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NOTES ON CRETAN PLACE-NAMES
IN THE LINEAR B TABLETS

I. *u-ta-no* and *qa-mo* in North-West Crete?

In early studies on the geography of Late Mycenaean Crete, *u-ta-no* was 'etymologically' equated with Classical Ἰτᾶνος in eastern Crete. This location led to the view that Knossos controlled the whole of Crete (Docs.¹ 141; Interpret. 65). However, identifications of sites in eastern Crete are now either abandoned or regarded as dubious or unproven (Docs.² 417; Myc. World, 58–60; Minos 16, 1977, 67–72). Not only are all reasonably sure identifications confined to central and western Crete, but the equation of *u-ta-no* with Class. Ἰτᾶνος is also phonologically unsure (the interchange of *u/ʊ* and *i/ɪ* is irregular). Moreover, it is evident from its context that *u-ta-no* belongs to the *tu-ri-so* group (Palmer in Coll. Myc., 1979, 59, fig. 11) and should on this consideration also be placed in central or western Crete.

José L. Melena first suggested a location of *u-ta-no* in Messara near to the south coast, but later moved it to Prinias. As regards *qa-mo*, Melena first placed it in Hagios Thomas (some 20 km south-west of Knossos), but later wrote that the location of *qa-mo* had not been firmly established (Minos 15, 1976, 144 f.). M. D. Petruševski (Živa Antika 18, 1968, 112) has equated *qa-mo* with ancient Pannonia, the modern Panon, and Melena is inclined to agree. We note, however, that both PNs *u-ta-no* and *qa-mo* are paired among the toponyms of the so-called *tu-ri-so* group. This suggests a proximity of the toponyms in question, in which case none of the hitherto suggested proposals can be accepted.

In my opinion, *u-ta-no* should be equated not with Class. PN Ἰτᾶνος (eastern Crete), but rather with Class. PN Τᾶνος, which is located in north-western Crete somewhere between Class. PN Ἄπτερα / Ἄπτρα (= Myc. *a-pa-ta-wa*, now Megala Khorafia) and Class. PN Ἀμφιμάλλα (now Georgioupolis). The exact location of Τᾶνος is not certain¹, but

¹ See R. A. Brown, Evidence for Pre-Greek Speech on Crete from Greek Alphabetic Sources, Amsterdam 1985, 204. According to The Princeton Encyclopaedia of Classi-

there are some MR III places in this region of Crete (see, e.g., a map given by P. Faure in *Kadmos* 7, 1968, between pp. 148 and 149). The identification of *u-ta-no* as Τάνος is acceptable from a linguistic point of view: for the loss of initial *u-*, compare Mod. PN Δράμια < Class. Ὑδραμία (also Ὑδραμος), located in the same part of the island.

If the above identification be correct, then the PN *qa-mo* may be equated with the village Βάμος, half way between Aptera and Amphi-malla. Vamos (Βάμος) is not attested in Classical times, but P. Faure argues convincingly for its Minoan origin (*Kadmos* 6, 1967, 53). All this strongly suggests that the Mycenaean pair *u-ta-no* / *qa-mo* is to be located in this region of the island where we find Τάνος (Classical) and Βάμος (modern).

Finally, we can conclude that the so-called *tu-ri-so* group should be located in north-western and north-central Crete between Καλύβες (= ? *u-ta-no*), Vámos (= *qa-mo*) and Τύλισσος (= *tu-ri-so*).

II. Cretan *qa-mwa-so* = *Panasós*?

In his work "Place-names in the Knossos tablets", mimeographed and distributed with MLS of 30. 5. 1962², D. J. N. Lee suggested on page 3 that in E 843 and X 1018 "*Pa-na-so* might be Classical *Panasós*, half way between Knossos and Phaistos. (It could also represent *Parnassos*)". J. L. Melena (*Minos* 15, 1976, 149) agrees with Lee, quoting a possible relationship between *pa-na-so* and *Panasós* which is located in the area he proposed for PN *pu-na-so*. He asks "whether the place-names *pu-na-so* and *pa-na-so* (E 842.2, Uf 121) are graphic variants of the same name", noting Prof. Ruiperez's suggestion that they may be alternative readings of **p^ou³* (cf. *da-ma* / *du-ma*).

In *Kadmos* 20, 1981, 104–107, J. K. McArthur successfully showed that *pa-na-so* can be understood only as a personal name in all four contexts (KN E 843.2, Uf 121, X 1018, X 7494). Her conclusion is:

"The equation of *pa-na-so* with *Parnassos*/*Panasos*, although tempting from a purely linguistic point of view, fails to take account of the

cal Sites, Princeton 1976, 456, s. v. KISAMOS (Kalami), the ancient Κίσσαμος should be situated in Kalami (about 12,8 km east of Kydonia), but not in Καλύβες (Kalýves). It may be suggested, however, that "the Kalyves site may be ancient Tanos" (ibid.).

² Non vidi: reference after J. K. McArthur (*Kadmos* 20, 1983, 104–107).

³ J. L. Melena gave a map in which the toponym *pu-na-so* / *pa-na-so* is placed near the present village of Panasos (Πανασός) on the south-east flank of the Ida range, but finally he states that this location is uncertain.

structural parallels that can be observed in the texts and of the interconnections that appear to exist between the different series under consideration.”

After accepting her analysis and conclusion, we must also abandon the relationship, suggested by Melena, between *pu-na-so* and *Panasós* on grounds of both phonology (Myc. *u* disagrees with Greek α) and logic (*pa-na-so* has nothing to do with *pu-na-so*). On the other hand, I feel obliged to seek *Panasós* among the Cretan toponyms attested in the Linear B tablets from Knossos. First of all, we should take it into consideration that the name *Panasós* is, according to P. Faure (Kadmos 6, 1967, 41–73, esp. 67; and also Kadmos 9, 1970, 75–92, esp. 88), of Pre-Greek origin, and therefore possibly Minoan. Second, the PN *Panasós* is placed on the significant route which joins two central cities of Mycenaean Crete, Knossos (Myc. *ko-no-so*) and Phaistos (Myc. *pa-i-to*). On these counts I propose a new identification of the modern village Panasos (Πανασός) with the Mycenaean PN *qa-nwa-so* (KN DI 943). Since Myc. *qa* and *nwa* correspond exactly with Gk. πα and να, this equation appears to be phonologically sound. It is true that the ‘etymological’ approach is frequently imperfect and hypothetical, but in this case we have no alternative, since *qa-nwa-so* occurs only once in the Knossos tablets (see J. K. McArthur, *The Place-Names of the Knossos Tablets*, Salamanca 1985, 75)⁴. The value of my proposal consists not only in a ‘tentative’ identification of the Cretan PN *qa-nwa-so*, but also — if Πανασός (i. e. **k^wanwassós*) be indeed a PN of Pre-Greek origin — in adding to evidence for Pre-Greek labiovelars (see F. Kuiper’s article in *Lingua* 21, 1968, 269–277, and Ph. M. Freeman’s paper in the *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 17, 1989, 171–176).

⁴ For three different approaches to identifying and locating the Mycenaean toponyms, see A. Wilson (Minos 16, 1977, 75–77). The fourth ‘etymological’ approach was used quite widely in initial studies. In any case, six place-name equations, Amnisos (*a-mi-ni-so*), Aptara (*a-pa-ta-wa*), Knossos (*ko-no-so*), Kydonia (*ku-do-ni-ja*), Phaistos (*pa-i-to*) and Tylissos (*tu-ri-so*), “are found acceptable” (so J. K. McArthur, Minos 17, 1981, 209) or “virtually certain” (so A. Wilson, Minos 16, 1977). I could add here some others, e. g., *as-da* = Class. PN Ἀλαί / Ἀλαί, *as-ku-to* = Ἀκυτος (an island), *as-so* = Class. PN Ἄσος (see K. T. Witzak, Kadmos 31, 1992, 89), *ka-ta-no* = Class. PN Κάντανος (now Kandanos), *ka-ta-ra* = Class. PN Κάτρα (now Kadros), *ka-u-da* = Καῦδα, also Καῦδος/Γαῦδος (an island), *ra-to* = Class. PN Λατώ, *su-ki-ri-ta* (**Sugrita*) = Class. PN Σύβριτα, *wi-na-to* = Class. PN Ἰνατος.