

## POTNIA ASWIYA: ANATOLIAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO GREEK RELIGION\*

### I. Potnia Aswiya at Pylos

Among the multiple names and forms under which Potnia appears in Mycenaean Greek tablets, she is once designated *a-si-wi-ya*, or \**Aswiya*, at Pylos (Fr 1206). Presumably an epithet designating a locale, this word also produces ordinary personal names at Pylos (Cn 285.12; Eq 146.11), Mycenae (Au 653.12; Au 657.11) and Knossos (Df 1469 + 1584b). One of only two adjectival titles for Potnia (with *i-qe-ja*: PY An 1281), the term is most likely to represent “Asia” rather than a Greek place “Assos,” making this *potnia* one with an explicitly foreign, in fact “Asian” name. Furthermore, this word may have a predecessor in Linear A (HT 11a3-4: *A-SU-JA*), close in date to the earliest appearances of the related word in Hittite annals. I will trace possible origins for this *potnia* in Anatolia and her meaning at Pylos, as well as suggesting some form for the goddess.

The hypothesis of a foreign origin is closely supported by the epigraphic, scribal, and archaeological circumstances of the tablet that lists an “Asian goddess.” Although an incomplete text (Fr 1206, restored with fragments 1210 and 1260), it lists and in fact emphasizes (*to-so qe-te-jo*: “so much owed”) an amount of perfumed oil remarkable in quantity—some 94 QT units. This is out of all proportion to the usual amount of oil associated with deities in Linear B, and in fact links her closely to *ma-te-re te-i-ja*.<sup>1</sup>

The next unusual feature is that *Potnia Aswiya* and her offerings are recorded on tablets found in Room 38, not Room 23 (behind the megaron) where most of the oil jars and tablets were stored or found.<sup>2</sup> This sets *Aswiya* apart from deities more usual at Pylos in the chief archive for the distribution of perfumed oil to Poseidon at Pakijana, the Dipsioi, etc. This also places her in close proximity to another foreign deity, *ma-te-re te-i-ja*, or “Divine Mother,” if not Mother of the Gods. Her intriguing title suggests a remote ancestor of the Meter Theion imported to classical Greece from Anatolia.<sup>3</sup> She is listed in Fr 1202a from the same room (38), with a similar high quantity of oil (sage-scented) as her “Asian” sister, likewise emphatic in its quantity (100 QT measures). This large amount, which dwarfs all other donations or allocations to deities in the same set of tablets (see Bendall’s paper in this volume), cannot be some kind of annual assessment, since a single month or festival (*me-tu-wo ne-wo*) is specified for *ma-te-re te-i-ja*.

These two exotic goddesses are further linked by the same hand (#2: Stylus 1202), the only scribe active in both Room 23 and 38 records, evidently a specialist in the perfume industry.<sup>4</sup> Thus findspot, accountant, high quantities of oil, and the foreign, if not Anatolian connections of their names, unite the two goddesses and separate them from other deities listed for distribution of oil at Pylos, whose records were found in Room 23. A further link

\* This essay is inspired by two scholars and mentors, active in encouraging relations across the Aegean: Calvert Watkins and Emily Vermeule. It is dedicated to two former students, Eric Cline and Brendan Burke, whose insights continue to guide my work. It is a pleasure to present it in honor of the retirement of Robin Hägg, who has done so much for the study of prehistoric Greek religion in an international context.

1 E. BENNETT, Jr., “The Olive Oil Tablets of Pylos,” *Minos*. Suppl. 2 (1958) 42-45; C. SHELMEARDINE, *The Perfume Industry of Mycenaean Pylos* (1985); C. MILANI, “Le tavolette Fr di Pilo,” in *Atti del II° Congresso Internazionale di Micenologia* (1996) 350-360. See also Lisa BENDALL, this volume.

2 SHELMEARDINE (*supra* n. 1) 95, 121. These tablets, found high in the room debris by excavators, probably fell from an upper floor above Room 38: T. PALAIMA *The Scribes of Pylos* (1988) 147-151.

3 L. PALMER *The Interpretation of Mycenaean Greek Texts* (1963) 241, 248, 257, 484; J. VAN LEUVEN, “Mycenaean Goddesses called Potnia,” *Kadmos* 18 (1979) 119. L. ROLLER, *In Search of God the Mother: The Cult of Anatolian Cybele* (1999) 134.

4 PALAIMA (*supra* n. 2) 59-68, 147-151.

connects these deities, via scribe and findspot, to the *a-pi-go-ro-i* (*amphipoloi*), recipients of sage-scented oil in quantity for anointing clothing (Fr 1205), perhaps some kind of ritual attendants.<sup>5</sup>

These coincidences have been noted by scholars as a significant “complex ‘cluster resemblance.’”<sup>6</sup> They are compounded by the presence of women in the personnel tablets at Pylos, listed collectively by ethnic adjectives, with rations supplied to them and their children as textile workers. These women are listed as natives of places identified as Lemnos (*ra-mi-ni-ja*: Ab 186), Miletus (*mi-ra-ti-ja*: As 798, Aa 1180, Ab 382, Ab 573); a city likely to be Halicarnassus in Caria (*ze-pu<sub>2</sub>-ra<sub>3</sub>*: cf. Strabo 14.2.16), Knidos (Aa 792, Ab 189: *ki-ni-di-ja*), Kythera (*Ku-te-ra<sub>3</sub>*, in Aa 506, Ab 562) and perhaps Chios (Aa 770; *ki-si-wi-ja*).<sup>7</sup> In addition, a more general term unites some women as *A-\*64-ja*, or *A-swi-ja* (Aa 701, Ab 515) “Asian.” A different work force without ethnic names is designated as *ra-wi-ja-ja* (Aa 807, AD 596) or *\*lawiaiai*, “captive” (cf. Homeric λῆϊάς, used only once at *Il.* 20.193 to describe the women of Lyrnessos captured by Achilles). This last distinction could make other women, listed by Aegean and Anatolian locales, refugees or slaves, rather than war captives, but spells little difference in their status. As dependent labor (supplied with rations) at work in or for the palace, they performed domestic tasks, primarily as spinners, weavers and finishers of wool and linen textiles, a chief wealth and exchange item.<sup>8</sup> This commodity shared with perfumed oil its high value, convergent administrations (scribal hands, tablet findspots, *amphipoloi*) and even function: fragrant emollients were applied to special cloth goods.<sup>9</sup>

Chadwick estimates some 1500 women and children (older offspring are listed separately in the Ad tablets) assessed twice, in forty-nine groups ranging from one to 38 women, of whom over half were located at Pylos itself.<sup>10</sup> If captured from Asian cities, they recall the fate of Trojan women in Homer (*Il.* 1.31, 6.456), or tragedy (Euripides *Hekabe* 466-474), who fear being enslaved to weave for foreign masters. In the imaginary palace of the Phaeacians (*Od.* 7.103-111), fifty native δμωαί (servile women) spin and weave cloth, also treated with perfumed oil.<sup>11</sup>

Many tablets related to weaving were found fallen from the upper floors of the southeast part of the main palace building.<sup>12</sup> Homeric expectations may mislead us to expect women living or working in upstairs quarters in a Mycenaean palace (according to Tom Palaima, Jose Melena cautions against assigning the scattered tablets concerning cloth production from the central megaron at Pylos to the second storey, automatically). But in this case, the epigraphic evidence is compelling for textile production by foreign women in this part of the palace.<sup>13</sup>

5 M. LINDGREN, *The People of Pylos II* (1973) 21. The title makes its only appearance here outside of the personnel tablets (A series), where they are clearly attendants, servants or even slaves: here they may be, if not cult attendants, divine figures themselves. PALMER (*supra* n. 3, 248-249) restores the word in the dual rather than the dative plural, to posit a pair of deities, “The Two Maidens:” S. HILLER, “*A-pi-go-ro* Amphipoloi,” *Studies in Mycenaean and Classical Greek Presented to John Chadwick. Minos* 20-22 (1987) 239-255. “Amphipoloi” and *po-ti-ni-ja u-po-jo* (Fr 1225), but not the two goddesses, receive oil for anointing cloth: C. SHELMERDINE, “Shining and Fragrant Cloth in Homeric Epic,” in *The Ages of Homer: A Tribute to Emily T. Vermeule* (1995) 103-104.

6 PALMER (*supra* n. 3) 257.

7 J. CHADWICK, “The Women of Pylos,” in *Texts, Tablets and Scribes. Studies in Mycenaean Epigraphy and Economy offered to Emmett L. Bennett, Jr. Minos* 10 (1989) 43-96; S. HILLER, “*ra-mi-ni-ja*. Mykenisch-kleinasiatische Beziehungen und die Linear B-Texte,” *Ziva Antika* 25 (1975) 388-411. M.-L. NOSCH has reviewed these women, their names and status (slaves, captives, refugees, or recruited specialists?) in “Center and Periphery in the Linear B archives,” forthcoming in Ph. DAKARONEIA (ed.), *Second International Interdisciplinary Colloquium. ‘The Periphery of the Mycenaean World,’* Lamia 1999. I am grateful for an advance copy of this paper from her. Cf. V. PARKER, “Die Aktivitäten der Mykenäer in der Ostägäis im Lichte der Linear B Tafeln,” in *Floreat Studia Mycenaea II* (1999) 495-502.

8 R.B. BURKE, *From Minos to Midas: The Organization of Textile Production in the Aegean and Anatolia* (Ph. D. thesis, University of California at Los Angeles, 1998) 154-162. Cf. CARLIER (*infra* n. 23) on foreign textile workers at Pylos.

9 SHELMERDINE (*supra* n. 5).

10 CHADWICK (*supra* n. 7) 89, counting some 750 persons in two assessments.

11 This passage is cited by SHELMERDINE (*supra* n. 5) 101-102.

12 SHELMERDINE (*supra* n. 1) 104-105.

13 CHADWICK (*supra* n. 7) 80-81.

Based on this circumstantial evidence, at Pylos deities and dames from abroad point to a similar area of the palace, if they did not co-habit the same quarter. More precisely, we have two deities with foreign names or epithets, who commanded large quantities of perfumed oil, recorded in the same area of the palace where foreign women worked on textiles. In fact, if large numbers of women were involved in their cult, it might account for the extraordinarily high proportions of oil allocated these deities. It was Calvert Watkins who first emphasized the coincidence between “Asian” women and Potnia Aswiya to imagine “a transported goddess,” an idea which helped inspire this investigation.<sup>14</sup> My analysis of tablets and findspots supports the singularity of these names and their circumstances (including large amounts of oil), and leads to the question: did migrant labor from Anatolia introduce the cult of a goddess from “Asia?”

## II. From *Aswiya* to *Aššuwā*: The Hittite geography of Asia

If Potnia Aswiya indeed hails from Asia, her name is likely to reflect *Aššuwā* (*A-aš-šu-wa*) in the Hittite tablets from *Hattušas* (Boghazköy), an identification proposed by Forrer when he first recognized Aegean names and places in the Hittite tablets in 1924.<sup>15</sup> Although at this time Mycenaean Greek was still un-deciphered and many of the tablets, including those from Pylos, still buried, he saw the link between classical Greek “Asia” and *Aššuwā* in Hittite records. Its Greek cognate first describes a “plain” near the Kayster river in Homer (*Iliad* 2.461), complete with digamma (the first syllable scans long) that confirms its spelling both in Hittite (*Aššuwā*) and as later discovered, in Mycenaean Greek as \*<sup>16</sup> Ἀσφίος. (This metrical feature agrees with the form of the word in Linear B, and both eliminate deriving “Aswiyos” from a Greek place name such as Assos or Asea). A leader from Arisbe bears this name in the Trojan catalogue (*Iliad* 2.837, 867), and so does an ally sought by Hektor, in a line exclusively Anatolian in onomastics and phonetics, “Adamas son of Asios and Asios son of Hyrtakos” (*Iliad* 13. 759).<sup>16</sup> The name is also borne by the Phrygian brother of Hekabe, when Apollo disguises himself as Hektor’s uncle to deceive the Trojan in battle (*Iliad* 16.717). In lyric poetry (Archilochus fr. 23), “Asia” is linked with Gyges and thus seems to designate the kingdom of Lydia;<sup>17</sup> the name Ἀσίης survives as the name of an early Lydian king in historic times, as well as the epithet of a tribe (φυλή) based at Sardis (Herodotus 4.45.3). Thus “Asia” in early Greek testimonia indicated central western Anatolia, at a time when the term had also already been generalized for the third region joining Europe and Libya (Herodotus 1.4, 4.42-44), roughly Anatolia and the Near East.

Uncertain when Forrer first equated Greek “Asia” with *Aššuwā* was the precise meaning and location of the latter in Bronze Age Anatolia. Critical for the topography of western Asia Minor, this region actually appears in only six Hittite texts; all predate by two hundred years the destruction of the Mycenaean palaces that preserved for us “Aswiya” and related personal names. In the most important citation, twenty-two lands from Lycia to the Troad are described as united against the Hittites in *Aššuwā*, fighting Tudhaliyas II, who defeated them around 1430 B.C.<sup>18</sup> As Huxley and others have noted, the lands involved and their sequence nearly reproduce, in reverse, the Trojan catalogue of the *Iliad* (2.816-78).<sup>19</sup> Egyptian texts of

14 C. WATKINS, “Homer and Hittite Revisited: The Land of *Aššuwā*,” in *Style and Tradition. Studies in Honor of Wendell Clausen* (1998) 203.

15 E. FORRER, “Vorhomerische Griechen in den Keilschrifttexten aus Bogazköy,” *MDOG* 63 (1924) 1-23, esp. 7, 16. Like the “*Aḫḫiyawa*” occurrences, *Aššuwā* attracted early attention for its connections to Greek words like “Asia.” H. Th. BOSSERT, *Asia* (1946).

16 WATKINS (*supra* n. 14) 53-56 explores the Hittite and Luwian phonaesthetics and etymology of this line.

17 R. DYER, “Asia/Aswia and Archilochus fr. 23,” *Parola del Passato* 20 (1965) 115-132.

18 In the Annals of Tudhaliyas II (*KUB* XXIII, once dated to Tudhaliyas IV). E. CLINE, “*Aššuwā* and the Achaeans: The ‘Mycenaean’ Sword at *Hattušas* and its Possible Implications,” *BSA* 91 (1996) 137-151; “Achilles in Anatolia: Myth, History and the *Aššuwā* Rebellion,” in *Crossing Boundaries and Linking Horizons. Studies in Honour of Michael C. Astour on his Eightieth Birthday* (1997) 189-210.

19 WATKINS (*supra* n. 14) 202, citing his “The language of the Trojans,” in *Troy and the Trojan War* (1986) 52, where he credits G.L. HUXLEY, *Achaeans and Hittites* (1960) 35; cf. CLINE (*supra* n. 18) 201.

Tuthmosis III (1479-1425) also mention *Isy* next to *Keftiu*, possibly a transcription of “Asia” which should be included among documents relevant to western Asia Minor in this period.<sup>20</sup> It is from *Aššuwā* that a thrusting sword of Mycenaean type, a chance find at Boghazköy in 1991, was captured and dedicated by Tudhaliyas to the Storm-god, a trophy from his defeat of the “land of *Aššuwā*.”<sup>21</sup> This Aegean prize joins the Hittite bowl from *Hattušas* incised with a sketch of a warrior in a plumed helmet and bronze(?) cuirass decorated with spirals, dated by context around 1400 BC.<sup>22</sup> His outfit would suit a mercenary from southwest Asia Minor, or a man of *Aḫḫiyawa*, both plausible veterans—as captive, ally or opponent—in the *Aššuwā* adventure against Tudhaliyas. A related document (*KUB XXVI 91*: a letter from Tudhaliyas’ co-regent, Arnuwanda, to an unknown king) mentions both the king of *Aššuwā* and the *Aḫḫiyawa*, with their king. If Cline is correct to imagine early Mycenaean warriors assisting *Aššuwā* against the Hittite king, the incised image could represent a hero from the earliest Greek adventures in Asia.

Thus since the fifteenth century, a place called “Asia” and a people called “Achaean” were in conflict with the Hittites in western Asia Minor. If some memory of the events and the place traveled back to Greece, it could only have done so in the fifteenth century. For only then did these lands assume a collective identity and name as *Aššuwā* in Hittite terms, apparently retained in Greek epic memory, perhaps even poetic formula; the term then disappears except in later texts recalling this episode (e.g. in *KUB XXVI 91*). This would make the name *Aswiyos* in Mycenaean texts appropriate not only for refugees from western Anatolia, but for those who fought in campaigns in *Aššuwā* as much as two hundred years earlier.

These recent discoveries, with the redating of many of the Hittite texts over a decade ago to the fifteenth century, reinforces the timing of the circulation of “*Aššuwā*,” which ceased to exist as a term well before its earliest preserved Linear B relatives. (However, *A-SUJA* in Linear A, Hagia Triada 11, dated to the Late Minoan Ib period, offers a possible earlier correspondence in Aegean documents). They make \**Aswios* the kind of epic word that is “older” than its first appearance in Mycenaean Greek, but possibly a term that became part of the poetic vocabulary in the fifteenth century B.C., the earliest heroic age of Greece.<sup>23</sup>

Recent advancements in geography and history—two new discoveries, the Luwian inscription from Yalburt, and the bronze treaty from *Hattušas*—thicken the plot of western Anatolian skirmishes, alliances and treaties inherited in Greek memory and epic poetry. In particular, the kingdom of *Arzawa*, once imagined as far north as the Troad and as far south as Lycia, has narrowed around the area known in historic times as Lydia and Ionia, with its capital at *Apasa*, now accepted as Ephesus. Other locales are now more firmly identified (*Lukkā* with Lycia, *Karkiša* with Caria), and, most importantly, *Wilusa* (*Iliion*?) now belongs clearly north of *Arzawa*.<sup>24</sup> In addition, the texts have been brought into crucial convergence with monuments

20 BOSSERT (*supra* n. 15) 3-23, 40, 177; CLINE (*supra* n. 18, 1997) 193-196 on the four Egyptian texts which mention *Isy*, including the Poetic Stele (Victory Hymn) of Thutmose III (Cairo Museum 34010) which pairs it with *Keftiu* (Crete?) to describe “the West.” The transliteration of the word as *A-si-ja* by Helck was confirmed by HAIDER (in 1988, and at the Potnia conference in Göteborg).

21 A. ERTEKIN and I. EDIZ, “The Unique Sword from Boghazköy-Hattuša,” in *Aspects of Art and Iconography: Studies in Honor of Nimet Özgüç* (1993) 719-725. WATKINS (*supra* n. 14) 203; CLINE (*supra* n. 18, 1996). The sword follows an Aegean type, but is not necessarily from an Aegean workshop: see discussion in *POLITEIA* 285; S. MORRIS in *The Aegean and the Near East* (1998) 285-286.

22 K. BITTEL, “Tonschale mit Ritzzeichnung von Boghazköy,” *RA* (1976) 9-14; cf. NIEMEIER (*infra* n. 42 [1998] 42, fig. 13a and in *POLEMOS*, Pl. XVB).

23 As I have argued in “A Tale of Two Cities: The Miniature Frescoes from Thera and the Origins of Greek Poetry,” *AJA* 93 (1989) 511-535; cf. CLINE (*supra* n. 18, 1997) 196-203. Pierre CARLIER and others have noted that “Asian” names in Linear B could have been inherited from earlier generations: “La femme dans la société mycénienne d’après les archives en linéaire B,” in *La femme dans les sociétés antiques. Actes des colloques de Strasbourg, mai 1980 et mars 1981* (1983) 16-17.

24 F. STARKE, “Troia im Kontext des historisch-politischen und sprachlichen Umfeldes Kleinasiens im 2. Jahrtausend,” *Studia Troiaca* 7 (1997) 447-487; J.D. HAWKINS, “Tarkasnawa King of Mira: Tarkondemos, Boğazköy sealings and Karabel,” *AnatStud* 48 (1998) 1-31, for recent re-assessments of Hittite geography and the *Arzawa* lands.

and sites in western Asia Minor by Hawkins, to be explored below (n. 24). He identifies in the royal figure and titles on the Karabel relief, east of Izmir, Tarkašnawa, king of Mira, chief opponent of Mursilis in his campaigns against *Arzawa*, and addressee of the Millawanda letter. These refinements in geography will play a role in Part III below.

It is here suggested that the women recorded in the Pylos tablets with Anatolian place names were captured or ransomed from those cities, or fled from them, in later versions of events like these.<sup>25</sup> When Piyaramadu escaped from Hattušili III in the late thirteenth century and sailed from Millawata to *Aḫḫiyawa*, with prisoners from Hittite vassal cities, did they include women from Miletus, Knidos, or Halicarnassus, and were they sold to Mycenaean palaces in mainland Greece? The Tawagalawas letter that details this (addressed to the King of *Aḫḫiyawa*), indicates that some 7000 Hittite subjects were transplanted to the land of *Aḫḫiyawa* from the *Lukkā* lands.<sup>26</sup> Could such human traffic have begun with the campaign of Mursilis II and his raid on Millawanda a hundred years earlier, which destroyed the city and must have driven many into exile, or enslaved many women as captives to be sold to *Aḫḫiyawa*? Was the *Aššurwa* campaign the first installment in such a story of raids and flight?

Moreover, did such conflicts and their impact on human traffic actively feed labor to the developing palaces of the mainland, in that critical period of the fourteenth century? Bryce suggests that recruitment of such labor could have been a motivating factor in such raids, as often in ancient warfare.<sup>27</sup> If so, the lists of female names in the Pylos tablets, accidentally preserved in the final conflagration of that palace, might be merely the latest in a long history of captive or refugee Asian women at work for *Aḫḫiyawa*. Young men listed in the Ad tablets as the sons of female (Asian) workers, including of weavers (Ad 684), imply female captives bore sons in captivity or brought them as infants, like the ones listed with mothers in Aa, Ab tablets: thus more than one generation from Asia.

If Pylos seems too remote from Anatolia for such traffic, only chance leaves us such a large store of tablets from this palace, and so few from sites only partially explored in the Argolid, Athens or Thebes. In fact, names derived from Miletus (*mi-ra-ti-jo*) have now turned up at Thebes in the newest tablets.<sup>28</sup> At Knossos, whose textile industry emphasized wool and sheep-herding rather than special fabrics (linen) or finishing with dyes, perfume and embroidery, Asian collective names are rare. Instead, labor in Crete was supplied by many villages of the hinterland, already specialized in tasks for a palace for a long time in those locales.<sup>29</sup> Here, the Mycenaean palace administration at Knossos may have followed closely its Minoan predecessor, supported by a population of already subject villages (helots, as it were). The palace at Pylos evolved instead under less previously centralized conditions and developed its territorial control more gradually; perhaps it had to import foreign labor, in its aggressive transformation into a state economy on the Cretan model.<sup>30</sup>

Likewise, Aegean coastal cities which suffered repeated raids by Hittites, their vassals or renegades like Piyaramadu, preserved too little of their Bronze Age remains, buried under alluvial fill and later classical cities, for a credible past. Instead, conspicuous citadels like Pergamon or the mound of Troy dominated the imagination of early Greek (and modern) travelers, settlers and poets, with their visible heights and walls. No wonder such visitors fixed on these locales for early epic campaigns by Greeks in a foreign land. Meanwhile, we lack

25 A. ÜNAL, "Two Peoples on both Sides of the Aegean Sea: Did the Achaeans and the Hittites know each other?" in *Essays on Ancient Anatolian and Syrian Studies in the Second and First Millennium B.C.* (1991) 16-44 argues that these women could be Greek-speaking captives of Anatolian campaigns, ransomed back by mainlanders, rather than native women captured into Mycenaean slavery; however, this spells the same servile status in mainland palaces. Cf. PARKER (*supra* n. 7).

26 Tawagalawas letter: KUB XIV 3 (STARKE [*supra* n. 24] 453-454; BRYCE [*infra* n. 27, 1998] 321-324).

27 T. BRYCE, *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (1998) 62; "Anatolian Scribes in Mycenaean Greece," *Historia* 48:3 (1999) 259.

28 NIEMEIER, *POLEMOS* 144, n. 30, citing Aravantinos and GODART (confirmed by Godart, this volume: there are now several citations of this name at Thebes).

29 BURKE (*supra* n. 8) 154-155; CHADWICK (*supra* n. 7). NOSCH (*supra* n. 7) likewise suggests that the palace at Pylos had to recruit new labor, while the new administration at Knossos had access to conquered labor in Crete; PARKER (*supra* n. 7) 497-499.

30 On mainland palatial economies, see the essays in *Mycenaean Palaces*.

similar stirring tales for Miletus and Ephesus, where the real action must have taken place in the Late Bronze Age. Until recently, no one suspected prehistoric “*Apasa*” beneath Greek and Roman Ephesus, or that Miletus had a Minoan and *Aḫḫiyawa* past, before patient pumping revealed them. This leaves a Luwian “Wilusiad” as our only clue to the epic adventures which later crystallized around Troy, distracting philologists back to Troy and its new excavations, while archaeologists are paying attention to the central and southern coasts.<sup>31</sup>

### III. Potnia Aswiya: Her relatives in Asia Minor?

Assuming for the moment that this Potnia at Pylos comes from *Aššuwa* in western Asia Minor, what might she have looked like, and how was she worshipped? Answering such a question is difficult enough in the Aegean world, where one possible convergence of image (fresco) and text offers us *sito(u) potnia* (Oι 701) at Mycenae.<sup>32</sup> But elsewhere, reconciling images in art and deities in Linear B is fool-hardy at best.

My first step is to refrain from equating Linear B deities with the names of later Greek gods, except where their names are evident in the tablets (and even then, their functions may have changed dramatically). One method that has misled prehistorians is the study of Greek religion by names of gods and goddesses, based on assemblies of textual data (the existence of classical creatures called “Artemis Hekate” and so forth should discourage it!). I think it is a mistake to “pin the name on the deity” (as those do who simply call Potnia Aswiya, Artemis<sup>33</sup>), rather than tracing regional and functional contours or religious domains, epithets and attributes. This is what Christiane Sourvinou Inwood recommended years ago, in urging us to abandon our Panhellenic approach in favor of “a [regional] model for personality definition in Greek religion.”<sup>34</sup>

Within these parameters, what contemporary parallels survive from Asia Minor? The evidence for religion from second-millennium Anatolia is richest in Hittite texts, supported by relief sculpture and figurines. Those texts preserve a complex heritage of Hurrian gods and myths, Mesopotamian deities and titles, and native Anatolian traditions. Hittite oaths regularly invoke a pantheon of a “thousand gods,” a number plausible from the proliferation of deities fixed by locale and function.<sup>35</sup>

Significantly for Aegean purposes, Hittite royalty and priesthood also had occasion to consult foreign gods (e.g. *KUB XV.34*). In a famous crisis when Mursilis II (c. 1350-1320 B.C.) lost the power of speech (after a stroke, or an attack of a nervous disorder such as epilepsy, it is speculated), priests recommended fetching “the gods of *Lazpa* [Lesbos] and *Aḫḫiyawa*” (*KUB V.6.57-64*).<sup>36</sup> This startling appeal to alien gods certainly confounds the claim by Herodotus that Midas of Phrygia was the first foreign king to worship Greek gods (or at least send gifts to Delphi: 1.14). Clearly spiritual traffic across the Aegean began in the Bronze Age, and traveled in both directions, perhaps sustained by human traffic. Hundreds of craftsmen from *Lazpa* working for the Hittite king and for Manaba-Tarḫunta of *Seḫa* were captured by Piyamaradu and wound up at Millawata in the service of Atpa, ruler and vassal of the king of *Aḫḫiyawa* (*KUB XIX 5, KBo XIX.79*).

31 STARKE (*supra* n. 24, 455-456) points out that *Wilusa* is far from *Hattušas* and marginal to *Arzawa* and Hittite control of the west, hence less frequent in Hittite historical texts than the troublesome west, north (the *Kaška*), and southeast of Anatolia. WATKINS (*supra* n. 19, 1986) 58-62 on a Luwian “Wilusiad.”

32 D. DANIELIDOU, “Σιτοποτινία τῶν Μυκηνηῶν καὶ Μυκηναϊκὴ Πότινια,” in *Philia Epe eis G. Mylonan dia ta 60 tou ete archaiologikou ergou* (1986) 323-342; N. MARINATOS, “The Fresco from Room 31 at Mycenae: Problems of Method and Interpretation,” in *Problems in Greek Prehistory* 245-251.

33 As does e.g. J. VAN LEUVEN (*supra* n. 3).

34 C. SOURVINO-U-INO, “Persephone and Aphrodite at Locri: A model for personality definitions in Greek Religion,” *JHS* 98 (1978) 101-121.

35 On Hittite religion, see J. MACQUEEN, *The Hittites and their Contemporaries in Asia Minor* (1986) chapter 7; *infra* n. 41; V. HAAS, *Geschichte der Hethitischen Religion* (1994); *infra* n. 41.

36 G. PUGLIESE CARATELLI, “Aḫḫijavā, Lazpa et leurs divinités dans *KUB V.6*,” *Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung I* (1950) 156-163. Cf. R. ARNOTT, “Healing and medicine in the Aegean Bronze Age,” *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 89 (1996) 267. See also the “Keftiu” spell and gods invoked against “Asiatic” illness in Egypt, in Papyrus London (paper by Peter HAIDER, this volume), for Aegean religion in export.

Thus Potnia Aswiya may be partner to Aegean deity(s) who travelled east, some as far as the royal court at distant *Hattušas*, and gods may have experienced early syncretisms along the Aegean coast in prehistory. “Transported deities” were an ancient reality: Aeneas fled Troy with his Lares and Penates, the Phocaeans emigrated to found Massalia with a replica (ἄφίδρυμα) of the Artemis of Ephesus (Strabo 4.1.4), whom Xenophon personally imported to the Peloponnese (*Anabasis* 5.3.12). Diplomatic relations between *Hattušas* and Mycenae may lie behind some of these shared religious cults. Such relations have been posited from the Hittite silver stag buried in Shaft Grave V at Mycenae, an Anatolian *BIBRU* reworked for Aegean use, and related objects.<sup>37</sup> Thus Potnia belongs to a network of cultural as well as historical interfaces between Anatolia and the Aegean, with Luwian-speaking western Asia as the primary zone of contact, more faintly reflected at Hittite and Mycenaean centers.<sup>38</sup>

But must these religious relations remain primarily epigraphic? Are there visual or verbal clues to what divinity “Asians” brought to Greece? Who would have been the most likely or famous “Mistress of Asia?”

Haunting any study of female divinities from Anatolia is the imaginary of a primordial Mother Goddess. Encouraged by figures from prehistoric sites such as Çatal Hüyük and later titles such as Meter, modern assumptions have created a single line of descent linking these figures across the centuries. Lynn Roller has recently disentangled these traditions, separating Hittite Kubaba from Phrygian Kubileya, whose real name, Meter Kubileya, or “Mountain Mother,” eventually produced both Kybele and Meter in Greece and Rome.<sup>39</sup> In the Bronze Age, “Kybele” did not exist, but Palmer has emphasized that *ma-te-re te-i-ja* finds a striking parallel in Luwian and Hittite.<sup>40</sup> Thus figures other than *Potnia Aswiya* could be “Asian,” if we can accept the possibility that such figures, in the Bronze Age as in the Iron Age, traveled from Anatolia to Greece.

But few Hittite goddesses are distinctive in image, outside of the rock-cut pantheon at Yazilikaya, where Hurrian goddesses like *Hepat* appear next to those of Anatolian or Hatti origin, but few can be identified without their (Luwian) labels. Some only took human form late; many were worshipped in the form of attributes, animals or small portable images.<sup>41</sup> Scanning this vast corpus does not offer an image that traveled to Greece. While Kubaba survives with Neo-Hittite kings and titles in Karkhemish, what happens in other regions? What about western Anatolia, where prehistoric levels are emerging slowly, and where critical military and social interaction took place over at least three centuries (1500-1200 B.C.)?<sup>42</sup>

37 R. KOEHL, “The Silver Stag *BIBRU* from Mycenae,” in *The Ages of Homer* (*supra* n. 5) 61-66. In discussion at Göteborg, Koehl also pointed out that other Hittite animal figurines found in the Aegean (e.g. the steatite sphinxes from Tylissos and Hagia Triada: E. CLINE, “Hittite Objects in the Aegean,” *AnatStud* 41 (1991) 133, 137) could have carried figures of deities set in the hollows on their backs (cf. *infra*).

38 STARKE (*supra* n. 24) has recently stressed the importance of the contact zone between “Achaeans” and Anatolians as one speaking Luwian (rather than Hittite, the language of diplomacy: BRYCE, *supra* n. 27, [1999] 257-264).

39 ROLLER (*supra* n. 3) and “The Phrygian Character of Kybele: The Formation of an Iconography and Cult Ethos in the Iron Age,” in A. CILINGIROGLU and D.H. FRENCH (eds), *Anatolian Iron Ages 3. Proceedings of the Third Anatolian Iron Ages Colloquium* (1994) 189-98. However, the testimony of Herodotus (5.102) still suggests a western Anatolian Κυβήβη descended from Hittite Kubaba.

40 L. PALMER (*supra* n. 3) 257, 484 on Luwian and Hittite correlates of *ma-te-re te-i-ja*: *šwanzanniš* in Hittite (*SALAMA.DINGIR<sup>LIM</sup>*) = “Mother of God,” or in Lycian (TL 134.4) *eni mahanahi*; cf. BOSSERT (*supra* n. 15) 82. Palmer also argues for an Anatolian derivation of *me-na* (KN E 842) from the Anatolian moon god, Men: “Mycenaean Religion: Methodological Choices,” in *Res Mycenaee* (1983) 339.

41 B.J. COLLINS, “A Statue for the Deity: Cult Images in Hittite Anatolia,” *AJA* 101 (1997) 383. C.G. VON BRANDENSTEIN, *Hethitische Götter nach Bildbeschreibungen in Keilschrifttexten* (1943); H. GÜTERBOCK, “Hethitische Götterbilder und Kultobjekte,” in *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasien: Festschrift für Kurt Bittel* (1983) 203-217; HAAS (*supra* n. 35) 489-528.

42 W.-D. NIEMEIER, “The Mycenaean in Western Anatolia and the Problems of the Origins of the Sea Peoples,” in *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition. Thirteenth to Early Tenth Centuries BCE. In Honor of Professor Trude Dothan* (1998) 17-65; “Mycenaean and Hittites in War in Western Asia Minor,” in *POLEMOS* I 141-155; “The Minoans of Miletus,” *MELETEMATA* II 543-554; P. MOUNTJOY, “The East Aegean-West Anatolian Interface in the Late Bronze Age: Mycenaean and the Kingdom of *Ahhiyawa*,” *AnatStud* 48 (1998) 33-67.

The Cayster river defines “Asia” in Homer (*Iliad* 2.461), and reaches the sea at Ephesus. *Apasa* in Hittite parlance, it was the capital of *Arzawa*, which dominated western politics in the Late Bronze Age. Its prehistory survives in Mycenaean vessels from tombs and a fortified settlement on the Ayasuluk hill; new finds from the Artemision promise one day another Millawanda.<sup>43</sup> There are no “Ephesian” women at Pylos, although at least one man (*a-pa-si-jo*: Sa 767) may hail from *Apasas*.<sup>44</sup> The great goddess of western Asia was not from Miletus, later home to Apollo (at Didyma) or Poseidon (at Mykale). Nor was she Athena, widely worshipped as Polias in later Greek colonies of Asia Minor (Miletus, Smyrna, Erythrae, Pergamom, Assos and Ilion and even on the next hill at Ephesus), without direct connections to indigeneous prehistoric goddesses.

Instead, a likely target would be the great goddess of Ephesus, or Ephesia (Pl. CVIIa). She took the name of Artemis late, and deserves scrutiny as an Anatolian deity, without her Greek name, in order to start with the eastern evidence and move forward to the Aegean.<sup>45</sup> I believe that her classical statue derives from prehistoric, Anatolian images, and that we may find in her predecessor(s) a hypothetical partner to *Potnia Aswiya*.

Replicated in over 100 ancient copies, her appearance has been analyzed in detail and traced to parallels in Anatolian and Greek contexts.<sup>46</sup> Her polos recalls the crowns worn by Kubaba and *Hepat*, and acquires the circuit of walls worn by protective city-deities like Tyche; her garment can be matched in small finds from the archaic Artemision and in the gold plaques decorating ivory images found at Delphi. But the most sensational aspect of her outfit is her chest with its mysterious bulbs. Ancient and modern explanations of them as multiple breasts began with Christian sources critical of pagan idolatry (Jerome, Minucius Felix), and remain the most popular, especially among modern devotees of ancient fertility cult. Other theories more sensational can be dismissed, including Seiterle’s notion that bull’s scrota from sacrificed –or castrated?–victims, once hung on the actual statue, an idea defended only in one popular article.<sup>47</sup>

The truth about this famous chest is far more mundane: like Ephesia’s crown and garments, it belongs to the traditional decoration or cult equipment of divine images in the Near East, especially Anatolia.<sup>48</sup> The fact that male as well as female deities wear these bulbs—representations of Zeus of Labraunda, the “double-axe” god of Caria, wear the same outfit (Pl. CVIIb)—not only excludes them as “breasts” or signs of female nurturing, but points to a common Anatolian ancestry and distribution. Recent finds at Ephesus support this, in over 500 bulb-shaped amber beads which could well represent an early “necklace” of multiple strands worn by the image.<sup>49</sup> Near Eastern scholars have pointed to antecedents for these bulbs in a

43 A. BAMMER, “Apasa und Mursili – Ephesos in der Bronzezeit,” in *Ephesus: Stadt an Fluss und Meer* (1988) 127-141; “Geschichte neu-geschrieben: Mykene im Artemision von Ephesos,” *JÖAI* 63 (1994) 30-39; “Zur Bronzezeit im Artemision,” in *100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos. Akten des Symposiums Wien 1995* (1999) 399-404. Ayasuluk hill: M. BÜYÜKKOLANCI, “Prähistorische Untersuchungen in der Umgebung von Ephesos (1990-1997),” *Forum Archaeologiae* 7/VI/99; “Excavation on Ayasuluk Hill in Selçuk, Turkey. A contribution to early Ephesian history,” *Forum Archaeologiae* 10/III/98.

44 HILLER (*supra* n. 7) 389, 404.

45 The name of Artemis in Linear B at Pylos (PY Es 650: *a-te-mi-to*) follows the East Greek declension of her name (with τ- not δ), and has Lydian relatives. Note that Phrygian Meter was also worshipped at Ephesus, at the Panayirdag sanctuary with its rock-cut niches and inscriptions: ROLLER (*supra* n. 3) 200.

46 R. FLEISCHER, *Artemis von Ephesus und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien* (1973); *LIMC* II (1984), s.v. “Artemis Ephesia,” 755-763.

47 G. SEITERLE, “Artemis - die grosse Göttin von Ephesus,” *Antike Welt* 10 (1979) 31-16, rejected since R. FLEISCHER, “Neues zu kleinasiatischen Kultstatuen,” *AA* 98 (1983) 81-93. I will summarize arguments against this theory in a forthcoming study of the cult image (*infra* n. 52).

48 W. HELCK, “Zur Gestalt der Ephesischen Artemis,” *AA* 99 (1984) 281-282, citing Th. BOSSERT, *Altanatolien* (1942) 28. M. MEURER, “Die Mammae der Artemis Ephesia,” *RM* 14 (1929) 200-219 long ago eliminated the identification as “breasts,” and also suggested the resemblance to an *aegis* (p. 203).

49 A. BAMMER, “Neue Grabungen an der Zentralbasis des Artemision von Ephesos,” *JÖAI* 58 (1988) Beibl., 22-24; “A Peripteros of the Geometric Period in the Artemision of Ephesus,” *AnatStud* 40 (1990) 151-157; A. BAMMER and U. MUSS, *Das Artemision von Ephesos* (1996) 73-78, on amber beads and cult image. Similar examples found earlier by Hogarth were identified as vessel-shaped pendants.

primitive pectoral first seen on Neolithic figurines as rows of incised circles or slashes across the chest, and pointed to the kind of martial breast-plate worn by Near Eastern goddesses.<sup>50</sup>

But the most significant contribution to this image, I have discovered, was a piece of cult equipment described in Hittite texts, and related to the Ephesia's peculiar chest ornaments. A number of Hittite myths and rituals describe a kind of bag called the *kurša*. It sometimes carries the determinative for "leather" (*KUŠ*); instructions for its manufacture specify the hides of six sheep or goats (*KUB XXX.32*, I 9-10). In the Hurrian myth of Telipinu, it is hung on the *eya(n)* tree when fertility (and the absent god) is recovered with its contents (sheep's fat, grain, wine, long life and progeny, etc: *KUB XVII.10*, iv 27-35). In etymology and in meaning its relatives include the Greek word βύρσα, both a leather bag and a source of wealth, and the modern purse, French "bourse," or Italian "borsa." Often personified as a tutelary deity (with divine determinative: <sup>D</sup>LAMA *KUŠkurša*) in Hittite texts, the skin itself is assimilated to the image of a god.<sup>51</sup> I suggest a similar attribute once decorated the deity of *Apasa*, and survived on the figure of the goddess Ephesia, who preserves this protective function for her city in Greek history (Herodotus 1.26, Aelian VH 3.26). The closest linguistic companion to *kurša* is the Greek *aegis*, likewise a leather ("goat") skin or cloak wielded by the gods in Homer as a magic, protective cape or cloak, but eventually worn by Athena herself.<sup>52</sup> Both Artemis at Ephesus and archaic Athena must have inherited different versions of the same divine attribute manifest in prehistoric Anatolia.

A representation of this object has been identified on the Hittite silver rhyton in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, in the shape of the forepart of a stag (Pl. CVIIc-CVIIIa,b). Indeed, this *BIBRU* is the kind of shape which often represents a deity in Hittite religion.<sup>53</sup> The ritual scene in relief on its rim shows, behind the chief deity seated on a throne, a tree, a stag's head and forelegs, a quiver and spears, and a bag suspended from a loop. This bag was identified as a representation of the *KUŠkurša*, here serving as a bag for game from a hunt; elsewhere it is described in cult practise, as in *KUB XXX.41*, i.1-17 where it is suspended on a tree with a golden bow.<sup>54</sup>

The closest Greek relative of this object was, of course, the Golden Fleece, a sheepskin with enormous wealth and power sought by heroes like Jason, the counterpart of Telipinu (Pl. CVIIIc).<sup>55</sup> The form and fable of the *kurša* also recall the skin (ἄσκός) of Marsyas, flayed by Apollo, which Herodotus saw hanging in the marketplace of the town of Kelainai in Phrygia (7.26), perhaps a variant Greek explanation for an old Hittite custom. But outside of myths like these, this curious object outlived the Hittites and stirred the Greek imagination in ritual. It was Laroche who first associated this word with the Greek *aegis*, recently revived in detail by Calvert Watkins (in press). The scaly or shaggy surface of the *kurša* resembles the device which decorates the breast of Artemis as a series of leather bags, and Athena, in the shape of a scaly *aegis*. The Attic cup by Douris (Pl. CVIIIc), bizarrely enough, represents the two lives of the *kurša*, as a magic animal-skin bag of fortune (hanging on a tree as the Golden Fleece), and as an *aegis* on the chest of Athena. How Athena got her *aegis* from prehistoric and Anatolia sources, I

50 HELCK (*supra* n. 50); A. HILL, "Ancient Art and Artemis: Toward Explaining the Polymastic Nature of the Figurine," *JANES* 21 (1992) 91-94 proposes a military origin in scale armour, transmitted via a pectoral garment worn by Ishtar.

51 G. MACMAHON, *The Hittite State-Cult of the Tutelary Deities* (1991) 143-188; HAAS (*supra* n. 35) 452-456, 511.

52 E. LAROCHE, "Recherche sur les noms des dieux hittites," *Revue Hittite et Asiatique* 77 (1946-47) 75, recently supported and expanded by Calvert WATKINS in a paper delivered at the American Oriental Society, 1998. In a future publication, I will trace the origins of Athena's *aegis* in the Hittite *kurša*.

53 *Supra* n. 41.

54 First identified by S. ALP (*Beiträge zur Erforschung des Hethitischen Tempels* (1983) 93-100); supported by H. G. GÜTERBOCK, "Hittite *kurša* 'Hunting bag'," in *Essays in Ancient Civilization Presented to Helene J. Kantor* (1989) 113-124, with emphasis on hunting appropriate to Artemis; M. POPKO, "Anatolische Schutzgottheiten im Gestalt von Vliesen," *Acta Antiqua* 22 (1974) 309-311; "Zum hethitischen *KUŠkurša*," *Allorientalische Forschungen* 2 (1975) 65-70.

55 V. HAAS, "Jason's Raub des goldenen Vliesses im Lichte hethitischer Quellen," *Ugarit-Forschungen* 7 (1975) 227-233.

must save for another investigation (*supra* n. 52). I will confine myself here to Artemis Ephesia, and argue that the Hittite *kurša* helps clarify her peculiar chest decoration, and suggests what a prehistoric goddess like Potnia Aswiya might have worn at home.

A variant of the *kurša* is made of “beads” of *kunanna-* (*kuwanna-*), related to Greek κῠανός and evidently some kind of blue glass (paste) or copper-mineral stone such as lapis lazuli.<sup>56</sup> That recalls pectoral ornaments worn by Ishtar in the Near East and described as *erimmatu*, chains of egg-shaped beads, or *dudittu*, chest ornaments exclusive to women.<sup>57</sup> The amber beads found at Ephesus could have formed a multiple chain of bulbous pendants around the neck of an anthropomorphic cult image, as suggested by the excavators (*supra*, n. 49). Hittite instructions for replacing (and installing) the *kurša* (*KUB* LV.43) are typical of the care and feeding of the gods in the Near East, but also evocative of the elaborate procedures and personnel for renewing the κόσμος of Artemis at Ephesus at festivals.<sup>58</sup> The Anatolian popularity of this divine outfit explains its ubiquity on divine chests, as on Zeus of Labraunda (Pl. CVIIB).

To sum up, at least one Potnia at Pylos, Anatolian in name and context, has relatives in western Asia Minor, according to Hittite texts and later images. Perhaps Hittites like Muwatti, sister of Mursilis II, who married Mashuiluwa of Mira (*KBo* V.13, i.3-10), imported central Anatolian ritual conventions like the *KUŠkurša* to coastal cults. In support of this scenario, ritual objects like the bronze standard found recently at the Artemision must have traveled from the Anatolian heartland.<sup>59</sup> A Mycenaean sherd from Miletus represents a Hittite peaked, horned cap and the head of a bird, perhaps part of a scene with a seated Hittite god or deity holding a hawk (as in Pl. CVIIC-CVIIIA,b).<sup>60</sup> Evidently some Anatolian images had reached the Aegean coast in the Late Bronze Age, and of course some survived there as rock-cut reliefs (e.g. at Karabel). The *kurša*-inspired chest decorates not only Artemis at Ephesus but Aphrodite at Aphrodisias and Zeus at Labraunda, as if this cultic convention spread throughout the region once called *Arzawa*. And in historical crises, as when Mursilis II drove out Uḫḫaziti, king of *Apasa*, and pursued him (across the sea?), refugees may have transported native gods, as an Ephesian woman took Artemis in flight from the Persians with the Phocaeans, many centuries later (Strabo 4.1.4).

Legend emphasizes the antiquity of the cult at Ephesus by association with the Amazons (Callimachus *Hymn to Artemis* 237-245; Paus. 7.2.4, citing Pindar). Attributes of Ephesia with prehistoric echoes include the bee, so frequent in Hittite and Hurrian mythological texts, then on the first coins of Ephesus and the outfit of the goddess.<sup>61</sup> In one text (*KUB* XIII.59 iii, 5-13), the bee herself brings a *KUŠkurša* in the myth of Inara, a direct link in the second millennium between two elements decorating the later cult statue. Strong connections between the *KUŠkurša* and hunting, thanks to its function as a leather bag for game (Pl. CVIIC-CVIIIA,b, Güterbock, n. 54), are suggestive for the later persona of Artemis, who takes over as chief deity at Ephesus. And while amber finds are scarce in Bronze Age Anatolia, amber appears in Hittite texts (as *hust-*) in connection with cleansing rituals, then as the earliest archaeological evidence for the chest bulbs of Artemis, in a Geometric context.<sup>62</sup> At least one Hittite object, a bronze standard, has now turned up in the Austrian excavations, and others without secure context are associated with the site.<sup>63</sup> Most striking of all, the mysterious “*Ephesia grammata*” inscribed

56 GÜTERBOCK (*supra* n. 54) 116, n. 23.

57 HILL (*supra* n. 50).

58 FLEISCHER (*supra* n. 46, 1973) 125, 418.

59 BAMMER (*supra* n. 43, 1999) 400-401.

60 Discovered in 1960: see NIEMEIER (*supra* n. 42, 1998) 39, fig. 15.

61 C. PICARD, “L’ Ephesia, les amazones et les abeilles,” *REA* 42 (1940) 270-284; E. CAVAGNAC, “Hépat de Comana et les Amazones,” *Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung* I (1950/51) 48-55; S. KARWIESE, *Die Münzprägung von Ephesos* (1995) 152-164, 168-184, 197-207, pls. 2-5, I-III; FLEISCHER (*supra* n. 46, 1973) 99-100.

62 J. PUHVEL, “On terms for ‘amber,’” in *Studia Celtica et Indogermanica. Festschrift für Wolfgang Meid zum 70. Geburtstag* (1999) 347-350; *supra* n. 49.

63 BAMMER (*supra* n. 43) 400-401, pl. 72:1. Cf. G.M.A. HANFMANN, “A Hittite Priest at Ephesus,” *AJA* 66 (1962) 1-4.

on the image, *voces magicae* used in magic spells and incantations, could derive from Hittite phrases carried down over the centuries.<sup>64</sup>

As Catherine Trümpy points out in her paper at this conference, the title Potnia survives best in Greek cult as “Despoina,” a figure worshipped in Arkadia (Paus. 8.37), refuge of Mycenaeans. The decoration of the robe of Despoina at Lykosoura, with its appliqué figures, has been compared to that of Artemis Ephesia (n. 48: Meurer, 218). It would be significant if the same name, “Despoina,” were correctly restored for the early deity at Ephesus in an archaic inscription from the Artemision, our earliest testimony for her Greek title.<sup>65</sup> Moreover, Ephesian Artemis herself had statues at Megalopolis (Paus. 8.30.6) and Alea (8.23.1) in Arkadia. In testimonia like these, can we trace survivors of one Mycenaean Potnia? Scholars have pointed out the duplication of place-names from the Mycenaean kingdom of Pylos in historical Arkadia, as evidence for the migration of survivors of the Late Bronze Age collapse into isolated and mountainous central Peloponnese, carrying the names of their homes.<sup>66</sup> Did Bronze Age ritual traditions travel with them, to survive in Arkadia?

As archaeology concentrates on recovering the prehistory of western Anatolia, it should be reaching across the Aegean for assistance, to triangulate a perspective on this area from Hattušas and Pylos, and not just Troy and Miletus. We need to imagine closer exchange between Anatolia and the Aegean, beyond correlating *Ahhiyawa* with Mycenaean culture, or Hittite myth and ritual with Homer, to understand the broader and lasting legacy of prehistoric Anatolia in the classical world.

### Conclusion:

Let us return to *Potnia Aswiya*: we cannot restore her precise appearance and cult, but we can imagine her in an important constellation of historical, cultural and ritual traditions lacing together Anatolia and Aegean on the western coast of Asia Minor.<sup>67</sup> This gives the East-West interface in Greek religion additional roots in the Bronze Age. At one time, Palmer could claim “the religious world of the Mycenaeans as virtually a province of the Orient” (*supra* n. 40, 358-359), a connection which Walter Burkert and Martin West have argued for early Greece. In this investigation, I have sought to pinpoint one moment of such transmission, a small ripple in the larger pool of the Aegean sea. Greece has a long tradition of worshipping foreign divinities, not only goddesses like Bendis from Thrace, or Adonis from the East. When Paul of Tarsus was received in Athens as yet another “preacher of foreign divinities” (*Acts* 17.17-21) on his mission to convert Athenians to monotheism, Paul finds them so extreme in their polytheism that they even worship an “unknown god” (ἄγνωστος θεός), citing an inscription (17.22). A tenth-century Christian commentator on this passage (Oecumenius: PC CXVIII.236) helpfully preserves the full text of this inscription: “To the gods of Asia and Europe and Libya, to the Unknown and Foreign God.” That kind of polytheism began in the Bronze Age, one could claim, if *Potnia Aswiya* was brought to Greece by migrants, and eventually succeeded by these “foreign gods.”

Sarah P. MORRIS

64 According to a suggestion by W. HELCK, *Betrachtungen zur grossen Göttin und den ihr verbundenen Gottheiten* (1971) 264 n. 13; see discussion by Walter BURKERT in his essay on Artemis Ephesia in *100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos. Akten des Symposiums Wien 1995* (1999). Is the habit of carrying these letters “in stitched leather” (a pouch? ἐν σκυταρίοις ῥαπτοῖσι: Anaxilas Frag. 18) another link to the <sup>KUŠ</sup>kurša? In a separate article I will explore the Anatolian background of the *Ephesia grammata*.

65 D.G. HOGARTH, *The Archaic Artemisia* (1908) 120-144 restored this, without confidence; cf. H. WANKEL, *Inschriften von Ephesos Ia* (1979) Nr. 1 (p. 4).

66 F. KIECHLE, “Ostarkadische Ortsnamen auf pylischen Linear-B Tafeln. Ein Beitrag zur Besiedlungsgeschichte Arkadiens,” *Kadmos* I (1962) 98-116; B. C. DIETRICH, “Demeter, Erinys, Artemis,” *Hermes* 90 (1962) 129-148 (140-144 on *Potnia*).

67 G. MADDOLI, “Potinija Asiwiya e le relazione micenee con l’Anatolia settentrionale,” *SMEA* IV (1967) 11-22 and *SMEA* V (1968) 67-68 connects Potnia with *Aššūwa*, but makes Athena Asia in Laconia her historical heir (Pausanias 3.24.6-7, imported to Greece by the Dioskouroi returning from Colchis).

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- Pl. CVIIa Roman copy of Artemis Ephesia in alabaster and bronze. Naples Museum 665 (formerly Farnese family collection). Fleischer fig. 11.
- Pl. CVIIb Stone relief from Burgaz, Milas (Mylasa), Caria: now lost. Zeus Labraundos of Caria: Fleischer fig. 139.
- Pl. CVIIc Hittite silver rhyton (*BIBRU*) with gold inlay, in form of stag. Gift of Norbert Schimmel Trust: Metropolitan Museum of Art 1989.281.10.
- Pl. CVIIIa Rollout photograph of relief scene on rim of Hittite *BIBRU*.
- Pl. CVIIIb Drawing of rim by C. Koken. Reproduced by permission of the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Pl. CVIIIc Red-figure cup by Douris, From Cerveteri (Caere). Vatican Museums, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco 16545. ARV 437, 116. Early fifth c. (475-450 B.C.). Tondo scene: Jason, serpent, and Athena: the Golden Fleece.