

AN INQUIRY INTO THE NON-GREEK NAMES ON THE LINEAR B TABLETS FROM KNOSSOS AND THEIR RE- LATIONSHIP TO LANGUAGES OF ASIA MINOR

The names of persons appearing in the Linear B tablets from Knossos can be conveniently divided into two groups: those that are of Greek origin and those that are of other origins. The Greek names possess a unity that is easy to distinguish, even apart from the obvious quality of their being Greek. Thus a *a-pi-me-de* (*Amphimēdēs*) has both its elements represented elsewhere: *a-pi-ra-wo* (*Amphilāwos*), *a-pi-ja-ko-ro* (*Amphiagoros*); *e-ke-me-de* (*Ekhēmēdēs*), *pe-ri-me-de* (*Perimēdēs*) (from Pylos), *e-u-me-de* (*Eumēdēs*) (from Pylos) and *me-de-i-jo* (*Mēdeios*) (Knossos). *E-ke-* appears in *e-ke-da-mo* (*Ekhedāmos*) and the latter is related to *e-u-da-mo* (*Eudāmos*), the prefix of which brings one back to *Eumēdēs* and *Amphimēdēs* again.

The same kind of process can be applied to the Linear B names which do not appear to be Greek. We cannot yet prove that all of them belong to one language or that they belong to several. We do not know all the languages yet which may be involved. But we can work on some of the names and then see if there are languages in the vicinity of the Aegean whose speakers bear similar names.

There are many non-Greek names which divide into two parts, each consisting of one or, more often, two syllabic signs. A list should be drawn up of these names:

PREFIXES¹

A-RA-: *a-ra-da-jo* (As 1516.3), *a-ra-na-ro* (As 1516.11), *a-ra-ka-jo*
B 806 + 6053), *a-ra-ko* (As 607.1 et al.), *a-ra-si-jo* (Fh 369 et al.)
DA-RA-: *da-ra-mu-ro* (Dw 1220), *da-ra-ro* (Dd 5174 + 5215)

¹ Source: John Chadwick and J. T. Killen, *The Knossos Tablets*, 3rd ed. (London: University of London, 1964. Institute of Classical Studies). Some of the less frequent syllables are not listed, although they may be discussed in the text.

- E-ME/I-*: *e-me-si-jo* (E 843.1), *e-mi-ja-ta* (V 831.1)
E-RI-: *e-ri-ta-qi-jo* (As 604.1), *e-ri-ta-ri-jo* (X 304), *e-ri-*19* (Ag 90),
e-ri-sa-ta (X 4479)
JA-: *ja-ma-ra* (V 503.2), (*j*)*a-sa-ro* (V 832.4), *ja-sa-no* (As 1516.4)
KU-KA-: *ku-ka-da-ro* (Uf 836), *ku-ka-no* (Dc 1337 + 1393), *ku-ka-so* (As 5719.1 et al.), *ku-ka-ra-re* (X 78), *ku-ka-ro* (Da 1238 B et al.)
MA-RA-: *ma-ra-pi-jo* (Dw 1296), *ma-ra* (X 7662)
NO-: *no-da-ro* (As 609.3 etc.), *no-sa-ro* (Dx 6059), *no-si-ro* (As 603.1 etc.)
PI-JA-: *pi-ja-se-me* (As 1516.19), *pi-ja-si-ro* (As 1516.3), *pi-ja-mu-nu* (L 5901)
SA-MA-: *sa-ma-ti-ja* (Ap 639.8), *sa-ma-ri-wa-to* (Ap 645.2, etc.), *sa-ma-ri-jo* (Da 1147), *sa-ma-da* (Np 267), *sa-ma-ki-nu-wo* (Np 858); compare *ki-nu-wo* (B 772.2)
SE-ME-: *se-me-tu-ro* (Dc 1364 + 1397)
SI-JA-: *si-ja-ma* (V 1526.2), *si-ja-ma-to* (Fp 48.1, etc.), *si-ja-pu₂-ro* (As 1516.11).
TU-: *tu-ka-na* (Ap 639.10-11), *tu-ka-to* (Ap 639.8), *tu-ma-ko* (Np 973), *tu-pa₃-da-ro* (X 1488), *tu-da-ra* (Do 924 + 7563 + 7869)
WA-DU-: *wa-du-na-ro* (C 912 + 5027.3 et al.), *wa-du-ka-sa-ro* (Da 1445 + 5807), *wa-du-na-to* (As 1516.8), *wa-du-na* (Vd 503.3)
WI-DA-: *wi-da-ma-tja* (Ap 639.9 etc.), *wi-da-ma-ro* (Do 919 + 921 etc.), *wi-da-ka-so* (Dd 1462 + 1593), *wi-da-jo* (V 60.3)
WI-JA-: *wi-ja-na-tu* (Ap 769.1), *wi-ja-ma-ro* (As 1516.21)

SUFFIXES

- DA-JO*: *ku-da-jo* (V 1004), *a-ra-da-jo* (As 1516.3), *ko-ni-da-jo* (As 1516.7)
-DA-RO/A: *ku-ka-da-ro* (Uf 836), *tu-pa₃-da-ro* (X 1488), *tu-da-ra* (Do 924 + 7563 + 7869), *a-pa₃-da-ro* (C 911.12), *no-da-ro* (As 609.3 etc.), *qa-si-da-ro* (Db 1110)
-MA-RO/A: *wi-da-ma-ro* (Do 919 + 921 etc.), *wi-ja-ma-ro* (As 1516.21), *ja-ma-ra* (V 503.2)
-NA-RO: *wa-du-na-ro* (C 912 + 5027.3 etc.), *a-ra-na-ro* (As 1516.11), *pi-ma-na-ro* (As 1520.14)
-NA-TO/U: *wa-du-na-to* (As 1516.8), *wi-ja-na-tu* (Ap 769.1), *ka-pa₃-na-to* (As 1516.16)

-SA-TA: *e-ri-sa-ta* (X 4474), *pi-ri-sa-ta* (U 4478.16), *ti-ri-sa-ta* (Ce 61.4), *nu-ni-sa-ta* (As 607.1)
 -SI-JO: *e-me-si-jo* (E 843.1), *a-ra-si-jo* (Fh 369 etc.), *pu-na-si-jo* B 806 + 6053.6), *qa-me-si-jo* (As 1516.5)

The unity of all these names as a group can be seen by simply reading the list carefully: *ku-ka-da-ro* is connected through its first element with *ku-ka-no*, *ku-ka-so*, *ku-ka-ra-re* and *ku-ka-ro*; through its second with *tu-pa₃-da-ro*, *tu-da-ra*, *a-pa₃-da-ro*, *no-da-ro*, *qa-si-da-ro*, *da-ra-mu-ru*, and *da-ra-ro*. *No-da-ro* provides a link with *no-sa-ro* and *no-si-ro*. The last contains the suffix *-si-ro* which reappears in *pi-ja-si-ro*. *Ku-ka-no* has the element *-no/a*, which also occurs in *wa-du-na*, one of the numerous names in *wa-du*.

The names also possess a characteristic frequency of phonemes. Syllables with the *o*-vowel occur almost exclusively at the end of words, possibly the result of the Hellenization of these names. Thus, elements which terminate with *-a* when they are the first element and in *-o* in the second element, i.e., in *Auslaut*, may be illustrated by *pi-ja-se-me* | *ma-ra-pi-jo*; *ma-ra-pi-jo* | *wi-ja-ma-ro*; *da-ra-mu-ro* | *ku-ka-da-ro*. In addition, these roots exhibit a strong tendency to vowel harmony: front vowels following front vowels, back vowels following back vowels. Of the twenty suffixes and prefixes listed above which have two syllables, only five do not follow this pattern, of which four have the combination *-i-ja/o*. Simple vowels do not seem to occur medially or finally.

Having shown the basic unity and similarity of these non-Greek names, one is permitted now to search for a relationship with other language groups. The names cannot be Greek, for not only are they not explainable by Greek etymologies, but they do not have elements which form combinations with elements in the Greek *onomasticon*. There are no **e-u-da-ro* or **a-pi-ma-ro*, or **wa-du-me-de*.

What language are we dealing with here? There are three leading theories as to the affinities of the Minoan people who may be expected to represent the largest non-Greek element at Knossos².

² It is interesting that only a few names of the type I have named (i.e., with prefixes and suffixes on the list) occur at Pylos.

One theory is that the Cretans were Semites. It is based on work by Cyrus Gordon on Linear A, and to a lesser extent on work by Michel Astour on comparative mythology. There are no obvious Semitic names on the Knossos tablets, however. No names in *ben-* «son of» (which would appear as **pe-* or **pe-n.*) or '*abd-* «servant of (a deity)» (Linear B: **a-p.-d.*) are discernible nor are any containing the names of Semitic Gods ('*Anath*, '*Ba'al*, '*Ashtart*, '*Milqart*, '*El*). One is compelled to add, also, that the theories of Mr. Gordon and M. Astour have been challenged on other grounds.

The second major theory is that the Minoans spoke a language related to no known tongue. Some admit a link with Etruscan, but that is not a «known» language. This theory does not help the researcher who seeks to find relationships for «Minoan», for by definition, we cannot compare an unrelated language to any other. As for Etruscan, one misses at Knossos the typical ending in *-enna* which one often sees on Etruscan names, e.g., *Porsenna*, *Sisenna*, *Vibenna*, and which appear, too, in Roman gentilian names.

The third theory is that the Minoans spoke a language related to those spoken in South-West Asia Minor, that is, to the Luwian of the second millennium before Christ and to the Lycian, Carian, Lycaonian of the Classical Period. This has been advanced by L. R. Palmer on the basis of work on Linear A as well as on place names³, and by Piero Meriggi⁴, and by others⁵. I believe that the evidence gleaned from the study of personal names supports this theory.

Johannes Sundwall, the noted Finnish scholar, published in 1913 his work, *Die einheimischen Namen der Lykier, nebst einem Verzeichnisse kleinasiatischer Namenstämme*, in which he lists the name elements used by Lycians and their neighbors. The roots are abstracted from the hellenized versions of the names appearing in Hellenistic inscriptions (or Roman) in most cases. These are designated with an asterisk *. Thus Ἀραουός can be analyzed

³ L. R. Palmer, *Mycenaeans and Minoans* (London, 1961) 229-250.

⁴ P. Meriggi, *Primi Elementi di Minoico A*, *Suplemento a Minos* (Salamanca, 1956).

⁵ S. Davis believes it is related to Hittite.

as containing the Lycian roots **ara-* and **-muwa*. Names lacking an asterisk come directly from Lycian inscriptions⁶.

It would be instructive to begin with a list of five Lycian names which have exact correspondents in Linear B or A, and then to analyze the many name elements which correspond.

LINEAR A/B (Knossos)	LYCIAN
<i>a-ra-ko</i> (As 607.1 etc.)	<i>araka</i> (Sundwall, 53-55)
<i>ki-do-ro</i> (X 7557)	<i>*kidra</i> (Χιδρων B 103)
<i>ku-ka-ro</i> (Da 1238.8 etc.)	<i>*ku-kala</i> (Κοκκαλος 120)
<i>ma-ra</i> (X 7662)	<i>*mara</i> (Μαρις; Μαρεας 143)
<i>da-ta-ra/o</i> (Haghia Triada)	<i>*datara</i> (Δωταρι, gen.: Δωταρις 65)

NAME ELEMENTS

LINEAR B	LYCIAN
<i>a-ra</i>	<i>*ara</i> (cf. Sundwall, 53-55)
<i>da-ra/da-ro</i>	<i>*dara</i> (cf. Δαρων Sundwall, 64)
<i>e-me/i</i>	<i>*ermē</i> (cf. Αρμαις; Ερμενδαδης Sundwall, 73)
<i>e-ri</i>	<i>*eri</i> (cf. Ηριεις; Εριυασις Sundwall, 71)
<i>ja-</i>	<i>*ija</i> (cf. Εια; Ιης; Ιαμος Sundwall, 8)
<i>ku-ka</i>	<i>*kuka</i> (cf. Κωκας; Κουγας Sundwall, 120)
<i>ma-ra/ma-ro</i>	<i>*mara</i> (cf. Μαρεας; Μαρις Sundwall, 142)
<i>pi-ja/pi-jo</i>	<i>*pija</i> (cf. Πιατερος; Πιαφηραβις Sundwall, 178)
<i>se-me</i>	<i>*s̄mma</i> (Sundwall, 194, cf. <i>sa-ma</i> ?)
<i>tu-</i>	<i>*tuwa</i> (cf. Θοας; Θουας Sundwall, 222)
<i>wa-du</i>	<i>*wadu(n)</i> (cf. βadunimi: Meriggi, <i>Minoico</i> , p. 6.

These are only the closer correspondences. Nine of the twenty commonest name elements of the non-Greek Knossos names do not have obvious Lycian parallels, though it can be shown that

⁶ J. Sundwall, *Die einheimischen Namen der Lykier nebst einem Verzeichnisse kleinasiatischer Namenstämme* (Leipzig, 1913).

parallels exist elsewhere in South-East Asia Minor. Some rarer elements have exact parallels in Lycian: Linear B *nu-ni* = Lycian **nuni* (see Sundwall, 170-171); Linear B *mu-ro* = Lycian **mula* (Sundwall, 153-154); *-ra/o* = Lycian **la* (Sundwall, 130)⁷.

It is interesting to note that the *Iliad* contains Lycian names which correspond exactly to the types in the Knossos Linear B and in Lycian inscriptions. *Maris* (*Iliad* 16.319-329) also occurs in a Lycian inscription as Sundwall notes on page 142 as well as in Linear B Knossos as *ma-ra*. The name belongs to the son of *Amisodaros* (*-*dara*) who was a Lycian Prince. *Pan-daros* is also associated with Lycia. This would seem to be further evidence of the strong historical element in the Homeric poems: a Mycenaean memory of Lycians bearing Lycian names.

There are yet other connections with Asia Minor. *Pi-ja-si-ro* is an exact copy, with a Greek *-os* declension ending added, of Hittite *Pijassilis*⁸. *Pi-ja-mu-nu* has a typical Anatolian *-mn-* suffix. The name of the Lycian adventurer of late Hittite times, *Pijamaradus*, probably consists of two roots listed above with a suffix added: **pija* + *mara* + *dus*.

The roots which do not yet seem to have Anatolian cognates can be linked to Asianic names by their frequent formation of compounds with elements which have close relatives in Lycian. Thus, *-na-ro* is connected through *a-ra-na-ro* and *wa-du-na-ro*; *-si-jo* by *a-ra-si-jo* and *e-me-si-jo*; *da-jo* by *a-ra-da-jo*; *wi-da* and *wi-ja* by *wi-da-ma-ro* and *wi-ja-ma-ro*; *-na-to|u* by *wa-du-na-to*; *no-* by *no-da-ro* and *no-si-ro*. *Sa-ta* is compounded with *e-ri* and *nu-ni*. *Sa-ma-* can probably be ascribed to this group of names as well, as will be seen.

It is possible that the names compounded with *-sa-ta* are theophorics, with the name of the Anatolian God, *Santas*. In *e-ri-ta-qi-jo*, parallel to *e-ri-sa-ta*, one can discern the God *Tarhund*, Lycian *trqqu*, who is of major importance in the religion of southern

⁷ Meriggi says in his *Minoico A*, 6, «...nel nome *Wa-du-ni-mi* (*HTr* 6 b I e 85 b 4) il vecchio conoscente *βadunimi* del licio (β o «miliaco» a causa del β, in cui s'era già scorto da lungo tempo una spirante) *TAM* 144 a 39 e 40 me li avrebbe tolti. Si noti che il nome è di quelli tipicamente anatolici in *-imi*».

⁸ O. Landau, *Mykenisch-Griechische Personennamen*, (Göteborg, 1958) 273. It may be related to Hittite «*piyant*» = «geben».

Asia Minor, especially among the «hieroglyphic Hittites». Some have seen his name in the Etruscan Tarquin-ius. *Ti-wa-ti-ja* (Ap 633 + 5533.2) could contain the name of the Luwian moon goddess *Tiwat*⁹; could *sa-ma-ti-ja* contain the name *Sarma*-, a major Hurrian deity? The prefix *e-mi* = *Ermē*-, discussed above, is probably related to the Anatolian God Armas, Erme-, who was also associated with the moon.

From this evidence, it seems to me, one can conclude with some assurance that a large population with strong kinship with the peoples of South-West Anatolia was living at Knossos at the date when the tables were written. Until now, these non-Greek names have been largely ignored. They have, indeed, been an embarrassment to the decipherers and a weapon in the hands of their critics. This should now stop. These names are in their way as much of a confirmation of the Ventris-Chadwick decipherment as are the Greek names. It has been long believed that the inhabitants of Crete in Minoan times had strong ties with Asia Minor. Now that supporting evidence comes from the Linear B tablets, should anyone be surprised?

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⁹ *Ibid.*, 273.