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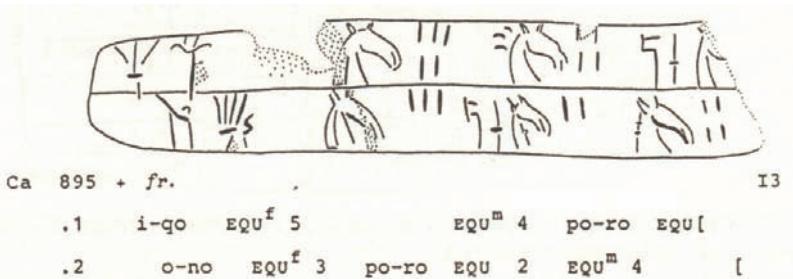
WHO IS WHO IN THE MYCENAEAN ZOO?

The Linear B tablets contain words and ideograms for a variety of animals. Some Mycenaean animal names are known directly (e.g., *i-qo*, *o-no*, *po-ro*, *qo-o*), other names are known indirectly, as part of compounds (*a₃-k|i-i*, *o-wi-*, *su-*). The tablets from Pelopidou Street in Thebes, excavated in the mid-nineties of the 20th century, have yielded a set of animal names not previously attested for Mycenaean; the identification of the words in question as animal names has been contested—unjustly, I believe.¹

In this paper, I review the Mycenaean vocabulary and ideograms for animals.

1. HORSE, ASS

The Mycenaean word for horse is *i-qo* /ik^wk^wos/. It is found in KN Ca 895 (nom. pl. *ik^wk^woi*):



The same tablet mentions asses (*o-no/ onoi/*) and foals (*po-ro/pōlos/* or *-ō/* or *-oi/*), the young both of horses and of asses.

One might wonder whether in line .2, the first equ after *poro* is not to be read as equ^f. True, the neck has been drawn diffe-

¹ See especially Y. Duhoux, "Animaux ou humains ? Réflexions sur les tablettes Aravantinos de Thèbes." In: *Colloquium Romanum, Atti del XII colloquio internazionale di micenologia*, Roma 20-25 febbraio 2006. Pisa-Roma, 2008, pp. 231-250.

rently from those of the two *equ^f* immediately following *i-qo* and *o-no*; but then, the EQU^m of line .1 and line .2 are also different. Since the right part of the tablet has broken off, we cannot tell what the EQU after *po-ro* in the first line is meant to represent (perhaps EQU^f?). Eventually, however, it may be preferable to opt for a different explanation: in line .1, the ('sexless') young animals follow the grown-up females and males, in line .2 the (again 'sexless') young animals are registered between the grown-up females and males.² (The necks of the two *po-ro* items look roughly the same.)

In PY Ta 722.1, *i-qo* represents the instr. form *ik^wk^wō* (decoration on a *t^hrānus*):

ta-ra-nu, a-ja-me-no, e-re-pa-te-jo, a-to-ro-qo, i-qo-qe, po-ru-po-de-qe, po-ni-ke-qe *2201

Theoretically, *a-to-ro-qo* and *i-qo* could be instrumental plural forms in *-ois*, but in light of the clearly singular forms *po-ru-po-de* and *po-ni-ke*, we can be virtually certain of the singular forms *ant^hrōk^wō* and *ik^wk^wō*.

The initial aspiration of classical ὄπτος (when there is no psilosis) is unetymological (cf. Skt. *aśvah* and Lat. *equus*). I have thought of an onomatopoeic explanation: the sound of whinnying, as in the Latin verb *hinnire*. Unfortunately, Greek horses speak a different language, their whinnying is called χρεμετίζειν. Therefore, I do not entirely trust my own suggestion. Ruijgh explained the aspiration from the frequent association of horses and chariots, the latter having developed a post-Mycenaean initial aspiration: ἄρμα(τα) < **arhma(ta)* < **arsma(ta)*. On this view, the aspiration of ὄπτος must also be post-Mycenaean.³ Proof positive for the *absence* of initial *h*- is provided by the word *e-pi-qo-i* from Thebes (Fq 214, 229, 252), if the interpretation /ep-ik^wk^woihi/ is correct: before *h*, the *i* of *epi* would not be elided.⁴

The *i* of *ik^wk^wos* was explained by Ruijgh as follows: the Greek word is a loan from a neighbouring, closely related Indo-European idiom, the speakers whereof were excellent horse-breeders.

I only mention, without discussion, a number of compounds and derivatives:

i-qo-e-qe (KN Sd): /ik^wk^wo-hek^wē/ (instr.) lit. "horse-follower", wooden part of a chariot

² This is the interpretation of *Docs²*, p. 210.

³ C.J. Ruijgh, "Faits linguistiques et données externes relatifs aux chars et aux roues." In: E. Risch, H. Mühlstein (eds), *Colloquium Mycenaicum. Actes du 6^e colloque international sur les textes mycéniens et égéens tenu à Chaumont sur Neuchâtel, 1978*, pp. 207–219 (ὄπτος: 214).

⁴ Cf. also classical Λεύκ-ὄπτος, not ** Λεύχ-ὄπτος.

i-qo-po-qo, -qo-i (TH Fq): /ik^wk^wo-p^horg^wōi, -oihi/ ‘horse-feeder(s)’, and *i-po-po-qo-i(-qe)* (PY Fn 79) /ippō-p^horg^woihi/ ‘horse-feeders’ (by dissimilation from *ik^wk^wo-*)

i-qi-ja, -jo (KN Sd, Sf): /ik^wk^wiā, -ai,-ō/ ‘(horse-drawn) chariot(s)’. One may presume that the word *i-qi-ja* was used because the pars-pro-toto word ἄρμα(τα) was poetic and therefore unfit for prosaic administration purposes, while moreover, and even more importantly, the word *arhmo* was in regular use to register *wheels*.

2. OX (COW, BULL)

The only attestation so far of the word for ox (&c.) is the acc. plural *qo-o* /g^wōns/ in PY Cn 3:

¹ jo-i-je-si , me-za-na , ² e-re-u-te-re , di-wi-je-we , qo-o ,

As for compounds containing the ox word, we have:

qo-u-ko-ro: /g^wou-kolos, -oi/ ‘ox-herd(s)’ (sing. in TI Ef 2, prob. also in PY Nn 831.5; plur. in PY An 18.9 &c.); gen. sing. *qo-u-ko-ro-jo* (PY Ea 781)

qo-u-qo-ta (KN L 480): /G^wou-g^wōtāi/ ‘Oxherd’, man’s name

qo-qo-ta-o (PY Ea): /g^wō-g^wōtāho/ or /-āhōn/ ‘oxherd(s)’

It is a well-known hypothesis that we owe the form *g^wō-* beside *g^wou-* to the acc. sing.:

**g^wowm* > **g^wōm* > **g^wōn* > βῶν (Hom.; Doric, which also has the nom. sing. βῶς, based on the acc. sing.). As the Homeric form βῶν cannot be Doric, and as we have the plural form *g^wōns* in Mycenaean, we may infer that the Mycenaean acc. sing. was *g^wōn*. For the development, cf. the acc. sing. of **dyews*: **dyewm* > **dyēm* > *Zῆv(a)*, Lat. **diēm* (> *diēm*), giving rise to nom. sing. *dīēs*.

The ideogram is not too difficult to recognise: *109 = *23 *mu*; and it is used in the entries following *qo-o* in PY Cn 3.

Heifers are mentioned in PY Ta 707 ... *qe-qi-no-me-na* ... *po-ti-pi-qe* ... /... *g^weg^wīnōmenai* ... *portip^hi k^we* .../, decoration on the *o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja* of a *to-no* /*t^hornos/*. (Nobody seems to heed the objection raised by Gray on archaeological grounds.⁵)

⁵ D.H.F. Gray, ‘Linear B and Archaeology,’ *BICS* 6, 1959, p. 53.

3. SHEEP

The word *owis* has not been attested so far; in PY Ae 134, a *poimēn* watches over *k^wetropoda*:

ke-ro-wo , po-me , a-si-ja-ti-ja , o-pi , ta-ra-ma-*<ta->*o qe-to-ro-po-pi 'o-ro-me-no' vir 1

That the word *k^wetropoda* does not specifically denote sheep can be seen from Ae 108, where *k^wetropoda* are watched over by an *a₃-ki-pa-ta* /aigipa(s)tās/ 'goat-herd'.

However, *owis* may perhaps be inferred from the word *o-wi-de-ta-i* (PY Un 718), i.e, if one of two interpretations, (dat. plur.) /owi-dertāhi/ 'sheeplayers' or /owi-detāhi/ 'sheepbinders' is correct. Anyway, the sheep-word must have been *owis* at an intermediate stage between Indo-European/Proto-Greek and Classical Greek.

The ideogram for sheep is assumed to be *106 = *21 *qi*. How do we know?

The ideograms for animals are often differentiated for sex; this is one way to be confident that we are dealing with animal ideograms in the first place. Female animals are characterised by a split hasta (reminiscent of *wo*), male animals by two cross-bars (reminiscent of *pa*).

Some of the animal ideograms can be recognised easily: *104 CERV deer, *105 EQU horse / ass, *108 SUS pig, *109 BOS ox; but how do we know that *106 represents *sheep*, and *107 *goat*? Going back to the early days of Mycenaean studies, we find in *Documents* the following reasoning (after the identification of horse, deer, pig, and ox):

"It would seem likely therefore that the remaining two signs should represent sheep and goats, and the problem becomes merely that of deciding which is which. SHEEP are much more numerous than GOATS; and they are repeatedly associated with the sign wool, sometimes with nothing intervening (...). This in turn is associated with textiles (...), and the animal product most likely to be used in garments is wool. Goats' hair or goatskin is not impossible, but is obviously less likely to be a common commodity."⁶

The identity of the ideogram for WOOL (*145 LANA), in its turn, is a matter of agreement; the association with ideogram *159 (cloth, in different varieties, frequently occurring together with the vocabulary word (plur.) *p^harweha*; cf. φᾶρος in Homer) makes

⁶ *Docs*², p. 196.

the string sheep – wool – cloth sufficiently convincing, not to say inescapable. Since the early days much work has been done on this complex of texts, only to strengthen the conviction that the identifications are correct.

If we look for the word for ‘lamb’, we do not find it. However, the adjective *wo-ro-ne-ja* at MY Oe 111.2 dealing with LANA has been interpreted as an adjective of material, *wroneyā* (neut. plural) or *wroneyā* (fem. sing.), derived from **waren* ‘lamb’. On the other hand, the names *wa-na-ta-jo* (KN PY) and *wa-ni-ko* (PY) have also been connected with **waren*: *Warnataios* and *Warniskos*. The first one is morphologically odd, with *-ataios* following *warn-*, for the second one there is no such draw-back. The variation *wron- ~ warn-* is to be explained as follows: the ‘Lindemann-form’ nom. sing. **wṛēn* became *warēn* in all dialects, whereas gen. sing. **wrn-os* became **wranos* in the *ra*-dialects, and **wronos* in the *ro*-dialects. In Attic-Ionic, (f)αρήν – (f)ρωνός was levelled to ἀρήν - ἀρνός. The situation in Mycenaean must remain obscure until we find forms of the word for ‘lamb’, but for the time being, I believe that both *wron-eyos* and *Warn-iskos* are acceptable guesses. (In the end, Mycenaean likely levelled in a way comparable to what happened in Attic-Ionic.)

4. GOAT

The word for ‘goat’ has not been found in the Linear B texts so far, but can be inferred from the following vocabulary items:

a₃-ki-pa-ta (PY Ae 108; 264): /aigi-pa(s)tās/ ‘goat-herd’
a₃-ki-po (KN U 4478), *-po-de* (PY Mb 1397): at KN prob. /Aigi-pos/ (man’s name), at PY perhaps dat.-loc. /Aigi-podei/ (place name)

a₃-ke-u (PY Ta 641): /aigeus/ (A-), of uncertain interpretation

a₃-za (PY Ub 1318.7): /aidzā/ < **aigyā* ‘goat-hide’, in apposition with *di-pte-ra* ‘hide’; one might be tempted to interpret *aidza* as a female animal (: *dip^ht^herā aidzās*, ‘hide of a ...’), but there are no traces of such a form in later Greek, and *αἴξ* itself is feminine more often than not.

The extension *i* in *aig-i-(-pa-ta, -po)* is unexplained; cf. *ai-πόλος* (<-ππ- < *-k^wk^w-*) < **aig+k^wolos*, without such an *i*. Was *aig-* perhaps influenced by *owi-* so as to be (incidentally) modified to *aigi-*? As we have seen, both sheep and goats could be referred to as *k^wetropoda*.

The young animal seems to have been called *e-po*, prob. *erp^hos* ‘kid’ (variant of ἔρυφος):⁷ the nom. plur. /erp^hoi/ is found at KN Ce 283 (together with OVIS; but *e-po* can hardly be a word for ‘lamb’), the acc. plur. /erp^hons/ at PY Vn 493.

The contexts of ideogram *107 do not by themselves give us any clue as to the kind of animal registered (or, perhaps, only the texts of the KN Mc series, where CAP^f appears together with the ideogram *151 CORN, identified by Evans as the horn of the αγρίμι goat); however that may be, after the identification of *106 as the sheep ideogram, the only likely candidate left for *107 is goat, as stated in *Documents*.

5. PIG

The ideogram for pig is *108 = *85 *au*; the word behind it must be **sūs* or **hūs*. *su-* is used in the compound *su-qo-ta*, gen. -*ta-o* (PY Ea), /su-g^wōtās, -tāho/ ‘swine-herd’.

The word *sūs* or *hūs* has not been attested so far, but the word *si-a₂-ro* acc. plur. /sihalons/ ‘fat hogs’ is found at PY Cn 608:

¹ jo-a-se-so-si , si-a₂-ro |² o-pi-da-mi-jo

followed by place names and the ligatured ideogram SUS+SI in ll. 3-11.

o-pi-da-mi-jo is commonly taken to be nom. plur., the ‘residents’ of the places mentioned thereafter; however, I wonder whether it could not be acc. plur., in agreement with *sihalons*: ‘entrusted to the *dāmos*’ of each place mentioned.

About the problem of σūς beside (regular) ӯς one can only speculate.

The word *k^hoiros* for the young animal is probably found in three tablets of the TH Ft series: *ko-ro* dat. sing. /k^hoirōi/ ‘young pig’, as a recipient of olives.⁸ I shall deal with the Theban animals as a group.

⁷ E. Scafa, “Annotazione in margine al lessico miceneo : *epo*.” *Kadmos* 16, 1977, p. 175.

⁸ The form *ko-ro* (not ** *ko-ro*₂), if interpreted correctly, implies that χοῖρος does not go back on *g^hor-yo-.

6. THEBAN ANIMALS FROM PELOPIDOU STREET

Within the compass of the F- and G- series, the first editors of the tablets from Pelopidou Street identified five or six animal names:⁹

e-mi-jo-no-i (Gp): /hēmionoihi/ ‘mules’

e-pe-to-i (Gp): /herpetoihi/ ‘reptiles’ (cf. Lat. *serpens*), rather than a general term for four-footed animals

ka-no, ka-si (Ft): /k^hānōn, k^hānsi/ ‘geese’

ke-re-na-i (Fq Gp): ?/gerēnāhi/ ‘cranes’?

ko-ro (Ft): /k^hoirōi/ ‘young pig’

ku-ne, ku-no, ku-si (Fq, gen. also Gf Gp): /kunes, kunōn, kunsī/ ‘dogs’

o-ni-si (Fq): /ornī(s)si/ ‘birds’; if this is too general (we also have the specific mention of *geese*), one might consider, e.g., ‘chickens’ (like occasionally in later Greek)

Even if we strike one or two items, the conclusion must be that this set of animal names can hardly be a mirage. Attempts at interpreting them as, e.g., place names and personal names are unconvincing, to my mind. Try this: find four or five flower names in one or two series of tablets from one site, which next turn out *not* to be flower names at all. It is just a matter of weighing the odds.

Some of the word-forms in question are clearly datives plural: *e-mi-jo-no-i, e-pe-to-i, ka-si, ke-re-na-i, ku-si, o-ni-si*. The dative singular *ko-ro* /k^hoirōi/, if that’s what it is, deviates from the plural pattern. When followed by quantities of a commodity, the datives express the recipients. One need not believe that the *herpetoi* drank wine, or that the geese were dedicated olive consumers. Other scenarios are possible. The animals were obviously kept, tended, taken care of somehow, and the care-takers may be the actual recipients. (One may notice that I am not going into the Holy War on this occasion.¹⁰)

The interpretation of *ke-re-na-i* as ‘cranes’ is doubtful. It is not easy to connect *gerēnāhi* with γέρανος and γέρην (f.) in a straightforward manner. With **geranoīhi* or **gerēnsi*, there would be no problem—but that is not what *ke-re-na-i* can stand for. I am afraid that not even Γερήνιος ἵππότα Νέστωρ can help us out. In-

⁹ V.L. Aravantinos, L. Godart, A. Sacconi, *Thèbes, Fouilles de la Cadmée. I. Les tablettes en linéaire B de la Odos Pelopidou. Édition et commentaire*. Pisa-Roma, 2001.

¹⁰ For a discussion of *ma-ka*, cf. my article “Ω Μᾶ Γᾶ.” *DO-SO-MO* 7, 2007, pp. 117–121. (Correct my first name in the heading from Fred to Frits.)

terpretations with *scriptio plena* for *kern-*, *gern-* or *k^hern-* are unacceptable to me on orthographical grounds. Nor can I follow Ruijgh's proposal *krēnāhi* 'spring-goddesses', as there is no trace whatsoever of **κρήνᾶ— with η outside Attic-Ionic (where it became κρήνη eventually).¹¹

7. MISCELLANEOUS

A. Decorative animals

A number of animal words occur in descriptions of furniture. We have already met the horse on the *t^hrānus* of PY Ta 722.1, flanked in the description by a human figure to the left, and an octopus to the right:

ta-ra-nu , a-ja-me-no , e-re-pa-te-jo , a-to-ro-qo , i-qo-qe , po-ru-
po-de-qe , po-ni-ke-qe *220 1
/t^hrānus ayai(s)menos elep^hanteyō ant^hrōk^wō ik^wk^wō k^we polupodē
k^we p^hoinikē k^we/

Of course, the adjective *elep^hanteyō* must also be taken with the items following *ant^hrōk^wō*.

Another *t^hrānus* is decorated with lions, *lewomp^{hi}i* (PY Ta 708.3, a footstool of ebony *a-ja-me-no e-re-pa-te-jo a-di-ri-ja-pi re-wo-pi-qe*), and as we have seen, one *t^hornos* in PY Ta 707 has *o-pi-ke-re-mi-ni-ja* that are *se-re-mo-ka-ra-o-re qe-qi-no-me-na a-di-ri-ja-te-qe po-ti-pi-qe*, /*se-re-mo-krāhorē g^weg^wīnōmenai andriantē k^we portip^hi k^we/ 'enlivened (painted?) with a *se-re-mo*'s head, a man's figure and heifers'.*

B. *elep^hans*

The word *elep^hans* (+ adjective *elep^hanteyos* / *-ehos*) occurs several times in the Linear B texts, always meaning 'ivory' (nom. *e-re-pa* (KN), gen. *e-re-pa-to* (KN PY), instr. *e-re-pa-te* (KN PY), acc. *e-re-pa-ta* (KN)). In Homer, too, ἔλέφας always means 'ivory'.

The meaning 'elephant' is found in Herodotus (to the exclusion of 'ivory'). If elephants were ever spoken about by Mycenaean people, the same word *elep^hans* was undoubtedly used; however, I don't know when the Greeks became acquainted with the animals themselves, in contradistinction to their tusks. Ivory had been known for quite some time, reportedly even since the time of the mammoth-hunters.

¹¹ What we do find is κράννα, Aeol. κράνννα < *krahnā < *krasnā. Att.-Ion. -ρη- is due to Proto-Ionic dissimilation of ḥ—ḥ to η—η (also, e.g., είρήνη ~ Φάννα), in which case Attic has ρη (instead of ρη), in common with Ionic.

C. *104 CERV

In order to avoid the Evil Eye, I must mention the deer. The word for deer is probably found in the place name *e-ra-po ri-me-ne* /Elap^hōn limenei/ ‘at Deer Harbour’ (PY An 657).

If you consider going there, beware of Artemis.