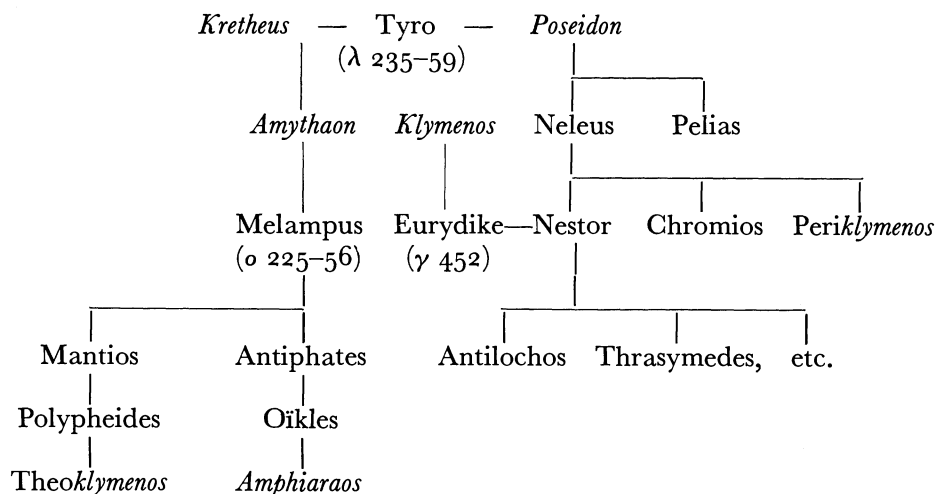


MYCENAEAN NAMES IN HOMER

PERSONAL names in ordinary use between the fall of Knossos and the fall of Mycenae could have got into the tradition of heroic poetry in three ways. They could have persisted in common use (as some certainly did); or they could have existed as a stock of 'names suitable for heroes' on which the poets drew at will; or they could have come down attached to stories or incidents or professions, with the probability that some of them are historical. An analysis of all the personal names in the tablets is a task for someone better qualified to judge the probabilities of identification, but there may be some value in a preliminary study of the fifty-eight names listed by Michael Ventris and John Chadwick as 'Names which can be exactly paralleled in Homer'.¹ For the cautious restraint shown throughout their great book is as good a guarantee of accurate interpretation as could be found. The names are fairly evenly divided between *Iliad* and *Odyssey*—17 in both, 29 in the *Iliad* only and 12 in the *Odyssey* only—and of these *Ilos* or *Iros* must be omitted. The number seems too small to show significant tendencies, and it is the more surprising that they are found to cluster round certain localities or heroes. Names found in the tablets are printed in italics.

THE PYLOS CYCLE

The thickest accumulation is round Nestor and his ancestors and sons. Seven come in his family tree, if a god found in the tablets is included.



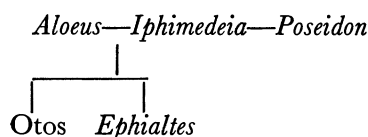
The *ἐταῖρος* of Antilochos is *Laodokos* (*P* 699). *Aphareus* is found on guard duty with Thrasymedes (*I* 83), and when *Idomeneus* (*cf.* *Idomeneia, Documents*, p. 89) calls on his *ἐταῖροι*, they include Antilochos and *Aphareus* (*N* 478–79). When Aeneas kills *Aphareus* Antilochos is fighting by his side (*N* 541–5). On both occasions they are in company with the Orchomenians, Askalaphos and Ialmenos (*I* 82, *N* 478, 518), whom Astyoche bore to Ares in the house of *Aktor* (*B* 513). Askalaphos when he is killed (*N* 519) is called 'son of *Enyalios*', and his family is connected with the Neleids through Amphion king of Orchomenos, whose daughter Chloris was wife of Neleus (*λ* 281–4). Amphion's father was Iasios, and Iwasos is Mycenaean, both as a personal and as a place name (*Documents*, p. 104). When Mycenaean

¹ *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, pp. 104–5.

names occur in miscellaneous fighting, a son of Nestor is frequently involved. The Argive Euryalos kills *Pedasos*, Teukros kills *Aretaon*, Antilochos kills Ableros, Agamemnon kills Elatos of Pedasos, Leitos kills *Phylakos*, Menelaos captures *Adrestos* (whom I venture to italicise, although he is queried in *Documents*, No. 59), all in *Z* 21–38. It was another *Phylakos* who imprisoned Melampus in Phylake (ο 231), and his wife was the *Klymene* of λ 326. Areithoos comes out of the Pylos stories, and we find that Paris kills a son of Areithoos, *Hector* kills Eioneus, and *Glaukos* kills *Iphinoos* (*H* 14). Antilochos strikes the first blow in the fight in which *Leukos* the *εραϊρος* of Odysseus is killed (*A* 491). And Nestor himself has his stories about the *Aktorione* (*A* 750, *Ψ* 638), whose sons are the leaders of his neighbours and enemies the Eleans (*B* 621). Nestor had never seen and never would see such men as *Theseus* and *Peirithoos*, with whom he fought as ally in his youth (*A* 262–73), and the Pylian stories are thus linked on the one hand with the Thessalian, and on the other, through *Theseus*' only other Homeric connexion (λ 322, 631), with Ariadne and Crete, from which *Idomeneus* has already appeared.

THE THESSALIAN CYCLE

Peirithoos was the son *Ἰξιονίης ἀλόχοιο* (*E* 317) who is not named but was *Dia*, who appears in the tablets beside Zeus and Hera (*Documents*, pp. 125–6). His son Polypoites and another Lapith, Leonteus, kill an *Orestes* among a string of Trojans who include a Pylon and an Ormenos (*M* 193). Few of the Iolkos dynasty, akin to the Neleid, appear, but Jason's son, *Euneos*, is king of Lemnos (*H* 468), and buys Priam's son, Lykaon, whose name is close to Lykon of the tablets. *Machaon* comes from Triikka. *Achilleus* has horses called *Xanthos*, out of *Podarge* by *Zephyros* (*II* 149), and *Pedasos* (*II* 152, 467; the third horse is another link with Nestor). He kills *Deukalion* and *Tros* (*Y* 463, 478). Patroklos is the grandson of *Aktor* (*A* 785, *II* 14); and he kills *Adrestos* and *Perimos* and *Pyris* (*II* 416, 694–5). One of the Myrmidons is called *Epeigeus* (*II* 571). Another, *Eudoros*, is step-son (more or less) of Echekleos son of *Aktor* (*II* 189); in his curious story, *Hermeias*, *Artemis* and *Eileithuia* take part. Of older myth, the family tree of the Aloidae is most unexpected:



(*E* 385–6, λ 305–8).

THE CRETAN CYCLE

There are not so many names here. *Idomeneus* is son of *Deukalion* son of Minos (*N* 451–2). He is often found fighting with the Pylians, and once he comes to the help of a Boeotian who is the son of *Alektryon* (*P* 602). It must be coincidence that the *Alektryon* of *Documents*, No. 58 is *ἐπέρης* and the son of *Eteokles*. It is odd that Odysseus should once pretend to be *Aithon*, the bastard son of *Deukalion* (τ 181–3), and on another occasion, to be the son of another Cretan, *Kastor* (ξ 204). *Aithon* and *Kastor* both come from Knossos. Finally, when *Lykon* is killed, Antilochos and *Aias* appear just before the episode, and *Idomeneus* just after (*II* 335–7).

AIAS CONNEXION

Aias, however, is active most of the time, and the several occasions where Teukros is joined with Antilochos do not mean much more. But *Aias* kills *Pyrasos* (*A* 491), and in quick succession *Hector* kills a son of *Perimedes* and *Aias* kills a son of *Antenor* (*O* 515–17). And Teukros has his bow carried for him by *Pandion* (*M* 372).

THE ATREIDAI

From the family are *Tantalos* (λ 582), *Thyestes* (B 106–7, δ 517) and *Orestes* (I 142, 284, α 30, etc.). Menelaos has been mentioned as capturing *Adrestos*; his *θεράπων* at Sparta is *Eteoneus* (δ 22, 31, ο 95, 140), his horse *Podargos* (Ψ 295). Agamemnon's herald is named *Eurybates* (A 320). The only Greek except Agamemnon who is said to come from Mycenae itself, and who actually uses in battle an unmistakable body-shield, is Periphetes the son of *Kopreus* (O 639); his father's name has hitherto been taken as a joke. Helen's brother *Kastor* is mentioned (Γ 237, λ 300), and her maids, *Adreste* at Sparta (δ 123) and *Klymene*, who is closely joined to Aithre the mother of *Theseus* (Γ 144). *Klymene* is the only mortal woman to be called *βοῶπις*; this has been taken as a sign of lateness, but perhaps, like *ἄναξ*, the word was transferred from mortals to gods.

AN ITHACAN CYCLE (?)

Odysseus has contacts with quite a number of people with Mycenaean names, but they have less of a family air. His herald is another *Eurybates* (B 184, I 170, τ 247), and he receives personal service from *Perimedes* and *Eurylochos* (λ 23, μ 195), though no special title distinguishes them from the son of *Aigyptios* (β 15) and his other *ἐταῖροι*. Penelope's father gave her a maid called *Aktoris* (ψ 228). *Neritos*, who with Ithakos and Polyktor built a fountain in Ithaca, might have been a *toikhodomos wanakteros* (ρ 207, *Documents*, pp. 120, 123). Odysseus kills a *Charops* (A 426) and *Ageleos* is one of the suitors (χ 131, 247). His Cretan disguises have been mentioned already.

THE THEBAN CYCLE

In Diomedes' genealogising and other tales of Tydeus, *Adrestos* King of Sikyon is named (B 572). He was father-in-law of Tydeus (E 121) and of Diomedes (E 412), and owned the divine horse, Arion (Ψ 347, cf. *Documents*, No. 159). When Tydeus went to the house of *Eteokles*, he was ambushed by *Polyphontes* (A 386, 395). *Adrestine* and *Kapaneios* belong to a small group of patronymics formed in the Mycenaean way;² compare *δῶμα βίης Ἐτεοκλήϊης*, and *βίη Ἰφικλήϊη* of the son of *Phylakos* in the Melampus story (λ 290, 296). Diomedes killed *Phegeus*, *Xanthos* and *Agelaos* (E 11 and 15, 152, Θ 257). Since his family is connected with Bellerophon, it is worth noting that the rulers of Sikyon and Corinth alone seem to owe personal service in war (N 669, Ψ 296–9).

THE TROJANS AND THEIR ALLIES

Mycenaean names among the Lycians are satisfactory. Their ethnic and their river names are found in the Mycenaean personal names *Lykios* and *Xanthos*. Bellerophon's father and grandson were both *Glaukos* (Z 150–206); as with *Klymene* and the son of *Kopreus*, there is a unique feature in the mention of *σήματα*, which have generally been taken as referring to Mycenaean writing. *Pandaros*, son of Lykaon (cf. *Lykon*), came from Zela. Aeneas killed an *Iasos* (O 332, 337). It is more surprising to find that *Antenor* has a son *Laodokos* and a bastard *Pedaïos* (A 87, E 69). To his numerous Homeric sons, later authorities added a *Glaukos*, who was saved by Odysseus and Menelaos (Apollodoros *Ep.* v. 20, in a passage much concerned with Aithre). Apollodoros also has an *Antenor* and a *Glaukos* among Penelope's suitors (*Ep.* viii. 27–30), with other interesting names, e.g. *Klymenos*, *Periklymenos*, *Amphialos*, *Perimedes*, and an Ithakos from Same. To return to Homer, *Antenor* is another man who has something unique about him. His wife Theano (who was kind to *Pedaïos*

² T. B. L. Webster, 'Early and late in Homeric diction', *Eranos* liv, p. 37.

E 70), is the only priestess in the poems, and when she opens the door to the Trojans, she is certainly very like the *hierieiai* and *klawiphoroi* of the tablets (*Z* 298–9). It is worth noting that the meeting of *Glaukos* and Diomedes comes between *Hector's* departure for Troy and the Theano episode. *Hector* himself naturally comes in contact with all the main characters, and he kills an *Orestes* (*E* 705) and an *Agelaos* (*A* 302) as well as the son of *Perimedes* already mentioned; but he does not seem to have particularly close contact with other bearers of Mycenaean names. His four horses in *Θ* 185 are considered spurious for many reasons, though they have good Mycenaean names—*Xanthos*, *Podargos*, *Aithon* and *Lamos* (cf. Lampadon? in *Documents*, p. 424). Other horses were bred by *Tros*, who seems more at home in Troy than in Pylos (*E* 222, 265, *Y* 230–1).

PERSONAL SERVICE

Several of the people already mentioned held positions of trust or personal attendance on the royal house: Odysseus' herald and *ἐταῖροι* if not his craftsman, and Penelope's maid, Teukros' bow-bearer, the *ἐταῖρος* of Antilochos, Agamemnon's herald and Helen's maids. *Κορρεὺς ὃς Εὐρυσθέης ἀνακτος ἀγγελίης οἴχνεσκε βίη Ἡρακλεΐη*, followed a Mycenaean profession (*Documents*, p. 123), under a title rare in Homer but apparently not Mycenaean. *κρείων Ἐτεωνεύς, ὄτρηρὸς θεράπων Μενελάου κυδαλίμοιο*, carves and serves and is abused like a true court official. *Phegeus* is the son of a priest, and his brother has the same name as the herald Idaios. One further example is Dolon's father *Eumedes*, *κῆρυξ θεῖος* (*K* 314, 412, 426). The horse-names are presumably typical, and these too may be attached to the professions rather than to the people served.

Very few names are left—two Nereids, *Glauke* and *Klymene* (*Σ* 39, 47); two Phaeacians, *Amphialos* and *Ponteus* (*θ* 113–14, 128); an epithet of Circe and her island, *Aiaie*; and a Mycenaean name from the Ethiopians.

The frequency of names in the Pylos–Thessaly–Crete passages is very marked. They occur in groups, and they belong to the ancestors and collaterals of the heroes, as well as to their servants and enemies. Groups are found occasionally in other contexts, but they are more sparse, and there is often a point of contact with one of the three cycles. It is natural to suppose that the reason is that far the greater number of the names come from Pylos or Knossos, and to find confirmation of the traditional origin of the Neleids from North Greece. The total number of names known, however, is large, and the evidence does not at present suggest that they differed greatly in the various parts of Greece. It may be simply that certain peoples retained a wider range of names in their national poetry. Whether the names belonged to the localities or were preserved by the peoples, they were not picked at random from a common stock and applied indifferently throughout the poems. They have liens with each other, with individual family groups and with occupations. It must be assumed that poets 'borrowed' freely, especially when something like a casualty list was needed; but there are some signs that even these might be drawn from an appropriate source. A poet who wanted a Trojan for a son of *Peirithoos* to kill would hardly have chosen to name him *Orestes*; but *Orestes* is a name with North Greek affinities (*RE s.v.*), and the whole list may have come from a poem about the Lapith wars.

The names are thickest in certain types of story. The passages which are frequently called Hesiodic or post-Homeric supply a number—the Catalogues of heroines and sinners in *λ*, and other genealogies, both Greek and Trojan, especially when a god loved an ancestress, entering in to an upper room or meeting her by a river. About twenty-five names occur in such contexts, and Penelope's story of the daughters of Pandareos (*τ* 518, *υ* 66) is of the same sort; only Pandaros is known as Mycenaean. The Patrocleia contains sixteen Mycenaean names (eleven, if the great heroes are excluded). The marshalling of the Myrmidons for war is one of the most Mycenaean pieces of organisation in the poems; the king's son,

Achilles, has his personal attendant and representative in Patroklos, and his army (fifty ships with fifty men in each) is divided into five Commands, each under its own leader. Without attempting an exact equation, one may compare wanax and lawagetas, the *ἐπέτης* who seems to represent the central authority, and the commands under local lords (*Documents*, pp. 120-2). A comparable passage is the watch set by Nestor in *I* 80 ff., 'under Nestor's son Thrasymedes, shepherd of the host, and under Askalaphos and Ialmenos, sons of Ares, and under Meriones and *Aphareus* and Deipyros, and under godlike Lykomedes son of Kreion', each with an hundred armed soldiers. Compare, 'Command of Klumenos: Perintheus, Woinewas, Antiaon, Eruthras. Fifty . . . men of Metapa, sixty . . . men of . . . , and with them the *ἐπέτης* Alekruon son of Eteowoklewes' (*Documents*, p. 191). The fighting of the Myrmidons and of the men of the watch is fairly rich in Mycenaean names, and one may compare it with the twelve Mycenaean names of heralds, *θεράποντες* and so on, and less certainly with the four names from the families of a priest and a priestess. The Catalogue of Ships, on the contrary, is poor in Mycenaean names, other than the great heroes. The names, in fact, are most common in family histories and passages which may be called feudal; and this is an indication of the subject-matter of the Mycenaean poetry which was the ancestor of our epics.

The presence of a Mycenaean name no more proves the antiquity of the passage in which it occurs than the helmet of Meriones proves the antiquity of the Doloneia, or the names of the suitors the antiquity of Apollodoros. But the association of the names with families and relationships shows that it was not bare names only that were handed down, and this is confirmed by the Mycenaean names connected with episodes not found elsewhere in the poems. The Periphetes episode is a homogeneous piece of fourteenth- (or even fifteenth-) century tradition, which contained his armour, the mishap which could happen to him only in such armour, his nationality, his father's name and service to Eurystheus, and probably his own name as well, though it has not been found. Such a nugget is unusual; traditional and contemporary are usually blended in the poems, so that, although *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* are valuable for commentary on Homer, the authors were wise to be cautious in using Homer to interpret the *Documents*. But the converse is true, too; and the associations of the Mycenaean names increase the probability that there are Mycenaean survivals in Homeric social and political conditions. In the most recent study of Homeric society, Dr. Finley is aware of the possibility, but he minimises it: 'Essentially the picture of the background offered by the poems is a coherent one. Anachronistic fragments cling to it in spots.'³ Yet each poem is essentially concerned with a situation full of constitutional implications, the overlordship of Agamemnon and the dynastic position in Ithaca. Agamemnon is *σκηπτοῦχος βασιλεύς*, and his sceptre is a very special possession of his family; but all the other leaders are also *σκηπτοῦχοι βασιλῆες*, and Achilles throws down the sceptre as though it were merely the mark of the speaker. Even the suitors are *βασιλῆες*, and the Phaeacian nobles are *σκηπτοῦχοι* as well. The poets had no personal experience by which to interpret the complex hierarchy of power involved. The wanax had gone, leaving the local *βασιλεύς* as the greatest man among the people. The explanation in the *Iliad* that one king was more kingly than another and that Agamemnon was *βασιλεύτατος* (*I* 69) sounds like an attempt to make sense of the uncomprehended, but in general the poets seem untroubled; they told the stories which they had inherited in the language available to them, some of it appropriate because also inherited, and presumably everyone knew that things were different in those days. Indeed, the stories are such that they could not have told them at all unless they either accepted or invented circumstances in which they were possible. In the material background, there does not seem to be anything that is pure invention; at most imagination was shown in combining attributes which did not belong together, or in giving the gods

³ M. I. Finley, *The World of Odysseus*, p. 51.

ordinary objects made of an unusual material. It seems probable, therefore, that their practice was the same in describing institutions, and, so far as it goes, that is what the evidence of the tablets suggests. It is one part of their great contribution to Homeric studies. If you know nothing but a centaur, you cannot describe a man until you know a horse; the tablets are giving us a glimpse of the horse.

D. H. F. GRAY.

St. Hugh's College, Oxford.