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A-re in the Linear B Tablets and the Continuity of the Cult of Ares in the Historical Period*

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Ares in the Classical period is known, first and foremost, as the god of war. In fact, he is so completely a warrior god that there is little evidence to suggest that he served a wider function in Greek religion or assumed other characteristics. This is unusual among the Olympian gods, none of whom, according to Farnell, are so narrowly specialized or so limited in function as Ares seems to be (Farnell 1896: 398). This is particularly interesting given that Ares is not considered in Archaic and Classical Greek religion to be the preeminent war deity; this position is assumed by Athena. In fact, Ares' status as a warrior is often portrayed in Greek literature as inferior to that of Athena. For instance, in the *aristeia* of Diomedes in *Iliad* 5, Athena assists Diomedes in the wounding of Ares, which sends Ares up to Olympus only to be reproached by Zeus as the most hateful of all the gods (Hom. *Il.* 5.835-909). This view of Ares among the ancient Greeks, as a purely specialized god of war and yet inferior to Athena, perhaps explains why his cult in the historical period, particularly on the Greek mainland, was not very widespread.

Relatively few temples to Ares are known in the Classical period, even in the area of Boeotia, where mythologically he plays an important role. Ares is involved in the foundation of Thebes where the mythical Cadmos slays the serpent, the offspring of Ares. The wrath of Ares is later propitiated by Cadmos, and ultimately reconciled with the marriage of Cadmos to Harmonia, daughter of Ares. Despite his prominent role in the foundation myth, there is little evidence for temples or sanctuaries to Ares in Boeotia (Schachter 1981: 91; Paus 9.10.5). Even Farnell notes that "the god appears to have had little hold on Theban devotion; no inscriptions or dedications from Thebes attest his influence nor

does his form or countenance appear on the Theban coins." (Farnell 1896: 401-402). Outside of Boeotia, some literary evidence provided by Pausanias attests to the cult of Ares on the mainland, including a shrine of Ares in Troizen (Paus. 2.32.9), a temple and grove of Ares in Geronthrae where he is honored annually with a festival (Paus. 3.22.6), an altar sacred to him in Arcadia (Paus. 8.32.3) and a sanctuary to Ares Theritas between Sparta and Therapnai (Paus. 3.19.7). Ares was also worshipped jointly with the goddess Aphrodite at Athens (Paus. 1.8.4) and on the road from Argos to Mantinea (Paus. 2.25.1). They are also connected mythologically in the Song of Ares and Aphrodite in Homer's *Odyssey* (*Od.* 8.266-369) and in the *Theogony* of Hesiod (*Th.* 933-937). However, the evidence for the cult of Ares, both literary and archaeological, is scanty in comparison to the other Olympian gods (for a full account of the cult places of Ares, see Pauly 1996: 1050).

Given his unpopularity in mainland Greek religion, it is perhaps surprising that Ares' cult is somewhat more prominent on the island of Crete. For instance, a festival to Ares called the *Hekatomphonia* was celebrated at Biannos. Here his cult was particularly prominent, enough to infer that the temple to Ares was the most important in the area. There was also temple to Ares built on a ridge at Knossos and a cult of Ares at Gortyn (for a brief but thorough account of the cults of Ares on Crete, see Willetts 1962: 286). In particular, Ares on Crete is often connected in cult with the goddess Aphrodite, especially in areas of central Crete. For instance, at Knossos there was a cult to Ares and Aphrodite dating back to the mid-fifth century, and at Dreros there is evidence for an oath invoking both Ares and Aphrodite among a list of other divinities (see Willetts 1962: 284-286).

That is not to say that his presence on Crete in the historical period is more significant than that of the other Olympian gods. As on the mainland, his cult even on Crete is subordinate to divinities such as Zeus, Athena, and Apollo, but there is sufficient evidence for his worship on this island, where in many cases such evidence is lacking on the mainland.

The presence of Ares on Crete, particularly in the central regions, is interesting in light of the Linear B evidence for this god. The only two occurrences of the name *a-re* in the Linear B tablets are from the palace at Knossos. On KN Fp 14, *a-re* is generally accepted as a theonym corresponding to the god Ares, but there is some doubt as to whether *a-re* is a theonym or an anthroponym on KN Mc 4462 (Auro Jorro 1985: 1.96). In addition to these two occurrences, the term *a-re* is also present as an element of various theophoric names from Thebes, Mycenae, Knossos, and Pylos, further attesting to the presence of this divinity in the Mycenaean pantheon.

On KN Fp 14 from the Room of the Clay Chest, *a-re* is found among other divinities in the dative case¹ as a recipient of a quantity of oil (after Killen and Olivier 1989: 192).

Fp 14 .1a me-no OLE
.1b a-ma-ko-to, /jo-te-re-pa-to, // e-ke-se-
si v 1
.2 qe-ra-si-ja s 1 a-mi-ni-so-de, /pa-si-te-o-i
s 2 a-re v[

"In the month of Hamaks (?),
thus they [verb (offer?)]
quantities of oil
to e-ke-se-si (a theonym?) 1.6
liters, to qe-ra-si-ja
(theonym) 9.6 liters,
to Amnisos to all the gods
19.2 liters, to Ares less than
9.6 liters ..."²

The religious nature of this tablet is fairly evident given that it belongs to a series of tablets, nearly all of which have clear religious significance and record offerings of oil to various gods, sanctuaries or religious individuals. Given

the religious nature of this series and the presence of the divinities *pa-si-te-o-i* and *qe-ra-si-ja* on this tablet, there is little doubt that *a-re*, which is serving the same function on the tablet as *pa-si-te-o-i* and *qe-ra-si-ja*, is also a theonym, in this case referring to the god Ares. It should also be noted that on this tablet Ares' cult is localized at Amnisos, and based on his position on this tablet and the quantity of his offering, Ares is subordinate to 'all the gods' at Amnisos.

The term *a-re* is also found on line .B of KN Mc 4462, one of a series of tablets which come from the Arsenal at Knossos. The Mc series records several different commodities and seems to follow a standard formula for registering these items. This formula is best exemplified by Mc 4455 (after Killen and Olivier 1989: 249):

Mc 4455.A 'a-pa-sa-ki-jo' *150 28 CAP^f 17
.B ku-ta-to/ *142 M 12 CORN 24

The first line of the Mc 4455 begins with the name of a collector (Olivier 1967: 331), *a-pa-sa-ki-jo*, written on a slightly smaller scale and the second line records a place-name written in majuscule, *ku-ta-to*. These words are followed by four different commodities which occur in a fixed order. *150 and CAP^f are found on the first line following the collector's name and *142 and CORN on the second line after the place-name. The ideogram CAP^f represents a female goat and CORN is the ideogram signifying goat horns. The signs *150 and *142 have not been definitively determined, but Melena has persuasively argued that *150 represents male wild goats (as opposed the female goats indicated by CAP^f) and *142 refers to the tendons of a goat (Melena 1972: 39-46).

Mc 4462 deviates somewhat from the regular formula used on the Mc series, particularly in the addition of the term *a-re* after the place name in line .2 (after Killen and Olivier 1989: 250):

Mc 4462.A 'jra-wo-qo-no' *150 61 CAP^f 30 []
.B ti-]ri-to/ a-re *150 1 *142 M 26 CORN
52[

Like Mc 4455, Mc 4462 records the name of a collector (*ra-wo-qa-no*) on line 1, followed by a quantity of *150 and CAP² and on line 2, a place name (*ti-jri-to*) and quantities of *142 and CORN. However, Mc 4462 records an additional quantity of *150 in the second line preceded by the term *a-re*.³ Killen has suggested that the extra quantity of *150 may reflect an amount of this commodity that will be set aside to be offered to Ares (Killen forthcoming). In addition, Melena has offered a rather convincing interpretation of the Mc series which "seems to be records of raw materials needed in chariot-building and temporarily stored in the Arsenal." (Melena 1972: 54). He proposes that *150 and CAP² refer not to the goats themselves, but to the skins of the animals. These skins, along with the tendons (*142) and horns (CORN) of the goats, would have been used to make various chariot parts, such as reins and harnesses, which were needed to complete the assemblage of chariots stored in the Arsenal. It would not be unusual then for *a-re*, as the theonym Ares, to be present for whatever reason on a tablet in an archive associated with chariot-making (Killen forthcoming), given the obvious connections of both chariots and the god Ares to warfare.⁴

It is also worth mentioning that the collector on Mc 4462, *ra-wo-qa-no* has a name that is associated with military affairs.⁵ As mentioned by Palaima, such personal names, particularly names of 'collectors' who are individuals of high economic, social and political status, may be used to help interpret the function of certain tablets (Palaima 1999).⁶ If, as suggested by Palaima, the name of *ra-wo-qa-no* is indicative of the sphere of activity through which ultimately he or his family attained economic prominence, i.e. in military affairs, it would support both the reading of the Mc tablets as raw materials for military equipment and the reading of *a-re* on the same tablet as the god of war. Finally, one last argument in favor of interpreting *a-re* as a theonym: it seems more than unusual in the Linear B texts, and in theophorics in the Classical Greek period, for a man to have the same name as a god. As will be

demonstrated below, anthroponyms based on divine names are rarely, if ever, the name of the god himself. So it seems unlikely that on Mc 4462 *a-re* could refer to a man with the same name as the god Ares.

Although there are only two mentions of the name *a-re* in the Linear B tablets, both of which occur on tablets from Knossos, there is evidence for the existence of this divinity in the form of theophorics (Ilievski 1999). Theophorics derived from Ares are found on tablets from Thebes (*a-re-i-ze-we-i* on TH Of 37), Mycenae (*a-re-su-ti-jo* on MY Au 609), and Pylos (*a-re-i-jo* on PY An 656, *pa-na-re-jo* on Fn 867, and perhaps *e-u-wa-re*⁷ on Jn 693). In addition, two theophorics based on Ares occur on inscribed stirrup jars which were found at Thebes, but are of Cretan manufacture (*a-re-me-ne* on TH Z 852 and *a-re-i-me-ne* on TH Z 849 and 851).⁸ In contrast to the relative rarity of Ares-names at mainland sites, theophoric names derived from Ares are particularly common at Knossos. *ja-re-jo*, which can be interpreted as the final portion of a man's name *-*apeios*, occurs on KN Vc 208 and *a-re-i*, the initial portion of an anthroponym, occurs on Vc 7615, both of which were found in the Room of the Chariot Tablets (RCT). In addition, *a-pi-ja-re*, which can be interpreted either as 'Αμφιάρης (complete) or 'Αμφιαρεύς (incomplete) a compound of *ἀμφι-* and the god Ares, is found on two fragmentary tablets (KN Xd 94 and X 7568) from the RCT. Many of the tablets from the RCT, especially those of the Sc and Vc series, record the disbursement of military equipment (corselets, chariots and horses indicated by the ideograms TUN, BIG, and EQU on the Sc series) to various individuals. It is particularly interesting that four theophorics derived from the name Ares are found on tablets in an archive concerned with military matters (Driessen 1999). Outside of the RCT, two other theophorics derived from Ares occur at Knossos. *a-re-i-jo* is found on KN Le 641 from Magazine XV and the name *pa-na-re-jo*, which is generally accepted as *Παν-ἀρειος, is found on several

Knossos tablets including As 1516 and 1517, U 4478 and V 1004.

As Railsback demonstrates, the proportion of theophorics derived from Ares is strikingly higher at Knossos than at Pylos:

In tablets from the [Room of the Chariot Tablets], Zeus accounts for 5 [theophorics], Ares for 4, and Hera possibly for one, but no other theophorics are used. ... The numbers from the rest of Knossos are similar, with 5 of Zeus, 5 of Ares, 2 from *θεο-*, and one from Dionysus. On the mainland, however, the picture changes. At Pylos, theophorics from Zeus are still the most frequent by far with 7 (+ the 13 in Es tablets), but Ares is less prominent than at Knossos with only 2 (Railsback 1997: 60).

It is interesting to note that Ares is one of the most frequently used names in Mycenaean theophorics, second only to Zeus. Ares' prominence at Knossos is equally noteworthy, particularly given the importance of his cult on Crete in the Classical period and the lack of widespread Ares worship on the mainland. In order to explain this situation, it is necessary to discuss one other possible mention of Ares in the Linear B tablets: *a-re-ja* on PY Tn 316.

a-re-ja appears immediately after *e-ma-a₂* on Tn 316 and is generally understood as *'Αρείας, an epithet derived from the divinity 'Αρης. Gérard-Rousseau differs in believing that *a-re-ja* is an adjective derived from the noun *ἀρος*—"growth, advantage, profit" (Gérard-Rousseau 1968a: 39; 1968b: 597). Her interpretation is based mainly on the fact that *a-re-ja* does not seem to agree in case and number with *e-ma-a₂* and she therefore proposes that both words are neuter plurals interpreted as "présents occasionnels supplémentaires." Heubeck, however, refutes Gérard-Rousseau's interpretation stating that in Mycenaean Greek *ἐρμια* would

have to be written **e-ma-ja* and that *-a₂* cannot be read other than as *-ha(i)* (Heubeck 1970: 812). Given the frequency of theophorics derived from Ares in the Linear B tablets, it is not unreasonable to see *a-re-ja* as an epithet based on the name of this god. Contrary to the concerns of Gérard-Rousseau, *a-re-ja* can stand as an epithet in apposition to the male divine name *e-ma-a₂* if it is read as a masculine long *-a-* stem noun. It seems then that *'Αρείας conforms to a *veavias*-type formation. So *ar-es-* as a nominal stem becomes adjectival *ar-es-io*, with a noun formation in *-ας* (Leukart 1994: 213, 231-3).⁹ It seems very likely then that *a-re-ja* on Tn 316 is an epithet associated with the name Ares and designates Hermes as "characterized by qualities of Ares," whether Ares refers to the god himself or the abstract noun meaning "throng of battle" or "war" (Burkert 1985: 169).

Based on the Linear B evidence, then, several points can be made about the presence of the god Ares in the Bronze Age. In at least one instance (KN Fp 14), *a-re* can clearly be identified as a theonym (localized at the site of Amnisos). The identification of *a-re* as Ares on KN Mc 4462 is perhaps less certain, but it seems likely that *a-re* here refers to the god Ares given his clearly divine status on KN Fp 14 and the possible military associations of the Mc series. In addition, because *a-re* often occurs in Mycenaean theophorics, it seems less likely that on Mc 4462, the name of the god himself is being used as an anthroponym, and not in a derivative or compound form. It also worth reiterating the frequency with which Ares is used in Mycenaean theophorics, particularly at Knossos, the only site where the name of this god occurs. There is also a higher frequency of theophorics derived from the name Ares at Knossos than at Pylos. This is particularly interesting given the relative prominence of Ares' cult on Crete in the Classical period.

It is difficult to assess the significance of the correlation between the prominence of *a-re* at Knossos in the Bronze Age and the presence of Ares on Crete in the historical period. At best, it

shows the persistence on Crete of a tradition of Ares worship. The fact that his cult is not as prominent on the mainland perhaps suggests a reluctance on the part of the mainland Greeks to fully incorporate the cult of Ares and raise him to a level of distinction. This is clearly reflected in the literature of the historical period, particularly Homer where "Ares is contrasted with Athena time after time, usually to his disadvantage" (Burkert: 1985: 169). This reluctance may also be reflected in the Classical period by the numerous occurrences of Ares in the form of an epithet of another Greek divinity. For instance, in an Arcadian inscription (*IG*, V 2, 343; Cauer and Schwyzer 1923: 322, no. 665) recording a treaty between Orchomenos and Euaimon, Zeus Areios, Athena Areia and Enyalios Areios are invoked several times in the formula of an oath. Athena is called Areia in Attica near the Areopagus (Paus. 1.28.5) and at Olympia, Zeus Areios has an altar attributed to him (Paus. 5.14.6). In addition, Pausanias mentions a temple to Aphrodite Areia in Lakonia where the wooden images are as ancient as any in Greece (Paus. 3.17.5). The tendency on the part of the mainland Greeks to relegate Ares to a lesser status may also be reflected on the Linear B tablets, particularly those from the mainland. On Tn 316, Ares occurs in the form of an epithet to Hermes. Unlike the Cretans who more willingly incorporated the cult of Ares into their local religious practices (as suggested by his presence in the Knossos Fp series among either Minoan or pre-Greek divinities or local versions of apparently Greek deities), the mainland Mycenaeans did not whole-heartedly accept Ares' cult. Instead, the Mycenaeans, noticing similarities with a warlike *e-ma-a₂*, connected *a-re* to *e-ma-a₂* and relegated Ares to an epithet status. Of course, the evidence available to us is not sufficient to prove the validity of this hypothesis, but it does help to explain why *a-re* does not occur on the tablets from the mainland,

even though the presence of his cult at mainland sites is suggested by various theophorics derived from his name.

NOTES

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¹ *pa-si-te-o-i* is clearly in the dative case and therefore provides the model from which the cases of *qe-ra-si-ja* and *a-re* are determined. However, Killen (forthcoming) has convincingly argued that *a-re* is a nominative of the rubric. He questions the validity of Homeric parallels for an **Αρης*, **Αρην*, **Αρη* inflexion suggesting that **Αρη* in Homer may be either an old form or a more recent one resulting from a contraction of **Αρη̄ < *Αρηh*. Using *pa-de* as a parallel, he believes it is simpler to take *pa-de* and *a-re* as nominatives of the rubric of *s*-stems and *pa-de-i* and *a-re-i* (*me-ne*) as their datives. In either case, *a-re* should be read as a 'dative of recipient' based on the parallel of *pa-si-te-o-i* on this tablet, regardless of whether the form itself is a dative or nominative of the rubric.

² The translation of this tablet is my own and is based primarily on the commonly accepted meanings provided by Auro Jorro (1985).

³ The same type of deviation occurs on Mc 4454 which contains an additional quantity of **150* on the second line

preceded by the ideogram *da*. Olivier (1967: 331) has proposed that *da* on this tablet may be an abbreviation for the collector *da-wo-no* listed on this tablet. It should also be noted that Mc 4459 also has an additional word (*qe-wa-ra*) following the place name on line 2. *qe-wa-ra* may be a personal name, and for this reason it has been suggested that, like *qe-wa-ra*, *a-re* is also an anthroponym. However, as Killen (forthcoming) notes, Mc 4459 does not record an additional quantity of **150*, as on Mc 4454 and 4462, and therefore *a-re* and *da* may require a different explanation from *qe-wa-ra*.

⁴ It should be noted that there is no direct evidence in the Linear B tablets suggesting that *a-re* in the Bronze Age was a warlike divinity. However, as mentioned previously, the only real characteristic of Ares in the historical period is that of a warrior god and there is little evidence to suggest that he served a wider function in Greek religion or assumed other characteristics. It is reasonable to assume then that he may have served the same function in the Bronze Age, especially since his name alone, which seems originally to have been an ancient abstract noun meaning "throne of battle" or "war," may be suggestive of his earliest function. See also the references to Ares and theo-

phoric names derived from Ares in the 'military archives' of the RCT.

⁴ *ra-wo-qa-no* is generally accepted as **Λαλοχ^ωονος*, meaning the "slayer of the fighting host." It is also attested on KN B 797 and in the genitive case (*ra-wo-qa-no-jo*) on KN D1 928 and D 1650, so the name on Mc 4462 is probably complete.

⁴ For example, Palaima states that "while not decisive in determining whether to interpret KN As 1516 as a record of military personnel or a record of supervisors of industrial (bronze-) workers, the occurrence in the text of two *lawos*-names and a theophoric in *ares* lends some support to the military reading" (Palaima 1999: 373-374).

⁴ *e-u-wa-re* may be a compound of *εὐ* and **Αρης*, but Ilievski suggests that it may be connected to the stem of *δροπίσκω* (Ilievski 1999: 307).

⁴ *a-re-i-me-ne* can also be read as *a-re-zo-me-ne*, as supported by Sacconi (1974), Catling et. al. (1980) and Hallager (1987), in which case this name should not be considered a theophoric.

⁴ I would also like to thank Dr. Mark Southern for his assistance in clarifying for me the linguistic morphology of *a-re-ja* via personal correspondence, April 2000.

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i-je-ro and Related Terms

Amanda Krauss

I. Introduction

The reconstruction of ritual practices and religious notions in Aegean prehistory has been a topic of major concern to prehistorians. From the time of Nilsson's *A History of Greek Religion* (Nilsson 1952), the main sources have been iconographical and artifactual. Most scholars of Bronze Age religion have chosen to focus on the relationship between art and religion. Two of the most recent books, both by Marinatos, have attempted to reconstruct ritual practices by examining the iconography of Aegean sites (Marinatos 1984 and 1993). In addition, Linear B has provided a textual source which helps to flesh out our picture of early Greek religion. Gérard-Rousseau was the first to collect the references in her 1968 book (Gérard-Rousseau 1968), and Ventris and Chadwick provided their own interpretation in a chapter of *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* (Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 125-129). The recent discovery of sealings containing religious references at Thebes has provided an opportunity to re-evaluate the evidence found in Linear B. Here we shall investigate the meanings of sacred terms in Mycenaean prehistory and early Greek history, paying special attention to fundamental notions connected with what is deemed 'holy' or 'sacred'.

First, I shall briefly review the etymological and Indo-European background to

ἱερός, the main word used to convey the notion of 'holiness' in historical Greek. It will be most expedient to use García-Ramón's discussion from his most current article, since it provides a succinct overview of the word's history. For a more in-depth discussion of ἱερός see his 1987 article (García-Ramón 1987). The Indo-European root of Greek of ἱερός is generally agreed upon as *H₁ish₂-. García-Ramón further refines it to *h₁ish₂-, a root which, from comparative Vedic evidence, has the oldest meaning of 'to put in motion.' The relationship between motion and the realm of the religious will be discussed later in this paper. To form the adjective, *hieros*, the adjectival *-ro-* suffix is added, and the final laryngeal drops out due to the rule *H>0/s R*, producing *isros as the underlying predialectal form. The various dialects produced different outcomes from this underlying form. Ionic/epic ἱερός and Lesbian ἱρος show the underlying form most clearly, probably having developed through the transitional *ἱρορος. However, ἱερός implies a development from *is-ros to *is-eros. García-Ramón notes the *-ro/-ero-* development is well attested according to the Caland system. Finally, Doric dialects show ἱερός, which García-Ramón explains by syllabification analo-