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MYCENAEAN GODDESSES CALLED *POTNIA*

The term *potinija* on the Linear B tablets, transcribed as 'Potnia' from its later Greek equivalent, and evidently one of the most exalted titles used in the Aegean towards the end of the Bronze Age, has been much studied, with two general conclusions¹. First, in its diverse contexts it manifestly refers often to a divinity, never definitely to a human, and possibly to the same female personage in all but a few cases. Second, from comparative evidence in art and later religion, it is thought normally to have denoted a principal goddess (ancestral to Demeter in particular) but occasionally a less important figure (paralleled by Athena for example).

While testing the identification with known deities, one must consider the relations between the personages so called and others mentioned in Linear B. These problems bear upon the important question of religious continuity from Mycenaean to later times. The present study will interpret each main occurrence of the term, using both internal and external evidence, in order to illuminate my published identifications².

One would expect *potinija* to designate several figures, since it is a generic term and its specific meaning depends on the context. When it is qualified by other terms, these will be used as the basis for classification. When a given figure has several designations — some of which may not include *potinija* — the explanation may be that these originate in different cultures or are apposite in different contexts. One such designation may be definable as the figure's name, as distinct from an epithet or more elaborate title, by reason of its comparatively simple or traditional character.

¹ J. Chadwick, *Minos* 5, 1957, 117ff.; G. P. Carratelli, *PdP* 14, 1959, 414ff.; M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* (rev. ed. 1973: hereafter DMG) 410f., passim; B. C. Dietrich, in *Atti e Memorie del 1° Congresso Internazionale di Micenologia* 1968, 1005ff.; with bibliography of various theories to be cited here.

² *BICS* 22, 1975, 203–5; in *Pepragmena tou D'Diethnous Kretologikou Synedriou* (Aug.–Sept. 1976, forthcoming; hereafter PDKS); further correlations will appear in my book *Prehistoric Religion in Greece*. These studies reconstruct a pantheon from Aegean data alone; later parallels serve, as in this paper, to assess continuity and to infer additional attributes of the original deities.

1. *dapu₂ritojo potinija* (KN Gg 702) can be understood as a title of Hera at Knossos, where however she is not indisputably named. On KN Gg 702 this figure receives honey and accompanies *pasiteoi*, which implies a connection (though not identity, in view of some contextual differences) with Eileithyia of Amnisos on Gg 705, who was the daughter of Hera in later mythology. Moreover, the widely acknowledged reference in *dapu₂ritojo* to a 'labyrinth', which was later credited to Daidalos, have suggested that *dadarejode* means a shrine of this goddess³. Indeed a form of oil ideogram on Fp 1 links *dadarejode* with the presumably female *qerasija* (and with *pasiteoi* of unknown sex). A curious parallel is that, just as *dadarejode* on Fp 1 follows Zeus, Hera does so on PY Tn 316; the next term may be a 'divine child' *pade* on Fp 1, and a 'son of Zeus' named *dirimijo* on Tn 316. The order of terms on Fp 1 also resembles the later oath of Itanos, which kept Diktaian Zeus and substituted Hera for *dadarejode*, 'gods in Dikte' for *pade* and *pasiteoi*, Athene Polias for *qerasija*, and 'all the gods' at her temple for *aminiso pasiteoi* (followed by two personages in each case)⁴.

Whether or not Fp 1 too concerns an oath of loyalty (imposed by the regime of the Last Palace?), it may involve a sacred marriage. For if its *dikatajo* places Zeus on a mountain, it recalls the later Daidala celebrating Hera's union with Zeus on a peak in Boeotia. Such a rite there could explain Hera's epithet *keoteja* on TH Of 28, by κείω/κέω as in Iliad 14. 340 when she lay with Zeus on Mount Ida (cf. *idaijo* on Of 28). Likewise KN Fp 363 may adumbrate their later ritual near Knossos⁵, since the increasingly specific localization *tereno* . . . *da*83-jade/ijero* would correspond to τόπον πλησίον τοῦ Θήρηος ποταμοῦ, καθ' ὃν νῦν ἱερὸν (Diod. Sic. V. 72. 4); the presence at this place of *diwopukata* (Fp 363: an official of Zeus?), if not of *wanaka* (X 976: a king or god?), is then understandable. The amount of oil for the shrine on Fp 363 equals that for *dadarejode* on Fp 1; Hera seduces Zeus in Iliad 14. 161 ff. with oil from a secreted bedroom (cf. Labyrinth) built by her son Hephaistos, who has been thought originally identical to Daidalos. Similarly, E 842 could refer sequentially to Zeus and Hera, the moon and Hyperion — thus echoing a persistent theory that the

³ C. Gallavotti, PdP 12, 1957, 164; cf. J. Chadwick, *The Mycenaean World* 1976, 98. The 'labyrinth' itself may be distinct (as on Xd 140?).

⁴ R. Willetts, *Cretan Cults and Festivals* 1962, 208. Cf. *utano* on KN Fp 13, with a priestess who recurs on Fp 1.

⁵ See *ibid.* 111, 253, for this and the following parallel to KN E 842. Cf. a locality *terenewe* at Pylos; also *ijeto* with *dikatade* on KN Fh 5467; *kiritewija* on Fp 363, and barley for Zeus on F 51.

former marriage derived from a union of the sun and moon at Knossos; in this case Hera would adjoin *teoi* (cf. above).

Title 1 recurs on Oa 745 + 7374, the sole deity recorded from the Throne Room block. Its offering, if cloth⁶, again links the goddess with Eileithyia (who receives wool elsewhere), and may confirm her as Hera (cf. Iliad 14. 178). The month on Oa 7374 might even be an irregular *deuki* jojo as on Fp 1. Further, Fs 8 with *pade* has a vase for honey (cf. above) surcharged *po* which may represent this *potinija* (cf. DMG 328). So may *potini* ending a list of vases on K 875, most of whose names seem linked elsewhere to title 1 or Hera⁷.

The later Labyrinth was related to Hera at Knossos by myth and art; the same term for her temple in Samos might be another survival⁸. Her protective attributes suit this epithet 'of the Labyrinth' if it alludes to the Minoan palace. But it could as well reflect the form of a cave, like that at Amnisos where Hera purportedly gave birth to Eileithyia; or it could derive more directly from the double axes dedicated in a cave such as Psychro on Mount Dikte (cf. λάβρυς, and *dikatajo* arguably of the same mountain), and thus connote the secrecy which characterized her mythical weddings with Zeus. Hera was subsequently often called Potnia, and her name may once also have meant 'Mistress'; the two words are combined in 6 below.

2. *atanapotinija* (KN V 52) is generally agreed to involve the later name and frequent epithet of Athena. Exactly how *atana* qualifies *potinija* is less certain; in later Greek the epithet comes first, but *potinija* always terminates non-adjectival titles in which it appears. Title 2 occurs

⁶ E.g. J. Melena, *Minos suppl.* V, 1975, 60ff. For the adjunct *ri* (flax or linen?) after the title, cf. X 722 with *rinijo* after *era*. Tablets near Oa 745 concern Amnisos (cf. text) and *masa* (cf. e.g. on F 866 with *dikatade*); cf. *paze* linking Xd 140 (note 3) with Amnisos (V 114). Linen: A. Sacconi, in *Antichità Cretesi* I, 1973, 202ff.

⁷ These are *idaijo* (cf. TH Of 28), *winajo* (Cf. KN Fh 1059 before *erajo*; Dv 1330; Db 1225 and C 902), *perita* (cf. V 60 before *aka* as on Oa 745). The *qasirewija* on K 875 may be connected with the official function of the Throne Room (cf. text).

⁸ Knossos: e.g. Willetts, op. cit. 110f., 253. Samos: e.g. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 34. 83; J. M. Cook, *The Greeks in Ionia and the East* 1962, 101. Cf. Paus. IX. 11. 3–5 on Herakles, Daidalos, and Samos. Title 1 has been viewed as Athena because she had a later idol made by Daidalos at Knossos; but the Argive Heraion apparently had older ones (Paus. IX. 40. 2–4). The derivation of 1 from double axes is supported by L. J. D. Richardson, in *Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies*, ed. L. Palmer and J. Chadwick, 1966, 285ff. See also L. Godart, *Rendiconti della Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti*, Napoli, 50, 1975, 141ff.

just once, despite Athena's presumed importance at the time⁹. Hence she could well have had further designations, in particular the one read as *Diwia*, which is linked to title 2 as follows. In its form 2 is connected with 1 (seen above as *Hera*), which is the only other qualified *potinija* at Knossos. We may compare several associations: *diwipara* with *era* on KN X 722¹⁰; *dinja* on PY Cn 1287 with a labyrinth pattern on the reverse; *dinjawo* and *Hera* in the TH Of series, each listed with men; *Hermes* preceded by *dinja* on PY Tn 316 (where his epithet *areja* recalls a later one of *Athena*), by *Hera* on PY Un 219, and on TH Of 31 by *dode* which recurs with *dinjawo* on Of 26. Moreover, 2 accompanies *Poseidon*, whose epithet *enesidaone* parallels 1 in being given honey and is seemingly allied to *Eileithyia* at *Amnisos*¹¹. We may compare PY Tn 316 where *Diwia* occurs last in one female triad (after *Iphimedeia*: cf. the later consort of *Poseidon*) and *Posidaeia* is last in the other triad; *Hera* is the next female after *Diwia*. Again, 2 is associated with *Enyalios*, while *Diwia* and *Ares* yield theophoric names at *Thebes*; *areizewei* on TH Of 37 occurs with *qara2tode*, which resembles *dode* in function and might be related to the later 'Pallas' of *Athena*.

The later *Athena* was a familiar companion of both *Hera* and *Poseidon* (as in *Homer*). Hers is the only Homeric temple called δόμος (*Iliad* 6. 89; cf. 2. 549 with *Odyssey* 7. 81), which recalls *dode* with *dinjawo*. Her warlike role can account for the above link with *Ares/Enyalios*; *diwija* on PY An 607 with *egeta*, who elsewhere have military duties; *dinjawo* on TH Of 26 with 'victims'(?); the order of names on KN V 52, which reverses that in *Iliad* 20. 67–9 (with *pajawone* corresponding to *Apollo*: cf. 21. 391–435); and the association of PY

⁹ M. P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, rev. ed. 1950, 485 ff. But her cult at Mycenae may justify (cf. DMG 126) the attribution of MY X 1]ta-na, a-ti-ja[to *Athena*, with a chimney or loom (cf. *atiya*, and the 'palace goddess' or *Ergane*), or else her later epithet *Aithyia* (cf. spelling *ereutija*). However, a possible restoration of X 1 as]ta-na, a-ti/ja-šq-šq[recalls a Knossian Linear A formula ?-ta-nu-a-ti-ja-sa-sa-ra-ma, which could be equivalent to title 2: see O. Carruba, in *Atti* (note 1 above) 935 f. Alternatively X 1, perhaps washed down from the *Perseia* Fountain area, might concern a goddess *Thana* related to springs: e.g. A. Stipčević, *The Illyrians* 1977, 194; cf. ta-na[on X 508 with a form of (divine?) *marineu.

¹⁰ Here *era* occurs twice and may include at least a place allied to *Hera*; *diwipara* may be a title related to Xd 97 *diwija*, and even a compound of this or its root with *Athena*'s later epithet *Pallas*. Cf. title 2 with name before epithet, and PY Tn 316 with *Diwia* preceding *Hera*.

¹¹ Gg 717, M 719; Gg 705? The scribe of these tablets may be he of title 1 on Oa 745 + 7374; and *enesidaone* may recur on Gg 704 which is by the scribe of 1 on Gg 702. Cf. *Hera* and *Poseidon* on PY Un 853?

Cn 1287 (see above), by scribe and find-spot, with Sb 1315 which apparently concerns chariots (DMG 519f.)¹². Her peculiar birth from Zeus reminds us of the derivation of the name Diwia from that of Zeus, though it remains unclear whether or when Diwia meant his wife rather than his daughter (DMG 463). In any case, his relation to Athena need not have begun as paternal, nor did she lack conjugal traits later. How Athena could receive an Indo-European name can be easily supposed; Greek immigrants may even have brought a similar goddess called Diwia to identify with her indigenous predecessor¹³. The compatibility of 'Diwia' with title 2 survives formulaically in $\pi\acute{o}\tau\nu\iota$ 'Ἀθηναίη . . . δῖα . . . (Iliad 6. 305).

'Diwia' is then virtually a mainland version of 2, since the chief evidence at Knossos on Xd 97 is ambiguous: *diwija* may merely qualify the preceding title(?) *diwijeja*; it precedes an erasure, possibly of *ta* (cf. *diwijata* on PY Nn 228); and it belongs to the suspect group from the Room of the Chariot Tablets (V 52 there is thought anomalous), although possibly again due to a warlike Athena brought by Mycenaeans. The transference of 'atana' to the mainland — as in naming the city of Athens — might, however, have commenced just as early. Another consequence, supported below, is that the prominent unqualified Potnia of title 9 cannot be Athena, since PY Tn 316 distinguishes her from Diwia.

3. *sitopotinija* (MY Oi 701) is often taken as a title of Demeter, but could refer to Leto, or to a prototype of both. Each was later the mother in an important female pair associated with a god, and was allied to vegetation (as *sito-* implies). It is likely that Leto was the older deity, more conspicuous even in Homer although ultimately displaced in cult. Her name already matches a location, *rato*, on the Knossos tablets, and may occur in a divine name in Linear A¹⁴.

¹² The importance of name-order may also explain why references to Diwia at Pylos always occur in the middle of a list: An 607 (third of five groups of women), Cn 1287 (sixth of eleven goats), Tn 316 v. (fifth of nine recipients in DMG 463). Cf. *diwijata* on Nn 228 (fifth of nine places), with flax which might again link her to the military (see DMG 471) and to Hera (note 6). So might an 'axe-man' preceding her servant on Cn 1287: see M. Lindgren, *The People of Pylos II*, 1973, s. v. *perekeu*. Cf. $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ and Labyrinth mentioned above, besides the axe that delivered Athena from Zeus (as in Pindar, Ol. 7. 35).

¹³ Cf. e.g. W. Guthrie, *The Greeks and their Gods*, repr. 1968, 108.

¹⁴ This is *da-du-ma-ta* heading the tablet HT 95 with cereals (cf. *sito-*); see e.g. J. Best, *Some Preliminary Remarks on the Decipherment of Linear A* 1972, 23f. Its first

The title may recur on Oi 702. 2, if two signs are restored before *[p]o-ti-ni* (cf. Oi 702. 4, 701). Moreover, *popoi* on Oi 702. 3 alternates with *kookene(i)* on other tablets (in having the amount *1905 and contiguity to *kuwanowokoi*). The latter term is comparable to Κοιυένης (DMG 555), which suggests the father of Leto, and the former recalls her mother Φοιβη¹⁵. Her parents would thus have given names to, or been named after, social groups specializing in tasks relevant to her cult.

The allocations in this series imply that equal amounts were allotted to equivalent recipients. The amount is lost from the title on Oi 701; it is *1903 on Oi 702. 2; but *19015 for the unqualified *potinija* on Oi 704, written (unlike the others) at the top of her tablet. Hence Oi 704 should represent a different female. She might be Artemis if title 3 is Leto (cf. in 4 and 5), and if the distinction between Artemis and the unqualified *potinija* in 9 (as on PY Un 219) did not apply at Mycenae.

The workshop and fresco 'female' in a nearby cult building have been connected with MY Oi *potinija* as an instance of title 9 (e.g. DMG 507–9). Yet at least two goddesses are depicted there, which suits the above view of MY Oi (see PDKS Section 4(h) and no. 51). The larger goddess has a sword, and the smaller a staff, connoting age: these features relate respectively with Artemis and with Leto or Demeter; a separate seated female holds plants (cf. *sito*–). The larger might correspond to the title on Oi 704 whose amount is greatest; the smaller to that on Oi 702, and the separate female to that on Oi 701. There is an alternative interpretation, however, since Oi 702. 2 may have begun with signs other than *sito*–, so that the series would have had three titles: Leto on Oi 701, Artemis on Oi 702, and title 9 on Oi 704. This group will be paralleled on the PY Fr tablets under 9. It corresponds

component can be derived from 'Lato' by current spelling rules (1-/d-, -o/-u) and by assimilation of -t- to -d- (or cf. the Carian cognate 'lada'); for the ending, cf. *matere(teija)* interpreted as Leto in text below. Similar compound titles would be 1 and 2 above. The name of Demeter may match the Knossian location *da*-*22-to, which is usually placed near Axos (and the later Dhamasta!) and recurs on a jar at Eleusis, both with cults of Demeter. Cf. *damate* on the Arkalochori axes?

¹⁵ The word then should have been **poqoi*, but it might owe its form to labial contamination; the series has no *q*- signs, *qo* is rare at Mycenae, and the corresponding line Oi 701 .6 has *pu*, possibly for a labiovelar (as in title 1); cf. *ipopoqoi* and φορβη. This ending -*poi* seems unique except for *poropoi* on Oi 701. 4, which may be unrelated as it is followed by *19010 and is by a different scribe; yet cf. the epithet Polos of Leto's father, e.g. in K. Kerényi, *The Gods of the Greeks*, repr. 1974, 130. Also cf. later πόποι for 'gods': M. Sakellariou, *Peuples préhelléniques d'Origine indo-européenne* 1977, 263f., 289.

better to the frescos if, as is widely believed, they really show three distinct goddesses. The larger would then be recorded by Oi 702 (whose amount was possibly greater than that on Oi 701), the smaller by Oi 701 (whose *sito-* implies that the lost arm of this figure may also have held a plant), and the separate female by Oi 704. These frescos also recall an oracle in Achaia (Paus. VII. 21. 11–12) where the main pair were Kore and Demeter, the separate female being Earth (again seated). One can thus explain the craftsmen in MY Oi by the later use of precious materials, including cloth, for divination – especially if *poropoi* and perhaps *popoi* mean ‘augurs’ (see DMG 507); we recall the exegetes and offerings of grain (cf. *sito-*) at Eleusis.

4. *potinija iqeja* (PY An 1281) is seen as a title of Demeter, or less justifiably of Athena, since these goddesses were later related to horses. But it may also indicate a precursor of Leto and Demeter. For it accompanies a second *potinija*, and certain identical names occur after each, somewhat as in MY Oi. The second *potinija* is apparently qualified by *poti]akešj*, which suggests a location which recurs on An 610 shortly before **wedaneu*, whose slave follows one of Artemis¹⁶ on Es 650. The term *opiēdei* with 4, if from ἔδος (DMG 483f.), recalls Hom. Hymn III. 51 concerning Leto and the birth of Apollo. Moreover, 4 resembles *matere teija* (see below) which is associated with a comparable productive term, *metuwo newo*. Another reason for regarding 4 as ‘maternal’, and related in some sense to horses, is a complex parallel between the tablet and iconography found nearby (PDKS Section 4(d) and n. 16); since this involves only one horse figurine, distinct from the female figurine corresponding to 4, the title could mean ‘Equine Mistress’ referring to the horse(s) allied with a god. Contiguous tablets mention servants of Diwia (Cn 1287) and *potinija* (Qa 1299), so that 4 need not be identified with title 2 or 9.

5. *potinija asiwija* (PY Fr 1206) ostensibly refers to the vicinity of Lydia (DMG 534f.) and is explicable as a title of Artemis, associated

¹⁶ The denial of Artemis by C. Sourvinou, *Kadmos* 9, 1970, 42ff., awaits full refutation; see PDKS, and T. Christidis, *Kadmos* 11, 1972, 125ff. Her slave *aškiwaro* may be related (cf. *menuwa*, *menua*₂) to *aškia₂rija* on TH Of 25 with *amarutode* connoting Artemis (e.g. Chadwick, op. cit. (note 3 above) 99), and on Of 35 with a female paralleling Leto or Demeter (PDKS Sections 4–5). Cf. *aškia₂rijo* on PY Fn 50 (which has links with An 1281 here) following *mezane*, which (like *mezana* on Cn 3?) may be based upon a later epithet of Demeter: see L. Palmer, *Interpretation of Mycenaean Greek Texts* 1963, 175, 434, but DMG 435f.

by scribe and find-spot with a 'divine mother' (Fr 1202)¹⁷. The females are distinct yet paired, as indicated by their nearly equal and unusually large amounts of oil; *matere teija* receives most (just as the similar title 4 gets more men than the *potinija* following it), as befits her seniority. Her own title has a Lycian analogue which points to Leto, and her context *metuwo newo* again recalls Leto's links with vegetation¹⁸. One might compare later cults, in or related to Lydia, of Artemis associated with a maternal goddess¹⁹. This type of worship underlies the association, and eventual identification, of Artemis with the 'Mother of Gods' (apart from Leto as a multiple parent); to translate *matere teija* by this title may therefore be anachronistic²⁰. A further consequence is that *matere teija* can be considered ancestral to, or cognate with, Demeter, as in 3 and 4; but neither of these can be equated with any other *potinija* titles (contrary to DMG 410f. for example). To regard *matere teija*, or any *potinija* title, as a human queen is even less plausible; Linear B attests no such queens, whether or not they existed²¹.

The chief alternative to this view of Fr 1206 overlooks the above connections and assumes that *potinija* was Athena²². Instead, Athena's

¹⁷ PDKS Section 4–5(a). The following view implies that the same pair would be 5 with 4; and these are the only *potinija* titles with an adjectival qualifier. Less clearly associated by find-spot is Poseidon on Fr 343, perhaps replacing another god (this view favours Apollo) although he too had a Lydian cult: I. Chirassi, in Atti (note 1 above) 979ff.

¹⁸ Palmer, op. cit. 484; RE Suppl. V, s.v. Leto (e.g. as 'mother' and equivalent to the 'Great Mother' in Asia Minor); see also text under 9. Such vegetation may include the cyperus on nearby tablets (Fr 1201, 1203), and *igo* on Fa 16 (cf. title 4 related here).

¹⁹ E.g. Willetts, op. cit. 185f., with Leto; Paus. III. 16. 7–17. 1, with Eileithyia who was allied to Leto elsewhere; G. Hanfmann and J. Waldbaum, Archaeology 22, 1969, 264ff., with Kybele replacing Ephesian Leto; ibid. 267 and ref., arguably with Kubaba of Kastabala. The last case involves 'Artemis Perasia' (Strabo XII. 2. 7): cf. *qerasija* as a possible equivalent of Artemis in Linear B at Knossos (PDKS n. 17).

²⁰ More relevant would be 'mother of the god': A. Tovar, Minos 7, 1961, 120. His view of this 'god' as *wanaka* agrees, if *wanaka* is related to Apollo (see notes below, and PDKS Section 5), with the identification of *matere teija* as Leto.

²¹ For theories of a 'queen', focussing on some titles at Pylos, see e.g. Palmer, op. cit. 257; M. Gérard-Rousseau, in Bronze Age Migrations in the Aegean, eds. R. Crossland and A. Birchall, 1973, 163ff.; J. T. Hooker, Mycenaean Greece 1977, 208. Their lack of consensus is due to reliance upon vague foreign parallels, and the supposedly human meaning of *wanaka* in association with *potinija*; there is no specific material evidence for Mycenaean queens. However, 'Chloris' (cf. *metuwo newo*!) was a Homeric queen of Pylos, and characterized 'Asian' Leto in the sanctuary of Paus. II. 21. 10 according to W. Vollgraff, BCH 32, 1908, 236ff.; this may be a historic confusion rooted in PY Fr 1202 and 1206.

²² See esp. G. Maddoli, SMEA 4, 1967, 11ff. The etymological view of a 'marsh' goddess, as by M. Gérard-Rousseau, Les Mentions religieuses dans les Tablettes

epithet 'Asia' could derive from the related mountain, which adjoined one that was named like some epithets of Artemis and had an Apollo (Paus. III. 24. 6–8; cf. VIII. 23. 3–4, 53. 11). We also have PY Cn 285 *asiwijo* at *rouso*, or Lousoi which later knew Artemis Hemerasia (Paus. VIII. 18. 8) and the Magnesian Artemis. The cultural and chronological significance of titles allied with Anatolia is difficult to assess, but an imported rite or exported dedications for Artemis and Leto in PY Fr would confirm their partly eastern origin and their early pairing in Greece.

6. *erewijopotinija* (PY Vn 48) is probably a title of Hera that refers to her festival or place (e.g. DMG 545). If the latter, it parallels 1. It might also concern the new building implied²³ by Vn 46, in contrast to Tn 316 where Hera has to share the sanctuary of Zeus. The materials on Vn 46 can be construed to provide a small 'megaron' like some contemporary shrines, as at Pylos. They include a column *kiwo* which recurs on Vn 48 (as a location) and could be cultic, if not a wooden idol such as the earliest Greek images attributed to Hera²⁴. The terms *karawiporo* and *wonowatīsi* on Vn 48, and perhaps *atija* on Vn 46 which recurs on MY X 1 (see note 9), suggest a ritual context such as a shrine.

7. *newopeo potinija* (PY Cc 665) has a qualifying term mentioned on further tablets as a district. The place deals with livestock and secular personnel, which are not clearly connected with any other qualified *potinija* titles, but are both linked with 9. Thus 7 may simply indicate an attachment of the unqualified Potnia to this place, like the farmland related to her on Eq 213 and Ep 613 and, conjecturally, on Eq 34. 1. The livestock on Cc 665 are rams and pigs: compare the line before 9 on Un 219, if *dipteraporo* are wearers of sheepskin²⁵ and *korō[* implies χοῖρος.

mycéniennes 1968, 43, could merely lead back to Artemis (cf. Willetts and Paus. in note 19).

²³ DMG 504; Chadwick, op. cit. (note 3 above) 138f. Alternatively Vn 46 could imply repair and remodelling of an older structure: in particular the main hall 65 of the Southwest Building at Pylos, whose six interior posts and hearth and single vestibule column are so controversial, and may all be provided by Vn 46. The function of this hall is still uncertain; even if originally a 'throne room', it might also or ultimately have been cultic as at Knossos (cf. text at note 6 concerning Hera too). Indeed Vn 48 *wonowatīsi* recurs only on Xa 1419, which was found just outside the same building.

²⁴ See E. Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen* 1969, 61–5.

²⁵ J.-P. Olivier, *À Propos d'une 'Liste' de Desservants de Sanctuaire* 1960, 123; cf. the animals in notes 33 and 38 below. For title 7 taken as 9, cf. e.g. S. Hiller and O. Panagl, *Die Frühgriechischen Texte aus Mykenischer Zeit* 1976, 299.

8. *upojo potinija* can be accepted as signifying a terrestrial and even subterranean aspect of the personage concerned²⁶. In the PY Fr series, she alone is given ointment for robes (Fr 1225) and explicitly located at the cult center of Pakijane (Fr 1236; cf. Fn 187). She is also linked by scribal hand to *porowito* and *dipisijo* (Fr 1218, 1240). Title 9 too is associated with the latter terms and with Pakijane (Fr 1231, Tn 316), and (by *keseniwijo* on Fr 1231) with 'guests' who could possess robes: such figures have cloth in some sense at Knossos, and on PY Qa 1299 a man belonging to 9 receives a possible cloth or robe denoted as *ke* (DMG 484f.). Hence *upojo* may be an epithet of 9; both titles in PY Fr are attested at the same find-spot (far from that of 5 in this series), and one scribe used both, although in different contexts. Their reference to complementary functions of a goddess will be supported below.

9. *potinija* occurs at every main Linear B site, whereas the foregoing qualified titles are limited to one site each. The distinction between a goddess widely called *Potnia* and other goddesses with local appellations is confirmed by *potinija* having unqualified adjectival derivatives (esp. *potinijawejo*). These could not have been employed unambiguously for more than one personage at either Knossos or Pylos, and appear in contexts of types which other goddesses and human females lack. Such derivatives provide essential evidence for estimating the relative importance of *Potnia*. Her name or title itself is not dominant, being obscure at Knossos (M 729, X 444?)²⁷ while conspicuous in the mainland cult (PY Fr 1231, Fr 1235, Tn 316, Un 219; and TH Of 36 which may have her sole recorded shrine)²⁸. Her approximate parity in status with other

²⁶ By either ὑπό or ὑβος. E.g. L. Stella, *Numen* 5, 1958, 33f.; Gérard-Rousseau, op. cit. (note 22 above) 231; Hiller and Panagl, loc. cit. This aspect could explain the many hapax names on PY Fn 187 as 'dead' people, e.g. young initiates (see under 9). Title 9 will also account for the connection of 8 with Aphrodite made by A. Hurst, *ZA* 26, 1976, 24.

²⁷ These should concern title 9: cf. e.g. sheep on nearby tablets.

²⁸ The instance on MY Oi 704 is not immediately cultic. Also the PY Fr cases could be excluded here if their *potinija* was merely qualified by *dipisijoi* and *wanasoi* as 'addresses' (e.g. DMG 479f.; Hooker, op. cit. 207). But this theory is uncorroborated by other place-names, arises from disputed linguistic and scribal objections, and has abnormal implications for PY Fr: many occurrences of an address without recipient, repetition of an address on the same tablet, multiple and shared addresses for recipients, and no consistent order of mention for the address and recipient on a tablet. See instead PDKS and text below, modifying the views of Palmer, op. cit. 249ff. Whether *teojo* for servants at Pylos refers to a goddess alone, or at all, is equally controversial; it may well be an abbreviation of both *potinijawejo* and *wanakatero* (or only the latter), which have more special usage on the related tablets.

goddesses is paralleled by that of the chief females attested in contemporary iconography²⁹.

The question of her later identity, if any, may be approached in three ways. First, we may consider the uses of *πότνια*, which were so general as to suggest that none of the goddesses whom it ultimately characterized — especially Artemis and Demeter, Hera and Athena — was originally its principal object of reference. It may therefore have been the Greek name of a goddess who was eventually renamed, and thus rendered virtually obsolete except as an epithet for others (cf. already titles 1–6). Second, we may eliminate the main later goddesses identified above as distinct from Potnia: this again leaves only Aphrodite in the central Olympian pantheon. Aphrodite's name is thought to involve an etymological myth (in Hesiod) and possibly foreign influence (Phoenician?), so it could well have been such a replacement for 'Potnia'³⁰. Thirdly, we may correlate the contexts of *potinija* and its derivatives, which will confirm that Potnia is a precursor of Aphrodite.

The prevalent opinion that Aphrodite is not represented in Linear B rests on the absence of her later name, and conflicts with traditional views that she evolved during prehistory³¹. These often assume that she came from the east, but possibly by Mycenaean times; and Dark Age material imports are generally inadequate to substantiate a lower date. In any case 'Potnia' seems to be institutionalized, and has an icono-

²⁹ PDKS, esp. Section 4. These differ in minor degree as two primary females, and three others whose main member corresponds to Potnia. Attempts to isolate one supreme deity are thus risky; in any case, status depended on cultural context, and the nature of some figures is still debated (esp. *wanaka*, more widely recorded than Potnia).

³⁰ On this development see J. Karageorghis, *La Grande Déesse de Chypre et son Culte* 1977, 109ff., who nearly reaches the same conclusion. Greek references to Aphrodite as *πότνια* show that they were also minimized by the very proliferation of epithets for her: see e.g. L. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States II*, 1896, 624, on Hes. Op. 73; and Pindar, *Pyth.* 4.213. Metrical factors in poetry were another obstacle: E. Vermeule, *Götterkult* (Arch. Hom. 3:5, 1974) 79.

³¹ L. Farnell, in *Essays in Aegean Archaeology Presented to Sir Arthur Evans* 1927, 16ff.; G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus* 1940, I, 69ff.; H. Herter, in *Éléments orientaux dans la Religion grecque ancienne* 1960, 61ff.; J. Wiesner, *Olympos* 1960, 21–4; M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der Griechischen Religion I*³, 1967, 350, 520; J. Chadwick, *Decipherment of Linear B*, rev. ed. 1967, 124; H. Walter, *Griechische Götter* 1971, 169; G. S. Kirk, *The Nature of Greek Myths* 1974, 258f.; D. D. Boedeker, *Aphrodite's Entry into Greek Epic* 1974; J. Karageorghis, loc. cit. Unfortunately some doubtful claims to recognize Aphrodite in prehistoric art have obscured this issue, as with the nude golden figures from Mycenae Circle A. Few early Aegean cult places are even tentatively attributed to her: e.g. the Arkalochori cave in Crete, and Kolonna in Aegina, besides Kato Syme now (see text and note 48).

graphic counterpart from the Neolithic period onward (PDKS). Hence this goddess would have arrived so early that she was effectively indigenous, and provided the basis for any subsequent borrowings. Indeed it has been expected, on grounds of common culture, that a prominent early Aegean deity was of the ubiquitous Oriental type epitomized by Ishtar. None of the other later Greek goddesses resembled Ishtar as much as Aphrodite did³². If they were also of prehistoric origin, the deity in question is thus more probably Aphrodite or her precursor: and if Linear B distinguishes other goddesses from the important unqualified *Potnia*, this deity can only be recorded as *Potnia*.

Potnia owns female sheep (KN Dl, Dp, mostly for breeding: DMG 433–5), women (KN G 820), bronzesmiths (PY Jn) and an unguent-maker (PY Un 249). She is associated with a likely month of sailing³³ (PY Tn 316), a human or divine *wanaka*³⁴ (PY Fr 1235, Un 219; TH Of 36), and female cloth-workers at her abode (TH Of 36). These attributes are not independent (wool from sheep was used for unguents and cloth, copper was imported by ships, and *wanaka* too is connected with such crafts), and they correspond as a whole to early traits of Aphrodite. In particular, Late Bronze Age finds in Cyprus have established the roots of Aphrodite's local cult and the strong religious element in metallurgy, and suggest that the two were related, as well as

³² See W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* 1977, 238f. Among the earliest imports explained by this correspondence are cylinder seals in central Crete (cf. note 41) showing 'Ishtar': A. Evans, *Palace of Minos II*, 1928, 265f. Another is a coeval Mesopotamian votive inscription, near Aphrodite's temple in Kythera (cf. note 40), from a city whose deities included Ishtar: J. N. Coldstream and G. L. Huxley, *Kythera* 1972, 33, with references. Ishtar had several attributes, also resembling those of *Potnia*, to be discussed below: sheep, vegetation, the sea, the underworld (cf. title 8), metal (as 'Mistress of Lead'), a consort, and women. The warlike aspect of Ishtar and Aphrodite is exceptional, but may be part of *Potnia*'s role in the bronze industry.

³³ Cf. Fr 1231 with 1218 or 1232. Also cf. KN G 820 linking *Potnia* to *kutato* (now placed at or near Hagia Pelagia: cf. its marine goddess in Evans, op. cit. 249–52), and to *keupoda* which on PY Na 568 parallels 'shipbuilders'. In the peculiar KN Dm series, *kutato* has rams (cf. title 7), some 'kept in enclosures' (DMG 437) or 'for blood offerings' (Palmer, op. cit. 181), so possibly ritual.

³⁴ Arguably misspelt on Un 219 and adjectival on Of 36. In these cases *wanaka* precedes *potinija*; but cf. KN V 958 + 962 which has *ḡi-ja / wa[* and a bronzesmith. Indirect links between the two include Pakijane at Pylos; also perhaps MY X 707, which has *wa[* preceded by a misspelling (?) of the cloth-workers (cf. TH Of 36), and found near the Oi tablets which include *potinija* with other textile personnel. C. Ruijgh, *SMEA* 4 (1967) 40ff., proposes that *potinijawejo* as well as *wanaka* refers to a king, but there is no other evidence for such an important 'priest of *Potnia*'.

open to Aegean influence³⁵. The data indicate, along with legends such as that of Agapenor from Arcadia, that Aegean immigrants did not merely adopt this cult but already shared it. According to Hesiod, Aphrodite even reached Cyprus from Kythera, an area to be mentioned below and, with adjacent parts of Crete, linked to Cyprus at least by distinctive pottery in that age. Even the later Cypriot βασιλεύς serving her as 'Wanassa' recalls the office of *qasireu* associated with Potnia in metallurgy at Pylos.

Next, Aphrodite's alliance with the herdsman Anchises illustrates her patronage of animals, including sheep and the mating of other beasts³⁶. No less fundamental was her affinity with plants suitable for childbirth, perfumes and unguents, and with the sea³⁷. Her consort Adonis could embody some of the functions of *wanaka*³⁸. Her specifically feminine

³⁵ E.g. V. Karageorghis, Kition 1976, 74–6, 107, and in Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium, Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean 1973, 105ff.; F. Maier, in *ibid.* 68ff. Cf. S. Luria, *Kadmos* 2, 1963, 71. This goddess too was linked with a god (cf. *wanaka*); and coeval transmission of Aegean gods to Cyprus is often argued, especially for Apollo (cf. note 20). Analogous finds of much earlier date are now emerging: E. Peltenburg, *Antiquity* 51, 1977, 140ff. The same shared cult could explain Aegean Dark Age features from Cyprus: especially metalwork, ceramic bird motifs, and unguent ware (cf. note 37). For some LBA pottery from Cyprus near a Minoan shrine see J. Shaw, *Hesperia* 47, 1978, 128, near Phaistos (cf. note 42).

³⁶ Hom. Hymn V. 53ff. KN D 411 *emaa₂₀* has female sheep, as does Potnia: cf. Hermes with Aphrodite, most recently at the continuous sanctuary of Kato Syme, which had many Late Minoan animal figurines (see note 48). But the local sheep industry must have declined when Knossos fell; cf. the altar of horns and image of Aphrodite on Delos with Theseus from Crete.

³⁷ Willetts, *op. cit.* 160, 285; Kerenyi, *op. cit.* 68ff. Late Bronze Age connections of such plants with Aphrodite, Cyprus and the Aegean: V. Karageorghis, *Antiquity* 50, 1976, 128; I. Papadimitriou, *PAE* 1954, 80; Simon, *op. cit.* 238, comparing Potnia; DMG 558, s. v. *kupirijo*; also the seated goddess holding poppies on the famous Mycenae Acropolis Treasure ring, who is often called Aphrodite and corresponds to Potnia (PDKS Sections 4–6 no. 21; cf. no. 19, goddess with plant on needle). Cf. the fresco discussed under title 3, and farmland under 7. The view of Potnia as a 'great fertility goddess' comparable only to Demeter has overlooked Aphrodite's basis in reproduction and vegetation (e.g. *Odyssey* 20, and *Hes. Th.* 195).

³⁸ This need not depend on the dating of 'Adonis', or on whether *wanaka* is a god or a human representing a god. Cf. Palmer, *op. cit.* 249; he assumes *wanaka* to be the consort of a goddess called **wanassa*, and this may have been Potnia (cf. text above). Rams and pigs were linked to Aphrodite and Adonis, as at Paphos: cf. *wanaka* with Potnia on PY Un 219 under title 7, and the main animals on PY Un 2 for *wanaka* at Pakijane. Vegetation, and rebirth as 'initiation', are related to *wanaka* (cf. Adonis), and indeed to a corresponding god in iconography (PDKS Section 4). The latter data indicate a higher god incorporating such a fertility consort, and *wanaka* may imply Apollo (see note 20) whose companion Hyakinthos largely paralleled Adonis (Kerenyi, *op. cit.* 139f.).

qualities might have begun very early and affected the assignment of women to *Potnia*³⁹. Her cult was old at Thebes (cf. TH Of 36), and in Kythera — a source of Linear B personnel, especially women at Pylos — it may have been familiar to the Mycenaean colonists⁴⁰.

In historic Crete, Aphrodite was almost confined to the central region which the Mycenaeans had chiefly influenced⁴¹. This suggests not that they imported the goddess, but that they helped to define the social pattern in which she survived. We can indeed observe in central Crete a detailed historic parallel with aspects of *Potnia* as conveyed on the mainland tablets, particularly the PY Fr series. As noted previously, *Potnia* dwells at Pakijane near Pylos, is identifiable there with title 8, and is linked to 'guests'. Later, in connection with the archaic Ekdysia festival, Aphrodite sponsored the initiation of young men at a place outside Phaistos⁴². Her epithet was *Skotia*, analogous to *upojo* in 8. The youths had a change of costume, like the robes in 8. They were secluded for two months: and two month-names seem related to *Potnia* and 8 (*pakijanijojo*, *porowito*). In similar rites the boy was first taken to a 'Men's House' like the Greek λέσχη patronized by Apollo, and then to the country. Correspondingly, *reketoroterijo* on Fr 343 with Poseidon, and *rekeetoroterijo* on Fr 1217 with the rural address Pakijane, may mean the beginning and end of preparations in such a

³⁹ Also two divine females often accompanied Aphrodite (esp. Hera and Athena; cf. Kerenyi, op. cit. 80, 148, 225), like *Potnia* (esp. Hera and Diwia; see note 29, and under title 2) and indeed Ashtart (esp. Asherat, Anath; see note 32). Relevant here is an interpretation of PY An 607: women in or entering the retinue of 'Doqeja' are promoted to *kiritewija* (cf. note 5 concerning Hera), often because one parent is her servant but the other has a higher status of serving Diwia (1–3 mothers) or being a bronzesmith (2–4 fathers) or coming from Kythera (1–6 mothers); the last two cases, concerning *Potnia* (cf. text), will then reflect her own greater importance for women.

⁴⁰ While Thebes also had a cult of Demeter, her own identification with *Potnia* on Of 36 by M. Rocchi, SMEA 19, 1978, 63 ff., has the admitted weakness that such continuity is not confirmed by architecture. Kythera: cf. e.g. a 'kourotrophos' figurine near Aphrodite's temple, in H. Waterhouse and R. Hope Simpson, BSA 56, 1961, 156–9; the unusually large child recalls Eros, who 'went with' Aphrodite at her birth via Kythera (Hes. Th. 201). That the island has little Dark Age material is a greater objection to the late foundation of this cult than to its continuity in some sense; it could have been remembered elsewhere, like 'sacred Kythera' and 'Kythereia' in Homer and Hesiod.

⁴¹ Willetts, op. cit. 284 f. Cf. DMG 414 f.; Chadwick, op. cit. (note 3 above) 60.

⁴² E.g. Willetts, op. cit. 47, 175 f., 285, who thinks that such rites were of prehistoric origin and once for girls. Cf. P. Faure, Fonctions des Cavernes crétoises 1964, 157 ff.; relating initiation to a subterranean predecessor of Aphrodite. On her chthonic aspect, cf. R. Martin and H. Metzger, La Religion grecque 1976, 172–4.

house⁴³. Olive trees were cultivated and, upon returning home, the boy received a drinking-cup and sacrificed an ox to Zeus. These customs recall the oil offered in PY Fr, some of it by the 'guests' to Potnia with *dipisijoi* signifying thirst (Fr 1231), and some given to a shrine of Zeus (Fr 1230)⁴⁴. The Ekdysia concerned Lato Phytia in a context involving symbolic rebirth: we may compare the 'divine mother' (identified as Leto under title 5) with her productive term *metuwo newo*.

This parallel is supported by the observation that the double-entry tablets adduced above form a scribal sequence: Fr 1224, 343, 1217, 1236, 1231, 1232. This sequence commences and terminates with a month-name, involves generally constant or increasing amounts of oil, and makes the second entry on each tablet equivalent to the first entry on the next. A matching sequence on Fn 187 has a shrine of Poseidon, Pakijane, title 8, and possibly people allied to water and to Poseidon (cf. Fr 343, 1217, 1236, *dipisijoi* and *keseniwijō* on Fr 1231). Virtually all other Fr tablets contain either single entries or words of the type *wana-*, but their further divinities could be subsidiary patrons of youth⁴⁵. An interesting consequence is that only three goddesses, Leto and Artemis and the owner of 8–9, are honoured individually in PY Fr;

⁴³ Willetts, op. cit. 116, 266. Cf. DMG 479f.; Chirassi, op. cit. 960 n. 43. This parallel does not depend on the link with λέσχη, since other views also suggest such a meeting-place.

⁴⁴ Willetts, op. cit. 116, 201, 205. For the cognate use of fresh grapes (ibid. 195–7), cf. 'Phytia' and text below. If *dipisijoi* means 'thirsty ones' (see note 28), their distinction from the initiated 'guests' (who might drink) is explicable: they were dead people (cf. Palmer, loc. cit.) regarded as initiates to be reborn, and/or deities who protected and resembled such initiates. Cf. the later Dioskouroi who died, were both human and divine, patronized youths and sailors, had meals in vessels as 'guests' (θεοξένια), and possessed the title ἄνακες, thus matching the contexts of *dipisijoi* (cf. Dietrich, op. cit. 993 n. 3, 1011 n. 130). Their I–E counterparts were initiated as gods, e.g. by drinking: G. Dumézil, *Les Dieux des Indo-Européens* 1952, 22. They were called θεοί near Lousoi (Paus. VIII. 21. 4): cf. *dipisijoi* who parallel *teoi* at *rousijo akoro* on PY Fr 1220 and 1226 (also cf. *rouso* under title 5).

⁴⁵ E.g. Artemis (as title 5) and Apollo (as *wanaka*: see notes 20, 38), who were such patrons later; also *wanasoi* (see note 28) as on Fr 1222, possibly for lamentation (Palmer, op. cit. 252), which suited initiates (cf. Willetts, op. cit. 48, 65). Yet Fr 1216 *pakijaniijoi* may be another title of the initiates themselves; so may 'servant of the deity' at Pakijane for both sexes (cf. note 42 and Chirassi, op. cit. 952 n. 22), and 'people of Poseidon' on Fn 187.18 (see text above), whatever the functional difference between these appellations. Cf. also the deities on Tn 316, whose order of sides – as first published – matches the sequence in Fr: a shrine of Poseidon, lastly a 'son of Zeus' (cf. initiates); then Pakijane with Potnia in *porowitojo*, finally a 'hero' and a 'house' spirit (cf. manly homecoming of initiates). All this implies a ritual calendar, or records of its use (DMG 459).

these were also the three in MY Oi as finally interpreted under 3, an observation which suggests a similar ritual basis at Mycenae.

If therefore Pakijane too served as an initiation center, it would follow that the PY Fr tablets are wholly compatible with the identification of *Potnia* as *Aphrodite* – and possibly that *Potnia* sanctioned social cohesion on a deeper level of Aegean life, in a role later filled by *Aphrodite* as *Pandemos*⁴⁶. There was also an 'initiation' ceremony for *wanaka* himself at Pakijane (e.g. DMG 440f.). The *tereta* who were partly related to him, and who were possibly concerned with initiation, were prominent at Pakijane, and at Aptarwa (KN Am 826) which later had an initiation cult of *Artemis*⁴⁷. Apparently both these places are rustic and possess carpenters (cf. PY An 18), perhaps to build or repair shelters for periodic ritual use.

Such initiation centers, excepting wooden construction, might be revealed by excavation at any rural site with an iconography that depicted youths and a goddess like those mentioned. An important example is the sanctuary at Kato Syme in Crete, which is thought to have had associations with *Aphrodite* ever since the Middle Minoan III period⁴⁸. Syme has yielded peculiar ceremonial cups, much evidence of animal sacrifice, and votive shields and swords. We can compare the drinking-cups cited above, and further historic data: the obligation on the initiate to hunt during his seclusion and to adopt manly dress with a military costume on his return home.

An initiation ceremony may also be seen in the Ship Fresco of LM I date at Akrotiri in Thera, a site in touch with Crete as well as with the mainland. The theme of this fresco, recently interpreted as a local festival for resuming navigation, was surely familiar three centuries afterward at Pylos, where the month-name *porowito* is similarly understood, and where the paintings seemingly included a ship of the same form⁴⁹. The

⁴⁶ E.g. Paus. I. 22. 3 concerning Athens. The north side of the Acropolis had, besides Mycenaean remains, later initiatory rites and cults which parallel PY Fr more generally: the *Arrhephoroi* were secluded from their families, called 'dew-bearers', and sent by an underground passage to a sanctuary of *Aphrodite*; nearby were *Demeter Kouriotrophos*, the *Dioskouroi*, and a cave where boys took an oath. For these deities cf. *Potnia*, *matere teija*, and *dipisijoi*.

⁴⁷ See DMG 408 with references; cf. Willetts, op. cit. 275. The Pylian *tereta* named *amaruta* may be related to *Artemis* (cf. note 16).

⁴⁸ A. Lembesi, PAE 1973, 188ff.; 1974, 222ff. Cf. note 36.

⁴⁹ S. Marinatos, Excavations at Thera VI, 1974, 42ff., Col. Pl. 9. The argument is by L. M. Brown, BICS 24, 1977, 144f., and in C. Doumas and H. Puchelt (eds.), Thera and the Aegean World I, 1978, 629ff.; cf. A. Sakellariou, forthcoming in ibid. II. A correspondence between the ships in this fresco and the deities in PY Fr will be

Thera fresco depicts a sequence of events that involved robed youths along a coast. They first inhabit a rustic settlement, where animals and streams suggest hunting and thirst; near them a female figure, and two males beside a stream, could be their divine patrons, like Potnia and the *dipisijoi* at Pakijane. Next they voyage with helmets to a city, and are greeted by unrobed males with an ox. Religious elements, and natural imagery such as vegetation, are conspicuous. Again there are parallels with the customs of historic Crete. We infer that the fresco, while it emphasizes the final stages of the initiation process, illustrates in another time and place the record of the PY Fr tablets. Its theme was the attainment of adulthood in a sea-going community.

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In sum, there are no grounds for equating all or nearly all *potinija* titles with a single personage, or with her manifold aspects. Such titles confirm, in a few late Mycenaean cities, the veneration of the five major Olympian goddesses indicated by other evidence: Hera (1, 6), Athena (2), Demeter or Leto (3, 4), Artemis (5, in 3 and 4), and Aphrodite (7, 8, 9). Hence 'Potnia' was fundamentally an honorific for those deities as a group. They are also sometimes recorded together under various appellations (PDKS Section 4). We recall the collective term *ποτνιαί*, which was allegedly used especially for Demeter and Kore, themselves cognate with the pairs discussed in 3–5. The absence from here of the Greek Hestia is not surprising, though she too was eventually called *πότνια* (Hom. Hymn V. 24). This group, as the nucleus of a pantheon, would have important implications for the study of both contemporary and historic religion in the Aegean area.

The term 'Potnia' is Indo-European, but the deities to whom it was applied were not. It may have superseded a similar indigenous epithet, with reference chiefly to the goddesses with strongest local roots⁵⁰. These are generally held to be Hera and Athena, who indeed possess the first qualified *potinija* titles (1, 2) and subsequently stand in the closest relation to the Indo-European Zeus. A possible pre-Greek epithet equivalent to 'Potnia' is 'Ariadne', which survived as the name of a

shown by me elsewhere. Another Thera fresco dealing with initiation is recognized by M. Cameron, in *ibid.* I, 580–2. The Pylos ship mast is in M. Lang, *The Palace of Nestor II*, 1969, 186 ('vertebral maypole').

⁵⁰ Cf. Chadwick, *op. cit.* (note 1 above) 123; Ruijgh, *op. cit.* (note 34 above) 51.

mythic figure alongside these goddesses, and which was perhaps another prior name of Aphrodite⁵¹. We know, however, of other possible early equivalents of the term 'Potnia'⁵², and their multiplicity might explain why the speakers and writers of Greek preferred to use their own word 'Potnia'. Decipherment of earlier records would of course throw more light on the whole problem.

⁵¹ Cf. Farnell, *op. cit.* (note 31 above) 18. Ariadne was linked to Hera through Daidalos and the Labyrinth (cf. title 1), to Athena via Theseus, and most directly to Aphrodite in Cyprus. Her name is not attested in Linear B, and the loss of its original usages could explain her problematic 'deaths': Nilsson, *op. cit.* (note 9 above) 523 ff.

⁵² E.g. 'Wanassa', which survived in an epithet of those deities, and may be reflected in Linear B *wanasoi* (see above); cf. in Nilsson, *op. cit.* (note 9 above) 395, 489. Also e.g. Linear A '(J)asasara' as in note 9: see A. Furumark, *Op. Ath.* 6, 1965, 98; and L. Palmer, *Mycenaeans and Minoans*, rev. ed. 1965, 328, who compares it with Ishtar (cf. note 32 above). The name of Aphrodite in turn became her epithet as the Panaghia: Guthrie, *op. cit.* 30 n. 2.