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A Companion to Linear B
Mycenaean Greek Texts and their World

VOLUME 2

edited by

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CHAPTER 15

MYCENAEAN ONOMASTICS*

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¹ The final version of this chapter has greatly benefited from Yves Duhoux's and Anna Morpurgo Davies' extremely valuable suggestions. It is a pleasant duty to express here my gratitude to them, as well as to Françoise Rougemont for her remark in note 48. Any remaining infelicities are my responsibility. The section on 'Personal names' is based on the data collected for a forthcoming *Die historischen Personennamen des Mykenischen* (GARCÍA RAMÓN 2000-2001b; GARCÍA RAMÓN 2005c).

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§15.1. GENERAL REMARKS

In the Linear B tablets, a considerable number of proper names is attested: in approximate figures, almost 2000 anthroponyms (§15.2) and some names of oxen (§15.2.5), over 50 theonyms and divine epithets (§15.3), almost 400 toponyms and ethnics (§15.4).²

Proper names, when we can recognize them and know how to read them, provide us with direct information about the Mycenaean world,³ its social relationships and values, its religion and religious attitudes, its geography, etc. They can even tell us something about the way in which the Mycenaeans perceived and named their physical environment. Names can also provide evidence about the prehistory and early history of Greece. Even the non-Greek names, which are very common, especially in Crete, serve to bear witness to the existence of pre-Greek populations in Mycenaean Greece, irrespective of how their presence may be interpreted and of what we know or do not know about their first contacts with the Greek world.

§15.1.1. *Proper names: identification, interpretation*

We can only decide that a Mycenaean word is a proper name on the basis of a careful examination of the text in which it occurs: we must resist the temptation to rely only on apparent formal similarities with proper names, common

² It must be stressed that all figures are approximate as the identification of many words as names, and particularly as specific types of names, is often far from certain, and even more so in the case of short texts.

³ *Documents*² offer an extremely valuable overview on personal names (92-105, 404-5), religious names (125-129, 410-412) and place names (139-150, 414-417). Cf. also the short presentation in *Handbuch*, 399-429, and the chapters on Mycenaean people, geography and religion in *World*, 35-68, 84-101; S. HILLER in HILLER-PANAGL 1976, 245-256, 261-277, 289-314, and RUIPÉREZ – MELENA 1990, 107-129, 181-197. Main collections of Mycenaean personal names are LANDAU 1958 (excellent, but now obsolete) and the Pylian and Cnossian prosopographies by LINDGREN 1973 and LANDENIUS-ENEGREN 2008 respectively. On their geographical distribution, cf. BAUMBACH 1986; BAUMBACH 1987; BAUMBACH 1992; ILIEVSKI 1992; KILLEN 1992a; VARIAS GARCÍA 1998-1999. For religious names cf. BOËLLE 2004; ROUGEMONT 2005; GARCÍA RAMÓN 2010. For place names cf. HART 1965; SAINER 1976; WILSON 1977; CREMONA – MARCOZZI – SCAFA – SINATRA 1978; MCARTHUR 1985; KILLEN 1987; MCARTHUR 1993; BENNET 1999; BENNET 2000 (forthcoming). On the relations between Greek and non-Greek names cf. BAUMBACH 1992; FIRTH 1992-1993; ILIEVSKI 1992; KILLEN 1992a.

nouns or adjectives attested in the Greek of the first millennium. The specific criteria for the identification of anthroponyms (§15.2.1), theonyms (§15.3.1) or toponyms (§15.4.1) differ, but two principles are always valid: (a) a word which is used in close parallel with a proper name of a certain type may be deemed to be a name of the same type; (b) a word may be a proper name even if its direct context does not provide sufficient information, as long as it also appears in at least one other text where it can be identified with certainty.

Once a proper name has been recognised as such, attempts may be made to provide its interpretation. The various readings which are allowed by the spelling may be compared with alphabetic Greek forms (proper names, common nouns or adjectives, both compounds and simplicia) or, in some instances, with reconstructed forms postulated through comparison with other IE languages. This is in fact the only possibility of interpretation, as the context can only help us to understand that a word is a proper name of a certain type (personal name, place name, etc.) and that it has a certain case form; it cannot tell us how to choose between alternative interpretations. This is possible with common nouns because they convey a certain meaning. Thus the context tells us that *pa-te* in PY An 607, where it is contrasted with *ma-te*, must be read */patēr/* ‘father’, but in KN B 1055, where it precedes VIR 213[, *pa-te* must be read */pantes/* ‘all’ (nom. plur.).⁴ This is not equally easy for proper names which are meant to refer to, or designate, persons, gods or places, rather than to convey a meaning. A person called Victor Smith is not necessarily a conqueror and/or a metal worker.

More than fifty years after the decipherment of Linear B, the interpretation of proper names is confronted with basically the same difficulties as those stressed by MICHAEL VENTRIS and JOHN CHADWICK in the pages of the first edition of *Documents* that they dedicated to personal names.⁵ Given the deficiencies of Linear B, the form underlying a Mycenaean spelling can only be conjectured. In practice, length is an all-important factor for name interpretation: the longer the word, the more likely it is that we can identify it. Thus, the MNs *e-ru-to-ro* and *e-ru-ta-ra*, the GN *po-ti-ni-ja* and the PN *ma-to-ro-pu-ro* may be safely interpreted as */Erut^hros/*, */Erut^hrā/* (: Ἐρύθρας, cf. ἐρύθρος ‘red’) */Potnia/* (: πότνια ‘lady, mistress’) and */Mātropulos/* (cf. Πύλος, Μητρόπολις, and μήτηρ ‘mother’, Hom. πύλαι ‘gates of a town’). On the other hand, short words (i.e. forms which consist of no more than two syllabograms) are only identifiable if the Greek of the first millennium offers a perfect correspondence, e.g. the MN *to-wa* */T^howā(n)s/*, the GN *e-ra* (dat.) */^hĒrāi/* ‘to Hera’ or the PN *ri-jo* */R^hion/*, cf. Θόας (gen. Θόαντος, a ‘short form’ of

⁴ More about these two different readings of *pa-te* §11.4.1 above.

⁵ *Documents*¹, 92ff.

Θοήνωρ, cf. θοός ‘quick’, ἀνὴρ ‘man’), Ἡρη, Πίον (ρίον ‘peak’). Even so, complete certainty is not possible.

It may also happen that the spelling allows several Greek readings. An ideal case is when one and only one of these has an exact match (or, at least, a close correspondence) in alphabetic Greek. This is the case, for instance, of the name *to-wa-no*, which may be read as either /T^howānōr/ (cf. θοός ‘quick’) or /T^hor-wānōr/ (cf. θοῦρος ‘violent’): the comparison with Hom. Προθοήνωρ (cf. προθέω ‘run in advance’), Θόας makes the first interpretation preferable. If the spelling matches more than one proper name attested in alphabetic Greek, a decision is not possible: the MN *e-u-ko-ro* can be read as Εὔκολος ‘with good character’, Εὔχορος ‘with good dances, choirs’ (cf. χόρος) or Εὐκλος (a ‘short’ form of Εὐ-κλέης ‘with good fame’, cf. κλέος). For *e-u-da-mo* both Εὔδαμος (cf. Myc. *da-mo* /dāmos/ ‘community’) and Εὐδαίμων (cf. δαίμων ‘divine power’) are possible, as long as only the nominative is attested.

It goes without saying that things may be even more difficult. For most names none of the possible underlying forms finds a match in the names of alphabetic Greek. In this case two possibilities remain. On the one hand we may suggest an interpretation based on what we know about Greek semantics and word formation and hope that one day new data (e.g. a new text) will confirm our proposal. On the other hand we may adopt a more pessimistic attitude, which is often the only valid one, and admit that life is hard and the name must remain uninterpreted. The reader will observe that in this chapter I have mainly adopted the first approach.

§15.1.2. *Mycenaean names and first millennium names, Greek and non-Greek names*

A number of Mycenaean names have exact equivalences in Homer or in classical Greek.⁶ Moreover, when we can provide a Greek interpretation, we discover that formation and naming devices are, in spite of some slight differences for personal names (§15.2.2), practically the same in Mycenaean and in the Greek of the first millennium. This does not mean, of course, that all names attested in Linear B and in later Greek are of Greek origin or can be understood in Greek terms. Greek names are often transparent, as e.g. the MN Εὔδημος, a compound of εὖ ‘well’ and δῆμος ‘people’, or the PN Μητρόπολις, a compound based on μήτηρ ‘mother’ and πόλις ‘city’. Many names are not and

⁶ It is obviously impossible to give exact, or perhaps even approximate figures (*Handbuch*, 400 suggests *ca* 300 names with a Greek interpretation in a total of *ca* 700 names).

are in practice unetymologizable, however, even if they correspond to famous heroes or mythical figures, to major gods or to well-known places. In fact, Greek and non-Greek names coexist in the Mycenaean texts, as they did in classical Greek. Whether the proportion of non-Greek names is the same in both periods must remain an open question, for the obvious reason that for names attested in Linear B, ‘unidentified’ or ‘not interpreted’ does not automatically mean ‘pre-Greek’ or, more generally, ‘non-Greek’, i.e. belonging to one of the non-Greek languages spoken in Greece before the coming of the Greeks, who brought with them the Greek language.

The intelligibility of a name may bear on its date of origin: an unanalyzable name may be older than a totally transparent one. Some unetymologizable names may belong to a pre-Greek layer. This is true even if, not surprisingly, we are hardly ever able to establish a link with a specific non-Greek language. It does not help that except for Linear B none of the languages written in Greece in pre-alphabetic scripts (Cretan ‘hieroglyphic’, Linear A, etc.) has yet been successfully deciphered. At any rate it is methodologically correct to try to interpret in the first instance every name in terms of Greek: this is the only way open to us to reach a correct reading and interpretation since Greek is the only language of Bronze Age Greece which is known to us. However one must be aware that not everything can be explained.

§15.1.3. *A tentative classification*

The simplest classification is probably that which contrasts two groups of proper names: (1) those which are easily comparable with names or words attested in the first millennium and (2) those which are not.

- (1) Names comparable with forms (or their variants and/or derivatives) attested in alphabetic Greek (or in the Cypriot syllabary) are made up of (or based on) recognizable verbal, nominal, adjectival and adverbial elements which may or may not be understandable. To this type belong:
- (1a) names with a transparent Greek (i.e. Indo-European) etymology, as e.g. *e-ru-to-ro* /*Erut^hros*/ or *po-ti-ni-ja* /*Potnia*/;
 - (1b) names which, though not immediately transparent, are understandable on the basis of linguistic comparison with other IE languages, as e.g. the MN *ka-sa-no* /*Kass-ānōr*/ (cf. *Κάσσανδρος*) ‘who excels among men’ (cf. Hom. *κέκασμαι* ‘excel’: Ved. *śāśad-* ‘id.’) and the PN *me-ta-pa* (: *Μέταπα*) ‘(land) behind (or in the middle of) the water’ (cf. Skt. *áp-* ‘water’);

- (1c) names like e.g. the MN *ka-ra-u-ko* /*Glaukos*/ (: Γλαῦκος), the WN *mu-ti-ri* /*Murtilis*/ (cf. also WN Μυρτίλα, Μυρτίς, Μυρτώ), the GN *si-to-po-ti-ni-ja* /*Sīto-potnia*/ ‘Mistress of Grain’ or the PN *se-ri-nu-wo-te* (: Σελινοῦς), which are based on words which belong to the Greek lexicon, though they do not have an IE etymology (γλαυκός ‘gleaming’, μύρτος ‘myrtle’, σῖτος ‘grain’ and σέλινος ‘celery’);
- (1d) names which though attested in alphabetic Greek have no obvious link with any Greek lexical item and remain entirely opaque, e.g. the GN *a-te-mi-te* (dat.) /*Artemitei*/ (: Ἄρτεμις) or the PN *ko-no-so* /*Knōs(s)os*/ (: Κνωσός).

Names which look as transparently Greek may also be adaptations of foreign names. For instance it was long believed that the feminine name *a-re-ka-sa-da-ra* /*Aleksandrā*/ was built on the masculine /*Aleksandros*/* (: Ἄλεξανδρος, cf. ἀλέξω ‘ward off, keep off’, ἀνήρ ‘man’), which in its turn was an adaptation of the Hittite *Alakšanduš*, but more recently the alternative view has gained support that the Hittite form is an adaptation from Greek.⁷ Other names are easily identifiable, but remain opaque, as e.g. the MN *mo-ḡo-so* (: Μόψος), the GN *e-nu-wa-ri-jo* (: Ἐνούλιος) or the PN *tu-ri-so* (: Τυλισός).

- (2) Names which cannot be compared with Greek defy any interpretation; cf. for instance the MN *ta-qa-ra-ti*, the GN *ma-na-sa*, the PN *ka-u-da*, etc. For this type, which is reasonably extensive, a further classification is not possible, but we should in fairness note that we cannot entirely exclude the possibility that we are dealing with Greek names which we have not been able to identify.

There are also some names which strictly speaking have no exact or approximate equivalent in alphabetic Greek and therefore should be listed under (2) but may still allow an interpretation in Greek terms and could be treated as a subcategory of (1). Cf. for instance the MN *e-ti-ra-wo*, the GN (rather than WN) *ko-ma-we-te-ja* (dat.) and the PN *ku-te-re-u-pi* (instrumental) which may be interpreted as /*Erti-lāwos*/, /*Komāwenteiāi*/⁸ and /*K^hutrēup^hi*/ in view of MN Ὀρσί-λαος ‘who puts his people in motion’ (cf. Λα-έρτης), κόμη ‘long hair’, κομήτης ‘with long hairs’ and χυτρεύς ‘potter’ respectively.

⁷ Anatolian origin was assumed by SOMMER 1932, 365ff. For the opposite view cf. HEUBECK 1957b, 273f.

⁸ The name *ko-ma-we-te-ja* is most probably a formation with the appurtenance suffix /-eiā-/ , built on a derivative of */*komā-*/ (: κόμη) ‘long hair’, but the form of the suffix remains obscure: /-went-/ (cf. MN *ko-ma-we* /*Komāwens*/, nom. sing. of */*komāwent-*/) is possible, cf. DEL FREO 1996-97, who assumes that /*Komāwenteiā-*/ may be interpreted as the partner of a masculine god /*Komāwens*/.

§15.2. PERSONAL NAMES (AND NAMES OF OXEN)

§15.2.1. *Identification, interpretation*

As we have seen, the identification of a Mycenaean word as a personal name must be prompted by the context of the document in which it appears. Reliable indications are the presence of a VIR ('man') or MULIER ('woman') ideogram followed by the number 1 or no number, the parallelism with personal names in similar formulas, or the indication of the father's name, mostly with a patronymic adjective as in Hom. Αἶας Τελαμώνιος 'Ajax, son of Telamon'; cf. *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo* /*Alektruōn Etewoklewe^h-ios*/ 'Alektruon, son of Etewoklewes'; see the MNs ἸΑλεκτρώων and ἸΕτεο-κλήης, and cf. class. Gr. ἄλεκτρωών 'cock', originally 'defender', and Hom. ἔτεός 'true', κλέος 'fame'. It is not always clear whether a form conceals a man's name or a title: this is the case with *mo-ro-qa* /*mo(i)rokk^wā-*/ 'possessor of a lot' (μοῖρα 'lot', πάσασθαι 'obtain') and *qe-ja-me-no* /*k^weiamenos*/ (cf. τεισάμενος 'revenged', part. med. of τίνω),⁹ both attested at Pylos. A proper name can also appear as a common noun in a different context, e.g. *ti-ri-po-di-ko* (: Hom. τρίπος 'small tripod cauldron'), which is a man's name (dat.) in PY Cn 599 and a common noun (plur. /*tripodiskoi*/) in MY Ue 611.

Many Mycenaean names, especially (but not exclusively) in Crete, cannot be interpreted in terms of that part of the Greek lexicon which has an Indo-European origin: they may point to non-Greek populations, both when they are obscure (cf. e.g. *qa-qa-ro* [cf. Linear A *qa-qa-ru*] or most of the masculine names in *-i-* at Knossos¹⁰), and when they have clear matches in alphabetic Greek like *ka-ra-u-ko* /*Glaukos*/ (: Γλαῦκος), *o-tu* prob. /*Otus*/ (: Ὦτυς, Xenophon) or *i-do-me-ne-ja* /*Idomeneiā*/, the feminine counterpart of Ἰδομενεύς (Hom.). But many of the names are actually Greek, and some of them can be etymologized and often attributed a 'translation' value, i.e. a meaning, in the special sense in which this word can be used for proper names (§15.2.3); cf. for instance the Greek Μεγακλῆς 'who has great glory' (μέγα κλέος). It must be stressed, however, that the fact that a given name can be interpreted in Greek terms or even matches an alphabetic Greek form does not necessarily imply that it is always 'translatable' or understandable. For instance,

⁹ Cf. KILLEN 1992b, 379f.; HILLER 1999, 294; GARCÍA RAMÓN 2007. *Aliter Études*, 376 with n. 123, which sees in *qe-ja-me-no* a title /*k^weyamos*/ 'révérend, honoré' (cf. τίω 'honour, revere').

¹⁰ Cf. BAUMBACH 1979; BAUMBACH 1987; BAUMBACH 1992; FIRTH 1992-93; KILLEN 1992a; MORPURGO DAVIES 1999, 396f.

the meaning of the MN *a-ni-ja-to* (: ἀνίατος ‘incurable’) is absolutely clear, whereas that of *ta-ti-ko-ηο*, if read as /*Stātigonos*/ (cf. WN Στασιγόνη¹¹) is less so; it may be rendered with ‘who lets his lineage (γόνος, γονή) stand’, but this is not explicitly supported by phrases attested in alphabetic Greek. The situation is basically the same as in alphabetic Greek, where many compound names whose elements are clearly recognisable defy any logical interpretation (Olivier Masson called them ‘composés irrationnels’). Cf. for instance, Σωσι-φάνης or Καλλι-αισχρος; the former name arises from an arbitrary joining of Σωσι^ο and ^οφάνης, two elements which are well attested in standard ‘translatable’ compound names, such as Σωσί-φιλος ‘who saves his friend(s)’ or Ἐπι-φάνης (: ἐπιφανής ‘suddenly visible’); for its part Καλλι-αισχρος includes two contradictory elements, namely καλός ‘beautiful’ (and κάλλος ‘beauty’), αἰσχρός ‘ugly’. Given the fact that the naming system of first millennium Greek and that of Mycenaean are basically the same (§15.2.2-3), one may safely assume that the same holds good for this point. The fact that very few arbitrary compound names have been recognized in Mycenaean (and always with difficulties and disagreements) is probably due to an unconscious desire to attribute to all names a rational meaning, even if this finds no support in the alphabetic Greek evidence.

Any attempt at interpreting a personal name which has no counterpart in first millennium Greek is actually feasible only in terms of Greek (i.e. on the basis of Greek and IE vocabulary and word formation) for the obvious reason that Greek is the only language that we can operate with (§15.1.2). Two remarks of very different kind are in order at this point. Firstly, for this type of names an *interpretatio graeca*, i.e. an explanation of the name as based on a Greek word, is far from plausible if the name occurs in a tablet or series in which only non-Greek names occur. Secondly, in the case of obscure names which because of their length may conceal a compound, the possibility of a so called irrational compound, untranslatable but formed of Greek elements, must be taken into account before we are ready to accept a *non liquet* conclusion.

§15.2.2. Greek personal names: word formation

From the point of view of word formation the types of Mycenaean Greek personal names (obviously non-Greek names cannot be considered) are basically the same as in alphabetic Greek, as are those of names of oxen (cf. §15.2.5).

¹¹ GARCÍA RAMÓN 1992, 253 n. 71.

The feminine personal names follow the same patterns as the masculine ones in both formation and semantic motivation (§15.2.3). Their only distinguishing formal feature is the use of specific feminine forms built with suffixes which are excluded from normal composition, e.g. $\textcircled{\text{A}}\text{γε}\nu\epsilon\iota\alpha$ in *a-ti-ke-ne-ja* /*Antigeneia*/ (: $\textcircled{\text{A}}\nu\tau\iota\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\iota\alpha$) vs. the MN $\textcircled{\text{A}}\nu\tau\iota\text{-}\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\varsigma$ (adj. $\textcircled{\text{A}}\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\varsigma$), or *a-re-ka-sa-da-ra* /*Aleksandrā*/ (: $\textcircled{\text{A}}\lambda\epsilon\zeta\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\alpha$), *a-pi-do-ra* /*Amp^hidōrā*/ (: $\textcircled{\text{A}}\mu\phi\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\rho\alpha$) vs. $\textcircled{\text{A}}\lambda\epsilon\zeta\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\varsigma$, $\textcircled{\text{A}}\mu\phi\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\rho\varsigma$, whereas the standard lexical compounds in $\textcircled{\text{A}}\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\varsigma$, $\textcircled{\text{A}}\nu\delta\rho\varsigma$, $\textcircled{\text{D}}\omega\rho\varsigma$ use the same forms for masculine and feminine.

From a purely formal point of view, the following types of personal names can be distinguished: (1) compounds,¹² (2) short forms of compounds, and (3) simplicia, i.e. names based on (or simply reflecting) individual common nouns or adjectives with or without additional suffixes.

(1) Compounds of all types:¹³

- (1a)** Possessive compounds, e.g. *e-u-ru-da-mo* /*Euru-dāmos*/ (: $\textcircled{\text{E}}\upsilon\rho\acute{\upsilon}\text{-}\delta\alpha\text{-}\mu\omicron\varsigma$) ‘who has a broad community’, /*Etewo-klewēs*/* (: $\textcircled{\text{E}}\tau\epsilon\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$) ‘who has an authentic ($\textcircled{\text{E}}\tau\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$) fame ($\kappa\lambda\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$)’ in the patronymic *e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo* /*Etewoklewe^hios*/.
- (1b)** Prepositional compounds which have an adverb or a preposition as their first element e.g. *a-pi-a₂-ro* /*Amp^hi-^halos*/ (: $\textcircled{\text{A}}\mu\phi\acute{\iota}\text{-}\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma$), *a-ti-ke-ne-ja* /*Antigeneia*/.
- (1c)** Verbal governing compounds (*Rektionskomposita*), which correspond to a phrase where **either (i)** the verb is the first element followed by a nominal element in the function of one of the complements required by the verb (e.g. *a-ke-ra-wo* /*Ark^he-lāwos*/ or /*Age-lāwos*/ [: $\textcircled{\text{A}}\rho\chi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\omicron\varsigma$ or Hom. $\textcircled{\text{A}}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\omicron\varsigma$] ‘who commands/leads the people’, *e-ke-da-mo* /^(h)*Ek^he-dāmos*/ [$\textcircled{\text{E}}\chi\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\delta\alpha\mu\omicron\varsigma$] ‘who overcomes men’ or *ma-na-si-we-ko* [: $\textcircled{\text{M}}\nu\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\epsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\varsigma$] ‘who thinks of/remembers his work’),¹⁴ **or (ii)** the verb provides the second element (e.g. *da-i-^ho-ta* /*Dā^hi-k^{wh}ontās*/ [: $\textcircled{\text{D}}\eta\iota\phi\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\eta\varsigma$, Hom. $\textcircled{\text{D}}\eta\iota\phi\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\varsigma$] ‘who kills in battle’, *pu-ko-wo* /*Pūr-kowos*/ [: Delph. $\textcircled{\text{P}}\upsilon\rho\kappa\acute{\omicron}\omicron\iota$ ‘who watch fire’], *a-no-^ho-ta* /*Anor-k^{wh}ontās*/ or /*Anr-k^{wh}ontās*/ [: Hom. $\textcircled{\text{A}}\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\iota\phi\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\eta\varsigma$] ‘who kills men’).¹⁵

¹² On the different types of compounded names in Mycenaean, cf. HEUBECK 1957a; HEUBECK 1957b; FREI-LÜTHY 1978; ILIEVSKI 1983; ILIEVSKI 1999; WAANDERS 2008.

¹³ Because of the semantic flexibility of compound names (§15.2.3.1), the translations suggested are only approximative.

¹⁴ The name belongs to the type of $\beta\omega\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu\epsilon\iota\rho\alpha$, $\tau\epsilon\rho\psi\acute{\iota}\mu\beta\rho\tau\omicron\varsigma$ compounds, e.g. *e-ti-ra-wo* /*Erti-lāwos*/ (cf. $\textcircled{\text{O}}\rho\sigma\acute{\iota}\text{-}\lambda\alpha\omicron\varsigma$), *a-re-ka-sa-da-ra* (: $\textcircled{\text{A}}\lambda\epsilon\zeta\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\alpha$), on which cf. HEUBECK 1957a; HEUBECK 1957b.

¹⁵ The first member of Hom. $\textcircled{\text{A}}\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\iota\phi\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\eta\varsigma$ is probably analogical to that of $\textcircled{\text{A}}\rho\gamma\epsilon\iota\text{-}\phi\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\eta\varsigma$.

- (1d) Determinative compounds, in which one of the elements is qualified by the other, e.g. *a-ko-ro-da-mo* /*Akro-dāmos*/ (: Ἀκρό-δημος) ‘head of the community’,¹⁶ the ox’s name *po-da-ko* /*Pod-argos*/ (: Hom. Πόδαργος, horse’s name) ‘white-’ or ‘swift-footed’.
- (2) ‘Short’ or ‘abbreviated’ forms of compounds, **either**, (2a) with partial preservation of the second element (type Πάτρο-κλ-ος cf. Πατροκλέης¹⁷) with or without the addition of specific suffixes, **or** (2b) with the deletion of one of the elements which may be replaced by specific suffixes (alph. Gr. -ος, -ας, -ίος, -ίας, -[ί]ων, -εύς, -έας, -ις, -ᾶς and others; fem. -ώ, -ιδ-), e.g. Σώσι-λος (type 2a) and Σῶσις, Σωσίας, Σωσέας, Σωσίων, fem. Σωσ-ώ (type 2b) from Σωσί-λαος. Some of the suffixes are well attested in Mycenaean, e.g. /-os/ (: -ος), /-ās/ (: -ας), /-ios/ (: -ίος), /-ēus/¹⁸ (: -εύς), /-ēwās/ (: -έας), /-ōn/ (: -ων). Some Mycenaean examples:
- (2a) *pe-ri-to* /*Peri-t^hos*/ (from *pe-ri-to-wo*: Hom. Πειρίθοος ‘who runs around’), *pe-ri-mo* /*Perimos*/ from *pe-ri-me-de* (: Περιμήδης), *o-ku-no* /*Ōkunos*/, from *o-ku-na-wo* /*Ōkunāwos*/ (cf. § 15.2.3.1).¹⁹
- (2b) *de-ke-se-u* /*Deksēus*/ (: Δεξεύς, parallel to Δέξις, Δεξίας, Δεξώ, cf. Δεξι-χαρίς from δέχομαι ‘receive’), *ka-ri-si-jo* /*K^harisios*/ (: Χαρίσιος, Χαρισίων, cf. Χαρίσ-ανδρος *vel sim.*); *da-te-wa* /*Daitēwās*/ (cf. δαίς ‘banquet’) presupposes Δαιτ^o (type Δαί-ταρχος) or ^oδαίτας (Myc. *e-u-da-i-ta* /*E^hu-daitās*).²⁰ The names in /-tōr/ (type *ka-to* /*Kastōr*/: Κάστωρ) may be understood either as ‘short’ forms corresponding in this case to /*Kasti^o*/ compounds (: Καστι^o, κέκασμαι ‘excel’) or as *nomina agentis*, i.e. appellatives designating the performers (or simply the subjects) of the verbal action expressed by the root, e.g. Hom. μήστωρ ‘adviser’, cf. μήδομαι ‘to be minded’.

¹⁶ The name reflects the topic of the *propugnaculum ciuitatis*, cf. GARCÍA RAMÓN 2006a, 45ff. (with discussion of other views). The interpretation as a common compound ‘rassembleur du damos’ (TOP, 170; *Handbuch*, 535) is obviously incompatible with the rules of Greek word formation.

¹⁷ The Linear B script does not allow us to establish whether expressive gemination of the type Κλεο-μμ-ις, Κλεο-μμ-ᾶς (from Κλεομένης), which is frequent in classical Greek, was also common in Mycenaean.

¹⁸ The nom. sing. and dat. plur. of the *-ēu-stems are written /-ēus/, /-ēusi/ on the assumption that Osthoff’s law (cf. *Companion* 1, 247) is post-Mycenaean.

¹⁹ Cf. also *a-e-ri-ḡo* /*A^heri-k^{wh}ōs*/, /-ōn/ from *a-e-ri-ḡo-ta*, to be read as either /*A^heri-k^{wh}oitās*/ (cf. Hom. ἠεροφοῖτις ‘walking in darkness’, LEUKART 1994, 61ff.) or /*A^heri-k^{wh}ontās*/ ‘killing with a sword (ἄορ)’ (HAJNAL 1992, 285ff.).

²⁰ For the dossier of δαίς, δαίομαι in Greek onomastics cf. GARCÍA RAMÓN 2000-2001a.

- (3) Names consisting of (or based on) one nominal stem, which does not necessarily go back to the first or second element of a compound. Among them there are names based on common nouns (e.g. *a₃-ta-ro* /*Ait^halos*/: Αἴθαλος, *re-wo* /*Lewōn*/: Λέων) and adjectives (*e-ni-ja-u-si-jo* /*Eniausios*/), cf. αἰθαλός ‘smoky flame’, λέων ‘lion’, ἐνιαυσίος ‘yearling’ (σῦς), as well as participles (*ku-ru-me-no* /*Klumenos*/: Κλύμενος).²¹

In practice we are dealing with nicknames which are formed with fundamentally the same derivational suffixes as in classical Greek. These mostly coincide with those listed in (2b), cf. e.g. *ko-pe-re-u* /*Koprēus*/ (: Κοπρέυς, cf. κόπρος ‘excrement’), *wo-ne-wa* /*Woinēwās*/ (: Οἰνέας, Οἰνεύς, cf. οἶνος ‘wine’), MN *e-ru-ta-ra* /*Erut^hrās*/ (cf. ἐρυθρός ‘red’), *a-re-ta-wo* /*Aretāwōn*/ (: Ἄρετάων, cf. ἀρετή ‘excellence’), *o-re-ta* /*Orestās*/ (: Ὀρέστης).

Since the derivational suffixes tend to be the same, it is not always easy to determine whether a name formed with one of them belongs to (2b) or to (3). For example, *po-ro-te-u* /*Prōtēus*/ (: Πρωτεύς, Πρωτέας) and *po-ro-u-te-u* /*Ploutēus*/ (: Πλουτεύς, Πλουτᾶς) may be short forms of compounds such as e.g. Πρώτ-αρχος and Πλούτ-αρχος or simply be formed directly from πρῶτος ‘first’, πλοῦτος ‘wealth’ respectively. On the other hand, the fact that the suffixes form a relatively close system may help to interpret Mycenaean names in the light of those of first millennium Greek. For instance, the existence of alph. Gr. Κυδ-έας, Κυδ-εὺς alongside Κύδ-ας, Κύδ-ων, Κύδ-ιχος, Κύδ-ις (corresponding to κῦδος ‘glory’ in Κυδ-ήνωρ and/or Ἄνδρο-κύδης) lends support to the assumption that alongside Δαίτ-ας, -ης, Δαίτ-ων, Δαίτ-ιχος, Δαῖτ-ις forms such as *Δαίτ-έας, *Δαίτ-εὺς, which are not attested in the first millennium, may also have existed: this allows us to interpret *da-te-wa* as /*Daitēwās*/, see above.

- (4) There are two derivational suffixes which may be regularly added to every personal name. On the one hand, the patronymic suffix *-i-jo* /*-ios*/ indicates the father’s name, e.g. *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo* /*Alektruōn Etewoklewe^h-ios*/ ‘Alektruon, son of Etewoklewes’.²² On the other hand, the ‘possessive’ (or ‘pertinentive’) suffix *-e-jo* /*-eios*/, fem. *-e-ja* /*-eia*]²³ indicates possession by, or direct connection with, the person on whose name the derivative is formed, e.g. *we-we-si-je-ja* /*Werwesi-eiai*/ ‘the

²¹ For some forms we assume the accent retraction typical of Greek names, though obviously Mycenaean does not provide any evidence about the accent.

²² The same suffix is used for adjectives of material, cf. *wi-ri-ni-jo* /*wrinios*/ ‘made of leather’ besides *wi-ri-ne-jo* and *wi-ri-ne-o* /*wrīne^hos*/ (cf. Hom. ῥίνεον).

²³ Cf. KILLEN 1983; *Études*, 260f., 279, which assumes pre-Greek origin (also RUIJGH 1998-1999).

women of (depending on) *we-we-si-jo* /*Werwesios*/'²⁴ or *pu₂-ke-qi-ri-ne-ja* /*P^hugeg^wrīn-eiā-* (TH) corresponding to MN *pu₂-ke-qi-ri* (PY), dat. *pu₂-ke-qi-ri-ne* (TH) /*P^huge-g^wrīns/*, /-īnei/. The MN /*P^huge-g^wrīns/* means 'who escaped (ἔφυγε) the heavy (βρῖ-)', namely the spear, the evil or the stone (GARCÍA RAMÓN 2009).

§15.2.3. Greek personal names: meaning and naming motifs

In classical times the choice of personal names could reflect the values and taboos of the name givers, i.e. of contemporary society, as well as many aspects of daily life, which would otherwise remain unknown or would have been known only by chance from literary texts or epigraphic documents.

The same holds true for Mycenaean onomastics.²⁵ This is, for instance, the case with the Knossos name *qa-sa-ko* /*K^wās-ark^hos/*, which corresponds to alph. Gr. Πάσ-αρχος, cf. the aor. πάσασθαι (synonymous of κτήσασθαι 'get') and Κτήσ-αρχος, both compounds which match the Herodotean phrase κτησαμένου τὴν ἀρχήν 'having taken power' (Hdt. 6.34):²⁶ the fact that conspiracies are not recorded in the Mycenaean archives does not exclude the possibility that they existed in Mycenaean times, as they did at the time of Herodotus.

For the sake of clarity, a distinction will be made at this point between compounds and simplicia.

§15.2.3.1. Compounds

In Greek, compounds are a very frequent source of personal names. The possible combinations of first and second element of compounded names are practically unlimited, whence the amazing variety of possible values. Some of them may even not make any sense from a lexical point of view (§15.2.1).

As in alphabetic Greek, the internal syntax of a compound used as a name in Mycenaean is more flexible than that of standard lexical compounds: for instance, *to-wa-no* /*T^howānōr/* (θοός 'quick', ἀνὴρ 'man') is not a possessive compound ('having fast men'), but simply reflects the individualisation of the phrase θοός ἀνὴρ 'quick man', just as alph. Gr. Νέανδρος reflects νέος ἀνὴρ (cf. *Il.* 23.589 νέου ἀνδρός).²⁷

²⁴ Cf. KILLEN 1983, 83. The MN *we-we-si-jo* is a 'short' form of a compound with a first member /*Werwes*°/ (: Hom. εἶρος 'wool', cf. RUIPÉREZ 1999, 538f.).

²⁵ Cf. the overview by ILIEVSKI 2000 (forthcoming); cf. also ILIEVSKI 1979.

²⁶ GARCÍA RAMÓN 2000a.

²⁷ See GARCÍA RAMÓN 2000b.

Some compounds reflect a syntagm²⁸ or a two-member phrase which is attested in Greek literature or even a phraseological collocation²⁹ with reminiscences of poetic phraseology: they express as a rule praise and respect.³⁰ But other compounds are exactly the opposite. Within the first group some examples speak for themselves, e.g. the names *a-no-me-de* /*Anor-mēdēs*/ or /*Anṛ-mēdēs*/ (: Ἄνδρο-μήδης), *e-u-me-de* /*E^(h)u-mēdēs*/ (: Εὐ-μήδης) or *o-ku-na-wo* /*Ōkunāwos*/, with the short form *o-ku-no* /*Ōkunos*/, which reflect Hom. μῆδεα τ' ἀνδρῶν 'thoughts of men' (*Il.* 2.340), αὐτός τ' εὖ μῆδεο (*Il.* 2.360), ὠκέας νῆας 'swift ships'.³¹ Some of the names reflect Indo-European poetic expressions, e.g. the WN *a-qi-ti-ta* /*A-k^{wh}t^hitā*/ (cf. Hom. κλέος ἄφθιτον 'inextinguishable fame': Ved. *śrávo ákṣitam*³²). This may happen either directly or through formal Greek replacements for a collocation inherited from IE, e.g. MN *e-ri-ke-re-we* /*Eri-klewēs*/ 'who has good [ἐρι^o] fame [κλέος]', which is basically equivalent to alph. Gr. Εὐκλέης (: Ved. *Su-śrávas-*) and to Μεγακλῆς (cf. Hom. μέγα κλέος: Ved. *máhi śrávas*). Phraseological collocations inherited from IE survive, for instance, in names like *e-ka-no* (ἔχω, ἀνήρ) 'who overcomes men', which provides a semantic match for alph. Gr. Νικ-άνωρ, Νίκανδρος,³³ or like *ne-ti-ja-no* /*Nesti-ānōr*/ (: Νέσσανδρος) 'who saves his men' which conceals in its first element the causative meaning 'let come home' (Goth. *nasjan* 'σῶσαι') of IE **nes-* 'reach a desired goal, come home' (Hom. νέομαι) and was replaced by Σωσί-άνδρος (cf. Hom. *Od.* 3.231 ἄνδρα σαώσαι), Σῶνδρος and the like.³⁴ The same applies for *qe-re-qa-ta* /*K^wēle-k^{wh}on-tās*/ 'striking from afar' (cf. τηλεβόλος).³⁵ In some cases it is only comparison with other languages which makes the compound names comprehensible. Thus, the MN *ke-sa-do-ro* /*Kessandros*/ (together with the WN *ke-sa-da-ra* /*Kessandrā*/) continues a first element **kēns-* 'give solemnly a piece of advice' (Vedic *śams*, Lat. *censeō*) and means 'who speaks solemnly to the men':³⁶ the colloca-

²⁸ I.e. a group of words which constitute a significative item.

²⁹ I.e. a frequent sequence of two lexical stems which often follow each other.

³⁰ Cf. the overviews by NEUMANN 1995 and GARCÍA RAMÓN 2005b, 2009.

³¹ On the names related to sailing cf. NEUMANN 1994.

³² RISCH 1987b, 9ff.; LEJEUNE 1988.

³³ This is actually the old meaning of IE **seǵ^h-*, cf. Ved. *sah* 'overcome', Goth. *sigis* 'victory'); see MEIER-BRÜGGER 1976. A perfect Vedic phraseological parallel is offered by RV V 7.10c *iśāh sāśahyān nīn* 'might (Atri) overcome the impulses, the men', cf. *nṛ-sāh-* 'domination over men' (GARCÍA RAMÓN 2005a, 127, 2005b, 37f.).

³⁴ Cf. GARCÍA RAMÓN (forthcoming 1). The MN Νέστωρ is a short form of a /*Nesti^o*/ compound.

³⁵ KÖLLIGAN 2001-2002.

³⁶ GARCÍA RAMÓN 1992. The short form *ke-ti-ro* /*Ke(n)sti-los*/ points to a compound **/Ke(n)sti-lāwos/* (with /^o-*lāwos*/: λαός 'army') 'who speaks solemnly to his army', a concept which is also expressed by *ra-wo-ke-ta* /*Lāwo-ke(n)stās*/.

tion is also continued in alphabetic Greek Αἰνησιμβρότα, Αἰνησίλεως (cf. παραινέω ‘exhort’) with replacement of the original verb. Similarly the meaning of *o-ti-na-wo* /*Orti-nāwos*/ is shown to be ‘who urges on (ὄρνυμι) the ship (ναῦς)’ both by Hom. νηῦς ὄρνυμένη (*Od.* 12.182-3: ὠκύαλος νηῦς / ἔγγυθεν ὄρνυμένη ‘the racing ship urged on closer’) and by the Rig-Vedic formulaic line (II 42.1b = IX 95.2b) *íyarti vácam aritéva nāvam* ‘he urges his voice forward as the rower the ship’, in which the collocation ‘he urges forward (*íyarti* corresponding to alph. Gr. ὄρνυσι) the ship (*nāvam*: = νῆα)’ is glossed and made explicit as ‘the activity of the rower’ (*arítár*:-: *ἔρετήρ, where an original *r*-stem is guaranteed for Greek too by the PN Ἐρετρία).³⁷ The interpretation must remain open in cases such as *ta-ti-qa-we-u*, which may conceal /*Stāti-g^wōwēus*/ (cf. βούσταθμον, βούστασις) or /*Tāti-g^wōwēus*/ ‘who steals cows’ if the first element reflects IE *(s)teh₂- ‘steal’ (Hitt. *tāizzi*, OLat. imperative (s)TATOD, also alph. Gr. τητάομαι ‘be stolen’ Pindar).³⁸

Some feminine names have a meaning which does not fit with the role of women in Greek society. One particularly remarkable case in alphabetic Greek concerns the name of Κασσάνδρα (and Καστι-άνειρα), to be understood as ‘she who excels (Hom. κέκασμαι) among men’. We can safely assume that the name has been mechanically built on the model of the corresponding MN Κάσσανδρος (the oldest form of which is also attested in Linear B: *ka-sa-no* /*Kassānōr*/), a compound reflecting heroic ideals which in the Greek world were reserved for men. The same may apply to Myc. *ke-sa-da-ra* /*Kessandrā*/, the feminine counterpart of *ke-sa-do-ro* /*Kessandros*/ (see above): since it is hardly conceivable that a woman speaks solemnly to the men in the Mycenaean society,³⁹ one may assume that *ke-sa-da-ra* /*Kessandrā*/ (the first element of the compound has nothing to do with that of Κασσάνδρα) has been mechanically built on the MN *ke-sa-do-ro* /*Kessandros*/.

In Mycenaean we also find names which are anything but heroic. Some are highly expressive; cf. e.g. *mo-ro-qa-ro* /*Molog^wros*/ (: Μόλοβρος, name of a Laconian) ‘devourer of excrements’ (Odysseus, disguised as a beggar, is insulted as μολοβρός in *Od.* 17.219, 18.26⁴⁰) or *ku-mo-no-so*, which can be

³⁷ GARCÍA RAMÓN 2002. The inherited collocation *ὄρνυσι νῆα(ς) is continued by ἐλαύνει νῆα(ς), cf. e.g. *Od.* 12.276: ἐλαύνετε νῆα μέλαιναν ‘so drive the black ship onward’.

³⁸ PLATH 1999, 511ff. In that case Myc. /*Tāti-g^wōwēus*/ would reflect the well-known IE motif of the stolen cows (alph. Gr. βοῦκλεψ: Sophocles).

³⁹ An exception may be a prophetess, as for example Cassandra. We can assume that the former speaking name /*Kessandrā*/, which was no longer supported by a verbal paradigm or by other forms of the root in Greek, was replaced by Κασσάνδρα secondarily, cf. GARCÍA RAMÓN 1992.

⁴⁰ NEUMANN 1992 shows that the compound is made up of *μόλο^o (cf. μέλας ‘black’, Skt. *málam* ‘dirt’) and °βρος (cf. βιβρώσκω ‘devour’, Lat. *uorāre*).

read as /*Gumnorsos*/ ‘(having) the bottom (ὄρσός) bare’ (γυμνός),⁴¹ or the names with °*ka-ra* /-*krās*/ ‘head’: *a₃-ka-ra* if it conceals /*Ai(k)-k(a)rās*/ ‘Goat-Head’ (cf. αἴγο-κέφαλος ‘owl’), *mu-ka-ra* /*Mū-k(a)rās*/ ‘Mouse-Head’ (cf. μῦς ‘mouse’).⁴²

§15.2.3.2. *Simplicia*

Simplicia (common nouns or adjectives) used as personal names are mostly nicknames in origin and denote, as a rule, noticeable characteristics which are rarely positive. They must have been first used *ad personam*, i.e. they must have designated first one given person, and then they must have acquired the status of proper names which could be used for other people presumably starting with members of the same family: the name could be used for a son or daughter, or for a relative, whether or not it suited the recipient.

A highly conventional classification of naming motifs,⁴³ which embraces all possible characteristics expressed in the creation of names, including their relationship with society, with a place or with a god, and is based on appellatives of all kinds, could be as follows:

- (a) Age: /*Gerōn*/ (: Γέρων ‘old’), *e-ni-ja-u-si-jo* /*Eniausios*/ (cf. Hom. ἐνιαύσιος ‘yearling’).
- (b) Physical characteristics: *re-u-ko* /*Leukos*/ (: Λεῦκος, cf. λευκός ‘white’), *re-wa-ko* (dat.) /*Leiwākōi*/ (cf. λείαξ ‘beardless boy’),⁴⁴ *si-mo* /*Sīmos*/ (: Σῆμος, Σίμων), fem. *si-ma* (cf. σιμός ‘snub nosed’).
- (c) Personality: *a-pa-si-jo-jo* (gen.) /*Aspasioioi*/ (: Ἀσπάσιος) ‘gladly welcome’, *de-we-ro* /*Dweilos*/ and *de-we-ra* /*Dweilās*/ (cf. δειλός ‘coward’).
- (d) Way of life: *po-ro-u-te-u* /*Ploutēus*/ (: Πλουτεῦς, cf. πλοῦτος ‘wealth’).
- (e) Profession: *a-ke-ro* /*Angelos*/ (cf. ἄγγελος ‘messenger’), *ku-ke-re-u* /*Kuklēus*/ (: Κυκλεύς, cf. κύκλος ‘wheel’).
- (f) Birth circumstances: *ti-ri-to* /*Tritos*/ (: Τρίτος, Τρίτων, and fem. Τριτώ) ‘born on the third day of the month’, *o-pi-si-jo* /*Opsios*/ (cf. ὄπιος ‘late’, MN Ὀπιμος).
- (g) Theophoric names: *a-pa-i-ti-jo* /*hĀphaistos*/ (cf. GN Ἥφαιστος), *di-wi-je-u* /*Diwjēus*/ (cf. δῖος).
- (h) Mythical figures: *a-ki-re-u* /*Ak^hil(l)ēus*/ (: Ἀχιλλ[λ]εύς), *de-u-ka-ri-jo* /*Deukaliōn*/ (: Δευκαλίων). Whether these names reflect mythical figures in Mycenaean times must remain an open question.

⁴¹ NEUMANN 1999, 202ff. (with reference to the MN Μελάμπυγος ‘having a black bottom’).

⁴² *a₃-ka-ra* as per RISCH 1966, 65 n. 31; *mu-ka-ra* as per MEIER-BRÜGGER 1989, 45 n. 5.

⁴³ This classification largely follows the no less conventional one in BECHTEL 1917, which will also be adopted in *Die historischen Personennamen des Mykenischen* (GARCÍA RAMÓN 2000-2001b, 467ff.; GARCÍA RAMÓN 2005b, 28ff.).

⁴⁴ GARCÍA RAMÓN 2006b, 44.

- (i) Ethnics: cf. *a₃-ku-pi-ti-jo* /*Aiguptios*/ (: Αἰγύπτιος, Αἰγυπτία) ‘of Egypt’, *ka-pa-ti-ja* /*Karpat^{hi}iā*/ ‘of Carpathos’.
- (j) Poetic words: *a₃-ta-ro-we* /*Ait^{hi}alowens*/ (cf. Hom. αἰθαλόεις ‘smoky’), *pi-ra-me-no* /*P^{hi}illamēnos*/ ‘beloved’? (Hom. ἐφίλατο, φίλατο).
- (k) Animals: *ku-ne-u* /*Kunēus*/ (cf. Κυνῆς; cf. κύων ‘dog’),⁴⁵ *o-ki-ro* /*Ork^{hi}ilos*/ (: ὀρχίλος ‘robin’),⁴⁶ *ru-ko* /*Lukos*/ (: Λύκος, Λύκων), *ta-u-ro* /*Tauros*/ (: Ταῦρος), *te-u-to* /*Teut^{hi}os*/ (: τεῦθος ‘calamary’ or ‘squid’)⁴⁷ cf. as parallel the WN Σηπία), *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo* /*Alektruōn*/ (: class. Gr. ἀλεκτρούων ‘Cock’⁴⁸).
- (l) Plants: *a-to* /*Ant^{hi}os*/ (: ἄνθος, cf. ἄνθος ‘flower’), *mu-ti-ri* /*Murtilis*/ (cf. Μύρτις, PN Μύρτιλις cf. μύρτος ‘murtle’).
- (m) Materials: *ma-ma-ro* /*Marmaros*/ (: Μάρμαρος) ‘marble’.
- (n) Natural elements and phenomena: *a₃-ka-ra* /*Aiglā*/ (: WN Αἴγλη, cf. αἴγλη ‘radiance’).
- (o) Clothes and the like: *pe-po-ro* /*Peplos*/ (: Πέπλος, cf. πέπλος ‘woven cloth’).
- (p) Utensils: *ko-re-wo* /*Kolewos*/ (cf. κολέος, -όν ‘sheath’).
- (q) Places: *na-si-jo* /*Nāsios*/ (cf. νῆσος ‘island’), *po-ti-jo* /*Pontios*/ (: Πόντιος, cf. πόντιος ‘of the sea’).

§15.2.4. *Personal names and Mycenaean society*

It is likely that the autochthonous names of slaves and foreigners were replaced by (nick)names, especially ethnics, devised first by the owner or by the community, as was sometimes the case in first millennium Greece. We may even assume that the same was true for people who had only a modest status in society. But this can hardly be more than a general tendency. It is true that compounds in ^o*ke-re-we* (: κλέφος ‘glory’) and ^o*ra-wo, ra-wo* (: λαφός ‘people in arms’) usually refer to persons with military responsibilities,⁴⁹ and that prominent men at Pylos had ‘warrior names’. But it is also true that names of this type were also borne by smiths at Pylos, cf. e.g. *ma-ka-ta*

⁴⁵ The form *ku-ne* (MY) is a dative /*kunei*/ ‘for the dog’ (KILLEN 2004, 220f.) rather than the nominative of a MN /*Kunēs*/ (as per RISCH 1987a, 287).

⁴⁶ ILIEVSKI 1992, 336; GARCÍA RAMÓN 2000-2001a, 431ff.

⁴⁷ Cf. MASSON 1972, 289f.

⁴⁸ On the assumption that the domestic cock was unknown in Mycenaean times the MN *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo* has been interpreted as ‘defender’ (RISCH 1990, 238ff.; DUHOUX 1997, 188f.), cf. Hom. ἀλέξω ‘ward off, defend’ and the MN (dat.) *a-re-ko-to-re* /*Alektoreil*, *a-re-ke-se-u* /*Aleksēus*/ – the cock is actually an animal of well-known apotropaic character. However bones of domestic poultry have been found at the level of Middle Bronze Age at Lerna in the Argolis, cf. GEJVALL 1969 (I owe this information to the kindness of Françoise Rougemont, Paris X Nanterre).

⁴⁹ Cf. PALAIMA 1999.

/Mak^hātās/ (: μαχητής ‘warrior’) or *ra-wo-ḡo-ta /Lāwo-k^{wh}ontās/* ‘slaying the people’ (cf. λαοφόνος Bacchylides). This fact could be due to the military nature of their work,⁵⁰ but humble workers at Knossos and shepherds and workers at Pylos also bore such high-flown names as *ka-ra-u-ko /Glaukos/* (: Hom. γλαυκός ‘gleaming’), *e-ke-da-mo /^(h)Ek^hedāmos/* ‘who overcomes men’ and *a₃-ta-ro-we /Ait^halowens/* (: αἰθαλόεις ‘smoky’). This evidence strongly suggests that there was no clear-cut distribution of name type according to social classes in the Mycenaean world, and that high-level names were in fact common among the lower classes.

However, there is a clear indication of high rank and that is the use of the father’s name mentioned after the name, normally by means of a patronymic adjective, formed by adding the suffix *-i-jo /-ios/* to the father’s name, i.e. [name] – [father’s name + *-ios/*],⁵¹ e.g. *a-re-ku-tu-ruwo e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo /Alektuōn Etewoklewe^h-ios/* ‘Alektuon, son of Etewoklewes’. As a rule the name of the father does not occur after the name of persons of low status.

§15.2.5. Names of oxen

In the Knossos Ch tablets names are given to some oxen (as horses are given a name in Homer).⁵² Some of these names are descriptive, and take the form of adjectives (*a₃-wo-ro /Aiwolos/*, *ke-ra-no /Kelainos/*, cf. Hom. αἰόλος ‘changeful of hue, lustrous, quick-moving’, κελαινός ‘black’) or of compounds, such as *po-da-ko /Pod-argos/* (: Πόδαργος ‘white-’ or ‘swift-footed’, the name of two horses in Homer), *to-ma-ko /Stom-argos/* (cf. στόμαργος ‘noisily prating’), *wo-no-ḡo-so /Woin-ōk^ws/* (cf. Hom. οἴνωπα πόντον ‘wine coloured sea’). Others are mythical: *a-ri-jo /Arios/* or */Ariōn/* (: Ἄριων *Il.* 23.346 name of a horse, cf. ἄρ-εῖων ‘better’), *a₃-wa /Aiwāns/* (: Αἰῶας, Αἰῶανς in Corinth: perhaps a ‘short’ form of */Aiwolos/*: αἰόλος), *ko-so-u-to /Ksout^hos/* (: Ξοῦθος, Hom. ξοῦθος ‘quickly moving’ and ‘yellow’). It must be stressed that, although mythical, in this case the name could be descriptive (‘tawny’ or the like).

⁵⁰ Cf. DEGER-JALKOTZY 1999, esp. 128 (who deals comprehensively with ‘warrior names’).

⁵¹ Another onomastic formula consists of [name] – [father’s name] – [*i-jo /^hios/*, *i-ju /^hius/* or *u-jo /^huios/*: υἱός ‘son’] (or occasionally [*ko-wo /korwos/*]), cf. DUHOUX 2007 and *Companion* 1, 353ff.

⁵² LEJEUNE 1963; KILLEN 1992-1993.

§15.3. RELIGIOUS NAMES

§15.3.1. *Identification, interpretation*

A relatively large number of gods and goddesses are attested as recipients of offerings in Linear B texts,⁵³ e.g. in the series Fr of Pylos or in some Cnossos tablets with offerings to *pa-si-te-o-i* /*pansi t^heo^hi*/ ‘to all gods’ (masculine or feminine). In any case it is not always clear whether the recipient is a god, a hero or a person (i.e. the holder of a religious office).⁵⁴ Obscurities remain even when the context is relatively clear as in PY Tn 316 where gods of varying importance are mentioned in the dative as recipients of sacred offerings. Among the major gods are Zeus (*di-we* /*Diweil*), Hera (*e-ra* /^h*Ērāil*) and Hermes (*e-ma-a₂* /^h*Ermā^hāil*), followed by the epithet *a-re-ja* /*Are^hiāil*/ cf. Ἄρης), and feminine counterparts of male gods (*di-wi-ja* /*Diwiāil*, *po-si-da-e-ja* /*Posidā^heiāil*/, cf. Zeus, Poseidon), as well as *po-ti-ni-ja* /*Potniāil*/ ‘to the Mistress’, a generic epithet designating a goddess without further specification.⁵⁵ Other names designate minor local deities or heroes who are attested only in Mycenaean: some of them are comprehensible, e.g. *do-po-ta* (from **dms-potā-* or **doms-potā-*, corresponding to δεσπότης ‘[House-]Lord’⁵⁶), or *ti-ri-se-ro-e* /*Tris-^hērō^(h)ei*/ ‘to the Thrice-Hero’⁵⁷ (whatever the meaning of *e-ro**: ἥρωος could be at this time); others are obscure, e.g. *di-ri-mi-jo di-wo i-je-we* /*Drimiōi Diwos^hiēweil*/ ‘to Drimios, the son of Zeus’⁵⁸ or not comprehensible at all, e.g. *ma-na-sa*, or may be at most associated with later deities or quasi-deities (e.g. *i-pe-me-de-ja*, which conceals an obscure form which was probably later remodelled as Ἰφιμέδεια (Od. 11.305) through folk etymology, cf. Hom. ἴφι ‘by force’).

For the names (dat.) *di-we*, *e-ma-a₂* or *po-se-da-o-ne*, a religious context added to the similarity with undisputed divine names of the first millennium

⁵³ Cf. S. HILLER’s Chapter 14 above. Cf. also the overviews of Mycenaean religion by BAUMBACH 1979; CHADWICK 1985; and those of S. HILLER in HILLER-PANAGL 1976, 289ff.; *Documents*², 275ff., *World*, 84-101; RUIPÉREZ – MELENA 1990 (quoted in n. 3), 181ff. and PALAIMA 2004.

⁵⁴ Cf. the presentation by WEILHARTNER 2005.

⁵⁵ As a generic epithet, Myc. *po-ti-ni-ja* occurs frequently with a specification (see below), and is not to be classed with the epicleses proper, which are descriptive and/or distinctive, cf. GARCÍA RAMÓN 2010,89 *pace* ARAVANTINOS – GODART – SACCONI 2003, 20. About PY Tn 316, see *Companion* 1, §9.38.

⁵⁶ The form goes back to a Greek remodelling of IE **déms-poti-* ‘(House-)Lord’ (OAv. *dāṅpaiti-*, Ved. *dāmpati-*).

⁵⁷ Cf. ILIEVSKI 1989.

⁵⁸ Myc. /*Drīmios*/ may be a derivative of δριμύς ‘piercing, sharp’ (Hom.) or a ‘short’ form of a compound with δριμύς as its first member (e.g. **Δριμυ-βέλης* ‘having sharp arrows’ cf. δξυ-βέλης) with which another form **Drūmios*/ (cf. δρυμός ‘copse, thicket’) may have secondarily (not phonetically!) merged. In my opinion, *di-ri-mi-jo* is a minor god, predecessor of (and later absorbed by) Apollo.

(Zeus, Hermes, Poseidon) makes the interpretation certain. However, caution is very necessary. For instance the suggestion that *i-qa* /^hikk^wōi/ (PY Fa 16) and *qa-we* /G^wōwei/ (and fem. *qa-wi-ja* /g^wōwiā-/ in PY Tn 316), *ku-ne* /Kunei/ (MY Fu 711) conceal ‘Horse-God’, ‘Ox-God’ or ‘Dog-God’ respectively (cf. ἵππος, βούς, κύων) are not safely supported by the context.⁵⁹ A controversial issue is the interpretation of the series Av, Fq, Ft and Gp of the Thebes tablets published in 2001 by V.L. Aravantinos, L. Godart and A. Sacconi. On the assumption that their content is fully religious, the editors believe that they may recognize Zeus in the dat. *o-po-re-i* (cf. §15.3.2) as well as the couple Demeter and Persephone in *ma-ka* and *ko-wa*: these forms would match (dat.) οἰοῖται (a cult epithet of Zeus in Boeotia), the invocation Mā Γᾶ (Aeschylus) and Κόρη ‘young woman’ respectively.⁶⁰ Apart from the objections that such an interpretation raises from a linguistic point of view, it is a fact that there is no single text where *o-po-re-i*, *ma-ka* and *ko-wa* are written directly one before/ after the other, as happens in genuine triads⁶¹ (cf. *di-we ... e-ra ... di-ri-mi-jo di-wo i-je-we*, each followed by an indication of offerings in PY Tn 316). For this reason alone the divine triad may simply have to vanish. It must be stressed, moreover, that, even if the general context is religious, *o-po-re-i*, *ma-ka* and *ko-wa* could designate persons. On the other hand, an interpretation in non-religious terms is perfectly possible.⁶²

Gods’ names are also indirectly attested in theophoric personal names,⁶³ and in the names of sanctuaries and of months.⁶⁴ For instance, MN *a-pa-i-ti-jo* /^hĀp^haistios/ (: Ἡφαίστιος, Ἡφαιστίων) and *a-re-me-ne* / *a-re-i-me-ne* /Are^h / *i-menēs*/ (cf. μένος ‘interior force’), *pa-na-re-jo* /Pan-areios/ point to Mycenaean /^hĀphaistos/* and /Arēs/ respectively. Even if the name of Zeus was not attested in Linear B, it could have been conjectured on the basis of the month name *di-wi-jo-jo*, *di-u-jo* /Diwion/ and the allative of a sanctuary’s name *di-wi-jo-de* /Diwion-del/.

⁵⁹ CHADWICK 1985, 198f.

⁶⁰ Cf. TOP, especially, 317ff.; identical views in ARAVANTINOS – GODART – SACCONI 2003. Cf. also GODART – SACCONI 1996, 105ff. for *o-po-re-i*; GODART – SACCONI 1996, 107ff. (on this cf. LEJEUNE 1996b); LEJEUNE 1997; RUIGH 1996 for *ma-ka*.

⁶¹ This fact has been repeatedly stressed, cf. e.g. DUHOUX 2002-2003, especially 174ff.; WEILHARTNER 2005, 197; KILLEN 2006, 102f.

⁶² Cf. MELENA 2001, 49ff.; PALAIMA 2001-2002, 2003, 2006; DUHOUX 2002-2003; DUHOUX 2005; GARCÍA RAMÓN 2010.

⁶³ For an overview cf. ILIEVSKI 1999. Cf. also GARCÍA RAMÓN 2006b, 2008.

⁶⁴ Cf. the overview by ROUGEMONT 2005, 340ff., 384ff. On month names cf. MELENA 1974; TRÜMPY 1989. The few names of ceremonies attested in Linear B (ROUGEMONT 2005, 341f., 384ff.) do not reflect divine names and are illustrative of the ceremony itself, cf. for instance *te-o-po-ri-ja* /^heo-p^horiāi/ or *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo* (instrumental) /^horno-^hektēriōis/ or /^horno-elktēriōis/ ‘for the ritual of the holding / carrying of the throne / flowers’ (Documents², 482, 586; PETRAKIS 2002-2003).

The same can be said for the goddess *di-wi-ja* or for Poseidon, two divine names which underlie the sanctuary names *di-u-ja-jo- /Diwiaion/* and *po-si-da-i-jo* (: Hom. Ποσειδῆϊον). For its part, the mention of *a-ne-mo-i-je-re-ja /anemōn^hiereiāil/* ‘to the priestess of the winds’ points to divinized winds (ἄνεμοι).

Divine epithets (ἐπικλήσεις: *epitheta deorum*) may refer to a specific place (e.g. *di-ka-ta-jo di-we /Diktaiōi Diwei/* ‘to Zeus Diktaios’ evokes the PN *di-ka-ta-: Δίκητη*), or to a characteristic of the deity, or to a deity which was associated (or merged) with the first one through syncretism: this is the case with the unique *e-ma-a₂ a-re-ja /^hErmā^hāi Are^hiāi/* (dat.). In Mycenaean there is no clear instance of a specifying or descriptive epiclesis which replaces the name of the god it belongs to. Epicleses may or may not have an alphabetic Greek match. Moreover, the line between divine name and epiclesis is not always clear-cut historically: one form can be a divine name in Linear B and an epiclesis in alphabetic Greek. This is the case with the names of two obscure gods, *e-nu-wa-ri-jo /Enuwaliōi /* and *pa-ja-wo-ne /Paiāwonei/* (dat.), which correspond to alph. Gr. Ἐνυάλιος and Παϊάων, Παϊάων, epithets of Ares and Apollo, respectively.⁶⁵

Since Martin P. Nilsson’s epoch-making research, it is generally agreed that what we call Mycenaean religion was basically syncretistic: the Greek element coexisted (and mingled with) a major Minoan component in Crete, and with a Helladic one in the Peloponnese and Central Greece. It follows that pre-Greek theonyms and epiclesis are very frequently attested in the Linear B tablets. In fact, many of them defy further interpretation, even when they match forms attested in alphabetic Greek. This holds true for the major deities (which are all attested in Mycenaean, with the exception of Apollo, Aphrodite, Demeter, and Athena, cf. §15.3.3), as well as for the minor ones. However, it must be stressed that a given god could be older than its attested name, as this could have replaced (or be a remodelling of) an older name (either IE or pre-Greek). This is the case, for example, with *po-ti-ni-ja*, which may refer to goddesses of pre-Greek origin (§15.3.4).

§15.3.2. *Formal aspects*

For the most part, religious names are very difficult to interpret from the etymological point of view. Moreover, those which are interpretable do not allow us to recognize specific suffixes used for divine names.

⁶⁵ On (dat.) *e-ne-si-da-one* and the epithet Ἐννοσίδως of Poseidon cf. §15.3.3.

It is well known that the forms attested in Mycenaean cast light on the pre-forms of some religious names in first millennium Greek. For instance, *e-ra* /^h*Ērā-*/ (:“*Ἡρα*”)⁶⁶ rules out an interpretation as **ser-uā-* (based on IE **ser-* ‘observe’, cf. Myc. *o-ro-me-no* /^h*oromenos*/, Hom. ὄρονται, Av. *har-* ‘id.’), for in that case we would have **e-wa* /^h*Ērwā-*/. Similarly, *po-se-da-o-ne* /*Posei-dā^honei*/ makes clear that the name Poseidon did not have the suffix **-mon-*, and that, consequently, the F of ΠοτειδάFῶν (Corinth, 5th c.) is secondary. It must be stressed that any attempt to interpret a form in terms of Greek must rely on an indisputable etymology and not vice versa. One significant example is supplied by *o-po-re-i* (often attested in TH Fq), which has been wrongly assumed to conceal the dative of **δπώρας* (: δπ-ώρα ‘autumn’) and to match οπῶρει, epithet of Zeus in Boeotian Acraephia (5th c.). But this is incompatible with the etymology of the second element of δπ-ώρα (**os-ar+ā*, an *-ā-* derivative from an *-r/n-* stem **^oos-r/n-*)⁶⁷ which would lead us to expect for ‘autumn’ a Myc. form **/op-o^harā/* noted **o-po-a-ra* or **o-po-a₂-ra*:⁶⁸ if *o-po-re-i* was the dative of a derivative in *-es-* of **/op-o^har(ā)/* ‘autumn’ it would have been written **o-po-a-re-i* or **o-po-a₂-re-i* (not *o-po-re-i*) according to Mycenaean spelling rules.⁶⁹ For *o-po-re-i*, which is most probably the dative of a man’s name, like *me-to-re-i*,⁷⁰ an interpretation as /*Op-ōre^hi*/ (: δπί ‘ἐπί’, ὄρος ‘mountain’, cf. *Il.* 5.523 ἐπ’ ἄκροπόλοισιν ὄρεσσιν) is the simplest.

§15.3.3. Mycenaean religious names attested in the first millennium

According to the criteria mentioned above (§15.1.2), Mycenaean religious names, irrespective of their age, position and function(s) in the Mycenaean pantheon, can be roughly classified into two categories: names which survived in the same form (or in a closely related one) in first millennium Greek, and names which did not (§15.3.4).

Some of the names that have exact equivalents in the first millennium can be interpreted, to different degrees, in terms of Greek, with or without recognizable IE etymology. The name of Zeus (see §15.3.1), is surely inherited from

⁶⁶ For an interpretation cf. §15.3.3.

⁶⁷ The etymology is proved beyond doubt by the nasal of Goth. *asans* ‘harvest (time), summer’, OCS *jesenb* ‘autumn’, OPr. *assanis*.

⁶⁸ Cf. among others DE LAMBERTERIE 2003.

⁶⁹ We must notice that the Boeotian dat. οπῶρει can indeed conceal **δπῶρ-* (noted οπῶρ in the epichoric alphabet) and be traced back to **op-o^har-* (nom. **op-o^har-ēs*).

⁷⁰ The MN *me-to-re* (KN; dat. *me-to-re-i* TH) surely conceals /*Metōrēs*/ (μετά, ὄρος ‘mountain’).

IE, as guaranteed by Hom. Ζεῦ πάτερ, Ved. *dyāuṣ pítar* (both vocatives), Lat. *Iuppiter, Diēspiter* (cf. IE **d̥iēu-* ‘heaven’). The same probably holds true for the name of Zeus’ feminine counterpart *di-wi-ja, di-u-ja* /*Diwiā-*⁷¹), which survives in the Pamphylian ΔιΨία. Other names may or may not be Greek. The name of Zeus may also appear in the first element of Dionysus’ name (*di-wonu-so*[, gen. *-o-jo*).⁷² The name of Poseidon *po-se-da-o* (dat. *-o-ne*, gen. *-o-no* /*Poseidā*^(h)*ōnei* /, *-ā*^(h)*ōnos*/: Hom. Ποσειδάων), with the feminine counterpart *po-si-da-e-ja*⁷³ and the dat. plur. derivative *po-si-da-i-je-u-si* /*Posidā*^h*iēusi*/ ‘to the priests of P.’, has been traced back to a **-(h)on-*formation built on a compound of /*Posei*^o/ (vocative of πόσις ‘Lord’) and /*ōdā-*/, which may be related to ‘water’ (cf. Ved. *dānu-* ‘river’⁷⁴) rather than to ‘earth’, as has sometimes been suggested, and would therefore mean ‘Lord of Waters’. As for the name of Hera (*e-ra* /*Ērā-*/: Ἥρα), which has often been assumed to be pre-Greek, an interpretation as **Hīēr-ā-* (cf. OE *gear* ‘year’ from **Hīēr-ó-*, alph. Gr. ὥρα ‘spring’), as individualization of the flowering time,⁷⁵ is in my opinion conclusively supported by the parallelism with her Latin counterpart *Iūnā* (an *-on-*formation on the stem **iūn-*, cf. the Lat. *iūnī-x* ‘young cow’ built on the masc. *iūuen*⁷⁶). As to *a-re* (dat.) /*Arēs*/ (: Ἄρης) and *e-ma-a₂* /*Ermā*^h*ās*/, gen. *e-ma-a₂-o* (: Ἐρμῆς, -έαζ), they may be related to ἄρος: βλάβος and to ἔρμα ‘protection’, ὄρμος ‘chain’ respectively. Whether Zeus, Demeter and Persephone are referred to in the Thebes tablets with the names *o-po-re-i, ma-ka* and *ko-wa* remains more than doubtful (§15.3.1).

The term *po-ti-ni-ja* /*Potnia-*/ (: πότνια ‘Mistress, Lady’, Ved. *pātnī-* ‘id.’), no doubt an IE word designating a feminine deity, can be understood *ex graeco ipso*, but this does not exclude the possibility that the goddess (or, more properly, the goddesses)⁷⁷ indicated had in some instances (some of) the functions of a pre-Greek Mother Goddess. It may occur without further specification, or be accompanied by a toponymic indication, e.g. *da-pu₂-ri-to-jo po-ti-ni-ja* /*Daphurint*^h*oio P.*/ ‘P. of the Labyrinth’ (KN) or *po-ti-ni-ja a-si-wi-ja* /*P. Aswiā-*/

⁷¹ IE **d̥iūih₂-*, cf. Lat. *dea Diana* and alph. Gr. Διώνη, probably related to *Diāna* (cf. DUNKEL 1988-1990).

⁷² On the variants of the name of Dionysus cf. RUIPÉREZ 1983; GARCÍA RAMÓN 1987.

⁷³ The name is built by means of the appurtenance suffix *-e-ja*, cf. §15.2.2.4.

⁷⁴ As per JANDA 1999, 257ff.

⁷⁵ The interpretation goes back to SCHRÖDER 1956, 67 (‘Jahr, Blühezeit’) and PÖTSCHER 1961 (‘die zur Ehe reife Frau’).

⁷⁶ Cf. GARCÍA-RAMÓN 2001, 115 and 2009, 4. The interpretation of Lat. *Iūnō* goes back to RIX 1981. Other interpretations of the name of Hera are referred to in PETERS 2002.

⁷⁷ Cf. BOËLLE 2001; BOËLLE 2004; ROUGEMONT 2005, 344ff. The case for one single *po-ti-ni-ja* is made by GODART 2001.

‘Asian P.’ (KN), which points to Asia Minor, or by a cult-specifying epithet, e.g. *si-to-po-ti-ni-ja* /*Sītopotnia-*/ (MY) ‘Mistress of Grain’ (continued by Σιτώ in Sicily) or *po-ti-ni-ja i-qe-ja* /^(h)*ikk^weiā-*/ ‘Mistress of Horses’ (PY). The Pylian *te-i-ja ma-te-re* /*T^he^hiāi Māterei*/ ‘to the Mother Goddess’ (or Mother of the Gods, cf. θεῖος ‘divine’) and the Cnossos goddess *qe-ra-si-ja* /*K^whērasīā-*/ probably ‘Mistress of wild beasts’ (cf. θήρ ‘*fēra*’), which points to a theriomorphic goddess of the kind of the πότνια θηρῶν, or ‘Mistress of Hunters’, or simply ‘Mistress of Thera (island)’ (?) belong to the sphere of the *po-ti-ni-ja* too.

On the other hand, the etymology of the names of several well-known Olympic gods remains totally obscure. This is the case with Artemis (gen. *a-te-mi-to*, dat. *-te* /*Artemitos*/, *-tei*/: Ἄρτεμις, West Gr. Ἄρταμις, cf. Lyd. *Artimus*) and Hephaistos (cf. the MN *a-pa-i-ti-jo* /*hĀphaistios*/). The goddess Athena is not attested as such: in *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja* /*At^hānās potniāi*/ (KN) ‘to the Mistress of Athana’ *a-ta-na* is the genitive of a PN /*At^hānā*/ (cf. PN Ἀθηναί).⁷⁸

The goddess of birth *e-re-u-ti-ja* /*Eleuthiāi*/ is matched by Hom. Εἰλειθυια, but the diversity of attested forms in alphabetic Greek (e.g. Laconian Ελευθ/σῖα, Cretan Ελευθυια) points to a non-Greek form which has been hellenized in different ways. It is not clear whether the GN *e-ne-si-da-o-ne* (dat.) /*-dā^hō-nei*/ survives in Ἐννοσίδαξ, an epiclesis of Poseidon (Pindar, Stesichorus), which probably reflects the first part of Hom. Ἐννοσί-γαιος, -χθων ‘earth-shaker’ (epithets of Poseidon).⁷⁹

§15.3.4. Mycenaean religious names not attested the first millennium

Among the divine names and epithets not directly attested in alphabetic Greek, some, as mentioned above, can be understood in Greek terms (*do-po-ta*, *ti-ri-se-ro-e*). Other attempts at identification are more or less plausible. This is particularly obvious in the case of some terms which designate recipients of offerings who may be human beings but also deified persons. We may think, for instance, of the Pylos king, the *wa-na-ka* /*wanaks*/ (: Hom. ἄναξ ‘king’), who is the recipient of divine honours in the Fr tablets, and of the term

⁷⁸ BAUMBACH 1979, 152; CHADWICK 1985, 194. In fact, Hom. πότνια Ἀθηναίη is originally ‘the mistress of Athana’. The name of this goddess could actually be Athana (BOËLLE 2004, 68f.).

⁷⁹ In fact, the form concealed by *e-ne-si^o*, with its *-e-* vocalism, is not matched by Ἐννοσι^o and cannot, in my opinion, be explained as the effect of an assimilation **en(n)jo-* > *en(n)e-*. Moreover, the etymology of the first member of ἔννο-σι^o, εἰνο-σι^o is far from safely established: a connection to ὀθέω ‘shake’ (IE **med^h-*), and an explanation of ἔννοσι^o, εἰνοσι^o as from **en-uo^h-si^o* remains plausible from the semantic point of view, but, in this case, Myc. *e-ne-si^o*, which shows no trace of *-w-*, must be kept apart. *Non liquet*.

wa-na-so-i, which is sometimes understood as the dat. dual of */wanassa-/* (: ἄνασσα), i.e. ‘to the two Queens’, referring to Demeter and Kore (but other interpretations are possible); also of *di-pi-si-jo /Dipsioi/* (nom. plur.; dat. plur. *di-pi-si-jo-i /-oi^hi/*) ‘the thirsty ones’, which may refer, among other possibilities, to the dead, or to *Genii* of some kind.

As mentioned already, the names (and the status) of many other divine (or deified) recipients of offerings remain unidentifiable and defy linguistic interpretation. Some of them are clearly pre-Greek, e.g. *pi-pi-tu-na* or *ma-na-sa*, which point to pre-Greek proper names in *-ωννα* and *-(σ)σα* respectively. The same is true of such names as *ma-ri-ne-u**, *pa-sa-ja*, *po-ro-de-qa-no*, *]qe-sa-ma-qa*, *si-ja-ma-to* (all at KN), which remain opaque, and of *i-pe-me-de-ja* (PY), on which cf. §15.3.1, or even *pe-re-*82* (with a sanctuary [locative] *pe-ῥε-*82-jo*), the interpretation of which depends on that of the syllabogram *82.

§15.4. GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

Place names are very often attested in Linear B texts directly or indirectly (through ethnics or personal names derived from ethnics):⁸⁰ *ca* 100 at Cnossos, *ca* 250 at Pylos, and *ca* 25 at Thebes.⁸¹ They do not necessarily refer to places within the kingdom in which the texts are attested: the PN *te-qa /T^hēg^wai/* (: Θῆβαι) is once mentioned at Mycenae, just as the MN *ra-ke-da-mi-ni-jo /Lakedaimnios/* (cf. PN Λακεδαίμων) is mentioned at Thebes.⁸² The same phenomenon can be observed in ethnics: Cretan men (*ke-re-te /Krētes/*: Κρηῆτες) and Cnidian and Milesian women (*ki-ni-di-ja /Knidial/*: Κνίδιαι, *mi-ra-ti-ja /Milātiai/*: Μιλήσιαι) are mentioned at Pylos; the MN *a₃-ku-pi-ti-jo /Aiguptios/* occurs at Cnossos, and so does the MN *ku-pi-ri-jo /Kuprios/* (: Κύπριος) at Pylos and Cnossos. This suggests the existence of close contacts among the Mycenaean kingdoms and between them and other regions of the Mediterranean. We shall discuss below (§15.4.6) the significance of the fact that some place names attested in Linear B reappear in post-Mycenaean Greece but in different regions.

⁸⁰ Cf. J. BENNET’s Chapter 13 above and the overviews of HART 1965; SAINER 1976; CREMONA – MARCOZZI – SCAFA – SINATRA 1978; MCARTHUR 1985; MCARTHUR 1993; BENNET 1999; BENNET 2000 (forthcoming).

⁸¹ According to BENNET 2000 (forthcoming), 98 place names at Cnossos (49 PNs with ethnic attested, 4 PNs through ethnics), with a total of 1150 occurrences; 247 place names at Pylos (37 PNs with ethnic attested, 17 through ethnics only), with a total of 794 occurrences. For Thebes *TOP*, 355ff. mention 34 items.

⁸² LEJEUNE 1996a; DUHOUX 2007, 102f.

§15.4.1. *Identification, interpretation*

It goes without saying that, before we try to compare a Mycenaean place name with a form (place name, noun or adjective) of first millennium Greek, we must be certain that the word in question is a real toponym. The following features may help in the identification of place names:

- (a) Contextual criteria, e.g. the structure of some tablets like the Pylian *o-ka* tablets or that of PY Jn 829 may make clear what is a place name and what is not.
- (b) The presence of the postpositive *-de* (added to the accusative form, cf. Hom. Κύπρονδε ‘to Cyprus’) to express direction. The case endings locative plur. *-si /-sil/* (and sing. *-i /-i/*) and/or instrumental *-pi /-p^{hi}/* (with ablative value) are often associated with place names to express ‘at’ or ‘from’ respectively. An ideal example is that of PY *pa-ki-ja-ne /-ānes/* (nom. plur.), for which we also have the forms *pa-ki-ja-na-de /-ānasdel/*, *pa-ki-ja-si /-ānsil/* and *pa-ki-ja-pi /-āmp^{hi}/*.⁸³ If the basic form is not attested it can mostly be reconstructed, cf. e.g. *a-ka-wi-ja-de /Ak^haiwiān-de/*, which presupposes a PN *a-ka-wi-ja* /Ak^haiwiā/**: Ἀχάια. We can also identify in the same manner place names which remain completely obscure, cf. e.g. *ma-sa* (KN) which is certainly a place name, as suggested by the allative *ma-sa-de*.
- (c) The presence of ethnics (sometimes used as personal names) formed with typical suffixes such as *-i-jo*, fem. *-i-ja /-io-/*, */-iā/*, *-i-jo-ta /-iōtā-/*, and others. Forms like *a-mi-ni-si-jo /Amnisios/* (fem. *-si-ja /Amnišā/*) and *i-wa-si-jo-ta /Iwasiōtās/* derive from the PNs *a-mi-ni-so* (: Ἄμνισος) and *i-wa-so* (: Ἰασος). Accordingly, an ethnic can allow us to reconstruct a place name, even if this is not attested in Linear B, e.g. *ke-re-te /Krētes/*, *mi-ra-ti-ja /Milātiai/*, MN *ku-pi-ri-jo /Kuprios/* point to **/Krētā/* (: Κρήτη), **/Milātos/* (: Μίλητος), **/Kupros/* (: Κύπρος). In the same way we may identify place names which have no obvious match in the first millennium: thus the ethnics *u-de-wi-ni-jo[* and *a-pe-ke-i-jo* (PY) make clear that *u-de-wi-ne* and *a-pe-ke-e* are place names — which is confirmed by the texts in which they occur.

Just as in the epigraphical texts of classical Greece, it is not always easy to distinguish between a place name proper and a common noun or an epithet used to refer to, and describe, a place. This is e.g. the case with *ri-me-ne*

⁸³ In a further step, *pa-ki-ja-ne* may be interpreted as */Sp^hagiānes/* on the basis of the form Σφακτηρία (cf. σφάζω ‘slay’).

(locative of λιμὴν ‘harbour’) in *e-ra-po ri-me-ne /elaphōn limenei/* ‘at the harbour of the deers’⁸⁴ or with *wo-wo /worwos/* (: ὄρος ‘border’), *wo-wi-ja /worwial/* (: ὄρια) combined with a personal name (*ru-ke-wo-wo-wi-ja /Lu(n)-kēwos worwial/*).

We must stress at this point that the formal identity of a place name attested in Linear B (e.g. the PN *me-ta-pa* and the ethnic *me-ta-pi-jo* in the Pylos tablets) with one (or more) place name(s) of first millennium Greece (cf. the PN Μέταπα in Acarnania, the ethnic Μετάπιοι in an Elean inscription) does not imply that the two names refer to one and the same place. On the one hand, it is possible to find the same name used in different places either because it is imported from one region to another by migrant people or because it reflects a common linguistic substratum (or a shared topographic feature). On the other hand, a name can be replaced by another (e.g. Mycenaean Pylos was called Κορυφάσιον in Archaic times), and consequently we may find that the Linear B texts attribute to a specific place a name different from that which it had in the first millennium. For the implications of this data for Greek prehistory and the later developments down to post-Mycenaean times, cf. §15.4.6.

Common to all Mycenaean centres is the high frequency of names which, irrespective of their possible identification, are not comprehensible *ex graeco ipso* and go back to the language(s) of non-Greek populations. This is especially evident in the case of Crete, where there are no assured occurrences of specifically Greek types such as derivatives with **-uēt-* (with dat.-loc. *-wo-te* meaning ‘provided with’) or compounds, though these are well attested in Pylos, e.g. *se-ri-no/u-wo-te /Selinwontei/*, *e-u-de-we-ro*: Hom. εἰδειέλος (cf. §15.4.3).

§15.4.2. Mycenaean place names and first millennium place names

As mentioned in §15.1.2, place names attested in Linear B may be classified according to whether or not they have matches in first millennium Greece.

Place names that have an exact (or at least approximate) reflex in the first millennium are either (a) Greek, i.e. comprehensible in Greek or with the help of comparison with other IE languages, or (b) non-Greek. Those in group (a) may offer us evidence about word formation (§15.4.3) and about naming motifs (§15.4.4); group (b) may provide us, at best, with information about pre-Greek

⁸⁴ A. Morpurgo Davies (per litteras) suggests that in this case Myc. //limēn/* could mean here ‘meeting place’ (: ἀγορά), as in Thessalian and in Cyprian.

word formation (§15.4.5). Examples of (a) are locative *e-re-i* /^h*Ele^hi*/ (: PN Ἔλος ‘marsh-meadow’), *me-ta-pa* /*Metapa*/ (: Μέταπα ‘land behind [or in the middle of] the waters’),⁸⁵ or locative *se-ri-no-wo-te*, *se-ri-nu-wo-te* /*Selinwon-teil*/ (: Σελινοῦς) ‘rich in celery’, a Greek derivative of a non-Greek word (σέλινον). Examples of (b) are *a-mi-ni-so* /*Amnis(s)os*/, *ko-no-so* /*Knōs(s)os*/, *pa-i-to* /*P^haistos*/, *tu-ri-so* /*Tulis(s)os*/ (: Ἄμνισος, Κνωσός, Φαιστός, Τύλισος)⁸⁶ in the tablets of Cnossos, *te-qa* /*T^hēg^wail*/ (: Θῆβαι), *a-ma-ru-to* (: Ἀμάρυνθος) in those of Thebes and *ko-ri-to* /*Korint^hos*/ (: Κόρινθος) in those of Pylos. Slight differences such as the one between *u-ta-no* and Ἰτανός (Crete) or *a-ka-wi-ja** (: Ἀχάϊα) and Hitt. *Ahhiya* are usual in the case of non-Greek names; secondary folk etymology is also possible, as in the case of *a-pa-ta-wa* /*Aptarwā*/, adapted as Ἄπτερα ‘wingless’ (cf. πτερόν ‘wing’).

Names which have no correspondence in alphabetic Greek may nevertheless be Greek, provided that a satisfactory *interpretatio Graeca* is suggested (e.g. *qa-sa-ro-we* at Cnossos could *a priori* be /*K^wsallowens*/ ‘rich in wood’, cf. the gloss ψάλλος: ὕλη). Otherwise they remain absolutely opaque.

§15.4.3. Greek place names: word formation

Mycenaean Greek place names may originate as nouns (of Greek or pre-Greek origin), derivatives of nouns, or compounds. Among the specific derivational suffixes, the following are frequent:⁸⁷

/-iā-/ (: alph. Gr. -iā): e.g. *°ra-i-ja* /*°laiā*/ (from λαῖα ‘stone’) in *°a₃-ko-ra-i-ja* /*°aigo-laiā*/ (see below), *a-ka-wi-ja* /*Ak^haiviā*/, *ku-do-ni-ja* /*Kudōniā*/ (: Κυδωνία).

/-ā-/ (: alph. Gr. -ā, Att. -η⁸⁸): e.g. *pi*-*82, most probably /*Piswā*/ (: Πῖσα) from **pitūā*- ‘region of pines’ (cf. πίτυς ‘pine’); the MN *pi-sa-wa-ta* /*Piswā-tās*/, clearly an ethnic in origin, presupposes a PN **pi-sa-wa* which is likely to go back to **/Pitwā/*.⁸⁹ Some names in *-e-wa* /-ēwā/ (corresponding to the type Τεγέα, Νεμέα) attested only in Pylos, are best explained as collectives in /-ā-/

⁸⁵ Both ἔλος and °απ- are IE, cf. Ved. *sáras*- ‘marsh’ and Ved. *áp*- ‘water’, Lat. *amnis* ‘river’ respectively.

⁸⁶ The PN *ru-ki-to* (KN) may be interpreted as /*Luktos*/ (: Cretan Λύττος), but another possible reading /*Lukistos*/ fits LB orthographic rules better.

⁸⁷ An overview of formations of various kinds in LINDNER 1995, 700ff. On ethnics cf. GSCHNITZER 1983.

⁸⁸ From the IE collective **eh₂-* as per LEUKART 1994 *passim* (112, 174 for /*Pitwā*/).

⁸⁹ MELENA 1983, 264. An original **Pisūā*- would have yielded Myc. **/Piwwā*-, written **pi-wa* (cf. Hom. νηός, Lesbian ναῦος ‘temple’ < **nas-uo*-).

derived from place names in *-e-u*, cf. the pairs PN *a-ke-re-wa* /*Agrēwā-*/, *a-ke-re-u* /*Agrēus*/ (dat. *a-ke-re-we*).⁹⁰

/-on-/ (: alph. Gr. *-ών*⁹¹): e.g. *pe-re-u-ro-na-de* /*Pleurōnade*/ (: Πλευρών, cf. πλευρά, πλευρόν ‘flank, side’).

*/-wont-*⁹² (corresponding to adj. */-went-*/, fem. */-wessa*/ ‘provided with’, used e.g. in adjectives like *te-mi-de-we* /*termidwens*/, plur. ntr. *te-mi-dwe-ta* /*wenta*/ ‘with borders’): alph. Gr. *-(o)Fεντ-* / *-(o)Fεσσα*:⁹³ e.g. *a₂-ru-wo-te* /*Alwonteil*/ (: Ἀλοῦς ‘salty’, Arcadia) from ἄλς ‘salt, sea’, *se-ri-no-wo-te*, *se-ri-nu-wo-te* /*Selīnwonteil*/ (: Σελινοῦς, cf. §15.4.2), *mu-to-wo-ti* /*Murtowontil*/ (cf. Μυρτοῦντιον, of μύρτος ‘myrtle’). There are also derivatives in */-was-io-*/, */-wat-id-*/ as ethnics, e.g. *ti-nwa-si-jo* if /*T^hinwasio-*/ < **-unt-ijō-* from **/t^hin-*/: θίς ‘sand’), *wo-no-wa-ti-si* if loc. pl. /*woino-watisil*/ (< *-unt-id-* from **/woinos*/: οἶνος ‘wine’).

Compounds of all types (as well as nominal phrases such as e.g. *e-ra-po ri-me-ne* /*elap^hōn limeneil*/) (see §15.4.1) are also attested in Pylos, e.g. *a-pi-ke-ne-a*[if a PN /*Amp^higene^(h)ā*/ (cf. Ἀμφιγένεια?), *e-u-de-we-ro* /*E^(h)udewelos*/ (: Hom. εὐδείελος), *ma-to-ro-pu-ro* /*Mātropulos*/ or /*Mātrpulos*/ (cf. Ματρόπολις) and *u-pe/a-ra-ki-ri-ja* /*Upe/arakrial*/ (: Ὑπεράκρια).

The names of the two Pylos provinces (*de-we-ro-a₃-ko-ra-i-ja* and *pe-ra₃-ko-ra-i-ja*) are both compounds or juxtapositions of local adverbs (*/deuro*/ and */perā*/ ‘hither’ and ‘further’) and a second element which is itself a compound *°a₃-ko-ra-i-ja* /*°aigolaiā*/ ‘rocks (cf. λάας ‘stone’) of the goat(s) (αἴξ) resulting from the univerbation (i.e. union of two words) of **αἰγός* (αἰγῶν) and *λαία*. Compounds and syntagms are particularly informative about naming motifs (see §15.4.4).

§15.4.4. Greek place names: meaning and naming motifs

The meanings of the stems used to form Mycenaean place names can be compared with those similarly used in Greek and other IE languages and can be classified as follows:

- (a) Places (descriptive, with allusion to physical characteristics or appearance): for instance, locative *e-re-i* /*Ele^hi*/ (: Ἔλος), *ka-ra-do-ro* /*K^haradroi*/ (: Χάραδρος), *pu-ro* /*Pulos*/ (: Πύλος), *ri-jo* /*R^hion*/ (: Ῥίον) which

⁹⁰ A comprehensive overview in HAJNAL 1995, 215ff.

⁹¹ It goes back to individualizing IE **-h₃on-* (formally parallel to **-uon-*, **ion-*).

⁹² On the suffix, which reflects an old *-o*-vocalism, cf. LEJEUNE 1970, 43ff.; HEUBECK 1976, 127ff.; HAJNAL 1997, 89ff.

⁹³ The suffix **-uent-* (fem. **-unt-ih₂-*) is also IE, cf. Skt. *-vant-*, fem. *-vatī-*.

match the nouns ἔλος ‘marsh-meadow’, χάραδρος ‘torrent’, πύλη ‘gate, palace’ and ῥίον ‘peak’ respectively, as well as locative *e-re-o-ni* /*Eleōni*/ (: Ἐλεών), probably related to Hom. ἔλεόν ‘kitchen table’ and the compound *e-wi-ri-po* /*E^hwīpos*/ (: Εὔριπος ‘strait’⁹⁴). Very descriptive are the compounds *e-u-de-we-ro* /*E^hudewelos*/ (: Hom. Εὐδείελος) ‘having nice afternoons (δειτελός)’⁹⁵ *o-pi-ke-ri-jo* /*Opisk^herion*/ (: Ἐπισχέριον, cf. Hom. ἐπισχερώ ‘in a row’), *u-po/a-ra-ki-ri-ja* /*U^hpo/arakrial* ‘beyond the heights (corresponding to ὑπὲρ τὰ ἄκρα, cf. PN Ὑπεράκρια)⁹⁶ and the nominal groups *ku-]no ka-ra-o-re* /*[Ku]nos krā^hōrei*/ (‘[D]og’s Head’⁹⁷), *ti-mi-to a-ke-e* /*T^himistos anke^hi*/ ‘the hill (: ἄγκος) of the boundary furrow’ or /*tirmint^hōn anke^hi*/ ‘the hill side of terebinth trees’.⁹⁸ On *a₂-ru-wo-te*, *ti-nwa-si-jo*, *me-ta-ra* and *e-ra-po ri-me-ne*, *ru-ke-wo-wo-wi-ja*, cf. §15.4.3 and 15.4.1.

- (b) Plants and animals: *pa-ko* /*p^hāgos*/ (: φηγός ‘oak’, PN Φηγός), and also *se-ri-no^o* /*selīno^o*/ ‘celery’, *mu-to^o* /*murto^o*/ ‘myrtle’, *wo-no^o* /*woino^o*/ ‘wine’, all with the added suffix /-wont-/, cf. §15.4.3. For ‘deer’ and ‘dogs’ see above *e-ra-po ri-me-ne*, *ku-]no ka-ra-o-re*.
- (c) Ethnics: *ku-do-ni-ja* /*Kudōniā*/ (: Κυδωνία), cf. Κύδωνες.
- (d) Occupational names: instrumental *ku-te-re-u-pi* /*K^hutrēup^hi*/ (: χυτρεύς ‘potter’), if this is a place name; probably also *e-ra-te-re-wa-o* /*Elatrēwā^hōn*/ (gen. plur.) and *e-ra-te-re-wa-pi* /*Elatrēwāp^hi*/⁹⁹ along with *e-ra-te-re-we* /*Elatrēwei*/ (see Hom. MN Ἐλατρεύς, cf. ἑλατήρ ‘driver’).

§15.4.5. Non-Greek geographical names: word formation

Among the most frequently attested place names which defy interpretation in terms of Greek, it is possible to isolate some recurrent suffixes (or, at least, word terminations), which also appear in words that most probably go back to pre-Greek populations:

/-(ā)nā-/ (: alph. Gr. -vā-, cf. ἀπήνη ‘chariot’): gen. *a-ta-na* /*At^hānās*/ (: Ἀθήνα, -αι), cf. Μεσσάνῃ *et sim.*

⁹⁴ I.e. ‘having a broad current’, from a compound **eurūpō-* (**euru-h₂p-ō-*) by vowel dissimilation according to FORSSMAN 1988.

⁹⁵ GARCÍA RAMÓN 1998-1999.

⁹⁶ According to HEUBECK 1962; on the first member **ur^hi^o* beside **uper^o* cf. HAJNAL 1997, 143ff.

⁹⁷ Cf. the semantic parallel of Κυνοσκεφαλαί ‘Dog’s heads’.

⁹⁸ /*T^himistos anke^hi*/ according to RUIPÉREZ 1957, 181, /*tirmint^hān anke^hi*/ according to PALAIMA 2000.

⁹⁹ HAJNAL 1995, 219ff.

/(V)nt^ho-/ (alph. Gr.: -νθος, cf. ἄσάμινθος ‘bathing tub’): */(ant^hos/* (*o-ru-ma-to* /*Orumant^hos/*, cf. Ἐρύμανθος), */(int^hos/* (*ko-ri-to* /*Korint^hos/*: Κόρινθος and WN *ko-ri-si-ja* /*Korinsiā/*), */(unt^hos/* (*za-ku-to** /*D^zakunt^hos/*: Ζάκυνθος, cf. MN *za-ku-si-jo* /*D^zakunsios/*; *a-ma-ru-to* /*Amarunt^hos/*: Ἀμάρυνθος).

/(V)ssō-/ (: alph. Gr. -σσ/ττος, cf. κυπάρισσ/ττος ‘cypress’): *ku-pa-ri-so* */*Kuparissos/* (adj. *ku-pa-ri-si-jo* /*Kuparissioil/*) (: Hom. Κυπαρισσῆεις *Il.* 2.593), perhaps *pa-na-so* if PN /*Parnassos/* (: Παρνασσός). The Attic and Boeotian forms in -ττος (e.g. Λυκαβηττός) and the use of the letter Π (*sampi*) in the gen. plur. Ἀλικαρναππεων (Halicarnassus, 5th c.) besides Ἀλικαρνασσεων, PN Ἀλικαρνασσοσ seem to point to an original form *-*ʔo*-¹⁰⁰ of the suffix.

/(V)so-/ (: alph. Gr. -σος, cf. θίασος ‘Bacchic troupe’): *a-mi-ni-so* /*Amnisos/*, *i-wa-so* /*Iwasos/* (: Ἄμνισος, Ἰάσον), *ro-u-so* /*Lousoil/* (: Λουσοί), *tu-ri-so* /*Tulisos/* (: Τύλισος), cf. also Κηφισός (river in Attica). It must be stressed that */(V)so-/* cannot be identical to */(V)ssō-/*, as shown by the ethnic (acc. sing.) Κνωθιαν (with secondary *-*s*- > -*h*-), attested in an Argive treaty between Cnossos and Tylisos (*DGE* no. 84. 21-2: ca 450).¹⁰¹

These suffixes are certainly not Greek and point to pre-Greek population layers in Greece. Two of them probably have parallels in Anatolia, namely */(nt^ho-/* (cf. Anat. *-[a]nda*) and */(ssos/*, which may be compared with Luv. *-šša-* and points to the existence of an IE Luvian substrate in Greece (cf. Παρνασσός and Luv. *parna-* ‘house, temple’) prior to the arrival of the first Greeks. This point is, however, much disputed and a word of caution should probably be added, particularly since the possibility that -σσοσ /-ττος derives from *-*ʔo*- (see above) makes a straight comparison of alph. Gr. -σσοσ and Luv. *-šša-* very difficult.¹⁰²

§15.4.6. Place names and Greek prehistory

The place names (or the corresponding ethnics) which occur in the Mycenaean centres sometimes match identical or similar place names or ethnics which refer to places found in different regions in post-Mycenaean Greece (cf. §15.4.1). This may be simply due to the existence of trade contacts between Mycenaean centres and regions outside the Mycenaean power centres. Given that almost all parts of Greece became Mycenaeanized, military contacts are

¹⁰⁰ Cf. WYATT 1968.

¹⁰¹ Cf. CHADWICK 1969, 87.

¹⁰² Cf. the discussion by MORPURGO DAVIES 1986, 112 ff.

also very possible, as suggested by the possible mention in the archives of Pylos of Pleuron in Aetolia (*pe-re-u-ro-na-de* /*Pleurōna-de*/ with the ethnic *pe-re-u-ro-ni-jo* /*Pleurōnios*/). It is also possible that the prestige of the Mycenaean civilisation contributed to the diffusion of its place names. There are, however, other possible explanations for this name overlap: (a) a Mycenaean place name may have been taken to other regions by migrants after the fall of the Mycenaean kingdoms, or (b) the coincidence is simply fortuitous, due either to a pre-Greek substratum which extended over several regions, or, in the case of Greek names proper, to a parallel development. (a) is the most plausible hypothesis for toponyms attested in the Pylos tablets and in regions of the Peloponnese beyond the borders of Messenia, namely the south-western fringe of Arcadia.¹⁰³ This is the case, for instance, of *e-ko-me-no* /*Erkhomenos*/ and *ro-u-so* /*Lousoi*/ (: Ἔ/Ορχομενός, Λουσοί in Arcadia), *e-re-i* /^h*Ele^hi*/ (: Ἔλος in Laconia), *pu-ro* /*Pulos*/ (: Πύλος in Messenia, Elis, Triphylia), *pi-**82 /*Piswā*/ (: Πῖσα in Elis), *re-u-ko-to-ro* /*Leuktron*/ (: Λεῦκτρα on the border between Messenia and Laconia, Λεῦκτρον in South Arcadia and Achaia), *ri-jo* /*R^hion*/ (Ῥίον on the border between Achaia and Messenia).¹⁰⁴

On the other hand (b) may be exemplified by the presence of non-Greek names such as Ἔ/Ορχομενός in Boeotia and in Central Greece or Ἐρύμανθος in Elis (: *o-ru-ma-to* /*Orumant^hos*/ PY): their presence in more than one area is probably due to a pre-Greek substratum. This, however, does not exclude the possibility that these names were brought from pre-Greek Boeotia to pre-Greek Peloponnese in pre-Mycenaean times. The same may be true in the case of the PN *a-ta-na*, which reappears (also in the name of a goddess) in Attica, and for the appearance of some place names both in Thessaly and in the first millennium Western Peloponnese,¹⁰⁵ though they are not actually reflected in the Pylos tablets. On the other hand, when a Mycenaean place name has an Indo-European etymology, as is the case with Pylian *me-ta-pa* /*Metapa*/ (: Μέταπα in Acarnania) or *pa-ko* /*P^hāgos*/ (: Φηγός in Thessaly, also Φήγεια in Arcadia), the appearance in more than one place may be purely due to the existence of common naming devices.

Needless to say, the value of place names for the reconstruction of Greek prehistory remains controversial, and much is speculative in most cases. There is no golden rule that favours one of the theoretical possibilities mentioned above over the others.

¹⁰³ Cf. CHADWICK 1973 (discussion of HILLER 1972); CHADWICK 1977.

¹⁰⁴ For extensive overviews cf. KIECHLE 1960; KIECHLE 1962; EDER 1998, 179ff.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. KIECHLE 1960, 39, 46ff.; EDER 1998, 187 with references.

§15.5. ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGLA

e.g.	<i>exempli gratia</i> ('for example')
GN	god's name
Goth.	Gothic
Hitt.	Hittite
Hom.	Homer(ic)
IE	Indo-European
i.e.	<i>id est</i> ('that is [to say]')
KH	Chania
KN	Cnossos
Lat.	Latin
Luv.	Luvian
MN	man's name
MY	Mycenae
OAv.	Old Avestan
OCS	Old Church Slavonic
OLat.	Old Latin
OPruss.	Old Prussian
PN	place name
PY	Pylos
Skt.	Sanskrit
TH	Thebes
V	any vowel
Ved.	Vedic
<i>vel sim.</i>	<i>vel simile</i> ('or similar')
WN	woman's name
°	boundary between first and second member of a compound
* (after a form)	form not attested, but guaranteed by the existence of other forms of the same paradigm, or of derivatives
* (before a form)	reconstructed form.

§15.6. REFERENCES FOR CHAPTER 15¹⁰⁶

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¹⁰⁶ Basically since 1973: it includes standard works and works quoted in this paper. For earlier bibliography, cf. *Documents*².

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