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# A Companion to Linear B

*Mycenaean Greek Texts and their World*

VOLUME 2

edited by

Yves DUHOUX

and

Anna MORPURGO DAVIES



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## FOREWORD

The first volume of this *Companion* appeared in August 2008. Its nine chapters cover the following subjects: 1. The Decipherment of Linear B (M. POPE); 2. How to Begin: an introduction to Linear B conventions and resources (R. PALMER); 3. Chronology of the Linear B texts (J. DRIESSEN); 4. Mycenaean history (P. DE FIDIO); 5. Mycenaean society (C. SHELTERDINE); 6. Mycenaean economy (J.T. KILLEEN); 7. Mycenaean technology (A. BERNABÉ - E.R. LUJÁN); 8. The Linear B inscribed vases (P. VAN ALFEN); 9. Mycenaean anthology (Y. DUHOUX).

Our original intention was to publish the second and last volume within the next two years. However several authors found it impossible for various reasons to complete their contributions in time and we decided to publish the remaining chapters not in one but in two volumes.

Volume 2, the current volume, includes six chapters: 1. Interpreting the Linear B records: some guidelines (Y. DUHOUX); 2. Mycenaean scribes, scribal hands and palaeography (T.G. PALAIMA); 3. The geography of the Mycenaean kingdoms (J. BENNET); 4. Mycenaean religion and cult (S. HILLER); 5. Mycenaean onomastics (J.L. GARCÍA RAMÓN); 6. Mycenaean and Homeric language († C.J. RUIJGH). A comprehensive index of vol. 1-2 is appended.

We intend to publish volume 3 within the next year. It will be devoted to: 1. Mycenaean writing (J. MELENA); 2. Greek and the Linear B script (R. VIREDAZ); 3. The Mycenaean language (A. MORPURGO DAVIES); 4. Mycenaean and the world of Homer (J. BENNET). We had planned to include in vol. 2 a comprehensive index of both vol. 1 and 2, but it soon became clear that this would have added far too many pages to the volume. We have regretfully decided to print here only the indexes to vol. 2, but we have added a double dagger (‡) to those lemmata which also appear in the indexes of vol. 1.

In volume 2, as in the first volume, all chapters were read and commented upon in their successive drafts by the two editors, who in each instance were involved in repeated discussions by e-mail or snail mail with the authors. This means that all authors continued to work on their chapters well beyond the date of the first version. The final text, as now published, was of course agreed by both editors and authors. We are grateful to our colleagues for the patience with which they accepted our self imposed constraints. Unfortunately the last chapter of this volume may also be the last work by C.J. Ruijgh to appear, but before his sudden death he was able to discuss and approve a number of changes.

In one instance it was not possible to follow the normal procedure. Yves Duhoux's chapter was read as all the others by Anna Morpurgo Davies, but we felt that here too a second reading was necessary. We were fortunate in securing for the second time the help of José Melena who read a version of the chapter and on this occasion too acted as one of the chapter's editors. We are very grateful to him for his willingness to help us out and to be so generous of his time and learning. We also owe a debt of gratitude to Dr Richard Hitchman of the University of Oxford who helped us to check the English of one of the chapters.

As in volume 1 we have not tried to impose uniformity in transcription when two or more possibilities were available; we know, and it was again pointed out to us in reviews, that this multiplicity of transcriptions (e.g. *ekhei* and *hekhei* for *e-ke*, etc.) may be confusing for the reader, and especially for the beginner, but to impose an artificial uniformity would conceal the real uncertainty which prevails among Mycenologists and consequently give a wrong image of the state of the field.

YVES DUHOUX  
ANNA MORPURGO DAVIES

## CHAPTER 11

# INTERPRETING THE LINEAR B RECORDS: SOME GUIDELINES\*

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\* The editors received the first version of this chapter in June 2007.

### §11.1. WHAT PROBLEMS DO WE FACE WHEN WE INTERPRET LINEAR B TEXTS?

Suppose that we wish to propose a certain interpretation of a LB word or a LB text. How can we know whether it is good or bad? There is one basic criterion: a good interpretation provides meanings, forms and constructions that match all the available data. Put in another way, a good interpretation makes sense of such an impressive amount of mutually corroborating data that coincidence must be excluded.

Such a result cannot be reached without sound practice and good method. The importance of method is considerable in any scholarly field, but this is especially true in LB studies. Mycenaean texts are difficult for a number of reasons: their script is ambiguous; their content is both technical and laconic; their language is distinctly older (and more obscure) than classical Greek, the Greek that we know best. It follows that not only do we feel insecure when we try to interpret the LB texts, but also that all too often our first hypotheses are proved to be wrong.

Let us start with an example. I begin with the word *da-ma-te* (*hap. leg.*: PY En 609.1). It matches sign by sign the alphabetic Greek GN Δαμάτηρ/Δημήτηρ 'Demeter', which could provide an attractive interpretation, *Dāmātēr*. However we would be wrong in accepting it because the context shows that *da-ma-te* is definitely not a goddess name but a land tenure term (§11.2.8.3).

Consider now five different LB words. All of them come from the A-series of Pylos and share a contextual feature: they are directly followed by the 'man' ideogram (VIR) and the number '1'. The relevant sequences are: *a-pe-o* VIR 1 (PY An 18.6); *a-ta-ro-we* VIR 1 (PY An 129.2); *e-ro-ma-to* VIR 1 (PY An 172.5); *mi-ka-ta* VIR 1 (PY An 594.2); *o-pe-ro* VIR 1 (PY Ac 1275).

The normal assumption is that similar collocations in similar texts require similar interpretations (§11.2.7). Hence it is tempting to think that all five words share the same grammatical and/or semantic features. In fact further inquiry shows that, though it was correct to start with an analysis of the immediate context, this was too limited. The wider contexts (§11.2.4.1) point to a very different conclusion. The five words belong to five different categories: a verb (*a-pe-o*: *apehōn* 'being absent'); a MN (*a-ta-ro-we*: *Aithalowens*); a PN (*e-ro-ma-to*: cf. the PN 'Ερύμανθος vel sim.); an occupational name (*mi-ka-ta*: *miktās* 'mixer'); an economic term (*o-pe-ro*: *ophelos* 'deficit').

Does this mean that our first reactions are always misleading and, in particular, that we can never trust the appearance of Linear B forms, as in the case of *da-ma-te*? Certainly not. For instance, *a-ro-u-ra* does not only look like ἄρουρα but really represents *aroura* 'ploughland'; the same intuitive and nevertheless right interpretation applies to words like *i-je-re-ja*, *hijereja* 'priestess'

(cf. ίέρεια); *ku-na-ke-ta-i*, *kunāgetāhi* 'for the hunters' (dative plur.; cf. κυνάγετας/κυνηγέτης); *ku-ru-so-wo-ko*, *khrusoworgos* 'goldsmith' (cf. χρυσουργός), etc. Things may nevertheless be more complicated than they seem. For instance, *ka-ke-u* matches the alphabetic Greek word for 'smith'. χαλκεύς — and that is exactly what it stands for in most of its uses; it will thus be read *khalkeus* everywhere. But PY Jn 750.8 provides an exception, because there *ka-ke-u* must be a MN, though in all likelihood this too can be read *Khalkeus*.

## §11.2. HOW COULD WE FACE THESE PROBLEMS?

Clearly the identification of the Greek forms hidden behind the LB spellings requires a great deal of caution. Hence the crucial importance of the method used. In the first volume of this book, many LB records have been discussed and commented upon. However, we have not yet offered a systematic presentation of the method used in interpreting the documents. This chapter aims at doing just that and at providing a selection of the most important rules to follow. These are not new, since the best mycenologists have constantly adhered to them. Above all, the importance of good method has always been highlighted by four outstanding mycenologists, John Chadwick, Michel Lejeune, Leonard Palmer and Michael Ventris.<sup>1</sup> What follows is largely inspired by their practice and their statements. Needless to say, the way in which I have chosen to list the rules below is largely conventional — and is not indicative of the order in which they must be applied to any LB text (see also §11.2.10). The examples have been deliberately chosen because their interpretation is nowadays considered secure.

### §11.2.1. Respect the epigraphical facts

**§11.2.1.1. Use the best and/or latest edition:** no sound interpretation is possible if the text used is not correctly edited. For instance, the first transliteration of the first Thebes LB tablet ever found (TH Ug 1) was wrong: it read two words, \*\**pe-pi* and \*\**te-me-no-jo*, with two supposed MNs, \*\**pe-pi* (hapax) and \*\**te-me-no-jo* (hapax).<sup>2</sup> In fact, there is neither a word divider nor a blank

<sup>1</sup> See for instance CHADWICK 1979, 1985 — two great papers; M. LEJEUNE's *Mémoires* — most of the texts published there give wonderful lessons of method; PALMER 1969<sup>2</sup> — this book intends to cover the whole range of the interpretation of the LB texts; VENTRIS 1988 — simply a masterpiece.

<sup>2</sup> KTISTOPOULOS 1964.

space between \*\**pe-pi* and \*\**te-me-no-jo*. It is then much simpler (§11.2.9) to read the whole sequence as one word, *pe-pi-te-me-no-jo*, understood as *Pepithmenojo*,<sup>3</sup> genitive sing. of a MN that, as we now know, the other tablets of the TH Ug series published afterwards use several times. The first reading is thus proved to be useless.

Even when the editions are competent, their authority is not always the same: an edition based on autopsy, i.e. on seeing the actual text, is normally better than one based on a photograph. And a corpus edited by a team of respected scholars should normally inspire more confidence than an isolated publication made by a newcomer — the scholarly reviews offer useful information about the quality of the editions.

It is more difficult to judge the quality of the edition of a single text, but there are nevertheless clear-cut cases: an edition based on a personal autopsy, with plenty of detailed information and *good* photographs (or even macrophotographs when needed<sup>4</sup>) will normally be better than a few lines which suggest a new hypothetical reading relying at best on a poor photograph or a facsimile.

However editing is not easy even for the experts: we have many examples of changes in successive editions of the same texts, even when we are dealing with standard editions by very competent editors. Indeed, Linear B epigraphists constantly try to improve the readings of the texts, even if editors are often conservative and avoid introducing readings which are not assured. A reading may be improved: (a) through a new autopsy of the original; (b) because small chips of clay which were originally part of the document have been discovered and added to its surface; (c) as the result of a join of larger fragments (new joins are regularly done). It is then crucial to use the latest reference edition. For instance, in KN U 4478.4 the first LB editions used to read an obvious MN as *q-u-po-no* (notice the dotted *q*-) and this provided a good Greek reading *Ahupnos*, lit. 'Sleepless' (cf. the adjective ἀϋπνος 'id.'). Later autopsies have improved the text that is read as *ta-u-po-no* (with the first sign considered as certain; the word has no obvious Greek interpretation) since 1971.<sup>5</sup> Even the

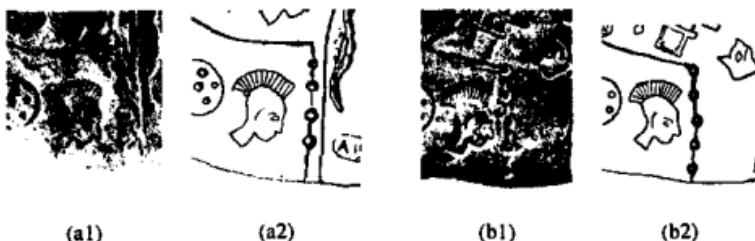
<sup>1</sup> As shown immediately after Ktistopoulos' paper in *Mémoires III*, 23–28.

<sup>2</sup> For a macrophotograph (or close-up photograph), the objective lens of the camera stands generally at less than 30 cm and even at a few centimetres from the subject that is photographed. The result is that the image projected on the film or the digital sensor of the camera is close to the same size as, or even larger than, the subject. This allows an extremely sharp view of minute details which would otherwise be invisible (see an example of a macrophotograph of a LB syllabogram in *Companion 1*, 368).

<sup>3</sup> KT<sup>4</sup>. The obsolete reading was nevertheless quoted the next year by LEJEUNE 1972 (in a wrong form: *a-u-po-no* [sic!]) and may still be mistakenly reproduced by scholars who do not check the latest editions (e.g. COLVIN 2006, 44, 47: *a-u-po-no* [sic], exactly like LEJEUNE 1972).

latest editions can become obsolete if a new and reliable reading is published elsewhere. It follows that one must carefully browse scholarly periodicals and bibliographies in order to keep up to date (see *Companion 1*, §2.5.3.5, 2.5.4).

**§11.2.1.2. Use the best and/or latest edition correctly:** it is not enough to select the best and/or latest edition. The way in which we use it is important too. Often it is necessary to check the transliteration<sup>6</sup> of a text on its photograph and/or facsimile (and even on several of them if available). A *transliteration*, however good, can only be an approximate way of rendering a text. It hardly ever, for instance, gives an adequate impression of the spacing and the arrangement of the document. On the other hand, a *facsimile* too may be deceptive because it offers only what the editors *think* that they have seen on the document — and of course they may be wrong. Even a *photograph* may prove illusory if for instance the direction of lighting or the depth of field<sup>7</sup> conceals some data. Here is the best Aegean example that I know of the way in which a photograph may provide false evidence with clear consequences for the interpretation of a text. Though it is not Mycenaean, it is so instructive that it is worth quoting. It concerns the famous clay disk found in the Minoan palace of Phaestos in Crete. A.J. Evans studied it in *SM I* and offered photographs plus facsimiles of its two faces. Evans' photographs (Figure 11.1) exhibit quite clearly *four* punctuations drawn on a vertical line in face A (a1), and *five* in face B (b1). His facsimiles show the same (a2)-(b2).



**Fig. 11.1.** The Phaestos disk: its four and five punctuations as published by A.J. Evans (*SM I*, plates XII-XIII, 280, 282).  
Photographs and facsimiles of face A ([a1]-[a2]) and B ([b1]-[b2])

<sup>6</sup> On the definition of 'transliteration', see *Companion 1*, 35.

<sup>7</sup> The depth of field is the zone within which the object photographed must be located to appear clear and sharply defined in the resulting photograph.

Reasonably enough these four and five punctuations led several scholars (including Evans himself) to a fascinating conclusion: the Phaestos disk belonged to a set of inscribed documents totalling at least five faces — it followed that only the fourth and the fifth of them had been preserved.<sup>8</sup> In fact, the whole analysis turns out to be wrong.<sup>9</sup> Face A has not four, but *five* punctuations just like face B (Figure 11.2). The depth of field is responsible for Evans' photographic illusion: the fifth punctuation was not located in the zone of sharpest focus, so it simply vanished. Evans' facsimile was obviously made from his flawed photograph and not checked on the original.



Fig. 11.2. The Phaestos disk: the fifth punctuation of face A  
(photograph Yves Duhoux)<sup>10</sup>

In very difficult cases, the only way to be sure about a reading is to go to the Museum and study the original document — a task which is neither easy nor inexpensive. Sometimes, however, even the original documents may be misleading. The clay tablets' surfaces are fragile and may have been damaged after their discovery. If so, checking old photographs may be very instructive (and is anyway unavoidable in the case of lost records). J.L. Melena quotes the example of KN C(4) 911, a big and heavy tablet that Evans himself caused to be embedded in plaster. Its surface is almost cracked and several surface chips are now lost. However, a photograph published in *SM II* shows the text as it

<sup>8</sup> References in DUHOUX 1977, 40.

<sup>9</sup> As it should have been clear from the original statement of Evans himself: 'The ends of the inscription on both sides of the Disk are marked by a line showing five punctuations' (*SM I*, 274 — the wrong facsimile is nevertheless printed six pages later).

<sup>10</sup> I thank Mrs. Nota Demopoulou-Rethemiotaki, Director of the Archaeological Museum of Iraklion, who kindly allowed me to take this photograph.

was before the LB decipherment.<sup>11</sup> The result is that some readings of *KT<sup>5</sup>* and *CoMIK I* must be undotted and/or supplemented, as for instance the MN *ra-wa-ni-jo* on line 8 (instead of the current *ra-wa-ni* reading). Similarly, *PTT I*, 237 has a word *e-qa-na-qe[* with a dotted *qe* in PY Ua 158.1. In fact, this *qe* should be undotted since the syllabogram *-qe*, which now is missing, appears in the 1939 photo by Alison Frantz.<sup>12</sup>

**§11.2.1.3. Correctly reproduce the best and/or latest edition:** if one makes mistakes in copying, one may end with the wrong interpretation.

**§11.2.1.4. Never ignore diacritics and other epigraphical details:** some apparently minor features such as dotted signs, square brackets, hyphens, etc. are important and should be carefully noted because on them depends the level of confidence that we have in a text.

- *Dotted signs:* a dotted sign means that the reading is doubtful and the text is not secure. It should be treated much more cautiously than signs which are not dotted and one should never treat or reproduce dotted signs as if they were undotted. Note, however, that, when editions are updated, it regularly happens that a dotted sign is read differently (and an undotted one may become dotted). For instance, notice the contrast between two successive editions (a) and (b) of a part of PY Eb 156.2: (a) *to-jo-kq , au-to-jo, ka-ma-e*; (b) *to-jo-qe , au-to-jo ; ka-ma-q.*<sup>13</sup>
- *Square brackets, hyphens and word sequences:* a complete word sequence (*to-so*) is very different from a word sequence which is certainly incomplete (*to-so-[*) and from a word sequence which may or may not be complete (*to-so]*). Consequently we must be careful not to confuse forms like *to-so-[* or *to-so]* with forms like *to-so*. For instance, KN C 954.v has *[ne-wa CAP' 1.* The editors indicate with the square bracket and the hyphen that *[ne-wa* is the end of a word whose beginning is missing. If so, unless we have good reasons to challenge their epigraphical expertise, we must exclude an interpretation as a form of the adjective *newos* 'new, young'.<sup>14</sup> As a general rule, the square brackets and hyphens of an edition should be always noted and faithfully reproduced.

<sup>11</sup> *SM II*, plate LXX. The original photograph is now kept at the Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory (PASP), University of Texas at Austin.

<sup>12</sup> It is of course true that an edition should indicate only what is currently visible — but it cannot neglect the evidence of an older photograph, which may account for a different reading.

<sup>13</sup> Respectively *PTT I*, 93 and BENNETT 1992, 108. The different readings are in bold.

<sup>14</sup> In fact, J.L. Melena informs me that a reading *[wo-ne-wa* is likely.

- *Square brackets and documents:* in our editions square brackets indicate that a part of a document is missing. They may follow a sign or sign sequence, as in the examples above, but sometimes they occur at the end of a vacant part of the text. The position of the brackets roughly indicates where the break is, but the editions normally do not indicate how much is missing or how wide the gaps are. Whenever possible, it is useful to check on a photograph and/or a facsimile the likely size of the missing part. This will help to avoid some mistakes, e.g. treating as almost complete texts which are everything but complete, or overestimating or underestimating the size of a gap, etc. The people in charge of the Mycenaean bookkeeping generally prepared sets of similarly shaped tablets for each scribe working on a specific topic (see this volume, §12.1.2.4). It follows that we expect these documents to be fairly similar in size, width, profile and curvature of the backs. It is then quite easy for us to calculate the dimensions of the missing parts. If so, we can use this parallelism to calculate the dimensions of the missing parts of a broken tablet. For instance, KN Fs 11.B (scribe 139) begins with *lqe-sa-ma-qa*, probably a GN which, according to the editors, can be complete or incomplete. The apparatus criticus of *KT<sup>5</sup>* and *CoMIK* says nothing about the width of the gap, but the photograph, the facsimile and the study of the other tablets of scribe 139 make it likely that there was no other sign before the initial *lqe-*.

**§11.2.1.5. Avoid arbitrary corrections:** Mycenaean scribes were human and we expect them to be as prone to making mistakes as everyone else. However our experience is that these are few and far between. It follows that we should not correct a LB text unless we can prove that the scribe has made a mistake. This is clear, e.g., in the case of wrong additions. For instance, PY Jn 389 lists several quantities of bronze and a total of M 27 in line 9. However, this is only possible if one of the quantities in lines 2-7 is not M 3 (4 ex.), but M 1 N 2 (7 ex.). Such an error may seem unlikely, but looking at the LB signs provides a plausible explanation: the scribe should have written  $\{\cdot\} \# \cdot$  (= M 1 N 2). In fact, he forgot the ideogram N (#) between the signs for the first unit (i) and those for the second and third (·) and wrote  $\{\cdot\} \cdot \cdot$  (M 3). Similarly, if scribe 43 writes again and again a stereotyped formula like *e-ke o-na-to. hekhei onāton* ‘holds a “lease”’, but once (PY Ea 757) writes *e-ke o-na* (*sic*), we feel confident that he forgot the final *-to* of *o-na-to* and we are entitled to propose the emendation *e-ke o-na<-to>*. These are clear cut instances which allow us, and indeed oblige us, to emend the text but in general it is unsound to correct a sequence only because we think that our reading is better than the attested one. It would be foolish to correct the MN *ta-u-po-no* of KN U 4478.4

into \*\**a-u-po-no* simply because this form provides a better Greek match (§11.2.1.1).

**§11.2.1.6.** Never forget that all LB transliterations are conventional: this is probably most obvious in the case of the syllabograms. Mycenologists have agreed to render the syllabogram + with *ro*, but they could equally well have chosen other conventional transliterations, since this sign renders both /ro/ and /lo/ as well as /lō/, /rō/, /loī/, /roi/, /lōī/, /rōī/, etc. Ideograms are less discussed but may be as problematic or more. Admittedly some seem crystal clear: VIR and MUL(*ier*) always refer to 'men' and 'women'. However, some agreed transliterations may be misleading or even wrong. The sign ☽ has the shape of a moon crescent and is transliterated LUNA 'moon'. Yet in our texts LUNA never refers to the moon and always indicates the 'lunar month' — we may hope that in future a Mycenaean Colloquium may replace the transliteration LUNA with \*MEN(*sis*). The ideogram EQU(*us*) provides a different degree of complexity. Clearly it represents 'horse' (踶) <sup>15</sup> and this meaning fits most of its occurrences. But in KN Ca 895, EQU is used to list not only 'horses' (*i-qo, ikkʷoi*; cf. ἵππος), but also 'asses' (*o-no, onoi*; cf. ὄνος): *Companion* 1, §9.4. It follows that in this case at least, an ideogram needs not be an *exact* representation of its referent. The mention of a bronze 'tripod, with a single foot and a single (?) handle' <sup>16</sup> in PY Ta 641.1 provides another clear example of this feature. This detailed description shows that the tripod was damaged (but was nevertheless kept in store, since bronze items were precious). The crucial point is the shape of the ideogram meant to represent the damaged tripod. *It is a fully fledged tripod with three feet and two handles* (𧔗).

## §11.2.2. Respect the orthographical data

**§11.2.2.1.** The agreed transliteration of all LB signs should always be respected. It is not acceptable to change the transliteration of the syllabograms or ideograms which was officially agreed upon by successive Mycenaean Colloquia.<sup>17</sup> Admittedly, we have seen that these transliterations are conventional

<sup>15</sup> All the fac-similes of LB ideograms reproduced here come from VANDENABEELE – OLIVIER 1979.

<sup>16</sup> *ti-ri-po e-me po-de o-wo-we, tripōs hemei podei, oiwōwēs (?)*: *Companion* 1, §9.37.

<sup>17</sup> In *Companion* 1, 346, I criticized those who understand FAR, the transliteration of the ideogram \*I29 (viz. the syllabogram \*65 used ideographically) as the abbreviation of FAR(*ina*), i.e. FL(our). I argued that FAR was 'definitively not an abbreviated Latin word, but a complete one: FAR stands for Latin *far*, genitive *farris* which means either "spelt" or "flour" — see the Proceedings of the

and may sometimes be wrong (§11.2.1.6). This allows us to criticise them, but does not give us the right to unilaterally change them. If one proposes a new transliteration of a syllabogram or ideogram, it should always be explicitly stated that the new proposal is hypothetical and the new transliteration should be consistently marked as such — cf., e.g., the question mark of *ju'* in the tentative transliteration of the syllabogram \*65.

**§11.2.2.2. The spelling rules followed by the scribes should be carefully adhered to.** Mycenaean scribes tend to follow a set of precise spelling rules. It is not acceptable to introduce new arbitrary rules. If this is done in order to allow a new interpretation, it can only be counterproductive and is likely to be treated as an *ad hoc* invention. Obviously the position is different if we have compelling reasons to formulate a new orthographical rule and can support it with valid evidence.

**§11.2.3. Be aware that in Linear B the interpretation of short words is far more problematic than that of long words**

The longest a LB word is, the least we are in danger of proposing a false match with a LB or post-Mycenaean form. Vice-versa is also true. This is especially clear for the shortest LB words that have only two or three signs.<sup>18</sup>

In fact, the shortest LB forms are doubly ambiguous:

- (a) Two identical forms may spell totally different lexemes viz. lexical units<sup>19</sup> — see for instance *pa-te* which stands for *pantes* 'all' and *patér* 'father' (§ 11.2.3.1).

Fifth International Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies, Salamanca, 1970, in *Minos* 11 (1972), XXII'. My quotation and my analysis were correct, but afterwards J.L. Melena told me that the transliteration of FAR in those Proceedings was unfortunately wrong: instead of FAR, the text should have printed FAR(*ina*). Melena knows, because he himself was responsible for the error. I must then accept that FAR stands for FAR(*ina*) 'flour' — but nevertheless I firmly believe that the ideogram which FAR(*ina*) stands for does in fact not symbolize 'flour' but some solid cereal or pulse different from wheat (GRA) and barley (HORD): see *Companion* 1, §9.41.

<sup>18</sup> Isolated syllabograms either mark an abbreviation and function thus as ideograms (unless we are dealing with a mistake by the scribe) or are established ideograms.

<sup>19</sup> A *lexeme* or a *lexical unit* is the form normally listed in the dictionaries as an entry (or lemma) — e.g. 'do' or 'to do'. In the texts, lexemes may appear in several different forms — hence the lexeme 'do' subsumes 'does', 'did', 'done', etc. The term *word* is more ambiguous than lexeme because it can be used both for lexemes ('do') and for their various forms ('does', 'did', 'done', etc.). Also, in Mycenaean the so-called word dividers separate accentual units which may be composed by more than one lexeme (e.g. the three lexemes of PY Na 926 e-ke-de-mi. which is written between word dividers, but is read as *hekhei de min* 'but he has it').

- (B) Even when we are dealing with the same lexeme we must allow for several different word forms (different forms of the inflection of the same noun, adjective, verb etc.) — e.g. *to-so* which stands for several cases of the lexeme *tos(s)os* 'so much' (*tos(s)os*, *tos(s)on*, *tos(s)oi*, etc.).

**§11.2.3.1.** We may exemplify these ambiguities with the sign sequence *pa-te*, which has already been discussed in *Companion 1* and which occurs in two tablets only, KN B 1955 and PY An 607.

(a) We begin with the study of the LB contexts — on the fundamental importance of contextual analysis, see §11.2.4.

In KN B 1055, *pa-te* is a member of a totalling formula, *to-so pa-te* VIR 213]. It must be compared to another totalling formula, *to-so-pa* (PY Ja 749). We will see (§11.2.4.2, 11.2.6.3) that *to-so* introduces the 'total', normally at the end of a list of countable items, and may be read *tos(s)os vel sim.* 'so much' (cf. τόσ[σ]ος). *pa-te* and *-pa* must then express a notion complementing the idea of 'total'.

The context of PY An 607 is completely different. There is no totalling formula. Instead, several groups of 'women' (MUL) are described and *pa-te* is coordinated (and apparently contrasted) with *ma-te* in two of these descriptions: *pa-te ma-te-de* (twice) and *ma-te pa-te-de* (twice). Both *pa-te(-de)* and *ma-te(-de)* are directly associated with other descriptive terms: e.g. *do-e-ro pa-te ma-te-de di-wi-ja do-e-ra*, *doelos pa-te. ma-te de Diwās doelā 'pa-te <is> slave, and/but ma-te <is> slave of (the goddess) Diwia'* (about *do-e-ro/ra 'slave'*, see §11.2.5.2, 11.2.8.2).

In these two tablets clearly the context obliges us to recognize that *pa-te* renders two different lexical units.

(b) It is now time to look at the Greek dictionaries (§11.2.5).

If *pa-te* is compared with the equivalent alphabetic forms, several matches are theoretically possible:<sup>20</sup> e.g. βατήρ 'threshold'; πάνθηρ 'various spotted Felidae'; πάντες 'all'; πατήρ 'father'; several forms of the passive aorist of φαίνομαι (e.g. φανθεῖς 'appearing'); several forms of the verb φημι 'say' (e.g. φάντες, φάτε). It is obvious that the *pa-te* of the KN B 1055 totalling formula must be identical with the nominative plur. πάντες 'all' — about the etymology, see §11.2.6. Clear support comes from the *to-so-pa* of PY Ja 749, where *-pa* can correspond to the singular πᾶς (masculine) or πᾶν (neuter).

On the other hand in the women description in PY An 607, a kinship term, *patēr* = πατήρ 'father', is attractive — notice that the gender of *patēr* is masculine

<sup>20</sup> The alphabetic Greek words below have been selected purely on formal grounds, without regard to their etymology or their suitability to the contexts in which *pa-te* is found.

and would match that of *doelos* 'male slave'. This interpretation becomes compelling when we discover that the word *ma-te* connected to this presumed *patēr* matches the form μάτηρ > μήτηρ 'mother' — notice that the gender of *mātēr* is feminine like that of *doelā* 'female slave'. We shall then read *pa-te ma-te-de* and *ma-te pa-te-de* as *patēr*, *mātēr de* and *mātēr, patēr de* 'the father, and/but the mother' and 'the mother, and/but the father'. The first of these LB syntagms<sup>21</sup> is matched by an alphabetic Greek one: πατήρ, μήτηρ δέ (Pseudo-Theocritus, *Idyll* 27.42). About the etymology of *patēr*, see § 11.2.6.3.

**§11.2.3.2.** We may illustrate the ambiguity of the short LB words with another very short sequence, *di-wo* (two signs!) in KN Dv 1503 (scribe 117). A possible reading could be *Diwos*, genitive of the name of Zeus. This proposal may seem appealing because in PY Tn 316 there is a *di-wo* that is undoubtedly the genitive of the name of Zeus (§11.2.7). In fact, an analysis of the context proves that in KN Dv 1503 this interpretation is totally excluded: *di-wo* is associated with a PN (*da-\*22-to*) and the MN of a 'Collector'<sup>22</sup> (*u-ta-jo-jo*); both *da-\*22-to* and *u-ta-jo-jo* occur again in another tablet of this series, Dv 1139 (same scribe), with a MN *a,-ke-ta* that is structurally parallel<sup>23</sup> to the *di-wo* of Dv 1503 — on the importance of structural parallelism in the interpretation, see §11.2.7. Other similar Dv tablets show that the initial MN is in the nominative. Hence we shall not understand this *di-wo* as the genitive \*\**Diwos* of a GN, but as the nominative of a MN — which we could tentatively read as *Diwōn* (cf. the MN Δίων).

**§11.2.3.3.** A similar example is provided by the word *e-ra* (two signs!) found in an impressive number of Knossos tablets. One of its possible readings is the name of the goddess Hera. Here too, this interpretation may seem tempting because in PY Tn 316 *e-ra* undoubtedly renders the GN *Hērāi* 'for Hera' (dative; cf. "Hρᾶ"/"Hρῆ"). Nevertheless it is wrong: the contexts show that in the Knossos tablets *e-ra* is always a *place name*.

**§11.2.3.4.** Things may be even more difficult when we compare short sequences that share only one syllabogram: in theory some of them *could* be different forms of the same lexical unit, but this is far from certain. Here is a list of

<sup>21</sup> A 'syntagm' is a group of words that constitute a significant unit and are syntactically linked — for instance, 'the Mycenaean world' is a syntagm.

<sup>22</sup> About 'Collectors', see *Companion* 1, 132.

<sup>23</sup> Two or more items are structurally parallel when, for instance, they fulfill the same function and occupy similar slots in a list or in several texts, or match Greek words (§11.2.5) which belong to the same semantic category, etc.

eight groups of this kind (I have tried to lessen the risk of homography by selecting forms which share not only their first syllabogram, but also the consonant of the second one): (a) *a-ma ~ a-mo*; (b) *ka-ma ~ ka-mo*; (c) *ko-wa ~ ko-we ~ ko-wo*; (d) *ne-wa ~ ne-wo*; (e) *o-na ~ o-no ~ o-nu*; (f) *pa-ka ~ pa-ko*; (g) *pe-ma ~ pe-mo*; (h) *to-sa ~ to-so*. Does each of these groups refer to the same lexical unit? The answer can only come from a thorough analysis of all contexts and the results are not straightforward. No more than three out of eight groups include only forms of the same lexeme: (d) *ne-wa*, *newai* 'new' ~ *ne-wo*, *newoi* 'id.'; (g) *pe-ma*, *sperma* 'seed' ~ *pe-mo*, *spermo* 'id.'; (h) *to-sa*, *tos(s)a* 'so much' ~ *to-so*, *tos(s)os* 'id.'. The forms of the remaining five groups are either not linked at all or only partially linked: (a) *a-ma*, *amā* 'harvest' ~ *a-mo*, *armo* 'wheel'; (b) *ka-ma*, a kind of land parcel and a PN or MN ~ *ka-mo*, PN; (c) *ko-wa*, *korwā* 'girl' ~ *ko-we*, interpretation disputed, but certainly different from *ko-wa* and *ko-wo ~ ko-wo*, *korwos* 'boy' and *kōwos* 'fleece'; (e) *o-na*, *ona* or *onā* 'price' and a mistake for *o-na<-to>*, *onā<ton>* 'lease' ~ *o-no*, *onon* 'price' and a form of *onos* 'ass' ~ *o-nu*, *onuks* 'nail'; (f) *pa-ka*, MN ~ *pa-ko*, PN and a mistake for *pa-ko<-we>*, *sphako<wen>* 'scented with sage'. The lesson is clear: when we study very short forms, we have to be extremely cautious.

**§11.2.3.5.** Even sequences of three or four signs may be highly ambiguous. For instance, *ki-ri-ta/ki-ri-ta-de/ki-ri-ta-i* have no less than three different secure readings and meanings: (a) the substantive *krithā* 'barley' (cf. κριθή); (b) the adjective *khrista*, a textile qualifier (cf. χριστός 'anointed'); (c) a Cretan place-name in the dative-locative plur. *ki-ri-ta-i* and in the allative *ki-ri-ta-de*.

**§11.2.3.6.** At the other end of the spectrum we find the overlong sequence (eight signs!) *e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo*: it can only be understood as a form of *Etewoklewehijos* 'Eteocles' son' (anthroponomic adjective; cf. Ἐτεοκληῖος / Ἐτεόκλειος). Here the possibility of ambiguities of the (α) type, with alternative lexemes, is almost non-existent. The ambiguity of level (β), where we try to find the precise form of the lexeme, is important, however: in the singular, every case but the vocative and the genitive in ...*o-jo* is theoretically possible.

**§11.2.3.7.** To conclude: other things being equal, the shorter LB words (i.e. up to three syllabograms) are less safely understood than the longer ones. Needless to say, of these shorter forms those that have only two syllabograms are especially ambiguous.

#### §11.2.4. Examine carefully the contexts

It is vital to perform a thorough examination of the contexts where the data studied figure. This contextual (or 'combinatory') analysis will not only suggest the right interpretations, but will also help to avoid false ones.

##### §11.2.4.1. In fact, several contexts have to be considered.

(A) First of all, the very text where we find the item under analysis. What is the place of the item in this record? What is it structurally parallel to? With what other item which occurs just before or just after is it directly associated? With what quantities is it associated and how do they compare with other quantities in the tablet? What are the entries which occur just before and/or just after? How is the tablet organized and what is its internal hierarchy? Are the signs used to write the item studied larger, smaller or the same size as those of its direct neighbours? Etc. In this examination, the quest for structurally parallel items is important: since the Mycenaean scribes regularly practised the dictum 'birds of a feather flock together' (§11.2.7), we frequently (not always: §11.1) find that structurally parallel LB words share the same semantic and/or grammatical type.

(B) The second context to look at is wider. It includes: (α) the set<sup>24</sup> and/or series to which the text studied belongs; (β) all the documents written by the scribe responsible for this text; (γ) the other records found at the same spot; (δ) all the archaeological data directly linked with these records. This examination will face several questions: what are the characteristics of the other documents of the set/series? What kind of texts did the scribe write? Does he have some special orthographic, linguistic and/or graphic habits? What do the other documents found in the same spot deal with? What does archaeology tell us about the activities practised in this room (items found, installations, etc.)? The list could continue.

(C) There is a further broader context: the LB corpus of the site where our text was found (Knossos, Pylos, etc.). While there is a definite homogeneity in the use made of LB in the various Mycenaean palaces, it is nevertheless clear that the local scribes sometimes had special habits, different from those of the scribes of the other sites: it is thus important to know them.

(D) An even wider context that should be studied is found in the whole LB corpus: we must examine *all* texts or fragments that could throw some light on the item studied, whatever their origin, set/series or scribe.

<sup>24</sup> I follow CHADWICK 1968, 11-21 and understand a 'set' as 'a group of tablets which were intended by their writers to be read as a single document'. These documents share the same scribe, find spot and content. For a different definition, see this volume, §12.1.1.5.

(E) Finally, the widest context to be taken into consideration is provided by the Greek or Mediterranean cultures — earlier than, contemporary with, or later than, our LB documents. However, see §11.2.9 about the correct use of these data.

**§11.2.4.2.** In the best of all possible worlds, the analysis of these different but interlocking contexts should lead to a satisfactory interpretation and, if possible, a Greek reading of the data studied. To follow this detailed and admittedly cumbersome procedure may serve as an antidote to the positive mistakes and the errors of omission that can so easily happen.

Let us take the word *to-so* (two signs!) and look at its contexts. *to-so* typically occurs before a sequence of (word/abbreviation +) ideogram(s) + number(s) — e.g. *to-so a-mi-ni-si-jo* VIR 9 (KN Am 601); *to-so o LANA* 14 (KN Od 666); *to-so OLE* 3 S 2 v 2 (KN Fp 1). The number written after *to-so* is often the sum of the other numbers which precede it in the tablet and *to-so*'s function is clearly that of introducing the totalling formula. We now look in the Greek dictionaries (§11.2.5) for a word similar to *to-so* which can introduce a 'total'. Τόσ(σ)oς 'so much' seems obviously attractive and suggests a reading *tos(s)os vel sim.* Since *to-so* is a very short word, this interpretation should be carefully checked — we shall do so at a later stage (§11.2.6.3).

What about a longer word like *a-pi-po-re-we*? This *hap. leg.* (KN Uc 160.v 2) is written in a text that lists vessels, as shown by the ideograms. The word itself is directly followed by the ideogram of a vase with two handles (¶). Elsewhere we find instances of the same ideogram ¶ with an inscribed syllabogram A (Ⓐ), which is probably the initial of the name of the vase and could be an abbreviation of *a-pi-po-re-we*. It follows from all this that *a-pi-po-re-we* is presumably the name of the vase ¶. Besides, in KN Uc 160, *a-pi-po-re-we* is structurally parallel to *i-po-no*, which is directly followed by the ideogram of a vase (⊖) and could also be a vessel name. The Greek lexicon has a word ἀμφιφορεύς whose form and meaning ('amphora')<sup>25</sup> match *a-pi-po-re-we*. For further checks of this interpretation, see §11.2.6.3.

**§11.2.4.3.** In the examples above, the contexts point to a specific meaning. But what if the context is poor? In that case, the first thing to look at is whether the term studied belongs to a coherent group of items that directly follow each other or, at least, are structurally parallel. If so, this will allow an application of the 'birds of a feather flock together' principle (§11.2.7).

<sup>25</sup> A jar with two handles and a narrow neck, just as in the ideogram.

I take as an example the recto of the small tablet KN V 52 (unknown scribe; apparently found in the Room of the Chariot Tablets). Here is the text (see *Companion 1*, §9.17):

- .1 a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja 1      u[                ]vest. [  
 .2 e-nu-wa-ri-jo 1 pa-ja-wo-ne 1 po-se-da[-o-ne]

All the complete words are *hap. leg.* and are all followed by the number '1', without other ideograms. Hence the first analysis of the context offers almost no clue to the meaning. But the three complete sequences are long (7, 5 and 4 signs) and this lessens the ambiguity — the word of seven signs is so long that we should even consider the possibility of a compound or a juxtaposition. The Greek dictionaries (§11.2.5) immediately suggest the following interpretations:

- *a-ta-na-* = the PN 'Αθῆναι/'Αθᾶναι or the GN 'Αθηναῖα/'Αθᾶνᾶ / 'Αθηνᾶ / Αθᾶνᾶ — thus reading *Athānā vel sim.*
- *-po-ti-ni-ja* = πότνια divine 'Mistress', an alphabetic word mainly used for goddesses; elsewhere in LB, *po-ti-ni-ja* appears in religious contexts — thus reading *Potnijāi*, likely dative sing.: see *Pajāwōnei* below;
- *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja*: cf. the syntagms πότνι 'Αθηναῖη (Hom.) and πότνι 'Αθᾶνᾶ (Theocritus). Syntagms like *da-pu<sub>2</sub>-ri-to-jo po-ti-ni-ja*, where *Potnia* is preceded by a genitive sing., suggest that *a-ta-na-* could be a genitive sing. too. If so, *Athānās* could be a PN. *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja*, *Athānās Potnijāi* provides an example of continuous writing of two words like for instance *pa-si-te-o-i* (§11.2.8.2).
- *e-nu-wa-ri-jo* = Ἔννάλιος, GN or epithet of the god Ares — thus reading *Enuwaliyōi*, likely dative sing.: see *Pajāwōnei* below.
- *pa-ja-wo-ne* = the GN Πατήων, Πατάν — thus reading *Pajāwōnei* with a clear dative in *-ei*: §11.2.6.3.
- The last item, *po-se-da[*, matches only one LB word, the GN *po-se-da-o* (with its variants and derivatives). And this form cannot but be equated with the GN Ποσειδάων, Ποσειδῶν (§11.2.6.3): we will thus read *po-se-da[-o-ne vel sim.*, with a form *Poseidā[hōnei vel sim.*

All the suggested readings are clearly situated in a religious ambiance and are either GN or divine qualifiers. Almost all have at least four signs. They are structurally parallel and follow directly each other in the same record. This accumulation of consistent and homogeneous features speaks against a coincidence due to chance and we shall be tempted to accept the whole interpretation — provided, however, that it matches our other rules.

### §11.2.5. Consult the Greek dictionaries in the appropriate way

**§11.2.5.1.** The language of the LB texts is Greek. It is then quite natural to look for Greek words in the Mycenaean records.

A warning is necessary, however. Most people are accustomed to equate 'Greek' with the language of e.g. Plato or Demosthenes. This is normal, but we must remember that Plato and Demosthenes wrote in a specific Greek dialect, Attic. And Attic, though important, is just one of the numerous Greek dialects that were spoken in the first millennium BC. Moreover, major Greek literary works were composed in sophisticated blends of different dialects — as were, for instance, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. In our quest for possible matches between post-Mycenaean words and LB forms, we must then consider not only Attic, but every form of Greek, whatever the dialect or the literary level; otherwise we would deprive ourselves of crucial data. Here are a few examples of LB words whose corresponding forms appear in non-Attic texts: (a) the title of the dignitary holding the second rank in the Mycenaean States, *ra-wa-ke-ta*, *läwāgetās*, lit. 'leader of the people', is known only as a non-Attic form in Pindar and Sophocles: λαγέτας; (b) the LB words for 'tax', *do-so-mo*, *dosmos* and *a-pu-do-so[-mo]*, *apudos[mos]*, appear only in the dialect of Arcadia: ἀπυδοσμός; (c) a land-tenure word, *a-ki-ti-to*, *aktitos*, possibly meaning 'uncultivated', is only used in a Homeric hymn: ἄκτιτος; (d) the most common LB word for the 'land parcel', *ko-to-(i-)na*, *ktoinā*, occurs only in the Doric dialect of Rhodes: κτοίνā; (e) the LB word for 'one or the other of two', *a<sub>2</sub>-te-ro*, *hateron* (neuter sing.), is known in this form only in non-Attic dialects: ἄτερον.<sup>26</sup> Etc. The Cypriot syllabic data should of course never be excluded (see §11.2.6.3 about the Cypriot athematic dative sing. in -ei). Non-Attic phonetics is important too — remember that, unlike Mycenaean, Attic has transformed many ancient ā vowels into ē (§ 11.2.6.1).

**§11.2.5.2.** It frequently happens that Greek readings of LB words are obvious. This is the case for instance in a Pylos tablet whose complete text is *pu-ro i-je-re-ja do-e-ra e-ne-ka ku-ru-so-jo i-je-ro-jo* MUL 14[ (PY Ae 303). It is difficult to resist the following matches: *pu-ro* = Πύλος? 'Pylos' (PN); *i-je-re-ja* = ιέρετα? 'priestess'; *do-e-ra* = δώλᾶ/δούλη? 'female slave' (§11.2.3.1, 11.2.8.2); *e-ne-ka* = ἐνεκά? 'because of'; *ku-ru-so-jo* = χρυσοῖο? 'gold' (Hom. genitive); *i-je-ro-jo* = ιεροῖο? 'sacred' (Hom. genitive). The reading and meaning

<sup>26</sup> The standard Attic equivalent is the innovated έτερος but Attic forms like θάτερον (from τὸ θάτερον) preserve in crasis the old vocalism.

of the text could then be: *Puloi* (?), *hijerejās* (?) *doelai*, *eneka khrusojo hijerojo*: MUL 14[<sup>27</sup>] 'At (?) Pylos, slaves of (?) the priestess, on account (?) of sacred gold: 14[ ] WOMEN.' Such an accumulation of clear Greek words constituting a complete meaningful sentence is impressive and makes the interpretation compelling, provided that, once again, it matches our other rules.

**§11.2.5.3.** We must nevertheless admit that many LB records are less rewarding. How do we establish a Greek reading?

The answer is twofold and is implicit in what was stated above.

(a) We first look at the contexts of all the occurrences of our word (§11.2.4). This helps to pinpoint its semantic category — is it a proper name (and, if so, a MN, a PN or a GN?), a common noun (an occupational name, a qualifier, etc.) or even a verbal form? What is the function of the word studied: does it introduce or conclude a record? Does it add information to another word written just before or after? Etc. Context analysis may even suggest a precise meaning for a word — it could for instance be the name of the item represented by an ideogram (see the example of *a-pi-po-re-we*: §11.2.4.2).

(b) At this point we may turn to the Greek dictionaries. We look for alphabetic forms which are similar to the LB words in which we are interested and which have meanings which seem to fit in the LB contexts. Mycenologists call this form of approach 'the etymological method', but I shall not use this label. Contrary to what the name suggests, the 'etymological' method does *not* directly compare a LB form with the reconstructed *etymological* antecedent of a Greek word, but only with actual forms listed in the Greek dictionaries — for instance, *i-je-re-u* is not compared with *\*iserēus*, but with *ἱερεὺς*. In our approach, the etymology proper will be checked at a later stage, when we shall try to make sure that an interpretation is fully consistent with all the linguistic data at our disposal (§11.2.6).

The exploration of the Greek dictionaries may be misleading — see the examples of *da-ma-te* and *o-pi* (§11.2.8.3). Nevertheless this method has been and still is one of the most powerful means to interpret LB texts, provided that it is practised with due caution. Our findings in the dictionaries are *just theoretical possibilities*: they only suggest that some LB word *could perhaps* match a later Greek form. Whether this hypothesis is justified or not *depends on all our other interpretation rules*. This strict control will be particularly necessary when the LB forms studied are short (two or three syllabograms only) and consequently have a high level of ambiguity (§11.2.3). It may happen that

<sup>27</sup> Question marks indicate ambiguities. About this text, see *Companion 1*, §9.25.

further checks are not possible; if so, the interpretation should never be considered as secure.

We are in a better position if we are able to find alphabetic Greek matches not only for an isolated word, but also for a real syntagma. For instance, *patēr, mātēr de* 'the father, and/but the mother' ~ Pseudo-Theocritus πατήρ, μήτηρ δέ 'id.' (§11.2.3.1); *di-wo i-je-we, Diwos (h)ijewei* 'to the son of Zeus' ~ Hom. Διός νιός 'the son of Zeus' (§11.2.7); *pa-si-te-o-i, pansi thehoihi* 'for all the gods' ~ Hom. πᾶσι θεοῖσι 'id.' (§11.2.8.2); *te-o-jo do-e-ra/do-e-ro, thehojo doelā/doelos* 'servant of the god(dess)' ~ classical θεοῦ δούλη or δοῦλος 'id.' (§11.2.8.2).

### §11.2.6. Be respectful towards the linguistic data

Any Greek interpretation of Linear B texts should be consistent with what we know about the phonetics, morphology, etymology, vocabulary and syntax of: (a) reconstructed Indo-European, the main ancestor of the Greek language; (b) Mycenaean Greek; (c) post-Mycenaean Greek.

**§11.2.6.1.** The LB records are several centuries earlier than all the other Greek texts and we expect the language to be different and more archaic, but in itself this is not sufficient to postulate *any* specific difference. We must compare our forms with the reconstructed Indo-European forms, which imposes a further check on the reliability of our interpretation. For instance, consonants like the labiovelars *gʷ*, *kʷ* and *kʷʰ* were no longer used in first millennium Greek, but we know that Indo-European had labiovelar consonants. If we want to match a LB form which *includes* a LB *q-sign* (rendering the Mycenaean continuation of the labiovelars) with a Greek one where the corresponding sound is a dental ( $\delta$ ,  $\tau$ ,  $\theta$ ), labial ( $\beta$ ,  $\pi$ ,  $\phi$ ) or even velar ( $\gamma$ ,  $\kappa$ ,  $\chi$ ) stop, we need to check whether the Indo-European reconstructed form had a labiovelar. Consider the clear match between the clitic word *-qe* of LB, which is shown by the contexts to mean 'and', and the alphabetic Greek  $\tau\epsilon$  'and'. We can confirm its validity only when we show that for Indo-European we reconstruct \**kʷe* 'and' and that this matches LB *-qe*.

In general we need to compare LB forms with the forms which we know (largely through comparative grammar) that Mycenaean was likely to have. For instance, in most or all positions Attic and Ionic have transformed the original *ā* vowels into *ē* — e.g. *non-Attic/Ionic δάμος* 'people' ~ Attic/Ionic *δῆμος* 'id.' Obviously we shall not want to compare the LB forms with the more recent Attic/Ionic forms in *ē* < *ā*, but with the older forms with *ā* — e.g. the

LB name of the 'mother' *ma-te*, *mātēr*, will not be compared with the innovated μήτηρ, but with the more archaic μάτηρ, etc.

**§11.2.6.2.** In some cases, we do not have a Greek match and Indo-European comparison may be our only source of information for the interpretation of a LB word. For example, the word *we-re-ke* appears in the sheep tablets of Pylos. It is used in the headings of several flock lists and is obviously linked with the sheep vocabulary. However, it has no Greek match. It is then tempting to look for parallels in other Indo-European languages. The Vedic form *vrajāḥ* 'enclosure, stable, stall' later 'herd' (cf. ἐργω, εἰργω 'shut in' < \*e-werg-) suggests an appropriate reading, viz. the nominative plur. *wregeś* 'herds'.

**§11.2.6.3.** Let us now come back to the *hap. leg. a-pi-po-re-we* (§11.2.4.2). We were tempted to read it as a form of the name of the 'amphora', ἀμφιφορεύς. In the tablet, the ideogram of the 'amphora'  is followed by the number 6[ and this suggests that *a-pi-po-re-we* could be a plural. Now, we are sure that ἀμφιφορεύς (the form is Homeric) goes back to \*amphi-phor-ēu-s. Moreover, we know that the ancient nominative plur. of a form in -eūs ended in -ῆμες.<sup>28</sup> All this is fully consistent with the spelling *a-pi-po-re-we* and we can safely read *amphiphorēwes*:  6[ 'amphorae:  6!'].

Similarly, *to-so* was shown by its contexts to be a word introducing the 'total' and we have been prompted to identify it with τόσ(σ)oς 'as much' (§11.2.4.2). But what about its grammatical features? First, *to-so* obviously alternates with *to-sa* and this fits well with the adjective τόσ(σ)oς which has a form like τόσ(σ)a. There is also a form *to-so-jo* that shows the genitive sing. thematic ending ...o-jo (see *Companion 1*, §9.31) typical of the declension of τόσ(σ)oς (cf. -οιο). Moreover, *to-so* and *to-sa* have two variants, *to-so-de* and *to-sa-de*, that match τοσ(σ)όσδε, τοσ(σ)άδε, etc. Finally, we find syntagms or forms like *to-so pa-te*, *to-so-ku-su-pa* and *to-so-pa*. Since all of them introduce totals, it proves impossible not to understand them as *tos(s)oi pantes*, *tos(s)on ksumpar* and *tos(s)os pans* 'so much in all' (cf. τόσ[σ]oς, ξύμπας and πᾶς). What about the etymology of τόσ(σ)oς? It comes from \*totyos, with a twofold later evolution: τόστος and τόσος.<sup>29</sup> The LB form *to-so* is fully compatible with these two possibilities. All this makes the *to-so = tos(s)os* interpretation beyond doubt.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. the Cypriot nominative plur. *Edaliēwes* (*e-ta-li-e-we-se*) 'the inhabitants of Idalium' (the ethnic in -eūs of the PN Ιδάλιον) and the Hom. endings in -ῆμες. In classic Attic, we would have a contracted ending in -εῖς.

<sup>29</sup> For Boeotian exceptionally we expect a -ττ- form.

Let us now examine the form *po-se-da-o*. It looks like Ποσειδάων and we have seen that it occurs together with several other names which are apparently divine (§11.2.4.3). But what are its grammatical characteristics? In the PY Es tablets written by scribe 1, *po-se-da-o* alternates with *po-se-da-o-ne* and *po-se-da-o-no*. The endings in *-ne* and *-no* prove that we have a form whose nominative ended in *-n* (the spelling rules do not allow *po-se-da-o* to show this feature). In PY Es, the scribe has written the nominative (*po-se-da-o*, *Poseidähön*), the dative (*po-se-da-o-ne*, *Poseiddähönei*; on this ending, see below) and the genitive (*po-se-da-o-no*, *Poseidähöhōs*). These three different cases may be called for by the word that precedes or follows the name of 'Poseidon', viz. the Mycenaean noun for 'tax', *do-so-mo*, *dosmos* (§11.2.5.1). The dative construction, *Poseiddähönei dosmos*, means 'tax for Poseidon'; the genitive construction, 'tax of Poseidon', and finally the nominative construction, 'Poseidon: tax'. The scribe used several syntactic combinations to express the same idea — a pattern that is not unique in Greek, either Mycenaean or post-Mycenaean. The dative sing. in ...*e*, viz. ...*ei*, matches the old ending of the athematic dative *-ei* inherited from Indo-European — post-Mycenaean Greek uses it only (and rarely) in compounds; cf. for instance the Cypriot MN *Diweithemis* (*ti-we-i-te-mi-se*). In Mycenaean this *-ei* partly competes as dative singular ending with *-i* which will become standard (-t) in post-Mycenaean Greek. Finally, *po-se-da-o* agrees with the dossier of alphabetic Greek Ποσειδάων and with what we know about its etymology. Admittedly, there is a form Ποτειδάϝων, with a *-f-* between *-ā-* and *-ων*, unlike the LB form in ...*a-o*. However, Ποτειδάϝων is restricted to Corinth and its -άϝων termination can be explained by analogy. The identification of *po-se-da-o* and Ποσειδάων is thus not contradicted by any of the Greek linguistic data and we may safely conclude that this interpretation is fully demonstrated.

The kinship term *pa-te*, *patēr*, used in PY An 607 causes no trouble, either, since it is identical to πατήρ 'father' (§11.2.3.1) which continues the Indo-European inherited form. Moreover, the LB corpus provides a compound MN whose second part is related to *patēr*: *pi-ro-pa-ta-ra*, *Philopatrā*, the feminine form (cf. Κλεοπάτρα) matching the first millennium masculine Greek MN Φιλοπάτωρ.

**§11.2.6.4.** In the examples given above, the linguistic features of our LB forms agree with those of post-Mycenaean Greek and/or with those reconstructed for a pre-Mycenaean or Indo-European phase, but this does not always happen. Let us take the example of the LB forms *-pa*, *pa-sa*, *pa-si*, *pa-te*. Their contexts show that they all belong together and mean 'all'. This matches πᾶς, genitive παντός 'all' and prompts the readings *-pans*, *pansan(s)*, *pansi*, *pantes* (§11.2.3.1). Yet this identification conflicts with an etymology of πᾶς which

was widely accepted before the decipherment of LB and which assumed, though without certainty, that the initial consonant derived from an original \**kw*-.

However, if so, the LB forms should have begun with *qa-* and not with *pa-*. How can we settle the matter? It is obvious that our statements have two different levels of reliability: on the one hand, the meaning of the LB words is absolutely certain and both from a formal and a semantic point of view they are perfect matches for the alphabetic πᾶς, παντός, etc. On the other hand, the etymology of πᾶς is not certain. The only solution then is to correct the etymology and assume that πᾶς derives from \**pants*, as indeed had also been suggested even before the decipherment. Needless to say, this procedure is correct in this case but cannot be generalized. Clear cut etymologies are invaluable to exclude false LB interpretations. I give just a imaginary example. There is a clear LB ethnicon *e-ra-jo* regularly used in the Knossos tablets. Let us suppose that there are scholars who are tempted to understand this *e-ra-jo* not as 'from the place *e-ra*', but as the noun for 'oil' because it strikingly resembles the alphabetic form Ελαιών. A look at the etymological dictionaries would prevent them from doing so because Ελαιών undoubtedly comes from *elaiwon*, with a -w- which is confirmed inter alia by the Cypriote form *e-la-i-wo* and which could not have been lost in LB. In fact the problem does not arise because we know the Mycenaean form of the noun for 'oil', which is, as expected, *e-ra<sub>3</sub>-wo*, *elaiwon*.

#### **§11.2.7. Respect an important scribal principle: 'birds of a feather flock together'**

The Mycenaean scribes were not only able to read and write; they were high-level civil servants entrusted with the management of the economy of all palaces (but see this volume, §12.2.5). Their task was to organize the necessary information according to specific criteria of record keeping. One of their standard practices involved the grouping of identical or similar data in a systematic manner. They made a number of lists grouping MNs, or PNs, or GNs, or sheep, or vases, or cloths, etc. These lists are structured units where entries with words and/or ideograms dealing with the same topic directly follow each other and form consistent records. We gain the impression that one of the scribes' favourite dicta was 'birds of a feather flock together'.<sup>30</sup> Clearly in managing the information the scribes practised a 'coherence principle'.

<sup>30</sup> This is especially clear in the 'page' tablets but can also be seen in the 'palm-leaf' tablets (on these tablets, see *Companion* 1, 28, 61). Both record categories can be grouped into 'sets'. It goes without saying that there are exceptions to this strong general tendency.

We have already seen an example of this practice in KN V 52 (§11.2.4.3), where several divine designations are structurally parallel in one record and follow directly each other: *Athānās Potnijāi, Enuwalijōi, Pajawōnei* and *Poseidā|hōnei vel sim.* — to this list we should add a further divine name, the Eriny, *e-ri-nu-we, Erinuwei* (dative sing.; cf. 'Ερινύς), an erased word on the edge of the tablet.

A much more spectacular example is provided by PY Tn 316 with its exceptionally rich number of GNs and derivatives (see *Companion 1*, §9.38). For instance, one paragraph has three structurally parallel entries with the second and the third directly following each other. Their key words are *po-ti-ni-ja, po-si-da-e-ja* and *ti-ri-se-ro-e*. All of them are long (4 and 5 signs) and the first one, *po-ti-ni-ja*, has already been interpreted as a divine title, *Potnijāi* 'to the (divine) Mistress' (§ 11.2.4.3). The Greek lexicon points the way towards an interpretation of the two other forms: (a) *po-si-da-e-ja*: the GN Ποσειδάνων suggests the name of 'Poseidon's partner', here in the dative, *Posidāhejāi*; (b) *ti-ri-se-ro-e*: τρις 'thrice' and ἥρως 'hero' (as an object of worship) yield the dative sing. *Trishērōhei* with the numeral enhancing the basic meaning. Thus we read *Potnijāi* 'to the (divine) Mistress', *Posiddāhejāi* 'to (the goddess) Posidaeaia' and *Trishērōhei* 'to the Superhero'.

Another section of this tablet has the form *po-si-da-i-jo* (five signs), which is similar to *po-si-da-e-ja* and calls for a reading *Posidāhijon vel sim.* The Greek dictionaries list a word Ποστδήτιον with among other meanings that of 'Poseidon's shrine' (on the change of *ā* > *ē*, see § 11.2.6.1).

Elsewhere in this same record we find the words *di-we, e-ra* and the syntagm *di-wo i-je-we*. All of them constitute structurally parallel entries that follow directly each other in the same section. Since these four words are short (two or three signs!), we must be especially cautious. The Greek dictionaries offer the following correspondences. (a) *di-we*: cf. the datives Διί, Διψί and (§11.2.6.3) Cypriot *Diwei-* 'Zeus'; hence, *di-we* may be the dative of the name of Zeus, *Diwei* 'to Zeus'; (b) *e-ra*: cf. 'Ηρᾶ 'Hera', Zeus' wife; hence, *e-ra* may be the dative *Hērāi* 'to Hera'; (c) *di-wo i-je-we*: cf. the Hom. syntagm Διός υἱός 'the son of Zeus'; hence, *di-wo i-je-we* may be a syntagm meaning 'to the son of Zeus', *Diwos (h)ijewei*. These interpretations are very tempting for several reasons. First, they group in one single paragraph three GNs that form an indisputable 'holy family'. Second, the etymologies are satisfactory: LB *di-we* matches the reconstructed Indo-European form \**diw-* which is still detectable in the *Diwei-* (Cypriot) and Διψί forms of Zeus' name; the dative sing. of the noun for 'son', *(h)ijewei*, matches the LB nominative sing. *i-\*65 (= i-ju')* and does not contradict the Greek etymology (see *Companion 1*, 355; for the athematic dative sing. in *-ei*, see §11.2.6.3); 'Hera' has no secure etymology.

Moreover, the beginning of this very section has the word *di-u-jo*, which is structurally parallel to the name of 'Poseidon's shrine', *po-si-da-i-jo*, seen above. So *di-u-jo* should also be the name of a shrine. The rules of Greek word formation suggest a form like *Diwjon*, the 'shrine of Zeus'. This meaning is unknown in later texts, but the adjective δῖος 'heavenly, divine'/'of Zeus' and the PN Δῖος are well attested. The collocation of the 'shrine of Zeus', 'Zeus', 'Hera' and the 'son of Zeus' in the same section provides a powerful argument in favour of the correctness of the analysis.

The 'coherence principle' works well in syntax too: we regularly find lists where all the names whose termination is sufficiently marked are in the same case (nominative, as in PY Jn 658, with MNs in ...ōn, ...eus, ...ēs, ...ōr; dative-locative, as in PY Jn 829, with PNs in ...phi, ...ei, ...i; etc.). It seems obvious that the scribes had a tendency to use the same cases for structurally parallel items. It must be added, however, that there was a certain level of scribal freedom: we have examples where structurally parallel items are deliberately *not* put in the same cases (see for instance the three different cases of the name of Poseidon in PY Es: §11.2.6.3).

The conclusion is clear: structurally parallel items in one (or several similar) document(s) require similar interpretations — provided, of course, that they do not conflict with our other rules (§11.1).

#### **§11.2.8. 'Religious explanations should only be accepted when all else fails'** (M. Ventris)

**§11.2.8.1.** Religion played a *very* important role in Antiquity — and the Mycenaean world is definitely not an exception. We expect the presence of religious words in the LB texts and we are justified in trying to find them. This research may become a dangerous pastime, however, because the ambiguity of the script and the difficulty of the contexts could induce us to attribute to the religious sphere several LB words that have nothing to do with cult. To avoid this error, we must follow an important rule: consider as religious only words that cannot possibly be analyzed otherwise. That this method is unavoidable is shown by a basic fact: the LB words securely agreed as religious constitute a *strongly limited category*. For instance, the most recent count of LB substantives estimates that we have *ca* 72 religious ones: this is less than 5% of all the known Mycenaean other words counted by *Handbuch*.<sup>31</sup> Even if these numbers give only an order

<sup>31</sup> *Ca* 72 Mycenaean religious substantives (= *ca* 2.14%) vs. *ca* 3278 (*Handbuch*, 352, 400).

of magnitude rather than the confirmed figures, they are highly instructive: they show that the decipherer of LB, Michael Ventris, was right when he said that 'religious explanations should only be accepted when all else fails'.<sup>32</sup>

**§11.2.8.2.** Let us apply this rule to a very short word (two signs!), *te-o*, which is currently interpreted as *thehos* 'god' (cf. θεός). Could we *avoid* this reading? A quick look at the Greek dictionaries suggests a number of other theoretically possible matches<sup>33</sup> such as: a MN (Θέων), a PN (Τέως), different verbs (Θέω 'run' and 'shine'), several pronouns (τέος, τεός, τέο, τέω, τέων) and an adverb (τέως/τήνος) — of course, several of these words could appear in different forms. Do the contexts exclude θεός and *impose* one of the other possible readings? Here are the main data. We begin with PY Eb/Ep: *te-o* occurs in two sentences where a 'priestess', *i-je-re-ja, hijereja* (§11.2.5.2), is mentioned in two texts alluding to a dispute about a piece of land.<sup>34</sup> The association between *te-o* and a 'priestess' may seem interesting, but in these very two texts, the 'priestess' is associated with words that have nothing to do with the cult (for instance, the verb 'to have', the noun for 'seed', etc.) and *te-o* could be one of these. Things change, however, when we discover that there are plenty of examples of the form *te-o-jo* in this same PY Eb/Ep series. Their ending -o-jo looks like the genitive sing. ending of a thematic noun (cf. LB ...o-jo and -oto). Besides, *te-o-jo* appears in PY Eb/Ep as an element of the syntagms *te-o-jo do-e-ra* or *do-e-ro* which obviously match the classical syntagms θεοῦ δούλη or δοῦλος 'servant of the god(dess)'. This makes a reading of *te-o-jo do-e-ra/o* as *thehojo doelā/doelos* almost inescapable. Moreover, PY Fr 1226 provides another form apparently linked with *te-o*, *te-o-i*, with the typical thematic dative plur. ending in ...o-i, ...oīhi. In the Fr tablets, *te-o-i* is structurally parallel to secure GNs — for instance, *po-ti-ni-ja, Potnijāi* 'to the (divine) Mistress' (PY Fr 1236). We can thus safely read *te-o-i* as *thehoihi* 'for the gods' (cf. the Hom. dative plur. θεοῖσι). In the KN Gg series, this same *te-o-i* appears several times in a sequence *pa-si-te-o-i* that is structurally parallel to obvious GNs — e.g., once again, the noun for the divine 'Mistress', *po-ti-ni-ja* (Gg 702) or *e-re-u-ti-ja, Eleuthijāi* 'to (the goddess) Ilithyia' (Gg 705; cf. 'Ελεύθυια, 'Ελευθίη, Ειλείθυια). We can safely read *pa-si-te-o-i* as *pansi thehoihi* 'for all the gods' (there are other examples of the continuous writing of two words in LB) and this interpretation perfectly matches the Hom. syntagm πᾶσι θεοῖσι.

<sup>32</sup> M. Ventris, quoted by John Chadwick in a letter that he sent me in March 1998.

<sup>33</sup> These alphabetic Greek words have been selected merely on formal grounds without considering their etymology or the contexts of *te-o*.

<sup>34</sup> Eb 297/Ep 704.5. For Eb 297, see *Companion* 1, §9.28.

The last pieces of evidence that I will adduce are: (a) an obvious MN, *te-o-do-ra-* that can hardly be separated from the MN Θεοδώρα — the etymological meaning of this name is 'God given'; (b) the noun *te-o-po-ri-ja* that matches θεοφόρος 'bearing a god' and θεοφορία 'divine possession' (*theophoria* could be the name of a Mycenaean festival). The final check will be etymological. Even if we do not want to plead for a derivation from the same root as Latin *festus*, *fēriae* etc., the Greek compound θέσ-φωτος 'spoken by the gods' speaks for a root ending with a sibilant. Hence we reconstruct a protoform \**dhes-os* < \**dhh<sub>1</sub>s-os*. The \*-s- > -h- change accounts for the Mycenaean (and Greek) hiatus and, as important, for the spelling of the adjective *te-i-ja* (PY Fr 1202, *ma-te-re te-i-ja, mātrei thehijāi* 'to the divine mother') where without the presence of an internal -h- we would expect a spelling \*\**te-ja* rather *te-i-ja*.

A religious interpretation of *te-o* is thus simply the only possible solution.

§11.2.8.3. This is not the case with a noun that has been understood as a GN at the very beginning of Mycenaean studies, when the Greek dictionaries were too frequently used in an insufficiently controlled way. As we have seen (§11.1), the form *da-ma-te* (hap. leg.: PY En 609.1) used to be read as the GN Δāmātēr 'Demeter' (cf. Δāmātēr/Δημήτηρ), an interpretation which seemed very tempting — but the word is only three signs long and it may be ambiguous (§11.2.3). In fact, *da-ma-te* occurs in the phrase *pa-ki-ja-ni-ja to-sa da-ma-te* DA 40. *pa-ki-ja-ni-ja* is a PN; *to-sa* is obviously a form of *tos(s)os* 'so many' (§11.2.6.3); the interpretation of the abbreviation *DA* is not absolutely sure, but *DA* looks very much as if it stood for the preceding word *da-ma-te* — compare for instance *e-ra-pi-ja* E 8, *elaphijai E(laphijai)* 8 'deer's hides: 8 de(er's hides)' (PY Ub 1316).<sup>35</sup> If so, we will translate 'so many *da-ma-te* of/in the place *pa-ki-ja-ni-ja*: 40 *da(-ma-te)*'. Now, the next line of the tablet tells us that *to-so-de te-re-ia e-ne-e-sí* VIR 14, *tos(s)oi de telestai enehensi*: 14 VIR 'and there are so many *telestai* therein/among them: 14 MEN'. The *telestai* (lit. 'Service-men') are important figures of the Mycenaean kingdoms and here we see that *da-ma-te* is the name given to something encompassing these 14 *telestai*. We must then conclude that the word *da-ma-te*: (a) has nothing to do with the goddess Demeter; (b) is part of the social and land tenure vocabulary. This leads to several possible readings, one of them being a feminine noun (cf. *tos[s]ai*) *damartes* 'households', 'homesteads' *vel sim.* — cf. δάμαρ 'spouse', etymologically linked to the noun for 'house', δόμος.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> On the Mycenaean habit of repeating the same item, once with a phonetic writing and once with an ideographic writing ('double writing'), see *Companion 1*, §9.15.

<sup>36</sup> See *Companion 1*, 307.

Another example of a religious interpretation of a LB word which has nothing to do with the cult was provided by L.R. Palmer in his quest for 'divine animals'. Palmer interpreted *o-pi* in about ten tablets of Cnossos as the name of a 'Snake goddess', "Oφις, who was supposed to own a textile workshop.<sup>37</sup> In fact, J.T. Killen has shown that in these texts as everywhere else, *o-pi* was the preposition *opi* meaning 'chez', 'at the workshop of'.<sup>38</sup>

**§11.2.8.4.** In these examples, the contexts suggest that the words studied belong to specific subsections of the vocabulary. This is not always so clear-cut, however. If so, we may follow Ventris' rule and in the first instance avoid looking for religious terms. But what should we look for? The Mycenaean records provide the answer: in the ca 3350 different LB words counted by *Handbuch*, there are no less than ca 2375 MNs and PNs.<sup>39</sup> This means that about 70% of our material is made of lay (viz. not divine) onomastic designations. We should thus be prepared to find a high percentage of *secular onomastic* material in most LB texts (about Mycenaean onomastics, see this volume, Chapter 15).

**§11.2.8.5.** Even when the LB evidence unmistakably points to religion, we should be aware that we may be dealing with *non-cultic activities*. A good example is provided by the smiths of the Jn series of Pylos who are 'of the (divine) Potnia/Mistress' (*po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*, *Potnijawejoi*). No doubt, the Potnia was a major Mycenaean divinity (§11.2.4.3). It would be an obvious mistake, however, to link these smiths and their work to the *cult* of the Potnia: nothing in the Jn tablets alludes to specific religious practices. The smiths 'of the Potnia' were simply bronze working people just like any other bronze workers. They tell us something not about the cult, but about the economy: the Potnia of Pylos owned bronze workshops. Even nowadays, some monasteries are concerned not only with worship, but also with making and selling cheese and beer. The tablet PY Fn 187 provides other similar examples. This record has clear religious mentions — Poseidon's temple and priests; a Potnia; etc. But it also deals with e.g. a group of 'finishing (?) women' (*a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i*, *askētrijāhi*; dative plur.). Since 'finishing (?) women' are well known elsewhere in the Mycenaean textile industry,<sup>40</sup> nothing enables us to suppose that they were

<sup>37</sup> PALMER 1969<sup>2</sup>, 103, 438 — suggested as a 'possibility' (103) and followed by two question marks (438).

<sup>38</sup> KILLE 1968. Hence PALMER 1969<sup>2</sup>, 485 (in the Addenda): 'o-pi, though written majuscule, is likely to be the preposition.'

<sup>39</sup> Ca 1945 MNs and ca 430 PNs and ethnic adjectives (*Handbuch*, 400), viz. about respectively 58% and 13% of the total.

<sup>40</sup> See *Companion* 1, §7.7.6.

members of the *cult* personal. They were simply textile workers probably at the service of some temples, just like the smiths 'of the Potnia'. Another important clue is that religious entities often appear in the records as simple 'consumers'. For instance, the Pylos E-tablets list many *te-o-jo do-e-ralo, thehojo doelāl doelos* 'servants of the god(dess)' (see above) as tenants of pieces of land. It is obvious that these plots had nothing religious in themselves: they were simply allocated to religious officials.

#### **§11.2.9. Respect the economy principle**

All the rules defined above may be subsumed under a single more general rule: respect the economy principle. To be acceptable, a LB interpretation should make use of the smallest possible number of hypotheses and/or of hypotheses that can be most easily demonstrated. Put in other words, it should offer the greatest possible compatibility with all the known data.

If we then find e.g. words whose termination is ambiguous but which are structurally parallel with others whose case is crystal-clear, we will suppose that the ambiguous forms are in the same case as the other ones. For instance, the clear-cut nominatives of PY Jn 658 (§11.2.7) will make us suppose that the corresponding but ambiguous words of the tablet are nominatives too. Etc.

The reverse is obviously true: the more an interpretation implies anomalies, incoherencies, suppositions not *absolutely required* by the texts themselves or phenomena different from those undoubtedly known elsewhere, the least likely it is to be valid.

The economy principle applies also to the use of *non-Mycenaean* data — both linguistic and factual. It is obvious that the Mycenaean world and the other Mediterranean civilizations of the end of the Bronze Age shared a number of characteristics. And since the Mycenaeans were Greek, there are also many features common to both Mycenaean and post-Mycenaean Greece. It is then fully justified to use these comparative data in our attempts to analyse the LB texts and to reconstruct the Mycenaean institutions of the Bronze Age. There are, however, some errors to avoid. We should never *force* the LB data to agree with the comparative ones. The best way is to begin with an independent study of the LB data and only afterwards compare them to the non-Mycenaean ones. Needless to say, our LB analysis must be sound and comprehensive. If not, we simply bias the facts and artificially *impose* comparative data onto the Mycenaean evidence. This kind of error happened just after the LB decipherment, when there was a tendency to see the Mycenaean society as feudal. Nowadays, we are more conscious that in spite of some points in common

between both worlds, these societies are basically different.<sup>41</sup> On the other hand, the interpretation of LB *o-po-qo* provides an example of a sound use of linguistic and factual comparative data. This word appears in chariot inventories:<sup>42</sup> it was obviously the name of a part of the chariot or its harness that was made of leather or ivory. Although *o-po-qo* did not survive in alphabetic Greek, it looks as a compound of the preverb *opi-* 'on' and the root \**okʷ-* (cf. ὄψ and ὄψ, 'eye, face') with a reading *opōkʷon vel sim.* But what item did it indicate? Several interpretations were given like 'blinkers', 'cheekpiece', 'face piece', 'headstall', 'noseband' *vel sim.* It proved difficult to choose until horses with *blinkers* were found in the royal tombs of Salamis (Cyprus; about 700 BC). True, blinkers were not depicted in Mycenaean art, but the Egyptians used them at the end of the Bronze Age. At this point the match between textual, etymological and factual comparative data becomes more tangible. The economy principle clearly suggests that the LB *opōkʷon* was literally 'the item put on [*opi-*] the eye [\**okʷ-s*\*]' of the horses — in alphabetic Greek, the 'blinkers' are similarly called παρ-ώπι-α with a compound formed by a preposition and the same root \**okʷ-*.

#### §11.2.10. Practice a controlled flexibility

It should be clear that the rules offered above cannot be treated as inflexible and applied automatically. First of all, the available evidence is regularly much poorer than we would wish. Second, the way in which an analysis is conducted is largely unpredictable because many problems are idiosyncratic. It is then impossible to keep using the same set of rules in the same fixed order and in the same fixed way.

Flexibility is thus necessary — but it must be *controlled* flexibility. Exaggerated flexibility produces arbitrary results; it just provides an easy way out. And as I was told by a great LB scholar, Michel Lejeune: 'Il n'y a rien de plus difficile que les solutions de facilité'.<sup>43</sup>

#### §11.2.11. How do we tackle other scholars' interpretations?

So far we have concentrated on the way in which we can personally study and interpret the LB records. What mostly happens, however, is that we come

<sup>41</sup> See *Companion* 1, 160, 170, 179 for differences and similarities.

<sup>42</sup> See an example of these texts in *Companion* 1, §9.14.

<sup>43</sup> 'Nothing is more difficult than easy solutions'.

across LB data only through different interpretations suggested by several scholars. How can we discover which analysis, if any, is right? In theory the answer is obvious: we should carefully check every proposed interpretation and select the one obtained on the basis of the rules described above. In its turn this requires a fresh examination of the LB data. I genuinely feel that in this examination the LB records should be looked at *as if* we were the first to study them. This may answer the original question but sometimes may also provide a new insight in the problem. If we examine the data really afresh, we *then* become able to better answer a crucial question that I heard years ago asked by the late Oswald Szemerényi: 'Are the facts really facts?'

Should we do this even if the solution is proposed by a famous mycenologist, say Chadwick or Lejeune? This is a non-question and the answer can only be 'certainly yes'. True, the best mycenologists tend to be right. But they *may* be wrong and sometimes *are* wrong. Their proposals should be thoroughly examined as all other proposals.

### **§11.2.12. What if we do not find the solution?**

We should be aware that *for many LB problems we lack a solution*. The evidence may be too ambiguous, or too scarce, or too complex. If so, the only reasonable thing to do is to recognize our ignorance and, if hypotheses have been made, try to assess their respective degrees of probability, without necessarily reaching a conclusion. To quote once again a dictum by Michel Lejeune, 'il vaut mieux confesser une incertitude que professer une erreur'.<sup>44</sup>

### **§11.3. ABBREVIATIONS FOR CHAPTER 11**

e.g.	<i>exempli gratia</i> ('for example')
GN	god or goddess name
<i>hap. leg.</i>	<i>hapax legomenon</i> ('word found only once')
Hom.	Homer(ic)
id.	<i>idem</i>
i.e.	<i>id est</i> ('that is [to say]')
LB	Linear B
lit.	literal(l)y

<sup>44</sup> 'It is better to confess to hesitation than to teach an error' (*Mémoires* IV, 29-30).

MN	man's or woman's name
plur.	plural
PN	place-name — ethnic adjectives (i.e. adjectives derived from a place-name) are not labelled PN
sing.	singular
vel sim.	<i>vel simile</i> ('or similar')
~	opposite to
*	reconstructed form
**	form considered unacceptable.

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# CHAPTER 12

## SCRIBES, SCRIBAL HANDS AND PALAEOGRAPHY\*

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This chapter concentrates on scribes, i.e. on those who actually wrote the Linear B texts that we have. The first section (§12.1) discusses the many ways modern scholars have used to identify and then study the work of scribes (or, as we shall also call them, ‘tablet-writers’) and how an accurate palaeographic study of Mycenaean texts has led us to a much improved understanding of the meaning of the texts and their purpose within the administrative systems organized around and by Mycenaean palatial centres. The second section (§12.2) turns to the world of the scribes and to the important conclusions and theories that the technical palaeographic study of Linear B inscriptions has yielded, and current questions such study has posed, about who the scribes were, how they were trained, how they worked, what their professional ‘personalities’ were, and how they compare, as technical specialists, with other skilled workers in the Mycenaean regional economic systems.

## **§12.1. MYCENAEAN SCRIBES AND THEIR WORK: HOW AND WHY THE STUDY OF HANDWRITING BECAME A KEY TOOL OF RESEARCH IN MYCENAEAN STUDIES**

An important aspect of the study of Linear B inscriptions,<sup>1</sup> particularly if compared with the study of cuneiform archives of the Ancient Near East,<sup>2</sup> is

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<sup>1</sup> For the history of scholarship in this field, see PALAIMA 2003a, 45-64; RUIPÉREZ – MELENA 1990, 23-49.

<sup>2</sup> BROSIUS 2003 and PALAIMA 2003b. For a global assessment of Aegean literacy in light of comparative evidence from the ancient Near and Middle East and modern theories of literacy and the uses of writing in societies through time, see PLUTA forthcoming.

the attention paid to palaeography (viz. the study of handwriting styles) and to the distinctive features of writing on clay documents that can be attributed to individual scribes or tablet-writers. The Mycenaean texts are difficult for us to read and understand, but, as we shall see, their correct interpretation has been facilitated (or even made possible) by the discovery that we can attribute them to specific scribes and consequently group them in ways which otherwise would not have been justifiable or even imaginable. At the same time these detailed studies have a direct impact on our understanding of the workings of Mycenaean administration and of the nature and extent of Mycenaean literacy. Why Mycenaean scholars have adopted this line of approach will become clear if we first look at some of their early work both before and after the decipherment of Linear B.

### **§12.1.1. *Palaeographical studies before the decipherment***

There are several reasons why palaeography has come to play such a key role in Linear B studies.

First, when inscriptions first began to be noticed, purchased and finally discovered in excavation by Sir Arthur Evans<sup>3</sup> — and then by other excavators —,<sup>4</sup> it was soon observed that they fell into three main categories of writing. These Evans called Cretan Pictographic or Hieroglyphic, Linear A and Linear B.<sup>5</sup> Right from the beginning, it was noticed that these three scripts used a good many signs or characters in common.

However, it was not easy to figure out with certainty what the similarities and differences among these writing systems meant. The inscriptions came from different sites and periods.<sup>6</sup> They were written on different materials; we find writing on clay tablets, labels, sealings and roundels; stone dedicatory vessels and stone seals; gold and silver artifacts; walls; and ceramic vases, mainly large storage vessels called pithoi and the vessels used for transporting oil known as stirrup jars.<sup>7</sup> And they were inscribed using different techniques: (1) carving or incising into hard material; (2) literally drawing signs into wet and thus soft clay; (3) painting with a brush. The shapes of the signs were affected by these different ways of writing and the different media used.

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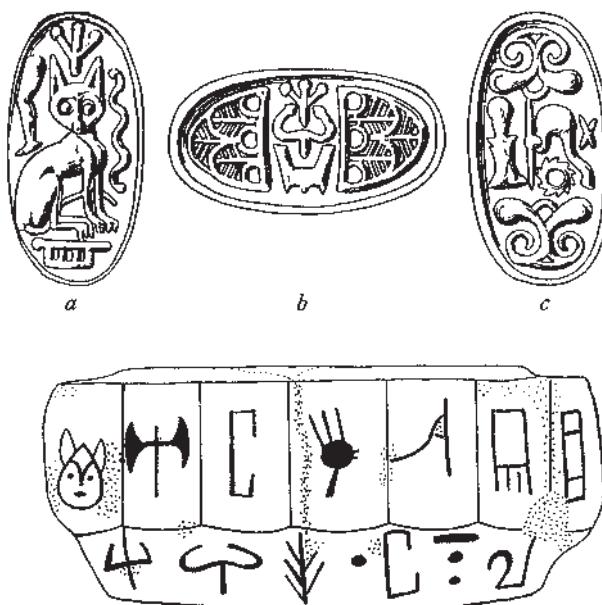
<sup>3</sup> McDONALD – THOMAS 1990, 113-169.

<sup>4</sup> Beginning in 1894 and continuing through Evans' excavations at the major Cretan site of Knossos.

<sup>5</sup> BENNETT 1996; CHADWICK 1987; DUHOUX 1985, 8-23; McDONALD – THOMAS 1990, 160-161; OLIVIER 1989, 237-252 and figs. 20-24; *SM I*.

<sup>6</sup> See PALAIMA 1990b for an overview.

<sup>7</sup> BENNETT 1986; CHIC; GORILA; HALLAGER 1996; RAISON 1968; SACCONI 1974.

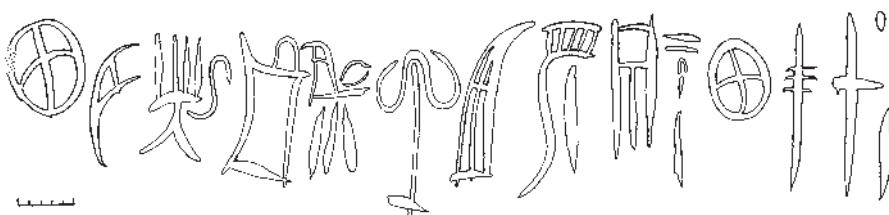


**Fig. 12.1.** Hieroglyphic signs carved into stone seal (*SM I*, 153) and Linear A signs carved into stone libation table Iouktas Za 2 section a (after *GORILA*, vol. 5, 18)

On the stone seals, which are so small (1.0-1.5 cm. in diameter or 1.5 × 0.5 cm. in their rectangular faces) that even to handle the entire whole seals in the process of studying their images challenges the dexterity of modern scholars,<sup>8</sup> the Cretan Hieroglyphic signs are executed precisely by superbly trained artists. Many such signs have lifelike three-dimensional naturalistic forms (Fig. 12.1). Some of the signs carved into the surfaces of stone libation vessels in the Linear A script dedicated at peak sanctuaries have the same artistic appearance and for the same reason: the signs were carved into the stone surfaces by true artists and were meant to have a pleasing, decorative appearance (Fig. 12.1). When the signs are drawn instead of carved, whether into soft metal or into moist clay, they lose their three-dimensional representational aspects. Nonetheless the forms of signs done on clay tablets as line-drawings vary in what we might call aesthetic quality from elaborate and ‘artistic’ to simplified and functional.

The last main category is signs painted, for the most part very large in size (8-15 centimetres high), on the surfaces of clay vases. These painted signs

<sup>8</sup> KRZYSZKOWSKA 2005, 81-99.



**Fig. 12.2.** Signs painted on stirrup jar Z 839 from Thebes  
(after RAISON 1968, 108-109)

(Fig. 12.2) as a whole have much more elaborated forms than the signs that are drawn by scribes on the clay tablets. The curves of the signs painted on vases are fluid and component elements that are not absolutely essential to the recognition of particular signs are often preserved — as they are often not in the more mechanical, utilitarian and repetitive writing on clay tablets — or perhaps even reintroduced, as a reflection of the artistic instincts of the individuals doing writing of this kind.

This remarkable diversity in the manner of writing explains why it was necessary in the early stages of studying the Aegean scripts to devote considerable time and attention to analyzing the sign systems and to comparing the forms of their signs.<sup>9</sup>

The fact that inscriptions in all three classes of writing, but especially in Linear B, were written into soft clay with a stylus<sup>10</sup> facilitated the process of studying the sign forms. In most cases, it was possible, after careful examination, to reconstruct the order in which elements of simple or complex signs were written (more on this kind of study §12.1.1.2 below).

This procedure naturally raised questions, within each of these three scripts, about whether individual examples of signs of similar shape were (a) variant forms of the same sign, executed by different persons (or even by the same person at different times under different conditions); (b) completely different signs with different values; or (c) intentional modifications of basic forms that had some kind of phonetic or semantic significance, e.g., *ü* vs. *u* in German, or *ñ* vs. *n* in Spanish. Thus aspects of what we might call *uniscriptual* writing stylistics (or script-internal palaeography, e.g., Fig. 12.3) came into play.

Furthermore, since the three scripts were clearly somehow related to one another and spanned nearly nine centuries total in their use (*ca* 2100 BC to *ca*

<sup>9</sup> For a history of the study of sign forms and an analysis of the different forms of signs produced by different media, see PALAIMA 1988.

<sup>10</sup> RUIPÉREZ – MELENA 1990, 70.

1200 BC), comparisons were made of their sign repertoires in two ways. First, in order to see how the signs of the different scripts related to one another (comparative palaeography), and, second, in order to see how the shapes of the signs evolved through time (diachronic palaeography).

A further question was whether observable differences in the shapes of the basic signs provided any evidence for how the scripts may have changed their structures and their operating principles over time.<sup>11</sup>

### §12.1.1.1. Sir Arthur Evans

Fortunately for the field of Mycenology, Sir Arthur Evans was acutely near-sighted from birth and had naturally gravitated in his younger days to the study, first, of coins, and, then, of small stone seals bearing Cretan Hieroglyphic symbols.<sup>12</sup> Much of Evans' time was taken up by his serious responsibilities as main excavator of the major Cretan site of Knossos and his task of literally defining the characteristic features and chronology of Minoan civilization.<sup>13</sup> But he did publish in his lifetime the ground-breaking study of Linear A and Cretan Pictographic writing known as *Scripta Minoa I*.<sup>14</sup> He also undertook a major study of the Linear B inscriptions. However, this was not advanced very far when Evans died on July 11, 1941. At the time of his death not many more than one hundred tablets were available for study in published photographs or drawings.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Comparisons between Linear A and Linear B (Fig. 12.4; and later Fig. 12.5) were particularly important for linguistic analysis of the languages represented in the inscriptions (DUHOUX 1989, 66-76 and esp. 115-119; GORILA; RAISON – POPE 1978 and 1994). This even involved, in the early days, looking at extra-Aegean offshoots of ‘Minoan’ writing (Figs. 12.6 and 7). For example, the different phases of the Cypro-Minoan and Cypriote Syllabic scripts (Fig. 12.8) (PALAIMA 1989 and 2005) on the island of Cyprus have been examined in connection with Linear A and Linear B.

<sup>12</sup> MACGILLIVRAY 2000, 5-6, 18, 27, 41; PALAIMA 2000a.

<sup>13</sup> PALAIMA 2003a, 45-50.

<sup>14</sup> *SM I* appeared in 1909 after Evans had published a half dozen major preliminary reports on his excavation work in progress.

<sup>15</sup> Of the Knossos tablets, there were about forty-five published photos, one hundred and three drawings, and one hundred and twenty transcriptions (by the great Finnish scholar Johannes Sundwall); of the Pylos tablets, seven photographs from the publications of the 1939 excavations. There were also illustrations of a few painted stirrup-jar inscriptions from Thebes and Eleusis, and of a few other inscriptions confusingly, because wrongly, ascribed to Minoan Linear script B. The bulk of the material is found in the *Annual of the British School at Athens* (1899-1900) — the report of the first season of excavation at Knossos; in Evans' monumental *PoM* (mainly in volume 4 of 1935 where he devoted much attention to the Linear B finds); in *AJA* 43 (1939) 557-576 (the report by Blegen and Kourouniotes of the first season of excavation at Pylos); the *Illustrated London News* (1939) 858 (a general story on Blegen's finds), and, according to KOBER 1948, 99 n. 48, ‘a pamphlet on the work of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens’ (*non vidi*).

N <sup>o</sup> I. CRETAN HIEROGLYPHS OR CONVENTIONALIZED PICTOGRAPHS.	
A. ENGRAVED ON SIGNETS. B. INSCRIBED ON CLAY TABLETS & SEALINGS. X. WANTING IN ONE OR THE OTHER CLASS.	
A.	B.
1	X
2	
3	X
4	X
5	
6	X
7	
8	
9	X
10	X
11	
12	
13	
14	X
15	
16	C
17	X
18	
19	
20	X
21	X
22	X
23	
24	
25	X
26	X
27	
28	
29	
30	
31	
32	L
33	X
34	X
35	X
36	
37	
38	
39	X
40	
41	
42	X
43	X
44	
45	X
46	
47	
48	X
49	X
50	X
51	X
52	X
53	X
54	
55	
56	
57	
58	
59	X
60	
61	
62	
63	
64	
65	
66	
67	
68	
69	X
70	X

Fig. 12.3. Evans' table of selected Cretan Hieroglyphic signs as executed on different media (after *SM I*, 232, fig. 102)

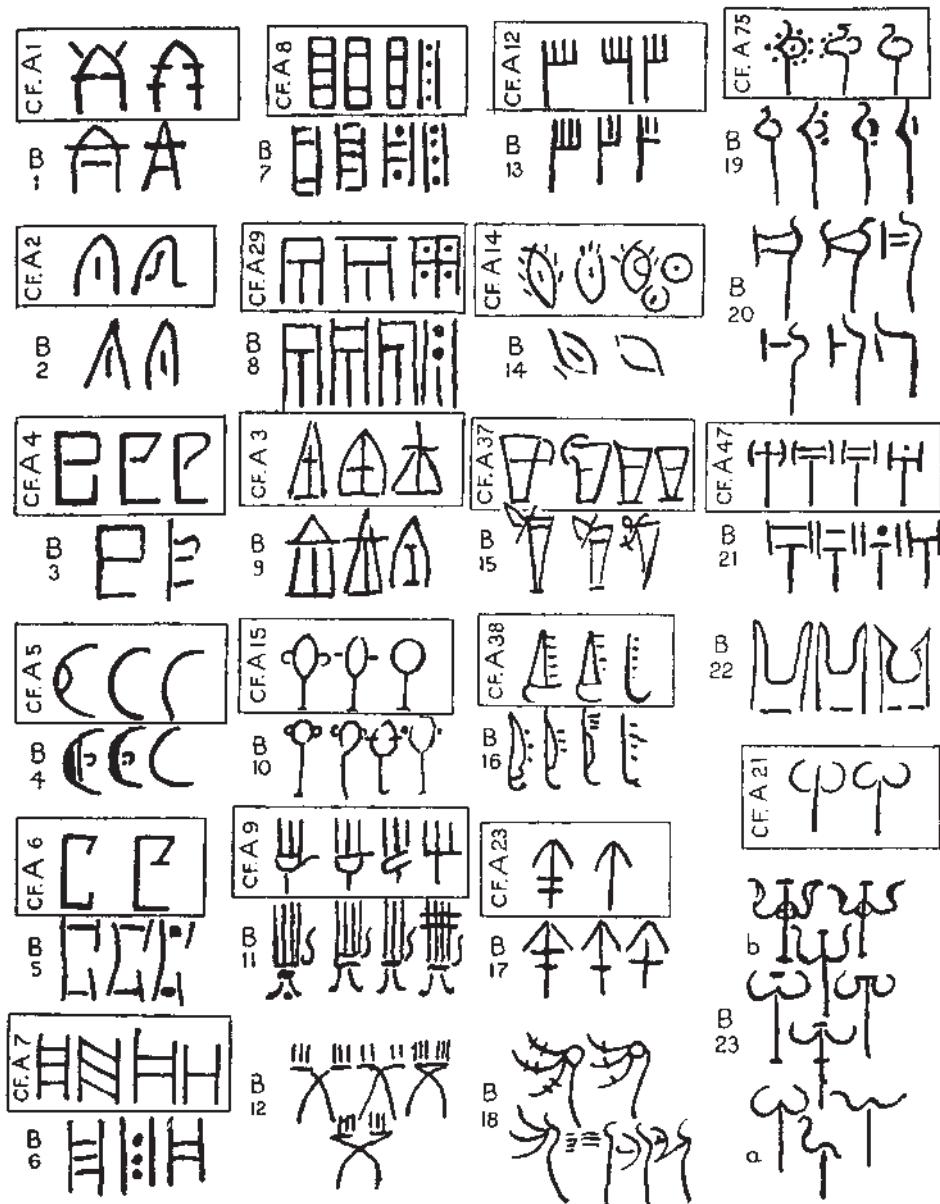


Fig. 12.4. Evans' synopsis of selected signs in Linear A and Linear B script  
(after PoM IV, 684, fig. 666[B])

LA	LB	LA	LB
01	*56	61	ne
02	pa	62	qa
06	tu	64	pu
21	po	69	*34
22	ro	72	ri
23	za	74	ta
24	ke	75a	wa
25	nu	76	mi
26	na	77	se
27	mu	78	ti
28	wi	80	o
29	ka	81a	je
30	da	84a	me
31	sa	84b	mu
32	ja	85	*118
34	pu <sub>2</sub>	86	ta <sub>2</sub>
35	*86	91	qe
39	to	92	te
44	e	93	du
45	ko	95	ma
48b	qi	96	*65
51	di	97	u
52	a	98	ku
53	ra	100a	i
54	re	101	*79
55	ru	102a	de
56a	pi	102b	*47
57	si	103	ki
58	ra <sub>2</sub>	113	au
59	su	120	*49
60	ni	208	*82

Fig. 12.5. Formal correspondences between Linear A and Linear B phonograms  
(after DUHOUX 1989, 123, fig. 7)

PHOENICIAN & LAMED [ZAYIN] [THETHA] [LAMBDA]	CRETAN LINEAR	CRETAN HIEROGLYPHS	PHOENICIAN ETC.	CRETAN LINEAR A-B	CRETAN HIEROGLYPHS
ZAYIN [GIMEL] [GAMMA]  S. SEMITIC	[A A] A 7 <small>FRACTION</small>	P 7 <small>P</small> EARLY LINEAR FORM OF LEG SIGN:	SAMEK	丰 丰 GR. H	丰 丰 ? TREE
ZETH [THETHA] [LAMBDA]	 S. SEMITIC	Z 8 <small>A</small> FROM GROUP OR POT	KOPH [KOPPA]	○ ○ CR.	○ ○ = HUMAN HEAD [EYE EYE EYEBROW EYEBROW]
	 S. SEMITIC	○ ○ A. B.	TSADE	 A.	 ? ADZE

Fig. 12.6. Evans' comparison of signs in Cretan and Phoenician scripts  
(after *SM I*, 87)

	IBERIC	MINOAN
HÈ	※ 手	※ A.B. 丰 A.
VAU	↑ ↑	↑↑↑↑↑↑
CHETH	※	※(※) B. B.
	η	η A
KAPH	Λ	ΛΛ A.B.
MEM	❖❖	❖ P. δ A*
TSADE	ΨΨΨ	Ψ A. B.
	Ψ	Ψ A. B.
KOPH	☒☒	☒ A*
RESH	ΦΦΦ	Φ A. B.

Fig. 12.7. Evans' comparison of Cretan and Iberic signs (after *SM I*, 99)

CHARACTERS OF THE MINOAN SCRIPTS OF CRETE	CYPRO MINOAN CHARACTERS ON BALLS AND RING	SIGNS OF THE LATER CYPRIOTE SYLLABARY WITH VALUES
1  P T A B.		[ALSO ] = A
2  B.		
3  A A A B		= SI
4  B A		= PA
5  A A		
6  P		
7  P [Q] A		
8  A * A		
9  T A Y A T A A B		= KE
10  A B		= LO
11  A B A		= E
12  A B		= TA
13  A * A A		= LE
14  T A T B I A		= NA
15  A A A		= KO

Fig. 12.8. Evans' comparison of signs in Cretan and Cypriote scripts  
(after *SM I*, 71, fig. 39)

### §12.1.1.2. Alice E. Kober and Emmett L. Bennett, Jr.

Some of the results of Evans' unfinished work on Linear B are found in the pages of his monumental *Palace of Minos* and in the manuscript for a separate monograph on the Linear B script, a companion volume to *Scripta Minoa I*, that was edited and published after his death with the title *Scripta Minoa II*. The incomplete manuscript for this masterwork was left at Evans' death in 1941 to the care of his life-long friend Sir John L. Myres. Myres, however, was not a scripts expert. He was then seventy-two years old and suffering from failing eyesight. So he sought the help of an American scholar named Alice E. Kober. In the late 1930's and throughout the 1940's until her premature death on September 16, 1950, Kober was arguably the leading researcher working on what were then called the Minoan writing systems.<sup>16</sup>

By spring 1940, when the eventual decipherer of Linear B, Michael Ventris (born July 12, 1922), not yet 18 years of age, submitted his first precocious article on the language(s) that might be represented in the Minoan scripts,<sup>17</sup> Evans had classified, and even assigned conventional consecutive numbers to, as many of the fundamental signs of the two scripts (Linear A and Linear B) as he could (Fig. 12.4). Ventris in fact used Evans' 'sign list' as a starting point (Fig. 12.9) for his first naïve and undisciplined attack on the Minoan scripts.

Alice E. Kober and Emmett L. Bennett, Jr. did the essential work on the palaeography (and analysis) of the Linear B inscriptions. Bennett was entrusted in 1940 with the publication of the newly discovered Pylos tablets (excavated in 1939),<sup>18</sup> while Kober worked systematically on her own from ca 1935 until 1947. Then she joined Sir John Myres in his work on the publication of the Knossos tablets for what would become *Scripta Minoa II* (*SM II*).

It should be noted that Kober did this work selflessly, abandoning, for the most part, her own well-advanced work at analyzing the Minoan and Mycenaean scripts, because she felt, quite justifiably, that poorly published texts had caused, and would continue to cause, many problems for the serious research work that needed to be done. This explains Kober's blunt reply to the questionnaire that Ventris sent out in December 1949 to about twenty-two scholars all of whom were known to Ventris to have strong interest in work on these writing systems.<sup>19</sup> She wrote on February 20, 1950,<sup>20</sup> 'I have no intention of answering the questionnaire. In my opinion it represents a step in the wrong

<sup>16</sup> PALAIMA 2003a, 50-57; PALAIMA – POPE – REILLY 2000, 10-14.

<sup>17</sup> PALAIMA 1993; ROBINSON 2002; VENTRIS 1940.

<sup>18</sup> McDONALD – THOMAS 1990, 229-243.

<sup>19</sup> VENTRIS 1988, 32-35.

<sup>20</sup> VENTRIS 1988, 67.

<i>Numeration (Evans')</i>	<i>Linear Script A</i>	<i>Linear Script B</i>	<i>Phonetic Value</i>
B 11	≡	≡	ce C
B 7	≡≡	≡	e
A 67	≡≡≡	≡	fu
B 49b	≡≡≡≡	≡≡	la C ?
B 54	≡≡≡≡≡	≡≡	li C
B 25	≡≡≡≡≡≡	≡≡	lo C
B 41	≡≡≡≡≡≡≡	≡≡	na C
B 40	≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡	≡≡	ne
B 44a	≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡	≡≡	pa C
B 60	≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡	≡≡	pe C
B 47	≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡	≡≡	pu C
B 30	≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡	≡≡	ra C ?
B 46	≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡	≡≡	re
B 13	≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡	≡≡	se C
B 21	≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡	≡≡	še
B 9	≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡	≡≡	ši C
B 58	≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡	≡≡	ta C
B 2	≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡	≡≡	ti C
B 59	≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡	≡≡	to C
B 26	≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡	≡≡	θe
B 36	≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡	≡≡	va C
B 5	≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡	≡≡	ve C
B 1	≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡≡	≡≡	vi

**Fig. 12.9.** Ventris' use of Evans' numeration of signs for comparison between Linear A and Linear B and conjectured Etruscan/Pelasgic values  
(after VENTRIS 1940, 510)

direction and is a complete waste of time.' At this point, nearly a half century of scholarly work aimed at unlocking the secrets of these scripts had been thwarted by lack of the kind of thorough and proper palaeographical analysis that would form the basis for trustworthy editions of the inscriptions. Even though she was then terminally ill, Kober had her priorities straight. She abandoned work on decipherment *per se* in order to set down firm foundations for future palaeographical and related work with Aegean scripts.

From 1945 until 1950, Bennett and Kober were in close contact (meeting often because of geographical proximity — he was at Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut and she was at Brooklyn College — and through correspondence). They both had done their own independent and painstaking analyses of the bodies of Linear B material available to them (Bennett primarily with the Pylos tablets; and Kober with the Knossos tablets). They eventually swapped full information about the Pylos and Knossos Linear B material, after first obtaining the approval of Carl W. Blegen and Sir John L. Myres respectively in late November 1948.

### §12.1.1.3. The roots of the Mycenaean palaeography

The Program in Aegean Scripts and Prehistory (PASP) at the University of Texas at Austin has preserved the scholarly papers of Bennett and Kober. Besides work notes, drafts, proofs, notebooks and note cards, grant applications, and photographs and drawings of texts, there are also letters between them and Myres, Ventris, Johannes Sundwall, and other leading figures interested in the Linear scripts before and after the Ventris decipherment in 1952.<sup>21</sup> These help us to see the process of decipherment more clearly. But they also reveal for the first time the very roots of the field of Mycenaean palaeography.

It is almost fashionable now to criticize Evans for all the things that he did not do.<sup>22</sup> It is a good antidote to some of the poison that has been administered to the ghost of Evans to read what Kober writes to Bennett on April 8, 1948: ‘Evans’ transcriptions are about 99% reliable, which is pretty good, but not perfect.’ She also writes on June 3, 1948: ‘Evans’ drawings are almost always absolutely accurate. He occasionally omits a sign in a word, but the signs he draws are practically always what is visible in an inscription, and reproduce the idiosyncrasies of the ‘hands’ — at least for those where photographs are available.’

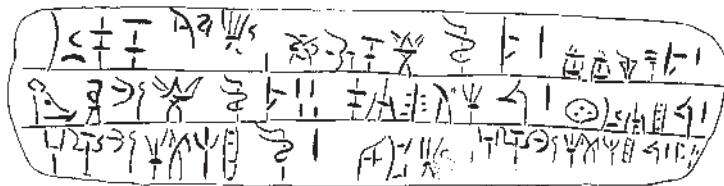
Evans was also sensitive to the details of handwriting that fascinate and inform palaeographers. In discussing the Linear B texts from Knossos, Evans remarks on both general aesthetics and particular, i.e., personal, styles of writing.<sup>23</sup> In his

<sup>21</sup> See: <http://www.utexas.edu/research/pasp/>; and for the archives of early researchers: <http://www.utexas.edu/research/pasp/venkoba.html> (Ventris and Kober) and <http://www.utexas.edu/research/pasp/bennetta.html> (Bennett).

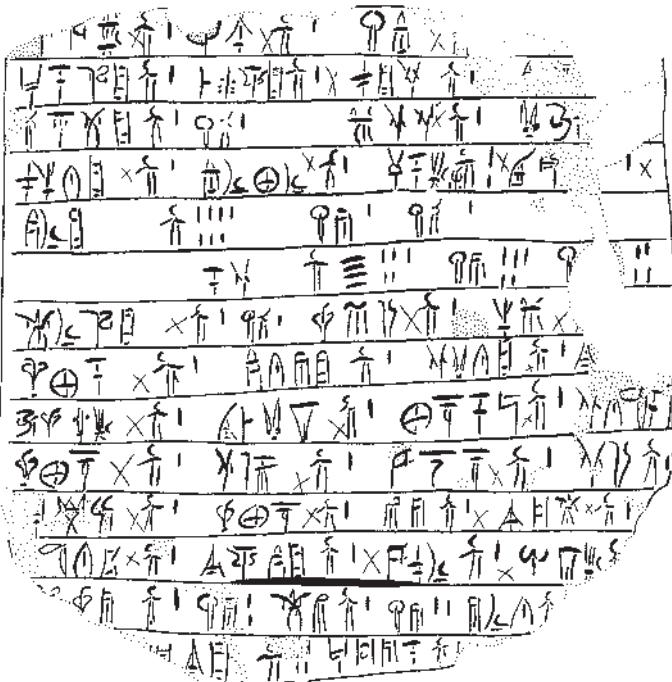
<sup>22</sup> See PALAIMA 2000a.

<sup>23</sup> *SM II*, 2, as noted in *Scribes Cnossos*, 36. Evans also remarks (*SM II*, 3) that ‘[o]n the moist clay, erasures and corrections were possible, and where the *stylus* was allowed to graze the tablet between strokes, it has left valuable elucidations of ill-written signs or personal variants.’

judgment, the scribes used a ‘graceful and convenient script, which admitted considerable variety of personal “handwriting”, from the heavy, plunging strokes of [Fp] 13, [Fp] 48, [V] 684 to the needle-pointed “court-hand” of [Ap] 639, [As] 1516. Several such individual scribes can be recognized, and the personal sign-variants due to their ingenuity or carelessness.’ See Fig. 12.10. As with so many other topics in Minoan archaeology, Evans here points the way toward the future scientific study of scribal ‘hands’.



Fp (1) 13



Ap 639

**Fig. 12.10.** Knossos tablets Fp 13 and Ap 639  
(after CoMIK I, 9 and 236)

The word ‘hand’ here refers to a unique individual identified primarily by his (or, in the Mycenaean period less likely, her) distinctive writing style. This most distinctive aspect of Mycenaean palaeography was defined by Bennett in his 1947 doctoral dissertation.<sup>24</sup>

Bennett explains:<sup>25</sup>

‘[T]he observant reader comes to know not only the many forms of each character [of the Linear B script], but also what forms of one [sign] are to be found with particular forms of other signs. He eventually learns to recognize the intention of the scribe despite careless drawing of the signs, or bad preservation of the tablets, and to identify accurately in context characters which if written separately would be completely illegible. That is to say, he learns to identify the hands of the several scribes, and, in his interpretation of what is written on the tablet, is able to make allowances for their peculiarities....’

It has proved possible to assign a large number of the tablets from Pylos to various hands, and to discover the specific forms and habits by which these hands may be most readily distinguished. The essential criteria for the separation of hands are of course the particular shapes and proportion of the characters, but other factors assist in the identification. Principal among these is the order of making the strokes which compose the sign, for each scribe must have persisted throughout his life in the habits in which he was trained. There is generally no difficulty in discovering the order of strokes since the line first drawn in the clay is broken and distorted by that which crosses it. The methods of ruling, and of spacing, the arrangement of the text on the tablet, and even the size and shape of the tablet chosen or molded by the scribe, may frequently be no less significant.’

Identification of the handwriting styles of the individuals responsible for Linear B inscriptions constitutes an almost unique forensic tool for Mycenologists.<sup>26</sup> It has enabled Mycenaean specialists to extract from their limited number of texts information at a level of sophistication that, as we mentioned at the outset, surpasses the work done on texts from the Near and Middle East. The scholar who saw the need to investigate the texts at this level was in fact the ‘father of Mycenaean epigraphy’, Emmett L. Bennett, Jr.

As we have also mentioned, in 1940 Bennett (born on July 12, 1918) was entrusted by Carl W. Blegen with publishing the new Linear B inscriptions that had been discovered at Pylos in 1939. Bennett’s work on the material and the completion of his Ph.D. degree were delayed by World War II. During the war, Bennett contributed to the American war effort by analyzing Japanese encoded messages with the team of military cryptologists who were the predecessors of

<sup>24</sup> BENNETT 1947, 19-24.

<sup>25</sup> BENNETT 1947, 22-23.

<sup>26</sup> See PALAIMA 1985a for a comparison with the lesser use of ‘hands’ in classical Greek epigraphy.

the National Security Agency.<sup>27</sup> He took away from his decoding work a keen appreciation for paying attention carefully to each individual character in a message and to the patterns of their occurrence within running text(s).

After the war, on June 8, 1946, Bennett wrote to ‘Mr. Blegen’ outlining what he had accomplished so far with the Pylos material and explaining his approach to the problem of working on a decipherment of the Linear B script.<sup>28</sup> Both Bennett and Kober (and, of course, eventually Ventris, who had spent the war as a bomber navigator and the immediate post-war as a German-language interpreter interviewing captured German soldiers) were working on this material with the ultimate aim of being able to decipher the texts and read their contents. Kober and Bennett saw from the start that identifying securely the characters of the Linear B script was a *sine qua non*. They knew that, in order to achieve a decipherment, they had to know what the repertory of phonetic signs — and of other signs that stood for objects (animate and inanimate), numbers, and units of measurement — for the Linear B script was and they had to edit the texts themselves with great care.

#### §12.1.1.4. The major tasks of Mycenaean palaeography

Of central importance, then, were four tasks:

(1) Identifying and composing a table of ‘normal forms’, i.e., determining with close to absolute certainty the standard repertory of signs for the Linear B script.

The goal was to establish what Bennett and Kober would come to call, conventionally, the ‘alphabetic order’ for the Linear B signary.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> See [http://www.nsa.gov/about/cryptologic\\_heritage/index.shtml](http://www.nsa.gov/about/cryptologic_heritage/index.shtml) and CLARK 1977.

<sup>28</sup> Did Bennett at this stage have any hopes of decipherment or any hunches about what languages lay behind the Linear A and Linear B scripts, or whether they were used to write the same language or different languages? In Bennett’s 1947 dissertation, he simply cites Evans’ opinion (*PoM* IV, 648) that ‘[i]t seems probable also that the languages of Linear A and B are identical, since word-groups are found common to both, and the methods of accounting, and the principal subjects of the tablets, are much the same.’

In private conversations, Bennett told me that he felt that both Kober and Ventris had an advantage over him in knowing ancient Greek and other languages better than he did — Kober was way ahead of both of them in her mastery of ancient languages, Indo-European and non-Indo-European. Still, much like Ventris, Bennett was always fascinated by the puzzle aspect of decipherment. Reinforced by his wartime work on Japanese encoded methods, this strong interest in puzzle-solving would have always kept active his hopes of achieving a decipherment.

<sup>29</sup> Both Bennett and Kober understood that no real progress could be made in analyzing the inscriptions with the aim of determining the frequency of use of the signs and potential relationships among their phonetic values unless they knew with near certainty the repertory of phonetic signs in Linear B. They spoke in their correspondence about ‘sound values’ and

### PHONETIC CHARACTERS



Fig. 12.11. Bennett's Linear B signary of phonograms arranged by shape  
(after BENNETT 1947, 20)

No Linear B text gives us the equivalent of a full *abecedarium* for the Linear B syllabary, i.e., the standard order in which the signs were learned, what we would call, using the parallel of the Roman alphabet as it is learned in English-speaking cultures, the Mycenaean ABC's.<sup>30</sup> Evans had made a list of

'reading' the signs. It is natural to wonder what Bennett and Kober meant by 'sound values'. How could they hope to 'read' the signs?

Both Kober and Bennett by 1947 knew the approximate number of unique signs, about ninety, that occurred in the sign groups that clearly functioned as words within the sentences and phrases in the Linear B texts. Study of the patterns of use of these signs showed, even without decipherment, that they functioned as phonograms and not, say, as what are called 'categorizing signs' or determinatives.

This number of phonograms (fewer than ninety) meant that Linear B was likely a syllabic script of an 'open-syllabic' kind, e.g., the Classical Cypriote Syllabary and the Japanese *kana* systems (*hiragana* and *katakana*). Consequently Bennett and Kober (and eventually Ventris) knew that most signs represented combinations of consonants (C) and vowels (V); some signs represented pure vowels (V); and some other signs might represent modifications of the basic C+V type of signs. In Linear B, we now know that signs of this third type include signs in which the consonants are palatalized (Cy+V) and labialized (Cw+V), signs in which the vowel *a* is aspirated or the first element in a diphthong, and a sign for *l/r+ai* (*ra<sub>3</sub>*).

In such a script, the pure vowel signs will show a high frequency of occurrence at the beginning of words. Likewise, if the language represented by the script is 'inflected', i.e., if the forms of words vary in regular ways in order to denote such things as gender, or noun cases, or tenses and moods and voices of verbs, there should be detectable instances of sign variation where signs with the same consonants, but different vowels can be identified in the abstract (see POPE 2008, 4). Thus, over time, with enough texts of the right kind, a grid, of the kind that Kober was first to construct, can be developed. Eventually test values based on assumptions about the 'meaning' of individual words can then be applied.

In the case of Linear B, Ventris 'guessed' in spring 1952 that the word-units at Knossos displaying such alternations in groups of three were place names that had fortunately survived into the historical period in their noun forms and in the masculine and feminine (or neuter plural) forms of their corresponding adjectives. For example: *ko-no-so* = Knos(s)os masculine nominative singular (other cases, singular and plural, are possible); *ko-no-si-jo* = *Knos(s)iyos* or *Knos(s)iyoi* masculine nominative singular or plural (other cases, singular and plural, are possible); *ko-no-si-ja* = *Knos(s)iyā* or *Knos(s)iyal* (other cases, singular and plural, and neuter nominative and accusative plural, are possible).

Already in the mid-1940's, Bennett (BENNETT 1947, 109-143) used the relative frequency of sign occurrence in different word positions and comparisons with consonantal frequencies in modern languages and with syllabic sign frequencies in the Cypriote Syllabic Script to hypothesize that the groups of signs that we now know as (1) *to* and *ti*, (2) *so* and *si*, (3) *yo* and *ya*, and (4) *wo*, *we*, *wi*, and *u* (vocalic *w*) shared within each group a common consonant, which, as we see now, they do. Likewise an undated notebook of Kober's shows that she had over twenty signs already located correctly in her 'grid' of consonantal and vocalic values sometime before her death in September 1950.

<sup>30</sup> On the bottom right of the *recto* or front surface of tablet Tn 316 (see Fig. 12.17) occurs a sequence of signs written large and clearly as a kind of graffiti. These read: *di-we si-po-ro ti-mi-to-qo*. On the *verso* or back surface of tablet Aq 218 occurs the sequence, written after the clay had dried: *di-we si-po-ro-ti-mi-to-qo-re*. On Xa 412 *verso* occurs *di-we si-po-ro ti-mi-to-qo*. On the versos of Aq 218 and Xa 412, these signs are all that is written.

The three tablets seem to have been written by different persons. It is thus possible that these sequences are rather rote phrases written rather automatically when testing clay surfaces. Perhaps

signs and given them a conventional numbering. But the work of Kober and Bennett was undertaken with the knowledge that even small mistakes could be serious impediments to decipherment.

Bennett and Kober proposed to provide a modern conventional equivalent for the ‘Minoan’ ABC’s. Evans’ system was arbitrary. Kober and Bennett debated whether the order of standard signs should be based on sign frequency within the corpus of inscriptions (Kober’s preference, because it would be helpful in the decipherment process), or on groupings of signs according to their shapes (Bennett’s preference because it is likely the way that at least some of the signs were generated in the first place). Eventually, the order based on shapes, simple and straight linear to more complex and curvilinear, was adopted (Fig. 12.11). This order is still used today.

**(2) Identifying the handwriting styles of individual tablet-writers as a preliminary (and necessary) step for the identification of the signs.**

As a means to this end, Bennett undertook a wholesale study of all available Pylos and Knossos material. All the Linear B tablets are anonymous,<sup>31</sup> thus this kind of work required exacting attention to the way in which the signs of the script were written, both the *ca* 90 signs for phonetic values (phonograms) and the greater number of signs for things or the words that identified things (ideograms or logograms).<sup>32</sup>

Kober and Bennett both understood that it was a *sine qua non* to get this correct. Otherwise ‘noise’ (i.e., false elements) would be introduced into the fundamental data. Scientific use of these data depended on the correct identification of different scribal versions of the standard signs of the syllabary. The identification of the basic signs of the syllabary was further complicated by the appearance, on transport pottery (called stirrup jars), of painted signs in

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(RUIPÉREZ – MELENA 1990, 110, who compare the *iroha* of Japanese *kana* writing) they are a mnemonic for the first signs of the syllabary, memorized by users of the Linear B script in learning how to write. See here DUHOUX 2008.

We may compare the modern acrophonic mnemonics used to represent the standard sequence of letters of the alphabet. For purposes of telephonic communication NATO, the International Civil Aviation Organization and the Federal Aviation Administration use the following: Alfa, Bravo, Charlie, Delta, Echo = a, b, c, d, e. Likewise, see the mnemonic sequence used for the early Cyrillic alphabet: Az, Buki, Vedi, Glagol, Dobro, Est = /a, b, v, g, d, e/.

<sup>31</sup> BENNETT 1960b.

<sup>32</sup> The bookkeeping structure of the Linear B records clearly separates the ideograms/logograms from the syntax of the phonetically represented words (see DUHOUX 1985, 16–17; PALAIMA 2004b). Thus it was not difficult for Evans, Kober and Bennett to identify the chief ideograms (cf. BENNETT 1947, 21).

## PHONETIC SIGNS

	KN	PY	MY		KN	PY	MY		KN	PY	MY
1	†	†	†	da	31	ττττττττ	sa	61	μμμμμμμμ	o	
2	†	†	†	ro	32	γγ γγ γγ	go	62	μμ μμ	pte	
3	‡	‡	‡	pa	33	ψψ	ra <sup>3</sup>	63	ρ		
4	‡	‡	‡	te	34	εε εε	ai <sup>2</sup>	64	η η		
5	†	†	†	to	35	δ δ δ δ	"	65	θθθθ		
6	ττττττττ			na	36	ττττττττ	jo	66	ττττττττ	ta <sup>2</sup>	
7	ππππππππ			di	37	α α α α	ti	67	ιιιιιιιι	ki	
8	αααααααα			a	38	α α α α α	e	68	φ φ φ φ φ φ	ro <sup>2</sup>	
9	μμμμμμμμ			se	39	σ σ σ σ σ σ	pi	69	σ σ σ σ σ σ	tu	
10	αααααααα			u	40	β β β β β β	wi	70	ωωωωωωωω	ko	
11	ηηηηηηηη			po	41	ηηηηηηηη	si	71	ηηηηηηηη		
12	σσσσσσσσ			so	42	ωωωωωωωω	wo	72	εεεεεεεε	pe	
13	μμμμμμμμ			me	43	αιαιαιαι	ai	73	υυυυυυυυ	mi	
14	δδδδδδδδ			do	44	κεκεκεκεκε	ke	74	εεεεεεεε	ze	
15	μμμμμμμμ			mo	45	εεεεεεεε	de	75	ε ε ε ε ε ε	we	
16	ττττττττ			pa <sup>2</sup>	46	ηηηηηηηη	je	76	ηηηηηηηη	ra <sup>2</sup>	
17	ηηηηηηηη			za	47	ηηηηηηηη		77	⊕⊕⊕⊕⊕⊕	ka	
18	ψψψψψψψψ				48	χ χ χ χ χ	nwa	78	⊖⊖⊖⊖⊖⊖	qe	
19	ιιιιιιιι				49	π π π π π π		79	σ σ σ σ σ σ		
20	↑↑↑↑↑↑			zo	50	λ λ λ λ λ λ	pu	80	μ μ μ μ μ μ	ma	
21	††††††			qi	51	λ λ λ λ λ λ	dd	81	ŋŋŋŋŋŋŋŋ	ku	
22	ττττττ				52	ν ν ν ν ν ν	no	82	ν ν ν ν ν ν		
23	γγγγγγ			mu	53	ρ ρ ρ ρ ρ ρ	ri	83	ρ ρ ρ ρ ρ ρ		
24	ψψψψψψ			ne	54	η η η η η η	wa	84	η η η η η η		
25	τ τ τ τ τ τ			d <sup>2</sup>	55	μ μ μ μ μ μ	nu	85	μ μ μ μ μ μ		
26	γγγγγγ			ru	56	η η η η η η		86	η η η η η η		
27	ψψψψψψ			re	57	ο ο ο ο ο ο	ja	87	ο ο ο ο ο ο		
28	ψψψψψψ			i	58	ε ε ε ε ε ε	su	88	ε ε ε ε ε ε		
29	ψψψψψψ			pu <sup>2</sup>	59	ε ε ε ε ε ε	ta	89	ε ε ε ε ε ε		
30	ψψψψψψ			ni	60	ε ε ε ε ε ε	ra				

Fig. 12.12. Bennett's comparisons of phonetic signs from Knossos, Pylos and Mycenae (after *PT II*, 201)

the Linear B script.<sup>33</sup> These signs looked in many cases very different from the forms incised into clay on the tablets.

One stage in attaining a decipherment required that signs be analyzed statistically according to their frequencies and positions within words (initial, final, medial, penultimate, doubled). These statistics would be thrown off if any of the signs within the texts were incorrectly identified.

Letters between Bennett and Kober contain many discussions of frustrating sign variants that are clear now only because of their painstaking work. Signs \*43, \*44 and \*45 and signs \*55, \*56 and \*57 (Fig. 12.12) were particularly hard to distinguish from one another, especially before the decipherment of the script.

**(3)** Comparisons of stylistic classes (see below) of hands and variant forms of individual characters.

These would provide possible clues to understanding the reasons for variations in word spelling.<sup>34</sup> They would also furnish explicit evidence that would enable other scholars to check that Bennett, and eventually Kober, too, had gotten the basic data correct. Following Evans' lead, these signs (both phonograms and ideograms or logograms) were eventually assigned numbers for ease in transcription (Fig. 12.12).

**(4)** Comparisons of fundamental sign forms (if securely determined) with signs in other related scripts (Linear A and Cypriote Syllabic).

This kind of comparison, if applied to writing systems that have a reasonable chance of being related, provides invaluable information on the sign values and the history and prehistory of the scripts, but it may also lead to important conclusions about the development of the individual scripts.

In looking at Cypriote Syllabic, which was used in Cyprus certainly from about 750 BC to 225 BC, Bennett made stunning observations about the unique manner in which the Cypriote syllabary was designed or evolved:<sup>35</sup> 'A careful consideration of the characters discloses that they are constructed, whether by an original design or by a thorough adaptation, on the principle of making various minor modifications of a few basic forms, somewhat in the manner of an artificial cipher, and quite unlike anything observable in the Minoan scripts.' Bennett continues (Fig. 12.13):

<sup>33</sup> KERAMOPOULOS 1922-23, 30-31; WACE 1921, 272-273.

<sup>34</sup> For example, we now see that the spelling of the word for 'seed grain' as *pe-ma, sperma* instead of normal Mycenaean *pe-mo, spermo* is limited at Pylos to a single scribal hand, Hand 24 (see PALAIMA 2002).

<sup>35</sup> BENNETT 1947, 98-99.

Thus the family based on X

includes X a, \*e, X i, X ku, X me, \*mu, that of )(  
 includes )( ma, )( yi, )( va, )( ru, )( za, )( ze?, )( xa?,  
 )( nu, and )( su, that of ^/^ includes T ka, ^ ko, ^ ti,  
 ^ lu, ^ re, ^ vo, ^ si, that of ʃ includes ʃ ke, ʃ ri,  
 ʃ ni, ʃ no, that of v includes v o, v te, v pi, v sa,  
 v so, v pu, while besides F to there is ʃ tu. Those which  
 cannot be analysed similarly are few.

**Fig. 12.13.** Bennett's discussion of the mechanical generation of Cypriote Syllabic signs according to shape (after BENNETT 1947, 99)

#### §12.1.1.5. Bennett's results

In his 1947 doctoral dissertation, Bennett was able to analyze the writing of the Pylos texts (the *ca* 636 tablets and fragments discovered in 1939) into three general stylistic classes<sup>36</sup> and fourteen 'hands', i.e., palaeographically distinctive individuals.<sup>37</sup> After more Pylos records were discovered in yearly excavations beginning in 1952, Bennett expanded his analysis in two stages.<sup>38</sup> He eventually identified twenty-six definite 'hands' (or 'scribes', or now 'tablet-writers'<sup>39</sup>).

<sup>36</sup> BENNETT 1947, 30-46. Scribes are grouped by the similarity of their handwriting styles into what we call 'classes'. The three main classes of writing are defined still at Pylos according to the clearly distinctive handwriting of three major scribes: Hand 1, Hand 21, and Hand 41. These are thought to represent three general stylistic traditions. Class i includes Hands 1-6 and 11-15. The styles of the writers of all the tablets ascribed to these Hands resemble the style of Hand 1. The closer the number of a scribe is to '1', the more the style of that particular hand resembles the style of Hand 1. Likewise hands in Class i will have more elements of resemblance with Hand 21 as their numbers approach 21. Likewise Class ii includes Hands 21-26 and Hands 31-34. These Hands resemble Hand 21 and the higher numbers have some elements resembling the style of Hand 41. Hands 41-45 resemble Hand 41. Finally there is a palaeographically and archaeologically special class, Class iv, and a chief hand, Hand 91, within it. See *Scribes Pylos*, 33, 35-134; and for Bennett's early discussion BENNETT 1947, 24-47.

<sup>37</sup> For more on identifying hands, see DRIESSEN 2000, 31-69.

<sup>38</sup> BENNETT 1958 and PTT II.

<sup>39</sup> PALAIMA 2003b. The neutral term tablet-writers, derived from Near Eastern scribal nomenclature (see below), helps us to avoid importing notions about the roles of 'scribes' and 'officials' from other cultures into our interpretation of Linear B record-keeping. But the word 'scribe' is so widely used that I continue to use it interchangeably with 'tablet-writer' for reasons of convenience.

Bennett also developed categories for distinguishing coherent ‘sets’ of tablets. These sets (he called them ‘stylus groups’) are generally tablets of the same shape and format and contain information on the same subject(s). They also often share the same fixed categories of formulaic information and have a coherent overall style of handwriting and textual presentation.<sup>40</sup> With his characteristically ‘Koberian’ rigor and his appreciation for differentiating degrees of probability, Bennett also set up principles for attaching these ‘stylus groups’ to individual hands with greater or lesser certainty.<sup>41</sup> Thus, if we assign a particular ‘stylus group’ of tablets to a particular hand, and it is later proved that it does *not* belong to that hand, we can reassign that particular stylus group without having to redo all the other assignments of tablets we have made to that particular hand.

Bennett also took the lead in demonstrating what could be gained by using the identifications of scribal hands to study further how and why the Linear B documents were written as they were and how tablets, or various groups of tablets, related to one another. The Pylos series Aa, Ab and Ad written by the Hands 1, 4, 21 and 23 were used by Bennett as his first major illustration of this point. After Bennett, the evidence derived from palaeographical analyses has been used widely within Mycenaean studies to help us understand the meaning of the texts that have survived.

### **§12.1.2. *Palaeographical studies after the decipherment: Emmett L. Bennett, Jr. and others***

#### **§12.1.2.1. *Emmett L. Bennett, Jr. and the scribes of Pylos and other sites***

Here are some examples of the results reached by the work of Emmett L. Bennett, Jr. on the tablets of Pylos and other Mycenaean sites.

<sup>40</sup> This definition of set differs from that of John Chadwick: ‘a group of several tablets intended to be read as a single document.’ It emphasizes that tablets belong together as the work of a single scribe and within a single record-keeping task. It is used as a safeguard and tool, enabling tablets that clearly belong together to be separated out from other tablets by a single scribe, if future palaeographical study so warrants. In many cases sets as defined by Bennett will satisfy the definition of Chadwick and *vice versa*. So the difference between the two definitions is mainly one of perspective. Bennett’s is palaeographical and epigraphical, focused on the physical records and their handwriting. Chadwick’s is focused on the messages of the texts and their purpose as documents, or, as he conceives of it, several texts taken together as a unified document.

<sup>41</sup> *PTT II*, 7-9; *Scribes Pylos*, 30-31 and n. 37; and most recently DRIESSEN 2000, 31-32.

### §12.1.2.1.1. *The problem of the series PY Aa, Ab and Ad*

Let us put ourselves back in the time when the Linear B tablets were first being read and interpreted. Imagine trying to make sense of texts like the following.

Aa 792 ki-ni-di-ja      MUL 21 ko-wa 12 ko-wo 10 DA 1 TA 1

‘Women of Knidos WOMEN 21 girls 12 boys 10 supervisor<sup>m</sup> 1 supervisor<sup>f</sup> 1’

GRA 6 T 7 TA DA

Ab 189 pu-ro , ki-ni-di-ja MUL 20 ko-wa 10 ko-wo 10  
NI 6 T 7

BARLEY 643.2 liters supervisor<sup>f</sup> supervisor<sup>m</sup>

‘At Pylos women of Knidos WOMEN 20 girls 10 boys 10

FIGS 643.2 liters’

Ad 683 pu-ro ki-ni-di-ja-o      ko-wo VIR 5      ko-wo 4  
‘At Pylos of the women of Knidos older boys 5      boys 4’

Wa 114 me-ni-jo MUL  
pe-ra<sub>3</sub>-ko-ra-i-ja , kɔ[

‘Monthly ration WOMEN  
Further Province, kɔ[’

Wa 1008 MUL [  
o-si-to-e[-ko-si

‘WOMEN [  
Thus (?) food th[ey have’

Although we can translate these texts, as shown, it is clear that their full meaning might well be inscrutable without an understanding of their separate archival and administrative purposes.

In his paper at the first Mycenological Colloquium, held at Gif-sur-Yvette near Paris in 1956,<sup>42</sup> Bennett was able to show that these tablets belong to sets written by four different scribes (now known as Pylos Hands 1, 4, 21 and 23) dealing with work groups of women and children.<sup>43</sup> These four sets are classified into three series (Aa, Ab and Ad) based on their contents.

Some tablets (series Aa) give first and foremost numbers of women and their ‘places of origin’, their particular work specialisation, and their assigned locations in the Mycenaean kingdom of Pylos. They also list any girls and boys that

<sup>42</sup> BENNETT 1956.

<sup>43</sup> Linguists at Gif-sur-Yvette were also amazed to learn from Bennett that the different ‘dialect’ treatments (spellings) of the word for ‘seed grain’ (*pe-ma*, *sperma* vs. *pe-mo*, *spermo*) were written by different scribes.

are associated with these women<sup>44</sup> and what look like phonetically abbreviated entries (*TA* and *DA*). Here Bennett had identified tablets like Aa 792 as the work of Hand 1.

Other tablets (series Ab) list the location of the women, their place of origin and/or work specialisation, numbers of boys and girls, and then quantities of grain and figs, and the abbreviations *TA* and *DA*. Ab 189 and all other Ab tablets are the work of Hand 21.

Still other tablets (series Ad) differentiate between older and younger pre-adult males among the children associated with the different women work groups. They specify that these pre-adult males are ‘of’ the women designated on the tablets. Ad 683 and all other Ad tablets are the work of Hand 23.

Finally two clay labels by Hand 1 (Wa 114 and Wa 1008) refer explicitly to one of the two major provinces of the territory of which the Palace of Nestor at Pylos is the principal palatial centre. The labels also specify that the food-stuffs allotted in the Ab texts are ‘monthly rations’ (*me-ni-jo, mēnion*) and that the women somehow here are receiving, or have received, *si-to, sitos*, i.e., ‘food’ or ‘grain’.

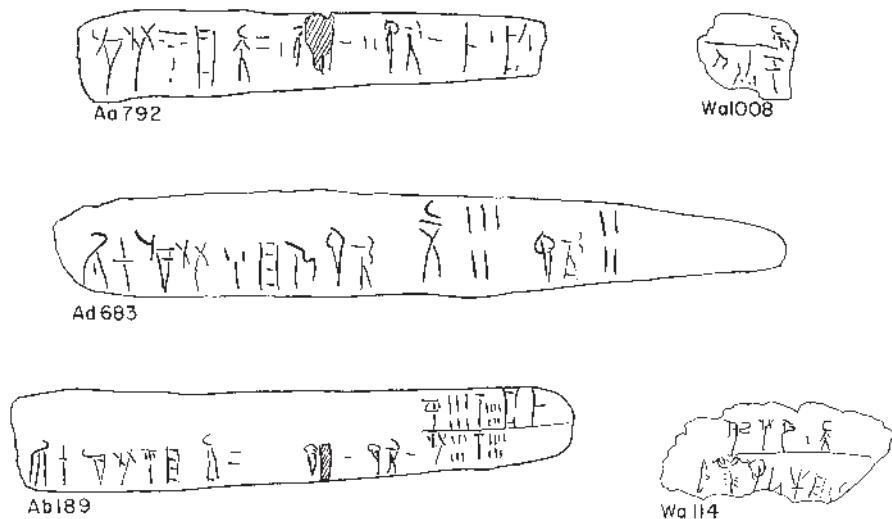
In Figure 12.14, we may observe drawings of these tablets<sup>45</sup> of series Aa (Aa 792 Hand 1), Ad (Ad 683 Hand 23), and Ab (Ab 189 Hand 21) and the two transport or filing labels associated with this series (Wa 1008 and Wa 114 Hand 1). Tablet Aa 792 serves as a kind of census. It does not designate the location of the women and children being counted and recorded. The scribe here (Hand 1) assumes and knows that these women are ‘at Pylos’ (as they are designated here on the texts of Hands 23 and 21).

On all three tablets the women are identified by what we might call ‘place-name adjectives’. These adjectives are tricky to work with because we do not know for this period whether in fact the women themselves would claim that they were *ki-ni-di-ja* ‘women of Knidos’ in ethnicity, or whether the word *ki-ni-di-ja* simply identifies for the palatial administrators at Pylos the area (in Anatolia) from which the women came to Pylos. This would not imply that they were residents or inhabitants of Knidos and the territory of Knidos. They could, for example, have been gathered, forcibly or willingly, from elsewhere in Anatolia, near to or far from Knidos.

Tablet Ad 683 differentiates between male children of two different age groups, one called *ko-wo, korwoi* ‘boys’ and the other, older group, called

<sup>44</sup> We do not know that all or any of these non-adult males and females are the biological *children* of these women.

<sup>45</sup> CHADWICK 1988, 50, Group 9.



**Fig. 12.14.** Pylos tablets Aa 792, Ad 683, Ab 189 and labels Wa 114, Wa 1008  
(after *PT II*, 15, 20, 76, 93, 109)

*ko-wo* VIR ‘boys MAN’. Tablet Ab 189 records the allotments of monthly rations of GRA<sup>46</sup> and NI (the phonetic ideogram for ‘figs’) given to this group.

The abbreviations TA and DA here have been shown to be references to a female supervisor (TA, perhaps *tamiā*, a woman who is already counted within the group) and a separate male supervisor (DA, perhaps \*da-ma, \*damar a variant spelling of *du-ma*).<sup>47</sup>

What is gained here by our understanding which scribes wrote which tablets? If we did not know this, we could classify the tablets according to contents, but the two ‘hands’ and ‘sets’ of the Aa series (by Hand 4 and Hand 1) would not be distinguished from each other and we would not see that Hand 1 is responsible for writing the label that identifies the tablets of Hand 4 (texts dealing with localities in the so-called Further Province, whereas Hand 1’s own texts of the Aa class deal with toponyms in the Hither Province, e.g., *ro-u-so* and *me-ta-pa*).

We might well have assigned a significance to the absence of the toponym *pu-ro* in Aa 792 (by Hand 1) that it really does not have, except as a scribal

<sup>46</sup> It is now debated whether this is ‘barley’ or ‘wheat’: KILLEN 2004; PALMER 1992 and 2008a.

<sup>47</sup> CHADWICK 1988, 71-73.

idiosyncrasy (namely that no designation of a location in a text by Hand 1 indicates that the women involved are ‘at Pylos’ by default). Also here we see just a few indications of the supervisory ‘status’ of Hand 1. We shall see below that Hand 1 elsewhere, too, interacts with tablets of Hand 21 (who here writes the Ab series), even directly modifying a tablet of this other scribe.

Scholars have continued studying the historical, social and economic implications of these ‘women worker’ tablets from Pylos.<sup>48</sup> All their interpretations of the texts begin with their classification according to scribal hands and sets.

### **§12.1.2.1.2. *The language situation in Mycenaean Pylos***

The identification of scribal hands, i.e., of the individual tablet-writers, is also crucial in understanding the language situation in the Mycenaean period. It is sometimes possible to link specific spellings to certain hands. This may point to tablet writers who spoke different language varieties and perhaps themselves had different origins or circulated in different environments. The matter is still controversial since the evidence is limited. Particularly surprising is how uniform the language in the texts is, relatively speaking, at all sites and time periods that have so far yielded Linear B evidence.

But on the basis of analyzing language differences according to scribal attributions, it was *suggested* by Ernst Risch (1966) that in the Pylos tablets we may identify two different dialects (the so called ‘normal’ and ‘special’ Mycenaean<sup>49</sup>). Because of the startling overall uniformity of language that we have just mentioned, Risch was able to isolate only three features where scribes seem to vary in their treatment of the sounds in words (although other scholars have tried to expand this list slightly). These differences have been pursued and debated at the level of individual scribes by several scholars.<sup>50</sup> If some form of agreement is reached, this can have consequences that are not purely linguistic, but would affect our understanding of the ethnic and social diversity of the Mycenaean scribes and of the population groups with whom they interact.

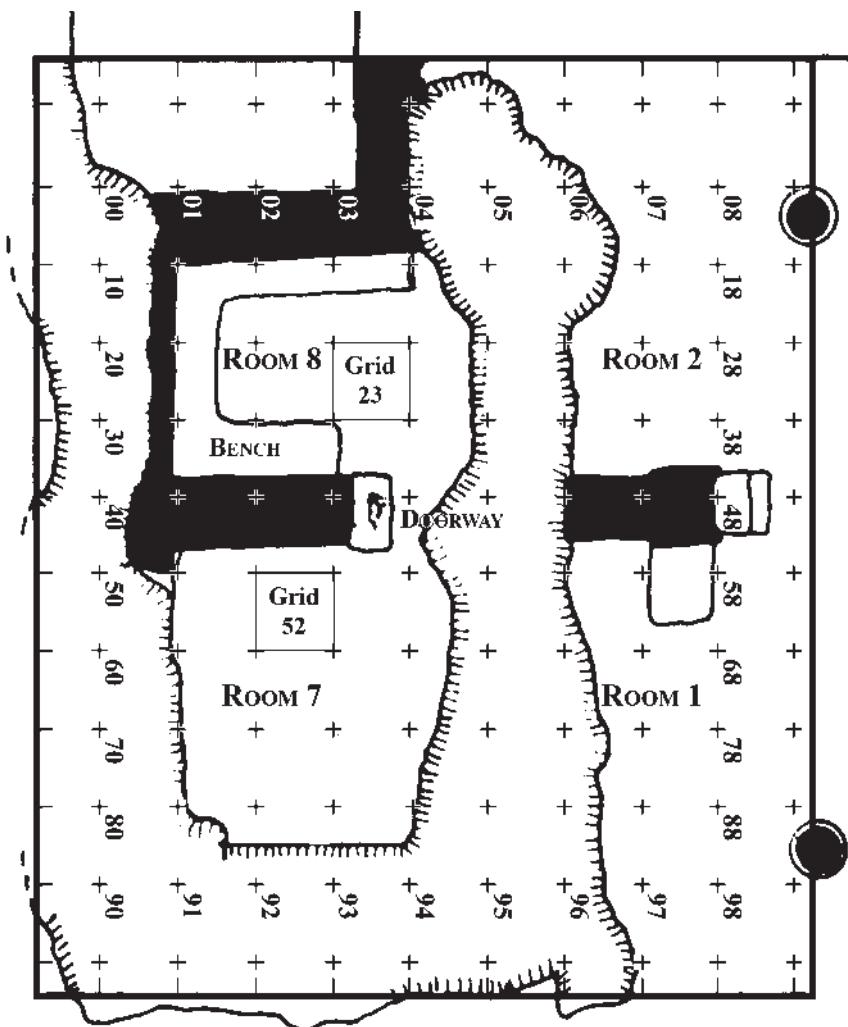
### **§12.1.2.1.3. *The link between hands and find-spots***

Another major principle was worked out by Bennett. In addition to studying the texts according to their classes, series, sets and hands, he pointed out that

<sup>48</sup> CHADWICK 1988; NOSCH 2001 and 2003; RUTTER 2003.

<sup>49</sup> RISCH 1966.

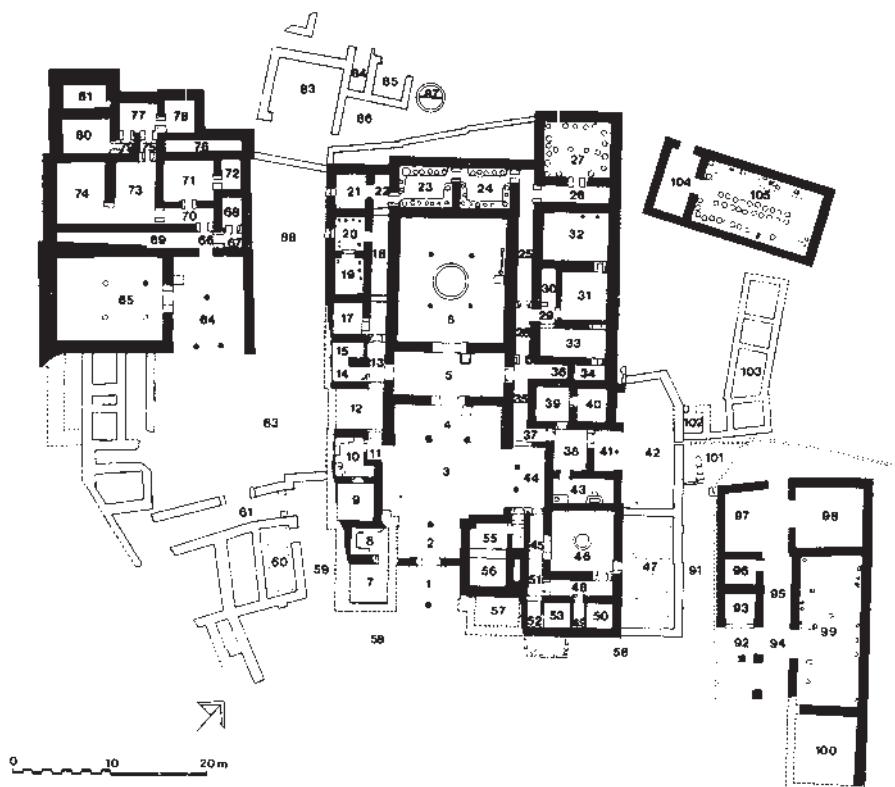
<sup>50</sup> DUHOUX 1986 and 1987, PALAIMA 2002, RISCH 1966 and 1979, THOMPSON 1997 and 2002-2003, and WOODARD 1986, among others.



**Fig. 12.15.** Grid of Pylos Archives Complex (after PLUTA 1997, 238, fig. 6)

it was also necessary to study them according to their original spatial groupings within workrooms, storerooms and archives. The ‘hands’ of the Linear B tablets, beginning with those from Pylos, were interpreted with serious attention paid to their ‘find-spots’.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>51</sup> BENNETT 1964.



**Fig. 12.16.** Unrestored master plan (by J.C. Wright) of the Palace of Nestor  
(after PALAIMA 1988, 136 fig. 12)

This principle of research has been key in figuring out how the texts are related to one another. By knowing find-spots, we can see whether tablets written by the same hand, or palaeographically related hands, were stored together. It also helps us to see how typologically different tablets (leaf-shaped, page-shaped, labels, inscribed sealings) by the same or related hands were processed and archived. It has helped us in some cases figure out the probable order in which texts were written.

Bennett's work with the two-room Archives Complex at Pylos was fundamental. He superimposed on the Archives Complex (Rooms 7 and 8 in Fig. 12.16) a grid system of 1-meter-by-1-meter squares within each of which a like grid system in centimetres can be imagined. The black areas in Fig. 12.15 are surviving walls. There is a horseshoe-shaped bench in grid squares 11, 12,

13, 21, 31, 32. Bennett's plan has now been improved and corrected by Kevin Pluta<sup>52</sup> (Figs. 12.15 and 16). Attention has been paid to find-spots, where possible, at every site.<sup>53</sup> We shall discuss below some examples of the importance of knowing the locations where tablets were found, but interested readers can still profit by reading Palaima and Wright (1985), *Scribes Pylos*, 171-189, and Pluta (1997).

#### **§12.1.2.1.4. *The way in which the scribes monitored the Pylian economy***

In conjunction with the study of 'hands', the find-spots of the Pylos tablets have enabled us to see how the tablet records were used within the operation of the palatial centre at Pylos.<sup>54</sup> We have developed a sense of how the tablet-writers used written records in monitoring what were fundamentally economic activities. The tablets track the who, what, when, where and how of many different items: raw materials, manufactured products, and objects — animate (including livestock and human beings) and inanimate — of many kinds that were of concern to the palatial centres and the regions over which they exerted different levels of administrative, political, social, religious and even military control.

We now find it possible to theorize with some fair degree of probability that particular sets of tablets were written elsewhere and then delivered to the central archives (Rooms 7 and 8).<sup>55</sup> In some instances we know where the delivery baskets in which tablets were transported were placed when they arrived in the central archives. This was grid 52 (Fig. 12.15), where were found a surprising number of clay transport-basket labels. One of these, Wa 1271, was directly related to tablets of the Sh series that were the one set of tablets also found in this location. It seems that, when the Palace of Nestor and the archives complex was destroyed by fire, the Sh tablets were still in their basket to which Wa 1271 had been affixed. The appearance of the Sh tablets indicates that they were very moist, to the point of drooping from the force of gravity when handled during writing and placement in their basket. Like other arriving sets of tablets, they had been temporarily set in grid 52, an ideal location to allow the scribes who worked in grids 51, 61 and 62 to access them conveniently.<sup>56</sup> Other tablet sets

<sup>52</sup> PLUTA 1997.

<sup>53</sup> The Knossos tablets present many challenges precisely because clear and accurate records of find spots and strata for our different groups of tablets are not available to us (DRIESSEN 2000; FIRTH 1997 and 2000-2001; LANDENIUS-ENEGRÉN 2008; *Scribes Chnosos*; SKELTON 2008).

<sup>54</sup> *Scribes Pylos*, 171-189.

<sup>55</sup> Rooms 7 and 8 in Fig. 12.16. See PALAIMA – WRIGHT 1985; *Scribes Pylos*, 182-187.

<sup>56</sup> PALAIMA 1996a.

had already been dealt with by the scribal workers in Room 7 and had either been taken and filed in Room 8 or had been discarded.

It seems likely that the Pylos Sh tablets were written in the Northeast Workshop (Rooms 92-100). The Northeast Workshop and Wine Magazine both contain records and physical remains that have helped us to identify what kinds of work and storage facilities these architectural units were.<sup>57</sup>

We are also able to link texts which would otherwise be viewed as entirely unrelated in subject matter. A good case in point is tablet PY Un 718. It records foodstuffs for a feasting ceremony in honor of Poseidon. It seems to be related to an inventory of banqueting equipment, including tables, thrones, stools, ceremonial vessels (including heirloom bronze tripods), cooking equipment and sacrificial implements (a special ‘stunning axe’ and a cultic knife for slitting the throats of animals being sacrificed) (Ta series).<sup>58</sup> All this would have been impossible to deduce without our knowledge of Mycenaean palaeography and find-spots.

#### **§12.1.2.1.5. *The internal chronology of the tablets: the example of the tablet PY Tn 316 and the PY Ta tablets***

We can establish, again with a fair degree of certainty, the internal chronology of some tablets and groups of tablets, i.e. the order in which they were written and filed,<sup>59</sup> based on our knowledge of ‘hands’, ‘sets’, ‘stylus groups’ and find-spots. This gives us important information about the circumstances in which the texts were composed. In some instances, with this palaeographical knowledge, we may be able to weigh the probability as to whether a tablet or set of tablets recorded normal activities or responded to exceptional events.

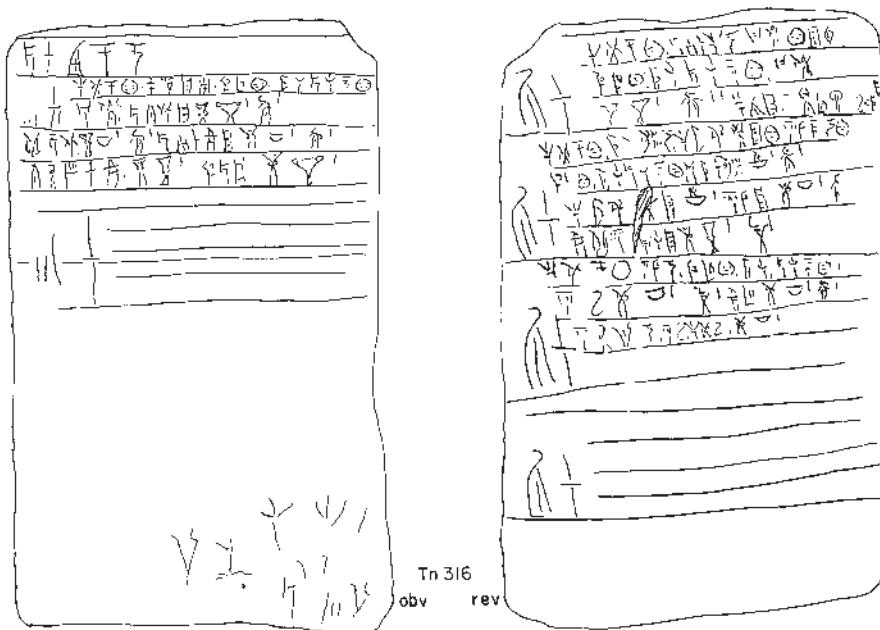
A good example is Pylos tablet Tn 316 which has been frequently interpreted as the record of special and desperate measures, including human sacrifices, taken in the very last moments preceding the destruction of the palace at Pylos.<sup>60</sup> This interpretation was based partly on the nature of the offerings (far more valuable or important than in the texts on other tablets), partly on modern presuppositions about the appearance of ‘important’ texts (i.e., that they should look like modern ‘fair copy’ texts), and partly on deductions derived from what

<sup>57</sup> For an understanding of the archaeological remains and the Linear B inscriptions from the Northeast Workshop and Wine Magazine, see BENDALL 2003 and PALMER 1994; and generally SHELTERDINE 1984 and 1987.

<sup>58</sup> PALAIMA 2000c, 2002 and 2004a.

<sup>59</sup> PALAIMA 1995a.

<sup>60</sup> See a full discussion of the history of interpretation of this tablet, beginning with Michael Ventris before the decipherment of Linear B, in PALAIMA 1999. Text and comments of PY Tn 316 in *Companion 1*, 321-335.



**Fig. 12.17.** PY tablet Tn 316 drawing of recto and verso (after *PT II*, 36)

was thought to be a correct interpretation of the internal textual history of the tablet (Fig. 12.17).<sup>61</sup>

It is clear why scholars were led to think this way. The tablet on its front side (the tablet face on the left, marked obv, in Fig. 12.17) breaks off and leaves a large section of ruled lines un-inscribed, *after* the scribe wrote the name of the site where the Palace of Nestor is located, Pylos = *PU-RO*, in very large signs at the left side of the section as a header or rubric. On the back side of the tablet, too, a last section is left without any further text entered after the *PU-RO* rubric was written. Moreover, the front side of the tablet at the lower right has abrasions. These abrasions were caused by the blunt end of a stylus being drawn slantwise across the tablet's surface, as we nowadays use the eraser end of our simple wooden pencils on sheets of paper. And in the very lower right corner there is clear graffiti, written after the text had dried. All in all then, this kind of text, viewed with modern sensibilities, looks like a preliminary rough draft.

<sup>61</sup> CHADWICK 1976, 89-92.

Besides listing three different shape of golden vessels (a bowl, a Mycenaean-style stemmed cup or ‘kylix’, and a Minoan-formed stemmed cup or ‘chalice’) the tablet also clearly records human beings. The phonetic texts make clear that the vases are conceived of as *do-ra*, unambiguously interpreted as *dōra*, ‘gifts’. These vases are being ‘brought’ (*pe-re = pherei*) to various sanctuaries in which specific deities, major and minor, are targeted as recipients. The human beings are listed in each case after the entries for the golden vases. They are listed by the ideograms for ‘man’ and ‘woman’ and also by the lexeme *po-re-na*. Some scholars<sup>62</sup> have interpreted these men and women as human sacrificial victims. This was further thought to be the kind of extreme ritual measure that only a state of emergency within early Greek culture could have produced. Likewise, then, the state of writing itself on Tn 316 was viewed as caused by the haste and panic with which this tablet was written in a time of crisis.

It has, however, now been shown that tablet Tn 316 could not have been written as the palatial centre at Pylos was about to be destroyed. It was filed in quadrant 23 of the tablet-filing room in the archives complex, Room 8 (Fig. 12.15), well before other tablets were brought to the central archives.<sup>63</sup> Strangest of all, no one proposing this type of hasty state-of-emergency hypothesis asked a key follow-up question. If tablet Tn 316 was written in extreme haste as the Palace of Nestor was burning down, how could it, under such dire circumstances, be left to dry to a degree where the tablet-writer would come back later and test its surface by making abrasions and writing graffiti to see whether it could still be written on?!!!

Furthermore we know that after Tn 316 was filed away in Room 8, tablets of the Ta series, dealing with ritual vessels, furniture and sacrificial implements, and tablet Un 718, dealing with food provisions for a feast in honor of Poseidon, were among the last tablets brought to the archives. They were found in a unique location, to the left of the entrance door in Archives Room 7.

The fact that tablet Tn 316 was placed in systematic storage by whatever tablet-writer took care of filing completed records also implies that the scribal administrators who were responsible for ‘data and record storage’ in the central archives accepted the document as suitable and usable, i.e., as containing information in a legible and accurately retrievable form. This fact *de ipso* calls into question opinions that the text of Tn 316 was written hastily and carelessly and that, in its current state, the information it contained would have been problematical for a Mycenaean scribal administrator to use.

<sup>62</sup> BAUMBACH 1983, 33-34 *et passim*, for Pylos Tn 316, human sacrifice and the ‘state of emergency’ hypothesis. SACCONI 1987 is one of the few relatively early scholars to argue against this view.

<sup>63</sup> PALAIMA 1995a, 628-632.

Why would Linear B scribes, especially their ‘archivists’ and chief record-keeping administrators, tolerate the state of writing on Tn 316 when it appears bad or ‘sloppy’ according to modern tastes and standards? There are two reasons.

Reason number one is that the Mycenaeans who wrote records within the orbit of the palaces had the freedom to improvise in search of a suitable format that they could use efficiently to register the often nearly intractable information contained in their texts. In longer series, and sometimes, as here, within individual texts, they used a process of trial and error until they got things right. This aspect of the Linear B documents is known among Mycenologists as ‘tentativeness of formulae or formatting’.<sup>64</sup> Tn 316 deals with very complicated information. In some ways it is, syntactically and as a complete record, among the most complicated writing assignments to come down to us from the Mycenaean palatial period, or, for that matter, in all surviving forms of Aegean writing. The scribe was hunting for the best way to put information down on this tablet clearly and precisely and using as little tablet space as possible. Also, once he had started, he understandably did not want to waste the work he had already done, if he did not have to.

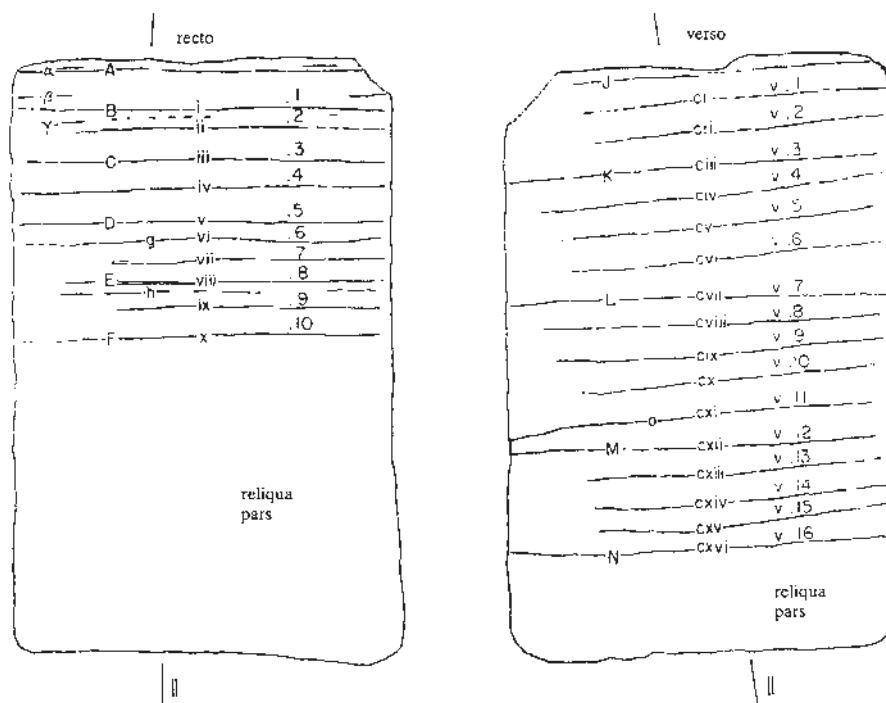
We see in Fig. 12.18 his experimentation with ruling and layout, as analyzed by Bennett. In administrative record-keeping from clay tokens of the 4th millennium BC<sup>65</sup> to modern computers, economical and efficient storage of data is one high priority. The other is not to waste time spent working.

To some scholars, this tablet may appear ‘rougher’ and ‘less finished’ than other documents. Here we have a case where ‘beauty is in the eye of the beholder’. Others, attuned to scribal practices, see it as a fine example of an ingenious and effective solution to a difficult record-keeping challenge. Our interpretation should be guided by palaeographical studies and those who have studied the work of the tablet-writers and know their working conditions.

Palaeographers are thoroughly familiar with the tablets of the Mycenaean scribes. They understand that even very accomplished scribes are uncertain at times about how to enter information, and that they make corrections or *ad hoc* responses to the challenge of recording information. Simply put, the Linear B clay tablet records, no matter how important or how elegantly written, are not fair copies for public viewing nor do they seem to have been permanent archival

<sup>64</sup> For example (HILLER – PANAGL 2001-2002), in the heading on Pylos tablet Jn 829, the scribe erases his first attempt at listing the officials involved in the future recycling of bronze. He does this so that he can pair them up on the tablet at their appropriate levels of power and responsibility: the *ko-re-te-re* with the *du-ma-te*, and the *po-ro-ko-re-te-re* with the *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* and the *o-pi-su-ko* and *o-pi-ka-pe-e-we*. He also later adds, as an emendation, the fact that the recycled ‘temple bronze’ will be used ‘for spear points’.

<sup>65</sup> SCHMANDT-BESSERAT 1992.



**Fig. 12.18.** Pylos Tn 316 analysis drawing of sectioning and ruling by Emmett L. Bennett, Jr. (after PALAIMA 1999, 459)

records that had to meet certain standards that we associate nowadays with official records.

Even so, the interpretation of PY Tn 316 advanced here may seem like ‘special pleading’, a case of a palaeographical specialist saying, ‘Just trust the palaeographers.’

Examples that support what we have just said about the process of writing Tn 316 are found in the work of Hand 2 at Pylos.<sup>66</sup> This scribe wrote, among other important records, the tablets of the Ta series. These tablets record information from an eyewitness inventory.<sup>67</sup> They have many erasures, corrections, textual changes, changes of formatting, and even ‘mistakes’, because the scribe had to figure out, just as on Tn 316, how best to lay out in written form the

<sup>66</sup> The same scribe who wrote Jn 829 — see note 64 — and many other important tablets and series: *Scribes Pylos*, 59–68.

<sup>67</sup> PALAIMA 2000c.

information required of this particular assignment. In the Ta tablets, the administrators involved had to identify and describe unequivocally individual items among the precious and exquisite implements, furniture and vessels that were to be used in a ceremonial and ritually important banqueting ceremony.

Quite literally throughout these tablets, words and ideograms are omitted, or erased and replaced or otherwise modified. In some cases, information is squeezed in on the upper part of a line or on the upper edge of a tablet. On tablet Ta 707.1a, (Fig. 12.19) the word *ku-te-ta-jo* is written above the rest of the first entry in line .1 and even continues onto the *latus superius*. The first two lines of Ta 707 contain five instances of erasure and rewriting. Tablet Ta 708 (Fig. 12.20) was originally intended as a two-line tablet for two entries. But Hand 2 irregularly divided line .2 after entering two words of the second entry. Likewise he erased a five-word entry in line .1; and in line .2B, he erased the word *a-di-ri-ja-pi* (*andriamphi*, ‘with male figures’) and rewrote it after writing the word he had forgotten (*e-re-pa-te-jo* *elephanteiois*, ‘of ivory’) over the erasure. There are two erasures on the three lines of Ta 709, an erasure on each of the three lines of Ta 711, two probable erasures on Ta 713, three probable erasures (one sizable, of three words) on the three lines of Ta 714, and the ideogram for *qe-ra-na* may well be omitted from line Ta 711.3. There are three significant erasures in the first two lines of Ta 641. And Ta 642 line .3 contains three erasures in a single line.

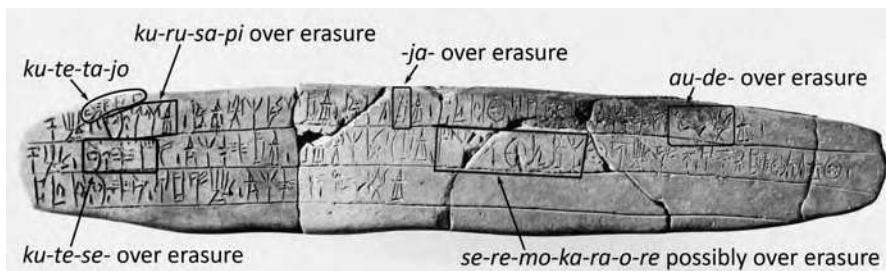


Fig. 12.19. Pylos tablet Ta 707 (photo from PASP archives, annotation by K. Pluta)

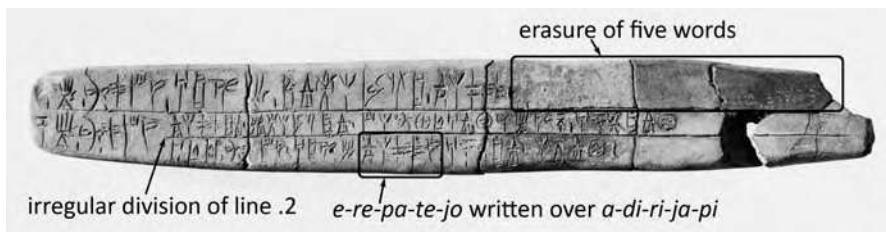


Fig. 12.20. Pylos tablet Ta 708 (photo from PASP archives, annotation by K. Pluta)

These hesitations, corrections and *ad hoc* ways of presenting information (amply paralleled at Knossos<sup>68</sup>) are not as ‘famous’ as those on Tn 316. They are spread out over a set of thirteen different tablets, and the items being recorded are varying. The Ta set constitutes a full record of an inventory of sacrificial and ceremonial paraphernalia, including ritual knives, stunning axes and exquisitely inlaid furniture, taken at the time of an important public occasion involving the *wa-na-ka*, *wanaks* or king of Pylos. But the contents of the records are not sensational.

Consequently the changes and mistakes on the Ta tablets have almost never been noted (except by the editors of the texts); and, of course, their implications have never been magnified, as on Tn 316, by dramatic scenarios about crisis situations, ‘human sacrifice’ and the like. But these features on the Ta tablets by an important tablet-writer (Hand 2, who is arguably the close associate of the ‘master scribe’ at the site, Hand 1) certainly are more extreme in their cumulative total than the reformatting and the few omissions of signs in Tn 316. Hand 2 writes some of the most important texts from Pylos.<sup>69</sup> His work in the Ta series thus demonstrates that even skilled scribes hesitate, experiment and make mistakes, but that it did not matter, so long as the end result was useful to the scribes and administrators of the Mycenaean centres.

The most important lesson is this. Mycenaean scribes not only make mistakes, but they also often leave them. Why? Because they can. What they are concerned with is getting the information clear, accurate and retrievable. No mistakes of consequence would be let stand, except by oversight.

The tablet-writer of Tn 316,<sup>70</sup> Hand 44, writes his signs (phonograms and ideograms) very carefully and elegantly. At the beginning, he does experiment with how to format the complicated information he has to record. Eventually he devises a way to write down the information about offerings of golden vessels to deities at different sanctuaries in the district near Pylos known as *Sphagiānes*.

<sup>68</sup> DRIESSEN 2000, 59, provides statistics for Knossos. In the Room of the Chariot Tablets, out of 608 tablets, 30 are palimpsests (4.93%), i.e., their original texts were completely erased and written over, and 95 show traces of erasure (15.6%). These statistics for scribal hesitation and confusion may seem even more remarkable when we consider that 417 of these tablets (64%) contain fewer than 3.67 signs (DRIESSEN 2000, 26). I.e., these corrections are being made on tablets with very simple entries. Elsewhere at Knossos, there are 508 tablets with erasures and 47 palimpsests. When we analyze the percentages, we see that 15.3% of the total number of non-RCT tablets have erasures — a percentage almost exactly identical to the RCT percentage. But only 1.42% of non-RCT tablets are palimpsests (vs. 4.93% for the RCT tablets).

<sup>69</sup> *Scribes Pylos*, 59–68. Hand 2 clearly was trained under or alongside Hand 1, whose hand-writing style his (Hand 2’s) closely resembles.

<sup>70</sup> PALAIMA 1999.

He then enters this information in three of the four main individual sections on the *verso* or reverse surface of the tablet.<sup>71</sup> Once he had hit upon this format, the scribe chose not to transfer the information from the very beginning of the tablet on the front side to the last, now forever vacant, section on the reverse side.

In writing out seventeen lines of complex texts and in experimenting with how best to lay out its information, Hand 44 only made four small erasures (contrast the numbers of erasures on the comparatively short texts of the Ta series, as analyzed just above). He clearly omits the sign for the second syllable of the verb *a-ke* in the repeated formula on line .5 of the *verso*. On line .3 of the *verso* he also, in my opinion, omits the final syllable of the sanctuary of the deity *Iphemederia*: the sign sequence *i-pe-me-de-ja-qe* should be read as *i-pe-me-de-ja<-jo>-qe*.<sup>72</sup> These are really trivial and predictable mistakes, easily paralleled in the work of other major tablet-writers at the site of Pylos. More significantly, they are easily corrected mentally in reading the text, even by modern scholars who are not privy to all the information that the scribes who wrote and read these texts knew. In all other respects, the writing of the signs and the laying out of information on Tn 316 are clear and precise.

There was another reason Hand 44 was able to make his decision to let tablet Tn 316 be in the state in which we found it. Mycenaean scribes seem to have been writing for themselves or their close associates within the administrative system at Pylos and at other sites. The contents of tablets served as mnemonic records, i.e., they would literally ‘call back to heart’ (re-cord, from Latin *cor, cordis* for ‘heart’) information that the scribes who wrote the texts needed to check on later. Mycenaean culture remained primarily oral.<sup>73</sup> A limited number of tablet-writers at each site knew how to use writing to assist in monitoring economic information.<sup>74</sup>

Recall that on the tablets dealing with working women discussed in §12.1.2.1.1, Hand 1 saw no reason to specify that the women he was documenting

<sup>71</sup> BENNETT 1979; PALAIMA 1999.

<sup>72</sup> He is writing a sequence of three sanctuaries of minor female deities, whose names he repeats as recipients of offering just below in this section of the text: *pe-re-\*82-jo, i-pe-me-de-ja<-jo>-qe di-u-ja-jo-qe* in *verso* line .4 vs. *pe-re-\*82, i-pe-me-de-ja* and *di-u-ja* written separately before the ideographic entries on *verso* lines .5 and .6. It is an easy and predictable mistake to leave off the last syllable, especially if the scribe was anticipating writing the name of the deity.

<sup>73</sup> DRIESSEN 2000, 230-232; PALAIMA 1987b and 2003b, 153-154, 156-157, 176-177, 185, 187-188.

<sup>74</sup> There are between 25 and 33 hands at Pylos; possibly as many as 22 hands at Thebes (10 on the inscribed sealings and 12 on the tablets); 14 hands at Mycenae (VARIAS GARCÍA 1993); and ca 50 certain hands and 27 secondary hands from Knossos (PALAIMA 2003b, 174-176; *Scribes Cnossos*, 101 and 39-96).

were ‘at Pylos’. He knew that information and would have had no need to be reminded of it later, tablet by tablet (in the set of tablets beginning with tablet Aa 240). On the other hand, he wrote the number ‘1’ after each of the phonetic ideograms for male and female supervisors, because he is very careful with numbers. Hand 21 on the other hand, in his barley and fig distribution records (set Ab), sees no need to write ‘1’ after the phonetic abbreviations *TA* and *DA* respectively for the female and male supervisors within these work groups. Writing the phonetic logograms *TA* and *DA* with no number ‘1’ following them is his way of designating ‘one’ supervisor of each type. He, and his contemporaries at work at the Palace of Nestor, would not mistake this usage for an entry where the slots for numbers were left blank for later.

This compressed or tachygraphic manner of writing down data only creates problems for us as scholars three thousand two hundred years later because we are not familiar with the natural assumptions that the individual scribes would make and we do not know all the information about the topics of their texts that they knew. This process of reconstructing what the contexts are for individual texts and how the messages of the tablets are to be interpreted is another valuable offshoot of the palaeographical study of hands. It falls under the general heading of ‘text pragmatics’, a tool used by Mycenologists now with very good results.<sup>75</sup>

#### **§12.1.2.1.6. Emmett L. Bennett, Jr. and the palaeography of Knossos, Pylos and Mycenae**

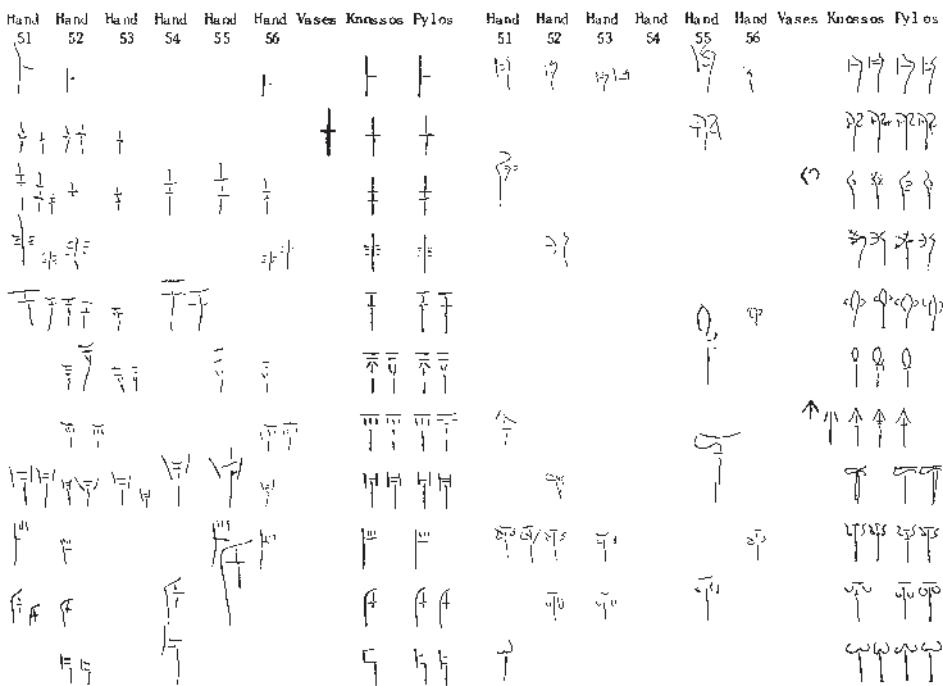
Bennett not only studied the palaeography of the Pylos tablets. In the 1950’s and into the 1960’s, he identified the different scribes who wrote the inscribed tablets discovered in ‘houses’ at the site of Mycenae.<sup>76</sup> In producing charts of characteristic sign shapes for the first group of tablets discovered at Mycenae, he took care to compare those shapes with the styles of signs inscribed on tablets at Knossos and Pylos and painted on stirrup jars (Fig. 12.21). His astute observations about palaeographical traditions that could be discerned among the texts from Knossos, Pylos and Mycenae led to his attempt to relate these data to chronological developments within the script.<sup>77</sup>

In Fig. 12.22, we see how Bennett tried to trace the evolution of the ideogram for man over time as part of a general concern for the historical

<sup>75</sup> HILLER – PANAGL 2001-2002; PALAIMA 2004b; PANAGL 1979.

<sup>76</sup> *MT I*, 440-445; *MT II*, 89-95; *MT III*, 68-70.

<sup>77</sup> BENNETT 1960a, 80 and 1966a.



**Fig. 12.21.** Bennett's comparison of signs from Mycenae with those from Knossos, Pylos and the painted-inscribed stirrup jars (after *MT I*, 443)

evolution of the styles of writing Linear B.<sup>78</sup> Fig. 12.23 shows how later on Driessen traced the evolution of the man ideogram following Bennett and Palaima,<sup>79</sup> while Fig. 12.24 reflects Driessen's account of the evolution over time of the phonetic sign \*80 *ma* from Linear A into Linear B, also considering the forms painted on stirrup jars (Class Z).<sup>80</sup> This kind of global diachronic palaeographical study of sign forms is very difficult, but can yield notable results. Thus the detailed work by Bennett made it possible for Palaima to identify at Pylos an early Knossian form of the man ideogram. This variant was eventually linked to tablets from an earlier context than most of the tablets at Pylos.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>78</sup> BENNETT 1966b *passim*.

<sup>79</sup> PALAIMA 1983.

<sup>80</sup> DRIESSEN 2000, 126-129, 383.

<sup>81</sup> *Scribes Pylos*, 113; SKELTON 2008, 163, 166, 171-172.

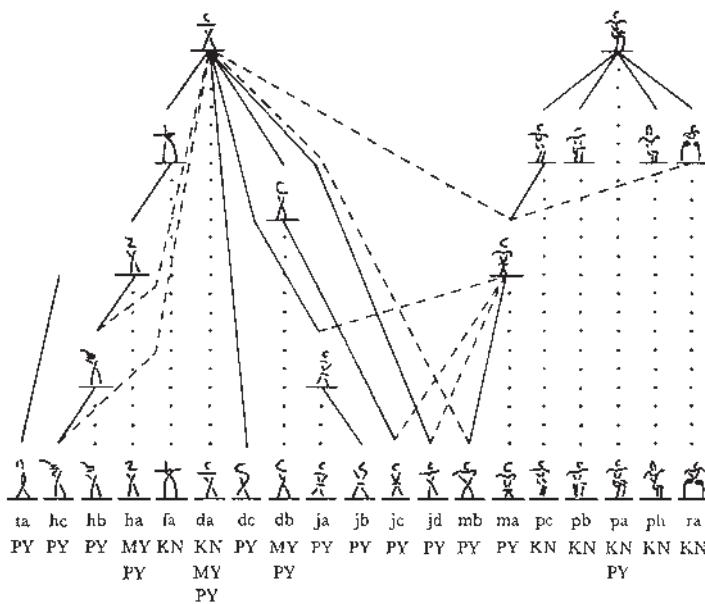


Fig. 12.22. Bennett's chart of development of shape of ideogram VIR  
(after BENNETT 1966b, 22)

RCT	KN CRET-HIER.	LIN. A A 352 Wc 2100
S995	PY	
819 821	KH	S1272 PY
988 779 755	KN	Tl
	609 102 657 660 MY	

Fig. 12.23. Driessens's chart of development of shape of ideogram VIR  
(after DRIESSEN 2000, 127, fig. 3.7)

RCT(1)	RCT(2)	RCT(3)	RCT(4)	KN 101	KN 102	KN 103	KN 106	KN 115
KN 116	KN 117	KN 118	KN 120	KN 134	KN 141	KN 104+	KN 128+	KN 201+
KN n.i.	KN n.i.	PY 1	PY 14	PY 15	PY 21	PY 23	PY 26	PY 41
PY 43	PY 2-22	PY 24/5	PY other	MT 51	MT 57	MT 62	MT 52-64	MT n.i.
TH (a)	TH (b)	TH (c)	TH (d)	TH (e)	TH (a)	TH (b)	Z-MY	Z-TH
Z-TH	Z-KH	Z-other	Z-other	HT	HT	HT	HT	HT
CR	ZA	ZA	ARKH	MA	IO	PK	KN	KN
KH	KH	KO	MI	KE	PH	PN	AP	GO
PS	PL	TY	LA	PYR	AR	SY	other	other

Fig. 12.24. Palaeographic chart of sign *ma* in Linear A and Linear B (on tablets and stirrup jars) (after DRIESSEN 2000, 383, plate 94)

### §12.1.2.2. Jean-Pierre Olivier

The next major step forward in the use of palaeography for understanding the Linear B tablets was made by the scholar who has been the supreme editor of Aegean inscriptions for the last forty years, Jean-Pierre Olivier. In the mid-1960's Olivier went to Cambridge to study with John Chadwick. He then undertook to study all the tablets from the site of Knossos according to their hands. The title of his completed work clearly emphasizes his ultimate aim of beginning to reveal how the main Cretan palatial site functioned administratively and bureaucratically during the period of Mycenaean occupation and control: *Les scribes de Cnossos. Essai de classement des archives d'un palais mycénien (Scribes Cnossos)*. Thus, it is fair to say that Olivier laid down the model for the study of what we conventionally call scribal administration at major palatial centres.

Olivier's task was complicated by several factors. During the early days of excavation, even Evans' 'scientific' (for the period) kind of excavation left many important facts unrecorded. Consequently the specific find-spots of texts were most often unknown, and it was difficult to reconstruct the stratigraphy and archaeological contexts of the tablets. In fact, Olivier's work was undertaken in the atmosphere of a heated controversy about the dates of destruction of the Palace of Minos at Knossos and the levels to which to assign the Linear B tablets.<sup>82</sup>

Secondly, some tablets were lost and were available only in Evans' drawings. This was not so great a loss given, we may recall (§12.1.1.2), Alice Kober's fortunately positive appraisal of the accuracy of Evans' readings and drawings. But it meant that other features of those particular records as three-dimensional archaeological artefacts, e.g., shape, texture and color of the tablet itself, *ductus* of the stylus incisions into the clay surface, peculiarities regarding the edges and back sides of the tablets, were lost to Olivier and to us. Finally, the Knossos material was much more fragmentary than the Pylos material. Olivier calculated that the number of tablets then known added up to *ca* 6169 fragments, among which about 3433 different tablets could be distinguished.<sup>83</sup>

*Scribes Cnossos* was a pioneering work, the first complete analysis of scribal activity at a major Mycenaean palatial centre. It might be asked why Bennett had not undertaken such a complete study of the Pylos tablets. The answer is that the Pylos excavations were continuing into the mid-1960's<sup>84</sup> and

<sup>82</sup> DRIESSEN 1990, 5-6; McDONALD – THOMAS 1990, 320-322, 438-442; PALMER – BOARDMAN 1963.

<sup>83</sup> *Scribes Cnossos*, 19.

<sup>84</sup> McDONALD – THOMAS 1990, 328-337.

the full publication of the buildings at the site appeared only in 1966 (*PoN I*). After that, Bennett and Olivier collaborated on a complete transcription of the Linear B tablets from Pylos (*PTT I* and *II*), the second thin volume of which (*PTT II*) gave the basic information for all the tablets and/or their component fragments: series, scribal hands, classes, stylus groups and find spots.<sup>85</sup> It did not give lists of sign forms or discussions of the work of individual scribes, administrative procedures or record-keeping systems.

### §12.1.2.3. Thomas G. Palaima

The Pylos material, therefore, needed a complete palaeographical study in the manner of *Scribes Cnossos*. This was done, *tabula rasa*, by Palaima.<sup>86</sup> As hard as it is to imagine in this age of readily available online information, electronic image files, and conveniently accessible museum materials, Palaima did his work *de novo* without ever looking at Bennett's dissertation or any of its hand charts. This was done so that his look at the material could be as uncontaminated as possible by other scholarly opinions, a truly independent check.

*Scribes Pylos* was able to go further than *Scribes Cnossos* because of the fuller accurate information that was available in almost every necessary category. Among the new concepts Palaima developed were a clear definition of the distinction between a '*central archives*' and tablets that come from work *deposits*.<sup>87</sup> A '*central archives* unit' within a Mycenaean palatial site is the main location where written records are collected, processed, and stored (via some kind of systematic filing) with an eye toward future retrieval and use of their information. A Mycenaean '*central archives* unit' is therefore characterized by many of the following features: work by many different hands; work upon different subjects or different administrative aspects (or levels) of the same subject; evidence for systematic processing and storage of tablets; evidence for scribal interaction; coherent sets of records; longer records, such as summaries, compilations and final recensions. Also the variety of document formats is greater, since archives will have everything from single entries of inventory items, payouts, or receipts to thorough compilations and summaries of such records. *Deposits*, by contrast, are generally composed of a much more restricted variety of document formats: either leaf-shaped tablets, inscribed nodules, or even shorter or otherwise modified page-shaped tablets. These

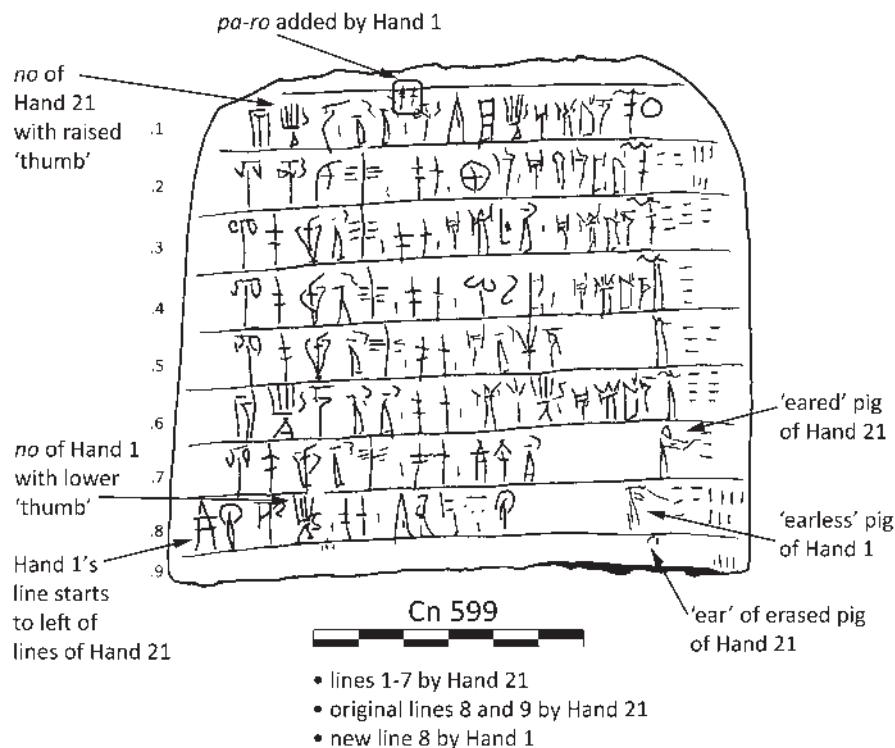
<sup>85</sup> Remember again that PLUTA 1997 corrected a slight misalignment of the original grid.

<sup>86</sup> PALAIMA 1980 and *Scribes Pylos*.

<sup>87</sup> *Scribes Pylos*, 172–182. PALAIMA 2003b, 156–159 and note 8.

kinds of clay documents mainly record individual items or groups of items and single to a few transactions. Their range of subjects is restricted. They can be found in direct associations with work materials or stored paraphernalia.

In working on the Pylos material, an emphasis was also given to using a full array of secondary criteria *both* to confirm (or cast doubt upon) the purely palaeographical identification of individual hands *and* to help to define the personalities of individual scribes, i.e., their habits of spelling, formatting, linguistic peculiarities (idiolect), and tablet construction (size, shape, clay composition, color, other alterations to the physical carriers of the texts) and use.<sup>88</sup>



**Fig. 12.25.** Pylos tablet Cn 599  
(after *Scribes Pylos*, 54, fig. 7, annotation by K. Pluta)

<sup>88</sup> *Scribes Pylos*, 27-31.

For example, Hand 1, the master scribe at the site,<sup>89</sup> is almost obsessive about not using any more clay than is necessary for given records. He even trims excess clay away from his tablets (see below). This is done for two reasons of economy. First, not to waste any of the finely levigated clay from which the tablets are generally made. Second, to make sure the records are not bigger than they need to be and therefore can be efficiently and compactly filed away, generally in Room 8 of the Archives Complex (see Figures 12.15 and 12.16).

It was also possible at Pylos to trace how scribes interacted with one another, directly within tablets and in regard to the information that they recorded. Besides the ‘women-worker’ tablets (series Aa, Ab, and Ad, discussed in §12.1.2.1.1), scribes interacted prominently in the sheep tablets (series Cn), the tablets that deal with allocation of bronze to bronze workers (series Jn) and the records of landholdings (E-series).

Figure 12.25 shows the interaction between two scribes (Hand 21, the main scribe of palaeographical class ii,<sup>90</sup> and Hand 1, the chief scribe of the entire site) on a single tablet (Cn 599) of the Cn livestock series. Figs. 12.26 and 27 show how Hand 1 and Hand 21 respectively write the standard signs of the Linear B syllabary (arranged according to the template in Fig. 12.29). Note especially the very different shapes of sign \*07 (*dī*) and the placement of the ‘s’-shaped thumb on the right side of sign \*52 (*no*). On Cn 599 ideograms in lines .1-.3 are male goats, .4-.6 female goats, and .7-.8 female pigs. On the tablet, Hand 21 wrote what is still there on lines .1-.7. He also originally wrote line .8 and the partially preserved line .9. Hand 1, whose ideogram for female pig is radically different from Hand 21’s, erased the original text of lines .8 and .9. He then wrote a new entry in line .8 and trimmed the tablet above line .1 and through the original line .9. He characteristically begins his line of text flush with the left hand side of the tablet. Hand 1 also added the missing preposition *pa-ro, paro* between and slightly above the fifth and sixth characters in line .1. The ear of Hand 21’s pig-ideogram is still visible at the right of what had been line .9. There are also traces there of the vertical strokes signifying ‘one’.

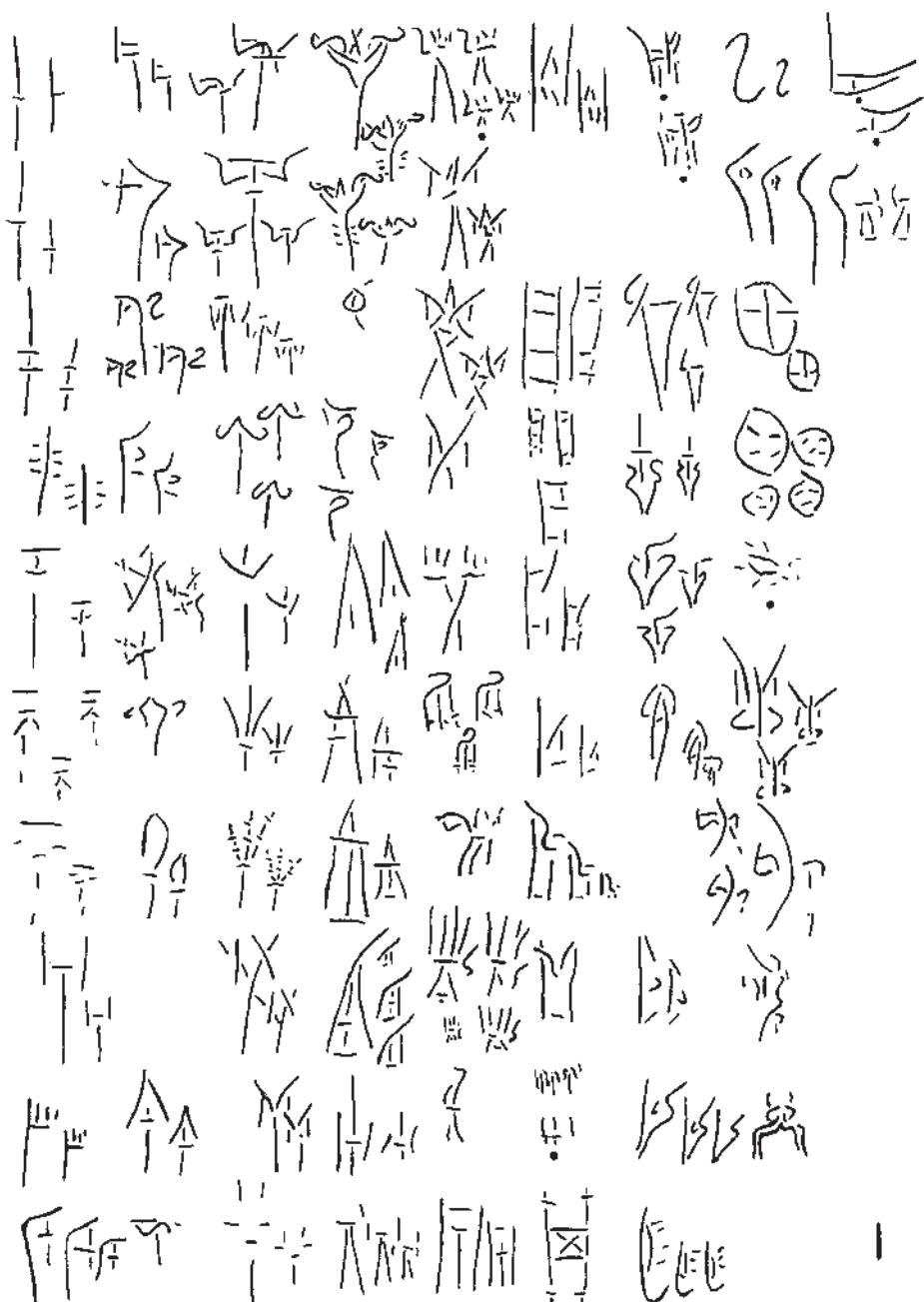
Palaima also went back, and with Bennett’s help, reread all the excavation notebooks from Pylos for clues as to tablet locations.<sup>91</sup> This became the basis for the renewed concern shown now for more than two decades with the tablets as archaeological artifacts and with understanding texts in their archaeological contexts.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>89</sup> *Scribes Pylos*, 35-58.

<sup>90</sup> *Scribes Pylos*, 80-86; on the definition of palaeographical classes, see note 36.

<sup>91</sup> *Scribes Pylos*, 135-169.

<sup>92</sup> BENNET, D.J.L. 1983; BENNET, J. 1984; DRIESSEN 2000; FIRTH 2000-2001; PALAIMA – SHELMDINE 1984; PALAIMA – WRIGHT 1985; *Pylos Comes Alive*.



**Fig. 12.26.** Handwriting style of Hand 1 (after *Scribes Pylos*, 229)



Fig. 12.27. Handwriting style of Hand 21 (after *Scribes Pylos*, 242)

01 DA	11 PO	23 MU	33 RA <sub>3</sub>	43 A <sub>3</sub>	55 NU	65 —	75 WE	86 —	
02 RO	12 SO	24 NE	34 —	44 KE	56 —	66 TA <sub>2</sub>	76 RA <sub>2</sub>	90 DWO	
03 PA	13 ME	25 A <sub>2</sub>	35 —	45 DE	57 JA	67 KI	77 KA	91 TWO	
04 TE	14 DO	26 RU	36 JO	46 JE	58 SU	68 RO <sub>2</sub>	78 QE	?	
05 TO	15 MO	27 RE	37 TI	48 NWA	59 TA	69 TU	79 —		
06 NA	16 QA	28 I	38 E	50 PU	60 RA	70 KO	80 MA		
07 DI	17 ZA	29 PU <sub>2</sub>	39 PI	51 DU	61 O	71 DWE	81 KU		
08 A	19 —	30 NI	40 WI	52 NO	62 PTE	72 PE	82 —		
09 SE	20 ZO	31 SA	41 SI	53 RI	63 —	73 MI	83 —		
10 U	21 QI	32 QO	42 WO	54 WA	64 —	74 ZE	85 AU		Scribe

IDEOGRAMS

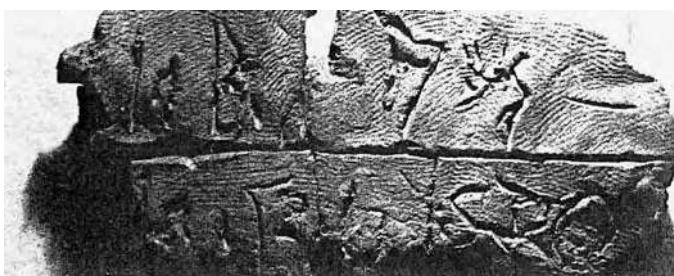
Fig. 12.28. Template of phonetic sign forms at Pylos (after *Scribes Pylos*, 227)

It also confirmed that a few tablets that had seemed by their handwriting styles to be palaeographically earlier<sup>93</sup> than the rest of the tablets from the destruction level at the site of Pylos were most likely stratigraphically earlier, too.<sup>94</sup>

#### §12.1.2.4. Finger- and palm-prints on the tablets

In the 1980's and 90's, a peculiar side development of palaeographical research on the Linear B tablets took place. It had long been apparent that scribes in handling the moist clay tablets had occasionally left their finger impressions in the clay. Swedish forensic specialist Karl-Erik Sjöquist (a professional finger-print expert) and scholar Paul Åström (an archaeologist) (in collaboration with Mycenaean palaeographers Jean-Pierre Olivier and Tom Palaima) undertook to examine the tablets for such traces. In the end, it was determined that the main diagnostic marks came from papillary line traces, i.e., impressions of palm-prints that occurred when the tablets were being manufactured. At Pylos from among the then 1,112 tablets and fragments, 47 tablets with impressions were assigned to 10 different 'palms'.<sup>95</sup> At Knossos 113 tablets with impressions that could be analyzed were assigned to 46 different palms.<sup>96</sup> We see here palm-prints on the surface of inscribed clay label PY Wa 730 that was pressed onto the surface of a 'wicker' basket used to transport clay tablets (Fig. 12.29).

Based on the fact that certain palm-prints are found on tablets by different scribal hands and on the ability of Sjöquist to determine the approximate age



**Fig. 12.29.** Papillary line traces on Pylos clay tablet-basket label  
(after SJÖQUIST – ÅSTRÖM 1985, 38, fig. 12a)

<sup>93</sup> PALAIMA 1983.

<sup>94</sup> *Scribes Pylos*, 111-133, 133-134, 137-139, 169.

<sup>95</sup> PALAIMA 1985b; SJÖQUIST – ÅSTRÖM 1985.

<sup>96</sup> OLIVIER 1991, 122-123, 127-128 on their archivistic implications.

range of the individuals who left their palm-prints in the clay, it has been hypothesized that these prints belong to young apprentices or old ‘retirees’ to whom was given the task of forming tablets to the specifications of particular scribal administrative assignments. In certain cases where more than one diagnostic palm-print occurs on tablets by a single scribe, the work of that scribe can be placed within a bureau where work by many tablet-writers (and tablet-makers?) was taking place. This might explain why a scribe would resort to more than one tablet-maker. Also puzzling at first was the preponderance of diagnostic impressions made by the left hand. By doing modern simulation experiments, Sjöquist discovered that right-handed tablet-makers naturally came to use their left hands as a kind of flattening tool and their right hands to provide control and power.<sup>97</sup>

Still, it is not altogether clear that the hypothesized assignment of tablet manufacture to persons other than the scribes who wrote the tablets that we have can be proved. First, we have noted that a skilled scribe like Hand 1 at Pylos is very adept at suiting his texts to the tablets he writes and cutting away whatever small parts of clay are not used for his records. If Hand 1 did *not* make his own tablets, this would mean that Hand 1, and other scribes, were able to explain to their tablet-making assistants with almost incredible precision the sizes and shapes of tablets that they needed, or else to adjust their writing to tablets they had at their disposal. This is not impossible, but it is not, in my opinion, the most economical hypothesis to explain the features of the extant tablets.

Generally at Pylos the tablets for each scribe, especially the leaf-shaped tablets, have very distinctive features in dimensions, shape, taper, edges, and how each individual tablet was finished. Each set of tablets, in most cases, is consistent in these characteristics, having been devised to be appropriate to the specific record-keeping task the tablet-writer was about to undertake or was already performing. Some adjustments in tablet size and shape and layout would be made as information requirements varied during the course of writing the set of records. This consistency of characteristic features could result from tablet-makers assigned to each scribe, or a group of scribes, or to a location where scribes could come to get tablets and write on them. Or it could be that the scribes made their own tablets very well suited to the information they anticipated needing. It is certainly possible that at times when lots of work was required, prominent tablet-writers had tablet-making assistants who helped them by manufacturing raw tablets that they themselves could then shape to

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<sup>97</sup> SJÖQUIST – ÅSTRÖM 1991, 25-33.

their record-keeping needs. In other words, there is no need really to pose these possibilities as an either-or.

Until we have more secure evidence of palm-prints and can study them closely in conjunction with the ‘sets’ with which they are associated, the question will remain open.

Minimally, however, it is true that making tablets is a *sine qua non* for writing them. It is plausible that young apprentices who were learning this profession would be assigned the ‘dirty work’ of making tablets. This work would give them skills that they could use throughout their later careers or whenever they were forced to work on their own without any assistants.

### §12.1.2.5. Tablets of Knossos and Khania: the same scribe?

In the early- to mid-1990’s, controversy arose over the possible identity of the hand of a few new and securely archaeologically dated Linear B texts discovered at Khania in western Crete and the relationship of this hand from Khania with a scribe from Knossos,<sup>98</sup> where, as we have observed (§12.1.2.1.3), the dating of individual groups of tablets is still problematical. The styles of the writer of the Khania tablets and of Hand 115 at Knossos are very close. Olivier<sup>99</sup> in fact proposed that the tablets at the two sites were written by the same hand. If this had been demonstrably correct, this would have had important consequences for the date of the Knossos tablets.

Palaima,<sup>100</sup> however, using the techniques developed over about fifty years of working with the palaeography of the texts, was able to clearly demonstrate that there were *ten* good reasons to be less than sure about this identification. In Fig. 12.30, we can see how hard it is to reconcile habitual aspects of sign formation from the Khania tablets (signs in the first column from tablets Gq 5 and Ar 4 at Khania) with features on the same or parallel signs found on tablets of the V and Od series by the Knossos Hand 115. Note especially the incurving at the bottom of the outside strokes of signs *ti* and *e* (Fig. 12.30 see 1.3 and 1.4) as executed by KN 115 and the lack of this habitual feature on Khania tablet Ar 4. Likewise, note (Fig. 12.30 see 1.5) the relative positioning of the internal curved strokes on sign *nu* as written on Khania Gq 5 as opposed to its form on tablets of KN 115.

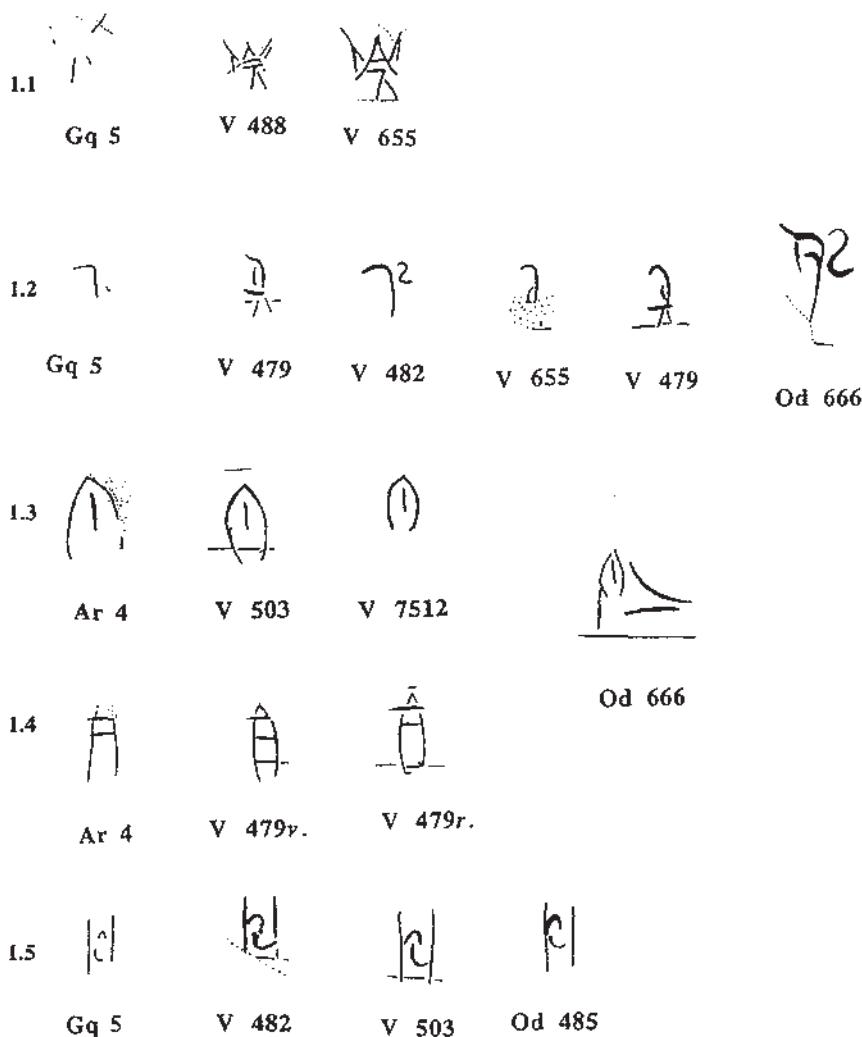
Olivier rethought his position and issued a retraction.<sup>101</sup> Nonetheless, the texts from these two sites are so remarkably similar in their palaeographical

<sup>98</sup> DRIESSEN 2000, 151-152.

<sup>99</sup> OLIVIER 1993.

<sup>100</sup> PALAIMA 1992-93 (= 1995b).

<sup>101</sup> OLIVIER 1996.



**Fig. 12.30.** Comparison of sign forms of Hands KH 115 and KN 115  
(after PALAIMA 1992-93, 279 Table 1)

features that there must have been a close connection in scribal training and practice at this period between the two sites. One might even hypothesize a close relationship between a master and a pupil, in the manner of Hand 1 and Hand 2 at Pylos.

### §12.1.2.6. Jan Driessen and the ‘Room of the Chariot Tablets’ at Knossos

The last major development in the study of scribal hands was the full-scale interdisciplinary analysis of tablets of the so-called ‘Room of the Chariot Tablets’ (hereafter RCT) at Knossos by Jan Driessen.<sup>102</sup> The RCT gets its name from the many tablets found in it relating to the allotment of chariots and armour to named individuals. These tablets were long a conundrum.

The RCT tablets are brief and are done in a consistent writing style that varies minimally from tablet to tablet. In fact, the palaeographical ‘unity’ of these tablets was so conspicuous that John Chadwick, in the early days of Mycenology, proposed that the texts here were school texts, exercises set by a master to train pupils in the art of writing.<sup>103</sup> Some scholars now think that these are real records, not school texts, and that the chariots, horses and sets of armour recorded on these tablets from the RCT are real and were assigned to a force of predominantly Greek-named warriors.<sup>104</sup> It is also possible that some combination of these two theories is true, i.e., in this early stage of Linear B record-keeping, scribal apprentices were busy at doing real work with very simple records as part of their training.<sup>105</sup> Within bureaucratic systems individuals often begin as assistants and apprentices, doing simple tasks in order to gain experience and learn work routines and methods.

There were, however, detectable differences in the sign forms on the tablets. These differences were so conspicuous that Jean-Pierre Olivier assigned seven basic texts (Ce 61, Ce 144, C 50, V 10, V 118, V 147, V 151) to a scribe whom he called 124.<sup>106</sup> He then listed groups of tablets with signs that are stylistic variants of this generic hand as “124” a – s. Some of these groups consist of only one or two tablets (e.g., “124” c consists entirely of the single tablet that is now known as Ce 59; “124” h consists of two tablets, Sc 238 and Sc 257). Olivier did not, however, present any individual charts for the handwriting styles of these nineteen potentially distinct tablet-writers. We give here his undifferentiated chart for Hand 124 (Fig. 12.31). Notice the four different versions of sign \*36 *jo* (the sign in the fifth row of the fourth column).

This in some ways was an equivalent to Bennett’s system of ‘stylus groups’. It was based on sound principles that are now *de rigueur*. One principle is that it is highly desirable to have at least thirty different signs attested in order to be able to identify the work of an individual scribe. This obviously poses problems

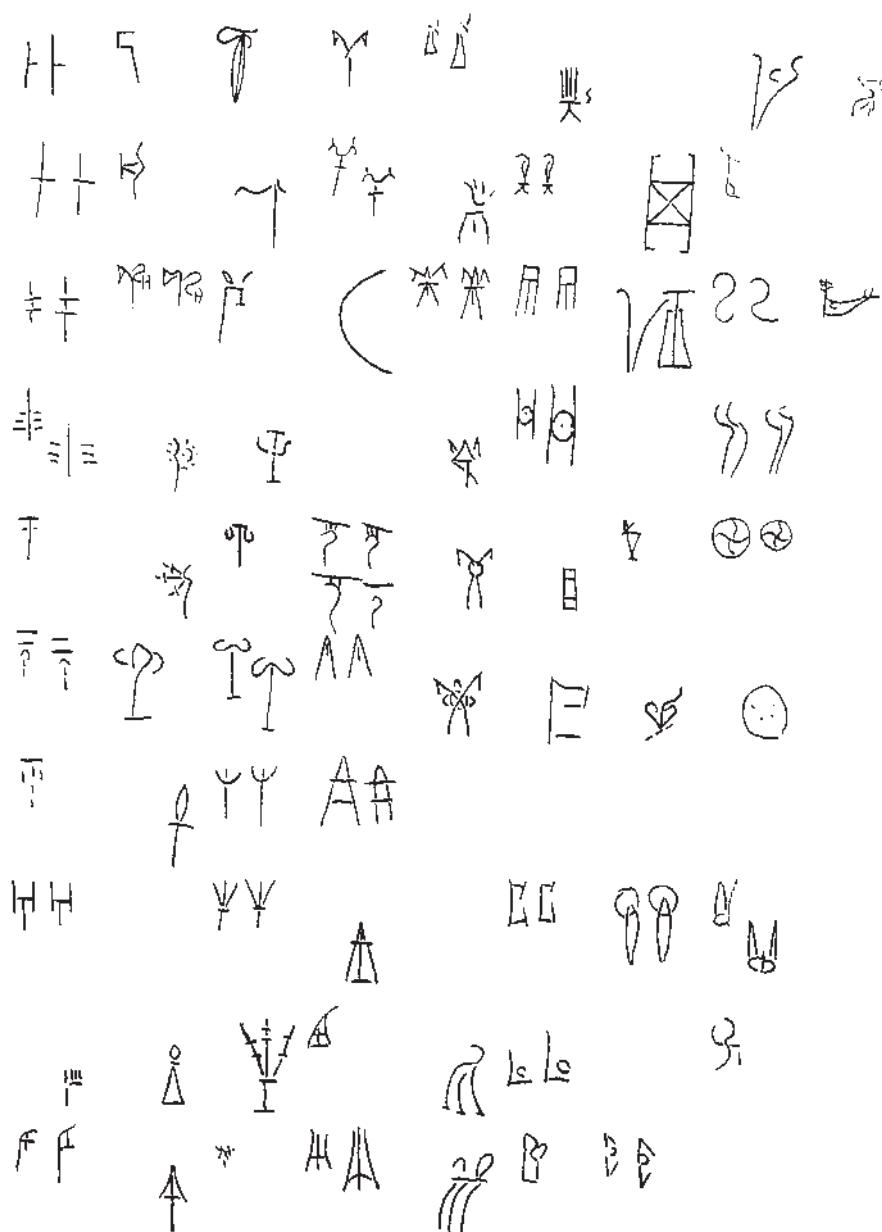
<sup>102</sup> DRIESSEN 2000.

<sup>103</sup> CHADWICK 1967a and 1968, esp. 20-21.

<sup>104</sup> DRIESSEN 1996 and 2000, 189-193.

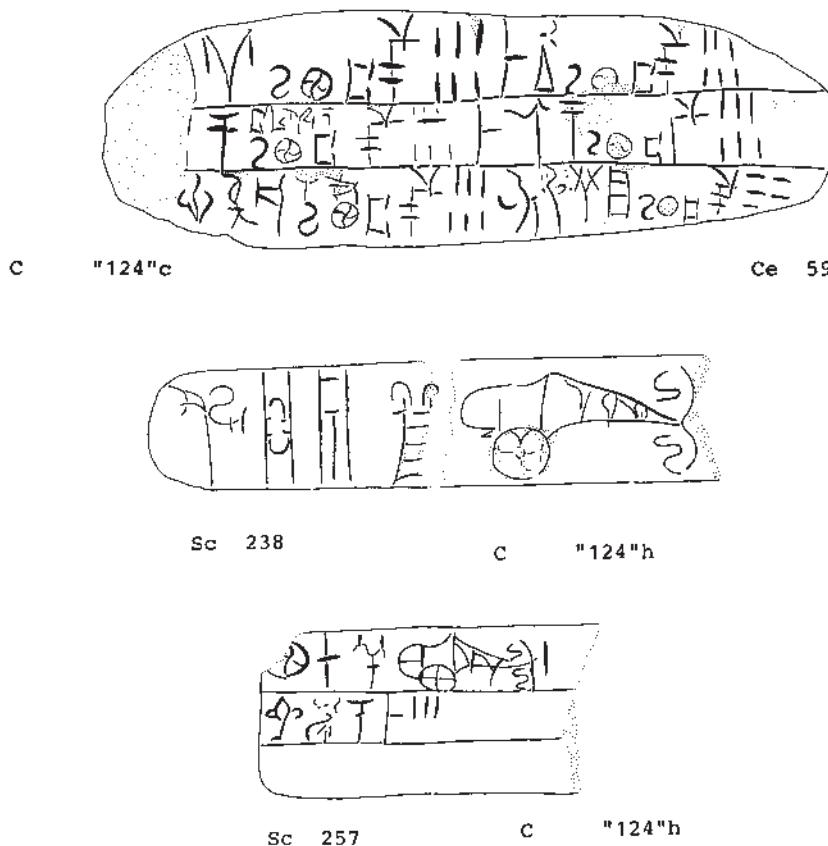
<sup>105</sup> See DUHOUX 2008, §2.3.4.

<sup>106</sup> *Scribes Knossos*, 68-76.



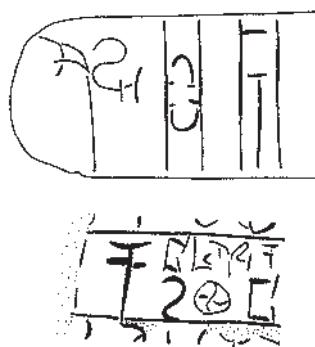
**Fig. 12.31.** Olivier's sign chart for Hand 124 (after *Scribes Cnossos*, table XXV)

for tablets with very brief texts, such as many of those from the RCT, and the very brief inscriptions on the facets of seal-impressed clay nodules.<sup>107</sup> It also poses problems for palaeographical groupings like “124” c whose one tablet (now prefixed Ce 59) has only 17 diagnostic signs, and “124” h whose two tablets have just 11 diagnostic signs (Fig. 12.32). Especially noteworthy is that sign *nu* on Sc 238 and sign *to* on Sc 257 are clearly at variance with the standard ways that Hand 124 makes these signs (Fig. 12.33 and compare Fig. 12.31, where versions of *nu* are seen as the signs in the fourth row sixth column).



**Fig. 12.32.** Tablets of ‘hands’ “124” c and “124” h from the Room of the Chariot Tablets at Knossos (after *CoMIK* 1, 34, 103, 109)

<sup>107</sup> PITEROS – OLIVIER – MELENA 1990. We may also remark that the brevity of individual texts in Linear A and Cretan Hieroglyphic makes the assignment of these texts to scribal hands difficult.



**Fig. 12.33.** Signs *nu* (second sign on Sc 238: top) and *to* (first large sign on Ce 59: bottom) on tablets of “124” h (after *CoMIK* 1, 103, 54)

Driessen's work represents so far the culmination of work on the palaeography of tablets from any single Mycenaean site. Focusing on a discrete massing of texts from a single location (we might hesitate to call it a *deposit*, but it also is not comparable to the Pylos *archives*), he made what can best be described as an all-out assault on the texts. He studied all aspects of tablet manufacture and handling: texture, color,<sup>108</sup> shape, palm and fingerprints, size and dimensions, procedures for text entering and formatting, even the use, or not, of such elements as word-dividers and majuscule and minuscule signs. Driessen's diachronic analyses of sign forms (beginning with Linear A, examining the RCT and other Knossos tablets, and proceeding to mainland traditions) are laudably thorough, and are now the starting point for critical discussions of diachronic and comparative palaeography. See Fig. 12.34 for Driessen's diachronic analysis of sign \*36 *jo* (and compare Fig. 12.31 for Hand 124).

Driessen also examined linguistic variations among the ‘scribes’ of the RCT<sup>109</sup> and looked for other elements that might be used to help fix the chronology, e.g., the greater ‘Greekness’ of the names on tablets from the RCT.<sup>110</sup> He concluded with observations on literacy<sup>111</sup> and how the scribal administrative system(s) of the RCT and other deposits at Knossos,<sup>112</sup> from clearly dif-

<sup>108</sup> Driessen did not, however, use the universally accepted system of absolute references used by PALAIMA 1988, i.e., *Munsell Soil Color Charts* readings. He considered them (DRIESSEN 2000, 38 n. 51) ‘a time-consuming and not rewarding enterprise.’

<sup>109</sup> DRIESSEN 2000, 159-186.

<sup>110</sup> DRIESSEN 2000, 188-194.

<sup>111</sup> DRIESSEN 2000, 186-187.

<sup>112</sup> DRIESSEN 2000, 217-232.

RCT(1)	RCT(2)	RCT(3)	RCT(4)	KN 101	KN 102	KN 103	KN 106	KN 115
KN 116	KN 117	KN 118	KN 120	KN 134	KN 141	KN 104+	KN 128,	KN 204+
KN n.i.	KN n.i.	PY 1	PY 14	PY 15	PY 21	PY 23	PY 26	PY 41
PY 43	PY 2-22	PY 24/5	PY other	MY 51	MY 57	MY 62	MY 52-64	MY n.i.
TH (a)	TH (b)	TH (c)	TH (d)	TH (e)	TI (a)	TI (b)	Z-MY	Z-TI
Z-TH	Z-KN	Z-other	KN	HT	HT	HT	HT	HT
CR	ZA	ZA	ABKN	MA	IO	PK	KN	KN
KN	KN	KO	MI	KE	PH	PH	AP	GO
PS	PL	TY	LA	PYO	AB	SY	other	other

Fig. 12.34. Diachronic comparative chart of Linear B sign *jo*  
 (after DRIESSEN 2000, 346 pl. 57)

ferent stratigraphical levels (i.e., different destruction dates), relate to the complex history of, and major problems associated with, the ‘Mycenaeanization’ of Crete. In Driessen’s opinion, the tablets of the RCT are our earliest coherent group of Linear B records, a view that seems to be confirmed by the phylogenetic statistical study performed recently by Skelton (2008) with the possible exception of the few tablets from Pylos classified as Hand 91.<sup>113</sup>

### §12.1.2.7. Further work

Work on Mycenaean palaeography, and its implications, has not stopped there. Palaima has studied the palaeography of the inscribed clay nodules from Thebes and Pylos in order to see how the handwriting styles of these devices that accompanied goods and materials (animate and inanimate) coming often from outside the immediate environs of the palatial complexes related to the traditions discovered within the palaces.<sup>114</sup>

Palaima also has tentatively identified palaeographically a likely Linear sign incised on a bronze cauldron from the Shaft Graves at Mycenae and argued that it is an acrophonic abbreviation (commonly used in Linear A and Linear B to identify or qualify goods and materials) for the artist who could be named as manufacturer of Cretan bronze heirloom tripods in the Pylos Ta series.<sup>115</sup>

Varias García has used archaeological-context-focused palaeography as the basis for a ‘global’ study of the Linear B texts from Mycenae and a description of how record-keeping was used in what he argues are palatially dependent ‘houses’ at Mycenae in the second half of the 13th century BC.<sup>116</sup>

Likewise, the edition of the newly discovered tablets from Thebes<sup>117</sup> has raised many questions that are being addressed making use of Louis Godart’s palaeographical identifications of the scribes at Thebes as a primary tool of research.<sup>118</sup> This work builds upon the identifications of hands in previously discovered Thebes tablets.<sup>119</sup>

<sup>113</sup> SKELTON 2008, 172. DRIESSEN 2008, 70-73, 75-76. The one point of disagreement is impossible now to resolve. Driessen wishes to put the RCT in LM III A:1 and the few early tablets from Pylos in LH III A:2. Skelton proposes that ‘Pylos Hand 91 diverged earlier than the RCT.’

<sup>114</sup> PALAIMA 2000b.

<sup>115</sup> PALAIMA 2003c.

<sup>116</sup> VARIAS GARCÍA 1993 and 1999.

<sup>117</sup> *TOP*. Interpretations of the texts in this volume have to be used with great caution; but, as always, Louis Godart’s drawings of signs are of good quality. See PALAIMA 2003e.

<sup>118</sup> *Neuen Linear B-Texte*; PALAIMA 2000-2001 and 2003d.

<sup>119</sup> *TT II*.

46	AB30 NI a		0	No circle where Y branches	1	Scribe uses both		2	Circle where Y branches	
47	AB30 NI b		0	One stroke crossing each arm of the Y		1	Two strokes cross each arm of the Y			
48	AB30 NI c		0	Two branches meet at the bottom of the sign (i.e., there is no stalk)	1	Scribe uses both		2	Two branches meet midway up the stalk	
49	AB30 NI d		0	Y drawn in two strokes	1	Scribe uses both		2	Y drawn in three strokes	
50	AB31 SA a		0	No circle where Y branches	1	Scribe uses both		2	Circle where Y branches	
51	AB31 SA b		0	No side ticks		1	Has side ticks			
52	AB31 SA c		0	Without extra side ticks		1	With extra side ticks			
53	AB31 SA d		0	Y drawn in two strokes	1	Scribe uses both		2	Y drawn in three strokes	
54	B32 QO a		0	No crossbar	1	Scribe uses both		2	Crossbar	
55	B32 QO b		0	One continuous straight line		1	One continuous wavy line		2	Two separate lines
			3	Scribe uses both 0 and 1	4	Scribe uses both 0 and 2		5	Scribe uses both 1 and 2	

Fig. 12.35. Skelton's analysis of variant elements in writing sign *ni* or *NI*  
(after SKELTON 2008, 168, fig. 3)

The study of diachronic or 'evolutionary' palaeography has also now become more scientific. Skelton (2008) has applied to the palaeography of all the Linear B tablets the statistical method known as phylogenetic systematics. Phylogenetic systematics is a way of tracing the evolution of characteristics within plant and animal species; and, as Skelton explains, it has been applied to language families and to relationships among manuscripts.<sup>120</sup> Her statistical application to the data of Linear B sign shapes through time sheds light on such questions as the relative dating of tablets in different hands and from different sites, and on the relationships of the handwriting styles of scribes to one another at particular sites. Skelton's analysis also takes into account the relationship of styles of Linear B sign forms to their Linear A ancestors.

<sup>120</sup> SKELTON 2008.

Skelton's work brings a statistical tool to bear upon what previously was a matter of the developed experience, judgment and reasoning of Mycenaean palaeographers. This procedure does not replace, or even necessarily take precedence over, traditional palaeographical work, because it, too, requires human judgments and choices in determining what data to select and how to interpret the results. But it provides another way of working with a large body of unwieldy material, and the choices made in analyzing data are transparent.<sup>121</sup> Fig. 12.35 shows the details that Skelton used in studying stylistic variation of one sign, *ni* (the phonogram) or *NI* (the logogram for 'figs') in Linear B.

In the end, however, all palaeographical study of the Linear B script relies upon the sign forms on the clay tablets. This brings us back to the pioneering observations of Bennett:<sup>122</sup>

‘The first and most important criterion is provided by the forms of the signs. Many signs have a fairly large range of variation in shape and construction. The number of strokes used in drawing the sign is not invariable; lines crossed by other lines may be drawn either in one stroke or in two separate strokes, and sometimes single strokes may be replaced by two parallel lines in the same position. Non-essential lines may be added as if they were serifs. In place of straight lines, curves may be drawn, and simple curves may be elaborated. The proportions of the signs are not constant; lines may be relatively longer or shorter, and the angles at which lines meet may increase or decrease. Finally the clay in which the signs are incised frequently preserved the record of the order and direction in which strokes are drawn; a line crossing another breaks and distorts it and the end of a line can be distinguished by the clay raised up by the stylus.’

Mycenaean palaeography then is based upon strokes in malleable clay and upon Bennett's principles of study that fortunately rest on a very firm foundation.

Readers desiring general information about archives *per se* with some additional perspectives on the functions and status of scribes, the administrative working of the sites that have produced Linear B records, the training and schooling of scribes, and the nature of archives and work deposits in the archaeological and epigraphical record, all in the context of texts, archives and scribes in other ancient cultures, should read the second part of this chapter.<sup>123</sup>

<sup>121</sup> See Skelton's discussion of the forms of the ideogram VIR in comparison with the studies made by Bennett, Driessen and Palaima discussed above (SKELTON 2008, 165-166). And note her conclusions concerning classes of scribal styles at Pylos and the relative chronology of the mainland *koiné* style (SKELTON 2008, 173-174).

<sup>122</sup> MT II, 90.

<sup>123</sup> Also see BROSIUS 2003 and PALAIMA 2003b.

## §12.2. THE WORLD OF THE MYCENAEAN SCRIBES

In Part 1 (§12.1), we have discussed in detail how palaeographical research on the Linear B tablets developed from 1900 to the present. We have seen how paying attention to the handwriting on the Linear B tablets, nodules, labels and stirrup jars and to everything connected with the use of inscribed materials helps us to understand better the historical meaning of the texts written in Linear B. In so doing, we have looked at how scribes are identified and what we know about their individual peculiarities as users of writing within Mycenaean palatial culture *ca* 1400-1200 BC.<sup>124</sup>

In this part, I shall briefly reconstruct some aspects of what we might call the world of the scribes. I shall try to use informed imagination.

John Chadwick, in discussing the genius of Michael Ventris, said this of him:<sup>125</sup> ‘He had a keen appreciation of the realities of a situation; the Mycenaeans were to him no vague abstractions, but living people whose thoughts he could penetrate.’ We need to consider the ‘realities of the situation’ for tablet-writers in the Mycenaean palatial period in the same way.

Here we should imagine what it was like in the 14th and 13th centuries BC to have the skill of writing. How would someone acquire such a skill? Why would he want to learn the Linear B script? What use did he anticipate making of writing? If he was going to devote considerable time and energy to learning how to write and to use the art of writing, what status, benefits and responsibilities did he think he would derive as a literate person? If and when he worked within a literate bureaucratic system in a palatial territory, what kinds of work would he be doing on a daily basis, and how might that work change over time, as he became more experienced and trustworthy as a tablet-writer and record-keeper?

Was *he* ever a *she*, as is the case occasionally in the ancient Near and Middle East?<sup>126</sup> How did the individuals and organizations who held the greatest power in the palatial territories (e.g., the king or *wanaks*;<sup>127</sup> the military leader

<sup>124</sup> For the dates of different groups of tablets at sites on Crete and the Greek mainland, see DRIESSEN 2008, especially 75-77.

<sup>125</sup> CHADWICK 1967b, 4.

<sup>126</sup> PEARCE 1995, 2266, discusses a few notable exceptions to the prevailing pattern in the ancient Near and Middle East that the profession of ‘tablet-writers’ was a male profession. These exceptions include a daughter of Sargon of Akkad, who, *inter alia*, wrote a lengthy poem praising the goddess Inanna. Women scribes, some of whom were themselves the daughters of scribes, are attested during the Old Babylonian period at Mari and Sippar. At Mari, nine of ten women scribes are recorded as receiving rations, and their portions are ‘small enough to suggest that, although literate, they were held in low regard and were slaves of the harem.’

<sup>127</sup> PALAIMA 2006.

or *lāwagetās*,<sup>128</sup> who possibly also saw to the integration of immigrants into the society; the local landholding council or *dāmos*; the local ‘big man’ or *gʷasileus*; and the officials who oversaw palatial interests in the different districts into which palatial territories were divided, the *ko-re-te-re* and *po-ro-ko-re-te-re*<sup>129</sup>) view written records and the tablet-writers, *viz.* scribes, who made and kept them?

### §12.2.1. How can we individualize the Mycenaean scribal hands?

No writer of a Mycenaean document ever signed his work. In contrast to the Near and Middle East, we do not even know the Mycenaean word for ‘scribe’ or, as they were called in Akkadian and Sumerian, ‘tablet-writer’ (Akkadian *tupšarru*, Sumerian DUB.SAR), a term that we have used in referring to our Linear B scribes. This is remarkable, given that the Linear B texts and other tools of administration prove that Mycenaean palatial society depended on personal and group agency and responsibility in order to operate successfully.<sup>130</sup> One clear way of marking identity and responsibility was via seals and sealings. In the Near and Middle East tablets often bore the impressions of seals identifying the individual who authorized and safeguarded the contents of the tablets as documents. In noteworthy contrast, in the Mycenaean and earlier Minoan cultures, seals are never impressed onto written records as marks of authentication or safeguarding. But rather writing is sometimes used in a secondary way to supplement information provided by seal impressions on sealing devices such as nodules (and earlier Minoan roundels), which are primarily instruments of authorization, authentication and security that can function without writing.<sup>131</sup>

We individualize what we call scribes in Mycenaean society by identifying the work of those who wrote our extant Linear B texts. We do this, as we have seen, entirely through palaeographical and related methods, by what we call identifying their ‘hands’. In Fig. 12.36, we can see examples of significant variations in signs,

<sup>128</sup> NIKOLOUDIS 2006.

<sup>129</sup> On these officials and arguments that they are appointed by the central administration, see now NAKASSIS 2006, 65–75.

<sup>130</sup> Personal agency is stressed in NAKASSIS 2006.

<sup>131</sup> See HALLAGER 1996 for the definition and Minoan origins of different security and authentication devices bearing seal impressions. PALAIMA 1987a discusses the full picture of the uses of seals and both inscribed and uninscribed sealings in the Linear B period. For how sealings work within written administration, see PALAIMA 1996b. It is important to stress that sealings have an independent history that predates the advent of writing on clay in the Middle and Near East and the Aegean. They are primary transactional devices that can even be used by illiterates. For a comprehensive overview of seal and sealing use *per se*, see KRZYSZKOWSKA 2005, 155–192 (during the Minoan palatial period) and 279–300 (during the Mycenaean palatial period).

a.)	<u>di</u>		
	<u>ne</u>		
b.)	<u>ka</u>		
	<u>u</u>		
	<u>de</u>		
c.)	<u>qe</u>		
	<u>o</u>		
d.)	<u>no</u>		
e.)	<u>ka</u>		

Fig. 12.36. Diagnostic variations in sign forms of Hands 1 and 21  
 (after *Scribes Pylos*, 24 fig. 3)

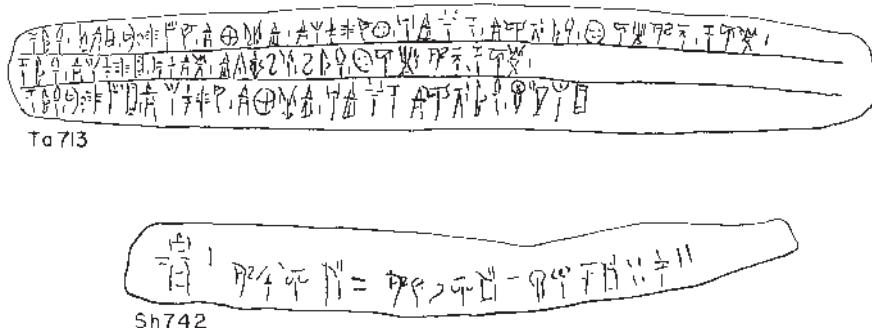
i.e., cases where the execution of the signs, whether in the conception of its overall form and component parts or in the manner of drawing the particular instance, is diagnostic of distinct individual tablet-writers. In case a.) we can see how sign *di* is drawn with a rather extreme and unusual variation in the disposition of strokes by Hand 1 at the site of Pylos as opposed to the widely shared way of drawing the sign by Hand 21. In case b.) scribes differ in the unvarying order in which they draw strokes that cross one another. In case c.) the number of strokes making up a standard variant of a sign differ, again habitually within different hands. In cases d.) and e.) the position or the shape of constituent elements of individual signs differ. In all cases such differences are habitual and are not dictated by other factors related to the physical aspects or contents of the records.

Fig. 12.37, by contrast, gives examples within single hands where signs differ slightly from one another in ways that are not habitual or indicative of a change in scribal hand or in the diagnostic writing style of a scribe. Elements of signs may be left out or put back in because of the desire to simplify or to formalize signs in particular instances. The scale at which a sign is drawn is sometimes a factor, e.g., cases a.) (sign *wi* written large-scale as a component of a sign-group on Ma 335 and written very small on Ma 221 as an element inside the ideogram for hide, where it stands as an abbreviation for *wi-ri-no vel sim.* = ‘oxhide’) and b.) (signs *qo* and *o*). In the latter case, Hand 43 in the Ea series is writing many records of landholdings. He writes the names of the main landholder for each record in the equivalent of ‘capital letters’, that is to say, in very large signs. Otherwise on these tablets he has to write repeatedly, and, we are sure, rather monotonously, the formulaic phrases and vocabulary relating to landholdings. He has to write the sign *o* again and again in the word for a ‘beneficial plot of land’ (*o-na-to*); and he also is writing about animal herds-men who are designated by words containing the sign *qo* (e.g., *qo-qo-ta-o* and *su-qo-ta-o*). It is therefore understandable that he writes simplified versions of these signs when he has to write them over and over many times. The examples in d.) are similarly related to repetition, which causes Hand 41 to omit a simple element of a sign. In the same way in writing the Roman alphabetic characters ‘i’ and ‘t’, we sometimes forget to dot the ‘i’ and cross the ‘t’. In g.) the shape of an important element of a sign (in this case the main vertical stroke of the sign *ta*) is distorted when it has to be written in an awkward place on a tablet. In all these cases, we are dealing with large, coherent sets of tablets, where there is no question that one and the same scribe in each set has written the particular variants under the effects of the circumstances just described.

Scribes will also vary from one another in how their tablets are finished off. Leaf-shaped tablets particularly have a range of features. In Fig. 12.38, notice the symmetrical and full-bodied shape of Ta 713 by Hand 2, a tablet of very

a.) <u>wi</u>			e.) <u>o</u>		
	(Ma 335.1)	(Ma 221.2)		(Ad 390)	(Ad 315)
b.) <u>o</u>			AES,M		
	(Ea 780)	(Ea 776)		(Jn 693)	(Jn 693)
<u>eo</u>	(Ea 781)	(Ea 802.a)		(Jn 658)	(Jn 658)
<u>ru</u>			f.) <u>ki</u>		
	(Ea 782)	(Ea 801)		(Ta 711.2)	(Ma 221.1)
c.) <u>ma</u>			g.) <u>ro</u>		
	(Ta 642.3)	(Ta 715.1)		(Ao 76)	(Ao 76)
d.) <u>mi</u>					
	(Eb 416.1)	(Eb 464.1)			
<u>e</u>					
	(Eb 842.2)	(Eb 1186.A)			
<u>mo</u>					
	(Eb 1186)	(Eb 846)			

Fig. 12.37. Undiagnostic variations in sign forms  
(after *Scribes Pylos*, 25 fig. 4)



**Fig. 12.38.** Pylos tablets Ta 713 and Sh 742 drawings (after *PT II*, 66, 82)

finely levigated clay with carefully smoothed edges. Contrast its shape and appearance with the drawn-out, uneven, and tapering shape of tablet Sh 742.

It is perhaps no accident that the tablet with the better appearance (Ta 713) is part of the series that lists important communal banqueting paraphernalia, including here tables made with stone, ivory and special woods, and inlays and figural decorations. This inventory was very difficult to compile and lay out in recorded form. It was entrusted, therefore, to Hand 2, who writes other major sets.

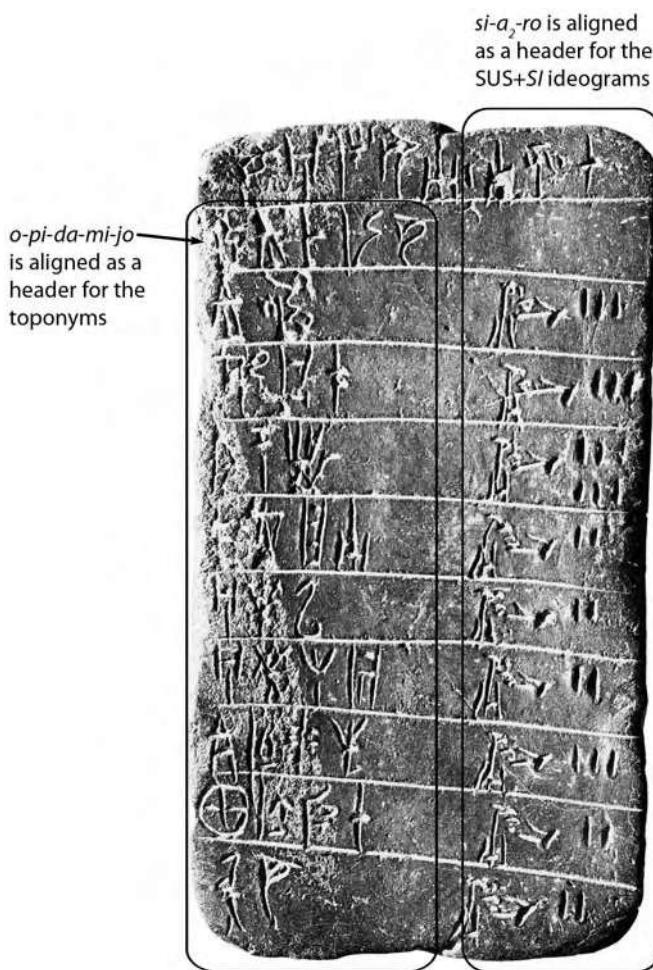
Sh 742 by Stylus 733-Cii, on the other hand, is one tablet from a series of twelve tablets with repetitive texts that document sets of refurbished armour that were checked one by one to make sure they had reached a state of readiness. There are six tablets with identical texts pertaining each to an individual set of defensive armour of one style, and four tablets with identical texts pertaining to defensive armour of a slightly different kind of construction.<sup>132</sup> Although we should not underestimate the importance that armour had for the elite Mycenaean military class, it seems legitimate to conclude that these inspection texts are a less difficult and less prestigious scribal assignment.

## §12.2.2. How were the Linear B tablets made, shaped, written and organized?

### §12.2.2.1. Tablets

Linear B tablets can be cut or reshaped to special sizes to fit specific record-keeping tasks. In Fig. 12.39, the scribe uses a rectangular tablet (Cn 608),

<sup>132</sup> On the Sh series, see PALAIMA 1996a. On the Ta series and tablet Ta 713, see *Documents*<sup>2</sup>, 332-348, 496-502.

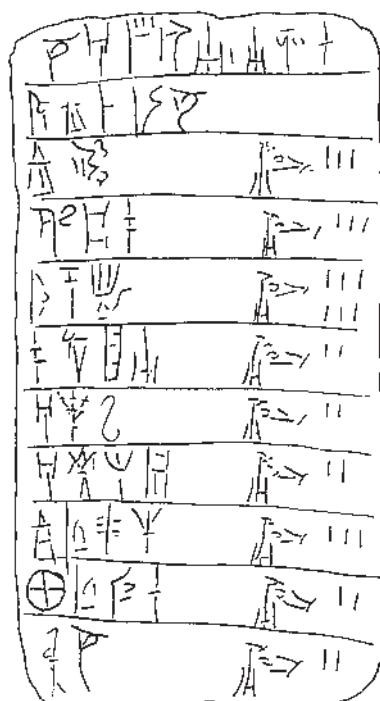


**Fig. 12.39.** Pylos tablet Cn 608 (photo from PASP archives, annotation by K. Pluta)

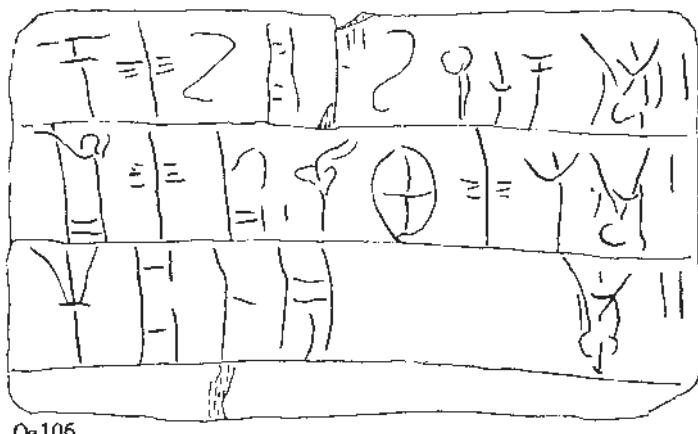
drawing rule lines on it so that the eleven lines run across the narrow width of the tablet and down its length. The tablet is perfectly sized and expertly laid out to receive this text, without any trace of hesitation or crowding of information. The scribe (Hand 1) writes a two-line header that says:

‘Thus the *o-pi-da-mi-jo* (subject) will fatten fatted pigs (object)’.

The *o-pi-da-mi-jo*, *opidāmioi* here seem to be individuals who work on the lands of the *dāmos* and for the profit of the *dāmos*.



Cn 608



**Fig. 12.40.** Pylos tablet Cn 608 and Mycenae tablet Oe 106  
 (after *PT II*, 61 and *MT I*, 430)

Note how in the layout of the text on the tablet (Figs. 12.39 and 40), the word for ‘fatted animals’ (*si-a<sub>2</sub>-ro*, *sihalons*) is placed at the right end of the first line and directly over the entries of *sus+SI* (*SI* is an abbreviation for *si-a<sub>2</sub>-ro*) in the following nine lines (lines .3-.11) which give on the left side each of the nine major districts of the Hither Province of the palatial territory of Pylos. Meanwhile *o-pi-da-mi-jo* sits above the toponyms for each of the nine districts where these individuals operate. Thus the two columns of textual data have their own headers.

On Mycenae tablet Oe 106 (Fig. 12.40), a tablet from the so-called House of the Oil Merchant, the layout of the text is oriented in the other direction on the tablet. It accommodates a shorter text that has three entries pertaining to allocations of small quantities of wool that is designated as *ko-ro-to* ‘to be coloured’ (?) to a man and two women. The verso of Oe 106 bears one of a handful of generally well-executed scribal doodles (Fig. 12.41) that are found on the Linear B tablets.<sup>133</sup>



**Fig. 12.41.** Scribal doodle of a man from the reverse of Mycenae tablet Oe 106 (after *MT I*, 430)

<sup>133</sup> See PALAIMA 1992, for what the doodles and figural logograms tell us about the artistic skills of scribes and their relationship to higher forms of art.

My favorite example of the resourcefulness of tablet-writers when it comes to accommodating their physical tablets to the texts they have to write is the now reclassified tablet PY Na 1357 (Fig. 12.42). This tablet is one of a large set of texts from Pylos dealing with contributions, holdings and exemptions of flax among various professional groups. Na 1357 is a small piece of a leaf-shaped tablet that has been reconfigured to function very much like a miniature page-shaped document (cf. tablet Ta 721 in the Ta series as discussed above).<sup>134</sup> The preserved portion of the tablet is 2.7 cm. high, 3.8 cm. in its extant length and 0.9 cm. thick at its maximum. The text reads:

- .1 to]-sa-de , e-ma-a<sub>2</sub> , e-re[-u-te-ra SA
- .2 to]-sa-de , e-po-me-ne-we, [ e-re-u-te-ra SA
- .3 to]-sa-de , ka-ke-we , e-re-u-te[-ra SA
- .4 ]t̪o-sa-de , ko-re-te-re , e-re-u[-te-ra SA
  
- ‘.1 so] much for Hermes is ex[empt FLAX
- .2 so] much for *Epomeneus* [is exempt FLAX
- .3 so] much for the bronzesmith is exem[pt FLAX
- .4 so much for the \**korētēr* (or \**korestēr*) is exe[mpt FLAX.’

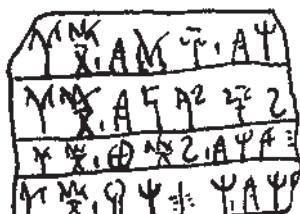


Fig. 12.42. Pylos tablet Na 1357 (formerly Nn 1357 and Xn 1357) (after AJA 61, 1959, plate 31)

You can see in the drawing that the line height varies. Each of the first two lines is approximately 0.8 cm high. It looks as if Hand 1 here originally intended for this tablet to have three lines of that same height (so 2.4 cm. total). At some point, however, he realized that it would be expedient or necessary to put a fourth entry on the tablet, the one dealing with the \**korētēr* (dative singular) (or \**korestēr*), in parallel with the first three lines that refer respectively to the

<sup>134</sup> This document is a good example of the difficulty of categorizing the tablets and their texts by contents and by shape. The scribes did not have to make their texts conform strictly to any standard shape or size. So the categories leaf-shaped and page-shaped are sometimes blurred. Na 1357 was first published in 1959 as Nn 1357 (the prefix marked it as a page-shaped tablet of the flax series). It then was officially published as Xn 1357 (a page-shaped tablet of indeterminate series — because the logogram for flax was not preserved). It is now categorized as Na 1357, making clear that it is a kind of leaf-shaped tablet, although its text is very different, as a kind of mini-compilation, from the texts of other Na tablets by Hand 1.

god Hermes, an individual known as *Epomeneus* and a bronzesmith. All these individuals are receiving exemptions of flax in now unpreserved quantities.

It is plausible that these four entries referred to the same locality, so that Hand 1 decided to group them together on a single text in this way.<sup>135</sup> In order to accommodate this extra line, Hand 1 squeezes the moist clay along the bottom edge of the tablet. This action extends the clay about 0.4 cm, which makes it possible to write two narrower lines of about 0.5 cm. in height. This is ingenious. In connection with our discussion in Part 1 about whether the palm-prints on the tablets belong to special tablet-flatteners (who were young or old men of assistant status) or to the tablet-writers themselves, tablet Na 1357 at least shows that the scribes were themselves adept at manipulating the freshly made clay documents at their disposal, and were not reluctant to do so.

Clay, as we have just seen, is a very good material for record-keeping. It is readily available wherever a bed of clay has been located by potters for use in vase production. As long as the clay is stored moist in a closed container, it can be kept, ready to use, indefinitely. In fact, there was a large pithos in archives room 7 at Pylos (Fig. 12.15, grid squares 71 and 81) that we hypothesize was there to supply the scribes with water that they could use in their record-keeping activities. And it is easy to recycle clay from a non-baked tablet whose record has become obsolete, simply by immersing the tablet into water. In general, tablets by the principal tablet-writers at Pylos are made from finely processed clay. A few page-shaped tablets are composed of coarser clay at their centres and a veneer of smooth clay on the outside. In some cases, this caused the tablet surfaces to flake and peel, when the tablets were exposed to intense heat from the fire that destroyed the palace.

The Mycenaean leaf-shaped documents were made by flattening clay out into a kind of thick sheet, much like the dough that bakers roll out for pies (Fig. 12.43). These sheets would then be rolled up at top and bottom creating a thicker, long tablet with a closure seam along the back side. The back side could then be smoothed with the finger. In certain cases a piece of twisted plant-like material, perhaps even something like a fibrous cord, was laid lengthwise across the sheets of clay before they were ‘rolled up’. In other cases, what runs through the centre is a stalk or straw that functions as the backbone or spine of the tablet. When the tablets were done, the ‘string’ or stalk running through the middle of the tablet and out at least one of its ends could have been used to move the tablets around while they were very moist. They also served

<sup>135</sup> Hand 2 uses a similar technique at the end of the Ta inventory of banqueting and sacrifice paraphernalia. He groups what are known as *thrānuwes* (footstools or small personal ‘benches’ for sitting) on two tablets (Ta 721 and Ta 722).



**Fig. 12.43.** Drawing of an apprentice rolling out clay (after SJÖQUIST – ÅSTRÖM 1985, frontispiece)

to reinforce the stability of the tablets. When the tablets were accidentally baked in the intense fires that preserved them, much of the fibrous material was itself burned away. In a few cases, however, study of fragments of leaf-shaped tablets at Pylos revealed that some of the fibrous material was still preserved in what would have been the interior of the tablets when they were intact.

### §12.2.2.2. Sealings and labels

A ‘sealing’ in the Mycenaean palatial period is a small lump of clay that can be wedged into the space created by the tips of the thumb, index finger and middle finger, when they are brought together, or, as Melena has demonstrated, it can be pressed into the space between the index and middle finger where they join the palm of the hand (Fig. 12.44). The lumps of clay are formed around the knot in a string that is thereby ‘secured’ from being tampered with without anyone noticing. The string comes out of the sealing (also called a *nodule* from the Latin word for the ‘knot’ that is literally encased in the clay that surrounds it) at each of its ends. These sealings or nodules thus guarantee the integrity of whatever objects they were attached to. They bear seal impressions that specify who the responsible party or entity was for whatever transaction is being conducted by means of these devices. There are many uninscribed sealings.<sup>136</sup>

<sup>136</sup> See PALAIMA 1987a for an overview of inscribed and uninscribed sealings and their purposes.

The largest group of inscribed sealings are those from Thebes that are connected with sacrificial animals. Even in this set of sixty-one sealings, five were uninscribed. See PITEROS – OLIVIER – MELENA 1990.

A label (Figs. 12.44a and 44b) is a thin hunk of clay that is pressed flat against the surface of what we conventionally call a wicker basket, made from natural reeds that can be woven or plaited together to form a container. The clay label adhering to the basket surface is then inscribed with brief texts that identify the tablets stored inside the basket.

Moist clay is malleable. The fronts (Fig. 12.44a) and backs (Fig. 12.44b) of clay labels show clearly how they were literally impressed onto the surfaces of tablet-transport baskets. The fronts preserve the fingerprints and /or palmprints of the tablet-writers and the indentations these make. The backs of labels show the grooves of the reed, stalks, twigs or other plant materials that were woven together to form baskets. Likewise the inscribed clay nodules display ingenuity of shaping (Fig. 12.45). The clay is wrapped around a knotted string and then at the moment when the seal is impressed into the surface, the fingers holding



**Fig. 12.44a.** Fronts of inscribed clay labels from Pylos (photo from PASP archives)

Top row from left: Wa 917, Wa 930

Bottom row from left: Wa 931, Wa 947, Wa 948



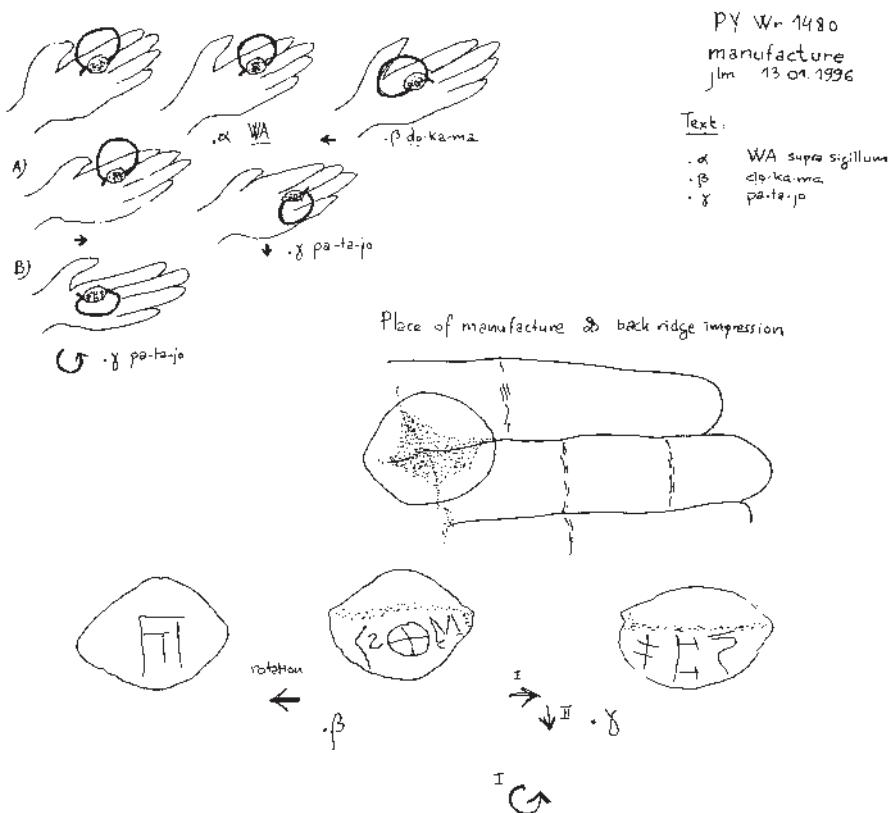
**Fig. 12.44b.** Backs of inscribed clay labels from Pylos (photo from PASP archives)  
Top row from left: Wa 917, Wa 930  
Bottom row from left: Wa 931, Wa 947, Wa 948

the piece of moist clay from behind naturally create two other small surfaces that, along with the seal-impressed front surface, *can* be used to record small bits of information that the scribes thought relevant and necessary. These surfaces are conventionally numbered  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$ .

Both the sealings and the labels are connected with the movement of information through space. It is likely, however, in my opinion, that in the Palace of Nestor at Pylos the inscriptions on the labels were made when the transport baskets in which they were brought to the central archives (Rooms 7 and 8 at the main entrance to the Palace of Nestor) had arrived at Archives Room 7. Ten of the labels, in fact, were found in grid square 52 (Fig. 12.15) in Room 7 directly to the left of the doorway between the outer room (Room 7), which was used mainly for the receipt, temporary storage and preliminary processing of clay documents, and the inner room (Room 8), which was used mainly for tablet filing and storage. Room 8 also had a clay bench that was used in the

process of filing and later retrieving filed sets of tablets. The labels that have enough information preserved so that we can understand them relate to:

- (1) the census or head count of women and children workers that is the basis for the lists of monthly rations for the working women from the Further Province of Pylos (the ration tablets are the Aa 60-98 set by Hand 4, but Hand 1 wrote the label Wa 114, which was found in Grid 13 along with the Aa tablets of Hand 4);
- (2) the census or head count of women and children workers pertaining to women in the Hither province (Aa 240-1182 and Wa 1008, all by Hand 1);
- (3) the expected taxation of six commodities from provincial centres and specifically the site of *sa-ma-ra*, the third of the seven main centres in the



**Fig. 12.45.** Method of making an inscribed sealed nodule  
(courtesy of J.L. Melena, January 13, 1996)

Further Province of Pylos (series Ma: Hand 2 wrote both the tablets and the label);

- (4) records of flax connected with communities in both provinces that have skilled work groups, individuals and even a deity associated with them (series Na and Ng: Hand 1 wrote most of the Na texts, the two Ng summary/totaling texts and the labels<sup>137</sup> that are tentatively connected with the Na series);
- (5) records of landholding in the district of *pa-ki-ja-ne* (series Eb and Eo: Hand 41 wrote the tablets and the label);<sup>138</sup>
- (6) the inspection inventories of armour refurbishing (series Sh and label Wa 732: both by the tablet-writer of stylus group 733 of stylistic class ii and found in grid square 52);<sup>139</sup>
- (7) records of repair work with wheels (Hand 26 wrote both the label Wa 1148 and the tablets of series Sa).

We do not know how the information in tablets like Aa 60, Aa 240, or the tablets of the Ma or Na sets was obtained. It is clear that reporting had to come into the palace centre or that administrative agents of the palace had to go out and gather information. It is unlikely, however, that these texts were written down very far from the central archives in which the tablets were stored. This makes it possible that the labeling of the transport-baskets occurred when the tablets reached the proximity of the central archives. The records of the inspection inventory for the five pairs of armour may have been written down in the Northeast Workshop (Fig. 12.16, Rooms 92-100).

### §12.2.2.3. Styluses

We have seen that Sir Arthur Evans spoke of the *ductus* (or manner of drawing the lines of signs through the clay) on certain Knossos tablets as possessing a needle-like precision. This may have planted the idea that the Mycenaean scribes wrote with a writing implement that was sharpened to a point, much

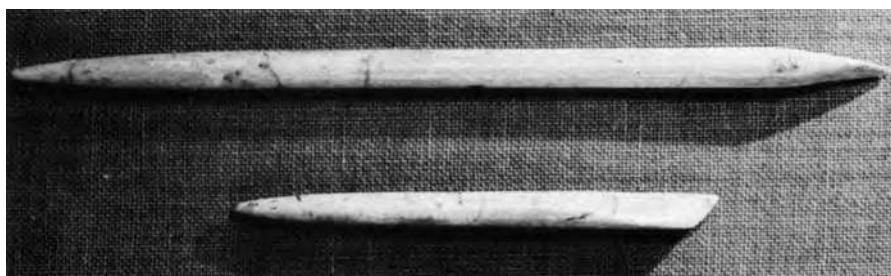
<sup>137</sup> Wa 917 refers, it seems, to the prominent person *a-ko-so-ta* whom we discuss below (§12.2.5) as having completed a distribution (*o-da-sa-to, hōs [?] das[s]ato*) in his status as an *e-qe-ta, ek<sup>w</sup>etās* and somehow involving an official known as the *e-re-u-te*, ‘inspector’. Fragmentary tablet Na 1356 makes the attribution of the label to the Na series plausible because it refers to the *wanaks* and seemingly the same official (the *e-re-u-te*). As an *e-qe-ta, a-ko-so-ta* would have had a close relationship with the *wanaks*. Wa 948 simply refers to the Hither Province.

<sup>138</sup> The label preserves two vocabulary items that are important for the landholding records written by the same hand: *onātēres* ‘landholders who derive a benefit from the land through usufruct’, and *ktoināhōn* the genitive plural of the term for the basic plots of land.

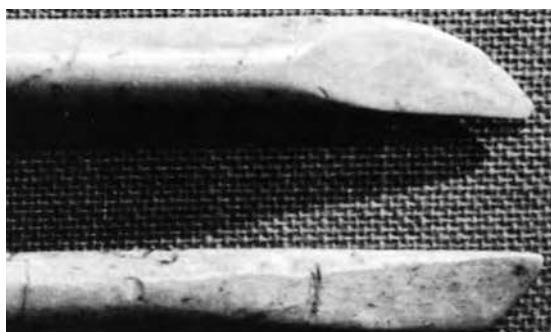
<sup>139</sup> The text of label Wa 732 can be restored as *!θō[ṛ]ākēs*.



**Fig. 12.46a.** Stylus from Thebes (after RUIPÉREZ – MELENA 1990,70)



**Fig. 12.46b.** Photograph of styluses from Tiryns (after GODART 1990, 123)



**Fig. 12.46c.** Photograph of blade points of styluses from Tiryns  
(after GODART 1990, 123)

like a modern pencil, only finer. Fortunately, we now have Mycenean styluses from the site of Thebes (Fig. 12.46a and 12.46b). They taper slightly on one end to a blunt surface not too large in diameter. This end might be used for the kind of abrading that we saw on the recto of tablet Tn 316. But the main writing end of the stylus is trimmed to a curved blade-like edge that tapers to a point (Fig. 12.46c). The blade point laid flat can be used to make erasures.

When I was first shown these instruments and told they were styluses for writing, I could not believe it. However, making styluses of this shape from wood and then using them showed me that I was foolish to be sceptical. I also yearly have school children in a class at an Open House at the University of

Texas at Austin. They make their own clay tablets and use styluses of this kind during a session that I call ‘They Wrote on Clay, and You Can, Too.’ And the title always proves true. Even five-year-old children can use the blade-stylus with ease and very accurately. This is because the finely pointed tapering blade moves easily through moist clay.

The shape of the blade allows for maximum control when drawing curved strokes into the clay surface of a tablet. It even allows the scribe to change the direction of his next stroke to any point in a 360-degree rotation by easily rolling the stylus between the two fingers that hold and control it. In my case, using was believing. Mycenaean styluses could have been made readily from any sturdy reed-like plant or straight twig or pencil-form pre-shaped piece of wood (or even bone and ivory).

### §12.2.3. What did the Mycenaean scribes deal with?

Once the work of specific individuals is identified, we can then discuss what areas of social, political, economic or religious life they dealt with in their writing, what the distinctive qualities — we might use the term ‘peculiarities’ in the most literal sense — of their work were, and how they interacted with one another.

Besides the basic word for ‘tablet-writer’ in Akkadian and Sumerian, there are other terms that specify the kind of ‘writer’ that a cuneiform ‘tablet-writer’ is:<sup>140</sup> deaf writer,<sup>141</sup> field scribe (land-registrar, land-measurer), inscriber of stone, judge’s scribe, mathematician, military scribe, scribe for labor groups, scribe of the property of the temple, scribe of the *nadītu* (i.e., cloistered) women, scribe of (the omen series) *Enūma Anu Enlil*. In Hittite records, some scribes were known as ‘wood-tablet scribe’. Generally, other cuneiform scribes were known as ‘leather scribe’ and ‘papyrus scribe’. We can see that the method of differentiation here sorted scribes into classes according to: (1) the range of materials used, i.e., the media for writing: clay, papyrus, wax, leather (parchment), stone; and (2) the main duties or spheres of record-keeping activity: legal records and records pertaining to land plots and distribution of land, military affairs, work groups, temple and sanctuary administration, religious matters. It was also not unknown for scribes to hold titles that designated their professional responsibilities, but did not explicitly refer to their skill as ‘tablet-writer’, e.g. *kalu* ‘lamentation priest’.

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<sup>140</sup> For this discussion, see PEARCE 1995, 2272.

<sup>141</sup> This term probably refers to a copyist who works directly from another text and, therefore, does not receive the information for the tablet he is writing through dictation.

In the Near and Middle East, in what we shall hereafter call cuneiform cultures, tablet-writers had an important presence in almost all spheres of social activity, public and private, religious and secular, palatial and domestic. It is estimated that 70 percent of scribal work was devoted to palatial administrative activities, 20 percent to private matters (business dealings, contracts, merchant records, private inventories, notarized and witnessed transactions, and the like), and 10 percent to what conventionally are called scholarly or scientific activities.<sup>142</sup> Our Linear B records, by contrast, seem to be very much focused on the interests of the palatial centres. They are entirely concentrated on economic matters, albeit the goods, materials and transactions can be situated in the same spheres of life where cuneiform tablet-writers were active.<sup>143</sup>

We are severely limited in our knowledge of what most Mycenaean scribes do during their careers, i.e., whether some of them would be specialized in certain spheres, because all of our texts date from the period of days, weeks, or at most months preceding the fire destructions that preserved the texts.<sup>144</sup> We thus are unable to follow individual scribes through their careers, as can be done in the Near and Middle East.<sup>145</sup> Even when scribes appear to be operating in different subject areas based on the preserved texts assigned to them, we may not be seeing some overall unifying principle to their work which would be known to them or to higher officials in the central administration.

#### §12.2.4. How were the Mycenaean scribes taught?

An area where we have a huge *lacuna* in Linear B studies is the education of scribes.<sup>146</sup> By contrast, in cuneiform cultures, there is ample documentation over long periods for what is known in Old Babylonian as the *eduba* (Sumerian *é-dub-ba-a*, Akkadian *bīt tuppi*), literally ‘the tablet house’.<sup>147</sup> In such institutions, new tablet-writers received specialized educations, not just in the art of writing, but in subject areas for which written records were essential: the different languages in which traditional and contemporary texts were written (Sumerian, Akkadian, Aramaic); legal proceedings; letter-writing; public

<sup>142</sup> PEARCE 1995, 2273.

<sup>143</sup> The tablets from the ‘houses’ at Mycenae are the main candidates for ‘extra-palatial’ use of writing. See VARIAS GARCÍA 1993, and detailed discussion in SHELMERDINE 1999, 569–573.

<sup>144</sup> See PALAIMA 1995a, 629–631.

<sup>145</sup> PEARCE 1995, 2276. Some cuneiform scribes have careers as long as thirty years or more.

<sup>146</sup> See DUHOUX 2008.

<sup>147</sup> SJÖBERG, 1976, 159–161 *et passim*, for much of the information that follows, with bibliography. See also PEARCE 1995, 2270–2272.

inscriptions on stone; economic transactions; the ‘tongues’ or ‘the technical jargon, words and expressions’<sup>148</sup> of specialized occupations (e.g., priests, silversmiths, jewellers, shepherds, master shippers); and highly technical areas like mathematics and surveying, music (categories of songs, individual hymns and their structures, versification) and literature.

What the evidence from cuneiform cultures gives us is not simply cause for lamenting the paucity of Linear B evidence, but a template or model for what we should be thinking about when we try to imagine how the technology of writing was acquired and used within Mycenaean palatial societies. For example, it is generally, though not universally,<sup>149</sup> admitted that we do not have school texts (as we mentioned in discussing the Room of the Chariot Tablets inscriptions, §12.1.2.6). But we might wonder whether it is not reasonable for Linear B scribes to have learned the character sets (phonetic signs, logograms, metrograms, numbers) in some way equivalent to the running ‘philological study lists’ that the students of cuneiform writing had to master: sign lists, vocabularies (grouped by semantic fields), syllabaries and grammatical lists. The tablet-writers in cuneiform cultures always had to negotiate the complexities of both the Sumerian and Akkadian languages. They had to master technical vocabulary and terminology in both languages. And they also had to master inherited Sumerograms in Akkadian texts and inherited Sumerograms and Akkadograms in Hittite texts.

For students attempting to master Linear B, the same challenge would have been present to some degree. Scribes were using logograms that originated in the Linear A script and undoubtedly at some point were associated with non-Greek words for those signs. The most famous example is the sign for figs. It is rendered logographically in Linear A and Linear B by the same sign that has the phonetic value *ni* in Linear B. This is the first syllable of the word *nikuleon*, which is attested in a gloss attributed to Hermonax in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, 76e, as meaning ‘figs’ in Crete.<sup>150</sup> When this ideogram was used in Linear B, was it pronounced as the other loan word that the Greek-speakers used for this fruit and that is attested, indirectly, in the Linear B texts: *sūkon*? Or did some of the scribes retain at least the knowledge, if not the constant use, of the word used on Crete, *nikuleon*? And did, e.g., scribes in Pylos or Knossos or Thebes differ in their reading of the logogram for figs?

Such traces of lasting Minoan influence help to reinforce the idea that most likely, in my opinion, the Mycenaeans took up the art of writing at some point

<sup>148</sup> SJÖBERG, 1976, 166-167.

<sup>149</sup> See DUHOUX 2008, §2.3.

<sup>150</sup> NEUMANN 1962.

in the history of Mycenaean society and culture when there was a critical need for records, i.e., when existing pre-literate systems of control and management of resources, work and exchange were no longer sufficient.<sup>151</sup>

We say that the Mycenaeans adopted writing from the Minoans by adapting Linear A so that the new script, Linear B, could represent Greek efficiently. But that is just a manner of speaking. It is difficult to imagine how recent illiterates in the first generation of the use of script could adjust it to the peculiar features of their language. Much more likely, in my opinion, is that tablet-writers who had used the Linear A script, who were what we conventionally call ethnic Minoans and who spoke the language or languages that were privileged within Minoan palatial culture,<sup>152</sup> adapted the Linear A sign repertoires to fit the language that would be thenceforth the main language of written communication in the Mycenaean states. The earliest records that we possess, the tablets from the Room of the Chariot Tablets at Knossos, we must remember, come from the destruction phase of the period when the records were written. This leaves open the possibility that even within the LM II into LM III A:1 phase, the features that we now know as typical of Linear B were worked out and eventually fixed over a period of years, even decades.

I have dealt elsewhere<sup>153</sup> with some of the differences in formatting and text arrangement that in my opinion are not significant markers of the transition from Minoan Linear A writing to Mycenaean Linear B writing. Features like the fuller use of rule lines in Linear B and the clear separation of logograms from the fuller syntactical groups of words represented by phonograms are developments that could have taken place within Linear A, had the Minoan culture ever seen the need to write on clay tablets the kinds of economic records the Mycenaeans eventually wrote.<sup>154</sup>

Tablet-writers in Linear B then would have had a reasonably long period before the destruction that preserved our earliest tablets, those from the Room of the Chariot Tablets, to arrive at what appears to be the set repertory of document shapes: page-shaped tablets, clay labels, nodules and leaf-shaped

<sup>151</sup> PALAIMA 1987b, 508. PALAIMA 1988, 273-278, offers a complete survey of alternative theories as to when, where and why the Linear B script was created. See also PALAIMA 1990b for an overview of writing and administration in the Aegean sphere.

<sup>152</sup> DUHOUX 1998 and RENFREW 1998 address the language situation in Minoan Crete.

<sup>153</sup> PALAIMA 1988.

<sup>154</sup> For the features of Linear A tablets in their administrative contexts, see SCHOEP 2002. Schoep discusses Linear A tablets with rule-lines on pp. 76-77. So far as we can tell, as in Linear B, nowhere in Linear A are ideograms imbedded in the syntax of phonographically represented word-groups. The reduced context of Linear A records tends to obscure this fact.

tablets.<sup>155</sup> We have already seen, however, that there is considerable variation within the categories of palm- and leaf-shaped records in size and in particular details of shape. To some extent the categories blur and merge.

Once the Mycenaean script was developed — and the Linear B writing system is remarkably stable in its sign repertoires and principles of use throughout its attested history — it then had to be taught to the number of people required to keep the records deemed necessary by the individuals and power groups who controlled, or at least heavily influenced, how Mycenaean society itself developed and operated within different palatial territories.

Whoever the individuals were who wrote our extant tablets and whatever status they had, it was necessary for them to acquire knowledge of the art of writing. How was this accomplished? Here palaeography and hand identification offer clues.

The instances wherein the styles of different scribal hands clearly fall into groups or classes (the clustering of the hands of the Room of the Chariot Tablets at Knossos; the close similarity of Khania Hand 115 and Knossos Hand 115; the very close resemblance of Pylos Hands 1 and 2; the three distinctive palaeographical classes of writing style from tablets dated to the destruction level at Pylos) offer our best evidence for how scribes of this period would have been trained. Such similarities clearly argue for training underneath senior masters who would transmit thereby a consistent and fairly traditional style to apprentices who were learning how to use the Linear B script.

Finally, how many persons besides the generously estimated 150 hands or potential hands identifiable in all our extant tablets might have known, during any generation, how to read and write in Linear B?

Any speculations here are complicated by the evidence that Linear B writing could be used on ephemeral documents. The strongest argument for this is the fact that the signs of the Linear B script maintain a curvilinear and complex style throughout 200 years of use, instead of developing simple forms that would have been easier to write, as they often are, repeatedly into moist clay surfaces. This raises the possibility that the Linear B records, as we have them, served in some ways as preliminary archives with information of longer term importance being transferred to records done in ink upon parchment or papyrus.

That there has been some simplification in sign forms over time is clear if we compare, as Driessen has conveniently done, the signs painted on inscribed stirrup jars with their earlier RCT forms and then with the developed Pylos and other mainland forms (see Figs. 12.47-49). Enough signs retain some of the

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<sup>155</sup> See PALMER 2008b, 61, fig. 2.1.

RCT(1)	RCT(2)	RCT(3)	RCT(4)	KN 101	KN 102	KN 103	KN 106	KN 115
KN 116	KN 117	KN 118	KN 120	KN 134	KN 141	KN 104+	KN 128+	KN 201+
KN n.i.	KN n.i.	PY 1	PY 14	PY 15	PY 21	PY 23	PY 26	PY 41
PY 43	PY 2-22	PY 24/5	PY other	MT 51	MT 57	MT 62	MY 52-64	MY n.i.
TH (a)	TH (b)	TH (c)	TH (d)	TH (e)	TI (a)	TI (b)	Z-MY	Z-TI
Z-TH	Z-KH	Z-other	Z-other	HT	HT	HT	HT	HT
CR	ZA	ZA	ARKH	MA	IO	PK	KN	KN
KH	KH	KH	MH	KE	PH	PH	AP	BB
PS	PL	TY	LA	PYR	AR	SY	other	other

Fig. 12.47. Palaeographic chart for Linear B sign *du*  
(after DRIESSEN 2000, 360 pl. 71)

RCT(1)	RCT(2)	RCT(3)	RCT(4)	KN 101	KN 102	KN 103	KN 106	KN 115
KN 116	KN 117	KN 118	KN 120	KN 134	KN 141	KN 104+	KN 128+	KN 201+
KN n.i.	KN n.i.	PY 1	PY 14	PY 15	PY 21	PY 23	PY 26	PY 41
PY 43	PY 2-22	PY 24/5	PY other	MY 51	MY 57	MY 62	MY 52-64	MY n.i.
TH (a)	TH (b)	TH (c)	TH (d)	TH (e)	TI (a)	TI (b)	Z	Z-TI
Z-TH	Z-KH	Z-other	Z-other	NT	NT	NT	NT	NT
CR	ZA	ZA	AKHN	MA	IO	PK	KN	KN
KH	KH	KH	MI	KE	PH	PH	AP	GO
PS	PL	TY	LA	PYH	AR	SY	other	other

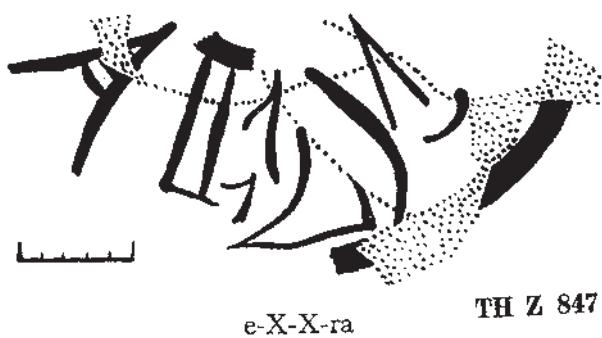
Fig. 12.48. Palaeogeographic chart for Linear B sign no  
(after DRIESSEN 2000, 361 pl. 72)

RCT(1)	RCT(2)	RCT(3)	RCT(4)	KN 101	KN 102	KN 103	KN 106	KN 115
KN 116	KN 117	KN 118	KN 120	KN 134	KN 141	KN 104+	KN 128+	KN 201+
KN n.i.	KN n.l.	PY 1	PY 14	PY 15	PY 21	PY 23	PY 26	PY 41
PY 43	PY 2-22	PY 24/5	PY other	MY 51	MY 57	MY 62	MY 52-64	MY n.i.
TH (a)	TH (b)	TH (c)	TH (d)	TH (e)	T1 (e)	T1 (b)	Z-MY	Z-TI
Z-TI	Z-KN	Z-other	Z-other	HT	HT	HT	HT	HT
GR	ZA	ZA	ABKN	MA	IO	PK	KN	KN
KN	KN	KA	MI	KE	PH	PH	AP	GO
PS	PL	TY	LA	PYB	AR	SY	other	other

Fig. 12.49. Palaeographic chart for Linear B sign *na*  
(after DRIESSEN 2000, 320 pl. 31)

added elements or embellishments that are found in the painted forms to prove that a traditional sense of writing was transmitted.<sup>156</sup> But in general, as we move from the earlier Knossos material to the later mainland material, and as we move from the painted texts on stirrup jars to the incised texts on clay tablets, reasonable, though not extreme, simplification occurs.

Clay tablet writing in the Mycenaean period, insofar as it is preserved, was used within a narrow orbit of society and was focused on economic *realia*. Likewise, even the stirrup jar inscriptions were executed for economic purposes having to do with the control of the process of production (in a system comparable to the ‘collector’ system used with sheep, wool and other livestock).<sup>157</sup> Contrary to the *communis opinio*, the seeming ‘illegibility’ of some of the signs painted on the stirrup jars (Fig. 12.50) should not be attributed to



**Fig. 12.50.** Stirrup jar inscription Thebes Z 847 with illegible signs  
(after RAISON 1968, 82)

lack of familiarity with the writing system or compared with the ‘nonsense writing’ found on some Attic vase inscriptions of the historical period. Instead it is, in my opinion, explained by the internal needs of a closed system wherein batches of vases had to be identified for individuals who ‘knew’ the kind of

<sup>156</sup> On embellishments and simplifications within the work of individual scribal hands, and the reasons that these occur, see *Scribes Pylos*, 21-26 and figure 4. See also the ‘embellished style’ of signs on the tablets of Hand 91 and Class iv that are probably earlier in date than the rest of the Pylos Linear B material: *Scribes Pylos*, 111-113; 133-134. From this group the minuscule fragment Xn 1449 should be removed. It has been joined (MELENA 1996-97, 165) to tablet Vn 1339, which comes from the Northeast Workshop. The find-spot of Xn 1449 was unknown. It was included with these tablets solely on the basis of the seemingly unusual palaeography of its two partial signs. This is now seen to have been inadvisable.

<sup>157</sup> VAN ALFEN 1996-97; VAN ALFEN 2008.

information that was likely to occur in these inscriptions. In such environments, very similar to the illegible (to an outsider) scrawl written by physicians to pharmacists, signs and words can be written in haste in full confidence that their messages can be understood, or divined, by the parties who need to read them. We might recall here our observations (with regard to Tn 316 above) about the self-mnemonic aspects of many of our records.

The Linear B tablets in other regards offer evidence that work specialisation was passed down from fathers and mothers to their sons and daughters.<sup>158</sup> Texts of the Ak and Ap series at Knossos record women workers. These texts use the abbreviation *di* and the word *di-da-ka-re* (*didaskalei*) to indicate that children who are designated as *daughters* (abbreviation *tu* for *tu-ka-te*, *thugatér*) are ‘under instruction’. It is then not difficult to imagine also that the actual children of scribes (like the young tablet-makers who left their palm-prints on the clay tablets) would be taught the art of writing as a skill for their eventual expected service within the palatial system. They would thereby be acquiring a firsthand knowledge of Linear B palaeography that we now acquire in our own attempts to understand how the tablets were written and by whom.

#### §12.2.5. *The social status of the Mycenaean scribes*

Since the Linear B tablets do not give us the word for ‘scribe’ or any related word connected with administration or record-keeping, and since no tablet has a signature or an identifying seal-impression upon it, it has been debated, most recently by John Bennet and Jan Driessen, what the status of the persons who wrote the tablets was.<sup>159</sup>

Given how important the recording of individual and collective responsibility is in the Linear B records, this glaring absence of explicit references to those who were responsible for making and keeping the written records is striking and puzzling.

If the ‘scribes’ did not have prestige or high status as a group, we might expect for them to be listed collectively or individually among groups or persons who receive foodstuffs:

1. as ‘wage payments’ (like the ‘sawyers’, ‘wall-builders’, and ‘chief-carpen-  
ter’ on Pylos tablet Fn 7);
2. as basic survival-level rations (like the cloth and other women workers of  
the Pylos Aa, Ab and Ad series);

<sup>158</sup> HILLER 1988.

<sup>159</sup> BENNET 2001; DRIESSEN 1994-95; cf. PALAIMA 2003b, 188.

3. as earned or due allotments of food, like those given out to a group of women, two shepherds, and most likely six fullers and two ‘lyre-players’ recorded among other parties in the Av tablets of Hand 304 at Thebes (Av 100, 101 and 106);<sup>160</sup>
- or 4. as distributions of foods during festivals or other religious occasions (like the officials with ‘religious’ associations on Pylos tablet Fn 50).

The absence of ‘scribes’ from these kinds of documents might be used to argue minimally that the tablet-writers were not conceived of, or paid or ‘rewarded’, as a class within the Linear B records, but acquired a knowledge of writing in regards to whatever duties (political, social, religious, military or economic) they had within the palatial system and received recorded rewards from the palatial centres in such other capacities and not as ‘tablet-writers’ *per se*.

One possibility, therefore, is that the scribes are relatively high-ranking officials or persons of importance in various spheres of regional palatial culture. If the activities of such persons were of enough regular interest to the palatial centres, they might have been expected to learn the art of writing and record-keeping so that they could write down, report and preserve data needed to manage their affairs. However, given the low number of identifiable tablet-writers in the preserved records from the palatial centre at Pylos (about 33) and the broad range of specific interests that the extant texts document, there are no easy match ups of tablet-writers with official positions, with the exception of the *ko-re-te-re* and *po-ro-ko-re-te-re*, officials appointed by the palatial centre at Pylos to attend to its interests in the 16 districts into which the two main provinces are divided. These officials are 32 in number.

The other possibility, which I think is on balance more likely, is that the identified hands would be practical ‘record-makers’ who accompanied palatial and/or regional officials, like the *wanaks* (‘king’), *lāwagetās* (‘leader of the *lāwos*’), *ko-re-te-re* and *po-ro-ko-re-te-re* (palatially appointed regional officials, as we have just now explained, who are literally ‘agents of satiety’<sup>161</sup>), *e-qe-ta* (*hekʷetās*, traditionally translated as the ‘followers’, who appear mainly in contexts of mobilization of persons for military service) and various kinds of inspectors, inventory-makers, or overseers. In this scenario the ‘tablet-writers’ would essentially ‘take dictation’ from other personages or officials and would organize and keep track of complicated data by writing them down on the tablets.

<sup>160</sup> *TOP I*, 26-27, 32-32, 176-178.

<sup>161</sup> PALAIMA 2008, 385.

The extant tablets from Pylos, in cases where their contents and contexts are best understood, suggest that there was a hierarchy of tablet-writers according to their proficiency at recording information accurately and effectively. The main scribes of each of the three palaeographical classes cover diverse topics and were entrusted with the more important administrative assignments. Of course, we must always remember that our view is limited to the period of at most 5 months<sup>162</sup> from which our surviving tablets come. A scribe like Hand 21 writes 72 tablets in at least six different spheres of activity. Hand 25, by contrast, has written a single tablet (Vn 20) dealing with wine allocation to the principal districts of the Hither Province.

Before we consider an example, we should say a few words of caution. New finds (or even joins) of tablets have often brought new revelations that have overturned old theories. Two conspicuous examples are: (1) the clear attestation of the god Dionysus in the texts from Khania (Gq 5) and in a new join from Pylos (Ea 102)<sup>163</sup> that overturned theories that this god entered the Greek pantheon in post-Mycenaean times; (2) the discovery in the Thebes tablets (Av 106) of our first clear reference to lyre players, long known to exist from wall and vase paintings and the finds of the remains of the instruments themselves.<sup>164</sup>

A prominent individual at Pylos known as *a-ko-so-ta* is recorded as performing an inspection of fields (Eq 213), as having received at least sixty-two of an item that might be something like ‘beds’ (Pn 30), as having distributed to an unguent-boiler aromatics that will be used as scents in perfumed oil (Un 267), as an owner (‘collector’) of livestock, and finally in connection with a label referring to distribution (most likely of flax) at Pylos (Wa 917, cf. also Wa 948).<sup>165</sup> All these tablets are written by the same hand, Hand 1, who is the ‘master scribe’ of the site, i.e., the tablet-writer who writes what are among the most important texts and who, in a singular fashion, edits, and otherwise interacts with, the work of other scribes. Wa 917, as we have seen (§12.2.2.2), seems to refer to a set of records wherein *a-ko-so-ta* has the status of an *e-qe-ta* and operates in relationship to an ‘inspector’ (*e-re-u-te-re*[]). But it is impossible to prove<sup>166</sup> whether (a) *a-ko-so-ta* is in fact Hand 1, keeping track of his own administrative activities, or (b) the scribe known as Hand 1 was responsible for writing down information about the important activities of *a-ko-so-ta* because of his own high degree of competence as a record-maker.

<sup>162</sup> PALAIMA 1995a, 629–630 and n. 26.

<sup>163</sup> MELENA 2001, 36–37, 48.

<sup>164</sup> MELENA 2001, 30–31; YOUNGER 1998.

<sup>165</sup> *Scribes Pylos*, 40–41.

<sup>166</sup> See KYRIAKIDIS 1996–97, 220–224.

### §12.2.6. Some pending questions

Many problems related to the Mycenaean scribes and their texts are still unsolved and await new perspectives or fresh minds concentrating on ‘the realities of the situation.’ For example, we might ask, did the Linear B scribes use soft, perishable writing materials (papyri, parchment, waxed tablets) and to what extent? Remember that the fluid, criss-crossing and curving lines of some of the more elaborate signs suggest that writing with ink on ephemeral materials was practiced, as it clearly was in the Minoan period on ‘packet’ sealings, or, as Hallager calls them, ‘flat-based nodules’ (Fig. 12.51).

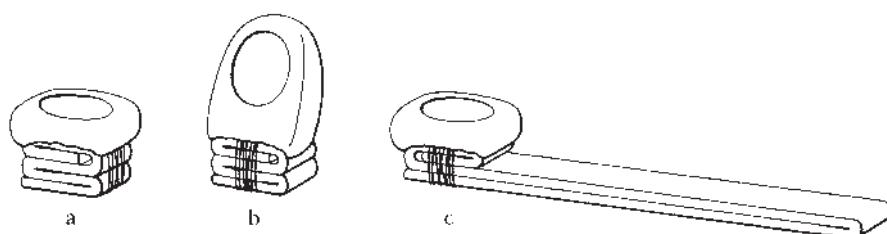


Fig. 51. Drawing of flat-based nodules with different windings.  
a. around folded ends; b. around edges; c. around edges of large parchment.

**Fig. 12.51.** Flat-based nodules used to secure the integrity of messages written on folded parchment (after HALLAGER 1996, 140, fig. 51)

We have hypothesized that Minoan scribes most likely invented and first taught the art of writing. Who were their pupils? Could we imagine that Minoan scribes were in charge at the beginning of the Mycenaean administration in Crete and that the knowledge and use of script was transmitted from fathers to sons or nephews within their family lines? That is, was there a tendency toward the hereditary transmission of the scribal function, parallel to how craft skills in other areas like pottery production and cloth manufacture are passed to sons and daughters? Might this mean that the professional skill of writing always stayed within extended families who were of Minoan ‘ethnicity’ in origin?<sup>167</sup>

<sup>167</sup> This might be useful in explaining why the language of the Linear B tablets is so uniform, despite being attested over a period of almost two centuries and in regions where, in the alphabetic period, remarkably different dialects prevailed. Essentially the language of the tablets would be a somewhat fossilized Greek that was used to record basic information. It might also explain the willingness of the tablet-writers to perpetuate old ideograms that derive seemingly from the initial syllables of Minoan words.

How long was the apprenticeship period? What was the curriculum for education in the art of writing?

We might even ask how many scribes had to be trained at any one time.

Kevin Pluta in his dissertation in progress<sup>168</sup> calculates that the Palace of Nestor would have had to train just three scribes per year to maintain a stable ‘scribal workforce’. He supposes that the *floruit* of a tablet-writer at Pylos, i.e., the period of his most active and accomplished use of writing for administrative purposes, was only ten years (surely a conservative estimate), and that the number of tablet-writers active at any one time did not far exceed the approximately 30 scribes that we have identified in the tablets preserved by the late LH III B destruction.

Let us, in order to be very conservative in our hypothesizing, double the number of tablet-writers needed by the palatial centre at any one time and use a moderate estimate for the average working career of a scribe of fifteen years. Then in any given year, in order to maintain the number of skilled tablet-writers the palace administration needed, a mere four scribes would have to ‘get their diplomas’. This may explain why we find little evidence for scribal schools. Scribal education might have been a matter of apprenticeship of sons within the families of current scribes, or the younger males within their extended clans or village-level communities. This kind of hypothesizing raises still more questions.

How was the knowledge of script transmitted outward from the site where it was invented to the other centres? By the end of the Mycenaean III B period, we have clear evidence that writing was used for wide-ranging purposes, for example,

1. daily distributions of barley to individuals and work groups (e.g., the Thebes Fq tablets);
2. inventories of vases (Mycenae Ue 611; Pylos Tn 996 and the Ta series);
3. making sure that military equipment, vital for the defense of territories or expansion of power, was ready (Pylos Sa and Sh tablets;<sup>169</sup> Tiryns Si tablets; Thebes Ug tablets; Khania Sq 1; the many KN S- series);
4. offerings or the consignment of goods, materials and artefacts to sanctuary localities (KN Fp series; PY Fr series; PY Tn 316; KH Gq 5);
5. the highest matters of religious ceremony (Pylos Un 718, Tn 316 and the Ta series; Khania Gq 5).

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<sup>168</sup> PLUTA forthcoming.

<sup>169</sup> See also the joins of tablet fragments that indicate other military equipment manufacture at Pylos: MELENA 1996-97, 165-170.

Was clay-tablet writing used far outside the orbits of the main palatial centres which until now give us all of our documentation? If not, how was the information from provincial districts and second-order centres gathered and eventually processed in summary documents at the palatial centres?<sup>170</sup>

How was the information in the central archives organized? How many tablet-writers or officials had access to the records once they were stored? What happened to the records from prior administrative periods? Who decided whether and when texts could be destroyed? It is noteworthy that with a few, probably accidental, exceptions, we do not possess any tablets from administrative years prior to the ones that were underway when the buildings in which they were kept were destroyed.

Lastly, we would like to know something more about the social standing of Mycenaean tablet-writers.

Was a masterful scribe like Pylos Hand 1 an aristocrat who used writing to discharge his responsibilities in overseeing so many areas that were important for maintaining the power and prestige of the palatial centre and its authority figures? Or was he simply a very skilled technical expert, well enough appreciated by those in power, but never invited to sit at banquets with them as an equal?

Were there ‘temple’ scribes specializing in religious matters that are so prominent in the tablets;<sup>171</sup> and, if so, how would they have interacted with palatial scribes?

The *wanaks* at Pylos has his own potter, fuller, and *e-te-do-mo, entesdomos*; and the *lāwagetās*, too, has a wheelwright and other personnel designated as his. Would such high personages have their own scribes, too?<sup>172</sup>

For all these questions there are relevant data in the corpus of inscriptions and the specialized editions and studies of the texts that we now have or that are now in preparation. Palaeography has opened up for us a world where we can come into contact with human beings from the second millennium BC and know them at what we can call, without exaggeration, an intimate level. We have their fingerprints, their palmprints, and their ‘hands’. We can see in the physical shapes of the tablets their handiwork, whether as full-fledged scribes or as apprentices. We can see in their finished texts how cleverly they used the art of writing and what solutions they devised to nearly intractable problems of how to record certain kinds of information. In some cases, we have

<sup>170</sup> PALAIMA 2000b; and PALAIMA 2001, especially for discussion of macro- and microeconomic levels of administrative organization.

<sup>171</sup> WEILHARTNER 2005.

<sup>172</sup> See PALAIMA 2002.

their doodles and perhaps even the ABC's that they learned when they were young. We know lots about their workplace identities; and they invite us to get to know them better.

A Sumerian proverb says, 'The scribal art is the mother of speakers, the father of scholars.'<sup>173</sup> For students of Mycenology, study of the scribal art from the late Mycenaean Bronze Age is the mother of modern scholars, too.

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<sup>173</sup> PEARCE 1995, 2265.

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## CHAPTER 13

# THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE MYCENAEAN KINGDOMS\*

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## §13.1. INTRODUCTION

Geography was implicated in the very origins of the discipline of Mycenaean studies, the decipherment itself. In his famous *Work Note 20* (originally circulated in June 1952) Ventris identified Amnisos prior to identifying Knossos and Tylisos, only then going on to propose some lexical items:

One of the most likely Cretan placenames is Amnisos, a few kilometres NE of Knossos .... If Amnisos does occur ... and the phonetic assumptions above are

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<sup>1</sup> I should like to thank the editors for their patience and for valuable comments on earlier drafts. John Baines offered sage advice on matters Egyptological, while Peter Day, Hal Haskell, Richard Jones and John Killen kindly allowed me access to work in progress in relation to inscribed stirrup jars. As ever, none of the above should be held responsible for remaining errors of fact or judgement; for these, I claim sole responsibility.

correct, we should expect it to be written in the form  $\text{H} \dots - \text{H} \dots$ ; and we do in fact find that one common sign-group, and one only, contains these signs:  $\text{H} \text{V} \text{H} \text{H}$ , which forms an adjectival form  $\text{H} \text{V} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H} / \text{H}$  and a locative (?)  $\text{H} \text{V} \text{H} \text{H} \text{H}$ . (VENTRIS 1988, 328)

The identification of place-names on Crete and the Greek mainland in the Linear B documents, however, has more extensive implications than its role in the decipherment. Although seemingly obvious, it is of no small significance that we are able to confirm the Bronze Age names of the centres at Knossos (*ko-no-so*), Pylos (*pu-ro*), and Thebes (*te-qa-*), even if those of Mycenae and Tiryns still elude us. It is widely recognised (e.g., KILLEN 2008) that the Linear B documents offer a biased view, recording only those activities of direct interest to the palatial centres in which they were found. Not all of these activities took place at those centres, however, a fact demonstrated partly by the very existence of place-names in the documents. Furthermore, where these locations can be fixed in the modern landscape, even if relatively rather than absolutely, we can reconstruct an outline of the extent of palatial interests or control (depending on one's view of the nature of the Mycenaean state's relation to its territory). Perhaps more significantly, when we take into account the *nature* of activities associated with place-names (agriculture, animal management, manufacture, tax collection, cult activity, for example), we can determine *patterning* in palatial operations, suggesting, for example, the existence of important places with subordinate administrative roles (e.g., BENNET 1985; 1999a), or that certain activities carried out close to the centres are controlled in more detail (e.g. offerings: KILLEN 1987; land: KILLEN 2008), or even different constructions of the landscape from the perspective of Linear B administrators (e.g. BENNET 1999a, 133-34).

Merely being able to say that  $x$  is a place-name or that there are  $n$  place-names in the archive is not terribly useful in examining the areas controlled by the Mycenaean palaces. We really need to be able to determine some patterning in the distribution of place-names in order to say anything meaningful regarding the economic and political geography of the Mycenaean polities (e.g., BENNET 1988).

There are difficulties, however. In the first instance, only a relatively small proportion of Linear B place-names can be identified with historically attested and locatable ancient names; an even smaller number of those with sites known to have been in use at the period to which the documents belong. So, identifying a Linear B sign-group as a place-name does not automatically allow us to talk about it in relation to a specific, known geographical location. Equally, there are no surviving (cf. BENNET 1999a, 131-33) Mycenaean maps that might

allow us (at least approximately) to locate unlocatable place-names on the ground. If we wish to propose relative locations, then we are dependent on the principle of assuming that *textual* proximity (e.g., within a list, or a series of lists of place-names) reflects *geographical* proximity in the real world (below §13.4). Furthermore, we need, where possible, to understand the rationale(s) for such lists (e.g., BENNET 1985, 240-42; 1999a, 139-41; KILLEN 1977, 42-43).

### §13.2. PLACE-NAMES: IDENTIFICATION

With this in mind, then, how do we identify place-names within the documents that comprise the Linear B corpus (see also this volume, Chapter 15)? There are three ways in which this can be achieved (e.g., MCARTHUR 1985, 7; 1993, 19-93). The most obvious is the identification of a sign-group — within the spelling conventions of Linear B and allowing for sound changes between late second- and first-millennium BC Greek — with a place-name known from later historical sources, as was the case for Amnisos, Knossos and Tylisos (above §13.1; this volume, Chapter 15). Such identifications should ideally be supported, where necessary, by context and/or by patterns of morphological variation in the sign-group identified in this way. We would expect a place-name to exist potentially in four distinct forms:

- plain place-name ('London'): base-form (e.g., *ko-no-so*, *Knōs(s)os*; KN Ak[1] 626.1)
- 'ethnic' form ('Londoner'): base-form + a suffix of the pattern -(i)-*jo*-(i)-*ja* (e.g., *ko-no-si-ja*, *Knōs(s)iā*; KN As [2] 1516.2; *ko-no-si-jo*, *Knōs(s)ios*; KN As[1] 608.3)
- 'allative' form ('to London'): base-form (acc.) + -*de* (-δε) (e.g., *ko-no-so-de*, *Knōs(s)onde*; KN C[1] 5753)
- 'abative' form ('from London'): base-form + -*te* (-θεν) (e.g., \**ko-no-so-te*, *Knōs(s)othen* [not attested in the surviving documents]; see KILLEN 1983, 219, 226, for a possible example: *a-ke-re-u-te* 'from the place *a-ke-re-u-*'; MY Ge 606.2)

Many of the identifiable place-names in the Linear B corpus offer attestations of this morphological variation, another example being Amnisos (*a-mi-ni-so*) as Ventris observed (above §13.1).

However, of the 400 or so place-names that can be identified in the Linear B corpus (see below §13.5.1), perhaps fewer than 20 are securely identifiable with later historically attested names and are locatable on a modern map. Clearly, if we had to rely solely on this number of place-names to reconstruct

the geography of the Mycenaean world from Crete to Boeotia, we would have very little to go on. We are fortunately not solely dependent on identifiable place-names, but can expand the repertoire of plausible place-names considerably using two other procedures. First, we can identify other sign-groups that follow the morphological pattern outlined above, but cannot be equated with later place-names. Second, we can assume that, where secure place-names are attested, those sign-groups occurring in *parallel contexts* within the same document or closely related sets or series of texts are also place-names.

To take a simple example, among the Knossos sheep tablets (the 600 or so of the Da-g series: OLIVIER 1988), there are a number of occurrences of the identifiable place-name *tu-ri-so* (Τυλισός). KN Db 1241 (hand 117) is a good example:

.A	ovis <sup>m</sup>	80	ovis <sup>f</sup>	20
.B	wa-du-na-ro	//	, tu-ri-so	,

There are almost 30 other sign-groups that occur in this same position (for details, see OLIVIER 1988, 266), some of them identifiable (e.g., *pa-i-to*, Φαιτός), many of them not, but almost certainly fulfilling the same function as place-names. Thus, for example, KN Db 1155 (hand 117) has the sign-group *da-wo* in this position:

.A	we-we-si-jo	ovis <sup>m</sup>	86	ovis <sup>f</sup>	14
.B	wi-jo-ka-de	//	da-wo		

Although we cannot identify this with a known place-name, it also occurs in other contexts in the expected ‘ethnic’ forms *da-wi-jo* (e.g., KN Am[1] 568.b) and *da-wi-ja* (e.g., KN Ak[3] 780.1), although an allative form (\**da-wode*) is not attested.

The ability to recognize place-names in the archive depends quite heavily on the quantity of material available. Where large numbers of texts are available, as they are at Knossos and Pylos, those place-names not readily identifiable with a later Greek name can be isolated on the basis of morphological patterns, and thus identified in other texts, as outlined above. Where only a small number of texts are available (e.g., at Mycenae and Tiryns), this is less easy to achieve.

### §13.3. PLACE-NAMES: THEIR NATURE AND REFERENCE

Having identified a place-name, it is important to understand its reference, since place-names can refer to many different types of features on the landscape.

If we think of modern western maps, for example, their reference may range from settlements (of all sizes from conurbations to hamlets, or farmsteads) to other human features of the landscape (churches, power stations, reservoirs, etc.) and a host of natural features (rivers, mountains, hills, valleys, etc.). So it is important to consider the status of the place-names contained in the Linear B archives. In the majority of cases, these seem to be places where humans were resident or active: settlements of varying sizes, diversity of function, or status, plus, in addition, some special-purpose locations, such as sanctuaries (e.g. HILLER 1981; WEILHARTNER 2005), possibly metal-working areas (PY Jn: SMITH 1992-93). The case of the Knossos sheep tablet place-names just mentioned is a good one. We might imagine that these denote the locations in which flocks were pastured, not necessarily in or even near settlements, but many of the place-names identified appear also in contexts within the archive other than shepherding, implying that the settlement is what was referred to by the place-name. We assume, therefore, that the place-name defines the settlement in which the ‘shepherd’ associated with the flocks was resident, wherever the flocks were actually pastured at any one moment.

It follows from this that the actual etymology of the place-name need not be relevant to its usage as the name of a settlement, sanctuary, or other location of human activity. We can propose etymologies for a number of place-names attested at Pylos, for example. So, the Further Province district centre *\*ti-mi-to-a-ko* may perhaps be τίρμινθων ὄγκος, ‘glen of the terebinth trees’ (PALAIMA 2000). The Hither Province centre *ri-jo* is transparently Πίον, ‘promontory’, just possibly the promontory on which modern Koroni lies (cf. Fig. 13.2), if Strabo’s attribution of the name Rhion as an alternative to Koroni’s ancient name, Asine, is correct (cf. BENNET 1999a, 148). The Hither Province place-name, probably coastal because it appears on one of the *o-ka* tablets (An 657.12), *e-ra-po ri-me-ne* seems to represent ἐλάφων λιμένει, ‘stag harbour’ (VAN EFFENTERRE 1990-1991). Finally, the Hither Province district centre *ka-ra-do-ro* may represent Χάραδρος, ‘gorge’, or, perhaps, a dual form, as John Chadwick once proposed, arguing that it was appropriate to the site of Foinikous (cf. Fig. 13.2), where two gorges converge (CHADWICK 1972, 110). So, although we may be able to determine the meaning of a place-name, and this may, in some instances reflect the local topographical or environmental situation, the meaning is largely irrelevant to the *use* of the place-name. This is especially true if the name belongs originally to another language, such as the widely attested *-s(s)os* or *-nthos* names in the Aegean.

Another difficulty is the possibility that places might appear in the documents under various names, because different subdivisions of a single (large) site were referred to by different names, or because naming was ‘nested’, one

name referring to a district, another to the chief settlement in that district. Mabel Lang discussed this possibility in relation to the Pylos archive, suggesting that the large numbers of place-names there might imply multiple references, whereby sub-divisions of settlements went by different names and districts and central places may have had different and unrelated names (LANG 1988, 186). As an example, the two place-names at Pylos *e-ra-to* and *ro-u-so* seem to be interchangeable because they appear in identical position in list order on PY Jn 829.10 (*ro-u-so*), as opposed to Cn 608.9 and Vn 20.9 (*e-ra-to*). John Chadwick explained the alternation by suggesting that *ro-u-so* is the district term and *e-ra-to* that for the central place (CHADWICK 1972, 102). My own suggestion, however, is that the names may reflect the existence of twin major settlements in this district of Pylos's Hither Province, either side of a major topographical feature (BENNET 1999a, 147), unless we assume that an administrative reform was in progress at the time of the documents. Support for the idea that *ro-u-so* is a settlement, as opposed to merely a district designation, is offered by the presence of 86 female textile workers there (CHADWICK 1988, 85). Equally, as John Killen has pointed out, *ro-u-so* not only appears as the central collection point on PY Ma 365, but is also listed, with its own contribution, on PY Mn 456, which lists contributions of \*146 cloth by individual place-name (KILLEN 1996). The most likely interpretation of this situation is that *ro-u-so* was used to define the major settlement at which Ma commodities were collected, but was itself a contributor of such commodities, as were a number of other places within the overall district — the appearance of *si-re-wa* both on Mn 456.4 and Ma 126 lends further support to the suggestion that Mn 456 represents a breakdown of *ro-u-so*'s territory, as does the similar appearance of *a-si-ja-ti-ja*, a Further Province place-name, on both Ma 397 and Mn 162.8.

Convincing examples of district denotations do occur, however. The major town of one of the Pylos Further Province districts was *pu-ro*, normally distinguished in the documents to avoid ambiguity by the additional adjective *ra-wa-ra-ti-jo* (e.g., PY Cn 45.1), but, on the Ma documents, it is simply noted as *ra-wa-ra-ta<sub>2</sub>*, or 'the land of \**ra-wa-ra-to*' (Ma 216.1). Other examples are: *a-te-re-wi-ja*, 'Ατρηία, 'the land of Atreus' (PY Ma 244.1); *e-sa-re-wi-ja*, 'the land of [the?] *e-sa-re-u*' (PY Ma 330.1); and, possibly, *me-to-re-ja-de*, Μεντορείανδε, 'to the land of Mentor' (TH X 433.b: ARAVANTINOS – GODART – SACCONI 2006, 8-9). Indeed, it has been remarked that of the nine place-names we have preserved as major district centres in the Pylos Further Province, five are forms that seem to mean 'land of ...' (RUIPÉREZ – MELENA 1990, 115; cf. BENNET 1999a, 143).

The only convincing incidence of a sub-division within a settlement appears to be that suggested by John Chadwick for *ke-re-za* (PY Aa 762, etc.), which

he believed to be a subdivision (perhaps the lower town, as distinct from the citadel?) of the Englianós settlement normally referred to in Linear B as *pu-ro* (CHADWICK 1988, 84-85). The fact that, in some instances, a specific subdivision could be denoted (e.g., by the term *wa-tu*, Φάστυ, ‘town’ [KN V 114], or *do-de*, δῶδε, ‘to the house’ [TH Of 26, 31, 33], or *wo-ko-de*, Φοῖκόνδε, ‘to the house/temple’ [TH Of 36]), implies that Linear B administrators were capable of making a specific distinction of subdivisions, where required. We should note, however, that in these instances we are dealing with lexical items that have exact equivalence in later Greek, but that we cannot be certain of their specific meaning in the Mycenaean period.

Some of the place-names in the documents reference natural features, but these appear in particular contexts. Thus the term *\*a<sub>3</sub>-ko-ra-i-jo* at Pylos represents a major feature around which the polity was articulated into ‘this-side-of-’ (*de-we-ro-*, cf. alph. Greek δεῦρο, ‘hither’) and ‘beyond-’ (*pe-ra-*, cf. alph. Greek πέρα, ‘beyond’). The term almost certainly refers to the mountain later known as Αἴγαλέον (Strabo 8.4.1-2; cf. BENNET 1995, 588-89 and below §13.5.2), but it is used administratively to define the two major provinces of the Pylos polity, normally referred to by scholars as the Hither (*de-we-ro-a<sub>3</sub>-ko-ra-i-ja*) and Further (*pe-ra<sub>3</sub>-ko-ra-i-ja*) Provinces (cf. Fig. 13.2), not primarily as a reference to a topographic feature. Similarly, at Knossos, the term *di-ka-ta* appears (e.g., KN Fh 5467.a; Fp[1] 7.2), presumably denoting (a?) mount Dikte, but even so, in the context of the Linear B documents, which record offerings ‘to Dikta’ (*di-ka-ta-de*), it probably refers to a sanctuary *on* the mountain, not to the mountain itself (e.g., KILLEN 1987, 172-73; cf. CROWTHER 1988). This is consistent with other place-names, often limited in use, that seem to refer to shrines, such as *da-da-re-jo-de*, Δαιδαλεῖόνδε (KN Fp[1] 1.3), perhaps also *ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro*, ‘the ἄγρος (‘plain’, ‘territory’) of *ro-u-so*’, and *pa-ki-ja-ni-jo a-ko-ro*, the ἄγρος of *pa-ki-ja-ne* (in the PY Fr texts) and also some of the less frequently occurring terms in the KN Fs documents (e.g., MCARTHUR 1985, 112-14; HILLER 1981; WEILHARTNER 2005, in general). In some instances (e.g., KN Fp[1] 1) the absence of a place-name implies an offering directly to the deity within the palace area. River names also occur, such as *ne-do-wo-ta-de*, ‘to the Ned(w)on’ (PY An 661.13), although this perhaps refers to a settlement on the river (as seems possible from PY Cn 4.6).

It is unclear whether the place-names ever refer to non-settlement features, except when ethnics are used. There are two clear reasons why this is likely to be so. First, the documents are not involved in geographical or topographical description. In this respect they are unlike later boundary treaties, in which state boundaries are defined by a string of topographic terminology: river, gorge, ridge, peak, occasionally roads, even more occasionally sanctuaries and

settlements (e.g., FAURE 1967; VAN EFFENTERRE – BOUGRAT 1969; *Inscriptiones Creticae* III.iv.9). The second reason is that the palace is in all cases dealing with people — not always named, sometimes identified only by title (e.g., *ko-re-te*, etc.), or as groups — who (however much they may range over the landscape) tend to be based in, or deal with people in a settlement. On the whole, then, we should expect the majority of place-name references on the tablets to be to locations of human settlement or activity.

#### §13.4. GEOGRAPHY: LINKING PLACE-NAMES TO PARTICULAR PHYSICAL LOCATIONS

Our first strategy in linking place-names to particular locations is clearly to make use of those place-names identifiable with later, historically attested names. However, John Chadwick reminds us that even this seemingly secure strategy has its limitations:

It was natural ... that in the first flush of enthusiasm we tended to identify many Mycenaean names at Pylos with similar classical ones; for the recognition of familiar Cretan names on the Knossos tablets was both a starting point and a proof of the decipherment. No one will impugn the equation of *Pu-ro* with Πύλος; but almost all the others have been attacked with more or less success. It has become clear that we must draw a sharp distinction between identifying a name with its classical form, and identifying the geographical site meant with the classical town. (CHADWICK 1963, 125)

It is crucial, in other words, to be sure that the location referred to is the *same* one as that known historically and that this location was inhabited or in use at the time to which the documents belong. Among the Pylos place-names, for example, there are a number that can be equated with later Peloponnesian names (see TALBERT 2000, Map 58, for locations): for example, *o-ru-ma-to* (PY Cn 3.6), recalling the later mountain name Ἐρύμανθος in Akhaia; *re-u-ko-to-ro* (e.g., PY Ad 290) Λεῦκτρον, the name of two settlements in the Mani and Arkadia; *e-ko-me-no* (e.g., PY Cn 40.5), resembling later Ὀρχομενός in Arkadia (and Boeotia); and *ro-u-so* (e.g., PY Jn 829.10) Λουσοί, the name of a city and sanctuary in Arkadia (cf. Figs. 13.2-3). Plausible though these equations are, these locations mostly lie outside the area generally accepted as falling within Pylos's control (*pace* HERRERO INGELMO 1989) (see below §13.5.2). Even further afield would be the place-name *ko-ri-to*, Κόρινθος (e.g., PY Ad 921; possibly Nn 831.1), if it could be equated with classical Corinth. It is possible that *this* Corinth is to be associated with the vicinity of the modern village of Longa, near the coast north of ancient Asine (modern Koroni),

where a temple of Apollo Korythos (cf. Fig. 13.2) was excavated early in the 20th century (McDONALD – RAPP 1972, 312–13, with references; cf. Pausanias 4.34.7, who gives the form ‘Korynthos’; *SEG* xi.993–5).

Somewhat similar is the case of *a-pa-ta-wa* among the Knossos place-names (e.g., KN Co 909.1). Although almost certainly an early form of the place-name later known as “Απταρα or “Απτερα, the Bronze Age place-name probably does not refer to the location of the later city, since there is very little material there of that period. Rather, *a-pa-ta-wa* may have denoted the site of Stylos, a little further inland, where there was a tholos tomb and other features (cf. Fig. 13.1; BENNET 1985, 236; cf. KANTA 1984). The identification of place-names in this way produces ‘fixed points’ in generating maps of Mycenaean political geography.

A second strategy, however, is required to deal with the much larger number of place-names that cannot be linked to locations known from later historical sources. Here we rely on the possibility that we can convert ‘associations’ in documents into *relative* geographical links in the real world. If we can generate groups of place-names with strong textual ‘associations’, among which are one or two ‘fixed points’, then we can begin to pin these down to specific regions. The idea of using textual proximity to suggest geographical proximity is not new in Mycenaean studies (e.g., HART 1965). Examining the question of relative geography for the Knossos archive in the late 1960s and 1970s, Leonard Palmer developed the concept of the ‘scribal route’ already implicit in Hart’s work (HART 1965, 3, n. 1; PALMER 1972, 33; cf. MELENA 1975, 121–23), by which he did not mean an actual route that an administrator (= ‘scribe’) would have taken on the ground when carrying out an inspection (as suggested, for example, by PY Eq 213: *o-wi-de*, ‘thus he saw’) or gathering data, but rather a ‘route’ followed in the scribe’s mind — bearing some relation to actual topography — when recording place-names (PALMER 1979, 47). The same principles were used in a larger study of Knossian geography by an Italian team in the 1970s (CREMONA – MARCOZZI – SCAFA – SINATRA 1978).

The difficulty of processing the relatively large number of associations (the Knossos archive contains approximately 1150 individual place-name occurrences) meant that the problem was ideally suited to broadly statistical applications (i.e., examining co-occurrences without assumptions about actual location as a series of links in a matrix), either by hand or using computers. Drawing on earlier analyses of the relative geography of the place-names mentioned in the famous documents from the 19th century BC Assyrian trading colony (*karum*) at Kültepe, ancient Kaneš (e.g., GARDIN – GARELLI 1961; TOBLER – WINEBURG 1971), John Cherry and Joan Carothers carried out computer analyses of Pylian (CHERRY 1977; CAROTHERS 1992) and Jennifer McArthur of

Knossian geography (MCARTHUR 1993). At about the same time, Tony Wilson applied statistical methods to the Knossos corpus (WILSON 1977). Sample sizes need to be sufficiently large to satisfy the criteria for such analyses, thereby limiting their applicability to the major archives at Knossos and Pylos. The picture presented in the different studies of each region is reassuringly consistent.

Essentially what the computer technique, called multi-dimensional scaling (MDSCAL), does is to use a series of associations between pairs of items (in this case, place-names) to devise a way of arranging those items most economically in a space of as few dimensions as possible, ideally two (cf. MCARTHUR 1993, 238-39; CHERRY 1977, 77-78). The resulting solution (see, e.g., CHERRY 1977, figs. 4, 5, and 7) is not a map, since the application makes no assumption about orientation (north, south, etc.) or about distance, but can be scaled and oriented to the 'real world' by using fixed points, such as known place-names or known boundaries, like the Hither/Further province boundary at Pylos (CHERRY 1977, 77-78).

However, although studies of the type mentioned do produce unbiased data on relative geography, there can be problems in assuming that geographical proximity is the sole reason for textual proximity, as I indicated some years ago for Knossos: there may be other reasons for place-names to be collected together on the same document (BENNET 1985, 240-42; cf. KILLEEN 1977, 42-43). We do need to consider the circumstances in which textual associations might be generated, as Tony Wilson remarked in the course of his study of Knossos geography:

In considering the reasons for associations, it may help to envisage how the scribes could have obtained the information that is recorded in the tablets. Two possibilities suggest themselves; either the scribes (or their appointees) left the palace to secure the information or it came into the palace by other means. Whichever, if not both, is true, significant associations between toponyms seem likely to arise for one or more of three reasons: (i) information from individual places was obtained and then deliberately recorded in the same context, (ii) information from a number of places was obtained from one 'central place' and recorded as received, (iii) information from a number of places was collated by their lord (or his officer) and then supplied to the scribe who recorded it as received. (WILSON 1977, 95)

We need to be aware of the possibility that 'scribal routes' are merely artefacts of data assembly, not necessarily of geographical proximity, as David Kendall warned at the Cambridge Colloquium on Mycenaean geography in 1976:

...let us remember the fate of the genealogist who thought that he could put all the former inhabitants of his village into the houses they lived in in 1851, by following the census-taker's route from house to house, until a friend reminded

him that the census lists were very possibly made up over a pot of ale in the local public house (KENDALL 1977, 87).

Despite these ‘cautionary tales’, where consistent patterns are built up through careful analyses, we can be reasonably confident that they are genuine and offer some insight into relative geography within the Mycenaean polities.

A good example is the group of place-names that seem to have lain in the vicinity of Knossos itself, sometimes referred to as the ‘Tylisos group’ (e.g., HART 1965, 5: ‘Lyktos-Tylissos group’). If we compare the two Knossos texts E 749 and Og 833, we can see that they list the same place-names, but in slightly different order, and one place-name (*tu-ri-si-jo*, Τυλίσιο-) occurs only on Og 833 (cf. HART 1965, 3-5):

Og 833 (?hand)	E 749 (h. 136)	Pp set (h. 119)
.0 <i>supra mutila</i>		
.1 [su-]ri-mi-jo[	.1 qa-ra-jo , GRA 25	493: ti-ri-to
.2 [u-]ta-ni-jo[	.2 ru-ki-ti-jo GRA 23	495: qa-ra
.3 [ti-]ri-ti-jo M '6	.3 ti-ri-ti-jo GRA [	494: su-ri-mo
.4 qa-mi-jo M 6	.4 [su-]ri-mi-jo GRA T2 v3	496: u-ta-no
.5 pu-si-jo M 5	.5 qa-mi-jo , GRA 12 T5	497: qa-mo
.6 ru-ki-ti-jo M 9	.6 u-ta-ni-jo , GRA [	498.1: e-ra
.7 tu-ri-si-jo M 4	.7 pu-si-jo , GRA 6[	498.2: pa-i-to
.8 qa-ra-jo M 9	.8 <i>vacat</i>	499: to-so [total]
.9 to-so M 47	.9 <i>vacat</i>	
.10 <i>vacat</i>		

The different scribes (E 749 is by hand 136; Og 833 by an unidentified hand) clearly did not follow the same ‘route’ (even starting at different points), but they clearly had the same group of place-names in mind, although *tu-ri-so* only occurs on Og 833. The reality of the group is further supported by the Pp series (by yet another scribe, hand 119) which again lists most of the same place-names — with the addition of *e-ra* and *pa-i-to* — but on single-entry, elongated tablets. The only possibility of defining an order in the Pp series is from Evans’s published photograph (*SM* II, pl. XXXVIII) showing the tablets *in situ* in the order given above (not their numerical order: cf. MELENA 1975, 120). Of the juxtapositions produced by this order, we have *su-ri-mo* + *u-ta-no*, plus two that are repeated in the Dn tablets, by yet another hand (117): *ti-ri-to* + *qa-ra* (Pp 493–495; Dn 1095) and *u-ta-no* + *qa-mo* (Pp 496–497; Dn 5559).

Finally, we should note that the *absence* of a place-name almost certainly implies activity located at whatever centre the documents were written (i.e., this is the ‘default’ location). Examples are the Knossos Ld(1) documents that, almost alone of all the Knossos documents dealing with sheep, wool and cloth, contain no place-names and record bales of cloth in storage at Knossos (KILLEN

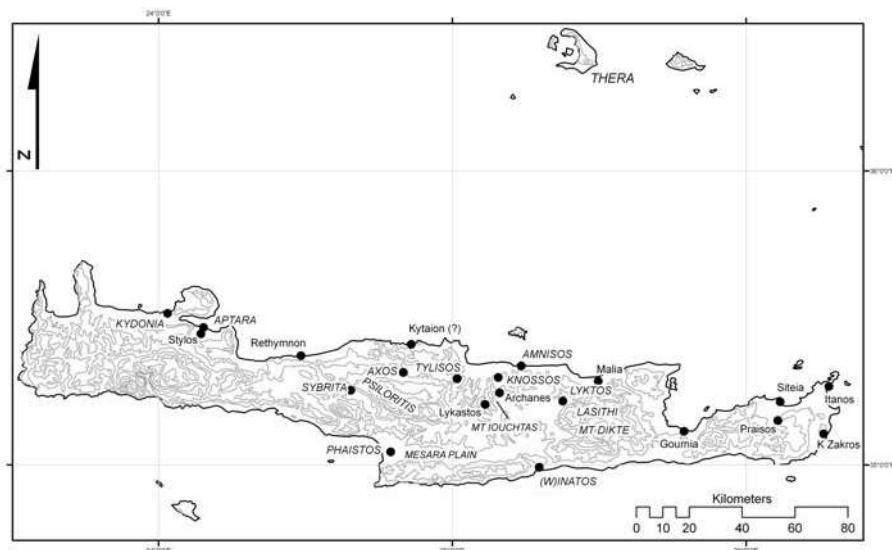
1979). Similarly, the Knossos Sd texts record chariots, some having no place-name, while others contain *pa-i-to*, Phaistos (KN Sd 4413.b), *ku-do-ni-ja*, Kydonia (KN Sd 4404.b) or *se-to-i-ja* (KN Sd 4407.b) (LEJEUNE 1968, 23-24).

### §13.5. GEOGRAPHIES

#### §13.5.1. Knossos (Fig. 13.1)

Following the principles outlined above, we can identify approximately 100 place-names in the Knossos archives (BENNET 1985, 233 [103, more likely 98]; McARTHUR 1985 [81 ‘certain and probable’, plus 18 ‘uncertain or doubtful’]; 1993 [80 ‘certain and plausible’]). The geography of the Knossos polity is largely reconstructed around a series of fixed points and the following place-names are likely to refer to locations known in later sources (Fig. 13.1; cf. also TALBERT 2000, Map 60):

<i>a-mi-ni-so</i> (Ἀμνισός)	<i>a-pa-ta-wa</i> (Ἄπτάρῳ)	<i>ko-no-so</i> (Κνωσός)
<i>ku-do-ni-ja</i> (Κυδωνία)	<i>pa-i-to</i> (Φαιστός)	<i>tu-ri-so</i> (Τυλισός)



**Fig. 13.1.** Crete, showing place-names mentioned in the text and other key features.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Sites (•) whose names are attested in Linear B are labelled with *ITALIC CAPITALS*.

Some other possible equivalences (e.g., CHADWICK 1973a; MCARTHUR 1993, 23–24) are either unlikely to denote the later site (e.g., *u-ta-no* = Ἰτανος) or involve phonological problems (e.g., *se-to-i-ja*, if it were to represent the place-name behind the epigraphically attested form Σηταῆται [modern Siteia]: *Inscriptiones Creticae* III.vi.7; cf. also BENNET 1987).

These fixed points suggest a minimum extent of the Knossos polity from Kydonia (modern Hania) in west Crete, through Aptarwa (the region of later Aptera, east of Hania), to Tylisos, Amnisos, and Knossos itself, in north-central, and the Phaistos region in south-central Crete. East Crete does not seem to have been included (BENNET 1987). However, using place-name associations with these fixed locations, we have built up a relative geography for a larger number of place-names that suggests that, at the time of the main archive (LMIIIA2 [early], *ca* 1350 BC), Knossian interests extended over much of Crete from the west as far east as the Lasithi massif. This contextual control allows the relative location of place-names in regions, in turn suggesting further possible ‘fixes’, such as: *wi-na-to* = Φίνατος (modern Inatos – Tsoutsouros) and *ra-su-to* = Λάσυνθος (confirmed by a Hellenistic inscription from the Kato Symi sanctuary with the tribal name Λασύνθιοι [KRITZAS 2000]) falling in east-central Crete; *e-ko-so* = Ἀξος (although the variation in initial vowel quality and the absence of digamma attested in historical period inscriptions raise serious difficulties: cf. CHADWICK 1973a, 42) and *su-ki-ri-ta* = Σύβριτα in west-central Crete (although the later form would be more consistent with a Linear B form \**su-qi-ri-ta*: cf. CHADWICK 1973a, 42); *ru-ki-to* = Λύκτος (unless this indicates a form Lukistos, a possible predecessor for later Λύκαστος; we would strictly expect Linear B \**ru-ko-to* for Lyktos); and, possibly, *di-ka-ta* Δίκτα, in the Knossos region, perhaps Mt Iouchtas (unless it refers to modern Dikte in Lasithi) (Fig. 13.1; cf. also TALBERT 2000, Map 60).

Some independent confirmation for the location of place-names defined as west Cretan by documentary context comes from analysis of the clay composition of stirrup jars, on a small number of which these place-names appear painted before firing (CATLING – CHERRY – JONES – KILLEN 1980; also DAY – HASSELL 1995; KILLEN 2010). The Co series, by hand 107, lists sheep, goats, pigs and cattle against six place-names: *a-pa-ta-wa* (909), *ka-ta-ra-i* (906), *ku-do-ni-ja* (904), *o-]du-ru-wo* (910), *si-ra-ro* (907), and *wa-to* (903). The presence of both Aptarwa and Kydonia in this small set strongly implies a west-Cretan location for them all. It is also worth noting that this hand also wrote a document with the word *ko-no-so-de* ('to Knossos'; KN C[1] 5753), implying that his administrative interests, if not his physical location, lay outside Knossos itself, no doubt in the west of the island. Of the Co place-names, *wa-to* appears on at least six (and probably eight) stirrup jars found at Thebes in

Boeotia (TH Z 846; 849; 851; 852; 853; 854; 878 [?]; and 882 [?]); *o-du-rū-wi-jo* appears on one (TH Z 839); and *si-ra-ri-jo* may appear on a vessel at Tiryns (TI Z 29). Where these vessels have been analysed, their clay composition is consistent with production in the Hania region of western Crete (CATLING – CHERRY – JONES – KILLEN 1980; DAY – HASKELL 1995; *Transport Stirrup Jars*). Two other significant place-names appear on stirrup jars found on the mainland: *da-\*22-to*, on a vessel found at Eleusis (EL Z 1), and *\*56-kō-we*, on a vessel from Tiryns (TI Z 27), as well as an unpublished fragment found at Knossos. Contextual analysis suggests these place-names lay in west-central Crete, but only the Eleusis vessel has been analysed; its composition is not consistent with manufacture in west Crete and appears not to be central Cretan either (*Transport Stirrup Jars*).

Although the Knossos archive preserves the largest number of Linear B texts from any site in the Aegean, it seems that these belong to at least two, possibly more (DRIESSEN 1997), destruction horizons. Specifically, the archive in the Room of the Chariot Tablets (DRIESSEN 2000) belongs almost certainly a generation or so earlier than the main archive, perhaps at the beginning as opposed to near the middle of the 14th century BC. The existence of a time difference between the two major groups of texts raises the possibility of exploring the history of expansion of the Knossos polity. Driessen has argued that east-central Crete and possibly the Amari region are underrepresented in the earlier archive, suggesting expansion into those areas over the life of the Knossos polity (DRIESSEN 2001). I proposed the existence of a number of second-order centres within the Knossos administration, including Kydonia, Phaistos (perhaps to be equated with the site of Ayia Triada at this date: BENNET 1992, 97, n. 96), and *se-to-i-ja*, and that different regions were subject to different types of integration (BENNET 1985). Thus, the north-central region around Knossos itself was more directly managed from the centre, while areas to the south (the Mesara region, in the vicinity of Phaistos – Ayia Triada), east and west of this area were less directly managed, involving a greater degree of control through ‘collectors’ (BENNET 1992; cf. HART 1965, 14–15). Finally, it seems that the west of the island, the region around Kydonia, was perhaps semi-independent at the time of the main Knossos archive, although it is clear that there was an archive at Kydonia in the mid-13th century, post-dating the main Knossos archive (HALLAGER – VLASAKIS – HALLAGER 1992). The location of the second-order centre *se-to-i-ja*, clearly an important place, is undetermined, although suggestions have been made (BENNET 1985, 243 [Malia]; FARNOUX 1996 [Archanes]); it may have functioned as a second-order centre for east-central Crete. Crucially, it is very unlikely to reflect the modern Cretan name Siteia (e.g., BENNET 1987; CHADWICK 1973a, 40).

Driessen has offered some valuable qualifications of this model (DRIESSEN 2001), proposing that there is little evidence that Knossos was in total control of a large, continuous territory at any point in its Linear B administrative history, but was selective both in the specific regions and the activities in which it maintained an interest. This can be supported by the observation that the 100 or so place-names in the Knossos archive are distributed over quite a large proportion of the island, perhaps 25-33%, an area of about 2000-2700 km<sup>2</sup>, but represent a very small proportion of known archaeological sites from this period (e.g., BENNET 1988, 26-31). Equally, the Knossos archive as a whole has relatively few place-names (25, or 26% of the total attested) that occur only once in the archive; these probably fulfilled specialised functions in relation to palatial interests, such as sanctuaries. The strong indication is, therefore, that the administrators at Knossos dealt with its region indirectly through larger settlements, in many cases those places that had already been of significance in the preceding Neo-Palatial period, prior to the introduction of Linear B as an administrative script (e.g., BENNET 1990). So, it appears that Knossian administrators adapted pre-existing palatial centres to their new administrative network.

It is finally worth noting that the Homeric picture of Crete in the Catalogue of Ships in *Iliad* 2 (HOPE SIMPSON – LAZENBY 1970, 112, Map 6) includes only the central part of the island, the core of the Linear B Knossos polity. This is of interest, since we know that in the mid-13th century BC, there was a Linear B administration at Hania in west Crete (HALLAGER – VLASAKIS – HALLAGER 1992), presumably by now independent of Knossos, but including, even on the four surviving tablets, personal names formed from place-names already known in the Knossos archive: *wa-ti-jo* (KH Ar 4.1; cf. KN Co 903.1: *wa-to*); *pu-na-si-jo* (KH Ar 4.2; cf. KN Da 1588.B: *pu-na-so*).

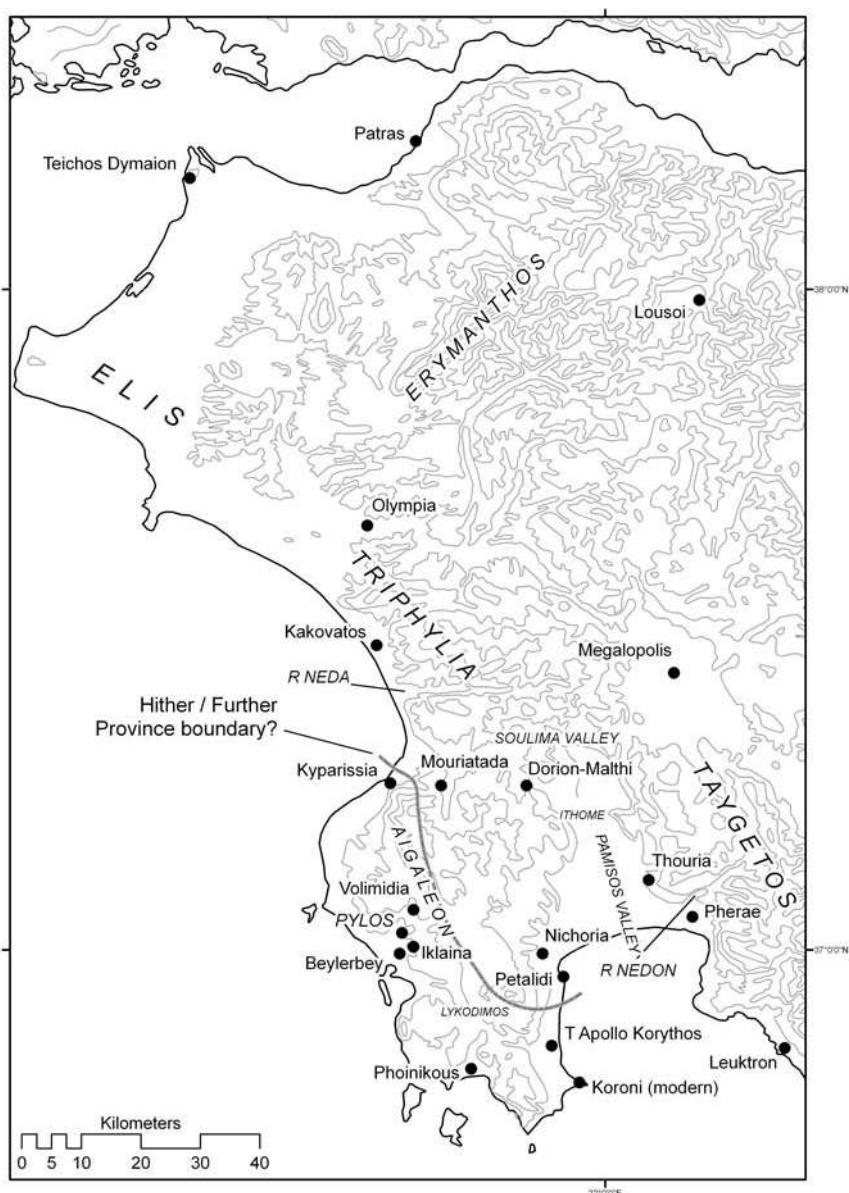
### §13.5.2. *Pylos* (Fig. 13.2)

In the Pylos archive, approximately 247 place-names have been identified (SAINER 1976 [254 items, but not all place-names in the Pylos polity]). This archive offers fewer securely identifiable place-names than that at Knossos. Only one place-name, *pu-ro* (= Πύλος), can be identified with a particular physical location, the so-called Palace of Nestor and its surrounding town at Ano Englianios. This identification provides interesting confirmation of the tradition preserved in Strabo (8.4.1-2) that the original location of the classical Pylos at Koryphasion had been elsewhere, ‘under Aigaleon’. The profound discontinuity in place-names suggests a distinct rupture in settlement in Messenia

between the Late Bronze Age and the early Iron Age, supported by the precipitous decline in attested site numbers over this period (cf., e.g., McDONALD – RAPP 1972, maps 8-14 and 8-15). Place-names that echo those attested in other regions of the Peloponnese in later historical periods (above §13.4) may have moved in the wake of the polity's collapse around 1200 BC.

Beyond the location of *pu-ro* itself, the geography of the polity has largely been reconstructed around the topography of Messenia (e.g., CHADWICK 1972; BENNET 1999a; COSMOPOULOS 2006 is a useful summary), but Messenia has been the subject of two major archaeological research projects with regional scope — the Minnesota Messenia Expedition (McDONALD – RAPP 1972) and the Pylos Regional Archaeological Project (e.g., DAVIS [ed.] 2007) — that offer an understanding of settlement distribution across its territory unparalleled in Crete. A number of texts (PY Ng 319.1; 332.1 [totalling flax for the two provinces]; Pa 398.a; Wa 114.2; 948; On 300.8) express the conceptual division of the polity into two provinces (*de-we-ro-a<sub>3</sub>-ko-ra-i-ja* and *pe-ra<sub>3</sub>-ko-ra-i-ja*) either side of what is almost certainly the Aigaleon chain that runs from just inland of modern Kyparissia in the north to Mt Lykodimos in the south, west of modern Petalidi (ancient Korone). Exactly where the boundary lay has been a subject for debate. Some scholars suggest that the Hither Province settlements extended inland, up the Kyparissia valley (e.g., CHADWICK 1972, 104; HOPE SIMPSON 1981, 144-52), while others see the northern boundary as the mouth of the Kyparissia river, with the Further Province extending up that valley, ‘beyond Aigolaion’ from the point of view of the coast (e.g., BENNET 1998-99, 19-20; 1999a, 133-34).

In addition to the province division, fixed-order lists situate nine place-names in the Hither Province and seven (PY Jn 829) or eight (PY Ma series) in the Further. Pylos, as the centre, does not appear on the lists, but is strongly associated with the fifth name in the Hither Province lists, *pa-ki-ja-ne* (possibly Σφαγιᾶνες). It is very likely that these place-names represent subordinate centres within the Pylian administration, focal points for the collection of taxes (e.g., BENNET – SHELTERINE 2001), for example (PY Ma series), or for the distribution of wine for local festivals (PY Vn 20). The major Hither Province place-names on the list seem to run down the west coast of Messenia from north to south, beginning either at the River Neda (the boundary between Messenia and Triphylia in Strabo's day: Strabo 8.3.22) or, more likely in my view, the Kyparissia valley. The place-names then extended around the Akritas peninsula to a point somewhere to the north of modern Koroni. Those in the Further Province lay in the Pamisos valley, beginning at the northern shore of the Gulf of Messenia, extending up to the Soulima valley region (CHADWICK 1973b; SHELTERINE 1973; BENNET 1999a). The eastern boundary of the polity was



**Fig. 13.2.** Messenia and the western Peloponnese, showing place-names mentioned in the text and other key features.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Sites (●) whose names are attested in Linear B are labelled with *ITALIC CAPITALS*.

presumably the Taÿgetos range, perhaps marked by the River Nedon (cf. *ne-do-wo-ta-de*, ‘to [the] Nedon’: PY An 661.13).

The territory is therefore probably somewhat smaller than that of the modern district (*Noμός*) of Messenia, perhaps 2000 km<sup>2</sup> as opposed to 2991 km<sup>2</sup>. The large number of place-names spread over this territory that is of the same order of magnitude as that of Knossos implies a deeper reach to the lower levels of settlement within the Pylos polity (e.g., BENNET 1995, 594-96). The fact that there are a large number (116, or 47%) of place-names that occur only once, suggesting their specialised relationship to the palace (e.g., in flax production) also supports this implication. Even though the place-name numbers are large at Pylos, they are nevertheless unlikely to represent the total number of settlements occupied at the time of the archive (e.g., BENNET 1995, 594-96; cf. WHITELAW 2001, 63-64).

Following the example of Joan Carothers, if not necessarily the detail of her analysis (CAROTHERS 1992, 233-34; cf. BENNET 1995, 593-95; 1999a, 146-47), it is possible to correlate the major sites identified archaeologically with the place-names assigned to the two provinces, given the relative locations provided by the fixed-order lists. The most convincing identification that has been proposed is that of the Linear B place-name *ti-mi-to-a-ke-e* (perhaps τιρμύνθων ἄγκος, ‘glen of the terebinth trees’: PALAIMA 2000) with the archaeological site of Nichoria (SHELMERDINE 1981). Nichoria is clearly an important site, with a megaron and tholos tomb, while the Linear B place-name appears first in the Further Province lists and is within sight of the coast, as its presence in the *o-ka* tablets demonstrates (PY An 661.10). Similar arguments, if not as certain, can be made about the place-names *a-ke-re-wa* (possibly the archaeological site of Koryfasio *Beylerbey*: HOPE SIMPSON – DICKINSON 1979, D4; BENNET 1999a, 146), *a-pu<sub>2</sub>-we* (perhaps Iklaina *Traganes*: HOPE SIMPSON – DICKINSON 1979, D46; BENNET 1999a, 147; COSMOPOULOS 2006, 215-24), and others (discussion in CHADWICK 1972; HOPE SIMPSON 1981, 144-52; STAVRIANOPOULOU 1989; BENNET 1999a, 139-49; COSMOPOULOS 2006). For the problems involved, the issue of the place-name *re-u-ko-to-ro*, Λεῦκτρον, argued by some to be the capital of the Further Province, is a good example (see discussion in BENNET 1998-99, with references).

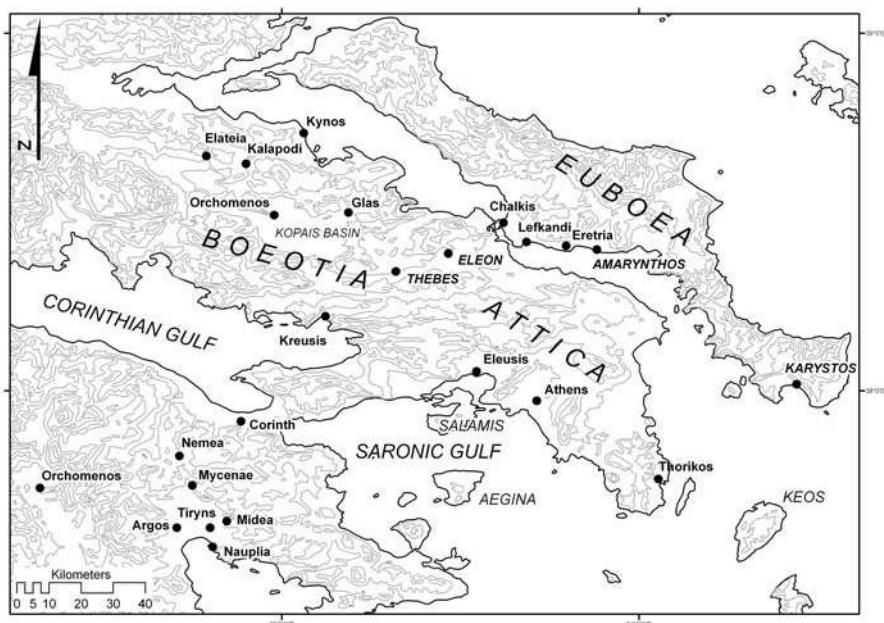
The possibility of linking Linear B place-names to archaeologically recognisable sites has created the possibility of introducing a dynamic into the essentially static, synchronic picture offered by the documents. Linking the Linear B data to the diachronic picture suggested by changes in the archaeological data, we can suggest that Pylos expanded its polity from west to east, first incorporating local rival centres in the early Mycenaean period (LHI-II, *ca* 1600-1400 BC), then the Hither Province (by LHIIIA1, *ca* 1400 BC), before

expanding to the Further Province, perhaps beginning with the Nichoria region in LHIIIA2, *ca* 1350 BC (e.g., BENNET 1995; 1999a; 1999b; BENNET – SHELTERDINE 2001). It is even possible that the northern margins were still in ‘administrative flux’ at the time of the documents late in the LHIIIB period, *ca* 1200 BC (e.g., BENNET 1998-99).

It is worth observing finally that the picture of a divided polity is consistent once again with the ‘Homeric’ picture (cf. HOPE SIMPSON – LAZENBY 1970, 75, Map 4), in which Telemachus stops at Pherai on his way to Laconia in the *Odyssey*, while nine towns, all in western Messenia, are listed in the Catalogue of Ships (*Iliad* 2.591-4), and Telemachus meets Nestor on the shore sacrificing nine bulls, at the opening of *Odyssey* 3. Equally, the seven towns offered to Achilleus as a ‘gift’ by Agamemnon in *Iliad* 9 seem to be in eastern Messenia, recalling the number of districts in the Linear B Further Province, if not the names. It would seem, then, that, despite the extreme loss of population in Messenia at the end of the Bronze Age, elements of the structure (two provinces) and detail (nine units under the western province) remained in the tradition (cf. BENNET 1997). However, the specific place-names listed in the *Iliad* bear little resemblance to either group attested in the Linear B documents, a fact that is consistent with the extreme depopulation of the region in the early Iron Age.

### §13.5.3. Other Mycenaean centres (Fig. 13.3)

**§13.5.3.1.** The Bronze Age name of Thebes (*te-qa-*, presumably *Thēgʷai*, or possibly singular *Thēgʷā*) first appeared on a tablet recovered at Mycenae in 1953 (MY X 508.a), but it was then attested among the sealings recovered in 1982 at Thebes itself (TH Wu 51.β; 65.β; 96.β) (see SHELTERDINE 2008, §5.7). Among the place-names on these documents were also *ka-ru-to*, i.e. Karystos (TH Wu 55.β), and *a-ma-ru-to / a-ma-ru-to-de*, i.e. Amarynthos (TH Wu 58.γ; also Of 25.2), both places on the island of Euboea. Recent discoveries at Thebes have boosted the number of plausible identifications to as many as 34 (TOP, 355-58), although not all within its territory, nor all fully convincing identifications. The attestation of *e-re-o-ni* (‘Ελεών: TH Ft 140.5), in association with Thebes itself (Ft 140.1) is striking, since it also appears in the *Iliad* (2.500), but it is difficult to know what to do with *a₂-pa-a₂-de* (TH Wu 94.β), linked by the editors to the sanctuary of Aphaia on Aegina (cf. Fig. 13.3). Some place-names are only attested as ethnics or personal names derived from ethnics, including the intriguing form ‘Lakedaimnian’ (*ra-ke-da-mi-ni-jo* and *ra-]ke-da-mo-ni-jo*) are attested, i.e. *Lakedaimnio-* and *Lakedaimonio-*). The restricted size of the



**Fig. 13.3.** Boeotia, Attica and the northeast Peloponnese, showing place-names mentioned in the text and other key features.<sup>4</sup>

archive and the number of place-names mentioned mean that we cannot work with a secure relative geography by association, but the identifiable place-names suggest that Thebes's interests largely lay to the east and south, not to the north (*TOP*, 357–58, although we need not accept all their identifications; cf. also SERGENT 1994). This is of interest, since it implies that Thebes's territory may have been distinct from that of Orchomenos, the other major Late Bronze Age site in Boeotia. Orchomenos, then, not Thebes, may have controlled the drained Kopaïs basin with its fortified Late Helladic III storage and control post at Glas (cf. IAKOVIDIS 2001). Again, the picture is somewhat consistent with the Homeric Catalogue, in which ‘Minyan’ Orchomenos was distinguished from the rest of Boeotia (HOPE SIMPSON – LAZENBY 1970, 20, Map 2).

**§13.5.3.2.** At present contexts are insufficiently well developed to identify more than two place-names in the Mycenaean archive: *te-qa-de* (X 508.a) and *a-ke-re-u-te* (Ge 606.2), probably an ‘ablative’ form ending in -θεν (KILLENN 1983, 219).

<sup>4</sup> Sites (•) whose names are attested in Linear B are labelled with *ITALIC CAPITALS*.

The density of major sites in the Argolid makes defining plausible, independent territories for them all extremely difficult (cf. KILIAN 1988, 297, fig. 3 for a valiant attempt). Here it is worth speculating whether there is some truth in the ‘Homeric’ picture in the Catalogue, that assigns the southern Argive plain, including Argos and Tiryns, to one polity (under Diomedes), while the other polity (under Agamemnon) controlled the area around Mycenae extending over into the Corinthia and the Gulf of Corinth (HOPE SIMPSON – LAZENBY 1970, 57, Map 3), a suggestion that has some support in links proposed between Mycenae and the Nemea valley on the basis of archaeological survey investigations (e.g., CHERRY – DAVIS 2001).

**§13.5.3.3.** Finally, a recently discovered nodule from the site of Midea (MI Wv 6.β1) displays the sign-group *me-ka-ro-de*, which may be a place-name in characteristic ‘allative’ form, if it does not refer to the Greek term *megaron* (μέγαρον), ‘hall’ (DEMAKOPOULOU, K. *et al.* 2002, 53-54).

## §13.6. REFERENCES TO AREAS OUTSIDE THE ‘MYCENAEAN WORLD’

It is commonly remarked that references to external trade or exchange are surprisingly absent from the Linear B documents (e.g., KILLEN 2008). However, there are some references within the corpus that appear to allude to areas outside the Greek mainland or Crete, even outside the Aegean. Two issues arise here: first, our knowledge of the place-name repertoire within the eastern Mediterranean in general and, second, the difficulty of working across cultural and, particularly, linguistic boundaries. We need, therefore, to know the ancient names for key places, like Cyprus, or Egypt, for example, and we need to be alert to the ways in which place-names from the Aegean might appear when they ‘move’ from one linguistic group to another.

**§13.6.1.** Good examples of these issues are the names for Cyprus and Egypt. Cyprus (or at least part of the island) seems to have been called *Alašiya* in Akkadian texts (KNAPP [ed.] 1996; GOREN *et al.* 2003). Its more familiar name, Cyprus (Κύπρος), appears to be attested in Linear B sources (BENNET 1996). Both names appear in personal names, not place-names: *ku-pi-ri-jo* (*Kyprios*, etymologically ‘man of Cyprus’; e.g., KN Fh 347.1; PY Cn 131.3, Un 443.1 [and elsewhere]), *a-ra-si-jo* (*Alassios*, perhaps also etymologically ‘man of Cyprus [*Alašiya*]’; KN Df 1229.b, etc.). Similarly, Egypt was known by a number of names: *Miṣr* was common in the Semitic-speaking world, while *Aiguptos* (Αἴγυπτος) was the Greek name. Again, both seem to be attested in

personal names in Linear B: *a<sub>3</sub>-ku-pi-ti-jo* (*Aiguptios*, etymologically ‘man of Egypt’ [strictly ‘of Memphis’]; KN Db 1105.B) and *mi-sa-ra-jo* (*Misraios*, also etymologically ‘man of Egypt’ [*Misr*], if this is truly the name behind the form; KN F[2] 841.4) (cf. SHELTERDINE 2008, §5.4.2.2). Since it is very unlikely that we are dealing with single anonymous Egyptians here, these are most likely personal names. We need not, therefore, read them literally as giving the immediate geographical origin of the individual concerned. It is not impossible that the *Kuprios* in PY Un 443, who is receiving a payment (*o-no*, ḍovov) for alum (*tu-ru-pte-ri-ja*, *strupteriās*) might actually be a merchant from Cyprus itself, and the adjective, when applied, for example, to wool (e.g., KN Od 667.A) may mean ‘Cypriot’ or ‘of Cypriot type’ (cf. BENNET 1996). The Pylos archive also contains references to female work groups identified by ‘ethnics’ that suggest an origin in western Anatolia (CHADWICK 1988, 78-84, 91-93; also SHELTERDINE 2008, §5.4.2.2).

**§13.6.2.** More intriguing are the potential references to the Aegean in textual sources elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean. These fall into two broad categories. First, there are references almost certainly to Crete in Egyptian (*Keftiu*; mostly New Kingdom) and Akkadian (*Kaptaru*) and biblical (*Kaph-tor*) sources (*pace* STRANGE 1980). *Keftiu* is often associated with the term ‘Isles in the Middle of the Great Green’ (*jw hrj-jb nw wʒd-wr*), which seems to refer to the Aegean islands, possibly including the mainland (e.g., PAGIOTPOULOS 2001, 263, with references; but see DUHOUX 2003 for an alternative suggestion). Second, a land called *Ahhiyawa* (or *Ahhiya*, the earlier form) appears in Hittite sources (HAWKINS 1998; NIEMEIER 1998, for valuable summaries of the recent state of affairs on this debate). A crucial point to appreciate in these references is that *both* terms are *geographical* terms, not ethnonyms, or social terms. Some evidence for this is available in an 18th dynasty *ostrakon* that gives the name *pʒ-k-f-ti-w-y*, a *nisbe* formed from *Keftiu*, meaning ‘person from Keftiu’, and showing that ‘*Keftiu*’ itself is not an ethnic form (VERCOUTTER 1956, 96, n. 5). The derivational pattern is comparable with that by which the name *a<sub>3</sub>-ku-pi-ti-jo* [*Aiguptios*] on KN Db 1105.B was derived. Thus *Keftiu* means ‘Crete’, not ‘people of Crete’. In Egyptian, the term may be combined with ‘man of’ or ‘chief of’ to refer to people (VERCOUTTER 1956, 106-107). The same is true of *Ahhiyawa*, which always appears in Hittite documents with the addition ‘man/king of’ (LÚ) or ‘king of’ (LUGAL), and is itself marked with determinatives, either ‘land’ (KUR), or ‘city’ (URU). This is an important point, because it is possible that the phrase used *may* in theory refer to different actual groups within the same geographical area at different times.

*Keftiu* has come to be identified with Crete primarily because of a series of representations in eight tombs of high Egyptian officials that cluster in a 50-year span within the first part of the 18th dynasty, the mid- to late-15th century BC (e.g., VERCOUTTER 1956; WACHSMANN 1987; HELCK 1995). These form part of a larger group of 27 tombs in which foreign visitors are depicted bringing gifts to Pharaoh (PANAGIOTOPoulos 2001). The objects carried by those identified by the accompanying hieroglyphic texts as coming from *Keftiu* are recognisably ‘Aegean’, leading to the identification of *Keftiu* with Crete, reinforced by the term’s association with ‘The Islands in the Middle of the Great Green’.

Much has been made of modifications made to the representations — including that of their dress, from cod-piece to kilt — of those identified with the land of *Keftiu* in the tomb of Rekhmire (T. 100, falling near the end of Tuthmosis III’s reign [1479-1425 BC]) (e.g., WACHSMANN 1987, 44-48). This modification has been assumed to reflect the transition from Cretan to mainland tributaries in the wake of the Mycenaean ‘take over’ at Knossos, but Paul Rehak showed that Aegean representations of kilt and cod-piece are not sufficiently consistent to support this tenuous hypothesis in relation to the Egyptian depictions (REHAK 1996), and other elements of the revised depictions appear to be non-Mycenaean (DUHOUX 2003, 21-15). Panagiotopoulos points out that they are part of a much larger group of representations of foreigners bringing offerings that span the period of Egyptian imperial expansion between the reigns of Tuthmosis I (1494-1482 BC) and Tutankhamun (1336-1327 BC). He argues that the representations are ‘historical’, in the sense that events like these happened, but do not depict events at specific times or in particular places. The depictions we have reflect status claims by these officials and their desire to link themselves to Pharaonic power (cf. PANAGIOTOPoulos 2001).

A slightly different claim seems to be behind the lists of places in the known world that appear on a series of statue bases in the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III (1391-1353 BC) at Kom el-Hetan, part of the expansionist rhetoric of 18th-dynasty Egypt about control of the known world. Aegean scholars (notably HANKEY 1981, followed and developed by CLINE 1987) have dwelt on one of these lists ( $E_N$ ), the so-called ‘Aegean’ list. As interpreted by Egyptologists (particularly EDEL 1966; HELCK 1995; EDEL – GÖRG 2005), this contains a list of ‘foreign’ names (indicated by the ‘fortress oval’ within which the names appear). The two on the right, but facing to the left — *Keftiu* and *Tanaya* — are accompanied, to the left, with a list of 12 preserved names each facing to the right, plus three more illegible. Above them appears the caption ‘remote lands of the far north of Asia’ (EDEL – GÖRG 2005, 161). It is possible that the two figures with ‘fortress ovals’ on the right are placed there as initial, general figures to be followed by more specific toponyms and indicating the geograph-

ical area (*Keftiu*), plus (tentatively) the name of the inhabitants (*Tanaya* = Danaoi [*Δαναοί*]?).

If this analysis is accepted, then the preserved names in the list can be identified, with uncertainty in some instances, as the names of key cities or regions within the general area (cf. EDEL – GÖRG 2005). The first three names are palimpsests, inscribed over earlier names: Amnisos (over ‘*a-m-k-l/r*’), Phaistos (over another version of the same name) and Kydonia (also over ‘*a-m-k-l/r*’). We then encounter Mycenae, Thebes (possibly to be read as Tegea), Messan(i)a (cf. *me-za-na*: PY Cn 3.1), Nauplia, Kythera, *wʒ-jw-r-jj-i* (possibly to be equated with later Elis [*Waleia?*], or *Wilios* [= Troy?], or possibly a place-name known from the Pylos archive, *wi-ja-we-ra<sub>2</sub>* [PY Cn 643.2; 719.9.,11.,12; Jn 478.1; Mn 1410.1?]: cf. DUHOUX 2008, 29), Knossos, Amnisos (again), and Lyktos. It may just be significant that only four ‘fortress ovals’ contain the Egyptian sign denoting foreign *land*: *Keftiu*, *Messan(i)a*, *Nauplia* and *Kythera*. Might these then denote ‘lands’ rather than ‘cities’, and does this imply that we should be looking for another name behind the supposed Nauplia? Given the overwhelming focus on Crete and mainland Greece, the reading of *Wilios* (= Troy?) seems unlikely.

Hankey and Cline, among others, saw this list as a diplomatic itinerary of Egyptian visitors to the Aegean, with its material reflection in a small number of objects assignable to Amenhotep III found in mainland Greek and Cretan contexts (HANKEY 1981; CLINE 1987). The idea of a diplomatic itinerary seems less plausible when we consider the context of the much larger number of lists inscribed on bases throughout the complex (cf. O’CONNOR 1996; EDEL – GÖRG 2005), including two further fragmentary lists recovered in 2004, possibly containing a reference to ‘Ionians’ (SOUROUZIAN – STAEDLMANN 2005). The overall purpose is less specifically historical than cosmological (defining the Egyptian world-view) or political (claiming Pharaoh’s authority over the known world). Those responsible for the inscription were not necessarily, nor even likely to have been, first-hand observers of Aegean geography; more likely they got their knowledge from archival sources. In this respect, they may have differed from those creating the earlier depictions, who may well have observed foreign visitors to Egypt (cf. PANAGIOTOPoulos 2001, 269-70).

These depictions and lists imply that there was Egyptian interaction with Aegean *elites* and sufficient contact, for example, for lists of names (e.g., VERCOUTTER 1956, 45-50) or incantations (e.g., VERCOUTTER 1956, 82-85) said to be from *Keftiu* to have been generated. Similarly, Syrian documents of the 18th century BC make reference to a ‘man from Kaptara’ and to products of Kaptara (e.g., GUICHARD 1999), while Egyptian texts of the 15th century BC also refer to products of *Keftiu*. There is a striking parallel to the description

of cauldrons in PY Ta 641.1.1-1 and 709.3.3 as *ke-re-si-jo we-ke* ('of Cretan workmanship') in the *Annals of Tuthmosis III* (yr. 42), where tribute from the prince of Tinaya (Danaoi?) includes a 'shubti-vessel' of 'Keftiu workmanship' (VERCOUTTER 1956, 55-56; though see DUHOUX 2003, 232-233). Interestingly the Greek term for Egypt, *Aiguptos*, seems to be identical to that in Akkadian — *hikuptah* — a very specific usage (apparently referring to Memphis), once again implying high-level links (STRANGE 1980, 167, n. 262; cf. MORAN [ed.] 1992, 154-156 [EA 84], 225-226 [EA 139]). Vercoutter even suggests that both terms — *Kaptara* and *Keftiu* — go back to an original form \**kfr* (VERCOUTTER 1956, 110; cf. EDEL — GÖRG 2005, 166-167). If so, it is tempting to see in Greek *Krete* (Κρήτη) a possible Hellenisation of an indigenous word for the island going back at least to the 18th century BC.

Somewhat similar issues surround the terms *Ahhiya* and *Ahhiyawa* (the later form), which occur in a small number of Hittite texts apparently spanning the 14th and 13th centuries BC. These texts document various interactions between individuals from *Ahhiyaw(a)* and Hittite rulers, although, unlike the Egyptian context, these are not combined with visual representations. I leave aside here the historical issues in relation to the *nature* of the relations implied and any possible links to the Trojan War (cf., for example, LATACZ 2004, 121-128, admittedly a very literal reading). The similarity between *Ahhiyawa* and the Greek ethnonym *Akhaiοι* (Ἀχαιοί) encouraged an identification with a land called *Akhaiwia* (cf. FINKELBERG 1988, who proposes, not entirely convincingly, solutions to the phonological problems with the identification; NIEMEIER 1998, 17-27, offering a concise history of the question). Indeed, this term, or something very similar, is attested in the Knossos documents (*a-ka-wi-ja-de*: KN C[2] 914.B), the destination for a hecatomb of 50 rams and 50 goats. The word has the 'allative' suffix, suggesting it may well be a place, but, if so, it is only certainly attested here in the corpus and it is difficult to see how it could have had the significance implied by its occurrence in Hittite texts and appear so rarely. John Killen has suggested that the term may refer to a festival (the occurrence of the word *sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja*, probably σφακτηρία, 'sacrifice' on another text in the same series — KN C(2) 941 — supports this contextual interpretation), for which the use of an 'allative' is possible, rather than to a particular place, although it is also possible that it was a place reserved exclusively for ritual (see above §13.3) (KILLEN 1994, 78). Daphne Gondicas, on the other hand, proposes it as a name for the district of the later city-state of Polyrhenia (GONDICAS 1988, 258-260 [I3]).

Even if we can accept that Hittite *Ahhiyawa* does reflect Greek *Akhaiwia*, the question of its location is still open. Niemeier and Hawkins, for slightly different reasons, argue that *Ahhiyawa* did not lie on the Anatolian mainland

(NIEMEIER 1998, 17-27; HAWKINS 1998) and reference to travel overseas in at least one of the texts supports this notion. However, whether it then refers to what we think of as Greece, or to a specific part (e.g., the territory of one particular polity, such as Mycenae [following the Homeric tradition] or perhaps Thebes [with its particularly strong ‘eastern’ associations, both archaeological and in the tradition]) cannot be determined at present. It has also been suggested that it refers to an island, or group of islands in the eastern Aegean (e.g., MOUNTJOY 1998). If *Aḥhiyawa* does reflect Greek *Akhaiwia*, with a basic sense ‘land of the Achaeans’, then it may have been used to designate any place where Achaeans settled. What is slightly frustrating from the point of view of reconstructing Aegean geography is that there appears no point of contact between Hittite and Egyptian terminology for the area. We appear to be in a not unfamiliar situation in the study of place-names where regions may have had alternative names, such as Egypt itself, or Cyprus (above §13.6).

### §13.7. CONCLUSION

I hope in this chapter to have given an overview of geographical perspectives on the Mycenaean kingdoms of the Late Bronze Age Aegean. Beginning with the identification of place-names in the Linear B documents, we are able to use topographical data and archaeological data to reconstruct the political geographies of Pylos and Knossos, in some detail, and that of Thebes in outline. Equally references in the Linear B texts to areas outside the Aegean are suggestive, while references in eastern Mediterranean texts to the Aegean offer some insights into how the Aegean states were viewed from the outside.

### §13.8. FURTHER READING INCLUDING LISTS OF LINEAR B PLACE-NAMES

- General:* *Diccionario*, s.vv.  
*Knossos:* MCARTHUR 1985; 1993.  
*Pylos:* SAINER 1976.  
*Thebes:* TOP; DEL FREO 2009.

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## CHAPTER 14

# MYCENAEAN RELIGION AND CULT\*

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### §14.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

#### §14.1.1. *The nature of the texts*

The decipherment of Linear B and the intensive study of the Mycenaean texts that followed yield significant insights into several aspects of the religion of Late Bronze Age Greece. Though we cannot say that this led to a complete change in the way in which we understand (or speculate about) this topic, we now move on much firmer ground. We may start with an example: the old view that the god Dionysus was a newcomer to Greece (possibly from Thrace) was challenged when – in the fifties – the names *di-wo-nu-so*, *di-wo-nu-so-jo*, i.e. *Diwonūsos*, appeared in two Pylos tablets (Xa 102 and Xa 1419). Unfortunately the two texts were fragmentary and there was no absolute certainty that we dealt with a god. However, in 1990 the appearance in Crete of *di-wo-nu-so* written on a new tablet from Khania (Gq 5) next to *|di-wę|, |Diwę|* 'to Zeus', confirmed the antiquity of the god Dionysus on the Greek scene. The divine nature of the *di-wo-nu-so* mentioned on PY Xa 102 has meanwhile been confirmed by MELENA's (2001, 36) join of Xa 102 with PY Ea 107 which yielded an almost complete text, now labelled PY Ea 102 and read as *di-wo-nu-so-jo e-ka-ra* GRA 2 T 6 [, *Diwonūsosojo eskharāi*]. This clearly indicates that a plot of land (measured in quantities of wheat) is linked with 'the hearth (altar) of Dionysus'.

However, our understanding of many aspects, including some central features, of Mycenaean religion and cult is still limited and in many regards unsatisfactory. The Linear B documents concern the economic administration of the palace in its various aspects. Therefore, there are no religious texts in the strict sense of the word – no prayers, hymns, manuals of religious instruction. All that we can use are the records of economic transactions – gifts to gods or sanctuaries, contributions for religious rituals, State banquets, etc. They are written on small clay tablets of ephemeral use that mostly contain very few data both about the recipient(s) and the kind and quantity of the commodities offered.

In addition the records that list palace personnel or provide for their subsistence sometimes mention titles of religious dignitaries. From these different types of documents we learn the names and/or titles of some deities, festivals, priests and other religious personnel, sanctuaries and cult places as well as of agricultural products and other objects that are given as offerings and/or subsistence rations. The evidence is by no means sufficient for a full reconstruction of Mycenaean religion or its system of beliefs. We must thus put on record two crucial reservations: first, any conclusion that we may reach can only concern official religion (*Staatsreligion*), i.e. the religion that impinges on the palace

documents; we have no 'private' documents that reflect popular religion (*Volks-religion*). Secondly, all conclusions can only be incomplete and provisional since they are mostly based on extrapolations from the restricted number of relevant terms and names available in the few texts at our disposal.

Because of the inadequacy of the documentation, Linear B scholarship has necessarily concentrated on specific aspects of Mycenaean religion, such as theonyms, or on the few tablets of outstanding interest such as KN Fp 1, KN V 52, PY Tn 316 (see *Companion* 1, §9.6, 9.17, 9.38) or MY Fu 711. No comprehensive study has been written or could be written. Consequently, the monograph by M. GÉRARD-ROUSSEAU correctly entitled *Les mentions religieuses dans les tablettes mycéniennes* (Rome, 1968) is largely an annotated commentary on single words and names thought to be of religious nature — this book is now mostly out-of-date and should only be used in conjunction with F. AURA JORRO's *Diccionario Micénico* (Madrid, 1985/1993). Similarly, J. CHADWICK's contribution to A. MORPURGO DAVIES' and Y. DUHOUX's 1984 survey, entitled *What do we know about Mycenaean Religion?*, mainly reviewed the names of gods and goddesses, cult functionaries, religious festivities and various types of offerings. In an attempt to clarify the basic methodological problems Chadwick ended his study with an 'appeal for greater caution in all discussions of this difficult subject' (CHADWICK 1985, 201).

In the last fifteen years the situation has not drastically changed and Chadwick's warning has lost nothing of its validity. However two new and important pieces of evidence have now appeared: firstly, the sealings found in Thebes in 1982 document the existence of State banquets (cf. §14.2.3) and record the items sent for this purpose; secondly, the tablets found in Thebes in 1993–95 have raised lively and extensive discussions (cf. e.g. §14.3.1.5).

#### §14.1.2. Aspects of methodology

The method used to identify the tablets which contain religious terms is relatively simple (see also this volume, Chapter 11).

First, we look for unambiguous religious terms known from the Classical period, mainly basic words like *te-o, thehos* 'god', *te-o-jo do-e-ro/a, thehojo dohelos/ā* 'god's servant', *i-je-ro, i-je-re-u, i-je-re-ja, hieron, hiereus, hiereja*, 'holy/sanctuary', 'priest', 'priestess'; or theonyms like *di-we, Diwei* 'for Zeus', *po-se-da-o-ne, Poseidāhōnei* 'for Poseidon', etc.; or terms for offerings such as *sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja, sphaktēria* 'sacrificial (animals)'.

The next step is to look at the internal and external context of the term(s) examined.

The *internal context* is the immediate context of the tablet, e.g. the kind and quantity of the commodities (possibly offerings) mentioned or the presence of other religious items such as sanctuaries, cult personnel, religious festivals, etc. A good example is provided by tablet KN Fp 1(1) where we find clear theonyms (*di-we*, *Diwei* 'for Zeus', *pa-si-te-o-i*, *pansi theoihi* 'for all gods', etc.), sanctuaries (*Daidaleionde* 'to the [sanctuary called] Daidaleion') and also a clear instance of a female cult functionary (*a-ne-mo i-je-re-ja*, *Anemōn hierejāi* 'for the priestess of the Winds'). Since the whole tablet is clearly a record of offerings and their recipients, we may consider, by analogy, as religious designations the other terms like, e.g., *pa-de*, *qe-ra-si-ja* and *\*47-da-de*, which are structurally parallel to the clear cultic designations, even if they have no match in alphabetic Greek.

In some cases word formation can also give useful hints. For instance, we often come across words suffixed with *-te-ri-jo* or *-i-jo* (the latter mostly added to gods' names). In alphabetic Greek many names of festivals or sanctuaries show these terminations, e.g. the festivals called *Anthestēria*, *Pluntēria*, etc., or sanctuaries such as *Olympieion*, *Hēraion*, *Asklépieion*, etc. We can then assume that comparable Mycenaean terms, if found in religious contexts, are festival names or sanctuaries. As festival names we may quote e.g. *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja* (the festivity of the 'girding of persons offered to a deity'?), *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo* (the festivity of 'pouring libations at/from the throne'?), *re-ke-to-ro-te-ri-jo* (*lekhestrōtērion* 'the spreading of the bed'); as sanctuaries cf. *di-wi-jo(-de)*, *po-si-da-i-jo(-de)*, *da-da-re-jo(-de)* which designate the sanctuaries of Zeus (*Diwion*), Poseidon (*Posidāhion*) and of (or 'built by?') Daidalus.

We call *external context* what is usually called 'series' or 'set', i.e. a coherent administrative document consisting of several tablets written by the same scribe, showing the same scribal layout, the same physical condition and found at the same spot. This is the case of, e.g., the Knossos Fp(1) set which consists of ca 10 tablets contained in a chest which was found in a room at the southern end of the palace's west wing. All these texts have the same shape, i.e. they are so called palm leaf tablets and are written by a single hand (h. 138). They all register quantities (allocations) of olive oil (offerings) in comparable small amounts — another feature that is characteristic of offering tablets. On the other hand, not all series/sets that include religious terms are necessarily religious tablets. Thus, to give a further example, the Pylian E- series in which we repeatedly meet religious designations for persons — for instance *te-o-jo do-e-ro/a*, *thehojo dohelos/ā* 'god's servant', *i-je-re-ja*, *hierēja* 'priestess', *ka-ra-wi-po-ro*, *klāwiphōros* 'key-bearer' (female functionary with religious obligations) — as well as the name of the god Poseidon represent a kind of cadastre of (primarily religious?) land-holdings, most of them at the holy place of *pa-ki-ja-ne*. And in the Jn tablets from Pylos which record amounts of bronze allocated to local bronze-smiths we

find *ka-ke-we po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo, khalkēwes potniawejoi* 'bronze-smiths belonging to Potnia', i.e. we deal with personnel which fulfils an industrial task but belongs to a goddess. In conclusion, in order to identify and interpret the tablets with religious content it is important to start with terms whose meaning is certain and with contexts which clearly indicate religious matters; it is only from this starting point that we may dare to move to more speculative fields exploiting intertextual comparison. Etymological observations, though always of interest, are a less secure guide and can only be used with caution.

#### §14.2. A TENTATIVE CLASSIFICATION OF THE LINEAR B RELIGIOUS TEXTS

It is useful to provide a preliminary classification of the texts which are relevant to the organization of cult. We may distinguish six different categories, five of which are immediately linked to religious aims and have a specific administrative character, while a sixth class, though not directly connected with religion, is marked by the occasional inclusion of terms with religious connotation. The six classes proposed are as follows: offerings of agricultural and industrial products (§14.2.1); offerings of livestock (§14.2.2); State banquets (§14.2.3); offerings and rations for religious festivities (§14.2.4); cult personnel (§14.2.5); economic involvements of the religious sector (§14.2.6). As is obvious, by far the most numerous group of religious texts is that which deals with offerings (cf. WEILHARTNER 2005).

##### §14.2.1. *Offerings of agricultural and industrial products*

We include in this category all texts that list offerings sent to deities or cult-places either on a routine basis (monthly, etc.) or for special occasions (festivals, etc.). This group of tablets has by far the largest number of theonyms, names of cult-places, festivals, etc.

The texts mainly record agricultural products such as olives (*Nt*), olive oil (*OLE*), honey (*ME+RI*), barley (*HORD*), flour or spelt (*FAR*), spices (*CYP*, *AROM*, etc.), but also wool (*LANA*) and textiles (\**146*, \**166+WE*), as well as some commodities expressed by the unidentified ideograms \**170*, \**171*, \**190*. Whereas most of these series which deal with agricultural produce tend to record one product only,<sup>1</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> OLE: KN Fp and Fh series, PY Fr series; HORD: KN F 51; ME+RI: KN Gg series, KH Gq 5; CYP, etc.: KN Ga series; textile \**146*: KN M series, PY Mb series, Mn 1411; textile \**166+WE*: KN Oa 745+7374, 1808; LANA: KN Od series.

KN Fs series is different because of its combination of several kinds of food-stuff including barley (HORD), figs (NI), oil (OLE), flour or spelt (FAR), wine (VIN) and occasionally also honey (ME+RI).

Apart from textiles, the precise use of which remains unknown (cloths for cult-images? or robes for attendants at religious festivities?), there is a more striking example of manufactured product offered to gods: the gold vessels recorded on PY Tn 316 (see *Companion* 1, §9.38) as offers for various deities and/or sanctuaries. They are unique since, when we find other vessels mentioned in offering tablets in connection with liquid commodities such as honey (KN Fs 8 v., Gg series) or wine (KN Uc 160, if religious), these are simply (clay) containers and serve to indicate the quantities of liquids.

Usually the quantities mentioned for the various types of offerings are modest. Thus, e.g., the oil rations recorded by the KN Fp tablets mostly note amounts of about 10 l.; they rarely amount to 20 l. or so and only exceptionally reach or surpass 30 l. Within the 'mixed' KN Fs series the quantities normally offered are of around 9.6 l. of barley (HORD), 4.8 l. of figs (NI), 0.8 l. of olive oil (OLE), 1.6 l. of flour or spelt (FAR), 1.6 l. of wine (VIN) and 0.4 l. of honey (ME+RI). Within the KN Gg(1) and (3) sets only one or two amphorae of honey are given to deities or sanctuaries. At Pylos the normal quantities of olive oil documented in the Fr tablets range from 0.8 l. to 30.4 l., with the exception of two unusually high quantities for which see below. Annual amounts of barley contributions (*not offerings!*) to Poseidon (and some human recipients) which are listed in the PY Es tablets and were made by several functionaries differ widely: thus *ka-ra-i* (MN) who is at the lower end of the contributions, gives only 19.2 l., while *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo* (MN; *Alektuwōn* — in Classical Greek, this name meant 'Cock') who is at the upper end is committed to providing no less than 220.8 l.

According to the PY Fn series the rations supplied to officials who took part in religious feasts, some of which presumably lasted several days, consisted of varying quantities of barley (HORD) and figs (NI) — from 3.2 l. to 64 l. of barley (for individuals; groups are granted multiple allocations) and from 9.6 l. to 96 l. of figs. The quantities of olive oil recorded in the PY Fr series show still greater variation: they range from 0.4 l. for the 'Trishero' *ti-ri-sero-e* (GN; *Trishérōhei*; Fr 1204) to 160 l. for the 'Divine Mother' (*ma-te-re te-i-ja, mātērei thehiāi*; Fr 1202; for possible interpretations cf. §14.3.1.1, 14.4). The quantities of wine (VIN) in PY Gn 428, which probably belongs to the religious sector, range from 9.6 l. to 48 l.; allotments of the same product in the KN Fs series range from 1.6 to 3.2 l. No doubt, these obvious fluctuations in the quantities are caused by different parameters that depend no less

on the recipients' status than on the period of time for which these contributions were provided.

Manufactured items normally also occur in low numbers: five or fewer pieces of textiles (indicated by the ideograms \*146 and \*166+WE) are apparently offered for religious purposes according to PY Mb 1366 and 1402, whereas on the KN M and Oa texts usually one piece is recorded. Again, however, the occasion of the offering and the nature of the recipient have to be considered. There are at least two exceptional cases of unusually high numbers of textiles offered to deities: 22[ pieces are listed on KN Oa 745 for the Lady of the Labyrinth (*da-pu₂-r̩i₁[-to-jo] po-ti-ni-jq*, *D/Laburin[thojo] potniāi*) and no less than 37 units of the textile \*146 are mentioned on PY Un 6 (on that text cf. below §14.2.3) in connection with a State banquet (cf. also NOSCH – PERNER 2001).

What part of the total agricultural assessment concerned the religious sector? The question has been discussed by L. Bendall in a useful and profound study. About the ratio of the overall olive oil production to the share devoted to religious purposes at Knossos and Pylos, she concluded that, despite the relatively 'large number of tablets on which offerings are recorded', which give 'the impression that large amounts of palatial commodities were allocated for religious purposes', 'the figures do not bear this out.' 'On the whole,' according to her results, 'it might be accurate to say that *ca* 4-7% of palatial resources were earmarked for religious offerings' (BENDALL 2001, 449; see further BEN-DALL 2007).

There are, it must be added, also exceptions to the rule that offerings were normally modest: thus, e.g., KN Fp 5504 mentions 288 l. of olive oil as (being or having been) sent to the place (sanctuary?) *a-ka-ta-ra-te-so-de*; on KN G 7509 no fewer than 576 l. of cyperus (PYC+O) are recorded next to *di-ka-ta-de[* (*Diktände*[ 'to Dikte']) and on KN E 842 we find 2342.4 l. olives (OLIV) in connection with the entry *te-o-i me-a-de* (*thehoihi, me-a-de* 'for the gods, to the site of M.'). Comparable to these cases are, as already stated, the 22[ cloths obviously made of linen (*ri-no, linon*) and of the *wehanos*-type (*we-a₂-no*; described ideographically as '*ri* \*166+WE') which are mentioned next to *da-pu₂-r̩i₁-to-jo* [*po-ti-ni-jq*, *D/Laburin[thojo] potniāi* 'for the Lady of the Labyrinth'; and also the 37 textile pieces of the \*146 type listed on PY Un 6, which belongs to the type of the 'mixed' records characteristic of State banquets ('mixed' means that these lists contain several different commodities). The general impression suggested by these texts is that they refer to overall amounts going to sanctuaries rather than offerings meant for individual deities; we may also wonder whether these large quantities were meant for local festivities or served for the subsistence of cult personnel.

### §14.2.2. *Offerings of livestock*

The tablets which record the various kinds of commodities to be consumed at State banquets (cf. below §14.2.3) tell us that sacrificial animals were sent from rural places to the palace and, perhaps (via the palace?) also to other local cult places in the provinces. Accordingly it is possible to identify some groups of tablets which clearly contain the records of animals meant for sacrifice (GODART 1999). These are, at least occasionally, described as *sa-pa-ka-te-ri-ja*, *sphaktēria* 'sacrificial' (e.g. KN C[2] 941) or as *i-je-ro/a*, *hieron/a* 'sacred' (TH Wu series). Contrary to our category 1 (above §14.2.1) these tablets usually contain no indication of date and/or recipient. Apart from direct indications such as *sphaktēria* (or the abbreviated form 'sa') and *hiera* it is, as just stated, primarily the low numbers, as opposed to much higher quantities for the herds, and only rarely the context, which are characteristic of this class.

From our point of view, it emerges that for the central administration at the time when these tablets were redacted the date and site were not important; obviously the purpose of these texts was to make sure that sacrificial animals were available when required. This was achieved monitoring the persons who had to deliver them (or had already delivered them?) and keeping on record the number of animals which had to be provided.

The KN C(2) and C(3) series are important tablets which record the delivery of sacrificial animals to the palace. KN C(2) seems to register animals (sheep *ovis* and goats *cap*) to be delivered by high status persons while KN C(3) seems to concentrate on local functionaries who are obliged to supply pigs (*sus*). The same class of functionaries is expected to deliver (or to have delivered?) one bovid (*bos*) per person together with 12 items of an unidentified commodity (*ne \*170; ne-wa* 'young, small') on KN C 902. At Pylos this category of texts is represented mainly by the tablets Cn 3 and Cn 608 (cf. Cn 1197, 1287). Thus it seems that both at Knossos and Pylos sacrificial animals were levied from high-ranked individuals (cf. KN C 954 and PY Cn 1287) as well as on a more local and communal level (cf. KN C 902 and PY Cn 3, 608).

As we saw above, it is only in a few cases that we are told something about the recipients: exceptionally in KN C 394 a sacrificial (*sa*; cf. above) bull and one (?) ram are recorded in the line above *pa-ja-o-ne / pa-dē[*, where the first word might perhaps (??) be a variant of *pa-ja-wo-ne* *Pajawōnei* 'for Paiaon' attested on KN V 52.2 (cf. the alphabetic Greek epithet of Apollo *Paiāōn*), and *pa-dē[* may be the god *pa-de* attested elsewhere at Knossos but unknown from historical sources.

In my view (but other interpretations of the syntax are possible), on PY Cn 3 bulls are sent by military contingents (troops) to the *di-wi-je-we e-re-u-te-re*,

presumably the 'priest of Zeus', who is also a kind of inspector (?) of *me-za-na* (GN, gen./dat., *Met'ānās/i*, possibly the equivalent of Classical Greek *Messēnē*, both a goddess and a place-name). We may then, by implication, conclude that, according to the interpretation favoured here, the local goddess (?) \**Met'ānā* was the recipient of (sacrificial) bulls and that the palace had ordered some local military contingents to send these bulls to the priest of Zeus (cf. also Classical Greek 'Zeus Eleuther') for her (or for sacrificing to her) (cf. KILLEN 2000, chap. III).

The sacrificial animals are normal domestic species, i.e. bovids (*BOS*), sheep (*OVIS*), goats (*CAP*) and pigs (*SUS*). On the whole, relatively small numbers are characteristic of tablets which record animals meant for sacrifice; the small numbers are an idiosyncratic trait by which this type of documents differs from the records of whole herds that list much higher figures. Yet, we must not forget that, although individual contributors apparently had to deliver only a small number of animals, we do not know how often this was the case; it might have been only once a year, but we cannot exclude that animals had to be sent to the palace repeatedly, e.g. whenever a festivity was held.

Of some interest is the combination of three animals such as *BOS*, *OVIS* and *CAP* which, as already mentioned, occurs as a regular pattern on KN Ce 152 where either one or twelve animals of each species are consistently grouped together (yielding a likely offering of three or 36 animals). A full hecatomb is probably mentioned in KN C 914; it consists of 50 rams (*OVIS*<sup>m</sup> 50) and 50 he-goats (*CAP*<sup>m</sup> 50) which are being sent (or have been sent) to a festival (?) called *a-ka-wi-ja(-de)* (on this term cf. below §14.3.3).

### §14.2.3. State banquets

We must keep in mind that in the Greek culture all slaughtering of animals was seen as a sacrificial act.

We cannot say how butchering was ritualized in Mycenaean times when performed on an unofficial, perhaps minor, scale, but the tablets provide evidence for official feasts held at the palaces and connected with the slaughtering of 'sacrificial animals.' In recent years it has become usual to speak of 'State banquets', using the term to refer to festivals organized by the ruler and/or high officials, which assembled a great mass of participants, including members of the elite; no doubt these State banquets also had the political purpose of strengthening the relations between the ruler, the elite and, perhaps, the lower classes of the population. In fact, we know that from Homer onwards these banquets included a religious section, when the animals were slaughtered; there

may also have been libations, etc. However, most of the banquet consisted of communal feasting rather than of a religious ceremony.

That in Pylos State banquets were performed was concluded from archaeological evidence even before it was understood that several important tablets concerned this topic (cf. SÄFLUND 1980, who calls these events 'sacrificial banquets'). However, it was only when a group of inscribed sealings (TH Wu series) was discovered at Thebes (PITEROS *et al.* 1990) that it emerged that the animals and other recorded commodities (expressed by the undeciphered ideograms \*171, \*190) were closely matched by the 'mixed' list of the tablet PY Un 138; both documents record almost exactly the same number of animals (sheep: 16 at each site; goats: 14 at Thebes, 13 at Pylos; pigs: 12 at TH, 13 at PY; bovids: 2 (?) at TH, 3 at PY). Soon afterwards it was recognized that other tablets of the same 'mixed' class belonged to this specific group.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile the subject has become a major field of Mycenaean studies (VARIAS GARCIA 2000; PALAIMA 2004; cf. the bibliography in *Mycenaean Feast*).

Though, on the whole, the presence of a religious component in these tablets cannot be doubted, it is striking that in most examples of this category we lack specific indications which refer to divine recipients. Two tablets only, PY Un 6 and Un 853, mention Poseidon as the deity receiving a part, at least, of these offerings. In the standard sacrifice patterns of the Classical period the larger part of the offerings was meant for the human participants in the feast. At Pylos a man called *e-ke-ra<sub>2</sub>-wo* provides half of the total quantity of delivered items; his status is disputed but *e-ke-ra<sub>2</sub>-wo* is often, and correctly in my view, taken to be a title of the *wanax* (or his personal name; cf. PALAIMA 1995). His contribution may be a share of the income from the *wanax*'s personal land-holding, i.e. the *te-me-no* of the *sa-ra-pe-da* type (crown-land?) recorded on the tablets PY Er 312/880 and Un 718 (KILLEN 1999, 350ff); cf. the alphabetic Greek *temenos*, 'area of land reserved for the ruler' (Homer) or 'for the god' (Classical). On Un 6 besides Poseidon the goddess *pe-re-\*82* (for whom see also PY Tn 316) is also mentioned as receiving offerings. In addition to these very important texts, PY Un 2 is also worth mentioning here since its introductory line informs us that a banquet was held at the cult centre (holy district) of *pa-ki-ja-ne* on the occasion of *mu-jo-me-no e-pi wa-na-ka-te, mūjomenōi epi wanaktei*. This must mean either that the *wanax* was introduced into a religious mystery cult (?) or that he presided over some kind of initiatory ritual.

Another individual who, as indicated by tablet PY Cn 418, organized a State banquet, is recorded as *we-u-da-ne-we* (dative) (a form *we-da-ne-we* may be a

<sup>2</sup> PY Ua, Un series; KN Uc 160, etc.; perhaps also MY Ue 661; cf. KILLEN 1992b, 1994, 1996.

scribal variant [?]). In all likelihood he may be identified with the *ra-wa-ke-ta*. The *ra-wa-ke-ta*, *lāwāgetās* (alphabetic Greek *lāgetās*) 'leader of the people (sc. in arms)' is generally supposed to hold the second place after the *wanax* in the Mycenaean hierarchy of power. As far as we know, the *wanax* and the *lāwāgetās* only own the privileged type of land-holdings called *temenos* (nom. sg., PY Er 312). Therefore it may be not accidental that both persons are connected with this kind of banquets.

With reference to the quantities of commodities it is worthwhile to remember the conclusions which J. CHADWICK (*World*, 100f.) reached about the food-stuff consumed at the feasting event recorded in PY Un 2 (which presumably was compiled at the time of the 'initiation' of the king; see above): 'The list of goods is impressive: 1574 litres of barley, 14.5 litres of cyperus, 115 litres of flour, 307 litres of olives, 19 litres of honey, 96 litres of figs, 1 ox, 26 rams, 6 ewes, 2 he-goats, 2 she-goats, 1 fattened pig, 6 sows, 585.5 litres of wine, not to mention three commodities which are listed by unknown abbreviations or ideograms. The barley alone would provide rations for 43 people for a month. But if the ceremony really were a royal initiation, these offerings are by no means excessive.'

#### **§14.2.4. Offerings and rations for religious festivities**

As was recently pointed out by J.T. KILLEN 2001, there is a further category of tablets that records different classes of ration recipients — officials as well as craftsmen, and also deities and cult-places. Killen has now convincingly interpreted this so far poorly understood and strange-looking class as recording both offerings and subsistence rations promised by the palace to deities and to officials involved in these cult performances on the occasion of religious festivities. It is especially tablets like PY Fn 187 which contain terms of different categories such as cult-places (*po-si-da-i-jo-de*, *posidāhionde* 'to the sanctuary of Poseidon', *pq-ki-ja-na-de* 'to the holy place of P.'), deities (*u-po-jo-po-ti-ni-ja*, *u-po-jo potniāi*, 'for the Potnia of U.'), priests (*po-si-da-i-je-u-si*, *posidāhieusi* 'for the priests of Poseidon'), officials (*ka-ru-ke*, *kārukei* 'for the *kārux*' (dative), 'herald' in alphabetic Greek and craftsmen/women (e.g., *a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i*, *askētriāhi*, female textile workers, specialized in finishing processes, cf. Classical Greek *askeō*). Another tablet which may be included here is PY Un 219 which registers divine and human recipients in the dative together with abbreviations of unidentified commodities, e.g. *e-ke-ra<sub>2</sub>-wo(-ne)* (pers. name, presumably the *wanax*: §14.2.3), *pa-de-we* (considered by several scholars as a deity, but there are other interpretations), *ka-ru-ke* ('herald'), *a-ke-ti-ri-ja-i*

(women engaged in textile industry), *a-ti-mi-te* (*Artimitei* 'for Artemis'), etc. The KN Fs series, which was mentioned above, may also belong in this group since it includes terms of religious nature and is most likely a record of a 'ten days' worth of meals for a single person' (R. PALMER 1994).

Finally, the majority of the tablets found in 1993–95 at Thebes apparently belong to this category (but see below). Here barley (HORD; Fq series), olives (OLIV; Ft series) and wine (VIN; Gp series) are recorded mostly (or exclusively) for human recipients who are supposed to take part in some kind of religious performance; among them there occur in TH Fq 254 a *de-qo-no, deipnos* 'caterer (?)' (but cf. *Companion* 1, 386), and also, in another series recording personnel and rations, (two) *ru-ra-ta-e, lürastāe* 'lyre-players' (Av 106). The amounts of commodities range for barley between 0.4 l. and 19.2 l., for olives between 3.2 and 40[ l. and for wine between 0.8 l. and 192 l. On the much-debated question whether these tablets also contain the names of deities and of sacred animals cf. § 14.3.1.5.

#### §14.2.5. *Cult personnel*

Apart from monitoring processes within the material economy, the recording of the status and changes of personnel was also a main task of the palatial administration. Consequently we are told about various characteristics of the religious personnel. The tablets PY An 607, An 1281 and Ae 303 offer interesting examples. PY An 607 records women of 'religious' parentage who are obviously connected with functionaries called *e-qe-ta, hek"etai*, alphabetic Greek *hepetai* 'followers'; part of these women has mothers who are *do-e-ra* (*dohelā* 'servant') of either *do-qe-ja* (most likely an otherwise unknown deity) or *di-wi-ja* (*Diwia*, another goddess) while their fathers are either *do-e-ro* (*dohelos* 'servant') of again *do-qe-ja* or smiths (*ka-ke-u, khalkēus*; cf. also the *ka-ke-we po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo, khalkēwes potniawejoi* 'bronze-smiths belonging to Potnia' on PY Jn 310, 431). PY An 1281 registers persons associated with two Potniai: *po-]ti-ni-ja i-qe-ja* and *po-ti]-a-ke-ṣi po-ti-ni-ja*; the restoration in line 9, which is based on the place-name *po-ti-a-ke-e* attested in PY An 298 and An 610, is possible, but by no means certain, nor is certain the interpretation of *]a-ke-ṣi* as a place name. PY Ae 303 mentions 14 women at Pylos (*pu-ro*) who are described as *i-je-re-ja do-e-ra* (*hierējās dohelai* 'servants of the priestess') *e-ne-ka ku-ru-so-jo i-je-ro-jo, (h)eneka khrusojo hierojo* 'in charge of the sacred gold', or 'of the gold of the sanctuary' — see *Companion* 1, §9.25. Here, perhaps, we encounter women who may be fulfilling the same functions as those recorded on PY Tn 316 where male and female persons

(called *po-re-na*) are described together with gold vessels given as offerings to various deities.

#### §14.2.6. *Economic involvements of the religious sector*

Though it does not constitute a coherent administrative document, a further class of tablets may be seen as a separate category with tablets from several series that concern either agricultural products or manufactured items. Their common feature is that they refer to personnel and establishments of either agricultural or industrial nature which are evidently controlled by sanctuaries, which in their turn are supervised by the palace.<sup>3</sup> Agricultural establishments of this kind are known from tablets which list sheep flocks belonging to the Potnia (KN Di[1] series) or from a tablet such as KN D 411 which mentions at least 90 sheep in the possession of *e-ma-a<sub>2</sub>-o* (*Hermāhāo* gen., 'of Hermes'). KN Mc 4462, in addition to a normal flock cared for by an individual shepherd called *Irā-wo-qo-no*, *[Lāwok]*<sup>h</sup>*enos*, also registers some products for *a-re*; if this is to be read *Arei* dat., 'for the god Ares' we may well be dealing with offerings, but *a-re* may also be taken as a MN.

Some, at least, of the palatial workshops dedicated to industrial production seem to have been also controlled by sanctuaries. The tablets recording *ka-ke-we po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*, *khalkēwes potniawejoi* 'bronze-smiths belonging to P.' (PY Jn series) may be mentioned again. PY Un 249 which registers an *a-re-pa-zq[-o] po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*, *aleiphad<sup>o</sup>h[os] potniawejos* 'unguent-boiler belonging to the Potnia' falls also into this category and points to another industrial establishment owned by this goddess and dedicated to the production of perfumed oil, perhaps also to be used in the cult as in the PY Fr series. In PY Fr, oil generally serves for offerings and also in a special case (Fr 1225) as ointment (*a-ro-pa*, *aloiphā*, alphabetic Greek *aloiphā* 'unguent, ointment') for the cloths (*we-a<sub>2</sub>-no-i*, *wehanoihi*) of the *u-po-jo po-ti-ni-ja* ('Potnia of/at U'). These establishments which belonged to sanctuaries were called *wo-ko* (nom. sing., *woikos*, Classical Greek *oikos* 'household'). This is shown by the tablets PY Sh 736 with *me-za-na wo-ke*, *Metānās woikei* 'in the *oikos* of (the goddess?) Metana' (interpretation not unanimously accepted, but cf. KILLEN 2000, chap. III) and TH Of 36 with *po-ti-ni-ja wo-ko-de*, *potniās woikonde* 'to the *oikos* of P.'. A different, but presumably related, type of establishment, also controlled by sanctuaries, is indicated with the expression *do-de* (*dō-de* 'to the

<sup>3</sup> I now avoid the misleading term *Tempelwirtschaft*, which I used in an earlier contribution (HILLER 1982); cf. BENDALL 2001; LUPACK 1998, 1999.

house' [of]). On TH Of 26 (a tablet recording allocations of wool), *do-de* is connected with the name of *di-u-ja-wq* (cf. also TH Of 33) and is followed, in the next entry, by the term *po-re-si* which is obviously the dat. (pl.) of *po-re-na*, designation of persons (victims, bearers of gold vessels?) who appear in clearly religious function on the Pylos 'pantheon tablet' Tn 316 (cf. below and see *Companion* 1, §9.38). A religious connection is also apparent for the persons found in the PY Qa series and, at least in part, for those listed in PY An 1281; both the Qa texts and An 1281 come from the so-called North-Eastern building next to the Palace which seems to have functioned either as a workshop or, more likely, as a store-room for industrial products. Here too we find a remarkably close association between religious personnel and economy matters (cf. also LUPACK 1999).

#### **§14.2.7. *The 'holy' district of pa-ki-ja-ne***

In addition to the tablets which belong to our category 6 above (§14.2.6), we must mention here the Pylos series which records land-holdings in the cult centre (or sacred district) of *pa-ki-ja-ne* (PY Eb/p, En/o series). *Pa-ki-ja-ne* is obviously a kind of a 'temple estate' belonging to the Potnia (and, perhaps, to the *wanax*?). This is shown first by the tablet PY Tn 316 where the toponym *pa-ki-ja-ne* is mentioned first, and, in association with *po-ti-ni-ja*, together with a whole series of cult-places which receive precious gifts. Moreover, in *pa-ki-ja-ne* we find (PY Eb/Ep, En/Eo) a remarkable concentration of cult personnel, including many *te-o-jo do-e-ro/a* (*thehojo doheloi/ai* 'god's servants', surely not 'slaves' in the Classical sense of the word), a priest and a priestess named *we-te-re-u* and *e-ri-ta*, the *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* (*klawiphoros* 'keybearer' [of the sanctuary]; a purely religious title) named *ka-pa-ti-ja*, a *i-je-ro-wo-ko* (*hierowrgos* 'sacrificing priest'), and a further person qualified additionally as *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo* (*potniawejos* 'belonging to the Potnia'). Given this majority of cult personnel among the land-holders at *pa-ki-ja-ne*, these Eb/Ep, En/Eo series, though meant primarily as a kind of cadastre, may also be counted among the texts which provide indirect 'religious' information (cf. also below §14.3.4).

### **§14.3. RELIGIOUS TERMS AND THEIR CATEGORIES**

We have now surveyed the Linear B texts which are most relevant to 'Mycenaean religion' and we can turn to an analysis of the information which these sources provide. We must stress, however, that in general the most that

we can do is to identify individual lexical items and classify them into the relevant fields: deities (recipients of offerings), cult-places (destinations of offerings), cult events (religious festivities and rituals), cult personnel (including some indirect evidence on cult hierarchy and cult organization), and agricultural or industrial establishments controlled by the sanctuaries (which in their turn are supervised by the palace). Further inquiries may lead us to the comparison of Mycenaean data with the data offered by later sources.

### **§14.3.1. *Recipients of religious offerings***

#### **§14.3.1.1. Major Olympic deities**

For the historian of religion the fact that the deities mentioned in the Linear B texts include a majority of Olympian deities known from the Classical period is of paramount interest. In the Mycenaean texts we find great part of the main gods and goddesses of the Olympian pantheon: Zeus, Hera, Artemis, Poseidon, Dionysus (the latter was thought for a long time to be a first millennium newcomer), Hermes, Ares, Hephaestus (attested only indirectly by a MN) and, perhaps, Demeter (?). The attempts to identify Demeter in our texts have focussed on the terms *ma-ka* (TH), *Mā Gā* (?),<sup>4</sup> *si-to-po-ti-ni-ja* (MY; *sitōn potnia* ‘Lady of the Grain’) and *ma-te-re te-i-ja* (PY; *matērei thehiāi* ‘for the Divine Mother’ (for another possible interpretation of this term cf. § 14.4), but there is no general agreement. Athena is most likely to be implied by the phrase *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja* on KN V 52, frequently interpreted as *Athānās Potnia* cf. Homeric *potni*’ *Athēnaiē* (fitting the hexameter) — see *Companion* 1, §9.17. The term is likely to indicate the *Potnia* of a place called *a-ta-na*, which could be either an otherwise unattested Cretan site or perhaps a form (in the singular) of the name of the well known place (in the plural) in continental Greece; in this connection Athens’ role in the Minotaur’s myth comes to mind. Hephaestus seems to be attested indirectly by the personal name *a-pa-i-ti-jo*, *Hāphaistios/īon* on a tablet found at Knossos (KN L 588.1), but so far the corresponding theonym does not occur.

Two deities are conspicuously absent: Aphrodite and Apollo; the second of these names was recognized in the incomplete word *Jpe-ro₂-[ne* on KN E 842.3, cf. Doric *Apellon*; but this reading is very uncertain and the word could also be restored as *u-Jpe-ro₂-[ne*; cf. below §14.3.1.2. Given that our information largely depends on the chance finding and preservation of one or the other

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *TOP*, 317; not accepted by DUHOUX 2003; 2005; 2006 and PALAIMA 2002; 2003.

tablet, this may be accidental, but it could also be due to the fact that both deities entered the pantheon of Classical Greek religion in post-Mycenaean times only. According to some authors Aphrodite was indicated with the term *po-ti-ni-ja*, but this is impossible to demonstrate. If so, she may have reached Greece after the Greek colonization of Cyprus which did not start before 1200 BC, while Apollo may have accompanied the Doric conquest of the Peloponnesus after 1100 BC. Perhaps the lack of direct evidence for Hephaestus is due to his basic connection with Lemnos, an island outside the Mycenaean cultural orbit proper (although known to Mycenaeans as shown by some Late Mycenaean pottery found there and also by the female workers called *ra-mi-ni-ja*, *Lāmniai* mentioned on PY Ab 186 with other foreign workforces). Athens was an important Mycenaean centre, but, as far as we know, not one of the most powerful; consequently it is possible that Athena's rise to prominence in the pantheon followed the rise of her eponymous city during the Dark Ages. Needless to say, most of what precedes is bound to be speculative.

It would be important to extrapolate from the tablets some information about the hierarchy of the Olympian gods, but at present this seems hardly possible, except for some very general observations. The different quantities of commodities or animals allocated to the individual deities may not be a reliable indication of the gods' status since they are too susceptible to local and temporal circumstances, though this may be possible in some instances (for a contrary view see *Companion* 1, §9.6). Some Olympians (Zeus, Poseidon, Dionysus, Hermes) are found in Crete as well as on the Greek mainland. So far Artemis is only attested in tablets from the Greek mainland. Since in the Classical period she was frequently identified with the Cretan Diktunna, it is possible that she appears in the Knossos tablets under another name. *Qe-ra-si-ja*, who so far is not attested outside Crete, is interpreted by some scholars as a theonym designating a 'divine huntress' *Kʷʰérasiā* (cf. Classical Greek *thēraō* 'hunt', etc.). If so, she might be a Cretan predecessor of Artemis. On the other hand, if the island of Thera had this name as early as the Late Bronze Age, and if the name was related to the 'hunting' root mentioned above (which is far from certain), *Kʷʰérasia* could perhaps be taken as the eponymous 'Goddess of Thera', who, as a local deity, would have been widely respected after the devastating explosion of the island's volcano at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age. That the Minoans were in close contact with the island of Thera at the time of the great Thera eruption emerges, at the very least, from some clay sealings (i.e. official documents) imported from Crete (most likely Knossos) to the site of Thera-Akrotiri (DOUMAS 2000); moreover, tablets in Linear A have also been found there. However, there have been other proposals for the interpretation of *qe-ra-si-ja*.

Unquestionably, Poseidon emerges as the most important deity from the Pylos tablets; he is also known at Knossos where, however, it is difficult to define the relative importance of the deities. Zeus, undoubtedly of Indo-European origin, is attested at Pylos and in Crete, both at Khania and in the Knossos palace; cf. KN F 51 (but see §14.3.1.5) and, in connection with the cult place at Dikte, KN Fp 1. On the basis of this broad regional presence, he may have been regarded even in this period as, if not the most, at any rate a very prominent and powerful god. Similarly Dionysus, who is found at Pylos (Ea 102, Xa 1419), may have been a deity of considerable importance, since in Crete he is associated with Zeus on the tablet KH Gq 5, perhaps as a *theos sunnaos* (dwelling with Zeus in the same cult building). Hera was presumably Zeus' wife even in this period (cf. below §14.3.1.4) and should have had similar status; so far, however, she is not attested in Crete, but we find her on the mainland at Pylos (Tn 316; cf. Un 219) and also at Thebes (Of 28).

Hermes, though he is not mentioned frequently, nevertheless appears at all 'major' Linear B sites, Knossos (D 411), Pylos (Na 1357; Tn 316; Un 219.8) and Thebes (Of 31). On the other hand it may be accidental that so far Ares is attested only at Knossos (Fp 14.2; Mc 4462), though in the classical period his cult is more widespread on Crete than on the mainland. However, it is conceivable that the epitheton *a-re-ja* found in PY Tn 316 v.7 *e-ma-a<sub>2</sub> a-re-ja*, *Hermāhāi Arejāi* (?), is somehow linked with Ares.

### §14.3.1.2. Minor deities known from the Classical period

Besides the Olympian deities we find in the tablets the names of several gods and goddesses who are known from Classical sources, even if they do not belong to the most distinguished family of the Olympians. In this group we can list *Paiāōn/Paiōn* (*Pajāwōn* [KN V 52] and perhaps [but see § 14.2.2] *pa-ja-o-ne* [KN C 394]), *Enualios* (KN V 52; the MN *e-nwa-ri-jo*, PY An 724.12, which presumably is \**Enwālios*, should not be confused with the god Enualios), *e-ne-si-da-o-ne* (dat.; cf. alphabetic Greek *Ennosigaios*, *Ennosidās*), *Eleuthia* (without doubt a variant spelling for *Eileithuia*<sup>5</sup>) and *Erinus*.<sup>6</sup> Daidalus, indirectly attested by a sanctuary/cult-place (*da-da-re-jo-de*, *Daidalejon-de* 'to the Daidaleion', KN Fp 1.3), should also belong here. Other instances of this type may be Graia<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> KN Gg 705, Od 714, 715, 716.

<sup>6</sup> KN Fh 390, Fp 1.8, V 52.

<sup>7</sup> *ka-ra-u-ja*, *Grawja*, MY Fu 711 (where it was also understood as a MN); cf. *ka-ra-wi-ja*, TH Fq 169, 207, 228, where, however, the word has also been interpreted as a WN, though this

and Harpuia (if *a-pu-wa*, TH Fq 229, etc., can be interpreted in this way, but this is disputed). If Graia (?), Harpuia (?) and Eriny's were correctly identified, this would provide evidence for three deities of the dark chthonic sphere; in this connection we are reminded of the ugly tall figurines found at Mycenae and of S. Marinatos' interpretation (MARINATOS 1971). The Hero Ptoios may be regarded as Apollo's predecessor in Classical Boeotia where he was venerated in a sanctuary which is not far from, but cannot be equated with, the Ptoion of the Classical era. This Ptoios may, at least indirectly, be attested by the festival name *po-to-a<sub>2</sub>-ja(-de)*, *pto(i)haja-de* 'to the Ptōia' (TH Av 104), but this equation is not without phonetic problems.

It is striking that apart from Graia (?), Harpuia (?), and, perhaps Ptoios, most of these deities are known from Cretan tablets — some of them became later assimilated to Olympian gods: *Pajawōn* and \*Ptoios (?) with Apollo, *Enualios* with Ares, *Ennosidās* with Poseidon and *Eileithuia*, in some places, with Artemis. Here we may see a reflection of the strong impact which the Minoan culture (religion included) exercised on Mycenaean Greece, especially during the period of Mycenaean occupation. Like many other elements of the Minoan culture, such as writing, administration, (religious) pictorial iconography, etc., some minor deities are likely to have been appropriated by the Mycenaeans who came under Cretan influence. Some of them show a strong Cretan background as *Pajawōn*, *Enualios* and *Eileithuia* and have no clear Greek or Indo-European etymology. Another instance of this phenomenon may be the Aeginetan/Cretan goddess Aphaia, who perhaps is indirectly attested by the term *a<sub>2</sub>-pa-a<sub>2</sub>-de*, if read *Haphai(i)ha-de* (?) 'to the festival (called) Haphaiha' (neutr. pl. [?] TH Wu 94 — the second *h* is difficult to understand in a termination *-aia*, however): in Classical times, Aphaia was taken as another designation for Cretan Diktunna (HILLER 2001). Similarly *e-ri-nu* 'Eriny's' so far is only found on tablets from Crete: in her case too we may speculate that she migrated from the Minoan into the Greek pantheon.

Some gods who function as personifications of natural phenomena may also be classified with the deities considered above. The 'Winds' are recorded as recipients of offerings sent to *a-ne-mo i-je-re-ja*, *anemōn hierejāi* 'for the Priestess of the Winds' (KN Fp 1) at Amnisos. The cult of Winds lived on at Amnisos into the Classical Period (HAMPE 1967). The Sun- and Moon-god may also be represented if we follow the proposals by J.T. KILLEN (2000; 2004, 157) who interprets KN E 842 *me-na* and *u-[pe-ro<sub>2</sub>-]ne* as *Mēnāi* 'for the Moon' and

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will not have sounded very flattering even in the Late Bronze Age, since the basic meaning is 'old woman', cf. *Od.* 1.438 — see however this volume, §15.2.3.2.

*Hu]perio[nei* ‘for the Sun’ (on the latter term which could also be completed as *a-]pe-ro<sub>2</sub>-[ne, A]pello[nei* cf. above §14.3.1.1)

### §14.3.1.3. Deities unknown in the Classical period

A relatively large number of divine recipients of offerings known from the Linear B tablets did not survive into the Classical period. Some of these are supposedly from a pre-Greek cultural layer. This is true for deities from Crete like *pa-de*, *pi-pi-tu-na* (KN Fp 13, cf. Cretan Diktunna), *ti-ta-ma(-i)* (?)<sup>8</sup> and presumably also for the offering recipients recorded in the KN Fs series who bear names which are clearly not Greek; these are likely to represent Minoan deities called, e.g., *a-\*65-ma-na-ke*, *a-ro-do-ro-o*, *qe-sa-ma-qa*, *e-ti-wa*, etc. (DUHOUX 1989/90); others like *a-pa-ṭo[-re* (?) KN Gg 5185, cf. Apollo Aphetor II. 9.404) and *a-pe-ti-ra<sub>2</sub>* (KN V 280.11, perhaps \*Aphetria who may be the female counterpart of Aphetor) could be Greek translations/interpretations of Minoan theonyms.<sup>9</sup>

At Pylos the same could be true of *me-za-na*, *Metānā*, perhaps the eponymous deity of alphabetic Greek *Messānā* (?),<sup>10</sup> and of *do-ge-ja* (PY An 607; cf. above §14.2.5) who are not attested on tablets from other sites. Several further deities, who were not received among the Olympians, are recorded in the Pylos ‘Pantheon’ tablet Tn 316, which looks like a register of Pylos deities, but creates its own problems of interpretation (see *Companion* 1, §9.38). The text seems to distinguish various sanctuaries and here we list the relevant deities accordingly: (a) at (the sanctuary of) the Potnia of/at *pa-ki-ja-si*: *ma-na-sa*, *po-si-da-e-ja*, *Posidāhejāi* ‘for Posidiae’ (obviously a female counterpart to Poseidon), *ti-ri-se-ro-e*, dat., *Trishērōhei* ‘for Trishero’ and *do-po-ta*, *Dō(n)spotāi* (cf. alphabetic Greek *despotās*) ‘for the Master’; (b) at another group of sanctuaries (or a common one?): *i-pe-me-dę-ja* (cf. alphabetic Greek *Iphimedēia*, which is not necessarily related), *di-u-ja*, *Diwjā* (an early female counterpart to Zeus), *pe-re-\*82* (female deity); (c) finally, in the sanctuary of Zeus (which he shares with Hera): a Zeus’ son, called *di-ri-mi-jo* (without corresponding alphabetic GN).

The various Potnia(i) ‘Mistress(es)’ who are connected with specific places and whom we find in all major collections of tablets may also be regarded as mainly local deities. The subject is complex and a full discussion would require

<sup>8</sup> KN X 744, 974, 5881.

<sup>9</sup> L.R. PALMER 1981a; 1983a, 340f; KILLEN 1992b, 361f.

<sup>10</sup> An interpretation which can be supported but is not beyond doubt; PY Cn 3.1; cf. Sh 736 and above §14.2.2.

a whole monograph (cf. BOËLLE 2004). At Knossos we read of *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja*, *Athānās Potnia* (presumably Potnia of Athana, KN V 52 v.1; cf. above § 14.3.1.1 and also *Companion* 1, §9.17) and of *da-pu<sub>2</sub>-ri-to-jo po-ti-ni-ja*, *D/Laburinthojo potnia*, 'Mistress of the Labyrinth'.<sup>11</sup> The presence of another Potnia (or, perhaps less likely, of other Potniai) is suggested by the adjective *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo*, 'belonging to P.', in tablets which register flocks mainly at *si-ja-du-we* (DI 933, etc.) but also at *qa-nwa-so* (DI 943), *ra-ja* (DI 7771), *ka-rū-no* (DI 7147) and *da-\*22-to* (C 5730); whether these Potniai represent local deities or are Potniai of another kind or of some other place where they would also possess flocks must remain open (on the question of agricultural establishments owned by gods cf. above §14.2.6). At Pylos, in addition to the *po-ti-ni-ja* at *pa-ki-ja-ne* (Tn 316), we read of a *po-ti-ni-ja a-si-wi-ja*, *Potnia Aswiā(s)* perhaps 'Mistress of Asia' or 'Asiatic Mistress' (Fr 1206), an *e-re-wi-jo-po-ti-ni-ja* (Vn 48.3), a *ne-wo-pe-o po-ti-ni-ja* (Cc 665), an *u-po-jo-po-ti-ni-ja* (Fn 187.7; Fr 1225, 1236; on the latter text localized at *pa-ki-ja-ni-jo a-ko-ro*) and a *po-ti-a-ke-ṣi po-ti-ni-ja* (see § 14.2.5).

While these epithets of the Potniai refer to their respective cult places, others show a more practical character. At Pylos we hear of a *po-]ti-ni-ja i-qe-ja*, *Potnia (h)ikkʷeja* 'Po]tnia hippēia' ('Mistress of horses' [?], or 'M. of chariots' [?]), cf. Myc. *i-qi-ja (h)ikkʷiā* 'chariot') and at Mycenae we meet the *si-to-po-ti-ni-ja*, *sitōn Potnia* 'Mistress of grain'<sup>12</sup> who, as stated above (§14.3.1.1), may be taken as a kind of Bronze Age predecessor of Demeter or one of her epithets. At Thebes the term Potnia also occurs in the sequence *po-ti-ni-ja wo-ko(-de)*, *Potniās woikon(-de)* '(to) the *oikos* of P.' (TH Of 36, which describes what may be an economic/industrial establishment owned by sanctuaries, cf. §14.2.6).

Sometimes *po-ti-ni-ja* is unspecified: in the Pylos Fr series we find her in the sequences *po-ti-ni-ja di-pi[si-]jo-i* (Fr 1231.1) and *wq-na-so-i po-ti-ni-ja* (Fr 1235), with which we may compare the sequences *wa-na-ka-te wa-na-so-i*<sup>13</sup> and *di-pi-si-jo-i wa-na-ka-te* (Fr 1220). Unfortunately the terms *wa-na-so-i* and *di-pi-si-jo-i* are highly problematic; *wa-na-ka-te*, *wanaktei* (dat., 'to the wanax') is philologically clear, but what kind of wanax is meant, a human or a divine one? A similar connection between the wanax and (an unspecified) Potnia is indicated by the tablet TH Of 36 where adjacent entries refer to both — in line 1 we find the *a-ke-ti-ra<sub>2</sub>* *wa-na-ka[-te-ra]*, *askētriai wanak[terai]*, i.e. a group of

<sup>11</sup> KN Gg 702, Oa 745; cf. also Xd 140; cf. above §14.2.1 and also *Companion* 1, §9.8; on the Labyrinth see below §14.3.2.

<sup>12</sup> MY Oi 701; cf. Oi 702, 704.

<sup>13</sup> Where *wa-na-so-i* too derives from the *wanak-* stem: Fr 1227, Fr 1235.

qualified female textile workers belonging to the *wanax*; in line 2, as we have seen, *po-ti-ni-ja wo-ko-de*, *Potniās woikon-de*, followed by *a-ke-ti-ra<sub>2</sub>*. Perhaps we may also compare PY Un 219.7: *a-na-ka-te TE 1 po-ti-ni-jal*, though the lack of initial *w-* would be unexplained. It cannot be excluded that here we are dealing with a human (but [semi-?] divine offering-recipient) Potnia at the side of the *Wanax*; is she the 'queen'? If so, the king and queen would have been human substitutes for some kind of divine pair and, in addition to other functions, could have performed the ritual of sacred marriage (*Heilige Hochzeit*; a notion perhaps indirectly indicated by the festival name *re-ke-e-to-ro-te-ri-jo*, *lekhestrōtērion* 'the spreading of the couch', PY Fr 1217.2). A sacred marriage was still performed in Classical Athens by the priestess called *Basilinna* and a high official, the *Arkhon Basileus*; they were treated as *hypostaseis* (embodiments) of Dionysus and his maiden bride.

#### §14.3.1.4. Divine pairs

If this hypothesis is correct, *Wanax* and *Potnia* will not have been the only (semi-?) divine couple. There are certainly others: a striking one is *po-se-da-o-ne* (dat.) and *po-si-da-e-ja*, Poseidon and Posidacia. The Cretan deities *a-pa-to[ŋ]-re* ([?] KN Gg 5185) and *a-pe-ti-ra<sub>2</sub>*<sup>14</sup> may be added as a further possible divine couple. Another possible example might be *qe-ra-si-ja* *Gh"erasia* ([?]; cf. above § 14.3.1.1) and her male counterpart *qe-ra-si-jo*, *Gh"erasios*, who is attested on the tablet KN Fp 16 (if it is not a scribal error for *qe-ra-si-ja*). One could also tentatively add the equivalents of the perhaps theriomorphic deities *qo-we* (*g"owei*, dat., MY Fu 711; cf. alphabetic Greek *bous*) and *qo-wi-ja* (*g"owia*, PY Tn 316 v.3; cf. *Companion* 1, §9.38). It must be stressed, however, that here again the interpretation is not certain and other ones cannot be excluded. This cumulative evidence may lend support to the alternative interpretation favoured here. In its turn this may support the view that a possible counterpart of *i-qo*, (*h)ikk"os* 'horse-god' (PY Ea 59, Fa 16), if divine and not simply 'horse', is the *po-]ti-ni-ja i-qe-ja*, *Potnia (h)ikk"eja* (perhaps a kind of divine 'Lady of the Horses', PY An 1281.1) referred to above (cf. also below §14.3.1.3).

The most spectacular case of divine pair is provided by *di-u-ja*, *Diwjai* 'Dīa' (PY Tn 316 v.6) and Zeus (cf. *di-we*, *Diwei*, dat.) whose names are clearly derived from the same Indo-European root. However, by the end of the Bronze Age Zeus is obviously already paired with Hera (Tn 316 v.9); the fact that both

<sup>14</sup> KN V 280; cf. above §14.3.1.3; L.R. PALMER 1981b.

Zeus and Hera appear at Pylos in the sanctuary of Zeus (*di-u-jo, diwjon*)<sup>15</sup> can hardly be explained differently; in any case Zeus and Hera, together with *di-ri-mi-jo*, share a common home as a normal family does. Since Hera is traditionally at home at Argos and Mycenae (in Homer she is called *potnia Hērē*) it may be that, together with the Mycenaean rulers' claim that they were Zeus' offspring, the political supremacy of these places in Late Bronze Greece led to Hera's rise to the status of Zeus' consort. This happened, as it seems, to the disadvantage of Dia who, as her name indicates, is likely to have been the first wife of the supreme god. It may be recalled on this occasion that in Classical Antiquity the goddess Dia was still venerated at Phleious and Sikyon where, however, she had become assimilated with Ganymeda or Hebe (Strab. 8.3.2; Paus. 2.14.4; 13.3) with the only function of Zeus' associated cup-bearer.

#### §14.3.1.5. Sacred animals? Theriomorphic deities?

A special case, which is still under discussion, belongs to a series of texts which was found at Thebes, Odos Pelopidou, between 1993 and 1995, and may have religious content. They were published and interpreted by the archaeologist V.L. Aravantinos and the philologists/epigraphists L. Godart and A. Sacconi (see *TOP*; ARAVANTINOS – GODART – SACCONI 2005). About 240 inventoried tablets, mostly fragmentary, constitute a remarkable additional group of Mycenaean documents. The largest part of texts was attributed by the editors to three different series, TH Fq, Ft and Gp. They are written by different scribes, and record different kinds of commodities and their recipients. The Fq series, which consists of about 125 tablets, registers allotments of barley (HORD), the Ft series (16 tablets) of olives (OLIV), and the Gp series (54 texts) of wine (VIN). In addition, there occur occasionally some other products indicated once by CYP+O, and more frequently but more doubtfully by the sign ॥, for which it is debated whether and where to read it as 'ju' or as FAR. These series have common features (for instance, some recipients), but also differences (for instance, in the vocabulary used). On the whole, the amounts allocated on each tablet to a list of several recipients are relatively small. Among the recipients there are clearly individuals called by their personal names, some groups of personnel (trade or occupational names) and also topographical indications some of which may refer to the names of festivals. There are, moreover, two highly debated categories of recipients. The first consists of three terms, *ma-ka, o-po-re-i* and

<sup>15</sup> Zeus is directly followed by Hera, who is followed by *di-ri-mi-jo di-wo i-je-wr*, dat., *Drimiōi Diwos hiewei* 'for Drimios, the son of Zeus', who, however, need not necessarily be also Hera's son.

*ko-wa*. These were interpreted by *TOP* as *Mai Gai* ('for Mother Earth'), *Opōrēhi* ('for [Zeus] Opōrēs') and *Korwāi* ('for the Maiden/Daughter'). *TOP* recognizes in these three terms the names of the Mycenaean equivalents of a kind of divine triad comparable to the Eleusinian deities which includes Demeter, Zeus (designated elsewhere by the epithet *opōrēs*) and Kore (Persephone). The second class includes items which were taken first by *TOP* and then by several other authors who followed in their steps (though others strongly objected) as names of sacred or divine animals; these are (in alphabetical order): *e-mi-jo-no-i* (*hēmionoihi* 'to the mules'), *e-pe-to-i* (*herpetoihi* 'to the quadrupeds', less likely, 'to the snakes'), *ka-no/ka-si* (*khanōn*, *khānsi* 'of' or 'to the geese'), *ke-re-na-i* (\**gerenāhi* 'to the cranes'), *ku-ne/ku-no/ku-si* (*kunes*, *kunōn*, *kunsi*) 'the dogs', 'of the dogs', 'to the dogs') and *o-ni-si* (*ornisi* 'to the birds'). In other words, *TOP* take the Thebes series as lists of religious offerings and their recipients.

However, this interpretation has met with sharp criticism by several authors, above all T. PALAIMA (2002, 2003) and Y. DUHOUX (2003, 2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2008). Both scholars explicitly reject all religious background. Likewise they do not believe in the occurrence of theonyms and of sacred/divine animals (though not necessarily of animal names, which may be borne by normal persons, as indeed happens in most if not all languages). Apart from the etymological problems created by the derivation of Myc. *o-po-re-i* from \**Opōrēs*, it must be conceded that: (a) there is no obvious divine triad consisting of *ma-ka*, *o-po-re(-i)* and *ko-wa* since the three terms never occur in a direct sequence; (b) that, as argued primarily by Y. DUHOUX, animal names can be found in many Linear B texts where they do not refer to real animals but are used as, for instance, anthroponyms or toponyms.

However a case can also be made for a religious setting of the new series from Thebes. J.T. KILLEN (2001, 2006) argues for a parallel background to that which, even before the publication of the new texts from Thebes, he had convincingly reconstructed for several tablets from the Pylos Fn series, and above all for PY Fn 187.

This tablet contains a strange blend of different classes of nouns, including theonyms, toponyms, individuals and personnel (some apparently with religious meaning). According to Killen's interpretation, here — and likewise at Thebes — we have records of commodity allocations made on the occasion of religious feasts. So far, no better interpretation has been proposed for this otherwise hardly understandable class of documents.

J.T. KILLEN (2006) also pointed out some further correspondences of the new Theban tablets with other texts of religious character. These concern the nature of the commodities, which are also mentioned elsewhere as offerings,

the relatively modest amounts which are characteristic of offerings, the combined occurrence of anthroponyms used for individuals, of terms designating personnel, and of toponyms in the allative case. Finally, the dative plural is regularly used for groups of personnel, as is also in the class of the supposed animals at Thebes, and consequently has, in our view at least, some bearing on the interpretation of the Theban tablets. The same should be said about the strange mixture of different classes. To judge from our understanding of the Pylos Fn tablets we should not give too much weight to arguments based on the structural parallelism of word classes; in other words, the undeniable existence of anthroponyms in the new texts from Thebes does not necessarily imply that the tablets did not contain other types of nouns in the same position.

On the other hand, we must admit that, if we leave aside the doubtful triad of *ma-ka*, *o-po-re(-i)* and *ko-wa*, we are left without theonyms, since the term *di-wi-ja-me-ro* (TH Gp 109.1), which had been interpreted as *Diwiās meros* 'the share of Diwia', is now generally understood as *dwi-āmeron* 'period of two days'; cf. also *di-wi-ja* on TH Gp 313. Other undisputed religious terms are hard to find; the reading and precise meaning of *i-je-rō* on Fq 200.2 is uncertain and *i-je-re-wi-jō(-ju?)* on Gp 303.1 is likely to be used as a personal name. The interpretation of *po-to-a<sub>2</sub>-ja-de* and *te-re-ja-de* (both appear on Av 104, i.e. a tablet from another series) as \**Ptoia-de* and \**Teleia-de* 'to the sanctuary/feast of (Apollo) Ptoios' and 'of (Hera) Teleia', seem at least plausible, if the terms refer to festivals in honour of local Boeotian versions of Apollo and Hera, but other interpretations cannot be completely ruled out.

From a more general point of view some kind of feast seems to be implied by terms like *de-go-no* (Fq 254; *deipnon* or \**deipnos* ('meal' or 'steward') and *ru-ra-ta-e* (Av 106.7), \**lurāstāe* 'two lyre-players' (perhaps the equivalent of 'singers' in the Homeric sense?). But we must stress again that clearly lay designations of recipients such as *te-ka-ta-si* (*tektasi* 'for the carpenters'), *ku-na-ki-si* (*gunaiksin* or \**kunāgisi* 'to the women' or 'to the huntresses'), *i-ko-po-ko-i* ([*h*] *ikk<sup>w</sup>o-phorg*'*o*hi, 'to the grooms'), *o-ti-ri-ja-i* (dat. pl., of a term for some kind of specialized female textile workers) etc., prevail.

It is still debated whether we can state what occasion prompted the distribution of allocations to individual or collective recipients. Three tablets,<sup>16</sup> which contain introductory sentences consisting of a temporal clause which starts with *o-te* (*hote* 'when'), might provide an answer, if we could find a generally accepted interpretation. Unfortunately this is not the case. The easiest sentence (TH Fq 126) reads: *o-te tu-wo-te-to, hote thuwas (?) theto* 'when *thuwo* (?) was

<sup>16</sup> Fq 126, 130, 254.

put (down)'. The favoured interpretation is: 'When a burnt offering (*thuos* [?]) was put (sc. on to the altar [?])'. However, those who see no religious element in the text may prefer the translation given by DUHOUX 2003, 205: 'When (a person called) Thyōn/Styōn was laid (in the grave)', with a unique event able to be used in a date formula. From the point of view of the Mycenaean spelling rules both versions are equally possible. Are we able to decide which one of these two interpretations is the most likely to be right? The present author is inclined to give preference to the former since: (a) Greek *tithēmi* is used in connection with offerings, while, though attested, it is less commonly used to mean 'bury'; (b) the common Greek noun *thuos* 'burnt offering', which plays a central role in Greek religious terminology, seems, on statistical grounds if nothing else, a more likely interpretation than a somewhat rare personal name like 'Thyon', etc., though it is only fair to say that this cannot be excluded; finally (c), both terms, *thuos* and *tithēmi*, occur together in alphabetic Greek with the meaning 'to make an offering', and may well represent a traditional technical expression (cf. Pind. *OI.* 7.43; *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum* 982.24; *LSCG* 69).

No definitive decision is possible at present, but in our view there are reasons to favour an interpretation of the Theban tablets which brings them into line with the Pylos Fn tablets, as suggested by John Killen, while acknowledging that both sets have a religious background. But in that case what should we do with the animals? Once more, we must reiterate that the Mycenaean spelling rules allow the possibility of reading these terms differently, i.e. not as animal names. However, even if we take them as animal names, in theory they could be used as individual designations: persons called 'fox', 'wolf', 'nightingale', etc., are widely found, irrespective of language, and occur in the Linear B texts too (cf. BARTONÉK 2003, 404). But, since some of the terms under discussion are in all likelihood in the dat. pl. case (*ku-si*, *ka-si*, *e-mi-jo-no-i*, *ke-re-na-i*, *o-ni-si*), and since all other forms of these words can be read as plurals (nominative or genitive; cf. *ku-ne*, *kunes*; *ku-no*, *kunōn*; *ka-no*, *khānōn*), and probably should be read as such, for reasons of structural consistency, to interpret them as personal names is difficult and indeed unlikely (on the possibility of tribal names cf. Herodotus V.68). On the other hand, some of these plural forms have been interpreted as place, trade or occupational names (cf. DUHOUX 2008).

If, therefore, these terms are animal names and refer to the recipients of offerings, it is not very likely that they also refer to real animals. It hardly makes sense that dogs are fed with barley (HORD) or quadrupeds/snakes (?) and mules with wine. This seems to provide a factual point in favour of the assumption that they are imaginary or supernatural animals honoured on the occasion(s) of offering ceremonies. To say more is hardly possible as long as we remain

within the somewhat narrow limits of the evidence offered by the texts. If we look for parallel data for animals which belong to the supernatural sphere, we are brought back to the figurative art of the late Bronze Age which left us representations of several kinds of attendant animals (dogs, quadrupeds, birds) together with other figures which apparently have divine character. The assumption that there were sacred/divine animals or theriomorphic deities in Mycenaean religion is not new. More than twenty years ago L.R. PALMER (1969, 1981a, 1983a, 1983b), perhaps with excessive enthusiasm, but in general with reputable reasons, argued that it was possible to identify in the tablets a Horse God and a Horse Goddess as well as a Bull God and a Cow Goddess. For the 'Horse God' his interpretation was based on the tablets PY Ea 59.5, where the allocation of a plot of land is listed as *e-ne-ka i-go-jo, (h)eneka (h)ikkʷojo* 'because of the horse', and PY Fa 16, where a large quantity of cyperus is allocated *i-qo* (dat. ? *[h]ikkʷōi*) 'to the horse'. For the Horse Goddess Palmer referred to the *po-]ti-ni-ja i-qe-ja, po]tnia (h)ikkʷeja* '[Po]tnia Hippieia' mentioned above (§14.3.1.3; PY An 1281.1). In addition he pointed to the phrase *e-pi i-ku-wo-i-pi, epi (h)ikkʷoihiphi* (instr./dat. pl. or dual) 'at the (pair of) horses' on the tablet KN V 280, which he took (correctly in my opinion) as a religious text (the unusual writing *i-ku-wo-* instead of *i-qo* has, however, led also to other interpretations). As for the existence of a Bull God and a Cow Goddess Palmer inferred it from the tablets just quoted (§14.3.1.5), which mentioned *qo-we, gʷowi*, (dat., MY Fu 711) and *qo-wi-ja* (*gʷowia*, PY Tn 316 v.3) as possible recipients of offerings; once more it must be stated that this is a plausible and attractive hypothesis (at least in this author's eyes) but is not generally accepted.

We now return to MY Fu 711, one of the texts that L.R. PALMER interprets as a list of offerings and quotes as evidence for Mycenaean theriomorphic deities. This is a list of allocations of barley, flour or spelt (HORD, FAR) and other commodities (*NI, CYP+O*, cf. TH Gp 290) to recipients whose names are mostly lost. Among the few that are preserved we read *ku-ne* and *ka-ra-u-ja* and on the reverse side *qo-we*. As early as 1983, these words were interpreted by L.R. Palmer as *kunei* 'for the dog', *grāwiāi* 'for Graia' and *gʷowi* 'for the bull' (for a different interpretation of the latter cf. *Documents*<sup>2</sup> 'MN'; nom. pl. cases are also possible, *kunes, grāwiāi, gʷowes*, but they seem less likely here). PALMER (1983a) argued for the religious character of the tablet on the basis of the kinds and quantities of the commodities. His interpretation, which this author finds convincing, was not generally accepted. J. CHADWICK, who reads *ku-ne* as *Kunēs* (MN; *Documents*<sup>2</sup>, 557, s.v.), stated, not entirely without sarcasm, that there was 'no serious reason to regard the Mycenaean tablet as a list of offerings' (1985, 199). Yet, more recently, *TOP*, 197 feel that 'ces sarcasmes à l'égard de Palmer sont hors de saison'.

*Ka-ra-u-ja* on MY Fu 711 is obviously an alternative spelling for *ka-ra-wi-ja* which is now attested on TH Fq 169.4, 207.1 and 228.2. Another tablet, this time from Knossos, which plays some role in the discussion of the religious (?) character of the new Thebes tablets is KN F(1) 51. Since this tablet mentions *di-we* (most likely *Diwei* 'for Zeus' — but see below) together with a relatively small quantity of barley (HORD), it was also taken to represent an offering text. Another term found on it is *po-ro-de-qo-no* clearly related to *de-qo-no* on TH Fq 254, mentioned above. Finally, the same tablet has a further term read either *ma-kä* or *ma-qe* in the current editions, which has been compared with the *ma-ka* of Thebes (cf. §14.3.1.1). However, the reading *ma-qe* with a clear *-qe* has recently been proposed from autopsy by Y. DUHOUX who, at the same time, questions the religious character of the tablet as a whole, rejecting also the interpretation of the term *di-we* (dat.) as 'for Zeus'; for this word he suggests instead a reading *Diwës* (nom.) as a normal lay anthroponym.<sup>17</sup> But it is, after all, difficult to regard these clear parallels between, on the one hand, the relevant tablets from Mycenae and Knossos, which so far have been accepted as religious, and, on the other, those from Thebes, as merely due to chance and, thus, meaningless.

The ambiguity of the Mycenaean writing system has perhaps never been felt as painfully as in the discussion of the new texts from Thebes. It must be conceded that practically all terms which point to a religious background can be interpreted in a different way and attributed a non-religious meaning.

In conclusion, we must state that, if the new Thebes tablets are not offering texts of the kind attested by the tablet PY Fn 187, it is difficult to understand to what text category they belong. What was their immediate purpose? When and why, apart from religious occasions, did the Mycenaeans receive food allocations in such small amounts, that, as J.T. Killen has convincingly argued, they corresponded to no more than a single meal?

#### §14.3.2. *Cult-places and sanctuaries*

In the offering texts we find frequent references to cult places or sanctuaries.

There is no doubt that it was the palace which functioned as the (or a) main cult centre. This is especially evident for Knossos, where the many offerings recorded without indication of cult place imply that the palace itself was the central cult place. There is, however, also a series of non-palatial cult places.

<sup>17</sup> DUHOUX 2003, 2005, 2006b.

The dichotomy may be exemplified by the tablet KN Fp 1 (cf. *Companion 1*, §9.6). It is likely that its first five entries, which are preceded by the month's name but by no name of locality, concern the palace itself. Oil is offered to the deities *pa-de* (.4), *pa-si-te-o-i*, *pansi thehoihi* 'to all gods' (.5) and *qe-ra-si-ja* (.6); the offering to *di-ka-ta-jo di-we*, *diktajōi Diwei* (.2) indicates that Diktaean Zeus was also worshipped here, while that to the *da-da-re-jo(-de)*, *Daidale-jonde* 'to the Daidaleion' (.3) may (but need not) imply that there was a sanctuary of Daidalus within the palace (not surprisingly, given the close mythological connections between Daidalus and Knossos). The second part of the tablet apparently deals with sanctuaries outside Knossos. The next set of offerings was sent to 'Amnisos', *a-mi-ni-so*, *Amnisos*, a well known site not far from, but outside, the palace. It is at Amnisos that All-Gods, i.e. *pa-si-te-o-i*, *pansi thehoihi* 'to all gods' (.7), and presumably the Eriny, i.e. *e-ri-nu*, *Erinu(i)* or *Erinus* receive oil. The tablet ends with records of offerings for the (place of?) \**47-da(-de)* and for the *a-ne-mo i-je-re-ja*, *anemōn hierejāi* 'for the priestess of the Winds'.

In addition to Amnisos and the sanctuary of (Diktaean) Zeus at Dikte (cf. *di-ka-ta-de*, *Diktān-de* 'to [the sanctuary at] Dikte'<sup>18</sup>), the Knossos tablets mention at least other 20 cult places outside the palace, but none of them seems to have survived into the historical period and, therefore, we are not able to localize them (cf. HILLER 1981a, 1997).

At Pylos *pa-ki-ja-ne* is the main cult centre and we know that it is one of the nine districts of the Hither Province. Since it is frequently associated with the name of Pylos it is supposed to have been not far from the palace itself (but the association may be explained in other ways; there is no rule that the main sanctuaries have to be situated next to the capital). It is not localized archaeologically, which is very unfortunate, since many land-holdings of cult functionaries, both male and female, are in *pa-ki-ja-ne*. *pa-ki-ja-ne* is also the place associated with the great ritual (procession?) described in PY Tn 316, though it is not clear whether it is only the Potnia's sanctuaries or all sanctuaries mentioned in that tablet which belong here (for Tn 316 see *Companion 1*, §9.38). Other sanctuaries of Potnia were in places outside the palace of Pylos, e.g. at *po-ti]-a-ke(-ṣi)* (cf. An 1281: see § 14.2.5), *e-re-e-we* (cf. Vn 48.) and *ro-u-so* (cf. Fr 1226). Again we are not able to localize any of them. Of special interest are the sanctuaries which have names derived from theonyms: prominent among these are the *di-u/wi-jo*, *Diw(i)jon* 'sanctuary of Zeus'<sup>19</sup> and the *po-si-da-i-jo*,

<sup>18</sup> KN Fh 5467; Fp 7.2; F 866, G 7509, X 7955; this last sanctuary is most likely the cave near Psychro but other localisations cannot be excluded.

<sup>19</sup> PY Fr 1230; Mb 1366; Tn 316; KH Gq 5.

*Posidāhion* 'sanctuary of Poseidon'.<sup>20</sup> Apart from these there is also an *i-pe-me-de-ja-*<jo**, *Iphemedēja* *<jon>* 'sanctuary of Iphemeidēia', a *di-u-ja-jo*, *Diwjajon* 'sanctuary of Diwia' and a *pe-re-\*82-jo* 'sanctuary of P.' (all on PY Tn 316, but note that there is not complete agreement that these are sanctuaries rather than e.g. processions or festivals).

Terms such as these, including *da-da-re-jo(-de)*, *Daidalejon*, necessarily lead us to ask what the form and shape of these sanctuaries were. The same question arises for the sanctuaries whose existence is presupposed by the offerings to the *a-ne-mo i-je-re-ja*, *Anemōn hierejāi* 'for the priestess of the Winds' and *da-pu₂-ri-to-jo po-ti-ni-ja*, *D/Laburinthojo potnia*, 'Mistress of the Labyrinth' (cf. above §14.3.1.3). We are not able to demonstrate that the sanctuaries were solid buildings (or part of such buildings), though this is a most attractive suggestion given the archaeological evidence for solidly built sanctuaries and the minor rooms used for cult purposes that are usually called 'shrines' in order to avoid the misleading term 'temple'; we know such rooms from palatial buildings as well as from sites outside the capitals (cf. ALBERS 1994; WHITTAKER 1997). In favour of the assumption that at least some of these sanctuaries were solid buildings we may recall as internal evidence the religious functionary called *ka-ra-wi-po-ro*, *klāwiphoros* 'key-bearer', but also the requisition of *ka-ko na-wi-jo*, *khalkos \*nāwios* 'temple (?) bronze' (PY Jn 829). Although there are other conceivable explanations for these terms, it remains difficult to imagine how a key could be used without a door leading into a building and also how 'temple-bronze' (whatever its precise meaning; cf. HILLER 1979) could have been kept (or employed outside a closed building). In other words both terms point to actual buildings. Hence some at least of the sanctuary names ending in *-i-jo* are likely to refer to built establishments, the generic term for 'sanctuary' being *i-je-ro*, *hieron*.<sup>21</sup>

The existence of open air sanctuaries is indicated by references to places like *ro-u-si-jo a-ko-ro R/Lousios agros* '(rural) territory of R/L.', etc. Also, it is difficult to imagine that the 'priestess of the Winds' mentioned above was active anywhere else than in the open landscape. Perhaps also the *da-pu₂-ri-to-jo po-ti-ni-ja*, *D/Laburinthojo potnia*, 'Mistress of the Labyrinth' was one of the deities venerated in natural sanctuaries, or on mountains, or next to fountains or sacred trees, or in caves like Eileithyia at Amnisos. The (pre-)Greek word 'labyrinth' may well have originally referred to a subterranean cave and may have become only later a technical term for the Palace or some other building at Knossos. There are some internal contextual indications pointing to a

<sup>20</sup> PY Fn 187; Tn 316; cf. Fr 1219.2?

<sup>21</sup> Cf. KN Fh 2013, 5467; Fp 363; cf. also KN Dv 1447, here used as MN.

localization of the original Labyrinth somewhere in the region between Knossos and Amnisos and there is reason to suppose that the nearby cave of Skoteino might have been this original 'Labyrinth' (cf. HILLER 1981b). If this is true, the name Labyrinth was later transferred, together with the goddess herself, from there to the site of Knossos. In any case, cave sanctuaries are a fairly well known phenomenon of Minoan religion.

The precise meaning of *wo-(i-)ko(-de)*, *woikon-de* 'to the *Oikos'*,<sup>22</sup> *wo-ke*, *woikei* (?) 'at the *Oikos*' (?)<sup>23</sup> and *do-de*, *dō-de* 'to the house (of)'<sup>24</sup> are still problematic. Both terms indicate some kind of building and/or industrial establishment, but their exact nature is unknown (see above §14.2.6).

Another prominent feature of Minoan and Mycenaean religion are aniconic cult objects such as baetyls (holy stones) and pillars. The expression *o-pi-e-de-i*, *opi hedehi* 'at the seat' (PY An 1281.2) which is contextually connected with Potnia may contain a more specific meaning than merely 'at her sanctuary' (which would be called *i-je-ro*). Thus *hedos* may indicate either an aniconic cult object or, more likely, a (seated) iconic cult image. In case it was aniconic, *hedos* would be used in parallel and perhaps almost synonymously with the term *ki-wo-na-de*, *kiwōna-de* 'to the column', an expression found in religious context on PY Vn 48.4. It is a well known fact that sacred columns could be dressed with textiles such as bands (*tainiai*) or cloths even in the Classical period; thus, according to the tradition (Clem. Alex. Strom. 1.24 p. 102 Stählin), it was the key-bearer Kallithoe, priestess of Argive Hera, who first girded with bands the great column of the goddess (*Anassēs*). The *we-a<sub>2</sub>-no-i*, *wehanoihī* (dat. pl., alphabetic Greek *heanos* being a special kind of cloth) of the *u-po-jo po-ti-ni-ja*, *potnia* 'of/at U.' to be perfumed, according to tablet PY Fr 1225, with ointment (*a-ro-pa*, *aloiphā*) made of olive oil (*e-ra<sub>3</sub>-wo*, *elaiwon*), may have served for a ritual of this or a related kind. This provides us with evidence for *Kleiderkult* (NOSCH – PERNA 2001). Finally we have the terms *to-pe-za*, *torped'a* (alphabetic Greek *trapeza*, here 'altar?-table') attested on KN V 280 and *e-ka-ra*, *eskharā* ('hearth' [?] on PY Ea 102; cf. also *e-ka-ra* on PY Ta 709.2). The sheep called *e-ka-ra-e-we* (nom. pl., in the KN Dm series) have been understood as related to specific cult purposes,<sup>25</sup> but other interpretations have also been offered. We should also mention some cult implements called with terms which are not always clear. In PY Ta 716 the ideograms clarify terminology which could otherwise be obscure: we find two double axes (*wa-*

<sup>22</sup> TH Of 36; KN As 1519; cf. KN Gg 7792.

<sup>23</sup> KN L 698; PY Sh 736; cf. also above §14.2.6.

<sup>24</sup> TH Of 26, 31, 33.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. L.R. PALMER 1969, 415 s.v. *e-ka-ra-e-we* 'for burnt offerings?'; WEILHARTNER 2004.

*o, obscure) together with two sacrificing (?) knives (*qi-si-pe-e, k<sup>w</sup>siphehe* 'two swords'; cf. SACCONI 1999; SPECIALE 1999). The two objects mentioned first have no ideogram and remain enigmatic: *pa-sa-ro ku-ru-so a-pi to-ni-jo* 2, *psallō khrusō* (?) *amphithroniō* or (?) *amphitorniō* (dual, 'two golden posts' either '[placed] on both sides of the throne' [?] or 'adorned around with ridges [flutings?]'); perhaps these poles carried the holy symbol of the double axe.*

### §14.3.3. Festivals, rituals and month names

As mentioned above, the actual offering texts are regularly distinguished by an indication of time and sometimes also by the specification of the occasion at which the offering was made.

In toto, we learn from the Knossos tablets of eight (?) month names (*a-ka-[ ]ri-jo-jo me-no*, *a-ma-ko-to me-no*, *de-u-ki-jo-jo me-no*, *di-wi-jo-jo me-no*, *ka-ra-e-ri-jo[-jo] me-no*, *ra-pa-to me-no*, *sa-pa-nu-wo me-no* and *wo-de-wi-jo[-jo] me-no*). To these we must probably add three further names from Pylos: *ki-ri-ti-jo-jo* (month-name [?] Es 650), *po-ro-wi-to(-jo)* (PY Tn 316.1, cf. PY Fr 1218 etc.) and *pa-ki-ja-ni-jo-jo me-no* (Fr 1224). Only two of these month-names (*ra-pa-to me-no* and *di-wi-jo-jo me-no*, *Diwiojo mēnos* (gen. temp. 'in the month of Zeus') are known from Classical sources as *Lapatō* and *Diōn* (cf. TRÜMPY 1997). From this regular use of month-names on offering tablets (they never appear on other texts) it emerges that it was important for the palace to make sure that the offerings were given at the right time. We conclude that the palace was obliged to survey the fulfilling of religious obligations pertaining to a great variety of deities venerated in the palace as well as in local sanctuaries outside the capital. On the whole one wonders whether the offering tablets were not primarily intended to monitor the fulfilment of religious obligations rather than economic accounting.

Apart from the designations of months, names of festivities are also recorded. The following terms almost certainly belong here: (i) *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo* (PY Fr 1222) for which a possible, though not generally accepted interpretation, may be *Thornoenkhetērion* (?) 'the [festivity of the] libation at the throne'. (ii) *re-ke-(e-)to-ro-te-ri-jo, Lekhestrōtērion* 'the (festivity of the) spreading of the bed' (PY Fr 343, Fr 1217; for the form see Companion 1, §7.2.1). Cf. Latin *lectisternium*; here in my view we are more likely to have a reference to the bed for a 'sacred marriage' than to a *klinē* (couch) meant to accommodate the god while dining, since this habit was not usual in Late Bronze Age Greece; cf. also above §14.3.1.3. (iii) *po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja, po-re-no-zōstēria* 'the (festivity of the) girding of the *po-re-na*' (PY Un 443.2). To judge from PY Tn 316 the

*po-re-na* were probably persons allotted to deities as either servants or human victims (for PY Tn 316 see *Companion* 1, §9.38). *po-re-no-tu-tēl* (PY Ua 1413) may be another term of this class. We should also mention here *me-tu-wo ne-wo* on PY Fr 1202, *Methūwos newō* (?) genitive of time (?) 'at the (festivity) of the New Wine'; cf. the Classical *Pithoigia* celebrated at Athens when the vessels containing the new wine were opened. Another term is *a-ka-wi-ja-de* (KN C 914) which KILLENN (1994, 78) following a suggestion by J. Chadwick interpreted as 'to the (festivity called) Akhaia' (neut. pl., allative). Even if the derivational patterns are not altogether clear, we have proposed above an interpretation of *a<sub>2</sub>-pa-a<sub>2</sub>-de*, *Haphaihade* (?) as 'to the (festivity called) Haphaiha' (neut. pl. allative) connecting the word with the name Aphaia (HILLER 2000; see above for its links with the Cretan Diktunna). We would also like to think that the Theban terms *po-to-a<sub>2</sub>-ja-de* and *te-re-ja-de* (both in TH Av 104) may be festival names and be read as *Ptoihaja-de* 'to the (festivity called) Ptoiaia' (?) and *Telejade* 'to the (festivity called) Teleia'.

The term *te-o-po-ri-ja*, *theophoria* 'the carrying of the god' is likely to refer to a procession at which one or more cult-images were carried around (HILLER 1984). And finally the form *e-wo-ta-de* which is read on KN C 901, apparently an offering text, has been interpreted as indicating *hewortān-de* 'to the feast'.

Besides unburnt, burnt offerings seem also to be mentioned. First, *tu-wu-te-to* on TH Fq 126 is often interpreted as *thūwos* (?) *theto* 'a burnt-offering (?) has been made' (cf. TOP, 185ff). However, Y. DUHOUX translates the phrase *o-te tu-wu-te-to*, *hote Thuwōn* (?) *theto* as 'when Thuwōn (?) was buried'.<sup>26</sup> Second, we may refer to *di-wu-nu-so-jo e-ka-ra*, *Diwonusojo eskharāi*, 'for the (offering-) hearth of Dionysus';<sup>27</sup> the term *eskharā* has, however, different meanings, including also 'offering pit', which would imply the possibility of an unbloody/unburnt ritual. The question whether burnt offerings, in the sense of partial or total burning of sacrificial animals, were made in Late Bronze Age Greece was for many years among the most disputed ones (cf. BERGQUIST 1993) but is now decided positively by the observation of clear archaeological evidence for this kind of offerings (ISAAKIDOU *et al.* 2002; HAMILAKIS – KONSOLAKI 2004).

#### §14.3.4. *Cult officials and cult organization*

From the tablets we know of several designations or titles of cult officials such as *i-je-re-u* (KN, PY), *i-je-re-ja* (KN, PY), *hiereus*, *hiereja* 'priest, priestess',

<sup>26</sup> Cf. DUHOUX 2005, *Companion* 1, §9.44 and above §14.3.1.5.

<sup>27</sup> PY Ea 102; new join due to J.L. MELENA 2001, 36ff; for the interpretation as altar for burnt offerings cf. WEILHARTNER 2004 and also above §14.3.2.

*i-je-ro-wo-ko* (PY), *hieroworgos* 'offering-priest', *ka-ra-wi-po-ro* (PY), *klāwi-phoros* '(female) keybearer'. These titles mostly refer to officials engaged in various tasks or to recipients of subsistence rations. Moreover, there seem to be some special classes of officials who are connected with deities or cult structures, e.g. *di-wi-je-u* (PY, derived from *di-wi-jo*, *diwion*, possibly 'priest in the Zeus-sanctuary' or the like) and *po-si-da-i-je-u-si* (PY, dat. pl., derived from *po-si-da-i-jo*, *Posidāhion*, possibly 'priests in the sanctuary of Poseidon' or the like). To this category may also belong terms like *di-u/wi-ja-wo* (KN, PY, TH, derived from *di-u/wi-ja diw[i]ja*, possibly 'priest [in the sanctuary] of Dia'), *pa-da-je-u/pa-de-we-u* (PY, cf. *pa-de* at KN; cf. also perhaps PY Un 219.2 *pa-de-we*; possibly 'priest in the sanctuary of *pa-de* or [??] *pa-de-we*') and *ki-jo-ne-u-si* (dat. pl., PY Gn 428, connected with *kj-wo-na-de* [?] 'priests at the sanctuary of the [sc. Holy] column'??; however, the orthographic difference between *ki-wo-* and *ki-jo-* poses a formidable difficulty, which may be insurmountable). What we find here, as in many other Linear B texts, is an extreme kind of specialisation. Other terms that may also indicate specialisation within the same cult sphere, though not all of them are clear, are *da-ko-ro-i* (PY), *po-ro-po-i* (MY), *di-pte-ra-po-ro-i* (PY), *ki-ri-te-wi-ja-i* (PY, KN), *te-o(-jo) do-e-ralo* (PY, KN), *tu-ra-te-u-si* (PY, KN), etc.

We have, so far, no precise idea of how the religious sector was organized. Was there something like a hierarchy of the cult officials and if so, who was subordinated to whom? Who was at the head, who in lower positions? How far were the cult and the officials engaged in institutionalized positions? Were the cult officials active as full time professionals? And if so, on whom did they depend and who cared for their subsistence?

A partial answer may come from the Eb/p and En/o series from Pylos which record the land-holdings of cult personnel at *pa-ki-ja-ne*. Without going into the extremely complex problems posed by this series, we may state that a part at least of the cult personnel depended for its subsistence on allotments of land which were meticulously monitored by the palace administration. Most of these land-holders are reported to have the status of *te-o-jo do-e-rola, thehojo dohelos/ā* 'servant of the god or goddess'; one of them was called [*po-]ti-ni-ja-we-jo, [po]tniawejos* 'belonging to Potnia' (PY Eb 364.1; Ep 613.1). Other people, recorded in other series, are characterized in the same manner: several smiths (PY Jn 310.14, 431.16) and also a man working as *a-re-pa-żo[-o, aleiphā<sup>d</sup>zō[hos* 'unguent-boiler' (Un 249); one *ka-e-se-u* (MN) *po-ti-ni-ja-wi-jo* is recorded in PY Qa 1299 (in a series which has religious connections). At Knossos we find flocks belonging to the *po-ti-ni-ja, Potnia* (cf. §14.2.6) in several places, but mainly at *si-ja-du-we*, i.e. in the place where we meet *ta-raq i-je[-re-]u po-me, T. hie[re]us, poimēn* 'T. priest,

'shepherd' (KN Am 821). Other flocks belong to *e-ma-a<sub>2</sub>-o*, *Hermāhāo* (gen., KN D 411; cf. also the allotment of flax land, owned by Hermes, on PY Na 1357). At Pylos there is also a land-holding called *po-ti-ni-ja-we-jo-jo* (PY Eq 213.5). There is in conclusion, as argued above (§14.2.6), some evidence for economic establishments controlled by sanctuaries, which were themselves supervised by the palace.

We cannot say for certain who the Potnia is in the texts just quoted. Indeed, a main problem is whether all these mentions of the Potnia at KN, PY, MY, TH with different qualifiers which refer to animals or commodities (e.g. *i-qe-ja*, [*h]ikkʷeja*; *si-to*, *sitōn*) or places (e.g. *da-pu<sub>2</sub>-ri-to-jo*, *D/Laburinthojo*, *a-si-wi-ja*, *ne-wo-pe-o*, *pa-ki-ja-si*, etc.), or even without qualifiers but with some connection with the *wanax* (cf. above §14.3.1.3), must be taken as referring to different forms of one and the same divine person, or to different deities (several models are conceivable) — see BOËLLE 2004. Even if we ignore this difficulty, the mention of the Potnia without a qualifier but with a connection with the *wanax* raises the same questions as the *wanax*, who at times appears as human actor and at times as the recipient of offerings. BEN-DALL's (2001, 447 n. 17) recent statement according to which 'whether the *wanax* be human or divine, a ritual context is implied' is valid also for the Potnia at his side; even if she is not a proper deity, she must have at least a semi-divine status. Since, as shown above, this unspecified Potnia has close relations with the *wanax* and, since both apparently receive offerings,<sup>28</sup> it may be a sound assumption that both *wanax* and Potnia were at the top of the hierarchy and combined in similar ways religious, economic and political power.

An understanding of these basic socio-political aspects is crucial for that of the central aspects of religion, but we must concede that we are still far from approaching a generally accepted and undisputed picture of how this hierarchy — both secular and religious — was structured and how it worked. Further study and, perhaps, further finds of our fascinating but — alas — so desperately laconic texts, which are our only written sources for the Mycenaean period, may lead to a more coherent and accurate understanding of religion. If so, many, if not most, of the preliminary conclusions reached above, whose speculative nature is all too apparent, may be eventually superseded by future work.

<sup>28</sup> These offerings are recorded in the Pylian Fr series which, as far as I can see, deals exclusively with important religious figures closely related with the palace. We may thus conclude that the *wanax* being the ruler also holds a high religious status at a quasi-divine or semi-divine level.

#### §14.4. SOME GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The way in which a subject is understood depends to a large extent on the approach taken by the researcher. But from what point of view should we look at the information about religion provided by the Linear B texts?

The crucial point is that in this context we cannot speak of a specific perspective. Our approach is mainly descriptive; it consists of assembling the individual terms found in the texts, grouping these terms according to their subject matter, and attempting to define their meaning as precisely as possible. Moreover, all inferences drawn from these terms must be seen within the limits of the economic nature of the texts; in their turn the texts are meant to answer the most simple administrative questions: what commodities were given to whom, when, and in what quantity? Consequently we learn from the offering texts about the names of gods and goddesses, cult functionaries, sanctuaries, the kind and quantity of commodities, and sometimes about festivities and month-names. These are our only hard facts.

But what can they tell us about religion? Hardly anything about matters of belief or the deeper theological aspects. Taken as a whole, they do, however, provide the information that there was a variety of deities and that the palace took care of their cult. There were cogent religious requirements to be fulfilled by the palace. Thus the official texts teach us that religion was, to a certain extent at least, an official affair. It was important enough to oblige the palace administration to record in detail the cost of the various religious activities. And, as I see it, there are strong reasons to believe that the primary motivation for the scrupulous monitoring of all major and minor expenditure for offerings and other religious activities was not only economic interest; it was much more the awareness that the communal welfare depended on the fulfilment of religious duties. Consequently it was the palace's most important obligation to secure the gods' benevolence through a firm control of all religious prescriptions. Although the control of economic aspects is a plausible concern, the main purpose of writing offering lists may have been to make sure that all religious duties had been observed and to do further checks whenever this was felt to be necessary. More generally: the book-keeping testifies to the practice of piety towards the gods.

The usual perspective from which we approach the tablets is that of historical comparison, asking how things developed, what came first and what came later, what changed and what caused changes. At the same time we need to allow for scholarship and the history and traditions of scholarship since they form the starting point of our knowledge. Two questions then arise. First, how much does Mycenaean religion differ from, and how much does it match, the

Greek religion of the Classical period (nothing certain can be said about Greek religion before the Mycenaean period)? Second, how much have the decipherment and interpretation of Linear B documents changed our picture of Mycenaean religion? And there is a third question, discussed since, at least, the publication in 1928 of M.P. NILSSON's fundamental book on *The Minoan-Mycenaean religion* (2nd ed. 1950): how much does Mycenaean religion differ from, and how deeply was it influenced by, Minoan religion?

Clearly the main gain from the decipherment of Linear B is the conclusive proof that Mycenaean Greece was inhabited by people speaking (an early form of) Greek and that the ruling class and its administration used Greek as their native language. Thanks to the decipherment of Linear B Bronze Age Greece has unequivocally become part of Greek history and culture. The Greek language provides the basic link through which continuity is preserved between the earlier (Bronze Age) and later (Classical) period. The collapse of the palatial system at the end of the Bronze Age may have severely affected several sectors of society and culture, but did not break the tradition as a whole.

From comparative linguistics we learn that the Greek *Zeus-Patér* and the Latin *Iu-(p)piter* are cognate, and go back to the Indo-European parent language of Greek and Latin. Zeus must have entered Greece together with the people who were the forefathers of the later Greeks. Thanks to the decipherment of Linear B we are now able to say that this must have happened before the rise of the Mycenaean culture which developed continuously starting from the Early Helladic III/Middle Helladic culture (about 2100-1650 BC). The archaeological evidence for a remarkable cultural break at the end of the Early Helladic II culture (around 2600/2100 BC) speaks for the 'Coming of the Greeks' towards the end of the 3rd millennium BC (see *Companion 1*, §4.2). Consequently to find in the Linear B texts the highest god of the Classical Greek pantheon does not come as a real surprise. Yet, it can be debated what position he held in that period.

On the basis of archaeological research, and in particular of the observation that female persons or deities were prevalent in the religious iconography of the Late Bronze Age, most scholars were inclined to accept a more or less complete lack of male gods in the religion of that period. But the decipherment made clear how unreliable pictorial information may be. It is from the Linear B texts that we conclusively learn that most of the Olympian deities, among them many male ones (Zeus, Poseidon, Hermes, Dionysus, Hephaestus, Ares) were already part of the Mycenaean Pantheon (cf. ROUGEMONT 2005), where the female Olympian deities, like Hera and Artemis, were in the minority — though we should not forget that one or more of the later Greek Goddesses may continue Mycenaean goddesses called *Potnia* with or without a further specification (see §14.3.4.). At

the same time the occurrence of all these Olympians is a striking proof of a high degree of continuity between Mycenaean and Classical Greek religion.

There are clear signs of a Minoan-Mycenaean syncretism. This is shown by the connection of Greek Zeus with the traditional Minoan cult place of/at Dikte, the integration of originally Minoan deities like Enualios and Paiaron into the Mycenaean and Classical Pantheon, and also by the cult for Minoan deities like the 'Lady of the Labyrinth', Eleuthia, *pi-pi-tu-na*, etc. Of special interest is the mention of *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja*, *Athānās Potnia* 'Lady of Athana' at Knossos who, despite the singular case *Athana* instead of *Athanai* (pl.) — but see *Companion* 1, §9.17 —, must be a forerunner of Classical Athena. Its appearance at Knossos may have something to do with some historical event reflected in the myth of the Athenian hero Theseus and its Knossian relations. We learn from the Linear B texts that the iconography of the Late Bronze Age is an incomplete and, therefore, unreliable guide to religious ideas.

It is easy to explain why: the figurative arts of the Mycenaeans depended almost completely on what they had taken over from Minoan Crete where there was a considerable preponderance of female persons or deities. In other words, Mycenaean art had not developed an adequate repertoire to represent the male members of the Pantheon. Historians of religion have long suspected that some minor prehistoric deities were assimilated by later Olympians, e.g. Enualios by Ares, or Paiawon and Ptoios by Apollo. Other deities who may have originally been major figures may have degenerated into heroes, e.g. Daidalus or Iphimedea. This process is now well evidenced by divine names found in the Linear B texts like *e-nu-wa-ri-jo*, *Enuwalios* and *pa-ja-wo-ne*, *Pajāwōnei* (dat.) at Knossos, a sanctuary called *da-da-re-jo(-de)*, *Daidalejon-de* 'to the Daidaleion' again at Knossos, and possibly a festivity called *po-to-a₂-ja(-de)*, *ptoihaja-de* 'to the (festivity called) Ptoiaia' (?) at Thebes. We are not able to define more precisely the specific character of the divine personality indicated by the name *ti-ri-se-ro-e*, *Trishērōhei*: one might suggest that he had something to do with the (royal?) ancestors' cult. It is, however, of some interest that it attests to the existence of the notion of hero in the Late Bronze Age.

There is a remarkable consistency between Mycenaean and Classical religion, but there are also no less obvious differences. Thus it is striking that the names of Apollo (but see §14.3.1.1) and Aphrodite have so far not been found in the Linear B texts; this is also true for the name of Demeter (but see §14.3.1.1). Whether this is only due to chance and to the vagaries of preservation and find circumstances or whether it represents a real phenomenon of historical importance is difficult to decide. On the other hand it is certain that there was a great number of deities unknown from alphabetic sources. But here we soon reach the limits of our interpretative power: whenever we lack an alphabetic

correspondence we are left relatively helpless as to the individual personality of the deities whom we know through their (Linear B) names but whose specific function and character escape us.

A special problem is caused by the hotly disputed question of possible sacred animals and/or of possible theriomorphic deities. The discussion has recently revived after the publication of the new texts from Thebes discovered in 1993–95. Their existence should not be excluded a priori. Epithets like *boōpis* for Hera, *glaukōpis* for Athena, *hippios* for Poseidon or *hippiā* for Athena (cf. SCHACHERMEYR 1950) may reflect these obviously very archaic notions of divine appearances in the shape of animals. Pausanias (8.25.5; 42.6) reports the tradition that at Phigaleia the head of the cult-image of Demeter Melaina was horse-shaped and that there as well as at Telphousa Poseidon had coupled with Demeter in the form of a stallion after she had changed herself into a mare. Even so, the texts remain problematic.

That Minoans and Mycenaeans had both open air and built sanctuaries is clear from the archaeological evidence. We may thus expect that such cult places are, at least by implication, recorded in the Linear B texts. This does indeed happen, but it is interesting to note that it was the palace which felt responsible for these sanctuaries (or at least some of them). From the point of view of continuity, it is, once again, encouraging to find among the sanctuaries or deities recorded in the Mycenaean texts a Daidaleion, the cult (place) of Diktaean Zeus, and also the name of Eleuthia at Amnisos. A regrettable omission, however, is caused by our incapacity to find precise geographical identifications for most cult places (sanctuaries) located outside the palace, whenever the place-names have not survived into the historical period.

It goes without saying that cult activity needs its personnel, above all priests and priestesses. But it is impressive how many specialized professionals with various functions were engaged in the religious sector, mainly in connection with cult events. Here we encounter as high a degree of specialisation as that which we observe in the field of handcrafts and industries. This specialisation level of cult functionaries seems to go beyond what we know from the Classical sources.

We have a very limited view, glimpses more than anything else, of the rituals performed. We owe it once more to single designations of festivals which can be etymologically interpreted, e.g. *te-o-po-ri-ja*, *theophoria* 'the carrying of the god', *re-ke-to-ro-te-ri-jo*, *lekhestrōtērion* 'the (festivity of the) spreading of the bed' and also to descriptions of cult activities like *mu-jo-me-no e-pi wanaka-te*, *mujomenōi epi wanaktei* '(on the occasion) when the *wanax* was introduced into a religious mystery cult' ([?]; PY Un 2; other interpretations cannot be excluded) or *i-je-to-qe pa-ki-ja-si do-ra-qe pe-re po-re-na-qe a-ke*,

*hietoi kʷe pa-kiansi dōra kʷe pherei phorenas (?) kʷe agei* '(the palace of Pylos) performs a cult ceremony ([?]; by organizing a procession?) and brings offerings and leads victims (?)' (PY Tn 316). The term *te-o-po-ri-ja, theophoria* 'the carrying of the god' (KN Ga 1058; Od 696) suggests that processions were held in the course of which the (cult-image of a) deity was carried around and, as the tablet PY Tn 316 just mentioned shows, gifts in form of precious vessels were brought into sanctuaries.

Cult installations are indicated by terms like *to-pe-za, torpefa* (Classical Greek *trapeza*, here 'altar?-table'; KN V 280) and *e-ka-ra, eskhara* 'hearth (fire-altar?)' (PY Ea 102) which presuppose the use of offering tables and hearths (probably for burnt offerings), and also by expressions like *o-pi-e-de-i, opi hedehi* 'at the seat' (PY An 1281.2) and *kī-wo-na-de, kīwōna-de* 'to the column' (PY Vn 48.4) which may be understood as indications of cult images and aniconic installations (*Kultmale*; in the form of a throne or a sacred column).

Offerings mainly consist of natural products, cereals, fruits and vegetables as well as animals, but sometimes also include man-made ones such as textiles and precious vessels. Here it may also be mentioned that for religious purposes men and women seem exceptionally<sup>29</sup> to have been transferred to sanctuaries, perhaps as gifts. That the personnel mentioned on PY Tn 316 and called *pore-na* were sent there as human offerings cannot be excluded.

Taken as a whole the outlay for the offerings was on a modest scale. It seems that it took the form of offerings given, i.e. dedicated, to the deities themselves; other contributions were supplied to support the cult personnel which took part in religious festivals which may have lasted several days. As far as we can see the amount of agricultural commodities consumed on the occasion of religious activities was less than 10% of the totals recorded by the palace administration. Yet, as can be inferred from the class of 'mixed' offering tablets, a relatively large part of these offerings was for State banquets organized by the palace. The commodities, which on these occasions were consumed in respectable quantities, included vegetables, cheese, wine and, above all, all kinds of sacrificial animals. A great number of participants are supposed to have taken part in these events; presumably they assembled in the megaron and the court(s) of the palaces or, on other occasions, at places outside the citadels (cf. *Od.* 4.31ff.). Among them there were the most powerful representatives of the State, the *wanax* and the *lāwāgetās*. The *wanax* ('king') was clearly a recipient of offered gifts<sup>30</sup> as was the/a (?) *Potnia* (in some cases presumably the 'queen' cf. above §14.3.1.3). Apparently we are confronted with a kind of theocratic system in

<sup>29</sup> PY An 1281, Tn 316; cf. also Ae 303, An 607.

<sup>30</sup> PY Fr 1220, 1227, 1235.

which the ruler and his wife and perhaps also the king's mother (cf. *ma-te-re te-i-ja, mātērei thehiāi* 'for the Divine mother', PY Fr 1202<sup>31</sup>) hold a (semi-) divine position. In any case there was a close interconnection between what we would now call the religious and the secular sector. The executive power, it seems, was supported by, and integrated into, religion.

Much remains to be done before we can achieve a generally satisfying interpretation of the Linear B texts concerning Mycenaean religion. At the moment, despite the great and undeniable progress made, there are still numerous problems. But, in any case, and despite all the difficulties which must still be overcome, the tablets are an invaluable source of information, which allows us to explore at much greater depth the question of the origins and development of Greek religion. Their historical position, between the Indo-European background and the Classical period, provides us with a sort of 'frozen picture' of an important moment in Late Bronze Age Greece.

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<sup>31</sup> This is a marginal, i.e. uncommon interpretation based on Oriental analogies; most authors prefer an interpretation as 'Mother of the Gods'.

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# CHAPTER 15

## MYCENAEAN ONOMASTICS\*

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## §15.1. GENERAL REMARKS

In the Linear B tablets, a considerable number of proper names is attested: in approximate figures, almost 2000 anthroponyms (§15.2) and some names of oxen (§15.2.5), over 50 theonyms and divine epithets (§15.3), almost 400 toponyms and ethnics (§15.4).<sup>2</sup>

Proper names, when we can recognize them and know how to read them, provide us with direct information about the Mycenaean world,<sup>3</sup> its social relationships and values, its religion and religious attitudes, its geography, etc. They can even tell us something about the way in which the Mycenaeans perceived and named their physical environment. Names can also provide evidence about the prehistory and early history of Greece. Even the non-Greek names, which are very common, especially in Crete, serve to bear witness to the existence of pre-Greek populations in Mycenaean Greece, irrespective of how their presence may be interpreted and of what we know or do not know about their first contacts with the Greek world.

### §15.1.1. *Proper names: identification, interpretation*

We can only decide that a Mycenaean word is a proper name on the basis of a careful examination of the text in which it occurs: we must resist the temptation to rely only on apparent formal similarities with proper names, common

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<sup>2</sup> It must be stressed that all figures are approximate as the identification of many words as names, and particularly as specific types of names, is often far from certain, and even more so in the case of short texts.

<sup>3</sup> *Documents*<sup>2</sup> offer an extremely valuable overview on personal names (92-105, 404-5), religious names (125-129, 410-412) and place names (139-150, 414-417). Cf. also the short presentation in *Handbuch*, 399-429, and the chapters on Mycenaean people, geography and religion in *World*, 35-68, 84-101; S. HILLER in HILLER-PANAGL 1976, 245-256, 261-277, 289-314, and RUIPÉREZ – MELENA 1990, 107-129, 181-197. Main collections of Mycenaean personal names are LANDAU 1958 (excellent, but now obsolete) and the Pylian and Cnossian prosopographies by LINDGREN 1973 and LANDENIUS-ENEGRÉN 2008 respectively. On their geographical distribution, cf. BAUMBACH 1986; BAUMBACH 1987; BAUMBACH 1992; ILIEVSKI 1992; KILLEN 1992a; VARIAS GARCIA 1998-1999. For religious names cf. BOËLLE 2004; ROUGEMONT 2005; GARCÍA RAMÓN 2010. For place names cf. HART 1965; SAINER 1976; WILSON 1977; CREMONA – MARCOZZI – SCAFA – SINATRA 1978; McARTHUR 1985; KILLEN 1987; McARTHUR 1993; BENNET 1999; BENNET 2000 (forthcoming). On the relations between Greek and non-Greek names cf. BAUMBACH 1992; FIRTH 1992-1993; ILIEVSKI 1992; KILLEN 1992a.

nouns or adjectives attested in the Greek of the first millennium. The specific criteria for the identification of anthroponyms (§15.2.1), theonyms (§15.3.1) or toponyms (§15.4.1) differ, but two principles are always valid: (a) a word which is used in close parallel with a proper name of a certain type may be deemed to be a name of the same type; (b) a word may be a proper name even if its direct context does not provide sufficient information, as long as it also appears in at least one other text where it can be identified with certainty.

Once a proper name has been recognised as such, attempts may be made to provide its interpretation. The various readings which are allowed by the spelling may be compared with alphabetic Greek forms (proper names, common nouns or adjectives, both compounds and simplicia) or, in some instances, with reconstructed forms postulated through comparison with other IE languages. This is in fact the only possibility of interpretation, as the context can only help us to understand that a word is a proper name of a certain type (personal name, place name, etc.) and that it has a certain case form; it cannot tell us how to choose between alternative interpretations. This is possible with common nouns because they convey a certain meaning. Thus the context tells us that *pa-te* in PY An 607, where it is contrasted with *ma-te*, must be read /patēr/ ‘father’, but in KN B 1055, where it precedes VIR 213[, *pa-te* must be read /pantes/ ‘all’ (nom. plur.).<sup>4</sup> This is not equally easy for proper names which are meant to refer to, or designate, persons, gods or places, rather than to convey a meaning. A person called Victor Smith is not necessarily a conqueror and/or a metal worker.

More than fifty years after the decipherment of Linear B, the interpretation of proper names is confronted with basically the same difficulties as those stressed by MICHAEL VENTRIS and JOHN CHADWICK in the pages of the first edition of *Documents* that they dedicated to personal names.<sup>5</sup> Given the deficiencies of Linear B, the form underlying a Mycenaean spelling can only be conjectured. In practice, length is an all-important factor for name interpretation: the longer the word, the more likely it is that we can identify it. Thus, the MNs *e-ru-to-ro* and *e-ru-ta-ra*, the GN *po-ti-ni-ja* and the PN *ma-to-ro-pu-ro* may be safely interpreted as /Erut<sup>h</sup>ros/, /Erut<sup>h</sup>rā/ ( : Ἐρύθρας, cf. ἔρυθρός ‘red’) /Potnia/ ( : πότνια ‘lady, mistress’) and /Mātropulos/ (cf. Πύλος, Μητρόπολις, and μήτηρ ‘mother’, Hom. πύλαι ‘gates of a town’). On the other hand, short words (i.e. forms which consist of no more than two syllabograms) are only identifiable if the Greek of the first millennium offers a perfect correspondence, e.g. the MN *to-wa* /T<sup>h</sup>owā(n)s/, the GN *e-ra* (dat.) /<sup>h</sup>Erāi/ ‘to Hera’ or the PN *ri-jo* /R<sup>h</sup>ion/, cf. Θόας (gen. Θόαντος, a ‘short form’ of

<sup>4</sup> More about these two different readings of *pa-te* §11.4.1 above.

<sup>5</sup> *Documents*<sup>1</sup>, 92ff.

Θοήνωρ, cf. θοός ‘quick’, ἀνήρ ‘man’), “Ηρη, ‘Píov (πίον ‘peak’). Even so, complete certainty is not possible.

It may also happen that the spelling allows several Greek readings. An ideal case is when one and only one of these has an exact match (or, at least, a close correspondence) in alphabetic Greek. This is the case, for instance, of the name *to-wa-no*, which may be read as either /Tʰowānōr/ (cf. θοός ‘quick’) or /Tʰorwānōr/ (cf. θοῦρος ‘violent’): the comparison with Hom. Προθοήνωρ (cf. προθέω ‘run in advance’), Θόας makes the first interpretation preferable. If the spelling matches more than one proper name attested in alphabetic Greek, a decision is not possible: the MN *e-u-ko-ro* can be read as Εὔκολος ‘with good character’, Εὔχορος ‘with good dances, choirs’ (cf. χόρος) or Εὔκλος (a ‘short’ form of Εὐ-κλέης ‘with good fame’, cf. κλέος). For *e-u-da-mo* both Εὖδαμος (cf. Myc. *da-mo* /dāmos/ ‘community’) and Εὐδαιμών (cf. δαιμών ‘divine power’) are possible, as long as only the nominative is attested.

It goes without saying that things may be even more difficult. For most names none of the possible underlying forms finds a match in the names of alphabetic Greek. In this case two possibilities remain. On the one hand we may suggest an interpretation based on what we know about Greek semantics and word formation and hope that one day new data (e.g. a new text) will confirm our proposal. On the other hand we may adopt a more pessimistic attitude, which is often the only valid one, and admit that life is hard and the name must remain uninterpreted. The reader will observe that in this chapter I have mainly adopted the first approach.

### **§15.1.2. Mycenaean names and first millennium names, Greek and non-Greek names**

A number of Mycenaean names have exact equivalences in Homer or in classical Greek.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, when we can provide a Greek interpretation, we discover that formation and naming devices are, in spite of some slight differences for personal names (§15.2.2), practically the same in Mycenaean and in the Greek of the first millennium. This does not mean, of course, that all names attested in Linear B and in later Greek are of Greek origin or can be understood in Greek terms. Greek names are often transparent, as e.g. the MN Εὔδημος, a compound of εὖ ‘well’ and δῆμος ‘people’, or the PN Μητρόπολις, a compound based on μήτηρ ‘mother’ and πόλις ‘city’. Many names are not and

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<sup>6</sup> It is obviously impossible to give exact, or perhaps even approximate figures (*Handbuch*, 400 suggests *ca* 300 names with a Greek interpretation in a total of *ca* 700 names).

are in practice unetymologizable, however, even if they correspond to famous heroes or mythical figures, to major gods or to well-known places. In fact, Greek and non-Greek names coexist in the Mycenaean texts, as they did in classical Greek. Whether the proportion of non-Greek names is the same in both periods must remain an open question, for the obvious reason that for names attested in Linear B, ‘unidentified’ or ‘not interpreted’ does not automatically mean ‘pre-Greek’ or, more generally, ‘non-Greek’, i.e. belonging to one of the non-Greek languages spoken in Greece before the coming of the Greeks, who brought with them the Greek language.

The intelligibility of a name may bear on its date of origin: an unanalyzable name may be older than a totally transparent one. Some unetymologizable names may belong to a pre-Greek layer. This is true even if, not surprisingly, we are hardly ever able to establish a link with a specific non-Greek language. It does not help that except for Linear B none of the languages written in Greece in pre-alphabetic scripts (Cretan ‘hieroglyphic’, Linear A, etc.) has yet been successfully deciphered. At any rate it is methodologically correct to try to interpret in the first instance every name in terms of Greek: this is the only way open to us to reach a correct reading and interpretation since Greek is the only language of Bronze Age Greece which is known to us. However one must be aware that not everything can be explained.

### §15.1.3. *A tentative classification*

The simplest classification is probably that which contrasts two groups of proper names: (1) those which are easily comparable with names or words attested in the first millennium and (2) those which are not.

- (1) Names comparable with forms (or their variants and/or derivatives) attested in alphabetic Greek (or in the Cypriot syllabary) are made up of (or based on) recognizable verbal, nominal, adjectival and adverbial elements which may or may not be understandable. To this type belong:
  - (1a) names with a transparent Greek (i.e. Indo-European) etymology, as e.g. *e-ru-to-ro* /Eru<sup>th</sup>ros/ or *po-ti-ni-ja* /Potnia/;
  - (1b) names which, though not immediately transparent, are understandable on the basis of linguistic comparison with other IE languages, as e.g. the MN *ka-sa-no* /Kass-ānōr/ (cf. Κάσσανδρος) ‘who excels among men’ (cf. Hom. κέκασμαι ‘excel’: Ved. śāśad- ‘id.’) and the PN *me-ta-pa* (: Μέταπα) ‘(land) behind (or in the middle of) the water’ (cf. Skt. áp- ‘water');

- (1c) names like e.g. the MN *ka-ra-u-ko* /*Glaukos*/ ( : Γλαῦκος), the WN *mu-ti-ri* /*Murtilis*/ (cf. also WN Μυρτίλα, Μυρτίς, Μυρτώ), the GN *si-to-po-ti-ni-ja* /*Sito-potnia*/ ‘Mistress of Grain’ or the PN *se-ri-nu-wo-te* ( : Σελινοῦς), which are based on words which belong to the Greek lexicon, though they do not have an IE etymology (γλαυκός ‘gleaming’, μύρτος ‘myrtle’, σῖτος ‘grain’ and σέλινος ‘celery’);
- (1d) names which though attested in alphabetic Greek have no obvious link with any Greek lexical item and remain entirely opaque, e.g. the GN *a-te-mi-te* (dat.) /*Artemitei*/ ( : Ἄρτεμις) or the PN *ko-no-so* /*Knōs(s)os*/ ( : Κνωσός).

Names which look as transparently Greek may also be adaptations of foreign names. For instance it was long believed that the feminine name *a-re-ka-sa-dara* /*Aleksandrā* was built on the masculine /*Aleksandros*/\* ( : Ἀλέξανδρος, cf. ἀλέξω ‘ward off, keep off’, ἄνήρ ‘man’), which in its turn was an adaptation of the Hittite *Alakšanduš*, but more recently the alternative view has gained support that the Hittite form is an adaptation from Greek.<sup>7</sup> Other names are easily identifiable, but remain opaque, as e.g. the MN *mo-qo-so* ( : Μόψος), the GN *e-nu-wa-ri-jo* ( : Ἐνυάλιος) or the PN *tu-ri-so* ( : Τυλισός).

- (2) Names which cannot be compared with Greek defy any interpretation; cf. for instance the MN *ta-qa-ra-ti*, the GN *ma-na-sa*, the PN *ka-u-da*, etc. For this type, which is reasonably extensive, a further classification is not possible, but we should in fairness note that we cannot entirely exclude the possibility that we are dealing with Greek names which we have not been able to identify.

There are also some names which strictly speaking have no exact or approximate equivalent in alphabetic Greek and therefore should be listed under (2) but may still allow an interpretation in Greek terms and could be treated as a subcategory of (1). Cf. for instance the MN *e-ti-ra-wo*, the GN (rather than WN) *ko-ma-we-te-ja* (dat.) and the PN *ku-te-re-u-pi* (instrumental) which may be interpreted as /*Erti-lāwos*/, /*Komāwenteiāi*/<sup>8</sup> and /*Kʰutrēupʰi*/ in view of MN ‘Ορσί-λαος ‘who puts his people in motion’ (cf. Λα-έρτης), κόμη ‘long hair’, κομήτης ‘with long hairs’ and χυτρεύς ‘potter’ respectively.

<sup>7</sup> Anatolian origin was assumed by SOMMER 1932, 365ff. For the opposite view cf. HEUBECK 1957b, 273f.

<sup>8</sup> The name *ko-ma-we-te-ja* is most probably a formation with the appurtenance suffix /-eiā-/ , built on a derivative of \*/komā-/ ( : κόμη) ‘long hair’, but the form of the suffix remains obscure: /-went-/ (cf. MN *ko-ma-we* /*Komāwens*/, nom. sing. of \*/komāwent-/ ) is possible, cf. DEL FREO 1996-97, who assumes that /*Komāwenteiā-*/ may be interpreted as the partner of a masculine god /*Komāwens*/.

## §15.2. PERSONAL NAMES (AND NAMES OF OXEN)

### §15.2.1. Identification, interpretation

As we have seen, the identification of a Mycenaean word as a personal name must be prompted by the context of the document in which it appears. Reliable indications are the presence of a VIR ('man') or MULIER ('woman') ideogram followed by the number 1 or no number, the parallelism with personal names in similar formulas, or the indication of the father's name, mostly with a patronymic adjective as in Hom. Αἴας Τελαμόνιος 'Ajax, son of Telamon'; cf. *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo /Alektruōn Etewoklewe<sup>h</sup>-ios/* 'Alektruon, son of Etewoklewes'; see the MNs Ἀλεκτρύων and Ἐτεό-κλῆς, and cf. class. Gr. ἀλεκτρύων 'cock', originally 'defender', and Hom. ἐτεός 'true', κλέος 'fame'. It is not always clear whether a form conceals a man's name or a title: this is the case with *mo-ro-qa /mo(i)rokkʷā-/* 'possessor of a lot' (μοῖρα 'lot', πάσασθαι 'obtain') and *qe-ja-me-no /kʷeyamenos/* (cf. τεισάμενος 'revenged', part. med. of τίνω),<sup>9</sup> both attested at Pylos. A proper name can also appear as a common noun in a different context, e.g. *ti-ri-po-di-ko* (: Hom. τρίπος 'small tripod cauldron'), which is a man's name (dat.) in PY Cn 599 and a common noun (plur. */tripodiskoi/*) in MY Ue 611.

Many Mycenaean names, especially (but not exclusively) in Crete, cannot be interpreted in terms of that part of the Greek lexicon which has an Indo-European origin: they may point to non-Greek populations, both when they are obscure (cf. e.g. *qa-qa-ro* [cf. Linear A *qa-qa-ru*] or most of the masculine names in *-i-* at Knossos<sup>10</sup>), and when they have clear matches in alphabetic Greek like *ka-ra-u-ko /Glaukos/* (: Γλαῦκος), *o-tu* prob. */Otus/* (: Ὄτυς, Xenophon) or *i-do-me-ne-ja /Idomeneiā/,* the feminine counterpart of Ἰδομενεύς (Hom.). But many of the names are actually Greek, and some of them can be etymologized and often attributed a 'translation' value, i.e. a meaning, in the special sense in which this word can be used for proper names (§15.2.3); cf. for instance the Greek Μεγακλῆς 'who has great glory' (μέγα κλέος). It must be stressed, however, that the fact that a given name can be interpreted in Greek terms or even matches an alphabetic Greek form does not necessarily imply that it is always 'translatable' or understandable. For instance,

<sup>9</sup> Cf. KILLEN 1992b, 379f.; HILLER 1999, 294; GARCÍA RAMÓN 2007. *Aliter Études*, 376 with n. 123, which sees in *qe-ja-me-no* a title */kʷeyamenos/* 'révérend, honoré' (cf. τίω 'honour, revere').

<sup>10</sup> Cf. BAUMBACH 1979; BAUMBACH 1987; BAUMBACH 1992; FIRTH 1992-93; KILLEN 1992a; MORPURGO DAVIES 1999, 396f.

the meaning of the MN *a-ni-ja-to* ( : ἀνίατος ‘incurable’) is absolutely clear, whereas that of *ta-ti-ko-ηρ*, if read as /*Stātigonos*/ (cf. WN Στασιγόνη<sup>11</sup>) is less so; it may be rendered with ‘who lets his lineage (γόνος, γονή) stand’, but this is not explicitly supported by phrases attested in alphabetic Greek. The situation is basically the same as in alphabetic Greek, where many compound names whose elements are clearly recognisable defy any logical interpretation (Olivier Masson called them ‘composés irrationnels’). Cf. for instance, Σωσι-φάνης or Καλλί-αισχρος; the former name arises from an arbitrary joining of Σωσι° and °φάνης, two elements which are well attested in standard ‘translatable’ compound names, such as Σωσί-φιλος ‘who saves his friend(s)’ or Ἐπι-φάνης ( : ἐπιφανῆς ‘suddenly visible’); for its part Καλλί-αισχρος includes two contradictory elements, namely καλός ‘beautiful’ (and κάλλος ‘beauty’), αἰσχρός ‘ugly’. Given the fact that the naming system of first millennium Greek and that of Mycenaean are basically the same (§15.2.2-3), one may safely assume that the same holds good for this point. The fact that very few arbitrary compound names have been recognized in Mycenaean (and always with difficulties and disagreements) is probably due to an unconscious desire to attribute to all names a rational meaning, even if this finds no support in the alphabetic Greek evidence.

Any attempt at interpreting a personal name which has no counterpart in first millennium Greek is actually feasible only in terms of Greek (i.e. on the basis of Greek and IE vocabulary and word formation) for the obvious reason that Greek is the only language that we can operate with (§15.1.2). Two remarks of very different kind are in order at this point. Firstly, for this type of names an *interpretatio graeca*, i.e. an explanation of the name as based on a Greek word, is far from plausible if the name occurs in a tablet or series in which only non-Greek names occur. Secondly, in the case of obscure names which because of their length may conceal a compound, the possibility of a so called irrational compound, untranslatable but formed of Greek elements, must be taken into account before we are ready to accept a *non liquet* conclusion.

### §15.2.2. *Greek personal names: word formation*

From the point of view of word formation the types of Mycenaean Greek personal names (obviously non-Greek names cannot be considered) are basically the same as in alphabetic Greek, as are those of names of oxen (cf. §15.2.5).

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<sup>11</sup> GARCÍA RAMÓN 1992, 253 n. 71.

The feminine personal names follow the same patterns as the masculine ones in both formation and semantic motivation (§15.2.3). Their only distinguishing formal feature is the use of specific feminine forms built with suffixes which are excluded from normal composition, e.g. <sup>o</sup>γένεια in *a-ti-ke-ne-ja* /*Antigeneia*/ ( : 'Αντιγένεια) vs. the MN <sup>o</sup>Αντι-γένης (adj. <sup>o</sup>γενής), or *a-re-ka-sa-da-ra* /*Aleksandrā*/ ( : 'Αλεξάνδρα), *a-pi-do-ra* /*Amp<sup>h</sup>idōrā*/ ( : 'Αμφιδώρα) vs. <sup>o</sup>Αλέξανδρος, <sup>o</sup>Αμφίδωρος, whereas the standard lexical compounds in <sup>o</sup>γενής, <sup>o</sup>ανδρος, <sup>o</sup>δωρος use the same forms for masculine and feminine.

From a purely formal point of view, the following types of personal names can be distinguished: (1) compounds,<sup>12</sup> (2) short forms of compounds, and (3) simplicia, i.e. names based on (or simply reflecting) individual common nouns or adjectives with or without additional suffixes.

**(1)** Compounds of all types:<sup>13</sup>

- (1a)** Possessive compounds, e.g. *e-u-ru-da-mo* /*Euru-dāmos*/ ( : Εύρυ-δαμος) ‘who has a broad community’, /*Etwo-klewēs*/\* ( : 'Ετεοκλῆς) ‘who has an authentic (ἐτεός) fame (κλέος)’ in the patronymic *e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo* /*Etewoklewē<sup>h</sup>ios*/.
- (1b)** Prepositional compounds which have an adverb or a preposition as their first element e.g. *a-pi-a<sub>2</sub>-ro* /*Amp<sup>h</sup>i-<sup>h</sup>alos*/ ( : 'Αμφί-ἀλος), *a-ti-ke-ne-ja* /*Antigeneia*/.
- (1c)** Verbal governing compounds (*Rektionskomposita*), which correspond to a phrase where either (i) the verb is the first element followed by a nominal element in the function of one of the complements required by the verb (e.g. *a-ke-ra-wo* /*Ark<sup>h</sup>e-lāwos*/ or /*Age-lāwos*/ [ : 'Αρχέλαος or Hom. 'Αγέλαος] ‘who commands/leads the people’, *e-ke-da-mo* /<sup>(h)</sup>*Ek<sup>h</sup>e-dāmos*/ [ 'Εχέ-δαμος] ‘who overcomes men’ or *ma-na-si-we-ko* [ : Μνασίεργος] ‘who thinks of/remembers his work’),<sup>14</sup> or (ii) the verb provides the second element (e.g. *da-i-qo-ta* /*Dā<sup>h</sup>i-k<sup>w</sup>ontās*/ [ : Δηιφόντης, Hom. Δηϊφονος] ‘who kills in battle’, *pu-ko-wo* /*Pūr-kowos*/ [ : Delph. πυρκόοι ‘who watch fire’], *a-no-qo-ta* /*Anor-k<sup>w</sup>on-tās*/ or /*An<sub>g</sub>-k<sup>w</sup>ontās*/ [ : Hom. ἀνδρειφόντης] ‘who kills men’).<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> On the different types of compounded names in Mycenaean, cf. HEUBECK 1957a; HEUBECK 1957b; FREI-LÜTHY 1978; ILIEVSKI 1983; ILIEVSKI 1999; WAANDERS 2008.

<sup>13</sup> Because of the semantic flexibility of compound names (§15.2.3.1), the translations suggested are only approximative.

<sup>14</sup> The name belongs to the type of βωτιάνειρα, τερψίμβροτος compounds, e.g. *e-ti-ra-wo* /*Erti-lāwos*/ (cf. Ὁρσί-λαος), *a-re-ka-sa-da-ra* ( : 'Αλεξάνδρα), on which cf. HEUBECK 1957a; HEUBECK 1957b.

<sup>15</sup> The first member of Hom. ἀνδρειφόντης is probably analogical to that of 'Αργει-φόντης.

- (1d) Determinative compounds, in which one of the elements is qualified by the other, e.g. *a-ko-ro-da-mo* /*Akro-dāmos*/ ( : Ἀκρό-δημος) ‘head of the community’,<sup>16</sup> the ox’s name *po-da-ko* /*Pod-argos*/ ( : Hom. Πόδαργος, horse’s name) ‘white-’ or ‘swift-footed’.
- (2) ‘Short’ or ‘abbreviated’ forms of compounds, either, (2a) with partial preservation of the second element (type Πάτρο-κλ-ος cf. Πατροκλέης<sup>17</sup>) with or without the addition of specific suffixes, or (2b) with the deletion of one of the elements which may be replaced by specific suffixes (alph. Gr. -ος, -ας, -ίος, -ίας, -[ί]ων, -εύς, -έας, -ις, -ᾶς and others; fem. -ώ, -ιδ-), e.g. Σώσι-λος (type 2a) and Σῶσις, Σωσίας, Σωσέας, Σωσίων, fem. Σωσ-ώ (type 2b) from Σωσί-λαος. Some of the suffixes are well attested in Mycenaean, e.g. /-os/ ( : -ος), /-ās/ ( : -ας), /-ios/ ( : -ιος), /-ēus/<sup>18</sup> ( : -εύς), /-ēwās/ ( : -έας), /-ōn/ ( : -ων). Some Mycenaean examples:
- (2a) *pe-ri-to* /*Peri-t<sup>h</sup>os*/ (from *pe-ri-to-wo*: Hom. Πειρίθοος ‘who runs around’), *pe-ri-mo* /*Perimos*/ from *pe-ri-me-de* ( : Περιμήδης), *o-ku-no* /*Ōkunos*/, from *o-ku-na-wo* /*Ōkunāwos*/ (cf. § 15.2.3.1).<sup>19</sup>
- (2b) *de-ke-se-u* /*Deksēus*/ ( : Δεξεύς, parallel to Δέξις, Δεξίας, Δεξώ, cf. Δεξί-χαρις from δέχομαι ‘receive’), *ka-ri-si-jo* /*K<sup>h</sup>arisios*/ ( : Χαρίσιος, Χαρισίων, cf. Χαρίσ-ανδρος *vel sim.*); *da-te-wa* /*Daitēwās*/ (cf. δαίς ‘banquet’) presupposes Δαιτ<sup>o</sup> (type Δαιταρχος) or δαίτας (Myc. *e-u-da-i-ta* /*E<sup>(h)</sup>u-daitās*/).<sup>20</sup> The names in /-tōr/ (type *ka-to* /*Kastōr*/: Κάστωρ) may be understood either as ‘short’ forms corresponding in this case to /*Kasti<sup>o</sup>*/ compounds ( : Καστί<sup>o</sup>, κέκασμαι ‘excel’) or as *nomina agentis*, i.e. appellatives designating the performers (or simply the subjects) of the verbal action expressed by the root, e.g. Hom. μήστωρ ‘adviser’, cf. μήδομαι ‘to be minded’.

<sup>16</sup> The name reflects the topic of the *propugnaculum ciuitatis*, cf. GARCÍA RAMÓN 2006a, 45ff. (with discussion of other views). The interpretation as a common compound ‘rassembleur du damos’ (TOP, 170; *Handbuch*, 535) is obviously incompatible with the rules of Greek word formation.

<sup>17</sup> The Linear B script does not allow us to establish whether expressive gemination of the type Κλέο-μμ-ις, Κλεο-μμ-ᾶς (from Κλεομένης), which is frequent in classical Greek, was also common in Mycenaean.

<sup>18</sup> The nom. sing. and dat. plur. of the \*-ēu-stems are written /-ēus/, /-ēusi/ on the assumption that Osthoff’s law (cf. *Companion* 1, 247) is post-Mycenaean.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. also *a-e-ri-ko* /*A<sup>h</sup>eri-k<sup>w</sup>ōs*/, /-ōn/ from *a-e-ri-ko-ta*, to be read as either /*A<sup>h</sup>eri-k<sup>w</sup>oitās*/ (cf. Hom. ἡεροφοῖτις ‘walking in darkness’, LEUKART 1994, 61ff.) or /*A<sup>h</sup>eri-k<sup>w</sup>ontās*/ ‘killing with a sword (ἄροπ)’ (HAJNAL 1992, 285ff.).

<sup>20</sup> For the dossier of δαίς, δαίομαι in Greek onomastics cf. GARCÍA RAMÓN 2000-2001a.

- (3) Names consisting of (or based on) one nominal stem, which does not necessarily go back to the first or second element of a compound. Among them there are names based on common nouns (e.g. *a<sub>3</sub>-ta-ro* /Ait<sup>h</sup>alos/: Αἴθαλος, *re-wo* /Lewōn/: Λέων) and adjectives (*e-ni-ja-u-si-jo* /Eniausios/), cf. αἴθαλός ‘smoky flame’, λέων ‘lion’, ἐνιαυσίος ‘yearling’ (σῦς), as well as participles (*ku-ru-me-no* /Klumenos/: Κλύμενος).<sup>21</sup>

In practice we are dealing with nicknames which are formed with fundamentally the same derivational suffixes as in classical Greek. These mostly coincide with those listed in (2b), cf. e.g. *ko-pe-re-u* /Koprēus/ (: Κοπρεύς, cf. κόπρος ‘excrement’), *wo-ne-wa* /Woinēwās/ (: Οἰνέας, Οἰνεύς, cf. οἶνος ‘wine’), MN *e-ru-ta-ra* /Erut<sup>h</sup>rās/ (cf. ἔρυθρός ‘red’), *a-re-ta-wo* /Aretāwōn/ (: Ἀρετάων, cf. ἀρετή ‘excellence’), *o-re-ta* /Orestās/ (: Ὁρέστης).

Since the derivational suffixes tend to be the same, it is not always easy to determine whether a name formed with one of them belongs to (2b) or to (3). For example, *po-ro-te-u* /Prōtēus/ (: Πρωτεύς, Πρωτέας) and *po-ro-u-te-u* /Ploutēus/ (: Πλουτεύς, Πλουτᾶς) may be short forms of compounds such as e.g. Πρώτ-αρχος and Πλούτ-αρχος or simply be formed directly from πρώτος ‘first’, πλοῦτος ‘wealth’ respectively. On the other hand, the fact that the suffixes form a relatively close system may help to interpret Mycenaean names in the light of those of first millennium Greek. For instance, the existence of alph. Gr. Κυδ-έας, Κυδ-εύς alongside Κύδ-ας, Κύδ-ων, Κύδ-ιχος, Κύδ-ις (corresponding to κύδος ‘glory’ in Κυδ-ήνωρ and/or Ἄνδρο-κύδης) lends support to the assumption that alongside Δαιτ-ας, -ης, Δαιτ-ων, Δαιτ-ιχος, Δαιτ-ις forms such as \*Δαιτ-έας, \*Δαιτ-εύς, which are not attested in the first millennium, may also have existed: this allows us to interpret *da-te-wa* as /Daitēwās/, see above.

- (4) There are two derivational suffixes which may be regularly added to every personal name. On the one hand, the patronymic suffix *-i-jo /-ios* indicates the father’s name, e.g. *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo* /Alektruōn Etewoklewe<sup>h</sup>-ios/ ‘Alektruon, son of Etewoklewes’.<sup>22</sup> On the other hand, the ‘possessive’ (or ‘pertinentive’) suffix *-e-jo /-eios*, fem. *-e-ja /-eiā*<sup>23</sup> indicates possession by, or direct connection with, the person on whose name the derivative is formed, e.g. *we-we-si-je-ja* /Werwesi-eiai/ ‘the

<sup>21</sup> For some forms we assume the accent retraction typical of Greek names, though obviously Mycenaean does not provide any evidence about the accent.

<sup>22</sup> The same suffix is used for adjectives of material, cf. *wi-ri-ni-jo* /wrīnios/ ‘made of leather’ besides *wi-ri-ne-jo* and *wi-ri-ne-o* /wrīne<sup>h</sup>os/ (cf. Hom. βίνεον).

<sup>23</sup> Cf. KILLEN 1983; *Études*, 260f., 279, which assumes pre-Greek origin (also RUIJGH 1998–1999).

women of (depending on) *we-we-si-jo* /*Werwesios*/<sup>24</sup> or *pu<sub>2</sub>-ke-qi-ri-ne-ja* /*P<sup>h</sup>ugeg<sup>w</sup>rīn-eiā-*/ (TH) corresponding to MN *pu<sub>2</sub>-ke-qi-ri* (PY), dat. *pu<sub>2</sub>-ke-qi-ri-ne* (TH) /*P<sup>h</sup>uge-g<sup>w</sup>rīns*/, /-īnei/. The MN /*P<sup>h</sup>uge-g<sup>w</sup>rīns*/ means ‘who escaped (ἔφυγε) the heavy (βρῆ)’, namely the spear, the evil or the stone (GARCÍA RAMÓN 2009).

### §15.2.3. Greek personal names: meaning and naming motifs

In classical times the choice of personal names could reflect the values and taboos of the name givers, i.e. of contemporary society, as well as many aspects of daily life, which would otherwise remain unknown or would have been known only by chance from literary texts or epigraphic documents.

The same holds true for Mycenaean onomastics.<sup>25</sup> This is, for instance, the case with the Knossos name *qa-sa-ko* /*K<sup>w</sup>ās-ark<sup>h</sup>os*/, which corresponds to alph. Gr. Πάσ-αρχος, cf. the aor. πάσασθαι (synonymous of κτήσασθαι ‘get’) and Κτήσ-αρχος, both compounds which match the Herodotean phrase κτησαμένου τὴν ἀρχήν ‘having taken power’ (Hdt. 6.34):<sup>26</sup> the fact that conspiracies are not recorded in the Mycenaean archives does not exclude the possibility that they existed in Mycenaean times, as they did at the time of Herodotus.

For the sake of clarity, a distinction will be made at this point between compounds and simplicia.

#### §15.2.3.1. Compounds

In Greek, compounds are a very frequent source of personal names. The possible combinations of first and second element of compounded names are practically unlimited, whence the amazing variety of possible values. Some of them may even not make any sense from a lexical point of view (§15.2.1).

As in alphabetic Greek, the internal syntax of a compound used as a name in Mycenaean is more flexible than that of standard lexical compounds: for instance, *to-wa-no* /*T<sup>h</sup>owānōr*/ (θοός ‘quick’, ἀνήρ ‘man’) is not a possessive compound (‘having fast men’), but simply reflects the individualisation of the phrase θοός ἀνήρ ‘quick man’, just as alph. Gr. Νέανδρος reflects νέος ἀνήρ (cf. Il. 23.589 νέου ἀνδρός).<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Cf. KILLENS 1983, 83. The MN *we-we-si-jo* is a ‘short’ form of a compound with a first member /*Werwes*<sup>c</sup>/ (: Hom. εἴρος ‘wool’, cf. RUIPÉREZ 1999, 538f.).

<sup>25</sup> Cf. the overview by ILIEVSKI 2000 (forthcoming); cf. also ILIEVSKI 1979.

<sup>26</sup> GARCÍA RAMÓN 2000a.

<sup>27</sup> See GARCÍA RAMÓN 2000b.

Some compounds reflect a syntagm<sup>28</sup> or a two-member phrase which is attested in Greek literature or even a phraseological collocation<sup>29</sup> with reminiscences of poetic phraseology: they express as a rule praise and respect.<sup>30</sup> But other compounds are exactly the opposite. Within the first group some examples speak for themselves, e.g. the names *a-no-me-de /Anor-mēdēs/* or */Anr-mēdēs/* (: Ἀνδρο-μήδης), *e-u-me-de /E<sup>(h)</sup>u-mēdēs/* (: Εὐ-μήδης) or *o-ku-na-wo /Ōkunāwos/*, with the short form *o-ku-no /Ōkunos/*, which reflect Hom. μήδεα τ' ἀνδρῶν ‘thoughts of men’ (*Il.* 2.340), αὐτός τ' εὖ μήδεο (*Il.* 2.360), ὠκέας νῆσος ‘swift ships’.<sup>31</sup> Some of the names reflect Indo-European poetic expressions, e.g. the WN *a-qi-ti-ta /A-k<sup>w</sup>h<sup>t</sup>itā/* (cf. Hom. κλέος ἄφθιτον ‘inextinguishable fame’: Ved. śrávo ákṣitam<sup>32</sup>). This may happen either directly or through formal Greek replacements for a collocation inherited from IE, e.g. MN *e-ri-ke-re-we /Eri-klewēs/* ‘who has good [ἔριο] fame [κλέος]’, which is basically equivalent to alph. Gr. Εὐκλέης (: Ved. Su-śrávas-) and to Μεγακλῆς (cf. Hom. μέγα κλέος; Ved. máhi śrávas). Phraseological collocations inherited from IE survive, for instance, in names like *e-ka-no* (ἴχω, ἀνήρ) ‘who overcomes men’, which provides a semantic match for alph. Gr. Νικ-άνωρ, Νίκανδρος,<sup>33</sup> or like *ne-ti-ja-no /Nesti-ānōr/* (: Νέσσανδρος) ‘who saves his men’ which conceals in its first element the causative meaning ‘let come home’ (Goth. *nasjan* ‘σώσαι’) of IE \*nes- ‘reach a desired goal, come home’ (Hom. νέομαι) and was replaced by Σωσί-ανδρος (cf. Hom. *Od.* 3.231 ἄνδρα σαώσαι), Σῶνδρος and the like.<sup>34</sup> The same applies for *qe-re-qo-ta /K<sup>w</sup>ēle-k<sup>w</sup>on-tās/* ‘striking from afar’ (cf. τηλεβόλος).<sup>35</sup> In some cases it is only comparison with other languages which makes the compound names comprehensible. Thus, the MN *ke-sa-do-ro /Kessandros/* (together with the WN *ke-sa-da-ra /Kessandrā/*) continues a first element \*kēns- ‘give solemnly a piece of advice’ (Vedic śāms, Lat. *censeō*) and means ‘who speaks solemnly to the men’:<sup>36</sup> the colloca-

<sup>28</sup> I.e. a group of words which constitute a significative item.

<sup>29</sup> I.e. a frequent sequence of two lexical stems which often follow each other.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. the overviews by NEUMANN 1995 and GARCÍA RAMÓN 2005b, 2009.

<sup>31</sup> On the names related to sailing cf. NEUMANN 1994.

<sup>32</sup> RISCH 1987b, 9ff.; LEJEUNE 1988.

<sup>33</sup> This is actually the old meaning of IE \*segh-, cf. Ved. *sah* ‘overcome’, Goth. *sigis* ‘victory’); see MEIER-BRÜGGER 1976. A perfect Vedic phraseological parallel is offered by RV V 7.10c *iśāḥ sāsahyāñ nṛñ* ‘might (Atri) overcome the impulses, the men’, cf. *nṛ-sāh-* ‘domination over men’ (GARCÍA RAMÓN 2005a, 127, 2005b, 37f.).

<sup>34</sup> Cf. GARCÍA RAMÓN (forthcoming 1). The MN Νέστωρ is a short form of a /Nesti<sup>o</sup>/ compound.

<sup>35</sup> KÖLLIGAN 2001-2002.

<sup>36</sup> GARCÍA RAMÓN 1992. The short form *ke-ti-ro /Ke(n)sti-los/* points to a compound \*/Ke(n)sti-lāwos/ (with /lāwos/: λαός ‘army’) ‘who speaks solemnly to his army’, a concept which is also expressed by *ra-wo-ke-ta /Lāwo-ke(n)stās/*.

tion is also continued in alphabetic Greek Αἰνησιμβρότα, Αἰνησίλεως (cf. παραινέω ‘exhort’) with replacement of the original verb. Similarly the meaning of *o-ti-na-wō* /*Orti-nāwos*/ is shown to be ‘who urges on (ὅρνυμι) the ship (ναῦς)’ both by Hom. νῆσ ὁρνυμένη (*Od.* 12.182-3: ὀκναλος νῆσ / ἔγγυθεν ὁρνυμένη ‘the racing ship urged on closer’) and by the Rig-Vedic formulaic line (II 42.1b = IX 95.2b) *īyarti vācam aritēva nāvam* ‘he urges his voice forward as the rower the ship’, in which the collocation ‘he urges forward (*īyarti* corresponding to alph. Gr. ὅρνυστ) the ship (*nāvam*: = νῆσ)’ is glossed and made explicit as ‘the activity of the rower’ (*aritár-*: \*ἐρετήρ, where an original *r*-stem is guaranteed for Greek too by the PN Ἐρετρία).<sup>37</sup> The interpretation must remain open in cases such as *ta-ti-ko-we-u*, which may conceal /*Stāti-gʷōwēus*/ (cf. βούσταθμον, βούστασις) or /*Tāti-gʷōwēus*/ ‘who steals cows’ if the first element reflects IE \*(s)teh₂- ‘steal’ (Hitt. *tāizzi*, OLat. imperative (s)TATOD, also alph. Gr. τητάομαι ‘be stolen’ Pindar).<sup>38</sup>

Some feminine names have a meaning which does not fit with the role of women in Greek society. One particularly remarkable case in alphabetic Greek concerns the name of Κασσάνδρα (and Καστι-άνειρα), to be understood as ‘she who excels (Hom. κέκασμαι) among men’. We can safely assume that the name has been mechanically built on the model of the corresponding MN Κάσσανδρος (the oldest form of which is also attested in Linear B: *ka-sa-no* /*Kassānōr/), a compound reflecting heroic ideals which in the Greek world were reserved for men. The same may apply to Myc. *ke-sa-da-ra* /*Kessandrā*/<sup>39</sup>, the feminine counterpart of *ke-sa-do-ro* /*Kessandros*/ (see above): since it is hardly conceivable that a woman speaks solemnly to the men in the Mycenaean society,<sup>40</sup> one may assume that *ke-sa-da-ra* /*Kessandrā*/ (the first element of the compound has nothing to do with that of Κασσάνδρα) has been mechanically built on the MN *ke-sa-do-ro* /*Kessandros*/.*

In Mycenaean we also find names which are anything but heroic. Some are highly expressive; cf. e.g. *mo-ro-ko-ro* /*Mologʷros*/ (: Μόλοβρος, name of a Laconian) ‘devourer of excrements’ (Odysseus, disguised as a beggar, is insulted as μολοβρός in *Od.* 17.219, 18.26<sup>40</sup>) or *ku-mo-no-so*, which can be

<sup>37</sup> GARCÍA RAMÓN 2002. The inherited collocation \*ὅρνυστι νῆσ(ζ) is continued by ἐλαύνει νῆσ(ζ), cf. e.g. *Od.* 12.276: ἐλαύνετε νῆσα μέλαιναν ‘so drive the black ship onward’.

<sup>38</sup> PLATH 1999, 511ff. In that case Myc. /*Tāti-gʷōwēus*/ would reflect the well-known IE motif of the stolen cows (alph. Gr. βοῦκλεψ: Sophocles).

<sup>39</sup> An exception may be a prophetess, as for example Cassandra. We can assume that the former speaking name /*Kessandrā*/<sup>41</sup>, which was no longer supported by a verbal paradigm or by other forms of the root in Greek, was replaced by Κασσάνδρα secondarily, cf. GARCÍA RAMÓN 1992.

<sup>40</sup> NEUMANN 1992 shows that the compound is made up of \*μόλο<sup>o</sup> (cf. μέλας ‘black’, Skt. *málam* ‘dirt’) and ὄβρος (cf. βιβρώσκω ‘devour’, Lat. *uorāre*).

read as */Gumnorsos/* ‘(having) the bottom (δόρσός) bare’ (γυμνός)<sup>41</sup> or the names with *°ka-ra /-krās/* ‘head’: *a<sub>3</sub>-ka-ra* if it conceals */Ai(k)-k(a)rās/* ‘Goat-Head’ (cf. αἰγο-κέφαλος ‘owl’), *mu-ka-ra /Mū-k(a)rās/* ‘Mouse-Head’ (cf. μῦς ‘mouse’).<sup>42</sup>

### §15.2.3.2. Simplicia

Simplicia (common nouns or adjectives) used as personal names are mostly nicknames in origin and denote, as a rule, noticeable characteristics which are rarely positive. They must have been first used *ad personam*, i.e. they must have designated first one given person, and then they must have acquired the status of proper names which could be used for other people presumably starting with members of the same family: the name could be used for a son or daughter, or for a relative, whether or not it suited the recipient.

A highly conventional classification of naming motifs,<sup>43</sup> which embraces all possible characteristics expressed in the creation of names, including their relationship with society, with a place or with a god, and is based on appellatives of all kinds, could be as follows:

- (a) Age: */Gerōn/* (: Γέρων ‘old’), *e-ni-ja-u-si-jo /Eniausios/* (cf. Hom. ἐνιαύσιος ‘yearling’).
- (b) Physical characteristics: *re-u-ko /Leukos/* (: Λεῦκος, cf. λευκός ‘white’), *re-wa-ko* (dat.) */Leiwākōi/* (cf. λείαξ ‘beardless boy’),<sup>44</sup> *si-mo /Sīmos/* (: Σίμος, Σίμων), fem. *si-ma* (cf. σιμός ‘snub nosed’).
- (c) Personality: *a-pa-si-jo-jo* (gen.) */Aspasioi/* (: Ἀσπάσιος) ‘gladly welcome’, *de-we-ro /Dweilos/* and *de-we-ra /Dweilās/* (cf. δειλός ‘coward’).
- (d) Way of life: *po-ro-u-te-u /Ploutēus/* (: Πλούτεύς, cf. πλοῦτος ‘wealth’).
- (e) Profession: *a-ke-ro /Angelos/* (cf. ἄγγελος ‘messenger’), *ku-ke-re-u /Kuklēus/* (: Κυκλεύς, cf. κύκλος ‘wheel’).
- (f) Birth circumstances: *ti-ri-to /Tritos/* (: Τρίτος, Τρίτων, and fem. Τριτώ) ‘born on the third day of the month’, *o-pi-si-jo /Opsios/* (cf. ὄψιος ‘late’, MN Ὀψιμος).
- (g) Theophoric names: *a-pa-i-ti-jo /<sup>h</sup>Āp<sup>h</sup>aistios/* (cf. GN Ἡφαιστος), *di-wi-je-u /Diwjēus/* (cf. δῖος).
- (h) Mythical figures: *a-ki-re-u /Ak<sup>h</sup>il(l)ēus/* (: Ἄχιλ[λ]εύς), *de-u-ka-ri-jo /Deukaliōn/* (: Δευκαλίων). Whether these names reflect mythical figures in Mycenaean times must remain an open question.

<sup>41</sup> NEUMANN 1999, 202ff. (with reference to the MN Μελάμπυγος ‘having a black bottom’).

<sup>42</sup> *a<sub>3</sub>-ka-ra* as per RISCH 1966, 65 n. 31; *mu-ka-ra* as per MEIER-BRÜGGER 1989, 45 n. 5.

<sup>43</sup> This classification largely follows the no less conventional one in BECHTEL 1917, which will also be adopted in *Die historischen Personennamen des Mykenischen* (GARCÍA RAMÓN 2000–2001b, 467ff.; GARCÍA RAMÓN 2005b, 28ff.).

<sup>44</sup> GARCÍA RAMÓN 2006b, 44.

- (i) Ethnics: cf. *a<sub>3</sub>-ku-pi-ti-jo /Aiguptios/* (: Αἰγύπτιος, Αἰγυπτία) ‘of Egypt’, *ka-pa-ti-ja /Karpat<sup>h</sup>iāl/* ‘of Carpathos’.
- (j) Poetic words: *a<sub>3</sub>-ta-ro-we /Ait<sup>h</sup>alowens/* (cf. Hom. αἴθαλόεις ‘smoky’), *pi-ra-me-no /P<sup>h</sup>illamenos/* ‘beloved’? (Hom. ἐφίλατο, φίλατο).
- (k) Animals: *ku-ne-u /Kunēus/* (cf. Κυνῆς; cf. κύων ‘dog’),<sup>45</sup> *o-ki-ro /Ork<sup>h</sup>ilos/* (: ὄρχιλος ‘robin’),<sup>46</sup> *ru-ko /Lukos/* (: Λύκος, Λύκων), *ta-u-ro /Tauros/* (: Ταῦρος), *te-u-to /Teur<sup>h</sup>os/* (: τεῦθος ‘calamary’ or ‘squid’<sup>47</sup> cf. as parallel the WN Σητία), *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo /Alektruōn/* (: class. Gr. ἀλεκτρυών ‘Cock’<sup>48</sup>).
- (l) Plants: *a-to /Ant<sup>h</sup>os/* (: Ἄνθος, cf. ἄνθος ‘flower’), *mu-ti-ri /Murtilis/* (cf. Μόρτις, PN Μύρτιλις cf. μύρτος ‘mrtle’).
- (m) Materials: *ma-ma-ro /Marmaros/* (: Μάρμαρος) ‘marble’.
- (n) Natural elements and phenomena: *a<sub>3</sub>-ka-ra /Aiglā/* (: WN Αἴγλη, cf. αἴγλη ‘radiance’).
- (o) Clothes and the like: *pe-po-ro /Peplos/* (: Πέπλος, cf. πέπλος ‘woven cloth’).
- (p) Utensils: *ko-re-wo /Kolewos/* (cf. κολεός, -όν ‘sheath’).
- (q) Places: *na-si-jo /Nāsios/* (cf. νῆσος ‘island’), *po-ti-jo /Pontios/* (: Πόντιος, cf. πόντιος ‘of the sea’).

#### §15.2.4. Personal names and Mycenaean society

It is likely that the autochthonous names of slaves and foreigners were replaced by (nick)names, especially ethnics, devised first by the owner or by the community, as was sometimes the case in first millennium Greece. We may even assume that the same was true for people who had only a modest status in society. But this can hardly be more than a general tendency. It is true that compounds in <sup>o</sup>ke-re-we (: κλέξος ‘glory’) and <sup>o</sup>ra-wo, ra-wo<sup>o</sup> (: λαξός ‘people in arms’) usually refer to persons with military responsibilities,<sup>49</sup> and that prominent men at Pylos had ‘warrior names’. But it is also true that names of this type were also borne by smiths at Pylos, cf. e.g. *ma-ka-ta*

<sup>45</sup> The form *ku-ne* (MY) is a dative /kunei/ ‘for the dog’ (KILLEN 2004, 220f.) rather than the nominative of a MN /Kunēs/ (as per RISCH 1987a, 287).

<sup>46</sup> ILIEVSKI 1992, 336; GARCÍA RAMÓN 2000-2001a, 431ff.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. MASSON 1972, 289f.

<sup>48</sup> On the assumption that the domestic cock was unknown in Mycenaean times the MN *a-re-ku-tu-ru-wo* has been interpreted as ‘defender’ (RISCH 1990, 238ff.; DUHOUX 1997, 188f.), cf. Hom. ἀλέξω ‘ward off, defend’ and the MN (dat.) *a-re-ko-to-re /Alektorei/, a-re-ke-se-u /Aleksēus/* – the cock is actually an animal of well-known apotropaic character. However bones of domestic poultry have been found at the level of Middle Bronze Age at Lerna in the Argolis, cf. GEIVALL 1969 (I owe this information to the kindness of Françoise Rougemont, Paris X Nanterre).

<sup>49</sup> Cf. PALAIMA 1999.

*/Mak<sup>h</sup>ātās/* ( : μαχητής ‘warrior’) or *ra-wo-qo-ta /Lāwo-k<sup>w</sup>ontās/* ‘slaying the people’ (cf. λαοφόνος Bacchylides). This fact could be due to the military nature of their work,<sup>50</sup> but humble workers at Knossos and shepherds and workers at Pylos also bore such high-flown names as *ka-ra-u-ko /Glaukos/* ( : Hom. γλαυκός ‘gleaming’), *e-ke-da-mo /<sup>(h)</sup>Ek<sup>h</sup>edāmos/* ‘who overcomes men’ and *a<sub>3</sub>-ta-ro-we /Ait<sup>h</sup>allowens/* ( : αἴθαλόεις ‘smoky’). This evidence strongly suggests that there was no clear-cut distribution of name type according to social classes in the Mycenaean world, and that high-level names were in fact common among the lower classes.

However, there is a clear indication of high rank and that is the use of the father’s name mentioned after the name, normally by means of a patronymic adjective, formed by adding the suffix *-i-jo /-ios/* to the father’s name, i.e. [name] – [father’s name + */-ios/*],<sup>51</sup> e.g. *a-re-ku-tu-ruwo e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo /Alektruōn Etewoklewe<sup>h</sup>-ios/* ‘Alektruon, son of Etewoklewes’. As a rule the name of the father does not occur after the name of persons of low status.

### §15.2.5. Names of oxen

In the Knossos Ch tablets names are given to some oxen (as horses are given a name in Homer).<sup>52</sup> Some of these names are descriptive, and take the form of adjectives (*a<sub>3</sub>-wo-ro /Aiwołos/, ke-ra-no /Kelainos/, cf. Hom. αἰόλος ‘changeful of hue, lustrous, quick-moving’, κελαινός ‘black’*) or of compounds, such as *po-da-ko /Pod-argos/* ( : Πόδαργος ‘white-’ or ‘swift-footed’, the name of two horses in Homer), *to-ma-ko /Stom-argos/* (cf. στόμαργος ‘noisily prating’), *wo-no-qo-so /Woin-ōk<sup>w</sup>s/* (cf. Hom. οὖνωπα πόντον ‘wine coloured sea’). Others are mythical: *a-ri-jo /Arios/* or */Ariōn/* ( : Ἀρίων Il. 23.346 name of a horse, cf. ἀρ-είων ‘better’), *a<sub>3</sub>-wa /Aiwāns/* ( : Αἴας, ΑἰΦανς in Corinth: perhaps a ‘short’ form of */Aiwołos/*: αἰόλος), *ko-so-u-to /Ksout<sup>h</sup>os/* ( : Ξοῦθος, Hom. ξοῦθος ‘quickly moving’ and ‘yellow’). It must be stressed that, although mythical, in this case the name could be descriptive (‘tawny’ or the like).

<sup>50</sup> Cf. DEGER-JALKOTZY 1999, esp. 128 (who deals comprehensively with ‘warrior names’).

<sup>51</sup> Another onomastic formula consists of [name] – [father’s name] – [*i-jo /<sup>h</sup>ios/, i-ju /<sup>h</sup>ius/* or *u-jo /<sup>h</sup>uios/*: υἱός ‘son’] (or occasionally [*ko-wo /korwos/*]), cf. DUHOUX 2007 and Companion 1, 353ff.

<sup>52</sup> LEJEUNE 1963; KILLEN 1992-1993.

### §15.3. RELIGIOUS NAMES

#### §15.3.1. Identification, interpretation

A relatively large number of gods and goddesses are attested as recipients of offerings in Linear B texts,<sup>53</sup> e.g. in the series Fr of Pylos or in some Cnossos tablets with offerings to *pa-si-te-o-i /pansi t<sup>h</sup>eoī<sup>h</sup>i/* ‘to all gods’ (masculine or feminine). In any case it is not always clear whether the recipient is a god, a hero or a person (i.e. the holder of a religious office).<sup>54</sup> Obscurities remain even when the context is relatively clear as in PY Tn 316 where gods of varying importance are mentioned in the dative as recipients of sacred offerings. Among the major gods are Zeus (*di-we /Diwei/*), Hera (*e-ra /<sup>h</sup>Erāi/* and Hermes (*e-ma-a<sub>2</sub> /<sup>h</sup>Ermā<sup>h</sup>āi/*), followed by the epithet *a-re-ja /Are<sup>h</sup>iāi/* cf. Ἀρης), and feminine counterparts of male gods (*di-wi-ja /Diwiāi/, po-si-da-e-ja /Posidā<sup>h</sup>eiāi/*, cf. Zeus, Poseidon), as well as *po-ti-ni-ja /Potniāi/* ‘to the Mistress’, a generic epithet designating a goddess without further specification.<sup>55</sup> Other names designate minor local deities or heroes who are attested only in Mycenaean: some of them are comprehensible, e.g. *do-po-ta* (from \**dms-potā-* or \**doms-potā-*, corresponding to δεσπότης ‘[House-]Lord’<sup>56</sup>), or *ti-ri-se-ro-e /Tris<sup>h</sup>ērō<sup>(h)</sup>ei/* ‘to the Thrice-Hero’<sup>57</sup> (whatever the meaning of *e-ro*\*: ἥρως could be at this time); others are obscure, e.g. *di-ri-mi-jo di-wo i-je-we /Drimiōi Diwos h<sup>ī</sup>ewe/* ‘to Drimios, the son of Zeus’<sup>58</sup> or not comprehensible at all, e.g. *ma-na-sa*, or may be at most associated with later deities or quasi-deities (e.g. *i-pe-me-de-ja*, which conceals an obscure form which was probably later remodelled as Ιφιμέδεια (*Od.* 11.305) through folk etymology, cf. Hom. Ἰφι ‘by force’).

For the names (dat.) *di-we*, *e-ma-a<sub>2</sub>* or *po-se-da-o-ne*, a religious context added to the similarity with undisputed divine names of the first millennium

<sup>53</sup> Cf. S. HILLER’s Chapter 14 above. Cf. also the overviews of Mycenean religion by BAUMBACH 1979; CHADWICK 1985; and those of S. HILLER in HILLER-PANGL 1976, 289ff.; *Documents*<sup>2</sup>, 275ff., *World*, 84-101; RUIPÉREZ – MELENA 1990 (quoted in n. 3), 181ff. and PALAIMA 2004.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. the presentation by WEILHARTNER 2005.

<sup>55</sup> As a generic epithet, Myc. *po-ti-ni-ja* occurs frequently with a specification (see below), and is not to be classed with the epicleses proper, which are descriptive and/or distinctive, cf. GARCÍA RAMÓN 2010,89 *pace* ARAVANTINOS – GODART – SACCONI 2003, 20. About PY Tn 316, see *Companion* 1, §9.38.

<sup>56</sup> The form goes back to a Greek remodelling of IE \*dém̥s-potí- ‘(House-)Lord’ (OAv. *dəm̥gpaθi-*, Ved. *dámpati-*).

<sup>57</sup> Cf. ILIEVSKI 1989.

<sup>58</sup> Myc. */Drīmios/* may be a derivative of δριμύς ‘piercing, sharp’ (Hom.) or a ‘short’ form of a compound with δριμύς as its first member (e.g. \*Δριμυ-βέλης ‘having sharp arrows’ cf. δξυ-βέλης) with which another form \**/Drūmios/* (cf. δρυμός ‘copse, thicket’) may have secondarily (not phonetically!) merged. In my opinion, *di-ri-mi-jo* is a minor god, predecessor of (and later absorbed by) Apollo.

(Zeus, Hermes, Poseidon) makes the interpretation certain. However, caution is very necessary. For instance the suggestion that *i-qo /<sup>(h)</sup>ikkʷōi/* (PY Fa 16) and *qo-we /Gʷōwei/* (and fem. *qo-wi-ja /gʷōwiā-/* in PY Tn 316), *ku-ne /Kunei/* (MY Fu 711) conceal ‘Horse-God’, ‘Ox-God’ or ‘Dog-God’ respectively (cf. ἵππος, βοῦς, κύων) are not safely supported by the context.<sup>59</sup> A controversial issue is the interpretation of the series Av, Fq, Ft and Gp of the Thebes tablets published in 2001 by V.L. Aravantinos, L. Godart and A. Sacconi. On the assumption that their content is fully religious, the editors believe that they may recognize Zeus in the dat. *o-po-re-i* (cf. §15.3.2) as well as the couple Demeter and Persephone in *ma-ka* and *ko-wa*: these forms would match (dat.) οπόρει (a cult epithet of Zeus in Boeotia), the invocation Μᾶ Γᾶ (Aeschylus) and Κόρη ‘young woman’ respectively.<sup>60</sup> Apart from the objections that such an interpretation raises from a linguistic point of view, it is a fact that there is no single text where *o-po-re-i*, *ma-ka* and *ko-wa* are written directly one before/after the other, as happens in genuine triads<sup>61</sup> (cf. *di-we ... e-ra ... di-ri-mi-jo di-wo i-je-we*, each followed by an indication of offerings in PY Tn 316). For this reason alone the divine triad may simply have to vanish. It must be stressed, moreover, that, even if the general context is religious, *o-po-re-i*, *ma-ka* and *ko-wa* could designate persons. On the other hand, an interpretation in non-religious terms is perfectly possible.<sup>62</sup>

Gods’ names are also indirectly attested in theophoric personal names,<sup>63</sup> and in the names of sanctuaries and of months.<sup>64</sup> For instance, MN *a-pa-i-ti-jo /<sup>h</sup>Āph'aistios/* ( : Ἡφαίστιος, Ἡφαίστιον) and *a-re-me-ne / a-re-i-me-ne /Are<sup>(h)</sup> i-menēs/* (cf. μένος ‘interior force’), *pa-na-re-jo /Pan-areios/* point to Mycenaean */<sup>h</sup>Āphaistos/\** and */Arēs/* respectively. Even if the name of Zeus was not attested in Linear B, it could have been conjectured on the basis of the month name *di-wi-jo-jo*, *di-u-jo /Diwion/* and the allative of a sanctuary’s name *di-wi-jo-de /Diwion-del/*.

<sup>59</sup> CHADWICK 1985, 198f.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. TOP, especially, 317ff.; identical views in ARAVANTINOS – GODART – SACCONI 2003. Cf. also GODART – SACCONI 1996, 105ff. for *o-po-re-i*; GODART – SACCONI 1996, 107ff. (on this cf. LEJEUNE 1996b); LEJEUNE 1997; RUIJGH 1996 for *ma-ka*.

<sup>61</sup> This fact has been repeatedly stressed, cf. e.g. DUHOUX 2002-2003, especially 174ff.; WEIL-HARTNER 2005, 197; KILLEEN 2006, 102f.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. MELENA 2001, 49ff.; PALAIMA 2001-2002, 2003, 2006; DUHOUX 2002-2003; DUHOUX 2005; GARCÍA RAMÓN 2010.

<sup>63</sup> For an overview cf. ILIEVSKI 1999. Cf. also GARCÍA RAMÓN 2006b, 2008.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. the overview by ROUGEMONT 2005, 340ff., 384ff. On month names cf. MELENA 1974; TRÜMPY 1989. The few names of ceremonies attested in Linear B (ROUGEMONT 2005, 341f., 384ff.) do not reflect divine names and are illustrative of the ceremony itself, cf. for instance *te-o-po-ri-ja /<sup>h</sup>eo-p<sup>h</sup>oriāi/* or *to-no-e-ke-te-ri-jo* (instrumental) */t<sup>h</sup>orno-<sup>h</sup>ektēriōis/* or */t<sup>h</sup>orno-elktēriōis/* ‘for the ritual of the holding / carrying of the throne / flowers’ (*Documents*<sup>2</sup>, 482, 586; PETRAKIS 2002-2003).

The same can be said for the goddess *di-wi-ja* or for Poseidon, two divine names which underlie the sanctuary names *di-u-ja-jo-* /*Diwiaion/* and *po-si-da-i-jo* (: Hom. Ποσιδήϊον). For its part, the mention of *a-ne-mo-i-je-re-ja* /*anemōn hiereiāi/* ‘to the priestess of the winds’ points to divinized winds (ἄνεμοι).

Divine epithets (ἐπικλήσεις: *epitheta deorum*) may refer to a specific place (e.g. *di-ka-ta-jo di-we* /*Diktaioi Diwei/* ‘to Zeus Diktaios’ evokes the PN *di-ka-ta-:* Δίκτη), or to a characteristic of the deity, or to a deity which was associated (or merged) with the first one through syncretism: this is the case with the unique *e-ma-a<sub>2</sub> a-re-ja* /<sup>h</sup>*Ermā<sup>h</sup>ī Are<sup>h</sup>iāi/* (dat.). In Mycenaean there is no clear instance of a specifying or descriptive epiclesis which replaces the name of the god it belongs to. Epicleses may or may not have an alphabetic Greek match. Moreover, the line between divine name and epiclesis is not always clear-cut historically: one form can be a divine name in Linear B and an epiclesis in alphabetic Greek. This is the case with the names of two obscure gods, *e-nu-wa-ri-jo* /*Enuwaliōi/* and *pa-ja-wo-ne* /*Paiāwonei/* (dat.), which correspond to alph. Gr. Ἔνυάλιος and Παιάων, Παιάν, epithets of Ares and Apollo, respectively.<sup>65</sup>

Since Martin P. Nilsson’s epoch-making research, it is generally agreed that what we call Mycenaean religion was basically syncretistic: the Greek element coexisted (and mingled with) a major Minoan component in Crete, and with a Helladic one in the Peloponnese and Central Greece. It follows that pre-Greek theonyms and epiclesis are very frequently attested in the Linear B tablets. In fact, many of them defy further interpretation, even when they match forms attested in alphabetic Greek. This holds true for the major deities (which are all attested in Mycenaean, with the exception of Apollo, Aphrodite, Demeter, and Athena, cf. §15.3.3), as well as for the minor ones. However, it must be stressed that a given god could be older than its attested name, as this could have replaced (or be a remodelling of) an older name (either IE or pre-Greek). This is the case, for example, with *po-ti-ni-ja*, which may refer to goddesses of pre-Greek origin (§15.3.4).

### §15.3.2. *Formal aspects*

For the most part, religious names are very difficult to interpret from the etymological point of view. Moreover, those which are interpretable do not allow us to recognize specific suffixes used for divine names.

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<sup>65</sup> On (dat.) *e-ne-si-da-one* and the epithet Ἐννοσίδας of Poseidon cf. §15.3.3.

It is well known that the forms attested in Mycenaean cast light on the pre-forms of some religious names in first millennium Greek. For instance, *e-ra /<sup>h</sup>Erā-/* (：“Hpa)<sup>66</sup> rules out an interpretation as \*ser-*uā-* (based on IE \*ser- ‘observe’, cf. Myc. *o-ro-me-no /<sup>h</sup>oromenos/*, Hom. ὄπονται, Av. *har-* ‘id.’), for in that case we would have \**e-wa /<sup>h</sup>Erwā-/*. Similarly, *po-se-da-o-ne /Posei-dā<sup>h</sup>onei/* makes clear that the name Poseidon did not have the suffix \*-*uon-*, and that, consequently, the F of Ποτειδαῖον (Corinth, 5th c.) is secondary. It must be stressed that any attempt to interpret a form in terms of Greek must rely on an indisputable etymology and not vice versa. One significant example is supplied by *o-po-re-i* (often attested in TH Fq), which has been wrongly assumed to conceal the dative of \*όπωρης (： ὄπ·ώρα ‘autumn’) and to match οπόρει, epithet of Zeus in Boeotian Acraephia (5th c.). But this is incompatible with the etymology of the second element of οπώρα (\*os-ar+ā, an -ā-derivative from an -r/n-stem \*<sup>o</sup>os-r/n-)<sup>67</sup> which would lead us to expect for ‘autumn’ a Myc. form \*/op-o<sup>h</sup>arā/ noted \**o-po-a-ra* or \**o-po-a<sub>2</sub>-ra*:<sup>68</sup> if *o-po-re-i* was the dative of a derivative in -es- of \*/op-o<sup>h</sup>ar(ā)/ ‘autumn’ it would have been written \**o-po-a-re-i* or \**o-po-a<sub>2</sub>-re-i* (not *o-po-re-i*) according to Mycenaean spelling rules.<sup>69</sup> For *o-po-re-i*, which is most probably the dative of a man’s name, like *me-to-re-i*,<sup>70</sup> an interpretation as /Op-ōre<sup>h</sup>i/ (： ὄπι ‘ἐπι’, ὅρος ‘mountain’, cf. Il. 5.523 ἐπ’ ἀκροπόλοισιν ὅρεστιν) is the simplest.

### §15.3.3. Mycenaean religious names attested in the first millennium

According to the criteria mentioned above (§15.1.2), Mycenaean religious names, irrespective of their age, position and function(s) in the Mycenaean pantheon, can be roughly classified into two categories: names which survived in the same form (or in a closely related one) in first millennium Greek, and names which did not (§15.3.4).

Some of the names that have exact equivalents in the first millennium can be interpreted, to different degrees, in terms of Greek, with or without recognizable IE etymology. The name of Zeus (see §15.3.1), is surely inherited from

<sup>66</sup> For an interpretation cf. §15.3.3.

<sup>67</sup> The etymology is proved beyond doubt by the nasal of Goth. *asans* ‘harvest (time), summer’, OCS *jesenb* ‘autumn’, OPr. *assanis*.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. among others DE LAMBERTERIE 2003.

<sup>69</sup> We must notice that the Boeotian dat. οπόρει can indeed conceal \*όπωρ- (noted οπωρ in the epichoric alphabet) and be traced back to \**op-o<sup>h</sup>ar-* (nom. \**op-o<sup>h</sup>ar-es*).

<sup>70</sup> The MN *me-to-re* (KN; dat. *me-to-re-i* TH) surely conceals /Metōrēs/ (μετά, ὅρος ‘mountain’).

IE, as guaranteed by Hom. Ζεῦ πάτερ, Ved. *dyàus pítar* (both vocatives), Lat. *Iuppiter, Diēspiter* (cf. IE \**dieu-* ‘heaven’). The same probably holds true for the name of Zeus’ feminine counterpart *di-wi-ja, di-u-ja /Diwiā-/*<sup>71</sup>, which survives in the Pamphylian Διώνη. Other names may or may not be Greek. The name of Zeus may also appear in the first element of Dionysus’ name (*di-wonu-so[*, gen. *-o-jo*).<sup>72</sup> The name of Poseidon *po-se-da-o* (dat. *-o-ne*, gen. *-o-no* /*Poseidā<sup>(h)</sup>ōnei[*, */-ā<sup>(h)</sup>ōnos/*: Hom. Ποσειδάων), with the feminine counterpart *po-si-da-e-ja*<sup>73</sup> and the dat. plur. derivative *po-si-da-i-je-u-si /Posidā<sup>(h)iēusi/</sup>* ‘to the priests of P.’, has been traced back to a \*-<sup>(h)</sup>on-formation built on a compound of /*Posei<sup>o</sup>*/ (vocative of πόσις ‘Lord’) and /<sup>o</sup>dā/, which may be related to ‘water’ (cf. Ved. *dānu-* ‘river’<sup>74</sup>) rather than to ‘earth’, as has sometimes been suggested, and would therefore mean ‘Lord of Waters’. As for the name of Hera (*e-ra /<sup>h</sup>Ērā-/: Ἡρα*), which has often been assumed to be pre-Greek, an interpretation as \**Hiēr-ā-* (cf. OE *gear* ‘year’ from \**Hiēr-ó-*, alph. Gr. ὥρα ‘spring’), as individualization of the flowering time,<sup>75</sup> is in my opinion conclusively supported by the parallelism with her Latin counterpart *Iūnā* (an -on-formation on the stem \**iūn-*, cf. the Lat. *iūnī-x* ‘young cow’ built on the masc. *iūuen*<sup>76</sup>). As to *a-re* (dat.) /*Arēs/* (: Ἀρης) and *e-ma-a<sub>2</sub> /<sup>h</sup>Ermā<sup>h</sup>ās/*, gen. *e-ma-a<sub>2</sub>-o* (: Ἐρμῆς, -έας), they may be related to ἄρος· βλάβος and to ἔρμα ‘protection’, ὄρμος ‘chain’ respectively. Whether Zeus, Demeter and Persephone are referred to in the Thebes tablets with the names *o-po-re-i, ma-ka* and *ko-wa* remains more than doubtful (§15.3.1).

The term *po-ti-ni-ja /Potnia-/* (: πότνια ‘Mistress, Lady’, Ved. *pátnī-* ‘id.’), no doubt an IE word designating a feminine deity, can be understood *ex graeco ipso*, but this does not exclude the possibility that the goddess (or, more properly, the goddesses)<sup>77</sup> indicated had in some instances (some of) the functions of a pre-Greek Mother Goddess. It may occur without further specification, or be accompanied by a toponymic indication, e.g. *da-pu<sub>2</sub>-ri-to-jo po-ti-ni-ja /Dap<sup>h</sup>urint<sup>h</sup>oio P./* ‘P. of the Labyrinth’ (KN) or *po-ti-ni-ja a-si-wi-ja /P. Aswiā-/*

<sup>71</sup> IE \**diuīh₂-*, cf. Lat. *dea Diana* and alph. Gr. Διόνη, probably related to *Diāna* (cf. DUNKEL 1988–1990).

<sup>72</sup> On the variants of the name of Dionysus cf. RUIPÉREZ 1983; GARCÍA RAMÓN 1987.

<sup>73</sup> The name is built by means of the appurtenance suffix *-e-ja*, cf. §15.2.2.4.

<sup>74</sup> As per JANDA 1999, 257ff.

<sup>75</sup> The interpretation goes back to SCHRÖDER 1956, 67 (‘Jahr, Blühezeit’) and PÖTSCHER 1961 (‘die zur Ehe reife Frau’).

<sup>76</sup> Cf. GARCÍA-RAMÓN 2001, 115 and 2009, 4. The interpretation of Lat. *Iūnō* goes back to RIX 1981. Other interpretations of the name of Hera are referred to in PETERS 2002.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. BOËLLE 2001; BOËLLE 2004; ROUGEMONT 2005, 344ff. The case for one single *po-ti-ni-ja* is made by GODART 2001.

‘Asian P.’ (KN), which points to Asia Minor, or by a cult-specifying epithet, e.g. *si-to-po-ti-ni-ja* /*Sitopotnia-*/ (MY) ‘Mistress of Grain’ (continued by Σιτώ in Sicily) or *po-ti-ni-ja i-qe-ja* /<sup>(h)</sup>*ikkʷeiā-*/ ‘Mistress of Horses’ (PY). The Pylian *te-i-ja ma-te-re* /*Tʰeʰiāi Māterei*/ ‘to the Mother Goddess’ (or Mother of the Gods, cf. θεῖος ‘divine’) and the Cnossos goddess *qe-ra-si-ja* /*Kʷhērasiā-*/ probably ‘Mistress of wild beasts’ (cf. θύρ ‘fēra’), which points to a theriomorphic goddess of the kind of the πότνια θηρῶν, or ‘Mistress of Hunters’, or simply ‘Mistress of Thera (island)’ (?) belong to the sphere of the *po-ti-ni-ja* too.

On the other hand, the etymology of the names of several well-known Olympic gods remains totally obscure. This is the case with Artemis (gen. *a-te-mi-to*, dat. *-te* /*Artemitos*/, *-tei*/: Ἀρτεμις, West Gr. Ἀρταμις, cf. Lyd. *Artimūs*) and Hephaistos (cf. the MN *a-pa-i-ti-jo* /<sup>(h)</sup>*Āphaistios*/). The goddess Athena is not attested as such: in *a-ta-na-po-ti-ni-ja* /*Atʰānās potniāi*/ (KN) ‘to the Mistress of Athana’ *a-ta-na* is the genitive of a PN /*Atʰānā*/ (cf. PN Ἄθηναι).<sup>78</sup>

The goddess of birth *e-re-u-ti-ja* /*Eleutʰiāi*/ is matched by Hom. Εἰλείθυια, but the diversity of attested forms in alphabetic Greek (e.g. Laconian Ελευθ/σια, Cretan Ελευθυια) points to a non-Greek form which has been hellenized in different ways. It is not clear whether the GN *e-ne-si-da-o-ne* (dat.) /-daʰō-nei/ survives in Ἐννοσίδας, an epiclesis of Poseidon (Pindar, Stesichorus), which probably reflects the first part of Hom. Ἐννοσί-γαιος, -χθων ‘earth-shaker’ (epithets of Poseidon).<sup>79</sup>

#### §15.3.4. Mycenaean religious names not attested the first millennium

Among the divine names and epithets not directly attested in alphabetic Greek, some, as mentioned above, can be understood in Greek terms (*do-po-ta*, *ti-ri-se-ro-e*). Other attempts at identification are more or less plausible. This is particularly obvious in the case of some terms which designate recipients of offerings who may be human beings but also deified persons. We may think, for instance, of the Pylos king, the *wa-na-ka* /*wanaks*/ (: Hom. ἄναξ ‘king’), who is the recipient of divine honours in the Fr tablets, and of the term

<sup>78</sup> BAUMBACH 1979, 152; CHADWICK 1985, 194. In fact, Hom. πότνια Ἄθηναί is originally ‘the mistress of Athana’. The name of this goddess could actually be Athana (BOËLLE 2004, 68f.).

<sup>79</sup> In fact, the form concealed by *e-ne-si<sup>o</sup>*, with its *-e-* vocalism, is not matched by Ἐννοστ<sup>o</sup> and cannot, in my opinion, be explained as the effect of an assimilation \**en(n)o-* > *en(n)e-*. Moreover, the etymology of the first member of Ἐννοστ<sup>o</sup>, εἴνο-στ<sup>o</sup> is far from safely established: a connection to ὀθέω ‘shake’ (IE \**yedʰ-*), and an explanation of Ἐννοστ<sup>o</sup>, εἴνοστ<sup>o</sup> as from \**en-yodʰ-si<sup>o</sup>* remains plausible from the semantic point of view, but, in this case, Myc. *e-ne-si<sup>o</sup>*, which shows no trace of *-w-*, must be kept apart. *Non liquet*.

*wa-na-so-i*, which is sometimes understood as the dat. dual of */wanassa-/* (=: ἄνασσα), i.e. ‘to the two Queens’, referring to Demeter and Kore (but other interpretations are possible); also of *di-pi-si-jo /Dipsioi/* (nom. plur.; dat. plur. *di-pi-si-jo-i /-oi<sup>h</sup>i/*) ‘the thirsty ones’, which may refer, among other possibilities, to the dead, or to *Genii* of some kind.

As mentioned already, the names (and the status) of many other divine (or deified) recipients of offerings remain unidentifiable and defy linguistic interpretation. Some of them are clearly pre-Greek, e.g. *pi-pi-tu-na* or *ma-na-sa*, which point to pre-Greek proper names in -vvva and -(σ)σa respectively. The same is true of such names as *ma-ri-ne-u\**, *pa-sa-ja*, *po-ro-de-qo-no*, *]qe-sa-ma-qa*, *si-ja-ma-to* (all at KN), which remain opaque, and of *i-pe-me-de-ja* (PY), on which cf. §15.3.1, or even *pe-re-\*82* (with a sanctuary [locative] *pe-re-\*82-jo*), the interpretation of which depends on that of the syllabogram \*82.

#### §15.4. GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

Place names are very often attested in Linear B texts directly or indirectly (through ethnics or personal names derived from ethnics):<sup>80</sup> ca 100 at Cnossos, ca 250 at Pylos, and ca 25 at Thebes.<sup>81</sup> They do not necessarily refer to places within the kingdom in which the texts are attested: the PN *te-qa /T<sup>h</sup>ēg<sup>w</sup>ai/* (=: Θῆβαι) is once mentioned at Mycenae, just as the MN *ra-ke-da-mi-ni-jo /Lakedaimnios/* (cf. PN Λακεδαίμων) is mentioned at Thebes.<sup>82</sup> The same phenomenon can be observed in ethnics: Cretan men (*ke-re-te /Krētes/*: Κρήτες) and Cnidian and Milesian women (*ki-ni-di-ja /Knidiai/*: Κνίδιαι, *mi-ra-ti-ja /Milātiai/*: Μιλήσιαι) are mentioned at Pylos; the MN *a<sub>3</sub>-ku-pi-ti-jo /Aiguptios/* occurs at Cnossos, and so does the MN *ku-pi-ri-jo /Kuprios/* (=: Κύπριος) at Pylos and Cnossos. This suggests the existence of close contacts among the Mycenaean kingdoms and between them and other regions of the Mediterranean. We shall discuss below (§15.4.6) the significance of the fact that some place names attested in Linear B reappear in post-Mycenaean Greece but in different regions.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. J. BENNET’s Chapter 13 above and the overviews of HART 1965; SAINER 1976; CREMONA – MARCOZZI – SCAFA – SINATRA 1978; McARTHUR 1985; McARTHUR 1993; BENNET 1999; BENNET 2000 (forthcoming).

<sup>81</sup> According to BENNET 2000 (forthcoming), 98 place names at Cnossos (49 PNs with ethnic attested, 4 PNs through ethnics), with a total of 1150 occurrences; 247 place names at Pylos (37 PNs with ethnic attested, 17 through ethnics only), with a total of 794 occurrences. For Thebes *TOP*, 355ff. mention 34 items.

<sup>82</sup> LEJEUNE 1996a; DUHOUX 2007, 102f.

### §15.4.1. Identification, interpretation

It goes without saying that, before we try to compare a Mycenaean place name with a form (place name, noun or adjective) of first millennium Greek, we must be certain that the word in question is a real toponym. The following features may help in the identification of place names:

- (a) Contextual criteria, e.g. the structure of some tablets like the Pylian *o-ka* tablets or that of PY Jn 829 may make clear what is a place name and what is not.
- (b) The presence of the postpositive *-de* (added to the accusative form, cf. Hom. Κύπρονδε ‘to Cyprus’) to express direction. The case endings locative plur. *-si /-si/* (and sing. *-i /-i/*) and/or instrumental *-pi /-p<sup>h</sup>i/* (with ablative value) are often associated with place names to express ‘at’ or ‘from’ respectively. An ideal example is that of PY *pa-ki-ja-ne /-ānes/* (nom. plur.), for which we also have the forms *pa-ki-ja-na-de /-ānasde/*, *pa-ki-ja-si /-ānsi/* and *pa-ki-ja-pi /-āmp<sup>h</sup>i/*.<sup>83</sup> If the basic form is not attested it can mostly be reconstructed, cf. e.g. *a-ka-wi-ja-de /Ak<sup>h</sup>aiwiān-de/*, which presupposes a PN *a-ka-wi-ja\** /Ak<sup>h</sup>aiwiā/\*: Ἀχαία. We can also identify in the same manner place names which remain completely obscure, cf. e.g. *ma-sa* (KN) which is certainly a place name, as suggested by the allative *ma-sa-de*.
- (c) The presence of ethnics (sometimes used as personal names) formed with typical suffixes such as *-i-jo*, fem. *-i-ja /-io-/*, *-i-āl*, *-i-jo-ta /-iōtā-/*, and others. Forms like *a-mi-ni-si-jo /Amnisios/* (fem. *-si-ja /Amnisiā/*) and *i-wa-si-jo-ta /Iwasiōtās/* derive from the PNs *a-mi-ni-so* ( : Ἄμνισος) and *i-wa-so* ( : Ἰασος). Accordingly, an ethnic can allow us to reconstruct a place name, even if this is not attested in Linear B, e.g. *ke-re-te /Krētes/*, *mi-ra-ti-ja /Milātiai/*, MN *ku-pi-ri-jo /Kuprios/* point to *\*/Krētā/* ( : Κρήτη), *\*/Milātos/* ( : Μίλητος), *\*/Kupros/* ( : Κύπρος). In the same way we may identify place names which have no obvious match in the first millennium: thus the ethnics *u-de-wi-ni-jo[* and *a-pe-ke-i-jo* (PY) make clear that *u-de-wi-ne* and *a-pe-ke-e* are place names — which is confirmed by the texts in which they occur.

Just as in the epigraphical texts of classical Greece, it is not always easy to distinguish between a place name proper and a common noun or an epithet used to refer to, and describe, a place. This is e.g. the case with *ri-me-ne*

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<sup>83</sup> In a further step, *pa-ki-ja-ne* may be interpreted as */Sp<sup>h</sup>agiānes/* on the basis of the form Σφακ-τηρία (cf. σφάζω ‘slay’).

(locative of λιμήν ‘harbour’) in *e-ra-po ri-me-ne /elaphōn limenei/* ‘at the harbour of the deers’<sup>84</sup> or with *wo-wo /worwos/* (: ὄρος ‘border’), *wo-wi-ja /worwia/* (: ὄρια) combined with a personal name (*ru-ke-wo-wo-wi-ja /Lu(n)-kēwos worwia/*).

We must stress at this point that the formal identity of a place name attested in Linear B (e.g. the PN *me-ta-pa* and the ethnic *me-ta-pi-jo* in the Pylos tablets) with one (or more) place name(s) of first millennium Greece (cf. the PN Μέταπα in Acarnania, the ethnic Μετάπιοι in an Elean inscription) does not imply that the two names refer to one and the same place. On the one hand, it is possible to find the same name used in different places either because it is imported from one region to another by migrant people or because it reflects a common linguistic substratum (or a shared topographic feature). On the other hand, a name can be replaced by another (e.g. Mycenaean Pylos was called Κορυφάστιον in Archaic times), and consequently we may find that the Linear B texts attribute to a specific place a name different from that which it had in the first millennium. For the implications of this data for Greek prehistory and the later developments down to post-Mycenaean times, cf. §15.4.6.

Common to all Mycenaean centres is the high frequency of names which, irrespective of their possible identification, are not comprehensible *ex graeco ipso* and go back to the language(s) of non-Greek populations. This is especially evident in the case of Crete, where there are no assured occurrences of specifically Greek types such as derivatives with \*-uent- (with dat.-loc. -wo-te meaning ‘provided with’) or compounds, though these are well attested in Pylos, e.g. *se-ri-no/u-wo-te /Selinwontei/, e-u-de-we-ro:* Hom. εὐδείελος (cf. §15.4.3).

#### §15.4.2. Mycenaean place names and first millennium place names

As mentioned in §15.1.2, place names attested in Linear B may be classified according to whether or not they have matches in first millennium Greece.

Place names that have an exact (or at least approximate) reflex in the first millennium are either (a) Greek, i.e. comprehensible in Greek or with the help of comparison with other IE languages, or (b) non-Greek. Those in group (a) may offer us evidence about word formation (§15.4.3) and about naming motifs (§15.4.4); group (b) may provide us, at best, with information about pre-Greek

<sup>84</sup> A. Morpurgo Davies (per litteras) suggests that in this case Myc. */limēn/\** could mean here ‘meeting place’ (: ἀγορά), as in Thessalian and in Cyprian.

word formation (§15.4.5). Examples of (a) are locative *e-re-i /<sup>h</sup>Ele<sup>hi</sup>/* (: PN ‘Ελος ‘marsh-meadow’), *me-ta-pa /Metapa/* (: Μέταπα ‘land behind [or in the middle of] the waters’),<sup>85</sup> or locative *se-ri-no-wo-te, se-ri-nu-wo-te /Selinwonte/* (: Σελινοῦς) ‘rich in celery’, a Greek derivative of a non-Greek word (σέλινον). Examples of (b) are *a-mi-ni-so /Aminis(s)os/, ko-no-so /Knōs(s)os/, pa-i-to /P<sup>h</sup>aistos/, tu-ri-so /Tulis(s)os/* (: Ἀμνισος, Κνωσός, Φαιστός, Τύλισος)<sup>86</sup> in the tablets of Cnossos, *te-qa /T<sup>h</sup>ēg<sup>w</sup>ai/* (: Θῆβαι), *a-ma-ru-to* (: Ἀμάρυνθος) in those of Thebes and *ko-ri-to /Korint<sup>h</sup>os/* (: Κόρινθος) in those of Pylos. Slight differences such as the one between *u-ta-no* and Ἰτανος (Crete) or *a-ka-wi-ja\** (: Ἀχαία) and Hitt. *Ahhija<sup>wa</sup>-*) are usual in the case of non-Greek names; secondary folk etymology is also possible, as in the case of *a-pa-ta-wa /Aptarwā/, adapted as Ἀπτερα ‘wingless’ (cf. πτερόν ‘wing’).*

Names which have no correspondence in alphabetic Greek may nevertheless be Greek, provided that a satisfactory *interpretatio Graeca* is suggested (e.g. *qa-sa-ro-we* at Cnossos could *a priori* be *K<sup>w</sup>allowens/* ‘rich in wood’, cf. the gloss ψάλλος· ὄνλη). Otherwise they remain absolutely opaque.

### §15.4.3. Greek place names: word formation

Mycenaean Greek place names may originate as nouns (of Greek or pre-Greek origin), derivatives of nouns, or compounds. Among the specific derivational suffixes, the following are frequent:<sup>87</sup>

*/-iā-/* (: alph. Gr. -ιā): e.g. <sup>o</sup>*ra-i-ja /<sup>o</sup>laiā/* (from λᾶας ‘stone’) in <sup>o</sup>*a<sub>3</sub>-ko-ra-i-ja /<sup>o</sup>aigo-laiā/* (see below), *a-ka-wi-ja /Ak<sup>h</sup>aiwiā/, ku-do-ni-ja /Kudōniā/* (: Κυδωνία).

*/-ā-/* (: alph. Gr. -ā, Att. -η<sup>88</sup>): e.g. *pi-\*82*, most probably */Piswā/* (: Πῖσα) from \**pitūā-* ‘region of pines’ (cf. πίτυς ‘pine’); the MN *pi-sa-wa-ta /Piswā-tās/*, clearly an ethnic in origin, presupposes a PN \**pi-sa-wa* which is likely to go back to \**/Pitwā/*.<sup>89</sup> Some names in *-e-wa /-ēwā/* (corresponding to the type Τεγέα, Νεμέα) attested only in Pylos, are best explained as collectives in */-ā-/*

<sup>85</sup> Both ξλος and απ- are IE, cf. Ved. sáras- ‘marsh’ and Ved. áp- ‘water’, Lat. amnis ‘river’ respectively.

<sup>86</sup> The PN *ru-ki-to* (KN) may be interpreted as */Luktos/* (: Cretan Λύττος), but another possible reading */Lukistos/* fits LB orthographic rules better.

<sup>87</sup> An overview of formations of various kinds in LINDNER 1995, 700ff. On ethnics cf. GSCHNITZER 1983.

<sup>88</sup> From the IE collective \*-eh₂- as per LEUKART 1994 *passim* (112, 174 for */Pitwā/*).

<sup>89</sup> MELENA 1983, 264. An original \**Pisuā-* would have yielded Myc. \**/Piwwā-/*, written \**pi-wa* (cf. Hom. νηός, Lesbian ναῦος ‘temple’ < \*nas-uo-).

derived from place names in *-e-u*, cf. the pairs PN *a-ke-re-wa* /*Agrēwā-*/, *a-ke-re-u* /*Agrēus*/ (dat. *a-ke-re-we*).<sup>90</sup>

*/-on-/* (: alph. Gr. -όν<sup>91</sup>): e.g. *pe-re-u-ro-na-de* /*Pleurōnade*/ (: Πλευρών, cf. πλευρά, πλευρόν ‘flank, side’).

*/-wont-/*<sup>92</sup> (corresponding to adj. */-went-/*, fem. */-wessa/* ‘provided with’, used e.g. in adjectives like *te-mi-de-we* /*termidwens*/, plur. ntr. *te-mi-dwe-ta* /*wental* ‘with borders’): alph. Gr. -(o)Ἐντ- / -(o)Ἑσσα:<sup>93</sup> e.g. *a₂-ru-wo-te* /<sup>h</sup>*Alwontei*/ (: ‘Αλοῦς ‘salty’, Arcadia) from ἄλς ‘salt, sea’, *se-ri-no-wo-te*, *se-ri-nu-wo-te* /*Selīnwontei*/ (: Σελινοῦς, cf. §15.4.2), *mu-to-wo-ti* /*Murtowonti*/ (cf. Μυρτοῦντιον, of μύρτος ‘myrtle’). There are also derivatives in */-was-io-/*, */-wat-id-/* as ethnics, e.g. *ti-nwa-si-jo* if /*Tʰinwasio-*/ < \*-unt-iyo- from \*/*tʰin-*/: θίς ‘sand’), *wo-no-wa-ti-si* if loc. pl. /*woino-watisi*/ (< -unt-id- from \*/*woinos*/: οἶνος ‘wine’).

Compounds of all types (as well as nominal phrases such as e.g. *e-ra-po ri-me-ne* /*elapʰōn limenei*/) (see §15.4.1) are also attested in Pylos, e.g. *a-pi-ke-ne-a[* if a PN /*Ampʰigene<sup>(h)</sup>ā*/ (cf. Ἀμφιγένεια?), *e-u-de-we-ro* /*E<sup>(h)</sup>udewe-lōs*/ (: Hom. εὐδείελος), *ma-to-ro-pu-ro* /*Mātropulos*/ or /*Mātrupulos*/ (cf. Ματρόπολις) and *u-pe/a-ra-ki-ri-ja* /<sup>h</sup>*Upe/arakria*/ (: Υπεράκρια).

The names of the two Pylos provinces (*de-we-ro-a<sub>3</sub>-ko-ra-i-ja* and *pe-ra<sub>3</sub>-ko-ra-i-ja*) are both compounds or juxtapositions of local adverbs (/deuro/ and /perā/ ‘hither’ and ‘further’) and a second element which is itself a compound <sup>o</sup>*a<sub>3</sub>-ko-ra-i-ja* /<sup>o</sup>*aigolaiā*/ ‘rocks (cf. λᾶας ‘stone’) of the goat(s) (αιξ̄)’ resulting from the univerbation (i.e. union of two words) of \*αιγός (αιγῶν) and λαία. Compounds and syntagms are particularly informative about naming motifs (see §15.4.4).

#### §15.4.4. Greek place names: meaning and naming motifs

The meanings of the stems used to form Mycenaean place names can be compared with those similarly used in Greek and other IE languages and can be classified as follows:

- (a) Places (descriptive, with allusion to physical characteristics or appearance): for instance, locative *e-re-i* /<sup>h</sup>*Elehi*/ (: Ἐλος), *ka-ra-do-ro* /*Kʰaradroi*/ (: Χάραδρος), *pu-ro* /*Pulos*/ (: Πύλος), *ri-jo* /*Rʰion*/ (: Ρίον) which

<sup>90</sup> A comprehensive overview in HAJNAL 1995, 215ff.

<sup>91</sup> It goes back to individualizing IE \*-h<sub>3</sub>on- (formally parallel to \*-uon-, \*ion-).

<sup>92</sup> On the suffix, which reflects an old -o-vocalism, cf. LEJEUNE 1970, 43ff.; HEUBECK 1976, 127ff.; HAJNAL 1997, 89ff.

<sup>93</sup> The suffix \*-uent- (fem. \*-unt-ih<sub>2</sub>-) is also IE, cf. Skt. -vant-, fem. -vatī-.

match the nouns ἔλος ‘marsh-meadow’, χάραδρος ‘torrent’, πύλη ‘gate, palace’ and πίον ‘peak’ respectively, as well as locative *e-re-o-ni* /Eleōni/ (=: Ἐλεών), probably related to Hom. ἐλέόν ‘kitchen table’ and the compound *e-wi-ri-po* /E<sup>h</sup>urīpos/ (=: Εὔριπος ‘strait’<sup>94</sup>). Very descriptive are the compounds *e-u-de-we-ro* /E<sup>h</sup>udewelos/ (=: Hom. Εὐδείελος) ‘having nice afternoons (δειελός)<sup>95</sup>, *o-pi-ke-ri-jo* /Opisk<sup>h</sup>erion/ (=: Ἐπισχέριον, cf. Hom. ἐπισχερώ ‘in a row’), *u-po/a-ra-ki-ri-ja* /<sup>h</sup>Upo/arakria/ ‘beyond the heights (corresponding to ὑπὲρ τὰ ἄκρα, cf. PN Ὑπεράκρια)<sup>96</sup> and the nominal groups *ku-]no ka-ra-o-re* /[Ku]nos krā<sup>h</sup>ōrei/ ([D]og’s Head)<sup>97</sup>, *ti-mi-to a-ke-e* /Thimistos anke<sup>h</sup>i/ ‘the hill (=: ἄγκος) of the boundary furrow’ or */tirmint<sup>h</sup>ōn anke<sup>h</sup>i* /‘the hill side of terebinth trees’.<sup>98</sup> On *a<sub>2</sub>-ru-wo-te*, *ti-nwa-si-jo*, *me-tapa* and *e-ra-po ri-me-ne*, *ru-ke-wo-wo-wi-ja*, cf. §15.4.3 and 15.4.1.

- (b) Plants and animals: *pa-ko* /p<sup>h</sup>āgos/ (=: φηγός ‘oak’, PN Φηγός), and also *se-ri-no<sup>o</sup>* /selīno<sup>o</sup>/ ‘celery’, *mu-to<sup>o</sup>* /murto<sup>o</sup>/ ‘myrtle’, *wo-no<sup>o</sup>* /woino<sup>o</sup>/ ‘wine’, all with the added suffix *-wont-*, cf. §15.4.3. For ‘deer’ and ‘dogs’ see above *e-ra-po ri-me-ne*, *ku-]no ka-ra-o-re*.
- (c) Ethnics: *ku-do-ni-ja* /Kudōniāl/ (=: Κυδωνία), cf. Κύδωνες.
- (d) Occupational names: instrumental *ku-te-re-u-pi* /K<sup>h</sup>utrēup<sup>h</sup>i/ (=: χυτρεύς ‘potter’), if this is a place name; probably also *e-ra-te-re-wa-o* /Elatrēwā<sup>h</sup>ōn/ (gen. plur.) and *e-ra-te-re-wa-pi* /Elatrēwāp<sup>h</sup>i/<sup>99</sup> along with *e-ra-te-re-we* /Elatrēweil/ (see Hom. MN Ἐλατρεύς, cf. ἐλατήρ ‘driver’).

#### §15.4.5. Non-Greek geographical names: word formation

Among the most frequently attested place names which defy interpretation in terms of Greek, it is possible to isolate some recurrent suffixes (or, at least, word terminations), which also appear in words that most probably go back to pre-Greek populations:

*/-(ā)nā-/* (=: alph. Gr. -νᾶ-, cf. ἀπήνη ‘chariot’): gen. *a-ta-na* /At<sup>h</sup>ānās/ (=: Ἀθῆνα, -αι), cf. Μεσσάνā et sim.

<sup>94</sup> I.e. ‘having a broad current’, from a compound \*eurūpó- (\*euru-h<sub>2</sub>p-ó-) by vowel dissimilation according to FORSSMAN 1988.

<sup>95</sup> GARCÍA RAMÓN 1998-1999.

<sup>96</sup> According to HEUBECK 1962; on the first member \*up<sub>1</sub>t<sup>o</sup> beside \*uper<sup>o</sup> cf. HAJNAL 1997, 143ff.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. the semantic parallel of Κυνοσκεφαλάι ‘Dog’s heads’.

<sup>98</sup> /Thimistos anke<sup>h</sup>i/ according to RUIPÉREZ 1957, 181, /tirmint<sup>h</sup>ān anke<sup>h</sup>i/ according to PALAIMA 2000.

<sup>99</sup> HAJNAL 1995, 219ff.

*/-(V)nt<sup>h</sup>o-/* (alph. Gr.: -νθος, cf. ἀσάμινθος ‘bathing tub’): */-ant<sup>h</sup>os/* (*o-ru-ma-to /Orumant<sup>h</sup>os/, cf. Ἐρύμανθος*), */-int<sup>h</sup>os/* (*ko-ri-to /Korint<sup>h</sup>os/*: Κόρινθος and WN *ko-ri-si-ja /Korinsiā/*), */-unt<sup>h</sup>os/* (*za-ku-to\** */D<sup>z</sup>akunt<sup>h</sup>os/*: Ζάκυνθος, cf. MN *za-ku-si-jo /D<sup>z</sup>akunsios/*; *a-ma-ru-to /Amarunt<sup>h</sup>os/*: Ἀμάρυνθος).

*/-(V)sso-/* (: alph. Gr. -σσ/ττος, cf. κυπάρισσ/ττος ‘cypress’): *ku-pa-ri-so* */Kuparissos/* (adj. *ku-pa-ri-si-jo /Kuparissioi/*) (: Hom. Κυπαρισσήεις *Il.* 2.593), perhaps *pa-na-so* if PN */Parnassos/* (: Παρνασσός). The Attic and Boeotian forms in -ττος (e.g. Λυκαβηττός) and the use of the letter Π (sampi) in the gen. plur. ΑλικαρναΠεσον (Halicarnassus, 5th c.) besides Αλικαρνασσεων, PN Αλικαρνασσος seem to point to an original form \*-τ<sup>h</sup>o-<sup>100</sup> of the suffix.

*/-(V)so-/* (: alph. Gr. -σος, cf. θίασος ‘Bacchic troupe’): *a-mi-ni-so /Amnisos/, i-wa-so /Iwasos/* (: Ἀμνισος, Ιασον), *ro-u-so /Lousoi/* (: Λουσοί), *tu-ri-so /Tulisos/* (: Τύλισος), cf. also Κηφισός (river in Attica). It must be stressed that */-(V)so-/* cannot be identical to */-(V)sso-/*, as shown by the ethnic (acc. sing.) *Kvōhiāv* (with secondary \*-s- > -<sup>h</sup>-), attested in an Argive treaty between Cnossos and Tylisos (*DGE* no. 84, 21-2: *ca* 450).<sup>101</sup>

These suffixes are certainly not Greek and point to pre-Greek population layers in Greece. Two of them probably have parallels in Anatolia, namely */-nt<sup>h</sup>o-/* (cf. Anat. *-[a]nda*) and */-ssos/*, which may be compared with Luv. -šša- and points to the existence of an IE Luvian substrate in Greece (cf. Παρνασσός and Luv. *parna-* ‘house, temple’) prior to the arrival of the first Greeks. This point is, however, much disputed and a word of caution should probably be added, particularly since the possibility that -σος /ττος derives from \*-τ<sup>h</sup>o- (see above) makes a straight comparison of alph. Gr. -σος and Luv. -šša- very difficult.<sup>102</sup>

#### §15.4.6. Place names and Greek prehistory

The place names (or the corresponding ethnics) which occur in the Mycenaean centres sometimes match identical or similar place names or ethnics which refer to places found in different regions in post-Mycenaean Greece (cf. §15.4.1). This may be simply due to the existence of trade contacts between Mycenaean centres and regions outside the Mycenaean power centres. Given that almost all parts of Greece became Mycenaeanized, military contacts are

<sup>100</sup> Cf. WYATT 1968.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. CHADWICK 1969, 87.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. the discussion by MORPURGO DAVIES 1986, 112 ff.

also very possible, as suggested by the possible mention in the archives of Pylos of Pleuron in Aetolia (*pe-re-u-ro-na-de /Pleurōna-de/* with the ethnic *pe-re-u-ro-ni-jo /Pleurōnios/*). It is also possible that the prestige of the Mycenaean civilisation contributed to the diffusion of its place names. There are, however, other possible explanations for this name overlap: (a) a Mycenaean place name may have been taken to other regions by migrants after the fall of the Mycenaean kingdoms, or (b) the coincidence is simply fortuitous, due either to a pre-Greek substratum which extended over several regions, or, in the case of Greek names proper, to a parallel development. (a) is the most plausible hypothesis for toponyms attested in the Pylos tablets and in regions of the Peloponnese beyond the borders of Messenia, namely the south-western fringe of Arcadia.<sup>103</sup> This is the case, for instance, of *e-ko-me-no /Erkomenos/* and *ro-u-so /Lousoi/* (: Ἐρχομενός, Λουσοί in Arcadia), *e-re-i /<sup>h</sup>Ele<sup>h</sup>i/* (: Ἐλος in Laconia), *pu-ro /Pulos/* (: Πύλος in Messenia, Elis, Triphylia), *pi-\*82 /Piswā/* (: Πῖσα in Elis), *re-u-ko-to-ro /Leuktron/* (: Λεῦκτρα on the border between Messenia and Laconia, Λεῦκτρον in South Arcadia and Achaia), *ri-jo /R<sup>h</sup>ion/* ('Ρίον on the border between Achaia and Messenia).<sup>104</sup>

On the other hand (b) may be exemplified by the presence of non-Greek names such as Ἐρχομενός in Boeotia and in Central Greece or Ἐρύμανθος in Elis (: *o-ru-ma-to /Orumant<sup>h</sup>os/* PY): their presence in more than one area is probably due to a pre-Greek substratum. This, however, does not exclude the possibility that these names were brought from pre-Greek Boeotia to pre-Greek Peloponnese in pre-Mycenaean times. The same may be true in the case of the PN *a-ta-na*, which reappears (also in the name of a goddess) in Attica, and for the appearance of some place names both in Thessaly and in the first millennium Western Peloponnese,<sup>105</sup> though they are not actually reflected in the Pylos tablets. On the other hand, when a Mycenaean place name has an Indo-European etymology, as is the case with Pylian *me-ta-pa /Metapa/* (: Μέταπα in Acarnania) or *pa-ko /P<sup>h</sup>āgos/* (: Φηγός in Thessaly, also Φήγετα in Arcadia), the appearance in more than one place may be purely due to the existence of common naming devices.

Needless to say, the value of place names for the reconstruction of Greek prehistory remains controversial, and much is speculative in most cases. There is no golden rule that favours one of the theoretical possibilities mentioned above over the others.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. CHADWICK 1973 (discussion of HILLER 1972); CHADWICK 1977.

<sup>104</sup> For extensive overviews cf. KIECHLE 1960; KIECHLE 1962; EDER 1998, 179ff.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. KIECHLE 1960, 39, 46ff.; EDER 1998, 187 with references.

### §15.5. ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGLA

e.g.	<i>exempli gratia</i> ('for example')
GN	god's name
Goth.	Gothic
Hitt.	Hittite
Hom.	Homer(ic)
IE	Indo-European
i.e.	<i>id est</i> ('that is [to say]')
KH	Chania
KN	Cnossos
Lat.	Latin
Luv.	Luvian
MN	man's name
MY	Mycenae
OAv.	Old Avestan
OCS	Old Church Slavonic
OLat.	Old Latin
OPruss.	Old Prussian
PN	place name
PY	Pylos
Skt.	Sanskrit
TH	Thebes
V	any vowel
Ved.	Vedic
<i>vel sim.</i>	<i>vel simile</i> ('or similar')
WN	woman's name
°	boundary between first and second member of a compound
* (after a form)	form not attested, but guaranteed by the existence of other forms of the same paradigm, or of derivatives
* (before a form)	reconstructed form.

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<sup>106</sup> Basically since 1973: it includes standard works and works quoted in this paper. For earlier bibliography, cf. *Documents*<sup>2</sup>.

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## CHAPTER 16

### MYCENAEAN AND HOMERIC LANGUAGE\*

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\* The editors received the first version of this chapter in November, 2001 and were able to discuss it extensively with the author in the following years. Unfortunately Professor Ruijgh died suddenly on 16 April 2004 and the proofs were corrected by the editors, who felt the need to add a few notes, all marked as such.

<sup>1</sup> Note of the eds: in what follows references are deliberately kept to a minimum, but further information about the Homeric language can be found in general works like CHANTRAIN 1958<sup>3</sup>; HEUBECK 1984; JANKO 1992; LIEUEN 1972; MORRIS – POWELL 1997; RISCH 1974<sup>2</sup>, 1981; RUIJGH 1991, 1996. For recent iconoclastic views about the status of Aeolic see PARKER 2008 and the refutation by GARCÍA RAMÓN 2010.

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### §16.1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

See *Companion 3* for a description of the Mycenaean dialect and its position among the Greek dialects. See above Chapter 15 for a description of Mycenaean onomastics.

References to the new Thebes texts are explicitly given. The other references to Linear B texts are to be found in the *Diccionario*.

Interpretations of 1st and 2nd declension nouns are often given in the nominative singular form even when only other case forms are attested; for instance *a<sub>3</sub>-ka-sa-ma*, *aiksmā*, though only the accusative plural *aiksmans* is attested.

References to Homer's verses are mostly omitted: they can be found in the concordances of PRENDERGAST 1962<sup>2</sup> and DUNBAR 1962<sup>2</sup>, and also in the index of GEHRING 1970<sup>2</sup>.

Reconstructions of Aeolic expressions are accented according to the original rules (type \*'Αχιλῆος), though in the final stage of the East Aeolic period they followed the East Aeolic rule of generalized barytonesis, i.e. the accent is as far from the end of the word as is allowed by the Limitation Law (type \*'Αχιληῖος).

All given dates are BC.

### §16.2. THE MYCENAEAN PHASE OF THE EPIC TRADITION

The discovery of the Mycenaean dialect was extremely important for the analysis of Homer's language and for the reconstruction of the Pre-Homeric phases of the Greek epic tradition. The Homeric dialect is an artificial language. It is mainly based on East Ionic as spoken at the time of the Poet, but it contains many Aeolic elements, including some which go back to a much older stage of the Aeolic dialect.<sup>2</sup> This led to the conclusion that Homer inherited Aeolisms from Pre-Homeric Aeolic epic poetry. Homer's dialect also contains a certain number of lexical elements which are found in Arcadian and/or Cyprian inscriptions and/or glosses, whereas they are not attested or hardly attested in Attic-Ionic and Aeolic prose texts. Of course, most of these 'Homeric words' are also found in Post-Homeric poetic language. Arcadian goes back to the Proto-Achaean dialect of the Pre-Doric Greeks who lived in the Peloponnese during the Mycenaean period, while Cyprian developed from the dialect of the Proto-Achaean colonists who came from the Peloponnese. Therefore scholars like A. Meillet (1930<sup>3</sup>, 175-178) and M. Parry (1932, 25-27) concluded that these Homeric words were inherited from the Old Achaean dialect of the epic poets living in the Peloponnese during the Mycenaean period. This implies that the Aeolic phase of the epic tradition was preceded by a Mycenaean, Proto-Achaean phase. A relatively large number of these Arcado-Cyprian words are now attested in the Linear B texts dating from *ca* 1400-1200, so that the conclusion of Meillet and Parry is entirely confirmed (§16.9).

### §16.3. THE ORAL, FORMULAIC AND TRADITIONAL STYLE OF HOMER'S EPICS

In his thesis, prepared under Meillet's supervision, PARRY 1928 showed that the style of Homeric epics is essentially oral, formulaic and traditional. The epic poet created his verses orally, i.e. without the help of writing: to a certain extent he improvised his poetry before his audience.<sup>4</sup> Producing correct dactylic hexameters was a difficult job: in spoken Greek iambo-trochaic sequences (...oooooooo...) are much more frequent than dactylic ones (...—oo—oo—...). Therefore the oral poet made use of formulae: prefabricated word groups filling a certain part of the verse, for instance between the main caesura and the verse boundary. Though Parry eventually exaggerated and

<sup>2</sup> A map of dialect distribution in Greece will be found in *Companion* 3.

<sup>3</sup> PARRY 1930, 77-80 compared the style of Homeric epics with still existing oral poetry in Yugoslavia and other places. See also LORD 1948.

maintained that almost all Homeric verses entirely consist of formulae, it is true that most verses contain at least one more or less formulaic expression.

Parry also showed that the formulae, in particular the noun-epithet formulae, belong to systems of strictly fixed expressions. For instance, Homer uses 83 times πολύμητις 'Οδυσσεύς ~ ~ - ~ - || 'Ulysses of many counsels'. He never replaces the archaic adjective πολύμητις with the metrically equivalent πολύβουλος, a form which belonged to contemporary spoken Ionic. In the same way he uses 102 times δῖος 'Οδυσσεύς - ~ ~ - - ||, 55 times δῖος 'Αχιλλεύς, etc.; he never replaces the epithet δῖος 'of noble birth' with metrical equivalents such as θεῖος 'divine' or καλός 'beautiful' (§16.16).

One may suppose that the art of formulaic versification was transmitted from one generation of epic poets to the other. Many formulae were preserved even when they contained elements which did not survive in the poet's mother tongue. Thus the Ionic poet Homer could use Aeolic and Mycenaean (Proto-Achaean) elements inherited from the earlier oral tradition. In most cases the metrical value of such elements is different from that of the corresponding Ionic element: they are 'anisometric' alternatives for the Ionic forms. The possibility of choosing between such alternatives facilitated the versification. Thus Homer had the choice between Ionic ποσί(ν) ~ ~, Aeolic πόδεσσι ~ - ~ and the older Aeolic ποσσί ~ ~ for the dative plural of ποδ-.<sup>4</sup> The Aeolic forms were transmitted in formulae like ταχέ(τ)εσσι πόδεσσι ~ ~ - ~ - || 'with swift feet'<sup>5</sup> and ποσσί δ' ὑπὸ λιπαροῖσι || - ~ ~ - ~ - ~ | 'under his shining feet'.

Several formulae contain metrical or prosodic irregularities. At first sight this seems to contrast with the essential function of formulae, that of producing metrically correct verses. One has to transpose such formulae into an older stage of the epic tradition in order to reconstruct the original correct form. A familiar example is found in formulae like μελιηδέα οἴνον | ~ ~ - ~ ~ - ~ or ~ ~ - ~ ~ - || 'honey-sweet wine' (7 x; acc.) and μέλανος οἴνοι ~ ~ - - - || 'of dark wine' (3 x). The hiatus, or the irregular lengthening of the final syllable, are caused by the loss of initial digamma in Ionic: the formulae go back to Aeolic \*μελιγάδέα Foīnov and \*μέλανος Foīvoiō. The genitive formula μελιηδέος οἴνου (2 x), however, is prosodically correct: Homer made it by modifying the inherited accusative formula and 'neglecting' the original digamma. In Homer's epics about one sixth of the

<sup>4</sup> The Mycenaean Proto-Achaean form was probably ποσί, not ποσσί (RUIJGH 1998, 683-685).

<sup>5</sup> A final syllable before verse boundary is lengthened so that even a syllable which would be short within the verse counts as long in final position (*brevis in longo*). Thus the final foot of an iambic trimeter can be filled by a word like τότε.

occurrences of words with original *F-* show 'neglected digamma', whereas in about half of the occurrences original *F-* is reflected by a preceding hiatus or the irregular lengthening of a final syllable.<sup>6</sup> These figures show how deeply rooted in Epic Aeolic Homer's Epic Ionic is. In this connection it would be tempting to suppose that Homer learned the art of epic versification by listening to epic performances of Aeolic singers and that in his own performances he transposed the Epic Aeolic dialect into Ionic at the cost of prosodical irregularities like hiatus and irregular lengthening of final syllables (RUGH 1995, 59-60).

#### §16.4. THE PROTO-MYKENEAN ORIGINS OF THE DACTYLIC HEXAMETER, BORROWED FROM THE MINOAN CRETANS

Thanks to the discovery of the Mycenaean dialect linguists can now dispose of synchronic data for the stage reached by Greek in the period *ca* 1400-1200, at least for the Proto-Achaean dialect. This enables them to establish which changes — sound changes, analogical formations, borrowings — had already occurred in that period and which changes are of Post-Mycenaean date. A few Homeric formulae contain irregularities which only disappear when they are transposed into a stage of the Greek language which is anterior to the time of the preserved Linear B texts (§16.18-19). Thus we must conclude that the Greek epic tradition had already started in the Proto-Mycenaean period, that is to say during the initial phase of Mycenaean civilization. At that time the Greeks of Mycenae borrowed several elements from the Minoan civilization of Crete: techniques for producing works of art and the use of the syllabic script. It is tempting to suppose that at the same time the dactylic hexameter was taken over from the Minoans as a vehicle for heroic poetry.

As early as 1923 MEILLET 1923 showed that the metrical principle of the hexameter is quite different from that of Indo-European verse, which survives in Vedic poetry and in the verse forms of the Lesbian lyric poets. These are based on the principle of isosyllabicity: a given verse form is characterized by a fixed number of syllables, while, in origin at least, syllabic quantity was for the most part irrelevant. The dactylic hexameter, on the other hand, is based on the principle of isochnony, that is to say is characterized by a sequence of feet of equal duration. It consists of six feet: five dactyls ( $- \sim \sim$ ) replaceable with

<sup>6</sup> In almost one third of the occurrences, i.e. in verse initial position and after a long final syllable ending with a consonant, it is impossible to distinguish between represented and neglected *F-*.

spondees (—) before the final spondaic foot (RUIJGH 1995, 7-13). This speaks for a foreign origin of the Greek heroic verse.<sup>7</sup> One should not forget that the syllabic structure of spoken Greek hardly matches the dactylic structure of heroic verse.

One can conclude that the Greek epic tradition started *ca* 1600 at Mycenae or in another Mycenaean centre and spread to the other Proto-Achaean centres of the Mycenaean world, including the centres in Boeotia and Thessaly which participated in the Mycenaean civilization. The dialect of the Greek population of Boeotia and Thessaly was probably Proto-Aeolic, but the Linear B texts found in Thebes are written in the same Mycenaean dialect which we find in the other Mycenaean centres. Unfortunately, we do not know if the two lyre-players mentioned in the Thebes tablets (TH Av 106.7 *ru-ra-ta-e, lurātāhe*) had to do with epic or with lyric poetry.

The Mycenaean (Proto-Achaean) phase of the epic tradition may be subdivided into the Proto-Mycenaean period (*ca* 1600-1450) and the later Mycenaean period (*ca* 1450-1200), which corresponds to the time of the preserved Linear B texts. The Mycenaean phase came to an end as a consequence of the destruction of the Mycenaean palaces, followed by the conquest of the Dorians in the last quarter of the 12th century. The Dorians finally ruled all regions of the Peloponnese except Arcadia. Obviously, the Arcadians, who were not rich, were not able to support professional epic poets.

### §16.5. THE AEOLIC PHASE

Under these circumstances the epic tradition could only be continued by the Aeolians in Boeotia and Thessaly, and later by the Aeolic colonists who *ca* 1000 established themselves in Lesbos and in the Northern part of the West coast of Asia Minor. Some Aeolisms found in Homer belong specifically to Asiatic Aeolic, for instance the infinitives in -μεναι (ξμμεναι 'to be', etc.), others are only attested in the continental Aeolic of Thessaly and Boeotia, for instance the thematic infinitives in -έ-μεν (φερέμεν 'to carry', etc.). The Aeolic phase may therefore be subdivided into the continental Aeolic period (*ca* 1200-1000) and the Asiatic Aeolic period (*ca* 1000-800).

<sup>7</sup> Alternative theories try to connect the hexameter with Indo-European isosyllabic verse forms, but there are decisive arguments against them (RUIJGH 1985, 152-153).

### §16.6. THE HOMERIC EPICS AS THE STARTING-POINT OF THE IONIC PHASE

The Aeolic phase was followed by the Ionic phase. Most scholars assume that this last phase of the epic tradition started a few generations before Homer. It is however impossible to explain the end of the Aeolic phase by historical circumstances. It is true that in the 8th century the Ionians of Asia Minor, especially the Milesians, became more influential than their Aeolic neighbours. Nevertheless, the high cultural level of the Asiatic Aeolians continued, as is shown by their lyric poetry connected with their musical tradition. It was Lesbian musicians who stimulated the development of Doric choral lyric in the Peloponnese. Their great prestige is shown by the fact that in the oldest preserved fragment of Doric choral lyric Eumelus of Corinth (2nd half 8th century) uses the Lesbian form *Μοῖσσα* for the Muse.

It is therefore tempting to suppose that the Homeric epics themselves were the first manifestations of the Ionic phase (§16.3, 16.11, 16.22). This implies that Homer learnt the art of epic versification by listening to performances of Aeolic singers and that in his own performances he transposed the Epic Aeolic dialect as far as possible into Ionic, driven by Ionic self-consciousness. He did so even at the cost of introducing prosodic irregularities such as hiatus, irregular lengthening of final syllables (§16.3) and synizesis, i.e. the monosyllabic pronunciation of originally dissyllabic sequences like εο, εω, εα (§16.11). Due to their exceptional quality the orally created texts of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were written down, so that they could survive the death of the Poet and be recited by so-called rhapsodes. The enormous prestige of the Homeric epics led later poets to use the Epic Ionic dialect of Homer in their own dactylic poetry, both in hexameters and in elegiac distichs: in the 8th century not only the Ionian Arctinus of Miletus but also the Boeotian Hesiod and the Dorian Eumelus of Corinth used the Homeric dialect in their dactylic poetry.<sup>8</sup> This meant the end of the Aeolic phase of the epic tradition. Homer's Epic Ionic continued to be the standard poetic dialect of dactylic poetry in the Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods. The poets and their audiences appreciated this highly artificial dialect as the most elevated form of the Greek language: for Homer's audience it was the language of Greek heroes and of the glorious past.

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\* It is impossible to establish an exact date for the end of oral composition and for the beginning of literary composition by means of writing. It is quite possible that both types of epic composition coexisted during a considerable period. One might imagine that an epic poet like Arctinus started orally composing his poetry and at a later stage produced a written version which could be recited by rhapsodes.

### §16.7. THE DATE OF THE HOMERIC EPICS: 2ND HALF OF THE 9TH CENTURY. THE DATE OF THE CREATION OF THE GREEK ALPHABET: CA 1000

Most scholars assign the creation of Homeric epics to the 8th century and rather to its second rather than its first half. WEST 1988 and 1995 even goes so far as to situate them in the first half of the 7th century, which would make Homer a contemporary of Archilochus.<sup>9</sup> However, Homer's Ionic belongs to a notably earlier stage of the Ionic dialect than the language of Archilochus' iambo-trochaic poetry. In Homer the vowel sequences εῃ, εօ, εῳ, εᾳ are normally still disyllabic, whereas they are normally monosyllabic in Archilochus where we find the contraction of εῃ into η and the synizesis of εօ, εῳ, εᾳ (RUIJGH 1995, 17-21). It is therefore better to adopt Herodotus' estimate (II.53.2) and to place Homer's poetic activity in the second half of the 9th century.<sup>10</sup> In this connection it is important to observe that Homer's geographical knowledge belongs to a stage anterior to the exploration of the Black Sea by the Milesians and to that of the Tyrrhenian Sea by the Euboeans of the 8th century (RUIJGH 1995, 23-24). This implies a date *ca* 800 for the written final version of the Homeric epics.

This relatively early date conflicts with the current opinion of those who date the adoption of the Phoenician alphabet by the Greeks to *ca* 800. They use an *argumentum ex silentio*: the oldest preserved inscriptions in Greek alphabet date from the 8th century.<sup>11</sup> This argument, however, is not valid. The adoption of the Phoenician alphabet took place in the framework of commercial contacts between Greek and Phoenician navigators. In the same way as the Mycenaean Greeks adopted the Minoan script exclusively

<sup>9</sup> According to West, Hesiod's poetry would be earlier than Homer's. This opinion is contrary to the linguistic facts: Hesiod's language belongs to a later stage of Epic Ionic. 'Neglected digamma' is twice as frequent in Hesiod: one third of the occurrences as against one sixth in Homer. Aeolisms are somewhat less frequent in Hesiod than in Homer. West does not discuss all the strong linguistic arguments against assigning Homer's epics to the time of Archilochus. His argument for 663 BC as a *terminus post quem* is based on *Iliad* 9.381-382 Θήβας Αλγυκτίος, but is far from convincing. In fact, the mention of Egyptian Thebes as an extremely big and prosperous city can only be a reminiscence of the Bronze Age capital of the Egyptian New Kingdom, which was contemporaneous with the Mycenaean period.

<sup>10</sup> In the *Suda* s.v. Ὅμηρος the first date assigned to Homer is 832. This may be the date of the Poet's acme rather than that of his birth.

<sup>11</sup> The oldest Greek inscription known to us is found in Gabii (Latium) and dates from *ca* 770 (PERUZZI 1992). It shows that already in the first half of the 8th century the use of the Greek alphabet had spread to Italy. *Note of the eds*: note, however, that the Greek nature of the language and even the script of the five signs in the Osteria dell'Osa graffito is disputed, cf. e.g. LAZZARINI 1999, 57-60; SASS 2005, 155.

for economic bookkeeping, the primary use of the Greek alphabet must have been that of commercial and economic accountancy. Since Phoenician navigators wrote their daily commercial administration on waxed wooden tablets, the earliest users of the Greek alphabet undoubtedly did the same. The noun δέλτος 'writing-tablet' is a Phoenician loan-word. Since wooden tablets, just as papyrus and leather, could not survive in the soil of Greece, it is no wonder that no inscriptions from the 10th or 9th century have come down to us.<sup>12</sup>

Moreover, there is linguistic evidence for a much earlier date of the adoption of the alphabet (RUIJGH 1995, 26–47; 1997; 1998). In Homer's time the earlier *h*-consonant in initial prevocalic position was so weakened that it functioned rather as a faint aspiration of the initial vowel: *ha-* > <sup>h</sup>*a-* (RUIJGH 1995, 29). This aspiration may be compared with that of consonants like φ = *p<sup>h</sup>*. Already in Homer elision is normal in expressions like ἐφ' ἀλός 'at sea' and ἐφαλός 'situated at the edge of the sea, coastal'. In Mycenaean, however, *h-* was still a full consonant: there is no elision in compounds like *o-pi-a<sub>2</sub>-ra*, *opihala* 'coastal region' (ntr. plur.; *opi* = *epi*). Now, the creator of the Greek alphabet chose the Phoenician letter *ħet*, not the *ħē*, for Greek *h*. In Phoenician the voiceless pharyngeal fricative *ħ* was a relatively strong consonant, whereas the voiceless glottal fricative *h* was rather weak. This leads us to the inevitable conclusion that at the time of the adoption of the alphabet, Greek *h-* was still a full consonant.<sup>13</sup>

The date of the adoption is therefore to be situated long before Homer's time: *ca* 1000 is a reasonable guess. At that time Euboea was the only prosperous region of the Post-Mycenaean Greek world and it had commercial contacts with the Phoenicians. According to Greek legend, the creator of the Greek alphabet was Palamedes, member of a Euboean family of navigators.

<sup>12</sup> POWELL 1991 thinks that the Greek alphabet was created *ca* 800 precisely with the aim of writing down the texts of the Homeric epics. He compares this with the creation of the Gothic alphabet by Wulfila for his Gothic translation of the Greek Bible. This comparison is not valid. The Gothic alphabet was created in view of the translation of *pre-existing* Christian texts. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, however, are not the translations of Phoenician epics. In Pre-Christian times the primary use of new scripts was almost always that of book-keeping (RUIJGH 1997).

<sup>13</sup> Some scholars, for instance SLINGS 1998, think that the creator, after having chosen *ħet* for the Greek vowel *e*, had no other possibility than choosing *ħet* for Greek *h*. In fact, the creator must have chosen *ħet* for Greek *e* (letter name ε̄l = close ē) precisely because he could not identify the weak Phoenician *ħ* with any existing Greek consonant. In the same way he assigned the vocalic value *a* to the letter 'aleph/āl̄oph because he could not identify the Phoenician weak glottal stop with any Greek consonantal phoneme.

### §16.8. RECAPITULATION OF THE CHRONOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE EPIC TRADITION

We may recapitulate the chronological framework of the Greek epic tradition as follows:

- I Mycenaean Proto-Achaean phase 1600-1200
  - I a Proto-Mycenaean period 1600-1450
  - I b Later Mycenaean period 1450-1200
- II Aeolic phase 1200-800
  - II a Continental Aeolic period 1200-1000
  - II b Asiatic (East) Aeolic period 1000-800
- III Ionic phase starting with the Homeric epics (850-800).

Of course, the dates given above are rough approximations. Moreover there must have been some overlap between successive periods.

### §16.9. HOMERIC WORDS FOUND BOTH IN ARACADO-CYPRIAN AND IN MYCENAEAN

#### §16.9.1. οἶος, ἄναξ

After this general presentation of the development of the epic tradition we shall consider a number of Homeric words found in Arcado-Cyprian and also attested in Mycenaean, starting with οἶος (RUIJGH 1957, 127-128) and ἄναξ (RUIJGH 1957, 112-117; 1999).

For Homer οἶος 'alone' with initial vowel was a useful anisometric alternative for Ion. μοῦνος (< \*μόνυFος) with initial consonant.<sup>14</sup> The frequency of οἶος (155 x) is much higher than that of μοῦνος (36 x). A glossary of Homeric words<sup>15</sup> assigns οἶος to Arcadian and the original form oīFος is found in a Cyprian inscription (*ICS* 217, 14). Now, it is also attested in the Mycenaean compound adjective *o-wo-we, oiwōwēs* 'with single handles' (as against 'with double handles'), a qualification of a tripod. Homer uses the formula οὐκ οἴFος· ἄμα τῷ γε, fem. οὐκ οἴη· ἄμα τῇ γε || - - - - - - - - - | 'not alone: together with him/her ...' (10 x <sup>v</sup>). The irregular lengthening of the final syllable of οἶος before initial vowel and the irregular hiatus after οἴη disappear if

<sup>14</sup> Thus *Iliad* 2.212 έτι μοῦνος υ - υ | cannot be replaced by έτι οἶος (hiatus!) or έτι' οἶος and *Iliad* 2.247 έθελ' οἶος υ - υ | cannot be replaced by έθελε μοῦνος.

<sup>15</sup> Γλῶσσαι κατὰ πόλεις, I. BECKER, *Anecdota Graeca*, 1095-1096.

the formula is transposed into Mycenaean: \*οὐκ οἴ̄Foς; háma t̄w γε, with *h-* functioning as a full consonant (§ 16.7). Homer could have replaced οὐκ οἶος with οὐ μοῦνος but he preferred to maintain the inherited formula. The adjective \*μόνFoς is indirectly attested in Mycenaean by the abbreviation *MO*, which indicates a single horse or a single wheel as against a pair. It is possible that the meanings of οἴ̄Foς and \*μόνFoς were not identical. Since οἶος is connected with οἰνη 'the ace ("one") on dice', its original meaning was 'single' as against 'double', 'triple', etc. That of \*μόνFoς was 'left behind, left over': the adjective is derived from μένω 'to remain (behind)'.

For Homer ἄναξ ~ – 'king' was a useful anisometric alternative for Ion. βασιλεύς ~ ~ –. As a title of gods (*F*)άναξ is found both in Mycenaean and in Post-Mycenaean Greek. As a title of mortal men it was only found in Cyprian. Aristotle tells us that in Cyprus the sons and brothers of the king are called ἄνακτες, and *wa-na-xe*, fávaξ 'prince of the royal blood', is in fact found in Cyprian inscriptions. Scholars like Meillet concluded that the Homeric noun ἄναξ 'king' was inherited from the Old Achaean phase (incidentally, this title fávaξ is probably a Pre-Greek loanword, since it has no convincing Indo-European etymology). This conclusion is well confirmed by the Linear B texts, where *wa-na-ka*, *wanaks* (gen. *wa-na-ka-to*, *wanaktos*, dat. *wa-na-ka-te*, *wanaktei*) is indeed the title of the king. One might suppose that the Mycenaean king was considered a demigod, so that he was given the same title as the gods. In Mycenaean *qa-si-re-u*, *gʷasileus* 'local chief, prince' (RUIUGH 1999, 527–529) is the title of local authorities subordinated to the king.<sup>16</sup> The Mycenaean use of the two titles is reflected in Homer's description of the Phaeacians: Alcinous 'rules as their king' (*Odyssey* 7.23 ἀνάσσει), whereas there are 'twelve princes' (*Odyssey* 8.390 δώδεκα ... βασιλῆς) in his kingdom.

Obviously, the title fávaξ 'king' disappeared after the fall of the Mycenaean kingdoms. Some local lords managed to obtain supreme power in their region, so that in the Post-Mycenaean world βασιλεύς became the title of the sovereign lord. At first sight, the meaning of Cyprian fávaξ 'prince of the blood' as against βασιλεύς 'king' seems paradoxical. It may however be explained by the particular Greek use of the plural in the sense of 'x and what belongs to x', cf. the Rhodian Δᾶμάτερσιν 'to Demeter and her daughter'. Thus the plural ἄνακτες may refer to the king with his family (dat. ἄνάκτεσιν in *Odyssey* 15.557). When βασιλεύς had become the title of the Cyprian king, the title

<sup>16</sup> For the interpretation 'prince, local lord', see CARLIER 1984, 108–116 and RUDOH 1999, 527–529. The expression *qa-si-re-u a-pi-qa-ta 1 | li-\*65-qe, gʷasileus Amphikʷ hoitās hius kʷe* 'prince A. and son' (PY Jn 431.6) might suggest that *gʷasileus* was a hereditary title, just as βασιλεύς in Post-Mycenaean Greek.

*Ἄναξ* was restricted to his sons and brothers. This use is also found in a few Homeric occurrences of *ἄναξ*, for instance in the formula 'Ελένοιο ἄνακτος οὐ—οὐ—|| (gen.) referring to one of Priam's sons. In most formulae referring to mortal men, however, *ἄναξ* refers to the king: *ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων* οὐ—οὐ—||, Πριάμοιο ἄνακτος οὐ—οὐ—|| (gen.), etc. Homer could have replaced Πριάμοιο ἄνακτος with Πριάμου βασιλῆος, but he always maintains the old inherited formula.

### §16.9.2. Other Homeric words of this class

After the detailed discussion of *οῖος* and *ἄναξ* we shall now present an alphabetical list of other Homeric words attested both in Arcado-Cyprian and in Mycenaean (RUIJGH 1957, 75-81, 89-96, 111-116).

*ἀῖσα* 'portion, lot'. Myc. *a<sub>3</sub>-sa*, *aisa*.

*ἀλ-* in the secondary sense of 'sea'. Myc. *o-pi-a<sub>2</sub>-ra*, *opihala* 'coastal region' (§16.7) and the personal names *a-pi-a<sub>2</sub>-ro*, *Amphihalos*, *o-pi-ja-ro*, *Opialos* (TH Av 106.2; -ia- < -iha-).

*ἄσπ* 'a certain type of sword'. Myc. personal names *a-o-ri-me-ne*, *Ahorimenēs*. *do-ri-ka-o*, *Dolikhāhōr*. The noun *ahor* < \*ŋs-γ is derived from the verb *nes-* 'to save' (cp. vέομαι orig. 'to come home safe'), the sword being a kind of 'life-preserver'. The treatment -γ > -or is characteristic of Proto-Achaean and of Proto-Aeolic. It is also found in *ἄτορ* 'heart'.<sup>17</sup>

*ἄρουρα* 'arable land'. Myc. *a-ro-u-ra*, *aroura*.

*δέπιας* 'a certain type of drinking cup'. Myc. *di-pa*, *dipas* 'a certain type of pot'.

The fluctuation *e/i* is characteristic of Pre-Greek loan words. The Post-Mycenaean meaning may be explained by a shape similarity between the Mycenaean pot and the Homeric drinking cup. Nestor's heavy four-handled δέπιας (*Iliad* 11.632-637) might be a reminiscence of the *di-pa ... qe-to-ro-we*, *dipas k"etrōwes* in the palace of Pylos.

*ἔγχος*, *ἔγχειη* 'spear'. The original meaning of the substantivized feminine adjective *ἔγχε(h)iā* was probably 'point of a spear': sc. αἰχμή 'point'. Myc. *a<sub>3</sub>-ka-sa-ma*, *aiksmā*. Myc. dat. plur. *e-ke-si*, *enkhesi*, etc., and *e-ke-i-ja*, *enkhehiae* 'points for spears' (?).

*ἐπισχερώ* 'in a row'. Originally \*ἐπὶ σχερῶ 'at a continuous line' with the fossilized instrumental form in -ῶ: ἐπὶ 'by, at' was construed with the

<sup>17</sup> Note of the eds: cf. RUIJGH 1985, 149-157 (= RUIJGH 1996, 87-95), but for a different view see HAJNAL 1992.

instrumental (§16.12). Hesychius' gloss σχερός· ἀκτή, αἰγιαλός suggests the idea of a coastline. Thus the literal meaning of the Mycenaean place-name *o-pi-ke-ri-jo*, *Opiskherion* may be 'at the coastline'.

ἡμαρ 'day' (< ἡμαρ). The Mycenaean spelling *a-mo-ra-ma* represents *āmōr āmar*. The current interpretation is 'every day', though one would rather expect *āmar āmar*. According to J.T. Killen's (2000) brilliant interpretation the meaning of *āmōr āmar* is more specific: 'by day every day'.<sup>18</sup> The adverb *āmōr* is the antonym of *vúktwō* 'by night'. The notion of 'every' is expressed by the repetition. Compare Cyprian *a-ma-ti-a-ma-ti*, ḥmati ḥmati 'every day' and Myc. *we-te-i-we-te-i*, *wetehi wetehi* 'every year' (dat.-loc.). The substitution of -ap for -op < -γ is due to analogy: influence of forms like plur. ḥmati with -a- < -η-. Note of the eds: for a different view cf. HAJNAL 1992, 299 note 58.

ἱητήρ 'healer, medical doctor'. Myc. *i-ja-te*, *iātēr*. In Mycenaean -τήρ is the usual suffix of agent nouns.

κέλευθος 'path'. Myc. personal name *ke-ro-u-te-u*, *Keloutheus*; cp. ἀκόλουθος 'follower' < \*ἄκολουθος 'who has the same path'.

λᾶς 'stone', Cyprian *la-o*, λᾶο(ζ). Myc. *ra-e-ja*, *lāheyā* 'made of stone' (fem.). Homer has λάτνος with the Ionic suffix -ινο-. The Homeric form λᾶς, acc. λᾶαν is artificial. After the contraction -ᾱ- > -ᾶ-, Aeolic singers changed λᾶς < λᾶος into λᾶας by metrical 'distraction' in order to preserve the original disyllabic structure (WAANDERS 1999). Thus Homer's formula λᾶαν δείρας – — — || 'having lifted up the stone' (3 x) may go back to Myc. \*λᾶον ἀφήρανς.

πέδιλον 'sandal'. Myc. plur. *pe-di-ra*, *pedila*. The Aeolic form πέδιλλον may go back to \*πέδιλ-νον; cp. Aeolic \*γωλνά > βολλά as against Att.-Ion. βουλή (ou = close ə). The treatment -ilno- > -ilo- is due to the 'first compensatory lengthening', which is already an accomplished fact in Mycenaean (§16.13).

πτόλεμος 'war' in contrast with Att.-Ion. πόλεμος. Myc. personal names *po-to-re-ma-ta*, *Ptolemātās*, gen. *e-u-ru-po-to-re-mo-jo*, *Euruptolemoio*.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> The expression implies that the workers from Knossos and Amnisos mentioned in KN Am 600 and 601 went home after their daytime work, so that the palace did not have to provide them with bedding.

<sup>19</sup> Names like Αρχεπτόλεμος are found in Attica and other regions. Their form may go back to prestigious heroes' names found in epic poetry. Compare Μενέλαος instead of the authentic Attic form Μενέλεως. The same explanation is possible for the Macedonian name Πτολεμαῖος. This name, however, might also be explained as a borrowing from Thessalian, if we suppose that Thessalian once used the form πτόλεμος, as suggested by the patronymic Αμφιττολέμειος and by names like Κλεοπτόλεμος; see also next note.

πτόλις 'citadel, city' in contrast with Att.-Ion. πόλις. Myc. personal names *po-to-ri-ka-ta*, *Ptolikastās*, *po-to-ri-jo*, *Ptoliōn*.<sup>20</sup>

\*ρῆν- < \*Fρην- 'lamb' in πολύρρην/πολύρρηνος 'who has many lambs'. Myc. adjective fem. *we-re-ne-ja*, *wrēneyā* 'lamb's skin' (sc. *di-pte-ra*, *diphtherā* 'prepared skin'). The older form ntr. plur. *wo-ro-ne-ja*, *wroneya* 'lamb's wool' is also attested. It is based on the zero grade \*wṛn- > *wron-* (gen. *wron-ós*, etc.). In Att.-Ion. (F)άρv-ός was substituted for \*Fρανός < \*wṛn-ós under the influence of nom. (F)άρv-ήν.

φάσγανον 'a certain type of sword'. Myc. plur. *pa-ka-na*, *phasgana*. ὠκα 'swiftly' with ὠκύς 'swift'. Myc. personal names *o-ku-na-wo*, *Ōkunāwos*, *o-ku*, *Ōkus*.

ἀλένη 'elbow, fore-arm' in λευκώλενος 'white-armed', etc. Myc. adjective ntr. plur. *o-re-ne-ja*, *ōleneya* > *o-re-ne-a*, *ōleneha*, probably 'decorated with angular pattern', a qualification of textiles.

### §16.9.3. The 'prefix' ἐπι-. The suffix -τέρο- in adjectives derived from nouns

The so-called 'strengthening prefix' ἀρι-/ἐπι- is found in Homer and later poetic language, but also in personal names. Originally, ἀρ-ί- 'suitable, good' was an adjectival stem corresponding to the superlative ἄριστος 'the best'. In Greek, adjectival -ί-stems were only preserved in the first member of compounds: type ἀργι-κέραυνος 'with flashing lightning'. Elsewhere ἀρί- was replaced by its near-equivalent \*esú- > ἔhū- (> εύ-). The coexistence of ἀρι- and ἔhū- in the first member of compounds might explain ἐπι- as an amalgam of both forms. Hermes' epithet ἐριόντιος/ἐριόνης was interpreted in quite different ways by ancient philologists. The modern interpretation 'good runner' is based on two glosses of Hesychius: Cyprian οὐνον δρόμον 'race, course' and Arcadian οὔνει δεῦρο, δράμε 'come here, run!' (RUIJGH 1957, 135-136). As a matter of fact, Hermes is the swift messenger of the gods. Thus ἐπι- may be assigned to Arcado-Cyprian. PARRY 1932, 35-36<sup>21</sup> observed that ἐπι- is found in compounds containing a noun stem as second member, for instance in the formula ἐρίηρες ἐταῖροι || - - - - || 'companions who give good service' (19 x \*). The thematic form ἐρίηρος is attested in the Myc. personal name *e-ri-we-ro*, *Eriwēros*. The second member of Zeus' epithet ἐρί(γ)δουπος

<sup>20</sup> The Thessalian form ττολιαρχοι with ττ- < πτ- shows that Thessalian once used the form πτόλις.

<sup>21</sup> See also WILLI 1999. His etymological explanation of ἐπι- as going back to \*seri- 'on high', however, is unacceptable: this meaning is incompatible with ἐρίηρες ἐταῖροι.

'heavy-sounding' is at the base of the verb δουπέω 'to sound heavy', which is assigned to Cyprian by a gloss (RUIJGH 1957, 147-149). In Homer there are more compounds with ἐπι- than with ἀπι-. One should observe that the second member of ὀρίγνωτος = εύγνωστος 'easy to know' is not a noun but an adjective, so that ἐπι- must be adverbial.

In Mycenaean compound names Ἐπι- is much more frequent than Ἀπι- and the second member is clearly a noun stem: *e-ri-ka-we-e*, *Erikalwehei* (dat.), *e-ri-ke-re-we*, *Eriklewēs*, *e-ri-ko-wo*, *Erikorwos* (?), *e-ri-qi-ja*, *Erig*"iā** and *e-ri-qi-jo*, *Erig*"ios**, *e-ri-we-ro*, *Eriwēros*, etc. The only example of Ἀπι- is *a-ri-we-we*, *Ariwerwēs*, apart from the hypocoristic forms *a-ri-wo*, *Ariwōn* and *a-ri-ja-wo*, *Ariāwōn*. One may therefore conclude that Homer's ἐπι-compounds go back to the Mycenaean phase.

Homer uses adjectives in -τέρο- derived from nouns and expressing the notion of 'belonging to the opposite side': ὅρεστερος 'of the mountains' (as against the plain), ἀγρότερος 'of the wild land' (as against the cultivated land), θηλύτερος 'of the female sex' (as against the male sex), etc. The adjective ἄρρεντερος 'of the male sex' is found in Arcadian in the crasis form τὸρρέντερον. This use of -τέρο- is well attested in Mycenaean: *wa-na-ka-te-ro*, *wanakteros* 'of the king' (as against his subjects; RUIJGH 1999, 530-531), *za-we-te-ro*, *tsāwesteros* 'of this year' (as against past years; haplological form of \**tsāwetesteros*, derived from the adverb *za-we-te*, *tsāwetes* 'this year') and the expression *po-ku-te-ro da-mo*, *pokuteros dāmos* 'community of breeders of small livestock' (cp. *po-ku-ta*, *pokutās* 'breeder of small livestock' as against *ki-ti-ta*, *ktitās* 'cultivator'; RUIJGH 1992a).

In Post-Mycenaean Greek Φανάκτερος was replaced by Φανάκτορος (vowel harmony): the original meaning of -τέρο- was no longer recognized. The substantivized neuter ἀνάκτορον 'sanctuary' is connected with (Φ)ανάξ referring to a god. The Homeric adjective ἀνάκτοριος is derived from the ntr. plur. \*ἀνάκτορα 'the king's possessions': *Odyssey* 15.397 ἄμ' ὕεστιν ἀνάκτοριστιν 'together with the swines belonging to the king's possessions'.

#### §16.10. OTHER HOMERIC WORDS CONNECTED WITH MYCENAEAN

After the discussion of Homeric words found both in Arcado-Cyprian and in Mycenaean we shall now present an alphabetical list of other Homeric words which may be connected with Mycenaean.

ἀὔξω 'to make grow, to increase'. Myc. personal name *a-we-ke-se-u*, *Awekseus* (hypocoristic).

αἴνυμαι 'to take'. Myc. personal name *a<sub>3</sub>-nu-me-no*, *Ainumenos*. The passive perfect participle of the verb stem *ai-* is found in expressions like *a-jame-no e-re-pa-te*, *ayaimenos elephantei* 'inlaid with ivory', with the adjective *a-na-to*, *anaitos* 'not inlaid' and the agent noun plur. *a<sub>3</sub>-te-re*, *aitēres* 'inlayers'. One may conclude that the meaning 'to inlay' is a special application of \*ἀΐνυμι 'to provide something with something'. Originally, the middle αἴνυμαι must have had the meaning 'to provide oneself with something'. After the disappearance of the corresponding active, αἴνυμαι took over the construction with the accusative from ἐλεῖν 'to take'

ἄμπυξ 'headband, frontlet' for women; also for horses: formula acc. χρῦσάμπυκας ἵππους 'horses with frontlets of gold'. Myc. plur. *a-pu-ke*, *ampukes* 'frontlets' (for draught-animals), *a-pu-ko-wo-ko*, *ampuk(o)worgoi* 'headband makers' (plur. fem.).

ἀμφιφορεύς 'jar carried with both hands'. Myc. plur. *a-pi-po-re-we*, *amphi-phorēwes* (KN: Room of the Chariot Tablets), dual *a-po-re-we*, *amphorēwe* (MY, PY). Post-Homeric Greek uses the haplological form ἀμφορεύς, but Homer had to choose the original form for metrical reasons.

ἄνυμαι < ἄνυμαι 'to accomplish for oneself'. Myc. personal name *a<sub>2</sub>-nu-me-no*, *Hanumenos*. In Homer the active present has the younger thematic form: ἀνώ and ἔνω < \*ἄνϝω. The initial *h-* of *hanu-* < \*sanu- (Sanskrit *sanoti* 'he wins') is preserved in Attic but lost in other dialects.

ἄρματα/ἄρμα 'chariot'. Myc. *a-mo*, *armho* 'spoked wheel', derived from the verb ἄρ- 'to fit together': the spoked wheel is composed of felloe, spokes and nave. In Mycenaean the form -μο is an alternative for -μα < \*-m<sub>2</sub>n.<sup>22</sup> Homer uses the plural ἄρματα referring to a single chariot much more frequently than the singular ἄρμα. The plural ἄρματα must have replaced the dual form ἄρματε 'pair of spoked wheels' serving as a *pars pro toto* expression for the chariot.

ἀσάμινθος 'bathing-tub'. Myc. *a-sa-mi-to*, *asaminthos*, a Pre-Greek loan-word. γάνυμαι 'to enjoy oneself'. Myc. personal name *ka-nu-se-u*, *Ganuseus*.

γραία 'old woman' < γράϝyā. The Mycenaean spellings *ka-ra-u-ja* and *ka-ra-wi-ja* (TH Fq 169.4; etc.) may be interpreted as *Gravyāi* 'for the Old Goddess' referring to Demeter as against her daughter *ko-wa*, *Korwāi* (TH Fq 169.2; etc.) 'for the Young Goddess' (GODART – SACCONI 1996, 110).

δέμνια 'bedstead, bedding' (plur.). Myc. *de-mi-ni-ja*, *demnia*.

<sup>22</sup> In my view, -mo- is an analogical formation. Compare the analogical form *āmar* which must have coexisted with \*āmor < \*ām<sub>2</sub>n (§16.9.2 s.v. ἄμαρ). In the inflexion of neuter -n- stems, the vocalism of original collective forms like \*χείμων (: χεῖμα) and \*κεύθμων (: κεύθμα) may have also played a rôle (LEUKART 1987, 351 sqq.).

δήνεα 'counsels' (plur.; < \**densesa*). The spelling *te-de-ne-o* (TH Ft 220 + 248.2) represents the genitive of a personal name, perhaps *Thesdēnehos* (cp. θέσ-φατος 'decreed by a god').

σόρπον 'evening meal'. The spelling *do-qe-ja* may perhaps represent *dorkʷeiai* 'cooks' (plur. fem.); cp. the personal name *do-qe-u*, *Dorkʷeus* (?).

έυνός 'robe'. Myc. dat. plur. *we-a₂-no-i*, *wehanoihi*; derived from *feσ-* 'to dress'. ἐίση, feminine of ἐίσος = ἴσος 'equal', orig. \*ἐFισFος = FισFός. The athematic form ἐFισύ- is found in the first member of the compounds *e-wi-su-zo-ko* and *e-wi-su-\*79-ko*, the thematic form *FισFό-* in that of *wi-so-wo-pa-na*.

The *e* grade of the root \*ἐFισF- is found in the Homeric participle ἔεισάμενος 'having made himself like' (RUUGH 1996, 147-158).

ἔνοσιχθων, ἔννοσίγαος, with Pindar's ἔννοσιδᾶς 'who shakes the earth', epithet of Poseidon (Myc. *po-se-da-o*, *Poseidāhōn*, lit. 'Master-Consort of Dā'; cp. *Dā-mātēr* 'Mother Earth'). It is tempting to explain *e-ne-si-da-o-ne* as an incorrect spelling for \**e-no-si-da-o-ne*, \**Enosidāhōnei* (dat.); cp. spellings like *e-ke-si* instead of *e-ko-si*, *hekhnosi* 'they have'. The old Indo-European noun χθών 'earth' is assigned to Cyprian (RUUGH 1957, 155-157), whereas γῆ and δᾶ are Pre-Greek loan-words.<sup>23</sup>

Ἐντεα 'utensils, furniture, arms' (plur.). The spelling *e-te-do-mo* may represent *entesdomos* 'constructor of utensils (etc.)'.

Ἐρματα 'ear-rings' (plur.), derived from ἐρ- < \*ser- 'to string together, to insert'. Myc. *e-ma-ta*, *hermata* refers to laces for footwear.

Ἐχμα 'holdfast, stay, support'. Myc. instr. plur. *e-ka-ma-pi*, *hekhnaphi* (etc.) refers to struts as parts of a table.

Ὀρῆνυς 'footstool'. Myc. *ta-ra-nu*, *thrānus*.

Ιππιοχάρμης 'who rejoices in chariots' or 'who fights from a chariot' (cf. χάρμη 'joy of battle' and 'battle').<sup>24</sup> The first member of the compound can be compared with the adjective ἵππιος 'belonging to horses'.<sup>25</sup> In Mycenaean the feminine form *i-qi-ja*, *ikkʷiā* (sc. *wo-ka* if read *wokhā* 'vehicle') is the noun for 'chariot': the chariot is a vehicle with two spoked wheels and drawn by horses. In Homer the replacement in a compound of final -ᾶ-

<sup>23</sup> The realization of metrical lengthening through the gemination of the nasal (ἐννοσι-) is due to Aeolic singers. The model was ἔμεν(αι) = ἔμεν(αι) 'to be'; ἔμεν is an analogical form (i: ἔών = ἔμεν : λέων). In Epic Ionic the vowel would be lengthened: ἔννοσίφυλλος 'shaking the leaves' (ει = close ε). The model was provided by forms like δεῖδοικα = δέδοικα; the original form is δεῖδοικα < \*δέδβοικα, whereas δέδοικα is an analogical form (type δέδορκα).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Hesychius ιππιοχάρμης: δέφτηκοις χαίρουν ἡ μαχόμενος χάρμη γάρ ἡ μετὰ χαρᾶς μάχη.

<sup>25</sup> The later Greeks took ιππιο- for an equivalent of ιππο-: Pindar uses the form ιπποχάρμας (see also note 24 above).

(> -η-) with -o- (which here is necessary for the metre) causes no difficulty: cf. ὄλο-τόμος vs. ὄλη, etc. The aspiration of Post-Mycenaean ἵππος is due to the influence of ἄρματα < \*ἄρματα: both ἄρματα and ἵπποι refer to the chariot as *pars pro toto* expressions. The elision of ἐπι- in *e-pi-ko-i*, *ep-ikkʷoihi* (TH Fq 252.4, etc.; dat. plur.) proves the absence of *h-* (§ 16.7). The meaning of *epikkʷos* may be 'man in charge of the horses (and chariots)' or 'horseman' or 'charioteer'.

κάρη 'head' < κάρα, plur. κράστα, καρήτα, etc. Myc. *ka-ra-a-pi*, *krāhaphi* or *karāhaphi* (instr. plur.), etc.

κελαινός 'dark, black'. Myc. *ke-ra-no*, *kelainos* is a qualification of an ox or its proper name.

κῶας 'sheepskin', plur. κώεσα. Myc. *ko-wo*, *kōwos*.

λέχος 'bed'. Myc. *re-ke-to-ro-te-ri-jo*, *lekhe(s)strōtēriois* (instr. plur.) 'at the festival of spreading the couches'. Its synonym λέκτρον is assigned to Arcadian (RUIJGH 1957, 153-154).

λίτα 'linen cloths' (plur.). Myc. *ri-ta*, *līta* 'linen', qualification of *pa-we-a*, *pharweha* 'textiles'.

λυγρός 'deplorable'. Myc. personal name *ru-ko-ro*, *Lugros*, an apotropaic name. μέθων 'wine'. Myc. gen. *me-tu-wo*, *methuos* (or *methwos*).

μειών 'smaller' < \*μέγυων. Myc. ntr. plur. *me-u-jo-a<sub>2</sub>*, *mewyoha*, reduced form of *meiwoha* (dissimilation). The original form is also attested: nom. plur. *me-wi-jo-e*, *meiwohes*.

μολοθρός 'greedy fellow'. Myc. personal name *mo-ro-qo-ro*, perhaps *Molothros* (a nickname).

ναετάω 'to dwell', metrical adaptation of ναετάω under the influence of ναίω < \*νάστω 'to dwell'; ναετάω is derived from ναέτας 'inhabitant'. Myc. personal name *na-e-si-jo*, *Nahesios*, orig. patronymic adjective derived from *Nahelās*.

νηπύτιος 'childish'. Myc. personal name *na-pu-ti-jo*, *Näputios*.

διπωρῖνός 'of late summer'. The form -īvo- of the suffix instead of the usual form -ivo- can now be explained as going back to -iv̥fō-. This is found in Myc. *pe-ru-si-nu-wo*, *perusinwos* 'of last year'. The insertion of -w- is due to the influence of its antonym *ne-wo*, *newos* 'new, of this year'.

ὅρομαι 'to keep watch'. Myc. *o-ro-me-no*, *horomenos*.

περικτίται 'dwellers around'. Myc. *ki-ti-ta*, *ktitai* 'settlers who are cultivators'. *me-ta-ki-ti-ta*, *metaktitai* 'men dwelling among the *ktitai*' (cp. μέτοικοι in Athens).

Πόδαργος, proper name of a horse, 'white-footed' or 'swift-footed'. Myc. *po-da-ko*, *podargos* 'white-footed' is the qualification of an ox or its proper name. The two meanings 'brilliant white' and 'swift' of ἀργός < \*ἀργρός

(dissimilation) are based on the original meaning 'flashing'. Both forms of the adjective are found in the personal name *a-ko-ro-da-mo*, *Argrodāmos* (TH Gp 164.2)/*a-ko-da-mo*, *Argodāmos* (TH Av 101.4; etc.).

πολιός 'mat shade of white, grey' (as against λευκός, ἀργός 'brilliant white').

In prose it is only used as a qualification of old men's hair. Homer also uses it as a qualification of the foaming sea (formulae like πολιήν ἄλα | υ υ ... υ υ), of iron and of a wolfskin. Myc. *po-ri-wa*, *poliwa* (ntr. plur.) is a qualification of textiles.

βίνός 'ox-hide, hide', ταλαύρινος 'bearing a shield of ox-hide'. Myc. *wi-ri-no*, *wrīnos* 'ox-hide', etc.

συ-φεός 'pigsty'. Compare the place-name Φεά, Φειά in Elis, perhaps lit. 'Farmstead'. Myc. place-name *ne-wo-pe-o*, *Newophehos* lit. 'which has new farmsteads'.

ταναός 'thin and long'. Myc. ntr. plur. *ta-na-wa*, *tanawa* 'thin', a qualification of spoked wheels.

φιάλη 'boiling-pan'. In Post-Homeric Greek φιάλη/φιέλη refers to a certain type of drinking cup; its form must have been similar to that of a boiling-pan.

The Homeric meaning is attested in Mycenaean: plur. *pi-a<sub>2</sub>-ra*, *phihalai*, *pi-je-ra*, *phielai*.

φίλατο 'he started to love' (aorist). Myc. personal name *pi-ra-me-no*, *Phila-menos*. This form proves that both the 'first compensatory lengthening' of the type \*μένσαι > μεῖναι ( $\varepsilon$  = close ē) and the analogical formation of the type στεῖλαι 'to make ready', σπεῖραι 'to sow' (replacing \*στέλσαι, \*σπέρσαι) were already accomplished facts in Mycenaean. As a matter of fact, φίλατο is an analogical form replacing \*φίλσσαι (sigmatic aorist). The group -*ls-* was not affected by sound change, as is shown by ἄλσος 'grove' (Myc. place-name loc. *a-se-e*, *Alsehei*).

χαλκήρης 'fitted with bronze'. Myc. [e]-ke-a ka-ka re-a, [en]kheha khalkāreha 'spears fitted with bronze points'. The clumsy spelling as two words is meant to indicate the compound structure of the adjective.

χαλκοπάρειος 'with cheeks of bronze', qualification of helmets; Ionic adaptation of Aeolic and Myc. \*χαλκοπάρῆος. Myc. dual *pa-ra-wa-jo*, *parā-waiō* 'pair of cheek-pieces of a helmet', derived from *parāwā* = Att. παρέά 'cheek'.

## §16.11. MYCENAEAN MORPHOLOGY IN CONNECTION WITH HOMER'S DIALECT

We shall now make some observations about inflexional morphology. All through the epic tradition many endings were preserved simply because they

were the same in all dialects, for instance nom. plur. -αι, -οι, -ες and -α. Other endings were replaced without any problem because the different dialect forms had the same metrical structure. Thus the Mycenaean Achaean middle personal endings -τοι and -ντοι were replaced by Aeolic and Ionic -ται and -νται. In the first declension -ᾶ, -ᾶς, etc. were replaced by Ionic -η, -ης, etc. Sometimes, however, Mycenaean forms were kept as useful anisometric alternatives for the later Aeolic and/or Ionic forms.

In Mycenaean the use of the augment in preterite forms is still optional: *a-pu-do-ke*, *apudōke* 'he delivered' coexists with *a-pe-do-ke*, *apedōke*. Since the syllabic augment only occurs in the compound forms *a-pe-do-ke* and *a-pe-e-ke*, *apehēke* 'he sent away', where the use of the augment does not require an additional syllabogram, it is tempting to suppose that the absence of the augment in simple forms like *do-ke*, *dōke* 'he gave' (not \**e-do-ke*, \**edōke*) is due to 'space economy' of the Mycenaean scribes. For Homer the augmentless form is a useful anisometric alternative. He prefers the augmented form of contemporary language wherever it is metrically possible: ἀλγε<sup>7</sup> έθηκε 'he caused sufferings' with elision instead of ἀλγεα θήκε. Apart from poetic language, forms without the syllabic augment are not found in Post-Homeric Greek, except for the Ionic iteratives of the type φέρεσκον, where the augment is never used because the preterite meaning is already expressed by the iterative form itself.

Homer uses the genitive ending -οιο as an anisometric alternative for Ion. -ου < \*-oo (ou = close ő). The ending -οιο is Mycenaean and Thessalian. All other dialects replaced it with the analogical form \*-ο-ο (cp. -ᾶ-ο), which became -ου (Ionic, etc.) or -ω (East Aeolic, etc.) by contraction. Instead of elided -οι Homer always uses Ion. -ου with hiatus before an initial vowel. This is one manifestation of his tendency to use Ionic forms even at the cost of prosodic irregularities.

The genitive ending -ῆο, attested in Mycenaean, became -ᾶο by loss of intervocalic -h- and finally -ᾶ by contraction in the East Aeolic period. The Aeolic poets must have used older -ᾶο and younger -ᾶ as anisometric alternatives. Homer took over -ᾶο but replaced -ᾶ with Ionic -εω (< -ηο < -ᾶο), to be pronounced with synizesis. Since the phonological sequence -εο is normally disyllabic in Homer's dialect (§16.7), the monosyllabic pronunciation is a prosodic irregularity. Once again it is clear that Homer prefers Ionic forms in spite of such irregularities. In the same way he replaced Aeol. *Ἔρᾶ* 'easily' with Ion. δέα, Aeol. \*στᾶμεν (subjunctive) with Ion. στέωμεν, Aeol. ἄμμε (at the end of the line) with Ion. ήμέας in spite of the resulting synizesis (RUIJGH 1995, 20-21, 61-62).<sup>26</sup> Instead of elided -ᾶ he always uses -εω with synizesis and

<sup>26</sup> Homer replaced older Aeol. \*Ἔρᾶα with δέα, \*στᾶμεν with στέωμεν, where ει = close ē is the artificially lengthened vowel of Ion. δέα, στέωμεν.

hiatus before an initial vowel: cf. Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος for Aeol. \*Πηληϊάδα\* 'Ἀχιλῆος' | - - ~ ~ - - - - ||.

In the same way in Aeolic the genitive plural ending -ā̄wōn became -ā̄wōn and finally -ā̄v. The Aeolic singers must have used both older -ā̄wōn and younger -ā̄v as anisometric alternatives. Once again, Homer took over -ā̄wōn but replaced -ā̄v with Ionic -ēwōn (< -ηwōn < -ā̄wōn) with the irregular monosyllabic pronunciation. There are only three occurrences of disyllabic -ēwōn as against 40 of monosyllabic -ēwōn (CHANTRINE 1958<sup>3</sup>, 201). This shows how profoundly Homer's epic language is rooted in that of his Aeolic predecessors.

In the dative-locative singular of the 3rd declension Mycenaean uses both -εt (orig. dative) and -i (orig. locative). In general the type *po-se-da-o-ne*, *Poseidāhōnei* is more frequent than the type *po-se-da-o-ni*, *Poseidāhōni*. The Mycenaean singers must have used both endings as useful anisometric alternatives. When in Post-Mycenaean Greek -εt had been entirely supplanted by -i, the epic poets replaced formulae like Διφέτ φίλος | ~ ~ ~ 'dear to Zeus' with Διφίλ φίλος (17 x \*, only in the *Iliad*), pronounced with artificial lengthening of the ending -i (§16.15.2; WATHELET 1962).

It is quite possible that in the 1st and 2nd declensions too Mycenaean used both -ā̄t, -ā̄t and -ā̄t, -ā̄t, but Linear B orthography cannot express the distinction. In first millennium dactylic and anapaestic poetry all final long vowels and diphthongs were shortened before initial vowels by the so-called 'epic correction'. It is tempting to suppose that in Mycenaean -ā̄t and -ā̄t constituted a long syllable before initial vowels just like -ā̄v and -ā̄v: the second element of the diphthong was identical with the semi-vowel y, which in Mycenaean still had the status of a phoneme. Thus here again the Mycenaean singers disposed of anisometric alternatives. In the Homeric expression φένι οἴκῳ - ~ ~ - - || 'in his own house' there is hiatus between φ and ένι, but Myc. \*Φήωι ένι Φοίκῳ was prosodically correct: syllabification *whō.ye.ni.woy.kōy*. On the other hand, a formula like οἴκῳ ένι ήμετέρῳ || - ~ ~ - ~ - | 'in our house' with epic correction of -ō may go back to Myc. Φοίκοι ένι ἀμετέροι: *wō.ye.nā.mhe.te.roy*.

In the nom.-acc. dual of the 1st declension Mycenaean has the ending -a-e, -ahe for masculine nouns: *e-qe-ta-e*, *hekʷetahe* 'two followers'. For feminine nouns -o, -ō is much more frequent: *to-pe-zo*, *torpedzō* 'two tables'. As a result of contraction Att. has -ā < -ahe. In Homer's language dual -ā is only sporadically found in the inflexion of masculine nouns, and exclusively in the *Iliad*. Since the dual had disappeared in East Ionic — apart from δύω/δύο 'two' and ἄμφω 'both' —, Homer's dual forms must go back to the Aeolic phase. In general Homer uses dual forms as anisometric alternatives for plural forms referring to two entities: the metrical value of forms like χεῖρε 'both hands'

with final vowel is not identical with that of nom. plur. χείρες and acc. χείρας with final consonant. Thus he usually replaced Aeol. -ᾶ with Ion. -αι, or -ᾶς. Often, however, he uses isometric dual forms in contexts containing anisometric dual forms. Example: *Iliad* 7.280-281 ἀμφοτέρω γὰρ σφῶν φιλεῖ ... Ζεύς, Ή ἄμφω δ' αἰχμητά 'for Zeus loves you both, you both are spearmen'. Homer could have replaced ἀμφοτέρω with ἀμφοτέρους and αἰχμητά with αἰχμηταί, but replacement of σφῶν with ὑμέας or ὑμεῖς was metrically impossible. There is no reason to take αἰχμητά for an atticism.<sup>27</sup>

#### §16.12. THE EXPLOITATION OF THE MYCENAEAN CASE ENDING -φι BY POST-MYCENAEAN POETS. PROTO-ACHAEEAN \*ἄπιν ναυφί

The history of the use of forms in -φι is particularly interesting (RUIJGH 1995, 68-73). In Mycenaean -φι is the ending of the instrumental plural: 1st declension -ᾶ-φι, 3rd declension -φι. In the 2nd declension -οις is much more frequent than -ο-φι. These forms are used in several functions: *po-to-ro-wa-pi*, *Ptolowāphi* 'at Pt.' (locative), *to-pe-za* ... *e-re-pa-te-jo po-pi*, *torpedza* ... *elephanteyois popphi* 'table ... with ivory feet' (comitative), *a-ra-ru-ja a-ni-ja-pi*, *araruia ãnhiāphi* 'fitted with reins' (instrumental). It is tempting to assume that the Indo-European instrumental form had a so-called 'adessive' meaning ('by, at, with') as against the 'inessive' meaning ('in, upon') of the locative form. Incidentally, -phi is etymologically related to the English preposition *by*. The adessive meaning is very clear in the old Homeric adverb θύρῃ 'outside', orig. 'at the gate', compare Latin *foris* 'outside' (instr. plur.). After the preposition *opi* = *epi* in the sense of 'by, at' the expected instrumental form is attested: *o-pi* ... *qe-to-ro-po-pi o-ro-me-no*, *opi* ... *kʷetropopphi horomenos* 'watching over the quadrupeds'. After ἐν 'in' one would expect the dative-locative form, but the prepositional use of ἐν is not yet attested in the Mycenaean texts. Especially in the case of place-names the distinction between the adessive and the inessive meaning is weakened. Thus *pa-ki-ja-si*, *Sphagiānsi* 'in Sph.' is probably synonymous with *pa-ki-ja-pi*, *Sphagiāmphi* 'at Sph.'. In the same way Homeric ὅρεσφι orig. 'by the mountains' is practically equivalent with ἐν ὅρεσσι 'in the mountains'. The comitative use of -φι without preposition is found in Homer's idiomatic expression αὐτοῖσιν ὅχεσφι 'with chariot(s) and all', which may go back to Myc. \*αὐτοῖ̄θι *Féχεσφι*. The

<sup>27</sup> There are only a few occurrences of dual -ᾶ in Homer, all of them in a position in the line where -ᾶ cannot have replaced an earlier -αῖ. Since contractions like αῖο > αῖ, αῖο > ἄ had already occurred in East Aeolic before Homer's time, the contraction -αῖ > -ᾶ is quite acceptable.

instrumental use is attested in formulae like ἶψι ἄνασσεν going back to Myc. \**fi̥pí fávate* — υυ— || ‘he functioned as a king with all his forces’; the plural \**fi̥pí* corresponds with Latin *vīribus*. Compare the personal name *wi-pi-no-o*, *Wiphinohos* lit. ‘who saves with all his forces’. The plural meaning of -*pí* explains why in Greek σφí has plural meaning as against Latin *sibí* < *sibeī*: in Proto-Indo-European the reflexive pronoun had no separate forms for the plural.<sup>28</sup>

Some scholars suppose that Mycenaean preserved the instrumental singular forms in -ā, -ω, -η (1st, 2nd, 3rd declension; HAJNAL 1995, 242–246), but Linear B orthography cannot distinguish them from the dative-locative forms in -āt/-at, -at/-ot, -et. The expression *o-pi-e-de-i*, *opi hedehi* ‘at her seat (shrine)’, however, contains the locative form in -i, not the instrumental in -ē. It is therefore possible that in Mycenaean the functions of the instrumental singular had already been taken over by the dative-locative form. One should observe that the homophony between nominative and instrumental in -ā may have led to syntactic confusion. In this connection it is no wonder that in Post-Mycenaean Greek the instrumental plural forms too disappeared (in the athematic declension at least) and that the dative-locative forms took over their functions.

After the disappearance of the -*pí* forms in current Greek the epic poets continued to use them as useful anisometric alternatives for the dative and genitive forms, both plural and singular. Most of these uses belong to the artificial poetic language developed during the Aeolic phase. As to number, almost all -*pí* forms of the 3rd declension have plural meaning, all -*pí* forms of the 1st declension have singular meaning, whereas both meanings are found in the 2nd declension. As to case value, most -*pí* forms without preposition are used with the meanings of the original instrumental, but in prepositional expressions most -*pí* forms correspond to the genitive of current Greek. The Aeolic singers also created -*pítv* as an anisometric alternative for -*pí*: type δρεσφítv = δρεσφí after the model of σφítv = σφí.

The singular meaning of -*pí* forms is easy to explain. After the disappearance of the plural of (*F*)īç ‘force’ — apart from (*F*)īvēç ‘sinews’ — \**fi̥pí* was reinterpreted as a singular form: ‘by force’. Thus it became the model for the creation of forms like \*βíāpí > βíηpí ‘with violence’. In the same way \*θύρāpí > θύρηpí, an equivalent of the locative adverb θύρāθí > θύρηθí, was reinterpreted as a singular form. Now, -āpí(v) > -ηpí(v) was a useful anisometric alternative for singular -ā > -η, but not for plural Aeol. -āiσi and Ion. -ησi(v).

<sup>28</sup> The dative form σφí was the starting-point for the formation of acc. σφé (: σφí = ἄμμε : ἄμμι), σφéας, gen. σφéων, etc.

The use of -*φι* forms with genitive function in prepositional expressions can be explained in connection with the specifically Achaean construction of ἀπό 'away from' and ἐξ > ἐς 'out of' with the dative-locative, found in Arcadian, Cyprian and Pamphylian. In all other dialects these prepositions are construed with the genitive-ablative: the case ending repeats the ablative meaning of ἀπό/ἀπό and ἐξ. The Achaean construction is also found in Hesychius' Cyprian gloss ἐς πόθῳ ἔρπες 'from where do you come?': ἐς < ἐξ is followed by the locative adverb πόθῳ 'where?'. Unfortunately, the prepositional use of ἀπό and ἐξ is not yet attested in the Linear B texts, but the facts mentioned above invite us to suppose that in Proto-Achaean ἀπό was construed with the instrumental and ἐξ with the dative-locative. Thus the Homeric construction ἀπὸ ναῦφι 'away from the ships' can go back to Myc. \*ἀπὸ ναυφί. Aeolian singers could reinterpret this -*φι* form as an equivalent of the genitive under the influence of current Aeolic \*ἀπὸ νῆσον. Since -*φι*(v) was metrically useful as an alternative for gen. -ων but not for dat.-loc. -σι(v), one finds in Homer παρὰ ναῦφι as an equivalent of παρὰ νηῶν 'from the side of the ships', not of παρὰ νηοῖς 'at the side of the ships'. Homer uses κατ' ὅρεσφι(v) ω ω ω ω 'downwards from the mountains' and δι' ὅρεσφι 'through the mountains': κατ' ὅρέων ω ω ω and δι' ὅρέων were metrically impossible.

The construction of ἀπό with a -*φι* form is also found in ἀπὸ νόσφι(v) 'far away, apart', sometimes written as one word: ἀπονόσφι(v). It is tempting to explain νόσφι as the original instrumental form of the personal pronoun corresponding to Latin *nōs* 'we' (MEIER-BRÜGGER 1987); cp. dual νώ. Thus the original meaning must have been 'far away from us'. After the disappearance of the instrumental case form, the relation between νόσφι and the pronominal stem ἄμε-, ἄμμε- < \*ῆsmē- was no longer recognized, so that ἀπονόσφι(v) acquired the more general meaning 'far away, apart'. Under the influence of ἄπατερθε(v) = ἀπάτερθε(v) 'far away' and ἄπενθε(v) = ἀπάπενθε(v) 'far away'. νόσφι without preceding ἀπό finally had the meaning 'far away, apart'.

The Homeric uses of the -*φι* forms, which seem at first sight somewhat inconsistent, may all be explained starting from the Mycenaean uses in connection with the Arcado-Cyprian construction of ἀπό and ἐξ (ἐς) with the dative-locative. This is a very important argument for the specifically Proto-Achaean character of the epic language of the Mycenaean phase. Lexical items like οἴ̄Fος and Φάναξ (§16.9.1) are less conclusive: they may have belonged to all Greek dialects of the Mycenaean period.

Many scholars think that the Mycenaean -*φι* forms of place names have an ablative meaning (HAJNAL 1995, 153-207). Thus *po-to-ro-wa-pi* would express 'from Po-to-ro-wa' instead of 'at Po-to-ro-wa'. This ablative interpretation is most implausible in the Pylos tablets Aa 76 and Ad 678, which deal with

female flax-workers and their children. In the Pylos series Aa, Ab, Ad the place names at the beginning of each tablet indicate the place *where* the recorded women do their work (*pu-ro*, *Puloi* 'in Pylos', etc.), at least according to the current interpretation. The locative interpretation applies to other texts as well. Thus *po-to-ro-wa-pi* in PY Na 262 indicates the place *where* the flax growers have to give up 30 units of flax on behalf of the palace. Of course, this implies that the flax is to be transported from *Po-to-ro-wa* to the palace of Pylos. This locative interpretation of the -*phi* forms is also valid for PY Jn 829, the series PY Ma, etc.

Most of these scholars interpret spellings like *e-re-e* as instrumental singular forms with ablative meaning (*Helehe*) as against locative *e-re-i*, *Helehi*. This interpretation is refuted by the coexistence of *e-re-i* and *ti-mi-to-a-ke-e* in PY Jn 829 and that of *re-si-we-i* and *a-se-e* in PY An 18. One can only conclude that both the -*i* and -*e* endings have locative meaning. It is difficult to decide whether the spelling -*e* represents the original dative ending -*ei* or the original instrumental ending -*e* (*T̄h̄imistos ankehē, Alsehē*).

According to Hajnal the -*phi* form could have a partitive meaning in *o-pi...* *qe-to-ro-po-pi* (see above), but in my opinion this seems rather far-fetched.

### §16.13. THE PROTO-ACHALEAN CHARACTER OF THE HOMERIC ADJECTIVES IN -ηεντ- < \*-εσ-Feντ-

A second argument for this Proto-Achaean character of the epic language is found in the Homeric adjectives in -(F)εντ-, fem. -(F)εσσα, derived from -*s*-stems (RUMH 1995, 66–68). The meaning of the suffix is 'full of, well provided with'. Homer has τελήεντ- < \*τελέσ-Feντ- 'very expensive' (: τέλος 'burden, expense'), αιτήεντ- 'steep' (: αἴπος 'steepness'), θυήεντ- 'full of sacrifices' or 'full of incense' (: θύος 'sacrifice' and 'incense'), and also κηώεντ- < \*κῆφόσ-Feντ- 'full of incense',<sup>29</sup> εύρωεντ- 'mouldy' (: εύρώς 'mould'). The treatment \*-eswent- > \*-ehwent- > -ewent-, \*-oswent- > \*-oh-went- > -ōwent- fits with the 'first compensatory lengthening', which was clearly an accomplished fact in Mycenaean (§ 16.10 s.v. φίλατο). The close relationship between Proto-Achaean and Proto-Ionic leads us to suppose that this lengthening had also taken place in Proto-Ionic. In Attic-Ionic lengthened ε and ο are close ē and close ὥ, which eventually came to be spelled EI and OY: ειμί < \*ἐημί < \*ἐσμί

<sup>29</sup> The noun \*κῆφώς 'incense' is not attested. It is of the same type as αἰδός, stem αἰδόσ- 'shame'.

'I am', βούλή < \*γ<sup>w</sup>ολνά 'counsel'. Arcadian, however, has the type ἡμί. βολλά: close ē and close ὁ merged with the inherited open vowels ē (η) and ὁ (ω). Unfortunately, the Linear B spelling *au-de-we-sa*, *audēwetsa* 'full of x' (fem.) does not allow us to decide if ē was a close or an open vowel. The adjective is formed from the neuter noun *audos*, inst. plur. *au-de-pi*, *audesphi*, which indicates a decorative feature. In any case, these Homeric forms in -ήεντ- cannot be Ionic. Neither can they be Aeolic: Proto-Aeolic has the treatment of the type \*έσμι > ἔμμι, \*γ<sup>w</sup>ολνά > βολλά with consonantal gemination rather than vocalic lengthening. Therefore the Aeolic result of \*-εσfevt- would have been \*-effevt- = \*-ενεντ-, as is shown by \*νασφός > East Aeolic ναῦος 'temple'. One has to conclude that the above-mentioned Homeric adjectives in -ήεντ- and -ώεντ- go back to the Proto-Achaean dialect of the Mycenaean phase of the epic tradition.

In Mycenaean *-went-* is a very productive suffix for the formation of adjectives from nouns. It is for instance found in adjectives qualifying olive oil like ntr. *wo-do-we*, *wordowen* 'rose-scented' (*Φόρδον* = *Φρόδον* > *ρόδον*), *pa-kw-nr*, *sphakowen* 'scented with sage' and *ku-pa-ro-we*, *kuparowen* 'scented with cyperus'. In Post-Mycenaean times, however, it survived only in substantivized forms: culinary terms like Att. σησαμοῦς 'cake full of sesame', μελιτοῦτα 'cake full of honey' and place-names like Σελίνον̄s lit. 'place full of celery'. Ροδοῦσσα lit. 'place full of roses'. Moreover, whereas in Mycenaean *-went-* is added directly to the stem of 3rd declension nouns (e.g. *pe-de-we-sa*, *pedwetsa* 'with feet'), Post-Mycenaean singers normally insert -o- before -Fevt-. Thus the Homeric form φοινικόεντ- 'purple' with artificially shortened i goes back to Myc. \*phoinik-went-. The only exception — next to τελήεντ-, εὐρώεντ-, etc. — is χαρίεντ- 'full of charm'.<sup>30</sup> Instead of θυήεντ-, Homer also uses the more recent form θύόεντ-. That is why the Aeolic and Ionic poets maintained the Proto-Achaean forms in -ή(f)εντ- and -ώ(f)εντ-: the adjectives in question did no longer exist in contemporary Aeolic and Ionic.

Homer uses the adjectives in -εντ- in more or less formulaic expressions. The formula acc. τελήεσσας ἐκατόμβις ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ (7 x) goes back to Myc. τεληφέτσανς *hekatónyγ*"ανς 'very expensive sacrifices of a hundred oxen'. In Homer ἐκατόμβη has the less specific sense of 'great sacrifice of animals'. The meaning of τελήεντ- was no longer certain for the later Greeks, who proposed several divergent interpretations. In its original meaning, however, τελήεις must have been a near-equivalent of πολυτελής 'very expensive':

<sup>30</sup> Attic borrowed χαρίεις from poetic language, as is shown by the fem. χαριεσσα with -σσα instead of Att. -ττ-.

compare δακρυόεις 'full of tears' = πολυδάκρυος 'with many tears'. A sacrifice of a hundred oxen was very expensive indeed!

#### §16.14. THE PROTO-ACHALEAN VELAR INFLEXION OF HOMERIC VERBS LIKE πτολεμίζω

A third argument for the Proto-Achaean character of the epic language of the Mycenaean phase is found in the velar inflexion of some Homeric derived verbs in -ζω (-ίζω, -άζω): type πτολεμίζω, future πτολεμίξω 'to wage war' (RUIJGH 1957, 71-89; 1995, 65-66). Originally these verbs were dental stems: type ἔριζω 'to quarrel' < \*ἔριδ-γω. Since ἔριδ-γω could be reinterpreted as \*ἔρι-δγω ( : acc. ἔρι-ν), the original present suffix \*-γω was often replaced by \*-δγω > -ζω: type πολίζω 'to build a city' derived from πολι-. In Greek there is a rather strong tendency to generalize -ζω even in the case of verbs derived from noun stems in -τ-: δημάζω 'to name' from δηματ-, δεσπόζω 'to be master' from δεσποτ-, etc.<sup>31</sup>

Attic-Ionic preserves the dental inflexion of these verbs in -ζω: present δικάζω 'to judge', future δικάσω, aorist ἐδίκαστα with -σ- < -τσ-. The same is true for East Aeolic: δικάσσω, ἐδίκασσα with -σσ- < -τσ-. And for most Boeotian subdialects: δικάττω, ἐδίκαττα with -ττ- < -τσ-. Only in the most Western region of Boeotia, that of Thespiae and Coronea, the type ἐδίκαξα is found, most probably under the influence of the neighbouring Doric (West Greek) dialect of Phocis. This makes it also possible to explain the Thessalian forms of this type as due to West Greek influence. All considered, it is possible to conclude that Proto-Aeolic just as Proto-Ionic preserved the dental in the inflexion of the derived verbs in -ζω. The Doric dialects, on the other hand, replaced the dental inflexion with the velar inflexion: type ἐδίκαξα. The model for this analogical change may have been the primary verb \*Ἔρέζω > ἤρξω 'to work, to act, to do, to make', aorist ἤρρεξα. The use of this verb must have been very frequent, as still is in Homer, before it was replaced by ποι(Ϝ)έω.

In this respect Arcado-Cyprian stands mid-way: the dental inflexion is preserved when the last consonant before -ίζω, -άζω is a velar (κ, γ, χ), but is replaced by the velar inflexion when the last consonant is not a velar: cf.

<sup>31</sup> Thus dental verb stems tend to have a present in -ζω. On the other hand, velar stems tend to have a present in -σσω, Att. -ττω. Thus Att. πράττω 'to act', μάττω 'to knead', etc., have -ττω substituted for -ζω < \*-γγω.

ἔδίκασσι vs. ποινίξασθαι 'to exact a penalty'. One could say that the preceding velar prevented the analogical change by a kind of preventive dissimilation.<sup>32</sup>

There are more than ten Homeric derived verbs in -ζω with velar inflection: ἀβροτάζω 'to miss the mark', ἀλαπάζω 'to empty, to plunder, to destroy', δαῖζω 'to slay in battle, to pierce, to rend, to divide', δνοπαλίζω 'to shake violently', ἔγγυαλίζω 'to put into the hand', (ἐξ)έναριζω 'to strip a slain foe of his arms, to slay', κτερεῖζω 'to bury with funeral gifts', μερμηρίζω 'to be anxious, to debate, to devise', πελεμίζω 'to shake, to cause to quiver', π(τ)ολεμίζω 'to wage war', στυφελίζω 'to strike hard, to treat roughly'. The fact that none of these verbs has a velar as last consonant before -ζω invites us to ascribe them to the Proto-Achaean dialect. Unfortunately, verbs in -ζω are not yet attested in the Linear B texts: in the telegraphic style of bookkeeping notes verbs are infrequent. WEST 1988, 158 n. 56 rightly observes that almost all verbs of this group have to do with war activities characteristic of epic poetry, so that it is legitimate to suppose that they were used by Mycenaean singers. The Post-Mycenaean singers kept them with their Proto-Achaean inflexion, just as they kept nouns like ὅπος 'sword', ἔγχος 'spear' and φάσγαννος 'sword' (§16.9.2).

There are some additional arguments for ascribing these verbs to the Mycenaean phase. The form ἀβροτάζω is artificial: one would expect \*ἀμβροτ-άζω < \*ἀμροτ- < \*ἀμρ-; compare the Homeric aorist ἤμβροτον 'I missed the mark', inherited from the Aeolic phase. We shall see that ἀβροτάζω is an artificial adaptation of the phonetic result of Proto-Mycenaean \*ἀμρτάζω with the syllabic liquid still intact (§16.19).

The verb πτολεμίζω is derived from the Proto-Achaean noun πτόλεμος (§16.9.2). Post-Mycenaean singers replaced it with πολεμίζω after a long final syllable under the influence of the form πόλεμος of their current language.

The verb δαῖζω is derived from the isolated dative-locative form δα(h)-i 'in battle', which is preserved in Homeric formulae like ἐν δαῖ λυγρῇ – υ υ – || 'in deplorable battle'. The vowel of the initial syllable is normally short, but is long in *Iliad* 11.497 δαῖζων. The alternation of length may lead us to suppose that the noun *dāh-/dāh-* is a Pre-Greek loanword. Such an alternation is also found in Τροίη < \*Τροΐα 'land of the Trojans' as against Τρῶ(h)ες. \*Δᾶθι- > Δῃ- is found in personal names like Δῃφοβος lit. 'who puts to flight in battle'. Linear B orthography does not allow us to determine the quantity of *a* in personal names like *da-i-qa-ta*, *Dahikʷhontās* lit. 'who slays in battle'. The vowel is long in the derived adjective δήϊος < δᾶ(h)ιος 'hostile, destructive'.

<sup>32</sup> Note of the eds: for a different interpretation of the Arcadian data see DUBOIS 1986, 160-161.

but in the formula δῆτον πῦρ υυ— || 'hostile fire', the original form must have been δᾶ(h)ιον. The secondary meaning 'to divide' of δαῖζω may be due to Post-Mycenaean singers: after the disappearance of δαῖζω in current Greek they could connect it with δαιμαῖ/δατέομαι 'to divide' by popular etymology.

### §16.15. HOMERIC FORMULAE GOING BACK TO MYCENAEAN FORMS WITH *h*- FUNCTIONING AS A FULL CONSONANT

We shall now consider a number of Homeric formulae and other expressions which must go back to the time when initial *h*- was still a full consonant, as it is in Mycenaean (§16.7; RUIJGH 1995, 75-81).

#### §16.15.1. Πότνια Ἡρη

The hiatus in πότνια 'Ἡρη — υυ— || 'mistress Hera' (25 x) disappears when the formula is transposed into Mycenaean πότνια ḥírū. In the Linear B texts *po-ti-ni-ja*, *potnia* 'Mistress' is well attested as a title for goddesses. The noun πότνια may be the Greek translation of Pre-Greek *hīrū*, the feminine corresponding to the Pre-Greek title ḥīrōs 'lord'. Homer's use of ḥīrōs as a title for members of the nobility must go back to the Mycenaean phase. In the Linear B texts it is only found in the dative expression *ti-ri-se-ro-e*, *Tris-hērōhei* 'Thrice-Lord' referring to a demigod, perhaps the ancestor of the royal family who received a cult after his death. The meaning 'hero of the glorious past' of ḥīrōs in later Greek is due to the epic tradition.

It is the force of the epic tradition which explains why Homer exclusively uses the nominative-vocative formula πότνια 'Ἡρη in spite of the hiatus. He never uses the accusative formula πότνιαν 'Ἡρην, which is prosodically correct and is found in Hesiod.

The extended formula βοῶπις πότνια 'Ἡρη | υ— — υυ— || 'ox-eyed mistress Hera' (14 x) is only found in the *Iliad*. For the vocative the manuscripts give both βοῶπις and βοῶπι. Obviously, βοῶπι υ— υ is metrically incorrect. However, the form βοῶπις with short i is also irregular: according to Wernicke's law a spondaic word or word-ending in the 4th foot should have a long vowel or a diphthong in its final syllable. One has to conclude that βοῶπις goes back to Myc. \*γ<sup>o</sup>φώκ<sup>o</sup>īs. In fact, Proto-Greek must have had the feminine suffix -īs (nom. -ī-s, voc. -ī, gen. -īyos, etc.) beside the well-known suffix -ia/-ya (gen. -iās/-yās) of the type πότνια, ἀργυρό-πεζα 'silver-footed' < \*-πεδγα. Under the influence of the very productive Pre-Greek feminine

suffix *-ίδ-* (MEIER 1975) many *-i-* stems acquired a *d*-extension; cp. ἔρι-ς 'quarrel', gen. ἔριδος, acc. ἔριν/ἔριδα. Thus gen. *-iyoς* was replaced by *-idōs*, after which the long *i* of nom. *-is* was replaced by short *i*. As a result, one finds in Homer the inflexion of the type nom. γλαυκώπις 'owl-eyed', voc. γλαυκώπι. gen. γλαυκώπιδος, dat. γλαυκώπιδι, acc. γλαυκώπιν/γλαυκώπιδα. Therefore we are obliged to conclude that in the course of the epic tradition the original form \*γ"οφώκ"ίς was replaced by βο(Φ)ώπις, though it violates Wernicke's law.

Normally, the Homeric noun-epithet formulae do not have isometric alternatives (§16.3). However, θεᾶ λευκάλενος "Hῆρη | - - - - - || 'the white-armed goddess Hera' (19 ×) is found beside βοῶπις πότνια "Hῆρη. This isometric formula must be a creation of East Aeolic singers, since the aspiration of "Hῆρη does not count as a consonant. The noun θεᾶ 'goddess' is found in Lesbian poetry; Homer does not replace *-ā* with Ionic *-η* since East Ionic exclusively uses the form θεός for 'goddess'. It is reasonable to suppose that the new formula was created in order to avoid the two irregularities of \*βοφώπις πότνια "Hῆρῆ (short *-i-* and hiatus). Due to the force of epic tradition Homer uses both the older and the more recent formula.

### §16.15.2. Διῖ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντος

The formula Διῖ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντος | - - - - - || 'having the same weight as Zeus as to counsel' (6 ×") contains two irregularities: in the current language of Homer's time the final syllables of Διῖ and μῆτιν are short. These irregularities disappear when the formula is transposed into Myc. \*Διϝεὶ μῆτιν *hatálanτoς*. It contains the dative form Διϝεὶ (*di-we*; §16.11). The first member of *ha-tálanτoς* means 'one and the same'.

The spelling ἀτάλαντος without aspiration is in accordance with the psilotic character of the East Ionic dialect. The problem is rather why the transmitted text of the Homeric epics normally has aspirated forms like ἐν 'one' as against ἐν 'in'. There are reasons to suppose that Homer, when giving epic performances at the courts of rich Euboean princes, came to pronounce the aspiration in accordance with the West Ionic dialect of his audience (RUUGH 1995, 49-50). Consequently, marks of aspiration were incorporated in the first written text of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (§16.22). The addition of the aspiration did not take place in the case of archaic words like ἀτάλαντος and ὥλτο 'he leaped', which did not exist in contemporary West Ionic, nor in the case of words like East Ionic οὐρός 'boundary', which had a different vowel from West Ionic δρός (< ὄρφος).

Whereas the formula Διῖ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντος is placed after the trochaic caesura, Homer uses θεόφιν μῆστωρ ἀτάλαντος | ~~~~~~ || 'counsellor who has the same weight as a god (or: as the gods)' (5 × ') after the penthemimeral caesura. Both formulae have the same practical meaning. The form θεόφιν (= θεῷ or θεοῖσι) belongs to the artificial elements of epic language (§16.12). It is tempting to suppose that East Aeolic singers created the formula \*θεῷ μῆστωρ ἀτάλαντος in order to avoid the two prosodic irregularities of the older formula. Then they could create the anisometric alternative θεόφιν μῆστωρ ἀτάλαντος to be used after the penthemimeral caesura.

The adjective ἀτάλαντος is also found in the formula ἀτάλαντος "Αρηὶ" ~~~~~~ || 'having the same weight as Ares' (11 × '), which may go back to Myc. \**h*atálan̄tos "Αρη̄fi".<sup>33</sup> Finally it is found in the formulaic verse which refers to Meriones and goes back to the Proto-Mycenaean period (§16.18).

### §16.15.3. Βίη Ήρακληίη

The formula βίη Ήρακληίη | ~~~~~~ || lit. 'the force of Heracles' (7 × ') has an hiatus in the nominative form. Moreover, it has a sequence of three spondaic feet before the verse boundary, a strongly avoided verse structure. The formula becomes metrically and prosodically correct if it is transposed into Myc. \*γʷiā *HηρακλεFheiā* | ~~~~~~ ||. The spelling *ra-ke-re-we* may well represent *Hē[raklewēs]*. KILLEN 1983 showed that in the Linear B texts there are two classes of adjectives derived from personal names: those with the Indo-European suffix *-io-* (orig. 'belonging to') are exclusively used as patronymic adjectives, whereas those with the Pre-Greek suffix *-ειο-* are possessive adjectives. Examples: *e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo*, *Hebewoklewehios* 'son of Eteocles' vs. *pe-ri-ko-te-jo*, *Perikʷʰoiteios* 'belonging to the possessions of Pe-ri-ko-ta'. In Post-Mycenaean Greek the distinction was blurred as a consequence of contractions: both \*Διfομηδέhiος and \*Διfομηδέheίος changed into \*Διfομηδείος, a type which eventually took over the proparoxytone accentuation of the original type Φιλίππειος (Φιλίππος). Thenceforth, adjectives in *-ειο-* derived from personal names were used with both patronymic and possessive meaning. In Ionic the phonetic result of *HηρακλεFheiā* was Ήρακλείη. Homer had to replace it with the artificial form Ήρακληίη in

<sup>33</sup> In Mycenaean *a-re*, *Arēi* is attested as dative of *Arēs*, originally a stem in *-ə-*; cf. "Αρη, acc., "Αρην in Homer. The alternative stem *Ares-* is also attested in the first member of the compound name *a-re-i-ze-we-i*, *Arehitseweli* (dative); cf. voc. "Αρες in Homer. The other alternative stem *Arēw-* is not yet attested in the Mycenaean texts; cf. gen. "Αρηος (etc.) in Homer.

order to adapt it to the metrical structure, in spite of the resulting sequence of three spondaic feet. The model was the expression with the possessive genitive βίη Ἡρακλῆος √-|----, which goes back to Myc. \*γ<sup>w</sup>íā ἩηρακλέFεhοs √-|----. Since in Ionic the phonetic result of ἩηρακλέFεhοs was Ἡρακλέoς, Homer had to replace it with the artificial form Ἡρακλῆος in order to adapt it to the metrical structure. The model was the type Πηλῆος (Aeolic ΠηλῆFοs) = Ionic Πηλέoς. In the same way the Homeric expressions βίη Ἰφικληείη and βίης Ἐτεοκληείηs (gen.) go back to Myc. \*γ<sup>w</sup>íā FíphiκleFεhεiā | √- - - - √- - II and \*γ<sup>w</sup>íās HεteFokleFεhεiās | √- - √ - - - - II. Homer uses several other constructions of βίη with the genitive of a personal name, such as, for instance, βίη Τεύκροιο ἄνακτοs | √- - - √- - II, which goes back to Myc. \*γ<sup>w</sup>íās Teúkroio Fánakto<sup>s</sup>.

Since the above-mentioned expressions in practice refer rather to the persons in question than to their force one may compare them with modern periphrastic expressions like *His Majesty* and *His Royal Highness* which refer to the king and the members of his family. It is tempting to suppose that expressions like \*γ<sup>w</sup>íā ἩηρακλέFεhεiā / ἩηρακλέFεhοs belonged to the system of titles used at the courts of the Mycenaean kings. Instead of βίη one also finds μένοs and ἴç 'force' in such expressions: ιερὸn μένοs Ἀλκινόio | √- - √ - - √ - - II 'the sacred force of A.', Myc. \*ιieρὸn μένοs Ἀλκινόio, and ιερὴ ἴç Τηλεμάχοio | √- - - √ - - II, Myc. \*ιieρὴ Fíç K"ηλεμάχοio.

#### §16.15.4. Other examples with Mycenaean *h*-

There are several other examples of Homeric expressions going back to the time when *h*- was still a full consonant:

βέλοs ἔχεπευκέs | √- - √ - - √ 'missile holding a sharp point' (2 x), Myc. \*γ<sup>w</sup>élo<sup>s</sup> hēχεpεuké<sup>s</sup>. The change hēχw > ἔχw > ἔχw (Grassmann's law) is likely to be of Post-Mycenaean date (RUIJGH 1967, 44-46).

κάρη ἔχε | √- - √ 'he held his head' (4 x'), Myc. \*kárapā hēχe. The noun κάρpa is attested in Mycenaean (§16.10).

In all occurrences but one ὑπείρ (ει = metrically lengthened ε) is found in expressions where Mycenaean had ὑπέρ followed by *h*- . Thus ὑπείρεχε | √- - √ 'he held over', 'he was prominent above' (3 x) goes back to Myc. \*ὑπέρhεχe, ὑπείροχοs 'prominent above' (2 x) to \*ὑπέρhοχοs (with the personal name 'Υπείροχοs and the patronymic 'Υπειροχίδηs), ὑπείρ ἀλa | √- - √ 'over the sea' (5 x) to \*ὑπέρ hál<sup>a</sup> (for ἀl- see §16.9.2). In the same way ειν ἀlī 'in the sea' and εινάλιoс 'situated in the sea' go back to Myc. ἐν hál<sup>i</sup> and ἐνhál<sup>i</sup>oс. The absence of elision in ἀμφίαλoс 'having the sea on

both sides' (5 x) is due to Myc. ἀμφίλαος; the personal name Ἀμφιάλος is attested in Mycenaean (*a-pi-a<sub>2</sub>-ro*, §16.9.2). In the same way forms of ἀμφίπω 'to treat carefully' go back to Myc. \*ἀμφιήπω, whereas forms of ἀμφέπω with elision are of Post-Mycenaean date. The aorist participle ἐπιάλμενος 'having leaped upon' goes back to Myc. \*ἐπιθάλμενος, whereas ἐπάλμενος is of Post-Mycenaean date. The root aorist ἀλτό 'he leaped' was an archaism in Homer's time, which explains the absence of the aspiration (§16.15.2). Thus the hiatus in εἰς ᾄλα ἀλτό βαθεῖαν || - ~ - ~ - | 'she leaped into the deep sea' disappears in Myc. \*ἐν ἡάλα ἡάλτο γ" αθέFγαν. Mycenaean must have preserved the construction of ἐν with the accusative since Arcado-Cyprian has ἐν + acc. as against Attic-Ionic ἐνς > εἰς / ἐς.

Homer uses both ἐνέπω and ἐννέπω 'to tell' referring to the activity of the Muse who inspires the epic poet. The form ἐννέπω has metrical lengthening of the Aeolic type (see note 23 above).<sup>34</sup>

The expression ἐννεπε Μοῦσα goes back to Myc. \*ἐνηεκ"ε Μόνσα. The active verb \*sek"ō was originally the causative form corresponding to the middle verb \*sek"omay > ἐπομαι 'to follow': the storyteller produces a narrative which reflects a sequence of events. This use of the verb is found in other Indo-European languages. In his Latin translation of the *Odyssey* Livius Andronicus renders ἐννεπε with *insece* (orig. *insequie*). It is of course very important that the Homeric verb which refers to epic story telling goes back to the Mycenaean phase.

### §16.16. Δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς AND Ἀχιλλῆος Θείοιο

Homer uses the generic epithet δῖος 'of noble birth', orig. 'descending from Zeus' in nominative formulae like δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς - ~ - - || (55 x) and δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς (102 x). On the other hand, he uses θείος 'divine' in genitive formulae like Ἀχιλλῆος θείοιο | - - - - - || (2 x) and Ὀδυσσῆος θείοιο (27 x). At first sight the use of two different generic epithets is contrary to the strict economy of the noun-epithet system (§16.3). The solution of the problem is found in the Mycenaean dialect, where the adjective *Diwyos* (*di-u-jo* /

<sup>34</sup> See RISCH 1985. The geminate nasal of ἐννέπω cannot be explained as the Aeolic phonetic results of -νσ- (type \*ξμενσα > ξμεννα), since in Greek the phonetic treatment of the boundary between the two members of a compound is normally identical with that of the boundary between two words. The simple verb *hek"ō* is probably attested in the expression *o-no e-ko-te* (PY An 724.14), *onon hek"ontes* 'telling their profit', i.e. 'having the right to claim compensation for their service'.

*di-wi-jo*) is disyllabic as against trisyllabic θέτιος (dat. sing. fem. *te-i-ja, thet-hiāi*). In the Myc. formula \*Δίγυος Ἀχιλλεύς the replacement of Δίγυος by θέτιος was metrically impossible. In the Myc. formula \*Ἀχιλλῆτος θετιοῖο | - - - - - ||, however, the choice of θετιοῖο imposed itself, because Δίγυοτο would have produced the undesirable sequence of three spondaic feet (§16.15.3). After the contraction θέ(h)ιος > θετιος in Post-Mycenaean times the epic poets maintained Ἀχιλλῆτος θετιοῖο by the force of the tradition, in spite of its metrical undesirability (RUIJGH 1995, 81-82). In the same way Ἡρακλῆτος θετιοῖο | - - - - - || (2 ×) goes back to Myc. \*Ἡηρακλέτετος θετιοῖο | - - - - - ||; the artificial form Ἡρακλῆτος has been explained above (§16.15.3).

### §16.17. Τετευχώς; χρῦσέη/χρῦσῃ Ἀφροδίτη

Homer once uses the so-called 'active' perfect participle τετευχώς instead of τετυμένος in the expression βόδις δίνοι τετευχώς | - - - - - || 'manufactured from the hide of an ox' (RUIJGH 1995, 83-84). In Mycenaean only the active form is found: ntr. plur. *te-tu-ko-wo-a<sub>2</sub>, thethukhwoha* 'finished', finishing being the final stage of the process of manufacturing. In Proto-Indo-European the 'active' perfect form could be used for expressing the resulting state of a passive subject. The middle perfect with passive meaning of the type *de-do-me-na, dedomēna* 'delivered' arose in the course of the Proto-Greek period. The active perfect with active meaning of the type δέδωκα 'I have given' is a much later creation: it is hardly attested in Homer (CHANTREIN 1967). The quoted expression may go back to Myc. \*γʷʰοφός δρίνοιο θεθυχώς (Myc. *wi-ri-no*: §16.10). In the same way Myc. *e-qi-ti-wo-e, hekʰ-thiwohes* 'having passed away, dead' (TH Wu 75) has the 'active' form as against Homer's middle form ξφθιται. Both Mycenaean and Homer have the 'active' form in the participle ἀραρυῖα 'fitted with' (fem.; Myc. *a-ra-ru-ja*).

In Homer's material adjectives synizesis of -εο-, -εω-, -εα- and contraction of -εη- into -η- is most unusual (§16.7): the stem of χάλκεος 'of bronze' is almost always trisyllabic, also in forms like χαλκείν with metrical lengthening of -ε-. There is one exception: both trisyllabic χρῦσεος 'of gold' and disyllabic χρῦσεος with synizesis are frequent and disyllabic χρῦσέη is often spelled χρῦσῃ in the manuscripts. This disyllabic χρῦσεος (--) was so abnormal that some rhapsodes pronounced χρῦσεος as a trisyllabic form with shortened υ (υ υ --). In fact the artificial form χρῦσεος with short υ is found in the poetic language of choral lyric: in Pindar, Bacchylides and Attic tragedy. Homer uses the disyllabic form even in a formula: χρῦσέη Ἀφροδίτη - - υ υ - - ||

'golden A.' (10 × '). Now, the Mycenaean adjective for 'golden' is χρυσός, with the old suffix -ό instead of -έο-; cp. ἀργυρό-πεζα 'silver-footed' with the adjective \*ἀργυρός preserved in the first member of compounds. So one finds instr. plur. fem. *ku-ru-sa-pi*, *khrūsāphi*.<sup>35</sup> Thus the quoted formula may go back to Myc. \*χρυσά Ἡφαρδίτα.<sup>36</sup> In the same way the expression χρυσέφ ἀνὰ σκῆπτρῳ | - ~ ~ - - - || 'upon a golden sceptre', with both synizesis and epic correption of -έφ, can go back to Myc. \*χρυσοῖ ἀνὸ σκάπτρῳ (for -οι, see §16.11). The construction of ἀνά with the dative-locative is also an archaism (RUUGH 1995, 84-85).

### §16.18. THE PROTO-MYKENEAN ORIGIN OF Μηριόνης ἀτάλαντος Ἐνύαλιψ ἀνδρειφόντη

Let us consider now the noun-epithet formula for Meriones which fills a whole hexameter (RUUGH 1995, 85-88): Μηριόνης ἀτάλαντος Ἐνύαλιψ ἀνδρειφόντη 'Meriones, who has the same weight as Enyalius, the killer of men' (4 × ').

This verse contains two bizarre features: -φ ἀν- constitutes one metrical syllable by an abnormal kind of crasis and the form of the first member of ἀνδρειφόντης is totally irregular (cp. ἀνδρο-φόνος 'killing men'). In order to discard these two bizarre features one has to transpose this verse into Proto-Mycenaean, that is into a stage of the Mycenaean dialect anterior to that of the preserved Linear B texts, supposing that in Proto-Mycenaean (ca 1600) the syllabic liquid *r* was still intact with the prosodical value of a short vowel, just as in Sanskrit:

\*Μηριόνας *h*ατάλαντος Ἐνύαλιψ ἀνγχ"όνται  
|| - ~ ~ - - - - | ~ - ~ - - - - - - ||

In this prehistoric form the verse is a perfect holodactylic hexameter. It invites us to accept Meillet's theory: the dactylic hexameter was borrowed from the Minoan Cretans (§16.4).

Μηριόνας is the Pre-Greek name of a Cretan hero and the Pre-Greek god's name Ἐνύαλιος is attested in the Knossos tablets (*e-nu-wa-ri-jo*). In Homer Ἐνύαλιος is a war-god, more or less identical with Ἀρης, whose name is also

<sup>35</sup> Some scholars think that -so represents the phonetic result of -si(y)o (MÜHLESTEIN 1956), but -so instead of -si-jo is never found in adjectives like *ko-no-si-jo*, *Knōsios*, *a-mi-ni-si-jo*, *Ammōsios*, *tu-ri-si-jo*, *Tulisiros*. Note of the eds: in any case we should not forget that χρυσός is a foreign (Semitic) borrowing into Greek.

<sup>36</sup> Supposing that the initial aspiration disappeared by Grassmann's law. The short initial syllable can be explained by supposing that the Proto-Mycenaean form was \*Ἡφαρδίτα (§16.19).

attested in the Knossos tablets (*a-re*). The epithet formula ἀτάλαντος "Αρηί" (§16.15.2) is applied three times to Meriones. In the *Iliad* Meriones is a second rank hero, subordinated to Idomeneus, king of the Cretans. Nevertheless Homer gives him a monumental noun-epithet formula. One would rather expect such a formula for first rank heroes like Achilles (Πηλειδης), Agamemnon (Ατρειδης), Diomedes (Τυδειδης) or Hector (Πριαμιδης). It is therefore legitimate to suppose that Meriones was a protagonist in epics of Proto-Mycenaean times. Thanks to the force of epic tradition later singers had to give him a role in the epic account of the Trojan war.

The length of the final syllable of 'Ενναλίω before an initial vowel is what one expects for Mycenaean Greek (§16.11). The first member of the compound \*ἀντ-χ"όντας is the zero grade of ἀνερ- 'man'; cp. Att.-Ion. dat. plur. ἀνδράσι < \*ἀνράσι < \*ἀντ-σι. In the time of the Linear B texts -r- had changed into -po- and -vp- to -vdp-. This is already the case in the presumably earliest preserved tablets, those from the 'Room of the Chariot Tablets' in Knossos: cf. *to-pe-za*, *torpedza* 'table' with *tor-* substituted for *tro-* < \*tr- and the personal name *qe-ra-di-ri-jo*, *Kʷēlandrios*. The form \*ἀνδροχ"όντᾳ with its long initial syllable did no longer suit the metrical structure. That is why the epic poets of the later Mycenaean period were forced to replace it with the artificial form \*ἀνδρεχιχ"όντᾳ and to pronounce -φ ἀν- with crasis.

The model must have been Hermes' epithet \*ἀργειχ"όντας – υ υ – – II > 'Ἀργειφόντης. The first member of this compound was originally the dative-locative of the neuter noun \*ἄργος 'flashing brightness', which is only indirectly attested in derivatives like ἀργεστής 'wind that brings brightness' and in the compound adjective ἐναργής 'clear and visible'. The Homeric sentence *Iliad* 20.131 χαλεποὶ δὲ θεοὶ φαίνεσθαι ἐναργεῖς lit. 'gods are difficult when they appear in sparkling brightness' seems to refer to the fact that the sudden appearance of a god strikes men in the same way as lightning. Thus the original meaning of \*ἀργειχ"όντας may have been 'the one who strikes (men) in his sparkling brightness, by his sudden appearance'. Later Greeks ascribe this property to Hermes' son Pan, who causes fear and panic.<sup>37</sup>

After the disappearance of the noun \*ἄργος, epic poets could reinterpret ἀργει- as a poetic alternative for ἀργι- (cp. ἀργικέραυνος 'with vivid lightning') or ἀργο- (§16.10 s.v. Πόδαργος). Starting from ἀργει- = ἀργο- they could fabricate ἀνδρει- as an alternative for ἀνδρο-. Later Greeks reinterpreted the first member of 'Ἀργειφόντης = 'Ἀργοφόντης as a man's name: 'killer of Argos'.

<sup>37</sup> The English noun *panic* goes back to Πάνικός 'belonging to Pan', ntr. πάνικόν 'panic'.

This hypothetical reconstruction of the prehistory of Homeric ἀνδρειφόντης and ἄργειφόντης implies that already in the later Mycenaean period epic poets were forced to create artificial language in order to maintain inherited formulae. The fact that the long Meriones formula survives in Homer's *Iliad* shows the enormous force of the formulaic tradition.

### §16.19. OTHER EXPRESSIONS OF PROTO-MYKENEAN ORIGIN: ἀσπίδος ἀμφι- βρότης AND ἀνδροτῆτα

There are other formulae going back to the time when -γ- was still intact (RUDUGH 1995, 88–91). The genitive formula ἀσπίδος ἀμφιβρότης || – ˘ ˘ – ˘ – | lit. 'shield on both sides of a mortal man' (3 x) refers to the old Mycenaean type of shields protecting the whole body of a warrior. It exploits the prosodic licence which allows a syllable formed by a short vowel followed by *muta cum liquida*, i.e. stop + resonant, to remain short. Normally, such syllables are long in Homer's dialect as in the type βεβ.ρω.κώς 'having eaten' with long initial syllable. Without allowing for an irregular syllabification ἀμ.φι.βρό.της this word could not be used in dactylic verse. The formula goes back to Proto-Mycenaean \*ἀσπίδος ἀμφιμύτας. After the change -μγ- > \*-μρο- > -μβρο- the resulting form \*ἀμφιμβρότας was metrically unusable, so that it was replaced by ἀμ.φι.βρό.τας. Of course, the existence of βροτός < \*μγτός 'mortal' without initial nasal facilitated the creation of ἀμφιβρότας. Instead of the usual form ἄμβροτος – ˘ ˘ 'immortal' Homer once uses the artificial form ἄβροτος in the expression νῦξ ἄβρότη || – ˘ ˘ – 'immortal night', which can go back to Proto-Myc. \*νῦξ ἀμγτά. In the same way the formula δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι – ˘ ˘ – || 'for poor mortals' (6 x) can go back to Proto-Myc. \*δῆγευελοῦι μγτοῦι. The same explanation is possible for ἄβροτάξομεν going back to \*ἀμγτάξομεν (§16.14).

In the *Iliad* the three occurrences of the old noun ἀνδροτῆτα 'manhood' (acc.) presuppose the artificial pronunciation ἀδροτῆτα ˘ ˘ – ˘ without the nasal; the spelling ἀδροτῆτα is found in some manuscripts. Here again it is clear that ἀ(ν)δροτῆτα goes back to Proto-Myc. \*ἀνγτάτα. *Iliad* 16.857 = *Iliad* 22.363 λιτοῦς' ἀνδροτῆτα καὶ ἡβην 'having left manhood and youth' applies to Patroclus' or Hector's soul leaving the body. The third occurrence is *Iliad* 24.6 Πατρόκλου ποθέων ἀνδροτῆτά τε καὶ μένος ἦν 'missing Patroclus' manhood and good force'. It is interesting that Homer reserved the archaism ἀνδροτῆτα for the death of Patroclus and that of Hector, which are crucial events in the framework of the poem of Achilles' μῆνις. Since prepositive καὶ 'and' did not yet exist in the Mycenaean dialect, which uses postpositive -qe,

-κ<sup>τ</sup>ε 'and', these Homeric expressions cannot go back to the Mycenaean phase. They can however be explained as adaptations of Proto-Myc. formulae like \*ἀντάτα μένος κ<sup>τ</sup>ε or \*ἀντάτα γ<sup>γ</sup>ιᾶν κ<sup>τ</sup>ε .. - .. - ||.

In Mycenaean adjectives which derive from personal names the suffix -το- is restricted to patronymics, while the possessive relation is expressed by -ειο- (§16.15.3). Homer uses -το- for both relations: beside Νηλήτος 'Neleus' son/grandson' there are expressions like Νηλήται ἵπποι 'Neleus' mares'. They might go back to Proto-Myc. \*Νελελά<sup>τ</sup>ιαι ἵπποι .. - .. - ||, supposing that in Proto-Mycenaean possessive -το- had not yet been entirely replaced by -ειο-. But it is also possible that the possessive use in question is due to Post-Mycenaean singers who in their current language used -ειο- both in patronymic and in possessive adjectives and so were led to use the older suffix -το- not only in patronymic but also in possessive adjectives (§16.15.3).

Homer frequently uses tmesis expressions like κατὰ δάκρυ χέοντα .. - .. - || 'pouring down a tear', where the preverb (κατά) is separated from its verb (χέοντα). They were extremely useful for dactylic versification. Thus καταχέοντα .. - .. - would be metrically impossible. Tmesis is not attested in the Linear B texts, so that some scholars (HORROCKS 1997, 201-203) suppose that tmesis in epic dialect goes back to a period earlier than Linear B. In my opinion, it is improbable that tmesis did not exist in the current language of the later Mycenaean period. A restricted use of tmesis is still found in the Ionic prose of Herodotus. In the Linear B texts verbs compounded with a preverb are rather infrequent as a consequence of the telegraphic style of bookkeeping notes. An example is PY Fr 1184 *ko-ka-ro a-pe-do-ke e-ra<sub>3</sub>-wo ... Kōkalos apedōke elaiwon* 'K. delivered oil'. On the informational level this word order seems to be analytic: three information units, first the subject person, then his activity, then the object of his activity. The word order *ap' elaiwon (e)dōke* is more synthetic: the notion of oil delivery is presented as a single complex information unit. Since in bookkeeping texts analytic presentation prevails, the absence of tmesis can be explained without difficulty. In any case, the spelling KN Sd 4422 *po-si , e-e-si, posī ehensi* 'are attached' shows that the scribe felt that the preverb was a separate word, since otherwise he would have written \**po-se-e-si, \*posehensi* with elision of the final vowel of the preverb.

#### §16.20. MYCENAEEAN WORDS NOT FOUND IN HOMER; HOMERIC WORDS NOT FOUND IN THE LINEAR B TEXTS

The absence of many Mycenaean words in Homer's language cannot be used as an argument against the existence of a Mycenaean phase in the epic

language. Several words could not be used for metrical reasons, for instance *ra-wa-ke-ta*, *lāwāgetās* 'leader of the army' (— — ˘ —), perhaps the title of the crown prince. The most important reason for the apparent discrepancy between the vocabulary of the Mycenaean texts and that of Homeric epics is of course the fundamental difference in subject matter: whereas bookkeeping has to do with the trivial daily activities of workers, epic narrative is concerned with the deeds and feelings of members of the nobility. Thus most nouns of the Pylos Aa-Ab-Ad series which refer to female workers and express their professional activity are not found in Homer: *a-ra-ka-te-ja*, *ālakateiai* 'spinning-women', *i-te-ja*, *histeiai* 'female weavers', *ri-ne-ja*, *lineiae* 'female flax-workers or linen-weavers', *ra-pi-ti-ra<sub>2</sub>*, *rhaptriai* 'sewing-women', *a-pu-ko-wo-ko*, *ampuk(o) worgoi* 'female head-band makers', etc. The exceptions are *a-pi-qo-ro*, *amphi-k'oloi* 'female attendants' and *re-wo-to-ro-ko-wo*, *lewotrokhowoi* 'women who pour bath-water, bath-attendants'. It is relevant that Homer's ἀμφίπολος and λοετροχόος have direct contact with the members of the royal family and their guests.

On the other hand, the absence of many Homeric words which may be assumed to be of Mycenaean origin from the Linear B texts is also easy to explain. Bookkeeping is not concerned with war activities like πτολεμίω 'to wage war' and δα(h)ιζω 'to kill in battle' (§16.14), nor is it concerned with qualifications like \*ΔιFei μῆτιν *hatálanτος* (§16.15.2) and abstract notions like \*γʷiā, \*Fīç, μένος (§16.15.3) or \*ἀνδροτάς (§16.19).

Obviously expressions inherited from the Mycenaean phase were always adapted, as far as possible, to the current language of Post-Mycenaean singers. This was shown in the preceding sections of this chapter.

#### §16.21. ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE THEORY OF A CONTINUOUS IONIC EPIC TRADITION AND AGAINST THE DENIAL OF AN AEOLIC PHASE

Several theories about the development of the epic tradition are at variance with the views presented above. Given the limited space allowed for the present chapter I shall only treat the theory of continuous Ionic epic tradition from Mycenaean times to Homer (HORROCKS 1987; 1997). According to this theory the Mycenaean elements identified in Homer's language should be attributed to Proto-Ionic rather than to Proto-Achaean and the Aeolic elements should be seen as borrowings from an independent tradition, which would have coexisted with the Ionic tradition in Post-Mycenaean times. This implies a denial of the existence of a separate Aeolic phase situated between the Mycenaean and the Ionic phases.

It is true that there were probably no great differences between Proto-Ionic and Proto-Achaean in Mycenaean times. Nevertheless, for instance Proto-Ach. has *-γ-* > *-po-* and *-γ-* > *-op* as against Proto-Ion. *-γ-* > *-ρα-* and *-γ-* > *-αρ-*. Homeric words like ἄροп (*§16.9.2*) and βροτός, ἀβροτάζω, ἀνδροτήτα (*§16.19*) are therefore contrary to the rules of Proto-Ionic. If a continuous Ionic tradition is assumed, one has to conclude that Proto-Ionic poets borrowed them from Proto-Achaean poets. In theory one might also suppose that they borrowed them from Proto-Aeolic poets, but that would imply the very improbable existence of Proto-Aeolic epic poetry in Proto-Mycenaean times.

The same is true for the velar inflexion of verbs like πτολεμίω (*§16.14*) and the construction of ἀπό with instrumental -φι (*§16.12*). The fatal objection against this theory is the vocalism of adjectives like τελήεντ- (*§16.13*): in a continuous Ionic tradition one would expect \*τελείεντ- (*ει* = close ē).

In theory it would be possible to assume that the Ionic poets borrowed forms like ξμμεναι, ιμεν, πόδεσσι, etc. from their Aeolic colleagues in order to acquire anisometric alternatives for Ion. \*ξέναι > είναι, λέναι, ποσί(ν), etc. The crucial objection is that Homer's language also contains some Aeolic elements with the same metrical value as the corresponding elements of contemporary or older Ionic. PARRY 1932, 25-26 already drew attention to this. For instance, Homer uses Aeol. αἴ κε(ν); he did not replace Aeol. αὶ with Ion. εἰ because for him Aeol. αἴ κε(ν) formed a single word, being the equivalent of Ion. ἦν (< εἰ + ῥν). The form ḫv of Attic-Ionic and Arcadian is due to reinterpretation of οὐ + κάν as οὐκ + ḫv. In Arcadian the archaism εἰ κάν or εἰκ ḫv is still attested.<sup>38</sup>

In a continuous Ionic tradition one would therefore expect εἰ κάν instead of the isometric Aeolic expression αἴ κεν.

<sup>38</sup> This convincing explanation of the form ḫv of the modal particle goes back to FORBES 1958 and PALMER 1962, 90-92. Earlier explanations which identify ḫv with Latin *an* and Gothic *an* are extremely implausible for semantic reasons. In Homer the basic meaning of the modal particle is 'then, at that time in the future': the particle κε(ν)/κύ(ν) goes back to a temporal-conditional adverb etymologically connected with the local adverb κει 'there faraway' (RUUGH 1992b). The arguments put forward by DUNKEL 1990 against the explanation of ḫv proposed by Forbes and Palmer are far from decisive. PALMER (1963, vi-vii, 143, 189-190; 1980, 67-68, 285), followed by RUIPÉREZ 1987, proposed κʷε(ν) as the original form of the modal particle: \*οῦ κʷε(ν) > οὐ κε(ν), then generalisation of κε(ν). According to this theory, *o-u-qe a-ke-re-se* (PY Aq 64.3,4) is interpreted as *ou kʷe(n) agrēsei* 'he will not take' and *e-ke-qe* (PY Eb, Eo) as *hekhe kʷe(n)* 'he will have' (subjunctive with modal particle: prospective meaning). However, the basic meaning 'then' of the modal particle is not compatible with the context of these two Mycenaean expressions. Moreover, the change *ukʷ* > *uk* is anterior to the time of the Mycenaean texts, as is shown by *qo-u-ko-ro*, *gʷaukolos* < \**gʷoukʷolos* 'cowherd', whereas *o-u-qe*, *ou kʷe* 'and... not' becomes *oūte* in Post-Mycenaean Greek. It is much simpler to interpret *o-u-qe a-ke-re-se* as 'and he will not take' and *e-ke-qe* as 'and he has' (RUUGH 1967, 317-321, 326-327).

Homer uses Aeol. ἄμμες, ἄμμε, ὅμμες, ὅμμε as anisometric alternatives for Ion. ἡμέῖς (-εῖς < -έες), ἡμέας, ὅμεῖς, ὅμέας. In Attic-Ionic \*ἡμέες and ὅμέας are analogical forms (: gen. ὅμέων) which replaced the original forms ἡμές and ὅμέ. In a continuous Ionic tradition one would therefore expect in Homer's language \*ἡμές, \*ἡμέ, ὅμές, ὅμέ and not the isometric Aeolic forms.

Homer uses dual forms like ἀπειλήτην as against plur. ἀπειλεῖτε (-εῖ- < -έε-). Since in current Ionic the dual did no longer exist, Homer uses the Aeolic dual forms as anisometric alternatives for Ionic plural forms (§16.11).

The form ἀπειλήτην is the partial Ionic adaptation of Aeol. \*ἀπελλήταν (present \*ἀπέλλημι). In a continuous Ionic tradition one would of course expect ἀπειλείτην with the ending -είτην, which is preserved in Attic.

The presence of Aeolic forms like the genitives in -ᾶο, -ᾶων (§16.11) is impossible to explain on the basis of a theory of Ionic continuity: one would expect archaic Ion. \*-ηο, \*-ηων. HORROCKS 1997, 214-217 is forced to suppose that relatively late Ionic poets replaced Ionic archaisms like \*-ηο, \*-ηων with Aeolic -ᾶο, -ᾶων. However, why should Ionic poets have introduced Aeolic archaisms in order to avoid Ionic archaisms? Moreover, the archaic Ionic endings \*-η-ο (: dat. -η-ι) and \*-η-ων (: dat. -η-[ισ]ι) would have been perfectly transparent for the Ionic poet and his audience, whereas Aeolic -ᾶο and -ᾶων were deviant. The unavoidable conclusion is that Homer inherited -ᾶο and -ᾶων from the Aeolic phase. One should not forget that the synizesis of Ion. -εω and -εων can only be explained on the assumption that these forms took the place of recent Aeolic -ᾶ and -ᾶν (§16.11).

It so happens that Homer preserves Aeolic forms even when it is metrically possible to use the corresponding Ionic forms; cf. for instance Aeol. ἴμεναι instead of Ion. λέναι. Aeol. ἴμεναι is only found in the formula βῆ δ' ἴμεναι – υ υ – 'he made the first step in order to go' (10 x \*). More frequent is Ion. βῆ δ' λέναι (28 x \*). Homer's hesitation is easy to explain: in the anisometric alternative βῆ δ' ἴμεν (34 x \*) Aeol. ἴμεν could not be replaced.

For the active thematic infinitive the Aeolic poets had at their disposal a system of three anisometric alternatives: type ἐλθέμενα – υ υ –, ἐλθέμεν – υ υ and ἐλθῆν – –. Homer took over this system, of course with substitution of Ion. ἐλθεῖν for Aeol. ἐλθῆν. The choice is determined by verse structure. In the 6th foot ἐλθεῖν is the only possibility, in the 5th foot ἐλθέμεν. In the 4th foot Homer hesitates between Aeol. ἐλθέμεν (11 x) and Ion. ἐλθεῖν (7 x): the preference for a dactyl in the 4th foot before word boundary is relatively strong.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>39</sup> On the other hand, Homer replaced Aeolic βιλέμεν, \*βιδέμεν (υ υ – before consonant) with artificial Ionic βιλέειν, λέειν with distraction of -εῖν into -έειν. The model was βιλέειν =

In the Homeric epics Aeolic κε(v) is almost four times as frequent as Ion. ᄂv. Here again, the fact that the Aeolic poets disposed of a system of three anisometric alternatives, to wit κεν, κε and κ', played a cardinal role. The force of this system made Homer choose the Aeolic form even when ᄂv would have been metrically possible. In lines which started with ει δέ, Homer could not replace ει δέ κεν when it was followed by an initial vowel. This led him to use exclusively ει δέ κε followed by a single consonant (11 x), though in this position ει δ' ᄂv (— —) would have been possible. Finally, he prefers ει δέ κ' (10 x) to ει δ' ᄂv (3 x) followed by a vowel. One has to conclude that under the force of the Aeolic system of three anisometric alternatives Homer opts very often in favour of the Aeolic particle in spite of his general tendency to prefer Ionic forms even at the cost of prosodic irregularities.

The facts mentioned above provide decisive arguments against the rejection of an Aeolic phase and against the theory of Ionic continuity. Moreover, the marginal role of the Ιἴτονες (Myc. and Aeol. Ιάδονες), mentioned only once (*Iliad* 13.685) in the Homeric epics, strongly pleads against a continuous Ionic tradition going back to the Mycenaean period. On the contrary, these facts show how profoundly Homer's language is rooted in the epic language of his Aeolic predecessors. They invite us to suppose that Homer learned the art of epic versification while listening to the epic performances of Aeolic singers.

In this connection the low frequency (ca 16%) of 'neglected digamma' (§16.3) in the Homeric epics is easy to explain: Homer knew by heart the verses of Aeolic singers where *F-* was still intact. One or two generations later, in Hesiod's poetry, the frequency of 'neglected digamma' doubled. Therefore one can conclude that the Homeric epics are the beginning of the Ionic phase.

## §16.22. THE REASON WHY HOMER CREATED EPIC IONIC AS A TRANSPOSITION OF EPIC AEOLIC

The question arises why Homer did not simply adopt the Epic Aeolic dialect of the Aeolic poets but transposed it into East Ionic even at the cost of numerous prosodic irregularities. An answer to this question is only possible if one accepts as historical facts some data given by the admittedly legendary descriptions of Homer's life, for instance that of the *Suda* s.v. "Ομηρος. Homer's birthplace was Smyrna, but Colophon too is often mentioned in this connection.

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βαλεῖν used as future infinitive. In this case the Aeolic system had only two anisometric alternatives since \*βαλέμεναι and \*φιδέμεναι were metrically impossible.

Herodotus (I.150) tells us that the Aeolians of Smyrna received Ionian refugees from Colophon. In the end these Ionians managed to expel the Aeolians from Smyrna. It is tempting to conclude that the Poet was born in a Colophonian family in Smyrna. According to the *Suda* he was taken hostage in the course of the war between the Smyrnaeans and the Colophonians: thus he got the nick-name 'Ομηρος 'Hostage', his original name being Melesigenes. In such a situation Homer must have had the opportunity to listen to Aeolic epic performances. It is understandable that in such a situation full of conflicts Ionian self-consciousness drove him to transpose the Epic Aeolic dialect into Ionic. The precarious situation in Smyrna may have driven him to move to the Ionian island of Chios. In later times Chios was the seat of the 'Ομηρίδαι, a guild of rhapsodes who considered themselves descendants of the great Poet.

According to the tradition Homer visited Euboea. Since before 800 Euboea was the only prosperous region of the Post-Mycenaean Greek world, it is understandable that the Poet willingly accepted invitations of rich Euboean princes to give epic performances at their courts. During such visits Homer may have picked up West Ionic forms like ξένιος υ υ ~, which he sporadically uses as anisometric alternatives for East Ionic ξείνιος ~ υ υ < ξένφιος (WATHELET 1981). Adopting the West Ionic use of initial aspiration (§16.15.2) Homer coloured the Epic Ionic dialect with a Euboean varnish. It is tempting to suppose that Euboean princes persuaded Homer to have his epics written down: they were rich enough to provide the enormous quantity of papyrus required and the use of scribes. Thus the Homeric epics in their final written form could be both the culmination of the long epic tradition which had started in Proto-Mycenaean times and the starting-point of Greek literature in the literal sense of written literary texts.

### §16.23. ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGLA

acc.	accusative
Ach.	Achaean
Aeol.	Aeolic
Att.	Attic
Att.-Ion.	Attic-Ionic
cp.	compare
dat.	dative
e.g.	<i>exempli gratia</i> ('for example')
fem.	feminine
gen.	genitive
i.e.	<i>id est</i> ('that is [to say]')
instr.	instrumental
Ion.	Ionic

KN	Cnossos
loc.	locative
MY	Mycenae
Myc.	Mycenaean
nom.	nominative
nt.	neuter
plur.	plural
PY	Pylos
s.v.	<i>sub verbo</i> (the specified item can be found under this heading)
sing.	singular
TH	Thebes
v	variations (other case forms, etc.)
voc.	vocative
vs.	versus
*	reconstructed form
×	number of times that an item is attested
I (in metrical schemes)	main caesura
II (in metrical schemes)	line boundary.

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# INDEXES

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(LB transl.) indicates that the preceding form is a transcribed Linear B word (see *Companion* 1, 35). A double dagger (‡) marks those items which also appear in the indexes of *Companion* 1.

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 \*47-da-de, 172, 196 (‡)  
 \*56-ko-we, 150 (‡)

## 4. INDEX OF LINEAR B UNDECIPHERED SYLLABOGRAMS

A double dagger (‡) marks those items which also appear in the indexes of *Companion 1*.

- |                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| *22, 12, 150, 188 (‡) | *65 (= ju'), 9, 10, 23, 187, 263 (‡)      |
| *47, 172, 196 (‡)     | *79, 269 (‡)                              |
| *56, 54, 150 (‡)      | *82, 71, 178, 187, 197, 236, 239, 243 (‡) |

## 5. INDEX OF LINEAR B ABBREVIATIONS/IDEOGRAMS

Measures, numbers and word dividers are not included.

A double dagger (‡) marks those items which also appear in the indexes of *Companion 1*.

## A

- A*, 'amphora', 15  
 'amphora', see *A*  
 '(in) apprenticeship', see *di*  
 AROM(a), 'aromatic stuff', 173 (‡)  
 'aromatic stuff', see AROM

## E

- E*, 'deer's hide', 26  
 'equid', see EQU  
 EQU(us), 'equid', 9 (‡)

## B

- 'barley', see HORD  
 BOS, 'ox', 176, 177 (‡)

## F

- FAR(ina), 'spelt' or (???) 'flour', 9, 10,  
 173, 174, 190, 194 (‡)  
 'fat', see SI  
 'f', 'female'  
 'female', see 'f'  
 'figs', see NI  
 'flour' (???) or 'spelt', see FAR

## C

- CAP(er), 'goat', 176, 177 (‡)  
 CAP<sup>f</sup>, 7 (‡)  
 CAP<sup>m</sup>, 177  
 CYP(eros), 'cyperus', 173 (‡)  
 CYP+O, 190, 194 (‡)  
 'cyperus', see CYP, CYP+O

## G

- 'garment', see \*146, \*166+WE  
 'goat', see CAP, CAP<sup>f</sup>, CAP<sup>m</sup>  
 GRA(num) (= \*120), 'wheat', 10, 57, 170  
 (‡)

## D

- DA (‡):  
 'household' (?), 26  
 'male supervisor', 57, 58, 59, 72  
 'daughter', see *tu*  
 'deer', see *E*  
 'deficit', see *o*  
*di*, 'in apprenticeship', 121 (‡)

## H

- 'hide', see *E*, WI  
 'honey', see ME+RI  
 HORD(eum) (= \*121), 'barley', 10, 173,  
 174, 180, 190, 193, 194, 195 (‡)  
 'household' (?), see DA

<b>L</b>	<p>'sacrificial', see <i>sa</i>  <i>'sheep'</i>, see <i>ovis</i>, <i>ovis<sup>f</sup></i>, <i>ovis<sup>m</sup></i>  <i>SI</i>, 'fat', 103  <i>'single'</i>, see <i>MO</i>  <i>'spelt' or (???) 'flour'</i>, see <i>FAR</i>  <i>'supervisor'</i>, see <i>DA</i>, <i>TA</i>  <i>SUS</i>, 'pig', 176, 177 (‡)  <i>sus+SI</i>, 103</p>
<b>M</b>	<p><b>T</b></p> <p><i>TA</i>, 'female supervisor', 57, 58, 59, 72  <i>tu</i>, 'daughter', 121</p>
<b>MUL(ier)</b> , 'woman', 9, 11, 17, 18, 57, 219 (‡)	<p><b>V</b></p> <p><i>VIN(um)</i>, 'wine', 174, 180, 190 (‡)  <i>VIR</i>, 'man', 2, 9, 11, 15, 26, 57, 59, 73, 74, 94, 215, 219 (‡)</p>
<b>N</b>	<p><b>W</b></p> <p><i>'wheat'</i>, see <i>GRA</i>  <i>WI</i>, 'oxhide', 98  <i>'wine'</i>, see <i>VIN</i>  <i>'woman'</i>, see <i>MUL</i>  <i>'wool'</i>, see <i>LANA</i></p>
<i>ne</i> , 'young', 176	<p><b>Y</b></p> <p><i>'young'</i>, see <i>ne</i></p>
<i>NI</i> , 'figs', 57, 59, 93, 94, 114, 173, 174, 194 (‡)	<p>Abbreviations/ideograms represented by numbers</p>
<b>O</b>	<p>*129 (= <i>FAR</i>), 'spelt' or (???) 'flour', 9 (‡)</p>
<i>o</i> , 'deficit', 15 (‡)	<p>*146, 'garment', 142, 173, 175 (‡)</p>
<i>oil</i> , see <i>OLE</i>	<p>*166+<i>WE</i>, 'garment', 173, 175</p>
<i>OLE(um)</i> , 'oil', 15, 173, 174 (‡)	<p>*170, 173, 176</p>
<i>OLIV(a)</i> , 'olives', 175, 180, 190 (‡)	<p>*171, 173, 178 (‡)</p>
<i>'olives'</i> , see <i>OLIV</i>	<p>*190, 173, 178</p>
<i>OVIS</i> , 'sheep', 176, 177 (‡)	
<i>ovis<sup>f</sup></i> , 140 (‡)	
<i>ovis<sup>m</sup></i> , 140, 177 (‡)	
<i>'ox'</i> , see <i>BOS</i> , <i>WI</i>	
<b>P</b>	
<i>'pig'</i> , see <i>SUS</i> , <i>SUS+SI</i>	
<i>PYC+O</i> , 'cyperus', 175	
<b>R</b>	
<i>ri</i> , 'linen', 175	
<b>S</b>	
<i>sa</i> , 'sacrificial', 176	
<i>SA</i> , 'linen', 104 (‡)	

## 6. INDEX OF ALPHABETIC GREEK WORDS

A double dagger (‡) marks those items which also appear in the indexes of *Companion I.*

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