

## ILLYRIAN PERSONAL NAMES IN THE MYCENAEAN-GREEK ONOMASTICON?

Since the decipherment of the Linear B script the Mycenaean personal names have often been examined<sup>1</sup>, but on the question of their origin there remains considerable disagreement. While some scholars are prepared to interpret nearly all the Mycenaean names as Greek, others are disposed to recognize non-Greek personal names even in those cases where the syllabic groups can equally well be explained as Greek. Indeed some scholars have recently gone too far in interpreting of the Mycenaean personal names as non-Greek by suggesting parallels not only in Anatolian I.-E. and non I.-E. languages (Hittite, Lycian, Lydian, Carian, Phrigian, Paphalgonian, Semitic<sup>2</sup>), but also in Etruscan, Celtic, Illyrian, Thracian<sup>3</sup>, etc.

Here I shall be dealing only with those Mycenaean personal names, which have been related to Illyrian. They are the following ones:

*Da-zo* (KN As 5549, Ra 1547), identified by Vl. Georgiev<sup>4</sup> with *Dazos*, which is a Hellenized form from Illyrian *Dazas* according to A. Mayer<sup>5</sup>. Recently A. Scherer also suggested the same identification. In two articles and a handbook of his A. Scherer<sup>6</sup> brought into connection with Illyrian the following names as well:

<sup>1</sup> Some scholars have paid particular attention to the Mycenaean personal names of non-Greek origin, e. g.: O. Landau, *Mykenisch-griechische Personennamen*, Göteborg 1958, pp. 268—273; E. Peruzzi, *Note di onomastica cretese e microasiatica*, Quaderni, dell'Inst. di Glottol., Bologna 1960, pp. 13—19; — *Il nome minoico Wadunimi*, Studi Linguistici in onore de G. D. Serra, Napoli 1959, pp. 331—334; A. Heubeck, *Die Entzifferung der griech. Linearschrift B und das vorgriechische Substrat*, Studia Onomastica Monacensis, Bd. III, München 1961, pp. 333—338; — *Praegraeca*, Erlangen 1961; A. Scherer, *Personennamen nichtgriech. Herkunft im alten Kreta*, Forschungen und Fortschritte 39, 1965, pp. 57—60; — *Symbolae linguisticae* G. Kurylowicz, 1965, pp. 255—264; — M. Lejeune, *Mycenien qa-qa-ro/minoen qa-qa-ru*, Actes du I congr. internat. des Études Balkaniques et Sud-Est Européennes VI, Sofia 1968, pp. 311—316; J. G. Billigmeier, *An inquiry into the non-Greek names on the Linear B tablets from Knossos and their relationship to languages of Asia Minor*, Minos N. S. X, 2 (1969), pp. 177—183.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. especially M. C. Astour, *Hellenosemitica* (an ethnic and cultural study in West Semitic impact on Mycenaean Greece), Leiden 1965, pp. 339—344.

<sup>3</sup> A. Scherer, cf. n. 1, and *Geschichte der griech. Sprache* I, 4 th ed., 1969, Sammlung Göschen, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> *Lexique des inscr. creto-myc.*, Sofia 1955, s. v.

<sup>5</sup> *Die Sprache der alten Illyrier*, I, Wien 1957, p. 109f.

*Pa-ti* (KN As 1516, 17; Dd 1281) with Illyrian *Pantis*,

*Pa-to-ro* (KN Uf 198) with Illyrian *Patron*,

*Sa-sa-jo* (KN Df 1290) with Illyrian *Sasaius*.

*Te-u-to* (KN Xd 292?, PY Jn 601, 3; — 693,6) was explained by O. Landau (o. c. 166) as Illyrian *\*Teutos* on the basis of the Illyrian woman's name *Teuta*.

O. Landau (o. c. 160) found the Illyrian element *Et-* as a first part of some compound names, e. g. *E-ti-me-de-i*, *E-ti-ra-wo*, 'Etimēde(h)i', 'EtilaFos', compared with Illyr. *Etleva*, *Ettritus*, cf. Mayer (o. c. 142). He also suggested that in the ending *-to* of some Mycenaean personal names the Illyrian suffix *-tor* may probably be concealed (o. c. 173), and he identified the name *Ja-da-i-to* (KN X 5953) with the Illyrian *Daetor*, along with Homer's *Δαῖτωρ* (Il. 8,275), or *Δαῖτων*, *Δαῖτος*.

There is a suggestion by Vl. Georgiev<sup>6</sup> for an identification of *Me-za-ne* (PY Fn 50,4) and *Me-za-na* (Cn 3,1) with Messapian *Juppiter Menzana* 'Gott, dem Pferde geopfert wurden'; and A. Scherer<sup>7</sup> connected the name *Wa-ra-ti* (KN Ap 639) with the Messapian woman's name *Valatis*.

It is noticeable that with the exception of *Me-za-na* and *Me-za-ne* from Pylos, and *Te-u-to* from both Knossos and Pylos, all the other cases are recorded only at Knossos.

A. Scherer, who has discovered a large number of different non-Greek personal names on the Knossos tablets, found that some of them have the best parallels in Illyrian. On the other hand, according to Olivier Masson<sup>8</sup>, these identifications, based on superficial resemblances, are to be rejected from the methodological point of view, because Illyrian, to which these Mycenaean names are related, was not known enough even in historical times.

Such contrastive views call for a reexamination of the names related to Illyrian. But first some general remarks should be made concerning the interpretation of the Mycenaean personal names.

One of the most important problems in this research is that of where to draw a line between Greek and non-Greek names, and which criteria to use in distinguishing between them. Obviously, there is a great deal of risk not only in the tendency to interpret Mycenaean names as Greek in every case, but also in their identification ad hoc as non-Greek. The limited time does not permit us to discuss this problem in details. I shall, therefore, mention only a few significant points.

<sup>6</sup> *Second suppl. au Lexique*, Sofia 1956, p. 58.

<sup>7</sup> *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 39, p. 59.

<sup>8</sup> *Remarques sur quelques anthroponymes mycéniens*, *Acta Mycenaea* II, Salamanca 1972, p. 289f.

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The decipherment of the Linear B tablets has established the presence of the Greek language in Mycenaean Greece, but in the same time there evidently existed non-Greek elements, especially in the personal names. However, the interpretation of the onomastic material is not easy, because their semantic value cannot be controlled by the context, as in the case of the appellatives. Moreover, the ambiguity of the Linear B script almost always permits difference of reading and interpretation of the names, especially in the case of the shorter ones.

However, despite the inadequacy of Linear B rendering Greek, it is remarkable that a considerable number of names can be convincingly identified through their typical Greek patterns, as: *E-u-ru-da-mo* Εὐρύδαμος, *Ma-na-si-we-ko* Μνησίεργος, *Pi-ro-pa-ta-ra* Φιλοπάτρα, etc. Transparently Greek personal names belong equally to all classes of the society, which indicates that the Mycenaeans were predominantly Greek<sup>9</sup>. But there are also names, especially from Knossos, which cannot be explained with Greek etymologies. The interpretation of these personal names is beset with even greater difficulties because „the more dictionaries consulted, the greater will be the number of 'clicks'"<sup>9a</sup>, as prof. Palmer states. In particular it is very dangerous to explain Mycenaean names with names from languages which did not survive into historical times. It follows that most identifications of non-Greek Mycenaean names, as well as the deductions reached from them, must be considered as extremely hypothetical.

The authors of *Documents* were the first to point to some names of non-Greek origin. They were very cautious in their identifications, especially when the name was short and documented only in one form. Nevertheless, some names, which they took as non-Greek, were later interpreted as Greek. Thus, according to Ventris and Chadwick (*Docs* 422) the Pylian name *O-tu* (An 5,5) was perhaps '*Otus*', attested as Paphlagonian, but according to Heubeck<sup>10</sup> it can be interpreted as a Greek name *Orthus*. In fact *Orthus* is not documented in the later Greek onomasticon, but there is reason to suppose that this name might be shortened either from Mycenaean *O-two-we-o*, *O-tu-wo-we*, which also appears on the Pylos tablets (An 261, gen.; Jn 658+), or from the historical name *Orthagoras* (cf. Bechtel, *HPN*, 352). A. Scherer discovered in the Pylian name *Pa-pa-ra-ko* (Jn 845) the ethnic *Paphlagon*, used as a personal name, which, if it is correctly identified, might indicate at least the presence of Paphlagonian names among the Mycenaean Greeks. Considering that *O-tu* is a short name, attested only in one case, it is simply impossible to decide which of these equally possible identifications should be preferred. Therefore J. Chadwick recorded this name without any identification in the second edition of *Documents*.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. J. Chadwick, *The Decipherment of Linear B*, Cambridge 1967, p. 102,

<sup>9a</sup> *The Interpretation of Myc. Greek Texts*, Oxford 1963, p. 82. 1

<sup>10</sup> *Praegraeca*, p. 34 f.

As the Mycenaean tablets are written in Greek, and the great majority of the personal names are explicable as Greek, we may begin with the working hypothesis that if for a Mycenaean name there are both Greek and non-Greek parallels, the Greek ones will be more likely to be true.

It is noticeable that most of the names, suggested as being Illyrian, can easily be identified with Greek names, as O. Masson<sup>8</sup> has already pointed in some instances; simultaneously the writer too expressed an identical opinion at the II International Congress of Balkanology at Athens in 1970<sup>11</sup>. Here I shall mention briefly some of those identifications, and add a new interpretation for the others.

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The stem *Panto-*, *Panta-*, *Panti-* is quite frequent in the Greek onomasticon (cf. Bechtel, *HPN* 358s.) Παντο-κλῆς, Παντα-κλεῖς, Παντι-σθένης, and Mycenaean *Pa-ti* might be a Greek hypocoristic Πάντις rather than Illyrian. In the same way *Pa-to-ro* might be identified with Greek Πάτρων (cf. Πάτρων Πατρο-κλέος, Trozen IV cent., Bechtel, o.c. 364, cf. also Πατρώ, Πατρώνδας, Delphoi III cent.).

After the joining of a number of Knossos fragmentary tablets by J.-P. Olivier and J. T. Killen, some of the quoted names now have a different reading. Thus, *ʃda-i-to* (KN X 5953), which according to O. Landau (o. c. 175) can be identified either with Homer's Δαίτωρ, or with the Illyrian *Daetor*, is now read as *Ka-da-i-to* (Uf 5726, cf. *KT<sup>4</sup>* 303: *Ka-da-i-to, pu-te 'K. phyter'*).

It should be noticed that the I.-E. suffix *-tor* for *nomina agentis* is also frequent in Greek, and there is a large number of personal names formed with this suffix, cf. Myc. *A-ko-to* "Ακτωρ (Il. 2, 513, +), Αἰνέτωρ, Ἡγέτωρ, Καλήτωρ, Κλήτωρ, Μενέτωρ, Φοβέτωρ, etc. Besides, according to the Mycenaean spelling rules the ending *-to* might represent several different syllables: *-ton*, *-tos*, *-ston*, *-stos*, etc. Thus, the name *Ka-da-i-to* might be identified with a Greek name *\*Kad-aitos*, compound from *κᾶδος*, *κῆδος* 'anxiety' and 'connection by marriage' and *ἄνυμα* 'take' and 'take off'. As a matter of fact such a name is not documented, but both *κῆδος* and *-αιτος*, *-αιτης* from *ἄνυμα* are well known from the Greek onomasticon, cf. 'Ανδρο-κάδης, Ξενο-κάδης, 'Εξ-αιτος, etc. Mycenaean *Kad-aitos* would correspond from the formal and semantic point of view with the historical Greek name Κηδικράτης (cf. Bechtel, o. c. 236).

The reading of *Te-u-to* on the Knossos fragment Xd 292 is not certain. In *KT<sup>4</sup>* (p. 345) the reading *Te-u-to-ri-<sup>65</sup>* is preferred, but it cannot be checked because the tablet is lost (the text is taken from *SM II*). The reading of this name on the Pylos Jn tablets is certain, but the connection of this name with *τεῦθος* 'sepia', as a hypocoristic and

<sup>11</sup> *Some observations on the Mycenaean personal names of non-Greek origin*  
Actes du IIe congr. internat. des Études du Sud-Est Européen, in the press.

sobriquet, as suggested by Vl. Georgiev<sup>12</sup> and supported by O. Masson<sup>8</sup>, is more convincing than its identification with a supposed Illyrian name *Teutos*, reconstructed on the basis of *Teuta*.

The first part of some compound personal names *E-ti-* (*E-ti-me-de-i*, *E-ti-ra-wo*, etc.), taken by Landau (o. c. 160) as an Illyrian element, might be interpreted according to the Mycenaean spelling rules in several different ways, not only as *Et/i-*, which is, in fact, an I.-E. element (cf. Skt. *ati*, Gr. ἔτι, Lat. *et*, etc.), and it was inherited in Greek as well as in Illyrian. In the compound personal names *E-ti-ra-wo* and *E-ti-me-de-i* A. Heubeck<sup>13</sup> discovered pure Greek elements in both parts: *Entilāwos*, *Entimēdehi*, from ἔντεα (cf. Bechtel, o. c. 154) and λᾶ. Φός, respectively -μήδης. *E-ti-ra-wo* can also be related to *Erti-lāwos* with the same meaning as *Law-er-tas*, as L. R. Palmer suggested<sup>14</sup>.

*Sa-sa-jo* (hapax) is very likely a non-Greek name. According to its form, it is an ethnic, used as a personal name (a shepherd is called *Sa-sa-jo*) derived from a place-name \**Sasa*, cf. *Sasanda*, a fortress in Caria, as O. Landau (o. c. 229) suggested<sup>15</sup>. Recalling that numerous Carian traces appear in Greece, it is more probable to connect this name with Carian, where occur the Anatolian names *Sasas*, *Sassos*, *Sasaitēs*, *Sasaos*?<sup>16</sup> (cf. Myc. *Sa-sa-wo*), than with Illyrian *Sasaius*, an ethnic from *Sasaei*.

Two Mycenaean names (*Me-za-na/e* and *Wa-ra-ti*) are related to Messapian. Some attempts have been made to link Eteocretan with Messapian, which is normally recognized as a trans-Adriatic Illyrian dialect<sup>17</sup>. But these two names cannot serve as a support to this thesis.

In 1964 V. Georgiev<sup>18</sup> himself rejected the first identification of *Me-za-na/e* with Messapian *Juppiter Menzana*. He explained the place-name *Me-za-na* as a derivative from an ethnic *Me-za-ne* \*μεζάνες and prof. M. D. Petruševski<sup>19</sup> went further in identifying *Mezānes* with the Arcadian tribe *Azanes* (St. Byz. s. v. *Azania*), where he admitted a change of the original *Me-* from *m-* into *a-* like in ἀλευρον from *meleuron*, Myc. *me-re-u-ro*, and ἀγα(v) from *mga(n)*. This explanation is very interesting, indeed, but the relation between *Me-za-ne*, mentioned in Fn 50, and *Me-za-na*, a place-name probably with the pre-Greek suffix *-ānā*, is problematical. Having in mind that the names in Fn 50

<sup>12</sup> *Supplement au Lexique des inscr. creto-myc.*, Sofia 1955, s. v.

<sup>13</sup> *Weitere Bemerkungen zu den griechischen Personennamen auf den Linear B-Tafeln*, Beiträge zur Namenforschung VIII, 1957, p. 272.

<sup>14</sup> O. c. p. 78. Further see C. J. Ruijgh, SMEA XV, p. 97f.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. also C. J. Ruijgh, *Études sur la grammaire et le vocabulaire du grec mycénien*, Amsterdam 1967, p. 223, 228.

<sup>16</sup> Cf., L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Prag 1964, p. 457 f.

<sup>17</sup> A. J. Beattie, in Wace — Stubings', *Companion to Homer*, London 1962, p. 313.

<sup>18</sup> *L'importance des toponymes mycéniens pour les problèmes de l'histoire de la langue grecque et l'ethnogenèse des Grecs*, Linguistique balkanique IX, 1, Sofia 1964, p. 21.

<sup>19</sup> *Me-za-na*, *Me-za-ne*, Živa Antika XVIII, Skopje 1968, p. 94.

are in the dat., cf. *ze-u-ke-u-si*, *do-e-ro-i*, *i-za-a-to-mo-i*, etc. *Me-za-ne* is also very likely in the dat. sing., probably with a scribal error for *Me-za-wo-ne*, like *me-ri-du-te* for *me-ri-du-ma-te*, as it was suggested by J.-P. Olivier<sup>20</sup>. *Me-za-wo* 'Megjāwon', nom., appears at Knossos (B 8206, Sc 22), and in the dat. *Me-za-wo-ni* at Pylos (Un 138). It is noticeable that both in Fn 50 and Un 138 this personnel receives hordeum. In any case there is no reason to relate *Me-za-ne* with Messapian *Juppiter Menzana*.

In KN Ap 639, where *Wa-ra-ti* (l. 13) appears, over forty woman's names are mentioned. Some of them, though not a large proportion, are convincingly Greek names: *Wo-di-je-ja* 'Wordieia' (cf. ὕδωρ), *Pi-ra-ka-ra* 'Philagra' (cf. Φίλαγρος), *Ke-ra-me-ja* 'Kerameia' (cf. Κεραμεύς), etc., but some others are certainly non-Greek: *Du-sa-ni*, *I-du*, *Ka-na-to-po*, *Sa-mi*, *Si-nu-ke*, etc.

Attempts have been made to identify *Wa-ra-ti* as a Greek name. Vl. Georgiev<sup>21</sup> suggested a connection with ἡρα, Ἑῆρα—χάριν φέρων, which would correspond well with a woman's name, cf. Περι-ήρης, Πολυ-ήρης (Bechtel, o. c. 194), but there are obstacles of an orthographic character. The long *e* from Ἑῆρα is original, not from *ā*, and *Wa-ra-ti* cannot be identified with this stem.

It is more probable *Wa-ra-ti* to be connected with the root \**wel-*, \**wle-*, from which the historical Greek name Λάσιος (Tegea, IV cent. B. C., cf. Bechtel, o. c. 494), from *wlt-ios* 'shaggy, woolly' (cf. also Λάσιμος, Pape-Benseler, s. v.) is derived. This root appears in the Greek onomasticon together with δασύς, -εῖα, -όν 'hairy, shaggy', Δασεῖος, Δάσιος, Δασεῖα, Δασιάδης, Δάσιος, Δάσων, etc. cf. Bechtel, o. c. 493). The woman's name *Wlatis* might be a sobriquet and hypocoristic of a name like \**Lasio-knēmos*, \**Lasio-pous*, \**Lasio-thrix*, \**Lasio-khaitēs*, vel sim. The ending of this name also suggests a Greek suffix *-is* for forming women's names both in Classical and Mycenaean Greek, cf. *Mu-ti* Μυρτίς, *Mu-ti-ri* Μυρτιλής, *Tu-ri-ja-ti* Θυριάτης, etc. For the reflex *al/la* from the vocalic *l* in Mycenaean cf. *ka-ra-ma-to* 'klasmatōn' κλάσμα from? \**kls-*, *Ma-ta-ko* 'Malthakos' from? \**mldh-ŋ-ko-s*, *ta-ra-si-ja* 'talasia' from? \**tlHt*<sup>22</sup>.

The name *Da-zo* occurs twice on the Knossos tablets: As 5549 and Ra 1547. In As 5549 it appears along with the ideogram VIR and the numerical sign *two*. Personal names are usually followed by the man ideogram and the numerical sign for *one*. Obviously here *Da-zo* does not represent a personal name, but a term which qualifies both persons. In Ra 1547: *Da-zo*, *pi-ri-je-te* 'D. prietēr' — cutler, is evidently a personal name, and at first sight it seems like the Illyrian name *Dazo*, as was suggested immediately after the decipherment of the Linear B texts.

<sup>20</sup> *À propos d'une 'liste' de desservants de sanctuaire*, Brussels, 1960, p. 118.

<sup>21</sup> *Supplément au Lexique*. . . , s. v.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. V. Georgiev, *Studia Mycenaea II*, p. 377 f.

According to Hesychius' glossa *δάξα* (for *δάζα*)· θάλασσα, 'Ηπειρῶται, it is suggested by H. Krahe<sup>23</sup> and A. Mayer<sup>24</sup> that the frequent Illyrian name *Dazas*, *Dazos* means 'inhabitant of the sea', but without a secure etymology. Besides, it is to be noticed that this name is quite frequent in Asia Minor, too. It appears in Caria, Cilicia, Lycia, Lycaonia, etc., where it may be an indigeneous name, as Zgusta<sup>25</sup> admits. According to H. Barić<sup>26</sup> *Dazas* is very likely a Mediterranean name. In that case, if this name is concealed in Mycenaean *Da-zo*, it could easily have passed to Mycenaean Greek from the Mediterranean substrate rather than from Illyrian.

Attempts have also been made to identify *Da-zo* as a Greek name. As the syllabic sign *za*, *ze*, *zo* usually represent palatals: *kja*, *kje*, *kjo*, prof. Petruševski<sup>27</sup> suggested in 1966 a possible identification of *Da-zo* with *Daskios*, if it is a place-name, or with *Darkios*, if it is a personal name.

It seems to me that *Da-zo* in As 5549 is an ethnic which is related to two persons (VIR 2). In the Linear B tablets ethnics are quite frequently used in the plural, but the ending *-o* of the o-stems denotes both sing. and plur., cf. *pa-i-ti-jo* 'Phaistios', 'Phaistioi' *Ko-no-si-jo* 'Knosios/-oi', etc. Only in the consonant-stems can the plural forms be easily recognized, cy. *Pa-ki-ja-ne* 'Sphagianes', and sometimes the nom. plur. is distinguished from the sing. in the a-stems, cf. *Ze-pu-ra<sub>3</sub>* 'Zephyrai', along with *Mi-ra-ti-ja*, *Ki-ni-di-ja*, *Ra-mi-ni-ja* (plur.), etc. Thus, *Da-zo* in As 5549 is an ethnic in the dual, and in Ra 1547 the ethnic is used as a personal name, followed by the trade-name *pi-ri-je-te* 'priēter'.

There is a large theoretical scope for the identification of *Da-zo* because of the complex sign *zo* which might represent a reflex of different consonants connected with *-j*: *dj* (*to-pe-zo* from *\*qwetypedjō*, nom. dual), *gj* (*me-zo* from *megjōs*), *kj* (*za-we-te* from *kjawetes*, Att. *τῆτες*) and the Mycenaean spelling rules for dropping the second part of the diphthong with *-i*, as well as the sonants *l*, *r*, *m*, *n*, and the sibilant *s* in the closed syllables:

Da	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} i \\ l \\ m \\ n \\ s \end{array} \right.$	+	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} dj \\ gj \\ kj \\ khj \end{array} \right. \quad \check{o} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} i \\ r \\ s \end{array} \right.$

Thus, if we admit the possibility that Mycenaean *da-zo* is a non-Greek name, then it might be connected not only with Illyrian *Dazo*,

<sup>23</sup> *Die Sprache der Illyrier* I, p. 44.

<sup>24</sup> *Die Sprache der alten Illyrier*, Wien 1959, p. 36.

<sup>25</sup> O. c. p. 144.

<sup>26</sup> *Ilirske onomastičke studije*, Zagreb 1948, p. 9.

<sup>27</sup> *Simpozium o Ilirima*, Sarajevo 1964, p. 278.

but also with Anatolian and Mediterranean *Dazas*, Thracian *Daizo*<sup>28</sup>, Dacian *Dakios*, etc. But there is no need to go so far when it can be explained as a Greek name.

The ethnic *Da-zo* might be derived from a Greek place-name *Daskion*, as prof. Petruševski suggested, with the meaning 'thickshaded', a compound of *da-*, which is dissimilated from *sda*, *za-* intensive prefix, and *σκιά* 'shade'. This stem might also be concealed in the place-name *Δάσκιων*, mentioned by Thuk. (VI, 66.2), and in the personal name with the same form, cf. *Δάσκιων Συρακόσιος* (Thuk. VI, 5.3; Bechtel, o. c. 551).

Contacts between the Mycenaean Greeks and the northern Balkan peoples certainly existed, and the possibility of some Greek-Illyrian relations in Mycenaean times cannot be denied.

The archaeological spade has brought to light a host of Mycenaean objects dispersed all over the Balkans. Some relations, in the first place commercial, very likely existed between Mycenaean Greece and the western parts of the Balkan Peninsula in the Late Helladic III period. Various Mycenaean objects like: pottery, swords, ornaments, have been discovered at many Illyrian sites, as well as elsewhere on the Balkans<sup>29</sup>. But there is no evidence whether they were brought there directly by the Mycenaeans or by other mediators.

It is well known that languages often borrow foreign names for new objects accepted from other linguistic communities. Thus, the Greeks borrowed many words together with the things which they took over from the pre-Greek population, e. g. ἀσάμινθος, λήκυθος, μίνθη, ξέφος, etc. It can reasonably be also admitted that with the rise and expansion of the Mycenaean civilization from XV — XIII cent. B. C., there was an infiltration of Mycenaean Greek into other Balkan languages, with at the same time counter-influence.

A priori we can admit that along with the Mycenaean objects, spread all over the Balkans, their names were also accepted by the other Balkan peoples. But there are no proofs as to how those names were adopted and what happened to them from the phonological and morphological point of view within the structure of the native languages, for they have not survived. It is, therefore, very uncertain what they borrowed from Mycenaean Greek, and what they loaned to it.

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To sum up. It has been suggested that about ten of over two thousand personal names, which occur on the Linear B tablets, are Illyrian or contain some Illyrian elements. In the present state of our

<sup>28</sup> D. Detschew, *Thrakische Sprachreste*, p. 110.

<sup>29</sup> There are many pieces of information about the Mycenaean influence on the cultures even in the south-eastern parts of the Carpathian Basin: Vatin, Otomani, Verbiciora, Wietemberg, Teil, etc., cf. N. Tasić, *The problem of 'Mycenaean influence' in the Middle Bronze Age Cultures in the South Eastern Part of the Carpathian Basin*, Balcanica IV, Beograd 1973, p. 19—38.

knowledge of this language it is very dangerous to explain Mycenaean names with the aid of Illyrian. But even if we admit the possibility that Illyrian personal names appear on the Myscenaean documents, then the analysis of those ten names related to Illyrian, bring us to the following conclusion:

Two of them (*Pa-ti*, *Pa-to-ro*) can be identified with historical Greek names Πάντις, Πάτρων. The identification of the others is not easy. However, most of them can also be interpreted as Greek: *Da-zo*, perhaps ethnic *Daskios*, used in the same form as the place-name, like Δάσκιον of the VII cent., which is a place-name, an ethnic, and a personal name; *Ka-da-i-to*, instead of *]da-i-to*, probably *Kād-aitos*; *Me-za-ne*, probably *Me-za-*<wo>*-ne*, dat. *Megjawonei*; *Te-u-to*, possibly *Teuthos*, and *Wa-ra-ti*, perhaps *Wlatis*. Only *Sa-sa-jo* is very likely a non-Greek name, but it can be related to Anatolian (Carian) names with more likelihood than to Illyrian. The ending *-to*, and the first part of the compounds *E-ti-* might be explained in several different ways, and not only as Illyrian elements.

Thus, there is no single example, from all the quoted names and features, which can be identified with certainty as Illyrian. Fresh epigraphic material in Linear B script will probably throw more light on this problem.

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