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Hermes *a-re-ja* (PY Tn 316): a new interpretation

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Abstract: A long-standing consensus among Mycenaean scholars is that *a-re-ja*, an epithet of Hermes in the Pylos tablet Tn 316, must be somehow related to Ares, the war god. Hermes *Areiās* would be either a derivative in **-ās* of Ares or, according to a recent suggestion, an abbreviated compound in the first member of which Ares would figure. The present paper argues for a different solution, taking *a-re-ja* (dat.) /*aleiǰāi*/ as an apposed noun epithet of the root **h₂leǰ-* ‘to ward off’. Nouns in apposition to divine names are not uncommon in 1st millennium Greek (type Artemis Εὐλογία ‘Good Delivery’), and Hermes *Aleia* ‘(active) Protection’ or ‘Defense’ fits neatly with Hermes’ character as a helping deity and a god of boundaries, as shown both in the myths related to him and in several of his epicleses in alphabetic Greek. *Aleiā* is best taken as a feminine verbal derivative in **-ih₂*; this type is the source of other action nouns that are either personified or have a religious background, such as αἴσα ‘destiny’ and μοῖρα ‘fate’. Furthermore, *Aleia* can be viewed as an independent testimony of the **-ǰi- > *-ǰi-* development in Mycenaean (type *i-je-re-ja* ‘priestess’).

Keywords: Divine epithet, apposed noun, Hermes, Mycenaean Greek, **-ǰi-* derivatives.

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1 Introduction

The Mycenaean tablet PY Tn 316 contains a list of gifts offered to several deities, among them Hermes, to whom the unique epithet¹ *a-re-ja* is attached (v. 7): *e-ma-a₂, a-re-ja* AUR *216^{VAS} 1 VIR 1.

It is generally accepted that (a) *e-ma-a₂ a-re-ja* appear in the dative case as the other divine recipients mentioned in the tablet, and (b) *a-re-ja* is somehow related to Ares. As for the latter, scholars have either expressed their mild puzzlement at Ares being associated with Hermes (e.g. García Ramón 2010: 88: “un cas isolé de théonyme suivie d’épithète: l’épithète *a-re-ja*, qui est un dérivé d’Arès,² apparaît comme épithète de *e-ma-a₂* [...]. Ce cas évident n’a pourtant pas de correspondant en grec alphabétique: parmi les nombreux épithètes cultuels et littéraires d’Hermès il n’y en a à ma connaissance aucun qui évoque ni Arès ni un caractère guerrier”), or have taken it at face value (e.g. Palaima 1999: 454: “Hermes on Tn 316 v. 7 has the epithet *Areias* which places Hermes here in the sphere of war and martial prowess”),³ or else have tried to explain away the curious divine pairing by suggesting, as does Guilleux (2012), an original compound meaning roughly “he who succors Ares”.

While (a) is obviously correct, I shall put forth a different interpretation for (b), either an apposed noun epiclesis that pinpoints the aspect under which Hermes (*e-ma-a₂ /Hermāhāi/* [dat.]) should be honored in the three sanctuaries

1 It is in all probability an epithet, written as it is in smaller signs, cf. Duhoux 2008: 335; the word-divider cannot be clearly seen because of a small fissure on the tablet. Aura Jorro 1990: i.97 mentions two other possibilities for *a-re-ja*: a neuter plural adjective, which makes little sense syntactically, or a feminine theonym, in asyndeton to the name of Hermes, as suggested by Lejeune 1958: 210 n. 20 and followed by Doria 1965: 169, 238; more on this later. Cf. also Knutzen 1995: 55 n. 12.

2 Cf. García Ramón 2011: 230, 232 and 2008: 333: “*a-re-ja*, Beiname von Ares (...), /*Arēiās/* (**Arē-ijā-*)”.

3 Cf. Chadwick/Baumbach 1963: 175 s.u. Ἄρης; “app[osed] ep[ithet] of Hermes”; Ruijgh 1967: 266: “Ἀρείας, substantive dérivé de l’adjectif Ἀρείος”; Aura Jorro 1999: i.97, with bibliography: “Probablement épithète de *e-ma-a₂*, quizá *Ἀρείας derivado de Ἄρης”; Duhoux 2008: 335: “of Ares’ – *Arejāi* relies apparently on a -ē- (and not -ēs) form of Ares’ name”; Melena 2014: 96 n. 126: “epithet of Hermes, /*Arēiās/* < /*Ares-yās/*” (cf. Melena 2001: 69: “para Hermes *Areias*”); Willi 2014: 210 n. 10: “Hermes epithet *a-re-ja* (dat.) (...) i.e. /*Arejāi/* = Ἀρεία”; Bernabé/Luján 2006: 305: “*a-re-ja* dat. sg. de un épít. de *e-ma-a₂*, quizá Ἀρείας. ¿Deriv. del teón. Ἄρης?”. Cf. also Palmer 1963: 263, 409, Ventris/Chadwick 1956: 288, Ventris/Chadwick 1973: 533, Bernabé 2012: 184. Bartoněk 2003: 420 takes a more cautious stance: “*Arejāi?* (D), vielleicht Beiname des Hermes”.

previously mentioned in lines 5–6⁴ or (less likely) the name of a goddess with whom Hermes presumably shares the mentioned gifts.

2 Apposed noun and divine epithet

It is known that concrete and abstract nouns may figure in apposition to theonyms in the Greek religious language of the 1st millennium. These nouns used as epithets underline a specific feature of the godhead, pointing to his or her particular sphere of action. A few examples:

- Artemis Εὐκλεία ‘Good Repute’ (*SEG* 15.517); Εὐλοχία ‘Good Delivery’ (*Gonnoi* II 173 [ca. 300 BC]); Εὐπραξία ‘Welfare’ (*IG* XIV 375).⁵
- Aphrodite Συμμαχία ‘Alliance’ (Paus. 8.9.6); Εὐπλοία ‘Fair Voyage’ (*IG* II² 2872 [c. 97 BC]); Ἄρμα ‘Accord’ (Plut. *Amat.* 769a).⁶
- Athena Πρόνοια ‘Foresight’ (Aeschin. *In Ctes.* 108.6); Θερός ‘Boldness’ (Iscr. Gr. Centrale 9,1 [3rd BC]);⁷ Αἴθουα ‘Shearwater’ (Paus. 1.5.4).⁸
- Demeter Ὀμόνοια ‘Concord’ (*IG* II² 1261 [302 BC]); Χλόη ‘Green Shoot’ (*IG* II² 1356 [4th BC]); Εὐετηρία ‘Good Season’ (*IG* IV 203 [2nd AD]).⁹
- Hera Εὐεργεσία ‘Good Deed’ (Hsch. ε 6796).
- Zeus Κεραυνός ‘Lightning Bolt’ (*IG* V.2 288 [mid. 5th BC]); Zeus Ναός ‘Temple’ (ubiquitous in the oracular lamellae of Dodona); Κτήσις ‘Property’ (*MAMA* VI 87).¹⁰
- Apollo Κοῖτος ‘Bed’ (Lycoph. 426); Κόρυθος ‘Helmet’ (Paus. 4.34.7).¹¹

4 On Hermes being associated with other female deities’ sanctuaries see Gulizio 2000.

5 Cf. Artemis Εὐπορία ‘Plenty’ (Hsch. ε 7079), Ἀσπρατεία ‘Immunity from Invasion’ (Paus. 3.25.3), Κόρδαξ ‘Cordax’ [a type of dance] (Paus. 6.22.1).

6 Cf. Aphrodite Πρᾶξις ‘Sexual Intercourse’ (Paus. 1.43.6); Ψίθυρος ‘Whisper’ (Harpocr. s.u. Ψιθυριστής Ἑρμῆς); Λέαινα ‘Lioness’ (Democh. 3.9); Βλαύτη ‘Sandal’ (*IG* II² 5183); Ἐταίρα ‘Courtesan’ (Apollod. 224 F 112 Jacoby); Πόρνη ‘Whore’ (Ath. 572 e–f); Κύπρος ‘Cyprus’ (*GIBM* IV.2 975).

7 Abstract noun in -ύς of the ισχύς or ιδύς type.

8 Cf. Athena Ἐγκέλαδος [‘a buzzing insect’: *LSJ*] (Hsch. ε 215); Σάλπιγξ ‘War-Trumpet’ (Σ. Lyc. 915); Ἀηδών ‘Nightingale’ (Hsch. α 1504).

9 Cf. Demeter Ἐρυσίβη ‘Rust’ (*Etym. Gud.* 210.25) = ‘averting rust’; Κίδαρις [an Arcadian dance] (Paus. 8.15.3).

10 Cf. Zeus Νεῖλος ‘Nile’ (Σ. Pi. P. 4.97b, 99); Μανδραγόρας ‘Mandrake’ (Hsch. μ 226); Λίθος ‘Stone’ (Polyb. 3.25.7); Θαλλός ‘Young Shoot’ (*SEG* 32.1282 [Roman period]).

11 Apollo †Πανορμίη† ‘Safe Port (?)’ (Hsch. π 374) is rather doubtful, but cf. λιμένες τε πάνορμοι ‘harbors always fit for mooring’ (Hom. *Od.* 13.195) and Apollo Πανλίμνιος ‘of all harbors (?)’ (*SEG* 29.515).

- Dionysus Λαμπτήρ ‘Torch’ (Paus. 7.27.3).
- Poseidon Ταύρος ‘Bull’ (Hsch. τ 253); Poseidon Ἴπποκέλευθος ‘Horse-Way’ (Stesichorus S14.5 *PMGF*).¹²

Theonyms themselves can figure as epiclesis:¹³

- Artemis Εἰλείθυια (*IG VII 3410*); Ὀρθία (*IG V.1 599* [Roman period]); Ἐκάτη (*SEG 42.785* [c. 470 BC]; *IG I³ 383* [429/8]); Ἐν(ν)οδία (*IG IX.1 281* [2nd BC], *SEG 48.658* [2nd BC]).
- Zeus, Enyalios Ἄρης (*IG V.2 343* [4th BC]).
- Aphrodite Ἥρα (Paus. 3.13.9).
- Hecate Εἰνοδία (S. fr. 535.2).
- Hera Εἰλείθυια (Hsch. ε 862).
- Demeter Ἐρινύς (Paus. 8.25.6).
- Heracles Παλαίμων [= a minor sea god] (Hsch. π 131).

The cases of Aphrodite Πειθώ ‘Persuasion’ (*SEG 12.423* [4th BC]), Athena Ὑγία ‘Health’ (*SEG 55.69* [5th BC]), and Athena Νίκη ‘Victory’ (*IG I³ 596* [6th BC]) are dubious: the epicleses may be viewed either as theonyms or abstract nouns.

From a formal perspective (if, that is, one accepts that our epithet is related to Ares) *a-re-ja* is neither a simple **-jo* adjective based on the name of the god – otherwise it should be written *a-re-jo* /*areijōi*/ (dat.) which is attested (KN Le 641.1) as an anthroponym or patronymic adjective (/Arehios/ or /Arēios/) – nor the theonym itself employed as epiclesis – otherwise it would appear as *a-re*, which is also attested (KN Fp 14.2).¹⁴ The best alternative would be to take it as a masculine noun in *-ās*,¹⁵ either derived from the adjective Ἄρειος or (less likely) representing an abbreviated compound, as postulated most recently by Guilleux 2012: 471: “*Arēi(-)arōgos (vel sim.)”. The dative of the first member of the compound, as the author explains, is justified “par la construction tant du verbe ἀρήγω que de

¹² Cf. Macedo 2016: 5–6, who refers to most of the apposed noun divine epithets mentioned above.

¹³ Cf. Parker 2005.

¹⁴ The case of the Arcadian Zeus Ἄρης and Enyalios Ἄρης (*IG V.2 343*) mentioned as a parallel by Ruijgh (1967: 266 n. 154), Ilievski (1999: 306), and Duhoux (2008: 335) is not actually similar, for *a-re-ja* cannot be taken as the god’s proper name employed as an epiclesis (if so, it would have to appear as *a-re* /*Arēi*/; Athena Ἄρεια of the same inscription, referred to by Willi (2014: 210 n. 10), is obviously a *feminine* adjective built on the theonym; Hermes, as said, should be given a *masculine* adjective, *a-re-jo*, and not *a-re-ja* /*areijāi*/).

¹⁵ Cf. Ruijgh 1967: 219, 137–8; Leukart 1994: 130–2, 136–45, 204–34; García Ramón 2008: 331–5; Guilleux 2012: 456.

l'adjectif ἀρωγός"; but, if indeed we are dealing with a compound, it could as well have meant e.g. "enemy of harm" (*vel sim.*), taking the first member as related to ἄρος· βλάβος (Hsch.), or "defense against ruin" – cf. ἀλεξιάρης (Hes. *Op.* 464; Hsch. s.u.), Hom. *Il.* 18.100 ἀρῆς ἀλκτῆρα, Hes. *Th.* 657 ἀλκτῆρ δ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἀρῆς 'immortals' defender from ruin', Sc. 28–9 θεοῖσιν / ἀνδράσι τ' ἀλφηστῆσι ἀρῆς ἀλκτῆρα.¹⁶ Or, to take this argument one step further, it could have meant quite the opposite if it had e.g. ἐχθρός 'enemy' (+ dat.) as the original second member. The meaning propounded by Guilleux is not altogether compelling, unless one is ready to accept the Iliadic story (5.385–391) where Hermes helps Ares as a mythological background for the epithet, which in my opinion is not utterly convincing.

Bearing in mind the noun apposition pattern mentioned above, my suggestion is that *a-re-ja* is in fact an action noun in **-ih₂* of the verbal root **h₂leu-* 'to ward off' (cf. ἀλεύομαι, ἀλέομαι 'shun, avoid' < **h₂leu-e/o-*). If so, Hermes *a-re-ja* / *aleiḡāi* / (dat.) < **aleiḡāi* / < **aleuḡāi* / means 'defense', 'protection', 'warding off' (on **-uḡi-* > **-iḡi-* see below).

3 ἀλέη, ἀλεωρή, and ἀλεύομαι/ἀλέομαι

Attested once in Homer and once in Hesiod, ἀλέη (< **ἀλέφ-ā*) conveys the idea of a means of escape or protection against a hostile, external force.¹⁷

Il. 22.300–1 νῦν δὲ δὴ ἐγγύθι μοι θάνατος κακός, οὐδ' ἔτ' ἄνευθεν,
οὐδ' ἀλέη

'now grim death is close to me, and no longer far away, and there is no means of escape'.

Hes. *Op.* 544–5 δέρματα συρράπτειν νεύρω βοός, ὄφρ' ἐπὶ νώτῳ
ὑετοῦ ἀμφιβάλλη ἀλέην¹⁸

'sew the skins together with the sinew of an ox, so that you may put it over your back as protection against rain'.

¹⁶ See Hes. Sc. 128.

¹⁷ Cf. Jouanna 1982.

¹⁸ Cf. *Il.* 16.213, 23.713 βίας ἀνέμων ἀλεείων 'warding off the force of the winds', where an active protection against the elements is also involved. The verb ἀλεείω is probably built on a nominal *n*-stem of the same root: **ἀλεφ-έν-ιω* (cf. Hsch. ἄλεαρ). See Risch 1974: 291; Chantraine 1988: 345; *LfgGE* s.u. ἀλεείω [Jean Irigoín]; Beekes 2010: 65 s.u. ἀλέομαι.

Both meanings (protection and means of escape) are also conveyed by ἀλεωρή (either < *ἀλέφ-ωλᾱ¹⁹ or ἀλέφ-ωρ-ᾱ²⁰):

- Il.* 15.532–3 ξείνος γάρ οἱ ἔδωκεν (sc. θώρηκα) ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Εὐφήτης
 ἔς πόλεμον φορέειν, δηίων ἀνδρῶν ἀλεωρήν
 ‘a guest had given it to him, lord of men Euphetes, to carry into fight as a protection against enemies’.

One may note the similar syntax here and in Hesiod: ἀλεωρή + gen. ≈ ἀλέη + gen.²¹

- Il.* 24.214–6 οὐ ἔ (Hector) κακιζόμενόν γε κατέκτα,
 ἀλλὰ πρὸ Τρώων καὶ Τρωϊάδων βαθυκόλπων
 ἔσταότ’, οὔτε φόβου μεμνημένου οὔτ’ ἀλεωρήs
 ‘it was no coward that he slew; instead, he was standing before the men of Troy and the deep-breasted women of Troy, with no thought of flight or means of escape’.

In several Homeric passages ἀλεύομαι/ἀλέομαι is employed with regard to a warrior who dodges the danger represented by a weapon (ἔγχος, δόρυ, βέλος) thrown at him – not by fleeing, but by skillfully steering clear of it:

- Il.* 13.184 (= 13.404, 503; 16.610; 17.305, 526)
 ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν ἄντα ἰδὼν ἠλεύατο χάλκεον ἔγχος
 ‘but keeping his eyes on him he avoided the bronze spear’.²²
Il. 22.274 καὶ τὸ (= ἔγχος) μὲν ἄντα ἰδὼν ἠλεύατο φαίδιμος Ἴεκτωρ
 ‘glorious Hector kept his eyes on him and avoided the spear’.
Il. 20.281 ὁ δ’ ἀλευάμενος δόρυ μακρόν / ἔστη
 ‘but he avoided the long spear and stood still’.
Od. 22.260 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ δούρατ’ ἀλεύαντο μνηστήρων
 ‘after they had avoided the spears of the suitors’.²³

¹⁹ With dissimilation, cf. *DELG* 58; Chantraine 1933: 243; *GEW* 66 s.u. 2. ἀλέα; Beekes 2010: 65.

²⁰ If an alternation ἀλεαρ/*ἀλέωρ of the type τέκμαρ/τέκμωρ applies in this case, cf. F. Bader *apud* Jouanna 1982: 32 n. 23.

²¹ Cf. *Il.* 12.57 and *Ar.* V. 615 (σκευὴν βελέων ἀλεωρήν ‘rampart against missiles’).

²² Cf. *Il.* 22.285 νῦν αὖτ’ ἐμὸν ἔγχος ἄλευαι ‘now try to avert my spear!’

²³ Cf. *Il.* 10.370–1 ἢ ἐ μὲν’, ἢ ἐ σε δουρὶ κιχῆσομαι· οὐδέ σε φημι / δηρὸν ἐμῆς ἀπὸ χειρὸς ἀλύξειν αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον ‘Either stay put or I will catch you with my spear. I think you will not stay away for long from the sheer destruction from my hand’.

Od. 20.305 οὐκ ἔβαλες τὸν ξεῖνον· ἀλεύατο γὰρ βέλος αὐτός
‘you did not hit the stranger, he avoided your weapon’.

More than just avoiding a peril, the action of warding off an impeding danger may be the core meaning of the verbal root:²⁴

Il. 3.360 (= 7.254) ὁ δ’ ἐκλίνθη καὶ ἀλεύατο κῆρα μέλαιναν²⁵
‘he bent to one side and kept black destruction away’.

Thus ἀλεύομαι may stand in opposition to φυγεῖν, which at times imparts to the action a sense of downright retreat.

Il. 13.436 οὔτε γὰρ ὀπίσσω φυγέειν δύνατ’ οὔτ’ ἀλέασθαι
‘he was not able to beat a retreat nor to ward him off’.

Od. 20.368 τό (sc. κακόν) κεν οὔ τις ὑπεκφύγοι οὐδ’ ἀλάειτο / μνηστήρων
‘none of the suitors will manage to escape or ward off the evil’.

However, ἀλεύομαι and φυγεῖν may also overlap and complement each other, acting as near synonyms.²⁶

Od. 12.157 ἢ κεν ἀλεύαμενοι θάνατον καὶ κῆρα φύγοιμεν
‘or we may keep away from death and escape destruction’.

Od. 15.275 τῶν ὑπαλευάμενος θάνατον καὶ κῆρα μέλαιναν / φεύγω
‘keeping away death and black destruction at the hands of them I am a fugitive’.

In Greek tragedy, notably in Aeschylus, the verb in its active voice (ἀλεύω) is used to request a deity (always in the imperative) to keep off a peril: *A. Th.* 88 ἀλεύσατε (gods and goddesses), 141 ἄλευσον (Cypris); *Supp.* 528 ἄλευσον (Zeus).²⁷

²⁴ Jouanna 1982: 22 n. 8: “Il est probable que la notion fondamentale dans le radical **alew-* n’est pas celle d’éviter (un danger), mais celle d’écarter ou de détourner (un danger), de ‘protéger contre’ (un danger), le sens d’‘éviter’, ‘se protéger contre’ étant un sens secondaire dû au moyen dans ἀλέομαι (‘écarter de soi un danger’)”. Cf. *CEG* 4: 82 s.u. ἀλέα 2.

²⁵ ἀλεύατο κῆρα μέλαιναν is formulaic, cf. *Il.* 14.462.

²⁶ Cf. García Ramón 2009 on the Myc. PN *pu₂-ke-qi-ri*, where he argues (11–12) for a semantic equivalence of ἔφυγε and ἠλεύατο, commenting on the collocation [ESCAPE – EVIL] in Homer.

²⁷ Cf. [A.] *Pr.* 566–7 εἶδωλον Ἄργου / ἄλευ’).

4 φυγή/φύζα :: ἀλέη/*a-re-ja* (< *-eh₂/**-ih₂*)

Both φυγή and ἀλέη are *nomina actionis* with an -ā < *-eh₂ suffix, while φύζα (*-īā < *-ih₂) is a verbal derivative (cf. ἔφυγον) related to a root-noun (cf. φύγαδε). Similarly, from the verbal root *mek^u-/*mok^u- ‘to say’ (root-noun ὄπα, ὀπί, ὀπός) is derived ὄσσα ‘(divine) voice’ with an *-ih₂ suffix (cf. the voice of Zeus [ὄσσα ἐκ Διός] in *Od.* 1.282 and 2.216, the voice of the Muses in *Hes. Th.* 43, 65; personified as messenger of Zeus in *Il.* 2.93 and *Od.* 24.413; prophetic voice in *Pi. O.* 6.62 and *Neophr.* 1.2 [Πυθίαν ... ὄσσαν]). Like ὄσσα, these archaic-looking, feminine derivatives in *-īā are often conceived of as action nouns brimming with religious meaning and personified, for instance the well-known αἴσα ‘share, destiny’ (cf. *Osc. aeteis* [gen.] ‘part’),²⁸ μοῖρα ‘fate’ (cf. ἔμμορε [perf.] ‘owns as one’s lot’), λύσσα ‘rage’ (either from λύκος or λευκός), and φύζα ‘precipitous flight’.²⁹

Unlike φυγή, which means basically ‘flight, escape’, φύζα denotes the power that instils the urge to flee.³⁰ In Homer φύζα famously takes the form of personified Panic in *Il.* 9.2 (αὐτὰρ Ἀχαιοὺς / θεσπεσίη ἔχε Φύζα, Φόβου κρυόνεντος ἑταίρη ‘appalling Panic, companion of chilling Flight, held the Achaians in her grip’). A god, either Apollo or Zeus, has the prerogative of infusing it into mortals (*Il.* 15.62 Ἀχαιοὺς ... ἀνάγκιδα φύζαν ἐνόρσας ‘having raised helpless panic in the Achaians’;³¹ *Od.* 14.269 = 17.438 ἐν δὲ Ζεὺς τερπικέραννος / φύζαν ἐμοῖσ’ ἐτάροισι κακὴν βάλεν ‘and Zeus who delights in thunder hurled wicked panic among my companions’).

Overall one may compare, on the one hand, φυγή and ἀλέη (*-ā) with φύζα and *Myc. a-re-ja* (*-īā) on the other. As for φυγή and ἀλέη, note the similar wording in *Il.* 22.301 (quoted above) νῦν δὲ δὴ ἐγγύθι μοι θάνατος κακός, οὐδ’ ἔτ’ ἀνευθεν, / οὐδ’ ἀλέη ‘now grim death is close to me, and no longer far away, and there is no means of escape’ and *Od.* 22.306 οὐδέ τις ἀλκή γίγνεται οὐδὲ φυγή ‘nor is there any defense, nor any way out’.³²

28 αἴσα is a form in *-īā built on a *-t(o)- derivative (cf. ἔξαιτος ‘exquisite’) from the root *h₁ai- ‘give, take’ (*LIV* 229), cf. αἴνυμαι. See Untermann 2000: 55 s.u. *aeteis*, *GEW* 44, *DELG* 39, and Beekes 2010: 43 (for whom the root is *h₂ei-).

29 Cf. Chantraine 1933: 99; Chantraine 1953: 72; *DELG* s.u. φεύγω A.; *GEW* s.u. φεύγω; Porzig 1942: 349–50.

30 Chantraine 1933: 100: “φυγή est un mot banal que l’attique a largement utilisé et qui signifie ‘fuite, possibilité de fuir’ (...). Au contraire φύζα désigne la puissance qui fait fuir, la panique.”

31 Cf. *Il.* 15.366.

32 Cf. *Hes. Th.* 876 κακοῦ δ’ οὐ γίνεται ἀλκή ‘there will be no way to keep off the evil’ (*Op.* 201 κακοῦ δ’ οὐκ ἔσσεται ἀλκή). On the similar usages of ἀλέη/ἀλέομαι and ἀλκή/ἀλέξομαι, see Jouanna 1982: 33–5. On the family of ἀλκή/ἀλέξομαι and the basic underlying idea of “protection, resistance”, cf. Griepentrog 1995: 33–57.

As against the objective facts of flight or (active) defense, φύζα and, as I claim, Myc. *a-re-ja* /*aleīja*/ < */*aleu-ǰǰ*/ ‘defense, protection, warding off’ may be viewed as their marked, divinely inspired or personified counterpart. This is certainly a well-suited word to be used as an epicleris of Hermes, an eminent god of boundaries³³ whose attributes include being a helper to others – he is ἐριοῦνιος, the one “who comes running to somebody’s aid”, in Langella’s (2013) convincing interpretation of his epithet. He is also ἀλεξίκακος ‘who keeps off misfortune’ (Ar. *Pax* 422), an epithet he shares with Heracles (*SEG* 28.232),³⁴ and Zeus (*IC* II xix 7, cf. *SEG* 42.818).³⁵ Not infrequently he is said to stand at the gates and keep guard: πωληδόκος ‘who stands watch at the gate’ (*h. Merc.* 15);³⁶ ὁ πρὸς τῆς πυλίδι ‘before the postern door’ (Philoch. *fr.* 40b); προπύλαιος ‘guardian of the gate’ (Paus. 1.22.8; Rhodian Peraia 59);³⁷ πυλαῖος ‘keeper of the gate’ (Anon. Alexandri 236.12; Σ. *Il.* 2.842);³⁸ Ἐρμῆς ἐπ’ Αἰγέως πύλαις ‘at Aegeus’ gate’ (Plu. *Thes.* 12.6); πύλιος ‘at the gates’ (Erythrai 60 d.31); θυραῖος ‘keeper of the doors’ (*IvP* II 325, where the god is further described as φύλακα τοῦ νεῶ καὶ ῥύτορα ‘sentinel of the temple and defender’);³⁹ πρόναος ‘guardian of the temple’ (Paus. 9.10.2); στροφαῖος ‘who stands at door-hinges’ (Ar. *Pl.* 1153);⁴⁰ στροφεύς ‘door-hinge’ (Phot. *Lex.* s.u.). As keeper of (sacred) precincts he is ἐπιτέρμιος ‘at the boundaries’ (Hsch. ε 5317)⁴¹ and τεμενουρός ‘guardian of a τέμενος’ (Knidos 79 = IK Knidos I 301). As custodian of herds he is ἐπιμήλιος ‘guardian of flocks’ (Paus. 9.34.3) and μηλοσόος

33 Cf. ἔρμα ‘herm’, to which his name might be etymologically related.

34 Interestingly Heracles is addressed as ἀλεξίς ‘help’ in Cos (Arist. 1.34), yet another instance of apposed noun epicleris. Cf. Myc. PN]*re-ki-si* KN X 7712.b /*Aleksis*/: hypocoristic or abstract noun as personal name?

35 Two epithets of whom are ἀλεξητήριος ‘who keeps off’ (A. *Th.* 8) and ἀλεξήτωρ ‘who defends’ (S. *OC* 143). Apollo, Artemis, and Athena are called ἀλεξιμοροι ‘who keep death away’ by Sophocles (*OT* 164), while both Zeus and Apollo are known as φύξιος, whose meaning is not entirely clear: ‘who protects the ones who flee’ or ‘who puts to flight’ or generally ‘related to flight’? Ἀλεξεᾶτις ‘defender’ is an epicleris of the goddess Enodia in Larissa (*IG* IX.2 576), and Ἀλεκτρώνα may be a goddess at Ialysus, Rhodes (*IG* XII.1 677.4, 21).

36 Cf. Vergados 2013: 235–6 and, in general, Farnell 1896–1909: v.19, 66 n. 20–25.

37 Also said of Apollo (Ar. *V.* 875) and Artemis (Paus. 1.38.6).

38 An epithet he shares with Poseidon, cf. *SEG* 15.377 (Larissa, 4th BC). Cf. Σ. Ar. *Pax* 922 and Paus. 4.33.3.

39 Hermes belongs to the προθύραιοι gods, cf. Farnell 1896–1909: ii.431, iv.45. In *h. Merc.* 384 Hermes swears by Olympus’ προθύραια.

40 Cf. Σ. *ad loc.*: στροφαῖος λέγεται καὶ ἡ τῶν πυλῶν στρόφιγξ καὶ πᾶς πανοῦργος καὶ πράγματα μετατρέπων. See also Suda s.u. στροφαῖον· ἐπωνυμία ἐστὶν Ἐρμοῦ παρὰ τὸ ταῖς θύραις ἰδρῶσθαι ἐπὶ φυλακῆ τῶν ἄλλων κλεπτῶν.

41 Cf. Paus. 8.34.6 (image of Hermes on a slab at the boundary between Messenia and Megalopolis).

‘sheep-protecting’ (*Anth. Pal.* 6.334.3);⁴² as keeper of fruits, he is ἐπικάρπιος (*IG* XII.7 252); as city-protector (at Rhodes), ἐπιπολαιῖος (Hsch. s.u.). Pausanias (9.22.1–2) tells the story behind his epiclesis κριοφόρος ‘ram-bearer’ at Tanagra: Hermes turned away a plague from the city by carrying a ram around the walls. His deterring qualities underlie also his other epithet in the Boeotian city, where he is worshipped in two temples: Hermes πρόμαχος ‘champion’.⁴³ Under attack of Eretrians who sailed from Euboeia, he is said to have led the young men out to battle – *nota bene*: a defensive battle – and routed the invaders like a youth, curiously armed with a σπλεγγίς, an athlete’s scraper used to remove oil and dirt from the skin (hardly a warlike weapon of charge or onslaught).

Is there any other divine epithet in 1st millennium Greek belonging to the same root as Myc. Hermes *a-re-ja* /*aleija*? An obvious candidate is Ἀλέα (< **-eh₂*), epiclesis of Athena in Arcadia (cf. *IG* V.2 75, *SEG* 26.472 [Tegea ca. 525–500 BC];⁴⁴ *IG* V.2 262.1 [Mantineia, ca. 460 BC]; Paus. 8.45.4, 9.6, 23.1; Hdt. 1.66.4; X. *HG* 6.5.27; Men. *Her.* 84).⁴⁵ Less certain is Apollo Ἀλεύς (Tarentum, 4th BC),⁴⁶ who could in principle be loosely built on ἀλέᾱ, as Ἄγνιεύς (epithet of Apollo)⁴⁷ is built on ἄγνια and Πολιεύς (epithet of Zeus)⁴⁸ on πόλις.⁴⁹ Hermes *a-re-ja* may thus be a Mycenaean forerunner of Athena’s and Apollo’s epiclesis, which are built on different suffixes.

If I am correct in tracing back *a-re-ja* to a derivative in **-ih₂* of the root **h₂ley-* ‘ward off’, there are three alternatives to interpret the word in its context. It is either (a) an apposed noun epithet of the type fairly richly attested in the religious language of 1st millennium Greek, or (b) a feminine divine name in asyndeton to Hermes, or (c) a feminine divine name used as epithet. I strongly favor the first choice (a), even though options (b) and (c) cannot be dismissed out of hand. But the awkward asyndeton speaks against (b), while (c) is burdensome, since it entails assuming yet another divinity within the Mycenaean pantheon, for whom there is no evidence whatsoever.

42 Cf. Suda γ 304.3, 313.1.

43 Also said of Athena (*IG* II² 3169/70.13), another tutelary deity.

44 With hypercorrect initial aspiration: *χαλέα*.

45 Cf. Jost 1985: 106–9.

46 *SEG* 30.1218. Myc. PN *a-re-wo* PY An 340.11: /*Aley-ōn*? Cf. PN *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo* PY An 654.8 /*Alektruōn*/; *q-re-ko-to-re* KN Ce 152 v.1 /*Alektōr*/.

47 Pherecr. 87; E. *Ph.* 631.

48 *IG* XII.3 363.

49 Cf. Chantraine 1933: 128; Perpillou 1973: 195–6, 188.

5 **-u̥i-* > **-ji-* in Mycenaean

The outcome of the cluster **-u̥i-* is of course a moot question in Mycenaean (and 1st millennium Greek) phonology, ridden as it is with ambiguities. An original (pre-Mycenaean) development **-u̥i-* > **-ji-* is argued for by Heubeck (1963: 195–201; 1970: 63–70), Lejeune (1972: 172–3), Risch (1979: 272–3, 276; 1974: 135 n. 120), Peters (1980: 216 n. 168), and Hajnal (1995: 43). The obvious starting point is the richly attested *i-je-re-ja* PY Eb 297.1++ /-eijǎ/ < */-eujǎ/ ‘priestess’, arguably a feminine built to the masculine in <-(C)e-u> (PY Aq 218.2+ *i-je-re-u* /-ěus/ ‘priest’).⁵⁰ One might expect **i-je-re-u-ja* or **i-je-re-wi-ja* (< **-ěũ-ǎ*) but there is no trace of **u̥* in the attested forms.⁵¹ As for the <-(C)e-ja> suffix, it is fairly productive, taking on a life of its own and spreading to formations other than motionsfemina of a primary word in -ευς, as e.g. in *ri-ne-ja* PY Ab 745.B /lineija/ ‘textile worker’ (cf. *ri-no* PY Nn 228.1 ‘linen’) and *a-ra-ka-te-ja* PY Aa 89 /ālakateija/ ‘spinner’.⁵²

The problem, to be sure, is how to account for the cases where **-u̥i-* is apparently maintained, written either as <CV-u-jV> or <CV-wi-jV> in words such as *di-u-jo* ~ *di-wi-jo* /diu̥jo-/ (: δῖος), *di-u-ja* ~ *di-wi-ja* /diu̥ja-/ (: δῖα), *me-u-jo* ~ *me-wi-jo* /mei̥u̥jo-/ (: μείων).⁵³ Some have tried to circumvent this difficulty by arguing that **-u̥i-* > **-ji-* is pre-Mycenaean and that the examples with <CV-u-jV> should all go back to **-u̥i̥V*.⁵⁴ This assumption might face a graphic objection:⁵⁵ why should the scribe have noted *me-u-jo* for **mei̥u̥jo-* (and not just *me-wi-jo*) or *di-u-jo* for **diu̥jo-* (and not just *di-wi-jo*)? Different graphic syllabification might be assumed as counterargument: /mei̥u̥yo-/ (= *me-u-jo*) and /mei̥wyo-/ (= *me-wi-jo*), both going back to **mei̥u̥jo-*, or /diu̥yo-/ (= *di-u-jo*) and /di̥wyo-/ (= *di-wi-jo*), both going back to **diu̥jo-*.⁵⁶ But then one is forced to suppose a divergent development in alphabetic Greek, where δῖος and μείων are disyllabic.⁵⁷ It is thus not unreasonable to envisage that the cluster **-u̥i-* is still extant in Mycenaean. The more so because, even assuming that intervocalic **-u̥i-* clusters had

50 Cf. *ke-ra-me-ja* KN Ap 639.7 ‘potter’ built on *ke-ra-me-u* KN Cn 1287.4 /kerameus/.

51 Quite implausible is Bartoněk’s claim (1963: 57) that **u̥* does survive, even though it is not written. Against a phonological solution **-u̥i-* > **-ji-* see Ruijgh 1967: 247–8 (-ευς and -εῖα as pre-Hellenic suffixes); Ruipérez 1966; 1990 (original **-u-ih₂*, not **-eu-ih₂*, yielding **-eja* by analogy; cf. along similar lines Christol 1975, with a list of previous views, and Hamp 1970: 61). Further discussion in Viredaz 1983: 174–82.

52 See the relevant material in Ruijgh 1967: 247–58.

53 Cf. *go-wi-ja* PY Tn 316 < **g^wóu-ih₂*, disyllabic °βουος, °βουα in alphabetic Greek.

54 See Heubeck 1963: 195–201; 1970: 63–70 and Peters 1980: 216 n. 168.

55 Cf. Lejeune 1972: 172; Viredaz 1983: 174.

56 Cf. Melena 2014: 100.

57 But cf. Scr. *divyá-* and *diviyá-* ‘celestial’.

been pre-historically eliminated by assimilation, it is not perfectly clear on which basis it could have been analogically reintroduced during Mycenaean times, as suggested by Lejeune (1972: 173).

An alternative was put forward by Risch (1979: 272–3) and elaborated by Hajnal (1995: 43–6), who claims that morpheme boundary and Sievers' Law (with its necessary analogical extensions) are at play in sequences involving the <-CV-u-jV> and <-CV-wi-jV> evidence.⁵⁸ This may well be correct, but the crucial point is that Sievers' variations do not apply when the suffixal cluster **-ëjĩã-* < **-ëjĩã-* (with tautosyllabic **-ujĩ-*) is at issue in Mycenaean, perhaps due to frequency reasons.⁵⁹ If so, it could be argued that **-ëjĩã-* yields **-ëjĩã-* (and also **-ëjĩe/o-* > **-ëjĩe/o-* for that matter)⁶⁰ in the pre-Mycenaean stage, whereas in other environments what is felt as heterosyllabic **-ujĩ-* remained as such, only to be altered in post-Mycenaean times.⁶¹

Although not all details are clear, for my purposes it suffices to note that **-ujĩ-* > **-jĩ-* is a perfectly acceptable outcome in Mycenaean; what is more, it may have occurred (if indeed *a-re-ja* goes back to a verbal derivative in **-iã*) even outside the feminine suffix context of nouns in **-ëus*. Taking everything into account, *a-re-ja* /*aleijãi*/ < **/aleujĩãi/* fits the bill nicely as regards Mycenaean phonology, since an original suffix cluster **-ëjĩã* may be shown to have already been simplified into **-ëjĩã-* > **-ëjĩã-* in Proto-Greek.⁶²

58 For a more cautious approach see Barber 2014: 118–22.

59 Cf. Viredaz 1983: 180 and Hajnal 1995: 45.

60 Cf. the Elean forms in -ειω such as λατρεϊόμενον, φυγαδείημ, φυγαδεϊοί vs. aor. φυγαδεύαντι (*Minon* 10.7; 30.1, 3–4, 6).

61 A possible exception is PN *pa-di-jo* KN Sc 224 /*Pandjōn*/ < **/dijjōn*/ < **/dijjōn*/ (: Πανδίων), see Hajnal 1995: 46; Ilievski 1999: 304; Heubeck 1963: 199; 1970: 67. Verbal adjectives such as *qe-te-jo* PY Fr. 1206 /*k^eeitejion*/ or KN Fh 348.2 *qe-te-o* /*?k^eeite(i)on*/ 'to be paid' (: -τέος) could be yet another instance of **-ëjĩã-* > **-ëjĩã-* > **-ëjĩã-*, since their suffix might go back to an original **-teujĩo-* (cf. Scr. gerundives in *-tavjã-*, e.g. *kartavyã-* 'to be done'), see Risch 1979: 272–3. But the alphabetic Greek suffix -τέος is probably better explained otherwise (cf. Willi 2009).

62 Recently Willi (2014) has postulated that an original root-noun **h₂reus* (**h₂reu-* 'to rip') is the basis of the Aeolic name variant of the god Ares (Ἄρεως, Alc. 70.8 L.–P.). Willi himself (2014: 210 n. 10) apparently takes *a-re-ja* as an **-iō/-iã* derivative (but then again why not *a-re-jo* /*areijōi*/?) of the relevant stem, accepting **-ujĩ-* > **-jĩ-* although stating that "it would be impossible positively to exclude any *ē*-stem derivation". Indeed, a form in **arëu-* cannot account for Myc. PN *a-re-i-me-ne* (TH Z 849) or *a-re-me-ne* (TH Z 852), which may go back either to **arē-* (: /*Arēimenēs*/) or to an *s*-stem **ares-* (: /*Arehimenēs*/), cf. García Ramón 2008: 333. Furthermore, forms like Hom. ἄρηϊος and Aeol. ἀρεύϊος (Alc. fr. 112.10 L.–P.) would require a different syllabification (**-ëu-ijĩo-*) from Myc. *a-re-ja* (**-ëu-ĩã-*). Much rather, an *-iã* derivative (apart from being incompatible with *a-re-[i]-me-ne*) would somehow fit into the picture: /*areijãi*/ (written *a-re-ja*) < **/areujĩãi/*. The main setback of this theory, nevertheless, is the fact that there is precious little support to justify

6 Conclusion

To sum up, *a-re-ja* (dat.) /*aleiīāi*/ ‘defense, warding off’ is best taken as an apposed noun epiclesis of Hermes (*e-ma-a₂/Hermāhāi*) and described as a verbal abstract built on the root **h₂leu-* ‘to ward off’. Like other derivatives in **-iā* (**-ih₂*) such as φύζα, αἶσα, μοῖρα, λύσσα, it reflects a divine origin and is endowed with religious meaning. Myc. /*aleiīa*/ should now be added to the dossier. Besides being well suited for Hermes’ sphere of action as a defensive god of boundaries and city limits, the epithet is a further instance of the early, regular phonological development of **-uī-* > **-iī-*. Or, to be more precise, it is another example of the development of tautosyllabic **-ēuīā-* > **-ēiīā-* > **-ēiīā-* which is probably Proto-Greek and was quite productive within Mycenaean itself.

“Defense” or “(active) protection” as an epithet of Hermes underlines a peculiar trait under which the god should be honored, thus adding to his characterization as a helping deity who averts potential or imminent danger by standing guard. Hermes, in fact, as far as his Mycenaean epithet is concerned, may have nothing to do with Ares.⁶³

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why such a word meaning roughly “destruction, bane” (personified) should be employed as an epithet of Hermes, who is anything but a belligerent god. Roughly the same is valid for those who envisage an *ē*-stem derivative **arē-iīā-*, unless one is ready to accept an underlying compound (like Guilleux), which to my mind is not exempt from criticism.

63 Dr. Daniel Kölligan (Cologne) suggests to me (pers. comm.) yet another line of thought, imagining a derivation of the epithet form **ser-* ‘to take, rob’ (cf. *LIV* s.u. 3. **ser-*), e.g. **s₁-eje/o-* > /*hareje/o-*/, whence /*harej-ā-*/ <*a-re-ja*>, which would fit Hermes βούκληψ. Beside this **s₁-je/o-* > /*haje/o-*/ > **αἵρε/o-* vs. **ἀρέε/o-* → *αἵρέω*? Or from the stem *ār-* < **s₁-* an agent noun /*har-eus*/ ‘robber’ → adj. /*hareuio-*/ ‘related to robbery’ > /*hareiio-*/ → /*hareiā-*/.

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