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THREE MYCENAEAN WARRIOR NAMES¹

(1) Names and spellings

The well known difficulties of interpreting Mycenaean proper names depend to a large extent on the identification of the underlying lexeme or lexemes the name is built on. As a rule of thumb, the longer the presumed name, the less ambiguous its interpretation tends to be, as in the famous case of *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo* /*Alektruōn Etewoklewe^hiios*/ ‘Alekyryon, son of Ete(w)oklēs’, while shorter forms, due to the deficient spelling system of Linear B, usually offer too many possibilities to allow a definite conclusion.²

As is well known, phraseology is a common source for the formation of personal names (PNN) and can be used to help interpret names that are ambiguous or have not found any plausible interpretation so far, especially if the onomastic material of 1st millenium Greek does not give any decisive clues, e.g.

a-pi-da-ta /*Amp^hi-dajtās*/ : Eur. fr. 147.1 ἀμφὶ δαῖτα καὶ τράπεζαν (cf. GARCÍA RAMÓN 2009: 5)³

o-ku-na-wo /*Ōkunāwos*/ : *H. Apoll.* 155 νῆας τ'ὠκείας⁴

If no corresponding PNN nor syntagms are attested in the Greek world that might help to elucidate the elements underlying a Mycenaean PN, there is still the possibility to operate with synonyms, antonyms or other semantic parallels to make an interpretation more likely than others, as e.g. in the case of *te-u-to* interpreted by MASSON 1972⁵ as τεῦθος ‘cuttlefish’: although there is no such name attested in first millenium Greek, a PN like Σηπία ‘calamar’ shows that PN based on nouns for fish are possible in Greek, hence a Myc. /*T^(h)eu^hos*/ is a not unlikely interpretation (cf. GARCÍA RAMÓN 2009: 3)⁶.

¹ I would like to thank J. L. García Ramón (Cologne) for his manifold advice and help in all matters Mycenaean, J. L. Melena (Vitoria) for his comments and criticisms, and the participants of the colloquium for their helpful comments.

² Cf. the discussion on this and related problems in J. L. GARCÍA RAMÓN, “Mycenaean onomastics,” in *Companion to Mycenaean*, Y. Duhoux (ed.), Louvain-la-Neuve, Walpole – MA 2011, p. 213-251.

³ J. L. GARCÍA RAMÓN, “Mycenaean Onomastics, Poetic Phraseology and Indo-European Comparison: The Man’s Name *pu₂-ke-qi-ri**,” in *East and West. Papers in Indo-European Studies*, K. Yoshida et alii (ed.), Bremen 2009, p. 1-26.

⁴ Cf. also the short form *o-ku-no* /*Ōkunos*/, cf. G. NEUMANN, “Schiffahrt und Seehandel als Thema altgriechischer Personennamen,” in *Ausgewählte Schriften*, E. Badali et alii (ed.), Innsbruck 1994, p. 641-649, and J. L. GARCÍA RAMÓN, *Mycenaean onomastics*, cit. (n. 2), p. 225.

⁵ O. MASSON, “Remarques sur quelques anthroponymes mycéniens,” in *Acta Mycenaea*, p. 281-93.

⁶ Cf. J. L. GARCÍA RAMÓN, *Mycenaean onomastics*, cit. (n. 3)

These assumptions may prove fruitful when looking at Mycenaean PNN for which various interpretations are possible, none of which can claim precedence over its competitors.

(2) po-no-qa-ta

2.1 *po-no-qa-ta*, attested in Pylos (PY Fn 324.15 *po-no-qa-ta* HORD V 1, dat.), and probably in Knossos (KN Da 1341.b [*po-no-qa-ta*] has been interpreted in many different ways,⁷ among them *Πονο-βάτης ‘who walks with difficulty’ (RUIJGH 1967: 355 fn. 14⁸), against which LEUKART 1994: 92⁹ argued that a compound with a noun as a first member used adverbially is unlikely. Leukart himself *loc.cit.* proposes *Πορνο-βάτης,¹⁰ and, alternatively, */*Porn-ok*^h*tās*/ with reference to παρθενοπίτης.¹¹

It was HEUBECK 1958: 116¹² who proposed to see, as Ruijgh later did as well, πόνος as the first element, and -βάτης (: **g^hḡ-tā-*; βαίνω) or -φάτης (**g^hḡ-tā-*; θείνω) as the second. As Heubeck himself did not quote any Homeric passages it may be worthwhile to see if for one of these possibilities the Homeric texts may be of any help.

If we take /*pono-*/ as the indication of the goal of the movement, the formulaic verse, attested three times in Homer, comes to mind, said once of Poseidon and twice of Apollo:

ἔβη θεὸς ἄμ πόνον ἀνδρῶν (Poseidon) in *Il.* 13.239, 16.726 (Apollo) = 17.82

“The god went into the toil of men.”

Since in Homeric and later Greek ἔβη is the suppletive aorist of βαίνω,¹³ nothing would seem to hinder us from assuming that beside the formula *ἔβη ἄμ πόνον ‘he went into battle’ there could have been the same formula with the present stem *βαίνε(ι) ἄμ πόνον. In both cases, of course, the Mycenaean outcome of an agent noun **g^hḡ-tā-* or **g^hh₂-tā-* could be written °*qa-ta* (: Alph. Gk. °βάτης).

Parallel formulations with synonyms or near-synonyms denoting ‘battle’ are

Il. 5. 167, 20. 319 βῆ δ’ ῥ’ ἴμεν ἄν’ τε μάχην “He went off to the battle.”

Il. 15.582, 17.257 ἀντίος ἦλθε θεῶν ἀνὰ δηϊότητα “He rushed against him into the battle.”

Il. 8.88 Ἐκτορος ὠκέες ἵπποι / ἦλθον ἀν’ ἰωχμὸν θρασὺν ἠνίοχον φορέοντες / Ἐκτορα “Hektor’s swift horses went through the crowd,

⁷ Cf. *DMic.*, s.v.: *Πονο-φάντᾱς (O. LANDAU, *Mykenisch-griechische Personennamen*, Göteborg 1958), **Pornopātās* (*Documents*², p. 573).

⁸ C. J. RUIJGH, *Études sur la grammaire et le vocabulaire du grec mycénien*, Amsterdam 1967.

⁹ A. LEUKART, *Die frühgriechischen Nomina auf -tās und -ās*, Vienna 1994.

¹⁰ Cf. C. MILANI, “Oscillazioni vocaliche nel miceneo,” *Aevum* 41 (1967), p. 205-245, esp. p. 207.

¹¹ M. LEJEUNE, *Mémoires* I, p. 308, 315 also pondered -όπτᾱς as second element.

¹² A. HEUBECK, “Griech. βασιλεύς und das Zeichen Nr. 16 in Linear B,” *IF* 63 (1958), p. 113-138.

¹³ Cf. D. KÖLLIGAN, *Suppletion und Defektivität im griechischen Verbum*, Bremen 2007, p. 154-161.

carrying their daring driver Hektor.”

It must be stressed at this point that in the Homeric language *πόνος* ‘hardship, trouble, hard work’ frequently equals *μάχη*, cf. the expression *μάχης πόνος* ‘the toils of battle’ (*Il.* 16.567) and the occurrence of *πόνος* ‘toil, hard word’ and *πολεμήϊα ἔργα* ‘deeds of war’ side by side (*Od.* 12.116):

Il. 16.567 Ζεὺς δ’ ἐπὶ νύκτ’ ὀλοὴν τάνυσε κρατερῆ ὕσμίνῃ,
 ὄφρα φίλῳ περὶ παιδὶ *μάχης* ὀλοὸς *πόνος* εἴη.

“Zeus swept ghastly night far over the strong encounter, that over his dear son there might be deadly work in the fighting.”

Od. 12.116 σχέτλιε, καὶ δὴ αὖ τοι *πολεμήϊα ἔργα* μέμηλε
 καὶ *πόνος*, οὐδὲ θεοῖσιν ὑπεῖξεται ἀθανάτοισιν;

“Reckless one, even now your mind is on warlike deeds, and hard work. Won’t you yield to gods immortal?” (said to Ulysses)

The same applies to cases where *πόνος* stands alone:

Il. 6.77 Αἰνεΐα τε καὶ Ἴκτορ, ἐπεὶ *πόνος* ὕμμι μάλιστα
 Τρώων καὶ Λυκίων ἐγκέκλιται

“Hektor and Aineias, on you beyond others is leaning the battle-work of Trojans and Lycians.”

The image reoccurs in Theognis vv. 986f. where the *πόνος ἀνδρῶν* is a synonym of ‘battle’:

οὐδ’ ἵππων ὀρμὴ γίνεται ὠκυτέρῃ / αἶτε ἄνακτα φέρουσι δορυσσόον ἐς
πόνον ἀνδρῶν

“And there is no faster charging of horses bringing their master to the spear-shaking toil of men.”

In Homer, *πόνος* can, like *πόλεμος*, also denote the ‘place of battle’:

Il. 14.428f. τὸν δ’ ἄρ’ ἑταῖροι / χερσὶν ἀείραντες *φέρουν ἐκ πόνου*

“His companions caught him in their arms and carried him out of the battlefield.”

cf. *Il.* 5.664 ἐξέφερον πολέμοιο

The parallelism between *πόνος* and *μάχη* does not end, here, though. Also in Greek PNN we find a number of corresponding forms, as noted already by TRÜMPY 1950:

148-9¹⁴, cf. the following data (from BECHTEL 1917¹⁵), in which we can assume that πόνος is synonymous with μάχη:

Εὔπονος	Εὔμαχος, Εὐπόλεμος (BECHTEL 1917: 375 ¹⁶)
Μνασίπυλος	Μνασίμαχος, ¹⁷ Μνασιπτόλεμος
Θαρσίπυλος	Θερσίμαχος, Θρασύμαχος, Θαρσόμαχος
Καλλίπυλος	Καλλίμαχος
Λυσίπυλος	Λυσίμαχος
Παντάπυλος	Πάμμαχος, Πασίμαχος
Τεισίπυλος	Τεισίμαχος

From the *LGPN*¹⁸ we may add:

Ἀλεξίπυλος	Ἀλεξίμαχος
Φιλόπυλος	Φιλέμαχος
Φερέπυλος	--- ¹⁹

We can therefore conclude that the phraseological and onomastic evidence adduced makes it an attractive solution to view *po-no-qa-ta* as a name presenting its bearer as the one 'going to war', i.e. /*Pono-g^watās*/ which seems to be supported by the Homeric syntagm ἔβη ἄμ' πόνον.

Against this, though, one has to admit that there are few compound names in -βάτης/-βατος, and none of them combines with μάχη, πόνος, δαί- or some similar word for 'war' or 'battle', but rather with adjectives or adverbs indicating the manner of motion ('making wide strides' etc.), e.g. Δεινο-βάτης, Εὐ-βάτας, Εὔβατος, Εὐρύ-βατος, Εὐρυ-βάτης, Ὑπέρ-βατος, Ὑπερ-βάτᾱς.

2.2 It might therefore be good to look for other possibilities. The first author to consider the second element as based on πάομαι 'possess; acquire' was to my knowledge GEORGIEV 1956: 52ff.²⁰ who interpreted the form as Πονο-πάστᾱς. GARCÍA RAMÓN 2000²¹ has made the case for the existence of a number of names containing the Myc. form of Class. πάομαι* and suggested that *e-to-ro-qa-ta* can be understood as /*est^hlo-*

¹⁴ H. TRÜMPY, *Kriegerische Fachausdrücke im griechischen Epos: Untersuchungen zum Wortschatze Homers*, Basel 1950.

¹⁵ F. BECHTEL, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit*, Halle/S. 1917.

¹⁶ F. BECHTEL, *Historische Personennamen*, cit. (n. 15).

¹⁷ Cf. οὐ πολέμοιο ἐμῶντο *Il.*2.686; μῶνont' ὀλοοῖο φόβοιο *Il.*7.1.

¹⁸ P. M. FRASER *et alii*, *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, Oxford 1987.

¹⁹ No PN attested, but cf. the epic adj. φερεπτόλεμος 'war-like' (Paus. 10.9.11 νηυσὶ φερεπτολέμοισι).

²⁰ V. I. GEORGIEV, "La valeur phonétique de quelques signes du syllabaire créto-mycénien B," in *Études Mycéniennes*, p. 51-81.

²¹ J. L. GARCIA RAMON, "Mycénien *qa-sa-ko* /*Kwās-ark^hos*/, Grec alphabétique Πάσαρχος, Κτήσαρχος et le dossier de **kmā(s)*- dans la langue des tablettes," in *Philokypros. Mélanges de philologie et d'antiquités grecques et proche-orientales dédiés à la mémoire d'Olivier Masson*, Minos Supplementa 16, Salamanca 2000, p. 153-176.

(k)k^wā(s)tās/ “celui qui a obtenu des choses nobles, des distinctions” for which one can compare the Pindaric line

P. 8.73 εἰ γὰρ τις ἐσλὰ πέπαται μὴ σὺν μακρῷ πόνῳ
 “if somebody has acquired good things without long labour”

and numerous parallels with κτάομαι and both synonyms or words from the same semantic field like ἐσθλός and its opposite κακός, cf. PN Φιλοκτήτης, Καλλιπάτας (: Soph. *Ai.* 1360 Τοιούσδ’ ἐπαινεῖς δῆτα σὺ κτᾶσθαι φίλους;), Soph. *El.* 1003f. Ὅρα ... μὴ μείζω κακὰ κτησώμεθ(α), etc.

Based on this assumption, the interpretation of *po-no-qa-ta* as being simply the opposite of *e-to-ro-qa-ta*, i.e. “one who has acquired hardship” seems a perfectly reasonable interpretation and again it is not difficult to find similar phrasings in post-Homeric texts, e.g. Hdt. 7.24.1 πόνον λαβόντας, A. *Ag.* 835 ἄχθος διπλοῖζει τῷ πεπαμένῳ νόσον “the pain is double for him who has got a disease”, Eur. *Or.* 543 συμφορὰς ἐκτίσατο, etc.²²

Maybe, though, one can go a step further in the interpretation of the name’s meaning: if, once more, one looks at the Homeric texts, one cannot fail to notice the frequent occurrence of the syntagm πόνον ἔχειν which can either literally mean ‘to have trouble, toils’ as probably in *Il.* 5.667, or be used as a poetic synonym of ‘to fight’, i.e. πόνον ἔχειν equals μάχεσθαι, e.g. in *Il.* 15.416:

Il. 5.667 τοῖον γὰρ ἔχον πόνον ἀμφιέποντες.
 “such hard work did they have attending him.” (classified by the *LfrgrE*²³
 s.v. as ‘fight’)

Il. 15.416 τῶ δὲ μιῆς περὶ νηὸς ἔχον πόνον
 “These two (Hektor and Aias) were fighting hard for a single ship.”

cf. the collocation μάχην ἐμάχοντο immediately before ἔχον πόνον, describing exactly the same situation:

Il. 15. 414 ἄλλοι δ’ ἀμφ’ ἄλλησι μάχην ἐμάχοντο νέεσσι
 “others were fighting by the ships in various places”

Strictly parallel to πόνον ἔχω, the collocation πόνον τίθημι is used as ‘to cause trouble for s.o.’, cf.

Il. 21.524 ὧς Ἀχιλεὺς Τρώεσσι πόνον καὶ κήδε’ ἔθηκεν
 “so Achilleus inflicted labour and sorrow upon the Trojans.”

²² Cf. J. L. GARCIA RAMON, *qa-sa-ko*, cit. (n. 21), p. 164-168.

²³ B. SNELL, *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos*, Göttingen 1979.

The same expression occurs also next to δῆρις ‘fight, battle’:

Il. 17.158 ἀνδράσι δυσμενέεσσι πόνον καὶ δῆριν ἔθεντο
“[they] inflict toil and battle on their evil-minded enemies”

Finally, the denominal πονέω ‘suffer, toil, work hard’ (: Myc. *po-ne-to /ponētoi/ PY Eq 36*)²⁴ occurs next to ὑσμίνη ‘battle’ (*Il.* 5.84) and metonymically also means ‘fight’ on its own (*Il.* 4.372, 13.288):

Il. 5.84 Ὡς οἱ μὲν πονέοντο κατὰ κρατερὴν ὑσμίνην
“Thus they were toiling in the hard battle.”

Il. 4.372 οὐ μὲν Τυδεΐ γ’ ὄδε φίλον πτωσκαζέμεν ἦεν,
ἀλλὰ πολὺ πρὸ φίλων ἐτάρων δηϊοῖσι μάχεσθαι,
ὡς φάσαν οἱ μιν ἴδοντο πονέμενον
“Tydeus surely was not wont to cower, but to fight against the enemies far ahead of his comrades, as they tell who saw him fighting (‘toiling’).”

Il. 13.288 εἴ περ γάρ κε βλεῖτο πονέμενος ἢ ἐ τυπείης
“Even if you were to be wounded with a cast or stroke of a spear while fighting (‘toiling’)”

Thus, a */Pono-k^wastās/*, originally *‘one who gets sorrow/toil’, might also denote the one ‘who fights’, ‘who has the toils of war’ (: ὁ μαχόμενος), for which one might also compare the PNN Μάχης, Μαχάτας and Μάχων (ptc. or “short form”). The fact that there does not seem to be a syntagm *πόνον ἐπασάμην / πέπαμαι = πόνον ἔχω in Greek, is not a major difficulty, if one accepts the equations

πόνος	μάχη
πόνον ἔχω	μάχομαι
πάομαι	κτάομαι
πέπαμαι	ἔχω

In my opinion this periphrasis for μάχομαι can be understood as part of the common Indo-European stylistic device – described by WATKINS 2001: 165ff.²⁵ – of using the simple verb in conjunction with a periphrasis of the same semantic content with a noun and a semantically more or less empty auxiliary, as, for instance, in

Aesch. fr. 44.1-2 ἔρᾱ μὲν ἀγνὸς οὐρανὸς τρῶσαι χθόνα
ἔρως δὲ γαῖαν λαμβάνει γάμου τυχεῖν
“Holy heaven yearns to wound the earth / and yearning seizes earth to join in mating.”

²⁴ Cf. on this form T. MEIBNER, “Two Mycenaean Problems,” in *Indo-European Perspectives: Studies in Honour of Anna Morpurgo Davies*, J. H. W. PENNEY (ed.), Oxford 2004, p. 258-265, esp. 262-64.

²⁵ C. WATKINS, *How to kill a dragon : aspects of Indo-European poetics*, New York 2001.

In any case, a /Pono-*k^wastās*/ seen in this light would be based on a literary periphrasis taken from the ‘warrior language’.

(3) a-no-ze-we

The name *a-no-ze-we* (PY Cn 600.13)²⁶ may be a compound with a first element /Anor-/ ‘man’, cf. *a-no-me-de* /Anor-mēdēs/ (PY Jn 706.5) ~ μήδεα (τ’) ἀνδρῶν (Il. 2.340), PN Ἀνδρομήδης, *a-no-qo-ta* /Anor-*k^{wh}ontās*/ ‘killing men’ (KN Da 1289.B etc.) ~ Ἀνδρο-φόντης, etc. Under this assumption, the question remains what the second element of the compound could be. In view of spellings like *ka-zo-e* from **kak̄ios*- ‘worse’, whatever the exact phonetic quality of the group /k̄i/ was in Mycenaean,²⁷ it is at least possible that *-ze-we* conceals the outcome of /k̄iewej/ or /k̄iewēs/.²⁸ This might allow the hypothesis that the second member goes back to PIE **k̄ieu-* ‘to set (oneself) in motion, to stir, to rush forward’,²⁹ i.e. Alphabetic Greek aor. ἔσσυτο (H.+), impf. tr. ἔσσευε (H.+), prs. σεύω, σεύομαι (Bacchyl.+), cf.

active ‘impel, sling, make run’:

Il. 20.325 Αἰνεῖαν δ’ ἔσσευεν ἀπὸ χθονὸς ὑψὸς ἀείρας
“but he lifted Aineias high from the ground, and slung him through the air”

As for the middle forms, for which a distribution °ἔσσυτο :: °ἔσσεύοντο is well attested (hence the impf. 3pl. functions as the iterative-distributive counterpart of the aorist)³⁰, cf.

²⁶ Various interpretations have been attempted over time, among them **Αἰνοξευής*, metathesis of **Αἰνοσκευής* (cf. *a-no-ke-we*), M. LEJEUNE, “Les sifflantes fortes du mycénien,” *Minos* 6 (1958), p. 87-137, esp. p. 94; **Ανοσκευής* (Mühlestein); **Ανωγεύς* (~ Ἀνώγων; Georgiev, LEJEUNE, *Mémoires* I, p. 188 fn. 3), cf. F. AURA JORRO, *Diccionario micénico*, cit. (n. 7), s.v. In the interpretation presented here the forms *a-no-ke-we* (attested in Knossos and Pylos, KN Db 1261.B, PY An 192.13, nom.) and *a-no-ke-wa* (PY An 192.5) are unrelated. Cf. M. LEJEUNE, *Mémoires* I, p. 188 fn. 3, P. WATHELET, *Les traits éoliens dans la langue de l'épopée grecque*, Rome 1970, p. 118-119, M. LINDGREN, *The people of Pylos: methodological and prosopographical investigations in the Pylos archives*, Stockholm 1973, v. II p. 76: “Anokewe ... may be a variant spelling of the name Anozewe (Cn 600.13), though this is far from certain.”, D. NAKASSIS, *The Individual and the Mycenaean State: Agency and Prosopography in the Linear B Texts from Pylos*, Ph.D., University of Texas at Austin, 2006, p. 389.

²⁷ On the question of the z-series of signs cf. MORPURGO-DAVIES (this volume), MELENA *forthcoming*: §3.1.1.2.

²⁸ Cf. F. M. J. WAANDERS, *An analytic study of Mycenaean compounds*, Pisa 2008, p. 51 who also connects °*-ze-we* with σεύομαι.

²⁹ According to G. NEUMANN, “Deutungsvorschläge zu mykenischen Namen,” in *Mykenaiika*, p. 433-441, esp. p. 435f. and G. NEUMANN, *Wertvorstellungen und Ideologie in den Personennamen der mykenischen Griechen*, Vienna 1995, p. 146 *su-di-ni-ko* and **su-we-ro-wo* would contain Alph. Gk. σευ/συ, as well. But the spelling with <s-> speaks against this.

³⁰ J. L. GARCÍA RAMÓN, “Indogermanische Wurzelpresentia und innere Rekonstruktion,” in *Früh-, Mittel-, Spätindogermanisch. Akten der IX. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft vom 5. bis 9. Oktober 1992 in Zürich*, G. E. Dunkel (ed.), Wiesbaden 1994, p. 53-75.

middle 'to rush, run for, speed':

Il. 2.808 αἶψα δ' ἔλυσ' ἀγορήν· ἐπὶ τεύχεα δ' ἔσσεύοντο
πᾶσαι δ' ὠίγνυντο πύλαι, ἐκ δ' ἔσσυτο λαὸς

"[Hektor] immediately dissolved the assembly; and they [the warriors] rushed to their weapons; all the doors were opened, and the army rushed out."

The PNN Εὔσυτος (Boeotia) and Σύμενος (Attica, Lindos; Plin. *NH* 34.91, cf. BECHTEL 1917³¹) match the middle forms of σευο/ε- and probably mean 'good speed' and 'rushing'. A zero-grade³² *s*-stem is attested in the PN Εὐ-σύης (Ἐφέσιος), which presupposes a form *σύος 'impetus, rush'.³³

The same meaning is found in the adjective θεόσσυτος 'sent by a god' (Aesch. *Prom.*)³⁴, whereas the active meaning 'driving on, impelling' is seen in the adjective λαοσσός 'stirring up the warriors', an epithet of Ares, Eris, Athena and Apollo in Homer, cf. *Il.* 17.398 Ἄρης λαοσσός, 20.48 Ἔρις κρατερὴ λαοσσός, 13.128 Ἀθηναίη λαοσσός, 20.79 Αἰνείαν δ' ἰθὺς λαοσσός ὄρσεν Ἀπόλλων, etc.³⁵

The idea of 'driving on/stirring up the warriors/the war/struggle' underlies PNN built with other elements, as well, cf. Ὀρμησί-λεως with στράτευμα ὄρμα (Hdt. 8.106), Ὀρσί-μαχος (Boeotia) with μάχην ὀρνύμεν (*Il.* 9.353) and the epithet of Athena (Bacch. 15.3) Παλλάδος ὀρσιμάχου.³⁶

One may also compare the use of ὀτρύνω 'drive on, urge on' in Homer, which is also frequently used with PNN or the name of a people (Ἀχαιοὺς etc.) and an infinitive of purpose (μάχεσθαι etc.), and that of ὀρμάω and ὀρνυμι, cf.

1) ὀτρύνω: *Il.* 3.249 ὄτρυνεν δὲ γέροντα, *Il.* 4.254 φάλαγγας, *Il.* 4.268 κάρη κομόωντας Ἀχαιοὺς etc.; 'stir, impel the battle': *Il.* 12.277 μάχην ὄτρυνον Ἀχαιῶν; with acc. obj. and infinitive: *Il.* 2.451 διέσσυτο λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν / ὀτρύνουσ' ἰέναι

2) ὀρμάω: *Il.* 6.337 νῦν δέ με παρειποῦσ' ἄλοχος μαλακοῖς ἐπέεσσιν / ὄρμησ' ἐς πόλεμον 'But now my wife was trying to convince me with soft words and urging me into the fight.'; 'stir, incite a battle', *Od.* 18.376 πόλεμον ... ὀρμήσειε Κρονίων.

³¹ F. BECHTEL, *Historische Personennamen*, cit. (n. 15), p. 413.

³² In principle one would of course expect a full grade *σεύος and °σευής (like μένος : °μενής), cf. ved. *tr̥su-cyāvas-* 'moving eagerly', v. *infra*.

³³ Cf. also G. NEUMANN, "Deutungsvorschläge zu mykenischen Namen.", cit. (n. 29), p. 435f.

³⁴ 116 τίς ἀχώ, τίς ὀδμὰ προσέπτα μ' ἀφεγγής / θεόσσυτος, ἢ βρότειος, ἢ κεκραμένη, 596 θεόσσυτον νόσον, 643 θεόσσυτον χειμῶνα. θεόσσυτος was apparently coined by Aeschylus, cf. also παλίσσυτος (S., Eur.), ἐπίσσυτος (A., Eur.), κραιπνόσσυτος (A.), λαβρόσσυτος (A.) etc.

³⁵ Cf. also the Scholia, ad *Il.* 13.128 ἢ ὀρμῶσα ἢ σφίζουσα τοὺς συμμαχομένους ἢ σοβοῦσα τοὺς ἐναντίους, ad *Il.* 17.392 ὁ τοὺς λαοὺς παρορμῶν· φησὶ γὰρ "ὄρσε δὲ τοὺς μὲν Ἄρης, τοὺς δὲ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη" (Δ 439), ad *Il.* 20.48 (Ἔρις κρατερὴ λαοσσός;) ἢ τοὺς λαοὺς σεύουσα καὶ παρορμῶσα. Cf. also the epithet of Athene ἐγρε-κυδοῖμος 'waking, stirring the din of battle' in Hes. *Th.* 925 and Lamprocl.

³⁶ J. L. GARCÍA RAMÓN, "Indogermanische Dichtersprache, Phraseologie und griechische Onomastik", in *Sprachkontakt und Sprachwandel. Akten der XI. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft, 17.-23. September 2000, Halle an der Saale, G. Meiser et alii* (ed.), Wiesbaden 2005, p. 118-138, esp. p. 125-126.

3) ὄρνυμι, aor. ὄρσε: *Il.* 4.515 Ἀχαιοὺς / ὄρσε Διὸς θυγάτηρ κυδίστη Τριτογένεια, *Il.* 13.83, 125 γαιήοχος ὄρσεν Ἀχαιοῦς, *Il.* 19.41 ὄρσεν δ' ἥρωας Ἀχαιοῦς, *Il.* 20.79 Αἰνείαν δ' ἰθὺς λαοσσόος ὄρσεν Ἀπόλλων

Let us briefly turn to comparative evidence. Gk. ὄστος has a counterpart in Vedic °*cyutá-* ‘impelled’ (RV 2.17.3 *vicyutās*, more frequently *acyutá-* ‘unshaken, unshakeable’), and the same applies to PN Σύμενος which has an *aequabile cyánāna-*, the participle in *-āna-* built to this root, which is used 9x as a PN of a Ṛṣi and twice as an adj. (RV 6.62.7, 10.115.6).³⁷ With ὄσοός one may compare Ved. °*cyavá-* in *bhuvana-cyavá-* ‘shaking the earth’ (RV 10.103.9 *bhuvanacyavānām ... devānām* ‘of the gods who make the world tremble’, PIE **k̑io/eu-ó-*). Semantically, albeit not formally, λαοσσόος corresponds to the divine epithets *ἡῖμός cyautná-* (RV 10.50.4) and *cyánano jánānām* (RV 10.69.6), and the base form *cyu* itself also occurs with *jána-* ‘people’ (RV 1.37.12 *jánām acucyavītana* ‘you (Maruts) have shattered the people’), cf.

cyautná- ‘deed, work’, usually ntr. nomen actionis (cf. av. *šiiioθana-* ntr.), once masc.:³⁸

RV 10.50.4 *bhúvas tvám indra bráhmaṇā mahān*

bhúvo víśveṣu sávaneṣu yajñtyaḥ

bhúvo ἡῖμός cyautnó víśvasmin bháre

jyéṣṭhaś ca mántro víśvacarṣaṇe

“You, Indra, have become great through the prayer, you have become worthy of sacrifice in all libations. You have become the one who impels men in all battles and the best adviser, you who are best known.”

cyávana-:

RV 10.69.6 *śúra iva dhṛṣṇmís cyávano jánānām*

tvám agne pṛtanāyúmr abhí syāḥ

“Like a bold hero, impelling the people, o Agni, may you subdue the men who long for battle.”

As for the *-s-*stem, ὄσύης in Εὐ-σύης has a parallel in Ved. °*cyávas-* (RV 6.66.10 *ṛṣucyávaso juhvò nágnéh* ‘moving eagerly like the tongues of Agni’, beside *ṛṣu-cyút-*, RV 1.140.3) with the expected full grade of the type εὐ-μενής ‘well-disposed, kind’, hence it is not unlikely that Greek had a form ὄσεύης at some point in its prehistory, as well.

Finally, the question of word-formation: if the second element goes back to **k̑ieu-* one would have to assume a governing compound with a verbal second element, made into an *-s-*stem **k̑ieu-e/os-* (PGk. **ȓeues-*) with full grade, as against the zero grade found in Εὐ-σύης, thus **h₂nȓ-k̑ieu-ēs* ‘impelling men’, or, more likely, a possessive compound ‘having the impulse/impelling of men/warriors’.

³⁷ J. L. GARCÍA RAMÓN, “Védico cyánāna- : Griego Σύμενος (Rodas),” *Minerva* 13 (1999), p. 55-65.

³⁸ Cf. M. MAYRHOFER, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*, Heidelberg 1992, v. I, p. 554.

(4) *da-i-pi-ta*

In the case of *da-i-pi-ta*, attested in **KN B 799.1**, LEUKART 1994: 85 (§59)³⁹ proposed an interpretation as a compound ‘who stands firm in battle’, /*dā^hi-p^histās*/ “der im Kampf ausharrt”, built on the root PIE **b^heid^h*- in its meaning ‘to wait, to endure’ as in Germanic (: Goth. *beidan*, OHG *bītan*, MHG *b ten*).⁴⁰ While the first member seems straightforward, the problem is what °*pi-ta* actually conceals. From a formal point of view, one should bear in mind that /-*tā*-/ may be an onomastic variant of /-*to*-/.⁴¹

Compound PNN of a different type with a meaning similar to the one proposed by Leukart are attested in Alphabetic Greek: Μενέμαχος, Μιμνόμαχος, Μενεπτόλεμος, Μενέχαρμος (cf. the adj. in H. μενεπτόλεμος, μενέχαρμος and μενεχάρμης) and Μίμνερμος.⁴² The first element *dāi*- ‘battle’ also occurs in Δαϊμένης (with the second member of the compound from μένος rather than μένω/μίμνω), and probably Μενεδάϊος (Sparta) in Bechtel’s interpretation, who compares *Il.* 13.476f. μένεν Ἴδομενεὺς ... Αἰνεῖαν ἐπιόντα, if this is not a “short form” of Μενέδαμος, cf. the collocation of δηϊότης, the abstract noun derived from δηϊός which in turn is derived from **dās*- ‘battle’, and °μένω in

Il. 16.814 ... οὐδ’ ὑπέμεινε / Πάτροκλον γυμνόν περ ἐόντ’ ἐν δηϊοτῆτι
“...not enduring to face Patroklos, naked as he was, in close combat.”

Similarly, with ἵσταμαι ἀντί ‘to stand against (enemies)’,

Il. 8.233 Τρώων ἄνθ’ ἑκατόν τε διηκοσίων τε ἕκαστος / στήσεσθ’ ἐν
πολέμῳ
“...how each man could stand up against a hundred or even two hundred
Trojans in the fighting”

Homeric passages with the same collocation as Μενέμαχος, i.e. with synonyms for ‘battle’ (ὕσμινη, μάχη, δηϊότης) in the dative-locative, and a form of μένω can be found in

Il. 13.713 οὐ γάρ σφι σταδίη ὕσμινη μίμνε φίλον κῆρ
“The heart was not in them to endure in close-standing combat.”

³⁹ A. LEUKART, *Nomina auf -tās und -ās*, cit. (n. 9).

⁴⁰ Cf. *DMic.*, s.v. for other proposals, among them **dait-p^hidtai* ‘apportioner of rations’ (H. MÜHLESTEIN, “Deutung einiger Linear-B-Wörter,” in *Studia Mycenaea*, p. 113-116, and a relationship with Δηϊοπίτης in *Il.* 11.420 (GALLAVOTTI *apud* M. DURANTE, “Etimologie greche,” *SMEA* 11 (1970), p. 43-57). Melena (p.c.) interprets *da-i-pi-ta* as a PN of non-Greek origin.

⁴¹ For this one might compare the variants noted under (2), Εὐ-βάτας : Εὐβατος, Εὐρύ-βατος : Εὐρυβάτης, Ὑπέρ-βατος : Ὑπερ-βάτας, cf. also Τροχίλος : Τροχίλλας (-ιλῆς), *o-ki-ro* /Ork^hilos/ : *o-ki-ra* /Ork^hil(l)ās/, etc.

⁴² Cf. Neumann, *Wertvorstellungen*, cit. (n. 29), p. 134-135 and p. 138 fn. 22 who interprets Ἐρμο- in Ἐρμο-δάμας, -μαχος, -κώδης and as second member in Ἀνάξ-ερμος, Ἄρχ-, Χαγήσ-, Νικήσ- as ‘line of battle, row of warriors’, cf. ἔρμα ‘band, noose; pl. ear-rings’.

Il. 16.145 ἵππους δ' Αὐτομέδοντα θοῶς ζευγνῦμεν ἄνωγε,
τὸν μετ' Ἀχιλλῆα ῥηξήνορα τῖε μάλιστα,
πιστότατος δέ οἱ ἔσκε μάχη ἐνι μεῖναι ὁμοκλήν.

"[Patroklos] ordered Automedon to harness the horses quickly, a man he honoured most, after Achilleus, the breaker of men, who stood most firmly by him against the turmoil of battle."

Thus 'to remain/stand firm in battle' is well supported by phraseology. However, the *crux* of Leukart's interpretation is the question what the root **b^heid^h-* could have meant in the Greek of the 2nd millenium B.C. Since in Alphabetic Greek *πειθομαι* means 'to follow, obey, be convinced, etc.' which may easily be derived from 'to put one's trust in s.o., to deem s.o. / s.th. trustworthy', there is no need to assume a meaning 'to stand firm' for the Greek and it does not impose itself as an interpretation for *da-i-pi-ta*. On the other hand, it is of course a noteworthy trait of a warrior to be reliable in battle, as many Homeric lines indicate. A warrior need not only trust in his own power, (*Il.* 4.324), but also in his comrades (*Od.* 16.79) and be trustworthy himself (*Il.* 16.145, v. *supra*):

αἰχμὰς δ' αἰχμάσσουσι νεώτεροι, οἳ περ ἐμεῖο
ὀπλότεροι γεγάασι πεποίθασίν τε βίηφιν.

"Let the young men do the spear-fighting – they are born of a generation later than mine and trust in their own strength."

ἧ τι κασιγνήτοις ἐπιμέμφεαι, οἷσί περ ἀνήρ
μαρναμένοισι πέποιθε, καὶ εἰ μέγα νεῖκος ὄρηται

"Do you in some way fault your brothers, in whom a man trusts as fighters / while they are fighting, even if a great dispute breaks out?" (repeated in *Od.* 16.115f.)

The meaning of the Germanic word-family based on PIE **b^heid^h-* (: Goth. *beidan* 'to wait, to endure', etc.) can be understood as deriving from this basic meaning preserved in Greek, 'to trust in', whence 'to hope for, to wait for', as has been shown by BENVENISTE 1969: I.115-121.⁴³ Indeed, most of the passages in the Gothic Bible translation can still be understood in this sense, cf. St. Simeon who confidently awaits the coming consolation of Israel:

Lk. 2.25 *paruh was manna in Iairusalem, þizei namo Swmaion, jah sa manna was garaihts jah gudafaurhts, beidands laþonais Israelis, jah ahma weihs was ana imma*

καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος ἦν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ ᾧ ὄνομα Συμεών, καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος δίκαιος καὶ εὐλαβής, προσδεχόμενος παράκλησιν τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, καὶ πνεῦμα ἦν ἅγιον ἐπ' αὐτόν

⁴³ É. BENVENISTE, *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes*, Paris 1969.

“And, behold, there was a man in Jerusalem, whose name was Simeon; and the same man was just and devout, waiting for the consolation of Israel: and the Holy Ghost was upon him.”

and Joseph of Arimathea who is described as hoping for the kingdom of God:

Mk. 15.43 *qimands Iosef af Areimathaias, gaguds ragineis, saei was <jah> silba beidands biudangardjos gudis, anananbjands galaip inn du Peilatau jah bab þis leikis Iesus.*

Ἐλθὼν Ἰωσήφ [ὁ] ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθαίας εὐσχήμων βουλευτής, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν προσδεχόμενος τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, τολμήσας εἰσῆλθεν πρὸς τὸν Πιλάτον καὶ ἠτήσατο τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ.

“Joseph of Arimathaea, an honourable counsellor, who also waited for the kingdom of God, came, and went in boldly unto Pilate, and craved the body of Jesus.”

Similarly in Mt. 11.3 *beidan* translates προσδοκάω:

þú is sa qimanda þau anþarizuh beidaima?

σὺ εἶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἢ ἕτερον προσδοκῶμεν;

“Are you he that should come, or do we look for another?”

Finally, also Latin *fidēs* analyzed by Benveniste (*loc. cit.*) as ‘crédit, crédibilité’, seems to suggest that the basic meaning of **b^heid^h-* was ‘trust one is worthy of in somebody else’s eyes’, hence Gk. πιστός ‘trustworthy, reliable’, i.e. ‘possessing (someone else’s) *fides*’ < **b^hid^h-to-*, with the suffix *-to-* in its possessive function as in χόλος ‘gall’ → χολωτός ‘angry, provided with gall’ and Lat. *barba* : *barbātus*.

If the interpretation of the second element of *da-i-pi-ta* as related to and reflecting the inherited sense of PIE **b^heid^h-* is correct, we should therefore rather operate with the meaning ‘trust, πείθομαι, *fīdō*’ than ‘stand firm, endure’. The basic non-onomastic epithet may thus have been **/dāhipistos/* ‘trustworthy, reliable in battle’. The only names given by Bechtel⁴⁴ formed with the adj. πιστός are precisely in this semantic field, viz. Εὐπιστος ‘good to trust’ and Ἀξιόπιστος ‘worthy of trust’, most probably on the battlefield (cf. the adj. εὐπιστος (Soph.+) ‘easy to believe; trustworthy’ and ἀξιόπιστος (Pl.) ‘trustworthy’).

An extra assumption one would have to make is that the name was remodelled from a stem in *-to-* to one in *-tā-* without changing its meaning or that *da-i-pi-ta* had an active interpretation from the start and is to be taken as an agent noun not attested in Alphabetic Greek (**(^o)πίστᾱς), thus ‘who makes (his comrades) trust / who conveys confidence in battle’ or ‘who has confidence (in his comrades) in battle’, formally comparable to *ra-wa-ke-ta* // *lāwāgetās* / ‘leader of the army’.⁴⁵ The active-causative

⁴⁴ F. BECHTEL, *Historische Personennamen*, cit. (n. 15).

⁴⁵ A. LEUKART, *Nomina auf -tās und -ās*, cit. (n. 9), p. 68-70.

meaning is found in the reduplicated aorist of πείθομαι, πεπιθεῖν ‘to make s.b. trust, to convince’ (*H. Apoll.* 275 πέπιθε φρένας ‘convinced his mind’ < *‘made him trust’, *Il.* 10.204 οὐκ ἄν δῆ τις ἀνήρ πεπιθοιθ’ ἐῶ αὐτοῦ / θυμῷ “is there no one who trusts himself” [*sc.* to go into the Trojan camp]), and conveying confidence is an activity of both gods and heroes in the battle field.⁴⁶

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⁴⁶ Cf. with ὀτρύνω *Il.* 5.792 and 6.72 (Hera and Nestor respectively impelling the warriors), *Il.* 5.809f. Ὡς εἰποῦσ’ / εἰπὼν ὀτρυνε μένος καὶ θυμὸν ἐκάστου “With these words (s)he stirred the spirit and strength in each man.” In *Il.* 5.809f. Athena promises Diomedes to stand by him in battle: σοὶ δ’ ἦτοι μὲν ἐγὼ παρά θ’ ἵσταμαι ἠδὲ φυλάσσω, / καὶ σε προφρονέως κέλομαι Τρώεσσι μάχεσθαι “Now I will stand by your side and watch over you, and I urge you to fight confidently with the Trojans.”, next to πείθομαι *Il.* 12.468 τοὶ δ’ ὀτρύνοντι πίθοντο “they obeyed his urging”. With θαρσύνω ‘to encourage’ e.g. *Il.* 4.33 τοὺς μάλιστα θαρσύνεσκε παριστάμενος ἐπέεσσιν “Standing by their side, he would encourage them with the following words”, etc.

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