NON-GREEK INFLEXIONS OR SCRIBAL ERRORS IN THE MYCENAEAN TEXTS

The idea that Mycenaean is a mixed language containing both Greek and foreign elements is not new1). Having in mind such theories, the authors of Documents stated that „the proportion of non-Greek words was higher in Mycenaean than in Attic, or even Homeric Greek“2), but they warn that „it would be rash to assume all the words that so far defy interpretation were of non-Greek origin“3). Determining that „the final classification of a language depends ultimately on its grammar and syntax“4), they found that „in this respect Mycenaean displays undeniably Greek features“5). With the exception of the undoubted presence of non-Greek personal names, they rejected every other foreign grammatical elements in Linear B, because „there are no tablets of reasonable extent which do not give some sign of being written in Greek“6).

However, at the III International Colloquium of Mycenaean Studies at Wingspread, Saul Levin read a paper7) where he tried to prove that the language of the Linear B texts contains, along with Greek, non-Greek components as well, not only in the vocabulary, but also in grammatical structure. In some inscriptions with apparent Greek grammatical structure and vocabulary, as e. g. Fr. 1184, he also discovers foreign features. He supposes that the Linear B language is a jargon, used particularly in writing by bilingual Mycenaean scribes. But he does not say which other language coexisted with Mycenaean Greek; he only notes some forms and groups of words which he qualifies as non-Greek inflexions.

It is well known that a completely „pure“ language does not exist, and Mycenaean is no exception. It is also true that bilingual scribes often leave traces of the languages they speak on the documents they write. But the examples which S. Levin put forward as a proof for non-Greek inflexions in Linear B cannot be allowed to pass without comment.

3) Ibidem.
4) Ibidem 71.
5) Greek and Non-Greek Inflexions in Linear B, Mycenaean Studies Wingspread 1964, p. 146—159.
Pointing to un-Greek inflectional elements, he expressed a doubt even in the case of such an evident Greek form as \textit{ti-ri-po-de} (Ta 641) as to whether it is dual\(^6\) or plural. He showed similar suspicion concerning the plur. \textit{a-pi-po-re-we}, the negative prefix \textit{a(n)-}, and the enclitic conjunction \textit{-qe}. But he found the most convincing examples for his thesis in the PY Es and MY Ge tablets.

According to him, „neither the base nor the inflexions of the ‘cult-word’ \textit{we-da-ne-we/} \textit{we-da-ne-wo} of Es tablets have anything to do with Greek\(^7\). He noted that the form \textit{we-da-ne-we} is followed by a greater quantity of \textit{granum} (always T 1 V 4), and \textit{we-da-ne-wo} by a smaller measure, only by V 2 or 3. On the basis of this correlation L. supposes that \textit{we-da-ne-we} is the nom. plur. form, and \textit{we-da-ne-wo} the gen. sing. in -\textit{os}. But as the same portion of the commodity \(^*\)120 is respectively assigned to the other two recipients: \textit{*34-ke-te-si} and \textit{di-wi-je-we}, L. concludes that „the -\textit{we ~ -wo} alternation in the Es tablets is something un-Greek\(^8\).

In the MY Ge series he noted several non-Greek alternations: \textit{ke-po ~ ke-e-pe o-pe-ro}; \textit{pu-ke-o ~ pu-ke pe-ro-ro}, and he also tries to prove that
\begin{align*}
ona & \quad \text{like} \quad o-pe-ro \\
nato & \quad \text{pe-ro-ro}
\end{align*}
represent non-Greek inflexions.

Taken separately from the context and on the condition that the scribes did not make any errors, these examples would certainly represent a difficult problem. But having in mind the context, as well as the other places where they appear, nearly all of the examples mentioned above can be easily explained as scribal errors.

As from the manuscripts and inscriptions of classical and post-classical times, so from everyday life, it is known that errors of different kinds are inevitable in writing. Both in manuscripts and inscriptions we find numerous errors, e. g.: letters and words are erroneously written, omitted, repeated or mixed, and sometimes whole sentences are dropped or appear without any meaning\(^9\). If such numerous errors are inevitable in one relatively perfect script of about 20–30 phonetic signs, how much more can we expect errors in the primitive Mycenaean script of about 90 syllabic signs.

\(^6\) Idem p. 148. An obstacle to that, according to him, is the „quite problematical origin\(^*\) of the dual ending \textit{-e}. But the numerical sign \textit{two}, besides \textit{ti-ri-po-de} and the classical Greek dual forms in \textit{-e} are sufficient proof that this is a Greek word with a Greek inflexion.

\(^7\) Idem, p. 150.

\(^8\) Idem, p. 151.

As written documents the Linear B tablets are in some way similar both to copies of manuscripts of classical works and to the inscriptions on stone and metal. But the Linear B texts also have their own peculiarities in which they differ from both of them. Having regard to the fact that the Linear B tablets are generally autographs and not copies, one would expect the number of the scribal errors to be reduced to the minimum, as in the case of inscriptions on stone. But while the stonemason could carefully and slowly write on the stone, often inspect the written text and correct it, the Mycenaean scribe had to draw a great number of signs on the sticky, soft clay. Some of these signs are quite complicated and need more than ten movements to be written, and the scribe had to finish the tablet quickly, for otherwise the clay would get dry and it would be impossible to write on it. These conditions contribute to the considerably higher number of errors in Linear B texts. From the analysis of the handwritings of these texts, made by E. Bennett, one can see that at least 40 scribes were engaged in writing the Pylos tablets. As the tablets are not so extensive, and all of them could have been written in about 15 days by one scribe, it is to be inferred that the scribes were not professionals without other duties, but literate functionaries who wrote the tablets when it was necessary. This also represents another reason for the numerous differences and errors in the tablets.

Many errors in the Linear B tablets have already been pointed out by the editors and interpreters of the Mycenaean texts, but yet there is no special survey of them. Here I shall try to classify the most characteristic ones and explain how some of them have come about. I hope that this will throw some light on the examples cited by S. Levin, who ignores this important factor.

The errors of the Mycenaean scribes can be divided into several groups:

1. **Changes:**

Changes caused by the similarity of the signs. — Just as similar letters of the Greek phonetic script are usually confused, e. g. A with Δ and Α, C with Θ, and O, ΛΛ with M, T with Γ, etc. so in the Linear B texts there are interchanges between similar signs.

The word o-na-te-re=onateres, cf. ὄνατωρ (Pind.), is repeated in PY En-tablets 6 times and once in the label Wa 784, 1, but in En 659, 9, in the position where it should come, it is inscribed o-to-te-re. Cf. also pi-ri-na-jo (KN C 911, 1), possibly instead of pi-ri-to-jo (KT).

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p. 30) gen. Φιλίστοιο. The change of na into to and the contrary has obviously occurred in a mechanical way because of the similarity of these two signs: \( \overline{\text{γ}} : \overline{\text{τ}} \) (na : to).

For the same reason there are also interchanges between the following syllabic signs:

- ra : ja
- ro : pa
- pi : ti
- su : ta

e. g. mi-ra-ti-ra (PY Ab 382) instead of mi-ra-ti-ja = Milatiai, ethn. of Μίλητος, Μίλατος; a-re-ro (PY Un 718, 8) instead of a-re-pa = ἅλειφορ or ἅλειφα; ro-we-a (KN X 5949) = pa-we-a = ξαρέξα; poss. a-pa-ja (KN E 843, 5, cf. KT\(^3\) p. 86, 88) instead of a-ro-ja; pa-ra-wa (PY SA 787, 1, 2) instead of pa-ra-ja = παλαιά ροτα; e-ge-si-wa (ibidem) e-ge-si-ja, adj. of e-ge-τα and possibly za-ku-si-wa (PY Sa 787, 2) instead of za-ku-si-ja = Ζωχανθα; e-ra-ti-ja-ο (PY Un 1317) instead of e-ra-pi-ja-ο, poss. elaphia-, cf. έλαφε(ι)ος adj. of έλαφος; qa-ta-ra-pi (KN V 145, 4) = ka-ta-ra-pi, cf. Κάταρα; Κάταρι; cf. also α-qe-r/ε? (KN B 799, 6) = ακάδε; ku-su-to (KN X 80) instead of ku-in-io, cf. Κύταιον, etc.

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13) S. Luria, Vestnik drevnej istorii, No 2, 1957, p. 20, cf. also Eunomia 1958, p. 57, states that mi-ra-ti-ja (or mi-ra-ti-ra, possibly the basic form) is an occupational name rather than an ethnic. But the women of PY Aa, Ab and Ad series are qualified both by their trade-names and by ethnic. In Knossos they are more often by ethnic, cf. a-mi-ni-si-ja (Ai 825), pa-i-ti-ja (Ak 828, 1), ri-jo-ni-ja (Ak 624), etc. Mi-ra-ti-ja is also an ethnic adjective, derived from Μίλητος, either on Crete or in Asia Minor, and the form mi-ra-ti-ra is obviously an error.

14) On the other hand, numerous different readings are due to the similarity of some signs when they are not perfectly clear, e. g.: to : na = a-to-re-u (KN Pp 494); a-na-re-u; ja:su:ta = ku-ta-mi : ku-su-mi (KN L 759); pi-wo-ta-o (PY Vn 46, 7, Bennett PT\(^\ddagger\) p. 193) : pi-i-ja-o (Chadwick, Minos VI, 2, p. 9), etc.; ja:wa : to-te-ja : to-te-wa (KN X 7846b, cf. KT p. 193); pi:wi:ti : ko-pi-na (PY Ep 617, 15): ko-ti-na : ko-wi-na (cf. M. D. Petruševsky, Z. A. XI, p. 318); pi-jo-de (PY Fr 1230) : dt-wi-jo-de (cf. Ζ. A. XI, 318; Minos VI, 2 p. 47f.); po-pi-ja (PY Na 329): po-wi-ja (cf. M. Lejeune, Mémoires I, p. 386); wo-no-wa-pi-si (PY Vn 48, 6; Xb 1419, 2, see Chadwick, l.c.): wo-no-wa-ti-si (M. Lang, AJA 1961, p. 162) = οινοποιες των οινοποι (M. D. P., Ζ. A. XI p. 278; J. Puhvel, Myc. Studies Wingspread p. 169); pai-to = a-pa-to: a-to-to (KN G 5185); a-i-ka (KN X 134, 1, cf. KT\(^3\) p. 191); ke:de = wa-na-si-ja-ke: wa-na-si-ja-de (PY Vn 851, 7), etc. etc. For a-si-to-po-qo : a-pi-to-po-qo (PY Fb 617, 6) see L. Palmer, Interpret. of Myc. Texts p. 483.
2. Changes of some sounds. — a-ra-ro-mo-to-me-na (KN Sd 4408a) instead of a-ra-ro-mo-te-me-na=haramotmenai, cf. ἤρμοσμέναι; a-qij-ja-i (PY An 1282), instead of i-qij-ja-i= hikwia CURRUS (cf. Lejeune, a. c. p. 335; Palmer, Interpret. p. 422); o-pe-to-re-u (PY Ep 704, 1): o-pe-te-re-u (Ea 805; Eb 294, 1) a personal name; wo-ze-e (Eb 338,2) instead of wo-ze-e, inf. praes. (Docs. 412).

3. Metathesis. — There is a typical example of a metathesis in MY Ge 603, 5: no-ko, instead of ko-no, which is repeated 4 times in the same tablet, cf. also Ge 602, 5 and ko-i-no, scriptio plena, in Ge 606,7=σχοῖνος „ginger grass“.

4. Changes of the gender, number, case and personal endings. — ko-wo 6, instead of ko-wa (PY Ab 789); ra-pte-re (PY An 298, 2), plur. instead of ra-pte= ἡλληνικός 1, sing.: ka-ke-u (PY Jn 725, 18), sing. instead of ka-ke-we, (plur.) ta-ra-si-ja e-ko-te=γραπτής ταλασίαν ἐκοντες; po-se-da-o (PY Es 653, 1) nom.. instead of po-se-da-o-ne dat. Ποσειδαώνει δοσμός; e-ke-si (PY En 74, 21), instead of e-ko-si, onatēres ἐγρονσι, where elements both of sing. and plur. are mixed.

II OMISSIONS:

1. Haplography. — du-ni-jo<jo> me-tu-ra (PY Ae 264, cf. Ae 8); ke<ke>me-na (Eb 747); ko-to-na <a>no-no (Ea 922)= ktoina anonos, k. not subject to o-na-to; ko-to-no<o>ko (Eo 173, 1)= ktoino-okhos.

Similar to these errors are the omissions in which some element of the preceding or following syllable is dropped, e. g.: a-ra<ka>-te-ja-o (Ad 380)=alakateiaon, gen. plur., cf. a-ra-ku-te-ja= ἡλληνικός 1; a-da-ma<o>jo (Eo 351, 1); a<ko>so-ta-o (Cn 719, 8); ko<to>na (Ep 212, 3)=κτοΐνα; a<da>a2 (Vn 20. 1); o-to-wo<we>o (An 616, 4); o<u>wo-ze (Eb 338, 2); ta-ra-ma<ta>o (Ae 134); te-qi<jo>ne (Un 219, 4); wa<na>ta-[jo] (Eo 211, 4).

2. Unmotivated omissions:

a. Dropped initial syllables. — re-u-te-ra (Na 425), prob = e-re-u-te-ra.

b. Dropped middle syllables. — a-mi<ni>si-ja (KN L 513r); a-pi-<t>o (PY An 616, 2); di<pte>ra-po-ro (Ea 814); e-ke-ra<wo>ne (Un 1, 1, cf. Docs. p. 417); ke<u>po-da (Na 568); ku-ru<ne>no-jo (Ea 801, cf. Docs. p. 251); me-za<wo>ne (Fn 50,4) and in the next line me-ri-du<ma>te (Fn 50, 5); o<na>to (Ea 814); o-pi-te<u>ke-e-u (Un 2, 2, cf. Docs. p. 221), cf. o-pi-te-u-ke-e-we (A 39, 4; Fn 41, 14); re<u>si-wo (An 1281, 9, cf. line 3); to<ro>qa (KN Fh 339).

c. Dropped final syllables. — a-ja-me<na> (KN Sd 4415b); a-ko-so-ta<o> (PY Cn 40, 13); a<ke> (Tn 316, r5); ke-ke-me<na>
(Eq 59, 2); ke-ro-si<ja> (An 261, r4, cf. PT² p. 227); ki-ti-me<na>
(En 74, 1); o-na<to> (Ea 460; 757-819); pa-k<we> (Fr,
1216); pe-ru-si-muc<wo> (Ma 193, 2); po-se-da-o<ne> (Es 653);
re-u-ko-to<ro> (Un 1319, 3); te-o<jo> (En 659, 10; Eo 276, 7);
to<so> pe-mo (Ep 212, 8; 301. 11); we-re-ka-ra<ta> (An 610, 15,

Ⅲ ADDITIONS:

1. Dittography. — u-ru-pi-ja<jo> (PY Cn 3, 7, cf. Docs. 207;
do-ro<jo> cf. Docs. 417, etc.

2. Additions of a whole word. — ko-to-na ko<to>na (PY Ep
212, 3), if the last word is not zovw': {to-to} to-to we-to (Sn 64.14) etc.

It is to be noticed that the errors of omission are more nume-
rous than those of addition because of the difficulty of writing with
this primitive script on such unhandy material as clay. The use of so
many abbreviations, to some extent, is due to the same reason.

Errors were sometimes noticed by the scribe himself, and he
made efforts to correct them while it was possible, i.e. while the clay
was soft. Erased signs and words are noticeable in many tablets and
other signs and words were written over them16). But sometimes, after
the scribe had noticed the error, being distracted, he put the correction
in the wrong place and instead of correcting one, made two errors.
Thus, when he had written the tenth line of En 659 and noticed the
error o-to-te-re, the scribe meant to correct it and write na. He did
so, but in the wrong place. Just under the erroneous sign, he put na instead of jo, and wrote another incorrect
word te-o-na.(do-e-ro), instead of te-o-jo d. It is evident that te-o-na
is an error, because in the Pylos tablets te-o-jo (do-e-ro) appears over
100 times and te-o-na only in En 659, where otherwise the word te-o-jo
is correctly written 6 times.

16) There are whole tablets erased and reused like palimpsests, e.g. KN Da
1147, Db 1279; PY Tn 316; MY Ge 603 etc. Syllabic signs, whole words, and some-
times a complete text of one or several lines on some tablets are written over erasures.
cf. KN As 1516.21,—1517, 10—13, Od 502b; PY Ab 745, cf. Jn 725, 18—21, Sh 739,
etc. There is an interesting case of this kind in MY V 659, 3.4. According to Bennett
qo-ta-ge (line 3) appears to have been written over a deleted name beginning ko;
and the numeral may have been changed from 2 to 1 and then back to 2. Under the
first two signs of e-ril-tu-pi-na (line 4) he reads signs qo-ta. Chadwick concludes (MY
III, p. 65): „this suggests that the correction of line 3 took place when the scribe had
reached this point“.

Corrections can also be seen in the ideograms, cf. KN Da 1098, Dc 926; PY
Ad 380, Eb 156, Sa 793, etc. and in the numerical signs, e.g. KN Da 1098, Dd 1425.
Df 5182; PY Aa 313,—775, etc. For the errors in the calculation see M. Lejeune,
An interesting mixture of case endings occurs in Es 649, 1: a-re-ku-tu-[ri]w0-ne po-se-da-o-no, instead of a-re-ku-tu-ri-w0 (or possibly a-re-ku-tu-ri-w0-no... do-so-no, as in Es 644) po-se-da-o-ne. The dative case ending -(n)e of po-se-da-o is anticipated in the man's name a. (Ἄλεκτρυών), and then another mistake is made in the case ending of the recipient.

In KN Sd 4408 ja of a-ra-ru-wo-ja is not perfectly clear, and it is possible that the scribe meant to change a-ra-ru-wo-a into a-ra-ru-ja\textsuperscript{4} (KT\textsuperscript{3} p. 138).

The scribes often used set formulae in the writing of the tablets, but sometimes they took some liberty in the expression of their thoughts. Thus in Eo 371 an error appears in the name [pi-ri]-ta-w0 which is in the nom., instead of gen. This change is due to the blend of two syntactical patterns. The three written lines of En 467 correspond to the inscriptions: Eo 278, 268 and 371. But while in En 467 the thought is expressed without a verb, and the personal names are in the gen.: ti-qa-jo-jo ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na to-so-de pe-mo, in the corresponding Eo 278 we read: ti-qa-jo po-me e-ke-qe dwo ko-to-mo=Thisbaios the shepherd and he holds two ktoimans. The second line (En 467, 3): po-te-wo ko-to-na ki-ti-me-na to-so-de pe-mo in Eo 268 is expressed in a shorter way, only with po-te-wo ko-to-na and the numerical signs GRANUM 2 T 4, which corresponds exactly to the amount on En 467. But in Eo 371 the two varieties of the formula in Eo 278 and 268 are confused: pi-ri-ta-w0 (Πιλινθάτων cf. M. D. P., Ζ. Α. IX, p. 230) ... (e-ke „έχει") ~ (pi-ri-ta-w0-no Πιλινθάτων) ko-to-na „κτοίνα“ (cf. Docs. pp. 246, 250).

A similar inconsistency is observed in MY Ge series dealing with contributions of different spices: ko-ri-ja-do-no (κορίανδρον), ku-mi-no (κύμινον), ma-ra-tu-wo (μάραθρον), etc.\textsuperscript{17).}

Along with the personal names: pe-ke-u (=Sperkheus), i-na-o (=Isnaon), ra-ke-da-no (-anor), etc. which are in the nom., in Ge 602, 4 we would expect ka-e-se-u, as in Ge 605,4, but, obviously, it is in some different case. The names of My Ge tablets are generally repeated (602:605: 603:604). In Ge 603, 605 and 602, except line 4, they are in the nom. The nom. here depends on the introducing formula: jo-o-po-ro a-ro [ ... (δός δόρλον) „so they owed“. But the same idea of debt is expressed here in another way as well, with the noun o-pe-ro (δφεῖλος) „deficit\textsuperscript{\textsuperscript{14}, and naturally the personal names are then in some other case. Thus, the word o-pe-ro follows every name in Ge 604. In the book The Abl. Instr. and Loc. in the Oldest Gr. Texts, p. 93 f. 139 f., it has been pointed out that the case of the personal names in Ge 604 is not the dat., as was supposed by the authors of Docs., but the (instr.-) abl. The name ka-e-se-we in Ge 602, 4 is also in the (instr.-) abl. The interchange of the nom. with the (instr.-) abl. has come about

\textsuperscript{17) According to J. Killen, Cl. Rev., N. S. XIV, 2, p. 172, some of them are used as unguent ingredients, but more of them for culinary purposes.
because the introductory formula of Ge 602: jo-o-po-ro has been con-
ceived by the scribe as o-pe-ro (pa-ro) ἐθείλος (παρόδ) allowing another
case which expresses the same thought.

Such examples of an (instr.-) abl. among the other place-names
in the nom. we find in PY Nn 228: po-ra-pi (instr.-) abl. plur. and,
te-tu-ru-we, sing., along with pu₂-ra-a-ke-re-u, e-na-po-ro, etc. They
can be also explained as a confusion of the heading formula: o-pe-
ro-si ri-no . . with the thought o-pe-ro (pa-ro).

Let us look now at the pairs:

o-na-to ~ na-to-to and o-pe-ro ~ pe-ro-ro.

The correct qualification of a Mycenaean word depends on
several different factors: first on contextual indications, and for that
reason we dare not separate it from the context; the normality of the
spelling not only in one but in all the places where it appears; the
resemblance of a Myc. form to that of classical Greek, etc. (cf. J.
Chadwick, Glotta XLI, p. 160). Only with all these factors in mind,
can one decide whether a Mycenaean form represents a „non-Greek“
inflexion, or is simply a scribal error.

The word o-na-to „ονάτων“ φιλον ἐμπς „a holding“
or „a lease“, cf. φιλον, appears nearly 200 times in the Pylos E
tablets in this form, twice as o-na<to>, without the final syllable
(Ea 460, 757+819), once as o<na>to (Ea 814), and twice it is com-
pletely dropped (En 74, 4 and Eo 224, 6). In Ea 305, where this word
is expected, the form na-to-to appears. Levin admits that the repeated
<to over an erased ke is a proof that the word is correctly written. But
this erasure shows a more complicated blunder of the scribe. It is im-
possible to discover why the first syllable of this word is omitted, but
nevertheless some relation between the dropped first vowel o and the
repeated syllable to in <o>na-to<to> cannot be denied. The initial
vowel appears in the repeated to. At the back of his mind the scribe
had the notion that the word o-na-to consists of more than two syllabic
signs, and after he had begun to write the first sign of the following
word ke-ke-me-na, he erased ke and wrote another to, instead of the
initial o. Similarly, when the scribe meant to correct o-to-te-re (En
659, 9) into o-na-te-re, he put na in the wrong place. The repetition

19) It is to be noticed that the differences in writing of some words cannot
be always explained as graphic errors. Thus, ma-to-pu-ro in Mn 1412 was emended
61 f. explained it as matro-pulos —matr-p. (cf. Z. A. XII, p. 418). Among the restored
genitives, e. g. wi-do-wo-ljo<jo> (M. Lejeune, Mémoires I p. 199 n. 37), si-ri-jo<jo>
(Docs. 261), e-te-na-jo<jo> (Chadwick, MLS 28. V 1958), the month’s names of
Knossos (Docs. 305), ai-so-ni-jo in MY U 651,4, among the other genitives, etc.
there might be some (instr.-) ablatives as well.

19) It is noticeable that the three tablets, where the errors o-na<to>, o<na>to
and <o>na-to<to> appear, are written by the hand of one and the same scribe,
of final syllables, when some of the preceding ones were omitted, is also observed in KN Sd 4408, 1, where instead of the omitted *ki or *ke in *po-ni-ki/*ke-ja=*φοινικής; *po-ni-ja-ja is written.

Pu-ke pe-ro-ro (Ge 604, 5). — Between these two words there is quite a large gap. Probably the scribe has intentionally left room for dropped syllables, but later he has forgotten to add them. Two syllables are at least dropped here. The question is: which are they? The second one is obviously the initial o of o-pe-ro; this word follows the personal names in all the previous lines and it cannot be an exception here. As a compensation for this omitted o, the scribe has repeated the final syllable ro like in <o>na-to{to} and po-ni<ki ke>ja{ja}.

It is more difficult to restore the final syllable of the personal name pu-ke. Judging from the form pu-ke-o in Ge 603, where the other personal names are in the nom., we can admit an o-stem name, possibly *Πύργιος20) with a graphic change of i to e. Then in Ge 604, 5 we would expect the same form pu-ke<o> like a-ke-re-wi-jo in line 4. But it is not excluded that pu-ke of Ge 602, 2: 605.2 and 608, 4 might be identical with pu-ke, as Bennett suggests21). This can be identified with *Φύσκεος of es-stem. Then we must admit that pu-ke-o in Ge 603 is in the gen. *Φύσκεος, instead of nom. (for such kind of errors see above I 4 and tu-me-ne-wo, MY Ui 709, possibly gen. of *Τυμνεύς, cf. Τύμνης -ω, or Τύμνης ζεις from Τυμνεύς, along with ke-po in the nom.). In that case we could restore an (instr.-)abl. form of this name pu-ke<e> with the omitted final -e by haplography. Both restorations are possible, but however they are speculative, because the form pu-ke-o, on which the explanation depends, appears only once.

Ke-po ~ ke-e-pe. — The name ke-po is identified with χήπος, χηβος (Arist. H. A. 502-a 17) and Hesych. χήπος; ζηφόν δημοτον πιθήκω (cf. Landau, o. c. s. v.). According to Stephanus (Th. L. Gr., s. v.) „nomen ex Aithiopico quodam vocabulo in Graecam speciem detortum esse“. There are personal names with the meaning of „monkey“ both in Mycenaean, cf. pi-ia-ke-u = Πιθακεύς and in classical Greek, cf. Πιθήκος -ου, etc. Thus the form ke-po can be explained as a non-Greek personal name Κήπος, Κήβος, but a corresponding Greek name can be also found in the Greek vocabulary. There is a documented name Σκέφρος (Paus. 8, 53, 2. 3), derived from σκέφτομαι < *σκέπω22), with the meaning „shelter“. The name *Σκέφτος, -ου, cf. σκέφτος, -ου or *Σκέφος, -ου with a similar meaning: „protection“, „refuge“, could also exist, and it would correspond better to ke-po.

20) O. Landau, Myk. griech. Personennamen, Göteborg 1958, s. v. Cf.Πυργίος, the place-name Πυργίας in Triphylia and Πυργίων, -ων in Elis. Although in the phonetics of this word there are some pre-Greek, possibly Pelasgian, elements πυργ- < *bherg- (cf. VI. Georgiev, Isledovanija po svavn. istor. jazykozn., Moskva 1958, pp. 91, 101; A. J. van Windekens, Le pélasgique, Louvain 1952, pp. 131f.), the inflexion of the personal name pu-ke<o> Πυργίος might be Greek.
21) MT II p. 89, cf. also MT III p. 70.
As for the variation of *ke-po : ke-e-pe*. Bennett (*MT II* p. 89) suggested that this "might seem at least partly due to inflexion". In *MT III* p. 70 he states that the two spellings of these forms "represent the same person in different syntactical positions". The form *ke-po* is inscribed by hand 57 in Ge 602, 5; 605.5 and Ui 709, 1 and by hand 58a, over two erasures in Ge 603, where a part of the text belongs to hand 59. The form *ke-e-pe* appears only once in Ge 604 which is written wholly by hand 58a. The personal names in Ge 602, 603 and 605 are in the nom., with the exception of *ka-e-se-we* (602, 4), and in Ge 604 — in the (instr-) abl., as we saw above. Thus, a different form can be expected in Ge 604 if the name is of cons. stem (cf. *i-na-o-te*, *ra-ke-da-no-re*). But *ke-e-pe* from *ke-po* "cannot be reconciled with any Greek declension", as Chadwick noticed (*MT II*, 108). Is not, perhaps, this form an example of non-Greek inflexion? It might be, if we were sure that the scribe did not make errors. But having in mind the fact that this is written by the same scribe who wrote *no-ko* instead of *ko-no* and *pu-ke pe-ro-ro* instead of *pu-ke-o/e* *o-pe-ro*, we doubt whether *ke-e-pe* is a correct form. Maybe the scribe intended to write *ke-po* here, but then he made two errors: 1. a kind of dittography (*ke-e-*) and 2. he wrote *pe* instead of *po* having in mind *o-pe-ro*. In this tablet there is no other sign *po* and, apart from *ke-po* of Ge 603, 1, where several corrections are visible, we cannot see how this scribe used to write the sign *po*.

It seems that *ke-po = Σκέπ/φος* is an o-stem name, and if it is correctly identified, it could not vary in Ge 604, where the case edning of the personal names expresses an ablative relation, cf. *a-ke-re-wi-jo*. In any case, this doubtful form of a personal name "cannot be used to support a theory that any language other than Greek was in actual use in the Mycenaean Kingdom".

The alternation *we-da-ne-we / we-da-ne-wo* in the PY Es tablets represents a really difficult problem and a more complicated case. Many scholars have tried to solve it, but so far no agreement has been reached among them. Several different solutions are given about the meaning of this word: personal name, god's name, a title, religious

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23) However J. Chadwick (ibidem) suggested that this form could be explained with the analogy of an es-stem noun, written with a metathesis *ke-e-pe*, instead of *ke-pe-e*. The word *σκέπας*, -εος with the meaning 'shelter' is documented in *E.M.* s. v. and it would correspond to this form. But it is to be noticed that personal names in -os, -eos are not usual in the Greek popular onomasticon. They occur only in the mythology and poetry as personifications, e. g. Γένος, -ους; Κάλλος, -ους; Κράτος, -ος; Σκότος, -ους, etc.


27) V. Georgiev, *Lexique*, II Suppl., s. v., S. Luria, l. c.
Non-Greek Inflexions or Scribal Errors

functionary\(^{28}\), place-name or ethnic\(^{29}\), month’s name\(^{30}\), financial functionary\(^{31}\), religious holiday\(^{32}\), etc.

This name appears in PY Cn tablets along with the other two cattle collectors: \(a-ke-o\) and \(a-ko-so-ta-o\), and there obviously it denotes a person, called by his name, if not by an ethnic\(^{33}\). The genitive case ending of the cattle collectors depends on the word \(a-ko-ra = \dot{\alpha} \gamma \omicron \rho\omicron\). "collection" (cf. Cn 655, 5.6.11—13), which corresponds to the use of the name in the nom. and the verb \(a-ke-re = \dot{\alpha} \gamma \epsilon \iota \rho\epsilon\) (cf. Cc 660). The dative, in an alternative spelling of this name: \(we-u-da-ne-we\), appears with the preposition \(pa-ro\) in Cn 418,1. It has been suggested that in Es tablets \(we-da-ne-wo\) also denotes a personal name or a title in the gen., which is confirmed by the phrase: \(we-da-ne-wo \, do-e-ro\) in Es 644,6; 650,6 and 703,1. The dat. \(we-da-ne-we\), repeated three times in Es tablets, would correspond well with the other recipients of granum \(po-se-da-ne \, di-wi-je-we\) and \(^{34}\)ke-te-si. But the genitive form \(we-da-ne-wo\), repeated 10 times together with these names, apparently does not harmonize with the other datives.

It is known that personal names, especially when they are of foreign origin, can sometimes be badly distorted by scribes. The analogy to some forms written earlier, or intended to be written, can also represent a reason for the erroneous writing of personal names. It is noticeable that the "correct" dative form \(we-da-ne-we\) appears in Es 646, 649 and 647, i.e. in the tablets which correspond to the first two and the forth line of the general list in Es 644 and 650. The genitive \(we-da-ne-wo\) in the other 10 tablets might be allowed by the influence of the phrase \(we-da-ne-wo \, do-e-ro\) of the sixth line in Es 644 and 650. Thus, if \(we-da-ne-wo\) is either a personal name or a title of the religious sphere and in the Es tablets a recipient of wheat, then the alteration \(we/wo\) might be considered as an error. But the explanation of a Mycenaean form as a scribal error can be assumed only after all the other possibilities have been exhausted and in cases where we have no better solution.

As some scholars have already suggested, \(Wedaneu\) is an important personage at the palace. He is a cattle collector and possibly he is the same as the person mentioned in An 610,14, who together with \(a-ke-ra-wo\) supplies a number of rowers. But it is not certain whether the same person in the Es tablets receives a small contribution of wheat together with Poseidon and the other two recipients: \(^{34}\)ke-te-si and \(di-wi-je-we\).

\(^{29}\) V. Georgiev, ibidem.
\(^{30}\) M. Lejeune, Mémoires I p. 164.
\(^{31}\) S. Luria, l. c.
\(^{33}\) V. Georgiev, ibidem, suggested that even here \(we-da-ne-wo\) is a place-name, or ethnic, cf. n. 29.
It is difficult to identify *we-da-ne-we*/*wo* with any later documented Greek personal name or title. It is also doubtful whether a person can be a recipient together with Poseidon, one of the most honoured gods in Peloponnesus. For that reason we have to look for another more convincing explanation.

The suggestion that in *we-da-ne-wo/*we* is concealed a place-name or an ethnic should not be entirely rejected. The name *di-wi-je-we* which appears together with *we-da-ne-we/*wo* gives us reason for such a suggestion. There is disagreement among the scholars about the meaning of this word as well. Several identifications for this word have been proposed so far: personal name\(^{34}\), priest of Zeus\(^{35}\), priest of temple of Zeus\(^{36}\), ethnic\(^{37}\), man or functionary, a title rather than a proper name\(^{38}\) just as *i-je-re-u*, etc. An ethnic certainly would best correspond to this name. The place-name Διάσται quite often occurs in Greece\(^{39}\). Every inhabited place near the sanctuary devoted to Zeus can be called Διάσται. In the Linear B tablets this place-name appears in two forms: *di-wi-jo* PY Mb 1366 and the allative *di-wi-jo-de* Fr. 1230\(^{40}\). The ethnic of this place is documented as Διώς \(\Delta \iota \iota \iota\) Att. Διώς, or Διάσται\(^{41}\) (cf. Paus. 9,30,8: of Διάσται). Both of these forms appear in the Mycenaean tablets too: *di-wi-ja-ta* (PY Nn228,4) = Diwiastai, if not Diwiatai from Di-wi-ja obviously an ethnic, used as a place-name among ro-o-wo, po-ra-pi, e-na-po-ro a-pi-no-e-wi-jo, etc. and in An 656,9: *di-wi-je-u* Διώς in the sing., applied to one of e-qe-tas. The title e-qe-ta is usually qualified by his own name and the patronymic: e. g.: ro-u-ko ku-sa-me-ni-jo, a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo, pe-re-go-ni-jo a-re-i-jo, ke-ki-jo a-e-ri-jo-ta. But more often it is qualified with an ethnic both in KN and PY tablets: e-qe-ta e-ke-si-jo (cf. e-ko-so, Exos), (KN As 821,2): ko-no-si-jo e. (KN B 1055,1): pe-re-u-ro-ni-jo e. (PY An 656,16); e. wo-ro-tu-mi-ni-jo (An 611,7), cf. Ριθυμνία; e. ko-e-sa-me-no a-pu2 -ka (An 656,20), and in the same way e. di-wi-je-u (An 656,8—9). (ai-ko-ta, An 657,14: 218,6 and di-ka-no-ro a-da-ra-ri-jo An 656,14, can be added both to the first group with the patronymics or to the second with the ethnics). It is more probable that *di-wi-je-u* here is an ethnic Διώς which denotes the district of the functionary e-qe-ta, as ko-no-si-jo = Κνώσσιος, pe-re-u-ro-ni-jo = Πλευρώνιος etc.

\(^{34}\) Docs. p. 193.


\(^{36}\) A. Heubeck, *ibidem*.


\(^{40}\) Cf., Minos VI, 2, p. 47f.
In Cn 3,2 the same ethnic appears in the dat. sing. and applies to the functionary e-re-u-te-re=ereuterei, cf. ἐρευτῆς, "exactor, collector of state debts".

In the Es tablets this ethnic is probably applied to Poseidon as an epithet. It is known that round big sanctuaries there are small temples devoted to other deities. Thus, in Diwion, besides the sanctuary of Zeus (from which the place received its name), another temple, devoted to Poseidon, could also exist. Poseidon of this place might be called Diwieus as well. There are many epithets of the gods derived from the places where their sanctuaries are situated. In the same way as the place could take the name of the deity (cf. Ἀπολλωνία, Δίον, Ποσειδώνια etc.), so the deities could be named according to the places where they are celebrated, e. g.: 'Απόλλων Δελφικός, Δήλιος; Ζεὺς Ὀλύμπιος, Δωδώναῖος, Μεγιστεύς, Σολυμεύς etc. Poseidon is also called: Ἑλύτως or Ἑλύριος (Lesbos), Ἑπεχατώς (Samos), Ταυνάριος (Laconia), etc. Undoubtedly, Poseidon was celebrated in different places of the Pylian Kingdom in the Mycenaean times. One of these places was possibly Diwion and accordingly Poseidon, i. e. his temple, was called Diwieus.

In the first line of Es tablets the dosmos to Poseidon, i. e. to the main sanctuary of Poseidon, is noted. It was probably situated at Pylos (cf. Tn 316,1), which is usually omitted when the location is there (cf. the Aa series). It is remarkable that the contribution to this sanctuary is considerably higher than that to the other three.

*34-ke-te-si in the second line is still not identified, because the phonetic value of *34 is not yet discovered. If we assume that it is a place name where a temple of Poseidon was situated, then it might be in the nom. sing. -tersis, or in the loc. plur. in -si, and may denote: dosmos (to the temple of Poseidon) in *34-ke-te-si.

Wedaneu, like di-wi-je-u, is an ethnic which denotes the place where the sanctuary of Poseidon was situated. But its identification is not easy.

The ethnics Ἑδδανεύς from Ἑδδανα and possibly *Ἐλδανεύς from Ἐλδανα, in spite of their resemblance, cannot be brought into relation with Wedaneus, because the mentioned places are too far...

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41) For the Es-proportions see Mabel Lang in Mycenaean Studies Wingspread, p. 37ff.
42) If we assume that we-da-ne-we/wo, di-wi-je-we and *34-ke-te-si are not recipients but givers of do-so-mo to po-se-da-o, then the alternation of we-da-ne-we/wo can be more easily explained as the nom. plur. -ëwes, and the gen. plur. -ëwën of the same ethnic, and both of these forms would correspond with do-so-mo po-se-da-o-ne (cf. the syntax of Es 644 and Es 645 etc.).

However this explanation encounters two serious obstacles over which we cannot pass so easily: 1. The amount of the individual contribution would be considerably higher than that of these groups and we should expect the opposite; 2. It would be surprising that the scribe did not write all the amount of their do-so-mo at once as in the other cases, and save the repetition of writing their names 13, or 14 times. Obviously we-da-ne-we and di-wi-je-we are recipients and probably denote ethnics, epithets of Poseidon, i. e. of his sanctuaries.
from Peloponnes (the first in Arabia, the second in Spain and India). According to Stephanus Byz. the founder of "Εδδανα was a Phoenician Έδδανός. The Phoenicians, indeed, could have contact with the Myce-
naeans, but it is unlikely that Wedaneus has any relation with this place, known also under the name "Εδδανος which is explained as Ed-Der=" on the Euphrates" (Ptol. V, 19,3; cf. PWRE Bd V, 2 col. 1932). However, the formation 'Εδδανεύς < "Εδδανα < "Εδδανος, from the formal point of view, can help us to a possible interpretation of this Mycenaean word.

Similar ethnics in -εύς, derived from place-names with the endings -ανος, -ανα are especially familiar in the languages of Asia Minor, e. g. 'Αδανεύς from "Αδανα (Cilicia); Δαρδανεύς from Δάρδανον, cf. Δαρδανία, Τυμηνεύς from Τύμηνα (Lycia), etc. From "Ανδανος, the Carian name for Βραχγυλα, is also possible the ethnic *'Ανδανεύς, like 'Ανδανεύς from 'Ανδανία (Messenia). This gives us reason to suppose that the ethnic adjective Wedaneus might be derived from a place-name *Φεδανα or *Φεδανος, and that it is possibly related to some of the mentioned languages. The ethnics with the suffix -eus are particularly characteristic of Carian and Lycian, as M. D. Petrushevski showed with the material extracted from Steph. Byz. (cf. Linguistique Balkanique VI, Sofia 1963, p. 19—24). Thus, the numerous Mycenaean forms in -eus can be explained by the influence of the languages of those peoples who very likely inhabited Greece before the Achaean invasion.

It is not excluded that the reconstructed place-name *Φεδανα, Fεδανος (possibly etymologically connected with Hom. έδανος43) might survive in some other form. This form might be 'Ανδανία, the well known earlier name of Messenia and the residence of the kings of Leleges (Paus. 4, 1, 2, 3, etc.). Just as the Hom. έδανος was connected, by popular etymology, with ήδύς, so 'Ανδανία (άνδανω) might be a later Greek „translation“ and „adaptation“ of the pre-
Greek place-name *Φεδανα. or *Φεδανος.

43) About the etymology of the reconstructed name *Φεδανα, Φεδανος only hypotheses are possible. It might be brought into relation with Hom. έδανος, but this word has no certain etymology too. According to M. Lejeune (Bulletin de la Soc. linguist., 1963. p. 82f.) its connection with ήδύς, άνδάνω must be rejected because „cette interprétation est visiblement inspirée par une ressemblance formelle (έδ-/ήδ-)“, and ήδύς is from *swâd-. Solmsen’s hypothesis that έδανος: εύωδης (Hesych., Cyril Alex.) is connected with ε(τ)ημι, seems to him also hardly convincing. For that reason he tried to find a better solution. He proposed several possible interpretations, but he found the most probable: έδανος = („proprius“) < s(w)e-d-, with the reflexive pronoun Hie- in the root, cf. Att. ίδιος. From the formal point of view this explanation is suitable, although speculative concerning the meaning.

έδανος is possibly a pre-Greek, I-E. word with a meaning close both to ήδύς and εύωδης, as the ancient authors explained it. This word with such a meaning could be used as a place-name and we can suppose *Φεδανα or *Φεδανος with the ethnic *Φεδανεύς. But as its meaning was possibly not clear to the Greeks, they may have changed it later. Possibly 'Ανδανία is its later name.
Thus, if we assume that *we-da-ne-wo/we* is an ethnic, then a satisfactory explanation is available for all the places in the Mycenaean tablets where this name appears. Ethnic adjectives are often used as personal names in the Mycenaean documents, cf. *a-ke-re-wi-jo* (MY Ge 603, 604) from *a-ke-re-wa*; *tu-ri-si-jo-jo* gen. (PY Sa 758), from *tu-ri-so*; etc. (see Docs. 98f: Landau, o. c. 215f.). The cattle collector *Wedaneu* of PY Cn tablets can be also named with this ethnic. As an important personage he possessed a servant; *w. do-e-ro*. Here *we-da-ne-wo* is in the gen. sing. In An 610, along with numerous place-names and ethnics: *e-wi-ri-po, a-ke-re-wa, ri-jo, da-mi-ni-jo*, etc., *we-da-ne-wo* (line 14) would well correspond as an ethnic, and here it might be in the gen. plur. rather than in the gen. sing. The gen. plur. is also possible in Na 856, 1041 and, perhaps, in Un 1193, 3.

The form *we-da-ne-we* in Es tablets can be explained as dat. sing. of this ethnic used as an epithet of Poseidon *Fedaneus*. Then the alternation *we-da-ne-wo* might be accepted as gen. plur. with the meaning: *dosmos* (to Poseidon) of *Wedanewes*). Although this name might be of foreign origin, its inflexion is certainly not un-Greek**).

Skopje. 

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*) After this paper was ready, in a talk with Professor M. D. Petruševski, I was informed that he had come to the same conclusion about *di-wi-je-we* and *we-da-ne-wo/we*, cf. p. 32.

**) I am very thankful to Dr. John Killen for having read an earlier draft of this paper and improved my English.