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'DIKTAIAN MASTER': A MINOAN PREDECESSOR OF DIKTAIAN ZEUS IN LINEAR A?*

1. Introduction

The Linear A form j/a-di-ki-te-te-du-pu₂-re is restricted to stone libation tables from Palaikastro, in the eastern part of Crete, and I will accordingly demonstrate that it should be rendered as 'Diktaian Master (dat.)' (vel sim.), with clear reference to the Minoan predecessor of Diktaian Zeus. The starting point of my analysis will be its final element, (-)du-pu₂-re, a Wanderwort pertaining to the sphere of divine and individual power.

2. From Hittite tabarna-/labarna- to Linear A (-)du-pu₂-re

The study of the *Wanderwort* in question begins in Hittite Anatolia with the term *tabarna-llabarna*. Tischler has studied the question of its meaning (1988) and, more recently, Yakubovich wrote a comprehensive article on its etymological connections (2002). According to the latter, Hittite *tabarna-llabarna*- could either be a proper name, attributed to a very early monarch mentioned only by his successors¹, or a royal title, borne by all Hittite kings until the end of the Empire. In some cases, it appears together with the word for 'king',

I am indebted to Ilya Yakubovich (University of Chicago), Yves Duhoux (Catholic University of Louvain), H. Craig Melchert (University of California, Los Angeles), Mário Gouveia (Universidade Nova de Lisboa) and Bjarte Kaldhol for their useful comments, criticisms, suggestions and references, some of which will be specified below. I am equally grateful to Michael F. Lane and John G. Younger (University of Kansas), who not only revised and improved the English wording of this paper but also discussed it in detail with me. Nevertheless, the views here presented remain mine alone. The number of publications regarding the issue of Bronze Age Cretan scripts has created a situation where several scholars may arrive independently at similar conclusions. I have attempted to refer and give proper credit to particular ideas known to me and I apologize in advance for any unintended omissions.

It is still debated whether this was the name of a real person (as with Caesar of Rome) or just a personification of the royal title. Although I am personally inclined

while in other cases it expresses the notion of kingship by itself. It is noteworthy that the title occurs as well in Akkadian, Palaic and Hattic² bilingual records from Hattuša, where its spelling in these languages follows the pattern of Hittite (nevertheless always with initial ta-): ta-ba-ar-na- (see Soysal 2005: 192). Related to tabarna-/ labarna- is Luvoid Hittite tapar- 'to rule' - used in Late Hittite texts as tapar(r)iya-'id.' -, adorned with a Glossenkeil and Luvian verbal endings. Among its relatives are tap(a)ramman- 'ruling, governing' and tap(a)rammahit- 'the position of ruling, governing' (see Yakubovich 2002: 95, after Tischler 1991–1995: 116ff.). Hence, it appears that the Hittite title was borrowed from Luvian, an assumption which excludes a Hattic origin for it as there are no traces of linguistic contact between Hattic and Luvian (loc. cit.). However, tabarna-/ labarna- and its relatives also lack a fair Indo-European etymology: Eichner's proposal (1975: 81 fn. 5) relating it to Proto-Indo-European *dhab(h)ro-no- 'Herr über die Tüchtigen/Mannen' (cf. Old Church Slavonic добръ 'good'; Latin faber 'skillful'; New High German tapfer 'valiant', etc.) is not persuasive and leaves us with semantic and morphological problems: the meaning of PIE * dhab(h)ro-no- would have been simply 'good' with no specific relation to social power; in addition, this PIE root is a derived adjective that cannot account for the Luvian verbal tapar- (cf. Yakubovich 2002: 103, after Tischler 1991–1995: 118).

For the sake of accuracy and completeness, it is impossible to present my case without mentioning all the other related forms also examined in Yakubovich (2002). The first of these shapes is the Lycian personal name *Dapara*, rendered as Λαπαρας in its Greek version (see Melchert 2004: 92). The latter is apparently etymologically related to Hellenistic Cilician names Τβερημωσις (< *tabara-muwa-zi-) and Τβερασητας (< *tabara-zitti-) (cf. Zgusta 1964: 507), to Luvo-Hittite names *Pittalipara-* (< *pitta-tapara-) and Tiuatapara (< *tiwatta-tapara) (cf. Yakubovich 2002: 96, apud Laroche 1966: 148, 186) and, ultimately, to tapar-/tapar(r)iya- (again Yakubovich 2002: 96, apud Houwink ten Cate 1965: 159). A number of regional connections is also known. Firstly, Λαβρανιος, an epithet of Zeus in Cyprus, may mean 'kingly' or 'the powerful one', as Yakubovich suggests (2002: 104–105). Another epithet of Zeus comes from

to the second solution this issue will not be of importance to the main argument here presented. See also the entry *labarna*- in the Chicago Hittite Dictionary (CHD).

It is uncertain, as Soysal (2005: 193) himself notes, whether the form exists in Hurrian as well.

One may thus add to this list several Carian personal names in /-dubr-/ (see Melchert 1993b: 81, apud Adiego 1992: 30; see also Adiego 2007: 362, 375, 413) and probably parallel to the same Luvo-Hittite anthroponyms: e.g. $k-\dot{s}-a-t-w-b-r=\Xi \alpha v \delta v \beta ε \rho i \zeta$ and s-m-δ-w-b-r-s, comparable to Ζερμεδυβερος (cf. Melchert 1993b: 78, 81, apud Adiego 1992: 31 and Blümel 1992: 13f.). Other welcome additions to our account are the Lycian town *Tuburehi* (text 44b, 15; see Friedrich 1932: 64-65⁵), located in the south coast of that country, as well as the personal name Tebursseli (see texts 104a and 104b from Limyra). The Hellenic version of *Tuburehi* is Tyberissos. Here we may have a root *tubur- related to kingship plus the Lycian suffix -(e)hi- (< Pre-Lycian *-Vsi-; for this phonological rule, see Melchert 1993a: 250), cognate with Cuneiform Luvian -ašša/i- in possessive adjectives (see Melchert forthcoming). As for Tebursseli, -li- is a very common Luvic adjectival suffix meaning 'belonging to'. It is possible that the archaic name of the town (*Tuburesi) be the derivational basis of the anthroponym: *Tuburesi-li > Tebursseli (with relocation of the emphasis), 'of Tuburehi'.6

Regarding their use, Yakubovich presented an interesting parallel between the cuneiform sign BA in Hittite tabarna-/labarna- and

³ The use of /B/ is due to the uncertainty of the phonetic value of the labial consonant.

⁴ This shift is a well known phenomenon in Luvian: cf. Hieroglyphic Luvian *tarwani*-(spelled *ta+ra/i-wa/i-ni-*) 'justice > judge, ruler' (Yakubovich 2002: 111–112).

I am thankful to H. Craig Melchert for this reference.

⁶ I am thankful to Ilya Yakubovich, who suggested this relationship in a personal communication.

the syllabogram pu_2 in Mycenaean $da-pu_2-ri-to-jo$. The title is the single Hittite form in which the cuneiform syllabographeme ba is systematically used: the sign is normally used for Sumerian ba and Akkadian pá (see Kimball 1999: 82 bottom). With this, tabarna-/ labarna- appears in Hittite as a borrowing with an alien sound written with an atypical sign. Similarly, Yakubovich (2002: 109) writes that the alternation of Linear B sign *pu*₂ with alphabetic /βύ/ in da-pu₂-ri-to-/λαβύρινθος indicates a special sound inherent to a pre-Greek substrate, while T. Palaima and E. Sikkenga (1999: 602) argue that pu_2 along with signs *56 (pa_3) and *22 (pi_2 ?) constitute a category of syllabograms that was retained during the development of Linear A into Linear B in order to write typically 'Minoan' sounds. The fact is that in instances of Greek words sign pu_2 is used with the value of /p h u/ (e.g. pu_2 -te-re ki-ti-je-si [PY Na 520.B], */phutēres ktiensi/ 'planters are cultivating')⁷. It appears, of course, in non-Greek Minoan anthroponyms such as du-pu₂-so (KN Fh 343), pu_2 -ru-da-ro (KN Uf 432) and si-ja- pu_2 -ro, (KN As[2] 116.11), but their interpretation is not clear due to our lack of knowledge concerning Minoan onomastics and phonology. Thus, we would expect da-pu₂-ri-to- to be realized as /dap^hurinthos/, in opposition to alphabetic λαβύρινθος. However, the fact that *da-pu₂-ri-to-* has the spelling variant *da-pu-ri-<u>to-</u>* (KN Xd 140) is meaningful as it allows a parallel with pa₃-ra-ku-ja (KN Ld 587.2) vs. pa-ra-ku-ja (KN Ld 575.b). These are spelling variations – written by the same scribe, Hand 116 - of a same word describing the 'emerald blue color of cloth' (cf. Hesych. βαρακίς: γλαύκινον ἱμάτιον, Ugaritic brq 'shine', Hebrew bareqet), probably a loanword borrowed from Semitic via Minoan (again Palaima and Sikkenga 1999: 603).8 This example is valuable because it represents a case in which a P- series sign is used interchangeably with a secondary P- one to write β , which seems to be the case of $da-pu_2-ri-to-lda-pu-ri-to-$.

Crete, homeland of the Labyrinth, is in fact the next place to look in order to retrace the path of our *Wanderwort*. Here, the phonetic transcription of Linear A signs with the Linear B values, as assumed by Godart (1984), is proved accurate by the equation of several words, mostly names, in both scripts. Hooker (1975: 165) had

I dare to suggest that this could explain why Cypriot syllabogram pu, which represents both /pu/ and /phu/, seems to be derived from sign AB 29 pu₂ rather than being a development of AB50 pu.

I mention the Ugaritic form because, since Minoans had well known commercial ties with Ugarit, it is possible that they borrowed the word from this language. For a recent study on these connections, see Soles 2005.

already noted that most words are personal or geographical names and that "a number of Linear A sign-groups recur in Linear B, often with different endings". These common sign-groups are names and the different endings are due to the Mycenaean propensity to adorn autochthonous Minoan names with Hellenic endings. As a result, Linear A texts, as presented by Godart and Olivier 1976–1985 (henceforth GORILA), offer to us three compounds from which we immediately extract a common element (-)du-pu₂-re⁹: pa-ta-da-dupu₂-re (HT Zb 160), ja-<u>na</u>-ki-te-te-<u>du-pu</u>₂-re (PK Za 8, §a) and jadi-ki-te-te-du-pu₂-re (PK Za 15). This shape appears related to two anthroponyms in Linear B texts, du-pu₂-ra-zo (KN V[3] 419.1) and $da-pu_2-ra-zo$ (EL 1 1.2) as well as to Mycenaean $da-pu_2-ri-to-$. The interpretation of the Labyrinth as the Minoan royal palace, which is not new¹⁰, appears as plausible given all the comparanda connecting the root of λαβύρινθος to kingship. The latter is also adorned with the suffix -ινθος, quite frequent in (Pre-)Greek place-names, making the word a good parallel for its Carian neighbour Labraunda, if we consider the acknowledged relationship of the toponymic suffixes $-iv\theta \circ \varsigma$ (Greek) and -(w) and a > -unda (Anatolian), the latter being the result of dialectal syncope (see Yakubovich 2002: 110). As for du pu_3 -ra-zo/da- pu_3 -ra-zo, these are certainly variants of a same name, already given by Aura Jorro's Diccionario Micénico as "probably pre-Hellenic" (1985 I: 156, 197), a possibility corroborated by the existence of other autochthonous Cretan anthroponyms with a suffix -(a)-zo in Mycenaean records: cf. qi-ja-zo (KN Dv 1500.B) and ri-ma-zo (KN Da 1415.B). The alternation du- pu_2 -ra-zo/da- pu_2 -ra-zomay be compared to that of Linear A names ku-pa₃-na-tu (HT 119, §3) and ku- pa_3 -nu (on several texts) and their Linear B counterparts, $ka-pa_3-na-to$ (KN As[2] 1516.16) and $ka-pa_3-no$ (KN Df 1219). As M. F. Lane points out to me (pers. comm.), some of the Hellenized anthroponyms presented above (such as Τβερασητας < *tabara-zitti-) show "null" or "reduced" grade in the first syllable, suggesting that

⁹ Epigraphic apparatus: <u>sign</u> = the reading of sign is doubtful; [text] = text reconstructed with basis comparison with other texts (a reconstruction by all means not certain); | (i.e., | flanked by spaces) = word-divider; • = unidentified sign. I will use italic minuscule font for both the transcription of Linear B and A material, but always with the indication of which script is being transcribed.

The identification of the palace of Knossos with the legendary Labyrinth of the Minotaur goes back to 1927 (see Yakubovich 2002: 105-106, with references); see also Tischler (1988: 40) for a bibliographical revision. For an argument against the traditional preconception of λαβύρινθος as derived from a supposed Lydian word λάβου- 'axe' glossed by Plutarch, see Yakubovich (2002: 106–108, with references).

the alternating u and a in Minoan names may be anaptyctic vowels inserted to facilitate pronunciation (cf. Mycenaean du-ma vs. da-ma); on the other hand, this alternation could represent a single anaptyctic schwa. This would explain the divergence of du- pu_2 -re and da- pu_2 -ri-to-lλαβύρινθος as resolved in du- pu_2 -ra-zolda- pu_2 -ra-zo.

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3. (j)a-di-ki-te-te-du-pu<sub>2</sub>-re – 'Diktaian Master' (?)
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As for the Linear A forms mentioned above, $pa-ta-da-du-pu_2-re$ was inscribed on a pithos from Hagia Triada; we shall focus on $ja-\underline{na}-ki-te-te-\underline{du}-\underline{pu}_2-re$ and $(j)a-di-ki-te-te-du-pu_2-re$, which are found on stone libation tables from Palaikastro and belong to a standard Minoan dedicatory formula known as "Libation Formula":

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PK Za 8 (GORILA IV: 24-27):
a: ]nu | pa<sub>3</sub>-<u>e</u> | ja-na-ki-te-te-<u>du-pu</u><sub>2</sub>-re | tu-<u>me-i</u>
b: ja-sa[-sa-ra-me] | u-na-ka-na-<u>si</u>[ ]
c: i-<u>pi</u>[
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PK Za 11 (GORILA IV: 32-34):
a-b: <u>a</u>-ta-i-*301-wa-e | a-di-ki-te-te-[••]-<u>da</u><sup>11</sup>
b-c: pi-te-<u>ri</u> | a-ko-<u>a-ne</u> | <u>a</u>-sa-sa-ra-me |
c: u-na-ru-ka-na-ti |
d: i-pi-na-mi-na[ | ]si-ru-[te] | i-na-ja-pa-qa
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GORILA confidently reads PK Za 8, \$a, as *ja-na-ki-te-te-du-pu₂-re*, but this reading should be revised. Bosanquet and Dawkins (1923:

This is the reading in GORILA IV, 32–35. The word *a-di-ki-te-te-*[••]-<u>da</u> runs from side a to side b: *a-di-ki-te-te-*[• on side a, and, on side b, •]-<u>da</u>. The last sign on side a preserves only a single vertical stroke at the left of the sign; the rest of the area is much abraded. It could be *da*, *ra* (as on side *c* in *-sa-sa-ra-me*), or *du* (as on PK Za 8, §a). On side b, the first sign preserves only a curved stroke at the right of the sign, inconsistent with AB 29 *pu*₂, but not impossible for sign 50 *pu*. The second sign on side b is probably *re*, as legible in the photograph (p. 32). I propose, therefore, an alternate reading: *a-di-ki-te-te-*[*du-pu*]-*re*.

141–142) and Brice (1961: 12–13) see nothing in the position of the second sign and they all leave the space blank in their transliteration¹². A fairer transliteration would be ja-di-ki-te-te-du-pu-re¹³. In fact, this is also the reading of Raison and Pope (1994: 274). The mistake in GORILA is undoubtedly due to the similarity of signs A006 na and A007 di.

I now follow the idea that the first element of the form in question, i.e. (ja)-di-ki-te-te-, is related to Mount Dikte¹⁴. For the writing of Linear A *j/a-di-k(i)-te-te* versus Mycenaean *di-k(a)-ta-jo* one may compare the Linear A anthroponym di-d(i)-ka-se (ZA Zb 3, §1) and Mycenaean di-t(a)-ka-so (KN D1[1] 916.B). Given the connection of $(-)du-pu_2-re$ (which in this context should be in the dative) to the Anatolian words studied by Yakubovich we should take it to be connected to the sphere of kingship and accordingly mean 'ruler' or 'master' (vel. sim.). Consequently, it is difficult a priori not to translate this whole shape as 'Master of Dikte (dat.)' (vel sim.), even though this translation leaves us with two unexplained affixes: *j/a*- and -(*e*)-*te*. The variation *ja-/a-* is documented both in Linear A (cf. *ja-sa-sa-ra*me vs. a-sa-sa-ra-me; ja-ta-i-*301-u-ja vs. a-ta-i-*301-wa-ja) and in non-Hellenic anthroponyms from the Mycenaean texts of Knossos (*ja-sa-ro* vs. *a-sa-ro*): it is not likely to represent a hiatus-filler as it is manifest in initial words (such as the aforementioned *ja-ta-i-*301-u*ja, in text AP Za 1) and isolated names. Furthermore, a- is optionally used before anthroponyms in Linear A, e.g. si-ki-ra (HT 8, §a.4) versus *a-si-ki-ra* (KH 20, §2) (cf. Linear B anthroponym *si-ki-ro*, KN U 8210.1). The phenomenon may be observed within the same text (cf. Zakros 10, *ta-na-te* vs. *a-ta-na-te*) and even in names in Mycenaean texts (e.g. wi-je-mo vs. a-wi-je-mo), which makes it less likely that these are unrelated homonymous forms. Melena (1987: 222 n. 65) has proposed that (j)a- operated as a sort of optional prefixed article. On the other hand, if j/a-di-ki-t(e)- is indeed designating Mt. Dikte, we are left with a particle -(e)-te which can be explained as a genitive/ locative marker. Conceivably, j/a-di-ki-ti-te-te- may be interpreted as 'Diktaian' < 'from/of Dikte'. The remaining pa-ta-da-du-pu₂-re (in

¹² I am thankful to John Younger for these references.

The reading of sign du (A 51) is doubtful in the only two complete occurrences of the compound but the certainty of final -du-pu₂-re is ascertained by analogy with pa-ta-da-du-pu₂-re (HT Zb 160).

I am indebted to Professor Younger for the following reference. The idea that these inscriptions contained an allusion to Mount Dikte was advanced by Gareth Owens in 1993, in his article "Minoan DI-KA-TA", Kadmos 32: 156–161. The elaboration of this idea that follows is my own.

HT Zb 160) seems to have no traces of this presumable ending, but the first element – pa-ta-da – appears by itself in text PH 31 (§ a.4) accompanied by two personal names, ma-di and ku- pa_3 -mu¹⁵, and is thus a plausible anthroponym. Hence, pa-ta-da-du-pu₂-re may be hypothetically translated 'pa-ta-da-(the)-master' (vel sim.), i.e. the owner or beneficiary of the inscribed object (a pithos), without a genitive/pertinative construction.

Two other texts might help us; they incorporate elements of the Libation Formula on stone libation tables:

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IO Za 2 (HM 3557) (GORILA V: 18-19):
1: a-ta-i-*301-wa-ja | ja-di-ki-tu | ja-sa-sa-ra-[me] | u-na-ka-na-[si | ] i-pi-na-ma |
2: si-ru-te | ta-na-ra-te-u-ti-nu | i-da-[

SY Za 2 (HM 3429) (GORILA V: 64-65):
a: a-ta-i-*301-wa-ja | ja-su-ma-tu OLIV
b: u-na-ka-na-si OLE
c: vacat
d: a-ja
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We may infer that *ja-di-ki-tu* and *ja-su-ma-tu* are morphologically identical. We may also assume that the former is connected to *j/a-di-ki-te-te-* based on the parallel between *ja-su-ma-tu* and another Linear A shape, *wi-ja-su-ma-ti-ti-*319* (HT Zd 157). Although the latter has at least one extra affix, the construction is similar enough. The parallel between *j/a-di-ki-te-te-* and *wi-ja-su-ma-ti-ti-* is important because it allows a comparison with *a-tu-ri-si-ti*, a form which is inscribed in a vase from Knossos (KN Zb 5). Since Tylisos (Myc. *tu-ri-so*) is not far from Knossos, it is appealing to regard this container as 'Tylisian'. This adduces further support to the proposed interpretation of *j/a-di-ki-te-te-* as 'Diktaian'. Finally, the exact meaning of *ja-di-ki-tu* is not clear, but perhaps it is an accusative/allative construction involving only the name of the mountain. Here, evidence is scant and I must forego any additional analysis.

A 'Diktaian Master' hidden in Linear A seems to witness a Minoan predecessor of classical Diktaian Zeus. Apollodorus (I.1:6), Diodorus (5.70), and Hesiod (Theogony 468–480) report the mountain as the birthplace of the god: "Enraged at this, Rhea repaired to Crete,

To Cp. ma-di (KN As[1] 603 + 8157) and ka-pa₃-no (KN Df 1219), autochthonous Cretan anthroponyms in Linear B.

when she was big with Zeus, and brought him forth in a cave of Dikte" (Apol. I.1.6, translation by Sir James George Frazer 1921). This deity's ties with Dikte are also mentioned in the renowned Palaikastro Hymn. ¹⁶ In fact, Zeus is already described as *di-ka-ta-jo* di-we 'Diktaian Zeus (dat.)' in a much earlier Mycenaean text from Knossos (Fp[1] 1+31.2), which attests to a cult of the god in Late Bronze Age. Moreover, Mycenaean may retain similar names where a noun or toponym in the genitive case precedes a title of power: a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja, 'Lady of Athens', i.e., the goddess Athena (KN V 52.01; see Gulizio et al. 2001: 457 for an argument in favor of a genitive 'Aθανᾶς); da-pu₂-ri-to-jo po-ti-ni-ja, 'Lady of the Labyrinth' (KN Gg 702.02; Palmer 1961: 238-9); and si-to-po-ti-ni-ja, 'Grain Goddess' (MY Oi 701.03; Daniilidou 1986). Of course, I am not suggesting that the syntax of the language underlying Linear A and of Mycenaean Greek is the same, but that this sort of title and its construction seem to attest to a continuum, whereby Greek may have been influenced by its Cretan counterpart. It is also curious to note the parallel with the later use of Labranios as an epithet for Zeus ('the Kingly'?) in Cyprus.

4. The origin of the *Wanderwort*

For the origin of (-)du-pu₂-re and its relatives the fairest hypothesis is to reconstruct a proto-form $*\delta(u)Bar$ -. This would explain the delabialized Hittite and Luvo-Hittite forms from $*\delta aBara$ - as opposed to the spread of labialization in Minoan (-)du-pu₂-re. Moreover, it would conform to the persistence of Carian names in /-dubr/ (= Hellenized $-\delta v \beta \epsilon g \iota \varsigma$) and Lycian toponym Tuburehi/Tyberissos, in south-western Anatolia.

However, the geographical source of $*\delta(u)Bar$ - is not evident. The language of Linear A may have had some relatives in the southwestern part of Anatolia that were eventually displaced by successive attested Indo-European Anatolian languages, contributing, however, to pass on some administrative terminology to them. Whether the "homeland" of this migrating word is to be sought in the Aegean or in Anatolia (or even elsewhere) is an issue that will remain uncertain until further evidence is uncovered and, ultimately, this cultural *Wanderwort* has, by itself, nothing to add to our knowledge on the genetic affiliation of the Minoan language.

¹⁶ For a current bibliography see Furley and Bremer 2001.

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Abstract

The article concerns the Linear A form *j/a-di-ki-te-te-du-pu₂-re* which occurs in four stone libation tablets from Palaikastro, in eastern Crete. The starting point of the present analysis is the element (-)du-pu₂-re, which appears as a *Wanderwort* pertaining to the sphere of power and kingship, and is ultimately connected to the Hittite royal title *tabarna-llabarna-*. Hence, the whole form above should be rendered as 'Diktaian Master (dat.)' (vel. sim.), with clear reference to a Minoan deity predecessor of the later Diktaian Zeus.