## MYCENAEAN o-ro-jo

More than almost any other grapheme sequence in Linear B, the quintuple hapax o-ro-jo in PY Eq 213.2-6 has been manhandled with frivolous exegetic abandon. The plethora of random interpretations was initiated by Ventris himself, who in his privately circulated preliminary glossary (s.v.) listed at least four possible connexions: ώρος 'year', οὖρος 'guard', ολο(F)ιός 'destructive', ὄρρος 'rump'. The first of these alternatives is still pronounced possible1, while the third is modified to «genitive of the noun \*ôlos ['loss'] which underlies the Homeric adjective οὖλος, Dor. ὧλος, 'destructive'», evidently in order to bring it into line with the other genitival interpretations. Palmer's suggestions of a partitive genitive oldow from \*olog 'millet' and his adduction<sup>2</sup> of Hom οὐλαί, Att. ὀλαί (<\*ὀλραί), Arc. ὀλοαί 'barley-groats' (cf. ὄλυρα 'rice-wheat') are given top billing in the commentary, but remain disregarded in the translation. Georgiev<sup>3</sup> read ὅλοιο 'of the whole'; Meriggi4 suggested ὅροιο 'of the boundary'; Lurja<sup>5</sup> assumed opolo 'of the province'; Mühlestein<sup>6</sup> posited opolo 'of the guard'. The divergences were largely due to the difficulties of the tablet as a whole; indeed its treatment in *Documents*<sup>7</sup> is one of the least successful in the entire work. On the other hand guesswork was in this instance more dangerous than ever, for it landed o-ro-jo on a veritable hotbed of homonymy. Those assuming r-value in the ro sign had their pick of the synonyms I have previously listed and discussed8. Of those quoted above only Mühlestein's analysis is worth attention, despite its contextual arbitrariness: the Swiss savant invokes Hes. ἄρου· φύλαχος; θυρωρός, Dor. τιμά(γ)ορος, Att. τιμωρός;

<sup>1</sup> Documents, p. 269.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Trans. Phil. Soc. 1954, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Lexique, s. v.

<sup>4</sup> Glotta, XXXIV, 1954, p. 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Vestnik Drevnej Istorii 1955, 3, p. 26.

<sup>6</sup> Mus. Helv., XII, 1955, p. 130.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> P. 268-269.

<sup>8</sup> Eranos, LIV, 1956, p. 16-18.

Hom. οὐδενόσωρος (Π. 8.178) and adduces interpretations like κάτ-ορος 'surveillant, inspector' for the repeated Knossian ka-to-ro, and Λύχωρος for ru-ko-ro in the Pylian Ea series. If one keeps in mind the absence of expected w- in o-ro-me-no, and the ambiguities of όράω, φρουρός, Hes. βῶροι · ὀφθαλμοί, ὄρονται, ὤρα, Mühlestein's suggestions are at least fraught with possibilities. Of the approaches postulating an l-sound those of Palmer and Georgiev may be counted out at once, for the -lw- cluster was presumably intact in Mycenaean Greek (cf.  $ko-wo = x \acute{o} \rho Fo \varsigma$ ; thus \* $\acute{o} \lambda Fo - \acute{o} harley$  or \* $\acute{o} \lambda Fo - \acute{o} hole$  [Hom. οδλος, Att. δλος] should appear as o-wo-). Ventris-Chadwick's \*ôlos is open to doubt: Hom. οὖλος, Dor. ὧλος may indeed be a secondary adjective resulting from appositional juxtaposition of a noun which formed the basis of the derivative o $\delta\lambda\iota o\varsigma = \delta\lambda o(F)(\iota)\delta\varsigma$ , but the forms imply either \*όλρο- or \*όλνο- (hardly \*όλσο-); the former should be written o-wo-, while the Mycenaean status of the latter is uncertain. Even granted this last possibility, there remain grave combinatory improbabilities1. My own earlier analysis of the tablet2 broke with several of the prevalent preconceptions. Briefly, o-ro-jo was interpreted as a noun of indeterminate case (nominative much rather than genitive), governing the preceding toponymic genitives. At the same time this approach was not wholly untainted by etymological reasoning, and the suggested reconstruction \*ôpoFiov disregarded the standard representation of -wy- in e.g. di-u-ja and me-u-jo beside di-wi-ja, me-wi-jo. However, by assuming a metonymic meaning 'area, territory' the groundwork was laid for further advances. Ruipérez<sup>8</sup> suggests a connexion with ἀρόω, comparing ἄρουρα on the same tablet (i.e. ὀροῖον, showing a:o ablaut as in ἄγω: ὄγμος). Palmer<sup>4</sup> now applies rigorous combinatory analysis and also reaches the conclusion that o-ro-jo designates some kind of locale. The time may be ripe for an identification with the Cypriote οἰρών inferrable from i-to-i-ro-ni to-i a-la-pi-ri-ja-ta-i and i-to-i-ro-ni to-i e-ta-li-e-vi (Tabula Edaliensis, lines 8, 31), interpreted as l(v) τόιρονι τοι 'Αλα(μ)πριjάται

¹ Strangely enough nobody has yet exhausted the residue of the homonym storehouse: οδλος 'woolly' (\*Fόλνος?), οδλος 'sheaf' (=Tουλος), οδλον 'gum(s)', οδλή 'scar' (\*Fολν $\bar{\alpha}$  or \*Fολο $\bar{\alpha}$ , cf. Lat. uolnus).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Eranos, LIV, 1956, p. 14-20.

<sup>3</sup> Minos, V, 1957, p. 204.

<sup>4</sup> Gnomon, XXIX, 1957, p. 567.

and 'Εδαλιε̃τι respectively and first connected (in place of a dubious \*ἰρών) by W. Schulze<sup>1</sup> with Hesychius οἱρών ἡ ἐκ τῆς καταμετρήσεως τῆς γῆς εὐθυωρία<sup>2</sup>. Thus o-ro-jo would stand for one-time \* $\delta p_i$ ών. The exact phonemic implications of the Mycenaean graphy are uncertain; quite possibly we are in the presence of an archaizing orthography for what by that time was some variety of palatalized r, perhaps rendered elsewhere sporadically by  $ro_2$  (ku-pa-ro<sub>2</sub> beside ku-pa-ro, cf. κύπειρος, κύπαιρος: Ion. κύπερος; fem. dual po-pu-ro2, cf. Aeol. πορφύριος) and  $ra_2$  (a-ke-ti-ra<sub>2</sub> beside a-ke-ti-ri-ja). This assumption needs to be reconciled with the evidence of words like mo-ro-pa<sub>2</sub> and ko-re-te. If correctly identified, the former is probably μορό-ππας (μόρος) rather than μοιρό-ππ $\bar{\alpha}$ ς (μοῖρα <\*μορ $\dot{i}$ α), although classical compounds tend to show μοιρο-. Ruipérez's brilliant interpretation of ko-re-te as χοιρητήρ from \*χορiε-3 would tend to indicate in this connexion that no specific graphic notation of palatalized r was requisite before a front vowel, as indeed there are no duplicate signs in the cases of re and ri, nor within the e and i columns generally.

Los Angeles
University of California

JAAN PUHVEL

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Berl. Philol. Wochenschrift 1890, p. 1439 = Kl. Schriften, p. 663.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. also οἰρών or οἰορών reputedly used by Eratosthenes Epicus, meaning ἡ χάραξις τῶν ἀρότρων (see J. U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, Oxford 1925, p. 68, and 252, where the relevant passage in Herodian is discussed). The approximate meaning 'district' in Cypriote shows the same metonymic connotation as Lat. *fines* and Myc. wo-wo.

<sup>3</sup> Etudes Mycéniennes, Paris 1956, p. 105-118.