

ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ ΑΘΗΝΩΝ
ΚΕΝΤΡΟΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΤΗΤΟΣ

ΣΕΙΡΑ ΜΟΝΟΓΡΑΦΙΩΝ

6

ΔΩΡΟΝ

ΤΙΜΗΤΙΚΟΣ ΤΟΜΟΣ ΓΙΑ ΤΟΝ ΚΑΘΗΓΗΤΗ
ΣΠΥΡΟ ΙΑΚΩΒΙΔΗ

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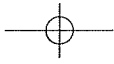


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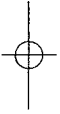
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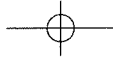


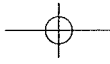


ΔΩΡΟΝ

ΤΙΜΗΤΙΚΟΣ ΤΟΜΟΣ ΓΙΑ ΤΟΝ ΚΑΘΗΓΗΤΗ
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CONTINUITY FROM THE MYCENAEAN PERIOD IN AN HISTORICAL BOEOTIAN CULT OF POSEIDON (AND ERINYS)

As is well known, Spyros Iakovidis has always been very interested in the full range of Mycenaean culture and its place within the Hellenic tradition, past and present. He has also been interested in detailing the archaeological evidence for what leading researchers call ‘the horse of Poseidon’¹, i.e., the terrible earthquake damage that might have contributed to the demise of Mycenaean palatial culture. I offer this exploration into continuity of an unusual cult of Poseidon in Boeotia from the Bronze Age into the classical period, as a modest tribute to the great breadth of vision and exacting care in research of Professor Iakovidis.

Much of the evidence from the Linear B tablets for religion² can be connected with an extra-palatial element of Mycenaean religious ritual or at least to sanctuary sites out in the landscape and outside the immediate orbit of the palatial centers. The worship of Dionysos is attested in a theophoric name on KN tablet Dv 1501. The reference is to a shepherd on Crete. This at least indicates that religious feeling for Dionysos reached population groups outside the palatial centers and at levels below the upper-class elites at these palatial centers.

A new join to Pylos tablet Ea 102 now gives evidence that a shrine of Dionysos with a sacrificial altar existed outside the environs of the palatial center. The more famous Khania tablet Gq 5 lists consignments of amphorae of honey to Zeus and Dionysos by use of the allative form of *di-wi-jo* meaning ‘to the sanctuary of Zeus’. There is no precise specification of location for this sanctuary, but the main religious offering texts from Knossos and Pylos give ample evidence for palatial recording of the movement/consignment of oil, honey, and ritual vessels. Moreover, sacred functionaries are directed for clearly religious purposes to sites and designated sanctuaries away from the palatial centers proper.³

At Knossos oil and honey are allocated: to *Diktaean Zeus*; to *the sanctuary of Daidalos*; to **47-da*; to *Dikte*; to *da-*83-ja*; to *Amnisos*. At Pylos oil and sacred golden vessels are offered: to *Sphagianes*; (by?) *the Lousian fields*; to *ti-no*; to *the sanctuary of Zeus*; to *me-ki-to*; to *the sanctuary of Poseidon, the sanctuary of pe-re-*82, the sanctuary of Iphemedeia, the sanctuary of Diwia; the sanctuary of Zeus (with Hera and Drimios)*. This pattern of evidence conforms to what we understand from the study of the ‘epithets’ of *po-ti-ni-ja* who is identified and differentiated in the palatial Linear B records partly by the specific locales (*a-ta-na*, *a-si-wi-ja*, *ne-wo-pe-o*, *pa-ki-ja-ne*) where her worship is practiced and her divinity felt.

1. Nur and Cline 2000 with references to Iakovidis
passim.

2. Cf. Palaima 2004.

3. Hiller 1981.



A very telling point should be made from tablet PY Jn 829, which according to its heading lists the future ‘giving’ of used ‘temple’ bronze (the adjectival term *na-wi-jo* here is conventionally translated—it is derived from the noun *nawos* which in historical Greek means ‘temple’) for conversion into ‘points’ for spears and javelins.⁴ For our purposes, it is worth noting that the tablet clearly proves that in each of the sixteen districts into which Pylian Messenia was divided, sacred areas (*nawoi*) existed that supplied used bronze periodically to the palace. About these ‘sacred areas’ we have no archaeological or textual evidence. But PY Jn 829 (and Tn 316 and the Fr tablets) confirms their existence in Messenia, and there is no reason to believe that Mycenaean Boeotia would not have shown a similar wide distribution of localized cult sites throughout its extent.

We can explain in several ways the disappearance or near disappearance of many of the minor deities and even hero figures who are attested in Linear B in the contexts of the series related to religious ‘offerings’ (*do-po-ta*; *ti-ri-se-ro*; *qo-wi-ja*; *ma-na-sa*; *di-ri-mi-jo*; *e-ri-nu*; *pa-de*; *qe-ra-si-ja*; *pi-pi-tu-na*):

- (1) some of these deities, like the different localized manifestations of female divinity identified as *po-ti-ni-ja*, had a divine presence and power specific to given minor locales; in the period between the collapse of Mycenaean palatial culture and the rise of historical *polis* culture, their worship disappeared as settlements in specific areas were abandoned or as populations shifted;
- (2) their worship atrophied through time and was later subsumed into the worship of other more prominent deities;
- (3) some of these deities were intimately linked with the palatial centers and consequently disappeared when the palatial system collapsed.

For the third process, we can cite as a parallel the disappearance or transformation of various official titles associated directly with the social structure imposed by the palatial system (e.g., *ko-re-te*, *po-ro-ko-re-te*, *o-pi-te* < *u* > *ke-e-u*, *ra-wa-ke-ta*, *da-mo-ko-ro*) and the disappearance or transformation of terms for crafts specialization which could only be supported by the economic system that developed within the central-palatial scheme of regional organization (*ku-wa-no-wo-ko*, *a-pu-ko-wo-ko*, *a-ke-ti-ri-ja*, *ko-u-re-ja*).⁵

For the first two processes we can, of course, cite the exception of the apparent survival at the site of Amnisos of the worship of the deity Eileithyia (attested as *e-re-u-ti-ja* in KN Fp 1+31)⁶ and the existence in historical times in Arcadia of the cult of Demeter *Erinus*. At least some of the peculiar local cults attested by Pausanias were the result of such historical survival or syncretism *at the local level*.⁷ This I think is how the historically attested Boeotian cult of Poseidon (and *Erinus*) at Onchestos (and Telphousa-Haliartos) originated.

4. For the text of Jn 829 and a basic discussion of it, cf. Ventris and Chadwick 1973, 357-358, 511-514.

5. Morpurgo Davies 1979.

6. Gérard-Rousseau 1968, 101-102, and *Od.* 19.188-190.

7. Gérard-Rousseau 1968, 104.



 CONTINUITY IN BOEOTIAN CULT OF POSEIDON (AND ERINYS)

Given our inability to identify from survey localized cult sites in the landscape of Bronze Age Messenia, despite several intensive survey projects, and given the attestation of their existence in tablets such as PY Tn 316 and PY Jn 829, we should not be overly disturbed that the Mycenaean remains from the site of Onchestos do not readily reveal evidence of cult practice. In fact, we do not know what rural cult sites would look like in surface survey data or whether they would have special built structures that would leave distinctive and diagnostic remains in the archaeological record.

One final point needs to be made. Given the relative paucity of documentation of 'religion' in the Linear B tablets, we should not overlook possible evidence simply because it does not come from the specific region we are studying. John Killen long ago established that the close similarity in the Linear B tablets between Knossos and Thebes in the names of 'collectors' and in derivatives of collector names used to designate specialist work-groups most likely indicated a common pool of names of members of the elite class in the separate Mycenaean palatial territories and no doubt close associations among the ruling elites.⁸ This certainly fits with the shared features of culture we see in the archaeological record, including, but not limited to, the *megaron* architectural form as the central focus of palatial power symbolism and ritual. We should not forget that such close ties would also promote the spread and sharing of other cultural ideas, including religious beliefs and practices.

The historical literary evidence from the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* and the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* for the Poseidon cult at Onchestos (and at Telphousa-Haliartos) exhibits a similar nexus of associations among Pylos, Knossos and Boeotia that has up to now been inexplicable. It can be best explained, in my opinion, as traces of social and cultic interconnections from the period when such contacts would have been most firmly established: the Mycenaean palatial period.

We can move ahead with some confidence in tracing possible evidence for the survival of a particular cult from the Mycenaean period into historical times because we can at least be sure that certain basic cultural notions were retained with greater or lesser modifications during this transition. The corollary to the disappearance of names for specialized institutions, materials, crafts, artifacts and officials associated inextricably with the palatial system is the survival in some cases of those that were not, e.g. the fundamental social institution known as the *damos*.⁹

Walter Burkert¹⁰ has advanced the idea that the terms *theos* and *hieros* used by the Mycenaean and later Greeks peculiarly among Indo-European cultures to refer respectively to the 'concept of god' and to the abstract notion of 'the holy' are in fact coinings of the Greek-speakers in the Bronze Age under the influence of the cultures with whom they came into contact when they entered the Balkan peninsula. The early Greek use of *theos* and compounds derived from its root **thes*, according to Burkert, clearly indicates a sense of an

8. Killen 1979, 176-179.

9. Cf. Lejeune 1965.

10. Burkert 1997.



apparitional aniconic divine presence, one in keeping with reconstructions of the Minoan sense of deities. This notion of divinity then Burkert would see as a borrowing or adaptation at least from Minoan culture.¹¹ Since there is no etymological link possible with the unidentified Minoan language(s), one cannot even rule out the possibility that this apparitional notion of deity was a wider spread common pre-Greek Aegean phenomenon, for which our main iconographical and architectural evidence comes from Minoan high culture.

Burkert traces the development of the need for, and use of, iconic representation of divine powers to what Wright, 1994, would classify as ‘popular’ or ‘public’ or ‘extra-palatial’ beliefs concerning ‘deity’ that developed late in the Mycenaean palatial and post-palatial period. Burkert sees this as a crucial cultural point of transition, the lasting effects of which are manifest in the cult statues of historical Greek sanctuaries. Accepting such a view in general, if not in all particulars, has important consequences for our purposes here. The underlying reason that the vocabulary for fundamental concepts of religious belief was transmitted from the prehistoric period to the historical period relatively intact and unaltered is that this vocabulary and the ideas it expresses were inherent within the Greek-speaking population groups, no matter what changes in material culture or social organization they underwent. We might then expect that certain forms of religious practice survived as well.

Let us now turn to the primary evidence for the cult of Poseidon and Erinus at Onchestos (and Telpousa-Haliartos).

It is remarkable that three major early literary sources make reference to a sanctuary of Poseidon at Onchestos in Boeotia.¹² This in itself underlines the significance and prominence of the cult practiced there at least in the early historical period.¹³ The site has produced LH IIIA and B as well as classical and later sherd material. The absence of ‘bridging’ Protogeometric and Geometric material is thought to be accidental, since the explicit references to a well-established cult in early texts implies cult activity of considerable antiquity.¹⁴ The sacred grove at the site of Onchestos itself was at the center of the Boeotian League.¹⁵ The site of Onchestos is ideally situated for such pan-Boeotian purposes midway between Thebes and Orchomenos and in proximity to the settlement of Haliartos.

The three key early sources for ritual activity at Onchestos are *Homeric Hymn* 3.229-238 (to Apollo) and 4.185-187 (to Hermes) and *Iliad* 2.506. In the line from the Catalogue of Ships, we have reference to:

Ὀρχηστὸν θ' ἱερόν, Ποσιδήϊον ἀγλαὸν ἄλσος

The two *Homeric Hymns* agree with the *Iliad* in specifying the sanctuary as a grove: πολυήρατον ἄλσος (4.186) and ἀγλαὸν ἄλσος (3.230). The choice of a grove as a sacred spot has been connected with a Mycenaean origin of the cult at Onchestos.¹⁶ “The tradition

11. On Minoan notions of divine epiphany, cf. Marinatos 1993, 175-179.

12. Other pre-Hellenistic references to the precinct of Poseidon at Onchestos include: Hesiod *fr.* 219 (OCT), Alcaeus *fr.* 7 (Edmonds), Pindar *Isthm.* 1.33, 4.19.

13. Schachter 1981-1994, 3.215 n. 1.

14. Kirk 1985, 194.

15. Strabo 9.412 (9.2.33).

16. Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970, 30-31.



 CONTINUITY IN BOEOTIAN CULT OF POSEIDON (AND ERINYS)

of this grove may very well go back to Mycenaean times, when such places often seemed to have been regarded as holy.”¹⁷

In the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, the reference occurs as Apollo has set out in search of his stolen cattle. The grove sanctuary at Onchestos sacred to Poseidon is in fact surprisingly prominent as the first place Apollo comes in search of his stolen cattle. Why come here first of all places? At Onchestos he meets and talks with an old man who gives information about seeing the infant Hermes driving along a herd of cattle. Apollo immediately sets out for Pylos (4.216). In the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, the reference to Onchestos occurs within the Pythian section wherein Apollo is seeking a site to establish his sanctuary. After passing Onchestos, Apollo comes to the Kephissos river, the sites of Okalea and Haliartos, and then to Telphousa (3.244), a locale described as suitable for a temple and wooded groves (ἄλσεα δενδρήεντα) and located by Pausanias (9.33.1) fifty stades from the site of Haliartos. The spring goddess Telphousa advises him to seek out the eventual location of the sanctuary at Delphi, because the site of Telphousa is one where men would rather gaze upon well-built chariots and the hoofbeats of swift-footed horses which will distract them from the worship of Apollo:

ἐνθα τις ἀνθρώπων βουλήσεται εἰσοράσθαι
ἄρματά τ' εὐποίητα καὶ ὠκυπόδων κτύπον ἵππων. (3.264-265)

Once Apollo arrives at the site of the Delphic sanctuary, he faces the problem of choosing sacristans for his new sanctuary.

His choice mirrors the prominence of Pylos in the Onchestos section of the *Hymn to Hermes* and adds a Minoan twist. Apollo chooses Cretans from Knossos, expressly termed the city of Minos, who were sailing en route to Pylos (3.390-398). While the Pylos here mentioned is the so-called ‘Triphylian’ Pylos, the ancient confusion among three Pyloses is well known,¹⁸ and it is probable that: 1. “the real Pylos which lay behind the legends...was the Messenian”¹⁹ and 2. the original and archaeologically conspicuous connection between the two prominent late Bronze Age regions of Messenia and Minoan Crete is the source for such links as are preserved in the *Hymn to Apollo* 3.390-398.

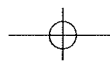
The most remarkable aspect of the reference in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 3.229-238 to the sacred grove of Poseidon at Onchestos is the lengthy description given of activities with chariots and horses there (reinforced by the reference to similar activities at Telphousa). The cultic association between Poseidon and the art of horsemanship and the training of horses is widely attested (Thessaly, Illyria, Boeotia, Attica, the Isthmus of Corinth, Corinth, Potidaea, the Argolid, Arcadia, Elis, Patra, Sparta and Delos²⁰) and the significance of the cult at Onchestos in this context is well established. Schachter has discussed at length the history of textual readings and scholarly interpretations of the passage from the *Hymn to*

17. On groves as ‘strictly defined and organized’ sacred spaces, cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 1993, 6-7; Vermeule 1974, 105-106.

18. Strabo 8.339.

19. Hope Simpson and Lazenby 1970, 83.

20. Farnell 1907, 4.14-17 and 4.78.



Apollo. Readers of this paper are invited to refer to his treatment for discussion of details²¹ which it is not germane to repeat here. The passage in full reads as follows:

ἔνθεν δὲ προτέρω ἕκεις ἑκατηβόλ' Ἄπολλον,
 Ὀγχηστὸν δ' ἴξες Ποσιδήϊον ἀγλαὸν ἄλσος
 ἔνθα νεοδμῆς πῶλος ἀναπνέει ἀχθόμενός περ
 ἔλκων ἄρματα καλά, χαμαὶ δ' ἑλατήρ ἀγαθός περ
 ἐκ δίφροιο θορῶν ὁδὸν ἔρχεται· οἱ δὲ τέως μὲν
 κεῖν' ὄχεα κροτέουσιν ἀνακτορίην ἀφιέντες.
 εἰ δέ κεν ἄρματ' ἀγῆσιν ἐν ἄλσει δενδρήεντι,
 ἵππους μὲν κομέουσι, τὰ δὲ κλίναντες ἔῶσιν
 ὧς γὰρ τὰ πρῶτισθ' ὀσίη γένεθ'· οἱ δὲ ἄνακτι
 εὐχονται, δίφρον δὲ θεοῦ τότε μοῖρα φυλάσσει. 3.229-238

Most scholars²² before Schachter took this passage to refer to a specific ritual enacted within a sanctuary to Poseidon. The elements are: (1) chariot with a single team of horses; (2) skilled charioteer who leaps from the chariot; (3) horses which then pull the riderless chariot along; (4) the potential overturning (or more serious breaking) of the chariot; (5) unspecified men (the charioteers? the sacristans of Poseidon at Onchestos?) who attend to the horses, set the chariot aright (or lean it against something: κλίναντες) and then either dedicate or simply leave? (ἔῶσιν) the chariot; (6) the chariot then either gains Poseidon's protection or become the property of the god (δίφρον δὲ θεοῦ τότε μοῖρα φυλάσσει).

Schachter seeks to 'demystify' the passage and to interpret it not as a description of features of an elaborate ritual, but as explicable purely in terms of the site topography of Onchestos. A rise at the top of a hill at the sanctuary causes charioteers habitually to dismount and sometimes the riderless horses will move out of control and tip the chariot which must then be set aright before it can be remounted by the charioteers who can then ride off with the blessings of the god.²³ Such an explanation reduces these extraordinary ten lines (in a 546-line pan-Hellenic hymn) to a mere description of a commonplace maneuver that a charioteer or cart-driver might employ near the top of any steep hill in Greece. It also leaves unexplained why the *Homeric Hymn* would devote so much space to something so mundane and do so in connection with the sacred grove of Poseidon at Onchestos.

This strikes me as an act of extreme interpretive agnosticism, especially considering the prominence given to chariots and horses in the later Telphousa passage, the unparalleled length of the digression here, the special vocabulary here (e.g., using the rare abstract ἀνακτορίη in line 234 to refer to the control of the charioteer) and most importantly the widespread evidence for the association of Poseidon (epithets *Hippios*, *Hippegetes*, and *Hippokourios*) with the art of horsemanship and the training of horses. I rather agree with the earlier interpreters that the whole series of actions is part of an unusual ritual involving

21. Schachter 1976.

22. *Ibid.* 103-106.

23. *Ibid.* 112-113.

 CONTINUITY IN BOEOTIAN CULT OF POSEIDON (AND ERINYS)

horses, chariots, and skilled young charioteers. The judgment of Allen, Halliday and Sikes still seems apt:²⁴ “Obviously the custom is not a race; equally obviously it is not a casual custom, but a specific rite performed almost certainly upon some specific occasion.” Clay 1989, 59, supports the view that the entire ritual is a form of divination. It is worthwhile pointing out once again the close associations of Pylos and Cretans from Knossos with the story lines in the two hymns.

One final element in local Boeotian legend, again known outside of the region of Boeotia, needs to be discussed before turning to our Linear B evidence. In scholia on Homer, *Iliad* 23.346-347 we find a remarkable account of the further associations of Poseidon – and Erinus – with the site of Telphousa.²⁵ We are told by *Schol. AB* that Poseidon having conceived a passion for Erinus changed his form into that of a horse and impregnated her at the spot of the spring Telphousa, that the horse born from this union was called Arion (because of its excellence), and that it was given to Kopreus, *basileus* of Haliartos.

This body of tradition then highlights, within, we should note, hymns devoted to other deities (Hermes and Apollo), the prominence of Poseidon at the sites of Onchestos and Telphousa (Haliartos) in Boeotia. At both sites activities involving horses and skillful chariotry maneuvers are emphasized. This is consistent with the prominence of Poseidon as a god of horses and horsemanship throughout Greece. We are given a detailed description of a chariot ritual that takes place in a famous grove sanctuary of Poseidon at Onchestos. We are further informed of a link between Poseidon and Erinus at the spring Telphousa. The Homeric hymns also link the story lines of these particular accounts with the site of Pylos and the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* provides links with Knossos and Pylos.

We have already argued that it is reasonable to ascribe these elements to the survival of much earlier cultic practices, cultic associations and long-established regional cult locales, of the kind which the Linear B texts indicate were many in number. This would reasonably explain why Apollo should come first to a sanctuary of Poseidon at a site in Boeotia and then immediately proceed to Pylos in search of his missing cattle. Otherwise, as a prominent scholar of the Homeric Hymns remarks,²⁶ “the localization of the incident at Onchestos remains mysterious.” The narrative of the *Hymn to Apollo* explicitly places the events at Onchestos and Telphousa in the remote past.²⁷ Apollo is on the track of the god Hermes who, as we have mentioned, is one of two Olympian deities attested in the Theban and Pylia Linear B texts. It would also explain why in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* the god in search of a site for a permanent sanctuary encounters two cult locales linked with Poseidon (and Erinus) (Onchestos and Telphousa) where activities with chariots and horses are described at considerable length. Although such reasoning might seem unfashionably Nilssonian, the facts that Apollo then decides to choose sailors from Knossos heading toward Pylos as cult officials for his Pythian sanctuary and that Erinus is attested in the Linear B texts solely at

24. Allen, Halliday and Sikes 1936, 236.

25. Located by Schachter 1981-1994, 2.222-224 as perhaps within the territory of historical Haliartos.

26. Clay 1989, 114.

27. *Ibid.* 58-59.

Knossos and, as we shall see, in one instance in context with Poseidon and ‘Apollo’ reinforce the impression of a Mycenaean origin for such details.

Poseidon in the Linear B texts is found as the principally attested male deity within the Pylos corpus.²⁸ Erinus is found on two Knossos tablets. Tablet Fp 1 lists ‘consignments’ of oil to a series of deities during the month of *de-u-ki-jo*. The minor stature of *e-ri-nu* even in a Mycenaean Cretan context is perhaps indicated by the fact that of the nine deities, sanctuaries or locales listed as recipients of oil, *e-ri-nu* receives the second smallest amount (ca. 4.8 l. or 4.4% of the total quantity of oil distributed). The crucial text for our purposes is KN V 52 + 52 bis + 8285. I translate it here:

.1 to the *potnia* of Athens 1 to ...[
 .2 to Enuwalios 1 To Paiawon 1 to Poseidon[
lat. inf. [[to Erinus]] [

This text is found on a tablet that was assigned to the *Room of the Chariot Tablets (RCT)*. In brief, the *RCT* contains a chronologically, palaeographically and spatially isolated ‘deposit’ of tablets that is the earliest collection of Linear B tablets, dating to the end of LM II. The *RCT* is noteworthy for an exceptionally consistent writing style shared by almost all of the 644 tablets and 4 inscribed sealings now assigned to this location.

It is now disputed whether tablet V 52 actually belongs with the chariot and armor distribution tablets in the *RCT*.²⁹ Whether or not Erinus is directly associated with Poseidon in a chariot production context, we have clear evidence in V 52 that one of the Linear B records from ‘Mycenaeanized’ Knossos associates the *potnia* of the toponym *Athene*, Enuwalios (Ares), Paiawon (Apollo), Poseidon and *in rasura* Erinus with each other.

Erinus (sing.) is a very primitive divine entity (a *katakthtonikos daimon*, according to Hesychius)³⁰ with relatively minor cultic presence in the historical Greek period. The textual attestation of Erinus in V 52 with Poseidon parallels the association of the horse god Poseidon in the myth of Telpousa-Haliartos and also may have another survival in the cult of Demeter *Erinus* in Arcadia,³¹ which ascribes the birth of the marvelous horse Arion to a liaison between Poseidon and Demeter-Erinus at the site of Telpousa in Arcadia.

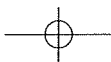
The Linear B texts then offer evidence relating to later cultic associations of Poseidon and Erinus. I believe that we are justified in proposing that the Linear B evidence here discussed and the historical Greek sources for the Boeotian cult at Onchestos (Haliartos-Telpousa) are referring ultimately to similar cult beliefs, associations and practices and that these are similar because they survived from the Mycenaean palatial period into the historical period. The arguments are complicated and the connections fragile. But the development from prehistoric to historic Greek society and the nature of our documentation for

28. Gérard-Rousseau 1968, 181-185.

29. Skelton 2008, 162-163, 173.

30. Gérard-Rousseau 1968, 103-104.

31. Farnell 1907, 3.57 and 3.321; Burkert 1985, 44 and 138.



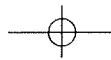
 CONTINUITY IN BOEOTIAN CULT OF POSEIDON (AND ERINYS)

localized Greek cults of the prehistoric and historic periods make them so. We should not be misled into viewing the need subtly to weigh and interpret fragmentary and complex evidence, in the manner practiced career-long by Spyros Iakovidis, as sufficient reason to reject the plausibility of such arguments and the hypotheses to which they lead.

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THOMAS G. PALAIMA

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