TI-RI-SE-RO-E AND SOME OTHER MYCENAEAN NAMES WITH AUGMENTATIVE PREFIXES*


1. Ti-ri-se-ro-e appears once among the names of important Mycenaean deities on the Pylos tablet Tn 316 as the recipient of a gold vessel, and once (in somewhat damaged form) in the Fr series (Fr 1204) as the recipient of a small quantity of perfumed OIL (Z 1). The name has been discussed by many scholars. The Mycenologists agree in the identification of its dative form as herköe.

* I would like to thank Thomas G. Palaima both for improving my English text and for his valuable comments and suggestions. Any shortcomings in this final text are of course my own.

is disagreement bearing on several questions: Is it a proper compound or a juxtaposition of two words: τρεῖς and ἤρως? Why is the adverb tris used and not the stem of the cardinal number tri-, the form used in many other compounds? What exactly does the term ἤρως mean? Does it denote a human being or a divinity? So many different answers to these questions have been proposed that it seems a good idea to reexamine this name thoroughly.

2. In Homer and in Classical Greek there are compounds both with the stem of the cardinal number tri- and with the adverbial multiplicative form tris, as in the other IE languages (cf. Lat. ter < *tris, Skt. trih, Slav. trís'ř, triždi < trihždi).

Both forms in these compounds are equivalent, as can be seen from the alternations, e.g. τρίς-φυλλον, τό, poet. for τρί-φυλλον. In later Greek the form τρι- usually occurs when the second part of the compound begins with a consonant; but when the second part begins with a vowel, the adverb τρις is used in the first part, e.g. τρι-βάρβαρος, but τρις-επιβάρβαρος, τρι-καλος, but τρις-εύγενος. However, in Classical Greek there is no rule for the exact use of these forms: τρίς-γονος beside τρι-έγγονος, τρι-κέφαλος beside τρί-οδος 'a cross-road of three ways', τρι-πτερος 'having three wings', beside τρι-νιώνος 'trinepos'; τρις-ἀθλιος 'thrice unhappy', τρις-ἀρος 'most untimely dead' and τρις-δείλαιος, τρίς-μεγας, etc. It seems that *Τρις-ήρως is a normal compound like many others in Greek, and not a phrase of two separate words.

Compounds with numerals in their first part are of different kinds and consequently have different meanings. Usually they are possessive composites, e.g. τρι-όðους 'with three teeth', τρί-ποις 'having three children', τρί-ποις 'three-footed', etc.; Mycenaean

2 Cf. Latin tergeminus along with trigeminus. The compounds with tri- in Lat. are generalized under the influence of Greek, e.g. tri-nummus according to τρι-όβολον, tri-ceps according to τρι-κέφαλος, etc. Cf. E. Risch, "Entlehnt oder urverwandt? Zum Problem der griechisch-lateinischen Beziehungen," in Festschrift Giuliano Bonfante (1974), in Kleine Schriften, 579-580. In the Balkan languages the first part of these composita is usually the stem of the cardinal number; cf. P. Kretschmer, Glotta 10 (1920) 41. In Slavonic languages the composita with tri- are also formed with the cardinal number; cf. Tri-glav, tri-svei, tri-klet, along with tro- by analogy of dvo- : dvo-glav : tro-glav, tro-list, tro-medja, tro-nožac, for τρι-ποις, Lat. tri-pes, cf. P. Skok, Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika, (Zagreb 1971-1974) ssv.

3 Cf. Mentions, 222-224 with the quoted literature.
ti-ri-po-de /tripode/ (dual), to-pe-za /torpedza/ *(qu)ippedja/ '(table) with four legs', we-pe-za /h)wespedza/ 'six-footed', e-ne-wo-pe-za /enneopedza/ 'with nine legs'. Quite often compounds with numerals in their first part denote some measure: πενθ-ημερία 'five days' labor', ἐννε-όργυιος 'nine fathoms long'; a price: ἐννε-όβολον 'sum of nine obols', τεσσαρά-βοιος 'worth four steers'; a function: δέκαρχος, χιλίαρχος; age: ἐπτά-μνος βρέφος 'a seven months' child', πεντα-ἐτηρος 'five years old'; origin; quantity; etc. There are also determinative composita, which are of special interest for us, because the name ti-ri-se-ro-e belongs to this type. The first part of these compounds most often is tri/s- with an intensive and superlative meaning contained in the second part of the compound, e.g.: τρις-άσμενος 'thrice pleased, most willing', τρις-μάκαρες 'thrice blessed', cf. Slav. treblaženij, τρις-μέγιστος 'thrice greatest', a title of the Egyptian Hermes (Thoth); and with tri-: τρί-παλαι 'long, long ago', τρι-τάλας 'thrice wretched', etc.

The second part of the compounds of this kind is usually an adjective, adverb or participle, but nouns are also used, not only in Greek but also in other IE languages: Gr. τρις-άνθρωπος 'thrice a man', metaphorically used by Diogenes for τρισ-άθλιος; τρις-έπαρχος 'thrice an ἐπαρχος', τρι-γέρων 'triply old', τρι-γίγας 'triply a giant', etc.; Lat. trifur, tri-furcifer.4 In Serbocr., apart from adjectives (tri-kleti 'thrice cursed', tri-sveti 'thrice sacred', 'holy'), compounds with nouns in the second part usually receive an adjectival suffix, e.g. tro-vjeran 'with three faiths', tro-vrstan 'of three kinds', but there are also examples with substantivized adjectives, cf. trokoska 'goat that brings forth three times';5 Maced. Slav. tri-/tro-katnitsa 'building of three floors', etc.

3a. The determinative composita with tri/s- in Mycenaean can be understood better if they are explored in comparison with compounds containing some other augmentative prefix (ἐρι-, ἀρι-, περι-, πολυ-) similar or even identical in meaning to those composed with numerals in their first part. It is noticeable that the adverb tri/s- with the meaning 'thrice, very much' in Mycenaean

4 Plautus, Aul. 633: "Verberabilissime, etiam rogitas non fur, sed etiam trifur;" Rud. 734: "tun, trifurcifer, mihi audes inclementes dicere."
5 J. Chadwick, Documents, 464, remarks: "the formation with adverbial tris-suggests that ἱρως was originally an adjective."
and post-Mycenaean Greek alternates with the intensive prefixes just mentioned. Thus, along with ti-ri-we-ro (PY Un 1320.2), dat. /tri-wërōi/, there appears on another Pylos tablet (Vn 130) a personal name e-ri-we-ro /Eriwërōi/, dat., cf. Hom. ἑρί-ηρος 'faithful, trusty', which has the same meaning as περί-ηρος (Il. 16.177); cf. also the personal names Περι-ήρης and Πολυ-ήρης.6

'Ερι- and ἀρι- are used in poetry, mostly in Homer and later epic poetry.7 Several Mycenaean personal names also contain these elements.8 The other intensive prefixes περί-, πολυ-, παν- are productive throughout the whole history of Greek. It should be noted that compounds with any of these prefixes contain in their second part both adjectives and nouns, as well as verbal stems, and confer on all of them an adjectival meaning: ἑρί-δηλος and ἀρι-δήλος (Hom. ἀρί-ζηλος), ἑρί-θηλής, ἑρί-βρεμέτης, ἀρι-γνωτός, ἀρι-δείκτος, ἀρι-σφαλής, ἀρι-πρεπής, etc. with adjectives and participles; along with ἑρί-αὐχήν, ἑρί-βῶλαξ, ἑρί-θυμος, -μυκός, -όνης, -σθενής, -σταφυλός, -τιμός, -φόλη, -φυλλός, etc. with nominal stems and adjectival meaning, but substantivized in the personal names, cf. ]e-ri-ta-ri-jo[ (KN Xd <304>) /Erithalios/, or /Erithaliōn/.


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6 F. Bechtel, Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis Kaiserzeit (Halle 1917) 194-195.
7 For the etymology of ἀρι-/ ἑρι- cf. Adriana Moreschini Quatordio, "I compositi con primo elemento ἀρι- ed ἑρι-" Studi e saggi linguistici 13 (1973) 185-95.
8 Along with the above-mentioned e-ri-we-ro /Eriwërōi/, cf. also a-ri-ja-to perhaps /Ari-anthos/, for other possibilities see P. Hr. Ilievski, Proceedings of the 13th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences (Krakow 1978) 533; a-ri-we-we /Ari-werwēs/, e-ri-ke-re-we /Eri-klewēs/, e-ri-ta-ri-jo /Eri-thalios, -iōn/. The prefix ἑρι- is perhaps also contained in e-ri-ka-we-e, but the second element is difficult to identify.
9 Bechtel (supra n. 6) 314; 6th century B.C.
3b. The meaning of these composita used as personal names often changes due to various circumstances. Thus, the appellative *ti-ri-po* /*tripos*/ 'tripod cauldron' is a typical possessive compositum: 'three-footed, having three feet'. However, the personal name of a shepherd from Erkhomenos (PY Cn 599.8) *ti-ri-po-di-ko* /*Tripodiskos*/ is rather a demonstrative compositum. It is in fact a sobriquet, derived possibly from the name of the object *τρί-πος*, but bearing in mind the fact that this sobriquet qualifies a shepherd, it seems more probable that it denotes a man 'going on three feet', metaphorically used for an old or lame man who leans on a staff, as shepherds do so often.

The name *ti-ri-jo-qa* /*Tri-oquïï*/ (KN Sc 226), cf. Τρι-όπας, Τρι-όπης, -οπς (Hom. h. 2.11), Τρίοψ, -οπς (Apd. 1.7.4), son of Poseidon; Τριόπιος 'Απόλλων (Hdt. 1.144) might also be a possessive compositum with the meaning 'having three eyes'. In fact, there are abnormal creatures, born with three eyes (τρι-όφθαλμοι) 'three-eyed', with one eye (κύκλωπες), or without eyes (άν-όφθαλμοι). People marked by one of these abnormalities from birth or acquired later, are called according to their physical peculiarities. But, along with the literal meaning of these names which arouse pity, Τριόπας may denote some positive qualities, i.e. '(he) who can see more than ordinary people with two eyes'. Support for this explanation can be found in the Homeric personal name 'Ερι-ωπίς, -ιδος, f. 'large-eyed'. The name 'Ερι-ωπίς is very likely an artificial poetic formation—it does not appear as a historical name, but probably there were some grounds in the colloquial language for such a formation. It is remarkable that there are numerous common features between Mycenaean and Homeric Greek. It is significant that Τριόπιος is 'Απόλλων who can see the future. The Tibetan lamas intentionally 'open' the third eye to men gifted with an extraordinary faculty for far-seeing and far-sighting. If this interpretation is correct, then the personal

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11 Cf. T. Lobsang Rampa, The Third Eye, translated by Gornji Ililanovač into Serbo-Croatian, under agreement with Universum Press, as Treće oko (2nd ed., 1986). But there may also be some reasons for naming a man Τρι-όπας, cf. τριοττίς, which means 'a necklace with three pendants like eyes'.
name *ti-ri-jo-qa* /Tri-opās/ means 'sagacious, perspicuous, wise, prudent (*<pro-videns*) man'.

*Ti-ri-jo-ko-so* (KN Da 1384) is a hapax legomenon. J.-P. Olivier and J. T. Killen\(^\text{12}\) suggested an acceptable possibility for its identification as a sobriquet from τρίς and ὀξος 'vinegar'. The noun ὀξος, -ος is derived from the adjectival stem ὀξυς, -ια, -ύ in the same way as ἕδους, -εος from ἕδυς, -ια, -ύ,\(^\text{13}\) from which some personal names are also derived, cf. ὀξυ-θεμις, ὀξο-μαχος = ὀξυ-μαχος, etc. The heroic name ὀξυλος is related to this stem rather than to the Hesychian gloss ὀξυλος· ἵσοξυλος.\(^\text{14}\)

*Ti-ri-sa-ta* (KN Ce 61.5), not identified until now, probably also contains the adverb τρισ- in its first part. If the name is complete, the second part -a-ta can be identified in several different ways, like the simple personal name a-ta (PY An 39 v.9) followed by VIR 1; qe-ro-a-ta-qe VIR 2 (KN As 602.3): -άνθας, cf. Άρι-άνθιος;\(^\text{15}\) -άλθας, corresponding to Άρι-άλθης, Thera;\(^\text{16}\) -όντας, and possibly -άρτας; cf. also the alternative spelling a2-ta (PY An 209.2), followed by VIR 1: -άλτας /Altas/, Hom. "Αλτης (II. 22. 51).

Attempts have been made\(^\text{17}\) to identify the personal name *da-ro* (PY Ea 28+) with *Tri-dilos*, paralleled by ἀρι-δηλος, Hom. ἀρι-ζηλος, ἀρι-δαλος. The suggestion made by P. Chantraine\(^\text{18}\) that δήλος is derived from the root *deiω* gives ground for such an identification, although not without difficulties.\(^\text{19}\) Due to the ambiguity of the phonetic value of the


\(^{13}\) P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire*, s.v.

\(^{14}\) Pape and Benseler, s.v.

\(^{15}\) Bechtel (supra n. 6) 65.

\(^{16}\) Bechtel (supra n. 6) 65.

\(^{17}\) O. Landau, *Personennamen*, 159; Ilievski (supra n. 8) 534.

\(^{18}\) Chantraine (supra n. 13) s.v. δέετο.

\(^{19}\) The adjective δήλος is also connected with δείελος, which is very likely documented in the Mycenaean place name e-u-de-we-ro (PY Aa 772, Ab 379.B, Ad 670), identified with Εúdeiwelos, and Chantraine (supra n. 13) s.v. found that the root *deiw-* can be supposed in δήλος as well. E. Risch, *Wortbildung*\(^\text{2}\), 105, brought this adjective into connection with δαίω < δαφγω.
Linear B syllabic sign 02 (= ro, lo), both equally possible in this case, the identification of ti-ri-da-ro is very difficult. It is noticeable that the endings -da-ra, -da-re, -da-ro are quite frequent in the Linear A texts, cf. a-dà-ra, a-ru-da-ra, ku-ka-da-ra; da-re, na-da-re, ja-mi-da-re, si-da-re; a-da-ro, ki-da-ro, etc.;20 this authorizes us to conclude that ti-ri-da-ro is rather a pre-Greek name possibly of the type of 'Αμισώ-δαρος (II. 16.328), cf. Lyc. Πιξώ-δαρος, Πάνδαρος, pre-Greek Τύνδαρος, -ρίδας, later Τίνδαρος, Car. Ταρκόν-δαρα, Βργίν-δαρα, usually related to some place-name: Τίνδη, Ταρκόνδας, Βργίνδας, etc.21

3c. Besides the composita with tri/s- in Mycenaean there are a few forms derived from the stem trito-: ti-ri-ti-ja (KN X 1385), ti-ri-ti-jo (KN E 749.3, Og 833[.3]) /Trittios, -ial/, ethnicfs from the place-name ti-ri-to /Trittos/ (KN Da 1238.B+), cf. Τρίτος, the old name of Knossos according to Hesychius.22 In Classical Greek the names from this stem are mainly mythologtical and of pre-Greek origin, e.g. Τριτογένεια (epithet of Athēnē); Αμφι-τρίτη (Poseidon’s wife); Τρίτων (son of Poseidon and a frequent hydronym): a river in Crete, a torrent in Boeotia (Paus. 9.33.7), a spring in Arcadia (Paus. 8.26.6), etc.; Τρίτώ (‘Αθήνη); Τρίτωνίς (a lake in Libya); cf. also: άμφιτρίτη· θάλασσα άπό του φόβφ περιβάλλειν τους διαπλέοντας αύτήν (Hesych.). The gloss τρίτος· γνήσιος, cf. τριτο-κούρη· γνησία παρθένος enabled Ρ. Kretschmer23 to conclude that the stem of the ordinary number τρίτο- was mixed with the pre-Greek word τρίτος,24 and to suggest that the word τριτο-πάτορες 'ancestors worshipped at Athens' is rather a secondary form derived from Τριπάτωρ and τριτοπατρεύς, from the cult of Dionysus.

< *dai32-w- 'light, burn', δάος 'torch', and in that case in Mycenaean we would expect *da-we-ro, cf. Lac. δάβελος 'torch'.
22 Documents, 586; C.J. Ruijgh, Études, 180.
24 M. Budimir, "Αθήνη ἡ καὶ Τριτογένεια" Živa Antika 3 (1953) 13-16, related Τρίτων to Skt. Tritah 'Divinity of water and sea' with epiclesis Aptya- (ap- 'water'), and tried to explain it as a pre-Greek stem of IE origin.
Immediately after the decipherment of Linear B, the name *ti-ri-se-ro-e* was identified with Τρισ-ήρως, explained by B. Hemberg as an ancestor, worshipped like τρι(το)πάτορες, recorded as having the function of θυρωροί καὶ φύλακες τῶν ἄνεμων, and some Mycenologists accepted this explanation. The later Greek practice of calling their dead ancestors ήρωες, as can be seen in epitaphs (which usually begin with the formula ἡεοὶ ήρωι, corresponding to Latin *dis manibus*), gives reason for this conclusion. Some famous ancestors were, in fact, regarded as ήρωες, not only τρι(το)πάτορες 'grandfathers in the third generation', but also τρίπαποι 'great-grandfathers in the sixth generation'. We have already seen that along with its literal meaning: 'three times, thrice' the adverb *tres-* in compounds means 'very much, greatly'. Thus, *ti-ri-se-ro-e* /*Tris-heroei* means 'to the Great Hero', or 'to the Very Ancient Hero'.

In Homer and earlier Greek literature there is evidence that the meaning of ήρως was much wider than that of τρι(το)-πάτορες. In the Homeric poems the title ήρως is applied to individuals of different social classes as an epithet of politeness and admiration for extraordinary good deeds, e.g. to Λαομέδων (Il. 7.453), Δημόδοκος (Od. 7.483), 'Αλκίνοος (Od. 6.101); or in the plural: Δαναοί (Il. 2.110), 'Αχαιοί (Il. 9.34), Φαίηκες (Od. 7.44), etc.

"Ηρωες can be leaders, cf. οἱ ήγεμόνες τῶν ἄρχαίων μόνοι ἥσαν ήρωες (Arist., Problemeta 922b18); ήρωες are founders of cities, θεσμοφόροι, patrons of tribes, etc. (cf. Thuc. 4.87; Plato, Lg. 738b; Arist., Polit 1332b). There are ἐπώνυμοι ήρωες after whom the φύλαι were named (Paus. 1.5, 1.2; Hdt. 5.66). In historical times deserving persons, distinguished by great bravery and noble qualities were honored as heroes, cf. Brasidas at Amphipolis. Some heroes, e.g. *Heraklēs*, were worshipped as Olympians (Hdt. 2.44). But heroes like *Heraklēs* are rare. The majority were regarded as local divinities of lower rank.

25 A. Furumark, "Ägäische Texte in griechischer Sprache" Eranos 52 (1954) 52; B. Hemberg (supra n. 1) 179.
From the context of PY Tn 316 one can conclude that ti-ri-se-ro-e was also of a lower rank in comparison with other great deities mentioned there. While the latter are recipients of gold vessels and human victims (male for gods, female for goddesses), ti-ri-se-ro-e and do-po-ta (<*dhpotās 'dominus', protector of the palace) receive only one gold vessel each.

It is significant that ti-ri-se-ro-e receives the offering in the sanctuary of po-ti-ni-ja /Potnia/ at pa-ki-ja-ne /Sphagianes/, just as the hero Triptolemos was worshipped at Eleusis together with Demētēr. This parallel gives reason to admit the possibility that Τρισ-ήρως was a divinized person who had presumably made some great efforts for the progress of the community, like Τριπτόλεμος, who according to the legends became an object of worship because he had introduced the cult of Demētēr and had contributed to the progress of agriculture. If we suppose that do-po-ta /Do(m)s-potās/, mentioned in the same line, was a dominus (protector of the palace), ti-ri-se-ro-e might have been a dominus (with merits not only for the palace, but for the whole community). This is only a conjectural conclusion, because the analysis of the word ἦρως does not provide us with the data necessary for its explanation.27

5. Scholars have made numerous attempts to discover the etymology of ἦρως and Ἡρα,28 29 but without success. On the basis of the Elean isolated form Ἐρραοίοις an etymology with a digamma was assumed, related to the root *sery- (as in Latin servare).29 However, the Linear B spelling of -e-ro-e /-hērōei/

27 See the literature for the etymology of the name in W. Pötscher (supra n. 1) 345-347; Chantraine (supra n. 13) s.v.; H. Frisk, GEW, s.v.; L. Baumbach, "The Mycenaean Contribution to the Study of Greek Religion in the Bronze Age," SMEA 20 (1979) 148.

28 According to Pötscher (supra n. 1) 306f., 346f., who accepts the etymology of Ἡρα and ἦρως from *iēr- proposed by F.R. Schröder, "Hera," Gymnasiwm 63 (1956) 57-58, the final -s of τρίς would disappear in front of the initial i- of *iēr-. Therefore he suggested that the form of the ordinary number τριτ(ο)- was used as the first part of the compound τριτ-ήρως < *τριτ(ο)-*iēr- (with a phonetic change of -t-i- > -s- as in τόσσος < totios), comparing it with Τριτγένεια, τριτοπάτωρ, etc. But the name of the goddess Ἡρα and the appellative ἦρως, without corresponding parallels in the other IE languages, are very likely pre-Greek and perhaps of non-IE origin.

29 E. Boisacq, Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque (Heidelberg 1950) s.vv.; S. Eitrem, PWRE Bd. VIII.1 (1912) col. 1111ff.; J.B. Hofmann,
and e-ra /Hērā/ (in PY Tn 316 v.9; TH Of 28) contributed to a revision of this traditional etymology. There are other arguments supporting the Mycenaean spelling. The Attic form of the divine name of 'Ηρα disproves the etymology with a digamma, because a form *"Ηρη would be expected from *"Ηρφα like κόρη from κόρφα, cf. Myc. ko-wa. It is also noticeable that in Cypriote, where the digamma was kept until the Hellenistic period, the name 'Ηρα is written without this sound. These words are very likely of pre-Greek and, moreover, of non-IE origin, because they have no parallels in other IE languages. The meaning of ήρως and "Ηρα is probably the same as that of potis-potnia, dominus-domina.

Before the decipherment of Linear B, all standard Greek grammars classified the noun ήρως among a reconstructed class of diphthongal stem in -ομ- (-οψ-). Now, however, ήρως has been reclassified as an -s- stem with the ending in -ως, of the type Μίνως, Τρως. C.J. Ruijgh proposed a transcription with -co- (ήρως, -echos) according to post-Mycenaean use, but he also admits the possibility of a transcription with a short -o- as in αϊδόος.

6. It has already been noted that a large number of Mycenaean personal names appear in Homer and in Greek mythology as heroic and mythological names. We cannot avoid these names when speaking about ti-ri-se-ro-e, and about heroes in general.

It is difficult to say whether the deification of heroes represents a later evolution or an ancient divine character of ήρως, but from PY Tn 316 we can see that ήρωες already had their cult in Mycenaean times. Nor is it easy to draw a firm line between heroic and divine names. Along with myths about gods and goddesses, in Greek mythology there are also myths about heroes who, according to the legends, are of divine origin on either their mother's or their father's side. They are mostly aetiological explanations of place-names, river-names, and especially ethnics.

Etymologisches Wörterbuch des griechischen (Munich 1949) s.v.; H. Frisk (supra n. 27) s.v., etc.

30 Documents, 289.

31 C.J. Ruijgh, Études, 89, n. 75; "Observations sur les neutres en -s/h-," Res Mycenaee, 405, n. 51; M. Gérard-Rousseau (supra n. 1); Chantraine (supra n. 13) s.v.; P.Hr. Ilievski, Živa Antika 34 (1984) 55.

32 Ruijgh (opera citata, supra n. 31).

33 A. Fick and F. Bechtel, Die griechischen Personennamen nach ihrer Bildung erklärt und systematisch geordnet (Göttingen 1894) 416.
In fact, myths about this kind of hero are very numerous. It is noticeable that a great number of Mycenaean personal names appear later (in the first millennium B.C.) as heroic names of this type.

Among about 60 personal names known in the mythological genealogy of the Neleids, the family from which Nestor originated, 42 names (i.e. 70%) have been discovered on Linear B tablets,\textsuperscript{34} e.g. \textit{de-u-ka-ri-jo /Deukaliōn/} (PY An 654.12), the great-grandfather of this family, together with his wife Πύα, Myc. \textit{puwa /Purwā/} (KN Ap 639.11). They were the only ones rescued from the flood by means of a ship which Δευκαλίων constructed according to the advice of Prometheus. The patronymic \textit{a-da-ra-tyjo /Adrastios/} occurs on two Pylos tablets (An 656.14, Aq 218.6) and "Αδραστός is a well known hero, the leader in the campaign against Thebes.

\textit{Neleus}, the father of Nestor, is the short form, hypocoristic of \textit{Nehelawos} (from the root *nes-)'Saviour of the army',\textsuperscript{35} which appears in PY Fn 79.5 as ne-e-ra-wo; cf. also \textit{ka-to /Kastōr/}, \textit{ko-do-ro /Kodros/}, \textit{o-re-ta /Orestas/}, \textit{ta-ta-ro /Tantalos/}, \textit{tu-we-ta /Thuwestas/}, Θυέστης, etc.

Out of about 800 names of persons, divinities and domestic animals in the Homeric poems, 160 names appear on the Linear B tablets in the same form or only slightly changed.\textsuperscript{36} However, it should be pointed out that the persons recorded in the Mycenaean documents are not heroes, but ordinary people, mainly from the middle and lower classes of society. Thus, \textit{de-u-ka-ri-jo} is commander of a small group of guardians at the Pylian coast, subordinated to another commander (\textit{ta-ti-qo-we-u /Statigoweus/}), \textit{e-ko-to /Hecτό/} is the tenant of a small plot of land which can be sown with about 45 kg. of seed. The name of \textit{'Αχιλλευς a-ki-re-u /Akhileus/}, nom., appears on a Knossos fragment (Vc 106) without any further text, and on the Pylos tablet Fn 79.2, dat. \textit{(a-ki-re-we /Akhilewei/)}, where he receives five small units of barley (total c. 48 kg.); \textit{ka-ra-u-ko /Glaukos/}

\textsuperscript{34} Cf. S. Hiller and O. Panagl, \textit{Die frühgriechische Texte aus mykenischer Zeit} (Darmstadt 1976) 249-256.
appears at ro-u-so /Lousoi/ as a goat-herd and smith (PY Cn 285.4, Jn 832.5), and at pa-to-wo-te as a smith (PY Jn 706.8). The name of the Athenian hero and the founder of the city te-se-u /Theseus/ is mentioned on PY En 74.5 as a tenant of a small plot of land which can be sown with 38 kg. of seed. The name of Ἡράκλης probably appears on a fragment (KN Xd 305) as e]-ra-ke-re-we[ /Hē?-raklewēs/.

The relations between the Classical Greek heroic names and the personal names recorded on the Linear B tablets can be explained easily in the following way:\textsuperscript{37} the splendor of the Mycenaean civilization faded after the destruction of the palaces in the main Mycenaean centers. During the period of Dorian occupation from the 12th–8th century B.C., known as the Dark Age, there were no conditions for cultural and technological progress. This period was suitable for the development of legends about heroes and of epic poetry generally. In the absence of political and cultural unity, this was a natural development in a community without literacy. Exactly the same phenomenon appeared in the period of Turkish domination in the Balkan countries. It was then that epic oral folksongs began to flourish, glorifying some legendary medieval persons as national heroes.

Greek epic poetry about legendary persons from Mycenaean times grew in the same way during their Dark Age. The tradition was strong enough to reinforce the memory of the good and prosperous old times. These legends were especially vivid among the descendents of those Mycenaean families who escaped the Dorian violence and emigrated to the Mediterranean islands and to Asia Minor. Homesick for their mother country, they did not forget their famous leaders and the founders of their cities and colonies. Such a consciousness was also kept alive among the inhabitants that had lived on the mainland. Mycenaeans, although many of them ordinary people, were always regarded as leaders and founders of their cities. E. Risch\textsuperscript{38} found out that for the Greeks of the Dark Age only Mycenaean names were worthy for


\textsuperscript{38} Risch (supra n. 37).
their leaders and heroes. It is evident how important the Mycenaean civilization was for the development of Greek mythology.

7. Regardless of the fact that these Mycenaean names belonged to persons from the lower social classes, popular imagination idealized them, attributing to them supernatural powers. In the myths the heroes are represented as taller, stronger, braver "than today's men." However, they were mortals. Even *Heraclēs* could not avoid death.

In a similar way the South Slavonic peoples in the Balkan Peninsula idealized some medieval persons. Among them were those who did not distinguish themselves either by bravery or by any special deeds; however, later they were transformed into great heroes by the popular fancy. Thus, Krali Marko (King Marko), known in historical times as a Turkish vassal, died fighting together with the Turkish army against the Christians in Rumania; later, though, he was celebrated in the folk-songs of all the Balkan peoples as a protector of Christians from the Turkish violence.

Mycenaean heroes probably were in the same way idealized persons from some earlier, pre-Greek period. Some of them, like Τρισ-ήρως from Pylos, had an established cult and were worshipped together with the main Mycenaean deities, just as later Τρι-πτόλεμος and Ἡρακλῆς were worshipped together with the Olympians.