paleolithic rock art from Cuevas de la Araña in Spain (Valencia) depicting honey-harvesting practices analogous to those used by the Kulung and Gurung of Nepal, see also Mayor 1995:39.

[1938] Though Bapat (1965:34) does actually conclude that the honey intoxication described in the epic episode is likely the consequence of ingesting "honey and not spiritous liquor." See also Bapat 1966, in

The episode that Strickland references is found in *Rāmāyaṇa* 5.59–62, and also appears in summary form in Book 3 of the *Mahābhārata*. The setting is the hidden and protected *Madhu-vana* 'Honey-forest', which the great warrior troop of monkey-heroes enters after departing Mount Mahendra. In the forest the monkey-warrior horde receives permission to indulge in *madhu*: their depicted response is an ecstatic one, which includes displays of incoherent speech and physical impairment. In a poetic description reminiscent of accounts of the mad-honey incapacitation of Greek and Roman armies in Colchis, we read (*Rāmāyaṇa* 5.59.17) that 'sipping' (*prapāna-*) the *madhu* made the monkey army *samākula-* 'confused, bewildered'. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, no less than the *Mahābhārata*, is rooted in more ancient Indo-European epic tradition; one might be inclined to evaluate the *Madhuvana* narrative as simply continuing more primitive epic tropes involving the marvelous material *medhu (on which see the discussions of Chapters Twenty-One and Twenty-Two). But that the poets are (also) incorporating into the epic narrative the actual experience of ingestion of raw psychotropic honey may be indicated in lines 60.8–9, where the monkey-heroes are described as grabbing up bucket-size pieces of honey (or else referring to the measure

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which the case is again made for honey being the material ingested by the monkey-warriors; here (p. 61) Bapat draws attention to work by G. B. Deodikar on toxic honey.

of a *droṇa* [about 40 lbs]), breaking (*han-*) them, and consuming – and seemingly spitting out the remnants of the waxy comb, with which they hit one another.

19.2.1. Aeolians, Ionians, and Oracles in Maddening-Honey Anatolia

In the preceding section we saw that Pliny makes reference to the locale of Heraclea Pontica in his remarks on Anatolian 'maddening' (Greek *mainoménon* [μαινομένον]) honey. Heraclea was founded ca. 560 BC by Boeotians, chiefly from Tanagra it seems, in cooperation with Megarians.[1939] Strabo (12.3.4) reports that Heraclea had earlier been founded by colonists from Miletus, but scholars have been slow to accept the claim.[1940] The Pontus was, however, generally earliest colonized by Miletus, if Heraclea is not to be included among Milesian settlements.[1941] The earliest Greek Pontic colonies – "Sinope, possibly Trapezus, Histria, Berezan, Apollonia and Amisos" (Tsetskhladze 2004:118) – have been dated to the second half of the seventh century BC; though Graham (1990:52–55) contends that on archaeological grounds the possibility of an earlier date for various sites cannot be dismissed – notably for Sinope

[1939] For Boeotian foundation of Heraclea Pontica, see especially Burstein 1976:12–18.

[1940] See the discussion of Burstein 1976:13–15.

[1941] See the summary remarks of Graham 1982:124 and the various specific treatments in Tsetskhladze 1998a, *passim*.

and Trapezus, for which there are literary traditions of pre-seventh-century settlement. As we saw in §17.4.10, Eusebius dates the foundation of Trapezus to 756 BC.[1942] Among these earliest colonies, the sites of Sinope, Amisos, and Trapezus fall within the maddening-honey geographic range that extends along the south shore of the Back Sea from, at least, Heraclea on eastward beyond Trapezus. Regarding Amisos, Aristotle (*Historia animalium* 554b) reports (in lines following his mention of the 'twice-a-month', or 'raving mad', honey of Pontus) that a white, quite viscous honey is carried down from the high country to Amisos – honey that bees produce against trees, without combs – and a honey that is known elsewhere in Pontus. Procopius (*De bellis* 8.2.4) remarks that the honey from places around Trapezus is bitter – and characterizes this as something unexpected.

19.2.1.1. Sinope. The foundation tradition of Sinope, like that of the later-founded Heraclea Pontica, is an Aeolian one. Though Strabo (12.3.11) knows the Milesians as early inhabitants of the site, he identifies the founder (*oikistḗs* [οἰκιστής]) of Sinope as the Thessalian Autolycus – known too in Argonautic tradition (Apollonius Rhodius

[1942] Graham (1982:123) observes regarding Trapezus: "Eusebius himself dates Trapezus to 756 and Trapezus was a colony of Sinope (Xen. *An.* IV. 8.22)."

Argonautica 2.955–961). According to Diodorus Siculus (4.72.1–2), the city itself is said to have taken its name from Sinope, daughter of Asopus, the Thessalian river; Sinope was abducted by Apollo and carried to the locale in which the city would be founded.[1943] By Asopus' daughter Sinope, Apollo fathered a son Syrus, who became the eponymous king of the *Súroi* (Σύροι) 'Syrians';[1944] compare a scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* (946–954), who writes that Apollo abducted Sinope from Hyria and made her ancestress of the Syrians.[1945] Plutarch (*Life of Lucullus* 23.4–6) bridges and fills out what is reported by Strabo and Diodorus: Autolycus, 'who founded Sinope' (τοῦ κτίσαντος τὴν Σινώπην), sailed with Heracles from Thessaly when he made his expedition against the Amazons;[1946] on the return trip, Autolycus was shipwrecked at Pedalium in the Chersonesus, but he and some number of fellow warriors survived and made their way

[1943] For other sources Sinope is an Amazon; see below, §22.3.4.

[1944] So also Eustathius *Commentary on Dionysius Periegetes* 775.

[1945] *Scholia in Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* (*scholia vetera* [= Wendel 1935]) 196, on which see the remarks of Fowler 2013:224, who observes regarding Hyria: "according to a probable conjecture – the P-branch of the scholia have 'Boiotia' . . . ."

[1946] See also Appian *Mithridatic Wars* 370–371; Hyginus *Fabulae* 14.30.

to Sinope and took the city from the Syrian descendants of Syrus.[1947] Apollonius Rhodius (*Argonautica* 2.955–958) marks the brothers of Autolycus – Deileon and Phlogius[1948] – as living with Autolycus in Sinope; their father was Deimachus from the Thessalian city of Tricca. According to Apollonius the three Aeolian brothers left Sinope to join the Argonautic expedition.[1949]

[1947] Compare the account in the geographic work of the first century BC author identified as Pseudo-Scymnus, *Ad Nicomedem regem* [= Müller 1965]) 941–952. Here the eponym of Sinope is an Amazon and the first-mentioned inhabitants of the city Syrians; later, it was settled by Thessalians (Autolycus and his brothers) and then Milesians, but the Milesians were ousted by Cimmerians, until the Milesians once again took control of the city (see, *inter alia*, Hind 1998:133; Ivantchik 1998:297–299, 320–322; Manoledakis 2010).

[1948] See also Pseudo-Scymnus *Ad Nicomedem regem* 945–946; Arrian *Periplus ponti Euxini* 22; Valerius Flaccus *Argonautica* 5.113–115; Hyginus *Fabulae* 14.30, where Deileon is named as *Demoleon*.

[1949] According to Strabo (9.5.17), Tricca was the home to the oldest and the most famous temple of Asclepius, the healing deity, son of Apollo and Coronis. Entry into the inner sanctuary was prohibited unless sacrifice was first made to Apollo Maleatas, writes Isyllus (IG 4.950 [Powell 1970]). On the passage and other parts of this poem by the fourth-century BC lyric poet Isyllus, see LeVen 2014:320–328. The Black Sea colonies of Miletus looked to Didyma for the oracular guidance of Apollo, with Apollo Ietros 'Healer' being their common tutelary deity; see, *inter alia*, Tsetskhladze 2004:118; Ustinova 2009a.

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Strabo (12.3.11) reports that this Thessalian Autolycus was worshipped as a god in Sinope and had there an oracular seat (*manteîon* [μαντεῖον]) and a cult statue; the Milesians thus maintained a cult of the Thessalian warrior, grounded in an Aeolian foundation *mûthos*, with its associated prophetic activity.[1950] We know nothing, however, about mantic practices at the oracle of Autolycus in Sinope. The town lies within the documented region in which psychotropic honey naturally occurred, but there is of course no indication of its cult use at Sinope. The name *Auto-lycus* (*Autó-lukos* [Αὐτό-λυκος]) – that is, the 'wolf' (*lúkos* [λύκος]) 'itself' (*autós* [αὐτός]) – is plainly suggestive of bestial madness, even lycanthropy. Plutarch (*Bruta animalia ratione uti* 992d) can compare Hermes' son Autolycus the trickster (who dwelt in the vicinity of Mt. Parnassus [and who can be identified as the Argonaut])[1951] to a fox, or a wolf, or a bee in 'craftiness' (*panourgía* [πανουργία]) and 'keenness' (*drimútēs* [δριμύτης]). Greek *maínomai* (μαίνομαι), the verb used participially to denote 'maddening' honey is equally used to describe the madness of the warrior in the grips of combat rage, as often in Homeric epic; in Indo-European tradition warriors possessed by such rage are declared

[1950] See Malkin 1987:207–208, who compares the oracle of Mopsus at Mallus and remarks that the origin of that oracle is likely tied to Mopsus as prophet rather than founder, but that the two roles may have merged in time.

[1951] See Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 1.112.

to be wolves.[1952] A lexical conjunction of *maínomai* (μαίνομαι) – term used to express the cultivated madness of mantic and warrior – and *mélissa* (μέλισσα) 'bee' is found in Nonnus *Dionysiaca* 29.192: the Aeolian bucolic deity Aristaeus is here depicted as swinging his bronze *rhombus* (that is, his bullroarer), with which he put to flight the φοιταλέης . . . μεμηνότα κέντρα μελίσσης 'maddening [participial *maínomai*] stings of maddening [adjectival *phoitaléos*] bee'. Of Aristaeus' triple names (all of which Nonnus rehearses; see above, §18.3.4.1) the one that the poet employs in the present pericope is Agreus, modified by the phrase *dedaēménos áreos* (δεδαημένος ἄρεος) Agreus 'learned in carnage'. As was noted in the preceding chapter (see §18.3.3) it is this Aristaeus (as well as Dionysus)[1953] who is credited with first domesticating bees for honey production and who produced a honey beverage, challenged by Dionysus' wine.[1954] In broad terms

[1952] See Woodard forthcoming b.

[1953] See Ovid *Fasti* 3.735–762. In his commentary on these *Fasti* lines, Frazer (1929:3:136–137) notes that it was reported in antiquity that sounds produced with metallic objects could be used to collect a scattered swarm of bees (seemingly the opposite of the action that Nonnus has Aristaeus perform); Frazer (n. 1) cites Aristotle *Historia animalium* 627A; Varro *De re rustica* 3.16.7; Pliny *Naturalis historiae* 11.68; Virgil *Georgics* 4.64–66; *Geoponica* 15.3; Lucan 9.284–292. See also Columella *De agricultura* 9.4.

[1954] See Apollonius Rhodius *Argonautica* 4.1132–1133; Oppian *Cynegetica* 4.266–272; Nonnus *Dionysiaca* 5.242–246, 13.271–273, 19.241–244, 27.126–128, 29.115–117; *Suda* Σ 423; *Scholia in Aristophanem* (*scholia*

these several features of the cult myths of Autolycus and Aristaeus put us in mind of the Hittite traditions of the disappearing god Telipinu, discovered and aroused by a stinging bee and subsequently filled with rage (see above, §16.2.4, and below, §19.3.3 and §19.4).

19.2.1.2. Trapezus. Colchian Trapezus, a Pontic site explicitly linked with maddening honey in antiquity – and no less so in modernity (see above §19.2) – is one that we encountered in Chapter Seventeen (see §17.4.10). There is an Arcadian town of the same name and this Arcadian Trapezus – reminiscent of what we have just met in the foundation tradition of Sinope – is itself associated with a raging, wolfish man – the Arcadian called *Lycaon*, name derived from (*lúkos* [λύκος]) 'wolf', as with the name *Autolycus*, Thessalian founder of Sinope. Lycaon was associated with lycanthropy and ate of human flesh, even surreptitiously offering the flesh of a child to Zeus when the god was received as a *ksénos* (ξένος):[1955] as a consequence, Zeus struck Lycaon and his sons with thunderbolts, and this retributive act is said to have occurred at the site of

vetera et recentiora Triclinii [= Jones and Wilson 1969]) *Equites* 894a, c; *Scholia in Pindarum* (*scholia vetera* [= Drachmann 1966–1969]) *Pythian* 9.112; *Scholia in Theocritum* (*scholia vetera* [= Wendel 1914]) 5.53/54A.

[1955] See Plato *Republic* 565d–e, 566a; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 1.163–243; Pliny *Naturalis historia* 8.81–82; Pausanias 8.2.1–6; Augustine *De civitate Dei* 18.17. See the discussion in Woodard forthcoming b.

Arcadian Trapezus (Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 3.98).[1956] Pausanias (8.27.6) records the tradition of how the Arcadians of Trapezus, under threat from the Spartans (368/367 BC), abandoned their city entirely and sailed east to Pontic Trapezus, where they were regarded as *súnoikoi* (σύνοικοι); in Pausanias' account the Asian Trapezusians considered the like-named Arcadians to be *mētropolítai* (μητροπολίται), citizens of their own mother city.[1957] Whatever the underlying foundation *mûthos* might suggest about a Mycenaean presence in Pontus, if Pausanias' account is accepted, the Balkan and Asian Trapezusians willingly embraced a kinship mediated by cult myth in which the eponymous Trapezus, a son of Lycaon (see Pausanias 8.3.3),[1958] must have centrally figured. Much like Sinope, Pontic Trapezus too, it seems, self-identifies in its foundation tradition with one linked with notions of bestial madness. This likeness perhaps reverberates in the tradition that makes Trapezus to be a colony of Sinope (as in Xenophon *Anabasis* 4.8.22).

As we noted in §17.4.10, Bremmer (2006:31) highlights Trapezus and its links with Miletus as a likely conduit for the transmission of Colchian traditions to the

[1956] See also, *inter alia*, Hecataeus fragment 6bis,a (FGrH); Eratosthenes *Catasterismi* 1.8R[16]; Aelius Herodianus *De prosodia catholica* 3,1.243.

[1957] On the tradition see, *inter alia*, Scheer 2011:14–15; see earlier Huxley 1960:20–21.

[1958] See also Aelius Herodianus *De prosodia catholica* 3,1.243; Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* 19.169.

Ionians (citing West for the idea that a Milesian poet composed an archaic [pre-Odyssean] *Argonautica*).[1959] Colchian Trapezus is a place certainly associated with Argonautic tradition. In his account of the Ten Thousand's thirty-day stay in Trapezus (following their encounter with psychotropic honey), Diodorus Siculus (14.30.3) reports that the Greeks offered sacrifices to Heracles and to Zeus Soter and celebrated athletic games at that place at which the Argo, with Jason and company, was said to have sailed in.[1960] As we noted earlier (see §17.3) Greek *Kolkhís* [*gê̂*] (Κολχίς [γῆ]) 'Colchian [land]' reflects the toponym attested in Urartian texts as *Kulkhai*. If Kulkhai fell during the Iron Age within the cultural sphere of the Urartians, there is no indication of any specific Urartian contribution to archaic Greek traditions about Colchis and the Argonauts. Even the Urartian-attested toponym is perhaps already evidenced in Mycenaean Greek if, as mentioned in §8.6.5, Linear B *ko-ki-da* and a possible derived adjective *ko-ki-de-jo* are indeed to be read as *Kolkhidas* (Κολχιδας) and *Kolkhideios* (Κολχιδειος), respectively (see also §17.4). The evidence for such Anatolian influence, as we have seen, generally appears to belong to the Bronze Age, though, as suggested in §17.4, Bronze-Age mythic matrices may certainly have been preserved into the Iron

[1959] West (2005:58) writes: "It has usually been assumed that the poem was produced by a Milesian or in the Milesian sphere." See West's note 67 for bibliography.

[1960] Compare Xenophon *Anabasis* 4.8.25–28.

Age in Anatolia in such a way as to inform synchronically local Greek traditions in a post-Mycenaean era. Yet, as we are about to see (§19.3), the Bronze-Age lateral antecedents of the Urartians – the Hurrians – contribute significantly, through Hittite/Luvian mediation, to foundational Greek myth. But first let us consider an Iron-Age scenario that likely has relevance for the bigger picture.

19.3. Honey and Greek Instantiation of the Hurrian Kingship-in-Heaven Tradition

Regarding psychotropic effects attributed to honey as framed by a Greek-Anatolian context, a tradition recounted by Porphyry (*De antro nympharum* 16) is intriguing:

> Παρὰ δὲ τῷ Ὀρφεῖ ὁ Κρόνος μέλιτι ὑπὸ Διὸς ἐνεδρεύεται· πλησθεὶς γὰρ μέλιτος μεθύει καὶ σκοτοῦται ὡς ἀπὸ οἴνου καὶ ὑπνοῖ ὡς παρὰ Πλάτωνι ὁ Πόρος τοῦ νέκταρος πλησθείς· ‘οὔπω γὰρ οἶνος ἦν’. Φησὶ γὰρ παρ’ Ὀρφεῖ ἡ Νὺξ τῷ Διὶ ὑποτιθεμένη τὸν διὰ μέλιτος δόλον·
>
> Εὔτ’ ἂν δή μιν ἴδηαι ὑπὸ δρυσὶν ὑψικόμοισιν
> ἔργοισιν μεθύοντα μελισσάων ἐριβομβέων,
> δῆσον αὐτόν.

> ὃ καὶ πάσχει ὁ Κρόνος καὶ δεθεὶς ἐκτέμνεται ὡς ὁ Οὐρανός, ...
>
> In the account of Orpheus, Cronus is ensnared with honey by Zeus; for, being glutted with honey, he is intoxicated and stupefied, as if with wine, and sleeps – like, according to Plato, Porus, who was glutted with nectar; 'For wine did not yet exist' [Plato *Symposium* 203b, at the birth of Aphrodite]. For in the account of Orpheus, Nyx ['Night'][1961] says to Zeus, proposing cunning by way of honey:
>
> > Whenever beneath towering oaks you see
> > [Cronus] intoxicated by the labors of loudly buzzing bees,
> > bind him!
>
> Which thing Cronus suffers, and being bound he is castrated just as was Uranus.

In the tradition preserved in these lines from an Orphic theogony – about which theogonies generally West (1966:28–29) long ago remarked that, in contrast to Hesiod's *Theogony*, the Asian elements "stand out undigested" – honey is assigned the role of active agent in an emasculation episode of the Succession – or Kingship-in-Heaven –

[1961] On the role of Nyx in the Orphic theogony and in Greek theogony generally, see Bremmer 1999:87–88; Betegh 2004:92–277.

Myth. The Succession myth is well attested in the ancient "Near East" (using the term broadly to include Anatolia) and the Greek versions of it – among which Hesiod's is by far the best preserved – are typically judged to have been acquired from Near Eastern peoples.[1962] A particularly close parallel to Hesiod's version is provided by the Hurrian Kingship-in-Heaven tradition (acquired and transmitted by the Hittites) that entails a four-member sequence of divine sovereigns – Alalu-Anu-Kumarbi-Tessub; Hurrian Alalu has no counterpart in Greek tradition, but the subset of Hurrian Anu-Kumarbi-Tessub provides a match to the Greek generational sequence of Uranus-Cronus-Zeus. As Cronus emasculates his father Uranus, so Kumarbi emasculates his predecessor Anu. By that act Kumarbi becomes "father"[1963] – surrogate mother, in effect – to Anu's children, as a consequence of swallowing the seed of Anu, whose genitals Kumarbi has bitten off; Anu is in fact named as father of Tessub and Kumarbi as mother of Tessub in

[1962] See Woodard 2007b:85–104, and notes on pp. 152–156, with discussion of and references to earlier work. For the view that the tradition has an earlier Indo-European heritage, see Allen 2014:350–352 and 2020:128–146.

[1963] On the double paternity of Tessub, see Hoffner 1998:191; and on this aspect of Tessub vis-à-vis related Near Eastern deities, see Ayali-Darshan 2013.

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the Hurrian prayer to Tessub of Aleppo (KUB 47.78: I 9'–14').[1964] These relationships can be schematically summarized as follows:

	Hittite-Hurrian		**Greek**
1.	*Alalu*		Ø
2.	*Anu*	=	*Uranus*
	father		father
	↓		↓
	↑		↑
	castrates		castrates
3.	*Kumarbi*	=	*Cronus*
	father-mother		father
	↓		↓
4.	*Tessub*	=	*Zeus*

19.3.1. Cronus and Kumarbi Emasculated

In the tradition rehearsed by Porphyry, however, Cronus (= Kumarbi), emasculator of his father Uranus (= Anu), is himself emasculated; and thus Zeus (= the Sky-god Tessub) is also the emasculator of *his* own father.[1965] This alternative tradition

[1964] See Campbell 2013:33–34, with bibliography.

[1965] In *The Interpretation of Dreams*, Freud actually identified Zeus as castrator of Cronus, later "correcting" this report in *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life*; on a psychological interpretation of which "error," see Geller 2007:271n67. One sometimes reads that in the fragments of Ugaritic myth it is reported that Baal (= Zeus) castrated El (= Cronus). The predominant current view, however, seems to be that the

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of Zeus emasculating Cronus is otherwise attested. Aelius Aristides (AD second century) alludes to it in *Ἰσθμικὸς εἰς Ποσειδῶνα* 21, remarking on the castration of Cronus ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων 'by his sons' – a deed that Aristides suggests was accomplished with a *drepánē* (δρεπάνη) 'sickle'. Somewhat similarly, and earlier, the Sicilian historian Timaeus (fr. 79 FGrH; fourth–third century BC) records that the island of Corcyra got its sickle shape on account of the sickle with which Zeus cut off the genitals of Cronus, lying hidden in that place. A scholiast on the *Odyssey* offers a similar view.[1966] Callimachus *Aetia* fr. 43.68–72 references a father-castrating sickle being buried in a cave beneath the Sicilian city of Zancle with its sickle-shaped harbor;[1967] the text is restored to identify the owner of the sickle as Cronus, and hence the castrated father is Uranus; but comments on these lines in the Tzetzes' scholia on Lycophron identify Cronus as the castrated father and Zeus as the wielder of the sickle.[1968]

The earliest reference to such a castrating sickle is of course to be found in Hesiod's *Theogony*. At line 162 the poet sings that Gaea 'wrought a great sickle' (τεῦξε

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documentary evidence cannot support this interpretation of the texts; see, *inter alia*, Baumgarten 1981:237n132, with bibliography; Smith 1994:130; López-Ruiz 2014:178.

[1966] *Scholia in Odysseam* (*scholia vetera* [= Dindorf 1962]) 5.34.

[1967] On other cities identified as the site of the burial of the sickle of Cronus, see Harder 2012:347.

[1968] *Scholia Lycophronem* (*scholia vetera et recentiora partim Isaac et Joannis Tzetzae* [= Scheer 1958]) 869.

μέγα δρέπανον), and at 175–182 of how she gave it, 'a long and saw-toothed sickle' (ἅρπη μακρὴ καρχαρόδους), to Cronus, who with it did the deed of emasculating his father Uranus as he joined himself to Gaea in love – and thus Cronus accomplished a primeval separation of Earth (Gaea) and Heaven (Uranus). It has long been realized that this castrating implement of Greek theogonic tradition finds a counterpart in a tool that figures crucially in the Hittite Succession myth – in the episode entitled the Song of Ullikummi.[1969] The Song takes its name from the gigantic basalt stone that was engendered by Kumarbi (= Cronus) when he united with a great rock after he was deposed from the throne of heaven by Tessub (= Zeus). The stone giant Ullikummi's *raison d'être* is solely to destroy Tessub, reigning divine king: Ullikummi thus functionally, and largely structurally, parallels the gigantic child of Gaea and Tartarus in Hesiodic tradition, the monstrous dragon Typhoeus, who was engendered for the purpose of destroying Zeus, reigning divine king. The Hittite monster Ullikummi is defeated when a primeval copper cutting tool is brought out by the "gods of old" – an implement that had been used in some primeval moment to sever Heaven from Earth. The cutting tool is used in this way: the neonate Ullikummi had been positioned on the

[1969] On the similarities between the Hittite-Hurrian and Greek theogonic traditions generally, see, *inter alia*, Barnett 1945; Güterbock 1948; Dirlmeier 1955; Heubeck 1955; Steiner 1959; Walcott 1966; West 1966:218; 1997:291.

right shoulder of the Atlas-like figure Ubelluri,[1970] and there he grew like a pillar, securely and continuously; but with the eventual intervention of Ea, god of wisdom, Ubelluri allowed the basalt stone Ullikummi to be severed from his shoulder, and this operation was accomplished by means of the primeval cutting implement. Once dislodged from the shoulder of Ubelluri, the stone giant Ullikummi was attacked by Tessub and the other gods and undoubtedly destroyed (though the end of the tablet is missing).

The aforementioned parallels, and yet others, are undeniable; but still there remain differences between the Hittite-Hurrian tradition and the Greek. Some of these *deviations*, as well as similarities, can be highlighted by schematically setting out *comparable episodes* in the two Succession myths, Hittite-Hurrian and Greek, in this way (Greek elements placed within parens and brackets are non-Hesiodic):

Hittite-Hurrian	**Greek**
1. Primeval <u>separation of Heaven and Earth</u>$_i$ with a <u>copper cutting tool</u>$_j$	

[1970] Ubelluri's "Atlas-like" status was noted by Güterbock 1951:138. On similarities between Atlas and Ubelluri see, *inter alia*, West 1997:295–296.

2. Kumarbi bites off Anu's genitals with his teeth	Cronus cuts off Uranus' genitals with a toothed adamantine sickle[j], effecting a separation of Heaven and Earth[i]
3. Kumarbi swallows the genitals of Anu, whose offspring develop within Kumarbi's body, including Tessub	Rhea is impregnated by Cronus, who swallows and imprisons within his own body each of his children as they are born, except Zeus
4. Tessub and his siblings are born from Kumarbi's body	Zeus is born within a cave where he is nurtured by bees; and Zeus's siblings are reborn from Cronus' body, as he disgorges them
5. Tessub vanquishes Kumarbi	Zeus vanquishes Cronus
6.	(Zeus castrates Cronus with a sickle [after Cronus becomes deranged with honey])
7. Kumarbi and a rock copulate; the rock conceives and births the monster Ullikummi	Tartarus – space within which Cronus is imprisoned – and Gaea copulate; Gaea conceives and births the monster Typhoeus
8. Ullikummi is sawn off of the shoulder	(Typhoeus is attacked by Zeus with a sickle,

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of Ubelluri with the copper cutting tool	but Zeus is repelled)[1971]
9. Tessub vanquishes Ullikummi	Zeus vanquishes Typhoeus

In these Succession myths it is clear that emasculation plays a central role in toppling a predecessor from power. Kumarbi emasculates Anu; but Kumarbi is thereby emasculated himself, as his body is made the womb of the children of Anu.[1972] We noted above that Kumarbi is named as the *mother* of Tessub in the Hurrian prayer to Tessub of Aleppo. To a degree Cronus, Greek counterpart to Kumarbi, answers to a maternal description also, as his body is made the receptacle of his own children (much as mother Gaea had been perpetually the receptacle of the children she conceived by Uranus [*Theogony* 154–160]) until they are reborn from the body of Cronus through Gaea's guile (*Theogony* 494).

Effective castration of Kumarbi finds yet another expression. Kumarbi's son, the basalt stone Ullikummi, is said to have sprung from his rock-mother's body like a

[1971] This is the tradition that is attested by Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 2.39–45; see Woodard 2007b:97–98.

[1972] That Kumarbi is made the womb of the offspring of Anu is an observation that was also made by Hoffner 1998:191; and see more recently Campbell 2013 for Kumarbi as feminine figure.

'pillar' (Hittite *šiyattal*).[1973] Once mounted on the shoulder of the Atlas-like Ubelluri, the gigantic stone lengthened itself iteratively – one AMMATU each day, one IKU each month (units of uncertain value). By the time the stone has grown large enough to reach Kummiya, the heavenly city of Tessub, its dimensions are 9,000 by 9,000 DANNAs. Positioned on the shoulder of Ubelluri, the ever-extending basalt stone Ullikummi is throughout the Song described with the simile 'like a pillar'. It would require little psychoanalytic acumen to interpret the pillar-like stone as metaphorically phallic (as already observed by Haas and Koch 2011:288).[1974] Phallic figurines and other phallic symbols are well attested for Neolithic Anatolia[1975] and phallic pillars appear to form an element of funerary architecture as recently as Achaemenid Lydia.[1976] If the interpretation of the basalt pillar as a phallus is correct, then the severing of that pillar

[1973] The precise sense of the term is uncertain (see, for example, Güterbock 1952:36), but clearly a vertical extension is indicated, whether it be 'shaft', 'spear', or whatever, and that imprecision does not compromise a psychoanalytic interpretation of the sort suggested here.

[1974] Who would link the removal of the stone from Ubelluri' shoulder, vis-à-vis the copper cutting tool, with a primeval emasculative separation of Heaven from Earth.

[1975] See Hodder and Meskell 2010:33–42. See also Nergis 2008.

[1976] See Dusinberre 2013:158–159.

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and the consequent defeat of Kumarbi's efforts to remove Tessub from heaven's throne is yet another expression of the emasculation of Kumarbi.

Local Greek traditions – such as that of the Orphic theogony attested by Porphyry and those mentioned by Aelius Aristides and others – of the castration of Cronus parallel Anatolian expressions of the emasculation of Kumarbi, counterpart to Cronus. There is here functional consistency between Hittite-Hurrian and Greek traditions that makes for a closer parallel. Departure from parallelism in Hittite-Hurrian and Greek tradition is undoubtedly due to various causes. For one – the Hittite-Hurrian tradition of the Succession myth to which Mycenaean Greeks must have been exposed in Bronze-Age western coastal Anatolia was likely not precisely that of the tradition preserved in the Hittite royal archives, but some regional western expression(s) thereof. As we shall see in Chapter Twenty-One and Twenty-Three, the Hurrians of Syrian Mitanni appear to have exerted particular influence in southwestern Anatolia. The tradition is also attested in various forms from Mesopotamia and Syria-Palestine (notably Phoenicia),[1977] and Greek exposure to certain of these forms of the Succession myth must have over-layered the Greek reception of Anatolian tradition.

[1977] See, *inter alia*, the discussion of Woodard 2007b:98–104, with notes referencing earlier work.

19.3.2. Hurrian Succession Myth and Old Anatolian Illuyanka

There must be at the least one additional cause of lack of strict parallelism between Hittite and Greek expressions of the Succession myth. Bronze-Age Greeks living in western coastal Anatolia, intermarrying with indigenous Anatolians ("Mycenaean fathers with Anatolian wives and bilingual children")[1978] would have been exposed to yet other local mythic traditions, and those distinct traditions appear to have bled into the Succession myth. Porzig (1930:379–386), and following him Güterbock (1948:131), realized this early on,[1979] arguing that the Old Anatolian myths of the dragon *Illuyanka* 'Snake, Serpent' (creature that we encountered earlier, in §16.3.5.3), a mythic tradition of the pre-Indo-European Hattians of central Anatolia,[1980] have colored the Greek reception of the Succession myth (especially that form which survives in Pseudo-Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca*) – most prominently perhaps in the very identity of the monstrous creature set against Zeus: in other words, Typhoeus is dragon rather than basalt stone. Watkins 1995:448–459 elaborates the hypothesis of the Illuyanka-myth origin of Typhoeus in detail. We shall return to a consideration of the

[1978] Emily Vermeule as quoted by Watkins 1995:449.

[1979] See also discussions in Heubeck 1955; Vian 1960b; Fontenrose 1980; West 1966:391–392.

[1980] The myth was narrated at the Purulli festival, of Hattic origin. See, *inter alia*, Hoffner 1990:10–11; Bryce 2002:216; Melchert 2013e:257–259 (with bibliography of earlier work); and Bachvarova 2016:252253.

Illuyanka-myth in §21.3.2 and, especially, in §23.3.8, specifically with regard to Thessalian Argonautic tradition.

19.3.3. Hurrian Succession Myth and Disappearing Old Anatolian Gods

There is still another Old Anatolian myth that has perhaps left its mark on Greek Succession-myth form. Among Porphyry's lines drawn from an Orphic theogony in which Zeus not only deposes but emasculates his father Cronus are these.

> Εὔτ' ἂν δή μιν ἴδηαι ὑπὸ δρυσὶν ὑψικόμοισιν
> ἔργοισιν μεθύοντα μελισσάων ἐριβομβέων,
> δῆσον αὐτόν.

> Whenever beneath towering oaks you see
> [Cronus] intoxicated by the labors of loudly buzzing bees,
> bind him!

The association of the young Sky-god Zeus – who at this mythic moment is in hiding on Crete – with nurturing bees (see above, §14.7.2 and §15.3.4.3, and below, §§19.4–5), one

could imagine, might naturally enough lead to the Greek construction of notions of bee-and-honey involvement in Zeus's overthrow of his oppressive father Cronus. One might propose that honey is the operative intoxicant owing to the primeval moment in which the scene is set. There is, however, as we have seen, a *pre-existing* Anatolian mythic configuration that shows a certain similarity to the Orphic tradition: this is so *to the extent that*, on the one hand, the bee (and its product – wax) crucially plays the role of agent in traditions of the recovery of the hidden Old Anatolian Storm-god Telipinu and of the Old Anatolian Storm-god of the Sky (among others; see §16.2.6 and §16.2.6.1) and, on the other hand, bee and honey constitute the agent by which the hidden Sky-god Zeus is effectively "recovered" from his place of hiding (through the binding and castration of Cronus) and thus gains a properly-ordered ascendency.

The Orphic theogony on which Porphyry draws for these lines – one of that sort in which generally the Asian elements "stand out undigested" – may well look back to an antecedent Mycenaean tradition in which elements of the myth of the disappearing-god genre have bled into the Succession myth. Again, the almost certain setting in which such *Mythenmischung* could have occurred is that of a bilingual Greek-Anatolian community located on the western fringes of Asia Minor – one in which that Mycenaean Anatolian community's great Sky-god Zeus, of primitive Indo-European

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origin, has not only been woven into the fabric of a Hittite/Luvian-mediated Hurrian divine-kingship myth but has been tinged with the persona of a disappearing god (having its own primitive Indo-European antecedence),[1981] a god whose remote space of separation and hiding has been localized in the distant locale of the affiliated community of Mycenaean Crete.

19.3.4. Succession Myth and Psychotropic Honey

We can, furthermore, bring to bear on Porphyry's mythic scenario, with its bee-and-honey agency, the otherwise attested documentation of the occurrence of psychotropic honey in Anatolia and the stupefying consequences of its ingestion. Porphyry reports this causal relationship: Cronus gorges on honey and then as a consequence he is 'intoxicated' (*methúei* [μεθύει]) and 'stupefied' (*skotoûtai* [σκοτοῦται], more literally 'in darkness'). The language is familiar: in general terms, semantically close to expressions we encountered in §19.2 – but, indeed, also sharing lexical choices with those expressions. Thus, in Xenophon's description of his soldiers' responses to the ingestion of psychotropic honey in the Colchian highlands (as they made their way toward Trapezus) he states (*Anabasis* 4.8.20), as we noted earlier, that all became

[1981] See Woodard 2020b.

áphrones (ἄφρονες) 'senseless, crazed': those who had merely eaten a little of the honey became like men extremely 'intoxicated', expressed using a participle of Porphyry's verb *methúō*; those who had eaten much were like men gone mad. We are reminded of the episode of the honey-induced intoxication of monkey-warriors preserved in the epic *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* discussed above in §19.2.

Consideration of Strabo 15.1.20 is worthwhile at this point. Strabo, citing the *Indica* of Nearchus (one of Alexander's chief officers), reports that in India (1) there are *kálamoi* (κάλαμοι) that produce honey, 'without bees being present' (μελισσῶν μὴ οὐσῶν); and (2) there is a fruit-bearing tree from the fruit of which a 'honey' is 'concocted' (*suntíthēmi* [συντίθημι]), and when this material is eaten uncooked 'it is intoxicating' (*methúō*).[1982] There may be good reason to suspect that Nearchus' informants (on which see James 2020:557–564) understood these two pieces of information to be related and so provided them in tandem. It is easy enough to imagine that the reported Indic *kálamoi* 'reeds' could refer to sugar cane, though *kálamos*, like feminine *kalámē* (καλάμη), can also denote 'stalk'. And in the *Anabasis* (1.5.1) Xenophon uses *kálamos* of fragrant plants[1983] that he encountered in Arabia. The

[1982] Compare Eustathius *Commentarium in Dionysii periegetae orbis descriptionem* (= Müller 1965, vol. 2) 1107.

[1983] A plant form that Strabo suggests to be somehow distinct from that signified by *húlē* (ὕλη) 'brush'.

diachronically unmarked sense of *kálamos* looks clearly enough to have been 'stalk, stem' when the term is compared to its several attested cognates, all with the fundamental sense 'stalk, stem': Latin *culmus*, Old English *healm*, Old Prussian *salme*, Latvian *salms*, Old Church Slavic *slama*, Russian *solóma*, and so on – all descended from a Proto-Indo-European *k̂olh$_2$-mo- 'stalk, stem'.[1984]

A conjunction of the specifications 'stalk' and 'honey' in an Indic setting is readily suggestive of the stalks (see below, §22.2.1) of the plant material that is pressed to produce the psychotropic liquid called Soma, which we have already had cause to mention on several occasions. In Vedic tradition this substance is routinely identified as 'honey', a characterization we shall examine in some detail in coming chapters. With Nearchus' report of *kálamoi* (κάλαμοι) that produce honey without bees being present compare, for example, the striking similarity of the wording of *Rig Veda* 9.18.2b, a pāda in which Soma is identified as the *mádhu prá jātám ándhasaḥ* 'honey born from a plant' (see below, §23.2.2.1). In addition, and speaking to Nearchus' second and conjoined datum, in Indo-Iranian tradition there are various trees of cosmogonic import that bear mystical fruits, some clearly producing mind-altering effects, such as

[1984] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1930:464 (who identify Sanskrit *kalama-* 'reed-pen' as a borrowing from Greek, a form of which also occurs in Arabic [qalam]; for *kálamos* [κάλαμος] in the sense 'reed-pen' see, for example, Septuagint *Psalms* 44.2); Mallory and Adams 1997:542; Watkins 2011:44.

the Zoroastrian White Haoma (Avestan *Haoma* = Sanskrit *Soma*), fruit of the *Gaokərəna* tree, and also the Indic primeval *Jambū* tree and the Nart cosmogonic tree (see especially §22.2.1 and §22.2.1.1 below). The conjoined reference to Nearchus' (1) honey produced from stalks and (2) intoxicating tree-borne fruit associated with honey is a strong indicator that particular forms of Vedic Soma-cult traditions have here been rehearsed for Nearchus by local informants.

19.4. Dodona: Bee and Bird

Within the framework of a scenario of knowledge transference, there is another element of the myth of the disappearance of Telipinu (version 1) that is at the least séduisant when comparison is made to Porphyry's lines drawn from an Orphic Succession myth. Following the bee's discovery and stinging arousal of Telipinu, the god is angry (see §16.2.4); Kamrusepa, goddess of magic and of healing,[1985] performs rites intended to rob Telipinu of his burning wrath.[1986] In the description of those rites, conspicuous reference is made (§§22 and 24) to "all the gods" (including Telipinu) being seated ^{GIŠ}*ḫatalkišnaš=a kattan* 'beneath a hawthorn'. The hawthorn plays a cathartic role

[1985] See the comments of Gurney 1977:16.

[1986] On which, see Kellerman 1986.

in Hittite cult, and its cult significance appears to be of primitive Indo-European origin, judging by Old Irish *ad** (attested as genitive *aide*) 'hawthorn', cognate with Hittite ^{GIŠ}*ḫatalkiš*(*na*), and its own role in Irish magical rites.[1987] With the Hittite concatenation of (1) bee intervention, (2) sheltering cult tree, and (3) magical restraining of an enraged Telipinu, answer comparatively Cronus' – and hence Zeus's – position (2) 'beneath towering oaks' (ὑπὸ δρυσὶν ὑψικόμοισιν) in the Orphic theogony, in which space Cronus is rendered deranged (1) 'by the labors of loudly buzzing bees' (ἔργοισιν . . . μελισσάων ἐριβομβέων) and then is (3) restrained by some sort of binding.

The formulaic phrase 'towering oaks' (δρῦς ὑψίκομοι) of the Orphic theogony occurs several times in archaic epic.[1988] At *Odyssey* 14.328 and 19.297 the phrase in the singular is used explicitly of the oracular oak of Zeus at Dodona, lines that are invoked by Strabo in his descriptions of Dodona (7.7.11) and of oracular consultation there (16.2.38). Compare Hesychius Δ 2429 where the singular 'towering oak' is glossed as τὸ ἐν Δωδώνῃ μαντεῖον 'the oracle in Dodona'. For a plurality of oaks at Dodona compare

[1987] See Watkins 1993:246–247. On the cognate morphology, see also Melchert 1994:151, 167.

[1988] Thus Homer *Iliad* 14.398; 23.118; *Odyssey* 9.186, 12.357, 14.328, 19.297; Hesiod *Works and Days* 509 and *Shield* 376.

Aeschylus *Prometheus vinctus* 830–832, in which lines the poet sings of Dodona, Thesprotian Zeus, and 'the conversing oaks' (αἱ προσήγοροι δρύες).[1989]

19.4.1. Dodona and Bee

In the discussion of Linear B *A-si-wi-jo and Ásios* (Ἄσιος) in §15.2 we encountered Lactantius' remarks (*Divinae institutiones* 1.22.18–20) concerning the Cretan king Melisseus (on whom see also §14.7) and his two daughters Amalthea (also name assigned to the milk-providing goat) and Melissa (i.e. *Mélissa* [Μέλισσα] 'Bee') who nourished infant Zeus with goat's milk and honey. We saw that such a figure Melisseus can also be placed both in Boeotia and on the Carian promontory of Anatolia, location of Cnidus, place that is reflected in the Pylos Linear B tablets, where reference to a woman of Cnidus can intersect with mention of the *me-ri-du-ma-te* 'honey-*dumartes* (see §§14.7.2–3; see also the treatment of these figures in Chapter Twenty). Hyginus (*Fabulae* 182) makes reference to the *Meliss<e>i filiae* 'daughters of Melisseus', who were the *Iouis nutrices* 'nurses of Zeus', and notes that some call them *nymphae Dodonides* 'nymphs of Dodona'. The affiliation of the oak of Dodona with bee and honey is thus not an

[1989] And see the comments of a scholiast on the passage, who describes Dodona as a place 'where were the divining oaks' (ἔνθα εἰσὶν αἱ μαντευόμεναι δρύες): *Scholia in Prometheum vinctum* (*scholia vetera* [= Herington 1972]) 830d.

unattested strain in the tradition of that oracular space, and this is interesting vis-à-vis both the Hittite cult myth of the recovery of the hidden Telipinu, with which we have already in this chapter compared traditions of Zeus hidden on Crete (§19.3.3), and the Orphic theogony reported by Porphyry.

19.4.2. Dodona and Dove

But more typical is the association of the oaks of Dodona with the creature we have seen to partner with the bee in cult and myth, in Greece and in Anatolia – the bird. In a discussion of oracular female figures, Pausanias (10.12.10) refers to the priestesses of Dodona (located in Epirus, said to be the most ancient oracle of Zeus), identifying them by the cult title *Peleiae* (that is, *Péleiai* [Πέλειαι]; cf. Pausanias 7.21.2), literally 'Doves'. Sophocles (*Trachiniae* 172) names these priestesses of Dodona by the variant *Peleiades* (*Peleiádes* [Πελειάδες]) 'Doves'. Strabo addresses these cult figures in fragments of his book 7. He begins by citing Cineas (fr. 3 FHG) for the tradition that the oracle was first located in Thessaly (near the city of Scotussa in Pelasgiotis [see also 9.5.20]), but the oracle and tree were moved to Epirus after certain unnamed individuals had set fire to the sacred tree in Thessaly. Apollo, at Dodona, provided a symbolic, non-verbal oracular message revealing that the relocation was to occur

(7a.1.1, 1a–c). Strabo then goes on to draw lexical attention to the Peleiades, explaining that the term denoted 'old women' who attended the temple at Dodona, as among the Thesprotians and Molossians, tribes of Epirus, old women are called *péliai* (πέλιαι) (and old men are called *pélioi* [πέλιοι]; 7a.1a, 2). Fragment 1c also records that *hai péleiai* 'the doves' are observed for augury, just as some diviners watch crows.[1990] Given the practice of lot-divination at Dodona,[1991] one thinks of the Anatolian cult officiant whom we encountered in Chapter Eighteen in the discussion of lot-divination – that Hittite and Luvian cult performer called the ^{SAL}ŠU.GI, 'Old Woman', who plays a central part in the KIN-oracle (see §18.2.3). As we shall see in Chapter Twenty the ^{SAL}ŠU.GI also has a role to play in augural practice, as in CTH 398, "The Ritual of the Augur Ḫuwarlu," a Luvian ritual text from Arzawa (see §20.3.1), place with Ahhiyawan associations. We are reminded too of the *Ornithogony* of Boeus in which is reported the tradition that

[1990] On the cult doves of Dodona see also, *inter alia*, Pausanias 7.21.2–3 and 10.12.10; Philostratus *Imagines* 2.33; Hesychius Π 1306; Joannes Sardianus *Commentarium in Aphthonii progymnasmata* 77; Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam* (= Stallbaum 1970) 2.72; *Etymologicum magnum* 293; *Scholia in Iliadem* (*D scholia* [= Heyne 1834]) 16.233; *Scholia in Sophoclem* (*scholia vetera* [= Papageorgius 1888]) *Women of Trachis* 172.

[1991] See, *inter alia*, Eidinow 2007:69–71; Johnston 2008:68–71; Parker 2015.

thieves who entered the cave in which Zeus had been born to steal honey were turned into augural birds (see above, §14.7).

The name and identity of the oracular birds/officiants of Dodona is bound up with cult foundation tradition, as earliest attested by Herodotus (2.54.1–57.3), who cites the 'mantics' (*prománties* [προμάντιες]) of Dodona as the source of the following information (2.55.1–3). Two black 'doves' (*peleiádes* [πελειάδες) flew away from Egyptian Thebes – one journeying to Libya, the other to Dodona, where it alighted in an oak and declared, with a human voice, that here was to be an oracle of Zeus (the dove in Libya similarly instructed the founding of an oracle of Ammon). However, Herodotus accepts instead a variant account provided to him by 'the priests of Zeus' (οἱ ἱρέες . . . Διός) in Egyptian Thebes (2.54.1–2, 56.1–56.3): Phoenicians abducted two priestesses of Zeus from Thebes and carried one off to Libya and the other to Greece – to Thesprotia in Herodotus' estimation, where she established a shrine to Zeus beneath an oak that was growing there. The priestess was called a 'dove' (*peleiás* [πελειάς]), Herodotus conjectures (2.57.1–3), because the people of Dodona could not understand her barbarous (Egyptian) speech, which they perceived to be like the sound that a bird would make.

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19.4.3. Dove, Eagle, and Infant Zeus

Finally, it is worth noting that doves also make an appearance in one of the surviving expressions of the tradition of the nurturing of the hidden Zeus. In his 1895 study of Zeus, Cook drew attention to lines by the fourth–third-century BC epic poet Moero of Byzantium. In a fragment (fr. 1 [Powell 1970]) from her *Mnemosyne*, Moero writes of the feeding of infant Zeus secreted in a Cretan cave. Moero would of course have known the tradition that *bees* nourished the deity, but in her preserved lines she writes of *birds* bringing food for baby Zeus. Ambrosia from the streams of Ocean is brought by *trḗrōones* (τρήρωνες) 'shy ones' (line 3): this is an adjective that Homer uses consistently as an epithet of *péleiai* (πέλειαι) 'doves';[1992] and 'doves' is Moero's intended referent here, as she makes explicit in line 10 of the fragment. But in addition to invoking the ministrant doves, she writes, (lines 5–10):

Νέκταρ δ' ἐκ πέτρης μέγας αἰετὸς αἰὲν ἀφύσσων 5

γαμφηλῇς φορέεσκε ποτὸν Διὶ μητιόεντι.

τῷ καὶ νικήσας πατέρα Κρόνον εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς

ἀθάνατον ποίησε καὶ οὐρανῷ ἐγκατένασσεν.

[1992] See *Iliad* 5.778, 22.140, 23.853, 855, and 874; *Odyssey* 12.62–63, 20.243.

ὣς δ’ αὔτως τρήρωσι πελειάσιν ὤπασε τιμήν,

αἳ δή τοι θέρεος καὶ χείματος ἄγγελοί εἰσιν. 10

And from a rock a great eagle constantly syphoning nectar 5

with its beak was bringing drink for Zeus Wise-in-Counsel.

And after he had defeated his father Cronus, far-sounding Zeus

made [the eagle] immortal and made it dwell in heaven.

Also [Zeus] gave honor to the timid doves,

which are harbingers of summer and winter. 10

As in the Anatolian myths of the revealing of gods who have gone into hiding, so also in the body of Greek *mûthoi* treating Zeus who is hidden away on Crete, bee and eagle are seen to conspire to aid in the ultimate order-bringing arising of the god from his place of hiding.

19.5. Zeus’s Birth: An Anatolian Narrative

In discoursing on the etymology of Zeus’s name and tradition of his birth, the Byzantine scholar Johannes Lydus (*De mensibus* 4.71) mentions that according to Eratosthenes (third–second centuries BC), Zeus was born on Crete but was carried off to

Naxos out of fear of Cronus (see *Catasterismi* 1.30). But, Lydus goes on, according to the archaic poet Eumelus of Corinth (eighth/seventh century BC), Zeus was born in Lydia; and even in his own day, Lydus adds, there is a place to the west of the city of Sardis, located on the mountain ridge of Tmolus, that was previously called Γοναὶ Διὸς Ὑετίου 'Birth of Zeus Rain-Bringer', νῦν δὲ παρατραπείσης τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς λέξεως 'but now, with the alteration of speaking that has occurred through time' is called Δεύσιον 'Deusium' (fr. 10 Fowler).

Eumelus' lines that Lydus here references must be understood as drawn from the archaic poet's epic *Titanomachy*.[1993] Eumelus' alternative account of Zeus's birthplace (Lydia – not Crete) vies in antique status with that of Hesiod, or nearly so. West (2002:111) rightly identifies the envisioned Lydian locale of the birth as Mt. Sipylus, citing Aelius Aristides' lines on the foundation of Smyrna, that Aeolian city of Anatolia that would become Ionian (*Orationes* 17.3 [Σμυρναϊκὸς πολιτικός, Jebb p.229]):

> Ἡ μὲν οὖν πρεσβυτάτη πόλις ἐν τῷ Σιπύλῳ κτίζεται, οὗ δὴ τάς τε θεῶν εὐνὰς εἶναι λέγουσι καὶ τοὺς Κουρήτων χοροὺς περὶ τὴν τοῦ Διὸς μητέρα.

[1993] See West 2002:110n8 on assignment of the fragment to the *Titanomachy*.

> Therefore the earliest city was established on Mt. Sipylus, the very place where they say were found the marriage beds of the goddesses[1994] and the dances of the Curetes around the mother of Zeus.

In his *Monody for Smyrna* Aristides mourns the destruction of the city by an earthquake ca. AD 178[1995] and writes (18.2 [Jebb p.260]):

> Ὦ πάντα ἀνόμοια τοῖς πρότερον. τὰ μὲν ἀρχαῖα Κουρήτων χοροὶ καὶ τροφαὶ καὶ γενέσεις θεῶν καὶ Πέλοπες διαβαίνοντες ἐνθένδε, καὶ Πελοπόννησος ἀποικία, καὶ Θησεὺς οἰκιστὴς τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν Σίπυλον τόπων, καὶ Ὁμήρου γοναὶ . . . .
>
> O everything is different from what used to be. The ancient things – dances of the Curetes, and nurturings, and births of gods, and Pelops-crossings over from here and Peloponnesian settlement, and Theseus founder of cities beneath Sipylus, and Homer's birth . . . .

[1994] See *Iliad* 24.615.

[1995] See Behr 1981:358n1, with a reference to earlier work.

Compare 21.3 (Προσφωννητικός Σμυρναϊκός, Jebb p. 270), in which the same motifs (birth of Zeus, dances of the Curetes, Pelops' crossing over to Greece, etc.) are again rehearsed.[1996] Note that the case for the birth of Zeus in Carian Halicarnassus is made in the poetic inscription dubbed "The Pride of Halicarnassus".[1997]

19.5.1. Crete, Mt. Sipylus, and a Dog

Robertson (1996:297–298) draws attention to a tradition that seems to be intended to bridge the Cretan and Sipylean accounts. Perhaps the greatest significance

[1996] An alternative identification of the site of Γοναὶ Διὸς Ὑετίου 'Birth of Zeus Rain-Bringer' has been offered that would place it nearer to Sardis, the reference point provided by Lydus, situated at Kel Dağ ('Bald Mountain'), southwest of Sardis, along an ancient road that led from the vicinity of the temple of Artemis in Sardis to Ephesus, with its Artemision. Bengisu (1996:7, 11) draws attention to the road specifically with respect to the route of the annual procession between Artemis' temples in Ephesus and Sardis mentioned above. She argues for an open-air sacred precinct at the site and draws attention to the presence of a roadside cave in the vicinity that currently goes by the name *Allah Evi* ('God's House' [p. 8]). The site appears to offer no specific compelling evidence for making such an identification, though Bengisu states (p. 13), without elaboration: "Present-day use of Kel Dağ by the surrounding villages in connection with rain-bringing rites amply reflects the continuance of an established historical tradition." On the site vis-à-vis Γοναὶ Διὸς Ὑετίου, see also Carstens 2008:78.

[1997] On which see Bremmer 2013:58–62, with bibliography.

of this linkage is that it testifies to a widespread awareness of the tradition that localizes Zeus's birth in western Anatolia. The account of the tradition referenced by Robertson (citing Gantz 1993:535) is that preserved in Antoninus Liberalis *Metamorphoses* 36. This begins in a familiar sort of way: fearing Cronus, Rhea hid Zeus in a hollow in Crete; there he was nursed by a goat [/nymph]. But then new information is introduced. A golden dog was there, protecting the goat; after Zeus overthrew Cronus he assigned the dog to guard his Cretan shrine, but Pandareüs (from Miletus) stole the dog and carried it from Crete to Mt. Sipylus, leaving it with Tantalus. At some later time Pandareüs came to Sipylus and demanded that Tantalus return the dog, but Tantalus swore that he did not have it; Zeus punished both Tantalus and Pandareüs, burying the former beneath the Sipylus and turning the latter into a stone. The petrification seems sufficiently *ad hoc* that one might wonder if it provides an aetion for a (natural) stone feature in an associated cult area (or for a natural cult altar etc.), much as with Niobe's petrification (just below). Scholia on *Odyssey* 19.518 and 20.66 (*scholia vetera* [= Dindorf 1962]) preserve similar accounts but differ in that Zeus sends Hermes to find the dog, and it is to Hermes that Tantalus swears falsely; also – Pandareüs, along with his wife Harmothoe (and daughters), flee westward to Athens,

then to Sicily, where they are destroyed by Zeus (see also *Scholia in Pindarum* [*scholia vetera* (= Drachmann 1966–1969)] *Olympian* 1.91a).

In regard to these accounts we again see an intersection with Aeolian foundation tradition. Pandareüs' daughter Aedon (that is, *Aēdṓn* [Ἀηδών] 'Nightingale') can be identified as the wife of the Theban foundational figure Zethus (as by Pherecydes fr. 124 Fowler; already alluded to in *Odyssey* 19.518–523 [on which see Nagy 1996:7–8]).[1998] The Theban lyre-player and builder Amphion, brother of Zethus (the pair comprising the Aeolian Dioscuri), is assigned Tantalus' daughter Niobe for his wife, she whose many children Apollo and Artemis would slay when Niobe boasted that she was far more fecund than Leto: see earliest Homer *Iliad* 24.601–613. A rock formation on Mt. Sipylus that resembles a human head has been identified with grieving Niobe since antiquity; the rock is said to weep: thus, again, Homer *Iliad* 24.614–617.[1999]

19.5.2. Pelops, Hippodamia, and Myrtilus/Myrsilus

[1998] For Thebe as wife of Zethus, see above, §14.5. On the transformation of the daughters of Pandareüs, and other members of the family, into birds, see Antoninus Liberalis *Metamorphoses* 11.

[1999] On the Niobe and the weeping stone formation of Mt. Sipylus, see also especially Ovid *Metamorphoses* 6.301–312. Pausanias, 1.21.3, describes his viewing of the formation; see also Pausanias 8.2.5–7, where the petrification of Niobe is joined with discussion of the lycanthropy of Lycaon.

Pandareüs and Tantalus are conjoined in the traditions we have just considered. The trajectory of Milesian Pandareüs' mythic migration from western Anatolia to Balkan Hellas to Magna Graecia is consistent with traditions we have encountered in earlier chapters (see especially Chapters Eleven, Thirteen, Fifteen, and Seventeen). Similarly, (Asian) Sipylean Tantalus has a son, Pelops (brother of the Theban wife Niobe), settler in (Balkan) Pisa (in Elis), place said to have been founded by the Aeolid Pisus, son of Perieres, writes Pausanias (6.22.1–2). We earlier met Perieres as father of Messenian Leucippus 'White-Horse Man'.[2000] Pelops (that is, *Pélops* [Πέλοψ], the 'Gray/Dark-Faced' one)[2001] is the somewhat ghostly eponym of the entire Peloponnese ("from at least the mid seventh century"),[2002] whose westward relocation forges yet another link between southwestern Anatolia and Hellas in an early moment.

[2000] On Perieres see above, §12.4 (brother of Magnes), and §12.7.3.1 and §12.7.4 (father of Messenian Leucippus); see also §13.6.3.2.

[2001] See the comments of Robertson 2010:74, including note 26, with bibliography. Compare Greek *poliós* (πολιός) 'gray', *peliós* (πελιός) and *pelitnós* (πελιτνός)/*pelidnós* (πελιδνός) 'black-blue, livid' and related forms, and Sanskrit *palitá-* 'gray, hoary', Avestan *pouruša-* 'gray', as well as Latin *pallidus* 'palid', Welsh *llwyd* 'gray', Old English *fealu*, *fealo* 'reddish yellow', all, and more, from a Proto-Indo-European root *pel-. See, *inter alia*, Chantraine 1968:876; Mayrhofer 1992–1996:103–104; Mallory and Adams 1997:641–642; Watkins 2011:65.

[2002] West 1985a:159, which see for references.

"Phrygian" or "Lydian" Pelops' point of origin is familiarly identified as Mt. Sipylus[2003] – a place we have several times met in conjunction with Aeolian (then Ionian) Smyrna and Magnesia ad Sipylum. Regarding the eponymous link of Pelops to the Peloponnese and associated myths, this is what West (1985a:159) has to say:

> This tradition evolved and flourished in Asiatic Aeolis and (simultaneously or secondarily) in the Ionian islands, especially, I suspect, Euboea. It was the Aeolians, no doubt, who made Pelops a son of the local mountain giant Tantalos, with the implication that those descendants of Orestes who founded the Aeolic colonies were only returning to their ancestral lands.

In broad outline this must be correct. Orestes is son of Agamemnon, son of Atreus, son of Pelops, son of Tantalus.[2004] We earlier discussed Strabo's report of Orestes' sons as leaders of the traditional eastward "Aeolian migration" (see §11.3.1, also §11.3.2). On

[2003] See, *inter alia*, Heraclides Ponticus fr. 163 (Wehrli 1969); Nicolaus fr. 163 FHG; Strabo 12.8.2; Pausanias 2.22.3, 5.13.7; 6.22.1; Philostratus *Imagines* 1.17.2.

[2004] See also here the comments of Rose 2008:403–404.

Orestes himself as the driving force behind an eastward movement of Aeolians, see Hellanicus fr. 32 (Fowler). As West notes (1985a:158.73), Pollux (*Onomasticon* 9.83) makes reference toa king of Aeolian Cyme called Agamemnon, whose daughter Demodike had married Midas the Phrygian.

One of the principal traditions to which Pelops is attached is that of the chariot race by which he won Hippodamia from her father Oenomaus (see above, §8.6.5, n. 153), doing so with the aid of the charioteer Myrtilus – a *mûthos* that perhaps finds a cult home on Lesbos.[2005] In regard to this point, West (1985a:158) aptly observes:

> Another tradition placed Oinomaos and his daughter in Lesbos. This makes geographical sense, for Pelops is the son of Tantalos and comes from Sipylos, above Smyrna; he carries Hippodameia across the sea, throws Myrtilos into it near the southern tip of Euboea, and so arrives in the Peloponnese.

[2005] For discussion of Lesbos as locale for the race, see Fowler 2013:430. See also West's remarks quoted two notes hither.

With the charioteer's name (*Murtílos* [Μυρτίλος]) comparison has been appropriately made with the Luvian dynastic name *Mursili* and with the Lesbian man's name *Myrsilus* (that is, *Mursílos* [Μυρσίλος]), a designation also given to the Lydian ruler Candaules (Herodotus 1.7.2).[2006]

Regarding the name *Murtílos* (Μυρτίλος), with its unassibilated *t*, West (1997:473) offers: "The myth of Tantalus, Pelops, and their descendants was current among the Asiatic Aeolians from an early period and it might be thought that for Oenomaus' chariot-man someone simply chose at random a name common in that part of the world."[2007] More likely, I suspect, is that the name had a non-random significance

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[2006] See, *inter alia*, West 1997:472–475 and Bachvarova 2016:374–375, each with bibliography.

[2007] Referenced here is West 1985a, where that author writes (pp. 157–158):

> Pelops is generally represented as having won Hippodameia and become king in Pisatis (cf. F 193.9); it is in nearby Triphylia, at Makistos, that Atreus and Thyestes first settle (sch. Eur. *Or.* 5). Yet there is no attempt to relate either them or Oinomaos to the Aiolid families who occupy these parts.

He then goes on to discuss the tradition that places Oenomaus and Hippodamia in Aeolian Lesbos, after which he notes concerning the descendants of Tantalus and Pelops:

> The saga of the expedition against Ilios led by their descendants Agamemnon and Menelaos was also current among these Aeolians at an early date, as may be inferred from the fact that Priam's

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for an early Aeolian community in which this Pelops *mûthos* served some cult function. What we see in the *mûthos* is a particular expression of bride-abduction which is set in a conspicuous horsey context: we are of course put in mind of our earlier discussions of figures of Greek tradition identified as Leucippus, the 'White-Horse Man' and of their Anatolian connections – as well as of the Leucippides, daughters of Perieres' son Leucippus, women who were themselves *abducted* by the Dioscuri (see the discussions of Chapters Twelve, Thirteen, and Fourteen). The abducted woman in the *mûthos* of Pelops is again one with onomastically-marked equinity: she is *Hippodámeia* (Ἱπποδάμεια), from *hippódamos* (ἱππόδαμος) 'tamer of horses.' Regarding Pelops and Hippodamia, Calame (2001:242) refers to the myth's "equestrian connotations of domestication," one which places it in the ambit of the Leucippides (p. 244), and he points out that the marriage of Hippodamia was ritually celebrated every five years by the women of Elis in a festival entailing choral performances and girls running a foot -

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name developed a distinctive dialect form in Lesbian, *Πέρραμος* [*Pérramos*], before Sappho and Alcaeus. And a noble family in Mytilene, the Penthilidai, claimed descent from Orestes; indeed, he was made responsible for the whole Aeolic migration. It was in this area, perhaps, that memories of the sack of Troy VIIa and/or VIIb were first made into a heroic saga and connected with the Agamemnon who was murdered by his wife, and with the old Greece that was dominated by Mycenae.

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race (pp. 114–116, 244). From Pindar (*Olympian Odes* 1.90) we learn that Pelops was worshipped with blood sacrifices called *haimakouríai* (αἱμακουρίαι), term which scholia on the line identify as Boeotian.[2008]

There are surely cult linkages between the communities of Mt. Sipylus and of Elis, most obvious in the shared figure of Pelops, "projected from the Mother's cult," in Robertson's (2010:74) estimation. Pausanias (6.22.1), describing the sanctuary of Artemis Cordax at Elis (near which Pelops' bones were said to be encased within a bronze chest), says the deity is so named because in victory Pelops' followers had here performed the dance called the *kórdaks* (κόρδαξ), a dance, he states, that is local to the region of Sipylus. The *kórdaks* appears to have been a lewd and boisterous dance that particularly lent itself to performance in comedy (see, *inter alia*, Theophrastus *Characters* 6.3; Megasthenes fr. 23 FHG; Lucian *Bacchus* 1 and *De saltatione* 22). Polybius (12.12b.2) can conceptually coordinate the *kórdaks* with 'women filled with Corybantic frenzy' (κορυβαντιώσαις γυναιξί). Telestes, the fifth-century BC lyric poet from Magna Graecia (Selinus), writes (fr. 6 Page) that it was 'those who accompanied' (*sunopadoí*

[2008] *Scholia in Pindarum* (*scholia vetera* [= Drachmann 1966–1969]) *Olympian* 1.146a; *Scholia et glossae in Olympia et Pythia* (*scholia recentiora Triclinii, Thomae Magistri, Moschopuli, Germani*) (*collecta a Triclinio* [= Ábel 1891]) *Olympian* 1.146. Compare Plutarch *Life of Aristides* 21.5–6.

[συνοπαδοί]) Pelops that first sang among the Greeks the Phrygian melody of the mountain Mother. Robertson (1996:296)[2009] is surely on the right track when he writes regarding the Elean *kórdaks* that it "no doubt bore some resemblance to the revels for the Mother" and, making the cross-Aegean connection, that "Mount Sipylus . . . . , if any mountain, was sacred to the Mother." In making the latter point Robertson draws attention to the large (4.3 meters) rock image of a seated deity carved into a cliff face that looms above Magnesia ad Sipylum (at modern Akpinar). Pausanias (3.22.) identifies the setting as the rock of *Coddinus* (*Kóddinos* [Κόδδινος]), describing the image as the most ancient of all images 'of the Mother of gods' (Μητρός . . . θεῶν) and attributing it to Tantalus' son Broteas (hence, Pelops' brother).[2010] The date of the carving is uncertain; the two Hieroglyphic Luvian inscriptions that can be read to the right of the image may be more recent, especially the longer of the two (AKPINAR 2), which Oreshko (2013:160) would assign to a local scribal tradition that post-dates the Hittite Empire.

If the name *Murtílos* (Μυρτίλος) is to be identified with the western Anatolian form *Mursili*, beside Lesbian *Mursílos* (Μυρσίλος), as seems probable, certainly plausible,

[2009] See also, regarding Telestes, Robertson 2010:74.

[2010] On the image see recently Glatz 2020:160, with bibliography of earlier work.

then the dental stop of *Murtílos* is curious. The alternating pair *Murtílos* ~ *Mursílos* gives the *grosso modo* impression of participating in the dialect variation between -*ti*- and -*si*- forms which we have discussed in various remarks on the Special versus Normal Mycenaean distinctions (see §3.4.2.1; §6.2; §8.4). The variation arises when an inherited *t undergoes a phonological change, a dialect assibilation to *s*, before the high front vowel *i*. What makes the form *Murtílos* curious in this regard is that it must take as its *starting point*, by the analysis proposed here, an Anatolian form which already has the fricative *s* – that is, *Mursili*. In other words, it is as though an earlier *s* has undergone "di-assibilation" to *t* to produce *Murtílos*, an inverse process and not a regular phonological change of Greek. What appears to be at work in such a case would be in effect a kind of dialect hypercorrection, one which could be driven by both dialect-internal and cross-dialect forces. In the former case, analogical pressure could be at work to change a borrowed *si*-form to a dialect-consistent *ti*-form. With regard to the cross-dialect dimension, the replacement of the *si*-form by a *ti*-form would be catalyzed in a setting in which speakers of a non-assibilating dialect (i.e. one in which *t remained *t* before *i*) were in close and regular contact with speakers of an assibilating dialect (i.e. one in which *t became s before *i*), and thus were automatically cognizant of the difference. Given such a scenario, on the one hand, non-assibilating Greek

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speakers could have borrowed *Mursílos* (*vel sim.*) from assibilating Greek speakers and made the analogical adjustment to *Murtílos*. Alternatively, non-assibilating Greek speakers, resident in a western Anatolian locale, could have borrowed *Mursílos* (*vel sim.*) directly from an Anatolian language, with the same analogical outcome – again, augmented by perception of dialect difference, such as that between non-assibilating Special Mycenaean and assibilating Normal Mycenaean.

19.6 Some Interpretative Conclusions

What do the theogonies and birth narratives that we have considered in this chapter have to do with the Proto-Indo-European Sky-god *Dyeus Ph_2ter- 'Father Dyeus', ancestor of Zeus Pater, Indic Dyaus Pitar, Italic Jupiter, Luvian Tatis Tiwaz, and so on? Quite likely, nothing at all.

If it is with ready and ceaseless astonishment that one contemplates the lowly position to which Dyaus Pitar has sunk in the Vedic pantheon, it is likely the case that some measure of astonishment should also be reserved for the Greek appropriation of Anatolian mythic structures for generating narratives of sovereign Zeus's birth and rise to the zenith of power. Not only that, but, remarkably, those mythic narratives reveal, as argued in this chapter, a blending of at least three distinct Anatolian traditions: (1)

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the tradition of a sequence of heavenly sovereigns; (2) the Old Anatolian tradition of the dragon Illuyanka; and (3) the Anatolian mythic template of the god who goes into hiding and whose subsequent reappearance is accompanied by restoration of divine order. These three components are themselves the products of syncretistic transformations. The Hittite Kingship-in-Heaven myth is an adopted Hurrian tradition, one in which the principal Hurrian actors are retained. The myth of the ^{MUŠ}*illuyanka-/illiyanku-*, the 'serpent' slain by the Storm-god, is of Hattic origin (i.e. it predates the arrival of the Indo-Europeans in Anatolia); but it looks to have been assimilated to dragon-slaying traditions and oral formulae that accompanied the incoming Indo-Europeans.[2011] And it is again Hattic deities that populate the "disappearing-god" myth, but the attested Hittite traditions appear to conform fundamentally to the structure of the Proto-Indo-European myth of the dysfunctional warrior who goes into hiding, abandoning society, and who in the end (typically) is recovered though societal intercessions; though the integration of Syrian Storm-god motifs into the Hittite myth (and vice versa) can be detected as well.[2012]

[2011] See Watkins 1995:321–323, 448–459.

[2012] See Woodard 2020b.

These are the traditions that were interwoven in generating the Greek myths of Zeus's birth and his ascendency to position of divine sovereign. We can hardly imagine that the fabric that was so woven was an *intentional* act of mythopoesis. The resulting web was rather an accidental evolutionary production of a hybrid culture; and the most plausible setting for that process is western Anatolia, within a culture that arose through the intermarriage of Mycenaeans and local Luvic peoples (Luvic women, principally, no doubt). The cult myths that emerged, nonce traditions about the birth and coming to power of the Mycenaean Sky-god Zeus, must have taken shape over a period of some generations. Among the Luvians, unlike the Hittites, there survived a divine personality directly descended from Proto-Indo-European *Dyeus Ph_2ter-, the Sun-god god Tatis ('Daddy') Tiwaz (^{d}*Tiwat*-, from *Dyeus [see §17.2]; cf. Palaic *Tiyaz . . . papaz*).[2013] If with Hutter (2003:219) we can confidently state that "the Luvians had their own gods who were to some degree . . . theologically different from the Hittite ones," we know precious little about the mythology of Tatis Tiwaz. Kamrusepa is his wife,[2014] goddess of magic and healing whom we saw to play a role in the myth of the disappearance of Telipinu (see §16.3.5.3), as does the Sun-god himself, who sends forth

[2013] The Indo-European etymon also provides Hittite *šiu*- 'god' and *šiwatt*- 'day'.

[2014] The LAMMA-deity of Taurisa is made to be their offspring.

a searching eagle, though it is the Mother-goddess' bee that will locate the hidden deity (see §16.2.6). Among the variants of the Hittite disappearing-god myth, there is one (CTH 323) that concerns the disappearance of the Sun-god (^{d}UTU, Hittite *Ištanu*-),[2015] deviating in form somewhat from the typical pattern.[2016] The character of Luvian Tatis Tiwaz appears to have been appreciably influenced by that of Mesopotamian Šamaš (consort of Aya, whom we considered in conjunction with Aia and the Argonauts in Chapter Seventeen) through the Hurrian intermediary Šimige.[2017] One might well wonder if those assimilatory developments which are evidenced in the engendering of the myths of Zeus' birth and succession to divine rule were anticipated by (i.e. received a head start in) local Luvian syncretism involving Tatis Tiwaz, into which Zeus was subsequently insinuated within a mixed Mycenaean-Luvian cultural matrix.

These are Zeus-myths that would survive the demise of Mycenaean civilization, regardless of the moment in which they began to be transported into Balkan Hellas. The common localization of Zeus's birth narrative in Crete might be taken to reveal that the tradition had already taken root in Mycenaean Crete. But the birth narrative of Zeus can also be localized in western Anatolia; and in this instance it is Mt. Sipylus

[2015] A borrowing of Hattic *Eštan*, naming the Sun-goddess.

[2016] See, *inter alia*, Hoffner 1990:26–28

[2017] See Hutter 2003:89, 95; Taracha 2009:108

that is salient, a topographic space remembered as one of deeply archaic sacredness. This is a region traditionally associated with early Aeolian habitation, and links with Aeolian myth and cult continue, mediated through Milesian Pandareüs and 'Phrygian Tantalus, Pelops, and Niobe' (Strabo 12.8.2, 18), whose myth "was current among the Asiatic Aeolians from an early period" (West 1997:473). Bee and bird are notable in the birth narratives of Zeus, as conspicuously so in the Anatolian disappearing-god myths and in, *inter alia*, the Iron-Age cult of Ephesian Artemis; and the joint avian-apian feature of the birth narratives is plausibly tied to their Anatolian origins. It is a zoological conjunction that also surfaces in traditions of Dodona, an oracular cult with its own Aeolian links, and one may reasonably ponder the prospect that here too, in Dodona, we find an iteration of ideologic infusions from Anatolia, introduced via the trans-Aegean movements of Ahhiyawans/early Aeolians.

Miletus (*Millawanda/Milawata*) intersects not only with Sipylean myth but with the cult traditions of the archaic Pontic poleis of Sinope and Trapezus. The Milesian settlers of Sinope would maintain a mantic cult of Aeolian Autolycus, a figure whose cult mythology places him within Argonautic tradition. Trapezus, reported in antiquity to have been colonized by Sinope, finds an eponym in one linked with wolfishness, the son of Arcadian Lycaon, and equally preserves cult ties with Argonautic tradition.

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Thematically consistent with the nature of the foundational figures of these Pontic sites is the natural presence of "maddening" honey in the region, though what to make of that state of affairs at this point is somewhat unclear. Bee and honey and mind-alteration play a seminal role in the castration of Cronus as presented in lines of an orphic theogony preserved by Porphyry – a particular Succession Myth, for the origin of which we must again look to Anatolia. The conjunction of honey and mind-alteration presents itself as a synchronic phenomenon in ancient Anatolia, but at the same time the diachronic element of the intoxicating honey beverage of primitive Indo-Europeans lurks in the background – an intersection of axes that we shall continue to encounter.

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Chapter Twenty

Bee and Bird, Linear B *Du-ma/Da-ma*, Luvo-Hittite *Dammara-*, and *Artemis/Artimis/Artamis*

20.1. Introduction

The conjunction of bee and bird that we encountered in the theogonies of Chapter Nineteen is also on display in Mycenaean cult, in the office identified by the title *du-ma/da-ma.* Sipylus is a locale that figures conspicuously in that earlier discussion, as does Miletus, Bronze-Age *Millawanda/Milawata.* Below, in developing an argument for the origin of Mycenaean *du-ma/da-ma*, we will find ourselves in the nearby region of Arzawa, with its capital identified as *Apaša*, site of Iron-Age Ephesus and its cult of Artemis. Ephesian Artemis has several times come to our attention in discussions of the *kurša.* In the present chapter her name presents itself as one element in a set of borrowed terms acquired by Greeks in the context of a community of

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intermixed Mycenaeans and Luvic-peoples, a lexical set that at least in part has bearing on the question of Mycenaean dialects.

20.2. Linear B Du-ma

What appears to be a notably archaic Greek expression of the conjunction of bee and bird in Greek cult is one that we encountered in Chapter Fifteen (see §15.3.4.1), being the line of hexameter that Plutarch rehearses as he alludes to an early form of Apollo's Delphic temple (*De Pythiae oraculis* 402d) – that made of feathers and of wax – a verse that Plutarch suggests had been extemporaneously uttered in oracular performance at Delphi:

> Συμφέρετε πτερά τ', οἰωνοί, κηρόν τε, μέλισσαι.
>
> Bring together feathers, O birds, and wax, O bees.

Earlier still is the evidence of cult bee affiliation that is provided by the Linear B documents in which, as we saw in §14.6.2, we find Mycenaean cult personnel identified by the compound term *me-ri-du-ma-te*, term generally read as *meli-dumartes* – that is,

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'honey-*dumartes*'.[2018] We noted, in that earlier discussion, that uncompounded *du-ma* (singular *dumar*) and *du-ma-te* (plural *dumartes*) are likewise attested (title of officials of important rank, probably cult officiants) as well as an additional compound, *po-ro-du-ma-te*, to which we will return just below. A summary of the occurrences of these forms is presented here (all are nominative unless specified otherwise); Pylos scribal hands (which will become relevant further along) are as classified by Bennett and Olivier 1973:

	Knossos	*Pylos*	*Pylos hand*
du-ma	Cg 1030 + 7055	An 192 + fr.	22
	Cg 1039		
du-ma-te		Jn 829	2
]du-ma-ti		On 300 + fr. + 375 + 1074 + 1446	C ii
		(dative singular)	
me-ri-du-ma-te		An 39	C iii
		An 424 + fr.	3
		An 427	3

[2018] For bibliography see Aura Jorro 1985:439–440.

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	An 594	C iii
	Fn 50 (misspelled)[2019]	C iii
me-ri-du-ma-ṣị	Fn 867 (dative plural)	45
po-ro-du-ma-te	Fn 50 (dative singular)	C iii

In addition, the sequence *po-ṛọ-du[* occurs immediately before a break on a tablet in the Pylos Ep series (Ep 613 etc., hand 1),[2020] and *me-ri-du[* appears on the very fragmentary Knossos tablet X 1045.[2021]

20.2.1. Me-ri-du-ma-te and Po-ro-du-ma-te: Bee and Bird

The recurring conjunction, and alternation, of bee and bird in Anatolian and Greek cult and myth may be taken to suggest the possibility that what we find in *po-ro-du-ma-te* is an avian counterpart of apian *me-ri-du-ma-te* – in other words, a form identifying cult officials who carry in their compound title an initial member that denotes a product of the bird, as *me-ri-* does a product of the bee (*méli* [μέλι] 'honey'). If so, a reasonable candidate for the identity of *po-ro-* would be an *o*-grade reflex of the

[2019] *Me-ri-du-te* is written.

[2020] Ep 613 + 617 + 1117 + 1119 + 1121 + 1123 + 1134 + 1152 + 1131 + fr.

[2021] Compare *da-ma[* on Knossos tablet X 5904 and *ḍạ-ma[* on Xa 400, both also highly fragmentary.

Proto-Indo-European noun root *per- (i.e. *por-), likely from the verb root *per- 'to pass over'. Reflexes denoting 'feather' or 'wing' are well known and broadly distributed among early Indo-European languages. Most commonly preserved are noun stems produced with a *no*-suffix (pointing to a primitive etymon *per-no-; on Indo-European *no*-suffixes see the discussion of §1.2.3.3): thus, we find Sanskrit *parṇa-* 'feather, wing; leaf', Avestan *parəna-* 'feather', Lithuanian *spaŕnas* 'wing' (reflecting *(s)per-), Old English *fearn* and Old High German *farn* 'fern', with a semantic shift from faunal to impressionistically similar floral structures (much as with Sanskrit *parṇa-*). Other stem-forms occur. Balto-Slavic attests reduplicated stems, showing the same semantic shift as the West Germanic forms just cited: Lithuanian *papártis*, Russian *páporotŭ*, Slovenian *práprat* and *práprot* 'fern'. Old Church Slavic/Old Russian also shows a form *pero* 'feather'; compare Tocharian B *pār* 'plumage', beside *parwa* 'feathers'.[2022] Hittite *par-tāwar* 'wing' (a collective [i.e. of feathers]) belongs here as well (attesting either *o*-grade or *ø*-grade root).[2023]

In post-Mycenaean Greek the comparable attested term is *pterón* (πτερόν) 'feather'. Some fifty years before the Linear B script was demonstrated to record Greek

[2022] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1927:21; Mallory and Adams 1997:646; Watkins 2011:68.

[2023] See, *inter alia*, Nussbaum 1986:13–14, 33–34; Melchert 2014b:259.

language, Herbert Petersson (1916:272) argued that *pterón* arose secondarily from an unattested **perón* (*περόν) that was of common origin with Slavic *pero*, Sanskrit *parṇa-*, and so on. Petersson draws *pterón* into that set of attested Greek forms which show alternation between word-initial *p-* and word-initial *pt-*: thus, *pólis* (πόλις) beside *ptólis* (πτόλις) 'city', and *pólemos* (πόλεμος) beside *ptólemos* (πτόλεμος) 'war'. Both *ptólis* and *ptólemos* occur in Homeric epic and may be attested in Mycenaean personal names.[2024] As Petersson points out, and is now widely acknowledged, the *pt-* forms are Greek developments. With *pólis* compare Lithuanian *pilìs* and Latvian *pils* 'castle' and Sanskrit *pūr* 'fortress' and *puram* 'wall, fortress', all pointing to a Proto-Indo-European *pelh$_x$- 'citadel, fortified high place'.[2025] Moreover, in the instance of *pterón*, Petersson judges, the shift of initial *p-* to *pt-* occurred under the influence of *ptérux* (πτέρυξ) 'wing', a ø-grade Greek reflex of Proto-Indo-European *peth$_1$- 'to rush, fly', etymon of, *inter alia*,

[2024] See Aura Jorro 1993:163–164 for discussion with bibliography. There may be some dialectal affiliation in the first millennium: forms of *ptólis* (πτόλις) are attested in Cretan Doric, Arcado-Cypriot (see Buck 1955:61), and Thessalian; *ptólemos* (πτόλεμος) is reported in scholia to be Cypriot, though *pólemos* (πόλεμος) occurs in Cypriot inscriptions, which may be due to dialect influence (see Egetmeyer 2010:199).

[2025] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1927:51; Chantraine 1968:926–927; Mallory and Adams 1997:210; LIV 479; Watkins 2011:66.

Hittite *pittar*, *pattar* 'wing'; Latin *penna* 'feather'; and Old English *feðer*, Old High German *fedara* 'feather'.[2026]

With an hypothesized Mycenaean *por-o-* (in *po-ro-du-ma-te*) formal morphological comparison can be made to Greek *póros* (πόρος), an "action noun" (with accent on the root) denoting 'ford; passage; path through the sea', from a broadly attested ancestral noun stem *pór-o- (from the above-noted verb root *per- 'to pass over'), surviving also in Avestan *pāra-* 'bank, boundary', Old Norse *fǫr* 'journey', Old English *faru* 'journey'.[2027] Synchronically Greek *póros* finds a verbal counterpart in the derived *peráō* (περάω) 'to pass across, traverse'. Linear B *po-ro-* would represent the comparable so-called "agent" noun, *porós* (with accent on the thematic suffix) denoting the agent of the act of a passing over – that is 'wing' or 'feather'. Morpho-semantic parallels are provided by, for example, *trokhós* (τροχός) 'a wheel', from *trékhō* (τρέχω) 'to run (over)'; *klopós* (κλοπός) 'thief', from *kléptō* (κλέπτω) 'to steal'; *trophós* (τροφός) 'a feeder', from *tréphō* (τρέφω) 'to feed, bring up'; *aoidós* (ἀοιδός) 'singer', from *aeídō* (ἀείδω) 'to sing (of)'; *agós* (ἀγός) 'leader', from *ágō* (ἄγω), 'to lead'; *pompós* (πομπός) 'conductor, messenger', from *pémpō* (πέμπω) 'to conduct, send'. For compounds in

[2026] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1927:19–21; Ernout and Meillet 1959:496; Mallory and Adams 1997:210; Watkins 2011:69.

[2027] See, *inter alia*, Chantraine 1968:929; Mallory and Adams 1997:228–229; Watkins 2011:68.

which these agent nouns appear as initial members consider *trokh-ēlátēs* (τροχ-ηλάτης) 'driver of wheels', in other words, 'chariot driver'; *trokho-bólos* (τροχο-βόλος) 'one who works with a water wheel'; *aoido-kêrux* (ἀοιδο-κῆρυξ) 'herald who announces singers'. By this analysis the compound *poro-dumartes* would denote the 'feather/wing-*dumartes*', who serve alongside the *meli-dumartes* – that is, the 'honey-*dumartes*'.

20.2.2. Du-ma/Da-ma Variation

Da-ma variants of the compound forms of *du-ma* appear on documents from *Pylos*, as here summarized (forms are nominative), with the scribal hand noted on the right side:[2028]

me-ri-da-ma-te	An 39	C iii
	An 207 + 360 + 1163 + fr. + 279 + 449	43
po-ru-da-ma-te	An 39	C iii

[2028] The form *da-ma-te* on Pylos tablet En 609 appears to be unrelated, having a meaning of something like 'households'; the signification of the abbreviation DA is uncertain, but may represent this term. See, *inter alia*, the discussions of Duhoux 2008:307–308; 2011:26. Some have seen in *da-ma-te* the name of the goddess *Dēmḗtēr* (Δημήτηρ) 'Demeter'. For bibliography see Aura Jorro 1985:151–152.

Pylos tablet An 39 thus shows not only the spelling *me-ri-du̲-ma-te* (line 2) but also *me-ri-da̲-ma-te* (line 8), and *po-ru-da̲-ma-te* (reverse line 1):

Pylos Tablet An 39

.1 pu-ka-wo X VIR 16

.2 me-ri-du̲-ma-te VIR 10 X

.3 mi-ka-ta X VIR 3

.4 o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we VIR 4 X

.5 e-to-wo-ko X VIR 5

.6 ka-sa-to X VIR

.7 pu-ka-wo X VIR 23

.8 me-ri-da̲-ma-te , VIR 6

.9 o-pi-]te-u-ke-e-we , VIR 5 X

.10 mi-ka-]ta , VIR 6 X

.11 e-]ṭọ-wo-ko , VIR 4 a-to-po-qo VIR 3

.1 po-ru-da̲-ma-te VIR 4

.2 vac.

.3 qa-ra$_2$-te , VIR

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.4 pu-ko-ro , VIR

.5 a-ko-so-ta , VIR

.6 pi-ri-ja-me-ja̤ VIR

.7 e-ni-ja-u-si-jo VIR

.8 pṭẹ-jo-ḳọ VIR qo-ta-wo VIR[

.9 a-ta VIR te-o-po-qọ[VIR

.10 vest.

On the obverse, lines 1–5 and lines 7–11 record identical lists of personnel, in nearly the same order (the entries of lines 3 and 4 are inverted in lines 9 and 10), with *po-ru-da-ma-te* appended to the second list (written in the first line of the reverse side): it is thus reasonably certain that *me-ri-du-ma-te* (line 2) and *me-ri-da-ma-te* (line 8) reference the same officiants using alternative lexical forms.

Of this duplicated set consisting of (1) *pu-ka-wo* , (2) *me-ri-du/da-ma-te*, (3) *mi-ka-ta*, (4) *o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we*, and (5) *e-to-wo-ko*, a subset of four (all but *pu-ka-wo*) occurs on Pylos tablet Fn 50, arranged in a third but minimally different order[2029] – and similarly there *po-ro-du-ma-te* is added in. On tablet Fn 50, *me-ri-du-[ma-]te* (line 5) and *po-ro-du-*

[2029] *Me-ri-du-te* (line 5), *mi-ka-ta* (line 5), *e-to-wo-ko* (line 6), *po-ro-du-ma-te* (line 7), *o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we* (line 8).

ma-te (line 7) surely answer to the *me-ri-du-ma-te*/*me-ri-da-ma-te* of the obverse of An 39 and the *po-ru-da-ma-te* of the reverse of An 39. It thus would appear that the variant forms *po-ro-du-ma-te* (Fn 50; dative singular) and *po-ru-da-ma-te* (An 39; nominative plural) reference the same office.

What sense can be made of the spelling *po-ru-da-ma-te* on tablet An 39, reverse, line 1 – that is, of the use of the *ru* syllabogram to represent the second syllable? Most probably *po-ru-da-ma-te* is an aberrant spelling of what was intended to be **po-ro-da-ma-te*, as is suggested (1) by this scribe's writing of *me-ri-da-ma-te* just four lines earlier, on the opposite side of the tablet (line 8) , and (2) by the parallel occurrence of *po-ro-du-ma-te* on tablet Fn 50. Did this scribe's mindfulness of the recurringly-attested variation between *-du-ma-te* and *-da-ma-te* result in the "hypercorrecting" transfer of the *u*-spelling to the second syllabic unit of *po-ro-* as he tried to get *-da-ma-te* "right"?

And what of the contrast between *me-ri-da-ma-te* in line 8 and *me-ri-du-ma-te* in line 2 of An 39? The two lists of personnel that appear on tablet An 39 were executed by two different scribal hands (though both are assigned to Class iii; see Bennett and Olivier 1973:1:57). There is therefore self-evidently some scribal connection between the choice of spelling of the *second* member of the compound forms on this tablet: list-one *me-ri-du-ma-te* (line 2) versus list-two (work of a different scribe) *me-ri-da-ma-te*

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(line 8) and *po-ru-da-ma-te* (reverse, line 1). The other instance of the spelling *me-ri-da-ma-te* (on An 207 + 360 + 1163 + fr. + 279 + 449) is a product of Pylos scribal hand 43, as pointed out above.

20.2.2.1. Distribution of Du-ma/Da-ma Variants. The several occurrences of the spellings *du-ma* and *da-ma* at Pylos were written by a variety of hands. We can summarize the hands responsible for the spellings of the individual instances of the morpheme *du-ma/da-ma* at Pylos in the following way:

Pylos Hand	*Form du-ma*	*Form da-ma*
1	*po-ṛọ-du[*	
2	*du-ma-te*	
3	*me-ri-du-ma-te*	
	me-ri-du-ma-te	
22	*du-ma*	
43		*me-ri-da-ma-te*
45	*me-ri-du-ma-ṣị*	
C ii	*]du-ma-ti*	

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C iii	*me-ri-du-ma-te*	*me-ri-da-ma-te*
	me-ri-du-ma-te	
	me-ri-du-[ma-]te	
	po-ro-du-ma-te	*po-ru-da-ma-te*

There is some complementarity in scribal practice here, to the extent that (1) it is only scribal-hand Class iii that shows both *du-ma* and *da-ma* forms, *and* (2) the *da-ma* forms produced by C iii, which are on tablet An 39, are limited to the second list of that tablet, seemingly the work of a scribal hand distinct from the hand that produced the first list on that tablet, in which *du-ma* occurs.

20.2.2.2. Dialect and Du-ma/Da-ma Variants. Dialect variation can also be seen in these same data. For the sake of reference, the isoglosses distinguishing Special Mycenaean dialect from Normal Mycenaean that were presented in §3.4 are repeated here. Special Mycenaean is characterized by the following features:

(1) A. The consonant-stem dative singular ending *–i* (as opposed to Normal Mycenaean *-ei*)

B. The development of a vocalic reflex *a* from a Proto-Indo-European syllabic nasal in the vicinity of a labial consonant (as opposed to an *o* reflex in Normal Mycenaean)

C. The preservation of a mid front vowel *e* in the vicinity of a labial consonant (as opposed to a raising to high front *i* in Normal Mycenaean)

D. The preservation of the dental stop *t* when it occurs before a high front vowel *i* (as opposed to assibilation of the stop to *s* in Normal Mycenaean)

The dative singular *po-ro-du-ma-te* (Fn 50), written by a hand of the class designated C iii, is formed with the dative singular ending that characterizes *Normal* Mycenaean—that is, feature (1A) in the above list. This dative *po-ro-du-ma-te* stands in opposition to the *]du-ma-ti* of Pylos tablet On 300 + fr. + 375 + 1074 + 1446, which is formed with the dative ending that characterizes *Special* Mycenaean – and is a product of scribal hand C ii. As Risch (1966) points out in his foundational study of the Mycenaean dialects,[2030] this same tablet (i.e. On 300 + fr. + 375 + 1074 + 1446) displays additional Special Mycenaean forms. Another Special Mycenaean dative, *ko-re-te-ri* (a local governing official), appears twice on the tablet, along with a form preserving the unshifted vowel

[2030] See Risch's page 155 for a synoptic table of his findings. See also Nagy 1968 *passim*.

e (feature 1C): namely, the place name]*te-mi-ti-ja* (*Themistia*; beside which is an apparent ethnic adjective *te-mi-ti-jo* written by hands of the class C iii), as opposed to Normal Mycenaean *ti-mi-ti-ja* and *ti-mi-to* (hands 1, 2, 21, and C i).

In this instance, then, both the Special Mycenaean and Normal Mycenaean forms are products of the set of scribal hands that also produce forms of the type *du-ma*. Is there then *any* overlap between the categories of (1) Mycenaean dialect and (2) *du-ma*/*da-ma* variation? The following list of scribal hands at Pylos showing one or more of the four dialect features is constructed on the basis of Risch's (1966) *Tableau synoptique* (with updating). [2031]

Pylian scribal hands displaying Normal Mycenaean: 1, 2, 3, 6, 11, 12, 15, 21,

[2031] Risch's table on his page 155 is here updated with regard to identification of scribal hands and is expanded on the basis of Nagy 1968: Nagy identifies unassibilated *t* before *i* as a Special Mycenaean feature and assibilated *s* in the same context as a Normal Mycenaean feature (i.e. feature 1D above). The scribal hand of Pylos tablet Vn 851 + fr. + 914, who writes Normal Mycenaean assibilated *ka-pa-si-ja* is presently identified as hand 12 (and is incorporated into the chart below). An instance of unassibilated *ka-pa-ti-ja* also occurs on Pylos tablet Un 443 + 998 (hand 6, [otherwise identified as a Special Mycenaean hand]); compare too at Thebes, on tablet Uq 434, *ḳa-pa-ṭi-ja[*. With unassibilated *ti-nwa-ti-ja-o* on Pylos tablet Ad 684 (hand 23) compare the single and fragmentary form *ti-nwa-ti[* on La 633 (perhaps hand 13).

41, 43, C i, C ii, C iii

Pylian scribal hands displaying Special Mycenaean: 1, 6, 11, 21, 23, 24, 41, 135, C ii, C iii

Whenever a single hand displays both Normal and Special isoglosses, as several of the above do, we can reasonably posit that the scribe entailed is a speaker of Special Mycenaean Greek dialect who typically intentionally suppresses use of Special dialect features (as shown by Nagy 1968) – features that occur with less frequency overall than the corresponding Normal Mycenaean features. With this linguistic realization in hand, we can modify the above list and identify Normal Mycenaean hands and Special Mycenaean hands at Pylos as follows:

Normal Mycenaean scribal hands at Pylos: 2, 3, 12, 15, 43, C i, C ii, C iii

Special Mycenaean scribal hands at Pylos: 1, 6, 11, 21, 23, 24, 41, 135, C ii, C iii

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The scribal hands of Pylos are apportioned among three general classes, labeled C i, C ii, C iii. The set C i includes hands 1–6, 11–15; C ii includes hands 21–26, 31–34; and C iii includes hands 41–45.[2032] The prototypical hand of each group (i.e. that one most distinctively representing the class) is the first listed in each of these ranges. In regard to dialect, C ii and C iii are heterogeneous groups. Scribal hands of C ii and C iii exhibit use of Special Mycenaean features, but assigning specific dialect status to the entire class is of course abrogated by the heterogeneity of the class. Hence, C ii and C iii appear above under both the heading "Normal Mycenaean scribal hands at Pylos" and the heading "Special Mycenaean scribal hands at Pylos."

As we have observed, the hands showing *du-ma* forms are 1, 2, 3, 22, 45, C ii, and C iii. Those showing *da-ma* forms are 43 and C iii. These two parameters (i.e. *du-ma*/*da-ma* variation and dialect variation) intersect as illustrated in the following table; again, a hand is identified as "Special Mycenaean" if it uses one or more of the Special Mycenaean dialect features and "Normal Mycenaean" if it displays only the comparable Normal Mycenaean features. Forms written by hands of C ii and C iii are of course double counted:

[2032] See Bennett and Olivier 1973:2:11–20. For detailed discussion see Palaima 1988:33, 35–134.

	Normal Mycenaean Hands	*Special Mycenaean Hands*
Du-ma	2, 3, C ii, C iii	1, C ii, C iii
	(seven forms total)	(six forms total)
Da-ma	43, C iii	C iii
	(three forms total)	(two forms total)

Any conclusions based on this distribution would need to be considered tentative. While the tokens are few, it may be interesting that the only intersection of a Special Mycenaean hand and a hand using *da-ma* forms is localized in the second list of tablet An 39: this is the work of the Class iii hand that produced the aberrant, hypercorrected, spelling *po-ru-da-ma-te* – and a hand that is, it appears, distinct from the Class iii hand that wrote the first list of that tablet. Do we see here a scribe who is particularly sensitized to the distinction between his native *du-ma* pronunciation and a learned *da-ma* spelling? This leads us to the next matter to be considered.

20.3. Luvo-Hittite Dammara-

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When we encountered *du-ma/da-ma*-lexemes in §14.6.1 we did so in the immediate context of a discussion of Cypriot Greek *Tamirádai* (Ταμιράδαι), oracular priests of Cyprus, who can hardly be separated from a Cilician mantic figure eponymously named *Tamiras*, identified as the founder of an oracular procedure used by the Cinyradae. We pointed out there that the Cypriot term likely reflects Hittite *dammara-*, almost certainly a term of Luvian origin, appearing in Hieroglyphic Luvian as *tamaruna* (on which see further below). As we also noted in that discussion of Chapter Fourteen, already in the early years of Linear B studies, Morpurgo (1958:324) argued that a proper accounting of Linear B *du-ma/da-ma* must take into consideration "l'ittito *dam-ma-ra-*."

Luvo-Hittite *dammara-* is used to denote both male (^{LÚ}*dam-ma-ra-*) and, more often, female (^{MUNUS}*dam-ma-ra-*) cult functionaries. Among those documents in which they appear is one of the Ahhiyawa texts, the oracle text AhT 20 (CTH 570.1), assigned to the reign of Mursili II (ca. 1321–1295 BC). This Hittite king is suffering from some persistent ailment, and the oracular inquiries reported in this document are designed to identify the agent of his illness through consultation with various deities. Among the gods who are invoked and queried (§24') are a 'god of Ahhiyawa' (DINGIR$^{LIM\ URU}$*Aḫ-ḫi-ya-wa*) 'and a god of Lazpa' (DINGIR$^{LUM\ URU}$*La-az-pa-ya*) – that is Lesbos; part of the query

concerns the prospect of worshipping these gods in the manner of Hattusa. In the section just preceding this specification, we read that an oracle had determined that the Zawalli-deity[2033] of the city of Zithara was angry; *dammara*-women were sent to the city of Zithara[2034] so that they could 'take back their utterances' (EME.MEŠ EGIR-*pa a-ni-ya-an-zi*) 'and purify the temple' (É.DINGIR^{LIM}-*ya pár-ku-nu-wa-an-zi*). Zithara is a place to which we shall return in the next chapter and to its tutelary deity Zithariya, a god conspicuously associated with the *kurša,* implement which serves as an aniconic image of this LAMMA deity (on which see §21.3.2.2).

Concern over binding utterance produced by *dammara*-officiants is registered elsewhere in this same Ahhiyawa letter, AhT 20. In §18' we read that an oracle had revealed among certain divinely troubling occurrences a matter involving a ^{LÚ}*dammara* (male officiant; see also §20') and the production of a 'curse, imprecation' (Sumerogram EME) by a ^{MUNUS} *dammara* (female officiant). Binding cult speech seems clearly to fall within the purview of the *dammara*-functionaries.

[2033] Zawalli-gods seem, at least in part, to be associated with spirits of the dead; on which see Archi 1979.

[2034] "*. . .* one of those places close to Ḫattusa where the king could choose to spend the winter *. . . .*"; Archi 2015:19, which see regarding the participation of Zithariya in the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM^{SAR} festival, entailing movement through sacred space.

20.3.1. Dammara- and Arzawa

A clear picture of intercultural intimacy involving *dammara*-women is presented in the Hittite oracle text of KUB 16.16, obverse 23–30 (CTH 570). Reference is here made to *dammara*-women who were *habitually* having sexual intercourse (*še-eš-kiš-ke-eš-kán-zi*, formed with iterative affix *-ške-* used twice)[2035] with men from Arzawa and neglecting to purify themselves afterward – a state of affairs about which the deity is queried as a possible source of divine anger.[2036] Arzawa is that region that we encountered in Chapter Fifteen in our discussion of the Asian Mother Goddess (see §15.3; on Arzawa see also below, §21.3.2.2), where we noted that the capital of Arzawa was Apaša – that is, Ephesus, site of the great temple and cult of Artemis, deity to whom we shall return in the second portion of this chapter. It is a region with which an Ahhiyawa alignment is well documented. Mashuiluwa, an Arzawan king (of Mira),[2037] receives mention in the Ahhiyawa letter that we were just considering, AhT 20. In §§29'–32' we find that Mashuiluwa has uttered imprecations against an image of a Zawalli-deity associated with the Hittite king (an image that had been transported to Arzawa), with the result

[2035] From *šeš-* 'to sleep, have sexual intercourse with', and also 'to sleep for incubation'; see CHD Š:440, 443–444.

[2036] See van den Hout 1998:138–145.

[2037] On Mira see Bryce 2009:476.

that both image and king were deemed cursed. To remove the effects of the Mashuiluwa's utterances a *mantalli*-ritual was conducted, in both its Hittite and Arzawan mode.[2038]

In Chapters Fifteen and Sixteen (see §15.3.1 and §16.2.4) we also drew attention to the prominence of oracular practices in Arzawa and to Bawanypeck's (2005) conclusion that the very beginnings of augury in Anatolia are closely bound to Arzawa: "the augurs' rituals must be considered a special feature of Arzawan ritual practice," offers Hutter (2003:237). As we noted in that earlier discussion it is the ^{d}LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš*, god of the *kurša* (Hittite cult implement that appears to be of relevance to both the "breasts" of Ephesian Artemis and the Golden Fleece), who is the tutelary deity of oracle birds. This close affiliation of a single deity with both *kurša* and birds resonates structurally with the Indic Aśvins (see the earlier discussions of §13.5.4.1, §15.4, §16.2.3, and §16.3.5.2; see also the discussions of Chapter Twenty-One below).

[2038] On Mashuiluwa and the incident. see, *inter alia*, van den Hout 1998:3–5; Bryce 2003:63–67; Collins 2010:58–59; Rutherford 2020:43. "The mantalli-ritual is a rite performed specifically in those cases where two parties are in antagonism and one of the two has taken recourse to magic and curses," thus van den Hout 1998:5. Of the two parties involved, one may be deceased; hence the placated party may be a ghost: see Taracha 2009:164.

One of the surviving Luvian augural texts[2039] is "The Ritual of the Augur Ḫuwarlu" (CTH 398), a member of a set of rituals that address *ḫatugauš* MUŠEN$^{ḪI.A}$ 'terrible birds' – that is, unfavorable auguries – in order to nullify their effects.[2040] Here there are two cult officiants that play a role – not only the ^{LÚ}MUŠEN.DÙ 'augur' Ḫuwarlu but also, and conspicuously, a ^{SAL}ŠU.GI 'Old Woman', a figure whom we earlier encountered in an oracular role entailing, in part, lot divination (see §18.2.3). It is in this Arzawan text, "The Ritual of the Augur Ḫuwarlu," that the sole phonetic spelling of the Hittite word for 'bird' is attested: elsewhere the Sumerogram MUŠEN is used, but here (KBo 4.2 ii 32) the lexeme is spelled out as *wa-at-ta-e-eš* – a word of uncertain origin.[2041]

In addition, this Hittite bird-word can with some confidence be restored in the opening lines of this text (KBo 4.2 i 2).[2042] Two lines following we then find an occurrence of Hittite *par-tāwar* 'wing', which we encountered just above (§20.2.1) in our

[2039] For a helpful survey of Luvian religious texts preserved within the Hittite archives, see Bawanypeck 2013: (building upon Hutter 2003:232–254). On Luvian language in these rituals see Melchert 2013c, with discussion of earlier work; of which see especially Miller 2004 and Yakubovich 2010.

[2040] On the ritual see, *inter alia*, Bawanypeck 2005:21–248 and 2013:162–164; Broida 2014:116–138; and Collins forthcoming.

[2041] For recent discussion, with an etymological proposal, see Nikolaev 2015.

[2042] See Bawanypeck 2005:22.

discussion of Linear B *po-ro-du-ma-te*. The 'wing' referenced is perhaps the wing of an eagle, used here in the performance of some iterative ritual act – seemingly one of 'wetting' (if the verb is rightly restored as *šaku(wa)-*, as seems probable).[2043] In her discussion of the line, Bawanypeck (2005:38) draws attention to similar uses of an eagle's wing (or possibly feather in some of these cases, *pars pro toto*)[2044] attested elsewhere. Expanding her list slightly (but not exhaustively), we can mention these instances: (1) in KBo 8.155 ii 8–9 a ^{LÚ}*purapši-* (a priest having a Hurrian name) sprinkles water three times with an eagle's wing; (2) in KBo 33.188 ii 4–6 the priest called a ^{LÚ}*šankunni* dips an eagle's wing into a cup and hands it to a *purapši*-priest;[2045] (3) in KBo 15.48 ii 5–9, 32–35 a ^{LÚ}*palwattalla-*, ritual 'crier', sprinkles water three times in the direction of the king using an eagle's wing, cries once, and subsequently a priest takes the eagle's wing from the crier and places it into a wine-pitcher;[2046] (4) in KUB 15.34. i 11–12 and 32–33 an eagle's wing is inventoried among several ritual items.[2047] The type of bird whose wing is used ritually is at times unspecified, as in KBo 17.1 i 6, in which

[2043] See CHD Š 53.

[2044] See CHD P 199, with bibliography.

[2045] For both (1) AND (2) see CHS P 384.

[2046] See CHD P 199.

[2047] See Puhvel 2011:175–176.

the king and queen are seated as a gesture is made with a wing.[2048] It is this term *partāwar* 'wing' that is used of both the wings of the eagle (e.g. KUB 17.10 ii 35–36) and the wings of the bee (e.g. KUB 17.10 i 38) in myths of the disappearance of Telipinu (see §16.2.2 and §16.2.6).

20.3.2. Dammara-, Du-ma, and Da-ma

There is a reasonable expectation that Anatolian Mycenaeans experienced, through assimilatory cultural interaction, elements of the cult matrix that is revealed by these considerations of Luvian religion in Arzawa. One element of this nexus is the cult officiant called the *dammara*-, another is the use of the bird 'wing' (*par-tāwar*) as a cult implement and of the bird as a divinatory instrument – an animal that exists in conjunction and alternation with the bee in Aegean myth and cult. One cult expression of the bee in the Mycenaean documentary record appears to be *meli-dumartes* – that is, 'honey-*dumartes*'; we have proposed that a parallel cult office notionally entailing the bird may be that of the *poro-dumartes* – that is, the 'feather/wing-*dumartes*'. This is not to suggest that in the Luvian cult of Arzawa the *dammara*-women and/or men were necessarily involved in bird, or bee, divination but merely to suggest that the Luvo-

[2048] See CHD p 199.

Hittite term *dammara-* provided a cult loanword to Greeks in the context of Anatolian Mycenaean-Luvian interaction and intermarriage, and that in Greek cult-structures the term found an application, in both simplex and compound forms, in the identification of particular Mycenaean cult officiants in the Late Bronze Age. For the transfer of terms from one cult to another, compare, among other possible examples, the Christian appropriation of Latin *pontifex* (plural *pontificēs*), naming a member of a pre-Christian Roman priestly college, for identifying the Bishop of Rome.

Operating with this borrowing scenario, let us return to the question insinuated in §20.2.2 – what are we to make of the variation between Linear B *du-ma* (*dumar*) and *da-ma* (*damar*)?[2049] The former (*du-ma*) departs *orthographically* from the Hittite spelling of *dammara-*, the latter (*da-ma*), *mutatis mutandis*, replicates the Hittite spelling (*dam-*

[2049] Compare the man's name *du-pu$_2$-ra-zo* on Knossos tablets Da 1173 + 721 and V(3) 479 beside the form *da-pu$_2$-ra-zo* on a jar from Eleusis, EL Z 1. The ox's name *to-ma-ko* (Stómargos [Στόμαργος] 'Loud-mouth') appears on Knossos tablets Ch 897, 898, and 1015, beside *tu-ma-ko* on C 973 (I wish to express my appreciation to Professor Brent Vine for drawing my attention to the *to-ma-ko*/*tu-ma-ko* variants). With post-Mycenaean *stóma* (στόμα) 'mouth' compare the Aeolic variant *stúma* (στύμα), as in Theocritus *Idylls* 29.25; see also Joannes Philoponus *Περὶ Αἰολίδος* 1.14, who in addition draws attention to Aeolic *húmoios* (ὕμοιος) beside *hómoios* (ὅμοιος) 'like, resembling'. Gregorius Pardus *De dialectis* 5.9 adds Aeolic *únuma* (ὕνυμα) beside *ónoma* (ὄνομα) 'name'.

ma-ra-). Given that borrowed words are subject to linguistic accommodation by the borrowing language, the Mycenaean variant *dumar* would look to be, of the two variants, one acquired as a *spoken* form. For this kind of variation we can compare, for example, that seen in Greek *Labrandeús* (Λαβρανδεύς) beside *Labraundos* (Λαβραυνδος), *Labraiundos* (Λαβραιυνδος), and so on, epithet of Zeus (whose iconography depicts him with the breast-like appendages of Ephesian Artemis) built on the Carian place name that appears in Greek as *Lábranda* (Λάβρανδα), *Lábraunda* (Λάβραυνδα), which we earlier encountered (see §5.2, §12.7.2, and §16.2). Consider too forms of Greek toponyms borrowed from Anatolian sources, such as Greek *Lésbos* (Λέσβος) from Luvic *Lazpa*, *Éphesos* (Ἔφεσος) from Luvic *Apaša*, and so on.[2050] Linear B *mo-ri-wo-do*, post-Mycenaean Greek *mólubdos* (μόλυβδος) and *mólibos* (μόλιβος) 'lead' compares to Lydian *mariwda-* 'dark, black', though presence of the term in Mycenaean requires a borrowing from a Bronze-Age language (rather than from Iron-Age Lydian).[2051] For a loan from Greek into Anatolian and variation between donor and recipient forms we can again (see §9.5.6)

[2050] See Herda 2013a:470, with bibliography. A similar possible example may be that provided by the Lesbian Greek toponym *Mutil-ḗnē* (Μυτιλ-ήνη), if derived from Luvo-Hittite *muwa-talli-* 'mighty' via effacement and replacement of the Hittite suffix *-talli-* with a Greek *-ḗnē* (-ήνη), itself based on Luvic –*wann(i)-*; see the discussion of Yakubovich 2013:120, with references.

[2051] See Melchert 2008.

compare Mycenaean **Etewoclewas* (reflected in the patronymic *E-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo*), i.e. *Eteocles*, and the *Ta-wa-ga-la-wa-* of Ahhiyawa document AhT 4 (the "Tawagalawa Letter").

Though not borrowings, also relevant here may be Aeolic variants that exhibit a *u*-vowel in place of an *a*-vowel.[2052] One example is that of *súrks* (σύρξ) for common *sárks* (σάρξ) 'flesh'.[2053] A well-known case is provided by reflexes of the Indo-European numeral 'four'. Lesbian shows *pésures* (πέσυρες),[2054] and various ancient sources report *péssures* (πέσσυρες) to be Aeolic.[2055] Beside these is epic *písures* (πίσυρες), which is almost certainly Aeolic. These several Aeolic forms, having a *u*-vowel in the penultimate syllable, contrast with Ionic *téssares* (τέσσαρες), Attic *téttares* (τέτταρες); compare Doric *tétores* (τέτορες).

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[2052] For general discussion see Lambert 1903:51–53.

[2053] From Proto-Indo-European *twerk̑- 'to cut'; see, *inter alia*, Mallory and Adams 1997:425; LIV 656; Watkins 2011:96–97. On the variation, see, *inter alia*, Aelius Herodianus *Περὶ παθῶν* 3,2.351; Hesychius Σ 2780.

[2054] See Blümel 1982:271–272. Boeotian and Thessalian show *péttares* (πέτταρες).

[2055] See, *inter alia*, Aelius Herodianus Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας 3,2.567; Hesychius Π 2035.

20.3.2.1. Greek dépas (δέπας), Cuneiform Luvian tappaš-, and Hieroglyphic Luvian tipas-. Let us consider the case of Greek *dépas* (δέπας) 'bowl, beaker', which has long been judged to be a probable borrowing from Luvian (see, for example, Chantraine 1968:264). The word occurs already in Mycenaean, attested consistently with the spelling *di-pa* (that is, *s*-stem *dipas*), found five times on Pylos tablet Ta 641, five times on Knossos tablet K(1) 875, and once on K(1) 740.[2056] The Mycenaean forms are used to identify vessels with and without handles; co-occurrence of logograms indicates that the implement is a type of jar (*202^{VAS}, once *214^{VAS}+*DI*),[2057] rather than a bowl; it is worth noting that the lexicographers can gloss *dépas* as *potḗrion* (ποτήριον),[2058] a term that includes within its set of attested meanings the sense 'jar' (as in Galen 13.385 Kühn). The source word (also *s*-stem) has been identified with Cuneiform Luvian *tappaš-* 'heaven, sky' (from *nḗbhes-),[2059] beside Hieroglyphic Luvian *tipas-* (from *nebhes-), and spelled with the CAELUM logogram (*182), which, in spite of its meaning, has the shape

[2056] Compare *di-pa-te[* in line 2 of the highly fragmentary Knossos tablet F 5079.

[2057] Knossos K(1) 740 for *214^{VAS}+*DI*. For both logograms see Bernabé and Luján 2008:224.

[2058] Thus, *inter alia*, Hesychius Δ 659; *Suda* Δ 248.

[2059] See Melchert 1993b:208.

of a bowl. In Hittite iconography, the sky can be represented as a bowl.[2060] Greek *dépas* can be used, for example, of the cosmic golden bowl in which Helios, the Sun, floats across Ocean into the depths of Night, as in Stesichorus fr. 8 Page (*Geryoneis*).[2061]

Watkins addresses the borrowing in a 2007 article. He points out (p.319, citing personal communications from Craig Melchert and Norbert Oettinger) that (1) since the fortis geminate bilabials of Cuneiform Luvian *tappaš* provide an approximate match for the single voiceless bilabial of Greek *dépas* (δέπας),[2062] and (2) since Luvian lacks the vowel *e*, then Cuneiform *tappaš-* is as likely a source of the Greek *dépas* as is the Hieroglyphic form *tipas-*. In regard to the Luvian *a*-vowel of the initial syllable beside

[2060] See the remarks of Watkins 2007:320, with bibliography. Regarding the proposed Greek borrowing of the Luvian term see also Simon 2017:248–250; on the CAELUM logogram see also Simon 2016. Oreshko 2018:102–104 is hyper-negative.

[2061] See also Stesichorus fr. 4.1 and 8.1 Page; Aeschylus fr. 69.4 and 74.4 TrGF; Pherecydes fr. 18a.3, 6, 8 Fowler. Images of Heracles in the bowl of Helios are attested, such as that on a fifth-century red-figure kylix by Douris; for images, including those of Assyrian boats of bowl shape and their modern Iraqi descendants, see the posting "Hēraklēs and the Sea" (https://kosmossociety.chs.harvard.edu/herakles-and-the-sea/). The image of Heracles is mentioned by Watkins in his treatment of the borrowing (Watkins 2007:321).

[2062] On the nature of the correspondence see the discussions of §9.5.6 and §16.2.3.2.

the Greek *e*-vowel, Watkins offers the parallel borrowing outcome seen in *Apaša* beside *Éphesos* (Ἔφεσος), which we have just again encountered.

There is, moreover, as Watkins goes on to discuss (2007:320–321), a Hieroglyphic Luvian *i*-stem *tapi (CAELUM-*pi*) that occurs on a silver bowl and with which form Hawkins (1993) compares Hittite (DUG)*tapi-šana-*, naming a type of vessel,[2063] seemingly a bowl, used in ritual.[2064] A second example of the Hieroglyphic Luvian form is found on a silver bowl in the Ankara Museum of Anatolian Civilizations (see Hawkins 1997) and in this case the inscription provides a bit of tantalizing context, placing it in the reign of a Tudhaliya at the time when he struck a blow against the place Tarwiza, a toponym that has been conjectured to name *Troy*, but in any event seemingly a place belonging to the Assuwan Confederacy of western Anatolia[2065] (on Hittite *Aššuwa*, beside Mycenaean *Aswiya*, see above, §15.2 and §§15.2.2). Melchert (2002:299–300) suggests that what we see here orthographically could be a Hieroglyphic Luvian rebus spelling of this vessel-

[2063] Perhaps denoting 'that which has the shape of a tapi-vessel' (Melchert 2002:299).

[2064] On Hittite (DUG)*tapi-šana,-* and *kalmi-šana*, see Melchert 2002:298–299, with bibliography of earlier work.

[2065] In addition to Watkins see also, *inter alia*, Bryce 2005:125–126 and 2006a:108–109. For an attempt to date the Ankara silver bowl inscription to a post-Empire period see Payne 2015:79–98; for a critique see Melchert 2018:592, who notes that "Payne dismisses without argument the attractive solution of Durnford (2010) of a late inscription with an allusion to a much earlier famous historical event."

name, *tapi, with the logogram that is used to spell the phonetically similar word for 'sky', catalyzed by notional associations of *sky* with *bowl*. The scenario that appears to emerge from these considerations is one which plausibly accords with the proposed Greek acquisition of *dépas* (δέπας) 'bowl, beaker' in Bronze-Age Anatolia.

The borrowing of Greek *dépas* (δέπας) from Luvian is a matter that is also addressed by Yakubovich (2013:119). He proposes, however, that the donor system should be identified as specifically the particular dialect of Arzawa – that is, "Arzawa Luvic." Yakubovich's concern arises from the phonetics of word-initial stop consonants in Luvian proper. As was discussed above in §5.2.1, Luvian lacks word-initial voiced stops, it seems: while *d*-symbols are used in *spelling* word-initially, only voiceless *t* appears to be *pronounced* in this context. Though as we noted in that earlier discussion, the use of Greek voiced *d* to express a Luvian loanword that begins with an initial dental stop is not necessarily a problematic matter for Mycenaean borrowings: given the Greek three-way phonemic contrast between voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated, and voiced stops in word-initial position, it may simply be a consequence of the automatic acoustic and articulatory approximation of a voiced unaspirated Greek dental stop *d-* (in a contrastive system) for a Luvian (non-contrastive) word-initial dental stop (allowing too that phonetic conditioning created by the remainder of the

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borrowed word may come into play). Consider Watkin's (2007:319n26) succinct expression of the matter:

> It is clear that whatever the phonetic realization of the initial <t-> in Cuneiform Luvian in the second millennium or Hieroglyphic Luvian in the first millennium, the Mycenaean Greeks of the second millennium perceived it as [d-], which persisted unchanged into Classical Greek.

Moreover, Rieken and Yakubovich (2020) have now shown that Luvian could preserve an initial voiced stop in technical borrowed vocabulary (relevant if *dammara-* were itself a *Wanderwort*). Beyond these considerations, we cannot be fully certain that stop devoicing had occurred in Luvian by the time in which the Mycenaean borrowing would have taken place.[2066] These various phonetic and phonological considerations apply equally to the Mycenaean acquisition of a Luvian *dammara-*.

[2066] H. Craig Melchert, personal correspondence; 27 July 2021. I wish to thank Professor Melchert for sharing his invaluable insight in matters discussed in this section.

20.3.2.2. Du-ma and Da-ma and the Mode of Borrowing. If Linear B *du-ma* spells a form that was acquired *orally* in a setting of Greek-Luvian linguistic and cultural intermixing, *da-ma* looks to be a *scribal* borrowing – in effect, a learned acquisition. In other words, Luvo-Hittite *dammara-* was taken over as an *orthographic* entity (*dam-ma-ra-*), one that was then written in accordance with Linear B spelling practices. What was the pronunciation attached to this *dama*-form? Aside from the nominative singular (*da-ma*, spelling *damar*), the word is attested (found only in compounds) with the spelling *-da-ma-te*, revealing that the *orthographic* loanword was assigned the same Greek *morphological accommodation* that we see in the conversationally-acquired (or "language-acquisitionally" acquired) *du-ma* form.

This accommodation could have been achieved automatically, analogically among the Greek borrowing community by the phonic realization of a stop *t* before vocalic endings of oblique cases of borrowed *dammara-*. This is the outcome of a set of productive processes in the development of attested Greek paradigms from an earlier Indo-European linguistic system, as, for example, in the evolution of *r*/*n*-stem heteroclites: thus, compare Greek nominative *hê̂par* (ἧπαρ), genitive *hḗpa<u>t</u>os* (ἥπα<u>τ</u>ος) 'liver' with Vedic Sanskrit *yákr̥t* (with a *t*-extension after the liquid *r*),[2067] *yak<u>n</u>ás*. As in

[2067] On the Sanskrit phenomenon see, *inter alia*, Burrow 1955:163–165.

this Greek example, the resulting formant is commonly *-at-* (-ατ-) and the gender of the participating nominal neuter. A Mycenaean example of the formant is provided by dative *aleiphatei* (*a-re-pa-te*) 'ointment, 'beside nominative *aleiphar* (A+RE+PA); compare nominative neuter *áleiphar* (ἄλειφαρ) at Hesiod *Theogony* 553 (with six occurrences of oblique case forms in Homeric epic).[2068]

There are alternative upshots, however. A *t*-extension, without semantic value, can be seen, for example, in Homeric *khrōtós* (χρωτός), genitive of masculine *khrṓs* (χρώς) 'flesh', attested alongside the Homeric genitive *khroós* (χροός). Outside of Homeric epic examples of the pattern are numerous, such as nominative *érōs* (ἔρως) 'sexual desire', with a genitive *érōtos* (έρωτος) already in Sappho fr. 23.1 L–P and accusative *érōta* (έρωτα) in *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 449. The analogic source of this innovative inflectional pattern has been commonly held to be an inherited verbal-adjective paradigm seen in Greek among roots ending in *-ā* (-ᾱ), *-ē* (-η), and *-ō* (-ω): for example, nominative *ōmo-brṓs* (ὠμο-βρώς) 'eating raw flesh', genitive *ōmo-brôtos* (ὠμο-βρῶτος). The ancestral verbal-adjective *t*-suffix deployed in generating such

[2068] A nominative *áleipha* (ἄλειφα) is attested also, earliest at Aeschylus *Agamemnon* 322. On the morphology of *áleiphar* (ἄλειφαρ) see Chantraine 1984:80, 82.

formations can be fundamentally agentive: consider Sanskrit *madhu-kŕ̥-t-* 'honey making', also denoting the 'honey-making-one' – that is, the 'bee'.[2069]

Within the Linear B data set, other examples of *-t-* surfacing in oblique-case forms include these. Masculine *wanaks* (ϝάναξ) shows genitive *wanaktos* (ϝάνακτος), as on Pylos tablet La(1) 622 (with the unusual consonant-cluster spelling *]wa-na-ka-to*).[2070] As discussed in Chapter Four (§4.2.2.1), this is a form produced with an agentive suffix *-t-*, denoting the 'kin/tribe-leading-one'. Compare here the verbal-adjective formations of the preceding paragraph. As with the paradigm of *ōmo-brṓs* (ὠμο-βρώς) etc., the *t* of *wanaktos* is an underlying morphological element that surfaces in the proper phonological contexts. The same holds, for instance, in the case of the genitive of the neuter *-i-t-*stem *mélitos* (μέλιτος), as on Pylos tablet Un 718 (*me-ri-to*), beside nominative *méli* (μέλι) 'honey', from earlier *melit-, compare Hittite *milit-*, Luvian *mallit-*.

More immediately significant with regard to Mycenaean *duma/dama* etc. is the case of post-Mycenaean *dámar* (δάμαρ), term attested in Homeric epic (and later; common in Euripides) with the meaning 'wife, spouse', having oblique stem *dam-art-*

[2069] On the suffix see Burrow 1955:165.

[2070] On the spelling see Woodard 1997:125–127.

(δαμ-αρτ-);[2071] compare Linear B *du-ma-te* and *da-ma-te*.[2072] The form occurs twice in the *Iliad* and three times in the *Odyssey*, principally in formulaic phrasing. In the *Iliad dámar* is used of the wife 'of Antenor's son' (*Antēnorídao* [Ἀντηνορίδαο]), the Trojan Helicaon (3.122), and, in a formally parallel way, of the wife 'of Alegenor's son' (*Alegēnorídao* [Ἀλεγηνορίδαο]), the Boeotian Promachus (14.503). Of the three occurrences in the *Odyssey*, two are used of Penelope, found in the formulary Ὀδυσσῆος δὴν οἰχομένοιο δάμαρτα 'the wife of Odysseus, long gone from home' (20.290 and 24.125). The third instance serves to identify Alcandre, the wife 'of Polybus' (*Polúboio* [Πολύβοιο]), king of Egyptian Thebes (4.126).

Regarding Homeric *dámar*, the Greek *t*-extension, and occurrence of that extension with *r*-stems, this is what Benveniste (1935:30), writing prior to the decipherment of Linear B, has to say:

> Mais parfois -*t* s'adjoint au degré -*r*, comme c'est probablement le cas dans δάμαρ [*dámar*], gén. δάμαρτος [*dámartos*] « femme mariée », éol. δόμορτις

[2071] See, *inter alia*, Brugmann and Thumb 1913:232; Benveniste 1935:30; Chantraine 1968:250; Risch 1974:195–196.

[2072] Indeed, post-Mycenaean *dámar* (δάμαρ) undoubtedly played a significant role in the phonetic interpretation of the Linear B *du-ma* and *da-ma*: see Aura Jorro 1985:151–152, 195.

> [*dómortis*], qui doit être un ancien neutre en -αρ [-*ar*] (Pedersen, KZ., XXXII, p. 244)[2073] avec finale *-αρτ [*-*art*] de nom.-acc. généralisée dans le paradigm.

(as opposed to the pattern that we encountered just above in which case the *t*-extension is limited to the nominative/accusative, in Sanskrit *yákr̥t* etc.) Benveniste (1935:30n1) characterizes as "artificielle" Boisacq's[2074] etymological analysis of *dámar* as a compound of *-ar* (-αρ), as in *artúō* (ἀρτύω) 'to arrange', and *dám-* (δάμ-), having the sense 'one who administers the house'. This idea can be seen at least as early as Schulze 1887:281–282 (= 1966:364), and is not uncommonly encountered. A different etymological connection is hypothesized by Morpurgo (1958:324), [2075] who proposes that Homeric *dámar* (δάμαρ) is built with the verb root seen in *damázō* (δαμάζω) 'to tame, master', *dámnēmi* (δάμνημι) 'to control, master', etc., beside Sanskrit *dāmyáti* 'to tame' , causative *damáyati* 'to subdue, overpower', to which can be added, *inter alia*, Hittite *damašzi* 'to press' (Luvian perhaps offers *damašti*), all from Proto-Indo-European

[2073] Pedersen 1893.

[2074] See Boisacq 1950:165, with bibliography.

[2075] See above, §14.6.1.

*demh$_2$- 'to constrain, tame'.[2076] Morpurgo also would draw into the equation Sanskrit *dāra-*, masculine in gender but denoting 'wife', and typically occurring as plural (i.e. 'wives'), source of feminine *dārikā* 'girl, daughter' and masculine *dāraka-* 'boy, son'; regarding origin of the Sanskrit term, Mayrhofer (1992–1996:720) judges "Nicht sicher erklärt."

Post-Mycenaean *dámar* (δάμαρ) 'wife' was given to further linguistic modification – analogically driven – by addition of a word-final *-s* in the nominative. The grammarians, and the scholia on their work, identify a nominative *dámars* (δάμαρς). For example, Aelius Herodianus (*De prosodia catholica* 3,1. 246) alludes to the paradigm of *dámars*, *dámartos*, setting it side by side with that of masculine (/feminine) *mákars* (μάκαρς), *mákartos* (μάκαρτος), itself modified from earlier *mákar* (μάκαρ), *mákaros* (μάκαρος) 'the blessed one', with the refashioned nominative *mákars* appearing already (seventh century BC) in the Doric of Alcman fr. 15.1 Page. Compare, with different oblique inflection, Cretan nominative masculine singular *maiturs* (μαιτυρς), plural *maitures* (μαιτυρες),[2077] beside Aeolic *mártur* (μάρτυρ),[2078] genitive *márturos*

[2076] See, *inter alia*, Chantraine 1968:250; Mayrhofer 1992–1996:698; Melchert 1993b:204; Mallory and Adams 1997:565; Watkins 2011:16.

[2077] See Chantraine 1961:78; Bile 1988:120–121 and 191.

[2078] See, *inter alia*, Aelius Herodianus *De prosodia catholica* 3,1. 47.

(μάρτυρος), Epic and Central Ionic nominative *márturos* (μάρτυρος),[2079] but Attic *mártus* (μάρτυς), genitive *márturos* (μάρτυρος) 'witness'. Cretan also shows a nominative *maitus* (μαιτυς). Ongoing analogical pressures are robustly on display.

And what of the form *dómortis* (δόμορτις) to which Benveniste refers as Aeolic? Hesychius (Δ 2182) preserves the term, glossing it as *gunḗ* (γυνή) 'woman, wife' (see also Aelius Herodianus *Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας* 3,2.493); similarly Hesychius (Δ 172, 176, 177) glosses Homeric *dámar* (δάμαρ) as *gunḗ* and as *gametḗ* (γαμετή) 'married woman, wife'. It has long been suggested that *dómortis* is an Aeolic form.[2080] One might imagine that the *t*-extension has here been generalized to the nominative, with the word made to be a feminine *i*- or *id*-stem.[2081] Bechtel (1911·127), however, would interpret *dómortis* to be a particular feminine form of an unattested masculine agent noun **damártās* (*δαμάρτᾱς). It is a plausible suggestion for which parallels are readily available, as, for example, feminine *prophêtis* (προφῆτις) beside masculine *prophḗtēs* (προφήτης) 'prophet'; *hikétis* (ἱκέτις) beside *hikétēs* (ἱκέτης) 'suppliant'; *ergátis* (ἐργάτις) beside *ergátēs* (ἐργάτης) 'worker'; *despótis* (δεσπότις) beside *despótēs* (δεσπότης) 'mistress of the house' and 'master of the house'; *parastátis* (παραστάτις) beside *parastátēs* (παραστάτης)

[2079] See Smyth 1894:432–433.

[2080] See, for example, Schulze 1887:282, who calls it "eine movirte form . . . ." Earlier still, Ahrens 1839:77.

[2081] See the remarks of Chantraine 1968:250.

'helper'; and so on. But if Aeolic feminine *agent* noun *dómortis* can denote 'woman, wife', then either that meaning must have arisen secondarily, from a sense such as 'woman who performs the action of *domor-', or Hesychius' gloss evidences semantic influence by Homeric *dámar* (δάμαρ) 'wife' – though these are not mutually exclusive possibilities.

If we proceed with the hypothesis that Aeolic *dómortis* (δόμορτις) and Homeric *dámar* (δάμαρ) are lexical variants, then of course Homeric *dámar-t-* 'wife' shares membership in a lexical set to which belong gender-distinguished **damártās* and *dómortis*, respectively signifying male and female agents that perform the same action. We here find ourselves in familiar territory. In Luvo-Hittite cult tradition there are identified both ^{LÚ}*dam-ma-ra* and, more often, ^{MEŠ}*dam-ma-ra-* cult functionaries – that is, *dammara*-men and *dammara*-women. That the sense of the Luvo-Hittite term *dammara-* entails agency, performance of an action, is perhaps suggested by the Hieroglyphic Luvian form of which we took note in §14.6. We saw in that earlier discussion that Hawkins suggests that while Hieroglyphic Luvian *tamaruna* may specify an "occupation," in keeping with the format of entries in KULULU lead strip 2, it nonetheless looks very much like an infinitival verb form. The one who serves as

tamaruna would thus fundamentally be agent performing the action expressed by this verbal.

In light of this Hieroglyphic Luvian evidence, the Luvo-Hittite cult functionary called the *dammara* must be responsible for performing an action that is in some conspicuous way – primarily or secondarily – encoded in the morphology of this nominal. This would be so even if the Hieroglyphic Luvian *tamaruna* were to mean only 'to *dammara*'. Consider the case of, for example, English *usher* 'doorkeeper', attested in the fourteenth century, ultimately from Latin *ostiārius* – that is, 'one concerned with doors'; the verbal use, as in the infinitive 'to usher', is secondary, only attested in the late sixteenth century; yet the action entailed by the verb is already signified in the nominal.

The salience of verbal activity that appears to attend semantically the Luvo-Hittite nominal *dammara* would most likely have been a factor in the Greek morphological accommodation that can be seen in the borrowing of *dammara* as Mycenaean *dumar-t-/damar-t-*. I would suggest that the appended *t* is the same agent suffix seen in Mycenaean *wanak-t-*. This hypothesis entails that Luvo-Hittite *dammara* was (regardless of the actual Anatolian-language state of affairs) popularly etymologized by the Mycenaean borrowers to be a compound terminating in a root

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noun (as in the case of *wan-ak-t-*). If with Benveniste one should be inclined to evaluate as artificial Schulze's interpretation of Homeric *dámart-* (δάμαρτ-) 'wife' as a compound of *dám-* (δάμ-) and *-ar-* (ἀρ-), 'one who administers the house', viewing that componential meaning as the artifice of (progressive) Greek folk etymologizing of a loanword perhaps provides some grounds for reconsidering Schulze's interpretative scheme.

With the proposed Homeric agentive structure *dam-ar-t-*, comparison can be made, as by Risch (1974:196), to Homeric *pul-ár-tēs* (πυλ-άρ-της), a lexeme formed with the agent suffix *-tēs* (-της), earlier *-tās*, as in Mycenaean *lāwāge-tās* (see §4.2.2.1). *Pul-ár-tēs* denotes 'one who administers the gate', used in epic as epithet of Hades, with reference to the gate of the nether region of the dead. Compare *lith-ár-tēs* (λιθ-άρ-της) in the Attic inscription of IG II^2 1424a (ca. later fourth century BC), seemingly referencing 'one who administers/arranges stones'. Alongside the Mycenaean borrowing and adaptation of Luvo-Hittite *dammara* to yield *dumar-t-*/*damar-t-*, there must have been created a by-form **damar-tās*, utilizing the agent suffix *-tās*, as in Homeric *pul-ár-tēs*, and Mycenaean *lāwāge-tās* rather than the agent suffix *-t-*, as in Mycenaean *wanak-t-*. The attested feminine counterpart *dómortis* (δόμορτις), evaluated

as Aeolic, with its *o*-vocalism,[2082] can be plausibly understood to be a particular post-Mycenaean local expression of the borrowing outcome seen in the Mycenaean variants *dumar-t-* and *damar-t-*, a variation to which we now return our attention.

Duma and *dumartes* are native-dialect forms for a body of Bronze-Age Greeks living in close social intercourse with Luvian speakers – members of a common community, and in which community individuals so identified served as religious personnel, *à la* Luvo-Hittite ^{LÚ}*dam-ma-ra* and ^{MEŠ}*dam-ma-ra-* cult functionaries. One might well suspect that the paradigm of the adapted lexeme *dumar*/*dumartes* at some moment informed the morphology of the learned variant *damar*. Presumably, for Mycenaean scribes who produced *da-ma* spellings, without regard to their membership in a local Ahhiyawa speech community, the *pronunciation* that was assigned to these *orthographic* borrowings *da-ma* and *-da-ma-te* would have been *damar* and *-damartes*, respectively (rather than a pronunciation *dumar*, *dumartes*)– a spelling pronunciation consistent with Luvo-Hittite vocalization.[2083] For some body of Mycenaean speakers

[2082] The presence of an *o*-vowel in Aeolic, in the place of an *a*-vowel attested in other dialects, is well evidenced. See the data collected by Lambert (1903:37–49).

[2083] If the scribal borrowings *da-ma* and *-da-ma-te* were actually pronounced as *dumar* and *-dumartes*, then the spelling *da-ma* would be *non-phonetic* and the sequence of signs (*da-ma*) would in effect constitute what might be called a "Luvogram." The cuneiform scripts of Anatolia work in this fashion, utilizing

this must certainly have been the pronunciation in light of the form that would survive into the lexicon of Homeric epic, i.e. *dámar* (δάμαρ). The phenomenon would not be so different from (though perhaps not identical to) that seen in Middle English by which variant forms of what was ultimately a single Latin word entered the English language – one form acquired by language learners as Norman French exerted its influence and the other borrowed directly from Latin, such as *roial* (i.e. *royal*) and *regalle* (i.e. *regal*), respectively.

The scenario developed here would of course require Mycenaean scribal exposure to Luvo-Hittite texts at the moment in which *da-ma* and *-da-ma-te* entered the scribal lexis as orthographically-informed borrowings. How would such exposure have come about? The international transmission of scribal documents is a well-attested phenomenon in the ancient Near East and environs, and we have already alluded (see §7.4) to the Hittite-Mycenaean scribal interface in our remarks on Ahhiyawa letter AhT 6 (ca. first half of the thirteenth century), the fragmentarily-preserved Hittite document (seemingly) sent by an Ahhiyawan king to his Hittite counterpart (possibly

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both Sumerian and Akkadian phonetic symbols (Sumerograms and Akkadograms) non-phonetically to spell Hittite (etc.) lexemes, which would (presumably) be assigned a Hittite (and so on) phonetic value upon reading. The use of "Luvograms" in Linear B spelling has not been a topic of investigation so far as I am aware.

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Muwatalli II) concerning ownership of certain islands. Melchert 2020a explores the nature of the scribal interaction that generation of this Hittite-language Mycenaean document, with its Luvianisms, would entail (especially in light of Hittite-Egyptian correspondence). Melchert demonstrates that the author of the Hittite text was almost certainly a native speaker of that language, and he develops plausible scenarios in which the Mycenaean original would have been delivered into the hand of a scribe in the service of the Hittite monarch, i.e. "translation took place at the receiving end." Conversely, when the Mycenaeans were at the receiving end of a Hittite transmission one must reasonably expect that some form of Greek linguistic equivalent would have been generated.

20.3.2.3 Standard and Non-Standard Usage. The picture that emerges from the examination of the distribution of *du-ma/da-ma* forms among scribal hands in §20.2.2.1 and §20.2.2.2 provides less clarity than we would like. Though we seem to be able to detect a hypercorrection in the production of a *da-ma* form, and this on the part of a scribe who is associated with a class of scribal hands among which are numbered Special Mycenaean users. This would be consistent with the view of "Normal"

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Mycenaean as the standard dialect of the Mycenaean chancellery:[2084] Special Mycenaean forms were suppressed and could be corrected – that is, erased and rewritten as Normal Mycenaean.[2085] The acquisition of *da-ma* forms of Luvo-Hittite *dammara-* appears to have been an orthographic phenomenon– that is, the Anatolian term was taken over by scribes among whose responsibilities was the translation of received Hittite documents into Greek. These could also have been locally-produced Luvian documents concerned with matters of cult. We have seen (§20.3.1) documentation of an issue of *dammara*-women having habitual intercourse with men of Arzawa, and (§20.3) the explicit mention of *dammara*-women and *dammara*-men in one of the surviving texts (an oracle text) which make mention of the Ahhiyawa (AhT 20); we must possess only some limited portion of the total Ahhiyawa correspondence, and none of the actual documents that were taken into hand by the Mycenaean recipients. We can reasonably anticipate that Mycenaean scribes operating in Anatolia encountered Luvo-Hittite *dam-ma-ra-* in documents emanating from Anatolian-language sources. The Greek scribal activity of translating Hittite documents would

[2084] See the comments of Palaima 2002:208–210, in which he also discusses insightfully the necessary interaction of palace scribes, who aim to write in standard dialect, with "the 'extramural' dialect of the non-palatial segment of the population."

[2085] As by Pylos hand 41: see Palaima 2002:217.

presumably have been one conducted on the ground in Anatolia, but the *da-ma* forms would be transmitted to the Mycenaean scribal establishment at Pylos, at the least,[2086] in whose documentary handiwork the *da-ma* references have survived, thanks to the fiery destruction of the Palace of Nestor. The scenario that presents itself is one of movement of individuals trained in the scribal *tékhnē* from Anatolia to the Balkan Mycenaean homeland. It is these individuals who served as the conduit through which the learned spelling *da-ma* was introduced into the chancellery establishment. This scenario is consistent with other references in the Linear B documents of ideas imported from Asia to Hellas that we have encountered in the chapters that precede.

On the other hand, it is the native Ahhiyawa community, the product of intermixing of Mycenaeans with local Luvic peoples, that acquired the *du-ma* forms through processes of language acquisition and cultural assimilation. And it is members of this Anatolian Greek community who introduced the dialect lexical item *dumar*, *dumartes* into Balkan Hellas as they moved back and forth across the Aegean. We could have every expectation, *ipso facto*, that some of these itinerant Anatolian Mycenaeans would themselves have been *dumartes*, and likely *meli-dumartes* and *poro-dumartes*, given that the cult office became established in Mycenaean palace culture. We can thus speak

[2086] On possible occurrence of *da-ma* in documents from Knossos see note 4 above.

meaningfully, I would suggest, of the *dumar* forms of this borrowed lexeme constituting a Mycenaean dialect feature.

But does this lexical feature intersect with the Normal Mycenaean versus Special Mycenaean dialect distinction? No it does not, to the extent that it does not participate in any of the four isoglosses that have conventionally been used to distinguish Normal Mycenaean from Special Mycenaean. And no, again, it does not, to the extent that Normal Mycenaean scribal hands also utilize the *dumar* forms. If we were able independently to make the case that the Anatolian Mycenaean dialect equates to Special Mycenaean, utilizing linguistic features that are distributed between scribal hands in a complementary way, then the case of *dumar* would represent an example of a dialect lexeme that had spread into the standard language from Special Mycenaean. Such "cultural borrowings" constitute an exceptionally common type of lexical borrowing among the world's languages. In a cross-linguistic study of loanwords, Tadmor (2009:64) found that the highest percentage of borrowings, a full 41.2%, occur in the semantic field of "religion and belief."

20.3.2.4 Di-pa, Dépas (δέπας), and Mycenaean Dialects. I would like to return briefly to the matter of Cuneiform Luvian *tappaš-*, Hieroglyphic Luvian *tipas-* (etc.), and

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the Greek loanword-forms associated with them. Somewhat reminiscent of the Linear B *du-ma/da-ma* variation that we have just been considering, though distinct from it, Greek shows two different phonetic outcomes of the borrowing of these Luvian forms. The Mycenaean loanword is consistently spelled *di-pa*; the post-Mycenaean form of the loanword is *dépas* (δέπας). If *du-ma/da-ma* variants do not participate in any of the four isoglosses that distinguish Normal Mycenaean from Special Mycenaean, the *di-pa/dépas* variants do: *di-pa* displays a high front vowel *i* in the vicinity of a labial consonant, while *dépas* shows a mid front vowel e. This is an alternation that straightforwardly subscribes to the Mycenaean dialect isogloss (1C) of §20.2.2.2 above: that is – Special Mycenaean is characterized by the preservation of a mid front vowel *e* in the vicinity of a labial consonant, as opposed to a raising to high front *i* in Normal Mycenaean.

It is the post-Mycenaean *dépas* (δέπας) that looks likely to be the default borrowing outcome of the form attested in Cuneiform Luvian as *tappaš-*, which most likely must be viewed as the default donor. The borrowing context was undoubtedly provided by the intermixed Mycenaean-Luvian communities of western Anatolia, as Watkins underscores in his 2007 work (see especially pp. 322–323). In *dépas* the Greek mid vowel *e* appears in lieu of Luvian *a*. Let us recall that this is the same variation seen in Greek Ἔφεσος (*Éphesos*), borrowing of Apaša, and in Greek *Lésbos* (Λέσβος) borrowing

of *Lazpa*. The phonetic context in which the Greek *e*-vowels appear is quite similar in the case of *dépas* and *Éphesos*, immediately preceding a bilabial stop in each instance, which fundamentally accords with the context in which the *e* outcome arises in the borrowing *Lésbos*. These stand in notable contrast to the phonetic context in which the *u* of *du-ma* occurs, being positioned before a geminate bilabial nasal in the source word (i.e. Luvo-Hittite *dammara*). Should *di-pa* and *dépas* in fact belong to Normal Mycenaean and to Special Mycenaean respectively, then we would see here an instance in which the Special Mycenaean form survives into the first millennium BC, while the Normal Mycenaean form disappears. This is consistent with what is otherwise observed: in the case of Mycenaean isoglosses (1A), (1B), and (1C), it is the Special Mycenaean dialect feature that survives the end of the Bronze Age. In addition, a plausible scenario would be one in which Special Mycenaean speakers acquired *dépas* within an intermixed Greek-Luvian community, and in which, in turn, the borrowing was transmitted to Normal Mycenaean speakers, whereupon it experienced Normal Mycenaean vowel raising to generate attested *di-pa*.

20.4. Artemis, Artamis, and Artimis

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As we have just once again reminded ourselves, one of the isoglosses that distinguishes Normal Mycenaean from Standard Mycenaean is the raising of the mid front vowel *e* to *i* in the vicinity of a labial consonant (again, feature (1C) in the list of §20.2.2.2), with Normal Mycenaean being the dialect that is marked by the raising. One of the forms in which this isogloss surfaces in the Linear B documentary record is a theonym – that of the Asian deity whom we encountered, yet again, earlier in this chapter, this time in conjunction with *dammara*-women and the practice of their sexual habits in Arzawa (= Ephesus; see §20.3.1). In post-Mycenaean Greek the name of this goddess appears chiefly as *Ártemis* (Ἄρτεμις), with a genitive/dative stem *Ártemid-* (Ἀρτεμιδ-)[2087] or, less commonly, *Artemit-* (Ἀρτεμιτ-).[2088] The comparable Mycenaean form appears on Pylos tablet Es 650 + fr., occurring in the phrase *a_3-ki-wa-ro , a-te-mi-to , do-e-ro* 'A_3-ki-wa-ro the [cult] slave of Artemis' (see §15.3): here the genitive *a-te-mi-to* displays a stem in *-t-* (rather than *-d-*) – in other words, the Mycenaean theonym *a-te-mi-to* shows that oblique stem which is the less common type in the instance of post-

[2087] The accusative is typically *Ártemin* (Ἄρτεμιν).

[2088] As in Alcman fragment 54 (Page), Ἀρτέμιτος θεράποντα '*therápōn* of Artemis' (on *therápōn* see §8.6.2) and in numerous inscriptions from Laconia and Messenia (IG V,1 11, 273; 274; 277; 278; 280; 281; 282; 287; 296; 303; 306; 307; 308; 309; 313; 314; 341; 343; 351; 353; 559; 960; 1374; 1431; 1458); also in inscriptions from, among other places, Arcadia, Delphi, and Rhodes.

Mycenaean *Ártemis*, though it (i.e. the less-common *Artemit-*) is a stem particularly well attested in Messenia and Laconia.[2089] The tablet on which *a-te-mi-to* occurs (Es 650 + fr.) is the work of scribal hand 11, a *Special Mycenaean* hand. The *Normal Mycenaean* form of the goddess' name (with raised vowel, as well as with the Normal Mycenaean dative ending) appears in the dative, *a-ti-me-te*, on Pylos tablet Un 219 + frr. (on this tablet see §2.2.2.1; §3.4.1; §4.3; §5.4.1.2), an orthographic product of scribal hand 15 (again with oblique stem in *-t-*).

20.4.1. Doric and Northwest Greek Ártamis (Ἄρταμις)

Aside from this variation between *-t- and -d-* in genitive/dative-stem formants, other alternatives in this goddess' name present themselves in post-Mycenaean Greek. Most notable is the Doric form appearing in Stesichorus fragment S105a.11 Page and robustly evidenced in Doric inscriptions, and also found in Northwest Greek inscriptions. Here the name shows an *a*-vowel (rather than an *e*-vowel) in the second syllable – that is, *Ártamis* (Ἄρταμις). In this instance the genitive/dative stem is commonly *Ártamit-* (Ἀρταμιτ-), in agreement with the Mycenaean stem morphology as we know it. This variant theonym *Ártamis* is also well attested in Boeotia (especially

[2089] See the preceding note.

Chaironeia and Thespiae),[2090] where the genitive/dative stem is, however, commonly *Árt<u>a</u>mid-* (Ἀρτᾱμιδ-).[2091] Since antiquity[2092] *Árt<u>a</u>mis* has been analyzed as one member of a set of forms in which a Doric *a*-vowel varies with an *e*-vowel in most other dialects, though Northwest Greek shows agreement with Doric.

In §3.4.2.3, in our discussion of the idea that Linear B *i-ra* 'sanctuaries' (neuter) may spell a Special Mycenaean variant of a Normal Mycenaean *i-je-ro* 'sanctuary', we drew attention to various post-Mycenaean forms of this term. Following is the summary that is offered in that section:

> When we survey the handbooks we read that the word occurs as (the familiar) *hierós* (ἱερός) in Attic, Arcado-Cypriot, and Thessalian; that *hiarós* (ἱαρός) or *iarós* (ἰαρός) is West Greek (i.e. Doric and Northwest Greek) and also occurs in Boeotian (and once in Thessalian) and in Pamphylian (earliest spelled *hiiarú* [hιιαρύ]); that with regard to Ionic – Herodotus uses both *hierós* (ἱερός) and *hirós* (ἱρός) (the former also in the Hippocratic corpus) and East Ionic inscriptions

[2090] There are also a very few occurrences in Thessalian inscriptions.

[2091] There are a few occurrences in Thessaly as well.

[2092] See, *inter alia*, Aelius Herodianus *Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας* 3,2.496; Theodosius *Περὶ γραμματικῆς* 5; Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam* (= Stallbaum 1970) 1.268.

likewise show *ierós* (ἱερός) and *irós* (ἱρός); Lesbian uses *îros* (ἶρος). East Ionic ("ionico nord-orientale") and Lesbian thus look to share Doria's alternative Mycenaean – that is, (what we would call) Special Mycenaean – form (see his pp. 35–37).

The Doric and Northwest Greek *hiarós* (ἱαρός) here mentioned varies with the widely-occurring *hierós* (ἱερός)[2093] in the same way that Doric *Ártamis* (Ἄρταμις) varies with *Ártemis* (Ἄρτεμις). The appearance of the *a*-forms in Boeotian can be, and typically has been, attributed to West Greek influence.

Among other cited examples displaying this kind of dialect variation are included the following.[2094] (1) The Homeric modal particle *ke* (κε) – also Thessalian, Lesbian, and Cypriot[2095] – appears as *ka* (κα) in Doric and Northwest Greek (and Boeotian). (2) Attic-Ionic and Arcado-Cypriot use the temporal adverbs *hóte* (ὅτε)

[2093] In the same way, Attic-Ionic and Cypriot *hiereús* (ἱερεύς) 'priest' occurs beside Doric *hiareús* (ἱαρεύς); and again Ionic shows a variant *hireús* (ἱρεύς). Arcadian attests, with variant agentive morphology, *hierḗs* (ἱερής) as well as *hiarḗs* (ἱαρής), the latter under Doric influence (see Dubois 1988:1:116).

[2094] See, *inter alia*, Thumb and Kieckers 1932:53, 90; Buck 1955:24, 104–105; Thumb and Scherer 1959:109; Chantraine 1968:213, 507; Egetmeyer 2010:157, 455.

[2095] Arcadian attests *-kan* (-καν); see Dubois 1988:1:227–231.

'when', *tóte* (τότε) 'then', and *póte* (πότε) 'when?', while Doric shows *hóka* (ὅκα), *tóka* (τόκα), and *poka* (ποκα); and Aeolic uses *óta* (ὅτα) and so on. (3) Similarly, the Attic-Ionic etc. adverbial formant *-(s)the(n)* (-[σ]θε[ν]) appears in Doric as *-(s)tha* (-[σ]θα), as in, for example, Attic-Ionic *prósthe(n)* (πρόσθε[ν]), Lesbian *prósthe* (πρόσθε), and Doric *próstha* (πρόσθα) 'before'. (4) For the Attic-Ionic etc. emphatic clitic particle *-ge* (-γε), Doric shows *-ga* (-γα; also Boeotian). To the preceding examples can be added pairs of Doric/non-Doric content lexemes that show an *a~e* alternation, including these:[2096] (5) Doric *stráphō* (στράφω) beside Attic-Ionic etc. *stréphō* (στρέφω) and Aeolic *strophō̂* (στροφῶ) 'to turn about' (perhaps from a Proto-Indo-European *streb^{h}- or *streg^{wh}-'to turn about'); (6) Doric *trápō* (τράπω) beside Attic-Ionic etc. *trépō* (τρέπω) 'to turn' (from Proto-Indo-European *trep- 'to turn'); (7) Doric *tráphō* (τράφω) beside Attic-Ionic etc. *tréphō* (τρέφω) 'to thicken' (from Proto-Indo-European *d^{h}reb^{h}- 'to clot, curdle'); (8) Doric *trákhō* (τράχω) beside Attic-Ionic etc. *trékhō* (τρέχω) 'to run' (from Proto-Indo-European *d^{h}reg^{h}- 'to run').

20.4.2. Anatolian Ártimis (Ἄρτιμις)

[2096] See, *inter alia*, Thumb and Kieckers 1932:149, 166; 274; Chantraine 1968:1063–1064, 1132–1136; Bile 1988:124–125; LIV 153–154, 603, 650.

In addition to Doric and Northwest Greek *Ártamis* (Ἄρτ<u>α</u>μις), there is yet another variant of the theonym *Ártemis* (Ἄρτ<u>ε</u>μις) attested in the first millennium BC. In his *Persians* (fr. 791), the dithyrambic poet Timotheus of Miletus (fifth-fourth century BC) presents an account of the battle of Salamis, in which he gives voice to a captured Persian soldier from Celaenae (in Phrygia), placing on his lips pleas; these the captive Persian warrior utters by 'plaiting Greek | with Asian speech' (Ἑλλάδ' ἐμπλέκων | Ἀσιάδι φωνᾶι; col. 4.146–147).[2097] This poetically-crafted hybridized speech takes the form of a somewhat telegraphic Greek with simplified (non-standard, of a sort characteristic of Hellenistic koine) morphology. Among the words spoken is the divine name *Ártimis* (Ἄρτ<u>ι</u>μις), uttered as the soldier tells his captors he has no interest in continuing the fight and just wants to go home (col. 4.154–161):

Τὰ λοιπὰ δ' οὐκέτι, πάτερ,
οὐκέτι μαχέσ' αὖτις ἐνθάδ' ἔρχω 155
ἀλλὰ κάθω·

[2097] On Timotheus' *Ártimis* (Ἄρτιμις) see, *inter alia*, Kretschmer 1914:267; Bechtel 1921–1924:2:810; Metri 1954:106; Brixhe 1976:18–19. On the linguistic register that Timotheus assigns to his Phrygian soldier from Celaenae see, Hordern 2002:203–214 (who looks to comedy, chiefly, for parallels [and offers extensive bibliography]); see also Anfosso 2019.

ἐγώ σοι μὴ δεῦρ’, ἐγὼ

κεῖσε παρὰ Σάρδι, παρὰ Σοῦσα,

Ἀγβάτανα ναίων·

Ἄρτιμις ἐμὸς μέγας θεὸς 160

Παρ’ Ἔφεσον φυλάξει.

In the time that remains, not again, O father,

not again I come back here again for fights 155

but instead I sit [at home];

I myself not here to you, I myself

there at Sardis, close by Susa,

living in Ecbatana;

Artimis my great goddess 160

Will preserve me at Ephesus.

The alphabetic spelling *Árti̱mis* (Ἄρτι̱μις) that Timotheus uses in line 160 agrees with the Normal Mycenaean representation of the goddess’ name – that is, the *a-ti̱-me-te* of Pylos tablet Un 219 + frr. Is Timotheus, from Miletus in Asia, reporting an attested

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Anatolian, post-Mycenaean pronunciation of the theonym rather than creating a "barbarism"?

20.4.2.1. Place Names in the Persian Soldier's Speech. Let us first consider the morphology that the Milesian Timotheus assigns to the several proper nouns – Asian place names – that appear in the lines that just precede the mention of the divine name *Ártimis* (Ἄρτιμις) in the Phrygian soldier's speech. *Sardis*, capital of Lydia, is here presented in the dative singular, *Sárdi* (Σάρδι). This Lydian place name is regularly inflected in literary and epigraphic Greek as a plural – *hai Sárdeis* (αἱ Σάρδεις), and Ionian *Sárdies* (Σάρδιες) – and the inscription *Miletos* 30 (McCabe 1991c [SEG 37, 982]), second half of the fourth century BC (nearly contemporaneous with Timotheus), shows both accusative plural *Sárdīs* (Σάρδῖς), the regular accusative plural morphology used (and frequently so) in the Ionic of Herodotus, and dative plural *Sárdisi* (Σάρδισι). Though a singular *Sárdis* (Σάρδις) can in fact be found elsewhere, as notably in the *Ethnica* of Stephanus Byzantius (1.262, 14.16, 18.69); the Suda (Ξ 54) preserves a dative singular *Sárdei* (Σάρδει) and Aelius Herodianus (*Περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων* 3,2.699) a genitive singular *Sárdeōs* (Σάρδεως). In Lydian the name of the city of *Sardis* was built on a formant *Śfard-*, as can be seen in forms of the Lydian derivative *Śfardẽtis* 'Sardian'

(nominative singular); the name of the city itself is preserved in the dative singular (LW 22.5, 10)[2098] in the prepositional phrase *išt Śfarλ* 'to Sardis'.[2099] This Lydian toponym is attested in various languages of the Near East: on the Behistun inscription of Darius the Great, the Babylonian name of Sardis appears as *Sapardu* and the Old Persian as *Sparda*; the Elamite (I) form occurs in a plural ethnic, 'Sardians', located adjacent to the ethnic identifier 'Ionians' – written ^{DIŠ}*Iš-pár-ti-ia-ip a-ak* ^{DIŠ}*i-ia-u-na-ip* 'Sardians and Ionians'.[2100] The name of the city is spelled *Sprd* in Aramaic (as in line 2 of the consonantal Aramaic text of the Lydian-Aramaic bilingual from Sardis; *bsprd byrt'* 'in the city of *Sprd*').[2101]

If Timotheus' dative *Sárdi* (Σάρδι) adheres to the *phonological* shape of the *Greek form* of the Lydian toponym (a borrowing notably distinct from the non-Greek forms just cited), its *singular* inflection is consistent, it seems, with *Lydian practice* (dative singular *Śfarλ*) and with the practice of the several Near Eastern languages in which the place name is recorded. Perhaps Timotheus' singular inflection of the toponym placed

[2098] For the Lydian inscriptional corpus see Melchert 2001a.

[2099] For recent discussion of the text and the Lydian form of the place name and derivatives see Yakubovich 2017.

[2100] The transliteration is that of Amiri Parian 2017:3.

[2101] Littmann 1916:23; Cook 1917:82.

on the lips of the Phrygian soldier is meant to replicate actual usage of Greek language as Timotheus had encountered it among Lydians (and other peoples of the regions). Though this is unclear: it is equally possible that Timotheus' use of singular *Sárdi*, rather than the standard dative plural *Sárdisi* (Σάρδισι) or *Sárdesi* (Σάρδεσι), is merely a stylistic device – a singular inflection of a normally plural form meant to portray the linguistic infelicities of an unknowing Asian attempting to speak Greek.

In contrast, the Phrygian soldier's use of Greek plurals *Soûsa* (Σοῦσα, neuter)[2102] and *Agbátana* (Ἀγβάτανα, neuter), or commonly *Ekbátana* (Ἐκβάτανα, neuter),[2103] looks to be consistent with standard Greek practice. Susa (Sumerian *Šušina*; Elamite *Šušan*; Akkadian *Šūšan*, Hebrew *Šušan*; Old Persian *Šušan*) was the capital of Elam and winter residence of the Achaemenids; Ecbatana (in the Behistun inscription Babylonian *Agamatanu*; Old Persian *Hamgmatāna*; Elamite *Akmatana*) was the capital of Media and summer residence of the Achaemenids. The concatenation of the toponyms Susa and Ecbatana is a well-attested formulary.[2104] Timotheus' Phrygian's felicitous Greek

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[2102] Though a feminine singular declension, nominative *Soûsa* (Σοῦσα), genitive *Soúsēs* (Σούσης), can also be found, as at Josephus *Jewish Antiquities* 11.220.

[2103] *Egbátana* (Ἐγβάτανα) in Demosthenes *Philippics* 34

[2104] Thus, *inter alia*, Aeschylus *Persians* 16 and 535; Xenophon *Anabasis* 2.4.25 and 3.5.15; Demosthenes *Philippics* 24; Aristotle *De mundo* 398a; Plutarch *Pelopidas* 30.3 and *Agesilaus* 15.1.

production of these two toponyms may suggest that his *Sárdi* (Σάρδι) is intended to be more Asianism than stylized ignorant usage.

20.4.2.2. Artimis etc. in Pamphylia, Lydia, and Phrygia. While Timotheus' theonym *Ártimis* (Ἄρτιμις) is a *hapax legomenon* in Greek literary texts, its peculiarity does not quite equate to that of dative singular *Sárdi* (Σάρδι) to the extent that, beyond Mycenaean considerations, this form of the deity's name has significant epigraphic attestation both within and without the Greek language. In post-Mycenaean Greek the principal evidentiary set is provided by forms of the masculine and feminine (respectively) proper names *Artimí-dōrus/Artimi-dṓra* (Ἀρτιμί-δωρυς/ Ἀρτιμι-δώρα) and *Artimí-dorus/Artimi-dóra* (Ἀρτιμί-δορυς/ Ἀρτιμι-δόρα) in inscriptions from Pamphylia.[2105] The strength of the evidence for Mycenaean agreement is, however, somewhat mitigated by processes of vowel raising that characterize this Anatolian Greek dialect, Pamphylian (and Lesbian, as well as Cypriot). Notice that in these Pamphylian forms of that proper name which is elsewhere typically attested as *Artemídōros* (Ἀρτεμίδωρος) the vowel of the final syllable has been raised from mid back

[2105] See, for example, Dial.gr.Pamph. 5.1; 22.2; 28.1; 54.1; 62.2, 4; 68.1; 73.1; 79.4 (cf. *Artemídōros* [Ἀρτεμίδωρος] in l. 1); 88.4; 89.1; 93.1; 94.2; 95.1; 105.1, 4; 123.3; 127.5; 131.3; 136.4; 138.5; 154.1; 160.1; 166.1, 4; 188.2, 3; 207.1; 223.3; 231.3.

o to high back *u*.[2106] The presence of the pre-nasal high front vowel *i* (*Artimi-*), rather than the mid front vowel *e* (*Artemi-*), in the second syllable of the goddess' name may be attributable to the same Pamphylian phonological process of vowel raising (as already noted in LGPN V.A:xxvi).

On the other side, as alluded to above, this theonym with *i*-vowel in the second syllable is well attested in non-Greek language in Anatolia. Returning to Lydia – the name of the goddess appears as *Artimuś* (see §15.3); three distinct goddesses bearing this name appear among the Lydians:[2107] *Artimuś Śfardav* 'Artemis of the Sardians' (LW 11.9),[2108] *Artimuś Kulumsis* 'Artemis of Coloë' (LW 1.8; 2.10), and, the most important of the three, *Artimuś Ibśimsis* 'Artemis of Ephesus' (LW 1.7–8; 2.10; 23.4; 24.12; 54.6).[2109] Agreeing with the high vowel of the Lydian form is the Phrygian genitive *Artimitos*

[2106] Mentioned above in §6.4.1. On the process see Buck 1955:27; Thumb and Scherer 1959:89 and 157; Brixhe 1976:20–24; Egetmeyer 2010:59–62.

[2107] For recent discussion of epigraphic evidence for Lydian deities, with bibliography, see Payne 2019.

[2108] *Śfarda=k Artimuλ.*

[2109] Artemis also appears in LW 4b.5 (*Artymu=k*); 5.5; 21 (?); 22.9, 11, 12; 23.1, 10, 21; 24.14; 25.5 (*Artimulis*?); 41.4; 46.4; 70.2 (?); LW 104.1 (*Artymal=im*). The Lydian vowel spelled as *y* appears to have been a variant of the vowel spelled as *i* that "appears in unstressed position" (see Melchert 1994:342).

found in the Old Phrygian-Greek bilingual inscription of the Vezirhan stele (B-05.3).[2110] In addition, a Roman-Era inscription from the Middle Hermus basin of Phrygia preserves the dedication *Mētrì Atímiti* (Μητρὶ Ἀτίμιτι) 'to Mother A[r]timis'.[2111] Adiego (2007:356–357, 410, and 460), following upon Zgusta 1964, notes the occurrence of the form *Artimēs* (Ἀρτιμης) in Caria and also draws attention to the Carian name (nominative singular) *Rtim*.

In answer to the question posed above regarding the *Árti̱mis* (Ἄρτι̱μις) of the Phrygian soldier from Celaenae[2112] – "Is Timotheus, from Miletus, reporting an attested Anatolian, post-Mycenaean pronunciation of the theonym rather than creating a 'barbarism'?" – we can with some confidence respond that Timotheus is here using an actual Anatolian thread in fabricating his web of Greek and Asian language. The immediate source of Timotheus' theonym may certainly have been Lydian: there is evidence of the use of Lydian language in Miletus in the sixth century BC,[2113] and a Lydian cultural presence there in the fifth and fourth centuries is suggested by the use

[2110] See Brixhe 2004:55–56.

[2111] Petzl 1994, inscription 54, line 17; referenced by Brixhe 2004:56.

[2112] Regarding an inscription in Lydian letters from Celaenae, reported to be the oldest inscription found at the site (proposed to be ca. late sixth or early fifth century BC), see Ivantchick and Adiego 2016.

[2113] Adiego 1997.

of Lydian names during this period. Though the evidence of the use of Carian language in Miletus in the fifth and fourth centuries BC may equally point to that language for Timotheus' datum and inspiration.[2114]

20.4.2.3. Artemis etc. in Lycian. In Lycian inscriptions, in contrast to what we have just witnessed, Artemis' name is recorded as *Ertẽme/i* and *Erteme/i* – that is, with a vowel spelled as *e* (oral or nasal) in the second syllable. This Lycian alphabetic symbol records a lower vowel sound than that typically represented by Greek *epsilon* in the same period: the Lycian vowel is likely a low front vowel [æ] or perhaps even a low central vowel [a], and thus the Lycian form of the goddess' name tends phonetically toward that of Doric and Northwest Greek *Ártamis* (Ἄρταμις).[2115] The shift of the word-initial vowel of *Ertẽme/i* ~ *Erteme/i* occurs by a regular Lycian process of regressive vowel assimilation.[2116] These forms can be seen in the inscriptions of Lycian texts 44c.8, N 311.1, N 312.5 (Greek-Lycian bilingual from Xanthus, on which the corresponding

[2114] For discussion of the evidence for a Carian presence in Miletus from the sixth century into the Hellenistic period, with bibliography, see Mac Sweeney 2013:65–67.

[2115] See Melchert 1994:291–292.

[2116] See Melchert 1994:296–297.

Greek form is spelled *Artemidi* [Ἀρτεμιδι]).[2117] In the Letoon trilingual inscription (Lycian, Greek, and Aramaic) from Xanthus (ca. third quarter of the fourth century BC), a derivative *Erttimeli*, a personal name, appears in the Lycian text (N 320.5); the corresponding form in the Greek portion is spelled *Artemēlin* (Ἀρτεμηλιν; N 320G.5). With these compare the Lydian derived form *Artimal[is* (LW 42.3), showing, as anticipated, the *i*-vowel of Lydian *Artimuś*.[2118] Clearly, in contrast to what we have just seen, the Lycian name *Erttimeli* shares with Lydian (and Phrygian and Carian) a raised vowel in the second syllable. Greek inscriptions from Imperial Roman-era Pisidia[2119] and Lycia[2120] attest also a personal name *Artímas* (Ἀρτίμας);[2121] and only slightly later than the Letoon trilingual is the Greek inscription from Lycia TAM I 152, which begins *Arti[*, restored as *Artí[mas*. One may suspect that ongoing Greek-Lycian cultural and

[2117] Perhaps also in N 325.5. For the Lycian corpus of texts, see Melchert 2001b, which the numbering system used herein follows.

[2118] Compare LW 98.2. On these Lycian and Lydian derivatives see Melchert 1994:295 and 342. See also Melchert 2013d:37.

[2119] SEG 19:852 and 57:1484; IK Central Pisidia 129.

[2120] Heberdey and Kalinka 1897:8,22; TAM II 1025.

[2121] These are discussed by Zgusta (1964) and, more recently, by Vernet Pons (2016).

linguistic interactions informed the phonetic/orthographic shape of the personal name *Erttimeli* (whatever the source of the *i*-vowel of Greek *Artı̯mas* [Ἀρτί̯μας]).

20.4.2.4. Anatolian Artimis etc. and Normal and Special Mycenaean. The etymology of the name of the goddess Artemis is quite uncertain, but whatever linguistic sense is to be made of it, it is most likely a name exported from Anatolia to Hellas proper.[2122] And this would have occurred in the Bronze Age – her name is there in the Mycenaean tablets. But unlike the case of Linear B *da-ma/du-ma*, beside Luvo-Hittite *dammara-*, a plausible indigenous source-form for the goddess' name has not been identified in the documentary record of second-millennium BC Anatolia (obscured by Sumerograms?). Brown (2004:252), appealing to Greek associations of Artemis with the bear, suggests as the source a compound built on the Anatolian word for 'bear' that appears in Hittite as *ḫart(ag)ga-* plus a form of *muwa-*. Hittite *muwa-*, formant signifying an "awe-inspiring quality," is used in the formation of names – principally men's names (but also women's [at least three]: *Ḫepamuwa*, *Muwanani*, and *Muwatti*; see CHD L–N:314). We have already encountered *muwa-* as an onomastic element, base of the name of *Muwatalli* II (adjective *muwatalli-* 'mighty, overpowering'); compare Cuneiform Luvian *muwattalla/i-* and

[2122] See, *inter alia*, the comments of Chantraine 1968:116–117.

Hieroglyphic Luvian *mu-wa/i-tà-*.[2123] Muwatalli II is the Hittite king who was perhaps recipient of AhT 6, the letter that has been read as sent by an Ahhiyawan king (see above, §20.3.2.2), and the Anatolian sovereign who entered into a treaty (CTH 76) with one Alaksandu (cf. Greek *Aléxandros* [Ἀλέξανδρος]), a vassal king of Wilusa (cf. Greek *Ílios* [Ἴλιος], 'Ilium', i.e. 'Troy').[2124] The use of the formant *muwa-* to construct theophoric personal names, for example, *Ḫepamuwa* and *Sauskamuwa* from the feminine theonyms *Ḫepat* and *Sauska*, respectively, reveals that the quality denoted by *muwa-* was one that a goddess (as well as a god [cf. *Armamuwa*, *Tiwatamuwa*, *Iyarramuwa*, *Sa(n)tamuwa*])[2125] could be understood to possess (CHD L–N:315).

If Artemis' name were to be etymologized as a borrowing of an Anatolian compound formed with *-muwa-*, and even if not, for the initial element of the theonym

[2123] See CHD M–N:316–317 and Melchert 1993b:151. With *muwa-* compare also *muwanu-*, an epithet of the Storm-god.

[2124] See, *inter alia*, Luckenbill 1911; Kretschmer 1924; Güterbock 1986:33–37, 43–44; Watkins 1986:56–58; Edmunds 2016:122–123. According to this treaty (§3), a predecessor of Alaksandu had ruled Wilusa when Suppiluliuma I, the grandfather of Muwatalli, was the Hittite sovereign, and at this time Wilusa existed in a peaceful relationship with the Hittites: the name assigned to this earlier ruler of Wilusa is *Kukkunni*. Some would see in the name *Kukkunni* yet another Anatolian analogue of a name known from Greek traditions of the Trojan War, namely *Cycnus* (that is *Kúknos* [Κύκνος]); see, *inter alia*, Watkins 1986:49.

[2125] See Laroche 1966:290–291.

one might look to a formant such as *ḫardu-*, as in the divine name *Ḫarduppi*, "who in KUB 46.18 obv. 19 has the Luvian epithet *im(ma)ralla/ī*, 'Harduppi of the open country'" (Hutter 2003:244).[2126] The epithet *im(ma)ralla/ī* 'of the open country' is derived from Luvian **im(ma)ra/ī-* 'open country', which is also the source of two Luvian theonyms: *Immarni(ya)-* and *Immaršiya-* (Melchert 1993b:88–89).[2127] Harduppi's adjectival epithet *im(ma)ralla/ī* 'of the open country' would clearly be one appropriate to Greek Artemis, deity who traverses remote space. We can compare Artemis' fundamental epithet *Agrotéra* (Ἀγροτέρα), as earliest at Homer *Iliad* 21.470–471, where it is used of Artemis, the *Pótnia Thērôn* (Πότνια Θηρῶν) 'Potnia of Beasts'. While this epithet *Agrotéra* may become synchronically associated with *ágra* (ἄγρα) 'hunting',[2128] it is straightforwardly the adjective *agróteros* (ἀγρότερος), essentially 'of the fields, open country' (from *agrós* [ἀγρός] 'fields, country places'). Elsewhere in Homer *agróteros* is used of 'wild' beasts

[2126] Alternatively, *Imralli* has been read as the name of the deity, modified by adjectival *ḫarduppi*: see Taracha 2009:117.

[2127] On the epithet see also Melchert 1993b:89, who notes the place name ^{URU}*Im-ra-al-la*. On this Luvian village *Imralla*, with which Laroche (1957:23) compares in sense Latin *Campania* from *campus* 'field', see recently Archi 2016:19.

[2128] Artemis is *Agraía* (Ἀγραία), from *ágra* (ἄγρα), as in, *inter alia*, Clidemus fragment 1 (FHG); Pausanias 1.41.6; *Scholia in Platonem* (*scholia vetera* [= Greene 1938]) *Phaedrus* 229c. Also simply *Ágra* (Ἄγρα).

(*Iliad* 21.486; *Odyssey* 6.133 and 17.295). The suffix *-teros* is here an archaism, employed in its primitive sense of marking opposition (i.e. 'being of the open country, rather than of some other domain').[2129] Artemis' *agrotéra* provides a close semantic equivalent to Harduppi's *im(ma)ralla/ī.*

The deity Harduppi is affiliated with the local cult of the Luvian goddess Huwassanna[2130] (one of the chief Luvian goddesses)[2131] centered at Hupisna.[2132] This is a site located in the area that the Hittites identified as the "Lower Land," situated south of the river Marassantiya. The Hittite documentary record reports that Hupisna had

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[2129] See, *inter alia*, Chantraine 1973:257.

[2130] See Popko 1995:94; Hutter 2003:243–244 and 2013b; Taracha 2009:117 (with bibliography).

[2131] Huwassanna is served by two distinct sets of priestesses: one being that of the ^{SAL}*ḫuwaššannalla/i-* and the other that of the ^{SAL}*alḫuiš/tra-;* see, *inter alia*, Melchert 1993b:10 and Hutter 2003:245 and 2013b:185, with bibliography.

[2132] Both Ahhiyawa and Hupisna receive a mention in the quite fragmentary Ahhiyawa text AhT 21 (§8' and §29', respectively), an oracle report (CTH 570.2). Hupisna is that place that Strabo (12.1.4, 7, 9) would much later identify by the name *Kúbistra* (Κύβιστρα), and that he reports to lie close to the *Kastábala* (Καστάβαλα) at which was located the cult of Artemis Perasia (*Perasía* [Περασία]). He reports that Artemis Perasia was served by priestesses who would engage in fire-walking. A local cult of Huwassanna was also found at Kuliwisna.

been conquered by the Hittite king Labarna;[2133] but the city subsequently rebelled, as the record further states that the king Ammuna re-conquered Hupisna (mid sixteenth century BC).[2134] During the reign of Tudhaliya III (during the first half of the fourteenth century), forces from Arzawa held the Lower Land, and they continued to be a hostile military presence in the reign of Ammuna's successor Suppiluliuma I (ca. 1350–1322);[2135] we have just reminded ourselves of the alliances between the Ahhiyawans and Arzawans that are attested subsequently. At Hupisna, Huwassanna was called "queen of Hupisna," seemingly a goddess fundamentally associated with fertility.[2136] Harduppi

[2133] On Labarna as an historical figure, see, *inter alia*, Bryce 2005:64–66.

[2134] See Bryce 2009:320–321.

[2135] See, *inter alia*, Bryce 2003:57–59, with bibliography.

[2136] With the incorporation of the local cult of Huwassanna into Hittite state cult, this goddess' name would be commonly written with Sumerogram GAZ.BA.A.A (and variants of this spelling), appropriating the Sumerian spelling of the Mesopotamian goddess Gazbāya; see Hutter 2013b:183–189. Hutter's discussion builds upon Polvani 2010, who notes (p. 247) that little is known of the Mesopotamian deity with whom Luvian Huwassanna is here orthographically identified (the diety with whose cult "Harduppi of the open country" is affiliated); "however, we do know," Polvani reports, "that, together with [Gazbāya's] mother, the goddess Nanaya, and her sister Kanišurra, she is a love goddess."

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is one of several local Luvian deities that assemble within Huwassanna's cult,[2137] some of whom are otherwise unknown.

The sense of the *ḫardu-* element of the theonym *Ḫarduppi* is uncertain. As a non-proper nominal, *ḫarduppi* seemingly functions as an adjective; Puhvel (1991:203) proposes 'high' as a possible meaning for both *ḫarduppi* and its component formant *ḫardu-* (comparing, speculatively, Old Irish *ard* 'high', Latin *arduus* 'high, steep', Avestan *ərədva-* 'high'). Compare with this element the Hittite lexeme *ḫardu-* that fundamentally conveys notions of 'offspring' (Puhvel 1991:202), occurring beside Luvian *ḫarduwa-* 'descendance' with its derivative *ḫarduwatt(i)-* (cf. Hieroglyphic Luvian *ha+ra/i-tu-wa/i-*) 'descendant' (Melchert 1993b:61). One might well suspect that the deity named *Ḫarduppi*, linked with the open country, the space of beasts, is one associated with the generation of progeny (i.e. with descendance) and as such naturally finds a place in the cult of a fertility goddess Huwassanna. Given this understanding of *Ḫarduppi im(ma)ralla/ī*, a proper name **Ḫardu-muwa-* could be plausibly interpreted as signaling an 'awe-inspiring quality' associated with reproductive fecundity. Compare here – again pertinent to the domain of Artemis – the name *Ulila-muwa-*, which appears

[2137] "Lallariya, Auwatta, Kupilla, Asdutta, Zarnizza, Muli, Lilaya, Anna, Aruna, the river Sarmamma or the mountain Sarpa" (Hutter 2003:244). See also, *inter alia*, Taracha 2009:117, with bibliography.

to be formed from Luvian *ulila/i-* 'field' (Hieroglyphic Luvian TERRA+*LA*+*LA* [Hittite *wellu-* 'meadow']).[2138]

The common form of the *Artemis*/*Artimis*-name attested in Pamphylian Greek and in non-Greek Anatolian languages in a post-Mycenaean period is that one with an *i*-vowel, rather than an *e*-vowel, in the second syllable. Should we imagine that the Normal Mycenaean form of her name, spelled *a-ti-me-te* (the dative found on Pylos tablet Un 219 + frr.), shares with various Anatolian forms of her name an *i*-vowel in the second syllable because of Mycenaean acquisition of that particular form from Anatolia in the Bronze Age?

In regard to this Mycenaean form let us recall once more the Normal Mycenaean isogloss that it appears to evidence – that generated by the raising of a mid front vowel *e* to high front *i* in the vicinity of a labial consonant. Special Mycenaean preserves the mid vowel in this context (see (1C) above) and accordingly shows the theonym with unshifted mid vowel in the second syllable, *a-te-mi-to* (the genitive on Pylos tablet Es 650 + fr.) – form of the goddess' name typical of Attic-Ionic, and so on, in a post-Mycenaean period. Should the Normal Mycenaean form (with its *i*-vowel) have been borrowed from Anatolia then – in order to account for Special Mycenaean *a-te-mi-*

[2138] On the Luvian formant *ulila/i-* see Yakubovich 2013:88, 99–100.

to (with its *e*-vowel) – we would need to make recourse to a secondary *lowering* of *i* to *e* in Special Mycenaean, effectively a sort of hyper-correction. And this is hardly a plausible scenario given that Special Mycenaean tolerates a high front vowel in the vicinity of a labial consonant, as in forms of *mi̱-ra-ti-jo* (Pylos Special Mycenaean hands 21 and 23,[2139] showing unassibilated *t* before *i* [isogloss (1D) above]) – that is, *Milātiai* 'women of Miletus' (from *Mílētos* [Μίλητος], Aeolic *Míllātos* [Μίλλᾱτος], Luvo-Hittite *Millawanda*).

If, then, we were to propose an historical connection between Normal Mycenaean *a-ti̱-me-te* (i.e. *Artimis*) and the common post-Mycenaean Anatolian forms of the theonym having an *i*-vowel in the second syllable, we would more reasonably propose that Normal (as opposed to Special) Mycenaean was the *source* of those various post-Mycenaean Anatolian forms. This raising of an *e*-vowel to an *i*-vowel is a secondary development of Normal Mycenaean; consequently, we would plausibly understand the Special Mycenaean form of the goddess' name, with *e*-vowel in the second syllable as (being closer to) the form of her name borrowed from Anatolia. This would entail a scenario such as the following: the *e*-form (i.e. *Artemis*) was borrowed

[2139] Nominative plural *mi-ra-ti-ja* on tablet Ab 382 (hand 21) and genitive plural *mi-ra-ti-ja-o* on Ad 380 and 689

from Anatolia and transported to Hellas (where it was preserved among scribes speaking Special Mycenaean), presumably in conjunction with the introduction of elements of Asian cult (which must have occurred under any scenario); this borrowed theonym then underwent raising of the *e*-vowel among speakers of Normal Mycenaean (i.e. producing *Artimis*); this Normal Mycenaean *i*-form was then introduced from Hellas eastward into Anatolia. That introduction must have occurred prior to the migration of the Ionians with their forms *Ártemis* (Ἄρτεμις), genitive *Artémidos* (Ἀρτέμιδος) – but what that surely means is that the introduction of the *i*-form would have occurred already in the Bronze Age, while Normal Mycenaean was still a living dialect of Greek. Unlike the scenario of a borrowed *dépas* (δέπας), in which the Special Mycenaean isogloss survives into the first millennium – which is the typical case, in the instance of Ártimis (Ἄρτιμις), a Normal Mycenaean form would survive as well, though localized to the eastern Aegean.

Though this scenario seems out of kilter with the general disappearance of Normal Mycenaean isoglosses, and from the standpoint of analytic economy, the preferred hypothesis might appear to be that one with which we began this discussion (see §20.4.2.2) – namely, that the Pamphylian Greek raising of the *e*-vowel in Artemis' name is but one expression of active vowel raisings of a sort that are otherwise well

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documented among the Greek dialects of Cyprus and Asia Minor in the first-millennium BC.

Under either hypothesis the occurrence of the *i*-forms of the theonym in non-Greek languages of Anatolia – Lydian, Carian, Phrygian – must be accounted for, as either lexical borrowings (expressions of a lexical Sprachbund) or independent expressions of vowel raising – or regarded as a combination of both.[2140] Melchert (1994:344) identifies instances of the contextualized raising of *e* to *i* in Lydian, but not in contexts provided by the name of the goddess.

20.5. Some Interpretative Conclusions

The religious office signified by the Linear B spellings *du-ma* and *da-ma* was incorporated into Mycenaean cult within a setting of intimate Greek-Luvian interaction and cultural intermingling within western Anatolia. The office is saliently associated

[2140] Compare Brixhe 2004:56: "En pamphylien, on peut invoquer la même cause [i.e. vowel raising], mais aussi, comme ici [i.e. in Phrygian] et sans doute en lydien, l'existence d'un thème indigène homophone . . . ." Here Brixhe references his remarks of 1976:18–19, in which discussion (see also p. 20) he draws attention to the *i* ~ *e* variation in spelling of various personal names in Anatolia, offering: "Les faits sont malheureusement ou trop dispersés et trop isolés ou insuffisamment clairs pour qu'on puisse en tirer des conclusions solides."

with the recurring "bird-and-bee" motif of myth and cult, as seen in, *inter alia*, the theogonic traditions of the preceding chapter, with their Anatolian links, and Delphic foundation tradition. The pair of lexemes lying behind the Linear B spelling – that is, *dumar*, *dumartes* and *damar*, *damartes* – represent borrowings of Luvo-Hittite *dammara-*. The former is the outcome of community acquisition at the level of spoken language; the latter is a learned, scribal borrowing, ultimately consequent to the process of Ahhiyawan scribal transmission of Luvo-Hittite documents. The variant *dumar* is thus a local dialect form. Both forms of the loanword were adapted by the borrowing community using the agentive *t*-suffix also seen in the construction of Mycenaean *wanaks*, *wanaktos*. Of the pair of variants it is the scribal borrowing *damar* that survives into the first millennium, seen in epic *dámar* (δάμαρ) 'wife', a sense that arose as the outcome of folk etymologizing of the borrowed Luvo-Hittite form.

Linear B *di-pa*, alphabetic Greek *dépas* (δέπας) 'bowl, beaker', is in the same way a Luvian term borrowed and adapted within a setting of social and cultural intercourse set in Bronze-Age western Anatolia. The post-Mycenaean form *dépas* represents the continuation of a Special Mycenaean dialect isogloss, in opposition to the Normal Mycenaean form spelled as *di-pa*. The indicated scenario is one in which the locally acquired lexeme *dépas* was exported across the Aegean to Balkan Hellas where it

underwent vowel raising to produce a form *dipas* among Normal Mycenaean speakers. One might, again, infer, in keeping with other observations offered in this investigation, that the community of Ahhiyawa in which the form was acquired was one in which the dialect spoken was that of Special Mycenaean.

A third borrowing that occurred in a hybrid Mycenaean Greek-Luvic social setting was that of the theonym *Ártemis* (Ἄρτεμις). The source of the divine name has been perennially deemed an uncertainty, but a compound source beginning with the Luvian form *ḫardu-* merits consideration. This borrowing is attested as Linear B genitive *a-te-mi-to*, a Special Mycenaean form that stands in opposition to a Normal Mycenaean raised-vowel variant attested as dative *a-ti-me-te*. The Special Mycenaean form with an *e*-vowel in the second syllable might again be inferred to be indication that the acquiring Anatolian Greek community was one in which Special Mycenaean was spoken.

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Chapter Twenty-One

Mitannian and Anatolian Triads

21.1. Introduction

Beyond the matter of Uṣas and Eos ('Dawn') vis-à-vis Thessalian Argonautic traditions that we have discussed in earlier chapters (see especially §12.7.3.6), there is a sense in which Vedic traditions of the Aśvins and of Soma can be viewed as aligning *thematically* and *structurally* with expressions of the Greek experience in Anatolia, both in southwestern Anatolia – the focus of this chapter – and in Pontus and Colchis – the focus of the next chapter. This is likely both a Bronze-Age and an Iron-Age phenomenon. Facilitators of the alignment include, among other features, the Luvo-Hittite *kurša* and, looking ahead to Chapter Twenty-Two, inherited Iranian traditions of Colchis, place of the dawning sun. The relevance of these considerations for the proposal that the Aeolian homeland is to be located in Anatolia will be addressed in

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Chapter Twenty-Three, but first we must consider the Anatolian and Transcaucasian situation.

21.2. Divine Twins, Somic-Honey, and Other Psychoactive Materials

In Chapter Fifteen (see §15.4) we took note of the honey-filled *dŕ̥ti-*, 'skin-bag', of the Aśvins, divine twins associated with the Dawn, as well as the skin-bag of their son Pūṣan (see especially §16.3.5 and §18.3.1), his a *dŕ̥ti-* fully filled with curds. *Soma*, the Indic expression of the psychotropic material of Indo-Iranian cult (Avestan *Haoma*, Old Persian *hauma-*, Pahlavi *hōm* [Proto-Indo-Iranian *Sauma, from verb root *su- 'to press (out)']), is in Vedic tradition routinely likened to honey. In our consideration of *Rig Veda* 4.45 in §15.4 we observed that the Aśvins are presented both as traveling to the sacrifice bearing the skin-bag brimming with honey and as, once they have arrived at their destination, ingesting honey – that, is Soma, the sacrificial offering which has been set out for them. In stanza 4 of the hymn that precedes this one (i.e. *Rig Veda* 4.44), the Aśvins are similarly urged to drive their chariot to the sacrifice and to 'drink of the Soma-honey' (*píbātha ín mádhunaḥ somyásya*). In the phrase here translated as 'Soma-honey', 'Soma' is an adjectival form *Somyá-*, thus, more literally, 'Somic-honey'

(see §18.3.4.3).[2141] *Atharva Veda* 9.1 – the *madhusūkta* 'honey hymn' (so called in the *Vaitāna Sūtra* 16.12) – is a hymn in which honey and bee imagery is profuse in descriptions of Soma. The Aśvins figure conspicuously in this hymn, as does another implement with which they are routinely associated, the *madhukaśā* (or *mádhoḥ káśā*) 'honey-whip': with this the twins gods are said to mix the Soma sacrifice (as at *Rig Veda* 1.22.3). In lines 16–19 of this hymn, *Atharva Veda* 9.1, the poet interweaves Aśvins, honey, and bees:

16. *Yáthā mádhu madhukṛ́taḥ saṁbháranti mádhāv ádhi*
    evā́ me aśvinā várca ātmáni dhriyatām
17. *yáthā mákṣāḥ idáṁ mádhu nyañjánti mádhāv ádhi*
    evā́ me aśvinā várcas téjo bálam ójaś ca dhriyatām
18. *yád giríṣu párvateṣu góṣv áśveṣu yán mádhu*
    súrāyāṁ sicyámānāyāṃ yát tátra mádhu tán máyi
19. *aśvinā sāraghéṇa mā mádhunāṅktaṁ śubhas patī*
    yáthā várcasvatīṁ vā́cam āvádāni jánām ánu

[2141] On the mixing of honey with Soma, consider, for example, the descriptive phrasing of *Rig Veda* 9.17.8, 9.86.48, 9.97.11, and 9.109.20: see the remarks of Macdonell and Keith 1995:478.

16. Just as the honey-makers [i.e. bees] collect honey on top of honey,

    just so may the Aśvins place a brilliance within me.

17. Just as the buzzing-ones anoint this honey on top of honey,

    Just so may the Aśvins place brilliance, energy, power, strength within me.

18. What honey is on hills, on mountains, what is in cattle, in horses,

    what is in poured-out *surā*, what honey is there, may that be in me.

19. O Aśvins, lords of splendor, anoint me with honey of bees

    That I may utter splendid speech among the people.

Atharva Veda 9.1 is a hymn sung during the Agniṣṭoma ritual as Soma is mixed with milk. We encountered the Agniṣṭoma in Chapter Two in our discussion of the Mycenaean *húpoio Pótnia* (ὕποιο Πότνια) vis-à-vis the Vedic *patnī-yūpa-*, which is one of the *yūpas* erected during celebration of the Agniṣṭoma (see §2.2.2.3; see also §4.4.1.2). In pāda 18c of this hymn (*Atharva Veda* 9.1) reference is made to the alcoholic beverage *surā*,[2142] a material of which we took note in discussions of the archaic ritual called the

[2142] On *surā* mentioned in conjunction with honey see also *Atharva Veda* 6.69.1 (stanza 2 of that hymn is identical to stanza 19 of *Atharva Veda* 9.1) and 10.6.5.

Vājapeya (see §4.2.1 and §15.4) and of the Vedic expression of the primitive threefold sacrifice, the Sautrāmaṇī (see §4.2.1, §§5.3.2–5, and §5.5.2), which forms a part of the exercises of the royal consecration rites, the Rājasūya (see §2.2.2.2, §4.2.2, §4.4.1.2, §5.3.2, §5.4.1, §5.6). Chariot racing and the ingestion of *surā* are marked features of the Vājapeya: following the race, cups of *surā* are brought out, as is a cup of honey.[2143] As mentioned in Chapter Fifteen (see §15.4), in a Proto-Indo-Iranian period, the ancestor of Vedic *surā* was likely produced by fermenting (mare's) milk with honey: as Parpola (2005:40n251) notes, Avestan *hurā* is said to be produced from mare's milk, and the Khotanese Saka term *hurā* denotes 'fermented mare's milk'.[2144] The *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* 14.11.27 describes the *ṛṣi* Kutsa transporting *surā* in a *dṛ́ti-* (*surā-dṛ́ti-*).

There is still another artifact of Soma cult of which we should take note. In *Rig Veda* 9.103.1–3, a hymn to Soma Pavamāna, we read:[2145]

1. Forth to the ritual adept,[2146] to Soma as he is being purified, shall I bear the upraised speech

[2143] For discussion see Woodard 2006:71–73, 179–181.

[2144] For additional evidence and bibliography see Parpola 2005:40n251.

[2145] The translation is that of Jamison and Brereton 2014:3:1350.

like a present, along with my thoughts. He will find enjoyment.

2. Around the sheep's fleeces he [Soma] rushes, being anointed with cows. Being purified, the tawny one creates three seats for himself.

3. Around the cask dripping with honey he rushes on the sheep's fleece. The seven voices of the seers have cried out to him.

The phrases translated 'sheep's fleece' (more literally, the 'hair-sieve(s) of the sheep', *vā́ra- avyáya-*) that appear in pādas 2a and 3b reference wool used to purify the pressed Soma juice – constituting the Soma 'filter', instrument which can be denoted by the term *pavítra-*. Compare *Rig Veda* 9.69.2d, "The honeyed drop rushes around the fleece,"[2147] and multiple references to the pressed Soma (drop) rushing through the fleece in *Rig Veda* 9.67.3–7, and likened to honey in stanza 9. Compare also, among many other possible examples, pāda 4 of *Rig Veda* 9.75, another hymn to Soma Pavamāna:[2148]

[2146] The Sanskrit term is *vedhás*, an adjective denoting 'pious', substantivized as 'worshipper of the gods' (Monier-Williams 1899:1018), part of the Vedic lexicon of cult performance.

[2147] The translation is that of Jamison and Brereton 2014:3:1301.

[2148] The translation is that of Jamison and Brereton 2014:3:1309.

4. Pressed with stones, delighted by our thoughts, making the two world-halves, his mothers, to shine forth, the blazing one

races through the woolen hairs all at once, as a stream of honey swelling day after day.

The image of honeyed Soma impinged on sheep's fleece is one commonly encountered in Vedic poetry. Does this image have relevance at all for that of a *khrusómallon déros* (χρυσόμαλλον δέρος) 'Golden Fleece'? Could there be any historical liaison or are these merely independently conjured notions?

The idea that the germ of the Golden Fleece of Greek *mûthos* lies in a fleecy device use for filtering is one attested in antiquity. In his description of the Greek Caucasian polis of Dioscurias, place named for the Greek counterparts to the Aśvins (see below, §22.4, §22.4.1, §§22.4.1.3–4), Strabo (11.2.19) rehearses this rationalizing explanation of the mythic account of the *khrusómallon déros* (χρυσόμαλλον δέρος) 'Golden Fleece':[2149] the elevated lands above Dioscurias are said to have been rich in

[2149] As Braund (1994:23–25 and personal communication of 24 June 2020) contends, this appears unmistakably to be a rationalizing exercise. It is in fact but one of several Greek rationalizing treatments of the myth of Phrixus and Helle and the Golden Fleece: see, *inter alia*, the discussions of Green (2004:27–31) and of Hawes (2014:123–125), who observes that (p. 125):

gold that would wash downstream, to be recovered by the indigenous population using perforated 'cribs' (*phátnai* [φάτναι]) and 'fleecy skins' (*mallōtaí doraí* [μαλλωταί δοραί]). Appian (*Mithridatic War* 479–480) similarly writes that Caucasian locals trap particles of gold too small to be noticed by placing 'fleeces' (*kṓ(i)dia* [κῴδια]) in the streams that entrap the particles, adding: καὶ τοιοῦτον ἦν ἴσως τὸ χρυσόμαλλον Αἰήτου δέρος 'and perhaps Aeetes Golden Fleece was something like this'.[2150] Are the Golden Fleece of Argonautic tradition and the Anatolian *kurša* two separate but ideologically linked expressions of what we encounter in Vedic verse as Soma cult imagery? This is a matter which we will consider as we move forward through the remainder of this work.

21.3. Indic Gods of the Suppiluliuma-Sattiwaza Treaty

The similarity of the Indic honey-filled *dṛ́ti-* ('skin-bag') of the Aśvins and the curd-filled *dṛ́ti-* of Pūṣan, on the one hand, and the Anatolian *kurša*, brimming with fecundity and nourishment, is a reasonably transparent one. The two implements can

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Although our ancient sources do not agree on a single way of explaining the golden fleece, the extant explanations do betray similar assumptions: either the fleece must belong to one of Phrixus' fellow travelers, which is desirable for some reason; or it must relate to the wealth and almost magical technological innovations of the Black Sea region.

[2150] See similarly Eustathius *Commentarium in Dionysii periegetae orbis descriptionem* (= Müller 1965) 689.

be judged to align even more fully when it is recalled (1) that the bee plays an active role in the myth of the recovery of Telipinu and that the recovery entails the god encountering a *kurša* filled with sheep, cattle, wine, and other expressions of plenty (see §16.2.4) and (2) that the "breasts" of Ephesian Artemis, a proposed Iron-Age Greek expression of the *kurša*, are closely affiliated with bees in the iconography of the goddess (see §15.3.3; see also §15.3.4.2). But there is another consideration that can be added to these which suggests an even more direct association, by way of common Indo-European heritage, between the Indic Aśvins and the Anatolian *kurša*, which we must now consider in some detail.

As has been extensively discussed, the earliest secure epigraphic evidence for the Aśvins – named as the Nāsatyas – is to be found in what may seem to be an unlikely source, a treaty between the Hittite king Suppiluliuma II and Sattiwaza, ruler of the Hurrian kingdom of Mitanni (Syro-Mesopotamia; the treaty dates to the first half of the fourteenth century BC). The treaty (CTH 51 and 52), preserved in Akkadian and in Hittite,[2151] is one of several pieces of evidence that reveal the presence of an Old Indic

[2151] CTH 51.I (Akkadian) = A. KBo 1.1. B. KBo 1.2. C. KUB 3.1 a–d + KBo 28.111 + 112 + 114 (+) 113; CTH 51.II (Hittite) = KUB 21.18 (+) KUB 26.34; CTH 52.I (Akkadian) = KBo 1.3 (+) KUB 3.17; CTH 52.II (Hittite) = KUB 23.50 + 219/w + 1472/u + HT 21 + KUB 8.80. For English translation of the treaties see Beckman 1999a:38–50.

stratum in Mitannian society,[2152] one that was sufficiently well placed so as to provide Indic names to Mitannian monarchs at least as early as Artatama I (= Sanskrit *Ṛtadhāmā* 'Abiding in Order/Truth'),[2153] king who reigned ca. first quarter of the fourteenth century BC, and perhaps as early as Suttarna I (= Indic *Sudharaṇa- 'Supporting Well'?).[2154] In any event, none of the attested names of Mitannian kings (which first

[2152] The linguistic evidence is, and has been for some time, commonly regarded to reveal that the language is specifically a form of Old Indic (so-called Indo-Aryan), and not undifferentiated Indo-Iranian (so-called Proto-Aryan). The point was made at least as early as Dumont 1947. On Indic names in Syria and adjoining areas, some of which are discussed below, see also (in addition to various works cited in §21.3.2.3), *inter alia*, Gelb, Purves, and MacRae 1943:193–195 (discussion by Purves); Mayrhofer 1966 and 1974; Kammenhuber 1968 and 1977.

[2153] For a measured interpretation of possible Indic names appearing in various sources (from Mitanni, Nuzi, Syria-Palestine) see Dumont 1947 (with discussion and bibliography of earlier work), whose list of names that can be understood as Indic with certainty (20 names) or with a high degree of probability (25 names) was culled from the longer list collected by O'Callaghan and Albright (unpublished at the time of Dumont's article). See subsequently O'Callaghan 1948, with an appendix on the Mitanni Indic names on pages 149–151, authored by Dumont; O'Callaghan also offers discussion of the names on pages 56–64.

[2154] For chronology see Maidman 2010:xx, as well as the discussions in Wilhelm 1989 and 1995.

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appear in the early fifteenth century) appears to be Hurrian.[2155] With the Mitannian name *Sattiwaza* compare the Sanskrit dependent compound (*tatpuruṣa*) *vā́ja-sāti-* 'winning spoils/battle',[2156] as, for example, at *Rig Veda* 1.130.1, where Indra is invoked for *vā́ja-sāti-*. Most plausibly, this scenario can be taken to reveal that "there were Indo-Aryan-speaking splinter groups from the main stream of migration through Iran to India, who along with the Hurrians ended up in the amalgam of the Fertile Crescent" by the seventeenth-sixteenth century BC.[2157]

21.3.1. Mitra-Varuṇa, Indra, Nāsatyas

Among the deities that are invoked in Sattiwaza's form of the treaty (KBo 1.3 rev. 24) are these:

> $^{\text{DINGIR.MEŠ}}$*Mi-it-ra-aš-ši-il* $^{\text{DINGIR.MEŠ}}$*A-ru-na-aš-ši-il* ^{DINGIR}*In-da-ra* $^{\text{DINGIR.MEŠ}}$*Na-ša-at-ti-ya-an-na*

[2155] See Wilhelm 1989:18. Wilhelm (1995:1246) understands all attested names of Mitanni kings to be Indic.

[2156] For the comparison see Mayrhofer 1974:23–25.

[2157] Wilhelm 1989:17; for the dating see pp. 18–19.

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The following corresponding set appears in Suppiluliuma's form of the treaty (KBo 1.1 rev. 55–56):

> $^{\text{DINGIR.MEŠ}}$*Mi-it-ra-aš-ši-il* | $^{\text{DINGIR.MEŠ}}$*Ú-ru-wa-na-aš-ši-el* ^{DINGIR}*In-tar* $^{\text{DINGIR.MEŠ}}$*Na-ša-at-ti-an-na*

Allowing for cuneiform spelling practices and elements of Hurrian morphology, these several gods of Mitanni named in the treaty can be straightforwardly identified with Vedic counterparts: Mitra-Varuṇa (that is, a coordination of the names *Mitra* and *Varuṇa*), Indra, and the Nāsatyas (= Aśvins), respectively.[2158] The individual equivalence of the Mitannian and Vedic gods is in of itself highly significant, but it was Dumézil[2159] who drew attention to the still greater significance of the deities as a set, one that finds homologous expressions in the Vedic practice of referencing the major classes of the gods (Ādityas; Rudras; Vasus) by identifying leading individual members of each class (commonly: Mitra, Varuṇa; Indra; Aśvins), or by using some combination of class names and individual divine names. A prime example, cited by Dumézil, is that of *Rig*

[2158] See, *inter alia*, the discussion of Thieme 1960, with bibliography and analysis of earlier work.

[2159] See Dumézil 1977:26–39. See his discussion for examples beyond that one here presented.

Veda 10.125, a hymn to the goddess Vāc, deity of 'Speech', a hymn that takes the form of self-praise. In pāda 1a–b Vāc identifies with the all the gods by referencing them as classes, declaring *aháṁ rudrébhir vásubhiś carāmi ahám ādityaír utá viśvádevaiḥ* 'I myself move about with Rudras, Vasus, with Ādityas, even with All Gods'. This sentiment is repeated in pāda 1c–d, this time by referencing individual deities: *ahám mitrā́váruṇobhā́ bibharmi aháṁ indrāgnī́ ahám aśvínobhā́* 'I myself carry along both of [the pair] Mitra-Varuṇa, [and] Indra-Agni, [and] both of the Aśvins' (paralleling the designations "Rudras, Vasus, Ādityas"). This enumeration of individual deities, used as a mode of referencing the gods corporately, is precisely that seen in the Mitanni-Hittite treaty (with Agni added on as Indra's companion in *Rig Veda* 10.125).[2160] We can reasonably infer that the Vedic mode and the structure that underlies it equally characterized Indic cult in Mitanni.

21.3.2. Sun-goddess of Arinna, Storm-god, ^{d}LAMMA

Masson (1991:232–237) contends, however, that there is more that needs to be said. She argues that a set of Anatolian deities specified repeatedly throughout the

[2160] On the prospect of identifying the Hittite theonym spelled *Akni* with Indic Agni, see Otten and Mayrhofer 1965.

Boghazköy archives provide a structural equivalent to the set of Indic gods. She draws attention (p. 235) to an instance of this Anatolian group in the invocation of KBo 10.37 III 39: ^{d}UTU-*uš* ^{d}10-*aš* ^{d}LAMMA DINGIR^{MEŠ} *da-pí-an-te-eš ka-a-ša* [. . . ?] [2161] 'O Sun-deity, Storm-god, ^{d}LAMMA [tutelary god], all gods, be prepared [. . . ?]',[2162] a line from the Ritual of Ambazzi (CTH 429.1.A). This is a particular iteration of what has been termed the "supreme triad of the official pantheon,"[2163] a set consisting of (1) the Sun-goddess of Arinna, (2) Storm-god, (3) ^{d}LAMMA. But this is not the form of the triad's earliest expression, it seems: in an Old Hittite antecedent, structural position (3) was filled by Inara, goddess of wilderness spaces – something of a Potnia of wild animals – a deity who figures conspicuously in the myth of Illuyanka, which we briefly encountered in §16.3.5.3 in conjunction with our discussion of the *kurša* vis-à-vis the Golden Fleece (and in §19.3.2, and a mythic tradition to which we shall return in §23.3.8). In this myth (CTH 321) Inara recruits the assistance of a mortal man Hupasiya (who becomes her lover) to assist in the slaying of the dragon Illuyanka – a mythic scenario which, as we observed in that earlier discussion, Haas (1975, 1978) and Burkert (1979), among others,

[2161] On which see, *inter alia*, Christiansen 2006; for the text here cited see her page 200.

[2162] The Hittite adverbial particle *kaša* is here translated 'be prepared', following Hoffner's (1968:532) interpretation of the particle.

[2163] As by Taracha (2009:84).

argue to underlie that of Jason and Medea and the slaying of the dragon that guards the Golden Fleece. Inara is also one of those several deities who play the role of "disappearing god" in Old Hittite myth, as we noted in §16.2.6.1: the text of the episode of Inara's disappearance survives only in fragments, but what is attested reveals that bee and *kurša* are saliently involved in the recovery of the goddess.

The third position in the structure of the "supreme pantheon" would undergo modification. During the later Old Hittite era, Taracha points out (2009:46), a variant of the triad can be seen in which Inara is displaced from position (3) by the god Kammamma. This little-known deity, who presumably is so called after the city of the same name, was perhaps a fertility god;[2164] and some investigators would assign him to the ^{d}LAMMA set.[2165] In any event, by ca. the fifteenth century BC the third position of the divine set had been filled by the signifier ^{d}LAMMA – generating that form of the triad to which Masson draws attention. Taracha characterizes this as an expression of an "*interpretatio luvitica* of the third deity," writing: "Change in the third position in the

[2164] See Taracha 2009:46, 50, 84.

[2165] See Laroche 1973:85–86 and Popko 1999.

supreme triad of the official pantheon came with the popularization of the tutelary LAMMA gods from the Luvian milieu in Ḫattuša."[2166]

If the evolutionary pathway is open to interpretation,[2167] it seems reasonably clear that there in fact developed a broad association of the LAMMA deities with the cornucopian *kurša*. Along a diachronic axis of cult practice the Luvo-Hittite category of LAMMA gods appears to continue an earlier non-Indo-European category of Anatolian protective deities;[2168] but it seems no less clear that the Luvo-Hittite category evolves into one that notionally entails elements of fertility and alimentary plenty, as signaled especially by their affiliation with the *kurša*. The Sumerian term represented by the logographic grapheme LAMMA finds lexical expression in Akkadian *lamassu*, and in Akkadian this word broadly denotes a spirit providing protection, an activity that includes the endowing of good fortune, health, and attainment of old age (CAD 9:61).

[2166] Taracha 2009:84–85.

[2167] See the discussions of Taracha 2009:103, 112–113, with bibliography.

[2168] See the comments of McMahon 1991:2–4, but on the matter of the stag-god and its non-equivalence with the category marked ^{d}LAMMA see the comments of Taracha 2009:112. Hittite Inara continues a Hattic goddess Inar(a). Her integration into Indo-European mythic tradition is on display in, for example, the aforementioned myth of the slaying of the dragon Illuyanka (on which myth see Watkins 1995:444–446, 448–459).

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The Anatolian category ^{d}LAMMA is itself a diffuse one; Laroche (1980–1983:456–457) offers in his discussion of the category (p. 457): "Nous sommes parvenus loin du domaine de ^{d}LAMMA, et le notion de divinité protectrice devient inefficace."

21.3.2.1. Triad Position (3) and Water. We earlier drew attention to the just-mentioned conjunction of the *kurša* and the deities designated as ^{d}LAMMA. Let me repeat an observation offered in Chapter Twenty (see §20.3.1), one that looks back even earlier in the present work:

> As we noted in that earlier discussion it is the ^{d}LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš*, god of the *kurša* (Hittite cult implement that appears to be of relevance to both the "breasts" of Ephesian Artemis and the Golden Fleece), who is the tutelary deity of oracle birds. This close affiliation of a single deity with both *kurša* and birds resonates *structurally* with the Indic Aśvins (see the discussions §13.5.4.1, §15.4, §16.2.3, and §16.3.5.2).

In regard to the Aśvins, *structurally* interesting too is the existence of a divine-class specification "^{d}LAMMA of flowing water" – the ^{d}LAMMA ÍD (ÍD denoting 'river, canal,

watercourse').[2169] In the prayer of Muwatalli II (reigned ca. 1321–1295 BC, during the Ahhiyawa era) to the Assembly of Gods (CTH 381),[2170] McMahon notes (1991:40, emphasis is mine), the ^{d}LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš* "is addressed not with the main group of tutelary deities but with Zithariya and the sacred mountains and *rivers* of Zithara."[2171] We met this place and its tutelary deity in the preceding chapter in our consideration of the Ahhiyawa document AhT 20 (CTH 570.1), in which mention is made of *dammara*-women who were sent to Zithara in order to 'take back their utterances' (see §20.3). There exists a set of festivals which are characterized by the specification that offerings are to be made to ^{d}LAMMA of flowing water and to various gods attached to flowing water:[2172] a notable feature of the LAMMA gods of water, as McMahon emphasizes in his discussion of these festivals, is that the identity of the LAMMA gods is kept distinct both from that of the watercourse itself and from the deity of the watercourse.[2173] They are associated with waters but distinct from them.

[2169] On an "Inara of the River," see McMahon 1991:26–27, 201.

[2170] For the prayer, see Singer 1996.

[2171] Zithariya is prominently associated with the *kurša*; see just below, §§21.3.2.1–2.

[2172] See Chapter Five of McMahon 1991 for texts, translation, and commentary.

[2173] See McMahon 1991:207, 209, 213; see also his p. 44.

This returns us to the Nasātyas/Aśvins, who occupy position (3) in the Mitanni triad. We have earlier taken note of the Aśvins' affiliation with water – with the river goddess Sarasvatī (see §4.4, §5.5, §5.5.2, §12.7.3.6; and see below, §22.2.1.2) and with their recues of the drowning from the waters (see §13.5.4.1). The Aśvins' role as deities of recovery can hardly be separated from Vedic notions of healing waters and healing plants (see, for example, *Rig Veda* 1.157);[2174] and their Iranian counterparts that find expression in the Zoroastrian figures (Aməša Spəntas) of Hauvertāt and Amərətāt are patrons of healing waters and plants, respectively. *Rig Veda* 1.46 is a hymn in which the Aśvins are particularly linked with waters: throughout the hymn they are depicted as traversing waters *en route* to the Soma sacrifice, with Soma itself being presented as a river; here the divine twins are even said to be sons of the river (goddess) Sindhu (= Indus). They are associated with waters but distinct from them.

21.3.2.2. The Mitanni Treaty and Two Triads. As Masson notes (1991:232), the Anatolian triad can be seen in the Mitanni treaty itself, in lines that precede the enumeration of Mitra-Varuṇa, Indra, and Nāsatyas: see KBo 1.1 rev. 40–44

[2174] For an overview of Vedic medical lore of healing waters and plants see Zysk 1985:90–92, 96–102.

(Suppiluliuma's copy).[2175] If each of the three deities individually invoked in the Ritual of Ambazzi (KBo 10.37 III 39) represents a separate divine category (that of [1] Sun-god; [2] Storm-god; [3] ^{d}LAMMA), as seems clear enough, then each of these three divine categories is elaborated within the treaty document (KBo 1.1 rev. 40–44) is elaborated, as customarily so in Hittite state treaties.[2176] Category (1) is represented by the Sun-goddess of Arinna 'who oversees kingship and queenship in Hatti' and the Sun-god 'lord of heaven' (line 40); category (2) is represented by the Strom-god in no fewer than eighteen distinct iterations of the Sumerogram ^{d}U (lines 40–43); and category (3) is satisfied by a total of six LAMMA deities (lines 43–44): '^{d}LAMMA of Hatti,[2177] ^{d}LAMMA of

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[2175] Paralleled by the highly fragmentary lines of KBo 1.3 rev. 12–16 (Sattiwaza's copy).

[2176] See Taracha 2009:85–86, who dates the practice to a time earlier than Suppiluliuma I, but notes that beginning with this king the divine witness lists in treaties subscribe to the following form (p. 86):

> The lists are headed by the Sun-goddess of Arinna, who is followed by Storm-gods from different centers (both Anatolian ones and Tessub's numerous hypostases, among whom Tessub of Heaven figures prominently) along with tutelary deities (corresponding to the overall idea of the supreme divine triad).

After the expanded triadic expression there then follows an enumeration of numerous other deities.

[2177] Possibly a reference to Inara? See the comments of Taracha 2009:84. On the use of ^{d}LAMMA to denote Inara see McMahon 1991:24–26, with bibliography.

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Karahna,[2178] Zithariya, Hapantaliya,[2179] ^{d}LAMMA of the open country,[2180] ^{d}LAMMA of the *kurša*. In addition to the last named, the ^{d}LAMMA of Zithariya is conspicuously associated with the *kurša*,[2181] and this implement provides an aniconic image of the god; KUB 38.35 I 1–5 refers to one such image decorated with a golden solar disk[2182] (which, Bremmer suggests, "is, perhaps, one of the reasons why the Golden Fleece was so closely associated with the sun").[2183]

Operating with a comparative Indo-European perspective, Masson interprets the Anatolian triad as paralleling the Indic (Mitra-Varuṇa, Indra, Nāsatyas/Aśvins), of which the Mitanni treaty offers the earliest attested expression. From her discussion

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[2178] On the ^{d}LAMMA of the town of Karahna, seemingly a goddess, one who plays a role in a birth ritual, see McMahon 1991:36–37, 80–81, with bibliography.

[2179] On the ^{d}LAMMA Hapantaliya, see McMahon 1991:14–16. The god Hapantali(ya) appears in the myth of the disappearance of Hannahanna and version 1 of the disappearance of Telipinu, where he numbers among the gods present beneath the hawthorn as Telipinu is ritually robbed of his anger; for discussion see §19.4.

[2180] On the ^{d}LAMMA LÍL ('of the open country') and his inferred affiliation with the hunt see McMahon 1991:44–46, with bibliography of earlier work.

[2181] See McMahon 1991:20–22, 40, 183–184, 252–253 for discussion.

[2182] See Jakob-Rost 1963:195–196; McMahon 1991:19.

[2183] See Bremmer 2008b:314.

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(1991:236–244), we can abstract and paraphrase the following points (offering some reformulation and elaboration) regarding the three divine categories.[2184] She proposes that the Anatolian triadic category (1), filled by the Sun-goddess of Arinna and the Sun-god of heaven in the Mitanni treaty (as commonly), represents a pair of deities "qui gouvernent ensemble le Cosmos" (p. 236). By way of comparison, Masson draws attention here to *Rig Veda* 4.3,[2185] a hymn to the fire-god Agni; this is what we read in stanza 5, as the poet queries Agni concerning the reporting of human shortcomings (naming four of the Ādityas):[2186]

> How will you complain about this to Varuṇa, O Agni, how to Heaven [Dyaus]?
>
> What is our offense?
>
> How will you speak to Mitra, the rewarder, to Earth [Pr̥thivī]? What to
>
> Aryaman, what to Fortune [Bhaga]?

[2184] Though in a way that is consistent with the spirit of Masson's own arguments.

[2185] See earlier Dumézil 1977:69–74.

[2186] The translation is that of Jamison and Brereton 2014:1:562, with slight alteration and incorporating the modification of Jamison and Brereton 2019:4:17.

Mitra and Varuṇa, who fill position (1) in the Mitanni triad, as commonly so in Indic expressions of the top tier of divine society, are here attached to Pr̥thivī ('Earth') and Dyaus ('Heaven'), respectively. The Sun goddess of Arinna has certain chthonic aspects and can be called *Wurunšemu* 'Mother of the Earth',[2187] a Hattic term (the use of which reflects the pervasive nature of Hittite-Hattic religious syncretism and the corresponding lexical appropriation of Hattic theonyms and cult vocabulary in Anatolian Indo-European structures).[2188] Bearing that in mind, the pair composed of the Sun-goddess of Arinna plus the Sun-god of heaven can be viewed as reflecting a cosmic duo such as that composed of Pr̥thivī ('Earth') and Dyaus ('Heaven'). Affiliated with the primitive Indo-European antecedent of the Vedic top tier is a conspicuous expression of notions of *sovereignty* (though *sacral rule* is likely be a more appropriate

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[2187] See, *inter alia*, Klinger 1996:141–147; Taracha 2009:47, with note 236 (and bibliography), 50; Beckman 2012:130–131. In her analysis, Masson (1991:236–242) makes recurring reference to the Sun-goddess of the Earth; on the relationship of the Sun-goddess of Arinna to the Sun-goddess of the Earth, see, *inter alia*, Taracha and Beckman, cited just above. On the Luvian Sun-goddess of the Earth (*tiyammaššiš Tiwad*) see Hutter 2003:227.

[2188] Masson (1991:235) makes the important related point regarding the Anatolian triad that "les divinités qui la composent soient appelées par leur noms hittites ou hattis ou désignées par des allographies sumériennes, leurs personnalités restent toujours pareillement représentatives du même symbole . . . ."

characterization); and the Sun-goddess of Arinna clearly satisfies this description as well: "She was the real ruler of the land, the king being absolutely in her service."[2189] The Sun-god of Heaven can be no less a figure of Hittite sovereignty.[2190]

Representing the second tier of divine society in the Mitanni triad is Indra, principal member of the Indic warrior class, whose weapon is the thunderbolt. The corresponding position in the Anatolian triad (Masson 1991:242–243) is occupied by the Storm-god (and by some set of local Storm-gods in elaborated forms of the triad). Masson (p. 242) draws particular attention to lines from the Annals of Mursili II (Hittite sovereign whom we have frequently encountered) that present the Powerful Storm-god as fighting on behalf of Mursili. The passage she rehearses is from that portion of Mursili's Ten-Year Annals (CTH 61.I) that constitutes Ahhiyawa document AhT 1A; following is Beckman, Bryce, and Cline's (2011:15) translation of the relevant lines:[2191]

> When I set out and arrived at Mt. Lawaša, the Storm-god, my lord, made manifest his providence. He launched a lightning bolt, and my army saw the lightning bolt, as did the land of Arzawa. The lightning bolt traveled and struck

[2189] Taracha 2009:88.

[2190] See Houwink ten Cate 1987:22–26.

[2191] The citation of the passage here exceeds the lines that Masson rehearses.

> the land of Arzawa, (in particular) Apaša, the city of Uhha-ziti. Uhha-ziti fell on his knees and became ill, and being ill he did not come against me in battle. Rather, he dispatched his son Piyama-Kurunta against me . . . .

As we have noted (see §15.3.1, §18.2.3, §18.2.9, and §§20.3.1–2), Hittite *Apaša* is now generally understood to name *Ephesus*, and Uhha-ziti is the local king who had allied himself with the Ahhiyawa against Mursili. A few lines beyond the passage just cited, we encounter this phrase, repeated throughout the narrative of the Annals (*mutatis mutandis*) as Mursili claims victory over an enemy: "The Sun-goddess of Arinna, my lady, the Powerful Storm-god, my lord, Mezzulla,[2192] and all the gods ran before me, so that I defeated Piyama-Kurunta . . . ."

Regarding position (3) of the Anatolian triad, Masson (1991:243–244) draws attention to Inara and to the numerous iterations of the LAMMA deities (citing Archi 1975b), but offers no explicit comparison with the equivalent position in the Indic triad. Though one might infer that she is likening the tutelary LAMMA gods to the Nāsatyas/Aśvins when she writes (p. 243): "Sa dénomination « dieu protecteur » suggère d'emblée la valeur essentielle de cette fonction . . . ." As we discussed in

[2192] Mezzulla is daughter of the Sun-goddess of Arinna and the Storm-god.

Chapter Thirteen (see §13.5.4.1 and § 13.7.2), the Indic divine twins are lauded in Vedic tradition for their rescues and recoveries, and it is likely the case that such activities notionally underlie the Sanskrit nominal *Nāsatyā* (from *nes-). This guardian activity would make for an important point of comparison between the two triads. We can add to this the observation that Kammamma, one who is perhaps a fertility god (see above, §21.3.2), can appear in position (3) of the Anatolian triad; notions of fecundity and productivity are fundamental to the third tier of Indo-European social ideology, which finds a divine expression in the Vedic triads in the designation *Nāsatyas/Aśvins* or *Vasus* (from Sanskrit *vasu-* 'goods'). The same idea of fecundity is inherent to the cornucopian *kurša* with which the LAMMA deities appear to be broadly associated – gods typically appearing in position (3) of the Anatolian triad. It is here that we find particularly close alignment, I would suggest, of LAMMA deities and Aśvins, augmented by their respective accoutrements, the *kurša* brimming with nourishment and the *dŕ̥ti-* ('skin-bag') brimming with honey. We earlier drew attention to Pūṣan, the adopted son of the Aśvins, and to his own the curd-filled *dŕ̥ti-*; it is worth noting that in Vedic structures Pūṣan can appear together with the twin Aśvins in specifying position (3), as in the invocation of *Śatapatha Brahmana* 7.2.2.12 (= *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* 12.72),[2193] which

[2193] Dumézil (1977:26) draws attention to the prayer.

the worshipper utters while ploughing the space of the fire altar in the elaborate Agnicayana ceremony.[2194]

Is there any indication at all that an element of "divine twinness" accompanies the idea of the *kurša*? If the *Bronze-Age* Luvian and Hittite pantheons are less than transparent in this regard, twin gods that show ^{d}LAMMA characteristics do manifest themselves in *Iron-Age* western Anatolia in the form of Greek Apollo and Artemis. Apollo's ^{d}LAMMA likeness is conspicuous in the iconography of Apollo Philesius at Didyma, which shows remarkable agreement with those Hittite presentations of a ^{d}LAMMA standing upon the back of a stag.[2195] Moreover, following upon Hutter,[2196] we can see that a transitive operation joins Anatolian Apollo with the *kurša* in this way: the Apollo of Clarus is particularly associated with plague oracles;[2197] the augural cult of Arzawa was one also notably associated with plague oracles, and in most of these oracles the ^{d}LAMMA ^{KUŠ}*kuršaš* is invoked. In Chapter Sixteen, especially, we considered at some length the distinctive "breasts" (with affiliated bees) of Ephesian Artemis as

[2194] See Woodard 2006:153n6 for a description of the ploughing ritual by which the space of the altar is prepared.

[2195] See Bachvarova 2016:243–249. On Apollo Philesius, see Fontenrose 1933.

[2196] See Hutter 2001:230–231 and 2003:236–237. See also Bachvarova 2016:244n123.

[2197] See Graf 1992, especially pages 272–274, with bibliography.

expressions of the *kurša*. Particularly interesting in this regard is the plague oracle found at Ephesus (ca. AD second century), published by Graf (1992), in which Apollo, likely Clarian Apollo, directs his petitioners to conduct from Ephesus to their own local temple an image of Artemis; the goddess is here described (l. 4) as μαῖα καὶ αὐξήτειρα βροτῶν καρπῶν τε δότειρα 'midwife and both increaser of mortals and giver of harvests'. This an Artemis whose domain certainly overlaps that of Inara, who is assimilated into the ranks of the LAMMA gods. These ^{d}LAMMA-like Iron-Age twin deities can be reasonably understood as reflexes of comparable Bronze-Age figures. There is of course also the matter of the twin Dioscuri, who were made a part of the Thessalian Argonautic quest for the Golden Fleece, about whom we will have more to say in Chapter Twenty-Two.

21.3.2.3. LAMMA gods and Nāsatyas. Others have noted that Kizzuwatna appears to have been the funnel through which ideas passed from Mitanni and Syria to Luvian regions and then further to Hatti.[2198] That must certainly have been the case with the phenomenon we are here exploring. If the triad of Anatolian deities and the Mitanni

[2198] See the discussion of Yakubovich 2010:275–280, building upon Miller 2004. See also the important follow-up treatment of Melchert 2013c:168–170.

triad of Indic deities are to be construed as functionally equivalent, what factor(s) – in the context of the Luvian milieu – motivated the synchronic assignment of LAMMA deities to that category undoubtedly long occupied by the Nāsatyas in the comparable Indic triad evidenced in Mitanni?

Kurša and the *dŕ̥ti-* ('skin-bag') would plausibly provide a point of alignment. To posit such a point of alignment would entail that the Indic *dŕ̥ti-* was a primitive mythic cornucopian accoutrement that finds a reflex in Mitanni divine-twin tradition, as it does in Vedic tradition in India. The Vedic honey-filled *dŕ̥ti-* does not appear to be an expression of a pan-Indo-European implement but a specifically Indic – or likely Indo-Iranian – idea attached (in India) to Soma cult by way of the associations of Soma with honey; and that being the case, an alignment between *kurša* and the *dŕ̥ti-* would almost certainly be the consequence of the migration – in the context of the Luvian milieu – of a cult idea from Mitanni to Luvo-Hittite Anatolia. And, to take this line of reasoning a step further, the arrival and acceptance of that idea in Anatolia provided a facilitator for the integration of LAMMA gods, with the associated *kurša*, into the category of the Anatolian triad occupied by the Nāsatyas/Aśvins in the Mitanni triad.

This is not to say that a Soma cult itself migrated from Mitanni to Luvian areas; I can see no evidence for making that claim. It is likely, nevertheless, that a material

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identified as *Soma* (Indo-Iranian *Sauma) was an element of Mitanni religious knowledge and practice. While the occurrence of Indic names and vocabulary is conspicuous at Mitanni (see above, §21.3.1), such names surface in other documents from the region (many from Nuzi [close to modern-day Kirkuk]). In some instances the Indic status of these names appears quite transparent: to take but three examples, (1) *Indarota*, at Akshapa (northern Palestine), beside Sanskrit *Indrota* 'upheld by Indra' (a proper name found in *Rig Veda* 8.68.15, 17);[2199] (2) *Biridašwa*, a ruler of Ashtartu who instigated rebellion in Yanuamma (Syria, Amarna letters EA 196:41 and 197:7, 15, 33),[2200] equivalent to a Sanskrit **Vṛddhāśva* 'possessing great horses', beside attested Sanskrit *Bṛhadaśva* (similar sense; name of a Ghandarva and used adjectivally);[2201] (3) *Birasena*, in a contract from Shechem, ca. 1400 BC, beside Sanskrit *Vīrasena* 'having an army of

[2199] See, *inter alia*, Dumont 1947:251 and in O'Callaghan 1948, pages 151, 153, and see O'Callaghan's remarks on pages 61 and 65.

[2200] See Moran 1992:274–275.

[2201] See, *inter alia*, Dumont 1947:251 and in O'Callaghan 1948, pages 151, 153, and see O'Callaghan's remarks on page 60. Mayrhofer (1966, 1974; with bibliography) reads the form as *Prītāśva* 'having a horse that is dear'.

heroes' (name given to the father of Nala in the *Mahābhārata*, and various other persons).[2202]

One such Indic name appears in a fragmentary treaty (ca. mid fifteenth century BC), recorded in both Akkadian (CTH 21.I) and Hittite (CTH 21.II), between the Hittite sovereign Telipinu and Isputahsu of Kizzuwatna,[2203] in which mention is made of one *Biryasauma* (spelled *Pi-ri-ia-ša-u-ma*), king of Kanithi (east of Kizzuwatna).[2204] *Biryasauma* is commonly understood to correspond to a Sanskrit **Vīrya-soma*,[2205] with which

[2202] See, *inter alia*, Albright 1942:30–31 (with note 22); Dumont 1947:251 and in O'Callaghan 1948, pages 151, 153, and see O'Callaghan's remarks on pages 60 and 65.

[2203] On the treaty see Otten 1951; Freu and Mazoyer 2007:137–140, with additional bibliography.

[2204] Freu and Mazoyer (2007) note (pp. 138–139), regarding the location of Kanithi, that is was found "dans la zone proche de l'Euphrate, malheureusement le toponyme est un hapax."

[2205] In addition to Dumont and O'Callaghan (just below), see, *inter alia*, Friedrich 1941:76n2; Gelb, Purves, and MacRae 1943:245, crediting Julian H. Bonfante; Güterbock 1961:18; Laroche 1966; Freu 2001:16. The form suggests that Mitanni Indic can still preserve the Proto-Indo-Iranian *au (as in *Sauma) that has shifted to the vowel *o* in Vedic Sanskrit (*Soma*, beside Avestan *Haoma*). The name *Warautu* would show the same, if rightly associated with Vedic Sanskrit *Vara + ūti* (see Dumont in O'Callaghan 1948, pages 151, 154). On the nominal *saummatar* see the discussion just below.

Dumont compares the attested personal name *Vīrya-candra*.[2206] To Dumont's remarks we could add the explicit observation that the three terms operative in the comparison (*Soma*, *vīryà-*, and *candra-*) cluster meaningfully in the poetic tradition of Soma cult. In the Sanskrit compound *Vīryacandra*, form that names a king who appears in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (122.1),[2207] *candrá-* denotes 'glittering, shining'. At *Rig Veda* 9.66.25, a hymn to Soma Pavamāna, we find *candrá-* used to describe 'glittering' drops of pressed Soma, amid references to honey and the filtering fleece. The first element of this compound name, *vīryà-*, denotes 'manliness, strength'; at *Rig Veda* 9.8.1–2, for example, Soma is said to increase the *vīryà-* of Indra and of the sacrificers.[2208] *Rig Veda* 10.30 is dedicated either to the waters or to Apām Napāt, the 'Child of the Waters', being the Fire that burns within the waters (a deity of Proto-Indo-Iranian origin); in pāda 4c–d of

[2206] See Dumont 1947:252–253 and in O'Callaghan 1948 on pages 151, and 153; see also O'Callaghan's remarks on page 63. For other similar names compare *Vīryabhadra*, *Vīryasaha*, *Vīryaka*, *Vīryasena* (Fick 1874:CLXXXIII). With the last-named, compare the related *Vīrasena* (from *vīra-* 'man, hero'), which appears at Mitanni as *Birasena*.

[2207] Numbering of the Calcutta edition.

[2208] Compare *Rig Veda* 9.113.1. At *Rig Veda* 10.98.19 and 21 Soma is called upon to give *vīryà* - 'effectiveness' to a medicinal plant.

this hymn, Apām Napāt is called upon to provide the 'honeyed' (*mádhumat-*) waters'; these, we read, enable the *vīryà-* of Indra.

In commenting on KUB 27.1 I 63 (CTH 712.A), text concerned with the Festival of Ishtar (Hurrian goddess Sauska) of Samuha, Güterbock (1961:10) draws attention to a form *ša-um-ma-ta-ar* that accompanies a theonym written with the Sumerogram ^{d}U.GUR. As is common, Güterbock understands the deity identified as ^{d}U.GUR to be Nergal (as in Akkadian orthography), Mesopotamian deity of the dead.[2209] Güterbock observes that the accompanying form *saummatar*, which appears to be an epithet modifying ^{d}U.GUR, "looks like an Indo-Aryan word," and notes that the word is attested elsewhere, in a slightly variant form, as the name of a god, ^{d}*Saummatari* (spelled ^{d}*Ša-u-ma-ta-ri*). Güterbock asks his readers: "Could it be (in the two attested forms, respectively) *soma-dhara* and *soma-dhāri(n)* 'soma-holder'?".

Some elaboration of these ideas may be helpful. The second member of the compounds that Güterbock sets before us would be derivatives of the verb that appears

[2209] Laroche (1989:11–12) proposes that the proper Hurrian reading is Uguru(n) – a god known from Arrapha, that region in which Nuzi was located. On the equivalence of Ugur and Nergal see Haas 1994:367–368, with bibliography. See also Wilhelm 1989:54.

in Sanskrit as *dhṛ*-'to hold, bear, preserve'.[2210] Sanskrit -*dhara*- is attested in various compound formations, as is - *dhāra*-. There is a prefixed verb *ā-dhṛ*- 'to hold, keep' that occurs in the causative form ('to supply') in *Rig Veda* 9.12, a short hymn describing the preparation of Soma, the cult material; in pāda 9a–b the deified material is invoked directly: *ā́ Pavamāna dhāraya rayíṁ sahásravarcasam* 'O Pavamāna, supply wealth, with thousand-fold brilliance'. This prefixed verb *ā-dhṛ*- provides the nominal *ā-dhāra*- 'support; patronage' (as at *Atharva Veda* 12.3.48), which is compounded with *Soma*- to form the proper name *Somādhāra*: this form is found – again – in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (97.10), used attributively to identify a class of Pitṛs. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, which we have now seen to attest both *Vīryacandra* (relevant to *Birysauma*) and *Somādhāra*, is particularly significant among the Purāṇas for preserving Vedic mythology – a structured system encoding primitive notions. Sanskrit *Pitṛs*, literally 'Fathers', is used to identify spirits of the dead; thus, a certain class of spirits of the dead can be specified by *Somādhāra*- used attributively. If ^{d}U.GUR is rightly read to name the god Nergal, god

[2210] From Proto-Indo-European *dher- 'to hold firmly, support': see, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1930:856–860; Mallory and Adams 1997:270; LIV 145–146; Watkins 2011:19.

of the dead, as seems most likely, the parallel between the use of *saummatar* as an epithet of that god and the use of *Somādhāra* as a modifier of *Pitṛs* is striking.[2211]

Güterbock mentions an Indic *-dhāri(n)* in conjunction with his second form, the theonym *Saummatari*. A Sanskrit adjective *dhāri-* 'bearing, holding, supporting' appears in scholia; the variant *dhārin-* 'bearing, holding, possessing' has broad textual attestation and serves as the second member of numerous compounds: a *mantra-dhārin-*, for example, is one who possesses mantras, an 'adviser'; *gandha-dhārin*-denotes 'possessing perfumes' (both of these examples coming from the *Mahābhārata*); and *rahasya-dhārin-* is 'possessing a ritual secret' (*Kathāsaritsāgara*). *Saummatari* occurs in KUB 15.19, one of the fragments of CTH 590, dream and vow texts, where the deity is geographically localized as Saummatari of Kaittana (^{d}*Šaummatari* ^{URU}*Kaittana*).[2212]

[2211] On the possibility of a variant *sūmātani*, used as an epithet of ^{d}U.GUR, see the discussion of CHD Š 586, with bibliography. If this were securely identified as a variant, it would invite formal comparison with Sanskrit *Somadhāna-* 'holding Soma', used in the *Rig Veda* to modify (1) *kaláśa-* 'pitcher, jar' (6.69.2 and 6 [container here equating metaphorically to Indra and Viṣṇu] and 9.97.33; (2) *hā́rdi-* 'heart' of Indra, likened to a container for holding Soma (9.70.9 and 9.108.16); and (3) *hradā́* 'lake', likened to the belly (or cheeks [see Jamison 1987:74–81]) of Indra (3.36.8).

[2212] For the fragment see de Roos 1984:240–242, 378–380; Mouton 2007:283–284.

Güterbock offers this observation regarding the form *Saummatari* within its textual context (1961:18):

> KUB XV 19 contains vows of a queen, like other texts of this type presumably of Puduḫepa. It would be nice if one could say that this queen, a Kizzuwatnean princess, turned to an Aryan god whose name was derived from the soma drink, when she was concerned about her husband's health.

It is presumably Puduhepa's connection with Kizzuwatna that is the focus of Güterbock's comment – Kizzuwatna being a place that otherwise provides evidence of an Indic cultural presence, as we have seen. Puduhepa is queen to Hattusili III, whom we encountered in Chapter Seven (see §7.4), the Hittite sovereign that ruled in that period (mid thirteenth century BC) when the Ahhiyawan king of Millawanda (Miletus) could be accorded the status of LUGAL.GAL 'Great King'. Another of the fragments (KUB 56.15) belonging to the set CTH 590 is assigned to the corpus of Ahhiyawa texts (AhT 26) by Beckman, Bryce, and Cline (2011:248–252); there the agent of the described votive action is generally understood to be again Puduhepa, who makes pleas to the Sea, coupled with promise of offerings, in return for divine assistance in ridding the

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kingdom of the threat of Piyamaradu, a Ahhiyawan confederate. We can thus see that worship of the deity Saummatari 'possessing-Soma' intersects synchronically and to some extent locally with Ahhiyawan Anatolia.

Other aligning factors, beyond ritual accoutrements, would have been at work in a Luvian structural equating of LAMMA gods with the Mitanni Nāsatyas. For one – just above we drew attention to LAMMA deities affiliated with waterways and to the association of the Nāsatyas with water (see just above, §21.3.2.1). Bearing in mind that Akkadian *lamassu* can denote a spirit that endows health and effect long life, the healing actions of the Nāsatyas/Aśvins, which appears to be a notion common to Indo-Iranian divine twins, could also well have augmented the appropriation of LAMMA deities to satisfy the third category of the Anatolian triad. In addition there is this: the *dṛ́ti-* of the Nāsatyas/Aśvins is bound up with Soma and with honey; the locale (Anatolia) into which this idea was being received was a place in which the bee already enjoyed mythic significance (see especially Chapter Sixteen).

*21.3.2.4. Indo-European *Medhu- as a Precursor Material.* Vedic descriptions of Soma as honey likely find an antecedent in Proto-Indo-European ritual usage of the fermented-honey beverage *medhu- (on which, see §18.3.4), as has been long and often

proposed. The same is *ipso facto* the case for Iranian Haoma, counterpart to Indic Soma (both from Proto-Indo-Iranian *Sauma [cf. Mitanni *Birya-sauma* and so on]) to which we shall turn more directly in Chapter Twenty-Two; though in Zoroastrian tradition priests are strictly forbidden to ingest actual honey.[2213] In his review of Wasson 1968, for instance, Kuiper (1970:284) judges that "it would seem a reasonable conjecture . . . that at some moment in their common prehistory the Indo-Iranians . . . substituted the *Sauma- for the older *mádhu*." For Kuiper (p. 283) the ritual use of * medhu- likely finds etiological grounding in ancestral Indo-European cosmogony,[2214] one which receives continued expression in the Vedic cult tradition of an eagle (or falcon) stealing the Soma plant[2215] for Indra "from the primordial world." It is worth noting, in light of *šaumma-tar* (discussed in the previous section), that this eagle can be assigned the epithet *Soma-bhṛt-* 'Soma-bearing' (see *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 3.4.1.12; 3.9.4.9, 10). Soma's

[2213] On which see de Jong 1997:140–142, with discussion of earlier work.

[2214] Compare Dumézil's early (1924) hypothesis of an ancestral Indo-European ritual that entailed ingestion of a sacred intoxicating beverage and an accompanying mythic etiology. See also, with bibliography, Mallory and Adams 1997:494–496.

[2215] For a cataloging of Indic traditions that concern the taking of Soma (and of other ingestible liquids in other traditions), presented within a broad folkloric frame (and assigned to Thompson's [1932–1936] motif A153.1), see Sterken 2018.

guardian Kr̥śānu, an archer, shoots at the eagle as it flies away with Soma, his arrow dislodging a single feather from the bird. For the account see especially *Rig Veda* 4.26 (where Manu, the first man and sacrificer, receives the Soma and offers it to Indra) and 4.27: in the former hymn Soma can be referenced as 'Soma-honey' (*somyám mádhu*, pāda 5c) and in the latter as a 'honey . . . drink that intoxicates' (*mádhu- . . . máda-*, pāda 5c–d). In some expressions of the tradition the eagle-provided Soma can be denoted simply as *madhu* 'honey', as in *Rig Veda* 4.18.13. In a variant form of the tradition (as in the *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā*) it is Indra himself who takes on eagle-form and in that shape steals the cult material Soma, which is here, as elsewhere, identified by the Sanskrit term *amr̥ta-* 'immortal [substance]', the etymological congener of Greek *ambrosíā* (ἀμβροσίᾱ).[2216] For this use of *amr̥ta-* to denote *Soma* already in the *Rig Veda* see hymns 3.26.7; 5.2.3; 6.37.3; 6.44.16, 23; 9.70.2, 4; 9.74.4; 9.108.4; 9.110.4; 10.12.3. In pāda 3d of *Rig Veda* 10.123, the Vena ('Seeker') hymn, in which Sun and Soma tend to be elided, reference is made to the 'immortal honey' (genitive *mádhvo amŕ̥tasya*).

[2216] In a related tradition, as in *Mahābhārata* 1.23–30 (cf. *Atharva Veda* 4.6.3), Garuḍa, the "king of birds" (a bird-Indra, in effect) steals Soma/*amr̥ta-* from the gods. After Garuḍa, has obtained the Soma/*amr̥ta-* Indra throws a thunderbolt at him, with the result that Garuḍa sheds, willfully, a single one of his feathers, after which Garuḍa and Indra are reconciled.

We see in this Vedic cosmogonic tradition yet another conjunction of avian and apian elements – and one that is not unique to India. In the review mentioned above, Kuiper (1970:283–284) notes that Adalbert Kuhn had proposed, already in the mid nineteenth century,[2217] that the Vedic tradition finds a parallel within the *Edda* of the Icelander Snorri Sturluson, an account of how Odin came to acquire 'mead' (*mjǫðr*).[2218] The reference is to a passage in that portion of the *Prose Edda* called the *Skáldskaparmál*. Here Sturluson rehearses the tradition that the giant Suttung obtained, by force, from certain dwarves this newly concocted, poetry-inspiring material, mead: it had been made by mixing honey with the blood of the profoundly wise man Kvasir at a primeval moment, as the gods called the Æsir and those called the Vanir were coalescing to constitute divine society. Suttung hid the mead away, assigning to his daughter Gunnlod the responsibility of being its guardian. Odin would seduce Gunnlod and thereby obtain three draughts of the honey-beverage; in taking these three draughts Odin ingested the mead in its entirety. Changing himself into an eagle, Odin fled, bearing the mead within his own body; as Odin made his escape, Suttung, also in eagle form, pursued him. Odin flew to Asgard, city of the Æsir, where he spat out the mead

[2217] The bibliographic allusion is to A. Kuhn 1859:146–157, revised edition in E. Kuhn 1886, volume 1.

[2218] For subsequent observations regarding the parallel traditions, Indic and Germanic, see, *inter alia*, von Roth 1882; Oldenberg 1894:175–176; Macdonell 1897:114; Keith 1998:171–172. See also Compton 2006:262.

into crocks that the Æsir had set out to receive the honey beverage, except for a little that fell to the ground as Suttung nearly snared Odin.[2219] Though this is not the only Scandinavian attestation of the tradition: it can be glimpsed in the Eddic poem called the *Hávamál*, strophes 104–110.

The Indo-European tradition survives in a Greek reflex – that of doves bearing Ambrosia to Zeus. As we noted above, Greek *ambrosíā* (ἀμβροσίᾱ) shares a common Indo-European origin with Sanskrit *amr̥ta-*,[2220] term by which Soma can be routinely named, as it is in the account in which eagle-form Indra steals Soma. The earliest attestation of the Greek expression of the tradition is found at *Odyssey* 12.59–72. Circe – she who is sister to Aietes, dweller on the Aiaian island, place lying in the mythical east close by the river of Oceanus (see §17.2) – here tells Odysseus of the Clashing Rocks, through which he must choose to sail or not. She reports that doves pass through them when they bring ambrosia to Zeus and that the rocks always 'take away' (*aphairéō* [ἀφαιρέω]) one of the doves (with Zeus then adding in another to take the place of the sole lost dove). M. L. West realized the relatedness of the Greek tradition to the Indic

[2219] Kuiper (1970:284) notes that Kuhn compared the small spillage of mead with the Soma-delivering eagle's loss of a single feather – both the consequence of adversarial intervention.

[2220] Here also belongs Avestan *amə̊ša-*, term used in naming a set of Zoroastrian deities that embody the various attributes of the great god Ahura Mazdah.

and Germanic, briefly drawing attention to it in his 2005 study of the pre-Odyssean *Argonautica*: as he comments on the Clashing Rocks in Argonautic tradition, he notes (p. 42) that ambrosia "does not grow on Olympus but somewhere beyond Oceanus," and commenting that Kṛśānu's act of shooting off one of the Soma-stealing eagle's feathers "recalls how in Apollonius [*Argonautica* 2.571–573, 601] the Argonauts release a dove to test the state of the Clashing Rocks, and it has its tailfeathers cut off as it passes through."[2221] As West also notes, the epic poet Moero of Byzantium (fr. 1, Powell) writes that doves fed young Zeus within his Cretan cave, ἀμβροσίην φορέουσαι ἀπ' Ὠκεανοῖο ῥοάων 'bringing ambrosia from the streams of Oceanus'.[2222] With this observation we find that we have circled back to the theogonic traditions of Zeus, Anatolian in origin, which we examined in Chapter Nineteen, with their conspicuous bee and bird constellations.

21.4. Some Interpretative Conclusions

[2221] See also West 2007:158–160.

[2222] Moero adds that a great eagle brought nectar from a rock for Zeus. Whatever etymological sense is to be made of Greek *néktar* (νέκταρ), the nineteenth century (and later) investigations of the Indo-European tradition we are here considering commonly offer the eagle's carrying of nectar to Zeus as a comparandum to the eagle's theft of Soma for Indra and so on.

In previous chapters we have considered analyses which hold that the Anatolian Bronze-Age cornucopian implement called the *kurša*, closely affiliated with LAMMA deities, not only provides a prototype for the "breasts" of Ephesian Artemis but also figures as the germ of the Golden Fleece. This nexus of ideas must be expanded to include elements of Vedic Soma cult, not only the skin-bag called the *dṛ́ti-*, in which the Aśvins carry honey as they travel to receive the Soma offering, but also the filter of sheep's fleece, used to strain Soma, and thereby impregnated, metaphorically, with honey, with glistening drops of Soma. There is evidence of the transmission of knowledge of *Soma-* from the Indic religious structures of Mitanni, from which the existence of Soma-cult structures among the Indic element of Hurrian society may be inferred. The Mitannian Nāsatyas/Aśvins appear to have provided a model, or catalyst, for the assignment of LAMMA deities to the third position in the Anatolian triad, within the context of the Luvian milieu. The Greek weaving of a reflex of the primitive Indo-European tradition of the acquisition of the honey-based exhilarating material into Thessalian Argonautic tradition of the Golden Fleece is consistent with and supportive of the proposal that the Anatolian *kurša* aligns notionally with Vedic Soma-cult practice.

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Chapter Twenty-Two

Nart Saga, Indo-Iranian Twins, and Dioscurias

22.1. Introduction

The preceding chapter concluded with a discussion of the primitive Indo-European myth of the theft of *medhu- and expressions of that myth that survive in Indic, Greek, and other descendent traditions. In that chapter it was posited that the Vedic reflex of the myth – in which the stolen material is the honey-like exhilarant Soma – intersects meaningfully with Aeolian tradition by way of a common notion of a golden fleecy implement. While the investigations of Chapter Twenty-One focused chiefly on southwestern Anatolia and adjacent northern Syria, the tradition of the Golden Fleece finds its local context in Transcaucasia. Golden-Fleece tradition cannot be separated from Greek ideas about the region of the Dawn, the eastern limits of the world; and Colchis as an eastern limit looks to satisfy plausibly an Early Iron-Age, and possibly Bronze-Age, Greek view of mythic geography mapped onto physical

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geography, as we discussed at some length in Chapter Seventeen. But might there be other factors – ideologically not far removed from those considered in the preceding chapter – that additionally motivated the association of the Golden Fleece with Transcaucasia, rather than with some more nebulously conceived, indeterminate region of the Dawn? This would seem to be an *a priori* possibility. Prior to considering this golden fleecy implement in detail, which will be the subject of Chapter Twenty-Three, we will here examine evidence for the presence of ideas in Pontus and, especially, Transcaucasia that are fundamental to Vedic Soma cult.

22.2. Iranians, the Caucuses, and Exceptional Plant Materials

Reflexes of the ancestral Indo-European tradition discussed at the end of the preceding chapter can be detected elsewhere, as among Iranians. In the *Avesta* – in *Yasna* 10 – we read that Baga ('god'; cf. Bhaga in *Rig Veda* 4.3.5, mentioned in §21.3.2.2) created Haoma (= Soma) and planted it on top of the Zoroastrian mystical mountain, Mt. Harā; from there *spəṇta fradaxšta mərəya vīžuuaṇca vībarən* 'beneficent, speeding (?) birds carried [it] off in all directions'. Reflexes also present themselves in forms of the living Nart epic traditions of the Ossetes, an Iranian people of the Caucasus, preceded in Eurasian-Steppe regions by Iranians of the first millennium BC (Scythians, Sarmatians,

Alans, and so on) and their still earlier Bronze-Age Indo-Iranian ancestors. The Ossetes are regarded as descended from Alans who moved into Transcaucasia ca. fourth century AD; but Scythians are understood to have passed into and through the Caucuses already in the eighth century BC, and to have begun returning northward into and through the Caucasus by the late seventh century, moving out of the Iranian Plateau under Median pressure, bringing with them Anatolian and Near Eastern ideas.[2223]

22.2.1. Circassian Nart Divine Twins

An expression of the Indo-European myth of the theft of a coveted marvelous plant material appears to present itself in a Nart saga, one with cosmogonic traces, preserved among West Circassians of the Northwest Caucasus.[2224] The saga is reported by Colarusso (Saga 2),[2225] who draws attention to the fact (pp. xiv, 5–6, 122–124) that the

[2223] For discussion of Steppe Iranians see, *inter alia*, Sulimirski 1985 (especially pp. 169–171 on Iranians in the Northwest Caucasus); Sulimirski and Taylor 1991 (especially pp. 562–568 on Scythian movements in the eighth–sixth centuries BC); Melyukova 1994:113 (on Alans and Ossetes and their entry into the Caucasus); Tsetskhladze 1999b:476–478 (with bibliography).

[2224] Also mentioned briefly by West (2005:42–43; 2007:159).

[2225] See Colarusso 2002:12–17; the saga was recorded by Hadaghatl'a (1968–1971:1:86–90).

West Circassian Nart materials generally tend to be somewhat more archaic than their attested (Iranian) Ossetic (thus, essentially, donor) counterparts.[2226] At the center of this saga are two brothers, bearing the Circassian names *Pija* ('he who thrusts') and *Pizighash* ('he who cuts off'), the elder and younger (respectively) sons of Tatemquo, a figure said to belong to the earliest generation of the Narts.[2227] The essential (from a comparative perspective) elements of the account are as follows. The Narts possessed a magic golden tree that bore a single piece of fruit each day – an apple, red on one side, white on the other (though also called golden), that could instill fertility in a woman. In the attested Ossetic version of the saga the fruit is said to be golden, glowing like fire, with curative properties described in this way: "It had . . . life-giving powers, and cured people from all kinds of diseases, and healed all kinds of wounds."[2228] When each of the daily-sprouting apples began to vanish during the night that followed its appearance, the brothers Pija and Pizighash were set as guards of the tree. During the night, as Pija slept, three doves came and stole the single fruit from the tree; Pizighash shot an arrow

[2226] Colarusso writes (2002:6): "The Ossetian material . . . has been reworked to form a smooth narrative. . . . The Northwest lore, however, has been published in virtually a raw form, with all the odd details constituting the detritus of earlier traditions and beliefs."

[2227] See Colarusso 2002:16n1.

[2228] May, Colarusso, and Salbiev 2016:7.

at the doves, wounding one, yet all three flew away with the stolen plant material. The doves carried the fruit to a people, called "children of the goddess of the water," who lived on the floor of the Sea of Azov (the Greek *Maiôtis límnē* [Μαιῶτις λίμνη] 'Lake Maeotis'), the northeastern extension of the Black Sea, accessed via the Kerch Strait (the Cimmerian Bosporus). The descending trajectory of the journey of the birds (consistent with other Indo-Iranian reflexes of the *medhu-theft myth) is made conspicuous by the sub-marine locale assigned to the recipients of the stolen material. The archer Pizighash tracked the wounded dove, following a trail of blood, and descended to the undersea home of the "children of the goddess of the water." There Pizighash discovered that the three doves were three maidens who had taken on bird form to acquire the fruit; and he facilitated the healing of the dove-maiden whom he had wounded with his arrow. Pizighash will marry this maiden, who in the saga is given the name Meghazash: the name is perhaps Iranian, from an earlier *Maga-zač, carrying the sense 'having many offspring' (compare Ossetic *zæic* 'offspring').[2229] Pizighash and Meghazash will produce two sons, Yimis and his younger brother Warzameg. Both of these names also appear to be Iranian: the name *Warzameg* is

[2229] See Benveniste 1959:126; Colarusso 2002:16.

attested in Ossetic as *Uryzmæg*, of uncertain sense; *Yimis* presents itself[2230] as a form of Avestan *Yima*, whose father Vīvaŋhvant was the first mortal to press Haoma (*Yasna* 9.4), and Sanskrit *Yama*, son of Vivasvat (see below, §22.2.3), who similarly shows close associations with Soma.[2231]

Allowing that Soma/Haoma and the fruit of the Nart golden tree are homologous reflexes of an ancestral Indo-Iranian plant material (per common theft tradition), this Nart saga resonates with Indo-Iranian structures that are otherwise well documented, beyond the matter of the presence of a Yama/Yima figure. The Nart fruit is both red and white – and also golden. The description is of course interesting within the context of the color scheme attached to primitive Indo-European notions of social stratification;[2232] but beyond that is the matter of color descriptions of Soma and Haoma. Sanskrit *aruṇá-* 'red, ruddy', used to describe the Dawn (Uṣas),[2233] can equally be applied to the Soma plant as a color descriptor: for example, in the succinct, highly

[2230] See Benveniste 1959:129; Colarusso 2002:16–17.

[2231] See the comments of Macdonell 1974:42.

[2232] Priestly class: white; warrior class: red; agriculturalists: blue/green – a color-coding notably well preserved in ancient Iran, as in India with modification at the low end, with yellow being the color of the Vaiśya (worker) class.

[2233] As at *Rig Veda* 1.92.15; 6.64.3; 10.61.4.

metaphorical rehearsal of the avian theft of Soma and its delivery to Indra that we encounter in *Rig Veda* 10.144, we read this of bird-stolen Soma in pādas 5a–b: "Whom the falcon brought here for you with his foot, the cherished one who keeps the wolf away, who is the ruddy housing of the stalk –."[2234] Soma juices can be similarly described as 'red, ruddy' (*aruṇá-*), as in *Rig Veda* 9.45.3 and 9.78.4. In *Rig Veda* 10.94, a hymn to the Soma pressing stones, we find, in stanza 3, 'honey' (*mádhu*) and 'branch of the reddish tree' (*vṛkṣásya śā́khām aruṇásya*) brought together in a description of Soma, where the pressing stones are likened to animate, sound-producing creatures:[2235]

> They speak: in this way they found the honey. They growl over the cooked flesh.
>
> Gnawing at the branch of the reddish tree, the gluttonous bulls have bellowed out to it.

[2234] The translation is that of Jamison and Brereton 2014:1630. See also, *inter alia*, *Rig Veda* 7.98.1.

[2235] The translation is that of Jamison and Brereton 2014:1546.

Frequently the color of Soma is described as *hári-*, commonly rendered in English as 'tawny'.[2236] Corresponding to Sanskrit *hári* - is Avestan *zairi-* conveying the notions 'tawny, ruddy', but also 'gold, green', which in parallel fashion is used as a regular color descriptor of Haoma, as at, for example, *Yasna* 10.21; 57.19; *Yašt* 9.17; 20.1, 2; *Sirōza* 2.30. We will return to these color descriptors in Chapter Twenty-Three.

22.2.1.1. Indo-Iranian Cosmogonic Trees. A distinct Zoroastrian material is that identified as *White Haoma*,[2237] the fruit of the mythic tree called the *Gaokərəna* (term that also names the fruit).[2238] Around this tree grow various medicinal plants; its fruit, White Haoma, is said to confer long life on those who ingest it, staving off debilitating old age.[2239] The tree is said to stand at the source of the river Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā; the goddess of the river is a figure of fertility who appears to be the Iranian counterpart of the Indic goddess Sarasvatī.[2240] The *Gaokərəna* tree is one of two such trees in

[2236] See, for example, *Rig Veda* 9.3.9; 9.5.4; 9.7.6; 9.42.1; 9.57.2; 9.65.12, 25; 9.70.8 (where Soma is also likened to honey); and so on.

[2237] *White Hōm*; see *Greater Bundahišn* 16.5; 24.a.1. See the discussion of Boyce 1996:138.

[2238] For the tree see, *inter alia*, *Yašt* 1.30, *Vendīdād* 20.4; *Sirōza* 1.7.

[2239] *Greater Bundahišn* 6.d.6.

[2240] On Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā see, *inter alia*, Dumézil 1947:58–59; Boyce 1996:71–74.

Zoroastrian tradition (which seem to be amalgamated at times), the other being a primeval plant identified by various names, such as "Tree of All Seeds" and "Tree of Healing." It is within this tree that sits the great bird of prey called the *mərəγō Saēnō*, 'bird *Saēna*', that shakes the tree and causes its seeds to fall and scatter across the earth;[2241] with Avestan *saēna-* compare Sanskrit *śyená-* 'eagle, falcon' (especially vis-à-vis the theft-of-Soma tradition). Both Iranian trees can be localized in the primeval sea called *Vourukaš̌a*, situated by Mt. Harā, into which flows the Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā and out of which all other rivers flow.[2242]

The mythic idea of such a cosmogonic tree must be of at least common Indo-Iranian origin: it finds Indic expression in the primeval *Jambū* tree (traditionally identified as a rose-apple) that stands to the south of mystical Mt. Meru (cf. Mt. Harā). In Book 6 (7.19–27) of the *Mahābhārata*, the *sūta* Saṁjaya[2243] describes the fruit of the enormous tree as dropping and releasing a silvery juice. This liquid gives rise to a river that circles Mt. Meru; people who drink the juice are forever content and freed from

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[2241] See *Yašt* 12.17; 14.41; *Greater Bundahišn* 6.d.5; 16.4; 24.8; *Zādspram* 3.39; *Mēnōg ī Khrad* 62.37–39. On the *mərəγō Saēnō* see, *inter alia*, the discussions of Boyce 1996:88–89, 138; Schmidt 2002.

[2242] On *Vourukaš̌a* see the summary discussion of Kreyenbroek 1993.

[2243] A *sūta* is a chariot driver and bardic figure, a "reporter" of sorts, said to be of cross-class heritage, son of a Kṣatriya (warrior) father and a Brahmin mother. Saṁjaya is the *sūta* of the Kaurava king Dhṛtarāṣṭra.

the ravages of old age. In the same locale a reddish variety of gold (*jāmbūnada-*) is produced, used to craft ornaments for the gods.[2244]

22.2.1.2. The Nart Cosmogonic Tree and Soma/Haoma. The Nart saga of a great tree and its health-inducing, life-engendering apples, contextualized at the moment of the earliest generation of Narts, reverberates with the fundamental features of these Indic and (non-Nart) Iranian traditions of cosmogonic trees. The trees stand all in an elevated topography, and bodies of water are conspicuous in their localization. The vitalizing effects of ingesting the Indo-Iranian "magical," beneficent fruits of the trees are notionally close to the invigorations induced by Soma/Haoma – and White Haoma is explicitly linked with the Iranian *Gaokərəna* tree. The power of rejuvenation, of the sort attributed to White Haoma in Iran and the juice of the *Jambū* tree in India, is one associated with the Indic divine twins, the Aśvins, and prominently on display in forms of a tradition about their intervention on behalf of the aged seer Cyavana (or Cyavāna).[2245] Earliest are passing references to the seer's rescue at *Rig Veda* 5.74.5 and 1.116.10: in the latter the twin Nāsatyas are said to have 'loosened' (*pra-muc-)* the

[2244] See also *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (2.2) where the apples of the tree are said to be as large as elephants.

[2245] For a helpful discussion of the tradition, with bibliography, see Frame 2009:81–82.

covering of old age from Cyavana and to have 'prolonged' (*pra-tr̥̄-*) his lifetime, and in consequence, to have provided him with 'young women' (*kanyā̀-*) in marriage. In the fleshed-out treatment of *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 4.1.5.1–15, in which an aged Cyavana's young wife Sukanyā ('beautiful young woman') makes an appearance, the seer's old age is washed away by submersion in a pool of water, as directed by the Aśvins. In *Mahābhārata* 3.123.15–18 the Aśvins, who attempt to persuade Sukanyā to be their own wife instead, descend into the water as well. In *Mahābhārata* 3 (124.5–10, as also in *Mahābhārata* 13.141.17), we find the account of how Cyavana himself came to the aid of the Aśvins: when Indra attempted to prevent the Aśvins from being recipients of Soma, Cyavana created a gigantic Asura, of cosmic proportions, calling him *Mada*, 'Intoxication'. When Mada threatened to swallow Indra, the warrior god relented and allowed the Aśvins to receive Soma offerings.[2246] Beyond the Cyavana episode, the Aśvins are notably associated with healing in Vedic tradition (see above, §21.3.2.1);[2247] in *Rig Veda* 8.9.5 we read:[2248]

[2246] See Dumézil 1945:159–170; 1973:21–24.

[2247] On which, see also, *inter alia*, the remarks of Bhattacharji 1970:237–239.

[2248] The translation is that of Jamison and Brereton 2014:1047. See also, *inter alia*, *Atharva Veda* 20.139.5. On Sarasvatī as healer and the healing of Indra that she brought about jointly with the Aśvins, see *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* 12.7.1.10–14 and 12.8.3.2.

> What (healing remedy) you made in the waters, what in the plants, O you of many wondrous powers,
> with that help me, O Aśvins.

Likewise, the Zoroastrian avatars of the Aśvins, Amərətāt 'Long Life' and Hauvertāt 'Health', two of the Aməša Spəntas (six deities who embody the attributes of Ahura Mazdah), are respectively associated with the domains of plants and waters.[2249]

The West Circassian Nart configuration of two brothers, Pija and Pizighash, linked with (1) a remarkable plant and with (2) a feminine watery figure (Meghazash) of fecundity (if only nominally fecund) is structurally highly suggestive of the trio composed of (1) the "Soma/honey-conveying/drinking" Aśvins[2250] and (2) the river goddess Sarasvatī (§4.4, §5.5, §5.5.2, §12.7.3.6, and §21.3.2.1) with whom they are affiliated – a goddess who is associated with fertility: for example, in *Rig Veda* 2.41.17

[2249] On Amərətāt and Hauvertāt see, *inter alia*, Dumézil 1992:115, 125; Boyce 1996:203–206.

[2250] In his discussion of the Circassian saga, Colarusso (2002:16) notes as much, observing of Pija and Pizighash that "parallels with the Indo-European Divine Twins, in Greek the 'Dioskouroi,' and their rescue of the maiden Dawn are evident, ..."

Sarasvatī is called upon to provide offspring.[2251] As noted just above, Sarasvatī's Iranian counterpart appears to be the goddess Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā, a figure of fertility and deification of the river whose source is located at the spot where stands the White Haoma tree, the *Gaokərəna*.

22.2.2. Ossetic Nart Divine Twins

In the attested Ossetic version of this Nart saga,[2252] the two brothers – who here are called *Æxsar* and *Æxsærtæg*, seemingly names of Iranian origin[2253] – are explicitly stated to be *twins*[2254] – the sons of Wærxæg, "progenitor of the Narts,"[2255] whose own name appears to be formed from the ancestral word for 'wolf" (typically lost in Ossetic

[2251] In the charm preserved in *Rig Veda* 10.184 both Sarasvatī and the Aśvins are called upon to place the embryo within the womb. On Sarasvatī and fertility see, *inter alia*, the comments of Ludvik 2007:55–56.

[2252] For the saga see May, Colarusso, and Salbiev 2016:7–11.

[2253] Abaev, in his introduction to May, Colarusso, and Salbiev (2016:lxvii) links the forms with that family of words of which Avestan *xšayati* 'to have power' is a member.

[2254] See May, Colarusso, and Salbiev 2016:3.

[2255] Abaev in May, Colarusso, and Salbiev 2016:xxxi.

to taboo replacements).[2256] The names of the brothers in the Circassian saga, *Pija* ('he who thrusts') and *Pizighash* ('he who cuts off'), are both formed from West Circassian /pʻə-/ 'sever' and appear to serve to foreground the brothers' use of swords,[2257] a trait that surfaces elsewhere. Thus, in the attested Ossetic account of the younger brother's descent beneath water in search of the stolen invigorating fruit and the bird who took it, there is conspicuous mention made of the Nart twins operating with swords: when the wounded maiden's eldest brother encounters the Nart hero, not knowing that it is

[2256] On the etymology of the name, see Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:416, who cite Abaev 1949:187 and 1965:95. Regarding taboo replacement, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (p. 417) observe that "in Ossetic where the wolf was an ancient totemic animal and the mythic ancestor of the tribe, the original Indo-European word was tabooed and is preserved only in mythic names. It is replaced by a word of apparent Turkic origin, *bīræǧ/beræǧ*," here citing Abaev 1958:1:262–263 and 1949:48–49.

[2257] In his publication of the saga, Colarusso (2002:16nn2–3) translates *Pija* as 'he who spears' and *Pizighash* as 'he who causes parts to be lopped off', though both are built on the 'sever' morpheme. In a personal communication of 20 March 2020, Colarusso reported to me that his translation of *Pija*, pronounced [pə́gʸe], as 'he who spears' was chosen because when he asked his informant of the meaning of the sequenced morpheme /-gʸ-/, the informant "made a thrusting motion with his arm;" Colarusso added that "the weapon was left undetermined" and drew my attention to Ossetic saga episodes in which the brothers are depicted as using swords: see the discussion that follows immediately in the main body of the text.

Æxsærtæg to whom he speaks, he declares: "The Narts Æxsar and Æxsærtæg were guarding the apple tree last night, and wounded our sister fatally, may they cut each other down with their swords."[2258] Another Ossetic saga[2259] preserves the account of how Æxsar acquired his characteristic sword, called *Æxsargard*, a weapon that could cut through stone and metal.

This affiliation of the Nart twins with swords is interesting from an Indo-Iranian perspective because it again looks to draw the Nart brothers into the sphere of Aśvin-tradition. In the *Mahābhārata*, among the Pāṇḍava, the heroic sons fathered for Pāṇḍu by gods, it is Nakula and Sahadeva, the twin offspring of the twin Aśvins, who are distinctively associated with the use of swords: as Dumézil observes: "In India also, gods of the 'third function' are sometimes armed, but they are so in a different, humbler way than the gods of the higher functions. This is the case of the twins Nakula and Sahadeva . . . to whom the sword is assigned as 'minimal' arms."[2260] Elsewhere

[2258] May, Colarusso, and Salbiev 2016:9.

[2259] For the saga see May, Colarusso, and Salbiev 2016:4–7.

[2260] Dumézil 1973:78. Here Dumézil references *Mahābhārata* 1.123.41 and 2.66.14–15. In lines that precede and follow, Dumézil discusses the sword of Frey, one of the chief members of that set of gods called the Vanir (representatives of Dumézil's "third function"), who together with his father Njord constitute the Norse reflex of the Indo-European third-function twins, thus being homologues of the Indic Aśvins.

Dumézil has noted that each of the Pāṇḍava is characterized by a specialty of weaponry; for the twins it is the sword.[2261] At *Mahabharata* 1.123.40–44, for example, lines in which we read of how the teacher Droṇa trained the Pāṇḍava in the skills of combat, we read: *tathāti puruṣan anyān tsārukau yamajāvubhau* 'thus, far beyond other men the twins [Nakula and Sahadeva] were skilled in handling the sword'. The names assigned to the Nart brothers in the more detail-conserving Circassian form of the saga – *Pija* ('he who thrusts') and *Pizighash* ('he who cuts off') – thus reflect mythic structures inherited, via Indo-Iranian, from common Indo-European tradition, structures that draw the Nart pair into the sphere of the Indic divine twins, the Soma/honey-drinking Aśvins.

Add to this the evidence of the song that is reported in an Ossetic Nart saga to have been performed at the birth and naming of the twins Æxsar and Æxsærtæg:[2262] "Take a cup of mead! | Take a cup of mead! | Drink it down indeed! | To please God!" The honey-intoxicant mead offers an echo of Soma with its honey affiliations (and both continue the position of *medhu- in reflexes of the ancestral myth of the theft of *medhu-; see §21.3.2.4). Moreover, the proclaimed pleasure that consumption of mead

[2261] See Dumézil 1995:98–101 on the arms of the Pāṇḍava. See also the remarks of Bowles 2007:380.

[2262] May, Colarusso, and Salbiev 2016:3.

brings to God parallels the pleasure that consumption of Soma by the worshipper[2263] brings to Vedic deities (cf. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 2.18.8: *Somena Somapān prīṇāti* 'with Soma he pleases the Soma-drinking [gods]').

22.2.3. Aśvins and Yama; Pizighash and Yimis

In our examination of the Circassian saga just above (in §22.2.1) we drew attention to Yimis and his apparent Vedic and Avestan counterparts, Yama and Yima, respectively. Yimis is son of Nart Pizighash and watery Meghazash; Indic Yama, and his twin sister Yamī, are children of Vivasvat and Saraṇyū (see §8.5). The twin Aśvins likewise can be presented as the children of Vivasvat and Saraṇyū, those offspring conceived when their parents had taken on horse form. In other words, Indic tradition attests a *fraternal* linkage of the Aśvins to Yama (and Yamī). In the Nart saga the relationship of the Aśvin-esque Pizighash to Yimis is a *paternal* one. This variation – fraternal versus paternal – could conceivably be attributed to a Steppe Iranian reconfiguring of an inherited genealogy, though there is a Vedic allo-tradition regarding the parentage of Yama and Yamī that may point to a common Indo-Iranian

[2263] On the transmission of Soma to the gods through human ingestion, in comparative Indo-European perspective, see Woodard 2006:177–179.

variant of which the Nart myth is a direct reflex. *Rig Veda* 10.10 presents itself as a dialogue between Yama and Yamī; in pāda 4c Yama identifies their parents as *gandharvó apsú ápiyā ca yóṣā* 'the Gandharva in the waters' and Apyā Yoṣā – that is, the 'watery young woman'. Soma (mixed with water) can be called the *apā́ṁ gandharvás* 'Gandharva of the waters' (as in *Rig Veda* 9.86.36).[2264] We encountered the Gandharvas as a class of beings in Chapter Thirteen (see §13.5.4.2), bearing a name that resonates with Greek *Kéntauros* (Κένταυρος) and having their own horse affiliations. Here we find (at the least) a genealogy in which Vedic Yama has an equoid father, one who is in the waters, and a "watery mother." If we are right in looking to Nart Pizighash as an Aśvin-avatar, then the pair composed of Pizighash (who descends into the depths of the sea) plus the watery maiden Meghazash (parents of Yimis) shows close fundamental alignment with the Vedic alternative tradition of the in-the-water-horsey-father and watery-mother parentage of Yama.[2265] There appears to be conspicuous Nart Iranian /Vedic Indic agreement here.

[2264] See Macdonell 1974:137; Keith 1998:179. Compare the seemingly identical metaphoric use of *Gandharva* at *Rig Veda* 9.83.4, a hymn that focuses attention on the Soma fleecy filter.

[2265] Colarusso notes that in another Circassian Nart Saga, three, rather than two (Yimis and Warzameg), sons are assigned to Meghazash – the third being given the name Pshimaruquo, meaning 'Prince of Death'. Indic Yama (= Nart Yimis) is king of the dead. Colarusso (2002:17, 32, 174) sees in Pshimaruquo an

22.3. Sana and Soma/Haoma

Having taken note of the palpable similarity of Vedic and Nart divine twins, let us refocus our attention on the Indic accounts of the acquisition of Soma and its congeners in other Indo-European mythic traditions that we considered in Chapter Twenty-One (see §21.3.2.4). These are a traditions that are usually understood to have their origins in a common Indo-European myth of the theft of *medhu-, a psychotropic beverage made from honey. A careful examination of a Nart saga preserved among the Abaza reveals a structurally parallel tradition surviving in the Caucasus, to which we now turn.

22.3.1. The Theft of Sana

Colarusso (2002), following Allen (1965), records an Abaza Nart saga (a Northwest Caucasian expression of Ossetic tradition; Colarusso Saga 55)[2266] which has a particularly primitive look, owing to the details it preserves about pre-Christian/pre-

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epithet of Yimis (who must then have a corresponding affiliation with death) that has been reinterpreted as denoting a distinct third brother.

[2266] See Colarusso 2002:216–218.

Islamic deities, including a "unique reference" to a figure called "god of the gods",[2267] a deity who regulates normative custom with regard to use of the exhilarating drink called *sana*. The Abaza saga is an account of how the heroic warrior Sosruquo obtained and introduced this material to the Narts.[2268] An assembly of gods was gathered on Mt. Elbruz ("the blessed mountain" [cf. the Indic Mt. Meru and Zoroastrian Mt. Harā] – and Europe's tallest) for the purpose of drinking *sana*. It was their annual custom to invite a physically powerful mortal man to join them in *sana*-drinking, and on this occasion it was Sosruquo who received the invitation. To be brief – the powerful Sosruquo threw the barrel containing the gods' *sana* off the mountain, so that it fell onto the plain below and broke apart: its contents then flowed to the land of the Narts, where a *sana* seed that the barrel had contained embedded itself in the earth, subsequently putting forth a *sana* plant that bore "bunches" of fruit (cf. §22.3.3), with which the Narts then *fermented* the *sana*-drink.

[2267] "A unique reference to a supreme deity, who otherwise remains an enigma, "observes Colarusso (2002:218n1).

[2268] Allen (1965:159) writes: "The text here published is taken from a recording made in 1955 by Major Husein Kumuz . . . , a speaker of the *t'ap'ànta* dialect. He spoke from his own notes, and not from a published Abaza text."

The inaugural Nart fermentation of *sana* described in this saga was carried out by placing the *sana*-fruit in a barrel for something less than a year; the barrel was covered with a lid, on top of which was placed the stone called the Abra-stone. The saga reports this curious specification – that when the *sana* had fully fermented it blew off the lid together with the Abra-stone with which it was weighted. Intriguing is this specification that the first production of Nart *sana* entailed the use of a stone to apply downward force on the material being processed. One is put in mind of the Indo-Iranian *Sauma and the 'pressing' process (entailed by the name *Sauma, from *su- 'to press'; see §21.2) by which its juices are released. Do we find reported in the Abaza Nart saga vestigial evidence of an ancient process of producing *sana* by pressing or crushing with a stone implement?

In other words, is the word here attested as *ábra* a Caucasian rendering of an inherited (Indo-)Iranian term naming a *Sauma pressing stone? In India the handheld Soma pressing-stone is called the *ádri-*[2269] or *grā́van-*;[2270] it seems that the Sanskrit verb

[2269] Perhaps of Proto-Indo-European origin: *ádri-* compares to early Irish *ond*, *onn* 'stone, rock'. See Walde and Pokorny 1930:181; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:574; eDIL s.v. 1 ond.

[2270] Sanskrit *grā́van-* is a reflex of the Proto-Indo-European root *$g^{w}erh_{2}$- 'heavy', formed as an *n*-stem, source also of (among still other reflexes) Old Irish *bráu*, *bró* 'quern, millstone, grindstone'; Old English *cweorn* 'quern'; Lithuanian *gìrna* 'millstone'; Old Church Slavic *žrŭny* 'quern'. See, *inter alia*, Walde and

su- (*sunoti*) 'to press out' is more commonly used in conjunction with the nominal *ádri-*.[2271] It has been suggested that Nart *ábra* is descended from an Iranian word for 'heaven'.[2272] Compare here Young Avestan *aβra-* 'cloud', beside cognates such as Sanskrit *abhrá-* 'cloud, sky', Armenian *amb* 'cloud', Latin *imber* 'rain, shower', all pointing to a Proto-Indo-European stem *m̥bh-ro- 'rain'.[2273] The Sanskrit term *ádri-*, naming the pressing stone, can itself denote 'thunderbolt; a mountain-shaped mass of clouds; a cloud'[2274] and thus offers a conceptual parallel to Nart *ábra* understood as both pressing stone and term of celestial significance.

The semantic conjunction of the significations 'stone' and 'sky' is one otherwise attested in Indo-European. The Proto-Indo-European stem *h_2eḱ-men- (formed on the root *h_2eḱ- 'sharp') evolves into forms such as Lithuanian *akmuõ*, Latvian *akmens*, and

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Pokorny 1930:685; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:599; Mallory and Adams 1997:474; Watkins 2011:35; eDIL s.v. 1 bró. The Soma plant can be placed on top of a lower stone called the *úpara-*.

[2271] See the remarks of Macdonell and Keith 1995:2:476.

[2272] As by Colarusso (2002:218, 296, 435), who suggests a possible identification of the stone as a meteorite.

[2273] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1930:131–132; Ernout and Meillet 1959:310; Mallory and Adams 1997:477; Watkins 2011:62. On the question of including Greek *ómbros* (ὄμβρος) 'rain, thunderstorm' within this cognate set see the remarks of Chantraine 1968:796–797.

[2274] Monnier-Williams 1899:19.

Old Church Slavic *kamy*, all denoting 'stone' (compare Hittite *aku*- 'stone'). Greek *ákmōn* (ἄκμων), of common origin with these several stems, means 'anvil', and in Cypriot 'pestle' (Hesychius A 2455), but also 'sky' (*ouranós* [οὐρανός], Hesychius A 2457).[2275] Indo-Iranian cognates show a similar semantic variation: Avestan *asman*- 'stone; cloud', Old Persian *asman*- 'heaven', Sanskrit *áśman*- 'stone' and 'thunderbolt; cloud'.[2276] Lithuanian *Perkū́no akmuõ* 'stone of Perkūnas', the Storm-god (beside Polish *kamień Piorunowy* 'stone of Perun'), denotes a stone fallen from the sky.[2277]

The Abaza Nart saga reported by Colarusso and Allen ends with the line: "Thanks to Sosruquo, the *sana* of the gods came into the possession of the people." The Narts have acquired the sought-after exhilarating liquid *sana*. It is the gift of the great warrior, who stole it from the gods – much as Indra acquired Soma and Odin mead.

22.3.2. Birds and the Acquisition of Sana

[2275] See also, *inter alia*, Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (= van der Valk 1971–1987) 4.218.

[2276] See, *inter alia*, Puhvel 1984:24; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:1:575; Mallory and Adams 1997:547; Watkins 2011:2–3. A metathesized root *ka- may be the source of Germanic words for both 'hammer' (e.g. Old English *hamor*) and 'heaven' (e.g. Old English *heofon*).

[2277] See Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:575; West 2007:252n53.

The fundamental similarity of this Nart saga with its *sana* to the Indic and Norse traditions concerning acquisition of Soma and mead seems clear enough. There may possibly also be a vestigial expression of avian involvement in Ossetic traditions about the acquisition of *sana*. Such an element surfaces in a separate saga (Colarusso Saga 34), one attested in Bzhedukh West Circassian (Northwest Caucasian); this is a tale about the Nart hero Pataraz (or Bataraz, Ossetic Batraz) and his freeing of Nasran, a Prometheus-like figure chained to Mt. Elbruz.[2278] The saga describes Pataraz as fighting his way up the mountain to rescue Nasran; his principal opponent is a monstrous eagle that has fed on Nasran. In a scene reminiscent of Indic and Norse accounts, Pataraz shoots an arrow through the eagle's wing, allowing sunlight to flood through. When Pataraz shoots a second arrow through the eagle's wing, it is vanquished: Pataraz kills and decapitates the eagle. After the narrative next succinctly relates Pataraz's other combat victories on the mountain, there abruptly follows a peculiar single line: "Casting a shadow on him, the mountain bird flew past above his head."[2279] Colarusso proposes that we see here "the faint echo of an ancient story in which the bird brings

[2278] For the text of this saga see Colarusso 2002:158–168.

[2279] Colarusso 2002:162. Colarusso (p. 167) notes that the term here used indicates that the bird is a "raven-bird" and draws attention to a Russian fable (citing Toporov 1968:119) in which "a hero, Voron Voronovic, literally 'raven ravenson,' is brought 'living water' so that he may defeat a serpent demon."

the hero the magic brew."[2280] We can add that Colarusso's observation is perhaps reinforced by this: what follows almost immediately in the narrative is the description of a *sana*-drinking festival celebrated by the Narts (upon the freeing of Nasran). The described *sana*-drinking has a certain primeval appearance, with Pataraz being presented as receiving on this occasion the very first *sana* drinking-horn. The ancestral mythic figures of the archer-guardian of the ecstasy-bringing plant material and the warrior who obtains the material would seemingly coalesce in the figure of Pataraz in the Bzhedukh West Circassian expression of this saga in which *sana* clearly figures.

22.3.3. Sana and Haoma

In the present-day Caucasus, forms of the term *sana* – Modern Ossetic *sænæ* (Digor dialect) and *sæn* (Iron dialect) – commonly denote 'wine', but one also encounters the gloss 'mead' (that is, a beverage fermented from honey), as well as more generically 'intoxicating drink'.[2281] Within the Abaza Nart saga discussed just above, the material identified as *sana* leaves the impression of being something more metaphysically charged and psychoactive than mere wine: it is "sweet and strong and

[2280] Colarusso 2002:167. He continues: "This odd sentence, therefore, rather than garbled noise, is a precious relic of a remote period, drawing this Circassian tale into a wider Indo-European context."

[2281] See Dumézil 1978:241–246.

gives you power, the drink of the gods"; when Sosruquo ingests it he perceives "his strength as increasing" – it "greatly increased his strength". One is reminded of lines in the Avestan *Hōm Yašt*, as Haoma address Zarathuštra: "I am Haoma. Gather me, press me for drink, praise me for strengthening" (*Yasna* 9.2).[2282] And in the Abaza saga we read "when the Narts drank the *sana*, it made them feel pleased with the world".[2283] Of Haoma we read: "For all other intoxicants [*maδa*-] | are accompanied by Wrath with the bloody club. | But the intoxication which is that of the Haoma | is followed by Order (and) bliss" (*Yasna* 10.8).[2284] An earlier semantic phase of the term *sana* in which it fundamentally encodes psychoactive notions is preserved in Ossetic forms such as *sæntʒurdæj* 'in daydream, in delirium', *sæntʒyrd* and *sæntʒoræg* 'speaking senselessly'.[2285] The meanings on display in these forms may have been frozen in a moment when *sana* served still to denote a markedly psychotropic material.

22.3.4. Sana and the Amazon

[2282] The translation is that of Boyce 1996:162.

[2283] Colarusso 2002:216–218. Colarusso here explicitly draws attention to the Indic tradition of Indra and the Soma-bringing eagle.

[2284] The translation is that of Skjærvø 2004:264.

[2285] See Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:1:570n80, referencing Miller and Frejman 1927–1934:2:1059.

The word *sana* appears to have existed already in Scythian, as has been judged on the basis of comments preserved by a scholiast on Apollonius' *Argonautica* 2.946,[2286] who cites as his authorities Hecataeus of Miletus (sixth-fifth centuries BC; fr. 34 FGrH) and Andron of Teos (fourth century BC; fr. 2 FHG). Apollonius' line appears shortly before those we considered earlier, in Chapter Nineteen (see §19.2.1.1), in our discussion of the settlement of Sinope (lying within the psychotropic-honey region of Pontus), lines that concern the Thessalian Autolycus and his brothers Deileon and Phlogius, their possession of the city, and their participation in the search for the Golden Fleece. In that earlier discussion we took note of the tradition that Sinope was said to be daughter of the Thessalian river god Asopus. The scholion on *Argonautica* 2.946 reports the eponymous tradition that a certain Amazon fled into Pontus where she would marry a local king. Owing to her habit of drinking too much wine, the Amazon was named *Sanape* (*Sanápē* [Σανάπη]). The cause for her name is this: those who are drunk with wine (*méthusoi* [μέθυσοι]) are called *sanápai* (σανάπαι) in Thracian, which, the scholiast tells us, is a language that is also used by Amazons. The report continues: the name of the polis *Sinope* (*Sinṓpē* [Σινώπη]) is a degenerate form of the

[2286] *Scholia in Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* (*scholia vetera* [= Wendel 1935]) 197.

name of the Amazon *Sanape*, who would leave this place and relocate to an otherwise unknown *Lutídas* (Λυτίδας).[2287]

The two eponymic traditions regarding Sinope draw together Aeolian and Iranian elements. We should note that if Milesians had settled Sinope ca. 725–700 BC, that initial Milesian settlement was short lived, as the Cimmerians took control of Sinope early in the seventh century.[2288] The Cimmerians appear to have been an Iranian people, perhaps culturally close to the Scythians, who entered Asia Minor from the Steppes by way of the Caucasus (the Cimmerian locale that Assyrian texts identify as [KUR]*Gamir* in the eighth century BC being likely situated in central Georgia).[2289] The Milesians would re-found Sinope by the last quarter of the seventh century.

What is there here to suggest that we are dealing with a Scythian word *sana* in the name of *Sanápē* (Σανάπη) aside from phonetic similarity contextualized by Black Sea geography? On the one hand Hesychius glosses the form *sanápēn* (σανάπην, Σ 158)[2290] as a *Scythian* word, meaning *oinopótin* (οἰνοπότιν) 'female wine drinker'. The hard-

[2287] On the tradition see Ivantchik 1997 and 1998:299–305 (with bibliography at 1998:298n2).

[2288] See Hind 1998:133, with bibliography.

[2289] On Cimmerians, see, *inter alia*, Ivantchik 1993:26–32, 51–53; Melyukova 1994:98–99 (with bibliography); Tsetskhladze 1999b:482–487; DeVries 2011:53–54; Tokhtas'ev 2011; Xydopoulos 2015.

[2290] = Hansen 2005. Schmidt 1965 reads *sánaptin* (σάναπτιν).

drinking character of Scythians is a trope well attested among ancient authors, as is the affiliation of Amazons with Scythia. The ancient lexicographic evidence is significantly augmented by the following. That the name assigned to the Amazon, *Sanape*, is built on *sana*, term denoting an intoxicant, is likely signaled in a conspicuous way by the scholion's abrupt linking of Sanape with an entity labeled *Lutídas*: ἡ δὲ μέθυσος Ἀμαζὼν ἐκ <ταύτης> τῆς πόλεως παρεγένετο πρὸς Λυτίδαν, ὥς φησιν Ἑκαταῖος 'And from this city the wine-inebriate Amazon came to *Lutídas*, so says Hecataeus'. As Abaev argues,[2291] and Dumézil reiterates,[2292] the Greek scholion's *Lutídas* appears to be the Scythian word for 'beer' (i.e. the Amazon named for wine abandons her new husband and residence for the domain of beer). The Georgian (a Kartvelian language) word for 'beer', *ludi*, dialectal *aludi*, is generally understood to be a loanword acquired from an early form of Ossetic (Alan), and is matched by various similar borrowed words for 'beer' that appear in Finno-Ugric languages, Finnish *olut*, Estonian *õlu*, *õut*, Livonian *vo'l*. These represent a particular subset of a body of such loanwords that can be plausibly traced to Iranian sources within a Central and West Asian context of transference.[2293]

[2291] Abaev 1949:338–347; 1958–1995:1:129–131.

[2292] Dumézil 1978:243–246.

[2293] We earlier drew attention to the Finno-Ugric borrowing of *melit- 'honey' (see §14.7.1) and to Sanskrit *péya-* (as in *madhupéya-*, referencing the ritual ingestion of Soma, the 'honey-drink'), which

With the Georgian borrowing *ludi* compare Modern Ossetic *ælūt-on* 'beer' and its cognates, such as Old Prussian *alu* 'mead' and Lithuanian *alùs*, Old Church Slavic *olŭ*, Old English *ealu*, 'beer', among still others, all pointing to a primitive Indo-European nominal stem *alu-t-.[2294] Compare the pair of Scythian proper names *Sánagos* (Σάναγος) and *Aloúthagos* (Ἀλούθαγος), attested in inscriptions from Olbia, which preserve not only the formants for 'wine' and 'beer' but also an early form of the commonly occurring Ossetic suffix-*æg*.[2295]

22.3.5. Soma/Haoma, Sana, Śaṇá-, Kánnabis (Κάνναβις)

And what of the Scythian word *sana*? What can be said of the etymology and historical contextualizing of this term that appears to stand in for *Soma* in the Nart

appears in Finnish as a term used to denote ritual drinking bouts (see §15.4). On the borrowing phenomenon more broadly see the discussions of Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:825–826; Witzel 2003; Parpola 2005:39–41.

[2294] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1930:91; Mallory and Adams 1997:60; Watkins 2011:3.

[2295] See Abaev 1949:153, 180, 341; Dumézil 1978:245. For the inscriptions see IosPE I^2 89.5 (*Aloúthagos* [Ἀλούθαγος]) and 128.8 (*Sánagos* [Σάναγος]). Dumézil (1978:245, with note 2) suggests that the second element in *Lutídas* (Λυτίδας) may be a form of the Iranian root *dā- 'to give' calling attention to its reflex seen in Modern Ossetic *dættyn* 'to give' (perhaps showing a reduplication) and to the name of Scythian Poseidon, *Thagimasádas* (Θαγιμασάδας), Herodotus 4.59.2.

tradition of the heroic acquisition of exhilarating material craved by the gods? Sanskrit offers a probable cognate in *śaṇá-*, term denoting a variety of 'hemp' (*Cannabis sativa* or *Crotolaria juncea*);[2296] while earliest Modern Persian shows a form *šan* 'hemp',[2297] the Avestan corpus does not readily present a comparandum. The ancestor of these two Indo-Iranian terms, *sana* 'wine, intoxicating liquid', and *śaṇá-* 'hemp', must have been a loanword (signifying a psychotropic material) acquired in a late common Indo-European/early common Indo-Iranian period from some unidentified source language(s), as is commonly acknowledged. Indo-European acquisition of the term was part of a broader process of lexical spread, with borrowed forms making their way into Akkadian (East Semitic) and various languages of western central Asia.[2298] The several reflexes of the loanword within Indo-European show a disparity in the treatment of the term that must reflect early acquisition on something of a local basis. This condition would eventuate in a set of widely attested forms denoting 'hemp' that share an initial velar stop, the predominate condition among reflexes: examples include Khotanese Saka *kuṁbā*, Sogdian *kynp'*, Old Persian *kana*, Ossetic *gænæ* and *gænæ*, and Caucasian borrowings such as Abkhaz *a-kʷnə*, Svan *kan*, Georgian *k'anap-*.

[2296] See Monier-Williams 1899:1048; Mayrhofer 1992–1996:2:605.

[2297] See MacKenzie 2014:79.

[2298] See, *inter alia*, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:570–571; Witzel 2003:34.

22.3.5.1. Roaring Scythians and Roaring Soma. The Greek lexeme *kánnabis* (κάνναβις) was certainly borrowed, and probably from Scythian.[2299] Hesychius (K 673) identifies the material so named, 'cannabis', as a Scythian product, referencing Herodotus, who discusses its use among Scythians (see 4.74.1–75.1).[2300] Describing the Scythian practice of inhaling the vapors produced by hemp seeds thrown onto hot stones, Herodotus writes (4.75.2): οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἀγάμενοι τῇ πυρίῃ ὠρύονται 'the Scythians roar, delighting in the sauna vapors'. This is an act of *ritual intoxication*: it is conducted as a cleansing rite following a burial, carried out in a sauna constructed of 'mats of wool' (πῖλοι εἰρίνεοι) placed over three poles that lean so as to converge at the top (4.73.2).

[2299] For brief discussion of possible donors see, *inter alia*, the discussion of Chantraine 1968:493, who seems to advocate for Scythian, or Thracian – if the latter were the source we would likely need to understand a Scythian term being transmitted through Thracian to Greek. On Posidonius' (fr. 45 [= Theiler 1982]) reference to Thracian *kapnobátai* (καπνοβάται) 'smoke-walkers' (for which see Strabo 7.3.3–4) and evidence that Sophocles associated the Thracian singer Thamyras with "an ecstatic use of cannabis," see Bremmer 2002:31.

[2300] For a general discussion of the Scythian use of cannabis as a psychotropic material, in which archaeological evidence is surveyed, see Mayor 2014:147–151.

Whatever we may infer about Herodotus' lexical choices and the sources of his information, it is at the least worth noting that Vedic texts commonly describe Soma as "roaring" when the juice is pressed and poured. This is a sonic description that is consistent with the likening of Soma to a bull and one that may be assigned an acoustic correlate in the pounding of the pressing stones (see above, §22.2.1 and §22.3.1).[2301] Though it may be only coincidental, we should note that the finite verb Herodotus here uses, *ōrúomai* (ὠρύομαι) 'to roar, howl' (Hesychius [O 1345] attests a variant *orúomai* [ὀρύομαι]), finds a cognate in Sanskrit *ru-* (*ruváti*, *ravate*, etc.) 'to roar, bellow, howl', while Young Avestan offers a participle *uruuatō* 'roaring' (from Proto-Indo-European *reu-/*$h_3$reu- 'to roar, bellow, howl').[2302] Sanskrit *ru-* is one of the verbs used to

[2301] In the Zoroastrian documents, Haoma does not seem to be similarly characterized; though *Yasna* 27 describes a ritual action in which there is conspicuous pounding of the crushing pestle against various portions of the mortar containing Haoma. See the discussion of Kotwal and Boyd 1991:81–82. The author wishes to express appreciation to Professor Prods Oktor Skjærvø for bringing this work to his attention. For the use of a mortar and pestle (rather than pressing stones) to press Soma see *Rig Veda* 1.28. Earlier in this chapter (see §22.3.1) we took note of Cypriot use of Greek *ákmōn* (ἄκμων) 'anvil' to denote 'pestle'.

[2302] For *reu- see, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1927:349–351; Mallory and Adams 1997:488; Watkins 2011:74. LIV 306 reconstructs as *$h_3$reuH-.

describe the 'roaring' of Soma:[2303] thus *Rig Veda* 9.71.9, 9.74.5. For the nominal *ráva-* 'roar, howl' similarly used, consider *Rig Veda* 9.80.1 and 9.97.36. With regard to the Scythian use of hemp seeds as ritual intoxicant – Herodotus' informants in Olbia (see 4.24 and 4.78.3) were undoubtedly bilingual speakers of Greek and Steppe Iranian: this would surely not have been an unusual state of affairs in the second quarter of the first millennium BC (for Herodotus [4.108.1-2] the Iranian *Gelōnoí* [Γελωνοί], who perhaps inhabited modern-day Belsk [Ukraine],[2304] speak a hybrid variety of Scythian and Greek). It is possible that Herodotus' received description of Scythian ritual inhalation of hemp vapors preserves a vestige of Indo-Iranian cult vocabulary and that to express the concept of 'to roar' Steppe-Iranian-speaking bilingual informants utilized a Greek verb that was phonetically similar and semantically equivalent to (and which also happens to be cognate with) their own Iranian verb. In Herodotus' description the act of roaring is attached to the celebrants themselves, rather than to the cult plant material (as in the case of Soma) that they use to achieve an ecstatic state. If the language here used in fact continues traditional Indo-Iranian cult vocabulary, perhaps Herodotus has misunderstood his informants and transferred the notion of "roar" from

[2303] Also *krándati* (e.g. *Rig Veda* 9.107.22); *nádati* (e.g. *Rig Veda* 9.70.6); *mímāti* (e.g. *Rig Veda* 9.69.4); *vā́śati*, *vāśyate* (e.g. *Rig Veda* 9.21.7).

[2304] See, *inter alia*, the comments of Taylor 2001:37, with bibliography.

cult material to cult celebrants. Regardless, there is certainly a sense in which we can say that both hemp and Soma roar.

22.3.5.2. Archaeology and Iranian Psychoactive Plant Preparations. There is archaeological evidence consistent with Herodotus' report. An often-cited example is that provided by a "polypod bowl" containing charred Cannabis seeds found in an early Bronze-Age tomb in the northern Caucasus.[2305] This is reported to be matched by a similar find from a contemporaneous Kurgan at Gurbănești (Romania).[2306] The polypod bowl, a type of small vessel having three or four feet and interpreted to have served as a brazier, appears to have developed in the Pontic Steppe in the early fourth millennium BC, thence spreading westward.[2307] Sherratt (2003) proposes that cord impressions seen on some of these vessels were created by wrapping the surface with hemp rope at the time of production, decoratively signaling that the function of the

[2305] On which see Ecsedy 1979 and Sherratt 1991:53. The term "pipe-cup" has also been used; on the equivalence of "pipe-cup" and "polypod bowl" see Sherratt 1991:61.

[2306] Ecsedy (1979:45) draws attention to both, citing Markovin 1963:98 and Rosetti 1959:800–802, 805. See also Sherratt 1991:53.

[2307] On polypod bowls see Sherratt 1991:54–55; also 2003. See also Clarke and Merlin 2013:81–82, 106, 215; Guerra-Doce 2015:756–757.

braziers was for burning cannabis. Commonly, reports Sherratt, the interior of the bowl is decorated with a "radiating star or 'sunburst' design."[2308] Polypod bowls have been found in various tomb assemblages of the Eurasian Pit-Grave culture (ca. 3500–2800 BC); the Pit-Grave culture is frequently identified with a Late Common Indo-European cultural phase, and the presence of the "paraphernalia" would seemingly suggest an already ancestral practice of inhaling hemp vapors.

During the ensuing period of the Catacomb culture (ca. 2800–2000 BC) of the Pontic Steppe,[2309] which some would interpret to be the Proto-Indo-Iranian culture,[2310] traces of hemp (*Cannabis sativa*) and wormwood (*Artemisia lerchiana*), and other constituents of a narcotic "herbal infusion" have been found in vessels from burial mounds in the northwest Caspian Steppe;[2311] the investigators conclude:[2312]

[2308] Sherratt 1991:54, with figure 3. The solar imagery is interesting from a comparative Indo-Iranian perspective.

[2309] For general discussion of the Catacomb culture and its geographic range, see Mallory and Adams 1997:92–94, with bibliography.

[2310] See, *inter alia*, Witzel 2003:50–51; Parpola 2005:3.

[2311] For an example of a polypod bowl from Catacomb-era Molochansk, see Mallory and Adams 1997:94, figure e.

[2312] Shishlina et al. 2007:39.

DRAFT

> We identified hemp, ephedra, goose-foot and wormwood in both vessel residues and stomach area samples from the Catacomb Culture Period. This suggests that the recipe of such a hallucinogenic drink [the comparison is to Soma/Haoma] dates back to the third millennium BCE. It proves that hemp was used for funeral rituals . . . as early as the Catacomb Culture Period.

One of these substances, ephedra, is now frequently viewed as the principal active ingredient in ancient Soma preparations. At this point it is important to take note of the existence of what appears to be a form of Soma/Haoma, and its ritual use, in the Pontic Steppe already in the third millennium BC.

From a later period than the preceding evidence (ca. 400 BC) but notably remarkable vis-à-vis Herodotus' (4.74.1–75.1) description of the Scythian use of cannabis in the context of funerary rites, is a Saka barrow assemblage from Pazyryk (in the Altai mountains of the Altai Republic, Russian Federation), preserved by permafrost.[2313] Rudenko reports[2314] among the finds of barrow 2 a set of six rods, each

[2313] On the tombs of Pazyryk see especially Rudenko 1970. On the dating of the tombs see Rudenko's pages xxvii–xxix.

about 4 ft. in length, placed so as to form a shelter over a bronze vessel; near the top of each rod was hole through which passed a single thong binding the rods at that apical point. Elsewhere in the barrow chamber was found a second bronze vessel, described as a "Scythian cauldron," with a similar set of surmounted sticks, described as "splayed out" and "covered over by a large leather hanging." Rudenko suggests that remains of felt found near the first vessel had formed a similar covering.[2315] Each of the two vessels was filled with stones and a "small quantity" of hemp seeds, these charred by a heating of the stones it seems (birch bark was wrapped around the handle of the second vessel, interpreted as functioning in effect as a protective mitt, allowing the hot cauldron to be held). Attached to one of the six rods that formed a frame for the leather covering over the "Scythian cauldron" was a "leather flask" filled with hemp seeds. Rudenko reports that all of the tombs contained similar sets of rods but that vessels and coverings had elsewhere been removed by looters. Regarding the "leather flask" that held hemp seeds – Rudenko describes it as "flat and circular in shape, with a narrow neck," decorated on either of its flat sides with appliques depicting a griffin seizing a

[2314] The following summary is drawn from Rudenko's discussions on pages 35, 62, 74, 284–285.

[2315] Regarding the form of the rods and covering, Rudenko (1970:62) observes that "their rods were like the frame of the light Kazakh shepherds' *kos*, with the upper end lashed with a thong, which could be assembled and covered with felt in a minute."

grouse.[2316] We are of course put in mind of the *dŕ̥ti-*, 'skin-bag' of the Aśvins and the *kurša* of the Anatolians, all members of a set of leather bags containing marvelous materials – and specifically psychoactive materials in the case of the Indo-Iranian pair, when we make the equation of the honey in the Aśvins' *dŕ̥ti-* with Soma (as at, for example, *Rig Veda* 8.5.14, beside stanza 19).[2317] The Pazyryk assemblages plainly agree with Herodotus' description of the Scythian cannabis ritual *realia.*

22.3.5.3. Sanskrit bhaṅgá-, Avestan baŋha-. There is a distinct Indo-Iranian denotation for 'cannabis, hemp', one that is commonly understood as having arisen by metathesis of the *k-* and *b*-sounds seen in forms such as Khotanese Saka *kuṁbā* 'cannabis' and so on; we would expect intentional word deformation due to its ritual import and psychoactive intensity.[2318] *Atharva Veda* 11.6.15 enumerates 'five realms of plants', of which one is Soma – said to be the 'chief' (*śréṣṭha-*) among these. The other four are *darbhá-,* a grass used in various ritual performances; a plant called *sáha-*

[2316] For the description see Rudenko 1970:74, with plate 61c.

[2317] Rig Veda 8.5.14: 'You, O Aśvins – drink of this dear exhilarating drink, of the honey bestowed, O holy ones"; 8.5.19: "The skin-bag [= *dŕ̥ti-*] of honey that was set here in your chariot-rut, drink from it, O Aśvins"; translation is that of Jamison and Brereton 2014:1036–1037.

[2318] As already suggested by, *inter alia*, Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:570n79; Mallory and Adams 1997:266.

(adjective meaning 'mighty'), of uncertain botanical identity; *yáva-* 'barley'; and 'hemp' (*Cannabis sativa*): the worshipper invokes these several plants 'to set us free from *áṁhas-* 'anxiety'. But 'hemp' is here designated by the term *bhaṅgá-* (also attested as *bhaṅgā*), which appears to be a noun form of an adjectival *bhaṅgá-* 'breaking, pounding';[2319] this is a term that can be used as a descriptor of pressed Soma at *Rig Veda* 9.61.13 (though alternatively the adjective is linked with Proto-Indo-European *bheg- to break).[2320] Avestan offers *baŋha-*, noun denoting 'narcotic plant' and as an adjective 'stunned, intoxicated'.[2321] In Pahlavi texts *bang/mang* is described as mixed with Hōm (= Haoma) or wine to produce an "illuminating drink, . . . an integral part of the ecstatic practice aimed at opening the 'eye of the soul.'"[2322] Among other Iranian forms are Sogdian *βγ'ny* 'intoxicating beverage', Khwarezmian *bakanīn* 'beer' (Khwarezmian being the Middle Iranian language spoken in the region of ancient Chorasmia, generally regarded as the homeland of Zoroastrianism), and Ossetic *bægæny* and *bægæni* 'beer'. Iranian provided a loan to Old Turkic, *bekni* 'beer' and term denoting grain alcoholic

[2319] See Mayrhofer 1956–1980:2:461; 1992–1996:240–241.

[2320] See the comments of Watkins 2011:9.

[2321] See Bartholomae 1904:925.

[2322] See Gnoli 1988. See also Boyce 1996:231n11, 280–281; Mackenzie 2104:17.

beverage.[2323] We see here lexical affiliates of ritual import uniting cannabis and Soma use, and extending into the domain of liquid, alcoholic preparations.

22.3.5.4. Cannabis and Soma Cult. The *s*-initial Scytho-Ossetic form *sana-* 'wine, intoxicating beverage' found in the Caucasus (beside Sanskrit *śaṇá-* 'hemp') must represent an incursion from the east, as others have pointed out,[2324] at a moment distinct from – conceivably either earlier or later than – the introduction of forms with initial velar stop and their metathesized bilabial-initial variants. Clearly Iranian *sana-*, just as in the case of *bang-*(in its use to name intoxicating drinks), underwent a semantic shift, within the domain of exhilarating plant materials, from 'hemp' to 'alcoholic beverage'. At times hemp (*Cannabis sativa*), probably native to Central Asia, has been proposed to be the plant material from which Soma was produced, but the hypothesis has not been well received, [2325] with ephedra being the currently favored candidate. In a recent overview of the botanical evidence, Nyberg (2012:387) argues

[2323] See Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:570, with note 80.

[2324] See, for example, the comments of Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1995:570n80): "When the East Iranian Scythians migrated westward, the term for hashish *san- was transferred to wine, the major historical intoxicating beverage in the historical territory of the Ossetic-speaking tribes . . . ."

[2325] See, *inter alia*, the remarks of La Barre 1970:370; Staal 2001:759; Nyberg 2012:386–387.

"that hemp is certainly not identical with Soma/Haoma, although it might have been an ingredient in some preparations derived from the use of the original Soma/Haoma"; we have seen as much suggested by the Catacomb-Culture evidence from the Caspian Steppe (§22.3.5.2). What has been claimed to be the earliest archaeo-botanical evidence for *Soma cult* comes from "temple-like buildings at Togolok-21 and Gonur-1" in the region of Margiana (Merv), Turkmenistan, to be dated ca. 1900–1700 BC or, alternatively, 1700–1500 BC; here cult-like vessels were discovered that were analyzed as containing ephedra and cannabis residues[2326] (though the analysis has been called into question by some, not all).[2327]

22.3.5.5. Sakā Hauma-Vargā. Achaemenid inscriptions make reference to a Central Asian Iranian people called the *Sakā Hauma-vargā*. While the first element

[2326] Parpola 2012:371. Parpola offers that "at Gonur-1 the ritualistic vessels also contained remains of poppy and cannabis, at Togolok-21 traces of poppy were found on stone mortars and pestle." See Parpola for bibliography.

[2327] See Bakels 2003, whose statement (p. 50) that "we [here referencing others with whom Bakels cites as having conferred] all wonder now whether we have looked at the same material as published by N. R. Meyer-Melikyan and N. A. Avetov [1997]" is one which is difficult to parse. See also the remarks of Clarke and Merlin 2013:82, with bibliography. Contra the dissenters see Russo 2007:1631.

(*Hauma-*) of the compound describing this Saka group clearly preserves a Persian form of Avestan *Haoma*, the proper etymological sense of the second element (*-vargā*) remains an open matter. Most probable is Hoffmann's (1976–1992:2:611–612) interpretation of *Hauma-vargā* as 'Hauma-laying'.[2328] Hoffmann associates Saka *varga-* with the lexical set to which Sanskrit *vr̥j-* (*varjati*, *vr̥nakti*) belongs. The Sanskrit verb *vr̥j-* is commonly translated 'to turn', 'to turn over, around',[2329] used regularly of the Vedic ritual act of laying the grass called *barhis* on the ground within demarcated sacred space, as during the Soma sacrifice (among other usages).[2330] *Barhis* provides a covering on which the invoked gods can sit. The Sanskrit compound *vr̥ktá-barhis*, denoting one who has strewn the *barhis*, and then more generally one who sacrifices, invites comparison with the Saka *Hauma-vargā*.

[2328] So Jacobs 1982:78; Schmitt 2003; see Schmitt's treatment of *Sakā Hauma-vargā* for bibliography, to which can be added Golden 2006:12.

[2329] See Mayrhofer 1992–1996:2:516–517. Bloomfield 1915 argues for an unmarked sense 'perform'.

[2330] See, *inter alia*, Monnier-Williams 1899:1009; Macdonell and Keith 1995:2:61; Sen 2001:95. On the use of *barhis* in conjunction with the yūpa, the sacred post that we discussed in Chapter Two, see Woodard 2006:68, 78, 85, and 87.

Corresponding to Sanskrit *barhis* is Avestan *barəsman* (Pahlavi *barsom*), naming an essential material of Zoroastrian cult practice.[2331] *Barəsman* identifies a grass or, commonly, the twigs of the Haoma plant, which are spread out or bundled and held in the hand – a ritual preparation for calling the gods (as *Yasna* 2 is chanted).[2332] The Saka descriptor *Hauma-vargā* may reference a similar ritual manipulation of Haoma. Jacobs (1982:78) proposes that the action expressed by the Saka compound finds later expression in the Scythian custom that Herodotus describes at 4.75.2 – that of laying cannabis seeds on hot stones.

22.3.5.6. Massagetae and Ritual Intoxication. Also pertinent here is a report concerning another Iranian people, Saka,[2333] called the Massagetae (*Massagétai*

[2331] The two terms have been identified as reflexes of Proto-Indo-European *$h_2$werg- 'to turn around, to turn', with Greek ἐέργω (*eérgō*) 'to shut out' and Latin *vergō* 'to move, slope downward' proposed as further reflexes: see LIV 290–291.

[2332] See, *inter alia*, Kanga 1988; Skjærvø 1988; Flattery in Flattery and Schwartz 1989:80 (who proposes that "*barsom/barəsman-* may originally have been the same plant as sauma"); Boyce 1996:167.

[2333] Herodotus (1.201.1) writes that some identify the Massagetae as a "Scythian" ethnos; see too Pliny *Naturalis historia* 6.50, where they are identified as Sacae.

[Μασσαγέται]).[2334] Precise localization of the habitat of the Massagetae is difficult: what can be said is that when they appear in the historical record they are situated east of the Caspian Sea in an area previously occupied by Scythians, whom the Massagetae displaced westward with their arrival there (Herodotus 4.11.1) from some more easterly locale. Writing in the third century AD, Cassius Dio (69.15.1) equates the Massagetae with the Alans – that Iranian people identified as ancestors of the Ossetes. A century later Ammianus Marcellinus refers to the Massagetae as those *quos Alanos nunc appellamus* 'whom we now call Alans' (23.5.16, as again identified at 31.2.12).[2335] Herodotus (1.202.2) reports the following regarding the Massagetae and their use of a psychoactive material:

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[2334] On the Massagetae see recently Schmitt 2018, with bibliography. Herodotus reports (1.216.2) that the Massagetae (and somewhat similarly the Issedones [4.26.1]) practice ritual cannibalism; with this compare the removal of muscle tissue from cadavers reported in the Saka burials of Pazyryk, among still other similarities (Rudenko 1970:283–284).

[2335] Themistius (*Χαριστήριος τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς ὑπατείας τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Σατορνίνου* 207c) writes of the 'recklessness of the Alans and madness of the Massagetae' (τόλμα Ἀλανῶν καὶ ἀπόνοια Μασσαγετῶν).

> Ἄλλα δέ σφι ἐξευρῆσθαι δένδρεα καρποὺς τοιούσδε τινὰς φέροντα, τοὺς ἐπείτε ἂν ἐς τὠυτὸ συνέλθωσι κατὰ ἴλας καὶ πῦρ ἀνακαύσωνται κύκλῳ περιιζομένους ἐπιβάλλειν ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ, ὀσφραινομένους δὲ καταγιζομένου τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ἐπιβαλλομένου μεθύσκεσθαι τῇ ὀδμῇ κατά περ Ἕλληνας τῷ οἴνῳ, πλεῦνος δὲ ἐπιβαλλομένου τοῦ καρποῦ μᾶλλον μεθύσκεσθαι, ἐς ὃ ἐς ὄρχησίν τε ἀνίστασθαι καὶ ἐς ἀοιδὴν ἀπικνέεσθαι.

> And they search out other trees, ones that bear a certain kind of fruit, which, whenever they gather in groups and kindle a fire, sitting in a circle, they throw into the fire; and smelling of the burning fruit thrown in, they become intoxicated by the smell, just as the Greeks do by wine – and the more fruit is thrown in, the more intoxicated they become, until at last they get up to dance and to sing.

The broad strokes of Herodotus' portrait of this custom can be reasonably read as revealing another rite of cannabis inhalation, one consistent with the material and other documentary evidence of such practices among Iranians of the Eurasian Steppes and contiguous regions, which we have just been considering. That is a phenomenon

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that we have seen Herodotus to know and to record explicitly among Scythians. But the description of the Massagetae's psychoactive botanical as a tree-borne fruit hardly suggests the material to be hemp (or even that Herodotus imagined it to be): there is a disconnect between particularistic description and reasonable inferences based on the bigger picture. Some fundamental misunderstanding looks to be on display here. The informing ethnographic data has likely assimilated (1) a rite of intoxication with (2) an accompanying narrative of a sought-after fruit that grows on a tree of mythical import – such as the Zoroastrian White Haoma, fruit of the *Gaokərəna* tree (a tradition that is participant in an Indo-Iranian commonality, as we have seen). One is reminded of the Zoroastrian celebrations of Nō Rōz (the Iranian New Year [rites of spring]) as an annually-expressed ritual anticipation of the eschatological *yasna* when the righteous will communally partake of a *parahaoma* (the mixed Haoma preparation) made from White Haoma (mystical tree fruit), and in doing so will obtain bodies not subject to death. Boyce reports that as recently as the 1960's, celebrations of Nō Rōz were still observed in Iran that were marked by a communal partaking of a *parahaoma*.[2336] In any

[2336] See Boyce 1997:233–235 (results of fieldwork focusing on the deeply traditional Zoroastrian village of Sharifabad in the north of the Yazdi plain) and Boyce 2003. On worship at the shrines of Sharifabad she makes this observation (1977:90–91):

event, Herodotus' Massagetae/Alan data is conspicuously reminiscent of Ossetic narratives in which the ancestral Indo-European myth of the theft of ecstasy-bringing material takes on the form of the an apple plucked from a sought-after tree; and I would posit that Herodotus preserves evidence for a Massagetae/Alan myth ancestral to that of the Ossetic tree of sought-after fruit, guarded by divine twins in attested Nart tradition.

*22.3.5.7. Theft of *Medhu- and Divine Twins: A Vedic-Nart Conceptual Isogloss.* None of this suggests to us that the Scythians who lived in and around the Caucasus possessed a Haoma cult (of the sort known from Zoroastrian tradition); but it is surely the case that these Scythians made use of a psychoactive cult material, cannabis, and that – as we

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Although the shrines of Sharifabad itself were very different in age and character, each received its share of devotion, which was paid with a blend of high seriousness and gaiety; for when young people had said their prayers and made their offerings, one of them would often strike up on a tambourine and the others begin to sing or dance. The joyful noise could be considerable, with the throbbing instruments and a clapping of hands, in which older people too would join . . . . Indeed, I was once at one of the mountain shrines when young men were singing and dancing in the outer room, and a girl, for propriety's sake, held a shawl across the doorway to the inner sanctuary while one of her companions danced gracefully in the narrow space beside the sacred rock itself."

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have seen in the last several sections – this material forms part of a larger Indo-Iranian botanical matrix with affiliated cult structures and vocabulary. The Nart sagas that, in their various locally attested forms, feature marvelous and jealously-guarded plant materials – the life-instilling apples of the Narts and the exhilarating *sana* – are reasonably identified as elements of this same matrix. We have seen how the sagas of the Nart apple tree and its fruit echo Zoroastrian and Vedic traditions of primeval trees – including White Haoma, and sharing in Indo-Iranian color descriptors associated with *Sauma – and how both the apples and *sana* traditions align with Indic accounts of the theft of Soma, and its Zoroastrian homologue.

The myth of the theft of the ecstasy-inducing material is of course one that is more broadly attested and one that is widely understood to continue a Proto-Indo-European myth of the acquisition of the honey-intoxicant *medhu-. But conspicuous in Nart expressions of this ancestral myth is the presence of Iranian reflexes of the primitive Indo-European divine twins. We have seen this in both the Ossetic and West Circassian forms of the saga of the stolen apples. The presence of the divine twins is not otherwise an element of this Indo-European myth. Nart tradition attests what looks to be a weaving together of (1) the *medhu-theft tradition and (2) divine twin figures who are widely acknowledged to belong to the mythology of earliest Indo-

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European. The divine twins of Indic tradition, the Aśvins/Nāsatyas, as we have witnessed, are closely affiliated with *madhu* 'honey', as an expression of Soma (structurally continuing the ancestral honey-intoxicant *medhu-). The Nart mythic conjoining of the divine twins with the theft of *medhu- is thus natural enough from what we know as Vedic perspective – but *only from such a perspective*, one in which the divine twins are otherwise attached notionally to the reflex of the ecstasy-bringing honey. This connection must be one that the particular Iranian tradition which finds expression in the Nart sagas shares with Vedic. In other words, we find here a *conceptual* isogloss of Nart and Vedic tradition, one grounded in myth and cult.[2337]

22.3.5.8. Linguistic Isogloss and Conceptual Isogloss: A Cult-Myth Nexus. As we have seen, a distinctive resignification of the Indo-Iranian cannabis-term presents itself in the Caucasus. Here *sana* denotes a *liquid* intoxicant – an exhilarating potable that has

[2337] Do the Urartians play any role in this? Seemingly not. The Iron-Age Urartians, whose influence on the Scythians is well documented, do not look to constitute a reservoir of Indo-European ideas on divine twins, and related cult phenomena, that would parallel the case of their Bronze-Age relatives, the Mitanni Hurrians. As Wilhelm (1989:41) observes: "Urartian culture is heavily marked with the stamp of Assyrian civilisation, and its religion has very little in common with Hurrian cults. The only real link between the Urartians and the Hurrians is linguistic; historical tradition plays no part . . . ."

been fitted into the position occupied by Soma/Haoma in the Vedic and Zoroastrian traditions of the ancestral theft-of-*madhu myth. Moreover, we have examined evidence that suggests that vestigial expressions of a pressing-process survive in the Nart saga of the theft tradition into which *sana* has been fitted (see earlier in this chapter, §22.2.1 and §22.3.1). Nart *sana* appears to be a *linguistic* isogloss shared with Sanskrit (*śaṇá-*), complementing the Nart-Vedic *conceptual* isogloss of the association of divine twins with the *madhu replacement material; though in Sanskrit *śaṇá-* looks to be attested only in the sense 'hemp'. Somewhat similarly, the metathesized variant of the cannabis-term – that form having an initial bilabial consonant, such as Ossetic *bægæny* and *bægæni* 'beer' – can denote a variety of *liquid* intoxicants, but in this instance the distribution is broadly attested across central Asia into Transcaucasia. Perhaps these semantic transferences from the sense 'hemp' to one that encodes the notion of exhilarating liquid are most plausibly understood as consequent to Indo-Iranian practices of preparing Soma/Haoma with a mixture of hemp, for which we have seen there is evidence. In any event, what is important to note is that Iranian tradition attested in the Caucasus intersects conceptually and linguistically with Vedic tradition in the sphere of the material reflexes of primitive Indo-European *madhu- *and* the association of divine twins with this material.

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22.4. Dioscurias, Divine Twins, and Psychotropic Honey

That Vedic exhilarating Soma-honey (or Somic-honey) shares *conceptual* space with Pontic psychotropic honey seems a non-controversial position – but *not* one that would of necessity suggest that the two materials are to be equated. In Chapter Nineteen (see especially §19.2) we surveyed various sites along the southern and eastern shore of the Black Sea, stretching from Heraclea eastward into Transcaucasia, in which the occurrence of psychotropic honey is attested in both antiquity and modernity. That survey took us as far north along the Georgian coast as Phasis, a geographic referent of particular significance for Golden-Fleece tradition and, undoubtedly in that regard,[2338] known already to Hesiod as one of earth's great rivers (*Theogony* 338–345). Just a bit father north on the coast lay another Greek polis that requires some attention – Dioscurias, a trading center on the land bridge between the Black and Caspian Seas, typically identified as located on the Sukhumi Bay, with the remains of the site now seemingly submerged beneath the sea.[2339] In antiquity Dioscurias is cast as something of a farthest outpost in the Greek east (Strabo 11.2.16).

[2338] See the comments of West 2005:40. On the Milesian colonization of the city Colchis by the mid sixth century BC, it seems, see Tsetskhladze 1992:239–243

[2339] Gamkrelidze 1992:109; Tsetskhladze 1992:245.

The rich ethnic and linguistic diversity of Dioscurias was cause for comment: Pliny (*Naturalis Historia* 6.15), citing Timosthenes, reports the former presence there of three hundred different peoples and languages; Strabo (11.2.17) had repudiated this idea – reporting the number to be seventy, all Caucasian peoples but each speaking a different language.

The name of the polis of *Dioscurias* attests the corporate appellation of the Greek divine twins, a signifier that includes the twins of Boeotia, Amphion and Zethus.[2340] As we have seen, the Dioscuri are close homologues of the Indic Aśvins. The Colchians, writes Appian (*Mithridatic Wars* 467), regard this polis to be a *súmbolon* (σύμβολον) 'token' of the visit of the Dioscuri in the company of the Argonauts. Stephanus Byzantius (*Ethnica* 4.93) cites the grammarian Nicanor for the claim that Dioscurias had been earlier called *Aîa* (Αἶα) – the name that we encountered in Chapter Seventeen (see §17.2, §17.4.8, and §17.4.10) used as both a Colchian and a Thessalian toponym. Ammianus Marcellinus (22.24) reports that Dioscurias was founded by *Amphitus* and *Cercius*, the chariot-drivers of the Dioscuri – a pair of horsemen whom Pliny (*Naturalis Historia* 6.15–16) names as *Amphitus* and *Thelchius*. For Pseudo-Scymnus (*Ad Nicomedem*

[2340] This is certainly the ancient view and likely the linguistically accurate one, though some would seek to reinterpret the sense of the place name (see Braun 1996:14n9 for references).

regem 917) and Charax (fr. 15a FHG) these *hēníokhoi* (ἡνίοχοι), 'chariot-drivers', who settled in this place are to be named as *Amphitus* (*Ámphitos* [Ἄμφιτος]) and *Telchis* (*Télkhis* [Τέλχις]),[2341] and associated eponymously with the *Hēníokhoi* (Ἡνίοχοι), a people of the region.[2342] For Ammianus Marcellinus it is the pair *Amphitus* and *Cercius* who lie at the root of these ethnic Heniochi. In addressing the significance of the Dioscuri in this area of the Caucasus, Braun (1996:14) draws attention to Pliny's report (*Naturalis Historia* 6.13) that a city called *Tyndaris* (reflecting Castor and Polydeuces, the *Tundarídai* [Τυνδαρίδαι]; see §12.7.3.1) stood along the river Phasis.[2343]

[2341] See also *Scholia in Dionysii periegetae orbis descriptionem (scholia vetera* [= Müller 1965]) 687. Can *Télkhis* (Τέλχις) be separated from the *Telkhînes* (Τελχῖνες), first to work metal and sometimes described as sorcerers? With Pliny's *Thelcius* compare *Thelgînes* (Θελγῖνες), a variant of *Telkhînes* (see, *inter alia*, Hesychius Θ 210).

[2342] On whom see Asheri 1998.

[2343] Braun also notes that support for linking the place name with the Dioscuri is provided by the Sicilian city of the same name which minted coins marked with images of the Dioscuri. On a golden image of a young man, apparently with a *pileus* (the headgear associated with the Dioscuri), discovered on the Colchian coast as a part of the "Gonio treasure" and the interpretation of the image as one of the Dioscuri, see the comments of Braund 1996:15, with bibliography. See also Braun 1994:30–31. On copper coinage of Colchian Dioscurias that depict two *pilei* surmounted by stars see Tsetskhladze 1992:246.

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Arrian (*Periplus ponti Euxini* 10.4) succinctly identifies Dioscurias as a Milesian city in origin: ἡ δὲ Σεβαστόπολις πάλαι Διοσκουριὰς ἐκαλεῖτο, ἄποικος Μιλησίων 'and long ago Sebastopole was called Dioscurias, a colony of Milesians'. Current archaeological sentiment is with Arrian's view, with a date offered of mid sixth century BC.[2344] It has also been suggested that the presence of a robust cult of the Dioscuri in Miletus was the motivating force behind the establishment of such a cult in Dioscurias and still other Black Sea poleis founded by Milesians.[2345] The presence of a cult of the Indo-European divine twins in Miletus would itself be highly interesting, given the central position that the city occupies in a Late-Bronze-Age Ahhiyawa and Luvo-Hittite matrix; however, there appears to be no evidence of such a cult in Iron-Age Miletus.[2346] A cult of the Dioscuri *is* attested in Milesian colonies of Scythia Minor/Scythia, along the western aspect of the Black Sea coast – Odessus, Tomis, Istria, and Olbia.[2347] In a fragmentary inscription from Tomis (IScM II 122; late second/early third century AD), the Dioscuri have been understood to be referenced as *ktístai* (κτίσται) 'founders' of that

[2344] With Phasis and Gyenos added in; see, for example, the comments of Tsetskhladze 2004:121, with bibliography.

[2345] For the idea see Tsetskhladze 1992:245–246, who draws attention to Sinope, Amisos, Istria, and Olbia.

[2346] See Ehrhardt 1983:187, with note 1078.

[2347] See Ehrhardt 1983:493.

polis as well. Ehrhardt suggests a possible assimilation of the cult of the Dioscuri to that of the Cabiri,[2348] who have a conspicuous cult presence in Samothrace; although, as he notes, at Olbia cults of Dioscuri and of Cabiri alike are separately evidenced by graffiti.[2349] On Thracian elements in "Greek Olbia from its inception," see Tsetskhladze (1999b:486, with bibliography), who draws attention to the presence of Thracians living alongside Scythians not only " in the Ukrainian Steppes but also in the northern Black Sea colonies as well."[2350]

Are local Caucasian traditions of divine twins, of Indo-Iranian mythic ancestry, in part responsible for the prominence of the Dioscuri in and around Dioscurias? This has been tentatively suggested by Lordkipanidze (1992:188–189) on the basis of material

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[2348] Compare the observations offered just above in note 119 concerning *Télkhis* (Τέλχις) and *Telkhînes* (Τελχῖνες). On the Telchines see the discussion of Chapter Fourteen (§14.4.5), in which we noted that the Telchines "are a part of a greater set of craftsmen deities, to which also belong the Cabiri" (see §14.8.4).

[2349] See Ehrhardt 1983:187, with notes 1077 and 1079. On the possibility of a cult of the Cabiri at Miletus, of Phrygian origin, see Held 2002 and the comments of Herda 2009:92–93. The author expresses his appreciation to Alexander Herda for shared insight into these matters (personal communication, 26 May 2020).

[2350] On Thracians in the region see also his discussion of pp. 470–474.

evidence – a bronze ax found in Sulori bearing an image of two riders.[2351] To the evidence of the ax, dated eighth–seventh centuries BC, can now be added a contemporaneous bronze dagger excavated in 2007 in a Koban-Colchidic burial in Adaydon (North Ossetia-Alania, said to be situated near Transcaucasian routes): atop the pommel of the dagger is mounted a relief of twin horsemen joined side-by-side.[2352] Chshiew (2017:10) reports that a similar image also forms part of the "Bombor glade treasure" (from Bombor, Abkhazia; in the Hermitage Museum). If these artifacts are to be understood as signaling local reflexes of the Indo-European divine twins, they antedate the arrival of the Alans in the Caucasus and, thus, reveal the presence of the twin figures in the traditions of earlier Iranian peoples of the Caucasus, such as the Scythians. The appearance of Scythian, or Scythian-like, weapons and horse trappings in Koban-Colchidic burials is otherwise well attested.[2353] That the twin deities were known among Iranians who settled in the Caucasus earlier than the Alans is a default expectation given the prominence of these deities in common Indo-European tradition.

[2351] See Braund 1994:31, with note 134.

[2352] Chshiew 2017:9–10 (with bibliography) and personal communication (29 June 2020). For an image of the dagger see Chshiew's figure 6 (the author references figure 7 [actually illustrating Urartian helmets], but the two images have been switched).

[2353] See, *inter alia*, Melyukova 1994:100;

22.4.1. Divine Twins and Dawn in Ancient Abkhazia

The site of the Greek polis of Dioscurias lies within the modern region of Abkhazia, continuing in name the ancient *Abaskoí* (Ἀβασκοί) mentioned by Arrian (*Periplus ponti Euxini* 11.3) and Tzetzes (*Chiliades* 5.17.588–589 and 12.451.893, 897), among still others. Abkhazia is one of those Caucasian areas within which a vibrant oral tradition of Nart sagas has been preserved. Among the Abkhazian Nart sagas reported by Colarusso (2002:344–351)[2354] is one that appears to preserve structural parallels of Uṣas, the Vedic 'Dawn', and the Aśvins as rescuers of Dawn. Thus, Colarusso (2002:31) observes: "This tale also seems to have descended from the account of the Indo-European Divine Twins who rescue the shining Dawn . . . ."

22.4.1.1. Recovery of Dawn. The saga (Colarusso Saga 80) concerns a maiden, identified, without being named, as sister of the Ayirgs, term used to denote "gods of the hunt."[2355] She is clearly endowed with solar features (= Uṣas): she lives in a mountain-top, celestial palace that is shrouded in clouds or else shines like bright sky;

[2354] The saga is also presented and discussed by Dumézil (1978:146–158).

[2355] Though in the title assigned to the saga she is made to be their daughter: see Colarusso 2002:351n1.

(at least) one of her fingers glows like the sun (cf. the description of Greek Eos ['Dawn'] as *rhododáktulos* [ῥοδοδάκτυλος] 'rosy-fingered'), and extending her little finger out of a window of her palace the maiden would light the way for the Ayirgs to return home (cf. *Rig Veda* 7.79.1a: *ví Uṣā́ āvaḥ pathíyā jánānām* 'Uṣas has illuminated the paths of the people'). The maiden gives off light "like the sun and the moon."[2356] "She did not grow old. She always looked as fresh as the day she was born . . . .,"[2357] with beauty beyond compare (effectively the same descriptions offered of Uṣas in the *Rig Veda*).[2358] Two heroic figures, Sasruquo and Narjkhyaw, acting in tandem (= Aśvins),[2359] play the role of suitors in the saga. Ascending on horseback to the maiden's celestial palace, Sasruquo wins her, effectively rescuing her from another suitor and the Ayirgs. Together with Narjkhyaw, Sasruquo and the maiden travel to the village of the Narts, where Sasruquo,

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[2356] Colarusso 2002:347.

[2357] Colarusso 2002:344.

[2358] See, for example, *Rig Veda* 1.92.10a ("Being born again and again though ancient, [always] beautifying herself to the same hue"); 1.113.13d ("Unaging, immortal . . . .") (translations are those of Jamison and Brereton 2104:227, 264, respectively).

[2359] Regarding the prospect of identifying the pair as expressions of the Indo-European divine twins see the comments of Edmunds 2016:79–80, whose analysis focuses on the episode as an act of bride abduction.

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a Nart, marries the shining maiden, who thenceforth will use her illuminating finger to light Sasruquo's homeward path.[2360] As the saga abruptly concludes, Narjkhyaw, at the wedding feast, is depicted as encountering and falling in love with the maiden called Gunda. This figure Gunda appears to be a variant of the unnamed celestial maiden, sister of the Ayirgs, whom Sasruquo married. Gunda too emits light, described as shimmering, as shining like the dawn, and she lives in a crystal tower that extends to the sky. She is called "Gunda the Beautiful" and is presented as sister of the Narts (rather than sister of the Ayirgs).[2361]

22.4.1.2. Twins Born Differently. Narjkhyaw, as we have just observed, serves in the narrative structure of the Abkhazian Nart saga of the Uṣas-like maiden as the "twin" of Sasruquo. Narjkhyaw is, however, a dark twin ("a defective doublet").[2362] This distinction between the two, Sasruquo and Narjkhyaw, echoes the primitive Indo-European structure of divine twins who are "born differently," who contrast as dark versus light etc., notably evidenced in the reflexes provided by the Aśvins and the Dioscuri (see §13.5), though detectable elsewhere as well (see §13.5.1). The Nart

[2360] As related in Colarusso Saga 80.

[2361] Colarusso 2002:351, 367, 372, 375.

[2362] Colarusso 2002:405, citing personal communication with Kevin Tuite.

structure thus also reverberates with the Sanskrit designation of the divine twins as *Nāsatyā*, term bound up with the notion of transition between light and dark (see §13.7.2).

Offering a narrative that fundamentally parallels the Nart account of Sasruquo and his rescue of the sister of the Ayirgs, another of the Abkhazian Nart sagas describes Narjkhyaw's abduction of Gunda.[2363] At the outset of the saga, Gunda is depicted as already having a suitor, just as is the case with the sister of the Ayirgs. Gunda's suitor is called *Khozhorpes* (said to be the 'rhododendron boy'), and Gunda has been betrothed to him.[2364] Narjkhyaw (here identified as a shepherd), learns of Gunda's beauty and sets out for the home of the Narts. On the day of Narjkhyaw's arrival, Gunda had foreseen his coming, just as the sister of the Ayirgs had preternaturally anticipated the coming of Sasruquo. But the nature of the foreseeing in the two instances is distinct: while the sister of the Ayirgs dreamed affectionately of Sasruquo' arrival, Gunda's prophecy of Narjkhyaw's approach is one of dread.

[2363] Colarusso Saga 84.

[2364] See Colarusso 2002:379, 405. On how Gunda the Beautiful and Khozhorpes(/Khozhorpas) came to be betrothed see Colarusso Saga 83. Colarusso notes (p. 405, citing Dumézil 1960:75) that the Abkhazian name *Khozhorpes* appears to have its origin in Ossetic /xožirpəs/ 'rhododendron boy' but that an etymology of the Ossetic form is unknown.

22.4.1.3. Fulgural Affiliations. As the Abkhazian saga relates Narjkhyaw's arrival at the fortress of the Narts, he is described as "the red-faced giant," a characterization that is unique in Nart tradition. The prospect of solar imagery readily presents itself. It is worth recalling that attached to the Aśvins themselves is the epithet *rudrávartani*, perhaps 'red-pathed' (describing the course of their journey),[2365] and the Aśvins are at times described by the adjective *rudrá-*, perhaps 'red' (see above, §12.7.3.6), as in *Rig Veda* 1.158.1, a hymn in which the Aśvins are presented as bringers of rain. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 5.5.4.1, in a description of the Sautrāmaṇī ritual of the royal inauguration (the Rājasūya; see §2.2.2.2, §4.2.2, §4.4.1.2, §5.3.2, §5.4.1, §5.6), specifies that a 'red-white' (*śyetá-*) goat is to be offered to the Aśvins, as they themselves are red-white, the coloration undoubtedly reflecting that of the dawning sky.

Also noteworthy, at the same narrative moment of this saga, is the specification that as Narjkhyaw approached the gate of the Narts "he spread thunder and lightning," that "the red-faced giant . . . had appeared as quickly as lightning." What do we make

[2365] See *Rig Veda* 1.3.3; 8.22.1, 14; 10.39.11.

of this from a comparative perspective?[2366] If the Aśvins are not often linked immediately to thunder and lightning, they are nonetheless associated with a brilliant radiance: for example, they are addressed as the 'much-shining Nāsatyas' (*púruścandrā nā́satiyā*)[2367] and called upon to 'come, O Aśvins . . . with brilliance' (*dyumnaír . . . . yātam Aśvinā*) at *Rig Veda* 8.5.32. But an association of the Aśvins with thunder and rain (as bestowers of fertility) is not unknown: thus, in *Rig Veda* 1.157.2 they are presented as bringers of rain, described metaphorically as ghee and honey (cf. *Rig Veda* 8.5.6); and in pāda 4b the mention of their honey-whip (on which see §21.2) has been understood as a reference to lightning.[2368] As we discussed in Chapter Twelve (see §12.7.3.4), the Aśvins are identified as the *Divo napātā* 'two sons of Dyaus'; the sky-god Dyaus is closely linked with thunder and lightning: for example, in *Rig Veda* 9.87.8c, Soma is likened to the

[2366] Colarusso (2002:379) suggests "old links," pointing, for example, to the "'fiery face' of the Baltic god of thunder and lightning. Here Colarusso cites Puhvel 1987:224. On the referenced page Puhvel discusses the sixteenth-century *Prussian Chronicle* of Simon Grunau, in which the likeness of the storming rain-god Perkuno is described as "that of an angry-looking middle-aged fellow with a fiery face and curly black beard."

[2367] West (2007:188) compares the Sanskrit adjective *puruścandrá-* 'much shining' semantically with the name of Polydeuces (*Poludeúkēs* [Πολυδεύκης]) and the etymological analysis that posits an earlier form **Poluleúkēs* 'very lucent', to which assimilation has applied (citing Durante 1976:164n7).

[2368] See Jamison and Brereton 1994:334, citing Pirart 1995:296 (who follows Blair 1961:152–154).

'lightning of Dyaus thundering with the clouds' (*Divó ná vidyút stanáyanti abhráiḥ*).[2369] And Dyaus too has ruddy imagery: at *Rig Veda* 5.58.6d, for instance, we read 'let the red[2370] bull, Dyaus, roar down' (*ávosríyo vṛṣabháḥ krandatu Dyaúḥ*); similar imagery is used of Somic-honey at 9.74.3c.[2371]

The Dioscuri, 'sons of Zeus' (where Zeus = Dyaus; see §12.7.3.1), are of course well known for their fulgural associations in their role as marine rescuers – their presence said to be signified by the lightning-like electrical discharges at the higher parts of ships, the phenomenon known as St. Elmo's Fire. The Aeolian Alcaeus (fr. 34a L-P) provides our earliest detailed description:[2372]

[2369] On the relevance of this line to the Homeric formula *Diòs ómbros* (Διὸς ὄμβρος) 'Zeus's rain', see the discussion of West 2007:169.

[2370] The Sanskrit term here translated 'red' is *usríya-*, typically used as a descriptor of bovine color in the *Rig Veda*.

[2371] We should note also that in the *Mahābhārata* (3.124) the cosmic monster Mada ('Intoxication') that the seer Cyavana created to compel Indra to share the Soma sacrifice with the Aśvins (see above, §22.2.1.2) is described as having eyes like the sun and moon and as having a tongue that moved and flashed like lightning.

[2372] *Homeric Hymn* 33 likewise references the phenomenon but the fulgural elements are presented less explicitly.

Δεῦτέ μοι νᾶ]σον Πέλοπος λίποντε[ς

παῖδες ἴφθ]ι̣μοι Δ[ίος] ἠδὲ Λήδας,

εὐνόω]ι θύ[μ]ωι προ[φά]νητε, Κάστορ

καὶ Πολύδε[υ]κες·

οἳ κὰτ' εὕρηαν χ[θόνα] καὶ θάλασσαν 5

παῖσαν ἔρχεσθ' ὠ[κυπό]δων ἐπ' ἵππων,

ῥῆα δ' ἀνθρώποι[ς] θα[ν]άτω ῥύεσθε

ζακρυόεντος,

εὐσ̣δ[ύγ]ων θρῴσκοντ̣[ες ἐπ'] ἄκρα νάων

π]ήλοθεν λάμπροι πρό̣[τον' ὀν]τρ̣[έχο]ντες 10

ἀργαλέᾳ δ' ἐν νύκτι φ[άος φέ]ροντες

νᾶϊ μ[ε]λαίναι·

Come to me, leaving behind Pelops' isle,

O strong sons of Zeus and of Leda,

who appear with beneficent spirit, O Castor

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and Pollux;

who across the broad earth and all the sea 5
pass on swift-footed horses,
easily rescuing humans from frigid
death,

darting on the heights of well-benched ships,
brilliant from a distance, leaping up the forestays, 10
bearing light in the painful night
to the black ship.

Such is the radiant nature of the Dioscuri.

Along the shore of the Black Sea, Caucasian Dioscurias is not unique in its affiliation of fraternal figures with radiant, fulgural characteristics, and brothers who, like the Dioscuri, were participants in the Argonautic expedition to Colchis. In Chapter Nineteen (see §19.2.1.1) we observed that conspicuous actors in the foundation tradition of Sinope are Aeolian bothers: Autolycus, Deileon, and Phlogius, who had

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themselves been shipwrecked on the homeward voyage of an expedition against the Amazons, but who were saved, to settle in Sinope, then a "Syrian" place. The most prominent of the three is Autolycus, the 'Wolf himself', who was worshipped as an oracular deity in Sinope. In that earlier discussion we explored a conceptual chain that could conceivably connect Autolycus ideologically with the sphere of action of psychotropic honey, material which naturally occurs in the area of Sinope. Among this Aeolian triad of heroes, Phlogius has a name that signals *brilliance*, *fieriness*: *Phlogíos* (Φλογίος) is from *phlóx* (φλόξ) 'flame' (cf. the adjective *phlógeos* [φλόγεος] 'bright as fire'), from *phlégō* (φλέγω) 'to burn (up)', of common origin with Latin *fulgere* 'to flash, shine', all from Proto-Indo-European *bhleg- 'to burn, shine'.[2373] There is an indication that Phlogius too was accorded divine status in Sinope, to judge by the votive inscription IK Sinope 62 (perhaps fifth/fourth century BC), which has been interpreted

[2373] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1927:214–215; Ernout and Meillet 1959:259; Chantraine 1968:1208–1210; Mallory and Adams 1997:513; Watkins 2011:9–10. The same etymon is possibly also the source of Avestan *brāzaiti*, Sanskrit *bhrā́jate* 'to gleam, shine'. The Sanskrit verb is commonly used of Agni, of the Maruts (gods of the storm winds), and of the Sun (Surya), but also of Soma, as at *Rig Veda* 9.17.5.

to record an offering to Phlogius made by one Leomedon, son of Aristonax, if dative *Phlogíōi̯* (Φλογίωι̯) is rightly read, as seems reasonable.[2374]

The third member of the Thessalian triad, *Dēiléōn* (Δηιλέων), has a name that is also attested at Smyrna.[2375] It resonates with notions of 'fire'. *Dēi-léōn* is a compound formed with *dḗios/dā́ios* (δήιος/δᾱ́ιος), which is typically glossed in Greek-English lexica as 'destructive, ruinous, slaughterous' and so on. But the adjective *dḗios* is plainly derived from the root of *daíō* (δαίω) 'to kindle, light up; to make burn';[2376] and in Homeric epic *dḗios* is commonly used as an epithet of *pûr* (πῦρ) 'fire'[2377] – that is, the 'blazing/burning fire'.[2378] Relatedness between adjective and verb must have long

[2374] So Robinson 1905:306 (no. 31). See the discussion of Manoledakis 2010:566. See also French 2004:37–38.

[2375] Compare the form *Dēio-léōn* (Δηιο-λέων); see Bechtel 1917:124.

[2376] And GCL 1:335, entry 5 properly signals the linkage ("app. assoc. w. δαίω").

[2377] See *Iliad* 2.415; 6.331; 8.181; 9.347, 674; 11.667; 16.127, 301; 18.13.

[2378] The idea that *dḗios* (δήιος) 'destructive' and *dḗios* 'burning' are etymologically distinct homonyms has been argued but is cumbersome and, given the fundamental capacity, and use, of fire to destroy (especially conspicuous in a primitive Indo-European cultural context), is unnecessary semantically. Compare, for example, English *flagrant*, earliest attested (early sixteenth century) in the senses 'burning' and 'glowing', but in use to describe 'raging' warfare in the early nineteenth century (and, by the early

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remained synchronically transparent. A Proto-Indo-European etymon can be reconstructed as *deh$_2$w- 'to kindle, burn';[2379] reflexes are broadly distributed among attested Indo-European languages, and include a Sanskrit *no*-stem *dunoti* 'to burn (up)',[2380] but here as well with metaphorical extension – the verb displaying also a sense 'to afflict, distress' (for example, *Mahābhārata* 5.26.7). With *Dēiléōn* compare names such as, among others, *Dēiárēs* (Δηιάρης), *Dēikrátēs* (Δηικράτης), *Dēíphobos* (Δηίφοβος), *Dēiphóntēs* (Δηιφόντης) – all foregrounding the annihilative aspect of *dḗios*.[2381] The second element of the name *Dēi-léōn* is provided by the formant meaning 'lion', *léōn* (λέων), a word that is well evidenced in such an onomastic role – as, for example, in

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eighteenth century, having come to denote something that is highly offensive [where a sense of ruination seems implicit]). On *dḗios* see the discussion of Chantraine 1968:271, with bibliography.

[2379] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1930:767–769; Mallory and Adams 1997:87; LIV 104–105.

[2380] As at *Atharva Veda* 2.31.3; 5.22.2; 5.17.4; 5.18.4; 9.4.18.

[2381] See Bechtel 1917:21; Chantraine 1968:271. With *Dēiphóntēs* (Δηιφόντης) comparison has been made to Mycenaean *da-i-qo-ta* (Knossos tablet Da 1164), though **da-wi-qo-ta* would be expected; on the Mycenaean form see Aura Jorro 1985:149–150, with bibliography.

Autoléōn (Αὐτολέων), *Thrasuléōn* (Θρασυλέων), *Pantaléōn* (Πανταλέων), *Timoléōn* (Τιμολέων), and so on.[2382]

Onomastically both Phlogius and Deileon are thus notionally attached to *fire* and *radiance*, but differently so. *Phlóx* (Φλόξ) is fundamentally a descriptor of the visual appearance of fire, of lightning, of the thundercloud, and also of fire purely as an element (as in Parmenides and Empedocles). *Dḗios* (δήιος), on the other hand, brings to the fore the destructive nature of fire, the conflagration, the annihilative transformation. In their signification the fiery Aeolian brothers form a contrasting pair and the nature of that contrast draws our attention back to the life versus death, light versus dark, etc. contrastiveness characterizing the Aśvins/Nāsatyas and the Dioscuri, as well as putting us in mind of the contrasting Abkhazian Nart pair Sasruquo and

[2382] See Bechtel 1917:190. With *Dēi-léōn* (Δηι-λέων) and *Autó-lukos* (Αὐτό-λυκος), naming Thessalian settlers of Sinope, compare the Amazon's name *Dēi-lúkē* (Δηι-λύκη), reported by a scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica* 2.777–779 (*Scholia in Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* [*scholia vetera*] [= Wendel 1974]); the second element of this compound is a variant of the lexeme denoting 'she-wolf', normally taking the form *lúkaina* (λύκαινα). The same scholiast preserves the feminine name *Oio-lúkē* (Οἰο-λύκη), corresponding to masculine *Oió-lukos* (Οἰό-λυκος). The father of the three Thessalian brothers is given the name Deimachus – that is *Dēí-makhos* (Δηί-μαχος) – on whom see just below in the main body of the text.

Narjkhyaw. In §12.7.3.4 we drew attention to *Rig Veda* 1.181.4 and to the use of *su-bhaga-* 'having/giving good fortune' to describe that Aśvin/Nāsatya who is identified as son of Dyaus and to the use of *jiṣṇú-* 'victorious, vanquishing' to describe that one who is son of Sumakhas 'good warrior'. The latter descriptor (*jiṣṇú-*) clearly aligns with the notion of destructive fire encoded in the name of the lionish *Dēi-léōn*: in *Rig Veda* 10.67, a hymn in praise of the divine priest Bṛhaspati and his role in freeing the ruddy cows from the Vala cave (see the discussion of §§13.7.1–2 for the relevance to Uṣas 'Dawn'), that heroic figure is described (stanza 9) as a roaring *siṁhá-* 'lion' who is *jiṣṇú-* 'victorious' in every *bhara-* 'carrying away; battle'. Vis-à-vis *Phlogíos* (Φλογίος) – the adjective *su-bhaga-* is often used in the *Rig Veda* to describe ritual 'Fire' – that is, the god Agni, as, for example, at *Rig Veda* 3.16.6, where *su-bhaga-* Agni is called upon to bring *rayí-* 'wealth' to the sacrificer, and at 8.19.9, where the deity is invoked to let the mortal who piously serves the fire experience gain by his *dhī́-* 'understanding, intelligence' (plural).[2383] Here let us recall that in Chapter Thirteen (see §§13.7.1–2), following Frame 2009, we took note of the contrast between the Pāṇḍava sons of the Aśvins – Sahadeva, famed for understanding and intelligence, and Nakula, for his warrior prowess. In sum, the Thessalian denominators *Phlogíos* and *Dēiléōn* that appear in the foundation

[2383] See also stanzas 4, 18, and 19; also *Rig Veda* 1.36.6; 3.1.4; 3.9.1; 4.1.6; 5.8.3; 6.13.1.

tradition of Sinope can be plausibly understood as lexical participants in a matrix of signifiers to which belong the Indic divine twins and the contrastive vocabulary that distinguishes them one from the other.[2384]

But, of course, in the foundation tradition of Sinope there are three brothers, not two – Autolycus, the 'Wolf himself', filling out the set. In Ossetic Nart tradition, the primitive Indo-European divine twins, we have proposed, are realized as Æxsar and Æxsærtæg, the twin sons of the Nart progenitor Wærxæg, whose name appears to incorporate an ancestral Iranian word for 'wolf" (cf. Avestan *vəhrka-*), though one that has not productively survived in Ossetic for, most likely, reasons of taboo – "the wolf was an ancient totemic animal and the mythic ancestor of the [Ossetic] tribe"[2385] (see above, §22.2.2, note 14). Within a broader Indo-European mythic frame and a narrower Euxine geographic frame, the Iranian triadic assemblage of Wærxæg and the twins Æxsar and Æxsærtæg offers, *mutatis mutandis*, a structure highly reminiscent of that

[2384] And what of the Greek poleis of Scythia Minor/Scythia in which a cult of the Dioscuri appears also to have been present? Is the influence of Iranian tradition operative in those instances? That is a question that for the time being we must leave aside, except to say that we may perhaps need to allow the prospect of the influence of Samothracian cult (and we will again encounter the Cabiri before concluding the present study).

[2385] Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:417.

provided by Thessalian Autolycus and the shining, contrasting pair Deileon and Phlogius. If we embrace this parallel we must allow that an inherited triadic paternal-fraternal structure has been reconfigured as a strictly fraternal relationship, but such realignments of mythic geometry occur: we might invoke comparatively in this regard the case of Norse Njord and Frey, in which ancestral divine twins have been made to be father and son, and who then participate in a triad with the addition of Freyja (daughter of Njord, sister of Frey). And note also that the father of the three Aeolian brothers (Autolycus, Deileon, Phlogius) is assigned the name *Deimachus*, that is *Dēí-makhos* (Δηί-μαχος), sharing the "fiery" morphology of the son *Deileon*, expressing the annihilative aspect of combat (*mákhomai* [μάχομαι] 'to do battle' etc.). With Greek *-makhos* here compare Sanskrit *Su-makhas*, naming the father of the Aśvin/Nāsatya who is characterized as *jiṣṇú-* 'victorious, vanquishing' (see above, §12.7.3.4, §13.7.1, and §14.2).

It is worth noting that in Indic tradition the Aśvins too have peculiar, and enigmatic, intersections with the wolf.[2386] And in Greek tradition, Lycophron (*Alexandra*

[2386] As *in Rig Veda* 1.117.21 and 8.22.6. Imagery involving wolves is relatively more common in the *Rig Veda* than that involving other wild beasts. Jamison (2009:206–209) contends that this is because the wolf is presented as a transitional figure, lurking at the juncture of the spaces of human society and wild places.

1.504) can refer to the Dioscuri as (λύκοι) 'wolves'.[2387] The wolf, of course, plays a conspicuous role in the infancy narrative of Romulus and Remus, Italic reflexes of the ancestral Indo-European divine twins (i.e. following the line of diachronic descent)– a narrative into which the *Roman* Dioscuri would eventually be fitted synchronically, as prominently evidenced on coins of Maxentius.[2388]

22.4.1.4. Bees, Honey, and Rhododendron. To return to the narrative of the Abkhazian Nart saga (Colarusso Saga 83) – Narjkhyaw, having abducted Gunda from her celestial tower, rides away with her; "wherever he went, thunder and lightning followed . . . .".[2389] They are pursued by the Narts, including Sasruquo; but it is her betrothed Khozhorpes who overtakes Narjkhyaw and Gunda. Khozhorpes and Narjkhyaw engage in a prolonged duel (reminiscent of the fantastic fights of Indic epic), after which a wounded Narjkhyaw rides on with Gunda. The saga is brought to an end with Satanay, mother of the Narts, uttering a curse by which Narjkhyaw and Gunda are transformed into stone (though they will awake once each year) – a stone formation

[2387] See *Scholia in Lycophronem* (*scholia vetera et recentiora partim Isaac et Joannis Tzetzae* [= Scheer 1958]) 504.

[2388] For a recent treatment of this often-noted synchronic assimilation, see Hoek 2017, with bibliography.

[2389] Colarusso 2002:373.

described as free floating but gradually sinking as time progresses toward its eschatological end.[2390]

Satanay's utterance accomplishes other transformations as well. Thus, seemingly incongruous with her stone metamorphosis, Gunda is declared to be *guardian deity of bees*: "Honey surpasses all other food and drink. May all bees have her as their guardian! May their guardian deity have the name Anana Gunda!"[2391] Colarusso (2002:379) points out that *Anana* means 'grandmother'; this is a striking contrast to the youth and beauty which characterize Gunda, the Uṣas-like abducted bride. We find here then the figure of a divine old(er) goddess serving as bee-guardian: this is a configuration that reminds us of the Hittite Mother-goddess Hannahanna, whose name is derived from *ḫanna-* 'grandmother'. As we observed in Chapter Sixteen (see §16.2.6 and §16.2.6.1; see also §18.4), Hannahanna sends out a bee in search of the missing gods Telipinu and Inara, as well as in search of the missing *kurša*; in KUB 48.7 Hannahanna is

[2390] An Ubykh Nart saga reported by Colarusso (Saga 89) preserves the same tradition, though here Satanya (= Abkhazian Satanay) is said to be the mother of Yarichkhaw (= Abkhazian Narjkhyaw), and he is thus made to be a Nart himself. The transformation into stone is accomplished by a "prayer" (Colarusso 2002:404). In both sagas, Abkhazian and Ubykh, the stones are associated with eschatological symbolism.

[2391] Colarusso 2002:377–378.

called *[an-n]a-aš* NIM.LÀL-*aš* 'Mother-Bee'.[2392] In addition, Satanay declares that Khozhorpes will become part of nature – he will thenceforth find physical expression in the form of rhododendrons, bringing "joy to people" in each season of blooming:[2393]

> May happiness constantly attend the abodes made of plaited rhododendron twigs, and may they last long! May the rhododendron bear your name in nature's order. May it stand and fill the world, never losing its leaves, neither in winter nor in summer! Once a year let the people celebrate the festival of the rhododendron in your name!

The conjunction of divine twins, honey, bees, and rhododendron (source of grayanotoxins) in this saga is quite remarkable. These are elements of a matrix that has repeatedly come to our attention, brought together in succinct expression in a Nart tradition geographically localized in the region of ancient Dioscurias.

22.5. Some Interpretative Conclusions

[2392] See Haas 1981:111–112.

[2393] Colarusso 2002:378.

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In Chapter Twenty-One we saw that there is substantial evidence for the presence of a *Soma cult* in Mitanni and for the transference of Soma-cult ideas to Luvo-Hittite Anatolia. What the material was that could be named as *Soma* (that is, *Sauma*) in Mitanni cult practice is unknown. During the third millennium BC, perhaps in a Common-Indo-Iranian setting, a psychoactive solution was already being ingested in the Caspian Steppe that contained both cannabis, an exhilarant used by Scythians and other Iranian peoples, and ephedra, which is perhaps the/a principal ingredient of Vedic Soma and Avestan Haoma. It is generally agreed that the Indo-Iranian ritual use of ecstasy-bringing *Sauma continues a Proto-Indo-European use of exhilarating material identified as *medhu- 'honey', mythically described as substance snatched from gods in some primeval setting. In descendent mythic traditions that find expression in recorded Nart saga, the Iranian psychoactive material of the Caucasus can be a liquid (like Soma/Haoma, like mead) assigned the name *sana*, one lexical member of a somewhat phonetically and semantically diverse set of Indo-Iranian terms (ultimately of common origin) for psychoactive material.

Within the space of Transcaucasia, the lexeme *sana* intersects with the natural occurrence of "maddening" honey. This same configuration is found in ancient Sinope in Pontus. The place name *Sinope* is linked eponymously with the Iranian term *sana*

(and alternatively with the name of a daughter of the Thessalian river god Asopus), and the polis so named is linked in its mythic foundation tradition to the Aeolian Autolycus and his two "fiery" brothers Deileon and Phlogius, a pair of figures that appear to be local expressions of the primitive Indo-European mutually-contrasting divine twins. Though established as a colony of Miletus, Sinope was inhabited by a likely Iranian people (Cimmerians) during the eighth century BC. Iranian reflexes of the Indo-European divine twins are conspicuous in Nart tradition in the Caucasus, traditions in which the brothers are linked to mystical, sought-after plant materials. In this way Iranian divine-twin tradition in Transcaucasia (as attested in Nart saga) shows idiosyncratic similarity to Vedic tradition, in which the Aśvins are notably bound to Soma, especially in its presentation as exhilarating honey, thematically continuing the ancestral intoxicating *medhu-.

Greek reflexes of the ancestral Indo-European divine twins, identified as *Dioscuri*, are also prominent in Transcaucasia, as evidenced by foundation traditions of Dioscurias, another Milesian colony. The apparent absence of a cult of Dioscuri in Miletus would suggest that the conspicuous mythic presence of divine twins in Dioscurias was facilitated in a significant way by local Transcaucasian Iranian traditions that existed already prior to the arrival of the Alans; the pre-Alan presence of divine

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twin reflexes in the region is a reasonable and default expectation and one that would appear be supported by archaeological finds.

The Greek aetiology of the foundation of Dioscurias is an Aeolian one, tied to Argonautic epic, just as with the foundation of Milesian Sinope, with its divine twins. I believe that we can reasonably conclude that there is an Aeolian connection that runs through Miletus and links with Pontic and Transcaucasian Iranian tradition.

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Chapter Twenty-Three

Golden Fleeces

23.1. Introduction

That the conspicuous presence of the Dioscuri in the Colchian polis that bears their name was facilitated by local Iranian traditions of the region seems a plausible hypothesis. This is so not only because of the particular evidence of the Iranian Nart sagas and archaeological finds but, *a fortiori*, because of the significant presence of divine-twin figures in Indo-Iranian tradition, attested from Anatolia to India. These are figures that are closely bound to Soma in Vedic cult and appear to have an association with other such cult materials in the Caucasus. Did Pontic "maddening honey" provide a comparable psychoactive material in ancient Colchis and contiguous areas? That is likely an impossible question to answer at this point. Though I believe that we can say, with some confidence, that honey, even in the Caucasus, appears to belong to an

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ideological nexus to which western Iranian reflexes of the primitive Indo-European divine twins also appear to belong.

23.2. Sheep's Fleece Filter

We observed in Chapter Twenty-One (see §21.2) that Strabo and Appian rehearse the idea that the origin of the *mûthos* of the Golden Fleece lies in the Caucasian practice of using a fleecy filter to collect particles of gold from mountain streams. Taking note of the fleecy filter used in the cult preparation of Soma, we held out the prospect in the discussions of Chapter Twenty-One that the Anatolian Bronze-Age *kurša* and the Golden Fleece of Argonautic mythic tradition may represent descendant expressions of *separate implements* linked to Soma-cult ideology – the *dŕ̥ti-*, principally the honey-brimming *dŕ̥ti-* of the Aśvins, and the *pavítra-* (Soma 'filter'), respectively. The former notion, I proposed, was introduced from cult practices of Mitanni via the Luvian milieu in which it was conceptually wed to the pre-existing Anatolian *kurša*. The *dŕ̥ti-* is a feature of Vedic cult *poetry*, an accoutrement linked conspicuously to the Aśvins/Nāsatyas, and not a part of the *realia* of Soma cult chemistry, and as such would be susceptible to verbal, poetic ideological transference without physical introduction of rites of Soma preparation. The *pavítra-*, on the other hand, is an actual instrument

used in the production of Soma. That being the case, it is perhaps more likely that this instrument, the *pavítra-*, would have left behind a highly-charged ideological trace – such as the *khrusómallon déros* (χρυσόμαλλον δέρος) 'Golden Fleece' – in a geographic space in which some comparable Indo-Iranian cult practice, involving a fleece filter, had been observed, and in which there also existed a reinforcing, naturally-occurring psychoactive material – "maddening honey" – that closely aligns with Indo-Iranian notions of the action of prepared *Sauma and with metaphorical descriptions of that material ("honey" = Soma) that continue Proto-Indo-European *medhu tropes. This geographic space is that of Transcaucasia. Though as we shall see in this chapter, *southwestern* Anatolia appears to be of relevance as well.

23.2.1. Soma and the Vedic Sheep's Fleece Filter

The filter used in the ritual preparation of Soma receives frequent mention in the *Rig Veda*, being practically ubiquitous in the hymns of the Ninth Maṇḍala – hymns dedicated to Soma Pavamāna. As we noted in that earlier discussion of §21.2, the sheep's fleece filter can be designated by the term *pavítra-*, a derivative of the verb root

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pū- (*punā́ti*) 'to cleanse, purify'. Unsurprisingly, the filter can receive express mention in conjunction with characterizations of Soma as honey; to consider a few examples:[2394]

> *Rig Veda* 3.36.7a–b, d (to Indra)
>
> The rivers, uniting with the sea, are carrying well-pressed Soma to Indra, . . . [priests] purify it in a stream of honey with purifying filters.
>
> *Rig Veda* 9.63.16 (to Soma Pavamāna)
>
> O Soma, as the most honeyed, rush forth into the filter for wealth, as the exhilarating drink that best pursues the gods.
>
> *Rig Veda* 9.85.10c–d (to Soma Pavamāna)
>
> The droplet growing strong in the waters, in the sea, the honeyed one in the wave of the river, in the filter.

As we saw in Chapter Twenty-One (§21.2), the filter can also be identified by the term *vā́ra-* 'hair-sieve'. *Vā́ra-* can stand alone in this usage but is typically modified by an attributive signaling 'sheep's'; this can be either (1) the adjective *ávya-* or *avyáya-*, or (2)

[2394] The translations are those of Jamison and Brereton 2014:519, 1287, and 1320 (respectively), with minor alterations.

ávyas, the genitive case form of the noun of *ávi-* 'sheep' (Greek *óis* [ὄις] 'sheep'). The presentation of Soma *as honey* also occurs in conjunction with denotations of the fleece-filter of this sort, as for example in the following:[2395]

Rig Veda 9.69.2c–d (to Soma Pavamāna); *vā́ra-*

The self-purifying one is a thundering, like (the thundering) of beaters.

The honeyed drop rushes round the fleece.

Rig Veda 9.97.31 (to Soma Pavamāna); *ávya- vā́ra-*

Your honeyed streams have surged forth, when, purified, you go across the sheep's fleece.

Self-purifying one, purify yourself as the domain for the cows. On being born, you swelled the sun with rays [/chants].

Rig Veda 9.103.2–3b (to Soma Pavamāna); *avyáya- vā́ra-* (twice)

Around the sheep's fleeces he rushes, being anointed with cows.

Being purified, the tawny one creates three seats for himself.

Around the cask dripping with honey he rushes on the sheep's fleece.

Rig Veda 9.50.3 (to Soma Pavamāna); *ávyas + vā́ra-*

[2395] The translations are those of Jamison and Brereton 2014:1301, 1341, 1350, and 1275 (respectively).

On the sheep's fleece with stones they drive the dear tawny one around,

purifying himself, dripping with honey.

In a few instances *ávi-* 'sheep' is used independently to connote metonymically the fleecy filter; for example:[2396]

Rig Veda 9.109.7 (to Soma Pavamāna)

Purify yourself, O Soma, possessing heavenly brilliance and good streams,

along the (fleece) of the sheep as the great ancient one.

23.2.2. Color of Soma

As in the examples provided by *Rig Veda* 9.50.3 and 9.103.2 that appear just above, when a color descriptor accompanies a reference to the filter flooded with Soma, it is typically Sanskrit *hári-*, that form which we encountered in Chapter Twenty-Two, where, as in the present examples, it was translated as 'tawny'. As we noted in §22.2.1, Sanskrit *hári-*, describing Soma, finds a cognate in Avestan *zāire* (vocative) 'golden,

[2396] The translation is that of Jamison and Brereton 2014:1359. For other examples see *Rig Veda* 2.36.1; 9.78.1; 9.86.11; 9.91.2; 9.107.2.

tawny' *zairi-gaona-*, 'golden/tawny-colored', descriptor of the material Haoma.[2397] Sanskrit *hári-*, along with its Iranian congeners, finds its origin in Proto-Indo-European *ĝhel-, a verb root meaning 'to shine' and source of derived terms denoting 'yellow', 'green', and so on.[2398] In various descendent Indo-European languages, reflexes of *ĝhel- would provide replacement forms for the inherited term denoting 'gold' (that replaced form being Indo-European *aus- [itself likely from a verb root *aus- 'to shine', source of the name of the Dawn goddess]): thus, for example, Sanskrit *híraṇya-* and Avestan *zaranya-* 'gold'.[2399] Greek *khrúsos* (χρύσος) 'gold' – as in *khrusó-mallon déros* (χρυσό-μαλλον δέρος) 'Golden Fleece' – is a loanword from Semitic (*ḫrṣ), seen in Akkadian *ḫurāṣu*, Ugaritic *ḫrṣ*, Hebrew *ḫāruṣ*, Phoenician *ḥrṣ*.[2400]

The color notions 'golden' and 'yellow' are fundamental to Sanskrit *hári-*;[2401] though Monier-Williams (1899:628, 1289) identifies a broad range of hues that *hári-* can signify: 'fawn-colored, reddish brown, brown, tawny, pale yellow, yellow, fallow, bay,

[2397] On cognate forms in various other Iranian languages, see Brough 1971:349-350.

[2398] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1930:624–625; Chantraine 1968:1268; Mallory and Adams 1997:654; Watkins 2011:29–30.

[2399] See the remarks of Chantraine 1968:1279; see also Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:618.

[2400] See Chantraine 1968:1278–1279; Huehnergard 2000:2065.

[2401] See the remarks of Brough 1971:349–350.

green, greenish'.[2402] In addition to Soma, in the *Rig Veda hári-* can equally describe, *inter alia*, the appearance of Agni 'Fire' at dawn (1.95.1), of the sun (e.g. 3.44.3), of Indra's mace – that is, lightning (3.44.).[2403] That *hári-* properly signifies 'golden' in its use to describe Soma is clearly on display at times, as notably in *Rig Veda* 10.96, in which *hári-* recurs throughout, describing not only Soma but (in stanza 3) Indra's flashing metallic mace (i.e. his *vajra-* 'thunderbolt'). In *Rig Veda* 3.44 that mace can be described again as 'golden' but also as *árjuna-* 'silvery' (pāda 5a), while the Soma pressing stones are here 'golden' (*hári-*; pādas 5c–d). At *Rig Veda* 9.69.4, the fleecy Soma filter can likewise be described as 'silvery', as Soma is explicitly presented as being mixed with milk. Clearly a color notion entailing 'radiance, brilliance' can be readily attached to the implements that release and that purify the honey-like, golden liquid Soma.[2404]

At *Rig Veda* 9.8.5–6, where the fleece-sieve (pāda 5b) is metonymically identified by *meṣyàs* 'ewes', the milk-mixed Soma that the filter purifies is described as both *hári-* and as *aruṣá-* 'ruddy'. Sanskrit *aruṣá-* 'ruddy' is a term that we encountered in §12.7.3.6 as a color descriptor of Uṣas 'Dawn' (in *Rig Veda* 1.30.21 and 4.52.2). The co-ordination

[2402] Similarly, but more succinctly, Mayrhofer 1992–1996:2:805–806 glosses *hári-* as 'fahl, gelblich, grünlich'.

[2403] See Grassmann 1873:1648–1649.

[2404] As the fingers of the priest are said to be *harít-* (a variant of *hári-*) at *Rig Veda* 9.38.3.

of *hári-* and *aruṣá-* occurs again in descriptions of Soma at *Rig Veda* 9.72.1; 9.82.1; 9.89.3;[2405] and 9.111.1 – the last-named being a verse in which the fleecy filter is implicitly linked to solar imagery:[2406]

> *Rig Veda* 9.111.1a–e (to Soma Pavamāna)
>
> Being purified with this golden light, he crosses all hatreds with (horses) of his own yoking – like the Sun with the (horses) of his own yoking.
>
> In the stream of pressed (juice) he shines ruddy and tawny as he is being purified.

Aruṣá- 'ruddy' is also used to describe Soma at *Rig Veda* 9.25.5; 9.61.21; 9.71.7. In the preceding chapter (see §22.2.1) we took note of the use of the synonymous adjective *aruṇá-* 'ruddy' to name both the color of Uṣas and the color of Soma – the plant and its

[2405] In *Rig Veda* 9.89 Soma is likened to a lion; we read (pādas 3a–b) *siṁháṁ nasanta mádhvo ayā́saṁ hárim aruṣáṁ divó asyá pátim* 'they return to the valiant [*ayā́s*] lion of honey, the tawny and ruddy master of this heaven'.

[2406] The translation is that of Jamison and Brereton 2014:1362. Compare *Rig Veda* 9.71.9.

juices. Soma can additionally be characterized as *babhrú-* 'red-brown';[2407] thus at *Rig Veda* 9.63.4 the Soma stream is described as *babhrú-* as it makes its way across the fleecy filter, here identified metonymically by Sanskrit *hváras-*, likely 'tangles'[2408] (referring to the wooly strands); see also stanza 6. Similarly Soma is characterized as *babhrú-* at *Rig Veda* 9.31.5; 9.107.19–20; at *Rig Veda* 9.98.7 Soma is both *babhrú-* and *hári-*; at 9.11.4 both *babhrú-* and *aruṇá-* 'ruddy'; and at 9.33.2 both *babhrú-* and *śukrá-* 'brilliant'.

These are all conventional color descriptors of Soma. The range of hues from 'gold, yellow' to 'ruddy, red-brown' may seem perplexing and, of course, has not gone unnoticed. Wasson (1968) makes crucial use of the variation in his arguments in favor of identifying the Soma plant as the mushroom *Amanita muscaria*, with its brilliant red color. Brough (1971:349–350), in his critical assessment of Wasson, makes much of the color data, rejecting Wasson's claim that the sense 'bright red' is to be found within the semantic domain of the lexeme *hári-*. This is likely a sound criticism, but Brough seems clearly to overstate his corrective when he indicates (p. 349) that Sanskrit *hári-* denotes

[2407] The color term *babhrú-* is not used exclusively of Soma as has been sometimes claimed (as by Nyberg 2012:394, following Falk 1989:85–86). Sanskrit *babhrú-* can also be used to describe, *inter alia*, horses, healing plants, Rudra. Compare the Mitanni horse-color term spelled *papru-* in cuneiform horse-training documents.

[2408] See Jamison and Brereton 2014:1286.

no shade of 'red' at all; though he rightly points to the general absence of a notion 'red' being attached to the Indo-European etymon of *hári-*, as signaled by reflexes of the etymon outside of Indo-Iranian.[2409] Yet Soma can unquestionably be described using Sanskrit color terms signifying within the red-range – 'ruddy' (*aruṣá-*, *aruṇá-*), 'red-brown' (*babhrú-*).[2410]

23.2.2.1. Color of Honey. Honey is frequently golden, though a glistening brownish hue is not uncommon. We have seen that psychotropic honey in Anatolia, the Caucasus, and South Asia is described as red or reddish-brown. Could we infer that the color descriptions assigned to Soma *conventionally* subscribe to the colors of honey? In other words, is the cult language of Soma coloration grounded in inherited formulaic descriptions of ancestral *medhu-? The myths attached to Indo-Iranian Soma/Haoma cult clearly continue primitive Indo-European traditions involving *medhu- 'honey', and the intoxicating product associated with honey. There seems to be no indication that the ritual manipulation of *medhu- involved *pressing* (act providing the name of

[2409] Let us recall that Avestan *zairi-* too denotes 'tawny' and 'golden' (as well as 'green').

[2410] Brough knows this, of course; he attempts, without success, I believe, to explain it away (1971:351) by invoking "mythological thought," as if this were exceptional (it seems), and ideas of metaphorical transfer of the red descriptors from their use in describing Soma as a bull.

the Proto-Indo-Iranian material *Sauma). The advent of the Soma/Haoma cult was an Indo-Iranian synchronic readjustment along a diachronic axis of *medhu-cult in which the primary raw material honey was displaced by a liquid vegetable material obtained by crushing stalks; but descriptive ancestral vocabulary of the crucial ecstatic material was clearly preserved (most obviously, Sanskrit *madhu-* 'honey' for 'Soma'), and a secondary use of honey maintained in at least Indic cult tradition.[2411] On the mixing of honey with Soma, consider, for example, the descriptive phrasing of *Rig Veda* 9.17.8; 9.86.48; 9.97.11; and 9.109.20: see the remarks of Macdonell and Keith 1995:478. We noted earlier (§4.2.1) that chariot racing and the ingestion of *surā* are marked features of the Vājapeya: following the race, cups of *surā* are brought out, as is a cup of honey. As mentioned in Chapter Fifteen (see §15.4), in a Proto-Indo-Iranian period, the ancestor of Vedic *surā* was likely produced by fermenting (mare's) milk with honey.

This synchronic cult adjustment appears to be effectively, tacitly, acknowledged at *Rig Veda* 9.18.2b, where Soma is addressed, and qualified, as the *mádhu prá jātám ándhasaḥ* 'honey born from a plant' – in other words, the *medhu- that comes not from bees but instead from a stalk (also *Rig Veda* 9.55.2 and 9.61.10). *Rig Veda* 9.18 is a short

[2411] Toward identifying the time and place of this adjustment, see Witzel 2004:594–597, with bibliography of earlier work, of which see especially Oberlies 2000:377–378.

hymn that focuses on the cult manipulation of Soma liquid that occurs as it is passing along the fleecy filter. To judge by the occurrence of a rare acephalic, heptasyllabic pāda (7b),[2412] this hymn is deeply rooted in Proto-Indo-European poetic practice. Also notable are (1) the solitary mention of *Soma* in the hymn (pādas 1a–b), where the deified material is addressed as *girisṭhā́* 'mountain-dwelling' Soma,[2413] and (2) a recurring refrain that provides the final pāda (c) to all seven verses*: mádeṣu sarvadhā́ asi* 'in intoxication you are all-refreshing'.[2414]

23.2.2.2. Sanskrit Ándhas- and Greek Ánthos (ἄνθος). The Sanskrit word that I have translated as 'plant' (source of "honey") in *Rig Veda* 9.18.2b, *ándhas-*, term that can be used to denote specifically the Soma plant, finds an exact cognate in Greek *ánthos* (ἄνθος). The pair point to an earlier Indo-European verb root *andh- (or *$h_2$endh-) 'to bloom, sprout', or perhaps simply 'to grow', equally the source of Armenian *and*

[2412] On which see Vine 1977.

[2413] So also *Rig Veda* 9.62.4 and 9.98.9; for the Soma plant material described in this way see *Rig Veda* 3.48.2, 5.43.4, and compare 9.86.10 and 9.95.4. At *Rig Veda* 1.154.2 Viṣṇu is likened to a 'mountain-dwelling' beast, as is Indra at 10.180.2. The term describes the Maruts at *Rig Veda* 8.94.12.

[2414] Sanskrit *sarvadhā*, here translated 'all-refreshing', is used to describe the god Bhaga at *Rig Veda* 5.82.1 (= Savitar) and 8.31.11, he who apportions sacrificial offerings among the gods.

'field'.[2415] Given the geographic loci of the reflexes, which triangulation might assign a midpoint in or near Transcaucasia,[2416] Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1995:770) have proposed an early Indo-European borrowing of a form that also presents itself in several Semitic languages, such as Assyrian *uṭṭutu* 'grain (crops)' and Ugaritic *ḥṭt* 'wheat' (Proto-Semitic *ḥinṭ-(at-) 'wheat, grains'). Regardless of the status of primitive *andh- (whether an early Indo-European acquisition of a *Wanderwort* or a more indigenous term), comparison of Sanskrit *ándhas-* and Greek *ánthos* indicates a common ancestral form, straightforwardly reconstructed as *andh-os-, that already identified a botanical element characterized by a sacred, magical significance and probably by psychoactive properties.

As a typical gloss of Greek *ánthos* consider that of BDAG 178: 'flower, bud, sprout'; 'flower' is the default interpretation among translators, though this is quite likely a sense that developed secondarily. As Clarke has pointed out in a 2005 study of the form (which builds on Stanford 1947 and Aitchison 1963), in archaic and early Classical Greek the formant *ánthos* can signify "an extraordinary variety of things": in Homeric epic, in addition to 'flower' (pp. 18–19) "it also names any of the

[2415] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1930:67–68; Mallory and Adams 1997:207; LIV 266; Watkins 2011:4.

[2416] Though compare, farther afield, Old Frisian *åndul* 'marshgrass'.

manifestations of plant growth, including grass (*Od.* 9.449), fruit (*Il.* 9.542, etc.), and probably leaves (*Od.* 14.353)." Among still other senses that *ánthos* can carry, one that is worth noting, vis-à-vis the crushable Soma stalk, is its use by, *inter alia*, Simonides (fr. 45(a).2 Page) to denote "dye crushed out of a plant or stone" (Clarke 2005:19): the Simonides passage concerns a sail dyed 'crimson' (*phoiníkeos* [φοινίκεος]) with the *ánthos* of the holm-oak.[2417]

In the *Odyssey ánthos* (ἄνθος) is used in the description of the plant, a *phármakon* (φάρμακον), which is called *môlu* (μῶλυ) by the gods. The Greek word *môlu* may perhaps be of common origin with Sanskrit *mūla-* 'root', "which would mean that it was an early technical term in the practice of magic," observe Heubeck and Hoekstra (1989:60).[2418] The Sanskrit term occurs in *Rig Veda* 10.87, a hymn to Agni *Rakṣohán* '(Demon-slayer'), where we read, in stanza 10: *Agne . . . tredhā́ mū́laṁ yātudhā́nasya vṛśca* "O Agni . . . cleave the <u>root</u> of the sorcerer into three pieces." Hermes gives *môlu* to Odysseus to protect him from the sorceress Circe – sister of Colchian Aietes, she who dwells on the Aiaian island[2419] – who would make Odysseus 'base and unmanly' (κακὸς

[2417] Also of interest is the use of *ánthos* (ἄνθος) to denote the nap or pile of a cloth; see Borthwick 1976.

[2418] Chantraine (1968:730) is skeptical of a genetic relationship of *môlu* (μῶλυ) and *mūla*; see Chantraine for bibliography.

[2419] See the discussions of §17.2.

καὶ ἀνήνωρ; for the episode see *Odyssey* 10.281–336): this plant material *môlu* is described as having an *ánthos* that is white like milk and roots of black (*Odyssey* 10.304). Allen and Woodard (2013:235–236) argue that a homologous expression of the Greek epic episode is to be found in a Sanskrit prescription for impotence preserved at *Atharva Veda* 4.4.1, which begins *yā́ṁ tvā Gandharvó ákhanad váruṇāya mṛtábhraje . . . .* 'you [O plant] that the Gandharva dug for Varuṇa when his virility had perished . . . .' For Macdonell (1974:136) the Gandharva's agency here is bound up with the association of Soma with Gandharvas: we read, for example, in pāda 4a of *Rig Veda* 9.83, a hymn to which we shall return below, that the Gandharva guards the track of Soma. In Chapter Twenty-Two we saw Soma identified as *apā́ṁ gandharvás* 'Gandharva of the waters' as we considered an idiosyncratic intersection of Iranian Nart and Vedic tradition (see §22.2.3).

Particularly interesting is the single occurrence of Greek *ánthos* in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius (3.845–868), who employs the term in describing the *phármakon* that Medea gives to Jason: the material bestows advantage and protection in combat and thereby crucially enables Jason to acquire the Golden Fleece. Apollonius describes the plant in this way: it originated in the Caucasus from the ichor of Prometheus that was dropped on the ground by the eagle that gorged on the Titan.

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The *ánthos* of this plant is here (l. 855), and elsewhere, described as the color of the Corycian crocus[2420] (a saffron color, i.e. a yellow hue); Pindar, *Pythian Odes* 4.232, describes Jason as wearing a saffron-colored cloak.[2421] The Caucasian plant has a double stalk, and its root has the appearance of freshly cut flesh – hence, red; it produces a *kelainḕ ikmás* (κελαινὴ ἰκμάς) 'dark juice' (like that of an oak of the mountains; Apollonius *Argonautica* 3.856–858), which appears to be essential for Medea's prophylactic botanical preparation.[2422] The plant color scheme is intriguing in regard to that of honey and Soma.

Greek *ánthos* (ἄνθος) figures in various cult contexts.[2423] *Ántheia* (ἄνθεια) is used as an epithet of Hera (*Suda* A 2503) at Argos (Pausanias 2.22.1) and at Miletus (Miletos 204.6);[2424] the *Etymologicum magnum* (108) reports that this is because she causes

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[2420] See Strabo 14.5.5; see also Pliny *Naturalis Historia* 21.31 and Horace *Satires* 2.4.68.

[2421] As noted by Clark 1968:229n10.

[2422] The plant can only be harvested after engaging in certain ritual actions, including lustrations in streams and prayers to Brimo (on whom see §13.6.1), name which here (*Argonautica* 3.861–862) identifies Hecate.

[2423] Aitchison (1963:275–276) draws attention to its epithetic usage; the remarks here build on and extend her observations.

[2424] McCabe 1991d.

'fruits/grains/crops' (*karpoí* [καρποί]) to come forth. Hesychius (A 5105) glosses *ántheia* as modifier of *Aphrodite* at Knossos; compare Linear B *a-te-jo*, frequent on Knossos sheep tablets (Da 1392; Db 1329; Dc 1303, 1337, 5687; De 1301, 1307, 1510; Dk 7134; Dv 1309, 1386), said to be perhaps the name of a "collector" or, alternatively, an epithet of sheep (so Ventris and Chadwick 1973:535). The *Anthesphória* (Ἀνθεσφόρια) is a Sicilian festival of Kore (Pollux *Onomasticon* 1.37). Dionysus can be called *Ánthios* (Ἄνθιος) in Attica (Pausanias 1.31.4). Maro, the Ciconian (Thracian) priest of Apollo who gave to Odysseus an ἀσκὸς μέλανος οἴνοιο ἡδέος 'skin-bag of dark, sweet wine' (*Odyssey* 9.196-197), a θεῖον ποτόν 'divine drink' (205), a μελιηδὴς οἶνος ἐρυθρός 'honey-sweet red wine' – highly potent – is a son of one *Euánthēs* (Εὐάνθης), essentially 'Good-Anthos' man, himself a son of Dionysus.[2425]

The ancestral *s*-stem *andhos-, antecedent to Greek *ánthos* (ἄνθος) and Sanskrit *ándhas-*, almost certainly enjoyed a distinctive use in naming fabulous plant materials in a common Helleno-Indo-Iranian period. The term would have been readily and fittingly available in the period of Indo-Iranian synchronic adjustment when an exhilarating-honey-cult became a plant-based cult.

[2425] *Scholia in Odysseam* (*scholia vetera* [= Dindorf 1962]) 9.197.

23.3. Golden-Fleece Tradition as Cult Mûthos

At the outset of the mythic narrative of Golden-Fleece tradition we find ourselves at a familiar juncture: that of a pair of siblings intersecting with an Aeolian frame of action – here either Boeotian or Thessalian. This is a particular narrative structure, one having various allo-forms, that we first encountered in Chapter Sixteen (see §16.3.5) in an early discussion of the *kurša* and Aia, where we noted that the father of the Aeolian sibling pair is Athamas, son of Aeolus, and that their mother is Nephele (*Nephélē* [Νεφέλη]) 'Cloud'. In keeping with the pattern that we have repeatedly encountered, and extrapolating from it, we can reasonably infer that the dual children of Athamas and Nephele would have been identified as yet another set of Aeolian *twins* at a sufficiently early moment in the tradition: Phrixus, who flees to Colchis on a golden-fleeced ram, and Helle, who in that flight plunges beneath the waves of the Hellespont and dies. These twins too represent a contrasting pair: they contrast as male versus female, as with Vedic Yama and Yamī; they contrast as life versus death, as with the Dioscuri Pollux and Castor, paralleled by the metaphorically equivalent light versus dark contrast that marks the Aśvins – contrasts that reverberate in traditions of Leucippus and Melanippe and in Indo-European time reckoning that we explored in

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Chapter Thirteen – contrasts that find expression in attested Iranian traditions of the Caucasus.

In the form of the tradition preserved by Pseudo-Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca* 1.80–83), which we considered in that discussion of §16.3.5, it is on account of the famine-inducing machinations of Ino, second wife of Athamas, that Phrixus must be sacrificed to Zeus.[2426] Phrixus is delivered from that fate by his mother Nephele, one who is seemingly a divine being:[2427] Hermes had presented Nephele with a golden-fleeced ram, which she then provides to Phrixus as a means of escaping from Boeotia (bound for Colchis), together with his sister Helle. And, again as we noted in the remarks of Chapter Sixteen, Pausanias (9.34.5) provides an explicit cult locale for the intended sacrifice, setting the scene in the *temenos* of Zeus Laphystius, in the vicinity of Boeotian Orchomenus. In Pausanias' account both Phrixus and Helle are on the point of being sacrificed when Zeus rescues the pair by sending the golden-fleeced ram to spirit them away.

An additional variant is that reported by Hyginus (*Fabulae* 3): Dionysus (Liber) had caused 'madness' (*insania*) to come upon Phrixus and Helle, and in their altered

[2426] See also, *inter alia*, *Scholia in Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* (*scholia vetera* [= Wendel 1935]) 3.

[2427] Explicitly identified as such in a scholion on Aristophanes *Clouds*: see *Scholia in nubes* (*scholia recentiora Eustathii, Thomae Magistri et Triclinii* [= Koster 1974]) 257a.

mental state they wandered in a wood.[2428] Without any explicit or implicit reference to a resolution of their altered mental state in the narrative, Nephele is said to have brought to the sibling pair the golden ram and instructed them to travel on this ram to Colchis, to the king Aietes, the 'son of the Sun' (*Solis filius*). Once in Colchis they were to sacrifice the ram to Ares,[2429] in whose temple it should then be deposited.

In the account of Pseudo-Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca* 1.83), as in Apollonius' *Argonautica* (2.404–407, 1146–1147, 4.119), the ram was sacrificed to Zeus Phyxios,[2430] a form of the Greek reflex of the Indo-European Sky-god having particular Thessalian associations,[2431] and Aietes then attached the fleece of the animal to a tree within a

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[2428] In *Fabulae* 2, Hyginus relates how Athamas handed the step-mother Ino over to Phrixus for execution when her scheme had been discovered, and how Dionysus (Liber Pater), having shrouded Phrixus in a 'mist' (*cālīgō*), rescued Ino.

[2429] This same variant tradition is reported by the *First Vatican Mythographer* 23 and, with slight variations, the *Second Vatican Mythographer* 157. Compare the *Third Vatican Mythographer* 15.1.

[2430] So also, *inter alia*, Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (= van der Valk 1971–1987) 2.409; *Scholia in Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* (*scholia vetera* [= Wendel 1935]) 4; *Scholia in Aratum* (*scholia vetera* [= Martin 1974]); *Scholia in Hesiodi Theogoniam* (*scholia vetera* [= Di Gregorio 1975] 993a.

[2431] See *Scholia in Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* (*scholia vetera* [= Wendel 1935]) 207. This is the deity to whom Deucalion sacrificed after emerging from his "ark" on Mt. Parnassus: see, *inter alia*, Pseudo-Apollodorus

grove sacred to Ares.[2432] Pherecydes (fr. 100 Fowler) writes that the fleece-votive was located on an island in the river Phasis. For Hellanicus of Miletus (fr. 129 FGrH) the fleece was situated in a temple of Zeus. While some variation is thus to be seen regarding the role of the Sky-god and War-god as cult recipients in the matter of the Golden Fleece, the crucial involvement of these two deities is consistent across the meta-tradition.

23.3.1. Nephele

As I bring this investigation to a close, I would like to explore the possibility that an archaic Golden-Fleece tradition, as reflected in the later forms in which we know the tradition, attests at its core a cult *mûthos* – in and of itself likely a noncontroversial proposal. But the proposal is based on a specific structure: the mythic core of Golden-Fleece tradition consists of a matrix of fundamental ideas that show remarkable and idiosyncratic agreement with the distinctive features of the ritual of Soma preparation

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Bibliotheca 1.48; Eustathius *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* (= van der Valk 1971–1987) 1.39; Tzetzes *Chiliades* 7.134.328.

[2432] Similarly *Scholia in Lycophronem* (*scholia vetera et recentiora partim Isaac et Joannis Tzetzae* [= Scheer 1958]) 22, 175; *Scholia in Pindarum* (*scholia vetera* [= Drachmann 1966–1969]) *Pythian* 4.431.

and offering as presented, most succinctly and directly, in the ninth book of the *Rig Veda*, the Soma Maṇḍala.

Let us consider each of the principals of Golden-Fleece tradition, beginning with the mother of the Aeolian sibling-pair ("twins") Phrixus and Helle. Her name is striking in its imagery and semantic transparency: she is simply 'Cloud', *Nephélē* (Νεφέλη). It is a *name* that she shares in myth with the cloud-clone of Hera who was "mother of the Centaurs" by Ixion, the Thessalian king –a Greek tradition that clearly intersects with Indic traditions of the solar deity Vivasvat ('Brilliant one'), his wife Saraṇyū (mother of the twins Yama and Yamī, and of the twin Aśvins) and her clone *Savarṇa* (mother of Manu [see above, §8.5).[2433] It is a term of primitive origin, descended from a Proto-Indo-European *nebh- 'cloud', with widely attested reflexes, such as Latin *nebula* 'cloud, mist' (by which Hyginus names Nephele) and Old English *nifol* 'dark' (also from *nebh-el-), and Hittite *nepiš* 'sky' and Sanskrit *nábhas-* 'cloud, mist' (beside Greek *néphos* [νέφος] 'cloud' from *nebh-es- [see above, §20.3.2.1]).[2434]

[2433] For the Ixion traditions see, *inter alia*, Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* Epitome 1.20; Diodorus Siculus 4.69.4–70.1.

[2434] See, *inter alia*, Walde and Pokorny 1930:131; Gamkrelidze and Ivanov 1995:575–576; Mallory and Adams 1997:110; Watkins 2011:59.

In the *Rig Veda nábas-* is commonly used of Soma, as, for example, at 3.12.1 – and especially of Soma in its mixing with other liquids. For example, in *Rig Veda* 9.71 (a hymn that focuses on the movement of Soma across the fleece-filter) the 'tawny' (*hári-*) Soma is characterized as *nabhas-* 'cloud' as it mixes with milk in the collecting cups (stanza 1; cf. stanza 3); parallel imagery is found at *Rig Veda* 9.69.5. At *Rig Veda* 9.74.4 Soma is a cloud that rains milk. In *Rig Veda* 9.83, a hymn with conspicuous cosmic affiliations (as is common among the hymns of the Soma Maṇḍala), in which Soma is declared to be a king and the fleece-filter his sky-bound chariot, Soma is cloud-enrobed as it journeys on the fleece (stanza 5).[2435] In this hymn the tracks of Soma in its fleece-filter journey are equated to the tracks of sunlight through the heavens;[2436] in stanza 4 of this hymn, as we saw in §23.2.2.2, a Gandharva is said to 'guard, watch' (*rakṣati*) these tracks. Again, this is interesting given Hermes' association with the golden-fleeced ram (as in Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 1.80) and the set of similarities shared by Hermes and the Gandharvas.[2437] Vis-à-vis the solar tracks of cloud-enrobed Soma guarded by a

[2435] See also *Rig Veda* 9.86.14; 9.97.21. *Rig Veda* 9.88.6 likens Soma juices moving across the sheep's fleece to 'clouds', though here the term is *abhrá-*, which we encountered earlier, in §22.3.1, in the discussion of the Abra-stone and its function in the production of *sana*.

[2436] See also *Rig Veda* 9.10.5.

[2437] See Allen and Woodard 2013.

Gandharva compare Apollonius Rhodius' (*Argonautica* 3.584–588;[2438] see also 4.118–121) report that it was Hermes, deity of paths and journeys, that facilitated Phrixus' safe arrival among the Colchians on the golden-fleeced ram provided by, as others tell us, Nephele, the 'Cloud'.[2439]

23.3.2. Brilliant Fleeces of Gold and Red

In §23.2 we considered the figure of the golden-fleeced ram to the extent that we examined in some detail the Vedic fleece-filter impinged with golden and ruddy Soma as a possible prototype or homologue of the *khrusómallon déros* (χρυσόμαλλον δέρος), 'Golden Fleece' of Transcaucasia. Adding to those observations, we should note that at times the Vedic fleecy filter is denoted by the phrase 'sheep's back/ridge' (*sā́nu ávyam/avyáyam*).[2440] Also, there are instances in Greek tradition in which the color of the fleece is described as being of red hue, rather than, or in addition to, golden. Thus, Acusilaus (fr. 37 FGrH) reports the fleece πορφυρευθῆναί . . . ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης 'to have been made crimson from the sea'; similarly Simonides fr. 576 Page:

[2438] See also *Scholia in Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* (*scholia vetera* [= Wendel 1935]) 235–236.

[2439] For mention of Gandharva in hymns to Soma Pavamāna, see also *Rig Veda* 9.85.12; 9.87.36; 9.114.3.

[2440] See, *inter alia*, *Rig Veda* 9.50.2; 9.70.8; 9.86.3, 8. Or sometimes simply as unmodified *sā́nu-*, as at *Rig Veda* 9.26.5 and 9.95.4.

> Καὶ Σιμωνίδης δὲ ἐν τῷ εἰς τὸν Ποσειδῶνα ὕμνῳ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ πορφυρῶν κεχρῶσθαι αὐτὸ λέγει.[2441]

The fragment continues:

> And Simonides, in his hymn to Poseidon,[2442] says [the fleece] was stained from the crimson in the sea.

> Πολλοὶ δὲ χρυσοῦν τὸ δέρας εἰρήκασιν, οἷς Ἀπολλώνιος ἠκολούθησεν. ὁ δὲ Σιμωνίδης ποτὲ μὲν λευκόν, ποτὲ δὲ πορφυροῦν.[2443]

> Apollonius followed the many who claim that the fleece was golden, but Simonides sometimes [calls it] white, sometimes crimson.[2444]

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[2441] *Scholia in Euripidis Medeam* (= Dindorf 1863) 5.

[2442] Hyginus (*Fabulae* 3 and 188) reports that the golden-fleeced ram was the offspring of Poseidon and Theophane, daughter of Bisaltes,

[2443] *Scholia in Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* (*scholia vetera* [= Wendel 1935]) 271.

This has been taken to reveal that Acusilaus and Simonides understood that the ram which bore Phrixus and Helle swam its way to Colchis;[2445] regardless, the language of these fragments may point to still earlier poetic structures in the matter of color. In the fourth book of his *Argonautica*, Apollonius Rhodius can describe the fleece – at the moment in which Jason recovers it from the grove of Ares – as *marmarugḗ* (μαρμαρυγή) 'shimmering' and as casting an *éreuthos* (ἔρευθος) 'redness', like the glow of a flame (4.172–173).

Descriptions of the brilliance of the Golden Fleece continue in Apollonius' lines at this point. As Jason bears the great fleece out of Ares' grove the earth beneath him 'shimmered' (*amarússō* [αμαρύσσω]) with the fleece's glow (*Argonautica* 4.177–178).

[2444] Curiously, Joannes Tzetzes (*Chiliades* 1.18.433–434), invoking Simonides' crimson fleece, appears to draw Atreus into the Golden-Fleece tradition: Ἀτρέως δ' ἐν τοῖς θρέμμασιν ἦν τι χρυσοῦν ἀρνίον, | ὁ Σιμωνίδης πορφυροῦν εἶναι δὲ τοῦτο λέγει 'Among the animals of Atreus there was a certain golden lamb, | but Simonides says it was crimson'. Compare Virgil *Eclogues* 4.42–45. We are reminded again of the apples of the Narts (see §22.2.1), red on one side, white on the other, but also golden.

[2445] See the remarks of Fowler 2013:197–198. See also the discussion of §16.3.5 above, with notes. The tradition of a swim is also attested in *Scholia in Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* (*scholia vetera* [= Wendel 1935]) 4.

When he rejoins the horde, as Dawn is spreading across the earth, the Golden Fleece was 'gleaming' (*lámpō* [λάμπω]) 'like the lightning flash of Zeus' (*steropê̂(i) íkelon Diós* [στεροπῇ ἴκελον Διός]). Jason's young warrior companions 'marvel' (*thambéō* [θαμβέω]) at its appearance (4.183–185), and addressed by Jason they cry out with voices 'divinely-inspired' (*thespésios* [θεσπέσιος]; 4.206–207) at this moment of the appearance of Eos, 'Dawn'. This is imagery familiar from the Soma Maṇḍala of the *Rig Veda*. For example, at 9.84.3c–4b the purifying implement, the fleece filter, is expressly likened to lightning and framed by the appearance of Uṣas 'Dawn' (via the compound *Uṣar-budha-* 'awaking at Dawn'):[2446]

Rig Veda 9.84.3c–4b

He purifies himself with lightning, pressed in a stream – Soma, exhilarating Indra and the heavenly people.

This very Soma is purifying himself, thousand-winning, spurring on the vigorous speech that awakens at Dawn.

[2446] The translation is that of Jamison and Brereton 2014:1318. Compare in the Soma Maṇḍala hymns 9.41.3; 9.76.3; 9.87.8.

23.3.3. Sea and Wave

We just encountered the idea that the Aeolian ram's fleece was died crimson by the sea. According to a scholiast on Hesiod's *Theogony* 993,[2447] Phrixus and Helle were to be destroyed by being thrown into the sea; but when they had been tossed in, they were delivered by a divinely-dispatched ram. Whether the flight of the Aeolian siblings to Colchis was by sea or by air, the sea clearly enough plays a conspicuous role in the relevant cult *mûthoi* – with Helle being engulfed by it – effectively assimilated to it. Apollonius Rhodius (*Argonautica* 1.256–259) depicts the event as follows; these lines occur within a lament addressed to Alcimede (daughter of Minyas and mother of Jason) by one of the women who grieve at the departure of the Argonauts in search of the Golden Fleece:

> Ὣς ὄφελεν καὶ Φρίξον, ὅτ' ὤλετο παρθένος Ἕλλη,
> κῦμα μέλαν κριῷ ἅμ' ἐπικλύσαι· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐδήν
> ἀνδρομένην προέηκε κακὸν τέρας, ὥς κεν ἀνίας
> Ἀλκιμέδην μετόπισθε καὶ ἄλεγα μυρία θείη.

[2447] *Scholia in Theogoniam* (*scholia vetera* [= Di Gregorio 1975]) 993a.

Would that the black wave had poured over Phrixus too,

along with the ram, when the maid Helle perished; instead

the terrible marvel even sent forth human speech, that afterward

grief and myriad pains it might bring to Alcimede.

The idea that the ram uttered human speech is one otherwise attested, as in, for example, Hecataeus fr. 17 FGrH, Philostephanus fr. 37 FHG.

The poetic imagery of sheep's fleece, sea, and wave – even coupled with formidable speech – is one familiar in the hymns of the Soma Maṇḍala, in which 'sea' (*samudrá-* commonly) provides an image of the waters with which filtered Soma is mixed in cult operation, presented within a cosmic frame. Let us consider just a few examples:[2448]

Rig Veda 9.12.5–6

The Soma that is in the tubs, that is placed within the filter, that does the drop embrace.

[2448] The translations are those of Jamison and Brereton 2014:1247–1248, 1285, 1321, 1342, and 1353 (respectively). The authors observe (p. 1234) that the waters with which Soma juices are mixed "are a vast sea into which the waves of Soma empty themselves."

The drop sends forth his speech upon the surface of the sea, quickening the cask dripping with honey.

Rig Veda 9.62.26

You – going at the forefront, rousing the waters of the sea and the speeches – purify yourself, O you who set everything in motion.

Rig Veda 9.86.8

The king plunges through the sea, the rivers. Fixed in the streams he accompanies the waves of waters.

The self-purifying one has mounted upon the sheep's back, on the navel of the earth, as buttress of great heaven.

Rig Veda 9.106.10–11

Soma, being purified in a wave, runs across the fleece of the sheep,

at the forefront of speech, self-purifying, ever roaring.

With insights they impel the prizewinner, playing in the wood, across the sheep [=fleece].

The thoughts sound together toward the three-backed one.

Rig Veda 9.97.40

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As the sea he has roared at its first expansion, begetting the creatures as king of creation.

The bull in the filter on the sheep's back, Soma has grown loftily, the drop being pressed.

This is our second encounter with *Rig Veda* 9.97, the first being earlier in this chapter (§23.2.1), in a discussion in which we took notice of the reference to Soma's honeyed streams purified by the sheep's fleece (using the formula *ávya- vā́ra-*) in stanza 31. In the very next stanza (32) of this same hymn we find the verb *bhāsi* 'you shine' used to describe Soma as it moves along the 'path of truth' (*pánthām ṛtásya*), a verb that in the *Rig Veda* is most commonly used of Uṣas 'Dawn'. West (2007b:195–196) has compellingly argued that this Sanskrit verb root *bhā-* exists in a cognatic relationship with Greek *Phâsis* (Φᾶσις), name assigned to the river of Colchis in Golden-Fleece tradition (compare the Greek verb *pháō* [φάω] 'to shine', at *Odyssey* 14.502, used of Eos 'Dawn'). West identifies an exact cognate of *Phâsis* in Sanskrit *bhāti-* 'light' (from *bheh$_2$-ti-).

This catalogue of sea and wave could be lengthened considerably, but from these few examples we can readily see that in the journey of pressed Soma across the purifying sheep's fleece into the colleting utensils – as a particular expression of the

cosmic imagery typically associated with this cult process – that journey parallels in its depiction fundamental features of the journey of the golden-fleeced sheep from Boeotia to Colchis.

Before moving to the next distinctive feature we should note the phrase *váne krī́lantam* translated 'playing in the wood' in the above-considered example of *Rig Veda* 9.106.11b. Sanskrit *vana-* 'wood, forest' can be used metaphorically to identify the wooden cups in which filtered Soma is collected; see also, *inter alia*, *Rig Veda* 8.35.7; 9.33.1; 9.86.31; 9.92.6; 9.96.23; 9.107.10, 18. We are put in mind of Hyginus' account (*Fabulae* 3) in which Phrixus and Helle were wandering 'in a wood' (*in silvā*) in a state of inspired madness when Nephele brought the golden-fleeced sheep to them.

23.3.4. Heaven and Sky

In the default presentation of that trans-Aegean, trans-Euxine journey, the golden-fleeced ovine conveys Phrixus, and Helle to a point, through the sky. In the cosmic frame within which Soma preparation is presented in the hymns of the Ninth Maṇḍala, sky/heaven figures conspicuously. For example, in *Rig Veda* 9.3.7, Soma passing across the filter is described as 'fleeing/racing' (*dhāvati*) across the 'heaven' (*dív-*), across the 'air' (*rajas-*). In our consideration of sea imagery just above, we

rehearsed *Rig Veda* 9.12.5–6; in pāda 4a of that same hymn the fleece filter is referred to as the 'navel of heaven' (*divó nābhis*) and in pāda 8 we read "Being himself propelled, Soma rushes toward the dear tracks of heaven, the sage poet, with the stream of an inspired poet,"[2449] where images of the sky and formidable speech are intertwined. At *Rig Veda* 9.37.3 Soma is described as both racing through *heaven* – in apposition to the 'sheep's fleece' (*vā́ra- avyáya-*; i.e. fleecy-filter = heaven) – and as *rakṣohan-* 'demon-slayer', the attribute that in our discussion of Greek *môlu* (μῶλυ) we saw to be applied to Agni (§23.2.2.2). On *Rig Veda* 9.37.3 see further in §23.3.8 below; for the epithet *rakṣohan-* 'demon-slayer' used to qualify Soma see also, *inter alia*, *Rig Veda* 9.67.20, where Soma is said to plunge across the filter as *rakṣohan-*.

23.3.5. Phrixus and Helle

By its rudimentariness, Phrixus' own name is highly suggestive of significance, being simply an adjective, like the nominal *Nephélē* (Νεφέλη) in its starkness. *Phríxos* (Φρίξος) is a derivative of Greek *phrix* (φρίξ), 'bristling', commonly used of hair, 'shivering', and also denoting a disturbance on the surface of water. Regarding the proper noun, Chantraine (1968:1229) observes: "... Φρῖξος qui doit être ancien, du

[2449] The translation is that of Jamison and Brereton 2014:1248.

groupe d'adj. expressifs en -σός . . . ." Serving as a productive adjective in the form *phrixós* (φριξός) 'bristling', it is attested three times in Aristotle's *Physiognomics*, used once at 809b to describe the tawny hairs on a lion's neck and twice at 812b to describe the variety of wiry (i.e. wool-like) hair on the human head. Compare, *inter alia*, the derived noun *phrī́kē* (φρῖκη) a 'shuddering',[2450] and derived verb *phríssō* (φρίσσω) 'to bristle', 'to shudder'. The etymology of this family of Greek words is somewhat unclear, but may be of common origin with Welsh *brig* 'top, summit', also used to denote 'hair' on the head, from an Indo-European *bhreyh$_x$k-.[2451] One could readily infer that the adjectival name *Phríxos* simply reflects the bristling, wooly quality of the hair of the ram's fleece with which Phrixus' entire identity is bound up; recall the use of Sanskrit *hváras-* 'tangles' to identify the wooly fleece-filter (see §23.2.2) . Thus, it appears that as Helle is assimilated to the sea (see just below [§23.3.5.2] for a possible refinement of this idea), so Phrixus is assimilated to the wooly fleece.

[2450] Used especially of a trembling associated with religious awe.

[2451] See LIV 93. See earlier Lane (1937:22), who suggests a possible connection with Sanskrit *bhr̥ṣṭí-* 'spike, point'; the form occurs in the *Rig Veda* at 1.56.3, in a comparison of Indra's 'strength' (*śavas-*) to a mountain *peak*. Better attested are apparent variants in initial *h-*, such as, *inter alia*, *hr̥ṣiṭá-*, both 'excited' and 'bristling' (including 'bristling' hair).

23.3.5.1. Helle's Name. Just a word about the name of Helle, she who is said to have fallen from the sheep and to have drowned in the Hellespont. The "twin" of Phrixus is assimilated to the "sea" in the metaphorical nexus of Golden-Fleece tradition, and it may be this watery assimilation that underlies the choice of the sister's name in the Greek *mûthos*. But why this particular name? While *Hellḗspontos* (Ἑλλήσποντος) transparently means the 'Sea of Helle', of the onomasticon *Héllē* (Ἕλλη)/*Héllā* (Ἕλλᾱ) itself little has been said that is etymologically revealing.[2452] *Héllē* is not a backformation from a compound *Hellḗspontos*, as *Hellḗspontos* is clearly a univerbation of the (attested)[2453] genitival syntagm *Hellḗs* + *pontos* ('of Helle' + 'sea') – that is, a pseudo-compound rather than a genuine compound – and of early origin (see Hoenigswald 2004:180). *Héllē* shows a *prima facie* likeness to the place name *Hellás* (Ἑλλάς) 'Hellas' and the ethnic *Héllēnes* (Ἕλληνες) 'Hellenes', construed eponymously with Deucalion's son *Héllēn* (Ἕλλην) identical in form to the singular of the ethnic. The place name and ethnic have a particular Thessalian affiliation, as in their earliest attestation, found in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships (*Iliad* 2.683–684): here Achilles and the Myrmidons are associated with "Phthia and Hellas," as also at *Iliad* 9.395–396 – as is Achilles' father

[2452] This is adequately illustrated by the discussion of Georgacas 1971:73–80 (with bibliography).

[2453] See, *inter alia*, Lycophron *Alexandra* 1285 (with scholion); Apollonius Dyscolus *De constructione* 4.434.

Peleus at *Odyssey* 11.494–496 (and Hellas with the Myrmidon Bathycles at *Iliad* 16.594–596).

Did the assigning of the name *Héllē* (Ἕλλη) to one member of the Boeotian/Thessalian sibling-pair underscore Aeolian ownership of the myth? We should not understand *Héllē* as a backformation from *Hellḗs-pontos* (Ἑλλήσποντος), but perhaps we should interpret it as derivatively construed with the name *Héllēn* (Ἕλλην), a possibility that Bechtel casually noted more than a century ago.[2454] The pertinent morphology is familiar. Masculine personal names ending in *-ēn* (-ην) are well attested: *Kephallḗn* (Κεφαλλήν), for example, also serves as both ethnic and masculine personal name;[2455] other examples of masculine names in *-ēn* include *Damasḗn* (Δαμασήν), *Damḗn* (Δαμήν), *Peirḗn* (Πειρήν)[2456], *Puthḗn* (Πυθήν), *Tellḗn* (Τελλήν)/*Téllēn* (Τέλλην).[2457] For the pattern *Héllēn* : *Héllē* compare *Alkḗn* (m.) : *Alkḗ* (f.)/*Álkē* (f.) (Ἀλκήν : Ἀλκή/Ἄλκη); *Nikḗn* (m.) : *Níkē* (f.) (Νικήν : Νίκη).[2458] Given the apparent productivity of the morphological pattern, one might well imagine that a figure called *Helle* had existed in Anatolian

[2454] Bechtel 1917:27.

[2455] For the personal name see LGPN, volume 3a.

[2456] Brother of Bellerophon.

[2457] For this set, see Bechtel 1917:XLVIII.

[2458] See the various entries in LGPN.

Aeolic tradition, attached to the *Hellḗs-pontos* prior to any affiliation with the *mûthos* of Phrixus and the golden-fleeced ram. Let us consider such a scenario a bit more closely.

23.3.5.2. Excursus on Helle and SÍG*Ali-.*

The comments that follow in this brief excursus (i.e. §23.3.5.2) are highly conjectural; but perhaps this is a matter that merits some consideration. In ritual texts recorded in Hittite script there occurs a nominal written SÍG*ali-*, where SÍG is the determinative (i.e. semantic classifier) for 'wool'. The term *ali-*, denotes 'wool' or references something made of wool. It is a word that is used in "Hurroid rituals" and the word *ali-* is "presumably Hurrian" (so Puhvel 1984:34);[2459] in other words, it would seem, this is a term passed from Hurrians to Indo-European Anatolians in a ritual context – a term denoting a woolen ritual implement of some sort. Thus, the form appears in various Kizzuwatna ritual texts (rituals with Luvian and Hurrian linguistic elements),[2460] such as the Ritual of Ammiḫatna, Tulbi, and Mati against Impurity (CTH 472), and the *(Ḫ)išuwa-* Festival (CTH 628)[2461] and the Ritual of Šamuḫa (CTH 480)[2462] of

[2459] Puhvel suggests that the word may be a "Mediterranean" *Wanderwort*.

[2460] See the discussion of Melchert 2013c.

[2461] On which see, *inter alia*, Haas 1994:848–875.

[2462] On which see, *inter alia*, Lebrun 1976:117–143.

Kizzuwatna.[2463] Notionally we seem to find ourselves in familiar territory; and the prominence of a term for a woolen ritual implement, one associated with purification, in Kizzuwatna, the idea-funnel between Mitanni, with its Indic cult, and Luvian regions (see §21.3.2.3), is intriguing.

Could Anatolian *ali-* and Greek *Héllē* (Ἕλλη) have been intentionally assigned a synchronic relationship within a Greek-Anatolian bilingual setting? That the two words could have been perceived as sharing a *grosso modo* phonetic likeness would seem a possibility. The variation between the vowels *a* and *e* in the first syllable of the respective forms may have passed for a familiar one (see §20.3.2): it is the same variation seen in Greek *Lésbos* (Λέσβος) from Luvic *Lazpa*, in Greek *Éphesos* (Ἔφεσος) from Luvic *Apaša*, and in Hittite *Ta̲wagala̲wa-* beside Mycenaean **Ete̲wocle̲was*. The initial aspiration of the Greek form as well as its geminate *-ll-* would perhaps have posed a greater distraction for a "folk-etymological" equation, though the conspicuousness of gemination in Luvian (vis-à-vis Hittite) may have ameliorated the second of these for a Greek speaker living in a Mycenaean-Luvian community. With the spelling ^{SÍG}*ali-* compare Luvian *alli-*: the latter term occurs in the Ritual of Tunnawi (i 46) where it is orthographically marked as a word of foreign origin; its meaning is

[2463] See also the purification ritual of CTH 491.1.B.

judged to be unknown.[2464] The Ritual of Tunnawi is one in which a ^{SAL}ŠU.GI 'Old Woman' utilizes wool and various other materials to conduct purifying rites; the ritual is carried out at a watery place (river bank, but also at a spring) and involves the officiant washing herself.[2465]

Let us imagine a scenario in which a Hurrian – specifically Mitannian Hurrian – wooly implement used in ritual purification was integrated into a cult *mûthos* involving Nephele, Phrixus (half of a divine-twin scheme), and the golden-fleeced ram – these being, as I have proposed above, *animated equivalents of fundamental features of poetic, metaphorical expressions of Soma cult realia.* In such a scenario *Helle*, a personal name that can be judged to have distinctive Aeolian associations, would offer itself as a personified Ahhiyawan "translation" of *ali-*, ritual implement made of wool. Thus, while mother and twin-son are named in the *mûthos* by personifying noun (*nephélē* [νεφέλη]) 'cloud' and personifying adjective (*phrixós* [φριξός]) 'wiry' (i.e. 'wool-like'), respectively – utilizing Greek vocabulary for concepts that are pertinent to metaphorical description of Soma preparation – twin-daughter is named by personifying a Mitanni cult term via Greek "folk translation." This interpretation

[2464] KUB XII 58 i 22; see Melchert 1993b:10.

[2465] See Goetze 2009, and see above, §1.2.2.2, n. 50.

would of course entail that Hurrian *ali-* is appropriately integrated into the *mûthos* because this wooly implement is itself a distinctive feature of the Soma cult of Mitanni – presumably a fleece-filter. Onomastically, then, *Phrixus* and *Helle* would both be suggestive of the fleece-filter: the former we might understand to be relevant to the fleece's cosmic associations with sky (Phrixus' journey on the golden-fleeced ram through the heavens) and the latter relevant to its cosmic associations with sea (Helle's plunge into the sea that bears her name – the *Hellés-pontos*, an eponymic relationship that probably existed independent of the Nephele-Phrixus-Helle matrix), as evidenced in Vedic cult.

23.3.6. Warrior-God and Sky-God

The very first hymn of the Ninth Maṇḍala begins in this way (*Rig Veda* 9.1.1):

Rig Veda 9.1.1

Svā́diṣṭhayā mádiṣṭhayā pávasva Soma dhā́rayā

Índrāya pā́tave sutáḥ.

In sweetest and most intoxicating streams purify yourself, O Soma,

when you have been pressed for Indra to drink.

As Jamison and Brereton observe in their introduction to the hymn (2014:1235), "Indra is the consumer of Soma par excellence." The conveying of Soma along the fleece filter is a journey, and it is Indra, the Warrior-god, who marks the ultimate destination; let us consider just a few examples of this nearly ubiquitous feature of the hymns of the Soma Maṇḍala:[2466]

Rig Veda 9.22.1

These are running for Indra, these drops, the ardent Soma juices, bringing exhilaration and finding the sun.

Rig Veda 9.30.6

Press the most honeyed Soma for Indra who bears the mace, the dear, exhilarating one for his warrior band.

Rig Veda 9.63.9

[2466] Translations are those of Jamison and Brereton 2014:1256, 1261, 1287, 1289, 1294, 1345 (respectively). Among many other pertinent examples in the Ninth Maṇḍala consider also 9.60.6; 9.62.8, 15; 9.78.2.

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And these ten tawny mares of the Sun he has yoked, to drive the drop,

announcing, '(I go) to Indra.'

Rig Veda 9.64.15.

Becoming purified for the pursuit of the gods, drive to your rendezvous with

Indra,

flashing, guided by the prize-seekers.

Rig Veda 9.66.7

Drive forth, Soma, in a stream, pressed as exhilarating for Indra,

establishing for yourself imperishable fame.

Rig Veda 9.98.10a–b

O Soma, you are poured around for Indra, the Vr̥tra-smiter, to drink, ...

In Greek tradition, as we have observed, it is Ares, Warrior-god, and Zeus, Sky-god, who are recipients of the golden-fleeced ram at its journey's end.

In what must be considered the default mythic tradition, the ram is sacrificed to Zeus and its Golden Fleece is made a votive in a space sacred to Ares. While warrior Ares seems quite a poor match for Indra in terms of divine stature ("Ares . . . . was

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feared and despised but rarely taken seriously"),[2467] and, along the diachronic axis, is a god whose Indo-European heritage is in need of more careful elucidation, along the synchronic axis, Ares clearly participates in a cultural translation of Indo-Iranian Indra. Herodotus' "Scythian Ares" (4.62) almost certainly finds a counterpart in the Caucasus in the Ossetic god Batraz, and lying behind both deities (Scythian and Ossetic) we can with some confidence identify a pre-Zoroastrian Iranian Indra.[2468] Strabo (15.2.14; citing Nearchus), writing of the inhabitants of Iranian Carmania, reports that they are a very warlike people who worship only a single god – and that god Strabo can identify using the Greek theonym *Ares*.

By the reforms associated with Zarathustra, Indo-Iranian Indra is made a demonic being (a *daēva*); though it appears that a particular element of his ancestral warrior identity survives as an independent Zoroastrian warrior god – Vərəθraγna (*Yašt* 14).[2469] We may well suspect that the single god worshipped by the bellicose Iranian Carmanians was the Vərəθraγna, a form of the deity that survived outside of

[2467] Strutynski 1980:226. See Strutynski on an interpretation of Ares within an Indo-European context.

[2468] See especially Dumézil 1970a:137; 1978:21, 31, 81–83, 350; 1995:601–603; Boyce 1982:40–41; Woodard 2013:154–155.

[2469] See, *inter alia*, Dumézil 1970:115–138; West 2007:246.

Mazdaism.[2470] The Avestan divine name *Vərəθraγna* is of Proto-Indo-Iranian origin: it exists beside the Avestan adjective *vərəθraγan-* 'smashing/smiting the obstruction', used conspicuously of the heroic Θraētaona, slayer of the dragon Aži Dahāka. Avestan *vərəθraγan-* finds an exact cognate in Sanskrit *Vr̥trahan-*, epithet applied to various deities,[2471] but chiefly to Indra in his role as dragon slayer – smiter of the monstrous Vr̥tra (see §4.2.3). The worship of the victory-bringing Iranian warrior god *Vərəθraγna* is widely attested in Pahlavi sources, under the morpho-phonologically evolved name Vahrām/Bahrām. Among Parthians and Seleucids this Iranian god was routinely identified with Greek Ares, as well as with Heracles.[2472] Armenian Vahagn, whose origin can also be traced to Indo-Iranian Indra,[2473] was assigned a similar Greek equation.[2474]

[2470] See Benveniste and Renou 1934:87–88.

[2471] Including the goddess Sarasvatī, whom we have earlier encountered, as in §4.4, §5.5, §5.5.2, §12.7.3.6, §§22.2.1.1–2.

[2472] "Under the onomastic umbrella of the *interpretatio graeca*," to co-opt Strutynski 1980:226. For general discussion with helpful bibliography see Gnoli and Jamzadeh 1988.

[2473] See Woodard 2013:149–151, with bibliography and discussion of earlier work.

[2474] See, *inter alia*, Benveniste and Renou 1934:81–90; Lang 1983:530, 534–536. In the astrological accounts of the Zoroastrian *Bundahišn*, Vahrām is identified as Mars (= Ares); for a translation of the relevant passages see Agostini and Thrope 2020:§5.4; §5A.2, 3, 4, 8; §5B.12; §27.58.

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Greek Golden-Fleece tradition, examined from the perspective of Vedic cult, appears consistent with broader cultural translations of Indra/Vərəθraγna as Ares. Much as Indra is principal recipient of Soma purified by the fleecy filter, so Ares is the principal recipient of the golden/red fleecy implement that impressionistically replicates the Somic-honey impinged filter of the Vedas.

That Zeus, in conjunction with Ares, should play a recipient role in Golden-Fleece tradition would offer a certain mythic logic, in comparative perspective, to the extent that in Vedic tradition it is Indra who, like Zeus, prominently wields the thunderbolt (rather than Zeus's Vedic congener Dyaus [both descended from *Dyeus], who has retrogressed into a much-diminished Sky-god figure in India). Indra's *vajra-* 'mace' is his 'thunderbolt'; thus, for example, in *Rig Veda* 9.30.6 just above ('press the most honeyed Soma for Indra who bears the mace'), Indra has the epithet *vajrín-* 'thunderbolt/mace wielder'.

23.3.7. Colchis and the Iranian Golden/Ruddy Fleece

And why Colchis of all places? *Why* it is that Colchis was the realized destination of the journey of the golden-fleeced sheep out of Balkan Hellas is *not revealed* within the frame of mythic narrative. Focusing only on that frame, one might be given to

construe the destination as a random outcome. In the account provided by Hyginus (*Fabulae* 3) the course of the journey was *intentioned* by the Cloud-being *Nephélē* [Νεφέλη]), though still *no rationale* for the particular destination is offered. The critical textual tradition of Hyginus' *Fabulae* is not a neat one;[2475] in the edition of Rose 1963,[2476] Nephele instructs her two maddened children to mount the ram and journey to Colchis and to its king *Aeolus* (rather than Aietes). Whatever the source of this variant, if only the inclinations of a critic, what it exposes is something fundamental to making sense of the *automatic* travel destination of the golden-fleeced sheep.

The semiotically charged feature-nexus consisting of Nephele, a golden-fleeced ovine, Phrixus, Helle, cosmic elements of sea and sky, the Sky-god, and the War-god constitutes, as it were, a cult mythic prequel to an epic Argonautic tradition – at least to the form in which the tradition is best attested. The fleece must find its way to Colchis first of all because the eastern Pontic region, place of Soma-like psychotropic honeys, is that locality in which the fleece had been fixed when it was incorporated into attested Argonautic mythic tradition. This observation follows from the hypothesis that the

[2475] On the problems see most recently Marshall 2002.

[2476] For the text see Rose 1963:7, without critical comment.

Golden Fleece is a Greek metaphorical expression of an Indo-Iranian cult apparatus that finds itself at home in Transcaucasia (see §21.2).

Assigning the golden-fleeced ram an origin in Boeotia/Thessaly reinforces the Aeolian self-identity that binds Anatolian Aeolians to Balkan Aeolians; this is a self-identity that we have proposed to have its origins in the Bronze-Age Greek community of Anatolia and the trans-Aegean movements of members of that community during the late Bronze Age and early Iron Age. The fleece, together with Phrixus and Helle, "twin" grandchildren of Aeolus, travels *from Boeotia/Thessaly to Colchis*; the sons of Phrixus subsequently return *from Colchis to Boeotia* (see §17.2);[2477] Jason, a great-grandson of Aeolus (see §16.3.2) and his Argonautic companions subsequently journey *from Thessaly to Colchis* in a quest for the Golden Fleece; Jason with warrior companions (we think here of Mycenaean *hek*^{w}*etai*) and Medea subsequently return *from Colchis to Thessaly*; and Thessalus, said to be son of Jason and Medea (see above, §6.6.2.2, n. 52 and, especially §17.6), typically identified as native to eastern Aegean Cos, is eponymously linked to Thessaly (see §6.6.2.2, §8.4.1.1, §17.5). The repeated Aeolian back-and-forth of Golden-Fleece tradition must mirror the historical reality of trans-Aegean Aeolian

[2477] On the sons of Phrixus and their migration from Asia to Greece, see the discussion of Fowler 2013:204.

movements in the Bronze and Iron Ages and appears to attest a mythic narrative that incorporates societal memory of such movements.

"Perhaps most remarkably, the Fleece itself, the *raison d'être* of the entire epic *geste*, remains a complete (and highly numinous) mystery. The full reason for its Grail-like desirability, that can send a shipload of heroes to Colchis and back, is never explained," so Green most aptly observes (2004:38). There is surely a sense in which the Aeolian Phrixus-Helle tradition, understood as a narrative nexus of mythic features that repeats distinctive features of Soma cult, provides an implicit motivation for the Thessalian-launched Argonautic expedition. That epic expedition is a "seeking-after" that mirrors the various Indo-European traditions of seeking after the intoxicating material *medhu-, reconfigured as Indo-Iranian *Sauma. This does not require, of course, that the pre-Homeric Argonautic epic, as a narrative whole, be viewed as a direct reflex of the ancestral myth of the acquisition of *medhu-. Most immediately, the *Ur-Argonautica* continues an ancestral Indo-European epicism that also eventuates in not only the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* but in the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Shāh-Nāmeh*, the *Táin Bó Cuailgne*, and so on. But could we eliminate the prospect that lying at the core of the elaborated epic *Ur-Argonautica* is the ancestral myth of the seeking-after of golden *medhu-? Almost certainly not. As was discussed in Chapter Twenty-One, a

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clear reflex of the Indo-European *medhu-myth finds expression in the account of doves bearing *ambrosíā* (ἀμβροσίᾱ [= Sanskrit *amr̥ta-*, regularly used of Soma]) to Zeus. The reflex surfaces in conjunction with the report of doves passing through the Clashing Rocks, a mythic pericope that finds expression in Apollonius' *Argonautica* 2.571–573, 601 (as earlier in Asclepiades Tragilensis fr. 4 FHG): the Argonauts release a dove whose tailfeathers are clipped off as it flies between the rocks. As we remarked in that earlier discussion, West (2005:42) has observed that the loss of the dove's tail feathers compares favorably to Kr̥śānu's shooting off a feather of the Soma-stealing eagle of Indic tradition. More than this, the questing Argonauts themselves participate in the Indo-European mythic de-fledging: the Argo "loses the ἄκρα κόρυμβα [*ákra kórumba*, i.e. highest parts] of its stern" (West on *Argonautica* 2.601). It is clear from Circe's description of the Clashing Rocks (*Odyssey* 12.69–72) that in the pre-Odyssean *Argonautica* the heroic company was sailing *back* from the land of Aietes toward Thessaly, thus already in possession of the stolen sought-after golden object.[2478] Let us recall that also we have seen that a homologue of the Greek and Indic mythic tradition survives equally in Iranian Nart Saga of the Caucasus.

[2478] On this point the discussion of West 2005:40–42.

We can reasonably posit that Aeolians inhabited, or had earlier inhabited, an area of Anatolia to which the idea of the golden/ruddy Transcaucasian Indo-Iranian fleece could be, and was communicated. Cultural exchanges between the Caucasus and Pontic regions is well-documented in the Bronze and Iron Ages (see above, §17.4). The diffusion of this particular idea – the honey-impinged fleece, linked with cult ecstasy – was perhaps facilitated by the extensive range of psychotropic honey along the southern Pontic coast, stretching from the Bosporus far into Transcaucasia through which the notion of a honey-impinged fleecy filter could spread. Within such a scenario, Miletus, with its Bronze-Age Ahhiyawa population and its post-Mycenaean colonizing tentacles extending into both Pontus and Transcaucasia, would almost certainly play some significant role in the transmission of the idea of a Colchian fleecy structure, situated at a maritime eastern extremity, and its integration into Greek Argonautic epic.

Archaic Greeks did not create *mûthoi* absent of ritual. The Aeolian Fleece *mûthoi* must have taken shape *initially* in a cult setting. These *mûthoi* would be subsequently elaborated in an evolving epic tradition of journey and quest – along the lines of the ancestral theft of *medhu- tradition. Such a cult setting within Anatolia could hardly be situated anywhere other than in that region into which Indic cult ideas had spread

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from Mitanni, via Kizzuwatna, into regions inhabited by Luvian speakers. It must have been in these Luvian-speaking communities that intermarrying Mycenaeans were exposed to such cult ideas and Mitanni metaphorical, poetic symbolic thinking about Soma cult of the sort that we find expressed in the *Rig Veda*. Here it is that we should look for the beginnings of the Phrixus-Helle tradition and for a cult narrative of a seeking quest for the exhilarating honey, one that cannot be separated from primitive Indo-European traditions of *medhu-, and one which will eventuate in an epic Argonautic narrative of the quest for a Golden Fleece.

23.3.8. Dragon-Slayer

This epic quest reaches its climax at the moment that the Thessalian hero Jason, with the assistance of the Colchian princess Medea – 'Aiaian Medea' (Αἰαίη Μήδεια) – removes the Golden Fleece from the grove of Ares, where it is guarded by a dragon that is slain (or otherwise neutralized) in the process. As we saw in Chapter Sixteen, this episode in the Argonautic saga looks to preserve a *particular expression* of the primitive mythic prototype of the dragon slayer: "the Indo-European dragon-slaying myth par excellence."[2479] That *particular expression* that surfaces in Golden-Fleece tradition is the

[2479] Watkins 1995:444.

Hittite myth of the slaying of the dragon Illuyanka (CTH 321). In our earlier discussion of this matter (see §16.3.5.3) we drew attention to foundational work by Haas (1975 and 1978) and Burkert (1979). We encountered the Hittite tradition again in Chapter Twenty-One in our discussion of Inara and the LAMMA-deities (see §21.3.2), in which we drew attention to the Hattic origin of the goddess Inara. Here, as elsewhere, a Hattic deity has been integrated into a primitive Indo-European mythic structure that entered Hattic Anatolia with the arrival of Indo-European peoples.

The myth of the slaying of Illuyanka is preserved in a pair of Hittite versions.[2480] Version 1 is most immediately significant to Golden-Fleece tradition but both versions have relevance for the matter of Greek mythic parallels – a point to which we shall return just below. Version 1 of the Illuyanka myth can be summarized in this way (following the text of Beckman 1982): (§3) the Storm-god fights with the 'serpent' (Hittite ^{MUŠ}*illuyankaš*) and the serpent defeats the Storm-god; (§§4–5) the Storm-god calls all of the gods to a bountiful feast prepared by Inara; (§§6–7) Inara goes to the city Ziggaratta and recruits the help of a mortal man, Hupasiya; (§8) Hupasiya agrees to help Inara upon the condition that she will sleep with him, and she agrees; (§9) Inara places Hupasiya in hiding and invites the serpent to come to a feast she has prepared;

[2480] For text and translation see Beckman 1982; see also the translation of Hoffner 1990:10–14.

(§§10–11) the serpent and its brood accept and consume so many of the provisions that they are unable to return through a hole that leads to their den, whereupon Hupasiya binds them with a cord; (§12) the Storm-god slays the serpent; (§13) Inara constructs a dwelling in which she houses Hupasiya, instructing him not to look out of the window while she ranges abroad, lest he see his wife and children; (§14) after Inara's long absence Hupasiya looks out and sees wife and children; (§§15–16) consequently, when Inara returns Hupasiya pleads with her to release him, whereupon Inara grows angry and seemingly (the text is fragmented) kills (clearly at least performs in anger some action against) Hupasiya.

Regarding the relevance of this structure to that of the tradition of Jason and Medea, we can again rehearse Burkert's (1979:10) succinct observation that:

> . . . . a goddess [Inara = Medea] – there can be no doubt about Medea's divine status – takes a mortal lover [Hupasiya = Jason], and the two cooperate to overcome the dragon; but then the mortal man turns away from his superior spouse, and he is destroyed in consequence.

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Early references to the tradition of Jason, Medea, and the dragon are provided by Pindar (*Pythian Odes* 4.244–249) and Pherecydes (fr. 31 Fowler), both of whom report that Jason slew the worm: for Pindar it is a *drákōn* (δράκων) 'dragon, serpent' whose bulk is that of a fifty-oared ship', an *óphis* (ὄφις) 'snake', gleaming-eyed, with skin of variegated pattern. In the *Argonautica* (4.123–166), Apollonius describes Medea as overwhelming the dragon with sleep-inducing song and *phármakon* (φάρμακον) – similarly Pseudo-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 1.132.[2481]

In Version 2 of the Hittite myth of Illuyanka, when the dragon initially defeats the Storm-god, the dragon robs the god of his heart and eyes. These body parts will be recovered for the Storm-god by a son of that deity; and with the excised body parts reinstalled, the Storm-god is able to slay the dragon. Watkins (1995:448–459) underscores, as he builds on the work of earlier investigators,[2482] the particular similarity and historical antecedence of this version of the Hittite myth to the account of the combat between Zeus and Typhoeus (or Typhon) which is preserved by Pseudo-Apollodorus (*Bibliotheca* 1.39–44). In other words, Watkins cogently argues, the Illuyanka myth (a myth of Indo-European origin) informs the structure of the Hurrian

[2481] So also, *inter alia*, Hyginus *Fabulae* 22.

[2482] See, *inter alia*, Porzig 1930; Vian 1960b; West 1966; Burkert 1979; Fontenrose 1980.

Succession myth that was received by Bronze-Age Greeks living in Anatolia, a phenomenon of which we took note in Chapter Nineteen as we discussed the Hurrian Succession myth as a source of the Greek tradition of Zeus' rise to power (see §19.3, especially §19.3.2). Such influence can be seen to emanate from Version 1 of the Illuyanka myth, no less than from Version 2, contends Watkins, as demonstrated by parallel formulae occurring in Illuyanka Version 1 and in Greek forms of the Succession myth (see especially Watkins 1995:454–459).

That the Hittite reflex of an ancestral Indo-European dragon-slaying myth could inform a Greek communal assimilation of a Hurrian myth about the Storm-god Tessub smiting the monstrous giant Ullikummi, while an unpredictable phenomenon, should perhaps not occasion great surprise. This process represents a merging of two similar Anatolian mythic tracks by Mycenaean Greeks who were themselves merging socially with local Anatolian populations – Mycenaean Greeks who almost surely would have brought with them to Anatolia their own particular reflex of the ancestral Indo-European dragon-slaying myth (which survives in post-Mycenaean traditions about

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Heracles' slaying of the three-bodied Geryon).[2483] But it is less obvious why the Illuyanka myth should *also* be incorporated into *Golden-Fleece* tradition.

The ancestral Indo-European myth of the dragon-slayer, of which the Illuyanka myth is one reflex, is well attested in Indic tradition. It is the myth that is repeatedly and succinctly rehearsed in the *Rig Veda* through the attribution of the epithet *Vr̥trahan* to Indra. The ancestral Indo-European dragon takes the form of the monstrous three-headed Vr̥tra, 'Obstruction, Resistance', in Indic tradition (Aži Dahāka in Avestan tradition, slain by the *vərəθraγan-* Θraētaona). Indra's great deed is the slaying of Vr̥tra.[2484]

As we have seen, Indra is by far the principal recipient of Soma. The concepts of Indra as *Vr̥trahan* and as Soma-drinker can be given conjoined expression, as in *Rig Veda* 9.113.1, where the described action is assigned a space: here Indra *Vr̥trahan* is implored

[2483] On the Geryon tradition as a Greek reflex of the ancestral dragon-slaying myth, see Woodard 2006:189–193, 195, 200, 214, and 222, with bibliography of earlier work.

[2484] For close examination of the Vedic tradition and its place within a broader Indo-European context see Woodard 2006:191–195, 206–207, 224 and Woodard 2013:91–92, 103, 120, 124, 145–150, 164, 166, 170, 175, 183, 216, 218, 229, 241, 254,269.

to drink Soma "in the reed-filled (place)" (Sanskrit *śaryaṇāvat-*),[2485] thereby "placing strength in himself as he is about to perform a great heroic deed"[2486] (an instance in which the intoxication brought on by Soma is meant to instill warrior madness). In addition, the epithet *Vṛtrahan* can be applied to Soma itself, as, for example, at *Rig Veda* 1.91.5:

> *Tuvám̐ Somāsi sátpatis tuvám̐ rā́jotá vṛtrahā́*
>
> *tuvám bhadró asi krátuḥ*

> You, O Soma, are mighty lord, you are king and slayer of Vṛtra,
>
> you are auspicious purpose.

[2485] Compare *Rig Veda* 8.6.39. *Śaryaṇāvat-* is derived from *śaryaṇa-* 'thicket of reeds' (plural). The significance of *śaryaṇāvat-* in these hymns would appear to be of an idyllic, mystical nature. Commenting on *Rig Veda* 8.6.39 Sāyaṇa reports that as a proper noun *Śaryaṇāvat-* names a lake of Kurukṣetra, the sacred region in which is situated the battle, of cosmic proportions, that lies at the core of the *Mahābhārata*. Soma's place of dwelling can be localized by *śaryaṇāvat-*, as at *Rig Veda* 8.7.29; compare 8.64.11; 9.65.22. At *Rig Veda* 1.84.14 *śaryaṇāvat-* is used to identify the setting for the myth of Dadhyañc, whose head was replaced by that of a horse; see above, §18.3.4.1.

[2486] Translation is that of Jamison and Brereton 2014:1365.

The characterization of personified Soma as *slayer of Vṛtra* is one well-attested in the Soma Maṇḍala, as in, for example, 9.1.3; 9.24.6; 9.28.3; 9.89.7; 9.98.5. Particularly intriguing and perhaps of some significance for the present investigation is *Rig Veda* 9.37.3–4, where the subject "he" identifies Soma Pavamāna, the *Vṛtrahan*:[2487]

3. He, the prize-winner, self-purifying, runs through the luminous realms of heaven,

   through the sheep's fleece, as demon-smasher.

4. He, purifying himself on the back of Trita along with Trita's kin [= fingers]

   Has made the sun shine.

In pāda 4a the phrase 'on the back of Trita' (*tritásyā́dhi sā́navi*) appears to refer to the filter itself, the 'sheep's fleece' (here taking the form *avyáya- vā́ra-*) of pāda 3c (while Trita's 'kin' [*jāmí-*] refers to the fingers of the officiating priest that manipulate the materials).[2488] Trita is Trita Āptya, one who is commonly presented as Indra's assistant

[2487] Translation is that of Jamison and Brereton 2014:1267.

[2488] On the fingers of the officiant see the comments of Jamison and Brereton 2014:1266.

in the killing of the three-headed figure Triśiras, a deed that can stand as a biform of the slaying of Vr̥tra.[2489] Vedic Trita Āptya is homologous with Avestan Θraētaona,[2490] son of Āθβya, slayer of the great serpent Aži Dahāka (where Avestan *aži-* is cognate with Greek *óphis* [ὄφις]). The hero Θraētaona is assisted in that slaying by the Iranian warrior god Vərəθraγna (= Ares, in the way described in earlier in this chapter, in §23.3.6). Thus, in Vedic cult tradition, the tawny/ruddy-Somic honey-impregnated sheep-fleece can be identified with the heroic dragon slayer of ancestral Indo-European origin, just as personified Soma itself can be identified as *Vr̥trahan*, as virtual dragon-slayer.

It is for this reason, I would posit, that the ancestral Indo-European tradition of the dragon-slayer finds its way into the matrix of ideas that constitutes Greek Golden-Fleece tradition. This is a mythic nexus that ideologically mirrors the various constituent elements of Soma-cult practice, and the concepts that underlie them, as attested in the *Rig Veda*. Just as the concept of the Vr̥trahan, the 'slayer of Vr̥tra' (more generically, the 'slayer of the Obstruction'), is fundamental to the metaphorical

[2489] On Trita Āptya's role and the inter-relationship of a set of allo-variants of Indra's dragon slaying, see Woodard 2006:194–195 and Woodard 2013:146, 170, 179, 183, 192, and 241, with bibliography and discussion of earlier work.

[2490] Seemingly matched in name by Sanskrit *Traitana*, an obscure figure who appears in *Rig Veda* 1.158.

expression of Soma-cult, so an expression of the ancestral dragon-slayer trope is fundamentally incorporated into Golden-Fleece tradition. But the form of that ancestral trope that reveals itself in Golden-Fleece tradition is not a uniquely Hellenic form, such as that preserved in the myth of Heracles' slaying of Geryon, but a distinctly Anatolian form, the myth of Illuyanka, one that incorporates indigenous Hattic elements into the Indo-European myth. This is surely a significant indicator that the mythic nexus which constitutes Golden-Fleece tradition is one that took shape in an intermingled Mycenaean-Anatolian Bronze-Age community that was familiar with cult practices corresponding to Vedic Soma cult – and these cult practices must have been introduced from Mitanni.

23.4. Some Interpretative Conclusions

The archaic Greek tradition of the fleece of a golden/ruddy sheep that journeys from Balkan Aeolia eastward and the Argonautic seeking-out of that fleece finds a defining structure in a nexus of ideas that parallels the matrix of distinctive features, with associated metaphors, that characterize the ritual preparation of Soma and the accompanying ideology of Soma cult as presented in the *Rig Veda*, particularly in the hymns of the Ninth Maṇḍala. This parallelism in structure must have its roots in Greek

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mûthoi that took shape in Bronze-Age communities of intermixed Mycenaean and Luvian populations into which Mitanni Soma (*Sauma, more precisely) ideology had been introduced via Kizzuwatna. The particular form that the sought-after fleecy implement takes in the Greek mythic-epic tradition, as we know it, is that of a Golden Fleece localized in Colchis.

This Fleece is a particular Transcaucasian Iranian feature of an ancestral Indo-Iranian *Sauma tradition, one that continues, diachronically, a more primitive Indo-European psychotropic *medhu-tradition. Specifically, this fleece is an Iranian expression of the golden/ruddy "honey-impinged" filter attested in the Vedic hymns as an implement essential to the preparation of exhilarating Soma. The survival of this cult notion in Iranian Transcaucasia may have been augmented by the presence of naturally occurring psychotropic honeys in the region. (Were such honeys instrumental in the origins of ancestral Indo-European *medhu-cult?).

The incorporation of the Transcaucasian Iranian idea of a brilliant golden/ruddy fleece – *the* Golden Fleece – and associated Colchian localization into a mythic nexus that had already taken shape in the Mycenaean-Luvian community of western Anatolia may be a post-Mycenaean phenomenon. That is to say, Golden-Fleece tradition, as later attested by the mythographers and Apollonius Rhodius, is a layered

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Bronze-Age and Iron-Age tradition. The scenario offered here is consistent with earlier interpretations of the secondary incorporation of the locale of Colchis into Argonautic tradition, such as that of West 2007b and earlier work on which he builds, as discussed in Chapter Seventeen (see especially §17.2).

Milesian society and culture was quite likely crucial in the integration of the two strains of ancestral *Sauma tradition – Mitannian and Transcaucasian. The date of the introduction of the Iranian element from the Caucasus could be plausibly assigned to the last quarter of the seventh century BC – that period in which Milesians were colonizing Sinope after Cimmerian occupation, or slightly later, ca. mid sixth century BC, at the time Miletus established the Colchian colonies of Dioscurias and Phasis. A still earlier date is possible, if the Milesian founding of Trapezus and, initially (prior to Cimmerian occupation), Sinope is to be dated to the mid eighth and early seventh centuries, respectively (see Chapter Nineteen, especially §19.2.1.1 and §19.2.1.2). Additionally, if East Ionians provided a mercenary-warrior contingent to the army of the Assyrian monarch Tiglath-pileser III (as seems likely; see Woodard 2021:88–97) during his campaign against the Urartian king Sarduri II in 742 BC, consequent to Sarduri's incursions into Kulkhai (see §17.3), a Greek exposure to the Iranian Transcaucasian tradition may have occurred in that time and place.

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The Bronze-Age tradition into which the idea of the Iranian fleecy implement and associated eastern Pontic geography was eventually incorporated is one whose Mycenaean associations we examined in Chapter Seventeen. As the Mycenaeans of Anatolia evolved into a people with self-identified Aeolian ethnicity, their Bronze-Age mythic nexus – involving Nephele, Phrixus, Helle, dragon-slaying Jason, and so on – assumed an Aeolian pedigree. With Aeolian population movements from Anatolia to the Balkans in the early Iron Age, the starting point for this mythic tradition of the questing journey was localized in Boeotia/Thessaly.

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Abbreviations

ArchEph	*Αρχαιολογικη εφημερις*
BAGRW	*Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (Talbert et al. 2000)
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
BDAG	Montanari 2015.
Bernabé	Bernabé 1987
CAD	*Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*
CEG	Hansen 1983–1989
CGL	The Cambridge Greek Lexicon (Diggle et al. 2021)
CHD	*The Hittite Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Güterbock, Hoffner, and van den Hout 2002–)
CHLI	Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions (Hawkins 1999–2000)
CIG	Corpus *inscriptionum graecarum*
CIL	*Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*

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CMS	Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel (www.uni-heidelberg.de/fakultaeten/philosophie/zaw/cms
CTH	Laroche 1971
DGE	*Dialectorum Graecarum exampla epigraphica potiora* (Schwyzer 1987)
Dial.gr.Pamph.	Brixhe 1976
DK	Diels and Kranz 1952
DMLBS	*Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*
eDIL	Electronic Dictionary of the Irish Language (edil.qub.ac.uk)
FHG	Müller 1841–1870
FGrH	Jacoby 1923–1958
Fowler	Fowler 2000
GDI	*Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften* (Collitz 1884–1910)
Halikarnassos	McCabe 1991b
HH	Hausrath and Hunger 1959–1970

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IC	Guarducci 1935–1950
IEph	Wankel (1979)
IEleusis	Clinton (2005–2008)
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
IGA	*Inscriptiones Graecae antiquissimae* (Roehl 1882)
IGASMG V	Arena 1998
IK Central Pisidia	Horsley and Mitchell 2000
IK Kyme	Engelmann 1976
IK Sinope	French 2004
IMagnesia	Kern 1900
IMylasa	Blümel 1987–1988
IosPE I^2	Latyshev 1885–1901. Volume 1 (Revised 1916)
IPArk	Thür and Taeuber 1994
IScM II	Stoian 1987
ISmyrn	
IThesp	Roesch 2007–2009
Karnak II	Masson 1981
KBo	*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*

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Keil-Premerstein, 1. *Bericht*	Keil and Premerstein 1908
KUB	*Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*
KZ	*Kuhns Zeitschrift* (*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen*)
LBG	Trapp 1994–2017
LGPN	Fraser and Matthews 1987–
LIMC	Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae
LIV	Rix et al. 2001
LKA	Ebeling 1953
L-M	Laks and Most 2016
L-P	Lobel and Page
LSAG[2]	Jeffery 1990
LSJ	Liddell, Scott, Jones 1996
LW	Gusmani 1964 and 1980–1986.
MAMA	*Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua*
MW	Merkelbach and West (1967)
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
OLD	*Oxford Latin Dictionary*

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Page	Page 1967
P. Oxy	Oxyrhynchus Papyri
RE	*Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
RLA	*Reallexicon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie*
ŚB	*Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*
SEG	*Supplementum epigraphicum graecum*
SIG	Dittenberger et al. 1915–1924
TAM I	Kalinka 1901
TAM II	Kalinka 1920–1944
TB	*Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa*
ThesCRA	Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum
TrGF	Radt 1985 and 1999
Warmington	Warmington 1936
West	West 1971 and 1972

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