

ARCTOS

ACTA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA

VOL. XLVI

HELSINKI 2012

INDEX

LUIGI ARATA	<i>Erbe leporine nella medicina greca antica</i>	9
CHRISTER BRUUN	<i>New Prosopographical Data Derived from Roman Lead Pipe Inscriptions</i>	19
ROBERT CONNAL	<i>Rational Mutiny in the Year of Four Emperors</i>	33
ULRIKE EHMIG & RUDOLF HAENSCH	<i>Harmonia mundi – Eine indigene Gottheit, griechische Mythologie und römische Übernahme</i>	53
MIKA KAJAVA	<i>wa-no (KN Ch 5724)</i>	59
TUA KORHONEN	<i>On Human-Animal Sexual Relationships in Aelian's Natura Animalium</i>	65
MIIKA KUHA	<i>Note intorno alla tradizione manoscritta di Chronica Venetiarum di Benintendi de' Ravagnani</i>	79
CHRISTIAN LAES	<i>Latin Inscriptions and the Life Course. Regio III (Bruttium and Lucania) as a Test Case</i>	95
MIKA RISSANEN	<i>The Hirpi Sorani and the Wolf Cults of Central Italy</i>	115
OLLI SALOMIES	<i>The Nomina of the Samnites. A Checklist</i>	137
FEDERICO SANTANGELO	<i>Sullanus and Sullani</i>	187
HEIKKI SOLIN	<i>Analecta epigraphica CCLXXII-CCLXXXV</i>	193
MARGARITA SOTIRIOU	<i>Bacchylides Behind His Metamorphoses: The Poetic Identity of a Lyric Narrator in the late 5th century BC</i>	239
	<i>De novis libris iudicia</i>	253
	<i>Index librorum in hoc volumine recensorum</i>	345
	<i>Libri nobis missi</i>	351
	<i>Index scriptorum</i>	361

***wa-no* (KN Ch 5724)**

ΜΙΚΑ ΚΑΪΑΒΑ

In my recent discussion of the series of Mycenaean ox names from Knossos (*Arctos* 45 [2011] 59–70), I suggested that]-*pa-ko* (KN Ch 5728) could be interpreted as *re]-pa-ko*, "White-coated", "White-flanked" (\approx Λέπαργος, which is attested as an ox name in post-Homeric poetry). I also mentioned in passing another mysterious name from the same set of tablets, i.e., Ch 5724+6005+fr]*qe wa-no-qe* BOS^m ZE 1[(for a good photograph, see *CoMIK* III, p. 121). After the ox dossier was already in print, a hypothesis regarding this case occurred to me. Given that almost all the ox names in the Knossos series somehow indicate the physical appearance of the animals, their colouring in particular, it is a plausible guess that *wa-no* served to identify an ox in a similar fashion.¹

If *wa-no* is not completely unrelated to what is known from other ancient sources, I wonder if this enigmatic ox name could have a connection with the rare Homeric adjective ἦνοψ, which is found three times as the epithet ("shining, gleaming") of χαλκός in the phrase ἦνοπι χαλκῶ.² This word, a formation in

* My thanks go to an anonymous referee for a useful observation.

¹ J.-P. Olivier, in L. R. Palmer – J. Chadwick (eds.), *Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies* (1966), 82, tentatively proposed associating *wa-no(-qe)* with the Pylian toponym PY Cn 40.1–4, 599.1.6 *wa-no-jo wo-wo*, "(at) the boundary of *wa-no*", the first element of which may disclose the genitive of a male name (and not the gen. φάρνοιο, "lamb", as is sometimes suggested). Cf. L. Godart – Y. Tzedakis, *CRAI* 1993, 240, commenting on the possibility of a connection between the Knossos case and "lamb": "on ne peut s'empêcher de souligner que l'ensemble de la série suggère plutôt des correspondants grecs évoquant des noms de couleur". — On *wa-no-qe* (*DiccMic* II 406), cf. further Y. Duhoux, in *Les zoonymes. Actes du colloque international tenu à Nice les 23, 24 et 25 janvier 1997* (Publ. Fac. Lettr. Nice n.s. 38), 178: "hapax d'interprétation ambiguë"; I. Hajnal – E. Risch(†), *Grammatik des mykenischen Griechisch* (publication in preparation: <http://www.uibk.ac.at/sprachen-literaturen/sprawi/mykgr.html#10>), 175 n. 333: "rätselhaft".

² It must be duly noted that, because of the unlikely connection between *wa-no* and ἄρῆν, ἄρνός (cf. n. 1), a reference to Hom. ἦνοψ was tentatively suggested long ago by Anna Morpurgo

-οψ, is evidently based on the element *φην- of unknown origin (for the obvious influence of the digamma,³ see Hom. *Il.* 16,408: καὶ ἦνοπι χαλκῶ; *Il.* 18,349 = *Od.* 10,360: ἐνὶ ἦνοπι χαλκῶ). Notwithstanding the problem that one cannot show conclusively that η (in ἦνοψ) represents \bar{a} , and not an original \bar{e} ,⁴ there is a good possibility that *wa-no* could be understood as / $\mu\bar{a}nos$ / (\approx *φην-ος) with initial *wa* > (φ)η.⁵ Semantic and contextual analysis of the use of both ἦνοψ and the Mycenaean ox names, in particular, might point in this direction. Although the following discussion does not solve the etymology of these words, it may cast some light on their meaning, thus hopefully providing further information about how the Mycenaean palace administration labelled the oxen in its possession.⁶

While ἦνοψ characterized the shine of metal objects, be they bronze fish-hooks (Hom. *Il.* 16,408) or copper vessels for boiling (*Il.* 18,349 = *Od.* 10,360), it also suggested the metals' golden-brown colouring.⁷ In this sense, it may be compared with two further Homeric -οψ adjectives, i.e., νῶροψ (of obscure derivation, but suggesting "brightness" in some way)⁸ and αἶθοψ, both appearing in

Davies in her discussion of the treatment of the syllabic /r/ in Mycenaean: *Atti e Memorie I° Congr. intern. micenologia* (1968), 811: "Would a connection with Homeric ἦνοψ be possible?" (not objected to by Hugo Mühlestein in the subsequent discussion: p. 814). However, as she did not pursue the issue further, the idea seems to have been forgotten (noticed in square brackets by L. Baumbach, *Glotta* 49 [1971] 158, s.v. ἀρήν).

³ Observed by P. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique* I (1948), 152. Further, Frisk, *Gr. etym. Wörterb.* I (1960), 638: "sonst unklar"; Chantraine, *Dict. etym. gr.* (1968), 414: "l'élément radical est inexplicable"; Beekes, *Etym. Dict. of Greek* I (2010), 521: "further unclear".

⁴ Note, interestingly, J. Charpentier, *ZVS* 40 = n. F. 20 (1907) 452 n. 2: "oder eher is vielleicht ion. ἦνοψ ein urgr. *ἄνοψ" (with untenable further reconstruction).

⁵ Cf., e.g., PN *wa-do-me-no* in PY Vn 130.5: / $\mu\bar{a}domenos$ / \approx Ἡδόμενος, and Corinna, *PMG* 654, col. IV, 7: φᾶδο[μη]. 23: φᾶδομή, with M. L. West, *ZPE* 113 (1996) 23.

⁶ For the notion that the oxen of the KN Ch series were beasts of burden (and not animals destined for sacrifice), see the literature cited in *Arctos* 45 (2011) 60 n. 4 (esp. J. T. Killen, *Minos* n. s. 27–28 [1992–93] 102–3; add Id., *Aevum* 72 [1998] 21; J. Weilhartner, *Minos* n. s. 37–38 [2002–03] 257–62).

⁷ It was typical of the various Greek terms denoting brightness and gleam to add associations of appropriate colours. For ἀργής / ἀργός, and the derivatives, see *Arctos* 45 (2011) 65–6. – Commentators usually glossed ἦνοψ as λαμπρός; for some fantastic explanations, cf. Apoll. Soph. *Lex. Hom.* 84,18 (Bekker): ἦνοπα τὸν δυσαντοφθάλητον διὰ λαμπρότητα οἶον ἄνοπα, and Eusth. *ad Hom. Od.* 10,360 (vol. I, p. 385): ἦνοψ δὲ καὶ νῦν χαλκὸς ἢ ὁ ἔμφωνος ὡς καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ καλῶς ἐγράφη ἢ ὁ διαυγής, δι' οὗ ἔστιν ἐνοπτρίζεσθαι.

⁸ Scholiasts referred to brightness and to the blinding effect it caused, e.g., Eusth. *ad Hom. Il.* 2,578 (I, p. 451, 28–30): Νώροπα δὲ χαλκὸν λέγει τὸν λαμπρὸν καὶ στερίσκοντα τοῦ ὄραν,

the dative (and the former also in the accusative) as epithets of χαλκός in similar contexts, and thus presumably semantically close to, or coinciding with, ἦνοπι χαλκῶ. Of these, αἶθωψ, perhaps originally associated with the bright and yellow/yellow-red fire (Hom. αἶθομαι, "burn, blaze"), is not only the most common (also used for wine, smoke, etc.), but also has the variants αἶθων and αἶθός.⁹ The former is used in Homer for oxen, horses, lions and eagles (and for a fox in Pind. *Ol.* 11,20), in probable reference to the animals' shining and tawny colouring, and the latter occurs in later poetry denoting, e.g., "red-brown" spiders (Bacch. fr. 4,70) and the "dusky" hide of the Calydonian wild boar (Bacch. 5,124). Moreover, both Αἶθων and Αἶθη (Agamemnon's mare) are names of (probably) "bright bay" (and "sleek-coated") horses in Homer. Not surprisingly, Αἶθων, "Shiny", is a horse name on early Corinthian pottery.¹⁰

ἦνοψ also occurs in post-Homeric poetry. While used for the "bright" sky by Callimachus in his *Hecale* fr. 18.2 (Hollis = 238 Pf.; οὐρανὸς ἦνοψ), the word appears as a term for colour in fr. 102 (Hollis = 277 Pf.), which tells about "elderly cows eating poppy flowers and golden wheat" (βόες ἦχι γέγειαι / ἄνθεα μήκωνός τε καὶ ἦνοπα πυρὸν ἔδουσι, perhaps of a sacred herd of cattle).¹¹ Here ἦνοψ seems to bring out the "bright golden" colour of the wheat which, together with the red poppies, creates an impressive combination of colour tones. Suda η 399, s.v. ἦνοψ, duly glossed the epithet with τουτέστι πυρρὸν σῖτον.¹²

Although the evidence is hypothetical, perhaps wa-no (\approx *Fην-ος) then was used in the palace records of Knossos to identify a draft ox with "golden-brown" or "red-brown" coat. The possibility exists, moreover, that wa-no was

οἶα δυσωπουμένης τῆς ὄψεως πρὸς τὴν λαμπρότητα· ἔστι γὰρ στερητικὸν μὲν τὸ νω, ὀρᾶν δὲ τὸ βλέπειν, ἐξ οὗ ὁ νῶροψ. Cf. Nonn. *Dion.* 32,14: νόροπι πέπλω. The phrase νόροπι χαλκῶ in Christodorus' ekphrasis, *A.P.* 2,1,78 (late 5th/early 6th century), obviously draws on Homer and Nonnus.

⁹ Detailed discussion in H. Dürbeck, *Zur Charakteristik der griechischen Farbenbezeichnungen* (1977), 177–86. Meaning of αἶθ-: R. Beekes, *Glotta* 73 (1995–96) 12–34 (passim): "bright", "burning" (but not "burnt").

¹⁰ R. Wachter, *Non-Attic Greek Vase Inscriptions* (2001), 44 (COR 16), 70–1 (COR 57 inscr. Αἶθων).

¹¹ A. Rengakos, *ZPE* 94 (1992) 40 (on Hom. words in Callimachus). See also, writing in Homeric tone, Nonn. *Dion.* 2,595 = 18,91 (ἦνοπι κόσμω, "dazzling decoration"); 8,195 (ἦνοπι δίφρω, "gleaming seat").

¹² The image was perceptively captured in words by R. Reitzenstein, in *Index lectionum in Academia Rostochiensis sem. hib. a. 1890/91... publice privatimque habendarum* (1891), p. 13: "lepide autem descripsit flavam segetem rubris papaveris floribus distinctam".

also a man's name, perhaps identifiable in the Pylian toponym *wa-no-jo wo-wo* (cf. above n. 1). Adjectives of colour were also used by the Mycenaean Greeks as personal human names,¹³ and they sometimes occur as names of both men and oxen. Thus *ko-so-u-to* ≈ *Ξοῦθος*, an ox name ("Tawny" [prop. yellowish-grey or ash yellow]) in Knossos (KN Ch 900), appears as the name of a smith in Pylos (PY Jn 389.13), perhaps referring to his hair colour. Similarly, the Mycenaean personal names *ka-sa-to* ≈ *Ξάνθος* ("Blond, Fair" [yellow, brownish, auburn]) and *pu-wo* ≈ *Πύρρος* ("Tawny" [red, yellowish-red/brown]), describing, in some sense, either hair or skin or both, are given as denominations for oxen and other animals in alphabetic Greek.¹⁴ They may have been used to mark the colouring of Mycenaean oxen as well.

Whether an early form corresponding to Hom. ἦνωψ was ever used in Mycenaean Greek is unknown, but surely it could have been. However, as there is no etymology for **φην* nor for *wa-no* either, such a hypothetical word remains beyond reach. But if there is the sort of semantic connection between ἦνωψ (< **φην-οψ*) and *wa-no* suggested here, then one might think of a possessive compound in /-*ōk^u-s*/ comparable to PN *po-ki-ro-ḡo* /*Poikilōk^us*/ PY Anm 654.12, Aq 64.8, Jo 438.22, "having coloured eyes/face", "Freckle-faced (?)" (cf., e.g., with a nominal first member, the ox name *wo-no-ḡo-so* /*uoinōk^us*/ KN Ch 897 and 1015, "Wine-dark" [prop. "(with) wine(-coloured) eyes/face", "looking (like) wine"; cf. οἶνωψ]).¹⁵ Could it be that **/uān-ōk^u-s*/ (or, as an *o*-stem, **/uān-ōk^u-o-s*/)¹⁶ denoted someone having a "tawny face", or "dark and gleaming eyes", whatever the exact meaning and origin of the "colour item" **/uān/* may have been? The problem is,

¹³ E.g., *e-ru-to-ro* ≈ *Ἐρυθρος*, *ka-ra-u-ko* ≈ *Γλαῦκος*, *ka-sa-to* ≈ *Ξάνθος*, *pu-wo* [also f. *pu-wa*] ≈ *Πύρρος*, *re-u-ko* ≈ *Λεῦκος*; see J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*² (1973), 96 (references in the glossary).

¹⁴ *Ξάνθος*, *Πύρρος*, *Λεῦφος* and *Γλαῦφος* (cf. previous note), for instance, are all documented as names of horses on early Corinthian pottery or pinakes. Of these, *Ξάνθος* was rather popular, being also found on Chalcidian vases (a general survey is in Wachter [cit. n. 10], 261–2).

¹⁵ Homer frequently calls the sea "wine-dark", but the epithet is also applied to a pair of ploughing oxen, βόε οἶνωπε (*Il.* 13,703; *Od.* 13,32), and is found as a man's name in *Od.* 21,144 (Leiodes, the sacrificial priest for the suitors of Penelope, and the first to attempt to string the bow, was the son of Oinops). Although the interpretation is often accepted (cf. *DiccMic* II 444), *wo-no-ḡo-so* hardly means "with wine-dark croup" (**/uoinok^u-orsos*/).

¹⁶ For Mycenaean compound names with either /°*ōk^u-*/ or /°*ōk^u-o-*/ as the second element, see M. Buzalkovska-Aleksova, in S. Deger-Jalkotzy – S. Hiller – O. Panagl (eds.), *Florent Studia Mycenaea. Akten X. Myk. Coll. Salzburg 1995* (1999), I, 182–3; J. L. García Ramón, *Faventia* 30 (2008) 38 (with a discussion of *e-ro₂-ḡo* PY Ea 29, 325, 813, probably to be interpreted as a possessive compound: **eri-ōk^u(o)s*, "que tiene gran ojo").

however, that, in the case of ἤνωψ, not only the etymology of **φην*, but also the derivation of the element -οψ remains opaque with no necessary relation to **-ōkʷ*, "eye", "face". Given such uncertainty, one might do well to opt for a compound personal name formed (somewhat freely, like the "abbreviated" compounds) with the onomastic suffix /-os/.¹⁷ This is all speculation, though, with little relevance to the above semantic analysis of the Mycenaean *wa-no*.

University of Helsinki

¹⁷ "Abbreviated" forms of compounds: J. L. García Ramón, in Y. Duhoux – A. Morpurgo Davies (eds.), *A Companion to Linear B. Mycenaean Greek Texts and their World II* (2011), 222. – On Myc. compounds in general, see F. M. J. Waanders, *An Analytic Study of Mycenaean Compounds: Structure, Types* (2008).