

RELIGION IN THE ROOM OF THE CHARIOT TABLETS*

Understanding the nature of the references to divinities in the Room of the Chariot Tablets, or RCT, is complicated. In order to determine the nature of the religious references, one must first examine the contents of all the tablets in an attempt to determine the administrative cohesiveness of this archive.¹ We must ask whether this archive is similar to that of Pylos, in which records relating to the various administrative concerns of the palace were stored together over time (c. 5 months within an administrative period), or whether all of the RCT records were the result of a single, more temporally limited 'administrative push'. We may then better assess the purpose of the religious mentions contained therein.

The RCT is one of many tablet assemblages at Knossos. These assemblages (whether 'deposits', 'pre-archives' or 'archives') are not necessarily related to one another. The RCT seems to be both physically and temporally separated from the other archives at Knossos. Jan Driessen has identified the RCT as the earliest collection of Linear B tablets, based on archaeological, sphragistic, palaeographical, and prosopographical evidence that we find, taken together, persuasive. He dates the RCT records to LM II and argues that they were sealed by a fire destruction in LM III A:1.²

Geographically, the tablets of the RCT deal with several locations in the region surrounding Knossos. There is too wide a spread of tentatively located toponyms on the RCT tablets to suggest that the tablets form a geographically focused archive. The personal names, however, may provide some information. Driessen has examined the names and concludes that a far higher proportion of RCT names are Greek than in other tablet deposits at Knossos.³

* This paper, which represents a report of work in progress, had its origins in a paper delivered by T.G. PALAIMA, "The Three Most Important Mycenaean Religious Texts," Université de Nancy II, December 7, 1992, and was expanded upon in a second paper, "Animadversions on the Earliest Greek Religious Texts," Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Belgium, March 4, 1996. Since that time Kate Walsh has explored related topics in an M.A. thesis (*infra* n. 38), and recently Kevin Pluta has investigated archival implications and Joann Gulizio the cultic aspects of Athena and other RCT deities. Hence the current joint paper.

We thank Pierre Carlier and Jan Driessen for the opportunity to present the original papers, Cynthia Shelmerdine for comments and suggestions, and Jan Driessen for permission to work with the results of his study (*infra* n. 2) while they were still in proof. José Melena, as always, has been perceptive and provocative in discussing the Linear B texts from the perspective of his firsthand work with the tablets and their editorial histories. We profited especially from his three-week stay as visiting professor at PASP in October-November 1999. We remain responsible for the ideas presented in this paper and its shortcomings.

In this paper, we use the term 'historical' to refer to the state of ancient Greek religion as attested in the period after the introduction of Greek alphabetic writing.

1 We use the term "archive" here in its conventional sense. This term has been used in the past to describe the RCT tablet deposit. We are not suggesting that the RCT assemblage of tablets is a "true" archive. For an extensive discussion of the nature of Mycenaean archives, cf. T.G. PALAIMA, "'Archives' and 'Scribes' and Information Hierarchy in Mycenaean Greek Linear B," in M. BROSIUS and A.K. BOWMAN (eds), *Papers of the Workshop Archives and Archival Tradition: Concepts of Record-Keeping in the Ancient World* held at the Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents, Oxford University September 17-19, 1998 (OUP forthcoming) with further references. See also the discussion by J. DRIESSEN, "Data Storage for Reference and Prediction at the Dawn of Civilization? A Review Article with Some Observations on *Archives Before Writing*," *Minos* 29-30 (1994-95) 239-256. Likewise we use the term 'tablets' conventionally when referring generally to a collection of Linear B records, some of which may be nodules or labels.

2 See J. DRIESSEN, *The Scribes of the Room of the Chariot Tablets at Knossos: An Interdisciplinary Approach to the Study of a Linear B Deposit* (1999).

3 DRIESSEN (*supra* n. 2) 191-2.

Of course, a name does not necessarily imply ethnic or cultural identity, but at the very least the significantly higher percentage of potentially Greek names in the RCT should suggest that there is a corresponding higher percentage of Greeks present.⁴ According to Driessen, about 70%-90% of the names in the RCT are Greek.

Within the RCT, we are dealing with very fragmentary tablets covering a wide variety of subjects. The tablets are assigned to tablet series, the largest of which are the Sc and Vc series that concentrate on the assignment of chariots, horses and armor to individuals. We believe that although the Sc and Vc series constitute 33% of the tablets in the RCT, and in fact give the very room where they were found in the Palace of Minos its name, they are not necessarily the focus around which the archive is formed. That is, the tablets here may not form a purely 'military' archive. The contents of the other series include records of flocks of sheep, cattle and goats; listings of cloth, saffron, and workmen; tablets listing almost 10,000 liters of oil (Fp 7707), and offerings of grain (F 51) to deities and religious officials. Several of these series consist of only one or two tablets. Although a large percentage of the extant tablets belongs to the Sc and Vc series, we should not assume that the rest of the tablets must somehow be directly related to the military concerns of these two series. As a point of comparison to this distribution, the Eb and Ea series at Pylos comprise c. 160 out of c. 736 tablets, or 22% of the material, in the Archives Complex. If we add in the others of the E- series, we would attain a percentage close to that of the Sc and Vc series in the RCT, but we would be wrong to assume that the archive at Pylos is centered on the E- series and land allotment. Rather, land allotment is just one of many administrative *foci* within an assortment of documents. In this light, we may treat the size of the Sc and Vc series either as representing the one defining large-scale administrative activity of this archive, or we may view it as the result of the time of the administrative year when these texts were written and the RCT itself was destroyed. If the latter is true, we should consider the religious references in the RCT not strictly in a military context, but rather as being part of—and representative of—more general Mycenaean religious practice at Knossos at the time of the RCT destruction.

We are concerned here with the listings of divinities. Appendix 1 offers a transcription of the tablets from the RCT listing divinities thus far identified. Arguably the most interesting is V 52. The *recto* of this leaf-shaped tablet preserves the identifiable names of four gods, plus one partially preserved name, each followed by a "1." The gods listed are *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja*, *e-nu-wa-ri-jo*, *pa-ja-wo-ne*, and *po-se-da-o-ne*. At one time, *e-ri-nu-we* was written on the lower edge of the tablet, but was later erased. It is debated whether this text properly belongs to the RCT, but shortly we will give our reasons for thinking that it does.

The next tablet in appendix 1, F 51, is the only complete text in the RCT that consists of a list of offerings. Tablets in the Uc series may also be offering tablets, but these tablets are fragmentary and offer no identifiable names. Line 1 of the *verso* of F 51 lists *wa*, probably *wa-na-ka* (= 'wanaks'),⁵ and *po-ro-de-go-no*. Looking below *wa*, we see what may be a double offering to *di-we*, first HORD T 1, and then HORD T 4 Z 1, totalling T 5 Z 1. *wa* receives a significantly smaller offering than *di-we* (T 1 V 3 compared to T 5 Z 1), increasing the odds that this is the mortal 'wanaks'. On the right side of the tablet is *po-ro-de-go-no*, with *ma-qe* or *-ka* beneath. The sign in question, *qe* or *ka*, is a circle with a vertical line inside, but no trace of any horizontal lines, so it can best be read as *ka*. Based on the new still-unpublished tablet evidence from Thebes, Louis Godart and Anna Sacconi reconstruct this form as an abbreviated version of 'Mater Gâ', or 'Mother Earth', as found in Aeschylus' *Suppliants*.⁶ If we recall that the scribe of F 51 has already abbreviated *wa-na-ka-te* as *wa*, another abbreviation (albeit an otherwise

4 Likewise the 'Greek' names in the RCT have a marked 'martial' quality that seems to be related to the military contents of some of the RCT tablets: T.G. PALAIMA, "Mycenaean Militarism from a Textual Perspective. Onomastics in Context: *lawos*, *damos*, *klewos*," in *POLEMOS* 367-378.

5 This is based on parallels in other texts, particularly Lc 525 and Le 654. On one of these texts we have the term *wa-na-ka-te-ro* associated with the toponym *se-to-i-ja*. On the other text, there is simply a *wa* associated with *se-to-i-ja*. It is therefore assumed that this is what the *wa* stands for. Cf. also *wa* on inscribed stirrup jar EL Z 1 and sealing PY Wr 1480.

6 L. GODART and A. SACCONI, "Les dieux thébains dans les archives mycéniennes," *CRAI* (1996) 99-113.

unparalleled ‘compound’ of two monosyllables: *ma* and *ka* for *mater gâ*) would be somewhat less remarkable.⁷ Additionally, on TH Fq 240, *ma-ka* is listed with *de-go-no*, which might be related to *po-ro-de-go-no* found here with *ma-ka* in the RCT. We may be dealing here with an alternation like that seen in the official designations *ko-re-te* and *po-ro-ko-re-te*, where the *po-ro-* prefix distinguishes something like a ‘vice-mayor’ from a ‘mayor’. If the prefix *po-ro-* indicates some form of subordinate office, then *po-ro-de-go-no* may be a religious functionary. Thus on the *verso* of F 51, line 1 would list human officials, and line 2 divinities (Zeus and *ma-ka*).

The other religious references in the RCT are more fragmentary. This limits what we can deduce from them. Xd 97 lists *di-wi-je-ja* and *di-wi-ja*, or *Diwia*, the female counterpart of Zeus. *Di-wi-je-ja* by analogy with the masculine form *di-wi-je-u* in the Pylos tablets, may well refer to a functionary connected with the worship of *Diwia*. Xd 140 is a list of names, broken off at the right. The one complete name is *pa-ze*. The name *pa-ze* (< **padje*) is equivalent to *pa-de*, the divinity who is listed most often in the Knossos tablets and would seem to be of non-Greek origin. This name occurs on several tablets from the other tablet assemblages at Knossos. On tablets from other areas the theonym is written *pa-de*. Only in the RCT do we get the form *pa-ze*, which may again attest to the fact that the RCT is chronologically distinct and early.

Finally, there is also the peculiar tablet V 114. This tablet reads on one side *a-mi-ni-so pa-ze pe-da wa-tu*, and on the other side: *pa-ze a-mi-ni-so pe-da wa-tu*. The message here seems to translate as: “*Padje* is at/from Amnisos to/behind (*peda*) the town (*wastu*).” Whether this is a non-administrative text, or an otherwise unattested way to denote a specific time or an offering, we cannot say. In any event, it does further document the presence of *pa-ze* within the RCT.

What we can extract from these fragmentary texts is a corpus of divinities which in some way were significant to the Mycenaean at Knossos. These tablets are the full extent of the records of divinities in the RCT. All of these gods except *pa-ze* survive in some form into the historical Greek pantheon, suggesting that they were the gods of importance to the Mycenaean Greeks who dominate the tablets prosopographically. Several of these gods are non-Greek in etymology: *e-nu-wa-ri-jo*, *pa-ja-wo-ne*, *e-ri-nu-we*, and *pa-ze*. The first three of these non-Greek deities do survive into the later Greek pantheon: *Erinus* in close association with Demeter and *Enuwalios* and *Paiawon* as epithets linked with Ares and Apollo respectively. As for *pa-ze*, the presence of this theonym in the RCT, which is a Greek-dominated archive, may be related to the fact that this theonym (in the form *pa-de*) is one of the more frequently named divinities at Knossos, and therefore had acquired a fixed status in ‘Mycenaeanized’ Cretan religion. We cannot be absolutely certain that this deity is ‘Minoan’ in origin, although the fact that the deity is only attested so far at Knossos might be used in support of a Minoan origin. However, *pa-ze/pa-de*, an originally non-Greek deity, was firmly a part of the economic side of cult as recorded in the Greek records from Knossos from the earlier to the later stages of its extant history.

Appendix 2 offers a list of divinities in the RCT. Those that can be identified as having survived into the later Greek pantheon, or are apparent epithets or alternative forms of major divinities, are in bold print. The RCT, as you can see in appendix 2, has a rather high proportion of later Greek or etymologically Greek deities, including major Mycenaean ones, particularly *di-we* (Zeus), *po-se-da-o* (Poseidon), and perhaps *ma-ka* (Gâ?). We offer this list here for the broader picture it provides. Outside of the RCT at Knossos, ‘historical Greek’ divinities are scattered throughout the Knossos tablet deposits, but they occur among a good number of theonyms that are not identifiable in the historical Greek pantheon. In light of the fact that a Greek domination of the RCT archive is suggested by the personal names on the tablets, the overwhelming evidence of ‘historical Greekness’ among the RCT divine names might be used to argue that the RCT offers us a picture of ‘Mycenaean’ religion in an early stage at Knossos. We do not want to over-emphasize the evidence for continuity. However, because this is a Greek archive, and a rather high proportion of these divinities survive into the historical Greek pantheon, this may be an aspect of the RCT worthy of further study.

7 We must wait for the announced full publication of the Thebes material, before we can assess the context for the occurrence of *ma-ka* at Thebes and the degree of probability that it is a theonym.

Based on the Greek characteristics of the archive, its early date, and the varied contents of the records, we propose that these few references to divinities are related somehow to Mycenaean religious concerns. We suggest further that most of these refer to Mycenaean religious routine, and are not to be associated with the military character of the Sc and Vc series. The exception is V 52, which we do associate with the chariot tablets. Let us now look more closely at the divinities listed on V 52, in particular *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja*.

a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja is found on line 1 of KN V 52 followed by a raised vertical stroke, indicating, most likely, that she is the recipient of a single ('one') undesignated commodity. This is the only attestation of the sign sequence *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja* in the Linear B corpus. *Po-ti-ni-ja*, or 'potnia', is transparent in meaning.⁸ Problematical is the interpretation of the first element, *a-ta-na*. It has been viewed as either a dative singular ('Ἀθήνα) agreeing with *po-ti-ni-ja* in case and number, and referring specifically to the divinity Athena;⁹ or a genitive ('Ἀθήνας) referring to a toponym.¹⁰ We support the latter interpretation based primarily on the way in which *po-ti-ni-ja* occurs with other words in the Linear B corpus, and propose that the toponym referred to here is Athens in Attica.

The six Mycenaean terms that precede 'potnia' can always be construed as either place names or key aspects of cult, usually in the genitive case. Toponyms preceding 'potnia' include *da-pu₂-ri-to-jo*,¹¹ *ne-wo-pe-o*,¹² *po-ti]-a-ke-si*¹³ and perhaps *e-re-wi-jo*.¹⁴ A clear case where a cult aspect precedes potnia is *si-to-po-ti-ni-ja*, or "Mistress of the Grains" on MY Oi 701, where *si-to-* is most likely in the genitive plural. In addition, we accept Sucharski and Witczak's¹⁵ clever proposal that *u-po-jo* is connected etymologically to the Sanskrit *yúpa*—meaning 'a sacrificial post', or 'a sacred pillar.' *u-po-jo-po-ti-ni-ja*¹⁶ then means "Lady of the sacrificial post," most likely referring to a key identifying aspect of a particular cult of 'potnia'.

There are two instances in the Linear B tablets where *po-ti-ni-ja* is followed by adjectives modifying the divinity. On PY An 1281, 'potnia', in the dative singular, is modified by the adjective *i-qe-ja*,¹⁷ or "hippeia" and is interpreted as "potnia' of the horse." In this case, an aspect of a particular 'potnia' cult is defined by an adjective, just as Athena in historical Greece is worshipped sometimes as 'Ἱππεία or 'horsey'.¹⁸ This pattern is also seen in *po-ti-ni-ja a-si-wi-ja* or "Asian 'potnia'" on PY Fr 1206. It seems then that when a word precedes 'potnia', it is a locale or key cult aspect usually in the genitive, whereas terms that follow 'potnia' likewise define her particular cult aspect by means of an adjective or epithet describing her.

8 *Po-ti-ni-ja* is universally accepted as πότνια meaning "mistress" or "queen" and derived from the Indo-European root *pot-* relating to 'power'. Cf. L. BAUMBACH, "The Mycenaean Contribution to the Study of Greek Religion in the Bronze Age," *SMEA* 20 (1979) 151.

9 *Docs*² 126, 311, and 535; A.M. TICCHIONI, "Contributi Micenei," *SMEA* 21 (1982) 219; C. BOËLLE, "*Po-ti-ni-ja* à Mycènes," *Minos* 27-28 (1992-3) 285.

10 L. PALMER, *The Interpretation of Mycenaean Greek Texts* (1963) 239; M. GÉRARD-ROUSSEAU, "Les mentions religieuses dans les tablettes mycéniennes," *Incunabula Graeca* 29 (1968) 44-45; BAUMBACH (*supra* n. 8) 152.

11 Cf. KN Gg 702, Oa 745 and Xd 140. Palmer interprets *da-pu₂-ri-to-jo po-ti-ni-ja* as "Lady of Labyrinthos," or Λαβυρίνθου πότνια, cf. L. PALMER, *Mycenaean and Minoans* (1961) 238-9. It is clear that *da-pu₂-ri-to-jo* is a place name, based on its toponymic *-nthos* ending.

12 Cf. PY Cc 665. *ne-wo-pe-o* also occurs on PY Aa 786, Ab 554 and Ad 688, where it is clearly a toponym, functioning either as a locative or nominative of rubric.

13 Cf. PY An 1281. *po-ti-* is restored in this word based on the assumption that this word is a variant of *po-ti-ja-ke-e* on PY An 298.2 and 610.11 where it serves as a toponym. On PY An 1281, *po-ti]-a-ke-si* is probably a locative plural. Although the cases of *po-ti]-a-ke-si* and *ne-wo-pe-o* are uncertain, both are toponyms and therefore are placed in a position preceding *po-ti-ni-ja*.

14 Cf. PY Vn 48. *e-re-wi-jo* is one of the most obscure terms that precedes potnia and no definitive interpretation is agreed upon. VENTRIS-CHADWICK propose that it is the genitive plural of a toponym (cf. *Docs*² 545).

15 R.A. SUCHARSKI and K.T. WITCZAK, "*U-po-jo-po-ti-ni-ja* and the Cult of Baetyls," *Ziva Antika* 46 (1996) 5-12.

16 Cf. PY Fn 187, Fr 1225 and Fr 1236.

17 There is little debate about the meaning of *i-qe-ja* as "of the horse." This tablet was found in the Northeast Workshop where, based on the archaeological and tablet finds, activities relating to chariot working may have been organized, cf. C.W. BLEGEN and M. RAWSON, *The Palace of Nestor at Pylos in Western Messenia* Vol. 1 (1966) 319.

18 L.R. FARNELL, *The Cults of Greek States* (1896) 272; PAUSANIAS 1.30.4.

Therefore, since *a-ta-na* precedes *po-ti-ni-ja* on KN V 52, it seems likely that *a-ta-na* is referring to a place name in the genitive. If so, can *a-ta-na* be referring to the famous toponym of Athens in Attica? In Classical Greek, Athens is a plural noun, meaning that the genitive form in Linear B would be *a-ta-na-o*, not *a-ta-na*. Walter Burkert, however, discusses a group of historical place names ending in *-ηνη* that seem to illustrate a pre-Greek toponymic form in the singular.¹⁹ Examples include *Pallene*, *Messene*, *Troizen(e)*, *Cyrene* and *Mykene* (which notably is later pluralized to *Mykenai*). It is very likely that in the Mycenaean period, the name of the city of Athens was not yet pluralized and the genitive form would in fact be *a-ta-na*. In addition, the occurrence of Athens in the accusative singular in Homer's *Odyssey*²⁰ would point to an earlier use of the place name in the singular.

According to Stephanus of Byzantium,²¹ there are several known places in Greece in the historical period with the name Athens, the most famous being the one in Attica. But many of the different locales which he lists with the name *Athenai* seem to derive their toponyms from Athens in Attica, which has a strong autochthonous tradition and sufficient archaeological evidence dating back to a Bronze Age settlement.²² In addition, none of the attested sites is located on the island of Crete, and many in fact derive their names and their very existence from the historical Attic site, e.g. as colonies or cleruchies.²³ Therefore, there is a likelihood that *a-ta-na* refers to the well-known Athens in Attica, as opposed to a place on Crete unattested prehistorically or historically or any of the places named Athens mentioned by Stephanus. It is reasonable to propose then that *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja* is the 'potnia' of Athens in Attica, who later becomes the goddess Athena and whose cult later spreads widely throughout Greece.

In order to address the significance of *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja* on a Linear B tablet from Knossos, it is appropriate first to discuss the findspot of the tablet on which this divinity is found. Arthur Evans records the find context of KN V 52 as the RCT. Jan Driessen has called this context into question and removes V 52 from the RCT²⁴ for two reasons. First, the clay composition of V 52 differs significantly from that of the RCT tablets, including the presence of salt crystals found on it.²⁵ Second, the scribe of V 52 does not fit with the palaeographical class of scribes identified collectively by Olivier as Hand "124," who was responsible for the rest of the RCT tablets. José Melena has also noted that the stylus used on V 52, and the size and shape of this tablet are different from those of the RCT.²⁶ Melena believes that V 52 belongs to the Room of the Clay Larnax (also called the Room of the Clay Chest or Room of the Clay Basin)²⁷ partly because this area was being excavated on the same day that the RCT tablets were found and partly because Fp 48, originally assigned to the RCT, has since been correctly reassigned to the RCL.

Although these are strong arguments for removing V 52 from the RCT, there are also good reasons for believing that it belongs in the RCT. First, the puzzling text of V 52 corresponds well with the texts of the *•Vc* series that also come from the RCT. The entries on V 52 consist of a name followed by an indication of the quantity 'one'. This is consistent with

19 W. BURKERT, *Greek Religion* (1985) 139.

20 HOMER, *Od.* 7.80: *εὐρύαγριαν Ἀθήνην*.

21 STEPHANUS OF BYZANTIUM. Ἀθήναι. Cf. entries for *Athenai* in *RE* and *Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike* (Stuttgart 1996).

22 P.A. MOUNTJOY, *Mycenaean Athens* (1995).

23 K.F. KITCHELL, Jr., *Topographica Cretica: Topoi of Classical Crete with Testimonia*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Loyola University of Chicago (1977). Kitchell provides a catalog of all the known place names in historical Crete that begin with the letter A. Athens was not included among them.

24 DRIESSEN (*supra* n. 2) 20, n. 8.

25 The presence of salt crystals on V 52 was brought to our attention by Driessen via e-mail correspondence in December 1999. The salt may be due to contact with gypsum floor slabs: DRIESSEN (*supra* n. 2) 37.

26 Personal conversation with Jose Melena at PASP, October 1999.

27 J.-P. OLIVIER in *Scribes of Knossos* refers to this room as the Room of the Clay Chest, although it is also known as the RCB (Room of the Clay Basin: cf. DRIESSEN *supra* n. 25) and the RCL (Room of the Clay Larnax). We refer to it hereafter as the RCL.

the layout of the Vc series except that human beings are listed on the Vc series, while V 52 records divinities.²⁸ The fact that V 52 is religious in nature, however, stands in contrast to the Vc series and most other RCT tablets, and suggests that V 52 might represent a different kind of scribal assignment. This may account for the difference in hand, stylus, clay composition, and even format from other records in the RCT.²⁹

In addition, the hand of V 52 is unlike *all* the scribes at Knossos, so V 52 would be just as anomalous in the RCL as in the RCT. Just as all of the tablets in the RCT are by the group of scribes termed Hand “124,” all of the tablets in the RCL are written by Hands 138 and 139.³⁰ In addition, the format of V 52 is nothing like the Fp and Fs series found in the RCL. These record offerings of oil, wheat, barley and wine (indicated by their respective ideograms and quantities other than ‘1’) to various gods, sanctuaries or religious individuals.³¹ Given that the Fp and Fs series record offerings allotted to the religious sphere, it would seem fitting that KN V 52, clearly a religious tablet, would find an appropriate home among these tablets. However, the fact that there are no ideograms present on V 52 differs significantly from the RCL tablets. In addition, the tablets of the Fp and Fs series include the signs for T, S, V and Z, which refer to liquid and solid measurements. Again, V 52 does not have ideograms of this sort, perhaps suggesting that the commodity being offered cannot be any kind of foodstuffs that would require an indication of measured quantity. Therefore, we believe that on balance it is preferable to believe Evans’ original assignment and to place and interpret V 52 in the RCT along with tablets of the Vc series which are parallel in certain aspects of their contents.

As discussed above regarding divinities on other Knossos tablets, most of the deities in the other Knossos tablet locations do not recur in the later Greek pantheon. Indeed, they seem to be either Minoan or pre-Greek in origin, such as *pi-pi-tu-na* and *qe-ra-si-ja*, or local versions of apparently Greek divinities, such as Diktaian Zeus. This is not the case with the divinities on KN V 52 from the RCT. All of the V 52 deities are known in some form in the historical period. As mentioned earlier, Driessen demonstrates that a majority of the personal names in the RCT tablets are Greek.³² This then would make the “Greekness” of the divinities on V 52 more appropriate to the RCT, an archive with a distinctive Greek character.

The most intriguing aspect of the divinities on KN V 52 is that all of them survive in some form in the historical period of Greece. We can use the nature of these divinities in the mythology and cult of the historical period in order to try to understand why they are present together on a unique tablet in our earliest Knossian archive associated with tablets related to chariots, horses and armor.

Athena plays a significant role in historical times as a goddess of war. Her sphere of influence, first and foremost, is the city of Athens. She derives her name from that of the city for which she continues to act as protectress. This is exemplified in one of the more ancient

28 There is need for caution. Such reasoning may be circular, if V 52 was placed in the RCT by Evans before the decipherment of Linear B *because* its layout was similar to the Vc series. However, as will be demonstrated below, the fact that V 52 lists warlike divinities, specifically related to horses and chariots, provides an additional reason for placing this tablet with the Vc and Sc series.

29 There are clear cases of texts being brought to specific locations, most notably the Archives Complex at Pylos, and even of scribes of important religious texts documented by one or two tablets (e.g., Hand 44 at Pylos and Tn 316).

30 Also, all of the RCL tablets, with the exception of Gg 10, belong to the Fp or Fs series.

31 For instance, Fp 1 records offerings “to Diktaian Zeus” (*di-ka-ta-jo di-we*), “to the sanctuary of Daidalos” (*da-da-re-jo-de*), “to all the gods” (*pa-si-te-o-i*), “to Erinys” (*e-ri-nu*) and “to the Priestess of the Winds” (*a-ne-mo, i-je-re-ja*), as well as to some obscure, perhaps Minoan, divinities (*pa-de* and *qe-ra-si-ja*) and locales (*47-*da-de*). The other tablets in the Fp series also list oil offerings to many of the same gods as Fp 1, as well as some other clearly Minoan divinities, such as *pi-pi-tu-na* on Fp 13. Tablets of the Fs series may also be religious in nature and, although the names listed on them are not clearly divinities, there is good reason to assume that the Fs tablets also record offerings to gods or sanctuaries. Line 2 on Fs 8 records the name *pa-de*, which, based on its context on Fp 1, seems to be a divinity. Also, Fs 32 has the signs *da-da-re*[which might be reconstructed as *da-da-re-jo-de*, also found on Fp 1. By analogy, it can be inferred that some names, such as *a.*65-ma-na-ke* on Fs 3 and *a-ro-do-ro-o* on Fs 4, are divinities, while others with an allative suffix, such as *sa-na-to-de* are sanctuaries, conforming to the example of *da-da-re-jo-de*.

32 DRIESSEN (*supra* n. 2) 191.

depictions of Athena in the form of the Palladion, a small wooden statue of Athena housed in the Erechtheion. Interestingly enough, Pausanias makes mention of a ξόανov of Athena at Knossos made by Daidalos.³³

Athena is also the patron goddess of handicrafts, and she is credited with the invention of the chariot and bridle for the horse.³⁴ In mythology, Poseidon is the creator of the horse and Athena is the one who bridles it,³⁵ and as such they are connected in cult with “horsey” epithets. Athena Hippias and Poseidon Hippios are worshipped at a common altar at Colonos.³⁶ Athena is also worshipped at Olympia as Hippias, but here she shares an altar with Ares Hippios.³⁷ Since both Ares and Athena are war gods, it is possible that the Hippios/Hippias epithets refer to the role that horses play in warfare, that is as the pullers of chariots. This fits nicely with Athena’s connection to the bridle used to attach a horse to a chariot.³⁸ It may be no accident then that Athena, Poseidon and Enyalios, a divinity later associated with Ares, all appear on V 52 which, if it comes from the RCT, is associated with the Sc and Vc tablets, series with possible military connections, specifically horses and chariots. With this in mind, let us look briefly and more closely at the other divinities on V 52.

E-nu-wa-ri-jo is interpreted as the god Ἐνυάλιος, known in the historical period as an epithet of Ares, the god of war.³⁹ In the Bronze Age, Enyalios seems to be a separate divinity. Of the nine times Enyalios occurs in Homer’s *Iliad*,⁴⁰ four times he is found in a formula describing Meriones, one of the leaders of the Cretans,⁴¹ and it may be possible that Enyalios had a special connection with Crete during the Bronze Age.

Lastly *pa-ja-wo-ne* is an independent deity in the Bronze Age who later becomes associated with Apollo in the form of a cult hymn called the paean, “a healing hymn which appeases Apollo’s wrath.”⁴² In Homer’s *Iliad*, Παῖήων is called upon to heal the wounded Ares.⁴³ Here, also we have an instance where a divinity on V 52 may be connected to warfare, in this case the healing of war wounds. It seems likely then that the issue of warfare connects these four divinities on KN V 52.⁴⁴ This hypothesis works well with the nature of the Sc and Vc series which record armor, horses and chariots. Horses and chariots have strong and specific cult associations in the historical period with Athena, Poseidon, and Ares.⁴⁵ This hypothesis also draws support from the links in format between V 52 and the Vc series.

33 PAUSANIAS, *Desc.*, 9.40.3-4. This is one of several ‘mythological’ links between Athens and Knossos.

34 PAUSANIAS 8.46-7; ID. 2.4.1.

35 FARNELL (*supra* n. 18) 272-3.

36 PAUSANIAS 1.30.4 and 31.6.

37 PAUSANIAS 5.15.6.

38 The connection between the warlike divinities on KN V 52 and the military nature of the Sc and Vc series is also addressed by K. WALSH, *KN V 52: A Late Minoan II Reference to Athena and Poseidon*, M.A. thesis, UT Austin (1995).

39 Cf. BURKERT (*supra* n. 19) 171. Burkert states that Enyalios may be connected with a lesser divinity, Enyo, and believes that both Enyo and Enyalios may be pre-Greek/Cretan divinities. Enyo occurs in Homer’s *Iliad* at 5.333, where she is likened to Athena and at 5.592 as the companion of Ares. As late as Xenophon, Enyalios had a separate function in the sphere of war.

40 Enyalios does not occur at all in Homer’s *Odyssey*, suggesting that Enyalios has no place outside of a warlike context.

41 Cf. HOMER, *Iliad*, 2.651, 7.166, 8.264, 17.259: Μηριόνης τ’ ἀτάλαντος Ἐνυσάλιφ ἀδρειφόντη. This line appears to be an epic formula, so perhaps too much weight should not be given to the fact that Enyalios occurs so frequently in conjunction with a Cretan leader. However, Ruijgh has demonstrated that this line may be pre-Mycenaean based on two unusual characteristics: (1) the line will not scan properly unless the final φ of Ἐνυσάλιφ elides with the ἄ of ἀδρειφόντη and (2) ἀδρειφόντη is an artificial term based on ἀργειφόντη in order to compensate for the metrical difficulties caused by language change. For a full explanation, see C.J. RUIJGH, “D’Homère aux origines proto-mycéniennes de la tradition épique,” in J.P. CRIELAARD (ed.), *Homeric Questions: Essays in Philology, Ancient History and Archaeology* (1995) 85-88.

42 BURKERT (*supra* n. 19) 145.

43 HOMER, *Iliad*, 5.900.

44 The deity *Erinus*, originally written on the *lat. inf.* of V 52, also has ‘horsey’ connections. Cf. PALAIMA (*infra* n. 45).

45 On horse and chariot cult connected with Poseidon and Poseidon’s connections with Erinys, cf. T.G. PALAIMA, “Assessing the Linear B Evidence for Continuity from the Mycenaean Period in the Boeotian Cults of Poseidon (and Erinys) at Onchestos (Telpousa–Haliartos),” in J.M. FOSSEY and M.B. COSMOPOULOS (eds), *Boiotia Antiqua VII-VIII: Studies in Boiotian Archaeology, History, and Institutions* (forthcoming).

We then conclude that *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja* can reasonably be interpreted as the 'potnia' of the famous city of Athens in Attica and that the tablet on which she is found can be attributed to the RCT. It is significant for her early identity that she is found on a tablet among other divinities with warlike attributes in a context with records dealing with military allotments, horses and chariots. This already establishes as early as the 15th century B.C.E. the strong link to horses and warfare shared by the later cult of Athena with the cults of other deities appearing on V 52: Poseidon and Erinys (horses) and Paiawon and Enyalios (warfare). Finally it is significant that *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja* occurs in an archive with a distinctive Greek character with many divinities that are known in the later Greek pantheon. The implications of this argument for Mycenaean 'regional' presence in post LM IB Crete are intriguing and should be explored further.

Joann GULIZIO
Kevin PLUTA
Thomas G. PALAIMA