

KO-RO-NO-WE-SA

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**Linguistic evidence for animal husbandry
in the Linear B tablets:
occupational terms, titles and personal names***

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Linear B livestock records have been analysed exhaustively over the years, and various issues regarding their interpretation have been discussed. The aim of this paper is to examine animal husbandry vocabulary, as attested on the Linear B tablets, with focus on occupational terms, titles and personal names derived from them, used to designate agents performing actions pertaining to domestic animals. For the purposes of the analysis, Mycenaean linguistic evidence was compared with literary and epigraphic sources from the post-Mycenaean period, and in the present paper an attempt shall be made to establish the differences and similarities between Mycenaean and post-Mycenaean data in order to expand our understanding of the development of this category of appellatives in Greek.

Occupational terms derived from words for domestic animals

Occupational terms associated with animal husbandry in Greek are typically derived from words for domestic animals. Given the important role of nominal composition in Greek, it is not surprising that verbal governing compounds with a word for domestic animal as first member represent a significant group among these appellatives. The verbal second member is most frequently a verbal noun in *-oç* in the *o*-grade

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as in βου-κόλος 'ox-herd,' or an agent noun in -της (< -τᾱς) as in βου-βότης 'ox-herd.' With regards to their meaning, these compounds correspond to object-verb phrases, cf. ὁ δ' ὄφρα μὲν εἰλίποδας βοῦς βόσκει ἐν Περκώτῃ ... (Hom. *Il.* 15.547-548).

Occupational terms related to animal husbandry can also be simplicia, derived from words for domestic animals by means of suffixes typical for agent nouns such as -τᾱ-, -ευ-, cf. βού-της (< βοῦς) 'ox-herd,' μελλισ-εύς 'bee-keeper' (< μέλισσα), προβατ-ευ-τής (< πρόβατον) 'shepherd.'

The examination of Greek language dictionaries, indexes and etymological dictionaries reveals that in the literary and epigraphic sources from the post-Mycenaean period of Greek language there are occupational terms derived from the nouns βοῦς 'cow, ox,' αἶξ 'goat,' ἵππος 'horse,' ὄνος 'donkey, ass,' μέλισσα 'bee,' σῦς/ῦς 'swine, pig,' χοῖρος 'young pig,' οἶς 'sheep,' πρόβατον 'sheep,' ἀρήν 'lamb,' χήν 'goose,' ἀλεκτρυών 'cock,' ὄρτυξ 'quail,' κάμηλος 'camel.' Words for 'flock,' 'herd of animals' such as ἀγέλη and μῆλον also served as first members of compound appellatives that indicate agents in the area of animal husbandry. However, not all words for domestic animals were equally productive and frequently used. The words for 'ox' and 'horse' occur as first members in compounds with various verbal roots, cf. ἵππο-βώτης, ἵππο-κόμος, ἵππο-δαμαστής, ἵππο-νώμας, ἵππο-τρόφος, ἵππο-φορβός, ἵππο-σκόπος and βου-κόλος, βου-βότης, βου-τρόφος, βου-φορβός, βου-μολγός, βου-τύπος, βοο-βοσκός, βο-ώνης, covering different aspects of animal husbandry (feeding, rearing, tending, grazing, taming, milking, slaying, trading, managing). These animal words even served to form three-member compounds such as ἵππο-βου-κόλος or ἐπι-βου-κόλος. The word for 'goat,' on the other hand, was used to form compounds with only a few verbal roots with similar meaning, cf. αἰ-πόλος, αἰγι-νομεύς, αἰγο-βοσκός 'goat-herd.' As it is to be expected, the use of words for domestic animals in the derivation of occupational terms had changed with time. Appellatives derived from the words for 'ox,' 'pig,' 'goat,' 'flock' such as βου-κόλος, συ-βώτης, συ-φορβός, αἰ-πόλος, μῆλο-βοτήρ are attested in Homer the earliest, whereas an isolated compound with the word for 'camel' such as καμηλο-βοσκός is found only in later Greek, in a specific context.

As to the verbal second members of these compounds, nouns derived from the verbal roots meaning 'to feed,' 'to graze,' 'to rear,' 'to tend' and 'to trade,' cf. βόσκω, φέρβω, νέμω, τρέφω, πέλω/πέλομαι and πωλέω

were frequently used to form occupational terms, with different words for domestic animals. And the verbal and agent nouns βότης, βοτήρ, βοσκός from βόσκω ‘feed, graze, tend’ had the greatest productivity, cf. βου-βότης, συ-βώτης, ίππο-βώτης, μηλο-βότης, μηλο-βοτήρ and αίγο-βοσκός, προβατο-βοσκός, άρηνο-βοσκός, χηνο-βοσκός, καμηλο-βοσκός. Although the verbal elements -πόλος / -κολος, -νομος, -βοσκος, -φορβος, -τροφος, -κομος differ in their specific meanings, the compounds they formed have the same meaning – ‘the one who tends cattle,’ cf. Poll. 1.249; Plat. *Tht.* 174d3-6; *Pol.* 268a5-b6.

Compound appellatives that designate agents performing particular actions pertaining to livestock were also used as personal names, cf. *Αίπολος*, *Αίγίνομος*, *Βούκολος* etc., as adjectives or epithets with an active meaning, cf. *ἐφ’ ίπποπόλων Θρηκῶν* (Hom. *Il.* 13.4); *Τρώων ίπποδάμων* (Hom. *Il.* 2.230) and as titles, cf. *Μελισσονόμοι*, *αί*, priestesses of Artemis (Aristoph. *Ra.* 1273-1274).

The number of occupational terms, compounds or simplicia derived from different words for domestic animals, attested in the post-Mycenaean literary and epigraphic sources, indicates that the specialisation of labour with respect to the animal species was of primary importance. The evidence from the Linear B tablets points to the same conclusion.

On the Linear B tablets there are records of sheep, oxen, goats, pigs, horses, donkeys, foals. And in accordance with these livestock records,¹ compound appellatives derived from the words for ‘ox,’ ‘horse,’ ‘pig’ and ‘goat’ have been found, with certain correspondences or close parallels in later Greek. The word for ox βούς, spelt *qo-* and *qo-u-*,² is attested in the compounds *qo-u-ko-ro* and *qo-(u)-qo-ta*, which correspond to *βουκόλος* and *βουβότης* ‘ox-herd.’ The word for horse *ίππος*, spelt *i-qo*

¹ For an account of the domestic animals and livestock records see *Docs*², 195-196; *DMic* I, II, Supl. s.v.; DUHOUX 2021, 327-331; ROUGEMONT 2016, 313-314; WAANDERS 2012, 295-300. The interpretation of the forms *ka-no* and *ka-si*, *e-mi-jo-no-i*, *ko-ro* found on the Theban Ft and Gp tablets as words for ‘goose,’ ‘mule,’ ‘young pig’ provoked considerable discussion. Whether or not we agree that these words were names of animals or personal names, place names, occupational terms, or designations of groups of people dressed as animals, the possibility that at least some of them are etymologically related to zoonyms cannot be excluded (DUHOUX 2008, 231-250; *FdCI*, 319-321; WAANDERS 2012, 301-302; WEILHARTNER 2021, 337).

² The spelling without *u*, if not a result of dissimilation or alternative spelling of the diphthong *ou*, may be evidence for the use of two different stem-forms *g^wou-* and *g^wō-*, cf. acc. βῶν, Myc. plur. *qo-o*, cf. Dor. βωκόλος (*Docs*² 577; RUIJGH 1985, 152, n. 168; RUIPEREZ 1957, 192). If so, it is of significance that it is attested only in Pylos and only for *qo-qo-ta*.

and *i-po*³ is attested in the compound *i-ḡo-po-ḡo*, ἵπποφορβός ‘horse-herd,’ and the word for pig *ḡs* in the compound *su-ḡo-ta*, *σὺβώτης* ‘swine-herd.’⁴ Phonological differences and peculiarities left aside, these compounds show the same pattern of nominal composition as their correspondences in later Greek.

The verbal and agent nouns derived from the roots **k^wel-/k^wol-/k^wl-* ‘to turn, move around, dwell,’ **ḡ^weH₃-/*ḡ^woH₃-/*ḡ^wH₃-* ‘to feed, graze’ and **b^herg^w-/*b^horg^w-* ‘to feed, nourish’ are attested as second members in other Mycenaean compounds as well, cf. *a-pi-ḡo-ro* (ἄμφίπολος), *pa-ḡo-ta* (Παμβούτας), *ra-wo-po-ḡo* (Λεώφορβος). However, their productivity in the composition of appellatives with words for animals seems to be significantly low compared to later Greek, cf. *βουκόλος* and *αἰπόλος*; ἵπποφορβός and *συφορβός*, *ὄνοφορβός*; *βουβότης*, *σὺβώτης* and *μηλοβότης*, *ἱπποβώτης*.

Bearing this in mind, as well as the antiquity of the Linear B tablets, one might wonder whether the specific meaning of these verbal elements was still preserved in the Mycenaean compounds they formed, and whether the only two compounds with the same first member *βoṽs*, *ḡo-u-ko-ro* and *ḡo-(u)-ḡo-ta* had different meanings.⁵

The following observation should be taken into consideration. The terms *ḡo-u-ko-ro* and *i-ḡo(po)-po-ḡo* are never accompanied by a personal name, and are used in plural or in dual in most of the cases, cf. *βουκόλοι ἄνδρες* (Hom. *Il.* 13.571).⁶ The terms *ḡo-ḡo-ta* and *su-ḡo-ta*, on the other hand, are attested only in the singular and in the Pylos **Ea** series, and they are used as designations of landholders, identified as individuals whose social status was not low. If they were tending cattle, they were probably those who were managing, rather than literally feeding the cattle in terms of day-to-day care.⁷

³ The spelling *i-po-* instead of the usual *i-ḡo-* (<*-*ekw-o-*) in the Pylos dat. plur. form *i-po-po-ḡo-i* (PY Fn(1) 79.10) is probably a result of dissimilation (LEJEUNE 1972, 47, n. 3; MILANI 2008, 543).

⁴ For the instances and bibliography, see *DMic* I, II, Supl. s.v.; GSCHNITZER 1979, 123; LEUKART 1994, 49, 50 and n. 6, 9; MEISSNER & TRIBULATO 2002, 307, 309; MORPURGO DAVIES 1979, 102-103; WAANDERS 2008, 33, 35, 42; 2012, 297.

⁵ Cf. the different interpretations of *ḡo-u-ko-ro* vs *ḡo-(u)-ḡo-ta*: herdsmen of any domestic livestock vs. herdsmen of oxen (PALMER 1969, 133, 451); men who yoke the oxen and use the plough vs ox-herds, men who feed and graze oxen (PALAIMA 1989, 115; WEILHARTNER 2021, 339); peasants, ordinary men with one or two oxen used as draught animals to work on land vs. chief ox-herds and similarly *su-ḡo-ta* ‘chief swine-herd’ (RUIJGH 1987, 307, 320).

⁶ On the role of the groups of ox-herds in Pylos see PALAIMA 1989, 85-124.

⁷ NAKASSIS 2013, 90, 101, 132, 337.

It should also be noted that there is a significant difference in the frequency of the use of *qo-u-ko-ro* and *qo-(u)-qo-ta* in Mycenaean and *βουκόλος* and *βουβότης* in later Greek. While *βουκόλος* is regularly used by different authors, starting with Homer, the use of *βουβότης* is isolated, cf. Pind. *Isth.* 6.32. On the other hand, in Mycenaean both compounds seem to be equally common, cf. eight instances of *qo-u-ko-ro* in Pylos and one in Tyrins,⁸ and four instances of *qo-qo-ta* in Pylos and one instance of *qo-u-qo-ta* in Knossos.

In view of the above, it may not be fortuitous that only one occupational term for each animal species is attested on the tablets, except for oxen. The overall meaning of these appellatives was ‘to tend, raise cattle’ irrespectively of the second verbal member, but the distribution of the different verbal elements was perhaps initially related to how each animal species is provided with food.⁹ Oxen were obviously the most important animals, and the specialisation of labour was of primary importance in their case. Considering the productivity and the semantics of the verb *βόσκω* in Mycenaean and in later Greek, it is not surprising that the agent noun *-qo-ta* served to form an additional occupational term with a broader meaning compared to the one formed with the agent noun *-qo-ro*.

Similarly, there is only one compound appellative, *a₃-ki-pa-ta*, derived from the word for goat, *αἴξ*, and formed with a verbal member, that is not found in the other Mycenaean occupational terms associated with animal care, and is not attested in any of the later Greek words for ‘goat-herd.’ It has been interpreted as an agent noun derived from a verbal root meaning ‘to graze, feed’ such as **pH₂-t-*, cf. *πατέομαι* ‘eat, drink, taste,’¹⁰ or even better simply from the root **peH₂-/*pH₂-* ‘to watch over, protect, graze,’ from which **pH₂-t-* itself originated with the enlargement *-t-*,¹¹ or as an agent noun related to *παπταίνω* ‘to look around, glance at sth.’¹² That the meaning of this verbal element is related to pro-

⁸ In Knossos possibly *Ju-ko-ro* (KN As 5609.2; Xe 8546.1) may be reconstructed as *qo-u-ko-ro*. Cf. also *o-pi qo-u-f* (KN Od(1) 691.2) for *qo-u-ko-ro* or *qo-u-qo-ta* (DMic Supl.s.v.).

⁹ On the need to have specialised herders for each animal species and the different words for flocks in Greek, see BENVENISTE 1969, 41. On the importance of feeding and nourishing reflected in the composition and semantics of Mycenaean occupational terms and titles, see PALAIMA 2021, 385-389.

¹⁰ EDG II, 1158; DELG III, 863. Cf. also PALAIMA 2021, 386; WEILHARTNER 2021, 338.

¹¹ BADER 1976, 18, 22-27; LEUKART 1994, 82-84; MEISNER & TRIBULATO 2002, 321, n. 91.

¹² EDG II, 1150-1151; DELG I, 36; III, 856, 863. Cf. also HEUBECK 1963, 13-21, for a different interpretation: *Aig-iptās*, ‘der die Ziegen (im Pferch) zusammendrängt.’

tection can be guessed from the context of Pylos **Ae** tablets, where a_3 -*ki-pa-ta* is used to describe someone who is watching over quadrupeds, cf. *o-pi*, *ta-ra-ma-ta-o*, *qe[-to-ro-po-pi]* *o-ro-me[-no* (**PY Ae(1) 108**) and *o-pi ta-ra-ma-ta-o qe-to-ro-po-pi* (**PY Ae(1) 489**). A semantical parallel in Homer, cf. ἐνθάδε τ' αἰπόλια πλατέ' αἰγῶν ἔνδεκα πάντα, ἐσχατιῇ βόσκοντ', ἐπὶ δ' ἀνέρες ἐσθλοὶ ὄρονται (Hom. *Od.* 14.103-104), indicates how it is related with feeding. Goats move in search for their food the farthest and consequently need to be watched and protected carefully.

As to the sheep, a compound formed with the word for sheep *ῶις* is probably *o-wi-de-ta*, cf. dat. plur. *o-wi-de-ta-i* (**PY Un 718.2**). Its second member could be related to the verb *δέρω* 'skin, flay', or *δέω* 'bind, tie.' However, this word is not an occupational term, but rather a religious title, derived from a compound which reflected the activity of flaying or binding sheep, **/owidertās/*, cf. *ῶιν ἄργυρον ὠκύς* Ἀχιλλεύς σφάξ'. ἔταροι δ' ἔδερὸν τε καὶ ἄμφεπον (Hom. *Il.* 24.621-622) or **/owidetās/*.¹³ There is no exact correspondence for */-dertās/* in later Greek, but a verbal noun *-doroσ* is attested in the adjective *βου-δόρος* 'flaying oxen,' cf. *Μῆνα δὲ Ληναιῶνα, κάκ' ἤματα, βουδόρα πάντα* (Hes. *Op.* 504) and *-doras* in *Προβατο-δόρας*, *Αἰγιο-δόρας*, alternative names of the month *Ληναιῶν* (Procl. *ad Hes. Op.* 502). Whereas, the verbal agent noun *-detης* is found in *ἵππο-δέτης* 'binding horses,' cf. *δύο δ' ἀργίποδας κριοὺς ἀνελῶν, ... τὸν δ' ὀρθὸν ἄνω κίονι δήσας, / μέγαν ἵπποδέτην ῥυτήρα λαβῶν* (Soph. *Aj.* 237-241).

Finally, the dat. loc. plur. form *po-ro-po-i* (**MY Oi 701.4**) might be possibly reconsidered as an occupational term composed from the word for foal, *πῶλος*, cf. Myc. *po-ro*, and the verbal noun in the *o*-grade of the verb *ἔπω*, cf. Myc. *o-pa*, meaning 'foal-carer' as it has been proposed by Hugo Mühlestein,¹⁴ cf. *δι-οπος*, 'ruler, commander' (Aesch. *Pers.* 44) and the use of *ἀμφίεπω* 'go about, be busy, tend' in relation to animals in Homer, cf. *ἵππους ἀμφιέποντες ζεύγνυον* (Hom. *Il.* 19.392-393).

Appellatives indicating professions in Mycenaean records were also used as personal names or as sole designations of individuals. Such is the case with *qo-u-ko-ro* on **PY Ea 781; Ti Ef 2** and *qo-qo-ta* in the **PY Ea** series, mentioned on four tablets, but accompanied with the per-

¹³ LEUKART 1994, 87-88; MEISNER & TRIBULATO 2002, 309; MÜHLESTEIN 1968, 114-115; RUIJGH 1967, 265 n. 147; 342; WAANDERS 2008, 40.

¹⁴ MÜHLESTEIN 1968, 115. For alternative interpretations, see *DMic II* s.v.

sonal name *pe-re-qa-no* only once on **PY Ea 270**.¹⁵ In view of this, two compound personal names should be mentioned as possible evidence for appellatives related to animal husbandry not recorded otherwise on the Linear B tablets.

The name *qa-wa-ke-se-u* (**KN As 602.4**) < */G^wowāgos/, a compound with βούς and ἄγω,¹⁶ cf. βοηγός, ‘ox-driver in a procession, title of religious official’ could be interpreted ‘the one who drives oxen,’ or maybe ‘the one who seizes oxen,’ cf. ὡς ὅτε βούς τόν τ’ οὔρει βουκόλοι ἄνδρες ἰλλάσιν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα βίη δήσαντες ἄγουσιν (Hom. *Il.* 13.571-572).¹⁷

The name *we-re-na-ko* (**TH Fq 240.5**, dat.sing.) is probably derived from the word for sheep, lamb ἀρήν. If not a hypocoristic in -ακος, it might be a compound with ἄγω, ‘the one who takes lambs (sheep) to pasture,’¹⁸ cf. Ἄρναγος or ἄρχω, ‘the one who is responsible for the sheep;’¹⁹ cf. also ἱππαρχος, ‘ruling the horse, commander of cavalry,’ Ἱππαρχος, Μγς. *po-ta-ko*.

Occupational terms derived from words that do not designate domestic animals

A smaller group of appellatives designating agents involved with domestic animals are simplicia derived from verbal roots by means of suffixes typical of agent nouns, such as -τά-, -τηρ-, -μην-, -ευ-. Derivatives of the verbs βόσκω and νέμω are attested from Homer onwards, cf. νομεύς, βο-τήρ, βώ-τωρ. All these terms are used to express the meaning ‘herdsman’ as a generic term, or ‘herder of mixed flocks’ in opposition to terms specialised for other animal species, cf. τόσσα συῶν συβόσια, τὸς αἰπόλια πλατέ’ αἰγῶν / βόσκουσι ξεῖνοί τε καὶ αὐτοῦ βώτορες ἄνδρες (Hom. *Od.* 14.101-102).

The term ποι-μην comes from the *o*-grade of the root *peH₂- ‘protect,’ with the enlargement *-i- (cf. Lith. *piemuō*), meaning ‘shepherd’ or ‘herdsman (of sheep, goats, oxen)’ in Homer and only ‘shepherd’ later on. As early as in Homer, it was also used with its metaphorical

¹⁵ BUZALKOVSKA ALEKSOVA 1999, 177; ILIEVSKI 1983, 209-210; NAKASSIS 2013, 337, 359; WAANDERS 1992, 595.

¹⁶ ILIEVSKI 1983, 209; LEUKART 1994, 246; PERPILLOU 1973, 222; RUIJGH 1967, 292, n. 17; WAANDERS 2008, 42.

¹⁷ PLATH 1999, 515-516.

¹⁸ *DMic* Supl. s.v.; GARCÍA RAMÓN 2005, 91-96; KÖLLIGAN 2017, 606.

¹⁹ DŽUKESKA 2006, 335-342.

meaning ‘guardian, leader, master,’ cf. *ποιμήν λαῶν*. These agent nouns formed compounds not only with words for domestic animals as their first members, but also with prepositions, cf. *ἐπι-βώτωρ*, *βου-ποίμην*, *ἐπι-ποιμήν* ‘shepherd, herdsman’.

Other appellatives with various meanings were formed as simplia or compounds from verbal and nominal stems, such as *ἐλάτης* (< *ἐλαύνω*) ‘driver,’ cf. *κινουῖσιν ποιμένας ἐλάται* (Eur. fr. 773.28); *φέρβητης* (< *φέρβω*) ‘herdsman,’ cf. *φέρβηται νομεῖς* (Hsch.); *πεκτήρ* (< *πέκω*) ‘shearer,’ cf. *πεκτήρες: οἱ τὸ δέρμα τίλλοντες*. (Sud.); *νακοτίλης* ‘wool-plucker, shearer’ (< *νάκος* ‘fleece’ and *τίλλω* ‘pluck, pull out’).

On the Linear B tablets there are no correspondences to later Greek generic terms derived from the roots of the verbs *βόσκω* or *νέμω*. At the same time, the use of the word for shepherd *ποιμήν* is well attested in Knossos, Pylos and Thebes, cf. *po-me* (nom.sing.), *po-me-no* (gen.sing.), *po-me-ne* (dat.sing.).²⁰ It seems that the Mycenaean instances testify not only to its meaning ‘shepherd,’ but also to its metaphorical meaning, cf. *i-je[-re-]u po-me* (KN Am(2) 821.2), and to its use as a personal name, cf. KN Dd 1376.B.

Apart from KN Dd 1376.B, there are no other instances of this appellative in documents that are records of livestock, in terms of the usage of appropriate logograms. But on PY Ae 134, *po-me* is used as a designation of a man, named *ke-ro-wo*, who was engaged in watching over *ta-ra-ma-ta*’s quadrupeds, *o-pi qe-to-ro-po-pi o-ro-me-no*.²¹ The phraseology, which is the same as in the case of *qo-te-ro a₃-ki-pa-ta* on PY Ae 108, corresponds to the etymological relation between *po-me* and *-pa-ta* and the semantics of the root **peH₂-/*pH₂-* ‘to watch over, protect, graze.’ The use of the word *τετράποδα* instead of a specific word for goat or sheep is equally noticeable, and so is the absence of any other occupational term meaning ‘shepherd’ from the Linear B tablets.

Other instances of *po-me* in Pylos Ea and Eo series in relation to landholders confirm that shepherds, just like ox-herds and swine-herds, were not individuals with a low status, and were probably the ones who were managing, rather than literally watching over the cattle.

²⁰ For the instances and bibliography see *DMic* II; Supl. s.v. See also BADER 1976, 17-18; GSCHNITZER 1979, 123; MORPURGO DAVIES 1979, 102-103; PALAIMA 2021, 386, 389; WEILHARTNER 2021, 338-339.

²¹ On the identification of this man as a shepherd in the Cn series, see NAKASSIS 2013, 105-106, 286-287.

A different formation, in comparison to later Greek, is observable in *me-ri-te-wo*, probably a genitive of the word for ‘bee-keeper,’ attested in the Pylos **Ea** series. This Mycenaean term is derived from the word for honey *me-ri*, μέλι (< *PIE *melit-*), whereas its semantic equivalent in *-ευς*, μελισσεύς, comes from the word for bee μέλισσα.²²

Another word that is most likely an occupational term in the domain of animal husbandry is *po-ku-ta*. It is attested in Knossos **Bo**, **C** and **L** series and in the Pylos **An** series. The Knossos **C** series contains livestock records, and *po-ku-ta* is used once in relation to goats (KN **C(2)** 911.7) and five times in relation to sheep (KN **C(2)** 911.8.10; 912.2.3). There are no parallels for this appellative in later Greek. It has been interpreted as a compound, ‘fleece plucker,’²³ with the root PIE **pek-/ *pok-* ‘pluck, card’ (cf. *πέκω* ‘comb, card, shear,’ *πόκος* ‘sheep’s wool, fleece,’ Myc. *po-ka*, ‘shorn wool’),²⁴ and the zero grade **ur-* of PIE **wer-* ‘draw, tear’ (cf. Gr. *ἀπό(φ)ερσε* ‘swept away,’ *ἀπούρας* ‘taking away, pulling out’ < *PIE *wer/ur-s-* ‘to wipe’), or as a derivative in *-τᾶς* of a stem **pok-u-* ‘small cattle,’ ‘the one who owns or takes care of small cattle (goats or sheep).’²⁵

The form *ta-te-re*, nom. plur. of an agent noun in *-τηρ* possibly derived from PIE **steH₂-/stH₂-* (cf. *ἵστημι*), and used as a designation of individuals listed on **PY An 209**, might be related to Myc. *ta-to-mo*, *σταθμός* ‘standing place for animals.’²⁶ If so, the corresponding later Greek *στατήρ* must have had a different meaning on the Mycenaean tablets, such as ‘the one who is stationed in a *σταθμός*.’

The nom. sing. *po-qa-te-u* (**PY Qa 1295**) might be a derivative from *φορβή*, Myc. *po-qa* ‘fodder,’ meaning ‘the one who is responsible for the fodder,’ cf. post-Mycenaean *φερβήτης* ‘herdsman.’²⁷

In addition to these words, *pe-re-ke-u*, attested in Pylos, Mycenae and Thebes, has been interpreted by Michael Lane as */plekeus/* ‘shearer,’ cf. *pe-re-ke*, */pleken/*, 3 pers.plur. aor.pas. from a verb **/plēkō/* (< PIE **pleH₁-k-/ *plH₁-k-* ‘flay, strip, tear’) ‘strip, shear thoroughly,’ post-Myc.

²² DELG III, 681-682; DMic I s.v.; EDG I, 925-926; GSCHNITZER 1979, 123; MORPURGO DAVIES 1979, 103 n. 61; PERPILLOU 1973, 282-283, 317.

²³ MELENA 1987, 443-456.

²⁴ EDG II 1164; DELG III 872; EDL 454; MELENA 1987, 138-139.

²⁵ RUIJGH 1992, 543-544.

²⁶ DELG II, 471; DMic II s.v.; NAKASSIS 2013, 47 n.73, 108.

²⁷ DMic II s.v.; MILANI 2005, 174; NAKASSIS 2013, 356.

πλέκωμα ‘what results from cutting.’²⁸

The appellative *su-ra-te* is mentioned twice in Pylos, on the tablets **Ae(1) 72** and **264** as a subject of the phrases *du-ni-jo-jo*, *me-tu-ra*, *su-ra-se* and *du-ni-jo*, *me-tu-ra*, *su-ra-se* respectively. Two individuals are involved in the activity described with this phrase, one of them being the goat-herd *pi-ra-jo*, Φιλαῖος. A third instance is attested on the tablet **Ae(1) 8**, but without the appellative *su-ra-te*. There is a formal correspondence between *su-ra-te*, *su-ra-se* and post-Myc. *συλάω* ‘strip off, take off, carry off’, *συλήτωρ* ‘plunderer’. The Mycenaean spelling with the *s*-series reflects the absence of Indo-European etymology of these words.²⁹ However, the interpretation of the three **Ae** tablets as records of plundering, compensation, or seizure is questionable,³⁰ because the logogram VIR clearly shows they are personnel records. The phrase *me-tu-ra su-ra-se* is comparable with the phrase *o-pi qe-to-ro-ro-pi o-ro-me-no* ‘watching over the quadrupeds (goats and sheep?)’, used in the records of another goat-herd and a shepherd, cf. **Ae(1) 108, 134**. Accordingly, the word *me-tu-ra* probably corresponds to later Greek *μίτυλος* ‘hornless’, and perhaps means ‘young, year-old goats’, cf. *μιτύλαν ... αἴγα* (Theoc. 8.86), as argued by Ernst Risch.³¹ With respect to this, the interpretation of the appellative *su-ra-te* and the verbal form *su-ra-se* (3rd. pers. sing.) as terms for an activity related to animal husbandry seems far more reasonable.³²

Perhaps the verb *σύλαω* on the Mycenaean tablets had a different meaning ‘strip off, flay’ that later developed into ‘take off armour, seize, plunder.’ A similar semantic shift is observed in the verb *δέρω*, cf. *βοῦν ... τὸν δέρον ἀμφί θ’ ἔπον* (Hom. *Il.* 7.314-316) and *Δερῶ σε θύλακον κλοπῆς* (Aristoph. *Eq.* 370) and in other languages. If this is acceptable, then *su-ra-te* would be ‘the one who strips off the skin (of an animal)’.

Finally, two personal names might be mentioned. If the name *ko-pe-re-u* attested in Knossos and Pylos has its equivalent in *Κοπρέυς* (< *κόπρος*

²⁸ LANE 2011, 92-95. For other interpretations, such as *πλοκεύς* ‘weaver’, see *DMic II* s.v.

²⁹ *EDG II*, 1422. The word is probably Pre-Greek or a borrowing. Cf. MILANI 2005, 179-180: Hebr. *šll* ‘take away’, *šālāl* ‘robbery’, Acad. *šalālu* ‘seize, steal’.

³⁰ *Docs²* 169; MILANI 2005, 172-181; MORPURGO DAVIES 1960, 44.

³¹ RISCH 1981, 29-36.

³² Cf. Separating young animals from their mothers for weaning (JIMÉNEZ DELGADO 2016, 71, f. 86, 167).

‘manure, dung’ < PIE **kok^w-*),³³ it might be a hypocoristic of a compound **ko-ko-ko-ro* meaning ‘the one who is engaged in collection of dung,’ cf. *κοπροφόρος*, *κοπροβόλος* and Paus. 5.1.9.1-5.1.10.3. The spelling of the labiovelar with labial might be ascribed to a dissimilation as in *ko-u-ko-ro*, *i-ro-ro-ko*.

The personal name *po-ta-ko* (PY Cn 45.13), nom. sing., probably corresponding to *Ποίμαρχος* (IG IV 757 B 32), is derived from a compound appellative with *ποιμήν* and *ἄρχω*, meaning ‘the chief of the shepherds.’³⁴

To sum up, the examination of the Linear B tablets and the later sources shows that the specialisation of labour with respect to the animal species was of primary importance, and it was accordingly reflected in the composition and derivation of occupational terms associated with animal husbandry both in Mycenaean and in Post-Mycenaean Greek. Furthermore, Mycenaean evidence indicates that the original specialisation of labour with respect to the different types of feeding is perhaps reflected in the use of only one appellative concerning each animal species and in the choice of different verbal elements for the composition and derivation: *βουκόλος*, *σβώτης*, *ίπποφορβός*, **αίγιπᾶτᾶς*, *ποιμήν*. By analogy with these compounds others were created already in Mycenaean. The analysis also shows that religious titles were often derived from compounds expressing usual human activities pertaining to animals, such as ‘binding, putting a yoke, flaying.’ Occupational terms served to form personal names both in Mycenaean and in later Greek. The evidence of the Linear B tablets is particularly unique with regard to appellatives derived from words not related to domestic animals, which have specific technical meanings. These terms show formal and semantic differences in comparison to later Greek and indicate activities obviously not included in the job description of a herder.

³³ Docs² 555; LEUKART 1994, 240; PERPILLOU 1973, 207, 214; RUIJGH 1967, 366-367. On a different interpretation, **Σκοπελεύς* < *σκόπελος*, see CHANTRAINE 1972, 201.

³⁴ *DMic* II s.v.

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