

## NAMES OF SHEPHERDS AT KNOSSOS

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At the Cambridge Colloquium on Minoan Society in 1981, I examined the personal names occurring on the Knossos As tablets as evidence for the social structure of Crete in the Late Minoan II period.<sup>1</sup> Subsequently I extended my examination of the personal names on the Knossos tablets to another set, the Knossos Ap tablets, which are mainly concerned with women.<sup>2</sup> From the study of the As tablets it emerged that in these tablets Greek and non-Greek names were almost inextricably mixed in the lists of men recorded, which would suggest that in the LM II period there were few or no social distinctions between the local population and the newcomers from the Mainland. On the other hand, in the Ap tablets, which list women who, from the occurrence of the word *do-e-ra* /*doelai*/, later *δοῦλαι*, are seen to be members of a servile group, the proportion of Greek to non-Greek names is only about 1 to 6, whereas in the As tablets the ratio is 1 to 3. The women listed on the Ap tablets were probably part of the indigenous population conquered by the Mainlanders who established their rule at Knossos in the LM II period; though some of the women have Greek names, e.g. *Wo-di-je-ja* /*Wordieia*/ 'Rosie', these could be nicknames given to female workers by their Greek masters. The picture which emerges from the Ap tablets, then, is one of a labour force of indigenous and other slave women under Greek masters.

It is my intention to expand the investigation of the names occurring in the Knossos tablets to cover the whole archive, and the present study of shepherds' names at Knossos, i.e. a study of the D series, is a further step in that direction. It is worth repeating here, what has often been said in the past in connection with the identification of personal names, that the names do not always provide reliable evidence because different interpretations of the same name are often possible. This must be borne in mind when drawing conclusions from personal names.

The D series at Knossos forms a substantial part of the Knossos archive, consisting of several hundreds of tablets and fragments of tablets. The series is concerned with the sheep and wool industry, and the tablets list large numbers of sheep and the wool they produce. The tablets have been divided by scholars into sets according to the information contained in the tablets; so, e.g., the Da tablets have numbers of rams only, while the Db tablets list both rams and ewes; the Dc to Dh tablets have abbreviations such as *pa*, *pe*, *ki* and *o* added to the sheep ideogram, probably indicating age groups of the sheep, or in the case of *o*, a deficit. The Dk and Dl tablets list sheep and the expected yield of wool from the

sheep, the Dm tablets list two types of rams, the identification of which has not been convincingly established, while the Dn tablets contain lists of totals of sheep, running into thousands and even tens of thousands. The rest of the D series list sheep in various ways. From an analysis of the 'hands', nine scribes were responsible for the writing of the D tablets, and for very few tablets in other series, indicating that the 'department' concerned with sheep and wool was large enough to stand on its own and needed nine scribes to keep its records.<sup>3</sup>

The D tablets are all individual entries, consisting of one or two lines. Usually a tablet begins with a man's name written in large characters, then the tablet is divided horizontally, with on the top line a personal name either in the nominative or the genitive, and the number of rams and ewes. The bottom line usually has a place-name and a further entry of sheep, either rams of different age-groups, or a deficit. This arrangement, however, is not invariable, and frequently the man's name in the top line is replaced by an adjective indicating an establishment or such like in control of the sheep. It is fairly generally agreed that the name written large at the beginning of the tablet is the name of the shepherd, while the name on the top line is what Chadwick and Killen originally called the 'collector'.<sup>4</sup> It is now generally accepted that 'shepherds' are the men responsible for the flocks, not necessarily actual shepherds and that 'collectors' are the men who get the produce from the sheep. Where I use the terms 'shepherd' and 'collector', I use them in this generally accepted sense. There are far fewer collectors than shepherds and each collector has a number of shepherds under his supervision, some of them in different geographical areas. Where the name of the collector is replaced by an adjective, the implication is that this represents a kind of establishment; e.g. the adjective *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* which occurs frequently, has been interpreted as a derivative of the name of the goddess Potnia, so that the sheep indicated here would belong to the goddess or her ministrants.<sup>5</sup> About two-thirds of the archive does not have a collector's name or an adjective, and it has been suggested that the flocks entered on these tablets belong to the King.

Of the collectors' names, those found most frequently are *u-ta-jo* and *we-we-si-jo*. *U-ta-jo* does not readily suggest a Greek name; Landau<sup>6</sup> suggests Hyrtaios and quotes the ethnic \*Yptaioi occurring in a later Cretan inscription from Gortyn (Guarducci, *Inscr. Cret.* IV, no. 161.51). *We-we-si-jo* has been interpreted as *Werwesios* and connected with the root of εἶρος<sup>7</sup> — an appropriate name for someone connected with sheep and wool. Other names of collectors are clearly Greek, e.g. *ko-ma-we-to* (Dk 9201, Dv 1272), the genitive of *ko-ma-we* /*Komawens*/ which occurs also at Pylos. It has been suggested that the collectors were the nobles on whom the king depended for the running of the sheep and wool industry,<sup>8</sup> and it is to be expected that they should have Greek names, as Crete was at this stage ruled by people who kept their records in Greek.

The shepherds are far more numerous than the collectors. In all, there are over 300 names of shepherds on the tablets. The total would be a good deal higher, as some of the tablets are broken and the shepherd's name does not appear in full or is entirely lost. In only a few cases do the shepherds' names recur on different

tablets in the D series, and then it is by no means certain that they refer to the same people; in fact, the converse seems to be the case, e.g. in KN Da 1299 a shepherd *e-u-ko-ro* /*Eukolos*/ or /*Eukoros*/ or /*Euklos*/ has a flock of sheep at *do-ti-ja*; the same name appears in Db 1389 at *ti-ri-to* and again in Dd 1149 at *da-\*22-to*. It is highly unlikely that the same shepherd would be operating at three different places.

If we examine the names of the shepherds, we find the same pattern emerging as in the As tablets. Some of the names are unquestionably Greek, others are definitely not Greek; of the non-Greek names a few resemble names occurring in Linear A (assuming that the sign-values of Linear B can be accepted for similar signs in Linear A), others show affinities with Hittite and other Near Eastern names. Some of the names recur in other series of Knossos tablets, and in tablets from Pylos, Mycenae and Thebes. I propose now to examine these categories, to see what light they throw on social conditions in Mycenaean Crete.

First, there are the names which can, with a reasonable amount of certainty, be interpreted as Greek. On a fairly generous estimate, there are about 90 of them, which means that in the D tablets Greek names are outnumbered by about 1 to 4. This means that the proportion of Greek to non-Greek names is higher than in the Ap tablets, where, as mentioned earlier, Greek names are outnumbered by about 1 to 6, whereas in the As tablets the proportion is about 3 non-Greek names to every Greek name. From the Greek names I select a few to illustrate the different types of names represented. Names with the suffix *-εύς* are frequent. A few examples must suffice. We meet *e-ne-ke-se-u* (Da 1081) /*Enexeus*/, derived by Landau and Szemerényi<sup>9</sup> from the root of ἐνεγκεῖν. Then there is *a-re-ke-se-u* (Da 1156) /*Alexeus*/ from the root of ἀλέξειν and *de-ke-se-u* (Db 1426, Df 1119) /*Dexeus*/ or /*Derxeus*/ derived from δέχεσθαι or δέρκεσθαι respectively.<sup>10</sup> We note that these names are derived from verbs. Others are from nouns, e.g. *po-ro-u-te-u* (Dc 1129) /*Plouteus*/ from πλοῦτος (the form Πλουτεύς exists in later Greek as a byform of Πλοῦτος); also *ku-ne-u* (Da 1396) /*Kuneus*/ which Landau derives from the root *kun-*<sup>11</sup>. The suffix *-εύς* is a productive one in Linear B, and it is well represented in this series of tablets.

Many compound names are found in the D tablets, showing the different types of compounds known in later Greek. There are no fewer than five names beginning with *e-u-* (εὐ-), e.g. *e-u-na-wo* (Dv 1206) /*Eunāwos*/; the root of ναῦς is possibly found also in *na-wi-ro* (Db 1507) /*Nāwilos*/. Other names beginning with εὐ are *e-u-me-ta* (Dv 1388) /*Eumētās*/ and *e-u-ko-ro* already mentioned. There is one compound with *po-ru* (*polu-*) as its first element, *po-ru-ḡo-to* (Da 1133) which is interpreted as /*Polug<sup>u</sup>otos*/. The root of ἀνήρ also occurs, both in compounds and derivatives, e.g. *a-no-ḡo-ta* in Da 1289, Dq 440 has been interpreted as /*Anorq<sup>u</sup>hontās*/, cf. ἀνδρειφόντης Il. II.651,<sup>12</sup> though *a-no* (a form of ἀνα-) is also possible. This name occurs also as the name of a collector in Dq 45. A derivative of ἀνήρ is possibly to be found in *a-di-ri-jo* (Do 7613) /*Andrios*/ or /*Andriōn*/, though it is more likely to be from the place-name Ἄνδρος.

Compounds in *ā-*privative are also found, e.g. *a-du-ru-po-to* (Dg 1107 + 1465)

*/Aduptios/* (though this name may be non-Greek) and *a-tu-ko* (Dg 1102) which etymologizes neatly as */Atukhos/* ‘Unlucky’ — but one wonders whether a name of ill-omen such as this is likely. Another possible name of ill-omen, a compound of the preposition *κατά* and *ἀρᾶσθαι*, is *ka-ta-wo* (Dk 5201, Dv 1113), */Katarwos/* ‘Accursed’. The word is testified in later Greek, but as Chadwick points out, ‘the interpretation satisfies the spelling but seems an improbable name’.<sup>13</sup> An interesting point that arises in connection with compound names, is that no names containing the word *ἵππος*, so common in later Greek, have been identified in the D tablets, nor anywhere else in the Linear B tablets.<sup>14</sup> The implication would be that ownership of a horse was not yet a status symbol in Bronze Age Greece.

Some names seem to be derived from names of animals, such as *e-ki-no* (Da 1078) */Ekhnos/* ‘Hedgehog’, *po-ro* (Dd 1171) */Polos/* ‘Foil’, *Ko-ku* (Dh 1240) */Kokkux/* ‘Cuckoo’. Other names are familiar from Greek mythology, either as derivatives, such as *di-wo* (Dv 1503) */Diwōn/*, from the root of the name of Zeus, or as the actual names, e.g. *ka-to* (Dv 1169, Dv 5287) gen. *Ka-to-ro/ Kastōr/*.

A number of names are ethnics used as personal names. Connection with Egypt is indicated by the occurrence of *a<sub>3</sub>-ku-pi-ti-jo* (Db 1105) */Aiguptios/*. Some seem to go back to pre-Greek place-names, such as *ru-na-so* (Dv 1439, Dv 1442), which could be */Lurnassos/*. The place-name *Λυρνησσός* occurs in *Iliad* II.690 and elsewhere. The place-name *Ku-ta-to* is frequently found in the D tablets as the location of various flocks of sheep, and in Dv 1237 and Dv 1394 the ethnic derived from *ku-ta-to* appears as a man’s name *Ku-ta-si-jo/ Kutasios/*. A variant form of the ethnic *ku-ta-to* appears as *ku-ta-ti-jo/ja* (Ga 419, G 820), which shows that the change of *ti* to *si* in East Greek dialects had not been fully completed by this stage.

There is in the D tablets one example of an occupational name occurring as a man’s name, and appropriately enough it is the word for shepherd, *po-me* (Db 1376) */Poimēn/*. Elsewhere in the Linear B tablets we meet a bronzesmith whose name is *ka-ke-u/ Khalkeus/*.<sup>15</sup>

Finally, some of the names reflect moral or physical qualities. We meet *a-ka-to* (Dv 5256) */Agathos/* or */Agathōn/* but */Akanthos/* is also possible; and *ku-ru-meni-jo* (Da 1173) */Klumenios/* probably a patronymic of *Klumenos*. *Pa-ra-to* (Db 1373) has been interpreted as */Platōn/* (derived from *πλατύς*) or */Phalanthos/* (bald in front). A not-so-complimentary name is *na-pu-ti-jo* (Db 1232), which is interpreted as */Naputios/*, cf. *νηπύτιος* in later Greek.

It is unnecessary to discuss the non-Greek names in detail; we have already noted that they outnumber the Greek names by about 4 to 1. Some of them are ethnics derived from place-names in Linear A, or in Hittite and other Near Eastern languages. An example is *a-si-wi-jo* (Df 1469) */Aswios/*. Ἄσιος occurs in *Iliad* II.46, and we can compare the Linear B form with Hittite *Aššūwa*. *Sa-ma-ri-jo* (Da 1147) */Samarios/* could be derived from a Linear A place-name *Sa-ma-ro*.<sup>16</sup>

A name which we know from mythology is Mopsus, one of the founders of

Perge in Pamphylia after the Trojan War. The equivalent of Mopsus is found in De 1381 as *mo-qo-so / Moq<sup>u</sup>sos/*, with which we can compare Hittite *Mukšaš*.

We turn now to the names in the D series which recur on other Knossos tablets and at Pylos, Mycenae and Thebes. As far as the Knossos names are concerned, I have already pointed out elsewhere<sup>17</sup> that several of the names recur in the D series. It is likely, but not proven, that the names in the D tablets which recur in the As tablets refer to the same people, except where it is obvious that this is not the case. I mentioned the example of *a-ra-ko* in As 607; the name recurs as the name of a shepherd at *ti-ri-to* in Db 1236, and again at *do-ti-ja* in De 1307; it is obvious that only one of these shepherds could be identified with the *a-ra-ko* in As 607. The word *do-e-ro* (δοῦλος) occurs with the name *a-ra-ko* in C 911 in a list of men's names with mixed flocks of sheep and goats. If this *a-ra-ko* is to be identified with one of the shepherds of the same name, it could suggest a servile status for the shepherds. But there is no compelling evidence, such as a place-name in C 911, to confirm the identification.

There are other shepherds' names which recur in the C series. This series records lists of mixed livestock, including sheep. It is possible that the shepherds whose names recur in the D series, can be identified with the men mentioned in the C tablets, and that in addition to keeping sheep, they also had other types of livestock. So, e.g., *ta-za-ro* in Db 1097 recurs in Ch 896 as the owner of two oxen whose names are given as *a<sub>3</sub>-wo-ro / Aiwołos/* and *ke-ra-no / Kelainos/*.

If we look at the names of shepherds which recur at Pylos, Mycenae and Thebes, we note that more than half of these names can be identified as Greek. A number of the shepherds' names which recur at Pylos are found in the Cn series, which also has to do with livestock, and in the Jn tablets which list bronze smiths and their allocations of bronze. I am not, of course, implying that the shepherds of Knossos whose names are found in the Pylos tablets, are the same people, as distance in space and time would rule this out; what is shown here, is that there was a common stock of Greek names at the different centres and that the time lapse between the writing of the Knossos tablets (c. 1400 B.C) and the Pylos tablets (c. 1200 B.C.) was sufficient for a full integration of Greek and non-Greek elements in Crete itself, and between Crete and the Mainland.

To sum up then: the names on the D tablets at Knossos indicate that men in positions of authority (i.e. the collectors) were mainly people with Greek names, but that in the case of the shepherds, though non-Greek names are still in the majority, there seems to be no social distinction between Greek and non-Greek at the time when the tablets were written.

## NOTES

1. *Minoan Society*, Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium 1981, edited by O. Krzyszkowska and L. Nixon, Bristol Classical Press, 3–10.
2. 𐀀𐀁𐀃𐀄 𐀀𐀁𐀃𐀄 *o-o-pe-ro-si*, Festschrift für Ernst Risch zum 75. Geburtstag, herausgegeben von Annemarie Etter, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin 1986, 273–278.

3. Articles on the Knossos D series include: J.T. Killen, 'The Wool Ideogram in Linear B Texts', *Hermathena* 96 (1962) 38–72; 'Some Adjuncts to the Sheep Ideogram on the Knossos Tablets', *Eranos* 61 (1964) 69–93; 'The Wool Industry of Crete in the Late Bronze Age', *Annual of the B.S.A.* 59 (1964) 1–15; 'Minoan Woolgathering', Part I: *Kadmos* 7:2 (1968) 105–123; Part II: *Kadmos* 8:1 (1969) 23–28 (a reply to Douglas Young's contribution to *Europa*, Festschrift für Ernst Grumach, edited by W.C. Brice, Berlin 1967, 332–338; see also Young, *Kadmos* 8:1 (1969) 39–42).
4. Michael Ventris and John Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, 2nd edition, Cambridge 1973, 200,413,434 (hereafter referred to as *Docs.*); Killen, *Hermathena* 118 (1974) 85; Killen, *JHS* 96 (1976) 260–261.
5. *Docs.* 434.
6. O. Landau, *Mykenisch–Griechische Personennamen*, Göteborg 1958, 143,218 (hereafter referred to as Landau).
7. *Docs.* 591; Landau 148,235.
8. *Docs.* 434.
9. Landau 49,179; O. Szemerényi, 'The Greek Nouns in -εύς', *Μνήμη Χάρτιν*. Gedenkschrift Paul Kretschmer, 1957, 180.
10. Szemerényi (above, note 9), 180.
11. Landau 76,179,231.
12. *Docs.* 531.
13. *Docs.* 551.
14. M. Lejeune, *B.S.L.* 66:2 (1971) 77.
15. PY Jn 750.
16. HT 88.5; for the interpretation as an ethnic, see Landau 126, 169, 219, 271.
17. L. Baumbach (above, note 1), 6.

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