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The Linear B evidence for religion is accessible to most scholars of later Greek culture mainly through handbooks like M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*² (Cambridge 1973) and S. Hiller and O. Panagl, *Die frühgriechischen Texte aus mykenischer Zeit* (Darmstadt 1976), through introductory syntheses like J. Chadwick, *The Mycenaean World* (Cambridge 1976), and through general studies of aspects of Greek culture that incorporate some discussion of the Mycenaean Greek data, e.g., W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* trans. J. Raffan (Cambridge, MA 1985). This can result in conclusions about the Mycenaean textual evidence that are out of date and do not take into account the interdisciplinary complexities of current Linear B textual interpretation. Worse still the significance of the Linear B evidence can be completely ignored by scholars who work with and within the field of historical Greek religion. In this paper I shall discuss what ongoing work with Linear B documents reveals about the origins of Greek religion. I shall use as a test case the worship of the god Dionysos.

It is a remarkable fact about historical Greek religion that the names of many of the principal deities of the historical Greek pantheon do not have probable Greek/Indo-European etymologies.¹ Conspicuous examples are Artemis and Athena. The *da* element that occurs in the theonyms *Poseidaon* and *Damater* is also problematical. The arrival of Indo-Europeans in the Balkan peninsula brought the Greek-speakers into contact with established cultures which, in grossly simplified terms and avoiding thorny chronological questions, we shall term mainland Helladic, Cycladic, and Minoan.² The period after their arrival was marked by cultural assimilation and adaptation in almost all aspects of material culture and social organization. Cretan/Minoan influence, of course, is seen clearly in the development of the Linear B script from Minoan Linear A. I have discussed elsewhere the implications of the apparently non-Indo-European origins of the terms *wanax* and *basileus*.³ One can cite the clear parallel of the Hittite culture in Anatolia which adopted and adapted over time many non-Indo-European Hattic and Hurrian terms, practices, ideas, and institutions (cf. in Hittite texts the use of the term *Labarnas* /*Tabarnas* alongside the Sumerogram LUGAL and the Hittite term *hassu* to denote 'king').

The Linear B texts indicate that the same process of change and adjustment through the interaction and merging of cultures was going on in the religious sphere. (Again the parallels to Hittite culture are striking.) A clear example of how the Greek-speakers adapted to their Aegean cultural

surroundings is the use of the Greek term *potnia* ("she who has power" or "mistress") in an all-purpose way to identify female deities connected with specific locations and specific spheres of worship or power. This term is used in the Linear B tablets in a formulaic way:

*noun or place designation in the genitive (or adjective serving the same function) + potnia.*⁴

Two conspicuous examples of such usage with non- and presumably pre-Greek locales are:

a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja on Knossos tablet V 52

and *da-pu2-ri-to-jo po-ti-ni-ja* on Knossos tablets Gg 702.2 and Oa 745.2.

These identify the *potnia* of the site *Athene* and the *potnia* of a location known as 'labyrinth'⁵ respectively. *daburinthoio*, of course, has the conspicuous *-nthos* ending that characterizes many substrate toponyms and terms (*hyakinthos*, *terebinthos*, *asaminthos*, *Zakynthos*, *Probalinthos*), and it also shows a *d/l* alternation that provides a possible clue to the phonology of the Minoan language.⁶ From *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja*, we can hypothesize that the later prominent Greek goddess Athena developed out of a pre-Greek toponym *Athene*, the form of which we can compare with other non-Greek place designations throughout the Aegean: *Mykene*, *Troizene*, *Messene*, *Cyrene*, *Pallene*, *Mitylene*, *Priene* and so on.⁷ Eventually this goddess was particularized and associated with the greatest place called *Athene*, namely Athens in Attica. Here she was chief patroness-protectress of the *polis* and her temples (lastly the *parthenon*) occupied the prime spot on the acropolis, which itself was once a fortified Mycenaean citadel.⁸ The place-name epithet becomes the name of the goddess. Her true origin is seen in toponymic adjectival phrases such as Homeric *Pallas Athenaiē* (Athenian *Pallas*, a word itself of uncertain origin and meaning) or *Athenaiē* (simply 'the Athenian [goddess]'⁹). But it is the Linear B evidence that provides the formulaic pattern that confirms this line of reasoning.

Besides the '*potnia* of the labyrinth' and the '*potnia* of *Athene*' we have *u-po-jo-po-ti-ni-ja* or—with a word-separation—*u-po-jo po-ti-ni-ja* '*potnia* of *u-po*' (PY Fn 187.8, Fr 1225.1, Fr 1236.1), *po-ti-ni-ja a-si-wi-ja* = '*potnia* of Asia' (PY Fr 1206), possibly the *si-to po-ti-ni-ja* = '*potnia* of grains', *i-qe-ja po-ti-ni-ja* = 'horse-related *potnia*' and so on.¹⁰ The Greek-speakers were confronted with a multiplicity of specific and well-established local female deities and chose to refer to them and to differentiate them by this convenient formula: *she who has power* at site X or in sphere X. (For this process we may compare *mutatis mutandis* Roman Catholic "Our Lady of Lourdes/Guadalupe/Mt. Carmel.") That the term *potnia* survives in Homeric/Classical Greek mainly in the *Athene* formula is an indication of the atrophying of localized non-Hellenic cults over

time and the syncretism of such localized deities with the female deities (some themselves of clearly non-Greek origin) that came to dominate the historical Greek pantheon: Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Hera.

Within this framework, it is illuminating to discuss what the Linear B tablets have revealed about the deity Dionysos. From the time of the decipherment of Linear B to the present, the textual *data* for *di-wo-nu-so* have increased and we have made considerable advances in our understanding of palaeography, archival studies, orthography, and phonology that have improved our abilities to interpret these documents correctly. We can reassess traditional views that the cult of Dionysos was taken up by the Greeks sometime after the collapse of Mycenaean palatial culture and that it originated in Phrygia, Lydia, Crete or Thrace. In the course of this paper, we shall discuss thoroughly the following four texts and their implications:¹¹

- a. PY Ea 102 di-wo-nu-so-jo 'of Dionysios'¹²
- b. PY Xa 1419 di-wo-nu-so[¹³
- c. KN Dv 1501 di-*79-nu[¹⁴
- d. KH Gq 5 .1 di-wi-jo-[de,]di-wę ME+RI 209VAS+ A 1 [
 - .2 di-wo-nu-so ME+RI [] 2¹⁵

At the time of the first edition of *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* (Cambridge 1956), the only tablet that contained a possible reference to Dionysos was the fragmentary tablet now identified as Ea 102. It was classified in the Xa series of fragmentary leaf-shaped tablets because it preserved no ideographic identification of subject and was thus stripped of all archival context that could have helped in its interpretation. Thus there was skepticism as to whether the lexical item *di-wo-nu-so-jo* was in fact a reference to the deity Dionysos.

Ventris and Chadwick, in *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* (Cambridge 1956) 127, remarked: "Dionysus is a surprising name to find, and there is no evidence to prove that it is divine. It only occurs once in the genitive case on a Pylos fragment: Xa06: *di-wo-nu-so-jo* [." Such skepticism existed because the pre-decipherment studies of Greek religion almost unanimously agreed that Dionysos was an outsider and entered the canonical Greek pantheon rather late.¹⁶ E. Rohde, *Psyche* (1910) 2.1-102 proposed that the *Urheimat* of Dionysos was in the north, thus accounting

for his Thracian connections. Wilamowitz, *Glaube der Hellenen* (1932) 2.60-69, linked Dionysos to Phrygia and Lydia in Anatolia, based on the equation of his mother Semele with Phrygian *Σεμέλ* and the occurrence of the theophoric *Bakivalis* in Lydian inscriptions. W. Otto, *Dionysus* (Frankfurt 1933) alone championed the Cretan element in Dionysiac tradition and proposed that he was part of 'Greek culture' already in the 2nd millennium B.C.E.¹⁷

The most influential view of Dionysiac cult practices came from descriptions in Euripides' *Bacchae* as interpreted by E.R. Dodds. Dodds claimed that the irrational and violent practices represented by Euripides such as ecstatic dancing in the mountainous wilds (*oreibasia*) and the devouring of the raw flesh of animals (*omophagia*) after they had literally been ripped apart while alive (*sparagmos*) reflected real rituals performed in Greece at the time of the introduction of Dionysiac cult, according to Dodds sometime in the early Archaic period.¹⁸ The cultic violence in this late Euripidean tragedy culminates with Agave, mother of Pentheus, king of Thebes, beheading her son while she is in an ecstatic and hallucinatory state of communion with Dionysos. In this condition she mistakes her son for a lion. She revels in the deed until she recovers her senses, whereupon she recoils in tragic horror. Dodds's view of such violent Dionysiac worship long stood in stark contrast to prevailing notions of the structured order of the Greek *polis* and of the Greeks as the progenitors, through the Renaissance, of most forms of western intellectual thought and particularly of logic, reason and rational behavior. This contrast made it all the easier to reject the idea that any cult of Dionysos was practiced during the first great *floruit* of Hellenic culture, the Mycenaean palatial period (1400-1200 B.C.E.), and to locate the post-Mycenaean origins of such exotic Dionysiac rituals outside the Aegean in the less civilized north or decadent east: Thrace, Lydia and Phrygia (as in the opening of Euripides' *Bacchae*), whence it spread out as a broader 'world religion'. These hypotheses were supported by: (1) the rarity of references to Dionysos in the Homeric poems; (2) the absence of the god in early aristocratic genealogies; (3) the tradition of Euripides' *Bacchae* and of many early Greek legends, stressing the formal opposition of established *polis* society to the threatening 'orgiastic' elements of a newly arriving Dionysos cult; (4) the number of non-Greek and *perhaps* Thracio-Asiatic words associated with his myth and cult: Semele, Bacchus, *thyrsos*, *thriambos*, *dithyrambos*.¹⁹

We can add here, too, a continuing problem with proposing a convincing Greek/Indo-European etymology for the second half of the name Dionysos. The first half of the name, as the Mycenaean form *di-wo-nu-so* in fact demonstrates, is connected with the root **diw-*, the same root as for the primary Greek deity *Zeus* (gen. *Diwos*), the 'shining' god of the sky. We might compare here the second element *meter* in Demeter ('mother' in Greek), and the first element *posei-* (a frozen vocative) in Poseidon ('husband, spouse' in Greek). But the other halves of these theonyms do

not have any universally convincing reconstruction. The standard interpretations of *Damater* as "earth mother" and of *Poseidaon* as *posis* or "consort of earth" both rely on the unconvincing equation *da* = *ga* = "earth" which to me looks like wishful folk-etymological thinking. *Dionysos*, explained as "son" of *Zeus*, with the second element *nusos* variously derived from Indo-European and non-Indo-European roots, is equally problematical.²⁰ Of course, the process of producing hybrid names as a result of intercultural contacts is also attested in the field of toponymics and onomastics. We can cite *Minneapolis* (a native American Indian and Greek hybrid) as a clear example from the midwestern United States and the ancient Cretan toponym *Hierapudna*, which was later completely Hellenized as *Hierapetra*. It is not too irreligious, I hope, to cite the Semitic and Greek elements of *Jesus Χριστός*.

By the time of the second and expanded edition of *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* (Cambridge 1973), there was a second reference relating to *Dionysos*. This came from the Linear B tablets that were discovered in the later years of excavation at Pylos, in this case in 1960. The text of this tablet PY Xa 1419 is also frustratingly fragmentary and lacking in any ideographic subject, but at least the lexical item *di-wo-nu-so* occurred within a fuller context. Although this second reference led to speculation about the mythological associations linking a Bronze-Age *Dionysos* with Crete,²¹ theories based on this second minimal reference did not have any appreciable effect on the surviving author of *Documents*, who in the supplementary notes to the second edition (p. 411) observed: "*Dionysus* is now found on another tablet (Xa 1419), but again it is a fragment with no clear context, though it does have on the reverse a form which appears to have a connexion with wine (*wo-no-wa-ti-si*)." In this he was simply following the skepticism of Mabel Lang, the scholar who initially published Xa 1419:²² "The combination of *di-wo-nu-so-jo* with *wo-no-wa-ti-si* increases the unlikely possibility that the god of wine was worshipped in Pylos. It is to be noted that the human name *tu-ni-jo* (Cn 4.4) in the second line is not in the same case and so is not parallel to *di-wo-nu-so-jo*."

In other words, there was a tendency to choose to ignore these references because they contradicted the *opinio communis* about the date at which *Dionysos* was introduced into Greek religion and they also provided insufficient information by which to understand what *Dionysos* was doing in the Linear B tablets. In fact, if one strictly applied Leonard Palmer's methodology which stressed context,²³ and not *lexicon*, as the chief guide to interpretation, neither text established decisively that this lexical unit was a theonym. Neither tablet preserved any lexical or ideographic indication of its economic subject or purpose: i.e., one could not establish securely the divine nature of the term *di-wo-nu-so* by means that were normally available to pinpoint other theonyms, Greek and non-Greek: by noting that the texts belonged to sets recording ritual

offerings (like the PY Fr and KN Fp tablets), preparations for commensal ceremonies (like certain PY Un tablets) or the like. Nor were there other theonyms recorded in parallel slots on these tablets. In fact we have seen that Lang was able to cite just the opposite: that on Xa 1419 *di-wo-nu-so-jo* a possible theonym in the genitive was followed on the next line by what looks like a man's name most likely in the dative case. The association of the lexical item *wo-no-wa-ti-si* (clearly a noun in the dative plural) on the verso of Xa 1419 with the root *wo-no* = 'wine' had the appearance—which it still does—of an act of scholarly wishful thinking. The same word occurs also on PY Vn 48.6 in the dative plural in a list of other nouns specifying females. The nominative singular is reconstructed as *woinowatis*²⁴ and comparison is made rather to the toponym *Οἰνώη*, to *Θεὸν Οἰνωᾶτιν*, and to *Οἰνωᾶτις Ἀρτεμις*²⁵ in Stephanus of Byzantium under the entry *Οἰνή*, than to the word *woinos* = 'wine'. With the understanding of Mycenaean orthography and phonemic representation that had been reached by 1973, when the 2nd edition of *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* appeared, the interpretation of PY Xa 1419 still yielded very little:

PY Xa 1419 .1 di-wo-nu-so[
 .2 tu-ni-jo[

Xa 1419 v.1 i-pe-ne-o[
 v.2 wo-no-wa-ti-si[

front side .1 to? Dionysos....
 .2 to? Thynios....

back side .1 to? PLACE NAME (occurring only here)....
 .2 to the women of Oinoë.

The evidence of these two tablets was hardly sufficient to challenge established scholarly theory. When the Mycenaean evidence was cited, it tended, as it still is, to be misrepresented. One example must suffice. Marcel Detienne, in his *Dionysos at Large* (Cambridge, MA 1989),²⁶ argues for the Greekness of Dionysos and his cult. In reference to how Dionysos is portrayed in Euripides' *Bacchae*, Detienne notes (p. 9) that the god is addressed using the Greek word *xenos* for foreigner and accordingly reasons:

"Foreign" here refers not to the non-Greek, the barbarian who speaks an unintelligible tongue, but to the citizen of a neighboring community. The *xenos* is produced by the distance that separates two cities: in their sacrifices, their assemblies, and their tribunals. In

order to be called *xenos*, a stranger therefore had to come from the Hellenic world, ideally consisting of those who shared "one blood, one language, and common sanctuaries and sacrifices." When Dionysos appears to Pentheus the Theban, he is wearing the mask of the foreigner. It is to a *xenos* that the king of Thebes speaks.²⁷ Despite his Lydian disguise, Dionysos is treated as a Greek.

Since the discovery of Mycenaean, we no longer have any doubt that Dionysos is Greek; but the Greeks never did. Nowhere was Dionysos ever characterized as a barbarian god, not even when his violence seemed to exile him once and for all into the barbarous world. In this respect he stands in sharp contrast with another deity who in other ways resembles him: Artemis, who is called Orthia and whose statue causes madness and sets worshippers to killing one another over her altar. Some claim that this Artemis is of Tauric origin, that she is a *barbarous* deity,²⁸ compared with which Dionysos exhibits his nature as a foreign god, a *xenos*, when he makes his joyous entry into Patras in Achaia, where a bloody Artemis reigns.

Not only is Detienne's reading of the implications of the word *xenos* here questionable,²⁹ but the references to the god Dionysos in the Linear B tablets are very complicated and certainly do not prove, as Detienne implies, by their mere existence that the god known as Dionysos is *Greek* in origin. If nothing else, applying Detienne's underlying logic, one could make the bald and erroneous claim that the appearance of Artemis in the Linear B tablets dispelled all doubts about her being Greek. This would become a *reductio ad absurdum*, if we then applied the same reasoning to clearly non-Greek, i.e., either Minoan or other pre-Greek, deities who occur in the Linear B tablets. Moreover, efforts to historicize Dionysos's arrival in mythical accounts are unnecessary, since such references need only refer to the *ritual* arrival of a deity whose fundamental aspect is that of *der kommende Gott*, a 'god of epiphany'.³⁰

We are fortunately in a position to say considerably more now about Dionysos in prehistory than we could at the time of the second edition of *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* or even when Detienne was writing in 1986. The Greek-Swedish excavations at Khania have furnished us with a very important new and absolutely certain textual reference to the deity Dionysos. Likewise, advances in palaeographical, archival and linguistic approaches to the texts help us to understand all the potential occurrences of the theonym better and to add yet another plausible reference linked with Dionysos. Let us take the technical advances first.

If Dionysos appears in the Linear B tablets, it is certainly important to determine *how early* or simply *when* he is appearing. In my work on the palaeography, scribal bureaucracy and archival

contexts of the Pylos tablets.³¹ I was able to demonstrate that all but five of the 1112 inscribed tablets, labels and sealings and fragments thereof then known could be associated with the red-brickish stratum that marked the final destruction across the site that is generally dated to the end of LH III B (ca. 1200 B.C.E.).³² The five fragmentary tablets that were not linked to this stratum are found in isolation and in archaeological contexts characterized by mixed stratigraphy and sherd material going back to LH IIIA and earlier. They are also peculiar linguistically and palaeographically and in their writing styles most closely resemble the Knossian scribal traditions particularly in the formation of signs *ne* (KN Scribe 114), *ni* (KN Scribe 103), *i* (KN Scribe 104) and *di* (best paralleled on inscribed stirrup jar TH Z 857).

Xa 1419 is one of these tablets. It comes from an isolated findspot out along the outer wall of Room 74 of the SW Building, an area of mixed stratigraphy with "wares of Mycenaean III B and earlier periods in associated confusion." Thus this reference to Dionysos may date as early as the LH III A period (14th century) when the first palace was perhaps built at the site under strong and continuing Minoan/Cretan influence on the region of Messenia going back to the 16th century B.C.E.

A further refinement in our understanding of these references comes from the realization by Emmett L. Bennett, Jr., in preparing the definitive corpus volume of the Pylos tablets, that the tablet known first as Xa06 and then as Xa 102 in fact belongs to the series at Pylos designated Ea and should be reclassified as Ea 102.³³

The text is now transcribed with commentary as follows:

di-wo-nu-so-jo , [ko-to-na GRA qs

reclassification ex Xa. Cf. PTT 1: "possibly of class Ea"; by context, appearance, and adaptability to class formula and hand; restoration after Ea 71, 756, 801.

Fragment 102 was found among other tablets of the Ea series in the central Archives Complex (AC):³⁴ Ea 102 is from AC grid I229 while Ea 107 were found in AC I228 and I360 and Ea 109 found in AC I227 and -35. The shape and appearance of the tablet corresponds to the Ea tablets of Hand 43, and the entry fits the series formulae.

The tablets of the Ea series concern landholdings and subholdings and the parties recorded are all human beings designated entirely by personal names or by their mostly non-religious trade or

professional names (unguent boiler, shepherd, cowherd, swineherd, stitcher, 'of the lawagetas').³⁵

A typical formula of a number of tablets within this series is:

Xpersonal name/genitive *ko-to-na* [a share of land] + qualification of land and its size.

Ea 102 would seem to resemble Ea 821 and Ea 823 in this kind of layout of information. First a personal name entered in the genitive case, then entry of the designation *ko-to-na*, i.e., a parcel or unit of land, followed by further qualifying information and eventually ideographic entry of an amount of grain, apparently as some indication of the size of the plot of land.

Ea 821 Of *Thalamatus* a land parcel of *ki-ti-me-na* type GRA 5 T 7 v 3.

Ea 823 Of *Lugros* a land parcel and *Lugros* is in service of the *lawagetas* GRA T 6 [

In all 68 tablets of the Ea series, only one individual is designated with a religious title: an individual named *sa-ke-re-u* is specified as a *hierews* 'priest' (*sa-ke-re-wo i-je-re-wo* on Ea 756—*sa-ke-re-u* recurs on Ea 776 without this designation). There are no references to persons who are *do-e-rol-ra* ('servants') of a god or goddess or to individuals in the service of the *wa-na-ka* = *wanax*. Leonard Palmer³⁶ has proposed that the Ea set pertains to the sphere of the *ra-wa-ke-ta* and his dependent personnel in one district (perhaps *ti-no*), whereas the Eb, En, Eo, Ep sets refer to landholdings in the religious district of *pa-ki-ja-ne* held by personnel and functionaries connected with the *po-ti-ni-ja* and with the *wa-na-ka* who is affiliated closely with her cult. Thus, if Dionysos were interpreted here as a divine name, it would be a radical and lone exception to the pattern of entries in this lengthy series of tablets. So the references and formulae within the full Ea series establish clearly that *di-wo-nu-so-jo* cannot be a theonym, although it is based on one.

Fortunately our understanding of how the Linear B script works phonetically has improved along with our understanding of textual classification. The Linear B script developed out of Linear A. In so doing, the creators of Linear B adapted the phonetic system of Linear A to meet the requirements of the Greek language. The Linear B script has a basic core of signs that would have been sufficient to write Greek. In addition Linear B has signs known as doublet signs and complex signs which alter in some fashion the phonetic value of signs in the basic core. These doublet or complex signs either were retained from Linear A or were newly created on the model of a series of signs in Linear A for palatalized or labialized consonants. A few other signs seem to have been kept from Linear A because they corresponded precisely to phonemes that occurred in

Minoan place names, personal names and technical terms that scribes using the Linear syllabaries would have to write in the process of record-keeping.³⁷ Scribes then had options open to them. They could use a basic core sign or a doublet/complex sign to 'spell' particular phonemic sequences in words. They could also resort to still rarer signs to try to represent Minoan phonemes more accurately.

Alex Leukart in studying the spelling of words with palatalized complex signs and Martin Ruipérez in trying to explain an odd alternation between the spellings *to-so* and *to-so-jo* on Pylos tablet Er 312 arrived independently at the same explanation for *di-wo-nu-so-jo* on PY Ea 102.³⁸ Ruipérez and Leukart agree in reading this form as *Diw(i)on(n)usjo*, i.e. as the genitive singular of the standard form of the anthroponym **Diw(j)on(n)us-ios* derived as a patronymic in *-ios* from the theonym. This fits in with Ruipérez's explanation of the alternating *to-so* and *to-so-jo* forms of Hand 24 as alternative spellings of the palatalized *s* as an intermediate phonetic stage between **totyos* and later *tosos*. One could spell palatalized *s* with plain *so*, or with *so-jo* (as in *to-so-jo*), or even with *si-jo* (where the *i* dummy-vowel is picking up the glide element).

Text Ea 102 thus becomes even more important to us, because it offers evidence that an individual with a name equivalent to later Dionysios held a parcel of land. This indicates that the god Dionysos was well enough established at the time of the destruction of the Palace of Nestor at Pylos to have given rise to the practice of naming children using a theophoric form of his name. Theophorics are a clear indication of the degree to which the worship of a divinity penetrated a particular population.

The fullest mass of data the Linear B tablets do give to us is personal names and place names. 70-80% of the lexical items in Linear B fall into one of these two categories of names. Theophorics are not common in the Linear B tablets.³⁹ Zeus and Ares figure most conspicuously as the deities after whom human beings are named. Ares is slightly problematical since his very name is derived from a primitive word connected with the 'throng of battle' or 'war',⁴⁰ and so one cannot be sure that Mycenaean forms such as *Areimenes* (TH Z 849 TH Z 851)⁴¹ and *Areios* (KN Lc 641.1 and PY An 656.6) are derived from the theonym and not from the primitive noun. However, the god Ares is attested on a Linear B tablet in a relatively secure theonymical context (Fp 14.2), so this lends greater probability to interpreting the forms as true theophorics. Zeus also appears in many theophorics: *di-wa-jo* (KN V 1523.6), *di-we-se-ja* (MY Oe 103.2), *di-we-so* (KN V 60.3), *di-wi-ja-wo* (KN Vc 293, PY Na 406.B, TH Ug 11), *di-u-ja-wo* (TH Of 26.3, Of 33.2), plain *di-wo* as a personal name (e.g. KN Dv 1503), and perhaps *di-wo-a-ne* (KN Xd 216). We should note with Benveniste⁴² the parallel popularity of the names *Areiphilos* and *Diiphilos* in later Greek. We

can safely conclude that in Mycenaean times, some part of the population had a close enough familiarity with the all-important I.-E. sky god Zeus, the god of war Ares, and the archetypical *deus praesens veniensque* Dionysos to name their offspring after these divinities. Their cults must have been securely established and practiced within some levels of Mycenaean society.

There is still some doubt about how to transcribe the name *di-wo-nu-so* into Greek. The first element either comes directly from the genitive of the name of Zeus (*Diwos*) or it is from the adjective **diwyos* > δῖος. This makes it possible to connect a third text with Dionysos:

KN Dv 1501 di-*79-nu[

KN Dv 1501 is classified among records of sheep flocks attributed to Hand 117 at Knossos. Just as with the Ea set at Pylos, tablets of the D- series at Knossos have well-established formats and formulae. The general entry procedure for the Dv series is to record the name of an individual shepherd in large letters *in the nominative* and then to record, either in smaller letters or in two lines, additional information like location, name of the 'collector' to whom the shepherd was responsible, and the number and kinds of sheep in his flock, including specification of any missing animals and so forth. The Dv series contains over 300 tablets and fragmentary tablets. At least a third of these are sufficiently preserved to establish the fixed formula for entering information. Thus when we look at a fuller tablet like Dv 1503 +7183

.A	da-*22-to	OVIS ^m 150[
.B	di-wo , /	u-ta-jo-jo [

we know that the shepherd here is named *Diwōn*, that he operates with his herd in the area of the central Cretan site *da-*22-to*, and that an individual named *u-ta-jo* is his 'collector'.

Many shepherds, however, as might be expected, have conspicuously Minoan names.⁴³ Thus a large number of so far officially untransliterated signs—used, as explained above, to represent Minoan sounds—occur in the personal names—and the toponyms—in this series: e.g., personal names *56-du-nu-ka,]*49-so, tu-*56-da-ro, *56-ro2, wo-*65-ro, ru-*18, *34[and, of course, *di-*79-nu[* here; and toponyms *da-*22-to* and *56-ko-we. Jose L. Melena in keeping with his sensible approach of discovering systematic phonetic patterns within the Linear B repertory for these non-core signs has demonstrated that the occurrences of sign *79 conform to the Minoanizing pattern of palatalized consonantal series.⁴⁴ *79 is reasonably interpreted as *wyo* and we can restore on KN Dv 1501 another instance of the theophoric *di-wyo-nu[-so*. This further

expands the chronological spread and the range of social groups and geographical territory for the cult of the deity Dionysos in the Mycenaean palatial period.

To review the evidence, we have textual documentation (Ea 102) for an individual who is named after Dionysos and is among personnel in service to the *lawagetas* (military leader at Pylos) during the period just before the destruction of the Palace of Nestor at Pylos ca. 1200 B.C.E. We have (Dv 1501) another individual who is named after Dionysos and who is one of literally hundreds of Cretan shepherds with modest-sized flocks recorded in tablets that might date to roughly 1325 B.C.E.⁴⁵ There are only two theophoric names among the many found on tablets of the D- series, but *Diw^oonu[sios]* on Dv 1501 proves that the cult of Dionysos reached down to this social level.⁴⁶ From the *pre-destruction* stratum at Pylos on a tablet (Xa 1419) of uncertain purpose, we have a reference either to the god Dionysos or to a theophoric.⁴⁷ The tablet might be as early as the 14th century B.C.E.

Our final piece of evidence is the new tablet from Khania, i.e., from yet a third geographical location. It is the first tablet to present unambiguously the name of the deity Dionysos in a secure context. He is recorded within a specific sanctuary. He associated with another clearly identifiable deity, both on a tablet dealing with a form of religious offerings for which there are clear parallels at the site of Knossos and elsewhere. The site of Khania, known as *ku-do-ni-ja* (Kydonia) in the Linear B texts, is the major Mycenaean center in western Crete during the LM III B period (13th century B.C.E.). There Erik Hallager, in conducting the Greek-Swedish excavations in May, June, July, 1990, uncovered three inscribed Linear B tablets all lying on the floor of a room. The room contained a sealing found in sieving, fragmentary pieces of bronze, several obsidian artefacts, one stone tool, a piece of pumice, a fragment of a figurine and bone remains of an adult female sheep and a young lamb with cut and chop marks and also bone remains of one or two subadult pigs and two new-born or very young piglets. Expert opinion indicates that they are "remains of butchering or food debris." Pottery and stratigraphy indicate a date at the end of LM IIIB:1 for the tablets and the destruction (ca. 1250 B.C.E.).⁴⁸ One of these tablets KH Gq 5 can be restored to read:

- .1 to the precinct of Zeus to Zeus 1 amphora of honey
- .2 to Dionysos 2 amphorae of honey

KH Gq 5 .1 di-wi-jo-[de]di-we ME+RI 209^{VAS+} A | [
 .2 di-wo-nu-so ME+RI |] 2

The Gg series at Knossos provides very exact parallels for a text of this sort. A good example is a text to which we alluded at the outset KN Gg 702. On Gg 702 two entries receive each an amphora of honey: 'all the gods' and the '*potnia* of the labyrinth'. In the KN Gg series, offerings are recorded to deities, using the same juxtaposition of the word or phonetic logogram for 'honey' and the ideogram *209^{VAS} (with or without the ligatured sign *a*) for *amphora*. The divine recipients recorded on Gg tablets with two or three lines of text include: *Eleuthia*, 'all the gods', and the *potnia* of the *labyrinth*. They receive 1 or 2 *amphorae* of honey.⁴⁹ The word *me-no* on Gg 704 would seem to indicate that these were regular monthly offerings. On KH Gg 5 then we have our most secure and earliest positively dated reference to the god Dionysos. He is here linked with Zeus and located in the sanctuary of Zeus and is the recipient of honey offerings that are well paralleled in documents from Knossos.

The Linear B tablets do not include detailed prescriptions for ritual practice that might illuminate the nature of Dionysiac worship during the formative prehistoric stage of Greek religion. However, when interpreted carefully using all the scholarly approaches that have been developed by Mycenologists during the last half-century, they establish that:

1. Dionysos was associated with Zeus and the sanctuary of Zeus in the region of Khania in western Crete. Both received offerings of honey.
2. The cult of Dionysos was widely enough known so that a central Cretan shepherd and an individual in service to the Pylian *lawagetas* were named after him.
3. The worship of Dionysos, Ares and Zeus in particular inspired the practice of using theophoric names. Two Cretan shepherds, among whom as a class theophorics are rare, are named after Zeus and Dionysos, deities who are linked in religious offering at the site of Khania.
4. The god or his theophorics are attested certainly at Khania ca. 1250 B.C.E. and at Pylos ca. 1200 B.C.E.
5. A Cretan shepherd named after Dionysos on a tablet from Knossos might date to as early as ca. 1325 B.C.E. and an earlier tablet at Pylos (god or theophoric?) might date this early, but it definitely dates before the final destruction at Pylos in ca. 1200 B.C.E.
6. Theophorics are especially meaningful because they imply that worship of the god was well established and that his worship had features that would encourage such a naming practice.

No longer can we deny Dionysos a Mycenaean pedigree. How and at what stages and from what sources, regions or cultures the various elements and characteristics of his later cult came to be are topics for historians of post-Mycenaean religion. But they must begin now with the Linear B evidence.

* This paper had its origins as a presentation in a conference sponsored by the Lurlyn and Durwood Fleming Scholar in Residence Program organized by Halford Haskell at Southwestern University in Georgetown, Texas in November, 1993. It has been improved most recently by comments from Susan G. Cole. I use standard abbreviations to identify the Mycenaean sites from which tablets come: PY = Pylos, KH = Khania, KN = Knossos, TH = Thebes. I thank N. Dimoudis for his editorial patience.

¹ For a brief general overview of the Greek pantheon and its Indo-European associations, cf. Jaan Puhvel, *Comparative Mythology* (Baltimore 1987) 126-138. While at variance with my discussion in certain details, Puhvel (p. 138) does stress that "the Greek pantheon affords rather slim pickings for comparative Indo-European mythology."

² For a general survey of the complex problem of determining when the I.-E.-speakers arrived in what later became mainland Greece, cf. R. Drews, *The Coming of the Greeks* (Princeton 1989).

³ "The Nature of the Mycenaean Wanax: Non-Indo-European Origins and Priestly Functions," in P. Rehak ed., *The Role of the Ruler in the Prehistoric Aegean, Aegaeum* 11 (Liège 1995) 119-139, plates XLI-XLII.

⁴ In one case *a-si-wi-ja*, the genitive follows the noun *po-ti-ni-ja*.

⁵ It is impossible to determine whether *da-pu₂-ri-to-jo* is a proper name for a specific site or whether it refers, as the name suggests, to some area in a geographical location known as 'place of the *lubrys*' vel sim.

⁶ Cf. M. Pope and J. Raison, "Linear A: Changing Perspectives," in Y. Duhoux ed., *Études Minoennes I* (BCILL 14: Louvain 1978) 30-31.

⁷ W.K.C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and Their Gods* (Boston 1950) 107, cites the reconstruction by A.B. Cook, *Zeus* (Cambridge 1914-40) 3.224: nom. singular *Athene*, locative sing. *Athenai*, whence new plural *Athenai* (cf. *Mykenai* and *Thebai* and phrases *Thebaigenes* and *Od.* 7.80: ἕκετο δ' εἰς Μοραθῶνα καὶ εὐραδύγυαν Ἀθήνην). L. Preller and C. Robert, *Griechische Mythologie* (Berlin 1894) 1.186 n. 1, mentions nine communities named *Athenai*. Stephanus of Byzantium discusses these different communities called Athens. They are located in Attica, Laconia, Caria, Ligustion, Italy, Euboea (founded from Athens in Attica), Acharnania (again founded from Attica), the Black Sea, and in Boeotia where it was an alternative name for Orchomenos, along the Copaic Basin. None is known in Crete. On this place name as part of a general substrate pattern, cf. also Puhvel (above, n. 1) 128.

⁸ For a recent synthetic discussion of the archaeological remains of the fortified citadel of Mycenaean Athens and of a potential Mycenaean palace in LH III A and B (14th-13th centuries B.C.E.), cf. P.A. Mountjoy, *Mycenaean Athens* (Jonsered 1995).

⁹ W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* trans. J. Raffan (Cambridge, MA 1985) 139, notes that the Athenians usually referred to Athena simply as *hē theos*, 'the goddess'.

¹⁰ For a list of *po-ti-ni-ja* references, see M. Gérard-Rousseau, *Les mentions religieuses dans les tablettes mycéniennes* (Rome 1968) 188. On PY Cc 665 (a record of 100 MALE SHEEP and 190 PIGS), *potnia* is entered alone after an introductory place designation *ne-wo-pe-o*. There are many alternative explanations of *ne-wo-pe-o*, but it seems to be either a locative or a nominative of rubric. Cf. *DMic.* s.v. For a full discussion of *potnia* references at the site of Mycenae and *en passant* at other sites, cf. C. Boëlle, "Po-ti-ni-ja à Mycènes," *Minos* 27-28 (1992-93) 283-301, esp. pp. 285-286 and n. 7 for *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja*.

¹¹ We leave out of discussion here the reference on PY Tn 316 to *Drimios* son of Zeus. Association of this reference with Dionysos calls for extreme speculation and is improbable.

¹² PY Ea 102 was formerly classified Xa 102 (originally Xa06) and thought to read 'of Dionysos'.

¹³ The tablet has a lexical group on the verso *wo-no-wa-ti-si* which has been interpreted *inter alia* as a compound of *woinos* = 'wine', although this has gradually lost favor as the proper interpretation.

¹⁴ Dv 1501 is from a group of Knossian records of flocks of sheep. The tablets are attributed to Hand 117.

¹⁵ The tablet records offerings of amphorae of honey in the sanctuary of Zeus to Zeus and to Dionysos.

¹⁶ Cf. J. Puhvel, "Eleuthér and Oinoáti: Dionysiac Data from Mycenaean Greece," in E.L. Bennett, Jr., ed., *Mycenaean Studies* (Madison 1964) 161.

¹⁷ Puhvel (above, n. 1) 136, still speaks of "Dionysos, that presumed latecomer who does not seem quite integrated into the Homeric pantheon but unexpectedly crops up in Mycenaean inscriptions...."

¹⁸ E.R. Dodds, *Euripides. Bacchae* (Oxford 1960).

¹⁹ Burkert (above, n. 9) 163 points out that: Semele =? Thraco-Phrygian 'earth'; Bacchus <? Lydian *baki-* or a Semitic loan-word meaning 'wailing' (Hesychius: *bakchon* = *klauthmon Phoinikes*); *thyrsos* =? Ugaritic *tirsu* 'intoxicating drink' or Late Hittite *tuwarsu* 'vine'.

²⁰ M.L. West, *Hesiod Works and Days* (Oxford 1978) 373-375, has a succinct discussion of the god's name. See also M.S. Ruipérez, "The Mycenaean Name of Dionysos," in A. Heubeck and G. Neumann eds., *Res Mycenaee* (Göttingen 1983) 408-412. According to Ruipérez, p. 408, in historical times the name appears in the following forms:

—Δρόνσος Attic form as first seen in *Od.* 11.325.

—Δώνσος Homer, Hesiod, Archilochus, Theognis.

- Δεόνιστος *Et. Magn.* 259.30 as used on Samos.
- Δευνήστος Ionian poet Anacreon fr. 307 Page.
- Δερινιστος inscription of 7th c. B.C.E. from Amorgos (E. Schwyzer, *Dialectorum Graecarum Exempla Epigraphica Potiora* [Leipzig 1923] 750, 1).
- Ζωννιστος inscription from Lesbos (*SGDI* 271).
- Διοννιστος Thessalian (*SGDI* 1329.21).
- Διωννιστος Boeotian (*IG VII* 2468a).
- Διυνιστος unsure reading from an inscription of Mytilene (*Arch. Eph.* 1913, p. 221).

The treatment of the second syllable as *ov*, *ov*, *ovv* should imply that the original was in some cases *oon*: Διὸς νυστος. What then is *νυστος*? Kretschmer interpreted it as the Thracian form of Greek *νυός*, Latin *nurus* (both from **snusós*) meaning 'son'. West remarks that this theory and a much more convoluted theory of O. Szemerényi both fail to take into account the double -ss- of the Lesbian form. NOTE: Ruipérez does not even acknowledge such a form. The double -ss- would imply an original *-tj-* or *-θj-*. West connects the name with Nysa, the holy mountain associated with the divinity and the nymphs named therefrom. Dodds (above, n. 18) 146 on *Bacchae* 556-559, notes that the three holy mountains of Dionysos are Parnassus [Delphi], Olympus, and Nysa. Nysa located by *Iliad* 6.133 in Thrace; *H. Hymn* 1.9 'near the stream of the Nile'; Hesychius 'a mountain not confined to any one place' and he enumerates 15 different Nysas. West cites a remark by ps.-Pherecydes 3 F 178 that Dionysus was the rain for he flowed ἐκ Διὸς ἐς νύσας: νύσας γὰρ ἐκάλουν τὰ δένδρα. This West takes to be more than *ad hoc*, and to show that the Nysai are tree-nymphs who nurse the divine-child Dionysos, just as Mt. Ida and the nymph Ida nursed infant Zeus.

²¹ E.g., J. Puhvel (above, n. 16) identifies *da-pu2-ri-to-jo po-ti-ni-ja* as Ariadne and traces the mythological links among Dionysos, Ariadne and Artemis-Eleuthia (*e-re-u-ti-ja*).

²² M. Lang, "The Palace of Nestor Excavations of 1960 Part II," *AJA* 65 (1961) 162.

²³ Enunciated in L.R. Palmer, *The Interpretation of Mycenaean Greek Texts* (Oxford 1963).

²⁴ On Vn 48 *wo-no-wa-ti-si* is listed along with *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* (the 'key-bearer': a cult title) and *e-re-wi-jo-po-ti-ni-ja* (a feminine theonym). It seems to be a feminine ethnic in *-tis*, *-tisos* and derived from a place name */Woinowa/* similar to the later place name *Οἰνώνη*. Ruipérez (above, n. 20) nonetheless emphasizes the connection of the first element with *oinos* 'wine' and thinks of ecstatic women practitioners of the Dionysiac cult.

²⁵ We should note that Artemis occurs twice on the Linear B tablets, both times at Pylos. On PY Es 650.5 an individual named *a3-ki-wa-ro* is specified as a *do-e-ro* of Atremis (*a-te-mi-to*) and

'holds' grain (land?) in the amount of 960 liters. On Un 219.5 Artemis occurs along with religious functionaries, personal names and other theonyms.

²⁶ M. Detienne, *Dionysos at Large* trans. A. Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA 1989). The French original was published in 1986.

²⁷ Detienne (above, n. 26) note 29: "Bacchae 233, 247, 353, 441, 453, 642, 1059, 1077. But the women of his [Dionysos's] *thiasos* are of barbarian, Lydian or Phrygian mountain origins."

²⁸ Detienne (above n. 26) note 30: "Pausanias 3.16.9-11."

²⁹ Gabriel Hermann, *Ritualised Friendship and the Greek City State* (Cambridge, 1987). Non-Greeks can be and are called *xenos*.

³⁰ Burkert (above n. 9) 162.

³¹ T.G. Palaima, *The Scribes of Pylos* (Rome 1988).

³² The standard date for the destruction of the Palace of Nestor. M. Popham, "Pylos: Reflections on the Date of Its Destruction and on Its Iron Age Reoccupation," *OJA* 10 [1991] 315-324, has proposed a date of destruction in "very early III B." There have since been found some new fragments of tablets and an inscribed sealing: J. Bennet and C.W. Shelmerdine, "Two New Linear B Documents from Bronze Age Pylos," *Kadmos* 34:2 (1995) 123-136.

³³ E.L. Bennett, Jr., "A Selection of Pylos Tablet Texts," in J.-P. Olivier ed., *Mykenaiika (BCH Suppl. 25: Paris 1992)* 107.

³⁴ Cf. Palaima (above, n. 31) 32, 184, for the coordinate system of the two-room Archives Complex at Pylos.

³⁵ Cf. *ti-ri-da-ro ra-pte* (Ea 28), *e-ro2-qo ra-pte* (Ea 29), *ko-do-jo po-me* [the disagreement between gen. name and nom. noun is not uncommon in this obviously preliminary series] (Ea 71 and also Ea 754, Ea 803, Ea 824, Ea 825, Ea 1424). The following individuals are all designated as 'of the *lawagetes*': *ru-ko-ro* on Ea 132, Ea 782 and Ea 823; and either *e-u-me-ne* or the *su-qo-ta* on Ea 822; and also the *a-mo-te-wo ra-wa-ke-si-jo-jo* on Ea 809.

³⁶ Palmer (above, n. 23) 220-221.

³⁷ For a concise overview of these features of Linear A and Linear B, cf. Y. Duhoux, "Le linéaire A: problèmes de déchiffrement," in Y. Duhoux, T.G. Palaima and J. Bennet eds., *Problems in Decipherment* (BCILL 49: Louvain 1989) 72-74. For a full analysis of the Linear B syllabary, cf. M.S. Ruipérez and J.L. Melena, *Los griegos micénicos* (Madrid 1990) 78-82.

³⁸ M.S. Ruipérez, "À propos de *to-so-jo* de PY Er 312," in J.-P. Olivier ed., *Mykenaiika (BCH Suppl. 25: Paris 1992)* 563-567. Cf. esp. the discussion on pp. 566-567.

³⁹ Cf. P. Ilievski, "Interpretation of Some Mycenaean Personal Names. *Nomina Theophora*," S. Jalkotzy et al., ed., *Florent Studia Mycenaea*. Proceedings of the Xth International

Mycenological Conference, Held in Salzburg, Austria 30 April to 5 May, 1995 (forthcoming) and J. Railsback, "Mycenaean Theophoric Names" (M.A. Thesis: UT Austin 1997).

⁴⁰ Burkert (above, n. 9) 169.

⁴¹ See also *a-re-i-ze-we-i* on TH Of 37.1.

⁴² E. Benveniste, *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes* (Paris 1969) 1.342.

⁴³ For an analytical catalogue of shepherds' names on the Knossos tablets, cf. J.-P. Olivier, "KN: Da-Dg," in J.-P. Olivier and T.G. Palaima eds., *Texts, Tablets and Scribes* (Minos Suppl. 10: Salamanca 1988) 219-239. Cf. also L. Baumbach, "An Examination of the Personal Names in the Knossos tablets as Evidence for the Social Structure of Crete in the Late Minoan II Period," in O. Krzyszkowska and L. Nixon, eds., *Minoan Society* (Bristol 1983) 3-10, esp. 5-6.

⁴⁴ J.L. Melena, "En torno a la identificación del silabograma *79 del silabario Micénico," *Actas del V Congreso Español de Estudios Clásicos* (Madrid 1978) 751-757.

⁴⁵ The date of the Knossos tablets is still unsettled. All one can say for certain is that Dv 1501 does not come from the *Room of the Chariot Tablets* which is the earliest material at Knossos (LM II). Dv 1501 might date LM III A:2 early or ca. 1325 B.C.E. But there are other theories for dating the destruction of the Palace of Minos at Knossos to LM III B. Cf. T.G. Palaima, "Ten Reasons Why KH 115 = KN 115," *Minos* 27-28 (1992-93) 261-267.

⁴⁶ The other theophoric is, as we have seen, the exceptionally uncompounded form *Diwōn* on Dv 1503 + 7183. The cult of Zeus also permeated the lower strata of Mycenaeanized Cretan society.

⁴⁷ The reconstruction of orthography by Ruipérez and Leukart make it possible to interpret *di-wo-nu-so-jo* on Xa 1419 as *either* the genitive of a theonym or theophoric *or* the nominative or dative of a theophoric.

⁴⁸ E. Hallager, M. Vlasakis and B.P. Hallager, "New Linear B Tablets from Khania," *Kadmos* 31 (1992) 61-87, esp. 65-67 and n. 3A.

⁴⁹ Honey was a precious product to judge by the existence of officials in charge of its production (*me-ri-da-ma-te* and *me-ri-du-ma-te* = 'honey-masters') and by its presence not only in the Gg/Gq offering tablets, but in records of the foodstuffs for commensal ceremonies (e.g., PY Un 718.5 and .12).

Prof. Dr. T. Palaima

"Die Linear-B Texte und der Ursprung der hellenischen Religion: di-wo-nu-so"

Diskussion:

V. ARAVANTINOS: Unfortunately we have not enough time for longer discussion on the extremely interesting paper offered by Dr. Thomas Palaima, but one or two brief questions and answers can be made in order to close this lecture.

M. MEIER-BRÜGGER: Sie haben uns eine ganz interessante und feine Studie zu diesem Thema gegeben. Eine interessante Beobachtung ist die, daß die weiblichen Gottheiten mit *πότνια* angeredet werden, und die Frage ist, was macht man mit den männlichen Gottheiten? Man hat schon längst festgestellt, daß die Frauen auch mit "Frau" angeredet werden können: "*Ω γύναι*". Bei den Männern macht man das nicht, man sagt nicht "*ω άνερ*". Für die Männer hat man den Namen. Und ich denke, daß diese kulturelle Situation auch bei der Benennung der weiblichen Gottheiten eine Rolle gespielt hat. Wackernagel hat dies sehr schön beobachtet. Eine zweite kleine Frage ist wegen "*πότις, πόσις*", Sie sagen auf S. 4, daß der vordere Teil des Namens von Poseidaon Ehemann, Ehepartner bedeutet. Aber "*Πότις*" heißt auch noch der Chef - es kann also sein, daß er der Chef ist. Und bei Dionysos finde ich sehr schön, daß die Möglichkeit existiert, daß Dionysos und das Adjektiv "*διονύσιος*" vorliegen. Aber dort, denke ich, ist es noch komplizierter. Wir denken an *Helios*, der Name ist auch abgeleitet von der Sonne, und bezeichnet trotzdem die Gottheit.

T. PALAIMA: I agree with you, Michael, that the naming pattern for female deities is important and distinctive. Regarding *potis/posis*, I only used the word 'spouse' as a handy translation in this case for the male consort of a female deity, not as a word that would define the fundamental meaning of the root. I agree that *potis/posis* means 'the male being who has power', just as *potnia* means 'the female being who has power' or 'mistress' in its original sense, not with its modern nuances of 'an extramarital sexual partner'. Regarding your final point, we have *di-wo-nu-so* (= *Dionysos*) clearly associated with Zeus and the sanctuary of Zeus in the new Khania tablet. Is it possible then also to refer to a deity with the adjectival formation *dionusios*, according to your analogy with *Helios*? That is a good question.

Among the tablets we now have, it would seem clear to me from context that the shepherd's name on Knossos tablet Dv 1501 and the landholder's name on what we now know to be Pylos Ea 102, both refer to human beings. Only on Pylos tablets Eb 297.1 and Ep 704.5 is it even possible that a deity actively holds land, but the preferred interpretation of this entry, is, in my opinion the dative alternative proposed by the major interpreters of Linear B texts (Ventris and Chadwick, Ruijgh, L.R. Palmer, Vilborg) that the priestess *Eritha* holds and claims to hold an *e-to-ni-jo* holding for the god. In this case then textual and palaeographical context limit linguistically possible interpretations.

B. B. POWELL: A simple question: You mentioned the importance of handbooks in our efforts to understand Mycenaean religion and we are often told, as I recall, that Labyrinth is based upon a word "labrys" which is supposed to mean double axe, so

Labyrinth is the house of the double axe, which obviously is the Palace of Knossos. What, from your point of view, is the value of this interpretation?

T. PALAIMA: Is *da-pu2-ri-to-jo* a reference to the Palace of Knossos? We cannot say. The form has the conspicuous pre-Greek place-name suffix *-nthos*; and *labrus*, according to Plutarch, is later explained as a Lydian word for Greek *pelekus* 'axe', a root we might find in Mycenaean *pe-re-ke-u*. But attempts to locate it as the entire Palace of Minos or a shrine within the Palace of Minos or even a grotto shrine are all conjectural, because the evidence is too slim. References occur in 3 texts at Knossos (Xd 140.1, Gg 702.2, Oa 745.2), but none enables us to fix location.

G. NEUMANN: Ich bin dankbar für Ihre Nachweise des Gottesnamens Dionysos und würde gern eine Frage anschließen. Sie haben kurz den zweiten Gottesnamen erwähnt; *di-ri-mi-jo*. Zu ihm gibt es eine ältere Etymologie, die mich überzeugt hat, daß er per Assimilationen aus "Drumios", entstanden ist, das wäre dann der Gott des Dickichts, der Gott des Wildnis. Würden Sie es für möglich halten, daß das eine Art Beiname ist, der auch den Dionysos meint, so daß in dem einen Fall das ονομα κυριον, vorliegt und im anderen Fall ein Epitheton?

T. PALAIMA: Thank you for reminding me of this proposed interpretation, Prof. Neumann. The more prevalent view is to see *di-ri-mi-jo* as a descriptive epithet connected with the root *drim-* = 'bitter'. Later Dionysos, who is a god of polar extremes, has as an epithet *meilikhios* 'gentle, soothing'. This lends some support to the standard interpretation. But Dionysos is a deity of the mountains and the forests and the wilds, as opposed to the constraints of the civilized *polis*, so the proposal that *di-ri-mi-jo* = *drimios* < *drumios* would make sense as an epithet for the god.

C. DOUMAS: I would like to come back, to "potnia" or "potidaia" and "posis". I apologize if what I am going to say is nonsense, as I am not familiar, with the subject matter but I wonder whether since "potnia" means he or she who exercises power, "potidaion" might be he who exercises power to "*daia*" since we have also the homeric term "*γαιήοχος*" - the holder of the land and earth and "*πόσις*" may mean he who exercises power over his wife.

T. PALAIMA: This is why one uses the term 'consort' or 'spouse', speaking in a traditional way of a matrimonial relationship. I refer, of course, to the ancient Greek tradition, of course, not to my own marital experience. The main point is to recognize that the later Greek pantheon is the result of Greek contacts with non-Greek cultures.