

# COLLOQUIUM ROMANUM

ATTI DEL XII COLLOQUIO  
INTERNAZIONALE DI MICENOLOGIA

ROMA · 20-25 FEBBRAIO 2006

SOTTO L'ALTO PATRONATO DEL PRESIDENTE DELLA REPUBBLICA

A CURA DI

A. SACCONI, M. DEL FREO, L. GODART, M. NEGRI

I.



«PASIPHAË» · I.

PISA · ROMA

FABRIZIO SERRA · EDITORE

MMVIII

# PASIPHAE

RIVISTA DI FILOLOGIA  
E ANTICITÀ EGEE

DIRETTORI:

LOUIS GODART · ANNA SACCONI

SEGRETARIO DI REDAZIONE:

MAURIZIO DEL FREO

I.

(2007)



PISA · ROMA

FABRIZIO SERRA · EDITORE

MMVIII

## PREMESSA

*Nel 2001 decidemmo di creare una rivista internazionale di filologia e antichità egee dal nome "Pasiphae" e di affiancare alla rivista stessa una collana intitolata Biblioteca di "Pasiphae" destinata ad accogliere monografie relative alle civiltà egee.*

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*Iniziamo ora la pubblicazione della rivista "Pasiphae", che uscirà con cadenza annuale: i numeri I (2007) e II (2008) escono contemporaneamente e contengono gli "Atti del XII Colloquio Internazionale di Micenologia", svoltosi a Roma dal 20 al 25 febbraio 2006.*

Roma, dicembre 2007.

Louis GODART

Anna SACCONI

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RATKO DUEV

ZEUS AND DIONYSUS  
IN THE LIGHT OF LINEAR B RECORDS\*

1. Although somewhat meagre and mundane in their contents, the Mycenaean records do throw new light on the cults of deities in ancient Greek religion. On the basis of this new data, a number of earlier theories are confirmed, while others are to be rejected or corrected. The aim of this paper is to examine the scarce evidence of the Linear B tablets with regard to the cults, esteem and functions of two main gods, Zeus and Dionysus. Mycenaean written evidence testifies to the existence of a cult in the Aegean region in the Late Bronze Age of both the IE Sky Father Zeus and – according to the myth, his “adopted son” – the vegetation god Dionysus, in the Aegean region in the Late Bronze Age. In Crete, the latter does not appear as a son of Zeus, but rather as a rival of even greater dignity. As a recipient of offerings, another deity, Drimios, is mentioned on **PY Tn 316** as the son of Zeus: *di-ri-mi-jo di-wo i-je-we* dat. /*Drimiōi Diwos hiewei*/ ‘To Drimios, the son of Zeus’, if *i-je-we* is not a scribal error for *i-je-<re>-we* ‘priest’.<sup>1</sup>

2. W. Burkert believes that from as early as the Mycenaean period « Zeus was one of the most important gods, perhaps even the highest god: a month is named after him ».<sup>2</sup> On the basis of the offerings which were given to the gods mentioned on Mycenaean tablets, however, it cannot be concluded that the god Zeus had a special place in Mycenaean religion. Thus, for example, on **KN Fp(1) 1 + 31**, 9.6 l of olive oil are offered to *di-ka-ta-jo di-we*, which is the same amount as that registered for *pa-de* and *qe-ra-si-ja*. On **PY Tn 316**, for the contents of which there have been the largest number of interpretations, one gold vessel and one man<sup>3</sup> are offered to *di-we* in his temple (*Diwyon*) – the same as that offered to all the divinities mentioned on the tablet; the only difference being that one woman is offered to each of the female divinities. Of particular significance is the tablet **KH Gq 5**, on which one jar of honey (\*209<sup>VAS</sup> 1) is offered to *di-we* in ‘the temple of Zeus’, whereas two jars are offered to Dionysus. In comparison with other tablets dealing with offerings of

\* I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. P. Ilievski for directing my research; and to Prof. J. T. Killen and Prof. O. Panagl, who sent me their latest articles; as well as to Prof. J. L. García Ramón and Prof. F. M. J. Waanders for their useful comments on my paper at the Colloquium.

1. *Docs*<sup>2</sup>, p. 548. Some scholars associate *Drimios* with Dionysus (*DMic.* s.v.). However, if we accept *Drimios* as a theonym, it would still be difficult to prove this connection, as this is a single reference found in the Mycenaean tablets and it is not found mentioned as a deity during the historical period.

2. W. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, Harvard 1985, p. 126.

3. According to A. SACCONI (“La Tavoleta di Pilo Tn 316: Una registrazione di carattere eccezionale?”, in *Studies Chadwick*, p. 554) « sacerdoti e sacerdotesse » and T. G. PALAIMA (“Kn 02 – Tn 316”, in *Florent*, p. 455-456) « bearers, sacristans »; *contra* J. CHADWICK (*The Mycenaean World*, Cambridge 1976, p. 92) « sacrificial victims ».

honey to the divinities, such as **KN Gg(3) 705** and **Gg(1) 702**, it is noticeable that all receive one amphora, as does Zeus, while the greatest gift of honey (that of two amphorae) is offered to Dionysus. On **KN Fp 1** also, in the month of *de-u-ki-jo-jo di-ka-ta-jo di-we* OLE S 1, *da-da-re-jo-de* /*Daidaleon-de*/, a sanctuary with allative *-de*, are offered two amphoras of OLE S 2. It is only on **KN F 51** that Zeus is offered a larger amount of barley, 9.6 l + 38.8 l.<sup>4</sup> If, however, one compares the Pylos tablet **Fr 1230**, where 1.6 l of perfumed oil are offered to the temple of Zeus (*di-wi-jo-de*), with the other tablets in this series, **Fr 1202**, **1225**, **1226** and **1236**, one does not receive the impression that the temple of Zeus enjoys any especially outstanding prestige (cf. on **Fr 1202** *ma-te-re te-i-ja* the large amount of 160 l). Such a large amount of this luxury article offered to *ma-te-re te-i-ja* /*mātrei theiāi*/ ‘divine mother’ supports the theory that female deities were more dominant in the Mediterranean rim than male deities, very likely as a survival of the previous matriarchy.

On the other hand, a month was named after him (**KN Fp 5**, *di-wi-jo-jo*) and his name is to be found in clear cult context at the main sites where Mycenaean written tablets have been discovered.<sup>5</sup> But if we compare all this with the evidence on Potnia, it is more likely that *di-we* enjoyed a less important role in the Mycenaean pantheon.<sup>6</sup>

3. The Theban tablets have not solved this problem, but rather complicated it yet further. There is a disagreement regarding the suggestion of C. J. Ruijgh<sup>7</sup> that *ma-ka* on **KN F(1) 51** refers to *Mā Gā* ‘Mother Earth’, which is attested on several Theban **Fq** tablets; and regarding **Gp 201.a**, there is a conclusion further developed by the editors of the Thebes tablets, V. Aravantinos, L. Godart and A. Sacconi,<sup>8</sup> that *ma-ka*, *o-po-re-i* and *ko-wa* refer to a divine triad: *Mā Gā* (*Dēmētēr*), *Opōrēs* (Zeus) and *Korwā* (the daughter of *Mā Gā*, *Persephonē*).<sup>9</sup> However, detailed contextual analysis by other scholars of the tablets on which these names appear – especially the work of the late J. Chadwick,<sup>10</sup> and the research of J. L. Melena,<sup>11</sup> T. G. Palaima,<sup>12</sup> Y. Duhoux,<sup>13</sup> etc. – has led to a different conclusion: namely that

4. If Zeus is the recipient of both quantities of barley.

5. Except Mycenae. Knossos: **F 51**, **Fp 1** (**E 842?**); Pylos: **Tn 316**; Khania: **Gq 5**. Regarding *o-po-re-i* on the Thebes tablets, see *infra*.

6. According to Y. DUHOUX (“Les nouvelles tablettes en linéaire B de Thèbes et la Religion Grecque”, *AC* 74 [2005], p. 16) the ratio of the offerings on **KN F 51** between those to *wa* and *di-we* casts doubt even on its interpretation as a theonym, including *ma-ka*); cf. W. K. C. GUTHRIE, “The Religion and Mythology of the Greeks”, in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. II, part 2, 3d ed., Cambridge 1975, p. 881.

7. “La ‘déesse mere’ dans les textes Mycéniens”, in *Secondo Congresso*, p. 453-457.

8. *AGS 2001*.

9. Accepted by many scholars: cf. C. J. RUIJGH, *Mnemosyne* 56 (2003), p. 219-228; C. MILANI, “La Madre Terra nei nuovi testi micenei di Tebe”, *Aevum* 77 (2003), p. 3-8, etc.

10. “Three temporal clauses”, *Minos* 31-32 (1996-1997 [1998]), p. 293-301.

11. *Textos*, p. 50.

12. *AJA* 107 (2003), p. 113-115; *Minos* 35-36 (2000-2001 [2002]), p. 475-86; “\*65 = FAR? or ju? and other interpretative conundra in the new Thebes tablets”, in *Texte aus Theben*, p. 139-148.

13. “Les nouvelles tablettes”, cit., p. 1-19.



these documents are of secular content and that all three names are anthroponyms. They appear in exactly the same position as many other personal names, e.g. *ma-di-je*, *qe-re-ma-o*, *ko-wa*, etc., as recipients of barley. At first sight, it seems that there are cases where some deities in Mycenaean tablets are recorded by their epithets: cf. *pa-ja-wo-ne* (KN V 52.2), perhaps for *Apollo*, *e-nu-wa-ri-jo* (*l.c.*), as a different name for Ares (?), and *e-ne-si-da-o-ne* (KN M 719.2), perhaps as an epithet for Poseidōn. Nevertheless, it is very unlikely that *o-po-re-i* in the TH Fq tablets is a different name for Zeus.<sup>14</sup> Whereas epithets of the gods are commonly used in classical Greek, there is no example of an epithet being used as a theonym in Linear B.<sup>15</sup>

4. It is of particular interest that the deciphering of linear B revealed the existence of a female counterpart of the god Zeus: *di-wi-ja/di-u-ja* (PY Cn 1287.6, Tn 316 v.6, An 607.5).<sup>16</sup> She cannot be identified with Hera, who is referred to as *e-ra* in the tablets from Pylos and Thebes (PY Tn 316, [Un 219], TH Of 28); that is, solely on the mainland, not on the island of Crete. Besides Diwija, Mycenaean tablets also refer to a female counterpart of the god Poseidon: *po-si-da-e-ja*.<sup>17</sup> The existence of a shrine dedicated to the goddess Diwija *di-u-ja-jo(-qe)* – PY Tn 316 v. /*Diwyaion*/, and theophoric names<sup>18</sup> indicate that she was greatly respected during the Mycenaean period. However, it is interesting that there was no further mention of her name and cult throughout the later development of ancient Greek religion, as can be observed in early epic poetry.<sup>19</sup> Why did this goddess emerge only during the Mycenaean period?

In addition, opinions also differ regarding the reconstruction of the IE Sky Father's family. The opinion that in IE mythology the wife of the Sky Father *Dyēus patēr* was the Earth goddess *\*Pltwi mātēr*<sup>20</sup> is derived from the Sanskrit *pr̥thivī mātā*,<sup>21</sup> but this appears problematic, as in Vedic Hymns the reference to *pr̥thivī* is vague, as a place in contrast with the sky: *dyauš-pr̥thivī*, Sky-Earth. For this reason, G. E. Dunkel believed that the Greek Διώνη hides the name of IE Earth goddess *\*diuōneh<sub>2</sub>*.<sup>22</sup> Διώνη, derived undoubtedly from *\*diwōnā*, and resembles in many aspects the Mycenaean *di-wi-ja*; however, the mythological representations do not

14. Cf. J. T. KILLEN, "Thoughts on the functions of the new Thebes tablets" in *Texte aus Theben*, p. 102.

15. Cf. T. G. Palaima, "\*65 = FAR?", cit., p. 141.

16. *DMic.* s.v. *di-u-ja*. It also occurs in an unclear context on Kn Xd 97, TH Gp 313.2: cf. *Études*, p. 130 f., *Mentions*, p. 67 f.

17. If *qe-ra-si-jo* : *qe-ra-si-ja*, *qo-we?* : *qo-wi-ja* could be accepted, cf. P. HR. ILIEVSKI, "Doprinos lineranih B tekstova u rasvetljavanju grčke religije kasne bronzane epohe", *Godišnjak ANUBiH, Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja* – knjiga 25, Sarajevo 1989, p. 35.

18. P. HR. ILIEVSKI, "Interpretation of Some Mycenaean Personal Names: nomina theophora", in *Florent*, p. 302 f.

19. Her name is preserved in Pamphylian inscription as Δίφια (SCHWYZER 686, I).

20. W. EULER, "Gab es eine indogermanische Götterfamilie", in *Studien zum indogermanischen Wortschatz*, W. Meid (ed.), Innsbruck 1987, p. 35-56; J. N. BREMMER, *Greek Religion*, Oxford 1999, p. 98. W. BURKERT (*Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual*, Berkeley 1979, p. 133) connected Greek Πλατῶα with Vedic *pr̥thivī*, designating IE Earth-goddess, wife of *Dyauš pitar*, as 'the broad one'.

21. *RV* 4.17.4, as wife of *Dyauš pitar*.

22. "Vater Himmels Gattin", *Die Sprache* 34 (1988-1990), p. 1-26, analyses all IE parallels, paying special attention to the functions of the suffixes *-ōnā*, *-ōn/-n-* : *-on/-n-*, proving their IE origin.

seem to confirm Dunkel's thesis about her IE origins.<sup>23</sup> The existence of female counterparts *di-u-ja/di-wi-ja* and *po-si-da-e-ja*, and their absence in the historical period, indicate that as early as this period there were layers of influence from the eastern Mediterranean in these cults. Diwija recalls the Sumerian sky goddess Antu, the wife of the sky god Anu, who appears in *Gilgamesh*<sup>24</sup> as a parent of Ishtar (corresponding to Aphroditē). Homer unusually mentions Zeus and Diōnē as the parents of Aphroditē.<sup>25</sup>

The existence of female counterparts to the main gods is not a characteristic either of IE tradition or Classical Greek religion. Most probably, the cult of the goddess Diwija,<sup>26</sup> even though of IE etymology, as a counterpart of the Sky Father, represents only a stage in the development of the cult of IE Sky Father *di-we*<sup>27</sup> during the Mycenaean period under the influence of local Aegean cults of dominant female deities.<sup>28</sup> Maybe, as in the case of *po-ti-ni-ja*, one of the ways of syncretizing and reconciling the older deities with more recent deities was through the adoption of the cult of a foreign deity and the translation of its name.

5. Dionysus was considered the youngest divinity, incorporated within the Hellenic pantheon from Thrace probably in the VIII-VII centuries B.C. The interpreters of the Mycenaean texts were thus surprised by his appearance on Mycenaean Linear B

23. According to mythology, Diōnē is daughter of Atlas (Hyginus, *Fabulae* 83, Ovid. *Met.* 6.172), the god of astronomy; according to Hesiod (*Th.* 353), she is a daughter of Okeanos and Tethys (whose parents are Ouranos and Gaia); according to Apollodorus (1.2) she is a daughter of Ouranos and Gaia; while according to Hyginus (*Praefatio*) she is a daughter of Aither (or Ouranos) and Gaia. It is important to note that her origins and all myths containing references to Dione are related to the sky.

24. VI iii, 11 ff.

25. *Il.* V 370 (Eur. *Hel.* 1098; Apollodorus 1.13).

26. Whose cult might have survived in the mythology of the historical period in the name of Dione. However, with further development she was replaced by Hera, represented as being offered a golden vessel carried by a woman on the **PY Tn 316**, as well as in the shrine dedicated to Zeus, *di-u-jo*, placed immediately after Zeus. It is of particular importance that the same tablet contains a reference to Diwija and her shrine in the Pylos district. It is also interesting that the tablets discovered in the Mycenaean archives to date do not contain reference to a cult place dedicated to the goddess Hera.

27. In Homer Zeus is more a weather god than is implied by the etymology of his name, god of luminous day sky. Comparative analysis with other IE mythologies reveals that Indo-Europeans had separate gods for storms, such as the Indian god Indra, the Baltic Slavic Perkunas or Perun, and the Nordic Thor. Whether it is a matter of early syncretism between two IE deities or syncretism with a foreign god of storms, the comparative studies of Mediterranean mythologies, of the Homeric epithets and the epiphanies of Zeus in particular, indicate influences from the Middle East. Nevertheless, when making comparisons with other IE mythologies (cf. *IEW* s.v.), one must take chronology into account because, apart from Vedic mythology, the surviving evidence of other mythologies, such as the Roman, Norse, Celtic and Slav mythologies, comes from a period much later than the Late Bronze age in Aegean. There have been attempts to find IE connections with the Hittite writing *šiunaš*, but these claims are being increasingly refuted as almost all of the names of Hittite deities are of Hurrian origin (J. G. MACQUEEN, *The Hittites and Their Contemporaries in Asia Minor*, London 2001, p. 109 f. and n. 69). It is difficult to find any trace of IE traditions in the Hittite Imperial religious system. What is more, the powerful Hittite weather god is subordinated to the Mother Goddess, the leading female of the pantheon – a situation which could reflect the position of *di-we* and *ma-te-re te-i-ja*, and especially of *po-ti-ni-ja*.

28. Of Minoan background, overlaid with many attributes of earlier eastern Mediterranean cults.

tablets of the XIV-XII centuries B.C.<sup>29</sup> *Di-wo-nu-so* appears on **PY Ea 102**, **Xa 1419**, and in a clearly cult context on **KH Gq 5**. Although doubt has been raised about the context in which the name appears on **PY Ea 102** (previously **Xa**), the joining of **Ea 102** with **Ea 107** confirms that the name is a theonym. This can be seen from the new reading of **Ea 102**: *di-wo-nu-so-jo e-ka-ra /D. eskhara/* ‘hearth of Dionysus’ as a holder of a plot of land.<sup>30</sup> Concerning the identification of **PY Xa 1419**, found in a fragmentary state, there have been many different opinions as to whether in this context the name *di-wo-nu-so-jo* is a theonym or a theophoric name,<sup>31</sup> maybe a priest, connected with the word *wo-no-wa-ti-si*,<sup>32</sup> on the reverse of the tablet in which the word for wine can be recognised, *wo-no /woinos/*, linked to Dionysus, the god of wine; although there is suspicion as to wine being his primary attribute in his cult as a god of vegetation. Of particular interest is the Knossos tablet **Dv 1501**, on which we find a variant of this theophoric name *di-\*79-nu-[(di-wjo-nu-so)* mentioned among hundreds of names of shepherds.<sup>33</sup> The fact that this is the name of a shepherd is significant because it indicates that the cult of Dionysus was widespread among the mass of the people. The offerings, two jars of honey for Dionysus as opposed to one for Zeus (**KH Gq 5**), indicate the respect which his cult enjoyed in the Aegean region,<sup>34</sup> if we exclude the possibility that underlying this attitude lies the characteristic of polytheistic religions not to distinguish certain divinities more than others. Theophoric names derived from the names Zeus and Dionysus are further proof in support of these claims.<sup>35</sup>

6. What unites the two cults most closely are the two tablets **KH Gq 5** and **KN Fp (1) + 31**, in particular the formula *di-ka-ta-jo di-we*, which recalls the myth of the birth of the god Zeus in the Cretan *Theogonia* and its reflection in a cave near Knossos – where he is respected as a vegetation god similar to Adonis and Osiris – as a beardless youth who is born and dies annually. The clear evidence of the existence of the god Dionysus in Linear B records and *di-ka-ta-jo di-we* as gods of vegetation,

29. Many of them went much further: see C. ANTONELLI, “Dioniso: una divinità micenea”, in *Secondo Congresso*, p. 170-176.

30. J. L. MELENA, “24 Joins and Quasi-joins of Fragment in the Linear B Tablets from Pylos”, *Minos* 35-36 (2000-2001 [2002]), p. 358 f.

31. There is no evidence in the records of gods’ names being applied to a human.

32. Cf. *Docs*<sup>2</sup>, p. 411; *DMic.* s.v. *wo-no-wa-ti-si*; *Mentions*, p. 248 f.; M. D. PETRUŠEVSKI, “*Wo-no-wa-ti-si*”, *ZAnt* 11 (1962), p. 278; P. HR. ILIEVSKI, “Doprinos”, cit., p. 23; M. RUIPÉREZ, “The Mycenaean name of Dionysos”, in *Res Mycenaee*, p. 411; T. G. PALAIMA, “Die Linear B-Texte und der Ursprung der Hellenischen Religion: *di-wo-nu-so*”, in *Die Geschichte der Hellenischen Sprache und Schrift vom 2. zum 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.: Bruch oder Kontinuität?, Tagung 03.-06 Oktober 1996 in Ohlstadt*, N. Dimoudis, A. Kyriatsoulis (ed.), Altenburg 1998, p. 210.

33. If we accept J. L. Melena’s identification of the sign \*79 as *wyo* (“En torno a la identificación del silabograma \*79 del silabario micénico”, in *Actas del V Congreso Español de Estudios Clásicos* (1976), Madrid 1978, p. 751-757.

34. Cf. G. AURELIO PRIVITERA, “Dioniso nella società micenea”, in *Primo Congresso*, p. 1027-1032.

35. See P. HR. ILIEVSKI, “Some Mycenaean Personal Names”, cit., p. 301 f.; T. G. PALAIMA, “Die Linear B-Texte”, cit., p. 217.

indicates the possibility that the powerful cult of a Cretan (Mediterranean) vegetation deity survived in the cult of Dionysus and Zeus.<sup>36</sup>

Positive evidence of such syncretism in the Mycenaean period, however, is to be found in the name *di-wo-nu-so*, formed from the IE element *Diwo-* and an unknown element *-nuso-*.<sup>37</sup> The name itself is a reflection of the two cults.<sup>38</sup> Likewise in the case of *po-se-da-o*, wherein the name is a combination of the IE *\*posei* and the pre-Greek element *dā*, in which it is presumed is hidden the name of the goddess Demeter < *\*Dā-mātēr*.<sup>39</sup> Probably the powerful cults of non-Greek divinities are also syncretised in their names according to the formula IE element + foreign element<sup>40</sup> for male divinities and possibly in the reverse order for female divinities. Probably the names of some divinities were substituted (*di-wi-ja* with *e-ra*, or perhaps translated as *po-ti-ni-ja*, *ti-ri-se-ro-e*, *ko-ma-we-te-ja*,<sup>41</sup> *qe-ra-si-ja*, etc.), while others

36. Cf. W. K. C. GUTHRIE, "Religion", cit., 881. The research of C. Varias García on personal names from the Knossos B-tablets, with previous studies on the **Ap**, **As**, **C**- and **D**-series, reveals that the number of Greek names is low and that the majority of the population was Minoan, differing with the situation in mainland Greece, in Pylos and Mycenae, and also points to a chronological gap of more than a century between the inscriptions ("The Personal Names from the Knossos B-Tablets and from Mycenae Tablets" in *Studies Killen*, p. 349-370). All this, in some respects, confirms the need for syncretism of the lesser number of rulers and the adaptation of the IE *di-we* to the local deities. The difference between the Cretan Zeus and Olympic Zeus of the later period is obvious (cf. R. F. WILLETS, "Mycenaean Zeus in Central Crete", in *Primo Congresso*, p. 1034). It has been confirmed that both Zeus and Dionysus were worshiped by the Greeks in the form of a bull. The largest number of myths referring to a bull or a cow originate from Crete: the myth of Zeus, Pasiphaia and Minotaur (W. K. C. GUTHRIE, "Religion", cit., 874; C. KERÉNYI, *The Gods of the Greeks*, London 1988, p. 108-113, etc.).

37. Numerous researchers of this cult have long sought to derive the etymology of the second element of the name, *-nusus*, as the Thracian word for 'son' (*GEW* s.v.); from the IE word for 'son' *\*sūnus* (Skt. *sūnūh*, Got. *sunus*) with metathesis *nūsus* and dissimilation *u-u > u-o* (O. SZEMERÉNYI, "The Origins of the Greek Lexicon: *Ex oriente lux*", *JHS* 94 [1974], p. 145; as *Dios* from *Nysa*, the holy mountain where, according to the myth, the Nysiades nursed the child Dionysus (M. L. WEST, *Hesiod's Works and Days*, Oxford 1978, p. 373-375). The problem arising with the mountain of Nysa is its location. Hesychios alone put forward 15 different mountains and the ancient sources do not give a clear picture of the location of this mythical mountain. The solutions offered cannot provide the final answer because *-nusus* is not of IE origin. Regarding the various forms in the historical period, see M. RUIPÉREZ, "The Mycenaean name of Dionysos", cit., p. 408-412; J. L. GARCÍA RAMÓN, "Sobre las variantes Διέννυσοσ, Δίνυσοσ, γ Δίννυσοσ del nombre de Dioniso: Hechos e hipótesis", in *Studies Chadwick*, p. 173-182.

38. Cf. T. G. PALAIMA, "Die Linear B-Texte", cit., p. 209: *Minneapolis* (American Indian and Greek hybrid), *Hierapudna* : *Hierapetra* (later Hellenized), Semitic + Greek elements of *Jesus Χριστός*.

39. Cf. *DMic.* s.vv. *po-se-da-o*, *e-ne-si-da-o-ne*; *DELG* s.v. Δημήτηρ; L. R. PALMER, "Mycenaean Religion: Methodological Choices", in *Res Mycenaee*, p. 354 f.; C. J. RUIJGH, "La religion dans les textes des tablettes mycéniennes", in *Conférences, Débats, Dossiers de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège*, Liège 1999 (Entretiens sur l'antiquité grégoromane, Langues et Littératures, 7), p. 10; Y. DUHOUX, "LA > B *da-ma-te* = Déméter? Sur la langue du linéaire A", *Minos* 29-30 (1994-1995 [1997]), p. 289-294, etc.

40. Theonyms compound from *elements*, not from suffixes and infixes, cf. n. 39.

41. Cf. M. DEL FREGO, "Osservazioni su miceneo *ko-ma-we-te-ja*", *Minos* 31-32 (1996-1997 [1999]), p. 145-158.

were simply transcribed (*e-ra*, *e-ma-a<sub>2</sub>*, *a-ti-mi-te*, etc.). It is of interest that the syncretised names were those of divinities whose cults dominated in the Classical period.

7. The analysis of the two versions of the myth of the birth of Dionysus, from Zeus and Semelē and Zeus and Persephonē as Zagreus, compared with Linear B records, does not allow the possibility of any linking of these myths to the Late Bronze Age. Semelē and Zagreus are not attested to on the tablets. Nevertheless, there is a possibility that, if the identification of the sign \*82 is *swa*, Persephone could be attested to in a clear cult context on **PY Tn 316** as Preswā.<sup>42</sup> The connection of Semelē with Phrygia according to an ancient tradition, however, points to the possibility that the version of the myth of Persephonē as the mother of Dionysus is older because the Phrygians had not yet established their kingdom in Asia Minor and the level of their civilization, when compared to the palatial Mycenaean system of the Late Bronze Age, reduces the likelihood of their influence on Mycenaean cults at this period.<sup>43</sup> The later syncretism in the cult of Dionysus (certainly linked to the previous one, most probably from the Minoan period) gives rise to various hypotheses regarding its origin – Thrace, Phrygia, Lydia, Syria, Egypt (or even India), etc. – as he was respected throughout the entire Mediterranean region as Dionysus, Zalmoxis, Sabazios, Attis, Adonis, Thammuz, Osiris, etc. Perhaps Zagreus hides the original Cretan vegetation deity whose cult was added to that of Zeus and he continued to exist under the name of Dionysus.<sup>44</sup>

8. The Greek peoples were not indigenous, but the Greek language arose through the mixture of a group of IE speakers with an earlier population.<sup>45</sup> The theory by

42. *DMic.* s.v. *pe-re*-\*82.

43. *DELG* s.v.: « Le dieu Dionysos est un dieu nouveau, populaire, qui vient p.-ê. de Thrace ». The author relied primarily on the opinions put forward by P. KRETCHMER (*Einleitung*, p. 241), E. ROHDE (*Psyche*, Tübingen 1923, p. 1-102), M. P. NILSSON (*The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in the Greek Religion*, Lund 1950, p. 32 f.), E. R. DODDS (*Eur. Bacchae*, Oxford 1960) and other opinions that trace his origins to Phrygia on the basis of Euripides's *Bacchae*, and particularly on the connection between the Phrygians and the Thracians from the Balkans and their migration to Asia Minor, cf. W. K. C. GUTHRIE, *The Greeks and their Gods*, London 1977, p. 154-155. Guthrie placed the Thracians and the Phrygians at the beginning of the second millennium, but still, evidence implies that the Phrygians (by this time known as Bryges or Briges, cf. *Hdt.* 3.73), migrated from the Balkans to Anatolia in several waves: at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, then around the XII cent. BC, and around VIII and VII cent. BC as a result of the growth of the Illyrian and the Macedonian communities (R. D. BARNETT, "Phrygia and the Peoples of Anatolia in the Iron Age", in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. II, part 2, 3d ed., Cambridge 1975, p. 419 f.; E. PETROVA, *The Briges in the Central Balkans in the II and I Millenium BC*, Skopje 1996, p. 287 f.). Regarding language, see O. PANAGL, "Graeco-phrygische Kontaktzonen", in *Sprachkontakt und Sprachwandel*, G. Meiser, O. Hackstein (ed.), Wiesbaden 2005, p. 483-494. The rise of Thracian civilization is far from the Late Bronze Age.

44. M. L. West believes that Welkhanos, "god of the willow-tree", may have been the original Minoan name for Cretan Zeus, who in the Classical period was worshiped in Knossos, Gortyn and Lyttos, near Mt. Ida and Mt. Lasithi ("The Dictaeon Hymn to the Kouros", *JHS* 85 [1965], p. 155 n. 9).

45. Cf. J. CHADWICK, "The Prehistory of the Greek Language", in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. II, part 2, 3d ed., Cambridge 1975, p. 819.

P. Kretschmer of their arrival in three successive waves has been rejected. Thus, the first inter-linguistic and intercultural contacts between these IE newcomers and the earlier Balkan and Mediterranean population had begun since the MM IA (about 2000 BC or a little earlier than 2100 BC). Moreover, the syncretism of IE cults with Balkan and Mediterranean cults began first, maybe between that of Zeus<sup>46</sup> and Dionysus. These contacts and interferences became more intensive in the Mycenaean period when the subjugated Minoan population was absorbed by the conquerors (Mycenaean Greeks), and continued to live in symbiosis with them. However, from the Linear B records we can see that the competition for priority between Zeus and Dionysus, as well as between *di-wi-ja* and *e-ra*, continued in Mycenaean times.

46. An interesting remark has been made by J. GULIZIO that of the divinities mentioned on the Knossos tablets, only *di-we* and *po-ti-ni-ja*, divinities with clear IE etymologies, are attested also on the mainland and both qualified by local epithets *di-ka-ta-jo di-we* and *da-pu<sub>2</sub>-ri-to-jo po-ti-ni-ja* ("Mycenaean Religion at Knossos", this volume, p. 351-358).