THE SUFFIX -υλο/α- IN THE MYCENAEAN PERSONAL NAMES

§ 1. The suffix -ro/-lo, which in Classical Greek does not show great productivity\(^1\), is quite frequent in Mycenaean personal names. Out of about 2,000 Mycenaean personal names nearly 300 end in -ro/-ra, -ri/a-jo, where this suffix might be expected. In Classical Greek -λo- is preceded by a short or long vowel with which it forms an independent suffix: -ἀλ(λ)ο-, -ελ(λ)ο-, -ιλ(λ)ο-, -ολ(λ)ο- and -υλ(λ)ο-. In Mycenaean the ending -ro is also preceded by the same vowels, but their quantity cannot be seen from the script. As an examination of all the variations with the suffix -ro/lo in Mycenaean would exceed the limits of a paper, we shall here be dealing only with the suffix -υλ(λ)ο/α-.

The suffix -υλο- is represented together with -υρο- in the ending -υ-ro. It is documented in 38 examples, of which only two are appellatives (a-ku-ro ἄργυρος and me-re-u-ro melétron, μόλυβρον, ἀλευρον), three place-names (pu-ro Πύλος, ma-lo(-ro)-pu-ro Μάτρουπος and go-ro-mu-ro Bromulos?), and all the others (33) are personal names. Of eleven examples in -u-ra three are fragments (]-nu-ra, perhaps ?ki]-nu-ra MN, ]-pu-ra, poss. ??ko]-pu-ra, and ]-su-ra ?ri]-su-ra MN), two nouns (a-ro-u-ra ἀρουρα and possibly me-tu-ra), one or two technical terms (ko-u-ra, qualifying pa-we-a φόραξ and perhaps ko-pu-ra), one ethnic (ze-pu_2-ra_3 Ζέ-φυρακι), and the other three or four examples are personal names. Derivations from -υλο/-υρο- with the suffix -io- are represented in the endings -υ-ri-jo, -υ-ρο, documented in 14 examples, among which there is only one noun (tu-ρο τυρός?), one adjective (po-pu-ro_2 πορφύρεος?) and one or two place-names (re-pu-ri-jo and perhaps wi-nu-ri-jo). All the other (10 or 11) examples are personal names.

names. Some short forms in -u (about two or three), which might have some relation to the names in -ulo/-uro, are also to be added here. There are altogether about 50 personal names in -u-ro/a, -u-ri-jo, of which at least one half contain the suffix -l.

These names have already been examined. To some of the earlier interpretations there is nothing to be added, but some of them need certain corrections. Besides, there are names not yet identified, which we shall try to identify here together with some newly discovered names.

§ 2. In the interpretation of these names one encounters the same difficulties as in the other Mycenaean personal names.

a) As has been already pointed out, due to the spelling conventions of the Linear B script, very often both the phonological form and the morphological structure of the names are obscured. In some cases it is difficult to say whether the name ends in -lo or -ro (cf. below: a-pa-u-ro, ku-ro₂, wi-du-ro, etc.).

The multiple value of the syllabic signs almost always allows different readings and interpretations of the names. We can be sure in our interpretation, as Dr J. Chadwick often says, «only when we have clear parallels in Classical Greek and the name is long enough to exclude alternative identifications». But the majority of Mycenaean personal names are short, and there is no objective criterion with the help of which we could prefer one explanation to other, since the semantic value of the personal names cannot be confirmed from the context, as is the case with some appellatives. Thus, in their identification only the etymological method can be applied. But it can lead us astray, if we do not keep in mind Greek onomastic patterns and tradition, which are much more important than the theoretical transliterations and deductions of the names.

b) No less difficulty is caused by the comparative onomastic material from the first millennium, because it is not collected in

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1 Cf. Documents, pp. 414-427; Georgiev, Lex., Suppl. I and II; Landau, Personennamen; Ruijgh, Etudes, especially pp. 150, 187, 275; A. Heubeck, «Zu mykenischen Namen und Titeln», IF 64, 1959, pp. 119-126, etc.
one up-to-date corpus. If one wants to make sure that a Mycenaean name does not appear in the first millennium, thousands of pages of lexicons, prosopographies and indices of different volumes of *IG* and *SEG* are to be checked.

We must also have in mind the fact that all the names documented in the literature and inscriptions of the first millennium are not of equal value for this purpose: their chronology and frequency, as well as geographical distribution should be taken into consideration. Thus, in some cases, from several different possibilities we can choose the most adequate identification, as Prof. O. Masson demonstrated. But the difficulty is that this method cannot be always applied, since many Mycenaean personal names do not correspond at all to the Greek ones of the first millennium. In any case we must make a difference between certain, probable, possible and doubtful identification of the personal names, just as was done with the appellatives in the *Mycenaean-Greek Vocabulary* by J. Chadwick and L. Baumbach.

c) Although the recognition of the personal names began before the decipherment of the Linear B script by pure structural study of the texts, there are still controversies as to whether some syllabic sign groups are personal names, place-names, professions or qualitatives (cf. below *wi-nu-ri-jo, ko-pu-ra*).

d) Together with the Greek personal names in the Mycenaean inscriptions there are also non-Greek ones. It is not always easy to decide whether a particular name is Greek or pre-Greek. Evidently there is a danger not only in the tendency to interpret all the Mycenaean names as Greek, but also in identifying *ad hoc*...
Mycenaean personal names as non-Greek. Recently some scholars have gone too far in the interpretation of the Mycenaean names as non-Greek, and for some names several different identifications both Greek and non-Greek have been proposed (cf. da-ra-mu-ro, ko-ku-ro, etc.).

\[e\] The Mycenaean names for which one cannot find corresponding parallels in Classical Greek are usually taken as non-Greek and even non IE. Undoubtedly, in Mycenaean there are some transparent Greek names, formed in the same way as in Classical Greek, e. g. names in -μήδης (e-u-me-de Εὐμήδης), -ἀνδρα (a-re-ka-sa-da-ra 'Αλέξ-ἀνδρα), -λαφος (pe-ri-ra-wo Περιλαφος), etc., but there are also some differences. Compounds with ἵππος, which are very frequent in the first millennium, in Mycenaean do not appear at all, although the appellative for horse (ι-قه) is documented and confirmed by the ideogram. Similarly some other stems, widespread in Classical Greek are also absent in Mycenaean, e. g. -δικος, -νικος, -σθένης, etc. Compound personal names in Mycenaean are formed in the same way as in Classical Greek (the components are connected with the vowels -e-, -i-, -o-), but the limited number of Mycenaean compounds, in comparison with that of Classical Greek, is surprising. What is the reason for that? Are we to take all the two- and three-syllabic names which do not have parallels in Classical Greek as foreign, or shall we admit the possibility that in Mycenaean some Greek personal names, different from those of the first millennium, were in use?

The latter possibility cannot be denied. There are even four-syllable names, evidently compounds of a type which looks like Greek, but without exact parallels in later Greek, e. g. e-ke-νυ-wo (a new reading by J.-P. Olivier instead of e-ke-τυ-wo KN U 4478.12), where the first element e-ke- is clear, but the second one, which also appears in di-κι-νυ-wo, πι-κι-νυ-wo, sa-πι-τι-νυ-wo, τι-μι-νυ-wo, etc. cannot be easily identified.

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8 Cf. HPN, pp. 182-184.
9 From the orthographic point of view νυός < *νυος would correspond to -νυ-wo of e-κε-νυ-wo, but in later practice such a name cannot be confirmed.
It is known that every full name can be shortened, and if compounds had later become obsolete, the short names, derived from them, might more easily have become meaningless and disused. Probably in Mycenaean many short names, Greek by origin, were in use, and the awkward syllabic script might have favoured the recording of persons according to their short names. But how are we to explain them?

Obviously the personal names are to be examined not only individually, but also according to the type to which they belong. The study of the short-name onomastic patterns, which are more constant than the individual forms, may throw some light on this question. The examination of the personal names with the suffix -υλο-, which is used especially for forming short names and hypocoristics, is a contribution to this problem.

§ 3. In Classical Greek there is a great number of short names with the suffix -υλο- and -υλο-, often used with a hypocoristic gemination of -l-. This suffix has often been examined and scholars in general agree concerning its function in the personal names. There are only some differences regarding its development. According to Locker the personal names in -υλο- were first formed by shortening the two-stem compounds, the first element of which ends in -u and the second begins with l-, e.g. Ἀστύλος from Ἀστύ-λας, Ἑρασύλος, from Ἑρασύλας, and later it was transferred to names which do not contain -υλο-. M. Leumann does not deny this as a theoretical possibility, but he finds that the names in -υλο/α- e.g. Ἐρασύλος, Ἑδύς, were originally related to one-stem names Ἐράς, Ἑδύς, from the adjectives Ἐράς, Ἑδύς, cf. also κρατύς: Κρατύλος, πραός: Πραύλος, etc. It

seems that the final formation of -υλο as a separate suffix has been supported by both groups, and Debrunner is perhaps right when he states that it is of «double origin». In some cases it is difficult to determine whether the name is shortened from a compound in -u-l-, or the suffix -lo- is added to the stem in -u, e. g. Ἱδύλλος from Ἰδύλλος, Ἱδύ-λογος or from Ἱδύς.

From the names of u-stems this suffix was later transferred to adjectives and nouns of other stems: Ἀιχύλος, Γοργύλος, Διενύλος, Ξενύλος, Ἐπιρύλος, where the diminutive-hypocoristic meaning is evident. As a suffix of short names it was used a) in the names derived from compounds with a divine name in the first element: Βασκύλος, Ἐρμύλος, Ἡρύλος; b) with a noun-stem: Πένθυλος, Σήμυλος, and c) verbal stem: Δερκύλος, Στεργύλος, Νικύλος, etc. Along with -υλο/α- personal names from all these stems appear with a gemination of -l-: Βαθύλος; Βάθυλος, Ξενύλος, etc., and -λο- is often combined with other suffixes, e. g.: -ιδ- and especially with -io-: Πεθυλίς, Μικυλίων, etc.

§ 4. Among the Mycenaean names in -u-ro there is a certain number in -ρο-, which is also an IE suffix, parallel to -λο-. Sometimes -ρο- comes from a dissimilated -lo-, cf. ὀλυμρός, λομπνρός, and in Classical Greek there are cases when the suffix -ρο- alternates with -λο- in one and the same name, cf. Κόκκαρος: Κόκκαλος.

Since the Linear B script does not make any difference between l and r, we cannot always be sure whether a Mycenaean name ends in -λο-, or -ρο-. A similar difficulty appears when the name contains a sign for -r- in the stem.

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14 For further examples see M. Leumann, loc. cit.
15 Chantraine, Formation, pp. 251 f.
17 Schwyzer, op. cit., p. 482; M. Leumann, op. cit., p. 249.
18 E. g. e-ra-to KN Dec 1359+1387 (J. T. Killen - J.-P. Olivier, Cambridge Colloquium, p. 69) might be: Ἐλάτςος, Ἐράστος, Ἐράστων, Ἐράτος, Ἐράτων. Ἐλατος is a mythological name. Among all the other variations of historical Greek names Ἐράτων is the most widespread one, cf. Kirchner, Prosopographia Attica I, nos. 5037-5042; IG I² 955; SEG II 303 8, Delphi; III 294 (= IG III 1169); SEG XI 948. 19, Laconia; XII 115.22, 26, etc. and it is most plausible to identify e-ra-to with Ἐράτων, as J. T. Killen and J.-P. Olivier, loc. cit., did.
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Among the names ending in -u-ro with a certain -ro- is the sobriquet ta-u-ro KN V 832.2 Taúros19, or Taúrōn., cf. HPN, p. 418, and probably ma-ta-u-ro KN Dv 8151, perhaps Μασταύρος20.

With -ro- from a dissimilated -lo- there is possibly ra-ku-ro, nom. PY Eb 566.1/Ep 301.9; dat. Eo 281.2; gen. ra-ku-ro-jo PY En 659.15/Eo 281.1 Landau, Personennamen: Lakuros, -öi, cf. Ἀλκυρός στεμφυλίας οἶνος Ἡσχ., or Λάχυλος, cf. Λάχων, Ἀλκίς, related to λαχέιν, HPN, p. 276; ka-ra-u-ro PY An 192.8; Jn 750.7 Kalauros21; ze-pu-ro PY Ea 56 Ζέφυρος22, and perhaps ru-ro KN V 832.1; PY Jo 438.6; Sn 64.4 Лύρος.

There are three names in -o-u-ro, probably with the suffix -ro: ru-ko-u-ro PY Es 729.1, ru-ko-wo-ro PY Es 650.v 1, alternative spelling, Documents, Lukouros, related to the Arcadian place-name Λυκούρια; ma-no-u-ro PY Jn 605+, 692.5, 725.19 and si-no-u-ro PY Cn 285.8, which are not identified23. For so-u-ro, where the suffix -lo might also be expected, see below.

In ko-no-pu^-du-ro- MY Au 102.5 and ka-ra-u-du-ro PY Eb 835+/Ep 705.5 Prof. V. Georgiev (Suppl. I and II s. u.) saw compounds in -νδρος: *Κυνο-νδρος, *Κάλα-νδρος < κάρα, but we would expect -u-do-ro (cf. PY Ta 996.2), not -u-du-ro for νδρος, and it is to be noticed that -pu- in ko-no-[.]-du-ro- is not readable24.

ki-du-ro PY An 192.15. According to Prof. Lejeune, Mémoires, p. 200 n. 41, it might be: *Κινδύλος or *Σχίδαρος, cf. ki-da-ro. Regarding the fact that some personal names are derived from σχίδη cf. Σχίδας, Cyrene, Bechtel (Spitznamen, p. 16; HPN,

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19 Taúros as a historical name cf. Bechtel, HPN, p. 587; Guarducci, Inscr. Cret. II, XXV, 10 e; (IG XII 8 327.7, Thasus, late).
21 Landau, Personennamen, suggested Glauros, cf. γλαυρόν σεμνόν, or Krauros, cf. κραύρος «brittle, friable», but they are not documented as personal names. Kalauros (Documents, p. 419) would correspond better, cf. Κάλαυρος, epithet of Poseidon (H. Meyer, RE X 2, col. 1550) not derived from καλός and οὐρή.
23 As a matter of fact Georgiev, Lex. and Suppl. II, suggested Man-ouros, cf. μάνυ- μικρόν and Sin-ouros < σίνωμα + οὖρα, but οὖρα is either from *osua, or *osua, cf. Skrt. rśvaḥ, which does not correspond to the Mycenaean spelling.
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p. 609): σχίδος «Mensch wie ein Sphan», it seems that Skhiduros, which alternates with *Σχίδος is more probable, but the possibility for a non-Greek name is not excluded either, cf. Lin. A ki-da-ro, f.

ki-u-ro KN B 801.2; DI 47.1 might also be explained in several different ways.

se-metu-ro KN Dc 1364, a shepherd’s name, is very likely a non-Greek name, cf. pi-ja-se-me KN As 1516.19, with Hitt. pi-ja-.

§ 5. While the suffix -upo- can be discovered with certainty only in few Mycenaean names ending in -u-ro, the suffix -ulo- is very likely contained in many more examples with the same ending:

a-pa-u-ro KN Mc 4463, Documents: Aphauros? Apaulos?, Georgiev, Landau, Personennamen: Aphauros, cf. ἀφαυρός «feeble, powerless». None of these identifications can be confirmed directly from the personal names of the first millennium. However there is some reason for preferring Apaulos. Personal names are documented both with -ουλος (cf. HPN, p. 89: Ζευς-ουλος IG IV 1492. 22, IV cent., Αὐλίσκος Paus. 2.31.6; Αὐλίκων Chios, Mitt. 13, 171, no. 12, 5) and with 'Απ(ο)- (cf. HPN, p. 62) where an [Α]πό-λυρος (Eretria, IG XII 9, no. 246 B 23, IV cent.) is supposed. A derivative from οὐλος appears in Mycenaean too: au-ri-jo KN As 604.2; Da 1080, 1116; Dv 1103 Aulios Aulikos. The name Πρωτουλος (Termesos, Pisidia, TAM III 326) is now read πρωτο-ουλης by L. Robert, but Ζευς-ουλος, Δίουλος (cf. HPN, p. 89,609: Athens, IV cent.) give us reason to reconstruct a name Apaulos,

25 Cf. M. Lejeune, Mémoires, p. 335: perhaps a sobriquet of ki-u-ro-i, or related to κίουρος «basket for corn, as a measure» , or ki-u-ro for ki-uo-ro with uj/uur: χυλος «green fodder for cattle», or δ κιλός «kiss», if it is from *κιλός.

26 A. Scherer, Forschungen und Fortschritte 39, 1965, p. 59, connected this name with Mitanni Stime, Lyc. Πονεούλος, cf. Zgusta, op. cit., § 1288-4, p. 436, but the second element is not explained.

27 In an inscription of the IV cent. from Nea Heraclea, near Kavala, Bakildis, Praktyka 1938, pp. 94-6, read a name *Απουλος, but in SEG XVIII, 1962, no. 278.1, this was read 'Απ Άυλος.

28 Gf. M. D. Petrusevski-P. Hr. Ilievski, Ζάδ 8, p. 274; M. Lejeune, SMEA 1, p. 27.

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derived from ἀπό and αὐλός «pipe, flute», which is an IE word with a primary -lo- documented in many IE languages (cf. Cha-трaine, Formation, p. 239; Frisk, GEW s. u.). For the formation *Ἀτ-αὐλός, cf. ἕναυλός and poss. ἄπ-αὐλός «lying alone», Hsch.

Here the name te-ra-u-re-o PY Sa 22, gen. Tél-aulehos, might be mentioned, but the meaning of the second element -αὐλής is not the same as in αὐλός (cf. M. D. Petruševski, Kadmos 4, p. 125).

a-ta-tu-ro PY Cn 436.2; Jn 431.10 is more difficult to identify. To the earlier suggestions30, if it is a Greek personal name, here we can add another conjecture: Ant-aítulos, derived from ἀντιτέω «demand in return». ἀντύλος, ἀντυλλός and ἀιτύλος, are documented (cf. Pape-Benseler s.u.), but they are from the Roman period and we cannot put much weight on them. However, there are personal names derived from αἰτέω (cf. Fick-Bechtel, Die griechischen Personennamen, Göttingen 1894, p. 49), i. e. σένοις (HPN, p. 30): Εὐ-αίτης (IG II² 1, no. 678, II 41, III cent), Ἐξ-αίτος (Iassos, Dittenberger, Syll.3, 169.19, V cent.). On the basis of Ἐξ-αίτος, we may reconstruct an Ant-aítos and Ant-aítulos?, which can be related to a-ta-tu-ro.

da-ra-mu-ro KN Dv 1220. Both Greek and non-Greek identifications are suggested for this name: H. Mühlestein31: Drânulos (< Δράσιμος to Δράσιμος); E. Risch32: Drâmulos; A. Scherer33: cf. Phryg. Λαμυρός at Bosporus Να-νοβα-λαμυρός. But Λάμυρος might well be a Greek name, cf. λαμυρός «greedy, wanton», a sobriquet (HPN, p. 503). da-ra-mu-ro Drâmulos is probably related to the verb stem δραμ- (δραμεύ) from which are derived personal names, e. g.: Ἀδράςτος, Ἀδρηστός (II. 2.572, etc.), Myc. a-da-ra-ti-jo, patronym. adj. A drastios; Δρά-πτ(π)ός which according to HPN, p. 141 «fällt dem Sinne nach mit Δράμπτος zusammen»; Δρόμος (Pape-Benseler) which may alternate with Dromulos and Dramulos34, cf. also do-ro-me-u Δρομεύς.

31 Olympia in Pylos, Basel 1954, p. 16.
32 MH 12, 1955, quoted by Landau, Personennamen.
34 Cf. also δρομολός attribute of λαυγως, Frisk, GEW, s. u.
du-ro KN Da 1193 is related by A. Scherer (op. cit., p. 59) to Thrac. Δουλος, Dulos, but the identification of such a short name is very uncertain.

ka-pu-ro[ KN V 961.2, Georgiev, Suppl. s. u., cf. Καμπυλίων, Landau, Personennamen, *Καμπυλός, or Κάτυρος. Kapuros as a theoretical possibility might be admitted, but it is not documented among the personal names. Among other possibilities we can mention Καπύλος (Pape-Benseler) too, but Kampulos would correspond best, because the adjective καμπύλος is an ancient word (Horn.) and its stem is used in personal names as a sobriquet. Bechtel (Spitznamen, p. 34): Καμπάς, Nachträge: Κάμπος (Tegea, Dittenberger, Syll.3, no. 317.15) shortened from καμπυλός. Καμπυλίων also points to a *Καμπύλος.

ke-ku-ro PY Mn 162.3, dat. Documents: Kerkuloi (cf. Κερκύλας), cf. also ke-ko-jo, gen. Kerkoio from a *ke-ko Kerko, ke-ki-jo Kerkiων, adjct. patronym. from Κέρκως, and ke-zo is perhaps an alternative spelling for ke-ki-jo; cf. also ke-ki, a sobriquet Κέρκις. The personal names derived from the stem κερ- are widespread over the whole Greek world and neighbouring countries (Attica, Arcadia, Apollonia, Thessaly, Pella, Byzantium, Philippopolis, Tomi, Cyzicus, Chios, Delos, Tegea, Egypt, etc., cf. HPN, pp. 482, 603). The names: Κερκίων, Κέρκις, Κέρκων, Κερκίνος, Κερκίδος, Κερκάς, Κέρκος are obviously Greek, cf. Robert, op. cit., pp. 187, 191, although the meaning of this root is disputable: κέρκως ούρα καί ἀνδρείων αἰδοίων Ήσχ. As hypocoristics in -ύλος often have pairs in -ιον, on the basis of Κερκίων, as well as Κέρκος and Κερκύλας, we can reconstruct the name *Κερκύλος.

ko-ku-ro KN B 803.1. So far two equally possible identifications have been suggested for this name: Landau, Personennamen, Γόγγυλος, from γογγύλλος (Aristoph. Pax 28) «round» and Lejeune (Mémoires, p. 223): Γοργύλος. Besides Zft. für Numism. 9, p. 278, 10, HPN, p. 486, quoted by Landau, Γογγύλος appears in other inscriptions too, cf. SEG XI 377.3, Hermionia (150 B.C.), 405.2, Epid. (150 B.C.), etc. Γοργύλος, Γόργος, Γοργίς, Γοργίας, Γοργώ are also frequent Greek names (cf. Pape-Benseler, Robert, op. cit., p. 159). However there is another possibility

35 Ruijgh, Etudes, p. 141.
which seems more acceptable to me: ko-ku-ro, ko-ka-ro and ko-ku very likely form one and the same family.

M. C. Astour recently tried to interpret ko-ka-ro as a Semitic name, Ugar. Kkln. But there is no need of either Semitic or Anatolian explanations of this name. It is a well known Greek name derived from the stem kókk-, richly attested over all the Greek world in several variations: Κόκκαλος, Κοκκύλος, Κόκκαρος, Κοκκάλη, Κόκκος, Κοκκαλίνη, as well as with -ω-: Κώκος, Κωκαρος, Κοκκαρόν, Κοκτών, Κοκτές, etc., cf. Bechtel (Spitznamen, p. 41; HPN, pp. 593, 595). The names with -ω- are not included by Bechtel in this family, but undoubtedly they are also related to kókk-, as L. Robert (loc. cit.) clearly showed.

ma-du-ro PY Cn 655.18 might also be taken together with ma-da-ro KN Db 1368 Mandulos/Mandalos, derived from μάνδρας, μάνδρα «enclosed space, fold», which is an IE word, cf. Skrt. mandura- «horse stall», mandirā- «house» (Fris, GEW, s. u.)42. Both ma-du-ro in PY and ma-da-ro in KN are names of shepherds for which a name derived from this stem would answer well. But Madairos also is not excluded, cf. Μάδρος (IG V 2, 387.3, V century), HPN, p. 493; μαδρός ἄραιόθρις, ζευ νός.

In Classical Greek there is an alternation of the preceding vowel: -α- : -u- ; -υ- : -i- in front of the suffix -lo-, cf. Δόμαλος (SEG XIX 697.1): Δάμωλος (IG V 2, 541, 542, 516); Δορκύλος (SEG XXII 493, Delphi, VI cent.) : Δορκύλος (ibidem 398, 6, Boeotia), Μένυλλος (IG Ι 2 950, 149, Athens 412): Μένυλλος (Ι 2 26.3, c. 448), etc. The same alternation is also noticeable in

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36 ko-zo-ro is perhaps an alternative spelling of ko-ka-ro, Documents, p. 420.
38 J. Sundwall, «Kleinasiatische Nachträge», Studia Orientalia, ed. Societas Orientalis Fennica XV-1, Helsinki 1950, p. 120. L. Zgusta also included the names Κοκκαρος, Κοκος, etc, into his book Kleinasiatische Personennamen, § 778-1-4, pp. 262 f., but in Nachträge, p. 689, he explained that they are «Lallnamen». The names with -ο-: Κόκκος, Κόκκαλος, Κόκκαλος, etc. according to him, op. cit., § 656, are Greek.
39 This stem is known not only from personal names, but also from appellatives, cf. Κοκκολογείων Π. Οξυρ. 1031, Κοκκολόγος, etc., cf. L. Robert, op. cit., pp. 134-139; 312-316.
40 Among the anthroponyms derived from plant-names.
42 Cf. also Car. Μάνδαλος, Zgusta, op. cit., § 856-4, p. 287.
Mycenaean personal names. To those mentioned above: ki-du-ro : ki-da-ro; ko-ku-ro : ko-ka-ro and ma-du-ro : ma-da-ro, we can also add: mi-ka-ri-jo Μικαλίων: Μικύλος (cf. HPN, pp. 485 f.) and Μίκυλος 'Αχαιός ἐξ Αλύς (IG II 2843, III cent.); the name paq-na-ro KN DI 92843, not identified till now, might be brought into connection with Φανύλος and Φάνυλος (cf. HPN, p. 440), or Φανύλος, Φαύνυλα (HPN, p. 437) and be identified as Pha(ι)nalos, to φαινο. Similarly the name po-ti-ro KN V 1002, etc., if it is a MN, connected with Φορτύλος (HPN, p. 509) to φορτός, might well be Phortilos44.

me-tu-ro KN C 954+.2 is a newly discovered name (cf. J. T. Killen - J.-P. Olivier, Cambridge Colloquium, p. 62), prob. Methulos cf. Μεθύλος (IG I, 933.25, ante a. 446), quoted by HPN, p. 506, together with Μέθων (IG VII 1190, Tanagra) and Μεθόστασ Μεθύστασ (IG IX2 no. 244.2, Pharsalus, IV cent.). Cf. also Μεθύμπατος, epiclesis of Dionysos, derived from μέθυ, which denotes the god of wine (Kruse RE XV 2, col. 1395) and Μεθύλος mentioned by Dornseiff-Hansen, p. 236. The word μεθυ in Mycenaean appears in me-tu-wo-ne-wo PY Fr 1202. The MN me-tu-ro Μεθύλος is derived from this stem, as a sobriquet. Bechtel in his Spitznamen, p. 61, finds that the family of «Trinkern» consists of many names derived from different stems, e. g. 'Αμφερεύς, Λογυνίων, Μετρητής, Στάμως, Χώνι, Κώθων, etc. The Mycenaean name ko-tu-ro2 PY Eb 892.1, etc., dat. ko-ru-ne Eb 1347.1, Κοτύλικον, -οντις46, and perhaps a-ra-ka-jo, Landau, Personennamen: Arakaios, cf. ἄραξι(κ)ήν φίάλην47 Hsch. are of the same family.

43 The reading *56-na-ro (cf. KT3, p. 65) is equally possible with a-na-ro.
44 Cf. also the identification of Georgiev, Suppl. I, s. u. po-ko-ro PY Cn 45.7, etc. *Φωκύλος, cf. Φωκυλίδης.
45 Μεθόσ or Μεθύων νέφων «at the festival of the new wine», Bennett, Olive Oil Tablets, p. 42; L. R. Palmer, Mycenaean and Minoans, p. 126; Interpretation, pp. 248, 434, but cf. M. D. Petruševski, «Discussions mycénologiques», ΖΑ 12, pp. 330 f. me-tu-wo-ne-wo is a place-name Μεθυωνέφοω.
46 M. C. Astour, op. cit., p. 343, relates this name to Ugar. ktr, kthn, ku?-ti-la-na, but the stem from which κοτύλη is derived is documented in several IE languages (Pers., Got., Slav.), cf. J. Pokorny, IEW, s. u. *kēt-, *kot-, and in Greek both appellatives and personal names from this stem are attested: Κότυς, Samothrace, IG XII 8. 196; L. Robert, Coll. Froehner, p. 52; Noms indigènes, pp. 80, 81, 197; Κότυς Larissa, IG IX 2, 737; Melitea, ibidem 206 III d.
47 Ruijgh, Etudes, p. 221, relates this name to the pre-Greek place-name *Αράκ-κυνθος.
mi-ru-ro KN Ap 482.3; As 1516.5; Da 1127; X 5913 was identified by Georgiev, Suppl. s. u., as Μέρυλλος with a phonetic change of e : i, but Μέρυλλος is a hapax, and its reading is not certain, possibly Μένυλλος, cf. Pape-Benseler. mi-ru-ro might be connected with Μίλων, cf. HPN, p. 499: Μίλων Κροτωνίατης (VI century), related to μίλ(λ)ός: βραδύ, χούνος Hsch., cf. also Μίλος (Zgusta, op. cit., p. 315, § 917.3) τό μίλος = μιλαξ, or μιλός «βραδύς». It is well known that Greek personal names, hypocoristics in -ον alternate with those in -ος, e. g. Bacchylides' father was called now as Μείδων, now as Μειδύλλος, and mi-ru-ro Miluros < *Milulos might also be a similar pair to Μίλων.

pa-u-ro KN Da 1196 is explained by Landau, Personennamen, as Pauros to τοῦρος «small». Theoretically the identification is possible, but it cannot be confirmed by the Greek onomastic tradition. Φαύλος, Φαύλλος from φαιξ50, would correspond better to pa-u-ro. Φαύλος is a quite frequent name, cf. Φαύλλος Τεγέάτης (IG V 2 38.16, III cent.), Φαύλλος... Φωκεύς (SEG I 198.1, Delphi, c. 285), cf. also SEG XIX 42.b III 2 [= IG I2 955]; SEG XXI 72.b 6; IG XII 5 8124 (Tenes, III cent.), IG VII 2716 Kirchner, Prosopographia Attica II, 14123-14130; Mitsos, «Αργολική προσωπογραφία», 'Αθήναι, 1952, p. 180, 3 examples, etc.

ra-su-ro PY Eb 1147.1/Ep 212.10; En 659.3 is still without a certain identification50. Perhaps *Λάσυλλος, cf. Λάςως, Λασύς, Georgiev, Lex. s. u.

si-ja-pu-ro KN As 1516.11 looks like a compound name; in the second element the noun φυλον, -φυλος of HPN, p. 459, might be concealed, but the first one seems non-Greek51.

so-u-ro PY En 609.12, Eo 224.2. Georgiev, Suppl. s. u., Σούρων or cf. ?Σουλία NL, Landau, Personennamen, Σουρος? Very likely

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48 For other similar examples, e. g. Πολύων: Πόλυλλος, Θηρών, etc., cf. M. Leumann, op. cit., pp. 247 f.
49 HPN, pp. 435 f.
50 According to HPN, Λάςως (Ερμονεύς, Her. VII 6 VI cent.) is a short name from Λαθό-φυλος. ra-su-ro might also be a short name from a compound like *Λαφο-συλος > *Λάσυλλος.
51 Cf. also si-ja-na, si-ja-ma-τα, PN si-ja-du-ωε. Among the Mycenaean personal names we may expect hybrid formations both of Greek and non-Greek elements, as in later times, cf. e.g. Kali-gostz, Ano-gostz, etc. of Greek and Slavonic elements.
this is a non-Greek name too. It seems that Σοῦρος (ἡ Σουρίνος) Orchomenos (IG VII 3207, cf. HPN, p. 543) is late, from the Roman period, Σουρων is a Phoenician (cf. Pape-Benseler) and Σουλος a Phrygian (cf. Zgusta, op. cit., p. 472).

te-ru-ro KN Dd 1380+, a new reading by J.-P. Olivier, J. T. Killen and J. Chadwick52, written in capital signs by hand 117, obviously a MN in -υλος. It might be connected with the verbal stem stēr- «hard, fast, firm», cf. στερεός, στερρός, στέριφος and στεριζό «make fast». Some personal names from this stem are documented, cf. HPN, p. 606: Στήρις Στήριος Miletus 282, from στήρον in στήρα τα λίθινα πρόθυρα Hsch. te-ru-ro Stērulos might be a short name from a compound like *Στηρίλας similar to Ἐχύλλος: Ἐχέ/-λας, Ἀρχύλος: Ἀρχέ/-λας etc.

]-tu-ro PY Cn 702.3 is perhaps a-ta]-tu-ro from the same series.

wi-du-ro KN B 79.2 (? cf. Lin. A: wi-du-ru). Georgiev, Suppl. s. u. Ἰδύλος, Documents: cf. Ἰδύρος name of a river. Georgiev is probably right. Several personal names are derived from θεί-, -θείδης, θείδος (cf. HPN, p. 149): Θείδως (Epiros, Coll. 1346.5, III cent.), Ἰδύλος (Opus, IG IX 1 no. 287.1), Ἐδών (IG II 5 no. 1233 b III.10, IV cent.), Βειδύλος (Inscr. Cret. III no. IV 10.2), and we can admit in Mycenaean a Φ(ε)ιδύλος too.

wi-su-ro KN Dd 1284. Both Georgiev, Lex. s. u., and Landau, Personennamen, suggested *Fισύλος related to *φισό- and Landau, Personennamen, pp. 162, 209, tried to explain the second element with the verb συλάω «to plunder». But Ἰσύλλος is a documented name, derived from φισό- το φισός, Att. Ἰσός cf. Fick-Bechtel, op. cit., p. 130: Ἰσύλλος (Tanagra, IG VII no. 1040, III cent.), HPN, p. 227-8: Ἰσύλλος... Ἑφίδιάριος (IG IV 950.1, III cent.). Ἰσύλλ(α)ς is a short form from a compound like φισό-λας (IG VII 2717), and Myc. wi-su-ro may be identified with Ἰσύλλος (without asterisks).

52 The reading can be proved from the photographs of the joined fragments Dd 1380+Dv 7151 (cf. J. T. Killen - J.-P. Olivier, Cambridge Colloquium, p. 70) in the Mycenaean Epigraphy Room at Cambridge. I am most obliged to Dr. John Chadwick for giving me the opportunity of working in that Room from 6th of January till 15th of February 1969.
§ 6. The identification of the names in -u-ra is almost impossible. Some of them are very likely non-Greek, e. g.:

da-pu-ra KN V 479.3, cf. also da-pu-ra-zo, which occurs in the same list V 479.1 and Dv 1173; ki-nu-ra PY Qa 1301, perhaps Kινύρας (cf. Kινύρας II. 11.20,) related to κινύρα «a stringed instrument played with the hand», to Ἱερ. κίννορ (cf. Frisk, GEW s. u.) and ra-su-ra MY V 569.3, J. Chadwick, MT III, p. 65: non-Greek name (cf. ra-su-ro).

Only in ko-pu-ra KN Lc 5998 the suffix -υλλα might be supposed, but the status of this name is not clear. In the Lc series the words are usually technical terms, e. g.: ko-u-ra, tu-na-no, to-u-ka, etc., or ethnics: ku-do-ni-ja, ri-jo-ni-ja, tu-ri-si-ja. ko-pu-ra is parallel to a-ra-ka-te-ja and e-ro-pa-ke-ja, which are women’s trades. If the same word is contained in KN V 958.4 ??ko-|pu-ra, then it might be a personal name Κορπύλλα(s), related to καρπός < στρεφέσ with a reflex -or- < τ, cf. κρόττονον; Καρπυλλίδης, Κάρτπον, Καρτίνος, Κάρτπος etc. (HPN, p. 234).

§ 7. The personal names in -u-ri-jo/-u-ro were recently discussed by Ruijgh, Etudes, pp. 150, 187, 275, and here only few notes can be added. Of 10 examples with this ending only three contain -υρο-: a-ku-ri-jo KN As 609.3, probably Argurios; sa-u-ri-jo KN As 1516.21 Σαύριος (-ίον), patronym. of Σαύρος and tu-ri-jo, poss. Θύριος (-ίον), cf. Πύλαιος.

k -ro KN U 4478.17; PY Ea 814; gen. ku-ro-jo KN B 822. Documents, Landau, Personennamen: Kurios, Kuriô, Kuriôia; Georgiev, Suppl. II: Κύλλος, Ruijgh, Etudes, p. 275: Κύλλος (cf. κυλλός) like ko-ro Χώλος. Both Κύριος and Κύλλος are possible, but if we take into consideration the place where these two relatively late names appear, priority is to be given to Κύλλος. Κύριος is attested at Mytilene (IG XII 2, 323, cf. HPN, p. 513), and Κύλλος is more widespread: there are examples from Crete: Κύλλων (Guarducci, Inscr. Cret. I, p. XV) and Κυλλίας (ibidem I, pp. XXXI, 30), as well as from Αργος: Κυλλίας (IG IV 618, Π 2). Besides the examples from different places (Bechtel, Spitznamen, p. 30; HPN, p. 492; Robert, Noms indigènes, pp. 253 f.), the

53 Cf. J.-P. Olivier, Kadmos 8, p. 51.
hypocoristic Κύλλος appears at Hypata IG IX 2, 15.4.7; 24.4, and at Lamia Κύλλος IG IX 2, 62.14. Therefore the identification Κύλλος is to be preferred.

All the other 6 examples are very likely in -υλ(λ)ιο-:

au-ri-jo KN As 604.2; Da 1082, 1116; Dv 1103: Αύλιος, Αύλιον see above s. u. a-πα-υ-ρο.

ko-τυ-ρο nom. PY Eb 892.1; Ep 301.13; Jn 431.2; Cn 436.6; Eb 839.1; dat. ko-τυ-ρο-ne Eb 1347.1 Κοτυλίων, -όνει, see above s. u. me-τυ-ρο.

pa-κυ-ρο PY An 218.10; Jn 750.8. Of several suggestions (cf. Landau, Personennamen) the most probable identification seems Πάχυλλος, Ruijgh, Etudes, p. 275: *Φαχυλύς from παχύς < *φαχύς.

u-ρο KN Db 5367 'Υλλος (Il. 20.392; IG II 983, I 76, III cent.), cf. also u-ρε-υ 'Υλ(λ)εύς, u-ρα-ιο 'Υλαίος to ύλη.


wi-nu-ri-jo PY An 610.8. It is not certain whether it is a place-name, ethnic, profession, or personal name.


§ 8. Along with -ιο-, in Classical Greek the suffix -υλο- is sometimes combined with other suffixes too, e. g.: -ιδ-, cf. γυγυλίς: γογγύλος (Chantraine, Formation, pp. 216 f.), Προύλλις, etc., and there are some back-formations from -υλο- > -υς, type Ξένος: Ξνύλος, Κρήτος: Κρήτυλος, (cf. HPN, p. 52, 482; M. Leumann, op. cit., pp. 246 f.). There are also hypocoristics in -υς, gen. -υδος, e. g. Γερφύς (IG II² 33, I 17, V cent.) to Γέρφων (cf. Bechtel, Namenstudien, Halle 1917, p. 15; HPN, pp. 478 f.), but they are probably not connected directly with the names in -υλο- (cf. Locker, Glotta 32, pp. 88 f.).

In Mycenaean there is not enough evidence for the conglutination of -υλο- with other suffixes besides -ιο-. The MN pu-ri is the only example where -υλις might be expected (cf. Georgiev, Lex. s. u.: Φύλλις), but it also might be identified with Πυρις (Documents, Landau, Personennamen, A. Heubeck, Praegraeca, pp. 40, 51).
In Mycenaean Greek there are both men's and women's names in \(-u\) and it is difficult to say whether they (especially the women's names) are all Greek or pre-Greek, since a great number of names in \(-u\) occur in Linear A, which cannot be explained as Greek (cf. A. Heubeck, op. cit., pp. 31-39). However there are two names which can be related to the corresponding forms in \(-ulo/uro\): ko-ku KN Dl 1240 Κόκκος: ko-ku-ro Κοκκύλος and ra-ku- KN V 653.3: ra-ku-ro, perhaps like Βάθυς: Βαθύλος, cf. also Φείδως to Myc. wi-du-ro F(ε)ιδύλος, etc.

§ 9 A. It is believed that the suffix \(-lo-\) in pre-Hellenic times was in extensive use, and this has left traces in Greek and in some directions it «even shows a modest productivity»\(^{54}\). Its origin is not disputable. It is an inherited IE suffix which appears in all IE languages. But with regard to the meaning and function, as well as the development and use of this suffix in Greek, there are some ambiguities. In some IE languages (Slav., Arm., Toch.) verbal adjectives of the type Slav. bylę are formed with this suffix. In Greek only rare adjectival forms in \(-lo-\) (type μανόλης) have the character of participles\(^{55}\).

The most characteristic function of \(-ulo-\) in Classical Greek is the formation of diminutives. At first sight it seems that the diminutive function, which is noticeable in other IE languages (Lat., Got., Lith.) had already developed in the common IE. But the special studies of Wrede\(^{56}\) on the diminutives in German, that of F. Conrad\(^{57}\) in Latin, and E. Locker\(^{58}\) in Greek, show that the diminutive meaning of the \(-ulo-\) suffix developed in historical times from the personal names, hypocoristics, which very likely existed in the common IE, and in meaning are closely connected with diminutives.

It is noticeable that in Homer there are only some adjectives in \(-ulo-\), e. g. ὁγκύλος, καμπύλος, στρογγύλος, αἰσυλός etc.

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\(^{54}\) Buck-Petersen, Rev. Index, p. 354.

\(^{55}\) Chantraine, Formation, p. 237.

\(^{56}\) Ferd. Wrede, Die Deminutiva im Deutschen, Marburg 1908.

\(^{57}\) «Die Deminutiva im Latein», Glotta 20, 1931, pp. 75-84.

\(^{58}\) Cf. n. 10.
which do not have any diminutive meaning. The first nouns with this suffix appear in Aristophanes, but still without a diminutive meaning. A certain number of ancient nouns with this suffix are technical terms: κόνδυλος, δάκτυλος, σφόνδυλος (Chantraine, *Formation*, pp. 239 ff.). The nouns in -υλος with a diminutive meaning, mostly animal and plant names, are of later times, e.g. ἀφ-κύλος a small ἄφκτος, κογχύλη a small κόγχη.

The question of how this meaning was developed in Greek has been discussed by Locker (*op. cit.*), and M. Leumann (*op. cit.*). It is quite acceptable that the diminutive meaning of the suffix -υλο- was transferred to the appellatives from the short personal names which originate from the earliest times (cf. Skrt. Bhanu-la-h, OGall. Teutalus, etc.) and not vice versa. The personal names, hypocoristics, in -υλ(λ)ο- are also the main source for the development of the typical diminutive suffix -υλλιον69. The formations with this suffix (μερακύλλιον, etc.) especially frequent in the family life60, do not appear in Homer61. The first examples of appellatives in -υλλιον occur in Aristophanes.

B. Comparing the use of the suffix -υλ(λ)ο- in Classical and Mycenaean Greek, we can note the following:

a) It is remarkable that in Mycenaean appellatives in -υλο- and -υλλιον do not appear, as in the earliest alphabetical Greek texts. Only some adjectives might be discovered in the personal names. ka-pu-ro καμπύλος, which appears in Homer (*Il. 3.17*, etc.) and pa-ku-ro παχυλός, documented later (Arist. *EN* 1094b 20) are especially characteristic.

On the other hand there are other appellatives in -υρο-, cf. a-ρο-υ-ρα ἄρουρα, a-κυ-ρο ἄργυρος, ρο-ρυ-ρος περφύρες, which have parallels in the earliest use of this suffix62.

b) There are about 20 personal names in -υλ(λ)ο-, -υλο- which are identified with more or less certainty, and probably

60 For the doubling of the consonants in the words of the family life see P. Chantraine, *Études sur le vocabulaire grec*, Paris 1956, p. 16; cf. also W. Petersen, *Greek Diminutives in οὐ*, Weimar 1910, pp. 256 f.
61 It was explained (cf. M. Leumann, *op. cit.*, p. 242) as a stylistic avoidance of forms of the family life in epic.
there are some others among the unidentified ones; thus, of about 50 examples in -u-ro/a, -u-ri-jo at least one half contain the suffix -l-. The percentage of -υλο vis-à-vis -υρο- names is nearly the same as in Classical Greek.

c) The Mycenaean personal names in -υλ(λ)ό-, υλ(λ)ό-, evidently hypocoristics and short names, as well as patronymics, are derived:


β) From other nominal stems: ke-ku-ro < κερκ-ό-, ko-ku-ro < κόκκ-ό-, mi-ru-ro < μιλ(λ)-ό-, and perhaps i-a-su-ro, a short name from a compound such as *λαφο-σύλος.

γ) From verbal stems: a-ta-tu-ro < ἀντ-ατέω, da-ra-mu-ro < δραμεῖν, ka-pu-ro < κάμπτω, te-ru-ro < *στεθ-, στηρίζω, wi-du-ro < φεῖ, -φίδ-, shortened from a compound such as (F)εἰδεσίλαος.

δ) There are some names related to nominal and verbal stems with the original IE suffix -l- which originates from IE: au-ri-jo, a-pa-u-ro to σύλο-, ko-tu-ro to κοτύλη, cf. OSl. κοτζλη, ku-ro to κυλλός < *ς(κ)ελ-, *ςκου-, cf. κυλλόω, ma-du-ro, (cf. Skrt. mandurā-?), -pu-ro to φύλον, OSl. ἐμλη, u-ro to ὀλη.

d) It seems that some alternations of the preceding vowel in front of -l-: -u-:-a-; -u-:-i- are noticeable in Mycenaean, the same as in Classical Greek, cf. ko-ku-ro : ko-ka-ro Κοκκύ/όλος, ma-du-ro: ma-da-ro Μανδύ/άλος?, mi-ka-ri-jo Μικ(κ)αλίων: Μικύλος, pa₃-na-ro: *Φα(ι)νόλος: Φα(ι)νύλος, po-τι-ro *Φορτύλος: Φορτύλος, etc.

e) Personal names derived from compounds with a divine name as a first element, which are frequent in Classical Greek, do not occur among the names of this group. But theophoric names are extremely rare among other types of Mycenaean personal names.
§ 10. In spite of all the difficulties in the interpretation of the Mycenaean personal names, a large number of evident Greek names can be identified. The Mycenaean personal names, because of their great number (two thirds of all the Mycenaean words), represent an important source for the Mycenaean-Greek lexical stock, although the data extracted from them are meagre and often uncertain. From the *Mycenaean Greek Vocabulary* by J. Chadwick and L. Baumbach one can see that many of the Mycenaean Greek stems are represented by personal names with more examples than with appellatives, and there are stems known exclusively from personal names.

The study of the Mycenaean personal names is of great importance not only for the Mycenaean Greek vocabulary, but also for the morphology, word-formation and historical development of Greek. From the analysis of the personal names with the suffix -υλ(λ)ο-, -υλο- one can see that, despite all the differences, the Mycenaean personal names together with the classical ones represent one indivisible whole. These names, as well as those in -υλ(λ)ο-, -ελο-63, give us reason to conclude that in Mycenaean many short names and hypocoristics were in use. They are concealed in the great number of two- and three-syllabic names, in the interpretation of which we should not always expect foreign names.

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